
**A REFERENCE GRAMMAR
OF JAPANESE**

by Samuel E. Martin

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June 1975

S.E.M.

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January 1988

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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 Jordan, and differ from those used in *Beginning Japanese*, by Jordan 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 *hwírumu* 'film' and *hwán* 'fan' and *byúhhwe* 'buffet', except that *fu* is written *hu*, as in *hurai-pan* 'frying pan' and *sutáhhu* '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 *dídítí*. (In *A Manual of Japanese Writing* this was written *d^{ei}ii-d^{ei}ii-t^{ei}ii*, taking a hint from the kana spelling, where a small "i" is inserted after the syllable for "te" or "de", as if we were to write *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 /yuu/; 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 Syúnziroo* 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 *Kindaichi Haruhiko*, of "H" for *Hirayama Teruo's Zenkoku akusento jiten*, etc. Many of the example sentences were culled from weekly magazines, such as *Sandē-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 *Chūō-Kōron* ("CK").² 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 *sensēi* 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 *kéizai 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-séikatu* 'economic life' tells us that this is a compound noun made up of the nouns *kéizai* 'economics' and *seikatu* 'life', and in *keizái-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) *sikí* 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: *siká-i* means 'dentist', being a compound of the two-morpheme noun *sika* 'dentistry' and the one-morpheme

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 *Shūkan Asahi* [= the issue of 21 November 1969]'.

abbreviation of the two-morpheme noun *isya* 'doctor'; *sikái* 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-o-kyo-o*, *kéizai* 'economics' is pronounced *ké-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 *onsetu* 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 *Kyóoto* (*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 *Too-kyoo*, *kéi-zai*, *sin-bun*, and *gak-koo* 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: *hóon* 'horn', *booi* 'boy, bellboy', *siin* 'scene', *siin-to* 'very quietly'. The accent never lands on the added mora (or moras) of a heavy syllable. When you see *tooí desu* 'it is far' you know that the syllable structure is *too-í-de-su*. The adjective *óóí* 'is much, are many' is pronounced either as three syllables *o-ó-i* or as a heavy syllable followed by a light syllable *óo-i*; *óóí* is the common *Tōkyō* version, but *óóí* is more widely heard elsewhere.³ For the verb meaning 'covers' *Tōkyō* has both the historically expected atonic version *oou* (two syllables *oo-u*) and a tonic variant *oóu* (three syllables *o-ó-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: *tán'i* 'unit' has three moras, *tani* 'valley' has two; *ko'oo* 'response' consists of a short syllable followed by a long, *kó'o* 'likes and dislikes' consists of a long syllable followed by a short. (But in *páat'ii* 'party' the apostrophe shows that the *t* is not to be affricated; the word contains two long syllables *páa-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 *oókiku* (four syllables) and *óokiku* (three syllables), but only the latter is recognized by the dictionaries. All sources give only *oósiku* as the infinitive of *oosii* 'is brave'; there is no **óosiku*. *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 *óóí*), 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 ||) 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 |) 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. PROTONIC words fall to a lower pitch right after the first syllable: Nára 'Nara', Tíba '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 'Kōbe', Kyóoto 'Kyōto', Sínbasi 'Shimbashi', Kyúusyuu 'Kyūshū', 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-si 'Nara city', Tibá-ken 'Chiba prefecture', Koobé-eki 'Kōbe station', Akásaka 'Akasaka', Nagásaki 'Nagasaki', Harázyuku 'Harajuku', Iidábasi 'Iidabashi',

Ootémati 'Ōtemachi', Sinzyú-wan 'Pearl Harbor', Sendágaya 'Sendagaya', Taihéi-yoo 'Pacific Ocean', Ikebúkuro 'Ikebukuro', Akihábara 'Akihabara', Meguró-ku 'Meguro ward', Sinagawá-ku 'Shinagawa ward', Ikebukuró-eki 'Ikebukuro station', Nisi-Ogikubó-eki 'Nishi-Ogikubo station'.

OXYTONIC words have the fall of pitch on the last syllable, but if that contains a single 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', ootoó ni 'for my younger brother', Kitizyoozí e 'to Kichijōji', zyuitigatú made 'till November'. 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: koohii [desu] 'it is coffee', Ryuukyúu [mo] 'the Ryūkyūs [also]', Tyoosén [de] '[in] Korea', takái 'it is expensive', yasúi 'it is cheap', kurói 'it is black'.

ATONIC words have no fall of pitch even when followed by a particle. All the syllables are pronounced rather high except for the first, which usually starts off low: kore [wa] '[as for] this', Shibuya [e] '[to] Shibuya', Gotanda [ni] '[to] Gotanda', Sinagawa [kara] '[from] Shinagawa', Otyanomizu [mo] 'Ochanomizu [also]'. If the first syllable consists of two vowels or a vowel followed by *n* you may hear a rise: Oosaka [mo] 'Ōsaka [also]', Taihoku [e] '[to] Taipei', Kanda [de] '[in] Kanda'.

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 importantly 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 syllable).

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 syntactic reduction rather than a compound noun.) The accentuation of a compound noun depends 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 *-sya* '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 *kokoró* [mo] ‘the heart [also]’, some people will say *kokoró* [mo] with the accent on the last syllable of the noun, while others—probably the majority—will say *kokóro* [mo], with the accent in the middle. In pronouncing *zyúúsán-niti* ‘thirteen days’ a given speaker may find himself sometimes saying *zyúusan-niti* with an accent on the first syllable and sometimes *zyuusán-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 *zidóo-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 ‘auto-moBILE’. The expression *dóno-yóo na* ‘what kind of’ will be said as either /*dónoyoona*/ or as /*donoyóona*/, and that is why we write a single hyphenated word rather than two words. A phrase like *kanemótí*(⁻) *mo* ‘the rich man also’ may be heard with any of three patterns: *kanemóti mo*, *kanemotí mo*, or *kanemoti 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 voicing.

In Tōkyō speech when the high vowels *i* and *u* appear between voiceless consonants they are usually unvoiced (whispered): *kusá* ‘grass’, *sítá* ‘tongue’, *syuppatu* ‘departure’, *kippu* ‘ticket’, *tukau* ‘uses’, *hitóri* ‘one person’, *hutari* ‘two people’, *kikái* ‘machinery’, *títí* ‘father’, *tutúmu* ‘wraps’, *susumu* ‘advances’, *sisoo* ‘thought’, *hisyó* ‘secretary’, *syusyoo* ‘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’, *kittá* ‘cut’, *húttá* ‘rained’, *túkú* ‘arrives’, *túkete* ‘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*, *kittá*, *húttá*, *túku*, *túkete*, etc.) and ignore the

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: *Motíron desu* 'Of course', *Yósi* 'OK', *Háyaku* 'Hurry up', *Nagásaki* '(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: *Arimásu* '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 tokau* '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:

Hutarí^[] *imásu* 'There are two people'. Cf. *Hutarí* *ga imásu* 'There are the two people'.

Takusán^[] *tábeta* 'I ate lots'. Cf. *Takusán desu* 'It's lots'.

Ik-kái^[] *itta* 'I went one time'. Cf. *Ik-kái datta* 'It was one time'.

Iti-dó^[] *sita* 'I did it once'. Cf. *Iti-dó 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 máde* 'as far as Yokohama' and *Yokohama desu ka* 'is it Yokohama?' we know that the particle *máde* and the copula *desu* are basically prototonic; accordingly, we will not bother to indicate the cancelled accents in *Nágoya máde* (= *Nágoya máde*) 'as far as Nagoya' and *Nágoya desu ka* (= *Nágoya desu 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 kará desu* 'it is from Yokohama' we know that the particle *kará* is basically oxytonic so we will not bother to indicate the cancelled accent in *Nágoya kara desu* (= *Nágoya kará desu*) 'It is from Nagoya'. The phrase *koko dé mo* 'in this place also' tells us the locative particle *dé* 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 tüké*, *ni tükí*, and *ni tükéte* are cited with both accentuations in §9.7, though elsewhere we write *ki o tükete* for what Tōkyō speakers usually say as *ki o tükéte*.

5. But in discussing particles or citing them in isolation we will usually mark the accent, especially for those such as *tó* or *nó* or *máde* which might otherwise be misread as English words. And sentence-final particles such as *né* or *yó* 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 [l] denwa o [l] tukatta '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: Hutatú [l] tukatta '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: Kaesánai yóo desu 'Apparently they're not going to return it' can be pronounced Kaesánai | yóodesu in two phrases (with a reduced fall in the second), but commonly it is run together as a single phrase Kaesánaiyoodesu. In the sentence Kagami míte kudasái '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 kagamí o and is run together to form a single phrase with míte; the parentheses around the final accent tells us that we can pronounce the sentence either as two phrases kagamimíte | kudasái or as a single phrase kagamimítekudasai, 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 ka 'Did you go?' but Itta (=Itta^[r]) 'I went' and Itta kodomo wa ... (=Itta^[r] [l] kodomo wa) 'The child who went'. Inflected forms of "atonic" adjectives are similar, but the final accent is usually heard one mora earlier: Akái ka 'Is it red?' and Akai denwa ... (=Aká^[r] [l] denwa) 'A red telephone'—but Tooí ka 'Is it distant?' and Tooí kuni ... (=Tooí^[r] [l] 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: Akákú mo náí. 'It isn't red, either' but Akaku nátta (=Akakú^[r] [l] nátta) '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 -rú and -tá; for the adjective -í 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 simésu(˘) '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: simésú 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 Tooku nátta (=Tookú^[r] [l] nátta) 'It became distant' we find three versions of Tóókú mo náí '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.

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 *tó*, for example, whether used as a quotation marker or in the meaning ‘when(ever)’, is attached like *ká* by many Tōkyō speakers, especially the younger ones, who say /*surúto*/ and /*sitáto*/ 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 “*surú*(⁻) *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 *tó* in the given sentence. Some speakers will say /*munasíto*/ because they treat *munasii* as tonic everywhere, others because they accentuate all atonic forms of verbs and adjectives before *tó*. 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 atonic 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 ⁻*dó*ko or ⁻*gú*rai 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-zíkan* ⁻*gú*rai (= *iti-zíkan* ^[1]*gú*rai) ‘about one hour’ is pronounced *itizikangú*rai, *iti-zíkan* ⁻*hán* (= *iti-zíkan* ^[1]*hán*) ‘an hour and a half’ is pronounced *itizikanhán*, and *iti-zíkan* ⁻*gú*rai (= *iti-zíkan* ^[1]*hán* ^[1]*gú*rai) ‘about an hour and a half’ is pronounced *itizikanhangú*rai. Not all of these dominant words have accents; some are atonic: *ní*motu ⁻*na*mi ni atukatta (= *ní*motu *na*mi ni atukatta) ‘they treated them like baggage’ is pronounced *ní*motunami ni [] atukatta. And some are oxytonic, with a final accent that will be automatically cancelled unless followed by a particle or copula: *Hanbún* ⁻*da*ké desu ‘It is (exactly) half’ is pronounced *hanbundaké*desu and *Hanbún* ⁻*da*ké herasoo ‘Let’s reduce it by half’ is pronounced *hanbundake* [] herasoo.

The little word *nó*, 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 *nó* 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: *I*ké^[1] no mawari o mawaru ‘We will go around the pond’, *Ki*no^[1] no úryoo wa ‘Yesterday’s rainfall’, *Ni*ho^[1] no tetudoo wa ‘Japan’s railroads’, *O*to^[1]ko no gakusei wa ‘Male students’. When the final accent of an oxytonic noun fails to be cancelled before *nó*, you can usually expect a new phrase to begin after *nó*: *Hu*ta^[1]ri no sensei wa ‘The two teachers’ is usually pronounced *hutarino* | senseewa. But sometimes the two phrases will collapse into one at the last minute: *Yu*ki no yoo⁽²⁾ desu ‘It looks like snow’ may be

pronounced yukíno | yóodesu as expected, but the commonly heard version is yukínoyoodesu. (If the dropping of the juncture had been called for when packaging the constituents at an earlier stage, we would expect *yukí^[r] no yóo^[r] desu = *yukinojóodesu.)

When a dominant word follows an atonic 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 ˉnami, nisen-en ˉgúrai, 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: Hitótu mo kawanákatta 'I didn't buy even one', Hitóri mo kónakatta 'Not a soul came', Dáre mo inai 'No one is there'. Optional cancellations are shown by parentheses around the accent mark: Nan de mo ii 'Anything will do' can be pronounced as nándemo | íi, as nandémo | íi, or as nandemo [l]íi.

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 atonic. 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: tábe(te) 'eating' but tabéru 'eats', tákaku(te) 'being expensive' but takái '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: káer-u 'returns' (and huri-káer-u 'looks back'), káesu 'returns it' (and most tonic compounds with -káesu such as hiki-káesu, kiki-káesu, etc.); gotta^k/gáer-u 'gets confused'; hirugáer-u 'flutters, reverses', hirugáesu 'reverses/waves it'; háir-u 'enters', máir-u 'comes/goes'; tóoru 'passes', tóosu 'lets pass' (and tonic compounds with -tóoru and -tóosu). The infinitive, too, will place the accent a mora earlier than expected (káeri, tóori, etc.) as will the imperative (káere, tóore, etc.). The gerund and related forms (the perfect, etc.) of the potentials will also place the accent a mora earlier than expected: káerete (from kaeréru), háireta (from hairéru), tóoretara (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 aturáeru 'orders', humáeru 'treads', kangáeru 'thinks', koráeru 'withstands', kotáeru 'answers', matigáeru 'mistakes', modáeru 'agonizes', osáeru 'restrains', sakáeru 'flourishes', tagáeru 'violates' (NHK also recognizes an atonic version), tonáeru 'chants, advocates', toráeru 'captures', tukáeru 'clogs up'; otoróeru 'is inferior', totonóeru 'prepares'; si-káesu 'redoes'; ? Also tonic compounds with -káeru (such as ki-káeru, si-káeru, nori-káeru, hiki-káeru)⁹ and with -tigáeru (such as iki-tigáeru), §9.1.10. The

8. And also in the provisional (kotáereba) and, with the exception of si-káesu (si-kaesánai), the negative forms: kotáénai, kotáénakatta, etc.

9. A distinction is maintained between huri-káeru 'transfers (money)' with the infinitive huri-káe

infinitive and the imperative of these verbs (with the exception of *si-káésu*) 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: *humáe yo* and *humáe 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: *aéru* 'dresses (vegetables)', *haéru* 'grows', *kamaéru* 'builds', *kanaéru* 'grants (a request)', *kitaéru* 'forges', *naéru* 'withers'; *miéru* 'seems', *maziéru* 'mixes'; *huéru* 'grows'; *hoéru* 'barks', *kazoéru* 'counts', *koéru* 'gets fat', *kokoroéru* 'realizes', *oboéru* 'remembers', *omoéru* 'seems', *soroéru* 'arranges', *suéru* 'sours'; *ureéru* 'grieves'; *siiru* 'coerces', *hikiiru* 'leads'; *naóru* 'recovers', *naósu* 'repairs', *taóru* 'plucks', *taósu* 'topples'; *koóru* 'packs up'; This group includes the short potentials made from tonic verbs: *aéru* 'can meet', *haéru* 'can crawl', *kaéru* 'can raise', *kuraéru*(-) 'can eat', *naéru* 'can plait', *naraéru* 'can learn'; *kisoéru* 'can vie', *koéru* 'can love/beg', *toéru*(-) 'can inquire', *tukuroéru* 'can mend'; *kuéru* 'can eat', *nuéru* '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: *amaéru*(-) 'coaxes', *kakaéru*(-) 'embraces', *kosaéru*(-) 'concocts', *kuwaéru*(-) 'adds', *saraéru*(-) 'dredges', *sasaéru*(-) 'supports', *takuwaéru*(-) 'hoards' (K also has *takuwaéru* and NHK has *takuwáéru*), *tataéru*(-) 'brims with; praises', *tukaéru*(-) 'serves', *tutaéru*(-) 'communicates' (K also has *tutáéru*), *uttaéru*(-) 'complains about' (K and NHK both also have *uttáéru*); *tuiéru*(-) 'is wasted', *katuéru*(-) 'hungers' [obsolescent], *mi-suéru*(-) 'gazes'; *moyoósu*(-) '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-káer-u* 'looks back' with the infinitive *huri-káeri*. (NHK lists only *huri-kaéru* for 'transfers', but H and K give both versions.) To the list add *hikaéru* 'refrains' and *sonaéru* '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 [e:], slashes sometimes enclose a quasi-phonemic transcription, as when we say that *ei* is to be pronounced /ee/. 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(/...)* '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: *Dáre ni/ga kodomo ga irú/áru 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'; $b \leftarrow a$ 'b 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: $a > b$ '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) † † the material enclosed is optionally sayable; when the brackets have a double notch (or superimposed equal sign) ‡ ‡ 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 *Míta n[o] desu* 'I've seen it' or *Kaeró[o]!* 'Let's leave!'; but sometimes contraction is indicated by an apostrophe: *Mátte 'ru* = *Mátte [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[éb]a* cannot be shown as "sen'a" because it is pronounced /sena/. 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 concotions. 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 terminology¹ 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 dá '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" (gá), direct object or "accusative" (ó), and indirect object or "dative" (ní); or, the peripheral cases of allative (é 'to'), ablative (kará 'from'), instrumental (dé 'with'), locative (ní/dé 'at'), and reciprocal (tó 'reciprocally with'). Within the operations of the same Step One, the noun could be delimited by one or more RESTRICTIVES such as daké 'only', the DISTRIBUTIVE (zútu 'distributively each'), the COMPARATOR (yóri 'than'), and a few other categories reduced from larger entities (nádo, mítai, dé mo, etc.); it could also be given FOCUS by the attachment of such particles as wá or mó and a few others of similar function. The essential notion is that a nuclear sentence—Yobu 'Someone calls someone', Ookii 'It's big', Hón da 'It's a book'—will stand as a complete utterance in Japanese, though it may be expanded to give further information: Háha 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: Háha ga kodomo o yobu (or Kodomo o háha ga yobu) 'The mother calls the child', etc. Also, still within Step Two, it is possible to conjoin (by such markers as tó 'and', ká 'or', etc.) two or more nouns that serve jointly in the SAME role: Háha to kodomo ga yobu 'Mother and child call someone', Háha 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 Propredication and Identification, as explained in the appropriate

sections. Step Five, in turn, can serve as a source for all the nominal nuclear sentences (with the possible exception of a few non-predicable adverbs and the like) that were assumed in the beginning.

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.

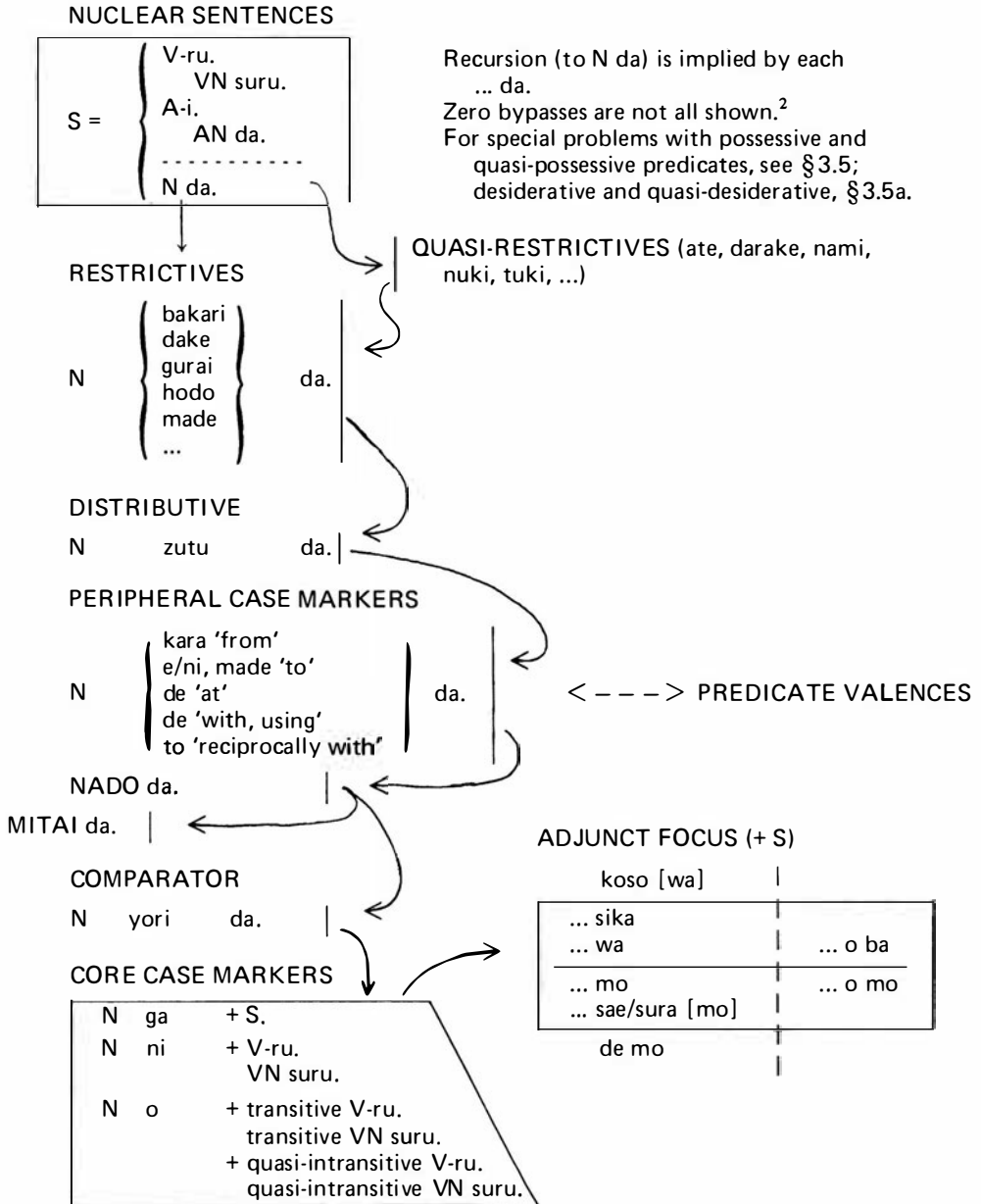
Thirdly, I cite the nuclear (and the simplex) sentences as full-blown, usable surface utterances, in the relatively unspecific “imperfect” form, sometimes called “nonpast” or “present”. But this form, like the “perfect” form, is the result of a process applied to a more abstract entity, here called the INFINITIVE. For convenience we assume that our conversions depart directly from the imperfect forms (such as *Háha ga kodomo o yobu* ‘Mother calls the child’ or *Hón ga ookii* ‘The book is big’, for example) rather than from the underlying infinitive forms (*Háha ga kodomo o yobi ...* ‘Mother call child ...’, *Hón ga óokiku ...* ‘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.

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 (Háha ga yobu + Kodomo o yobu yielding Háha ga kodomo o yobu or Kodomo o háha ga yobu etc.) and by conjoining adjuncts that enjoy the same case marker (Háha ga yobu + Kodomo ga yobu yielding Háha to kodomo ga yobu or Kodomo to háha 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 (káku 'writes' → o-kaki ni náru 'someone exalted writes') before applying the desiderative (kaki-tái 'wants to write' but o-kaki ni nari-tái 'someone exalted wants to write'), though the parenthesized arrow from desiderative to subject exaltation allows for the less common pattern kaki-tákute irassyáru. 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.

CHART ONE

STEP ONE: From nucleus to simplex.



STEP TWO: Conjoining simplexes with shared nucleus:

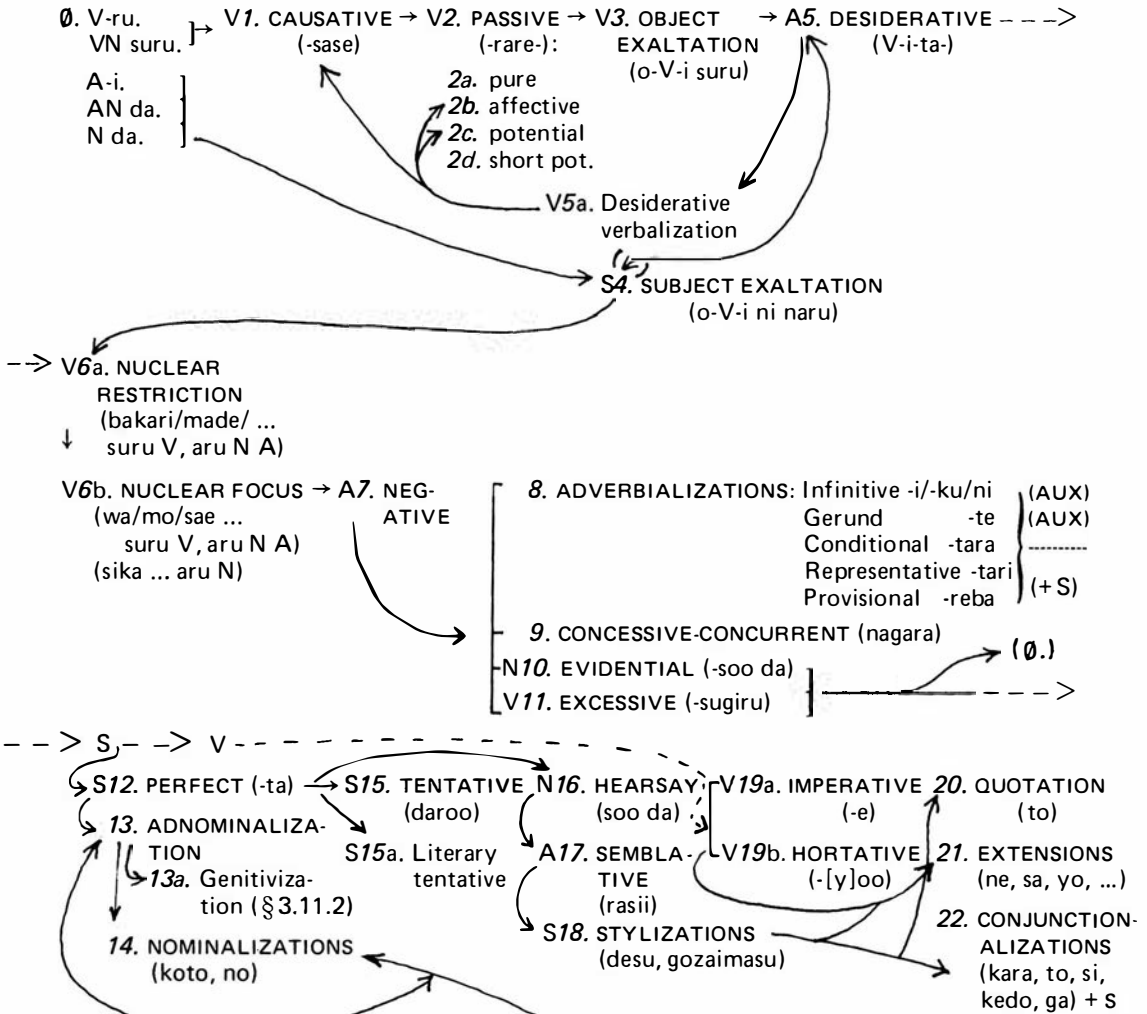
- (1) with identical case marker (or none)
- (2) with different case markers

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.

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 V A 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'.)



STEP FOUR: Extruded } → Thematization : Epithematization ← { Extruded
 Intruded } Intruded

STEP FIVE: (S) → Propredication (→ N) } (→ 0. N da)
 Identification

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 adverbialization (with or without some overt marking)—as if a reduction from a nominal sentence rather than the product of proredication, 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 *wá* and *mó*. In §2.4–5 we explore the distribution of those particles that serve to delimit a noun; those such as *daké* '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 *~óki* (') '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 *~zútu* we will call the DISTRIBUTIVE; it is given separate treatment, as is the somewhat similar COMPARATOR *yóri* 'than', discussed along with expressions of comparison in §2.6. Certain quasi-suffixes 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 *dá ka*, and for *dé mo*. Finally, §2.12 discusses the peculiar pseudo-restrictive *mítai*.

It is usually assumed that forms of the copula (such as *dá*, *ná*, *nó*, *ní*, *dé*, etc.) and the various postnominal particles (such as *gá*, *ó*, *kará*, *máde*; *~gúrai*, *~dógoro*, 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 *wá* or *mó*: *Nagásaki* [l] *kará mo*, *Sátoo san* [l] *tó wa*, *Tyúugoku* [l] *~gúrai wa*, 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 *~gúrai*, cancel the accent of the attached noun—yielding, in this case, /tyuugokugúraiwa/. 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

directly nominalized, as in this example: *Koŋo 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: *Sinzukú-syo (móto no Yodobasí-syo) NO máe 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 | ní wa = Kyóoto ni wa 'in Kyoto', Nára de | dé mo = Nára de mo 'in Nara too' (not intended for 'even being in Nara'), otóosan to | tó wa = otóosan 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

Ōide (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; thematization, 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 (locatives)	Place (locatives)	Subject N gá	Reciprocal N tó	Instrumental N dé	Ablative N kará	Allative N é	Object N ó:
			4b Nondirectional datives N ní			7b Directional dative N ní	(8a Affective) (8b Traversal) (8c Cathetic)

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 *íma 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 *gá* to mark a noun as agent, perceiver, cathector (= emotion experiencer), attributee, or identifier. *Gá*, 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 tó* marks not only the reciprocal—considered an adjunct in the simplex—but also the "comitative", here considered an abbreviation of *N tó issyo/tómo(ˉ) 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 tamé ni*), of CONFRONTATION (= *ni tái-site*), and of REFERENCE (= *ni tótte*); and that (7b) the dative of DIRECTION (= *ˉate 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-zikan arúku* 'walks for three hours'); and sometimes it is stated as a conjoining of ablative and allative phrases (*sán-zi kara rokú-zi made arúku* '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

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: ... *konaidá mo Oosaka kara yógísya de onná-no-ko o turete, ása no gó-zi ʔhán ʔgóro koko e túita hitó ga arimásu* '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 *konaidá mo* 'lately even/too' is, I believe, a highlighted thematization of the time locative extruded from the sentence ... *hitó ga arimásu* 'there is a person'. The subject of that sentence (*hitó*) has been epithematized from the subject (= agent) of the adnominalized sentence [*hitó ga*] *Oosaka kara yógísya de onná-no-ko o turete ása no gó-zi ʔhán ʔgóro koko e túita* '[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 tureru* 'brings along a little girl' and properly (i.e. neutrally) belongs at the beginning of the sentence; the remainder of the sentence (*Oosaka kara yógísya de ása no gó-zi ʔhán ʔgóro koko e túita*) has reversed our neutral order of instrumental and ablative and has placed the directly adverbialized time expression right before the allative. We would have expected the colorless version of the sentence to be: ... *ása no gó-zi ʔhán ʔgóro [hito ga] onná-no-ko o turete yógísya de Oosaka kara koko e túita*. It is possible that the ablative was placed before the instrumental under the influence of such paraphrases as *Oosaka kará no yógísya de* 'by the night train (that is) from Ōsaka'—as implied by our original English translation—or *Oosaka no yógísya 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 [*hitó ga*] *Oosaka kara yógísya de onná-no-ko o tureta (= turete kíta)* '[the person] brought a little girl by night train from Ōsaka' attached (by way of *-te* 'and') to the sentence *ása no gó-zi ʔhán ʔgóro [káre-ra ga] koko e túita* '[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 *túita* 'arrived' or even as a second theme to share with *konaidá mo* the embedding sentence that ends in *arimásu*: '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 *Tennóo o pisutoru de úte!* 'Shoot the Emperor (with a pistol)!' (SA 2817.101ab), where *pisutoru de útu* '(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 conjunctive 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 *ní* that underlies the copula and also underlies certain other particles—*dé*, *nó*, and *ní*—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 *míru* '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', *míru* 'sees/regards', etc.).
 - (3a) the emotionally affected (= the cathectic 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 cathectic 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.

(10) optionally replacing *ó* to mark the direct object of a verb under the FACILITATIVE conversions (§9.1.8).

(11) optionally replacing *tó* to mark the reciprocal under the FACILITATIVE conversions (§9.1.8).

(12) optionally replacing *ní* to mark the dative under the FACILITATIVE conversions (§9.1.8).

(13) optionally replacing *dé* or *ní* 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 abative ('from') under the FACILITATIVE conversions (§9.1.8).

(15) optionally replacing the instrumental marker *dé* under the FACILITATIVE conversions (§9.1.8).

2. "indirect subject" of a VERB:

(16) the possessor or quasi-possessor (= *ní*).

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) attributee 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) *íma ga íma* 'right now' (= *tyoodo íma*), *íma ga ima-máde* 'up to this very moment'—usually treated as idioms; cf. p. 267.

9. antithesis—in *tokoró/nó ga* 'but'.

10. S + *gá* 'but/and' (§17.5); by ellipsis *Gá ...* 'But ...'.

11. literary tentative *-[y]oo + gá/tó* 'whether ... or ...' (§17.6).

12. *hóo ga* (§3.9, pp. 231-2).

13. *Sore ga ...*, *Hayái hanasí ga ...* (§24).

14. N ni *sité kara ga*; V-*té kara ga*—see *kará* 8.

15. N ni *sité ga* (= 14)—see §9.2, p. 487.

16. [dialect] = *nó* 3 (pronominal 'one/fact/it')—see Note at end of this section.

ó

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', *tóoru* 'passes by/through', etc.) and those that imply partial traversal (*arúku* 'walks', *tobu* 'flies', etc.): TRAVERSAL object.
3. (= *kará*) place departed from (with quasi-intransitive verbs of leaving such as *déru* 'leaves', *tátu* 'departs', *oríru* 'descends from', etc.): ABLATIVE object.
4. time spent: TEMPORAL object, as in *Tookyoo de issyoo o kurasu* 'lives all one's life in Tōkyō'; *nanazyuu-néndai o ikíru* 'living (in) the seventies' (SA 2660.58—heading), *Tukí e mo ... ryokoo ni ikeru yoo na zidai o ikíru no da kara* 'For we live in an era such that we can travel all the way to the moon' (CK 985.372); *Niti-yóobi o iti-niti neta* 'I stayed in bed the whole day Sunday'.
5. "orphaned object"—stranded by ellipsis (§9.1.12, §14.3, §28; §3.10, §13.1.5): *Iti-kiro no miti o [] yónzyuu gó-hun mo kakáru hazu ga nái* 'Covering a one-kilometer route shouldn't take a whole 45 minutes!' (SA 2642.32d)—the ellipsis is something like [*arúku no ni wa*] 'to walk'; *Yukí no náka o [] dóo-mo osóre-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 ná no ni*).

ni³

0. essive ('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 *tamé*] *ni* 'being for the sake/case of'; DATIVE OF CONFRONTATION 'toward, with respect to' = *ni* [*tái-site*] 'being opposed to, confronted with'—as in *háha ni sínsetu da* 'is kind to mother', *sake ni yowái* 'is easily affected by drink', *keiken ni tobosii(-)* 'is wanting in experience', *keiken ni tómu* 'abounds in experience'. See §3.4; for the DATIVE OF DIRECTION, see 5 below.
 - 1a. pseudo-reciprocal use of dative of confrontation '[coming in contact] with' (N *ní/tó* + *áu* 'meets', *wakaréru* 'parts', *niru* 'resembles', *kuraberu* 'compares', ...)—see §3.6.
 - 1b. objective stimulus; reason, cause (cf. *dé* 6, *kará* 5) *binboo ni kurusímu* 'suffers from poverty' (cf. *binboo de kurusímu* 'is distressed at one's poverty'), *byooki ni nayámu* 'agonizes over being ill' (cf. *byooki de nayámu* 'is afflicted with an illness'), *kodomo ni odoróku* 'is surprised at the child' (cf. *kodomo de odoróku* 'is surprised by the child'), *kodomo ni gakkári suru* 'is disappointed in the child', *te-búsoku ni komáru* 'is embarrassed by a shortage of personnel', (*áme de*) *miti ni mayóu* 'is confused about the road (owing to the rain)', *kosame ni nureru* 'gets (pleasantly) wet in the shower' (cf. *áme de nureru* 'gets drenched from the rain'); *Monó no neagari ni kurasi-níkuku nátta* 'With the rise in prices of things life became difficult' (cf. ... *de* ... 'Due to ...'); *Inaká-mati no tetudóo-in no mizime na seikatu no saimoku [sic] ni, kankyaku wa warau* 'The onlookers laugh at the petty details of the wretched life of a railroadman in a country town' (Ig 1962.70); *sore ní* 'by that, for that reason'; cf. §17.1 V-rú *kará ni wa*, V-tá *kará [ni] wa*.

3. Sometimes contracted to *n[i]* before *t*, *d*, or *n*: *kore n[i] tomonátte, sóto n[i] déru, byooki n[i] náru*. The particle sequence *ní wa* is sometimes pronounced *nyá[a]*, as in *Yasumi no hí nyaa, ...* '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 "niya" is to be interpreted as *nyá[a]*.

1c. ‘(dependent etc.) on’ with *yoru* ‘depends/relies’, *sitagáu*(⁻) ‘conforms (with), is consequent (upon)’, *motozúku* ‘is based’, (Is this from 5?)

1d. ‘from/by’ an agent (= *kará* 4, 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 *tutoméru* ‘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 (= *gá*); see §3.5.

2a. [now obsolete] a highly exalted subject: *Tennoo-héika ni wa nízyuu iti-ni^[1]siti-zi nízip-pun kyuuzyoo o go-syutumon* ‘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’; *mótte 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 *ní* + mutative use of the essive *ní* (6), ‘so as to be at/on’: with *noru* ‘boards, mounts’, *oku* ‘puts, places’; perhaps *tasu* ‘adds (to), *kuwaéru*(⁻) ‘adds (to), *kasaneru* ‘piles on’, *itáru*(⁻) ‘arrives (at), reaches’, *sugíru* ‘exceeds’, *kosu* ‘exceeds’,

E 6. change of state (MUTATIVE) ‘into’, ‘so as to be (something new)’: with *kawaru* ‘it turns into’, *kaeru* ‘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-syo 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-iwai) ni* ‘as a celebration, in order to celebrate’; V-i *ni iku* ‘goes to V’, VN [si] *ni iku* ‘goes to VN’ (§9.1.1). Does *tabéru no ni yóí* ‘is good for eating’ belong here? See also 6 above; §14.2.2.

E 9. appearing to be (= *da tó*): with *omowaréru*, *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 náí*, *ni sugínai*, *ni kimatte iru*, *ni kagíru*, *ni koto-kaite*); §17.8 (*daróo ni*); §17.7 (literary tentative + *ní* with several meanings); §9.1.1a (*V₁-i ni V₁-ru*);

(E) 13. DATIVE OF REFERENCE = *ni* [*tótte*] ‘taking it as being (with reference to)’ → ‘for’ (cf. 1): *Anáta ni tiisa-sugírú kara ...* ‘Since it is too small for you ...’; *Tosiyórí ni wa muzukasii 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. N 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 na hitó ni wa akunin wa náí ... 'there are no evildoers among those who love flowers' (Tk 2.64a); Gokai ní wa iroiro na monó ga áru ga ... 'There are various kinds of misunderstandings ...' (Nagano 1966.89); Sibusawa san ni nite 'ru hitó ni, Yamada Koosaku san ga áru 'Someone who resembles Mr Shibusawa [among the others who resemble him] is Mr Kōsaku Yamada' (Tk 4.21); Watasi no tizin(¯) ni Q [Kyúu] to iu hitó ga iru 'Among my acquaintances there's a man named Q' (Nagano 1966.75); Hurúi zínzya ya terá ni wa utukusii tatémóno ga 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-syúukan [¯góto] 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 ni oboréru 'drowns in water' (? 4, ? 1b); zyúu-zi no basu ni okureru 'is late for the ten o'clock bus' (? 13); hitó-iki ni nómu 'drinks it at a gulp'; kamí ni tutúmu 'wraps it in paper' (cf. kamí ni káku 'writes it on paper' 5a); kyoosoo ni kátu/makeru 'wins/loses at the competition' (? 4 metaphorical); N ni husawasii 'is suitable for/as N = makes a nice N' (? 6, ? 9, ? 8); mé ni miéte 'visibly, remarkably', mé ni miénai tokoró de 'in a place invisible to the eye' (SA 2647.119e), mé ni/de miénai hodo tiisái 'so small it is invisible to the eye' (mé ga miénai 'the eyes cannot see = is sightless' would be used only of a blind person); Sono sukáato wa ... gaisyutu ní mo hakemásu 'I can wear that skirt ... for stepping out, too', Nán ni tukaimásu ka 'What will you use it for?' (? 8); ... tizyoo gozyuu-méetoru no táka-sa made zyoosyoo surú no ni seikoo sita 'succeed-ed in rising to a height of 50 meters above the earth (= off the ground)' (SA 2647.4).

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

dé

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): kamí 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 notte: kuruma de iku 'goes by car'. Cf. kará 10.

3c. means of communication or information 'through (the medium of)' = o tuu-zite: sinbun de yómu 'reads it in the newspaper', rázio(¯) de kiku 'hears it on the radio', térebi de míru 'sees it on television'; eigo de hanásu 'speaks in English', kana de káku 'writes in

kana'; kookúu-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 úmi 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 síkyóku(¯) no kóozí(¯) 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'; Tóo yakkyoku de zisin o mótte o-susume simásu '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 Hitáti de uri-hazímeta ... 'Hitachi has begun selling ...', Kimi no utí(¯) de ... katta zidóo-sya(¯) 'The car your family bought ...', Ano kaisya de ... kooín o atúmete iru 'That firm is gathering workers ...', Gakkoo de meirei suru kotó ... '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: Utí(¯) ¯zyuu de hisyó ni iku 'The whole family flees the summer heat', San-nín de utyuu-ryókoo suru 'Three men go on a space trip'. Cf. 9 (exclusive agent).

?E 5a. 'within' a time or limit: iti-nítí de dekirú 'gets it done in one day', yáku nízyuu gó-hun de owatta 'finished in about 25 minutes', wázuka mikka de modótte kita 'returned in a mere three days', Ano nan-zíken o is-syúukan de kaiketu sita 'They got that difficult matter settled in a week'.

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

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

E 5d. Kotosi wa ní-nen ¯buri de Toodai no síkén ga átte, ... 'This year for the first time in two years Tókyō University [entrance] examinations are taking place, and ...' (SA 2673.16a).

E 5e. Nippon-zíkan de || késa | mimei || ... 'Before dawn this morning, Japan time, ...' (R); Ootoo wa sánzís-sai de osanáí ko to túma o nokósite, kootuu-zíko de sokusi simásita '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 tamé; cf. ní 1b): soko dé 'for that reason'; byooki de yasúmu 'stays home with illness'; Nán de sindá daroo 'I wonder what he died of/from'; hisyó-ti de sirarete iru matí 'a town known as/for a summer resort'; kane de komáru 'is embarrassed by the money' (cf. kane ni komáru 'is embarrassed for [= lacks] money'); eigo de hito ni suguréru 'surpasses others in English'; S nó de, §14.2.1; ti de yogorete iru 'is stained with blood', áse de nurete iru (bissyóri da) 'is wet (is drenched) with sweat'.

E 7. sán-bon de zyuu-en 'ten yen for three (pencils, etc.)'; náma de tabéru 'eats it raw'; minná de ikoo 'let's all go together' (? 4, ? 9); anáta no kangáe de wa 'in your opinion'; Íma [no zyootai/kotobá] de iéba ... 'Put into today's terms ...' (SA 2672.118c); Sore ga, Ginza ¯átari o tuke-mátuge de arúite 'ru zyosei ga, konó-goro(¯) íkura 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 (dá) 'This is all; This is all that's left'; Sikén wa kyóo de o-simai désu 'Examinations are over with today'; Moo sukósi de wasureru tokoró datta 'I was just about to forget'; Zikan de haráu 'We pay by [according to] the hour'.

E 9. exclusive agent: Zibun de iú no mo hén da ga 'For me to say it is odd = Even

if I do) say so myself'; Syuuzen wa || kariru hoo de || sinakute mo || ii desyoo | né 'The repairs wouldn't have to be made by the tenant, would they?' (BJ 2.201.23); Ii sigoto wa minna^[1] zibun-tati de tori, wareware ni wa saitei no sigoto sika sasenakatta 'All the good jobs they took themselves, and wouldn't let us do anything but the most menial jobs' (SA 2678.42e); Atasi-tati de ato de tabemasu kara '[Don't worry—]—we women will eat it later' (Kb 45a); Katyoo made wa onna de zyuubun dekiru to omoimasu 'Up to the job of section head a woman can get along quite well, I think' (SA 2672.62c); Hitotu no hakama o oya to ko de tukau, omosiroi kyoogen desu né '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); Hutari 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. ni 1a); 'from' (N to tigau 'differs from N, is other than N'); 'with = against' (A ga B to tatakau/arasou 'A fights/struggles with B', A ga B to ronsoo suru 'A argues with B'). See §3.6.

3. COMITATIVE N to [issyo/tomo(-) ni] '(together) with N'. See §3.6.

4. S + to 'when, if, ...': §17.2.

5. S + to '(saying/thinking) that S' (=0.): §21.

no⁵

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)' = na (from ni[-te] aru) in certain adnominalizations of the copula; see §13. (Historically, a reduction of ni aru?)

5. an obligatory reduction of no^[1] no (4 + 3) 'the one which is' or (if the derivation is not ultimately the same) of no^[1] no (1 + 3) 'the one of (or belonging to) ...'.

kara⁶

1. SOURCE '(starting) from': a PLACE (koko kara 'from here') or quasi-place (kokoro)

4. The distinction of subjective essive (to) from objective essive (ni) will be drawn repeatedly in this book. Cf. Kinoshita 21: "'TO wa gaiken-teki ryoo-teki de, NI wa honsitu-teki de aru 'TO is phenomenological and quantitative, NI 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 n[ó], especially before t, d, or n: ore n[ó] tokó 'my place', boku-ra n[ó] tokó 'our place' (Ariyoshi 20). And since /nn/ automatically reduces to a single /n/ all trace of the contracted n[ó] is lost in Tatibana san [] tokó wa 'Mr Tachibana's place' (Ariyoshi 71). No wa sometimes shortens to naa; N te[te] naa = N to iu no wa (an example in Okitsu 1.96).

6. For some speakers prototonic kara. The particle is also pronounced kkará (or kkára): mukasi kkará

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 \bar{m} é kara ‘from the fifth one’); a SUM (sanzen-en kara suru ‘it costs at least 3000 yen’) or other QUANTITY (hyakuman-nin kará no kankóo-kyaku ‘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’; kanzyá-suu kara ittára ‘speaking from the point of numbers of patients’ (SA 2649.39d); búnsyoo kara site (suru to, míru to) ‘judging from the (sentence) style’; kono kotó kara wakáru yoo ni ... ‘As is clear from this fact ...’; Sikási, betu no kákudo kara kangáeru 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 hazimaru ‘it starts at four’. Perhaps this accounts for yuugata kara dekeru ‘will go out toward evening’ (BJ 2.45). Some uses seem a bit obscure: ... kónniti kara wa yoménaí hodo ... ‘to the extent that they cannot be read (by us) today’ (Ōno 1966.205); ... syóki no katákána o yómu kotó wa, kónniti kara wa nakanaka muzukasii no de aru ‘reading early katakana is extremely difficult (for us) today’ (ibid.). On kará used for gá to mark the agent of “verbs which express the idea of TELLING or INFORMING”—hanásu, tyúui suru, tutaéru(̄), tegami o okuru, denwa o kakéru, etc.—see Alfonso 993. Vardul (1967.42), noting that the predicate must be affirmative, interprets certain of these examples of kará as ‘(doing it) oneself’: Anáta ga ienai to iú nara watasi kara kotowátte yarimasyóo ‘If you can’t say it, I will refuse him myself’; Okáasan ni wa ore kara hanásite okoo ‘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 kará no koogeki mo náí kawari ni kotira kará mo koogeki suru tikaará(̄) o usinatte 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’; Watasi kara nakigoto o kikaserú no sae, hu-yúkai ni omowaréru desyoo ‘You even seem unhappy that I let you hear me weep’. To Vardul’s examples we can add: ... yoozi ga áttara zibun no hoo kara iku ... ‘when there was some business to attend to THEY would decide when to go do it’ (SA 2642.44d); Watasi kara ii-tai kotó wa ... ‘What / want to say is ...’. But these may be extended uses of the “set-opener ablative” (§3.7a): Anáta kara itte kudasái means both ‘YOU say it [for us] = YOU do the talking’ and ‘You tell it (your way) first’; Watakusi kara hanásite mimasyóo ka means ‘Shall / try speaking [for you/us]?’ or ‘Shall I be the first to speak? = Shall I say my piece first?’ According to Vardul the predicate for the set-opener ablative must be affirmative: “Arukimasyóo” to, Mitiko kara aruki-dasita ‘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) ‘(composed) of’ (X to Y kara nátte iru ‘is composed of X and Y’), material ‘(made) out of’. Notice that Dantai wa A to B (to C) kara nátte iru ‘The group consists of A and B (and C)’ amounts to the same thing as Dantai ní wa A to B (to C) ga áru.

4. (= ní 1d) ‘from/by’ an agent. Hun’iki kara náni ka ga umareru ‘Something is hatched by the atmosphere’—or is this 5?

‘from way back’ (Tk 3.35a, Kb 389a); hazime k kara ‘from the start’ (Maeda 1962.209); ima k kara ‘from now on’ (Kb 141b); kóndo k kara ‘from this time’ (Fn 131b, Kb 329a); kono-aidá k kara ‘from not long ago’ (Kb 140a); asa k kara ‘from morning’ (Tk 2.307a, Zhs 2.179); o-híru k kara hazimatte ‘beginning at noon’. Cf. -té [k]kara, §9.2.3. The vowel of a preceding k-syllable (especially ku) sometimes drops in rapid speech: ... gaikok[u] kará no | atúryoku desu | née ‘it’s pressure from abroad, you see’ (R); kok[o] kará wa ‘from here on’.

5. (= dé 6, no tamé ni) cause, reason: Ryóoke no syakai-teki tii no mondai kara kono kekkon no hanasí wa hadan ni nátta 'The marriage talks were broken off because of the (difference in) social position of the two families'; Kisyá^[j] 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 gyoogi ga wáruku náru no mo móttö-mo daroo 'When even the teachers are eating and drinking in the classroom, we can surely expect the students to worsen in deportment'.⁷ In these expressions, ni sité is a bookish equivalent of the copula gerund ní-te > dé; the expressions with mó and sae are thus parallel to dé mo and dé sae. But the synonymous expression with gá is not easily explained; cf. literary V-té kara ga = V-ta to sité mo 'even if, say' (Meikai kogo jiten 260c).

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

10. [dialect] vehicular means (= dé 3b).⁸

máde

1. 'to, up to, until' a place or time or order; máde ni 'by' (a time or order), 'so as to be till a time or a place' (mutative §9.1.11); for other uses see pp. 210, 212. On máde ni ≠ máde de ≠ máde, see pp. 489-90.

2. 'even'; ní made 'even at/to/etc.' See §2.3.3.

é

1. target 'to', direction 'toward'. This is replaced by ní for many speakers; but note that when the sentence is adnominalized, ní drops: úmi e no miti 'a road to the sea' = *umi ni no miti → úmi no miti [ambiguous]; Éki e no miti o osiete kudasaimasén ka 'Please show me the way to the station'. Cf. discussion on pp. 207-9.

2. In downtown Tōkyō é replaces ní in a number of uses, e.g.: Go-syūugi o kamí e [= ni] tutúnde ... 'Wrapping the gratuity in paper ...' (Okitsu 1.268); sinbun ni/e ni déru 'appears in the newspaper', ensoku ni/e iku 'goes on a picnic', kokuban ni/e káku 'writes it on the blackboard', náka ni/e ireru 'puts it inside', ue ni/e oku 'puts it on top', yamá ni/e noboru 'climbs on the mountain', hito ni/e kasu 'lends it to people', hito ni/e ageru 'gives it to people', góruhu ni/e iku 'goes golfing' (but not in góruhu o sí ni iku 'goes to play golf'). A sentence like Anáta ni/e agemasyóo ka could, however, be taken as ellipsis for Anáta e/ni [watasite] agemasyóo ka 'Shall I hand it over to you?' Similar cases: Kotira é/ní mo kootya o kure ná 'Let me have some tea too', atira-sama é/ní mo ... 'him too', Tanaka-san no hoo e/ni mo ... 'let Tanaka have some too'. A more surprising case: Atamá mo yókatta si, ginkoo é [= ní] de mo tutómete ireba, katyoo kúrai ni wa

7. The only authentic example I have culled is a bit murky in meaning: Dái ití-mon ni sité kara ga, zyóonai no teizi-ban [sic] de tóppu o símete irú no wa, nizyuu-nen ˉgó(ˉ) ni zitugen, [surú no] de áru 'Even the very first question, what is occupying the top of the display board in the room is [something] to be realized after 20 years' (SA 2678.37c—the comma in the original text is to mark the ellipsis shown in brackets in the romanization).

8. An example of hune kara máitta 'came by boat' is found in Diego Collado's *Ars Grammaticae Japonicae Linguae* (1632), according to Ishigaki Kenji 183; this is presumably a Kyūshū form.

náttá 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 *ní* and the subject marker *gá*, relating the latter to the morpheme *ká* 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 *tó* and *nó* is probably a convergence of several different etyma. Thus some of the uses of *tó* ('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 *tó* = *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 *tokí* 'time' and/or *toko[ró]* 'place, circumstance', both of which enjoy Korean cognates.

Some uses of *nó* ('the one which ...' etc.) may result from a shortening of *monó* 'thing (etc.)'; one use (as subject marker) remains obscure in origin though it also may be from *monó*; the adnominalized forms of the copula *nó/ná* are variant reductions of *náru* = *ní áru* (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 *-be*), sometimes taken to be an early loan from Chinese but perhaps to be ascribed (along with *herí* '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 *máde* 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'⁹ 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(e)*, *har(e)*, etc., to which we can relate the Korean *kyēlay* '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". Ōtsuki 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 *kí-* < *kó-* 'come' and/or *kayow-* 'commute, go regularly'.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 Kōchi dialect, and I confirmed with a native speaker such forms as *atarasii ga ga = atarasii 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); *atarasii ga koote = atarasii no o katte* 'buying a new one' (Toyama, Zhs 3.30, 35); *ii ga tanomu zo = ii no o tanómu yo* '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 Kōchi: *Gakko 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 fnoþ 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 atúi no ni* 'despite its being hot like this' (Toyama, Zhs 3.42; on 3.45 we find *atui ni*).¹¹ The use of *ga ni* for purpose, like the standard use of *nó ni*, may be treated as ellipsis (see p. 858) *V-ru ga/no {tame} ni*: *mi 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: *iku ga ya tee = iku no da to (itte)* 'saying I would go' (Zhs 3.173—*ya* is the copula); *yatee 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

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-shū* (Ishigaki K. 149-50, 153). *V-té kara* first appeared in colloquial texts of 1593 (id., 171-2).

11. Gengo-Kenkyū 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-shū.

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 *é* (or *ni*) and the dative *ní* (or *é*), there are three different etyma which have figured prominently in the development of the language. Fluctuations in the use of *é* and *ni* 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 Kantō plain but now of the entire northeast, according to Zhs 2.19); SANE and SINE (East Kyūshū); SAMYAA, SANYAA, SAN (West Kyūshū); SAME, SAN, SE (South Kyūshū). Cf. Zhs 6.17 n10. Shimmura 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 "Kyōto E, [Northern] Kyūshū NI, and Kantō SA".

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

(1) dative: *hotoke-sama sa agete* 'giving it to Buddha' (Miyagi, Zhs 1.170).

(2) allative: *yakuba 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 kitara* 'if you come for a visit' (Miyagi, Zhs 1.160); *si sa kite* '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 northeastern 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 *dóna i* = *dónna ni* 'in what manner' that appear to be the essive (or adverbialized copula) *ni* 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 déte* 'leaving for a trip' (purposive, 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-nasái* '(Move and) sit there', cf. *Soko ni suwatte [i-]nahare* = *Soko ni suwatte i-nasái* 'Stay seated there'—Ōsaka will also allow *dé* for *ni* in the last example (Maeda 1961.140).

We have noted the confusion between *é* and *ni* among standard speakers, some of whom distinguish these particles part or all of the time, while others relax the distinction or lack it altogether. The latter category includes most modern Kyūshū speakers, who lack *é* 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 *senséi 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 Kantō 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 ikéba* 'if I

come to my lord' (MKZ 154a). (The Niigata form *sonna ni*, Zhs 2.365, must have a different source, perhaps the evidential *-gé* of §20.)

In the Ryūkyūs a particle *saa[n]i* is used for the instrumental and material uses of standard *dé*, 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 Ryūkyūs *[n]kai* 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] náka [n]i* 'to inside of'. But reflexes of simple *ní* 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 Ryūkyūs (Martin 1970) there are also such forms as *k[h]atyi < kati* 'to(ward)' (= *é*) and *gadi ? < gade < kade* 'up to, as far as' (= *máde*).

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 unpalatalized sibilant. This particle appears in the northern Ryūkyūs 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 essive 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:

dropped <i>ó</i>	.91
dropped <i>tó</i>	.88 before <i>iu</i> 'says'
	.75 before <i>omóu</i> 'thinks'
dropped <i>gá</i>	.60
dropped <i>wá</i>	.36

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 *tó* will not normally drop, except for oblique requests, where *V-ru yóo ni* [to] *iu* 'asks one to V' is more often heard without *tó*; and dropping of *ó*, *gá*, and *wá* 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 atonic 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 náí* 'has no relevance' shortens to *kanke[i] náí* 'is irrelevant' and *kakkoo ga íi* 'has a nice appearance' shortens to *kakko[o] íi* '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] tikái ga máda 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 *gá*: ... *rekisi-syoku [ga] yútaka na, ottóri to sita matí da* 'it is a quiet town, rich in historical color' (SA); ... *iro [ga] azáyaka na hánkati* 'a bright-colored handkerchief' (SA 2793.95c); ... *en-suto no sinpai [ga] náku sutáato dekíru no wa* 'to be able to start without fear of killing the engine' (SA 2684.23b—the first word is an abbreviation of *enzin-sutóppu*); ... *monogókoró [ga] túite* ... 'reaching the age of discretion' (R); *Sensei [ga] máda o-sake o nónde 'ru tokí 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] kawarimásu ga, ... '(Not) to change the subject, ...'* (R); ... *kázoku [ga] issyo ni* ... '(having) one's family with one'; *Dái wa moo tukéru hituyoo [ga] náí desu né* ... *Sore nára, dái wa hituyoo [ga] arimasén né* '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 gótoku* 'a thousand years (is) like a day' (Ishigaki Kenji 55); ... *anáta to atasi to [ga] mé no tuke-dókoró ga onazi de átta kotó wa, omosirói n desu* 'I think it is interesting that you and I had the same point of view' (Tk 3.198b); *Tyót-to hén datta no wa sono ik-kái daké de, áto wa doko e itté mo kimoti [ga] yókatta* 'Only that once was it a bit odd, wherever else I went it felt good' (Tk 3.75a); *Bóku(⁻) wa hoosoo [ga] kirai, koogi(⁻) [ga] kirai, taidan mo kirai de né* 'I hate broadcasts, I hate lectures, I hate dialogs (= interviews), too' (Tk 4.279a); *Kaimaku [ga] semáru bankoku-haku de, Nippón-iti sabisii otokó wa dáre daroo* 'With the International Exposition about to open, who do you think is the saddest man in Japan?' (SA 2670.22b); *Atamá nánzo, sirói no ga o-ari de náí desu né.—Sirói no [ga/mo] arimásu yó. Óoi ni áru n da, waki no hoo 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 *gá* 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, *wá*-marked themes with the *wá* omitted. I have found no convincing counterexamples, but in some cases the unmarked theme may simply be unmarked from the start, with either *wá* or *mó* appropriate. The following adnominalized sentence seems to omit both *wá* and *mó*: *Anná no [wa] dóo tte kotó [mo] náí wáke desu yó* 'I mean there's nothing special about one of that sort' (SA 2685.26e).

Examples of dropped *ó*: *Sore o saikin, kusuri [o] káu no ga urúsáku nátta n de, yametá n da* 'But lately it's become such a hassle to buy drugs that I've quit' (SA 2792.29d); *Néko wa hooziro no sú(⁻) [o] neraú n da né* 'The cat has its eye on the bunting's nest, you see' (Tk 4.291a); ... *honto ni kinodókú na kotó [o] simásita yó* 'I really did a pitiful thing (to him) ...' (Tk 3.105a).

The locative marker *dé* 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 *ní* often drops in expressions of the type *watási wa Tyúugoku [ni] taizai* ‘while I was staying in China’ (cf. § 14.4, § 25).

Here are examples of ellipsis of the allative marker *é* 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, Hokkáidoo wa ikimasén* ‘I may go to Kyūshū but I won’t go to Hokkaidō’ (Tk 4.209a). *Ueno nánzo e wa, irassyaimasén ka.—Ueno wa ikimasén. Tatta iti-dó itta 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 *tó* and/or the dative marker *ní* will often drop: *N {to} dooyoo, N {to} tomódomo(=)* (§ 3.6); *N {ni/to} sokkúri* (§ 3.6, § 25); *N {ni} soo’oo* (§ 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 nánte* ‘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 (“SUBDUING”) 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 SUBDUED, 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 *Dáfe mo inai* ‘There is no one there’, *Náhi mo náí* ‘There is nothing’; *Dóko de mo hataraité imásén* ‘I’m not working anywhere’ (BJ 2.152.H), *Dóre ní mo iremasén desita* ‘I didn’t put it in any of them’ (ibid.). But *dónna/dóno N mo* will usually retain its accent: *Dónna | haná mo | saite imasén* ‘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 | oité mo || kamaimasén* ‘It doesn’t matter wherever you put it’, *Nán-do | míte mo || kamaimasén* ‘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 dekimasén* ‘There’s nothing can be done about it’ is often said with only the final accent remaining. Certain of the quantity words obligatorily lose their accents when marked by *mó* and followed by a negative: *sukósi mo náí* ‘doesn’t have even a little’, *hitóri mo inai* ‘not even one person is present’, *hitótu mo náí* ‘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/mo*, § 9.2.2) and to

13. But *ítu mo* ‘always’ is an exception, for reasons explained below. And the accent suppression is optional for *iku-tu, iku-ra*,

infinitives (-í 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* wa/mo (by analogy with N *ní* wa/mo, N *kará* 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 subdued, but I am not sure that the option is always available: *Míta mé* [ni] wa onazi suika dé mo, suika ni yotte nakámi ga tigau 'To look at they may be the same watermelon but the inside differs with the watermelon' (SA), presumably a dative of reference (*méni* [tótte]), cf. *míta mé ni ii* '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 Ryūkyūs, at least in certain dialects spoken in Okinawa and in Yonaguni, the appropriate reflexes of *gá* wa, *gá* mo, and *gá* zo (= ~~gá~~ *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* 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 *sá!*) since it pinpoints the spotlight on the object, rather than shifting attention away: *Watakusi no káko o ba kaerimimásu to ...* 'As I look back upon my past ...' (in a formal speech); *Kánsya* (°) *no í* (°) *ó* ba arawasimásu 'I express my feeling of gratitude'; *Kono rippa na seinen ó* ba, *anáta ni go-syookai itasi-tai to zon-zimásu* '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: *Sitúrei o ba itasimásu* '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' (Mikami 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 iu *múzan na zíkenga ókíte, kootuu-ziko no gekizoo nádo de hitóri ya hutári no siboo ni wa donkan ni nátte iru watási-táti o mo sasuga ni odorokáseta* 'A tragic event happened in which ... and it startled even 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 wa kono hoohoo o hikítúgi réedaa o mo kuwáete* (°) *harikéen-taihúu—no sínro 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]o 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" = *házi 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', *náni* mo '[not] anything', etc. Alfonso 769 lists acceptable examples with *dé* mo wa: *Dáre* ni de mo wa dekimasén 'Not just ANYBODY can do it', *Dóko* ni de mo wa utte imasén 'These aren't sold just ANYPLACE'. (In these expressions the accent may appear on any member: *Dóko* ni *dé* *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: *Ikutu* mo wa *nái* 'We do not have an indefinite number of them (though we DO have some)', cf. *Ikutu* mo *nái* 'We haven't got very many of them'. Additional examples of *mó* wa: *Tooi* tokoró da kara *nán-do* mo wa kaerénai 'It is such a faraway place that I can't return just any number of times'; *Kantan* dá kara *súgu* dekimásu—ni-zíkan mo san-zíkan mo wa kakaránai 'It is so easy I can do it right away—it won't take any two or three hours!'; *Mittú* -bákari hituyoo dá ga, *tóo* mo nízyuu mo wa iranai 'Just three are necessary; we don't need a whole ten or twenty!'; *Iti-nihai* nára sake mo noméru ga, *nán-bai* 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 *máiníti*(⁻) *sinai* 'refrains from doing it every day' and *máiníti*(⁻) *wa sinai* 'doesn't do it EVERY day'. (But **Dáre* mo wa *sinai* 'Not everybody does it' is rejected.) This use of *wá* to play up adverbial contrasts is a frequent source of confusion for the foreigner: *sukósi* dekiru 'I can DO it a bit' is not the same as *sukósi* wa dekiru 'I can do it A LITTLE (but not much)'. Cf. *ítu* ka WA, aa itta zíken ga okíru to omótte 'masita 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:

ítu mo da 'it is always'

**nán*-zi/nan-doki mo da 'it is ever so many o'clocks' BUT:

nán-do/íku-tabi mo da 'it is ever so many times'

**dóko* mo da 'it is everywhere'

nan-kásyo mo da 'it is ever so many places'

**náni* mo da 'it is everything'

íku-tu mo da 'it is ever so many'

nán-X mo da 'it is ever so many X'

**dáre* mo da 'it is everyone'

nán-nin mo da 'it is ever so many people'

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-kásyo mo zya *nái* 'it isn't ever so many places = it isn't very many places'

náni mo zya *nái* 'it isn't anything'

íku-tu mo zya *nái* 'it isn't ever so many = it isn't very many'

BUT:

ítu mo zya náí 'it isn't always' (NOT
'it isn't ever')

*nán-zi/nán-doki mo zya náí 'it isn't ever so
many o'clocks'

Cf. nan-zíkan mo da 'it is ever so
much time' : nan-zíkan mo zya náí
'it is not ever so much time = it
isn't very much time'

BUT:
nán-do/íku-tabi mo zya náí 'it isn't ever so
many (= very many) times'

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 *... *wá wa* or *... *dé wa* [dé] *wa*.¹⁵ Accordingly, the following sentence must contain a misprint of a double for a single *wá*: *Mori Óogai wa wa semái ími de no búnsi de wa náku ... '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-*wá*: *Dé wa, hái.*—*Dé wa wa yokei da* 'Well then, yessir.—The "well then" can be left out' (Fn 164a).

While ... *wá da* is relatively rare, though not unknown—*tóo no renzyuu wá 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: *Zyánbo ni nakú no wa zeikan daké de wa náí. Kookuu-gáisyá ya ryookoo-dairíten(¯) no séerusú-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 zubón 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 íkutu mo no mondai* 'the ever so many problems that I have' contains an underlying structure *mondai ga íkutu mo [áru no] da* 'the problems are [existent to the extent of] ever so many'.

A similar sort of recycling will account for the occurrence, in certain types of colloquial sentence, of *mó ga*; the *mó* has been attached to the noun (N *mó da* 'it is also/even N') and then a subject is built on this: *Dáre mo káre mo ga ...* 'Anybody and everybody ...' (Miyara 1954.33); ... *nisen-nin mó ga atumáru ...* 'all of 2000 people gather' (SA 2830.88c); ... *nán-nin mo nánzyúu-nin mo ga, arúi-wa kizu-túki, arúi-wa kootai site hisómu(¯) góo ga ...* 'the trenches where soldiers by the dozens hid, either wounded or in retreat' (SA 2670.45a); *Taidan wa dáre mo ga dekiru monó de wa náí* 'Not just everyone can do dialogue interviews' (Endō 245); *Minsyu-syúgi to iu kotobá nara-ba dáre mo ga sitte iru* 'When it comes to the word "democracy" everybody knows it' (KKK 3.211); *Sikási kyósoo-áite ni náru monó ga, tán ni kyuyuu nómi de wa náku, kyóosi mo ga sono taisyoo to saremásu* 'But it is not just classmates who become rivals in competition, teachers also get treated as targets of it [the competition]' (Matsuda 24); ... *dáre de mó ga keiken suru kotó ga dekiru* 'anybody can experience it' (Nagano 1966.127). Another example of *dáre de mó ga* will be found on p. 170; I have also found an example of *dáre si mo ga*: *Sore wa dáre si mo ga tyuunen ni náreba iti-dó wa kangáeru kotó da* 'That's something that must occur to everyone when he gets middle-aged' (Endō 264). Examples of *máde mo ga* and *sáe mo ga* will be found in §2.3.3. We might expect a similar recycling to yield

15. There are Old Japanese examples of *wá mo*: ... *híru wa mo ura-sábi kurasi, yóru wa mo iki-zúki akasi ...* 'the days, I worry them through till dusk; the nights, I sigh them through till dawn' (Man'yō-shū 210).

*N mó o (or even *N mó o ba) but native speakers are adamant in insisting such phrases be reedited to N ó mo.^{15a} Even the mó ga examples are not without critics: dislike for the sentence Dáre mo ga odoróite 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 *Náni mo ga náí or *Dóko mo ga ippai da. Cf. Alfonso 747-8 with the example Dáre mo ga sitte iru 'Everyone knows it'; examples from the speech of the Emperor's brother Tōkahito and of the critic Tokugawa Musei will be found in Tk 2.123b.

Recycling may occur for other particles as well: ... nan-dánkai 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 wá (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 wá, for wá closes the phrase to any further internal structure.

It is sometimes assumed that because wá is—mistakenly, in my opinion—taken as the marker of a "topic" (= THEME), phrases with wá 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 wá, but any of the adjuncts can be so subdued without moving to the thematic position. Below are examples in which the wá 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-phrase has undergone thematization: Sonna báka na | híhan(⁻) o suru ningen o || watasi wa || keibetu simásu | yó 'I simply DESPISE a person who makes such stupid criticism'; Tatóe(⁻) (l) kutuu o tomonátte mo || nikutai-teki na zyuusokú-kan o || onná wa | motoméru no | yó 'Women SEEK a feeling of physical fulfillment even if it is accompanied with anguish'; Soko no tokoró o || watasi-ra wa | mayoimásu | né 'THAT's the place we get CONFUSED, you see'; ... "Nissin-kóoku" to káita, sono insatú-butu o watasi wa mótte imásu 'the printed matter with "Nisshin School Ward" written on it is in my possession' (Shibata 1965.39); Kúniko no é o Ayao wa mukasi kara míte iru 'Ayao has been looking at Kuni-ko's painting for a long long time now' (lg 1965.70); Kono háru írai, súde ni zyuú-súu-tuu no syookái-zyoo(⁻) o, Sáeki(⁻) wa kuuhi site iru 'Just since spring Saeki has run through a dozen or more letters of introduction with no results' (lg 1965.69); Óita háha no karada no, onná de aru utukúsi-sa o Kúniko wa koohuku ni kan-zita 'Kuniko felt the womanly beauty of her aged mother's body to be a blessing' (lg 1965.76); ... kore o wakati-gaki tó 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 nó for gá (§13.1.6). Accordingly, while admitting that you could say such things as otokó mo nómu o-sake 'liquor that the man, too, drinks' and utí(⁻) dé mo o-sake o nómu otokó 'the man who drinks liquor at home, too', I predicted that parallel sentences with backgrounding would be absent except for otokó no nómu o-sake 'liquor that the man DRINKS'—the others maintaining their simplex forms o-sake o nómu otokó and utí(⁻) de o-sake o nómu otokó, 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: Sake

15a. Yet an acceptable example is offered in Nihongo-kyōiku 16.85 (1979): Dótti mo o kobánda 'I opposed both'.

wa nómu ga tabako wa nománai otokó da 'He is a man who drinks but doesn't smoke'; Otokó wa nómu ga onná wa nománai o-sake da 'It is a liquor that the man drinks but the woman doesn't'; Inú wa tabéru 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 kotó, nó, or hazu; though most such cases will probably turn out to be subdued themes.

Another example of wá within an adnominalization: ... meisi to site sono mamá^[1] kotei surú ni wa igi-teki ni hu-tékítoó na monó mo, sukúnáku nákatá 'And there were quite a few that were semantically unsuitable to be directly fixed as nouns the way they were' (Sakakura 301)—surú ni is a direct nominalization equivalent to surú no ni 'for the doing', and the backgrounding by wá is applied to bring out the negative prefix in hu-tékítoó 'unsuitable' for which ... surú {no} ni is the complement. And this example has both high-lighting (of gerund) and subdual (of adverbialized copula) in an adnominalization: ... mimi de kiité mo kantan ní wa wakaránai katakana-éigo '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 (syoonen 'youth'), which is an extruded genitive serving as subject of the larger sentence: Gakkoo no seiseki wa wáruku, taisoo mo hu-tókui datta syoonen ga, ítu-no-má-ní-ka, kéizi no sitá o makaseru hodo "atamá^[1] no íi doroboo" 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 íma wa mukasi no {1} haiyuu mítai 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:

N wa N wa N wa V	N mo N mo N wa V
N mo N mo N mo V	N mo N wa N wa V
N wa N mo N mo V	N mo N wa N mo V
N wa N wa N mo V	N wa N mo N wa V

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

In the following example of three wá-marked adjuncts in a row, the first and last are subdued adverbials: ... Kokugo-singíkai, monbú-syoo to iu monó ga áru kágiri WA, sore WA, osóraku WA eien ni áru ka mo siremasén 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 Sikási káno-zyo wa wareware ní wa, tití wa sinda to itta 'But she told us her father was DEAD' (Ig 1962.89) has three instances of wá-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 wá have typically dwelt on the somewhat narrow question of when to use gá and when to use wá; the title of Imbrie's insightful 1914 treatise

is simply "Wa and Ga". And in 1973 Kuno devotes two carefully written chapters to the differences between *wá* and *gá*. Following Kuroda's observations, Kuno tells us that when the particle *gá* 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 *gá* 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 dáre* 'Who is the doctor?' will be answered with *Isya wa watasi da* 'The doctor is me'). If the subject is quantified, however, N *gá* can be taken as a neutral description even for a permanent state: *Hutarí ga Nihon-zín 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 *gá* 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 gá*), 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 *gá* in the sentence that might be taken as exhaustive listing, only the earliest (the leftmost) will receive that interpretation. (Possible exceptions like *Dáre ga dáre ga kowái* '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 *gá* 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 unsubordinated identificational sentence; but in many situations it is not required to do so: most sentences with N *gá* are ambiguous as to whether they are answering questions localized on N *gá* or questions about the sentence as a whole (or localized on some other adjunct), just as sentences with N *ó* are usually ambiguous in the same way—unless the localized emphasis has been preempted by a specifically interrogative adjunct elsewhere or by an N *gá* that can only be interpreted as 'N and N only'.

Although to some extent I have broken with traditional views of *wá* and *gá*, 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 (= *gá*-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 *wá* (in all its functions, here put together as “subdued focus” or “backgrounding”) more often represents a subdued SUBJECT *gá* → *wá* 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 *gá* → *wá* 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 *gá* → *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 *wá* marks a thematized subject THIRTEEN times as often as it marks a thematized object, bearing out my remarks on *wá* 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:

<u>Percent of set</u>	<u>Surface particle</u>	<u>Percent of subset</u>	<u>Syntactic role</u>	<u>Percent of roles</u>
.3519	<i>wá</i>	.7595	thematized subject	.6119
			thematized object	.0475
			thematized other	.0458
			non-thematized ^a	.2949
.1114	<i>mó</i>	.2405	thematized subject	.4131
			thematized object	.0629
			thematized other	.0293
			non-thematized ^b	.4947
.3206	<i>ó</i>	.5973 (of which .0437 are not direct object)		
.2161	<i>gá</i>	.4027 (of which .0143 are not subject)		

a. This includes adverb, gerund, infinitive, etc. + *wá*.

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 adnominalized 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 thematization from focus; thus by "isolation" he refers primarily to SUBDUED 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 *yá*), 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 *ussya* for *kaze ga/ya* and *usi ga/ya* (Zhs 4.25); cf. *ame 'a = áme* [g]a 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 Ryūkyūs, 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 dáre ga yonda* 'Who called him?'; *Anó-hito wa dáre 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 ll dáre ga (or dáre 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 nán desu ka (or ... nán to ossyaimásu ka) 'What is your name?'—cf. Sikási, sono zissai-teki zígyoo wa to iu to, ... 'If you ask what about (= When it comes to the question of) practical undertakings ...'; Kóokai(¯) no hoo wa to iéba, ... '[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 kónban and kónniti, utter seriousness being the appropriate stance for most Japanese formality. The implied question can be yes-or-no, often áru ka or its negative: Yuubin wa?—Nái 'Mail?—None' (SA 2674.91a); Kore kara kurasikku-gítáa o kokorozásu hitó-tati ni náni ka tyuukoku wa [arimasén 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 bíiru wa nomi-hóodai '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 dáre 'who', náni 'what', ítu '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 Dáre wa moratte dáre wa morawanai to iú no wa yóku nái '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: Dóko ni dónna tabemónó-ya ga átte, soko no náni WA taihen kékkoo da o-nédan mo mata kékkoo 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: náni wa | tó-mo-are (= tó-mo-kaku = tó-ni-kaku) 'anyhow, in any case, nevertheless'; náni wa | sáte-oki 'above everything, first of all'; náni wa | náku to mo 'at least, only' as in "Náni wa náku to mo Edo murásaki" 'All you need is Edo Purple [brand of seaweed]' (CK 985.380); ítu

16. Both the juncture and the initial accent of the interrogatively used indeterminates (dáre, dóre, náni, dóko, ítu, dóo, etc.) may be part of the realization of the interrogative sememe, since for many speakers the words are atonic when they are used in generalized expressions such as dáre de mo 'anybody at all' and dáre 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 atonic (*dáre as an equivalent of dáre 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 dáre ka 'somebody' are clearly derived from full nominal questions—Dáre [da] ka 'Who is it?'—as explained in § 15.6.

to wa | 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 Karúizawa ga dóo kawarú ka 'How will Karuizawa change next?' (SA 2642.46a); Mírai no Nihon-go ga dóo 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 dóo, tosi ga dóo, to itta misé ya [= zya] náí '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 náí '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 náí '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 náí ka 'What don't we have? = What do we lack? What are we out of?' Notice that Tabako mo náí '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 náí) but rather to confirm the negation of a questioned negative statement Tabako mo náí ka 'Haven't we any cigarettes either/even? = Do we lack cigarettes too/even?'. (The answer to the negatively put question Tabako wa/ga náí ka 'No cigarettes?' will usually omit the adjunct: Náí '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 wa ikenai 'mustn't do it' vs. -té mo ii '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 ii ka dóo ka, isya ní WA máda kiite 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 mitukeyoó to sitára, aita isu WA maru-de náí '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, hakusi-goo WA tótte inái kara, Dóitu de wa hutuu, kyóozyu(¯) ní mo narénaí '... is an unusual person but in Germany he could not actually become a professor since he lacks a doctor's degree' (SA 2656.153b); Zí no kakéru hitó wa é WA kakénaí 'People who can write can't draw' (SA 2663.44d)—cf. Zí no kakéru hitó wa é MO kakéru 'People who can write can draw, too'; Syobun-nákama no D [D'ii], É [ii] kyóoyu(¯) wa itigatú^[1] ituka ni "taisyo-ú-tódoke" o dásita mama^[1] gakkoo é 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 e WA hikenai 'Now we can't retreat' (SA 2671.28b); ... sore tó WA sirazu ... 'not realizing it to be that' (Shibata 1961.85); Ooyake ní WA sarenaí ga, kono kíti ga erinto-kíti de aru kotó wa tásika 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.

intelligence] base' (SA 2685.29d)—the focus is applied to a passivized (*sareru*) transitive mutative (*ni suru*) conversion, §9.1.11; *Genbaku ga dékite mo, unpan-syúdan no misáiru ga nákereba, yakú ni WA tatánai* '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); *Kéredo mo, dékite simatta monó wa, móto ni WA modoránai* '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 *móto ni modóri wa sinai* (what, other than *móto*, 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 represented by the prefix *mu-*: *Dái yón-syoo de wa, sore máde no toozyoo-zínbutu to WA mattakú^[1]MU-KÁNKEI no húuhu 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). And the predicate *tigau* 'it differs' is similar: ... *Tooei no monó to WA tigatta omosíro-sa ga áru* ... 'has a delightful quality different from Tooei's films' (SA); *Mukasi tó WA tigatte* 'Different from days gone by ...' (SA 2689.17a); *Hón ya éiga(¯) de míru 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 adverbialized (§9.1.11): ... *Súwán séntyoo-ra to WA taisyo-teki ni*, ... 'in contrast with Captain Swan and his group ...' (SA 2674.129e). Expressions of difficulty (i.e. lack of easiness) have negative implications: ... *yooi ní WA hanzi-gatái kotó 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 *dókoró* (see p. 931). We might do well to include, for example, certain privative verbs; that would help explain the subdual of the object of the gerund in this sentence: *Kyuusyó(¯) WA hazusite útta 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 tó WA betu ni*, ... 'Apart from this, ...'; *Pikáso to WA mattakú^[1] betu no gaka* 'An artist quite distinct from Picasso'. And several other words that contain the morpheme *betu*, e.g. the precopular noun *békko(¯)* 'separate': ... *kokugo-séisaku to WA békko(¯) no tokoró de*, ... 'quite separately from the policies toward the national language' (Kaneda in Ōno 1967.271). Sometimes with *betu* the reciprocal adjunct is highlighted: *Hámako zísín wa, tití to MO betu no kantén(¯) ni tátte irú no da to kangáeta* 'Hamako felt herself to have quite a different viewpoint from her father' (Fn 236b). Notice also the use of *wá* in ... *kázín ni WA naisyó(¯) 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 (=accental prominence) to call attention to the two ITEMS in contrast, but Japanese subdues both the items (with *wá*) in order to play up their points of DIFFERENCE: *Kore wa ookii ga, sore wa tiisái* 'THIS is big, but THAT is little'; *Ryóori wa ore ga surú ga, kaimono wa ootoótó 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 *wá* phrases; *Ore ga ryóori wa surú ga, ootoótó 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 ii ga sore mo kamawanai 'This is OK but that is all right too' is different in structure; although Kore wa ii 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 ii ga sore mo kamawanai 'This is good, to be sure, but that is all right too'. Other possibilities include [?] Kore mo ii 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 wa subdues a thematized subject ('dog') and the other two point up the contrast between two different verbal nouns (syoo = syooben 'urinating' and dai = daiben 'defecating'): Uti(-) no o-inu-sama wa oogata no korii de, syoo wa sanpo no toki ni suru ga, dai wa doo sita wake ka, niwa no undoo-zyoo 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 subdued time of an adnominalized sentence is balanced by the subdued time of the predicate of the matrix sentence: Mae wa ik-ko niyakuen mo sita no ga ima wa hanne(-) [de], ... '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 subdued ablative balanced by a subdued dative(-allative) so as to play up the contrast between antonymous predicates: Seisan-sya KARA WA takaku kai, syohi-sya NI WA yasuku uru. Kono syok-kan [= syokuryoo-kanri] wa ii seido 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 wa—to mark "topics" and to show "contrast". But when we consider that the negative answer to the question Sora ga(/wa) kumotta ka 'Did the sky cloud up?' is Sora wa kumoranakatta '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 subdued focus. The tendency to subdue a THEME (see §3.9) reflects the fact that backgrounding suggests the

OLD (the KNOWN) where normal marking of subject and object (*gá/ó*) and the like presents the NEW (the UNKNOWN). Thus a subdued subject or object (N *wa*) often is understood as definite (SPECIFIC) 'the N' or general (GENERIC) '(any) N' where the unsubdued N *ga/o* will often be taken as indefinite (UNSPECIFIC) 'a/some N'.

Quantity words are sometimes subdued or highlighted for reasons not immediately obvious:¹⁸ *Syúu ni san-kái WA kúru* 'I come A GOOD three times a week' (SA 2662.97a); *Hahaoya ga tukí ni iti-dó WA Kóobe e yoosu o mí ni iku kotó ni nátte imásu ga, ...* 'We have it arranged so that his mother goes to Kóbe 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 *gá* is predicated (becoming N *dá*), see § 3.10.

There are certain puzzling occurrences of N₁ *wa* N₂ that are to be explained as subdued 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 *Tookyoo nó* 'of/in Tōkyō' that has been subdued to *Tookyoo wá*: *Sendatté¹ no yóru kú-zi ˘góro, Tookyoo WA Den'entyoohu-ekimáe(˘) no róotarii de, éiga(˘) no rokéesyon ga okonawarete 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 gengogák-ka o demásita* 'It was the linguistics 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 *gá* as marking a basic case and all instances of *wá* as the result of some secondary process. The examples, from various modern authors, are these: *Itiniti-itinití GA || nán to mo | kakkoo no tukánai || kawai só na | sógata de || seikatu site iru* 'Day after day I'm [?] living an indescribably ugly and pitiful existence' (Ishikawa Tatsuzo); *Sore yúé ni || gózen ˘tyuu no yo-zíkan GA || otitukanai kimoti de átta* 'For that reason the whole four hours till noon I was disturbed' (Ishikawa Tatsuzo); *Akari no túku made GA || myóo ni | otitukenákatta* 'Until the light came on I was strangely upset' (Shiga Naoya); *Sá | sá || dóozo || o-agari asobasite || koko GA || itiban sususii kaze ga | kimásu | wá* 'Come come, please come up here, HERE is where the coolest breeze comes' (Ishikawa Tatsuzo); *Hi¹ [l] názo wa || bóku(˘) ga taku yo || atúi | tokí ni wa || sore ga [l] káette || hisyó no | ryoohoo ná n da. || Áto GA || susúsikute || báka ni | kurasi-ii | zé* '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-itinití GA ... seikatu site iru* [AIDA DA]; *... yo-zíkan GA ... kimoti de átta* [AIDA DA]; *Akari no túku made GA ... otitukenákatta* [TOKÍ/AIDA DA]; *... koko*

18. Cf. Aston 51: "Frequently the force of *wa* is very faint, and its presence or absence makes no appreciable difference in meaning."

GA ... kaze ga kimásu (= kúru) [TOKORÓ DA] né; Áto GA ... kurasi-ii [TOKÍ NI NÁRU] zé—or could this one be explained as from Áto ga susuzíi?

What we propose is that these sentences can all be regarded as identificational, with the *gá*-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): ... otitukenákatta aida wa ... akari no túku made da; ... kaze ga kúru tokoró wa ... koko da.

The sequence *dé wa* in any of its uses optionally contracts to *zyá[a]*: Tyúugoku no hōo zya, dōnna hitó 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/zya náí*, §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 áru* 'We have both cigarettes and matches' is to be treated as a reduction of *Tabako mo áreba mátti mo áru* 'If [it be true that] we have CIGARETTES EVEN, then [it is true that] we have MATCHES AS WELL' and *Úmi e mo yamá 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 ikanákereba yamá e mo ikanai* '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'.

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-réba (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): ... kázu wa, heru kotó mo ári, huéru kotó mo áru 'the number ... sometimes decreases, sometimes increases' (Ōno 1966.170); Térebi mo náku, sinbun mo náku, zassi mo náku, rázio(¯) mo náí '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 kará mo hana kará mo ti ga huki-dásite kúru 'Blood starts to pour both from the mouth and from the nose' (SA 2679.39a); Kono kuni dé wa dóko made itté mo yamá ni mo nó ni mo kí ga náí 'In this country [= Greece] wherever you go there are no trees either on the mountains or in the fields' (SA 2677.72a); Tyúugoku wa hazímete?—Hazímete. Senzen ní mo sentyuu ní 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 íma mo kodomo no kokóro 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 kokóro wa mukasi mo [sonna ni kawaranákereba] íma 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 náí kotó o kuti ni sité wa naránai '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 kusó/hetima/hé mo náí '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 ó) or subjects (with obligatorily dropped gá) 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 Móo yokú mo tóku mo náí 'I no longer find anything in it of (desire or profit =) interest' = 'I have lost all interest' (SA 2687.141e—cf. the noun yokutokú(¯) 'self-interest') each of the adjuncts in the highlighted pairs has obligatorily dropped the gá 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 ó has

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 *gá* and the second an obligatorily dropped *ó*: ... *Ráosu seihú-gun mo té mo dasénai* to iwareta '... and the Laos government forces [themselves] were said to be unable 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 uti 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); *Ása MO, hirú MO ban MO, syokuzi no zikan ga tikazúku to ...* 'Morning, noon and night, when mealtime approaches ...' (Maeda 1962.206); *Kore wa mukasi MO íma MO, nisi MO higasí(¯) MO kawaranai nínzyoo de aru* 'This is human nature which does not change in either past or present, in either east or west' (Ōno 1966.115); *Zen-zen-zénpu MO zen-zénpu MO zénpu MO, koibito MO, minná^[1] soo iimásita yó* 'That's what they all said—my ex-ex-ex-husband, my ex-ex-husband, my ex-husband, my lover[s?], 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 *ití-mo-ni-mo-naku* 'readily, without a quibble' is from the phrase *ití mo ní mo náku* '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 móo daigaku 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 affirmative predicate, as in *Iti-zíkan mo kakaránai* 'It doesn't take even an hour' and *Iti-zíkan mo kakáru* '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 suppress 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 au hituyoo mo náí* (but never as **Dare ni áu ...*).

Adverbs are sometimes highlighted to emphasize unexpectedness ('surprisingly enough'): *kooun ní mo* 'luckily enough, by an extraordinary stroke of good fortune', *ígai(¯) ní mo* 'most unexpectedly', *mezurásiku mo* 'curious to tell', *háyaku mo* 'quickly indeed'; *Saiwai ní mo síkén o pásu sita* 'I was fortunate enough to pass the exam'; ... *guuzen ní mo Nihon-zín wa sono yóo na ten ni ki ga túku yóo⁽¹⁾ ni nári ...* '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 Amerika MO naná-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-hima ga áttara uti no hoo ni MO o-asobi ni dóo-zo* 'Please come to visit at my house (too)

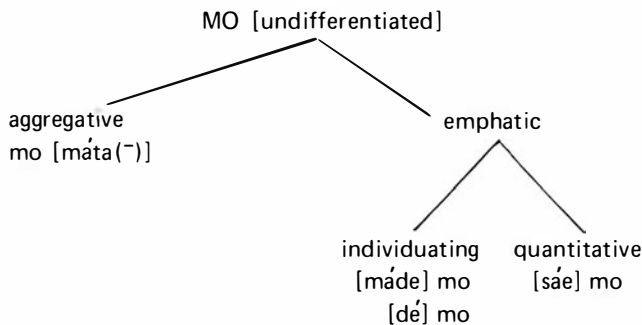
Alfonso 740 remarks on the tendency to highlight a nominalized sentence before certain predicates: S *nó* mo toozen/atarimae dá 'It is (only) natural (that S)'; S *nó* mo husigi zya náí 'It is not (is hardly) strange (that S)'; and we can add S *nó* mo doorí da 'It is (but) natural/reasonable (that S)'. Cf. p. 248. A similar type: S *nó* kará⁽ⁱ⁾ mo akíraka na yóo⁽ⁱ⁾ 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): Ní-nen no tokí no seiseki MO warúi; benkyoo MO sukí de wa náí 'Sophomore year his GRADES are bad; he is not fond of STUDY, either' (SA 2652.118b—the meaning is ... seiseki ga wáruku mo áru; ... benkyoo ga sukí de mo náí). See §5.4. Perhaps loose reference will account for the highlighting in this sentence: Kóoti ni sún-de iru hitóbito ga óó-i no de, Betonamu no tokusyu-bútau no héisi-tati ni kao MO yóku 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 Mígi ni mo itta yóo ni ... 'As I have (already) said above'; cf. ... mígi ni yooyaku mo sita hoohoo no syatei o hirogeru to tómo(¯) ni, hoohoo to sité no konpon-sei huhen-sei o mi-kiwametái no de áru '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 [sí] mo sita). In the following sentence, it is unclear whether loose reference is a better explanation than simple emphasis: Sábaku(¯) no náka no tokai désu kara, dóoro mo suite 'rú desyoo '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 [máta(¯)] 'also' versus N [máde] mo 'even' or perhaps N [dé] 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 [sáe] mo as in ití-doru [sae] mo 'even a dollar'.

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



But there would seem to be some overlap in the usage of *máde* and *sáe*, so that I am uncertain whether the elliptical interpretations can be maintained as anything more than

when you have the time' the highlighting adds a conventional touch of modesty to the invitation. On the literary abbreviation N ní mo áre → N ní máre, see p. 962.

suggestive. The individuating *mó* will sometimes best translate as ‘the very’ or ‘itself/one-self’ as in *ínóti mó kákete* ‘at the risk of my very life’. And sometimes the appropriate translation is the unstressed indefinite article (singular ‘a’, plural ‘some’): ... to *iú no ga kyootuu-íken datta ga, náka ni wa tugí no yóo na kóe mo* [] ‘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 *wá* 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 *wá* 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*, *dáni*; *sika*; *nárade-wa*.

In the meaning ‘even’ *sáe* is a stronger equivalent of *mó*, and *sáe mo* is used for still heavier emphasis. The meaning ‘even’ is also conveyed by *máde* or *máde mo*, 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 mo*; a similar explanation is needed—even more obviously—to detach *máde*₃ ‘even’ from *máde*₁ ‘up to’, an approximate synonym of the allative marker *é*. Thus we would be attributing all instances of ‘even’ to an underlying *máde mo*^[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 mo*) 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 mo* is something of an oddity, in any event; the force of the polarization with *wá* (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 mo* (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); *Burúutasu, o-mae MADE ka* ‘Et tu, Brute?’—also (SA 2668.98a) quoted as *Burúutasu yó, o-mae mó ka*; *Sosite, kikoo MADE MO kawatta* ‘Then even the climate changed’ (SA 2660.12a); *Itizi wa hutobóoru o tanosímu hodó NI MADE kaihuku sita Bureibáagu-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 konpyúutaa ga, túi ni daidokoro NÍ MADE háiru* ‘In America the computer at last gets even [or: all the way] in- to the kitchen’ (SA 2660.21); *Húró*^[1] *no náka DE MADE dókusyo*(⁻) *suru* ‘He even reads

while in his bath' (SA 2551.71c); *Uti*⁽¹⁾ *DÉ MADE* *hón o yómu hituyoo wa náí* 'There's no necessity to read books even at home'; *Moo hitótu wa, Asida san názo wa, konaidá áru syuppan-syukugákai no séki DE MADE saigunbí-ron o buppanásite*(⁽¹⁾) *oráreta* '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, tákusii DE MADE ikanákute mo íi* '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:²¹ *Koomei ga kawattá kara to itte, dentoo MÁDE 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-gurúupu rokú-nin no uti, yo-nín MADE GA osanáí tokí ni tití ya háha o naku-si, keihúbo ni sodateráreta kinodókú na katei-zízyoo no náka de seityoo si, seikatu site iru* '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); ... *yáku sanman-mai urete iru mae-uri no naná-wari MADE GA dantái-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); ... *ís-sai ya ní-sai no akanboo MADE MO GA ... [utatta]* 'even babies one or two years old ... [sang]' (SA 2654.58b); *B [Bíi] kun no sono táido ga, myóo ni zisin ári-ge na ué ni, hoka no kodomó-táti made mo ga, B kun no ii-bun ga móttö-mo da to iu húu ni unazúku*(⁽¹⁾) '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); *Mósi kityóo MADE GA korosaretári, arúi-wa soozyuu hunoo no zyootai ni náttari site itára, notte ita nanázyuu san-nín no séiméi*(⁽¹⁾) *wa nákatta 'roo* 'Had the captain himself been killed, or had the plane gone out of control, the 73 persons aboard would have lost their lives' (SA 2673.138d); *Ittai kono-saki, náni ga tobi-dásu no ka to, naga-nen éiga*(⁽¹⁾) *de mesí o kútte kita renzyuu Ó MADE kyoohu-zyóotai ni otosi-irete iru* 'It has plunged into fear even the group that has been earning their food from the movies for many years, with them wondering just what will turn up from now on' (SA 2664.103a).

And, with the object marker suppressed: ... *kensa-iinkai [o] MADE móokete ...* '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 *ní + náru*, §9.1.11): ... "*Yoaké*⁽¹⁾ *no koohii*" to iu *kási ga, hitótu no syakai-teki ryuukoo ní MADE nátta* '... the lyrics of "Coffee at dawn" even became a social fad' (SA 2654.58b); ... *daigaku no owari góro kara hutori-hazime, nanázyuu hatí-kiro ni MADE nátta* 'I 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 MADE kureta* 'You gave some even to the child'. But a time word + *máde ní*⁽¹⁾ often means 'by (the

21. Yet as a postadnominal (§13.2) *máde* can be FOLLOWED by *ó*: ... *zínzi kara keiei no bánpan*(⁽¹⁾) *ni itáru máde o kanzen ni kontoróoru 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 iru zízitu made o mo dooitu to kangáeru kotó wa dekinai no dé wa náí ka* 'surely one can hardly go so far as to consider as identical the facts shown' (Kokugogaku 23.83).

time)' and a time word + ní máde 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 ní is used to mark the underlying agent of a passive, replacing the gá marker of the unconverted active sentence, máde can follow (as well as precede?): Syooneen-mánga NI MADE koogai-móndai ga tori-agerareru 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 ní made wa tasúkete morai-taku náí 'However much of a fix I may be in, I don't want to have HIM help me' the subdued focus (wá) 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 ní so that Asoko máde iku can mean just 'I will go over there' (= Asoko e/ni iku); the second means 'all the way to' or 'even to' and thus might be regarded as an optional reduction from é máde, 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 (dé) mo.

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

Like daké, máde is sometimes used as if a postadnominal, probably a reduction of S no máde: osoku náru MADE 'until it gets to be dark'; ... toden ni notta MADE wa yókatta ga, ... 'It was all right as far as managing to get on the streetcar, but (then) ...' (Shibata 1961.180); ... sinbun-kísyá wa, sore o tyuuzitu ni hoodoo sita MADE no kotó 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 naru] 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 náru] 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 sáe²² < sápe 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-sae 'moreover', usually abbreviated to ámassáe(¯); the form ámatusae looks like a reading pronunciation of the abbreviated form, spelled ...tu-sa ... in kana.²³ In any event, if sáe was originally a verb infinitive, that would account for the

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

23. K 1966.182 calls amatusae 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/.

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 huri-dasita* 'The road was dark and on top of that it started to rain, too'. A more frequent meaning is one of analogous 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* {*mo*}. But in a third meaning '(if) just', only *sáe* can be used; neither *sáe mo* nor *súra* {*mo*} 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 hanaséreba ii* 'If I can just talk with him it'll be OK'; *Anáta kara sae itte kureréba 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 subdued gerund (-*té wa* §9.2.2), the conditional (-*tára* §9.4), or the conjunctionalization -*ru to*^[1] (§17.2). These replacements can NOT be used in the phrases translated '(if) just'. Examples of *ó sáe*:²⁴ *Rúpo no náyoo wa watasi no yóo na, súde ni zyu-u-súu-nen mo seisin-ka o senmon ni site iru ningen Ó SAE odorokaséru ni taru [= tariru] 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); *Ámátusáe(-), Sugáwara wa káta o itámete, yakyuu Ó SAE akiraméneba naránu mi to nátta* 'Moreover Sugawara injured his shoulder and had to give up even baseball' (KKK 3.55); *Sono ten Ó SAE sirabéreba mondai wa kaiketu suru* 'If you just check that aspect the problem will be solved'; *Iyarási-sa O SAE kan-ziru kotó ga áru* 'I sometimes even feel a disgust'; ... *baai ni yotté wa haradatási-sa O SAE oboéru kotó ga áru monó da* '... on occasion it is natural to remember a feeling of irritation, too' (Maeda 1962.196).

Although typically *gá* will drop when *sáe* is added, I have elicited examples such as *Tanaka san sáe ga [= máde ga] soo iú n desu kara ...* 'Well since even Mr Tanaka says so ...'; and I have come across a few examples of *sáe mo ga*: *Getemono -ízyoo no getemono de áru zinniku SÁE MO GA, tyósya ni yoréba tokubetu no kotó de náí* '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 SÁE MO GA ...* 'Even that ...' (Maeda 1961.42:3); *Sore -dóko ka kaki-simesarete iru kágiri de wa, "Kore kará no keigo" zísín SAE MO GA, wareware no ití-mi no yóo de wa náí 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 iu syó SAE MO GA ... to nóbeta iru* 'The book "Slang" actually even says " ... "' (Maeda 1962.185). But **gá sáe*^[1] and **sáe o*^[1] 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 ó* [1] *sáe*) rather than *kore ó sae* (from *kore ó sáe*).

The sequence \acute{o} $\acute{s}\acute{a}\acute{e}$ is classed with \acute{o} ba and \acute{o} mo as “literary” by Ishigaki (lg 18) who also gives examples for \acute{o} $\acute{s}\acute{u}ra$ (see below) and \acute{o} $\acute{k}\acute{o}so$. For more examples of \acute{o} $\acute{k}\acute{o}so$ and examples of $\acute{k}\acute{o}so$ ga/\acute{o} , see §2.3.3a.

It may be possible, by recycling, to get a sentence like (?) Kusuri $\acute{M}\acute{O}$ $\acute{S}\acute{A}\acute{E}$ $nomimas\acute{e}n$ ‘I won’t even take medicine either’ or (?) Kusuri o $n\acute{o}mu$ $ko\acute{t}\acute{o}$ $\acute{M}\acute{O}$ $\acute{S}\acute{A}\acute{E}$ $kyozetu$ $suru$ ‘I refuse to take even medicine, too’—cf. Kusuri o $n\acute{o}mu$ $ko\acute{t}\acute{o}$ $\acute{S}\acute{A}\acute{E}$ $\acute{M}\acute{O}$ $kyozetu$ $suru$ ‘I refuse even to take medicine’; we might even therefore run across something like (?*) Kusuri $\acute{M}\acute{O}$ $\acute{S}\acute{A}\acute{E}$ $\acute{M}\acute{O}$ $kyozetu$ $suru$ ‘I refuse even to take medicine, either/too’, but I have no examples.

Some instances of $\acute{d}\acute{e}$ $\acute{s}\acute{a}\acute{e}$ are focused case (instrumental— $n\acute{a}ihu$ de $\acute{s}\acute{a}\acute{e}$ $k\acute{i}reba$... ‘if you just cut it with a knife ...’, or locative— $Nihon$ - go wa $koko$ $\acute{d}\acute{e}$ $\acute{s}\acute{a}\acute{e}$ $osiete$ $imasu$ ‘Japanese is taught here too’); others, given in §9.2.2, represent a focus applied to the copula gerund, including special uses of $\acute{d}\acute{e}$ to mark the subject—Uses 4 and 9 in §2.2. Some of the latter examples (Use 9) are reminiscent of the use of $n\acute{i}$ $\acute{s}\acute{a}\acute{e}$ to mark the focused possessor in a possessive or quasi-possessive sentence (§3.5) such as $Watasi$ $n\acute{i}$ $\acute{s}\acute{a}\acute{e}$ $wak\acute{a}ru$ n $desu$ $kara$ ‘Why, even I understand it’.

A literary equivalent of $\acute{s}\acute{a}\acute{e}$ $\{mo\}$ is $\acute{s}\acute{u}ra$ $\{mo\}$. Henderson suggests an etymology that would make $\acute{s}\acute{u}ra$ an abbreviation of $sur\acute{u}$ $nara$ ‘if it be doing/considering’;²⁵ that led me at one time to feel that $\acute{s}\acute{u}ra$ mo probably would not occur, since $nara$ could only be followed by ba , a variant of $w\acute{a}$, though I found no instance of * $\acute{s}\acute{u}ra$ ba . But then I came across a fair number of examples of $\acute{s}\acute{u}ra$ mo : $Simoda$ no $gootoo$ $\bar{z}\acute{i}ken$ wa , $sinbun$ $n\acute{i}$ $\acute{s}\acute{u}ra$ mo $d\acute{e}nakatta$ ‘The Shimoda robbery didn’t appear in the newspaper, even’ (lg 68); $Sik\acute{a}si$, $m\acute{o}haya$ $sono$ “*totemo*” to iu $ko\acute{t}\acute{o}b\acute{a}$ $\acute{s}\acute{u}ra$ mo $sitabi$ ni $n\acute{a}tte$ $k\acute{i}te$... ‘But by now even the word “*totemo*” has gradually subsided and ...’ (Ōno 1966.15); $M\acute{u}siro$ $sono$ $sooi$ $kara$, $so\acute{r}\acute{e}zore$ no $zidai$ ya $sy\acute{a}kai$ no $tokusei$ o $m\acute{i}ru$ $ko\acute{t}\acute{o}$ $\acute{s}\acute{u}ra$ mo $dek\acute{i}ru$ $\bar{r}asi\acute{i}$ ‘It seems rather as though from those differences we could even see the peculiarities of each age and society’ (Ōno 1966.77); ... $so\acute{r}\acute{e}$ $n\acute{i}$ $\acute{s}\acute{u}ra$ mo $h\acute{o}oben$ to iu $ko\acute{t}\acute{o}$ ga $\acute{a}tte$... ‘even in that there is what is called pious fraud’ (Ōno 1966.98); ... $Sy\acute{o}ow\acute{a}$ $\acute{s}\acute{a}nzyuu$ $suun\acute{e}n$ - kan no $bunken$ $\acute{s}\acute{u}ra$ mo $yomikonasi$ - $kir\acute{e}nai$ $zyootai$ ni oi - $k\acute{o}mi$, ... ‘... drives them [= young students] into a state where they can’t make out even the documents of the (past) thirty-odd years of the Shōwa era, and ...’ (Ōno 1966.238); $Sas\acute{a}yaka$ na $sizuk\acute{u}$ $\acute{s}\acute{u}ra$, $nagare$ - $yuk\acute{e}ba$ $\acute{u}mi$ to $n\acute{a}ru$. $\acute{A}i$ no $t\acute{i}isaki$ $waz\acute{a}$ $\acute{s}\acute{u}ra$ mo , $t\acute{i}$ o ba $k\acute{a}mi$ no $kuni$ to $nas\acute{a}n$ ‘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— $t\acute{i}isaki$ = $t\acute{i}is\acute{a}i$, $nas\acute{a}n$ = $nas\acute{a}mu$ = $nas\acute{o}o$, literary for colloquial $n\acute{a}su$ $dar\acute{o}o$); $Kaizyoo$ $kar\acute{a}$ wa , $Nisioka$ $h\acute{a}kase$ no $kono$ $h\acute{i}han$ ($\bar{~}$) ni $t\acute{a}i$ - $site$ $\acute{s}\acute{u}ra$ mo , $sansei$ $t\acute{o}$ mo $hantai$ $t\acute{o}$ mo , isi - $hy\acute{o}oozi$ o $suru$ $hit\acute{o}$ wa $in\acute{a}katta$ ‘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 $\acute{s}\acute{u}ra$ and $\acute{s}\acute{u}ra$ mo after a full-fledged gerund, see §9.2.2); ... o - $tagai$ no $ziy\acute{u}u$ (sei - $teki$ $n\acute{o}$ $\acute{s}\acute{u}ra$ mo) o $sontyoo$ $suru$ $ko\acute{t}\acute{o}$... ‘respecting each other’s freedom (even sexual)’ (SA 2672.118d)—for sei - $teki$ [$n\acute{o}$] $n\acute{o}$ where you would expect sei - $teki$ $n\acute{a}$ no , see p. 763);

25. But the old variant $\acute{s}\acute{o}ra$, a “masculine” version used from Heian times through Kamakura days according to Terase 108, would be difficult to account for with that etymology. Satō (2.88–93) says that $\acute{s}\acute{u}ra$ was common in the Nara period, infrequent in Heian days, but then perked up again (and acquired the variant $\acute{s}\acute{o}ra$), gaining a new lease on life with the Kambun tradition of Kamakura times.

... konna rikutu ga makari-tooreba, seisin-syoogáisya e no íryoo(¯) wa óroka, zinken súra mo ubaware-kanenái 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 *súra* ga in KKK 3.61-2: *Nihón yori siranai wareware súra ga ... yomímónó de átta* 'Even we who know of nothing other than Japan enjoyed the reading material that ...' (the sentence involves some kind of proredication); ... *seyoo-búnmei—sore o umi-dásita hónke honmoto no seyóo-zin sura ga hotóndo moteamasi-kámete iru monó—o ...* 'Western civilization—something that even occidentals of the homeland that gave birth to it find almost unmanageable'.

Classical examples of *súra* [w]o and *súra* ni are listed in dictionaries (e.g. MKZ). But there are also modern examples of *ó sura*: *Nagái nagái aida watási-táti wa kokyuu ó sura tomete ita yóo ni omóu* 'For a long long time it seemed even our breathing was stopped' (lg 18). The phrase marked by *ó sura* can be thematized: *Nittoo wázuka yonhyakú-en. Sono yón-wari o sura byooin wa pín-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 *súra* apparently will follow other case particles: *Huransu, Itaria, Igrisu nómi narazu, Nisi-Dóitu DE SURA koo-teki kígyoo(¯) wa hizyoo ni óoi* 'Not only [in] France, Italy, and England, but even in West Germany public enterprises are quite numerous' (SA 2684.106d—locative).

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

The sequence *A-kú sura* will occur as the result of focus applied to a transitive mutative conversion (*A-ku ... suru*): *Koino no izi-wárú ga káette Sadamura o tanósiku sura site ita* 'Koino's ill temper actually served to delight Sadamura' (lg 68).

Another literary equivalent of *sáe* {mo}, less common today than *súra* {mo}, is *dáni* {mo}. In the literary language, there are two principal meanings. One is rather close to *sáe*, *súra*, or *dé mo* and translates as 'even'; the sentence often continues with a NEGATIVE predicate: *Hikarí ya áru to míru ni hótaru no hikarí dani nási* [= *Hikarí ga áru ka to omótte míru to hótaru no hikarí sae mo nási*] '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 (*sémete ...*) *daké de mo* 'at least'; the sentence often continues with a HORTATIVE or IMPERATIVE predicate, as in the often cited example from the *Kokin-shū*: *Hana^[1] no iró wa kasumi ni kómete misezu to mo* [= *misénakute mo*], *ká(¯) ó dani nusúme* 'Though the flower will not show its colors hidden in the mist, steal at least its fragrance!' (Notice the sequence *ó dani*, of which a number of examples can be found in the dictionaries.)

The two colloquial examples of *dáni* offered in Henderson 70 are questionable. In the first example *íma dani* probably should be *imada(-)ni*, the literary adverb *ímada* = *máda* 'still' + essive *ni*; and *ittá n dani* in the second example must be a dialect version of *ittá no ni* or *ittá no ná no ni*. But the particle *dáni* will sometimes appear in a colloquial setting: ... *íkko dani sinái* 'take no notice whatsoever' (Tk 2.81); *Koko ní wa yúumoa no henrin dáni gozaimasén né* '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 *daké de mo* and might well be regarded as an abbreviation of *da[ké] ni*, as I have indicated by my apostrophe in the romanization: ...soozoo suru da' ni ... 'at the very notion' (Fn 406a); Reien no suramúka(-), omóu da' ni hada-samúí 'The very thought of a memorial park turning into a slum gives one the shivers' (SA 2648.44).

In older Japanese /dámó/ appears as an abbreviation of *dá[ni] mo*, with a meaning something like *dé mo* or *dé sae mo*. In modern texts the form will turn up in clichés like ... íkko da' mo ataerarenai 'won't pay the least attention' (SA 2676.139a) and *musoo dá' mo sinákatta* 'I hardly dreamed': ... *musoo dá' mo hu-kánoo na kotó de aru* 'it is something impossible beyond dreams' (Maeda 1962.90).

The particle *síka*(-) 'except for; [not] any other/more than' is atonic for many speakers, who say *kore sika* 'except for this' and *káre sika* 'except for him'; other speakers treat the particle as prototonic, saying *kore síka* and *káre síka*. But some of these speakers will shift the accent back onto the last syllable of an atonic noun (*koré 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 {k}ká(-) and the Tōkyō variants *síkya*(-) and {k}kyá(-) are similar.²⁶ There is also an old-fashioned synonym *hoka* as in *Koko ní wa sáidaa hoka utte imasén* 'They sell nothing but "cider" here' (Hozaka 338). *Hoka* is also used with the affirmative to mean 'besides'; it is perhaps to be treated as a written-style ellipsis ... {no} *hoka*: *Seisi-kóozyoo HOKA íkutu ka no koozyóo(-) ga ári*, ... 'Besides a paper factory there are a number of other factories, and ...' (SA 2649.92b). Below we mention the use of *síka*(-) as a synonym of the postadnominal *hoka*.

Síka(-) 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 *damé da* 'is unsatisfactory, no good' (but not *iyá da* or *kirai dá* 'dislikes'): *Kono hón sika damé da* = *Kono hón daké^[i] 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 náí*, *N *sika no tumori zya náí*; *N *sika zya náí* is also rejected, in favor of N *dé sika náí* (§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: ... *siti-go sika káku nóoryoku(-) ga nákatta* 'had the ability to write only seven words' (Ōkubo in Ōno 1967.128); *Watakusi-dómo wa hudan Nihon-go sika tukatta kotó ga náku, hoka no kotobá o tukatta kotó ga arimasén* 'We have usually only used Japanese and have never used any other language' (K in Ōno 1967.11); *Watasi sika kúru tumori wa arimasén* = *Watasi daké^[i] kúru 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-nín ka kónakatta* 'Only five persons came'; do not confuse this with the question particle *ká*. An example of *síkya*(-) from the speech of the novelist Shishi Bunroku: ... *bóku(-) n tókó zya, hitóri síkya inái 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

sika káku hituyoo wa náí = Namae daké^[r] káku hituyoo ga áru 'It is only necessary to write one's name'; (?) Okane sika morau mondai wa náí = O-kane daké^[r] morau mondai ga áru 'The only problem is to get the money'. An example with the quasi-possessive grammar of a potential: ... Syóowa(¯) zyuukyúu-nen no gógatu írai, Tookyoo de, Tookyoo-Sinbun sika yuukan o mótu kotó ga dekinaku nátta no da ga ... 'From May of 1944 it got so that in Tōkyō only Tōkyō Shimbun could have an evening edition' (Kb 244a).

With multiple negatives (§ 8.3), the meaning is hard to grasp: Namae sika kakánai kotó ga áru = Namae daké^[r] káku kotó ga áru 'I sometimes write only my name' is clear enough, but it is questionable whether the meaning of (?) Namae sika kakánai kotó wa náí comes through as the expected equivalent of Namae daké^[r] káku kotó wa náí 'I never write only my name' (better said as Namae daké wa ... in any event) or as a tongueslip for the simpler sentence in either of its versions Namae sika kakánai kotó ga áru or Namae sika káku kotó wa náí.

A sentence containing 'except for' + NEGATIVE means the same thing as 'only' + AFFIRMATIVE, and that can be expressed in Japanese by ... daké + AFFIRMATIVE, or by the colloquial synonyms of daké that seem to be somewhat restricted in their occurrence: kirí or more commonly kkirí (which automatically reduces to kirí after n); variants kkiśí and giri are also reported. Though there are two ways to translate English 'only' + AFFIRMATIVE, namely daké + AFFIRMATIVE and síka(¯) + NEGATIVE, there is only one way to translate English 'only' + NEGATIVE and that is with daké + NEGATIVE: Kore daké^[r] 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 síka(¯) or daké (or both) can be used with no difference in logical meaning: N ni sugínai 'is nothing more than N' and métta ni sinai 'seldom does', both of which contain formal negatives with attenuated meanings. Thus N ní sika sugínai, N daké ni sugínai, and N daké ni sika sugínai all mean 'it is nothing more than just N' and differ only in subtle emphasis. Both métta ni sika awánai and (*)métta ni daké^[r] awánai mean 'we meet but seldom'; but the latter version is rejected by many speakers. Notice that Senséi to sika hanásite wa ikenai translates as 'You must not speak with anyone but the teacher' and means virtually the same thing as Senséi to dake hanasánakereba ikenai 'You must speak only with the teacher'.

While daké can be applied to more than one adjunct of a single predicate, síka(¯) requires a negative predicate for EACH occurrence. Note the resulting possibilities:

Watasi fgaʒ sika hón o yománai = Watasi daké [ga] hón o yómu 'Only I read the book.'

Watasi fgaʒ wa hón [o] sika yománai = Watasi fgaʒ wa hón daké [o] yómu 'I read only the book'.

*Watasi fgaʒ sika hón sika yománai → Watasi daké [ga] hón daké [o] yómu 'Only I read only the book = I'm the only one who reads only the book'.

Similarly, with multiparous sentences (§ 3.11):

Zóo fgaʒ sika hana ga nágaku náí = Zóo daké [ga] hana ga nagái 'Only the elephant has a long nose'.

Zóo fgaʒ wa hana fgaʒ sika nágaku náí = Zóo fgaʒ wa hana daké [ga] nagái 'The elephant has only his nose long'.

specifier is focused with sika, whereby N₁ ga N₂ sika náí converts to N₂ sika N₁ ga náí 'there is no N₁ but N₂'.

*Zóo ɸgaɸ sika hana ɸgaɸ sika nágaku náí → Zóo daké [ga] hana daké [ga] nagái
 '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 síka(̄): Kono otokó wa Dénbee no kodomo tó sika kangaeráenai 'We can only think that this man is Dembē's son' (SA 2671.107c); Saikin wa kore-gurai sika tanosímí(̄) wa náí desu né 'Lately there's nothing else anywhere near so enjoyable as this' (SA 2662.97c); Máiban(̄) no yóo ni hossa ga ókite mo, senaka o tataku gurai sika té wa náí 'About all you can do is thump [the child] on the back when the nightly attack [of asthma] occurs' (SA 2649.42c); Watasi no kotó o o-tétudai-san ɸgurai ni sika omótte inái n desu yó '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, onná tte sono téido(̄) ní sika kangaerárete inái no ka to omótta n desu kédo né 'I felt "When it comes to women do they really think no more of them than that?"', you see, but ...' (SA 2672.61); Hyakusyóo ni sika dekinai hyakunen-sénsoo da 'It is one of those hundred-year wars that only the farmer is capable of' (SA 2724.7).

For daké there is also a literary synonym nómi, which you will sometimes hear in clichés, as in N nómi-nárazu = N daké de/zya náku(te) 'not only N but ...'. In written materials you will also find nómi used for daké as a postadnominal (§13.2) as in this example: "Kóndo wa, ítu atumaróo ka?" to, saikai o yaku-súru nómi no utiawase ni nátte simatta 'We ended up arranging just to promise to have another meeting, saying "When will we get together next?"' (SA 2652.64a).

And {k}kirí is sometimes used as a synonym of postadnominal daké also: Kore máde ni ... suu-hon ni tyoi-yaku de syutuen site iru kirí da kara, ninki no hodó mo, máda-mada mití-súu da '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); Gozyúú naná-sai no roozín(̄) wa hyakusyóo desita to kotaéta kirí de atta 'The 57-year-old man [a prisoner of war] would answer nothing but "I was a farmer"' (SA 2647.88c); Atasi, keiba nánte—iti-dó, itta kotó ga áru kkirí, pápa ni turerarete 'Horsereading is, uh, something I've been to only once—with my daddy' (Fn 292a); Mizu o nómu kkirí de monó wa taberaréin n desu 'He takes nothing but water, unable to eat anything'.

But {k}kirí and nómi cannot always be substituted for daké, and sometimes máde is a closer synonym: Sore ga honto no myúuzikaru de, ima-máde no Nihón ni wa nákatta daké (= máde, *kirí) no kotó desyoo 'That is a real musical, something that we just haven't had in Japan before' (SA 2664.36c). For -ta {k}kirí and -i-kkirí, see §9.1.7.

When {k}kirí is attached to *kore*, *sore*, and *are*, the expected meanings may be replaced by derived senses, and the particle is sometimes pronounced girí, so that these phrases are perhaps best thought of as lexically derived adverbs in all occurrences: kore-[k]kirí, -girí 'this (much) only; this time only, never again' with further extensions in Kore-kkirí no hanasí da 'This is (just) between you and me' (Kenkyusha); sore-[k]kirí, -girí 'just that (much); (never) since then' — Móo zyuu-súunen mukasi no hanasí. Sore-kirí 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]kirí, -girí '(never) since then'. These expressions can be followed by sika: Bataa wa móo kore-girí sika nákatta no 'This is all the butter there was' (Hozaka 1960.341).

The expressions ... daké átte/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 *daké* and *sika*(⁻) are to some extent mutually exclusive with the case markers *gá* and *ó* but you will run across *daké ga* and *daké o* at least in written Japanese; *daké wa* occurs freely in speech, but **sika*(⁻) *mo/wa* is unacceptable. I have no example of (?)*daké mo* and Okutsu 1974 says it is ungrammatical. (Examples of *ó sika* and *sika ga* are given below.) When *daké* occurs together with a case particle other than *gá/ó* the order seems to be optional (*daké ni* or *ní dake*), presumably with a slight difference in meaning. And the same freedom holds for *daké sika* (below), so that for 'a letter comes only from mother' you can say *Háha daké sika kara tegami ga kónai*, *Háha daké kara sika tegami ga kónai*, or *Háha kara daké sika tegami ga kónai*.

I have been unable to elicit **gá daké*^[1] but here are elicited examples of *daké ga/o* and of *ó daké*^[1]: *Pásu no áru hitó daké ga hairemásu* 'Only those who have passes can enter'; *Pásu no áru hitó daké o irete kudasái* 'Admit only those who have passes'; *Pásu no áru hitó o daké ireru to iú no wa mondai zya náí ka* 'Isn't it a problem admitting only those with passes?' In unelicited examples I have found only *daké ga/o*: *Kore daké ga tanosímí*(⁻) [*da*] 'This is my only pleasure' (SA 2662.97c); *Okaasán-gáta daké ga utí*(⁻) *ni iru hirumá*^[1] *no zikan ni, sore o motte korárete mo saigo made zikkúri yómu okaasán-gáta wa sukunái* '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); *Gurúupu no náka ni súu-nin*(⁻) *no onná-no-ko ga iru to, sékkusu daké o mé-ate ni, otokó no huuten ga atumáru* 'When there are a number of girls in the group, male hippies will join with only sex in mind' (SA 2650.105c—{site}^[1] is understood after *mé-ate ni*, see p. 470; *Zyón no kao daké o utúsita tanpen-éiga* "Sumáiru" ... 'the short film "Smile" that showed nothing but John's face' (SA 2670.134); *Áru kóoi o okonau, soo iu sonzai no si-kata daké o kakunin site iru* 'All that is recognized is the way such a creature does a certain act' (SA 2681.59e).

Although **gá sika* does not occur, there are examples of *ó sika*: *Heitai ó sika osieta kotó wa náí* 'I have taught none but soldiers'; *Koohii o sika nománakatta kara* 'I only had coffee'; *Sankiti wa, sono aida dé mo, Hánsuke ni sono yokogao ó sika mise-tuzukenákatta* 'Sankichi, even during that time (= all the while), continued to show only his profile to Hansuke' (Kb 194a). And I have even found an example of *daké o sika*: *Sono yóo na yoohoo daké o sika motánai itígun*(⁻) *no gó* 'a group of words that have only that sort of use'. But more commonly the *ó* drops: *Sore [ó] sika kangáete 'masén kara né* 'For that's all they ever think about' (SA 2671.21b); ... *hutakoto-míkoto sika hanasánai keredo mo* ... 'says but a few words, yet ...' (Tk 3.38a). And **sika o* is rejected, though I have found an example of *sika ga* that is apparently acceptable, if a bit strange: *Sákusya*(⁻) *no mé ni sibirárete iru n desu kara, sákusya*(⁻) *ni mi-yaburarete zínbutu bákari sika ga déte kónai* '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: *Máda Tanaka san ní sika hanásite arimasén* 'Mr Tanaka is the only one that has been spoken to (= told) yet' (dative); *Sikási, yóozi de aru aida wa, dáre mo oyá to site*^[1] *no húbo 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 *tó*); *Iti-dó dé ii kara, benzyó de sika otituita kibun ni narénai yóo na ié kara hanárete súde mi-tái* '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 *dé*); ... *oozéi no ba no náka de sika tanosiménai* ... 'they can enjoy themselves only in the midst of a crowd' (SA 2654.235e—locative *dé*); *Sore máde térebi de sika siranákatta yokuboo-táisyoo* ... *ga mé no máe ni arawárete kúru 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 *dé*);²⁸ *Mósi hi-góohoo de sika ikenai to sureba, hoka ni syúdan ga arimásu 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 *dé* as the instrumental rather than, say, the instrumental use of the copula; *hi-góohoo* is an abstract noun as well as an adjectival noun); *Hokkáidoo kara sika kite imasén* 'They are all (here) from Hokkaidō' (ablative); *Watasi wa Níkkoo e sika itta kotó ga arimasén* 'I've only been to Níkkō' (allative); ... *zyosi-kárezzi ni dansi-gákusei wa, róbii made sika hairénakatta* ... 'in the women's colleges ... male students could come in [the dormitories] only as far as the lobby ...' (SA 2670.112c—*made* is allative 'to', not focus 'even').

I assume that (?) *N *mó daké* probably does not occur. And *síka*(⁻) never precedes another particle. (The *dé* of ... *sika de* and the *nó* of ... *sika no kotó de* are forms of the copula.) That fact, which includes the rejection of **sika mo/wa*, suggests that the particle *síka*(⁻) somehow already contains the particle *wá*, and that is what is claimed in the etymology offered by Ōtsuki, who derives *síka*(⁻) by contraction from ... *síki*(⁻) *wá*.²⁹ Now *síki*(⁻) 'nothing but just this little' occurs today in only a few expressions—notably *koré-siki*(⁻) 'just this', *soré-siki*(⁻) 'just that', and *aré-siki*(⁻) 'just that', said to be prevalent in downtown Tōkyō, where they can apparently (?) be followed by *wá/mó* and by *gá/ó*. The etymology of *síki*(⁻) 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 *sukósi* with assimilation of the first vowel: *suk[ós]i > siki*. In western Kyūshū a particle *siko* is apparently used as equivalent to *daké* (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 ... *zútu*), despite the difference in meaning. The word *ítu-sika* 'in no time at all; quickly, early' does not contain the particle *síka*(⁻); rather, it is said to be the emphatic literary particle *sí* (better known in combination with *mó* as *sí-mo* and probably by origin the infinitive of *suru*) + the interrogative particle *ká*, 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 kotó ga dekinai*; and *damé da* 'it is no good', an adjectival noun which is a synonym of the adjective *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 *akan*, is used instead of *ikenai*.) It is possible to negativize *damé* and say *damé zya nai* 'it isn't no-good', to deny *damé da*; but you can not negativize *ikenai*, so that instead of **ikenaku nai* you will say *wáruku nai* 'it isn't bad'. (The adverb *kessite* 'absolutely [not]' also requires a following negative, but neither the auxiliary *kaneru* nor *damé* will fill the bill. And the negation that follows ... *dógoro* '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 *siká* 'so' (the literary adverb) and *sik* [iri w]a; see Gekkan-Bumpō 2/5.33 (1970). Apparently no one has thought of suggesting the emphatic *sí* + particle *ká*, to be considered with *sí mo*; cf. *yóri ka/mo*.

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:³⁰ *Atakusi wa sono máe no rássyu tte iú no DAKÉ KKA mite* 'nai n desu 'I've only seen the earlier rushes [=rush prints of the film]' (Tk 2.39); *Sen'é^un-ken DAKÉ SIKA hatubai sinákatta* 'They only put thousand-yen tickets on sale' (SA 2685.119c); *Góku syoosúu no senmon-ka DAKÉ SIKA yománaⁱi kenkyúu-si ...* 'a scholarly journal that only a very few specialists read' (SA 2651.20c); ... *kono mizuúmi DAKÉ ni SIKA inai sakana ga génzai mo takusánⁱ ite*, ... 'Even today there are many fish that exist only in this lake' (SA 2680.100a); ... *húuhu no kotó wa, húuhu DAKÉ ni SIKA wakaránaⁱi 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'. (?)

kkiri daké: little used.

kkiri sika: *Kore kkiri sika/kka náⁱ yó* 'There's just this, is all'.

kkiri daké⁽ⁱ⁾ sika: *Sékái zyuu ni kore hitótu kkiri daké⁽ⁱ⁾ sika náⁱ monó desu yó* 'This is the only one there is at all in the whole wide world, I tell you'.

daké kkiri sika: little used.

From what has been said about the semantic similarity between *sáe* and *mó* 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 *mó* or backgrounded 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):

V-te { *sae*
 sika + NEG (+ AUX)

V-i { *sae* [si- →]su-(réba)
 **sika* si-na-

A-kute { *sae*
 sika + NEG

A-ku { *sae* ár-(eba)
 **sika* ná-(kereba)

N [ní-te →] dé { *sae*
 sika + NEG

N [ní →] de { *sae* ár-(eba)
 sika ná-(kereba)

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

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 góku tíisaku sika hurenákatta '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 kao o sité sae suréba it is puzzling why the author did not write ... no kao o Sí sae suréba, but it turns out that is not what he intended to say. Instead, the romanized form might well be ... no kao o sité ' sae suréba with the lonely apostrophe showing that the sentence is an optional contraction of ... no kao o site [í] sae suréba; the missing í is the infinitive of the auxiliary i-(ru) 'be' and the sentence derives from an underlying form ... no kao o site iru 'is making a face that is ...'.

The word síka(¯) occurs also as a postadnominal, roughly equivalent to hoka {wa} 'other than ...'; it is always followed by a negative, typically náí or sikata ga náí, as in these examples:³¹ ... tabénakereba sinde simau sika náí 'unless you eat you're bound to die' (SA 2640.105c); Kangaéru wakamonó(¯) o ooen suru sika náí 'One cannot help but support the young person who is using his head' (SA 2655.41); Koo náreba, teityakú-ritu o ageite iku sika arimasén 'If this happens, we can't help but raise the fixed rate' (SA 2642.40e); Saígon e iki-tákatta ga, móo kikoku suru sika náí yóo da 'I wanted to go to Saigon, but it seems there's now no choice but to return to Japan' (SA 2685.101b); Mósi, dóo sité mo iyá nara, tomodati to asobasenai yóo ni suru sika náí '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 kotobá o tukau sika hoohoo no náí genzyoo ná no de aru 'is in a situation where there is no way out of using the word "..."' (SA 2677.32c); Soo suru sika si-kata ga náí = Soo suru hoka si-kata ga náí 'That's all you can do' (cf. MKZ 779b under hoka). See also Alfonso 731-2.

But perhaps this use is to be explained as an ellipsis of S $\text{f} \text{no} \text{f}$ síka(¯) náí.

The expression nárade-wa is the backgrounded negative gerund of the literary copula nári, and is roughly the equivalent of de/zya nákute wa 'if it is not' (= zya náí to, zya nákereba). We would expect the expression to lose its accent after a tonic noun, but it is common to insert a juncture (Nagásaki | nárade-wa) and there are those who treat the expression as a restrictive (§2.4), with dominant accent (Nagásaki ¯nárade-wa).³² Kenkyusha has some examples where the expression is used much like síka(¯) to mean '(none/nothing) but' or 'without (its being)', followed by a negative: Gúzin(¯) nárade-wa sonna guron o sin-zúru monó wa náí 'None but a fool would buy such a foolish argument', Kiséki(¯) nárade-wa ínoti o mattoo-súru kotó ga dekinákatta 'Nothing short of a miracle could have saved his life'. Another example: Kéredo mo, yappári wá-ga kuni wa, naniwa-busi nárade-wa yó no akenu kuni de áru 'But after all our country is one in which the dawn [of the New Year] will not break without some *naniwa-bushi* 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 sika for certain speakers (surú sika) but not for others (suru sika), whom we follow here. Both groups of speakers agree in their treatment of tonic inflected forms (yómu sika).

32. I have also heard naradé-wa: ... Hakodate naradé-wa no | azi desú 'it is a flavor that can be had nowhere but in Hakodate' (R).

struction N_1 *nárade-wa* no N_2 as in the following examples: *Kono yóo na iró ya katati no kago wa Índo nárade-wa no monó de aru* 'Baskets of this color and shape are unique to India' (SA 2670.77); ... *Táwaa kyakusitú-kai nárade-wa no kakutyoo to kihin o motome-másita* 'we have sought a tone and elegance that are unique to the guest-room floors in the Tower' (SA 2666.120—from an ad for the new Imperial Hotel); *Yamasuso no take no hayasí ga huyú^[1], yuki o itadaite taóyaka ni kóobé(⁻)* o taréru samá wa síki no megumi [no] *yútaka na Nihón nárade-wa no utukusii sógata desu* 'The way the bamboo groves at the foot of the mountains bow their heads gracefully under the snow in winter is a beautiful scene unique to Japan which is rich in seasonal blessings' (from *Asahi Shimbun* 1968); *Taidan-kéisiki o tótta tyosaku wa sukúnáku náí ga, taidan nárade-wa no omosíro-sa ya hanasi-té^[1](⁻)* no o-syáberi no azi ga déte iru hón wa maré(⁻) de áru 'There are quite a few works that have taken the dialog form, but rare are the books in which there appears the interest unique to dialog and the zest of the speaker's chatter' (SA 2669.93a); *Betonamu ya Kanbózia de wa kessite mirarénu, Ráosu nárade-wa no kookéi da* 'It is a scene unique to Laos, (one) that could never be seen in Vietnam or Cambodia' (SA 2688.39d); *Káraa nárade-wa no namanamasii hakúryoku(⁻)* ... 'The vivid impact that only color (TV) gives ...' (SA 2687.3); *Kono byooki wa kúuraa ga katei ní made híroku hukyuu sita Amerika dé wa hizyoo ni mezurasii. Óhwisu wa suzusii no ni utí(⁻)* e káeru to átukute yaririkénaí to iu *Nihón nárade-wa no byooki to itte íi* 'This complaint is quite rare in America where air conditioners are widespread even in homes. It can be said to be an illness peculiar to Japan where you go home from a cool office to an unbearably hot house' (Gd 1969/9.208c).

Two examples of the adverbial use of *nárade-wa* from the Muromachi period will be found in Satō 1.323.

2.3.4. Kóso.

The particle *kóso* '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 (*-réba*) attaches *kóso*, it is interpreted with the causal meaning that in the colloquial language it otherwise lacks; for examples of *...réba kóso* = *...rú kara kóso/sá* and of the unusual *...táreba kóso* = *...tá kara kóso/sá*, see §9.3. (An example of *... tte 'ttára sá sore kóso* will be found in §21.2.)

Kóso 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 kóso wa* 'Precisely next year', *kóndo koso* 'next time indeed', *íma koso* 'right now'), to PLACE (*... no náka ni/de koso* 'precisely within ...'), and to CAUSE (*sore yúé ni koso* 'precisely for that reason'); from the last comes the sentence opener *Sore de kóso* 'Precisely by that ...' (cf. *Sore kóso* 'Indeed ...'). In set phrases other adverbial elements are sometimes spotlighted by *kóso*: *Yóo koso* [*irassyaimásita*] '([You have come] nicely indeed =) Welcome! How nice to see you!' Set phrases of the type *Kotira/Watakusi kóso* '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 $N \text{ } \{gá\} \text{ } kóso \text{ } X \text{ } da$ (or possibly $N \text{ } kóso \text{ } \{ga\} \text{ } X \text{ } da$, see below) = $X \text{ } wa \text{ } N \text{ } kóso \text{ } da$ as in *Warúí no wa watakusi kóso desu* 'It is I who am at fault'. Sometimes the best English translation of *kóso* is 'to be precise (about it)', especially in sentences with loose reference (§5.4).

It is not entirely clear whether postnominal *kóso* is better treated as a particle of focus—

with *wá*, *mó*, *sáe* {*mo*}, and *síka*(⁻)—or whether it belongs with the restrictives (*daké*, *máde*₂, *dógoro*, etc.) and quasi-restrictives (*ámari*, etc.). The sequence *kóso ga* is found: *Kono yokkyuu kóso ga ... kihon-teki na sasáe de aru* ‘Precisely this desire is the basic support (for ...)’ (Ōno 1966.195); *Sore kóso ga seisin-iryoo no gán na no da* ‘The stumbling block to psychotherapy is precisely that’ (SA 2678.131c); *Sono | un’ei to kánri | íkan koso ga, || kónniti || kangaerarenakereba | naránai | mondai ná 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] *íkan*, see §25; ... *ningen o syúzin to suru | gízyutu no | kenkyuu | kaihatu kóso ga | motomerárete ōri*, ... ‘what is needed is precisely the research and development of a technology that will treat man as the master and ...’ (SA 2660.117c); *Bíkutaa wa “Méezyaa da” to syookai site kuretá ga, káre koso ga, Kyanon-kíkán de na o utta Kyánon syóosa 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” tó no taemá^[1] náí kintyoo-kánkei koso ga káre-ra o soozoo é to kari-tátete iru kotó ga wakáru* ‘We understand how it is precisely the incessant strain between “abnormal” and “normal” that drives them toward creativity’ (SA 2666.26c)—for *é to*, see p. 1007; *Kore kóso ga ínoti yori taisetú na monó da* ‘Precisely this is more important than life itself’.

I have been able to elicit examples both of (?) *kóso o* and of *ó koso* (but not of **ga koso*): (?) *Kore kóso o kime-te to site kenkyuu site miyóo* ‘Let us investigate precisely this as the deciding factor’; *Kore ó koso kime-te to sinái de, zíken no kaiketu ga dekíru to omóu 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 (?) *kóso o*: *Hensyúu-sya wa sono kotó o koso nagéku ˘béki daroo* ‘The editors must surely deplore precisely that fact’ (SA 2685.104b); *Sono kotobá ni tadóri-túku made no wazurawásikute hukuzatu de tagai ni muzyun si-atta déeta no taigun-buri [sic] ó koso watasi wa siri-tákatta no ga, sore-kiri^[1] denka wa damátte simatta* ‘Precisely the great mass of data that would lead one to [understand] those words, [data] irksome 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 kyóozyu(˘) to tómo(˘) ni arúite kíta kyoozyú-kai ni koso mondai ga áru* ‘There is something questionable about just such a faculty group who have walked along with this professor’ (SA 2668.123c); *Koo iu komyunikéesyon de koso genmitu no hyoogén(˘) ga kanoo de áru* ‘Precisely in this sort of communication is rigorous expression possible’; *Kurusii kéiko no náka ni koso, dai-sénsyu ga umarerú no da* ‘It is precisely in the midst of agonizing practice that great athletes are born’ (KKK 3.51); ... *konna baai ní koso zyúnbi sareta ...* ‘was provided precisely for such situations’ (Maeda 1961.216); *Mé ni koso miénai ga, áki ga kíte iru* ‘You can’t see it with your EYES, exactly, but autumn is here’ (Hayashi 187—he calls this “highlighting”); *Makumahon-Ráin made koso ga || Tyúugoku no | ryóodo da* ‘It is precisely all the way up to the McMahon Line that is Chinese territory’; *Koko máde koso {wa} || tadasii to | ierú ga ...* ‘Precisely up to here it can be said to be correct but ...’; *Koko kará koso {wa} || tadasii to | ierú ga ...* ‘Precisely from here on it can be said to be correct but ...’; *Daigaku kará koso | manéku ˘béki de atta* ‘I should have been invited by the university itself’; *Nyuu-Yóoku e koso | iku ˘béki de atta no ni* ‘It’s (precisely) New York I should have gone to (but I didn’t)’; *Soko dé koso | zibun no íken o | hakkíri | hanásu ˘béki datta no ni* ‘THERE’s where I should

have made my views clear (but I didn't)'; Syúzin to koso | soodan sú beki datta no ni 'I ought to have talked it over precisely with my husband (but I didn't)'; Hitogoto ní koso | kiku ʔbéki 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 tyuusyutú-hoo(ʔ) ní wa teisuu ókí(ʔ) ní koso ími ga áru 'With this sampling process it is precisely every other number that has significance'; Gakunén-matu ʔgóro ni koso tetudátte morai-tákatta no ni 'I wanted to have assistance precisely at the end of the school year (but I didn't get it)'; Kúgatu ʔgóro koso kekkoo dekiyóo (= dekirú daroo) 'It is precisely September when we will be able to take decisive steps'; Yóru zyuuní-zi ʔsugí koso kiken da 'It is dangerous precisely after midnight'; Káku-sya no bútyoo(ʔ) ʔízyoo koso seikatu 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 ʔíka 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 ʔígai koso kóokyo ni husawasíi basyo da 'It is outside the heart of the city that is the suitable place for the palace'; Hankoo ʔg^[l](ʔ) nízyuu yo-zíkan ʔínai koso zyuuyóo-si-sareru ʔbéki da 'Precisely (the time within) the twenty-four hour period after the crime is committed should be accorded great importance'; Kaisei ʔírai koso tyuumoku sú beki da 'It is precisely AFTER the revision that we must be alert'; Sikén ʔígo koso hontoo ni zibun no sukí na benkyoo ga dekirú 'It is precisely from after the exams that one can do the studies one likes'; Ik-kágetu ʔkágiri [no keiyaku] koso, bóku(ʔ) ní wa tyoodo tugoo ga íi 'Precisely one month('s agreement) is just right for me'; Ténisu o surú no mo, ni-san-zíkan ʔgúrai koso karada ni íi ga, go-zíkan mo roku-zíkan mo si-tuzúketete wa yóku náí '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 tekitoo dá ga, san-zíkan wa oo-sugiru 'Indeed about an hour is suitable but three hours is too much'; Tanaka san ʔgúrai koso kúru ʔbéki da 'Precisely Mr. Tanaka, at least, should come'.

For daké and bákari, however, I have managed to elicit both orders when kóso is used; many speakers will perhaps reject kóso daké/bákari and a number of speakers will feel uneasy with the other order as well: (?) Anáta daké koso watasi no kimoti o wakátte kureru to omótta no ni ... 'Here I had thought precisely you would be the only one who would understand my feelings (but ...)'; (?) Kane daké koso ga zínsei no mokuteki da 'It is just money that is the goal of men's lives'; (?) Kore kóso daké wa dóo-sité mo wasurerarenai 'Just precisely this I can never forget'; (?) Mittú ʔbákari koso hituyoo dá ga, too 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 ʔátari kóso: (?) Mittú ʔátari koso tyoodo tekitoo da; sore ʔízyoo wa oo-sugiru 'But three will be just right; any more would be too many'.

Although *dókoró kóso does not occur, it is possible to elicit kóso ʔdókoró 'hardly precisely' when the kóso-marked expression is taken as a propredicative ellipsis: Kyóo koso [] ʔdókoró ka raisyuu mo sí wa sinái daroo 'A far cry from "today's the day", they won't do it even next week, I bet'.

I have elicited nádo kóso and ʔzútu kóso but not *kóso nádo or *kóso ʔzútu: Dáizin nádo koso massáki ni tátte hataraku ʔbéki da 'Precisely the cabinet ministers must stand

in the vanguard of our labors'; Hitóri ni mittú zútu koso tyoodo tekitoo da 'Precisely three for each person is just right'.

I have been unable to elicit *yóri koso 'precisely than' or *koso yóri 'than precisely'. (Yóri koso will appear as the literary version of kará koso 'precisely from'.)

We also find koso followed by wá: ... kondo 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 saigo no oikomi-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 koso wa ... and Rainen koso wa ...)

Although modern speakers reject *koso mo and *mó koso MKZ lists an archaic usage of ... mó koso to express possibility: Sode no nuré mo koso sure 'The sleeve may get WET', in which koso is applied AFTER highlighting the nuclear focus. As this example shows, after koso Literary Japanese typically requires the predicate to be in the LITERARY CONCESSIVE form -ré[-do] without the -dó.³³ When put into a larger sentence (MKZ 289c: Yorokóbi koso sure, okóru hazu ga náí '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 gá on the end of the colloquial translation: Kokóro sú beki kotó ni koso áre = Ki o tukénakereba naránai kotó 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 ní and the auxiliary ár-i to permit nuclear focus (or restriction) with the insertion of koso. More colloquial examples of nuclear focus/restriction with koso are given in §5.3. Examples of gerund (-té) + koso will be found in §9.2.2.

I have elicited one example of saé koso but not all speakers are happy with it: (?) Konna kotó sae koso obóete iréba, ansin désu 'If I can just remember precisely that, I'll be relieved'. Both *síka(-) koso and *koso sika are rejected.

In the uncommon idiom aisó mo koso mo tukíru (also: aiso-mo-koso-mo tukíru) = aisó[o] ga tukíru 'is disgusted', the word koso 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[o] 'affability' which consists of the Chinese loanmorphs ai 'love' + soo 'thought'. Thus it has no connection with the koso under discussion in this section. The adverb sá-koso {to} 'just like that; presumably' attaches koso to the deictic sá 'like that, so'. In Mie and Tokushima, koso is said to be used where the standard language uses sika (Sakai 47b).

The origin of koso is unclear but one possibility is that the word developed as a variant of kotó 'thing; word' (cf. English 'the thing is ...'); notice the "newish" uses of kotó 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 kotó in uses and meanings. But Tanaka Kimiharu (in Gekkan-Bumpo 69/11; cf. Kgg 81.35) suggests that koso 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

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 *-kéreba*), and *-táreba*. 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 [*ní-te wa* >] *dé wa*; The provisional forms that end in *-réba* and *-kéreba* permit abbreviated variants *'rya[a]* and *-kérya[a]* or, by further contraction, *'kya[a]*. The gerund + *wá* can abbreviate to *-tya/-zya*, *-kutya*, and *zyá[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 *ní wa* sometimes contracts to *nyá[a]* (and the kana spelling *ni ya* is often to be interpreted as *nya*); *Watasi nya náni mo wakáttya inái n desu* = *Watasi ní wa náni mo wakátte wa inái no desu* 'I just don't understand it at all' (SA 2664.42e); *Soko de Nihón nya sakana ga óói n da kara sakana no ryóori o orósoka ni sityáa 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[u]aa /aitsaa/* = *aitu wa*, ... *táa* = ... *tó wa*, ... *náa* = ... *nó wa*, etc. And the long /aa/ is subject to further reduction at times, so that you may hear *kónda* for *kóndaa* = *kóndo wa*, as perhaps in this example: ... *kónda Yooróppa e irassyáru n desyoo* 'I understand you're going to Europe soon' (Tk 4.42b). But *kónda* is also a Tōkyō variant for the unfocused noun *kóndo* 'this/next/last 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 Shiba). When the /a/ that represents *wá* is added, a front vowel often reduces to /y/, as *korya* = *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. *káta(-)ya* 'on the one side [in *sumō* wrestling]' (= *katáppoo 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. *íma 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 *yá* with the Korean particle *ya* 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 *wá* and *yá* 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 *yá* from *wá* (earlier *pá*) as parallel to the development of Ryūkyū *yu* from (?*)*yo* from *wó* (earlier *bó?*), the direct-object marker. In both cases the nonpalatal semivowel has palatalized or dropped in intervocalic position.

Traditional kana spelling indicates that *wá* comes from proto-Japanese *pá*, and that would seem to be amply confirmed by the "nigoriéd" form *bá* mentioned earlier, though we might entertain the possibility that *bá* could be a doublet-relic of the proto form of *wá*. (Modern INITIAL *w-* comes from proto-Japanese *b-* just as modern *h-* comes from *p-*, but the /*w*/ of the particle is not "initial" since particles attach directly with no juncture; and intervocalic *-w-* 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 *tó/-dó* 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-bá* 'location-place'. If so, the originally bound morpheme for 'place' or 'situation' would be a basic *pá* that could serve as a basis for the focus particle, and that morpheme might well be cognate with the Korean quasi-free noun *pa* 'thing, circumstance, way' perhaps from Middle Korean *pa* 'way (to do)' for which we could reconstruct Korean-Japanese **pa*. (Ōtsuki, however, would derive *ba* from *hanima* < *pani-ma* 'red-earth place' with the second syllable of *pani* an old noun *ni* 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 *ba* is not simply a doublet version of *ma* 'interval, room'.) A more interesting possibility would be to consider *wá* < *bá* as a nounlike derivative from *wi-* < *bi-* = *wor* < *bo(-r)-* 'be'; that is, *wi-á* > *wá* 'being ...'. The modern Okinawan copula *yañ* would seem to be clearly an amalgam of the particle *ya* + the auxiliary *a-ñ* (equivalent to Literary Japanese *ári*) as we can see from the negative form: *kii yañ* 'it is a tree' :: *kii ya arañ* 'it is not a tree'. That *yá* < *wá* < *bá* might earlier have derived from a verb of existence would be very natural.

What about *mó*? The particle occurs quite generally in normally expected reflexes for all varieties of Japanese. The only puzzler is the Miyako form *mai*, which I have suspected to be an abbreviation of *madi*, the Ryūkyū reflex of *máde*—that particle having perhaps replaced the simple *mó* in somewhat the same manner that standard Japanese uses *máde* 'even' as a kind of reduction of *máde mo* 'even up to'. But Meikai kogo jiten lists *mé* as an Azuma (= Eastern) version of *mó* in Old Japanese, and that too must be explained—perhaps as a blend of two particles *mó* + *í* or *yó*? And notice that *dó ma* is used for *dé mo* in Kyūshū (Zhs 6.17 n7), *mota* for *mata* in Toyama (Zhs 3.70), *mátto* for *mótto* in a number of places (Chiba Zhs 2.209, Kanagawa 2.322, Shizuoka 3.356), *máa* for *móo* in Niigata (Zhs 2.341) and Yamanashi (Zhs 2.434); perhaps *mó* is from *má* with labial assimilation of the vowel. Still another possible origin for Miyako *mai* would be a contraction from

m[o] á[r]e; cf. Yamanashi denma{ri}, demari (and Old Japanese demare, demari) < ní-te mo áre (Zhs 2.424 n2).

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'; tã-man < MK "tamøn 'only'; mankhum = MK 'ma-'kõm 'as much as'—but these may be derived from the negative auxiliary mã-l- 'desist', cf. kũ man V 'stop V-ing', -l mangceng < MK "man"tyeng 'even though', and see below. (2) -(y)na-ma 'but anyway' (not attested in MK); -man(yn) < MK -ma(lõ)nõn, -manõn 'but' (perhaps to be interpreted as -ma-nõn or -man-yn). (3) mãl < MK "mal 'word' (if this is from *man by dissimilation and from **mõn with the appropriate vowel). (4) ā-mu 'any' < MK amũ, "amo < proto-K "a-mo (with "a- cognate to the Japanese auxiliary á-r- 'be'); perhaps mu- 'wh-' = MK mũ(sũ)-. The fourth etymology is the most promising, in my opinion. Not to be connected is Korean macë/a 'even', for the MK form mōcə/ō points to a likely derivation from the infinitive of the verb MK mēc- 'cease' = MK mō'chũ/ō- (whence modern machi- 'finish') = MK mōz- (whence possibly MK 'mōs 'most'), MK mōcōmak and MK mō'chõm = macimak 'end'; cf. also mēmchwu- 'stop', mēmũl(y)- 'stop at' and mã-l- 'refrain; finish'.

To be considered in connection with mó is the particle tó with a nigori form dó and what may well be a variant of that, zó.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 kére-do {mo} 'but', ... tó^[1] ié-do mo 'even if (we say)', and the like—and perhaps nádo/názo 'et cetera' (if this is from náni tó^[1], see § 2.8) and sentence-final zó (§ 15.5). The Ryūkyū reflex dú (which differs from the conjoining and reciprocal/comitative tú, a reflex of tó) 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 ní-te á[ri]. Compare the "subjective" copula tó ár-i > tár-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 zó (as in the colloquial) and postnominal zó, Literary Japanese has -do {mo} as in suré-do {mo} 'even though one does' and háyakere-do {mo}

34. It is sometimes assumed that the conjoining of nouns by tó '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 tó 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 adverbialized predicate with a reciprocal valence; see § 3.6.)

< háyaku áre-do {mo} 'even though it is early'; we will call this the literary concessive (§9.3). In Literary Japanese *tó mo* is used after either the infinitive or the attributive in the meaning 'even if', and in the colloquial we find *S tó mo* 'of course S' and the semi-literary *V-[y]oo to {mo}* 'even if; whether'—see §21.1.(9, 14); §21.5. The colloquial particle *tté* (§15.11) is used both to mark quotations—like *tó*—and to mean 'even'; but we reinterpret the latter case as a contraction of the gerund *-té + átte* (p. 938) as in *sit'átte = sité mo = suré-do {mo}* 'even though one does'. Ultimately, then, our "emphasis" particle *tó* (with its variants *dó* and perhaps *zó*) may turn out to be specialized uses of the subjective essive *tó*, for which a proto meaning of 'that' has been suggested (cf. *tó-ni-kaku, tó-ni-mo káku-ni-mo*). But the Korean equivalent of *mó* in virtually all its uses is the particle /to/, clearly cognate with the Japanese etymon *tó*, so the association with 'that' may not hold up; the *tó* in *tó-ni-kaku* (etc.) is perhaps a variant of *só* 'that', for which there is a good Korean cognate *cē/co*. It should be mentioned that some grammarians, such as Fujitani and Tachibana, have derived *zó* from *só* 'that' (Sakai 43); compare the suggested derivation of *sí {mo}* 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 (*zútu*), and (4) the COMPARATOR (*yóri*). 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 *dá* 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:

AS POSTADNOMINAL

asanéboo na | daké 'just being a slugabed'
 asanéboo na | bákarí 'only being a ...'
 asanéboo na | hodó 'as much as to be
 a ...'
 asanéboo na | máde [mo] 'to the point
 of being a ...'
 asanéboo na | dókoro 'far from being a ...'

AS RESTRICTIVE

asanéboo daké⁽ⁱ⁾ 'just a slugabed'
 asanéboo bákarí⁽ⁱ⁾ 'only a ...'
 asanéboo hodo '(not) as much as a ...'
 asanéboo made [mo] 'even a ...'
 asanéboo *~*dókoro 'hardly a ...'

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 na/no KOTÓ daké⁽ⁱ⁾* '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 sub-categories 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 $\bar{d}\acute{o}ori$ and $\bar{g}\acute{o}ro$, for example, we find $t\acute{o}ori$ and $k\acute{o}ro$, 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 $hod\acute{o}$, $[k]kiri$, $m\acute{a}de$, $n\acute{o}mi$, $s\acute{a}e$ (which is said to be used as a dialect variant of $hod\acute{o}$), and $dak\acute{e}$ or $b\acute{a}kari$ 'only' (but not $\bar{b}\acute{a}kari$ 'approximately')³⁶ will lose their accents after a tonic noun, behaving like the case particles, as does the comparator $y\acute{o}ri$. The distributive has a dominant accent which optionally shifts back one syllable: $suk\acute{o}si$ $\bar{[']z\acute{u}tu$ = $/sukosiz\acute{u}tu/$ or $/sukos\acute{i}zutu/$. We will cite the form simply as $\bar{z}\acute{u}tu$.

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

$\bar{a}tari$, (a) 'vicinity, nearby; somewhere near; in and around (a place)'

(b) 'or the like, of the sort, for instance'

$b\acute{a}kari$, (b) 'only, just' (= $dak\acute{e}$)—with the lively variants $b\acute{a}kkari$, $b\acute{a}[k]kasi$, $pp\acute{a}kasi$, ..., and the dialect versions $ba[k]ka$, baa , kaa ; $bari$, $baru$ (Zhs 1.64); $beeri$ (Zhs 1.94), be (Zhs 1.91); bee , $baari$, bai , $nbee$ (Zhs 2.181); Cf. also $are-pp\acute{o}ti$ de 'with nothing more than that' (SA 2685.120e), $kore-pp\acute{o}ti/-pp\acute{a}ti$ = $korenb\acute{a}kari$ (Fn 8b) 'just this much', $zyoorok\acute{u}-mon$ $ppoti$ no $z\acute{e}ni$ 'sixteen pennies' (Okitsu 1.451).

($\bar{[']dak\acute{e}$, (a) $dak\acute{e}$ 'only, just' (= $b\acute{a}kari$, $n\acute{o}mi$)

(c) ($\bar{[']dak\acute{e}$ ni , ($\bar{[']dak\acute{e}$ $\acute{a}tte$ 'just for being'

$\bar{d}\acute{o}koro$, $\bar{d}\acute{o}ko$ 'far from (being/doing), hardly' (on the accentuation, see

p. 931)

$\bar{d}\acute{o}osi$ '(those) in company with'

$\bar{g}awa$ 'the side of'

$\bar{g}\acute{e}nzai$ 'as of (a date or period [when ...])'

35. Sometimes modifying phrases are included, especially in idiomatic expressions: $hito$ ni $dek\acute{u}ru$ $kot\acute{o}$ $\bar{[']zyoo$ may be heard as $/hitonidekirukot\acute{o}zyoo/$, $zibun$ no $kurusikatta$ $zidai$ $\bar{[']zyoo$ may be heard as $/zibunnokurusikattazidaizyoo/$, and $subarasii$ $kot\acute{o}$ $\bar{[']z\acute{u}kume$ may be heard as $/subarasiikot\acute{o}z\acute{u}kume/$. 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 $\bar{b}\acute{a}kari$ for 'only'; and some speakers observe the cancellation of ($\bar{[']dak\acute{e}$ only under limited conditions. More data on the accentual patterns of $b\acute{a}kari$ and ($\bar{[']dak\acute{e}$ are needed.

- ̀góto 'each, every (instance)'
 ̀gúrai, ̀kúrai, ̀kkúrai, (b) 'to the extent of; at least; as ... as'
 hodó, (b) 'as much as (to be/do); insofar as'
 ̀igai 'outside of, except for'
 ̀izen 'before'
 ̀ízyoo 'over, above, more than; since'
 ̀kagiri 'to the extent (of/that); limited to, only'
 ̀kkiri, ̀kiri 'that being all and (not) beyond'
 máde 'till, as far as; even'
 ̀máe 'before (a time/event)'
 nómi = daké 'only, just'
 ? ̀súgata (some difference in meaning)
 ? ̀téido 'the level/caliber/limit of'—as postadnominal also atonic téido(̀)
 ? ̀zibun 'time (when)'—as postadnominal also atonic zibun(̀)
 ? ̀zíken '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—gúrai, máde, (̀)daké, and ̀zútu—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 dake zútu wa kasite agerareru.
- (2) made gurai dake zútu
- (3) dake gurai made zútu
- (4) gurai dake made zútu
- (5) gurai made zutu daké
- (6) made gurai zutu daké
- (7) dake gurai zútu made
- (8) gurai dake zútu made
- (9) gurai zutu made daké
- (10) made zutu gurai daké
- (11) dake zutu gúrai made
- (12) gurai zutu daké made
- (13) zutu gurai made daké
- (14) zutu made gurai daké
- (15) zutu dake gúrai 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.

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', *háru* 'spring', *sán-zi* 'three o'clock', ...
- (5) Place nouns: *matí* 'town', *kuni* 'country', ...
- (6) Countable nouns (not otherwise categorized): *hón* 'book', *ié* 'house', ...
- (7) Measurable nouns: *o-sake* 'rice wine', *zikan* 'time', *o-kane* 'money', ...
- (8) Relational nouns: *máe* 'front', *migi* 'right', ...
- (9) Quantity nouns: *sukósi* 'a little', *zénbu* 'all', *sán-ko* 'three', *san-zíkan* 'three hours', ...
- (10) Mass nouns: *áme* 'rain', *kiri* 'fog', ...
- (11) Action nouns: *turi* 'fishing', *mane* 'imitating', ...
- (12) Abstract nouns: *séigi* '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 {*nó* [*nó*]} 'the one which is PcN'. Items of that sort have been coded as "PcN, (N)". 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/ó*). I leave unexplained a few examples, such as *hutuú* *ízyoo* 'more than usually', in which the restrictive follows a predicable 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 (... *~dóori*). 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 predicable adverb is that it cannot be directly adverbialized. Other infinitive conversions (PcN *ni náru/suru*, etc.) are generally possible.

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 (ʔzyuu) was originally voiceless (ʔtyuu) 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 (ʔ)daké, ʔdárake, ʔgara, ʔgárami, ʔgata, ʔgóto, ʔgúrumi, ʔzukú(ʔ), ʔzúkume, ʔzútai, and ʔzútu. More information on etymologies will be found on pp. 136-7.

LIST OF RESTRICTIVES AND QUASI-RESTRICTIVES

Proper	Human	Animate	Time	Place	Countable	Measurable	Relational	Quantity	Mass	Action	Abstract	Grammar	Postadnominal
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12		
	2				(7)							N,PcN	1. ʔágari '(one who/which is) fresh from'
								9				N,Adv	2. ʔámari 'over, more than, in excess of'—cf. postadnominal amari
1			5									N	+ 3. ʔátari: (a) 'vicinity, nearby; somewhere near; in and around (a place)'
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		11	?	N	+ (b) 'or the like, of the sort, for instance'
				(5)				9				N,Adv	(c) 'per ...'
1	2	?		5	6							PcN,(N)	4. ʔate: (a) '(the one) addressed to, aiming at'
								9				Adv	(b) 'per ...'
								9				N,Adv	5. ʔbákari [= "p...]: (a) 'about, approximately'
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	?	10	11	12	N,Adv	+ (b) bákari 'exclusively, all the time; only, just' (= daké, nómi)
1	2			5								PcN,(N)	6. ʔbari [= "p...]' (after) the fashion of'
					5						12	?PcN	7. ʔbetu: (a) 'classified by'
						6	7				12	?PcN	(b) 'excluding'
							7					PcN,(N)	8. ʔbiki [= "p...]: (a) 'coated/plated/covered with'
								9				PcN,(N)	(b) 'at a discount of'
								9				Adv,?N	9. ʔbun 'a portion (sufficient) for (each)'—cf. postadnominal bún

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Grammar			
								9				PcN		10.	˘buri [= "p...]: (a) after the absence of (an interval)'
	2									11		N			(b) 'the figure/shape/manner of'
								9				Adv,?N			(c) = ˘bun
								9				N		11.	˘dai 'the level/mark of'
				6				9				PcN,N		12.	˘dai '(one that is) the size of'
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	N,Adv	+	13.	(˘)daké: (a) daké 'only, just' (= bákari, nómi)
1	2	3?		5	6	7		9	10		12	N,Adv			(b) (˘)daké '(to) the amount /extent of; just, exactly; at least'
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Adv	+		(c) (˘)daké ni, (˘)daké ^[2] átte 'just for being'
	2	3	(5)	6	7			10		(12)		N,Adv,AN		14.	˘dárake '(one that is) smeared/filled with, a mass/mess of'
1				5								N		15.	˘de '(one that is) a product/graduate of'
1			4	5								PcN		16.	˘deki 'produced (by/at)'
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Adv	+	17.	˘dógoro, ˘dóko [= "t...] 'far from (being/doing), hardly (a question of)'
1	2	3	4	5	6	7		9	?	11	12	N		18.	˘dómari [= "t...] 'up to (the limit of)'
			(-)	6						11	12	PcN,Adv,(N)		19.	˘dóori [= "t...] 'like, as, according to'—cf. postadnominal tóori
1	2	3		5								N,PcN	+	20.	˘dóosi '(those) in company with'
1			4	5								N,PcN		21.	˘gáeri [= "k...] '(the one that, the time when) on the way back from, returning from'—cf. postadnominal kaerí
1			?		7					12		N		22.	˘gai 'outside of, beyond'
								9				PcN		23.	˘gákari [= "k...] '(requiring) as many/much as, (by) taking'
					6							PcN		24.	˘gake [= "k...]: (a) 'garbed in (informal traditional wear)'
								9				PcN			(b) 'multiplied by'
								9				PcN			(c) 'ten percent of'
			4	5						12		Adv		25.	˘gara 'by the nature of'
								9				PcN,(N)		26.	˘gárami '(one who is) about, a round (age of)'
								9				Adv		27.	˘gata 'by about (a percent, a price level)'
1	2			5(6)		8						N	+	28.	˘gawa 'the side of'

												<i>Grammar</i>				
	2	3		6	7				11	?		PcN	29.	ṛgáwari [= "k...]	'in place of, instead of, as substitute for'—cf. postadnominal kawari	
1				5								N	30.	ṛgáyoi [= "k...]	'attending; traveling between, commuting to'	
				4								N,Adv	+	31.	ṛgénzai '(the time that is) as of (a date/period)'	
				4			9		11	12		N,Adv	32.	ṛgó(-)	'(the time) after'—see § 14.4.	
1	2			5						12		PcN,(N)	33.	ṛgókkíri	—see ṛkókkíri	
				4								N,Adv	34.	ṛgónomi [= "k...]	'the style/mode /fashion/vogue of'	
													35.	ṛgóro [= "k...]	'(a time that is) about (a time)'	
	2	4	5	6			9	(-)				PcN,Adv	36.	ṛgosi, ṛ'gosi [= "k...]	'across, beyond, over'	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9	(-)	(-)			N	+	37.	ṛgóto	'each, every (instance)'
	2			5	6	7	9					N,Adv	38.	ṛgoto	'(being) inclusive of, with ... and all'	
							9					N,Adv,(AN)	39.	ṛgúrai, ṛkurai, ṛkkúrai:	(a) 'about, as much; or so'	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12				(b) 'to the extent of; at least; as ... as'	
	(2)			5	6							Adv	40.	ṛgúrumi	'throughout, the whole/entire'	
							9					N,Adv	41.	ṛhán	'and a half'	
1				4	5							N	42.	ṛ'hatu	'(thing) leaving from, dispatched from/at'	
							9					N,Adv	43.	hodó:	(a) 'about, approximately'	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		10	11	12	Adv	+		(b) 'as much as (to be/do); insofar as; (not) as much as'	
				5				(10)	(12)			?N,Adv	44.	ṛhukáku	'the depths of; deep in'	
							9					N	44'	ṛhurátto	'(an elapsed time that is) ... flat'	
1	2			5								N	45.	ṛhuu	'the air/manner of'—cf. postadnominal húu; suffix ṛ'huu 'wind'	
				5			9					N,Adv	46.	ṛ'ien	'and beyond'	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	N,Adv	+	47.	ṛ'igai	'outside of, except for'
1				4			9		11	12		N,Adv	48.	ṛ'igo	'after, since, hereafter'	
1	2	3	4	5	6		9		(-)			N,?Adv	49.	ṛ'ika	'below, under, less than'	
1				4				?	?			N,Adv	50.	ṛ'ikoo	'after, since'	
							9					N	51.	ṛ'ikutu	'... odd, and a few'	
				5	7	9						N	52.	ṛ'inai	'(what is) within, inside of; less than'	

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Grammar	
			4			7		(9)				?PcN,Adv	53. ippai 'all through; within, before the end of'
1			4					9	10	11	12	Adv,(N)	54. irai '(the time) ever since, since'
	2				6	7		9	?	?	12	PcN	55. iri 'containing, with ... in it'
1			4								12	N,Adv	+ 56. izen '(the time) before'
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	?	9	10	11	12	N,Adv	+ 57. izyoo 'above, over, more than'
			4								12	?PcN,Adv	58. ka 'under'
1	2	?	4	5	6	?	?	9				Adv	+ 59. kágiri 'to the extent (of/that); limited to, only'
								9				PcN,(N)	60. kakkoo: (a) '(one who is) of about (the age)'
	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	61. kan: (a) 'between (A and B)'
			4									N	(b) 'the interval of'
										11		Adv	62. katagáta 'incidentally to, while' (cf. §9.1.7)
1	(2)		5									PcN	63. kéiyu(¯) 'by the route of, via'—but sometimes treated as ellipsis: Sanhuransísuko kéiyu(¯) de = Sanhuransísuko ¯kéiyu(¯) de.
	2	(3)		6						11	12	Adn	64. ken 'additionally to'—see §13.7a
								9				N,Adv	65. kéntoo 'about (an amount of)'
													65'. kikkári = kókkíri
													66. kírí—see kkirí
1	2	3	4	5								Adn	67. kitté-no N 'the most N in all of ... ; the most N of all ...'
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Adv	+ 68. kkirí, kírí 'that being all and (not) beyond'—as restrictive always (?) followed by negative ('no more than'), cf. §9.1.7 (p. 422), but as postadnominal it can be followed by dá affirmative, §2.3.3
								9				(N),Adv	68'. kkúrai—see gúrai
1	2	3		5	6	7		9			12	PcN	69. kókkíri, gókkíri 'exactly; exact amount'
1				5							12	Adn	70. komi 'including, with ... (included)'
1				5							12	Adn	71. kóorai-no 'traditional/native to'
1				5								N	72. kúndari (made/kara) 'all the way (to/from)'

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Grammar		
	2											N	73. ṽkúrai—see ṽgúrai	
								9				N	74. ṽkúzure '(one who is) a drop-out (from being ...)'	
	1	(2)(3)	4	5	(6)(7)	8	9	(10)(11)(12)				N,Adv	75. ṽkyóo 'a little more than, and a bit more, plus (some)'	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	N,Adv	+ 76. máde: (a) 'till, as far as'—see §3.7, §3.7a
			4									12	N,Adv	(b) 'even'—see §2.3.3, §3.7a
	(-)					?			10	11	12	N	+ 77. ṽmáe 'before (a time/event)'	
										11	12	?N,Adv	78. ṽmágai = ṽmódoki	
						7	9					PcN	79. ṽmágire '(in) a mood of, (in) a state (of), (in) the confusion of'	
	1		4									PcN	80. ṽmágiwa (ni) '(at) the moment right before, just on the verge of'	
								9				PcN	81. ṽmámire 'with ... stuck all over, mucked up with'	
								9				N	82. ṽmáwari = ṽkéiyu(-) 'by way of, via'; 'through'	
												PcN	83. ṽmé '-th' (ordinalizer)—see p. 829 (§13.8)	
												PcN,(N)	84. ṽmíman '(one who/that is) not yet fully, under (the age/amount of)'	
	1	2	3		?	7		?			12	PcN,(N)	85. ṽmódoki '(the situation of) imitating, resembling, (in) the style of'	
	1	2		5		8						PcN,N	86. ṽmuke '(that which is) bound/intended for'	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9	?	11	(-)	PcN,N	87. ṽmuki '(that which is) suitable for'—cf. postadnominal múki	
					5	7	9			12		N	88. ṽ'nai '(what is) within'	
							9					N,Adv	89. ṽnaígai 'approximately, about'	
										11	(12)	? PcN	90. ṽnákaba '(in) the middle of'	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	?	10	11	12	N	91. ṽnami '(as) an ordinary example of, (at) the level of, (of) the order of'	
	1	2	3									PcN	92. ṽnari 'appropriate to, to be expected of'	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	N,Adv	93. nómi 'only, just' (= daké)
	1	2			?	6	7	9		11	12	PcN	94. ṽnuki 'omitting, without'	
	1?					7						PcN	95. ṽnuri 'painted/coated with'	
							(-)	9				PcN	96. ṽókí(-) 'at intervals of; skipping (every so many)'	
												PcN	96'. ṽpókkíri = ṽkókkíri	

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Grammar		
?	?	?	-	5	6	7		9	10	11	12	N	97. ʔpúrasu '... plus (some)'	
			4					9				Adv	98. ʔrai 'since, the past ...' (= ʔirai)	
1	2		(-)(-)									PcN,?N	99. ʔryuu '(after) the fashion/school of'	
1	2	?		5	6	7					12	PcN	100. ʔsidai 'depending on' (cf. §9.1.2)	
1	2	3		5	6	?					11	N	101. ʔsiki 'way, fashion, type'—cf. suffix ʔsiki 'ceremony'	
1	2			5	?	7						PcN,?N	102. ʔsodati 'reared (in a place, by a person, on a nutrient)'	
								9			12?	PcN	103. ʔsootoo '(a price) of the order of'	
	2			6							11	PcN,N	?+ 104. ʔsúgata '(one who is) attired/garbed in, wearing'	
			4		7?	9?						N	105. ʔsugí '(a time) after (a time)'	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7		9			?	Adn	106. ʔtai 'versus; (by) a score of X to ...'—see §13.7a	
	2											N	107. ʔtaipu 'a type of, the type who is'	
				5								N,Adv	108. ʔtakaku 'high on/in, the heights of'	
								9				Adv	109. ʔtarazu 'less than' (cf. p. 380, §8.5)	
1	2	3		5	6			9			11	12	N	?+ 110. ʔtéido 'the level/caliber/limit of'—cf. postadnominal téido(-)
														110'. ʔten '(decimal) point'—see §13.6
			4	5				9					N	111. ʔtikáku 'nearly, close to'
								9					Adv	112. ʔtomo 'all ...'—see §15.14
1	2	3		5	6	7		9		?	?		Adv	113. ʔtómo(-) 'including ...'—see §15.14
	2			?	6	7		9			(12)		N	114. ʔtuki '(one that is, being) equipped with, with ... (provided/attached/included/given)'
1			4	5									PcN	115. ʔtyaku 'arriving at'
								9					N	115'. ʔtyókkíri = ʔkókkíri
	2	3	4	5	6	?		9	?		11	?	?N,Adv	116. ʔtyóto 'and a little, a little over'
				4	5								PcN,?N	117. ʔtyuu 'in the midst of, while' (see §14.4); 'among'
					?	?		9					PcN	118. ʔúmare 'born in/at'
														119. ʔwari '(at) the rate of, by (a proportion of)'
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	(10)	11	12		PcN	120. ʔyoo 'for the use (of), for use (in/as/by)'

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Grammar			
1	2			5			8					N	121.	˘yori '(along) toward'	
1				5								N	122.	˘yuki, ˘iki 'a trip to, bound for'	
					4							?N,Adv	123.	˘zén 'before'—see §14.4	
												(AN)	124.	˘zén [taru] 'like, of the sort'—see §13.5a	
					4			9				N	125.	˘zéngo 'about, approximately'	
					2	4				11		N	?+	126.	˘zibun 'time (when)'—cf. post-adnominal zibun(˘)
1	2			4								N	127.	˘zidai 'period (when)'—cf. post-adnominal zidai	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	? ?	10	11	12		N	?+	128.	˘ziken 'the incident of'
					5	6		9				N	129.	˘zoi [= "s...]' 'along, following'	
					2		6 ?					N	130.	˘zóroi [= "s...]' 'a lineup (an array) of'	
										11		N	131.	˘zúkare [= "t...]' 'weariness from'—cf. postadnominal tukaré	
												PcN,N	132.	˘zuke [= "t...]' '(one that is) dated, bearing the date'	
1	2			(5)?								PcN	133.	˘zuki [= "t...]: (a) 'attached to' (b) = ˘tuki	
						6	7			11	12	PcN	134.	˘zúkú(˘) '(by) dint/force of; purely out of'	
							6 ?			11	12	PcN,(N)	135.	˘zúkume '(one who/which is, being) adorned with, swathed in, full of'	
					2?	? 6		?				N	136.	˘zúkuri [= "t...]' 'the construction/making of'	
							6 7	(9)				?PcN	137.	˘zume [= "t...]: (a) 'packed in' (b) 'stationed in/at' (c) —see §9.1.7 (V-i-˘zume)	
1										11		?PcN	138.	˘zumi [= "s...]' 'finished with'—see §14.4	
										11		PcN	139.	˘zumi [= "t...]' 'shipment by; loaded on; a capacity of'	
1					5	6		9		11	(-)	PcN	140.	˘zura [= "t...]' 'a face/look of'	
											(12)	N	141.	˘zútai '(following) along'	
												N	142.	˘zútu '(distributively) each'—see §2.5	
											9	N,Adv	143.	˘zyáku 'a little less than, just under, minus'	
											9	N	144.	˘zyásuto '(the time that is) just, exactly'	
											4	N			

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

				12	Adv,?N	145.	zyoo 'on; in; in view/consideration of, from the standpoint of, because of; with respect to'
	4		(9)		Adv	146.	zyuu: (a) 'all through (a time)'
1	5 (6)				N		(b) 'throughout, all over (a place)'

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) *~ágari* 'one who/which is) fresh from': yakunin *~ágari* no zitugyoo-ka 'a bureaucrat-turned-businessman'; ... geisya *~ágari* no saikun 'a wife who used to be a geisha who ...'; ... byooki *~ágari* mitai na hito ga, ... 'a person looking just out of sickbed' (Tk 3.121a); ... áme *~ágari* no miti ... 'a road after the rain'; Titioya wa, kono syokunin--*~ágari* 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) *~ámari* 'over, more than, in excess of': Kono is-syúukan *~ámari* ga abunai 'More than this one week will be dangerous'; Kono is-syúukan *~ámari* o yukkúri tanosímu 'I will relax and enjoy this week-and-a-bit'; Kono is-syúukan *~ámari*, káre ni awánai 'It's been more than a week now that I haven't seen him'; Sono tooka *~ámari* kintyoo no renzoku dátta 'I was on pins and needles for those ten days and then some'; Sukii-ryókoo no yúkai na ituka *~ámari* wa at-to iu ma ni tátta 'The more than five jolly days of the ski trip passed all too soon'; Sono tanosii tooka *~ámari* no kotó o yóku omoidasu 'I often recall those ten-plus pleasant days'; Kurusimi-nuita san-kágetu *~ámari* no kikan wa watasi no zínsei ni oite sukunakaránu eikyoo o ataeta 'The period of over three months that I agonized cast a not inconsiderable influence on my life'; ... saigo no gohyakú-zi *~ámari*, ... 'the last five hundred and some words' (Maeda 1962.203); ... tonai no nizyuk-kásyo *~ámari* de ... 'in more than twenty places within Tōkyō' (SA 2651.4); Kono nagái tooka *~ámari* o konna hēnpi na tokoró de ittai dóo 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*(*~*) *~ámari* tátta íma náo kookai sarezu 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)': Kyóo mo réi no kooen *~átari* o hutari de sanpo site irú no de wa náí ka 'Let us take a stroll together again today in and around our usual park'; Kanemóti(*~*) no óoi 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-yásiki no átta 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 yuumei na ryoori-ya no Hamasaku *~átari* ni ikéba, kánari oisii monó ga taberarerú 'If we go to a restaurant like Hamasaku that is one of the best known in Tōkyō we will be able

to eat fairly delicious things'; Musiatúí kyóo \bar{a} tari kaminári ga ki-sóo da 'A muggy day like today is the sort that you can expect thunder from'; Sono kotó ni túite wa, syokuba dé mo sootoo hurúí Sátóo san \bar{a} tari ni kiité mo yóku wakaránaí to iu 'Even someone like Mr Sató who is fairly old around the shop doesn't know much about those things when you ask'.

(3c) \bar{a} tari 'per': Koko no ryóori wa takái. Kono hitóri \bar{a} tari ga, gosen-en mo suru 'The food here is expensive. This tab for one person comes to a whopping five thousand yen'; Heikin-syúunyuu wa, ik-ko \bar{a} tari, sanman-en de áru 'The average income per household is thirty thousand yen'; Orinpikku de katuyaku suru hitóri \bar{a} tari no sénsyu ni tuki, bakudai na o-kane ga kakátte iru 'For each person participating in the Olympics it takes a huge sum of money'. See also Alfonso 1141.

(4a) \bar{a} te '(the one) addressed to, aiming at': Sono kázoku \bar{a} te ni kíkí o uttaéru (\bar{a}) tegami o káku nádo ... 'To write a letter of complaint about the danger, addressed to his family ...' (SA 2672.25b); ... túma no titioya \bar{a} te ni tegami o kakimásita 'I wrote a letter to my wife's father ...' (SA 2673.66c); ... watasibune-gáisia no keiéi-sya \bar{a} te ni soo iu tegami o Tazima san ga táipu de úti, ... 'a letter to that effect addressed to the ferryboat company was typed up by Mr Tajima and ...' (SA 2674.86b); ... zibun no higó-sya \bar{a} te ni tegami 'a letter to his protector' (KKK 3.133); ... kono kúrabu \bar{a} te ni zyoohoo o nagáseba yorosii 'it is all right to leak information to this club' (SA 2658.63c); Kóndo kara wa soko ni káite áru atarasii zyúusyo \bar{a} te ni okutte kudasái 'Starting next time please send things to the new address written there'; Kono tegami wa móto ita tokoró \bar{a} te ni nátte irú no de, túku no ga osókatta no da 'This letter got addressed to where I used to be, so it was late in arriving'; Watasi ga móto ita hurúí zyúusyo \bar{a} te ni takusán no nengá-zyoo (\bar{a}) ga kíte ita 'A lot of New Year cards came to the old address where I used to live'; Watasi no tutómete iru kaisya \bar{a} te ni konna sina ga todokimásita 'Articles of this sort arrived addressed to the company where I work'; Uke-toru tegami wa zitaku \bar{a} te [no] ga óói 'Most of the letters I get are [ones] addressed to me at home'; Kyóo dásite tegami no náka ni, anó-hito \bar{a} te ga sán-mai mo átta 'Among the letters I mailed today, there were actually three addressed to him'; Tegami no kópii no náka kara, sonó-hito \bar{a} te o sagasi-dásite kudasái 'Look up the letter to him from our file (of copies of letters)'; Oobo-yóosi o, káki no zyúusyo \bar{a} te o-okuri kudasái 'Please send the application form to the address given below'.

(4b) \bar{a} te 'per': ringo o hitóri \bar{a} te sán-ko 'three apples apiece' (cf. \bar{a} zútu).

(5a) \bar{b} ákari 'about, approximately': Kono zíp-pun \bar{b} ákari ga turai 'This approximately ten-minute period is trying'; Kono zík-kiro \bar{b} ákari o sirabéru 'We will investigate about ten kilos of this'; Kono is-syúukan \bar{b} ákari, káre wa kónai 'He hasn't come for this whole week, about'; Kono hyaku-méetoru \bar{b} ákari ga nukatte iru 'This stretch of about a hundred meters is muddy'; Soko wa, tonari no ié ga tatemasi no tamé ni akete áru san-tubo \bar{b} ákari de, ... 'The place was about three *tsubo*'s of land left vacant for the next house to build an annex on, and ...' (Aya Kōda: Nagareru 355); Byooki dátta sono hutuka \bar{b} ákari wa tote-mo kurusikatta 'The two days or so that I was ill were terribly painful'; Minná ga atumátte tanosinda suu-zikan \bar{b} ákari no aida wa tatimati súgite simatta 'The several hours or so that we enjoyed getting together suddenly were over'.

(5b) \bar{b} ákari 'exclusively, all the time; only, just' (= daké, nómi): Ano mondai \bar{b} ákari o kangáete iru = Ano mondai o \bar{b} ákari kangáete iru 'I am thinking only of that problem' (V 36); D'átte, okásama wa Takizawa sensei no o-aite \bar{b} ákari nasutte 'ru n desu mono

'But you're spending all your time with Maestro Takizawa, mother!' (SM 1969/7/20.91); Hén na kotó bákari suru 'He is constantly doing strange things'; Amai monó bákari tábete iru 'They eat nothing but sweets'; Ootoótó ga suru kotó bákari oyá wa hómete iru 'What my little brother does is all my father ever praises'; ... kyooká-syo ni bákari tayótte ... 'relying only on textbooks' (Gd 1969/9.67a); Konó-hito bákari ga syabéru 'This person does all the talking'; Konó-hito bákari o kawai-gáru 'This person gets all the affection'; Téinei na kotobá bákari tukaú no né 'They always use polite words, you see'; Isya ga kínzita(¯) kotó bákari site ité wa, naoránai yó 'You won't get well if you keep doing things the doctor has prohibited'.

(6) ¯bari '(after) the fashion of': Sonó-hito ¯bari no é o káku ni wa, mótto syugyoo ga iru 'You need more training to paint a picture in his style'; Káre mo yuumei na Pikáso ¯bari no tyuusyo-ga o káku yoo ni nátta 'He actually got so he painted abstracts after the fashion of the famous Picasso'; Karada no ookii undoo-sénsyu ¯bari no yói taikaku o site iru 'He has a fine physique after the fashion of some large-bodied athlete'; Kono syoosetu wa, Edo-búngaku o daihyoo suru Tikámatu ¯bari no omosíro-sa ga áru 'This novel has the charm of the style of Chikamatsu who represents Yedo literature'; Yú kai na Sátoo san ¯bari ni káre mo yóku syabéru omosirói yátu da 'He is an interesting guy who talks a good deal after the fashion of jolly Mr. Satō'; Rippa na kásyu ni náru ni wa, taikaku no yói seiyóo-zin ¯bari ni yóku tabénakute wa ikenai 'To become a fine singer it is necessary to eat well after the fashion of the Occidental with his fine physique'; Mínobe to-tízi ¯bari no taiwa-tyoo '(it's) the tone of dialog characteristic of metropolitan Governor Minobe' (SA); Huransu no zyuukyuu-séiki no tyósyá Zóra ¯bari no syoosetu 'a novel after the style of Zola, the 19th-century French author'.

(7a) ¯betu 'classified by': nenrei ¯betu 'classified by age'; zidai ¯betu 'classified by period/era'; syúruui ¯betu 'classified by kind/variety'; hukén ¯betu [no] zinkoo 'population (listed) by prefecture'; ... hóteru wa mokuteki ¯betu ni wakeraremásu 'hotels are differentiated according to purpose' (Tsunagoshi 130b).

(7b) ¯betu 'excluding': syokuzi ¯betu 'without meals' (opposite of syokuzi ¯komi); téate ¯betu 'excluding allowances' (opposite of téate ¯komi); zéi ¯betu 'excluding tax' (opposite of zéi ¯komi); Dóndon takaku náru kootúu-hi ¯betu dá kara turai 'Since it excludes the steadily mounting transportation costs, I find it tough'.

(8a) ¯biki 'coated/plated/covered with': Zinkoo-teki ni goosei sita gómu ¯biki no reinkóoto da 'It is a raincoat coated with a rubber that was artificially synthesized'; Kiiroi róo ¯biki no kamí 'Paper coated with yellow wax'; Hí ni tuyói hooroo ¯biki [nó] ga óói 'There are many (which are) plated with fire-resistant enamel'; Atuku káketa hooroo ¯biki no nábe 'A pot thickly plated with enamel'.

(8b) ¯biki 'at a discount of': Ití-wari ¯biki de uré^[1] 'Sell it at a discount of ten percent'; Gó-bu ¯biki [no] ga óói 'Most of them are five percent off'; Sánzyuu san-pasénto ¯biki wa hutuu da 'A discount of thirty-three percent is usual'.

(9) ¯bun 'a portion (sufficient) for (... each)': ... hyaku-péezi ¯bun ni okéru "mái" no siyóo-ryoo ... 'the amount of usage of "mái" in every hundred pages ...'; Ik-kágetu ¯bun no eiga-kóokoku o ... 'A month's (coverage of) film advertisements ...' (Nagano 1968.177); ... nán-nen ¯bun mó no nyúusu ga kotosi ni syuutyuu sita ... 'enough news for several years was concentrated into this year' (R); ... iti-zíkan ¯bun no kane o harátte, kono umá ni nori, ... 'Paying for an hour's ride, I mounted this horse, ...' (Endō 213); Hitóri ¯bun íkura haraimasyóo 'How much do we each pay?'; Ití-nen ¯bun no sigoto ... 'One year's

work ...'; *Sénbei, mame-nezi, karín-too, hakka, sonna món desu kara né, naná-en gozís-sen nara dagasi-ya ík-ken ˉbun wa arimásu 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 ˉbun 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 ˉbun in fractions, see p. 767 (§13.6).

(10a) ˉburi 'after the absence of (an interval)': *Terebi-kánkei o nozoku geinóo-kai kara kanzen ni syatto-áuto sarete ita Tamiya Zíroo ga ití-nen san-kágetu ˉburi ni kamu-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); *Sibároku ˉburi de átta tizin(ˉ) ni ...* 'to a friend I had not seen for a while' (Nagano 1966.15); *Nán-nen ka ˉburi dátta = Nán-nen ˉburi ká datta* 'It was after some years'. But *hisasi-buri(ˉ)* with its formal variant *hisakata-buri(ˉ)* 'after a long time' is treated as a separate lexical item.

(10b) ˉburi 'the figure/shape/manner of': *Musuko no sono séizin(ˉ) ˉburi o míte tití wa yorokónda* 'Seeing that adult manner in his son pleased the father'; *Mígoto na séizin(ˉ) ˉburi ni dáre mo ga mé o mi-hatta* 'His admirably adult manner caught everyone's eye'; *Káno-zyo no kaigaisii hahaoya ˉburi ni, kodomó-táti mo mánzoku no yoosu da* 'Her figure of heroic mother appears to please the children, too'; *Búnsi-tati no hanayáida yakusya ˉburi ga sono hí no mimono dá* 'The feature of the day was the figure of splendid actor cut by the literary men'; *Káre no tanomosii riidaa ˉburi ni kokóro o hikareta* 'Hearts were captured by his manner of trustworthy leader'; *Káre no íta ni túita sikái-sya ˉburi wa ittai dóko de manandá n daroo ka* 'I wonder where on earth he learned his thoroughly at-home M.C. manner?'; *Musumé no kirei na hanáyome ˉburi ni háha wa yorokónda* 'The beautiful figure she presented as a bride delighted her mother'; ... *taihen na supíido ˉburi o simésitá no de, ...* 'as it [the typhoon] showed a terrific speed' (Kotoba no yurai 25). *Roku ni sirí mo sinai kotó o sittá ka ˉburi o suru hitó ga yóku gozaimásu ná* 'There are a good many people, you see, who pretend to knowledge of things they know too little about' (Okitsu 1.148).

(10c) ˉburi = ˉbun 'a portion (sufficient) for': *mikka ˉburi/ˉbun no syokúryoo(ˉ)* 'food enough for three days'. [Dialect?]

(11) ˉdai 'the level/mark of': *Sinbun sika kaenai zyuu-en ˉdai ...* 'at a level of ten yen, a sum that will buy little but a newspaper'; *Eikoku no sénsyuu (Zimu-Píitaa) ga ni-zíkan nízip-pun ˉdai de hasítta ...* 'an English athlete (Jim Peter) ran it in two hours and twenty minutes' (Tk 3.80b).

(12) ˉdai '(one that is) the size of': *Kogata-torákku ˉdai no sí-ki no énzin ...* 'Four engines each the size of a small truck' (SA 2670.139a); *Nikai-date-bíru ˉdai no gúnzi ˉyoo tuusin-éisei ...* 'A military communications satellite the size of a two-story building ...' (from a newspaper); *Ní ˉbun no ití ˉdai no syasin* 'A photograph half size'; *Uzura no tamágo(ˉ) ˉdai [nó] ga óói* 'There are a lot the size of a quail's egg'; *E-hágaki ˉdai ga tekíto daróo* 'About the size of a picture postcard would be suitable'; ... *han-péezi ˉdai no sinbun-kóokoku ...* 'a half-page newspaper ad' (SA 2684.119a).

(13a) *daké* 'only, just' (= *bákari, nómi*): *Káre wa, kirei na hitó daké ni sínsetu ni suru* 'He only behaves nicely toward good-looking people'; *Hurúi kí daké^[1] kirimásu* 'We will only cut the old trees'; *Konó-hito daké ga kíta* 'Only this person came'; *Konó-hito daké o táyori ni suru* 'I will/can only rely on this person'; *Mainen sono hí daké^[1] nómu kotó ni*

site iru 'I make it a principle to drink just on that one day each year'.

(13b) (̀)daké '(to) the amount/extent of; exactly; at least': Tábeta sono ryóo (̀)daké^[1] enérúgii ga ahuréru yóo ni kan-zirareru 'You can feel energy overflowing to the extent of the amount you have eaten'; Koná wa tukau bún (̀)daké^[1] kitit-to hakarimásita 'I carefully measured the exact amount of flour to be used'; Zyuuen-kítte o nihyakú-en (̀)daké^[1] kudasai 'Let me have 200 yen worth of ten-yen stamps'; Sono náka de yokei na monó (̀)daké^[1] nokósita kudasai 'Leave whatever of the things you don't need'; Yakusoku sita gáku (̀)daké^[1] tásika ni motte kimásita 'He surely enough brought the exact amount he had promised'; Kono gáku (̀)daké ga modótte kita 'Exactly this amount came back'; Kono gáku (̀)daké o tyokin suru 'I will deposit exactly this amount'; Benkyoo suréba, sono ryóo (̀)daké^[1] éra ku naréru to omótte iru 'I think by studying I will improve myself to the full extent that I do it'; Hanbún (̀)daké^[1] herasoo 'Let us reduce it by half'; Sasuga wa káre (̀)daké^[1] no kotó wa áru 'It is indeed worthy of him' (Kenkyusha). The words dóre-dake(̀) 'how much', kore-dake 'this much/many' (cf. kore daké 'only this'), sore-dake 'that much/many' (cf. sore daké 'only that'), are-dake 'that much/many' (cf. are daké '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) (̀)daké ni, (̀)daké^[1] átte 'just for being': Dá ga sikási, sasuga wa tensai-gáka Takizawa Eizi-kun no sákú(̀) (̀)daké^[1] átte, korya subarasíi hyoohón-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); Anó-hito wa né Edokko (̀)daké ni zadan ga zitú ni umái 'Like the true Yedoite that he is he is a good conversationalist' (Kenkyusha); Sabisíkatta áto (̀)daké ni hídoku urésíkatta 'She felt terribly happy—all the more so (for its being) after she had been so lonely' (Fn 287b).

(14) (̀)dárake '(one that is) smeared/filled with, a mass/mess of': Háha ga huton o tukútte irú no de, heyá^[1] no náka wa sono wata-bókori (̀)dárake desu 'Mother is making a quilt, and the room is filled with the cotton dust from (the stuffing of) that'; Mattakú^[1] dóko o muité mo, iyá na yátu (̀)dárake da 'Wherever I turn the place is full of dreadful people'; ... koo nátte miru to Ákiko wa dóo site ii ka wakaránai kotó (̀)dárake 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 hosói honé (̀)dárake desu 'This fish is full of tiny bones throughout its body'; Zyúutan wa, máda sákki kobósita hai (̀)dárake no mamá desu 'The carpet is still smeared with the ashes spilled a while back'; Ahurika wa yasei no doobutu (̀)dárake desu 'Africa is full of wild animals'; Niwa o kirei na haná (̀)dárake ni site okú no ga yumé desu 'It is my dream to get my garden so it is a mass of pretty flowers'; Akai bara ga sukí na no de, káno-zyo no heyá wa kabin ní mo, káaten ni mo, beddo-kábaa ni mo akai bara (̀)dárake desu 'Since she likes red roses, her room is filled with red roses—in vases, on the curtains, on the bedcovers even'; Heyá^[1] no náka wa, sákki tundé kíta haná (̀)dárake ni nátte iru 'The room is filled with the flowers that I cut a while back'; ... kaku ni hazureta tokoró (̀)dárake, ... 'are full of passages that violate the rules, and ...' (K 1966.24); ... doró to ti (̀)dárake desita 'they were covered with mud and blood' (SA 2676.128c); Kodomo no zidai ní wa, karada (̀)zyuu kizu (̀)dárake datta 'During my childhood I was a mass of scars all over my body' (Tk 3.42b); Kuni ga assen site kureta toti wa, izure mo matí no nantoo, siókaze ga móro-ni ataru isí ya iwá (̀)dárake no toti bákari [da] 'The land that the government has negotiated for us is all just land to the southeast of the city,

covered with stones and rocks at the complete mercy of the sea wind' (SA 2689.147b); Kono heyá wa kitanái gomí $\bar{d}\bar{a}$ rake da 'This room is covered with filthy dust'; Kitanái gomí $\bar{d}\bar{a}$ rake na heyá da 'It is a room covered with filthy dust'; ... suné ni kizu $\bar{d}\bar{a}$ rake no ... monó 'a person [covered with scars on his leg =] with a guilty conscience' (SA); Watasi ní wa yómu kotó mo dekinái yóo⁽¹⁾ na muzukasii(̄) hón $\bar{d}\bar{a}$ rake da 'It is loaded with such difficult books I can't even read them'; ... oogesa ni iu to náni mo ká mo ga hazukasii kotó $\bar{d}\bar{a}$ rake mítai ni omóeta no da '... to exaggerate, it seemed as though everything was smeared with shame' (CK 985.371).

(15) $\bar{d}\bar{e}$ '(one that is) a product/graduate of': Kyoosoo no hidói nyuugaku no muzukasii(̄) Toodai $\bar{d}\bar{e}$ dá kara, eriito-ísiki ga tuyói daroo 'Because he is a graduate of Tōkyō University where the severe competition makes admission difficult, he has a strong feeling of being elite'; Sínbasi to iu rékki to sita ikísúzi(̄) $\bar{d}\bar{e}$ (̄)dakē⁽¹⁾ átte odori ya syamisen wa honsyoku désu '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-hito wa Miyázaki no de dá sóo da ga Tookyoo no de dé wa ná no ka 'He is said to be from Miyazaki, but I wonder if he isn't from Tōkyō'; Nóoka no de da 'He is from a farm(er's) family'; Inaka kara pot-to de no onná ga yuuwaku sare-yasúí 'Girls blushing from the country are easily seduced'. Do not confuse with the suffix $\bar{d}\bar{e}$ in Kono hón wa yomi- $\bar{d}\bar{e}$ ga áru 'There is plenty of reading in this book', Tabe- $\bar{d}\bar{e}$ ga áru 'There's quite a lot to eat', Aruki- $\bar{d}\bar{e}$ ga áru 'It is a lot of walking', etc.

(16) $\bar{d}\bar{e}ki$ 'produced (by/at/in)': Kiru monó ni zeitákú datta kúge ga óoku sún-de ita Kyóoto $\bar{d}\bar{e}ki$ no rippa na orímóno(̄) de gozaimásu kara 'It is a splendid fabric produced in Kyōto where used to live the nobles who were extravagant in what they wore (and that is why it is so expensive/desirable/ ...)'; Ryoosan $\bar{z}\bar{i}dai$ no íma $\bar{d}\bar{e}ki$ no kabin dá kara tumaránai monó da 'It is a vase produced in the present era of mass production so it is a worthless thing'.

(17) $\bar{d}\bar{o}koro$, $\bar{d}\bar{o}ko$ 'far from (being/doing), hardly (a question of)':³⁹ Taihen, taihen, ban-góhan no soodan $\bar{d}\bar{o}koro$ zya náí desu yó 'Terrible, terrible, we can hardly discuss dinner (under such circumstances)!'; Isogásikute sukí na góruhu $\bar{d}\bar{o}koro$ zya náí 'I'm so busy my much enjoyed golf is out of the question'; Anó-hito ni wa, episóodo ga óoku, yóku wadai ni noboru Sátóo san $\bar{d}\bar{o}koro$ no sávagi zya náí 'He's a far cry from Mr Satō who keeps getting talked about for his many scrapes'; Isogásikute íma wa kono sigoto $\bar{d}\bar{o}koro$ zya náí 'I'm so busy this job is out of the question for now'; Iyóiyó kawá o watareru to iu tyokúzen(̄) ni damé ni nátta no wa, hainiti-móndai ga ókíte, ryokoo $\bar{d}\bar{o}koro$ zya náku náttayatta '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) $\bar{d}\bar{o}mari$ 'up to (the limit of—an amount, a weight, a distance)': Kono gáku $\bar{d}\bar{o}mari$ ga datoo to omowaréru 'Up to this amount seems proper'; Zootóo-hin(̄) wa, kono gáku $\bar{d}\bar{o}mari$ o datoo to mi-nasite iru 'Gifts are regarded as proper up to this amount'; Íma yóku benkyoo site okanai to, kimi no syóorai wa, kimi no kirai na hira-syáin $\bar{d}\bar{o}mari$ desu yó 'Unless you apply yourself to your studies now, your future will be limited to that of your despised ordinary clerk'; Tumaránai kakari-tyoo $\bar{d}\bar{o}mari$ de wa, sararii-man no issyoo wa yarikirénai ná 'If limited to being a dull chief clerk, the white-collar worker's life is unbearable, you see'; Watakusi ga íma daséru niman-en $\bar{d}\bar{o}mari$ de,

39. See also $\bar{d}\bar{o}koro$ ka, § 15.6.

súbete o makanátte kure 'Take care of all the expenses within the sum of twenty thousand yen that I can pay now'; Kono básu wa sono matí $\bar{d}\bar{o}$ mari desu 'This bus only goes as far as that town'; Sonna wazá $\bar{d}\bar{o}$ mari de wa zyúudoo o narátta to ienai 'You can't be said to have learned judo with nothing more than that sort of a throw'; Káre no zínsei wa tái-site omosíroku mo nái zyo-kyóozyu $\bar{d}\bar{o}$ mari no haran no nái zínsei 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 nén ni ni-kái $\bar{d}\bar{o}$ mari 'Sure enough, it's just two times a year' (SA 2664.23b); Kono "syérupa" no nittoo no soobá wa sánbyakú-en kara sen-en $\bar{d}\bar{o}$ mari 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 kóro wa, wáru-sa to itté mo kaki-dóroboo $\bar{d}\bar{o}$ mari datta no ni ... 'In the old days, when we were children, pranks at their worst were limited to stealing persimmons but [now] ...' (SA 2654.123c); ... sore mo kono hen $\bar{d}\bar{o}$ mari de aru 'that too is limited to this passage [in the book]' (Maeda 1962.186); Génzai no bungaku-sákuhin zya nákute, séizei Akutágawa Ryuunosuke $\bar{d}\bar{o}$ mari $\bar{g}\bar{u}$ rai no monó o yómeba matigai ná 'Rather than writers of the present day, it would be advisable to read at least back to Ryūnosuke Akutagawa' (Fukuda in Ōno 1967.229).

(19) $\bar{d}\bar{o}$ ori 'like, as, according to': Ziyuu-kéizai no gensoku $\bar{d}\bar{o}$ ori ... 'According to the principles of a free economy ...'; Sore o gakumen $\bar{d}\bar{o}$ ori ni uke-toru kotó wa dekinai 'That cannot be taken at face value'; Kono keikaku [no kotó] $\bar{d}\bar{o}$ ori o okonatta 'We acted according to this plan'; Kono keikaku $\bar{d}\bar{o}$ ori [no kotó] ga okonawareta 'It was done according to this plan'; ... kore máde $\bar{d}\bar{o}$ ori no bunryóo no sigoto o saseru 'they will expect the same amount of work as required up to the present' (SA 2820.119cd); ... naru-béku(̄) ima-máde $\bar{d}\bar{o}$ ori ... 'as much as possible as it has been up to now' (SA 2673.18c); Máe kara no warúi uwasa $\bar{d}\bar{o}$ ori ni nátte simatta 'It turned out just like the earlier nasty rumor (had said)'; Kono rokunén-kan wa kokumin tó no kooyaku $\bar{d}\bar{o}$ ori ni tutome-tái 'For this six-year period I want to serve in accordance with my agreement with the nation'; Anáta no baai wa, syakai-too no kúnda sukézyuuru $\bar{d}\bar{o}$ ori ni kikai-níngyoo no gótoku ugokánakute wa naránai to iu tura-sa, bakabakási-sa wa arimasén 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 hí wa káre-ra no táteta tanosii keikaku $\bar{d}\bar{o}$ ori ni kotó ga hakobareta 'That day things worked out according to the happy plans they had set up'; Káre wa zibun no itta kotobá $\bar{d}\bar{o}$ ori no kotó o túne ni okonau 'He always carries things out according to the words he has said'; ... kyooká-syo $\bar{d}\bar{o}$ ori ga tatémae de aru to iu kotó ... 'that it is the rule to have it the way the textbook has it' (Nagano 1966.56).

(20) $\bar{d}\bar{o}$ osi '(those) in company with': ... maiko ya geiko $\bar{d}\bar{o}$ osi de siyoo sareru monó de aru 'they are gestures used by *maiko* and *geiko*' (Inokuchi 14); ... wakái monó $\bar{d}\bar{o}$ osi de asobi ni iku 'go out to enjoy oneself with fellow young folk' (SA 2645.18c); Sonna ni wakái onná $\bar{d}\bar{o}$ osi de ... 'in company with fellow women so young'; Hazímete Amerika e kíta monó $\bar{d}\bar{o}$ osi de, kái o tukútta 'As fellow newcomers to America they formed a society'; ... mibun no hikúi monó $\bar{d}\bar{o}$ osi de mo ... 'even people of low status among themselves' (Satō 1962.26); Nihon-zín $\bar{d}\bar{o}$ osi ... 'Fellow Japanese ...'; Zibun-ra $\bar{d}\bar{o}$ osi de ... 'In their own company ...' (cf. § 2.7); ... maru-de tosí ga tyót-to sika hanárete inai koibito $\bar{d}\bar{o}$ osi de de⁽¹⁾ mo áru ka no yóo ni, ... 'quite as if they were perhaps lovers only slightly apart in age' (SA 2662.120a); ... hutatú no tigatta rekisi o mótta kuni $\bar{d}\bar{o}$ osi ga átta 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-dóosi 'neighboring villagers', tonari-dóosi 'neighbors', byoonin-dóosi 'fellow patients', Occasionally dóosi is used as a free noun: dóosi o atuméru 'form a fellowship', dóosi ga atumáru 'the fellowship forms/gathers'; Dóosi [de aru] Tanaka Tároo o syookai simásu 'Let me introduce T. T., [who is] a comrade [= fellow communist]'.

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

(22) ̀gai 'outside of, beyond': Kyóo kimeta hán'i ̀gai [= han'ígai] no mondai wa asita soodan siyoo 'Issues beyond the scope decided for today can be discussed tomorrow'; ... to iu rón wa toomē^[1](-) no mondai ̀gai [= mondáigai] de aru 'the argument that ... is beyond the immediate problem' (Gekkan-Bumpō 2/11.35a); Kengén ̀gai [= kengéngai] 'beyond one's authority, unauthorized'; keikaku ̀gai [= keikakúgai] 'outside one's plans'; senmon ̀gai [= senmóngai] 'outside one's specialty'.

(23) ̀gákari '(requiring) as many/much as, (by) taking': ... maru hutuka ̀gákari de Miyazaki-si e túita ga 'It took us a full two days to reach Miyazaki city and ...' (SA 2674.110c); ... hitóri ni go-rokunin ̀gákari de naguráreta 'a group of five or six got punched by one [high-school bully]' (SA 2681.124d); Iti-nen ̀gákari de íp-pon nomimásu 'In the course of a year I drink up a bottle (of liquor)' (SA 2645.50d); ... watasi wa kita-káigan kara higasi-káigan e to hanniti ̀gákari de arúita 'I walked from the north shore to the east short, taking half a day to do it'; Káre-ra wa minná^[1]oo-ótoko da kara, sono san-nín ̀gákari nara, yuuyúu(-) kono piano wa hakoberu 'They are all big fellows, so with the three of them it should be easy to deliver the piano'; Yuusyuu na hitó-tati ̀bákari ga zyúu-nin erabáreta ga, sono yuusyuu na zyúu-nin ̀gákari de sité mo kono mondai wa tokénakatta '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-nín ̀gákari de, isí o ugokásu 'These three people together will move the stone'.

(24a) ̀gake 'garbed in (informal traditional wear)': atarasií warazi ̀gake de 'wearing new straw sandals'; kon-iro no yukata ̀gake de 'in a dark blue yukata (bathrobe)'; akai tasukí(-) ̀gake de 'with red sleeve ties'; makká na merinsu de tukúta tasukí(-) ̀gake de 'with sleeve ties made of red muslin'.

(24b) ̀gake 'multiplied by': hutatú ̀gake no ooki-sa 'double size(d)'; yottú ̀gake no nága-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-nín ̀gake no (naga-)isu 'a set-tee for three' is an extension of this.

(24c) ̀gake 'ten percent': Teika no hatí ̀gake de uru 'We will sell it at eighty percent of the set price'.

(25) ̀gara 'by the nature of': Sigoto ̀gara no kyóomí ... 'Interests that stem from one's job ...'; mibun ̀gara 'by one's social position'; Íp-pun iti-byoo o ki ni suru syokúgyoo ̀gara [de], anaúnsaa ni wa noiróoze ga óói 'Announcers have a lot of neuroses from the nature of their profession where they worry about every minute and every second'; Máiniti(-) no yóo ni bukka ga agaru zisetu ̀gara, kokumin wa seikatu ni owarete, zeitakú-hin(-) ní máde wa té ga dénai '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 dé wa náku, 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) ̀gárami '(one who is) about, a round (age of)': sizyúu ̀gárami '(a person) about forty years of age'; gozyúu ̀gárami 'a round fifty years of age'; Sán-zyuu ̀gárami o taisyoo ni suru 'We aim at the thirty-year-olds'; Hátati ̀gárami ga óói 'There are a lot of twenty-year-olds'.

(27) ̀gata 'by about (a percent, a price level)': Itiwari ̀gata hetta 'It was reduced by ten percent'; Zyuu-en ̀gata geraku sita 'It fell ten percent'; Tóози, minkan yóri mo koko wa ni-sánwari ̀gata, kyúuryoo ga yókatta to omoimásu '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 'belonging 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 tó no tizin(̀) ni háihu(̀) sita 'printed it up and distributed it to acquaintances of mine and of my wife's' (Tk 3.183); Kyónen made syusyoo dáta 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 teachers on the spot ...'; ... zoowai ̀gawa ... 'those engaged in the bribery' (KKK 3.132); Minami-Bétonamu séihu ̀gawa wa ... 'The side of the South Vietnamese 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 (= dóтира ̀gawa) 'which/either side', etc.

(29) ̀gáwari 'in place of, instead of, as substitute for': Húben de kyuu-siki na yu-tánpo ̀gáwari ni denki-burankétto o tukau 'Instead of an inconvenient and old-fashioned hot-water bottle, I use an electric blanket'; Zimú-in e no áisatu ̀gáwari ni, saikin no besuto-séraa o is-satú^[1] motte itta 'Instead of "greetings" to the clerk she brought a recent best-seller' (Ariyoshi 241); Ryóosi no katá wa góhan ̀gáwari ni sakana o tabéru n desu 'Those who are fishermen eat fish instead of rice, you see' (SA 2681.44a).

(30) ̀gáyoi 'attending; traveling between, commuting to': Nedan no takái ryoorí-ya ̀gáyoi o sinái de, táda de hón o yoméru tosyó-kan ̀gáyoi o site 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'; Hónkón Yokohama ̀gáyoi no teiki-sen ... 'a regular boat running between Hong Kong and Yokohama'.

(31) ̀génzai '(the time that is) as of (a date/period)': Ití-nen ̀zyuu de itiban mizikái tukí no nigatú ̀génzai o nozokéba ... 'Excluding the period as of February, the shortest month of the year, ...'; Nizis-séiki ̀génzai ni nátte mo ... 'Even now in the twentieth century ...'; Syóowa(̀) yónzyuu yo-nen no sán-gatu ̀génzai no tookei ni yoru to ... 'According to the statistics as of March of 1969 ...'; Nanazyuu-néndai ̀génzai de wa ... 'As of the seventies ...'; Dé wa, gógo, rokú-zi ̀génzai no hattyaku-zyóokyoo o o-tutae simasyoo 'Now I will tell you about the (plane) arrivals and departures as of this hour of six p.m.' (R).

(32) ̀gó(̀) '(the time) after'—see §14.4: Dái itizi taisen ̀gó^[1](̀) dékita kokusai-rénmei to ... 'The League of Nations which was set up after World War I ...' (R); Kekkyokú^[1] sore kara, san-kágetu ̀gó(̀) ni ... 'Finally three months after that ...' (R); Rainen no soo-sénkyo

ṅó(-) ga mondai da 'The problem is (the time) after next year's general election'; Ní-sánniti ṅó(-) dá 'It is several days later'.

(33) ṅókkíri—see kókkíri.

(34) ṅónomi 'the style/mode/fashion/vogue of': Geki-teki na zisatu o tógeta Misima ṅónomi no, hito no ihyoo ni déru syuuzí-hoo(-) dá 'Rhetoric in the mode of a Mishima, with his violent suicide, takes people by surprise' (epithematic identification—see § 3.10a).

(35) ṅóro '(a time that is) about (a time)':⁴⁰ Hima na hiru-yásumi ṅóro ni denwa site morau 'I'd like to be phoned during the noon break when I am not busy'; Itiban isogasii yuu-gata ṅóro, misé o nukedásitari suru 'Around evening when it is busiest, I sometimes slip out of the shop'; Génki datta 1960'nen ṅóro wa, yóku issyo ni ténisu o sita 'Around 1960, when I was in good health, we used to play tennis together a lot'; Hi ni yake-tái nara, atúi ní-zi ṅóro ga ii 'If you want to get a sun tan, the best time is around two o'clock when it is hot'; Kí no ha [= Kó-no-ha] ga otíru zyuuiti-gatú ṅóro ni wa sootoo sámuku nátte yukí mo huri-dasu 'Around November when the leaves fall it gets quite cold and the snows start, too'; Mái-asa sán-zi ka yó-zi ṅóro ni mé o samásite ... 'Awakening around three or four o'clock every morning ...' (SA 2666.82b); Yohuké no zyuuní-zi, ití-zi ṅóro made, ... '...until around twelve or one at night' (SA 2666.83a); Daitai nán-zi ṅóro ga ii desu ka 'Around what time would it be better?'; Tokei no hári ga sán-zi ṅóro o simésite(-) iru 'The hands of the clock show three'. Lexical: konó-goro(-), itu-goro.

(36) ṅosi, ṅosi 'across, beyond, over; on the other side of': ... séntoo no bandai ṅosi ni ... 'beyond the watch-seat of the public bath' (SA 2650.117c); ... átukute kírakira kagayáku syusei [= arukóoru] no kirí ṅosi ni mé o korásite míru to, ... 'When I focused my eyes across the hot and glittering alcohol mist, I saw ...' (SA 2669.91a); Yonen ṅosi no koosyoo no kekka, ... 'As a result of over four years of negotiations, ...' (SA 2689.146d); ... tama-yóké(-) no donoo ṅosi ni ... 'across the bullet-proof sandbags' (SA 2678.96b); ... hoosoo o sán-nen ṅosi yatte 'másita 'was doing broadcasts over a three-year period' (Tk 4.201a); Tonari no kakíne ṅosi ni hanasi-kakeru ... '... starts talking across the next-door fence'; Sono térebi no tóo wa takái yamá ṅosi ni atira to kotira ni áru 'The television towers are here and there beyond the tall mountain'; Toomei na mado-gárasu ṅosi ni sóto no késiki ga mé ni háiru 'Beyond the clear glass of the window the outside scenery strikes the eye'; Atarásiku tukútta beránda(-) ṅosi ni mídori no sibahu ga miéru 'Beyond the newly built verandah you can see green turf'; Kotosi mo sono ié no hikúí kakíne ṅosi ni ume no haná ga miéru 'This year again you can see plum blossoms over the low fence of that house'; Sirói makú ṅosi ni ... 'On the other side of a white curtain ...'.

(37) ṅóto 'each, every (instance)': ... hitótu no torihiki ṅóto ni ... 'for each transaction' (SA 2670.29a); Yuumei na éki ṅóto ni náni ka miyage o katte kúru 'I will buy something in the way of a souvenir at each famous station'; Hurúí terá ṅóto ni sorézore motí-azi ga áru 'Each old temple has its own respective flavor'; Áu hitó ṅóto ni sono uwasa o itte mawatte iru 'I'm going around telling that rumor to everyone I see'; Kyuukoo wa ookíí éki ṅóto ni tomaru 'The express stops at every large station'; Tití ga kóokai(-) kara káeru tabí ṅóto ni utí(-) zyuude oo-sáwagi o suru 'Every time father comes back from a voyage there is a great commotion throughout the house'; Rinyúu-syoku wa

40. In the Tango area (west of Kyōto), ... góro is used to mean 'only, just', according to Inokuchi 281.

san-zíkan ṭgóto ga tekíto de áru 'For feeding the weaning baby, every three hours is suitable'; Rinyúu-syoku wa san-zíkan ṭgóto o géndo to suru 'We set every three hours as the limit for feedings when weaning'; ... tuuwa wa sán-pun made ṭgóto ni naná-en ni narimásu 'a phone call will be seven yen for each period up to three minutes' (SA 2835.41).

(38) ṭgoto 'inclusive of, with ... and all': Míkan wa eiyoo no áru kawá ṭgoto tabéru to yói 'It is better to eat tangerines with the nutritious skin and all'; Anna ni omoi kínko ṭgoto nsumáreta 'We got robbed of everything including that terribly heavy safe!'; Sono hako no náka ni háitte iru iroiro na garakuta ṭgoto motte kíta 'I brought everything including the miscellaneous junk in the box'; Sono totté ṭgoto tórete simatta 'The whole thing came off, handle and all'; Áru-hi watasi wa zitén-sya(ṭ) ṭgoto kawá no náka ni tenraku site oo-kega o sita 'One day I really hurt myself falling in the river, bike and all' (SA 2838.70b); Kono eda ṭgoto [o] ikete miyóo 'Let's try it all in the flower arrangement, including this branch'; Ikéru no nara, kono eda ṭgoto ga ii desyoo 'If you're arranging the flowers it would be better with this branch included in'. Some dialects use ṭguti.

(39a) ṭgúrai, ṭkúrai, ṭkkúrai 'about, as much; or so': Kono ití-kiro ṭgúrai ga kirei da 'This stretch of about one kilometer is pretty'; Kono ití-kiro ṭgúrai o Sakura-Námiki to iu 'This stretch of about one kilometer is called Cherry Lane'; Ni-kiro ṭgúrai hasíru 'We will walk about two kilometers'; ... tití ga yappári yonzyuu-kiro ṭgúrai sika náí n desu yó '... my father weighs only about 40 kilos himself' (SA 2654.44c).

(39b) ṭgúrai etc. 'to the extent of; about all (that ...); at least; as ... as' (adnominalizing either as a predicable adverb with nó or as an adjectival noun with ná): Sono hako ṭgúrai no ooki-sa nó ga hosii 'I want one [= a box] of a size as large as that box'; Sono ookii karénda ṭgúrai no kamí ni káite kudasai 'Please write it on paper as big as that large calendar'; Káre wa kinóo átta Sátóo san ṭgúrai no sé no táka-sa desu 'He is as tall as Mr Sató whom I saw yesterday'; Sukí na no wa ano kudamono ṭgúrai na monó da 'What I like is the fruit at least'; Wakái onná ṭgúrai kirei na monó wa náí 'There's nothing so pretty as a young girl'; Konna matigái o surú no wa, húdan amari hón o yománai kimi ṭgúrai na monó da 'Making this sort of mistake is about what I would expect from you who never bother to do much reading'; Sonó-hito ṭgúrai ga yuumei ni naréru no da kara, anáta d'atte ganbáreba seikoo simásu yó 'Since he at least can achieve fame, if you will just try harder you too will succeed, I tell you'; Kono wazá ṭgúrai o konaséreba tái-sita monó da 'If you can master THIS trick, it's quite a feat!'; Sonó-hito ṭgúrai yuumei ni nari-tái 'I want to become as famous as he (is)'; Sono mondai ṭgúrai muzukasii(ṭ) to sensei de mo nakanaka tokénaí 'If it is as hard as that problem even the teacher will be hard put to figure it out'; Sonna kantan na kotó ṭgúrai hito ni tanománakute mo ii no ni 'You'd think it wouldn't be necessary to call on others for anything as simple as that'; Sonna kotó o yarú no wa kimi ṭgúrai no monó da 'No one but you would do such a thing' (Kenkyusha); Tama ní wa kao ṭgúrai míset'atte ii daroo 'You might (at least) come and see us once in a while' (Kenkyusha); Tyúugaku de hissyuu-kámoku to sarete iru Eigo ṭgúrai wakaránakereba kore kará wa komarimásu yó '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]'; Píi-pii naku kodomo ṭkkúrai urusái monó wa náí 'There's nothing so annoying as a mewling kid' (Kb);⁴¹ Anó-hito ṭkkúrai, kamsan-kóokoo na hitó wa náí 'There's none so uxorious as he' (Tk 2.17b). Such expressions as A, B(, C) ṭgúrai de

41. On such expressions as N₁ ṭgúrai/hodó (A-i) N₂ wa náí, see hodó.

mean 'A and B (and C) are about all [there is and beyond that nothing]': ... denki-sutóobu, híbati, kotatu ṅúrai de 'electric heaters, hibachi, and kotatsu are about all there is [to use for heating]' (BJ 2.200); Eigo ga hanaséru no wa Sátoo san, Ikeda san ṅúrai de, hoka no kaiin 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 adverbs, as explained on p. 789 (§13.7): dóno-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-ḡúrai 'how much', onazi-kúrai(⁻)/-ḡúrai(⁻) 'to the same extent'.

(40) ṅúrumi 'throughout, the whole/entire': ... hirói tíiki ṅúrumi tyuu [= to iu] kotó ni náru to ... 'when it gets to be a matter of an entire large area' (SA 2686.-); Kaisya ṅúrumi matomete natu-yásumi náhte yumé no máta(⁻) yumé desu yó 'To get the whole company together for a summer vacation would be a dream beyond dreams!' (SA 2637.39e); Kaisya ṅúrumi ooyoo site iru tokoró mo áru ṅrasii ga, sá-te ... 'It would appear to have some features that apply throughout the company; well, now ...' (SA 2685.113a); Kázoku ṅurumi ... 'The whole family ...' (For further examples, see Kenkyusha.)

(41) ṅhán 'and a half': ní-zyuu yo-kka ṅhán 'twenty-four days and a half'. The accentuation of yozyóo-han 'four-and-a-half mat area' indicates a compound.

(42) ṅhatu '(thing) leaving from, dispatched from/at': Haná no miyako no Párii ṅhatu [= Pariihatu] no zikan wa ... 'The time of arrival in Paris, the capital of (flowers =) gaiety ...'; Nízyuu gó-niti ṅhatu [= gonitihatu] ga óói 'There are a lot of them dispatched on the 25th'. For an alternative treatment, see p. 135.

(43a) hodó 'about, approximately': Kono éiga(⁻) no náka de wa, kono zíp-pun hodó⁽¹⁾ ga omosirói 'In this film, this stretch of about ten minutes is interesting'; Sono zíp-pun hodó⁽²⁾ o nozokéba, omosiroku náí 'Except for that stretch of about ten minutes, it isn't interesting'; Sono san-nin hodó⁽³⁾ ga itu mo itazura o suru 'That group of three or so is always up to some prank'; Wiiku-éndo no yukkúri tanosímu kotó no dekíru hutuka hodó wa hoka no yoozi ni tukai-taku náí 'I don't want to use for other purposes the couple of days of the weekend when I can relax and enjoy things'; Kita-hánkyyuu ni nízyuu rokú-syu hodó⁽⁴⁾ ga seizon suru 'Some 26 varieties exist in the Northern Hemisphere' (SA 2677.60d); Hutatú no kome-bitu ní wa komé to múgi ga wákete irerarete óri, komé⁽⁵⁾ no hoo wa taisetú ni site tukawanákatta no ka, musi ga hanbún hodo o koná 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—had been pulverized by weevils' (SA 2665.117a); Koko ni áru kono mittú hodo ga kowárete iru 'These three that are here are broken'; Kantan ni arúite ikareru hyaku-méetoru hodo no tokoró ni íi kissá-ten ga áru 'There is a good café about a hundred meters away within easy walking distance'; Myúuzikaru "Doró⁽⁶⁾ no náka no rúbii" no náka de wa, tatta ní-kyoku hodó sika Iwaya san no si ni sakkyoku dekinákatta no ga, tote-mo zannén datta 'In the musical "Rubies in the Mud" I was only able to put music to Iwaya's lyrics for just two numbers, much to my regret' (SA 2654.62a); Kore wa nihyakú-en hodó⁽⁷⁾ de kaeru 'This can be had for a couple of hundred yen'; ... tooka hodó⁽⁸⁾ taizai sita toki⁽⁹⁾, ... '(Once) when I stayed for ten days ...' (KKK 3.205). The expressions ika-hodo = náni-hodo(⁻) = dóre-hodo(⁻), ka-hodo = kore-hodo, sa-hodo = sore-hodo, and are-hodo are lexically derived adverbs, as are noti-hodo and naru-hodo; see p. 789 (§13.7).

(43b) hodó 'as much as (to be/do); insofar as; (not) as much as'; Senden ní wa rázio(⁻)

hodó^[1] yasúi monó wa náí 'For advertising there is nothing so cheap as radio' (Tk 2.295);⁴² Yóku iu kotó o kiku ko hodó^[1] kawaií monó wa náí 'There's nothing so adorable as an obedient child'; Watakusi wa hoka no hitó-tati hodo kúroku yakenákatta 'I didn't get as tanned as the others did'; ... dókusyo(¯) no sukí na kodomo hodó^[1] sakubun ga umái ... 'the more the child enjoys reading the better he is at composition' (Nagano 1966.135); Warúi yátu hodo yóku nemuru 'The worst rascals sleep the soundest'; Takái heyá hodo háyaku husagattayá n desu 'The more expensive the rooms [in the hotel] the sooner they are filled' (Tk 3.234a); Hén na yumé hodo masayume ni náru 'The strangest dreams come true'; Suekko hodó^[1] kawaií monó da 'The younger the child, the dearer it is to you' (Kenkyusha); Nága-sa ga haba hodó^[1] áru 'It is as long as it is wide' (Kenkyusha); Kotosi wa kyónen hodo átuku náí 'This year is not so hot as last' (Kenkyusha); Ore wa zúbun nónda kedo, áni hodo zya nákatta 'I drank a lot, but not as much as my brother'; Kore wa umái monó desu ga, Isé-ebi(¯) hodó zya arimasén 'This is good-tasting stuff but not as good as lobster'; Kono zí wa kirei desu ga, sono zí hodo zya náí desyoo 'This character is neat, but not so neat as that one, surely'.

(44) ¯hukáku 'the depths of; deep in': Ití-nen ¯zyuu yukí ni tutumáreta yamá ¯hukáku sumiyákí ga súde ita 'A charcoal burner lived deep in mountains covered with snow the year around'; Kakoo ¯hukáku {made/e} tobi-kónda 'She jumped deep into the volcano crater'; Kaitei/Kawazoko ¯hukáku tamá o hirou 'They find jewels deep at the bottom of the sea/river'.

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

(45) ¯hoo 'the air/manner of': ... rippa na narí o sita sarárii-man ¯hoo no hutarí no otokó ga ... 'two gentlemen with the air of white-collar workers cutting fine figures' (SA 2689.43); Atui mégane o káketa gakusya ¯hoo 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': ... syúui zík-kiro ¯ien wa ... 'the surrounding ten kilos and beyond' (SA 2686.41d); ... Hónkón ¯ien sika, uru ryokoo ga náí 'the only trips that will sell are to Hongkong and beyond' (SA 2832.44b).

(47) ¯igai 'outside of, except for': ... káiritu(¯) de kin-zirárete(¯) iru buta-niku ¯igai wa nán de mo tabéru 'They will eat anything other than the pork that is forbidden them by religious law ...' (SA 2673.140c); Sono mondai ¯igai o tóku '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 damé na n desu tté 'I hear no one but young people are supposed to come to this party'; Tooyoo-kánzi ¯igai ga hu-hítuyoo da 'Characters outside the Provisional List are unnecessary' (Ōno 295); Bénki ¯nai (= Benkínai) ni benyóosi ¯igai o sutenái 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 N_1 hodó^[1] (A-i) N_2 wa náí 'there is no N_2 the equal of N_1 ' in which N_1 is more specific and N_2 is a more general category into which N_1 fits: Zinsyu-móndai hodo muzukasii(¯) móndai wa náí 'There is no problem so difficult as the race problem'. Sometimes ¯gurai is used for hodó.

(48) *-igo* 'after, since, hereafter': Réi no páat'ii *-igo*, káre-ra wa sitásiku nátta 'Since the well-known party, they have grown quite intimate'; Ano yúkai na zíken *-igo*, sono misé ni wa hito ga óoku atumáru yóo ni nátta 'After that delightful incident, crowds of people came to gather in the shop'; Káre wa zibun ga kaisya o déta zíkoku *-igo* no kotó wa obóete inai 'He doesn't remember what happened after the time he left the office'; Nihón-si wa, sono zidai *-igo* ga muzukasíi() '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-zíken *-igo*, kono yamá e no tozán-sya no kázu wa hetta 'After that tragic accident, the number of mountaineers going to this mountain declined'; Hooritu de kimerareta zyuuní-zi *-igo* wa eigyoo sinai 'We are closed (to business) from the legally set time of twelve o'clock'; Sono zíken *-igo*, kyaku wa kónaku nátta 'After that incident, guests stopped coming'. The expression *sono igo* (Tk 2.93a) can be regarded as ellipsis for something like *sono [zíken] -igo* 'after that [incident]'; *sore -igo* 'after that [time/event]' is also possible.

(49) *-ika* 'below, under, less than': Sono ten *-ika* wa rakudai désu 'Anything below that grade is failing'; Sono kóoi wa yaban na doobutu *-ika* da 'That behavior is beneath a savage animal'; Sátoo san wa sé ga hikúí. Ore no tiisái ootootó *-ika* da 'Mr Satō is short. He is under (the height of) my tiny little brother'; Sono sakana wa mizu ga koori-haziméru réido *-ika* de mo heiki de iru 'That fish is unperturbed even below zero centigrade when water starts to freeze'; Kóndo no booringu-táikai de, wareware hurúí monó-tati wa atarasíi hitótati *-ika* no sukóo o dásu wáke ni wa ikanai 'In the next bowling tournament we oldtimers have no reason to make a score less than that of the new people'; Túmari itihikutáaru *-zengo -ika* no nóoka wa, ooru-kengyoo-ka sinákereba, yatte ikenai wáke 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); Otokó wa, kono nenrei *-ika* ga sukúnáku nátte iru 'Men of below this age are getting scarce'; Otokó wa, kono nenrei *-ika* o taisyoo to suru 'We aim [our product] at men below this age'; Tokí ni wa itu mo zibun yóri hetá na hitó *-ika* no ensoo o suru kotó d'atte áru 'There are even times when I perform worse than people who are usually below me in skill'.

(50) *-ikoo* 'after, since': Kono sigatú *-ikoo* ... 'From this April on ...' (SA 2668.123d); ... rokuzyúú sítí-nen sángatu *-ikoo* wa ... 'from March of '67 on ...' (SA 2684.29c).

(51) *-ikutu* '... odd, and a few': zyúú *-ikutu* no hoogén() 'some ten-odd dialects'.

(52) *-inai* '(what is) within, inside of; less than': Kono ití-kíro *-inai* ga abunai 'Within this one-kilo stretch it is dangerous'; Kono ití-kíro *-inai* o soosa-táisyoo ni suru 'They are making this one-kilo stretch the object of an investigation'; Sono kíkán *-inai* ni sigoto o owaraseru yóo 'We would like the job finished within that period'; Sono kígen *-inai* ni kanarazu karita kane o káesite kudasái 'Please return the borrowed money without fail within that time limit'; ... ik-kágetu *-téido -inai* no zisin ... 'an earthquake (to take place) within a month' (R).

(53) *-ippai* 'all through; within, before the end of': Watasi no tikaará() *-ippai* da 'It's all that's within my power to do'; Sotugyoo sita tosí *-ippai*, sigoto o sagasi-tuzúketa 'I kept on searching for work all through the year of my graduation'; Kono ni-syúukan *-ippai* de káeru 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); Syuunyuu *-ippai* ni kurasu 'lives within (or to the full extent of) one's income'; Rainen *-ippai* kakáru 'It will take all of next year'; Kóngetu *-ippai* made

iru 'I will stay till the end of this month'. Cf. N { | } íppai 'all over/around N': mádo⁽²⁾ íppai ni 'all over the window'; heyá^[1] íppai ni 'all over the room'; yamá^[1] íppai ni 'all over the mountain'; ié^[1] íppai ni 'all around the house'; niwa íppai ni 'all over/about the garden'; See § 25.

(54) \bar{i} rai '(the time) ever since, since': Kyónen no natú^[1] minná de itta tokí \bar{i} rai ano yamá e wa itte inái 'I haven't been to that mountain since we all went together summer of last year'; Ano utukusii yuuyake \bar{i} rai, ténki ga wárukute yuuyake \bar{r} asii yuuyake ga mirarénai 'Ever since that beautiful sunset the weather has been bad and there hasn't been a decent sunset to watch'; Ano iyá na deki¹gotó \bar{i} rai, sono matí e ikú no ga iyá ni náttá 'Ever since that disagreeable incident I have hated to go to that town'; Háha no sí to iu kanasii hí \bar{i} rai, amari monó o iwanaku náttá 'Since the sad day of mother's death I have not felt like saying much'; Ano tokí \bar{i} rai átte inai 'We haven't met since then'; Ano tokí \bar{i} rai no kenkyuu ... 'The research since that time ...'; Ano tokí \bar{i} rai [no] ga óói 'There have been many since that time'; Ano tokí \bar{i} rai [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 \bar{i} rai (but with prior juncture): Ano haizyá¹kku kara konó-kata, ... 'In the days since that [famous] hijacking ...' (SA 2677.149); zyuú-nen konó-kata 'for these past ten years'; kaibyaku konó-kata 'since Creation';

(55) \bar{i} ri 'containing, with ... in it': ... zibun de sibóttá gyuunyuu \bar{i} ri no baketu o ... 'the bucket full of milk that he had himself squeezed from the cow' (Endō 194); ... nízyuu hati-gúramu \bar{i} ri no ko-bin ga ... 'a small bottle with a capacity of 28 grams' (SA 2677.60); ... Pégii no kizi to syasin \bar{i} ri de ... 'including Peggy's writeup and picture' (Esuperanto 1971/10.15b); ... iti-dáasu \bar{i} ri no biirú-bako muttú ga ... 'six dozen-bottle cases of beer' (SA 2665.116c); ... akanboo \bar{y} oo no orugóoru \bar{i} ri [no] garagará o katte kíta 'went and bought a baby's rattle with a music box in it' (Ariyoshi 287); Atarasii zidai no kaiwa wa mattakú^[1] Eigo dá no singo \bar{i} ri ná no de, ... 'Conversation in the new era is quite loaded with English and neologisms ...' (Kotoba no uchū 1968/1.51); ... yónhyakú-en \bar{i} ri no sai¹hu 'a purse with 400 yen in it' (SA 2681.122).

(56) \bar{i} zen '(the time) before': Sono háru \bar{i} zen o omoidasoo 'Let us recall the time before that spring'; Sono háru \bar{i} zen ga omoidasenai 'I cannot recall the time before that spring'; Sono ziken \bar{i} zen wa, káre-ra wa sitasikatta 'Before that incident they were intimate'; Káre ga sissoo sita hí \bar{i} zen ni sakanobótte, tyóosa o suru 'I will investigate by going back to before the day he disappeared'; Hazímete soko e tití ni turete itte moratta hí \bar{i} zen no kotó wa yóku obóete inai 'I do not remember very well events before the day I was taken there by my father for the first time'.

(57) \bar{i} zyoo 'above, over, more than': Sono kingaku \bar{i} zyoo wa tote-mo dasemasén 'I simply can't pay any more than that amount'; Sono roozín() wa wakái hitó \bar{i} zyoo ni génki de hataraite iru 'That old man is working with more vigor than younger men'; Káre wa túne ni hito ni dekíru kotó \bar{i} zyoo o yaroo to site iru 'He is always trying to do more than others can'; Káre wa zibun no kurusikatta zidai \bar{i} zyoo ni íma mo dóryoku site iru 'He is even now working harder than during the period of his distress'; Syokuzi wa hituyoo na ryóo \bar{i} zyoo tótte wa ikenai 'You must not take more than you need at a meal'; Kono nenrei \bar{i} zyoo ga abunai 'Above this age is dangerous'; Kono nenrei \bar{i} zyoo o taisyoo to suru 'We aim at (those) above this age'; Sáru wa sono nenrei \bar{i} zyoo ikínai 'Monkeys don't live beyond that age'. Often to be taken as 'and over, or more'.

(58) \bar{k} a 'under': Koo iu zyoosei \bar{k} a (= zyooseíka) 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); Syúzyu no tigatta zyookén(̀) ̀ka [= zyookénka] de ... 'Under various different conditions ...' (R); Inhure ̀ka [= inhuréka] no bukka ... 'Prices under the inflation ...'.

(59) ̀kágiri 'to the extent (of/that); limited to, only; just because of': Ano iyá na ziken ̀kágiri soko o otozuréru kotó o yameta 'I gave up the idea of visiting there just because of that disagreeable incident'; Kono ituka ̀kágiri yuukoo 'Valid these five days only'; Daidokoro to, tiisái hito-ma ̀kágiri no utí(̀) ni súde iru 'I am living in a house that has only a kitchen and one small room'. With a following negative, ̀kágiri is sometimes equivalent to [k]kirí: Ano tokí ̀kágiri sonó-hito ni awánai 'That was the last I (ever) saw him'; Kono-aidá wakáreta tokí ̀kágiri átte inai 'The last I saw of him was when we parted recently'.

(60a) ̀kákko 'one who is) of about (the age): ... rokuzyúu ̀kákko no go-húzin 'a lady looking to be about fifty' (SA 2679.27a). Tosi-kákko is treated as a separate lexical item: ... onazi tosi-kákko no "otóotyán" ... 'a "daddy" looking about the same age' (SA 2793.123c); ... gozís-sai o súgita to omowaréru tosi-kákko no otokó-tati ... 'men looking of an age that appears to be past fifty' (SA 2795.124a).

(60b) ̀kákko '(the one who/the look of) apparently, (with) the appearance of, appearing': Ni-sannen máe kara óoku nátta híppii ̀kákko 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': Nára Kyóoto ̀kan (= Nara | Kyootókan) 'between Nara and Kyóto'; Kátute, Edo Oosaka ̀kan (= Edo [l] Oosakákan) o ryookoo surú no ni zyúuku-niti mo kakátte ita 'It used to take all of 19 days to travel between Yedo and Ósaka' (SA 2673.30d); Yo-yatoo ̀kan [yoyatóokan] ni íken no tigai ga miraréru 'Differences of opinion are seen between the government party and the opposition'; ... zyosidaigakúsei ̀kan (= zyosidaigakuséikan) ni ... 'among college coeds' (Maeda 1962.69); Kaisya to zyuugyóo-in ̀kan (= zyuugyooínkan) ni okótta roodoo-sóogi wa ... 'Labor disputes arising between the company and its employees'. Cf. §2.7.

(61b) ̀kan 'the interval of': Sánzyuu go-nen ̀kan (= gonénkan) mo kakátta 'It took all of thirty-five years' time'; Ití-nen san-kágetu ̀kan (= sankagetúkan) ... 'An interval of one year and three months'. But we will treat -syúukan 'week(s)' as a counter.

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

(63) ̀kéiyu(̀) 'by the route of, via': Kanda no kasihon-ya ̀kéiyu(̀) 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 máe ni dékita sin-kánsen ̀kéiyu(̀) de todóita nímotu da 'It is luggage that arrived by the Bullet Train line built a few years ago'; Yuki^[2] no óói Arasuka ̀kéiyu(̀) de ... 'By way of snowy Alaska ...'; Hura-dánsu de yuumei na Háwai ̀kéiyu(̀) de ... 'By way of Hawaii, famed for the hula dance, ...'.

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

(65) ̀kéntoo 'about (an amount of)': Kono is-syúukan ̀kéntoo ga abunai 'The period of about this week is dangerous'; Kono is-syúukan ̀kéntoo o moti-koséba, áto wa daizyóobu daroo 'If we get through the period of this week, about, from then on it's OK'; Okurimono wa, máa datoo na sen-en ̀kéntoo no ni siyoo 'For a present, let's make it something of about a thousand yen, a suitable sum'; Tóo ga kiboo suru itimán-nin(̀) ̀kéntoo wa dooin dekiru desyoo 'The party can probably mobilize the crowd of around

ten thousand people that they expect'; Toozitu wa yotei site ita s^{en}-nⁱⁿ(⁻) ⁻k^{en}too ga tume-kaketa 'That day the thousand or so people that had been anticipated thronged about'.

(65) ⁻k^{ikk}ári = ⁻k^{ókk}íri: Zyúu-zi ⁻k^{ikk}ári desu 'It is exactly 12 o'clock'; Hyaku-en ⁻k^{ikk}ári desu 'It is exactly 100 yen'.

(66) kiri—see kkirí.

(67) ⁻k^{itté}-no N 'the most N in all of ...; the most N of all': Káre wa kono matí ⁻k^{itté}-no méisi da 'He is the most distinguished man in this town'; Sono miti ⁻k^{itté}-no tuuzin ⁻buri o hakki sita 'He displayed an air of the most informed person in that line'; Nagaya ⁻zyuu ⁻k^{itté} no kawari-mono desu kara née 'For she's the queerest person in the whole tenement' (Okitsu 1.165); Sátoo san wa, kono kyodai na Naninani-gáisyá ⁻k^{itté}-no yarite da to uwasa sarete iru 'Mr Satō is the number-one go-getter in this mighty Such-and-such company, it is rumored'; Káre wa kono yuumei na daigaku ⁻k^{itté}-no syuusai da sóo da 'He is said to be the outstanding talent at this famous university'; ... syakai-too ⁻k^{itté}-no keizái-tuu de aru Kimura Kihatíroo gíin ga ... 'Diet member Kihachirō Kimura who is the outstanding economic expert in the Socialist Party'; Yamagami Mitio wa tóodai ⁻k^{itté}-no urekko-sakusika de áru 'Michio Yamagami is the most popular lyricist of the day' (SA 2653.58a); Kono hen ⁻k^{itté}-no bízin ... 'The belle of the neighborhood ...'.

(68) kkirí, kiri 'that being all and (not) beyond; (not) since': Anó-ko kkirí turete ikimas^{en} yó 'She's the only one I'm taking'; Góku yuumei na utá kiri sirimas^{en} 'I only know very familiar songs'; Tiisái ningyoo kiri arimas^{en} yó, koko ní wa 'We haven't any but little dolls, here'; Enpitu wa sákki katte kíta sán-bon kiri arimas^{en} 'I have only the three pencils I went and bought a while back'; Hóoki wa kitanái no kiri arimas^{en} 'The only brooms we've got are dirty'; Agerarerú no wa íma áru kore kkirí desu 'All I can give you is what you now have'; Koko ni kíte 'ru Yamanaka no tomodati kara míru to, máa taitei wa ano hoogakubu-yároo ⁻gúrai kkirí wakaránai '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); Hutarí kkirí de yatta 'They did it just the two of them'.

(69) ⁻k^{ókk}íri, ⁻g^{ókk}íri 'exactly; no more than': Zyuu-en ⁻k^{ókk}íri [made] da 'It is no more than ten yen'; Zyuu-en ⁻k^{ókk}íri sika náí 'I have no more than ten yen'. Cf. ⁻k^{ikk}ári, ⁻p^{ókk}íri, ⁻ty^{ókk}íri.

(70) ⁻k^{omi} 'including, with ... (included): ... kootúu-hi ⁻betu, syo-téate ⁻k^{omi} de heikin go-mán nisen-en 'including allowances other than transportation it [the pay base] is an average fifty-two thousand yen' (SA 2679.116b); Sararíi-man nara, iyá de mo gensen-kázei to site torárete simau syotokú-zei ⁻k^{omi} 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) ⁻k^{órai}-no 'traditional/native to': Hoog^{en}(⁻) no óói Ryuu-ryuu-rétto ⁻k^{órai}-no utá desu 'It is a song traditional to the Ryūkyū Islands, where there are many dialects'; Búnka no hikúí Nyuu-Gíniya ⁻k^{órai}-no doobutu desu 'It is an animal native to culturally backward New Guinea'; Kikú wa Nihón ⁻k^{órai}-no haná de wa náku, tairiku kara torai sita haná da sóo 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) ⁻k^{úndari} 'all the way (to/from a remote place); (to/from) the remote place of': Hokkáidoo ⁻k^{úndari} made 'all the way to Hokkaidō' (SA 2678.26a); Bunka-sísetu náńka náńi-mo náí Tanegásima ⁻k^{úndari} e iku 'I will go to remote Tanegashima where there is

nothing in the way of cultural facilities'; Nagasaki $\bar{k}\bar{u}ndari$ kara {sae} wáza-waza kíta hitó mo kánari óói 'We also have quite a few who have taken the trouble to come [even] all the way from far-off Nagasaki'; Róndon $\bar{k}\bar{u}ndari$ made déte kíte ... 'coming all the way out to London' (Tk 3.208a). MKZ lists $\bar{k}\bar{u}ndari$ as a noun derived from kudari 'going down (i.e. away from the capital) to the country'.

(73) $\bar{k}\bar{u}rai$ —see $\bar{g}\bar{u}rai$.

(74) $\bar{k}\bar{u}zure$ '(one who is) a drop-out (from being ...); unsuccessful, manqué, formerly promising, a disappointed former ...': Káre wa sinbun-kísya $\bar{k}\bar{u}zure$ da 'He was once a promising newspaper reporter'; Gakusei $\bar{k}\bar{u}zure$ ga óói 'There are a lot of student drop-outs'; Daigaku no kóosi $\bar{k}\bar{u}zure$ o taisyoo ni site iru 'We aim at the disappointed former college instructor'.

(75) $\bar{k}\bar{y}\bar{o}o$ 'a little more than, and a bit more, plus (some)': ... heikin-nénrei wa sánzis-sai $\bar{k}\bar{y}\bar{o}o$ 'the average age is over 30' (SA 2681.24); Kono gakkoo wa senséi no gó(-) $\bar{b}un$ no ití $\bar{k}\bar{y}\bar{o}o$ ga gaikokú-zin desu 'This school has over one-fifth of its teachers foreigners'; Sono íken ni hantai sita zyúu-nin $\bar{k}\bar{y}\bar{o}o$ ga áto de odokasaretári sita 'The ten odd ones who opposed that view were later intimidated from time to time'; Sárarii no utí(-) sono nizip-paasénto $\bar{k}\bar{y}\bar{o}o$ ga zeikin to site hikareru 'From the salary something over twenty percent is withheld for taxes'; Démo ni sánka(-) sita hassén-nin $\bar{k}\bar{y}\bar{o}o$ no utí(-) yáku iti-paasénto no gakusei ga táiho saretá 'Of the over eight thousand students who participated in the demonstration about one percent were arrested'.

(76a) $máde$ 'till, as far as'—see also §3.7): Kono oka $máde$ ga turai 'It's tough up to this hill'; Kono oka $máde$ o zibun no toti ni sita 'Up to this hill I have made the land my own'; Sán-zi made benkyoo suru 'I will study till three o'clock'; Yuumei na Ueno-Kóoen made arukimasyóo 'Let's walk as far as famous Ueno Park'; Ano hirói bokuzyoo $máde$ ikítai 'I want to go as far as that wide pasture'; Húzi-san ga miéru tokoró made itta 'We went up to a place where Mt Fuji can be seen'; Sono koodai na bóti(-) $máde$ atarásiku óoki na miti ga tukuráreta 'A large road has been newly built up to that enormous cemetery'; Watasi ga yóku iku misé made tyóotto así o nobasimasén ka 'Shall we direct our steps toward the shop I always go to?'; Sono negái ga yózóra no utukusíi hosi $máde$ todóke to inorímásita '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: Yasasíkatta sono áni made ga watasi ni hantai suru 'Even the older brother who had been so nice to me is opposed'; Sono áni made o hínan suru 'I blame even that older brother'; Sonó-hito made kubi ni saretá 'Even he got fired'; Kirai na monó made múriyari tabesaseráreta 'I was forced to eat even the things I dislike'; Sono kotó ni túite, yóku siranai hitó made hén na mé de míru 'Even people who don't know much about the matter take a dim view of it'; Hurúi bunken $máde$ sirábeta míta ga wakaránai 'I've tried checking even the older literature but can't find out'; Sín-zite(-) ita tomodati $máde$ káre kara hanárete itta 'Even friends he had believed in detached themselves from him'; Kono ué ni sukí na hitó made usinaú to wa, káno-zyo mo mízime da 'It is most miserable for her to lose even a loved one, on top of all this'; Gakuséi-táti o kore-hodó(-) $máde$ ni okoráseta gen'in wa hutatú átta 'What had angered the students to this extreme extent was two things' (SA 2680.22c); ... kore-hodó(-) $máde$ ni tettei sité wa inákatta 'it had not been so thorough-going as all this' (SA 2678.41a).

(77) $\bar{m}áe$ 'before (a time/event)': Musuko wa sono tosi no háru $\bar{m}áe$ ni káette kíta 'My son came back before spring of that year'; Yáhan(-) $\bar{m}áe$ kara áme ga huri-dasú

desyoo 'Rain will set in before midnight' (R). Minná ga syukkin suru hatí-zi ṁmáe ni, hayabáya to kaisya ni kíte, sono hí no keikaku o néru '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'; Máiniti(ṁ) sono zíkoku ṁmáe ga isogasií 'The period before that time every day is a busy one'; Sán-zi o sakái ni, sono zíkoku ṁmáe o benkyoo no zikan to si, sono áto 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 zíkoku ṁmáe da to básu wa tote-mo kómu 'If it's before that time the bus gets awfully crowded'; Tyan-tó,^[1] watakusi ga dekakeru hí ṁmáe ni háha wa yoochuku o siágete kuremásiita 'Mother has kindly made some clothes for me (so they are ready) well before the day I depart'; ... natú no kankoo-siizun ṁmáe ni náru 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 gó-hun ṁmáe ('before [these] five minutes') or as gó-hun | máe ('earlier to the extent of five minutes'); cf. go-húnmae 'five minutes before (the hour/event)' with a compound counter: gó-zi go-húnmae 'five minutes before five o'clock'; Hassya | ni-húnmae desu 'It is two minutes till the train departure' (R).

(78) ṁmágai = ṁmódoki.

(79) ṁmágire '(in) a mood of; (in) a state of, (in) the confusion of': Zoku wa kurayami ṁmágire ni nige-satta 'The bandit got away in the darkness'; Nigéru no nara, sono dósakusa(ṁ) ṁmágire ga ii daroo 'If you are going to escape the confusion of that moment would be best'; Sono dósakusa(ṁ) ṁmágire o tákumi(ṁ) ni riyoo suru 'We will cleverly take advantage of the confusion of that moment'; Kotti de, kitanái tokoró da ga, túmari, ókusan no taikutu ṁmágire desyoo 'This is a dirty place, but I suppose you are running it out of your boredom, ma'am' (Fn 263b); ... taikutu ṁmágire no warai-góe ga ... 'laughter stemming from boredom' (F 52b); Huuhu-génka no haradati(ṁ) ṁmágire ni ironna kotó o iu 'In the heat of anger of a marital quarrel all sorts of things are said'. But uresi-mágire 'out of one's delight' and kuyasi-mágire 'in one's vexation' are lexical derivatives made by suffixing mágire to an adjective base: ... kuyasi-mágire ka mo sirenái kedo mo, ... 'It may be out of spite, but ...' (Tk 2.65a). And Kenkyusha's yótta ṁmágire 'in one's drunkenness' (also said as yóí ṁmágire?) apparently involves direct nominalization of a perfect, equivalent to yótta [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 mágire 'being confused by/with N'.^[1]

(80) ṁmágiwa (ni) '(at) the moment before, right before, just on the verge of': Yat-tó^[1] gakkoo kara déte ikeru sotugyóo-siki ṁmágiwa ni ... 'Just on the verge of the graduation ceremony when I could at last leave school ...'; Syuusen ṁmágiwa made ... 'Up to the moment before the war ended ...'; Hassya ṁmágiwa datta 'The train was about to depart'.

(81) ṁmámire 'with ... stuck all over, mucked up with': Sigoto ga súmu to hatake no doró ṁmámire ni nátta kimono o núida 'When the job was done I took off my kimono which had gotten smeared with mud from the field'; Minná^[1] áse ṁmámire de hataraitte iru 'They are all working bathed in sweat'; Mannén-hitu kara kobóreta ínku ṁmámire no kami ... 'Paper smeared with black ink spilled from my pen ...'; Komé^[1] no koná ṁmámire ni nátta 'It got all covered with rice flour'. This is derived from N ni mamire 'being smeared with N'. The accentuation options indicate that ti-mámiré(ṁ) 'blood-smeared' is best treated as a lexical item.

(82) ṁmáwari 'via' (= ṁkéiyu(ṁ)); 'through': Itóko ga súde iru Kóobe ṁmáwari de iku 'I will go by way of Kōbe, where I have a cousin living'; Namí ga sízuka na Seto-náikai

ṁmáwari no kankóo-sen de ikimásu 'I am going on a sightseeing ship all through the Inland Sea with its gentle waves'.

(83) ṁmé 'th' (ordinalizer)—see §13.8.

(84) ṁmíman '(one who/that is) not yet fully, under (the age/amount of)': ... nízís-sai ṁmíman no zyakunén-soo 'the youth stratum of under twenty' (SA 2666.121d); Genkín ga zyuuman-en ṁmíman 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) ṁmódoki '(the situation of) imitating, resembling, (in) the style of': Tumaránai yákuza ṁmódoki no idetati o site ibátte iru 'He is swaggering about looking for all the world like a worthless hoodlum'; Óoki na kotó no dekinai kosodoro ṁmódoki no kakkoo o site iru 'He presents the appearance of a sneak thief incapable of anything big'; Otogibánasi ṁmódoki ni takaramónó(ṁ) o mátte iru 'She is expecting treasures as if it were a fairy story'; (?)Sibai ṁmódoki o sakeyóo 'Let's cut out the theatricals'. Synonym: ṁmágai. Cf. ume-módoki '[false-plum =] a kind of ivy', gan-módoki '[false-duck =] a kind of fritter'.

(86) ṁmuke '(that which is) bound/intended for': ... zieitái-in ṁmuke no sinbun o tukúru 'creates a newspaper aimed at the members of the Self Defense Force' (SA 2678.27e); ... syoonen syóozyo ṁmuke to iu kotó ... 'being intended for boys and girls' (Nagano 1968.153); Oo-mísoka kara gantan o yoppitē(ṁ) sugósu hitó-tati ṁmuke ni, ... 'Aiming at the people who stay up all night New Year's eve ...' (SA 2660.128); Kono orimónó(ṁ) wa tooi Amerika ṁmuke ga óói 'Most of these textiles are for distant America'.

(87) ṁmuki '(that which is) suitable for': Wakái musumé ṁmuki [no monó] ga óói 'Many are [things] suitable for young girls'; ... íma no wakái kankyaku ṁmuki no monó wa, ... 'those [films] directed toward today's young viewers' (Tk 3.301a); Kono géemu wa yooti-en e iku kodomo ṁmuki de áru 'This game is suitable for a child attending kindergarten'; Kore wa katuzi ga óokiku náí to yomi-nikúí roozín(ṁ) ṁmuki no hón desu 'This is a book suitable for an old person who finds reading difficult unless the type is large'.

(88) ṁ'nai '(what is) within': Onazi kaisya ṁ'nai [= kaisyánai] de, taisyoo ni náru hitó to naránai hitó ga irú no wa mazúí '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 ṁ'nai [= han'ínai] ni súnde iru hitó ... 'people living within that sphere (those confines)' (Tanigawa 154); ... áru zikan ṁ'nai [= zikánai] {ni} tuzuite okonawareru 'takes place continuously within a certain time' (Kōgo-bumpō no mondaiten 290b); Purahá-si ṁ'nai de ... 'Within the city of Prague ...'; Yobí-hi ṁ'nai de ... 'Within the budget expenses ...'; Tíiki ṁ'nai no ... '(Those) within the area ...'; Kengén ṁ'nai ... 'Within the scope of authority ...'; Kígen ṁ'nai ... 'Within the time limit ...'; Kurémurin ṁ'nai no ... '(That) inside the Kremlin ...'; Aramoana-syoppingu-sénta ṁ'nai 'in the Ala Moana Shopping Center' (R). The accent may sometimes be heard as ṁ'nái, especially in unusual forms. And you will sometimes hear | náí, as if an ellipsis of something like N [no] náí were responsible: daigakú-in | náí de 'within the graduate school'.

(89) ṁ'náigai 'approximately, about': is-syúukan ṁ'náigai 'about a week'; sén gohyakú-en ṁ'náigai 'approximately ¥1500'.

(90) ṁ'nákaba '(in) the middle of': Is-syúukan ṁ'bákari tuzuita sikén ṁ'nákaba ni byooki ni nátte simatta 'In the middle of tests that stretched over a whole week I fell ill'; Ítumo-nágara no, zibun no mi-no-ue(ṁ) ni túite no hanasí ṁ'nákaba ni, kyuu ni omoi-dasite, hoka

no kotó o syaberi-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-gékizyoo ̄nami 'it is at the level of a suburban strip show' (SA 2657.117c); Toomei-koosoku-dóoro ̄nami no háíuee ga ... 'A highway of the caliber of the Tōkyō-Nagoya expressway ...' (SA 2654.141d); Mái-asa mái-asa buta ka nímotu ̄nami ni atukawarete, ... 'Morning after morning treated like swine or baggage ...' (SA 2792.32b); Buta ka usi ̄nami ni atukatte, ... 'treating 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 rokkai-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 ya Hasegawa Hazime ̄nami no "saikóo-kyuu" "'top salaries" of the rank of [those of] Norio Kijima and Hajime Hasegawa' (SA 2666.102e); Koohii íp-pai hyaku-en nári de wa sekái-iti bukka no takái Tookyoo no, náka de mo itiban takái Ginza no kissá-ten ̄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 nángo, séken no otokó ̄nami ni onná wa sukí na n desu ga, ki ga yówakutte náhni mo 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); Sibai no butai-sooti-ka to iéba, hito-múkasi máe 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 2689.121a); Kookoo o dénai no ni, Toodai o sotugyoo sita hitó ̄nami no sárarii 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 tǐngin ga Amerika no sararii-man ̄nami ni náru no ni wa máda zúibun zikan ga kakáru 'It will still take a lot of time for Japanese wages to reach the level of the American salaried worker'; Sémete sono kázoku ̄nami ga zitugen sitára náa '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): Tiisái kodomo ̄nari no handán-ryoku ... 'The discernment to be expected of a small child ...'; Tokoró-ga, kagákú-sya d'atte yappári kagákú-sya ̄nari no genzitu-syúgi to iú no ga arimásite, ... 'But scientists too have a certain realism appropriate to a scientist ...' (Tanigawa 20).

(93) nómi 'just' (=daké): Kono hón nómi ga atarasii 'This book alone is new' (usually said with minor juncture before nómi); Kono hón nómi o kau 'I will buy this book only' (usually lnómi o); Itinití no uti(̄), syokuzi-doki nómi tanósiku omowaréru 'The only time in the day that seems pleasant is mealtime'; Byooki sita kotó no áru káno-zyo nómi ga, watakusi no kimoti o wakátte kureta 'She who has experienced illness is the only one who understands my feelings'; Hito wa pán nómi de ikíru monó de wa náí 'Man cannot live by bread alone'.

(94) ̄nuki 'omitting, without': ... mattakú^[1] arukóoru ̄nuki no monó ... 'something completely non-alcoholic [to drink]'; Anmari kyuusin-teki na kangáe o mótte iru seinen ̄nuki ni ... 'Apart from the young who have overly radical ideas ...' (cf. Tk 2.244b); Keisiki-teki na áisatu ̄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 ʔnuki de hatarakimasyóo ka 'Shall we work straight through, skipping lunch?'; ... nakámi ʔnuki no saiho 'a purse minus its contents' (Kenkyusha).

(95) ʔnuri 'painted/coated with': Tibétto gensan [or: Tíbetto-génsan] no urusi no kí no kawá kara tóttá urusi ʔnuri no sikki wa kóoga [= yúuga] na azi ga áru 'Japanware, coated with lacquer taken from the bark of the lacquer tree which originally came from Tibet, has an elegant air about it'.

(96) ʔókí(ʔ) 'at intervals of; skipping (every so many)': ... sánzíp-pun ka iti-zíkan ʔókí(ʔ) ni ... 'at intervals of thirty minutes or an hour' (SA 2663.51b); Sán-pun ka yón-pun ʔókí(ʔ) ni tóire ni iku 'He goes to the toilet (after) every three or four minutes' (Endō 112); Áru ittei no kikán ga sadamerárete óri, sono kikán ʔókí(ʔ) ni kansatu ga okonawarete iru 'A set period has been fixed and after each such period an inspection takes place'; Tekitoo na zikan ʔókí(ʔ) ni kusuri o nomásete yatte kudasái 'Give him his medicine after each suitable period'; Sono sigoto wa anáta no iu san-zíkan ʔókí(ʔ) ni kootai simasyóo 'Let's take turns at that work at the three-hour intervals you mention'; Mukasi no sibai tte yátu wa, ik-kágetu ʔókí(ʔ) ʔgúrai ni sika yaranákatta séi mo áru desyóo 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 ʔókí(ʔ) ʔgúrai ni tegami o yokósite kúru 'But this person sends me a letter nearly every three days' (Endō 138); Ití-mai ʔókí(ʔ) ni sáin o site kudasái 'Sign every other sheet'; Kono hón o ní-satu ʔókí(ʔ) ni tótte kudasái 'Take every third one of these books'. NOTE: Hamako Chaplin accentuates ʔoki, MKZ gives ʔókí (and MKZ⁵ skirts the question), K and H list iti-nití ʔókí, NHK lists iti-nití ʔókí(ʔ). Kansai dialects also use ʔhadame, ʔhasami, ʔhazami.

(96') ʔpókkíri = ʔkókkíri: Hyaku-en ʔpókkíri sika náí 'I've only got just a hundred yen'.

(97) ʔpúrasu '...plus (some)': Hyaku-zíkan ʔpúrasu ... '100-plus hours'.

(98) ʔrai 'since, the past ...' (= ʔirai): ... koko itiryóo-nen ʔrai [= itiryoonénrai] no gizyutu-teki sínpo o go-zon-zi náku, ... '[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 sotugyoo sita yónzyuu rokú-nen ʔrai ... 'For the past forty-six years since I graduated from college ...'; Kono ryoosán-niti ʔrai ... 'For the past two or three days ...'; Kono ryoosán-nen ʔrai ... 'For these past several years ...' (R); Sakunen ʔrai ... 'Since last year ...'; Kono zyuu-súunen ʔrai, ... 'For these ten-odd years now, ...' (R); Súuzitu(ʔ) ʔrai ... 'For the past several days ...'; Móo, sanzýúu-nen ʔrai no ... '... of thirty years now' (R); Sénpan ʔrai ..., Káhan ʔrai ... 'Lately ...'.

(99) ʔryuu '(after) the fashion/school of': Síga Náoya ʔryuu no si-syóosetu 'autobiographical novels of the Naoya Shiga school' (SA 2685.105b); Kawabata Yasúnari ya Síga Náoya ʔryuu ni káku nara, ... 'if we were to write it in the manner of Yasunari Kawabata or Naoya Shiga' (Y 248); Túmari, Dóitu, Oosutória, Tyéko ʔryuu de ikoo tte kotó ni sita 'Finally it was decided to proceed in the style of Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia' (Tk 3.41b, Tyéko = Tyékkko); ... íma ʔryuu ni ... 'in the manner of the present' (SA 2686.29c); ... kotira/sotira/atira ʔryuu ni hatuon suru 'pronounces after the fashion of this/that place'; ... anáta wa Nihon-zín na no désu kara anáta ʔryuu de kékkoo desu '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 syokunin ʔryuu désu né ... 'it's (part of) the way of the downtown workman, you see, ...' (R).

(100) ʔsí dai 'depending on' (cf. §9.1.2): Aité ga/no moosi-deru zyookén(ʔ) ʔsí dai

no kotō da 'It is a matter that depends on the conditions proposed by the other side'; Kooto [= Katte] kureru okyakusan \bar{s} idai 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); Dónna hón de mo, yomi-té(̄) to yomi-káta \bar{s} idai de, "ryóosyo" ni mo "ákusyo" 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) \bar{s} siki 'way, fashion, type': ... súiryoku(̄) o tukau dámu \bar{s} siki ni yoranéba narán wáke desu 'we have to rely on a system of dams that utilize water power' (Tk 2.40b); Kí de tukúta bangároo \bar{s} siki no tate-káta ... 'A method of construction of the type of bungalows made of wood ...'; Sátoo Húmiko no imootó no Sasabayasi Hánako \bar{s} siki desu 'It is after the fashion of Hanako Sasabayashi who is the younger sister of Fumiko Satō'; Zínsyu no óói Amerika \bar{s} siki no kyooiku-séido ... 'An education system of the type of multi-racial America ...'; ... mukoo \bar{s} siki no sebiro 'an American style suit'; ... sore \bar{s} siki desu 'is that way, too' (Tk 4.125a)—cf. sore-siki no N 'such a trifling N', p. 80. In ... minna^[1] || "yo-ásobi | surú na" || siki no tyuukoku dáta n desu | yó '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: "Káku | tatakaéri" || siki no | éiga(̄) ... 'A "This is how we fought" type film' (SA 2678.147); ... siharai mo saiho o marudasi ni site, iru dak^[1] tóre siki no "oomono" ga óói 'and when it comes to paying [for their purchases] there are a lot of "bigshots" [among the tourists] who, baring their purses, are of the "Take what you want" type' (SA 2673.36d).

(102) \bar{s} sodati 'reared (in a place, by a person, on a nutrient)': Méiro no óói Yoshiwara \bar{s} sodati datta 'I was reared in the Yoshiwara with its twisting lanes'; Nigiyaka na Sinzyuku \bar{s} sodati no musumé desu 'She is a girl who grew up in bustling Shinjuku'; Ikinma(̄) [= iki-uma(̄)] no mé o nuku tokai \bar{s} sodati de, ... 'Having been born in the big city where sharp practices are the rule ...'; Míruku \bar{s} sodati ... 'Raised on [store-bought] milk ...' (R).

(103) \bar{s} sootoo '(a price) of the order of': ... happyakú-en \bar{s} sootoo no Tyuuka-ryóori no tyuusyoku ga múryoku(̄) de taberáru ... 'gets to eat an 800-yen Chinese lunch free' (SA 2679.35a); ... hyakú gozyuuman-en \bar{s} sootoo o hakonde imásita 'they brought in (goods) of the value of a million and a half yen' (R). But sore-sootoo = sore-soo'oo 'of a sort, in its/one's way' is a precopular noun; see §25.

(104) \bar{s} sugata '{one who is} garbed/attired in, wearing': Nihon-gami \bar{s} sugata no zyosei ga ... 'A woman wearing a Japanese-style hairdo ...' (R); ... waisyatu to zubón-sita(̄) \bar{s} sugata de ... 'in shirt and underpants' (Tk 4.282a); Toobu-syógakkoo o tazunéru to, Éndoo sensē^[1] wa kiirói kooruten no uwappari ni kuropói monpé(̄) \bar{s} sugata de arawáreta 'When I visited the Tōbu elementary school (in Toyama) Instructor [Miss] Endō appeared in a yellow corduroy smock with dark pantaloons' (SA 2682.107a); Yogoreta yoohuku \bar{s} sugata de sitúrei ... 'Excuse my dirty suit ...'; Kodomó-táti wa kirei na wahuku \bar{s} sugata ga óokatta 'Many of the children were in pretty Japanese kimonos'; Tózan \bar{s} sugata de kónde iru 'It is crowded with people dressed for mountain climbing'; ... sangúrasu, sentóo-huku \bar{s} sugata no Makkáasaa ga ... 'MacArthur, in his sunglasses and battle uniform, ...' (SA 2830.142c).

(105) \bar{s} sugí '(a time) after (a time)': Sono zíkoku \bar{s} sugí o neratte hoomon sitára, káre ni áu kotō ga dékita 'When I aimed my visit at a time after that hour I was able to see him'; Iti-zi \bar{s} sugí ni átuku náru 'After one o'clock it gets hot'; Sararíi-man no kitaku-zíkan

to sité wa kánari osoi hati-zi ˉsugí ni káeru kotó ga óói '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^[1] hatuka ˉsugí kara ... 'From (sometime after) the 20th of April ...' (SA 2679.18d); Gakkoo ga hazimaru sigatú ˉsugí ni wa sakura mo mankaí dá 'After April, which is when school begins, the cherries are in full bloom'; Háru mo máda asai sángatu syózyun(ˉ) ˉsugí ˉgóro, uti no sakura ga saki-hazíméta 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 máe, ˉsugí does not have a corresponding noun in free use. To say 'five minutes later' you must phrase it gó-hun áto/noti; there is no *gó-hun | sugí, and go-húnsugi means 'five minutes past (an hour/event)' as in gó-zi go-húnsugi 'five minutes past five' and Hassya ni-húnsugi {ni} zíko ga okótta 'Two minutes after the train's departure an accident took place'.

(106) ˉtai 'versus; (by) a score of X to ...': san ˉtai san = sán-tai san 'three-to-three (score)'. Also with nouns not numbers: ... soo iwareréba sákusya(ˉ) ˉtai sakuhin 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) ˉtaipu 'a type of': Kyooiku-néssin na ókusama ˉtaipu ... 'One of those types of housewife wild about education ...'.

(108) ˉtáka 'high on/in, the heights of': Huzisan-tyoo ˉtáka ... 'High atop Mt Fuji ...'; Aozóra ˉtáka o mokuteki to site ... 'Aiming high in the blue sky ...'. But in Sóra táka huusen ga nígete yuku 'The balloon escapes to high in the sky' the juncture indicates an ellipsis, perhaps Sóra [ni].

(109) ˉtarazu 'less than': Kitté(ˉ) wa san-zíkan ˉtarazu de urikire [da] 'The stamps are sold out in less than three hours' (SA 2672.17c).

(110) ˉtéido 'the level/caliber/limit of': Sanpo tó ka taisoo ˉtéido 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 Nagasaki no genbaku ˉtéido ni sugínai daroo 'nor would the destructive power of the nuclear warhead exceed the level of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki atom bombs' (SA 2678.136d); ... onsen-ba no soemono ˉtéido 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 itiman-en ˉtéido no bakkin o haráeba súmu kotó da ... 'You can get off by paying a fine ranging from two thousand to ten thousand yen' (SA 2665.126c); ... séizei zyuugó-nin ˉtéido de owari-tai to omótte ita 'I felt I wanted to stop at (a limit of) fifteen people at most' (TK 3.0c); ... minarai-kangóhu ˉtéido no monó 'someone of the caliber of a probationary nurse' (SA 2666.114b); ... pánda no tabéru take no hutó-sa wa ningen no ko-yubi ˉtéido de ... 'the thickness of the bamboo that the pandas eat is that of a human's little finger' (R); ... kore mo "ˉtyanomi-bánasi" ˉtéido da to ka 'this is nothing but gossip over teacups' (SA 2668.28e); Daigaku sotugyoo ˉtéido no hitó ... 'persons with a college degree'.

(111) ˉtikáku 'nearly, close to': Dookyúu-sei no hanbún ˉtikáku ga kekkon site iru ... 'Close to half her classmates are married' (SA 2656.135d); Náze, konna ni sanzíp-pun ˉtikáku zikan o okurasetá no daroo 'Why did I dawdle this way for nearly thirty minutes?' (V 1967a.104); Sono hansúu ga ... 'Nearly half of that number' (SA 2655.42); Bunryóo mo zentai no hanbún ˉtikáku símete iru 'The quantity (of it) takes up nearly half of the whole thing' (SA 2674.92c); ... hatumoodé-kyaku hyakú^[1] gozyuuman-nin ˉtikáku ga mi-

komare, ... 'close to a million and a half New Year worshippers are expected' (R); Hi mo tákaku náta hirú \bar{t} ikáku ni yooyaku ókita 'I finally got up around noon when the sun was high in the sky'; Ensoku no hí \bar{t} ikáku ni náru to urésikute sikata ga náí 'As it gets close to the day of the outing I am most delighted'; ... niman-en \bar{t} ikáku ni náru 'amounts to close to ¥20 000' (SA 2640.105b). Observe the difference between Iti-zi \bar{t} ikáku NI náta 'It got to be close to one o'clock' with the restrictive and Iti-zi tikáku náta 'It got so it was close to one o'clock,' an ellipsis for Iti-zi [ni] tikáku náta. The ellipsis is optional and occurs freely for other forms of the predicate: ... sánbyakú-nin tikái hitó-tati ga ... 'nearly three hundred people' (SA 2688.58); ... zentai no ní-wari tikái kígyoo(\bar{t}) de ... 'in enterprises that are nearly twenty percent of all (enterprises)' (SA 2668.22c); Masúnaga ga ié ni káetta no wa ití-zi tikái 'It is close to one o'clock when Masunaga gets home' (Ig 62.90).

(112) \bar{t} omo 'all ...'—see § 15.14.

(113) \bar{t} ómo(\bar{t}) 'including ...'—see § 15.14: Iremono \bar{t} ómo(\bar{t}) ... 'including the container'.

(114) \bar{t} tuki '(one that is; being) equipped with, with ... (provided, attached, included, given)' (cf. \bar{t} zuki): ... seihuku o kita untén-syu \bar{t} tuki no Béntu ga ... 'a Mercedes (Benz) with a uniformed chauffeur'; Rei-dánboo, básu, tóire, óobun, reizóo-ko \bar{t} tuki no óoki na kyanpingu-káa de itta 'We went in a large camper equipped with air conditioning and heating, bath, toilet, oven, and refrigerator' (SA 2680.50c); Heyá wa roku-zyóo \bar{t} gúra no híro-sa de tansu, béddo, senpúu-ki \bar{t} tuki [da] 'The room was about a six-mat size and was equipped with chest, bed, and fan' (SA 2669.62b); ... itinén-kan no meekaa-hósyoo \bar{t} tuki désu 'It comes with a one-year guarantee from the maker' (SA 2654.53); ... hatuon \bar{t} tuki no zísyo 'a dictionary that gives pronunciations'; Kono nagasí \bar{t} tuki ga bénri da 'Having this sink attached is convenient'; Kono nagasí \bar{t} tuki o kaoo 'Let's buy one with this sink attached'; Sono ié wa, ano hánare \bar{t} tuki de uri ni dasárete iru 'That house is on the market for sale with the detached cottage included'; Sore wa, kirei na kazari-tódana \bar{t} tuki no wasitu désita 'That was a Japanese-style room provided with a beautiful ornament shelf'; Kono sutóobu wa óndo ga tákaku náru to hitori-de ni suítti ga kiréru saamosutatto \bar{t} tuki désu 'This heater is equipped with a thermostat which has a switch that cuts off automatically when the temperature gets high'; Sono daidokoro wa bénri na disupóozaa \bar{t} tuki désu 'That kitchen is equipped with a handy dispose-all (= garburetor)'; Nedan no takái kúuraa \bar{t} tuki no zidóo-sya(\bar{t}) wa sore-dake zentai no nedan mo tákaku nátte iru 'Cars that come with an expensive air conditioner just by that alone carry a higher overall price'; Sono kuruma wa móo húruku nátte simatta siito-kábaa \bar{t} tuki de urareta 'That car was sold with seat covers that had gotten quite worn'. In zoosákú(\bar{t}) \bar{t} tuki kasi-ya 'furnished house (to let)' there may be a lexicalization; NHK carries the entry zoosákú-tuki(\bar{t}).

(115) \bar{t} tyaku 'arriving at/in/on': Haná no miyako no Párii \bar{t} tyaku [=Pariityaku] no zikan wa ... 'The time of arrival in Paris, capital of (flowers =) gaiety, ...'; Róndon \bar{t} tyaku no denpoo ... 'Cables arriving in London ...'; Nízuyu gó-niti \bar{t} tyaku no yotei de áru 'Arrival on the 25th is scheduled'. For an alternative treatment, see p. 135.

(115') \bar{t} tyókkíri = \bar{t} kókkíri: Zyuu-en \bar{t} tyókkíri desu 'It's just ten yen'.

(116) \bar{t} tyóttó 'and a little, a little over': ... hyakú-nin \bar{t} tyóttó sika kónakatta ga ... 'only a little over a hundred people came but ...' (SA 2686.29c); ... kúroo ni kúroo site yat-tó san-zíkan \bar{t} tyóttó ni made nobásite ita 'we struggled and struggled and finally got it stretched all the way to a little over three hours' (SA 2684.118c); Hyakú-nin \bar{t} tyóttó ga

arawáreta 'A little over a hundred people appeared'; Kono gosen-en \bar{t} tyóto o betu ni simásu 'We will keep this sum of something over ¥5000 separate'; Nete simatté kara h́t-to(-) ki ga túku to, rokuzyúu \bar{t} tyóto déta kúrai no, zyoohin na kao-dati de byooki \bar{t} ágarí mítai na hitó ga, makurá-moto ni tyan-tó^[r] 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 \bar{t} tyót-to; cf. ... taidan sité kara, ití-nen to tyót-to ni narimásu ga né ... '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-méetoru \bar{t} tyót-to or iti-méetoru \bar{t} tyóto.

(117) \bar{t} tyuu 'in the midst of, while'—see §14.4; 'among': Kyóo wa gózen(-) \bar{t} tyuu kara kenbutu site itá n desu 'Today I have been sightseeing since (sometime in the) morning' (Tk 3.244a); Nihón no seizi-ka \bar{t} tyuu dé mo, "A"-kyuu \bar{t} tyuu no "A"-gao de aróo '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 \bar{t} tyuu yo-nin ga dání de atta 'of the eighteen winners four were male' (SA 2672.117b).

(118) \bar{t} úmare 'born in/at': Ano otokó wa kóto to site yuumei na Nára \bar{t} úmare da 'He was born in Nara, famed as the ancient capital'; Watasi wa usi-dosi \bar{t} úmare desu kara ... 'I was born in the Year of the Ox, so ...' (R).

(119) \bar{t} wari '(at) the rate of, by (a proportion of)': Inzei wa peezi \bar{t} wari de kureru wáke da ga, ... 'They are supposed to pay royalties by the page, but ...' (Tk 3.97a); Kaihi wa atumáta ninzu \bar{t} wari de atumeyóo 'Let's collect dues according to the number of people who join'.

(120) \bar{t} yoo 'for the use (of); for use (in/as/by)':⁴³ Musumé no yomeiri \bar{t} yoo no wahuku ... 'Japanese clothing for the young lady at her marriage ...'; Rainen okonau tuki-ryóko \bar{t} yoo ni atarasii rokétto o tukútte iru 'They are building a new rocket for use in the moon-shot to take place next year'; dókusyo(-) \bar{t} yoo no ránpu 'a reading lamp'; Zibun \bar{t} yoo no térebi ... 'My personal TV set ...' (Endō 80); ryokoo \bar{t} yoo no senmendoogu-ire 'a toilet case for when you travel'; ... káigi \bar{t} yoo [no] hóteru ... 'a convention hotel' (Tsukagoshi 130b); ... Káhuu wa happyoo \bar{t} yoo no nikki to happyoo sinai nikki tó no hutatú o kaki-wakete ita kotó ... ga séngo ni wakátta ... 'it came to light after the war that [Nagai] Kafū had written two separate diaries, one for publication and the other not to be published' (Endō 88); ... itigo to gureepuhurúutu \bar{t} yoo no supúun ... 'a spoon for strawberries and grapefruit' (SA 2863.97d).

(121) \bar{t} yori '(along) toward': Nisi \bar{t} yori no kaze 'a westerly wind'; higási(-) \bar{t} yori no minami 'south by east'; Hotimin-Rúuto wa kono matí no Minami-Bétonamu kokkyoo \bar{t} yori o hasítte irú no de, ... 'The Ho Chi Minh trail runs along toward the South Vietnam border at this town, so ...' (SA 2679.18d); Aiti-ken no toohoku, Naganó-ken \bar{t} yori no yama-ái(-), Óomi no búraku ni ... 'In northeast Aichi Prefecture, in a ravine toward Nagano Prefecture, in the community of Ōmi, ...'; Nízyuu ití-nen natú^[r] kokuden Okatímati \bar{t} yori ni barakku-nágaya no maakétto ga dékita '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); lé o tatéru no nara sono minami \bar{t} yori ga ii daroo 'If you are going to put up a house, it would be better to do it toward the south of that'; Sono higási(-) \bar{t} yori

43. Cf. N I sen'yoo no ... 'for the exclusive use of N' (§25).

o moo sukósi tákaku site, zentai ga onazi táka-sa(-) no zímen ni náru yóo^(o) ni sita 'The part toward the east we raised a bit so as to make the whole a land surface of the same height'; Kono mádo -yori ni tukue o okoo 'Let's put a table along this window'; Watasi ga yóku sanpo ni iku kooen -yori no tíiki ni, saikin zókuzoku(-) to ié ga tátte iru 'In the area toward the park where I go for walks a lot, lately one house after another has sprung up'; Sono hatí wa atira no tiisái mádo -yori ni oitára íi 'It would be nice to put that pot over toward the little window there'; Káre no kirai na migi -yori mítai na hatugen wa anmari sinai hoo ga íi yóo^(o) da 'It appears advisable not to make too many pronouncements that seem (politically) toward the right which he dislikes'; Komátta kotó^(o) ni, tonari no utí(-) dé wa watasi no utí(-) -yori ni ni-kai o tátete irú no de, niwa ga hikage ni nátte 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': Haná no miyako no Párii -yuki ga kimatte yorokónde iru 'I am delighted now that the trip to Paris, capital of (flowers =) gaiety, has been set'; Sukii-zyoo to site yuumei na Sugadaira -yuki no básu ga íma déru tokoró desu 'The bus is about to leave for Sugadaira, famed as a ski resort'; Kono dénsya(-) wa dóтира -iki désu 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) -zén 'before'—see §14.4: Syuugiin no kaisan -zén ni ... 'Before the dissolution of the Lower House ...'.

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

(125) -zéngo 'about, approximately': Hima na ní-zi -zéngo ni kíte kudasai 'Please come at two, when I'm free'; Iti-niti^[2] no utí(-) dé mo itiban atúi ní-zi -zéngo ni oyógu 'I swim at two o'clock when it is the hottest in the day'; Yotei sita hyakú-nin -zéngo ga kíta 'The approximately hundred people that were expected came'; Kotosi no oo-mísoka -zéngo ni wa koinu ga umarerú desyóo 'Around the end of the year the puppies will be born, I think'; Sízuka no ití-zi -zéngo ni hirune o suru 'I take a nap around one o'clock when things are quiet'.

(126) -zibun 'time (when)': ... wakái musumé -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 sitúrei 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 íma -zibun): Ima-zibun wa hito mo sukunái 'At this time (of day) it is uncrowded'. Cf. Hirú -zibun wa kómu 'It gets crowded around lunch time'.

(127) -zidai 'period (when)': Wakái gakusei -zidai no seikatu wa ... 'My life at the period when I was a young student ...'; Onoe Matunósuke san -zidai no koroo-rénzyuu ga ... 'Old timers from Mr Matsunosuke Onoe's era ...' (Tk 3.298); Issei o húubi sita Takáhasi Sáburoo -zidai ... 'The times of Saburō Takahashi who dominated a generation ...'; ... Méizi, Taisyoo -zidai no Tookyóo-zin ga, ... 'Tokyoites of the Meiji and Taishō times' (Kotoba no yurai 50); ... kookoo kara daigaku -zidai, yóku míta n desu yó 'I used to see them a lot during the period from high school through college' (SA 2793.43b)—perhaps to be explained as daigaku {-máde} no} zidai, though that would not account for the accent.

(128) *ziken* 'the incident of': *Watasí-ra* [ga/no] *kodomo no zibun*(⁻), *Matudaira Noriyosi Otyanomizu ziken te monó ga taihen désita né* 'When we were children the Noriyoshi Matsudaira Ochanomizu affair was really something wasn't it' (Tk 3.211b); *Sikágo* [no] *kurohyootoo-kánbu* [no] *syasatu ziken* 'The Chicago Black Panther Leaders Killing' (SA 2659.149—subheading); *Yodó-goo ziken* ... 'the [hijacking] incident of the air liner Yodo'; *Tesuto-yóosi* [no] *nusumi-dasi ziken* ... 'The test-paper theft case ...'; *Kawáguti-kun ziken* ... 'the incident of [lynching] young Kawaguchi'.

(129) *zoi* 'along, following': *Urasoe-son no gun'yoo-dóroo itigoo-sen zoi ni* ... 'Along Military Highway One at Urasoe Village [in Okinawa] ...' (SA 2657.12); ... *mebosii kaidóo*(⁻) *zoi ni wa*, ... 'along the main avenues ...'; *Sono ogawa zoi ni komiti ga áru* 'Along the brook there is a path'; *Watakusi ga yóku oyógi ni iku kawá zoi ni wa dote ga tákaku 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 syóosya na tatémóno zoi no miti o tóori, migi ni magariéba sugu watasi no ié desu* 'Pass the road that goes along that trim building, turn right, and you're right at my house'; *Utukusii yasiki zoi no sízuka na miti o máiniti*(⁻) *tóoru no ga tanosimí*(⁻) *dá* 'It is a delight to take each day the quiet street beside the beautiful residences'; *Atarásiku dékita meiténgai zoi ni yanagi ga uerareta* 'Willows were planted along the newly built shopping lane'.

(130) *zóroi* 'a lineup (an array) of': *sumáato na bízin zóroi* 'a lineup of chic beauties'; *yuumei na syuusai zóroi* 'an array of famous talents'; *erabi-nuita meihin zóroi* 'an array of carefully selected merchandise'.

(131) *zúkare* 'weariness from': *Yógísyá de oohuku sita ryokoo zúkare de* ... 'From weariness after a round trip by the night train ...'; *Mikka tuzuita hagesii kéiko zúkare de tóotoo ne-kónde simatta* 'Exhausted from strenuous practice that went on for three days I finally fell asleep'; *sakúya*(⁻) *no gíron zúkare ka*, ... 'perhaps from weariness after the night's discussions' (Agawa 1:229b).

(132) *zuke* '(one that is) dated, bearing the date': *Sáru rokugatú^[1] zyúusan-niti zuke no Asahi-Sínbun wa* ... 'The Asahi Shimbun dated last June 13th' (SA 2686.44a).

(133a) *zuki* 'attached to': ... *zainiti Béi kaigun-siréi-kan Súmisu táisyoo zuki no untén-syu* ... 'the chauffeur attached to Admiral Smith, the commander of American naval forces in Japan' (SA 2679.7); *Rúi zyuyyón-sei no kyuutei zuki no sakkoku-ka desu ga né*, ... 'He is a composer who was attached to the court of Louis XIV, you see, and ...' (Tk 3.50a); ... *Amerika no koosi-kan zuki no búkan ni nátte* ... 'becoming a military attaché at the consulate in America' (Shiba 22).

(133b) *zuki* = *tuki*.

(134) *zúkú*(⁻) '(by) dint/force of; purely out of': ... *tokubetu no kóni zúkú*(⁻) *de* ... 'by virtue of a special intimacy' (Fn 84b); ... *kenpei zúkú*(⁻) *de* ... 'by virtue of one's authority' (Fn 117b); ... *áitai*(⁻) *zúkú*(⁻) *de* 'by common consent'; *Hanasí zúkú*(⁻) *de soo iu kotó ni kimetá n da kara* 'We decided it that way as a result of discussion' (Fn 120b); *Musuko to soodan zúkú*(⁻) *de byooin ni háitta* ... 'entered the hospital by mutual agreement with his son' (SA 2670.32c); ... *kane zúkú*(⁻), *kenpei zúkú*(⁻) *de osite kítara* ... 'if they press with the force of money and the force of authority' (Kb 241a); ... *kokumin mo nattoku zúkú*(⁻) *no hanasí 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 *udé* ~, *tikará*(⁻) ~, *syóobai* ~, *ízi* ~, *yokutoku* ~, *sínsetu* ~.

(135) *zúkume* '(one who/that is) adorned with, swathed in, full of': ... *kibisii kisóku zúkume no Tyúugoku de* ... 'in China which is blanketed with strict rules' (SA 2659.34d);

Sikási, hanasí wa bara-iro ʔzúkume ni wa susumanai 'But the story doesn't progress so rosily' (SA 2668.28c); Ima-no-tokoro íi kotó ʔzúkume desu 'Now it's loaded with goodies' (SA 2669.17d); Íi kotó ʔzúkume no "go-koosetu" ... 'Your valuable views laden as they are with good things ...' (SA 2664.102e); Sono hanasí wa watakusi ga mattaku^[1] siranai kotó ʔzúkume no tote-mo omosirói monó desita 'That story was a most interesting one that was full of things I had not known at all'; Kirai na monó ʔzúkume no syokuzi de gakkári sita 'I was disappointed at the meal, which was full of things I hate'; Subarasíi kotó ʔzúkume no tanzýóo-bi desita 'It was a birthday full of wonderful things'; Káno-zýo wa Ameriká-zin no katei ni kimono o kite dekaketa. Sono kinúmono ʔzúkume o káre-ra wa tote-mo mezurasi-gátta 'She wore a kimono to an American's home. They were quite agog at how she was all swathed in silks'; Natú de wa áru no de, sanká-sya no náka de sono kúro ʔzúkume ga tote-mo medátta 'As it IS summer, he really stood out among the participants decked out in that black [as he was]'.

(136) ʔzúkuri 'the construction/making of': Nerai wa atarasíi seiiki ʔzúkuri da 'The aim is the building of new sanctuaries' (SA 2686.39b); Búna-no-ki no syákusi ʔzúkuri no sono nagorí desu 'The making of beechwood ladles—it still survives [as we see in this scene]' (R); ... tánuki no okimono ʔzúkuri ... 'making ornamental figures of the badger' (R); Kodomo ni anzen na asobi-ba ʔzúkuri ga hituyoo da 'The construction of playgrounds safe for children is essential'; ... hitóbito ga hataraki-gai o kan-zuru yóo na kankyoo ʔzúkuri o suru to iu ... 'to build an environment that people can feel is worth working in' (R); ... iwáyúru riidaa no íméezi ʔzúkuri o suru, sono hoohoo no hitótu ga ... 'for building what is called the leader's image, one of the methods is ...' (R); Nihón no mirái ʔzúkuri ... '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 nusúnde, niwatori ya buta-goya ʔzúkuri no zairyóo ni suru 'That stuff they steal after dark and turn into material for making chicken coops and pig pens' (SA 2670.33a).

(137a) ʔzume 'packed in': Kí de tukútta hako ʔzume no monó ... 'Things packed in boxes made of wood ...'; Réika hatizýú-do ni mo tas-súru dorai-áisu ʔzume ni site okuridásu reitóo-gyo da 'The refrigerated fish is sent out packed in dry ice, which gets as cold as 80 below zero [centigrade]'.

(137b) ʔzume 'stationed in': Nihon-basi ni áru hónsyo ʔzume no zyúnsa(ʔ) ... 'A policeman stationed in the main station in Nihombashi ...'.

(137c) ʔzume—see §9.1.7 (V-i-ʔzume).

(138) ʔzumi 'finished with'—see §14.4.

(139) ʔzumi 'shipment by; loaded on; a capacity of': Hyakú-ton ʔzumi no húne ... 'a boat with a hundred-ton capacity'; Zyooyóo-sya(ʔ) to hotóndo onazi ooki-sa no torákku ʔzumi ni sitá 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) ʔzura 'a face/look of': Sinpo-syúgi ʔzura no yaróo-dómo ga ... 'Those so-and-sos with progressivism written all over their damn faces ...' (Tk 3.144b); Kane no kotó sika kangaerárenai sihon-ka ʔzura o sita kotó wa ná n desu yó 'I have never acted the capitalist who can think of nothing but money' (cf. Tk 2.83b).

(141) ʔzútai '(following) along': ... utímizu ni nureta tobiisi ʔzútai ni ... 'along the stepping stones wet from the garden sprinkling' (Kb 271a); Kisyá wa ítu ka, tuki^[2] no áru nagisá(ʔ) ʔzútai o hasítte ita 'The train at one point was running beside a moonlit beach'

(Fn 294b); Toránku hitótu de tabí kara tabí e, ati-kóti no kitin-yádo ˉzútai ni Nihon-réttoo o nagárete iku áutóroo 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); Semái rooka ˉzútai ni iroiro na monó o oku monó da kara, masúmasu sémaku náte 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 háiuee ˉzútai ni móto no hurúi miti ga miegákure(ˉ) site iru 'Along the newly built highway the old road can be seen now and then'; Sízuka na watari-róoka ˉzútai ni ume no kí ga uerarete ite, íma ni mo sore ga saki-soo na kéhá(ˉ) de áru 'There are plum trees planted along the quiet passageway and they look as if to burst into bloom at any moment'; Kuruma wa mukóo(ˉ) ni miéru únga ˉzútai ni hasítte itta 'The car drove along the canal you can see over there'; Kono óne ˉzútai ga, yóku soonan ga átte, abunai 'It is dangerous along this ridge for there are many accidents'; Kono óne ˉzútai o Bigán-ro to iu 'Running along this ridge is what they call Bigan Lane'; Tesurí ˉzútai ... 'Along the banister (railing) ...'.

(142) ˉzútu '(distributively) each'—see §2.5: Sakura no haná no kírei na hitó-hira ˉzútu o hári de íto ni tóosite iku 'We gradually string each pretty cherry petal with our needle'; Sono ume wa zitú ni mígoto de, utukusii hitó-eda ˉzútu 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-satú ˉzútu sika agerarenai 'I can only give the one book each that I promised'.

(143) ˉzyáku 'a little less than, just under, minus': Sono sén-nín(ˉ) ˉzyáku ga syusseki sita 'Just under a thousand of them attended'; Sono sén-nín(ˉ) ˉzyáku o sutázíamu e yuudoo suru 'We will attract a little less than a thousand of them to the stadium'; Kono kuroo-túzuki datta go-nen ˉzyáku to iu aida, karada o yasumeru hima mo nákatta 'For that period of a little under five years of straight toil I hadn't a moment to rest my body'; Ano ití-kíro ˉzyáku wa tote-mo kiken na káabu ga óoi 'That stretch of just under a kilometer has a lot of curves that are quite dangerous'; A-ten to B-ten o musubu gó-kíro ˉzyáku wa nakanaka hasiri-yói kóosu da 'The something under five kilometers that links Point A and Point B are a course that is easy to run'; Kono ití-nen ˉzyáku to iu monó wa mattaku^[r] turákatta 'This matter of a little under a year was quite trying'; Zentai no roku-wari ˉzyáku desu 'It is less than 60 percent of the total'.

(144) ˉzyásuto '(the time that is) just, exactly': Hatí-zi ˉhán ˉzyásuto ni béru ga natta 'At exactly 8:30 the bell rang'; Sán-zi ˉzyásuto ga ii 'Three o'clock sharp would be good/better'; Zíkoku wa yó-zi sánzyuu ní-hun zyúu-byoo ˉzyásuto desu 'The time is exactly four thirty-two and ten seconds'; Básu no tootyaku-zíkan wa syóogo ˉzyásuto '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 zyásuto zyuuni-zi na n desu 'Then I woke up and when I looked at my watch found it was just twelve o'clock' (Tk 3.121b).

(145) ˉzyoo 'on; in; in view/consideration of, from the standpoint of, because of; with respect to': ... sinbun ya zassi ˉzyoo ni, ... 'in the newspapers and magazines' (K 1966.231); Watakusi no tatibá ˉzyoo komáru 'It is embarrassing from my standpoint'; ... to iu yóo na kibisii keikai-táisei no kankei ˉzyoo ... 'in view of the strict warning system of the sort that ...' (R); Kono ié no motí-nusi wa Sátoo Tároo no túma Háma no méigí ˉzyoo,

Tároo no ziyúu ni wa naránai 'This house is in the name of Tarō Satō's wife Hamako and he is not free to dispose of it'; Atasi mo, [Yúki san o] Kyóoto e sasotta sekinin ̄zyoo, zut-to tuki-kkirí de kanbyoo sitá no yó 'In view of the fact that I am the one responsible for having invited her [= Yuki] to Kyōto, I have stayed close to her sick bed for the entire time' (Fn 306b); Osieru tugoo ̄zyoo 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 béngi ̄zyoo, ... 'for convenience in citing examples' (Nagano 1966.206); Tonari ni súde iru {to iu} kankei ̄zyoo koosai sinai wáke ni wa ikanai 'In view of our living as neighbors we can't help associate'; ... seizi ̄zyoo yóri wa músiro syóogyoo ̄zyoo ni íryoku o mótte 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)': Sonosíki^[r] no aida ̄zyuu ... 'All through the ceremony' (SA 2668.121b); ...tabi^[r] no aida ̄zyuu ... 'all through the trip' (Kb 265b); Syoo-gákkoo no toki^[r] káiko o kawaserárete né, sore o yatte iru aida ̄zyuu, bóku(̄) wa gákkoo o yasumimásita 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/Kyóo ̄zyuu ni ... 'Within the year/week/day ...'; Asitá ̄zyuu ni naosite moraitai 'I'd like it fixed by tomorrow night'; Kyóo ̄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 tuki ̄zyuu isogásii 'I am busy through this whole month'; Kaeru wa huyú ̄zyuu nemutte iru 'Frogs sleep all through winter'; Sono hí ̄zyuu atamá ga ítákatta 'My head ached that whole day through'; Akanboo wa atúi aida ̄zyuu naki-tuzúketa 'The baby cried the entire time it was hot'; Káno-zyo wa káre ga bínboo na aida ̄zyuu mendóo o míte yatta 'She looked after him the entire time he was poor'; Sono káigi ̄zyuu kintyoo si-doosi dátta 'I was a bundle of nerves through that entire conference'; Watasi ga hima na aida ̄zyuu wa kódomo no mendóo o míte yareru 'I can look after the child all the time I'm free'; Hitó-ban ̄zyuu benkyoo sita '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 tíisa na matí ̄zyuu o arúita 'I walked all over this little town'; Sono heyá^[r] no náka ̄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 hiromátta 'The rumor spread all over the village where he lives'; Sékái ̄zyuu ga odoróita 'The whole world was startled'; Sékái ̄zyuu o odorokáseta dai-zíken datta 'It was a major incident that startled the entire world'.

Our restrictives and quasi-restrictives can be grouped according to the number of sub-categories of noun each will follow, but the breakdown is gradual, ranging from those that can occur after all categories (̄daké *a*, ̄dókoroo, ̄gúrai *b*, ̄ígai, kirí, máde *b*, nómi, ...) to those that apparently occur after only one category: ̄ámari, ̄ate *b*, bákarí *a*, ̄biki *a/b*, ̄bun, ̄buri *a/c*, ̄dai, ̄gákari, ̄gake *a/b/c*, ̄gárami, ̄gata, ̄génzai, ̄góro, ̄gúrai *a*, ̄hán, hodó *a*, ̄íkutu, ̄kákkoo *a/b*, ̄kéntoo, ̄kókkirí, ̄kyóo, ̄míman, ̄naígai, ̄ókí(̄), ? ̄sóotoo, ? ̄sugí, ? ̄taípu, ? ̄táakaku, ̄tárazu, ̄tomo, ̄tyóotto, ̄zén, ̄zuke, ? ̄zúkume, ̄zume *b*, ̄zútai, ̄zútu, ̄zyáku, ̄zyásuto, ̄zyoo.

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/ó* (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: *daké a*, *nómi*, *ḡbákari b*, *kirí*, *ḡgúrai b*, *ḡígai*, *hodó b*, *máde b*, *ḡdókoró*, *ḡízyoo*.

Type B-1: *ḡátari* (*a* and *b* together), *ḡkágiri*, *ḡgóto*, *máde*, *ḡgoto*, *ḡígo*, *ḡírai*, *ḡzéngo*, *ḡgóro*, *ḡnami*, *ḡíka*, *ḡdómari*, *ḡdárake*, *ḡtuki*, *ḡzyuu* (*a* and *b* together), *ḡburi b*, *ḡdóori*, *ḡzoi*, *ḡzútai*, *ḡgósi* (?—also B-2).

Type B-2: *ate*, *ḡyori*, *ḡtikáku*, *ḡizen*, *ḡmáe*, *ḡgósi* (?—also B-1), *ḡbari*, *ḡgúrai a*, *ḡmágire*, *ḡzúkume*, *ḡátari c*, *ḡdaké b*, *ḡgákari*, *ḡkéntoo*, *ḡmámire*, *ḡámari*, *ḡbákari a*, *ḡburi a*, *hodó a*, *ḡínai*, *ḡzyáku*, *ḡkitté-no*, *ḡkyóo*, *ḡókí(ḡ)*, *ḡsugí*, and *ḡzútu*.

(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*, *ḡbari*, *ḡburi b*, *ḡmágire*, *ḡyori*, and *ḡzúkume*. Also the five items *ḡátari a*, *ḡkágiri*, *ḡnami*, *ḡdárake*, and *ḡdómari* 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:

<i>Sequence</i>	<i>Exceptions</i>	<i>out of</i>	<i>Possible sequences</i>	<i>Ratio</i>
A B-1	14		140	.10
A B-2	49		260	.19
B-1 B-2	84		364	.23

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:

<i>Sequence kind</i>	<i>Occurring sequences</i>	<i>Possible sequences</i>	<i>Ratio</i>
B-1 A A	499	1170	.4265
A A A	195	720	.2708
A B-1 A	76	1170	.0650
B-1 B-1 A	47	1560	.0301
A A B-1	29	1170	.0248
B-1 A B-1	11	1560	.0071
A B-1 B-1	10	1560	.0064
B-1 B-1 B-1	2	2180	.0009

Although our list of restrictives and quasi-restrictives is quite long, it is probably not

complete,⁴⁴ 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 *~ízime* 'the teasing of': *Máda monó no yóku wakaránaí osanáí kodomo ~ízime ga óói* 'There's a lot of teasing little children who still don't know much about things'; *Musuko no tokoró e atarásiku kita yome ~ízime o sakeyóo to sita* 'We tried to avoid teasing the bride newly arrived at my son's'; *Akago no yóo ni teikóo-ryoku no náí yowái monó ~ízime 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 (?) *Sekái-iti takái yatin o harawaserárete iru syakuya-nin ~kómarase no akuhoo dá* '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 kíta* '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',
- gí [= "ki 'garb(ed in); wearing': *gaisyutú-gí* 'streetwear', *hoomón-gí* 'formal attire', *hudán-gí* 'everyday clothes',
- moti 'for ... to have': *onna-moti no tokei* 'a ladies' watch',
- nage 'throwing': *enban-nage* 'discus throwing',
- ni 'resemblance': *titioya-ni* 'resembling one's father',
- ságasi 'searching for': *ni-hikí ~mé no dozyoo ~ságasi ga hazimatte iru to ka* 'saying something about the search for the second loach getting under way' (SA 2813.3)
- zoe [= "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 *yakyuu-zuki* 'a baseball fan', *onna-zuki* 'a womanizer', *sibai-zuki* 'a playgoer', etc. In *atarasi [i] mono-zuki* 'one with a taste for novelties' (lg 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 *~dátera* 'despite one's status as' would appear to deserve inclusion as a quasi-restrictive by virtue of a sentence like *Sitóyaka de áru ~béki onná ~dátera ni arare-mo-nái* 'it is ill becoming to a proper

44. Surely to be added to the list, for example, are *~itoo* '(to) the east of', *~isei* '(to) the west of', *~inan* '(to) the south of', *~ihoku* '(to) the north of': ... *Súezu ~itoo no hitóbito ni tótte wa ...* 'for people living east of Suez' (Tanigawa 198); *Hokúí | nizyuugo-sen ~ihoku no || Kita-Bétonamu | bakugeki no | teisi o méi-zi || ...* 'Ordering the suspension of bombing North Vietnam north of the 25th parallel ...' (R). There is also *~tóozí* '(at) the time ...' as in *Méizi sanzyuu hati-nen ~tóozí ni ...* '(Back) in 1905 ...'. Notice also the English loanwords in ... *Itaria-go ~ONRÍI no ún-tyan ...* 'the driver who spoke only Italian' (SA 2816.32a), *yosan ~OObAA datta no wa* 'what was over the budget', *Túne ni wága-ko ~SAIDO kara sika monó o kangaerarénaí ...* 'thinks only in terms of one's own child's interests' (SA 2837.32d).

woman who ought to be genteel', but there seem to be very few nouns other than *onná* that can be used—*kodomo* has been suggested—so that *onna-dátera* is perhaps better treated as a single lexical item. (Ōtsuki derives *-dátera* from *tate-date-si-*, an obsolete adjective 'upright' derived from the transitive verb infinitive *táte* '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 ténki* 'wintry weather';

-génka [= "kenka] 'a quarrel between': *Ti no kayowanai kyoodai-génka wa sáiban ni made náru kotó ga áru* 'A quarrel between cold-blooded brothers sometimes gets to be a court case';

-kékka 'result(s)': *Syáin(-) sén-nín(-) o taisyoo ni sita tyoosa-kékka ni yoru to ...* 'According to the results of a study that took a thousand employees as subjects ...' (SA 2668. 25c); *Atarásii hoo hoo ni yoru tiryoo-kékka wa ...* 'The results of treatment according to a new method ...'; *Kisyoo no kansoku-kékka wa ...* 'The results of meteorological observations ...'; *kaihyoo-kékka* 'the results of the balloting'.

-zíkomi [= "sikomi] 'training; tutelage': ... *káre ga syoonen -zídai ni, uti-dési to site sumi-konda Utagawa Kuniyosi -zíkomi no é-hude o hurutte ...* 'he wielded a brush after the style of Kuniyoshi Utagawa with whom he had moved in as an apprentice in his boyhood' (Okitsu 549).⁴⁵

-zítaku [= "sitaku] 'preparations for': *Musumé-tati no yomeiri-zítaku o site kureru* '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-bánare* 'experience as an official', *syuzyutusitu-dónari no kanrí-situ* 'the office next to the operating room', *hutokoro-gúai* 'the state of one's purse', *watasi no tutome-saki no kaisya* 'the firm that is where my job is', *Amerika-zíkomi no eigo* 'English acquired in America', *Rondon-zítate 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 *táti* and *rá* 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 *-mé* 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: *ití-nen -yo* = *itinén-yo* 'more than a year', *itinén-yo -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 *sén'yó-nen* 'a thousand-plus years', *sanzén-yó (nó^[1] ...)* 'over three thousand', *sanzén-yó-en* 'over 3000 yen' (cf. *sanzén yó-en* '3004 yen'), *hyakú^[1] gozyuu-yó-nin* 'over 150 people' (cf. *hyakú^[1] gozyú^[1] yo-nin* '154 people'),

The word *ten* 'dot', used in reading off numbers with decimals, is similar: *san -ten naná-byoo* '3.7 seconds' is read *sánten | nanábyoo*.

An expression of AGE + *-tígai* 'differing by ... years' may qualify as a quasi-restrictive: *Hon-no hitótu -tígai no kodomo* 'a child who is a mere one year's difference in age'. Notice

45. This example clearly indicates that *-zíkomi* 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: *Atasi to muttú ṭigai de, Umá desu ná* '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 *ṁítasa* [de/ni] '[from] a desire to look at' as in *Kowái monó ṁítasa de/ni* 'from a curiosity to see frightening things' (Fn 62a). This is the abstract nominalization of the desiderative adjective made from *míru* 'looks/sees', i.e. *mí-ta-sa*. (Cf. the development of *mítai*, §2.12.) But unless there are many other noun phrases that can replace *kowái monó* we would perhaps do better to treat the whole thing as a dephrasal noun, as we will want to do with *naimono-nédari* < *nái monó* [o] *nedari* 'asking for the unobtainable'. Cf. §14.8.

Most grammarians have selected a few of the words from the above list of restrictives and quasi-restrictives, usually because of semantic considerations, and treated them—together with a few words (such as *nádo*) here treated separately—as "delimiters". But it is not clear how the list can be subdivided on purely grammatical—rather than semantic—grounds, other than as I have done it, on the basis of whether the restrictive also occurs in the same shape as a postadnominal.

Not all elements that occur after a noun are particles, restrictives, quasi-restrictives, 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 *ṭ-hatu* 'departure' and *ṭ-tyaku* 'arrival' in our list, but they are separated from the noun by an underlying juncture: *sákú(ṭ)* 'written/composed by' as in *Kubota Mantároo | sákú(ṭ) nó wa* 'the one written by Mantarō Kubota'; *tyó* 'authored by' as in *Kubota Mantároo | tyó nó wa* 'the one authored by Mantarō Kubota'. We will have to account for such cases by assuming an ellipsis of something like *N [ga] sákú(ṭ) [sita]* and *N [ga] tyó [sita]*. Or, perhaps it will be simpler to assume *N [no] sákú(ṭ)* and *N [no] tyó*, 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 *hátu* and *tyáku* preceded by juncture, as in this example: *Máta || zyuukú-zi || sánzip-pun ni | túku yotei no || Nihon-kóokuu no || Singapóoru | hátu || Hónkón ṭ-kéiyu | ni-bin ga || zyuugó-hun | okurete || zyuukú-zi || yónzyuu || gó-hun ni | tukimásu* 'Next, Japan Air Lines Flight Two departing Singapore via Hongkong 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 *Detoróito [l] hátu || Ee-Píi ni | yorimásu to || ...* 'According to an AP dispatch from Detroit ...' (R); *Teru-Abíbu [l] hátu ni | yorimásu to || ...* '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: *Kóobe hatu || ití-zi tyaku wa ...* 'The train from Kōbe due at one o'clock ...' (BJ 1.347); *Zyuuití-zi hatu | Kyóoto ṭ-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 *ní-zi ni-húnmae* 'two minutes before two o'clock' and *gó-zi go-húnsgu* 'five minutes past five o'clock' (cf. BJ 1.121) are probably best treated as some sort of ellipsis-derived apposition—either direct, *ní-zi [de aru] ni-húnmae* 'the two-minutes before that is (of) two o'clock', or inverted: *ni-húnmae [de aru] ní-zi* 'two o'clock that is two-minutes minus'. In any event, the second elements are best considered as complex counters,

-húnmae and -húnsugi, which behave morphologically like other counters in combining with appropriate numerals: zip-púnmae 'ten minutes of [the hour]', san-púnsugi 'three minutes past [the hour]'. Compare ní-zi zip-pun máe ni 'before 2:10', zip-pun máe ni 'ten minutes earlier/ago'; ní-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:

	EXACT	EXCLUSIVE	LIMITED	EXTENDED	
daké	+	+	+	-	("at the limit")
bákari	-	+	+	-	
hodó	-	-	+	+	("up to the extent/limit")
gúrai	-	-	-	-	

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: nimán gosén yónhyaku gozyúu-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):

	daké	bákari	máde	nádo	nánka	gúrai
Limit	+	+	+	+	+	+
Definite	+	+	+	-	-	-
Extension	-	-	+	+	+	-
Pejorative	-	+	-	-	+	-

The "pejorative" use of which Isami speaks is that illustrated by such sentences as Úso bákari túite iru 'You do nothing but lie' and Kudaránai kotó bákari syabéru 'You say nothing but stupidities', in which daké will not substitute. Isami says that máde represents an UPPER BOUNDARY (Uísúkii made nómu 'I drink even whiskey') and gúrai represents a LOWER BOUNDARY (Budóo-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 nigori process. The restrictive daké is from the noun také 'length; total quantity', related to táka 'amount, volume' and táka- 'high, tall' (as is také 'peak'). The restrictive bákari is from hakári 'measure; weight; balance', the regular derived noun from the infinitive hakári 'measuring'; gúrai is from the noun kurai 'grade, rank; situation', itself originally a compound from kura-[w]i 'being in a seat or saddle'; dóori comes from the postadnominal toóri, in turn derived from toóri 'way', the derived noun from the infinitive toóri 'passing by'; dókoro is from tokoró 'place'. The origin of darake is problematical; one suggestion (Ôtsuki) has it related to tara-tara 'dripping profusely'. The quasi-restrictive góro is from the postadnominal kóro 'time'; góto [ni] is said to be an abbreviation from koto-góto [ni] '[in] everything', a reduplication of kotó 'thing', which is no

doubt the origin also of ̀goto.⁴⁶ Hodó is said to be from the verb h(e)- 'pass' + to[koró] 'place', with the first vowel assimilating to the second.

Of the remaining words, many are derived from verb infinitives, or from derived nouns that ultimately stem from infinitives. Thus ̀ókí(̀) and ̀sugí are from the infinitives okí 'placing' and sugí 'exceeding'—or from otherwise unfound nouns derived from them, as the accentuation may indicate; atári is from a noun 'vicinity' that derives with irregular accentuation from the infinitive atari 'hitting, confronting, etc.'; ̀kágiri is from kágiri 'limit-it', the derived noun from the infinitive kagiri 'limiting', and [k]kírí is from kírí 'closure, cutting off', the derived noun from the infinitive kírí 'cutting it (off)'. Other words that derive from infinitives or infinitive-derived nouns are these: ̀ágari, ̀ámari, ̀ate, ̀bari, ̀biki, ̀buri, ̀de, ̀deki, ̀dómari, ̀gaéri, ̀gákari, ̀gake, ̀gáwari, ̀gáyoi, ̀gónomi, ̀gosi, ̀iri, ̀komi, ̀kúzure, ̀mágai, ̀mágire, ̀mámire, ̀máwari, ̀módoki, ̀muke, ̀muki, ̀nari, ̀nuki, ̀nuri, ̀sódati, ̀tuki, ̀úmare, ̀wari, ̀yori, ̀yuki, ̀zoi, ̀zoroi, ̀zúkare, ̀zuke, ̀zuki, ̀zúkuri, ̀zume, ̀zumi (= "sumi), ̀zumi (= "tumi). Similar origins, but with etymological complications of various sorts, will probably account for ̀gárami, ̀gúrumi, ̀kúndari, ̀nami (cf. narabi), and ̀zútai; the quasi-restrictives ̀zukú(̀) and ̀zúkume are derived from the verbal root tuk-. The quasi-restrictive ̀tárazu is from the literary negative infinitive (§8.5) of the verb taru = tariru 'suffices'; ̀tikáku is from the noun 'vicinity' derived from the adjective infinitive tikáku 'being near'; ̀hukáku and ̀tákaaku come from adjective infinitives. The following are from native Japanese nouns or adverbs, some less obviously so than others: ̀gara, ̀gata, ̀gawa, ̀íkutu, ̀katagáta, ̀kíkkári, ̀kókkíri, ̀máe, ̀magiwa, ̀mé, ̀nákaba, ̀pókkíri, ̀súgata, ̀tomo, ̀tómo(̀), ̀tyóttó, ̀zura. And ̀kítte-no is from kítte 'cutting' (with the variant kítte owing to vowel unvoicing), the gerund of kír- 'cut'.

The quasi-restrictive ̀zyásuto is borrowed from English 'just'; ̀hurátto 'flat', ̀púrasu 'plus', and ̀táipu 'type' are also from English. The following are one-morpheme Chinese loanwords: ̀betu, ̀bun, ̀dai, ̀dai, ̀gai, ̀gó(̀), ̀hán, ̀hatu, ̀huu, ̀ka, ̀kan, ̀ken, ̀kyóo, ̀nai, ̀rai, ̀ryuu, ̀siki, ̀tai, ̀tyaku, ̀tyuu, ̀yoo, ̀zén, ̀zén [taru], ̀zyáku, ̀zyoo, ̀zyuu. And each of the following words consists of two morphemes borrowed from Chinese: ̀ien, ̀igai, ̀igo, ̀íka, ̀íkoo, ̀ínai, ̀írai, ̀izen, ̀ízyoo (all containing the Chinese preposition i-); ̀íppai (< ippai 'full' < íp-pai 'one cupful'); ̀génzai, ̀kákko, ̀kéiyu(̀), ̀kéntoo, ̀kórai-no, ̀míman, ̀náigai, ̀sídai, ̀sóotoo, ̀téido, ̀zéngo, ̀zibun, ̀zídai, ̀ziken.

The only etymology I have found for nómi is Ōno's suggestion that it may come from ... no mi 'the (body =) self of ...'. Although ma ní-te '(being) in the interval' suggests itself as an attractive etymology for máde, a likelier source is mande < maude, infinitive of the old intransitive verb maud(e)- < mawi-id(e)- 'come, go' [honorific]; cf. modern máir- < mawi-ir.^{46a} For the etymology of ̀zútu, see §2.5; for that of yóri, see §2.6.

2.4a. YÚÉ [NI]

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

46. But góto[-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 yúé*, with the 'due to' functioning as a postnominal particle much like a restrictive or focus marker: *Sore yúé ...* 'Due to that, ...'; *Kayoo na sidai yúé, ...* 'Owing to circumstances of this sort ...'; *Bóku(¯) wa danseí dá kara tasukári, káno-zyo wa, taikyúu-ryoku no sukunái zyosei yúé ni sinde simatta* 'I was saved because I am a rnan, but she ended up dead due to being a woman with little endurance' (SA 2637.57).

2.5. THE DISTRIBUTIVE (¯ZÚTU)

When the distributive marker ¯zútu 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: *sukósi ¯zútu* 'a little each', *syoosúu ¯zútu* 'a small number each', *syooryóo(¯) ¯zútu* 'some each', *zyakkan ¯zútu* 'some each', *kore-dake ¯zútu* 'this much each'.⁴⁷ But expressions of unspecified large quantities are apparently excluded: **takusán ¯zútu* 'lots each', **tasúu ¯zútu* 'a large number each', **taryoo ¯zútu* '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: ¯zútu and ¯'zutu. *Sukósi ¯zútu* is pronounced /sukosizútu/ and *sukósi ¯'zutu* is pronounced /sukosízutu/; *zyuu-en ¯zútu* is /zyuuenzútu/ and *zyuu-en ¯'zutu* is /zyuueńzutu/. In this book we will choose to write the accentuation always as ¯zútu.

The older spelling of ¯zútu is *du* = "tutu; the word is said to come from a reduplication of the general counter -tú that we find in *hitó-tu* 'one', *huta-tú* 'two', etc. Notice that the distributive is NOT related to *V-i-tútu* 'while doing' (§9.1.4). As *du*, 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 *duka* 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.^{47a}

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 *Máiniti(¯) íp-pai ¯zútu nómu* 'I drink one cupful each day' the ¯zútu may be semantically redundant, simply reinforcing *máiniti(¯)*; 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 *sorézore* 'respectively, individually, as individually appropriate', one of the interpretations will make the distributive redundant: *Sanká-sya wa sorézore hitótu ¯zútu 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 hitóri ¯ZÚTU KARA*

47. ... *tikyuu no ziten ga || nennen | wázuka ¯zútu || osoku náru | keikoo ga áru no de ...* 'the revolution of the earth tends to slow a slight amount each year, so that ...' (R).

47a. Chūgoku dialects use ¯wate (Matsue), ¯waate (Nagahama), or ¯wátte (Hiroshima), from the gerund of *war-* 'divide'.

atúmeta 'I gathered them from each student' (*kará-zútu); Gakusei hitóri ZÚTU NI watasite kudasái 'Hand them out to each student' (*ní-zútu); Gakusei hitóri ZÚTU TO hanasi-au 'I will talk with each student' (*tó-zútu); Onóono pin íp-pon ZÚTU DE tomete kudasái 'Fasten one with each pin' (*dé-zútu); Ni-kásyo ZÚTU E itte kudasái 'Go to two places each' (or 'Go to each of two places') (*é-zútu); Ni-ko ZÚTU GA tekitoo dá 'Two apiece is suitable'; Tamágo hitótu ZÚTU O yóku awa-dátete tukau 'You use one egg each, whipped into a froth'.

The distributive phrase can be adnominalized: Ití-doru zútu no go-hóobi 'an award of one dollar each'; ... zyakkan zútu no reigai ... 'a few exceptions each' (KKK 3.61).

Although *N zútu zútu is impossible, you can have more than one distributive-marked adjunct in a surface sentence: Kodomó-tái wa hutuka ZÚTU hataraite moratta ití-doru ZÚTU no go-hóobi de ni-satú ZÚTU hón o 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 hataraite, nó = de áru, 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 restrictives and the like; but sáe, nádo, and mítai will not precede zútu, though they may follow it. No combinations will be found of the distributive with those restrictives and quasi-restrictives that have temporal meanings: góro, ígo, írai, ízen, máe, sugí, zyu. You will also find zútu after ka but only when that particle is part of a phrase nán/íku-COUNTER ka 'some ...': Enpitu o nán-bon ka zútu moratta 'We received several pencils each'; Íku-tu ka zútu tábeta 'We ate several each'. (These phrases, like nani ka 'something', come from interrogative sentences, § 15.6.)

The following examples will permit the distributive to occur either before or after the restrictive: Hitóri ni ní-hon ZÚTU ÍZYOO (or ÍZYOO ZÚTU) wa agerarenai 'I cannot give more than two to each person'; San-nin de, hitóri gohyakú-en ZÚTU ÍKA (or ÍKA ZÚTU) de wa sukuna-sugirú desyoo 'With three people getting less than five hundred yen each, it is surely too little'; Iti-dó ni go-nin ÍNAI ZÚTU (or ZÚTU ÍNAI) nara háitte mo ii 'If it's no more than five people at a time, you may go in'; Mittú HODO ZÚTU kubátte kudasái 'Distribute three each'; San-nin ni gohyakú-en ZÚTU HODO kasite itadakemasén ka 'Won't you lend five hundred yen to each of us three?' (but HODO ZÚTU would be more common); Sukósi sika nai kara íp-pon DAKÉ ZÚTU wakeyóo 'There are only a few so let's divide them up just one each' [awkward?]; Hutarí ZÚTU DAKÉ de dekaketa 'We left just two at a time' [uncommon]; Mittú BAKARI ZÚTU kubátte kudasái 'Please distribute just three each'; Tatta hitótu ZÚTU BAKARI de o-hazukasii no desu ga, dóo-zo 'I'm ashamed that it is only just one each, but please (accept them)' [awkward?]; San-nin ni hutatú ZÚTU GURAI SIKA nai n da yó 'Each of the three has only about two each' (KKK 3.61); Dá kara, hutarí no kodomo wa Nihón no gakkoo no syotoo-kyóoiku wa ití-nen GURAI ZÚTU SIKA úkete imasén '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: Hitóri ZÚTU ÍGAI nyuusitu sité wa ikenai 'You must not enter the room except one at a time' (*-ígai zútu); (?) Íp-pon ZÚTU GÓTO ni tutunde kudasái 'Wrap one (each) each time' (*-góto zútu ni, *-góto ni zútu); Kore-dake ZÚTU SIKA watasenai 'I can only hand over this much each'; Biiro o íp-pai ZÚTU NÁDO dóo desu ka 'How about a beer each or the like?'; Ano zibun(-) wa, máda, iti-góo ZÚTU DE MO moti-yoretá 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 $\bar{o}k\bar{i}(\bar{~})$ [ni] puts $\bar{z}u\bar{t}u$ after $\bar{o}k\bar{i}(\bar{~})$ and before $n\bar{i}$, with other orders rejected: Go-nin $\bar{O}K\bar{I}(\bar{~})$ $\bar{Z}U\bar{T}U$ NI hitori tori-agete sirabete miyoo 'Let us try checking every sixth person (each time)' (* $\bar{z}u\bar{t}u$ $\bar{o}k\bar{i}(\bar{~})$ ni, * $\bar{o}k\bar{i}(\bar{~})$ ni $\bar{z}u\bar{t}u$).

About the longest combination that has been suggested as acceptable for $\bar{z}u\bar{t}u$ is Hutari $\bar{D}A\bar{K}\bar{E}$ $\bar{Z}U\bar{T}U$ 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: Hutari $\bar{Z}U\bar{T}U$ $\bar{D}A\bar{K}\bar{E}$ KARA SAE MO moraenai; Hutari $\bar{Z}U\bar{T}U$ KARA $\bar{D}A\bar{K}\bar{E}$ SAE MO moraenai. Another sequence that is said to sound acceptable is Hyaku-en ÁTARI MADE $\bar{Z}U\bar{T}U$ $\bar{G}U\bar{R}A\bar{I}$ $\bar{D}A\bar{K}\bar{E}$ nára, kasite agerareru 'I can lend you just about up to around a hundred yen each'; at least eleven other orders are said to be possible for this combination of five particles, all with $\bar{d}a\bar{k}\bar{e}$ 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 yúri are attested; it has been suggested that the particle was originally yúri and came from yuri, an old noun meaning 'later, in the future' (Terasé 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 Ryūkyū forms for the comparator are (Okinawa) yaka, yuka; (Yaeyama) yakañ (Amami) yukma, yumma. It seems likely that the Ryūkyū forms come from something like yo[ri] ka {mo}; short o regularly becomes u in the Ryūkyūs. 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); Isásaka zíga zisan dága, náhi mo sinai kuni yóri wa ii '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 óoku mawatte irassyáru [n] desu né 'And you've been around more than most people, haven't you' (Tk 2.260a); Beikoku no "ekuzékyút'ibu" (kigyoo-kánbu) yori wa Nihon-teki na mén o tabun ni mótte iru 'Rather than (being) the American executive, he has a good many Japanese aspects' (CK 985.51);

48. For parts of the above information I am indebted to Ritva Sinikka Hayasaka, Kyōko 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'. Chūgoku dialects use taa (? < tó wa) for the comparator (Shin Nihongo-kōza 3.214). In Kyōto sika and hoka are synonyms for yóri (Okumura in Hōgengaku-kōza 3.145).

Moo ití-d^[1], máe yori wa óoki na kóe de yobimásu to ... 'When I called again, in a voice louder than before ...' (KKK 3.231); ... dooke-síbai yori mo, matomo na síbai o yari-tai ... 'I want to do serious plays rather than farces' (Tk 2.273a); Dá ga, kono kotó yori mo mondai ná no wa ... 'But what is more problematical yet than this ...' (SA 2676.98c); Séntyoo yori mo onná^[1] no hoo ga tosi o tótte ita 'The woman was older than Senchō' (Kb 8b); Syokúgyoo ^[1]gara, o-kaō yóri mo há-nami^[1](⁻) no hoo ga ki ni narimásite ... 'From my vocation, I am more concerned about teeth than about faces ...' (KKK 3.231).

In the informal speech of downtown Tōkyō yóri ka is often used to mean yóri mo; a common option allows the contraction yó' ka: Sore kara noboru yó' ka oríru hoo ga muzukasii n desu 'And then it is harder to come down than it is to climb up' (Tk 4.43b). Yóri ka mo also occurs: Okáatyan no kao dáí-suki—o-kási yori ka mo, o-támago 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 yóri ka + yóri mo, but it is not to be mistaken for yóri ka mo [sirenai] 'maybe than'. And I have one example of yó' ka mo: Zitubutu o míru yo' ka mo máe ni, hukusei o míte kansin sita kotó ga áru 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 mó, follows an indeterminate the meaning is 'than any other (thing, person, place, etc.)'; the accent is optionally suppressed. Dáre yori [mo] means 'rather/more than anyone else' and náni yori [mo] means 'rather/more than anything else': Kore wa máta(⁻), Hónkón de tábeta náni yori mo oisíkatta '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 yóri; yóri would thus appear to be also a postadnominal: Dóoro mo || omótta | yóri wa || tyan-tó^[1] 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 [nó] yóri, thus accounting for the adnominal form of the copula in sízuka na yóri 'rather than be quiet'. The juncture is optional: omótta { | } yóri.

Instead of N yóri you will sometimes find N to iú yóri (pronounced either /yuúyori/ or /yuuyóri/: Sore wa, géngo zísín [or: gengo-zísín] no mondai to iu yóri wa, búna 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: Anáta to yori hoka no hitó to iki-tai 'I'd rather go with someone other than you'; Anáta kara yori hoka no hitó kara morai-tai 'I'd rather get it from someone other than you'; Matí ni yori inaka ni sumi-tái n desu 'I want to reside in the country rather than in a city'; Kyóoto e yori Nára e ikimasyóo ka 'Shall we go to Nara rather than Kyōto?'; MU2-gatá-ki wa wá-ga kuni dé^[1] yori mo Beikoku de urete iru 'The MU2 plane is selling better in America than in our country' (SA 2680.142c); Gakkoo dé yori uti dé no hoo ga benkyoo si-yasúí 'It is easier to study at home than at school'. But neither *gá'ó yóri nor *yóri ga/o occurs.

Frequently particles marking case (or other functions) will optionally drop before yóri. If you choose to drop the particle in Watasi ga áni [ni] yori hito ni sínsetu 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 [ní] yóri Huransu-go ni tuyói 'I am surer of my English than [of] my French'. Another example of a dropped particle: Sore dé

mo Kyōoto no wa Tookyoo [nó] yóri mo oisii kedo 'Still, Kyōto's are better tasting than Tōkyō('s), but ...' (SA 2689.55b).

It is possible to follow yóri with sika: Anáta yori sika tayorénaí 'I can depend on you alone'. But *N yóri nádo is rejected, though N nádo yori is acceptable: Nihon-zin nádo yori Indó-zin no hōo ga Eigo ga umái '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": Yasúi 'It is cheap' or 'It is cheaper'. If you choose not to subdue the subject, a comparison is often implied: Kore ga yasúi 'This one is cheap(er)', cf. Kore wa yasúi 'This one (among its other characteristics) is cheap'. Sometimes tyót-to 'somewhat' is prefaced to bring out a comparison: Tyót-to yasúi 'It is a bit cheap; it is on the cheap side'. You can be explicit and use the adverb mótto 'more', often implying 'more than it used to be': Móttö yasúi 'It is cheaper (than it was)'. Or you can use moo sukósi 'a little more': Moo sukósi yasúi no o mísete kudasái 'Show me one a little cheaper'.

But Japanese prefer to compare ALTERNATIVES, and they like to mark either or both of the alternatives with ... hōo 'the alternative (of) ...'. Yasúi hōo da means 'It's the cheaper (of the two alternatives)' and Kono hōo ga (or Kotira ga) yasúi means 'This (alternative) is the cheaper'. Thus Dótira (or Dótira no hōo) ga yasúi 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 yóri, but first you may wish to phrase it as an alternative: Senséi no hōo yori umái '(He) is better at it than the teacher'. Or you may put the alternative in the other part of the comparison: Gakusei no hōo ga senséi yori umái 'The student is better at it than the teacher'. And nothing prevents you from marking both parts as alternatives: Gakusei no hōo ga senséi no hōo yori umái. Moreover, the order of the two parts is fairly free, so that you can also say Senséi [no hōo] yori [wa/mo] gakusei [no hōo] ga umái—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 dótira 'which one (of the two)' or dótira no hōo 'which alternative of the two': Kono yamá to sono yamá de wa dótira [no hōo] ga takái 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 dé [wa]*—or sometimes *A to B to C no utí(-)/náka [dé] [wa]* 'among A and B and C'—and then ask about dóre 'which of them' or dáre 'who among them', adding itiban 'most' before the adjective: Kono yamá to sono yamá to ano yamá de wa dóre ga itiban takái ka 'Of these three mountains, which is highest?'; Kono kodomo to sono kodomo to ano kodomo no utí(-)/náka de, dáre ga itiban umái 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 hōo ga*; with three or more alternatives the answer will be *N ga*: Kono yamá [no hōo] ga takái 'This mountain is the higher'; Kono kodomo ga itiban umái '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 *yoru* as a kind of bound adverb, so that you will hear—and, more often, see—such expressions as these: ... *yoru yōi seikatu ni mitibīku tamé ni wa* ... ‘in order to lead to a better life’ (KKK 3.233); ... *sára ni káre o yori ízyoo ni hukóo ni sasete iru monó ga áru to sureba*, ... ‘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 *bétaa* ‘better, preferable, advisable’ (see p. 561) and *bésuto* ‘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 *yōri* the restrictive *gúrai* ‘as much as’ will mark the standard of comparison:⁵⁰ *Kono yamá wa sono yamá gúrai takái* ‘This mountain is as high as that mountain’. To deny such a comparison you use the restrictive *hodo* ‘(not) so much as’: *Kono yamá wa sono yamá hodo takaku nái* ‘This mountain is not so high as that mountain’. The latter sentence is logically equivalent to *Kono yamá [no hoo] yori wa sono yamá [no hoo] ga takái* ‘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 *Hón ga iru* ‘(I) need book(s)’ 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 *N gúrai* you can sometimes achieve much the same meaning with *N no yōo ni* ‘like N’ or *N to onazi yōo ni* ‘the same as N’.

goes untranslated, you can readily translate it as *sono* 'that', or you can thematize 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: *Hón ga is-satú^[1] iru* 'I need one (= a) book' is singular, *Hón ga ní-satu iru* 'I need two books' is not. And the plural count can be made vague in a number of ways: *Hón ga suu-satú^[1] iru* 'I need a number of books', *Hón ga nán-satu ka iru* 'I need several (= some number of) books', *Hón ga nán-satu mo iru* 'I need ever so many books', *Hón ga takusán^[1] iru* 'I need a lot of books', *Hón ga is-satú^[1] -izyoo 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 animate being.

When animates, especially human beings, are referred to, a Japanese is much more likely to mention plurality: *hito* 'person/people' remains vague, but *hitó-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 *wata[ku]sí-táti* (or synonym); *anáta* 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 *anáta-tati* 'you people, you all, youse' will be the 'you' that refers to more than one—though *miná-san* or *minasán-gata* 'all of you' will often be used instead. *Anó-hito* and *anó-ko* are normally taken as singular 'he' or 'she', since 'they' will be made explicit as *anóhito-tati* and *anóko-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 **hón-ra* 'books' but you can say *koré-ra no hón* 'these books'. Similarly, *soré-ra* is an explicit plural for *sore* 'that/those' and *aré-ra* is a specific plural for *are* 'that/those [more remote]', but for *dóre* 'which' there is no corresponding **dóre-ra*. When referring to people, *koré-tati*, *soré-tati*, and *aré-tati* are also possible; the interrogative is *dáre-tati* 'who all', as in *Nára e ikú no wa dáre-tati desu ka* 'Who all are going to Nara?', but it is not used when the plurality is obvious: *Anóhito-tati wa dáre desu ka* 'Who are those people?' For the exalting words that end in *-sama* there are plurals *-sama-gata*, including *dótira-sama-gata* and *dónata-sama-gata*; you may also hear *dótira-sama-tati*, *dónata-tati*, and *dótira-tati* for 'who all'. The pejorative words *yátu* 'one, guy, thing', *koitu* 'this one', *soitu* 'that one', and *aitu* 'that one' can be made plural with any of the three markers *RÁ*, *DÓMO*, or *TÁTI* when they refer to people, and sometimes when they refer to things; but **dóitu-ra* 'which ones' is replaced by *dónna yátu-ra* or *dónna yatu-dómo* (or, rarely, *dónna yátu-tati*). I have also come across *koré-ra no kotó-dómo* 'these matters (facts)'.

Names are usually to be taken as singular and unique; but a family name can be used with vaguer reference. When the telephone is answered with *Ikeda desu* 'This is the Ikeda residence' (or 'This is the Ikedas') you should not assume that the speaker necessarily bears the name *Ikeda* himself, since he may be a household employee.

The most common Japanese marker for plurality is the quasi-suffix *táti*, which can be attached to almost any animate noun. The connotations of *táti* are quite neutral,⁵¹ and usually it can be replaced by the more formal *rá*, especially when writing. You can show

51. According to Satō 2.185 *táti* was originally exalting as well as collective.

special respect toward the noun by choosing the exalting euphemism *gáta*, and you can show deprecation (or humility) by choosing the humbling *dómo*.⁵² While it is often easy to predict the likely occurrence of one of these connotationally loaded substitutes for *táti*—as in *tekihei-dómo* ‘enemy troops’ (SA 2679.104a), *Nátisu no buraikan-dómo* ‘the Nazi scoundrels’, and *hosyu-ha no yáróo-dómo* ‘those bastards of the conservative wing’ (Tk 3.86b)—we cannot preclude unexpected combinations such as *ningen-dómo* ‘(wretched) humans’ (Ogaeri 35), *tuukoonin-dómo* ‘passersby’ (Tk 4.91), or *génzai no zyoosiki-ya-dómo* ‘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’ *okyakusamá-táti* (SA 2655.113c) is polite enough, though *okyakusamá-gáta* will also be heard. And while *katá-gata* is an appropriate plural for the exalting *katá* ‘esteemed person’, *katá-tati* is also quite common: *dókusya(ˉ) no katá-tati* ‘the esteemed readers’ (SA 2658.46); *soo iu katá-tati mo* ‘such persons too’ (SA 2655.41a); *Karúizawa no katá-tati no kangae-káta wa dóo desu ka* ‘What is the opinion of the ladies and gentlemen of Karuizawa?’ (SA 2642.46b). It is safe to say that you can always substitute *TÁTI* for any occurrence of *DÓMO* or *GÁTA*. By picking the humble *monó* for ‘person’, the author of *Wá-ga tihóo no monó-tati wa ...* ‘People in our area ...’ (SA 2674.108e) no doubt felt he was showing sufficient deference to his readers without saying *monó-dómo*. The polite way to say ‘we’ is *watakusi-táti* or *watási-táti*; on formal occasions *watakusi-dómo* will be appropriate, but in less formal circumstances it is better avoided. (And *watási* will hardly ever be heard with *DÓMO*.)

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.⁵³ Thus *bóku(ˉ)* means ‘I (a male)’, yet *bóku-táti* or *bóku-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; *watakusi-táti* or a synonym will translate both *nous* and *nous autres* of French, as well as both Peking pronouns *wómen* ‘you and I/we’ and *zá-men* ‘he/she/they and I’.^{53a}) The modern pronouns *káre* ‘he’ and *káno-zyo* ‘she’ are explicitly masculine and feminine, where the older—and more common—*anó-hito* or *anó-ko* is vague; the plurals *káre-tati* or *káre-ra* and *kánozyo-tati* or *kánozyo-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 *káre-ra [to] kánozyo-ra no waraigao no náka de ...* ‘among the smiling faces of the boys and girls’ (SA 2654.135c).

Another peculiarity of the quasi-suffixes is that they can refer to an entire phrase, including conjoined nouns: *Dóko de mo otokó-no-ko, onná-no-ko, obasán-TÁTI ga sakana o tutte iru* ‘Everywhere there are boys, girls, and women fishing’ (SA 2681.93c); *Dantai de yatte kíta nookyoo no ozi-san ya obasán-TÁTI ga ...* ‘(Middle-aged) men and women

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

53. Cf. Hinds 1973, who defines *N tati* as ‘a group of people with *N* as the focal point’ and cautions that *senséi-tati* 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); Zyuurokú-nin no sákka(¯), hyooron-ka, sisoo-ka, kagákú-sya-TATI o aité ni ... '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 *kánaí to ko-domó-táti* can only mean 'my wife and children'. The meaning of these quasi-suffixes TÁTI, RÁ, and GÁTA, 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 *rá* at the end of a group of names, as in these examples: Mata, "sékái no ríidaa" to sité wa Níkuson daitóoryoo, Erizábesu zyoóo, Moo-Tákútoo, Hoo-Ti-Min, Gánzii RA to tómo(¯) ni, Sátoo Eisaku syusyoo ga toozyoo 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 Sató' (SA 2670.108b); ... gánrai saikóosai házni no Góorudobáagu-si ya Kuráaku zén Béisihoo-tyóokan RA ga béngo o hiki-úketa 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); Kóoho to sité wa, Hukuda zoosyoo o hittoo ni [site], Tanaka kanzi-tyoo, Maeo Sigésáburoo, Míki Takeo, Nakasone Yasúhiro (¿) RA zituryokú-sya ga meziro-osi dá 'With Finance Minister Fukuda at the head of the list, the candidates—Secretary-General Tanaka and Messrs Shigesaburó Maeo, Takeo Miki, and Yasuhiro Nakasone—are jostling each other' (SA 2661.127b). The last example shows not only that *rá* 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 (Níkuson daitóoryoo 'President Nixon'), when short they are attached to the preceding noun as a phonological suffix (Tanaká-si 'Mr T.', Níkuson-si 'Mr N.'). Though often with special accentuational rules (see §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 §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 hí ni, íma syóbu ga mondai ni nátte iru Á kyooyu (24)—kokugo—RÁ 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 *RÁ* right after an occurrence of TÁTI: Kéibo(¯) no zissi (saikon máe no ture-ko, saikon no tokí no ko) ya yoosi ga áreba, sonó-ko-tati, ko ga náí tokí wa kéibo(¯) no húbo ya keitei-símai (matá-wa sonó-ko-tati) RÁ ga isan o soozoku suru wáke 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). This

example was read into a tape recorder with /sonókotatiraga/ pronounced as a single phrase.

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

The suffix -ra which appears in íkura '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: kottí, sottí, attí, dótti. In very limited contexts we also find kótí, sóti, 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. kóozi 'alley' < [koūdi] < 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 yorokobánai 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-tō kōe 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 made kuwawátté no hunsoo 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 atonicizes a preceding noun: onná 'woman' but onna-ren 'womenfolk', búnsi 'literary man' but bunsiren 'the literati'. (MKZ, however, lists it as a preaccentuated suffix ̄-ren, and that is the version used by Hamako Chaplin.)

The noun syúu 'large group, mass (of people)' occasionally serves as a collectivizer suffix ̄-syuu: yakusyá-syuu 'actors', otokó-syuu 'menfolk', sirootó-syuu 'the amateurs' (Tk 3.97b), geisyá-syuu 'geisha girls', danná-syuu 'husbands, masters, gentlemen', But these words are little used in modern Tōkyō speech. Other collectivizers are ̄-dan 'group' as in ooén-dan 'boosters, fans', and ingái-dan 'the lobbyists'; and ̄-zoku 'tribe' as in tyoohatú-zoku 'the longhairs', sayóo-zoku '(1) the impoverished aristocracy, (2) the expense-accounters', sín'yá-zoku ni wa 'for the late-nighters' (SA 2792.121d), sín'ya no ozisamá-zoku ni 'for the late-night gentlemen' (ibid.).⁵⁴

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.

54. Notice also ̄-ruí 'various (kinds of); of different (kinds, varieties)': kikái-ruí 'machinery', omotyá-ruí 'toys', sen'í-ruí 'textiles', níku-ruí 'meats', sakaná-ruí 'fish(es)', kinokó-ruí '(kinds of) mushroom', kái-ruí 'shellfish', kanzumé-ruí 'canned goods', kusurí-ruí 'drugs', sitagí-ruí 'undergarments', tyokin-tuutyóo-ruí 'savings-account passbooks',

A LIST OF JAPANESE COLLECTIVES

<i>Noun</i>	(1) -táti (2) 'tati	'ra	(1) '-gata (2) '-gáta (3) '-gata (4) '-gatá	(1) -dómo (2) '-dómo ?(3) '-domo
ATONIC				
wata[ku]si	watasítati 2 watasítati 2 watasítáti 1	watasíra	—	watakusidómo 1,2
ore	orétati 2 oretáti 1	oréra, óira	—	?
kimi	kimitati 2 kimitáti 1	kimíra	—	—
omae	omaétati 2 omaetáti 1	omaéra (SA 2663.18c)	—	—
kodomo	kodomótati 2 kodomotáti 1	kodomóra	—	—
gakusei	gakuséitati 2 gakuseitáti 1	gakuséira	—	?gakuséidomo 3 gakuseidómo 1,2 (Tanakadómo 1,2)
Tanaka	Tanakatáti 1 Tanakátati 2	Tanakára	—	—
Tanaka-san	Tanakasantáti 1 (?*Tanakasántati 2)	—	—	—
Tanaka-kun Tanaká-kun	Tanakakuntáti 1	(Tanakakúnra)	—	Tanakakundómo 1,2
cf. Akiyama-kun okosan	Akiyamakuntati okosantáti 1 okosántati 2	Akiyamakunra	— okosángata 3 okosangáta 2 okosangatá 4	Akiyamakundomo 1 —
okosama	okosamátati 2 okosamatáti 1	—	okosamágata 3 okosamagáta 2 okosamagatá 4	—
tomodati	tomodatítati 2 tomodatitáti 1,2	(tomodatíra) → tómora	—	tomodatidómo 1,2 ?tomodatídomo 3
otomodati	otomodatítati 1,2 otomodatitáti 1,2	—	otomodatigáta 2 otomodatigatá 4 ?otomodatigata 3	—
nezumi dooryoo heitai	nezumítati 2 dooryóotati 2 heitáitati 2 heitaitáti 1	nezumíra — heitáira	— — —	nezumidómo 1,2 dooryoodómo 1,2 heitaidómo 1,2 heitáidomo 3
senpai	senpáitati 2 senpaitáti 1	—	senpaigáta 2 senpaigatá 4	—
zibun	zibúntati 2 zibuntáti 1	zibúnra	—	zibundómo 1,2
go-zibun	gozibúntati 2 gozibuntáti 1	—	gozibungáta 2 gozibungatá 4	—
(go-)sinseki	sinsekítati 1,2	sinsekíra	gosinsekigatá 4	sinsekidómo 1,2

OXYTONIC

oní	onítati 1,2	(oníra)	—	onídomo 1,3 onidómo 2
inú	inútati 1,2	(inúra)	—	inúdomo 1,3 inudómo 2
otokó	otokótati 1,2	otokóra	—	otokódomo 1,3 otokodómo 2
onná	onnátati 1,2	onnára	—	onnádomo 1,3 onnadómo 2
monó	monótati 1,2 (SA 2674.108c)	(...)monóra	—	monódomo 1,3 monodómo 2
katá	katátati 1,2	—	katágata 3	—
hító/hito	hítótati 1,2	(...)hítóra	—	—
senséi	senséitati 1,2	senséira	senseígata 3 senseigáta ?senseigata 1	(senséidomo 1,3) (senseidómo 2)
Nihonzín	Nihonzíntati 1,2	Nihonzínra	—	Nihonzindómo 2 (SA 2660.41c)
kozóo	kozóotati 1,2	kozóora	—	kozoodómo 2 kozóodomo 1,3

PROTONIC

yátu	—	yátura	—	?yátudomo 1
káre	káretati 1,2	kárera	—	—
káno-zyo	kánozyotati 1,2	kánozyora	—	(kánozyodomo 1)
wáre	—	wárrera	—	—
néko	nékotati 1,2	(—)	—	nékodomo 1 nekodómo 2
búka	búkatati 1,2	—	—	búkadomo 1 bukadómo 2
kámisama	kámisamatati 1,2	—	kamisamágata 3 kam isamagáta 2	—
ókusan	ókusantati 1,2	—	okusangáta 2 okusángata 3	—
ókusama	ókusamatati 1,2	—	okusamagáta 2 okusamágata 3	—
boku = bóku	bokutáti 1 = bókutati 1,2	(*bokúra →) bókurá	—	—
bósu	bósutati 1,2	—	—	bósudomo 1 bosudómo 2
nyóobo[o] ^a	nyóobo[o]tati 1,2	nyóobo[o]ra	—	nyóobo[o]domo 1 ?nyoobo[o]dómo 2
syóozyo	syóozyotati 1,2	syóozyora	—	syóozyodomo 1 syoozyodómo 2
syóin	syóintati 1,2	syóinra	—	syóindomo 1 syoindómo 2
súihei	súiheitati 1,2	súiheira	—	súiheidomo 1 suiheidómo 2

MESOTONIC

anáta	anátatati 1,2	—	anatagata 1 anatagáta 2 anatágata 3	—
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onóono	—	—	onoonógata ^b 3	—
anó-hito	anóhitotati 1,2	anóhitora	—	anóhitodomo 1
anó-ko	anókotati 1,2	anókora	—	anókodomo ^c 1
miná-san	(minásantati 1,2)	—	minasángata 3	—
miná-sama	(minásamatati 1,2)	—	minasamágata 3	—
okáasan	okáasantati 1,2	(okáasanra)	okaasangata 2	—
mibóo-zin	mibóozintati 1,2	mibóozinra	miboozingata 2	mibóozindomo 1 miboozindómo 2
oo-ótoko	ooótokotati 1,2	oo-ótokora	— ?	ooótokodomo 1 oootokodómo 2
tarénto ^d	taréntotati 1,2	— ^d	—	— ^d
dezáinaa	dezáinaatati 1,2	—	—	—
ekónomísuto	ekónomisutotati 1,2	—	—	—
keesuwáakaa ^e	keesuwáakaatati 1,2	—	—	—
norikumí-in	norikumiintati 1,2	norikumíinra	—	norikumíindomo 1 norikumiindómo 2
senmón-i	senmón'itati 1,2	senmón'ira	—	senmón'idomo 1 senmon'idómo 2
soosá-in	soosáintati 1,2	soosáinra	—	soosáindomo 1 soosaindómo 2
sinbun-kísyá	sinbunkísyátati 1,2	sinbunkísyára	—	sinbúnkisyadomo 1 sinbunkisyadómo 2

^a Hamako Chaplin also has *nyoobóotati*, *nyoobóora*, and *nyoobóodomo*, as if there were an atonic or oxytonic variant *nyoobo[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 ... *keesuwáakaa-tati* 'the caseworkers' (SA 2660.56b).

From the data in the list it is clear that when *RA* follows an atonic noun, it behaves as a good monosyllable should: it attaches itself with a shift of accent back one syllable. When *RA* 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 *TATI* follows an atonic noun, there appear to be two options. You can attach it as if it were a particle, so that *kodomo-tati* is like *kodomo máde*, or as if it were a preaccentuated suffix (*kodomó-tati* 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-tati* is like *néko made*. And after an oxytonic noun either interpretation would lead to the same result; cf. *inú made* and *inú-tati*. NHK lists both *murabito-tati* and *murabító-tati* for 'villagers'; the former shows *TATI* attached to atonic *murabito* as a particle, the latter as a suffix. Since NHK also gives a variant *murábito* for 'villager' we would expect to find the form (?)*murábito-tati* as well.

It is not surprising to find several competing versions for the accentuation of forms with *GATA* and *DOMO*, since they are less frequent than *TATI* and *RA*. 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

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'. *Dónata-sama* and *dótira-sama* 'who' form collectives that are optionally atonic: *dónatasamagata(̄)* and *dótirasamagata(̄)* 'who [all], what persons'.

For those who would like a prescription, I recommend using the patterns 'tati, ̄-gáta, and ̄-dómo when creating new forms.

There are a few prefixes that pluralize nouns, notably *ta-* as in *ta-hóomé̄n* 'many areas' and *syo-* as in *syo-búkka* 'prices', *syo-gáikoku* 'foreign countries', *syo-móndai* 'problems, issues', *syo-táisaku* 'policies', *syo-génsyoo* 'phenomena', *syo-kózin* '(various) individuals', *hoka no syo-syákai* 'other societies' (Nakane 153), *syo-zyóokén* 'conditions', and *syo-yóoso* '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 *moró-* 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: *kamígami* 'gods', *kuníguni* 'nations', *hitóbito* 'people', *simázima* 'islands'; *sankan no ekiéki* 'remote rail stations' (Fn 244a); *kasanari-áu ryókan ya hóteru no madómado ga ...* 'the windows of the inns and hotels piled up one on top of each other' (Fn 239a); ... Each such word is an unpredictable lexical unit (there is no **kawágawa* 'rivers' or **tanádana* 'shelves') to be entered individually in the lexicon. Sometimes the meaning is narrowed, and the accent is not always predictable: *kutíguti(̄)* means 'each entrance/mouth', *tokorodókoró* means 'here and there, (in) various places' (a place noun that is often directly adverbialized), *súmízumi* means 'every nook and corner', *tuzítuzi ni* means 'at every street corner', *kígi* means 'every tree', *edaeda* means 'all the branches'. And *simózimo* means 'the lower classes, the masses'. In *kázu-kazu no sinázina 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 *hóoboo* '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: ... *kokúnai no tiiki-tiiki de hu-tóoitu de áru koto, ...* 'the fact that it is not uniform from area to area within the country' (Kaneda in Ōno 1967.238). The formal pronoun *wáre* 'I' has a plural form *wareware* as well as *wáre-ra*.

Sometimes a singular number can be iterated and used as a quasi-compound to mean 'each and every' or 'every single (one)' (cf. ̄-zútu); the second accent predominates: *ikken-ikken no zyuutaku dé wa* 'in every single residence' (Tk 4.180a), *ippon-íppon no epitu* 'each and every pencil', *hitotuki-hitótuki* 'each and every month', *itimai-itímai no kami* 'every single sheet of paper', *itionsu-itiónsu* 'every single ounce', ... As variants we find *hitoribítori* = *hitori-hitóri* 'every single person' and *hitotubítotu* = *hitotu-hitótu* 'every

single one', with the regular accentuation of a noun compound. From *kózin* 'individual' comes *kozín-kózin de* '(each) individually', and there is an abbreviated version *ko-kózin*.

Some nouns are inherently collective, for example *íin-kai* 'committee' in contrast with *íin* 'committee member(s)', which can in its plural interpretation (equivalent to *íin-tati*) refer to the same group as *íin-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 *-in* 'member(s)' you can refer to one or (= *-in-tati*) 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-ko ga nite iru* 'Parent(s) and child(ren) are resemblant' is logically equivalent to *Oyá ga ko to nite iru* 'The parent(s) resemble the child(ren) and *Ko ga oyá 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: *oyá 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-hiru* '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 *mí-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 nihyákú-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 *roonyaku-nánnyo*; a similar old cliché is *{kókon} tóozai o tówazu(-)* 'without regard for [the era or] the place'. But *tówazu(-)* merely implies variety: *tíi/zínsyu 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', ... ; *ryoogan* = *ryoo-me* 'both eyes', *ryoohóo(-)* 'both (alternatives)', *ryóosin* = *hutaoya* '(both) one's parents', *ryoo-te* 'both hands', *ryoo-asi* 'both feet', *ryoo-mimi* 'both ears', *ryoo-hasi(/-hazi)* 'both ends', *ryoo-gawa* 'both sides', *ryoo-zín'ei* '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 *-tári*; otherwise they are collective. To say 'a twin' you must rephrase the concept as 'one of (a pair of) twins'—*hutago no hitóri*. 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*

hutatú no magó '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 proredication represented by nó permits a wide variety of farfetched interpretations that would hardly be appropriate here; as elsewhere, we will ignore this discomfiting vagueness of nó. 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 niru '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', tómo(̄) 'together' (and synonyms); tendé[n](̄) ni 'separately', kakubetu ni 'individually', betu-betu ni 'separately'; sorézore 'respectively' (and synonyms onóono and meiméi); ...

A few verbs necessarily imply plural subjects or objects: atumáru 'they gather', atuméru 'gathers them'; tir-u 'they scatter', tirasu '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 rasii yó '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: Iyakú-hin(̄) no gótoki wa, súde ni háyaku kara uri-túkete, mukasi nára hayazini(̄) sita hitó ga, íma wa sinanaku nátte 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 (-tári §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 nádo (or a synonym), presented as a generalized conjoiner in §2.9, marks a noun adjunct with a very similar vague plurality 'or the like', and dé mo or d'átte (§2.11) is sometimes to be interpreted in a like way; sonó-ta 'and others' (§2.9, §25) and [no] hoka (p. 76) = 'ígai 'besides' (p. 113) are similar. The set-opener ablative kará '(to include others) starting from ...' and the set-closer allative máde '(having included others) extending to' mark an adjunct 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 mó 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 (nágara §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 'kan 'between', which attaches as a quasi-suffix to the

second of two directly conjoined nouns to form a noun phrase such as *Nára Kyootó-kan* 'between Nara and Kyōto' (§2.4). The distributive *-zútu* ambiguously marks plurality: *íp-pai -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 rúsu da* 'Both father and mother are out' can be explained as an optional reduction from something like *Tití mo [rúsu nara] háha mo rúsu 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'.⁵⁵

The markers in question are these: (1) *tó* 'and' (inclusive); (2) *yá* 'and (among others); or (as a representative sampling)'; (3) *ní* '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 *tó* perhaps derives from the quotations of §21 or the conjunctivalization *N dá^[t] tó^[t]* 'when (it is)' of §17.2 if not directly from what I am calling the "subjective essive", rather than from the comitative (= *tó^[t] issyo*) or reciprocal 'with' of §2.2 and §3.6, which itself is perhaps to be treated as a reduction from the conjunctivalization (if not independent in origin). The conjoining *ní* 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. *Rokú ni san o tasu to kyúu ni náru* '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 Nára e [to] ikimásita* = *Kyóoto to Nára [to] e ikimásita* 'I went to Kyōto and [to] Nara'; *Tanaka san kará to Yosida san kará [to] kikumásita* = *Tanaka san to Yosida san [tó] kara kikumásita* 'I heard it from Mr. Tanaka and [from] Mr. Yoshida'; *Sono misé de to ano misé de [to] tábeta* = *Sono misé to ano misé [to] de tábeta* '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 tó ga* but not **N gá to*): *Tanaka san to Yosida san tó 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 ellipsis 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 [dá] 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 proredications (§3.10).

Similar devices are the use of *dá no* (§15.17), *yára* (§15.18), and *nári* (§15.19). The two expressions *dé mo* and *d'átte* (§2.11) 'even being' conjoin adjuncts after the pattern of *mó*, being applied AFTER relational marking (but cf. p. 170n): *Oosaka kará de mo Kóobe kara dé mo tegami ga kimásita* or *Oosaka kará d'atte Kóobe kara d'atte tegami ga kimásita* 'Letters came from as far as Ōsaka and Kōbe' but not **Oosaka dé mo Kóobe de mo kara ...* or **Oosaka d'atte Kóobe d'atte 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 Ōsaka and Kōbe'. (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 sé yo* (§16.1, §9.1.11) = *ni sité mo* (*ni sit'átte*) and *de aróo to/ga/ni* (§21.5, §17.6, §17.7).

See also *nádo* (§2.9) with its inbuilt implication of conjoining.

One difference between *ní* 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—... *yómu kotó to káku kotó {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 But it is possible to mark also the final

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 syoototu 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 *tó* or *ká* (or *tó ka*) or even *yá*—though that is largely limited to set phrases—for special emphasis or to bring out the full flavor of the predicate:⁵⁷

TÓ: A to B *tó kara nátte iru* 'It is made up of A and B'; Monó to monó to o kookan suru 'They barter things for things'; A to B *tó no tunagari ...* 'The links between A and B'; Káno-zyo to ore *tó no kotó wa ...* 'The affair between her and me' (SA 2642.37d); Sosite, *dekiru yátu to, dekinai yátu to o tyan-tó^[r] kúbetu suru* 'Then you make sure to separate those who are able and [= from] those who are not' (SA 2668.47c); Yooróppa no búngaku wa, koogo to bungo *tó no hedatári⁽⁻⁾ ga óokiku náí* 'The literatures of Europe have no wide disparity between colloquial language and literary language' (Ōno 1966.233); Sina-go to Nihon-go *tó ga sessyoku suru* 'The two languages Chinese and Japanese come into contact with each other'; Puro-yákyuu no gízyutu to daigaku-yákyuu no gízyutu to ga, sore-hodo hakkíri sita *sá⁽⁻⁾ wa náí 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 ootoó ka ga o-ukagai simásu 'Either I or my little brother will come to see you'.

DÁTTA KA: Syuusen tyókúgo⁽⁻⁾, Tookyoo no zosidaigakuséi-kan ni "kimi" dátta ka "bóku⁽⁻⁾" dátta ka o moti-iru kotó ga ryuukoo sita 'Right after the war, it was popular among college coeds in Tōkyō to use "kimi" or "boku"' (Maeda 1962.69).

TÓ KA: ... keibi-táisei to ka keikai-hóohoo to ka o zyuubún ni kenkyuu site ... 'adequately studying defense arrangements and alarm methods (and the like) ...' (Tk 3.6b); ... gó-ri to ka rokú-ri to ka hanáreta tokoró e ... 'to a place some five or six *ri* away' (Kb 55a).

YÁ: Are ya kore ya [de], sigoto ga takusán átta 'What with that and this, I had a lot of work'; Are ya kore *yá o kangáete míru to ...* 'Considering one thing and another ...' (Shiba 155); Kúne-kune sita hassoo ya bigaku ya no kooryuu de áru '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: *wakái monó 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 tó ka B tó ka* has about the same frequency as *A tó ka B*, and an equal ratio apparently applies also for *A yára B [yára]* and *A nári B [nári]*. 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 *tó* almost twice as frequent as *yá*, and *ká* and *tó ka* are each far behind (only five percent as common as *tó*), 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 *Sekái-si to Nihon-si to no hón o kau* will mean 'I will buy books on world history and on Japanese history' but *Sekái-si to Nihón-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 *tó* will never appear before the reciprocal *tó*: A to B ~~†tót†~~ to soodan suru 'consults with A and B'.

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 adnominal 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* *tó [tò]*, *? A ya B yá ya C ya D*, *? A ka B ká ka C ka D ká [ka]*—but in such attempts the surface repetition of the marker would normally reduce to a single occurrence, leaving the listener with an ambiguity. A conjoined phrase can be further conjoined 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]*: ... *hutá-kumi no síngu TO tukue NI hónbako to iu kantan na hikkosinímotu 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 reversed (like English 'bread and butter, rain or shine, bed and board', etc.). Where English says 'This and that' Japanese says *Are ka kore (ka)* or *Are ya kore (ya)* and the opposite order sounds as out of place as the English 'that and this'. Such expressions, being set phrases, will allow the second conjoiner to surface more often than is usual: *Are ka kore ká ga átta* 'We had this and that'; *Are ka kore ká o kaimasyóo* 'I guess I'll buy this and that'; *Are ya kore yá ga kiki-tákute ...* 'Wanting to listen to this and that ...'; *Are ya kore yá to mendóo na kotó ga áru kara* 'What with this and that there are all kinds of nuisances. so ...'; *Are ya kore yá o kangae-awaseru to ...* 'After putting this and that together (I conclude that) ...'. *Are mo kore mo* means 'both this and that' and *aré-kore* is an adverb that means '(what with) one thing and another'; *tó-ya-kaku (iu)* '(says) this and that = object-ing, criticizing' is an adverb, derived from **tó ya káku 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.⁵⁸ Examples of the comma: ... yottu-mózi no hígo, waigo ga ... 'four-letter vulgarisms and obscenities' (SA 2678.98b); Syoogákkoo, tyuugákkoo e kayoi-nagará,^[L] tokidoki bútai e wa déte 'ta wáke desu ka 'You mean you sometimes appeared on the stage while still going to elementary school and junior high?' (Tk 2.270b); Kyoosan-too d'átte Márukusu, Réenin no sínzya de náí desu ka 'Aren't the Communists themselves believers in Marx and Lenin?' (SA 2671.19a). Examples of the raised (centered) dot: Ázia · Ahurika ... 'Asia and Africa'; ... mázu bukka · genzei, túide(¯) daigaku · kyooiku, san-ban ¯mé ga noosei dáta ... '... 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-kyóoiku '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 úha | sáha (ga momete iru) '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-káihatsu which, if used, will mean 'research-development'. (Similar: yotoo yatoo 'the in-party and the out-party'.) But when the first noun is atonic and the second is prototonic 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 (|) búngaku 'history and literature' will make it sound the same as rekisi-búngaku '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 *yá*, but we will have to add also *ká* on the basis of the following example, where direct nominalization is applied after the conjoining: ... saiyoo suru^[L] [ka], sinái [ka] o kimerú no ga hutuu dá ... '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 || ii tokoro^[L] {to} || warúi tokoro^[L] {ga} || arimásu | yó 'This has good points, {and} bad points' (R); ... iroiro || Kyóoto {to} || Nára no || butuzoo dé mo ... 'the various statues of Buddha in Kyōto and Nara ...' (R); Kodomo no koto^[L] {to} [|] katei no kotó o || zikkúri to | kangáete || sínboo | sinasái 'Think of your children, (and) of your family; persevere!' (SA 2649.108d); ... káre-ra [to] || kánozyo-ra no | warai-gao no náka de ... 'Among the smiling faces of the boys and girls ...' (SA 2654.135c); ... keisiki-teki na mono^[L] {to}, || zimu-teki na mono^[L] no óoi no ni || odoróitari | akiretári [|] sita 'I was startled and aghast at how many formalities and routine chores there were' (SA 2659.134a); Yómi-kaki {to}, || 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: Bóku(¯) no operettá-netu wa, hí-goto(¯)

58. But the raised dot is occasionally used for other purposes, as well, including such oddities as treating puratto(-)hwóomu as if it were 'plat form' in English by inserting such a dot (Tk 2.160a), perhaps under the influence of the Japanese abbreviated version h[w]óomu; a similarly misguided dot is used in Berurin no hwiru(-)háamonii to iu yátu 'the Berlin Phil()harmonic' (Tk 3.50b).

[] yó-goto(⁻) ni takamátte, ... 'My enthusiasm for opera rose day by day and night by night ...' (SA 2641.50c)—the ellipsis can only be of ní). 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 ǂ?toǂ tóozai 'all ages and all places'.

There are a number of linking phrases—usually set off by juncture—such as sosite 'and then/also', sore ni 'and also', sore kara 'and then (also)', sono ue 'on top of that = additionally', máta(⁻) 'and also' (often following mó), arúi-wa = máta-wa 'and/or', narabi 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 sosite méi mo zyookyoo suru '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-satú to pé n o ní-hon kau 'I will buy one book and two pens' is problem enough, but what about Hón is-satú to pen 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-satú no hón to ní-hon no pé n o kau.
N o Q to N o Q	Hón o is-satú to pé n o ní-hon kau.
Q no N to N o Q	Is-satú no hón to pé n o ní-hon kau.
N o Q to Q no N o	Hón o is-satú to ní-hon no pé n o kau.
*Q no N o to Q no N o to	*Is-satú no hón o to ní-hon no pé n o to kau.
*N o Q to N o Q to	*Hón o is-satú to pé n o ní-hon to kau.

Examples of yá-conjoinings: Minami kará ya kitá(⁻) kará ya hóoboo kara atumátta 'They came together from north and south and all over'; Kiirói no ya akái no ya samázama(⁻) no iroái(⁻) dá né 'They are yellow and red and all sorts of shades'; Hitorarízumu ya puroretária no dokusai no sinpóo-sya ni tótte kono syó ga omosiróku náí kotó wa toozen de aróo '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); ... sitagátte(⁻), síi ya henken ya gáí ga táda genzitu-teki na kóoka no na ni yotte minogásárete(⁻) iru zituzyoo de átte mireba, ... '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 syuukan ya reigi no yurúsu han'í-nai ni óite(¯), ... 'Within the sphere permitted by law and custom and etiquette, we ...' (KKK 3.223); Kissá-ten no kási ya súsí nádó ga mondai ni náru no de, ... 'Since the pastry and pickled rice and the like (served) in teashops are in question ...' (KKK 3.224).

Examples of ní-conjoinings: ... yamataká-boo ni kuro-sébiro no hutari no syoonen ga ... 'Two boys in bowlers and black suits ...' (KKK 3.151); Akai syátu ni, hosomé^l(¯) no zubón, gomuzóori to itta hucusoo '[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 zubón [to] l; Tenpura ni | sasimí 'Fritters and sliced raw fish'; Pán ni | báta 'Bread and butter'; Biiiru ni | Masámune, ll an-pán(¯) ni | kyarameru! 'Beer and (Masamune-brand) sake, beanjam buns and caramels!' (KKK 3.151).

In poetic clichés the ní often seems to be equivalent to ní [tái-site] wa 'in contrast with': Tuki ni murakumo, haná ni kaze 'The moon has its clouds, and blossoms have the wind [to contend with]'. Ása ni ban ni 'both morning and night' is an idiomatic phrase used to mean 'all the time, always, frequently'. The noun ása-ban (a reduction from ása to^l ban, as shown by the accent) 'morning and night' is also used as an adverb to mean 'always'.

Examples of sentences conjoined by tó or tó ka will be found in KKK 3.118–9; for conjoinings with tó ka and dá tó ka see §21.6. Examples of conjoining marked by other particles—ká, dá/dátta ka, dá no, mó, dé 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 tó directly after a verb or adjective: Yómu {no} to míru {no} to wa oo-tígai [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	}	'either X or Y' §21.1.(27).
X to ii Y to itté mo		
X to itté mo Y to itté mo		
X ni sité mo Y ni sité mo	}	'whether X or Y' §9.1.11, §14.6 (#18).
X ni sit'átte Y ni sit'átte		
X ni si ro Y ni si ro	}	'whether X or Y' §9.1.11, §14.6 (#19), §16.1.
X ni sé yo Y ni sé yo		

(These quotative and mutative-putative conjoinings are often followed by predicates that imply an unfavorable evaluation.)

2.9. NÁDO; NÁNKA; NÁNTE

The word nádó is used with at least three meanings; for the third meaning nán-te is a synonym and for all the meanings nádó [Tk 2.238—dialect?], nánzo, názo, and nánka are variants or synonyms.⁶⁰ But nánka and nán-te are informal and lively, hence more susceptible

60. According to Maeda 1961 nánzo is a Tōkyō form, Ōsaka preferring nánka. MKZ gives two other uses of nánzo: one is equivalent to nani ka 'something' or 'anything' (the example given is Nánzo nai ka 'Isn't there anything?') and the other is a literary rhetorical 'how (possibly)' or the like, as in this example from modern prose: "... tó wa nánzo ya 'What ever do they mean by "...'??'

to special connotations, such as sarcasm. (*Nánzaa* is an abbreviation of *nánzo* [wa] = *nádo* wa. *Nádo*₂ and *názo*₂ are synonyms of *náze* 'why' in Literary Japanese.) You may detect a semantic resemblance in *yára* (§15.18) and ...*tári* (§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): *Watakusi nádo tote-mo damé desu* 'Poor me, I'm just no good at it'; *Go-issyō ni syokuzi nádo [= dé mo] ikága desu ka* 'Won't you have a bite with me?'; *O-tati no katá wa turikawa nádo ni o-tukamari kudasái* 'Persons standing will 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 *tatóeba* 'so to speak': *Tatóeba yuusyoku no tokí nádo wa, konna húu da* 'For instance at, say, dinner time it's like this' (SA 2640.107e); ... *mukasi no yóo ni nónki ni turi nánzo site iru monó wa hitóri d'átte arimasén* 'there wasn't a soul idly fishing, say, the way they used to' (Kubota 127a); *Óngaku 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 néko nádo made oo-sawagi 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': *Séihu | sonó-ta no | dantai kara ...* 'From the government and other [or: and like] groups ...' (SA 2670.108c); *Omake ni, || kénsa | 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 | nádo* 'etc., etc.' as in *Zyón no kao daké o utúsita tanpen-éiga "Sumáiru" nádo nádo de, iwáyúru "ryoosiki" to "titúzyo" ni tyoosen site kíta* '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 *tóo*, the Chinese reading of the character often used to write it, and || *nádo | nado* || can be replaced by || *tóo | too* ||, as in *Tookyoo, || Oosaka, || Nágoya || too | too no || dai-tókai ...* 'large cities such as Tōkyō, Ōsaka, 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* = *zimúin | nádo* more likely means 'office workers for example (or etc.)' and *zimúin nado* 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 (Satō 2.102).

nádo will be distinguished from otokó nado with no underlying juncture. Cf. the remarks on optional juncture with dé mo and d'átte, 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: Tegami ga tomodati nádo kara kíta or Tegami ga tomodati kará nádo kíta 'Letters came from friends and the like'.

Examples of nádo preceding and following various case markers: Yuuzin nádo kara kiita 'I heard it from friends (and the like)'; Aitu kará nádo hanagami ití-mai de mo morai-taku náí 'From the likes of him I wouldn't even accept a Kleenex'; Yuuzin nádo ni hanásita 'I spoke to friends (and the like)'; Yuuzin ní nádo hanásita rasii '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 kotó wa métta ni náí 'I seldom talk with friends or anything'; Yuuzin nádo e sirasemasyóo 'Let's tell our friends (and all)'; Yuuzin é nádo wa sirasezu ni kázoku daké ni siraseyoo 'Let's not tell our friends or anything but just tell the family'; ... gyuunyuu ya zooketú-zai nádo de eiyoo 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 syuukai ní nánka sánka(¯) si-taku náí ga ... 'I don't want to participate in any such meeting as this but ...' (SA 2661.112e). And examples of nánka following the marker dé in several meanings: Gakkoo dé nánka sonna kotó wa osienái daroo 'At school, say, they wouldn't teach any such thing, surely' (locative); Enpitu dé nánka káite wa ikenai 'You mustn't write with (= in) pencil or anything' (instrumental); Soko wa miti ga sémákute kuruma dé nánka ikenai tokoró 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 ozii-sama nánzo ga, iroiro omosirói monó o o-kaki ni nátta 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; Koohii, o-tya nádo ga arimásu 'We have coffee, tea, and so on'; Náo zoowai ¯gawa wa kaisya, kobútú-syoo, insyóku-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-syásin 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 'másu 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 (l) nádo, which first appeared in the Heian period, comes from an abbreviation of (l) nán[i] to 'and what' just as (l) nánka is an abbreviation of (l) nán[i] ka 'or what; something'; cf. ... ítu mo nán ka sira 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 (*)nága turn up in any dialect?

In any event, I would like to suggest that the postnominal nádo be explained as a generalized conjunction: N (l) nádo is a surface realization of something like

N tó | nani to 'N and what/anything' and N (l) nanka is a surface realization of something like N ka | nani ka 'N or something'.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 tó, as pointed out on p. 89.) Nani-to was early used as an equivalent of nado; both versions go back to Heian times (Meikai kogo jiten 1135a).

Examples of nado and its synonyms will be found in KKK 3.131-3 and in Alfonso 118 ff, 1138 ff. Alfonso (1138) says that nanka is rare after anything other than a noun, and that *N nanka to iu is replaced by N nado to iu or by N nante iu. He considers nante an abbreviation of nado tó; but historically, at least, the abbreviation would seem to be from nán[i t]te = nani tó, the same source as for nado itself. Notice that *nante TO iu does not occur.

I have said "something like N tó | nani to" because we must allow for sentences of the sort A ya B nado and A ka B nado as well as A tó^[1] B nado. It is not quite clear, however, whether the nado 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 nado is an already conjoined unit, derivable from B tó^[1] nado regardless of what may happen next. Relevant to this problem, perhaps, is the fact that A tó^[1] B nado tó^[1] seems to be acceptable, (?) A ya B nado is questionable (but recall that marking the last item with yá is always in some question), and *A ka B nado ka is apparently rejected—in the intended structure, though as a full sentence (= A ka B nado desu ka) used to question A ka B nado [da], the surface form is possible. If the nado-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 nado and its synonyms. An example: Tyokoréto TO kyameru NANKA wa, riekí-ritu ga óói hōo desyoo né 'Chocolate and caramel (and the like) have a higher margin of profit, you see' (Tk 4.193a).

A fourth use of nado has been suggested, when N nado is followed by a negative and the nado functions much like mó 'even': Úso nado tukimasén 'I tell you no lie' (MKZ 632).

Nado and its synonyms in the first use mentioned above can be applied—as can dé mo—to express nuclear focus: N dé nado áru, A-kú nado áru, V-í nado suru. See §5. These elements can also separate the gerund from auxiliaries; see §9.2.4.

When quoted, nado can be preceded by various finite forms (presumably under direct nominalization) and even by sentence extensions (= sentence-final particles, §15): Kóndo no Syoogátú, mósi atarasii gomu-in o osita gazyoo ga todóitara, insatú-dai(¯) o ketitta ná, nado to omowanai yōo 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); Baka da nado to wa yumé-sara omótte inai ziko o ... '... oneself whom one would never dream of thinking "I'm a fool" about or the like' (Maeda 1962.25); Toruko-go dá nado to iu to, ... 'Speaking of Turkish and all ...' (Shibata in Ōno 1967.69); Zyuken o kyoosei-sitá nado to iu zízitu wa arimasén 'There are no cases

61. As indicated by such a sentence as Bóku(¯) ga Kyúusyuu ka nanka e iku tokí desita yó, ... 'It was when I would go to Kyūshū or the like, I tell you, ...' (Tk 2.273-4). Also: ... kéiko no si-kata ya nanzo tiguaú desyoo né 'the way you practice and the like must be different, I suppose' (Tk 3.15b); Sensoo no eikyoo de, wakái monó ga pan-syoku ya nanka ni nárete kita kara daróo to omotta 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 nado 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[|]nádo/; ... Eikokú-zin-tati wa, móo kaikyuu wa naku-nattá nádo 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 nádo after a hortative that enters a quotation: ... zénbu o yomóo nádo to kangáenai de ... 'wasn't thinking of reading all of it, exactly, but ...' (SA 2657.104b); Nihon-zín wa, sono sizen o, ningen no tika^(r)rá(¯) de sáyuu siyoo nádo to wa kangáezu, hitásura(¯) sono sizen no íryoku, réiryoku no máe ni kasikomátta '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' (Ōno 1966.64).

Some examples of nádo with restrictives, focus, etc.: Soozí nádo daké wa dekirú ga ryóori wa dekinái 'Just cleaning and all I can do, but I can't do cooking'; ?Mizu daké nádo de wa ikirarenai 'One cannot live on, say, water alone'; Tumaránai zassi nádo bákari yónde iru 'I'm just reading dull magazines and the like'; (?)Soko ni áru no wa hón, zassi bákari nádo desu 'What is there is just books, magazines, and the like'; Soozí nádo ¯gúrai wa dekirú ga ryóori wa tyót-to ... 'I can do at least the cleaning and all, but the cooking, well ...'; Kyokutyoo ¯gúrai nádo nara kantan ni naréru 'One can easily become at least the likes of a bureau chief'; Konna yowái sake ¯gúrai nádo (or: sake nádo ¯gúrai) wa noméru desyoo 'You should be able to drink the likes of wine this weak'; Sake, tabako nádo hodo karada ni warúi monó wa náí 'There's nothing so bad for the body as liquor and tobacco (and the like)'; Sore-hodo nádo to wa omói mo oyobanákat^(r)ta 'I just never thought of it that much or anything'; Hutarí ni mittú ¯zútu nádo de wa tarinai 'It's hardly enough, three for every two people or the like'; Kyokutyoo máde nádo nara sugu naréru 'One can get to be a bureau chief and all in no time'; Tyuugoku-go, Nihon-go wa motíron, Tagarogu-go nádo made benkyoo sita 'I even studied Tagalog and all, to say nothing of Chinese and Japanese'; Kyokutyoo ¯átari nádo ni náru to sekinin ga taihen da 'When you become a bureau chief or the like the responsibility is terrible'; Kimi nádo ¯átari ni wa bóku(¯) no táisi wa wakáru ¯mái 'I don't expect the likes of you to understand my ambition'; Méizi ¯zídai, Taisyoo ¯zídai ¯ígo nádo ni wa, soo iu syuukan wa naku-natta 'Since the Meiji period and the Taishō period and all such customs have disappeared'; Kamakurá(¯) ¯zídai, Murómachi ¯zídai nádo (¯)ígo ni wa soo iu syuukan wa naku-natta 'Since the Kamakura period and the Muromachi period and all, such customs have disappeared'.^{61a}

And some examples of nánka with focus, restrictives, etc.: Kanzya no kao o syoomén kara utúsita síin nánka mo átte ... 'There are even scenes showing patients' faces from the front and the like and ...' (SA 2672.116e); Tuke-mátuge nánka de mo [= d'atte] hazime wa iya-gátta món desu yó 'Even false eyelashes (and the like) they disliked at first, you know' (Tk 2.103a); Bóku(¯) nánka de mo ... 'Even such as I ...' (SA 2679.119d).

Nádo and nánka 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 nádo/nánka. Examples:

V-rú nádo: Anó-hito no kettén(¯) wa konki ga náku sigoto o sugu yamerú nádo 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, nádo can precede but not follow súra (presumably also sáe?), kóso (cf. p. 85), sika, or daké (see questioned example above).

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-í nádo: Keóri-mono(¯) no tokutyoo wa karúi, attakái nádo da 'What is special about woolens is that they are light, warm, and so on'.

AN dá(/ná) nádo: Génki da(/na) nádo to wa, oo-úso(¯) de, zitú 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 dátta nádo: Husin na ten wa myóo ni sízuka 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 tatóeba káre ga gunzin de áru nádo da 'The reason for the opposition is perhaps that he is a military man or something'.

Nánte can be regarded as an abbreviation of several different expressions, including at least the following: (1) nádo to {iú no} wa; (2) nádo to wa; (3) nádo to iu; (4) nádo to {itte}. Examples:

N nánte = N nádo to {iú no} wa: Moo anna tumaránai zyukén-bénkyoo o suru kimoti nánte, zenzen arimasén 'I no longer have the least desire to do such dull studying for exams' (SA 2663.26d); Motomoto, gakkoo wa oré-táti no yookyuu nánte kangáe ya sinái n da 'Of course the school never gives any thought to OUR requests' (SA 2665.24e); Ningen nánte, náretyau [= nárete simau] món desu né 'The human being accustoms himself, you see' (SA 2674.47a); Osóraku wakái katá dattara, zí no yoménaí hitó nánte átta kotó ga náí 'I daresay those of you who are young have never met anyone who couldn't read (characters)' (Ōno 1967.164).

N nánte = N nádo to iu: ... "gakusei-zidai kara no sin'yuu" nánte no ga, ... 'those said to be "close friends from school days" or the like'; Séerusu nánte sigoto wa, tukí ni ní-sánniti hataráite nóruma o hatásite simaéba áto wa hima 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 nánte monó wa náí n da yó 'There's nothing in the way of any sort of policy toward the ideas' (SA 2672.27b); Kawabata Yasúnari nánte hitó wa, ... 'The likes of Yasunari Kawabata' (Tk 2.89b); Otokó nánte monó wa, íma no seikatu nya [= ní wa] hituyoo náí? 'You feel no need for a man in your present life?' (Tk 4.147a).

N nánte! = N tó wa! (see p. 945): Anó-hito ga gakusya nánte! 'You call HIM a scholar?!'

V-rú nánte = V-rú nádo to {iú no} wa: Íma no rosen o sansen ya hukuhuku-sen ni surú nánte, íma no Tookyoo no tiká wa hoowa-zyóotai de gozyuu-méetoru mo horánai to múri daroo si, tenmongaku-teki suuzi no híyoo de mo kanoo ka dóo 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 Tōkyō's subways now, and I wonder whether the astronomical expenditures would even be possible (or not)?' (SA 2640.19b).

V-rú nánte = V-rú nádo to iu: Doráibu o tanosímu, nánte tosí zya náí 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 iú NO WA 'As for enjoying driving or the like, [mine] is not the age').

V-[y]óo nánte = V-[y]óo nádo to {iú no} wa: Syokubá(¯) o sagasu tókí^[t] zibun no sáino(¯) o nobasóo nánte kangáénakatta 'When looking for a place to work it never occurred to me to think of developing my talents or anything' (Fujin-Kōron 636.126).

V-[y]óo nánte = V-[y]óo nádo to wa: Sonna kotó o siyóo nánte omowánai 'I have no intention to do any such thing'; Dé mo, watakusi wa Kozima to kekkon siyóo nánte, yumé-ni-mo omowánakatta. Sono toki kekkon site itá si 'But I hadn't the least thought of marrying Kojima or anything. For at that time I was already married' (SA 2685.43c).

V-rú mái nánte = V-rú mái nádo to wa: Tabako o yameru mái nánte omowánai 'It has never occurred to me that I might not quit smoking'.

V-[y]óo nánte = V-[y]óo nádo to iu: Ryuukoo-go o tukuróo nánte ito wa, zenzen ná n desu 'We [cartoonists] haven't the least intention of deliberately creating fashionable slang, or anything' (SA 2661.43a).

V-i-tái nánte = V-i-tái nádo to {iú no} wa: Sini-tái nánte omótta kotó wa ná desu 'I've never actually felt I wanted to die (or anything)' (SA 2671.47b).

V-[a]nái nánte = V-[a]nái nádo to {iú no} wa: Oosaka no hitó sika mirarénai nánte hu-kóohei zya ná? 'Isn't it unfair that only the Ōsaka people can see it?' (SA 2671.108c).

N dá nánte = N dá nádo to {iú no} wa: Kanemóti(-) dá nánte tonde-mo-nái 'You certainly couldn't say I'm a rich man or anything' (SA 2680.114d); Gógaku(-) no tensai dá nánte tonde-mo-nái 'I'm absolutely no genius at learning languages or anything' (SA 2671.65d); Iya, ákú da nánte itte inai 'No, I'm not saying it's wrong (= evil), exactly' (SA 2671.19d); Sore zya, Minamata-byoo ni nátta tokí ni, zénse no góo da nánte kangáeta to sité mo múri wa ná '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-tá nánte = V-tá nádo to {itte}: Ozyóosama wa hontoo wa, íkite itá no desu. Sore ni, náze, hito wa, sindá nánte, ii-kagen na úso o túku 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); ... yat-tó onná no bútyoo(-) san ga dékita nánte, dóo-mo osói desu ne. Móttó háyaku déru békí desu yó '... 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 /nánte/ can represent nán [t]te = nán[i] tte = náni to 'saying what' as in this example: Nán te iéba ii no ka náa 'Wonder what I should say' (SA 2679.60b). Nán te 'tt'atte has the meaning of nán tó itté mo 'say what you will = in any event': Nán te 'tt'atte damé da 'In any event, it won't do'.

When nánte represents an abbreviation of nádo to iu, the final vowel may be lengthened (téé being an abbreviation of tó iu, §21): Zígoro nántee yátu wa mínakatta? '(In Paris) you didn't see any gigolos or the like?' (Tk 2.193a); ... minná sinzyáu [= sinde simaú] nántee kotó ga káite átta no o obóete 'masu né 'I remember it was written that they [= the goldfish] all died or something' (Tk 4.200a); Sindé mo ii nántee onná ni wa, túi ni dekuwasánakatta ná 'I just never ran into a woman that I wanted to die for or anything' (Tk 3.19a).

2.10. DÁ KA, DÁT TA KA

The expression N dáta ka ordinarily means 'Was it N?' To say 'Is it N?' in the plain style you will normally omit dá, but the full form is sometimes heard: N {dá} ka = N de áru 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: Tyuuo-kóoron da ka ni dasáreta ... '... which was published by Chūō Kōron, I believe' (Tk 2.82)—the sentence might be said as Tyuuo-kóoron datta ka ni dasáreta 'was published by Chūō Kōron as I recall (if my memory serves me right)'; Tanaka san dá ka ga itte ita to omóu kedo ... 'I think it was perhaps Mr Tanaka who was saying it, but ...' (Mio 152); Ubagaya tte Rosiya-taisíkan no bessóo da ka no áru tikáku datta ka ná ... 'Ubagaya, I seem to recall, was in the vicinity of where what I believe is the Russian embassy villa is located' (Mio 152); ... ereveetaa-bóoi da ka ga hát-to(⁀) o-zigi sitára ... 'when, say, the elevator boy suddenly bows' (Tk 3.96b); ... Óyama san da ka ni kikimásita ga 'I think it was Mr Oyama from whom I heard it [that ...]'; (Kb 41a); ... Méizi naná-nen datta ka ni, ... 'in perhaps it was the 7th year of Meiji' (Shiba 68).

Sometimes dá ka appears where simple ká is usual, as when both ítu datta ka and ítu {da} ka can be used to mean 'at some time (in the past)': ... ítu da ka Sinagawa máde itta tokí ... 'one time when I went as far as Shinagawa' (Kb 34a).

Paired phrases of N₁ dá ka N₂ dá ka or N₁ dáta ka N₂ dáta ka can be used much as N₁ ka N₂ ka 'N₁ or (maybe) N₂': Dók [o] ka no, geisya dá ka, zyokyuu dá ka ni ... [situren sita] '[He was disappointed in love] for a geisha or waitress from some place or other' (Kb 399a); Ore no, are, tyúugaku no yo-nen dá ka go-nen dá ka no tokí datta 'It was when I was in the fourth or fifth year of middle school' (Kb 396a); Syuusen tyókúgo(⁀), Tookyoo no zosidaigakuséi-kan ni "kimi" dáta ka "boku(⁀)" dáta ka o moti-iru kotó ga ryuukoo 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 dáta kke (or even dáta kke ka) rather than dáta ka. Instead of dá ka, dá kke can be used; but *dá kke ka seems to be rejected. Cf. § 15.10 (kké). See also dá no (§ 15.17), ká (§ 15.6). For N dá tó ka, see § 21.6.

2.11. DÉ MO; D'ÁTTE

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 ní 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 nára, dá tó, 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 wá, mó, sáe, sika, etc.; (2) the restrictives such as bákari, daké, etc.; and (3) the generalized conjoinment represented by nádo 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 dé mo N₂ dá is used to show narrowing identification: [Tokoró-ga, hiniku ní mo, siyóo-sya ga hiite motoméru kotobá no óoku ga,] singo dé mo hikaku-teki atarasii singo de áru '[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-í ... surú; A-kú ... áru; colloquial N dé ... áru, literary N ní ... áru/ári. For example, we find sentences such as Náni ka okótte de mo irú no daroo ka 'I wonder if he is angry or something', in which dé mo separates the gerund -té from the auxiliary iru, and Okóri de mo sinái desyoo ka 'Might he not get angry or something?', in which dé mo splits okóru into its underlying components okóri ... surú before negatization. (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'átte to substitute:

(1) Dé mo as a unit is attached to a noun or a case-marked noun (but gá/ó 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'átte can NOT be used: Miti ga wárुकute zíipu de de mo [*de d'atte] ikanákereba naránai '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 daké^[1] míte iru to dóko ka no syóo ni de mo syutuen site iru yóo na kao, ... '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); Kóogai(−) no mizuúmi ni de mo [*ni d'atte] ukaberéba, sára ni suzusíi kotó 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; Zíko de mo okósita no de wa náí ka 'I wonder if they might (not) have had an accident, or something' (= zíko ƒ oʒ de mo); Koohíi de mo nomimasén ka 'Won't you have a little coffee or something' (= Koohíi ƒ oʒ de mo); Nagái tabí kara de mo káette kíta tokí no yóo na kokoro-yówasa ga kyuu ni káre no munamotó(−) 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); ... tookú^[1] no hoo e de mo turete ikareru yóo na ... hén na ki ni náru no 'I get a strange yen to be taken, say, to some distant place' (Kb 52b); Désu kara kottí wa, maru-de zyánguru no náka ni de mo iru yóo na kimoti desu 'So this place feels just like being in a jungle or something' (Tk 2.321a); ... tó de mo ierú daroo ka 'Could we say, perhaps, ...?' (SA 2673.40c).

(2) The copula itself can be highlighted (§5) by splitting dá into its components dé ... áru (equivalent to literary ní ... 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': Sákka(−) dé mo áreba, hyooron-ka dé mo áru 'He is both a writer and a critic'; Sóo de mo náí 'It's not quite like that, either'. In this meaning d'átte can NOT be used.

(3a) The copula gerund dé 'being' (literary ní-te) can be highlighted with mó to mean 'even/also being' or 'even/also is ... and'; d'átte can substitute for dé mo: Takái monó de mo kamaimasén ka 'Is it all right even if it is an expensive one?' Tíisa na heyá de mo íi desu kara 'Even a small room will do'. For this meaning, the livelier d'átte will freely substitute: Dé mo, totyuu máde d'átte íi, issyo ni né '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'átte B d'átte) 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: Móo kaisya d'átte, yakusyó d'átte, minná^[1] moetimatte irú n desu yó; anta-gata wa ninsiki husoku desu yó '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); Móo o-tomodati wa minná^[1] káettyatta wá yó;

Uragami san d'átte, Sugiyama san d'átte ... 'All of your friends have gone back [to Tōkyō]. Uragami, Sugiyama, ...' (KKK 3.68); Koohee de mo, kootya(¯) dé mo, (nán dé mo) nomimasén 'I will have neither coffee nor tea (nor anything else)'.

(3c) With an indeterminate like náni 'what', dé mo or d'átte translates as 'wh...ever' or 'at all': Wareware wa, zissai no syakai-séikatu de wa, nán de mo sukí na kotó o itári, sitári suru kotó wa dekinái 'Living in the real world, we cannot say whatever we like and do whatever we like' (KKK 3.99); Sanpa-réngoo seiritu toozi wa, sínai no dōko e⁽¹⁾ de⁽¹⁾ mo ziyúu 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); Dāre d'átte [= Dāre de⁽¹⁾ mo] sitte 'ru yó 'Everybody knows'; Motiron, dāre d'átte sini-tákú nánka nái n desu yó 'Of course nobody ever wants to die or anything' (KKK 3.68); Sorya dāre d'átte hazime kara zibun ga sinú nádo to honki ni nátte kangáeru yátu wa óru ¯mái 'Well there probably isn't anybody at all who seriously thinks from the beginning that he is going to die or anything' (KKK 3.68); Negura wa ikura d'átte áru sá, Gotanda máde ikya [= ikéba] 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); Tízuko no inai zínsei wa, dónna tanosii kotó ga átte mo kokóro⁽¹⁾ no soko kara waraezu, dónna oisii monó de mo, aziwátte(¯) iru ki ga sínai 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); ... dónna tuyói yátu ni d'átte káteru to iu sínnen ... 'the conviction that one can win against a fellow of any strength' (KKK 3.68). Additional examples of d'átte 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: dāre de mo, dare dé mo, dare de mó, and dare de mo are all equivalent, as are dāre d'átte, dare d'átte, dare d'átte, and dare d'átte. (But the noun/adverb nandemo-ká[n]demo 'anything and everything; anyhow' is a lexical unit with only one accentuation.) It should be noted that when an expression like nán de⁽¹⁾ mo⁽¹⁾ is subdued with wá (p. 54, §2.3) you cannot substitute d'átte: *Dāre ni d'átte wa dekimasén → Dāre ni de⁽¹⁾ mo⁽¹⁾ wa dekimasén 'Not just ANYBODY can do it'. This is perhaps a confirmation of the proposed identity of d'átte as a contraction of dé átte {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 máde {mo} or sáe {mo}: Súgu ni de mo tukai-konasemasú; dōko e⁽¹⁾ de⁽¹⁾ mo tegaru ni moti-hakonde tukaemasú 'You learn to use it immediately; you can take it anywhere to use' (SA 2639—back cover advertisement); Tukai-nagará de mo zyuuden dekíru 'You can charge the batteries (even) while using it' (SA 2637.13); Sosite sore kará de mo súde ni yonzyúu-nen o [és-site(¯) =] kemí-site (= héte) iru 'And there has already elapsed forty years (even) since then' (KKK 3.98). For this meaning, the livelier d'átte will freely substitute: Dé mo né, uti no okamisan wa watasi no sita kotó ni ippe⁽¹⁾ d'átte hantai sita kotó wa arimasén yó 'But, you see, my wife has never opposed what I did even once' (KKK 3.68); Néko d'átte sanpo ¯gúrai sinákutya 'Even cats gotta stretch their legs, at least' (KKK 3.68).

(4b) And sometimes the meaning of dé mo or d'átte is 'also, too, as well'—like mó⁽¹⁾ yahári: Kookoo é de mo singaku siyoo to omóeba, máiniti(¯) oohuku hyaku⁽¹⁾ gozyúk-kiro no basu-túugaku o kákúgo sinákereba 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: *Késa d'atte tikoku sitá desyóo* 'I bet you were late again this morning, too'; *Umarete kúru áka-tyan no séiméi(¯) [= ínóti]* no mondai *d'atte áru* 'There is also the problem of the life of the baby being born' (SA 2666.115d); *Syuukyóo-sin wa Nihon-zín ni d'atte áru n da kedo mo, ...* 'Religious feeling is something Japanese have, too, but ...' (Tk 4.273a); *O-níisan d'atte kit-tó^[1] uresii to omóu ni kimatte 'másu wá* 'Your brother is bound to be pleased, too' (KKK 3.67); *Góhan o tukéru no d'atte, otóosan o itiban hazime ni túkete, tyóonán o tugí ni túkete, hahaoya nánka 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': *Anó-hito d'atte siranai* 'He doesn't know, either' (or: 'I don't know him, either'); *Koko no táisyoo d'atte, anmari matomo zya arimasén zé* 'Our boss is none too honest, either!' (KKK 3.67); *Íma no kono zísei(¯) wa yoppodo benkyoo site kangáete mínai to, oyá ni d'atte wakaránai kotó ga zúibun takusan áru 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 *mó* itself—*dé mo* and *d'atte* express an emphasis that is difficult to translate: *Kinóo d'atte yonhyap-piki tóttá* 'Yesterday alone we caught 400 fish' (KKK 3.67)—notice the purely emphatic function of English 'alone' here; *Dá kara, íma d'atte kono tóori, watasi no mé no máe ni wa hakkíri ano komágusa ga saite irú no né* 'So right now here in front of my very eyes, that dicentra is clearly blooming, you see' (KKK 3.67); *Íma no tantei-syóosetu ni d'atte, kore ni masáru(¯) bungakú-mi wa náí* '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 ní d'atte zinken ga áru n da zó* (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 †ga/o† dé mo, N †ga/o† d'atte*. But they can occur with the highlighted gerund representing propredication. This perhaps explains Henderson's example (78) *Kore ó de mo kaoo* 'I'll buy this one—such as it is!'⁶³ And, like the sometimes criticized *dáre mo ga* (p. 55), *dáre dé mó ga* turns up every now and then: ... *dáre dé mó ga sitte iru zízitu de aru* 'it is a fact that everyone knows' (SA 2688.43b). The following examples of *N dé mo ga* are from conversation in modern prose; many speakers would feel happier with the *gá* suppressed: *Sore dé mo ga kámi no séturi ka* 'Is even that God's will?!' (Kb 412a.5); ... *iro-ásobi o site iru yátu de mo ga, ... taikutu dá tte n de [= to itte irú no de]* ... 'since even the playboys say they got bored ...' (Kb 38a.1).

A surface sentence of the type *N dé mo áru* has at least three grammatical interpretations. One stems from *N de áru = N dá* 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 [...] *áru* 'there is [something]' to yield the meaning 'even/also being N, there is something'; and the third, related to *N ga áru* and

63. And the more disturbing example: ... *aságao no hitó-hati de mo hutá-hati de mo o kaoo 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'.⁶⁴

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:

Ásahi <i>dé mo</i>	'even Asahi' (= Ásahi d'átte)
Ásahi de mo	{ 'even Asahi' (= Ásahi d'átte) 'Asahi or the like' (= Ásahi nánka)

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:

otokó <i>dé mo</i> →	'even a man' (= otokó d'átte)
otoko ꞑ ꞑ <i>dé mo</i>	
otokó de mo	{ 'even a man' (= otokó d'átte) 'a man or the like' (= otokó nánka)

But this distinction will not be heard after an atonic noun, since the minor juncture will normally just disappear with no trace:

kodomo ꞑ ꞑ <i>dé mo</i> }	/kodomodémo/	{ 'even a child' (= kodomo d'átte) 'a child or the like' (= kodomo nánka)
kodomo <i>dé mo</i>		

Some other examples of *dé mo* and *d'átte* after various adjuncts and markers: Tookyoo *dé dé mo* (= *dé d'átte*) *áme ga hütte iru* 'It's raining even in Tōkyō'—more or less equivalent to just Tookyoo *dé mo* (= *d'átte*) ... or even Tookyoo *mo* ...; Íkura ka *dé mo* (*d'átte*) 'Just a little bit ...'; Bōku wa *hón daké de mo* (= *daké d'átte*) *yuubin de okuroo* 'I will send at least the books by mail' (Inoue 97). Further studies of the distribution of *dé mo* are needed. Apparently both **Kore sika dé mo wakaránai* and **Kore dé mo sika wakaránai* 'understand just this only' are unacceptable.

If we derive *dé 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 dé mo* 'mechanically, for example', *dónna ní dé mo muzukásiku(¯) suru kotó* 'making it ever so difficult', *byooki ní de mo náru to* 'when you get sick, say', and *Isya ní dé mo náru desyoo* 'You'll become a doctor, even' the *ní* is to be explained as the copula infinitive (= the essive). With proredication, of course, it is possible to construct sentences such as *Kikai-teki ní da* 'It is mechanically [that they do it]'.

The sentence-opener *Dé mo* ... is an ellipsis for [Sore] *dé mo* 'Even being that = But ...'.

64. Henderson 72 gives the example *Nán DATTE sonna kotó o surú no da* 'Why do you do such a thing?' and says that *datte* is here an abbreviation of *de átte*. That would make the expression congruent with *Nán de* = *Náze* 'why'; but it would be the only instance where *d'átte* did not have the *dé mo* meaning, so I wonder if it may not rather be *Nán da tte* = *Náni de áru to itte*.

And *D'átte* ... is similar, but (according to Y 388) a more feminine usage. On other uses of *dé mo*, parallel to those of *-té mo* and *-kúte mo*, see §9.2.2. On $\overset{[r]}{ni}/\overset{[r]}{tò} \overset{[r]}{sité} mo$ and $\overset{[r]}{sí} mo$ as equivalents of *dé mo*, see §9.2.2, §9.1.11, and §21.4; on $\overset{[r]}{ni} \overset{[r]}{si} ro$ and $\overset{[r]}{ni} \overset{[r]}{sé} yo$ as equivalents, see §16.1.

From such expressions as *Senséi de mo siyóo ka* 'Shall I be a teacher or something' or 'Shall I be a teacher, even' and *Senséi sika dekinai* 'I can only be a teacher' the compound prefix *demosika-* will yield the pejorative *demosika-sénséi* 'a teacher—of sorts'. The prefix sometimes translates as 'uninspired' or 'half-hearted' or 'faute-de-mieux': ... *yó(-) ni óói demosika-okugata-dómo 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-zónzi desu ka *demosika-ziéikan* ..." 'Do you recognize him—the uninspired Defense officer?' (SA 2679.144d quoting from SA 1970/5/8). Other examples are *demosika-táin* 'uninspired trooper', *demosika-kyóoiku* 'an education—of sorts', *demosika-hóosiki* 'perfunctory forms/methods'. Dictionaries list the prefix just as *démo(-)* with the meanings 'would-be, *soi-disant*' or 'reluctant, irresolute' (MKZ gives the example *démogákusya* 'a self-styled scholar' and Kenkyusha offers *démokurísutyan* 'a pseudo-Christian'); Shimmura says *dé-mo* is sometimes used as a free noun 'a pseudo'.

In western Japan the particle *káte* is used where *Tōkyō* uses *d'átte* or *dé mo*: *naa kate = nawá d'atte* 'a rope even' (Zhs 4.159), *ban katee = ban d'átte* 'evening even' (Zhs 4.159—the lengthened *e* is for emphasis, perhaps the particle *é = yó*). Thus where the *Tōkyō* speaker may begin a sentence with *D'átte*, an ellipsis of [*Sóo*] *d'atte = Sóo de mo* 'even being so', the *Ōsaka* speaker will say *Soo {ya} kate* (Maeda 1961.211). The suppression of the copula *ya* (= *Tōkyō dá*), apparently optional, suggests that *káte* incorporates the question particle *ká* (§15.6), perhaps followed by *te = to* [*itte*] or by [*to ii*]*te* 'saying'; cf. the sentence opener *Ká to itte*, ... 'If that surprises you' or 'If you question that'. Sometimes a simple *mó* is a better *Tōkyō* version for Kansai *káte*; Maeda 1961.100 has a woman saying *Úti kate míta wa* and gives the *Tōkyō* translation *Atasi mo míta wa* 'I saw it too/myself' (or 'Even I saw it?'). For further discussion of *káte* and the reason for the apostrophe in our notation of *d'átte*, see §15.11.

There is also a dialect variant *zyátte* (= *dy'átte*) for *d'átte*, as in *kodomo zyátte* ... (Y 402); and I would not be surprised if the variant (?)*yátte* were to turn up.

2.12. MÍTAI (DA/NA/NI)

The word *mítai* is like *nádo* 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: *zimú-in { | } mítai = zimúin | mítai* or *zimúin mitai* 'like an office worker'. The result is a nominal sentence that differs from *nádo* in that it adnominalizes in the fashion of an adjectival noun (*dá* becoming *ná*): *Zimú-in { | } mítai na | hitó da* 'It is people like office workers'; *Zimú-in { | } nádo no | hitó da* 'It is people who are office workers and the like'.

Adjectival nouns, when used, behave like regular nouns in attaching *mítai* and suppress the copula; apparently *... $\overset{[r]}{ná} \overset{[r]}{mítai}$ never occurs. In the sentence *Sízuka de kirei mítai da* 'It appears to be quiet and clean', the reference of *mítai* is to the entire conjoined sentence

Sízuka de kírei da 'It is quiet and clean'; a major juncture can appear before mítai or before kírei (with minor before mítai): Sízuka de | kírei || mítai da or Sízuka de || kírei | mítai da. Alfonso (1070) says that Japanese seem reluctant to use mítai with adjectives or adjectival nouns, but he finds examples such as Yasasii mítai de muzukasii(¯) mondai desu 'It is a problem that looks easy but is difficult' and Kantan mítai desu ga hukuzatu desu 'It looks simple, but it is complicated'.

The word mítai 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<yàng 'appearance')—is an adjectival noun.⁶⁵ The infinitive form mítai ni, like yóo ni, is used adverbially. Sentences with ... 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. rasií, daróo, hazu dá. The adnominalized form mítai na N has an additional meaning of BELITTLING; many speakers apparently do not use yóo na to belittle. Notice that yóo da/na/ni have a number of uses inappropriate to mítai. For example, áme ga húru yóo na hi 'days when it rains' cannot be said with mítai na, and neither máiniti(¯) no yóo ni 'every day' nor Sátóo syusyoo wa tugí no yóo ni nobemásita 'Prime Minister Satō spoke as follows' will be said with mítai ni; nor will mítai da be used in Kono génri wa tugí 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 mítai is not, to express purpose or desired result as in Wasurenai yóo ni tyúui site kudasái 'Please pay attention so as not to forget'.

Although mítai normally requires something before it, opening ellipsis ([Sóo/Sore] mítai, § 24) can leave the word standing alone at the beginning of a sentence: Anáta ga purodyúusu site?—Mítai ni nátyatta 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 mítai in the several uses mentioned:

(1) RESEMBLANCE: Ano kúmó, tyót-to, hituzi mítai daróo? 'That cloud looks a little like a sheep, doesn't it?' (KKK 3.273); Maru-de sinkon mítai né 'Why it's just like a honeymoon' (KKK 3.273); Sóo, wareware, itátte(¯) onna-rasií wá né, zibun de homéru 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); Húne ni notte 'ru mítai da 'I feel like I am on a boat'; Totu-zen no árasí mítai desita né 'It was like a sudden storm, you see'; Sore ga maru-de senseí to o-desi mítai na n desu tté 'I hear they are just like teacher and pupil'; Ore nánzaa [= nánzo wa = nádo wa] kore dé mo kin'yuu-gáisya no zyuuyaku-sama ná n da kara warawaseru mítai na món sá[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 itái mítai na sámu-sa '... a cold [day] such that my nose almost hurts';

65. The contraction from míta yó[o] became popular in print during the Taishō period (1912–25) according to Yoshida, who gives examples from modern fiction of mitae, mitei, and mitee (Y 346). Examples of míta yóo used for mítai will be found (passim) in Okitsu.

Sosite, hontoo ni é ni káita 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 náí, sonna zyo-gákusei mítai na amai yumé o míte 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 sikararete iru mítai ni atamá o ságeta 'I lowered my head as if I were being scolded myself' (KKK 3.273).

(2a) DIRECT SENSORY IMPRESSION: Náni ka tote-mo siawase na kotó ga átta mítai 'You look as if you had a most happy time'; Wakáreta tokí yori mo kírei ni nátta mítai da 'You seem to have grown even prettier than you were when we said goodbye'.

(2b) INFERENCE: Kaze o hiita mítai da 'I seem to have caught a cold' (KKK 3.273) = Kaze o hiita mítai na ki ga suru '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 nayánde irassyáru mítai 'Mr T. seems to be quite distressed'.

(3) BELITTILING (always adnominal): Anáta mítai na hitó, kirai da 'I hate people like you'; ... watasí-ra mítai na, ironna omo-ni ni náru yóo na zyookén(¯) 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-kyoo kara syuppatu sita mítai na kanzi zya náí n desu yó '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 ní + 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 géki wa kyóo ¯kágiri mítai desu yó 'I'm not sure, but it seems that play is on today only, you know'; Káre wa kore ¯kágiri mítai na kao o site wakáreta 'He departed with an expression on his face that seemed to say this was it'.

Yet with ¯dókoró, mítai will precede (*dókoró mítai): Hottate-goya mítai ¯dókoró zya náí; maru-de buta-goya da 'It is a far cry from being even a shanty; it's a perfect pigsty!'; Kappa mítai ¯dókoró zya náí. Mótto zyoozú ni oyógu 'No water sprite he—why, he swims even better than that!'

And I have elicited both (¯)daké mítai—as in Hitóri ¯daké mítai [da] 'It seems to be just one person'—and mítai (¯)daké, but the latter sequence may be limited to the special use daké ni/átte (§ 13.2) as in this example: Anáta no kao wa kodomo mítai daké ni, kuti no kiki-kata ni tyúui sinákeryaa 'Because your face is like a child is all the more reason one must be cautious about what you say'. Daké^[b]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 daké^[b]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 kóso 'precisely' and ¯zútu '(distributively) each': Watakusi kóso mítai na kao o site iru 'He has an expression that seems to say "It's my fault" '; Kyóo 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-kane wa

sen-en zútu mítai desu yó 'I'm not certain, mind you, but it looks as though the sum they all received was a thousand yen each' (*mítai zútu). But the first two examples seem to involve a kind of semi-quotation of a propredication (Kyóo koso [...] mítai), so that the mítai is actually attached to some sort of underlying predicate in the deeper structure, and that is probably what accounts for the unacceptability of *mítai koso.

Apparently neither *mítai sika nor *sika mítai occur. Nor have I been able to elicit (*sáe mítai or *)mítai sáe; the latter is replaced by the acceptable mítai de sáe áreba in one of its expected occurrences.

In general the sentences ending in mítai da are open to the same conversions as other nominal sentences, including the negative (mítai zya náí), which can be used when you want to deny a resemblance. Although *yóri mítai 'appearing than' is unacceptable, mítai yori 'than appearing' will pass muster, at least in children's speech, but with an implied ellipsis: (?) Heitai mítai [na hukú] yori súihei mítai na hoo ga íi 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 precopular 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) | dóre ‘which/any’
izure ¹ ;
dótira ‘which/any of two’;
íku-/nán-COUNTER,
íkutu ‘how many’ | COUNTABLE nouns, which may have valences with
COUNTERS (§ 13.6) |
| (1a) | íkura, ² ika-hodo ‘how
much’ | MEASURABLE nouns |
| (2) | dáre ‘who/anyone’
táre
(dónata, dótira)
nani-bito, nan-pito
nani-mono ₁ | 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 ad-
jective (granted minor semantic restrictions—*hito
ga húru ‘it rains people’) |
| (3) | náni ‘what/anything’
nani-mono ₂ | NONHUMAN nouns, which normally cannot become
the subject of verbs of emotion, the indirect sub-
ject of adjectives of emotion, or the subject of
most verbs of action or—with the exception noted
below—of verbs of motion |
| (3a) | ” | NONHUMAN ANIMATE nouns, which can be the
subject of verbs of motion and of iru/óru |
| (3b) | ” | SELF-PROPELLING nonhuman nouns, which can be
the subject of verbs of motion and (rarely, at
least) of iru/óru ³ ‘is; stays’ |

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 náni-hodo(̄) and MKZ^S follows that etymology.

3. As in this example: Hoka no zyookyaku wa minna^[,] déimatte, saigo ni wa takusii made inaku nátta ‘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).

- | | |
|--|--|
| (3c) = nani-goto | EVENT nouns, with predicates in which <i>ga áru</i> may substitute for <i>ga okóru</i> 'happens', etc. |
| (4) <i>dóko</i> 'where/anywhere'
<i>ízuko(-)</i> , <i>ízuku(-)</i> | PLACE nouns, for which the marking of the locative is <i>ní</i> rather than <i>dé</i> when stasis is marked in the predicate (see §3.8) |
| (5) <i>ítu</i> 'when/anytime'
<i>nan-doki</i> | TIME nouns, subdivided into SPECIFIC time nouns (for which the locative is usually marked by <i>ní</i>) and RELATIVE time nouns such as <i>kyóo</i> 'today', <i>háru</i> 'spring', <i>mukasi</i> 'long ago' (for which the locative is usually left unmarked—see §9.1.13) |
| To this list we can add: | |
| (6) <i>dóo</i> 'how/anyway'
<i>iká-ni</i> , <i>ikán</i> , <i>iká-ga</i> | ADVERBS (see §13.7); predicated adjectives and adjectival/precopular nouns |
| (7) <i>dónna</i> 'what/any kind'
<i>iká-naru</i> ; <i>iká-ga na</i> | ADNOUNS; adnominalized adjectives and adjectival/precopular nouns |

We have not included *dóno* (literary *izure nó*) 'which/any' as a diagnostic. There is no **Dóno da* (→ *Dóre da*); compare *Dónna da* = *Dónna N da* 'What kind (of N) is it?', *Dóo da* 'How is it?' Nor have we included *náze* or *nán de* or *náni-yue(-)* 'why' = *dóo site* 'how come', since we do not require a class of "reason" nouns; *náze* and *dóo site* focus the interrogation on larger units.

Isami uses somewhat different criteria to subcategorize nouns. In addition to our subcategories of COUNTABLE nouns⁴ (*hón* 'book', *ie* 'house', *tukue* 'table'), MEASURABLE nouns (*o-sake* 'rice wine', *zikan* 'time', *o-kane* 'money'), HUMAN nouns (*hito* 'person', *otokó* 'man', *kodomo* 'child'), nonhuman ANIMATE nouns (*inú* 'dog', *umá* 'horse', *tori* 'fowl'), PLACE nouns (*matí* 'town', *yamá* 'mountain', *kuni* 'country'), and TIME nouns (*ása* 'morning', *yóru* 'night', *háru* 'spring'), Isami sets up the following four types:

MASS nouns (like *áme* 'rain', *yukí* 'snow', *kiri* 'fog') can be quantified, as in *sukósi no áme* 'a little rain' and *takusán no yukí* 'lots of snow', but neither counted nor measured as such—durational expressions such as *ni-zíkan no áme* 'two hours of rain' do not count for this purpose. To translate 'two rains' you say *ni-dó⁽¹⁾ hútta áme* 'rain which fell twice'; and *zís-sénti no yukí* '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 tíisa 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 *zúbun* '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 *tyót-to* '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 ablatives (§3.7); *kore kara saki* 'from now on', *kawá kara higasí(´)* 'east of the river', etc.

ACTION nouns (*turi* 'fishing', *oyogí* '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-dó no turi* 'a round of fishing') and duration: *Ano zíp-pun ´daké no turi de nán-biki mo tureta* 'In just that ten minutes of fishing we were able to catch a great many', *Ano go-zíkan no doráibu de tukáreta* 'That five hours drive left me weary'. But perhaps these expressions are best explained as adnominalized propredication, with the *nó* 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', *benkyoo* '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 *ó*-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 nominalization: *mizuúmi o oyogí* 'swim in the lake' does not yield **mizuúmi o oyogí* or **mizuúmi o no oyogí* but only, by way of adnominalized propredication, the grammatically vague *mizuúmi no oyogí* 'lake swimming'. You do not say **hito o mane suru* but *hito no mane o suru* 'imitates people'.

ABSTRACT nouns (*séigi* 'justice', *bí* 'beauty', *zén* 'goodness') can be quantified, as in *sukósi no séigi* '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 QUANTIFIERS such as *sukósi* 'a little', *takusán* 'a lot', *minná* 'all', *zénbu* 'all', *súbete* 'all', *oozéi* 'a crowd', *tasúu* 'majority', *syoosúu* 'minority', *zyakkan* 'a few'—but not *syóosyoo* or *tyót-to* 'a bit', though they are listed by Isami, for they do not take *gá* or *ó* 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 *sukósi* can function as a synonym of the degree adverb *tyót-to*, even *sukósi takusán* = *tyót-to takusán* '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 Tároo* 'this Taro 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 séigi* 'this justice' and *kono turi* 'this fishing'—if acceptable—would seem to be loose attempts to say *konna séigi* '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 *dá*, forming our NOMINAL nuclear sentence; and strictly to mean a PURE noun—one that can be marked for case by the postpositions *gá* (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 TRANSITIONAL 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 *ní* (= infinitive of the copula); but strictly we refer to a word that has only the directly adverbialized form; most adverbs are PREDICABLE with *dá* 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 *ná*, 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 *gá*. 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:

	<u>...gá/ó;</u> <u>epitheme</u>	<u>...dá</u>	<u>...</u> <u>[adv.]</u>	<u>...ní</u> <u>[adv.]</u>	<u>... N</u>	<u>... nó N</u>	<u>... ná N</u>
pure noun	+	+				+	
predicable adverb		+	+			+	
pure adverb			+				
adjectival noun		+		(+)			+
precopular noun		+		(+)		+	
adnoun					+		

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 defective 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 'worryingly', *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 ní, however, does not mean that the ní form is completely missing, for the other infinitive conversions of §9.1.11 (such as ... ni náru/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: góku 'extremely', tyoodo 'just', hóbo 'nearly',

predicable adverb: sibároku 'for a while', sendatté 'the other day', nitizyoo 'daily', kóo 'thus', mázumazu 'tolerably, so-so'; korékore, sikázika, korékore | sikázika 'so-and-so, such-and-such' (followed by tó only when tó is required by a quoting verb and there is ellipsis of dá)—korékore 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 nó): zyúurai 'hitherto', kyúurai 'from times past', záirai(¯) 'by tradition'; tatta 'merely',

adjectival noun: sizuka 'quiet', hadé 'gaudy',

adjectival noun, defective (with only the adverbial ní, adnominal ná): sétu 'earnest',

adjectival noun, highly defective (with only the adverbial ní): tádati 'at once',

precopular noun: tama 'occasional', múzi 'plain, solid-color', ippan 'general, average', tokubetu 'special', betu-betu 'separate, apart', nanáme 'aslant', hasu[kai] 'aslant',

precopular noun (lacking the adverbial ní): uttuke 'just right', hatu-mimi 'heard for the first time, news'; kansetu 'indirect'; honnen (preferred to the older version honzen) 'natural, innate'; kinsyoo 'scanty'; akusitu 'inferior', tókusyu(¯) 'special' (both also used as adjectival nouns, but lacking the adverbial in any event)

precopular noun, highly defective (only the adnominal nó): zekkoo 'excellent', zantei 'provisional' (cf. zantei-teki na/ni),

adnoun: kono 'this', ironna 'various', hon-no 'just, mere', áru 'a certain',

Below are examples of some of the words which belong to more than one category:

konná	}	adjectival noun; adnoun (usually replacing the adnominalized form ... ná, see §13.5)
onazi		
tyokusetu		precopular noun; pure adverb, tyokusetu = tyokusetu ní 'directly'; cf. the antonym kansetu, a precopular noun that requires ní for adverbialization
ángai(¯)		adjectival noun 'unexpected'; pure adverb 'unexpectedly', ángai(¯) = ángai(¯) ní
isásaka		adjectival or precopular noun 'slight, trifling' (= wázuka); pure adverb 'slightly, a bit' (= tyót-to)
totu-zen	}	precopular noun; pure adverb, súgu = súgu ni
súgu		
guu-zen		
taigai		predicable adverb 'in general'; pure adverb 'probably' (= tábun); precopular noun 'moderate, in moderation'
ikkoo		highly defective adjectival noun (only adverbial ní); pure adverb, ikkoo = ikkoo ní '(not) at all'

sasuga	pure adverb; (pseudo) adnoun; defective precopular noun (lacking the predicative dá)—see pp. 787–8
hitásura(¯)	adjectival noun; pure adverb, hitásura(¯) = hitásura(¯) ní ‘wholeheartedly’
sínsetu	pure noun (abstract) ‘kindness’; adjectival noun ‘kind’
ziyúu	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	pure noun (animate) ‘a senior’ (= nentyóo-sya); (adverbial-lacking) precopular noun ‘senior, older’ (káre yori hutatú ^[1] nentyoo no zyosei ‘a woman two years his senior’)
tosiué	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	adjectival noun; predicable adverb, iroiro = iroiro ní ‘variously’—for iroiro tó (adverbial form of the subjective adjectival noun) see p. 786; pseudo adnoun (pp. 752, 826)
kékkoo	adjectival noun ‘excellent, nice’; predicable adverb ‘adequate(ly), enough’; pure noun (abstract) ‘structure, setup’
kenkoo	pure noun (abstract) ‘health’; (adverbial-lacking) adjectival noun ‘healthy’
génki	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’; predicable adverb ‘for a while/moment, somewhat; (not) readily’; interjection ‘hey, excuse me, just a moment there’
táda	pure adverb ‘just, only; but’; predicable adverb ‘free of charge’, táda de = táda; defective predicable 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 *háru* = *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 *súgu* 'at once' or 'directly ahead'), time nouns and place nouns can serve as epithemes; thus we should not be surprised at these examples of *íma* 'now': *Tosí ga aketa íma mo ...* '(Even) now that the New Year has begun ...' (SA 2666.121c); *Syóbun sareru íma, hazímete séito to onazi tatibá ni tátta 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 kangáete míru to* 'considering these recent days when things have become costlier'. Time adverbs like *sendatté* 'the other day', on the other hand, cannot be modified or serve as subject or object (**monó ga tákaku nátta sendatté o kangáete míru to*), though they can often take certain other markers, such as the temporal ablative *kará* = *írai* 'since' or allative *máde* as in *sendatté kara/máde* 'since/until the other day'. *Sendatté* ^[1]*zyuu* means 'throughout the past few days' = *sendatté* ^[1]*uti*(⁻) *zyuu*; *sendatté* ^[1]{no} *uti*(⁻) (*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 dé wa náku, kono Syóowa*(⁻) *zídai no, íma génzai mo, ...* 'not so long ago, even now in Shōwa 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 adverb:

	... <i>dá</i>	... [adv.]	... [adv.] <i>ní</i>	... no N	... na N
predicable adverb	+	+		+	
(defective)		+		+	
pure adverb		+			
adjectival noun	+		+		+
(defective)			+		+
(highly defective)			+		
(adverbial-lacking)	+				+
adverb AND					
adjectival noun	+	+	+		+
precopular noun	+		+	+	
(highly defective)				+	
(defective)			+	+	
(adverbial-lacking)	+			+	
adverb AND					
precopular noun	+	+	+	+	

The two adjectival nouns *nyuuyoo* (also pronounced *iriyoo*) and *hituyoo* 'necessary, needed' lack an adverbial form—*nyuuyoo/hituyoo ní* can only be used in the mutative conversions with *náru/suru*—and belong also to the class of abstract pure nouns, with the meaning 'need' as in *kane no nyuuyoo/hituyoo ga átte* '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 *nyuuyoo* or *iriyoo* when used as adjectival nouns carry the valences of POSSESSIVE grammar, just like their synonym *ir-u* 'needs': *Dáre ni/ga náni ga hituyoo désu 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 ní* 'problematically'; the other forms are seen in these examples: *mondai na kotó* '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 ní* '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 róngi ga kono-tokoro sikiri dá* 'such arguments are frequent lately' (SA 2681.38b).

The words *saikoo* 'highest' and *saitei* 'lowest' can be used as pure nouns (*saikoo o simésite*(-) *iru* 'occupies the top spot') but they are also precopular nouns with adnominal and adverbial forms (*saikoo nó/ní*); as slang they are used to mean 'the tops = best' and 'the bottom = worst'.

Saizyoo 'best, top' is similar; its antonym *sáika* 'bottommost', however, is little used. *Saidai* 'largest' and *saisyoo₁* 'smallest', as well as *saisyoo₂* 'fewest; youngest' are precopular nouns usually found in the adnominal form (... *nó*) or as the first member of a compound (...-N); the same is true of *saiaku* 'worst' and its antonyms *sairyoo* 'finest' and *saizen* 'best', but *saizen* is also used as a pure noun in the expression *saizen o tukúsu* '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 *sí*) and the copula *dá* (from *ní*).

3.1. CLASSES OF PREDICATES; SUBJECTS, OBJECTS, CASE VALENCES; SUBJECTLESS SENTENCES

All verbs can occur with a noun adjunct that is marked (typically as agent) by the subject particle *gá*. 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: [*Áme ga*] *yandá ka* 'Has it stopped [raining]?' *Sindá ka* '(Is he) dead?' We can treat this as OPTIONAL ELLIPSIS of the subject; it is one use of what has been called "zero pronominalization".

(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 *Kaerimásu* '[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 *bóku*($\bar{\text{~}}$) *ga* or *wata*[*ku*]*si ga*, or the plurals *bóku-ra ga* or *watá*[*kú*]*si-táti ga*, or (if the speaker is a woman) *atasi ga* or the plural *atási-táti ga*—or even, despite the polite stylization of the sentence, *ore ga* or the plural *oré-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 *anáta* 'you', *senséi* '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'), *miná-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: *Samúi* 'It's cold', *Osoku nátta* '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 *li = Yorosii* 'It is all right [to do it—or, more often, not to do it]' and its opposite *Damé da = Ikenai* 'It is no good = You mustn't' since what they imply is some condition that is usually stated as an adverbialized sentence (...-*té mo* in the first case, ...-*té wa* in the second) and the use of a vague deictic such as *sore wa* [\leftarrow *sore ga*] 'that' in place of the condition is obviously secondary. Nor would it be easy to supply a subject for *Dóo sita* (*n desu ka*) 'What happened?', *Sinbun ni yoru to ...* 'According to the newspaper ...', *Mósi ka sitára ...* 'It might well happen/be that ...', etc. Mikami 1963 (*Nihongo no ronri* 96-7) gives the following examples of subjectless sentences with the verb *náru* 'it becomes': *Yó-zi hán ni nátta* 'It's [become] four thirty'; *li ténki ni narimásita né* 'It's become nice weather, hasn't it'; *Are kara zyuugó-nen ni narimásu* 'It's [become] fifteen years since then'; *Ikisaki wa toohyoo de kimeru kotó ni nátta* 'It was arranged for the destination to be decided on by vote'; *Watasi wa Oosaká-eki de yuuzin ni áu kotó ni nátte imásu* '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 *ní* is the infinitive of the copula (i.e. is the *essive*). Such sentences as *Amerika dé wa íma daitooryoo-sénkyo no mas-sáityuu 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 *Ní ni ní o tasu to, sí ni náru* 'Two plus two makes four'; *Ningen to umaretára hito no tamé ni tukusánakereba naránai* 'If you are born a human being you must do all you

5. And this interesting example called to our attention by George Bedell (PIJL 2.170): *Háitte imásu!* '[Someone is inside =] (This toilet is) occupied!'

can for the sake of others'; Okóreba okóttá hoo no make de áru 'He who loses his temper is the real loser'; Lé o tatéru ni wa dáiku ni tanománakereba naránai 'To build a house you must call in a carpenter'; Kokuban ni "Asú wa yasumí" to káite átta 'On the blackboard it was written "No school tomorrow"'; Ano ningen ní wa náni o itté mo muda dá 'It's no use whatever one says to that individual'. Similar are expressions with ... tó^[j] omoimásu (= omowaremásu) 'it is thought that ...' and Kono yoo ni míte kimásu/mairimásu to ... 'When one comes to look at it like this ...'. Perhaps many cases of suru could be put here: [soo] suru to [né] ... 'when that happens ...'; sono ími kara suréba ... '(taken) in that sense ...'; moo tyót-to suru to ... 'a little more and ...'; etc. Also the "institutional" subjects marked by dé [wa] as in Kore ni túite kisyoo-tyoo zisin-ka dé wa "... to hanásite imásu '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 áru/nái (such as nozomí(), mikomi, obóé, tamesí, kotó, tuide, kikái(), kanoo-sei, wáke, hazu, etc.) and ... ga suru (such as ki[moti], kanzi) where we might expect at least an indirect subject (N ní/gá), as well as the "clause auxiliaries" (nó da, yoo da, sóo 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 gá-marked subject, some verbs take adjuncts with other markers. The direct-object marker ó 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 ní, reciprocal tó, ablative kará, allative é (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 gá, other markings are possible under certain circumstances, as shown in the listings under §2.2 for ní 1d and 1e; dé 3d, 4, and 9; nó 2; kará 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: Kyuukoo de Sinzyuku e [] san-zíkan hán 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 ittára 'to go'. Under propredication (§3.10) the case markers may disappear as well, though they are usually present in the adnominalized form (Sinzyuku é no kyuukoo).

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 *ó*; such verbs are INTRANSITIVE ("VI"): *sinu* 'dies', *ikíru* 'lives', *súmu* 'lives', *iru/óru* 'stays', *áru₁* 'exists'; *ugóku* 'moves', *noru* 'mounts, rides', *noboru₁* 'climbs on'; *áu* 'meets', *niru* 'resembles', *tigau* 'differs', *komáru* 'is embarrassed', *kurusímu* 'suffers', *nayámu* 'is afflicted', *makeru* 'is defeated', *kátu* 'wins'; *kakáru* 'hangs', *tátu₁* 'stands up', *húru* 'precipitates', *hataraku* 'works'; *áru₂* 'is possessed', *ir-u* 'is needed', *dekíru* 'is created, is possible', *wakáru* 'is understood' (but see §3.5), potentials (§4.4), derived passive potentials (such as *miéru* and *kikoeru*, §4.7);

A few intransitive verbs turn up in idiomatic phrases that are transitive.⁷ Though *kubi ni náru* '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 nátta seinen* 'a young man fired from the office' (= *kaisya ga seinen o kubi ni sita* 'the office fired him'); NHK no *zyoodán óngaku*(~) *o kubi ni nátta Miki Toríroo* 'T.M. who had been fired from NHK Jokes and Music [Department]' (SA 2641.51a). Similar is *ki ni ir-u* 'enters one's spirit = pleases one; one likes' (examples in §3.5a). Notice that focus can be inserted: *kubi ní wa/mo náru*, *ki ní 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 *ó* 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-rare-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 arúku* 'People walk the road' cannot be converted to **Miti ga hito ni arukaréru* 'The road gets walked by people', but you can say *Watakushi-tái ga hito ni miti o arukaréru* 'We suffer from having the road walked by people', *Hito ga miti ga aruk[ar]éru* 'People can walk the road', and *Watasi ga miti o/ga arukitái* '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-passive sentence would seem to be the place word rather than "people": *Zyookuu ga zyettó-ki ni tobarete 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), 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 *kúru* 'comes' sometimes take a traversal object: *Éki e wa dóno 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?' (Endō 195, wife to husband).

ii desyoo ka 'Which street should I take to get to the station?', Sono toorí o kúru to utí(-) e demásu 'If you come down that avenue you will emerge at our house', Tooi miti o ái 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: ... Hámako wa saki ni tátte, tobiisi 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

Hón o yómu. '[] reads the book = The book is read [often]'.	Hón ga yomaréru. 'The book gets/is read [by someone—hito ni]'.	Hón ga yónde áru. 'The book is [already] read = The book has been read'.
Mádo o akeru. '[] opens the window = The window is opened [often]'.	Mádo ga akerareru. 'The window gets/is opened [by someone—hito ni]'.	Mádo ga akete áru. 'The window is opened = The window has been opened'. (Cf. Mádo ga aite iru 'The window is open'.)

EMOTION TRANSITIVE VERBS

Háru o mátu. '[] expects spring = Spring is expected'.	Háru ga mataréru. 'Spring is expected [by someone = hito ni]'.	*Háru ga mátte áru. [Nor, apparently, *Háru o mátte áru.]
Kodomo o ai-súru. '[] loves the child = The child is loved'.	Kodomo ga ai-saréru. 'The child is loved [by someone—hito ni]'.	*Kodomo ga ái-site áru. [Nor, apparently, *Kodomo o ái-site áru.]

(MOTION TRANSITIVE =) QUASI-INTRANSITIVE VERBS

Kádo o magaru. '[] turns the corner = The corner is turned'.	*Kádo ga magarareru.	*Kádo ga magatte áru.
Sóra o tobu. '[] flies the sky = The sky is flown'.	*Sóra ga tobareru.	*Sóra ga tonde áru.

Some speakers have told me they feel it is possible to say such things as (?)Dóno miti ga arúite áru 'Which roads have been walked (on)?', as well as the generally acceptable Dóno miti o arúite áru and (?)Anna tokoró ga ryokoo site áru 'Such places have been traveled', but other speakers reject such forms; nor will most speakers accept (*)Dóno miti ga arukáreta ka 'Which roads got walked (on)?' or (*)Anna tokoró ga ryokoo saretá

'Such places got traveled', We will follow Isami in rejecting PLACE ga VQI-te áru and PLACE ga VQI-rareru (passive).

A list of sample verbs of each kind (with a few semantic surprises for the English speaker): *ACTION*: akeru 'opens', atuméru 'gathers', káku 'writes', kakúsu 'hides', kiku 'listens to', kowásu 'breaks', míru 'looks at', simau 'shuts up', siméru 'closes', tukúru 'makes', yobu 'calls', yómu 'reads', *EMOTION*: ai-súru 'loves', iwáu 'celebrates', homéru 'praises', kirau 'dislikes', konómu 'likes', kóu 'loves', koi-súru 'loves', mátu 'expects, awaits', nagéku 'laments', (hukóo o) naku 'laments (one's misfortune)', donáru 'yells at' (kodomo o donátte mo, Tk 2.240a), okóru 'gets angry at' (nan de mo náí kotó o kyuu ni okóru 'gets mad at the least little thing', Tk. 2.239a; ókusan o okótte 'angry at one's wife', Tk 2.240a—cf. nyoooboo NI okótte in the same discourse), nagúru 'hits', osímu 'regrets', urámu 'resents', (boosi/kodomo o) warau 'laughs at (a hat/child)'; arasóu 'strives for' (syóobu o ~ 'contends for victory'; séki(¯) o ~ 'scrambles for a seat'; saki o ~ 'strives for first place'); *MOTION*: hasír-u 'runs', kake-meguru 'runs around', koeru 'passes over', kudaru 'descends', magari 'turns (a corner)', matágu 'bestrides', noboru₂ 'climbs', subér-u 'slides/skates/skis (on)', oríru 'descends', tóoru 'passes by/through', tobu 'flies'; (gakkoo o) yasúmu₂ 'absents oneself from (= skips) school' (cf. yasúmu₁ 'rests' vi.),

The verbal noun ryuugaku has the grammar of a motion verb and should be translated 'GOING abroad to study', not just 'studying abroad': Amerika e ryuugaku sitári ... 'sometimes going to America to study' (SA 2686.26b). *Amerika de⁽¹⁾ ryuugaku suru would be ungrammatical. Other verbal nouns that are quasi-intransitive (i.e. take traversal objects only): zyookuu o patoróoru suru 'patrols the sky', kooen o sanpo suru 'walks in the park',

The "place" words that represent the traversal object are sometimes abstract (representing a situation or the like): ... atúi SAKARI O wázawaza Tokusíma made kiki 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);⁸ 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.)', ...; hakobu 'conveys', utúsu '(re)moves', ...; tutaéru(¯) 'relays', ...; núgu 'doffs', ...; tóru 'takes (away)', ...; modósu 'sends back', káesu 'returns', ...; ukéru 'receives', morau 'gets', ...; kakéru 'hangs', ireru '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 ó as an optional substitute for kará (§ 3.7; § 2.2, ó 3): déru 'leaves', tátu 'departs', oríru 'descends from', etc. The verb ugóku 'moves' also belongs here: líi to ossyáru made watakusi koko o, ugokimasén '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: tukúru 'makes', káku 'writes', tatéru 'builds', kosiraeru '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', nómu 'drinks', kesu 'extinguishes, erases'; kowásu 'breaks', korosu 'kills', naku-su 'loses, gets rid of', usinau 'loses', wasureru 'forgets'; ...

(4) that which is put on to be worn or which is worn: kiru 'wears (in general or on the torso)', haku 'wears (on the feet or legs)', kabúru 'wears (on the head)', ...

(5) that which is perceived: míru 'sees', kiku 'hears', kan-ziru 'feels', omóu 'thinks of, feels', ...

(6) that to which attention is paid for the purpose of direct or indirect perception: míru 'looks at', kiku 'listens to', kagu 'smells, sniffs'; sawaru '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 sensei o otozuréru 'visits the teacher', or in kamidana o ogámu 'prays to the household altar'? In Ei-káíwa no aité o tutómete 'serving as a partner for English conversation' (CK 985.372)?⁹ In kami o tokásu 'combs one's hair'? In pán o kíru 'slices the bread' or itiman'én-satu o kuzúsu 'breaks (= changes) a ¥ 10 000 bill'? In monó o sagasu 'hunts things' or zí o hiku 'looks up a character (in the dictionary)'? In kone o tukátte 'using one's "connections"'? Cf. the categories given for ó in §2.2. Does yasúmu₂, as in gakkoo o yasúmu 'skips school' and ... kottí ga unten o yasúnde iru zikan(=) ní 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 Eigo o osieru 'teaches children English'—is kodomo ni miti 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 síroku nuru 'paints a wall white' (§9.1.11)

9. Tutoméru has at least two grammars: intransitive (or pseudo-passive) in ginkoo ni tutoméru 'works for (is employed by) the bank' and transitive (of some sort) in ginkoo-in o tutoméru 'works/serves (is employed) as a bank clerk'. Here are more examples of the latter: ... dekíru(=) kágiri káno-zyo no aité o tutoméru 'does one's best to be a partner for her' (SA 2639.34b); ... Sikágo no Maasyaru-Hwíirudo sinbun-tyéen no kómon o tutómeta 'was employed as an adviser to the Marshall Field newspaper chain in Chicago' (CK 985.51); ... geizyutu-bún'ya no hensyuu-sekinínsya o tutómeta ga 'worked as managing editor in the art field' (CK 985.51).

- tukúru* (1) *tuiido de óobaa o tukúru* 'makes an overcoat out of tweed'
 (2) *tuiido o óobaa 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-súru*) 'requires people'—Kenkyusha mis-assigns the last meaning.

(2) *hito ni mátu* (= *ni tayóru*) 'relies/depends on people': *Kokkai no ryoosiki ni mátu*, *genrón-kai no ryoosiki 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 *hoéru* 'barks at' (given as intransitive) seem to be in flux: *Inú ga kodomo ni/o hoéru* (*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] yoseté 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 KISYÁ 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 oríru* '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 proredication. One common type is the ellipsis of *surú no*^[b] after a verbal noun, as in these examples: *Watasi wa kono sángatu úmaku ikéba dezain-gákkoo 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 gimón 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 *ni*: *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 gakuséi-táti* ... 'the students who come this way down the corridor' (Shibata 1961.62). The verb *háiru* '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 Kóobe e atarasii háuei(-) o doráibu sita* 'I drove the new highway from Nagoya to Kōbe' or 'I drove from Nagoya to Kōbe on the new highway'.

The transitive verb *tazunéru* 'visits' permits both a direct object—the person visited—and an allative, the destination of the visit: ... *Kárayan o hóteru ni [=e] tazunéru to*, ... 'upon visiting Karajan in his hotel' (SA 2688.106a).

The intransitive verb *muku* means 'faces, fronts on' or 'is suitable for, suits' with *N ní*; but with *N ó* it is a quasi-intransitive verb of motion meaning 'turns (one's face) toward': "Yoko o muite", "Máe o muite", ... ' "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 sikaméru*(⁻) 'frowns' (= *sikame-ttura o suru*), where the noun *kao* 'face' is quite free to occur in other contexts, but *sikaméru*(⁻) is not. The opposite situation limits a noun to the role of object of a specific verb, though the verb freely occurs elsewhere: *móo o hiráku* 'dispels the darkness (= ignorance), enlightens'. Such expressions are often carried by dictionaries as separate idioms.

3.4. INDIRECT OBJECTS: BENEFICIARIES; DATIVE VALENCES

Verbs that express giving, sending, imparting of information, showing, etc., imply the designation of a RECIPIENT or BENEFICIARY, usually marked by *ní*. 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 ... *nó tamé 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 (*yarú/ageru*, *kureru/kudasáru*—see §10) and the transmittal of objects or messages: *okuru* 'sends', *kasu* 'lends', *uru* 'sells', *dásu* 'pays', *miséru* 'shows', *simésu*(⁻) 'reveals', *osieru* 'instructs', *iu* 'says, tells', *tutaéru*(⁻) 'transmits, passes on', *hanásu* 'speaks to, addresses' (also with reciprocal valence, §3.2.1); *tyúumon*(⁻) *suru* 'orders' as in *Hirumesi o susiya NI tyúumon*(⁻) *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 *ní* rather than *kará*—in contrast with GIFT RECEIPT (*morau*) where the *kará* marking is more common. The verbs *sireru* 'becomes known', *tutawáru*(⁻) 'gets reported', *omoéru* 'seems', *miéru* 'appears', and *kikoeru* 'sounds' are best treated as pseudo-passives to account for the *ní* that marks the semantic agent of the underlying active verb in each case; *hanmei suru* 'becomes clear (to someone)' perhaps belongs with *wakáru* '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 {wa} tomodati ni tegami o káite 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', *mayóu* 'is confused (over/by)', *kane ni komáru* 'is embarrassed for [= lacks] money' (cf. *kane de komáru* 'is embarrassed because of [having] the money'). Compare the CAUSE group of valences that can optionally be marked by the instrumental *dé* (but perhaps with some slight difference of nuance): *nayámu* 'suffers (from)', *odoróku* 'is surprised (at)', *bikkúri suru* 'is startled (at)', ... (§3.7).

Some of the other uses of *ni* listed in §2.2 will also represent dative valences, e.g. 1c with *yoru* 'depends/relies (on)', *sitagáú(⁀)* 'conforms (with), is consequent (upon)', *oo-zíru(⁀)* 'complies (with)', *motozúku* 'is based (on)'; 1f with *mitásu* 'fills it (with), *mitíru* 'gets filled (with)', *ahuréru* 'overflows (with)'; perhaps 4, the LOCATIVE with static verbs (see §3.8); and 5a, change of position (MUTATIVE-LOCATIVE), with *oku* 'puts', *hitáru* 'is absorbed (in)', *kakéru* 'hangs it', *kakáru* 'it hangs', (*bédde ni*) *yoko ni náru* 'lies (on the bed)', *ireru* 'inserts', *káku* 'writes (on/in)', ? *noru* 'mounts', ? *noboru₁* 'climbs on'—cf. (... o) *noboru₂* 'climbs', ? *túku* 'attaches (to)'—cf. P *ni/e túku* 'arrives at P' with allative valence, §3.7). Also: *sigoto ni sánka(⁀) suru* 'participates in a job'; *ginkoo ni tutoméru* 'works for a bank' (cf. p. 189); *gyógyoo(⁀) ni zyúuzi suru* 'engages in commercial fishing'; ... *taihán(⁀) no gakusei wa gesyuku-ságasi ni kenmei dá* 'the majority of the students are assiduously searching lodgings' (SA 2676.118a); *bareebóoru ni kyoo-zíru(⁀)* 'amuse themselves with volley ball' (SA 2688.38ab); *supóotu ni nekkyyoo suru* 'is excited about sports'; ...

With the following verbs the dative valence calls for a CONFRONTED: *idómu* 'challenges', *amaéru(⁀)* 'coaxes', *horeru* 'falls in love (with)', *mutyuu ni/to náru* 'gets infatuated (with); becomes absorbed (in)', *hankoo suru* 'resists', *hantai suru* 'resists', *kánsya(⁀) suru* 'thanks', *kátu₁* 'vanquishes' (as in *aité ni kátu* 'beats one's partner', cf. *siai ni kátu₂* 'wins the match', *sumoo ni kátu₂* 'wins at sumō wrestling'), *makeru* 'is vanquished (by), loses (to)', *koosan suru* 'surrenders (to)', *akogareru* 'adores'; *akíru* 'wearies (of), is fed up (with)'; *hito* [no *hukóo*] *ni doozyoo suru* 'sympathizes with a person (with a person's misfortune)'. But it is unclear to me why *hito NI monó o kakúsu* 'hides things from people' belongs here; cf. *hito KARA monó o nusúmu/ubáu* 'steals things from people'. The confronted need not always be a person, of course: *míbun NI kanáu* 'it suits one's social status'; *sizen NI motóru* 'goes against nature'; *ima-máde NI kuraberu 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 kuraberu 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*) *húziyuu 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 nitukawásii* 'X is in keeping with (is appropriate for/to) Y' (cf. *A/X ga B ni niáu* 'A/X suits B'); and perhaps *A ga B ni sínsetu 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 ní kagír-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* 'appoints (to be)', and possibly *tyuumoku ni atai-suru* 'is worthy of attention'.

The following verbs not only can take N *ní* but also permit N *yóri* 'than N', as if they were adjectives: *masáru*(⁻) 'surpasses', *suguréru* 'surpasses', *hiidéru* '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 *ní* as an equivalent of N *ni tái-site* 'with respect to N'; this is a type of DATIVE OF CONFRONTATION: *momen ga mizu ni tuyóí* 'cotton can stand water (= washing)', *o-sake ni tuyóí* 'can take a lot of liquor'; *sán ni yowái* 'is easily affected by acid', *keizai-móndai ni kuwasíi/akarui* 'knows a lot about economic problems'; *kotobá^[1] no tukai-kata ni binkan dá* 'is sensitive to wording', *tíri ni hu-ánnai na gaikokú-zin de mo* 'even a foreigner unfamiliar with the geography' (SA 2663.34b). Also *génki/yúuki/keiken/syokúryoo*(⁻) *ni tobosíi*(⁻) 'is wanting (lacking in) vitality/courage/experience/provisions'—cf. N *ni tómu* 'is rich in N, abounds in N' (= N *ga yútaka da* 'N is abundant'). But words for 'full of' (*ippai* etc.) usually take the instrumental *dé*: *Mé wa námida DE ippai ni nátta* 'Her eyes became full of tears', *Muné wa kánsya*(⁻) *no nén DE ahuréru* 'My breast brims with gratitude', ... *wakamonó*(⁻) *ya hisyó-kyaku DE ahúrete iru* 'is flooded with young people ... and summer vacationers' (SA 2642.42); yet cf. §2.2, Use 1f, where *ahuréru*, together with *mitásu* and *mitíru*, is given a dative valence, and the example ... *zisin ni miti-ahureta Isidá-si wa* 'Mr Ishida, brimming with confidence, ...' (SA 2677.30c). The thing overflowing itself is often the subject: *mé ni námida ga ahuréru* 'tears well up in one's eyes', *tegami ni nétui ga ahuréru* 'the letter brims with passion', *kawá* [no mizu] *ga ahuréru* 'the (water of the) river overflows', etc.

Still other predicates take N *ní* in the sense of N *ní tótte* 'for N': *Kenkoo ni taisetú/daizi da* 'It is important for one's health'; ... *éiga*(⁻) *ni hú-muki na* ... 'unsuitable for a film' (SA 2684.120a); ... *bóku*(⁻) *ní wa monosúgoku syaku ni sawatte* ... 'for me it was very irritating' (R); ... *bóku*(⁻) *ní wa subarasíi kotó na n desu*. (OKáasan ni site míreba, mósi ka suru to, monosúgoku sabisíi ka mo sirenái kedo ...) 'for me it was splendid. (But perhaps for my mother, however, it may have been very lonely ...)' (R).

All the uses of *ní* 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 tamé] *ni* 'being for the sake/cause of'
- (2) dative of direction = [⁻ate] *ni* 'being aimed at'
- (3) dative of confrontation = *ní* [tái-site] 'being opposed to'
- (4) dative of reference = *ní* [tótte] 'taking it as being (a case involving ...)'

Propredication will yield examples of N *ní da*; under adnominalization, the expected N *ní no* ... is usually replaced by N *é no* See §3.7 for a discussion of *é 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 *áru* 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 *áru*, 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 *áru* is used for living beings instead of the standard *iru* or *óru* (Zhs 4.23, H 1968.108), and the usage is common in older literature. The literary cliché *sonó-hito [ga] ári* 'there exists that person = is well known' persists in the colloquial: ... *zyósi puro-resu ni sonó-hito ári to sirareta hitó (-)rasii* 'appears (or: 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 (§9.1.10 and §9.2.4 respectively), both those which are marked for animateness of direct subject (such as *iru* or *óru*) and those which are not (such as *áru* 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

	Unmarked	Marked for animate direct subject (possessed)	
(1) Existence	X/(A) <i>ga áru</i> <i>gozaimásu</i>	A <i>ga iru/óru</i> <i>irassyáru</i> <i>o-ide ni náru</i>	Optional, but preferred.
(2) Location	X <i>ga P ni áru</i>	A <i>ga P ni iru/óru</i> <i>irassyáru</i> <i>o-ide ni náru</i>	Obligatory. ^a
(3) Possession	A <i>ni/ga X/B ga áru</i> <i>gozaimásu</i> <i>o-ari ni náru</i>	A <i>ni/ga B ga iru/óru</i> <i>irassyáru</i> <i>o-ide ni náru</i>	(See below.)

a. But when speaking of people being in abstract static situations, only *áru* is used: *Watakusi wa kootyoo to site sono enzetu o sinákereba naránai tatibá ni áru (*iru)* 'As the principal, I am in a position where I have to make the talk'. In addition to *tatibá*, the words *tii* 'position', *kankyoo* 'environment, atmosphere', and *zyootai* 'situation' (and possibly a few others) will be used in this way. (But not *baai* or *tokoró* or other nouns referring to dynamic or physical situations.)

The possessive *áru* 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

has been usurped by the POSSESSED: *Dónata ni/ga náni ga o-ari désu ka* (= *o-ari ni narimásu 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", *áru* 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:^{9a}

<i>Dáre ni/ga</i>	<i>kodomo ga</i>	<i>imásu/orimásu</i>	<i>ka</i>
<i>Dónata ni/ga</i>	<i>okosan ga</i>	<i>irassyáimasu</i>	<i>ka</i>
<i>Dónata ni/ga</i>	<i>okosan ga</i>	<i>o-ide désu</i>	<i>ka</i>
<i>Dónata ni/ga</i>	<i>okosan ga</i>	<i>o-ide ni narimásu</i>	<i>ka</i>
<i>Dáre ni/ga</i>	<i>kodomo ga</i>	<i>arimásu</i>	<i>ka</i>
<i>Dáre ni/ga</i>	<i>kodomo ga</i>	<i>gozaimásu</i>	<i>ka</i>
<i>Dónata ni/ga</i>	<i>okosan ga</i>	<i>o-ari désu</i>	<i>ka</i>
<i>Dónata ni/ga</i>	<i>okosan ga</i>	<i>o-ari ni narimásu</i>	<i>ka</i>

All of these mean 'Who has a child (or: children)?' with deference shown toward the possessor (*Dónata ni/ga* ...) or the listener (... *gozaimásu ka*) though the chart is misleading to this extent: it fails to show that the exalting forms (*dónata*, *okosan*, *irassyáru* etc.) are but optionally correlated and other combinations can be selected.

The possessor, marked optionally by *ní* or *gá*, is usually animate, but occasionally not; when not, the particle used is *ní* rather than *gá* (*X ní Y ga áru* 'X has Y'): *Kuruma ni hándoru(ˉ) ga áru* 'A car has a steering wheel'; *Kuruma ni taiya ga nái* 'The wheel (or: the car) lacks a tire'; *Sin'yoo dekiru igákú-sya ga, marihwana ní wa huku-sáyoo ga nái to tyan-tó hatugen site 'rú si, ... '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 *gá* to mark the possessor: ... *zibun ní wa kodomo ga hutarí iru* 'I have two children myself' (SA 2793.46b); *Kottí 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 áru* 'I have children'. My informants reject that in favor of *Kodomo wa watasi NI áru*; yet they will accept *Kodomo wa watasi MO* (or: *watasi NÍ MO áru*), and that would seem to imply an underlying *watasi GA*—unless we assume that *watasi mo* is an ellipsis for *watasi {ní} 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 si 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'): *Utí(ˉ) ni ite benkyoo si-nasái* '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 *áru*: SON refers to existence, ZAI location, and YUU possession. From these come the verbs *son-súru* = *sonzai suru* 'exists', *taizai suru* 'stays' (there is no **zai-súru*), and *yuu-súru* = *syoyuu suru* 'possesses'.

9a. As in ... *watakusi ní wa nyóoboo mo áru, 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 *áru*; we can call them QUASI-POSSESSIVE verbs. They include *wakáru* 'understands', *ir-u* 'needs',¹⁰ *dekíru* 'can do', *miéru* 'can see',¹¹ *kikoeru* 'can hear', and the regularly formed potentials^{11a} such as *yom[ar]éru* '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 wakáru* 'A understands X' is regarded as just a surface-warped expression of something that is thought up as **A ga X o wakáru*. Evidence favoring this interpretation can be found in the fact that, despite my asterisk, people sometimes say *A ga X o wakáru*; 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 íma no sigoto o ki ni itte iru kotó wa tásika da* 'It is definite [= I am sure] that I like my present job'.) I have myself heard *Kore o irimásu ka* 'Do you need this?' (as have others), and I have elicited acceptance of *Kore o o-wakari ni narimásu ka* 'Do you understand this?' as well as [see below] *Kore o hosíi ka* 'Do you want this?'. Yet no amount of encouragement will elicit **N o áru*—perhaps because of the ready availability of the transitive synonym *mótu* '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-súru* 'needs'.) Authentic examples of *o wakáru*: *Uke-té ga bóku(-) no omótte iru kotó o wakátte kureréba uresii ga, ...* 'If the persons receiving them [= the images I draw] kindly understand what I intend I am pleased but ...' (SA 2640.12); *Bóku(-) ga hanásita kotó o wakátte kureta tó wa kooei désu 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 *ó* is due to a syntactic blend of *monó o kureru* 'gives a thing' with *V-te kureru* 'gives the favor of doing V' but then we find: *Sosite bóku(-) wa, káre-ra no soo iu yari-kata no ími mitai na monó o wakátte ...* '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 ... *íma de mo sonna ni wakarárete wa inai* 'I'm still none too well understood' (Tanigawa 38) we will have to assume an underlying [*watakusi*] *o wakáru*.

An example of *o dekíru*: *Íma ya séito ga Toodai to iu namae daké ni hikarerú no de wa náku, zibun ga yari-tai gakúmon o dekíru daigaku o erábu yóo desu* 'Nowadays it seems that the student is not lured just by the name Tōkyō University but chooses the university where he can pursue the studies he wants to do' (SA 2663.28a). On the retention of underlying *ó* with the potential conversion in general, see §4.4—where, however, I suggest explaining *N o VN dekíru* as an ellipsis: *N o VN [suru kotó ga] dekíru*. That will take care

10. Kuno (1973.89) suggests that *ir-u* is different from the other quasi-possessives in that only *Dáre ga* (and not **Dáre ni*) *o-kane ga irú no desu ka?* 'Who needs money?' is acceptable; but other speakers feel that *Dáre ni ...* is acceptable, if perhaps old-fashioned.

11. But NOT in the meaning 'seems'. In ... *ip-piki no doobutu ga, watasi ní wa inú ni mie, anáta ni wa tora ni miéru ...* '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 *ní* [*tótte*] 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 *gá*, not *ní*: *(?*)kodomo ni arukéru* → *kodomo ga arukéru* 'the child can walk', despite the acceptability of *kodomo ni/ga arúku kotó ga dekíru*. Cf. Harada, *Kokugogaku* 92.47 (1973).

of this example: *Matomo na kotó o yatte itá n de wa, zin'in o kákuho 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 *gakúmon* is not exactly a verbal noun, unlike *seikatu* in the following sentence, cited with disapproval by SA 2658.39a: *Wareware ga seikatu o dekíru yóo 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 *gá* over twice as often as with *ó*. (KKK 25 found no instance of *N o wakáru*.)

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 *óói* 'is/has much' (= *óoku áru* = *takusan áru*)—as in *Zensoku wa tinoo(¯) no takái zidoo ni óói* 'Asthma is common to children of high intelligence'—and *sukunái* 'is/has little' (= *?sukúnáku áru* = *sukósi áru*); these two adjectives are also peculiar in shunning non-defining adnominalization to their immediate subjects (*sukunái kane* → *sukósi no kane* 'a little money', *óói kodomo* → *óoku/takusan 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 (§13.11). 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-mánzoku* and its shortened version *human* 'dissatisfied; dissatisfying' would appear sometimes to be used with possessive grammar—*S nó ga watasi ní wa human dáta* 'I was dissatisfied that S' (SA 2680.118b); yet *Dáre ga N ni human désu ka* 'Who is dissatisfied with N?' is more usual than *Dáre 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 (*Dáre 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

Dáre ni [tótte] N ga human désu ka 'For whom is N dissatisfying?'

Dáre ga N [no tamé] 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 ní 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 túite wa hurete inái 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): *Oyá mo náku, kyóodai 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: *Daigákú-sei mo iréba roonin tyuu mo áru* 'There are [among those answering the ad] both

12. A double grammar is also shown by *Káre ga zyoosiki ni kakete iru* 'He is lacking in common sense' (dative of cause?) and *Káre ni zyoosiki ga kakete iru* 'He lacks common sense' (= *Káre ga zyoosiki o kaite iru*); since (?)*Káre ga zyoosiki ga kakete iru* is apparently not used, I am uncertain whether *Káre 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 *nó* 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 *nó* o *syooti* [*surú* 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: *Sikási, omowánu tokoró ni otosí-ana ga áru monó de aru* '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): N_1 ga N_2 ga V-i-tai ' N_1 wants to V the N_2 '. The second *gá*-marked phrase represents an underlying semantic object which can optionally be marked by *ó* as it is in the underlying verbal sentence (N_2 o V): N_1 ga N_2 o V-i-tai ' N_1 wants to V the N_2 '. Sentences that exemplify this: *Watasi ga mizu ga/o nomi-tái (kotó ...)* '(The fact that) I want to drink water'; *Watasi ga miti ga/o aruki-tái (kotó ...)* '(The fact that) I want to walk the road'; *Watasi ga sensei ga/o home-tái (kotó ...)* '(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 umá ni noru* 'I will ride the horse' → *Watasi ga umá 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 *sukí* 'like(d)'¹³ and *kirai* 'dislike(d)' and their derivatives *dái-sukí* 'much like(d)' and *dái-kirai* 'much dislike(d)'—deriving from the infinitives of the verbs *súku* 'likes' and *kirau* 'dislikes', together with the adjectival noun *iyá* '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 N_1 ga N_2 ga *sukí* da (etc.) ' N_1 likes (etc.) N_2 '.¹⁴ I have encountered

13. Also *hiiki* 'being popular': A ga/wa B ga *hiiki* da 'B is popular with A'. *Hiiki* is a precopular noun and also an intransitive verbal noun 'patronizing, favoring'. Notice that *kóobutu* (-) 'favorite (food/drink)' and *dai-kóobutu* 'special favorite' are nouns; in *Néko wa gyóruí ga dai-kóobutu da* 'Cats are especially fond of fish' (Kotoba no yurai 137), the underlying relationship between *néko* and *dai-kóobutu* is a kind of genitive: *Gyóruí ga néko no dai-kóobutu da* is a paraphrase.

14. To be sure, N_1 is commonly thematized and subdued (N_1 wa N_2 ga AN da); we are speaking of the basic grammar, as found with localized interrogation (*Dáre ga dáre ga sukí* 'Who likes whom?' and—usually—under adnominalization: N_1 ga/no N_2 ga/no *sukí* na *kotó*. Cf.: *Atasya [=Watasi wa] sukí datta n da*. *Anó-hito ga sukí datta n da* 'I was pleased. I liked him', or: '[He] appealed to me. [I] found him appealing' (Kb 100b).

difficulty in eliciting good examples of *N o kirai/iyá da* despite the widespread use of *N o 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 *súkí* 'like'. But that suggestion is to be rejected in view of the following example of *N o sukí ni náru*, where *súkí* can surely be taken only as an adjectival noun (under the mutative conversion of §9.1.11): *Ítu-no-má-ní-ka Mása ya o kore-hodo sukí ni nátte ita kotó ...* 'that before she knew it she had become this fond of Masaya ...' (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 sansei sareté mo, watasi wa Tokúgawa san o kirai zya náí 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 ...' (Tanigawa 25); ... *Kikunaka sensei ga Seitároo o kirai da ...* 'Maestro Kikunaka dislikes Seitarō' (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*] *kimoti ga yói/warúi* '[*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 *kimoti/ki* 'feeling'.

The adjective *hosii* 'wants (to have)' is the surface realization, in colloquial speech, of an underlying (**ari-tái*), and so it is usually given the possessive grammar of *áru*: *N₁ ni/ga N₂ ga áru* '*N₁ has (got) N₂*' → *N₁ ni/ga N₂ ga hosii* '*N₁ wants (to have) N₂*'. But some speakers will perhaps feel uneasy with *N₁ ni N₂ ga hosii*. And others will accept *N₁ ga N₂ o hosii* (though I believe no one would countenance **N₁ ni N₂ o hosii*): *Sore kara, utukusii onna-gata o dásu yóo 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 alternant realization of the same content as *N o moti-tái* '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 (*N₁ ni/ga N₂ o/ga wakáru* '*N₁ understands N₂*') and chooses to retain the less-common marking of the possessed object, *N₂ o wakáru* instead of *N₂ 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 sukí da* that dates from Meiji days, and (159) he says you sometimes hear such things as *Ano ii-kata GA sukán* (= *Ano ii-kata O sukánai*) '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 *Ano otokó wa musi ga sukánai* 'I dislike him'.

16. *Kyóowa kaisya ni iku 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 omóu 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 *omóu* 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 cathectic sentences in general (see below, pp. 200-1).

Sore o wakari-tái 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 gá 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 gá-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 sukí/dái-sukí but 17 of N ga sukí/dái-sukí and 2 of N ^(l)no sukí; although there was not a single example of N ó + adjective (or adjectival noun), there were 28 examples of N gá as cathectic 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 osoréru) or 'The dog fears the child' (= Inú ga kodomo o osoréru), though the first gá-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 subdued: N₁ wa N₂ ga kowái.) According to Inoue 42 the following adjectives behave in the same way: kawái 'is lovable, finds it lovable', kemui or kemutai 'is smothering/awkward, finds it awkward', turai 'is trying, finds it trying', muzukasii(¯) 'is difficult, finds it difficult', yasasii 'is easy, finds it easy' (cf. the grammar of facilitatives, §9.1.8).¹⁹ The adjectival nouns zyoozú 'skillful', with its synonym takumi(¯), and hetá 'clumsy' also belong here, as do the synonymous adjectives, umái and mazúí: Dáre ga náni ga zyoozú desu ka 'Who is good at what?' (but never *... ni for either adjunct). The adjectival noun tánnoo 'proficient' enjoys competing grammars: hito ga gogaku ga tánnoo da 'people are proficient at language learning' exemplifies the quasi-desiderative grammar, and hito 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 óokatta '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 hoo kara ítu mo yasasii kotobá o kárete kurerú no ga Mítuko

19. KKK 25.123 lists (together with hosii, kowái, iyá, kirai, dái-kirai, kí-ni-iru) the following as taking an "objective gá": kosisii, omosirói, nikúí, nozomasii, hazukasii, osorosii; kawai sóo, 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 "gá-marking of object" covers a variety of disparate phenomena; cf. §2.2.

ni wa uresii 'Most importantly it delighted Mitsuko that Teruo always addressed her with gentle words' (SA 2640.107c). The underlying grammar is Mítuko ni/ga ... kurerú no ga uresii but "ni/ga" here is not possessive grammar; it represents ni {tótte} / ga.

In parts of Shikoku the grammar of sukí, kirai, zyoozú, kowái (etc. ?) is N₁ ga N₂ ni ... (Dáre ga náni ni kowái 'Who fears what?'), apparently using a dative of confrontation, N ni {tái-site}, for the underlying object. Cf. Doi 268, confirmed for me by an informant from Kōchi 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 -gáru- (see §7.2). Kowa-gáru, for example, is a synonym of osoréru 'fears'; iya-gáru is a synonym of kirau 'dislikes'; and hosii will verbalize to hosi-gáru 'desires'. But there is no *kira-gáru or *suki-gáru, perhaps because we already have the verbs kirau 'dislikes' and súku = konómu 'likes' or kóu (= koi-súru) 'loves'. Bear in mind that -gáru- is also used to derive intransitive verbals, with the meaning 'displays an emotion or attitude', so that not every A-gáru or AN-gáru can be assumed to behave like kowa-gáru and iya-gáru.

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 tó, but in some instances this may be replaced optionally by the dative ní, with or without a difference in nuance. We must accordingly set up two classes of reciprocal-valence predicates:

(1) tó

VI kawaru 'differs (from)' (≠ 'changes into' ≠ 'substitutes for' both of which take N ní); tatakau 'fights (with)', arasóu 'struggles (with)'; kisóu 'competes (with)'; V-i-au 'does reciprocally (with)' (§9.1.10) as in home-au 'praise each other (one another)'; ... ; ái irenai 'is incompatible (with)'.

VNI kekonsuru 'marries, gets married (to)', rikon(¯) suru 'divorces, gets divorced (from)', siai suru 'has a match/game (with)', kakutoo suru 'scuffles with', kenka suru 'quarrels (with)', kyoosoo suru 'races; competes (with)', ryooritu suru 'coexists, is compatible (with)', heikoo suru 'runs parallel (with)', muzyun suru 'is inconsistent (with), contradictory (to)', doosei suru 'cohabits, lives (with)', doositu suru 'rooms (with)', sessyoo suru 'negotiates (with)',

Also: (sore) to zéngo site 'at about the same time as (that)'; Umá to hasiri-kko sitári site 'ta 'On occasion he even raced with horses' (Tk 3.79b);

VT? ... ; VT-i-au 'does reciprocally (with)' (§9.1.10)—but only certain ones, e.g. hanasi-au 'speak it back and forth'.

VNT taisyoo suru 'contrasts it (with)', kanren suru 'associates it (in one's mind with)', giron suru 'debates it (with)', ron-zíru/-zúru(¯) 'debates it (with)', káiri(¯) suru 'dissociates it (from)',

A sitasii 'is intimate (with)',

AN gyaku dá 'is the reverse (of)', sinmitu dá 'is intimate (with)', isitu-teki dá 'is extraneous (foreign) to', ...

PcN sasimukai dá 'is vis-a-vis, is face to face (with)', betu dá 'is separate (from), dooyoo dá 'is the same (as)', doo-íken da 'is of the same opinion (as)', dóozi(¯) dá 'is the same time

as', doositu dá 'is the same quality (as), is homogeneous (with)', onáidosi da 'is the same age (as)'; kyootuu dá 'is in common (with)'; byoodoo dá 'is equal (to)'—as in Íma wa, túma mo otto to byoodoo no tatibá 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 náru 'gets in cahoots (with), conspires (with)'; tyánpon ni 'mixing/alternating/together with'—as in yoosyu to tyánpon ni Nihon-syu o nóndari sita tokí 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 dá 'is friends (with)'; kói-náka(¯) dá 'is amorously involved (with)'; húuhu da 'is man-and-wife (with) = is a spouse of, is married to'; (N to) táisa ga áru/nái 'differs much/little (from N)'; (N to) úri hutatú da 'is exactly alike (with N)'; hito to KANKEI ga áru 'has connections/relations with people'; hito to AISÓ[O] ga íi 'is congenial with people'; hito no NÁKA ga íi, hito to íi NÁKA da 'is on good terms with a person' (hito to HÚ-NÁKA da 'is on bad terms'); ... ²⁰

(2) *tó/ní*

V / *á* 'meets, sees'; *niru* 'resembles' (cf. *niá* 'befits' with *N ní* only); *tukiá* 'associates (with)'; *hure-á* 'comes in contact (with)'; ? *V-i-tigaeru* 'does mistakenly (mistaking it for)' (§9.1.10); ...

VNI *menkai suru* 'has an interview (with)'; *sooguu suru* 'encounters'; *sessyoku suru* 'comes in contact (with)'; *syoototu suru* 'collides/clashes (with)'; *itti suru* 'is in agreement (with)'; ...

VT *kuraberu* 'compares it (with)'; *niseru* 'likens it (to), imitates'; *tatoéru* 'illustrates it (with)'; *hikiawaséru* 'brings it together (with)'; ? *matigaéru* 'mistakes it (with)'; *musubu* 'ties it (with/to)'; ...

VNT *hikaku suru* 'compares it (with)'; *syookai suru* 'introduces one (to)'; ...

A *hitosíi* 'is equal (to/with), is equivalent (to)', ...

AN ? ...

PcN *sokkúri da* 'is identical (with)'; *suresure dá* 'is very close (to)'; *dookan dá* 'is in agreement (with)'; *hantai dá* 'is opposite (to/from)', ...

N ?

The predicate *onazi dá* 'is the same (as)' is spoken with the grammar of Type 1, *N* to *onazi*, but you will find it written with the grammar of Type 2, *N* to/*ní* *onazi*; the synonym *N* to *hitótu da* 'is one with *N* = is the same as *N*' seems to be always Type 1. The intransitive verbs *tigau* and *koto-náru* '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 ablative classes that can optionally replace *kará* by *tó* and/or *ní*; see § 3.6.

There is no reciprocal in ... to *obósiki/obosíi N* 'N that appears to be ...'—as in *Sinátorá to obósiki eiga-háiyuu ga ...* 'a movie actor that would appear to be [a fictionalized] Sinatra' (SA 2679.118d), since *tó* is the subjective essive (or quotative); see § 21.1.

20. Also, perhaps *zyosei to ÉN no hukái kotobá* 'a word that has close associations with women'; or does *én* belong with *tó/ní*, as perhaps indicated by the example *Yappári sumoo ni én ga átta ná, kéiko 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 *áu*) 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 *hidói mé ni átta* '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 NI hanásu* 'speaks TO a person' and *hito TO hanásu* 'speaks WITH a person', taking the latter as a pure reciprocal and not as a special case of *hito tó¹[issyyo/tómo(¯) ni] hanásu* '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 *issyyo* or *tómo(¯)* 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 *áu* '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 atamá ga B no atamá to butukatta* 'A's head collided with B's head', both heads were moving; but if you say *A no atamá ga B no atamá ni butukatta* 'A's head collided with B's head', only A's head was in motion. And that is why *A no atamá ga kabe ni butukatta* 'A's head collided with the wall' is grammatical but neither **A no atamá ga kabe to butukatta* 'A's head and the wall collided' nor **Kabe ga A no atamá to/ni 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, yóku zó kono onná 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 relexicalized nucleus (§3.8a), the morpheme *-kon* representing the verbal noun *kekkon*; cf. *Káno-zyo to kekkon site yókatta ...* 'I thought it good that I had married that woman [and that she had married me]' (ibid.).

The marker *tó* under discussion can represent at least three different underlying structures: (1) the RECIPROCAL, as in *Tároo ga Hánako to kekkon sita* 'Taro married Hanako'; (2) the COMITATIVE, as in *Tároo to [issyyo ni] Hánako ga kíta* 'With Taro came Hanako'; (3) CONJOINED NOUNS, as in *Tároo to Hánako ga [betubetu ni] kíta* 'Taro and Hanako 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 (*Tároo ga kíta + Hánako ga kíta*) for reasons appropriate at a deeper level. Expressions such as *N to hutarí/san-nín 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 *issyyo ni* and *tómo(¯) ni* is that the latter is normally limited to animates (typically humans), but *issyyo ni* can also be used of inanimate objects: *Hón to zassi o issyo ni (*tómo ni) tutúnde kudasái* 'Please wrap the book and the magazine

21. Or in temporary authority: ... *tébebi-ya san ni soodan nasátte 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 *issy* but not for *tómo*(⁻), which is always adverbialized.

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-énpitu to issyo ni iró-gami o tótta* 'I took colored paper together with crayons'. In such sentences, *issy* ni is functioning as a synonym of *dóozi*(⁻) ni 'at the same time (as)' and the underlying structure can be thought of as something like this: *Iro-énpitu [o tóru no] to dóozi*(⁻) ni *iró-gami o tótta* 'I took colored paper at the same time with [taking] crayons'.

The word *tomódomo*(⁻) {ni} is a synonym of *tómo*(⁻) ni '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*(⁻) [ni] *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} *dooyoo*/*doozen* 'like N' as in these examples: *Káre-ra [to] dooyoo [ni]*, ... 'Like them, ...' (SA 2657.120a); *Kodomo nánte monó wa, ángai*(⁻), *otona [to] dooyoo no kokoro-zúkai o suru món da kara* 'Children are apt to be surprisingly like adults in consideration' (Tk 3.37a); *Íssái no ningen-kánkei o tátu zyohatu-níngen [to] dooyoo no káre da ga*, ... 'He is like an evaporated man suppressing everything human, and ...' (SA 2685.112b—epithematic identification, § 3.10a); ... *wakamonó*(⁻) [to] *doozen no kenkoo de* ... 'with health like that of a young man' (Ariyoshi 299). On the optional omission of the marker in N [to/ni] *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 náka de wa, syokuba DÉ TO wa tigatta katati ní mo sé yo*, *onazi taboo-sa, kakuitu-sa, sosite zyudoo-sei ga ári wa sinái 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 yo, káno-zyo ni íi wa sinái 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 yo, káno-zyo to soodan sí wa sinái 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 *ó*-marked direct object in such a sentence: *Sore Ó TO wa tigatta katati ní mo sé yo, kore o naósi wa sinái 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: **Atamá GA TO wa tigatta katati ní mo se yo, kubi ga ítáku wa náí 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*^[1] *anáta to de nákyá [= de/zya nákereba]*, *móo kekkon sinái 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 $t\acute{o}$ $n\acute{o}$ N; usually either the epitheme (the second N) is a noun derived from a verb infinitive, as in *inhure $t\acute{o}$ no aras\acute{o}i(-)* 'the struggle with inflation' (SA 2681.38b), or it is a verbal noun: *ensyutu-ka $t\acute{o}$ no kyooryoku* 'cooperation with the [drama] producer'; *kok\acute{u}gai to no renraku* 'contact with the world beyond the border' (SA 2677.153ab); *hito $t\acute{o}$ no taioo d\acute{e}su ga n\acute{e}* 'it's a matter of coping with people' (SA 2672.64a); *zyosei $t\acute{o}$ no sessyoo* 'negotiating with a woman' (Tk 2.103b); *k\acute{e}nryoku to no t\acute{a}izi made* 'to the point of a conflict with authority' (SA 2677.152e—cf. *k\acute{e}nryoku to t\acute{a}izi 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\acute{u} ni Amerika $t\acute{o}$ no kokkoo ga kaihuku sita \acute{a}to, ...* 'After diplomatic relations with America were resumed in June, ...' (SA 2680.20a) is to be explained by some such underlying sentence as *Amerika $t\acute{o}$ kokkoo [o musund\acute{a}] 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 $n\acute{i}$ represents a dative valence, not every N $t\acute{o}$ 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 $t\acute{o}$ = $t\acute{o}$ [$t\acute{o}mo(-)$ /issyo ni] '(together) with' represent nothing more than that—the generalized "comitative". In much the same manner the marker *kar\acute{a}* '(starting) from' can be used with a great many predicates as peripheral information—a generalized ablative, as in *booi-hur\acute{e}ndo kara denwa ga kak\acute{a}ru (= kak\acute{a}tte k\acute{u}ru)* 'gets a phone call from her boy friend'. But some verbs call for *kar\acute{a}* in a special way, notably those expressing SEPARATION or DEPRIVATION: (*s\acute{e}nro kara*) *hazureru* 'slips off (the rail)'—cf. *kis\acute{o}ku ni hazureru* 'deviates from the rule'; (*m\acute{a}do kara garasu o*) *hazusu* 'removes (glass from the window)'; *musuko o koibito kara toozak\acute{e}ru* 'keeps one's son away from his sweetheart'; *nus\acute{u}mu* 'steals', *ub\acute{a}u* 'seizes', *d\acute{a}su* 'takes out (from)', *d\acute{e}ru* 'emerges'; *kieru* 'disappears (from)', *hyoo kara namae o kesu* 'removes a name from a list', *kyuu ni kaisya kara s\acute{u}gata o kesu* 'suddenly disappears from the office' (KKK 25.75a); *kau* 'buys (from)', *\acute{e}ru* 'gets', *t\acute{o}ru* 'takes', Perhaps *k\acute{u}ru* 'comes' and *arawar\acute{e}ru* 'appears' belong here (cf. KKK 23.126). (For some other uses of *kar\acute{a}* 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 *kar\acute{a}* or by some other particle; the following types of option have been found:

(1) *kar\acute{a}/n\acute{i}*^{21a}

VT *kariru* 'borrows', *kiku* 'hears (from)', *azuk\acute{a}ru* 'receives (in trust)', *morau* 'receives', *uk\acute{e}ru* 'receives', *nar\acute{a}u* 'learns', *osowaru* 'learns',

VNT *haisyaku suru* 'borrows', ? *koonyuu suru* 'purchases',

VI (< *VP*) *homerar\acute{e}ru* 'is praised (by)', *okorar\acute{e}ru* 'is subject to anger (from)', incurs the wrath (of)', *iwareru* 'gets told (by)', *kawai-garar\acute{e}ru* 'gets loved (by)', etc.—but most passives will take only N $n\acute{i}$ to mark the source of the action (see §4.2).

VNI *ty\acute{u}ui sareru* 'is noticed (by)', ? *r\acute{i}kon(-)* *sareru* 'gets divorced (from)',

A ?

21a. The $n\acute{i}$ option is usually limited to animates: 'borrows it from the bank/company' is *ginkoo/kaisya kara kariru*; 'borrows it from the library' is *tosyo-kan de kariru*.

(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',²² ...; also the semi-literary náru 'consists of/in' with the literary synonym yóri for kará, as in Kekkyoku^[1] hukóo wa human yóri náru 'After all unhappiness consists in discontent'.

VNI seiritu suru 'is formed',

A ?

(3) *kará/ó*

VQI déru 'leaves',²³ tátu 'departs' or 'stands up from'; oríru 'descends from, gets off'; ugóku 'moves (budges) from'; géngí kara/o hanárete 'departing from the original meaning';

VNQI syuppatu suru 'departs',²⁴ ...

(4) *kará/ní/tó*

VI wakaréru 'parts', hagaréru 'strays apart (from)',

VNI sayonára suru 'says good-bye', sibetu suru 'is separated by death',

VT ?

VNT ?

A ?

(5) *kará/tó*

VI hanaréru 'is separated (from)',

VNI ?

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 *okuru* '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/kíta* '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 Itō' you have a choice of adjunct order if you use *kará* to mark the ablative: *Kamakurá(¯) kara Itoe e/máde tátu* or

22. Since *náru* can be treated aspectually as either durative or durative-stative (like *tigau* §3.12), often *náru*, *nátte iru*, and *nátta* have the same meaning, especially when adnominalized: *go-kákoku kara náru iin-kai* 'a committee made up of five nations' can be said with *nátte iru* or with *nátta*. But *dekiru* is punctual so that *ki kara dekiru monó* 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 dékita* (or *dékite iru*) *monó*.

23. *Déru* 'appears' has a different grammar (*génkan ni/e déta* 'appeared at the entryway'); notice that you cannot omit the gerund when the two different kinds of *déru* are conjoined: *hikaé-situ o déte bútai ni déta* 'left the green room and appeared on the stage'.

24. In standard Japanese *sotugyoo suru* 'graduates (from)' always takes a direct object marked by *ó*. In Hawaii you will also hear *daigaku kara sotugyoo suru*; perhaps this is influenced by the English dialect variation, with and without 'from'.

Ito *e/máde* Kamakurá(¯) kara tátu. But if you use *ó* to mark the ablative, it will sound awkward unless that adjunct follows the allative: Ito *e/máde* Kamakurá(¯) *o* tátu.

The adjectives *tooi* 'is far' and *tikái* 'is near' take a valence that is best treated as ablative though it permits marking by either *kará* or *ní* (but not, in the standard language, by *é* so that the valence is not allative); for *tooi* the use of *kará* 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/tó* for both adjectives.)

In place of the allative marker *é* the particle *máde* can be used to add a sememe of end-point 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 míreba 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. *ippai dá* 'is full (of)'; *ahúrete 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*: *nayámu* 'is afflicted (with)', *kúroo 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: *kane de komáru* means 'is embarrassed BY (having) the money', *kane ni komáru* '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 esive *ní* + *-té* = *níte* > *n[i]té* > *[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 *Máe e susume* and not *Máe 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 **gó-zi ni no kisyoo* 'the rising at five o'clock' you will say *gó-zi ni kisyoo sita kotó* 'the matter of rising at five o'clock' or the like. In dative

and allative uses, *ní* can be replaced by *é*; but in locative uses (of time and place alike) *é* will not be found.²⁵

The *nó* of *N é no N* is the adnominalized form of the copula *dá*, here serving as propredication for the verb that initiated the allative valence: *Oosaka é no dénsya(⁀)* 'the train to Ōsaka' is equivalent to *Oosaka e iku dénsya(⁀)* 'the train that goes to Ōsaka'. But not all such phrases are readily explained in that way. Consider the following examples: ... *sékái e no madóguti* 'a window to the world' (SA 2671.64e); ... *sore é no taisaku to site* 'as a measure aimed at that' (SA 2685.25c); ... *nooryoku-káihatu e no gutái-saku* 'concrete measures for (= aiming at) the development of ability' (SA 2664.22d); ... *gaikai é no kansin* 'interest in the external world'; ... *yánusi(⁀) e no dankoo [= dantai-kóosyoo] o yatte iru* 'we engage in collective bargaining with the landlords' (SA 2669.40b); *Iki-nokoru kotó e no kanoosei o dekíru kágiri motóme*, ... 'Seeking as much as we can the possibility that looks to survival ...' (SA 2664.32d); ... *kono byooín é no siharai ga ...* 'the payments to this hospital' (SA 2681.112b); ... *yóozi e no omoiyari* 'consideration for the toddler' (SA 2662.71); *Kantoku é no áisatu de aru* 'It is a greeting to the [wrestling] coach' (SA 2678.139b); *Gunzin é no sirei wa dáre ga dásu?* 'The orders to the troops are issued by whom?' (SA 2677.151d); ... *seisin-syoogáisyá e no íryoo(⁀)* 'medical treatment for the mentally disturbed' (SA 2670.33c); *Maru-de oozákénomi(⁀) é no sekkyoo no yóo [da]* 'It's just like preaching to a drunkard' (SA 2678.16b); ... *masui no kówa-sa e no keikoku* 'a warning against the dangers of anesthesia' (SA 2666.115c); *Kodomo-san ga iroiro na kotó o iimásu né, otona é no keikoku, tyúumon(⁀), mónku na n desu* 'The child will say all sorts of things, you know—warnings, requests, complaints (all) directed at the adult' (SA 2677.54c); ... *bakánsu e no kitai ga ...* 'the expectation of looking forward to the vacation' (SA 2635.107b); ... *kaihoó é no dóryoku(⁀)* 'efforts toward liberation' (SA 2672.136b); ... *Índ'ian e no yokuatu to gyakusatu* 'The suppression and massacre of the Indians' (SA 2673.114c); ... *tisikí-zin e no dan'atu* 'oppression of [aimed at] intellectuals' (SA 2684.147ab); *Watasi no Tyuugokú-kan e no gokai o tadásu* 'To correct the misunderstanding of my views on China' (SA 2688.133a—heading of letter); "*Sengo*" *minsyu-syúgi e no situboo ga, Amerika no minsyu-syúgi e no utagai ni tyokketu sarerú no ga, ímaya wá-ga kuni no huutyoo de áru* 'Right now it is the trend in Japan for the disillusionment with "postwar" democracy to be linked with doubts about American democracy' (SA 2679.104c); ... *uwayaku é no kigane ga átte ...* 'there is a feeling of constraint toward one's superiors and ...' (SA 2677.62c); ... *senséi e no on-gáesi no tamé ni rainiti sita* 'came to Japan for the purpose of showing gratitude toward his teacher' (SA 2680.44a); ... *ningen é no ái* 'love toward human beings' (SA 2672.119c); ... *kyooryuu é no nétui to aizyoo* 'zeal for and devotion to interchange (between people)' (SA 2676.40b); ... *zenhúzin e no ikári(⁀) wa ...* '(his) anger at his ex-wife' (SA 2668.122a); *Mata, mósi kore ga zitugen suréba, gakusei-úndoo e no eikyoo mo aróo* 'Moreover, if this is realized, it will probably have an effect, too, on the student movement' (SA 2673.43d). For some of these examples a specific verb might be adduced in place of *nó*, but it is far from clear that such was the intention of the writers. In expressions like *asú e no kágaku* 'science looking toward tomorrow', the postposition *é* seems to carry all the meaning itself. In certain examples we can assume an allative valence with a verb that has been lexically

25. Though the static locative does not adnominalize, the dynamic (dé-marked) locatives will do so: *Sukii-zyoo dé no ziko ...* 'accidents (happening) at ski resorts' (SA 2673.111c).

nominalized: Tate-sósiki kara yoko-sósiki e no ugókí ... 'The move from vertical to horizontal organization' is derived from N kara N e ugóku 'moves from N to N'. A somewhat more complicated history must be found to explain this example: Dóozi(⁻) ni, kono sutó wa TAI-hóndo E no gensoo o tati-kitta 'At the same time this strike [in Okinawa] cut down the illusions directed toward [help from] the home islands' (SA 2664.17c)—some-how to be derived from hóndo e tai-súru gensoo 'illusions directed toward the home islands'.

There are also examples of adnominalized ABLATIVES with similar problems: ... Toodai kará no zykén-sya mo ... 'examinees from Tōkyō University' (SA 2688.18c)—is nó substituting for dēta or kíta?; ... Nihón kákuti [or: Nihon-kákuti] kara no atumáři de áru 'It is a gathering from all parts of Japan' (SA 2678.139c)—by lexical nominalization from N kara atumáru 'they gather from N'. In oyá kara no kó-zukai 'spending money from one's father' and sóto kara no ényzo 'aid from outside' the missing verbal element would appear to be moratta 'received'. An example of an adnominalized INSTRUMENTAL in valence with a verbal noun báibai 'transaction': Tóku ni, syooko ga nokoránu denwa DÉ no báibai wa kinmotu [de áru] 'Especially taboo is the transaction by a telephone call that leaves no evidence' (SA 2670.29).

The particles kará and máde differ from the other case markers in that they can be followed by the subject marker gá and the object marker ó:²⁶ Kore kará ga páiku ni ii zikan da 'From now on is a good time of day for [catching] pike' (SA 2672.97a); Kore kará ga hónron de aru 'This is where the (main) argument starts'; Sore kará ga taisetú da 'The important part is from there on'; Setumei to sité nara kore de zyuubún de aru ga, zitú wa sore kará ga omosirói 'As an example this much will suffice but actually it is from there on that it is interesting'; ... kore kará ga sían no si-dókoró [da] 'what happens next is the thing to be thought about' (SA 2663.117a); Kore kará o yóku kiite kudasái 'Listen carefully from this point on'; Zyuuní-zi made ga géndo desu 'The limit is up to 12 o'clock'; Zyuuní-zi made o géndo ni site imásu 'They've set the limit at up to 12 o'clock'.

In such examples there is no valence-linked predicate. When kará and máde are used to mark one and the same adjunct, máde is the focus particle 'even' (= máde mo): Anó-hito made kara (or: kara made) o-rei o itadaku tó wa omowánakatta 'I didn't think I'd receive a present from him, too'. The same would appear to be true when máde and the reciprocal tó are used together: Kimi no hatu-koi no aité to made (or: made to [?]) tukiátte iru n zya náí daroo ná 'He's not going so far as to associate with the object of your first love, surely?' And, for that matter, when ó máde occurs, too: Tánin o made (or: made o [??—cf. earlier remarks]) hazukasiméru kotó wa náí 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: Rokugatú kara kúgatu made ga natú na n desu keredo

26. Yet (as a result of ellipsis) the allative é will also permit subject-object markings, as shown by these examples of é ga/o: Hwinrándo e wa ikerú ga Mósukuwa(⁻) é ga mondai da 'I can get to Finland, but the problem is (getting on) to Moscow'; Hwinrándo e wa ikerú ga Mósukwa(⁻) é o kentoo site miyóo 'I can get to Finland, and I'll investigate (the possibilities to go on) to Moscow'. Rejected are *gá/ó e. On the occasional ellipsis of the allative marker under subdued thematization N [é] wa, see § 2.2a.

mo ... 'It is summer (= Summer lasts) from June to September, but ...' (SA 2689.126c); Kita-Bétonamu kara zyuusangoo-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, móttó-mo izimerareru 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 né, are kara Matuzaka-ya no hoo e kákete ga Owari-tyoo 'You know where San'ai [Building] is now, from there extending toward Matsuzakaya [Department Store] is Owari-chō' (SA 2821.56b).

In such span-delimiting phrases, the allative is usually marked by *máde*, but occasionally *é* will be found: *natú 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 o*, probably to be treated as ellipsis *N kara N [máde] o*, unless it is a syntactic blend: ... *ootóbai o hasiri-mawasite sutázio(⁀) kara sutázio(⁀) o hasiri-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 háru [made] ga páat'ii no síizun de, ...* 'In Europe and America the party season is from autumn through winter into spring, ...' (Tsukagoshi 174); ... *gó-hun kara sánzíp-pun [made] no okure ga déte óri, ...* '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 ⁀ígo Taisyoo ⁀zídai made [no] yáku sanzuyu-nénkan* 'about thirty years from the middle of the Meiji period up to the Taishō 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 (*kará*) and allative (*é*, *ní*, or *máde*); (2) the temporal ablative (*kará* or *⁀irai* or *⁀igo*) and allative (*máde* or *ni/e kákete* or *ni itáru(⁀) máde*); (3) the set-delimiter ablative (*kará*) 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 (*kará* = *⁀irai* §2.4) is distinctive in that it can be applied to time adverbs—as in *sendatté kara* or *sendatté ⁀irai* 'since the other day' and *kánete kara* 'for some time past'—and to certain adverbializations (*sité kara* or *site irai* 'after/since doing'), as well as to time nouns (*kinoo kara* or *kinoo ⁀irai* '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 ⁀irai* ...), 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 ablative 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'; *hati-zi kara hazimaru* 'it starts at eight o'clock'; *yu-u-gata kara* 'toward evening' (cf. BJ 2.45) as in *Koko de atamá o arattári, sinbun o nagámetari, búra-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 máde no nyuuzyóo-sya wa* ... 'attendance up to last year' (SA 2681.105b); *kúgatu kara no syuunyuu* 'income since September'.

It is possible to conjoin a temporal ablative with a temporal allative (in that order, *T kara T máde* 'the period from T to T') and then mark it for various cases, including the time locative with *ní*: ... *Syóowa(¯) 39:nen kara Syóowa(¯) 44:nen made NI kakáreta tanpen* 'short stories written in the period from 1964 to 1969' (SA 2687.108c). The meaning 'by four o'clock' for *yó-zi made ni* is extended from 'at some time during the period up to four o'clock'. *Kore máde ni* usually translates as 'up to the present' or 'up to this time'. On *máde ni* ≠ *máde de* ≠ *máde*, see pp. 489–90. *N máde ni* can also represent the mutative *ní* 'so that it is' (§9.1.11) applied to *N máde*, as in the following example with the mutative verb *herasu* 'reduces it (to being)': *Syóorai 1850:zi wa naru-béku(¯) 881:zi made NI herasoo to iu kangae-káta ga átta wáke 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' (Ōno 1967.166).

The conjoined time phrases can be adnominalized (*T kara T máde no N*) and that is also true when ... *ni/e kákete* substitutes for ... *máde*: *1962:nen kara 66:nen ni kákete no gonén-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: *Yooti-en kara syoogákkoo ni kákete* ... 'From kindergarten through primary school ...' (SA 2672.149c).

Ellipsis of *máde* is possible in expressions such as *Kinóo kara asitá [made] no aida* 'the interval between yesterday and tomorrow'. This is also true when *N kara N máde* would seem to be the set-opener ablative and the set-closer allative conjoined, as in *yottú[¯mé] kara yattú ¯mé [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 ¯gót(¯) yon-syúukan kara zis-syúukan ¯mé ¯gurai no aida désu* 'That is between the fourth and the tenth week after conception' (SA 2689.122a), in which it is unclear whether *¯gurai* is to be taken with the conjoined phrase ... *zis-syúukan ¯mé [made] ¯gurai* or only with the terminus *zis-syúukan ¯mé ¯gurai [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 [máde] nó^[1] N* in which the last *N* is not *aida*: ... *siti-nin kara zyúu-nin no kookóo-sei ni naguráreta* '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 *kará*; the first *kará* is abstract ('from the standpoint of' = *kara míte*), the second substitutes for the passive agent marker *ní*, and the third (despite the translation) marks the start of a series: "Nenrei KARÁ wa soozoo dekinai kansei saretate tekuníkkú, óngaku ni tai-súru hukái rikái-ryoku" to hihyooka-súzi KARA zessan saretate kono risáitaru KARA, tyoodo itínen 'mé [de aru] 'It has been just one year SINCE this recital won such high praise FROM the critics for "perfected technique impossible to imagine FOR his age" and "deep understanding of music" ' (SA 2679.119b).

The locational and the temporal ablatives can be used to delimit a relational noun, as in these examples: *Kore kara saki, dóo yatte kurasite ikimásu ka* 'From now on, how will I get by?' (Terase 33); ... *kosi kara ue sika míete 'nái n da kedo mo, ...* 'you can only see from the waist up, but ...' (Tk 2.54a); *Tikámatu kara tugí no Saíkaku ni utúreba ...* 'If we turn to Saikoku, who is next after Chikamatsu, ...' (or, perhaps, 'If we turn from Chikamatsu to Saikaku, who is next, ...'); *Ano kawá kara higasí(¯) ga tonari-mura désu* 'From that river east is the next village' (Terase 33).

3.7a. 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 *máde* and TIME *kara* TIME *máde*; 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: *Ití kara zyúu o kazoé yo* 'Count from one to ten' (Okutsu); ... *sénsya kara herikóputaa made tukatte, ...* 'using everything from tanks to helicopters' (SA 2648.134); ... *terebi-hwirumu kara pósutaa, ko-dóogu made o issai-gássai 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; *kará* marks the START of the set, *máde* marks its END. The items that delimit the set may or may not be included within the set; only context can tell you whether *ití kara rokú máde* 'from one to six' actually takes in 'one' and/or 'six', though more often than not it will be intended to include both. When *máde* or (especially ?) *ni kákete* refers to a time or a place, the meaning is often taken as 'extending into': *natú kara áki ni kákete* 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 Óoita(¯) ni kákete no tíiki* 'the territory from Kokura into Óoita' probably includes a bit of both Kokura and Óoita, though perhaps not all the territory of either. (In place of *ni kákete* you will also find *ni watatte* or *máde 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 *máde*₃ 'even', on the other hand, will

normally follow all case markers but *gá*; cf. Okutsu's examples *Hánoi made₂ o bakugeki sita* 'bombed every place including Hanoi' and *Hánoi 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 *ní made* and *máde ni* as optional variants both meaning 'even to'; perhaps we should reconsider whether the latter is not, in fact, *máde₂*—closing a set.)

In several other places (pp. 210, 211) we have found *máde* optionally omitted in delimiting a set, *N kara N [máde] ...*; here is another example: *Iti-nití ni ní-kyoku kara sán-kyoku [made o], sakkyoku sinákute wa nemutté wa ikenai to, zibun zísín de késín si, zikkoo site míta* '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 *máde*: our allative of time and (= *é*) of place—*máde₁*; our set-closer allative—*máde₂*; and our focus marker—*máde₃*. He argues (22) that there exist all logical combinations of these three kinds of *máde*, even though we never find such realizations as **N máde máde máde*, nor even **N máde máde*; where such expressions are expected, they will be reduced to a single *máde*, and that is one factor that makes it difficult on occasion to decide just which kind of *máde* 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 *máde* + the focus *máde* that, I believe, will be acceptable if we collapse the two *máde*'s into one: *Ákatyan kara 80'sai no roozín(¯) máde {máde} ga démo ni sánka(¯) 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 *kará₂* and *máde₂* will FOLLOW the case marker:²⁷ *Hokkáidoo e kara Okinawa é made (hóoboo e) ryokoo sita* 'I made all sorts of trips—from [going] to Hokkaidō to [going] to Okinawa'; *Káno-zyo wa Á-si to kara É-si to made (iroiro na otokó to) kekkon sita kanoo-sei dé wa nakaróo 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 conjoined, as in the following example from Okutsu, where *kitá(¯)* 'north' and *minami* 'south' are subdued genitives of scope: *Kitá(¯) wa Hokkáidoo kara minami wa Okinawa máde 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 kará₂* or *N máde₂* can be used alone, to delimit one of the terminal points of the set, the other remaining unexpressed or vague: *Kákari wa (zyukén-sei no uti) 51'ban kara o kono heyá ni ireta* 'The proctor put (the examinees) from No. 51 on into this room' (Okutsu); *Kono péezi made ga omosirókatta 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 tabesaseyóo* 'Let's feed the children first' (i.e. 'Let's let people eat, starting with the children'); *Dé wa || Nomura san kara [|] o-negai simásu* 'We will first hear from Mr Nomura (= we will first call on Mr N. to speak)' (R); *Asú no | bangumí kara | go-syookai itasimásita* 'This concludes the announcements of tomorrow morning's programs' (R); *Ákatyan 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 yátu kara korosita* 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 bíiru minná^[1] nónde mímasyóo*—*Kirin kará ni simasyóo 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 kará ni sitára dóo desyoo* 'How about deciding to start here?'.

Examples with the dative: *Sensei ni kara iimasyóo ka* 'Shall I begin [telling it] with [telling it] to the teacher?'; *Miná-san ni okurimono o agetái n desu ga, dónata ni kara agemasyóo 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 allative with the second allative marker absorbed into the set-closing *máde*: *Watasi wa sakunen Kyúusyuu e Hukúoka 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-allative sentence *Kyúusyuu e Hukúoka e itta* 'I went to Kyūshū—to Fukuoka (to be specific)' is avoided; but *Kyúusyuu wa Hukúoka 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 genitivation '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: *Hokkaidoo wa Sapporo kara (Kyúusyuu e Hukúoka made) itta* 'I went from Sapporo in Hokkaidō (to Kyūshū and ended up in Fukuoka)'. Logically it ought to be possible to say *Sapporo [kará] máde Kyúusyuu e Hukúoka made itta* 'I went

28. Following a number the set-opener *kará* means 'over, more than': *Garuvesutón-si o otózuréru hyakuman-nin kará no yuurán-kyaku ...* 'the more than a million tourists who visit Galveston ...' (KKK 25.75b). This can also be said with NUMBER *kará mo* (no ...).

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 [hazimete] 'starting from', ... máde [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 áttara zibun no hoo kara iku ... 'when there was some business to attend to THEY would decide when to do it' (SA 2642.44d); Watasi no hoo kara kiboo site ita yo 'I was the one who had his hopes up'.

We have mentioned that the nouns in N kara N máde 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-té kara (§9.2.3) 'after V-ing' and V-ru máde 'until V' or 'to the point where/when V': Ása ókite kara yoru neru máde yasumi náku hataraku 'I will work steadily from the time I get up in the morning till I go to bed at night' (Okutsu); Ása hatí-zi kara yoru neru máde ... 'From eight in the morning until I go to bed at night ...'; Ása ókite kara yoru hatí-zi máde ... 'From the time I get up in the morning until eight at night ...'; Kisyoo kara yoru hatí-zi máde ... 'From my arising until eight at night ...'; Kisyoo kara neru máde ... 'From my arising until I go to bed ...'; Neté kara kisyoo máde ... 'From when I go to bed until my arising ...'.

And, as we will see in §9.2.3, expressions with V-té kara as well as those with V-ru máde can serve as subjects and objects, just as can N kara and N máde. Any combination of these is possible: Kodomó-táti ga neté kara ga watasi no ziyúu na zikan de áru 'My free time is after the children have gone to bed' (Okutsu); Watasi no ziyúu na zikan de áru kodomó-táti ga neté kara o dokusyo de sugosu 'The time after the children have gone to bed, which is my free time, I spend reading' (Okutsu); Yasumi náku hataraku ása ókite kara yoru neru máde o yoku míte kudasái '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 kará and máde can be modified by adnominalized sentences, i.e. serve as extruded epithemes of TIME DURATION. Like other expressions of duration, such as iti-zíkan (ṅúrai) '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 adverbialized. If, as suggested above, we assume that all ablatives and allatives imply an underlying verb—kara [hazimete] '[beginning] from' and máde [oyonde] '[extending] up to'—the appropriate form here would be a nominalization rather than the gerund (= adverbialization) given earlier: V-té kara [hazimeru kotó/tokí], V-ru máde [oyobu kotó/tokí].

As Okutsu points out, the appropriate way to state the duration of an event is by direct adverbialization: Natu-yásumi no aida ronbun o káita 'I wrote my thesis through the summer', Zyuuití-zi máde asonde ite kudasái 'Enjoy yourself (= Stay) until eleven o'clock'. And if you want to mark a point in the duration, you use the expected temporal locative ní: Natu-yásumi no aida NI ronbun o káita 'I wrote my thesis (at a time) during the summer', Zyuuití-zi máde NI kíte kudasái '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-káidoo o doráibu sita gó-zi kara rokú-zi máde iti-zíkan wa tote-mo tanosíkatta* 'The hour from five to six that I drove (along) the Kōshū 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 bunméi-zin kara Hottentóto no hitó ni itáru(¯) máde, sake o nómu desyoo* 'From the man of highest culture right down to the Hottentot (all people) drink wine, you see' (Tk 4.38b); *Watakusi 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 kará o dóo kiri-nukeyóo ka* 'How will we make it through the dreadful period from now on?'; *Kákari ga kono heyá ni ireta 51'ban kara wa móo(¯) toan o dásita* 'Those from No. 51 on that the proctor put in this room have already handed in their papers'; *Tote-mo nágakatta sikén ga owaru máde o hurikáeru to ...* '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 *hodó*. 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 *ní*: *Zangyaku na máde na syazitu-syúgi no séisin* 'A spirit of such realism that it is actually brutal'; *Zangyaku na máde {ni} syazitu-teki na é* 'A picture that is so realistic as to be brutal'; *Sini-taku náru máde ni kurusii syuugyoo* '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-hodo*) 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

'stops', *taizai suru* 'stays', *nokóru* 'remains', etc., and also is obligatorily present with such adjectivals as *óói* 'much/many', *sukunái* 'little/few', *mezurasii* '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 *N o 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 iru*, §9.2.4.(1): (1) the RESULTATIVE, which expresses a resultant state as in *kumótte iru* 'is cloudy', *suwatte iru* 'is seated', *tátte iru* 'is standing, is upright', *sinde iru* 'is dead', *kíte iru₁* 'is (come) here', ... *nátte iru* 'is become', *tukárete iru* 'is tired', ... etc. (2) the REPETITIVE, which expresses regular activity as in *utte iru₂* 'they sell it' (*misé ni utte iru* 'they sell it at the shop' or, if *ní* is taken as dative, 'they sell it to the shop'); *arúite iru₂* 'they walk regularly', *hataraitte iru₂* 'they work', *tukútte iru₂* 'they make them', For the resultative and the repetitive, *N ní* 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 *arúite iru₃* 'they are walking', *utte iru₃* 'they are selling it', *hataraitte iru₃* 'they are working', ... etc. (But verbs like **sinde iru₃* '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 iru* and *sitte iru* 'knows' for the RESULTATIVE; *hiraméite iru* 'is flashing' would be usual only as REPETITIVE, yet *hiraméite iru aida* 'while flashing' could be interpreted as CONTINUATIVE (the problem is *aida*). *Tuzuite iru* 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 iru*.)

We can say that the stasis sememe is present in all occurrences of the verb *iru* 'stays, is' in simplex sentences, but we will have to exclude it from *V-te iru* 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(̄)/sikén 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(̄)/sikén ...* → *dóko no koogí(̄)/sikén*, 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 saikin Hokkáidoo de átta* [= *okótta*]

verb: *kono yó(̄) ni ikíru* 'lives in this world'; *mizuúmi ni ukabu* 'floats in a lake'; ... *Taihéi-yoo no seitan ni íti suru* 'is located at the western end of the Pacific Ocean' (SA 2685.16); ... *sékái no suizyun ni gó-site iku ...* 'ranking at world levels' (SA 2651.28c); *atí-kóti ni tamuro-suru* 'encamps here and there, rendezvous at various places';

32. Here is a repetitive *V-te iru* that will not permit *ní*: *Máiniti(̄) senzyoo DE (*senzyoo NI) takusán no heitai ga sinde iru* 'Every day many soldiers die on the battlefield'. Here is a resultative *V-te iru* that will not permit *ní*: *Waikiki DE hárete iru* 'Skies are clear in Waikiki'.

kotó desu 'It is something that happened quite recently in Hokkaidō' (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 dé or ní is acceptable if the agent is unexpressed, but if the agent is mentioned he will be marked by ní and the locative must be dé. 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 ní and dé are in complementary distribution, provided we allow the stasis sememe to be part of the environment; but the choice of ní or dé is often the only indication that stasis is present. Thus in the sentence (from MJW) Róndon ni wa íma de mo yamataka o kabúttá otokó^[1] no hitó ga arúite iru sóo desu 'I hear there are still men walking around with bowlers on in London' the use of ní to mark the locative tells us that arúite iru must be either resultative (and in this sentence that would not make sense) or repetitive, since the continuative is excluded. In ... táda béddo de nete iru daké de aru '(I) do nothing but just lie in bed' (SA 2645.47b)—the dé 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 ní; 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 Dónata ga o-taku no zyóotyán desu ka 'Which child is your daughter?' the reply may be Asoko ni asonde irú no ga uti no Hánako desu 'The one who is over there playing is my daughter Hanako' but in answer to a question like Hánako-tyan wa íma náni o site iru 'What is Hanako doing now?' what you will hear is Soto de asonde irú no 'She's playing outside'. And if someone wonders Gakusei wa dóko ni irú n desyoo née; móttö takusán^[1] déru hazu désita no ni ... 'I wonder where the students are; more were supposed to show up ...' the information may be offered Tosyó-kan no máe ni oozé^[1] atumátte itá wa 'There were a lot of them gathered in front of the library' (this can be treated as resultative—and the ní could be taken as mutative-locative) and Sunakkú-baa ni mo gakusei ga takusán^[1] nónde itá 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: Iké^[1] no omoté ni bóoto ga hasítte iru 'There is a boat racing along on the surface of the lake'—Matí de wa zidóosya(¯) ga sirói kemuri o dásite hasítte iru 'The cars are racing along in town emitting white smoke'; Asoko no séeru ni mo takusán no hitó ga katte ita 'There were many people shopping at the sale there, too'—Sátóo san desitara, asoko de tabako o katte imásu yó 'If it's Mr. Sato you want, he is buying cigarettes over there'; Rozyoo ni itagákoí no aida kara san-nín ga nozoite ita 'There were three men on the street peering through the cracks in the wooden enclosure'—Gakkoo de kodomó-táti ga kyoositu no náka o nozoite ita 'At school the children were peering into the classroom'.

In these cases of unusual ní-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 (|) aná o | hótte iru no ga Tároo 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 | sinbun o yónde irú⁽¹⁾ no ga || Tároo 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 (|) sinbun

o yónde irú) no ga || ... Apparently these locatives can never appear after the subject (*Taroo ga | asoko ni | sinbun o yónde iru). Because of that I would hesitate to attribute the marking to ellipsis (something like *Asoko ni [ite/iru] Taroo* 'Taroo, being there, ...'); instead I would prefer to assume a blend of two disparate sentences, something like *Tároo ga asoko ni iru* and *Tároo ga [asoko de] sinbun o yónde iru*. Cf. the discussion in Alfonso 211–3.

Both particles, of course, have other uses, and these can provide further contrasts: *Amerika ní wa damé da* 'It is no good for America' has an indirect object, a dative of reference (= *ní [tótte]*), but *Amerika dé 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 nára/wa damé da*). *Yamá ni | náru* means 'It becomes a mountain' with the essive infinitive but *Yamá ni || náru* means 'It [stands there and] bears fruit on the mountain' = 'It's on the mountain, bearing fruit' with the locative; cf. (?) *Yamá de { | } náru* 'It does its fruitbearing on the mountain'. With the verbs *saku* 'blooms' and *náru* '(fruit) is borne' the marker is usually *ní* 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 *ní* will often substitute for *ní-te = dé*, and a similar substitution will sometimes turn up in colloquial contexts, especially with somewhat bookish verbs: *Tookyoo no sitamati NI sodátta tyósyá wa ...* 'The author, who was reared in downtown Tōkyō, ...' (SA 2659.113e—*dé* would be more colloquial); Certain anomalous sentences that contain *ní* with adjectives can be regarded as elliptical. In the sentence *Asoko wa nánboku ni/e [...] hoso-nagái tikei da* 'That region has a long and narrow shape from north to south' some verbal gerund is probably omitted (*watatte? yokotawátte?*); the substitutability of *é* shows that *ní* 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 *ní* of manner?).

Unexplained is the following anomaly: *máe ni* 'before' refers to order (= *saki ni*), time, or static space, and *máe 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 ní* to be the MARKED locative category (called for by the presence of stasis in the sentence), the temporal *N ní* '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 *kará* 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 *ní*, which is called for by some particular predicate; and a general or residual locative, marked by *dé*, 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 dé {wa} dóko ni súnde ita* 'Where were you living in America?' It ought to be possible to obtain by ellipsis something like *Amerika de [] súnde ita ka* 'Were you living [somewhere] in America?'

In addition, there is the mutative-locative which contracts the combination of static-locative *ní* + the mutative use of the copula-infinitive (or essive) *ní* into a single *ní*: *teeburu no ué ni oku* 'puts it [so that it is] on the table', *tehukí-kake ni te-hukí o káke ...* 'hanging the towel on the towel rack' (Fn 386a); *dénsya(˚) ni noru* 'boards the train'; etc. (Cf. *tikáku oku* 'puts it near', *tákaku ageru* 'lifts it high', etc.) On this, see §9.1.11.

Certain verbs, such as *tátu* 'stands' (not 'departs') and *suwaru* '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 *Soko ni tátte/suwatte irú no wa húben desyoo—attí e tátte/suwatte kudasái* 'It must be uncomfortable for you to be standing/sitting there—move over there and stand/sit'. I have found a similar example with *neru* 'lies down, sleeps': *Hámako san. Kón'ya wa, koko e nete* 'Hamako, tonight sleep over here (beside me)' (Fn 268b). It may be possible to find examples with *súmu* (perhaps *inaka e súmu* 'moves to the country to live?') and even with *iru* 'stays'. One way we might account for such sentences would be to assume the ellipsis of a verb of movement, something like *koko e [kíte [koko de]] nete* 'come here and sleep [here]', *attí e [itte [attí de]] tátte* 'go over there and stand [there]'. Some sort of syntactic blend may be responsible for *Betonamu e kaku-héiki o tukang nádo to iu kotó ...* 'The using of nuclear weapons in Vietnam, say, ...' (Tanigawa 27).

An occasional substitution of *é* for *ní* 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 *é* and *ní* and may well be rejected as substandard: *itiban ii hóteru e tomatte, ...* 'I stayed at the best hotel' (SA 2689.124d) would be better reworded as *hóteru ni tomatte—* nor is this example to be treated as ellipsis (... *e [itte soko ni] tomatte* or the like). A similar example: *Sono ban mo soko e tomatte* 'I stayed there that night, too' (Tk 121a).

The verbs *kau* 'buys' and *kariru* 'borrows' are peculiar in that the object is located with *ní* provided it is immovable (*Yokohama ni toti o katta/karita* 'I bought/leased land in Yokohama') but with *dé* if it is movable (*Yokohama de kuruma o katta/karita* 'I bought/rented a car in Yokohama'). The sentence *Ano misé de koko ni tokei o kaoo* 'Let's buy a clock at that store for this place' can be regarded as containing an ellipsis *koko ni [oku] tokei* 'a clock to put here' or an expression of purpose or dative of benefit *koko [no tamé] ni* 'for the sake of this place'. The expression *mótte iru* 'possesses' locates its object (the possessed) with *ní* (*Yokohama ni ié o mótte iru* 'I have a house in Yokohama') as, of course, is true of *áru*: *Dáre ni/ga Yokohama ni ié ga áru ka* '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 *ní*, as if preserving the underlying marking of 'it is in that place'.^{32a} You will say *Pokétto no náka ni monó o míta* '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 sitá ni mituketa* 'I found the pencil under

32a. Also, forgetting to move an object from its location: *uti ni zibíki o wasurete kíta* 'I left my dictionary at home'. But when the object has been moved to some forgotten place, the allative (*é/ni*) is appropriate: *Dóko e tebúkuro o wasurete kíta daroo* 'Where have I left my gloves?' (Kenkyusha).

the table' got under the table to look for it; if you say *Yokohama ni ié 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 yamá ga miéru* 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 yamá ga miéru*. In *Anáta o yumé ni míta* '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*: ... *óyazi(-) ga Tibá-ken e toti o katte, soko e yat-t^[i] sokai sitá 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 *ní* (*toti o kau*), not *dé*, for reasons explained above.

Throughout Tottori and in northern Tajima (according to Tōjō 1954.64) the ablative marker *kará* is used to mark the dynamic locative in place of the standard *dé: hára kara* [= *de*] *asobu* 'plays in a field', *gakkoo kara* [= *de*] *undóo-kai ga áru* 'there is a sports meet happening at school'. This is reminiscent of the Korean use of {*ey*} *se* for both ablative 'from' and residual locative 'at'.

3.8a. CASE VALENCES WITH RELEXICALIZED 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. *Nengá-zyoo(-) no okurí-nusi wa ...* 'The sender of New Year's cards' (SA 2685.112b) contains an objectival genitive that derives from an underlying sentence *Nengá-zyoo(-) o okuru* '(He) sends New Year's cards'; its converse *nengá-zyoo(-) no uketóri-nin(-)* 'the recipient of New Year's cards' contains an objectival genitive that derives from *Nengá-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": *zidóo-sya(-) no hoyúu-sya* 'a car owner' derives from *Zidóo-sya(-) o hoyuu suru* '(He) owns a car' and ... *surudói ryóosin no motí-nusi datta* 'was the possessor of a sharp conscience' (SA 2684.120d) derives from *Surudói ryóosin o mótu* '(He) possesses a sharp conscience'.

But sometimes the object is incorporated into the epitheme: *Káno-zyo wa san-nín no ko-moti dá ga, ...* 'She is the mother of three ...' (SA 2684.116c) derives from *Káno-zyo ga san-nín no ko o mótu* 'She has three children', and *Tóozi no siti-hatizyúuen no gekkyúu-tori ga sumáu yóo na utí(-) 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 [*Káre ga*] *siti-hatizyúuen no gekkyuu o tóru* '[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: ... *kanzoo no motteyuki-básyo ga náí* ‘has no place to take his feelings’ (KKK 3.170) (*Basyo e*) *kanzoo o motte yuku* ‘(He) will take his feelings (to a place)’; ... *sekai-héiwa no izi-kíkan* ‘an organ to maintain world peace’ (KKK 3.170). *Sekai-Héiwa o ízi suru* ‘(It) will maintain world peace’ or ‘(By it they) will maintain world peace’; ... *gakkoo no kyuuusái-saku* ‘a plan to save the schools’ (KKK 3.170) ← *Gakkoo o kyuuusai 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 *nó*, 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 proredication, as set forth on p. 654. For example, *háha kara no tegami* ‘a letter from my mother’ can be explained as standing for the more explicit expression *háha kara moratta tegami* ‘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 *én* ‘relationship, tie’—as in ... *kore de hito wa kámi to én o kitta wáke de aru* ‘... for with this [= with Jesus] man cut his ties with God’ (SA 2672.128a)—can be explained in terms of the predicate *én o musubu* ‘forms a connection (with)’, perhaps by ellipsis: *kámi to [musunda] én* ‘the tie [joined] with God’. The particular verb that might predicate certain nouns is obscure: in the phrase *Tái to no kokkyoo ni tikáku*, ... ‘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 tó wa kurabe-mono ni naránai* ‘does not stand comparison with N’, for example, is clearly derived from *N to kuraberu* ‘compares it with N’: ... *éiga(⁻) tó wa kurabe-mono ni naránai kúrai hínsoo desita* ‘it was too meager to stand comparison with the film’ (SA 2664.37); ... *hoka no gakki tó wa kurabe-mono ni naránai hodo^[1]* ... ‘to an extent that does not bear comparison with other musical instruments’ (SA 2673.115c); ... *génzai to wa kurabe-mono ni naránai no monó datta yóo⁽¹⁾ 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 túku* ‘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 *Káre to nendai ga tigau* ‘differs with/from him in generation’ underlies the subject in the sentence ... *káre to nendai no tigai ga arimásu 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 monó ni teikoo o kan-ziru* ‘I feel a resistance toward things called “castles”’ (SA 2673.156) has a dative of confrontation that derives from *monó ni teikoo suru* ‘resists things’. And sometimes the verbal noun is incorporated in a larger lexical compound: *Musuko to soodan-zukú(⁻) de* ... *byooin ni háitta* ‘entered the hospital by mutual agreement with his son’ (SA 2670.32c) gets its dative valence from *musuko to^[1] soodan suru* ‘consults with the son’ and *tooyoo-sísóo e no annái-syó(⁻)* ‘a guidebook to oriental thought’ perhaps derives its allative valence from *N é^[1] annái suru* ‘guides one to N’ (but see the remarks on *N é^[1] N* in §3.7).

Sometimes an adverb will be left dangling when a verbal noun fails to appear as a predicate: *Syokúgyoo ˉgara kaigai-ryókoo no óói Maedá-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 *syokúgyoo ˉgara ryokoo suru* 'travels by the nature of one's business'. In the phrase *yori seikóo-hoo(ˉ)* '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 *seikóo-hoo(ˉ)* as a whole.

The reciprocal valence of *renraku* 'contact' (*kyookai-kánbu tó^[r] renraku nási de* 'without contact with the Association staff') can be attributed to the fact that it is a verbal noun: *kyookai-kánbu tó^[r] 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 tó^[r] kankei suru* 'forms a connection/liaison with N' and *N ní^[r] 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-kánkei* 'unconnected, unrelated'; moreover, the subdued focus is in anticipation of the negative element, which has been incorporated as the prefix *mu-*: ... *íryoo(ˉ) tó wa mu-kánkei no siróoto ga óoku ...* 'there are many ... amateurs lacking any connection with medical treatment' (SA 2670.34c); *Dái yón-syoo de wa, sore máde no tyoozyoo-zinbutu to wa mattakú^[r] mu-kánkei no húuhu 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 kanrén-do no tuyói sihon-ka ga ...* 'The capitalists, whose degree of relationship with the military is strong ...'.

The *é* in the following two examples of *é nō^[r]* is substituting for *ní*, in valence with lexicalized nuclei: ... *seikai é no "akí"* 'a "weariness" with political circles' (SA 2663.116a); *Seizi é no mukansin-soo ga húete iru* 'The class of those unconcerned with politics is growing' (ibid.). The noun *akí* in the first example is derived from the infinitive *áki* 'wearying (of)'; in the second example, the noun *kansin* 'concern' is incorporated into the precopular noun *mu-kánsin* 'unconcerned', which in turn is incorporated into a compound noun with the suffix *-soo* 'stratum'. A similar example: *séizi e no kansin-do* 'the degree of interest in politics'.

In the phrase *Hakuzin tó no konketu-séinen ...* 'a mixed-blood youth who is part white (= a *hapa-haole* lad)' (SA 2666.100e), the reciprocal valence is with the noun *konketu* 'mixed blood' as seen in *Kokuzin tó no konketu no ootoótó 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 tó^[r] ketueki o kongoo suru* (or its de-Sinicized equivalent *N tó^[r] ti o mazeru*) 'mingles blood with N', and such associations must be accounted for, too. In the expression [*káno-zyo*] *tó 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 *én o musubu* as explained above). In the phrase *dai-tósi e no zinkoo-syúutyuu* 'the concentration of the population into large cities' (SA 2684.137c) the subject and the verbal noun have been joined as a compound noun after extrusion from *dai-tósi ni zinkoo ga syuutyuu suru* 'into large cities the population concentrates' with a mutative-locative *ni* that is replaced by *é* under adnominalization.

In the sentence *Kore tó wa taisyoo-teki ná no ga Nissan-zidóosya(-) 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 *Amerika ni hihan-teki na éiga(-) wa ...* 'Films critical of America ...' (SA 2668.104a) we must assume an independent dative, since the verbal noun *híhan(-)* is transitive; we cannot derive the structure directly from *Éiga(-) ga Amerika o híhan(-) suru* 'The film criticizes America'.

An unusual syntactic carryover under lexicalization will be seen in the sentence ... *zensokú-i ni wa nari-té ga sukunái* 'those becoming asthma specialists are few in number' (SA 2649.41). The derivation is [*té* = *hito*] *ga zensokú-i ni náru* '[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 *nári*, 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 *sukunái* '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): ... *aité ni site kure-te ga nákatta* 'there was no one who would be my partner'; *Moratte kure-te ga arimasén wa, ...* 'There's none who will marry me'. The genitive in *Tóozí wa Yooróppa wa Nihón no sensín-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 Nihón yori sensín suru* 'the nations get ahead of Japan'; it is possible to modify *sensín-koku* 'advanced nation' with an adverb of degree, as if it were a relational noun: *Nihón no zut-to* (or: *háruka ni*) *sensín-koku* 'a nation far in advance of Japan'.

In the sentence *Íma no Nihón de nara zitugen kanoo da* 'It could be put into effect in the Japan of today' (SA 2648.106a) the phrase marked by *nára* 'if it be' is quasi-thematized by setting up a condition with the provisionalization of the copula which is marking a pro-predication of the locative *Nihón de da* 'it's in Japan (that ...)'; we could take the locative as going with *kanoo dá* 'it is possible' or with *zitugen* [*suru kotó 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: *ikkoo sore NI o-kamai náku, ...* 'quite irrespective of that ...' (K 1966.111) is clearly to be traced to *Sore ni kamáu* 'It bears on that'. The derived noun may be tucked into a larger compound: ... *otto wa F-mati to hookoo-tígai no réssya(-) 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* [*réssya(-) no*] *hookoo ga tigau* '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

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’, *kéredo mo* ‘however’, *sitagátte*($\bar{\tau}$) ‘accordingly’, etc.), and these can be regarded as a special kind of theme, the CONJUNCTIONAL THEME.³³ Interjections are best treated as minor sentence types interpolated within the sentence (*Kore mo máa ...*) or within the discourse at the beginning of a sentence (*Máa 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 rikai suru kotó ga | dekinai* ‘I can’t understand this’. On the other hand, in the following sentence the same object has been thematized: *Kore o || káre-ra wa | tootei rikai suru kotó ga | dekinai* ‘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-yué ni* ‘therefore’, *koo site* ‘thus’, *sitagátte*($\bar{\tau}$) ‘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 ...’; *Sosite náó, ...* ‘Then further ...’; *Sitagátte*($\bar{\tau}$) *máta*($\bar{\tau}$), ... ‘Consequently, again ...’. There may be interpolated interjections: *Kédo mo, máa, dóo-mo, ...* ‘But, well, somehow ...’; *Máa, zitú ni, dóo-mo, ...* ‘Well, indeed, somehow ...’. Or, a resultative or transitional theme may be followed by an extruded theme: *Yokuzitu, áme wa máda hütte 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 || dóo omoimasu [ka]*? ‘What do you think of Freud?’ (SA 2688.121e).

35. On the other hand I suspect that the suppression of juncture after an atonic 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 | tuuzinai to iu kotó wa || arimasén* ‘It isn’t true that the language is totally not understood’; *Kessite warúi | kotobá de wa | 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 atonic 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 subdued 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 subdued 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 subdued 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 kyóomí 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-nágara, koré-ra GA konpon-teki ní WA hitó-tuzuki de áru* ‘However, THESE are fundamentally a SINGLE continuum’; *Kore GA wá-ga kuni NI WA ní-sya sika náí* ‘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 máta-wa asobi de turi o suru syuukan GA kono kuni NÍ WA náí yóo de aru* ‘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 Tōkyō too”); the subdued adjunct (“some of it”) is probably not also thematized, though it represents the missing subject (“it”): *Tookyoo é mo sukósi wa kíte imásu ga, daitai Kyúusyuu de sabakimásu* ‘Some of it comes to Tōkyō too, but most of it we sell in Kyūshū’ (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: Hokkáidoo wa móo yukí ga hútta 'Hokkaidō 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 li áme ga | hútte iru ka sira 'I wonder if Tōkyō is having rain, too' (cf. Tookyoo dé mo li áme ga | hútte iru ka sira 'I wonder if in Tōkyō it's raining, too', Tookyoo dé mo li áme ga hútte iru ka sira 'I wonder if it's raining in Tōkyō, too'); Kaizyoo wa li tasyoo namí ga | 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 Kyookai [é] wa yóku itta wá '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 ní in various uses are taken from KKK 23.223: Kono ohusarumogúrahu [ni] wa li áto de | moo iti-dó^[1] kuwásiku | huremásu 'This ophthalmograph we will take up in detail again later'; Dé li mázu li sono kiraremasita | monó [ni] wa li o-sío o | itasímásu 'Now first, that which has been chopped up, we salt it'; Ée li katáppoo [ní] wa li íma no—(oo)³⁶—li táda no li watá o | iremásita | yó 'Mmh, on one side we stuffed it with regular cotton'; Kao no siwa o ki ni suru to dooyoo, li así^[1] no siwa [ní] mo li zyuubún | go-tyúui kudasaimáse⁽¹⁾ '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 EX-TRUDED 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 rheme there is at least one thematization of time ('in the mornings'), and probably two ('in the evenings'): Kono kuruma de ása, kodomo o gakkoo e okuri, yóru, manekárete páat'ii ni mo dekakeru '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 Watasi wa li sibáruku wa li akké ni | torárete ita 'I was taken aback for a moment' (lg 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 móo 'already', íma 'now', kyóo '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: Kotosi wa mata, ... 'This year again ...' (SA 2680.114e); Nihón wa | génzai, li gitaa-búumu to | iwarete iru 'Japan at present is said to be having a guitar boom' (SA 2679.119c); Yo-nín no | syoonén-táti wa li íma, li Kanazawá-si no | syoonen-kanbetuzyo de | kasai 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: Dá kara, hizyoo ni are wa husigi na món desita ná 'So indeed that was a strange thing, I see' (Tk 3.23b).

kudaru hí o | sízuka ni | mátte 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 *gá*-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⁽⁻⁾ dandān yowátte 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 kyóo mo kakuzitu 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, nánni mo sinái no ni án-tyan ga nagútta '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 nagútta lacks an expressed object.) And here is a subdued theme that represents a convergence of several different cases: Inosísi wa kawá o háide, kí o tuki-tóosi, takibi no ué de gúru-guru mawasite yaitá no de aru '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 (inosísi no kawá 'the boar's hide'), allative (inosísi ni/e kí o tuki-tóosu 'pokes a stick through the boar'), and two cases of direct object (inosísi o mawasu 'rotates the boar', and inosísi 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 *Watasi wa unagi dá* 'I'm the [one who ordered the] eel'—are to be explained in other ways, probably as ellipsis of embedded material *Watasi 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; dé (wa/mo); ná no nara/dattara
⁽⁻⁾ni/⁽⁻⁾to náru: náreba, náru to, náttara; nátte (wa/mo); náru no nara/dattara

38. But perhaps this traffic sign is an example: *Ihoo-tyúusya wa rékkaa de idoo simásu* '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 Nagásaki ga hazimete na no desu ga*, ... 'It was the first time for us to be in Nagasaki ...' (Endō 271); *Tatami no heyá wa || kimoti 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 *Mikami*, in *Kuno*, and elsewhere. Often a predicate is understood but not expressed: *Kaizyoo wa [] urá* no tizu o go-ran kudasái 'For the meeting place, see the map on the other side' (Kokugo-bumpō no mondai-ten 99) implies an omission of something like [doko ka to iu to] '[if you ask where it is (I will ask you to do me the favor of looking on the other side)]'.

^[e] ni / ^[o] tō	suru:	sureba, suru to, sitara; site (wa/mo); suru no nara/dattara
^[e] tō	kuru:	kureba, kuru to, kitara; kite (wa/mo); kuru no nara/dattara
^[e] ni	itaru(-):	itareba, itaru(-) to, itattara; itatte (wa/mo); itaru no nara/dattara
^[e] ni	kagir-u:	kagireba, kagiru to, kagittara; kagitte (wa/mo); ...
^[e] ni	tuite	ieba, iu to, ittara; iu no nara/dattara; itte (wa/mo)—as in N to itte mo iroiro no N ga aru 'But there are various kinds of N'
^[e] tō	iu:	

—AND OTHER QUOTATIONS: S tté = S to iú no wa, S te[e] to = S to iu to, etc. (Note also: N no baai o iéba, N no kotó wa, ...).³⁹

On the use of these as substitute theme-markers, see Mikami 1963.119; similar are N ni tótte [wa], N ni tuite [wa], N ni tái-site [wa], and other phrasal postpositions (§9.7). An example of N ni tái-site thematized: Konna gakutyoozimu-toriatukai no íken ni tái-site, yonén-sei no zyosi-gákusei ga hitotu-hitótu 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 (katákána 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 katákána to iéba mottó-mo yasasii mózi to omóu ga ... 'We think of katakana as the easiest script but ...' (Ōno 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 (... tó iéba 'when it comes to ...') and the second with a subdued and thematized dative of reference (... ní wa 'on'): Íma no katyoo-kúrasu WA keizái-gaku TO IÉBA Marukusu-keizáigaku de, Kéinzu ɾryuu no kindai-keizáigaku ni wa, itátte(-) 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 -té wa (in one use)—contains a nigoried 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 nigoried form ba is used as optional emphatic extension of the so-called "conditional" form -tára ba and in literary

39. Examples of thematizational tté: Róoma tte, hurúi monó o taiseu ni suru mati desu né 'Rome, you see, is a city that prizes old things' (SA 2685.122d); Sonna kotó tte aru ka sira 'I wonder if such things happen' (Fn 165a). Among other devices for thematization, Morishige (183-4) suggests N no yátu [wa] as in Tanaka no yátu [wa] '(that guy) Tanaka', but in the example it is unclear how yátu (= monó) thematizes as such. An example without wá: Konaida Keiméi-sen no tokí ni, wáihu no yátu mákura o dásite yoko ni nátte ráziol(-) kiite 'yagáru n desu 'At the time of the Keiō-Meiji game recently, my wife put out a pillow, lay down, and listened to the radio' (Tk 2.49a). Note too the use of nánte (§2.9) to mark a theme, often with some negative or pejorative conclusion: Kotobá nánte móo yakú ni tatánai '(Mere) WORDS are of no use any more' (SA 2672.155). We also find themes introduced by tō iu (or té or tté) monó/yátu [wa]: Bisukétto tee yátu wa ... 'Biscuits ...' (Tk 4.195a); Zyóotyō tte monó wa, hitótu mo arimasén né 'There isn't the least bit of feeling to it' (Tk 2.270a). There is also nánte[e] monó/yátu [wa]: Zígoro nántee yátu wa minakatta? '(In Paris) you didn't see any gigolos or the like?' (Tk 2.193a). Cf. Y 443 where thematic N tté is taken as meaning N tō iu hitó/monó/tokoró/kotó/(etc.) wa.

Japanese of the object particle *o* *ba*. For these reasons, among others, there is a widespread feeling that the *wá*-marked theme is in some way a distilled CONDITION: 'if it be a matter of speaking of ...' or the like. Since *N dé wa* and *N dá tó*^[1] can often be used for *N nára* 'if/when it be N', the quasi-theme of a sentence like *Íma no Nihón de nara zitugen kanoo dá* 'It could be put into effect in the Japan of today' (SA 2648.106a) might be rephrased ... *Nihón de dé wa* or ... *Nihón de dá* to 'if it be in Japan' as well as ... *Nihón 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 *ni*) in order to set up conditions and these can be used to mark quasi-themes, as we see with *baai* 'situation' and *toki* '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: *Tatóeba K [Kée] kun no baai, Á [Ée] bútyoo(˘) 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—I 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 nára tó-mo-kaku* where we expect *N wa tó-mo-kaku* [to site] 'Be N as it may': *Méekaa nara tó-mo-kaku, ...* 'To say nothing of the maker(s) ...' (SA 2671.107d); ... *hooka nára 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): *Tanken-sítai WA || Sátoo hakase ga | KORE o sikí sita* 'The exploration [detachment =] party, Dr Satō directed it'; *Gakúmon no | ziyúu WA || KORE o hosyoo suru* 'Academic freedom, we will defend this'; *Áyako-san no kao WA || máda | SONNA KAO o site irú ka i* 'Ayako's expression, is she still putting on such an expression?'; *Íma no | Nihón ni || ii [i] yátu no | dénai no MO || SONO túmi no | hanbún wa || zassi-kísya no | túmi desu | 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-budóosyū no | koppu to || uisúkii no | koppu tó WA || hutatabi | bu-áiso na | wéetaa no | té de || kohaku-iro no ekítai ga | SONO náka ni | mitasáreta* '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 kusetú-ritu WA || hikarí ga | nání kara | nyuusya sité kita ka de || SONO [ne →] atai ga [i] tigatte kúru* '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 kámara (WA) || KORE o niman-en de uru* 'This camera—I will sell it for ¥20 000'; *Kono kámara (WA) || KORE ni niman-en haráu* 'This camera—I will pay ¥20 000 for it'; *Zóo (WA) || KORE wa hana ga nagái* 'The elephant, it has a long trunk'; *Yóku 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 *wá*): *Nihón no daigaku no kenkyúu-sya GA, SONO wakái tokí ni Amerika de osiete míru kotó WA ||*

Nihón no tamé ni mo Amerika no tamé ni mo, hónnin no gakúmon sikoo no mén ni mo, kit-tó^[1] púrasu(¯) ni náru monó ga takusan^[2] áru to omóu 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 kotó, a postadnominal.) The example Naiyoo wa to iu to, kore máta(¯), ... tó ka ... tó 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 [dóo da] to ... 'How (= what) is the content ...', followed by a reprise that is itself thematized and followed by a transitional theme máta(¯) 'again'.

More examples of subdued themes with anaphoric reprise (from KKK 3.187): ... múti ya ki-maguré(¯) ya waga-mámá ni motozúku genkoo WA, túyoku KORE O seigen sinákereba naránai de aróo 'Words and deeds based on ignorance and whim and willfulness ... these must be strongly restrained'; ... kono hyooyun-sen ni oyobazáru monó WA súbete KORE O hitei sú beki monó to kangáeru 'The ones which fail to reach this standard line, it is felt, ... these are all to be rejected'; ... máta(¯), kan'i-saibansyo-hánzi óyobi(¯) huku-kénzi WA, tómo(¯) ni KORE O zyogai sú beki monó to kangáeru '... furthermore, summary-court judges and assistant public prosecutors, both of these are treated as categories to be excepted'. The following is a nice example of a thematized object, with adnominalized reprise: Mózi O mázu SONO syúruí kara míru to, go-syúruí no mózi 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 wá and mó: Ízyoo moosi-ageta yóo ni, boin no muséi-ka(¯) WA ippan-teki na gensoku wa átte mo, SONO araware-káta wa samázama(¯) 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: ... tó, kono yóo ni nobemásita '... (end quote)—this is what they said'; ... tó, kayoo ni sin-zúru(¯)'... (end quote)—this I believe'; ... to iú ka, sore wa ...; ... tté 'ttára sá, sore kóso ... (Morishige 148). And the anaphoric reprise can be followed by enscooped or instanced quasi-appositions that would seem to refer back directly to the theme (cf. §3.11.3):

THEME wa/mo ANAPHORIC REPRISE sore ga/o ENSCOPED itíbu 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 TOKORÓ o syuusí-bu to iimásu '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 hóo ga N ga ... in which the hóo-ga phrase constitutes an adverbialization of CONDITION (Morishige 224,249): Bóku(¯) wa || béddo no | hóo ga || karada ga yasumáru 'Me, my body gets a better rest in

bed'; Kosyóo wa || saigo ni | hurikáketa hoo ga | kaori ga yói 'The pepper, it has a better aroma if you sprinkle it on last'; Yappári | tabemónó wa || míta mé⁽²⁾ mo | kirei na hoo ga | ii | né 'After all, when it comes to food it's easier on the eye [looking at it] if it's pretty'; Inaka no hoo ga | monó ga | yasúi 'In the country things are cheaper'; Yóru no hoo ga mawari mo sízuka de denwa ni zyama sarezu, nóoritu(¯) ga agaru 'At night the surroundings are quieter and I don't get bothered by telephone calls; my efficiency rises' (SA 2640.17d); Daigaku o yameta hoo ga | yóku | kuéru 'I can eat better if I quit [teaching at] the university' (SA 2671.27e); Nóoka no syuunyuu o bunseki suru to, noogai-syótoku no hoo ga nóoka sono-mónó no syuunyuu yóri nobi-ritu ga takái '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 *nó ga* is used to set up a condition ('if ...') much after the manner of S *hoo ga*: Mutuu toraberúmin no yoo na kusuri o húne ya kuruma ni noru máe ni nómu NO GA, kuruma-yoi no yoboo ní wa kóoka ga arimásu 'It is usually effective to prevent motion sickness IF you take a medicine like Travelmine (= 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: [Ryuukoo-go wa, sono ími o yóku ríkai(¯) suru hituyoo wa kanarazú-símo arimasén.] Múudo ga déreba SORE de zyuubún 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 subdued 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 Utí(¯) e káette, sore kara ... (or: sono áto ...) 'We returned home, and after that ...', and Yukí ga hútte 'ru si, sono ue ... 'It's snowing, and on top of that ...'; but the unhappiness may abate as we consider the function of thematization—to relate the sentence to the larger discourse (specifically, to the preceding sentences). Sore kara, sono áto, 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 condition⁴⁰ (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 *wá* 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 (... kítara sore kóso) included in a thematized CAUSE with anaphoric reprise (... dá kara sore o): ... kyuukyúu-sya nánka kítara sore kóso gakkoo no hu-méiyó ni náru n da kara sore o mázu dáí-iti ni kangáete 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[ó] 'fact' of gakkoo no hu-méiyó ni náru n da, with the cause unthematized as such.

40. Unless these examples of delayed subject provide a counterexample: Nooyaku ga hutayaku sita kí-no-mi O tori GA tabéreba, sono tori wa sinu. Kusá O nyuugyuu GA tabéreba, nooyaku ga mazitta tití ga déru '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 adverbialized quantity *íssái* ‘everything’: *Kasu tokí ni, zíko ga ókita tokí wa, íssái kasí-nusi(¯) ní wa méiwaku o kakénai de, zibun no sekinin de syóri suru muné no yakusoku o site okéba dai-zyóobu 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 *muné* ‘effect that’.

Thematization is often responsible for surface ambiguities. In the following sentence (KKK 3.212), for example, the first phrase (*hito mo aróo ni* ‘of all people’) can refer to either of the two personal references in the remainder of the sentence: *Hito mo aróo ni il ano ranboo-mono ni | táte o | tuku tó wa ll kimi mo | yoppodo dókyoo no | áru | otokó da | né* ‘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 ríkai(¯) dekíru zyootai ni site oku kotó [da]* we can take *Sore o* merely as the object of the verbal noun *ríkai(¯)* (‘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]’); *ríkai(¯) dekíru* represents an ellipsis of *ríkai(¯) [suru kotó ga] dekíru*. 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): *Zúibun kawarímásita né—Yokosuka mo né* ‘It’s changed a lot, you know, Yokosuka!’ Contrast the tightness of epithematization: *Zúibun kawatta Yokosuka ...* ‘Yokosuka which has changed a lot’ or—as epithematic identification (with ellipsis of final [dá], see p. 253) ‘Yokosuka has changed a lot’.

Observe the following two groups of sentences (cf. KKK 23.213–5):

SUBJECT UNTHEMATIZED

Tároo-san ga | iki-nasái

‘You go, Taro.’

Tároo-san mo | iki-nasái

‘You go too, Taro.’

Tároo-san wa | iki-nasái

‘You go, Taro (the others will stay).’

SUBJECT THEMATIZED

Tároo-san ga ll iki-nasái

‘You, Taro—go!’

Tároo-san mo ll iki-nasái

‘You, too, Taro—go!’

Tároo-san wa ll iki-nasái

‘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.

grammar (cf. pp. 38-9), and the ordering of subject marker AFTER focus markers (N mó {ga}, N máde 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-ánteí no hoo ga kyoo no antei yori zikkan o obite(¯) sonzai suru to iú no MO, kekkyokú WA, antei to hu-antei to no aida no soogo-kánkei ni okéru huantei-sei o kan-zit' 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 gá 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 híhi GA arúite 'r'a [= arúite iru wá]! 'Oh, over there there's a baboon walking!' (SA 2676.106c); ... tuki ni itta, tuki no ué O ningen GA arúita, banzái, ... '... (they've gone to =) they're on the moon, man walks on the moon, hurray, ...' (SA 2635.22d—arúita is a vivid use of the perfect, for the event is being observed by television); Kono hukín wa dóoro ga irikúnde iru tamé ni, ié no tikáku O zidoo-sya(¯) GA toorazu, taihen 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 yurúsite kurenái n desu 'My fans won't LET me retire' (SA 2662.103e); Sangó-syoo O kurosio GA arau 'The coral reefs are washed by the Black Current' (SA 2808.103); Kyuuzitu no hotóndo O káre WA zibun no yotto de sugósi, ... 'Most of the holidays he would spend on his yacht, and ...' (SA 2650.58b); Soo iu umái syóobai O, dóo site minná GA yaranái no ka to omoimásu yó 'I tell you, it's such a fine business I wonder why everyone isn't in it' (SA 2668.47a); Tokoró-de, kono yoo ni hássuru suru katyoo O búka WA dóo míte irú no daroo ka 'And section heads that hustle like this, how will their underlings look upon them?' (SA 2668.25b); Tokoró-ga

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".

itizyun site míru to simá wa sukkári “katazúite iru” to iu insyoo O watasi WA mótta ‘But upon going around I got the impression that the island [of Iwo Jima] had been completely “tidied up”’ (SA 2670.43b); To suru to, Beigun no Kanbozia-syútugeki O, kaihoo-sénsen WA súde ni yóki site, té o útte itá 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 máda nízis-sai no Hára Masáyosi GA tyuusin ni nátte káki, syutuen site irú no wa zissai ni kono háru made kookoo-éiken de éiga(ⁱ) o tukútte ita wakamonó-táti no gurúupu de aru ‘The director is Nagisa Ōshima 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); Nokótta íkutu ka no sisen ga, zibun ni sosogaréru no O Sáeki(ⁱ) WA sitte ita ‘Saeki knew that the remaining several eyes were staring at him’ (lg 1962.87); Ayao wa syuumai dá no yakibuta dá no O Ákira to Tómodo GA yorokónde tabéru no o nagusamáni(ⁱ) kao de míte ita ‘With disconsolate face Ayao watched Akira and Tomoko eagerly eat the Chinese ravioli and roast pork’ (lg 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 tooitu no motó(ⁱ) ni náru zyozi-si O, hazimete, Nihon-zín WA mótu yóo ni náta 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 ...’ (Ōno 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 hyoogén(ⁱ) no ziyúu o koosoku suru kénri O dáre MO motánai hazu de áru ‘Surely no one has the right to restrict people’s freedom of expression by limiting the written characters’ (Ōno 1966.237); “Kokin-syuu” no genkei O watási-táti WA míru kotó ga dekinái ‘The original form of the Kokin-shū is not available for us to look at’ (Ōno 1966.208)—is the subdued phrase the indirect subject of the potential (marking the possessor of the potentiality) rather than the direct subject of míru?; ... húdan wa iwanai yóo no [= na] kotó O óyazi(ⁱ) GA hossa-teki ni ii-dásu to ... ‘when things not ordinarily said start coming spasmodically from one’s father’s lips ...’ (Tk 3.37b); Soo iu yakumé O watasi GA onná to site yaru ... ‘For such a role to be performed by me as a woman ...’ (SA 2672.60b); Tokoró-ga, kore O syoogákkoo [no] rokú-nen ni náru musuko GA mane si-dásita ‘But this my sixth-grade son started imitating’ (SA 2681.103ab); Konó-ko ga umareru kotó O kázoku 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); Káigi^[1] no tyokúzen(ⁱ) ni nátte, sono Wanibuti san O, kooséi-syoo no Tákano Takeyosi syokuhin-eisei-ká-tyoo GA katyóo-situ ni yobi-dásita ‘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 onná^[1] no hitó ga tukau monó O otokó no hitó GA otokó^[1] no hassóo-hoo(ⁱ) 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 kyóohu(ⁱ) no hyooyóo O, watasi WA Betonamu dé mo míta kotó ga nákatta ‘Such fearful faces I had never seen even in Vietnam’ (SA 2678.40a); Nihón de wa sizen ga hóohu(ⁱ) 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); *Tosiyōri* no *inoti* O *soo'on* GA *tōri* ni *kūru zō* 'Old people's lives are being snatched by the noise, I tell you' (SA 2678.67a); *Nittoō wázuka yonhyakū-en*. Sono *yōn-wari* O SURA *byōoin* 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); *Dá ga*, *mondai wa soo kantan dé wa náí kotó* O 1930-*néndai* no *rekisi* WA *osiete 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 *kotó* contains a subdual of the nucleus *kantan de áru* [= *dá*] as well as a subdual of the subject *mondai* [ga]); *Gensoku tó ka katí-kan to ka*, *sisin nári mokuhyōo nári* O, *sekinin-sya* WA *simesányá* ^[1] *ikan to omóu n desu* 'Principles and values, directions and goals, must be shown by the responsible people, I think' (SA 2678.48b); *Náigai no híhan*(-) o *abi-tútu sékái ni kunrin suru* "Amerika-téikoku" no *taigai-kóodoo* O *Seioo tisikí-zin* WA *dóo míru 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 ní*: *Móttó-mo*, *isitu no húuzoku* NI *wakamonó*(-) GA *hikarerú no wa*, *sinri-teki ní mo seiri-teki ní mo toozen na kotó 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); *Inaká-mati no tetudōo-in* no *mízime na seikatu 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' (Ig 1962.70); *Konna kotó o kari ní mo kuti ni suru háha de nákatta kotó* NI *Kúniko* WA *odorokasáreta* 'Kuniko was surprised for it was not [like] mother to say such a thing even in jest' (Ig 1962.87); *Tookyoo* NI *Meizi-tennóo* WA *tyuuoo-séihu 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 ní*: *Masúnaga ni hanásu tokí to betu na hibikí ga áru yōo* NI *Masúnaga* WA *kan-zuru* 'Masunaga felt that it had a different tone from when he, Masunaga, was being spoken to' (Ig 1962.89); ... *guu-zen Ní mo Nihon-zin* WA *sono yōo na ten ni ki-ga-túku yōo ni nári*, ... 'quite by accident the Japanese came to pay attention to that sort of feature, and ...' (CK 985.295)—if *ki(-)ga(-)túku* is not taken as a unitary lexeme the expression *ten NI ki GA túku* will form an example for Group (2) above; *Sono kaitoo* NI, *Nihón no sararii-man* GA *nátta* 'The president [*sic*, *kaitoo* = *kaityoo*] 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-Ōsen ni mo, íku-do ka kíta kioku* GA *káre* NI *áru* 'He has memories of having come to Hoshino Springs, too, a number of times' (Ig 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 Ameriká-zin* NI *wa wakaránai n desu né* 'This an American can't understand, you see' (Kindaichi in Ōno 1967.30); *Hídeko no mé no kagayákí de*, *tyúugaku no ninén-sei ni náru* to *iu sonó-ko* no *kíta kotó* GA, *káre* NI *mo sūgu ni wakátta* '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' (Ig 1962.88)—here, the indirect subject (the possessor) is

HIGHLIGHTED; Waratte iru wáke GA Noboru WA hazímete wakátta 'Noboru understood for the first time the reason for the laughter' (lg 1962.70)—here, the indirect subject (the possessor) is SUBDUED; Kúniko o Nózaka to wakaresaséru no ga hatásite yói kotó ka warúi kotó ka WA Ayao ní WA wakaránakatta 'Whether separating Kuniko from Nozaka was after all a good thing or a bad thing Ayao couldn't tell' (lg 1962.88)—here, both direct and indirect subjects are subdued, the first wá replacing gá. Two examples: Táda konpon-teki na tigai wa, iu kotó o kikanákya ansatu sitári bunnagúttári suru yúuki to iú ka, dókyoo to iú ka, sore GA anáta NI wa áru. Soo iu monó GA, atasi NÍ ya náí n desu yó '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 é:* Mutyuu ni nátte nige-dasita Tookyoo E watasi WA kaeráneba naránai 'The Tōkyō that I fled in a trance I must return to' (SA 2685.101c); Soko E betu no kobune DE dénka GA kenbutu ni yatte kíta '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:* Yukí^[1] no utukúsisa(−) daké [o Húkuko ga] hanásu no GA Masúnaga WA áware datta 'Masunaga felt pity that she (Hukuko) would speak only of the beauty of the snow' (lg 1962.91).—Does the wá come from gá or from ní/gá? If gá, then áware is an adjectival noun with quasi-desiderative grammar; here, the "cathector" (who experiences the emotional reaction) follows the gá-marked "cathected". If from ní/gá, then áware 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 kozákaná O óoki na sakana GA tábete sodátu. Óoki na sakana no táinaí NI, sára 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 Watakusi no taita góhan NI, Kozima GA mónku o itta kotó wa, kátute arimasén 'My rice never provoked any complaints from Kojima' (SA 2685.43a) has a thematized dative in a sentence adnominalized to a summational epitheme (kotó 'experience') that is itself thematized and subdued. The thematization is attested to not only by the subject delay, but also by the context. The preceding text is Watakusi, tukuróo to omóttara, dekinái o-ryóori wa arimasén; Itiban taisetú ná no wa, góhan to omiotuke da to omóu 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 ní mo mónku o iimasén 'He doesn't complain about my soup, either'.

An example of subject delay in a sentence adnominalized to a summational epitheme (nó 'fact', the factual nominalizer): ... Gei-Unrin tee namae O atasi GA hazímete sittá 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 ní;

and in §13.5a and elsewhere we distinguish this usual sort of *essive* as “objective” in contrast with the *tó* 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 crasis 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*, *narazáru*; *náradewa*; The literary language makes a “subjective” copula by contracting *tó* + *áru/ári*, and the resulting forms are also preserved in set expressions in the colloquial: *táru*, *tári*, *tárazu*, *tarazáru*, I assume that the subjective copula can take nuclear focus but I have not yet come across the examples of *tó wa/mo ár-* that are needed to confirm the point. Satō (1.100) gives literary examples of *tó KA ár-* as well as *ní WA/MO/KA ár-*, but none of *tó WA/MO ár-* except for *tó 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 *kane ári* = modern *kane ga áru* ‘has money’), the latter being derived from some sort of nominalization: *kane ga áru* [*kotó*] or the like. An exception, however, is the nominal sentence. Instead of **kane ná* from *kane na* [*kotó*], earlier *kane náru* [*kotó*] < *kane ni áru* [*kotó*], the unadnominalized sentence is *Kane dá* ‘It is money’. This word *dá* and some of its conjugational forms (*dátta*, *daróo*, etc.) are derived not from *náru/nári* < *ní áru/ári*, but from *dé* + *á(r)*-. And *dé* comes from *ní-te*, the *GERUND* of the *essive*, by way of *nde* < *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 *dé 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 dé 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 dé 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 *-uru*.

We would expect the negative forms for the unfocused nominal sentence to be *N de náí*—with stylization *N de arimasén* and *N de gozaimasén*—and you will sometimes see such forms, especially in a somewhat formal style. But in ordinary speech you find that *zyá* commonly substitutes for *dé* in the negative expressions so that you hear *N zya náí*. With polite stylization this will be *N zya arimasén*; *N zya gozaimasén* is also heard, but less often, since the level of formality implicit in the honorific style leads you to use either *dé* or *dé wa*. The word *zyá* comes from a contraction of *dé wa* and it is sometimes used AS that contraction, so that it will not always be obvious whether *N zya náí* is to be taken as equivalent to *N dé wa náí*, with subdued nucleus, or merely to *N de náí* with unfocused nucleus. But some speakers use a lengthened version *zyáa* for the “living” contraction of *dé wa*. For such speakers the short *zya* is simply an allomorph (an alternant shape) of the infinitive of the copula, the other allomorphs being *ní* (the essive) and *dé₁* (as in *N dé mo náí*)—not to be confused with *dé₂*, the gerund of the copula (as in *Hadé de mo íi* ‘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, *dé₁* is simply a borrowing of the gerund for use in place of the infinitive, and *zyá₁* is a borrowing of the contraction *zyá[a]* from the subdued copula gerund *dé wa* for use in the same way.

The provisional form of the copula, *nára[-ba]*, is borrowed from the CONDITIONAL form of the literary copula (in focused form *N ní wa/mo ára-ba*); the somewhat old-fashioned flavor of the provisional category has perhaps kept the standard language from developing the form **dáreba* 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 *Sóo* or *Sore* is suppressed in [] *Dá 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 ní* becoming *N dá* in the finite sentence, UNLESS it is thematized; in that event, the *Ir*, normally marked by *gá*, takes the essive:

WITHOUT THEMATIZATION

(1) Kane ga mondai da.

Ir Id

'MONEY is the question.'

WITH THEMATIZATION

(1a) Mondai wa kane da.

Id Ir

'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 *N ga* 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.

Ir Id

'A QUESTION is (the matter of) money.'

=

(2a) Kane wa mondai da.

Id Ir

'(The matter of) money is a QUESTION.'⁴⁴

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) Onná ga syáin(-) da.

Ir Id

'The employee is a woman.'

=

(3a) Syáin(-) wa onná da.

Id Ir

(4) Onná wa syáin(-) da.

=

(4a) Syáin(-) ga onná da.

'The woman is an employee.'

But, with deictic or anaphoric marking:

(5) Kono onná ga sono syáin(-) da.

Ir Id

'That employee is THIS WOMAN.'

=

(5a) Sono syáin(-) wa kono onná da.

Id Ir

I have often assumed that, in general, a content-interrogative (*dáre*, *náni*, etc.—corresponding to the "wh-" words of English) cannot be thematized in an identificational sentence because the UNKNOWN is always treated as *Ir* in Japanese:

(6) Dóre ga bóku(-) [da].

Ir Id

'Which am I?'

=

(6a) Bóku(-) wa dóre [da].

Id Ir

(7) *Dóre wa bóku(-) [da].

=

(7a) (*)Bóku(-) ga dóre [da].

'Which is me?'

Yet I have found apparent counterexamples of (7a): "*Genzi-monogátari*" no zidai wa, umare GA *náni* ka, kettoo wa *náni* ka to iu kotó ... ga, hizyoo ni *óoki* na *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.

zidai de átta '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 ...' (Ōno 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: Dáre ga syatyoo ka siranai and Syatyoo ga dáre 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 *gá* in a sentence that is embedded or subordinated: Zibun no musuko ya musumé ga dáre da ka wakaránai n desu yó 'He doesn't know who his own son and daughter are, I tell you' (Ariyoshi 69); ... kyóo ga do-yóobi de yókatta. (Asitá wa niti-yóobi 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 tugí ga Eziputo to Isuraéru [de], sono tugí ga Betonamu de áru 'Egypt and Israel are next, and after that is Vietnam' (SA 2672.99c); Aikawarazu ná no ga zyagaimo (kíro hyakú¹ nízyúu-en) [de], tama-négi (hatizyúu-en) [de], ninzin (hyaku-en) [da] 'Those unchanged are potatoes (¥120 a kilo), onions (¥80), carrots (¥100)' (SA 2679.115c); Máda kyóo ga syoniti ná n desu yó 'The opening day is (yet) today' (Tk 2.82b); Kinóo ga Oohuna no hoo no syoniti ná n desu 'Yesterday was the opening day in Ōfuná' (Tk 2.83a). The saying Itízi ga bánzi de 'One case being enough to tell you what will happen in all cases' apparently involves some sort of ellipsis, perhaps bánzi [no daihyoo] dé 'being representative of all cases'.

The thematization apparently must be focused but the focus need not always be subdued; highlighting—of the *Id* only—is also possible: Kore MO kanasii kyóku(⁻) da 'This too is a sad tune' (Ig 1962.73); Kyóosi MO ningen de áru kara 'Since teachers are human beings, too ...' (Ōno 1966.140); Mínohe tízi MO mattakú¹ komátta o-hito de áru 'Governor Minobe is indeed really quite a nuisance' (SA 2664.33d—a descriptive identification); Matúsita de wa 'sinbun to seriai suru monó de wa náí' to itte irú ga, kore MO hitótu no tukai-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-máde tukatte ite kóoka ga náí to iu kotó de áreba, kusuri o kaete míru to iu kotó MO hitótu no hoohoo desú '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 máa hitótu no íken desyoo né 'That too, I guess, is another way to look at it, isn't it'—but *Hitótu no íken MO sore da, (?*)Hitótu no íken wa sore MO da.

The thematized Identified (*Id wa*) is often omitted or delayed and stuck on as an afterthought: Onná desu, sensei wa 'She's a woman, the teacher is'. Less often the Identifier (*Ir ga*) will be added as an afterthought: Genkai desyoo né, sên-mai ga 'It's the outside limit, a thousand pages' (SA 2650.42d)—this is equivalent to saying Sên-mai desyoo né, 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 Áme da:

(1) = [Sore wa] áme da 'That is rain' (don't mistake it with snow).

(2) = Áme [ga hútte 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 1953:745): Benkyoo no tamé to omóeba, ^[r]dare mo miná ^[r]kore o kyúukutu to wa kangáenakatta. Gakusei to sité mo miná ga zit-to ^[r]sinobi-osáete itá no wa wakái ikigómí(¯) ni tomonáu kékki(¯) O [mótte ita no] de átta '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): Tó-ni-kaku onná ga déte kíte hadaka o miséru. Óppai o, de wa náí. Heso ó, de wa náí. Maru-hádaka o, de áru. '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 [miséru no] 'displaying'.

The following sentence would seem to be best explained by the indicated ellipsis, which leaves N₁ or N₂ stranded before the copula: ... iyasíi(¯) toogokú-zin o aité {ni surú no} de aroo to mo ... 'even though they would have the hateful Easterners for adversaries' (Ōno 1966.35).

As a result of propredication the copula itself can follow adverbialized forms of the copula: Minná de [] desu ka 'Are we going to [do it] as a group?'; Minná de [] dé wa damé 'It's no good [to do it] as a group'; Minná de [] dé mo íi 'It's OK [to do it] as a group'; Génki ni/de [] nára ... 'If it is vigorously [that one does it] ...'; Zibun no kangáe o aité ni mukatte, góku syookyoku-teki ní [] de wa áru ga, siíru no ga sékkyóo(¯) désu kara né '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 surú no 'doing it'. Some dictionaries treat itu-no-ma-ní-ka 'unawares' as a single lexical item; we can derive it by way of an ellipsis that drops the propredicative copula imperfect dá: itu no ma ní [da] ka 'whether [it is] in an interval of when/some-time/anytime' with ní 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 kóso zyoodán daroo, dá 'THAT's the joke, is the situation' (Kb 266a). What has been omitted before dá is something like ^[r]to iu zyootai 'the situation' or ^[r]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 predicated N dé da → N dé no, and that—by way of propredication—is the explanation for examples such as these: ... hontoo no ími de no han-táisei 'anti-establishment in the true sense' (SA 2680.116d); ... kono yóo na katati dé no "dassoo" ga ... "'desertion" in a form like this' (SA 2678.27d); ... genzyoo [= génzai no zyootai] dé no koosaku 'farming under present conditions' (SA 2679.35d); Kono ten dé no hónsyo no tokutyoo wa ... 'With respect to this the distinguishing thing about the present book ...' (SA 2677.110c); Én ga yásuku, sitagatte dóru ga takái genzyoo dé no Nitibéi-kan no booeiki 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 kara gakkoo da 'He starts school tomorrow'; Káre wa asú kara koogi(¯) da 'He begins his lectures tomorrow'; Asitá wa ensoku da

44a. But other accentuations indicate lexicalization: itu-no-má-ní-ka.

'Tomorrow [there] will be a picnic'; Wareware wa iyóiyó asitá^[1] syuppatu da 'Tomorrow we are finally off on our trip'; Bóku(¯) wa unagi da 'I'll have eel'. Notice the suggestion (KKK 23.270) that Kóndo wa kodomo ni mikan da 'This time an orange for the child' is to be treated as Kóndo wa kodomo ni [agerú no wa] mikan da 'What I will give the child this time is a mandarin orange'; a simpler explanation would be Kóndo wa kodomo ni mikan [o agerú 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 kára da; N máde da.

N tó da.

N dé da.

N é da: Watasi no káeru no wa zibun no tokoró e da 'Where I returned was to my own place' (V 1972.162).

N ní da: Kimi ní zyaa náí, okyakusámá ni da 'It's not for you, it's for the guest' (Kb 325a—the text has a comma before dá); 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 dá, to signal the ellipsis).

N ó da: Uótuka o desu ka? 'You mean [drink] vodka?' (Kb 230b—also uótoka, uókka); Ore ó zya náí ka 'Surely it's me that's meant'.

N gá da: Désu kara né, senséi no táido ga desu né 'So, you see, [it's a matter of] your attitude, professor' (SA 2670.18c)—presumably an ellipsis of something like táido ga [mondai] desu; Omae, warúi ryóoken da zé.—Náni 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 kará/máde no N; N é no N; N tó no N; N dé 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 *ni* shuns propredication so that you get *N ni áru N* or the like rather than (?)*N ní no N*. Yet the (residual) locative *dé* freely occurs in adnominalized propredication: ... tikágoro katei DÉ NO yasai-sáibai ga sízuka na búumu da 'recently there has been a quiet boom in raising vegetables at home' (SA 2670.108a); ... Indosína DE NO sensoo 'the war in Indochina' (SA 2685.16c); ... minkan-byóoin DE NO arubáito o yame, ... 'I quit my part-time job at the hospital, and ...' (SA 2678.129c); ... kokúnai DE NO hyóoka(¯) ga takamáru 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 *desu 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 máde/kará mo no N*: tuki máde mo no rokétto 'a rocket all the way to the moon', tuki 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*: Hóteru e káeru to, sono-hi^[1] taiken sita hanasí ni íken o túkete téepu ni huki-komu. Motíron Eigo DÉ 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:

N ga X o suru 'N does X'	→	N ga surú no wa X da 'X is what N does'.
		X o surú no wa N da 'N is the one who does X'.
N ga V 'N V-s'	→	V nó ga N da = N wa V no da 'The one who V-s is N'
		V nó wa N da 'N is the one who V-s'

Cf. the "cleft" sentences of § 14.2.4.

A few examples of V nó ga N da: Gasorín-sya(¯) no gasorin ni atarú no GA, denki-zidóosya(¯) no denti ni takuwaeráreta(¯) denki-enérúgii 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 súmu no GA gohyakú-nin DE, yosó kara kayóu no GA gohyakú-nin [DA] 'Those living on base are five hundred in number, and those commuting from outside are five hundred [also] = There are five hundred living on base and there are five hundred commuting from outside' (SA 2685.29ab); Máe wa ík-ko nihyakú-en mo sitá no GA íma wa hán-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 Id and for Ir; this we can call SELF-IDENTIFICATION. Notice these types:

(1) N_1 wa N_1 dé means ' N_1 being N_1 ' or—equivalent to N_1 wa N_1 dé mo—'even though N_1 is N_1 ' as in: Sore wa sore de yókatta 'That was all right as it was (or: as far as it went)' (Shibata 1965.212); Todokoori-náku súmeba, kore wa kore de medetái 'If all goes without a hitch, that in itself calls for congratulation' (SA 2649.109a); Sore wa sore de náni ka betu no mondai to site kangaemasyóo 'That's what it is but let's think of it as something in the way of a different problem'; Sore wa sore dé mo kamawánai 'That's all right, if that's all it is (= if it goes no further than that)' (Maeda 1962.1970); Hón wa hón 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'; Kyóozyu(¯) wa kyóozyu(¯) dé mo, kyóozyu(¯) ni yotte nakámi ga tigau 'Professors may be professors, but the substance varies with the professor' (SA 2685.60); Nanigoto mo okoránakatta kara, sore wa sore de yókatta 'Since nothing happened, that was all right as far as it went' (SA 2685.138b). A similar expression is Maa, sore wa sore to site, ... 'Well, be that as it may, ...' (SA 2664.33d); and Sore wa sore to site 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 (Nihón '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 dé showing consequence (' N_1 is N_1 and consequently ...'): Húmiko wa Húmiko de náni-mo tetudátte kurenákatta 'That's Fumiko for you—not a bit of help', cf. Húmiko wa yappári Húmiko desu 'Fumiko is, after all, Fumiko = That's our Fumiko, all right!'; Siki-sya wa siki-sya de, kyúuryoo morawanákya kuénai si né 'For his part, the conductor has to get a salary or he

can't eat, you see' (Tk 3.50a); *Oyá wa oyá de, kodomo o sín-zite(-) iru; kodomo wa kodomo de, oyá o sín-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): *Ippóo Hónnda wa Hónnda de, "Kyúu Hondá-kai no masukomi-sóosa ni sugínai"* to *míte iru rasii* '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, kínko no ué no bara no hatí ni mata mé 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 kyoodan de sinbun o yónde iru* 'And the teacher for his part deliberately reads the newspaper up on his lecture platform' (Endō 79). The expression *kóndo wa kóndo de* means 'THIS time': *Kánari máe kara kaisán-huu ga húki, kóndo wa kóndo de, sangiin de "anna kotó" ga okóttari site iru seikai dé mo, móto-yori reigai 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 *kóndo to iu kóndo wa*: *Kóndo to iu | kóndo wa || zítú ni | yowátta* '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 | ori, || kóndo wa || zassi "Rúkkú" ga ... to || senséesyonaru na | kízi o | noseta* 'Now of all times, Look Magazine ran a sensational article that said ...' (SA 2647.135b). A similar expression is found in this example: ... *Nikkatu no hookai sunzén(-) to iu tokí mo toki, ...* 'Right on the very brink of Nikkatsu's collapse, ...' (SA 2664.103c). The expression *ki ga ki de/zya náí* 'feels uneasy' is perhaps best treated as an idiom: *Kazue wa, ki ga ki dé wa arimasén desita* 'Kazue felt uneasy' (KKK 3.17).

(2) *N₁ nára N₁* means 'just (a case of) N' as in: *Tatóeba || haná nara | haná o || réi ni | tótte | 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 || sore ni kosita kotó wa | arimasén* 'There's nothing better than that, all right' (Tsuji-mura 77) and *Sore nára sore de* 'Be that as it may' as in *Sore nára † | † sore de, || dóo site | sono tokí ni | setumei sinákatta n desu ka* 'That's all very well, but why didn't you explain it at the time?'

(3) *N₁ wa N₁ dé, N₂ wa N₂ dá* means 'N₁ will be N₁ and N₂ will be N₂' and *N₁ mo N₁ dé, N₂ mo N₂ dá* means 'N₁ is a problem and so is N₂': *Oyá wa | oyá de, || kodomo wa | kodomo da* 'Parents will be parents and children will be children'; *Oyá mo | oyá de, || kodomo mo | kodomo da* 'The parents are a problem and the children are a problem (too)'.

(4) *N₁ mo N₁ nára N₂ [mo N₂ da]* means 'not only N₁, as might be expected, but also/even N₂ [is a problem]': *Gakusei mo gakusei nára(-ba) || kyóozyu(-) mo | kyóozyu(-) da* 'Both the student and the teachers are a problem' or 'The teachers are just as bad as the

students'; Hatiroo mo Hatiroo nára, || utí^[t](-) no oziisan made ga né ... 'Hachirō is bad enough, but even our GRANDFATHER (doing such things) ...!' The expression can be conflated by adding N_3 mo N_3 nára/dé 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, || kyóozyu(-) mol kyóozyu(-) nára || oyá mol oyá da 'The students are a problem and both the teachers and the parents are a problem, too'; Gakusei mo gakusei nára || kyóozyu(-) mol kyóozyu(-) de, || oyá mol oyá da 'Both the students and the teachers are a problem, and so are the parents'; Tokí mo | tokí nara || tokoro mo | tokoro dága, || náni ka | wáke ga | átta no daroo 'The time and the place are a problem, but there must have been SOME reason' (Maeda 1962.42).

(5) N_1 mo N_1 [de], N_2 'is so much N_1 that it is N_2 ; is the utmost N_1 and is even N_2 ': Akunin mo [|] akunin [de], || satuzin-han da 'He is such a villain, he is even a murderer'. Cf. V-tá mo V-ta 'really did, did ever so much', V-anái mo V-anai 'really doesn't, doesn't at all', A-í mo A-i 'is ever so A', § 14.6; AN mo AN § 13.5a.

(6) S_1 nára S_1 dé (by direct nominalization, § 14.6—cf. § 17.9) means 'if indeed S ': Ikú nara | ikú de, || kinōo | soo itte kureréba | yókatta no ni 'If you ARE going, why didn't you let me know yesterday?!'; Ittá nara | ittá de ... 'If you HAVE been there ...'; Kawanákatta nara | kawanákatta de ... 'If you DIDN'T buy it ...'; Hosii nara | hosii de ... 'If you really WANT it ...'; Iyá nara | iyá de ... 'If it is such an unpleasant thing ...'.

(7) N_1 wa N_1 dá ga/kedo ' N_1 is N_1 , to be sure, but ...': Dótira mo || hón wa | hón da ga, || naiyoo mo [|] káti mo | zenzen tigau 'Both of them are books, all right, but they are totally different both in content and in value'; Íma, || hima wa [|] hima dá ga, || kyaku ní wa || ai-táku | náí 'I am at leisure now, true, but I have no desire to see visitors'. Cf. S kotó wa S ga/kedo, § 14.1—the "iterative concessive". Notice that ellipsis is possible in the structure AN [na kotó] wa AN da ga: Sízuka wa | sízuka desu ga, || tyót-to | tooí desyoo? 'It's quiet enough, all right, but isn't it a bit far?'

On sentences of the type N_1 ka to omóttara N_2 dá[tta] used to express unexpected identification, as in Dáre 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 N_2 ga N_1 da (= Ir ga Id da). In one type the Identifier is a long nominalization and the Identified is short (... nó/kotó ga N dá 'It is N that/to ...'): ... anzen-sei no hyóoka(-) ga nasárete inai tenká-butu 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 tokí ni wa, dáre dé^(t) mo, kono is-satú ga áreba, hituyoo na tokí ni wa dónna kotobá de mo hikeru to omóu no GA nínzyoo 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); Míinari o | kírēi ni site, || minná de || ookii | otó de || rókku o | kíkú no GA || Koozi no | asobi DÁTТА 'It was Kōji's recreation to get himself all dolled up and listen with the gang to rock and roll with great hubbub' (Ig 1966.88)—is the phrase ookii otó de to be taken as MANNER or as CAUSE?; Sono tiryoo mo || san-kágetu GA | géndo [DA] 'for its treatment, the limit is three months' (SA 2670.30d)—the first phrase is a highlighted

thematized genitive; *Tyuutoo no kaimono dé wa, || ne-gírú no GA | zyoosiki DÁ ga, ...* ‘If you’re shopping in the Middle East, everyone knows what you do is haggle’ (SA 2673.37a). ... *benkyoo suru hima ga ná no GA | nayamí DESU* ‘It distresses me not to have any time to study ...’ (SA 2665.114d); *Igákú-bu to iu to, || súgu | hooken-sei to iú no GA || séken no | zyoosiki DÁ 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 da* ‘It features rapid service’ (SA 2689.117c); *Sore kara, || kutikazu ga sukunái no to || kuti no kiki-kata no sízuka na no GA | tokutyoo DÁTTA* ‘And then, it was characteristic for him/her to be sparing of words and quiet in speaking’ (KKK 3.168); *Oiru-tyéenzi | no hituyoo no ná no GA | tokutyoo DÉSÚ* ‘It enjoys the special feature that no oil changes are necessary’ (R); *San-nen máe ni || sigoto de || Hwinrándo ni itte || sáuna ni | háitta no GA | hazimari [DÁ]* ‘My start [as a sauna customer] was when I went into a sauna on a business trip to Finland three years ago’ (SA 2662.97b); *Eiga-kénbutu to | itté mo, || katati o kaeta móteru, || itte míreba, || kaa-sékkusu no | tamari-ba ni náru no GA | otí 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); *Zízitu zyoó wa || hyaku-paasénto || íntyoo no | mune-sánzun ni | makasárete iru to iú no GA, || senmón⁽²⁾-i-tati no | íken 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); ... *doogyoo-kan no | tyoosei o surú no GA | mokuteki DE ÁRU* ‘the aim is to make adjustments among those in the same trade’ (SA 2685.20e); *Zisyu-zémi wa || ... soozoo suru tikará⁽⁻⁾ o | tukútte iku kotó⁽²⁾ GA | nerai DÉSÚ* ‘The undirected seminar has as its aim to build up the power to create ...’ (SA).

In other types, too, it is usual for the Id to be short: *Yadoya no niwa no súgu mukóo GA, úmi DATTA* ‘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: ... *tikágoroll katei dé no || yasai-sáibai GA || sízuka na | búumu DA* ‘... recently there has been a quiet boom in raising vegetables at home’ (SA 2670.108a); ... *kekkón-siki de wa || hómete | hómete || home-makurú no GA | étikétto [DA]* ... ‘At a wedding ceremony it is etiquette to praise [the couple] to the skies ...’ (CK 985.391); ... *hóndo no | kankoo-ryóko GA | mé-ate DE, ...* ‘with a tourist trip to main-island Japan as their aim’ (SA 2674.27b); ... *tébebi no | ryoori-bángumi de, || kóosi GA zyosei DE ÁRU to ...* ‘when a woman is lecturer on a TV cooking class ...’ (Maeda 1962.169)—notice that *zyosei* is the Id, for we are talking about women, not lecturers; *Sikási, || sono zyusin-ki GA | mondai DA* ‘But the RECEIVER is the problem’ (SA 2647.137c); *Niwasaki ni oite áru | kuruma no nánbaa GA | Tookyoo nánbaa DE || “kappe” narazáru | tokoró o | kóosi⁽⁻⁾ site iru* ‘The license number of the car left in front of the garden is a Tōkyō number, proudly proclaiming that it is not some “hillbilly’s” place’ (SA 2648.35c).

Even when not especially short, the Id will usually be relatively simple in structure: *Sutyúwáadesu ga || “Zaseki-béruto o | o-sime kudasái” tte || itte kíta no GA, || Hukuóka o | tátte kara || iti-zíkan | nizíp-pun DA* ‘It was an hour and twenty minutes after leaving Fukuoka that the stewardess started saying “Fasten your seat belts”’ (Tk 4.5a).

Not infrequently the Id is an anaphoric: *Wadai no tyuusin GA | sore DESÚ | yó* ‘That’s the central topic (that I’m asking about)’ (SA 2649.48d); *Kokkyoo wa, || ... tiisái | kawá*

GA | sore DÁ 'The boundary, it was a little river that ...' (Fn 463b)—the anaphoric is a reprise 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 mé-ate DE ... 'with that in view ...' (SA 2670.40d); Soko GA póinto desyoo né 'THAT's surely the point, you see' (R); Hatigatú ni Izu-kóogen ni rinkan-gákkoo ni ikú no de, sore GA tanosímí(¯) 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 arguing for the treatment of ikú no de as a (gerundized) nominalization 'with its being a matter of going' rather than considering nó de as a conjunction (see p. 854).

Certain descriptive predicates are particularly common with ... nó ga; among the above examples we can cite ... nó ga zyosiki dá 'it is common knowledge that ...', ... (to naru no) ga otí da(roo) 'the upshot [= end of it] will be that ...', and ... nó ga tokutyoo (= tokusyoku) dá 'it has the special feature/characteristic that ...'. Similar predicates are these:

... nó ga hónrai da 'it is natural to/that ...'

... nó ga seki-no-yamá da 'it is all one can do to ...'

... nó ga yo-no-túne de aru 'it is usual/common that ...' (SA 2680.19a)

... nó ga hutuu dá 'it is usual that/to ...'

... nó ga ippan dá 'it is common that ...'

... nó ga túne da 'it is customary to ...'

... nó ga túne datta 'it used to be that ...'

... nó ga tuurei dá 'it is customary that ...'

... nó ga zyoodoo dá 'it is the normal course to/that ...'

... nó ga zituzyoo (no yóo) da 'the facts are (seem to be) that ...' (SA 2668.29e)

... nó ga genzyoo dá 'the state of affairs (= the way things are) is that ...' (SA 2670.30d)

... nó ga mé-ate dá 'the/one's aim is to ...'

... nó ga ziman dá 'we pride ourselves on ...'

... to iú no ga hónsin da 'the motive is ...' (SA 2664.122c)

... to iú no ga kyootuu-íken datta 'it was the consensus that ...'

... nó ga husigi da 'it is odd that ..., the funny thing is that': Sékiri ga hassei sinái no ga husigi da 'It is odd (= surprising) that dysentery doesn't break out' (SA 2672.24c).

... nó ga kimari dá 'it is a rule/habit that ...; makes it a rule/habit that ...': Ása okíru to, uti no urá no Higasi-kóoen e íkú no ga kimari de, watasi ni ai-tái hitó wa Higasi-kóoen e kúreba íi to iu kotó ni nátt' ōru 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 mó in place of gá, especially when the predicate refers to inevitability or naturalness: Gakuséi-táti ga || démo ni | sanká sitá no MO | doorí da 'The students have every reason to participate in the demonstration'; Sore daké ni, sigeki ni, tobosii(¯) zimotó(¯) no syoonén-táti ni óoki na eikyoo o ataetá no MO, atarimae DÉ wa nakaróo ka 'With that alone (for cause), wouldn't it be only too natural for it to have exercised a big influence on the local youth, hungry for stimulation?' (SA 2647.118a); Koozyóo(¯) de hataraité iru dokusín-sya [= dokusin-mono] ga óói no MO byoonin ga sukunái 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); Káko ni hihyoo ga óokatta no MO tárika da kedo 'It is quite true that in the past there

was much criticism (but ...)' (SA 2671.20c); ... *oyā*^[1] no *sinpai ga hitótu húeta no MO tárika* [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 motó*(⁻) *de* 'with N for a basis, starting with N' as in *o-sake GA motó*(⁻) *DE sinu* 'dies from drinking' and these examples: *Káre no túma wa otto ni saráreta*(⁻) *kanasímí*(⁻) *GA motó*(⁻) *DE, ma-mó-naku naku-nátta* 'His wife soon died from the grief of being left by her husband' (lg 1962.94); ... *sore GA motó*(⁻) *DE híroku tukawareru yóo ni nátte kíta* '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 *gá*-marked subject—i.e., the subject cannot be subdued with *wá* (nor, usually, highlighted with *mó*):

(1) *Kore kará GA taisetu (na tokoró) da* 'From now on is (the place/time that is) what is important'; ... *kyoouku no naiyoo GA taisetu na kotó desu* 'the important thing is the content of the education' (Kaneda in Ōno 1967.298); *Kaitoo wa enzetu surú yori kiki-te ni náru kotó GA taisetu ná n desu* 'What is important for the chairman is to be(come) a listener rather than make speeches' (SA 2671.64d); *Koo iu monó o oozúkami ni sirabénakya ikenai to iu kotó GA dá-iti de arimásu* 'The most important thing is that we must investigate such things in general' (KKK 23.214). Yet we find: *Sizen o nokósu kotó WA taisetu désu* 'It is IMPORTANT to preserve nature' (SA 2642.46c). But *Taisetu ná no WA kokóro desu* 'It's the spirit that is important' (SA 2642.46c) is not a counterexample, since it comes from *Kokóro GA taisetu {na no}* *da* 'The HEART (= SPIRIT) is important'.

(2) *Soo sita uwasa GA miyako dé wa móppara*(⁻) *de áru to iu kotó de atta* 'They said that such rumors were all over the capital' (lg 1962.81)—notice the backgrounding of the subdued locative.

(3) *Húkuko ga Háruko no kotó o ittá no wa, sore GA hazímete da* 'That is the first time that Hukuko talked about Haruko' (lg 1962.89)—*sore* is a reprise of the subdued thematization of a nominalization; *Gaikokú-zin no aida ni háiru no wa, kore GA hazímete de wa náí* 'This is not the first time to [enter =] be among foreigners' (lg 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 *tokoró* or *kotó* or the like). Cf. the discussion in KKK 23.214, where it is said that there are sentences that will not permit *gá* to be replaced by *wá* (such as those given just above) and also that there are sentences that will not permit *wá* to be replaced by *gá*: *Kore WA motté-no-hoka*(⁻) *désu* 'This is absurd'. But the stricture is misleading, if not mistaken, for the following are all acceptable: *Náni ga motté-no-hoka*(⁻) *desu ka* 'What is absurd?'; *Kore ga motté-no-hoka*(⁻) *na/no kotó ...* 'The fact that this is absurd ...'; *Kore ga motté-no-hoka*(⁻) *to iu hanasí ...* '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-nítí de mo ...* 'Even if it is only one day instead of three ...' and this example:

Zikan ga náí tokí^[r] nádo, || iti-zíkan ga | sanzíp-pun de mo, || onná wa || dóko ka ni | yoru kotó o | motóméta 'On occasions when there was no time or the like, the woman asked to drop in somewhere for just thirty minutes if an hour was too long' (SA). Here we can also cite náni ga nán de mo 'at all costs, come what may; regardless (of anything)'.

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 TAUTOLOGICAL 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 proredication. 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 syáin(¯) wa sono onná da = Sono onná ga kono syáin(¯) da.

'This employee is that woman.'

Sono onná wa kono syáin(¯) da = Kono syáin(¯) ga sono onná da.

'That woman is this employee.'

Hánnin wa káre da = Káre ga hánnin da.

'The culprit is him.'

Káre wa hánnin da = Hánnin ga káre da.⁴⁵

'He is the culprit.'

(2) CLASSIFICATIONAL: Definite Id is Indefinite Ir—irreversible.⁴⁶

[Sono] onná wa syáin(¯) da 'The woman is an employee'.

[Sono] syáin(¯) wa onná 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 *Minná ga teki de, dáre 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 minná de*, and a closer translation would be 'The enemy is everyone ...'. (But **Teki ga minná de = Minná wa teki de* is rejected.) In *Sore kara moo hitótu ga kyooiku de arimásu* 'And then ANOTHER thing is education' (Ōno 1967.170) we know that 'education' is to be taken as definite because you can reverse the identification: *kyooiku wa moo hitótu de arimásu* '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: *... nyuusyóo-sya no seibetu o kazóete mítara, nyuusyóo-sya zyuuhati-nin ¯tyuu, yo-nin GA dánsi de atta; siká-mo, iti-i KOSO onná datta ga, ní-i ni otokó ga osamátte 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-búbun 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 ossyáru no wa anáta GA Edokko de o-ide dá kara* 'You say that because you are a child of Tókyō' (Kb 139a); *Watasi GA ano gakusei no oyá nara ...* 'If I were that student's mother ...' (SA 2678.139a)—the only alternative is *Ano gakusei no oyá ga watasi nara ...* 'If that student's mother were me ...'; *Tatóeba, bóku(¯) no itta kotó GA matigái de áru to suréba, bóku(¯) wa sekinin o tóru* 'For instance, if what I have said should prove to be a mistake, I will take the responsibility' (SA 2671.21a)—

- (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 háha wa Hámako da 'My mother is (called) Hamako'.
 Amerika no syúto wa Wásinton da 'America's capital is (called) Washington'.
 This could also be taken as equational (and reversible to Wásinton ga Amerika no syúto da).
- (5) EXEMPLÁRY: Definite Id is the best example of its Class Ir—irreversible.
 Sakana wa tái [ni kagíru no] da 'When it comes to fish there's nothing like sea bream'. ←Sakana wa [sore o] tái [ni kagíru no] da.
- (6) TAUTOLOGICAL: Definite N₁ (Id) is characteristically Definite N₁ (Ir)—reversible(?).
 Aité wa aité da (?) = Aité ga aité da 'Such is the adversary' (Kb 165a).
 Móo tosí ga tosí da kara 'Age being what it is', 'The years being what they are ...' (Okitsu 130).
 Cf. p. 664.

Examples of identificational sentences: ... zúisan ni "Isuke san de gozaimásita né. Tásika" to, kóe o káketa. "Isuke wa wasi dá yó." 'He addressed the old man ... "You would be Isuke; I'm sure"—"Isuke I am, all right"' (Fn 170b). Tantei-syósetu o yomi-dasu to, hánnin wa dáre ka siri-tái n desu yó 'When I start to read a detective story I want to know who the culprit is' (Tk 2.156a). Watasi wa kuni wa Wakáyama na n desu 'My hometown is in Wakayama' (Watasi wa is a subdued thematization of a genitive). ... daisanzí-sen [= daisanzi-táisen] wa?—Motíron kúru to omóu né. Daisanzí-sen ga kessyóo-sen da '... and what about World War III?—I think it's sure to come, you see. The decisive war will be World War III' (Tk 3.148a). Kore ga tanosímí(-) dé wa áru ga tama ni sika náí 'This is my hobby but I do it only occasionally'.

In §2.2 (p. 42: ní 14) are listed a number of expressions such as N ní wa ní-syu ga áru 'There are two kinds of N'; Hitótu ni wa ... (moo hitótu ni wa ...) 'For one ... (and for another ...)', etc. Since the following predicate is typically áru or some quantifying adjective that has a similar grammar (óói 'there are lots', sukunái 'there are few'),⁴⁷ 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 utí(-) 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

cf. Bóku(-) no itta kotó WA matigái datta 'What I said was a mistake'; Sore GA sóo nara ... 'If it should be that way ...'. (A different explanation will be required for Sore wa sóo [da] to ... 'Be that as it may ...'). See also p. 58, p. 241.

47. Ippan ni syási to iu monó ni, yónde omosirói monó wa sukunái 'There are few things that are interesting to read among what are generally called company histories' (CK 985.36).

(marked by the essive *ní*), the Identified being suppressed since it is identical with the subject of the following predicate. This would treat *B ní nite 'ru hitó ní A ga áru* 'Someone who resembles B is A' (cf. example in §2.2) as derived from two underlying sentences *A wa B ní nite 'ru hitó da* 'A is a person who resembles B' (classificational, hence irreversible, so the underlying *... *hitó ga A da* is forced to thematize 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:



Cf. the diagram showing epithematization 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 tó wa B dá* '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'
tonáeru/nazukéru/syoo-súru 'A is named B'
suru/sadaméru 'A is designated (stipulated as) B'
- A o sásite B to iu* 'A is B by/in meaning'
A o nazúkete 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 dá* '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', *kekkyokú* 'after all', *yahári* 'after all', *masásiku* 'evidently, really', *tyoodo* 'just, precisely', *hito-yonde* '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: ... *tán-ni, Yooróppa ga sunáwati sékái da nádo to kangáeru no wa* ... 'thinking simply that Europe is the whole world [= that the world is to be identified with Europe] and the like' (Ōno 1967.5).

Noun phrases such as *A || túmari/sunáwati | B ...* are a reduction from an identification sentence *A wa túmari/sunáwati B da* 'A is namely B'. (Similarly, *A wa | motíron || 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

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

- (1) Watasi ga mīta TEGAMI wa anāta ga káita TEGAMI desu ka?
- (2) Watasi ga mīta MONÓ wa anāta ga káita TEGAMI desu ka?
- (3) Watasi ga mīta TEGAMI wa anāta ga káita MONÓ desu ka?
- (4) Watasi ga mīta NO wa anāta ga káita TEGAMI desu ka?
- (5) Watasi ga mīta TEGAMI wa anāta ga káita NO desu ka?
- (6) Watasi ga mīta NO wa anāta ga káita MONÓ desu ka?
- (7) Watasi ga mīta MONÓ wa anāta ga káita NO desu ka?
- (8) Watasi ga mīta MONÓ wa anāta ga káita MONÓ desu ka?
- (9) Watasi ga mīta NO wa anāta ga káita 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 ná no da:

- (1a) Watasi ga mīta TEGAMI wa anāta ga káita TEGAMI ná no desu ka?
- (3a) Watasi ga mīta TEGAMI wa anāta ga káita MONÓ na no desu ka?
- (5a) *Watasi ga mīta TEGAMI wa anāta ga káita NO ná no desu ka?
- (7a) *Watasi ga mīta MONÓ wa anāta ga káita NO ná no desu ka?
- (9a) *Watasi ga mīta NO wa anāta ga káita NO ná 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 watakusi désita 'I was certainly stupid' (SA 2670.116c); ... sono sasáyaka da ga kityoo na hina ni, onna-rasii yorokóbí(¯) o kan-zite iru watasi de áru 'I feel a womanly pleasure at those humble yet precious dolls' (SA 2670.140d); "Azi-ónti" to iwareru watasi de áru 'I am said to be "deaf to tastes"' (SA 2672.124a); Kodomo no inai watási-táti desu 'We are childless' (SA 2664.108d); Risoo ni moete tyúugaku no kyóosi ni nátta Sáeki-si da ga, kekkyokú, rokunén-kan kyóosi o tutómeta daké de káre wa terá e káetta '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); "...", mégane no óku no hosói mé o issou hosómete, nikkóri to warau Mórita-si de aru '[Saying] "..."' beams Mr Morita, narrowing still more the narrow eyes behind his spectacles' (SA 2684.64c); Íssái no ningen-kánkei o tátu zyohatu-níngen [to] dooyoo no káre da ga, ... 'He is like an evaporated man suppressing everything human, and ...' (SA 2685.112b); Nihón no zyosei o zessan site yamanai káre da ga, ... 'he praises Japanese women no end, but ...' (SA 2685.111a).

The identification can be negativized: Úso o iu yóo na iemotó zyaa arimasén 'It's NOT like the Master to lie' (Kb 237a); Yóo no súnnda tokoró ni, ítu made úro-uro site iru

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 mīta no wa anāta no káita no desu ka*.

O-úta san de wa nákatta '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 desita* '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: *Utí(-) ni || daidokoro ni || reizóoko no usiro ni || sókétto ga | áru* 'At home in the kitchen behind the refrigerator there is a socket'; *Syóowa(-) | nízyuu | ití-nen ni || nigatú^[1] no túitai ni || ása no | yó-zi ni || okótta* 'It happened at four in the morning on the first of February in the 21st year of Shōwa'; *Kin-yóobi ni || nán-zi ǵóro ni | kimásita ka* 'What time did you come on Friday?'; *Tyuukyoo ní wa || dóko ni mo || hae ga ippiki^[2] mo inai* 'In Communist China there are no flies anywhere' (Mikami 1963c.172); *Kóoti to | Yámato to no | sakái ni || Kongóo-san to iu | tokoró ni | siro o kamáete ...* 'Building a castle at a place called Diamond Mountain on the border between Kōchi and Yamato ...' (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-kín wa daidokoro e [dète], wakare-wákare ni zyotyuu-beya o déta* '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?'; *Hanasí o hito o nattoku saseru yóo ni suru = Hito o nattoku saseru yóo ni hanasí 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 seizyaku ga nó o [tutúnde] 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: *Tosí ǵoto ni | ninki ga | takamátte kíte orimásul keiba desu ga || ...* 'Horse racing is growing in popularity every year' (R).

3.11.1. 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 *Senséi ni tegami o káku* ‘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 senséi ni tegami o káite 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 senséi ni tegami o káite agete morau* ‘I will have a friend do me the favor of writing a letter to the teacher for the student’, *Tití ni tomodati ni gakusei ni senséi ni tegami o káite agete 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., 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 *ó* unless there is an *ó*-phrase already in the underlying sentence; in that event, *ni* is preferred to mark the underlying agent but *ó* is sometimes used. This leads to sentences such as (?*)*Gakusei o senséi o mataséru gakkoo da* which means either ‘It is a school that makes teachers wait for students’ (= *Gakusei o senséi ni mataséru gakkoo da* ← *Gakusei o senséi ga mátu* ‘Teachers wait for students’) or ‘It is a school that makes students wait for teachers’ (= *Gakusei ni senséi o mataséru gakkoo da* ← *Gakusei ga senséi o mátu* ‘Students wait for teachers’).⁵⁰ Such examples seem to be somewhat more common when the *ó*-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: *Hikóo-ki o anzen ni Haneda o tataséru tamé ni ...* ‘For the purpose of permitting airplanes to take off safely from Haneda’; *Yóru no háiuée o káre wa kuruma o hasiráseta* ‘He sped his car down the night(-darkened) highway’ (Okutsu 1967); *Kodomo o bénti o tatáseta* ‘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 *ó*-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 *wá* or foregrounded with *mó*, 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 *wá* and *mó* even if we could not find them. This is how an example can be built up to win acceptability:

Sono nímotu WA || éki kara | hóteru no aida O | zitén-sya(¯) de | hakonda ‘The luggage, I took by bike the distance from the station to the hotel’.

Sono nímotu O || éki kara | hóteru no aida WA || zitén-sya(¯) de | hakonda ‘The distance from the station to the hotel I took the luggage by bike’.

Sono nímotu O | éki kara | hóteru no aida O || zitén-sya(¯) de | 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-CAUSATIVE* as an optional version of $\{N_2 o\} N$ ni VT-CAUSATIVE.

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 || katúide | 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 katúide hakobaseta '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 || kawá o watasu 'He takes the luggage across the river'—cf. Umá o || kawá o || wataraseru 'He lets/makes the horse go across the river'; Sonna hitó o || kono máe o || tóosite wa | ikenai 'You shouldn't let such a person pass in front of us'—cf. Umá o || gakkoo no máe o | tooraséru 'He lets the horse pass in front of the school'.

An example such as Tegami o || sáakuru no | náka o | mawasite yómu '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' (= Sáakuru no náka o mawasite tegami o yómu) but that is not what is intended. Mikami (1963.109) cites the literary-flavored example Túmi omoki monó o ba kubi o kíru 'Those with heavy crimes will have their heads cut off'.

Very occasionally two *ó*-marked direct objects are put in apposition, as in Náni o báka na kotó 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 genitives

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 *gá*. And many other sentences contain a structure N_1 wa/mo N_2 ga in which the focus-marking with *wá* or *mó* can be taken back to an underlying *gá* 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 *náni* GA ... 'possessor ... possessed'. This includes *áru* 'possesses' (= *dáre* ga *náni* o *mótu*), *ir-u* 'needs' (= *dáre* ga *náni* o *yoo-súru*), *wakáru* 'understands' (= *dáre* ga *náni* o *rikai*(-) *suru*), *dekíru* 'can do' (= *dáre* ga *náni* o *si-éru/-úru*), *miéru* 'can see' (= *dáre* ga *náni* o *mi-éru/-úru*), *kikoeru* 'can hear' (= *dáre* ga *náni* o *kiki-éru/-úru*), and the regularly formed potentials in *-rare-ru* and *-[ar]e-ru* (§4.4); *nái* 'lacks' (= *dáre* ga *náni* o *motánai*), *óói* 'has lots' (= *dáre* ga *náni* o *takusáñ* *mótu*), *sukunái* 'has little' (= *dáre* ga *náni* o *sukósi* *sika* *motánai*), *hituyoo da* 'needs' (= *dáre* ga *náni* o *yoo-súru*). 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 *náni* GA ...) and the grammar of the underlying semantic structure as seen in the paraphrases (*dáre* GA *náni* 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 *dáre GA náni GA/O ...*. These include *si-tai* 'wants to do' etc.; *sukí da* 'likes', *kirai dá* 'dislikes', and *iyá da* 'dislikes'. On the difficulties of eliciting *náni o* with the latter two and with *hosíi* (= *ari-tái*) 'wants to have'—owing to the intransigent 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) Cathetic adjectives and adjectival nouns such as *kowái* 'is afraid' have the grammar *dáre GA náni GA ...* 'experiencer [feels an emotion toward] the stimulus'. See §3.5a.

The sentences accounted for in the above listing can include only two such surface "subjects" and for the first two types there is an alternative marking: in the possessive sentences the underlying subject can be marked with *ní* (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 *Zóo wa hana ga nagái* 'The elephant has a long nose (= trunk)'. This sentence is to be immediately derived from *Zóo ga hana ga nagái* 'The ELEPHANT has a long nose' either in answer to the question *Dáre* (or *Náni*) *ga hana ga nagái* 'Who (or What) has a long nose?' or when adnominalized as in *Zóo ga hana ga nagái kotó ...* 'The fact that the elephant has a long nose'. Focus can be applied to either adjunct or to both:

- (1) *Zóo ga hana ga nagái* 'The ELEPHANT has a long nose'.
- (2) *Zóo wa hana ga nagái* 'The elephant has a long nose'.
- (3) *Zóo mo hana ga nagái* 'The elephant too/even has a long nose'.
- (4) *Zóo wa hana wa nagái* 'The elephant has a LONG nose [but a SHORT tail]'.
- (5) *Zóo mo hana wa nagái* 'The elephant too/even has a LONG nose'.
- (6) *Zóo ga hana wa nagái* 'The ELEPHANT has a LONG nose'. (?)
- (7) *Zóo ga hana mo nagái* 'The ELEPHANT has even/also a long nose'.
- (8) *Zóo wa hana mo nagái* 'The elephant has even/also a long nose'.
- (9) *Zóo mo hana mo nagái* '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' (= *Zóo mo nágakereba hana mo nagái*) or even 'Both the elephant and the nose have long ones' (= *Zóo mo sore ga nágakereba hana mo sore ga nagái*) or—as seen below—'Someone has both big elephant and big nose' (= *Dáre ka wa zóo mo nágakereba hana mo nagái*) etc.

But there is another set of sentences that can result:

- (1a) *Hana ga—zóo ga nagái* 'It's the elephant (who) has a long NOSE'.
- (2a) *Hana wa—zóo ga nagái* 'It's the elephant (who) has a long nose'.

(3a) Hana mo—z^oo ga nagáí 'It's the elephant (who) has a long nose too/even'.

(4a) Hana wa—z^oo wa nagáí 'It's the elephant (who) has a LONG nose'.

(5a) Hana mo—z^oo wa nagáí 'It's the elephant (who) has a LONG nose too/even'.

(6a) Hana ga—z^oo wa nagáí 'It's the elephant (who) has a LONG NOSE'.

(7a) Hana ga—z^oo mo nagáí 'It's the elephant too/even (who) has a LONG NOSE'.

(8a) Hana wa—z^oo mo nagáí 'It's the ELEPHANT too/even (who) has a long nose'.

(9a) Hana mo—z^oo mo nagáí '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) Z^oo ga—hana ga nagáí 'The elephant, HE has a long nose'.

(2b) Z^oo wa—hana ga nagáí 'The elephant, he has a long nose'.

(3b) Z^oo mo—hana ga nagáí 'The elephant too/even, he has a long nose'.

(4b) Z^oo wa—hana wa nagáí 'The elephant, he has a LONG nose'.

(5b) Z^oo mo—hana wa nagáí 'The elephant too/even, he has a LONG nose'.

(6b) Z^oo ga—hana wa nagáí 'The elephant, HE has a LONG nose'.

(7b) Z^oo ga—hana mo nagáí 'The elephant, HE has even/also a long nose'.

(8b) Z^oo wa—hana mo nagáí 'The elephant, he has even/also a long nose'.

(9b) Z^oo mo—hana mo nagáí '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: Z^oo ni/ga hana ga áru 'The elephant has a nose' and [Sono] hana ga nagáí '[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 n^[r] N₂ in which the n^[r] 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 n^[r] N₂; suppose we class as "genitive" just those instances of n^[r] where such a relationship DOES obtain, treating the other instances of n^[r] in other ways—for example, as the adnominalized form of the copula (the essive ní + the auxiliary áru) in IDENTIFICATION and PROPREDICATION (§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):

(1) possessor–possessed (Possessive Genitive):

(1a) inalienable (body, body parts, spirit, kin, ...):

Zóo no hana (ga nagái) : Zóo ga hana ga nagái 'The elephant has a long nose'.

(1b) alienable:

Zóo no haná (ga sirói) : Zóo ga haná ga sirói 'The elephant has a white flower'.

(2) wider scope–narrower scope (Scope-narrowing Genitive):

(2a) partitive (whole–part):

Hana no aná (ga ookíi) : Hana ga aná ga ookíi 'The nose has large nostrils'.

Ié no yáne no kawara (ga utukusíi) : Ié ga yáne ga kawara ga utukusíi '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 iró (ga utukusíi) : Kawara ga iró ga utukusíi 'The tiles have a beautiful color'.

(3b) derived attribution (coming from adjective or adjectival noun):

Iró no utukúsi-sa (ga itizirusíi) : Iró ga utukúsi-sa ga itizirusíi 'The color has a striking beauty (about it)'.

(4) location–located (Locative Genitive):

(4a) place–located:

Koko no miti (ga kitanái) : Koko ga miti ga kitanái 'This place has filthy streets'.

(4b) time–located (relative time only?):

Háru no haná (ga utukusíi) : Háru ga haná ga utukusíi '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 + kotó, ...):

Zóo no sanpo (ga osoi) : Zóo 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 + kotó, ...):

Sizin no kenkyuu (ga muzukasíi(⁻))₁ : ??Sizin ga kenkyuu ga muzukasíi(⁻)₁ 'The poet has a difficult study (that he is doing)'.

(6) producer–product (Effective or Creative Genitive):

Sizin no hón (ga omosirói) : Sizin ga hón ga omosirói 'The poet has an interesting book (that he has written)'.⁵¹

51. This takes hón 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 proredication '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 muzukasii(¯))₂ : *Sizin ga kenkyuu ga muzukasii(¯)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 *gá* 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, *gá* 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) $Zóo \left\{ \begin{matrix} ni \\ ga \end{matrix} \right\} hana ga áru$ → *Zóo ni áru hana*
Zóo ga ǎáruǎ hana + ADJ, AN (But any pred in literary.)
Zóo no ǎáruǎ hana + ANY PRED
 'The elephant has a nose'. 'The nose that the elephant has ...'

(1b) $Zóo \left\{ \begin{matrix} ni \\ ga \end{matrix} \right\} haná ga áru$ → *Zóo ni áru haná*
Zóo ga ǎáruǎ haná + ADJ, AN (But any pred in literary, or if *áru* is not dropped.)
Zóo no ǎáruǎ haná + ANY PRED
 'The elephant has a flower'. 'The flower that the elephant has ...'

Note that the alienable possession permits a perfect, and the perfect form of *áru* (*átta*) is not to be omitted in the adnominalization:

(1c) $Zóo \left\{ \begin{matrix} ni \\ ga \end{matrix} \right\} haná ga átta$ → $Zóo \left\{ \begin{matrix} ni \\ ga \\ no \end{matrix} \right\} átta haná + ANY PRED$
 'The elephant had a flower'. 'The flower that the elephant had ...'

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) $Yáne \left\{ \begin{matrix} ni \\ ga \end{matrix} \right\} kawara ga áru$ → ? *Yáne ni áru kawara*
Yáne ga ǎáruǎ kawara + ADJ, AN (But any pred in literary.)
Yáne no ǎáruǎ kawara + ANY PRED
 'The roof has tiles'. 'The tiles of the roof ...'

52. But a few VERBS are also allowed: *Senséi ga hyyooban ga ÓTITA* 'The teacher has fallen in repute'; *Kore wa Kanbun to Nihón-bun(¯) tó ga, kotobá no zyúnzyo ga TIGAÚ no o nán to ka Nihón thuu ni yómu tamé no kuhuu dáttá* 'This was a device to read somehow in Japanese fashion the places

- (3) Kawara $\left\{ \begin{matrix} ni \\ ga \end{matrix} \right\}$ iró ga áru → ? Kawara ni áru iró
 Kawara ga ǎáruǎ iró + ADJ, AN (But ...)
 Kawara no ǎáruǎ iró + ANY PRED
 'The tiles have color'.
 'The color of the tiles ...'
- ?(4a) Koko $\left\{ \begin{matrix} ni \\ ga \end{matrix} \right\}$ miti ga áru → Koko ni áru miti
 Koko ga ǎáruǎ miti + ADJ, AN (But ...)
 Koko no ǎáruǎ miti + ANY PRED
 'This place has streets'.
 'The streets that this place has ...'
- ?(4b) Háru $\left\{ \begin{matrix} ni \\ ga \end{matrix} \right\}$ haná ga áru → Háru ni áru haná
 Háru ga ǎáruǎ haná + ADJ, AN (But ...)
 Háru no ǎáruǎ haná + ANY PRED
 'Spring has flowers'.
 'The flowers of spring ...'
 Cf. the discussion of the
 "emphatic" gá on p. 65.

In this way we explain by a single mechanism (dropping of áru) four types of the "multiple-subject" sentences and the corresponding four type of genitives in both their colloquial (N_1 n_o N_2) and their literary (N_1 gá N_2) manifestations. Since the "multiple-subject" must be followed by an adjectival predicate, it is tempting to speculate that the dropping of the áru is triggered by the submerged áru 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):

$$N_1 \text{ gá } \text{ǎáruǎ} N_2 \text{ ga } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} A\text{-}\text{ǎkú}\text{-}\text{ár-}\text{ǎi} \\ AN \text{ n}\text{ǎi}\text{-}\text{ǎe}\text{-}\text{ǎfr-}\text{i}\text{ǎ} \\ \text{n}\text{ǎi}\text{-}\text{ǎfr-}\text{u}\text{ǎ} \end{array} \right. \begin{array}{l} = A\text{-i} \\ = AN \text{ dá} \\ = AN \text{ ná (when adnominalized)} \end{array}$$

Perhaps we should say that every adjective (and adjectival noun) has not only the meaning '(N₂) is A' but also the latent meaning '(N₁) has an N₂ that is A = (N₁) has an A N₂': kamí ga nagái 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) Zóo $\left\{ \begin{matrix} ga \\ no \end{matrix} \right\}$ suru sanpo → Zóo ga {suru} sanpo + ADJ/AN IF SURU
 DROPS
 Zóo no {suru} sanpo + ANY PRED
 'The stroll that the elephant does ...'
 'The elephant's stroll ...'
- (5b) Sizin $\left\{ \begin{matrix} ga \\ no \end{matrix} \right\}$ suru kenkyuu → Sizin ga {suru} kenkyuu + ADJ/AN IF
 SURU DROPS
 Sizin no {suru} kenkyuu + ANY PRED
 'The study that the poet does ...'
 'The poet's study ...'

where classical Chinese and Japanese differ in word order' (Ōno 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', káku '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:

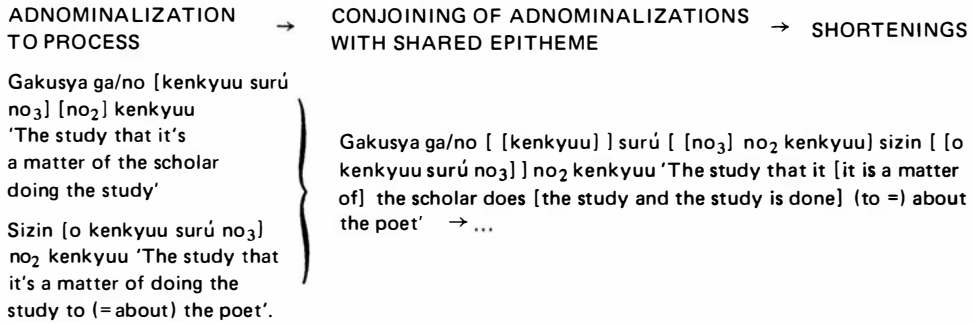
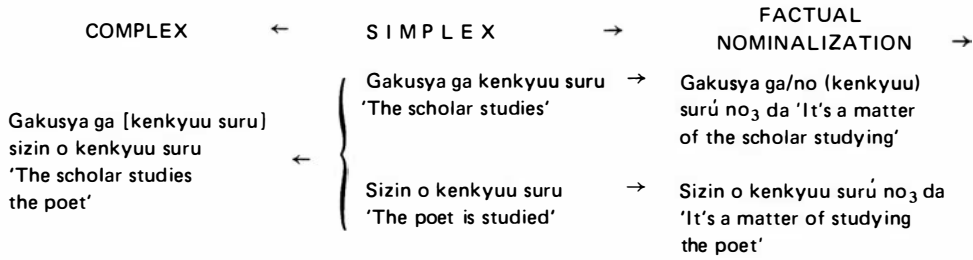
(5c) Sizin o kenkyuu suru 'studies the poet' → Sizin o kenkyuu surú no₃ da 'It is a matter of studying the poet' → Sizin [o kenkyuu surú no₃] no₂ kenkyuu 'the study of which it is [the matter of studying] the poet'.

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.

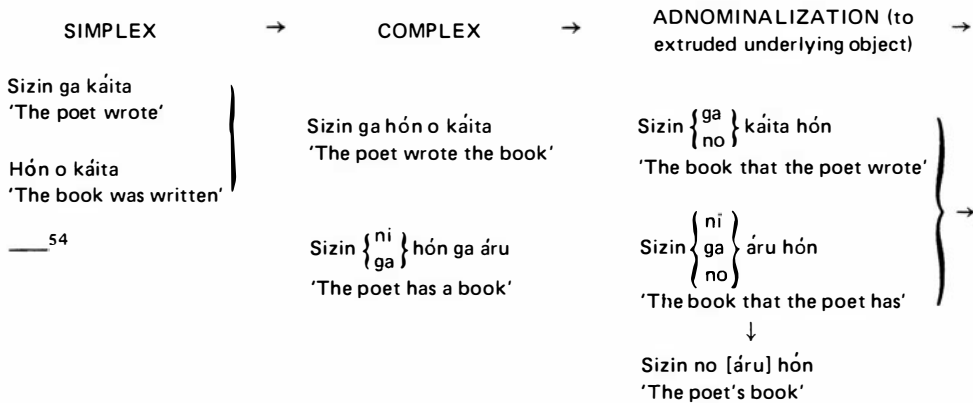
Notice that when the agent is expressed—and marked by gá, the pro-verb suru must be retained, yet must precede the underlying object: Gakusya ga sizin o kenkyuu surú no₃ da → *Gakusya ga sizin fo kenkyuu_‡ surú no kenkyuu → Gakusya ga surú^[1] sizin no₂ kenkyuu 'the study of poets done by the scholars'. (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:



CONJOINING OF ADNOMINALIZATIONS

Sizin {^{no}_{ga}} {káita} [sizin {ⁿⁱ_{ga}
_{no}} áru] hón
 '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 áru 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: Dáre ga dóko ga guai ga warúi 'Who has got what part of him ailing?'; Kono zyunban wa dóre ga tugoo ga ii desu ka ná 'Which of these turns would be best?'; Mukoo no ié wa, yáne wa, kawara wa, iró ga utukusii 'The house across the way has a roof with tiles of a beautiful color' (Mikami 1963c.105). And, with the possessor epithematized: Sikási, né ga hito ga ii otokó na no de, ... 'But he is a man with at heart a good nature ...' (Nagano 1966.75) ← [sono] otokó ga né ga hito ga ii (as the immediate source).

Unlike colloquial Japanese, Literary Japanese does not require that nó replace gá 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 wá-ga 'our' from the old pronoun wá[nu] = wáre 'I'. The genitive gá is also found in clichés and place-names such as Oni-gá-sima 'Devils' Island', Kasumi-gá-ura ('Bay of Mist'), Kasumi-gá-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 + ga tokó [da] 'it is the extent/level of ...' as in hyakuen ga tokó da 'it is a hundred yen('s worth)', hyak^[t]gozyúu-en ga tokó^[t] no esá(-) '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 Satóo o zyúuen ga tokó^[t] o-kure 'Give me ten yen's worth of sugar' and these more recent monetary examples: Kono yasu-de na zubon daké de, iti-niti^[t] niokú-en ga tokó^[t] kasegi-dasu ... '... (who) starts to earn two hundred million yen a day from these cheap pants alone' (SA 2668.37d); ... watasi wa nihyakuman-en ga tokó^[t] són sitimau [= site simau] yó 'I'll end up losing a couple of million yen' (SA 2679.27a).

In the following example húruki ga represents a literary genitive made on a direct nominalization of the adjective literary attributive; húruki ga utí corresponds to the more colloquial hurúi no no utí(-) 'among the old-fashioned ones': Húruki ga utí(-) ni mo hurúi onná 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^[t] (N₂) you may be uncertain whether the given form is really a genitive (and thus, presumably, equivalent to the literary N ga) or whether it is an adnominalization of N da. Nor is it always obvious just what kind of a genitive may be present. In Hutarí 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 hutarí no ko [ga áru] no da 'it is the case that he has two children', rather than treat the father as an inalienable possession (by kinship) of the children, i.e. derive the

sentence from *Hutarí no ko ni/ga titioya ga áru* 'The two children have a father', though under some contexts the latter interpretation ('the two children's father') might be preferable. In *san-nín no ko-moti* 'the parent of three' our surface grammar results from an object-incorporating lexicalization of the sentence *san-nín no ko o mótu* 'has three children', as explained—along with other perplexing genitives—in §3.8a. In *Kodomo no háha e no sittó(-)* 'Jealousy of the child toward his mother' (SA 2684.120cd), the first *nó* is a subjectival genitive that derives from *kodomo ga sittó(-) 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[ó] tokoro* 'my place' (cf. *boku n[ó] 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: *ókusan [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: *sikyokú-tyoo [no] | 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 **sikyokutyoo-taku* or **sikyokutyoo-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 matí e ikú ni wa básu sika norimono ga arimasén* 'To get to that town there are no vehicles but buses' (731) we have an inversion of a specificative genitive (*norimono ga básu ga áru*) apparently triggered by the *sika*-focus applied to the specimen, which is extruded and, it would seem, thematized. Here is another example, in which *gá* 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 nóogyoo sika sangyoo no nákatta toti ni booseki-kóozyoo made dékite imásu* '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) básu ga áru* 'of vehicles there are buses' + *norimono ga áru* 'there are vehicles'. Instead of choosing to invert, you can subdue the specified: *norimono wa básu sika arimasén* 'of vehicles there are only buses', *sangyoo wa nóogyoo sika nákatta 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 ryokák[ú]-ki ga kassoo-kyóri ga mizikái desu* 'This airliner has a short taxiing distance'; *? Ore ga syabétta no ga náni ga warúi* 'What's the matter with my having spoken?'

(3b) Examples sought.

(4a) Húzi-san ga yukí ga tokénai 'The snow on Fuji doesn't melt'.

(4b) Nigatú ga óndo ga hikúí 'February has low temperatures'; Ítu ga tugoo ga íi 'When would it be convenient for you?' (= Ítu no tugoo ga íi). But the following example probably belongs with the stylistic peculiarity of the "emphatic GA" (p. 65): Sono zíbun(¯) ga tabémónó ga móttó-mo hóohu(¯) de átta [= hóohu(¯) dátta tokí da] 'That was the time when food was most abundant'.

(5a) Gakusei ga yasumí ga óói 'Students take a lot of cuts' from gakusei ga yasúmu; ... kuni no kétúí no arawaré desu 'it is an expression of the government's determination' (SA 2649.44e) from kétúí ga arawaréru; ... monó^[1] no kangae-káta no omosíró-sa o siru kotó ga dekíru 'you can find out the pleasure of thinking about things' (SA 2650.93b) from kangae-káta ga omosírói (the first phrase is an objectival genitive, from monó o kangáeru). ... kane no hósí-sa 'the desire for money' (KKK 3.171)—immediately from kane ga hosii 'desires money'; ... káre no kaerí o mátu kotó ni sitá ga, ... 'we decided to await his return but ...' (KKK 3.169)—from káre ga káeru 'he returns'; ... áka-tyan no hatuiku ni hituyoo na séibun ga ... 'ingredients necessary for the baby's growth' (KKK 3.169)—from áka-tyan ga hatuiku suru 'the baby grows'.

(5b) ... sono máe ni isya no sinsatu o úkete ... 'before that has a doctor's examination' (KKK 3.169) from isya ga [karada o] sinsatu suru 'the doctor examines [one's body]'; ... Amerika no Nihón ni tai-súru híhan(¯) wa ... 'America's criticisms of Japan' (SA 2685.24c).

(6) Examples sought.

(7) ... zyettó-ki no nottori[-ziken] 'the hijacking of a jet plane' from [káre-ra ga] zyettó-ki o nottóru '[they] hijack a jet plane'; ... sugúreta i zyúsya de átta ¯rasii || ónsi no | sóhu no || gakúmon no | si-kata ga ... 'the research methods of his grandfather and teacher, who seems to have been an outstanding Confucianist ...' (SA 2650.93c) from gakúmon o suru—the ^[1] of ónsi ^[1] is the copula (= de áru), the ^[1] of sóhu ^[1] is either the subjective genitive (from sóhu ga gakúmon o suru) or the possessive genitive (from sóhu ni áru gakúmon from sóhu ni/ga gakúmon ga áru).

There is a structure of iterated number word with the first occurrence followed by *ga* as in *san-nin ga san-nin* 'all three people', *zis-satú ga zis-satú* 'each of the ten volumes', *súbete ga súbete* 'each and every one', etc., that I would account for as a possessive sentence reduced to form a literary genitive (specificative): *san-nin ga {áru} 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: ... *watakusí-ritu no san'in de syussan surú no wa zénbu ga zénbu to itte yóí hodo, máda kekkon site inai hahaoýá-táti de aru* 'Virtually all of those giving birth in private maternity hospitals ... are unmarried mothers' (SA 2655.42); *Itte mireba, minná ga minna, Kárayan no hoohoo o súite iru tó wa kagiránai si ...* 'It does not necessarily follow that, so to speak, just everyone is fond of Karajan's methods' (SA 2666.105d); ... *zénbu ga | zénbu || sóo de wa | náí* 'not all of them are like that' (SA 2655.133d); ... *zenpóo(¯) o yokogíru tyoozyuu-tyúugyo no íssái ga íssái o hitó-nomi ni site simaú 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 *zyúu-nin ga zyúu-nin* 'ten people out of ten' and *hyakú-nin ga hyakú-nin* 'a hundred people out of a hundred' are used to mean 'everyone, all of them': *Eiga(¯)*

ni hazímete utútta hitó wa, zyúu-nin ga zyúu-nin sóo desu né 'Everybody is like that on first being filmed in a movie' (Tk 2.140a); Soryaa hookoo-nin no kotó desu kara, syúzin o yóku iu nánte monó wa, hyakú-nin ga hyakú-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 zyuugo-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^[j] iu monó 'a matter of' (§21.1). An archaic equivalent of N to tómo(一) ni 'together with' is N no/ga muta. For such expressions as gó-nen ga zyúu-nen de mo 'whether five years or ten years', see pp. 249–50. Note also N tó^[j] iu N '(each and) every N', §21.1.

Somewhat similar are such expressions as íma ga íma 'right now' (=tyoodo íma) and íma ga ima-máde 'up to this very moment'—usually treated as idioms (p. 39: gá 26). Of like structure is kyóo ga kyóo made 'up to this very day'; but there is no *kyóo ga kyóo 'this very day' without máde. The expressions with máde will allow nó to replace gá: íma no ima-máde, kyóo no kyóo made, but not (under normal circumstances) *íma no íma or *kyóo no kyóo. There are also the expressions kyóo-ga/no-hi made 'up to this very day of today' (but not without máde) and asú-ga/no-hí 'the very day of tomorrow'. Asú-ga-hí mo 'even the very day of tomorrow' is pronounced either /asúgahimo/ or /asugahimo/, and asú-no-hí mo is pronounced either /asúnohimo/ or /asunohimo/. But in standard Japanese, despite such expressions as sui-yóobi no hí 'the day of Wednesday', you will not find *ototói ga/no hí. *kinóo ga/no hí, *asátte ga/no hí, nor *siasátte ga/no hi. Kyóo 'today' will not permit kono 'this' to modify it directly, but kono kyóo-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 thematization:

(1b) Zóo ga—[sono] hana ga nagái 'The elephant, HE has a long nose'.

(2b) Zóo wa—[sono] hana ga nagái 'The elephant, he has a long nose'.

(3b) Zóo mo—[sono] hana ga nagái 'The elephant too/even, he has a long nose'.

What is thematized in these three sentences is the EXTRUDED GENITIVE (Zóo ga ㇰáruㇰ), 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 kyóo, ...; kore mo íma, ...; tegami o móo, ...; etc. Even without such a signal, you must assume thematization if there is an anaphoric reprise:

Zóo wa/mo SONO hana ga nagái '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 (*wá/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 N_1 ga $\text{fáru}\ddot{\text{z}}$ $N_2 \rightarrow N_1$ wa/mo N_2 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 *gá*. 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 nagái 'The snake has a long body'; Anó-hito wa mé ga ookii 'He has large eyes'; Watasi wa así ga itái 'I have a sore foot'; Watasi wa karada ga moeru yóo desu 'I feel my body burning'—the predicate is adjective nominal (... yóo desu); Súgu ni, atamá ni hootai o sita Toyosima zyootóo-hei no súgata 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 Ashiheii)—the three themes are transitional ('at once'), subjectival ('the figure ...'), and subdued genitival (watasi wa 'my'); Kóo-si wa ókusan ga nyuuin tyuu desu 'Mr Kō's wife is in the hospital' or 'Mr Kō has his wife in the hospital'; Kono hutarí wa hahaoya ga onazi de, ... 'These two had the same mother and ...' (Ōno 1966.99); Káre wa ki ga kuzíketa 'He was discouraged (in spirit)'; Watasi wa nán da ka ki ga susumanákatta 'I somehow felt unwilling to do it'; Zisyu-zémi wa ... soozoo suru tika⁽⁻⁾rá o tukútte iku kotó ga nerai desu 'The undirected seminar has as its aim to build up the power to create ...' (= Zisyu-zémi no nerai wa ... kotó desu).

(1b) *alienable possessive*: Watasi wa ié ga tiisái 'I have a house that is little'.

(2a) *partitive*: Kiso-gawa wa mizu ga tumetai 'The Kiso River has cold water'; Kore wa tásika ni búnsyoo ga warúi n desu 'The sentences are definitely wrong in this'; Tooan wa⁽⁻⁾ san-ban ga matigái desu 'The answer sheet has a mistake on No. 3'; ... uti⁽⁻⁾ no asá-syoku [= asamesi = tyoosyoku] mo o-kazu ga nattóo daké to iu kotó 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 wa watasi desu); ICU no kyooiku-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 kane wa densyá-tin sika nákatta 'But now I had no more money than carfare' (Ig 1962.69)—kane no densyá-tin 'the carfare part of the money' seems to be what was intended; Okyakusan, Sibuya wa [soko no] dono-hen desu ka 'What part of Shibuya do you want, sir?' (SA 2641.54a—taxi driver speaking); Koo iu búraku no hitó-tati wa, ima-máde isya ni kakátta kotó no náí 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 ... náí no da; Rokugatu⁽⁻⁾ syózyun⁽⁻⁾ {de}, taue wa, íma ga sakari dá 'The first third of June—this [now] is when

rice-planting is at its peak' (SA 2684.16c)—Ir ga Id dá = Id wa Ir dá (§3.10), taue wa sakari wa íma da = taue no sakari wa íma da = íma ga taue no sakari dá; Intatyénzi mo kónzatu suru tokoró wa sákete, suite iru kóosu o tegiwa⁽¹⁾ yóku sentaku suru kotó ga nozomasii 'With respect to interchanges, too, it is desirable to select skillfully those with empty lanes, avoiding the congested places [on or among them]' (SA 2649.96c)—reference is to intatyénzi no ... tokoró/kóosu 'places/lanes on the interchanges', but tokoró could also be taken as specificative (2b below).

(2b) *specificative*: Sake wa uisúkii ga umái 'Of liquors, whiskey tastes good'; Saó mo watasi nó o tukai-nasái, riiru mo watasi nó o tukai-nasái 'For a pole use mine, for a reel use mine' (SA 2678.95c); Páseri wa mizin-giri ni sita monó o tukaimásu 'You use the parsley minced' (KKK 3.131); Watasi no kóobutu wa, koohii ga dáí-iti da 'Coffee is number one among the things I like' (Mikami 1963.121); Bihuteki ni tukéru monó wa, bataa-sóosu ga itíban desu 'Of the things to put on beefsteak butter sauce is best' (Mikami 1963.121); ... rinyúu-hoo(¯) no itirei 'an example of weaning (method)'; Bóku(¯) ga kénzi o yameta riyuu mo, hitótu wa sore désu yó 'THAT is one of the very reasons I quit as public prosecutor' (SA 2650.43d) = Sore ga ... riyuu no hitótu da; Wakái hwán no motoméru kén wa hotóndo ga ittóo-seki [da] 'Almost all the tickets bought by the young fans are first-class seats' (SA 2649.101c) = Ittóo-seki wa ... kén no hotóndo da; Rekóodo wa "Loving you" ga natte ita ' "Loving You" was the record playing' (Ig 1962.69)—the verb is naru 'sounds'; N₁ wa dóno N₁ mo ... 'Just any N₁ ...'; Hanasi-áite wa dáre mo inákatta 'There was no one to talk to' (SA 2650.104b); Tori mo iroiro na tori ga kúru 'And all sorts of birds come, too' (Endō 106); Sasiire wa renraku ga túita kyoozyu-sósiki kara⁽⁴⁾ no wa átta ga, óyazi(¯) kara no wa nákatta '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-máde nán-kai to náku teioo-sékkai o yatte kíta ga, syúzyutu ¯gó(¯) naku-nátta no wa kore ga hazímete 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 musumé⁽¹⁾ bákari ga yo-nín 'When it comes to children—[he has] four, all daughters' (SA 2684.64b)—is the underlying structure Kodomo wa yo-nín wa musumé⁽¹⁾ bákari [da] 'When it comes to [his] children, the four are all daughters'?

(3a) *underived attributive*: Kono gakusei wa tinoo-sísuu ga hikúí 'This student has a low IQ'; Kodomó-táti wa kanzyu-sei ga tuyói 'Children are strongly impressionable'; Sáigo no monó wa ími ga semái 'The last one has a narrow meaning'; Kono hón wa haba ga hirói 'This book is wide'; Háha wa kagen ga warúi 'Mother is not well'; Tanaka wa tugoo ga yói 'It's convenient for Mr Tanaka'; Íma kootuu-síngoo wa iró ga áka da 'Now the traffic light is red'; Káre wa seikaku ga hakkiri sinai 'He has an ambiguous nature'; Kono kippu wa kígen ga kirete iru 'This ticket has expired'; Kono natú⁽¹⁾ no móodo wa atarasii kankaku ga húndan ni tori-irete áru 'This summer's styles liberally incorporate fresh touches'; Báanáado hákase [or: Baanaado-hákase] wa, watasi yóri tosi ga ue de áru 'Dr Barnard is older than I am' (SA 2647.126); Síamura-kun wa búngaku wa syokúgyoo de áru 'Shimura's profession is literature' (Ig 1962.77) = Síamura-kun no syokúgyoo wa búngaku de aru; Sore wa Kótake no kekkon ni gen'in ga áru yóo ni omowaréru 'It appears that that has its roots in Kotake's marriage' (Ig 1962.92); Sinbun de o-nazimi no densoo-syásin, sore ni térebi sono-mónó mo [soré-ra no] génri wa onazi koto, iwába(¯) hwakusímiri no kyoodái-bun to ieru 'Wire photos, familiar to you in the newspapers, and television itself have the same basic principle, so that they can be said to be in a sibling relationship, so to speak,

with the facsimile [newspaper]' (SA 2647.137b)—the attribute (*génri wa*) is subduced to serve as the Identified with the descriptive Identifier *onazi kotó [de]* 'is the same thing [and]' while the conjoined attributee (*densyoo-syásin [to] ... térebi sono-mónó mo*) is highlighted and thematized; *Sono hón o yómu no wa muron naiyoo o yómu no ga mokuteki de arimásu 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 ...' (= *hón o yómu [koto no] mokuteki wa naiyoo o yómu no da*) (Hukuda in Ōno 1967.202); *Sono tiryoo mo san-kágetu ga géndo [da]* 'For its treatment the limit is three months' (SA 2670.30d) = *Sono tiryoo no géndo wa san-kágetu [da]* 'Three months is the limit for treating it [= alcoholism]'; *Bókú-ra wa tié ga syóobai desyo. Tísiki yori mo tié desyo* 'Our business is brains, you see. Brains rather than knowledge' (SA 2653.44b) = *Bókú-ra no syóobai wa tié desyo*. But *Kisyatabi wa kimoti ga ii* 'It's comfortable to travel by train' apparently does not contain a thematized genitive, since **kisyatabi no*^[1] *kimoti* would not be acceptable; instead, *Kisyatabi wa* is probably a theme of CONDITION = *Kisyatabi [o surú no] nara* 'If [you take] a train trip'.

(3b) *derived attributive*: *Kotosi no huyú wa zúibun sámu-sa ga kibisii yóo desu né* 'The cold this winter seems fierce, doesn't it?'; *Kore wa riyóo-sya no tyúumon(¯) suru zyoohoo o hwakúsímiri de sókuza ni okuri-kaeséru no ga tuyo-mí 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 fáru† ... tuyo-mí GA ... okuri-kaeséru no DA*, from *Kore ga tuyói* 'This is strong'.

(4a) *place-locative*: *Tósi no kúuki wa, zinkoo ni hirei site hokori ga zóoka(¯) suru* 'City air increases in dust content in proportion to the population' (SA 2658.105d); *Nihón 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; *Húzi-san wa itadaki no yukí ga yuumei desu* 'Mt Fuji is famous for the snow at its peak'—I take the structure as *Húzi-san wa ... yukí = Húzi-san no ... yukí* rather than *Húzi-san wa itadaki = Húzi-san no itadaki* (the latter interpretation would be partitive, I presume).

(4b) *time-locative*: *Huyú wa yózóra ga utukusii* 'The night sky in winter is beautiful'.

(5a) *intransitive subjectival*: *Káre wa umare ga Beikoku desu* 'His birthplace is the US'; *Watasi wa yói mo sámete ...* 'My intoxication wore off = I sobered up' (Endō 92).

(5b) *transitive subjectival*: *Kokuzin wa utáu no ga umái* 'Negroes are good at singing'—the verb is transitive though the object is unexpressed here.

(6) *effective*: *Káno-zyo wa seiseki ga yuusyyu desu* 'She has an excellent record'; *Bikutaa-sutéreo wa otó ga utukusii* 'Victor stereo produces beautiful sound'.

(7) *objectival*: ... *sikín wa zénbu bókú(¯) zísín ga sekinin o mótu no da ga* 'the capital I would myself take the responsibility for all of it but ...' (SA 2647.62c).—This comes from *Bókú(¯) zísín ga zénbu no sikín no sekinin o mótu*, but since *sekinin* is not a verbal noun (**sikín o sekinin suru*) the objectival relationship is a valence with a lexicalized nucleus involved deep in the history of the word *sekinin*: *sikín o SEKI (= semé) ni NIN-zíru(¯)* 'assumes the capital as a responsibility'. See §3.8a.

There are problem sentences:

1b?, 3a?: *Tóo wa sidoo-táisei ga ittaí-ka(¯) site { } náí* 'The leading principle of the party (? = the party platform) is not unified'.

1b?, 5?: Kázoku itídóo wa íken ga itti sita 'Every member of the family concurred in opinion'.

2a?, 3a?: Toohoku-ben wa hatuon o kaerú no ga muzukasii ga, Kamigata-ben wa ákusento ya iimawasi 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 púrán o tátete imasu 'It is mainly A who is setting up plans for the next trip' (Mikami 1963.121).

6?, 7? Kóndo no tyósyo mo, B-syóten ga syuppan o hiki-úquete kuremásita 'B Bookshop has undertaken the publication of my next work, too' (Mikami).

In Tabako no suigara wa dóko 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 n^[1]N₂ as in these examples: Taihúu no susumu sókudo wa, hatigatú ga osoku, kugatú ga hayái 'The speed at which typhoons advance is slow in August and fast in September' (Ōide 1965.149)—to be interpreted as ... sókudo wa hatigatú [no sókudo] ga ... 'the speed in August [TIME-LOCATIVE GENITIVE] which is one of the speeds [SPECIFICATIVE GENITIVE]' or as ... sókudo wa hatigatú [no taihúu] ga 'the speed of the typhoons [UNDERIVED ATTRIBUTIVE GENITIVE] of August [TIME-LOCATIVE GENITIVE]'; Tozan-tai no ténto wa goosei-sén'i ga zyoosiki dá ga, ... 'For the mountaineer's tent the commonsense thing is synthetic fiber, but ...'—to be interpreted as . . . ténto wa goosei-sén'i [no ténto] ga with thematized SPECIFICATIVE genitive and ellipsis containing an UNDERIVED ATTRIBUTIVE GENITIVE.

A more perplexing example: Kono yóo na kotó kara noosóttuu de ínóti o otósu kisétu wa, ití-nen zyuu de nigatú ga itiban óoku, hatigatú 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: kisétu wa nigatú {ni ... ínóti o otósu koto} ga óoku, ... 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 POSSESSIVE PHRASE, in which both the possessor and the possessed are (at least latently) present: Watasi nó {monó} wa/mo—sóo 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 tomodati desu ka, ootoó no desu ka.—Bóku(¯) nó desu 'Is he your friend, or your little brother's?—He's mine'. The sentence Sono éiga(¯) wa Amerika 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 Nihón nó desu ka, Amerika nó desu ka 'Is that film a Japanese one, or American?' This authentic example appears to violate Inoue's constraint: Mátá(⁻) geri no náka de mo rigyúu-ki no wa tóku ni omoku nari-yasúi 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 nó o tótte kudasái '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 nó no (N)*:

Watasi no kodomo no monó da 'It is my child's thing'.

Watasi no kodomo nó [] da 'It is my child's'.

Watasi nó [] no monó da 'It is mine's thing'.

Watasi nó [] no [] da 'It is mine's'.

And since the nominal sentences given above can be adnominalized to ... hazu dá 'it ought to be (true that)', we may end up with the triple-nó sentence Watasi nó no no hazu da 'It ought to be mine's' (= Watasi no kodomo no monó no hazu da), which differs in meaning from Watasi nó no hazu da 'It ought to be mine' (= Watasi no monó/kodomo no hazu da) and from Watasi no hazu 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's (= It's one that belongs to mine's)' and eventually Watasi nó no no no hazu da 'It ought to be mine's'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 hazu is restored to its uncontracted formal guise de áru.)

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 *tábeta* 'I ate the fish' is a conversion of Sakana o *tabéru* '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 *tábe* '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 *tabéru* not directly from the infinitive but rather from the adnominal version Sakana o *tabéru* 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 *tábe* [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 *tábe*. 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 <i>tábe</i> [su]ru KOTO	Sakana o <i>tábe</i> [si]ta KOTO
Sakana o <i>tabéru</i> KOTO	Sakana o <i>tábeta</i> KOTO
Sakana o <i>tabéru</i> .	Sakana o <i>tábeta</i> .

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[í]*- '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 *íma* 'now', *móo* 'already', *moo* 'still/yet', *íma 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) stative verbs = *zyootai-dóosi*
- (2) durative verbs = *keizoku-dóosi*
- (3) punctual verbs = *syunkan-dóosi*
- (4) ("special" =) durative-stative 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[ru]/(s)ute 'discards'.

The classes can be justified on the basis of at least the following conversion possibilities (adapted and expanded from Kindaichi's study):

CONVERSION	ASPECT CLASS			
	1	2	3	4
	STATIVE	DURATIVE	PUNCTUAL	DURATIVE- STATIVE
-te iru continuative (= -i-tutu aru)	-	+	- ^a	-
resultative	-	+	+	-
repetitive	-	+	+	-
semantically empty	-	-	(+) ^b	+
-te simau 'finishes doing'	-	+	-	-
'does completely'	-	+	+	-
'ends up doing'—involuntary?	-	+	+	-
'dammit'	+	+	+	+
-te kúru 'gradually does'	+	+	-	+
-i-naosu 'redoos (improving)'	-	+	(+) ^c	-
-i-hazimeru/owaru 'begins/stops'	(-) ^d	+	(-) ^e	(-) ^h
-i-kakeru 'half-started'	-	+	-	-
'about to'	-	-	+	-
-i-kir-u 'to the end'	-	+	-	-
'thoroughly'	-	+	+	-
-i-tukeru 'gets accustomed to'	- ^f	+	- ^g	-
-i-tate da 'is fresh from doing'	-	+	+	-
-i-doosi da 'keeps on doing'	-	+	-	-
'happens over and over'	-	+	+	-
-i-gake ni 'when about to'	-	-?	+	-
-i-nagara 'though'	+	+	+	(+)
'while'	-	+	-	-

a. The nearest equivalents to such English examples as 'is going/leaving' would seem to be V-ru tokoró da/datta; cf. Alfonso 901: *Íma Tookyoo ni iku tokoró desu* 'He's on his way to Tōkyō now' and *Tadáima uti o déru tokoró desita* 'I was leaving the house just now'. (On tokoró 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 *Hón o yōnde 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', *sugúrete inai* 'does not excel'.

b. When adnominalized: *sinde iru hitó* = *sinda hitó* 'a dead person'.

c. *Suwari-naósu* 'reseats oneself'; in context, *sini-naósu* 'does a better job of dying the second time around'.

d. In context, perhaps *ari-haziméru* 'begins to exist/have'.

e. But, with implied plural subject, *ki-hazimete iru* '(the crowd—)they are beginning to arrive'.

f. But *o-kane ga ari-tukete iru* 'is used to having money' has been suggested.

g. Perhaps *sini-túkete 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: ... *hénka ga medati-hazimeru ziki* ... 'the period when the changes start being conspicuous', *Kōza Kokugo-shi* 1.256 (1977).

The difference between the stative and the durative-stative verb is that the latter normally requires *-te iru* when predicative (as in *gakusya ga sugúrete iru* 'the scholar excels' and *yamá ga sobiéte iru* 'the mountain towers') and take the perfect when attributive (i.e. adnominalized, as in *sugúreta gakusya* 'an excellent scholar'); but the stative, whether predicative or attributive, appears only in the simple imperfect (*yamá ga áru* 'there are mountains', *kore ga iru* 'I need this') and the perfect carries its full meaning whenever it appears: *átta yamá* 'the mountains that existed', *itta monó* '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: ... *kanarazú-simo anzen-sei ga suguréru to wa ienai* 'we cannot say that they are always superior in safety' (SA 2674.130e); *Hito ni suguréru hodó no sáinoo*(⁻) *o moti-nágara káre wa nakanaka mitomeremasén* 'Though he has the talent to excel over others it is hard for him to gain recognition'; *Kono bún'ya de gakusya ga suguréru to súgu mitomereréru desyoo* 'If a scholar excels in this field he will be recognized at once'; *Sobiéru yamá o sita ni míte hikóo-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—**átte iru* 'is existing' and **itte iru* 'is needing' are ungrammatical, and *dékite iru* is possible only as the resultative ('is achieved/formed') of the punctual verb *dekíru* 'achieves/forms', not as 'is being able' from the stative. Similarly, *wakátte iru* 'has achieved understanding = understands' is to be distinguished from *wakáru* = *rikai*(⁻) *dekíru* '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 kudasái* '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 (*óru*, *irassyáru*, 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-V-i dá*, §6.1-2) can refer to present, past, or future when it is applied to DURATIVE verbs: *Móo o-yomi désu ka* 'Have you read it (already)?', *Íma dóko o o-yomi désu ka* 'What part are you reading now?', *Ítu o-yomi désu ka—asita desu ka* 'When will you read it—tomorrow?' But for PUNCTUAL verbs, the present is excluded: *Ítu o-tati désu 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: **Okáasan ni yóku o-ni désu né* → *Okáasan ni yóku nite irassyaimásu né* 'You much resemble your mother, I see', **Takái hana o o-si désu né* → *Takái hana o site irassyaimásu né* '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 dá* is also rejected, as is **o-sugure ni nátte iru* → *sugúrete irassyáru*.

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

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 interpretation 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 Kindaichi's aspect classes.

Class 1: STATIVE verbs.

- (1) *áru* 'exists, is located, has' (and synonym *gozaimásu*).
 - (2) *ir-u* 'needs', *yoo-súru* 'needs'.
 - (3) *wakáru* 'can understand' = *rikai*(-) *dekíru*; but in the sense 'acquires understanding' = *sir-u*, the verb is punctual.
 - (4) all potentials, including *dekíru* 'can do'; but in the meaning 'achieves' as in *odéki ga dekíru* 'acquires a skin eruption' and *koibito ga dekíru* 'gets a lover', the verb is punctual.
 - (5) ...-*soo ni miéru* '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-súru* 'needs' is transitive.

Class 2: DURATIVE verbs.

- (1) Transitive and voluntary (the majority): *yómu* 'reads', *káku* 'writes', *warau* 'laughs (at)', *syabér-u* 'talks', *utau* 'sings'; *kúu* 'eats', *nómu* 'drinks', *naméru* 'licks', *suu* 'sips', *osu* 'pushes', *hiku* 'pulls', *karu* 'mows, cuts', *kezuru* 'shaves', *núu* 'sews', *siku* 'spreads', *huku* 'wipes', *kangáéru* 'thinks (about)'; *benkyoo suru* 'studies', *kuhuu suru* 'devises'; *míru* 'looks' (but punctual as 'sees' and—?—stative as 'can see'), *kiku* 'listens' (similarly 'hears' and—?—'can hear');
- (2) Quasi-intransitive and voluntary: *arúku* 'walks', *kakéru* 'runs',
- (3) Intransitive and voluntary: *hataraku* 'works',
- (4) Intransitive and involuntary: *subér-u* 'slips', *naku* 'cries'; *oyobu* 'it reaches', *haná ga tir-u* 'flowers fall/scatter', *áme ga húru* 'it rains', *tí ga yureru* 'the earth trembles', *hí ga moeru* 'fire burns',

Class 3: PUNCTUAL verbs.

sinu 'dies', (*dénki ga*) *túku/kieru* '(electricity) goes on/off', *todóku* 'is delivered', *hanaréru* 'separates' (but durative when it means 'goes away' = *toozakáru*), *syuppatu suru* 'departs', *tootyaku suru* 'arrives'; *kimaru* 'is decided', *mitukaru* 'is found', *mé ga saméru* 'wakes up', *tokei ga tomaru* 'a clock stops', *byooki ga naóru* 'an illness improves', *áme ga yamu* 'rain stops', *nokóru* 'remains', *tukíru* 'is exhausted', *súmu* '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 *míru*) or to have happen "again" (as the same event). Presumably the following are voluntary and intransitive: *suwaru* 'sits', *kekkon suru* 'marries', *ríkon*(-) *suru* 'gets divorced', *sotugyoo suru* 'graduates', and *nyuugaku suru* 'enters school', Involuntary transitives include *usinau* 'loses' and *wasureru* 'forgets'. *Sir-u* 'acquires knowledge of' is transitive but perhaps involuntary, and *wakáru* with the same meaning is at least quasi-transitive (since nowadays many people mark the

underlying object with *ó* instead of *gá*): *sitte iru* and *wakátte iru* mean ‘holds as knowledge, knows’. *Tabako o yameru* ‘gives up smoking’ is transitive and presumably voluntary, as are *mótu* ‘grasps’ and *mótte iru* ‘has in one’s possession’ and the adnominalization *mótta* as in this example: *Syoohin dé wa áru ga, sute-gatái omosíró-sa o mótta kígeki 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) *sobiéru* ‘towers’, *suguréru* ‘excels’, *nukindéru* ‘excels’, *hiidéru* ‘excels’, *omo-dátu* ‘stands out’, *zubanukéru* ‘is prominent’, *arihureru* ‘is trite’, *saibasír-u* ‘is sharp-witted’, *saihazikéru* ‘is presumptuous’, *niyakéru* ‘is namby-pamby’, *bakagéru* ‘is foolish’; ? *maséru* ‘is/acts precocious’—cf. *Sonna monó⁽¹⁾ míru kara, maséru no né* ‘Watching such things you are behaving beyond your years’ (Fn 318a); ...

(2) *tómu* ‘is rich’, *niru* ‘resembles’ (“often used as Class 4”)—cf. *Kao ga nite iru to, seikaku mo niru monó to iú 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’, *bottyan-bóttyan suru* ‘plays the spoiled son’, *sinneri-múttúri suru* ‘is morose’, *nonben-darári to suru* ‘is idle, sluggish’, ... And quite a few other uses of *suru*, e.g.: *Kabutó-musi no yóo na KATATI O SITE ITE, míreba osóraku, dáre de mo súgu ni sore to wakáru de aróo Doitu-sei no kogata-zyooyóosya ga syuzín-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 likely everyone would immediately recognize it at a glance’ (SA 2657.118a).

Verbs that can be either 2 or 3, according to Kindaichi, 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 kite iru* ‘He’s on his way here now’ vs. *Máda koko máde kite 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 Kindaichi, include *magaru* ‘gets/is bent’ and *kuttúku* ‘gets/is stuck’: *Kono kugi wa magatte iru* ‘This nail is bent’ and *Ítu made mo híbati ni kuttúite iru* ‘It is stuck to the hibachi for ever more’ show the resultative conversion of a punctual verb, but *Kono miti wa magatte iru* ‘This road bends’ and *Seiyóo-zin wa mé to máyu to ga kuttúite 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 *ataru* ‘is (equivalent to, or in the relationship of)’. What this amounts to is that the simple predicative form can be either *tigau* or *tigatte iru* (*ataru* or *atatte 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-ta* when adnominalized: *Kono geta wa tigau* and *Kono geta wa tigatte iru* both mean ‘These are the wrong clogs’; *Anó-hito wa watasi no ozi ni ataru* and *Anó-hito wa watasi no ozi ni atatte iru* both mean ‘(His relationship to

58. But Kindaichi’s observation appears to be valid, nonetheless; cf. *káette 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 kite iru totyuu* ‘while on my way here to Tōkyō’.

me is that) he is my uncle'. Notice how these verbs differ from wakáru ≠ wakátte iru and sir-u ≠ sitte iru, etc. When it means 'consists (of)', the verb (... kara) náru is like tigau, either Class 1 or Class 4; the expression go-kákoku kara náru iin-kai 'a committee made up of five countries' (KKK 25.75a) could be said with nátta or nátte iru in place of náru. But the verb (... kara) dekiru, like the mutative (... ni) náru 'becomes', is punctual only; thus while go-kákoku kara dekitu iin-kai can be equivalent to go-kákoku kara dekite iru iin-kai as the resultative 'a committee formed of five members', go-kákoku kara dekiru 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:

Class of verb	Equivalent to V-ta N	
	V-te iru N	V-ru N
A	+	+
B	+	-
C	-	+
D	-	-

Sample expressions given for each class are these:

(A) koto-nátta azi 'a different flavor', i-ta-gátta kanzi 'a feeling of wanting to stay', supóotu ni kán-sita búngei(-) 'literature concerned with sports', móttó-mo tekí-sita bún'ya 'the most suitable field', dóoki(-) o mótta ningen 'a motivated human being', kawá ni sotta miti 'a road (following) along a river'.

(B) sikkári sita zínbutu 'a stouthearted character', ryooken ni nita hónnóo(-) 'the instincts [resembling those] of a hunting dog', bakágeta mane 'silly mimicry', Hamurétto zímíta sinkyoo 'a Hamlet-like state of mind', sirooto-bánare no sita géi 'art that is way beyond the amateur', húzin o tureta Indó-zin 'an Indian accompanied by his wife', sugúreta éiga(-) 'a superior film', kaku-bátta kao 'an angular face', mi-suita boogai 'obvious damage', úki-uki sita hyoozyóo(-) 'a cheerful visage', syareta ansánburu 'a stylish ensemble', kiwa-dátta tenkan 'a striking about-face', hukkúra to sita pokétto 'a bulging pocket', matigátta kokoróe 'a mistaken idea', gébita kotobá 'a vulgar word', ki no kiita kotó 'a witty remark', sái táketa onná 'a woman of great talent', té no kónnda dessan 'a skillful design'.

(C) soo itta baai wa 'under such circumstances', Nihón no sinkei-tyúuku to itta kanzi 'the feeling of [its being] the nerve center of Japan', sore ni tinánda mukasi-bánasi 'a traditional tale connected with that'.

(D) dai-sóreta kangáe 'a wild idea', omote-dátta ugoki 'a public move', tyotto-sita omoituki 'a trivial thought', hu-to sita kikái 'an unexpected opportunity', koo sita hitóbito 'people of this sort', zat-to sita idetati 'casual attire', hono-bóno to sita aizyóo 'a faint affection', omo-dátta bara-dántai 'a prominent ...[?] organization', rékkí to sita úyoku no tóosi '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).

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" (*zyootai-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 *áru* means *okonawareru* 'happens' or the like as in *kenkyuu-happyoo-kai ga áru* '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 *áru* as an optional replacement (or pro-verb-alization) of, say, *okóru* 'occurs'—a replacement that is NOT permitted precisely in those instances where other uses of *áru* would be precluded.

Yamada 1968a classifies verbs according to a set of four binary features: *activité* 'activity', *accomplissement* 'accomplishment', *momentanée* 'momentaneity (= instantaneity)', and *volonté* '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:

ACT	ACC	MOM	VOL	
—				Cannot take the intransitivizing resultative (<i>-te áru</i>) conversion: <i>konómu</i> 'likes', <i>omóu</i> 'feels', <i>nozómu</i> (—) 'expects', <i>mótu</i> 'holds', ...
	—			Cannot take <i>Íma ... tokoró da</i> 'is about to ...': <i>suguréru</i> 'surpasses', <i>sobiéru</i> 'towers', <i>súmu</i> 'lives', <i>niru</i> 'resembles', <i>hukúmu</i> 'includes', <i>siro-sugiru</i> 'is too white', ...
		—		The <i>-te iru</i> form is not possible: <i>áru</i> 'is', <i>iru</i> 'stays', <i>siro-sugiru</i> 'is too white'.
			—	Cannot be converted to commands, favors, or exploratory conversions (<i>-te míru</i>): <i>kawáku</i> 'dries up', <i>nieru</i> 'it boils', <i>kikoeru</i> 'is heard', <i>tigau</i> 'differs', <i>niau</i> 'suits', <i>áru</i> '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', *suguréru* 'excels', *kawáku* 'dries up', *akeru* 'opens', *simau* 'shuts', *siméru* 'closes'; the verbs of wearing such as *kiru*. 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: *akeru* 'opens', *tabéru* 'eats', *kawakásu* 'dries', *kangáéru* '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):

	<i>Continuity</i>	<i>Terminability</i>	<i>Change</i>	<i>Movement</i>	<i>Emotion</i>	<i>Goal</i>
1. verb of movement: arúku, hasír-u	+	+		+		
2. verb of action: suru, míru	+	+		-		
3. verb of emotion: nayámu, nikúmu	+	- ^{58a}			+	
4. verb of continuity: sobiéru, tadayóu, kaku ('lacks')	+	-			-	
5. predicative verb: náru ('becomes'), kawaru	-		+			+
6. verb of change: kieru, huéru, horobíru(-)	-		+			-
7. shift verb: túku ('arrives'), déru	-		-			+
8. temporary verb: owaru, kiréru, tir-u	-		-			-

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 iku and -te kúru are identical in restrictions and identity also obtains for yaru, kureru, and morau:

	<i>movement</i> <i>verb</i>	<i>action</i> <i>verb</i>	<i>emotion</i> <i>verb</i>	<i>continuity</i> <i>verb</i>	<i>predicative</i> <i>verb</i>	<i>change</i> <i>verb</i>	<i>shift</i> <i>verb</i>	<i>temporary</i> <i>verb</i>
DURATION	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
FREQUENCY	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
TEMPORAL	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
-te iru	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
simau	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
iku/kúru	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-
míru	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-
oku	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
yaru/morau	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-
etc.								
áru	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-

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 (=Kindaichi'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:

	<i>Volitive</i>	<i>Continuous</i>	<i>State</i> (vs. <i>Process</i>)	<i>"On" = Outbound</i> (vs. <i>"Off" = Inbound</i>)	<i>Passivity</i>
<i>-te iru</i>	—	+	+		+
<i>áru</i>	—	+	+		+
<i>simau</i>	—	—	+		
<i>iku</i>	—	+	—	—	
<i>kúru</i>	—	+	—	+	
<i>míru</i>	+	—	+		
<i>oku</i>	+	+	+		
<i>yaru</i>	+	—	—	—	
<i>kureru</i>	+	—	—	+	
<i>morau</i>	+	—	—	+	+

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'): *akeru* 'opens', *yómu* 'reads', ...
- (2) Vt 12 (transitive, animate to animate 'HE does it to HIM'): *yasinau* 'rears', *kurusiméru* 'distresses', *izimeru* 'teases', ...
- (3) Vt 13 (transitive, animate to animate/inanimate 'HE does it to HIM/IT'): *morau* 'receives', *míru* 'sees', *sakéru* '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]'): *kangáeru* 'thinks', *nómu* 'drinks', *benkyoo suru* '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', ...
- (7) Vi 1 (intransitive, animate): *naku* 'cries', *sinu* 'dies', *warau* 'laughs', *waméku* 'screams', *kami-tuku* 'bites', *syabér-u* 'chatters', ...
- (8) Vi 2 (intransitive, inanimate): *tokéru* 'melts, thaws, dissolves', *hazimaru* 'begins', *owaru* 'ends', *uzu-máku* '(water) swirls', *kisír-u* 'creaks, grates', *kowaréru* 'breaks', *naóru* 'improves', *sobiéru* 'towers', *sosori-tátu* 'rises precipitously', *itámu* 'hurts', *yodómu* 'stag-nates', *sumi-kir-u* 'becomes clear', ...
- (9) Vi 3 (intransitive, animate/inanimate): *yogoreru* 'gets dirty', *sizumu* 'sinks', *kizu-túku* 'gets injured/damaged', *tubureru* 'gets crushed', *tomaru* 'stops', *ugóku* 'moves', *narabu* 'lines up', *okureru* 'lags', *kúru* 'comes', *midaréru* 'is disturbed', ...

59. That is, emotions are temporary and can come to an end. But durative-statives refer to more permanent attributes, resembling adjectives in some ways.

(10) VI x (intransitive, ?mutual); maziwáru '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 (ǀgúrai etc.) as separate words. Here are the postnominal verbs, with a few examples of each:

(1) ǀméku 'acquires the air of being, looks to be, smacks of being': Háriúddo no zyoyuu ǀméita o-kesyoo ... 'makeup in imitation of a Hollywood actress'; Íkura ka tukuri-bánasi ǀméite 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); ... watasi no hón wa ironna kigoo ya angoo ǀméita mémo de yogorete iru 'my book is soiled with various notes and memos that look like code' (SA 2639.90a); ... o-sékkyo ǀméita kotó o iu 'says something smacking of a sermon' (Tk 2.318a); ... rikutu ǀméita kotó ... 'argumentative remarks'; Dé mo, sukósi suiri-syóosetu ǀméku ga, dáre ka ga gasú-kan o kuwaesasetu, to iu kotó wa kangaeraréni 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); Ootyoo no maborosi ǀméita omomúki(ǀ) o nokósu "Enti-Génzi" ... 'The Enchi [version of] Genji, which leaves [us with] the impression of phantoms of the court ...' (SA 2820.100b); ... hikáru gin-haiiro ni nureta ryuusen-kei no kogata-bóoto ǀméita monó ga ... 'something that looked like a miniature streamlined boat painted a shiny silver-grey' (V 142). But (íma o) toki-méku₁ 'enjoys its height (today)' is a derived transitive verb; ima-méku 'becomes modern' and iro-méku 'is tinged with color' are best treated as derived intransitive verbs, as is toki-méku₂ 'palpitates' (from a mimetic adverb, cf. dóki-doki 'palpitating'). Zawa-méku 'is astir, is in commotion, is rustling' (= zawa-tuku) clearly contains a mimetic adverb, usually reduplicated as záwa-zawa 'rustling'; similar are hata-méku 'flutters' from háta-hata 'fluttering', kira-méku 'glitters' from kira-kira 'glittering', yoro-méku 'totters' from yóro-yoro 'tottering', and perhaps sa{n}za-méku 'makes merry; makes a fuss'. On mimetic adverbs + ǀméku and ǀtuku, see §21.7.

(2) ǀmekásu 'takes the air of being, puts on the appearance of being': Háriúddo no zyoyuu ǀmekásita o-kesyoo ... 'makeup in imitation of a Hollywood actress'; ... zyoodán ǀmekásite ... 'somewhat joking(ly), half in jest' (Tk 2.98b). But ima-mekásu 'modernizes' is a derived transitive verb; compare the adjective ima-mekásii 'modern(-style)', probably derived from ima-mék- with the suffix -a-si-.

(3) ǀbúru 'poses as, affects, pretends to be; behaves like': Kídai no akkan ǀbúru 'behaves like a rare rogue'; Itiryuu no gakusya ǀbúta táido da 'affects an attitude of

playing a ranking scholar'; O-gyoogi no ii yuutóo-sei ʔbúru hitó ga óói no ni, anáta wa guu-zen sóo de náí tokoró o míseta 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); Íi-onna ʔbútte irú keredo, hadaka ni suru to matá ni azá ga áru '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 ʔbúru 'puts on the airs of a big brother', dootoku-ka ʔbúru 'plays the man of virtue', gooketu ʔbúru 'plays the hero', kanemóti(ʔ) ʔbúru 'plays the rich man', kenzin ʔbúru 'acts like a saint', mottái ʔbúru 'puts on fancy airs', yoodái ʔbúru 'acts important, puts on airs', otona ʔbúru 'acts like a grownup', sizin ʔbúru 'plays the poet', sinzin-ka ʔbúru 'puts on piety', teisai ʔbúru 'puts on airs', tonosama ʔbúru 'lords it over people', séizin ʔbúta kotó '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 ʔbúru 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 + ʔbúru: koosyoo ʔbúru = koosyoo-búru 'puts on elegant airs'; rikoo ʔbúru = rikoo-búru 'displays a knowing air'; sinkoku ʔbúru = sinkoku-búru 'acts serious, puts on a grave look'; zyoohin ʔbúru = zyoohin-búru 'gives oneself fancy airs'. ADJECTIVE + ʔbúru: taka-búru 'acts haughty; is high-strung'; era-búru 'acts self-important'. In this usage, especially with adjectival nouns and adjectives, ʔbúru is a synonym of ʔgáru, which we have treated separately in §7.3. Túu ʔbúru = tuu-búru is equivalent to túu ʔgáru = tuu-gáru 'makes a show of one's knowledge'. The postnominal verb ʔbúru is said to be the nigoried form of the verb huru 'shakes, waves, brandishes'; cf. the quasi-restrictive ʔburi.

(4) ʔzimíru '(acquires a characteristic so that it) smacks of, looks like': Yama-óku ni súde iru tosiyóri ʔzímíta seikatu ... 'a life that smacks of an old man living way back in the mountains'; Káre wa inaka-mono ʔzímíte iru 'He smacks of the farmer'; Kitigái ʔzímíta benkyoo no kyoosei dátta 'I was forced to study like a madman' (SA 2666.59c). Sei-tóosaku no soo-mókuroku ʔzímíta iti-ren no kono syú no éiga(ʔ), nán da ka kán da ka itté mo, tumáru tokoró wa sekkusu-éiga no tane-gire o monogatáru ni sugináí yóo da 'The series of movies of this sort that smack 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 kyóoso ʔzímíte 'ru to iwarete imásu ga 'I am said to be something of a "sect head" myself' (Tk 2.154b). The postnominal verb ʔzimíru is the nigoried form of the intransitive verb simiru 'soaks (in), permeates, penetrates'; cf. akazimíru (aká ʔzimíru) '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) ʔbámu 'becomes, turns into': ki-bámu(ʔ) 'turns yellow'; murasaki-bámi 'turning purple' (SA 2684.103c); kesiki-bámu 'grows excited, becomes active'; ase-bámu 'gets sweaty'; aka-bámu 'reddens'; susu-bámu 'gets sooty'; The etymology of ʔbámu is uncertain.

(6) ʔbáru 'behaves, displays behavior': kakusiki-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'; ... mé ni kádo [o] tátete rikutu-báru hodo no

dai-móndai de mo náí 'It is hardly a large question calling for glowering argument' (Maeda 1962.200). In *kasa-báru* 'becomes/is bulky' the meaning imparted by the postnominal verb is somewhat different. The postnominal verb $\bar{b}áru$ is the nigoried form of the verb *haru* 'stretches; displays (etc.)'; cf. the quasi-restrictive $\bar{b}ari$.

(7) $\bar{b}íru$ 'becomes like': *otona-bíru* 'shows signs of precocity'; *hina-bíru* = *inaka-bíru* 'becomes rustic, is countrified'; *huru-bíru* 'gets old'; Cf. *miyábita* = *miyabi*{*yaka*} na 'elegant'. The etymology of $\bar{b}íru$ is unknown. Is *hi-kara-bíru*($\bar{}$) 'dries up' connected (or is the third element a nigoried version of *híru* 'dries up')?

(8) $\bar{d}átu$, vi. 'forms, stands as' < N (ni/ga) *tátu* 'stands as N':⁶⁰ *yaku-dátu* = *yakú n*[i] *tátu* 'stands to use/service, is useful'; *tabi-dátu* = *tabí n*[i] *tátu* 'leaves on a journey'; *ture-dátu* 'goes along, accompanies'; *kasira-dátu* 'stands at the head (of others), leads'; *taikei-dátu* 'forms a system'; *kiwa-dátu* 'is prominent'; *keba-dátu* 'is nappy, shaggy'; *sakki-dátu* 'gets angrily aroused (bloodthirsty), (atmosphere) becomes stormy'; *sooke-dátu* 'shud-ders, has one's hair stand on end'; *saki-dátu* 'precedes'; ... Cf. the adnoun *omo-dáta* 'principal'.

(9) $\bar{d}atéru$, vt. 'sets (it) up as' < N (o/ni) *tatéru* 'sets up N': *keitoo-datéru* 'systematizes'; *soba-datéru* 'pricks up (one's ears)'—cf. *sobiéru* 'towers, soars'; *tituzyo-datéru* 'brings order (to)'; *monó o zyunzyo-dátete kangáeru kotó* ... 'considering things in order' (Tk 2.263a). Cf. *doogu-date* 'preparations, preliminaries; providing the necessary tools'.

(10) $\bar{z}uku$, vi. '(it) comes in contact (with)' < N ga *tuku*: *ikiioi-zúku* 'gains/gathers strength'; *iro-zúku* 'takes on color'; *ki-zúku* 'takes notice (of)'; *ne-zúku* 'takes root'; *monogokoro-zúku* 'attains (the age of) discretion'; *genki-zúku* 'takes heart', *kakki-zúku* 'shows life, gets active' Cf. the quasi-restrictive $\bar{z}uki$.

(11) $\bar{z}ukéru$, vt. 'provides with' < N (o/ni) *tukéru*: *ato-zukéru* 'traces'; *dooki-zukéru* 'motivates'; *genkai-zukéru* 'limits, bounds'; *genki-zukéru* 'encourages, cheers'; *gimu-zukéru* 'makes obligatory'; *hookoo-zukéru* 'provides direction, steers; orientates'; *imi-zukéru* 'provides with meaning' as in ... *sono tatibá o syakai-teki ni imi-zukeyóo to sita wáke desu* 'they tried to give social significance to that stand' (SA 2665.29d); *insyoo-zukéru* 'impresses'; *iti-zukéru* 'provides a place, locates, places'; *kakki-zukéru* 'animates, enlivens'; *kaku-zukéru* 'grades, rates'; *kankei-zukéru* 'relates, connects'; *kanren-zukéru* 'makes an association, correlates (with)'; *kata-zukéru* 'tidies up, puts in shape (kata[ti]); *kati-zukéru* 'values'; *keturon-zukéru* 'forms a conclusion'; *kettei-zukéru* 'provides with a decision' as in *sore o kettei-zukéru* 'serves to determine that'; *kiso-zukéru* 'provides with a basis'—*kiso-zukeráreta* 'was given a basis' (SA 2673.45a); *na-zukéru* 'names'; *ranku-zukéru* 'ranks' (SA 2813.58a); *retteru-zukéru* 'labels' (SA 2813.106a); *riyuu-zukéru* 'provides a reason'; *seikaku-zukéru* 'provides a characteristic' as in ... *simon-kíkan to site seikaku-zukeráreta* 'it was given the character of a consultative organ' (Ōno 1967.254); *syooko-zukéru* 'substantiates, provides with proof'; *syuukan-zukéru* 'makes a habit of'; *teigi-zukéru* 'provides a definition, defines'; *tituzyo-zukéru* 'orders, puts order to'; *tokusei-zukéru* 'characterizes, distinguishes'; *tokusyoku-zukéru* 'characterizes'; *tokutyoo-zukéru* 'characterizes, distinguishes'; *tyuumon-zukéru* 'provides requests' as in ... *ésséi o sansyoo site morai-tai, nádo to atogaki de tyuumon-zúkete 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 tátú* 'stands in/to the eye'.

(SA 2689.106c); *ura-zukéru* 'supports, backs, provides backing for'; *waku-zukéru* 'frames, provides with (puts into) a frame'; *yuuki-zukéru* 'inspires, instills with courage'; *zyoretu-zukéru* 'ranks, orders'. There are derived nouns from some of the infinitives (§ 14.5): *dooki-zuké* 'motivation', *kaku-zuke* 'grading, rating' (irregularly stonic), *na-zuké* 'naming' (according to NHK also, irregularly, atonic), Cf. the quasi-restrictive *zuke*.

(12) *-gúmu*, vi. 'shows signs of': *tuno-gúmu* = *me-gúmu* 'sprouts'; *namida-gúmu* 'is moved to tears' (whence the adjective *namida-gumasii* 'tearful' with the suffix *-a-si-*); ? The etymology is unclear; cf. *hukúmu* 'comprises; implies'.

(13) *-sabíru*, vi. 'becomes like ..., becomes suitable as': *kami-sabíru* 'becomes holy, venerable'; *okina-sabíru* 'becomes an elder'; ? This is now largely obsolete. The etymology is uncertain.

(14) *-gakáru*, vi. 'resembles, is close to (being)': *akami-gakáta kisyóku(-)* 'a look of ruddy joy'; *aomi-gakáru* 'gets/is tinged with blue'; *kimi-gakáru* 'gets/is tinged with yellow, is cream-colored'; *murasaki-gakáte iru* 'is tinged with purple'; *daibu uyoku-gakáte ita* 'was quite rightist' (KKK 25.78a); *sibai-gakáta kotobá* 'histrionics'; *onoo-gakáta monó o moti-tái* 'wants to have something smacking of Noh drama' (Tk 4.54b; 56b has *noo-gakáta monó*). This is the nigored form of the verb *kakáru* 'it hangs (etc.)'.

(15) *-gérú*, vi. 'looks': *baká-geta* 'stupid' ...; *hyóo-geta* 'droll' (*hyóo-* is bound);

Also note the postnominal bound verbal nouns (*-*)*si-suru* 'regards as' and *-ka suru* 'izes', etc. (§ 14.3).

Postnominal adjectives are all bound⁶¹ and do not permit the noun to carry adnominal modification:

(1) *-gamasii* 'is like': ... *benkai-gamasii kotobá* 'apologetic words' (SA 2835.42); ... *girei-gamasii kyoooyoo-gamasii kotó wa* 'etiquette-like, culture-like things' (Kb 176a); *giron-gamasii* 'is disputatious'; *hare-gamasii* 'is ostentatious' (SA 2833.124a); *hihan-gamasii* (SA 2793.126c), *hinan-gamasii* (SA 2820.31d) 'is critical, carping'; *iken-gamasii kotó o iu* 'says something that sounds like a remonstrance'; *katte-gamasii* 'is selfish'; *miren-gamasii* 'is regretful, is reluctant'; *oko-gamasii* 'is presumptuous, is ridiculous'; *onkise-gamasii* 'is patronizing' (from **on-kise* from *ón o kiseru* 'garbs in obligation'); *osituke-gamasii* 'is like forcing one's way; is pushy (pushing)'; *saisoku-gamasii* 'is like urging, is dunning'; *saside-gamasii* 'is impertinent, is meddling'; *sasizu-gamasii* 'is officious, is bossy'; *tanin-gamási* *hurumáu* 'behaves like a stranger'; *urami-gamasii* 'is reproachful, is rueful'; *yookyuu-gamasii* 'is demanding'. The etymology of *-gamasii* is unknown.

(2) *-rasii* 'is like': see § 19.

(3) *-tarasii* 'gives the feeling of being [often something bad]'—apparently attached only to adjectival nouns and to adjectives: ADJECTIVES: *mugo-tarasii* 'is outrageous', *naga-tarasii* 'is long, tedious', *niku-tarasii hitó* 'a hateful person', ADJECTIVAL NOUNS: *binboo-tarasii* 'is poor, poverty-stricken' (MKZ), *kinodoku-tarasii* 'is pitiful' (Fn 155a), *miren-tarasii* = *miren-gamasii* 'is regretful' (MKZ), *sukebe[e]-tarasii* 'is lecherous', *sui-tarasii hitó* 'a lovable person' (from *su[k]i* 'is liked'), Sometimes the *-t-* is doubled, perhaps for emphasis: *iya-ttarasii* 'is despicable'; *huziyuu-ttarasii* 'is inconvenient,

61. But this is simply because we have not included such forms as *-dakái* (= *takái*) as in *na-dakái* 'is famous', *-bukái* (= *hukái*) as in *kyoomi-bukái* 'is interesting', *syuunen-bukái* 'is tenacious', and *yoozin-bukái* 'is cautious', *-zuyói* (= *tuyói*) as in *gaman/sinboo-zuyói* 'is patient', etc.

uncomfortable' (Kb 125b); mizime-ttarásii '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: ... *sukósi 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 náí* '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 *-zén*, § 13.5a. And compare such phrases as N [ga] *yói/warúi/nái*, N [ga] *yóku/wáruku/náku*, p. 794.

4 VOICE CONVERSIONS

Verbal sentences can be converted into CAUSATIVES,¹ 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]ju > -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 *ní*) 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 *ní/gá*) with the possession of the ability to initiate or to carry out the process.² 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 bases³ (see § 8); colloquially the suffix is often shortened to -(s)as-;⁴ 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: *Horí no sakana turaremasén* ‘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: *Kangáete miráre yó* ‘Just think! (= *Kangáete go-ran nasái*) (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-ase-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: *tatematurasase tamau* ‘kindly lets one do it’, *omowasase tamau* ‘kindly lets one feel’. Alfonso 955 mentions another variant: adding -rasu instead of -sas[er]ju to vowel bases, e.g. *taberasu* for *tabesaséru*/*tabesasú*. 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 *tabé-ru* as *tabér-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 Ryūkyūs (cf. Maeda 1961.210).

4. As in these examples: *Huransu no sakana-ryōori wa, dóo yatte hurú sakana o úmaku TABESÁSU ka, to iu daké no ryōori na n da* ‘France’s fish cuisine is one that just tries to make stale fish somehow taste good’ (SA 2669.48a); *Warúí hitó ga ite, hén na koto, OBOESASU n desu yó né* ‘There are bad

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 *ugokásu*₁ 'moves it' which regularly converts into the usual causative *ugokasaseru* 'causes someone to move it'; *ugóku* also converts into a regular causative *ugokaséru*₁ 'causes it to move' which can be abbreviated to *ugokásu*₂. *Hatarakasu*, on the other hand, can only serve as the abbreviation of *hatarakaseru* 'causes someone to work' because there is no **hatarakasaseru*. (A comparable problem appears in relationships between some short potentials and homonymous members of transitivity pairs such as *toréru*₁ 'can take' and *toréru*₂ 'is taken'; see §4.4. And *ugokaséru*₂ could be the short potential of *ugokásu*₁ or *ugokásu*₂.)

A pseudo-literary causative is made by adding the suffix *-(a)sime-*, as in this example: ... *aratámete mé o hirakasiméru tikaá(¯)* o ... *sonáete iru* '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)sim[e]-*, i.e. the predicative form would be *-(a)simu* rather than *-(a)simeru* and the attributive form would be *-(a)simuru* as in this example of modern prose: ... *kánozyo-ra no íssyu no risoo-syúgi no sikarASIMÚRU tokoró na no de wa nakaróo 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)—*sikári = síká [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 adnoun *kookotu-tarasiméru* 'enrapturing'; see §13.5.⁵

Passive verbs are made with the suffix *-(r)are-*; the suffix takes the shape *-rare-* after vowel bases and the shape *-are-* after consonant bases; a shortened form *-(r)e-* is used in the potential meaning only (§4.4) and restricted to consonant bases by some speakers.⁶ The passivized causative has the double suffix *-(s)ase-rare-*, often shortened to *-(s)as-are-*. Two verbs, *kúru* 'comes' and *suru* 'does', are irregular. The verb *kúru* 'comes' forms the causative *ko-sáse-* (contraction *ko-sás-*), the passive *ko-ráre-* (for which some have the contraction *kó-re-* in the potential use), and the passivized causative *ko-sas[e-r]áre-*; these

people who have it [= the parrot] memorize peculiar things' (SA 2663.43a); ... *syatyo o doráibaa ni sitátete, kuruma no náka 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) Ōsaka prefers the shorter forms in *-(s)as-*, and Yoshida says the shorter forms are "Kansai-teki", the longer "Tookyo-teki" (Y 101). The Ōsaka causative for *suru* itself is *sas*, not *saseru*. The Ōsaka passive for *suru* is *sirareru*, not *sareru*. Y 127 gives three examples of *sirareru*, which is said to be a Meiji and/or Kansai usage.

5. The transitive verb *imasiméru(¯)* 'admonishes; bans', with the infinitive-derived noun *imasimé(¯)* '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[e]-*; *-(s)as[e]-*, at that time *-(a)s-*, was limited to subject exaltation—cf. the Korean subject-exalting suffix *-(u)si-*. By Heian times *-(s)as[e]-* had replaced *-(a)sim[e]-* 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[e]-* was revived as a "masculine" usage (Terase 85); the Kambun tradition led to the modern pseudo-literary *-(a)simeru*.

6. Before endings beginning with *t*, the passive marker *-(r)are-* 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 *okorarén* no may sometimes stand for *okoraréru* no (Y 108)—as well as for the negative *okorarén [ai] no*—and *okorarék kara* may be heard for *okoraréru kara* (examples will be found in Y 108, 126).

forms use the historically basic shape *kó-* from which the *kú-* of *kúru* and the *kí-* of the infinitive *kí* are the result of vowel assimilations, as described in Martin 1967:257. The form *kiraréru* is reported as an old-fashioned Kyōto equivalent of *koraréru*; in Tōkyō it would only be taken as the passive of *kir-* 'cut' (atonic *kirareru* could be passive or potential of *ki-* '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[e-r]are-*, i.e. *saserare-* or its contraction *sasare-*. On *serareru* as a pseudo-literary equivalent of *sareru*, see Kazama 43-5, Mio 335. In Ōsaka the passive of *suru* is *sirareru*, rather than *sareru*, according to Maeda 1961:219. Kazama 47 observes that for one-morpheme Chinese verbal nouns, such as *sátu(-)* 'guessing' and *bátu(-)* 'punishing' which appear in *sas-súru(-)* 'guesses' and *bas-súru(-)* 'punishes', the usual written passive is *-serareru* (despite *-sinai* for the negative and *-siyoo* for the hortative) as in *hooritu de bas-seraremásu* 'will be punished by law' (SA 2673.109a) but that *-sirareru* is coming in, so that *sas-siraréru(-)* is acceptable—as in ... *míru kara ni sono miti no wazá-si to sas-siráreta(-)* 'from his looks you could surmise that he was an expert in his field' (SA 2671.95b) and *ras-siráre(-)* 'being pulled along' (Kb 242b)—though **sas-síru(-)* would still sound strange as a substitute for *sas-súru(-)*. But such forms as **sas-saréru(-)* etc. are apparently rejected for those verbal-noun morphemes that end in an oral consonant (reduced from basic -TU); cf. *syoo-saréru* etc. (§ 14.3) for those ending in a vowel or nasal. The same situation holds for those verbal nouns that require *nigori* of the auxiliary: *kan-zerareru* or *kan-zirareru* from *kan-ziru/-zuru* 'feels' (the negative is *kan-zinai* or literary *kan-zenu*, not **kan-zanai*); some of these end in a vowel, e.g. *tuu-ziru* 'gets through'. Notice that such verbs have colloquial imperfect forms in *-ziru* 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-zeráre(-)* 'is belittled and' (SA 2671.113c) ← *karon-zíru(-)/-zúru(-)* 'belittles'; ... *sono hatugen ga omon-zerárete(-)* *kíta to iú no wa ...* 'that this declaration came to be taken seriously' (SA 2672.63a) from *omon-zíru(-)/-zúru(-)* 'treats as serious'. (Lewin 112 allows a free verbal noun such as *ansin* to take either *sareru* or *serareru* for passive, and either *saseru* or *sesaseru* for causative.) Saeki 22 suggests that *sareru* be regarded as an abbreviation of *serareru* and gives *sesaseru* as the original form of *saseru*, the causative. But I have not come across *sesaseru* except bound to one-morpheme Chinese verbal nouns: *bas-sesaséru(-)* or *bas-saseru(-)* '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-zaseru*. During the Taishō period (1912-25) the artificially regularized form *si-saseru* was promoted as a "standard", with *saseru* 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/resemble'; but Terasé 86 accepts the forms only for the two verbs *[e]-* 'get' and *h[e]-* 'pass', saying that *misesim[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 *kúru* and *suru* are regular in their forms, but some verbs lack causatives and/or passives altogether. The verb *áru* 'exists, stays, has' makes a pseudo-literary causative *ar-asíme-*, but the colloquial lacks both the causative and the passive in any of its senses; we might have expected at least **araréru* as a synonym of *o-ari dá* 'deigns to

6a. Bound verbal nouns attach *-sesim(e)-* and *-zesim(e)-*: *tokui-sei o syoo-zesímeta gen'in no hitótu* 'one of the causes that generated the singularity'.

possess'. But two written examples of *araréru* as potential ('can exist'), apparently a Meiji usage, will be found in Y 107; see also the expression *go-ran araremasjóo* (p. 341, §6.2). Examples of *arasiméru*: *Soo suru to, káko ni nákatta kotó o Nihón ni arasimejóo to iu wáke desu né* '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 nákatta kotó o, kore kara arasimejóo to iú no wa, taihen na kóttesu [= kotó desu] né* '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-nái* 'is improper' is said to contain the infinitive of a passive of *áru*. (For a formal use of *de araréru* = *de irassyáru*, see §6.2.) And Maeda 1962 twice uses the expression *itomá(-) mo arasézu* 'not letting one even have time to ...' with the literary negative infinitive from a causative of *áru*: *Kakusin-teki na hitó ga sóosyo o ageru hima mo náku, hosyu-teki na hitó ga máyu o hisoméru(-) itomá(-) mo arasézu, utakata no gótoku arawáre, kagéroo no gótoku kie-sátta* '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 [sic 'restraint'] no itomá(-) mo arasézu kuti kara tobidásita to itte, kuti ni té o atetári, kao o akarámetári sinái de mo yói de wa náí 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 *kudasáru*, *nasáru*, *ossyáru*, or even *irassyáru*—despite the acceptability of *isaseru* and *oraséru* 'lets someone stay' and of *irareru* and *oraréru* 'suffers from someone staying' or 'can stay' or 'deigns to stay'; but the potential *irassyaréru* '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 *irassyaréru* 'can stay' seems to be in use, as we have observed, though the longer form *irassyararéru* is rare even in modern prose; and an example of *ossyararéru* as a pleonastic equivalent of simple *ossyáru* is cited in Y 119. The short potentials *nasaréru*, *kudasaréru*, and *ossyararéru* all seem to be acceptable, though the longer forms are not used; and many speakers will accept *irassyaréru* (= *o-ide ni naréru*) for the meaning 'can stay' as well as 'can come/go'. The latter meaning is illustrated in this example: *Tyan-tó^[1] moku téki-ti e irassyaremásita 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 **dekisaséru* we find *dekiagaraseru* from the compound verb *deki-agaru*. The causative of *wakáru* is acceptable (*wakaraséru* 'causes it to be understood, causes one to understand'), as is the adversative passive *wakararéru* 'suffers from having it understood' though *sirareru* 'suffers from having it known' is more common.⁷ *Wakararéru*

7. Kuno (1973.144) says that "statives" such as *wakáru* (as well as *ir-u*) can not make an adversative passive. I suspect that idiolects differ in their assignment of *wakáru*; 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 náru*) but not for the potential, and there is no **wakaréru* '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) síme-* 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 *koraresaséru*. We might even expect a further passive built on that: *D ga B ni A ni C ni *koraresaseraréru* '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-ráre-* '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-ta-gár-* §7.2) and the excessive (*-sugi-* §9.1.9) are similar, being special cases of auxiliaries: *sase-rare-ta-gar-ase-ráre-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 *Tároo ni Zíroo ni to o akesasesaseta* '[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-ase-* 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-ase-sase-*). But he also gives an example of *wakagaeráse de mo saseta* used for *wakagaeráse 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 haplological reduction of the double causative: *Tároo ga Zíroo ni Itíroo o arukáse{sase}ta* '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 yóo ni suru/saseru* 'makes it (causes one to make it) so that one causes someone to do'—and in theory even *saseru yóo ni suru/saseru yóo ni suru/saseru ...* (etc. ad infinitum, the device being recursive). But an authentic example of even the simplest type has yet to catch my attention.

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-sínai no áru hóteru ni turete ikareta 'We were taken to some hotel within the city of Moscow' (SA 2656.62a); ... koo iu ko wa kono kyánpu e musúu(¯) ni turete korárete sinde 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 omowáse '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 soonyuu sarekata zítai ni kiwámete zyuyyoo na imi-ái(¯) ga kan-zirareru '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 -rare-, as if these were relatively free auxiliaries similar to those which attach to the infinitive (§9.1.10): Sin-ziraremasén ka?—Raremasén to mo 'You can't believe it?—Of course I can't!' (Y 128). Kuusoo yútaka na seikaku de nái to, háran(¯) banzyoo o kiwámeta sutóorii mo kangaeraréni daroo si né.—Raremasén. ... '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 Sasemasén, 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-i + 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 gá, and the underlying

agent is then marked by *ní*—or, under certain conditions, by *ó*. Marking of the agent with *ó* is usual with intransitive verbs, and marking with *ní* is usual for transitive verbs:

A ga kúru 'A comes' → B ga A o kosaséru 'B has A come'

A ga B o yobu 'A calls B' → C ga A ni B o yobaseru 'C has A call B'

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 *ní* in all cases: B ga A ní kosaséru is another way to say 'B has A come'. Use of *ní* 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 *ní*) and "make" (coercion—with *ó*). Kuroda 1965 suggests that *ní* (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 tabesaséru* can mean either (1) [*ó* = *ní*] 'they cause the cow to eat it' or (2) 'they cause someone to eat beef'; but *kodomo o nusumaséru*, he tells us, can only mean (2) 'they make someone steal the child' and not (1) [*ó* = *ní*] '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 mataséru*, which could be interpreted as either (1) [*ó* = *ní*] 'causes Tarō to wait [for someone]' or (2) 'causes [someone] to wait for Tarō', 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*^[i], leaving any object to be expressed as N *o*^[i] as in the sentence: *Yosítúne* [ga] *Yosínaka o sému* (= *seméru*) 'Yoshitsune attacks Yoshinaka' → *Yoritomo* [ga] *Yosítúne o site* *Yosínaka o semesímu* 'Yoritomo causes Yoshitsune to attack Yoshinaka' (Sansom 238). Some examples from modern prose: *Watakusi O SITE iwasioméreba* 'If I am forced/allowed to say = If you ask me' (KKK 3.79); *Sono kekka, kátute no yuuzin O SITE, "soositu" no zyunsui-sa no soositu o nagekaséru to sité mo, rokuzyuu-kyúunen Tookyoo no húzoku ni mugen no ími o yomi-tóru(¯) taizin ni seizyuku 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 Tōkyō 69' (CK 985.53); ... *káno-zyo O SITE ... ayamátí(¯) o okasáséta no de náí ka* 'Isn't it that ... caused her to make the mistake?' (Tsumijima 69); ... *Kyóoto O SITE Nihón no búnka no tyuusin tarasimenákya ikan* 'we must make Kyōto the center of Japan's culture' (Tk 2.310a); for *tarasiméru* (= *to ar-asiméru*), see p. 750 (§13.5). Sansom says that N ni *site*^[i] 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*^[i] is a rarely found equivalent of N o *site*^[i]. 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 okamisan ni iwaseréba nán d'atte sóo 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': ... *dókusya(¯) ni ími o wakaráséru kotó* '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 sinaseta hahaoya wa hoka no kodomo o míru 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 sinareta hahaoya 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 *tití ni sinareta* would be used. *Kodomo o sinaseta* 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 náí 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*, *sinas(er)areru*, is seldom heard, but to some it is acceptable in a sentence like *Watasi wa zyotyuu ni kodomo o sinasareta* '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 *múri ni* (or *múri site*) or *siite* 'perforce' or (perhaps better) *si-kata náku* 'with no recourse' (*si-yoo ga náí 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 *ní*: 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: bira ga makaréru 'leaflets are distributed'; onazi yóo na kekka ga erárete irú no de ... 'since the same sort of results are obtained' (SA 2651.22b).⁹ In the ADVERSATIVE (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 *ní*, 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 koraréru 'B suffers from (the inconvenience of) A's coming'. Here are examples of adversative passives, the first containing a series; Nyuun-kánzya B-san ... ga, doositu-kánzya go-nín ni tetu-páipu de atamá o naguráre, siitu de kubi o simerárete korosareta 'Hospital patient Mr B was killed at the hands of five patients in his ward, his head beaten with an iron pipe, his neck choked with a sheet' (SA 2670.31b); Dá ga, káre wa, tití no na o kuti ni sarerú no o, kirau yóo na sóburi(¯) o miséru 'But he shows signs of disliking to hear his father's name mentioned' (SA 2653.58b); "Mazime na kaisya" to iu kigyoo-íméezi o kowasare-táku náí, to iu kotó 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 tótte, totuzen áru-hi kara, ása kara ban máde me-no-máe ni téisyu ni suwatte iraretára tamatta monó de wa náí daroo '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 Áki wa yóku kekkón-siki 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 *ní*: [Gakusetu ga] gakkai kara músi sareta '[The theory] was ignored by the scholarly world'; Kaiin kara hínan sareta 'He was criticized by the members'; Minná kara ái-sáreta 'She was loved by all'; ... akarui seikaku de, minná kara mo sukárete ita 'was liked by all for his cheerful disposition' (SA 2666.36a); ... hito kara miraréru tokoró 'a place where one is seen by people' (Kotoba no yurai 147); ... hito kara tanomáreta sigoto wa 'jobs requested by other people' (SA 2651.66b); Minná kara mo soo iwareru 'I get told that by EVERYONE [—you're not the only one to tell me]' (SA 2645.52a); ... watasi wa gaikokú-zin kara iroiro na kuni no ningen ni matigaerárete kíta ... 'I have been mistaken by foreigners for a person from all sorts of countries' (Endō 185); Tanaka Yosio giin ga, sánzyuu kyúu-hyoo de yabúreta Miyázaki Masaó-si kara uttaerárete ... 'Diet member Yoshio Tanaka was taken to court by Mr Masao Miyazaki who had been defeated by 39 votes, and ...' (Shibata 1965.161); ... "térebi no ninki o hana ni kakéru" to sutáhhu kara kemutagarárete mo iru '... (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-tati kara keibetu sare-nagará mo

9. An example with the underlying agent mentioned: ... ryóosin no kawari ni || sóbo ni | sodateremásita 'I was brought up by my grandmother instead of my parents' (BJ 2.296).

'though despised by the people who ...' (Ōno 1966.104); Sono sánaka ni waratte iru kyookan ga iru. Sosite, séito 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 Watasi kara míru to 'Seen from my position = As I see it'. Compare the ablative-dative valences (§3.7) such as hito kara/ní homeraréru [okoraréru] '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 ní might be ambiguous, as in A ga B kara/(ni) C ni syookai sareru 'A is introduced to C by B'; he gives examples using warawareru 'gets laughed at', sonkei sareru 'is respected', sikarareru 'gets scolded', taisetu ni sareru 'is thought highly of', yobareru 'is invited', tanomaréru 'is requested', happyoo sareru 'is published', and kyóka sareru 'is permitted'. He also gives an example of (... kara) sirasete áru 'is informed (by)' with the intransitivizing -te áru conversion of §9.2.4.(2). The following example would, accordingly, be clearer if kará had been used instead of ní: Áto de sono senseí wa kootyoo ni okoráreta n zya náí ka ná 'I bet later the teacher felt the wrath of the principal' (SA 2671.48c). The other interpretation would treat okoráreta as subject-exalting passive: 'the teacher was angry at the principal'. Cf. Howard 1969.43: Káre wa ano senseí ni Nihongo o osierareta 'He was taught Japanese by that teacher'—grammatically susceptible to the additional interpretation 'He deigned 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 taosaréru 'gets blown down by the wind', zisin de kowasaréru 'gets damaged by the earthquake', sensoo de hakai sareru 'is destroyed by/in the war', kázi de yakarete 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 yotté for the source of the passive regardless of the colloquial marker—ní, kará, or dé. And notice that ni yotté 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 yotté: Zyuumin(¯) 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 Sén kyúuhyaku yónzyuu yo-nen, Huransu ga Dóitu senryóo-gun kara kaihoo sareta toki^[1] ... '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: Watasi wa, sibáruku wa akké ni torárete ita 'I was seized with amazement (= taken aback)' (Ig 1962.70); ... káre-ra kánozyo-ra wa rázio(¯) ni kokoró [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 ní óite(¯) or—with exaltation—ni okarete, ni okaserarete. And ní óite(¯) is sometimes given a literary spelling ní ókite; the infinitive ni oki can substitute (despite remarks to the contrary in LF), cf. §9.7. Lewin 151 says the

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 *ó*) or change it to direct subject (marked with *gá*), the underlying agent being made the indirect subject (marked with *ní* or *gá*). 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:

Dáre ga *náni* o tabéru 'Who eats what?' →
 Dáre ni/ga *náni* ga taberaréru } 'Who can eat what?'
 (Dáre ni/ga *náni* o taberaréru)
 Dáre ga *dóko* o tóoru 'Who passes where?' →
 (Dáre ni/ga *dóko* ga tooraréru) } 'Who can pass where?'
 Dáre ni/ga *dóko* o tooraréru¹⁰

Alfonso 918 says that verbs of motion "normally" retain their objects when they are made potential: *uti o derarénei* 'cannot leave the house', *miti o toorénei* 'cannot pass the street', *miti o watarenákatta* '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 *ó*-marked object is an alternative to an inherent ablative: *uti o/kara derarénei* 'cannot leave the house' will not convert to **uti ga derarénei*.

Alfonso 922-3 observes that the direct subjects of potentials made from intransitives must be self-propelling: *Kodomo/Kuruma ga náka ni hairénei* 'The child/car can't get inside' is quite acceptable, but **Hón ga náka ni hairénei* 'The book can't get inside' is replaced by the non-potential form *Hón ga náka ni hairánei* 'The book won't go inside'.

All potential passives treat the underlying agent as an indirect subject (marked by *ní* or *gá*): *A ga B o yobu* 'A calls B' becomes *A ni/ga B (o/)/ga yobareru* 'A can call B' and *A ga kúru* 'A comes' becomes *A ni/ga koraréru* 'A can come'.¹¹ In this respect the potential passives (and the short potentials of §4.4) are like the possessive *áru* 'has' and the quasi-possessive *wakáru* 'understands' and *ir-u* 'needs' as well as the derived potentials *dekíru* 'can do' (≠ *sareru*), *miéru* 'can see' (≠ *miraréru/miréru*), and *kikoeru* 'can hear' (≠ *kikareru/kikeru*)—see §3.5.

Apparently in the potential meaning *sareru* is obligatorily replaced by *dekíru* (for a possible exception, see p. 302), *sareru* being used only for the other meanings of the passive; but (VN) *saserareru* has the potential meaning (rung on the causative) as well as the others. And the pseudo-literary *serareru* is perhaps sometimes intended as a potential: *soozoo serareru* 'can imagine' (Y 131), *sotugyoo serareta* '(you all) were able to graduate' (Y 134—thought to overlap with the subject-exalting use of the passive). Since *dekíru* 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 *ó*-marking with *wakáru* and *dekíru*, p. 196. Three examples from Meiji literature are cited in K 1966.122.

11. But the formulas are misleading: *A ga B o/ga yobareru* is all right, as is *A ni B ga yobareru*, but **A ni B o yobareru* is perhaps to be rejected. And, according to Kuroda, **A ni koraréru* (or **A ni yobareru* with ellipsis of the underlying object) is obligatorily replaced by *A ga koraréru* (*A ga yobareru*). Will these several rejections hold if focus is applied to the various adjuncts—e.g. (?) *Káre ni mo sakana o taberénei* '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 *Atúi kara sóto ni déte kaze ni hukárete 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 yurusaréru* ‘A is forgiven N’; *kotaeraréru* (hen-ziraréru) ‘gets answered’; *senséi ni kodomo o homeraréru* ‘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 dénsya(¯) no náka de seinen kara séki(¯) o yuzurareta kotó ga átta* ‘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, isásaka yuu’utu de átta* ‘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 itté mo, tyósyá ga sákka(¯) to site na o sirareta hitó da to iu kotó de wa náí* ‘By special feature I do not mean that the author is a man who 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: *Huyú^[1] no yóru, simizími to, Tyóotyoo-san kara azi no áru hanasí o kikasareta* ‘One winter evening I was quietly treated by Madam Butterfly to a delightful talk’ (SA 2657.44); *Itíya, káre-ra husai ni yuusyoku o syóotai sarete, hisasi-buri no Nihón-syoku o tanosínda* ‘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); *Watásí-táti tootyaku sita hí ni sono kotó o osieraretá no de, sassokú^[1] yakuwári(¯) o kimeru kotó 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 sankagetú-kan, Sanhuransisuko-syútyoo o mei-zeraremasite né ...* ‘I was sent on a San Francisco business trip for three months, and ...’ (SA 2660.124); *Atarasíi omótya o ataerareta kodomo no yóo da ga, ...* ‘He is like a child who has been given a new toy, and ...’ (SA 2677.52c); *Áru syokubá(¯) no kenkoo-hoken-kúmiai de, zadán-kai no sikai o tanomáreta* ‘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-nómi ni mo yorokobaréru* ‘This sweet is enjoyed by drinkers, too’; *Dáre⁽¹⁾ ní dē mo sukaréru* (konomaréru) *hitó da* ‘He is a person liked by one and all’; *Omae ni soo iwareru to hontoo ni uresíi yó* ‘I am truly pleased to be so spoken of by you’ (Y 111); *Atasi d’átte ai-sare-tái*

wa, kawai garare-tái 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 sensei ni homerárete '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 nayánde ita áni ni sinarete watasi wa hót-to(-) sita 'I was relieved to have my brother, long suffering with illness, pass away'; Watasi wa háha ni yorokobárete uresíkatta 'I rejoiced to have my mother happy'. Cf. Yoshida's statement that the affective passive of an intransitive verb must be adversative (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!'¹²

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 agaranaí gensi-teki na hoohoo de saitan site [= sarete] irú no de sono syuttán-ryoo wa óoku ná '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:

A ga kúru 'A comes' → B ga A o kosaséru 'B gets A to come' → A ga B ni kosas[er]aréru 'A is made to come by B'.

A ga B o yobu 'A calls B' → C ga A ni B o yobaseru 'C gets A to call B' → A ga C ni B o yobas[er]areru 'A is made to call B by C'.

(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 ní:

... → B ga A ni, C ni yobas[er]areru 'B has A made to call him by C'.

This would seem to be a sort of blend of B ga A ni yobareru 'B gets called by A' and A ga C ni (B o) yobas[er]areru 'A gets made to call (B) by C'.

(3) The adversatively passivized causative adds a victim to the happening, and the victim takes the subject marking:

... → B ga A o kosaséru 'B gets A to come' → C ga B ni A o kosas[ar]éru 'C suffers from B's making A come'.

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).

... → C ga A ni B o yobaseru 'C gets A to call B' → D ga C ni, A ni B o yobas[er]areru '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 *ní* or *gá*):

... → B ga A o kosaséru 'B gets A to come' → B ni/ga A ga kosas[er]aréru '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 yobas[er]areru '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 [ní] wa piano ga kodomo ni hikaserareru* '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 passivizable verb—can be used as an alternative form of subject exaltation, the exalted being the instigator: *Senséi ga gakusei o/ni kosas[er]áreta* (= ... *o-kosase ni nátta*) 'The teacher made the student come'. *Senséi ga gakusei ni kodomo o yobas[er]areta* (= ... *o-yobase ni nátta*) '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 araseraréru* = *de irassyáru*): ... *hokutyoo no keitoo de araseraréru* ... 'is of the lineage of the northern dynasty' (SA 2670.146).

Examples of passivized causatives: *Bóku-táti wa uketuke de yobi-tomerárete, sáin o saserareta* '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 Toodai o dénakatta bakari ni issyoo nakasareta. Musuko wa isí ni kaziritúité mo Toodai 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 ní wa kodomo ní wa kikaserarenai yoo na hanasí ga ooku nári, ...* '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); *Tyúugaku no tokí^[1] ténisu o yatté 'te, kookoo-sei no tokí wa óyazi(-) ga benkyoo si ro si ró tté, supóoto wa yaraserarenákatta 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: *tabaréru* for *taberaréru* 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: *hanaséru* 'can speak' ≠ *hanasaréru* 'is spoken', *tabaréru* 'can eat' ≠ *taberaréru* 'is eaten'. The other tendency—common in Ōsaka and in the north—is to use only the long forms for both the passive and the

potential: *taberaréru* 'can eat' or 'is eaten', *hanasaréru* 'can speak' or 'is spoken'. These tendencies lead in many areas to free variation, or competition, between the forms. Most of the traditional Tōkyō 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 *taberaréru* 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 *hanaséru* 'can speak' distinct from *hanasaréru* '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 *tukuraréru* for *tukuréru* 'can make'.

According to Yoshida (Y 116) use of the full passive of consonant verbs as the unabbreviated 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 Sōseki (*ikareru*), Shimazaki Tōson (*nozomaréru*(-)), Akutagawa Ryūnosuke (*okosi-tákute mo okosarénaí*), and Mori Ōgai (*nararénaí* = *narénaí*). 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 *korénaí*, *kóre ya sinai* (= *koráre wa sinai*) 'can't come', and *ikirénaí* '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* = *koraréru* 'can come': *Yáku gosen-tubu no tamágo(-) no utí(-) de kókyoo no kawá ni modótte koréru no wa tatta ip-píkí 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 déte kóreta sóo da ga ...* 'apparently they were able to get out [of jail] for about fifty thousand yen, but ...' (SA 2666.99c). And of *ikareru* = *ikeru* 'can go': *Anéssa no ué o hadasi de ikareru món ka* 'How could anyone walk on that burning sand in bare feet?!' (Tk 2.125b); *Bóku(-), Amerika e ikare-soo ná n da* '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-ré-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 *séru*, 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-súru* 'entrusts', *hú-su* = *hu-súru* 'commits') or to certain other elements (*ái-su* = *ai-súru* '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]éru* 'can entrust', *hus[ar]éru* 'can commit', *ais[ar]éru* '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 husénaí* "kagai-sya-isiki" 'A "consciousness of being the injured" that can not be lightly laughed off' (SA 2656.156—heading); *Tíisa na monó o aisénaí yóo de, óoki na monó o hontoo ni aiséru 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-énaí*), as in *soozoo si-úru* = *soozoo dekíru* 'one can imagine' (KKK 3.243).

apparently unable to love a little thing?' (SA 2664.32c). Notice that in these examples ...*sénai* does NOT represent *senu*, the literary and Kansai version of *sina*, which is the simple negative of *suru*. That category is never¹⁵ represented by **sinu* and (**sénai* is rare, if it exists at all.

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-súru* 'praises' or 'names' will not shorten to **syóo-su* (though you may occasionally run across the contracted form, especially under adnominalization: *syóo-su kotó* = *syoo-súru kotó*) 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 *n*) belong in the second group, provided they are BOUND: *ái* '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-ziru/-zuru* 'feels' and *hoo-zíru(-)/-zúru(-)* 'repays' or 'reports', make both passive and causative with a colloquial *-zirareru* or a less colloquial (hence more often written) *-zerareru*: ... *zyuugyóo-in no tǐngin* [no] *zyoosyoo ni oo-zirarénai(-)* 'can not adjust it to the rise in the wages of the staff' (SA 2677.34c). Apparently **-zíreru* 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 epitheme *kotó* '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 kotó ga dekíru* 'the child can eat this' = *kodomo ni/ga kore ga taberaréru* or *kodomo ga kore o taberaréru*—but *kodomo ni kore o taberaréru* strikes most as awkward, though it is quite possible to have *ní* (or *gá*) to mark the possessor of the potentiality in a sentence such as *Kodomo ni zǐ o yómu kotó 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 kotó ga*] *dekíru*. That will account for all occurrences, including those which do not involve verbal nouns, e.g.: *Zisyu-teki ni nyuuzyóo-ryoo o haráu kankyaku o móttö daizǐ ni* [*suru kotó ga*] *dekínai monó ka* 'Why can't they take better care of the customer who pays his admission independently (to see the show)?' (SA 2671.111d); *Moo sukósi yásuku* [*suru kotó ga*] *dekimasén ka* 'Can't you make it a little cheaper?' (Cf. §9.1.11). The ellipsis suggested here will explain the retention of the *ó*-marking for the underlying direct object in constructions with VNT [*suru kotó ga*] *dekíru*: *Táda de Yooróppa o kenbutu dekíru nánte*, *subarasǐi zya náí?* 'Isn't it swell to be able to see Europe free?' (SA 2665.138—*Yooróppa ga* is possible); *Kánkoku no zítuzyoo kara míte keizai-teki ni óoku o kitai dekíru wáke de mo náí* 'In view of conditions in Korea there is little likelihood that one can expect much economically (from this venture)' (SA 2687.65-6—*óoku ga* is possible); ... *onazi gakká dé*

15. Or virtually never; see p. 371 for a dialectal exception.

mo koto-nátta téido(¯) no koogí(¯) o hoosoo dekiru kotó ni náru '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 kotó ga dekiru 'can cause', as well as (VN) {suru kotó ga} dekiru 'can do'; but *(VN) sareru kotó ga dekiru '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 kúnren o sureba, moozín(¯) ni sikisai o kan-zisaseru kotó ga dekiru ka mo sirenai (= kan-zisaserarerú 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+ [é]- '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-úru kotó to ari-énai koto 'the possible and the impossible'.¹⁶ The verb áru freely takes the V-i-eru potential: Tigatta kangae-káta ga ari-emásu ga ... 'It is possible to have a different point of view, but ...'; Senséi nara tutusimánakute mo yóii to iu kotó wa, ari-énai '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-eru form can be used, in writing, to ring a potential on an identificational sentence predicated with the copula dé áru: ... Índo wa móhaya bookán-sya de wa ari-énai 'India can no longer be [= remain] an onlooker' (Ōide 1965.157—with subdued focus); Sono ími de, kono gurúupu wa senryóo-ka ni okéru(¯), hitótu no hihan-séiryoku de mo ari-éta 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-úru as tonic, but if the formation is regular the older-generation speakers should have an atonic compound, according to the rules presented in §9.1.10.

You may also find the subjective copula tó áru in its reduced form táru, yielding tari-úru 'can be': Dóru ga sekai-túuka tari-úru wáke '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: ... áru itíbu no hitó no sikoo ni too-zi-úru ka, énai ka to iu daké no kotó 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-e-rare- (with the passive-potential made on é-) are used for emphasis by some writers; see Y 128-9.

An older literary form places the infinitive é (of é-ru = literary úru/ú 'gets') in front of a verb that is itself either negative or a rhetorical question: ^[u]é iwazu = ii-ézu 'unable to say'; Káre no ^[u]é iwanú o ... = Káre ga/no ienáii 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 yóo < yó'u < yó[k]u 'nicely = easily' + verb: Titioya wa itai no kakunin ni yóo ^[u]ikan 'His father is unable to come to identify the body' (SA 2676.127e—quoting a speaker from Toyonaka). The expression Yóo iwan wá '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 é, the potential yóo + 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-úru 'can be done', a potentialized passive: ... renraku sare-úru monó ... 'can be linked' (KgKbg 389.55b).

says that in Ōsaka yoo^[r] V-(a)n began replacing é^[r]V-(a)zu in the 1830's. But I wonder whether the literary é usage itself may not enjoy a false (though venerable) etymology, being perhaps instead an old crasis deriving from yée < yoo < yó[k]u. Although the é(-) 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 é 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 é mo iwarezu see Y 508. O'Neill 1968.202 gives examples also of é + kóso, námu, and nán. Writers sometimes use the same Chinese character (TOKU 'get') to write both é(-) 'can' and yoo < yó[k]u (using send-off kana "u"); see Y 508 for an example. (It is unclear whether these periphrastic potentials with yoo + 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-areru, 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:

FUKUOKA	ŌSAKA	TŌKYŌ (older)	TŌKYŌ (newer)
(1) taberaren	taberarehen	taberarénaí	taberénaí
(2) taberen			
(3) tabe-kiran			

In southern Kyūshū V-i ga náru 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; Fujiwara 1969.149). Compare the standard use of naránaí to mean 'it won't do' (= ikenai from 'it can't go') in forming one of the expressions of obligation V-(a)nákereba naránaí '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 ór- (see §6.3-4) yields the forms oráre- and óre-. The latter is homonymous with óre- 'break it', but only because the Tōkyō dialect is historically aberrant in treating ór- < wór- as tonic when a comparison with other dialects would lead us to expect the verb 'be' to be atonic and thus to contrast with the verb ór- < wór- 'break' whose tonic accentuation is historically legitimate; the verb for 'weave' is historically tonic but the atonic 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', kasumu 'it fogs up', otiru '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: Dóo-de [= Dóo-se] mánzoku ni tatami no ué de sineru yátu 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 hutóru 'gets fat' is apparently

subject to control, at least for some persons: *Tásika ni taisitu-teki ni hutorénai hitó ga imásu* 'There are definitely people who are constitutionally unable to put on weight' (SA 2664.106d). The expression *wakáru kotó ga dekiru* 'can understand' is acceptable at least to some speakers—though both **wakaréru* and (as potential rather than adversative or subject-exalting) **wakararéru* are rejected; perhaps this is due to the "transitive" influence of the Chinese-borrowed verbal noun that functions as a synonym: *kore o ríkai(-) suru* 'understands this' can be converted to *kore o ríkai(-) [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 can not 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 yóo ni siyoo*).

On applying both exaltation AND the potential, see § 6.1, where three possibilities are offered: most common o-V-i ni *naréru*, less common o-V-e ni *náru*, and surprisingly frequent o-V-e ni *naréru*. 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: *ureru* means either 'can sell it' or 'it sells', *kiréru* 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, *máke-* is ONLY the potential from *mák-* and means 'can sow', never 'gets sown' (= *makaréru*).

A fairly comprehensive list of the transitive bases that underly such intransitives (homonymous with the short potentials from the same verbs) contains 30 items:

13 that end in /r/—*kír-* 'cut', *kubir-* 'constrict', *makur-* 'tuck up', *nezír-* 'twist', *ór-* 'break', *sir-* 'find out', *súr-* 'rub', *tór-* 'take', *ur-* 'sell', *war-* 'split', *yabúr-* 'tear', *yór-* 'twist', *yur-* 'shake';¹⁷

13 that end in /k/—*hazík-* 'snap, repel', *hik-* 'pull', *hodók-* 'untie', *kudák-* 'break', *kuzík-* 'wrench', *muk-₁* 'peel', *nezík-* 'twist', *nuk-* 'extract', *sabák-* 'sell, dispose of', *sák-* 'split', *tók-* 'untie', *yabúk-* (= *yabúr-*) 'tear', *yak-* 'burn';

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-* (= [s]í-'do'(?)) in proto-Japanese. A fairly comprehensive list of such verbs contains 34 items:

12 that end in /m/—*hik-kóm-* 'withdraw', *itám-* 'hurt', *kagam-* 'bend', *kubom-* 'dent', *kurusim-* 'worry', *sizum-* 'sink', *susum-* 'advance', *tizim-* 'shrink', *tubom-* (= *tubomar-*) 'pucker up', *yam-* 'end', *yasúm-* 'rest', *yugam-* 'warp';

11 that end in /k/—*ak-* 'open', *dok-* 'remove', *katamúk-* 'incline', *muk-₂* 'face', *nok-*

17. Etymologically, also *sugúr-* 'select': *sugúre-* 'be superior (i.e. be select)'.

'remove', sirizók- 'withdraw', somúk- 'turn back on', todók- 'deliver', túk- 'attach', tuzuk- 'continue', utumúk- 'droop';

5 that end in /w/ (from earlier /p/)—kanáw- 'fulfil', sitagáw-(-) 'follow', sow- 'accompany', sorów- 'arrange', tigaw- 'differ';

2 that end in /b/—narab- 'line up', ukab- 'float';

2 that end in /t/—sodát- 'rear', tát- 'stand';

1 that ends in /r/—ir- (= háir-) 'enter';

1 that ends in /g/—yawarág- 'soften'.

And, of course, there are other fortuitous convergences: kakéru can be either the potential of kák- (equivalent to kakaréru in the sense 'can write') or the transitive verb 'hang it' (with its own potential kakeraréru that some will contract to kakeréru 'can hang it') which forms a polarized pair with intransitive kakáru 'it hangs'; makeru is either the potential of mak- (= makareru 'can roll it up') or the intransitive verb 'gets defeated' (with its own potential makerareru that contracts to makereru 'can get defeated'), which can be made transitive with the suffix -as- (makasu 'defeats', homonymous with the contraction of the causative of mak-, makaseru, which in turn happens to be a homonym of the potential of makas-, equivalent to makaserareru in the sense 'can defeat'). And in a written context you must be prepared to find that kakéru may be the attributive (= adnominalized) form of the literary perfect kakéri = káite iru 'has written' or = kaite iru 'is lacking'; the literary perfect of mak- 'roll it up' as well as of mák- 'sow, scatter' will be tonic makéru/makéri = maite iru 'has rolled it up' or = máite iru '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 séru, so there are no legitimate forms for kakéru or makeru (though you may run across kakéri/kakéru and makéri/makéru used illegitimately, cf. Henderson 248). But makaséri 'has defeated' is possible, and only accent will differentiate the attributive makaséru from makaseru which is either the potential of makas- 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 miréru 'is worth seeing, is seeable, is enjoyable to see', kikeru 'is worth hearing, is listenable, is enjoyable to hear', and noméru 'is worth drinking, is drinkable, is enjoyable to drink'. (Apparently taberéru is little used in this way, though kuéru 'is worth eating, is eatable, is good to eat' is common.) A sentence such as Sono sibai wa miréru ka has two meanings: 'Can that play be seen?' (= Sono sibai o míru kotó ga dekíru ka) and 'Is that play any good?' (= Sono sibai wa omosirói ka); cf. Morishige 127. On miréru = miraréru 'can see' as a thriving innovation in postwar Tōkyō, see Maeda 1961.1.16-8; an example: Koo iu supékutákuru wa Amerika-éiga de náí to mirénai 'Such a spectacle can only be seen in an American film' (SA 2678.114b).

Just as both kikeru and kikareru mean 'can hear' but only kikareru means 'is heard' or 'gets listened to', both miréru and miraréru mean 'can see' but only miraréru means 'is seen' or 'gets looked at': Watasi, kangó-hu de aru kotó ga wakátte, sirói mé de miraréru kotó ga yóku arimásu '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 kikareru ga ... 'declarations by "specialists" are listened to, but ...' (SA 2664.93b).

We can compare, from the potential of iku 'goes', ikeru 'tastes good = is delicious (oisii)'

and *ikenai* 'is no good (damé); is bad (warúi)'. From *motéru* 'can be had by' comes the meaning 'is popular with' as in *onná ni motéru* 'is attractive to women'.

The predicate *ge-sénai* 'cannot understand' (with the same meaning and syntax as *wakaránai*) is derived from the negative potential of **gé-sú* 'understands', a one-mora verbal noun of Chinese origin now hardly used except in the negative potential, though *ge-si-gatái* 'is hard to understand' appears to be acceptable. The typical usage is found in *Bóku*(-) *ní wa ge-sénai né* 'I can't understand it' (Fn 443a). A rhetorical question is not permitted: **ge-séru món ka*. And **ge-sánai* is not used; the one example of *ge-sínai* I have found may be a mistake for *gesénai*: ... *yúumoa o ge-sínai otokó da ná* '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 *Náni ka kaíte iru uti*(-) *ni é ga kámete iru* 'While I am doodling a picture happens to result' and ... *nakete kíta* 'tears welled up'. This category, which I will call the SPONTANEOUS POTENTIAL, may account for a double use of *dekiru* both as potential for *suru* 'can do' and as spontaneous 'gets produced, gets done'—as in *komé ga dékita* 'rice was produced', *kutú ga dékita* 'the shoes got done (= made/repaired/readied)', and *kodomo ga dékita* 'had a child'. Other examples of the spontaneous potential: *Hanasi o kiite iru uti*(-) *ni sizen ni waraete kíta* 'While listening to the story, I was seized with laughter'; ... *hontoo no yóo ni omóete kíta* 'it began to appear true'.

Kazama 213 refers to "natural passives" and gives as examples: ... *tó omowaréru/iwareru/miraréru* 'it is thought/said/seen that ...',¹⁸ *okonawareru* 'it happens', *zikkoo 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', *kangaeraréru* 'one can be led to think', *omoi-dasareru* 'the thought keeps coming to mind', *sikén ga omoi-yarareru* 'a test is on one's mind'. An example: ... *ni kiwámete zyuuyoo na imi-ái*(-) *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 dekiru*) 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; *omowarénaí* at times is an equivalent of *omóenáí* 'can't think/feel' (for an example see Y 118).

derived from a passive. It would be possible to attribute the sentence *Onná ni kodomo ga umareta* 'A child was born to the woman' to the passivization of an underlying *Onná ga kodomo o unda* 'The woman bore a child', but a similar explanation is impossible for *Otokó ni kodomo ga umareta* 'A child was born to the man = He became the father of a child' or *Kodomo ni ootoó ga umareta* 'The child had a little brother born to him'. Similar verbs are (*monó ni*) *megumareru* 'is blessed (with things)' and (*sake ni*) *nomaréru* '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 ootoó o umaresaseru* 'causes a child to have a little brother born to him'. But (*kabe ni*) *motaréru* 'leans (on a wall)' from the passive of *mótu* 'holds' can apparently take the causative (*hito o kabe ni motaresaseru* '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 oi-makuraréru* 'is relentlessly driven by work', §9.1.10), In *heitai ni toraréru* '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: *Péntágon ni heitai ni toraréru* '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) Transitivity, in which an underlying intransitive verb (such as *kawák-* 'get dry') is converted into a transitive verb (*kawakás-* 'dry it') by the addition of a suffix, here *-as-*.

(2) Intransitivization, in which an underlying transitive verb (such as *hasám-* 'interpose') is converted into an intransitive (*hasamár-* '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 *naós-* 'improve it' seem to be derived, by the suffixes *-(a)s-* and *-(a)r-* respectively, from a nonexistent verb **naó-* (etymologically to be found in the adverb *naó* 'yet, rather').

Similar to the polarized pairs are verbs with AMBIVALENT TRANSITIVITY: the same shape represents both transitive and intransitive: *húku* '(the wind) blows; blows (a whistle)', *hiráku* '(the earth, a flower, one's "eyes") open; opens it', *haru* 'it stretches; stretches it', *masu* 'it increases; increases it', *?yoseru* '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 transitivity, 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*)

'ends it'; but *súmu* is always intransitive 'it ends', paired with transitive *sumásu* 'ends it'. There are also verbal nouns that can be used either transitively or intransitively, e.g. *syóokyó* 'eliminating' or 'being eliminated', *zenmetu* 'annihilating' or 'being annihilated', Cf. also *yamá ni noboru* 'climbs on the mountain' ≠ *yamá 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:

INTRANSITIVE	TRANSITIVE
<i>kúru</i> 'comes'	(<i>motte/turete kúru</i> 'brings')
<i>iku</i> 'goes'	(<i>motte/turete iku</i> 'takes')
<i>yaseru</i> 'gets thin'	—
<i>oíru</i> 'gets old'	—
<i>saku</i> 'blooms'	—
<i>iru/áru</i> 'exists'	—
—	<i>útu</i> 'hits'
—	<i>kúu</i> 'eats'
—	<i>kír-u</i> 'cuts' (cf. <i>kiréru</i> 'can cut = is sharp', §4.4)
—	<i>kér-u</i> 'kicks'
—	<i>kokoromíru</i> 'tries'
—	<i>nagéru</i> 'throws'
—	<i>nagúru</i> 'pummels'
—	<i>kanéru</i> 'combines'
etc.	etc.

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 transitivity suffix is regularly *-(a)s-* with a few cases of *-se-* and the intransitivizing suffix is regularly *-(a)r-* with a few cases of *-(a)re-*. The other pairs (*tátu* 'it stands' : *tatéru* 'stands it up'; *ureru* 'it sells' : *uru* 'sells it'; *nieru* 'it boils' : *niru* '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

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, *yasúmu* 'rests' (basically intransitive, but transitive in the sense 'rests from', e.g. *gakkoo o yasúmu* 'skips school') underlies the polarized pair (*kokóro o*) *yasuméru* 'puts (one's heart) at rest' and (*kokóro ga*) *yasumáru* '(one's heart) is put at rest'. Similar are *tubomu* (= *tubomaru*) : *tubomeru* 'puckers shut' and *yamu* (= *yamaru*) : *yameru* 'stops': ... "yame-nasái" tte iwaret'átte yamaranai ná '... 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 *káes-* 'return it' : *káer-* 'come back' with the similar pairs *kae-* 'change it' : *kawar*₋₁ 'be changed' and *kawas-* 'exchange' : *kawar*₋₂ 'be substituted'.²⁰

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. lg 15):

	OUT-GOING	IN-COMING	
Shape-related:	<i>kasu</i> 'lends'	<i>kariru</i> 'borrows'	
	<i>osieru</i> 'instructs; teaches it'	<i>osowaru</i> 'learns it'	
	<i>azukéru</i> 'puts in custody'	<i>azukáru</i> 'takes in custody'	
Unrelated:	<i>uru</i> 'sells'	<i>kau</i> 'buys'	
	<i>ataeru</i> 'gives'	<i>ukéru</i> 'receives'	
Cf:	<i>yaru</i> ₁ / <i>ageru</i> 'gives'	} <i>morau</i> 'receives'	
	<i>kureru/kudasáru</i> 'gives us' (§ 6.5)		
	<i>yaru</i> ₂ 'sends someone (to you, there, then)'		<i>yokósu</i> 'sends someone (to us, here, now)'
	<i>iku</i> 'goes/comes (to you, there, then)'		<i>kúru</i> 'comes (to us, here, now)'

Okutsu treats pairs such as *osieru* : *osowaru* and *azukéru* : *azukáru* as representing "double-transitive verbs". Thus *Senséi ga Nihon-go o osieru* 'The teacher teaches Japanese' and *Senséi 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: *Senséi ga gakusei ni Nihon-go o osieru*. The "in-coming" versions, the result of "double-transitive intransitivization" according to Okutsu, take either *ni* or *kará* to mark the agent, as the beneficiary becomes the subject: *Gakusei ga senséi 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 *kará*; and some verbs (e.g. *osieru*) permit the beneficiary to take the *ó*-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*, *kirerareru*, *matomarareru*, *kowareraréru*, *nagareraréru*,

20. Corresponding to the transitive *morásu* 'leaks it' there are two versions of the intransitive: *móru* and *moréru* '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 adversative 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, hūru*, etc. "can never be used in the passive"; as stated this is not quite true, since the adversative 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:

TRANSITIVE *Ringo o tōru* '[Someone] takes the apple(s)'.

INTRANSITIVE *Ringo ga torēru* 'Apples are produced'—the only implication is a location.

PURE PASSIVE *Ringo ga torarēru* 'The apples are picked [by someone]'.

AFFECTIVE PASSIVE *Ringo o torarēru* '[Someone] has his apple(s) taken [by someone]'—an agent or source and an affected are implied.

Alfonso treats *dekīru* as the intransitive verb corresponding to *suru*, as well as considering it a potential. But notice that *dekīru* will not substitute for *sareru*, any more than *sareru* will substitute for *dekīru*, and the meaning is rather different from that of *suru*. Thus *Syokuzi ga dēkita* 'Dinner is ready' corresponds to *Syokuzi o tukūtta* (or *kosiraeta* or *zyūnbi sita*) 'I've prepared dinner' rather than to *Syokuzi o sita* 'I've had dinner'. As an intransitive verb, *dekīru* 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 *dekīru* includes the same elements as *dēte kūru* '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 *mīru* 'sees' you will find the regularly formed passive-potentials; in addition, there are derived forms: *kikoeru* 'gets heard; can be heard' is used as well as *kikeru* 'can hear' and *kikareru* 'gets heard';²¹ *miēru* 'gets seen; can be seen' is heard as well as *mirarēru* 'gets seen; can be seen' and—for some speakers—*mirēru* 'can see'. But *omoēru* 'gets thought; can be thought' is simply the short potential abbreviation from *omowarēru* and requires no separate treatment. *Miēru* also means 'appears, shows up' and is used as a euphemism for *kūru* 'comes'. The meaning 'appears' is also expressed by *arawarēru*, which forms a transitivity pair with *arawāsu* 'reveals'; these are perhaps ultimately derived from *ār-* 'be', though more immediately they are associated with *ārawa(-)*, 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 *Tōkyō* speech. An example of the pure passive: ... "senmon-ka" no hatugen ga kikarerū ga ... 'declarations by "specialists" are heard, but ...' (SA 2664.93b).

22. *Watasi ni mirārete iru kotō o īsiki suru to, ...* 'When they realize they are being looked at by me, ...' (Nagano 1966.69).

Kono kikai o tukaéba, tiisái otó de mo

{ kiku kotó ga dekíru.
 kikoeru.
 kikeru.
 kikareru. [non-Tōkyō]

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: *siras[er]u* 'informs one of, tells about' (from 'lets one know'), *kikas[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 clasp 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 *nemuraseru* 'puts to sleep; murders'—most causatives having such a contraction.

The transitive verbs *miséru* 'shows' and *kiseru* 'clothes (another)' are old causatives 'causes to see' (= *misaséru*) and 'causes to wear' (= *kisaseru*), but they are somewhat specialized in meaning and they can underlie causative forms of their own: *misesaséru* 'causes someone to show (it to someone else)' and *kisesaseru* '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 *misesaséru* and *kisaseru* will probably feel comfortable with *tobasaseru* 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* 'becomes' and *suru* '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 *nasáru*, the subject-exalting form of *suru* (§6.4). At first glance the pair *ireru* '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 transitivity 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.

VI-static (unpaired):	A ga	i- 'stay', ...; (P o) hasír- 'run', arúk- 'walk', ...
	X ga	húr- 'rain/snow', ...
VI-static paired with VT-active	A ga : A o	ne- 'sleep' : nekas- 'put to sleep', ...; sin- 'die' : koros- 'kill', ...
	X ga : X o	nokór- 'remain' : nokós- 'leave', otír- 'fall' : otós- 'drop', ...
VT-active (unpaired):	A ga	yob- 'call', nagúr- 'hit', sawar- 'feel', kik- ₃ 'taste to see', ²³ ...
VT-static paired with VI-active:	X o : X ga	mí- ₁ 'see' : mie- 'get seen', kik- ₁ 'hear' : kikóe- 'get heard'
VT-static (unpaired):	X o	omów- 'think', kanzi- 'feel', kag- 'smell', ...; mí- ₂ 'look at', kik- ₂ 'listen to'

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 *míru* is *sir-u*. *Sir-u*₁ 'knows' is dynamic and has the inert form *sireru*₁ 'is known', the adversative passive *sirareru*₁ 'suffers from someone knowing', and the causal *siraseru*₁ 'informs' which makes a morphological causative that constitutes a double-causal: *sirasaseru* 'lets someone inform (someone else)'. *Sir-u*₂ 'finds out', on the other hand, uses the morphological passive both for its adversative form (*sirareru*₂ 'suffers from someone finding out') and its inert form (*sirareru*₃ 'gets found out'); the causal coincides as *siraseru*₂ '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

	ADVERSATIVE	INERT	DYNAMIC	CAUSAL	DOUBLE-CAUSAL
VT-st	A ga B ni C o miraréru ₁ 'A gets C seen by B' (*mieraréru)	C ga (B ni) miéru 'C gets seen (by B)'	B ga C o míru ₁ 'B sees C'	A ga B ni C o miséru 'A shows C to B'	D ga A ni B ni C o misesaseru 'D causes A to show C to B'
VT-ac	A ga B ni C o miraréru ₂ 'A gets C looked at by by B'	C ga B ni miraréru ₃ 'C gets looked at by B'	B ga C o míru ₂ 'B looks at C'	A ga B ni C o misaseru 'A lets B look at C'	—
VT-st	A ga B ni C o kikareru ₁ 'A gets C heard by B' (*kikoerareru)	C ga (B ni) kikoeru 'C gets heard (by B)'	B ga C o kiku ₁ 'B hears C'	A ga B ni C o kikaseru ₁ 'A lets B hear C'	—
VT-ac	A ga B ni C o kikareru ₂ 'A gets C listened to by B'	C ga B ni kikareru ₃ 'C gets listened to by B'	B ga C o kiku ₂ 'B listens to C'	A ga B ni C o kikaseru ₂ 'A lets B listen to C'	—
VI-st	B ga C ni irareru 'B suffers from C staying'	C ga iru 'C stays'	B ga C o isaseru 'B lets C stay'	—	—
VI-ac	B ga C ni hatarakareru 'B suffers from C working'	—	C ga hataraku 'C works'	B ga C ni/o hatarakaseru 'B lets C work'	—
VI-st	B ga C ni sinareru '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 korosareru ₁ 'A suffers from B killing C'	C ga B ni korosareru ₂ 'C gets killed by B'	B ga C o korosu 'B kills C'	A ga B ni C o korosaseru 'A lets B kill C'	—
VT-ac	A ga B ni C o yobareru ₁ 'A suffers from B calling C'	C ga (B ni) yobareru ₂ 'C gets called (by B)'	B ga C o yobu 'B calls C'	A ga B ni C o yobaseru 'A lets B call C'	—
VT-st	A ga B ni C o omowaréru ₁ 'A suffers from B thinking of C'	C ga (B ni) omowaréru ₂ 'C is thought of (by B)'	B ga C o omóu 'B thinks of C'	A ga B ni C o omowaseru 'A lets B think of C'	—
	"the morphological passive"		"the morphological causative"		
	adversative passive	normal passive	NEUTRAL		

In general, each situation illustrated in the matrix is exemplified by more than one lexical set. Another set like 'die/kill':

	ADVERSATIVE	INERT	DYNAMIC	CAUSAL
VI-st	B ga C ni nerareru 'B suffers from C sleeping'	C ga neru 'C sleeps'	B ga C o nesaseru 'B lets C sleep'	—
VT-ac	A ga B ni C o nekasareru 'A suffers from B putting C to sleep'	C ga B ni nekasareru ₂ 'C is put to to sleep by B'	B ga C o nekasu 'B puts C to sleep'	A ga B ni C o nekasareru 'A has B put C to sleep'

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:

	L I T E R A R Y		C O L L O Q U I A L	
<i>Cons. verb</i>	V-u	V-i ... suru KOTO ... su.	V-u	V-i ... suru
<i>Vowel verb</i>	V-uru KOTO -u.	V ⁱ / _e -ϕ ... suru KOTO ... su.	V ⁱ / _e -ru	V ⁱ / _e -ϕ ... suru
<i>Adjectival</i>	A-ki KOTO -si.	A-ku ... aru KOTO ... ari.	A-i	A-ku ... aru
<i>Nominal</i>	N naru KOTO nari.	N ni ... aru KOTO ... ari.	N na/no KOTO N [da].	N de ... aru

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 ní ... áru (contracting to N náru 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 tó ... 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 Satō 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 bēnri de, mīta mé ni utukúsiku áreba yói 'It need be only convenient for use and beautiful to the eye' (Ōno 66.206). In this example, we might interpret the form as an ellipsis of -kú [sae] áreba—perhaps under the influence of the conjoining, which would

1. There are occasional exceptions: Éiga(ゑiga) no baai wa mata gyaku de né, sémaku áru bēki monó ga hiroku utútyau n desu yó 'With movies it's the opposite again, things that ought to be close are shot wide' (Tk 2.330a).

then be interpreted as ... *bénri de [sae áreba] ... utukúsiku [sae] ár-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: *N de áru, N de arimásu*. That is what accounts for the following example (where we would have expected to find ... *táido de sae áreba, ...*): *Désu kara mondai wa, kanzi to iu monó wa dekíru* ⁽²⁾ *~dake sitte ita hoo ga yoi to iu táido DE ARI SAE SURÉBA, Tooyoo-kánzi o nán[i]-zi ni surú ka to iu kotó wa samatu na kotó 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). See also *N de ari-tái* (§ 7).

Once split, the nucleus will sometimes accommodate a few additional words: *Siróoto ga úka-uka to té o dásu yoo* ⁽¹⁾ *na siromono dé wa DAN-ZITE náí no de aru* 'It is definitely NOT a thing for an amateur carelessly to turn his hand to' (SA 2670.29e); ... *sono yoo na ími de wa KESSITE nákatta* '... it NEVER meant anything like that' (Ōno 1966.27); *Sikási, koré-ra wa izure mo tokusyu-kéesu de ari, syakai-teki syuukan dé wa KESSITE náí* 'But these are all special cases, they are in NO way social customs' (Nakane 162); ... *sikási, sono súbete ga, koo sita katei o tadotta wáke de wa, MOTÍRON náí* '... but it does not, of course, mean that all of them have followed such a course (of development)' (Sakakura 301); *Zenmen-teki ni soo suru monó de wa, MOTÍRON KESSITE arimasén* (or: *KESSITE MOTÍRON arimasén*) 'Of course they are not things that are totally different'; *Watasi wa warai-tákú nánka wa TITTÓ MO nákatta keredo* 'I did NOT in the least want to laugh or anything, but ...'. An example which inserts an adverb into the unfocused copula: *Dá karall Tyúugoku wa || sensei-kunsi-sei no kókka de || nágaku | arimásita keredo mo, ...* 'Thus, China was long a country under an absolute ruler, but ...' (R).

Mikami 1963.58 gives an example of a rather unusual inversion that puts the subdued Identified in the split of the copula marking the Identifier: *Kúzyoo Kanézane no ootootó de Zítin wa átta* 'Jichin was the younger brother of Kujō Kanezane'. Apparently this device is possible in explaining a relationship between two knowns. A couple of examples from modern literature are cited in Y 418: ... *itiban no kiraware-mono DE, watakusi wa ÁTTA no da* 'I was the most despised'; *Dómori de, múkuti na bóokun(¯) DE watakusi ga ÁREBA, ...* 'If I were to be some stammering, speechless tyrant, ...'.

5.1. NUCLEAR FOCUS WITH WÁ AND MÓ

We have seen how focus can be applied to an adjunct in order to subdue it and put it in the background (*wá*) or to highlight it and push it to the foreground (*mó*); 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:

Yobí wa/mo suru. Ógkiku wa/mo áru. Hón de wa/mo áru.

For *V-í wa* and *V-é wa* you will also find *V-í ya* and *V-é ya*; and both (but particularly *V-í ya*) often contract to *V-yá[a]*: *Yuugai-syókuhin to hakkiri wakárya [= wakáreba], dáfe mo kayáa [= kaí wa] sinái kara* 'For once they discover it is harmful food, nobody'll buy it' (SA 2671.26a). Free verbal nouns frequently drop the infinitive *si*: *kenyuu suru* 'researches' will yield *kenyuu* {*si*} *wa/mo suru*. But the ellipsis is optional, and the infinitive often appears, especially when the verbal noun carries a direct object: *Dáre mo* ⁽¹⁾

sono kotó o hitei sí wa sinái de aróo 'Surely no one will deny that' (SA 2651.69d); Koosyoku-bon to iú no wa ryóori no hón to onazi da. Yokuboo o sigeki sí wa surú ga, kessite úé wa mitásite kurenai 'Erōtic 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 N o VN {sí} mo suru: Naganó-ken Saku soogoo-byóoin kara senmon-ísi o manéite, zanryuu-nóoyaku ga zintai ni dóno-yóo na eikyoo o ataerú ka o kumiái-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 wá or mó be attached directly to the adverb: ^{1a}Tái-site gakkári mo sinákatta n desu 'I wasn't terribly discouraged' (SA 2666.44b)—* ... gakkári sí mo sinákatta ...; ... hantaisei-teki na siten mo hakkíri wa site irú no da ga, ... 'some [= mó] anti-establishment viewpoints are quite obvious, but ...' (SA 2685.116b)—*... hakkíri sí wa site irú (It is clear that these are adverbs rather than free verbal nouns because you can not insert ó: *gakkári 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 wá 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 Yómiti o arúite iru tokí ni, nání ka déte kí WA si-mái ka to omótte iru to, mátu-no-ki ga hito ni miétari 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); ... áru-hi totuzen ni henkaku ga kanoo na yóo na tokí ga kí WA sinái ka 'Some day won't there come a time when reform is suddenly possible?'; Nán no syooko mo ári WA sinái 'There isn't the least bit of proof' (SA 2637.103); Kessite Yooróppa ni maké WA sinái 'It [= American economic power] is in no way inferior to Europe[']s' (SA 2664.45c); Dénsya(¯) de ni-zíkan to kakári WA sinái 'By train it HARDLY takes two hours' (Kb 34a). Notice that V-í wa (and, less often, V-é wa) may be contracted to V-yá[a]; kamáya[a] sinái is equivalent to kamái wa sinái 'it DOESN'T matter', from a focusing of kamawánai (or: from a negativization of the focusing of kamáu).

V mo ... yóku sirí MO sinái hitó 'people who do not KNOW [or: whom one does not know] very well' (Ōno 1966.35); irí mo sinái yakkai-mónó(¯) 'an unwanted nuisance'.

VN wa Sore mo suitei [sí] WA [suru kotó ga] dekiru keredo mo, ... 'That too one CAN assume but ...' (SA 2656.44b).

VN mo ... bidoo MO sinái 'doesn't move an INCH'; Mí-múkí MO sinái de (or: sezu ni) ... 'Without even casting a GLANCE ...'; ... géngo o soosaku MO site iru 'is actually creating a language' (Y 5).

A wa Tákaku WA áru ga, sina ga yóí 'It IS expensive, but the quality is good'; Sini-tákú MO náí no ni sinanákereba naránai 'Though we have no desire to die, die we must' (KKK 25.87b).

A mo Nán to onna-rásiku MO náí ... senseí datta 'She was a teacher who ... was not the least bit feminine-seeming' (SA 2672.108c).

AN wa Kono hen wa sízuka de WA áru ga, húben da 'This area IS quiet, but it's inconvenient'.

1a. But *sae* can be treated either way: hakkíri sae suréba = hakkíri sí sae suréba.

AN mo ... inú ga sukí de MO náí no ni inú o káu hitó ga óói ... '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 tásika 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 taidán-syuu de WA áru ga, Takeda Táizyun no búngaku o siru ué ni mi-nogasenai síryoo(⁻) to náru daroo '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 Tajun Takeda's literary works' (SA 2681.101e); [Kono gonén-kan, hákase no "seisan" sitá no wa, san-kágetu ˉgóto ni dásu zyup-péizi ˉtárazu no syóruí(⁻) ˉdaké.^[1] Makoto ni yuuyuu táru péesu da.] Mótto-mo kono kenkyuu, supónsaa ga séihu de WA áru 'What the doctor has "produced" during these five years is just a report of under ten pages put out every three months. Truly a leisurely pace.] Of course the sponsor of this research IS the government' (SA 2661.28d). Notice that *dé wa* can contract to *zyá[a]*: Soryaa, omae d'átte móo itinínmae no onná ZYA áru ga, sore *dé mo* ... 'Well you yourself ARE a grownup woman, but even so ...' (Fn). And *N zya náí* can represent either *N de náí* (simple negation) or *N dé wa náí* (focused), the latter an equivalent of *N zyáa náí*; see §8.

N mo Sóo de MO náí desu yó 'That's not quite true either' (SA 2647.24b); Noosángyoo wa watási-táti no taisetú na gímu desu ga, ippóo, iti-nen o tuu-zite tuzuku tanosii 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 all through the year, you see' (SA 2688.40c); Sore wa, kessite zúruku náí. Hazí de MO náí 'That isn't sly at all. Nor is it shameful' (SA 2664.32d). The expression *wáre ni MO árazu* 'in spite of oneself, involuntarily' is borrowed from a literary analog of *watási dé MO náku* '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 *saré WA sinái* 'DOESN'T have it done to one' rather than **sí wa sarenái*, *arúke WA sinái* 'CAN'T walk' rather than **arúki wa {suru kotó ga} dekinái*: ... sore-hodo moti-ageraré WA sinákatta desu yó 'I didn't get all that much (= didn't get very much) praise heaped upon me' (SA 2666.45b); ... *kozín-sa to site kangarére WA sité mo*, ... 'even if it be regarded as individual variation' (KKK Ronshū 1.425); *Káere ya [= wa] sinái zya náí no* 'Can I ever go home again?' (Kawabata: Saikai 91); ... *agameraré MO osoreraré MO sezu*, ... '[he] is neither revered nor feared ...'; ... *zikayóo-sya ga ahuréru yóo na génzai no zyookyoo wa yosoku saré MO sinákatta* 'present-day conditions, overflowing with private cars, were hardly foreseen' (SA 2652.98a); *Sikási ikímóno da kara ori^[1] no náka ni ireraré MO si-mái [= suru ˉmái] si* ... 'But he's a living being so we can't very well put him in a cage ...' (Ariyoshi 304); *Sore wa hihyoo-ka no monó de mo ári, kagákú-sya no monó de mo ári, syoosetu-ka no monó de mo áru—másite-ya iti-bungeihihyooka no monó to kagiraré 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/mo suru*, as in the last example above, but we also find VN *wa/mo sareru*—presumably, in violation of the order of conversion application that we have assumed, to be taken as VN *{sí} wa/mo sareru*: Sono kóro wa ima no yóo na zyootai ni náru kotó 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 kotó ga] dekíru as well as the expected VN déki wa/mo suru = VN [suru kotó ga] déki wa/mo suru: Sore mo suitei WA dekíru keredo mo, ... 'That too one CAN assume, but ...' (SA 2656.44b); Kono tokí hodo, akiráme(-) mo dékizu, tameíki no déru tokí wa náí '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 dáre si mo means dáre de mo), see §9.2.2.

Adjuncts can be highlighted and conjoined 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 zinkoo o génzai yori herí mo [sinákereba] húe mo sinai yóo ni si-tái nara, húuhu ga is-syóogai ni ní-ten iti-sán-nin no kodomo o tukuránakereba naránai '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); ... o^[1]si mo ~~sinákereba~~ osaré^[1] mo sinai íti 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 yasúi no desu ka, takái no desu ka?—] Yásuku mo [nákereba] tákaku mo náí desyoo né ' [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 náí 'This place is neither Israeli territory nor Arab territory' (SA 2647.11); Watasi wa kénzi de mo [nákereba] bengó-si de mo náí. Isya no tatibá kara syoogen 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 káku monó wa, syoosetu dé mo náí, dénki de mo náí, hyooron dé mo [nákereba] zuihitu dé mo náí to itta yóo na monó ni nátte imá^[1]su '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 tukai-kata ¹sídai de, dokú ni mo náreba kusuri ní mo náru '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 ukandá no wa watasi dé mo nákereba, Amerika no hahaoya dé mo nákatta n desu né '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. On assuming that what is ellipited 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: Zyookyaku ni hanasi-kaké mo sezu, hanasi-kakeraré mo simasén '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.

Hataraku hitó mo izu, asobu hitó mo inái no da 'There are no people working nor any playing' (SA 2671.94a—izu is the literary negative infinitive, §8.5); Séihu ṅawa wa hóoi o síme mo sezu, yurúme mo sezu, hyooroo-zeme no genzyoo-izi no hoosin o tótte 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 omosíróku mo ári, tamé ni mo nári wa sinái 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 ká 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 omosíróku mo ári [=átte] tamé ni mo náru '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 omosíróku mo ári [wa sinái ka], tamé ni mo nári wa sinái ka. The lack of parallelism in highlighting the mutative conversion of the second part (tamé ni mo náru) to balance the highlighting of the adjective nucleus in the first part (omosíróku mo áru) 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 dé mo [áreba] Y dé mo áru: Káre wa isya dé mo bungákú-sya de mo áru 'He is both a physician and a literary scholar'; Ensyutu-ka dé mo áreba haiyuu dé mo áru tyósya ... '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.)³ Sometimes the first mó is suppressed: ... Hitotu-basi-dai [no] kóosi de bengó-si de mo áru Namiki Tosímori 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 ṅákari de náku N₂ dé mo ári 'Is not just N₁ but is also N₂': Kore wa zibun no tamé ṅákari de náku, o-tagai no tamé de mo áru '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: "Kiyosi" ga, toomei dé WA átte MO, isásaka syusei no katati de "nāni mo ná" to iu ími o mótte 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 nó which serves as the Identified for kore ga: Kore ga watási-táti séito zen'in no kiboo dé mo ári, mata mokuhyoo dé mo áru 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-kú mo ári wa sinai: Yásuku mo ári wa sinai 'Nor is it cheap, either'.

N dé mo ári wa sinai: Isya dé mo ári wa sinai 'Nor is he a doctor, either'.

(?)A-kú sae ári wa sinákereba ...

But *A-kú wa ári mo sinai is apparently unacceptable. More research is needed on this subject, including combinations of restrictives, nádo, etc.

In the following example, it is unclear just what would be the appropriate filler for the ellipsis: Kessite Oosaka-ben ga dáí-iti de mo [] yúiiitu de mo ári wa sinái ga, ... 'By no means is the Ōsaka dialect either foremost or unique but ...' (Maeda 1961.82). If the conjoining precedes the nuclear focus, the ellipsis is of áreba; 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 ári ya sinái 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 = dé wa, ya = wa), but the intention may be simply to subdue the negativized copula (N de/zya náí) with the device applied to the auxiliary (náí → ári wa sinai, the negative of ári wa suru) rather than within the copula, d[é]á[ru] → dé wa áru.

On A-kú mo as an abbreviation of -kú mo átte, equivalent to -kuté mo, see §9.2.2. A-kú mo sometimes represents the highlighting of an adverb: háyaku mo 'swiftly indeed', yóku mo 'nicely indeed' [often ironic], etc.

A-ku wa is sometimes contracted to A-k'aa or A-k'a as in these examples: Yók'aa náí wá yó 'It's not nice, I tell you' (Kb 382a); Tittó mo okásik'aa náí n de 'It's not the least bit funny, you see' (Kb 409a—for the sentence-final gerund, see §9.2.1a); Sámuk'a arimasén ka 'Aren't you cold?' (Fn 107b); Wakái monó o, kátte mo maketé mo ii yóo na syoogi no aité ni wa sase-tak'a náí '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 yá freely replaces wá, and V-í ya often contracts to V-yá[a], as we have remarked. In colloquial Tōkyō usage kí wa/ya sinai 'does NOT come' is often said as kó ya sinai, apparently a blend of kónai with kí ya sinai (cf. Kokugo akusento ronsō 394).

5.2. NUCLEAR FOCUS WITH SÁE AND SIKA

The peripheral focus markers sáe and sika can also be used to split the nucleus, though the latter seems to be limited to nominal sentences: Seizei, Santa-Kuróosu wa, monó o kureru hitó de SIKA náí n desu né 'At most, Santa Claus is only someone who gives things (to them)' (SA 2658.117d); Tumaránai hón de SIKA náí (= Tumaránai hón ni sugínai) 'It is only a worthless book'; Sitagátte(¯), Tookyoo ni sumánai kágiri wa, sono tiiki-káisyá no hoogén(¯) ga kisó ni nátte iru yóo na kyootuu-go dé SIKA náí '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 monó wa zísyo de wa náku, sakuin dé SIKA náí 'Such things are ONLY (=NOTHING but) indexes, not dictionaries' (Shibata 1966.146); ... taigan no hí de átte wa naránu hazu no monó de wa áru ga, zízitu wa taigan no hí de SIKA nákatta no de áru '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' (KKK 3.59); Sore wa máda, yuusyoku ga súnnda bákari no zikan dé SIKA nákatta 'It was still only the time when dinner had just ended'

(68); ... hura-dánsu no yóo ni kankóo-kyaku no nagusami-mono dé SIKA náku náru desyoo '... will become nothing but a tourist attraction like the hula dance'.

Notice that *N sika de/zya ná is ungrammatical. For N dé sika ná we might expect to find also (*)N dé dake áru with the same meaning, but that is apparently ungrammatical.⁴

Following are examples of *sáe* splitting the nucleus; others will be found in §9.3.1-2 (with the provisional *suréba, áreba*), and in §9.2.4. Since a minor juncture is sometimes inserted before *sáe* to emphasize the focus even more strongly, optional accentuations are shown: N dé *sáe* is said either as N dé *sae* or as N de *sáe*.

VERBAL Itizi teitai-gími no boeeki-kánkei no sigoto nádo, tikáku hukkatu sí SÁE *suréba*, anta-gáta no té wa boeeki sínkoo ni nákte wa naránu monó to narimasyóo [= náru desyóo] '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); Tábe SAE *suréba*, hutorimásu 'If you just eat, you will put on weight' (SA 2664.106a); ... akire-háte SAE *sitá* no desu 'I am downright bored with it' (SA 2673.143a).

VERB-NOMINAL ... syusyoo no taizin o yookyuu sí SÁE suru 'they even demand the resignation of the prime minister' (SA 2676.136c); ... gáman sí SÁE *suréba* 'if one just bears with it'.

ADJECTIVAL Tuzurí ga tadásiku SAE *áreba*, kaki-káta no zyoozú^[r] hetá wa mondai ni simasén 'If the spelling just be correct, I won't make an issue over whether the handwriting is good or bad'.

ADJECTIVE-NOMINAL Kono hukuzatu-táki na zidai ni, noiróoze ni naránai hoo^(u) ga husigi dé SÁE áru 'In these days of complexity and division, it is peculiar NOT to get neurotic'; Kenkoo de súnao de SÁE *áreba* ii 'All they have to do is be healthy and obedient' (SA 2642.40—the reference is to household help); Anáta ga sukí de SÁE *áreba*, naréru ni turete zyootatu simásu 'If you just like it you will gain proficiency as you get used to it' (KKK 3.55).

NOMINAL Betonamu dé wa, kodomo ya onná ga sentóo-in de *sáe* áru baai ga oói n desu 'In Vietnam there are many cases where women and children are actually combatants' (major junctures after each *gá*, a minor juncture before *sáe*—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:

Kóso:

VERBAL Kuti ni dási KOSO sinákatta ga, hu-sánsei na n da yó 'I kept it to myself but I am in disagreement' (Hozaka 1960.336); Sikási sono ryóori wa yahári Ahurika ni todomáru syoosyá-in ka, tobosii(−) syoku-séikatu ni nárete simatte iru gakuséi-táti ni yotte hyóoka(−) saré KOSO sure, ryóori no senmon-ka no sore tó wa hikaku si-yoo mo náí de aróo '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 *daké* applied to a nucleus is the following sentence, which some speakers are reluctant to accept: Kakáse dake *suréba* ii desyoo 'If you'll just have them write it that'll be fine' (Hozaka 1960.340). Here *daké* is functioning as a synonym of *sáe*.

ADJECTIVAL Yásuku KOSO áre, kessite tákaku wa náí 'It's cheap rather than expensive' (áre is the literary concessive, §9.3).

ADJECTIVE-NOMINAL Kono kimono wa hadé de KOSO áre, zimi de wa náí 'This kimono isn't plain, if anything it's on the flashy side' (áre is the literary concessive, §9.3).

NOMINAL ... "okawari" to iú no wa hito no zyootai dé KOSO áre, kessite hito sono-mónó de wa náí '... what is meant by "o-kawari" is more the state of a person rather than the person himself' (Tsumimura 58—áre is the literary concessive, §9.3); Káre wa seizi-ka dé KOSO áre, gakusya dé wa náí 'He is more of a politician than a scholar' (áre is the literary concessive, §9.3); Húzin wa yúuhu de KOSO nákatta ga ... 'The lady was not exactly married, but ...' (Fn 55b)—yúuhu is a precopular noun.

Súra:

VERBAL Ríeki no tamé nara, seiteki o korosí 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 Kōbe, preceded by a heading Itaitásiku sura áru koomei-too 'Downright pathetic—the Kōmei-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 ari, 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, Marukusízumu de SURA náí to omóu n desu keredo mo ... 'But that isn't even Marxism, it seems to me ...' (Tanigawa 126); ... Séihi wa tóu(¯) kotó ga dekinai. Músiro, tóu(¯) máde mo náí, to ii-tai kúrai 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).

Nánka; nádo; nánzo; nánte:

VERBAL Denwa o káke NÁDO sinákatta 'I didn't phone or anything'; Soko e ikí NÁDO sinákatta 'I didn't go there or anything'; ... o-kyoo o age, kane o tataki NÁDO site góngyoo(¯) suru 'they have a Buddhist service, chanting scripture and ringing gongs and the like' (Ōno 1966.136); ... kuruma ni tumi, atamá ni nose, báta-bata de hakobí NÁDO site káette yuku '... they leave taking things with them all helter-skelter, loaded on wagons, carried on heads ...' (lg 67); Téepu o kaí NÁDO (*NÁNKA) site Eigo o narátte irú ga, nakanaka zyoozú 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 daké de, korosí NÁNKA suru wáke wa arimasén 'There's no call for anything like killing (him), just intimidating (him)'; Hitó-sama no monó o nusúmi NÁNTE sitára, uti no sikii wa matagasemasén '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 sí) Benkyoo ǫsíǫ NÁNKA sinákatta 'I didn't study or anything' (SA 2672.61a); Gakkai no warúguti o insatu ǫsíǫ NÁNKA sinai 'We won't do any printing or the like of slanders against the [Sooka-]Gakkai' (SA 2663.18c); Yo-nín wa izure mo, hito ¯nami ¯izyoo ni tuyói zíga no motí-nusi de atte, 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).

ADJECTIVAL Nihón de wa siti-nen ʔízyoo, mu-zíko desu kara kówaku NÁNKA arimasén 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-tákú NÁNKA (or: NÁ[N]DO/NÁ[N]ZO/NÁNTE) nákata 'We did NOT want to go or anything'; Bóku(ʔ) no manga wa tittó mo muzukásíku NÁNTE náí 'There's nothing difficult about my cartoons' (SA 2640.12); Sono eiga(ʔ) wa tittó mo yóku NÁDO/NÁNKA ári wa sinai 'That film hasn't a thing to recommend it'.

ADJECTIVE-NOMINAL Ano gakkoo wa yuumei dé 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 dé NÁNZO áru ka i 'Rubbish—is THAT the real thing?!' (Mio 181); Tonde-mo-nái, doogú de NÁNZO áru monó ka 'Absurd, how can it [= language] be nothing but a tool?!' (Fukuda in Ōno 1967.218); Káre wa isya dé NÁDO/NÁNKA áru monó ka 'What kind of a doctor is HE?!'; Anó-hito ga hánnin de NÁNTE áru hazu wa náí 'There is no likelihood that he is the culprit or anything'.

Dé mo:

VERBAL Náni ka oisii monó o tábe DE MO sita yóo na kao o site iru 'You look as if you had eaten something tasty or the like'; O-támi wa uragiráre DE MO sita yóo ni omótta 'O-tami felt as though she had been betrayed or something' (Kb 86b); Hanetobasáre DE MO suréba ... 'If I get hit or anything ...'; Ása tabe-nágara 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-butu no kuwaké(ʔ) ʔtyuu ni tabako o sutte, kogási DE MO sareté wa taihen da 'It would be terrible if, from people smoking while sorting mail, we should suffer it [= the mail] getting burned or anything' (SA 2672.146d).

ADJECTIVAL Sono éga yásuku DE MO áreba kaerú no ni, sonna nedan dé wa té ga dénai 'If that picture were cheaper, say, I could buy it, but at such a price it's beyond my reach'; Isogásíku DE MO áreba sikata ga náí 'If you're busy or something, that's that'.

ADJECTIVE-NOMINAL Moo sukósi bénri de DE MO áreba tákakute mo ii 'If it is just a bit more convenient than I don't mind if it is more expensive'.

NOMINAL ... ziyúu-seki de DE MO áru to, ... 'when it is, say, an unreserved seat' (Maeda 1961.96); Senséi de DE MO aróo ka, ... 'Perhaps it is being a teacher or something, but ...' (Maeda 1962.30); Syoosetu-ka dé DE MO áreba, úmaku matomeru kotó mo dekíru no daróo ga, soo iu sáinoo(ʔ) wa náí 'If I were, say, a novelist, I could probably write it all up nicely, but I lack that sort of talent' (Maeda 1962.203); Sikási sono Tyoosyuu-ótoko ga, mósi-mo Sikoku-ótoko ka Nisi-Kyuusyuu-ótoko de DE MO áttara, kit-tó kenka ni náru ni tigai náí 'But if that Chōshū man were, say, a Shikoku man or a West Kyūshū man, there'd be a quarrel for sure' (Maeda 1962.199); Suru to Beikoku dé no, siorasii syusyoo-hátugen wa, soo-sénkyo ʔmuke no kootoo-sénzyutu de DE MO átta no daróo ka 'Then, was the gentle statement by the prime minister while in America perhaps, say, a high-level tactic aimed at the general election?' (SA 2663.116c); Titioya to musumé wa, maru-de tosí ga tyót-to sika hanárete inai koibito ʔdóosi de DE MO áru ka no yóo ni, zyare-túku yóo na mutumázi-sa ga átta '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, káre wa, dónna meizín de DE MO áru ka no yóo ni hyóoka(¯) sareta 'Suddenly he got rated as if he were the utmost expert or something' (Kb 287a)—dónna here means '(one) to such an extent' (= dóre-hodo(¯)) and has no tie with the DE MO, which can not be replaced by d'átte.

D'átte:

VERBAL Kane no tamé nara, oyá, kyóodai o korosí D'ÁTTE si-kanénai rentyuu dá 'The gang will be unable to resist even killing parents and brothers if it's for money' (epithematic identification).

Máde:

VERBAL Sore o sirábe MADE sita 'I went so far as to investigate that'; Yómi, katari, utai MADE suru 'They read it, tell it, even sing it' (Kusakabe 1968.62).

VERBAL NOUN (with obligatory ellipsis of auxiliary infinitive sí) Sore o kenkyuu ʃsiʃ MADE sita 'I went so far as to study that'; Séito no uti(¯) o kobetu-hóomon ʃsiʃ MADE sita senséi ... 'Teachers who had gone so far as to make individual visits to the pupils' homes ...' (SA 2664.123e); ... watasi wa siriai no byooin ni téhai ʃsiʃ MADE sitá no de átta ga, ... 'I went so far as to make arrangements at the hospital of an acquaintance but ...' (SA 2658.123d).

Bákari:

ADJECTIVAL Iró ga síroku BAKARI átte mo bízin(¯) tó wa ienai 'You can't be called a beauty just because you have a light complexion'.

NOMINAL Móhaya tanzun ni bunpoo-teki na monó de BAKARI áru wáke de wa nai ... 'It does not mean that it is just a simply grammatical thing ...' (Morishige 3).

Máde is not used to split adjectival or nominal nuclei (*A-kú MADE áru, *N dé MADE áru); bákari will not split verbal nuclei (*V-i BÁKARI suru). The restrictives hodó, ¯dókoró, and ¯kágiri do not split nuclei, nor does the comparator yóri. Most speakers reject splitting nuclei with ¯gúrai and ¯daké, though the following examples have been suggested: (?*) Iki-tákú ¯GÚRAI ná-katta 'We did NOT want to go at least'; (?*) Rázio(¯) o kiki DAKÉ/¯GÚRAI suréba ii no ni, nání mo sinái kara nyúusu ga wakaránai 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 syooziki de DAKÉ áreba, itazura dé mo sinpai arimasén 'If the child just be honest, I don't worry about pranks or the like'; (?*) Seizitu na ningen dé DAKÉ áreba hoka ni kiboo wa arimasén 'If I am just a sincere person that's all I aspire to'; (?*) Yásuku DAKE áreba, hoka no kotó wa kamawánai 'If it's just cheap, nothing else matters'. Those who accept the last three are taking daké as equivalent to sáe.

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 mó: Óoi ni tasúke mo sitá si, zéni mo móoketa. Tasúketa kara, mookáta n 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 ... tasúke mo sitá si, zéni o móoke mo sita 'I both helped and earned'.

In some instances the conjoined sentences are grammatically incongruous to begin with:

Benkyoo wa sukí de mo nákatta si, seiseki mo wárukatta 'She took no delight in her studies, and her grades were poor, too' (SA 2650.104b)—the sense is ... seiseki ga wáruku mo átta; Hae ga túku sinpai mo náku eisei-teki dé mo áru '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" mó 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 tarinákereba aziwái(¯) mo usui 'is both inadequate in thickness and is thin in flavor' (Maeda 1962.214) would seem to be saying something like ... atu-mi ga tari mo sinákereba aziwái(¯) ga usukú mo áru. A similar example: Kotosi mo kurasikku-búmon wa syutuzyóo-sya no kázu mo sukúnákereba, sitú(¯) mo hikúkatta '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 mó appears to be serving two functions, one to generalize the indeterminate dáre, the other as a loose-reference equivalent of tukiái mo suréba; and the second mó is a loose-reference equivalent of sake o nómi mo sita: Imamáde ¯dóori dáre to de mo tukiáeba, ima-máde ¯dóori sake mo hukáku nónda '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 yówaku gakkoo mo yasumi-gati de ... 'is both weak in body and apt to skip school' (SA 2652.120d) = karada ga yówaku mo áreba, gakkoo o yasumi-gati dé mo áru. Similarly, from other kinds of conjoining: Mesí mo tabénaí si, mizu mo seigén 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 míezu, hito mo náí 'Otherwise neither smoke appeared nor were there any people' (SA 2664.80b) = kemuri ga mie mo sezu, hito ga ári mo sinai; Isya ní mo mísezu, byooín ní mo háirazu, kusuri mo nómazu, ... 'Not consulting a doctor, nor going into the hospital, nor taking any medicine ...' (SA 2659.70c) = Isya ni mise mo sezu, byooín ni háiri mo sezu, kusuri o nómi mo sezu ...; ... basyo mo tórazu idoo mo rakú [da] to iú no wa óoki na riten dé ... 'the big advantage is that it takes no space and is easy to move, too, and ...' (SA 2662.130) = basyo o tóri mo sezu idoo ga rakú de mo áru; Nenpu o haiken simásu to, ... nízyís-sai kara yáku zyuunén-kan, gakkoo mo ikazu, kiboo mo náku búnsyoo o káku, to iu seikatu [o] o-tuzuke ni nátta to arimásu 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 ikí mo sezu, kiboo ga ári mo sezu; ... tyót-to séebu sinai to ikenai to iu kotó o, tití kara mo iwaremásu si, zibun dé mo soo omoimásu '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) = ... kotó o tití kara iwaré mo surú si, zibun de soo omói mo suru; ... supóotu mo yaranái si, tomodati mo náí ... 'he neither engages in sports nor has any friends' (SA 2656.46b) = supóotu o yari mo sinái si, tomodati ga ári mo sinai; [Ié o táte uturi-súnde zyuuití-nen ¯mé ni náru.] Sítí-nen máe ni wa kekkon mo si, kono sigatú de otokó-no-ko mo ní-sai ni náru '[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 súzitu(¯) máe, kokkei na kookei o míte, taihen okásiku mo nári, gakkári mo sita 'A few days ago I saw a funny sight and it both was very amusing and very discouraging,

indeed' (SA 2689.43ab) = *okásiku nári mo si, gakkári ɸsiɸ mo sita*.

The two sentences need not be joined into one: *Nínen no tokí no seiseki mo warúi. Benkyoo mo sukí de wa náí* '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 *mó*; 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 káku n desu tté né* 'I heard you draw pictures, too' (SA 2666.43b)—the meaning is *é o káki mo suru*; *Mazime de, katai hitó datta n desu yó. Atamá mo yókatta si ...* 'He was a serious and steady person. And he had a good head on his shoulders, too; ...' (SA 2665.118d)—meaning *atamá ga yóku mo átta*; ... *onsen ga yóku, kaisúi-yoku ni mo tekí-site iru ...* 'has good hot springs and is suitable also for sea bathing' (SA 2689.147b).

Loose-reference *wá* occurs when an adjunct is subdued instead of the nucleus despite the fact that the backgrounding is of the simplex as a whole: *Káre-ra wa íssei ni, kóe wa dasánakatta keredo waratta* 'They all kept silent but they smiled' (CK 985.382) = ... *kóe o dási wa sinákatta*—the author is not saying that they put out (*dásu*) other things holding back only their voices (at least he is not saying it directly); *Teré-syoo no Nósaka wa, sono séi ka, zettai ni hito no máe de mégane wa hazusanákatta* '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) = ... *mégane o hazusí wa sinákatta*, since after all he didn't remove anything else, either, we presume; *Kuti dé wa kirei-gotó(-) o iú ga ...* 'says nice things with one's mouth all right, but ...' = *Kuti de kirei-gotó(-) o ii wa surú ga*; *Sikási, daigaku wa sátté mo, kyooiku kara hanaréru no de wa arimasén* '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 sári wa sité mo ...*

Some sentences will allow a tighter interpretation, but it seems likely that the loose reference was intended: *Gakkoo wa yametá no?* = *Gakkoo o yamé wa sitá no?* 'DID you quit school?' (SA); [*Hón mo káku.*] *Gakkoo mo osieru* '[He writes books.] He teaches school, too' = *Hón o káki mo surú si, gakkoo o osié mo suru*; *Hón wa kakánai.* [*Zí o zenzen siranái kara.*] 'He writes no books. [He doesn't know his letters at all.]' = *Hón o káki wa sinái*—after all, if he is illiterate, he hardly writes anything that isn't a book, either. Loose reference is probably to be assumed in *Sé[i] wa hikúku hutótte ita* 'He was short and fat' (SA 2642.37b) = *Sé[i] ga hikúku wa ári, hutótte ita* 'He was SHORT in stature, and he was fat' (cf. **sé ga hutói*).

Similar examples can be found with focus applied to the gerund: *Sake o nónde mo iru* 'He also drinks liquor (as well as doing other things)' can be loosely said as *Sake mo nónde 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 [ó] kóso kite inái ga ...* 'they avoid wearing military uniforms but ...' (SA)—if we assume the meaning is equivalent to *gunpuku o kite i koso sinái ga*, rather than 'it is precisely military uniforms they don't wear'; *Kusuri saé nómeba yóku náru* 'You'll get better if you just take the medicine' = *Kusuri o nómi sae suréba yóku náru*; [*Áme ga hütte kíta.*] *Kaze máde húite kíta* '[It began to rain.] Even the wind came up' (Hayashi 64) = *Kaze ga húite kí made sita*.

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-kaesite kí 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-té sae/daké/bákari(/etc.) AUX. Examples: ... Tookyoo no sínru(i⁻) e asobi ni bákari itté 'te né 'I did nothing but go visit my Tōkyō relatives' (SA 2658.126b) = ... asobi ni itté bákari ite (note that *íkí bákari site ite would apparently not be permitted, see p. 326); Íkite iru kotó no yorokóbi⁽⁻⁾ 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 kotó (or íkite í sae suru kotó) ... o tuukan suru

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 kawaranu ... hooken-sei 'feudalism not the least changed from pre-war days' (Tsuji-mura 78). A similar example is tóri-mo | naósazu or tori-mo-naósazu (single lexeme) 'namely'; we would have expected tori-naoší mo sezu or tori-naosazú mo 'without even re-taking it'. Also similar are híkí-mo kiránai 'is uninterrupted', omói-mo yoranai 'is unexpected' and oyobí-mo tukanai 'does not reach', as explained on p. 441.

It is tempting to treat omói mo oyobaná-katta 'no one would have (even) thought' as similarly related to omói-oyobaná-katta (i.e. as replacing the expected *omói-oyobí 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 omói [ga] oyobu 'the thought extends'. An example: Mata, tósin⁽⁻⁾ no dai-depáato ga yuuryoo de kono syú no tenrán-kai o hiráku kotó mo omói mo oyobaná-katta '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)—kotó mo represents kotó [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

PARTICLE	INFINITIVE ... (áru/suru)			GERUND ...			ADV ... (háyaku)	N ní Akú... náru/suru	QUOTATIVE Vi ni ... iku tó ...
	Ví	Akú	N ní(te)	Vté	Akúte	N dé			
wá/mó	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
sáe	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+ ¹
súra	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+
siká	—	—	+	+	+	+ ²	—	+	+
kóso	+	+	+	+	+	+ ³	+	?	—?
máde	+	—	—	+	—?	+ ⁴	+ ⁵	+? ⁶	+ ⁷
nádo/nánzo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+
nánka	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+
nánte	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+
dé mo ₁ /d'átte	+	—?	?	+	+	+	+	?	+ ⁸
dé mo ₂	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+
gúrai	—?	—?	—	—?	—	—	+?	+?	—
bákari	—?	+	+	+	+	?	+	?	+
daké	—?	—?	—?	—?	—?	?	+	+	+
nómi	?	?	?	+	+	+	—	+	+
dógoro ka	+	—	—	+	+	?	?	+	—?

1. At least for N/AN ní; 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 íma de koso 'precisely (being) now' (SA 2678.112d) and Sore dé koso wá-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 Sonna ní made suru kotó wa náí '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-tári made suru will be found in §9.4.
7. At least for N/AN ní; I have been unable to elicit A-kú made náru/suru.
8. At least for N ní; I have been unable to elicit either A-kú d'átte náru/suru or AN ní d'átte náru/suru.
9. When the gerund is part of a phrasal postposition (§9.7) V-té daké is possible: Sono kawari zibun ni kati-mé no áru monó ni mukatté daké^[c] bóoryoku() o huruu '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, kágiri, 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 tó?

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—*káku* means '[someone] writes' but *o-kaki n[fi] 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 nouns¹ 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-móttomo* '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-mí-kosi* 'portable shrine' (= *sin'yo*) or (slang) 'one's loins'; and even *o-mi-o* appears in *o-mi-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. *gyó-en*([~]) 'imperial garden' and *gyó-i*([~]) 'the pleasure of His Highness' (also 'your pleasure'); cf. Satō 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 restaurateurese as *o-ryóori* 'cooking', *o-bíiru* 'the beer', *o-náihu* 'the knife', etc.

(4) to mark certain everyday nouns in a purely conventional way: *o-kane* 'money', *o-tya* 'tea', *o-hási* 'chopsticks', *o-miyage* 'gift', *o-kási* 'sweets', *o-ténki* 'weather', *o-tagai* ni '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-sékkai* 'meddlesome(ness)', *o-séti* (= *oseti-ryóori*) '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*, **iiii-sí mo/wa suru*) nor exaltation (**ii-ii itasu* or **o-iiii suru*, **ii-ii nasáru* or **o-iiii 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-hyooronka nádo wa ...* 'Our "eminent" social critics and the like ...' (SA 2661.46a); cf. *o-erá-gata* 'a dignitary, a VIP'. The slang verb *on-déru* '(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 otitukete, noonóo to kurasite iru* '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: *Móo o-kaeri ni narimásu ka* 'Are you leaving now?'. But the stylization may be delayed if the sentence is extended: *Dóko de go-seityoo ni náтта 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 naránai?* 'You don't do any Occidental cooking?' (SA 2689.56—a male interviewing a male chef); *Nakanaka omosirói rekisi-káisyaku o site irassyáru* 'You are giving a very interesting historical explanation' (SA 2677.117d); *Atarasii hukú ga dekíru to, oziisama no tokoró e mise ni ittári nasáru?* 'When you complete a new garment do you sometimes go to your grandfather to show it off?' (SA 2663.43a—middle-aged male Iizawa to 11-year-old Kōzu Kanna, Nakamura Meiko's eldest daughter); *Óya, Háttsan ka i, yóku o-ide da né, máa, kotira 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.)

(1) The general rule is treat the resulting word as ATONIC, 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', *hási* o-*hási* 'chopsticks', *híya* o-*híya* 'drinking water', *híme* o-*híme*-*sama* 'princess', *hína* o-*hína*-*sama* 'doll', *húru* o-*húru* 'second-hand thing', *kámi* o-*kámi* 'superior (etc.)', *kási* o-*kási* 'sweets', *míso* o-*míso* 'bean paste', *múko* o-*múko*(-*san*) 'bridegroom', *núsi* o-*núsi* 'you my dear', *rúsu* o-*rúsu* 'absence', *séki* o-*séki* 'seat', *sóba* o-*sóba* 'buckwheat (noodles)', *túya* o-*túya* 'wake', *túyu* o-*túyu* 'broth', *yátu* '(former 8 o'clock =) midafternoon' > o-*yátu* 'snack'; (b) *míkan* o-*míkan* 'tangerine', *sán*-*zi* '3 o'clock' > o-*sán**zi* 'midafternoon snack', *sénko*[o] o-*sénko* 'incense', *ténki* o-*ténki* 'weather', *tyóozu* o-*tyóozu* 'hand-washing water', *sóosu* o-*sóosu* 'sauce', *dáisi* o-*dáisi* 'saint', *káiko* o-*káiko* 'silkworm', *náigi* o-*náigi* 'wife, landlady'; (c) *kyúuryoo* o-*kyúuryoo* 'salary', *syóozin* o-*syóozin* 'religious abstinence (from meat)', *dáizin* o-*dáizin* 'a big spender', (**sékkai*) > o-*sékkai* 'meddling', *téntoo* > o-*ténto*-*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'; *tyúuniti* o-*tyúuniti* 'day of equinox'. And this includes certain nouns with multiple accentuation variants: *tómó* o-*tómo* 'companion', *sázi* o-*sázi* 'spoon', *húró* o-*húro* 'bath', *súsi* o-*súsi* 'vinegared rice'; *nándo*($\bar{\quad}$) o-*nándo* 'clothes cupboard', *zikan*($\bar{\quad}$) o-*zikan* 'time', *míkosi*($\bar{\quad}$) o-*míkosi* 'portable shrine', *kózara*($\bar{\quad}$) o-*kózara* 'saucer', *yákata*($\bar{\quad}$) o-*yákata* 'mansion, social elite'; *súmái* o-*súmái* 'residence'; *násaké*($\bar{\quad}$) o-*násake* 'sentiment'.

(2a) EXCEPTIONALLY, the following words are treated as atonic despite the prototonic accent of the noun (but younger speakers tend to regularize some of the 2-mora items so as to retain the accent, according to Akinaga in K 62): *hári* o-*hari* 'needlework', *húne* o-*hune* 'boat', *káge* o-*kage* 'shadow, influence', *kázu* 'number' > o-*kazu* 'nonrice dish', *nábe* o-*nabe* 'pan', *náka* 'inside' > o-*naka* 'stomach', *sáru* o-*saru* 'monkey', *sóba* o-*soba* 'vicinity'; *máe* 'front' > o-*mae* 'you'; *íkura* o-*ikura* 'how much', *íkutu* o-*ikutu* 'how many'; *ténami* o-*tenami* 'feat, skill'.

(3) The following groups of words are simply EXCEPTIONS and must be memorized as such: (a) *báa* o-*báa* 'grandmother', *káa* o-*káa* 'mother', *née* o-*née* 'older sister', *nii* o-*nii* 'older brother', *tóo* o-*tóo* 'father', *zii* o-*zii* 'grandfather' (all usually followed by -*san*, -*sama*, or -*tyan*); *bón* o-*bón* 'the urábon($\bar{\quad}$) festival', *kyán* o-*kyán* 'hussy'; (b) (*hané* 'jumping' >) o-*háne* 'hussy', *hirú* o-*hiru* 'noon (meal)', *kegá* o-*kegá* 'accident', (*kogé* 'scorching' >) o-*kogé* 'scorched rice', *koná* o-*kóna* 'flour', *kotó* 'matter' > o-*kóto* 'you' [elegant], *narí* o-*narí* 'form', *netú* o-*netu* 'fever'; *nikú* o-*niku* 'meat', *sewá* o-*séwa* 'solicitude' (But o-*sewa*-*sama* is atonic), *simó* o-*símo* 'the inferiors', *sió* o-*sío* 'salt', *tamá* o-*táma* 'egg' (see 4), *tugí* o-*túgi* 'next'; *giri* o-*giri*($\bar{\quad}$) 'social obligation'; *amari* o-*ámari* 'remainder', *hazikí* o-*házi**ki* 'marbles', *koboré* o-*kóbore* 'spill', *tedamá* o-*tédama* 'marbles', *tehukí* o-*téhuki* 'towel', *nagaré* 'flow (etc.)' > o-*nágare* 'wine cup passed to another; ~ *ni náru* comes to naught', *mazirí* 'mixing' > o-*máziri* 'rice soup', (*uturí* 'shifting' >) o-*úteri* 'return present'; *sagarí* 'descending' o-*ságari* 'hand-me-down, leftovers'; *tetudái* o-*tétudai* 'help'; *hinerí* o-*híneri*($\bar{\quad}$) 'money offering twisted in paper wrapper', *hirakí* o-*híraki*($\bar{\quad}$) '["opening"=] close of banquet etc.'; (c) *sekihán*($\bar{\quad}$) o-*séki**han* 'rice boiled with red beans'; o-*hutákata* 'two persons', o-*sánkata* 'three persons'; (d)² *syare* o-*syáre* 'finery, fop'; *nikai* o-*nikai* 'upstairs', *soozí* o-*sóozí* 'sweeping up', *syoozi* o-*syóozí* '(translucent) paper sliding doors', *boosi* o-*bóosi* 'hat', *denwa* o-*dénwa* 'telephone call', *tyawan* o-*tyáwan* 'ricebowl', *yasai* o-*yásai* 'vegetables'; *syuuzi* o-*syúuzi* 'penmanship'; *mukóo*($\bar{\quad}$) o-

2. The noun *tyaya* 'teashop' makes the regular o-*tyaya* 'teashop' and the irregular o-*tyáya* 'restaurant (with entertainment); brothel'.

múkoo 'the other side'; akasi o-ákasi 'light', hagaki o-hágaki 'postcard', haori o-háori 'haori coat', kawari o-káwari 'second helping' (cf. kawari o-kawari 'change'), kimari o-kímari 'routine', kogoto o-kógoto 'complaint', kotatu o-kótatu 'kotatsu heater', kuruma o-kúruma 'car', mawari 'tour' > o-máwari(-san) 'patrolman', musubi o-músubi 'riceball', nisime o-nísime 'boiled fish and vegetables', nobori 'going up' > o-nóbori(-san) 'a new arrival from the countryside', sakaki o-sákaki 'sacred tree', sigoto o-sígoto 'job', suwari o-súwari 'sitting up (by baby/dog)', tegami o-tégami 'letter', temae o-témae 'tea-ceremony procedures', yoohuku o-yóohuku 'clothes', sentaku o-séntaku 'laundry', donburi o-dónburi 'bowl'; yuzuri o-yúzuri 'inheritance'; tenugui o-ténugui 'towel'; (e)³ kusuri (*o-kúsuri →) o-kusúri 'medicine', sitazi (*o-sítazi →) o-sitázi 'soy sauce', tukiai 'socializing' (*o-túkiai →) o-tukiai 'obligational socializing', hikizuri (*o-híkizuri →) o-hikízuri 'trailing skirt, slut', huton (*o-húton →) o-hutón 'quilt', sikén (? *o-síken) → o-sikén 'examination'; hitóri (? *o-hítóri →) o-hitóri(−) 'one person, single', sitiya (? *o-sítiya →) o-sitiya(−) 'pawnshop'; (f) soozái o-soozái 'plain fare', syoogatu o-syoogatu 'January', zyohín o-zyohín 'elegance, elegant'; doorákú o-doorákú(−) 'pastime, hobby'; (g) tamágo(−) o-támago 'egg', teárai o-teárai 'washroom, toilet', hagúruma o-hagúruma 'cog', hirugóro o-hirugóro 'noon', koegákari o-koegákari 'recommendation, influence', hirugóhan o-hirugóhan 'lunch', tanzyóobi o-tanzyóobi 'birthday'; (h) tuki ó-tuki-sama 'the moon', ínari ó-ínari-sama 'the harvest god'. Nouns lacking immediate source: o-mánma 'food' [babytalk], o-kúrumi 'padded baby wrapper', o-syáberi 'talkative (person)', o-syáburi 'teething ring', ó-tí-no-hito 'wet nurse', otyobó-guti 'pursed lips' (for o-tyóbo see Inokuchi 39-40); o-yóbare 'being invited'.⁴

(4) When o- is attached to a TRUNCATED version of a noun, the accent falls on the first syllable of the truncation: bakemónó o-báke 'ghost', dekimónó o-déki 'rash', dengakú(−) o-dén 'Japanese hotchpotch', hagi-nó-moti o-hági 'rice dumpling', hiráwan(−) o-híra 'flat shallow bowl (with lid)', kawayá o-káwa 'privy', kotatu o-kóta 'kotatsu heater', mezamé o-méza 'waking up', miyage o-míya 'present', nesyobén o-néyo 'bedwetting', namaiki o-náma 'impertinence', nigirimesi o-nígiri 'riceball', satumaimo o-sátu 'sweet potato', sénbe[i] o-sén 'rice crackers', suberi-dai o-súberi 'slippery-slide', sumasi-zíru o-súmasi 'clear broth', tamágo o-táma 'egg', unagi o-úna 'eel', usu-tya o-úsu 'weak powdered tea', yaki-dóohu (etc.) o-yáki 'broiled bean curd (etc.)', zyagaimo o-zyága 'potato', zyuubako o-zyúu 'nested box'; (néba-neba >) o-néba 'sticky water from boiling rice'; hitasi-móno(−) (*o-hítasi →) o-hitási 'vinegared greens'; o-mési < omesi-tírimen 'striped crepe' (from o-mesi 'deign to wear', honorific infinitive). The word ó-ita 'naughty' (babytalk for itazura) has an exceptional variant. And o-kaka = katuo-busi 'dried bonito' is atonic.

(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, Hána O-hána. These names are regularly prototonic regardless of the accent of the common nouns from which they derive (Yúki comes from yukí 'snow'), and the accent remains when -ko is suffixed (Yúki-ko). But vowel unvoicing may shift the accent: O-hisá ← Hisá(-ko) ← *Hísa.

(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.

noun, with very few exceptions: annai go-annai 'guide', boo gó-boo 'Buddhist monk', risyoo go-risyoo 'divine grace'. The following are lexically fixed, with go- attached to a bound morpheme: go-ran 'deign to look', go-men 'pardon'; góhan 'cooked rice, food', gósyu 'wine'; gósyo 'palace', góten 'palace', góryoo 'imperial mausoleum', góryoo(-) 'imperial property', gózyoo 'imperial message'; gózen 'meal', gózen(-) 'presence of a high personage'.

(7) When o- is attached to an adjectival noun, the result is usually atonic. But there are prototonic adjectival nouns which retain their accents: génki o-génki 'healthy', mígoto o-mígoto 'splendid', ...

For sízuka 'quiet', only atonic o-sizuka is reported by K; does o-sízuka also occur? For nigíyaka 'bustling' both tonic and atonic o-nigíyaka(-) are reported, but for kinódoku 'pitiful' there is only the atonic o-kinodoku. Another irregularity: zyoohín o-zyoohín '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'í, A'katta); I lack authentic data.

(9) When o- is attached to verb infinitives the result is regularly atonic. But infinitives underly 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:* (a) ha 'leaf', na 'name', su 'vinegar', tya 'tea'; doo 'temple', kyuu 'moxacautery', kyoo 'sutra', dai 'fee'; bon 'tray', wan 'bowl', zen 'tray';⁵ (b) mé 'eye', ná 'rapeweed', yú 'hot water'; dóo 'temple', nóo 'Noh drama'; kán 'heating wine'; (c) hana 'nose', hige 'beard', hitu 'rice bucket', huda 'tag', kane 'money', kayu 'gruel', kuni 'country', kyaku 'guest', miya 'shrine', niwa 'garden', sake 'wine', saki 'ahead', sara 'plate', sato 'village', satu 'folding money', syaku 'serving the wine', sezi 'flattery', taku 'house', turi 'change (received)', yome 'bride', zyama 'bother'; dango 'dumpling', seibo 'year end', syooyu 'soy sauce', taiko 'drum', taira 'flat' (Dóo-zo o-taira ni 'Please sit at your ease'), kagen 'state of health', mimai 'visit', tagai 'mutual'; kaikéi 'account', kanban 'sign', kooden 'obituary gift', ningyoo 'doll'; higán(-) 'equinox', saisén(-) 'offertory', zígí(-) 'bow, obeisance'; (d) desí 'disciple', heyá 'room', haná 'flower', hatí 'pot', imó 'sweet potato', kará 'beancurd lees', katá 'person', komé 'rice', tamé 'the sake (of)', terá 'temple', tosí 'age', utá 'song', yakú 'utility'; henzi 'reply', zyoozú 'skilled', aité 'partner', iwái 'celebration', satóo 'sugar', tehón 'sample', tesúu 'trouble, care'; aisó[o] 'bill', daimyóo 'lord', bentóo 'packed lunch', kanzyóo 'bill'; utí(-) 'house'; (e) kasiwa 'rice cake wrapped in oak leaf', kawari 'change', namae 'name', sakana 'fish', sioki 'punishment, execution', sirusi 'token', syokuzi 'eating', tumori 'intention', tya-no-ma 'sitting room'; kanmuri 'crown', boo-san 'Buddhist monk', soosiki 'funeral'; tomodati 'friend', yakusoku 'promise', siruko-ya 'beansoup shop'; maturí(-) 'festival', sirukó(-) 'bean soup', hudesakí(-) 'tip of one's brush' (o-hudesaki 'revelation, prophecy'); (f) hanamí 'flower viewing', hurobá 'bathing room', hutarí 'two

5. Also ten 'score, grades': senséi no o-ten ga warúi kara (Tk 2.97b).

people', kagami 'mirror', kasirá 'head', kotobá 'word', mamorí 'talisman', 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) kokóro 'heart'; sakazukí(-) 'winecup'; honeorí 'trouble, effort', tosiyóri 'old person', monoírí(-) 'expenses, outlay', tanosímí(-) 'pleasure'; kokorozasí(-) 'kindness, gift'; (h) sobá-ya 'noodle shop', susí-ya 'sushi shop', komé-ya 'rice dealer'.

6.1. SUBJECT EXALTATION

The normal pattern for exalting the subject is shown below:

Verb	Yobu.	O-yobi n{í} náru.
Verbal noun	Soodan suru.	Go-soodan n{í} náru. ⁶
Adjective	Isogasíi.	(O-)isogásikute irassyáru.
Adjectival noun	Génki da.	(O-)génki de irassyáru.
Precopular noun	Byooki da.	(Go-)byooki de irassyáru.
Noun	Senséi da.	Senséi de irassyáru.

In addition to the forms given here, you will also find such sentences as: ... Sátoo san ga máda o-tiisai kóro ... 'when you were still small, Mr Satō, ...' (SA 2642.42b); O-tiisai katá to go-issyo ni ... '[See it] with your little ones' (R); O-isogasii 'Someone esteemed is busy';⁷ 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-taku da 'It is the esteemed house/family'. Tsujimura 119 notes that such phrases as o-kai-yasúí o-nedan 'a price easy to buy at' and o-motome-yásuku narimásita 'has become easy to purchase' are advertiser jargon; the more appropriate versions would apply exaltation first to the underlying verb: o-kai ni nari-yasúí, o-motome ni nari-yasúí, o-motome ni nari-yásuku narimasíta, etc. Cf. §9.1.8. Notice that there is no exaltation of the subject in Zitú wa || o-hazukasíi 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 désu ka 'Do you like it?' might be regarded as either: (1) an equivalent of A ga B o o-suki n{í} 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 sukí da 'A likes B', which will yield the normal A ga B ga sukí de irassyáru 'Esteemed A likes B'. But the latter is obviously the proper interpretation for most occurrences; the antonym is O-kirai désu ka or O-iya désu ka: ... syoozoo-ga nánte o kakasaréru no wa, o-iya desyóo ná 'You must dislike being called upon to paint portraits ... and all' (Tk 4.119b). Notice that usually o-suki n{í} náru—like o-rippa n{í} náru, o-sízuka n{í} náru, and other adjectival nouns—is not to be taken as parallel to o-yobi n{í} 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 sukí ni o-nari n{í} náru. (Nagano 1966.188 says it is better to use o-suki de irassyáru.)

6. When you drop the /i/ in go-soodan n{í} náru, the triple nnn reduces to nn. Many speakers are uncomfortable with go-VN ni náru and prefer go-VN nasáru.

7. When o- is attached, a tonic adjective usually becomes atonic.

Occasionally, you will find, N/AN ni náru 'gets to be N/AN' is used as a virtual synonym of ... dá 'is'; examples are usually expressions of age (cf. Ishigaki Kenji 218): Kotosi o-ikutu ni o-nari désu ka—Kazoédosi hatizyúu yón-sai 'How old are you this year?—A full 84 years (of age)' (Tk 3.22a); Nán-sai ni narimásu ka = Nán-sai desu ka 'How old are you?'; Nízyuu hás-sai ni náru zyosei désu 'I am a woman twenty-eight years of age' (SA 2678.118a); Nooka no gozyúu íkutu ka ni náru syúzin ga byooki de naku-natta 'The head of a farm family, some fifty-odd years old, died of illness' (Shibata 1961.70). Compare ítu nfī náttara = ítu 'when', háru nfī náru to = háru [wa] 'in spring'; ... tó, áto ni nátte [= áto de] sitta 'I found out later on that ...' (SA 2681.93). But sukí nfī náru 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 nfī náru 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 nfī náru, O-yobare nfī náru. But sometimes the subject-exalting passive is added, pleonastically, to the exalted sentence: O-yobi nfī nararéru = O yobi nfī náru 'calls' or = O-yobi nfī naréru '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 nfī naréru
less common:	o-yobe nfī náru
frequent:	o-yobe nfī naréru

An example of the most common type is heard in Migite ní wa Húzi-san ga go-ran ni naremasú 'On the right you can see Mt Fuji' (R). Notice that o-yobi dekiru which contains an ellipsis, o-yobi [suru kotó ga] dekiru, 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 nátte or nasátte, as in Go-riyoo [ni nátte] kudasaimáse 'Please use it' or O-mati [ni nátte] kudasái 'Please wait' and Go-riyoo [ni nátte] itadakimásu 'I will receive the favor of your using it' or O-kiki [ni nátte] itadakimásu '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 kudasái for 'Please wait'—apparently a blend of O-mati [ni nátte OR nasátte] kudasái with Site kudasái '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 kudasái 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) Hanasí o site kudasái 'Please tell me the story'.
- (2) O-hanasi [ni nátte, nasátte] kudasái 'Please talk'.
- (3) O-hanasi o site/nasátte kudasái 'Please tell me your story'.
- (4) O-hanasi [o] site/nasátte kudasái 'Please tell me your story'.
- (5) O-hanasi site (= nasátte) kudasái 'Please talk'.

Here, o-hanasi can be the honorific infinitive (o- + hanasí 'talking') or an honorific prefixation of the noun derived from the infinitive (o- + hanasí '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 nasáru = o-V-i nfī náru, 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 nátte mo [] naránakute mo* 'whether you leave or not'.

Not every instance of *o-V-i n[ɨ]-náru* is subject-exalting. In *o-séwa ni náru* 'I cause you trouble'^{7a} and *o-tikara ni náru* 'I lend my strength to yours = I help you', the subject is humbled. In the sentence *Syokuryóo-nan no kuni ni kane o ageté mo, tábete simaéba sore de o-simai ni narimásu né* '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 áru*) or in a quasi-possessive sentence (*A ni/ga X ga wakáru, dekíru, ir-u, etc.*). Sometimes the reference will be to a possessor reduced to a genitive (*A no X ...*); and the possessor may be unexpressed: *Sánzís-sai ʔkúrai nenrei ga o-tigai no yóo desu ga, ...* 'Your ages would appear to be some thirty years apart, but ...' (SA 2685.43c)—coming from something like *Anata-gáta no [= ni áru] nenrei ga o-tigai ni náru* 'Your ages differ'.

Sometimes the reference is less direct: *O-wakari ni naránai yóo de irassyaimásu kara, moo iti-dó moosi-agemasyóo* 'Since it appears you do not understand, I will tell you again'; *Soo iu wáke de irassyáru kara, ...* 'Since that's the way things are (for you) ...'. (But not **Soo iu wáke de orimásu kara, ...* 'Since that's the way things are for humble me ...'.) There seems to be no use of *... *wáke ni wa irassyaimasén* for the usual ... *wáke ni wa ikanai* 'must' despite the humble (or merely hyperpolite) *Damátte iru wáke ni wa mairimasén* '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 náru*. Instead of *ni náru* you will also hear the copula *dá*: *O-kaeri desu ka = O-kaeri n[ɨ]-narimásu 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 o-yobi desu ka?* 'Are you calling me?'; *Nihon-go no seisitu no [← gá] yóku o-wakari no [← dá] katá* 'a person who well understands the nature of the Japanese language'; *Tyúugoku no hoo zya, dónna hitó ni o-ai désita ka* 'What sort of people did you see (when you were) in China?' (Tk 2.261a); *Sore wa dóo desu ka; sore wa ii kotó 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: *senséi ni/no o-séwa ni náru* 'I trouble the teacher'.

8. For example, *O-kaeri no katá desu ka* 'Are you the person leaving?' (with adnominalization replacing *dá* by *nó*, § 13); *Soo iu monó ga o-suki desu to, turi nánzo ni mo syúmi ga o-ari ná n zya nái 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 dá*, reading *Dansei é no o-negai: tóire o go-siyoo no sái wa sita no siito o ageté kara o-tukai kudasái* '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 dá* 'has' is to the underlying subject, the possessor A in A ni/ga X ga *o-ari dá* 'A has X', even when that goes unmentioned, as in *Inú ga o-ari désu ka* 'Do you have a dog?'

Sometimes the meaning of the honorific infinitive + *dá* is equivalent to that of *V-te iru*, as when *O-moti désu ka* means *Mótte imásu ka* 'Do you have it?', so perhaps we will want to say there are at least two sources for *o-V-i dá*, one from *o-V-i nfi} náru* and one from *V-te irassyáru*.⁹ 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 désu ka*. However K 1950 calls our attention to the fact that *o-V-i dá* 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 nátta* rather than *V-te irassyáru*, from the simple past rather than the resultative:

- Ítu o-tati désu ka* (1) = *Ítu o-tati ni narimásu ka* 'When will you depart?'
 (2) = *Ítu o-tati ni narimásita ka* 'When did you depart?'

For the durative verb we will assume three sources: *O-yomi desu ka* can mean 'Are you reading?' (= *O-yomi ni nátte irassyaimásu ka* or *Yónde irassyaimásu ka*), 'Did you read?' (= *O-yomi ni narimásita ka*), or 'Will you read?' (= *O-yomi ni narimásu ka*)—the last also subject to an iterative interpretation 'Do you read?' that is formally undistinguished. The ambiguity remains when a sentence is adnominalized: *hónsyō o o-yomi no katá* 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 nō* represents the continuative: *O-kiki no hoosoo wa KOHO de gozaimásu* 'You are listening to [Station] KOHO' (R); *O-mati-kane no Kingu-áwaa ...* 'King Hour that you have been eagerly awaiting ...' (R); *Sore de, o-komari ni nátte iru katá ga irassyaimásu ka, hoka ní mo ... O-komari désu ka* 'Are there others [in our audience] who are troubled by that ... Are you [troubled], madam?' (R). Kindaichi also observes that DURATIVE-STATIC verbs (such as *suguréru* 'excels' and *sobiéru* 'towers') do not usually permit the form at all: **o-sugure dá* → *sugúrete irassyáru*, **o-sugure dátta/no senséi* → *sugúrete irassyáru senséi* (since **o-sugure ni nátta senséi* is also rejected). See §3.12.

The negative of *o-V-i dá* and *o/go-VN dá* is the expected ... *de/zya náí*, but for those honorific infinitives (or verbal nouns) used also as nouns—such as *o-ide*, *o-negai*, *go-zón(-)zi*, *go-syooti*, etc.—you will find optional ellipsis of the copula [*de/zya*]:¹⁰ ... *kotó*

9. Or a variant, *V-te o-ide ni náru*, which underlies the *V-te o-ide dá* that must be the source of the adnominalization in this example: *Sekkaku, sikási, o-hitóri de agatte o-ide no tokoró o* 'But to be drinking here all by yourself ...' (Kb 132b). And in *Anáta, Ensyuu-ya o go-zón-zi de o-ide desyoo?* 'You know the *Enshū-ya*, I presume?' (Kb 131a) we have the equivalent of *go-zón-zi de irassyáru desyoo*. There are also examples of *N de o-ide dá* = *N de irassyáru* as in *Tó ossyáru no wa anáta ga Edokko de o-ide dá kara de irassyáru* 'You say that because you are a child of *Tōkyō*' (Kb 139a) and of *A-ku[t]te o-ide dá* = *A-ku[t]te irassyáru* as in *Sore wa, anáta wa, o-wakakutte o-ide dá 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 móosu kotó wa tittó mo o-kikiire náku ...* '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

o go-zón(-)zi {de} náí kata ... 'persons unaware that ...' (SA 2664.81b); ... senséi wa máda go-zón(-)zi {de} náí mén 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-syooti {de} arimasén/gozaimasén ka 'Don't you agree?'; Go-zón(-)zi {de} náí/arimasén/gozaimasén desyoo 'You are probably unaware'. And it can be used where áru ̄mái substitutes for náí daroo: Tumaki ga bóku-ra ni, "Onná ga itiban utukúsiku miéru tokí o, anata-gáta, go-zon(-)zi áru ̄mái" tte iú n desu yó '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 dátta N (= o-V-i ni nátta N) as well as o-V-i nō N (thus clearing up ONE ambiguity!), and both o-V-i de nákkatta N and o-V-i de náí N are said, for some reason you are not allowed to say *o-V-i de áru/áttta N. Nor are the focused forms in use, it would seem, for either the affirmative or the negative: (?*) o-V-i dé mo/wa áru N, (?*) o-V-i dé mo/wa náí 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 gozaimásu/irassyaimásu) as in O-yobi de irassyaimásu ka 'Are you calling me, sir?' (Y 426), Ikága o-sugosi de irassyaimásu ka 'How are you getting along (these days)?', and O-sumi de gozaimásu 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 nasáru, the euphemistic subject-exalting synonym of suru (§6.4),¹¹ 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 yobaremásu ka? 'Are you calling me?' (or 'Can I be called?'—but not 'Will I be called?' for that would be Watakusi ga yobaremásu ka, a form that could also have the potential meaning). Here are examples: Dé mo, okosan ga móo óokiku narárete ... 'But your son now has become big ...' (SA 2681.44b); Sore wa, tásika ni iwareru yóo ni omoimásu 'I think that is certainly just as you say' (Tanigawa 157).

In very formal speech or writing you may come across an exalting passive made on the uncontracted copula de áru, equivalent to de irassyáru:¹² Rippa na ryoosiki no hitó de araréru yóo da 'He seems to be a person with an admirable conscience' (Tk 2.122a—reference is to the Emperor's brother Takahito); ... masúmasu go-kenkoo de araréru yóo 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 araréru Yáno san no go-kóoi mo arimásite

o-V-i; you can not omit de/zya in o-yomi de/zya náí kata 'persons who do not read' or o-wakari de/zya náí tokoró 'places you do not understand'.

11. And ...ri nasáru will sometimes be pronounced /...nnasáru/: ... tyuuhuu (tyuubu[u]) ni o-nan nasútta no wa, ... 'that you had become paralyzed' (Fn 84a)—o-nan = o-nari; Isuke san ni wa, kodomo ga o-an nasáru n desu ka 'Do you have children, Isuke?' (Fn 97a)—o-an = o-ari. In dialects you will also find V-i-nasáru, using the simple infinitive instead of the honorific: an-nasáru (Fn 70b) = ari-nasáru = o-ari nasáru = o-ari ni náru 'deigns to possess'. A contracted version: V-i-nsáru.

12. O'Neill (1966.49, 102) recognizes N de o-ari ni náru, citing the example O-taku wa kyúuka(̄) de o-ari ni narimásu né 'Yours is an old family, isn't it?' taken "from a modern novel".

'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: *Yomárete kudasái → O-yomi ni nátte kudasái '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 *Kore kara no keigo* 1952) for its "simplicity and regularity"—as showing its inferiority to the Ōsaka 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 hón o yomaseráreta* you would be more likely to say *Oziisan ga okosan ni hón o o-yomase ni nátta* '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 *Héika ga yomáseta/yomaseráreta* for 'His Majesty deigned to read' you would say *Héika ga* (or *Tennóo-sama ga*) *o-yomi ni nátta* or (pleonastically) *o-yomi ni naráreta*.

The exalting passive, it should be noted, is not normally used for any of the possessive or quasi-possessive verbs (*áru*, *wakáru*, *dekíru*, ...); cf. NHK 1964.147. But in the uncontracted copula *de áru* the verb *áru* is occasionally passivized (N *de araréru*) for subject-exaltation, as we have mentioned above, and the passivized causative (N *de araseraréru*) is also occasionally found: ... *hokutyoo no keitoo de araseraréru* ... 'is of the lineage of the northern dynasty' (SA 2670.146). The *dé* is sometimes absent: ... *séikyo araseráreta* 'he [Prince Chichibu] passed away' (Tk 3.182). And, exceptionally, in ... *go-ran araremasyóo* 'Let the reader observe ...' we even find a polite hortative made on the subject-exalting passive of *áru*.

The verbs *iru* 'stays', *kúru* '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 *idéru/ízu* (which is the source of the modern *déru* 'emerges'):

Iru.	}	O-ide n{i} náru.	O-ide dá.	O-ide nasáru.
Iku.				
Kúru.				

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 [*sóto e*] *o-de ni náru*; the word would appear to be built on the infinitive of *de-másu* (the polite stylization of *déru*), though the auxiliary *-máru* does not ordinarily display an infinitive.

Most verbs other than *iru*, *iku*, and *kúru* 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 kóro, 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-omoi ni náru* is more common than the formal-sounding *obosimésu* for 'thinks'. And although *ossyáru* is the common replacement for *o-ii ni náru* (from *iu* 'says'), the latter form is not rejected by all speakers. *Go-zón(-)zi da* or *Go-syooti da* is usually heard where

one would expect *o-siri ni nátte iru* for *sítte iru* 'knows' but such forms as *o-siri ni nátta tokí* 'when you realized' are not uncommon. It has been suggested that monosyllabic infinitives 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:

<i>míru</i> 'looks at, sees; tries'	* <i>o-mi ni náru</i>	→	<i>go-ran ɸniɸ náru</i> ¹³
<i>éru</i> 'gets'	* <i>o-e ni náru</i>	→	{ <i>o-motome nɸiɸ náru</i> <i>o-te ni irerareru</i>
<i>suru</i> 'does'	* <i>o-si ni náru</i> ¹⁴	→	<i>nasáru</i> ¹⁵

And there seems to be only the regular possibility for *déru* 'goes out; attends; performs (on stage)': *o-de nɸiɸ náru*. (But see the remark on *o-demasi* above.)

The regular honorific infinitives are also used in the object-exalting forms to be discussed 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.: ... *tennoó no o-ide o sirazu ni* 'not knowing of the Emperor's presence' (Ōno 1966.137); *Miná-san no o-ide o o-mati site orimásu* 'We await your arrival, gentlemen'. But the distinction between such pairs as [Sono] *o-negai o simásu* 'I make [that] humble request' and [Sore o] *o-negai simásu* 'I humbly request [that]'

 is limited to the few verbs that underly such derived nouns.

Virtually all¹⁶ 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-yasumi* 'deigning/presuming to rest') so that only context will disambiguate certain phrases: [Anáta no sono] *o-kangae nára* 'If it's your idea' contains a lexical honorific made by attaching the prefix *o-* to the noun *kangáe* that is derived from the infinitive *kangáe*, but [Anáta ga soo] *o-kangae nára* 'If that's what you think' is a subject-exaltation with *o-V-i dá* converted to the provisional.

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 *suru* 'does': *O-yobi suru* 'I call someone esteemed (or something that belongs to someone esteemed)', *Go-soodan suru* 'I consult with someone esteemed'. Except for certain clichés such as *O-negai simásu*

13. When you drop the /i/ in *go-ran nɸiɸ náru*, the triple nnn will reduce to nn.

14. But *o-si*, the honorific infinitive of *suru*, is sometimes used as a command: ... *ansin o-si* 'put your mind at rest' (Kb 76a); see §16.2.

15. As in *o-kéga o nasáru* 'an esteemed person has an accident' from *kegá o suru* 'has an accident'.

16. A few exceptions will be found in the lists of §6. The most likely to confuse is *o-tétudai* 'help' (from *tetudái*). *O-tétudai simasyóo ka* 'Shall I help you?' (BJ 1.297) is to be taken as a verbal noun; the subject-exalting form is *o-tétudai nasáru* 'deigns to help'. It is unclear whether the regular forms *o-tetudai suru/itasu* and *o-tetudai ni náru* are also used.

'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-agemásu* 'Let me assist you'. And there are unusual occasions that call forth the now obsolete form *V-i-tatematúru*: Ikeda Daisaku no *sinkin o yasume-tatematuru tamé ni* "Sooka-Gákkai o *kíru*" o *dasánai kotó ga ii* '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 Sōka Gakkai" 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 "honorific" 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 *gozaimásu*-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 *sitúrei* 'breach decorum', nor any verbal noun that is inherently object-exalting such as *haiken* 'respectfully look'); the only possibility for object-exaltation is *VN itasu*, so that where you might feel the urge to say **go-benkyoo suru* or **go-tootyaku suru* or **go-sanpo suru* you will have to say *benkyoo 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-zi kara anáta o o-mati [ita]simásu* 'I'll be waiting for you at four o'clock'; *Kokóro kara anáta o o-mukae [ita]simásu* 'I will welcome you with all my heart'; *Yorosikáttara éki made o-okuri simasyóo* '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: *Konaidá^[1] anáta no o-niisan ni o-ai simásita* 'I met your brother the other day'; *Moo súgu miná-san to o-wakare sinákereba narimasén* 'I will have to say good-bye to you all before long'; *Senséi kara/ni piano o o-narai itasi-tái n desu ga* 'I'd like to take piano lessons from you'. Sometimes the adjunct is implied: *O-dénwa o o-kake itasimasyóo* 'Shall I phone [you]?'; *Go-annai itasimásu* 'I will show you around'.

(3) An embedded genitive, stated or implied, expresses possession by an exalted person: *[Anáta no] zidóo-sya(-) o o-arai itasimasyóo 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 sóo desu* 'His house burned down, too, they say'.

17. The notion apparently originated with Matsushita Daisaburō and Kindaichi Kyōsuke (see Tsujimura 111, 114) though I arrived at my version of it independently.

(4) Although unmentioned, an exalted person is the beneficiary of the action—which could be rephrased as a favor: *Mádo o o-ake itasimasyóo ka* ‘Shall I open the window (for you)?’; *Kyóo wa watasi ga o-harai simasyóo* ‘I’ll pay (for you) today’; *Dénki o o-tuke simasyóo ka* ‘Would you like me to turn on the light?’; *O-satoo o o-ire itasimasyóo ka* ‘Shall I put sugar in your coffee?’; *Mázu áto no hoo no situmon kara o-kotae simásu* ‘I will start by answering your last question first’ (SA 2677.119a); *Dé wa || kákuti no | ténki o | o-tutae simásu || ... Tenki-yóhoo o | owarimásu* ‘Now I will tell you about the weather in local areas. ... This finishes the weather report’ (R)—notice that **o-owari simásu* 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*: *áru* ‘is, has’, *wakáru* ‘understands’, *dekíru* ‘can’, *ir-u* ‘needs’; *náru* ‘becomes’ (contrast *suru* for which the euphemism *itasu* exists), *sinu* ‘dies’, *ikíru* ‘lives’, *déru* ‘goes out’, *dekakeru* ‘leaves’, *káer-u* ‘returns home’, *naóru* ‘gets better’, *naréru* ‘gets accustomed’, *komáru* ‘gets troubled’, *akiraméru* ‘resigns oneself’, *matigáeru* ‘mistakes’, *kan-ziru* ‘feels’, *kurusímu* ‘suffers’, *mayóu* ‘is confused’, *awateru* ‘is rushed’; as well as verbs that normally do not have human subjects such as (*áme ga*) *húru* ‘rains’, (*sigoto ga*) *súmu* ‘(work) ends’, (*zinkoo ga*) *huéru* ‘(population) increases’, etc. The verb must express a voluntary action.

A potential can be made on an object-exalting verb by ellipsis [*suru kotó ga*] *dekíru*: *o-yobi dekíru* ‘I can call you’, *go-soodan dekíru* ‘I can consult with you’; *anáta ni o-ai dékite*, ... ‘Having the opportunity to see you ...’ (Kawabata: Saikai 109); *senséi ni o-ai déki*, ... ‘being able to see the doctor’ (SA 2679.124b); *Sore dé wa o-kasi dekimasén ná* ‘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*: *Yóku o-hanasi itasemasén 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 sité mo [] sinákute mo* ‘whether I rent it (from you) or not’ (BJ 2.184.31) = *karité mo karinákute 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, sára ni yóru o-kéiko o site iru hitó ...* ‘people who work at a job and then in addition take lessons at night’ (SA 2664.106c); *Máiniti(¯) o-tutome no áto, ...* ‘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] itasimásu* ‘I request it of you = Please (do it for me, give it to me, etc.)’; cf. *Kudasáru yóo {ni} o-negai [o] itasimásu* ‘I beg you to give it to me’, *Sore o kudasáru kotó o o-negai itasimásu* ‘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:

	VERB	SUBJ.-EXALT.	EUPHEMISM	OBJ.-EXALT.	EUPHEMISM
'eats'	Tabéru.	O-tabe ni náru.	= {Mesi}agaru.	O-tabe suru.	
'drinks'	Nómu.	O-nomi ni náru.		O-nomi suru.	Itadaku.
'receives'	Morau.	O-morai ni náru.	—	O-morai suru.	
'stays'	Iru.	O-ide ni náru.	= Irassyáru.	—	Óru.
'goes'	Iku.			—	
'comes'	Kúru.			—	

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: *Oraréru* 'Someone esteemed stays'. (*Irareru* can only mean 'suffers from someone's staying' or 'can stay'. Examples of *oraréru* and *V-te oraréru* can be found in Y 119.) Even in *Tōkyō*, *óru* is also often used for *iru* after the gerund in reporting weather phenomena: *Áme/Yukí ga hútte orimásu* 'It is raining/snowing'; *Kumótte/Hárete orimásu* 'It is cloudy/fair'. And the use of *óru* for mere politeness seems to be spreading: *Yátin wa, ... nanaman-en ni nátte orimásu 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 *iku/kúru*, which loses its deictic specification ('thither/hither').¹⁹ This accounts for the use of *V-te máiru* 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 *Irassyaimáse!* 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 "Tōkyō 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-rareru*, .09 *ossyáru*, .18 other euphemistic verbs, .04 *go-VN ni náru*, .04 [*go-*]VN *sareru*, .03 *go-VN nasáru*. In the common salutation *O-kawari mo/wa irassyaimasén ka* 'Have you had no changes = Is everything all right with you as usual', *irassyaimasén* 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 náku irassyaimásu 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 *áru*,²⁰ despite the existence of *o-ari ni náru* ‘has’. Nor, despite the existence of *o-yari suru* and *o-age suru* and *o-morai suru*, is there any **o-kure ni náru* (= *kudasáru*)—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-zíru*(^l); *míru* — **o-mi suru* → *haiken suru*, but not in use for the auxiliary in *V-te míru* ‘tries doing’ (§9.2.4) despite the subject-exalting *V-te go-ran ni náru*; *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 *omóu* — **o-omoi suru* → *zon-zíru*(^l), despite the subject-exalting *o-omoi ni náru* that is more common than the formal *obosimésu*(^l). But *o-omoi suru* is AVAILABLE, as we can see from the love-letter cliché in this sentence: “*Anáta no kotó o o-omoi site*” *yóru mo neremasén* ‘“Pining for you” I find no sleep at night’.

Occasionally a speaker will apply the regular exaltation conversions to a euphemistic verb superfluously—*O-mesiagari ni náru*, *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: *ossyararéru* (cf. Y 119), *o-mie ni naráréru*, *o-kaeri ni naráréru*, etc. There are also two SUPER-EXALTING EUPHEMISMS for *suru*: *asobasu* = *nasáru* (subject-exalting) and, no longer heard, *tukamatúru* = *tatematúru* (cf. p. 1004) = *itasu* (object-exalting). Compare the use of *arakásu*, a vulgar equivalent of *yaru* = *suru*, as in this facetious bit (Maeda 1962.98): *Zibun ga sósoo o yarakásita tokí ni wa* “*nara*”, *tanin ga asobasita tokí ni wa uyamátte* “*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”’. *Yarakásu* demeans the object; typical objects are *héma* ‘blunder’, *símatu* ‘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 *óru* is for *iru* and *maír-u* is for *iku/kúru*—and that will account for such uses as ... *tó itasimásite* for ... *tó site* (§21.4). Tsujimura observes that *itadaku* is now often used as an elegant euphemism for *tabéru*—itself originally a euphemism for *kúu*—and especially for *nómu*. He also observes that *móosu*, similarly, is more often merely elegant and thus yields a subject-exalting passive *moosaréru* (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 Kindaichi Kyōsuke (1959.187). There are also such impersonal phrases as ... *to moosimásu no wa* = ... *to iú no wa* ‘what is called/meant’. 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 kakáru* = *o-ai suru* ‘meets, sees’; *o-me ni kakéru* = *o-mise suru* ‘shows’.

The paradigmatic forms of the subject-exalting verbs *ossyáru* ‘says’, *kudasáru* ‘gives’,

20. Use *gozaimásu* instead. (Strictly speaking, this is not object-exalting.)

nasáru 'does', and irassyáru 'stays, goes, comes' display several irregularities. The expected infinitive form occurs when you make verbal compounds—e.g. ossyari-tái 'wants to say', kudasari-sugiru 'gives us too much', senséi de irassyari-nágara 'although you are a teacher'—and when you put the infinitive into various other constructions such as go-soodan nasári ni irassyáru 'goes to consult', but when the auxiliary -másu 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 gozarimásu 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 irassyái '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 kudasút- and nasút- in place of the expected, and common, kudasát- and nasát-. My impression is that the variant forms are more common in the speech of women than of men, but Kindaichi Kyōsuke (1959.171) says forms like nasútte sound "masculine" and not very pleasant. Both men and women readily use several variant forms for irassyát-, so that in addition to irassyátta you will hear irásitta, irásitta, irássita, and irásita. 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 unvoiced 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 meaning 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 irassyáru will have three interpretations. The expression irásite irassyáru 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: ... Hwírípin 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 kíta. There is a special usage of Irásite 'rasite or Irásite 'te (optionally followed by kudasái, tyoodái, or kure—and/or by final *e*) to mean 'Stay!', corresponding to the exceptional expression 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 kíte '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 náru (or: go-soodan nasáru) '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-dénwa, not *go-denwa, and we fail to find *o-dénwa ni náru; there is only o-dénwa nasáru 'someone esteemed telephones, deigns to telephone' and o-dénwa suru/itasu 'telephones someone esteemed, makes bold to telephone'.

Those Chinese verbal nouns of one morpheme such as ai-súru 'loves' are treated as if they were regular native verbs with a consonant base ending in *s*: o-ai-si ni náru 'deigns to love' (also o-ai-si nasáru?); o-ai-si suru 'makes bold to love' (also o-ai-si itasu?). The passives and causatives of such verbs are regularly formed (ai-saréru, ai-saséru) 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 ái-site iru 'beloved'); the negative is ai-sánai, not *ai-sínai. Examples: yaku-sú[ru] 'promises', o-yaku-si ni náru 'deigns to promise', o-yaku-si suru 'makes bold to promise' (little used?); ryaku-sú[ru] 'curtains', o-ryaku-si ni náru 'deigns to curtail', ?*o-ryaku-si suru 'makes bold to curtail': sas-súru(¯) 'surmises', o-sas-si ni náru (o-sas-si nasáru) 'deigns to surmise', o-sas-si suru/itasu 'makes bold to surmise'.²¹ Compare the non-Chinese naku-su[ru] 'loses', o-naku-si ni náru (o-naku-si nasáru) 'someone esteemed loses', *o-naku-si suru/itasu 'loses for/of someone esteemed' (not used).

Those one-syllable verbal nouns that voice the auxiliary (...ziru/-zuru) seldom take exaltation; o-sin-zi ni náru (an example will be found in O'Neill 125) and o-sin-zi nasáru 'someone esteemed believes' are rare. An apparent exception is zon-zíru(¯) 'knows' which appears as go-zón-zi ni náru (etc.) to serve in place of (*)o-siri ni náru for the subject-exalting form of sir-u 'knows'. But there is no *go-zón-zi suru/itasu. And there appears to be an etymological convergence with (or misinterpretation of) an old word zonzi < zondi = 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

<i>English tag</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Subject-exalting</i>	<i>Object-exalting</i>
assent, obey	wakáru	o-wakari ni náru; o-kikiire ni náru; [lit.] kikosi-mésu	kasikomáru; syooti suru
arise, awake	okíru	o-okí ni náru; o-mezame ni náru; ohi[n]-náru (< o-hi ni náru)	? o-okí suru
bathe	[o-]húro ni háiru	o-húro/o-yu o mésu (o-mesi ni náru)	? —
be A	A-i	[o-]A-kute irassyáru; [o-]A-kute o-ide ni náru	— (A-[k]u gozaimásu)
be N (or AN)	N dá (= de áru)	N de irassyáru; N de o-ide ni náru	— (N de gozaimásu)
be V-ing	V-te iru	V-te irassyáru; V-te o-ide ni náru; V-te oraréru; o-V-i dá (etc.)	V-te óru

21. There is also a euphemism haisatu suru 'humbly surmises/sympathizes'.

<i>English tag</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Subject-exalting</i>	<i>Object-exalting</i>
borrow	kariru	o-kari ni náru	haisyaku suru; o-kari suru
buy	kau; motoméru	mésu, o-mesi ni náru; o-motome ni náru; o-kai ni náru; ?o-kaiage ni náru	o-kai suru; ? o-motome suru
catch cold	kaze o hiku	o-kaze o mésu (o-mesi ni náru)	—
come	kúru	irassyáru; o-ide ni náru; o-kosi ni náru; (‘puts in an appearance’) miéru, o-mie ni náru	máir-u; agaru [old-fashioned] san-zíru(¯)
die	sinu	naku-naru, o-nakunari ni náru ²²	—
do	suru; yaru; okonau	nasáru; sareru; asobasu; [lit.] kikosi-mésu	itasu; móosu
drink	nómu	o-nomi ni náru; {mesi-}agaru, o-agari ni náru; [lit. or sarcastic] kikosi-mésu	o-nomi suru; itadaku
eat	tabéru; kúu	o-tabe ni náru; mésu, o-mesi ni náru; {mesi-}agaru, o-agari ni náru; [lit. or sarcastic] kikosi-mésu	o-tabe suru; itadaku
excuse, forgive	yurúsu	o-yurusi ni náru; go-men nasáru/kudasáru	— ? o-yurusi suru
feel, think	omóu	o-omoi ni náru; obosimesu	zon-zíru(¯); zonzi-ageru
get, gain	N o ukéru	? N o o-uke ni náru	N o koomúru: gó-on o koomúru ‘gains favor’, go-men o koomúru ‘gains forgiveness’ N ni azukáru: o-home ni azukáru ‘gets praised’, go-híiki ni azukáru ‘gets patronized’, o-maneki

22. O-nakunari n[i] narimásita no wa zyúugo-nen ¯gúrai máe de gozaimásu ka ‘[Your mother] she passed away some fifteen years ago?’ (R). There are various literary verbal nouns for ‘die’, e.g. síkyó = siboo, séikyo, And for the death of august personages such as emperors, o-kakure ni náru is a euphemism for hóogyo suru.

<i>English tag</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Subject-exalting</i>	<i>Object-exalting</i> ni azukáru 'gets invited', go-syóotai ni azukáru 'gets invited', o-séwa ni azukáru 'gets looked after'
give (me/us)	kureru	kudasáru	—
give (you/him)	yaru; (ageru)	o-age ni náru	ageru; sasi-ageru; o-age suru
go	iku	irassyáru; o-ide ni náru; o-kosi ni náru; (o-iki ni náru)	máir-u; agaru
have (got)	áru	o-ari ni náru	— (gozaimásu)
hear; listen ²³	kiku	o-kiki ni náru; [lit.] kikosi-mésu; [archaic] kikosu	o-kiki suru; uketamawáru(¯); ukagau; haityoo suru
help	tetudáu	o-tétudai [o] nasáru	o-tétudai [o] suru; ²⁴ o-tikara ni náru
invite, summon	yobu, manéku	mésu, o-mesi ni náru; ? o-yobi ni náru, ? o-maneki ni náru	? o-yobi suru, ? o-maneki suru
know	sir-u ^{24a}	go-zón-zi ni náru; o-siri ni náru ('find out')	zon-zíru(¯); zonzi-ageru
like	sukí da; ki ni ir-u	o-ki ni i-ru/?irareru; o-ki ni mésu; o-me ni tomaru; o-suki ni náru	— (sukí de gozaimásu)
meet, see (people)	áu	o-ai ni náru	o-ai suru; o-me ni kakáru ²⁵
receive	morau; uke-toru	o-morai ni náru; o-uketori ni náru	o-morai suru; itadaku; tyoodai suru
read	yómu	o-yomi ni náru	o-yomi suru; haidoku suru
ride, mount	noru	o-nori ni náru; mésu, o-mesi ni náru	? o-nori suru
say	iu	ossyáru; o-ii ni náru; moosaréru; [archaic] kikosu	móosu; moosi-ageru; o-mimi ni ireru = o-kikaše suru; o-tutae suru etc.

23. Also: Go-seityoo o kansya [ita]simásu 'Thank you for listening to me', at the end of a speech.

24. BJ 1.297.

24a. For sitte iru: sitte irassyáru or go-zón-zi de irassyáru (*go-zón-zi ni nátte iru is not used); zón-zite(¯) ōru.

25. As in o-me ni kakarásite kudasái = awásete kudasái 'let me see you' Fn 408a. In letters women also use o-memozi suru.

<i>English tag</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Subject-exalting</i>	<i>Object-exalting</i>
see, look at	míru	go-ran ni náru; o-me ni tomaru; [obsolete, Tsujimura 118] goróo-zi- < *go-ran-zi-	haiken suru
show	miséru	o-mise ni náru	o-mise suru; o-me ni kakéru; go-ran ni ireru ²⁶
sleep; go to bed	neru	yasúmu, o-yasumi ni náru; oyon-náru (< o-yori ni náru < oyóru [obs.]); gesi-náru [archaic] = gyosin {ni} náru	huséru [rare]
solicit, seek	motoméru	o-motome ni náru	aógu (Mio 332); ? o-motome suru
stay	iru	irassyáru; o-ide ni náru; oraréru	óru
try V-ing	V-te míru	V-te go-ran ni náru	—
visit	tazunéru; asobu; hoomon suru	o-tazune ni náru; o-asobi ni náru; go-hoomon nasáru	ukagau; sanzyoo suru; o-tazune suru; ? o-asobi suru
wear	kiru ²⁷	mésu, o-mesi ni náru	—

The euphemism *mésu* (o-mesi ni náru) occasionally turns up in other expressions: *tosí o mésu*, o-tosi o mésu = *tosí o tóru* 'ages' (o-tosimesi no o-kata 'the honorable agèd'); o-hara o mésu = *hará o kíru* '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 *nasáru* (which, as we have mentioned, comes from an old passivization of *násu* = *suru* 'does') but it often appears in a variant form *naháru* 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 iremásite keredo mo, o-simai máde 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), *hameru* (on fingers or hands), *siméru* (by tying—as a necktie or a belt), and sometimes *tukéru* (by attaching); but *mésu* is not used for *kakéru* '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.

iki-nasaru	iki-naharu	iki-'aharu	{ ikiyaharu ik'aharu }	'goes'
ki-nasaru	ki-naharu	ki-'aharu	kiyaharu	'comes'

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:

iki-haru
kii-haru²⁸

But in Ōsaka (Zhs 4.16) these are often further reduced (to iki-'aru and kii-'aru) and appear, with intrusive -y-, as:

iki-yaru
kii-yaru

According to Zhs 4.20 the appropriate Ōsaka 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 yarahan 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 áru (rather than being reductions from naháru). Tōjō 1954 lists for Morioka the form o-kagyeru, i.e. o-kaki-yeru < o-kaki aru. He also mentions the Sendai use for subject-exaltation of a contraction of the passivized causative -(a)sa[se-r]r[are-r]u: kakasaru 'deigns to write'.

According to Maeda (1961.180) in Ōsaka the infinitive + -haru, -naharu, and -nasaru are now used both for subject-exaltation and for mere politeness (like V-i-'másu), 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 Irassyái 'Welcome', and O-yasumi yasu is the Kyōto way to say O-yasumi nasái 'Good night'. O-kure yasu corresponds to Kudasái 'Please (give it to me)!', and favors are asked with V-t[e] o-kure yasu = V-te kudasái. The Kyōto expression O-kosi yasu (Zhs 4.18) means 'stay', 'come', or 'go'—in the nonpast (= O-kosi nasaru/naharu), the past (= O-kosi nasatta/nahatta), 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 nasái '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: yaru³⁰ or ageru means 'gives to the out-group' and

28. Monosyllabic infinitives are automatically lengthened in western Japan. See p. 393 (§9.1).

29. Interestingly enough, the labial -w- is retained in such forms as iw-'aharu or yuw-'aharu from i[w]i-naharu. 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

kureru or kudasáru 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 / who give YOU or HIM. The set kureru/kudasáru is appropriate whenever YOU give ME. For the 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/sasiageru) and HE will give YOU with kureru/kudasáru 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/kudasáru 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. kúru (marked) and to yaru₂ 'sends' (unmarked) vs. yokósu (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 náru we usually find the euphemism kudasáru used to exalt the subject—although o-kure ni náru 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 nátta (kotó) '(The fact that) the teacher gave the student an F'; Sono onná ni o-kane o o-yari ni naránai n desu tté né, 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 náru in order to exalt the subject: Ókusan ga sensei ni okurimono o o-age ni nátta (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 (kúru/iku) and sending (yokósu/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 náru '(an exalted person—such as you) deigns to receive'.

In Kyūshū the distinction between kureru and yaru does not obtain; only the unmarked

158 sasi-ageru is simply more polite; perhaps for that reason it will usually be the second person (YOU) that is favored, thus providing a contrast with ageru for those speakers who no longer use yaru to mean 'gives'.

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 *yaru*₂ 'sends (out)' and *yokósu* 'sends (in)'—as in *kodomo o tukai ni yaru/yokósu* 'sends a child on an errand'—are also used as auxiliaries after a very few gerunds. The prime examples are (... *tó*) *itte yaru/yokósu* 'sends word (that ...)', *káite yaru/yokósu* 'writes (to inform)', and *kotozúmete yaru/yokósu* 'sends a message (saying)'; some speakers will also accept *okutte yaru/yokósu* 'sends' and *watasite yaru/yokósu* 'hands over, transmits'. Yoshida suggests that *V-te yokósu* is more or less equivalent to a causative version of *V-te kúru*, i.e. that *káite yokósu* approaches the meaning of *káite kosaséru* and *sirasete yokósu* approaches the meaning of *sirasete kosaséru* (Y 546). He provides examples from modern fiction of ... *watakusi ni mawasite yokósu* ... 'turns it over to me', ... *háha no sí o sirasete yokósita* ... 'informed us of mother's death', and ... *hón o tótte o-yokosi* 'bring me the book'.

Speakers generally reject combining donatory verb + *yaru/yokósu*, though you may hear *kurete yaru* in nonstandard speech, where it means *yaru* 'gives' (Fn 9a.7). In *nagútte 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 yaru*₃ to add vividness to a verb ('does it vigorously' or the like) as in the example *háyaku ókite yaru* 'bounces out of bed early' (MKZ 856c). *Yaru*₁ 'gives', *yaru*₂ 'sends', and *yaru*₃ '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 náru*, the third kind being equivalent to *nasáru* '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 náru* and *yokosaréru*.

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;¹ 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-tákú wa/mo áru* (etc.) as in this adnominalized example: *Sore dé mo íkite iku tamé ni wa, SI-TÁKÚ MO NÁI ákogi(-)* 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: *Hotóndo mizo to YOBİ-TAI YÓO NA ogawa ga, bokuzyoo no náka o nagárete iru* '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-tákatta* 'I wanted' can sometimes be translated as 'I wish I had done' (= *V-tára yókatta no ni*): *Tiisa na kodomo to mazime ni zyanken suru tokoró o, nozoite mi-tákatta desu né. Dótti ga kátta 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 *Áru* 'It exists; We have it' occurs in somewhat abstract situations such as ... *yóo ni ari-tái* 'We would like to have it so that ...': *Gokai no náí yóo ni ari-tái monó da* 'Of course we want to have it so there are no misunderstandings'. And *S kotó ga ari-tái* 'We want S to happen' will often be seen in print. In written Japanese you will also see *N dé [wa/mo] ari-tái* 'we want it to be N' or 'one wants to be N' as in these examples:² *Bóku(-) wa sono náka no hagúruma no zyunkatú-yu(-) de ari-tái* 'I want to be the lubricant that oils the gears between them' (SA 2655.113b); *Wareware no seikatu wa, goori-teki de ari-tái to iú no ga, kono íssyo zenpén(-) o turanúku watakusi no néngán(-) de áru* 'Wishing for our life to be logical is my desire throughout the whole of this volume' (Maeda 1962.1); *Oyá to iu monó wa kodomo ni tótte "ái-su békí oya-baka"* de ari-tái monó de aru '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-tái* ... '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 náru* 'becomes N' (§9.1.11); Greta Garbo's famous plea 'I want to be alone' is quoted in Japanese as *Hitóri ni nari-tái wa*. And in place of (*)*ari-tái* 'wants to have it', the spoken language prefers *hosíi*, originally a contraction of (*) *horasíi*, an adjective made from an old verb *hor-* 'desire' (cf. the intransitive *hore-* 'be infatuated'), now found only in a reduced form of the infinitive *hori* in the verb *hos-súru(-)* 'desires'. *Wakari-tái* '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: *sii-tai, kii-tai, mii-tai, nee-tai, ...*. But the length is said to disappear in the provisional form *-takereba* (Y 299). Cf. §9.1.

2. And even *A-ku ari-tái* from adjectival sentences (*A-ku ... áru*, §5), as in this example from a TV commercial: *Yori utukúsiku ari-tái* 'I want to be more beautiful' (R).

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-tái* 'I want to be able (to do it)' and **iri-tái* '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-tái n[o] da* (§14.2), or to quote it as a thought or feeling (*V-i-tai to omóu* 'I think/feel I would like to V', §21—cf. the quoted hortative *V-[y]oo to omóu* 'I think I will V'), or to adnominalize it in some such fashion as *V-i-tai [yóo na] ki[moti] ga suru* 'feel like doing V' as in: *Sore o iwareta tokí wa naki-tai yóo 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-tái n desu ga [née/náa]* '(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 *yóo 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'),³ (5) with "containers" that express the judgment, assertion, or conjecture of the speaker (... *nó da*, ... *daróo*, ... *yóo da*, ... *rasii*, ... *sóo da*, ...-*sóo da*), (6) when the sentence is perfect (*V-i-tákatta*). Sometimes the unexpressed source of the desire is general or vague: ... *sorézore no gakkoo no kuhuu ni makase-tái* '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 *zé-hi* 'by all means' or *dóo-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 nái kedo ...* 'Right now I have no desire to go next year but ...'. Often a desire (with or without *zé-hi*) is introduced by the expression *Iti-dó de íi kara* 'Once (at least) = Sometime [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-ta-soo*, *V-i-ta-ge*), see §20. There are two adjectives derived from desideratives: *zirettái* 'is irritating' comes from *zire-tái* 'wants to fret' (*zíréro* 'frets'), and *kusuguttái* 'is ticklish' comes from *kusuguri-tái* 'wants to tickle' (*kusugúru* 'tickles').

The form *-táku wa nái* sometimes is contracted to *-táka[a] nái*, and in western Japan *-tá[k]ú mo nái* often shortens to *-tó[o] mo nái*; examples from print will be found in Y 293, where there are also examples of *-tákerya[a]*, *-tákya[a]*, and (Kyōto) *-tákera*, 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-tái kara, turete itte kudasái* 'Since the child wants to go, too, take him along'.

(Y 301, cf. Satō 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] hosi- (? <*por-asi-); see p. 943.

Throughout the Ryūkyūs the common desiderative is made by attaching to the verb infinitive something like -busya- (Okinawa and Amami) or -busa- (Yaeyama). These forms are nigoried contractions from pus[γ]a-, now husya- in Shuri and in Amami, which is cognate with standard Japanese hōsi-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 yobu '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: Dōko o aruki-tái is said more often than Dōko ga aruki-tái for 'Where do you want to walk?'. It is awkward to have adjuncts intervene between N gá (converted from N ó) and V-i-tai, and even more awkward when N gá is further converted to N nó (see § 13.1.6); but N ó can readily be separated from the desiderativized verb by other material (Y 299).

In the following example the object is left marked with ó before a desiderative made on an adversative passive: "Mazime na kaisya" to iu kigyoo-imézi o kowasare-táku nái, to iu kotó 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 kí ni noboru 'climbs [in/on] the tree' will become only kí ni nobori-tai 'I want to climb the tree', not (*)kí ga nobori-tai. You are not allowed to subjectify an object marked with an ó that is merely an alternative to the ablative marking with kará: dénsya(¯) o/kara oríru 'leaves the train' becomes dénsya(¯) o/kara ori-tái 'I want to leave the train' and not *dénsya(¯) ga ori-tái. Some verbs have two meanings, depending on whether the ablative option is available: gakkoo o/kara déru 'leaves (goes out of) the school' will convert to the desiderative gakkoo o/kara de-tái 'I want to leave the school' but gakkoo o déru as a synonym of sotugyoo suru 'graduates' will desiderativize to gakkoo o/ga de-tái 'I want to graduate from the school'. In general, ó-marked objects are permitted the option of subjectification (gá-marking) provided the ó-marking is not itself an optional substitute for some other, more basic, marking. Thus gakkoo o yasúmu 'skips school' will convert to gakkoo o/ga yasumi-tái 'I want to skip school'.

Examples of desiderative sentences (from KKK 3.258-9): ... nan-to-náku hutarí ¯daké de hanasi-táku nátta 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).

so ...'; Iya, iya—watasi, anna tumaránai inaka dé nánka, zettai ni seikatu si-taku náí wá 'No, no—I have absolutely no desire to live in such a dull hick town'; Sore de, otóosan no iru Hokkaidoo ni wa háyaku kaeri-tákute, yóru, huton no náka de nakimásita 'Then, anxious to return quickly to Hokkaidō where Father was, I cried under my quilt at night'; Dá kara iti-dó^[1] o-ai si-takátta 'So I was eager to have a chance to see you'; Bóku(¯) mo koohuku ni nari-tái si, Yásuko san mo koohuku ni site age-tái no da 'I want to be happy myself and I want to make you happy, too, Yasuko'; Iki-tái n da kedo, máda iti-dó mo itta kotó ga náí n da 'I want to go but I have yet to go even once'; Iki-tákereba, katte ni ike 'If you feel like going, go when you like'.

7.2. DESIDERATIVE VERBALIZATION

Desiderative verbals are made from the (expanded) desiderative sentence by attaching *-gáru*, using a suffix *-gár-* 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-tái* (in written Japanese, at least) but not **Ari-ta-gáru*.^{4a} The accent pattern of *-ta-garu* 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-tái* 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-tái kimoti wa átta si, uti no óku-san mo uturi-ta-gátte itá n desu* 'I was in the mood to move to Tōkyō and my missus wanted to move, too' (SA 2671.30c—notice the unexpected use of *uti no óku-san* for *kánai* 'my wife'); *Sigoto no owari -góro, káno-zyo wa watasi no móderu o yame-ta-gatte 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 sonna kotó o si-ta-garu to omoimásu ka* 'Do you think that I want to do such a thing?'; *Watasi ga iki-ta-gatta món da kara turete itte kuremásita* 'Seeing 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 *suguréru* 'excels' (§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: *Ása kara ban máde sake o nónde 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-gar-u*). 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 hón o yomi-ta-gátte iru* 'He is eager to read that book' with *Ano hón o/ga yomi-tái n desu* 'I want to read that book'. The transitivity or intransitivity of the underlying verb is not affected

4a. But Peter N. Dale calls my attention to the fact that *N de ari-ta-gáru* is sometimes encountered: *hitóri de ari-ta-gáru onná* 'a woman who desires to remain single'; *Dóo site Nihon-zín wa "Nihon-zín" de ari-ta-gáru no ka* 'Why is it that Japanese want to be "Japanese"?' (Tada Dōtarō in *Nihon-bunka no hyōjō*: ronshū 3, Kōdan-sha 1972).

by the verbalization of the desiderative: (uti e) kaeri-ta-gáru 'is eager to go (home)' remains as intransitive as káeru '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'; ... yataru ni hue o huki-ta-gáru '... they [= certain referees] are overly eager to blow their whistles'; Hakkíri monó no mieta hitó da to omoimásu ga, hizyoo ni manabi-ta-gari, siri-ta-gatta, soo iu ími de tankyúu-sin no átta hitó da to omoimásu '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 Sakámaki no yóo na, gyosyok-ka de tóotte iru otokó ga mi-ta-gáru sibai nára, ooyoso 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-ta-gáreba, dónna hahaoya d'átte tabesasézu ni wa irarenai to omoimásu 'When they are so eager to eat, it seems to me that hardly any mother can resist feeding them'.

More examples: Tokoró-ga syoogákúsei no musumé^[r] hutarí wa térebi ni kazíri-túite(¯) séki(¯) o hanare-ta-garánaí '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-garu doobutu de átte, sono o-kage de yogén-sya nádo wa syokúgyoo to site seiritu 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 setumei si-ta-garu katamúki(¯) ga áru 'there is a tendency to want to explain it by that' (SA 2666.36a).

The V-i-ta-garu 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 náí → V-i-ta'u na-gáru. The modern negativization (V-i-tai → V-i-tagáru → V-i-tagaránaí or -tagaránu) dates from the Edo period. Cf. Y 304.

7.3. VERBALIZATION OF AFFECTIVE AND CATHECTIC 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 hitori-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 CATHECTIC. 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 CATHECTIC OBJECT—the externalized person or thing toward which the emotion is

directed—also marked by *gá*. The fact that, in general, word order is free can lead to ambiguity: *Kodomo ga inú ga kowái* 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 *-gáru* requires that the cathectic object be marked with *ó*, thus disambiguating the sentences: *Kodomo ga inú o kowa-gátte iru* 'The child is afraid of the dog', *Kodomo o inú ga* [or: *Inú ga kodomo o*] *kowa-gátte 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 *-gáru* 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 *-gáru* to other elements, such as *kyoo-gáru* = *omosi-ro-gáru* 'enjoys' (*kyoo* 'amusement, fun', *kyoo-zíru* 'amuses oneself'), *tuu-gáru* 'makes a show of one's knowledge' (*túu* 'an expert'), and the examples found in the following sentences: ... *kóto ni Edokko-gáru ningen wa kirai désu né* 'I especially hate people who put on "Yedo" (traditional-Tōkyō) airs' (Tk 2.290b); ... *bizin(̄) dé mo náí no ga beppin-gátte ru kara*, ... 'because those who are no beauties go around acting as if they were real dolls' (Tk 3.145a); *Sinpo-syúgi zura no yaróo-dómo ga iyá ni sinposyugi-gáru to, bóku(̄) wa múka-muka sityáú 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 *-gáru* verbs fit in that scheme? According to Takaki the "emotive" verbs made with *-gáru* resemble the categories of verb of EMOTION (such as *nayámu* or *nikúmu*) and verb of CONTINUITY (or durative-stative, such as *suguréru*); these two categories differ from each other primarily in that the verb of emotion will permit favor conversions, as will some of the *-gáru* verbs that have favorable meanings, such as *kawai-gáru*. 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: *nayánda hitó* 'the man who suffered' differs in meaning from *nayámu hitó* 'the man who suffers' and *nayánde iru hitó* 'the man who is suffering' but *sugúreta hitó* means the same thing as *sugúrete iru hitó* 'a surpassing person'. Since *nomi-ta-gátta hitó* 'the man who wanted to drink' differs in meaning from *nomi-ta-gátte iru hitó* 'the man who wants to drink', we conclude that the verbalized desideratives (and probably the other *-gáru* 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-stative verbs (*suguréru* 'surpasses', *sobiéru* 'towers', etc.). But according to Takaki they differ in that *V-i-ta-gatte iru* has the repetitive⁵ 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.

kúru 'gradually comes to want to V' can not be used; and that V-i-ta-gari-doosi dá '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 *suzusi-gáru '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 (?)sigoto o isogasi-gáru '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 dé or ní or n^[o] tamé ni) can sometimes be used with the intransitive version; the example under ikigurusii 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 'I am wary of that new plan'.
- A arigatái 'is welcome': arigata-gáru 'appreciates'
- C - atarasii 'is new, fresh': atarasi-gáru 'is fond of novelty', atarasigari-ya 'a novelty-seeker'.
- A atúii '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 hagayúii 'is vexed, impatient'
- A hazukasíi '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 - himozíi 'is hungry'
- A hosíi 'is desirous'

- ? ikigurusii 'is suffocating, stuffy': Géndai no wakamonó(¯) wa seizon-kyóosoo no seikatu o ikigurusi-gáru 'Young people of today find the competitive life stifling'.
- C imaimasii 'is annoying, vexatious'
- A ?⁶ isogasii 'is busy'
- A itái 'is painful': Kodomo ga/wa así o ita-gátte iru 'The child feels his leg hurting'.⁷
- ? itosii 'is beloved'
- A kanasii 'is sad'
- A kawaií 'is lovable'
- A kayúí 'is itchy': Watasi ga/wa senaka o kayu-gáru 'I feel my back itching'.⁸
- A kemutai 'feels awkward'
- A kitanái 'is dirty; is mean, stingy': Háha ga néko o kitana-gáru 'The mother finds the cat dirty (feels the cat is dirty)'.⁹
- A kitana-rasii 'is squalid, disgusting'
- A koisii 'is beloved'
- B kokorobosói 'is downhearted, depressed': Káre ga/wa zibun no syóorai o kokoroboso-gátte iru 'He is depressed over his future'.
- C — kokorozuyói 'is heartened'
- A kowái 'is afraid'
- A kurusii 'is distressed'
- A kusuguttái 'is ticklish'
- ? kutiosii 'is regrettable'
- A kuyasii 'is vexing, regrettable': Anó-hito wa hito ni warawareta kotó o kuyasi-gátte, naita 'Chagrined at being laughed at by people, he wept'.
- A mabusii 'is dazzling; is abashed': Káre ga ásahi o mabusi-gátte, iro-mégane o káketa 'Dazzled by the morning sun, he put on his dark glasses'.¹⁰
- B matidoosii 'is impatiently awaited'
- A mendookusái 'is troublesome, tiresome'
- A mezurasii 'is rare, precious': S to mezurasi-gáru ' marvels that S' (SA 2672.60); ... kago-nori no kyaku o mezurasi-gátte, ... 'marveling at the guest in the palanquin' (Y 255).
- A modokasii 'is fretful'
- B moosiwakenái 'is apologetic'
- B mottai-nái 'is unworthy, impious': ... mottaina-garimásu wá, kit-tó^[j] 'he doesn't deserve it, surely' (Fn 62b).
- B muzukasii(¯) 'is difficult; is fastidious'
- A namagusái 'is fishy'
- A natukasii 'is nostalgic'
- ? nemui 'is sleepy'

6. For Hamako Chaplin isogasi-gáru is always intransitive. In Japanese a time, a place, an activity (sigoto), or a person can be isogasii '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 ásahi GA.

- A nemutai 'is sleepy'
- ? netamasii 'is envious': Mazusii hito ga/wa kanemoti(¯) no seikatu o netamasi-gáru 'The poor man envies the rich man's life (or: envies the rich man his life)'.
- C nigái 'is bitter, trying'
- A nikurasii 'is hateful'
- B nomi-nikúí 'is hard to swallow/drink'
- ? oisii 'is delicious': Ryoohoo ¯tomo mainiti(¯) oisi-gátte tábete iru "syokuhin" dá 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 zyúnsa(¯) no ízoku mo irú n da kara, kono taidan de anmari okasi-gáttya ikenái 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 omosirói 'is interesting, fun': Kono kumiawase o omosiro-gáru hito ga iru 'There are those who will enjoy this combination' (SA 2658.61a).
- A omotai 'is heavy'
- B osii 'is regretted, begrudged, valuable': Isogasii hito 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 samúi 'is cold': Watasi ga kaze ni samu-gátte nekóze ni náru no ni ... 'I feel the cold from the wind and hunch my shoulders against it, but [he] ...' (SA 2666.85c).
- C setunái 'is oppressive, painful'
- A sewasinái = sewasii 'is busy, restless'
- C sibúi 'is astringent, puckery; is austere'
- B suppai 'is sour': Kodomo ga natu-míkan o suppa-gáru 'Children find the citron too sour for them'.
- B tanomosii 'is dependable'
- B tanosii 'is pleasant'
- C tayori-nái 'is helpless; is unreliable'
- B terekusái 'is embarrassed, shy': Kono ... sikumi o, isásaka mo terekusa-gáru koto^[1] nási ni ... 'Without the slightest embarrassment at this device ...' (SA 2688.90e).
- B tumaránai 'is dull, worthless': ... kyaku ga tumarana-gátte 'ru to ... 'when the guests are bored' (Tk 2.17a); Gakusei ga kono syoosetu o tumarana-gáru 'Students will find this novel boring'.
- A ? tumetai 'is cold (to the touch); is cold-hearted'
- B turai 'is trying, cruel'
- A — tuyói 'is strong'
- ? umái 'is delicious'
- C uramesii 'is reproachful'
- A urayamasii 'is enviable'

11. But sometimes said with zikan GA.

- A uresii 'is delightful, joyful'
 A urusái 'is annoying': ... urusagátte suwítta o kíru 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-gáru 'exults; (a woman) is sexually gratified'¹²
 A zirettái 'is irritating': ... omóu yóo ni hakobanai tékubi o ziretta-gátta '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

- ? áware 'pathetic, touching'
 ? daizí 'important, valuable': Butai-sóoti nánka, soo daizi-garánai yóo na kanzi dáttá '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': ... ninki o huan-gátte iru 'are uneasy over their popularity' (SA 2665.114e).
 B húbin 'pitiful'
 ? huhei 'discontent': Syáin(¯) ga taiguu o huhei-gáru 'The employee is unhappy with his treatment' ← Syáin(¯) ga/wa taiguu ga/ni huhei da.
 ? hukái 'uncomfortable; displeased': ... hukai-garaséru daké de aru 'it is enough to make one displeased' (SA 2655.29d).
 ? huketu 'filthy': Óoku no hitóbito ga koosyuu-bénzyo o huketu-gáru 'Most people find public restrooms unclean'.
 A husigi 'odd'
 C — hu-yúkai 'unhappy'
 A — iki 'stylish'
 ? iyá 'disliked'
 C kawaisóo 'pitiful'¹³
 A kinodókú 'sorry, wretched': Minná ga giséi-sya o kinodoku-gáru 'Everyone feels sorry for the victim'.
 ? kityoo 'valuable'
 A méiwaku 'troublesome': Isogásii hitó ga/wa syóotai o meiwaku-gáru 'The busy person finds invitations a nuisance'.
 A mendóo 'troublesome': Sukósi da kara to mendoo-gátte nokorí-bi o somatu ni suru kotó wa móttomo hu-keízai desu 'It is most uneconomical to neglect the embers fussing about there being so little left of the fire' (KKK 3.39). (Another example appears in Nagano 1970.202.)
 C munen 'resentful'
 A okkúu 'bothersome'

12. Whence (by way of a derived noun?) the adjectival noun *hitori-yógari* 'self-satisfied, complacent'.

13. But *kawaisoo-gáru* sounds a bit childish, being commonly replaced by *aware-gáru*.

- A — okubyóo 'cowardly'¹⁴
 B — sinkoku 'poignant'
 B — táigi 'irksome, wearisome'
 B — tokú(i)(') 'exultant'
 C — tuukai 'thrilling'
 ? tyoohoo 'convenient, handy; of use/value': ... dáre kara mo tyoohoo-garáreta
 'was found of value by everyone' (Kb 113a).
 A yákkai 'troublesome, awkward'; ... túma no byooki o yakkai-gátte 'finding his
 wife's illness troublesome' (KKK 44.24).
 ? yú kai 'cheerful, happy'
 ? — yuu'utu 'melancholy, gloomy'
 A zannén 'regrettable, disappointing'
 C zyama 'cumbersome, burdensome'

You may run across additional items in texts or dictionaries: bukimi-garáreta (SA 2793.129b); bakabakasi-gátte bákari ite (Okitsu 1.245); ibukasi-gáru (Hokama 1971.5); usukimiwaru-gátte (Ariyoshi 74); sema-gáru (Shimmura); iyarasi-gáru, kimariwaru-gáru, kimi-gáru, medata-gáru, namagusa-gáru, nasakena-gáru, nayamasi-gáru, niku-gáru, omo-gáru, sumana-gáru (cf. p. 384), tanomosi-gáru, uramesi-gáru, wabisi-gáru, waru-gáru, yukasi-gáru (all MKZ⁹); daru-gáru (KKK 44.22); The earliest example of -gáru seems to be afare-gare-do-mo (= aware-gátte mo) in Tosa-Nikki (935 A.D.).

14. Hamako Chaplin has not heard okubyoo-gáru.

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-rú $\bar{m}ái$ {yó} = V-(a)nái daroo {yó}, see §12.1, §12.3; for other uses of V-rú $\bar{m}ái$, see §15.12a. For the negative with stylizations, see §22; for S zya nái ka and V-[y]oo zya nái 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, Ikimasén 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 dá* → *watasi de/zya nái* ‘it isn’t me’; *watasi ní* → *watasi ní da* → *watasi ní de/zya nái* ‘it isn’t to me’ (but through propredication the *ní* can drop, leaving the expression homonymous with the preceding). The negated nominalized sentence is then adverbialized and conjoined: *Watasi zya náku{te}* ... ‘Not I but ...’; *Watasi {ní} zya náku{te}* ... ‘Not to me but ...’. In place of N (...) *zya náku{te}* you may hear N (...) *tó* *tigatte*, sometimes abbreviated to N *tó* *ty’atte*; this is especially common in western Japan. Examples: *Tekiira de nákute, uisúkii o nomi-nágara hanásita n desu keredo mo ...* ‘We talked while drinking whiskey rather than tequila, but ...’ (SA 2662.110d); *Ningen no honsitu wa, roodoo de náku asobi ni áru 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 náku* you will often see (and sometimes hear) *dé wa náku*: ... *nádo no seikoo wa, zyosei no miryoku(¯) ga muné ni de wa náku mé ya kóe ya sunnári sita síruétto nádo ni áru kotó 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 hón o, senmon-ka no tamé ni de wa náku, siranái ga siri-tai to negátte iru óoku no hitóbito no tamé ni káite iru* ‘Yoshimi Takeuchi has written this book [“Tyúugoku 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 *dé {wa} náku*: *Yasúmi ni de wa náku hón o yómi ni káetta n desu* ‘I went home not to rest but to do some reading’ (§9.1.1); *Nágaku de wa náku mizikáku katte kudasái* ‘Cut it short, not long’ (§9.1.11); *Tokai-búnka o mane surú no de wa náku, rikai(¯) saseru kyooiku to iu monó ga huzai na*

tamé da '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 *nágaku ná* 'if it is [cutting it] long', *nágaku da to* 'when it is [cutting it] long', *nágaku de mo* 'even if it's [cutting it] long', etc.

Similar in meaning are N_1 wa *óroka/motíron fde* N_2 'N₂ to say nothing of N₁' as in: ... *gunsyuu ga hodoo wa óroka, syadoo ippai ni ahúrete iru* 'the crowds flood the street, to say nothing of the sidewalks' (Gd 1969/9.107b). By adnominalization S + *kotó wa* can be used in these expressions, and S *kotó wa óroka* 'not only S but' will sometimes be equivalent to S *dokoró ka* (see p. 930). Another expression of this sort is N wa *tó-mo-kaku fde* 'be the N as it may' as in *Rikutu wa tó-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 *bákari* (or *daké*) + *dé* {*wa*} *náku*{*te*}; examples will be found in KKK 3.202. An additional example: *Sosite hónsyo wa, táda omosirói hanasí o narabeta daké de náku, soré-ra o toosite, amarí ni sizen o hanárete simatta gendai-búnmei e no hitótu no híhan*(-) *o katatte irú 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 N_1 *bákari/daké de* {*wa*} *náku*{*te*} N_2 *mo*—or N_2 *dé mo*, as in these examples: *Gyoomu-tókoo suru hitó daké de náku zyunsui ni asobi no hitó mo húete 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 tokoo suru* 'goes abroad to enjoy oneself'); *Tokoró-ga, sooba wa kai bákari de náku, uri mo nákereba seiritu sinai* 'But to make a market you have to have buying as well as selling' (SA 2666.17e—*kai* and *uri* are nouns derived from transitive verb infinitives); *Sáuna bákari de wa náku, hutuu no o-húro de mo, atu-sugirú no wa ikemasén* 'Not only the sauna but even ordinary baths should not be [ones that are] too hot' (SA 2668.106b). In place of *daké/bákari de náku*{*te*} you may find *daké/bákari* [*da*] *ka*, a rhetorical question 'is it just ...?!' used to mean 'not just'; sometimes this is followed by *gyaku ni* 'but on the contrary': *Motíron seihú-setu o urazukéru kakusyoo wa ima-no-tokoro ná bákari ka, gyaku ni íkutu ka no hansyoo mo ageru kotó ga dekíru* '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 wakaránai bákari ka Y mo yóku wakaránai daroo* 'Not only is X unclear, but Y isn't very well understood, either'. For *daké ka* you will also find *nómi ka* (examples in Terasé 168). In place of ... *daké de náku*{*te*} you may see the literary cliché ... *nómi-nárazu* (preceded by a minor juncture).

These devices can be used not only after simple nouns but also after a variety of other constructions: *Kikai-teki ni* [*surú no*] *daké de náku, nínzyoo o kámi site kudasai* 'Don't just do it mechanically, but add a touch of human feeling'; *Nihón e* | *korárete kara* | *daké de náku* || *o-kuni ni irassyáru tokí mo* | *onazí désu 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 *tán ni ... daké de náku* 'not just merely ... but' will be found in SA 2674.92d. All the expressions with ... *náku*{*te*} are sentence-connecting conversions from sentences ending in ... *nái*:

lya, tán ni hukyoo ga sinka site itta daké de wa náí 'No, it isn't just that the depression was merely deepening' (SA 2673.44c).

Very similar to daké de/zya náí is ... tó bákari kagiránai 'it is not just limited to ...' (cf. p. 1009); and ... ni kagirazu (cf. § 14.6.4) means 'not only ... but' (= daké de náku): Bóku(¯) ni kagirazu, dāre d^uatte sóo desu kedo 'Not just me, but everyone is like that' (Tk 3.49b).

In place of dé {wa} náku{te} in these expressions you can also use the more literary dé {wa} nási {ni}. See § 15.6 for (S/N) dókoro zya náí 'it is unthinkable (out of the question)', (S/N) dókoro {da} ka 'far from being; anything but', and (S/N) bákari {da} ka 'not only (S/N) but'.

A somewhat literary equivalent of de^[r] nákute mo 'even if it isn't' is { | } nárazu tó mo, and that is used to mean 'others beside (in addition to) ...' synonymous with daké de náku: Kore dé wa A senseí nárazu to mo ... to iu kotó ni nari-sóo 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 dá or its negative de/zya náí, sometimes an ellipsis (of something like sóo 'that way') leaves the copula standing alone: Kozima senseí no tamé ni?^(v)—Zya náí n desu 'For Dr Kojima?—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 náí ka 'Don't we have any bananas?' (= 'Do we lack bananas?') are Háí [or Ée or Nín] banana wa náí 'No, we haven't' (= 'Yes, we lack them') and lie [or Íya] banana wa áru 'Yes, we have' (= 'No, we don't lack them'). In place of Háí and lie people often use the more explicit Sóo da 'That's correct' and Sóo zya náí (in western Japan more often Tigau) 'That's mistaken'; or, they repeat the predicate: Náí 'Yes, we haven't', Áru 'No, we have'. But if the Japanese negative is just a formal device—as in the rhetorical question S zya náí ka (§ 15.16) and the invitational V-[y]oo zya náí ka as well as other invitations that are put negatively just to be polite (Kore o yónde kudasaimasén ka or Yomimasén ka 'Won't you kindly read this?')—the underlying CONTENT is answered: Háí 'Yes (I'm in agreement, I'm willing)'; lie 'No', or Tyót-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':

—Anáta, o-sake wa? '[What about] you and liquor?'

—Zenzen, oboénakatta desu 'I've never indulged'.

—Kore kará mo oboéru tumori wa náí desu ka? 'You have no intention of indulging in the future, either?'

—Ée. Sake wa oboénai tumori ná n desu 'That's right. I intend not to indulge in liquor'.

In the northern Ryūkyūs 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

strings of embedded sentences, as in *Dóo ni mo si-kata ga náí baai ga náí de mo náí ga, kessite íi monó de wa náí* '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 wáke ni [wa] ikanai* 'it is impossible not to = must' (§13.2), *V-(a)zu ni {wa} irarenai* (p. 520), *V-(a)záru o énai* (p. 896), and expressions of obligation such as *V-(a)nákereba naránai* (p. 559); *V-rú yori + hoka [wa], sika, si-kata ga náí* (p. 386). See also the examples of negatives with *kotó ni* in §14.1.1.

Examples of multiple negatives: *Sore o, Nihón ni mo moti-kondá no de wa náí ka* ⁽¹⁾ *mo kangaerénai kotó wa náí* '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 *tó mo*; *Kono yóo na kangae-káta wa, ... nádo ni mo ukagaenai wáke de wa arimasén ga, ...* 'There is no reason not to (= We can of course) study this sort of thinking in ... and other works, but ...' (Tsjimura 101); *Sono ten, tasyoo mono-tarinái(⁻) to ienáku wa náí 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-tarinái(⁻)* 'is inadequate' is a lexical negative, an adjective derived from the negative *tarinai* of the intransitive verb *tariru* 'suffices'; *Tokoró-ga || túmi ga | náku mo | náí no | sá* 'But they are NOT exactly innocent (of wrongdoing)' (Fn 200b—reference is to the preceding *túmi mo náí sá* *simin 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)nái zya/de náí* or, with focus, *V-(a)nái de mo/wa náí*: ... *seikoo sinái de mo | náí* 'We may succeed all right ...'; *Noosán-butu no | háiki(⁻) wa || gaikoku ni || réi ga | náí de wa | náí* 'The discard of agricultural products is not without precedent in foreign countries' (SA 2689.145d); *Minná wa hu-to damátte, káre o míru de mo náku, mínai de mo náku, seki⁽¹⁾ no yamu máde mátte 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); ... *náni yara ikamesii kanzi ga sinái de mo náí ga ...* 'you don't entirely lack the feeling of something solemn, but ...' (SA 2663.134).

For *nái* itself, and for *A-kú⁽¹⁾ náí* and *N de/zyá⁽²⁾ náí*, a more straightforward double negative can be made in the form *náku náí* as in these examples: *Sízuka zya náku náí n da ga* 'It's quiet all right, but ...'; *Hanasi-táku náku náí kedo* 'I do want to talk, but ...'; *Yomi-yásuku náku náí n da ga* 'It's easy enough to read, but ...'. Cf. *V-(a)nákú wa náí = V-(a)nai kotó wa náí*, §14.1.1.

Focus can be applied: ... *ippan no dókusya(⁻) ni tótte tasyoo wakari-níkúí ten mo náku wa náí* 'There ARE points that for the general reader are more or less hard to understand' (SA 2655.123b); ... *tókusyu(⁻) no kusuri ya syóti wa, satei de mitomerarenai kotó mo náí de wa náí, sikási, ...* 'special medicines and treatments do not go totally unrecognized in the assessments; however, ...' (SA 2660.54c); *Maré(⁻) ní wa, || sono yóo na | réi mo || náku wa | náí no de áru⁽²⁾* '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: *Náku wa náí zya náí; Náku wa náí*

kotó wa náí; Náí kotó wa náku wa náí; Náí kotó wa náí zya náí. 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: Náku wa náí kotó wa náí zya náí; Náí kotó wa náí kotó wa náí. 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 Sukúnáku náku wa náí 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: ... mósi ka sitára misugi-yósugi(¯) no zyoyuu-kágyoo yori, mono-káki no hoo ga yuuboo zya náí ka to omowaséni de mo náí '... 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:

	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
VERBAL	Yobu.	Yobanai '(He) doesn't/won't call (him)'.
VERB-NOMINAL	Kenkyuu suru.	Kenkyuu sinai '(He) doesn't/won't study (it)'.
ADJECTIVAL	Ookii.	Óokiku náí 'It isn't big'.
ADJ.-NOMINAL	Sízuka da.	Sízuka de/zya náí 'It isn't quiet'.
NOMINAL	Hón da.	Hón de/zya náí 'It isn't a book'. ¹

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, -rú 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
kas-u 'lends it'	kas-ana-i
kát-u '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 > akoo 'being red' or from an earlier -a[p]u as in wara'u > waroo 'laughs'. In standard Japanese the same development is found in the hortative-tentative ending -oo < -a'u < -a[m]u; cf. daroo < ní-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 kát-te in eastern Japan, ká'u-te /kóote/ in western Japan.

yob-u 'calls it'	yob-ana-i
yóm-u 'reads it'	yom-ána-i
sin-u ³ 'dies'	sin-ana-i
VOWEL VERBS	
mí-ru 'looks at it'	mí-na-i
okí-ru 'arises'	okí-na-i
ne-ru 'lies, sleeps'	ne-na-i
tabé-ru 'eats'	tabé-na-i
IRREGULAR VOWEL VERBS ⁴	
su-ru 'does'	si-na-i
kú-ru 'comes'	kó-na-i

Negatives made from tonic verbs are tonic, with the accent one syllable earlier than that of ordinary adjectives in the imperfect (cf. *sukánai* 'does not like' with *sukunái* 'are few'). Negatives from atonic verbs are atonic before a basic juncture but have an accent on *-ná-* in the imperfect before a particle or before *désu*, when these are attached without juncture.

All verbs make regular negatives except for *áru*, which substitutes *nái* where we would expect to find **aránai*.⁵ 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*.⁶ You will sometimes run across these forms in print: *Tokoró-ga, ll henzí o ll yokosán no desu l yó* 'But they sent me no reply' (SA 2660-48a—speaking is Ichikawa Fusae, born in Aichi prefecture 1893); *Bóku(-) wa benkai sén desu. Táda iwan kotó o kakáretara komáru* '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 Kyōto 1934). And you may find *sén de kudasái* where you expect *sinái de kudasái* 'don't do it'.⁷

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 monó* 'an unneeded thing', cf. §13.5: 2h). In Literary Japanese *-(a)nu* is used only as an attributive, and the literary infinitive *-(a)zu* (or extensions with the auxiliary *ár-*) serves as the predicative; but *-(a)záru* is also found for the attributive (see §8.6).⁸ A typical written example using *-(a)nu* for the attributive but *-(a)nai* for the predi-

3. Certain Kantō dialects regularize *sin-* to *sim-* 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 *kinai* for *kónai* (Miyara 154). For *suru* certain dialects (e.g. Aichi, Zhs 3.458) use *seru*, a contraction of *si[-i] [w]óru*, not to be confused with the literary perfect-resultative *séri/séru*, which is an abbreviation of *si[-i] ár-i-u*, §9.6. For the Tōkyō usage *kó ya sinai = kí ya/wa sinai*, see §5.1.

5. But *aránai* is (quite rarely) found in print; Y 179 cites a 1909 example ... *Honma ni úso DE wa ARÁNAI to iú no zya ná*. For *aránu*, see p. 374.

6. But *sin[u]* does turn up in certain dialects: *sin ka = senu ka* (Inokuchi 335). The forms *senai = sinai* and *sénkereba = sinákereba* (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/-a)zu* are from the 16th century (Y 200).

8. The set phrase *siranu zon-zénu* 'complete ignorance' is directly nominalized and predicated: *~ dé, ~ to bákari de, ~ dá kara, ~ no ittenbari(-)*, etc.

cative is this: Gaikóo-ken o motánu Okinawa wa Amerika to koosyoo suru kotó mo dekinái 'Okinawa, lacking control over her foreign relations, can not negotiate with America' (SA 2664.17d).

In negative verb forms ...ranai is optionally pronounced ...nnai in very relaxed speech, so that Wakaránai comes out Wakánnai 'I dunno'. This sometimes is reported in print: Hitóri zya kuénee [= kuénai] kara, kázoku zénbu de hatarakanákya nánnee [= hatarakanákereba naránai] 'The whole family has to work since they can't eat with just one member [working]' (SA 2679.47c). You may also hear ...nnai for ...rinai or ...renai: Osiete kunnái de né = Osiete kurenái de [su] né 'They don't [show =] help me, you see' (SA 2680.47). But ...nno is an optional variant of ...rú no, especially common in ...ténno for ...-te irú no, §9.2.4.(1), as in Náni itté n no ka sappári wakánnai 'I dunno whatcher 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)noo, though it is often replaced by the literary infinitive -(a)zu (§9.5); the GERUND is -(a)nákute with the Kansai variant -(a)na'ute pronounced -(a)noote, but -(a)nái de is often used instead (§9.2); the PRO-VISIONAL is -(a)nákereba with abbreviated variants -(a)nákerya and -(a)nákya, but in Kansai -(a)néba, -(a)nya, and -(a)na are heard and -(a)nkéreba is also reported (Y 174); the PERFECT is -(a)nákatta, the CONDITIONAL -(a)nákattara, and the REPRESENTATIVE -(a)nákattari, but you will sometimes find these forms reduced to -(á)nkatta, -(á)nkattara, and -(á)nkattari (said to be dialect variants by MKZ "dialect and Meiji usage" by Y 174) as in this example: ... to omótt' oránkatta keredo mo ... 'I didn't think that ... but ...' (SA 2653.42d—equivalent to omótte oránakatta/inákatta keredo mo). And a number of dialects (e.g. east and central Kinki area, Zhs 4.22) use -(a)nánda, -(a)nándara, -(a)nándari for -(a)nákatta, -(a)nákattara, and -(a)nákattari, respectively.⁹ Some examples of these forms: ... sukósi mo hosi-gári wa nasaimasénanda [= nasaimasén desita] 'hadn't the least desire for it' (Fn 53a); Wakare-kkiri de kao mínandara [= mínakattara], yappári osímu desyoo 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 myóo na katati ni naránanda desyoo [= naránakatta desyoo] '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 -kú (§9.1) and adding the negative adjective náí; between -kú and náí you may put wá, mó, or sáe to apply nuclear focus, corresponding to the affirmative forms -kú wa/mo/sae áru (§5). One reason for treating -ku náí as something fundamentally different from a shortening of -kú wa náí (as has often been suggested) is that in modern Japanese the form *-ku áru does not normally occur unfocused. Exceptionally we find such sentences as óoku áru 'has lots'

9. Similar forms are reported (Y 206) as early Meiji literary usages: V-(a)mandare[-do]; V-(a)ndara = V-(a)mandara. Collado's 1632 grammar has an example of agenandari to mo 'if he had not raised it'.

where *áru* is functioning as nucleus and *óoku* is a quantity noun derived from an adjective infinitive, here used adverbially. More telling examples are *A-ku áreba* = *A-kereba* (p. 316) and *A-ku ari-tái* (p. 355). Notice also that *-í wa suru* does not, in modern Japanese, regress to **-i (o) suru*.

The form *yokanai*, cited by Mio 363, seems to be *yók' 'a náí*, a contraction of *yók[u w]a náí*. Cf. ... *omosirok'a náí ná* 'it wasn't any fun' (Tk 4.311a). The vowel may lengthen in the contracted form: ... *tyót-to yówak'aa náí desu ka né* ... '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 *yó-ka* = *yóí*, *ná-ka* = *náí*; the *Kyūshū* formation probably comes from a contraction of *A-k[u] á[ri]*.

Nominal sentences are made negative by using *zya + náí*; *zya*¹⁰ is historically an abbreviation from *dé wa*, and alongside *zya náí* you will occasionally find simply *de náí*—as in *Kyoosan-too d'átte Márukusu, Réenin no sínzya de náí desu ka* [= ... *sínzya zya arimasén 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 *Tōkyō* speaker has suggested that his current abbreviation of *dé wa náí*—with subdued nuclear focus—is *zyáa náí* in contrast with *zya náí* = *de náí*, with no nuclear focus felt. (N *dé mo náí* also occurs, of course, with the nucleus highlighted.) But not all speakers will lengthen the vowel in the contraction of *dé wa*; our statement can be improved by putting it this way: *zyá₁* = (for some speakers) *zyáa* = *dé wa*, in all uses of *dé wa* including *dé wa náí*; *zyá₂* = *dé* in *dé náí*. For those speakers who do not lengthen the vowel a sentence like *Kore zya náí* is ambiguous, for it can be equivalent either to *Kore dé wa náí* 'It ISN'T this' parallel to *Kore dé wa áru* 'It IS this' or to *Kore de náí* 'It isn't this (= THIS)' parallel to *Kore de áru* = *Kore dá* 'It's this'. The expression *kotó zya náí* optionally contracts to *kóttya náí* as in *Káre ga dóo si-yoo to sitta kóttya náí* '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 náí* form, often substitute either *ní wa/mo náí* or just *náí*: e.g., the evidential *-soo da* → *-soo mo náí*, *-soo ní wa/mo náí* or *-soo dé wa/mo náí* (§20); cf. the uses of *hazu* (§13.2.7). Notice the synchronic evidence that *V-i-soo ní wa/mo náí* provides for the historical origin of the copula from *ní-te á[r-i]*. On the optional ellipsis in *go-zón-zi {de} náí* 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 ká-su no de áru* 'I am no longer myself but turn into a

10. A Kansai variant *yá* sometimes appears in the popular press: *N ya náí* = *N zya náí*, *N ya n[ái] ka* = *N zya náí ka*. Both *yá* and *zyá* are also dialect variants of *dá* itself (cf. remarks on pp. 934, 938), and they find their way into print fairly often: *N yá/zyá* is equivalent to *N dá*, whether sentence-final or followed by *tó*, *kará*, *gá*, *? sí*, etc. (§17), or by *né*, *ná*, *? yó*, *ká*, etc. (§15). Do not confuse these two dialect uses of *yá* (for *zyá* and *dá*) with the question particle *yá* (§15.6a) or the noun-conjoining use of that particle (§2.8), nor with the *yá* that is a variant of the focus particle *wá* (§2.3.4). Some dialects (e.g. *Niigata*) use *da náí* instead of *zya náí*, but this is not to be taken as the affirmative *dá*, for it is a contraction *d'a náí* < *dé [w]a náí*. These figures can not be automatically applied to spoken Japanese, since what is pronounced *zya náí* may get written either as *de náí* or as *dé wa náí*. *N ya n* = *N zya náí* is also reported (*Hōgengaku-kōza* 3.180).

11. In written Japanese (KKK 25.92) *N dé wa náí* is about eight times as frequent as *N de náí* when predicative; but when adnominalized *N de náí* *N* has the same frequency as *N dé wa náí*. In non-final position, *N dé wa náku* is twice as frequent as *N de náku*.

dog' (SA 2659.135b); cf. *nómi-nárazu = daké zya náku{te}* 'not only'. The attributive (= adnominal) form is *narazáru = ní (wa/mo) arazáru* but *naránu = ní (wa/mo) aránu* is often used instead. Do not confuse this with N *ní (mo/wa) nárazu ni = N ní (mo/wa) naránaí 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 yobanaí*. 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 subdued with the particle *wá*: *A wa B o yobanaí* or *B wa A ga yobanaí* (with the order usually shifted so that the element with less emphasis comes earlier) or even *A wa B wa yobanaí*, 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 *Motíron kuruma de kónai kyaku mo áru* '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. *Kónai kyaku ga áru* 'There are unarrived¹² guests' or 'There are guests who will not come'.

Mio (134 ff) observes that *náku* itself (the infinitive of the negative conversion of *áru*), *-ku náku* (infinitive of the negativized adjective), and *de/zya náku* (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 náí A₂-i N* rather than *A₁-ku náku{te} A₂-i N*. Thus (Mio 135) a young lady faced with the compliment *Ánta wa naru-hodo wakákute utukusii hitó da wa* 'You are, I see, a young and beautiful girl' would perhaps choose the denial *Wákaku náí minikúí hitó da wa* 'No, I am an ugly girl and not young'; and to deny *O-níisan wa otoko-rásikute yuukan na katá né* 'Your brother is a manly and brave person, isn't he?' the form might be *Otoko-rásiku mo náí hikyóo na hitó né* 'He's an unmanly, cowardly person'. Mio also observes that there are a number of quasi-idiomatic uses of *náku* that have led to derived adverbs, such as these: *ma-mó-naku = hodó-náku* 'before long',¹³ *nan-to-náku* 'somehow or other', *sikata-náku* (or *sikata-nási ni*) 'reluctantly', *nukeme-náku* 'shrewdly', *kuma-náku* 'in every nook and corner', *nibé-mo-naku* 'bluntly', *kú-mo-naku* 'with no difficulty', *átokata-mo-náku* 'without a trace'; *titai-náku* 'without delay, forthwith', *manben-náku* '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: *saigén [mo] náku* 'without limit'; *kotowári(-) mo náku = kotowári(-) nási ni* 'without notice/permission'; *kurabe-yoo mo náku bon'yoo na ...* 'the incredibly mediocre ...' (SA 2670.110c—followed by names); *suki*

12. If you wonder why this is *kónai* rather than *kónakatta* or *kíte inai*, see §11 on negative imperfections that answer questions put in the perfect.

13. *Ma-mó-naku* seems to be a predicable adverb, to judge from this adnominalized example: ... *gakusei ga Kootí-si de gesyuku-séikatu o suru yóo ni nátte ma-mó-naku no kotó de aru* '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 *áisatu suru MAMONAKU*, ... 'shortly after saying hello' (Shibata 1961.62), we might think *ma-mó-naku* was a kind of time noun; but the example is perhaps to be read *áisatu | suru ma mo náku*, an adverbialization of *áisatu | suru ma mo náí* 'there isn't even an interval at the saying of hello' (see next footnote). An alternative explanation is ellipsis: *áisatu suru [to] || ma-mó-naku*.

náku naranda 'lined up close with no gaps (= close together)', kitan náku 'frankly' (cf. kitan no náí íken '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 (mondai | náku → /mondaináku/ 'with no problems/difficulty') or oxytonic (yasumi^[1] náku → /yasumináku/ 'with no respite'). But /wákenaku/ ← wáke | náku 'with no difficulty, easily' seems to show a reduced PHRASAL accent, and that is also true of the other paradigmatic forms: /wákenai/ ← wáke | náí. For 'without omission' both /morénaku/ = moré-náku and /morenáku/ = more^[1] [|] náku are reported (NHK). MKZ lists kuma-náí (← kumá [ga] | náí), sikata-náí (← si-kata [ga] | náí), and nibé-mo-nai, but not *ma-mó-nai (= ma mo náí). Moreover the kumá of kuma-náku can serve as epitheme (i.e. be modified):¹⁴ Monó o nokóru kuma(-)náku zibun no monó ni suru tó 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 dányzo 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 otí(-)naku 'without omission' would seem to be preserved from the underlying phrase otí ga | náku || with the derived noun otí 'omission (etc.)' coming from the intransitive verb infinitive óti '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, sassokú, ... 'with no reluctance, right away ...' (SA 2642.54d).

Mio (135-6) cites examples where a phrase-final *dé wa/mo náí* can only be interpreted as ... *nákute* '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 *arimasén* or *gozaimasén*. Similar cases with the literary predicative *nási* 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 yóo* [ni] (o-negai simásu) '(I request that) it not happen': Go-sinpai náku 'Don't worry', Go-enryo náku 'Don't stand on ceremony', O-kamai náku 'Don't go to any trouble', BJ 2.326-7 compares the use of *Dóo-zo yorosiku* (o-negai simásu) 'Please treat me with favor'.

Like most other adjectivals, including the desideratives (§ 7), verbal negatives can underlie a derived abstract noun, made by adding the suffix *-sa* as in this example: *ziko no tikaará(¯) 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 (*-soo*) from verbal negatives, see § 9.1.9 and § 20 respectively.

The polite negatives are discussed in § 22.1: *N de/zya arimasén* or *N de/zya náí desu*, *A-ku arimasén* or *A-ku náí desu*, *V-i-masén* 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 sinai*, a negativization of the subdued nucleus. Taking a hint from Maeda 1961.20 we can see how the forms for the negative of *áru* 'exists' (correspond-

14. As can the *ma* of *ma mo náí*: ... *mé o hanásu ma mo náí 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 *nái* or *arimasén*) 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	KYŌTO FORM ^{14a}
(7) assimilation of 2d vowel to last vowel	arehen	ŌSAKA FORM

An alternative series would assume that the Ōsaka 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* (Kyōto), *siehen* (Ōsaka).

ori wa senu 'does not stay' > *oriyahen* (Kyōto), *oriehen* (Ōsaka).

In these verbs, and also *miyahen* 'does not see' (Zhs 4.16), Kyōto has stopped at Stage 4 in the series of changes and Ōsaka has gone directly to Stage 7.

Notice that the Ōsaka form *kakehen* (Zhs 4.20) does not correspond to the Tōkyō negative potential *kakénai/kakemasén* 'can't write' but to *kakánai/kakimasén* 'doesn't write'—by way of the model *káki wa senu*, as shown by the corresponding Kyōto form *kakahen*. The negative potential in western Japan is made by prefixing *yo*[o] < *yó*[k]u 'well, easily' to the plain negative (§4.4): 'can't write' is said as *yo(o) kakehen* in Ōsaka, as *yo[o] kakahen* in Kyōto.

In popular writings the various negative forms here described turn up as quotations from Kansai speakers: ... *kyuusyoku dekihen no ya* [= *dekínai no da*] 'can't find a job' (SA 2672.137e—we might have expected *dekehen*, since the verb *déki-* is *deke-* in many of these dialects); *Máda, ii kotó mo, warúi koto náhi mo site* 'hen no ni ... [= *site inái 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/imasén* of the standard language. But V-te 'han *náa* is an assimilated version of V-te 'haru *náa* < V-te *i-[na]háru*, equivalent to standard V-te *irassyáru* (§6.4a): *Yó'u obóete* 'han *náa* 'You have a good memory!' (Tk 4.72a—Ōsaka 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 *ári*) in most of the predicative positions where we would expect a finite form;¹⁵ and it combines with the auxiliary *ár-* to make

14a. A form *arahin* is also reported (Inokuchi 269); this may reflect a variant *sinu* = *senu*. Cf. *sin ka* = *sen[u] ka* (ld. 271), *kin ka* = *kon[u] ka* (= *kónai ka*) (ld. 280).

15. Sentence-final examples: *Nusúmi wa suré-do, hídoō(¯) wa sezu* [= *sinai*] 'Though I may steal, I commit no atrocities' (SA 2642.104d); *Keizaigákú-sya, kanarazú-simó kanemóti narazu* [= *dé (wa) nái*] 'An economist is not necessarily a rich man' (Tsuji-mura 8); *rokugatu nizyuu siti-niti* "Rikkóho sezu" to happyoo sita Suzuki-si 'Mr. Suzuki who announced "I will not be a candidate" on June 27th' (SA 2687.141—picture caption).

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 dá) to mean 'does not, gets along without doing': Hitókoto mo wakárazu desu 'I fail to understand a word'; maru-de yaku-dátazu na no yó 'I'm totally useless (unhelpful)' (Ariyoshi 32); Iti-dó mo yakú ni tátazu desu 'It isn't effective even once'; Motíron saidai no kari-te wa zentai no yonzip-paasénto o símete iru Amerika de ári, Nihón wa háruka ni oyobazu de áru ga, dáí ní-i de aru (roku-paasénto ˉkyóó) 'Of course the largest borrower [of Euro-dollars] is America which takes up to 40 percent of the total; Japan is far from equalling that but is in second place (over 6 percent)' (SA 2677.52c). But it is usually followed by the copula infinitive ní—a literary touch where we would expect the gerund dé—to mean 'does not do and/but (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 ní is optionally omissible (cf. §9.1.12, §14.6); that is unusual for a precopular or an adjectival noun (though yóó and mítai 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 húrazu kaze mo hukán[u] 'It does not rain, nor does the wind blow' (= Áme mo huránai de kaze mo hukánai); Áme to kaze ga hidókute, kawara ní wa dáre 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)na'u = V-(a)noo. (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 osímazu [ni] (kane o tukau) '(spends money) unstintingly, generously', and that in the following sentence: "Ée, íi benkyoo ni narimásita" to Siodá-kun(ˉ) 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 ní áru, in Sá ní árazu 'It is not the case. That is not it' (= Sóo zya nái)¹⁶ and in the expression ... ni árazu site (músiro ... de áru) as in Hito wa pán nomi nite ikíru monó ni árazu site, músiro ... 'Man does not live by bread alone, but rather is ...'; the form sometimes contracts to nárazu just as ní 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)nái de; in otherwise colloquial writings you will run across such expressions as these: takúmazu site 'easily, with no great effort'; ki-sézu 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 cliché in Kore ga sá ní árazu da 'THIS it is not' (Okitsu 1.298).

Notice the irregularities of kúru and suru:

Kúru → Kónai → Kózu

Suru → Sinai → Sezu

Similar to suru are bound verbal nouns in -su[ru] and -zuru/-ziru: ryaku-sú[ru] → ryaku-sézu 'not abbreviating' (Cf. ryaku-sánai/-sínai 'does not abbreviate'), oo-zúru/-zúru(¯) → oo-zézu(¯) as in N ni oo-zézu(¯) ni 'not in accord with N'. But you may run across semi-colloquialized forms in -zizu (and -sizu?) 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 ní wa irarenai 'can't help smiling' (Fn 459a).¹⁷

Sentences with V-(a)zu dá 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^[r] no kokoro^[r] ko sirazu dé, '... 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 dé mo/wa you may hear V-(a)zu {ni} ité mo: Nómazu kúwazu ni ité mo 'Even going without drinking or eating'. All the following are possible: V-(a)zu ni ité mo, V-(a)zu ité mo, V-(a)zu dé mo, V-(a)zu sité mo, as well as V-(a)zu tó {mo} for which see §21.1.(9). The V₁-(a)zu V₂-(a)zu da sentence can be adnominalized: Nómazu kúwazu no hazu da 'He must be going without drinking or eating'. But these expressions are often reduced to a lexical derivative: nómazu kúwazu → nomazu-kúwazu no ryokoo 'a trip without sustenance'. Similar are dézu-írazu (ni nátta) 'accounts being squared; moderation', nakazu-tobazu (de iru) '(neither crying nor flying =) being inactive', atarazu-sawarazu no hanasí = atari sawari no nái hanasí 'harmless and inoffensive remarks', iwazu-katarazu (no mokkei 'a tacit agreement', no uti 'tacitly'), 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', túkazu hanárezu 'neither too close nor too far apart', and oya-sírazu ko-sírazu '(a case of) everyone for himself'.

A single -(a)zu dá sentence can sometimes be adnominalized: Ittekí ni mizu mo nómazu no zyootai ga is-syúukan tuzuitára sinde simau 'If a condition of not drinking a drop of water should continue for a week you would die'; Issui mo sezu no hazu 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 ní mo kakawárazu(¯) (or, with direct nominalization §14.6, S ní mo kakawárazu(¯)) 'in spite of, regardless of (its being)'. The literary expression V-(a)záru 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)nákereba naránai and synonyms (§9.3): ... tasyoo no "usirometá-sa" wa kan-zesarú o énai '... can not help feeling more or less "guilty"' (SA 2665.30a). Another way to say the same thing is V-(a)zu ní {wa} orarénai/irarenai 'can't exist without doing': Kono éiga(¯) o míta hitó wa, ningen ni túite, hanzai ni túite, sosite sikéi(¯) ni túite hukáku kangáezu ni wa irarenái daroo 'A person who has seen this

17. Yoshida cites examples of sizu ni from Meiji and early Taishō days which indicate a wider usage (Y 176). Sizu is said to date from Edo times; cf. Gekkan-Bumpō 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 ní wa inai 'does not fail to (do); can not help but (do)' as in ... murá⁽¹⁾ no hitóbito wa kíi no kán ni utarezu ní wa inákatta 'the village folk could not help being struck by an odd feeling' (KKK 3.120) and examples below. An example of V-(a)zu ní 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)nái de wa in place of V-(a)zu ní wa, but I lack examples. For V-(a)zu tó {mo} = V-(a)nákú to mo = V-(a)nákute mo, see §21.1.(9).

The expressions with V-(a)zu ni, like the equivalent expressions with V-(a)nái de, are subject to the several sentence-linking interpretations of the gerund (§9.2). Thus while the sentence Yumé o mízu 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 mízu ni térebi o míta can be taken either as 'I watched the television while not reading the newspaper (as I often do)'—cf. Sinbun o mi-nágara térebi o míta '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 yorazu 'with no basis, without foundation', waki-me mo hurazu [ni] 'without a side glance; wholeheartedly', N o tówazu(˘) 'irrespective/regardless of N, without distinction of N'.

The forms in V-(a)zu ni can be used in place of V-(a)nái de with certain auxiliaries, e.g. Hutuu kúbetu sarezu ni iru (= sarenái de iru) 'They are usually not distinguished from each other'. (But Wasurenái de kudasái 'Don't forget' will not be put as *Wasurezu ni kudasái.) It seems to be possible to apply focus. I lack an example of V-(a)zu ní mo, but an example of V-(a)zu ní wa 'unless' occurs in Ōno 1966.189: Soré-ra no zizyoo o hukáku ríkai(˘) sezu ní wa ... tadásiku kangáeru kotó ga dekinai daroo 'Unless we have a deep understanding of these considerations ... we will not be able to think correctly about ...'. Another example, with an Ōsaka flavor about it: Ano kaizyoo wa Suitá-si o tóorazu ni wa, ikén [= ikenái] no desu wá 'That site [of Expo 70] can't be gotten to without passing through Suita City' (SA 2670.21e). Here V-(a)zu ní wa is equivalent in meaning to V-(a)nai kotó ni wa or V-ru kotó nási ni wa (see §9.1, p. 396), as ways to state a negative condition that could be expressed less formally with V-(a)nái nara or V-(a)nákereba or its equivalents V-(a)nai to, V-(a)nai baai, etc. But other uses of V-(a)zu ni are equivalent to V-(a)nái de wa: ... kansin o yobi-okósazu ni wa inákatta = yobi-okosánai de wa inákatta '[Teika's popularity] did not fail to arouse interest [in his kana spelling]' (Ōno 1966.214); ... sezu ní wa [= sinái de wa] sumánakatta 'did not get by without doing it'; ... Edo wa, koré-ra Kyóo Oosaka no takái búnka búngaku o mukae-irezu ni wa seityoo o togéru kotó ga dekinakatta 'Edo could not have achieved its growth without welcoming in the high(er) culture and literature of these other places Kyōto and Ōsaka' (Ōno 1966.228).

Like other precopular nouns the -(a)zu da forms adnominalize with dá → nó, as in the cliché yarazu no áme 'a rain you don't send one off in = a rain that provides a welcome excuse for detaining a guest' (Okitsu 1.231). There are also some derived adjectival and/or precopular nouns, as in dotti-túkazu no táido 'a noncommittal attitude' and hazi-sírazu

na hitó 'a shameless person' from hazi o sirazu 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/nára íza sirazu 'apart from ..., except for ...' as in: Sensoo ̄tyuu nára íza sirazu 'except during wartime', Hito wa íza sirazu watakusi wa '(I don't know about others but) for my part ...'.

On the other hand ̄tárazu (= tariná de 'not sufficing') 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'; ... sánzíp-pun ̄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-gírai (na) 'hating without tasting = prejudiced' from kúwazu kirai da 'dislikes without tasting' and makezu-gírai, an illogical compound that means make-gírai 'hating to lose'; tuki-tárazu (no kodomo) 'premature (baby)', tarazu-gáti (na) 'unable to make ends meet', iwazu-mó-gana (no koto) 'better unsaid', tarazu-máe(̄) 'deficit', towazu-gátari 'volunteered remarks', wakarazu-ya 'a blockhead', narazu(-mono) 'a rogue, a no-goodnik', nezumi-írazu 'a cupboard', oyobazu-nágara(̄) 'inadequate though I am'. A number of the -(a)zu forms are perhaps well treated within the modern colloquial as derived adverbs: nokórazu 'all, entirely', táezu 'constantly', ai-kawarazu 'as usual', toriaezu 'immediately; for the time being; first', hakárazu {mo} 'by accident', habakárazu 'frankly, without reserve', sirazu-sirazu(̄) (also ~ ni, ~ no uti ni) 'unknowingly, unconsciously', wáre-sirazu(̄) 'unconsciously', omówazu(-sirazu) 'unintentionally', obóezu 'involuntarily; unwittingly', mizu-írazu (de/no) ['"unwatered" =] without outsiders, private(ly), with just family', itido-nárazu 'more than once, repeatedly', hi-nárazu (site) 'in a few days, shortly', hitokata-nárazu 'unusually, no little', kokoro-nárazu mo 'in spite of oneself, reluctantly', tokoro-kiráwazu(̄) '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 sitatárazu 'lisp; one who lisps' [inadequate translation] comes from sitá ga tarazu 'the tongue is inadequate' and has been used as an adjectival noun: sitatárazu na hanasi-káta 'a lisp; 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 ní (= copula infinitive): Sore wa móo, iwazu to sireta kotó de aru 'That is now too obvious to mention'.

For the sentence conversion V-azu - ̄zimai datta = V-anái de simatta 'ended up not V-ing' see §9.1.7. On the literary forms V-(a)zu-mi = V-(a)nákattari, see p. 571.

The form V-(á)zú-ba, with the nigored 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)nákereba 'unless' so that sézú-ba nárazu means sinákereba naránai 'must do it', as in this example: ... yamézú-ba náru ̄mái 'will surely have to resign' (Fn 114b) = yamenákereba naránai 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-.)

With the same meaning, you will find the more colloquial *-(a)zu wa*, usually contracted to *-(a)z'aa*: ... *mikaesite yaraz'aa naránee* 'I'll hafta try to get ahead of him (= triumph over him)' (Fn 131a—spelled hiragana "za", katakana "a"); *Dáre d'átte omee* [= *omae*], *zyúu-nen ízyoo, yukue ga sirez'aa, sindá mo doozen dá* 'Anybody, you see, whose whereabouts are unknown for more than ten years is the same as [= might as well be] dead' (Fn 161a); *Tyokkúra, Áso san toko e kao o dásite, Ookame no henzi o site kóz'aa naránee* [= *kózu wa naránai = konákereba naránai*] 'I'll just have to go show up at Aso's and give an answer to Ōkame' (Fn 209b).

There are dialects in which *-azu* represents something other than a negative form. In *Shinshū* (= 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-nasáru, iki-nasái*), made up of infinitive + *násu*, a literary equivalent of *suru* (cf. *iki mo/wa suru*, §5).

In the modern orthography there is a graphic confusion between the spelling of (*sóto ni*) *í-zu* 'goes out' and *DÉ-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 *Í-du* for 'goes out'; there is good morphophonemic reason to use the kana symbol for *du* (= "tu) in this form, since the infinitive is *íde*.

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 (*wakári, wakáruzu; tábe, tábezu*) and there is no accent for the atonic verbs (*hatarakazu, tukawazu, 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: *wakarázu, tabézu, hatarakázu, tukawázu, irézu*. Thus with verbal nouns you may run across *sézu* as well as *sezu* (*kenkyuu sézu ni = kenkyuu sezu ni* 'without researching') though after a tonic verbal noun the accent will usually be lost in any event, so you will probably hear only *annái sezu 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 *ári* (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)nai*: *iwan[u] kotó = iwanai kotó* 'what is unsaid', *Soo iwan[u] = Soo iwanai* 'I don't/won't say that'. But you will also find the attributive form *V-(a)záru*, a contraction of *V-(a)z[u] áru*, as in *manekarezáru kyaku* 'uninvited guests', *motazáru kuni* 'have-not countries' (versus *motéru kuni* 'have countries' with the literary perfect-resultative form of *mótu*), *irazáru kotó o itta* 'said something uncalled-for' (Kb 278b), *konomazáru sensoo* 'the disliked (= unpopular) war' (SA 2676.110d), *Sirarezáru Okinawa* 'Unknown Okinawa' (title of a TV program), *sirarezáru sentoraru-híit'ingu ...* 'Unfamiliar central heating ...' (SA 2659.118b); other examples will be found in KKK 3.247. (Cf. also remarks on *tarazáru*, p. 383.)

Similar contractions will yield various other forms, such as V-(a)záreba from V-(a)z[u] áreba as in the saying Katarazáreba uréi nási 'If you don't talk you'll have no grief = Silence is golden' (SA 2666.85b). There is also the literary negative hortative V-(a)zarán < V-(a)zarámu < V-(a)z[u] arámu, which is equivalent to V-rú ṽmái 'not about to', or to -(a)nai yóo ni 'so as not to' or to V-(á)zi 'intending not to': Kikazarán to sité mo rinsitu no hanasi-góe ga mimí ni túite 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.

-*kárazu* < -k[u] árazu, adjective negative infinitive—also used for imperfect predicative (§ 13.8a): nagakárazu mizikakárazu no tasuki 'an obi-tie that is neither too long nor too short'. Asikárazu is such a form from a literary adjective a-si- (resembling in structure wáruku náku) and has the meaning 'not taking it badly/amiss' = 'being understanding': Dóo-ka asikárazu o-yurusi kudasái 'Please understand and forgive me'. And the adverb sukunakárazu 'in no small measure/number' is from a construction that parallels sukúnáku náku 'not being little/few'.

-*karazáru* < -k[u] arazáru, attributive form of -kárazu: ... syuusyu si-u ṽbekarazáru zyootai ... 'a situation out of control' (Fn 26a—si-u = si-úru 'can do', literary predicative).

-*karánu* < -k[u] aránu, adjective imperfect negative attributive (§ 13.8a): ... tookaránu utí(ṽ) ni 'in the not-too-distant future' (SA 2689.43a); ... kono hón zitai, hitótu no tiisakaránu tokutyoo o mótte irú no de ... 'this book itself, having one far-from-small feature ...' (SA 2660.118e). The word kesikarán[u] 'scandalous, outrageous' is used both as attributive (kesikarán koodoo 'scandalous conduct') and as predicative (koodoo ga kesikarán 'conduct is scandalous'); it comes from a shortening of kesiku ár-i, formed on the literary adjective KE-si- 'suspect'. Cf. the anomalously formed adnoun muri-karánu, § 13.5.(2h).

-*(á)zi to (1)* 'not wanting to, so as not to; let's not' = V-rú ṽmái to, -(a)nai yóo ni (§ 12.2); (2) 'thinking it/one will not' = V-(a)nái daroo. The resulting forms are optionally atonic when made on atonic bases; Hamako Chaplin uses the atonic version: makézi(ṽ), okurézi(ṽ), ... (1) ... makézi(ṽ) to odori-dásita 'started dancing to keep up with the others' (SA 2660.136d); ... maketé wa narázi to ... 'in never-say-die manner; unwilling to face defeat; not to be bested'; ... okure torázi to ... (= okure o toránai yoo ni, okure o tóru ṽmái to) 'in order not to be outdone (left behind)' (SA 2659.56c); ... pápa no asinamí ni okurézi(ṽ) to, tyóko-tyoko to issyo ni hasíru no da 'trying not to fall behind papá's pace I would trot right along with him' (SA 2650.58c); Sénsyu-tati wa kánko no kóe ni okurarete, katázu-ba [= katánai de wa = katánakereba, p. 380] ikite kaerázi to iu iki de déte kíte 'ru wáke desu kara, otíru to nakú desu yó '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) Káku-te wa narázi to kangáeta syuu-séihu wa ... 'The state government which thought that this would not do ...' (SA 2659.111a—here naránai means ikenai 'is unsatisfactory, won't do').

-*rú ṽmázi* = -rú ṽbekárazu 'should not, ought not' (predicative): Kara-tégata yurúsu ṽmázi 'Empty promises should not be forgiven' (SA 2660.122a—heading); Kátute wa "Áa yurúsu ṽmázi genbaku ó" ga yuumei dáta 'At one time [the protest song] "Ah we can't allow it—the atom bomb" was well-known' (SA 2664.42a).

-*ru ṽmázi-ki* = -ru ṽbekarazáru 'should not, ought not' (attributive): Kyóosi to site hanásu ṽmáziki kotó made hanásite 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-máziki 'unbecoming, unlikely' (also modernized to aru-mazii, MKZ) is an adnoun (§13.5); it derives from áru 'mázi(-ki) 'ought not to exist'. Examples: ... kore o syukke ni aru-máziki syógyoo(¯) [= okanai] to kan-zita '[he] felt this to be an act unbecoming to [or unlikely from] a bonze' (SA 2650.92d); Gunzin ni aru-máziki hurumái ... 'conduct unbecoming a military man' (SA 2642.104d).

In place of the expected literary negatives of áru 'exists', based on árazu, the modern colloquial náí (a suppletive form where we expect *aránai) is often given the literary adjective endings -ki (attributive) and -si (predicative): Tádasi, kore ni túite wa o-togame nási de aru 'But, with respect to this they are without blame' (SA 2672.135c). Cf. §13.8a. The literary perfect nakárikeri is sometimes used as a jocular substitute for náí (or nákatá?): Geinin ni hetá mo zyoozú mo nakárikeri, ... '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-asiméru (cf. §4.1) > nakasiméru 'eliminates, obviates, removes': Soo iu tyósya no raitomotíihu o gokai no yóti(¯) nakarasiméru tamé ni, ... 'In order to eliminate room for misunderstanding of this leit-motif of the author, ...' (SA 2673.94c)—gokai nō^[1] is adnominalized propredication, so the underlying structure is ... raitomotíihu o gokai suru yóti(¯) [o] nakarasiméru

The literary copula, as we have observed elsewhere, is made by attaching the auxiliary ár- 'be' to either ní (the objective essive) or tó (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^[1] ári and N tó^[1] ári. The uncontracted forms of the copulas N ní ... ári (objective) and N tó ... ári appear when focus is applied (§5); the negative forms are N ní ... árazu¹⁸ (contracting to N nárazu when unfocused) and N tó ... árazu (contracting to N tarázu 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/tó (...) nási (Satō 1.102).

When the copulas are adnominalized, the following forms may appear:

COLLOQUIAL

N₂ de áru N₁ }
 N₂ no N₁ }
 N₂ de/zya náí N₁

LITERARY

N₂ náru N₁
 N₂ naránu N₁ [usual form]
 N₂ narazáru N₁ [less common form]¹⁹
 N₂ táru N₁
 (*N₂ taránu N₁) [not used]
 N₂ tarazáru N₁ [usual form]
 (See also tarasiméru, p. 750)

18. As in Zibun ga tukútte, áq to iwasete yaroo to iu kotó ga, náki NI si mo ÁRAZU [da] 'There's a bit of making it up oneself to impress others' (Tanigawa 104), using a familiar cliché based on direct nominalization of the literary attributive form of ná-, roughly giving the same meaning as náí wáke de mo náí '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^[1] arazáru: eigá-zin ni arazáru zyoséi-táti 'women who are not movie personalities' (KKK 25.74a).

The usual translation of A *naránu* B is 'not an A but a B' or 'a B rather than an A': Kore wa, tetugákú-sya *naránu* kagákú-sya no syutyoo to sité wa kánari daitán na monó to iu 'béki de aroo 'This surely must be a rather daring thing as a claim by a scientist (who is no philosopher =) rather than a philosopher' (SA 2676.98c); Káno-zyo, kyooiku-máma *naránu* patinko-máma 'She is not a school-pushing momma but a pinball-pushing momma' (SA 2689.124b). Although *naránu* should lose its accent after a tonic noun, a minor juncture is often inserted before the word: kyooiku-máma { | } *naránu*. And some speakers treat the word as if it were a restrictive, with dominant accent: kyooiku-máma *naránu* Cf. (ˉ) *nárade-wa*, §2.3.3.

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 *tamarú* (*món*) ka 'how can it be borne?!' as in Hoka no hitó ni kawarete *tamarú* ka to, mé o hikarásu kankoodán-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 *món* zya nái 'I can't STAND it!') And *kamawánai* 'it makes no difference' will yield *kamáu* (*món*) ka 'how can it make any difference?!' (A newish usage is *kamáu* 'it DOES make a difference'.)²⁰ 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', **ikerú* (*món*) ka;
kudaranai, *kudannai* 'is worthless, trivial, absurd', **kudarú* (*món*) ka;
mono-tarinái(ˉ) 'is inadequate', *[mono-]tarirú (*món*) ka;
nie-kiránai 'is half-cooked; is irresolute', **nie-kíru* (*món*) ka (cf. §9.1.10);
yari-kirénai 'is unbearable', **yari-kiréru* (*món*) ka (cf. §9.1.10);
tumaránai, *tumánnai* 'is poor; stupid', **tumáru* (*món*) ka;
sumánai 'is obliged', **súmu* (*món*) ka.

The asterisked forms will be found but only with other meanings of the underlying verbs. The last two examples are susceptible to verbalization (*tumarana-gáru*, *sumana-gáru*) and that is another reason for classifying them as adjectives. An example of *sumana-gáru*: *Káre-ra wa sono-bá*(ˉ) *o sáréba*, *ténka kókka o rón-zite*(ˉ), *Tyúugoku ni, Sóren ni sumana-gáru* '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, irresistably'.

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 Tōkyōites, apparently; and it often appears as *ikan*: *Sono sekinin o kangáenakya ikan to omóu n da keredo mo ...* 'I think we must consider the responsibility for that, but ...' (SA 2660.45b—dietwoman Ichikawa Fusae, born in Aichi

20. The expression *ari-énai* 'is impossible' is the negative of the literary *ari-úru/-ú* 'is possible, can exist'; the rhetorical question is *ari-éru/-úru món* ka 'can it be possible = surely it can't be possible'. (The colloquialized *ari-éru* 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: ... *tumarimasén né* 'It is stupid ... isn't it' (SA 2671.49a).

prefecture in 1893); *Nízyuu gó-sai ni náru made sake mo onná mo ikan zo*, to iwarete ... '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 headway', 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 *akahen*, *akehen*, *akimahen* (an example appears in Tk 3.290a), *akasimahen*, *akesimahen*; he mentions modern "affirmative" formations in questions: *aku ka akan ka*, *aku mon ka*, *aku ka i*. A few examples of *akan*: *Motto onna-rasyuu sēna akan yo* 'You've got to be more lady-like' (SA 2665.112a—*sēna* = *sēn*[y]a = *senēba* = *sinákereba*); *Yoozin sen[u] to akan* 'We've got to be careful'; *Íki no nagái geinin to náru tamé ni motto benkyo[o] sēna akan* 'To become longlasting artists we've got to work harder' (SA 2665.114b); *Moo sukósi asobána akan* 'You've got to stay (and enjoy yourself) a little longer'. The adjectival noun *damé* is a common synonym for *ikenai/ikan(ai)/akan*; the antonym is *ii* = *yói* in one of its meanings 'satisfactory', for which the elegant synonym *yorosii* is available.

Alongside *takumánai* 'artless, unadorned, natural' we find an adverbialization: *takúmazu site sibai no dekíru* ... 'can do a play naturally' (SA 2670.114b; *-azu site* = *-azu ni*). On the predicate *ge-sénai* 'can not understand', see p. 307 (§4.4).

We observed earlier that the focus marker *síka*(⁻) '(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 tokoró ga áru* 'there are points that remain quite unexplained' (Fn 233b); *anagati* '(not) necessarily', *kanarazú-sí-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'; *túi-zo* '(not) at all, ever'; *kessite* '(not) ever'; *konrín-zai* '(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); *Yómoya* 'surely (not)' and *másaka* '(not) on any account' anticipate a negative and (often) a tentative, either jointly as *V-(a)nái daróo* or *V-rú mái*, or separately as in *V-[y]oo to omowánakatta* 'I didn't think it would ...'; *S hazu da* will serve as "tentative"—*Másaka, anna kotó wa dekinai hazu da* 'Surely such a thing can't be done' (Kindaichi 1966.91). (The expressions *yómoya ni hikasareru* and *yomoya-yómoya ni hikasareru* 'is deluded by a vain hope' are idiomatic.)

Other adverbs often followed by a negative include *hotóndo* and *mázu*, which (with negative) mean 'hardly', and *a[n]mari* '(not) overly, too, too much', as in Hayashi's examples: *Koko dé wa hanzai-ziken ga hotóndo okoránai* 'Hardly any crimes occur here'; *Kore nára mázu wáruku nái desyoo* 'This wouldn't be half bad'; *Soo iu kotó wa mázu náí né*

22. We may be wrong. Miyara 1954.45 says the Nagoya equivalent of *akan* is *datikan* or *datyakan*, coming from *rati-akanu*.

23. And *roku na N* also requires a negative: *roku na kotó o sinai* 'doesn't do a proper (or sufficient) job'. There is also *roku dé mo náí* 'is useless' and a noun *roku-de-nasi* 'a good-for-nothing', derived from *roku de nási* 'is unsatisfactory' with the literary predicative *nási* = *nái*. 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 hanasí da* 'It isn't very flattering'; *Sen-en nára sore-hodo tákaku náí desyoo* 'A thousand yen isn't all that expensive'; *Sonna ni suteta monó de mo náí* 'It isn't so terribly rejected'. Also the numeral 'one', highlighted or not, frequently anticipates a negative: *hitótu* [mo] '(not) [even] one', *hitóri* [mo] '(not) [even] one person', *ippikí* [mo] '(not) [even] one animal', etc. Similar are *sukósi mo* or *ti[t]tó mo* '(not) even a little', *náni mo* '(not) anything'—also '(not) particularly', *dáre mo* '(not) anyone', *dótira mo* '(not) either one', *dóko mo* '(not) anywhere', *dóo-mo* '(not) at all', etc.; all of these except *ti[t]tó mo* and *dóo-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 *omowánakatta* '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, iie—soo iu wáke zya* {*arimasén*} 'No, no—that's not the way it is (or: what I mean)'; ... *kóoka wa sappári* {*naí*} '(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 sukunái* 'the differences are quite few' (Kindaichi In Ōno 1967.15); *Nihón de wa, hotóndo kono syúhoo(-) o tukau hitó ga maré(-) dá ga, ...* 'In Japan people using this method are quite scarce ...' (SA). The negative can be implied by proredication or expressions of refusal: *Mappira da yó* 'Not for the world'; *Mappira go-men dá* '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 *sukúnáku náí* 'is/are not little/few = is quite a lot, are quite a few'; *mezurásiku náí* 'is not rare = is fairly common'; *óoku náí* 'is/are not much = is little, are few'; *métta ni náí* 'is not profuse = is rare' and *métta ni* followed by various negative predicates—*métta ni warai-gao o misénaí* 'seldom shows a smiling face' (SA 2661.120b). Among the devices used for this purpose are sentence adnominalizations such as *S hoo de wa náí* 'none too (much) S, not over(ly) S', *S hazu ga náí* 'there is no reason to think that S', and *S wáke ga náí* '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 hoo de wa náí si ...* 'I'm none too sturdy, so ...'; *Seiseki wa yuusyuu na hoo de wa náikatta* 'My grades were none too outstanding'; *Nezumi ga néko ni katéru hazu ga náí* 'There is no reason to think that a rat can get the better of a dog'; *Hitóri de mit'atte, omosirói wáke ga náí* 'I can't enjoy seeing it all alone'. Notice also the expressions *V-té mo* (or *V-rú yori hoka*) *si-kata ga náí* and *V-rú* [*yori*] *sika/hoka náí* '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 *abunái* 'is dangerous', *gigotinái* 'is clumsy', *hasitanái*

24. There are quite a number of expressions where *naí* is vacuously used, merely for emphasis, e.g. *messoo mo náí* = *messoo na* 'absurd', *?suteki mo náku* = *suteki ni* 'splendidly'; cf. Y 193.

'is vulgar', hugainái 'is pluckless', okkanái 'is dreaded/dreadful', setunái 'is painful',^{24a} sukunái 'is little/scant, are few'. Sewasinái means the same thing as sewasíi 'is fidgety'.

Other adjectives can be shown to include a built-in etymological negative -ná-: adokenái 'is innocent', aénái 'is tragic, sad' (aénaku mo 'tragically enough'), akkenái 'is unsatisfying', azikinái 'is wearisome', hakanái 'is inconstant', ? kitanái 'is dirty' (perhaps from kata[ti] nái 'untidy' cf. kata-zukéru §3.13), kokoromoto-nái 'is apprehensive; is unreliable', menboku-nái 'is ashamed', mittomo-nái 'is indecent', mottai-nái 'is impious', nasake-nái 'is pitiful', siganái 'is miserable, poor, worthless' (thought to be from saga nái 'lacks omen'), omoigake-nái 'is unexpected' (omoigake- is a bound noun), ? osanái 'is juvenile', ? sugenái 'is curt', sokke-nái 'is curt', syozai-nái 'is bored', tayori-nái 'is forlorn', yaruse-nái 'is cheerless', yogi-nái 'is unavoidable'. But the modern speaker is conscious of the negative element only in the obvious cases (those here transcribed with hyphens). Darasi-nái 'is slovenly' occurs also as darasi no nái 'lacking *darashi*', the bound noun being an inversion of sidara, an obsolete word meaning 'situation, plight, etc.': cf. the adjectival noun hu-sídara 'slovenly' (also used as an abstract noun 'slovenliness'). And moosi-bun {no} nái 'is faultless, ideal' is a phrase, as the accents tell us; so also ími {no} nái 'meaningless', but kuttaku {no} nái 'carefree' provides no accentual evidence. Probably we should treat taemá {no} nái 'is unceasing' as a phrase, though the accent cancellation keeps this from being obvious; and the omission of nó ← gá is apparently obligatory in the adverbial form taemá náku 'unceasingly'. Wáke ná⁽ⁱ⁾ 'is easy, simple' and wáke náku 'easily' are usually pronounced as syntactic reductions.

When an imperfect negative precedes utí(-) 'interval' the meaning is '(during) the time while ... has not yet happened' or 'before ... happens', as in these examples: Okyakusan ga kónai utí(-) ni, kodomo ni góhan o tabesásete simaimasyóo 'I guess I'll finish feeding the children before the guests get here' (BJ 2.282); ... mendóo ni naránu utí(-) ni háyaku ... 'early on [while it has still not become =] before it gets to be a nuisance' (SA 2673.42c); Soo naránai utí(-) ni, ... 'Before it comes to that ...' (SA 2673.28c); Anmari matánai utí(-) ni básu ga kíta (= Mátu hodó mo náku básu ga kíta) 'The bus came before I had waited very long = I didn't wait long before the bus came'; Saménee utí(-) ni háyaku kúi née (= Saménai utí ni háyaku kúi ná yó) 'Eat it quickly before it gets cold' (Kb 154a).

Alfonso 602 says it is best to use ní after utí(-) in such expressions whenever the final verb is affirmative, but to replace ní by wá whenever the final verb is negative, giving the examples: Wasurénai utí(-) ni yatte kudasái 'Do it before you forget'; Áme ga yamanai utí(-) wa kaerimasén 'I won't leave till the rain stops'. A well-known example of the last type is the proverb Níkkoo o mínai utí(-) wa, kékkoo to iú na 'Don't say kékkō (splendid) till you've seen Níkkō!'.

But V-(a)nai utí(-) can occur in other contexts besides the adverbializations represented by ní or by ɸníɸ wa above. For example: Nán de ore no kaisya ga, teikei no naiyoo mo kimaranai uti KARA Hwóodo ni kabu o motasénakute naránai 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 utí(-) some other reference to an interval of time will occasionally appear: Ún, sore wa syoosetu-ka ni naránai ZÍBUN(-) kara, bóku(-) no seikaku ni arimásu né 'Yeah, that's been part of my character since before I became a novelist' (Tk 4.285a).

The meaning of V-(a)nai utí(-) ni is very close to that of V-ru máe ni 'before ... it

24a. But MKZ⁵ says this is a contraction from setu ná[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': kónai utí ni = kúru máe ni = kónai máe ni/kara 'before one comes'. In place of V-(a)nai utí(-)/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 kara káeru kotó bákari kangáete iru '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 mátte kudasái 'Please wait till he comes'; Tugí no dénsya(-) ga déru made iti-zíkan matánakereba naránai 'We'll have to wait an hour before the next train leaves'; Anó-hito ga kúru made ni wa deki-agarimásu 'It will be ready by the time he gets here'; Sikí no hazimaru máde ni wa sánzíp-pun ízyoo áru 'There is more than half an hour before the ceremony begins'. Compare sinanai utí(-) ni = sinu máde ni (wa) '(at some point in time) before dying' = íkite iru utí(-) 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 utí(-) ni (...-ta) if the event is known to have happened. Sinanai utí 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 utí(-) KARA (...-ta) in sentences where V-anai utí(-) NI would be inappropriate.

In addition to utí(-) there are a few other postadnominals that are often preceded by a negative, e.g. mamá (de) '(in the original and unchanged state)': ... naoránai 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 damé = 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] náí 'lacks N' → N-náí '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:

PREFIX AND MEANING	ATTACHES TO	RESULT	EXAMPLE
hi- 'not being, non-' (cf. § 13.5a)	N	N	hi-sentóoin 'a noncombatant' from sentóo-in 'combatant'
	N	AN	hi-zyóosiki 'senseless' from zyoosiki 'good sense'
	AN	AN	hi-kagakuteki 'unscientific' from kagaku-teki 'scientific'
	N	PcN	hi-sénsai 'undamaged by the war' from sensai 'war damage'

	(N/)VNT	PcN	hi-kóokai 'private, closed' from kookai 'open(ing) to the public'
			hi-tóosei 'uncontrolled' from toosei 'control(ling)'
hu- 'not' (cf. § 13.5a): 'not doing'	(N/)VN	N	hu-sánsei 'disapproval' from sansei 'approving'
			hu-góokaku 'disqualification' from gookaku 'qualifying'
			hu-syóoti 'noncompliance' from syooti 'complying'
	N < VI inf	N	hu-bárai 'nonpayment' from harái 'payment < pay'
			hu-wátari 'nonpayment' from watari 'transferral < be transferred'
	(N/)VN	N/AN	hu-kétudan 'indecision; indecisive' from ketudan 'deciding'
	VI inf	N/AN	hu-yúkitodoki 'negligence; negligent' from yuki-todóki 'attend to details'
			hú-nare 'inexperience(d)' from náre 'become familiar (with)'
'not being; un-, in-'	N	AN	hu-táme 'disadvantageous' from tamé 'advantage'
	AN	AN	hu-tásika 'uncertain' from tásika 'certain'
			hu-seikaku 'inaccurate' from seikaku 'accurate'
'lacking; -less'	N	N	hu-zinboo 'unpopularity' from zinboo 'popularity'
	N(/VN)	N	hu-sin'yoo 'distrust' from sin'yoo 'trust'
	N < VT inf	N	hu-kókoroe 'imprudence' from kokoróe 'knowledge < know'
	N	N/AN	hu-hón'i 'reluctance; reluctant' from hón'i 'will'
	N	(?N/)AN	hu-kisóku 'irregular(ity?)' from kisóku 'rule, regulation'
			hu-ninki 'unpopular(ity)' from ninki 'popularity'
	N < VI inf	PcN/N	hu-túriai 'unbalance(d)' from turi-ái 'balance'
'bad; mis-'	N	N/AN	hu-mímoti 'misconduct; profligate' from mimoti 'conduct'
			hu-dóotoku 'unvirtue; unvirtuous' from dootoku 'virtue'
			hu-kéizai 'poor economy; uneconom- ical' from kéizai 'economy'

	N/AN	N/AN	hu-kénkoo 'ill health; unhealthy' from kenkoo 'health; healthy' hu-bénkyoo 'want of application; inattentive' from benkyoo 'diligence; diligent' (also VN 'study')
bu- ₁ (= hu-)	AN	AN	bu-tyóohoo 'impolite; awkward; unaccustomed (to tobacco/liquor)' from tyoohoo 'convenient' bu-kíyoo 'clumsy' from kíyoo 'adroit'
bu- ₂ (= mu-)	N	AN	bu-áísoo 'unsociable' from aisóo(¯) 'sociability' bu-áísatu 'uncivil, impolite' from áísatu 'greetings, civilities' bú-kímí(¯) 'weird, uncanny' from kímí 'feeling'
mu- 'lacking, un-' (see § 13.8; § 13.5a)	N	PcN	mu-hízuke 'undated' from hizuke 'date; dating' mu-zyóoken 'unconditional' from zyookén(¯) 'condition'
	N(VN)	PcN	mu-syózoku 'unattached' from syozoku 'belonging'
	N < VT inf	PcN	mu-tódoke 'without notice/leave' from todoké 'notification' < todóke 'notify'
	N	AN	mu-ími 'meaningless' from ími 'meaning' mu-kyóoiku 'uneducated' from kyooiku 'education'
	N < VI inf	AN	mu-kángae 'thoughtless' from kangáe 'thought' < kangáe 'think'
mi- 'not yet ...-en' [Object of VNT becomes subject of PcN.]	VNT	PcN	mi-háitoo 'undistributed' from haitoo 'distributing' mi-káiketu 'unsolved' from kaiketu 'solving'
	VNT/(VNI)	PcN	mi-kánsei 'incomplete' from kansei 'completing; becoming complete'
	VNI	PcN	mi-húkúin 'undemobilized' from hukuin 'getting demobilized'
	N	PcN	mi-séinen 'underage, minor' from seinen 'an adult'

In addition there is the new prefix *noo-* 'no-' taken from English as in the sports terms *noo-purée* 'no play', *noo-géemu* 'no game', *noo-hítto* 'no hits', *nóo-ran* 'no runs', *noo-táimu* 'no time', *noo-káunto* 'no count', *noo-sáido* 'no side', *noo-siido* 'unseeded (team)',

noo-sutéppu 'no step', and noo-tátti 'untouched', as well as these more general terms: noo-sutókkingu 'stockingless', noo-nékutai 'no necktie = open-necked', noo-bura 'bra-less' (SA 2813.73), noo-sumókingu 'no smoking', noo-kánkei '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-sutóppu 'nonstop', non-puro 'non-pro(fessional)', non-hwíkusyón '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', bú-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-kísóku 'irregular', keizai-teki 'economical' but hu-kéizai 'uneconomical', 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 \dot{i} for consonant verbs, abbreviated to zero for vowel verbs (with \dot{s} for *suru* and \dot{k} for *kuru*—the imperfects have assimilated the first vowel to the second); adjectives take the shape $\dot{-ku}^1$ [after removing the $\dot{-i}$ which is the imperfect ending of our nuclear sentence corresponding to the verbal $\dot{-(r)u}$]; and the copula *dá* has the special shape \dot{n} in most cases, but in the colloquial \dot{de} —identical with the gerund—before $\dot{wá}/\dot{mó}/\dot{sáe}$ in the nuclear-focus conversions with $\dot{ár-}$ (§5), and when attaching $\dot{-su}$ (= $\dot{-másu}$) 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 $\dot{-u}$ with appropriate vowel crasis: $\dot{o}oki\text{-}ku = \dot{o}oki[k]u = \dot{o}oki'u / \dot{o}okyuu/$, $\dot{r}ási\text{-}ku = \dot{r}ási[k]u = \dot{r}ási'u / \dot{r}ásyuu/$, $\dot{w}áru\text{-}ku = \dot{w}áru[k]u = \dot{w}áru'u / \dot{w}áruu/$, $\dot{s}íro\text{-}ku = \dot{s}íro[k]u = \dot{s}íro'u / \dot{s}íroo/$, $\dot{t}áka\text{-}ku = \dot{t}áka[k]u = \dot{t}áka'u / \dot{t}ákoo/$, $\dot{y}ówa\text{-}ku = \dot{y}ówa[k]u = \dot{y}ó[w]oo = \dot{y}óoo/$. $\dot{N}áku$ is $\dot{n}á'u / \dot{n}óo/$ and $\dot{o}okiku \dot{n}áku$ is $\dot{o}oki'u \dot{n}á'u / \dot{o}okyuu \dot{n}óo/$, $\dot{i}ki\text{-}taku \dot{n}áku$ is $\dot{i}ki\text{-}ta'u \dot{n}á'u / \dot{i}kitoo \dot{n}óo/$. The long $\dot{o}o/$ is often shortened: $\dot{a}ka[k]u = \dot{a}ka'u / \dot{a}koo/ \rightarrow \dot{a}ko \dot{n}áru$ ‘becomes red’ (Zhs 4.16). An example of $\dot{o}o'u / \dot{o}o[o]/ < \dot{o}o[k]u$: $\dot{D}ekéru [= \dot{d}ekíru]$ to, $\dot{s}oko \dot{e} \dot{h}ataraki \dot{n}i \dot{i}ku \dot{m}ón \dot{m}o \dot{o}o \dot{n}áru \dot{d}esyoo$ ‘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, Nara). The long adjectives that end in $\dot{-si}$ are treated differently by some speakers: in *Kyōto* $\dot{y}orosi[k]u$ is pronounced both $\dot{y}orosyuu$ and $\dot{y}orosii$ (identical with the imperfect); examples will be found in Zhs 4.211, 215 ($\dot{y}orosii \dot{n}i = \dot{y}orosiku$), 241 ($\dot{u}tukusii \dot{s}ite = \dot{u}tukusiku \dot{s}ite$), and 254 (shortened to $\dot{y}orosi$). Another example: *Kimono no konomi mo, yayakósi' narimásita 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 \dot{syu} with \dot{si} ?) The Kansai infinitives are quite old; forms such as $\dot{m}izika[k]u$ can be found in texts as early as 1020 AD (Kokugogaku jiten 1053a). On the use of the $\dot{-u}$ forms with $\dot{gozaimásu}$ in the standard language, see §22.2. It should be noted that in the *Chūgoku* area a few short adjectives have incorporated the imperfect ending $\dot{-i}$ into the stem: $\dot{k}ói\text{-}(i/ku)$ ‘saturated’ < $\dot{k}ó\text{-}$, $\dot{s}ui\text{-}(i/ku)$ ‘sour’ < $\dot{s}u\text{-}$; $\dot{o}i\text{-}(i/ku)$ ‘many’ < $\dot{o}o\text{-}$, $\dot{t}oi\text{-}(i/ku)$ ‘distant’ < $\dot{t}oo\text{-}$ (Shin Nihongo-kōza 3.213). The stem $\dot{y}ó\text{-}$ ‘good’ is $\dot{é}/\dot{y}ó\text{-}$; $\dot{y}ói = \dot{i}$ ‘is good’ is usually $\dot{é}e < \dot{é}\text{-}$. The stem $\dot{n}á\text{-}$ ‘be lacking’ is $\dot{n}é/\dot{n}á\text{-}$; the infinitive is $\dot{n}é < \dot{n}é\text{-}ku < \dot{n}ái\text{-}ku$, or $\dot{n}óo < \dot{n}á\text{-}[k]u$; and the imperfect is $\dot{n}ái$, often pronounced $\dot{n}éé$ (ibid.).

2. In addition to $\dot{w}á$, $\dot{y}á$ (= $\dot{w}á$), and $\dot{m}ó$, the monosyllabic command-markers $\dot{r}ó$, $\dot{y}ó$, \dot{i} (= $\dot{y}ó$), and

same way: from hearing *kí 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 ... *kí* 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 *ki-tái* (*ki-tákatta*) 'wants (wanted) to come' and *ki-tai* (*ki-takátta*) 'wants (wanted) to wear', between *ki-táku náí* 'does not want to come' and *ki-taku náí* 'does not want to wear'. The infinitives listed below result from the crasis (i.e. amalgamation) of the stem vowel with the infinitive ending *-í* which has a basic accent of its own: *kí* < *kí-í*, *ki* (= *kí*) < *ki-í*; *dé* < *dé-í*, *ne* (= *né*) < *ne-í*. The verb stems themselves are basically either tonic (*kí* 'come') or atonic (*ki* '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 *kúru* and *suru*) see Martin 1967.

TONIC MONOSYLLABIC
INFINITIVES

dé 'emerge'
é 'get'
hé 'pass'
hí 'get dry'
í₁ 'shoot (arrow)*'
í₂ 'cast metal'
kí 'come'
mí 'see'

ATONIC MONOSYLLABIC
INFINITIVES

i (= *í*) 'be, stay'
ki (= *kí*) 'wear'

ne (= *né*) 'sleep'

ni₁ (= *ní*) 'boil, cook'

ni₂ (= *ní*) 'resemble'
si (= *sí*) 'do'

DERIVED
NOUNS

de 'turnout etc.*'

("-ki = -gi 'wear')

ne (*ga tarinai*) '(lacks) sleep'

ni (*ga tarinai*) '(lacks enough) cooking'

*But modern speakers often treat this verb as a consonant type, with the infinitive *iri* (and the negative *iranai*).

*The atonic accentuation is irregular; the irregularity is true also of Kyōto, but Kagoshima has the historically authentic accentuation, corresponding to Tōkyō tonic *dé*.

In western Japan monosyllabic verb infinitives are often lengthened; thus in Ōsaka *Mii-to mo an no ya = Mí-ta[k]u mo áru 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 *-tá-* (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 *-í*. In any event it is to be distinguished from the emphatic particle *í = yó* used in plain commands: *mí i = mí {ro}* yo 'Look!', *ne í = ne {ró}* yo 'Sleep!' On contractions of verbal infinitive + *ya = wa* (such as *Kamáya sinai = Kamái wa sinai* 'It makes NO difference'), see §5.1.

ná = na[sái] can attach to these infinitives. Do not confuse *mi-ná* (= *mi-nasái*) 'look!' with *miná* 'everyone', *si-ná* (= *si-nasái*) 'dol!' with *sina* 'goods'; *i ró* 'stay!' with *iró* 'color', *ki ró* 'wear!' with *kiro* 'kilo', *si ró* 'dol!' with *siro* 'castle' or *siro* 'white'.

The negative infinitive is made by adding the usual adjectival infinitive ending -ku to the appropriate negative adjectivals:

Yobu.	→	Yobanai.	→	Yobanaku ...
Ookíi.	→	Óokiku náí.	→	Óokiku náku ...
Hón da.	→	Hón zya náí.	→	Hón zya náku ...

But the use of the verb negative infinitive is rather limited: it occurs mainly (in the colloquial, only?) in two constructions:

(1) *V-(a)náku wa náí* is another way of saying *V-(a)nai kotó wa náí* '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)náku mo náí* 'it never even happens that one doesn't' or 'it isn't exactly that one doesn't'—as in ... *soodan ni noranáku mo náí ...* 'I may accept the offer' (Fn 27a). (Apparently *V-(a)náku wa/mo áru* are unusual.) An example: *Kore máde ígai(⁻) ni sukúnákatta kono syú no "hansen-hwóoku" ga toozyoo sitá no mo, zidai-zyóokyoo no hitótu no arawaré to ienáku wa náí* '(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)naku náru/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 náru/suru*) and nominals (*N ni náru/suru*); for verbals you have to use a nominalized circumlocution *V-ru yóo ni náru/suru*. Thus the sentence ... *totu-zen, kóe ga dénaku nátte simatta* 'suddenly she lost her voice' (SA 2657.64c) might be followed by ... *yat-tó^l kóe ga déru yóo ni nátta* '... she finally found her voice'. And *V-(a)naku náru/suru* can also be replaced by *V-(a)nai yóo ni náru/suru*.

The limited use of the *V-(a)naku* 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): *Mótoko wa tatami.no heyá e turete ikare, hara-óbi o tóku kotó o mei-ziraréru(⁻)* 'Motoko is taken into the mat-floored room and (then) ordered to undo her waistband' (Ig 1962.95); *Yagaté^l sono natú mo súgi áki ni nátta* 'Before long summer was over and it became autumn' (Ig 1962.98); ... *mokuzen ni okóri, sakari, ogori, yabúre, horóbite(⁻) sáttá(⁻) Héike itimon no únmei ...* '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 ní wa isí ga óoku, aruki-nikúí* 'There are so many stones on the riverbed that it is hard to walk' (Ig 1962.98); *Syoozi-gami wa kánari húruku, yogorete iru* 'The shoji paper is rather old and (hence) soiled' (Ig 1962.95); *Sakari o súgita Háruko wa kodomo mo náku hitóri rusú-i site iru* 'Haruko, past her prime, has no children and so she looks after the house alone' (Ig 1962.94); *Kúmó ga hikúku, yuudati dé mo ki-sóo datta* 'The clouds were so low it looked as if we were perhaps in for a shower' (Fn 407b); *Sono syoozi ni tiisái aná ga aite i, gaikoo [= sóto no hikarí] ga sasi-itte iru* 'There is a small hole in the shoji so that the outside light penetrates' (Ig 1962.92).

(3) '...-ing' (MANNER): ... *kotosi wa kono sinsei no de-asi ga reinen ni náku hayái*

'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): *Áni wa isya ni nári, ootoó wa bungákú-sya ni nátta* 'The older brother became a physician and the younger became a literary scholar'; *Koo sita Kurémurin o meguru ryuusetu wa, náni ka ni tükete okori-yásuku, sosite itu mo ryuusetu ni owatte kíta* '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): *Utukúsiku mo kanasii(-) zyozí-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): *... sára ni tóosi(-) o si zyuyoo o tukuri-dasanai to hukyoo ni nátte simau* '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): *Yamá ga tákaku, mizu ga kiyói* 'Its mountains are tall and its waters pure'; *Kessyoku mo yóku, syokúyoku(-) mo áru* '[He?] has a good color and an appetite' (Ig 1962.92); *Koko máde wa tati-iru hitó mo náku, kaze mo oyobanákatá* 'Here there were no intruders, nor was it reached by the wind' (Ig 1962.93); *Kíyoku tadasii seizi* 'politics that is clean and proper'; *Karuku tiisái kagamí o moo hitótu watasita* 'She gave him a lighter and smaller one [mirror]' (Kawabata: *Suigetsu*); *Táda, mósi, káre ga itte itára, keikaku wa moo sukósi timitu ni nári, sumúuzu ni yattá daróo to itte okimasyóo* '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: *Migi-te ni haná o móti, hidari-te ni óke o ságe, kosi ni hóoki(-) o sásite, arúite 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: *Booen no síya ga akarúkute, hyooteki ga yóku mie, zyusin ga karuku, siká-mo handoo ga sukunái* 'The field of the telescopic [gunsight] 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 (*tokí ni yori hito ni yotté 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-húkási si benkyoo sité mo damé da* 'It will do you no good to stay up till all hours studying'; *Áme de géemu ga tyuusi ni nári, zannén 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: *yóku asobi (*asonde) yóku 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 *dá* by *de áru* (literary *nári* = *ní* ... *ári*), so that *de ári* is used where we expect to find the infinitive in use for the gerund (= *dé* or *de átte*): *Syúhu de ari, tíisa na kodomo no hahaoya de áru watakusi ni tótte, ...* 'For me who am a housewife and am the mother of small child(ren) ...' (SA 2688.146); *Watasi no tamé de mo ári, háha no tamé de mo átta no de wa náí ka to omóu n desu ga ...* 'I wonder whether it wasn't both good for me and good for my mother ...' (R); *Sikási káre-ra wa, sugúreta búnga de ari goraku de áru éiga(¯) o hitóri de mo óoku no hitó ni mise-tái to dóryoku(¯) site kíta daké de áru* '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); ... *óohi wa, otto de ári teki [= katákí] de áru óo ni, mata aimasyóo, tó nikkóri hohoénde rooyá ni modótte yuku* '... the queen, smiling "See you later" to the king who is her husband and is her enemy, goes back to the dungeon' (SA 2665.110b). Thus it is rare to find the simple infinitive *ní* used for the gerund *dé* 'it is and', except with the negative precopular noun V-(a)zu ni §9.6. Ig 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 ... hóho daké ga momoiro ni [= de], sikási ...* 'Just her cheeks were pink, but ...'. And apparently the following expressions are infinitive adverbializations 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 tó wa betu ni, ...* 'Quite apart from this/that ...'; *Kóndo no sin-káisyá to wa betu ni, Arasuka-sekiyu-káihatú to iu kaisyá ga áru n desu* 'Separate from this new company there is a company called Alaskan Oil Exploitation' (SA 2666.21d).

The use of *ní* to mean 'as' is perhaps best treated as the copula infinitive: *Uti wa okyakusámá ni gaizin no katá ga óói n de, asupárágasu, burókkórii nádo no seiyoo-yásai 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); *Hawaii-gúntoo no hitótu ni Maui-sima ga áru* 'As one of [= Among] the Hawaiian Islands there is the island of Maui' (SA 2689.79—also *Maui-zima/-too*). Then there are such idioms as *tó ni mo káku ni mo = tó-mo-kaku [mo] = tó-mo-are káku-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 *ní* to link nouns in a list (§2.8).

Sometimes *ní wa* will be found in uses similar to *dé wa* as an equivalent of *nára* in stating a condition, e.g. in *-(a)nái kotó ni wa* 'in the event that one does not' (more or less the same as *-ru kotó nási ni wa* 'in the lack of the event that one does' = 'unless', see §14.6—end remarks) as in this example: *Koko de náni ka té o útte okanai kotó ni wa áto 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 ní wa* 'unless', p. 379 (§8.5). Notice also *V-rú/-tá kara 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 *nái*, the negative suppletive of *áru*, is treated in the same way as the adjectives: *O-kane ga náku (= nákute) komáru* 'I am embarrassed for money': cf. *V-ru máde mo náku* 'there is no need to' (as in

iu máde mo náku 'needless to say') and X dake/bákari de náku 'not only X (but)', both of which can have nákute or nási ni (§ 13.9) instead of náku. The resultative conversion V-te áru has the negative V-te nái and for that the sentence-connecting forms V-te náku{-te} are used. And the form náí de (for nákute) as a connective is known throughout eastern Japan, though it is not usual in Tōkyō. On the use of the infinitive of the adjective negative (A-ku náku) and of náku 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 náí), and numerous verb + verb compounds.⁴ 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: yasúmi 'to rest' → yasumí 'vacation'; Iki mo kaerí mo dénsya 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', norikae 'transfer' from nori-kae or (younger speakers) nori-káe '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 sassi 'conjecture' as in sassi ga túku 'perceives', sassi ga yói 'is perceptive'—cf. sas-súru(ˉ) 'surmises' with the infinitive sás-si(ˉ). There is also kanzi 'feeling' from kan-zi, the infinitive of kan-ziru 'feels'. Verbal infinitives underlie a few DERIVED ADVERBS, apparently WITHOUT the accent shift: túmari 'after all; in short' [accent irregular], nóbe 'in toto; altogether', toriwake (= toriwakete) '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 hikitzuzuki 'continuation; sequel' (MKZ⁵ 931a), in turn derived from the compound verb infinitive hiki-tuzúki = hiki-tuzúite 'continuing'. (See also the adverbs derived from phrases with náku, cited at the end of § 8.4.) In ari-no-mamá 'as it is, undisguised' we probably have a derived noun *arí from ári 'existing', as the accentuation would indicate, but there seems to be no other evidence for the noun; the noun-like uses of ári 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:⁵ horá 'cave' from hór- 'dig', nawá 'rope' from nów- 'twist, twine', and possibly matá 'crotch, fork' from mát- 'await', tuká 'hilt' from túk(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)kura—an abbreviation of kurabe 'competition' the derived noun from the infinitive kurabe 'competing'—is preaccentuated when attached to a tonic infinitive as in kaké-(k)kura 'running race', nomi-(k)kura 'drinking bout', and tabé-(k)kura 'eating contest' but atonicizing when attached to an atonic infinitive as in osi-(k)kura '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.

[cf. *muré* 'crowd'], and *o-nara* 'flatulence' from *nar-* 'make noise'. And a few adverbs may be derived with this suffix, e.g. *séka-seka* 'fidgety, bustling' from *sék-* '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: *tikáku* 'vicinity' (place noun), 'soon' (time noun)—from *tikáku* 'being near'; *háyaku* 'early (time)', as in *ása háyaku kara* 'from early in the morning', *háyaku kara siraretá ga* 'it was known early on but ...' (SA 2684.106d), and *háyaku ga ii* 'early would be better' (or is this elliptical?)—from *háyaku* 'being early';⁶ *osokú* 'late (time)', as in *osokú made* 'till late', *osokú ga ii* 'late would be better', *osokú ni denwa o site* 'phoning at a late hour', and *yóru osokú ni nátte* 'when it gets to be late at night' (cf. *osoku nátte* 'when it gets late')—from *osokú(-)* 'being late'; *tookú* 'distance, far off (place)', as in *tookú e iku* 'goes far off', *tookú o míru* 'looks into the distance', *tookú no uti(-)* 'distant house', *Yamabáto(-) ga tookú de naite iru* 'The turtledove is calling in the distance'—from *tookú(-)* 'being distant'; *kokú(-)* 'body, alcoholic strength', as in *kokú(-) ga áru* 'has body to it'—from *kóku* '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-hukáku* 'the depths of N' derived from *hukáku* 'being deep': *úmi no oku-hukáku kara* 'from the depths of the sea'; *hako no oku-hukáku o sagasita* 'searched the depths of the box'; *ie no oku-hukáku made nozoita* 'peered into the very depths of the house'; *úmi no soko-hukáku* 'the bottom depths of the sea'; ... But *hukáku* alone does not seem to occur as a noun. (Perhaps it is a quasi-restrictive *-hukáku*?)

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 *óói*—but they can not be treated as mere adjective infinitives (*osokú 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 *gá* and *ó*.⁷ If an *A-ku* occurs only with *kará* (and not with *gá/ó*) it can still be treated as an adverb, since adverbs of time will permit a temporal ablative (*sendatté kara* 'from a few days ago'); thus *húruku kara* 'from of old' does not establish *húruku* as a noun, and there is no **húruku ga*. A similar case is *syuusen gó(-) ma-mó-naku kara* 'from a short time after the end of the war'; it seems to be

6. Perhaps this accounts for *hayoo ni* 'early' in NE Hyōgo (Zhs 4.319) < *háya'u* < *háya[k]u*, used as a time noun; cf. *ása háyoo ni* (Tk 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 *tóo ni* = *tokkú 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 Ryūkyūs. We still find ... *gótoku ni* as well as ... *gótoku = yóo* [ni]. These forms with *-ku* are much like precopular nouns; ... *gótoku da* (or *de aru*) = ... *yóo da*.

7. It follows that the adverb *soo* 'to such an extent' in ... *soo tookú made wa itte inái daroo* 'he can't have gone so very far away' (Ariyoshi 50) is modifying the phrase *tookú made*, in which the noun *tookú* has been adverbialized by the allative marker *made*.

acceptable to say Syuusen gō^[r](-) ma-mó-naku ga itiban hidói zidai dátta 'The most trying time was shortly after the end of the war', but perhaps an ellipsis is involved—[nō^[r] tokí], 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 gá treated as elliptical.) There are a few derived adverbs ending in -ra-ku: nagáruku 'for a long time' from nága- 'be long', sibáruku '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 gá 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 ízoku ga, kázu óoku no sísyá o kataru kotó ni yotte, ... 'depending on the numerous survivors telling of the numerous dead' (SA 2687.106b); Kázu óoku no náka kara táda ití-rei o ageru to, ... 'To cite just one example from many, ...' (SA 2672.138c—to be read with a major juncture before táda, minor junctures elsewhere). The antonym is kázu sukúnáku from kázu [ga] sukunái 'are few in number'; apparently this is never treated as a single word *kazu-sukúnáku.

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 *tóo no mukasi* = *tooi mukasi* 'the distant past' is from *tó*-[k]u 'early' (cf. p. 803n).

But the adjectivals and nominals enter into a number of similar constructions and derivations with the raw base (i.e. with -i and dá 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)ú 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-kú and N ní) 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 *-sóo da* (the evidential §20).⁸

The adjective base can occur by itself as an exclamation: *Óo, kówa!* 'Oh, frightful!' (Fn 34a); *Óo, sámu!* 'Oh how cold it is!'; *Átu!* 'It's hot!'; *Áa, íta!* 'Ouch, it hurts!'. (Cf. the occurrence of the adjectival noun in similar exclamations and in AN₁ mo AN₂: *Kírei!* 'Pretty!', *Hadé 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 (Isen 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.

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. *tóri-mo naósazu* 'namely, in other words' from what underlies *tori-naósazu* 'without grasping anew'. Cf. *hiki-mo kiránai*, *omói-mo yoranai*, *oyobí-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:

hiki 'pull': *hik-káku* 'scratches, claws', *hik-kómu* 'draws back', *hik-kósu* 'removes, moves house', *hip-patáku* 'thrashes, slaps', *hip-pazúsu* 'dodges, parries', *his-sáku* 'tears apart', *his-sagéru* 'carries in one's hand', *hit-tukámu* 'grasps', ...; *hin-mageru* 'bends', *hin-muku* 'peels' (Tk 4.246a), ...

húki 'blow': *huk-kakeru* 'challenges, provokes', *huk-kireru* '(wind) dies down, (boil) bursts; makes a breakthrough, becomes liberated', *huk-komu* = *huki-komu* 'blows in, inspires'.

káki 'scratch': *kap-parau* 'filches'.

noki 'move off': *nop-piki* 'avoidance'.

tuki 'thrust': *tuk-kakéru* 'slips on (sandals, etc.)', *tuk-kómu* 'plunges, thrusts in', *tup-páru* 'stretches', *tup-púsu* 'hops into bed', *tut-tátu* 'stands up straight'; *tun-noméru* 'falls forward'.

kíri 'cut': *kit-té(-)* 'stamp', *kip-pu* 'ticket', *kik-kake* 'chance, start, clue', *kis-sáki(-)* 'sword point'.

mori 'heap': *mok-kiri* 'a single helping (of food)'.

nori 'mount': *not-tóru* 'usurps, hijacks', *nok-kakáru* = *nori-kakáru* 'gets on (aboard)'.

wari 'divide': *wap-pu* 'allotment'.

tóri 'take': *tot-té* 'handle, knob', *tot-tuki* 'beginning', *tok-kakari* 'beginning', *tot-tuku* 'starts'; *tok-kumu* 'tackles, grapples with (a problem)', *tot-tukamaru* 'gets caught', ... Cf. *tot-timeru* 'takes a person to task' < *tori-simeru*.

búti 'strike': *buk-kir-u* 'hacks, chops' (whence *bukkirá-boo* 'brusque, uncouth'), *buk-komu* 'pounds/throws in', *but-tobasu* 'beats', *but-taosu* 'knocks down', *bup-panasu* 'releases', *bu[t]-tukeru* 'flings, strikes'; *but-toosi* 'continuous, nonstop', *but-tuzuke* 'continuous, nonstop', *but-tigai* 'a cross'; *bun-naguru* 'pummels'.

káti 'win': *kat-te* 'one's own way/convenience'.

sási 'point': *sap-piku* = *sasi-hiku* 'subtracts'.

osi 'push': *op-paziméru* = *osi-haziméru* 'begins'.

oi 'pursue': *ot-te* = *oi-te* 'pursuer', *ok-kakéru* = *oi-kakéru* 'runs after', *op-paráu* = *oi-haráu* 'routs', *ot-túku* = *oi-túku* 'approaches'; *ot-tóru* 'snatches'.

humi 'tread': *hun-máéru* 'treads'; *hun-gómu* = *humi-kómu* 'steps in, raids', *hun-zukéru* = *humi-tukéru* 'tramples, despises'; *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 *seŋt}túku(ˉ)* < *seki-tuku* 'urges, presses'. In *mot-ageru* = *moti-ageru* 'lifts' and *kak-ageru* < *kake-ageru* 'hoists, publishes' the infinitive vowel simply drops; cf. *mesyagaru* = *mesi-agaru* 'partakes'.

The infinitive *si* (= *sí*) 'doing' is the likely source of the particle *sí*, 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).⁹

Very occasionally you may run across an adnominalization of what appears to be a direct nominalization of an infinitive carrying its adjuncts intact: ... *ún o tanómi no syookyoku-sénpoo ga sihai-teki dáta ga* 'Dominant was a conservative strategy relying on good luck that ... but' (SA 2666.102b). The adnominalized copula *nó* here is propredicative for an underlying *suru* 'does': **tanómi suru* → *tanóm [i sur]u* = *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 + ní + verb.

When the verbal infinitive is followed by *ní* 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 yobu* '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: *Senséi o || karakái ni | kíta no ka | ná* 'I wonder if he had come to tease you?' (SA 2677.56d); *Náni si ni | kíta 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.¹⁰ In other words, we have a combined sentence *A ga iku* (etc.) + *A ga yobu*, with the subject shared and *ní* 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-rú 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 *sí ŋmo}* is derived from a variant of *só* 'that' (cf. *siká* 'so') by Saji 40.

10. This accounts for *Zyotyuu san ni/o monó o tóri ni yokósite kudasái* 'Send your maid to pick up the things' and *Uti(ˉ) no kodomo ni/o monó o todóke ni yaru* 'I'll send our boy to deliver the things'.

subject and must not be a possessive or quasi-possessive verb; there is no **ári ni iku* from *áru* 'exists, has', **wakári ni iku* 'goes in order to understand', **iri ni iku* from *ir-u* 'needs', or **déki ni iku* from *dekíru* 'is produced/can'. But we find *nári ni iku* 'goes to become', *súmi 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 mí 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'); *dé ni iku* 'goes to leave', and even *iki ni iku/kúru* 'goes/comes to go', *kí ni iku/kúru* 'goes/comes to come', and (rarely) *isógi ni iku* 'goes (in order) to hurry'. Moreover, *V₁* usually must represent a single action, not a habit or state, and thus there is no **V-te i ni iku* from *V-te iru*, despite the apparent acceptability of *i ni iku* 'goes to stay/be' and *súmi ni iku* 'goes to reside'. Emotions and involuntary actions are generally avoided for *V₁*, unless qualified by various modifiers.¹² *V₂* 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* *fo* *suru* 'studies', freely drop the infinitive *si*: *benkyoo fo fo* *si* *ni kúru* 'comes to study', *sigoto fo fo* *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 verbals: *benkyoo dá* → *benkyoo ní* [infinitive of the copula] + (*ni*) *iku* with the copula infinitive and the particle *ní* 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 *nó ni fwa*, § 14.2.2.) The optional omission of *fo* *si* is permitted even when the verbal noun carries an object with it: ... "gogatu-kákumei" *o* *l* *kansatu ni* [*l*] *kíte*, ... '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 *ó*: "gogatu-kákumei" *no kansatu o si ni* Thus the objectival genitive in the following example: *Hootimin-rúuto no bakugeki ni yuku* || T-28 [T'íi || nízyuu || hati] || *sentoobakugeki-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-rúuto e no bakugeki de áru* '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*: *Sensei o si ni iku* 'goes to be a teacher', *dóryoku* (°) *o si ni iku* 'goes to make an effort', *toránpu o si ni iku* 'goes to play cards' (despite *ténisu ni iku* 'goes to play tennis'), and *?bínboo o si ni iku* 'goes to live a poor life' apparently require the full form. Yet the following will permit the ellipsis: *sewá* [*o si*] *ni iku* 'goes to take care of matters', *tetuya* [*o si*] *ni iku* 'goes to stay up all night', *kusyoo* [*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-syúukan* || *tyuusya o útte* | *morai ni* | *kayotta* 'After that for a week I went to get injections' (SA 2679.124c).

12. But death is subject at times to decision: *Minna* ^[k] || *ii* | *seinen désita* | *né*. || *Iyóiyó* || *sini ni iku* to *iu wake des'aa* | *né* [= *desu wa* ^[k] | *né*] '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 ní, 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 ni and V₂: Tanaka ga tyúumon(⁻) o tóri ni tomodati to misé ni kuruma de isóide ása rokú-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 subdued (gá → nó, §13.1.6) following V₁-i ni: Koko wa || mizu o nómi ni || umá no | kayou [|] miti désu '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 |] ái ni | kíta | 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 ni can take a variety of restrictives and focus particles, as in these examples (for most of which I am indebted to Shozo Kurokawa): Káre wa || sóto e wa | nómi ni WA | ikanái ga, || uti de || yóku | nómu 'He doesn't go out drinking but he does a lot of drinking at home'; Ano matí e || hoogén(⁻) o | tyóosa [si] ni WA | itta ga, || súnda [|] kotó^(o) wa | náí 'I have been to that town to investigate the dialect but I have never lived there'; Kinóo wa | isogásikute || hiru-góhan o || tábe ni MO | ikanákatta 'I was so busy yesterday I never even went to have lunch'; Asoko wa [|] iti-dó^(o) || kenbutu [si] ní MO | itta 'I went there to sightsee once, too'; Sóhu wa || magó^(o) no kao o mí ni | kónai 'The grandfather never comes even to look at his grandson's face'; Wázawaza || kenbutu [si] ní SAE | kúru n da kara, || ano otokó wa || kawarimono dá^(o) yó 'He must be some kind of a nut, going to all the trouble of coming here to see things'; Káre wa || Yamada san ni ái ni SURA | ikanai 'He never goes even to see Mr Yamada'; Anna ni [|] náka ga | yói no ni, || sukedati [si] ní SURA | kónakatta 'Though on such good terms, he didn't come even to lend assistance'; Ano résutoran e wa || tokidoki || Isé-ebi(⁻) o | tábe ni SIKA | yoranai 'That restaurant I only drop into occasionally for lobster'; Tanaka kyóozyu(⁻) wa || kono sigoto ni | tyokusetu kankei wa náku, || tokidoki || zyogen [si] ní SIKA | kónai '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] kankei, though the latter interpretation may be possible; Káre wa || sóto e || nómi ni KOSO | ikanái ga, || uti dé wa || kánari | nómu rasií 'He doesn't precisely go out to drink, but I understand he does a lot of drinking at home'; Tanaka san wa || máiasa(⁻) || sanpo [si] ní KOSO | ikú ga, || sore rígai wa || hotóndo || sóto e || déte | kónai | hitó 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 || wázawaza || kai ní MADE | ikanai 'I won't go out of my way to buy THIS book'; Yamada san no tokoró e || kono mondai o | tóogi [si] ni MADE | iku tumori wa náí 'I have no intention to go all the way to Mr Yamada's to discuss this question'; ... zyunrei [si] ní MADE | kite, ... 'actually coming on a pilgrimage' (Endō 225); Watasi wa || yasumí ni wa || oyógi ni NÁDO | iku 'On my holidays I go swimming and things'; Tuuti [si] ní NÁNKA | kónai 'They don't come to give us notice or anything'; Hikoo-zyoo e || mukae ní NÁNTE | itte mo, || zikan no [|] róohi(⁻) da 'It's a waste of time to go to the airport to meet him and all that'; Kono seihin o || senden [si] ní NÁNTE | iku hituyoo wa || zenzen náí 'There's absolutely no need to go advertise this product and all'; Mokuteki no tamé ni nara || soori-dáizin ni | ái ni D'ÁTTE (DÉ MO) | iku 'I will go even to see the Prime Minister if it's in the interest of my objective'; Kyóo wa || isogásii no de, || sukí na | sanpo ní D'ÁTTE (DÉ MO) | ikanai 'I am busy today so I won't even go to enjoy my (usual) walk'; Sono hón

o || kasite kurerú no nara, || kimi no uti(¯) máde || tóri ni D'ÁTTE (DÉ MO) | iku 'If you will lend me that book I will even come to your house to pick it up'; Syokuzi ní DÉ MO | déta no daroo ka 'Perhaps he had gone out for a meal or something' (SM 2793.138c); Hisasiburi ni || nómi ni DÉ MO | ikanái ka 'How about going for a drink or something after all this while?'; Ik-kágetu -gúrai | kyuuka o tótte || ryokoo ní DÉ MO | iku yó 'I'll take a month's leave and go on a trip or something'; Titi no tokoró e wa || tama ni || kao o míse ni -GÚRAI | iku 'I go to my father's place every now and then just to show my face'; Ano sensei no | koogi(¯) wa || tama ni || tyookoo [si] ní -GÚRAI wa | kimáshu kedo 'I come every so often just to attend that teacher's lectures'; Asobi ní -GÚRAI || kite mo || yosa-sóo na | monó da 'It would seem all right to come at least for a visit' (Hozaka 340); Káre wa || hima da to, || watasi no tokoró e || kudaranai kotó o | hanási ni | BAKARI kúru 'Whenever he has a spare moment he comes to my place just to talk drive!'; Káre wa || watasi no tokoró e | zyama [si] ni BAKARI kúru 'He comes to my place just to bother me'; O-tagai ni mazúi no de, || ái ni DAKÉ wa | ikanákatta 'I just didn't go to see him because it was inconvenient for both of us'; Ano tihóo no | hoogén(¯) wa || tyóosa [si] ni DAKÉ [wa] itta 'The dialect of that area (is something that) I went just to investigate'.

The example Syuukin ní nara || kónai de | né 'Don't come if it's to collect money' (KKK 25.79a) shows that the purpose expression can be proppredicated; it should be possible to say Syuukin ní [kúru 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 dé {wa} náku{te}, as in Yasúmi ni de wa náku hón o yómi ni káetta 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-rú is itself an abbreviation of V-í | surú, 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-í wa | surú etc.). What we are suggesting is to derive the purposive expression and the unfocused imperfect as follows:^{12a}

V-í [suru tamé] ni ...	= V-i ni ...
V-[í su](r)ú ...	= V-(r)ú ...

All cases of V-i ni ... can be replaced by V-ru tamé ni ... but not by another purpose expression V-rú no ni ... (§ 14.2.2) for that expression can not 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 kúru: Sore o mí ni káeru/modóru 'returns to see it'; Mádo o síme ni déru 'goes out to close a window'; Tomodati ni ái ni de-muku/dekakeru 'goes out to see a friend'; Mizu o nómi ni hai-deru 'creeps out to drink water'; Tomodati ni ái ni omomúku 'goes out to see a friend'; Todomati ni ái ni yoru 'drops in to see a friend'; Tábe ni háiru 'enters to eat'; Tasúke ni kake-yoru 'runs up to help'; Sagasi ni arúku 'walks to look for it'; Tóri ni noboru 'climbs up to get it'; Tóri ni osi-yoséru 'rushes to get it'; Tóri ni mukau 'heads to get it'; Tóri ni atumáru/muragáru 'cluster around to get it'; Tóri ni tátu 'stands up (leaves) to get it'; Naki ni nigéru 'runs away to cry'. And this example shows that kao o dásu

12a. But these derivations are historically suspect, for examples of V-i ni iku/kúru, as well as of V-(r)ú, occur in the earliest texts. On the Tōkyō cancellation of the accent of the infinitive ending -í in these expressions, see p. 413n.

'shows up' can be treated as a motion verb: *Íma || daigaku ní wa, || itte orarénaí n desu ka. ||*
—Séki wa | náí n desu ga, || tokidoki || kao wa dásite | imásu, || sigeki o úke ni 'Aren't you now
going to the university?—I'm not registered, but I sometimes show up—to get stimulation'
 (Tk 2.130a).

Some of the nonhuman-agent verbs that are excluded for V_1 (or V_2): *nugéru* 'it slips off', *hazimaru* 'it starts', *tokéru* 'it melts', *simáru* 'it closes' *sasáru* 'it sticks in one's throat', *waku* 'it boils', *zaratuku* 'it gets rough on the surface', *aku* 'it opens', *tir-u* 'they fall and scatter', *hazureru* 'it disconnects', *tuzuku* 'it continues', *suku* 'it empties', *itámu* 'it spoils', *ururu* 'it sells', *usuréru*($\bar{\quad}$) or *usurágu*($\bar{\quad}$) 'it gets faint', *súmu* 'it finishes', Also excluded are verbs that are habitual or stative in meaning (*kokorogakéru* 'endeavours', *nozómu*($\bar{\quad}$) 'expects', *omoi-agaru* 'is highhanded', *hazíru* 'feels shame', *kan-ziru* 'feels', *súku* 'likes', *zurukéru*($\bar{\quad}$) 'shirks', *netámu* 'envies', *akogareru* 'yearns', *iyasimu*($\bar{\quad}$) 'loathes', ...), verbs which denote an involuntary action (*nori-okuréru* 'is late boarding', *mi-sokonau* 'mistakes', *nori-sugósu* 'rides beyond one's stop', ...) or which strongly suggest an accidental happening (*ki-awaseru* 'happens to come', *moti-awaseru* 'happens to possess', *nori-awaséru* 'happen to ride together', *dekásu* 'happens to do', *komi-ageru* 'suddenly feels', *omoi-tuku* 'comes to one's mind', *ki-zúku* 'comes to one's attention', ...).

A number of sentences that imply generally undesirable results are semantically odd unless we attach some kind of qualification such as *yóo na monó da* 'it is as if ...' at the end, as in *Odoróki ni iku (yóo na monó da) '(it is like) going in order to be surprised'*.
 Examples: *Menkurai ni ... '... to be embarrassed'*; *Akire ni ... '... to give it up'*; *Kanasi-gári ni ... '... to grieve'*; *Tamerái ni ... '... to hesitate'*; *Tamari-káne ni ... '... to become impatient'*; *Sikén ni óti 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', *umare ni iku* 'goes in order to be born'; to make sense, such verbs must be given an extended meaning, as in *Atarasíi zoyoyuu to site umare ni Háriúddo e iku* 'goes to Hollywood to be born as a new actress'. And a number of verbs will seem peculiar without amplification: *túki ni iku* 'goes to arrive' is odd by itself but less so in *Sán-zi ni Tookyoo ni túki ni ití-zi ni éki e iku* 'goes to the station at one o'clock in order to get to Tōkyō at three' (the welter of different ní-markings can be slightly reduced by saying *Tookyoo e*), though the expression would normally be corrected to *túku tame^(y)/yóo ni* 'so as to arrive'. Thus the following sentences are perhaps acceptable as they stand, but will suffer from any pruning of adjuncts: *Sán-zi máe ni gakkoo no máe o súgi ni iku* 'goes so that one can pass the school before three o'clock'; *Tanaka wa gógo koko ni kí ni gózen*($\bar{\quad}$) *-tyuu ni kaisya e itta* 'Tanaka went to the office in the morning so that he can come here in the afternoon'; *Tookyoo e iki ni hikoo-zoyoo e iku* 'goes to an airport to go to Tōkyō'; *Bútai e dé ni iku* 'goes to appear on the stage'; (?) *Tanaka ga rusú no aida káre no utí ni i ni iku* 'goes to stay at Tanaka's home while he is away'; (?) *Hito o tasúke ni hasigo o tatéru* 'puts a ladder up to rescue a person'; (?) *Heyá o soozí si ni isu o ugokásu* 'moves a chair in order to sweep the room'; (?) *Daigakúin e susumi ni Amerika 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', *í ni* '... to shoot, to cast metal', *i ni* 'to stay', *kí ni* '... to come', *ki ni* '... to wear', *mí ni* '... to look/see', *ne ni* '... to sleep', *ni ni* '... to cook', *si ni* '... to do'. Since *hí* 'get dry' and *ni* 'resemble' are

involuntary, they will not appear in this form; I am not sure about hé '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, soregawakarimasen (Shibata 2966.90) as *Tyót-to mí ni wa ... and wonder how the infinitive mí '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 ní wa, sore ga wakarimasén '(at a brief look =) at first glance, that would not be clear'.

In §22.1 we find that the infinitive never stylizes (*-i-mási) so that we do not expect to find *V-i-mási ni Cf. Mikami 1963a.27, where it is noted that V-ru kará ni (and V-ru kará ni wa?) lack stylization so that you find V-i-másu kara 'because V' but not *V-i-másu kara ni 'just because V' or (?) *V-i-másu kara [ni] wa 'now that V, as long as V anyway', §17.1.

In the northern Ryūkyūs (see Martin 1970) the infinitive + gá is used for this purposive construction: Yumyji ga qyikhyúm = Yómi ni iku 'He goes to read'. But the imperfect adnominal + gá + ní/tó + ní is used with the same meaning: Yumyun ga nyi n qyidyám OR Yumyun ga tu n qyidyám = Yómi ni itta 'He went to read'. This suggests the possibility that we are faced with a contraction from ... ga tamé ni/to. (The double ní represented by ga NYI N remains a problem.) In some main-island dialects ní 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 iku (E. Kyūshū), V-i gya i iku (W. Kyūshū), V-i ke iku (S. 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 kakáru (or VN ni kakáru) 'sets about (to do), undertakes (to do)' or 'starts to do': Háha ga | kodomo no hukú o | nugáse ni | kakáru 'The mother starts undressing the child'; Páat'ii wa || yamá o | lóri ni | kakáta 'The party began to go down hill' (Ig 1962.80); Soko de, || watasi yamemásu || to || zihyoo o | pón to | dásu. || Kaisya wa || hiki-tóme ni | kakáru 'So then I up and send my resignation "I quit". The company sets to dissuading me' (SA 2681.27e); Génan wa || odáyaka ni | warai, || "Táre" || to | ii, || tugi no | dangan o || túme ni | kakáru 'The servant puts on an amiable smile, says "Who goes there?", and loads the next shot' (SA 2685.99c—táre = dáre); Rágosu de || sirábe ni | kakáta | tokoró^[1], ... 'When I set about inquiring in Lagos ...' (SA 2673.68c);¹³ ... uri-túke ni | kakáru 'they begin to push their sales' (SA 2678.94a); Kookiti mo | súgu || yoohuku o | núgi ni | kakáta 'Kōkichi himself at once set to taking off his clothes' (Fn 154b); Dé, || Hámake wa, || súgu || soozu ni | kakáta 'Then Hamako at once set to sweeping up' (Fn 248a); Oba-san wa || hogáraka ni | soo itte warai, || kúupon o || íso-iso to | kírí ni | kakáta 'The lady said that with a cheery smile and set to clipping the coupons lightheartedly' (SA); ... tó || tazúne ni | kakáru 'He starts inquiring ...' (SA 2659.69c); ... sibári ni | kakáru 'sets about tying [him] up'; Háruko wa || sóro-soro || yuuhan no sitaku ni | kakáru | kóro da 'It is time for Haruko to set herself to getting dinner

13. The accentuation shows that sirábe is the infinitive 'inquiring' rather than the infinitive-derived noun sirabé 'inquiry' (§14.5).

ready' (lg 1962.91); ... nakiotosi ni kakátte mo | míta ga, ... '... she even tried undertaking persuasion by tears but ...' (SA 2649.105d—nakiotosi is a noun derived from a presumed infinitive naki-otósi 'felling by crying' from a compound verb that does not seem to be used independently).

Cf. V-i-kakaru, §9.1.10 (3a), of which this might be regarded as some sort of prototype or extension. Compare also ... uri ni dasárete iru 'they have been put on sale' (SA 2671.111e) in which the noun uri derived from the infinitive 'selling' is functioning as a VN.

9.1.1a. Verbal iteration with infinitive + ní.

A verb can be made more vivid or emphatic by putting it into an iterative pattern: V_1 -í ni (wa/mo) | V_1 -ru. *Isógu* means 'hurries' but *isógi ni isógu* means 'hurries and hurries' or 'puts on the speed'; *nómu* means 'drinks' but *nómi ni nómu* means 'drinks and drinks' or 'really puts away the liquid'; *áme ga húru* means 'rains' but *áme ga húri ni húru* means 'rains cats and dogs' or 'pours down'; *naku* means 'cries' but *nakí ni naku* means 'cries and cries' or 'cries one's heart out'.

Adjuncts are put before the infinitive: *Kore ga || atarí ni | atatta* 'This was a great hit' (SA 2685.139b); ... *kawá wa || aré ni | areta* 'the river raged and raged' (SA 2663.48a). The iteration (V_1 -ru) can take no adjunct whatsoever, being separable from the infinitive + ní only by the minor juncture and the focus particles *wá* or *mó*, which function here as they do in the nuclear focus of §5: *nómi ni wa nómu ga* 'does drink a lot, all right' is similar to *nómi wa surú ga* 'does drink, all right but' and *nómi ni mo nómu* 'even/also drinks a lot' is similar to *nómi ni mo suru* 'even/also drinks'.

The only examples I have found with a verbal noun indicate the pattern VN [sí] ni | VN [o] suru: *Soko de || kenkyuu ni | kenkyuu o site míta | kekka ...* 'Thereupon as a result of study upon study it was discovered that ...' (SA 2659.71b); ... *kúroo ni | kúroo 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: ... *motúré ni | motúreta(-) | ito o ...* 'a terribly tangled yarn' (Fn 307b); *Kangáe ni | kangáeta | ziken desu | yó* 'It's a case I've pondered and pondered over' (SA 2656.46a); *Máti ni | mátta | bakánsu ga | kúru to ...* 'When the long-awaited vacation came ...' (SA 2654.118a); *Sémakute | kakuitu-teki na [|] kooei-apáato kara no || máti ni | mátta | dassyutu de áru* 'It is a long-awaited escape from the narrow and (drably) uniform government apartments' (SA 2659.118a); *Húzita | Tosio no kyakuhon ga, || yat-tó deki-agatta; || Bóku-táti || sutáhu ga || máti ni | mátta || dá | ik-koo de áru* '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 *kangáeru* 'ponders', *kokoromíru* 'tries', *aséru* 'fades', *nobíru* 'stretches', *yogoreru* 'gets dirty', and *yureru* 'sways': *Tyót-to oki e déru to, ganken na tukurí no bóoto mo yuré ni yureta* '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 *ári ni áru, *wakári ni wakáru, *iri ni iru, *déki ni dekiru.

Although not made on gerund-auxiliary conversions (such as *nónde simai ni simau), the forms are possible for many of the infinitive-auxiliary conversions (of §9.1.10), such as nomi-tuzuké ni nomi-tuzuketa 'really kept on drinking', and even multiple auxiliaries: nomi-tuzuke-súgi ni nomi-tuzuke-súgita 'really overdid the continual drinking', nomi-tuzuke-sugi-sáse ni nomi-tuzuke-sugi-sáseta '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-sugita 'really overdid the drinking'?

Once made, the iteration is free to enter into auxiliary conversions: ... kaségi ni | kasegi-makutte ita 'was earning money hand over fist' (SA 2664.103b); ... kono suisoo wall kóri ni | kótte ite ... 'this [fish] tank is quite elaborate, and ...' (SA 2677.61a).

The function of ní 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 adverbialize the verb to its iterated form. Similar expressions are V₁-ru ni [wa/mo] V₁-ru (§14.6.6) and S₁ kotó wa S₁ kedo/ga (§14.1). The adverb yóri-ni-yotte¹⁵ 'of all things to choose (from)' is derived from the gerund of yóri ni yóru 'chooses and chooses'; yóru is a synonym of erábu '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-osí(-) ni osu 'pushes steadily, presses on'; hita["]-hásiri(-) ni hasíru 'runs hard'; hita["]-kákusi(-) ni kakúsu 'is very secretive'. Cf. hita-muki na (ningen) '(a person) single-minded, earnest', hitásura(-) 'earnestly; solely', hitá to (yori-sóu) '(nestles) close', hittári/pittári, There are also a few expressions of the type oo-V₁-i ni | V₁-ru 'greatly Vs': oo-yure ni | yurete iru 'is shaken with a great shock' (SA 2665.127a); oo-ábare ni labareru 'rages furiously'; oo-átari ni | atattá 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 ní 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-áyamari ni ayamátte, ... 'profuse in apologies' (Fn 84a).

9.1.1b. Iterated verbal infinitives.

The verb infinitive can be iterated (repeated) to make an adverbialization 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 (yobí | yobí → yobi-yobi, yómi | yómi → yómi-yomi),¹⁶ as in these examples: Naki-naki hanásita 'He spoke through tears'; Miti o kiki-kiki itta 'We inquired the route as we went along'; ... atamá o | káki-kaki, ...

15. Hirayama gives these two accentual options. MKZ³ accentuates the expression as a phrase: yóri ni yótte.

16. But there may be speakers who treat all such iterations as atonic: nomi-nomi rather than nómi-nomi 'drinking'. Not all seeming examples are to be treated as iterated infinitives: the precopular noun togire-tógire 'choppy, intermittent, interrupted, broken' is a reduplication of a noun 'break' derived from the intransitive infinitive togíre 'become broken' (from to- 'path' + "kíre 'get cut'). And there are derived adverbs, such as tuké-tuke '(speak/scold) harshly'. Baby talk hái-hai 'crawling' is a free verbal noun: hái-hai o suru = háu 'crawls'.

'scratching his head (he said) ...' (SA 2793.96d); ... hiya-áse o | káki-káki, ... 'breaking into a cold sweat' (SA 2637.56c); Enpitu o náme-name hude o hakonde imásu 'He is writing while nibbling on his pencil'; O-kási o | tábe-tabe | arúite imásu 'He is walking while eating candy'; Huhei o ii-ii sigoto o site imásu 'While working he keeps complaining'; Kangáe-kangae | arúite imásu 'He is walking lost in thought'; Hanási o suru | tokí mo || kangáe-kangae, || atamá o || kaki-musiru yóo ni site | domori-nágará | 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 koráe-korae, ... ganbari-nuita 'I suffered and suffered that, ... and stood firm to the end' (SA 2672.98c); ... Zyóo wa kurikáesi-kurikaesi(ⁿ) kono syú no situmon ni kotáenakereba naránakatta si ... 'Joe had to answer this sort of question over and over again and ...' (SA 2679.38); Kúne-kune sita méiro o suna o humi-humi tadótte ikú 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-ⁿnágara (the concurrent, §9.1.3): Naki-nagara hanásita. And the concurrent can be applied to a sentence that has already embedded the iteration: Sake o nómi-nomi | kangae-nágará || arúite itta 'He walked along punctuating his thoughts with sips from his bottle'.

The expression ii-ii suru 'keeps saying' (atonic, despite Kenkyusha) is a lexical item, a verbal noun—and a bound one, at that, since you can not insert ó 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: Syakkin sii-sii yat-to^[j] seikatu site 'ru 'I am barely staying alive by borrowing money (repeatedly)'; Zikan o ki ni sii-sii uti e isóida 'I hurried home full of worries about the time'; ... káno-zyo no kao o mii-mii 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: yumí 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 -í, 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 Ryūkyūs, 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 | V₂-i, || V₁-té wa | V₂-i | suru 'keeps V₁-ing and V₂-ing, V₁-ing and V₂-ing'. Examples: Káite wa | sikuzíri || káite wa | sikuzíri | suru 'I keep writing exams and failing, writing and failing'; O-tya no ha o || tótte wa | ire, || tótte wa | ire | simásita 'We kept picking the tea leaves and putting them in, picking them and putting them in'; Kodomo wa || háitte wa | dé, || háitte wa | dé | suru 'The child keeps coming in and going out, coming in and going out'; ... ókite wa | ne, || ókite wa | ne | suru 'gets up and goes to bed, time after time'; ... tábete wa | nómi, || tábete wa | nómi | suru 'keeps eating and drinking, eating and drinking'; Zí o || káite wa | kesi || káite wa | kesi | simásita 'I kept writing the character and erasing it, writing it and erasing it'; Kánkoku nádo mo, || tairiku ni | ironna mǐnzoku ga || okótte wa | horóbi(ⁿ) || okótte wa | horóbi(ⁿ) | site orimásu ga ... 'And Korea, for example, too, had various peoples rise and fall, rise and fall on the continent ...' (Tanigawa 65); Masú o || tutté wa | nigási, || tutté wa | nigási |

si-nagara || kawá zútai ni || bokuzyoo o || yukkúri to | sanpo suru 'We stroll slowly down the pasture along the river catching trout and releasing them, catching them and releasing them' (SA 2671.93c). Alfonso 788 has additional examples.

The two verbs usually bear contrasting meanings (cf. Mikami 1963a.9). This example aptly switches the verbs in the second part: Sakénde wa | ryoote o hiroge, || hirogeté wa | sakébi site iru [|] utí(-) ni, || anol idai ná [|] kingu wa || nízyuu | go-póndo, || iti-méetoru | to iu kotó ni | nátte simai, watasi wa || mé o | mi-hatta 'While exclaiming and spreading my arms, spreading my arms and exclaiming, 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 *ó* directly after the last infinitive where we would expect the auxiliary, but that is a result of an optional ellipsis: Iwá^[1] no kasirá ni | táti, || suidoo ni mukatte || nágete wa | hiki, || nágete wa | hiki | {surú no} o | 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 Kaikō Takeshi who wrote the above and also the following: Rúa^[1] o || aói || kagayáku | úmi ni || nágete wa | hiki, || nágete wa | hiki | o | kurikáesu(-) ga, || tóotoo | kyóo wa, || ip-piki^[1] mo turenákatta 'I 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: ... atira e tobi || kotira e tobi | site ita kotori ga || kí no eda e | modótte kíta yoo ni, ... 'like a bird returning to the branch of a tree after flying this way and that way' (Y 551); ... sono aida || hitóri heri, || hutarí^[1] heri [|] site, ... 'meanwhile their number shrank, first by one, then by two, ...' (SA 2793.96b).

Yet another form of verbal iteration is V_1 -í mo V_1 -tári 'actually going so far as to (do such a thing)', followed by some unlikely or outrageous action: Núgi mo | núidari, || mappádaka ni | nátta 'He actually stripped right down to the skin!'; Tennóo ni | tegami o káku nádo to wa || mukasi wa || omói-mo-yoranu | kotó datta no ni || ano syoosetu-ka wa || káki mo | káitari || tennóo ni || nagái tegami | káita | sóo 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': Tábe mo | tábetari || góhan o || zip-pai mo | tábeta 'I ate and ate, and ate up ten bowls of rice!'; Korosí mo | korositári || sén-nín(-) mo | korosita 'They killed and killed—killing a thousand people!'; Káki mo | káitari || hyaku-péizi mo | káita 'I wrote and wrote till I had a hundred whole pages written!'; Taizi sita nezumi ga || kyuu-sén | gohyap-piki— || tóri mo | tóttari no | kono suuzi wa— || ... nezumi-sootoo-daisákusen no | kekka de áru '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 V_1 -í mo V_1 -ru 'does V_1 to an inordinate extent, unusually much' as in this example: Dási mo | dásita ga, || tóri mo | tóttá '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:

(1) vni. / ? adv.

aki-áki 'growing weary'
 kori-kóri/-góri 'learning to one's sorrow'
 músi-musi 'being muggy, steamy'
 ózi-ozí 'fearfully, timorously'
 súbé-sube 'growing smooth, sleek'
 úne-une 'undulating'

(2) adverb

kawari-gáwari 'in turns'
 kasane-gásane 'repeatedly; wholeheartedly'
 nakí-nakí(⁻) 'in tears'
 oi-ói(⁻) 'gradually, by and by'

(3) subjective adverb—with optional ¹tó

ari-ári 'vividly'
 hare-báre 'unclouded; cheerfully'
 hie-bíe 'cold'
 hore-bóre 'fondly'
 iki-íki 'vivid'

kare-gare 'about to wither'
 nobi-nóbi₁ 'feeling relieved'
 simi-zími 'thoroughly'
 úki-úki 'lighthearted, jaunty'

(4) precopular noun

nobi-nobi₂ 'with delay after delay'
 kire-gire 'tattered'
 tiri-ziri 'separate(ly), scattered'
 tae-dáe(⁻) 'exhausted, faint'
 tobi-tóbi(⁻) 'sporadic, desultory'
 sure-sure 'skimming, barely'
 omoi-ómói 'according to taste'
 hanare-bánare 'separate(ly)'
 tigire-tigire 'in pieces'
 wakare-wákare 'separate(ly)'

(5) adjective -si-

nare-naré-si- 'intimate'

Notice that ¹tíbi-tíbi {to} and ¹tíbirí-tíbirí 'bit by bit' are not derived directly from a verb infinitive; the only verb available is ¹tíbiru(⁻) 'waste away' and that is a vowel verb with rather different meaning.

9.1.2. Verbal infinitive + -¹sídai (da).

A verbal infinitive can attach -¹sídai (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 ¹tó (§ 17.2) or V-tára {súgu}. Adjuncts of the verbal sentence are preserved intact:¹⁷ Oosaka e tuki-sídai zimú-syo e mairimásu 'I will come to your office as soon as I arrive in Ōsaka'; Sina o uketori-sídai kane o watasimásu 'I will pay the money on receipt of the goods'; Tuuti ga ari-sídai ... 'On being notified ...'. The subject need not be the same in the two sentences that are combined: Koonin ga tuki-sídai watakusi ga syuppatu simásu '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-sídai, sase-sídai, saserare-sídai.

As often happens, after a verbal noun the infinitive ¹si drops optionally (though for some speakers less commonly): tootyaku [si-]sídai 'upon arrival'. Since -¹sídai is also used as a quasi-restrictive with the meaning 'depending on' as in gakkoo -sídai 'depending on the school' (see § 2.4), this can lead to ambiguity: /tootyakusídai/ 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-sídai, deki-sídai, morae-sídai and a few other forms are also used as directly adverbialized nouns taking adnominal modification with N nó (rather than the subject N gá): you can say either Kikái(⁻) ga ari-sídai 'Upon having the first opportunity' or Kikái(⁻) no ari-sídai 'On the first opportunity', and similar are o-kane ga/no deki-sídai and o-kane ga/no morae-sídai.

auxiliary even when the auxiliary is dropped: *káisyaku* | [si-]sídai 'upon explanation' will have a secondary accent on *sídai* and a primary accent on *káisyaku*; *káisyaku* $\bar{}$ sídai 'depending on the explanation' will constitute a single accent phrase with the accent on the first syllable of *sídai*. 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: /*yasumisídai*/ can mean either 'depending on the vacation' (from the noun *yasumi* + $\bar{}$ sídai) or 'as soon as one rests' (from the infinitive *yasumi* + $\bar{}$ sídai). The presence of adjuncts will often help to clear the ambiguity: in colloquial Japanese, at least, *Otóosan ga kaeri-sídai* can mean only 'As soon as father comes home' but *Otóosan no kaeri-sídai*¹⁸ will sound the same as *Otóosan no kaeri* $\bar{}$ sídai and carry the additional meaning of 'Depending on father's return'. Compare the somewhat similar problem with $\bar{}$ gati da (§9.1.5).

9.1.3. *The concurrent-concessive (nágara)*.

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 non-durative verbals such as *áru* 'exists' (stative) or *sinu* 'dies' (punctual) and with adjectival and nominal sentences; the meaning 'while' (roughly equivalent to *V-ru dóozii*($\bar{}$) *ni* 'at the same time as V') is usual for durative verbals, 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-nágara* 'while walking' may simply mean *arúite* 'on foot'.

The forms of the concurrent-concessive are made by attaching $\bar{}$ nágara to the infinitive of a verbal sentence: *V-i-nágara* for tonic verbs, *V-i-nagará* for atonic verbs. The concessive of the nominal sentence is made by following the noun with $\bar{}$ nágara (as if a quasi-restrictive). The adjectival sentence will put ($\bar{}$)nágara after the imperfect *A-i*, rather like the conjunctivalizations of §17:¹⁹ *Tiisái* ($\bar{}$)nágara^[i] *tikará*($\bar{}$) *ga áru* 'He may be small, but he is strong'; *Hosói* ($\bar{}$)nágara^[i] *tuyói kí da* 'It is a tree that is strong though slender'; "*Semái* ($\bar{}$)nágara *mo tanosii wá-ga ya*" 'Home sweet home'. I have been unable to elicit or find a desiderative **V-i-tai* ($\bar{}$)nágara; instead you can expect *V-i-tákute mo*, or the like. On negatives, *V-(a)nai* ($\bar{}$)nágara {*mo*}, see below.

The accentuation of concurrent-concessive forms fluctuates. According to K, tonic verbs attach the ending as $\bar{}$ nágara, so that *yómi* 'read' becomes *yomi-nágara*, but atonic verbs attach the ending as $\bar{}$ nagará so that *nakí* [*mo*] 'cry [even]'—the infinitive of an atonic verb being itself basically oxytonic—becomes *naki-nagará* [*mo*]; you will recall, however, that oxytonic words lose their final accent when not followed by a particle or

18. Which, like *ari-sídai* and other forms mentioned in the preceding footnote, is a directly adverbialized noun taking adnominal modification with *N nó* and not open to other adjuncts. Thus you can say *Otóosan ga uti*($\bar{}$) *e kaeri-sídai* but not **Otóosan no uti*($\bar{}$) *e kaeri-sídai* in the meaning 'As soon as father returned home'.

19. Apparently two kinds of phrasing are possible: *tiisái* $\bar{}$ nágara /*tiisainágara*/ and *tiisái* *nágara* /*tiisainágara*/. I would not be surprised if a third were also in use: *tiisái* | *nágara* /*tiisái* *nágara*/.

some form of the copula,²⁰ so that we hear the oxytonic forms as unaccented (naki-nágara) most of the time. After a noun, \bar{n} ágára is optionally prototonic or oxytonic: kore nágara [mo] or kore nágara [mo] 'although it be this' (kore dá); onná nágara [mo] or onná nágara [mo] 'though a woman' (onná da); sitúrei nágara [mo] or sitúrei nágara [mo] 'though it is rude' (sitúrei da). (Martin 1952 n. 13 cites an observation that current usage favors V-i- \bar{n} ágara for ALL verbs, including the verbs which are atonic. This is the accentuation Hamako Chaplin uses.)

The following sentences illustrate the CONCESSIVE meaning with stative verb phrases: *Sensoo wa iyá da to itte i-nágara mo, tokí ga tátu ni turete túyoku hantai suru kimoti wa ókite kónai* 'While I keep saying I hate the war, with the passage of time no feeling of strong opposition arises within me' (KKK 3.130); *Sikási kono syoosetu wa "watasi" o syuzínkoo to si-nágara, "watasi" wa sukósi mo kakárete inai* 'But though this novel takes Me for its protagonist, there isn't the least thing written about Me' (KKK 3.130); *Wareware wa minná sitte i-nágara, kessite hureté wa naránai tabúu ga áru* 'There are taboos that we mustn't mention though all of us know about them' (SA 2679.45b); ... *kanzen-kóyoo-hataraku ísi to nóoryoku(̄) o moti-nágara hatarakenai monó 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): *Saakasugoya o de-nágara, watasi wa káre ni itta* 'I told him while leaving the circus booth' (Ig 1962.97); *Kamí o tokasi-nágara, Tuneo wa onná no hito no kao o nusumi-mita* 'While combing his hair, Tsuneo stole a look at the woman's face' (Ig 1962.97); ... *syoonén-tati wa yúra-yúra to búranko ni yure-nagara tokui-sóo(̄) ni té o hutte waratte iru* 'the boys, up and down and back and forth in the swings, are waving their hands and laughing triumphantly'. There is a jocular term *nágara-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 reading while eating)'.

In theory \bar{n} ágára can be followed by mó in either the concessive or the concurrent meaning, but it is difficult to find authentic examples of \bar{n} ágára mo with the meaning 'also/even while'. This sentence has been suggested: *Rázio(̄) o kiki-nágara mo hón o yomi-nágara mo góhan o tabéru* '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 hón o yómi 'reading'. A somewhat more natural example for the concurrent: *Miti o aruki-nágara mo rekóodo o kiki-nágara mo káno-zyo no kotó o kangae-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 dá kara, ll sasuga ni ll sake o nomi-nágara WA* *katarenákatta* 'It is a serious matter, so that I could hardly tell it over drinks'; *Nakiwameki-nágara SAE* *l hanasánakereba, ll reisei ni l soodan dékita no ni ...* 'I wish we could have dis-

20. But ní, exceptionally, cancels the oxytonic accent: *i-nágara ni site*, cf. *i-nágara mo*. This is similar to the accentuation of V- \bar{n} i (iku etc., §9.1.1), a Tōkyō anomaly not found in a number of the Tōkyō-type dialects, which have the regular accentuation (V- \bar{n} i ni iku) as expected.

cussed things calmly without all the wailing and shouting ...'; Matutani sensei wa || térebi wa | motiron, || sibaí ya éiga(¯) o | mi-nágará SURA || Nihon-go [no] ákusento no | hénka ni || kiki-mimi o tátete | irú n desu | yó; || are zya || 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 || rázio(¯) o [|] kiki-nagará SIKA | benkyoo dekinai n da 'I can study only while listening to the radio'; Kinkyuu-mondai wa || nagóyaka ni | sake dé mo | nomi-nágará KOSO | sú beki na n da 'Urgent matters ought to be discussed precisely while amiably drinking wine or something'; Húró ni | hairi-nágará MADE || benkyoo sinákut'atte | ii desyoo 'Surely you don't have to study even while taking your bath?'; Warai-nagará NÁDO de wa, || kura sikatté mo, || kóoka ga || náí desyoo 'If it's [done] while laughing and all, however much you scold there'll be no effect'; Warai-nagará NÁNKA | hanasénai | mondai ná n desu 'It's a matter that can't be talked about while laughing or the like'; Taisetu na mondai désu kara, || mazime ni | hanasi-aimasyóo. || Nomi-nágará NÁNTE || iyá desu | yó '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 nára || térebi o | mi-nágará D^(A)ATTE (or: D^(E)MO) | dekíru 'That sort of a job I can do even while watching television'; Íp-pai | yari-nagará D^(E)MO | go-soodan simasyóo ka 'Shall we discuss it while having a drink or something?'; Éki made || issyo ni | aruki-nágará [|] -GÚRAI SIKA | o-hanasi suru zikan ga arimasén 'I lack the time to tell you beyond (what I can tell you) while walking to the station together'; Aitu wa | benkyoo-ka de, || tabe-nágará | BÁKARI de | náku, || húró no | náka de mo || hón o | hanasánai no da | sóo 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-nágará | DAKÉ de mo | ii kara, || hanasi-tái 'I want to talk (to you) even if it's just while walking'.

These examples of V-i-nagará dé mo seem to combine the concessive 'even' meaning (expressed by dé mo) with the concurrent 'while': Tukai-nagará dé mo zyuuden dekíru ... 'You can charge the batteries (even) while using it ...' (SA 2637.13); Dékite | míru to, || kore-kurai nára || sibaí yari-nagará dé mo | yatte ikeru to iu wáke 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)predicated—Nomi-nágará desu ka 'You mean while having a drink?'—and dá can go through its usual conversions: Nomi-nágará nara (or: da to) kiraku ni hanaséru 'We can talk at our ease while having a drink'; Tabako o nomi-nágará de/zya nákereba benkyoo dekinai 'I can't study without smoking (at the same time)'; etc.

Negativized verbal sentences are made concessive either with V-(a)nai -nagará(¯) {mo} or with the literary-and-Kansai form -(a)nu (¯)nagará {mo}. The latter is more common, perhaps because the nagará 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 | kikoenu nagára || husi wa | sorowanu nagara, || ookiku kuti o hiráite, | takáraka ni | 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); ... sékkyóo(¯) o || yóku wa | wakaránu nagara mo || kiite | kanpuku site ita 'while he didn't understand the sermon very well he listened and admired it'; ... dekinai -nagará mo ... 'though unable' (R).

21. I have marked the accent as heard on the sentences when recorded.

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'²²

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'

biryoku-nágara 'in my own small way'

iki-nágara 'while still alive'

omoi-nágara 'despite my intentions'

i-nagara [ni site] 'from one's armchair, without stirring'²³

wáre-nágara(¯) = zibun nágara(¯) 'even oneself': Wáre-nágara(¯) bikkúri sitá n desu

'Even I was startled' (SA 2649.48a).

Perhaps also such sentence-introducers as:

Habakari-nágara(¯) 'Perhaps I shouldn't say so but ...'

Zannen-nágara(¯), Ikan-nágara(¯) 'I regret to say it but ...'

Iyaiya-nágara(¯) 'Reluctantly enough ...'

Tuide-nágara(¯) 'Incidentally ...'

Sen'etu-nágara(¯) 'If I may presume ...'

Sikasi-nágara 'Nevertheless ...'—'generally taken to be sika 'so' + si (emphatic particle) + nagara'' 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-ántei ¯nágara 'Though insecure'; and for precopular nouns, as in Kyónen kara byooki nágara ... 'Though ill since last year ...' and Mu-tókuten ¯nágara ánda(¯) ní-hon 'No score, two hits'. A few adverbs and adverbializations of quantity nouns can be marked with the concessive: Sukósi ¯nágara^[1] wakátta '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: Zyósi de I ari-nágara || dânsi ni I hitteki suru ... 'Though [she be] a woman, she equals a man ...' (Ôno 1966.206); Seinen ya syoonen de ari-nágara, séisin ga rooka site simatta hitó ga

22. But with yosógoto there is no need for the idiomatic treatment: ... yosógoto(¯) ¯nágara sinpai ni náru 'It is a worry even though not one's own affair' (SA 2649.103c). Cf. ... hitogoto ¯nágara sinpai desu keredo mo 'it's worrying about other people's problems, but ...' (Tk 3.28b).

23. But adjuncts are carried by iru in this example: Túmari gakusei wa hituyoo to o áreba Áiowa no inaka ni i-nagara ni site, Nyuu-Yóoku no arúi-wa Róndon no, arúi-wa Zyunéebu no tosyó-kan no hón no hituyoo na peezi dake, kópii o tótte 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).

húeta 'There has been an increase in the number of people who have grown all 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): Nakimúsi de i-nagara^[1] odoke-mono dátta to iu hanasí mo kiiita 'I also heard that he had been a jokester even while a crybaby' (SA 2679.39d). Negativized nominals apparently do not take the concessive: *N de/zya náí (¯)nágara.

With nominals and adjectivals (including adjectival nouns and precopular nouns) the concessive sounds somewhat formal; more colloquial devices are available, notably N dé mo or N d'átte, A-kute mo or A-kut'atte. The expression N mo sáru kotó^[1] ¯nágara^[1] is a semi-literary cliché meaning 'N is all very well but' as in Syóobai mo sáru koto nagara 'Business is business, of course, but ...' and Sore mo sáru koto nagara 'Be that as it may'. Toozen no kotó ¯nágara means 'naturally enough'.

Henderson (182) observes that when nágara follows a nonsingular noun or number (cf. §2.7) the appropriate translation is 'all' (or 'both'): go-nin ¯nágara 'all five (persons)', húuhu ¯nágara '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 ¯nágara to occur, derived from VN dá with the copula substituting for suru by proredication (§3.10), or from the noun qua noun ('while it is VN' = VN ná no ni). But, like other pure nouns, the verbal noun will usually require some modification, typically adjectival in nature: Mizikái ryokoo ¯nágara^[1] kityoo na keiken o sita 'Though a short trip, it provided a valuable experience' is acceptable, but *Amerika é no ryokoo ¯nágara 'Though a trip to America ...' probably is not.

We have mentioned that pure nouns (including free verbal nouns) can be followed directly by ¯nágara but usually require some kind of adjectival modification. Yet there seem to be no special restrictions on N₁ wa N₁ ¯nágara as in Kane wa kane ¯nágara^[1] 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 ¯nágara^[1] ... 'It may be research, all right, but ...'; etc.

Apparently the nágara conversion can be applied to conjoined sentences, as we would expect: tatami ni suwatte térebi o mi-nágara '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: Ootoó no tomodati no náka ni wa, rázio(¯) dé wa zyázu o kiki[-nagara], térebi de wa yakyuu o mi-nágara syukudai o suru ko ga irú 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 Tōkyō?), you will find ¯nágara ní {mo} used to mean 'but (at the same time); and yet': Soo iwarete, Kookiti wa kusuguttái (¯)nágara^[1] ni manzara dé mo náí kimoti dátta 'Told this, Kōkichi felt tickled but not altogether displeased'. You will also find V-tá (¯)nágara^[1] ní mo used as equivalent to V-te i-nagara mo: ... kumótta (¯)nágara^[1] ní mo akarui sóra ni kamáwazu, ... 'in disregard of the sky, bright though cloudy' (Kb 57b).

In Kōchi and other parts of Shikoku (Doi 205) and in Ōsaka (Makimura 357) the concurrent is V-i-mótte, incorporating the gerund mótte 'holding'. This occurs also in Kyōto and in Yamaguchi (Kobayashi UM 75-24, 207:135n144, 54n37). In the northern Ryūkyūs (Martin 1970.131b) the infinitive adds a suffix -syrya, for which the expected Tōkyō cognate would

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-i-tanaa. Other dialect forms are V-i-si [na], -sima, -sama; see p. 421.

According to Ishigaki Kenji (87) the element nágará 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 nágará 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 nágará and Adv nágará (185 ff), but A-ki nágará and V-ru nágará (189 ff) were uncommon and somewhat exceptional (192). In literature from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries nágará is found followed by the particles wá, yá, zó, dáni, 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 + -tútu.

A literary (or pseudo-literary) equivalent of the verbal concurrent is made by attaching the infinitive to -tútu (or, with vowel unvoicing, 'tutu): Hón o yomi-tútu = Hón o yomi-nágará '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-tútu áru = Hón o yónde iru 'I am reading the book'; Kenkyuu si-tútu áru 'I am doing research'. Since V-te iru can be interpreted in more than one way, V-i-tútu áru is a useful paraphrase to make the continuative or progressive meaning unambiguous. Perhaps this is why it has been observed that V-i-tútu is "lately increasing in use for the progressive" (Kōgo-bumpō no mondai-ten 225). But neither part of the literary expression can be negative.

Although V-i-tútu commonly has the concurrent meaning of V-i-nágará, 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 sái o moti-tútu mo, ... 'while possessing dialectal differences' (Kotoba no uchū 1967/1.13a); Kore ni tái-site Óobei(-) no kekka wa, túne ni ittei no sá(-) o moti-tútu, sore ni heikoo site narabú 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); Ízyoo, kagiráreta suuzi de zentai no keikoo o osu kiken o zyuubún siri-tútu, 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); Míte wa warúi to omoi-tútu mo, watakusi no mé wa hitori-de ni, hirakáreta nikki no peezi ni sosogaréru(-) '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-tútu zissai-syákai ni háyaku sitéi o okuri-dásu to iu nengén(-) tansyuku no yookyuu kara itté 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-héiwa ni sekinin áru sikoku-gáisoo wa, kono sékái no zyuudai na kíro ni tátte kokusai-tyóosei ni zenryoku o tukúsu

de aróo si, wareware wa sekai-héiwa no tame, sono seikoo o kitai si-tútu kóngo(¯) no keika o mimamori-tái 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-⁽ⁱ⁾tútu áru: Ippóo Marai-rénpoo o hazime tikáku ni wa zyuúrai ⁽ⁱ⁾izyoo ni kome-búsoku ni nayami-tútu áru tíiki ga sukúnáku ná '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 hitó-tati wa káre-ra no hurúi kará ga kudámete yuki-tútu áru kotó o kan-zite iru 'The country people feel that their old shell is being cracked'; Áru monó⁽ⁱ⁾ wa seikatu-súizyun ga téika(¯) si, tósi ni nooson ni huhei ga okótte iru to ii, áru monó⁽ⁱ⁾ wa kokumin-séikatu wa hizyoo ni antei si koozyoo si-tútu áru 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 *sáe* separates V-i-⁽ⁱ⁾tútu from áru: (Koo site hoogén wa mukasi no mamá⁽ⁱ⁾ iki-tuzukete imásu.) Iki-tuzukete iru dókoro ka, hoogén ga atarásiku umare-tútu *sáe* áru 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 -⁽ⁱ⁾tútu comes from a reduplication of the old auxiliary -t(é)- which was attached to the infinitive to form a perfect as in haná ga sak-i tú⁽ⁱ⁾ [ru kotó] '[the fact that] flowers have bloomed' (§9.5); that auxiliary is the source of the gerund V-(i)-té and, ultimately, of the modern perfect V-(i)-tá. Apparently the distributive particle ⁽ⁱ⁾zútu is unrelated, for its etymology is said to be a reduplication of the general counter -tu (as in hitó-tu) with typical compound nigori when the resulting form is attached to a noun.

9.1.5. Verbal infinitive + ⁽ⁱ⁾gati dá.

A verbal infinitive can attach -⁽ⁱ⁾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 dá 'It is tending to be cloudy'; Soo iu kotó wa ari-gati dá 'Such things happen all too often'; Kettén(¯) ga ari-gati dá 'They are apt to have flaws in them'. Under adnominalization the resulting nominal sentence is usually treated as an ADJECTIVAL NOUN (i.e. dá becomes ná rather than nó): Hito o keibetu si-gati na hitó da 'He is a person who tends to despise others'; ... ⁽ⁱ⁾dáre ⁽ⁱ⁾dé mo ari-gati na ayamátí(¯) 'a mishap that might happen to anyone' (SA 2669.105c). But you will sometimes find the expression treated as a precopular noun (with dá becoming nó): Kumori-gati no (= na) hí 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 dá 'tends to overdrink', nomisugisaserare-gati dá 'tends to let people get one to overdrink', etc. Examples: Nihon-zín wa, || hizyoo ni ryuukoo o ou | keihaku na mínzoku to | káisyaku | sare-gati désu ga, ... 'The Japanese are very apt to be interpreted as a fickle people who pursue fads, but ...' (Tanigawa 182); Isogásii | tokí ni wa, || túi || osokú made | sigoto o sase-gati de, || sumánai to | omótte | imásu 'When we are busy we are apt to make you work till all hours, I'm sorry to say'; Isogásiku | náru to || osokú made | sigoto o saserare-gati da 'If we get busy you are likely to get made to work till all hours'.

Verbal nouns follow the regular pattern, as shown by *hito o keibetu si-gati dá* 'tends to despise others' in the example given above. But -gati, like -sídai (§9.1.2), is also attached to some nouns derivationally, so that the pattern VN-gati dá is also available: *sippai-gati dá* = *sippai si-gati dá* '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 dá* 'is apt to be sick' and *rusu-gati dá* 'is apt to be away from home' (= *rúsu si-gati dá*—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 *rúsu o suru* 'absents oneself from home'; a similar example is *benpi-gati no hitó* (SA 2650.97c) = *benpi si-gati no/na hitó* 'persons prone to constipation'. But there are a few examples of other nouns that are not normally used with *suru*, e.g. *huhei-gati dá* = *huhei o ii-gati dá* 'is apt to complain' (there is no **huhei o suru*), *hikaeme-gati dá* 'is apt to be reserved' (apparently *hikae-mé(̄)* is a precopular noun, followed by adnominal *nó* and adverbial *ní* as in *hikae-mé(̄) ní suru* 'behaves modestly').

The suffix -gati is derived from the infinitive of the intransitive infinitive *kát-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 *ní*: *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-yasúi* (or *-i-íi*) '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 Kyoorjóori to iéba, TÁISOO NI NARI-GATI NO monó o kosikáké no kiraku-sa de yukkúri aziwaérú si, dobin-musi, yaki-mátutake (tómo(̄) ni zíka) nádo no ippin mo áru* '[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 hónrai no ísi o miusinai-gati ni náru kiken ga arimásu* '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: *Amái monó o l tábe sael si-gati nára, ll kit-tó^[t] musí-ba ga áru l yó* 'If you're apt to just eat sweet things, you're sure to have tooth decay!'; *Nete í wa l si-gati dá ga, ll hidói l byooki zya náí* 'I AM inclined to be asleep a lot but it isn't a severe illness'; (?) *Ate-zi o káki mo l si-gati de, ll sin'yoo dekinái* 'He's apt to write ateji (arbitrarily assigned characters), too, so you can't rely on him [for orthography].

9.1.6. Verbal infinitive + -tate dá.

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 predicable adverb, in that *dá* becomes *nó*: *taki-tate no mesí* '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 hitó* 'a newly arrived person'; *Nari-tate no o-sumoo-san ...* 'A newly established sumō wrestler ...' (Tk 3.15a); ... *nyuumon si-tate no hundosi-kátugi* 'a barely initiated new sumō wrestler' (SA 2666.23a);

... nyuusyá si-tate no wakái syáin(¯) 'young employees who have just joined the firm' (SA 2765.38a); Saikon si-tate no suu-kágetu 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 dé mo hike-sóo na kyóku(¯) desyóo 'That is a piece that even a child could play who had just learned piano' (Tk 4.33b); ié 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 túku to "Soozi sase-tate no heyá ga arimásu kara, sotira e dóo-zo" to syúzin 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 ...'; Titi 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: soozí [sare-tate →] si-tate no dóoro 'a fresh-swept corridor', ryóori [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 náí hitó 'people who are not newly arrived'. And it can be used predicatively: Ano penki wa nuri-tate 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 precopular noun, and there are uses that might indicate it is both: ... oténtosama ga de-tate wa óokikute, dandán⁽¹⁾ tiisaku náru '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 ní wa. More examples of V-i-tate {ní} wa 'at the time when freshly ...': Íma wa kátte⁽¹⁾ náí kedo, koko e hikkosi-tate wa, kátte⁽¹⁾ tá 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 {ní} mo 'also/even at the time when freshly ...': Taki-tate mo umái ga sámete mo 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 precopular noun), we will find it simpler to say that the conversion is treated as a TIME NOUN. That will explain the following examples: Zyo-gákkoo ni hairi-tate ¯gúrai no tokí desita 'It was the period shortly after I had entered girls school' (Tk 3.327b); ... tyuugákkoo ni hairi-tate ¯góro no ozyóosan 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'; Góhan no azi wa taki-tate ga íi '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 decompositions"; notice the similarity to the verbal-noun renominalizations in §14.4.) These conversions include:

(1) *V-i-zume (dá)* < -"tumé < túme vt. [= -i-tuzukeru (*bákari/daké*) 'keeps on doing']: *Iti-niti zyuú suwari-zume no zyootai de, karada ga taihen tukáreta* 'My body was quite weary from being kept sitting all day long'; *Máiniti(¯) zyuugo-zíkan, bentóo o kuti ni ireru aida mo katáppo ni zí o oi-zume no karoo 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); *Hitó-ban zyuú o-sake o nomi-zume dátta no de, tugí no hí ni wa atamá ga itáku nátta* 'I was up drinking rice wine all night long, so the next day I had a headache'.

(2) *V-i-doosi (dá)* < -"toosí < 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 ate-doosi désita* 'was really crying, handkerchief constantly to the eyes' (Kb 395b); *Syúzin kara donarare-doosi de áru sínkei no hiróo(¯) 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'; *Zut-to tati-doosi dátta* 'I stood all the way'. Cf. *Kenkyusha*, 'all through, throughout' with the examples *Tati-doosi de áru* 'stands (= keeps standing) all the time', *Syaberi-doosi ni syabéru* 'keeps talking; talks away'. Verbs referring to a change-of-state ('become, die, be born, heal, happen, ...') are limited to the second meaning.

(3) *V-i-zama {ni}* < (")samá = arísama(¯) [= V-ru to sugu or V-ru dóozi(¯) ni]: *Koo ii-zama, akaruku nátta zasiki o huri-múita* 'Saying this, he turned to the apartment which had lighted up' (Ig 58); *Suretigai-zama ni nusúnda* 'He swiped it in rushing past (me)'; *Kakenuke-zama ni usiro kara kiri-tuketa* 'He stabbed [someone] while running through'; *Usiro o hurimuki-zama, kataná de kiri-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) *V-i-sina ni* 'just as one does; just before doing': *Bíru 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); *Hitóri no soonen no ryóosi wa wataší-táti no húne no yoko o toori-sina ni e-monó(¯) no ó o tukánde míseta 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 *Kyōto* than in *Tōkyō*.

(5a) *V-i-gake {ni}* < -"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 ...'; ... gésuto wa de-gake ní wa áme ga hütte itá no da ... 'it was raining just as the guest was leaving' (Tsuji-mura 1967.52); Kaeri-gake, ... 'On the way home ...' (Fn 273a). An unexpected example of conjoined phrases: ... iki-gake TÓ KA kaeri-gake NI, kanarazu yotte kureta 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 *tó* is still present. Or perhaps the two phrases have been directly nominalized.)

(5b) *V-i-kake dá* 'is half-done with' (see §9.1.10, 3): Sui-kake no tabako o otósu 'drops a half-smoked cigarette' (SA 2639.34c).

(6) *V-i-túide ni* 'coincidentally to doing' [= *V-ru tuide ni*—but emphasizes the relative unimportance]: Gakkoo e iki-túide ni ... 'On my way to school ...'; Uti e kaeri-túide ni ... 'On the way home ...'.

(7) *V-i-kkiri (dá)* < -q-kiri 'having just done it, that's all, and left things continuing in the resulting and undesirable state': Iti-nití zyuú suwari-kkiri desu 'He just sits all day long'; Ne-kkiri no byoonin désu 'He is a bed-ridden patient'; Senmu-syásyoo wa, neboo sita kisyá no sóba ni tuki-kkiri de, ... tó kenmei ni sewá o yaite kureta 'The conductor kept close beside the sleepy journalist and anxiously tended his wants, saying ...' (SA 2660.12c); Yamamura tyuúoo-syuzutyubú-tyoo mo "Ákasi-kun-tati ni makase-kkiri de, náhi mo siranákatta" to itte iru 'The head of Central Surgery, Yamamura, himself says "Having left it all up to Akashi and his group, I knew nothing"' (SA 2647.25e); Okyakusáma no go-syóotai no hoo ni kakari-kkiri de zibun no tokoró made wa té ga mawarimasén 'All tied up with invitations to our customers, we can't take care of [Expo reservations for] our own' (SA 2665.38e); Heyá ni hairi-kkiri de déte kónai 'He stays in the room and does not emerge'; (?) De-kkiri de háitte kónai 'He stays outside and does not come back in'. It will sometimes seem that *iki-kkiri dé* is the same as *itta kkiri de* 'gone for good', and you may want to equate *kumori-kkiri dé* with *kumotta kkiri de* 'clouded up', *makase-kkiri dé* with *makáseta kkiri de* 'leaving it to others', etc.; but *V-i-kkiri dé* 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 *yó-zi ni* 'at four o'clock') and can sometimes be paraphrased as *V-tá no ga o-simái dá* '... and (doing) that was the end of it', but *V-i-kkiri dá* is a continuing state that sets in FROM a time (*yó-zi kara* 'from four on'). More examples of -ta [k]kiri (de, dá, no): Káre wa, máhi(¯) no tamé neta kirí de, ... 'He was bed-ridden with paralysis and ...' (SA 2663.33a); Suru to, nán-nen ¯buri no taimen desu né.—Héi. Sinsai no tokí, wakáreta kkiri de gozaimásu 'Then how long since you've seen each other?—We separated at the time of the earthquake and have not seen each other since' (Fn 168a); ... káno-zyo wa tonari no kitin ni kakúreta kirí déte koyóo to sinákatta 'she stayed hidden away in the next-door kitchen and showed no signs of coming out' (SA 2670.92c); Itta kkiri káette kónai 'He hasn't been back since leaving', or: 'He's gone for good and won't be back'; Ása tábeta kkiri da kara onaka ga peko-peko dá yó 'I haven't eaten since breakfast, so I'm starved!'; Ip-piki^[1]tutta kkiri desu 'I only caught one fish', 'I caught one fish and that was it/all'. For *V-ru [k]kiri* = *V-ru daké*, see §2.3.3. (p. 78). Note also *V-ta mamá* (§13.2.6).

(8) *V-i-ppanasi dá* < -q-hanási 'does and leaves it (or stays) in that (usually bad) condition: Rázio(¯) ga koware-ppanasi desu 'The radio remains unrepaired'; Tosyó-kan

no hón o kari-ppanasi dá 'The library books are unreturned'; Tabe-ppanasi de katazukénai 'They eat and leave without tidying up after'; Mádo o ake-ppanasi de yasúmu 'He goes to bed with the windows wide open'; Watásí-táti wa zut-to uragirare-ppanasi, damasare-ppanasi dátta n desu 'We were left totally betrayed and deceived' (SA 2652.134d); Sore ná no ni, kiki-ppanasi, kotae-ppanasi de owari-gati na daihyoo-sítumon daké de katazúke, iinkai-síngi wa yarazu-zímai '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-zímai, see §9.1.7b; Oo-mísoka to Syoogatu no Sangániti(ⁿ), tamesí ni térebi o tuke-ppanasi ni site míta 'I tried leaving the TV turned on through the entire three days of the New Year celebration' (SA 2662.32a); Ukkári, hutokoro kara dásite, teeburu no ué e oki-ppanasi ni site káetta n da 'Absentmindedly he took it from his bosom and left it on the table when he departed' (Kb 209a); Karihworúnia no áru oziisan wa káado ga kíta no o íi kotó ni {site}, kázin ni naisyó de kore o sakaya ni azuke-ppanasi ni site nomi-tuzuke ... 'One old codger 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—the ^[r] site toward the end is a literary touch for dé, see p. 615); ... Kamétakan san no zitaku no denwa wa nari-ppanasi [dá] 'Mr Kametaka's home phone was left ringing (unanswered)' (SA 2666.19b); Tásika ni, monomezurási-sa(ⁿ) kara simai-tósi no sengén(ⁿ) o si-ppanasi de náni mo gutai-teki na katudoo o site inai tósi ga óói náka de, Asahikawa no "katudoo" wa nakanaka iyoku-teki de áru '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-másui de teioo-sékkai sita kanzya o zyuuzikan ámari mo "kangó-hu mi-narai" ni makase-ppanasi ni sita kotó ga ... 'To have left to "nurse probation" for over ten hours a patient who had undergone a Caesarean with general anesthesia ...' (SA 2666.112b); Zyuusi kara zut-to kisei 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-ta ppanasi is sometimes used for V-i-ppanasi: ... yuubé tori-konda ppanasi no noren, ... 'the lintel curtain still (taken) inside from the night before' (Kb 194b); ... sokai sita ppanasi ni nátte 'ru rasii '(he) seems to have remained [where he was] evacuated' (Tk 2.8b).

(9) *V-i-gátera {ni}* 'coincidentally to' [= V-ru tuide ni]: Asobi-gátera 'By way of amusement'; Kooen o sanpo si-gátera = Kooen o sanpo-gátera 'In the course of a stroll through the park'; Yoozi [o] si-gátera asobi ni iku = Yoozi-gátera asobi ni iku 'I will go for pleasure along with business'; Tuki o mi-gátera arúku 'I walk along looking at the moon'; Miokuri-gátera ni kógai(ⁿ) e déru to ... 'When I stepped outside to see him off ...' (SA 2666.83a); O-sake dé mo nomi-gátera, katuróide míte 'ru wáke 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 where V-i-^[r]dóosi is impossible, e.g. with mutative verbs.

(9a) *V-i-katágata* 'coincidentally to' [= V-i-gátera, V-ru tuide ni]: Magó^[r] no kao o mi-katágata, asobi ni iku tumori désu 'I intend to go and enjoy myself while getting a look at my grandson'; Tekitoo ni sore o soodan [si-]katágata, ... 'While giving that suitable discussion, ...'; ... no kotó mo ari-katágata mo^[r]tte 'combined with the fact that ...' (Kenkyusha). The word ^[r]katágata is also used as a quasi-restrictive after noun phrases: Sinnin no go-áisatu ^[r]katágata ... 'While offering one's congratulations on the new position ...'; Go-busata no o-wabi ^[r]katágata go-kinkyoo no o-ukagai máde 'While

apologizing for my long neglect in writing, I would like to inquire how you have been getting along'; Térebi o yusyutu suru to iu syooyoo \bar{t} katágata Nyuu-Yóoku e iku tumori désu 'I intend to go to New York partly for commercial purposes having to do with exporting television sets'; Nagusami \bar{t} katágata no syóobai desu kara, riéki wa hotóndo ate ni dekimasén 'It is a business largely for my amusement, so I can hardly look for profits'; Atasi mo née, niman-ryoo \bar{t} bákari no torihiki ga áru n de, hara-gónasi \bar{t} katágata dekakete kúru yó 'I myself have a 200 000 *ryō* 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 kudasái 'And (with this letter) please put your mind at rest for all is well' (MKZ); Daigaku de syakái-gaku o kenkyuu si, katágata sono tihóo no seikatu o míte ki-tái to omótte 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 dá* < -"ki.mi 'seeming to ...; tending to ...': aseri-gimi dá 'seems impatient'; bukka ga sukósi agari-gimi dá 'prices are tending a shade higher'; sigoto ni oware-gimi dá 'appears pressed by work'; tokaku osare-gimi dá 'tends to get pushed'; o-sake ni yoi-gimi dá 'tends to get drunk'; ... Cf. yake-gimi dé 'half out of despair/desperation'.

(11) *V-i-hazime no* 'who has just begun doing [regularly]: Gítaa o hiki-hazime no kookóo-sei 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-hazime no hitó 'a person who has just begun driving a car (= who has just learned how to drive)'. The *no* would appear to be an adnominalization of a propredicative copula, used to represent an underlying *sita* 'did': **hazime sita* → *hazime*†*si*†*ta* = *hazimeta* 'began'. Cf. p. 401 (end of §9.1.). The examples given above have epithematized agents, but the epitheme apparently need not be so limited: Huransu-go o narai-hazime no kóro ... 'At the time when I began studying French ...'; Tabe-hazime no hási, supúun; haki-hazime no kutúsitá(-) ... 'the chopsticks and spoon that one first ate with, the socks that one first wore ...' (SA 2672.125c).

(12) *V-i-hóodai da* 'as one desires': $\overset{(v)}{N} \overset{(v)}{d} \overset{(v)}{e}$ mo si-hóodai $\overset{(v)}{d} \overset{(v)}{o} \overset{(v)}{e} \overset{(v)}{d} \overset{(v)}{e}$ mo iki-hóodai da 'We do what we want and go where we like'; kui-hóodai ni kúu 'eats to one's content'; sen-en de bíiru wa nomi-hóodai 'for a thousand yen—all the beer you can drink' (CK 985.268); ... suki-hóodai na kotó o site ... 'doing everything he likes' (Tk 3.61b); are-hóodai 'left to the weeds, left dilapidated' (lexical entry in Kenkyusha); Syanai-kékkon mo óói n desu yó. Dansi-syókuin wa toku désu né, erabi-hóodai 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-hóodai na N*; but you will also come across *V-i-hóodai no N*. *Hóodai* is also used as a postadnominal after the desiderative: *tabe-tái hóodai* 'as much as one wants to eat'; *li-tai hóodai na kotó o itte iru hitóbito 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*) *iinari-hóodai* 'at the beck and call (of others)'.

(13) *V-i-kágen da* 'in a state of being/doing': Kubi o utumukase-kágen ni = Utumuki-kágen ni 'with bowed head'; Zyuuni-gatú^(v) hazime no gógo no hi ga, moo sukósi aka-mi o óbite(-), nisi e katamuki-kágen 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

Kume 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-kágen* 'the extent of the heat' and the following examples: ... *amasa-kágen no íi kotó* 'the way it was just the right sweetness' (SA 2664.110e); ... *yarikuti no akuratusa-kágen de wa, kessite zíngo ni otíru monó de wa náí* 'is by no means one to fall behind others when it comes to the unscrupulousness of his tricks' (SA 2678.114d); *Are ga mótte 'ru haná^[r] no wá no tyatisa-kágen* 'Oh the frailness of the wreaths they bear!' (SA); ... *nagái hata no peraperasa-kágen* '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 *Káre no séken o siranasa-kágen ni wa odoróku* '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 *Dóo si-yoo mo náí no wa zyotyuu dá* '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: **sikén ga/o owari-giwa* → *sikén NO owari-giwa ni* 'right before the examination ends'.²⁴ 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 íp-pai nómu* '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 *óki*; *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: *Bóku(¯) wa tíhusu 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-íri* 'falling asleep' (etc.) and I have been unable to find many other examples of *-i-bana* <"hana—except for *de-bana = de-hána(¯)* 'on the point of emerging' [= *de-giwa (K)*] also a pure noun 'the

24. Or so I thought till I came across this example: ... *káno-zyo ni wakare-giwa, ...* 'at the moment of parting from her' (Shibata 1961.186); *wakare-giwa* permits the same valences as *wakaréru* (N *ní/tó/kará*). N *nó* *wakare-giwa* is ambiguous; it could also be from N *ga wakaréru*. 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 tó NO wakare-giwa* 'on parting from people'.

outset'; and Kenkyusha's example *káabu no magari-ppana o tatáku* '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-GÁSIRA ni* 'upon sudden encounter'; the latter is a precopular noun (*deai-gásira no hitó* 'a person bumped into', *deai-gásira no/na kotó* 'sudden encounter').

The suffix *-hánbun* '(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-hánbun* 'half teasing'; *Yakkami-hánbun no hihyoo* 'criticism half from jealousy' (SA 2661.29—MKZ lists *yakkámu = yatu-kámu* as a dialect equivalent of *netámu* 'envies'); *Asobi-hánbun* 'half for fun'; *Huzake-hánbun* 'half joking'; *Omosiro-hánbun* 'half for fun'; *Itazura-hánbun no kimoti kara ...* 'From a feeling half of tomfoolery' (SA 2652.119a); *inemuri-hánbun de ...* 'half-dozing' (Zhs 4.337); *okayaki-hánbun* 'half from jealousy'; *dooraku-hánbun* 'half for recreation'; ...

There are a few relics from the literary language that should be mentioned here. The idiom *Sá mo ari-nán* 'As well might be expected; As is (all too) natural; As is (only) appropriate' contains a reduction of *námu* (which we can perhaps regard as a contraction of *ní arámu*, equivalent to modern *daróo* 'probably is'),²⁵ 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 *Sóo de mo áru daroo* 'It probably would be that way even/too': "Toráreta yó" tte ittára, "Sá mo ari-nán" to itte hohoénde 'másta ga né 'When they said "It's been taken", I put on a good face, saying "I might have known"' (Tk 4.266).

The literary *námu/nán* also attaches by way of the subjunctive *-a-* to make a kind of request similar to the colloquial *site hosíi* 'I want it to happen that': *Ika-námu* 'I want you/him to go', *Ikazara-námu* 'I want you/him not to go'. In the literary language *námu/nán* is also a particle of focus, much like literary *zó* 'indeed', used after nouns and adnominalized (= directly nominalized) sentences; *Terase 153b* gives an example where the *námu* focus is applied to the infinitive of *V-i* Auxiliary (*tóri namu oku = tótte sae oku*). These uses of *námu* were earliest attested as *námo*, perhaps indicating it contained the particle *mó*.

For the literary form *V-í-mi* (= *V-tári*), see p. 571.

The adverbialization *V-i-zyoo* occurs in the expression ... *tó wa ii-zyoo = ... tó wa iú* [|] *zyoo* 'although ...', equivalent to ... *tó wa ié-do {mo}*. For the use of the same morpheme ('item, provision') as a particle after *V-i sooróo* in the epistolary style, see §22.3. An example of *ii-zyoo*: *Sensyoku-bízyutu to wa ii-zyoo, Turumurá-zome wa máda, syoohin-káti ni síhái sarete iru utí wa, hontoo no neuti ní wa nátte inee [= 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 náii)* '(there is no) one who will favor me' (§10) and *N ni nari-té* 'one who will become N' (§3.8a).

9.1.7a. Verbal infinitive + 'kko náii

A suffix 'kko₁ can be added to certain infinitives to derive a noun (usually a verbal noun): *A to B o torikaé-kko suru* 'swap (= exchange) A and B'; *kaké-kko = kaké-kkura*

25. But the orthodox etymology is a direct suffixation of the literary tentative *-(a)mu* to the old perfect auxiliary (*V-i-inú*).

(o suru) '(runs) a race'; ... Doyoo kara Nitiyoo no yuugata máde, katarí-kko(¯) suru ... 'engaging in story-telling and song-singing from Saturday through till Sunday evening' (SA 2664.41d); naré-kko ni náru '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 -gókko that attaches to nouns or to verbal infinitives to make a derived noun 'the game of ...' or 'mutually doing': itati-gókko 'a pinch-each-other game; a vicious circle' (from itati 'weasel'); kisyá-gókko 'playing train'; ikusa-gókko 'playing soldiers' (ikusa 'battle'); ... hutarí de báa o détarí háttari site baatendaa-gókko o site iru utí ni yótte simai ... 'while two people are taking turns playing bartender, ducking in and out from behind the bar, they get drunk and ...' (SA 2664.81b). Ôtsuki assumes that the suffixes 'kko₁ and -gókko are both contracted from kura(be) 'competition'.

But another suffix 'kko₂ is apparently a shortening of kotó. Said to be largely confined to Tôkyô speech, the suffix occurs in a construction V-i-kko nái that is used in place of V-ru kotó wa nái or V-ru hazu ga nái 'there is no possibility (likelihood) that ...': Anó-ko || kaerí-kko || nái yó 'There is no possibility of her returning'; Sonna koto || ari-kko || nái 'There is no likelihood of such a thing happening'; Sonna kane, || oré-táti ni || haraé-kko || nái || kotó ga || wakátte 'te, || yookyuu site kúru n da kara ... 'They start demanding such sums [for bail] well knowing we can't possibly pay them, so ...' (SA 2666.99c); Konna giron o || iku tuzuketé mo, || yo-nó-naka wa || ikkoo || yóku || nari-kko || nái 'However much we continue this sort of discussion, the world won't get any better' (SA 2681.28b); Gakúmon wa || hazime kara || kirai, || e-kakí nánka ni || naré-kko || nái 'I hated schoolwork from the beginning, and there was no likelihood of my being able to become an artist or anything' (Tk 3.42a); Dóo || mit'atte || soori-dáizin ni wa || naré-kko || nái || táipu desu keredo molné '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 kí-kko nái represents both 'is unlikely to come' (= kúru kotó wa nái) and 'is unlikely to wear' (= kiru kotó wa nái). But some speakers apparently treat the forms as atonic when made on atonic infinitives and differentiate kí-kko nái (= kirare-kko nái) 'is unlikely to wear' from kí-kko nái (= koraré-kko nái) 'is unlikely to come', and iki-kko nái 'is unlikely to go' from ikí-kko nái (= ikiraré-kko nái) 'is unlikely to live'. Both sí-kko(¯) nái (= suru kotó wa nái) and deki-kko nái (= dekiru kotó wa nái) 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 arimasén in place of nái. Another example with arimasén: Dai-kíbo ni || yarú n da kara, || nedan dé mo || kanaí-kko || arimasén || yó || né

26. The suffix appears as -ko after n: kawaribán-ko ni = kawari-ban(¯) ni 'taking turns, by turns'. Not to be confused is the noun suffix -kko 'child': hitorí-kko 'an only child' (also hitorí-go), Edo-kko 'a child of Edo (Yedo) = a Tokyoite', Naniwá-kko 'a child of Naniwa = a native Osakan', itazurá-kko 'a mischievous child, a prankster', sue-kko 'youngest child', sengó-kko 'a postwar child', sitamati-kko 'downtown Tokyoites' (Tk 3.211a), toti-kko 'the locals' (Tk 3.219); Hahaoyá-kko desu 'I'm my mother's boy = I resemble my mother' (R); bebiibuumú-kko 'a baby-boom child' (Nagano 1968.66); etc. There are dialects which use -ko, -kko, or -go (in the Ryūkyūs -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 Honshū (H 1968.131). Perhaps this accounts for the word komori-kko = komóri 'nursemaid'.

'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*: *Wakarí-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, || táda de | dasí-kko WA | nái no | yó* 'In that case there's no likelihood they'll put it out free, mind you' (Fn 261b); *Kessite yóku | narí-kko WA | nái n da kara* 'For there's just no way it can improve' (Y 187—from Kb); *Hazime kpara || deki-kko MO | nái kotó^(c) o | siyoo to surú no wa || 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 + -zímái*.

The expression *V-(a)zu-zímái* (<"simai) is made by attaching the infinitive *simai* 'finishing' to the literary negative infinitive; it is normally followed by the copula (often perfect, *dátta*) and is used as an equivalent of *V-(a)nái de simatta* 'ended up not V-ing': *Káre ni wa || awazu-zímái datta* 'I ended up not seeing him'; *Sore o || mizu-zímái desita* 'I ended up not seeing it'; *Soko é wa || issyo ni || ikazu-zímái datta* 'In the end we didn't go there together'; ... *kore mo || kookai sarezu-zímái desu* 'this [film] too ended up never shown publicly' (Tk 3.197a); *Sono totyuu dé mo, || watasi wa || senpan no kotó o || kikazu-zímái datta* 'Even in the midst of it, I ended up not hearing about the war crimes' (Ig 1959.57); *Tóotoo || watakusi ní wa || musumé^(c) no waga-mámá o | yuruséru hodó^(c) no | hakkiri sita [|] riyuu mo || miatarazu-zímái de atta* 'I ended up unable to find any clear reason to forgive the girl her wilfulness' (Y 555); *Soo suru to, || Nihon-ga ni rippa na ratai wa || arawarezu-zímái desu ka* 'So, do we end up with no splendid nudes appearing in paintings of the Japanese style?' (Tk 3.319b).

In place of *dátta* you may find *ni nátte simatta*: *Iti-dó wa | o-ai si-tai to [|] omoi-tuzukete ita hitó desita ga, || kyuú ni | naku-nararete, || tóotoo || awazu-zímái ni | nátte | simaimásita* '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 *dá* will appear: *Tóotoo || awazu-zímái da kedo, || zúibun | tegami no toritugi bákari | tanónnda | náa* '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 precopular nouns with the adverbialization *ní*: *Watasi ní wa || wakarazu-zímái ni | owattá no da ga ...* 'I ended up not knowing about in the end, but ...' (Ig 1959.57). And adnominalization would appear possible: *senpan no kotó o kikazu-zímái no yóo datta* 'apparently ended up not hearing about the war crimes'—also ...-zímái datta yóo da/datta.

The example ... *kekkyokú^(c) || yarenai-zímái daroo | né* 'will finally end up unable to do it' (Tk 4.316a) probably results from a syntactic blend of *yarenái daroo* with *[yarezu]-zímái*. A similar blend will yield *-(a)n[u]-zímái*: *Syatyoo wa || tóotoo || yukue ga wakaran-zímái 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 dá* (§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 *-yasú-* or *-yó-* (in the imperfect *-yói* is usually pronounced *-ii*), which as free adjectives mean 'cheap' (or sometimes 'easy') and 'good' respectively. For 'difficult' or 'unlikely' you attach *-nikú-* (as a free adjective 'hateful') or *-zúra-* (the nigoried form of the free adjective *túra-* 'trying') or a literary synonym *-gáta-* (the nigoried 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 *yó-* in its infinitive form *yóku* means 'often' and 'much' as well as 'well, nicely' so that *Áme ga yóku húru* is susceptible to three interpretations: (1) = *Áme ga huri-yasúi* 'It rains often', (2) = *Áme ga takusán húru* 'It rains heavily', and (3) = *Áme ga húru no wa ii* '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 *gá*. 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 nómu 'The child drinks water'

→ (1) *Kodomo ga mizu o nomi-yasúi* 'The child is apt to drink water'.

→ (2) *Kodomo ga mizu ga nomi-yasúi* '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-yasúi [= noméru] yóo ni zyaguti o hikúku 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*] *ítu ga [mizu ga] nomi-yasúi 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*] *dóko ga [mizu ga] nomi-yasúi ka* 'Where is it easy [for the child] to drink [water]?' or 'Where is he [the child] likely to drink [water]?' *Nurúi o-yu ga [byoonin ga] nágaku i-yasúi* 'It is easy [for a sick person] to stay a long time in a warm bath' ← *Nurúi o-yu ni [byoonin ga] nágaku iru. Rokú-zi ga siranai* [= *yakusoku no nái*] *hitó ga anó-hito ni ai-yasúi* '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-gáta*[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 *yóku*] + 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 dóko e ikú ka* 'Where does the child go [to]?' we will obtain either *Kodomo ga dóko e iki-yasúi ka* 'Where is the child likely to go?'—leaving all adjuncts intact—or, subjectifying the allative, *Kodomo ga dóko ga iki-yasúi ka* 'Where is it easy/likely for the child to go?' And from *Kodomo ga ítu kúru ka* 'When will the child come?' we can get either *Kodomo ga ítu ki-yasúi ka* 'When is the child likely to come?'—adjuncts intact—or, subjectifying the adjunct of time, *Kodomo ga ítu ga ki-yasúi 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 *gá*: [*Kodomo ga*] *ítu ga asoko ga iki-yasúi 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 multiparous monstrosities beyond the native speaker's wildest dreams: (!)*Dáre ga tonari ga kodomo ga rokú-zi ga gakkoo ga iki-yasúi ka* 'Whose neighbor's child is likely to go to school at six o'clock?'

With verbs of going and coming, PLACE + *gá* would seem to be ambiguous: *Dóko ga ki-yasúi ka* could be derived either from an allative *Dóko e ki-yasúi ka* 'What place is easy to come to?' or from an ablative *Dóko kara ki-yasúi ka* 'What place is easy to come from?' (but some speakers are uneasy with the ablative interpretation) or even from a traversal-accusative *Dóko o ki-yasúi ka* 'What place is easy to come/along/through/on?'—as well as the propensive 'likely' meaning for each. With other verbs the meaning of PLACE *gá* will usually be locative 'at' (*dóko de/ni*).

It is also possible to subjectify an INSTRUMENTAL adjunct: *Hási ga tabe-yasúi* 'It is easy to eat with chopsticks' ← *Hási de tabéru* '[We] eat with chopsticks'; *Sono náihu ga kodomo ga pán ga kiri-yasúi* (*kotó wa dáre de mo sitte iru*) '(Everyone knows) that knife is easy for a child to cut bread with' ← *Sono náihu de kodomo ga pán o kíru* '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: *Dóno byooki ga sini-yasúi ka* 'What illness is easy to die from?' or 'What illness is one likely to die from?' ← *Dóno byooki de sini-yasúi ka* ← *Dóno byooki de sinú 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: [*Káre ni tótte*] *sono aité ga tatakai-yasúi* 'That adversary is easy [for him] to fight with' ← *Káre ga sono aité to tatakau* 'He fights with that adversary'; [*Watasi ni tótte*] *káre ga hanasi-yasúi* 'He is easy [for me] to talk to' ← [*Watasi ga*] *káre to hanásu* '[I] talk with him'. DATIVE: *Sono onná ga otokó ni/ga hore-yasúi* (1) 'That woman is easy for men to fall in love with' ← *Sono onná ni otokó ga horeru* 'That woman men fall in love with', (2) 'That woman easily falls in love with men' ← *Sono onná ga otokó ni horeru* 'That woman falls in love with men'. But ABLATIVES seem a bit unnatural: (?)*Siritu-dáigaku ga zyosi-gákusei ni/(ga) sotugyoo si-yasúi* 'It is easy for women students to graduate from private colleges' ← *Siritu-dáigaku kara/o zyosi-gákusei ga sotugyoo suru*; *Háha ga kane ga morai-yasui* (1) (?) 'It is easy to get money from mother' ← *Háha kara/ni* [*watasi ga*] *kane o morau* '[I] get money from mother', (2) 'It is easy for mother to get money' ← *Háha ga* [*hito kara/ni*] *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-yasúi kotobá* 'a word easily misunderstood'. But the following passive was not intended as adversative: *Soko de, koo sita án'i(¯) na miti ga erabare-yasúi* 'Then this sort of easy way is apt to be chosen' (SA 2684.137a). The adversative passive itself occurs quite freely: (*Senséi ga kodomo o sikaru* 'The teacher scolds the child' → *Kodomo ga senséi ni sikarareru* 'The child gets scolded by the teacher' → *Kodomo ga senséi ni sikarare-yasúi* 'It is easy/likely for the child to get scolded by the teacher'; (*Kodomo ga tomodati ni koko e koráreta* 'The child suffered from his friend coming here' → *Kodomo ga tomodati ni koko ga/e korare-yasúi* 'It is easy/likely for the child to suffer from having his friend come here').

Potentials occur; at least, derived potentials: *Kabe ga usúi no de tonari e hanasí ga kikoe-yasúi* 'The walls are thin, so what one says is apt to be audible to the neighbors'. But the expression [*suru kotó ga*] *deki-yasúi* 'it is easy/likely for one to be able to do it'—though possible²⁹—is often replaced by the simple facilitative-propensive (*si-yasúi*), 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-nikúi* 'it is difficult/unlikely to make/let one do it'. The forms themselves can be made negative: *nomi-yásuku náí* 'it isn't easy/likely for one to drink', *nomi-nikúku náí* 'it isn't hard/unlikely for one to drink', following the pattern usual to adjectives.

Since desideratives are not verbals but adjectivals built on verbals, 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-yasúi* 'it is easy/likely for one to want to go'. You can build a facilitative-propensive on an excessive (§9.1.9) as in *yari-sugi-yasúi* 'it is easy/likely for one to overdo', and you can build an excessive on a facilitative as in *yari-yasu-sugíru* 'it is overly easy/likely for one to do'; it ought to be possible to do both, yet speakers will balk at (?*)*yari-sugi-yasu-sugíru* '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-propensive on an exalting sentence: *O-kaki ni nari-yasúi* 'It is easy/likely for you to write'; *O-kaki [ita]si-yasúi* 'It is easy/likely for me to write you'; *O-yomi ni nari-nikúi to omoímásu ga ...* 'I'm afraid it may be difficult for you to read, but ...'. But once constructed the adjective *kaki-yasúi* can not so readily be exalted with the prefix *ó-* as can simple adjectives: we find *o-yasúi* 'it's cheap' but not **o-kaki-yasúi*; yet *O-tukai-yásuu gozaimásu* 'It is easy to use' is acceptable. *Kaki-yásukute irassyáru* and *Kaki-yásukute o-ide ni náru* are possible, as is *O-kaki ni nari-yásukute irassyáru*, but **O-kaki-yásukute irassyáru* does not occur. Otherwise, the facilitative-propensives can take most conversions open to adjectivals in general, including *-yasu-sóoda* (§20), *-yásuku*, *-yásukute [wa/mo]*, etc. They can undergo nuclear focus: *si-yásuku wa/mo/sae áru*, etc. The converse, a facilitative made on a focus-marked nucleus, is less common but speakers will apparently accept *V-í wa/mo si-yasúi* and *V-í wa/mo si-nikúi*.

29. Hamako Chaplin rejects *deki-yasúi* and *V-(r)are-yasúi* in general, but she will accept *deki-nikúi* 'is unlikely to be possible' as in ... *deki-nikúi kotó o múri ni sité'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: *Sitagatte(¯), goori-teki ni monó o syóri suru kotó ga deki-nikúi* 'Consequently, it is difficult to be able to handle things logically' (Tanigawa 194).

The form V-í sae si-nikúkereba is said to be unusual, though V-í sae si-yásukereba seems to be acceptable.

There are apparently no particular restrictions on what verbals can be converted to facilitative-propensives. The following have been found or elicited: *sini-yasúi* 'it is easy/likely for one to die', *ari-yasúi* 'it is easy/likely for one to have', *i-yasúi* 'it is easy/likely for one to stay', *oti-yasúi* 'it is easy/likely for one to fall', *haná ga saki-yasúi* 'it is easy/likely for flowers to bloom', *kumori-yasúi* 'it is easy/likely for it to be cloudy', *hi ga teri-yasúi* '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-nikúi* can mean not only 'it is hard/unlikely for one to look at it' but also 'it is ugly', and *kiki-zurái* (or *kiki-nikúi*) means not only 'it is hard/unlikely for one to listen to it' but also 'it is unpleasant-sounding'. The expression [*kimono ga*] *ki-yasúi* means '[a garment] is comfortable (to wear)'.³⁰

The forms with *-ii* 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', *sii-ii* 'it is easy to force', *ii-ii* 'it is easy to say', *i-ii* 'it is easy to stay', etc.^{30a}

Derived nouns can be made from facilitative-propensives by adding *-sa*, as usual for adjectives (§ 14.7): *wakari-yásu-sa* 'ease of understanding', *ii-nikú-sa* 'difficulty in saying'. But the adjuncts will normally go along only if adnominalized: *sono kotobá 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-yasúi monó de aru* 'a misunderstanding is all too apt to arise' (CK 985.292); *Tenkin wa sararii-man ni tótte sake-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 sáke* 'avoid job shifts'), is subdued and thematized; the indirect subject is identical to the underlying subject of the verb (*sararii-man ga sáke* 'the salaried man avoid[s]') but here is converted to a dative of reference (*sararii-man ni tótte* 'taking it with reference to the salaried man')—not to be confused with the *ní* 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.)

C D E	-sase-tagari-sugi-	C D E F	-sase-tagari-sugi-yasu-
E C D	-sugi-sase-tagar-	E C D F	-sugi-sase-tagari-yasu-
D C E	-tagar-ase-sugi-	D C E F	-tagar-ase-sugi-yasu-
C E D	-sase-sugi-tagar-	C E D F	-sase-sugi-tagari-yasu-
C D F	-sase-tagari-yasu-	C D F E	-sase-tagari-yasu-sugi-
D C F	-tagar-ase-yasu-	D C F E	-tagar-ase-yasu-sugi-
C E F	-sase-sugi-yasu-		

30. In the Japanese spoken in Hawaii the word *mi-yasúi* is used to mean *yasasii* 'is easy (to do)'; is this a Hiroshima usage? Cf. *Kindaichi in Kotoba no uchū* 1968/10.36.

30a. The forms with *-ii* are used only in the meaning 'easy to do'; for 'likely' you must use *-yasúi*. Cf. BJ 2.169 (1980 printing).

C F E	-sase-yasu-sugi-	C F E D	-sase-yasu-sugi-tagar-
F E C	-yasu-sugi-sase-	F E C D	-yasu-sugi-sase-tagar-
D E F	-tagari-sugi-yasu-		
F E D	-yasu-sugi-tagar-	F E D C	-yasu-sugi-tagar-ase-
E D F	-sugi-tagari-yasu-		
E D C	-sugi-tagar-ase-	E D C F	-sugi-tagar-ase-yasu-
E C F	-sugi-sase-yasu-		
C D C	-sase-tagar-ase-	C D C E	-sase-tagar-ase-sugi-
C E C	-sase-sugi-sase-	C D C F	-sase-tagar-ase-yasu-
		C E C F	-sase-sugi-sase-yasu-
		C D C D	-sase-tagar-ase-tagar-
		C D E D	-sase-tagari-sugi-tagar-
		C E D E	-sase-sugi-tagari-sugi-
		C E C E	-sase-sugi-sase-sugi-
		C E D C	-sase-sugi-tagar-ase-
		C D E C	-sase-tagari-sugi-sase-
D C D	-tagar-ase-tagar-	D C D E	-tagar-ase-tagari-sugi-
		D C D C	-tagar-ase-tagar-ase-
D E D	-tagari-sugi-tagar-	D E D C	-tagari-sugi-tagar-ase-
		D E D E	-tagari-sugi-tagari-sugi-
D E C	-tagari-sugi-sase-	D E C D	-tagari-sugi-sase-tagar-
		D C E D	-tagar-ase-sugi-tagar-
		D C D F	-tagar-ase-tagari-yasu-
		D C E C	-tagar-ase-sugi-sase-
		D E C E	-tagari-sugi-sase-sugi-
		D E D F	-tagari-sugi-tagari-yasu-
		D E C F	-tagari-sugi-sase-yasu-
		D E F E	-tagari-sugi-yasu-sugi-
E C E	-sugi-sase-sugi-	E C D E	-sugi-sase-tagari-sugi-
E D E	-sugi-tagari-sugi-	E D C E	-sugi-tagar-ase-sugi-
		E D C F	-sugi-tagar-ase-yasu-
		E D F E	-sugi-tagari-yasu-sugi-
		E C F E	-sugi-sase-yasu-sugi-
		E C D C	-sugi-sase-tagar-ase-
		E D C D	-sugi-tagar-ase-tagar-
E F E	-sugi-yasu-sugi-	E F E C	-sugi-yasu-sugi-sase-
		E F E D	-sugi-yasu-sugi-tagar-
		E F E F	-sugi-yasu-sugi-yasu-
F E F	-yasu-sugi-yasu-	F E F E	-yasu-sugi-yasu-sugi-
		F E C F	-yasu-sugi-sase-yasu-
		F E D F	-yasu-sugi-tagari-yasu-
		F E D E	-yasu-sugi-tagari-sugi-
D F E	-tagari-yasu-sugi-	D F E C	-tagari-yasu-sugi-sase-
		D F E D	-tagari-yasu-sugi-tagar-
		D F E F	-tagari-yasu-sugi-yasu-

9.1.9. *The excessive (-sugiru).*

You can attach *-sugiru* to the infinitive of most (probably all) verbals, 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-sugúru* '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 *-tári* (§9.4). The domain of semantic reference usually includes predicate adjuncts, and the "excess" is sometimes to be taken as referring to an adverb: *Háyaku tuki-sugítá no da* 'He had arrived too early' (SA 2672.17c); *Aa, watasi wa amari ni háyaku umare-súgita* 'Ah, I was born too soon!' (SA 2678.139e—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); ... *atarasii kyooiku ga, sukósi kanzi-kyooiku o karuku atukai-súgita to iu híhan(¯) wa* ... 'the complaint that the new education has treated education in Chinese characters a bit too lightly' (Kaneda in Ōno 1967.296); *Bóku(¯), ima máde nobiri benkyoo si-súgite 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-sugúru* '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: *Bíiru o nomi-sugita* 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 *a[n]mari {ni}*, used as an adverbial adjunct. This is more common with the negative '(not) too' or with some (usually bad) consequence: *Anmari tabéru to (Anmari samúi to) byooki ni náru* 'When I eat too much (When it is too cold) I get sick'; *Anmari tábeta kara (Anmari tábeta kara) byooki ni nátta* 'After eating too much (Because I ate too much) I got sick'. The excessive verbals 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 *tyót-to* 'a bit' with the connotation of 'overly'; or, they use the excessive of the adjectival sentence: *D'átte ookii {zya náí ka} = D'átte tyót-to ookii = D'átte ooki-sugiru* 'But it's too big'. Cf. ... *risoo to genzitu no sá(¯) 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 verbals are also produced by attaching *-sugiru* to virtually any adjective base including *ná-* 'lacking', which (as with the evidential *nasa-sóo da* §20) takes the special shape *nasa-* to yield *nasa-sugiru* 'is over-lacking' [jocular]—as in *Sararii-man ni nasa-sugirú no wa kane, ari-sugirú no wa mibáé(¯)* 'What the salary man lacks too much is money, what he has too much of is outward appearance' and *Zikaku ga nasa-sugirú kara da* 'It's because they are too unself-conscious' (Fn 200b). *Yó-* 'be good' (with colloquial imperfect *íi-* dialect *Ée*—alongside the more literary *Yói* 'It is good'), on the other hand, produces *Yo-sugiru* 'It is overly good' despite the irregular evidential *Yosa-sóo da* 'It appears to be good':

Onéesan wa, hito ga yo-sugiru yó 'You are just too nice a person[, Hamako]' (Fn 317a); Mikake ga yo-sugite komáru '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-sóo da or (less often) kosa-sóo 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: Nómu → Nomi-sugiru → Nomi-suginai 'He doesn't drink to excess'; Óoi → Oo-sugiru → Oo-suginai 'There are not too many'. But you occasionally run across sentences like these: Ano sensei ga yasumana[sa]-sugiru 'That teacher doesn't stay out of school as much as I would like'; Benkyoo si-sugiru gakusei mo ireba, benkyoo sina[sa]-sugiru gakusei mo iru '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 kotó ni túite sirana-sugiru sensei ga óoi 'There are many teachers who are overly ignorant of society' (SA 2666.97d); Daitai kodomo no kotó 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)na[sa] + -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 yari-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: Nomi-sugiru → Nomi-sugitai 'I want to drink too much' (negative → Nomi-sugitaku ná 'I don't want to drink too much'). But you can make an excessive on a desiderative verbal: Nomi-tagari-sugiru 'He is overly desirous of drinking'. And this can be turned into a desiderative adjective—Nomi-tagari-sugitaku ná '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 imásu; sirare-súgite imásu 'It is well known; it is all too well known'; Séngo(¯) no syakka-nin wa hógó sare-súgite iru 'The postwar tenants have been overprotected' (SA 2670.40c). And on the passivized causative: ... ima-máde Nihon-zin ga roodoo saserare-súgite 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 verbals. Excepted are a fair number of adjectival nouns, such as hadé da 'it is gaudy' → hade-sugiru, sizuka da 'it is quiet' → sizuka-sugiru, and kawasóo da 'it is pitiful' → kawaiso(o)-sugiru; the limitations are apparently semantic. Examples include teinei-sugiru 'is overly polite' (= téinei ni

31. And last, since súi 'is sour' is normally replaced by suppái in the spoken language.

sugíru 'exceeds in politeness' since téinei is an abstract noun as well as an adjectival noun)³² and riaru-sugiru 'is overly real' as in this sentence: Syasin wa riaru-sugite, hitóbito ga mé o somuke-gati da 'The photograph is so excessively real(istic) that people are apt to avert their eyes' (SA 2724.25ab). Another example: Issyookenmei-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 áru and make an excessive on the auxiliary áru; that, of course, is more common in writing than in speech: Amari ní 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 dé-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)-sóo da] are a kind of adjectival noun but they do not produce excessive verbals: there is no *-i-soo-sugiru. Instead, you adverbialize the evidential sentence with the copula infinitive (→ -i-soo ni) and use it as a putative (§9.1.11) to complement the verbal sentence Miéru '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-sugíru yóo 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 sugínai, §14.6.2.

Excessives can be built (1) on the mutative expressions with adjectival or nominal infinitive + náru/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 yóo ni náru with similar meanings, §9.1.11), Gureepuhurúutu 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-sugíru '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-sugíru,³³ 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 áru 'is overdone' (e.g. Gozi ga kaki-sugite áru 'There are too many mis-written characters') in contrast with V-te ari-sugiru 'is done too much'; and V-i-sugite iru 'is being overdone, is overdone' in contrast with V-te i-sugíru 'is doing it too much, is too much done'. An example with subdued focus applied: Ningen wa sukósi íi-ki ni nari-sugite í wa sinái 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 conceited', is unlikely). There seems to be some hesitancy about forms like V-i-sugite simau, V-i-sugite míru, 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 sugíru 'is overly ideal' (cf. rikoo-sugiru 'is too clever'); this could perhaps be explained as a direct nominalization of a nominal sentence, the affirmative version of S ni sugínai 'merely S' (§14.6.2).

33. Íma kangáete mimásu to, nán da ka, háha ni yori-kakátte i-súgita yóo na ki mo simásu 'When I think about it now, sometimes (mo) I get the feeling that I was too much dependent on my mother, somehow' (R). 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; hutótte iru becomes hutori-sugite iru 'is too fat' rather than hutótte i-sugíru; and there will never be the possibility of A-sugite iru, only A-sugiru.

Sínsetu o si-súgite simau 'ends up being (or is just too damn) polite'; Sínsetu ni si-súgite agetá/morattá 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-sugíru 'is overly hackneyed'. But with the resultative V-te iru of other verbs the excessive will usually be applied to the verb: otituite iru 'is quiet', otituki-súgite 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-sugíru, itasi-sugíru. But acceptable examples are easy to find: O-negai si-sugíru 'I'm asking too much'; Sonna koto itasi-sugimásitara [with polite stylization + conditional] o-yurusi 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')³⁴ as is ir-u (iri-sugíru 'needs too much of it'—though tukai-sugíru 'uses too much of it' is more common in the appropriate situations). Dekíru in the meaning 'is produced' is accepted: Komúgi ga deki-sugite komátte irú 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 (kodomo 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 hanaséru 'can talk, can be talked to = is understanding, sensible, agreeable' in hanase-sugiru hitó 'a person who is overly (all too) understanding'. Other potential-type meanings can be made excessive: kikoe-sugíru '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-nágara 'though 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 adversative passive being made on the excessive, the excessive is made on the passive: Isya ga/wa kanzya ni sinare-súgita '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-suginái de kudasai '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 sugíru (§ 14.6.2), even when the postadnominal is an adjectival noun such as yóo or mítai.

34. Wareware ga Nihón no manga ni tyót-to human ná no wa, azi ga ari-sugirú n desu né, sén ya ná nka ni 'What disturbs us about Japanese cartoons is that there is too much ("flavor" =) expression, you see—in the linework and so on' (SA 2661.44c); ... amari supíido ga ari-sugite ... 'from having too much speed' (SA 2688.17); ... amari múudo ga ari-sugirú 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 sugíru 'goes past, exceeds' (quasi-intransitive, the traversal object being a real or figurative place)³⁵ is free to form lexical compounds: Kéredo mo íma wa, sáke wa nobori-súgi, masú wa kudari-súgita '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 taisyoo 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 ~sugí is derived from the infinitive of sugíru, which is súgi (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

35. Also intransitive (durative-stative like suguréru 'excels') in the usage N ni sugíru 'is more/better than N': Kore ni sugíru monó wa náí 'There's nothing to top this'. Cf. S ni sugínai (§14.6.2).

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-yoséru* 'calls together', *uti-yoseru* 'wash against the shore', *osi-yoséru* 'press upon' (but no **kaki-yoseru* 'writes all together', **nori-yoseru*, **atume-yoseru*, ...) and -togeru as in *si-/yari-/nasi-togéru* 'accomplishes' (but no **tukuri-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-garu (§3.5a, §7), V-i-másu (§22.1), V-i-suguru (§9.1.9). See §9.5 for V-i-tú and §9.2 for the gerund (V-té) 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: *tukaware-dásu* 'starts to get used', *sase-tuzukeru* 'continues having it done'; *L-dópa wa 1967'nen kara Amerika de kono byooki ni tukaware-hazímeta* '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-tuzuke-saseru*, *si-tuzuke-rareru*. Since the voice conversions can operate independently on either the infinitive or the auxiliary, all the following possibilities are grammatical:

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| (1) <i>sare-tuzuké-ru</i> | (7) <i>sase-tuzuke-sasé-ru</i> |
| (2) <i>sare-tuzuke-raré-ru</i> | (8) <i>sase-tuzuke-sase-raré-ru</i> |
| (3) <i>sare-tuzuke-sasé-ru</i> | (9) <i>sase-rare-tuzuké-ru</i> |
| (4) <i>sare-tuzuke-sase-raré-ru</i> | (10) <i>sase-rare-tuzuke-raré-ru</i> |
| (5) <i>sase-tuzuké-ru</i> | (11) <i>sase-rare-tuzuke-sasé-ru</i> |
| (6) <i>sase-tuzuke-raré-ru</i> | (12) <i>sase-rare-tuzuke-sase-raré-ru</i> |

As an example of the last, and most involved, we can generate a 21-syllable phonological word: *Kangae-sase-rare-tuzuke-sase-rare-nákattara-ba* 'If I were not being forced (by A) to keep being forced (by B) to think about it'. Compare Okutsu's monster: *Kosikake-sase-rare-hazime-tagaránai rásikatta daroo ka néé* 'I 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-hazime-owari-kaneru* '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 *-másu* and *-nasáru*, the source of *V-i-nasái*, 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 *tukéru*) and *tuke-haziméru* 'begins pickling' (from *tukeru*) are both pronounced *tuke-haziméru* by the younger speakers; *iki-tuzukeru* 'continues living' (from *ikíru*) and *iki-tuzukéru* 'continues to go' (from *iku*) are both *iki-tuzukéru* for the younger speakers.³⁶ 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, siai-hazimeru, siaihazime-owáru, siaihazimeowari-kaneru, ...* (Notice how this accent patterning 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 *owaru* 'ends' is appearing (in its negative form *owaranai*) as a semantic substitute for the expected *watari-owaránai*, a form that would be quite acceptable in the sentence: *Nihyakú-nin ga kawá o watattá ga, watari-owáru ka owaranai uti(-) 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 *-másu*: *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 huri-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-tuzúku* 'continues to weep' in favor of *Naki-tuzukéru*. 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: *mitukeru* 'finds', *otituku* 'calms down', *mitomeru* 'recognizes', ... Cf. *uke-toru* 'receives', *tori-kumu* 'wrestles with', *moti-iru* '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 *tukiáru* 'associates (with)'. (Except for *osóre-irimasu* we ignore the old-fashioned option of retaining the accent of a few infinitives, such as *omói-*, in certain set compounds.)

too. By way of contrast, notice that *Áme ga huri-hazimeta* (or *huri-dasita*) 'It started to rain' can not be replaced by **huri-hazimatta* (**huri-deta*), nor can *Is-syúukan huri-toosu* 'It rains for a whole week' be replaced by **huri-tooru*. The pair *kakéru* and *kakáru* seem to have slightly different meanings as auxiliaries: *sini-kakéru* 'is half dead', *sini-kakáru* 'faces death'. The pair *hatéru/hatásu* (34) show a different pattern of behavior: *-hateru* is attached to intransitive infinitives, *-hatasu* to transitives. What about *tukíru/tukúsu* (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: *si oku* = *site oku*; *si kitáru* = *site kúru*, the verb *kitáru* [*< kí itáru(-)*] 'come and reach' being a literary version of *kúru* 'comes'; etc. In older stages of Japanese the infinitive was separable from ALL auxiliaries at least by juncture (and very likely by *wá/mó*), so that the modern *kaki-naosu* 'rewrites' was at one time pronounced *káki | naósu* with the same phrasing as *káite | míru* 'tries reading'. The earlier phrasing is perhaps what accounts for certain now-idiomatic expressions such as *hikí-mo | kírazu* 'without interruption'—also *hikí-mo | kiránu* and *hikí-mo | kiránai* 'is uninterrupted' as in these examples: ... *kokudoo hatigoo-sen wa toráku ya danpú-káa ga hikí-mo kiránai* 'there is no break in the stream of trucks and dumpcars along Highway Eight' (SA 2659.141b); *Kaisóo-sya no rétu wa, hikí-mo kiránakatta* 'The line of funeral attendants stretched unbroken' (Fn 252a). The accentuation (*hikí mo* 'even tugging') tells us this is not a derived noun (*hiki mo* 'even the pull'). Cf. *hikkiri-nási* (*ni/da/no*) 'uninterrupted'.

In the phrase *mí mo siranai/siranákatta áka-no tanin* 'a complete and utter stranger' we find a somewhat more complicated structure, either to be interpreted as *mí mo {site} siranai* or as *mí[-te] mo siranai*—it is unclear which ellipsis is the likelier. In the phrase *ne mo yaranu itíya* '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 **né mo yaranu*): *Eigá-hwan ni tótte wa, ne mo yaranu tosí¹ no ake to nari-sóo de aru* 'For the movie fan [watching TV], it will be a New Year holiday that allows no sleep' (SA 2660.128b).

But *omói-mo yoranai/yoranu/yorazu* 'unexpected' is like *tóri-mo naósazu* (pp. 329, 400) in deriving from a compound verb *omói(-)yoru* 'thinks and approaches = hits upon an idea' that is now obsolete (Meikai kogo jiten 198b). A like case is *oyobí-mo tukanai* 'does not reach' (Fn 327a); *oyobi-túku* is attested in Shimmura 321d. The example *íi-mo owarazu* 'without even finishing one's say' (Aston 31) is a similar idiom. See also *ái-mo kawarazu* 'without the least change' (§5.5).

LIST OF INFINITIVE-ATTACHED AUXILIARY VERBS

I. RECIPROCAL

1. *-au* '(o-tagai 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-áu* 'do to each other; [LEXICAL] quarrel', *oti-au* 'fall together', *suki-au* 'like each other'; *hore-áu* 'fall in love with each other', *tagai ni sizi si-áu* 'support each other', *hanasi o si-au* 'exchange conversation', *hanasi-au* 'discuss, consult'; *daki-áu* 'embrace each other' (but **kaka-áu* 'hold each other in the arms' is impossible); *o-tagai ni tegami o*

kaki-atta 'wrote letters to each other, corresponded'; ... go-rokunin no sinrigákú-sya ga sinrigákú-sya \bar{d} óosi de tagai ni hikén-sya ni nari-atte, ... 'five or six psychologists took turns among themselves as (experimental) subjects for each other' (Ōkubo in Ōno 1967.125); i-áu 'are staying together'; ari-au 'happens to be/have', ari-au kamí to hude o tótte ... 'taking the paper and pen that happened to be at hand' (Fn 478b); Cf. the quasi-adverb ái '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-awaséru 'chances to be present', kiki-awaséru = toi-awaséru 'makes inquiry'; ki-awasete iru hitó 'people who happen to be here'; Sorézore no genba/genzyoo ni i-awáseta hitótati ... 'the people who happened to be at the various sites ...' (SA 2681.128d); Cf. the derived nouns ari-awase 'what is ready to hand', si-awase '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. -*hazimeru*, -*someru* [quasi-literary] 'begins, starts': (a) yomi-hazimeru 'starts to read', yobi-haziméru 'begins calling/inviting', ari-hazimeru 'begins to exist/have', owari-hazimeru 'starts to end', hazime-haziméru 'starts to begin it', mondai ni nari-hazimeru 'begins to become a problem'; ki-hazimete iru '(THEY) are beginning to arrive'; mie-hazimete iru 'are beginning to appear'; kyóomí o moti-hazimete 'started to have/take an interest in it and ...' (SA 2662.22d); kurasikku-rekóodo no ure-iki zengen no keikoo ga de-hazimete iru '... there are beginning to appear trends toward a slackening in the sale of classical records' (SA 2671.116c); Súde ni wá-ga kuni no mattan no sen'i-sangyoo ni wa eikyoo ga araware-hazimeta 'Already the effect has started appearing on the smaller textile industries of our country' (SA 2670.138d); Dé mo, sono kanoo-sei ga Nihón de mo déte ki-hazimete 'ru, to iu ki ga surú n desu yó '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-hazime 'hearing for the first time; starting to hear' from kiki-hazime, the infinitive of verb + auxiliary; for a special use of V-i-hazime nó, see §9.1.7: p. 424. (b) ake-soméru 'starts to dawn', saki-soméru 'begins to bloom', omoi-soméru 'falls in love with', mi-someru 'sees for the first time, falls in love with at first sight', ?ii-soméru 'utters',

3. -*kakeru* 'begins; does halfway; looks to do, is ready to do': mi-kakeru 'begins to look' (as lexical compound 'catches sight of, sees'), hataraki-kakéru 'sets to work' (as lexical compound [aité ni ~] 'influences, acts on'), yomi-kakeru 'starts to read', ii-kakéru 'is about to say, starts to say', sizumi-kakéru 'starts to sink', naori-kakeru 'it starts to improve', hassya si-kakéru 'the train is about to pull out', hasiri-kakeru 'breaks into a run', sini-kakéru 'is half-dead', dasi-kakeru 'begins to put out (etc.)', hazime-kakéru 'is about to begin, starts to begin', i-kakéru (ori-kakeru) 'is ready to stay', ki-kakeru 'is ready to come', kake-kakeru 'begins to hang it (etc.)', kuti-káketa(-) míki 'a half-rotted tree trunk', konsui ga okori-kakeru to 'when a coma is about to set in'; warai-kákete yameta 'started to laugh and then stopped' (Tk 2.102b); ... tote-mo damé daroo to akirame-kakete ita áru-hi no gógo 'one afternoon when I was half-resigned that it wouldn't work out at all ...' (SA 2665.104c); ... háikú(-) to iu monó ga wakari-kakete kíta n desu ga né, ... 'I gradually started to get an understanding of (this thing called) haiku, but, you know ...' (Tk 2.4b);

... hikátte ita mizu ga kuraku nari-kaketa tokí^[r] ... 'when the water, which had been sparkling, started to get dark ...' (SA 2664.83a); Gasorin ga ketuboo si-kákete iru 'We are running out of gas' (Kenkyusha); Senzi-tyuu, bússi ga kyúukutu ni nari-kaketa kóro, ... 'During wartime, when commodities started to get scarce, ...' (Shibata 1961.1); Táta mamá^[r], koohii o hanbun^[r] nomi-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 dá*, usually adnominalized to *-kake nó*: *yari-kake no sigoto* 'half-done work', *tabe-kake no góhan* 'half-eaten food', *sui-kake no tabako* 'a half-smoked cigarette', *kaki-kake no hón* 'a half-written book', These expressions are always atonic; that is because derived nouns from compound infinitives are ALL atonic; see *-sasi dá* 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: *ozí-san ga koko de pén de tomodati ni kaki-kake no tegami* 'a half-written letter in pen here from uncle to a friend'. It can be negativized (...-kake zya náí NOUN), perfectivized (...-kake dátta N), It can be adnominalized to postadnominals (*sigoto o yari-kake no tokí/tokoró/hazu/etc.*), though it is easily replaced by the simpler adnominalization ...-kakeru/-kaketa + postadnominal.

3a. *-kakarú* 'is ready/about/going to do, almost does, starts to do': *sini-kakáru* 'faces death', *korosare-kakáru* 'is nearly killed', *taiyoo ga de-kakatte iru* 'the sun is starting to rise', *húne ga sizumi-kakátte iru* 'the boat is about to sink', *sigoto ga deki-kakatte iru* 'the work is nearly done', *hi ga kure-kakátta* 'the sun was about to set'; *ki-kakarú* 'is about to be here' (as lexical compound 'happens to come'); *oti-kakarú* 'is about to fall'; *koware-kakatta doogú-bako(̄)* 'a toolbox that had started to fall apart' (SA 2669.91b); *toko ni túita tokí nya [= ni wa] yó ga ake-kakátte ...* '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 kakáru, pp. 406-7.

4. *-dasu*₁ 'begins, starts': *huri-dasu* 'starts to rain/snow'; *yobi-dásu* 'starts to call/invite' (as lexical compound 'calls someone out, pages, summons'—or is this a case of 40,-*dasu*₂?); *moe-dásu* 'catches fire', *dasi-dasu* 'begins to put out (etc.)', *i-dásu* 'starts to stay', *ari-dasu* 'starts to exist/have', *hazime-dásu* 'starts to begin it', *naki-dásu* 'bursts into tears'; ... *óyazi(̄) no kotó ga ki ni nari-dasita* 'I started worrying about my father' (SA 2659.118b); ... *yokuzitu kara yóku nari-dasita né* 'from the next day he started to get better' (Tk 4.4a); *Kono kangáe wa, hazime wa úmaku itte itá ga, dandán huzyuubún-sa o simesi-dásita(̄)* '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 hénka ga araware-dasita* 'great changes started to appear' (44b); *Mázu dai-iti ni Amerika no zidoosya-gáisyá no kázu ga heri-dasita* 'First off, the number of automobile companies in America began to shrink' (44b). The lexical *mi-idasu* '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-owáru* 'finishes starting', ...; *owari-

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: Utusi-oeta yado-tyoo wa mata kesi-gomu de kesite tugí no o-kyaku tyoo ni mawasite ita 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-agéru 'finishes washing', si-agéru 'finishes, completes (doing)', tukuri-ageru 'completes (making)'; uri-agéru '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',

7. *-kir-u* 'finishes, does completely (and stops)': tukare-kiru 'gets tired out', moe-kíru 'burns out', uri-kíru 'sells out',³⁷ kai-kíru 'buys up', yomi-kiru 'reads through', oyogi-kiru 'swims through (to the end)', sini-kíru 'they finish dying off; he ...', nori-kíru 'rides all the way through; weathers (a storm etc.)'; yogore-kitta yúbune 'a filthy bathtub' (SA 2672.23d); tukaikonasi-kitta ... sake-zao 'a thoroughly mastered salmon rod' (SA 2669.91b); ... máiniti(¯) no seikatu ni taikutu si-kítte iru 'is thoroughly bored with everyday life' (SA 2684.120a); Bóku(¯) wa saká o nobori-kíri, ... 'I climbed the slope, and ...' (CK 985.371); Áse o dasi-kitte, dasi-kitte, turai, turai 'You sweat and sweat; it's tough, it's tough' (SA 2671.47a); Tákano-san wa Naitingéeru ni sinsui si-kítte iru 'Miss Takano is a great admirer of Florence Nightingale' (SA 2679.63b); Rago-su-wánnai o ittári kítari site iru watasi-búne ga kyaku ga nákute akubi site itá no de iti-nítí kari-kíru 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 máda ake-kiranu gózen yó-zi sugi kara, ... 'From (something) after four in the morning when it had not yet fully dawned ...' (SA 2686.38a). Chaplin rejects (*)Áme ga huri-kitte sóra ga kirei 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-yaméru 'stops dying', *owari-yameru 'stops ending',

8a. *-yamu* 'stops' (with some involuntary verbs): kaze ga huki-yanda 'the wind has abated', áme ga huri-yanda 'it has rained itself out'; Sibáruku site 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-sásu 'leaves work unfinished', yomi-sasu 'leaves it half-read', kaki-sasu 'leaves it half-written', kiki-sásu '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 dá*, usually adverbialized to the gerund *-sasi de*: (ii-sásu →) ii-sasi dé 'in the midst of one's words'. The verbal infinitive can carry along its adjuncts (watasi ga káre ni sore o ii-sasi dé). It can be negativized (ii-sasi zya nákute) or perfectivized (ii-sasi dátta). 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-kiréru 'it sells out'; cf. suri-kiru 'rubs it out = spends it all' (and, lexically, 'cuts by rubbing') and suri-kireru 'it wears out' as in suri-kireta rekóodo 'a well-worn record' (Endō 158).

postadnominals (tegami o kaki-sasi no tokí/tokoró/hazu/ etc.). From moe-sasi 'half burning' there is a derived noun 'match end' or '(burned) stub' as in ... sono [= mátti no] moesasí o asimótó e suteta 'he dropped the [match]butt at his feet' (SA 2689.43b).

The auxiliary *-sasú* should not be confused with the abbreviated form of the causative *-asas[e-r]u/-sas[e-r]u* (§4.1). The forms will always sound different for consonant verbs (yomi-sasu 'leaves it half-read', yomasásu = yomasaséru '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-sásu 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 /tabesásu/ will be unambiguous only from the lips of an older speaker, for whom it represents the shortening of tabesaséru 'has him eat' since he will pronounce tabe-sasu 'stops eating' atonic, unlike the younger generation who will say tabe-sásu.

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-tóosu 'does it all the way', is-syúukan huri-toosu 'keeps raining for a whole week', ...?; *ari-toosu, *sini-tóosu, *owari-tóosu, ...

11. *-tukusu* 'does thoroughly; does all kinds of': asobi-tukúsu 'tries all pleasures', kaki-tukusu 'writes thoroughly; writes all sorts of things', kiki-tukúsu 'hears all sorts of things; listens thoroughly'; yomi-tukusu, tukai-tukúsu, tabe-tukusu, (oyá ni) tukusi-tukusu, ...; *ari-tukusu, *moti-tukusu, ?*sini-tukúsu, ...; Puréeyaa to site, naga-nen, ookésutora ni syozoku site ita daké ni, ookésutora no daidokoro no naizyoo máde siri-tukúsite 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); Sukósi no ma ni átari wa kuraku nari-tukusita 'In a short while the place got all dark' (Kb 59b); Sin'yuu de áru kara, o-tagai ni móo ii-tái kotó wa ii-tukúsite iru 'We are good friends, so by this time we have talked out everything we have to say to one another' (Tk 3.31); Yukí to turara ni uzumore-tukúsite Takayama no matí no sógata ga ... 'The appearance of the town of Takayama all buried in snow and icicles ...' (SA 2794.70c); Yositaroo wa mi mo kokóro mo Mitiyo ni honroo sare-tukúsite ita 'Yoshitaro, body and soul, was made a complete fool of by Mitiyo' (SA 2793.105c); Géndai no supóotu wa, samázama(¯) na monó ni riyoo sare-tukusárete iru 'Modern sports have been exploited for all sorts of purposes' (SA 2671.36b). But uri-tukúsu 'sells out' may be lexical ('exhausts by selling'): Ása no zyúu-zi kara uri-hazímete, sóo, sán-zi ¯góro ni wa uri-tukúsite simau né 'I start selling at ten in the morning, yes, and around three I'm all sold out, you see' (SA 2664.101c).

IV. INTENSIVE

12. *-tateru* 'does vigorously and with concentration': kaki-tateru 'writes it up fully', kaki-tateru₁ 'scratches vigorously' [cf. the lexical compound kaki-tateru₂ 'stirs it all up, poles it'], sawagi-tateru 'makes a big fuss', ii-tatéru 'states, declares, asserts', hanasi-tateru 'talks ?away/up', kemuri o tate-tateru 'raises smoke vigorously', ...; *ari-tateru, *sini-tatéru, *owari-tatéru, *hazime-tatéru, Cf. *-tate dá* (§9.1.6).

13. *-makuru* 'does intently': kaki-makuru 'throws oneself into writing it', kiri-makuru 'cuts furiously', tuki-makúru 'pokes/thrusts wildly', áraši ga huki-makutte iru

'a storm is raging', *zyúu o uti-makuru* 'fires his rifle wildly'; ... *sigoto de oi-makuráre*, ... 'insistently pressed with all one's work' (SA 2661.100c)—also *sigoto ni oi-makuráre* 'relentlessly driven by work' (SA 2680.24); ... *uri-makútte irú no ga búutu* 'boots are selling like hotcakes' (SA 2660.155b); *Syóowa(-) yónzyuu yo-nen wa manga ga abare-makútta tosi datta* '1969 was a year of rampaging cartoons' (SA 2661.100a); *Suizenzi ga tokú(-) no máati o utai-makúru* 'They sing out the marches that are [Kiyoko] Suizenji's favorites' (SA 2660.129d); ...; **ari-makuru*, **sini-makúru*, A common usage is *V₁-te V₁-te V₁-makuru*, e.g. *Káite káite kaki-makuru* 'writes and writes and writes away'; ... *kekón-siki de wa hómete hómete home-makurú no ga étikétto* ... 'At a wedding ceremony it is etiquette to praise to the skies ...' (CK 985.391). Cf. *siri o makutte* 'rolling up one's skirts = assuming a defiant attitude'.

14. *-kyoo-ziru* 'enjoys (oneself) doing': *warai-kyoo-zíru* 'has a good laugh', *hanasi-kyoo-ziru* 'enjoys a pleasant talk', *asobi-kyoo-zíru* 'has a nice visit/game', *nomi-kyoo-ziru* 'enjoys a drink', *utai-kyoo-zíru* 'amuses oneself singing'. But *uti-kyoozírú* in ... *seken-bánasi ni uti-kyóozite 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-tuzukéru* 'continues staying, stays on', *ari-tuzukeru* 'continues existing/having', *sini-tuzukéru* 'they continue dying', *tuzuke-tuzukéru* 'continues continuing it', *owari-tuzukeru* 'continues ending', *hazime-tuzukéru* 'continues beginning it'; ... *zyuuyoo na kínoo(-) o moti-tuzukete iru* 'is continuing to have an important function' (Nakane 148); *ryóosya -tomo sutáa de ari-tuzukeru kotó* 'for both of them to go on being stars' (SA 2668.103b); *Dóno-yóo de átta ka, dóno-yóo de ari-tuzuketá 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 *ári-* and *de ári-*: *Sáreba to itte wareware ni kankin sareru kotó o itóu kokóro no ari-tuzuku kágiri, "keimú-syó(-)" to iu gó mo máta(-) itowasii monó de ari-tuzukú 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-tukéru* '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-túketa sigoto* 'familiar work', *o-kane ga ari-tukete iru* (better: *o-kane o moti-tukete iru*) 'is used to having money', ...; (?)*sini-tukéru*, ...; ?*...-tukeru, ...; *mi-tukenai kao* 'an unfamiliar face' (= *mi-narenai kao*); *Míni bákari o mise-tukerarete kíta mé ni wa íssyu iyoo na húukei de mo áru* 'It [= the maxi] 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-tukéru* 'reprimands' is lexical. From this conversion, by infinitive nominalization (as with *-kakeru* and *-sasú* above, cf. §9.1.7) we get expressions with *-tuke dá*, usually adnominalized to *-tuke nó*: *iki-tuke no baa* 'a bar one is used to going to', *kai-tuke no misé* 'the shop one usually buys at', *kakari-tuke no isya* 'my usual doctor' (from *isya ni kakáru* 'consults a doctor'),

17. *-nareru* 'becomes accustomed to': *ii-naréru* 'gets used to saying', *kaki-nareru* 'gets used to writing', *yomi-nareru* 'gets used to reading', *kiki-naréru* 'gets used to hearing', *tabe-nareru* 'gets used to eating', ...; *tukai-narénai zyúu* 'a gun that one is not used to (using)'; **ari-nareru* 'gets used to having/existing', (?)*sini-naréru* 'gets used to dying', ...; ?**...-nareru* ...

18. *-nara[wa]su* 'does as a habit, makes it a practice to do, always does': *yobi-narawásu* 'always calls/invites', *aruki-narawasita miti dá kara* 'since it's a road I'm accustomed to walking', *bungo o yomi-narawasu* 'makes it a practice to read literary Japanese', ...; **ari-narawasu* 'always has/exists', **sini-narawásu* 'always dies; they always die', ...

19. *-mawaru* 'goes around doing, does at different places': *asobi-mawáru* 'goes around enjoying oneself', *tobi-mawáru* 'flies around', *aruki-mawaru* 'walks around', *kake-mawaru* 'runs around'; *moti-mawaru* 'goes around holding', ...; **ari-mawaru*, **i-mawáru*, **sini-mawáru*, [Physical movement need not be involved.] Cf. *mawari-mawatte* 'after many vicissitudes'—a derived adverb, for it would be tonic (**mawari-mawátte*) if it were the gerund of *mawaru* + the auxiliary *-mawaru*.

20. *-aruku* 'goes around doing [not necessarily afoot]': *nomi-aruku* 'goes around drinking', *tabe-aruku* 'goes around eating all the time', *ii-arúku* 'goes around saying, keeps saying', *asobi-arúku* 'goes around enjoying oneself', *N o uri-arúku* '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: ... *Bánkoku no matí o nosi-aruite itta* 'he strode all over Bangkok' (SA 2669.62a).

VII. ITERATIVE

21. *-kaesu* 'repeats (the doing of)': *yobi-káesu* '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-káesu* 'hears it again', *morai-káesu* 'receives it again', ...; **nori-káesu* 'rides it over again', **ki-kaesu* 'comes again', **ari-kaesu*, **i-káesu*, **sini-káesu*, 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-káesu* 'puts the garment on again' is rejected. Nor is it clear why *okuri-káesu* 'sends back' and *buti-kaesu* 'hits back' apparently occur only as lexical compounds.

22. *-kaeru* 'redoes DIFFERENTLY': *ki-káeru* 'changes clothes', ^{47a}*nori-káeru* 'changes vehicles'; *yomi-kaeru* 'rereads' (= *yomi-naosu*), *kaki-kaeru* 'rewrites' (= *kaki-naosu*), ...; *naosi-kaeru* 'reimproves', *hazime-káeru* 'begins anew', ...; **ari-kaeru*, ?**i-káeru*, ?**sini-káeru*, But the mutative *ni* in ... *atarasii kuruma ni kai-káeru* 'trades one's car in on a new one' shows that *kai-káeru* is lexical; 're-buys' would require *kuruma o*. And *akire-káeru* is a synonym of *akire-hatéru* 'is thoroughly dumbfounded/disgusted'.

23. *-naosu* 'redoes 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', *kimono o sitate-naosu* 'alters a garment', *tate-naosu* 'rebuilds', *kazoe-naosu* 'recounts', *kangae-naosu* 'reconsiders', *morai-naosu* 'receives it again' (= *morai-kaesu*), *suwari-naosu* 'reseats 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 nízyuu go-nen to iú no wa nágakatta n da ná to omoi-naosita* 'I revised my ideas, thinking "Ah, after all,

47a. Now usually lexicalized as *kigáeru*; cf. *Nihongo-kyōiku* 28.23 (1975).

twenty-five years has been a long time, hasn't it?'' (SA 2670.43c); Mata nobotté 'tte, ori-naosanákuttya 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 iki o nómi, roogan-kyoo o kákete moo iti-dó 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-ooséru 'manages to accomplish (despite difficult circumstances)', si-ooséru 'accomplishes', kaki-ooseru '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], *-u(ru)* [literary] 'can do' = potential (§4.4) or *-ru kotó ga dekiru* (§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 kágiri 'as much as possible' (Y 509); ... to iu kotó mo kangae-uru kotó desu ga, ... 'even such a thing as ... is thinkable, but' (Shibata in Ōno 1967.74); Bunka-zinruigaku ga tetugaku ni kawari-úru kágaku da to suréba, ... 'If cultural anthropology is considered to be a science capable of replacing philosophy, ...' (SA 2676.98d); Káre nara ari-úru kotó da 'It's something that might happen to HIM, all right' (SA 2686.26d); sake-enai zítai 'an unavoidable situation' (Kgg 81.1a); Dóru ga sekai-túuka tari-úru [< to ari-úru] wáke 'Why (it is that) the dollar can be a world currency' (SA 2676.44a). But the literary predicative appears in ... syuusyuu si-ú 'bekarazáru zyootai ... 'a situation out of control' (Fn 26a) and in ... onná no kyád'ii nádo wa kangae-u 'béku mo arimasén kara, ... 'a female caddy being the farthest thing from one's mind, ...' (Tsukagoshi 76). On *ari-e-* and *de ari-e-*, see §4.4. See also §4.4 for pleonastic *V-i-e-rare-*; K 1966.136-7 cites from modern writers examples of *deki-enai*, *deki-uru*, and even *deki-e-rareru*. An example made on a passive: Soo iu zyuukuseiki-teki na kangae-káta de wa, atarasii "sekái-si" wa koosei sare-énai '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. *-tariru* 'does it enough' (especially common in the negative *-tarinai* 'does it insufficiently'): yomi-tariru 'reads enough', ne-tarinai 'doesn't get enough sleep', miti-tariru 'gets full enough', ...; *ari-tariru, ?*sini-tariru [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': sagasi-agunéru 'tires of looking for it', mati-aguneru 'wearies of waiting', moti-aguneru 'tires of holding', ...; ? ...; ?*...-aguneru,

28. *-ayamaru*, *-matigau* (?= -tigaeru) 'mis(takenly) does': mi-ayamaru 'fails to see, mistakes', kaki-ayamaru 'miswrites', ii-ayamaru 'misstates', ami-ayamaru 'misweaves', nui-ayamaru 'missews',

29. *-sokonau*; *-sokoneru* [variant]; *-son-ziru* [semi-literary] 'misdoes (accidentally)'; (= *-sobireru*) 'fails to do, unsuccessfully does/attempts': yomi-sokonau 'misreads; fails to read', oki-sokonáu 'mislays; fails to put', ii-sokonáu 'missays, makes a tongueslip', obore-sokonáu 'nearly drowns', yookoo si-sokonáu 'misses one's chance to go abroad', kooen o

kiki-sokonáu 'misses (hearing) a lecture', mondai o toki-sokonau 'fails to solve the problem', ate-sokonáu 'guesses wrong'; sini-sokonáu 'attempts suicide' (the derived noun that means 'would-be suicide' or 'damn old man' shows idiosyncratic—pejorative?—nigori: sini-zokonai); Sono tamé ni atasya [= watasi wa] homerare-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-tigáeru 'goes to the wrong place', suwari-tigáeru 'sits in the wrong seat', X o Y ni kiki-tigáeru 'mishears X as Y (Y for X)', ...; *ari-tigaeru, *sini-tigáeru,

31. *-kaneru* [semi-literary] (1) 'can not do' = negative potential: Oosaka-kokusai-kúukoo no tikáku ni súmu nízyuu hatí-nin wa, túi ni tamari-kánete, kuni o aite-dótte sosyoo o okósita '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'): dónna kotó de mo si-kanéni 'would stop at nothing', íma ni mo naguri-kanenai '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', ...; ?*...-kaneru, Sansom 221 suggests this may be related to the Old Japanese V-i kate-nu 'cannot' from an auxiliary V-i kat(e)- 'can'.

31a. *-kirenai* 'it is too much for one to do, cannot': íkura hómete mo home-kirenai 'cannot speak too highly of him, is beyond praise'; hitóri de tabe-kirenai hodó no gotisoo 'a feat too substantial for one person'; kui-kirenai hodó no pán 'more bread than one can eat'; iti-nítí de wa mi-kirenai 'can't see them all in one day' (cf. mi-kiru 'abandons etc.'—lexical, 7 above); Sono hón wa kyóo zyyuu ní wa yomi-kirenai 'I can hardly get through the book today'; Kono sitú ni hyakú-nin wa hairi-kirenai 'This room won't hold a hundred people'; Kore wa watasi ní wa tabe-kirenai 'This is more than I can eat'; Tukai-kirénai hodó^[1] kane ga áru 'I have more money than I can spend'; Dóo⁽²⁾ sité mo, bóku(¯) wa akirame-kirenai 'I just can't get over it' (Tk 4.295a); San-kái^[1] ittá kedo mi-kirenákatta 'I went three times [to the Louvre] but I couldn't see it all' (Tk 2.192b); ... túmari syúzin no áni daké de wa hutan si-kirénai no de ... 'after all my husband's older brother alone can hardly take on all the burden, so ...' (SA 2681.112b); Kotowari-kirenai hodó^[1] sigoto ga áru 'I've got so many jobs (offered me) that I can't get them all turned down' (SA 2671.28e); Írai, dai-rén'ai, syoo-rén'ai, zúbun nasátta yóo desu né.—Hái, kazoe-kiremasén 'You seem to have had a good many love affairs in the past, big ones and little ones.—Yes, I lose count of them' (SA 2685.46a); ... zyoyóo-sya ga káabu o magari-kírezu ... dentyuu ni ... butukarímásita 'a passenger car failed to negotiate a curve and hit a telephone pole' (R). Contrast the auxiliary in Iti-zíkan de wa yari-kirénai 'I will not be able to do it in an hour' with the derived quasi-adjective in Koo átukute wa yarikirénai 'It is terribly hot' (Cf. p. 480). Is there also an auxiliary *-kireru* as an intransitive counterpart to *-kiru* (7) 'does thoroughly (to the end)' or are we to regard *uri-kiréru* 'it sells (= gets sold) out' as lexical? In any event, *uri-kirénai* will have two meanings: (1) 'can not sell it', (2) 'does not get sold out'. And the following example presumably belongs to the second type: ... máda hakkoo si-kirénai ... búbun 'parts that are not yet fully fermented' (SA 2674.93b).

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-sugósu* 'oversleeps (beyond the time one is supposed to wake up—regardless of when one went to bed)' [cf. *ne-sugíru*, with the excessive §9.1.9, 'sleeps too much, sleeps too many hours'], *nori-sugósu* 'misses one's stop, rides past one's station' [cf. *nori-sugíru* 'does too much riding; too many ride'], *?tabe-sugosu* 'eats more than one is supposed to' [cf. *tabe-sugíru* 'overeats, eats too much'], ...; *?*...-sugosu*, ...

33. *-okureru* 'is too late to do; misses doing by being too late; is slow (delayed, tardy) in doing': *kisyá ni nori-okuréru* '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-okuréru* 'misses one's chance to say it', *hazime-okuréru* 'is too late to start', *owari-okuréru* 'is too late to end', *yomi-okureru* 'is too late to read it', *mi-okureru* 'is too late to see it', *kiki-okuréru* 'is too late to hear it', *kie-okúreta kirí* 'the fog which was slow to lift' (SA 2671.92a), ...; **iki-okuréru*, **ki-okureru* 'is too late to come', *?*ai-okureru* 'is too late to meet', **mati-okureru* 'is too late to wait for', **okure-okuréru* 'is too late to be late', ...

X. DEPLETIVE

34. *VI-hateru*, *VT-hatasu* 'is finally reduced to': (1) *aki-hateru* 'grows sick of', *tuki-hateru* 'is exhausted, used up', *sini-hatéru* 'dies, dies out', *kuti-hatéru*(⁻) 'rots/rusts away', *oi-hateru* 'weakens with age', *nari-hateru* 'is reduced to (being)', *kawari-hatéru* 'undergoes a complete change', *akire-hatéru* (also *akire-káéru*) 'is thoroughly dumbfounded/disgusted', ...; **ari-hateru*, **hataraki-hatéru*, **umare-hatéru*, **itami-hateru*, Is *komari-hateru* 'is greatly embarrassed' (= *komari-kiru/-nuku*) lexical? (2) (*magókoru o*) *tukusi-hatasu* 'exhausts (one's sincerity)', (*sinkei o*) *tukai-hatasu* 'exhausts one's nerves', *o-kane o tukai-hatasu* 'spends all one's money', ...

35. *-akiru* 'wearies of doing': *mi-akiru* 'wearies of seeing', *kiki-akíru* 'is tired of hearing', *tabe-akiru* 'is tired of eating', *si-akíru* 'is tired of doing', *asobi-akíru* 'wearies of playing', *hiki-akíru* 'is tired of playing (a stringed instrument)', *ki-akíru* 'is tired of wearing', *ki-akiru* 'is tired of coming', *ne-akíru* 'has had more than enough sleep', *yomi-akiru* 'is tired of reading', *aki-akiru* [*jocular*] 'wearies of getting weary', ...; **ari-akiru*, ...

36. *-nokosu* 'skips/omits doing (of some but not all)': *tabe-nokosu* 'leaves some uneaten', *nomi-nokosu* 'leaves some undrunk', *iki-nokósu* 'leaves some places ungone to', *?suwari-nokósu* 'leaves some seats unsat in', *ii-nokósita kotó* 'something left unsaid/omitted', *yari-nokósita sigoto* 'work left undone', *hitó-maku o mi-nokosu* 'leaves the theater without seeing one (= the last) act' (*Kenkyusha*); ...; **ari-nokosu*, **i-nokósu*, ...

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'; *Kitá*(⁻) *no kuni ni kaeri-sobireta kogamo ga ití-wa máda oyóide ite ...* 'A single teal that had missed leaving for the northern country was still swimming (there) ...' (Tk 3.21); ...; **ari-sobireru*, ...

38. *-siburu*, *-osimu*: 'begrudges doing, is reluctant to do': *dasi-siburu* 'is reluctant to pay', *ii-sibúru* 'hesitates to say', *uri-sibúru* 'is willing to sell', ...; **ari-siburu*, ...

XI. INGRESSIVE

39. *-komu*, *?-ireru*: 'does in(ward)': *nozoki-kómu* 'peeks in', *buti-komu* 'throws in',

osi-kómu 'pushes in', moti-komu 'brings in' (lexical 'complains to'), nori-kómu 'rides in(to)', suwari-kómu 'sits down', hairi-komu 'slips in(to a room etc.)', hore-kómu 'falls in love', oboe-komu 'memorizes', (nání ka o) kangae-komu 'is deep in thought (about something)', mizu no náka e hoori-kómu 'throws it into the water', yoohuku o ki-kónde iru 'is bundled up in one's clothes', nomi-komu 'drinks in, swallows up', okuri-kómu 'sends in', tume-komu 'crams/crowds/packs in', tataki-komu 'hammers/drives in'; tobi-kónde kíta 'came flying [= rushing] in'; akuseru-pédaru o humi-kómu 'steps on the gas (pedal)'; ... byooin ni okuri-komaréru 'gets sent to a hospital' (SA 2670.32e); ... sai-aku no zyootai ni oti-komí, ... 'falling into the worst possible conditions' (SA 2668.118c); ... nímotu o heyá ni hakobi-komaséru to ... 'when we had our luggage brought into the room' (SA 2664.82c); ... kane ga korogari-kónde kúru 'money comes rolling in'; ... kodomo nádo ni reigi-sáhoo o osie-kómu kotó ... 'instilling etiquette in, say, children ...' (Kotoba no yurai 82); Watasi wa damari-kondá ga, óoi-ni human de átta 'I sank [re-lapsed/fell] into silence but I was greatly dissatisfied' (SA 2674.42c); ...; *ari-komu; *aruki-komu 'walks in', But mi-komu 'expects; estimates; trusts' and kime-kómu 'takes (it) for granted, pretends, feigns', are lexical. And -ireru (kaki-ireru 'writes in', nori-iréru 'rides/drives it in', ...) is probably better treated as forming lexical compounds; the outputs are all transitive. In mari o ke-komu '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 ké and it is likely that ke-komu was inherited intact; we can contrast keru-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 keru-komu is also used and perhaps is more colloquial. So we can list ke-komu as a lexical item but feel free to make up keru-komu as we need it.

XII. EGRESSIVE

40. -saru, -dasu₂ 'does out/away': tobi-dasu₂ 'flies out' (cf. tobi-dasu₁ 'starts to fly'), nori-dásu 'drives out', ? aruki-dasu 'walks out', moti-dásu 'takes out': nige-saru/-dasu 'escapes', hasiri-saru 'runs away', aruki-saru 'walks away',

VOICE RESTRICTIONS ON AUXILIARIES

Infinitive		Productivity Index	AUXILIARY	Auxiliary	
Passive	Causative			Passive	Causative
+	+	.86	1. -au	+	+
+	+	.96	2. -hazimeru, -someru	+	+
+	+	.93	3. -kakeru	+	+
+	+	.90	4. -dasu ₁	+	+
+	+	.58	5. -owaru, -oeru	+	+
—	—	.37	6. -ageru	+	+
—	—	.77	7. -kir-u	+	+
—	—	.51	8. -yameru	+	+
+	+	.09	9. -sasú	—?	+
+	+	.82	10. -toosu	+	+
+	+	.71	11. -tukusu	+	+

-?	+	.41	12. -tateru	+	+
-	-	.36	13. -makuru	+	+
(-)	(-)	.16	14. -kyoo-ziru	+	+
<hr/>					
+	+	.95	15. -tuzukeru	+	+
<hr/>					
+	+	.48	16. -tukeru	+	+
+	+	.71	17. -nareru	+	+
+	+?	.25	18. -narawasu	+	+
+	+	.43	19. -mawaru	+	+
-	-	.42	20. -aruku	+	+
<hr/>					
-	+	.48	21. -kaesu	+	+
-	-	.29	22. -kaeru	+	+
-	+	.50	23. -naosu	+	+
<hr/>					
-	+	.61	24. -ooseru, -oosu	+	+
+	+	.88	25. -eru, -uru	-	-
+	+	.53	26. -tariru	+	+
<hr/>					
-	+	.46	27. -aguneru, -agumu	+	+
-	+	.65	28. -ayamaru, -matigau	+	+
+	+	.80	29. -sokonau, -son-ziru	+	+
-	-	.66	30. -tigaeru	+	+
+	+	.87	31. -kaneru	-	-
-	-	.51	32. -sugosu	+	+
+	+	.73	33. -okureru	+	+
<hr/>					
+	-	.10/.35	34. -hateru, -hatasu	+	+
+	+	.51	35. -akiru	+	+
-	-	.53	36. -nokosu	+	+
+(?)	+	.70	37. -sobireru	+	+
-	+	.79/.13	38. -siburu, -osimu	+	+
<hr/>					
-	-	.33/.11	39. -komu, ? -ireru	+	+
<hr/>					
-	-	.17/.27	40. -saru, -dasu ₂	+	+

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-isóide són o sita* 'I was so anxious to sell I took a loss'; *Sihon-ka wa tukuri-isoide iru*; *syoohi-sya wa kai-isóide iru*; *kodomo wa seityoo o isóide iru*; *otona wa, túmari 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*

'digests a book on philosophy'; *umá o nori-konasu* 'gets a horse under control', *genan o tukai-konásu* 'manages one's servants, has one's servants well trained (to serve)'; ...; ... *isyoo mo ki-konasénakatta káre-ra wa ...* 'they who had not been able to get their costumes on properly' (SA 2654.59b); *Koo iu seisaku o omóu yóo ni yari-konásu tamé ni wa, mázu káre zísín ga taiken o mótu 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-yasúí* 'is easy to misread'.

?47. *-mayou, -madou* 'is mistaken in doing': *dótti to mo kime-mayótta* '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-togéru*): (1) *tataikai-núku* 'fights it out', *iki-nuku* 'lives through; (?) survives', *gógo o odori-núku* 'dances away the afternoon', *kangae-nuku* 'thinks it over/through, reflects', *komari-nuku* 'is thoroughly embarrassed' (= *komari-hateru/-kiru*), *kúroo si-núku* 'goes through all hardships = "goes through the wringer"' ; *kumori-núita sóra* 'the clouded-over sky' (Kb 124b—a bit strange?); ... *dooraku o si-núite kíta ...* 'had exhausted every amusement' (SA 2676.92c); ... *gáman ni gáman si-núite ...* 'bearing up heroically' (Ariyoshi 43). (2) *sútó o yari-núita* 'carried out a strike' (SA 2664.17b); ... *to iu kotó 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-éru) presumably represents the second meaning: ... *Okinawa no nebari-zuyóí minsyuu wa, sono dentoo géinoo(¯) o horobí(¯) kara mamori-nuki-éta no de áru ga ...* '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. [ŌSAKA] *-sarasu* (for monosyllabic verbs also *-saru*), *-ku[s]saru* = *-ya[a]garu* (54) —deprecates the verb. The origin of these pejorative auxiliaries is unknown (Maeda 1961.197),³⁸ cf. (§9.2.4) *ketukáru* = *iru/óru* 'is, stays' and V-te *ketukáru* = V-te *iru/óru*—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*"

38. Maeda 1965 suggests that *-sarasu* may be derived from *hazi o sarasu* 'exposes one's shame'. Makimura 201a says that *-ku[s]saru* is from *kusáru* 'putrefies'. Maeda 1965.225b observes that *sarasu* is used for *suru*: *Náni sarasu* 'What the hell are you doing?'; *Bikkúri sarasite ketukaru* 'I've had the living daylight scared out of me'. For the auxiliary use he cites these examples: *Sore, mi-sarase* 'Take a look at that, will you!'; *Ítu made naki-sarásu nen* (= *naki-yagaru no*) 'How long do you intend to keep up this god-awful weeping?!'

and gives these examples: *Náni nukasi-kusaru*, *Náni site* ‘-kusaru ‘What the shit are you doing?!’; *Háyo iki-kusarán ka* ‘Can’t you get this damn car going any faster?’ More examples (including one of *-kusan na = -kusaru na*) are cited from modern fiction in Y 505-7.

52. *-tukareru* ‘wears oneself out doing; is tired of doing’ (cf. *-kutabireru*): *syaberitukareru* ‘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 kesi-wasúreta* ‘forgot to put out the light’, *simai-wasúrete áme ni nureta* ‘got wet from forgetting to close up against the rain’, *dasi-wasureta hagaki* ‘a post card I forgot to mail’; ... *hando-buréeki o modosi-wasurete itá 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): *Náni o si-yagáru* ‘What the hell are you doing?’ (Kb 20a); *Baka ni syagátte* [= *si-yagátte*] ... ‘Treatin’ me like a damn fool ...’; *Náni itte* ‘-yagán da i [= *i-yagáru no da ne*] ‘What the hell are you talking about?’ (KKK 25.74a); *Ano kakáa mo kawatte* ‘-yagaru náa [= *i-yagaru náa*] ‘Gee that woman’s weird!’ (Okitsu 1.161); *Oré-táti o uragiri-yagatte* ... ‘The bastards stabbing us in the back ...’ (SA 2651.23b); *Tóotoo taihúu ni nari-yagattá ka* ‘Are we in for a damn typhoon after all?’ (SA 2662.11); ... *báka ni tikará(˘) ga ari-yagaru* ‘she’s got a hell of a lot of strength’ (Tk 2.53a); *Nán da. Damasi-yagatta ná* ‘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 *hanási-yagaru*, *ake-yagaru* with atonic infinitive yielding atonic forms and tonic infinitives retaining their accents—as if *yagaru* were an atonic verb attached syntactically with late dropping of juncture. The appendix to K (p. 32) gives *miyágaru* and *miyáagaru* as the appropriate forms for *mí-* ‘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: *Ná, náni o iyaagáru* (= *ii-yagáru*) ‘Wh-, what the hell are you saying?!’ (Kb 159a)—cf. *syaagáru = si-yagáru*; *Íi kotó o iyaagáru* ‘I’m glad to hear you say that’ (Kb 105b); *Tikusyoo, dóko e iki-yaagátta* ‘Damn, where the hell’s he gone?’ (Kb 203b); *Tumaránai kotó o itte yokei na sinpai o sase-yaagáru* ‘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 *-yagan ne = -yagaru ne*) will be found in Y 501-4.

55. *-yaranu*—apparently quite limited, the only examples I have found are with *saméru*: *Toso-kibun mo same-yaranu to iú 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 konpyuutáa-netu* ‘The still smoldering computer fever’ (SA 2654.140). MKZ^S 433a carries *same-yaranu* as a lexical entry. Under *(-)-yaranu* MKZ^S 1124b (= MKZ 856b) lists *hare-yaranu*, presumably ‘not quite fully unclouded’.

56. [DIALECT] *-yoru*: This is from *V-i* [*w*]óru, 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 *Yukí ga huri-yoru* is used as the progressive ‘It is snowing (now)’ and *Yukí ga húttoru* (< *hútte óru*) is used as a resultative ‘Snow is on the ground’ (Zhs 4.22)—both

expressed in Tōkyō by Yuki ga hütte 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). Kōchi speakers distinguish huriyuu < huri-yo[r]u < huri-oru < hūri wōru 'it is snowing/raining' from hutyyuu < hutyo[r]u < huri-te oru < hūri-té wōru 'it has snowed/rained'. Cf. Shibata 1958.29 who gives the Kōchi forms yomyuu (< yōmi ōru) 'is reading' and yondyyuu (< yōnde ōru) 'has read'. This distinction is maintained in similar fashion throughout the Ryūkyūs. The forms are sometimes spelled with V-i-oru, disregarding the intruded -y-: Koitu 'a erái kotó yari-ōru ná to omōtta né 'This fellow's doing a fine thing, I thought to myself' (Tk 4.181a); Bōku(-) mo né, ittai dōo si-ōtta n yaroo [= sitá no daroo] to omōtte 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 Ōsaka and in China.)

9.1.11. Conversions of adjectival and nominal infinitives.

A number of infinitive conversions are open only to adjectives (A-kú) and nouns (N ní). 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 náru/suru₁ and means 'becomes/makes-it-into'. This intransitive/transitive MUTATIVE³⁹ functions for nonverbs as something of an analog to the verbal passive/causative categories of VOICE (§4);⁴⁰ it is also possible to take a verbal and adnominalize it to the postadnominal adjectival noun yōo and use that in this conversion: V-ru yōo ni náru/suru 'gets (makes it) so that it does' (see §13.2.4). The patterns for the mutatives can be seen in the following examples:

Hayái 'It is early/fast'.	→	Háyaku náru 'It gets to be early/fast'.
		Háyaku suru 'They make it early/fast'.
Senseí da 'He is a teacher'.	→	Senseí ni náru 'He becomes a teacher'.
		Senseí ni suru 'They make him a teacher'.
Byooki da 'He is ill'.	→	Byooki ni náru 'He gets ill'.
		Byooki ni suru 'It makes him ill'.
Génki da 'He is well'.	→	Génki ni náru 'He gets well'.
		Génki ni suru 'It makes him well'.

Many adjectival nouns will permit this conversion—e.g. Kírei ni náru 'It becomes pretty/clean', Kírei ni suru 'Makes it pretty/clean'—but it is not clear whether all will do so. One informant accepted Sízuka ni náru 'It becomes quiet' but rejected *Sízuka ni suru 'They make it quiet' on the grounds that quiet is something you can't control; yet other informants accept the sentence Matí o sízuka ni siyoo 'Let's make our town quiet', but

39. Similar phenomena in other languages are sometimes referred to as "translative" (as in the name of one of the Finnish case markers) or as "factive" (or "factive").

40. But it is possible to convert N ni náru and A-ku náru into causatives: múki ni naraséru 'makes one serious', koohuku ni naraséru 'makes one happy', heitai ni naraséru 'lets one's child become a soldier', nemuku naraséru '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: ... bakuretū-ryoku o óókiku saseru tamé no monó de, ... 'it is for the purpose of enhancing the explosive force' (NKD 8.394d).

only as rather artificial “*commercialese*”. In rapid speech the vowel of *ní* often drops before a dental sound (d, t, n); it is optional in ... n[i] náru: *Iyá n[i] náttayau yó* ‘I’m getting disgusted, I tell you’.

The translation of *náru* may be ‘becomes, grows (into), comes to be, gets (to be), begins/starts (to be) ...’: *Sukáato wa dóno-kurai(¯) nágaku narimásu 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 *Sumáato o urimono ni suru Nikkoo no kokusái-sen* ‘JAL international routes which sell (on) chic ...’ (SA 2660.40) and *monó ni suru* ‘makes it one’s thing’ > *mono-ni-suru* ‘secures, masters’ in *Eigo o mono-ni-suru ni wa óoku tokusyo suru hoka ni miti ga náí* ‘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 tanosímí(¯) ni suru* ‘sets one’s hopes on, aims at, expects, looks forward to’; cf. *N o tanosímí(¯) to suru* ‘delights in, takes pleasure in’. Also *N o ate ni site iru* ‘is counting on N’; *N [or: S nó] o kú ni site* ‘taking N [or: that S] to heart’; *N wa betu ni site* ‘apart from N’—as in *Sukí de tanosímu hitó wa betu ni site ...* ‘Leaving aside those who indulge in it because they like it ...’ (SA 2679.119e); ...

Idiomatic examples with *náru* include these: *Soo iu éiga(¯) bákari tukútte, kane ni narimásu ka* ‘Can you make money filming that sort of movie only?’ (SA 2671.113d); ... *báka ni naránai syuunyuu dá* ‘is revenue not to be laughed at’ (SA 2668.87a)—also tightened into a compound *baka-ni-naránai*, cf. *hito o báka ni suru* or *baka-ni-suru* ‘makes fun of people’; ... *Namari-kóogai wa katuzi ni nátte, oo-sáwagi ni náru 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 náru/sareru* ‘A gets left/deserted (in P)’; focus can intrude. Notice also the rather tight-knit idioms *ki ni náru* ‘feels uneasy; takes a mind to’ and *ki ni suru* ‘minds, worries about’; these can be split by focus: *Yappári ki ní wa náru n da náa* ‘It IS a worry, after all’ (R). But *yoko ni náru* ‘lies down’ and *yoko ni suru* ‘lays it down’ are idiomatic only in a loose sense of the term. *Mú ni suru* ‘brings it to naught’ and *mú ni náru* ‘comes to naught’ can be reduced to the lexical *mu-ni-suru* and *mu-ni-náru*; cf. *náku náru* and *naku-náru*, *náku suru* and *naku-su[ru]* (p. 457). The expression *zyama ni náru* ‘gets in the way; becomes burdensome; becomes a burden’ is the mutative conversion of *zyama dá*; *zyama* is an abstract noun ‘hindrance’, an adjectival noun ‘burdensome’, and a transitive verbal noun ‘bothers’. The expression *ganzigáramí/e ni náru* ‘gets all tied up’ (SA 2664.36c) is from *ganzigáramí/e ni sibáru* ‘ties up into a *ganjigarami*’ and few speakers realize that the (now idiom-bound) noun *ganjigarami* is from *ganzi-karami* ‘coiling up like a *gán-zi* = *gán-syo(¯)* “wild-goose-writing” = “letter”—from a message tied to the foot of a wild goose and sent out by Sū Wǔ of the former Hàn dynasty when a captive of the Xiōngnǔ’. *O-zyán ni náru* ‘comes to naught’ comes from *zyán* ‘(sound of Yedo fire-alarm gong)’.

The expression *go-tisoo ni náru* ‘gets treated to, is entertained with’ is transitive: *o-kási/hirumesi o go-tisoo ni nátte* ‘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 náru*, *go-soodan ni náru*, etc. The subject-exaltation form is *go-tisoo ni o-nari ni náru* or *go-tisoo ni naranéru*.

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 simásu 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: *Bíiru ni simasyóo 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: *Hihyoo wa kansei sité kara ni simásu keredo mo ...* 'I will reserve judgment until it [= the new building] is finished, but ...' (SA 2669.46c). If the *ni* were not present, *simásu* would be the predicating auxiliary for the verbal noun *hihyoo*, 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 subdued) object. An example of the meaning 'turns it into N': *Watasi wa isya désu ga, betu ni anóko o isya ni siyoo tó wa kangáete imasén* 'I am a doctor, but I am not particularly thinking of turning him [my son] into a doctor' (SA 2676.30c).

As shown by *Omosiróku náku nátta* '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 náku nátta* 'It got to be so it was no longer simple'; *Byooki zya náku nátta* 'He got to be no longer ill'; *Syatyoo zya náku nátta* 'He came to be no longer head of the firm'; *Otokó wa onná no teki de náku náru* 'The male will stop being the enemy of the female' (SA 2680.41d); "*Katyoo*" *de náku náru to ...* 'When you stop being a "section head" ...' (SA 2668.25e); *Sore wa móo gakumon-teki [na] tatibá de náku náru* 'That becomes no longer a scientific attitude = That ceases to be a scientific attitude any longer' (SA 2671.19e); ... *ingo o ingo de náku si ...* 'makes jargon cease to be jargon and ...' (Shibata 1966.47). The negative conversion of *áru*, the adjective *nái* 'is nonexistent, lacking', will permit the mutative conversions: *Náku nátta* 'It became nonexistent', *Náku 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 náru*) and *naku-suru* [uncolloquial] = *nakusu* '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 *náru*—as in *Tabénaku náru* = *Tabénai yóo ni náru* 'He gets so he doesn't eat' (cf. *Tabéru yóo ni náru* 'He gets so he eats'), *inaku náttiyatta* '(a person who was with one) has disappeared' (Tk 2.236a), and *Wakái hitó ga boosi o kaburánaku nátte, boosi o kabútte iru kotó ga tyuunen no sirusi mitai ni iwarete kíta* '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—*Kosasénaku nátta* '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'⁴¹—and from miéru 'can see' and kikoeru 'can hear'; and for at least some speakers the negatives from pure passives—Yobarenaku náru 'He gets so he isn't called/invited'. Yet many examples with suru are rejected (*Tabénaku suru/saseru 'It makes one so one doesn't eat' → Tabénaí yóo ni suru/saseru), though others—only/all those involving voice conversions?—seem acceptable: Ikasenaku 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 adjectivals from verbals, and their negativizations, can be used with náru (Iki-taku nátta 'I got so I wanted to go' or 'I began to want to go', Iki-taku náku nátta 'I got so I didn't want to go')—including desideratives based on causatives and the like (as in Kosase-táku 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 náku sita = Iki-taku náí yóo ni sita/saseta [free variation] or, better yet, simply Iki-taku náku saseta 'It made me so I didn't want to go'. And the facilitatives (§9.1.8) freely occur in these forms: V-i-yásuku, -yóku, -níkuku, -gátaku, -zúroku + náru/suru. An example: Tó-ni-kaku, syúzyutu tte monó wa, mukasi to tigatte yari-yóku 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: Yagaté, tubuyáku kóe wa sinaku nátta 'By and by the murmuring voice grew silent' (lg 1962.79); Korétika wa móo zit-tó site irarenaku nátta 'Korechika got so he couldn't stay still any longer' (lg 1962.79); Mótoko wa sore ga onná no monó de áru kotó o utagawanaku nátta 'Motoko came not to doubt that it was a [the?] woman's' (lg 1962.79); Kono tamé ni yagaté Seiiki wa hóoki sarenákereba naránaku nátta 'For this reason by and by it got so that Seiiki had to be abandoned' (lg 1962.79); Syuppatu wa myootyoo máde enki sarerú yori sikata ga náku 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); ... bungo o tukawanaku nátte kíta 'literary Japanese gradually fell into disuse' (Ōno 1966.234); DDT no o-kage de, sono sirami wa ip-piki mo inaku nátta 'Thanks to DDT every last one of those [typhus-spreading] lice disappeared' (SA 2684.45a); Iyakú-hin(¯) no gótoki wa, súde ni háyaku kara uri-túkete, mukasi nára hayazini suru hitó ga, íma wa sinanaku nátte 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).

Negatives can be built on the mutative conversions (A-ku náru/suru → A-ku naránai/sinai)—and even Tabénaku naránai is said as a denial of Tabénaku náru. The mutative conversions will also convert into desideratives A-ku nari-tái/si-tai, representatives A-ku náttari/sitári,⁴² passives (Káre wa túma ni byooki ni naráreta 'He suffered his wife's

41. Examples of potentials: ... sono tokí ni wa ningen ga suménaku náru 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); Zíga kakénaku náreba, toozen no kotó nágara yoménaku mo náru '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 Ōno 1967.298); Omóu mamá na kotó wa dekinaku náru 'They get so they can't do just as they want' (Ōno 1966.33).

42. For example: ... sono gen'in o, hánnin no izyoo-séikaku no séi ni sitári térebi ya masukomi no eikyoo no séi ni sitári suru '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', *Yóku mondai ni sarerú no wa ...* 'What is often called in question ...'), causatives (*Kígyoo ni zyuyoo na kotó wa, yaru ki ni naraséru kotó 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 naréru*—but not *A-ku sareru* as potential, for that is always expressed with *A-ku dekiru* as in *Yásuku [suru kotó ga] dekimásu ka* 'Can you make it cheaper?'. Exaltation can be applied to either the underlying sentence or to *náru/suru*, or to both: *O-isogasiku náru*, *Isogasiku o-nari ni náru* (or *Isogasiku nararéru*), *O-isogasiku o-nari ni náru* 'You become busy'; *O-isogasiku suru*, *Isogasiku nasáru*, *O-isogasiku nasáru* 'You make it busy'. Examples: *Watasi no vóo na wakái isya wa o-taku no o-ko-san o o-génki ni suru/itasu kotó wa dekimasén* 'A young doctor like me can not restore your child to health'; *O-kaeri ni nari-táku o-sase itásu(¿) tamé ni ...* 'In order for me to make it so you want to return home ...'.

Nuclear focus can be applied to the mutative verb: *A-kú [or N ní] nári wa/mo/sáe suru*, *A-ku [or N ní] sí wa/mo/sae suru*. Since the opposite application (to the underlying sentence) would produce a verbal—*A-kú [or N dé] wa/mo/sae áru*—the result would be available to the mutative conversions only if first adnominalized to *yóo*: *A-kú [or N dé] wa/mo/sae áru yóo ni náru/suru*. Examples: *Kono kágu wa iti-nen tukatte iru utí(¿) ni, tasyoo kitanáku nári WA sitá ga, máda-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 tihóo wa, huyú ni náreba tasyoo sámuku nári MO surú ga, yuki ga húru kotó wa mázu náí to itte íi* '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 kokoroyóku nári SAE suréba ...* 'If it just become cheerful ...' (Kb 75b.4); *Múri ni tanomaréreba, mótto kibísiku sí MO simásu ga, sore wa watasi no hón'i de wa arimasén* 'If forcefully requested, I will indeed make it stricter, but that is not my desire'; *Sono sukáato wa mizíkáku sí SAE suréba, gaisyutu ní mo hakemásu* 'If I just make that skirt shorter, I can wear it also for stepping out'; *Konna kízi wa óbi ni WA surú ga, haori ní WA sinai* 'This sort of material will make an obi (belt) but not a haori (coat)'; *Konna kízi wa, óbi ni MO surú ga, kóoto ni MO dekiru* 'This material both will make an obi and can also be turned into a coat'; *Sinsei na kókki o syátu ya kússon ni SAE suru íma no wakái monó ni wa akireru* '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-kú [or N ní] wa/mo/sae náru*, *A-kú [or N ní] wa/mo/sae suru*. Examples: *Sén no wáihu ga máda íkite 'ta yó. Móo byooki ní WA nátte 'ta ga né* 'My former wife was still alive, you see. She HAD already become ill, of course' (Tk 3.36a); *Sensei ni WA hazimete nátta hitó 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 yásuku WA nátte irú ga, kinroo-séinen o taisyoo ni sita kooen ni sité wa isásaka taka-sugí wa sinái 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 dóo surya [= suréba] íi n da'* to *donari-táku MO náru* 'You get so you want to shout "What in the world should one do?!"' (SA 2678.16a); ... *dokú ni MO kusuri ní MO naránai kanzi [dá]* 'it gives me the feeling it's neither ('poison nor medicine' =) harmful nor helpful' (SA 2668.116e)—an adnominalization of the structure *dokú ni mo [nákereba] kusuri ní mo naránai*; *Tóotoo zyunsabú-tyoo ni MO nárazu ni, hira-zyúnsa de tóositimatta [= tóosite simattá] kedo mo, keisatu no náka de mo yuumei na otokó 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.

... *ní DE MO náru*: Byooki ní 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 narimásita 'it got to be spring and all' (Kb 139a); Isihara-san no yóo na íken dattara, anáta wa syuugi-in ni déte dáizin ni DE MO nátte nóoryoku o hakki sita hóo ga íi n zya náí 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-wátari ni DE MO náttara, toosan-gáisya ga zokusyutu site, sore kóso 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); Maa, iyóiyó kitoku ní DE MO náttara, itte kure 'Well, you can (wait and) go when he gets really critical, say' (SA 2793.98b).

... *ní MADE náru*: Edo-zídai ni katuyaku o sita ríkisi(⁻) de, óozeki ni MADE nátta 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 koohíi" to iu kási ga, hitótu no syakai-teki ryuukoo ní MADE nátta '... the lyrics of "Coffee at Dawn" even became a social fad' (SA 2654.58b); Gá, íma no káre-ra wa, áete yakuza-teki ní MADE nátte, yowayowasíi seizyun-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 kotó ga (hónsyó ni wa soko máde kakárete inái ga) kaisya nottori ni Haabaado-dáigaku no sikín ga riyoo sareru to iu genzyoo ní MADE nátta 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 támari ni MADE nátta kaiin ga ... 'The membership, which had grown all the way up to more than three hundred ...' (Kb 31a); ... síhai suru yóo ni MADE nátta ... 'actually came into control of ...' (Fn 70a).

... *ní DAKÉ WA náru*: Soko de, hahaoya^(?) ní DAKÉ WA náru wáke da ga, kono hahaoya wa Amerika no tizin(⁻) no ié ni kodomó-táti o azúkete oite, dokusin-zyósei no yóo ni hooroo-séikatu o tanosímu "huuten-máma" na no de aru 'Therefore she means to BE-COME 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).

... *ní SIKA náru*: ... kíte kara máda hitó-tuki támari ni SIKA nátte inákatta '... it was still not more than a month since she had arrived' (Ig 68); ... sono tokí kara, anáta, zyuugó-nen ni SIKA narimasén '... it's no more than fifteen years, you know, since then' (Kb 130-1); Betonamu e kaku-héiki o tukau nádo to iu kotó o Amerika ga yaréba, kyodai na mainasu ní SIKA naránai ... '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'.

... *ní SAE náru*: ... Okinawa-hóogen no siyoo ní SAE náru ga ... 'even gets to using Okinawan dialect' (SA 2793.95d); Nán da ka Sindérrera ni nátta yóo^(?) na kibun ni SAE nari-kaketa 'I started to get even into a feeling as if I had somehow become Cinderella' (SA 2674.122c).

... *ní SAE suru*: ... sakuhiñ o hu-kánoo ni SAE siyoo to suru '... it is about to make the work [= composition] actually impossible' (SA 2674.92d).

... *ní SURA náru*: ... tokí ni wa reikoku ní SURA naránakereba naránu kotó ga áru '... at times it happens that you have to become even callous' (SA 2688.45d).

... *ní NÁNZO/NÁZO (= NÁDO) náru*: Sore wa, móo, sore-daké no neuti no áru monó desitara sore-kkiri ní 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 ní NÁZO narénai wáke desu 'So if you are a true artist, you can not become a braggart 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 naróo/siyoo to omóu, N ni naróo/siyoo to omóu). 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-kuté mo* or *d'átte*, *V-t'átte*, *A-kút'atte*—see pp. 893, 962.

The new sentence can be adnominalized, with extrusion and epithematization of included adjuncts: *Syáin(¯) sén-nín(¯) o taisyoo ni sita tyoosa-kékka 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 *-kékka*, 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 *yóo* (which then has the grammar of an adjectival noun): *Tabéru yóo ni náru/suru*. This device is also available for adjectivals and nominals: *Tabénai yóo ni náru* is more or less equivalent to *Tabénaku náru*, and *Yásui yóo ni suru* is much the same as *Yásuku suru*. Sometimes VERB + *yóo 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 yoo {ni} {si} ró {to} iu* 'tells one to do it'. The application of *yóo* + MUTATIVE to the adjective excessive, as in *naga-sugiru yóo 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-sugiru* 'does too much lengthening = gets too long; gets long too often; too many get long'.⁴³ Similar remarks will obtain for *yari-tai yóo ni náru* 'gets so one wants to do it' and *yari-taku náru* 'comes to want to do it', for *yari-yásui yóo 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^[u] náru/suru* described in §21.4. Notice also *kotó-ni-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 narimásu ka* 'How many years is it that you have been in America?'; *Atorie(¯) o tukútte kara, móo zyúu-nen ni náru* 'It is now ten years since I built my art studio' (SA 2670.156); *Nigatú ni náru íma 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-nó-naka ga hukuzatu ni nari-sugita séi daroo ka* 'I wonder if it's because society has grown too complicated' (SA 2688.29e).

synonym of *dé* (mentioned below) and *áto ni nátte* = *áto de* 'later on'. And notice the frequent use of *náru* without a subject: *Áki ni nátta* 'It has become autumn', *Heikemonogátari ni náru to* 'When we come to the Tale of the Taira Clan', etc.

In addition to *náru/suru* there are other verbs of change-of-state which are similar in their behavior: *hanasí o kore ni kagíru* 'limits the discussion to [being] this', *tití 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 HÓSOKU SÁITE, sono sên'i o hazime HUTATÚ NI NAI-AWASE, sore o árata ni WARAZI NI KÚNDA* '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: *kamí o nágaku hayásite* 'growing one's hair long'; *mizíkáku katta kamí* 'hair cut short'; *utukúsiku ki-kazátta hitó-tati* 'people dressed up to look beautiful'; *hó[h]o ga akaku hotétte kúru* 'the cheeks flush red'; *mé ga pattíri to haná no yóo ni óokiku síroku hiráita* 'the eyes brightly opened [to become] large and white like blossoms'; *dandān^[1] tooku hedatari-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 (míru to) ...* 'Taking America as/for an example ...'; *... kurói | kamí o | nágaku | tarási, ...* 'letting her black hair hang down long' (SA 2650.104a); *Miti tó no sakái ni úeta mómi-no-ki ga, óokiku sodátte ita* 'The fir trees planted at the boundary with the road had grown big' (Ig 1962.75); *Úmi mo, sóra mo, siratyáketa iró de dadappíroku hirogatte ita* 'Both sea and sky, of a brownish cast, were spread out in a vast expanse' (Ig 1962.75); *Masúnaga wa tegami o konagona ni yabúita* 'Masunaga tore the letter to shreds' (Ig 1962.76); *Zí o hutóku káita* 'I wrote the character(s) thick'; *Yamá ga tákaku sobiete iru* 'The mountains rise tall'; *Ha o síroku migaita* 'I brushed my teeth white'; *Óokiku seityoo suru to ...* 'When one grows big ...'; *Minami no hoo no yózóra ga kásai(¯) no hónoo de orenzi-iro ni akarúnde ita* 'The night sky to the south had turned a bright orange from the flames of the fire' (Ig 1962.78); *Káre ga || káno-zyo o || syóonin ni | tanónda* 'He asked (for) her to be a witness'; *Tatóeba rakuyóo-zyu wa mukasi ni kurabete táda no go-paasénto ni hette simatte ita* 'Deciduous trees, for example, had dwindled to a mere five percent of their former number' (SA 2659.111a); *Kuti o || he-nó-zi ni | magete, ...* 'Bending his mouth into a shape like hiragana HE (i.e. turned down at both ends), ...' (SA 2687.139a); *... o-zóokin o | kírei ni | aratte ...* 'washing the mop out (clean)' (SA 2672.60c); *... san ¯bun no ití ni | hette simatta* 'shrank to a third' (SA 2688.26a); *Gá, ooyoso no tokoro^[1] tugi no sán-syu ni wakaréru* 'But roughly speaking they divide into the following three types' (SA 2673.112a); *... siti-nin no kyásuto no utí(¯) no ití-in(¯) ni erabáreta* 'got selected as (or: to be) one of the seven-person cast' (SA 2677.172); *Nihón^[1] no ryuugákú-sei ga Péntágon ni heitai ni toráreta kotó mo áru sóo desu* 'They say there have even been instances where Japanese exchange students got drafted as soldiers by the Pentagon'; *... hutokoro kara yottú ni tatanda te-hukí o dásite ...* 'taking out of his bosom a hand-towel folded (into four =) double' (Kb 317b); *... káre no, nukeru yóo ni sirói 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 *modóru* 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 é/ní 'to N'.

Verbal nouns can also be mutative, as in *káre o katyoo ni suisen/ninmei suru* 'recommends/appoints him to be [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 2679.18bc); ... *kanzi o Tooyoo-kánzi daké ni seigen surú no wa ...* 'to limit the characters to just the Tōyō Kanji' (Kaneda in Ōno 1967.271); ... *"kokusai-mōndai"* ni made hatten site simatta 'it ended up developing all the way into an "international problem"' (SA 2672.145a). Because *rúsu* has two grammars—*Dáre ga rúsu desu ka?* 'Who is away from his post?' and *Dóko ga rúsu desu ka?* 'What post is unattended?'—the transitive mutative conversion *utí() o rúsu ni suru* 'leaves the house unattended (i.e. with no one in it)' is possible: *Utí() o rúsu ni sita syúzin da* 'The master left the house with no one there to look after things'.

The quotational *tó* is sometimes used to emphasize the mutation (V-ru *yóo 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 ní-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 *nyoo 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] omóeba, ano tokí o sakái ni site hutarí no aida ní wa bímyoo na mizo ga horare-hazimetá 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 *watási-táti ni sureba* '(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. *watási-táti ni tótte [wa]* 'for/to us'. See §21.4 for N ni/to *sité 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 \nexists *dá* ni *sité mo* obligatorily dropping the *dá*, in contrast with N \nexists *dá* to *sité mo*. Notice also *Pikáso ni sit'átte (= ni sité mo = dé mo)* 'for Picasso too' (Tk 3.260a). On A-ku *site = A-kute* in written Japanese and also in Kyūshū speech, see p. 488.

The adverbs *kóo/koo*⁴⁴ 'this way', *sóo/soo* 'that way', *áa/aa* 'that way', and *dóo* 'what way, how' can be DIRECTLY followed by *náru* or *suru*: *Soo nátta* 'It got to be like that' and *Soo sita* 'I made it like that' where we would expect **Sóo NI nátta/sita* from the predicable adverb in *Sóo da*. (It is helpful to recall that *kóo* 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 predictor for verbal nouns. In the colloquial language *náru* is largely limited to the intransitive mutative conversion but it also occurs in V-(a)*nákereba naránai* (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 $n[i] \acute{a}r = n\acute{a}r$. The syntax differentiates the two when focus is applied (see p. 555) and also when sentence-final, where $n\acute{a}r$ - '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 $n\acute{a}ri = n[i] \acute{a}ri$.

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 simasyóo ka 'Shall I put them together?' (mutative)
 'Shall we do it together?' (adverbial + pro-verbal)
 Betu ni simasyóo 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(⁻) ní wa narimasén ka.—Náru to omoimásu né '... won't it go back to the way it was?—I think it will, you know' (Tk 2.83b); ... kénzi to iu sigoto ga osorósiku narimasén 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-haisi-rónsya ni náru n zya náí 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(⁻) tyúugaku ití-nen da kedo, mei-tántei ni nari-tái. Dóo sitára naréru? '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 nímotu no azukáři^[1] [no] syookó-nin(⁻) ga náí no de, watasi ga [sore ni] nátta '... as there was no one to sign for the luggage she had left in the boarding house, I became it' (Endō 148). In the following example, the nátte begins a new paragraph in the original text: Tenzyoo no gokuraku wa tizyoo no monó ni nátta no de aru. ¶ Nátte, kono teitáruku de aru. Huhei human no kóe o kikanu hí wa náí '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 ní is apparently not used with the TRANSITIVE mutative (*A-ku NI mo suru); see Martin 1970. In Kansai dialects, too, an optional ní 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^[1] dóo iu roozin(⁻) 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 *ní* with the mutativized copula *ní* (in effect, the essive) into a single *ní* meaning 'into, onto' and the like. This is one way to account for the *ní* which marks the new location of something relocated by a verb expressing change of position: *teeburu no ué ni oku* 'puts it on the table', *dénsya(-) ni noru* 'boards the train', etc. Normally the *ní*-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 *ní* or A-ku) used in a similar way: *tikáku oku* 'puts it near', *tákaku 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 *ní*-marked phrase: *sore o teeburu no ué ni oku* 'puts that on the table', *zyoogyaku o dénsya(-) ni noseru* 'takes the passengers aboard the train'. But the opposite order is possible: *teeburu no ué ni sore o oku, dénsya(-) ni zyoogyaku o noseru*.

There are a wide variety of verbs that express a change of position, including some you might not readily think of: ... *senséi ga, séito o kootei ni atúmete* ... 'the teacher gathered the pupils into the schoolyard and ...' (Shibata 1961.210); *Kono zí o kokuban ni káite kudasái* 'Write this character on the blackboard'; *Tiká ni tosyó-kan o tukútta* 'They built a library (so it would be) underground'. For certain examples, it is necessary to assume an ellipsis of *sité* (§9.1.12): ... *mákura o tákaku [site] neru wáke 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 mótu '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 *ní* 15); more examples: ... *Zyerárudo* ... o *koibito ni mótte iru* 'has Gerard for/as a lover' (SA 2681.108c); *Huziwará Syúnzei/Tosínari o tití ni mótta Téika(-)/Sadaie ga* ... 'Teika who had Fujiwara Shunzei as his father' (Ōno 1966.140); ... *sákka(-) o otóosan ni mótta musumé wa* ... 'a girl who had a writer for her father' (SA 2639.45b). The *ní* in these expressions would seem to mean something like *tó sité* 'as'. But we can not explain the structure as an optional ellipsis of *ní* {*sité*} since you can not say *... o *koibito ni site mótu*. It seems to be unacceptable to permute the adjuncts,⁴⁶ so that *yuuméi-zin o yuuzin ni mótu* 'has a celebrity for a friend' can not be said as **yuuzin ni yuuméi-zin o mótu* '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: *Sakenómí o/wa syúzin ni wa moti-táku náí* 'I don't want to have a drunkard for a husband'; *Osyáberi na onná wa tomodati ní wa [mótte mo] kamawánai kedo túma ni wa moti-táku náí* '(To have) for a friend is all right but I don't want to have a chatterbox of a woman for a wife'; *Osyáberi na onná wa, tomodati ní mo [moti-táku nákereba] túma ni mo moti-táku náí* 'I don't want to have a chatterbox of a woman for a friend or for a wife, either'; *Asanéboo mo [syúzin ni wa moti-táku nákereba] sakenómí*

46. In the TRANSITIVE mutative. In the intransitive, the subject can be delayed (thereby thematizing the mutative): ... *sore no tyóonán ni, watakusi ga umaremásita ga* ... 'his oldest son was what I was born to be' (R).

mo syúzin ni wa moti-táku náí 'I don't want to have either a slugabed or a drunkard for a husband'.

The sentence Káno-zyo wa yuumei na gakusya no musumé ni umareta can be given three interpretations: (1) as a correlational 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 adjectivals 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)':

Hayái 'He is early/fast'. → Háyaku suru 'They do it early/fast'.

Génki da 'He is healthy/vigorous'. → Génki 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 hayái 'A is fast' as object of transitive mutative with B ga for subject = B ga A o háyaku suru 'B speeds A up'.

A ga hayái 'A is fast' as subject-adverbial + A ga X o suru 'A does X' = A ga háyaku X o suru (or: A ga X o háyaku 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 nágaku suru and Hirune o A ga nágaku suru can both mean 'A prolongs his nap' (MUTATIVE) as well as (= Nágaku A ga hirune o suru, Nágaku 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 rieki-túmari YÁSUKU monó ga kaeru—sosite, sore ni motozúku anteika-kóoka wa kánari óoku no hitó ni amanéku eikyoo 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 náru 'N₁ becomes N₂' is acceptable: Sono kaitoo ni, Nihón no sararii-man ga nátta 'The president of that group—a Japanese salary worker has become it' (SA 2671.62a—*sic*, kaitoo = kaityoo); 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 haná ga síroku hikátte iru 'The plum blossoms are shining white' (= Haná ga sirói 'The blossoms are white') and ... tukí ga utukúsiku kagayáite iru 'the moon is gleaming beautifully' (= Tukí ga utukúsii

47. But the antonym of génki 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 hikátte iru* 'The western sky is shining golden' (Ig 1962.74) and perhaps *Kono syussan wa karuku súnnda* 'This birth of a baby ended (up) light [= easy]' (Ig 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 hayái* 'The study is early/fast'.
- (2) 'I study early' ← *Watasi ga hayái* 'I am early/fast'.
- (3) 'I study quickly' ← *Hayái* '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 yóku suru

- (1) 'I make the study [so it is] good = I improve my studying' ← *Benkyoo ga yói* 'The study is good'.
- (2) 'I study [and I am good =] well' ← *Watasi ga yói* 'I am good (at it)'.⁴⁸
- (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 *ígai(¯) ní mo* 'unexpectedly enough' and *ún-yoku* '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* || *háyaku* | *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'; *atarásiku* 'newly, recently, freshly, anew'; *hagésiku* 'fiercely'; [mono-]*súgoku* 'dreadfully = very'; *yasasiku* 'easily, simply' (cf. 'gently', subject-adverbial); *karuku* 'lightly; easily'—*Gomi* no *ryóo ni mi-atta syookyaku-zyoo o tukuróo to sureba zyusigó-oku no kane wa karuku kakáru* 'To build

48. A semantic extension leads to the idiomatic meaning 'is proficient at N' as in *búnsyoo o yóku 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'—*Motto kuwásiku iéba ...* 'To put the matter more precisely ...' seems to belong here rather than with the mutative, as does also *óokiku* in *Nobi-ritu wa óokiku otíru* 'The growth rate falls in a big way' (SA 2671.45d); *itizirúsiku* 'remarkably'—... *kikái(=)* *ga itizirúsiku húeta kotó ...* 'that opportunities have remarkably increased in number' (K 1966.176).

Examples derived from adjectival nouns: *génki ni* 'vigorously'; *kírei ni* 'neatly, nicely'; *hizyoo ni* 'extraordinarily = exceedingly'; *yáke ni* 'desperately = horribly, terribly'—*Yáke ni átukatta* '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: *Utukúsiku náku káita* 'He wrote unbeautifully'; *Kírei zya náku káita* 'He wrote unneatly'; *Sízuka zya náku syabéru* 'He talks unquietly'; *Omosíróku náku sugósita* 'He passed the time uninterestingly'. But some are rejected: **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 adjective derived from *Génki [ga] nái* 'Energy is lacking = [One] lacks energy'. The opposite expression *Génki [ga] yói* will not reduce to an adjective; it can only undergo the normal juncture reduction to *Génki |yóku*, and there is no **genki-yóku*.

More examples of nuclear-adverbials (from V 118): *Hídoku nite iru* 'They are terribly alike'; *Tumetaku waratta* 'She smiled coolly'; *Sízuka ni husúmá(=)* *o akete ...* 'Opening the opaque sliding door quietly ...'; *Nikutai-teki ni yowátte ...* 'Weakening physically ...'; *Tóbi wa íe no ue o óokiku mawatte úmi no hoo e déte yuku rásikatta* '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 hí wa, sootyoo kara OTÓ MO NÁKU áme ga ótite itá ga, úmi wa sízuka 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 *hukáku kan-ziru* '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.

9.1.11.(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/warúi* 'Things about other people are good/bad' + *Tanin no kotó o iu* 'says things about other people' → *Tanin no kotó o yóku/wáruku iu* 'says good/bad things about others = speaks well/ill of others'.⁴⁹ The infinitive can be negativized: *Hi o omosíróku náku sugósita* 'I passed the days in dull fashion'; *Sore o tanósiku náku míta* '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 utukusii* 'That is beautiful' and *Sore ga kírei da* 'That is neat' rather than with *Sono kotó ga utukusii* 'That act is beautiful' and *Sono kotó ga kírei da*

49. Presumably this underlies the following passivized example: *Káre hodo zainin tyuu wáruku iwareta syusyoo wa nái* 'No prime minister was so ill-spoken of while in office as was he' (SA 2668.40a).

'That act is neat' (which would indicate the nuclear-adverbial conversion). And *Sore ga yasúi* 'That is cheap' somehow underlies *Sore o yásuku 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 arigatái/uresii/kanasii* 'That is obliging/pleasant/sad' + *Sore o omótta* 'I thought/felt that' → *Sore o/wa arigátaku/urésiku/kanasiku omótta* 'I thought that obliging/pleasant/sad'. The adjective need not be emotional: *Siken-móndai o yasasiku omótta* 'I thought the exam questions easy'. Instead of an adjective you may find an adjectival noun: *Sore o husigi ni kangáeru* 'I find that strange' (= *Sore ga husigi da to kangáeru*); *Sore o koohuku ni kan-zita* 'I felt that to be (fortunate =) a blessing'. And occasionally you will find a noun, especially if modified by an adjective, though it is more common to use *N no yóo ni*: *Hitóbito wa sore o yói kotó⁽ⁱ⁾ no yóo ni omóu* 'People feel that to be a good thing' (Ōno 1966.13); *Watasi no kotó o o-tétudai-san ṭgurai ni sika omótte inái n desu yó* '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 epithematized object: *Kóndo hodo wakái onná-no-ko ga kírui de náku kan-zita tabí wa arimasén 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 *tabí 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 *omóu* 'thinks, feels' (and its synonyms), *kangáeru* 'thinks, figures, reckons', *kan-ziru* 'feels', and *míru* 'regards as, thinks of as'—as in *Sore o omosiróku míta* 'I thought that enjoyable' rather than (with the evaluative) 'I watched that with enjoyment', cf. *Kotira no seihin o omoku míta* 'They highly regarded our products'. But there are a few other verbs of similar meaning which can be used with the transitive putative: *Hón o taisetu ni atukau* 'We treat the book as valuable'; *Sore o wáruku tóru* '[One] takes that badly'; *Kore o réi ni tóreba ...* 'If we take this as an example ...'—perhaps this is a mutative, like *Onná o hitoziti ni tóru* 'I will take the woman as a hostage'; *Tóoyoo de wa yuuzyoo to iu monó o tákaku hyóoka(ṽ)* *suru* 'In the Orient friendship is something highly valued' (Maeda 1962.60); *Watakusi wa ningen no tié to iu monó o, mótto tákaku katte imásu* 'I (buy =) value human wisdom higher (than that)' (Tk 2.154a).

A transitive putative sentence such as *Haná o utukúsiku omóu* 'I think the flowers beautiful' is equivalent in meaning to a quotative sentence *Haná o utukusii to omóu* 'I think the flowers to be beautiful', which—in turn—can be taken as roughly the equivalent of *Haná ga utukusii to omóu* 'I think that the flowers are beautiful'. Cf. §21.1.

There are negatives: *Sore o/wa anmari arigátaku/urésiku/kanasiku/omosiróku náku omótta* 'I thought that none too obliging/pleasant/sad/interesting'. The Kansai infinitive (A-[k]u, p. 392n) is used with the humble verb *zon-zíru(ṽ)* (= *omóu*), and the verb itself is sometimes omitted: *Sore o arígatoo {zon-zimásu}* 'I appreciate that'.

9.1.11.(7). *Intransitive putative*. The INTRANSITIVE PUTATIVE results from the following process: *Sore ga A-i* (AN da, N [no yóo] da) → *Sore ga A-ku* (AN ni, N [no yóo] ni) + [*Sore ga*] *omowaréru* 'is thought, felt', *miéru* 'seems', *kikoeru* 'is heard',

50. But the noun *o-tétudai-san* becomes part of an adjectival-noun phrase by adding the restrictive *ṭgurai* [na ...].

omoéru 'can be thought/felt, is thought/felt; seems', miraréru 'is regarded as', nagameraréru 'is viewed as', kan-zirareru 'is felt (as)'⁵¹ Examples: Omosiróku miéta 'It seemed fun'; Myóo ni omowáreta 'It felt strange'; Kao ga nágaku miéru (= nagái to miéru) 'The face looks long'; Síngo ni wa hutari no musumé ga keihaku ni omóeta 'To Shingo the two girls appeared flippant' (Kawabata in V 113); Siráume ga anzu ka nani ka no haná ni miéta 'The white plum blossoms looked like apricot blossoms or something' (Kawabata in Vardul 119); Watasi wa hizyoo ni sore ga omosirói booken-teki na sigoto ni omowáreta 'To me that seemed extremely interesting adventurous work' (Kikuchi Kan in V 119); ... seinen no gótoku [= no yóo ni] miéta ga ... 'he looked like a youth but ...' (Tk 2.295); Íma de wa, huyú ni de-kasegi ni ikanai to, yohodo namake-mónó(¯) ka byoonin ni miraréru, to iu hodo de-kasegi wa atarimae no kotó ni nátte 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 omosiróku náku omowáreta 'It was thought not overly amusing'.

Cf. -te miéru, §9.2.4.(8); ... (A-i, N da) to wakáru/kangaeraréru/omowaréru/omoéru, §21.1; N ni site wakáru/kangaéru/kangaeraréru/omóu/omowaréru, Notice that Otóosan ni miéru 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 usual only for adjectives or adjectival nouns; nouns will normally occur as *N no yóo ni*, though a few examples of simple *N ni* will be found above. Verbs can also appear if mediated by adnominalization to *yóo ni*: Sore wa Kótake no kekkon ni gen'in ga áru yóo ni omowaréru '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-sóo da, §20): Áme ga | huri-sóo ni | omowaréru 'It appears to look like rain', Áme ga | huri-sóo ni | omóu '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 yóo ni miéru etc. than to use V-(a)naku miéru (for which I have no example): ... amari nagái aida wa || tuzukanákatta | yóo ni | miéru 'It seems not to have continued for too long a time ...' (Ōno 1966.83)—but yóo here is needed in order to preserve the perfect.

In addition to the seven conversions described above, see also S kará ni [wa], §17.1.

9.1.12. Verb dropping.

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 [] seikoo sita 'This (was what) started me succeeding';⁵² Toodai no akari o táyori ni [] kookoo suru 'They navigate

51. The usually transitive kan-ziru 'feels' is sometimes used as equivalent to the passive (or spontaneous potential) kan-zirareru: Gaikoku no kyarameru wa, Nihon-zin ni wa situkkóku kan-zimásu né 'To Japanese, foreign caramels taste too strong' (Tk 4.194b)—note the marker NI.

52. Cf. Ano sóodoó ga kikkake de Noorin-syoo ni santi-haiki-séido o tukuráseta 'With that disturbance as excuse they had the Agriculture Ministry prepare a system for soil retirement' (SA 2689.145c); dé is the copula gerund.

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 oyá^[1] no kawari ni [] ... 'Letting son stand in for father ...'; Kono ten o sakái 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 itóguti ni [] ... 'With that as a clue ...'; Sore o kawakírí(⁻) ni [] ... 'With that as a starter ...'.

We are forced to recognize the dropping of sité by the presence of the stranded direct object. If ní 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 daké ga momoiro ni(, sikási ...) 'just her cheeks were pink(, but ...)', and the more common examples with the copula gerund, such as ziko 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} uisúkii no mizuwari o nomi-nágara ... '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/to 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 iru 'is doing business with superstitious natives as customers'; ... "12725" no bangoo o tegákari ni [] sóosa ⁂yuu no tokoró^[1] ... 'while investigating with the number "12725" as a clue'; ... kore o táne ni [] Seioo ṭgawa ni hutatabi yonkoku-káigi 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 kotó^[1] 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 densin-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 zyoookyoo o haikei ni [], roomazi-rónsya, kanamozi-rónsya 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 kekkín sita 'Gabrielle stayed away from her school job, giving illness as the reason' (SA 2649.105c); Maṭi^[1] no hitó ga tizu 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 nyuusyoo o o-miyage ni [] sakígóro 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 Ameriká-zin no senséi ga han-tosí hodo site kikoku sityattá no o ii kotó^[1] ni [], yamete simattá 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); Undóo-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 sakái ni site itten si, ... 'That all changed with the war defeat (as the dividing line), and ...' (SA 2688.89c).

§28); Kōten sinsaku o tōwazu(¯) sēkai zyu no suiri-syōsetu o senmon ni [] hon'yaku site iru siriizu 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 (danzyo 'men and/or women') or conjoined as questions, we can assume that the direct conjoining at the beginning of the sentence represents something like Kōten [de aru ka] sinsaku [de aru ka] ... 'whether it be classics or be new works'. In ... kakioki o tate 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 saisyō wa Dōitu, tugi ni Itaria e to tabi-datāseta '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 X [de], B ga Y dá; the final dá 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: Tookyō-to no tizi-kōho ni [naru], to iu hanasi ga aru yōo desu keredo mo 'There seems to be some talk about [your undertaking] candidacy for the Tōkyō governorship' (SA 2678.46b). And for a dropping of the subject-exalting (o-V-i) ni naru in its gerund form natte, see §10, p. 599.

Other places where the copula gerund is optional (but usually omitted) include the expression X wa motiron/ōroka/mōtōyori [de] Y 'Y to say nothing of X', as in: Kono hōn wa hihyō wa mōtōyori [], syokai suru kotō mo muzukasii(¯) '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'; ...

9.1.13. Direct adverbialization of nominals.

Expressions of time and place often consist of a noun preceded by an adnominal expression: Sono tokī da 'It is that time', Nagai 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 kinōo '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';

(2) *íma da* (→ *íma ni*) → *íma* 'now, at present'—or, when followed by a quantity word and stripped of accent, '(some) more' (= *moo*) as in *ima sukósi* 'a little more' and *ima hitótu* 'one more'.⁵⁴ As Jordan notes, certain time expressions (e.g. those ending with *góro* 'about') optionally take the marker *ní*. The names of the seasons belong in this group, but they are more common without *ní*, as are the parts of the day: *háru* 'in spring', *natú* 'in summer', *áki* 'in autumn', *huyú* 'in winter'; *ása* 'in the morning', *hirú* 'during the day', *gógo* 'in the afternoon', *ban* 'in the evening'. Similar is *hazime* *ɸniɸ* wa 'at first, in the beginning'.

Expressions of duration are often directly adverbialized: *nagai aida* 'for a long time', *san-zíkan* [*gúrai*] 'for three hours'; *Koko* [or: *Kono*] *ni-sansyúukan áme ga náí* 'There has been no rain for the last few weeks'.

There are other kinds of optionally omitted *ní*. 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* *ɸniɸ* 'overly', *tyokusetu* *ɸniɸ* 'directly', *tugi-tugi* *ɸni/toɸ* 'one after another', ...; *Saiwai* *ɸniɸ kázoku wa miná genki desu* 'Happily, the whole family is well'. (*Saiwai* is an adverb, an adjectival noun, and also a pure abstract noun—as in *saiwai o inóru* 'prays for happiness'.) Sometimes there is a difference of meaning: as an adverb *zyúnzi* means 'gradually', but *zyúnzi ni* means 'consecutively'. Two ways to say 'comparatively' are optionally marked by *ní*, *wariai* *ɸniɸ* and *hikaku-teki* *ɸniɸ*: *hikaku-teki yooi ni zikkoo sareru* 'is accomplished comparatively easily'. See also ... *koó* *ɸniɸ* in §14.1, p. 843.

Certain adverbial expressions permit you to use either *ní* or *dé* (cf. Alfonso 305): *óogóe ni/de* 'loudly', *genki ni/de* 'vigorously'; *zyoodán ni/de* 'jokingly' (*ní* preferred), *buzi ní/dé* 'safely' (*ní* preferred);⁵⁵ *naisyó ni/de* 'secretly' (*dé* preferred); ... Ellipsis of something like *surú 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:
tokoro: *Genzai no tokoro*^[ɸ], ... 'At present, ...'; *Mókka no tokoro*^[ɸ], ... 'At the moment, ...'; *Kekkyoku*^[ɸ] *no tokoro*^[ɸ], ... 'In the last/final analysis, ...'; *Ooyoso no tokoro*^[ɸ], ... 'Roughly speaking, ...'; *Tumáru tokoro*^[ɸ], ... [oratorical] = *Tumari*, ... 'In short/brief/sum, ...'; *Anzen na tokoro*^[ɸ], ... 'To be on the safe side, ...'; *Sirábeta tokoro*^[ɸ], ... 'Upon inquiry/examination, ...' (SA 2672.29d); *Sas-súru tokoro*^[ɸ], ... 'Presumably, ...'; *Mattaku*^[ɸ] *no tokoro*^[ɸ], ... 'To tell the truth, ...'; *Zitú*^[ɸ] *Zissai no tokoro*^[ɸ], ... 'In reality, ...'; ... *syoozíkí na tokoro*^[ɸ] *komátte simatta* 'to be honest about it, I was most embarrassed' (SA 2673.143c); *Tábeta míta tokoro*^[ɸ], *úmakatta* 'When I sampled it, it was delicious'; *Káre-ra wa ikken sita tokoro*^[ɸ], *Betonamu seihú-gun to kawaranai* 'They are, at first glance, no different from the Vietnamese government forces' (SA 2672.23c); *Saisyo míta tokoro*^[ɸ] *yosasóo datta kedo ni-dó mé kara wa anmari íi to omowánakatta* 'When I first saw it [= the film] it seemed good but after the second time I decided it wasn't very good'; *Sassoku*^[ɸ] *tyóosa sita tokoro*^[ɸ],

54. The accentuation tells us that *ima-máde* 'up to now', *ima-mótte* 'as yet', and *ima-goro* 'about now' are lexical derivatives, obligatorily replacing their sources **ima made*, **ima motte*, and **ima góro*.

55. In written Japanese this is also directly adverbialized: ... *buzi doosen ni kyúuzyo sareta* 'were saved without harm by the same ship' (SA 2674.129c).

kono uéetóresu wa arubáito no tandái-sei to wakátta 'Upon a quick check, this waitress turned out to be a junior college student working on the side' (SA 2674.99d).⁵⁶

koto: Kyónen no kotó, ... '[It is a matter of] last year, ...'. Expressions such as nagái koto 'for a long time', hayái koto 'promptly', and isso no koto 'preferably, rather' are often treated as lexical adverbs (see § 14.1) as is súndé-no-kotó {ni/de} (§ 13.7).

toki: Watasi wa kore o kiita tokí, táisoo hará ga tátta 'When I heard this I got quite angry' (SA 2685.119b); Wánman no tokí, o-ori no kata' wa kono botan o osite kudasái '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 Mítomi ga tubuyáku 'Then when through eating, hands on knees, Mitomi mumbles' (Ig 37).

sái: O-ori no sái, otosímónó(-) wasuremono gozaimasén yóo go-tyúui kudasai 'Upon departure from vehicle, please see that you have not dropped anything nor left anything behind'.

uti(-): Wakái musumé-tati to asonde iru utí(-), Itíroo wa omosirói [ákúgi=] itazura o hakken sita 'While playing with the young girls, Ichiro discovered an amusing bit of mischief' (Ig 37); ... zisatú-sya wa 4635-nin ni nobotte iru. [Sono] utí(-) [ni] zyosei wa 2332'nin [de], ... 'suicides have risen to 4635 persons. Among them are 2332 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, supóotu de wa dónna kotó o--? 'Aside from mountain climbing, what sort of thing in the way of sports (do you do)?' (Tk 3.178b).

tamé: ... Norio san no yukue ga wakaránai tamé, keisatu de sagasite imásu 'owing to the fact that Norio's whereabouts are unknown, the police are looking for him' (R).

kekka: Zitti-kénsyoo no kekka, hakkíri sita ketúron(-) ga déta 'As the result of an on-the-spot investigation, there emerged an obvious conclusion' (Ig 36).

Notice also (§ 13.2) ... yóo [ni], ... hate/sue/ageku [ni], ... baai [ni],

There are several other types, as the examples below illustrate:

(1) Omitting the temporal-locative marker: Tikái syóorai [ni], ... 'In the near future ...'; Bóku(-) wa sono ban [ni] inákatta kara, bóku(-) no bün dake nokósit' oite, 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, otokó wa onná o utí(-) e sasotta 'One evening, a man invited a woman to his house' (Ig 36); Watasi no pátoron(-) wa watasi no túita hí, sigoto o setumei sita 'My patron explained the job to me [on] the day I arrived' (Endō 194); Yat-tó ni-zíkan -bákari tátta ima, Husae wa tobosii(-) yúuki o ubátte 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] utomásiku omóu 'secretly dislikes' (SA 2685.130b); Syóobai -gara [de] Tyuu-Nánbei, Ahurika no minato de yóku kuruma ni norimásu 'By

56. The following are treated as lexical derivatives: kono-tokoró 'lately; for the present' (adverb), koko-n[o]-tokoro 'right here/now; lately' (noun/adverb), ima-n[o]-toko[ro] 'at present' (adverb), hayái-toko 'promptly' (adverb); sunde-no-tokoró {de} 'any moment (now/then), very nearly' (adverb).

the nature of my business I go by car a lot in the ports of Latin America and Africa' (SA 2664.98c). See also V-tá ga saigo [de], ... 'once V has happened that's it, ...' (§ 14.6, p. 900).

(3) Omitting kóo da 'is like this': Hayái hanasí ga [], ... 'To make a long story short ...' (cf. Mikami 1963.152); Mattakú^[1] no hanasí ga [], ... 'To tell the truth ...'.

(4) A further stripping of the preceding, by omitting gá: Hayái hanasí^[1] [], ... 'To make a long story short ...' (SA 2671.128c); Syoozíkí na hanasí^[1] [], ... 'To tell the truth ...'.

Mikami 1963.153 calls our attention to these three results of ellipsis: Tyóosa no kekka [to site] 'As a result of investigation', Syoozíkí [na tokoró [o iéba]] 'To tell the truth', Ikken [sita tokoró [de wa]] 'At first glance'.

9.2. THE GERUND

The gerund has the shape -kute (lively form -kutte) for adjectival sentences and dé (= literary níte) for nominal sentences. But in western Japan the ending -té 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 nóote is the Kansai form for nákute and yari-tóote is the form for yari-tákute. The velar stop in -[k]ute drops sporadically in various other areas, including Chiba (see Zhs). For an adjective gerund like uresi[k]ute, according to Maeda 1961.20, Kyōto has two pronunciations uresyuute and uresiite; Ōsaka takes the latter and shortens it to uresite.

Verb gerunds are more complicated. Vowel verbs simply add -té to the base (or, rather, to the infinitive which is the same in shape); consonant verbs add -té or -dé depending on the base type and undergo certain morphophonemic alternations (essentially, reductions from the infinitive):

IMPERFECT	GERUND	MEANING	NOTES
kák-u	kái-te	'write'	
kag-ú	kai-dé	'smell it'	
kas-ú	kasi-té	'lend'	But kai-té in some dialects. ⁵⁷
kát-u	kát-te	'win a victory'	Kansai: kóo-te
kár-u		'mow'	
ká-u ⁵⁸ = káw-u		'raise (animals)'	
kó-u ⁵⁹	kót-te	'beg; love'	kóo-te
kú-u	kút-te	'eat'	kúu-te
i-ú /yuú/	it-té, yut-té	'say'	yuu-té
yu-ú	yut-té	'dress hair'	yuu-té
yob-ú	yon-dé	'call'	But yoo-dé in some dialects.
yóm-u	yón-de	'read'	But yoo-de in some dialects. ⁶⁰
sin-ú	sin-dé	'die'	

57. E.g. Nagoya (haná[s]ite, Kgg 81.49a), Ishikawa (okó[s]ite, Zhs 3.95), Yamanashi (dá[s]ite, Zhs 2.424), N. E. Hyōgo (okó[s]ite > okeete, Zhs 3.307 n. 2). Forms such as tu[g]ide 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, 59. In parts of central and southern Japan pronounced kóo (but nowadays usually káu and kóu in Kansai). In Aomori -w- verbs become -r- verbs.

60. E.g. Kōchi (H 1968.150); Kyūshū (H 1968.166); Ishikawa (nómi-te > nóode, Zhs 3.96).

(The basic final accent on the imperfect -ú and gerund -té 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-té*, the gerund is *it-té*, homonymous with the gerund of *i-ú* (pronounced *yuú*) 'says'—but the latter gerund is often pronounced *yut-té*, homonymous with the gerund of *yu-ú* 'dresses hair' (both *yu-té* in Kansai). In certain dialects (Tottori, Izumo, Oki—Zhs 3.307 n. 1; N. E. Hyōgo, Zhs 3.318) the verb 'go' preserves the literary form *yuki-té* > *iki-té*, differing from *iki-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-té* (Zhs 3.306 n. 2). There are Kanto dialects that treat at least some other k-verbs as Tōkyō treats 'go', e.g. *arúki-te* > *arutte* 'walking' (Zhs 2.17)—as in *arutt'atte* = *arúit'atte* = *arúite mo* 'even walking' (Ibaragi, Zhs 2.47).

The literary gerund for the copula is made by attaching -té to the infinitive *ní* (= 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 -té with no changes in the infinitive, so that the literary forms corresponding to the ones given above are *káki-te*, *kagi-té*, *kasi-té*, *káti-te*, *kári-te*, *káhi-te*,⁶¹ *kóhi-te*, *kúhi-te*, *ihí-te*, *yuhí-te*, *yobí-te*, *yómi-te*, *sini-té*, and (for 'going') *yuki-té* > *iki-té*. There are dialects in the southern Ryūkyūs (Yaeyama and Yonaguni) which show a regular formation similar to that of the literary language.⁶² The gerund ending -te is palatalized to -tye or -ti in northern Kyūshū, according to Zhs 6.19; and palatalization of the ending (to -ci) is widespread in the Ryūkyūs, 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 *tóoté*, respectively, instead of *kótte* and *tótté*.⁶³ And the same situation obtains for other forms based on the gerund, such as the perfect: ... *kokumin ni tóotá 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* = *notamátta*: ... *kieta uisúkii ni túite wa*, "Moo tokkú-ni([~]) dóko ka e simi-kónde simattá 'róo yó'" 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* for *morote* = *moratte* 'getting',⁶⁴ *simota* for *simoota* = *simatta* 'finished', and *warota* for *waroota* = *waratta* 'laughed': *Soo omóte 'ru desu wá* 'That's what I think, you see' (SA 2684.103a)—< *omóote* = *omótte*.

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 *kawánai* 'does not raise'.

62. But these Ryūkyū gerunds appear to be derived from infinitive + *sité* rather than -té.

63. In Literary Japanese, forms that end in ...a-u and ...o-u are pronounced /...oo/.

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(é)-*, which underlies the literary perfect forms *túru* (attributive) and *tú* (predicative) as in *saki-túru haná* 'the flowers in bloom, the flowers which have bloomed' (= *saita haná* or *saite iru haná*) and *haná saki-tú* 'the flowers are in bloom, the flowers have bloomed' (= *haná ga saita* or *haná ga saite iru*). On the use of paired verbs in the (V-i-)tú form as an equivalent of modern *-tári*, see §9.5. The auxiliary verb *t(é)-* 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 *-tára* or *-tára-ba*, the conditional and (with *-ba*) also the literary perfect hypothetical; *-táreba*, the literary perfect provisional; *-tá*, the perfect; *-táru*, the attributive literary perfect; and *-tári*, the modern representational and the predicative literary perfect.

In addition to forming the gerund, *-té* is apparently present in the particle *tó-te* (§21.3) and in the adverb *sá-te* (unless that is the quotative *té = tó?*); it also attaches to the literary adverb *káku* 'thus' to form *káku-te*. The older literary language had *V-(a)zu-te*, corresponding to modern *V-(a)nái de* or *V-(a)nákute*.

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 *sakébu* ends in *-bu* like *yobu* and the gerund of *yobu* is *yondé* the gerund of *sakébu* must be *sakénde*". (On a different set of ordered rules that claims to 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)ná-ku[t]te* (and *náku[t]te* for *áru*) is used before the particles *wá* and *mó* (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)ná-i de* (but *náku[t]te* for *áru* since *nái de* is normally used only before auxiliaries⁶⁵)—for which there is an older-generation abbreviation *-(á)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: *-masén de* or *-masén desite*.⁶⁶ But it is questionable whether these are used before auxiliaries.) Examples: ... *sore o sirán de* 'without knowing that' (SA 2639.44b); ... *syúzyutu sen de mo* [= *sinákute mo*] *tasukátta* 'was saved without an operation' (Tk 4.3a); *Enryo sén de ii; tótt' oke yó* 'You needn't be shy;

65. Thus the negative corresponding to *A-kute* is *A-ku náku*, not **A-ku nái de*.

66. But Yoshida (215) is convinced that *-(a)nái de* comes from *-(a)nande*, for which there are Muromachi colloquial examples (Y 216) though *-(a)nái de* became the popular form in Edo times. Yoshida (211) assumes *-(a)nande* is the source of the twenty-odd examples of *-(i/e)-nade* in older literature. These are traditionally assumed to contain the literary perfect auxiliary (V-i-)nu[ru] + negative and gerund.

take it [= the overgenerous tip I am proffering]' (SA 2641.54a—*sén de = sinái 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)nái de*; this is an oldish form, thought to be from *-(a)zu-te* (Satō 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 *-(á)[na]i de* as in *yomá'i de* 'not reading', according to Zhs 4.16; similar forms are attested from the 16th century (Satō 1.235).^{66a} An example of this (baffling on first encounter) is ... *soko e té ga deide* [= *dé'i de = dénai de*] 'unable to afford it' (Tk 4.75b). Shikoku uses *sen duku ni* for *sinái de*, and Yaeyama has *san tuku ni* (Miyara 1930.149).

The replacement of the negative gerund *-(a)nákute* by the negative imperfect + the copula/essive gerund is to be distinguished from:

(1) *-(a)nái n[o] de* meaning both 'it is the one/fact/act of not ...', with its optionally omitted *n[ó]* as in *Mimí ni sinái [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)nái de wa arimasén*, the negative of *-(a)nái desu* (an alternative to *-masén*, §22.1), i.e. the polite double negative of *-rú*.

With auxiliary verbs, only the *-(a)nái de* form is used: *Himitu o hanasánai de kureta* 'He did us the favor of not telling our secret'. And that is true even when the gerund is focused: ... *hanasánai de wa kurenákatta* 'did not do us the favor of not telling'. But you will also run across *-(a)zu ni*: *tukawazu ni oku = tukawanái de oku* 'leaves it unused', *tukawazu ní wa okanai = tukawanái de wa okanai* 'does not leave it unused'.

Another form that is interchangeable with *V-(a)nákute* and *V-(a)nái 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 narán[ai] de bengó-si ni nátta* or as *Isya ni nárazu [ni] bengó-si ni nátta*, though the latter is a bit stiff. However, the unacceptability of **Isya ni naránakute bengó-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)nákute* form is used primarily for CONSEQUENCE, as in *Kaban ni hairánakute utí(¯) ni oite kimásita* 'It wouldn't go in my briefcase so I left it at home' and *Básu ga kónakute arúite kimásita* '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)nái de*. And Alfonso (509) says that *V-(a)zu ni* is an exact synonym of *V-(a)nái de*; thus it should not be used for *V-(a)nákute* 'not ..., consequently'. An example of the MANNER meaning of the gerund: *isogánai de káku = isogázu ni káku* 'writes unhastily'. And an example of a negative gerund of CONDITION: ... *Moo káeru món ka.—Kaeránai de, dóo 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 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)nái de* form will take auxiliary verbs in the same way as the affirmative *V-té* form. Remember that, though *V-(a)nái de* is equivalent to *V-(a)nákute*, you can not say **N ga náí de* 'not having N', for this must be said (in the standard language) as *N ga nákute*. And **A-ku náí de* will not be accepted for *A-ku nákute*; nor will speakers allow *N/AN de náí de* for *N/AN de nákute*.

66a. But Kansai *V-(a)-ide* cannot be historically a contraction of *V-(a)-nai de*, since *V-(a)nai* itself is an eastern form for *V-(a)nu*. The derivation must be $\langle -(a)nde \langle *-(a)ni-te \text{ or } \langle -(a)zu-te \langle *-(a)n[su]-te$. Cf. Hamada 1952.205, 211n15.

In Literary Japanese *sité*, the gerund of *surú* (that all-purpose dummy or pro-verb), can be used as a stylistic variant for *ní* and *ní-te* (= *dé*) as sentence-connectives; thus you will find *ní sité mo* used in the several meanings of *dé mo* and you may run across written sentences with *V-(a)naku sité* for *V-(a)nái de* (or *náku sité* for *nákute*) and with *V-(a)zu sité* for *V-(a)zu ní[-te]* and *A-kárazu sité* for *A-ku náku[te]*. (Cf. p. 488.) For example: *Kózin no seizitu nádo náni-hodo(-) no kotó de mo náí; ga, sore náku site kózin wa ikirarénu nómi-narazu, syákai mo máta(-), sore náku site sonritu si-énu de aróo* '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:⁶⁷

- (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 miti o hidari e itte, tuki-atátte, mi-gi e 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-náku 'Shortly after ...-ing'.

...-te ma mo náí kóro wa 'A time shortly after ...-ing'.

...-te sibároku suréba 'A little while after ...-ing'.

...-te súgu 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 zyúu-nen buri da 'It has been ten years since ...-ing'.

Cf. *V-té kara*, §9.2.3. Examples: *Sigoto o hazímete ní-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-hóomu ...* 'A home of one's own that one acquires for the first time 25 years after getting married ...' (SA 2659.118a); *Titioya wa watasi ga umarete rok-kágetu de naku-narímásita* '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 2669.61d); *umarete hazímete no taikin* 'the biggest sum (seen) in all my life' (SA 2642.56c); *Kírete is-syúukan ni narímásu* '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.

e kíte tyoodo 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-séikatu o suru yóo ni nátte ma-mó-naku no kotó de aru 'It happened shortly after a student had taken up boarding-house life in Kōchi city' (Shibata 1961.183). In written Japanese the gerund sité is sometimes optionally omitted after a verbal noun: Nyuusya [site] ni-kágetu ṡg(ṡ) no sigatú 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 tátte ... 'After a few seconds (elapse) ...'; Hón o karite yónda 'I borrowed a book and read it'; Dénsya(ṡ) wa éki ni háitte tomatta 'The train entered the station and stopped' (lg 1962.95); Ningen wa umarete sinu monó de áru 'Man lives and (then) dies'; Kabu no gensoku wa, yásuku katte tákaku uréba mookáru '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 dá '(does it) and that's the end of it': Dé mo íza owatta tokí wa, nódo ga kawáite 'masu kara, mizu ip-pai nónde 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 desu 'We'll stop with this'.

We might wish to set up a subcategory of temporal sequence to cover purposive movements: Tosityo-kan e itte hón o karita 'I went to the library and borrowed (= to borrow) a book'—cf. Hón o kari ni tosyó-kan e itta; Mégane o kámete nagame-naósita '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 -rú/-tá kara (§ 17.1); the gerundized sentence can take a different subject from that of the sentence to which it is attached: Áme ga hútte [watási-táti ga] ikenákatta 'It rained so we couldn't go'; Kure kara Syoogató(ṡ) ni kámete yopparai ga óokute [= óói no de] komarimásu '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 yásukute (kantan de, tigatte ite) bikkúri surú desyoo 'It's so cheap (simple, different) that you'll probably be amazed' and Anmari zikan ga kakátte bikkúri surú desyoo 'You'll be surprised at how much time it takes' (BJ 2.189-B).

From the consequence meaning we are led into the following expressions:

(1) -te/-kúte/dé + ii 'it is nice that (it does/is) ...', 'It is nice and ...' (with English adjective): ... atarásikute ii monó 'a nice fresh one'; Nakanaka inase de ii wakamonó(ṡ) désita 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': Tasukátte yókatta 'I'm glad that I was saved' or 'Fortunately I was saved' (SA 2642.36c); ... kono dankai de kui-tomeru kotó ga dékíte 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: Minná ni áete yókatta 'I am glad I was able to see everyone'; O-tégami kudasátte, arigatoo gozaimásu 'Thank you for favoring me with a letter'; Gookaku nasátte o-medetoo 'Congratulations on passing your examination'.

(2) -te/-kúte/dé + tamaranai/naranai/yarikirénai/irarenai/yamanai/kanawánai 'does/is unbearably = intensely': Hébi ná(n)ka ga kówákute tamaranai 'I'm terribly frightened of snakes'; Tokidoki kázoku ni ai-tákute tamaranaku náru 'Sometimes I get terribly anxious to

see (=get terribly homesick for) my family' (SA 2688.40e); ... hará ga tátte naránai 'I get terribly angry' (SA 2640.105d); Hará ga hette naránai no de koohuku sitá no desu ... 'I surrendered, being terribly hungry' (SA 2647.88c); Kanásíkute naránai 'It's terribly sad'; ... kokóró ga ugóite naránakatta 'she was much perturbed' (Fn 410b); Kookiti wa, ki ga tátte kíte naránakatta 'Kōkichi started to get terribly excited' (Fn 108a); ... muné ga hazunde naránakatta 'he was terribly elated' (Fn 142a); Sore ga tabe-tákute naránai 'I'm dying to eat it'; ... hassoo wa dóo-mo kakuitu-teki de katá ni hamatte kíte iru yóo ni omóete naránai 'the expressions somehow seem terribly as though they were becoming standardized and stereotyped' (SA 2689.43a); Omoi-dasu tabí ni, watasi wa kuyásíkute naránakatta 'Every time I thought about it I was extremely vexed' (SA 2666.110e); ... sági ni kakátta yóo ni omóete narimasén 'it looks terribly as though I've been swindled' (SA 2670.115b); ... sinpai de narimasén '... is terribly worried' (SA 2661.110a); ... husigi de tamaranai yoosu dátta 'it was a terribly odd situation' (SA 2663.129b); ... no ga ki ni nátte naránai 'is terribly concerned that ...' (SA 2684.120b); ... hazime san-zíkan sanzíp-pun ni tukuráreta kono éiga(-) ga ... ni-zíkan zyuugó-hun ni oohabá(-) ni kátto sarete kookai sarerú no ga zannén de naránai '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); Tokoró-ga hitóbito wa ziyúu na seikatu o motómete yamanai 'But people constantly seek a free, creative life' (SA 2671.28a); ... o negátte yamimasén 'I DO hope that/for ...'; Rippa na gakusya wa ákú-made kenkyuu site yamanai 'A fine scholar pursues his research to the end'; Sono zíken o tuikyuu site yamanu kénzi wa ... 'The prosecutor, unrelenting in his investigation of that case ...' (SA); ... túne ni hu-ántei o motómete yamanu séisin 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 | irarenákatta 'I couldn't (stand to) look'; Kinodókú de | naránakatta 'I couldn't forbear expressing my concern (sympathy)' (Kenkyusha); Dóo-mo | soo omowárete | naránai 'I can't help thinking that way'; ... mótto taisetú na monó ga áru yóo ni omóete naránai 'I can't help feeling there is something more important' (Ōno 1966.35); Nakete naránai '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-sugíru): Omókute ikemasén 'It's too heavy'; Sírókute ikenai 'It is too white' or 'Too white will not do = Don't make it too white'; Hará ga ítákute 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 naránai, p. 498.

In addition to the expected negatives, there is also V-(a)zu ní wa irarenai or V-(a)nái de wa irarenai 'can't help ...-ing' and V-(a)nái 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 náru món ka can not be made from -te naránai); nor can -te wa naránai and -(a)nákereba naránai be phrased as rhetorical questions. On the other hand -té mo kamawánai '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 +) náru món ka are both possible, as is irareru món ka; cf. §8.7.⁶⁸

68. But I have elicited Yúurei nánga ga kówákute 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 site naránai 'I feel awfully chilly' and Kánki ga site wa naránai (= ikenai/damé) 'Cold weather is no good'.

(3) (-tē/)-kúte/dé + taihen da or sikata/s[i]yoo ga náí 'it is terribly (= ever so) ...': Muzukásíkute taihen da 'It is ever so difficult' (= Taihen muzukasii(-)), 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 náí 'This is terribly odd' (Tk 4.225ab); Nízyuu há-sai no otokó o tukamaete, bóoya to iwareta kotó ga kuyásíkute sikata ga nákatta 'It was quite miserable for a 28-year-old man to be called "Sonny"! (SA 2642.55c); Koko no tókó wa zidóo-sya(-) ga supíido dásu kara né, abunákutte syoo ga náí 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 náí, 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 utí(-) wa syaku ni sawatte siyoo ga nákatta keredo ... 'At first I was terribly vexed but ...' (SA 2662.105d); ... utí(-) no yoosu ga dóo-mo ki-ni-nátte syoo ga náí '... felt terribly uneasy about the appearance of the family group' (SA 2662.120a); ... Itigóroo no hanasí 'buri wa aware-ppóku kikoete sikata ga nákatta 'the way Ichigoro was talking sounded terribly plaintive' (Fn 160b); ... bóku(-) wa dóo-mo kokkei o kan-zityatte syoo ga náí 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]yoo ga áru món ka. I am unsure about Áme ga hütte taihen dáttá 'It rained terribly' (= Taihen áme ga hütte) 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 náí '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: *urésíkute wa/mo tamaranai. That is in contrast with the separability of gerund + auxiliary in §9.2.4. However, there is one quasi-idiomatic example that highlights paired 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 kootuu-zíko ga gen'in de sinda Huroorensu-Howáito yósi 'Miss Florence White who died in Japan as the result of a traffic accident'. Notice that Nihón de modifies sinda^{da} 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 dóo-mo sumimasén desita 'Excuse me for keeping you waiting'. And similarly Anáta ga kíte kurete hontoo ni yókatta '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 nátté káre mo yohodo zibun o mi-tumeru yóo ni nátté 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 óói 'From being overly rational, there are many who are old before their years' (SA 2665.102e)—it is unclear whether the gerund might conceivably be taken to refer to óói, 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': Asi-áto kara míte, kore wa, inú daroo 'From the appearance of the tracks, it must be a dog'; Ízyoo, mittú no ten kara kangáete, koo kimemásita 'In consideration of the above three

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 the 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 watasi o míte itimókusan 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 dé* 'with [using] N'): *Kisyoo-zyóohoo o atúmete tenkí-zu o tukuróo* 'Let's collect weather information and (that way—using it) make a weather map'; *Yóoba wa husigi na zyumon o tonáete haná o isí ni sita* 'The witch murmured a magic spell and (thereby) changed the flower into a stone'; *Hiru-yásumi no sánzíp-pun o syabétte sugósu* 'I spend the half-hour lunch break chattering'; *Akanboo o utatte nekasita* 'I put the baby to sleep by singing'; *Kimi o nokósite wareware wa mi-garu ni syuppatu suru* 'By leaving you here we will start with a lighter load'; *Zísyo o hiite sirabe-nasái* 'Look it up in the dictionary' (Hayashi 87); *Ukemoti no tíiki ni tyuuzai si, zitaku kara tyokusetu 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 apáato no urínusi(-) ga, anátá-gáta(-) o damásite uri-túketa to suréba ...* '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 Torusútói ga naku-natte Naitingéeru 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 tuyóí kóe wa wasurerarenai* 'I can not forget that clear strong voice' (SA 2664.42c); *Arasuka no huyú wa nágakute kurai* 'Alaska's winters are long and dark' (SA 2687.122a); *Syuzínkoo no Hamasima wa, áru ryokóo-sya ni tutoméru súnao de heibon na sararii-man de aru* '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 doobutú-en e [itte] musumé wa syokubutú-en e itta* 'My son went to the zoo and my daughter [went] to the botanical garden'; *Káre wa gakkoo o sátte(-) watasi wa gakkoo ni todómatta* 'He left school and I stayed there'. Here belong expressions of the type 'not ... but rather ...': *Dénsya(-) de kónai de [or: kónakute] kuruma de yatte kíta* 'He came by taxi (rather than =) not by train'; *Kyóo zya nákute asítá na n desu* 'It's tomorrow, not today'; *Yóku miru to, sore wa hito dé wa nákute, tunó¹⁾ no háeta oní de atta* 'On close examination, it was not a human being but a devil with horns' (Hayashi 89); *Inú wa, dóo sitá no ka, syúzin no hoo e wa ikanái de, kyaku no hoo ni, suri-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 ii, §9.2.2): ... *yónde mikka to kakaránaí* '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 desyóo* 'If all goes well it's 50-50 = It's even odds at best'

(Hayashi 89); Yókute, sán-tén to iu tokoró ka 'Is it a matter of three points at best?' (Hayashi 89); Húrukute atarasii téema de aru 'It is an old yet new theme' (SA 2792.28e); Uwayaku ni tatetúite sikararenákatta 'I was insubordinate to the boss but was not scolded'; Káre wa abunai to kizúite tyúutyó sinákatta 'He noticed it was dangerous but did not hesitate'; Ee-gumi Bii-gumi awásete gozyúu-nin ni mitánai 'Even if Classes A and B are combined there will still be under fifty people'; Watasi nára ittyúuya nezu káite go-mai mo dekinai 'In my case, even if I wrote all day and all night without sleeping I couldn't get five pages done'; Daigakú-sei de átte hizyoo ni hi-zyóosiki na no de komáru 'It is distressing that, being a college student, he is yet so lacking in common sense'; Anna muzukasii(¯) kotó o syabéte máda zyuuís-sai da 'He talks on such difficult topics and yet he is only eleven years old'; Katta hón wa sukósi mo yomárete inái de Marúzen kara sára ni sán-satu todóita 'With the books already bought still totally unread, three more arrived from Maruzen'.

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'; Kimi ga tazúnete itta tokoró de, káre ni áu 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 káite ningen wa ikíru kotó ga dekinai 'Lacking love man cannot live' (Ōno 1966.77); Arúite ll sánzip-pun ¯gúrai kakáru 'If you walk it takes thirty minutes'. Compare the uses of the focused gerund -té wa/mo §9.2.2. Here belong such examples as yónde tanosii hón 'a book that is pleasant to read' (= yómu to tanosii, yónde wa tanosii 'if/when you read it it is pleasant'), kiite kanasii hanási 'a sad tale to hear', hanásite omosirói hitó 'a person that (it) is fun to talk to', nónde oisii monó 'something delicious to drink', etc. The condition will sometimes function like a thematization: Sékkusu 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 Mimí de kiite wakáru 'They are understood upon hearing them with your ears' (Ōno 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 zitú ni átukute, ítu mo sanzyúu-do ¯ízyoo áru 'This room is really hot—always over 30 degrees [centigrade]'; Yamamoto san wa seizitu na hitó de, hiki-úketa kotó wa kanarazu yari-togemásu '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-títái to iwarete ite mi-watasu kágiri koozyóo(¯) no entotu desú '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 isóide 'hastily', but the verb can carry adverbs and other adjuncts of the usual sort: ... áme ni nurete káeru 'returns wet by the rain'; ... kippu o tótte táte iru 'stands holding his ticket'; ... té o tazusáete(¯) Supéin e ittá n desu 'they went to Spain together (hand-in-hand)' (Tk 2.325a); Hutari wa té o tori-atte neta 'The two slept hand in hand' (Ig 1962.95); Sono sibahu o hunde Húkuko ga yatte kúru 'Hukuko approaches, stepping on the lawn'

68a. Perhaps this is best taken as an OBSERVATIONAL CONDITION (p. 557), like Ano hasi o watatte tugí no yotu-kado ni ookii gasorin-sutándo ga arimásu yó 'You go over that bridge and (you'll find) there's a big gasoline station at the next intersection' (BJ 1.367).

(Ig 1962.97); Yóku sutékki o tazusáete(¯) sanpo sita monó da 'I often used to take walks with stick in hand'; Hízí o tuite e-hón o míta 'I looked at the picture book leaning my elbow on the desk'; Hará o yozitte/kakaete waratta 'I split my sides laughing'; Hibana o tirasite tatakatta 'They fought with sparks flying (= furiously)'; Tásiro-si wa masúmasu 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): Mukási búke(¯) no musumé-tati wa, ittan yome-ittá nara-ba, ÍKITE hutatabi oyá no ié ni káeru kotó wa yurusarénakatta 'In former days the daughters of samurai, once married, were not allowed to return again to the parent's house [while] ALIVE' (Ishikawa Tatsuzo); Syuuiti wa DAMÁTTE sono sakura no wakági o kítta 'Shūichi SILENTLY cut the cherry sapling' (Kawabata). On the iteration of the gerund in V₁-te V₁-te V₁-i-makuru as in hanásite hanásite hanasi-makuru 'talks a blue streak', see §9.1.10.

Occasionally a nominal sentence can be used in the gerund form (N dé) to express manner: Sore ga, Ginza ¯átari o tuke-mátuge de arúite 'ru zyosei ga, konó-goro(¯) íkura mo iru 'But, lately there are ever so many women strolling around the Ginza in false eye-lashes' (Tk 2.103a). Is this due to a propredication that represents tuke-mátuge o túkete 'putting on false eyelashes'?

From these various uses of the gerund it is easy to understand the development of the phrasal postpositions (§9.7) such as ... ni túite/tukimásite 'dealing with, about' etc. For most of the phrasal postpositions, focus can not be applied on the phrase before the gerund (*N ní mo/wa túite → N ni túite 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 ní (mo/wa) hanásite 'speaking to the child'. The gerunds used in phrasal postpositions would seem to be following the same path that earlier led the essive gerund ní-te (now dé) into the particle dé with its diverse meanings that include location, instrument, manner, and cause. Since it is possible to paraphrase Siken-bénkyoo de isogásikatta 'I have been busy with exam study' as Siken no benkyoo o site isogásikatta '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 dáre NI TAI-SÚRU yori, Hídeko NI TÁI-SITE waga-mámá 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: Utí(¯) e káette góhan o tábete neta 'I went home, ate, and went to bed'; ... neyoo 'I guess I'll go home, eat, and go to bed'; ... netá daroo 'He probably went home, ate, and went to bed'; ... nete kudasái '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 kúru passivized in this example: ... koo iu ko wa kono kyánpu e musúu(¯) ni turete korárete sinde ittá 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 kíte koraréna-katta '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-gákkoo o sotugyoo site, zen-sékai no úmi o kóokai(¯) site, zen-sékai no hitóbito to naka-yóku si-tai to, tiisa-na muné o todorokásete 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 syasin o TORÁRETA áto, tézyoo(¯) o KAKERÁRETE, keibi-sya de Ayase-syo ni gosoo SARETA 'Mr Miyamoto was taken from here to the Kōjimachi 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: Kí o míte, mori o mínai kara, komáru '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 míte hoo o tokánai kara, komáru '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 mínai de hoo o tóku kara komáru '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 Káre ni átte, sore o tutaénákatta kara (1) = Káre ni átta; sore o tutaénákatta 'I met him and didn't tell him that'; (2) = Káre ni awánákatta; sore o (kansetu ni) tutáeta 'I didn't tell him that face to face (doing it indirectly, instead)'; (3) = Káre ni ái mo sezu, tutáé mo sinákatta '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 ní wa tutaénákatta 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 Té o tunaide arukánai, 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)'; arukánai 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 irenákatta desyoo 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:

(1) *Sité* is equivalent to *dé* 'as' in such expressions as *hutarí site* 'as a couple', *sannín site* 'as a threesome', *húuhu 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) *Sité* adds light emphasis to the particle *kará* in some of its uses: *namae kara site* 'from the name'; [*sore*] *dá kara site* 'because it is that; therefore' (Tk 2.206a); *Káigi e no zyúnbi kara site, kiwámete nonbíri sita monó 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 sité*^[1] 'making it into' or 'treating it as' (§9.1.11); cf. ... *ni sité mo = dé mo* 'even (treating it as =) being'.

(2a) In ... *issyun 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; *sité* could be omitted. A like example is the adverb *éte(-)* [*site*] 'often, frequently' (= *yóku*) or 'apt/prone/liable to' (= *yáya* [to] *mo sureba* 'at the drop of a hat').

(3) The sequence ... *o sité*^[1] 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 *ní* (or sometimes by *ó*—see §4.1): *Watakusi o site iwasi memásita nara-ba ... = Watakusi ni iwaserú nara ...* 'If you ask me ...'. And the sequence ... *ni sité*^[1] 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 sité*^[1] is used in Literary Japanese to mean just 'being', equivalent to *ní-te* = modern *dé*; the corresponding negative form is ... *ni árazu site*. (See remarks in §9.1.11.) An example: *Náni ka ii-soo ni site [= ii-soo de], nakanaka ii-dasanai* '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. *sikási* 'but', which looks to be the infinitive *siká si*; *sikasi-nágara* 'though being thus' is probably a later formation (adverb + concurrent-concessive, see §9.1.3).

(4a) The expressions *N ni sité kara ga/mo/sae* are used to mean *N dé sae mo* 'even (being) N', §2.2 (*kará* 8). In downtown Tōkyō, *N ni sité ga* is used in the same way (without *kará*): *Gén ni Yamázaki no utí(-) no zyotyuu ni sité ga sóo datta* 'As a matter of fact even the maid at the Yamazakis' was like that' (Kb 259a). In the example *Hukóo ni site atasi wa iti-dó mo kiita kotó ga ná n desu ga, ...* 'Unfortunately I have never once heard him, but ...' (Tk 3.31a) we find *AN ni sité* used in place of *AN ní mo*; notice that neither **hukóo ni* nor **hukóo de* are acceptable here—nor is **hukóo 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)nái 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 *sité* is attached (like *dé*) as a particle with no juncture and that is what accounts for the accentuation of *hutarí site*. In all other uses, *sité* 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 ó site*).

(6) N dé [wa] náku sité^[2] is sometimes written as an equivalent of N dé [wa] nákute 'it is not (and/but)' as in this example: ... gen'ei ni mukatte hanasi-kakete irú no de wa náku site, ... 'It is not a matter of addressing a phantom but ...' (Maeda 1962.55). And N náku site is sometimes written for N [ga] nákute 'without N': sore náku site 'without that' (KKK 3.79).

(7) On sité mo = dé mo, see remarks at the end of §9.2.2 and compare sí mo = dé mo in certain clichés (p. 501). Cf. ni sité mo §9.1.11; ni si ro, ni sé 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-kúte
 V-(a)zu sité = V-(á)nakute, V-(a)nái de
 AN ni sité = AN ní-te = AN dé
 AN to sité = AN tó/dé

Examples of A-ku sité = A-kúte (not to be confused with the mutative 'making it into A'): ... wákaku site sinda mumei no sizin ... 'an obscure poet who died young' (SA 2672.101d); ... sore náku site wa ningen sonzai ga kangaerárenú sékái 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 site is still in colloquial use for A-kúte (Zhs 6.16 n. 5, also 23). It has been suggested that the lively Tōkyō variant A-kútte came into being from a shortening of A-ku sité (Zhs 2.17), and some speakers have expressed a feeling that A-kúte itself has the same origin; but examples of A-kúte 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 mótte 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 mótte is followed by sité, but we might assume some sort of ellipsis, perhaps {sore o (setumei)}: ... kono Nihon-zin no seikoo wa zyúkyoo nómi o mótte [] 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 mótte sité mo seems to be used more generally, to mean something like N no réi o tótte mo 'Even if we take the example of N' or just N dé mo 'even N' as in Dai-gákusya o mótte sité mo setumei dekinai 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 mótte in the semi-literary language: kore o mótte mireba 'in view of this fact, such being the case'. A more colloquial usage will retain dé [] and add mótte purely for emphasis: Sore de mótte ... (or still more colloquially Soi de mótte ...) 'For that reason'; syakkín de {motte} komáru 'is troubled because of the debt'. This is possible also for the INSTRUMENTAL dé: enpitu de {mótte} káku 'writes in/with pencil'; Nihon-go de {mótte} hanásu 'speaks in Japanese'; Dóno hóteru mo utukusii syoomei ni terasáre, samázama(¯) na syukóo(¯) de motte kazari-taterárete 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 mótte can be shortened to móte. The short form is also used as prefix in a number of compound verbs, such as mote-asobu 'plays' and mote-násu(¯) 'entertains'.

of *dé*, as well: *Gúnsoo de motte Hwírípin 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 mótte*). In fact (cf. Terase 133) it appears to be possible to add *mótte* after MOST uses of *dé*, as a colloquial emphasizer: informants find quite acceptable such phrases as *dénsya*([~]) *de mótte iku* 'goes by train' and *hutarí de motte kíta* 'they came as a couple'. Examples with the locative-marker *dé*: *Kono-aidá né, Gion no toorí de motte, hyokkúri, Yosuke ni átta n da* 'The other day on an avenue in Gion I bumped into Yosuke' (Fn 161a); *Zúsi de motte ...* 'In Zushi' (Tk 4.151b). Other examples of *de mótte*: ... *zyúugo de motte hito to kekkon site simai ...* 'ending up married to someone at the age of fifteen' (R); *Óyazi ga naku-narimásita kara, hotóndo, hahaoya, hitóri de motte, ee, syóobai o site ótta yóo na wáke 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 mótte* will permit the addition of focus (**de mótte wa/mo, *dé wa/mo mótte*). It has been suggested that *mótte* can be added to *S n[o] de* in the causal meaning: (?) *Kirai na món ~bákari tugí kara tugí ni susumeretá n de motte, komáttiyatta n desu tte* 'They said they were embarrassed from being urged to do one unpleasant thing after another'. *Mótte* is attached to an adverb purely for emphasis in *Hanahada(-)mótte kesikarán* 'it is most outrageous!' and in *mázu(-) motte* = *mázu* 'first of all', *mattaku(-)mótte* 'indeed, truly' (Tk 3.273), *máe(-)motte* 'beforehand' (= *máe kara*), and *ima-mótte* 'still' (= *íma de mo, íma sae, íma ya*).

The copula/essive gerund *dé* 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 *dé* + *iru/óru/irassyáru/o-ide* usually means 'remains/stays ...' as in this example: ... *bóku*([~]) *wa toobun hurii de i-tai* 'I want to remain free(lance) 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 *dé* in such sentences as representing MANNER or SIMPLE CONJOINING or some new meaning of the gerund. The animate concord of *iru* vs. *áru* 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 áru* (→ *dá*) for animate and inanimate alike, though with exaltation we find *de irassyáru* 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-yasúí, kanketu na búnsyoo—sore de ite zusit-to omoi naiyoo* '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 iú no mo | nán désu ga, | máa ...* 'I shouldn't say so myself, but, well, ...' (SA 2679.119c). This explanation is particularly attractive in view of such sentences as ... *onná wa ZIBUN DE ZIBUN GA, dóo ní mo naránaku nátte 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 *Atasya atasi 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 máde de* 'being all the way to N' and *N máde ni* 'at a point before reaching N' is the propredicative copula gerund versus the time-locative marker *ni*

(in origin the essive itself, or copula infinitive); cf. Alfonso 326-7. In Hyaku-pézi made de yameta 'I stopped after [reading] 100 pages' the copula gerund represents yónde 'reading'; in Sinzyuku máde de káeru 'I'll be back when I've been to Shinjuku' the gerund represents itté 'going'. O-híru made ni site kudasái means 'Do it by noon [= at some time before noon]';⁷⁰ O-híru made de yamete kudasái means 'Do it till noon and then stop', with the copula gerund propredicating sité 'doing'—compare O-híru made site kudasái 'Do it till noon', O-híru made sinái de kudasái 'Don't do it before noon'.⁷¹

The gerund átte (< ári-te) 'existing; having' sometimes appears directly after a noun through ellipsis of gá, and N [ga] átte often translates as 'with': Sono kai [ga] átte ... 'With that success ...' (SA 2659.110b); Kokorozásu tokoró [ga] átte ... 'With an aim in view ...' (SA 2674.113c). The antonymous expression is N [ga] nási [ni/de] 'without N'. Like other gerunds átte can occur as a stranded cause in a propredicative sentence: Sen'yaku ga átte [] da 'It's that I have a prior engagement'. With ellipsis of the copula: Hoka ni sen'yaku ga átte [da] ka, káre wa kesseki sita 'He was absent, perhaps with some previous engagement' (Mikami 1963.85). On N {ga} átte no ... 'with; ONLY with', see §9.2.1; and observe that the antonymous meaning is expressed by N {ga} nási no ... 'without': ... kurezitto-káado nási no seikatu ... 'living without credit cards' (SA 2660.26d); ... térebi nási no seikatu wa kangaerarénaí 'life without television is inconceivable' (Kotoba no yurai 194a). Observe also the use of átte as an equivalent of ní in S daké ni/átte, §13.2. See p. 1002 (§21) for N to átte; see p. 581 for N ni átte.

You will sometimes come across N de átte written where you would expect dé as the gerund of the copula; what has been gerundized is the formal (uncontracted) copula de áru: ... iwayuru "Kyooiku-kánzi" de atte, ... 'are among the so-called "Education characters" and (so) ...' (K 1966.54); Yo-nín wa izure mo, hito ˉnami ˉízyoo ni tuyói zíga no motí-nusi de atte, 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 hazímete 'for the first time' (differently accentuated from hazimete^[1] 'beginning it'), másite (MKZ has másite(ˉ)) 'much more/less' (from atonic masite^[1] 'increasing'), sitagatte 'consequently' (for younger speakers sitagátte—and this is also used for sitagatté^[1] 'complying'), hatásite 'sure enough', káette 'on the contrary, rather', kiwámete 'extremely', itatte 'extremely', wákete [mo] 'above all', toriwakete 'especially', toritatete 'in particular', zu{ba}-núkete 'exceptionally', sóo-zite(ˉ) 'in general', tutómete 'bending every effort', magete 'forcibly', síite 'forcibly', hiíte-wa 'and by extension, furthermore, moreover' (also—with irregular accentuation—hiíte-wa), otte 'later on', {koto-}aratámete 'again, anew', awásete 'altogether', konónde 'with pleasure, by choice; often', kuwáete(ˉ) 'additionally', tuzukete 'next, to continue', sémete 'at least', táete '(not) at all; (hardly) ever', medátte 'markedly, conspicuously', sugúrete '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-híru made da = o-híru made surú no da 'does it till noon'.

71. But in print you will sometimes see TIME máde [ni] with omission of ní; only the aspect of the verb (or other context) will make it clear that the intention is máde ni 'by' rather than unelliptical máde 'until'. Cf. Nagano 1970.215-23.

kánete 'previously' (from áto o kané^[r] 'combining with the later'—cf. kanégáne(–) 'often before'), tuide (also—with irregular accentuation—túide) 'next'⁷² (cf. the noun tuide 'occasion; order' and the noun tugí 'next' from the infinitive tugí^[r]), hirugáette (kangáéru to) 'turning (to reflect)'—hirugáette kangáéru ni 'on reflection', símete 'in toto, totaling it', sadámete 'definitely', iká ni site = dóo site 'why, how come', káku site = koo sité 'thus', siká site = so[o] sité 'then, so', etc. (See § 13.7.)

There are also the many single-gerund statements of manner, as mentioned earlier: waratte^[r] 'laughing(ly)', isóide 'rushing = hastily', yorokónde 'rejoicing = gladly', iradátte 'impatiently', awatete^[r] 'in bewilderment', ayamátte 'by mistake, in error', amánzite 'contentedly', kasanete^[r] 'repeatedly', kozótte 'forming a body = all together', íkite 'alive' (as in íkite wa kaerénai 'can not return alive'), narande 'abreast, in a row', arasótte 'scrambling, rushing, competitively', yotte(-)takatte^[r] 'in a crowd'; ísiki site 'consciously'; We might include certain cases of N dé or VN dé, e.g. kootai de suru 'does it taking turns = take turns doing it'.

The etymology is not always obvious: kessite '(not) on any account' is from kes-suru 'decides' (with the bound verbal noun KETU, borrowed from Chinese), béssite 'especially' is the gerund of an apparently defective *bes-súru (from BETU), [osi]-nábeta 'in general' is probably contracted from narabete 'lining them up', áete 'daringly' may well be from the gerund of the potential of áw- 'meet', and karóozite 'barely' is to be identified with káráku site 'making it harsh' (presumably by way of kará'u site); áituide 'successively' comes from a literary compound verb (with dephrasal accent) ái-tugu 'succeeds'. The phrase kátete kuwaete 'in addition', usually said with no juncture, combines the gerund of an obsolete verb káte- 'mixes it' (= máze-) with the gerund of kuwaéru(–) 'adds'.

The NOUNS derived from gerunds are fewer in number: súbete 'all' from súbe- 'control', tuide 'convenience, order' from tug- 'succeed' (cf. the adverb túide(–) 'next' and the noun tugí 'next' from the infinitive tugí^[r]),

9.2.1. The predicated gerund.

Colloquially, the gerund can be used in a nominal sentence with the meaning 'It is because ...': Áme ga hútte desu 'It is because it is raining'; Zikan ga nákute desu 'It's that (= because) I have no time'. We can perhaps regard this as a propredicative shortening from something like Áme ga hútte [sóo (na n)] desu 'It is raining and so things are that way', Zikan ga nákute [sóo (na n)] desu 'I have no time and so things are that way'. Compare Óokikute íi desu 'It's nice and big' = 'It's nice because it's big'. Ellipsis of the copula will account for expressions of the type ...-té [da] ka 'perhaps [it's] because' as in dóo site ka 'for some reason or other' (SA 2672.99b) and Hoka ni sen'yaku ga átte ka, káre wa kesseki sita 'He was absent, having a prior engagement perhaps' (Mikami 1963.85). See § 15.6. Here in a single citation are two examples of gerund + copula left by propredication: Heitai to site, zyúu o mótte desu ka to kasanete tazunéru to, sóo desu, heitai to sité desu, to kotáeta 'When repeatedly asked '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: Sumoo ni nátta no wa, hito ni susumerareté desu ka 'Was your

72. In Sore ni túide(–) 'Next/Secondly after that' the atonic 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-té na no [da] ka ‘is it (the case that it is) that/because V’: Aa iu hantai o surú no wa, kuni no tamé o omótte na no ka, zínruí zentai no tamé o omótte na no ka.—Zibun no tamé o omótte 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 -té zya (= -té da) and -té ka as a polite stylization for the ends of sentences (Zhs 4.289 n. 1). According to Yoshida (261) -té desu and -té nó 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 -té ya (= -té da) and -té ya omahén (= -té zya náí) 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 -té da; but many are cliché-like in nature and lack the nuclear form (-té da), e.g. some of the phrasal postpositions (§9.7): Hito ni yotté no tigai wa áru ga ... ‘There are differences dependent on the person, to be sure, but ...’; Bangóo ni sitagátte no hairetu ... ‘Arrangement in accordance with number ...’; Gokai ni motozúite no hándán wa ... ‘A judgment based on misunderstanding ...’; Réi o ageté no setumei ... ‘An explanation citing an example ...’; Sensoo ni túite no kízi ... ‘An article about the war ...’ (but the nuclear sentence can be used—Sensoo ni túite da ‘It is about the war’); Ití-zi kara ní-zi ni kákete no kúrasu ... ‘The class from one to two o’clock ...’; “Hará” o tukatté no kan’yóo-ku ... ‘An idiom using the word “belly” ...’; Syóowa(¯) sánzyuu yo-nen no sangiin-sénkyo o megutte no senkyo-sikin-móndai de aru ‘It is the election-funds problem connected with (centering/revolving around) the election of 1959’; Kore wa náni mo ore ni kagitte no kotó de wa náí ‘This is in no wise limited to me’ (SA 2659.35b).

In addition, there are those with kekka, such as kangáete no kekka ‘(as) a result of thinking’, asobi-súgite no kekka ‘(as) a result of playing/loafing too much’, yókudo o tutikawárete no kekka ‘(as) a result of cultivating rich soil’, and special cases like warúkuti/warúguti o itté no tátari ‘retribution for saying ill of people’; these can perhaps all be regarded as deriving from ...té da in the meaning ‘because’. The other cases, however, will require some different explanation; perhaps an ultimate derivation from -te iru. (Cf. V-te iru ← V-ta, §9.2.4; VN site iru → VN ¯tyuu da, §14.4.)

A special meaning attaches to *N fga+átte no* (with the gerund of áru ‘exists’)—‘ONLY if there exists’, as in these examples: Oyá ga átte no anáta desu yó ‘Where would you be without your father?’; Syoohí-sya átte no seisán-sya desu ‘Producers can not exist without consumers’ (SA 2684.65ab); Siki-sya wa ookésutora átte no siki-sya desu ‘You can’t be a conductor without an orchestra (to conduct)’ (SA 2795.114a); Sore wa kígyoo(¯) no sonritu ga átte no hanasí desu né ‘That enters the picture only with the existence of an enterprise’ (SA 2681.26d); ... okyakusámá^{l)} átte no syóobai na n da kara ... ‘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 nádo wa Kurásiki átte 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-Ázia no kónniti no Nihón o kizúita no mo, Nihon-zín no kóko no dóryoku(¯) ga átte no kotó desu ‘The building of today’s [Little] Japan in Southeast Asia is something

done only (= done after all) through the efforts of individual Japanese' (SA 2660.38); Kane átte no tanosímí(¯) désu 'It is an amusement that takes money'. The gerund átte 'existing' need not include the meaning 'ONLY', of course; it is possible to adnominalize sákúi átte 'on purpose, intentionally'. With ellipsis of the copula {dá} we find átte nominalized before ká in this sentence: Sono tamé mo átte ka, sen-en no raisu-káree o suisyoo sitári, itiman-en mo suru syokuzi o suru ningen ní wa hará ga tatte naránai 'Maybe that's ONE reason [...mo] 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 mótte no ryokóo-sya wa tyúui! 'Travelers carrying large sums of money—caution!'; Umare-túite no oo-usótuki ... 'A born prevaricator'; Iki-wakáreté no wága-ko ga kóisikute ... 'Longing for our child that we are separated from for life'; Tádasi, ása sití-zí kara yóru zyuuití-zí ¯góro made hataraité no syuunyuu dá 'But it is an income (that results) from working from seven in the morning till eleven at night' (SA 2672.137c); Áse-mizu tarásite (= nagásite) no kinróo-sya de nákereba, kane no arigatá-mí(¯) ga wakaránai 'Only the toiler who has dripped sweat appreciates the welcomeness of money'; Sasimí o tábete no tyúudoku ... 'Food-poisoning from eating raw fish'; Zyúuri o arúite no hiroo ... 'Weariness from walking a distance of ten rí'; Nónde no ué de (= Nónda ué de) ... 'Under the influence of drink ...'; Toráete no kansatu ... 'Investigation upon capture ...'; Utí(¯) e káette no kotó ni siyoo 'Let's do it after we return home'; Tábete no ué de benkyoo simasyóo (= Tábeta ué de benkyoo simasyóo) 'Let's study after we eat'; Ano toki^[1] Indo e itta NHK no lida anáunsaa ga káette kíte no hanasí ni, ... 'According to what NHK announcer lida said after returning from being in India at that time ...' (Tk 3.74b); Nanázyúu-en wa koohii ga háitte no nedan ná n de, kami-kóppu wa génka ga tatta no yó-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 itté no hanasí desu ga ... 'This is speaking historically but ...' (Fukuda in Ōno 1967.225); Pán o haitatu sité no kaerí desita 'I was on my way back from delivering bread' (SA 2676.127c)—cf. § 13.2; Atama-kin daké^[1] harátte, nokorí wa tanosinde no o-kaeri ni 'Pay only a down payment, and the rest after you return from enjoying [the trip]' (SA 2673.26); Genba tikáku de yoosetu no sigoto o sité no kaerí datta n desu 'I was on my way back from doing a welding job near the site [of the accident]' (SA 2676.126c); Tookyoo Asakusa no áru syoogákkoo no kootei ni zénkoo(¯) no zídoo ga atumátte no tyoorei de áru '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); ... sindé no notí(¯) ... 'after he died' (=sinda notí(¯)); ... ánta sitté no tóori, ... 'as you know' (Tk 4.314a); Kenka sité no ríkon(¯) ... 'A divorce (that results) from quarreling ...'; Kuruma ni notté no soodan ... 'A talk in the car ...'; Nihón ni ité no seikatu ... 'Life in Japan ...'; ... kyodai-kíkái o tukatté no buturigákú-sya no kenkyuu ¯buri ... 'the research style of physicists using the big machines' (SA 2676.97c); Ozi-san kara kane o moratté no (= moratta ué de no) ryyuugaku ... 'Study abroad financed by money received from his uncle ...'; ... bóodai na syakkín o kaketé no keiei ná no da kara, ... 'because it is a business [that operates by] employing large sums of borrowed money' (SA 2671.107d); Náihu o tukatté no tatakai ... 'A fight using knives ...'; Kodomo o tureté no sanpo ... 'A walk accompanied by the children ...' (and, for some speakers, Kodomo o tureté no okáasan ... '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 daké de wa nāni mo wakarānai 'We understand nothing by just reading books'; ... to iú no mo, koo iu mi-toosi ni tátte no hatugen désu '(his) saying that ... is an assertion based on this sort of outlook'; Kore wa zibun de míte kíte no hanasí da 'This is a story based on my observations'; Íkka sorótte no o-syoogatú ... 'New Year's day with all the family gathered together'; Syokuzi o sité no hanasí ni siyoo 'Let's talk about it after we've eaten'; Sono hón o yónde no kansoo ... 'Impressions from having read that book ...'; Genbaku ni átte no byooki ... 'Illness from being exposed [áú] to the atomic blast ...'; Kázi ni átte no hukóo ... 'Misfortune as a result of having [áú] a fire ...'; Sensoo ga hazimatté no nisannén-kan to iu monó wa ... 'For some two or three years after the war began ...'; ... aité^[J] 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 nónde no kenka may mean 'a quarrel AFTER drinking', 'a quarrel BECAUSE of drinking', or 'a quarrel WHILE drinking'. And Áme ga hütte no deki^gotó 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 site^[J] nó^[J] (§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⁺ú⁺kai ga hirakaréru 'They sometimes hold a luncheon to welcome a guest' (SA 2658.62); Kuni o ageté no kangei ... 'A welcome from the entire nation ...'; Anó-hito o sásite no warú⁺kuti/warú⁺guti 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 (-nákereba 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', Dóo-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: Karúizawa ni irásita kotó ga átte? [= áru ka?] 'Have you ever been in Karuizawa?' This usage is said to be exclusive to women; it includes a special

adjective gerund with the ending *-kátte*: *Omosírókatte?* 'Is it interesting?' (= *Omosirói ka*); cf. *Omosírókatta tté* 'Did you say it was interesting?' The ending is an abbreviation of *-kú átte* (Mio 131); cf. *-kút'atte* = *-kúte mo*, p. 938.

You may, however, hear sentence-final gerunds in both questions and (often followed by *yó* or *né*) 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 ya/zya/ka* and *-té desu*. Examples: *Omosirói món de, sikási ...* 'It's interesting, but ...' (Kb 218b); *Sóo na n de. 'That's the way it is'* (Kb 214b, 219a); *Dóo-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); *Dónata?—Hée, watakusi de. Yosizawa de ... 'Who is it?—Oh, it's me. (It's me,) Yoshizawa'* (Kb). It might be argued that this use of *dé* is a way to avoid stylization; you need not choose between *de gozaimásu* and *de arimásu* (with its reduction to *désu*), and yet you have not given your sentence the rude sound of *dá*. But the final *dé* can be followed by *né* [e]: *Íya, sore wa zyoodán de né* 'Oh, that's a joke, see' (SA 2680.48d—speaking is Shinoyama Kishin, born in Tōkyō in 1940; other examples occur in the same interview); *Dóo-mo née, onná wa kanzoo-teki ná n de née ... 'Indeed, my dears, women ARE emotional, aren't they!'* (SA 2678.139c; Kansai writer Satō Aiko); *Senséi wa hyooron-ka dé né. Sore wa ... '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 way of the Kansai swallowing of the *s* which produces *déh née* and *dén née* out of *désu née*. But there are examples with the polite gerund *désite* (cf. Y 463): *Kore wa hizyoo ni arigatái kóttosite [= kotó desite] né* 'This is an extremely welcome event, you see' (Tk 3.42a); *Íya, menkai to iu kotó wa hitótu no sigoto désite né* 'Seeing people is part of the job, you know' (Tk 4.16b); *Agaranái n de?—Hée, bu-tyóohoo desite. '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, bootyoo-nin ga hungai simásite né* 'Sometimes the listeners [= Diet visitors] get indignant, you know' (Tk 4.17b); *Óyazi(¯) wa bóku(¯) ga itútu no tokí ni sinzyaimásite* 'My father died when I was five' (SA 2680.46b); *... dénsya(¯) ni noroo to omoimásite. 'I thought I would take a streetcar ...'* (Kb 219b). Jordan (BJ 2.148.4) says "In conversation, a gerund ending in suspensive intonation or a gerund + *née* 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 wa ore ya náí de [= ore zya náí zé] to kotáeta ga, osóraku sore wa watasi dátta ka mo sirenu* 'I answered "It's not me!" but likely it was me, perhaps' (Endō 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.

9.2.2. *Gerund focus.*

The gerund can be subdued (with *wá*) or highlighted (with *mó*) in much the same way as a nuclear adjunct or as the nucleus itself. There are optional contractions of *-té wa to -tyá[a]* and of *-dé wa to -zyá[a]*; thus the subdued adjective gerund may appear as *-kú[t]te wa* or *-kú[t]tya[a]*, and the copula gerund as *dé wa* or *zyá[a]*. The lengthened form of the contractions is emphatic; compare the treatment, by some speakers at least, of *zyá náí = dé náí* where we expect simple infinitive + negative (corresponding to *-kú náí* for the adjective) and *zyáá náí = dé wa náí* where we expect subdued infinitive + negative (corresponding to *-kú wa náí* for the adjective), §8.4.

A common meaning of the subdued gerund is similar to that of the imperfect + *tó* (§17.2) 'when(ever) it happens, if it happens that':⁷⁴ *Uti(⁻) e káette wa (= káeru to ítu mo) yoohuku o ki-kaéru* 'When I get home I change clothes'; *Kono yonhyakuman-en zya nán to sité mo tarimasén* 'If it's this (= With this) four million yen it's hardly enough'; *Akanboo no ne-súgata o, tokidoki, nozoki ni kíte wa níko-niko suru* 'Sometimes I smile when I come to peep at the baby asleep' (KKK 3.189); *Hén na monó o tábete wa byooki ni náru* 'I keep eating strange things and getting sick'; *Gakkoo e kíte wa benkyoo surú ga uti(⁻) e káette wa asobu* 'Once at school I study but when I get home I play'; *Heyá wa attackáute mo íi keredo sámukute wa damé desu* 'It's all right if the room is warm but no good if it's cold'; *Syasin o míte wa naku* 'I cry every time I look at the photograph'; *Mukasi kara, samázama(⁻) no tango ga tugí-tugi ni arawárete wa kiete itta* 'From antiquity all sorts of words have appeared and then disappeared one after another' (Ōno 1966.15); *Tábete wa ne, neté wa tabéru = Kúttya ne, netya kúu* 'I sleep and eat, eat and sleep = All I do is eat and sleep'; *Osoku náru made, odotté wa hanási, hanásite wa odotta* 'Until all hours we danced and talked, we talked and danced' (SA 2650.105a); *"Tukútte wa kowási, kowási wa tukútta" bándó wa sootoo 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 *-té wa* 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 ... -tára*): *Bóku(⁻) wa, káno-zyo ni kegá ga átte wa taihen [da] to oi-káketa* 'I pursued her thinking it would be terrible if she were to have a mishap' (SA 2650.61c); *Soko e úttya sinu yó* 'Move it [the *go*-piece] there and you'll lose it' (Kotoba no yurai 43); *... móto e modóru yóo na kotó ga átte wa 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 yotté wa* 'depending on the particular N' = *áru N wa* 'some Ns (but not others) and for *Ippóo de wa ... tahóo de wa ...* 'On the one hand ... and on the other ...'.

Sometimes the focus is applied merely to play up a following negative, as in this example: *Hyoogén(⁻) wa aimai dá si, dóko no daigaku mo kuti ni dásite wa ii-tagaránai ga, naisinsyo-zyúusi wa "geba-táisaku" no hitótu 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 hütte wa hurimásu 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 *húru ni wa hurimásu ga (= húru kotó wa hurimásu ga, §14.1)*.

school report [in deciding admissions] is also one measure that can be taken against student militance' (SA 2663.28b).

The usual meaning of the highlighted gerund is 'even if/though': *Áme ga hütte (hütte ite) mo iku* 'I am going even if it rains (even if it is raining)'; *Osókute mo kíte kudasái* 'Please come even if it's late'; *Watasi dé mo (Watasi ní de mo) dekiru* 'Even I can do it'; *Sikási, Ameyoko no hitó-tati wa, kekkyokú^[1], syóonin de átte mo keiei-sya de wa nákatta no desu* 'But though the people of [the postwar black market area known as] Ameyokotyoo may have been merchants they were not, after all, managers' (SA 2671.41d); *Aratámete kimi ni kikasarenái de mo, sore-kurai sitte irú 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: *kitte mo kirénai kankei* 'an inseparable (indissoluble) relationship'; *Ningen wa || nágakute mo | hyaku-nen ṡgúrai sika | séimei ga | nái* 'Man can only live to a hundred at most (at the longest)' (MJW); *Kenkyúu-in wa minná⁽²⁾, sémákute mo roku-zýoo ṡgúrai no kositu o mótte iru* 'The researchers all have individual offices of about six-mat size at the skimpiest' (SA 2661.28a); *Háyakute mo kúgatu ...* 'September at the earliest'; ... *negátte mo nái mooside dátta* '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: ... *usúkute mo tuyói gooban ga ...* 'plywood that is thin YET strong' (SA 2650.98b). In written Japanese you may find *-kú mo {átte}* used instead of *-kúte mo*: *Kono ai-rásiKU MO nikúi háto o dóo yatte byooin kara toozakéru ka* 'How will they keep these cute but abominable pigeons away from the hospital?' (SA 2649.126c). (In NW Kantō dialects *-kú mo ii* is used for standard *-kúte mo ii*, according to Zhs 2.22).

The condition expressed by the highlighted gerund may be HYPOTHETICAL, REAL, or UNEXPECTED: *Tatóe(-) kimi ga tyuukoku sité mo, yamenái daroo* 'Even if you cautioned him, he wouldn't stop'; *Tároo wa kaisya e itté mo sigoto ga té ni tukánakatta* 'Though Tarō went to the office, he could not concentrate on his work'; *Káre wa iká naru kónnan ni sooguu sité mo hikan sitári syookyoku-teki ni náttari sinai* 'Whatever the difficulties, he never gets pessimistic or negative'.

But sometimes the meaning is similar to that of *-té wa = -ru tó^[1]* 'when, if': *Kono kotó wa Yooróppa no rekisi o míte mo akíraka de aru* 'This (fact) is clearly seen from (looking at) the history of Europe' (Shibata 1965.183). The expression ... *kotó o míte mo* sometimes translates as 'just because': *Nihón ga Amerika o osáe, bookei no tóppu ni tátte iru kotó o míte mo, Nihon-zín ga kirawarete iru hazu ga nái zya nái 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': *átte mo nákute mo* 'whether there are any or not', *aketé mo kureté mo* 'day and night, all the time (= aké-kure)', *koko dé mo soko dé mo* 'either/whether here or there'; *Neté mo sámete mo kodomo no kotó ga wasurerarenai* 'Asleep or awake I can not forget about my child'. The translation may be smoother with 'both ... and ...': ... *migi o muité mo hidari o muité mo Bei-gun no kíti bákari 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: *Syóosyoo no híhan(-) WA átte MO* 'Though there IS a bit of criticism ...' (SA 2665.114e); *Tasyoo no hantai WA átte MO* 'Despite a certain

amount of opposition ...' (SA 2686.50b); Ríron(⁻) ⁿzyoo no mondai WA sá-te oité^(t) 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 né.] Keito no kutúsitá(⁻) ní-mai kasanete haité WA ité MO, máda así 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 Sikási, sóo WA itté MO ... 'But even so ...' (§21.1).

For a lively equivalent of -té mo see § 15.11 (-t'átte). The expression Dé mo (or D'átte) 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'átte) as a quasi-particle, see §2.11. See §21.1.(9) for somewhat formal equivalents of the highlighted gerund: A-i tó mo or A-ku tó mo = A-kúte mo, N tó mo = N dé mo, V-ru tó mo = V-té mo. And note the negatives V-(a)nákú tó mo or V-(a)zu tó mo = V-(a)nákute mo = V-(a)nái de mo.

Gerund + wá/mó leads to the following constructions that are of special interest as translation problems:⁷⁵

-té {mo} + íi, kamawánai, dai-zyóobu da 'may safely do';

-té wa + ikenai, naránai, damé da, komáru 'must not do' (cf. -te tamaranai/naránai 'does or is unbearably');

-(a)náku [t]te wa + ikenai, naránai, damé da, komáru 'must do' (§9.3)—equivalent to -(a)nákereba or -(a)nai to + naránai, ikenai, damé da, komáru;⁷⁶

-(a)náku [t]te {mo} + íi, kamawánai, daizyóobu da, kékkoo da, yorosii 'need not do';⁷⁷

-té mo/wa muda da 'there is no use doing' (as in Yatte míte mo/wa muda da 'There is no use trying').

The particle mó can drop: Itte íi = Itté mo íi 'You may go'; ... sáke ya masú o tutte yói to iu kyóka ... 'permission (saying it's all right) to fish for salmon and trout' (SA 2688.87c); Umi-taku náí hitó wa, umanákute íi zya náí 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: Hárete íi can either mean 'It is nice and clear = It is nice because it has become clear' or (= Hárete mo íi) 'It is all right even if it is clear = I don't mind if it's clear'; Osókute íi 'It's nice and late' or 'It's all right for it to be late'; Nákute íi 'It's nice that there are none' or

75. Notice also V-i-tákute mo V-[rar]enai 'want to but can't = can't however much one wants to': Wasure-tákute mo wasurerarenai n desu 'Forget it though I will I can't forget it', O-kasi si-tákute 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)náku [t]tya as in Kaeránakuttya 'Gotta go home'; cf. Kaerának[er]tya = Kaeránakereba {naránai} with the same meaning, §9.3. Another example: Dame dame, tábet' okanakuttya 'No no, you've got to eat' (Ariyoshi 32). There is also V-(a)zu ní wa irarenai/orarénai or V-(a)nái de wa irarenai/orarénai 'can't help doing'; see §9.2 for examples. The affirmative V-té wa irarenai/orarénai means 'cannot stay doing, cannot rest with doing, cannot bear doing'. Both expressions are from the negative potential of V-te iru/óru §9.2.4.(1) with focus.

77. And there are dialects that prefer V-(á)n de mo, or even V-(á)de mo, for the negative concession, as in these two examples from the mayor of Asuka Village, Nara: Soo sinkéi-situ ni narán de mo íi 'There's no need to get so nervous' (SA 2686.48a); Soo iu hitó wa kite morawán de mo íi 'I'd just as soon we had no such people coming' (.48c). For standard examples of V-(a)nái de {mo} íi, see below.

'It is all right even if there are none'; O-tya ga tumetákute *ii* 'The tea is nice and cold' or 'It's OK (even) if the tea is cold'.

Foreigners are often puzzled by the fact that *ii 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 ii* 'this is good', *ii monó* 'a good thing') *ii* is nearly always interpreted as [NEGATIVE + -té mo] *ii* '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 simásu* 'I'll take that (one)' or *Sore o itadakimásu*, *Sore o + tanómu* (or *tyoodái* or *kudasái* or *o-negai simásu*), or *Sore ni site kudasái*—or, if a verb is involved, *Soo site/nasátte kudasái* (or *itadakimásu*). *Íi desu* by itself usually means *Yorosii desu* 'That is satisfactory' or *Kékkoo desu* 'That is sufficient'.

A number of common expressions are made with ... ^[1] *tó itte yói hodo/kúrai* 'enough that you can say ...' in which *itte* represents *itté mo*: *kanarazu to itte ii hodo* 'so often that you could almost say always' (SA 2665.29b); *maiban(¯) to itte ii kúrai* 'to the extent of (almost) every night'; ... Compare the expression ... ^[1] *tó itté mo ii-sugi dé wa náí* 'It is no exaggeration to say that ...' (= ... ^[1] *tó iú no mo kagon dé wa náí*).

Although above we see that the *mó* can drop in the expressions with -té mo, our notation does not show that a similar dropping may also occur for *wá* in the expressions with -té wa; the dropping of *wá* is less common, but here are authentic examples: *Ippan-dókusya ga wasureté* ^[1] *[wa] ikenai kotó wa ...* 'Something that must not be forgotten by the general reader is ...' (CK 985.314); ... *koko de mi-nogasité* ^[1] *[wa] naránai kotó wa ...* 'what must not be overlooked here ...' (Tsuji-mura 106); *Nónde [wa] ikenai to sarete iru toti no mizu ...* 'local water that is considered unfit for drinking ...' (SA 2689.122d); *Nán de ore no kaisya ga, teikei no naiyoo mo kimaranaí utí(¯) kara Hwóodo ni kabu o motasénakute [wa] naránai 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 ii* 'This/That will be fine' is normally taken as an ellipsis of *Kore/Sore dé [mo] ii* 'It is all right for it to be this/that', and that is the way to understand *iti-nen ni iti-dó de ii kara* 'just once a year (at least)' (SA 2673.120d), occasionally the proper interpretation is as the ellipsis of *Kore/Sore dé [wa]*, equivalent to *Kore/Sore nára* 'If it be this/that': ... "Páat'ii da!" to *yobéba, sore de yókatta* '... 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 *wá* may account for the expressions *V-(a)nái de yorosii/ii* and *V-(a)nákute ii* 'it would be just as well if you did NOT ...' = 'I'd rather you didn't', quite a different meaning from *V-(a)nákute mo ii* 'it's all right not to = you need not'. Cf. Hayashi 172.

In the following example *torárete náru monó ka* is a rhetorical question implying *torárete [wa] naránai* 'mustn't let him get taken': *Titioya wa, ko-moti no sanzyuu-ónna ni, seken-sírazu no miséi-nen no musuko o torárete náru monó ka to kangáeta* '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 *náru* 'is able to put up with' (*gáman dekíru*) with the example *Nigásite náru monó 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 (-té mo) and those stated with the subdued gerund (-té wa), 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 tó* (etc.); the highlighted form *-té mo* is an “indirect, mollified pattern” of the normal condition (*-ru tó* 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 tó 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 *Súgu 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 ii* will be taken as ‘it’s all right not to do it’. *O-kane o okuranái de wa komáru/damé/ikenai* ‘You must send the money’ is much less common, however, than ... *okuranákute wa ...*; and there is considerable doubt whether (?)*okuranái 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-arawasánai] de mo íkite ikú no ni sasitukae ga náí no nara, meimei wa 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); *Sosite, baai ni yotté wa, kooatú-zai o siyoo sinái de mo ketuatu ga heizyoo ni náru 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); *Ano né, benkyoo sinái de mo seiseki ga ii 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 Tōkyō in 1945; there is a final ellipsis of *dá* or *dátta*).

In all these expressions of permission, prohibition, obligation, and so on, adjectivals and nominals can appear with the appropriate gerunds (*A-kúte* and *N dé*) and meanings (‘be’ instead of ‘do’). Instead of *-té wa* or *-(a)nákute wa* you can freely use *-ru tó* or *-(a)nai tó* (§ 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 *warúi*, *tumaránai*, *mazúi*, *úmaku náí*, *abunai*, or *múri da*, and the “negative” element can in some cases be expressed by an affirmative rhetorical question (*náru 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 yaranai to [] né* ‘... it’s a nuisance but I’ve got to do it myself’ (SA 2664.98a); *Sutorippaa 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 ellipsis of something like *nátte mo [ii to i]tte*; cf. § 15.11); ... *utawanai séito ga syóibun sareté wa [] to omói*, ... ‘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)nai tó* 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 yogosaná kute 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: ... *siná kute 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) + *dóo/iká ga desu ka* 'how about it': *Koohii o nónde wa iká ga desu ka* 'How about drinking some coffee?'; *Asitá wa turi ni ittára dóo 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 iká ga desu ka* 'How about [drinking] a cup of coffee?'

When used with adjuncts containing indeterminates (i.e. question words such as *dáre* 'who', *náni* 'what', *dóre* 'which one', *dótira/dótti* 'which of two, which way', *ítu* 'when', *íkura* 'how much', *íkutu* 'how many', *dóo* 'how' [literary *iká ni*], etc.) the highlighted gerund translates as 'ever may do/be': *dáre ga kíte mo* 'whoever may come', *náni ga átte mo* 'whatever there may be', *dóre ga watakusi nó de mo* 'whichever one may be mine', *dótira ga yásukute mo* 'whichever is cheaper', *dóno hón o yónde mo* 'whichever book you read', *dónna ni kónnan ga okótte mo* 'whatever difficulty may arise'; *Unten suru tokí ni wa íkura tyúui site mo tyúui si-sugíru kotó wa náí* 'You can not be too careful when you are driving a car'.

Compare the highlighted gerund of nominal sentences containing indeterminates: (*dáre da* 'who is it' →) *dáre de mo* 'whoever it is; anybody', (*nán da* 'what is it' →) *nán de mo* 'whatever it may be, whatever it is'. In these expressions the accent may be removed entirely or shifted to the copula gerund: *dáre de mo*, *dare de mo*^[1], or *dare dé mo*. For equivalent expressions with ... *tó itté (mo)*, see §21.1.(9a). And compare the simple highlighting of the interrogative words' (*dáre da* →) *dáre* → *dáre mo* 'everybody' or [with negative sentence] '(not) anybody, nobody', (*nán[i] da* →) *náni* → *náni mo* 'everything' or more commonly 'nothing', (*ítu da* →) *ítu* → *ítu mo* 'always' (with both affirmative and negative, since 'never' is *kessite*), (*dóo da* →) *dóo* → *dóo mo* 'ever so much, in every which way' or 'in no way'. A similar usage is that of the infinitive of *surú* (→ *si*) + *mó* after *dáre*: *dáre si mo* = *dáre de mo* 'anybody'; possibly the *si* in *ítu-sika* 'before you notice' is similar. Note also *orí-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 *dáre si mo* as three "words": you also find *dáre ni si mo*, *dáre kara si mo*, and *dáre o si mo* (as in *Dáre o si mo urámu kotó wa náí* 'There is no need to reproach anyone'), though *dáre égaŕ si mo* obligatorily omits the *gá*. (But, by recycling, *dáre si mo ga* sometimes appears, though subject to the same opprobrium that greets *dáre mo ga* and *dáre de mo ga*. See p. 55.) *Dóre si mo* = *dóre de mo* 'any one of them' is similar, at least to the extent of permitting *dóre o si mo*.

Unexpected uses of *sité mo* (= *dé mo*) include *matá-site mo* (= *matá-mata*(⁻)) 'and yet again', Cf. *N ni sité mo* = *N dé mo* (§2.9), *S ni sité mo* (or *S ni sé yo* or *S ni si ro*) = *S-té mo* (§14.6): *Zitugyoo-ka ni sité mo yakunin ni sité mo, geizyutu tte iu monó ni yowái né* 'Both businessmen and bureaucrats (alike) are poor when it comes to the arts' (SA 2673.50c).

Although I am treating *sí* as the infinitive of *suru*,^[1] Japanese grammarians usually consider it an unanalyzed particle in literary Japanese, and *sí-mo* is treated as a pair of particles in sequence.⁷⁸ The use of *sí mo* is often an equivalent of *mó* or of *dé mo*; like them, *sí 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 náki ni si mo árazu* da to omótta 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 náí [no] de mo náí*; the original version was generated by the following processes:

- (1) literary adnominalization (*náki* N = *nái* N);
- (2) direct nominalization (*náki* [N] = *nái no* 'that there exists not');
- (3) literary copula in the negative (*nárazu* = *de náí*);
- (4) nuclear focus (*ní ... árazu* = *dé ... náí*);
- (5) use of *sí mo* for *mó* or *dé mo* (*ní si mo árazu* = *dé mo náí*, *dé de mo náí*).

Meikai kogo jiten lists *simo-arazu* as a "weak denial" equivalent of *wáke/nó de mo náí*; it also lists *simo-are* as equivalent to *koso-are* 'indeed (being)'.

In addition to *wá* 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: *sáe*, *nádo*, *nánka*, *nánte*, (?)*gúrai*, *bákari*, *daké*, *dé mo*₁ = *d'átte*, *dé mo*₂, (?)*máde*. But apparently *sika*, *kóso*, *nómi*, and *súra* will attach to the verb gerund only when it is NOT in construction with an auxiliary, as in the following examples.

sika

VERBAL: *Anáta no go-sínsetu ni tayótte SIKÁ íkite ikenai* 'Only by relying on your kindness can I live on'.

ADJECTIVAL: *Mazúsikute SIKÁ siru kotó ga dekinai monó no hitótu ni, kane no tattósa ga áru* 'One of the things you realize only being destitute is the value of money'.

NOMINAL (unusual except with the more formal *dé*^[1]*átte sika*): *Nihon-zín de atte SIKÁ ríkai(-) dekinai ningen-kánkei da* 'It is a personal relationship that can be understood only if you are a Japanese'.

kóso

VERBAL: *Zitti ni keiken sité KOSO hazímete sitte iru to ierú no da* 'It is not until you have actual experience that you can be said to know it'; *Hóo wa daitásuu no hitó ni mamorárete KOSO hóo no káti ga áru* 'Law has the value of law precisely when it is [or: by being] observed by the majority of the people' (SA 2650.45a); *Hwiripín-zin no té de naosárete KOSO, káti ga áru n da* 'It is of value precisely by getting repaired by the hands of Filipinos' (Tk 4.97a); *Sizen no utukusii kankyoo ni asondé 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 alternant interpretation of the initial adnominalization yields 'the beautiful surroundings of nature').

ADJECTIVAL: *Taisyuu-syókudoo wa yásukute KOSO taisyuu-syókudoo to ierú no da* 'A plain restaurant can be called a plain restaurant precisely when it is cheap'; *Ánka de, sono ue hinsitu ga yókute KOSO, syóohin(-) to site neuti ga áru* '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 *sí* {*mo*} from a variant of *só* 'that' (cf. *siká* 'so').

ADJECTIVAL-NOMINAL: Hoyóo-ti wa sízuka de KOSO hoyoo ni náru no da 'A recuperation place is good for recuperation precisely by being quiet'; Heiwa dé [átte] KOSO ningen-rasíi seikatu ga dekíru no da 'Precisely by being peaceful can a properly human life be led'.

NOMINAL: Toranzisutaa-séihin wa yubisakí(¯) no kíyoo na Nihon-zín de KOSO dekíru monó de aroo 'Transistor products are something that can be produced precisely for being [= because we are] the Japanese who are nimble of finger'.

nómi

VERBAL: Genzitu o seikaku ni háaku(¯) sité NOMI [or KOSO—but not *DAKE] syóorai e no tadasíi sonáe o násu kotó 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 kínsen no tattó-sa de aru 'The value of money can be learned only by being destitute' (epithematic identification).

ADJECTIVAL-NOMINAL: Syokubá(¯) de anzen dé [átte] NOMI sigoto ní mo syuutyuu dekíru no da 'One can concentrate on the job itself only when the shop is safe'.

NOMINAL: Kinben na Nihon-zín de [atte] NOMI kokuhuku si-éta keizai-kíki de atta 'It was an economic crisis we were able to overcome only by virtue of being diligent Japanese'.

súra

VERBAL: Kookoo o sotugyoo sité SURA {mo} (=SAE {mo}) syokú(¯) ga náí no ni tyuuto-táigaku no kimi ni syokú(¯) nádo áru mon[o] 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 óói syóohin(¯) dá kara, nedan ga sagáreba tobu yóo ni ureru ni tigai náí '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: Riron-teki ní wa zettai-ánzen de SURA zissai ní wa tabitabi zíko ga okíru no de aru kara, zikken ga hituyoo da 'Even being absolutely safe in theory sometimes accidents happen, so a trial run is necessary'.

NOMINAL: ... sanman-en no syakkín de SURA, mitomemasén desita 'They [= the court] did not recognize even a debt of ¥ 30 000 ...' (SA 2659.117c); Nyuu-d'íiru o suisin sita Ruuzubéruto de SURA, hontoo wa koo sita atarasíi keizái-gaku o ríkai(¯) sité wa inákatta 'Even Roosevelt who promoted the New Deal did not really understand this sort of new economics' (SA 2673.45b); Nihon-zín wa motíron, Kita-Tyoosén o sókoku to suru zainiti-tyoosenzín de SURA, kono kuni o otozuréru(¯) kotó wa kiwámete muzukasíi(¯) '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).

Apparently there are no examples of gerund + hodo, dókoro, kágiri, or yóri—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 siranáí kedo íra-ira site mátte itá n desu tté 'I don't know whether he was lying down or sitting up straight but he says he was waiting impatiently'; koo iu kúuki o sitté ka sirazu 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.

sae

VERBAL: Kuusyuu de akaku nátta sóra o míte SAE, ano sitá ga Tookyoo ka to omóu

to muné ga átuku nátta 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); Keisatú-tyoo no tookei de míte SAE, syoonen no ómo na keihóo-han wa, yónzyuu yó-nen ṭgénzai de kono zyuunén-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 sawatté 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(ṭ) ni ité SAE benkyoo site iru 'He studies even when he stays at home'; Mái-asa(ṭ) rokú-zi ni ókíte SAE nemúi no ni, yó-zi ni okíru nánte tootei dekinai '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 kisyoo desu 'Even with his bad eyesight, that is just like him' (Kb 30b); Syátu ga áokute SAE hadé na no ni, akai syátu nádo tonde-mo-nái 'When even a shirt's being blue is flashy, red shirts are out of the question'; Móttö tikákute SAE ikanái no ni, sonna tooi tokoró e nádo iki-taku ná 'I won't go even when it's closer; I don't want to go to any place so far away'.

ADJECTIVAL-NOMINAL: Roodoo-zyóoken ga risoo-teki dé [atte] SAE, Amerika no roodoo-sya wa yori óoku o nozómi(ṭ), sutó o kuri-kaesite iru 'Even with working conditions ideal, America's workers hope for more and strike repeatedly'.

NOMINAL: Otona dé SAE ityoo o sokonáu kotó ga óói no desu kara, binkan na ákatyan no ityoo wa tyóttö sita izyoo ní mo súgu eikyoo sare, tatimati geri o okósite simaimásu '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 diarrhea' (SA); Nanázyuu naná-sai no kónniti de SAE mo, máda sono mi-gónasi to ki-zen to sita aruki-káta wa, káre ga umare-nagará^[1] no undoo-ka de áru kotó o simésite(ṭ) iru '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(ṭ) iru kooi ná no da 'It is conduct that even qualified nurses are forbidden' (SA 2666.113); Ne-gaerí(ṭ) o útu no de SAE íki ga kiréru '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 ... nō^[2] de [sae] mo but probably derives from a direct application of sáe to the copula gerund in its concessive meaning, as an equivalent of dé [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 hí made no káre wa, katei o kowásite MADE onná ni uti-komú nánte kangáeta kotó mo nákatte '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-kóози no tonneru o horáneba naránai 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); Tokoró-de, oyá no hantai osi-kítte MADE kekkon sitá no ni, Watanabe husái wa móo bekkyo ṭtyuu 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, sekkakú^[1] seken ni urikónnda syamei o, wáza-waza taihen na syuppi o sité MADE kaerú 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); Konna kusuri o tukatté MADE kiroku ya syóori o mezasóo to iú no wa, akíraka ni supóotu no tuiraku, íya ningen-sei no taihai daróo '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); Sábetu o zyotyoo suru yóo na éiga(⁻) {ní} mo, kono bóku(⁻) ga ínoti o kákete MADE demásu 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); ... áete teki o tukútte MADE Sin-Tóohoo o yaru ki mo náí 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); ... áete kiken o okásite MADE yon-sen ní wa dé' ~mái ... 'will surely not actually brave the risks of [running in] a fourth election' (SA 2689.136b); Zibun no seikatu o gisei ni sité MADE MO, tosi-tótta oyá no mendóo o míru hituyoo wa náí '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(?): Hansin-húzui(⁻) dé [átte] MADE íkite i-tákú wa náí 'I don't want to live half-paralyzed'; Neta kkirí de MADE íkite i-tákú wa náí 'I don't want to live bedridden'.

nádo

VERBAL: Wáza-waza éiga(⁻) o eigá-kan e itté NÁDO miyóo to wa omowánai 'I don't feel like all the trouble of going to the theater and all to see a movie'.

ADJECTIVAL: Yásuku{te} NÁDO kaeru monó zya náí 'You're unlikely to be able to buy it (with it) cheap or anything'.

ADJECTIVAL-NOMINAL: Dónna ningen mo kanzen dé NÁDO ari-énaí 'Nobody can be perfect'.

NOMINAL: Konna zyuudai-móndai ni, bookán-sya de NÁDO iraremasén 'At such an important question, I can hardly go on as a bystander or the like'.

nánka

VERBAL: Hatarakazu ni asondé NÁNKA kurasemasén 'You can't get by loafing and all instead of working'.

ADJECTIVAL: Kore wa yásukute NÁNKA kaeru sinamono zya náí 'This is not a product you can buy (with its being) cheap or anything'.

ADJECTIVAL-NOMINAL: Konna tokí ni heiki dé NÁNKA irareru hazu ga nai 'At such a time we can't expect to be able to remain unconcerned and all'.

NOMINAL: None?

nánte

VERBAL: Sono hón o kasité NÁNTE iwanai 'I never said I'd lend that book or anything'.

ADJECTIVAL: Sigoto ga dekinakatta riyuu wa átukute NÁNTE itte 'rú ga, hontoo wa namáketyatta ni tigai náí '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 dé NÁNTE irareru món ka 'How can I remain calm and all in such a situation?!'

NOMINAL: None?

dé mo₁ = d'átte

VERBAL: Dénsya(⁻) ga náku nárya, arúite DÉMO (= D'ÁTTE) káette kíte morai-tai món na n desu yó 'If there get to be no more trains I want you to come home on foot if

necessary' (Fn 204b); *Nán to sité DĒ MO*, *kono utá o hítottó 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); *Syakkín site DĒ MO toti katta hóoga toku dá*^[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 kásyu-tati ga, dónna kotó o sité DĒ MO térebi ni syutuen si-tai to negáu no mo doorí 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); ... *watásí-táti ni wa koogai o okósite DĒ MO koogyoo-ka o susume, bussitu-teki na hatten o suru kotó ga kyúumu 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 dekíru* 'A thing this easy I can do with my eyes shut'; *Hátte D'ATTE ii kara zibun de ugokimawari-tai* 'I don't care even if I have to crawl, I want to move around by myself'.
ADJECTIVAL: *Mazúsikute D'ATTE tanósiku kuraseru hóo ga ii* 'It's better to be able to live happily even being poor'.

ADJECTIVAL-NOMINAL: *Bínboo de D'ATTE* (= *Bínboo de mo*, *Bínboo de atte mo*) *siawase ni kurasu kotó ga dekíru desyoo* 'One can live happily even being poor'.

NOMINAL: *Kore wa gozyuuman-en dé DĒ MO* [or: *D'ATTE*] *kaenai* 'This can't be bought even for fifty thousand yen'; *Ookoo-kízoku de D'ATTE keiken dekínai tanosii kotó ga áru* 'There are enjoyable things that can't be experienced even if you are royalty'.

*dé mo*₂

VERBAL: *Haná o tundé DĒ MO réi o tukútte kudasái* 'Pick some flowers, say, and make a lei'.

ADJECTIVAL: Examples lacking.

NOMINAL: Examples lacking.⁷⁹

-gúrai: REJECTED?

dake

REJECTED—except with phrasal postpositions: *Sono kawari zibun ni kati-mé no áru monó ni mukatté -DAKĒ*^[2] *bóoryoku(-)* *o huruu* 'Instead they display violence only toward those they themselves have the odds on' (SA 2685.118d).

bákari

VERBAL: *Míte BÁKARI de wa tumarání kara tetudawásete né* 'I get bored with just watching, so let me help'; *Edo -zídai o waratte BÁKARI wa irarenai* 'They can't just keep poking fun at the Edo period' (Fn 373b); *Táda móo, soo omótte BÁKARI káre wa arúita* 'But now he walked along just thinking of that' (Kb 251a); *Sikási, sono zitzuzyoo o hónsyo de sitte míru to, tote-mo yorokónde 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 zyúu-nen hodó*^[3] *wa, mazúsikute BÁKARI ságita* 'I have passed these ten years in straight poverty'.

ADJECTIVAL-NOMINAL: *Bínboo de BÁKARI héta issyoo dátta* 'It was a life passed in straight poverty'.

NOMINAL: Examples lacking.

On *-té 't'atte = -té [i]t'atte = -té 'te mo = -té [i]té mo*, see §15.11.

79. The examples in Alfonso 761—*Isóide de mo ii kara ...* and *Hazímete de mo yóku dekimásita né*—are adverbs derived from gerunds.

9.2.3. Verbal gerund + kará

The gerund of a verbal sentence can be followed by kará; 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 kíte kara Bósuton ni súde imásu 'I have been living in Boston since coming to America'. (For the translational problem involved, compare Nigatú kara byooki dá 'I have been ill since February' with Nigatú kara byooki dátta 'I had been ill since February'.) Usually in these imperfect sentences, kará can be replaced by írai (cf. p. 210): Amerika ni kíte írai || Bósuton ni | súde imasu.⁸⁰

Sometimes V-té kara is followed by VN máde (also V-ru máde?) as in these examples: ... Taisyoo zyuusan-nen ni zyookyoo sité kara haisen máde no aida wa ... 'during the period after he came to the capital in 1924 until the war defeat' (SA 2689.107c); Sutánhwóodo wa, íru i nage-kondé kara siage máde, wázuka zippún-kan to iu kakki-teki na dorai-kuriiningú-ki o kaihatu 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 ... kará ... máde on p. 209. Notice that it is possible to find V-té máde 'until one has done': [Onná no hito no akogare wa, íma-nao kekkon ná no yó né.] Soo-site, kekkon sité made hatarakanákya naránai no wa sabisii tte iú 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-té kkará; compare sore kkará = sore kará, hazime kkará = hazime kará (Maeda 1962.209); nekkara = nékara(¯) '(not) at all' < né kara 'from the root'; and other examples on pp. 44-5.

We can consider here the use of the perfect (-tá, § 11) adnominalized to the nominal sentence áto da 'it is after(wards)' to create a new sentence used as a gerund ... V-ta áto de = V-ta sue ni 'after doing'. The expression V-té 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 sité kara, Y o sita 'A, right after he did X, did Y'; A did X and then did Y'. The expression V-ta áto 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 máe ni, V-ru aida ni, V-ru utí(¯) 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 írai will be set off by a minor juncture except when this vanishes after cancelling the oxytonic accent on -té of gerunds made from atonic verb bases, as in sensoo ga owatte írai 'since the war ended'. You will also find noti fñi and ígo (wa) used in the same way: Sorézore | "kaisan" sité kara | ígo, || ... '(From the time) after they separately "dispersed" ...' (SA 2689.120d); Syuryoo-ki ga | owatte ígo wa || yatyoo no muré mo | nonki-sóo da 'Now that the hunting season is over the flocks of wild birds look lazy' (SA); Kooen ga súde | noti fñi || sawá-kai ga | hirakaremásita 'After the lecture was over they held a tea party'. The juncture shows that these expressions are similar to V-te | sugu 'right after doing' and V-te | ma-mó-naku 'soon after doing'. Cf. V-te || áto de 'did it, and then later ...', V-ta | áto de 'after [one] did it'. Ellipsis is permitted for the gerund in VN [site] | írai even when the adjuncts remain intact: Nihon-zyósei Ono Yóoko to kekkon [] írai, ... 'Since marrying the Japanese woman Ono Yóoko, ...' (SA 2665.134). Cf. ... seturitu [site] ma-mo-nái Nati-too to sessyoku sita káre wa ... 'he who had made contact with the Nazi party not long after its establishment' (SA 2674.104c).

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 [watási-tái ga] tabeyóo '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 máe [ni] 'before', and is somewhat more insistent 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 káetta 'After the war ended I returned to Tōkyō') than for the setting in of a continuing state of affairs (Sensoo ga owatté kara seikatu ga yóku nátta '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-nasité kara áto, bóku() wa itte míte 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 ablativized gerund can be subdued or highlighted, V-té kara wa/mo: Hunsoo ga okótte kara wa, senséi-tati minná nígetyatte sirán-kaō 'After the strife arose, the teachers all fled and couldn't care less' (SA 2676.36b); Gakkoo ga Kamakurá() kara Oohuna ni iten sité kara wa, bóku() wa, máiniti, Syóotiku no Oohuna-satuéizyo() ni asobi ni itté ita 'After the school moved from Kamakura to Ōfuna I would go for fun to the Ōfuna movie studios of Shōchiku' (SA 2635.59d); Sono tiryoo o uke-hazimeté kara wa daibu yóku nátta 'Since beginning that treatment I am much improved'; Sonna kotó ga ni-dó hodo átte kara wa, Hideko no ié no béru ni, káre wa kikumimi o táteta 'After that sort of thing happening a couple of times, he kept his ear alert to the doorbell at Hideko's house' (lg 1962.93); Magó ga umareté kara mo ... dakaseté mo kurenai 'And after my grandson was born ... why she [the daughter-in-law] wouldn't even let me hold him' (SA 2663.112b); Byooki ga naótte kara mo, titihaha wa hutatabi Mótoko o konománakatta 'Even after the illness passed, the parents never liked Motoko again' (lg 1962.93); Heian ʔzidai ni háitte kara mo ... keibetu ni sarasareta 'Even in Heian times they were exposed to scorn ...' (Ōno 1966.219); Sotugyoo sité kara mo benkyoo o site 'másu ka 'Are you still studying, even now that you've graduated?' (SA 2645.49c); Kurisutian ga Maruséiyu ni káette kara mo hutarí wa hinpan ni átta 'After Christian had returned to Marseilles the two still saw each other frequently' (SA 2649.105c).

And, perhaps by proredication (?), forms of the copula can follow the ablativized gerund: Yogorete simatté kara de wa torikaesi ga tukánai ... 'Once polluted, it can't be restored ...' (SA 2688.22)—dé wa = nára, dá to; Tokugawa-bákuhu d'átte, soosóo-ki to antéi-ki ni háitte kara de wa, hituyoo to suru zinzai ga kawaru wáke 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); Hihyoo wa kansei sité kara ni simásu keredo mo ... 'I will reserve judgment until it [the new building] is finished but ...' (SA 2669.46c); Tábeta kara ni siyoo 'Let's put it off till we've eaten'; ... hukuuu sité kara no

81. See the note at the end of this section (p. 510).

kotó ... '(is) a matter following the popularization ...' (KKK 3.76); Sore wa zimú-syo o déte kara no sigoto désu 'That is work to be done after leaving the office' (BJ 1.284); Mé ga wáruku nátta no wa ano hon'yaku o hazimeté kara ni tigai náí 'I'm sure it's since starting that translating (job) that my eyes have worsened'; Yameté kara zya nákute, yameru máe ni o-iwai o simasyóo 'Let's have our party before we quit, not after'.

Moreover, the ablativized gerund is like a time noun in that it can be used as subject or object: Háitte kara ga taisetú da 'What's important is after it's in'; Moratté kara o kangáete kudasaí '(1) 'Give some thought to what happens after we get it'. We could regard at least the latter as an ellipsis ... V-té kará [no kotó] o. But all this suggests that phrase-final V-té kara is a DIRECT ADVERBIALIZATION of a nominal (§9.1.13): we expect ... V-té kara 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-té kara is SORE kara 'after that'; the substitute for simple V-te is [Soo site >] Sosite, Site, or SORE de (often pronounced so'e de > soide). On the other hand, the substitutes for V-ru tó, V-rú ga, and V-rú kara, respectively, are [Soo] suru tó, [Dá] ga, and Dá kara. Elsewhere (§24) we assume ellipsis for the latter two: [Sóo/Sore] dá ga, [Sóo/Sore] dá kara. For the literary usage V-té kara ga = V-ta to sité mo 'even if, say' and for N ni sité [kara] ga = N ni sité mo/sae = N dé sae mo, see §2.2 (kará 8, gá 14–15) and p. 487.

The ablativized gerund can be followed by the following focus particles and restrictives—often set off by a minor juncture:

sáe; súra: Síndé kara SÁE/SÚRA uránde déte kúru 'Even after dying he keeps coming back (as a ghost) out of resentment'.

sika: Nihón e itté kara SIKA míru kotó ga dekinái 'You can only see that after you've got to Japan'.

kóso: Sotugyoo sité kara KOSO hontoo no seikatu ga hazimaru yó 'Real life begins AFTER graduating'.

nádo; náńka; náńte: Zyúu-zi o ságite kara NÁDO (/NÁńKA/NÁńTE) hito no utí(¯) ni denwa o suru monó zya náí 'It isn't proper to phone people's houses when ten o'clock is past and all'; Sigoto o yameté kara NÁńKA, koráreta mon[ó] zya náí 'I can't be coming here now that I've actually quit working here'.

daké: Nihón e l korárete kara l DAKÉ de naku, ll o-kuni ni irassyáru tokí(1) mo l onazi désu ka 'Is it the same not only since you are here in Japan but also when you are in your own country?' (SA 2647.126).

nómi: Usinatté kara NÓMI, monó no arigatámí(¯) ga hontoo ni wakáru no da 'You truly appreciate the value of things only when you have lost them'.

bákari: Syuukai no sirase ga kúru no wa, ítu mo owatté kara BÁKARI da kara, syusseki sita kotó ga náí 'The notice of the meeting always comes after it's over, so I have never attended'.

dé mo₁ = d'átte: Neté kara D'ÁTTE kamaimasén kara, kyuyoo nára, yonaká de mo o-dénwa negaimásu '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'.

dé mo₂: O-syokuzi o o-sumase ni nátte kara DE MO, o-asobi ni o-ide kudasaímasén ka 'Won't you come for a visit after you've finished you meal, say?'

gúrai: (?) Sikén ga owatté kara GÚRAI yukkúri sité mo íi desyoo 'After the exams are over at least, you can relax'.

máde: Sindé kara MÁDE ketitte '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-té kara is often used in sentences that would be said with the simple gerund V-té in other parts of Japan (Zhs 6.17 n. 7). The use of kará 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-té kara S₂ structure requires that S₂ be an action or event that can be intentionally controlled or preplanned by the subject; S₁-ta áto 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 áto neutralizes the distinctions that obtain for the three expressions S-té kara, S-ta áto de, and S-ta áto 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 óru, irassyáru, o-ide ni náru; ketukáru [vulgar]); (2) áru (and synonym gozaimásu; ketukáru [vulgar]; in one use, also o-ari ni náru, see p. 528); (3) oku; (4) simau; (5) iku; (6) kúru (and synonym máir-u); (7) míru (and go-ran ni náru); (8) miéru; (9) miséru (and o-mise ni náru, o-me ni kakéru, o-mise suru/itasu); (10) súmu; sumásu. Separate treatment is given in § 10 to auxiliaries of favor: (11) yaru/ageru; tukawasu, tuka[w]asaru; (12) kureru/kudasáru; (13) morau/itadaku. (On V-te yaru₂/yokósu 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 tokí wa watasi no mé ni utúta tití wa ima-máde no tití to wa móo kawatte kan-zirareta 'the father that was then reflected in my eyes seemed different from my father up to that time' (V 114); (15) kikoéru: Kono "itosii" wa, "kawaii" yori mo, móto hukái násaké ga komótte kikoéru 'This word "itoshii" sounds filled with a feeling that is deeper than "kawaii"' (Ōno 1966.80).

It is possible to apply focus with wá or mó to the gerund in the auxiliary constructions: ... Magó ga umareté kara mo, ... dakaseté mo kurenai 'And after my grandson was born ... she [the daughter-in-law] wouldn't even let me hold him' (SA 2663.112b); Kono yóo ni, hoogén to syuudan-go tó wa nite iru tokoró mo arimásu ga, mata, iroiro no ten de tigatté mo imásu 'Thus regional dialects and social dialects have many similarities, yet in many respects they differ, too' (Shibata 1966.46); Yoaké máe. Hárete wa irú ga, átari wa máda usu-yami 'It is just before dawn. The sky is clear but the grounds are still dusky' (SA 2672.16c); ... móo || mótte wa | inai 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, naránai, yarikirénai, irarenai, yamanai §9.2, p. 498. For V-te hosii see §10.

sáe: Háitte sáe | iréba || íi n desu 'Just so it's inside, that's OK'; Rón-zite(-) sáe | iréba || syooko wa naku-naru 'A bit of argument and the proof disappears' (SA 2637.103d); Anáta ga || hanásite sáe | kuréréba || tika rá ni || náreta ka mo | sirenái no ni ... 'If only you'd told me I might have been of some help to you'.

nádo: Watasi wa | betu ni || okótte nádo (|) inai 'I'm not especially mad or anything'; To iú no wa, || sono sitai wa || sukósi mo || Noda ni nité nádo | inákatta kara de aru 'That's because the corpse hadn't the slightest resemblance to Noda or anything'.

nánzo: Nakanaka, || soo itawátte nánzo | moraeru món zya | inái 'I'm highly unlikely to be shown such consideration' (TK 3.134b).

nánka: ... uti(-) no | kakiiré-doki(-) wa || natú da kara || yasúnde nánka | 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); Tittó-mo | mookátte nánka | imasén | yó 'I'm not making the least bit of profit, I tell you' (SA 2679.115d).

nánte: Kuti dé wa || soo iú kedo || sín-zite(-) nánte | inái wa | yó 'He says that all right but he hardly believes it!'

gúrai: Hanásite | moraú no wa || múri ka mo | siremasén kedo || kíte gúrai | moraerú ka mo sirenai 'It may be asking too much to have him speak but perhaps we can get him at least to come'.

bákari: Míte | bákari ite || sukósi mo tetudawánai 'He just keeps looking on and never helps the least bit'; Sonna ni asonde bákari | inái de || sukósi wa | benkyoo si-nasái 'Stop just fooling around and get a little studying done!' (KKK 3.202).

daké wa: Komedeé-Huranséézu wa || kiité mo | wakaránai kedo || míté (|) daké wa oki-tai 'I can't understand what they are saying in the Comédie Francaise but I want to just see them at least'.

máde: Símin o | kokatu saseté made || moraoó tó wa | omowánai 'It is not their intention to have the city residents actually (or completely) exhausted [of water supply]' (SA 2688.25b).

*dé mo*₁ = *d'átte*: Húne ga | inái no nara || oyóide dé mo (oyóide d'átte) | iki-tai kimoti désu 'If there is no boat available, then I'd like to get there even by swimming'.

But the gerund can not 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 mí mo | sinái de || híhan(-) (|) bákari suru 'He doesn't even try doing it, he just criticizes'. (Cf. Alfonso 1128: either *hataraité í sae suréba* or *hataraité sáe iréba* 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: ... kirawareté wa | simái wa | senú ka ... 'won't I end up being despised' (Fn 445b)—this sounds a bit strange. But in ... *syooryaku sareté wa | ité mo* || ... 'even though it IS omitted' (Morishige 248) the *-té mo* is applied to the entire structure *sareté wa i-*.

Either the auxiliary or the gerund, or both, can be negativized—with slightly different meanings: *site inai* 'is not doing it', *sinái de iru* 'is getting along without doing it, stays not doing it', *sinái de wa inai* 'is not getting along (staying) without doing it'; *site okanai* 'doesn't do it for later', *sinái de oku* 'lets it go without doing it', *sinái 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 nátte iru* (*míru*, *oku*, *simau*); *káite irassyáru* (*go-ran ni náru*, *o-oki ni náru*, *o-simai ni náru*); *o-kaki ni nátte irassyáru* (*go-ran ni náru*, *o-oki ni náru*, *o-simai ni náru*). But, with the exception of *V-te iru*, object exaltation can (at most) occur only with the gerund: *o-kaki site míru* (*oku*, *simau*) but not **káite* (or *o-kaki site*) *haiken suru* (*o-oki suru*, *o-simai suru*). Exceptionally, you will hear *o-kaki site iru*, *káite óru*, and *o-kaki site óru*. Compare exaltation with favors, §10.

Kazama 88-9 prefers to place the exalting passive on the auxiliary, at least for *site* [*irareru* →] *oraréru* instead of *sarete iru/óru* and for *site okareru* 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 nátte iru* and *V-te irareru* as more standard usages, but also observes *V-te oraréru* 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 predicate. 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 || hataraité irú ka | {hataraité} inái ka de, ...* 'The question is whether he is working or [is] not [working], and ...'. This appears to be true for all gerund-auxiliary conversions, 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
<i>iru/óru/irassyáru</i>	.2934
<i>kúru/máir-u</i>	.0544
<i>iku</i>	.0309
<i>kureru/kudasáru</i>	.0260
<i>simau</i>	.0222
<i>míru</i>	.0204
<i>oku</i>	.0113
<i>morau/itadaku</i>	.0097
<i>áru/gozaimásu</i>	.0066
<i>yaru/ageru</i>	.0052
<i>miséru</i>	.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 kínzyo o arúite mawaru* 'walks around the vicinity' a gerund of manner ('walking') or instrument ('by walking') modifies the verb phrase

(kínzyo o) mawaru '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: Syanhái(¯) de sore o míta mumei no seinen ga hungai simásite, hitó-ban ni sán-gen no ryoorí-ya ni gasorin de hí o túkete arúita n desu ná '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: míte-toru 'grasps, takes in' has been reduced from míte tóru 'looks at and takes' and hence does not have the normal accent of a single verb (which would be *mitetóru). The following verbs derived from the gerund tótte 'grasping' + verb are treated by some speakers as "recent reductions" (the gerund prevailing) and by others (including Hamako Chaplin) as new tonic verbs: tótte-kúru from tótte kúru 'fetches'; tótte-káesu from tótte káesu 'retraces one's steps'; tótte-kúu from tótte kúu 'snatches and eats'—limited to idiomatic uses such as Totte-kúu to wa iwanai '(Don't be scared—I won't bite you!); tótte-tukéru from tótte tukéru 'grasps and attaches'—limited to idiomatic uses such as tótte-túketa yóo na ... 'affected, unnatural'. But there seems to be no prosodic reason to explain why dictionaries list tótte oku 'reserves' as a separate lexical item; the juncture in tótte lokimásita ga and the focus in tótte sae lokéba or tótte loki sae l suréba indicate a phrase. Other recent reductions include kútté-kakaru 'challenges, defies' (for Hamako Chaplin kutte-kakáru),

The expressions for 'brings' and 'takes' consist of the gerund mótte 'holding' + kúru/iku 'comes/goes'⁸³ or the exalting euphemisms máir-u, irassyáru, o-ide n[i] náru, miéru. But the gerund normally loses its accent: motte kúru, motte iku (or motte 'ku), motte máiru, motte irassyáru (or motte 'rassyáru), motte o-ide n[i] náru (or mott' o-ide n[i] náru), motte miéru. Cf. BJ 1.233. In other meanings, those that stress the "holding", the gerund will retain its accent: mótte kúru/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 mótt[e] o-ide will usually be taken as 'Hold this' (= mótte ite kudasá*(i)*) but Kore o mott[e] o-ide can only be understood as 'Take/bring this' (= Motte itte/kíte kudasá*(i)*). The forms with the atonicized gerund are ignored by Japanese accent dictionaries except for "motte-kúru". The reason for listing it would appear to be because the accent often shifts back a syllable in the gerund motté kite and in forms derived from the gerund (such as the perfect motté kita), as a result of the unvoicing of the vowel i. In a similar way, the dictionaries list "yatte-kúru" 'comes around, shows up' as a lexical item because of the accent in forms such as yatté kite and yatté kita, while they often ignore yatte iku 'manages, gets along'. But all these gerunds can be put into a separate phrase with focus (permitting mótte to recover its accent), instead of letting the focus go on the phrase as a whole, though that is also possible:

mótte kí wa/mo sinai } motte wa/mo kónai (?)mótte wa/mo kí wa/mo sinai
 motte kí wa/mo sinai }

83. And a few other verbs of movement: both mótte káer-u 'returns with (= carrying)' and mótte arúku 'carries (while walking)' will usually be said with no accent on mótte; cf. motte arukéru kikái 'a portable machine'.

mótte ikí wa/mo sinai } motte ikí wa/mo sinai }	mótte wa/mo ikanai	(?)mótte wa/mo ikí wa/mo sinai
yatte ikí wa/mo sinai	yatté wa/mo ikanai	(?)yatté wa/mo ikí wa/mo sinai
hakonde kí wa/mo sinai	hakondé wa/mo kónai	(?)hakondé wa/mo kí wa/mo sinai
hakonde ikí wa/mo sinai	hakondé wa/mo ikanai	(?)hakondé wa/mo ikí wa/mo sinai

By way of contrast with motté kita and yatté kita,⁸⁴ notice that hakonde kíta does NOT become *hakondé kita but retains the basic underlying juncture that removes the underlying accent on the gerund (hakondé 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 kíta and that is the pattern generally followed in this book, though it is not the common Tōkyō practice.

The verb *nokeru* is used with very few gerunds and the gerund can not be focused by *wá/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(ˉ) 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 *kakáru* sometimes occurs after a gerund with auxiliary-like meaning: *Kankyaku o || nónde | kakáru yóo ni | naránakereba, || bútai no | púro to wa | ienai* 'You can not be said to be a stage pro[fessional] unless you get so you can boldly take on (= face) the audience'. Cf. *V-i ni kakáru*, §9.1.1; *V-i-kakaru*, §9.1.10. Perhaps some instances of *V-te kakáru* are simply contractions of *V-te [i]-kakáru*: *Sore o, omae, úso ni mo huru-wárazi no yóo ni nage-dasite kakátta 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 náí, hazime k kara, kotó o kowásite kakátta n da* 'It's just that from the beginning he set to ruining his health' (Kb 199a); *Yohodo hará o suete kakaráneba naránu zyuudái-zi da* 'It is an important matter that we must start strongly preparing ourselves for'; *Hazime kara aité o baka-ni-site kakáreba, makeru kotó wa náí desyoo* 'You'll never get defeated if you face your opponent with scorn'; ... *bunken sono-mónó o moo sukósi utagatte kakaránakereba naránai to omoimasu ga né* 'the document ... itself must be treated with a bit more suspicion, I think' (Tanigawa 103). *Kimete kakáru* means 'assumes, presumes, takes it for granted': *Ano kóro wa, Nihón ni wa kyuusekki-zídai wa nákatta monó da to kimete kakátte iru 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 *kakáru*, but apparently even that is unusual.

9.2.4.(1). *-te [i]ru, -t[e] óru, -te [i]rassyáru, -t[e] o-ide n[i] náru*. The form *-te iru* shortens to *-te ru*; the perfect retains the underlying oxytonic accent of the gerund of an atonic verb *-té 'ta* (*sité 'ta* = site ita despite site 'ru = site iru), as do other forms beginning with /t/: *sité 'te, sité 'tara, sité 'tari* = site ite, site itára, site itári. (Normally the oxytonic

84. And also *itté kita* 'went and came (back) = is back (from an errand)' from *itte kíta*, rather than (*)*itte kitá*.

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 óru* contracts to *-t' óru* (the perfect is *-t' ótta*);⁸⁵ do not confuse this with *tóru* 'takes' (*tótta* 'took') as the second component of a compound verb (*uke-toru* or—younger speakers—*uke-tóru* 'receives' but *úket' oru* = *úkete óru* 'I am getting'; *hiki-tótta* 'took back' but *hiit' ótta* 'I was pulling'), nor the passive *-t' oraréru* with *(-)toraréru* 'gets taken'. Also common are the contractions *-te rassýáru* for *-te irassyáru* and *-t' o-ide* for *-te o-ide (...)*, as in *Mótt' o-ide* 'Hold this!'⁸⁶

Optionally *-te 'rú no ...* shortens and assimilates the syllables to yield *-té n no ...*; and *-te 'rú no da* can be heard as *-té n no da*, *-te 'rú n da*, or even *-té n da*—by way of **-té n n[ó] da*, with automatic simplification *nnd* → *nd*—as in these examples: ... *taikutu da tté n de*, ... [= *taikutu dá to itte irú no de*] 'as he says it's boring' (Kb 38a.2); *Sukí tte iu wáke zya ná n da keredo mo, soo nátte n daroo ná* [= *soo nátte irú no daroo ná*] '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 iru
/tera[a]/	-te 'r'a[a]	= -te iru wa: Abura mo zúibun uite 'r'a 'There's a lot of oil on the surface too!' (SA 2676.92b); Aq, asoko o híhi ga arúite 'r'a! 'Oh, over there there's a baboon walking!' (SA 2676.106c). (The common Aomori ending <i>-tera</i> is this, according to Y 527.) Another example will be found on p. 921.
/terai/	-te 'r'a i	= -te iru wa yo: Wakátte 'r'a i 'I know all about that!' (Okitsu 1.337).
/ténne/ ⁸⁷	-té n né	= -te irú no [da] né: ... soo iu seisitu o mótte n né 'have that sort of nature, you see' (Tk 4.290a).
/ténno (de/ni)/	-té n no (de/ni)	= -te irú no (de/ni)
/teréba/	-te 'réba	= -te iréba
/térya[a]	-te 'ryá[a]	= -te iryá[a] = -te iréba: ... sore o yatté 'rya íi n da to iu kankaku ga ... 'a feeling that it will be all right to keep doing that ...' (SA 2655.39d).
/téya[a]/	-te í ya[a]	= -te í wa: Yuubé d'atte, ototói no ban d'atte, roku ni kottí wa neté yaa sinai 'Neither last night nor the night before did I get a good night's sleep' (Kb 167a).
/téta/	-té 'ta	= -te ita
/tété/	-té 'te	= -te ite: Ketítta kara, gyooretu ga dékityatte 'te, kantan ni norenákatta '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); Dóo-mo koo tamatuki-ya ní bakari nissan sité 'te mo komáru yó 'I'm rather embarrassed to come to the pool hall this way every day' (Y 520).

85. But the contraction is *-tyóru* (*-tyótta*) in certain dialects, e.g. in Shikoku.

86. For gerunds ending in *-de*, the standard abbreviations will be *-de 'ru*, *-de 'rassyáru*, *-d' óru*, *-d' o-ide*. If the gerund is negative there are standard abbreviations: *sinái de 'ru*, *sinái de 'rassyáru*, *sinái d' óru*, *sinái d' o-ide*.

87. But */ténka/* is a Kyōto contraction of *-te [kuren(u)] ka* 'won't you kindly ...' as in *Kasité 'n ka* '(won't you) lend it to me, please' (Inokuchi 270). And *-ten {ya}* is an Osaka equivalent of *-tā no {da}*, "feminine" according to Makimura 1956.461b. Cf. *-tā n ya*, p. 852n12.

- /tétya/ -té 'tya = -te itya = -te ité wa: Konna ni kónde 'tya, gozen-tyuu wa tote-mo míte moraenai ná 'When it's this crowded you can't get seen (by the doctor) all morning' (SA 2649.38); Kodomo no sewá ni nátte 'tya, bokéru daké sá '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).
- /tétatte/₁ -té 't'atte = -te it'atte (= -te ité mo, §15.11): Konna mono ikura mótte 't'atte syoo ga náí wá 'However much of this sort of thing we might have it wouldn't help' (SA 2685.16b).
- /tétatte/₂ -té 'ta tte = -te ita tte: Aru-Kápóne náńka mo irerareté 'ta tte iu yuumei na tokoró da kedo, ... 'It is a famous place where they say even the likes of Al Capone were held ...' (SA 2673.122c).
- /tétara/ -té 'tara = -te itára
- /tétari/ -té 'tari = -te itári
- /tezu/ -te 'zu = -te izu
- /tenai/⁸⁸ -te 'nai = -te inai (negative of -te iru)
- /tenái/₁ -te náí (negative of -te áru)
- /tenáide/ -te 'náí de = -te inái de: Yokei na kotó itte 'náí de, yóoi o nasái 'Cut the chatter and get ready' (Y 520).
- /tetai/ -te '-tai = -te i-tai (desiderative)
- /temásu/ -te 'másu = -te imásu
- /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
- /tesúgi/ (...) -te '-súgi = -te i-súgi (excessive)
- /teyagar.../ -te '-yagar... = -te i-yagar... (§9.1.10, p. 454).
- /teyandee/ -te '-yandee = -te i-ya[garu] n da i: Tyeq, náńi itte '-yandee 'Tsk, what the hell are you saying?!' (Okitsu 1.58).
- /te nasáru/ -te '-nasáru = -te i-nasáru: Sikási, komátte '-nasáru náa, ... 'But you're in a fix, I see' (Fn 85b).
- /te nasái/ -te '-nasái = -te i-nasái: ... sízuka ni nete '-nasái 'Stay quietly in bed' (SA 2664.27).
- /te haru/ -te [i]-'haru = -te i-naharu/-nasaru—Ōsaka equivalents of -te imásu (see §6.4).
- /te hanná[a]/ -te [i]-'haru na[a]
- /taharu/ -t' [i]-'aharu = -te i-naharu/-nasaru: Yuut' 'aháru (Kyōto) = Itte iru (Inokuchi 254); Komátt' 'aharimásu sákai (Kyōto) = Komátte imásu kara (Inokuchi 98).
- /te ehen/ -te [i]ehen [*< ii wa senu*]—Ōsaka equivalent of -te inai (Maeda 1961.224).
- /téyo/ -té 'yo = -te í yo: Míte 'yo 'Watch (Keep watching)!'
—cf. Míte [kudasái] yó 'Look!'
- /teyo[o]/ -te 'yo[o] = -te iyoo: Notte 'yó ka 'Shall we get aboard?' (Y 520)—cf. Notte [kudasái] yó 'Get aboard!'; Míte 'yoo zya náí ka 'Let's watch, shall we'.

88. But /tenái/₂ before particles: site 'náí ka = site inái ka; cf. site náí ka.

/tero[i]/ -te 'ró [i] = -te i ró yo: Damátte kiite 'ró 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 í de mo suru in Y 519.

/teii/ -te í i = -te í yo (imperative): Noite í i 'Out of my way!' (Y 519). Do not confuse with -te {mo} íi.

/teina/ -te i-na[sái]: Kore wa ... ánta mótte i-na 'You carry this' (Y 519).

/teinayo/ -te i-ná yo = -te i-nasái

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 inanimates are sometimes found: *Kuruma ga imásu* (= *kíte imásu*) 'The car is here'.

When preceded by a verbal gerund, *iru* may either be used in its basic meanings—as in *Inaka e itte, [nágaku 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-nasái* 'Stay in bed!' (or '[When I come back] you be asleep!'), *Ugokánai de i-nasái* 'Stay motionless!', *Waratte i-nasái* '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 stative, and sometimes anticipated by *móo* 'already/now'.

The first meaning is equivalent to one of the meanings of the simple imperfect, for *V-rú* can mean either 'will do [one time]' or 'does (or will do) repeatedly, regularly, all the time'. Thus *Tosyó-kan de hón o yómu* 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 ... *yónde 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': *Tosyó-kan de hón o yónda* 'I read (= did read) the book at the library', *Tosyó-kan de hón o yónde ita* 'I regularly read (= would read) books at the library'—or, in the continuative interpretation, 'I was reading the book at the library'.

The continuative meaning can be paraphrased with the semi-literary *V-i-tútu áru*, and verbal nouns can substitute the form *VN -tyuu dá* for *VN site iru* (§ 14.4) as in *syukúsyá o kentiku -tyuu da = syukúsyá o kentiku site iru* 'they are building dormitories'. The resultative meaning is equivalent to one use of the literary perfect *V-éri/-éru* (< *V-í ári/-u* § 9.6): *Haná [ga] sakéri = Haná ga saite iru* 'The flowers are in bloom (= have blossomed)'. The translation sometimes brings out the experience possessed: *Kin-médaru o*

89. In standard Japanese *V-te óru* usually shows deference but in those dialects which use *óru* 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 óri* *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 irassyáru* and *V-te o-ide ni náru* are always to be interpreted as subject-exalting.

itútu mo moratte iru 'He has already received five gold medals = He is the recipient of five gold medals'.

Many dialects formally distinguish the progressive (= continuative) from the resultative; contractions of -te óru are used for the latter, and of -i óru for the former, as in the forms reported for these areas (Zhs 5.22):

	<i>Tottori</i>	<i>Okayama, Iwami</i>	<i>Hiroshima</i>	<i>Shimonoseki</i>	<i>(Kyūshū)</i> ⁹⁰
Progressive:	huryooru	huryoru	huryooru	huriyuru	huriyuru
Resultative:	hutturou	hutturou	hutturou	huttiyuru	hutturou

Both forms are hütte iru (or hütte óru) in the standard language. Cf. the remarks on V-i-yoru, pp. 454-5.

Some verbs will not normally allow the continuative meaning; these we call PUNCTUAL verbs: aku 'comes open', iku 'goes', kúru 'comes', káer-u 'returns', otíru 'falls', kowaréru 'it breaks', déru 'emerges', háir-u 'enters', náru 'becomes', hutóru 'gets fat', yaseru 'gets thin', haréru 'clears up', kumóru 'gets cloudy', tukaréru '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 continuative. Something that resembles the continuative meaning, however, can be expressed for punctual verbs by using V-te kúru/iku to indicate gradual onset or by using V-ru yóo ni náru 'gets so that it is', or by adnominalization to certain postadnominals (notably tokoró). From what has been said it follows that a sentence such as Kodomo ga gakkoo e itte iru will normally have only the resultative and repetitive meanings: 'The child has gone to (= is at) school' (= ... ikéri) or 'goes (will go) regularly to school' (= ... iku, ... iku monó 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 Utí(ˉ) o déte 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 déte 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: yuubín-kyoku o tóotte 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 arúite 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 continuative interpretation 'The child is on his way to school' is also possible: gakkoo e itte iru tokoró '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: *Mátte imásu* 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: *áru* (*átte iru* is from *áu*); *iru* 'stays' and its synonyms (**ite iru*, **ótte iru/óru*)—but colloquially you will hear *Moo sukósi ité '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 *háitte iru* 'is inside'). Potentials, including *dekíru*, sometimes are converted to V-te inai to express a meaning equivalent to V-(a)nai *zyootai ni iru/áru* 'is in the situation of not [being able to] ...': *Kono gakusei wa konna yasasii kanzi sáe kákete inai* 'This student can't write even such an easy character as this'; *Tokoró-ga kana-mózi(¯) wa tá no ten dé wa on'in-teki ni hizyoo ni ai-ná-gara, siká mo tóon wa hyoogén(¯) dékíte 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 *dékíte iru* will usually be from the punctual verb 'gets produced, is readied'. But passives as PASSIVES (pure or adversative) are freely converted to V-te iru, as are causatives.

There are also V-te iru forms made on the NEGATIVE, V-(a)nái de iru. *Náni mo sinái de iru* means 'keeps doing nothing, stays idle, goes on doing nothing' or 'refrains from doing, resists doing'—as contrasted with *Náni mo site inái* 'is not doing anything' or 'is doing nothing'. An example: ... *tabe-tái monó o tabénai de iru kotó* '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: *Dóo site wareware wa náni mo sezu ni irú no ka* 'Why is that we do (=go on doing) nothing?' (SA 2681.31b). An example built on a potential: ... *náze soo náru ka wa tukaménai 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 *máda* is present (*Máda yónde inai* 'I've not yet read it'); we have observed elsewhere that in reply to a perfect question (*Kimásita ka?* 'Has he arrived?') it is common to use the simple imperfect negative (*Kimasén* 'He hasn't' = *Máda kimasén* 'He hasn't arrived yet'), with the idea of 'not yet' (*Máda desu*). Double negatives may be possible as denials of a negative (*sinái de inai*), but I lack good examples.^{92a}

And one runs across sentences with NOUN (or ADJECTIVAL NOUN) + *de iru* (cf. Alfonso 187): *Sabisii kimoti de itára* ... 'When feeling lonely ...'; *Heiki de i-nagara* ... 'While staying unconcerned ...'; *Génki de orimásu* 'I'm feeling fine'; ... *atakusi mo máda-mada wakái kimoti de imásu* 'I still feel myself quite young' (Tk 2.134b); ... *gozyúu -íkutu made tassyá de ita hahaoya ga* ... 'my mother who stayed in good health up to the age of some fifty odd years' (R); *Sore kara o-tya o nónde, sibáruku mono-ómoi ni sizunda yóo na kakkoo de imásita* 'Then he drank his tea and remained for a while (in a posture) as if lost in thought' (Tk 3.7b); *Ándoo-ke no hoomu-dókutaa -mítai na tatibá de imásita*

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-anái de iru is possible for some verbal expressions that will not permit V-te iru: V-ru kotó ga *dekinai de iru* 'I remain unable to V' lacks the corresponding form *V-ru kotó ga *dékíte iru*.

'I was in the position of a kind of "home doctor" for the Andō family' (SA 2656.26b); ... kōi-sita zyosei ní wa "O-tomodati de imasyōo" nānte, téi-yōku hurarete simattári ... '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); Nakimúsi de i-nagara odoke-mono dátta to iu hanasí mo kiita 'I also heard that he had been a jokester even while a crybaby' (SA 2679.39d)—cf. §9.1.3; Hyoogén(¯) no ziyūu—kono kantan de ite muzukasii(¯) mondai wa, ... 'Freedom of expression—this simple yet difficult matter, ...' (SA 2687.114d); Sínsetu na yōo de ite, ángai(¯) ni hu-sínsetu da 'They appear to be friendly and then turn out to be surprisingly unfriendly' (SA); Káre no kentiku wa kiwámete dokusoo-teki no yōo de ite, dóozii(¯) ni watásii-táti, tooyōo-zin no konpon-teki na muzyōo-kan o humáete 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 nó = de áru 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 (dé ← dá ← suru) or as ellipsis N dé [site] iru. Notice, too, that N de irassyáru and A-kute irassyáru occur as subject-exalting forms for nominal and adjectival predicates. It is uncommon to hear N de orimásu (instead you will find N de gozaimásu or just N désu), yet you will come across V-ru tumori/yotei de orimásu ga ... 'It is my intention/plan to ...' = 'I intend/plan to ...', and (in writing) even ... yotei ni site orimásu ga (Ōkubo in Ōno 1967.146). But I doubt you will ever encounter *S hazu de orimásu, though S hazu de irassyaimásu and S hazu de gozaimásu are both heard. Similarly I do not think that (?*)S yōo de orimásu will be found in standard speech, though both S yōo de gozaimásu and S yōo de irassyaimásu are possible: O-wakari ni naránai yōo de irassyaimásu kara, moo iti-dō moosiagemasyōo 'Since you appear not to understand, I will tell you again'.

The expression V-(a)nái de irareru/oraréru means 'can stand it without V-ing' or 'can get by without V-ing' as in ... sukōsi mo odorokánai de irareta 'was able to resist (get by without) being the least bit surprised' (CK 985.384). The expression V-te [or V-té wa] irarenai/orárenai means 'is unable to stand (or to stand by while) V-ing': ... sonna kotó wa itte irarenai 'can't stand to say such things' (SA 2669.62a); ... damátte míte orárezu 'unable to stand by watching silently' (SA 2669.99b); ... dáre mo ga mu-kánsin de wa irarenai yōo na "ningen" ni náru 'he becomes a "person" that it is impossible for anyone to be indifferent to' (SA 2679.103d). And V-(a)nái de [wa] irarenai/orárenai means 'can't help V-ing, can't help but V': Kyootuu na ookii ísi o mínai de wa irarenai 'We are bound to look at the great common purpose' (Y 214). In these expressions V-(a)zu ni will, of course, often replace V-(a)nái de: Kazue wa kokóro kara hot-to site iwazu ní 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 unbearably = intensely' (§9.2, pp. 480–1).

Under adnominalization V-te iru is sometimes replaced by V-ta with little—if any—difference in meaning: hutótte iru hitó = hutótta hitó 'a fat person', kane o mótte iru hitó = kane o mótta hitó 'a person who has money', kutú o haite iru kodomo = kutú o haita kodomo 'a child wearing shoes', etc. Alfonso 894 suggests that a meaning difference exists between such pairs as utí(¯) ni kíta hitó 'people who have been to our house (but may not be there now?)' and utí(¯) ni kíte iru hitó '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 *así ga sikkári site iru* '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 *siranái de iru*) also occur, though not in the common situations where you might expect them from the English translations: *Watakusi no SIRU kágiri ...* 'So far as I (know =) CAN TELL ...' (R); *Ningen ga náze hito o korosú no ka ... sono konpon-teki na riyuu ni túite, watási-táti wa máda náni 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 siranái 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: *wakáru, wakaránai—wakátte iru, wakátte inai*; *omóu, omowánai—omótte iru, omótte inai*. The verb *súmu* 'lives; resides' most commonly appears as *súnde iru* and *súnde inai*, though the forms *súmu* 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*^(c) 'Keep looking' or 'Keep your eye on it'; *Kiite ite né* 'Keep your ears open'; *Damátte i-nasái*^(c) 'Keep quiet' = *Hanasánai de i-nasái* 'Refrain from speaking'; *Kore o yónde ite kudasái*^(c) 'Read this for a while (or: till I come back)'; *Mátte ite kudasái*^(c) '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.

-(s)asete iru: *Zibun wa kantoku daké*^(c) *site zyosyu ni sigoto o sasete iru* 'I'm doing just the directing and having an assistant do the work'.

-te isaseru: *Hinketu o okósita monó ga áttara, sibáruku atamá o hikúku site zit-tó*^(c) *site isaseta hoo ga ii* 'If anyone feels suddenly anemic it would be advisable to have them remain still with their heads down for a while'.

-(s)asete isaseru: NOT USED?

93. This is also true of the humble synonym *zon-ziru*(⁻): *zón-zite*(⁻) *óru* 'I know' but *zon-zínai*(⁻) '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.)

-*(s)aserarete iru*: Anó-hito wa, mukyuu de hatarakaserarete iru sóo da 'He says he is being worked without pay'.

-*te isaserareru*: Nagái aida sitazumi de zit-tó^[1] site isaserareta 'For a long time I was kept at the bottom (of society)'.

-*(r)arete iru*: (1) Pure passive: Aru-Kápóne nánka mo irerareté⁽¹⁾ 'ta tte iu 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 zíko no repóoto o ... 'the accident report that is required by law' (Tsukagoshi 204). (2) Adversative passive: Mukígen ni kane o karirarete ité wa tamaranai 'I can't stand having money borrowed from me without term'. (3) Potential: Dóo ni ka máiniti⁽¹⁾ komé no góhan ga taberárete itá no wa, hazime no ni-sánnen daké de, áto wa, múgi ya imó de sae taberénaku náta '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 ita '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-nikúí '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 osokú made asonde irarete komátta yó 'Having a friend stay visiting so late was an annoyance, I tell you'. (3) Potential: O-kane ga takusan^[1] 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 píiman o tukútte iraremásu 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*: (1) Pure passive: ? (2) Adversative passive: ? (3) Potential: Ití-nen mo ní-nen mo táda de kuwásete irareru món ka 'How can I go on feeding you free for a whole year, for two whole years even?!'

-*(r)arete isaseru*: NOT USED?

Examples of V-te iru with focus, restriction, etc., applied to the *gerund*:⁹⁵ Undoo sinái de nete BAKARI ita mi ní 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 móo ka ni ti o suwarete BAKARI ita 'I was constantly having my blood sucked by mosquitos' (SA 2816.38a); Ókite DAKÉ WA imásu ga, máda arukemasén 'I am on my feet, at least, but I still can't walk'; Dóo⁽¹⁾ ni ka kóo ni ka tábete⁽⁻⁾ GÚRAI WA imásu ga 'I'm somehow managing to keep eating at least' (not common); Kyoositu ni okéru kyoogaku bákari de náku, doositu ni sín-syoku o tómo⁽⁻⁾ ni sité SURA iru gakusei mo áru sóo 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-kátudoo no mondai o issyo ni site rón-zité NÁDO inai '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 kurútte DE MO irú no ka né 'She must be out of her mind or something' (Y 569); Íma wa, apaato-gúراسi o sité KOSO irú ga, kátute wa oogánemoti de koodai 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, móhaya kikái zítai mo gakusyuu suru monó to site kangaerárete SÁE MO irú no de aru '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 benkyoo site í SAE suréba, okáasan wa yorokónde irú n desu 'If the child is just studying, his mother is happy'; Reikiti wa konna kotó o kangáeru to, Otowa [? O-tówa] ga áru kurói kage o hiite zibun ni tóo-zite(¯) í DE MO suru yóo de, nan-to-náku huan na kimoti ga 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 bákari kámete ité WA ikenai 'You mustn't keep making personal phone calls all the time'; Sigoto ga náí kara, yasúnde ité MO íi desu yó 'There's no work to be done, so you can go on idle'.

In the following example V-té kara is applied to the conversion: Asoko ni san-nen bákari súde ité kara, koko e uturímásita 'After living there for a period of three years, we moved here'.

The vulgar verb *ketukáru* is a pejorative or abusive substitute for *iru* or *óru*, and V-te *ketukáru* is used to mean V-te *iru*. In Ōsaka, V-te *komasu* is used as a pejorative version of V-te *iru* when referring to the speaker's own actions, and V-taru or V-tageru are used in a similar way (Maeda 1961.198-201), being abbreviations of V-te yaru and V-te ageru with a semantic extension of the "favor" meaning that is usual for those forms (§10). Cf. the remarks on V-i-ya[a]garu etc. in §9.1.10. Examples from modern fiction of V-te *ketukáru*, including V-te *ketukari-yagáru*, will be found in Y 539. The etymology of *ketukáru* 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 *áru* or by back formation 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 *ketukáru* is from *ketu*, a vulgar word for 'behind, arse' (adopted from the Chinese reading of a character *aná* '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 Ōsaka the word is often pronounced *kekkáru* (Makimura 217b): *Nán[i o nu]kasite kekkáru nen* (= *Náni nukasite i-yagaru n da*) 'What the hell are you saying?'; *Náni site kekkáru nen* (*Náni o site i-yagaru n da*) 'What the hell are you doing?' But the older pronunciation is *ketukáru*: *Mátte ketukáre* (= *Mátte i-yagáre*) 'Don't move—wait there!' (Maeda 1965.177c); *Konna tókó ni ketukáta* 'What a position I'm in!' (Ibid.) And the *kekkáru* pronunciation is not limited to Ōsaka: ... *tobidasi-tákutte, úzu-uzu site kekkáru n da* 'they are itching to run away' (Fn 174a—the speaker would appear to be from the Tōkyō area).

According to Yoshida (546) the vulgar verb *uséru*(¯), used as an equivalent of the auxiliaries *iku* and *kúru*, is also sometimes used for (V-te) *iru*.

9.2.4.(2). *-te áru, -te gozaimásu*. The conversion V-te *áru* contracts to V-t'áru in Kansai speech but not in the standard language.⁹⁶ As a result you may be uncertain when you

96. Examples: ... *kore sá-úmake káit' aru zya náí no '... this one, isn't it—uh—well drawn?*' (Fn 372a); *Áa, mósi-mosi, koko ni kása ga wasuret' arimásu ga, anáta no kása to tigaimásu ka* 'Oh, say, there's an umbrella forgotten here; isn't it yours?' (Inokuchi 94—Kyōto).

encounter /sitaroo/ whether it represents sitá 'róo = sitá {da}róo 'probably did' or sit' aróo = sit{e} aróo 'it is probably done', but the latter expression is semiliterary for sit{e} áru daróo 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 can be a version of -te átta, of -te yatta, or (in Kushimoto or Wakayama) of -tyatta = -te simatta (Shibata 1961.157-8; cf. Y 232). But in Ōsaka (according to Maeda 1961.228) there is compensatory lengthening in the contracted form -táaru, and the lengthening is obligatory unless you choose the option of using the uncontracted form. Examples of both -táru and -táaru can be found in Y 517-8. There are also dialects which contract to -tyáru; according to Miyara (150) in Shikoku a distinction is made between sityaaru < site áru and sityaru < site yaru.

The conversion V-te áru 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 Mádó o siméru '(Someone) closes the window' is converted into Mádó ga símete áru 'The window is closed', which differs in meaning from Mádó ga simátte iru 'The window is shut' (resultative of Mádó ga simáru '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 áru 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 mátte áru 'The friend is awaited' because mátu belongs to the verbs of EMOTION, and there is no *Kádo ga magatte áru 'The corner is turned' because magari is a verb of MOTION (= a quasi-intransitive verb). I have had difficulty eliciting examples for mótu (and Yamada 1968a rejects *mótte áru) and for tóru, but tótte áru can mean 'is reserved (taken)' or 'is removed (taken away)'; and hakonde áru '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: *Untén-syu ga (kádo o) magari sete áru 'The driver is made/allowed to turn (the corner)'; *Tori ga (sóra o) tobasete áru 'The bird is made to fly (the sky)'; *Kodomo ga suwarasete áru 'The child is made/allowed to sit down'. Pure passives will permit the POSSESSIVE RESULTATIVE (to be described below), so that you can convert Monó o nusúmu 'They steal things' into Monó ga nusumaréru 'Things get stolen' and then convert that into Monó ga nusumárete áru 'Things have been stolen'. Examples: Kakárete áru zízitu sono-mónó wa harénti nádo to iu monó de wa náí ga, búnsyoo ga íi 'The events written up are not in themselves of scandalous delight or anything, but the [sentences =] style is good' (SA 2685.98a); ... sono saikon-bánasi ya saikon no tomádó(í) ya boosai no tuioku nádo ga egakárete áru '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 zyuuíp-pen no sakuhi ga sippitú-zyun ni osamerárete áru 'a total of eleven works are collected in the order of their composition' (SA 2687.108c); ... séki ga sitei sarete átta '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-bóoto ni wa syokúryoo(í) ya mizu ga zyubún tunde átta 'Fortunately there was ample food and water stored on the lifeboat' (SA 2674.129c).

passive (Hito ga monó o nusumárete áru 'People have had their things stolen'); but you can not apply the intransitivizing resultative to an adversative passive even though it may contain an object: from Hito ga monó o nusumaréru 'People suffer from having things stolen' it is not possible to get *(Hito ga) monó ga nusumárete áru. Instead, (?)Hito no monó ga nusumárete 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-sugite áru, VT-i-sugisasete áru, and VT-(s)ase-sugite 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-sugiru means much the same thing as Boo ga(o) mage-súgite áru 'The stick is too bent'. In theory, at least, it should be possible to create the sentence (?)Boo ga(o) mage-súgite ari-sugiru, 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 -gáru yields a verb of EMOTION, you will not find *V-i-ta-gátte áru, even if the underlying verb is itself a transitive verb of action.

The V-te áru conversions can be made negative (V-te nái) but the infinitive form V-te náku appears to be limited to use as a formal synonym of V-te nákute 'is not and ...'; the expected *V-te náku náru/suru does not occur. The conversions can be applied to a negativized verb: V-(a)nái de áru: 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/-nikúí; instead you use V-te ari-gati da and its negative (or build V-te áru 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 áru can be called the POSSESSIVE RESULTATIVE to distinguish it from the STATIVE RESULTATIVE of V-te iru—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 oku ('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 iru ('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)

(1) ANTICIPATORY: Bóku(¯) wa sakúban yóku nete áru kara (= nete óita kara) kyóo no tésuto wa sinpai náí 'I got a good sleep last night (to be ready) so I'm not worried about the test today'; Kore-dake asonde áreba (= asonde okéba), kon-gákki wa otituite benkyoo dekimásu yó 'Now that I've had a good holiday I should be able to concentrate on my studies this term'.

(2) EXPERIENTIAL: Níkkoo e wa iti-dó^[1] itte áru kara (= itta kotó ga áru kara), kóndo wa Hakone ni ikoo 'I've been to Nikkō so this time I want to go to Hakone'; Konna mondai tó wa máe ni tori-kunde áru kara (= tori-kunda kotó ga áru kara) heiki désu 'I have struggled with such questions before so it doesn't faze me'; Ano yamá wa iti-dó^[1] gakusei no kóro nobotte áru kara (= nobotta kotó ga áru kara) it⁽¹⁾u de⁽¹⁾ mo go-annai simásu yó 'I climbed that mountain when I was a student so I'll be happy to take you there any time'; Tyóotyoo(¯) ní wa iti-dó^[1] nátte áru kara (= nátta kotó ga áru kara) kóndo wa O-súzu no yakú 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 gozyúu-nen mo tutómete áru kara (= tutómete irú kara), hyaku-mán ⁽¹⁾gúrai no taisyók[ú]-kin(¯) wa moraerú 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 máde kite áru kara, móo ikanákute mo ii 'Since they've come here, there's now no need for us to go'; Zyuubún ni nete arimásu ka 'Have you had enough sleep?'; Sokai sasete áru 'I had them [the children] evacuated (during the war, and they are still there)' (Kawabata: Saikai 89); (?) Nagái aida gakkoo e itte áru kara, nán de⁽¹⁾ mo sitte 'ru 'He's spent a lot of time going to school so there's nothing he doesn't know'. From /netenáikara/ you can not tell whether what is intended is nete 'nái kara (= nete inái kara) or nete náí kara, but without the particle the accent will differ: nete 'nai (= nete inai, cf. nete imasén), nete náí (cf. nete arimasén).

The same three meanings would seem to be possible for transitive verbs, but that is true only when the adjuncts—provided 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: Hurú tegami o/ga hozon site áru 'Old letters are kept'; Niwa no teiré o suru entei o yatótte áru 'A gardener is hired to take care of the garden'; Kodomo o yóku sikatte arimásu kara (= sikatte okimásita kara), dóo-ka kanben site yatte kudasái 'Since the child has already been scolded by me, please forgive him'; Arakazime nanmín(¯) o yosoo site mokuzoo no kyozyúu-too o tátete átta no da ga, ... 'Previously they had built some wooden shelters in anticipation of the refugees, ...' (SA 2686.43c).

(2) EXPERIENTIAL: (?)Hito o sinu hodo^[1] ái-site áru (= ái-sita kotó ga áru) hitó wa dóko ka tigau tokoró ga áru 'A person who has had the experience of deeply loving another person is somehow different'.

(3) SIMPLE RESULTATIVE: Kono zínzya ni wa dónata o/ga matútte(¯) arimásu ka 'Who is enshrined at this shrine?'; Koko wa hito ga hunde áru kara (= hunde irú 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 áru and its replacement of N ga V-te áru.

hunde nái tokoró o arukimasyóo '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: Sárako ni koosui o tukawasete átta 'Sarako was being allowed to use perfume' (Y 515); Móo zyotyuu ni kai ni ikasete arimásu kara, dóozo go-sinpai náku 'Don't worry, I've already sent the maid out to buy it'. But the passive is more difficult to elicit; the following examples are accepted by some speakers.

(1) *Adversative passive from intransitive verb*: Watasi wa máe ni móo ue no ko ni sinarete áru kara, kóndo no hukóo de wa amari óoki na dageki o ukemasén 'Having suffered 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 tomerarete áru 'Entrance is prohibited by ordinance' (MJW).

(3) *Pure passive*: Koré-ra no búnsyoo wa seikatu ni musubi-túite 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 examples but suggests it is on the decline.

Forms made on the negative V-(a)nái de 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 gozaimásu) and exaltation: Otóosama wa yóku sakúban o-yasumi ni nátte gozaimásu (o-ari ni narimásu, o-ari désu) kara kyóo wa o-génki desu 'Since your father rested well last night, he is fine today'; O-namae ga káite gozaimásu 'Your name is written'; O-namae o o-kaki site gozaimásu 'I have your name written'; Watasi wa sakúban yóku yasúnde gozaimásu kara, kyóo 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 áru), i-ru 'stays', 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', kómu 'gets crowded', miéru 'is seen', mitukaru 'is found', niru '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: abareru 'rampages', abiru 'bathes in', agaru 'rises', akiraméru 'abandons (an idea)', amáru 'remains (in excess)', arasóu 'struggles', arawaréru 'appears', atukau 'treats, manages', hazimeru 'begins it', haku 'wears (on the feet/legs)', hanasikakeru 'addresses, speaks to', hikkósu 'moves (house)', kagír-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 startled', etc.

Verbs for which V-te áru is uncommon involve natural happenings largely outside human control: húru 'rains, snows', hiéru 'gets cold', hikáru 'shines', kareru 'withers', moeru 'burns', sásu 'shines', kooru 'freezes', haréru 'clears up', naóru 'recovers, gets

repaired', okóru 'occurs, happens', sodátu 'gets reared', hanaréru 'gets separated', nureru 'gets wet', haéru 'grows', nieru 'gets cooked', etc.

Apparently it is possible to ring the V-te áru conversions on most auxiliaries: with both intransitive and transitive verbs we find V-te míte áru, V-te óite áru (even oite óite 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 Mádó ga akete áru and Mádó 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[o] desu can be further shortened to V-te ándesu.

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 INTRANSITIVIZING 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 ní-marked possessor (but not gá-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 náru: Yóku sirábeta o-ari ni náru kara takusáñ o-yomi ni naréru 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: Náni ka káite WA áru ga, hakkíri wa yoménaí 'Something IS written but it can't be clearly read'; Náni mo siraseté WA náí ga, móo dáre ka ni kiite sitte 'rú desyoo 'Nothing has been reported, but you can probably find out by asking someone now'; Keiyakú-syó(¬)

ni káite MO áru si, kuti de setumei mo site moraimásita 'It is (both) written in the contract and I got an oral explanation, too'; Kamidana ni ageté KOSO náí ga, taisetu ni site imásu 'It isn't precisely put on the household altar, but we are taking good care of it'; Syokuryóo-hin(-) ga katte DAKÉ⁽²⁾ áru ga, syokuzi no yóoi wa site náí 'The groceries are bought at least, but the meal is not prepared'; Kisó ga osieté SAE áreba dokusyuu saseté mo ii desyoo 'If the fundamentals just be taught, you can let them study by themselves'. The following types are less common: (?)Róogo(-) no yóoi ga sité NÁDO/NÁNKA áttara, ima-goro kodomo no sewá ni nátte 'náí 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-té (-)GÚRAI áru or V-té BÁKARI áru.

It is more usual to apply the particles of focus, restriction, etc., to the *conversion*: Zyúnbi site ári WA surú ga hu-zyúubun da 'The preparations are made but they are inadequate'; Tokí ni wa yóku káite ári MO surú ga, taitei no baai wa damé da 'It is sometimes well written but usually it's no good'; Zyuubún⁽¹⁾ zyúnbi site ári SAE suréba, sigoto sono-mónó ni wa anmari zikan ga kakaránai desyoo 'If preparations just be made adequately, the work itself shouldn't take too much time'. Miscellaneous examples: Zyúnbi ga site átte mo, sikén no ása wa sinpai de otitukanai 'Even though I've got myself prepared, I'm uneasy with anxiety about the morning of the exam'; Heyá⁽¹⁾ no náka ga konna ni kitanáku site átte wa okyakusan o o-toosi dekinai yó 'I can't show the guest in, with the room this filthy inside'.

9.2.4.(3). *-te oku, -t' oku*. Although oku is atonic, it acquires an accent AFTER THE GERUND OF AN ATONIC VERB in the forms -te óita, -te óite, -te óitara, -te óitari and their contractions -t' óita, -t' óite, -t' óitara, -t' óitari. In other forms, including the contracted versions, oku retains atonic patterns: -te oku, -te okéba, -te okanai (etc.) and -t' oku, -t' okéba, -t' okanai (etc.). (By way of contrast, notice V-té 'ta but V-te ita.) Verb gerunds ending in -de contract to -d' oku (nónd' oita = nónde oita); the negative gerund V-(a)nái de will also contract: sinái d' oku = sinái de oku 'leaves it undone', sinái d' oita = sinái de oita '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: Hatí-zi made ni | (sono kane o |) atúmete oite kudasái 'Please have it (the money) collected [and on hand] by eight o'clock'; Teeburu o | yoyaku sit[e] óitara || dóo desyoo 'How about reserving a table?'; Asitá⁽¹⁾ sikén da kara || yóku || hón o | yónd' oitari, || tépu o | kiit' óitari sita (or: | sit' óita) | hoo ga | ii '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/áru. Examples: To o símete oite kudasái 'Close the door and leave it shut'; Sono mamá ni | site óite kudasái 'Leave things alone; leave it as it is'; Hón o || akenái de | oki-nasái 'Don't open your books, leave them closed'; Kutú o || hakanái de | oité mo | ii 'Stay as you are—you don't have to put your shoes on'; Dénki o || túkete | okimasyoo ka 'Shall I put the lights on (and leave them on)?'; Dénki o ||

tukénaí de | okimasyóo ka 'Shall I leave the lights off (as they are)?'; Siyóo ka || sinái de | okóo ka 'Shall I do it or not?' (= Siyóo ka yameyóo ka). A negative gerund + [wa] + okanai means 'can't resist (refrain from) doing, is bound/sure to do': Tóku ni Yodogawa Nagáharu-si ga tótuzyo to site arawaréru síin wa, kankyaku no bakusyoo o yobazu ní 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/orarénai 'can't help but do', p. 520. More examples: ... kakutoo o umazu ní 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 míte mo, dókusya(-) ni syókku o ataezu ni okanu sinkoku na hanasí 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 it once and for all; goes ahead/on and does it'. This meaning approaches V-te míru, V-te simau. Sometimes the expression will be anticipated by a prefatory Kari ni ... 'Temporarily' or 'For the time being'. Examples: Tó-ni-kaku || kiite óite kudasai 'Let him have a hearing at least'; Tatóeba || káre ga | seikoo sinai to site okoo 'Let's say he fails to succeed(, then ...?)'; Koo site oki-tái n desu 'I want it this way for now'; Zya, || ni-sen-en || agete okimasyóo 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 | oitára || okóru ka | ná 'I wonder if he'll get angry if I don't go ahead and see him?'; Átte | okanái de || daizyóobu ka sira 'I wonder if I can get by without seeing him?'; Syokuzi o sit' óite wa || dóo 'How about going ahead and eating?'; Kusuri o nónd' oite | né 'Go on and take your medicine, now'; Itte okú 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 iru/áru, V-te míru; 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 wa || yóku | nete oki-nasái 'Tonight get a good night's sleep (so you will be fresh for tomorrow)'; Kippu o | katte okimasyóo ka 'Shall I get the tickets now (for later use)?'; Denwa site óita hoo ga || íi zya náí desvoo ka 'Shouldn't we phone first?' or 'Shouldn't we be phoning (now)?'; Sirábet' oitara || háha ni mo | siraset' okanákutya ... 'When I've got it checked out I must let mother know too'; ... íma || hoosoo wa || rokuon site o-oki ni náru n desu ka 'are you (pre)recording your broadcasts now [instead of doing them live]?' (Tk 2.278a).

Tótte(-)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 || séki(-) o | tótte(-)oite | né 'Please save me a seat (for I am coming)'. But see the discussion on p. 513.

Gerunds of stative, 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)', utí(-) o déte oku 'gets out of the house now (so

that later ...)', *matí o tátte oku* 'goes ahead and leaves town', *arúite oku* 'lets it go at walking', *ótite oku* 'gets one's fall [e.g. by parachute] out of the way', *súnde oku* 'takes up residence (to avoid some consequence expected otherwise)', *sinde 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: *nozónde oku* 'expects (for the time being)', *sitagatte oku* 'obeys (in anticipation)'; what about *yorokónde oku*, *ái-site oku*, *mátte oku*? *Omótte 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-súgite oku* 'overdoes for now', *si-suginai de oku* 'lets it go at not overdoing', *si-sugite okanai* 'doesn't overdo for now', *si-suginai de okanai* 'doesn't let it go at not overdoing'. Moreover, the excessive can be applied to the conversion itself: *site oki-sugíru* 'all too often/much lets it go at doing it', (?)*site oki-suginai* '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-súgite oki-sugíru* 'all too often overdoes it for the time being', *si-suginai de oki-sugíru* 'all too often doesn't overdo it for the time being', *si-súgite oki-suginai* 'doesn't overdo it for the time being too often', *si-suginai de oki-suginai* '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-yasúu* '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-nagará {mo}* '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: *Okáasan no sinigao o míte o-oki ni náttara, kit-tó obóete irásita to omóu wá* '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: *Nagái aida || matásete oita | kyaku to, || ture-dátte || sóto e | déta* 'I accompanied the guest out that I had kept waiting so long'; *Táoo kun wa || móo || kodomo zya náí kara || ziyúu ni || si-tai kotó o || sasete óitara | dóo desu ka* 'Taro is no longer a child, so why not let him freely do what he wants to?'

-te okaseru: *Zyotyuu ni || góhan no | sitaku o | site okasemásu kara ...* 'Don't worry, I'll leave the rice for the maid to prepare'.

? *-(s)asete okaseru*: ? *Ano kúrasu wa || senséi ga | irassyáru made || zyosyu ni | rensyuu o sasete okasemasyóo* 'Let's have that class drilled by the assistant until the teacher arrives'. This would be better with simple *okimasyóo*.

-(r)arete oku: *Konna yasasii sigoto nára || makasárete | oité mo, || dekirú. | zisin ga arimásu* 'If I am left entrusted with such an easy job I have confidence that I can do it'.

-te okareru: (1) Pure passive: *Hitóri de | oite okareta* 'I got put by myself'. (2) Adversative passive: *To o (|) ake-ppanasi ni site okarete, || doroboo ni hairáreta* 'We had the door left wide open and were visited by a thief'. (3) Potential = -te ok[ar]eru: *Konna tabemónó() wa || nágaku | hozon site ok[ar]eru* 'You can keep such food for a long time'.⁹⁹

99. Authentic examples: *Ítu made mo || kimi o || kono mamá ni | sité wa | okenai* 'I can't keep you

-(r)jarete okareru: Tumaránai | sigoto bákari | saserarete okaretá no de || sono kaisya o |yamete simatta 'I suffered from being left made to do dull work only, so I finally quit that company'.

-(r)jarete okaseru: Probably not used.

-(s)asete okareru: Nagái aida || o-tyakumi bákari sasete | okaretá no de || hará o | tátete simatta 'For a long time I was left allowed to pour tea [for the male employees] and nothing else so that I ended up angry'.

-(s)saserarete oku: ?Sigoto ga || dónna ni | tumaránakute mo, || toobun no aida wa, || mónku o | iwazu ni || nan^(t) de^(t) mo || "Hái || hái" || to || saserarete okimasyóo 'However dull the job may be, for the time being I will let it go at being made to say "Yes sir, yes sir" without a complaint'.

-te okaserareru: ?Byooin dé wa || is-syúukan ~bákari | nãni mo sezu ni, | zit-tó^[L] site okaserareta 'I was made to stay quiet for a week in the hospital not doing a thing'. This would be better with simple okareta.

Examples of V-te oku with focus, restrictives, etc., applied to the *gerund*: Go-íken o | ukagatté WA | okimásu ga, || go-íken ~dóori ni | suru tó wa || o-yakusoku dekimasén '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 | kotowátte SAE | okéba, || gózitu(-) no | gota-gota wa || okoránakatta ká^(t) 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, || sitén-tyoo no | mimí ni | ireté SURA | okazu, || katte ni site simattá 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^[L] yóoi | sité DAKÉ^[L] | okéba, || áto wa || sono ba ni nátte kara | dekiru 'If you just make rough preparations, the rest can be done on the spot'; Kamidana ni ageté KOSO | okaná ga, || taisetú ni site imásu 'I don't exactly keep it on the household altar, but I take good care of it'. I have been unable to elicit V-té BÁKARI oku, and the following two types are far from common: Hizyóo-zi no | yóoi o site ~GÚRAI || okená n desyoo ka 'Couldn't we do at least emergency preparations?'; Yuigon o káite NÁDO^(t) | 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*: Iwarete | sigoto o site okí WA | surú ga, || zimu-teki de || sínsetu na | tokoró wa || zenzen náí n desu 'He does what he is told to do, but it's business-like and without a bit of kindness'; Seiketu ni site okí SAE | suréba, || sonna byooki ní wa | kakarimasén 'If you just keep yourself clean you won't catch that sort of disease'. Miscellaneous examples: Sara ya (|) tyawan o, || konna ni yogosite óite wa | damé da 'The saucers and cups mustn't be left so dirty'; Íma || tabe-táku | nákatara || nokósite | oité mo | íi desu | yó 'If you don't feel like eating now it's all right to leave it for later'; Yóku || sitaku o site óite kara, || hazimete kudasái 'When you are well prepared, please begin'; Huruí | monó wa || ataká-mí(-) ga | átte, || totte-mo íi n desu kedo, || anmari hurúí (|) monó^[L] | bákari | tótte | oitá n zya [= tótte oitá^(t) no de wa], || sínpo tte | monó ga || náí to | omóu n desu 'Old things have a warmth and

this way for ever' (SA 2793.105b); Káge e | mawatte || hikyóo na | kotó o | suru yóo na | yátu wa, || bóku(-) wa || yurusite 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/-zimau 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 *nománai de simau* 'ends up not drinking', which will not contract to **nománaizimau* or **nomanaizyau*, and the variant formation *nománakute simau* will not contract to **nománakutimau* or **nománakutyau*. In addition to these common contractions, in Y 556-7 you will find examples of Kyūshū -tumau/-zumau and of Kyōto-Ōsaka -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 Tōkyō 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: *Huyumono o || zénbu | aratte | [soré-ra o |] 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): *Túi ni || táiyoo ga | sizunde simatta* 'Finally the sun finished sinking'; *Yat-tó^[2] | kotowarí-zyoo o | káite 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): *Zénbu | naku-natte simatta* 'It all vanished' = 'We came to have none at all'; *O-kane o | otósite simatta* 'I lost all the money'; *Kono hón o || honto ni yónde | simattá nara || [or honto ni yónzyatta nara |] , sono súzi o || setumei | dekíru desyoo* 'If you have really read this book through you should be able to explain its plot'; *Yokutyoo, || syokuzi o suru tokí, || kotobá ga || zenzen tuu-zináí no ni || 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 || sonna ni yose ga sukí nara || hanasi-ka ni náttimae* '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): *Tóotoo || zén [|] kootei o | larúite simatta* 'We finally wound up walking the whole way'; *Sonna zyoodán o | litte iru to, || hontoo ni | obáke ga | détyau | zó* 'You keep kidding like that and we'll end up with a ghost actually appearing!'; *Tabé-sugite || o-naka o kowásite simatta* 'I ended up with a bad stomach from being such a glutton'; *Tóotoo || aitu ni | látte simatta* 'I finally got around to seeing the bastard'; *Kónniti de wa || tukawanaku nátte | simattá keredo mo, || Heian zídai | nádo de wa || moosi-ageru | to iu ími de || "kikoyu" | ga || hizyoo ni óoku | tukawareta* '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' (Ōno 1966.68). Notice that *ikíru* 'lives' is durative, not stative, so that you can

say Hyakú made [= Hyaku-sái made] íkityatta '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 kíta | tokí ni wa || súde ni | sinde 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 otósíte simatta 'I lost my purse; I WOULD go and lose my purse!' Compare the exclamation Simátta 'Dammit!'¹⁰⁰ Quite recently the V-tyau form has been spreading in Tōkyō to lend an implication of undesirability to the verb, something like V-rú/-tá kara iyá da 'does/did it so I am displeased', and that constitutes a *fifth* meaning: Nán dé mo nónzyau 'He'll drink any damn thing'; Dóo | nátyatte n daro [= nátte simatte irú no daroo] 'What the hell is happening?' (SA 2663.48b). In this usage even áru can occur: Kodomo ga átyau to | taihen da ná 'It's hell to have so damn many children!'; Yasumí da to | omóttara || sore ~dókoro zya | náku || sikén made | átyatta 'I thought it would be a day off but, far from that, we had to go and have a damn test!'; Átyatta 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-iowaru means 'finishes doing' with the simple idea of STOPPING, and no implication of completion or thoroughness: tabe-owatta means 'I finished eating (= what eating I was doing)' but tábete 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: ... móo || sukkári || tukare-kitte simatte ... '(? ending up) completely exhausted now' (SA 2671.36d); Kutabátte simae 'Drop dead!'. The sentence Báka da | ná, || dóo site | tábetyawanakatta 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 simaeru 'can finish doing it in TIME' as in Iti-zíkan de yómete/kákete simaeru hodó kantan désu '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: Anáta to yat-tó^[L] kekkon dekíru to omóttara, anáta wa tatakai ni turete ikarete o-simai ni náru '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): Káesite o-simai yó 'Give it back, now!'

It is possible to apply the simau conversion to a negativized verb: Sikási || káre wa || sono zidóo-sya(¯) no | náka ni | nokótte ita || túbá no | kotó wa || iwanái de simatta 'But he

100. This is usually said to be from the perfect of simáru '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 sumáu an [inferred?] old frequentative of súmu 'settles, ends' (cf. sumáu 'dwells').

ended up saying nothing about the spit that was left in the car' (Y 555); *Dáre ga || náni o || itta ka wa, || tóotoo || wakárazu ni simatta* 'He ended up completely at a loss as to who had said what' (Y 555). Compare V-(a)zu-zimai, §9.1.7b. It is also possible to negativize the auxiliary: *Minná ga káette simawanai uti(-) ni renraku site kudasáí* 'Get in touch (= Give us a call) before everyone has left'.

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. Most of the following examples are the result of elicitation.

-(s)asete simau: *Óoki na | otó o (|) sasete, || akanboo no mé o | samasásete simatta* 'I finally got the baby to wake up by making a loud noise'.

-te simawaseru: *Syukudai o site simawaseté kara | asobi ni yaru kotó ni | simasyóo* 'When we have made them finish their homework let's send them to play'.

-(s)asete simawaseru (interpreted as a single causative?): *? Zyotyuu ni | soozu o sasete simawaseté kara, || kaimono ni | dekakéru tumori désu* 'After I have seen to it that the maid has swept up, I intend to go shopping'.

-(r)arete simau OR (less common) *-te simawareru*: (1) Pure passive: *Koosin-zyó(-) ni siraberárete simatta* [OR (?) *sirábete simawareta*] 'He has finished undergoing investigation by the private detective agency'; *Dá kara || séken [sic] no | taisei tte monó wa, || zyaanarizumu no | té de || tukurárete simau* 'Thus (the tide of) public opinion turns out to be created by the hands of the journalists' (Tk 2.151a). (2) Adversative passive: *O-kási o ootoo ni minná^[L] taberárete simatta* OR *tárete simawareta* 'I ended up getting my candy all eaten up by my little brother'; *Sot-to^[L] tabako o nónde iru tokoró o, áni ni mirárete simatta* 'I ended up getting seen secretly smoking by my older brother'. (3) Potential = *-r[ar]ete simau* OR (more common) *-te simaeru*: *Konna mizikái tegami nára gó-hun ~ínai ni káite simaeru* OR (?) *kákete simau* OR (PLEONASTIC) *kákete simaeru* 'Such a short letter I can finish writing within five minutes'.

-(r)arete simawareru: *?Sekkakú^[L] káita | tegami o || kodomo ni | yaburárete simawareta* 'I suffered by ending up suffering from having my carefully written letter torn up by the child'. This would be better with plain *simatta*.

-(r)arete simawaseru: Probably not used.

-(s)asete simawareru: *?Zibun de suru tumori dátta | tésuto o || Tanaka san ni || mudan de || gakuséi-táti ni sasete simawareta* '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)'.

-(s)aserarete simau: *Dooryoo ga yasúnda no de, || (watakusi ga |) ni-ninmae no sigoto o saserarete 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, || gó-zi made ni || zénbu | hitóri de | site simawaserareta* '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 || saigo made || káite WA | simatta ga, || yómu ni | taénai || sippái-saku ni | nátte simatta* 'I finally DID finish writing it, but it wound up an unreadable failure'; *Tegami o káite SAE | simaéba, || kyóo wa || suru kotó ga | náí* 'If I finish just writing this letter, I will have nothing (more) to do

today'; Kono hón o || yónde SAE | simaéba, || asitá^[1] no síkén 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 | dékite iru 'I've not finished exactly writing it, but the plan is worked out to the end'; Moo ití-mai | káite DAKÉ^[1] | simaéba, || kyóo no (|) sigoto wa | owari désu 'When I finish just writing one more page, today's work will be at an end'. I have been unable to elicit V-té ^[1]GÚRAI simau or V-té ^[1]BÁKARI simau, and V-té NÁDO simau is not common: Arigane o || zénbu | naku-sité NÁDO | simawanai uti() ni || tyokin 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 simái SAE | suréba, || áto wa || náni o | sité mo || kamaimasén 'If I just finish doing the job to the end, afterward it doesn't matter what I do'; ... káette || yugánde() | simái SAE | simasén ka '... don't you end up, on the contrary, all the more distorted?' (SA 2673.143b). Miscellaneous examples: Minná tukatte simatté wa | komáru 'If you use it all up there's a problem'; Minná^[1] tukatte simatté mo | ii | yó 'It's all right to use it all up, I tell you'; ... imootó ni | tikayóru | otokó wa || dare⁽¹⁾ de mo | korosite simai-kanénaí no de aru 'he has to kill off any man who approaches his little sister' (SA 2689.120a); Syukudai o site simatté kara | asobu kotó ni | suru 'When we finish our homework we'll have some fun'.

9.2.4.(5-6). *-te [i]ku; -te kúru (máiru)*. 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 [arúite] kúru 'comes to our house [on foot]', éki made [kuruma ni notte] iku 'goes to the station (in a taxi)', wahuku o kite 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 ittá ka means 'Did they come and get the laundry?', inquiring about a HITHER errand. The sentence Bóku() [ga] míte kúru (SA 2658.55b) is to be translated 'I'll go see'. And the sentence Heyá o soozí site ikimasyóo 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'.

lacking to auxiliary uses of *iku* and *kúru*. For example, the motion verb in errand-reports can be subjected to exaltation (V-te *irassyáru* 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 kangáete mairimásu to ...* 'When I come to think about such points ...' the verb *máir-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:¹⁰² *Tanaka san kara denwa ga kakátte | kíta* 'A phone call came from Mr Tanaka'; *Náni mo kikoete kónai* 'I can't hear a thing'; *Utí(-) e káette iku* 'He goes home'; *Kaisya kara káette | kúru* 'He comes home from the office'; *Tábeta | ikimasyóo* '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 | heyá ni | oit' óita kara, || ringo ga itánde | kíta | yó* 'The apples have (gradually) spoiled because they were left in a warm room'; ... *hiyoo | bákari | kasánde(-) | kúru | zidai, || ...* '(in) a period when costs only are steadily mounting ...' (SA 2673.40b); *Zibun ga || iká ni | íkite | kíta ka o | hanásita* 'I told of how I had lived my life'; *Mizu ga súde | kúru to || soko ga miéte | kimásu. || -Nánni mo miéte | kónai | ná* 'When the water clears the bottom becomes visible.—Nothing is becoming visible at all'; *W-kun mo || dandán | soozóo-ryoku ga | yútaka ni | nátte | kúru* 'W too will acquire a richer and richer imagination' (lg 1962.74); ... *to iu húu ni | kangae-naosarete ki-tútu (|) áru no desu* 'is in the process of coming to be rethought along the lines of ...' (Tanigawa 140-1).

(2) 'begins, sets in, starts up, gets to be (doing); keeps on (persists in) doing; has been doing right along (from then on)': *Kyuu ni onaka ga itánde | kíta kara || isya ni itta* 'My stomach suddenly started hurting, so I went to the doctor'; *Natú ni wa || ása | yó-zi ni | náru to || sóra ga | siránde | kúru (= sirami-hazimeru)* 'in the summer the sky starts to lighten when it gets to be four in the morning'; *Nárete | kúru no mo || moo sugu desu | yó* 'You'll soon get used to it'; *Yukí ga || íma ni mo | hútte | ki-sóo da* 'It looks as though it will snow any minute now'; *Koo mite (|) kúru to ...* 'If we start viewing it like this = Thus thought of ...' (SA 2649.43e); ... *masúmasu | zizyoo wa || yayakósiku | nátte (|) kúru* '... things start getting more and more involved' (SA 2651.66c); *Sikási | né, || kore mo || kéizai no |*

102. And, by semantic extension, perhaps in these examples with the potential: *Zibun wa || máda || sono onná nákute mo || íkite yukeru* 'I can go on living without her' (Y 542); *Omae no yóo na, || kore kara || yo-nó-naka no | koohuku bákari | aziwátte ikeru | onná ga || ...* '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 *miéru* 'appears = comes' can be substituted for *kúru* in the straightforward uses, but not the errand or auxiliary situations: *Ákiko san ga káette miéte hontoo ni yókatta desu né* 'I am really glad that you have come back, Akiko'. Thus *motte/turete miéru* 'brings' are possible but **katte miéru* '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.)

seityoo no tamé ni, || kokuhuku sarete { | } kíte | 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 ítta 'The wind gradually increased its roar' (Ig 21); Roohei wa sinazu || kiete iku nómi 'Old soldiers never die, they just fade away' (MacArthur); Sigoto wa || katazúite | ikanákatta 'The affair dragged on unsettled' (Ig 21); Mótoko wa || masúmasu || múkuti na | musumé ni | nátte (|) itta 'Motoko got to be a more and more reticent girl' (Ig 1962.73); Mótoko wa || otona ni nátte | ikú no ga, || nan-to-náku || urésiku | náí (|) kotó mo | náí 'Motoko found growing into an adult somehow not always too enjoyable' (Ig 1962.86); Itamí 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 Alfonso 458])': Sinde iku | heitai no kázu wa || ... 'The number of soldiers who will die (= go to their deaths)'; Horóbite() iku | mínzoku ... 'A dying race (= a race that will die out)'; Kore kara || nonbíri | benkyoo site ikóo 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 omóu (§9.2.1a); Kore kara || sámuku | nátte | ikú desyoo 'From now on it will get colder (and colder)'—Sámuku | 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: Itu-goro kara kono tokei ga okurete kíta 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 | kíta no | yó 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 syoosetu no | myuuzikaru-ka wa, || bóku() no || issyoo no sigoto no yóo ni | omóete (|) kíta '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, || DANDÁN TO || íra-ira site | kúru | zibun o || osáeru | 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: ... déte | 'kanái n desu | yó 'they don't go out' (SA 2660.49c); ... yukkúri (|) tomatte || asondé 'tte | kure-tamae '... please stay a long time before you go' (Y 541); Aitu mo | kúru | tanbí ni || nánka | oite 'koo to (|) surú ga, || wasi wa || dan-zen, sonna monó wa || uke-toran to | tukkáesite 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 (|) turerarete 'tta to | jú n desu | yó 'Mr Karigane, they say, was taken off to the police box' (Y 541); Áa, || dandán || ánta ga | tooku nátte 'ku 'Oh, you are gradually

getting farther and farther away' (Y 542); ... ittai | dóo site | yatte 'ku tumori ná n da 'just how do you intend to get along (in life)?' (Y 542); Hósikerya ||^(t)íkura de^(t) mo motte 'ke 'Take as much as you want' (Y 542); Hiki-sio de oki no motte 'karetá no mo || zúibun | átta ˉbé | náa 'There musta been a lot carried out to sea by the ebb tide, too' (SA 2670.107)—for átta ˉbé '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 ítta, site ítte, site íttara, site íttari. 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): sité 'tta, sité 'tte, sité 'ttara, sité 'ttari. (The reductions of site + ita, ite, itára, and itári differ only in lacking the extra *t*: sité '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 ítta or kodomo o tureté 'tta. The shortening of V-te [i]ku results in convergence with some forms of V-te kúru:

/hakondekimásu/	=	(1) hakonde kimásu (2) hakonde [i]kimásu
/hakondekiwa sinai/	=	(1) hakonde kí wa sinai (2) hakonde [i]kí wa sinai
/mottekimásu/	=	(1) motte kimásu (2) motte [i]kimásu
/mottekiwa sinai/	=	(1) motte kí wa sinai (2) motte [i]kí wa sinai

The final syllable of -te kúru, like other instances of the imperfect ending -ru, sometimes assimilates to a following *n*, as in this dialect example: Wasi ni íken si-hazimete kún no zya '[He] started giving me a piece of his mind [= criticism]' (Y 543).

In his study of iku and kúru Morita examined 4939 examples from modern fiction and found the following distribution:

iku	893	V-te iku	1162
kúru	872	V-te kúru	2012

From these figures we can conclude that V-te kúru is nearly twice as common as V-te iku, though iku and kúru as main verbs are of about the same frequency. A comparable ratio for V-te kúru 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 mo^(t)tte for things and turete for people, as the "taken") followed by iku/kúru. In ... gosót-to [= gossóri] 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 kíta súu-nin(ˉ) no wakamonó(ˉ) ... '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*: Zyúurai no | akuhoo mo ||

aratamerárete WA | kíta ga, || zenmen-teki na kaisei ní wa || hodo-tóoi(⁻) 'We have begun to revise undesirable laws, but we are a long way from overall reform'; Tuyói | kaze ga húki, || hídoku | huri-dasité MO/SAE | kíta ga, || kéihoo(⁻) wa | déte | inái kara, || taihúu de wa | áru ⁻mái '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 byoonin wa || zenkai ⁻dógoro ka, || hí-goto(⁻) ni || wáruku | náte SURA | iku yóo ni | miéru 'That patient, far from recovering, looks as though he were gradually getting even worse by the day'; Bukka wa || agaté KOSO ike, || sagáru kotó wa | zettai ni náí daroo 'Prices are precisely rising gradually and will simply never come down'—for (kóso) ike, see p. 556; Bukka ga, || kóngo(⁻), || sagátte NÁDO iku hazu ga | náí desyoo 'There's no likelihood that prices will come down or anything, from now on'; Moratté KOSO | itté mo, || kurete itta | tamesí ga | náí 'Although they have been precisely getting it, they have never been giving it'; Kiité KOSO | kíte mo, || osiete kureta kotó | ga náí 'Although they have been precisely inquiring, they have never told it'; Nihongo no kisó o || narátte DAKÉ^[2] | ikéba, || áto wa || Nihón e | itté kara || dóndon | rensyuu sureba || úmaku | narímásu | yó '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'; Rúsu datta kara, || meisi o oité DAKÉ^[2] | kimásita 'He was out so I just left my calling card'. I have been unable to elicit examples of V-te ⁻GÚRAL iku/kúru; and even the following types are not common:¹⁰³ Asonde BÁKARI itte || tetudátte itta kotó wa | náí 'He goes along loafing and has never started helping'; Soto de | tábete BÁKARI | kíte, || utí(⁻) dé wa || tit-tó mo | syokuzi o sinai 'I always just eat out and never come home to eat'; Ano páat'ii ni || takisiido o | kité NÁDO iku | hituyoo wa | arimasén 'There is no need to wear a tuxedo or the like to that party'; Uti(⁻) no páat'ii ni | takisiido o | kité NÁDO | kúru | hituyoo wa | arimasén 'There is no need to wear a tuxedo or the like to our party'.

Examples of focus, etc., applied to the *auxiliary*: Harikeen-Zyéen wa || kon'yáhan karall yowamátte | ikí WA | surú ga, || máda-mada || 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 ikí SAE | sureba, || syóorai no | mitoosi wa || akaruku náru 'If this point just starts getting improved, the prospects for the future will brighten'; Nán-do | syóotai | sarete mo, || o-miyage hitótu | motte kí MO | sinákereba || áto de || reizyoo no íp-pon mo | káite | yokósi mo | sinai 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 | ari-nágara, || tagai ni || tazúnete ikí SÚRA | sinai zyootai da sóo da 'While they are blood brothers, I understand the situation is such that they don't even visit one another'; Tomatte ikí KOSO | sinái ga, || yonaká ⁻sugí made || asonde iku kotó wa || siba-siba áru 'I don't precisely spend the night but I do often visit till after midnight'; Zettai ni || múdan(⁻) de, || yosó ni | tomatte kí NÁDO | sinai 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 *máir-u* is used as object-exaltation for both *iku* and *kúru*, and this extends to some of the auxiliary uses, as well; often *máir-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. *Máir-u* has an old-fashioned synonym *san-zíru*(⁻), and it too is sometimes used as an auxiliary; examples of *V-te san-zíru*(⁻) will be found in Y 545-6.

The verb *uséru*(⁻) 'disappears, gets lost; dies' is used as a vulgar equivalent of *iku* and *kúru*, and this usage extends to the auxiliaries; examples of *V-te uséru*(⁻) 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 míru*; *-te go-ran*. The verb *míru* means 'looks at' or 'sees' and it can retain its basic meaning when following a gerund, as you sometimes tell from the juncture: *Hón o tótte* || *mimásita* '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 *míru* 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 míru to yasasíkatta* '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 míru*: *Káre no | tatibá ni | túite | kiite míru* 'I will try asking about his position on the matter' or 'I will see if I can find out his position'; *Náni ga | háitte | irú ka | wakaránai no de || hako o akete míta* 'Not knowing what was inside, we opened the box to find out' or '... and found out'; *Zé-hi || iti-dó^[1] itte mi-tái to | lomótte imásu* 'I certainly hope I can go there and see (how things are) sometime'; *Kono || kago no tori no seikatu kara || tobi-dásite | mítara | dóo na no* 'Why don't you try flying away out of this life of a caged bird?'; *Ano kí no | tyoosyoó made || nobotte míta koto | áru?* 'Have you tried climbing up to the top of that tree?'; *Namazákana o | tábete | mítari || omosirói | keiken o sita* 'I had interesting experiences such as trying raw fish'; *Kagami^[1] míte | mí ro i (= mí ro yo)* 'Try looking in the mirror; Look in the mirror and see' (Y 550).¹⁰⁴ The gerund can be highlighted: *Omótte mo | mí yo* 'Give it a thought, anyway' (SA 2659.131b); *Kangáete mo | mí ro yo* 'Just give it a thought' (SA 2650.118e); ... *sono-go || sukósi || ki o túkete mo | mí, || sirábeta mo | mimásita tokoró^[1], ...* '... later I tried a bit both paying attention and checking, whereupon ...' (Tsumimura 67).

Verbs that are stative 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, *Haná ga saite míru* 'The flowers try blooming' would be unacceptable outside the personifying context of, say, a fairy story, but *Haná ga | saite mítara || ángai*(⁻) | *kírei de | nákatta* 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 míreba* (or *V-te míru to*) is often something like 'when we consider that; seeing that, now (that); since', very similar to the meaning of sentence + *kará 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: *Oyá ga | áttel*

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 *kangáete o-mi* and *yónd' o-mi ya*.

míreba || anmari ziyúu ni wa | dekinai 'Having parents to be concerned about, I am not free to do as I like'; Kaze ga húite | míreba || (or: míru to ||) sono tatémóno no | túyo-sa ga | wakáru 'When the wind blows you see the strength of that building'; Áme ga | hútte | míreba || tuti no zyootai ga wakáru 'When it rains you find out the condition of the soil'; Tookyoo e túite | mítara || yakamásikute | tamaranákatte 'When I got to Tōkyō I found it terribly noisy'; Watasi ga || uti(-) e (|) káette | mítara || káre wa || sake o nónde || zyoo-kígen datta 'When I got home I found him in high spirits from drinking'; Sono hako o akete míru to || omosirói (|) monó ga | háitte ita 'When I opened the box I found something interesting inside'; Man'yōo-syuu no | zénbu ni watatte || ziturei o sirábeta | míru to, || ... baai ga óói 'Examination of actual examples from throughout the Man'yō-shū reveals many instances of ...' (Ōno 1966.160); Soo iwarete míru to, ... 'Now that (I have that said to me =) you mention it ...' (Shiba 30). If we take the "commands" in the following examples (from Mikami 1963a.75) as a colloquial device to link sentences, substituting for the provisional, it is not necessary to resort to Mikami's assumption of ellipsis, which is shown here: Kore ga úmaku it[ta to si]te | mí ro, || akazi ip-pén ni | kaisyoo dá | zé 'If this goes well we will be out of the red'; Iti-dō | simó de mo | óri[ta to si]te go-ran, || ao-áo to site ita (|) ha mo ... 'With just a single frost, the very leaves that were so green ...'.

The gerund can be passive (sarete míru 'tries having it done to oneself') or causative: Dono-gurai hanaséru ka || hanasásete | mítara || dóo 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 míru (*site miraréru) but the causative can be applied (site misaséru 'gets someone to try doing' and even sasete misaséru 'gets someone to try getting someone to do'): Dono-gurai hanaséru ka || hanásite | misásetara || dóo 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 lossyátte | go-ran ni narimásita ka 'Did you try saying it fast?' but not *Háyaku | moosi-agete haiken simasyóo 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 nasái (= mi-nasái or mí ro): Taeraréru | sámu-sa ka || dóo ka || súnde | go-ran 'Live there and see whether you can stand the weather or not'; Háyaku | itte go-ran 'Try saying it fast'; Kangáete | go-ran 'Give it some thought'.

The several meanings of V-te míru can perhaps be summarized as the normal uses of the gerund with an extended use of the verb míru 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 míru míru '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 adversative), and potential can be applied either to the gerund or to the auxiliary—or, in theory, to both.

-(s)asete míru: Sukósi || muzukasii ka mo | siremasén ga || tó-ni-kaku | kono sikén o ||

sasete míru kotó⁽¹⁾ ni |simasyóo 'It may be a bit difficult but anyway let's try giving this test'.

-*te misaséru* [little used]: Ryóori wa ||oisii monó o laziwátte | misasénakereba || zyoozú ni |naránai 'To get good at cooking you have to let people try tasting delicious things'.

-(*s*)asete *misaséru*: NOT USED?

-(*r*)arete *míru*: (1) Pure passive: NOT USED? (2) Adversative passive: Sigoto o || makasaréte | míte || hazímete || sono muzukási-sa ga | wakátta 'When I tried getting saddled with the job I realized for the first time its difficulty'; Oyá ni | sinarete míru to || sono | arigatá-mí(-) ga || yóku | wakáru 'When you experience the death of a parent you appreciate your indebtedness'. (3) Potential = -(*rar*)ete *míru*: NOT USED?

-*te miraréru*: (1) Pure passive: Nóoryoku o || tamésite | miráreta 'I had my ability tested'. (2) Adversative passive: Tegami o | akete miráreta '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 ní nara | site miraréru desyoo 'You could try doing it as an experiment, surely'.

-(*r*)arete *miraréru*: NOT USED—except when the passive is used for subject exaltation, as in Go-zibun de zikken o sarete miráretara || (= nasátte | go-ran ni náttara ||) itiban yorosii desyoo 'It would be best to do the experiment yourself'.

-(*s*)asete *miraréru*: LITTLE USED—except when the passive is used for subject exaltation, as in Siken-teki ni || gakusei ni | zikken o sasete miráretara || (= sasete go-ran ni náttara ||) ikága desu ka 'How about having the students do the experiment as a kind of examination?'

-(*r*)arete *misaséru*: NOT USED

-(*s*)aserarete *míru*: Hoka no hitó ga | hanásu no o | kiite ita tokí wa || yasasi-soo ni (|) omowáreta ga, || zibun de iwaserarete míte, || muzukasíi(-) (|) kotó ga | wakátta '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 | mimásu ga, || dónna | henzi ga | eraréru ka wa | wakari-kanemásu 'I will try asking but there's no telling what kind of reply can be had'; ... nakiotosi ni kakátte MO | míta ga, || ... 'she even tried undertaking persuasion by tears, but ...' (SA 2649.105d); Tegami o || ni-santuu yónde DAKÉ⁽¹⁾ | mireba, || sonó-hito no | nóoryoku no | téido(-) 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-té BÁKARI *míru*, and neither V-té (-)GÚRAI *míru* nor V-té NÁDO *míru* is common: Ítu made mo | hito o tanómazu [ni], || zibun no tegami wa || zibun de káite GÚRAI | mítara || dóo desu ka 'Instead of always asking others, how about trying to write your letters yourself?'; Zassi, || sinbun nádo o || yónde NÁDO⁽¹⁾ | míte mo, || íma no | Nihón no zyootai wa || soozoo dekinai hodo⁽¹⁾ | kawatte simatta rasii '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*: Iroiro na kotó o || site mí WA | surú ga, || nāni mo tuzukete siyoo tó wa | sinái n desu 'He tries doing all sorts of things, but he shows no inclination to do anything over a period of time'; Hima ga áreba || góruhu o | site mí MO | surú n da ga ... 'I sometimes try playing a

bit of golf when I have a free moment, but ...'; Site mí SAE | suréba || kantan da tte iu kotó ga | wakáru desyoo 'If you'd just try doing it, you'd see how easy it is'; Site mí ro to | iú nara, || site mí MO | surú ga, || muda daróo to | omoimásu 'If you tell me to try doing it, I'll try doing it, but I don't think it will be of any use'; Tó-ni-kaku || owari máde || site mí WA | surú ga, || ii | kekka ga eraréru to wa || omoénai 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 míte kara, || sono rekóodo o | kau kotó ni | sitá n da 'After giving it a listen, I decided to buy the record'.

9.2.4.(8). *-te miéru*. The verb *miéru* 'it seems, it appears' can be used as an auxiliary after a verbal gerund: *tukárete miéru* 'looks tired', *yasete miéru* 'looks thin, appears to have lost weight'. These expressions are common in Nagoya.^{104a} Tōkyō speakers prefer *V-te iru* (or *V-ta*) *yóo ni miéru* (*tukárete yóo ni miéru*, *yasete yóo ni miéru*). Cf. also *tó miéru*, p.1008. Examples of the *V-te miéru* conversion: *Káre ni wa || mati^[f] no yoosu wa || sukkári | tigatte miéta* 'To him the town appeared completely changed' (Ig 11); *Koosen ni yotte || tigatte miéru kotó mo | áru ga, || ...* 'It sometimes looks different depending on the light, but ...' (Tk 3.235b); *Sikaru to || onna^[f] no kao ga || sákete [sic] | miéta* 'On being scolded the woman's face seemed to crack' (Ig 32); *... ítu-ni-náku || sizunde miéta* 'she appeared to be sunk in unaccustomed gloom' (Ig 32); *Wahuku ni náru to | káette || húkete | miéta* 'He looked all the older in Japanese clothes' (V 114); *Soo iu toki^[f], || Ayao no | sirói || hó[h]o ni wa || usui | sakura-iro ga sásite, || zibun ga kói-site iru | yóo ni || namaméite | miéta* '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 ireta boo wa, || suimen no tokoró de || órete | miéru. || Kore wa || suityuu ni áru | boo no búbun ga || uki-agáte | miéru 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 gínka wa || ... doodóo to || igen ni ahúrete, || Yósiko ni wa | miéta* 'these silver coins ... to Yoshiko seemed splendidly full of majesty ...' (Y 340).

Notice that the verb *miéru* can also mean 'appears' in the sense of 'shows up', i.e. 'comes', as a synonym of *arawaréru* or *kúru*. Sometimes this is the appropriate interpretation, e.g. in *Káette miéru* = *Káette kúru*. The sentence *Okyakusan ga naite miéta* 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-mie ni náru*) but the auxiliary will not undergo exaltation conversions.

Examples of focus, restriction, etc., applied to the *gerund*: *Zyúu-nen ~buri ni átta, | sonó-hito wa || tosí o tóru | dókoro ka, || wakagáette SURA/SAE | miéta* 'Met after ten years, he—rather than aging—appeared even to have been rejuvenated'; *Sínsi ~zen to | sité WA || miéru ga, || sínsi ~dókoro ka ...* 'He DOES seem gentlemanly, all right, but no gentleman he!'. I have been unable to elicit *V-té BAKARI miéru*, *V-té DAKÉ^[f] miéru*, or *V-té KOSO miéru*; and the following types are not common: *Hadaka zya náí n da kara, || suite ~GÚRAI | miét'atte || kamawánai desyoo!* 'Since I'm not (really) naked, it surely doesn't matter if it [= the garment] seems to be transparent!'; *Suketé NÁDO | miéru | íhuku wa || zettai ni kimasén* '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 *Suite* ...).

104a. But in Nagoya and Gifu *V-te miéru* is used as an equivalent of the subject-exalting *V-te irassyáru*. Cf. NKD 18.505a.

It is more usual to apply the particles of focus, restriction, etc., to the *auxiliary*: Sore o kiru to, || to⁽ⁱ⁾si o tōtte | mie WA | surú ga, || zyoohin na || sibúi | kimono da to omoimásu 'To be sure, I DO look older when I wear that, but I feel it is an elegant, austere kimono'; Sono kimono wa || hin ga ná si, || tosi-tōtte | mie MO | surú kara, || kawanai kotó ni | sitára || dóo desu ka 'That kimono lacks quality and you even look older in it, so why not decide against buying it?'; Anmari tosi-tōtte | mie SAE | sinákereba, || zimí na | kimono no hoo ga | sukí na n desu 'Just so I don't appear too old in it, I prefer a plain kimono'; Sono kimono wa, || tosi-tōtte | mie KOSO sure, || kessite hadé zya | arimasén | yó 'Though I may precisely look old in it, that kimono is not the least bit gaudy'—for (koso) suré, see §9.3; Hadé na | kimono o kit'átte, || wakagáette | mie NÁDO | simasén | yó 'She may wear a gaudy kimono but she doesn't seem restored to youth or anything'.

9.2.4.(9). *-te miséru*; *-te o-me ni kakéru*. The verb *miséru* 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 || kono kí ni | nobotte miséru kara 'Just you see how I can climb up this tree'; Honto ni dekiru nara || site misé ro 'If you can really do it, show me!'; Watasi ga (|) ano onná o | warawaseite miséru 'I'll (show you I can) make that woman laugh (—just you watch)!'; Káre kara || nígete | miséru 'I'll get free of him, just you wait and see'; Tadasii (|) miti o || ayúnde | misemásu 'I'll show people I can lead a proper life'; Ono wa || soo itte || námida no | tamatta mé de || waratte miseta 'Ono put on a smile with his tear-filled eyes as he said that' (lg 22); Sugúreta | kankaku o mótta | hitó-tati o || tekitoo ni eránde | miséru kotó ga | nozomasii(¯) 'It is desirable to show that we can suitably select people of outstanding sensibility'; Tágutí wa || oogesa ni odoróite | miseta 'Taguchi put on exaggerated surprise' (lg 22); Go-tyúumon ¯dóori || nán de⁽ⁱ⁾ mo | nusúnde | miséru | yó 'You name it, they'll steal it'.

A more literal meaning seems to be present in some sentences: ... watasi no hoo ni || uínku site | miseta 'gave a wink in my direction' (SA 2679.39c); Tosi-gái(¯) mo (|) náku || seinen no yoo na || táido o | site miséru no ga, || káre no | kusé da 'He's always displaying a youthful attitude unbecoming his age'.

I have only a few examples of restrictives, focus particles, etc., applied to the *gerund*, and they are not common types: Káite DAKÉ⁽ⁱ⁾ | miséreba, || kuti de (|) setumei sinákute mo | wakáru 'If you (show you will) write it, at least, it will be clear without an oral explanation'; Kanzi no hitótu ya | hutatú káite ¯GÚRAI | misemásu | yó 'I'll show I can at least write one or two Chinese characters'; Syabette NÁDO | misénakute mo, || kimi ga || Eigo ga umái kotó wa || yóku | sitte 'ru | yó 'I well know you are proficient at English without your showing me you can talk it and all'. I have been unable to elicit V-té BÁKARI miséru or V-té KOSO miséru.

It is more usual to apply restrictives, focus particles, etc., to the *auxiliary*: Tézina o | site misé WA | surú ga, || tane-ákasi wa (|) sinai (= torikku wa | osiete kurenai) 'I'll show you (I can do) the trick, but I won't tell you how it is done'; Meiyuu dá kara || múri ni | tanomaréreba, || kyaku no zasikí de || odotte misé MO | siyoo ga, || bakudai na (|) 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 sita yoo na | kao o site misé KOSO/SAE/SURA/NÁDO | surú ga || hónsin(¯) kará de wa | náí 'He does precisely/even/even/perhaps show a sympathetic face, but that is not his true feelings'.

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 náru, o-V-i ni nátte o-mise ni náru) or euphemistic (V-te o-me ni kakéru, o-V-i ni nátte o-me ni kakéru); 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 súnnda* 'I was let off with a fine' and *Sukósi no són de súnnda* '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: ... *hígai(¯) ga | sukúnákute || súmu hazu da ...* 'ought to get by with little damage' (SA 2647.87a); *kane ga sukúnákute | súmu* 'gets by with little money'; *kono mamá de | súmu* 'gets by as it is (with no change)'. Often the negative is explicit: *kegá o | sinái de (= kegá o sezu ni = kegá ga nákute) | 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 nára || wáza-waza | Oosaka máde | ikazu ni súmu* 'In that case you need not go all the way to Ōsaka' (Kenkyusha); *Soo suru to || ni-dó de kakenái de | súmu* 'It will save you going out again' (id.); *Siranákya | siranái de | súmu monó^(o) o sirasetá kara || mondai ga | óokiku | 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 || huka-oi sinákute | súmu kara desu* 'It's because if you change the subject [often] you need not pursue it deeply' (Shibata 1965.27); *Móttó-mo || konna kotó o || sinákute | súmu | hoohoo mo áru* 'Of course there are ways to get by without doing such things' (SA 2688.45d); ... *zibun no káko no || sigoto ni sekinin o kan-zinákute | súmu ...* 'manages not to feel any responsibility for his past acts' (SA 2679.104b). An example with highlighting of the negative gerund: ... *ká o || tóku ni | mondai ni sinákute mo | súmu ...* 'gets along without making a special point over whether ...' (Kabashima 99).

You will also find V-(a)naku tó mo—and (?) V-(a)zu tó mo, §21.1.(9), used with *súmu*: *Sosite, || aité⁽ⁱ⁾ no hannoo o mi-nágara, || áru | bún wa || kanketu sinaku tó mo | súmu daróo 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 | kawáku no de || karúkute | súmu, || ...* 'it dries fast so you can get by with its being light in weight' (SA 2662.99a) and in ... *yakusya no nínzu [u] ga || sukúnákute | súmu* 'you can get by with a small cast' (SA 2688.109d); there is a gerundized adjectival(/precopular) noun in *Zairyóo wa || kiwámete || wázuka de | súmi, ...* 'They make do with very scant material, ...' (SA 2650.97d); and a

gerundized predication of a pure noun turns up in this text: Nihon-go to Eigo no tigai de, || Eigo wa || HITÓKOTO DE | sǔmu no ga, || Nihon-go da to nagái kotó⁽⁶⁾ ga | arimásu kara || háyaku | iwanákya | naránai '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 nákute or N de nási ni: Nihón wa || náze || sóo de | nási ni | sǔnde | irú ka to iu to, ... 'The reason why Japan gets by without (being like) that ...' (Tanigawa 156). There are even examples where sǔmu follows a CONDITION, marked by the provisional: Nisen-en kara | itiman-en ˉtéido no | bakkin o haráeba | sǔmu kotó⁽⁶⁾ da ... 'You can get off by paying a fine ranging from ¥ 2000 to ¥ 10 000 ...' (SA 2665.126c); ... o-mótya o | hitótu | kaéba | sǔmu 'you can get away with (= cope by) buying a single toy' (SA 2793.46b); Íza to | náreba, || syáin-ryoo ga | aite imásu kara, || soko o tukaéba | sǔmu desyoo⁽⁶⁾ '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 ˉzútu | hikarérya || súnzyau [= hikaréréba | sǔnde 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 sǔmu 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, sǔmu will not usually undergo exaltation conversions. Yet it is possible to have exaltation when you causativize sǔmu: Anáta ga/wa || okyakusan ni | soo nasaránai de || o-sumase ni naréru 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 (= sǔm-ase-) of sǔmu,¹⁰⁵ it is also the POTENTIAL (= sumás-e-) of a transitive counterpart sumásu 'manages (it) with' as in hiyoo o rokusen-en de sumásu 'keeps the expenses down to ¥6000'.¹⁰⁶ The expression V-te sumásu means 'makes do with, gets along with' and V-(a)nái de sumásu or V-(a)zu ni sumásu means 'gets along without, does without' as in ... hirumesi o kúwazu ni sumásita 'would do without lunch' (Kenkyusha). The forms occur frequently in the potential 'can/can't do without' as in these examples: Gosen-en dé wa | sumasénai 'I won't be able to get along on ¥5000!'; ... hito o egúrazu 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 | ayamátte || sumaseraréru | mondai zya náí 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, ... míru, ... oku, ... simau, ... yaru, ... morau, etc. There are minor restrictions; though A-ku (N ni) site áru is quite acceptable, ?A-ku (N ni) nátte áru is doubtful, at least for the standard language, and we should perhaps reject the proffered example (*)Móo

105. As in Keikan mo tyúui daké de sumásete kurerú ka mo siremasén 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. MKZ^s). The last example below could be taken as the potential of transitive sumaséru.

senséi ni nátte áru kara seikatu wa sinpai wa náí '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-sugúru; -i-sugite oku (Kai-súgite oku to ll hu-kéizai da 'If you buy too much ahead it's uneconomical'); -te simai-sugúru; -i-sugite simau; -te iki-sugúru; -i-sugite iku (?); -te ki-sugúru; -i-sugite kúru (O-yu ga átuku l nari-sugite (l) kúru 'The water is getting too hot!'); -te mie-sugúru; -i-súgite miéru (Yase-súgite l miéru 'Looks too thin'). The following will seem strange to most speakers, unless the excessive is made negative: -te mise-sugúru; -i-sugite miséru (?Nomi-sugite (l) miséru l zó 'I'll show you I can drink too much!'); -te yari-sugúru (age-sugúru, kure-sugúru, kudasari-sugúru); -i-sugite yaru (ageru, kureru, kudasáru—?Nomi-sugite yaru zó 'I'll drink too much for you, since you insist!'); -te morai-sugúru; -i-sugite morau (?Nomi-sugite morawanai zó '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 náru). (Káite óru occurs alongside o-kaki site iru/óru, but óru is often used as a polite synonym of iru rather than as the "humble" equivalent; that accounts for the subject-exalting oraréru = irassyáru or o-ide ni náru 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 'lets it go at doing it in anticipation', but -te míte míru may simply reinforce the meaning (Site míte miyóo 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? E.g.:

- | | | | |
|-----|---|-----|---|
| (1) | -te ite míte iru
-te ite míte áru
-te ite míte oku
-te ite míte simau
-te ite míte yaru/morau | (3) | -te óite míte iru
-te óite míte áru
-te óite míte simau
-te óite míte yaru/morau
-te óite míte oku |
| (2) | -te ite yatte iru
-te ite yatte áru
-te ite yatte oku
-te ite yatte míru
-te ite yatte simau
-te ite yatte morau | (4) | -te óite yatte iru
-te óite yatte áru
-te óite yatte oku
-te óite yatte míru
-te óite yatte simau
-te óite yatte morau |

CHART OF COMMON AUXILIARY SEQUENCES

	<i>iru</i>	<i>áru</i>	<i>oku</i>	<i>míru</i>	<i>simau</i>	<i>yaru</i>	<i>morau</i>
<i>iru</i>	—	—	—	-te ite míru	—	-te ite yaru	-te ite morau
<i>áru</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>oku</i>	—	-te óite áru	-te óite oku	-te óite míru	-te óite simau	-te óite yaru	-te óite morau
<i>míru</i>	-te míte iru	-te míte áru	-te míte oku	-te míte míru	-te míte simau	-te míte yaru	-te míte morau
<i>simau</i>	-te simatte iru	-te simatte áru	-te simatte oku	-te simatte míru	-te simatte simau	-te simatte yaru	-te simatte morau
<i>yaru</i>	-te yatte iru	-te yatte áru	-te yatte oku	-te yatte míru	-te yatte simau	-te yatte yaru	-te yatte morau
<i>morau</i>	-te moratte iru	-te moratte áru	-te moratte oku	-te moratte míru	-te moratte simau	-te moratte yaru	-te moratte morau

- | | | | |
|------|--|------|---|
| (5) | -te óite simatte iru
-te óite simatte áru
-te óite simatte oku
-te óite simatte míru
-te óite simatte yaru/morau | (11) | -te yatte ite míru
-te yatte ite morau
-te yatte ite yaru |
| (6) | -te óite moratte iru
-te óite moratte áru
-te óite moratte oku
-te óite moratte míru
-te óite moratte simau
-te óite moratte yaru | (12) | -te yatte óite áru
-te yatte óite míru
-te yatte óite simau
-te yatte óite yaru
-te yatte óite morau |
| (7) | -te míte ite míru
-te míte ite yaru/morau | (13) | -te yatte míte iru
-te yatte míte áru
-te yatte míte oku
-te yatte míte simau
-te yatte míte yaru
-te yatte míte morau |
| (8) | -te míte oite iru
-te míte oite áru
-te míte oite simau
-te míte oite yaru/morau
-te míte oite míru | (14) | -te moratte ite míru
-te moratte ite yaru
-te moratte ite morau |
| (9) | -te simatte ite míru
-te simatte ite yaru/morau | (15) | -te moratte óite áru
-te moratte óite míru
-te moratte óite simau
-te moratte óite yaru
-te moratte óite morau |
| (10) | -te simatte óite áru
-te simatte óite míru
-te simatte óite simau
-te simatte óite yaru/morau | | etc. etc. (through further cycles)? |

A few examples: *-te óite áru*: Sore-dake kai-kónde oite | áreba || nisán-niti wa | mótu desyoo 'If that much food has been bought you can live on it for a few days'. *-te óite míru*: Sibáruku || sono mamá ni site | óite | mitara || dóo ka sira 'Why don't we leave it as it is and see what happens?' *-te óite kureru*: Yuuzin ga | téhái site | óite kureta || gaidó-zyoo to | hutari de | né || ... 'With a lady guide that a friend had kindly arranged for, just the two of us ...' (SA). *-te ite míru*: Kono mamá || kono miti o | aruki-tuzukete {ite} miyóo ka sira 'I wonder if I should keep on walking this road like this to see'. *-te simatte áru*: Sore wa | móo || yattyatte áru koto ni | náru | náa 'They are already having that done, you know' (SA 2635.40e). *-te kite simau*: ... dandan ... || urésiku | náte kite simatta 'ended up gradually becoming happy' (CK 985.379); Soo iu kyooiku o || óyazi(-) ni || úkete | kityatta n desu 'That's the sort of education I ended up getting from my old man' (SA 2650.42c). *-te yatte kureru*: Uti(-) no kodomo ni | eigo o osiete yatte kudasai 'Please teach English to my child for me'. *-te yatte morau*: Sigoto no susumi-gúai o || míte yatte (l) itadaki-tai 'Please do him the favor of checking on how the work is going'. *-te moratte/itadaité áru*: (Daigaku kara moraeru yoo ni) || tetúzuki o | site itadaité áru no | desyoo ka 'Have arrangements been made for me (so that I can receive it from the University)?'; Íma, || O-kími san ni || kuruma o yonde moratte áru kara, || sore ni notte o-kaen nasái (= o-kaeri nasái) 'We've had a taxi called by O-kimi for you to go home in' (Y 512). *-te moratte yatte kureru*: Kónban wa | akirámete || omae ga hári o | útte moratte yatte kure 'Please let yourself receive

the favor of his treating you with acupuncture tonight'. *-te yatte simatte kíte áru*: Káite yatte | simatte | kíte | áru '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 í wa si-gati dá ga, hidói byooki zya náí* 'I AM inclined to be in bed a lot, but it isn't a severe illness'); evidential (-i-sóo da §20); desiderative (-i-tai §7); representative (-tári §9.5); perfect (-tá §11); and negative—applied either to the underlying gerund or the auxiliary, or independently to both. Tentative (-rú daróo §12.1) can apply to all auxiliaries, but neither the hortative (-[y]oo §12.2) nor the imperative (-é §16.1) can apply to *-te áru*, for *áru* itself lacks the forms, so that whenever you see *-te aróo* or *aróo* you know that they are literary tentatives (§12.3) equivalent in meaning to (-te) *áru daroo*. For the purposive conversion (-i ni iku etc. §9.1.1) we find all auxiliaries except *iru* and *áru*; there is no **-te i/ári ni iku*, nor is there **ári ni iku* 'goes to exist/have/occur' despite the acceptability of *i ni iku* 'goes to stay (at a place)'. For *-té kara* (§9.2.3) we find all auxiliaries except *áru*; there is no **-te átte kara* despite the fact that in the meaning 'occurs' *átte kara* is possible (*soo iu kotó ga átte kara* 'after such a thing happening'). Causatives and the various passives seem to be possible for all auxiliaries except *áru*: there is no **-te araséru/araréru* just as there is no **araséru*, and *araréru* is limited to use as a subject-exalting form (equivalent to *o-ari ni náru* 'deigns to possess'). The conversion *-i-⁻tate da* (§9.1.6) occurs with *-te míru*, *-te yaru*, and *-te morau*, but not with *-te iru*, *-te oku*, and perhaps *-te simau* (unless the example *Nónde 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 *mó* or subduing with *wá*) 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:

Káki wa/sae | site okí wa/mo | sinákatta. (← Káite okanákatatta.)

Káki sae | site óite | kuré mo | sinákatta. (← Káite óite kurenákatta.)

Hatarakí mo | site í sae | site kureréba ... (← Hataraitte ite kureréba ...)

But those with a repeat of *oku* are generally rejected:

*Káki wa/sae site okí wa/mo site óite kurenákatta.

*Káki mo site okanáí de oité wa kurenákatta.

(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 í sae suréba, V-te okí wa sinai, V-te, simai mo suru, etc.) or to the underlying sentence (V-í sae site iréba, V-í wa site oku, V-í mo site simawanai, etc.). Examples of this have been given under each of the auxiliaries individually.

9.3. CONDITIONS: THE PROVISIONAL, THE LITERARY
HYPOTHETICAL, AND THE CONDITIONAL; THE LITERARY CONCESSIVE

Japanese provides a number of devices to express CONDITIONS, both situational and temporal:

- (1) the gerund—often subdued or highlighted (-té wa/mo, §9.2.2);¹⁰⁷
- (2) various conjunctivalizations such as sentence + *tó* (§17.2), sentence + *nára* (§17.8), literary tentative + *gá* (§17.5) or + *tó* (§21.5), etc.;
- (3) nominalizations with *nó de* [wa/mo];¹⁰⁸
- (4) direct nominalizations with *ni* ^[1]itatté wa (itattára) or *ni* ^[1]sité mo (§14.6);
- (5) adnominalizations to various postadnominals (baai 'situation',¹⁰⁹ tokoró 'circumstance', kotó 'event', tokí 'time', etc.), which are usually adverbialized in one way or another, e.g. -(a)nai kotó ni wa (§14.1);¹¹⁰
- (6) *S hoo ga* (pp. 231-2);
- (7) special uses of the imperative (§16.1)—see also *V-te mí ro* and *V-te go-ran*, §9.2.4.(7).

For S_1 ka to omóu to S_2 'not only S_1 but also/even S_2 ' see §15.6.

A simple condition is often anticipated by an introductory adverb *mósi* [mo] 'say' or *tatóe*(⁻) 'suppose', the former most commonly anticipating -*tára* or -*ta baai* and the latter anticipating -*té mo*, though other combinations occur:

MÓSI: *MÓSI* || genzitu no seityoo-ritu ga | taka-sugiru TO, || ... 'If the actual growth rate is too high, ...' (SA 2674.45c); *MÓSI* || dekíru kotó NARA, || ... 'If (it is) possible ...'; ... *MÓSI* || hituyoo to ÁREBA || ... 'if it proves necessary' (Gd 1969/9.66b); *MÓSI* || sunpoo ga ooki-sugiru TOKÍ WA || hasami de | kireba | yói 'In the event that the measurements should be too large, you can cut it with scissors' (SA 2650.98b); *MÓSI* || soo'on no onryoo-sokutei o | site morai-tai TOKÍ, || ... 'In the event that you wish to have a volume measurement on the noise, ...' (SA 2687.119c); *MÓSI* || koo iu baai no tookei ga | séibi sarete ita TO | SITÁRA, || ... 'If statistics for such situations were made available ...' (SA 2685.16a); ... *MÓSI* || o-negai suru hakobi to nátta | SÁI NI WA, || yorosiku negai-tái no de arimásu '... 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 Ōno 1967.303); ... *MÓSI* || náikaku ga | soo-zísyoku sita | BAAI NÍ WA, ... 'in the event the cabinet should all resign' (Tk 4.211a); *MÓSI* || kumiai ga, || mán'iti || kyóka o | site kurenai BAAI NÍ WA, || huhuku no moositate ga dekíru kotó ni | nátte imásu 'In the event that 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 *Ippoo de wa ... tahoo de wa ...* 'On the one hand ... and on the other ...' (cf. §9.2.2).

108. For example, *Súgu* | keisatu o yondá no de wa, || Kénéd'i | giin no deisui ⁻huri ga || bárete simau 'If they had called the police right away Senator Kennedy's drunkenness would get exposed' (SA 2637.29b)

109. *Désu kara* || watasi wa || soo iu imi no (l) sinpai wa || nai to || kakusin simásu | né. || Átta baai wa .[= Áttara] || káite mo, || ii to | lomóu 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).

110. *Ningen ga inai kotó ni wa sankootai-sei no zitugen wa muzukasii daroo* '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: ... kotó ^[1]nási ni [wa] 'without doing; unless it happens that' (KKK 3.139). See also -(a)nai wáke ni wa ikanai 'it is impossible not to; one must', -ru wáke ni wa ikanai 'one can not (possibly); it is impossible to/that ...'.

2674.107d); MÓSI || kokkai ga || ii-kagen na kotó o sita | DANKAI NI ÓITÉ WA, || bóku(-) wa || hooritu zyoo no tetúzuki oltóru|zyunbi ga | áru 'In the event that (it reaches the stage where) the Diet should prove indecisive, I am prepared to take legal action' (SA 2663.18d); MÓSI || hito o hiki-korósita TO |SITÉ MO, || ... 'Even if, say, you should run over someone and kill him ...' (SA 2668.48a); MÓSI || roodoo-úndoo no | seikoo ni yotte, || tingu ya | syakai-hósyoo ga || ikkokú(-) dake^[1] || tákaku | nátta TO | SIYOO 'Let us assume, say, that the wages and social protection have risen for just one country as a result of the success of the labor movement' (SA 2664.45a)—note the use of a full-fledged putative to set up a condition; Dé || watasi no-| íma || kore o | syabétte | orimásu | hoosoo || MÓSI || háha ga | íkite ite | kiiTÉ MO || ... 'And the broadcast of my saying this right now, if my mother were alive to hear it, ...' (R); ... MÓSI || háha ga | íkite | orimásiTE MO || ... 'if my mother were alive' (R).

TATÓE(-): TATÓE(-) || soo iu kotó ga | okótTE MO, || ... 'If such a thing should happen ...' (Shibata in Ōno 1967.74); [Mitu-tyan, || sinpai sinákútte mo | íi | yó. ||] TATÓE(-) || keisatu ni tukamatÉ MO || kimi no kotó wa | zettai ni syaberánai kara '[You needn't worry, Mitsu.] For even if I were to get caught, I wouldn't say a word about you' (SA 2640.106); TATÓE(-) || sóo ni mo | SÉ YO, || ... 'Even if that were true, ...'; TATÓE(-) || sin-gizyutu no | doonyuu ni seikoo siTÉ MO, || ... 'Even if we succeed in the introduction of new technology ...' (SA 2684.137a); TATÓE(-) || daikin wa || geppu de siharawaréru TO WA | IÉ, || ... 'If the charges are to be paid in monthly instalments, then ...' (SA 2678.119a); Mata, || TATÓE(-) || sinbun o tukútta TO |SITÉ MO, || zyúu-nin no utí(-) || nán-nin ga | kizi o | kaku ka 'Moreover, even if they put together a (mock) newspaper, how many of every ten (children) writes an article?' (Ōno 1967.173); TATÓE(-) || hinpu no sá(-) ga | arÓO TO MO, || ... 'Even though there is a difference between rich and poor ...' (Nakane 154).

In addition to mósi and tatóe(-), there are a few other condition-anticipators, notably mán'iti 'perchance' and kari ni 'supposing, for example': MÁN'ITI || hito ga míta | BAAI DÉ MO, || ... 'Even if (other) people should chance to see it ...' (Tk 2.162b); KARI NI || soo iu monó ga || áto de | katuzi ni náTTE MO, || ... 'Even if such a thing should get into print later ...' (Tk 2.276b).

In this section we consider two important morphological categories of modern Japanese: the PROVISIONAL (-réba) and the CONDITIONAL (-tára). 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:

	LITERARY	COLLOQUIAL
(1) 'provided that'	-réba	-réba, -rú ^[1] tó, (?) -té wa
(2) 'if perchance'	-ába	-tára [ba]

(3) 'whenever'	-réba	-réba, -rú ^[L] tó, -té wa
(4) 'when (in the past)'	-réba	-rú ^[L] tó
	-ába	-tára [ba]
(5) 'when (in the future)' ¹¹¹	-ába	-tára [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 *Sáru* (< *Sá áru*) 'It is that way' (= *Sóo da*). Good examples are found in Mio 88 and 64: *Tabéru | hitó ga || áreba koso || utté mo | iru* 'I SELL them for the very good reason that there are people who will eat them'; *Sore wa || sadamátte iru; || sadamátte | iréba koso || hakkíri | ii-kirénai n da* 'That is decided; precisely BECAUSE it is decided I can't give you a straightforward statement'; *Íma no || midáreta yó^(r)(-) ni || irerarenákereba koso || hontoo ni || senséi no | ookii koto^(r) ga | wakarímásu* '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 || Súgiko san to iu, || bóku⁽⁻⁾ no || tikara-dánomi no | hitó ga || áreba koso da to | omóu* 'I think that it is precisely because there is someone named Sugiko to lean upon me'. An example within an adnominalization: ... *otto o | lai-súreba koso || sékkusu o | kyozetu sezu ni | irarenai | hitozuma no sínri o || riarisutíkku ni | egáita | kono tyoohen-syóosetu ...* '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: *Itizirúsikereba koso hosigári mo surú n da* 'I COVET it just because it is so remarkable'. When the nucleus is nominal, the LITERARY provisional form of the copula (*náreba = ní [wa] áreba*) is used: *Anna námida mo || onná náreba koso || makoto-rásiku | nagaséru | 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-itíbai⁽⁻⁾ no | dóryoku o | sitáreba koso || 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 *náreba* as its provisional, usually shortening it to *nára*. When we apply focus to *kore nára[-ba]* 'if it be this' we get *kore dé wa/mo áreba*, for it is the equivalent of the literary provisional *kore náreba* (with the focus *kore ní 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-

111. Despite the translation, I assume that *sureba* in the following sentence is a special case of the first meaning ('provided that') rather than a temporal: *Kansei sureba || sékai | saityoo to iu || Seikan-tónneru wa || ...* '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 *séba*; *sureba* is the provisional.

subduing in both literary and colloquial structures. (Note that we are talking only about corresponding FORMS, not about meanings.)

		LITERARY		COLLOQUIAL	
'exist'	PROV	áreba	= ári wa suréba	áreba	= ári wa suréba
	NEG PROV	{ aráneba arazáreba }	{ = ári wa senéba = ári wa sezáreba }	nákereba	{ = náku wa áreba (?ári wa sinákereba)
	HYPO	áraba	= ári wa séba		
	NEG HYPO	arázu[n]ba	= ári wa sézu[n]ba		
'be'	PROV	náreba	= ní wa áreba	nára[-ba]	= dé wa áreba
	NEG PROV	{ naráneba narazáreba }	{ = ní wa aráneba = ní wa arazáreba }	zya/de nákereba	= dé wa nákereba
	HYPO	náraba	= ní wa áraba		
	NEG HYPO	narázu[n]ba	= ní wa arázu[n]ba		
Adj	PROV	-kéreba	= -kú wa áreba	-kereba ¹¹²	= -kú wa áreba
	NEG PROV	-karazáreba	= -kú wa arazáreba	-ku nákereba	= -kú wa nákereba
	HYPO	{ ?-káraba -ku[n]ba }	= -kú wa áraba		
	NEG HYPO	-karazu[n]ba	= -kú wa arázu[n]ba		
'do'	PROV	sureba	= sí wa sureba	sureba	= sí wa sureba
	NEG PROV	senéba	= sí wa senéba	sinákereba	= sí wa sinákereba
	HYPO	séba	= sí wa séba		
	NEG HYPO	sézu[n]ba	= sí wa sézu[n]ba		
Cons Vb	PROV	C-éba	= C-í wa sureba	C-éba	= C-í wa sureba
	NEG PROV	{ C-anéba C-azáreba }	{ = C-í wa senéba = C-í wa sezáreba }	C-anákereba	= C-í wa sinákereba
	HYPO	C-ába	= C-í wa séba		
	NEG HYPO	C-ázu[n]ba	= C-í wa sézu[n]ba		
Vow Vb	PROV	V-réba ¹¹³	= V wa sureba	V-réba	= V wa sureba
	NEG PROV	{ V-néba V-záreba }	{ = V wa senéba = V wa sezáreba }	V-nákereba	= V wa sinákereba
	HYPO	V-ba	= V wa séba		
	NEG HYPO	V-zu[n]ba	= V wa sézu[n]ba		

The forms for the copula must be carefully distinguished from the homonymous forms of *nár-* 'become':

náreba = nári wa suréba (literary and colloquial provisional 'become')

= ní wa áreba (literary provisional 'be')

náraba = nári wa séba (literary hypothetical 'become')

= nára[-ba] = dé wa áreba (colloquial provisional 'be')

Common clichés made with the hypothetical include *íwába*(⁻) 'so to speak' (= *itte míreba*), *náraba* 'if possible, preferably', *suki áraba* '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 *nagamúreba* = colloquial *nagaméreba* 'upon scrutiny'. The attributive (= adnominal) form is similar: *nagamúru kotó* = *nagaméru kotó*. 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': *Yorába táizyu no káge* 'If you are going to lean, [choose] a large tree' (= 'If you must rely on someone, make it someone of influence'); *Hito o norówaba aná hutatú 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 *sikarazúnba* 'if not so; otherwise; or else'. Sometimes V-(a)zu[n]-ba *naránai* (or the like) will appear where you expect V-(a)*nákereba naránai* 'must'; V-(a)zu[n]-ba is equivalent to V-(a)*nákute wa* or V-(a)*nái de wa* or V-(a)*nai tó* 'unless'. But in these expressions you will also find V-(a)zu wa (the literary negative infinitive, subdued) usually contracted to V-(a)z'aa, as in the example of *kóz'aa naránee = kónakereba naránai* '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 *áv-* 'meet'; here is another example of A-kú-ba = A-kéreba: *Mósi, || sensei ga | o-yorosikú-ba [= o-yorosikéreba], || kón'ya ni de mo, || o-ture simásu 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 *náraba*, 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 apocoptation from *nára[ba]*; colloquial *nára ba* would thus presumably be considered a new formation. The literary language makes provisional and hypothetical forms on the perfect: the provisional is *-táreba*, 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 *-tára* from *-táryaa*, a contraction of *-táreba*, thus presumably making colloquial *-tára ba* a new formation rather than a continuation of the literary *-táraba*. (See the corresponding etymology for *nára*, above.) For perfect provisionals V-i-s-éba (*áriseba*, *nakáriseba*), see p. 575.

Similar in form to the provisional is the literary CONCESSIVE: *áre[-do]*, *náre[-do]*, *A-kére[-do]*, *suré[-do]*, *C-é[-do]*, *V-ré[-do]*.¹¹⁵ Verbal negatives have the form *-(a)né[-do]*: *Búsi wa kuwáne-do taka-yóozi* 'For the warrior [it is important to maintain] a high toothpick though he does not eat = Appearances must be maintained despite poverty'. The *-do* can be highlighted with *mó*: *Barutó-kai [sic] wa || ténki [ga] seiroo | náre-do mo || nami [ga] | takakatta* 'The Baltic Sea was fair weather but heavy seas' (SA 2666.84b); *Kóe wa | suré-do mo || súgata wa | miénu | doori [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 *-té mo* (or *-t'átte*) 'even if/though' or *-i-nagara [mo]* (§9.1.3); ... *tó wa ié[-do [mo]] = tó [wa] itté mo = tó wa ii-nagara* 'though one says that ...' is a way to thematize a concession: *Daigaku-byóoin to ié-do mo byooin 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 1.21).

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 kuyásikere* 'Precisely this is vexing'. Set phrases of this sort will turn up in the colloquial: *Katati kóso | tigae* (or: *lu kotó koso | tigae*) || *kangáe wa | onazi 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 Hachijō-jima and it turns up in set expressions in a number of other dialects (see *Kindaichi in Kōza-kokugo-shi* 1.156).

[da] 'it may be a "university hospital" but a hospital is a hospital' (SA 2685.62d); Tasyoo no tate-masi ga átta to wa (l) ^(t)ie, || tatémóno wa || tóozí no | mama ^(t)'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 máte-do {mo} kurasé-do {mo} 'though one waits, though one lives', as in these examples: Sikási, || máte-do | kurasé-do || kizyún-kyuu no | hoo mo | yóku | nárazu, ... 'But long though we wait the base pay itself gets no better, and ...' (SA 2660.153b); Tokoró-ga, || máte-do | kurasé-do, || S-kun wa | sutázio(⁻) ni | arawarénai '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; ... máte-do mo | kurasé-do mo || tugunái(⁻) o | sinái n desu | né 'wait as we will they make no reparation' (SA 2681.45b). Another pair of literary concessives, highlighted: ... Káru to iu | inú wa, || turete arúku to || imó-ya no | máe ni | tati-domari, || HIKÉ-DO mo | OSÉ-DO mo | imó [o] kau | máde wa || ugokánu to iu | 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 | hiké-do || boo wa || bíku to mo (l) sezu, ... 'push it or pull it, the rod wouldn't budge ...' (SA 2678.140ab). A different pair: Noruwée-seki no | kamotu-sen (l) ga tuuka sitá ga, || yobé-do | waméke-do, || dare mo kanpán(⁻) ni | 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 | suré-do, || hído(⁻) wa | 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-káre, áre, and N de áre as imperatives (§ 16.1), even in their special uses that resemble the concessive, such as sínruí(⁻) de áre tízin(⁻) de áre 'whether it be a relative or an acquaintance' (SA 2665.36c) and nán to mo áre '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 -másu (§ 22.1), but according to Tsujimura 203 the form -máseba is "not standard" and the form -masúreba 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 -táru; 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: Usiro o míru to, || Nakamurá-kun(⁻) ga || níko-niko waratte iru 'When I looked back I saw Nakamura smiling'—I assume the imperfect here is used as a narrative (or vivid) past; Ása | ókite | míru to, || sóra ga | hárete ita 'When I got up in the morning I found the sky clear'; Kaizyoo ni ittára, || máda || hitóri mo kíte | inákatta 'When I went to the meeting hall (I found that) there was no one there yet'; Zyon ga | arúite | itára, || saihu ga | ótite ita 'Walking along John noticed a purse lying on the ground'. Perhaps this is a similar example: Hitó-yama | koséball móo || Naganó-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.¹¹⁶ It is, of course, possible to make a condition out of variously formed complex sentences, e.g. gerund-conjoined as in ... yásuku katte || tákaku | uréba || mookáru '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: Kekkyokú,^[r] || seizi-ka ga || móttö || umái | séizi o yari, || kyooiku-ka ga | tyan-tō^[r] sita kyooiku o yatte kurenákereba, || kono zyootai wa || tuzukumásu | né 'After all, unless the politicians favor us by carrying on 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)éba optionally shortens to -(r)yá[a]¹¹⁷ and the ending -kéreba optionally shortens to -kérya[a] or further to -kyá[a]. A shape such as /kákya/ can represent an abbreviation of either káki wa or kákeba. Both -(á)nkerya[a] and -(á)nkya[a] are old-fashioned abbreviations of -(a)nákereba, by way of -(a)nákerya[a] and -(a)nákya[a]. In Kansai speech the form -(a)néba is used in place of -(a)nákereba; it contracts to -(á)nya, and sometimes further to -(á)na. In place of -(a)nai the traditional Kansai form is -(a)nu and that shortens to -(a)n, as we find in the polite negative -masén even for the standard language; corresponding to -(a)nai tō, another way to state a negative condition ('unless ...'), Kansai speech has -(a)n tō. In written Japanese you will often run across such Kansai-like forms as Kakáneba narán[u] = Kakánakereba naránai 'must write' and in the Kansai area you will hear such things as Kaerán[y]a corresponding to standard Kaerának[er]ya = Kaeránakereba '(I've) gotta go home' or the synonymous Kaerán to [ikan/akan] = Kaeránai to [ikenai]. The Kansai counterparts of sinai and sinák[er]ya = sinákereba are senu and senéba (or sénya or séna), respectively, but sezu-ba is sometimes used in place of senéba; cf. Ikazu-ba náru ~ mái = Ikanákereba naránai daroo 'I guess I must go'.

Expressions such as (sinákereba naránai =) sén[y]a narán will sometimes reduce further to sén narán or even, in rapid speech, sén nán. For some dialects it would be appropriate to set up an ending -(a)nna[ra]n; an Ōsaka example: dasán narán 'must send' (SA 2676.132d).

Examples of various contractions of provisional forms: Áa, || haná o | tukútt' okya | yókatta | náa 'Oh, I wish I had grown flowers!' (SA 2686.37c) = tukútte okéba yókatta; Sore de penisirin dé mo | tukayáa, || súgu | naóttimau 'Then if you use penicillin or something, it'll clear up right away' (Tk 4.2ab) = tukaéba, súgu naótte simau; Náni ka to | omóyaa, || tairyoo-gyákusatu no | kóttesu kara | 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) =

116. These may be examples: Kono syóobai e | háittara, || yositára, || watasi wa | syooti sinai 'If once in this business you should quit, I won't approve' (R); Móo, || watakusi ga | ikite ireba, || mósi, || ánta ga | kono syóobai [o] | yositára, || móo, || korosite simau ||—soko máde | iwaremásite || ... "'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).

117. Iéba 'if one says' shortens to iyá[a], ireba 'if one stays' or 'if one needs' to iryá[a], and ireba 'if one shoots (an arrow)' to irya[a]. Notice also V-te [i]yá[a] = iréba; V-te árya[a] = áreba; V-te mírya[a] = mireba; V-te morayá[a] = moraéba; V-te simayá[a] = simaéba, V-timayá[a] = V-timaéba = V-te simaéba, V-tyá[a] = V-tyaéba = V-te simaéba; V-te [i]kyá[a] = V-te ikéba; V-te kúrya[a] = kúreba; V-te kureryá[a] = kureréba; V-t'ókya[a], V-te okyá[a] = V-te okéba; ...

omóeba ... kotó desu kara ná; ... úso o | iyáa, || ... 'if he's telling a lie' (Kb 105b) = iéba; Nihón no || yaránya | narán | kadai wa ... 'The problems that Japan must handle ...' (SA 2679.46c) = yaranákereba naránai; ... yaranyáa, || iken ... 'must do' (SA 2689.147c) = yaranákereba ikenai; ... iron-na riákusyon o | kangáénya | ikan 'we have to think of the various reactions' (SA 2678.48b, Kanagawa-born Hatano Akira) = kangáénakereba (ikanai=) ikenai; Gensoku tó ka || kati-kan to ka, || sisin nári || mokuhyoo nári o, || sekinín-sya wa || simesánya ikan to omóu n desu 'Principles and values, directions and goals must be shown by the responsible people, I think' (SA 2678.48b, Id.) = simesánakereba (ikanai=) ikenai; ... sono máe ni | keikaku o || yóo | kikána | ikan 'one must carefully inquire into the plans in advance' (SA 2686.49a, the mayor of Nara's Asuka village) = yóku kikanákereba ikenai; ... sore ní wa || kane o kakéna | ikan 'for that one must spend money' (SA 2686.49b., Id.) = kakénakereba ikenai; ... séna | ikan 'must make it ...' (SA 2686.49-50, Id.) = sinákereba ikenai; ... sen to | lakan 'must do it' = sinai to ikenai; Só ya kara, || sake wa || kúuki no | léé i tókó de | tyozoo séna | ikán no desu | né 'So you have to store liquors in a place with good air, you see' (Tk 4.76a, Ōsaka speaker) = Sóo da kara, sake wa kúuki no | i | tokoró de tyozoo sinákereba naránai no desu né; ... yóozin | sénkerya | narán 'we must be careful' (Tk 3.17a—Niigata speaker) = yóozin sinákereba naránai.

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)nákereba + naránai, ikenai, or damé da; there are synonyms V-(a)nákute wa + ikenai, naránai, 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)nákute wa ikenai is optionally shortened to V-(a)nákutya (§9.2.2), similarly V-(a)nákereba naránai can be shortened to V-(a)nákerya or V-(a)nákya—in Kansai also V-(a)nkya, V-(a)nya, V-(a)na: Kaerának[er]ya, Kaerán[k]ya, Kaerán[y]a 'Gotta go (home)'; Kotosi wa | mata, || atarasií | té o | kangáénakya 'This year again I gotta think up a new gimmick' (SA 2680.114e); ... go-ongáesi | sinákereba [naránai] tte | kimotí ga tuyói ... '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 || kono utí(¯) no (|) sikii o | matagánakereba | nó | zyookén(¯) de, || kóndo no (|) mondai wa || yat-tó yurúsíte 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 naránai and ikenai (or damé da); ikenai and damé are common ways to warn someone else not to do something, and sinákereba 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 sinákereba ikenai will mean 'you (or he) must do it' and the corresponding form for 'I' will be sinákereba naránai. The forms V-(a)nákereba naránai (etc.) and V-(a)nákute wa naránai (etc.) are characteristic of eastern (Kantō) dialects and the western (Kansai) version is V-(a)néba narán[ui], but you will come across such blends as V-(a)nákereba narán[ui] and V-(a)néba naránai (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: Sinzyuku de nákereba naránai 'It has to be Shinjuku [for me to find it enjoyable etc.]' (R).

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 omosíróku mo ll okásiku mo l náí 'But if you were to listen to vaudeville patter tête-à-tête it would be neither interesting nor comical' (Tk 3.145a).

Translation of the negative provisional—and synonyms *sinai tó* (§ 17.2), *sinai kotó 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 wa!*)—can be used to express a wish: *O-kane o moraéba* (*morau tó*^[1], *morattára*) *íi no ni ...* 'If I get the money it will/would be nice, but ...' = 'I hope I get the money' or 'I wish I would get the money'. Examples: *Sosite ll hima o tukútte ll sono yóo na l yuuzin to issyo ni ll hakubutú-kan ya l bizyutú-kan o l míte l kúru to l íi* 'And then I hope to find time to go see museums and galleries with friends of that sort' (SA 2665.121a); *Moo sukósi l se ga takái to l íi* 'I wish I were a bit taller' (Hayashi 135); *Senséi ga l go-zaitaku da to l yói to l omóu* 'I hope the teacher is home' (*ibid.*). Sometimes a more literal translation is appropriate: *Tama ní wa, ll hitóri de l yatte míru to l yói 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-kane o moraéba* (*morau tó*^[1], *morattára*) ... *né* 'If only I were to get the money, you see ...'. If the unfulfilled wish is pushed to the past, the conditional is required: *O-kane o morattára yókatta 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 *íi* (= *yói*), occasionally an unusual synonym will turn up: *Dekíreba Tyuukintoo-kínmu keikén-sya* [or: *Tyuukintookinmu-keikénsya*] *de Arabia-go ga hanaséba bétaa [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 *sáe*: *Kenkoo de ll súnao de sae l áreba l íi* 'All they have to be is healthy and obedient' (SA 2642.40)—from *kenkoo de súnao nára*, the provisionalization of *kenkoo de súnao da*, a gerund-conjoining of two adjectival nouns.

When the provisional (or the equivalents *-té wa* or *-ru 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 húreba* (*hútte wa*, *húru to*) *YASÚMU* can mean either 'Whenever it rains we (always) rest' = *Áme ga húreba* (etc.) *yasúmu monó da*; or 'When/If it rains we will rest' = *Áme ga húttara 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 húreba YASÚNDA* can mean only 'Every time it would rain we would rest', more or less the equivalent of *Áme ga húreba yasúnda monó 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: *Áme 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 N_1 ') is immediately followed by a permissive conclusion 'it is satisfactory for it to be N_1 ': *Pán nara | pán de | ii si, || góhan nara | góhan de mo | ii* 'If it's bread, that's all right; and if it's rice, that's all right, too'; *Iyá nara | iyá de [mo] | ii* 'It doesn't have to be liked'; *Áru nara | áru de | yói si, || nái nara | nái de [mo] | yói* (or: *nái nara | nákute [mo] | yói*) 'If there is some, fine; if there isn't, fine'; *Káeru nara | káeru de [mo] | ii* 'You/We don't have to stay'; *Káetta nara | káetta de [mo] | ii* 'It doesn't matter if he's left'; *Kaeránakatta nara | kaeránakatta de [mo] | ii* 'It's all right if he didn't leave'; *Takái nara | takái de [mo] | ii si, || yasúi nara | yasúi de [mo] | ii* (or: ... *tákakute mo ii si, ... yásukute mo ii*) '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] yói*. 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: ... *tó^[1] iéba | ié mo | siyóo* [= *surú daroo*] *keredo || ...* 'It can, of course, probably be said that ... but' (Maeda 1962.79); *Motíron koko de || náze | warai ga | okótta ka, || bunseki suréba | bunseki mo dekiru* 'You can, of course, analyze why a laugh occurred here' (Maeda 1962.79). And this is very similar to expressions of the type N_1 nára N_1 (*dé*) and N_1 mo N_1 nára N_2 (...), for which see p. 245 (§3.10).

Expressions of the type V_1 -réba V_1 -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 V_1 then did V_1 ': [*Bootoo suréba || "Gaizin ga kattá kara" || tó | setumei sarete kíta. || Sagáreba | sagátta de, | mata || "Gaizin ga uttá kara" || to iú no wa || okásiku wa || nái ka* '{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': *Hidói (l) gakkai ga | áreba | átta | monó da* 'There was never such a dreadful (scholarly) meeting!' (SA 2650.121a). The iterated verb need not be perfect; we also find V_1 -réba V_1 -ru *monó da*: *Kawaréba | kawaru monó de aru* 'He is much changed' (Fn 171a). Cf. the use of *tára* and *téba*, §21.2.

There are a number of sentence-opening clichés that are framed as provisional predicates, e.g. *gái-site iéba* '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 || áme mo | húru* 'The wind blows and it rains, too'—cf. *Kaze ga húkeba || áme mo | húru* 'Whenever the wind blows it rains, too' (§5.4);

Sakana mo tóreba | ryóo mo suru 'We both fish and hunt'; Tyóosyo mo | áreba || kettén(¬) mo | (l) áru 'It has its merits and its faults' (Nagano 1966.164); O-kane mo nákereba | zikan mo náí 'I have neither the time nor the money'; Iroiro || soko ní wa || okasii kotó^(s) mo | áreba || kanasii kotó mo | átta 'All kinds of things happened there, both amusing things and sad' (Kb 13a); Eigo mo wakaránakereba || Huransu-go mo hanasánaí 'I understand no English nor do I speak French'; Íí | hanasí mo | mimí ní háireba || warúi | hanasí 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 hanasí ga mimí ní háiru and the conclusion contains the underlying transitive sentence hanasí 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 [| ikéba] || ootoo mó mo | iku 'Both my brother and I are going'; Tití kara mo [| moraéba] || háha kara mo | moratta 'I got some from both my father and my mother'; ... ue kará mo [| miráreba] || sita kará mo | miraréru ... 'it can be viewed both from above and from below' (Tk 4.156b); ... konó-goro(¬) wa || watasi nádo || kodomo no kóro ni wa || míta kotó mo [| nákereba] || kiita kotó mo | náí yóo na | inú ga | húete | kíta '... 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: Hatarakí mo [suréba] asobí mo si-nasáí 'Both work and play!' Or, with verbal nouns: Sigoto mo [suréba] undoo mo si-nasáí 'Engage in both work and sports'. The conjoined sentence need not be verbal: Mizikáku mo [| áreba] || yásuku mo | áru 'It is both short and cheap'; ... gyóosya ni | tótte wa || ítaku mo [| nákereba] || káyuku mo | náí 'the dealers (neither hurt nor itch =) couldn't care less' (SA 2666.20b); Heyá wa || kirei de mo [| áreba] || sízuka de mo | áru 'The room is both clean and quiet'; Kore dé mo [| nákereba] || sore dé mo | náí 'It is neither this nor that'.

Adjectival nouns can be conjoined with adjectives: Naru-hodo || káre-ra no | káku | mózi wa || úmaku mo | nákereba || kirei de mo | náí 'To be sure, the characters they write are neither very good nor very neat' (SA 2659.134b); Mattaku⁽¹⁾ || hugai-náku mo | áreba || 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 || yásuku mo [| áreba] || kirei de mo | áru 'The room is both cheap and clean'—with or without the reduction; Heyá wa || kirei de mo | áreba || yásuku 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 adjective and adjectival noun: Ano apáato wa || híroku mo [| áreba] || ánka de mo | áru kara, || kariyóo ka to | omótte imásu 'I am thinking of renting that apartment since it is both spacious and cheap'; Ano apáato wa || ánka de mo | áreba || híroku mo | áru kara || kariyóo ka to | omótte imásu 'I am thinking of renting that apartment since it is both cheap and spacious'; Ano apáato wa || híroku mo [| nákereba] || ánka de mo | náí kara, || damé desyoo 'That apartment would be no good because it is neither spacious nor cheap'; Ano apáato wa || ánka de mo | nákereba || híroku mo | náí kara, || damé desyoo 'That apartment would be no good because it is neither cheap nor spacious'.

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 usinata umá mo | iréba, || HANTAI NI || umá o | usinata héi mo || ita* 'There were both horses that had lost their riders and, conversely, soldiers who had lost their horses' (Ig 1962.93).

Stative verbs also can sometimes be conjoined with adjectives, adjectival nouns, and precopular nouns; no reduction is permitted: *Watasi wa || kuuhuku dé mo | áreba || tukárete mo | iru* 'I am both hungry and tired'; *Watasi wa || tukárete mo | iréba || kuuhuku dé mo | áru* 'I am both tired and hungry'; *Kuuhuku dé mo | nákereba || tukárete mo | inai* 'I am neither hungry nor tired'; *Tukárete mo | inákereba || kuuhuku dé mo | náí* 'I am neither tired nor hungry'. But observe how the focus in these examples is applied within the gerund-auxiliary conversion (-te mo iru); probably we should reject both *... *tukárete í mo suru* and (?*) ... *tukáre mo site iru*, and even (*) ... *tukáre mo suru* seems odd in the context though it could perhaps be interpreted as '(I am both hungry) and I keep getting tired'.

The deciding factor in the acceptability of various conjoinings of this sort would seem to be semantic parallelism, 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 | yóku mo | áreba || kootuu mo [|] bénri da* 'That place has both good weather and convenient transportation'; *Sono basyo wa || ténki ga | yóku mo | áreba || kootuu ga | bénri de mo | áru* 'That place both has good weather and (has) convenient transportation'; *Sono basyo wa || ténki mo | yókereba || kootuu mo [|] bénri da* 'That place is both good for its weather and convenient for its transportation'. But such sentences are unlikely to be reduced: *... *ténki ga yóku mo [áreba] kootuu mo bénri da*.

9.3.3. The conditional: -tára.

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 -tára + S_2 -tá	'WHEN S_1 happened S_2 happened'
(S_1 -tára + S_2 -tá) + daroo	'probably WHEN S_1 happened S_2 happened'
S_1 -tára + (S_2 -tá daroo)	'IF S_1 happened S_2 probably happened'
S_1 -tára + S_2 -rú	(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 -réba ...)
(S_1 -tára + S_2 -rú) + daroo	'probably (1), (2), (3) [above]'
S_1 -tára + (S_2 -rú 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 | daroo* and *akerú [|] daroo* versus ... *hanásu daroo* and ... *akerú daroo*.

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 -tá {da}róo (§ 12.1): Sono hón o yóndara wakátta {da}róo ‘If I had read that book I would have understood’. Otherwise the meaning will be ‘when’: Sono hón o yóndara wakátta ‘When I read that book I understood’; To o akete mítara sóto wa akarui tukíyo 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 (-rú daróo), either the provisional or the conditional can be used; the likelihood of the conclusion differs accordingly: Sono hón o yóndara wakáru daróo ‘If I should read that book [as well I may not] I’ll understand’; Sono hón o yómeba wakáru daróo ‘If I read that book [and I may or may not] I’ll understand’ (= Sono hón o yómu to wakáru daróo).

Either the conditional or, less commonly, the provisional can be used in seeking and giving advice ‘it would be good/better to do what?’: Dóo sitára ii desyóo ka or Dóo suréba ii desyóo ka ‘What should I do?’; Migi no hoo e ittára ii desyóo or Migi no hoo e l ikéba (= iku to) ll ii desyóo ‘You should go to the right’. In giving advice, you can instead use the expression corresponding to English ‘had better’: V-ta hoo ga ii ‘the alternative of doing ... is better’ (§ 13.2) as in Migi no hoo e itta hoo ga ii desyóo ‘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 hoo e l itta hoo ga ll ii desyoo ka ll (hidari no hoo e l itta hoo ga ll ii desyoo ka) ‘Would it be better to go to the right (or to the left)?’ Compare V-ru hoo ga ii ‘It is better to (do)’. Although there is little contrast in meaning between Sinu hoo ga ii ‘He’d be better off dying’ and Sinda hoo ga ii ‘He’d be better off dead’, the negative brings out a difference: Sinanai hoo ga ii ‘He’d better not die’, Sinanákatte hoo ga ii ‘He shouldn’t have died’. Cf. Sindá n zya nákereba ii desu ga ... ‘I hope he didn’t die’.

The conditional is used in obliquely inviting someone to do something, with the concluding sentence (ikága/dóo desu ka ‘how about it?’) often omitted, as in these examples from Mio 293: Hiza o lo-kuzusi ni náttara ‘Please sit comfortably’; Attakái (l) uti(⁻) ni l mesiagettára ‘Eat it while it is hot’. The concluding sentence may be ii zya nái ka ‘wouldn’t it be good (or all right)’ as in this translation of the English slogan ‘Let’s give peace a chance’: Sensoo o yamete l heiwa ni kárete l mítara ll ii zya nái ka (SA 2680.21a). The invitation can include the speaker himself: Kono hen de yametára [l dóo] ‘How about [our] stopping here?’

Vivid emphasis can be added to a description by using a conditional quotation followed by nái or arimasén or gozaimasén or ári wa sinai/simasén ‘there is none [so much so as what I quote]’: Uresii [to i]ttára l arimasén ‘It’s ever so delightful!’; Kowái [to i]ttára l nái ‘Most frightening!’; Muzukási-sa [to i]ttára l arimasén ‘Difficulty beyond compare!’; Kónnan na l kotó [to i]ttára l arimasén ‘Troublesome isn’t the word for it!’; Sono arísama(⁻) [to i]ttára l gozaimasén ‘What a sight!’; Hayái no l háyaku l nái no [to i]ttára l arimasén ‘You’ve never seen such speed!’ (See § 15.13); Okasii no l okásiku l nái no [to i]ttára l arimasén ‘It’s the funniest thing ever!’; Hazukasii ttára l ári ya [= wa] (l) sinai ‘I’m ever so embarrassed!’ (Morishige 144—also, with áryaa, Okitsu 1.500); Bakabakasii ttara áryaa sinee [= ári wa sinai] ‘How utterly stupid!’ (Okitsu 1.361); Éiga(⁻) ya l térebi no l ninki-sutáa ga, ll kozótte l bútai ni l hatu-syútuen {si(te)}, ll sono (l) nigiyaka-sa ttára l nákatte ‘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-káta no l hetasa-kágen to l ittára l arimasén ‘You can not imagine the clumsiness with which they read!’

Somewhat surprisingly, a conditional sentence can be quoted (§21) in the form *-tára* to *omóu* 'I wish that ...' or 'I hope that ...' but this is perhaps best treated as a shortening of *-tára ii* (to *omóu*) '(I think that) it would be nice if ...': *Sore kara o-hanasi o tenkai site itadaketára* [] to *omóimásu* '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 *tó*: ... *kono Kanada-hóosiki o | sankoo ni sitára* to *no líken mo | áru* '... there are some who suggest learning from this Canadian formula' (SA 2681.105c). For N_1 *ka* to *omóttara* N_2 *dáttara* 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 *-tára/-dára* (with shape adjustments identical with those of the gerund), to adjectivals *-káttara*, and to nominals *dáttara*. All of these forms are optionally extendable by *(-)ba*: *-tára (-)ba*, *-káttara (-)ba*, *dáttara (-)ba*. The extended forms, though historically respectable,¹²¹ are felt to be slangy, rough, or impolite in colloquial speech. Compare the copula provisional *nára-ba* and the particle sequence *ó ba* (§2.3). Notice that in *A-kéreba* and *V-(r)éba*, the *-ba* is not today an extension, but part of the ending, since *-kére* does not (today) freely occur except before */ba/* and we do not want to associate *-éba* with the imperative *-é* since that would not account for the attachment of the provisional ending to vowel verbs in the shape *-réba*.

It might be possible to say that the conditional is the perfect *-tá* (§11) + a particle or extension *ra* (occurring nowhere else), perhaps as an abbreviation of *-tá [no] nara*; compare the remarks in §9.4 and §17.9. One difference between a condition expressed by the provisional (*-réba*) and a condition expressed by the conditional (*-tára*) 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 S_1 -*tara* S_2 " S_2 happens after S_1 is completed". He also observes that in reference to past events " S_2 normally represents an unexpected or surprising event ... [the opposite of S_1 -*te kara* S_2]" ; this is because S_1 and S_2 must have no "self-controllable time sequence".

9.4. THE REPRESENTATIVE: *-TÁRI*

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: *Háittari [détari] suru* 'They keep coming in [and going out]'. The subject of the several happenings may be a single person who is doing several things (*Káre ga X o sitári Y o sitári suru* 'He does X and Y')¹²²

121. Or are they? See the suggestion on p. 556 that colloquial *nára ba* and *-tára 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: *Iti-zíkan -gúrai || sauná-situ ni |détari |háittari (|) site, || áto wa || zut-tó^[1] (|) sóhwa de |nete irú 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'.¹²³ Here is a clearcut example of the latter: *Sono utí(¯) ni, Bunroku ga byooki ni náttari, Bunroku no saikun ga sindári simásite né* 'Meanwhile, [Shishi] 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 V_1 -tári V_2 -tári suru is tending to be replaced by V_1 -tári V_2 -ru. I believe the following sentences may be examples of that: ... *syoogákkoo o | déte || zyookyuu [no] tyúugaku ni | susumu monó to, || koosyoo [= kootoo-syoogákkoo] e ittári, || sugu | zitugyoo ni túku | monó to no [] 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); ... *tosí-gai mo náku || báka na | gakusei mítai na | kakkoo o sitári, || táido o site | miséru ga ...* 'at his age he still acts like a stupid schoolboy and displays [such] behavior ...' (id.); *Oyá ga ko o korositári, kodomo ga oyá o korosu* '(It sometimes happens that) parents kill their children and children kill their parents' (SA 2835.45a). In the following example the concurrent is applied to the resulting structure: *Dénsya(¯) ni | nottári, || sake o nomi-nágara || kangáete '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 *Dénsya(¯) ni nottári, sake o nóndari si-nagara ...* . (The comma—as so often in Japanese texts—is misleadingly placed.) For the iterative structure V_1 -i mo V_1 -tári ... 'actually goes so far as to (do something unlikely or outrageous)' see §9.1.1b.

A single ...-tári + suru can sometimes be translated as 'often' or 'sometimes': *Sore o || koo káitári [] suru* 'It is sometimes written this way' (i.e. 'There are times when it is written this way' or 'There are those who write it this way'); *Onna-zure dá to, || toorisugité kara, || kao miawasetári | suru no* 'When it's a man and woman, after they've passed by [me in my maxi-coat] they sometimes exchange looks' (SA 2666.100e); *Réiton-san-tati to || kotobá ga | tuu-zináí de || komáttari | simasén desita ka. || —Nái desu | né* '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 [*Komátta kotó ga*] náí 'I haven't been troubled'. And a single ...-tári + sinai can sometimes be translated as 'never': *Sikási || kono ryyuúgi o | hitóbito ni | kyoosei sitári wa | sinákatta* 'But he never forced this style on people' (Ōno 1966.214); *Ane mo || imootó o | ootoótó to [] itte, || imootó to | ittári wa [] sinai* '[In Heian times] the older sister calls her younger sister ootoótó [just as the older brother calls the younger brother] and never calls her imootó [as is the later practice]' (Ōno 1966.161). With a single ...-tári + question, the translation may be 'ever': *Dóo site | kámara o | moti-kondári | sitá no ka | 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

out on a sofa for the rest of the time' (SA 2662.96e); *Mítari | kiitári (l) suru to, || are wa || táí-sita | kuni désu | né* 'From what I heard and saw [in West Germany], that's quite a country they have there, you know' (SA 2684.126d).

123. The generalization is that you can never repeat an identical S-tári (there is no *tábetari tábetari suru); a given predicate will recur only if modified by different elements in each occurrence (kore o tábetari sore o tábetari, kodomo ga tábetari háha ga tábetari, háyaku tábetari yukkúri tábetari, ...). Cf. BJ 2.142.

fire)' (SA 2647.26b). Even with more than one representative, 'sometimes' and 'never/ever' often make the best translations: Tuide-nágara(-), || tóozi | sitamati no katei dé wa || syúhu no | kotó o || "ókusan" | to [] yondári, || otokó-no-ko ya | onná-no-ko no | kotó o || "bootyan" dá no || "ozyóosan" da no to | yondári wa | sinákatta 'Incidentally, the downtown families of that period would never call a housewife "okusan" or boys and girls "bootyan" and "ozyóosan"' (Maeda 1962.21). There are times when 'some' or 'none' or 'any' is a good translation: Hatuon-hoo o káita | syómotu ga || nokótte | itári [] suru 'There are some [or: a few] books preserved that have written of the pronunciation [of the times]' (Ōno 1966.170). Notice the translation 'all' in the following passage: Minná, o-báka-san | née. || Sonna ni sawáidari site. || O-née-sama ga || bikkúri | nasáru wa | yó 'You children are absolutely the living end. Making all that noise. Big sister is surprised at you!' (KKK 3.70).

A sentence which juxtaposes a pair of "representative" single events plucked from the news of the day: Géndai wa || heiwa | heiwa to || kuti dé wa | tonae-nágara, || Nihon-too o huri-kazásita | gakusei ga || hikóo-ki o | nottótari, || hahaoya ga | kantan ni | lakanboo o (|) hineri-korositari | suru (|) 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 airplane and a mother casually chokes her baby to death!' (SA 2678.138-9).

The sentence with ...-tári suru 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 Háittari déteri [[suru kotó] ga] dekíru 'They can (do such things as) enter and leave' and ... ziyúu ni || nóndari | tábetari [] | 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 suru kotó ga: ... tiisái [] | kodomo wa || zibun de || kitári | núidari [] ga | dekinai no de || ... '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 representativized sentence in a way similar to focus applied to the nuclear sentence: Tábetari | netári | suru daké/bákari desu ka? | ie, || benkyoo sitári mo [] | suru 'Do you just eat and sleep? No, I study, too'; Netári | ókitari wa [] | sinai '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 || undoo o sitári mo (|) suru; Benkyoo o sitári mo || undoo o sitári mo (|) suru. Or the highlighting can be placed on the underlying nuclei (in our example, the verbal nouns): Benkyoo o sitári || undoo mo sitári (|) suru; Benkyoo mo sitári || undoo mo sitári (|) suru. (I 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, || undoo o sitári | sí wa (|) sinai 'I do not do such things as studying and exercising'; Benkyoo o sitári, || undoo o sitári sae | suréba || ... '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 káitari hón o yóndari suru:

- (1) Tegami o káiki mo | sitári || hón o | yómi mo | sitári (|) suru.
- (2) Tegami mo káitari || hón mo | yóndari (|) suru.
- (3) Tegami o káiki mo || hón o | yómi mo | sitári (|) suru. [Unusual.]
- (4) *Tegami o káiki mo hón mo yóndari suru.

- (5) Tegami o káitari mo || hón o | yóndari mo | suru.
 (6) Tegami o káitari || hón mo | yóndari (l) suru.
 (7) Tegami mo káitari || hón o | yóndari (l) suru.
 (8) Tegami o káitari || hón o | yóndari mo (l) suru.
 (9) Tegami o káitari || hón o | yóndari | sí mo/wa | surú ga ...

It is possible also to have adverbial adjuncts for the dummy suru: Nihon-go de yóndari | káitari wa || itu mo | site iru 'We are always reading and writing in Japanese'; Tábetari | nóndari wa || koko dé wa [l] sinai 'We don't eat and drink here'.

Examples of -tári separated from suru by other focus and restrictive elements and the like: Súgoku | téretari NANKA site 'ru tokoro, || okasii 'It's funny how terribly shy I sometimes feel' (SA 2666.44b); ... kyuu ni | soo | yametári NANKA (i) suru to ... 'if you do things like suddenly quitting that way' (Kb 153a); ... dóo-yara || ima no | yo-nó-naka de wa, || minná || syóttuyuu || kenasitári | kenasaretári | BÁKARI site | irú no de, || homeraréru to | bikkúri site ... 'in this modern world with everyone barely getting along disparaging and being disparaged, to get praised is startling ...' (CK 985.391); Ziyúu ni | tábetari | nóndari SAE | dekíru yóo ni | naréba || kore -ízyoo no | nozomi(-) wa | arimasén 'If it can just get so I can freely eat and drink I won't have any higher aspirations'; Zetuboo no hate || zisatu o | hakáttari SURA | sita sóo da 'I hear he was in such despair he was even planning suicide'; ... kansyaku o | okósitari MADE | suru yóo ni | nátta 'got to the point where she would even sometimes fly into rages' (Fn 375a); Onná ni wa || otya-hákobi o | sitári || o-kyaku no annái o | sitári SIKA | dekinai to | omótte iru n desu ka 'Do you think women can only bring in tea and show the guests in and that sort of thing?'; Watakusi ní wa || nóndari | tábetari KOSO || zínsei no || óoki-na | tanosímí(-) da 'For me the greatest pleasure in life is precisely drinking and eating'; Neta kkiri desu kara || táttari | suwattári NADO wa | dekimasén 'He's become bedridden, so he can't get up or sit down or anything'; Tánin no warúguti o | ittári NANKA | suru yóo na | hitó zya | arimasén 'He's not the sort of person to speak ill of others or the like'; Oozé: no [l] hitó no | máe de | hanásitari NANTE | dekimasén 'I couldn't talk in front of a crowd of people or anything like that'; Zyoodán o | ittári || hito o | warawasetári DE MO | dekíru yóo na || kudáketa | hitó nara | ii n desu ga ... 'I hope he's an affable person of the sort that can tell jokes and get people to laughing, say'; Netári | okítari D'ÁTTE (or DÉ MO) | ii kara || íkite i-tai 'I want to stay alive even if it's just getting up and going to bed every day'; Zibun no heyá o | soozí sitári || zibun no íruí o | sentaku sitári -GÚRA | wa || zibun de (l) sinákereba || katei o motemasén | yó '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 káitari | yóndari | BÁKARI de wa || yakú ni | tatánai desyoo 'Just learning to read and write kana won't be of much use, surely'; Denwa no bán o | sitári || otya o | hakondári | DAKÉ ga || onná no dekíru | sigoto zya náí desyoo '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 -tári WA: Kédo, || hontoo ni sugúreta | géinoo(-) to iu | monó wa, || kantan ni | sutaretári wa | sinai món desu 'But when artistry is truly superb, it must NOT be allowed ever simply to die out' (SA 2669.101c); ... wareware wa || "yuyusii" | tó | kiiité mo, || soko ni || tabúu no | ísiki o | lomoi-ukabetári wa (l) sinai '... we hear the word "yuyushii" without calling to mind any feeling of tabu to it or the like' (Ōno 1966.44). And examples of -tári MO: ... kinkyuu no baai ní wa || kuugun no hikóo-ki o | dooin site || hínan | sasete [l]

yattári mo (l) suru '... in an emergency they sometimes even mobilize Air Force planes to relieve them [= the starving animals in the Alaskan winter]' (SA 2663.50b); Moti-agerareta Íguti wa, || tana kara | Nihon-too o | mottai-bútte | orósi, || tokui-sóo ni | mísetari mo (l) sita 'Basking in the praise, Iguchi ostentatiously took a Japanese sword down from the shelf and showed it off, too [as well as showing off the other things]' (SA 2647.117c); Gaikoku no ryóori o || iroiro tábete | mítari mo | sitá keredo || Nihon-zín ni wa || Nihón^[1] no monó ga | itiban kuti ni áu yóo⁽¹⁾ desu 'I tried eating all sorts of foreign cooking, too, but apparently Japanese things are more to the taste of a Japanese'.

Sentences may contain one or more -tári sentences followed by suru, and those that contain more than one can freely replace suru with dá: Háittari déteri da; Yókattari wárukattari da; Byooki dáttari génki dattari da. This means the representativized sentence has been propredicated (§3.10); the resulting nominal can be adnominalized in regular fashion, with dá changing to nó: Húttari yandári no ténki 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. nitári yottári (no monó) '(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 Minná nitári yottári desu 'They are all much the same'; another example is negáttari kanáttari [da] '[is] just what I have been wishing', though this is often tightened into compound negattari-kanáttari [da]. The predicated representative can go through most of the conversions available for a predicated nominal: Netári ókitari da 'They are lying down and getting up (severally or alternately)' → Netári ókitari zya ná; Netári ókitari de, ...; Netári ókitari ni tigai ná; Netári ókitari ni suginai; Netári ókitari no hazu/tumori da; Netári ókitari ná no da; Netári ókitari zya ná no da; Netári ókitari nagara [mo] ...; etc. A few examples: Kaigyoo si-tate no kóro wa, ma-yónaka ni oosin o tanomaréru to, yodoosi tiryoo ni tokkúndári, kyuukyúu-sya ni doozyoo site byooin ni okuri-kóndari de, itu ka tyóonai no sinrai o atuméru sonzai to nátta '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); Netári ókitari nagara, kíkí wa dás-sitá kara, móo sinpai wa ná 'Though I am up and down (with my illness), I'm past the crisis, so there is nothing to worry about now'; [Sigoto wa kubi ni suru. Taisyók{ú}kin(-) wa yaranai tté.] Sore zya hundári kéttari zya arimasén 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 even as subject and, at least for some speakers, as object: Nóndari tábetari [suru kotó] ga óói kara kane ga kakáru 'I do a lot of drinking and eating so it takes money'; Nóndari tábetari [suru kotó] o yameta hóo ga íi zya ná ka 'Wouldn't it be better to give up the drinking and eating?'. We might want to consider all cases of nominalized -tári sentences as abbreviations of the full sentence -tári surú + nó/kotó da, i.e. -tári surú no da or -tári suru kotó 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: ...-tári [SI] ...-tári [SURÚ NO] or the like.

Sometimes the appropriate translation is 'What with (this, that, and the other) ...': Zyanbo-ryokákki ga tobi-kakáttari, hikóo-ki no nottori-zíken ga okóttari, kuukoo-setti-

hantai-úndoo ga áttari de, kuukoo to sono kinoo to iu monó ga, wadai ni náru kotó ga óói 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 dé (p. 904, §14.6) as in Gensoku ári, reigai ári, kyoyoo ári de, ... 'What with rules, with exceptions, with dispensations, ...' (Kaneda in Ōno 1967.276).

The FORMS of the representative are made by attaching to verbals -tári/-dári (with shape adjustments like those for the gerund), to adjectivals -káttari, and to nominals dáttari. Just as we might consider the conditional as the perfect -tá + a particle or extension -ra (occurring nowhere else), we might similarly consider the representative as the perfect -tá + 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 surú even when the -tári form is based on an adjective (Sámukattari átukattari 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 -tá, -tára, and -tári actually come from the gerund -té + á(r)-. And the gerund itself, as explained in §9.2, is the infinitive form of an old auxiliary t(é)- (§9.5) which expressed a perfect or past (usually voluntary); the literary attributive form of that auxiliary is (-i-)túru and the predicative form is (-i-)tú. The literary language uses paired predicates with -tú (directly nominalized, as it were) in the same way that the colloquial language uses pairs with -tári:¹²⁴ Uki-tu() | sizumi-tu() [site] ... 'Floating and sinking ...'; Sási-tu | sasáre-tu | 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 = kumóttari háretari 'clouding up and clearing', húri-mi hurazu-mi = húttari huránakattari 'raining/snowing off and on'. The latter cliché, which pops up in húri-mi hurazu-mi no ténki 'unsettled weather' (KKK 25.87a, MKZ⁵) is often reduced to a single phonological word, with the accentuation either of a phrase reduction (húrimi-hurazumi) or of a lexical derivative (hurimihurázumi). Henderson 160 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: Oozéi itá no ga | hitóri heri | hutari heri (l) sita tokí wa || sabisíkatta ga, || ... 'When the crowd dwindled down ("by ones and twos") I felt lonely, but ...' (Tk 3.35a); Nó ni yuki, || yamá ni yuki (l) suru 'We go to the fields, we go to the mountains'.

Some adverbializations of V₁-tári V₂-tári could be regarded as an ellipsis either of the dummy verb surú or of the pro-predicative dá, but since the latter in a sense stands for the former, the immediate derivation is here unimportant: Káitari kaki-naósitári [de/site] isogasii 'I am busy writing and rewriting'. Similarly, with ... ni náru/surú and ... tó náru/suru we can regard the immediately underlying sentence as coming from a dropped (or converted) ... dá or from a dropped surú or surú no: Háretari | kumóttari || tó || narimasyóo 'The weather will be sunny alternating with cloudy' (R; narimasyóo = náru desyoo).

124. Use of the -tári 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 -tári | V_2 -tári *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 sitári X_2 o sitári *suru* 'does (such things as) X_1 and X_2 ' and a sentence Y_1 o sitári Y_2 o sitári *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:

X_1 o sitári X_2 o sitári SITÁRI Y_1 o sitári Y_2 o sitári SITÁRI *suru*.

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: *Hanásitari | kiitári [| sitári] || yóndari | káitári [| sitári ||] simásu* '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 *sitári*, 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 *sí* (§ 17.3): *Hanásitari | kiitári | surú sí || yóndari | káitári | simásu* 'We do such things as talk and listen and we do such things as read and write'. Or, with an optionally dropped gerund *sité*: *Hanásitari | kiitári [| site] || yóndari | káitári | simásu*.

Matters grow even more complicated when you realize that, in general, each element of the expression (i.e. each *-tári* form and each dummy *surú*) 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 (*wá/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 *surú*.

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) ... *sitári saseru*
 ... *sitári sareru*
 ... *sitári site morau*
 ... *sasetári suru*
 ... *saretári suru*
 ... *site morattári suru*
 ... *sasetári sareru*: *Kono kodomo ni, múri ni undoo sasetári sareru to komáru*
 'It won't do to have you let this child indulge in excessive activity'.
 ... *sasetári site morau*
 ... *sasetári saseru*: (?)*Undoo sasetári kyusoku sasetári sasemáru* 'I will let you have him exercise and rest in alternation'.

- ... saretári saseru: Rejected?
 ... saretári sareru
 ... saretári site morau: ?Benkyoo no zyama saretári site morai-taku náí 'I'm not eager to be interrupted in my work'.
- (2) ... si-takáttari suru
 ... sitári si-tai
- (3) ... si-súgitari suru
 ... sitári si-sugíru
- (4) ... si-yásukattari suru
 ... sitári si-yasúi
- (5) ... sitári site oku
 ... site óitari suru
 ... site óitari site oku
- (6) ... si-hazímétari suru
 ... sitári si-haziméru
 ... si-hazímétari si-haziméru: Áka-tyan ga hanasi-hazímétári aruki-hazímétári si-hazimemásita 'The baby has begun doing such things as starting to talk and starting to walk'.
- (7) ... (X o sinakáttari Y o) sinakáttari suru
 ... (X o sinakáttari Y o) sinakáttari 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 sitári Y o sinakáttari suru 'does such things as doing X and not doing Y'
 X o sitári Y o sinakáttari sinai: Rejected? (Even as denial?)
 X o sitári (X o) sinakáttari suru 'does such things as doing X and not doing X, does X off and on'
 X o sitári (X o) sinakáttari sinai: Rejected? (Even as denial?)

When the representative is made on a passive sentence the semantic reference of the -tári 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 korosaretári kegá o saseraretári 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 naraberaretári site iru 'The dolls 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 narandári site iru 'The children are lined up and the like' (having done it themselves). Similar considerations lead to the proper interpretation of ... iroiro hínan saretári gokai saretári surú n desu né 'suffers all sorts of criticisms and misunderstandings' (Tk 2.66b). The following sentence gerundizes (dá → dé) a pro-predication (suru → dá) of a representativization of a passive (... sareru → ... saretári) that is a passivization of an unpaired representative + suru (... sitári suru → ... sitári sareru): Tásya kara sukáuto sitari saretári de ... dóko de mo nenkan ni kenkyúu-in no ití-wari ga ryuudoo suru to iu '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, -Í-KI/-SI*

In modern Japanese the verb gerund *-té* can be followed by the auxiliaries *áru* and *iru* 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 *-tá* in modern Japanese but in older Japanese had two forms, *-tári* (predicative) and *-táru* (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* [makú-nasi 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: *táme-tu* | *sugáme-tu* | (*suru/míru*) ‘(looks) peering and squinting = scrutinizing’; *nadáme-tu* | *sukási-tu*(¹), || ... ‘soothing and humoring = coaxing’ (SA 2652.64d); *Táme-tu* | *sukási-tu*(¹) || *sísai*(¹) ni | *kentoo sita yó* ‘(I) checked in detail, scrutinizing and probing’ (KKK 25.78b); *oi-tu*(¹) | *lowaré-tu*(¹) | *no kyóogi* ‘a neck-and-neck match’; *iki-tu*(¹) [= *yukí-tu*(¹)] | *modóri-tu* | *site iru* ‘is making no progress’; *sási-tu* | *lasáre-tu* | *nómu* ‘keep exchanging sake cups back and forth’; *Móti-tu* | *motáre-tu* | *no aidagara ná no de aru* ‘It is a give-and-take relationship’ (SA 2660.27d); ... *móti-tu* | *motáre-tu* | *no kankei de ...* ‘from the mutual influences’ (SA 2659.133c—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 *kúmi-tu hogúre-tu*, and *tótu óitu* ‘hesitantly, reluctantly’ is a reduction of *tóri-tu okí-tu* (= *tóttari oitári*). As we have observed (§ 9.1.4), the literary concurrent *V-i-tútu* 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 mása ni* “eiga-húkkoo”, *kiséki*(¹) *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* *sizumí-nu* = *uitári sizúndari* ‘floating and sinking’ (quoted in *Meikai kogo jiten* 795b from *Heike-monogatári*). 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 *-ní*, it enters into sequence with another literary perfect auxiliary to form the structure *V-í-ni-ki* (predicative) alternating with *V-í-ni-si* (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-í-ni-k-éeri* (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. Satō 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 essive and *N tó* as the subjective essive). Satō 1.260-70 cites Kasuga’s study which shows that *-nú* is more common with intransitives and passives, *-tú* with transitives and causatives.

V-í-ni-k-éru (attributive), as described in §9.6. (The predicative-infinitive shape -ki drops its vowel, etymologically the infinitive marker, before the final auxiliary, which already consists of the infinitive -í + ár- with vowel crasis 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):

-í-té-ki/-si	-ér(-)i-ki/-si
-í-n(-)i-ki/-si	-í-n(-)i-k-éru/-éru
-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 < -k[u] ará-z[u] ár-i-ki/-si

And verbal negatives are contracted from -zu ár- (cf. §8.6):

-(a)zári-ki/-si < -(a)z[u] 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-í-ki/-si is found in a few relics: (... tó) omói-ki ya, ... 'did one think (that ...?) = (whereupon) unexpectedly enough' with the predicative form before the question particle ya ... 'hazime ni kokóro ári-ki "'In the beginning there was feeling"' (SA 2680.47b); ... árisi-hi 'bygone days' from ári-si hí 'days that existed'; ... idai nári-si híbi no tuisoo 'remiscences of the grand old days' (SA 2676.92b); ... káhwee hanáyaka nari-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 kotó 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 || Okinawa no hitó-tati ni | tótte || kiki-si ni masáru || susamázi-sa 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 utí(-) 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 náí < náku ári (nakáriseba 'if it had not existed/happened'): Kono onna-kántyoo nakáriseba Nihón no rekisi wa óokiku kaki-kaerarete 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 sí-ki and predicative *sí-si → sé-si. And consonant bases that end in ...s- are usually given the predicative ...se-si rather than ...si-si: zinsin sétu o tukusési tote zyomei serarén ni wa 'in the event one seeks to be reprieved on the grounds that he has fulfilled his duty as a subject' (Agawa 1.271b, quoting Ogyū Sorai).

are two forms, the predicative (typically sentence-final) and the attributive (adnominal), which are made by attaching *-éri* and *-éru* respectively to consonant bases and to *s-* of *surú* 'does': *yoberi* 'has called', *yoméri* 'has read', *motéru monó* (= *mótte iru monó*) 'things one has' or 'those that have'—cf. *motéru kuni* to *motazáru kuni* 'Have countries and Have-not countries', ...; *sairoku séru búnsyoo* 'the sentence recorded (transcribed)'; *búkko(-) seru Tanaká-si* 'the deceased Mr Tanaka'; *nemuréru sísi* 'a sleeping tiger' (Tk 4.185b, SA 2679.49a), ...¹²⁶ 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 *ukéri* = *úkete iru* and *haziméri* = *hazimete iru*.

In origin the endings appear to be the infinitive *-i* + the auxiliary *ári/áru*. Thus the difference in meaning between *V-i-tári/-táru* and *V-éri/-éru* might be attributed to the presence of the perfect auxiliary *t(é)-* in the former:

$$\begin{aligned} -i-tári/-táru &< -i[]t(é) \text{ári/áru} \\ -éri/-éru &< -i \quad \text{ári/áru} \end{aligned}$$

The literary perfect-resultative forms survive in a number of set phrases such as *itaréri* | *tukuséri no* | *sáabisu* 'complete service' ← *itaréri tukuséri da* 'is complete and leaves nothing to be desired' ← *sáabisu ga itaréri* (= *itatte iru*) 'the service has reached all the way' + *sáabisu o tukuséri* (= *tukúsíte iru*) 'they have exhausted every possible service'. The attributive form turns up in ... *ni okéru(-) 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 óité no N*, an adnominalization of the predicated gerund of *oku* 'puts'.^{126a}

An example of the predicative in modern prose: ... *wagamamá mo kiwamaréri to itte yói* 'we can say that the extreme of self-indulgence has [hath?] been reached' (Maeda 1962.162). Maeda 1962.35 cites an example with ... *tó^[r] iéru tokoró = tó^[r] itta tokoró* 'a place [that has been] called ...'; cf. *ieru* 'can say' (potential). Additional examples: ... *seizi husin mo kiwamaréri to iu tokoró da* 'it is such that political distrust has reached an extreme' (SA 2672.38b); ... "*nayaméru rezyaa-káikyuu*" 'the "distressed leisure class"' (SA 2673.39e)—note that this is not the literary transitive verb *nayám(e)-* = *nayamás-*, but rather is equivalent to the colloquial *nayánde iru*; "*Ziyúu no* | *tamé ni*" [||] *o* | *hata-zírusi to suru* || *Amerika-sei no* || "*Káku* | *tatakaéri*" || *siki no* | *éiga(-) dé wa* | *nái* '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-k-éri: *Sore wa zizyoo ni yori-kéri yó!* 'That depends on the circumstances!' This is to be regarded as a direct nominalization, used idiomatically in the colloquial: *Nedan/hito/ tokí ni yori-kéri da* 'It depends on the price/person/time' (= ... *ni yotte irú no da*); ... *monó ni mo yori-kéri yó* 'It all depends on the thing' (Fn 185a). For *nakáikeri* (accent irregular?), see §8.6.

-i-n-i-k-éri: "*Kamigata*" *wa tooku nari-nikéri* 'The old Kamigata (Kyōto-Ōsaka area) is now distant (in the past)' (SA 2660.161—heading).

126. Some dialects (e.g. Aichi, Zhs 3.458) use *séru* as equivalent to standard *suru* (an abbreviation of *si* [w]oru). Cf. the dialect form *dekéru* = *dekíru*. Some eastern dialects regularize *si-* and *ki-* throughout the paradigm (Zhs 2.18). See p. 371n4.

126a. Like many set phrases, *itaréri* | *tukuséri* also occurs lexicalized: *itareri-tukuséri*.

The idioms *kerí ga túku* '(an affair) comes to a conclusion' and *kerí o tukéru* 'winds up (an affair)' are said (Kotoba no yurai 71) to be from a truncation of *V-i-k-éri*. We are following the generally accepted etymology for the "auxiliary" *-kéri* (usually stated as *-ki + ári*); Satō 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 *-éri/-éru* is simply a literary equivalent of *-te iru* in any of its meanings. That would account for the form of *samayoéru* *Yudayá-zin* 'the wandering Jew' and *samayoéru yuurei* 'wandering ghost'. But we might wish to consider *samayoéru* as a special idiomatic case, and list it among the adnouns. Are there similar examples for other verbs?

The literary form *ikéru* 'is alive' (as in *ikéru ga gótosí* 'is life-like') is probably from *ik[i]-éru*, an attributive perfective used with the meaning of *íkite iru* or *íkita* 'living'. It should not be confused with *ikéru* '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 ué* '(on) top of the desk; over the desk', *sensoo no máe* '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 nominalized 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 túite* '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 ní mo túite* you must use *N ni túite 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 ní mo hán-site*) or the gerund (*N ni hán-site mo*); on occasion both may be marked for focus: *N ní 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 túkite wa* (= colloquial *N ni túite wa*). But when the phrasal postposition stands alone, adverbially, you can use either the infinitive or the gerund: *N ni túki*, *N ni tú[k]ite*.¹²⁷ 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 *ní* and *tó*) 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 *ní* 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-súru 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.¹²⁸ The list below may be overly extensive, yet perhaps I have overlooked a few items that should have been included.¹²⁹

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 {o} hazime {to si/site}* ‘starting with N at the top/head, from N on down’: *Tooóo-ken [o] hazime [] hyaku^[j] ik-kásyo ni kyóten(¯) o ...* ‘(placing) 101 strategic points, starting with the Eastern European sphere’ (SA 2648.47); *Kaityoo {o} hazime [] kaiin minná^[j] ...* ‘All members of the society from the president on down ...’; ... *séihu o hazime to si, ...* ‘from the government on down’ (SA 2674.128d); *Nomura o hazime to site óote no syooken-gáisya wa ...* ‘The big securities companies, starting with Nomura at the top, ...’ (SA 2679.30b). The adnominalized form is *N o hazime to suru*: *Nomura-syooken o hazime to suru yondai-syookengáisya wa ...* ‘The four big securities firms, beginning with Nomura Securities, ...’ (SA 2679.29a); ... *keiei-konsárutánto o hazime to suru kákusyu no konsárutánto ...* ‘all kinds of consultants starting with economic consultants (on down) ...’ (SA 2684.44b); *Igirisu o hazime to suru rengóo-gun ...* ‘The allied armies with England at the head ...’ (SA 2678.149).

(2) *N o kéiki to site* ‘taking the opportunity of N; with N (as the momentum, as the turning point)’

N o kísó 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 áru monó ni mukatté daké bóoryoku(¯) o huruu* ‘Instead they display violence only toward those whom they themselves have the odds on’ (SA 2685.118d).

129. E.g.: *N o maziéte* ‘with the addition/inclusion of N, including/counting in N’, *N to muzyun site* ‘in contradiction to N, inconsistent(ly) with N’, *N ni saki-datte* ‘in advance of N’, ...

- N o mokuhyoo to site 'with N as one's aim/goal'
 N o muné to site 'making a point of N'
 N o syúgi 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 táne ni [site] 'with N as a source'
 N o tángo ni [site] 'with N as a pledge'
 N o teházime ni [site] 'with N for a start(er)'
- (5) N no hoohuku ni site 'in retaliation for N'
- (6) N o táte ni tótte 'on the strength/grounds/pretext of N'
- (7) N ni kéii o arawásite 'out of respect for N, in deference to N'
 N ni syooyun o awásete 'setting one's sights on N'
- (8) N no kyóka o éte 'by permission of N, with the permission of N'
 N no sigeki o úkete 'stimulated by N, under the impetus of N'
 N no eikyo o úkete 'influenced by N, under the influence of N'
 N o kite (haite, kabútte, hamete, túkete, ...) 'wearing N, in an N, in Ns'
- (9) N to kyóotoyo de 'in (literary) collaboration with N; coauthored with N'
 N to kyootuu 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 umeawase {no tamé} 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 ié-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 kaerimízu {ni} '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 *wá* and/or *mó* can be used after the case marker, with the usual reductions of $\{wá\}$ *wa* and $\{mó\}$ *mo*. And where *wá* and/or *mó* can be inserted, often other focus and restrictive particles are also possible: *N ni dake yotte*, etc. (But where *wá/mó* are excluded there are no insertions of other particles.)

(3) *-ta -ru -té 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 atonic bases, the infinitives and gerunds are cited without the final accent that is morphophonemically basic to the forms; when followed by *wá* or *mó* or *nó*¹³⁰ the forms will be heard as *V-í* and *V(-i)-té*. Exceptionally, the forms *túké*, *túkí*, and *túkete* are listed with two options, though elsewhere we are ignoring the Tōkyō rule that will convert our *túkete* to *tukéte* (etc.) automatically with the unvoicing of the first vowel; when the Tōkyō version of *túké* and *túkí* is pronounced without a following particle the final accent will automatically be suppressed: *tuké*,^[1]
tukí.^[1]

130. At least, when the noun serving as epitheme is separated by juncture from the adnominalized phrasal postposition. On the conditions governing suppression of a final accent before *nó*, see Martin 1970.

PHRASAL POSTPOSITIONS

	CASE +		ADNOMINAL			CASE	LITERARY Inf.[-Ger.]	COLLOQUIAL Gerund	MEANING
	-mas-	wa/mo	-ta	-ru	-té no				
1.	(+)	-/-	-	?-	+	[o]	age [te]	agete	'with all ...; concentrating'
2.	(+)	w?/m	-	-	+	to	ái máti [te]	ái mátte	'coupled/conjoined with, hand in hand with'
3.	+	-/m	+	+	+	o	aite-dóri [te]	aite-dótte	'taking on (as opponent), against'
4.	-	w/m	-	+ ¹	-	ni	árazu [site]		'not ... but' (colloquial de náku [te])
5.	(+)	-/-	-	-	-	ni		átte	'being in/as'
6.	+	-/m	+	+	+	ni	atari [te]	atatte	'confronting, when (it comes to), in (dealing with), in case/event of; lying toward (a direction), at (a time)'
7.	+	w/m	+	+	+	ni	ate-háme [te]	ate-hámete	'in conformity with'
8.	+	-/m	+	+	+	o	ate-kómi [te]	ate-kónde	'in expectation/hope of; arranged for (in anticipation of'
9.	+	w/m	+	+	+	ni/(to)	awáse [te]	awásete	'in adjustment to/with, in accord with'
10.	+	-/m	+	+	+	o	béngo si [te]	béngo site	'in defense/justification/explanation of'
11.	+	w/m	+	+	+	ni	binzyoo si [te]	binzyoo site	'aboard (a ship); availing oneself of, taking advantage of'
12.	+	-/m	+	+	+	o	daihyoo si [te]	daihyoo site	'on/in behalf of'
13.	+	w/m	+	+	+	to	doomei si [te]	doomei site	'in alliance with'
14.	+	w/m	+	+	+	ni	gaitoo si [te]	gaitoo site	'corresponding to, applicable to, deserving'
15.	+	w/m	+	+	+	ni/máde	genkyuu si [te]	genkyuu site	'referring to, mentioning'
16.	+	w/m	+	+	+	to/ni	goodoo si [te]	goodoo site	'in partnership/concert with'
17.	+	-/m	+	+	+	o	háí-si [te] ₁	háí-site ₁	'in obeisance/obedience to'
18.	-	-/m	+	+	+	o	háí-si [te] ₂	háí-site ₂	'pushing aside; in defiance of'

1. The form is arazáru.

19.	+	w/m	+	-	+	to/kara ²	hanáre [te]	hanárete	'separated/distant from'
20.	+	w/m	+	+	+	ni	hankoo si [te]	hankoo si [te]	'in opposition to, in defiance of'
21.	(+)	w/m	+	+	+	ni	hán-si [te]	hán-site	'against, contrary to; in contrast with'
22.	+	w/m	+	+	+	ni	hantai si [te]	hantai site	'in opposition to, against'
23.	+	w/m	+	+	+	ni	hasamári [te]	hasamáte	'(sandwiched/caught) between'
23a.	+	-/-	+	-	+	o	hasámi [te]	hasánde	'separated/broken by; on either side of'
24.	+	w/m	+	+	+	ni	hazure [te]	hazurete	'deviating from, contrary to'
24a.	+	w/m	+	-	+	o	hedáte [te]	hedátete	'on the other side of, across; at an interval of'
25.	+	-/m	+	-	+	o	hé [te]	hété	'through, by way of, via'
25a.	+	-/-	+	-	+	o	hikáe [te]	hikáete	'in anticipation of, with ... just ahead'
26.	+	w/m	+	+	+	to/ni	hikaku si [te]	hikaku site ³	'by comparison with'
27.	+	-/m	+	+	+	o	hikii [te]	hikiite	'at the head of, commanding'
28.	+	-/-	-	-	-	ni ^{3a}	hiki-káe [te]	hiki-káete	'in contrast to'
29.	+	-/m	+	-	+	o	hik-kurúme [te]	hik-kurúmete	'inclusive of, including'
30.	(+)	-/-	+	-	+	ni	hín-si [te]	hín-site	'on the verge of'
31.	+	w/m	+	+	+	ni	hirei si [te]	hirei site	'in proportion to, proportionately with'
32.	-	-/-	-	-	-	ni	hí-si [te]	hí-site ⁴	'in comparison to; proportionately to'
33.	+	w/m	+	-	+	o	hukúme [te]	hukúmete	'inclusive of, including'
34.	-	-?/m	-	-	-	o	hukúmezu ni	hukuménai de	'exclusive of, excluding'
35.	+	w/m	+	+	+	ni	hún-si [te]	hún-site	'cast as, in the role of; under the guise of, disguised as'
36.	+	w/m	+	-	+	ni	hure [te]	hurete	'touching upon, concerning'
37.	(+)	-/m	-	-	+	o	húu-si [te]	húu-site	'alluding to'
38.	+	w/m	+	+	+	ni	ihan si [te]	ihan site	'in violation of, against'
39.	+	w/m	+	+	+	o	ire [te]	irete	'including'

2. Or the literary synonym *yóri*. And *ó* can substitute for the *kará*: ... *sigái-ti o tyót-to hanáreta* ... [N] '[N] which is slightly separated from the city streets' (see full sentence under 169, *sotte*, in the list of examples).

3. Also *hikaku suréba*. 3a. KKK 43.677: *ni/o*.

4. Also *hi-súreba*.

40.	—	—/m	—	—	—	o	irezu ni		'excluding'
41.	+	—/m	+	+	+	ni	itári[te](⁻)	itátte(⁻)	'(reaching) up to'
42.	+?	—/—	—	—	—	ni		itátté wa	'as for, as to; when it comes to'
43.	+ ⁵	w/m	—	—	—	ni	kagírazu		'not just ... but'
44.	+	—/—	—	—	+	ni	kagiri[te]	kagítte	'in particular, only; of all ...'
45.	+	—/—	+	—	+	o	kái-si[te]	kái-site	'through (the medium of)'
46.	+	—/m?	+	—?	+	o	kakáe[te](⁻)	kakáete(⁻)	'with ... (in one's arms, on one's hands, under one's care'
47.	+	—/m	+	+	+	ni	kakári[te]	kakátte ⁶	'depending on'
48.	(+) ⁷	w/m	—	—	—	ni	kakawárazu(⁻)		'irrespective of, in spite of' ⁸
49.	+	—/—	—	—	+	ni	káke[te]	kákete	'(extending) through' (cf. watátte)
50.	+	—/—	—	—	+	ni		kákete 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/pretense of'
52.	+	—/m	+	+	+	o	kakomi[te]	kakonde	'around, surrounding'
53.	+	w/m	+	+	+	ni	kakomare[te]	kakomarete	'surrounded by'
54.	+	—/m	+	+	+	o	káne[te]	kánete	'combining (for a dual purpose)'
55.	(+)	—/m?	—	—	+	ni	kangámi[te]	kangámite	'in view of, in the light of, taking a lesson from'
56.	—	w/m	—	—	—	to/ni	kankei-náku		'regardless/irrespective of'
57.	+	w/m	+	+	+	ni/to	kanren si[te]	kanren site	'in connection with, pertaining to'
58.	+	w/m	+	+	+	ni	kansan si[te]	kansan site	'calculated in terms of, converted to'
59.	+	—/m	+	+	+	ni	kán-si[te]	kán-site wa/mo	'with respect to, as regards; about, concerning, having to do with'—ni kán-site daké wa 'only with respect to'

5. The form is kagirimasézu.

6. But apparently only the infinitive is used with S ya ína ya ni kakári 'depending on whether or not S' (LF 82); cf. Seikoo surú ya ína ya wa KONO TEN ni kakátte ... 'Whether one succeeds or fails depends upon this point and ...'.

7. The form is kakawarimasézu.

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	+	+	+	ni	kata-múki[te]	kata-múite	'inclining/leaning to'
63.	+	-/m	+	+	+	o	katúgi[te]	katúide	'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-zukátte	'for/in fear of'
70.	+	-/m	+	+	+	o	koe[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 sezu ni	koodei sinái de	'independently of; irrespective of'
74.	(+)	-/m	+	+	—	o	kosi[te]	kosite	'over, exceeding, surpassing'
75.	+	w/m	+	+	+	ni	kotáe[te]	kotáete	'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. yosete)
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	+	+	+	to	kúmi	kúnde	'in league/conspiracy with'
82.	+	w/m	+	+	+	ni/to	kurabe[te]	kurabete ⁹	'as compared with, in comparison with; for'

9. Also kuraberéba and kuraberu tó.

83.	+	w/m	+	+	+	[o]	kurúme[te]	kurúmete	'inclusive of, including'
84.	-	w/m	-	-	-	ni	kus-sézu(-) [ni]	kus-sínái de	'in defiance of'
85.	+	-/m	+	+	+	o	kuwáe[te] (-)	kuwáete(-)	'including, inclusive of, adding/counting in'
86.	+	-/-	+	+	+	ni	kuwáe[te] (-)	kuwáete(-)	'in addition to'
87.	+	-/m	+	+	+	o	kuwae[te]	kuwaete	'with ... in one's mouth'
88.	+	w/m	+	+	+	to	kyooboo si[te]	kyooboo site	'in conspiracy with'
89.	+	w/m	+	+	+	to	kyoodoo si[te]	kyoodoo site	'(con)jointly with, in combination with'
90.	+	w/m	+	+	+	to	kyooryoku si[te]	kyooryoku site	'in cooperation with'
91.	+	w/m	+	+	+	to	kyootyoo si[te]	kyootyoo site	'in cooperation/unison/concert with'
92.	+	w/m	+	+	+	ni	makáse[te]	makásete	'leaving matters to ...; disregarding'
93.	+	-/m	+	+	+	o	mane[te]	manete	'in imitation of, after the fashion/model of; aping'
94.	-	-/m	-	-	+?	ni	masi[te]	masite	'more than'; cf. adverb másite(-)
95.	-	-/-	-	-	+	ni	méde[te]	médete	'in consideration/appreciation of, in reward for'
96.	+	-?/m	+	+	+	o	megáke[te]	megákete	'aiming at; toward'
97.	-	-/m	-	-	-	ni	mégezu	megénai de	'undaunted by'
98.	-	-/-	-	+	+	o	meguri[te]	megutte	'surrounding, around; centering on, concerning'
99.	+	w/m	+	+	+?	ni	mén-si[te]	mén-site	'facing, fronting on, abutting'
100.	+	w/m	-	-	+	ni	mén-zi[te] (-)	mén-zite(-)	'out of consideration/respect for'
101.	+	w/m	+	+	+	ni	mezáme[te]	mezámete	'(being) awake to, conscious of'
102.	+	w/m	+	+	+	[o]	mezási[te]	mezásite	'(destined) for, aiming at'
103.	+	-?/m	+	+	+	o	mikomi[te]	mikonde	'in expectation/anticipation of; counting/ relying on'
104.	+	-/m	+	-	+	o	mi-kósi[te] (-)	mi-kósite(-)	'in expectation/anticipation of'
105.	+	-?/-	+	-?	+	kara	mí	míte	'considered as'
106.	+	-/m	+	+	+	o	mokurómi[te]	mokurónde	'with ... in mind; contemplating'
107.	+	-/m	+	+	+	o	motii[te] (-)	motiite(-)	'making use of, with (the aid of), by (means of)'

108.	+	w/m	+	+	+	ni	motozúki[te]	motozúite	'on the basis of; in conformity with, according to'
109.	-	-/-	-	-	-	de		mótte	SEE pp. 488-9
110.	+ ¹⁰	-/--	-	-	-	o		mótte	(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)', ¹¹
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 mén-site) facing toward'
113.	+	w/m	+	+	+	to	mukai-ái[te]	mukai-átte	'face-to-face with, vis-a-vis, opposite'
114.	+	w/m	+	+	+	ni	muke[te]	mukete	'bound/headed/destined for'
115.	+	-/m?	+	+	+	to/ni	narabi[te]	narande	'lined up with; ranked with'
116.	+	w/m	+	+	+	to	narabe[te]	narabete ¹²	'alongside (of), compared with'
117.	+	w/m	+	+	+	ni	nari-kawári[te](-)	nari-kawátte(-)	'instead of, on behalf of'
118.	+	-?/m	+	+	+	ni	nari-sumási[te](-)	nari-sumásite(-)	'in the guise of, posing as; full-fledged'
119.	+	w/m	+	+	+	ni	narái[te]	narátte	'in imitation of, after (the example/model/manner of)'
120.	+	-/m	+	+	+	ni	nazoráe[te]	nazoráete	'patterning/modeling after, in imitation of'
121.	+	-/m	+	+	+	o	nerai[te]	neratte	'aiming at; with ... in view'
122.	+	-/m	+	+	+	o	ninái[te]	ninátte	'bearing, shouldering; with ... on one's shoulders'
123.	+	w/m	+	-?	+	to ^{12a}	nirami-awáse[te](-)	nirami-awásete(-)	'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 mótte suru N.

12. Also naraberéba. 12a. KKK 43.677: to/o.

124.	+	-/m	+	+	+	o	nirámi[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](-)	nozónde(-)	'in the hope of, in hopes that, in anticipation of'
131.	+	-/-	+	+	+	ni	nozomi[te]	nozonde	'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	ogináí[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]	oite	'except, but for, putting aside'
136.	+ ¹³	-/-	-	- ¹⁴	+	ni	oki[te] ¹⁵	óite(-)	'at, in (= dé); in the matter of, with respect to (= ni kán-site); on the part of (= no hoo de, gá); by [ANIMATE AGENT IN PASSIVE]' ¹⁶
137.	+	-/m	+	+	+	o	omoi-dási[te](-)	omoi-dásite(-)	'at the thought of'

13. The form is okimásite.

14. The form used is okéru(-), 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 óité wa 'if ...'; ... ni oite/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(-)	'according to, corresponding to, proportional to; in answer/response to; in compliance with, in obedience to'
139.	+ ¹⁷	w/m	-	-	-	ni	oo-zézu(-) ni	oo-zínáí de	'not according to; not in compliance with'
140.	+	-/m	+	(+)	+	o	osi-táte[te]	osi-tátete	'with (banners etc.) raised, displaying (in front)'
141.	+	-/m	+	+	+	o	osóre[te]	osórete	'for fear of'
142.	+	-/m	+	+	+	o	oi[te]	otte	'bearing'
143.	-?	-/m	+	+	-?	ni	oi[te]	otte	'owing to; due to'
144.	+	-/m	+	+	+	ni	oyobi[te]	oyonde ^{17a}	'extending to; waiting till'; cf. conjunction óyobi
145.	+	w/m	+	+	+	to	rengoo si[te]	rengoo site	'in league/concert with'
146.	+	w/m	+	+	+	to	renkei si[te]	renkei site	'in cooperation/concert with'
147.	+	w/m	+	+	+	to	renmei si[te]	renmei site	'in league/union with'
148.	+	w/m	+	+	+	o	riyoo si[te]	riyoo site	'taking advantage of, making use of'
149.	(+)	-/m	+	+	+	o	rón-zi[te](-)	rón-zite(-)	'dealing with, treating of; considering'
150.	-	-/m	-	-	-	o	ron-zézu(-)		'irrespective of, regardless of, without distinction of'
151.	+	-/m	+	+	+	o	ságe[te]	ságete	'with ... in (= dangling from) one's hand, carrying (a bucket etc.)'
152.	+	w/m	+	+	+	ni	sái-si[te]	sái-site	'on (the) occasion of, at (the) time of, when, in case of'
153.	+	w/m	+	+	+	ni	sakanobóri[te]	sakanobótte	'retroactive(ly) to'
154.	+	w/m	+	+	+	ni	sakarái[te]	sakarátte	'against, in defiance of'
155.	+	-/m?	+	+	+	o	sási[te]	sásite	'aiming/heading toward; aiming at, referring to, meaning'
156.	+	-/m?	+	+	+	ni	sés-si[te](-)	sés-site(-)	'on receipt of; ? adjacent to, abutting on'

17. The form is oo-zimasézu ni.

17a. Hamako Chaplin accentuates ... ni oyónde.

157.	+	-/m	+	+	+	o	sitagáe[te](-)	sitagáete(-)	'attended by, followed/accompanied by'
158.	+	w/m	-	-	+	ni	sitagái[te](-)	sitagátte(-) ¹⁸	'in accordance with, conforming to. in compliance with; (= ni turete) accordingly as, in proportion to/as, as'
159.	-	-/-	-	-	-	o	-	site	SEE p. 293 [underlying agent in a causative, but note the omission of the causative in example in LF 87]
	+	-/-	?	?	?	o	-	mótte site	SEE p. 488
	+	-/-	?	?	?	kara	-	site	SEE p. 487
	+	-/-	(-) ¹⁹	+	+	to	- ^{18a}	site	'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
	+	-/-	-	?	?	ni	- ^{18a}	site	'being; is and', ²⁰ ~ wa 'considering (that it is); for'; SEE pp. 229, 487
160.	+	-/m	+	+	+	o	soe[te]	soete	'as an appendage to, along with'
161.	+	-/-	+	-	+	ni	sokú-si[te]	sokú-site	'in conformity with; conforming to; based/founded on'
162.	+	-/m?	+	+	+	ni	sokuoo si[te]	sokuoo site	'in conformity with, in response to'
163.	+	w/m	+	+	+	ni	somúki[te]	somúite	'running counter to; in violation of'
164.	+	-?/m	+	+	+	ni	sonáe[te]	sonáete	'making provision for/against'
165.	+	-/m	+	+	+	o	sonkei si[te]	sonkei site	'out of deference to; out of respect for'
166.	+	-/m	+	+	+	o	sontyoo si[te]	sontyoo site	'out of deference to; out of respect for'
167.	+	w/m	+	+	+	ni	sootoo si[te]	sootoo site	'corresponding to; proportionate to; meriting'
168.	+	-/m?	+	+	+	o	soróe[te]	soróete	'arranging, completing'

18. Also sitagáeba. 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 kotó ga dóo site konna matigái o sitá ka moosi-wake gozaimasén 'I just don't know how I could have done such a thing, but I hope you will forgive me' (to sita kotó here meaning something like *to iu monó* '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 ...'.

169.	+	-/m	+	+?	+	ni	soi[te] ₁	sotte ₁ , soote	'along(side), hugging, parallel to, by'
170.	+	-/m	+	+	+	ni	soi[te] ₂	sotte ₂	'complying with, satisfying'
171.	+	-/m	+	-?	+	o	sukasi[te] ₁	sukasite ₁	'(peering) through'
172.	+	-/m	+	+	+	o	sukasi[te] ₂	sukasite ₂	'by coaxing/persuading'
173.	+	-/m	+	+	+	ni/to	syoogoo si[te]	syoogoo site	'compared/checked/tallied with'
174.	+	-/m	+	+	+	o	seóí[te]	syotte	'with ... on one's back; under (a burden of)'
175.	+	w/m	+	+	+	ni	taikoo si[te]	taikoo site	'in opposition to, against, in rivalry with'
176.	+	-/-	-	+	+	ni	tái-si[te]	tái-site	'against, toward, for; (reporting) to; in regard/reference to; as compared with, in contrast to; per, as against (each)'
177.	+	-/m	+	+	+	to	takurámi[te]	takuránde	'in collusion with'
178.	+	-/m	+	+	+	o	tazúne[te]	tazúnete	'in search of'
179.	+	w/m	+	+	+	ni	tatóe[te]	tatóete	'likened to, compared with'
180.	+	-/m	+	+	+	o	tazusáe[te]	tazusáete	'with ... in one's hand/possession'; accompanied by, with ...'
181.	+	w/m	+	+	+	to	teikei si[te]	teikei site	'in cooperation/concert with'
182.	+	-/m	+	-	+	ni	terási[te]	terásite ²¹	'in (the) light of, in view of; upon comparison with; according to'
183.	+	w/m	+	+	+	to	tigai[te]	tigatte	'different from, unlike'
184.	+	-/m	+	+	+	ni	tinámi[te]	tinánde	'with reference to, by association with; associated with'
185.	+	-/m	+	+	+	ni	tomonái[te]	tomonátte	'in keeping/step with, attendant upon, accompanying'
186.	+	-/-	+	+	+	o	tóori[te]	tóotte	'by way of, via'
187.	+	-/m	+	+	+	o	tóosi[te] ₁	tóosite ₁	'through (the medium of), through the good offices of'
188.	+	-/-	+	-	+	[o]	tóosi[te] ₂	tóosite ₂	[after a number] 'spanning; in succession'
189.	+	-/-	-	-	(+)	ni	tóri[te]	tótte ₁	'with reference to, for'

21. For Hamako Chaplin this verb is atonic.

190.	-	-/-	-	-	-	[o]	tóri[te] ₂	tótte ₂	['taking (up)']; (toonon ~ ㊦㊧) 'including (the current year)'
191.	+	-/m	+	+	+	[o]	tori-máze[te](-)	tori-mázete(-)	'mixing together, including'
192.	-	-/m	-	-	-	o	tówazu(-) [site]		'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	túké		'whether ... or' (used in pairs); SEE p. 900
196.	+	-/-	-	-	+	ni	túké[te]	túkéte	'in connection with'
197.	+	-/-	-	-	+	ni	túkí ₁	túíte	(1) (= ni kán-site) 'dealing with, treating of, about' (2) (= ni soote/soote) '(following) along, hugging'; (= no motó ni) 'under (the direction of)'; (= to tómó(-) ni) 'accompanying, (following) along with' (3) (= ㊦góto ni) 'per (unit), each, at' (4) (= ni atatte) 'when (it comes to), in the event/case of'
198.	-	-/-	-	-	-	ni	túkí ₂		'owing to, because of, on account of, due to': byooki túkí = byooki no tamé, S túkí = S no de
199.	+	-/-	+	-?	+	o	turáne[te]	turánete	'joining in a (long) row/string'
200.	+	-/-	-	-	+	ni	ture[te] ₁	turete ₁	'accompanied by, with; accordingly with, in proportion to/as, as'
201.	+	w/m	+	-	+	o	ture[te] ₂	turete ₂	'bringing along (a person), with ... (as accompaniment)'
202.	+	w/m	-	-	+	to	ture-dáti[te]	ture-dátte	'in company with'
203.	+	w/m	+	+	-	ni	turi-ái[te]	turi-átte	'in keeping/symmetry/equilibrium with'
204.	+	-/m	-	-	+	o	tuu-zi[te] ₁	tuu-zite ₁	'through (the medium of), via; through-out, all over'

205.	+	-/m	+	+	+	to	tuu-zi[te] ₂	tuu-zite ₂	'together with, making a total with; in collusion with'
206.	+	w/m	+	+	+	ni	tyokumen si[te]	tyokumen site	'in the face of'
207.	+	-/m	-	-	+	ni	tyóo-si[te]	tyóo-site ²²	'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 site	'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);
213.	-	-/-	-	-	-	[ni]		yotte	(2) 'by reason of, on the basis of'
214.	+	-/m	-	-	-	ni	-	-	yoru to, yoréba [... 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	zyúnkyo si[te]	zyúnkyo site	'in conformity to, in pursuance of'
217.	+	-/m	+	+	+	ni	zyunnoo si[te]	zyunnoo site	'in adjustment/accommodation with, in sympathy with'
218.	+	-/-	+	+	+	ni	zyún-zi[te](-)	zyún-zite(-)	'in proportion to/as, according to/as'

22. MKZ^s 722a. Also tyoo-súreba, tyoo-súru ni.

MISCELLANEOUS EXAMPLES OF PHRASAL POSTPOSITIONS

(arranged by list number)

1. Zéngaku [o] *ageté no kyóozyú-táti to no kyootoo* ... 'The all-university joint struggle [against the Cambodian incursion of 1970] alongside their professors ...' (SA 2680.23e).
3. ... byooin no sekinín-sya ya kuni *o aite-dótte*, ... minzi-sósyoo o okósita 'instituted a civil action ... against the hospital officials and the government' (SA 2647.22).
5. ... ittei-nénkan, tokutei no hooritu-kámoku ni kan-súru kyóozyu(⁻) *mátá-wa zyo-kyóozyu tóo no syokú(⁻) ni átte* kore o koogi(⁻) kenkyuu sita monó nómi 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); Háha *ni átte wa*, ái to zóo'o wa hitótu no monó o hyóo-ri kara nagámeta tokí no sooi de áru 'For [? my] mother, love and hate differ only in the way a single thing differs when looked at from front and back' (Ig 43).
6. Seizi-ka to sité no syuppatu *ni atatte*, seizi-ka to sité no hyóoka(⁻) dé wa náí hyoo o tumi-kasanete déte kíta no wa, Isihara Sintároo no tamé ni osímu 'béki da to iu kimoti wa, anáta no tamé ni taisetú da 'The feeling is important to you that it is unfortunate for Shintaro Ishihara to have heaped up criticisms as lacking any rating as a political figure on the occasion of embarking as a politician' (SA?).
33. ... sensoo no tamé no híyoo *o hukúmete no taigai-énzyo* ... 'foreign aid including expenses for ... wars' (SA 2664.45c); Tyuukyoo *o hukúmeta* Ázia to no boeeki ni yoranákereba, ... '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. *Máta háto ni kagírazu*, kotori no karada wa kákusyu no bakutéria no zekkoo no súmí-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. Gógo kara yóru *ni kámete wa*, táda béddo de nete iru daké de aru 'From afternoon through the night I do nothing but just lie in bed' (SA 2645.47b).
51. ... *táku(⁻) o kakónde* hanasi-atta 'talked around a table'.
59. Sore wa kimi *ni kan-sita* kotó de wa náí 'It is none of your business' (Kenkyusha). For an example of *ni kan-súru N*, see 5 above.
70. ... zyuuman-nin *o koeru* gakusei to símin ... 'over a hundred thousand students and citizens ...' (SA 2680.21a); ... nihyakú-nin *o koeru* kisyá-dan 'a group of over two hundred journalists' (SA?).
71. ... *tánsei [o] kómete* ... 'with devotion' (SA 2793.44b); Zeikin mo kómete niman-désu 'It is twenty thousand yen, with the tax'.
74. Yokosuka no Běi kaigun-kíti zentai dé wa, hassen-nin *o kosu* Nihon-zín ga hataraite iru 'In the entire US Navy base at Yokosuka over 8000 Japanese are working' (SA 2665.7).
82. Óobei(⁻) *ni kurabe* ... 'compared with America and Europe ...' (SA 2689.48c).
83. zénbu [o] *kurúmete* 'in total, all in all'.
94. Ízen *ni mo masite*, máiniti(⁻) ga isogásiku nátte kíta 'Even more than before we get busier by the day'.
98. "Kanzi-tyoo" [o] *meguri* habatu-kóosoo [ga] gékika(⁻) [suru] 'Factional strife

intensifies over the “Secretary General” (SA 2661.127—heading); ... *kanzī-tyoo no pósito o megutte*, ... ‘centering on the post of Secretary General’ (SA 2661.127a); ... *Kiirōhu ansatu o meguru nazo* ... ‘the riddle surrounding the Kirov assassination’ (SA 2677.110c); ... *o meguru densetu* ‘a legend telling of ...’; ... *tenká-butu o meguru anzen-sei to taisaku* ... ‘safety and precautionary measures with respect to [food] additives’ (SA).

99. *Doobaa-káikyoo ni men-súru* 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); ... *Nihón-kai ni mén-sita tokoró* ... ‘a place facing the Sea of Japan’ (Miyara 1954.144).

102. ... *zyuken [o] mezásite* ‘aiming at taking examinations’.

105. *daitai kara míte* ‘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 zyuukoo o muketé da ga, ikaku-syágeki o suru kotó ni site iru* ‘...—but with the muzzle pointed at the sky—fire warning shots’ (SA 2685.99b).

115. *Kono kuni wa saikin hyakunén-kan ni Oobei-syókoku ni syokumintí-ka(-)* sarenákatta, Ázia de wa Nihón *to narande* tatta hutatú 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, taityuu-kánkei kaizen ni kóo made tikará(-)* o irerú no wa, mázu Sóren *o niránde 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 nozoita* supootu-yóohin ... ‘sports goods except for golf’ (SA 2672.62d); *Tyuukyoo o nozoita* Azia-keizai-káigi to iu monó wa nánsensu desu ‘An Asian Economic Conference without Communist China is nonsense’ (Tk 4.231b).

130. ... *soo-sénkyo ni nozondé no kaisin-too* ... ‘the Kaishin party on the eve of the general election’ (Tk 4.206a).

135. *Máiban(-) kimatta ma o oite*, katei no suidoo to dénki no syoohí-ryoo ga huéru no da ‘Every evening at fixed intervals the consumption of household water and electricity surges’ (SA 2659.110c).

138. *Kyúuyo mo nóoryoku(-) ni óo-zite(-)* kimerareru ‘Pay is determined in accordance with ability’ (SA 2650.91c); ... *nóoryoku(-) ni óo-zi(-)* ... ‘in accordance with ability’ (id. 91d); ... *tokí to baai ni óo-zita(-)* kágu ‘furniture adapted to time (= occasion) and place’ (SA 2671.146).

144. *Íma ni oyonde náni o awatete irú n desu ka* ‘What’s the rush now that you’ve waited this long?’; *Íma ni oyonde awatete ninen-sei no tanki-dáigaku o tukúru -gúrai nara, saisyō kara yonensei-dáigaku to heikoo site ninesei-dáigaku o mookéru hoo hoo o kóo-zu(-)* -béki 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 saisyō no insyō wa, ... o kuwásiku kiki-dásu ni oyonde, iyóiyō ugekasi-gatái monó to nátta* ‘This first impression of his became harder and harder to maintain now that he was hearing ... in detail’ (lg 43).

152. ... *yonzyúu-nen hukyoo ni sái-site* ‘at the time of the recession of 1965’ (SA); *kiken ni sái-site* ‘at a moment of national crisis’; *syómotu no sentaku ni sái-site wa* ‘in selecting books to read’.

159. ... terebi-tárento *to site* no sainoo wa ... 'ability as a television talent' (SA).

161. ... gutai-teki na seikatu-kánkaku *ni soku-site* no kokuzin-sábetu hantai 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* sigái-ti o tyót-to hanáreta has-syásen hodó mo áru Ransan-oodoori '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. Beigun *to tigai*, ... 'Unlike the American forces' (SA 2686.42a); Hériumu ya súiso no gásu o tukaú no *to wa tigatte* kúuki o soohúu-ki de okuri-komu ... 'Different from using helium or hydrogen, air is inserted with a blower, and ...' (SA 2647.4); Mata, Támiya no baai da to, Síomi *to tigatte* Kita-Tyoosén kara Kyúuba ni ikasete morau to iu kakusyoo ga náí no de, Habana-rúuto ni norerú ka dóo ka, wakaránai 'And, in Tamiya's case, unlike Shiomi 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 tóosite* no insyoo de átta ga ... 'it was my impression from his works that he is a person who ...' (SA 2653.138d).

189. ... watakusi *ni tori* ... 'for me' (Kgg 43.66b); Kore wa o-hutari daké de náku, móttö zimi na sénkyo o tatakatta hitó-tati *ni tótte*, kiwámete human daróo to omóu 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 tówazu(-)* sékái -zyuu no suiri-syóosetu o senmon ni [site] hon'yaku site iru síriizu 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 yósi-asi *o tówazu(-)* ... 'regardless of the worthiness of the goal' (Tanigawa 28); Zé-hi(-) *o tówazu(-)* ... 'Right or wrong ...'; Zín-tiku(-) *o tówazu(-)* ... '(Regardless) whether man or beast ...'; Dánzyo *o tówazu(-)* ... '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. Samúi *ni túkē*^[1] atúi *ni túkē*^[1], iroiro to mondai ga áru 'Whether it's cold or hot, there are various problems'; Génki *ni túkē*^[1], byooki *ni túkē*^[1] ... 'In sickness and in health ...'; Kore *ni túkē*^[1], are *ni túkē*^[1] ... 'Whether this or that ...'; Kikú *ni túkē*^[1], katarú *ni túkē*^[1] ... 'Whether asking or telling ...'. See also p. 900.

196. Sore *ni túkete* mo omoi-dasú no wa ... 'In connection with that one recalls ...' (Maeda 1962.1?).

197. (1) ... to iu mondai *ni tuki*^[1], tasyoo kenkyuu itasimásita 'I did some research with respect to the question of ...' (Ōno 1967.155).

(3) ippún-kan *ni tuki*^[1] nanahyakú-en '700 yen a minute'.

(4) kenkyuu-zyó(-) o hazímete tukúru *ni tuite* ... 'when you first build a research laboratory ...'.

200. ... monó no ketuboo no sensei kara das-súrú *ni ture*, ... 'along with escaping from the tyranny of lack of things ...' (SA 2673.39e).

204. ... *tébebi o tuu-zité no komyunikéesyón* 'communication through television'; ... *sono kanoo-sei o sényo o tuu-zite sirasenákutya 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* *kooen o okonatta* '(gave lectures that embraced two times =) gave lectures at two different times = gave two (separate) lectures' (SA 2674.105b); *San-zíkan ni watari towárete(-) iru* 'She is subjected to questioning over a three-hour period' (SA 2649.127b); ... *zenpan ni watatte no kenkyuu wa ...* 'a general study' (Satō 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 kotó wa kózin no konómí ni mo yotte tiguaú ga ...* 'Which country one prefers varies with the individual's tastes, too, but ...' (Nakane 61).

10 FAVORS

To speak of giving or receiving a favor, you use the verbal gerund *V-té* (§9.2) or its negative *V-(a)nái de* (§8) followed by a verb of giving (*yaru/ageru* 'gives others', *kureru/kudasáru* 'gives us') or of receiving (*morau/itadaku*). *V-te ageru* can abbreviate to *V-t' ageru* (= *V-t[ɛ] ageru*) as in *Tótt' ageru* 'I'll take it'; *Yónd' ageru* 'I'll read it'; *Gakuhi mo dásit' ageru* 'I'll even pay your school expenses' (SA 2674.122e); *Kikasit' agemásu* = *Kikasete agemásu* 'I'll let you hear it'. You may also run across the contraction *-t[e y]aru* = */-taru/*, not to be confused with the literary perfect attributive ending *V-i-tári/-táru* derived from a historical contraction of *V-i-t[e] ár-i/ár-u* (§13.8a, §11) nor with the synchronic contraction in dialect speech of modern *V-t[e] áru*, as described in §9.2.4.(4). An example: *Ore n[o] tókó ni asobi ni kói ya; omosirói asobi mo osietaru* (= *osiet[e y]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 kudasái*) is used in *Kōchi*, *Kagawa*, *Hiroshima*, and *Yamaguchi* (Y 565–6). On *V-te yokósu*, 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/kudasáru*) 'A gives X to B'.

A ga B ni X o site *yaru/ageru* (or: *kureru/kudasáru*) '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 *kará* (though *ní* is sometimes used); when you receive FAVORS, the preference is to mark the source (which is identical with the subject of the verb) with *ní*, though occasionally *kará* may turn up, as in *Niigata* (Shibata 1965.174–5) and *Tsushima* (Zhs 9.29). A favor received: *Bóku(ˉ) wa, anáta ni kooñii o ogotte moratta kotó ga áru n desu yó, íma kara zat-tó¹ sanzyúu-nen mo mukasi no hanasí* '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 *Senséi ga/wa matigái o o-naosi ni náru* 'The teacher corrects the mistakes' we can obtain *Senséi ga/wa [watasi ni] matigái o o-naosi ni nátte kureru/kudasáru* '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 (?) *Watasi ga/wa senséi ni matigái o o-naosi ni nátte 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';¹ *sinái de kureru* 'as a favor to me avoids/stops doing it'; *sinái de kurenai* 'does not do me the favor of not doing it'; *site morawanai* 'doesn't get the favor/kindness of [their] doing it'; *sinái de morau* 'gets the favor of [their] not doing it'; *sinái 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: *Oyá ni sono musuko ni uti^[r] (-) no musumé o moratte yatte itadakenai tó ka tanón da* '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]'; *Tó-ni-kaku, byoositu kara déte itte moratte kudasái* 'Anyway, get her to leave my hospital room' (Endō 143); *Kono syasin-ya ga umái n desu ga, iti-dó^[r] káre no tokoró e itte syasin o utúsíte moratte yatte kudasaimasén ka* '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 matigái da kara watasí ga hanásíte senpoo ni ayamátte moratte yaroo* '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 nomásete 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 hanásu kotó wa koosiki da tó wa omowánai de hosii* '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): *Zyokyúu-táti kara omosirói másutaa da to omoware-tái* '(I) want to be thought a pleasant master by the women helpers'.

With weather phenomena a specific "giver" is not needed: *Hárete kuretára ...* '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 *Áme o hurase-táku náí mon desu né* 'We surely don't want to let/have it rain, do we' = 'I 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 {yo}* for *V-te kure ro {yo}*, *V-te kunsai/kunse/kussai/kusse* for *V-te kure-nasái*, and *V-te kere {yo}* for *V-te kure {yo}*; there is also an example of the spelling "kureu" (presumably pronounced /kuryoo/) for (*V-te*) *kureyoo* = *kurerú daroo* (Y 573-4). Command forms reported include *V-te o-kure* ('old-fashioned, popular in Edo days'), *V-te o-kure yo*, *V-t'okure*, and Ōsaka *V-tookure* and *V-t[e] o-ku[n]nahare* (Y 576-7).

2. *Dóo site hosii desu ka* is ambiguously (1) 'What do you want me/him to do?' (= *dóo* + *site morai-tái desu ka*) or (2) 'Why do you want it?' (= *dóo site* + [*sore ga*] *hosii desu ka*); with a casual ellipsis it can also mean (3) 'Why do you want to have it done?' (= *Dóo site* + [*site*] *hosii desu ka*?). An example of the first meaning is found in this sentence: *Anáta no otto ya koibito ga séntyoo dattara, dóo 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: *Soo site itadakenákute wa (itadakenai to, itadakenákereba) komarímásu* 'It will be too bad (a shame) if we can't have it done for us'; *Soo site itadakenákattara komáru desyóo* '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 kureru* (or *sasete ageru*) means only 'lets one do, permits one to do': *Ikasete kudasái* 'Let me go', *Áto de yomásete agemásu kara* 'I'll let you read it later', *Mata kosásete kurenái 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) ...':

Yomásete itadakimásu 'Let me read it'; *Otootó o turete kosásete itadakemasén ka (= ... turete kíte ii ka)* 'May I bring my little brother along?'; *Syusseki sasete itadakimásu* 'I will (take the liberty to) be in attendance'; *Watakusi mo sitúrei sasete itadakimásu* '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*: *Tikáku mesí de mo kuwánai ka. Ogorasite [= ogorasete] morau yó.* *Izure renraku 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: N_1 *ga sasete morau* = N_1 *ga suru*. (The ping-pong ball has bounced across and back again.) An example: *Koo iu gakuséi-táti wa hotóndo ga ókusan ni tabesásete moratte imásu* 'Almost all such students are being supported by their wives'. Perhaps that is the reason the expression *Itadakasete itadakimásu* (considered servile by Tsujimura 45) seems to be an unnecessarily fancy way of saying simple *Itadakimásu*.

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 nátte ...* (or of ... *nasátte ...*); cf. the common ellipsis of ... *sité^[j] ...* (§9.1.12 and elsewhere).³ Expressions of this sort—with ellipsis not of *sité* but of *ni nátte*—encounter disapproval from some of the grammarians, but they seem to be spreading rapidly and are frequent on radio and television commercials: ... *go-riyoo itadakimásu* 'Please use ... (our product)'; ... *to o-kikase itadakenái desyoo ka* 'Won't you be kind enough to tell me ...?'; *Tyót-to o-mati itadakemásu ka* 'Will you wait a moment, please?' The usage is attributed by KKK 23.28(d) to a syntactic blend of the honorific infinitive + *kudasái* with the form *V-te itadakimásu*. But cases of the honorific infinitive + *kudasái* are themselves to be regarded as containing an ellipsis of *ni nátte* or of *nasátte*: *go-riyoo kudasái* means *go-riyoo nasátte kudasái* 'please use it' and *o-ide kudasái* is to be regarded as *o-ide [ni nátte] kudasái* because there is no **o-ide suru* so it could not be an ellipsis of **o-ide [site] kudasái*.

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 phenomena mentioned earlier ("IT favors us with a clear sky") and perhaps acts of God.⁴ The giving

3. O'Neill calls our attention to the optional ellipsis possible in such expressions as *Tyót-to haiken [sasete [itadakimásu]]* 'I'll take the liberty of looking at it' and suggests that *V-te tyoodái* 'please V' (= *V-te kudasái*) is elliptical for *V-te tyoodai [sasete [itadakimásu]]*. The accent on *tyoodái* 'please' is irregular (perhaps borrowed from *kudasái*?); as a verbal noun the word is atonic, *tyoodai suru*.

4. But *N de átte hosíi* 'I would like to have it be N' (= *N de ari-tái*) is found: *Atasí mo né, Nihón wa tyan-tó sita dokuritú-koku de átte hosíi desu yó* '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 INFLICTING 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 simau* 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: *Nán to ka site tori-agate yaroo* 'I'll get that from you by hook or by crook!'; *Yattaro ka [= Yatte 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: ... *nāka e háittyaro ka to, iroiro kangáeta* 'I kept wondering whether I should enter' (Tk 4.322b); ... *móttö zyootoo nó o kootyare (= katte yare) to omóote (= omótte)*, ... '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/kudasáru* 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 | okutté DAKÉ | yaréba, || mondai wa | arimasén* 'If I just send him the necessary money, there will be no problem'; *Tízu o || káite DAKÉ | moráeba || hitóri de | ikemásu* 'If I can just have a map drawn, I'll be able to go alone'; *Tetudátte BĀKARI (|) yaru to || kodomo no || ziritú-sin ga | naku-naru* 'If one keeps helping him all the time, a child will lose his independence'; *Hito ni (|) tetudátte BĀKARI | moratte || zibun dé wa | náni mo simasén* 'If he keeps getting helped all the time, he will do nothing himself'; *Tetudátte KOSO yare || tetudátte | moratta kotó wa | náí* 'I always precisely give the help and never receive any' (*yaré*, §9.3); *Senséi wa || kotáé o || osieté NĀDO/NĀNKA/NĀNTE | kurenai* 'The teacher never gives us the answers or anything'; *Káre no tamé ni || hataraité NĀDO/NĀNKA/NĀNTE | yaru món ka* 'Why should I work for his sake?!'; *Káre wa || bóku() ni || hón o | kasité DAKÉ WA | kuremásita* 'He was nice enough to actually lend me a book'; *Kono hón wa || is-satú sika | náí kara || kasité WA | yarú ga || yuzuru kotó wa | dekinai* 'I only have this one book, so while I WILL lend it to you, I can't let you keep it'; *Komáru toki wa | o-tagai dá kara || kane o (|) kasité MO | yarú si || monó o || megúnde MO | yarú ga || ítu made mo || ate ni sarerú no wa |*

independent country' (Tk); ... *Tookyoo-ben ni zyuubún té o ireta monó de atte hosii* 'would like to have those with adequately corrected Tōkyō dialect' (Shibata 1965.56). Can you say *N de átte kureru* 'favors us by being N'?

meiwaku 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 || heyá o (I) atae || mesí o || kuwásete SAE || yareba || gekkyuu o yaru hituyoo wa náí '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 || tatta hyaku-en no kane o kasité SURA || kurenai || hidói || yátu da 'He is a mean sonofabitch who won't even lend me a measly hundred yen'.

APPLIED TO AUXILIARY: Tabesásete || yari WA || surú ga || sore -'igai wa || go-men da 'I will see that they get fed, but beyond that, no thank you (= count me out)'; Tama ní wa || tabesásete || agé MO || surú ga || sonna kotó wa || méta ni || náí n desu 'Occasionally (as a favor) I see that they get fed but such occasions are infrequent'; Tegami o káite || agé SAE || sureba || go-ansin nasáru desyoo 'If I just write you a letter you will surely put your mind at ease'; Kono akanboo wa || utá o || utatte yari SAE || sureba || súgu || nemurimásu 'If you just sing this baby a song, he goes right to sleep'; Utá o || utatte morai SAE || sureba || súgu || nemuru || ii || akanboo désu 'He's a good baby who will fall right asleep if he just has a song sung to him'; Asobi ni kíte || morai WA || site mo || tetudái ni || kíte || morattári wa || kessite simasén yó 'I have people come and visit, but I never had them come to help out' (Or: ... kíte morai wa || ... kíte morattári wa || ...); Tama ní wa || kíte || morai MO || surú ga, || betu ni || náka ga (i) || tomodati to iu wáke zya || náí n da 'Occasionally I do indeed have him come around, but that doesn't mean he's a particularly good friend' (Or: ... kíte morai mo || ...).

It is possible to apply the causative, the passive, and so on, either to the gerund or to the auxiliary, depending on the reference: Zotyuu o || misé e (I) yatte || uketori o káite || morawasemasyoo ka 'Shall I send the maid to the store and have her get a receipt written?'; Káno-zyo ni || watasi no warúguti o || kodomo no tokoró e || káite yararete || komátta 'I was distressed at having her write such bad things about me to my son('s place)'; Mā[a] || Konkóru do ga || demonsutoreesyon-híkoo de || koo-site || Nippón e || kíte 'ru toki (i) ni || kono ziko ga || ókita || to iu kotó wa || yahári || wareware ni || soo itta monó o || kangaesásete kureru || tyánsu de (i) mo || átta n de wa || náí ka || to iu yoo (i) na || ki ga itasimásu || ... '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 káite || moratté kara || dási ni || ikimásita 'After having the letter written for me I went to mail it'; Go-byoonin ni || góhan o || tabesásete || ageté kara || uti(-) e (I) kaerimásu 'After seeing to it that the patient gets fed, I will go home'; Kodomo ni || góhan o || tabesásete || yatté kara, || térebi o || mimásita '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 || site kure-te ga nákatte 'there was no one who would be my partner' (Y 577); Moratte kure-te ga arimasén wa, || ... '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 mitekure 'appearance' is derived from a favor sentence, either the imperative Míte kure 'Look at it!' or—more likely—the infinitive míte kure '(to) look at it for us'.

11 THE PERFECT

Almost any sentence¹ can be made perfect ("perfectivized") by replacing the imperfect endings with the appropriate perfect endings: verbs attach the ending -*tá*/-*dá* (with the same changes in shape as the gerund -*té*/-*dé*), adjectives attach the ending -*katta* (a contraction of -*kú átta* < -*kú ári-ta*), and nouns add the copula in its perfectivized form *datta* (a contraction of *dé átta* < *ní-te ári-ta*):

Yobu 'He calls (or will call)'.

Ookii 'It is big'.

Hón da 'It is a book'.

Yonda 'He called (or has called)'.

Ookikatta 'It was big'.

Hón datta 'It was a book'.

Since all negativized sentences are adjectival, they attach the endings appropriate to adjectives:

Yobanai 'He does/will not call'.²

Ookiku nai 'It is not big'.

Hón zya nai 'It is not a book'.

Yobanákatta 'He did not call'.³

Ookiku 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), Conjunctivalized (§ 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 -*tára* and the perfect -*tá* as contrasted with the provisional -*reba* and the imperfect -*ru*. (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 máe* [ni] 'before it happened', for that is said as *suru máe* [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 *Góhan o tábete iru/ita aida* [ni] *damátte ita* 'I was silent while eating my meal' but only *Góhan o tábete iru aida* [ni] *damátte iru* 'I am (or will be) silent while eating' and *Góhan o tábete iru aida* [ni] *damátte i-nasái* '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-yáki(ˉ) ni kagíru* 'The only way to have brook trout is salt-broiled' will not convert to ... *kagitta*. According to Kuno 1973.137 the unmarked, imperfect form is interpreted as present time with STATIVE predicates; with others it is generic (*Ningen ga sinu* 'Man is mortal'), future (*Ore mo sinu* 'I too will die'), or habitual (*Máiasa(ˉ) okíru* '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* = -*ánʃaʃkatta*, listed by MKZ 919b as dialect; I have run across *naránkatta* = *naránakatta* in print. The ending -(á)nda, as in *naránda* = *naránakatta*, 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 datta* 'I was sure there was one', *Ātta hazu datta* 'I was sure there WAS (= had been) one'.

When a question is in the perfect (*Mōo itta ka* 'Has he already gone?') an affirmative reply will also be perfect (*Mōo itta* '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 exchange: *Amerika de mati no naka o o-aruki ni narimāsita ka?—Arukimasēn* 'Did you walk round the city streets (while) in America?—(No,) I didn't' (Tk 2.142a). The following examples use the simple imperfect negative where English would lead us to expect a perfect: *Sono rekōodo ga ureta ka urenai ka wa yōku siranai ga, ...* 'I don't rightly know whether that record sold or not, but ...' (SA 2650.59a); *Yōru, osokū made, matte ta kedo, 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 sinanai* '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 (*Sinasite wa naranai* '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: *Anata wa donata desita = O-namae wa nan to ossyaimāsita ka* 'What did you say your name was?' (when the person has actually not yet said); *Hankō o o-moti desita ne* '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 sōo, tugi no nitiyoo wa yakusoku ga arimāsita* 'Yes, yes, I have [made] an appointment for next Sunday'; *Kōndo no pāt'ii ni wa A san ga kite kureta ne* 'At the next party Mr A [has said that he] will be present'—in isolation this sounds strange. In these sentences, the perfect 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 present situation: *Kore desita ka* 'Oh, so THIS is the one!'

Mikami 1963a.21 gives an example where the perfect *-ta* is equivalent to a tentative perfect *-ta* [da]rōo (and perhaps is to be taken as an ellipsis of that?) with the meaning 'would have done': *Isōgeba ma ni itta ga, totyuu de dannen sita. (Zizitu wa, ma ni awanakatta)* 'If I'd hurried I would have been in time, but I gave up along the way. (The fact is I didn't make it in time)'.

The literary perfect differentiates a predicative (typically sentence-final) form *-tari*, source of the colloquial representative, from an attributive (typically adnominal) form *-taru*, preserved in certain clichés in the colloquial (cf. § 13.9). The literary language also has a perfect provisional (i.e. provisionalized perfect) *-tareba* and a perfect hypothetical (i.e. hypotheticalized perfect) *-taraba*, which is the source of the colloquial conditional; in addition there is a perfect concessive (or concessivized perfect) *-tare[-do]*. For these forms, see § 9.3. The earliest uses of *-ta* in place of the literary *-tari/-taru* are said to be attested around the eleventh century (Satō 1.275).

On the use of the perfect *-ta* for certain verbs as semantically equivalent to V-te iru

under adnominalization (*onná ga hutótte iru* 'the woman is fat' yielding *hutótta onná* or *hutótte 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, *sútta* 'rubbed' < *súru* 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.

12 TENTATIVES AND HORTATIVES

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 *daróo* after the plain imperfect (with ... *dá* obligatorily dropping in the nominal sentences) or after the plain perfect (with optional ellipsis of {*da*}*róo* = ‘*róo*’);¹ 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 daróo* → *kore daro* ‘it must be this’.² The ending derives from the literary *-a[m]u*, by way of contraction and vowel crasis, with the *-y-* intercalated automatically after a front vowel (*i* or *e*): *si-amu* > *si-a’u* > *siya’u* > *siyoo* ‘let’s do it’ (cf. p. 613 n.15). But *koyóo* ‘let’s come’ is irregular. The formal differentiation of the tentative (*surú daroo*) from the hortative is attested from the early part of the nineteenth century (Gekkan-Bumpō 1/8.66).

12.1. THE TENTATIVE; *DARÓO*

Forms of the tentative are easily made by adding *daróo*—or | *daróo*³—‘probably, I think’ to the imperfect (but *N dá* obligatorily drops the *dá*):

- Yobu. Yobú *daroo* (or: Yobu *daróo*) ‘I think [someone] calls, will call’.
Ookii. Ookii *daroo* (or: Ookii *daróo*) ‘It must/would be big (I think)’.
Hón da. Hón *daroo* (or: Hón *daróo*) ‘It must be a book; I think/bet it is a book’.

1. But *daróo* and its polite form *desyóo* often shorten the final vowel (*daró*, *desyó*), as do the dialect versions *zyaró[o]* and *yaró[o]*. An example of the latter: *Ittai, dónai sitára ée yaró ka* (= *dónna ni sitára ii daroo ka*) ‘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 ‘ró[o]* as in this example: *Iyara-sii ko to omóttá ‘ro?* ‘You must’ve thought me a dreadful boy?’ (SA 2639.44a). Instead of *daróo* 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: *kaoo* ‘let’s buy’, *ioo* ‘let’s say’, *kuóo* ‘let’s eat’, *kayoóo* ‘let’s commute’, *hirooo* ‘let’s pick it up’ (*hiroóo ka* ‘shall we pick it up?’). In the Hepburn romanization, the last two are to be spelled *kayoō* and *hiroō*. The distinction between *iyoo* ‘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 *daróo* with *zyaróo* or *yaró[o]* (Y 367). In written Japanese you will sometimes find ... *de aróo* used for ... *daróo* (cf. Y 359–66): *Inokiti ozi wa máda nán-nen mo ikiru de aróo* ‘Uncle Inokichi will surely stay alive for some years yet’ (Ig 1965.82); *Dé wa, Eigo nádo de wa, koo iu baai ni dónna hyoogén() o tóru de aróo ka* ‘Well, in such situations what kind of expressions would they take in English, say?; ... *akiraka ni, Igirisu-éiga no tugí no zidai o seúu ituzai 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 *desyóo* you will also come across *de arimasyóo*: *Konna katte na musuko ga kono-yó() ni áru de arimasyóo 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-tó...] *V-ru de aroo* 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.

The tentative perfect (i.e. the tentativized perfect) is made by adding *daróo*—or | *daróo*—to the perfect (V-*tá*, A-*káttá*, N *dáttá*); the first syllable of *daróo* optionally drops:⁴

Yobu.	Yonda.	Yondá [da]roo (or: Yonda [da]róo) 'He probably called.'
Ookii.	Oókikatta.	Oókikatta [da]roo (or: Oókikatta [da]róo) 'It probably was big'.
Hón da.	Hón datta.	Hón datta [da]roo (or: Hón datta [da]róo) 'It probably was a book'.

The usual polite stylization will simply replace *daróo* by *desyóo*; the nominal sentences can be made more polite by replacing N *desyóo* with N *de gozaimasyóo* (or N *de gozaimásu desyoo*). If the noun is to be exalted, the polite form is N *de irassyáru desyoo* and the hyperpolite form is N *de irassyaimasyóo* (or N *de irassyaimásu desyoo*). See § 22.

Tentatives can be made on negativized sentences as you would expect:

Yobu.	Yobanai.	Yobanáí daroo (or: Yobanai daróo).
Ookii.	Oókiku náí.	Oókiku náí daroo (or: Oókiku náí daróo).
Hón da.	Hón zya náí.	Hón zya náí daroo (or: Hón zya náí daróo).

But, especially in written Japanese, you will often find the forms *Yobanakaróo*, *Oókiku nakaróo*, and *Hón de/zya nakaróo* 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 *ˉmái* 'He probably doesn't/won't call'.

When this variant is chosen for vowel verbs, *-ru* will optionally drop:

Tabéru. (→ Tabénai.) → Tabé[ru] *ˉmái* = /taberumái/ or /tabemái/ 'He probably doesn't/won't eat'.

Míru. (→ Mínai.) → Mí[ru] *ˉmái* = /mirumái/ or /mimái/ 'He probably doesn't/won't look'.

The form for *suru* is *su[rú] ˉmái* = /surumái/ or /sumái/ and for *kúru* it is *kú[rú] ˉmái* = /kurumái/ or /kumái/, as expected, but the variants *si-mái* and *ki-mái* are more common in written texts and there are dialect forms *ko-mái* and *se-mái*.⁵ This variant is more often written than spoken, so that we can include it with *aróo*, A-*karóo*, etc., as the LITERARY TENTATIVE (§ 12.3).⁶ These forms with *ˉmái* are also used as the negative hortative

4. These forms are often treated as a separate conjugational category ("taroo" etc.), but that fails to account for the minor juncture which can set *róo* off from *'ta*. It should be noted, however, that *-ta 'róo* includes N *désita 'róo* for which I doubt there will be an unabbreviated N *désita daróo*: *Ítu o-hanasi kudasaimásita?—Sáa, gógatu desita 'róo 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 *kúru ˉmái* and *suru ˉmái* are sometimes regarded with suspicion; thus SA 2658.39ab condemns not only *kúru ˉmái* for *ki-mái*, but also *míru ˉmái* for *mi-mái* and *iru ˉmái* for *i-mái*. (See § 15.12a for further discussion.) But Hayashi 149 says that *ko-mái* and *si-mái* are not very popular and that *kúru/suru ˉmái* should not be regarded as mistakes. He observes that none of the forms is much in use "except for limited phrases such as *áru ˉmái*" (and even for that, *naí daroo* is much more in evidence), but that the potential is apt to turn up: *ie-mái*, *korare-mái*. (What about *ieru ˉmái* = *ienáí daroo* and *kor[ar]éru ˉmái* = *ko[ra]rénai daroo*?) I suspect that disapproval of the longer *-ru ˉmái* forms for vowel verbs is stronger when the form is used as TENTATIVE rather than as HORTATIVE. The word *mái*, also heard as *mé[e]* in eastern dialects, is an abbreviation of the literary postverbal auxiliary adjective *mázi[-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:

(‘let’s not’)—often in quotations; see below (§ 12.2). They can be stylized: V-i-^(t)masú ^(t)maí (§ 22.1) = V-i-masén desyóo, V-(a)nái desyóo.

The tentative perfect negatives are made as expected:

Yobu. → Yobanai. → Yobanákat^(t)a. → Yobanákat^(t)a [da]róo ‘He probably didn’t call’.

Ookii. → Óokiku náí. → Óokiku nákat^(t)a. → Óokiku nákat^(t)a [da]róo ‘It probably wasn’t big’.

Hón da. → Hón zya náí. → Hón zya nákat^(t)a. → Hón zya nákat^(t)a [da]róo ‘It probably wasn’t a book’.

When the tentative conversion is applied to a nominal sentence with a focused nucleus (N dé wa/mo áru), younger speakers will use the form (N dé wa/mo) áru daroo but older speakers sometimes use aróo: Muzukasii(̄) mondai dé wa aróo ga = Muzukasii(̄) mondai dé wa áru daroo ga ‘It must be a difficult problem, but ...’. The corresponding literary form from N ní wa/mo ári, focused version of N nári, is N ní wa/mo ará[m]u (with the contracted form ará’u pronounced aróo) or N ní wa/mo arán (by reduction from arám[u]). The negative for the colloquial will be (N dé wa/mo) náí daroo—or nakaróo—but older speakers sometimes use (N dé wa/mo) áru ^(t)maí; the polite versions are (N dé wa/mo) náí/ arimasén desyóo and (N dé wa/mo) arimásu ^(t)maí. The literary negative forms will be (N ní wa/mo) arazarámu/arazarán or (N ní wa/mo) arázi.

Focused adjectives make the tentative on the auxiliary áru: A-kú wa/mo áru will form the tentative A-kú wa/mo áru daroo and older speakers sometimes use A-kú wa/mo aróo. The negative forms are A-kú wa/mo náí daroo—or nakaróo—and older speakers will sometimes use A-kú wa/mo áru ^(t)maí. Focused verbs make the tentative on the auxiliary suru: V-í wa/mo surú daroo; the negative is sinái daroo—or sinakaróo—and older speakers sometimes use suru ^(t)maí.

The colloquial tentative does not adnominalize,⁷ 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 ...[nó] daróo is especially common, citing a number of good examples. Perhaps his remarks tie in with the observation made by Mikami (1963a.78) that | daróo/desyóo is often equivalent to | né[e] ‘don’t you know/agree?, you see, n’est-ce pas?’: Watasi wa Méizi ^(t)umare desyóo, dá kara ... ‘I was born in the Meiji period, you see, so ...’; Kimi wa iku daróo ‘You’re going, aren’t you’; Kora, úmaku itta ^(t)róo ‘Now this has gone well, hasn’t it’; O-wasure desyóo ‘You’ve forgotten, haven’t you’. (These sentences would commonly be said with the final rise of intonation that signals a question. And an

FORM	OCCURRENCES	RATIO
...nakaroo	7	.0761
...nai daroo	45	.4891
...maí	<u>40</u>	<u>.4348</u>
	92	1.0000

But polite forms such as simásu ^(t)maí occur only twice, versus 20 instances of forms such as sinái desyoo. One fourth of the instances of ...maí are for the verb áru: nine of áru ^(t)maí and one of arimásu ^(t)maí. (It is unclear how many of the occurrences of ...maí 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 *... daróo no de or *... daróo mon [da kara], despite the acceptability of ... daróo kara ‘because probably’. Cf. Nagano 1970.305.

underlying juncture sets off the tentative marker at the end, as explained below.) On sentence-final *daróo/desyóo ni*, see §17.8. On exclamatory uses such as *Dónna ni (Nán to) ... daróo!* '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 ... *ká mo sirenai*). The former meaning is usually expressed with no juncture between the verb and *daróo/desyóo*, so that the latter automatically loses its accent. The 'maybe' meaning is expressed by inserting an underlying minor juncture which preserves the accent of *daróo* or *desyóo*, removing the final accent that is basic to the imperfect and perfect forms of "atonic" imperfects; the accent of *daróo* or *desyóo* is automatically reduced to "secondary" (some-what lower) after the imperfect and perfect forms of the tonic verbs:⁸

Usi o *káu desyoo* '(I think) he'll raise cattle'.

Usi o *káu | desyóo* 'Maybe he'll raise cattle'.

Toti o *káu desyoo* '(I think) he'll buy land'.

Toti o *kau desyóo* 'Maybe he'll buy land'.

Usi o *kátta desyoo* '(I think) he raised cattle'.

Usi o *kátta | desyóo* 'Maybe he raised cattle'.

Toti o *kattá desyoo* '(I think) he bought land'.

Toti o *katta desyóo* 'Maybe 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 conditionalized 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 daróo* can represent the imperfect of either *Kodomo dátta daroo* or *Kodomo dátta | daróo*. You will find *Daróo* 'I guess (so)' (Fn 338b) used all alone as a sentence, perhaps to be regarded as an ellipsis of [Sore] *daróo* or the like.

Certain adverbs and adverbial phrases typically anticipate a tentative: *kit-tó, tábun, osóroku, ookata, sá-zo(-kasi); mósi ka sitara* (or *mósi ka suru to*), *hyót-to suru to; arúi-wa; ...* And certain adverbs—notably *másaka* and *yómo 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 *ṽbé-ki* (attributive) or *ṽbé-si* (predicative), which functions as a kind of postadnominal, though the literary language prefers to attach it to the predicative forms of all verbs⁹ so that the literary language has *su ṽbé-ki/-si* where the colloquial language will use *suru ṽbéki da*, with *béki* 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 *ór-, ár-*, and derivatives, which here use their true predicative

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 obligational 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 *bé* (by shortening). But some dialects use *˘ppé* instead of *bé[e]*, and others introduce a nasal¹⁰ *˘nbé[e]*, especially after *dá* or *-tá*. Though some dialects are said to use these forms as hortatives, the common usage is as a tentative 'probably': *Sore [w]a átta ˘ppé ná* = *Sore wa átta [da]róo ná* 'That must have happened' (Ibaragi, Zhs 2.36).

Here is a chart of forms, showing several dialect versions:

VERSION 1	VERSION 2	VERSION 3	STANDARD
V-rú ˘bé[e]	V-rú ˘nbé[e]	V-rú ˘ppé	V-rú daróo ⁽ⁱ⁾
V-tá ˘bé[e]	V-tá ˘nbé[e]	V-tá ˘ppé	V-tá daróo ⁽ⁱ⁾

In place of *áru ˘[n]bé[e]* or *áru ˘ppé* you will usually hear *anbé[e]* or *appé*, and that is the origin of the adjective forms in *-kanbé[e]* and *-kappé* (by way of abbreviation from *-ku a-...*):

A-kanbé[e]	A-kappé	= A-í daróo ⁽ⁱ⁾
A-kattanbé[e]	A-kattappé	= A'katta [da]róo ⁽ⁱ⁾
V-(a)nakanbé[e]	V-(a)nakappé	= V-(a)nái daróo ⁽ⁱ⁾
V-(a)nakattanbé[e]	V-(a)nakattappé	= V-(a)nákatta [da]róo ⁽ⁱ⁾

An example: *Senséi to kakeai dé mo yarasitára, omosirokanbée 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 *-gappé* (with nonnasal *g*), as in *yogappé = ii daroo* 'will be all right, I guess' (Ibaragi, Zhs 2.51).

For *N daróo* you will hear *N danbé[e]* or *N dappé*. Where the standard language would have *S n[ó] daroo* you will find *S danbé[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[o] 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 ˘mé[e]* instead of *V-(a)nakanbé[e]* or *V-(a)nakappé*; where the standard language will use *áru ˘mái* for *nái daroo* (or *nakaróo*) you will hear *án ˘mé[e]* used for *nakanbé[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 *óru, 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 arámu t^[j] 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 arámu [t^[j]] su[ru] arámu, in form roughly analogous to *aróo t^[j] surú [no de] aróo.

But there are dialects in Shizuoka (and in Nagano, Yamanashi, Mikawa—Zhs 3.18) which permit an option of S zura or S ra for the affirmative tentative; the difference between the two forms is apparently rather like that signaled by the underlying juncture before dároo/desyóo for some Tōkyō 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 t^[j]su and -(a)mu wá í (= yó). There are dialect speakers who pronounce -azura as -(a)tura, 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 daró[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)o = -(y)oo < -a[m]u. These -(y)o mai forms are now largely limited to use as the negative hortative: iko mai 'let's not go', okiyo mai 'let's not get up'. But aro mai can only be an older way to say arahen yaro (or nai yaro) = náí 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 (= -másu desyoo), déssyaro and dássyaro (= desyóo), made by adding yaro to -mas[u] and des[u]/das[u] with gemination of the sibilant; cf. § 22.1. The Kyūshū forms nán dairo and dóo-site dairo (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 daróo. The ending for the hortative is -(y)oo; it attaches as -oo or -óo to consonant bases, as -yoo or -yóo to vowel bases. For kúru 'comes' the form is koyóo, for suru 'does' siyoo; in traditional Ōsaka speech these shorten to kó[o] and syo[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 Sōseki. The traditional accentuation is determined by that of the base: yoboo 'let's call' is unaccented because yob- is atonic, tabeyóo 'let's eat' is accented because tábe- is tonic. But some speakers put an accent on the suffix, regardless of the base; for them the ending is -[y]óo. Even speakers who—with us—distinguish Usi o kaoo 'Let's buy cattle' from Usi o kaóo 'Let's raise cattle'¹¹ 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 -á[m]u for tonic verbs.

particle *tó*, since there are two traditions of accentuating S *tó*: we follow the version that implies an underlying juncture which will suppress the final accent of an atonic form (*kaú* | *tó* → *kau* *tó*) but some speakers attach the particle with no underlying juncture (*kaú* *tó* → *kaú* *to*), and for such speakers *Usi o kaóo to omóu* could mean either 'I think I'll raise cattle' or (equivalent to our *Usi o kaoo to omóu*) 'I think I'll buy cattle'.

Certain verbals are not used in the hortative. Although *iyoo* 'let's stay' is made from *iru*, there is no hortative made from *áru* (*aróo* always functions as the literary tentative); nor are there hortatives for potentials (*V-e-yóo* and *dekiyóo* are literary tentatives) or, except under special circumstances, for verbs expressing actions outside human control. Normally *wakáru* 'understands' would be precluded from conversion to a hortative (especially if the underlying object is expressed), but embedded in larger structures you will find *Yóku wakaróo to site go-ran nasái* 'Try to understand a little better'; ... *wakaróo to dóryoku(=) site kuremasu né* 'they kindly try to understand' (SA 2671.120c). *Suguréru* 'excels' is similar: *Hito ni sugureyóo to sitára ...* 'If you would [= wish to] surpass others ...'. Verbs which will not readily make hortatives will not readily make imperatives (or any command forms), either.

Passives are not ordinarily made hortative, but occasional examples may turn up: *Homerareyóo (= Homerare-tái) to site sore o sita* 'He did that with the idea of getting praised for it'; *Íi kotó o site sensei ni homerareyóo* 'I want to do something nice to get praised by the teacher'; *Urayamasi-garaseyóo to site ...* '... with the idea of exciting envy'; *Ame ni hurareyóo* '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. *Yobareyoo* 'Let's get invited'¹² sounds all right but *Tabesugiyoo* 'Let's overeat' may seem odd.

Since hortatives can be made only from verbals, 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 kotó/yóo ni siyoo* 'Let's not go') or 'let's give up (the idea of) doing' (*Ikú no o yameyoo* '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: *Yameyoo* 'Let's not [do it]'. To mean 'let's not' or 'I think I won't' you can also use the *V-ru* *~mái* variant of the tentative (§12.1): *Sikási, íma ya yo-nó-naka ga sukkári kawattá no da kara, kúdo-kudo iu ~mái* '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: *Iku ~mái to omótta* 'I thought I wouldn't go' (= *Ikanai yóo ni siyoo to omótta*; *Ikú no o yameyoo to omótta*); *Ano kotó o iu ~mái to omótta kedo ...* 'I didn't mean to say that but ...'. We can treat this *V-ru* *~mái* 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-(á)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 yó* is adequate to express *suru ~mái*.

The hortative can be extended (§15) with *né[e]*, *ká*, *ká né*, *ká sira*, *yó*,¹³ *zé*; but there

12. *Yobaremasyóo* is used as an old-fashioned equivalent of *Itadakimásu* 'I accept (food/drink)' as in *Sore dé wa sekkakú desu kara hitótu yobaremasyóo ka* 'Well since you are so persuasive perhaps I'll just have one'.

13. And its synonym *yá*: *Kón'ya wa bihuteki o tabeyóo yá* 'Tonight let's have steak!' (SA

is no *V-[y]oo wá/zó or *V-[y]oo ká mo sirenai; nor, except in dialects, *V-[y]oo sá. You can add *zya náí* [ka/no] (§15.16): *Yameyóo zya náí 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: *Sáa háyaku ikimasyóo* 'Come let's go quickly'; *Sore wa bóku(-) ga yarimasyóo* 'I'll take care of that matter'. The statement of intention is often quoted with *tó*^[l] *omóu* 'I think/feel that', as is the desiderative: *Kaeróo to omóu* 'I think I'll leave (for home)', *Kaeri-tái to omóu* 'I feel like leaving (for home)'—either sentence will sometimes correspond to English 'I want to leave (for home)'; *Rentá-kaa de simá o doráibu siyoo to omótte* '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 *nánte*: ... *zénbu o yomóo nádo*^[o] *to kangáénai de ...* 'wasn't thinking of reading all of it, exactly, but ...' (SA 2657.104b); *Ryuukoo-go o tukuróo nánte*^[o] *ito wa, zenzen náí 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),¹⁴ there are various nouns that can be pressed into temporary duty as substitutes, as in the sentence *Ningen ga kikái o doogú to site tukau to iu kotó wa, kikái ni wa dekin[u] kotó o ningen ga yaroo to iu wáke 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 *náni o kakusóo* '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, ll náni o kakusóo ll sumóo-tóri no (l) na da* 'Actually, to be quite frank, it's the name of a wrestler' (Okitsu 1.151). For expressions with *V-(y)óo 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 wámete zimú-syo no náka e hairóo to sita* 'I started to enter the office, making my way through the crowd' (Ig 38); *Dáre mo kuti o hirakóo to sinákatta* 'Nobody tried to open his mouth' (Ig 38); *Minato no urayama kara tukí ga agaroo to site iru* 'The moon is about to come up from the hill behind' (Ig 38); *Káre wa utá o utatte miyóo to sita* 'He attempted a song' (Ig 38); *Zimú-syo no denki-dókei wa sán-zi o sugiyóo to site iru* 'The electric clock in the office is about to go past three o'clock' (Ig 38); *Kimi ga kawá o tobi-koeyóo to sita tokí*^[l], *hoori-dásite ittá no wa bóku(-) no inú da yó* '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 sinákatta* 'The bus was not about to stop = The bus showed no signs of stopping' (Ig 1962.84); *Kodomó-táti wa Yosíharu no kao o miyóo to mo sinai* 'The children are reluctant to look Yoshiharu in the face' (Ig 38).

2662.51c). An example of *yó*: *Dóko ka tookú no toti e itte, hutari daké no seikatu o simasyóo yó* '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]óo* is singular and *V-[y]óo ká/né* is plural is unsubstantiated in the speech of a number of speakers I have checked. Hirayama (1968.59) observes that *V-masyóo* is used as a mild command in Nagano prefecture.

Sometimes V-(y)oo tó is followed by other verbs, perhaps with ellipsis of site^[1] or omótte: Munagurusii náka de, Sáeki(¯) wa túma no geta no otó o kikoo to (? {site}) aséttá ga, muda na dóryoku 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); ... utukusii huzin o túma ni siyoo to (? {omótte}) oi-kakéru '... chases after a beautiful woman wanting to make her his wife' (Ōno 1966.46); ... úmi no soko no sinzyu o toróo to (? {omótte}, ? {site}) mizu ni mogúru 'they dive in the water to get pearls from the bottom of the sea' (Ōno 1966.48). And hortative + tó^[1] iu toki ni or + tó^[1] ú no ni can mean just 'when about/ready/fixing to do', § 21.1.(23).

The literary equivalent of -[y]oo 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" = kaká'u = kakóo 'let's write'.¹⁵ In modern writings -(a)mu sometimes appears in the reduced form -(a)n,¹⁶ 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 = ikanai 'does/will not go'. And in place of siyoo 'let's do it' in written Japanese you will sometimes find the form sen, an abbreviation of semu that is homonymous with the abbreviation of senu = sinai 'does/will not do it': VN sen ga tamé ni = VN [siyoo to] suru tamé ni 'in order to do (VN)', § 14.6. The adverb ikán-sen 'to one's regret' derives from iká-ni semu and thus is parallel in structure to the modern dóo 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 -masyóo and its historical spelling -maseu (= masé'u < -masému), which parallels the polite negative -masén < -masén[u]. The adverb arán-kágiri (= áru kágiri) 'to the utmost' is derived from arámu kágiri, which is formally equivalent to modern aróo + kágiri. In the phrase iwan-kata náki késiki 'indescribable scenery' we find a reduction of iwamu katá = ioo katá 'way to say' + the literary attributive of ná; the colloquial parallel would be ii-yoo ga ná 'lacks a way to tell'. The predicative and infinitive forms also occur: iwan-kata nási 'is unutterable, indescribable', iwan-kata náku '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 ...eu for this ending on certain of the vowel verbs (and the polite auxiliary "-maseu" = -masyóo), 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-amu > semu (crasis) > se'u. (The spelling "seu", traditionally pronounced /syoo/, is an archaism, Y 154). Siyoo itself would then be explained as si[-i]s[e'u] > si[y]e'u > siyoo (mutual assimilation of vowels), and koyóo as kó[í]s[e'u] > kó[y]e'u > kóyoo with only the accent amiss.

16. The following forms may be puzzling at first sight: kón = kómu = koyóo 'come'; [i]dén = [i]dému = deyóo 'emerge'; én = ému = eyóo 'get'; hén = hému = heyóo 'pass'; hín = hímu = hiyóo 'dry'; ín = ímu = iyóo 'shoot' or 'cast (metal)'; mín = mímu = miyóo 'see'; in = imu = iyoo 'be, stay'; kin = kimu = kiyo '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 ná 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 = tarámu = t[ó] áru daroo; ... kásyu TARAN to kokorozásita 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 arámu, § 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 daroo, as in the expression náni o omói-ken 'what was [one] thinking of, what could one be thinking of = of all things' (Endō 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 bákari 'all but (doing); on the verge of (happening)', which some people assume to come from -(a)mu bákari, presumably analogous to a modern V-[y]oo TÓ^[1] {site/omótte} bákari,¹⁷ while others take it to represent -(a)nu bákari = -(a)nai bákari. Yuzawa thought the form originated as -(a)mu bákari and got reinterpreted as -(a)nu bákari in Edo times, but Yoshida cites examples showing that -(a)nu bákari 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)nu 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 bákari. We find examples of -(a)nai bákari in the prose of Kubota Mantarō: ... nakanai bákari ni 'all but weeping'; Atarimae na kotó da to iwanai bákari ni Sensi wa itta 'Senshi spoke as if almost to say "Only proper"'. And a vaudeville example: Hónoo o hukánee [= hukánai] bákari de, ... '[The cat's eyes] nearly came ablaze ...' (Okitsu 1.164). Four examples from Meiji fiction are cited in Y 191; see also Gekkan-Bumpō 1/8.64 (1969).

Examples of S tó^[1] iwan bákari ni/no 'as if almost to say' (etc.) will be found in Alfonso 719. Here are some examples of that verb and of others: Aité wa kubi o katamúkete, makoto ni husigi na o-tazune da to iwan bákari no kao o suru 'The other fellow cocked 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 iwaren bákari 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 suri-tuke suri-tuke, gookyuu sen bákari 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 hasánde neppuu no Ahurika-táiriku to hotóndo hure-awán bákari no íti 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 huri-aogu to, ussoo to sita Árupusu no kurói mori ga nosi-kakaran bákari ni site sobiète irú no ga míeta '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); Odoróita no wa, éiga(¯) no marason no tokoró ni náru to, gekizyoo ga waren bákari no nekkyyoo désita yó 'What surprised me was when the film got to the marathon part, the theater

17. Ellipsis of the quotative tó is common in many dialects, as we have mentioned in § 2.2a.

almost burst with frenzy' (Tk 3.76a); *Sosite káre wa, damátte kangae-tuzukete iru bóku* (o tyót-to nagámete, túi ni huki-dasan 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.

12.3. THE LITERARY TENTATIVE

The following verbs are frequently used in modern writings with the hortative ending but tentative meaning: *aróo* = *áru daroo* 'probably is/has', *dekiyóo* = *dekiru daroo* 'probably can', *ieyoo* = *ieru daroo* 'probably can say' (potential §4.4). Perhaps we can say that *-(y)oo* is freely written for *-ru daroo* in the case of any verb for which the hortative meaning is normally precluded, such as *áru*, 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 (*kumóru desyoo* etc.).¹⁹ The honorific stylization of *áru* (→ *gozaimásu* §22.2) is regularly used with the hortative ending for the tentative so that the honorific form corresponding to *áru daroo*/*desyoo* is either *gozaimasyóo* or *gozaimásu desyoo*. And some speakers will find *arimasyóo* more elegant than *áru desyoo* for the polite tentative of *áru*: *To iú no wa, kyoogén ni wa arayúru omosirói monó ga arimasyóo?* 'What I mean is, there are surely all sorts of amusing things among the *kyōgen* farces, don't you think?' (SA 2659.49c—speaking is Nomura Manzō, born in Tōkyō 1898); *Iroiro go-human mo arimasyóo ga, soko o hitótu ...* 'I am sure you must have various dissatisfactions; ... one of them ...'.

For the adjective, in place of *A-í daroo* many dialects—including some that infiltrate the Tōkyō area—use *A-karóo*, a contraction of *A-k[ú] aróo*. So we find *ookikaróo* = *ookii daroo*, *sukunakaróo* = *sukunái daroo*, *omokaróo* = *omói daroo*—as well as the negatives mentioned earlier (*nakaróo* = *nái daroo*, *yobanakaróo* = *yobanái daroo*—cf. Y 203-4) and other conversions that yield adjectivals such as the desiderative (*yobi-takaróo* = *yobi-tái 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 *ní*, see §17.6. Such sentences as *Nihon-séihin wa yasukaróo warukaróo* [to iu 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 {ga} = yasúi daroo ga*. We are including the variant negative tentative *V-ru ~mái* = *V-(a)nái daroo* as a literary tentative (§12.1); it can be followed by the particle *yó*, §15.3.

There is an older literary tentative—apparently only for verbs—that is made by adding *faɽrámu* or its contraction *faɽrán* to the predicative forms, including the genuine predicative forms for *áru* and related verbs (i.e. *áru*, not *ári*). 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 *daroo* when it follows a verb. Cf. Henderson 237-8.

18. So that *sareyoo* 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 *dekiru*.

19. Yet I can report hearing the following on the NHK TV weather report of 9 p.m. 25 August 1968: ... *niwaka-áme ga arimasyóo* 'there will likely be showers'; *Nittyuu tokidoki haremasyóo* 'During the day there will probably be sunny periods'.

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 proredication 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 *gá* as subject or by *ó* as object; generally excluded are precopular nouns (§13.8), adjectival nouns (§13.5a), and adverbs (§13.7)—but those restrictives that yield adverbial phrases (such as *daké*, *gúrai*, *kágiri*, [*k*] *kirí*, etc., §2.4) and the postadnominals *yóo* and *mítai*, which have the grammar of adjectival nouns, will serve as epithemes. Pronouns, proper nouns, and deictics can appear as targets of adnominalization: *Sono kóro no bóku(¯) wa ...* ‘(The me of that period =) In those days I ...’; *Nagái aida koko ni sún-de iru Tanaka senséi wa ...* ‘Professor Tanaka, who has lived here for a long time, ...’; *Tookyoo no dóko ga itiban nigiyaka desu ka* ‘Where in Tōkyō is the liveliest?’; *Anáta ga ryokoo sita dóko ga itiban omosírókatta desyoo ka* ‘Which of the places you travelled did you find most interesting?’; *Iti-nen ¯zyuu no itu ga itiban sukí desu ka* ‘What time in the year do you like best?’; *Kimi ga Amerika ni sún-de ita itu ga itiban tanosíkatta* ‘What time while you were living in America was the most pleasant?’; *Dóko-soko no dáre ga ...* ‘Who from such-and-such place ...’; *Kore wa máta(¯) Hónkón de tábeta náni yori mo oisíkatta* ‘This was, moreover, (better than anything [else] I ate =) the best thing I ate in Hongkong’ (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*, *warawanákatta*) ‘The child laughs (laughed, doesn’t laugh, didn’t laugh)’ → *Warau* (*Waratta*, *Warawanai*, *Warawanákatta*) *kodomo dá* ‘[That] is the child who laughs (laughed, doesn’t laugh, didn’t laugh)’; *Kodomo ga tiisái* (*tiisakatta*, *tiisaku nái*, *tiisaku nákatta*) → *Tiisái* (*Tiisakatta*, *Tiisaku nái*, *Tiisaku nákatta*) *kodomo dá* ‘[That] is the child who is little (was little, isn’t

1. Even S ga S: *Tiisái ga syareta zyuutaku* ‘[It was] a small but stylish residence’ (SA 2642.37d); ... *sono sasáyaka da ga kityoo na hina ...* ‘those humble yet precious dolls’ (SA 2670.140d); *Takái ga, umái komé o kai-tai syoohi-sya mo irú 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 conjunctivalizations are avoided in adnominalized sentences. But here is an example of adnominalization of parallel sentences conjoined with the provisional (§9.3.2): *Syokúryoo(¯) mo tarinákeraba koogyoo-génryoo mo tarinai 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 *áru*, *náru* = *ni áru* (copula—but not *náru* ‘becomes’), *táru* = *tó áru* (subjective copula), *óru*, and *habér-u* (polite or humble auxiliary) are all irregular in that they use the infinitive (*ári*, *nári*, *tári*, *óri*, *habéri*) 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.

little, wasn't little)'; *Kodomo ga byooki dátta* (*byooki zya nákatta*) 'The child was ill (was not ill)' → *Byooki dátta* (*Byooki zya nákatta*) *kodomo dá* '[That] is the child who was ill (who was not ill)'

But nominal sentences that are imperfect replace *dá* 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"), *dá* 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').⁴ Other nouns, including precopular nouns, convert *dá* to *nó* before most nouns, but before certain post-adnominals they too use *ná*: *bákari*, *daké*, *dókoró*, *gúrai*, *hodó*, *ígai*, *ízyoo*, *kágiri*, *máde*, *?monó₁*, *monó₂*, *wáke*, and the nominalizations with *nó* (in its several meanings, see § 14.2) and with *kotó₁* (§ 14.1).⁵

Instead of *nó* or *ná* you will sometimes find *de áru*, the formal equivalent of *dá* that is often used in speeches and the like; it adnominalizes without change: *Watasi ga kánzi 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 *génki* and *byooki*: *Anó-hito ga byooki da* 'He is ill' → *Byooki no hitó da* 'It is an ill person' but *Anó-hito ga génki da* 'He is well' → *Génki na hitó da* 'It is a well person'. There is some flux in usage of *ná* or *nó* after certain adjectival nouns. Thus, though normally *muda* 'futile' would be followed by *ná* in all adnominalizations, before the postadnominal *yóo* speakers optionally use *nó*; Mio 146 says this is true also of *mendóo* 'troublesome', *o-kinodoku* 'pitiful', and perhaps many others. (Examples of *suki no yóo* will be found on p. 766.) Is this because *yóo* is itself adnominalized with *ná*? Alfonso 1047 presents the pattern AN *na/no yóo da* and N *no yóo da*; it is unclear whether this is intended to hold for *yóo na/ni* as well as for *yóo da*. (Alfonso 1055 has *hituyoo NA yóo NI*.) Hamako Chaplin suggests that AN *na yóo* is more colloquial, AN *no yóo* more formal. More examples:

Káre no kentiku wa kiwámete dokusoo-teki no yóo de ite, dóozí(¯) ni watási-táti, tooyóo-zin no konpon-teki na muzyóo-kan o humáete 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 éaku kantan no yóo ni ittá keredo ...* 'Mr Nojima spoke with admirable simplicity but ...' (SA). (An example of ... *ii-ta-ge no yóo de aru* will be found on p. 994, § 20.) Although *hu-hítúyoo* '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: *Siréi-syo(¯) no yóo na gyoogyoosii monó ga hu-hítúyoo NO baai wa, syookái-bun(¯) o káku meisi no búnsyoo de sore-to-náku 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-hítúyoo NA monó* 'an unnecessary thing' while accepting either ... *NA/NO baai* 'a situation in which it is unnecessary'; I presume that 'an unnecessary situation' (with *baai* extruded from the subject rather than intruded as a summational or transitional epitheme) would be only ... *NA baai*.

5. Although *ná* is called for in *S₁ kotó wa S₁ ga* (p. 843), after a pure noun or a precopular noun you may run across an inappropriately formal *nó* instead: *Yuumei na gakusya no [= na] kotó wa yuumei na gakusya désu ga* 'He is a famous scholar, to be sure, but'; *Byooki no [= na] kotó wa byooki dá ga* 'He is sick, of course, but'. In the following example the precopular noun *dooyoo* is followed by *ná* before *kotó₂*: *motiron dooyoo NA kotó ga ieru* 'of course the same sort of thing can be said' (Tsuji'mura 70)—cf. ... *máe no zyo-tén'in to dooyoo NO ayamári* 'the same kind of mistake as/that the lady clerk mentioned earlier' (id. 69). Both N *no kotó o sitte iru* 'knows that it is N' and N *no hazu da* 'is likely to be N' are standard usage, but N *na kotó o sitte iru* and N *na hazu da* appear to be gaining in popularity (cf. Kazama 231). *Aomori* replaces *ná* with *dá*: *rippa da é = rippa na é* 'a splendid picture', *byoogi da nó = byooki ná no* 'a sick one' (but *byoogi no go = byooki no ko* 'a sick child'), cited from Kobayashi (UM 75-24, 207) 95n88.

áru kotó [= kánzi na/no kotó] o ukkári wasureru tokoró datta 'I was forgetting that I am the supervisor' (Mikami 1960.14); Watasi, Kurísutyán da kedo, géndai ni oite, Kurísutyán de aru kotó ga hazukasii gúrai '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 náru, the attributive (= adnominal) form of the literary copula nári < ní ári, used as the equivalent of ná in Zetudai náru go-kitai o ... 'Please await with great anticipation ...' and as the equivalent of nó in tugí naru 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 Hokkáidoo naru tihóo = Hokkáidoo to iu tihóo 'the district of Hokkaidō'—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 subjective copula tári < tó ári, where you might expect tó site iru, as in doodóo(¯) 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 doodóo(¯) táru) is tarazáru, 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 (< í ári, §9.6) adnominalizes as -éru, 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-naránu 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)záru (< -zu áru) with the same meanings: VN sezáru N = VN senu N = VN sinai N. Cf. the remarks on tarazáru, just above.

The imperfect NEGATIVE of a nominal sentence remains unchanged by adnominalization: Kodomo ga Nihon-zín zya náí 'The child is not a Japanese' → Nihon-zín zya náí kodomo da '[That] is the child who is not a Japanese'. (The formal equivalent of zya náí is de náí, and that is more often seen in print, where zya náí may represent zyáa náí = dé wa náí.)

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: Yobanákatá hitó zya nákatá '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 kotó ka áru ¯mái kotó ... 'The matter of whether there probably is or not ...'; Sonna kotó ga aróo hazu ga náí 'There is no reason for such things to happen'; Wasuré 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

conversion with about the same meaning as *V-tára* 'if one should': see §13.3.

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 precopular or quasi-adjectival nouns (§13.8). Certain words appear typically or exclusively as adnominal modification (adnouns, §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: SUMMATIONAL (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 *gásu ga moréru NIOI* 'the smell of gas escaping'—Mikami 1960.94; *áme ga hütte iru OTÓ* 'the sound of the rain falling' and *tukí ga úmi ni hikátte iru KÉSIKI* 'the view of the moon shining on the sea'—Alfonso 375), a reaction or impression (*Watakusi ga kono ronbun o yónda INSYOO dé wa ...* 'As the impression I got from reading this treatise ...'—SA 2651.22d; *yuusyoo sita YOROKÓBI(-)* '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 hí* 'the fire from the burning gas', *S mánzoku* 'the satisfaction that S', *S hukái* 'the displeasure that S', *S mezurási-sa* 'the curiosity/wonder that S' (this can also be taken as summational).⁷ Here is a resultative epitheme ('flavor cooked') used as a subdued theme extruded from the dative ('for flavor'): *Sikási, ryóori sita AZI wa, sore-gurai no ooki-sa nó ga itiban íi 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 [tamé no] N, citing such examples as *yuube^[1] nenákatta [tamé no] tukaré ga déte* 'there appeared a weariness from not having slept the night before' (V 133) and *hito no tóoru [tamé no] monoóto* '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 adverbial specification.

Examples of transitional epithemes of place (from V 142): *Káre-ra no ié wa, matinami ga negi-bátake ni utúru TIKÁKU ni átta* 'Their house was in the vicinity of where the rows of houses shift to onion fields'; ... *seito no kao ga muragátte i-soo na ÁTARI e 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 isógazu ni yokogítte itta* 'He unhurriedly crossed below where the plane-tree leaves were dense' ← *Suzúkake(-) no sigétta ha no SITÁ o káre wa isógazu ni yokogítte 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 tábun HUTUKA -MÉ ka ni ...* 'on perhaps the second day she was in the hospital ...'; *Watasi ga gakkoo o déta 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 NOTÍ^[1], ...* 'after getting inside ...'; *Bóku-ra ga Tumagome o tátu [ZENSEKI =] 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 umareru hantosi hodo MÁE ni mittú de sinda áni 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 [tamé no] or [to iu] before the epitheme in the example *Káre wa kókyoo no tuti o humu [] MEZURÁSI-SA no uti(-) ni íssyu no sabisi-mí sae kan-zita* '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, syagande iru tokoró o akerareta HAZUKÁSI-SA ...* '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): ... miti o migi ni órete si-goken arúita HIDARI-GAWA ni ... 'on the left when you have walked along the road for three or four *ken* after turning right ...'; Syootiku-za ˉmáe no suzi-múkoo no rózi o háitta KÁDO ni áru Sina-mesiya 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 Shōchiku Theater' (the modern word for a Chinese restaurant is *tyuukaryoori-ten*).

At least some instances of transitional epithemes of cause or reason and of purpose could be explained as ellipsis of S [tamé 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: ... zyuugó-hun de oohuku no dekiru [] TIKÁ-SA de nái kara ... 'because it is not so near you can get there and back in fifteen minutes' (V 136); Inúkai san wa kutibiru kara awá o tobasu [] IKIÓI de benzi-táteta 'Mr Inukai pleaded with fervor enough to bring foam to his lips' (V 136); Hiroshima ... ni káette míru to, zibun no íp-pon no migu-ude wa mondai ni naránu [] HÍGEKI ga okótte 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 déru [] GÉNKI ga naku-natte ... 'Losing the energy to go to work ...' (Takahashi 176); San-nín no kázoku de gézyo hutarí tukau [] MÍBUN ... '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 quotationalize 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 quotationalization of the adnominalized sentence, and some require it. Yet in other instances quotationalization seems awkward, if not ungrammatical; you would be unlikely to insert [to iu] before the summational epitheme in this sentence: ... mukóo(ˉ) de o-hairi to iu máde, damátte kadóguti ni tátte ita KOKKEI mo átta '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 *hóo ga* (pp. 231–2). When used as sentence introducers, some of the adverbs and conjunctions of §13.7 and §13.7a—in particular, the coordinative, sequential, and adversative conjunctions—and certain thematized time nouns (*áto wa* 'afterward', *yokuzitu mo* 'the next day too') can be regarded as parallel to the transitional epithemes (S *áto*, S *yokuzitu*, 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 (*sunáwati* 'id est', *túmari* 'in short') and some of the adverbs of logical or sentential relation (*motíron* 'undoubtedly', *naru-hodo* 'truly enough'). To summarize:

THEMES	EPITHEMES
1. extruded	extruded
2. explanatory conjunctions, adverbs of logical or sentential relation	summational

- | | |
|---|--------------|
| 3. consequential conjunctions, adverbs of logical relation | resultative |
| 4. coordinative, sequential, and adversative conjunctions;
thematized time nouns | 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-dásite 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: Mattaku^[j] kónda no náikaku wa, itu hoori-dásite mo mónku o iwanai KAKURYOO bákarī, yóku 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 ... yóo 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.^{7a} 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[e] or

7a. Yet see p. 227 for a purported example.

wá né[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 it’ 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”⁸ 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 súsi ga dái-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 súsi ga dái-suki desu*. But *Nihon-zin no tomodati wa súsi ga dái-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: *Tábata kara dénsya(¯) ni notte Ueno de órita san-nin wa soko de mata Asakusa máde tika-tétudoo 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 *Uti(¯) 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 adverbialized: ... *anáta ni áu made no watasi wa, ... = anáta ni áu 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-syúukan bákari táta do-yóobi no gógo kara, ... = ni-syúukan bákari tátu to do-yóobi no gógo 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. *Háha 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 *Háha 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-yasúi* '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. *Háha ga kodomo ni o-kási o watasita* 'The mother handed the child sweets' will yield these three forms: (1) *Kodomo ni o-kási o watasita háha ...* 'The mother who handed the child sweets ...'; (2) *Háha ga kodomo ni watasita o-kási ...* 'The sweets that the mother handed the child ...'; (3) *Háha ga o-kási o watasita 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 tukéru* 'gives heed (to)' does

not convert to *tukéru ki 'the heed given', nor does ki ni kakáru 'weighs on one's mind' convert to *kakáru 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 bótan(⁻) o osu daké de ugóku sikumi desu 'This machine is so contrived that it moves at the push of a button', (*Kono kikái wa sikumi desu; Káre wa ookíi té desu 'He has large hands', (*Káre wa té desu—not acceptable as propredication for ookíi 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 náí PEEZÍ-SUU no náka ni ... 'in pages not so very numerous' (SA 2650.91e) ← peezí-suu ga soo óoku náí 'the number of pages is not so many'; ... hiyáyaka na, kéredo mo, hagesíi KÓE de ... 'in a voice that was cool, yet severe' (KKK 25.76a) ← kóe ga hiyáyaka da, kéredo mo [kóe ga] hagesíi 'the voice is cool yet [it] is severe'; Kátta AMERIKA dé sae mo, zibún-táti ga itiban mízime da tte itte imásu. Maketa KUNI o minná^[l] tabesasénakya ikenai tte iú n desu 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) ← Amerika ga kátta 'America won'; [sono] kuni ga maketa 'the countries lost'.

Examples of epithematized OBJECTS: Sono toki^[l] míte kíta gaikoku no YÓTTO ... 'A foreign yacht that we had gone to see at that time' (SA 2650.59a) ← [watásí-táti ga] sono toki^[l] gaikoku no yótto o míte kíta '[we] went to see a foreign yacht at that time'; Dáre^[l] mo siranai ZÍN BUTU da ga, ... 'He is a person no one knows, but ...' (SA 2676.110a) ← dáre^[l] mo [ga] [sono] zínbutu o siranai 'no one knows the person'; ... bóku(⁻) no ima-máde keiken sita kotó no náí óoki na ZÍKEN datta 'It was a big event that I had not experienced before' (SA 2647.63c) ← bóku(⁻) ga ima-máde [sono] óoki na ziken o keiken sita kotó ga náí 'there lacks any instance that I have up till now experienced [that] big event'; ... onsen ga waita to sitte, ... katta TOTI ... 'the land that they bought upon learning that a hot spring had emerged' (SA) ← [káre-ra ga soko ni] onsen ga waita to sitte ... toti o katta '[they] bought the land upon learning that a hot spring had emerged [there]'.)

Written Japanese has a special device to mark an extruded epitheme—most often the object of a transitive verb: N o VT → VT tokoró no N. This makes a sort of quasi passive, but it does not affect the subject in the adnominalized sentence: "Tegami" || wa || Húzita | Tasio [ga] tukúru | tokoró no || ... baráado de aru "The Letter" is a ballad ... composed by Fujita Tashio' (SA 2650.61b); Íma ya || Ikeda | ookura-dáizin no | iu tokoró no || "d'isuinhure-yósan" to wa, || ... 'What Treasury Minister Ikeda is now calling a "disinflationary budget" ...' (KKK 3.166); ... súbete no | hitóbito ga || kyuukyoku ni óite(⁻) || motómete iru | tokoró no | monó kara, || ... '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 tokoró no N): Iwáyúru || puroretaria-dókusai to | musubi-túita | tokoró no | kyoosan-syúgi wa || ... minsyu-syúgi to wa || hizyoo ni tigatta seikaku o mótte iru 'The communism that is linked with the so-called dictatorship of the proletariat has an extremely different character from democracy' (KKK 3.166). Less commonly this device, a kind of relative pronoun manqué, is seen before the epithematized subject of a transitive verb: Sono eikyoo o ukéru | tokoró no | kodomó-táti ... '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) ablatives—

(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’; *Doroboo ga kane o nusúnda GINKOO* ‘the bank that the thief stole the money from’ ← *Doroboo ga [sono] ginkoo kara kane o nusúnda* ‘The thief stole the money from the bank’; *Húzi-san no miéru MATÚBARA de hitóri no kookóo-sei ga zisatu o hakátta* ‘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 miéru* ‘From the pine grove Mt Fuji can be seen’.

(1b) *kará/ní*: *Kodomo ga kane o moratta OZÍISAN* ‘the grandfather from whom the boy got money’ ← *Kodomo ga oziisan kara/ni 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/ni 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/dé*: *Kimono ga dekiru KINÚ* ‘silk that clothes are made from’ ← *[Sono] kinú kara/de kimono ga dekiru* ‘Clothes are made from the silk’; *Kodomo ga hako o tukúru KÍ* ‘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/ó*: *Okyakusan ga déta HEYÁ* ‘the room that the guest has left’ ← *Okyakusan ga [sono] heyá kara/o déta* ‘The guest left the room’; *Dénsya(¯) ga syuppatu sita ÉKI* ‘the station the train departed from’ ← *Dénsya(¯) ga [sono] éki kara syuppatu sita* ‘The train departed from the station’.

(1e) *kará/ní/tó*: *Kodomo ga hagúreta TOMODATI* ‘the friend that the child has strayed from’ ← *Kodomo ga [sono] tomodati kara/ni(/to) hagúreta* ‘The child has strayed from his friend’; *Káno-zyo ga sibetu sita OTTO* ‘the husband that she has been separated from by death’ ← *Káno-zyo ga [sono] otto (kara/ni(/to) sibetu sita* ‘She has been separated from her husband by death’.

(1f) *kará/tó*: *Oyá ga kodomo o (hiki-)hanásita ASOBI-TÓMODATI* ‘the playmate that the father separated his child from’ ← *Oyá ga [sono] asobi-tómodati kara/to kodomo o (hiki-)hanásita* ‘The father separated his child from that playmate’.

(2) instrumental *dé*: *Ore ga pán o kítta NÁIHU* ‘the knife I cut the bread with’ ← *Ore ga [sono] náihu de pán o kítta* ‘I cut the bread with the knife’; *Tyósya ga genkoo o káita PÉN* ‘the pen with which the author wrote the manuscript’ ← *Tyósya 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] sikake de ... kane ga korogari-kónde kúru* ‘by that device money comes rolling in’; *Suu-nen máe ni wá-ga kuni no áru seirigákusya wa atamá no yóku náru KUSURI* to site *suisyoo sareta 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 atamá ga yóku náru* ‘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 *dé*: Ore ga sore o yón¹da SINBUN 'the newspaper I read that in' ← Ore ga [sono] sinbun de sore o yón¹da 'I read that in the newspaper'; Ore ga sono kotobá o káita KANA 'the kana with which I wrote that word' ← Ore ga kana de sono kotobá o káita 'I wrote that word in kana'.

(4) causal instrumental *dé*: Kodomo ga gakkoo o yasúnda BYOOKI 'the illness with which the child stayed home from school' ← Kodomo ga [sono] byooki de gakkoo o yasúnda 'The child stayed home from school with (the) illness'.

(5) vehicular instrumental *dé*: Watási-táti ga itta KURUMA 'the car we went in' ← Watási-táti ga [sono] kuruma de itta 'We went in that car'.

(5a) causal instrumental/dative *dé/ni*: Watasi ga komátta MONÓ 'the one that I was embarrassed for/over' ← Watasi ga [sono monó =] sore ni/de komátta 'I was embarrassed for/over that one'.

(6) allative *é/ni*: Toosáreta HEYÁ wa wasitu de ... 'The room I was ushered to was Japanese style and ...' (SA 2659.131d) ← [Watasi ga] heyá e toosáreta '[I] was ushered to the room'; Yooróppa de mo, sono áto itta NYUU-YÓOKU de mo, mákisi ^[1] ságata no hitó wa takusan mimásita 'Both in Europe and in New York, where I went afterward, I saw lots of women in maxi-skirts' (SA 2665.104e) ← sono áto [watasi ga] Nyuu-Yóoku e itta 'afterward I went to New York'; Hazímete yatte kíta TOTI de zizyoo o siranái no 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 hazímete yatte kíta 'they have come to that place for the first time'.

(7) mutative-locative *ní* (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 ténka(⁻) sita SYOKUHIN ga de-mawarú no wa ... 'The marketing of foodstuffs to which dangerous substances have been added' (SA 2664.93a) ← [sono] syokuhin ni abunai bussitu o ténka(⁻) sita 'they added dangerous substances to the foodstuffs'.

(8) dative of reference *ní* [tótte]: Kore ga tiisa-sugiru ANÁTA da kara 'Since it is you, for whom this is too small, ...' ← Kore ga anáta ni tiisa-sugiru 'This is too small for you'.

(9) miscellaneous datives and pseudo-datives *ní*:⁹ Motíron sukí de sánka(⁻) sita SIGOTO dá si ... 'Of course it was a job I participated in because I liked it ...' (SA 2651.67a) ← [watasi ga] ... [sono] sigoto ni sánka(⁻) sita '[I] participated in the job'; ... watasi no zoku-súru GURÚUPU de wa ... 'in the group that I belong to' (SA 2653.38d) ← watasi ga [sono] gurúupu ni zoku-súru 'I belong to the group'; ... murásaki no husá no túita takái MÁKURA ... 'a high pillow with purple tassels attached (to it)' ← ... husá ga [sono] ... mákura ni túita (or: túite iru) '... tassels are attached to the ... pillow'.

(10) dative of confrontation *ní* [tái-site]: Ore ga kátta AITÉ 'the partner I won from' ← Ore ga [sono] aité ni kátta 'I won from that partner'; Káre ga horeta ONNÁ 'the woman he fell in love with' ← Káre ga [sono] onná ni horeta 'He fell in love with the

9. An epithematized dative that has been pronominalized to serve as a (specificative-)genitive theme: Genkin ga irú NO wa, tippu ^[1] gúrai no monó ka to omótte itára, resutoran ya kúrabu de no tippu wa, káado de oo-kée '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-séihu ga yowái AMERIKA de áru 'Particularly prominent among those countries is America, toward which the Japanese government is particularly partial' (SA 2685.24c) ← Nihon-séihu ga Amerika ni [tái-site] yowái 'the Japanese government is partial to ("soft on") America'; Tái-site túyoku mo náí SAKE o ... nomi-sugosite simatta ... '(He) ended up drinking too much rice wine, which he was not particularly good at holding ...' (SA 2793.96b).

(10) reciprocal-dative *tó/ni* (cf. p. 000): Gaikoku de watasi ga átta HITÓ-TATI ... 'The people I met abroad' (SA 2658.61a) ← . . . [sono] hitó-tati to/ni átta 'I met those people'; ... átte ma-mo-náí 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 átte ma-mo-náí 'It is not long since I met you'; ... watasi zísín ga hure-átta GUNZÍN-TÁTI wa ... 'the military men that I came in contact with' (SA 2688.108c) ← ... [sono] gunzín-táti to/ni átta 'I came in contact with [the] military men'; Watasi ga Tároo o syookai sita TOMODATI 'the friend to whom I introduced Taro' ← Watasi ga [sono] tomodati (to/ni) Tároo o syookai sita 'I introduced Taro to my friend'; Sensei ga Tároo o kurabeta KODOMO 'the child that the teacher compared Taro with/to' ← Sensei ga [sono] kodomo to/ni Tároo o kurabeta 'The teacher compared Taro with/to that child'; Zibun ga kankei sita OTOKO no kázu sae mo wakaránai 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] otokó to/ni kankei sita '[she] herself has had relations with [the] men'; ... sityóo no kankei suru GINKOO kara ... 'from a bank that the mayor was connected with' (SA 2647.135c) ← Sityóo ga [sono] ginkoo to/ni kankei suru 'The mayor is connected with the bank'.

(11) reciprocal *tó*: ... káre ga tatakau AITÉ mo ... 'the very adversaries that he fights (with) ...' (SA 2679.104a) ← Káre ga [sono] aité to tatakau 'He fights (with) the adversary'; Nán ⁽⁶⁾ de mo hanásí ⁽⁷⁾ no dekiru YUUZIN ... 'a friend that he can talk about anything with' (SA 2645.103c) ← [káre ga] yuuzin to ... hanásí ga dekiru '[he] can talk ... with the friend' ← [káre ga] yuuzin to hanásu '[he] talks with the friend' (on the reciprocal valence with the derived noun *hanásí*, see §3.8a); Tomodati ga kekkon sita ONNÁ '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 gek{;}koo sita. Kyoosi-nákama de ári, dóosi de mo átta 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] Gaburiéru to kyoosi-nákama de ári, dóosi de mo átta '[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 *riyuu* 'reason': Anáta ga katyoo ni nari-nikúku nátta RIYUU wa, máda áru 'There are still more reasons why it has become difficult for you to become a section head' (SA 2668.22c) ← [sono] riyuu de anáta ga ... 'for [those] reasons you ...'. An epithematized PURPOSE is similar: Watási-táti ga sinkon-ryókoo ni Oosutorária o eránda MOKUTEKI wa iroiro arimásita ga, ... 'We had various aims in selecting Australia for our

honeymoon, and ...' (SA 2676.106c) ← [sono] mokuteki de watási-táti ga ... 'with [those] aims we ...'.

It is awkward to epithematize an adjunct whose relationship to the rest of the sentence is incongruous without the particle. From A ga B to naka-ii 'A is on good terms with B' you would expect to get A ga naka-ii B 'B whom A is on good terms with', but that is usually replaced by A ga náka no ii B. From A ga B to onazi da 'A is the same as B' you expect to get both (1) A ga onazi no B 'B that A is the same as' and (2) B to onazi [no] A 'A that is the same as B', but in the latter case the version without nó is preferred.

The following examples of epithematized TIME locatives include some time nouns that are directly adverbialized (unmarked by ní) in the underlying sentence: Otona ni nátta ima mo ... 'Even now that I've become an adult ...' ← ima otona ni nátta 'I've now become an adult'; Kessei-táikai ga átta kúgatu ituká(¯) gógo ní-zi yonzíp-pun ¯góro, ... 'At 2:40 p.m., the fifth of September, when they had the inaugural session ...' ← kúgatu ... ¯góro [ni] kessei-táikai ga átta 'at ... of September they had the inaugural session'; ... kóoto o núgu kisétu ni nátte ... 'when it gets to be the season to take off your coat' (SA 2679.37b) ← [sono] kisétu ni kóoto o núgu 'in that season you take off your coat'; Sibai ga en-zirárete(¯) iru ittei no zikan ni ... 'During the set time that the play is being performed ...' (SA 2689.121d) ← Ittei no zikan ni sibai ga en-zirárete(¯) 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: Ogyáa to umareta hí ni sutáato site ... 'Starting on the day of whimpering birth ...' (SA 2685.112c) ← [sono] hí ni ogyaa to umareta 'was born with a whimper on that day'; Orinpíkku no átta Syóowa(¯) sánzyuu kyúu-nen ni génzai no bénri na séido ga dékita n desu ga ... 'In 1964 when the Olympics took place the present convenient system was set up but ...'; Óotani [Takezíroo] san, Amerika kara hikóo-ki de o-kaeri ni nátta sono ban ni "Yookihi" o go-ran ni nátte ... 'The night that Mr [Takejirō] Ōtani returned from America by plane he saw the play "Yang Kuei Fei" ...' (Tk 3.328b) ← sono ban [ni] o-kaeri ni nátta 'returned that evening'. In these sentences the ní 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: ... páat'ii no átta koyá(¯) 'the cottage at which they had the party' (SA 2637.26d) ← [sono] koyá(¯) de páat'ii ga átta [= okótta, okonawareta] 'they had a party at the cottage'; Kusá no háeta basyo o ... 'a place where grass had grown' (Takahashi 173) ← [sono] basyo ni kusá ga háeta; Ningen ga ikíru kono-yó(¯) ni meikai na kotáé nádo ari-úru hazu ga náí 'In this world that man lives in we can't expect to be able to have clearcut answers' (SA 2649.108b) ← ningen ga kono-yó(¯) ni ikíru '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 nízyúu-nen tátta 1970-nen [sén kyúuhyaku sitizyúu-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 tokí 'time when [twenty years had passed]'. The epitheme zyun or zyunban '(one's) turn' must be treated as either summational or transitional in examples of this sort: ... 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 míru/míta tokoró de wa ... 'In my view ...' (= Watasi no kangáe de wa ...) is apparently derived

from [sono] tokoró O míru 'sees the situation' (tokoró here meaning zyootai 'situation' or mondai 'question') rather than from [sono] tokoró KARA míru 'sees [it] from that place (= position)' with tokoró interpreted as tatibá 'standpoint'. In the sentence Bírú o nómu to tóire ni iku KAI-SÚU ga óoku náru '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 [áru] kai-súu de tóire 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 proredicative sentences (§13.1.5).

Notice that the "comitative" N *tó* amounts to the reciprocal *tó* + an adverbialization *issyó/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 fissyó 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 átta kotó no náí HITÓ de*, ... 'the fans were people he had only seen two or three times' (SA) ← ... *ni-sankai sika [soré-ra no] hito (to/)ni átta kotó ga náí* 'has met the people only two or three times'. A similar example without the *sika*: *Hatoyama san nánte, átta kotó mo náí 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: *Dóko ka de míta kotó ga áru KAO dá to omóttara, watasi ga yóku miti de áu kuriiningu-ya no wakamonó*(~) *ni nite 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) ← *Dóko ka de [sono] kao o míta kotó ga áru* 'I had seen the face somewhere'.

In the following example the epitheme is extruded from the subject of a sentence adnominalized to *hazu da*: *Tyoosý-sya tte no wa, yonaká ni ókite benkyoo site iru hazu no HITÓ ga syutai na wáke 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 hazu da* 'people are presumably studying'. An example with the epitheme extruded from the object of a transitive verb adnominalized to the postadnominal *wáke* in the expression *wáke ni ikanai* 'it doesn't stand to reason that': ... *úmi o ume-táte yamá o kezutté mo yooi ni huyásu wáke 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).

And in this example the epitheme is extruded from the object of a sentence adnominalized to *tumori da*: Zibun de suru tumori dáttá TÉSUTO ... 'The test I had planned to do myself ...' ← [sono] tésuto o zibun de suru tumori dáttá '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: ... sinákute mo ii SYÚZYUTU o sareru baai mo áru 'sometimes one undergoes operations that would be as well unperformed' (Tk 4.3a) ← [sono] syúzyutu o sinákute mo ii 'it would be all right not to perform the operations'. (The epitheme, with its adnominalization, is then used as the direct object of an adversative passive and THAT sentence in turn is adnominalized to the summational epitheme baai 'situation' which serves as the subject—here highlighted—of the verb áru 'there exists'.)

On epithemes extruded from adverbializations, see Kuno 1973.237–8, who gives such examples as sindá no de minná^[1] ga kanasínda HITÓ 'a person by whose death all were saddened' (← sonó-hito ga sindá no de ...) and hara-íppai tábetara geri o site simatta O-KÁSI 'sweets that I got diarrhea from eating a bellyful of' (← [sono] o-kási o tábetara ...); Kuno also gives examples of epithemes extruded from adnominalized sentences.

To explain the sentence ... damátte wa irarenai hitótu no mondai ga áru 'there is one matter that I can not be silent about' (Grootaers 178) we must assume an underlying hitótu no mondai NI TÚITE damátte wa irarenai 'about one matter I can not remain silent'. Notice that warúi kotó o kangaeraré^[1]nai hitó is susceptible to two interpretations (at least): 'a person who can think nothing bad' (← [sonó-]hito ni/ga warúi kotó o kangaeraré^[1]nai) and 'a person whom one can think nothing bad of' (← [sonó-]hito ni túite [N ni/ga] warúi kotó o kangaeraré^[1]nai). Can epithemes be extruded from phrases marked by others among the many phrasal postpositions listed in §9.7 (shedding 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^[1]: ... seturitu ma-mo-nái NATI-TOO to sessyoku sita káre 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 adverbialized sentence; the nature of the adverbialization 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.)

13.1.2. (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)¹⁰ 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.

A ga B o VT

tomodati ga kodomo o yonda
'the friend called the child'

1 *A ga VT B*

tomodati ga yonda kodomo
'the child that the friend called'

2 *B o VT A*

kodomo o yonda tomodati
'the friend that called the child'

CAUSATIVE

C ga A ni B o VT-c

háha ga tomodati ni kodomo o yobaseta
'the mother had the friend call the child'

3 *C ga(?/no) A ni VT-c B*

háha ga(?/no) tomodati ni yobaseta kodomo
'the child that the mother had the friend call'

4 *C ga(?/no) B o VT-c A*

háha ga(?/no) kodomo o yobaseta tomodati
'the friend that the mother had call the child'

5 *A ni B o VT-c C*

tomodati ni kodomo o yobaseta háha
'the mother who had the friend call the child'

PURE PASSIVE

B ga A ni VT-p

kodomo ga tomodati ni yobareta
'the child got called by the friend'

6 *A ni VT-p B*

tomodati ni yobareta kodomo
'the child that got called by the friend'

7 *?^a B ga(?/no) VT-p A*

kodomo ga(?/no) yobareta tomodati
'the friend that the child got called by'

10. But for those verbs that have additional valences, such as the motion verbs, the number of types will increase. Reciprocal, instrumental, ablative, and allative-or-dative epithematizations are not shown in the 25 types; examples are included among the sentences at the end.

ADVERSATIVE PASSIVE

- C ga A ni B o VT-p*
háha ga tomodati ni kodomo o yobareta
'(unfortunately) the mother had the
friend call the child'
- 8 *C ga(?/no) A ni VT-p B*
háha ga(?/no) tomodati ni yobareta kodomo
'the child that (unfortunately) the mother
had the friend call'
- 9 ? *C ga(?/no) B o VT-p A* [Okutsu 1974.149 rejects.]
háha ga(?/no) kodomo o yobareta tomodati
'the friend that (unfortunately) the mother
had call the child'
- 10 *A ni B o VT-p C*
tomodati ni kodomo yobareta háha
'the mother that (unfortunately) had the
friend call the child'

(PASSIVE-) POTENTIAL

- A ni/ga B ga(/o) VT-p*
tomodati ni/ga kodomo ga(/o)
yob[ar]eru
'the friend can call the child'
- 11 *A ni/ga/no VT-p B*
tomodati ni/ga/no yob[ar]eru kodomo
'the child that the friend can call'
- 12 *A ga(/o/no) VT-p A*
kodomo ga(/o/no) yob[ar]eru tomodati^b
'the friend that can call the child'

PURE PASSIVE-CAUSATIVE

- A ga C ni B o VT-c-p*
tomodati ga háha ni kodomo o
yobas[er]areta
'the friend was had call the child by
the mother'
- 13 *A ga(?/no) C ni VT-c-p B*
tomodati ga háha ni yobas[er]areta
kodomo
'the child that the friend was had to call
by the mother'
- 14 *C ni B o VT-c-p A*
háha ni kodomo o yobas[er]areta tomodati
'the friend that was had to call the child
by the mother'
- 15 *A ga(?/no) B o VT-c-p C*
tomodati ga kodomo o yobas[er]areta
háha
'the mother that the friend was had to call
the child by'

SWITCHED (PURE) PASSIVE-CAUSATIVE^c

- B ga A ni, C ni VT-c-p*
kodomo ga tomodati ni, háha ni
yobas[er]areta
'the child was called by the friend at
the mother's instigation'
- 16 *A ni, C ni VT-c-p B*
tomodati ni, háha ni yobas[er]areta
kodomo
'the child that was called by the friend at
the mother's instigation'

- 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-CAUSATIVE^d

- 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'
- 19 *D ga(?/no) C ni, A ni VT-c-p B*
 titi ga(?/no) háha ni, tomodati ni
 yobas[er]areta kodomo
 'the child that (unfortunately) the father
 had the mother have the friend
 call'
- 20 *D ga(?/no) C ni, B o VT-c-p A*
 titi ga(?/no) háha ni, kodomo o
 yobas[er]areta tomodati
 'the friend that (unfortunately) the father
 had the mother have the child called by'
- 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

- C ni/ga A ni B ga(/o) VT-c-p*
 háha ni/ga tomodati ni kodomo
 ga(/o) yobaser[ar]eru
 'the mother can have the friend
 call the child'
- 23 *C ni/ga(?/no) A ni VT-c-p B*
 háha ni/ga(?/no) tomodati ni
 yobaser[ar]eru kodomo
 'the child that the mother can have the
 friend call'
- 24 *A ni B ga(/o) VT-c-p C*
 háha ni/ga(?/no) kodomo ga(/o)
 yobaser[ar]eru tomodati
 'the friend that the mother can have call
 the child'

25 *A ni B ga(/o) VT-c-p C*

tomodati ni kodomo ga(/o) yobaser[ar]eru
 háha
 'the mother that can have the friend call
 the child'

^a An example has been suggested to validate the grammar: *Watasi ga/no yobaretá no wa ano senseí da* 'The one I got called by was that teacher'. See also Okutsu 1974.149.

^b *Kodomo no yoberu tomodati* and *Tomodati no yoberu 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 WATÁSI-TÁTI HAHAOYA ni tótte* ... 'for us mothers who let our sons die in the war' (SA 2793.133c).

6. *Muné no soko-kásiko ni miraréru HÉNKA no náka de* ... 'Among the changes seen here and there in the chest ...' (SA 2651.21d); *Amerika syokuminti-kyóokai ga okutta ziyuukókuzin-tati ni yotte 1847'-nen [sén happyakú] yónzyuu siti'-nen* ni kenkoku sareta kono KUNI wa ... 'This country [of Liberia] that was established in 1847 by free blacks sent by the American Colony Society ...' (SA 2664.44c); *Kát[u]te tyúugaku o déte kootoo-gákoo kara daigaku e sumumu tamé ni wa, erabáreta SYUUSAI ígai ni wa semái món 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); *Gógatu sue ni hirakaréru Nikkyóo-so ZENKOKU-TÁIKAI wa* ... 'The national convention of the Japan Teachers Union to be held at the end of May ...' (KKK 3.284); *Konó-goro(-) tokai de tukawareru MÍSO wa* ... 'The *miso* used in cities these days ...' (Kotoba no yurai 160); *Nónde {wa} ikenai to sarete iru TOTI NO MIZU o, ukkári nónde simatta áto* ... 'After one has inadvertently drunk local water that is considered unfit for drinking ...' (SA 2689.122d); *Gízyutu daké ni sáyuu sareru SUPÓOTU nara,* ... 'If it's a sport that is controlled by skill alone ...' (Tk 3.217a).

8. ... *yuu-síkáku no kangó-hu de sae mo kin-zirárete(-) iru KÓOI na no da* 'It is conduct that even qualified nurses have forbidden to them' (SA 2666.113)—from *kangó-hu ga kóoi o kin-zirárete(-) iru*, in turn from [*dáre ka ga*] *kangó-hu ni kóoi o kin-zíru(-)* '[someone] forbids the conduct to the nurses'.

10. ... *kubi o kiráreta OTOKÓ* 'a man who had his head cut off' (Ōno 1966.80). With intransitive verb: ... *túma ni naku-narareta TYUUNEN-ÓTOKO ga syuzínkoo de atte,* ... 'the hero is a middle-aged man who has lost his wife' (SA 2687.108d).

11. *Wasurerarenai AZI* 'Unforgettable tastes' (SA); *Tanin ní wa dasénai AZI désu kara né* 'It is a flavor that others can not produce, that's why' (SA 2661.44d)—from *Tanin ní/ga azi o/ga daséru* 'Others can produce the flavor' from *Tanin ga azi o dásu* 'Others produce the flavor'; ... *bóku-táti ga issyo ni kuraseru HÍ ga* ... 'the days we could spend together' (SA)—from *bóku-táti ni/ga* ... *hi o/ga kuraseru* 'we can spend days' from *bóku-táti ga hi o kurasu* 'we spend days'; ... *otona no tanosiméru SIBAI o miséru* 'they

show a play that an adult can enjoy' (SA 2688.109a)—from *otona ga ...* (§ 13.1.6) = *otona ni/ga sibai o/ga tanosiméru* 'adults can enjoy the play' from *otona ga sibai o tanosímu* '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 no yoméru KO wa ...* 'the child who can read characters' (SA 2677.54c) ← *ko ni/ga zí ga yoméru* ← *ko ni/ga zí ga/o yoméru* 'the child can read characters' ← *ko ga zí o yómu* 'the child reads characters'.

14. With intransitive verb: ... *baisyun saserarete iru ONNÁ-TATI wa ...* 'women forced into prostitution' (KKK 3.248) ← [*hito ni*] *onná-tati ga baisyun saserareru* 'the women are forced [by people] into prostitution' ← [*hito ga*] *onná-tati o baisyun saseru* '[people] force the women to engage in prostitution' ← *onná-tati ga baisyun suru* 'the women engage in prostitution'.

...

Pure passive with TIME epithematized: *Nan-to-náku hadasámu-sa no kan-zirareru ÁSA desita* 'It was a morning in which something of a chill was felt' (KKK 3.282) ← *ása* {*ni*} [*hito ga*] *hadasámu-sa o kan-ziru* '[people] feel a chill in the morning'.

Pure passive with ALLATIVE epithematized: *Toosáreta HEYÁ wa wasitu dé ...* 'The room I was ushered to was Japanese style and ...' (SA 2659.131d) ← [*watasi ga*] *heyá e toosáreta* 'I was ushered to the room' ← [*hito ga watasi o*] *heyá e toosita* '[they] ushered me to the room'.

Pure passive with DATIVE epithematized: *Ráhu no hukusei o miseráreta OKAMOTO KÁNOKO ga ...* 'Kanoko Okamoto who has been shown a reproduction of a nude ...' (Ōno 1966.19)—or was this intended as an adversative passive? (Note the object-marking!)

Pure passive with PLACE-LOCATIVE epithematized: *Zinken no omon-zirárete(-)* *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, kéeki no okareta TEEBURU no sǔgu 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 kéeki ga okareta* 'onto the table the cakes were put' ← [*hito ga*] *teeburu ni kéeki o oita* '[someone] put the cakes on the table'; *Ningen wa, tokaku zibun no okareta ÍTI o hyoozyun ni site, tentai-génsyoo názo o kangáeru 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 ni isyuku site simáu no wa, hamerarete ita WAKU no séi na n desu né* '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: *Asoberu ÓBUZYE* 'Objets [d'art] you can play with' (SA 2680.3) ← [*sono*] *óbuzye de asoberu* 'you can play with the objets'.

Potential with PLACE-LOCATIVE epithematized: ... *ano hen dé wa yúitsu no óyogéru BASYO da ...* 'it is the only place in the vicinity where you can swim' (SA 2689.126b)—the immediate sources are *ano hen dé wa yúitsu no basyo da* 'it's the only place in that vicinity' and [*sono*] *basyo de oyogéru* 'you can swim in [that] place'.

Evidentialized potential with underlying OBJECT epithematized: *Zibun de kake-sóo na monó ...* 'something that looks as though you could draw it yourself' (Tk 3.258a).

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 ga C ni B o VT-te GIVE
 tomodati ga háha ni kodomo o
 yonde ageta
 'the friend called the child
 for the mother'

1 *A ga(?/no) C ni VT-te GIVE B*
 tomodati ga(?/no) háha ni
 yonde ageta kodomo
 'the child that the friend called
 for the mother'

2 *C ni B o VT-te GIVE A*
 háha ni kodomo o yonde ageta
 tomodati
 'the friend that called the child
 for the mother'

3 *A ga(?/no) B o VT-te GIVE C*
 tomodati ga(?/no) kodomo o
 yonde ageta háha
 'the mother for whom the friend
 called the child'

C ga A ni B o VT-te GET
 háha ga tomodati ni kodomo o
 yonde moratta
 'the mother had the child
 called by the friend'

4 *C ga(?/no) A ni VT-te GET B*
 háha ga(?/no) tomodati ni yonde
 moratta kodomo
 'the child that the mother had
 called by the friend'

5 *A ni B o VT-te GET C*
 tomodati ni kodomo o yonde
 moratta háha
 'the mother that had the child
 called by the friend'

6 *C ga(?/no) B o VT-te GET A*
 háha ga(?/no) kodomo o yonde
 moratta tomodati
 'the friend that the mother had
 the child called by'

And we can add four more types by doubling the favor conversion:

*D ga A ni [wa] C ni B o VT-te
 GIVE-te GET*
 titi ga tomodati ní [wa] háha ni
 kodomo o yonde agete moratta
 'the father had the friend call
 the child for the mother'

7 *D ga(?/no) A ni [wa] C ni VT-te
 GIVE-te GET B*
 titi ga(?/no) tomodati ní [wa] háha ni
 yonde agete moratta kodomo
 'the child that the father had the
 friend call for the mother'

- 78 *D ga(?/no) A ní [wa] B o VT-te*
GIVE-te GET C
 tití ga(?/no) tomodati ní [wa] háha ni
 kodomo o yonde agete moratta háha
 'the mother that the father had the friend
 call the child for'
- 9 *D ga(?/no) C ni B o VT-te*
GIVE-te GET A
 tití ga(?/no) háha ni kodomo o yonde
 agete moratta tomodati
 'the friend that the father had call the
 child for the mother'
- 10 *A ni [wa] C ni B o VT-te*
GIVE-te GET D
 tomodati ní [wa] háha ni kodomo o
 yonde agete moratta tití
 'the father who had the friend call
 the child 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-úde no, okáasan ga motásete kureta tokei ga kyou ni ziriziritto nari-dasimásita 'The watch on Gankichi's left (arm =) wrist that his mother had let him have suddenly started to buzz impatiently' (KKK 3.84) ← okáasan ga [G. ni] tokei o motásete kureta 'the mother kindly let him [G.] have the watch' ← okáasan ga [G. ni] tokei o motáseta 'the mother let him [G.] have the watch' ← [G. ga] tokei o mótta '[G.] got the watch'.

(2) Bira(¯) o goman-mai mo máite senden site kureta SYUSÁI-SYA ni, honto ni kinodókú na kotósimásita yó 'I really did a pitiful thing to the promoter who had distributed over fifty thousand handbills to advertise me' (Tk 3.105a) ← syusái-sya ga [watakusi ni [koogi(¯) o]] senden site kureta 'the promoter kindly advertised [[the lecture] for me]'; ... koko máde itte kureru dansei mo inákatta si, ... 'there wasn't a male present would go this far (in what he said)' (R); ... unde kureta okáasan ... '... Mother who gave birth to me ...' (R). In the example ... unde kureta bókú(¯) ... 'me whom she (kindly) gave birth to' (R)—the epitheme is both the object and the recipient of the favor.

(6) ... túuyaku o site morau hitó ga hosíi n desu 'we want a person who will do translation for us' (BJ 2.300) ← [watási-táti ga sonó-]hito ni túuyaku o site morau 'we have the person do translation for us' ← [sonó-]hito ga túuyaku 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 (yátu o utúsu 'photographs a guy'): ... utúsíte morai-taku náí yátu ... utúsíte morai-ta-soo na yátu ... '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 (?)Obáasan ga tití ni tomodati ni háha ni kodomo o yonde agete morawaseta (or morawareta) 'The grandmother let/had the father have the friend call the child for the mother' or even (!)Oziisan ga obáasan ni tití ni tomodati ni háha ni kodomo o yonde agete morawasereta '(Unfortunately) 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 cathectic 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 *kowái* 'fears' and *sukí da* 'likes' (for which we could substitute either of the two other quasi-desiderative adjectival nouns *kirai dá* and *iyá da* 'dislikes'); and of (3) *hosii* 'desires', the suppletive realization of (*)*ari-tái* '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 cathectic subject (the emotionally affected), "B" is the cathectic object (toward which the emotion is directed).

A ga B ga/o VT-i-tai

háha ga kodomo ga/o yobi-tai

1 A ga(?/no) VT-i-tai B

háha ga/no yobi-tai kodomo

'the child that the mother wants to call'

2 B ga/no/o yobi-tai háha

kodomo ga/no/o yobi-tai háha

'the mother that wants to call the child'

A ga B ga(/o) kowái (sukí da)

háha ga kodomo ga kowái

'the mother fears the child'

3 A ga/no kowái (sukí na) B

háha ga/no kowái kodomo

'the child that the mother fears'

háha ga kodomo ga(/o) sukí da

'the mother likes the child'

háha ga/no sukí na kodomo

'the child that the mother likes'

4 B ga/no (/o) kowái (sukí na) A

kodomo ga/no kowái háha

'the mother that fears the child'

kodomo ga/no(/o) sukí na háha

'the mother that likes the child'

A (?ni/)/ga B ga(?/o) hosii

háha (?ni/)/ga kodomo ga(?/o) hosii

5 A (?ni/)/ga/no hosii B

háha (?ni/)/ga/no hosii kodomo

'the child that the mother wants'

B ga/no(?/o) hosii A

kodomo ga/no(?/o) hosii háha

'the mother that wants a child'

Examples:

(1) ... o-mimi ni ire-tai KOTÓ ga arimásite ... 'I have something I want to tell you' (KKK 3.259); SÓO só, ánta ni age-tai MONÓ ga áru no 'Yes, yes, there's something I want

to give you' (KKK 3.259); *Káre wa zibun no yomi-tái MONÓ o yóndari, kaki-tái KOTÓ o káitari, kangae-tái MONDAI o kangáetari si-tákatta* 'He wanted to read the things HE wanted read, write of what HE wanted to write, and give thought to the problems HE wanted to give thought to' (Y 294).

(2) *O-tya no nomi-tái HITÓ wa imasén ka* 'Isn't there anyone who wants to drink tea?' (KKK 3.168); *Takái ga, umái komé o kai-tái SYOOHÍ-SYA mo irú 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 KÁRE TO BÓKU(-)* wa *yóku yóru no matí o nomi-aruita* 'He and I, fond of liquor, often made the rounds of the night-time city' (SA 2647.62a); ... *myúuzikaru no sukí na SYÁÍN-TÁTI* wa ... 'the employees who like music' (SA 2647.62c); ... *úmi o sukí na HITÓ* ... 'a person who likes the sea' (SA 2650.58c); *Iinuke no tákumi(-) na HYOORON-KA* ... 'a critic clever at evasion' (KKK 3.168) ← *hyooron-ka ga iinuke ga tákumi(-) dá* 'the critic is clever at evasion'.

Other adjuncts can be epithematized: *Iki-tái TOKORÓ ga takusañ áru no* 'There's lots of places I want to go' (R) ← [sono] *tokoró e iki-tai* 'I want to go to the place(s)'; *Anáta ga sumi-tái TÓSI* 'The city you'd like to live in ...?' (SA 2792.31b) ← *Anáta ga [sono] tósi ni/de sumi-tái?* '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. *gá*-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* → *gá*)

A ga B o/ga VT-f

háha ga kodomo o/ga yobi-yasúi
'it is easy/likely for the mother
to call the child'

A ga/no VT-f B

háha ga/no yobi-yasúi kodomo (1)
'the child that it is easy/likely
for the mother to call'

B ga(?/no)/o VT-f A

kodomo ga(?/no)/o yobi-yasúi háha (2)
'the mother that it is easy/likely
for her to call the child'

DATIVE SUBJECTIFICATION (*ní* → *gá*)^a

A ga B ni/?ga V-f

kodomo ga háha ni/?ga amae-yasúi
'it is easy/likely for the child to
make up to the mother'

A ga/no V-f B

kodomo ga/no amae-yasúi háha (3)
'the mother that it is easy/likely for
the child to make up to'

B ni/?ga/?no V-f A

háha ni/?ga/?no amae-yasúi kodomo (4)
 'the child that it is easy/likely for
 it to make up to the mother'

PLACE SUBJECTIFICATION (*dé/ní* → *gá*)

P 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 ga/no V-f P

kodomo ga/no asobi-yasúi kooen (5a)
 'the park that it is easy/likely
 for the child to play in it'

kodomo ga/no i-yasúi kooen (5b)
 'the park that it is easy/likely for
 the child to stay in'

P de/ga/?no (or ni/ga/?no) V-f A

kooen de/ga/?no asobi-yasúi kodomo (6a)
 'the child that the park is easy/likely
 for it to play in'

kooen ni/ga/?no i-yasúi kodomo (6b)
 'the child that the park is easy/likely
 for it to be in'

INSTRUMENTAL SUBJECTIFICATION (*dé* → *gá*)

A ga X de/ga V-f

kodomo ga náihu de/ga kiri-nikúi
 'the knife is hard for the child
 to cut with'

A ga/no V-f X

kodomo ga/no kiri-nikúi náihu (7)
 'the knife that is hard for the child
 to cut with'

X de/ga/?no V-f A

náihu de/ga/?no kiri-nikúi kodomo (8)
 'the child for whom the knife is hard
 to cut with'

ALLATIVE SUBJECTIFICATION (*é* → *gá*)

A 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 ga/no V-f P

kodomo ga/no iki-yasúi kooen (9)
 'the park that is easy/likely for the
 child to go to'

P e/ga/?no V-f A

kooen e/ga/?no iki-yasúi kodomo (10)
 'the child for whom the park is
 easy/likely to go to'

ABLATIVE SUBJECTIFICATION 1 (*kará* → *gá*)

A 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 ga/no V-f P

kodomo ga/no utí(¯) e kaeri-yasúi
 kooen (11)
 'the park that is easy for the child
 to return home from'

P kara/ga/?no V-f A

kooen kara/ga/?no uti(¯) e kaeri-yasúi
 kodomo (12)
 'the child that the park is easy to
 return home from'

ABLATIVE SUBJECTIFICATION 2 (kará/ó → gá)

A ga P kara/o/ga V-f

kodomo ga séki kara/o/ga de-yasúi
 'the seat is easy for the child
 to leave'

A ga/no V-f P

kodomo ga/no de-yasúi séki (13)
 'the seat that is easy for the child
 to leave'

P kara/o/?ga/?no V-f A

séki kara/o/?ga/?no de-yasúi kodomo (14)
 'the child for whom the seat is easy
 to leave'

ABLATIVE SUBJECTIFICATION 3 (kará/ní ? → gá)

A ga B kara/ni/?ga V-f

kodomo ga háha kara/ni/?ga
 osowari-yasúi
 'the mother is easy/likely for
 the child to learn from'

A ga/no V-f B

kodomo ga/no osowari-yasúi
 háha (15)
 'the mother that it is easy for
 the child to learn from'

B kara/ni/?ga/?no V-f A

háha kara/ni/?ga/?no osowari-yasúi
 kodomo (16)
 'the child for whom it is easy to
 learn from the mother'

ABLATIVE SUBJECTIFICATION 4 (kará/dé ? → gá)

A ga X kara/de/?ga [Y o] VT-f

kodomo ga kamí kara/de/?ga
 [hako o] tukuri-yasúi
 'the paper is easy for the child
 to make it [a box] out of'

A ga/no [Y o] VT-f X

kodomo ga/no [hako o] tukuri-
 yasúi kamí (17)
 'the paper that it is easy for the
 child to make it [a box] out of'

X kara/de/?ga/?no [Y o] VT-f A

kamí kara/de/?ga/?no [hako o]
 tukuri-yasúi kodomo (18)
 'the child for whom it is easy to
 make it [a box] out of paper'

ABLATIVE SUBJECTIFICATION 5 (kará/ní/tó ? → gá)

A ga B kara/ni/to/?ga V-f

háha ga kodomo kara/ni/to/?ga
 wakare-nikúi
 'the child is hard for the mother
 to part from/with'

A ga/no V-f B

háha no/ga wakare-nikúi
 kodomo (19)
 'the child that it is hard for the
 mother to part from/with'

B kara/ni/to/?ga/?no V-f A
 kodomo kara/ni/to/?ga/?no wakare-
 nikúi háha (20)
 'the mother for whom the child is
 hard to part from/with'

TIME SUBJECTIFICATION (*ní/φ* → *gá*)

A ga T {ni}/ga V-f *A ga/no V-f T*
 kodomo ga háru {ni}/ga asobi-yasúi kodomo ga/no asobi-yasúi háru (21)
 'spring is easy for children to 'spring when it is easy for the
 play in' children to play'

T {ni}/ga/?no V-f A
 háru {ni}/ga/?no asobi-yasúi kodomo (22)
 'children for whom spring is easy to
 play in'

RECIPROCAL SUBJECTIFICATION 1 (*tó ?* → *gá*)

A ga B to/?ga V-f *A ga/no V-f B*
 kodomo ga tomodati to/?ga kodomo ga/no kenka si-yasúi
 kenka si-yasúi tomodati (23)
 'the friend is easy/likely for the 'the friend that is easy/likely for
 child to quarrel with' the child to quarrel with'

B to/?ga/?no V-f A
 tomodati to/?ga/?no kenka si-yasúi
 kodomo (24)
 'the child for whom the friend is
 easy/likely to quarrel with'

RECIPROCAL SUBJECTIFICATION 2 (*tó/ní ?* → *gá*)

A ga B to/ni/?ga V-f *A ga/no V-f B*
 kodomo ga tomodati to/ni/?ga ai-yasúi kodomo ga/no ai-yasúi tomodati (25)
 'the friend is easy/likely for the 'the friend that is easy/likely for
 child to meet' the child to meet'

MUTATIVE-COMPLEMENT SUBJECTIFICATION (*ní* → *gá*)

A ga B ni/?ga Vm-f *?A ga/no Vm-f B*
 kodomo ga tomodati ni/?ga nari-yasúi ?kodomo ga/no nari-yasúi tomodati (26)
 'a friend (it) is easy/likely for the 'the friend that it is easy/likely
 child to become' for the child to become'

B ni/?ga/?no Vm-f A
 tomodati ni/?ga/?no nari-yasúi
 kodomo
 'the child for whom it is easy/likely
 to become a friend'

^aOr perhaps *ní* [tái-site] → *gá*, since the subjectification appears to be limited to datives of confrontation.

A few examples:

(1—with traversal object) ... koré-ra no sanmyaku wa tobi-kosi-gatái SYOOHEKI dátta si, ... 'these mountain ranges were barriers difficult to leap over' (R).

(1) ... keisi si-gatái zyuuyoo na ÍGI o mótu 'has an important significance that it is difficult to take lightly' (Gekkan-Bumpō 2/11.49b).

(2—with intransitive) Kore wa nagái byooki de, naori-nikúí BYOOKI ná n de [su] 'This was a long illness and one difficult to get over' (R).

(3) ... ningen-kánkei ni óite(-), sitasimi-yasúí PAASONÁRIT'II o mótte iru to ka ... 'in human relationships, to have a personality that is easy to get close to' (R); sitasimi-nikúí KAO 'a forbidding face' (Kenkyusha).

...

(21) Natú wa ityoo no yowáru zíkí {de}, tabémónó no itami-yasúí 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: Tóku ni, kyoosán-ken no iu kotó o sin'yoo si-yasúí NIHON-ZÍN wa náó 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?): ... sízi sare-yasúí ... 'views that can easily be supported' (Gekkan-Bumpō 2/11.49b).

And it might be questioned whether suwari-yasúí isu 'a chair that is easy to sit on (to seat oneself on)' should be derived from [sono] isu ga suwari-yasúí 'that chair is easy to sit on' by way of subjectification, or directly from the underlying mutative-locative in [sono] isu ni suwari-yasúí '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] dóa o síméru '[Someone] closes the door' we can derive the intransitivizing-resultative sentence Dóa ga símete áru '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] dóa o símete áru '[Someone] has closed the door—(1) to be ready, (2) and has that in his experience, (3) and the result confronts him':

(1-2-3) Dóa o símete áru } → Símete áru dóa 'the door is closed'.
 (4) Dóa ga símete áru }

It is not clear whether the epithematization actually retains all four meanings:

- (1) 'the door that is closed (by someone)—so as to be ready'.
- (2) 'the door that is closed (by someone)—so that he has that in his experience'.
- (3) 'the door that is closed (by someone)—so that the result confronts him'.
- (4) 'the door that is closed—so that the result confronts one/us'.

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 átta HÚRÓ ni háitte ... 'getting into the bath which had been heated' (Y 512); Táku(-) no ué ni oite áru HÓN ga áru no de, nán daroo to omótte té ni tótte míta 'There was a book set on the table; wondering what it was, I picked it up to

see' (Y 511); ... heyá ni sonae-tukete áru ANNÁI-SYÓ(¯) o yónde kudasai 'Read the guide book provided in your room ...' (Tsukagoshi 141a); Sákki moratta síhen(¯) ni káite áru BANGÓO o táyori ni, hitotu-hitótu sirábete míru ga tootei mi-ataranai 'With the aid of the number written on the scrap of paper that I had been given earlier I checked them [the graves] one after another but I just couldn't find it [= the tombstone I was looking for]' (Esuperanto 52.342b). In ... zí no káite áru KAMÍ wa ... 'paper with characters written on it' (Tk 3.228a) the epitheme is extruded from a mutative-locative.

13.1.2.(6). *Epithemes extruded from mutative, putative, and evaluative sentences.* In §9.1.11 we examined six conversions of adjectivals and nominals: (1) the mutatives (intransitive/transitive) with náru/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 adjective 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) mizíkáku katta kamí 'hair cut short' ← kamí o mizíkáku katta 'cut the hair short' (← kamí ga mizikái 'the hair is short')

(2) akaku nátta kao 'the face that had turned red' ← kao ga akaku nátta 'the face turned red' (← kao ga akai 'the face is red')

(3) sikái-sya ni sita otokó 'the man made master-of-ceremonies' ← otokó o sikái-sya ni sita 'they made the man master-of-ceremonies' (← otokó ga sikái-sya da 'the man is master-of-ceremonies')

(4) sikái-sya ni nátta otokó 'the man that became master-of-ceremonies' ← otokó ga sikái-sya ni nátta 'the man became master-of-ceremonies' (← otokó ga sikái-sya da 'the man is master-of-ceremonies')¹¹

?(5) ?*otokó o sita sikái-sya 'the master-of-ceremonies that the man was made (into)' ← otokó o sikái-sya ni sita 'they made the man master-of-ceremonies' (← otokó ga sikái-sya da 'the man is master-of-ceremonies')

(6) otokó ga nátta sikái-sya 'the master-of-ceremonies that the man became' ← otokó ga sikái-sya ni nátta 'the man became master-of-ceremonies' (← otokó ga sikái-sya da)¹²

EVALUATIVE

(7) utukúsiku káita zí 'beautifully written characters' ← zí o utukúsiku káita 'wrote the characters beautifully' (← zí ga utukúsi 'the characters are beautiful')

(8) yásuku katta zitén-sya(¯) 'a cheaply bought bike' ← zitén-sya(¯) o yásuku katta 'bought the bike cheap' (← zitén-sya(¯) ga yasúi 'the bike is cheap')

11. In ... daihyóo-sya no hitóri ni nátte oraréru Maeda-san kara ... '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 oraréru) before epithematizing the subject.

12. This type is more natural with kará replacing gá: sensei ga/kara nátta heitai 'the soldier that the teacher turned into' ← sensei ga/kara heitai ni nátta 'the teacher turned into a soldier' (or 'out of the teacher there became a soldier' if we wish to capture the flavor of the kará).

?(9) ?*wáruku iu tanin no kotó 'things ill said of others' ← tanin no kotó o wáruku iu 'says ill of others' (← tanin [ni túite] no kotó ga warúi)

TRANSITIVE PUTATIVE

(10) yasaki omótta siken-móndai 'the exam questions that I thought easy' ← siken-móndai o yasaki omótta 'I thought the exam questions easy' (← siken-móndai ga yasasii 'the exam questions are easy')

(11) husigi ni omótta kotobá 'the word I thought strange' ← kotobá o husigi ni omótta 'I thought the word strange' (← kotobá ga husigi dá 'the word is strange')

INTRANSITIVE PUTATIVE

(12) nágaku míeta kao 'the face that looked long' ← kao ga nágaku míeta 'the face looked long' (← kao ga nagái 'the face is long')

(13) Síngo ni [wa] keihaku ni omóeta hutarí no musumé 'the two girls who seemed flippant to Shingo' ← Síngo ni [wa] hutarí no musumé ga keihaku ni omóeta 'the two girls seemed flippant to Shingo' (← hutarí no musumé ga keihaku dá 'the two girls are flippant')

These are distinct from the QUOTATIVE putatives with S *tó* + putative verb, which can be adnominalized in similar ways: Nizyuu-méetoru mo aróo ka to omowaréru takái ténmaku [= ténto] no TEPPÉN de wa ... 'at the top of a tent that seems perhaps twenty meters high' (KKK 3.287); ... mattaku^[t] hu-hitúyoo to omowaréru hánnin no syussín-ti to ízoku no zyúusyo símei nenrei máde kuwásiku sirusi, ... 'write down in detail the birth-place 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-tái to omóu SEIKAKU o sono mamá^[t] engi de simésite(¯) kureru haiyuu de nákeriya, ikura kírei de mo damé na n desu yó '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-tái to omóu 'The director considers the character as desirable to have portrayed' (← [seikaku ga] arawasi-tái ← [seikaku o] arawásu)—an alternative interpretation 'The director thinks he would like to have the character portrayed' would take seikaku *ó* as the un-subjectified underlying object of arawasi-tái. Other elements in these converted sentences can be epithematized, e.g. the instrumental in this example: Suu-nen máe ni wá-ga kuni no áru seirigákusya wa atamá no yóku náru KUSURI to site suisyoo sareta 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 atamá ga yóku náru 'with [that] drug the head gets good/better' ← atamá ga yói 'the head is good/better'.

13.1.3. *Existential, Locative, and Possessive Adnominalizations; Epithemes Extruded from Multiparous Sentences.*

Existential and locational sentences with áru and iru (etc.) can undergo the expected adnominalizations:

A/X ga P ni iru/áru → (1) P ni iru/áru A/X da 'It is the A/X that is at P';

(2) A/X $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ga} \\ \text{no} \end{array} \right\}$ iru/áru P da 'It is the P where A/X is'.

Examples: Kono rihátú-ten ga áru SITAMATI dé wa ... 'In the downtown area where this

barber shop is located ...' (SA 2661.105b) ← Kono rihátú-ten ga sitamati ni áru 'This barber shop is in the downtown area'; Báakuree wa ... Karihworunia-dáigaku no áru MATÍ da 'Berkeley is the city where the University of California is' (SA 2664.43b) ← ...-dáigaku ga [sono] matí ni áru 'The University ... is in [that] city'—extruded-locative epitheme used as Identifier; Totu-zen, káno-zyo wa sootyo no hito ga hitóri mo inai Aóyama no MITI o hasiri-dasita 'Suddenly, she dashed down an early-morning Aoyama street without a single person on it' (SA 2650.61c) ← Hito ga hitóri mo [sono] miti ni inai 'Not one person is on [that] street'—extruded-locative epitheme used as traversal object; Íma no Karúizawa ni takusān áru BESSÓO(⁻) ga ... 'The many summer houses that are in the Karuizawa of today ...' (SA 2642.43c) ← Bessóo(⁻) ga íma no Karúizawa ni takusān áru '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-Báatoru ni hitótu ̀daké áru RAMA-DERA wa, hakubutú-kan to site hozon site áru n da sóo desu 'The only lamasery existing in Ulan Baator [Mongolia] is being preserved as a museum, I am told' (SA 2666.110c) ← Uran-Báatoru ni rama-dera ga hitótu ̀daké áru 'In Ulan Baator there exists only one lamasery'. An example of an epithematized mutative-locative (used as Identified): Dá kara dóo-sité mo syútó o oku KUNI wa Nihón 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) ← syútó 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 áru 'A has B/X' → (1) B/X ga áru A 'The A who has B/X';

(2) A ni áru B/X (da) 'It is the B/X that A has';

but not (3) *A ga áru 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) Ootoót ga/ni kodomo ga áru 'The younger brother has a child' will convert to Kodomo ga áru ootoót (da) '(It is) the younger brother who has a child'. But informants find the sentence Ootoót ni áru kodomo da 'It is the child who belongs to the younger brother' strange, for there would normally be a replacement by the possessive nó: Ootoót no kodomo da 'It is the younger brother's child'. Yet the grammatically parallel sentence Doroboo ni áru te-sitá (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) Ootoót ga/ni náihu ga áru (náí) 'The younger brother has (lacks) a knife' will convert into Náihu ga áru (náí) ootoót da 'It is the younger brother who has (lacks) a knife' and also into Ootoót ni áru (náí) náihu da 'It is the knife that the younger brother has (lacks)'. Perhaps we can state a rule something like this: a sentence with áru or náí carries with it the direct subject (i.e. the possessed = the underlying object of possession), so that N ga áru/náí is equivalent in meaning to N o mótu/motánai; in an adnominalized sentence the indirect subject (the possessor) can be marked only by ní (or, with ellipsis of áru, by nó—constituting genitivation § 3.1.3), though gá 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', *aité* 'partner', *o-tétudai-san* 'cleaning lady', etc.) that will serve to illustrate the types of extruded epithematizations we expect with possessive sentences.¹³

- (1) *kodomo ga/no* { $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{áru} \\ \text{nái} \end{smallmatrix}$ } *onná* 'the woman that { $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{has} \\ \text{lacks} \end{smallmatrix}$ } a child'
- (2) *onná ni/ga/no* { $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{áru} \\ \text{nái} \end{smallmatrix}$ } *kodomo* → *onná ni áru kodomo* / *onná no kodomo* 'the child that the woman has'
→ *onná ni nái kodomo* [ONLY!] 'the child that the woman lacks'
- (3) *kodomo ga/no* { $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{iru/óru} \\ \text{inai/oránai} \end{smallmatrix}$ } *onná* 'the woman that { $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{has} \\ \text{lacks} \end{smallmatrix}$ } a child'
- (4) ? *onná ni/ga/no* { $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{iru/óru} \\ \text{inai/oránai} \end{smallmatrix}$ } *kodomo* 'the child that the woman { $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{has} \\ \text{lacks} \end{smallmatrix}$ }' (→ ?)
- (5) *okosan ga/no* { $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{irassyáru} / *o\text{-ide ni náru} / *o\text{-ide no} \\ \text{irassyaránai} / *o\text{-ide ni naránai} / *o\text{-ide de nai} \end{smallmatrix}$ } *ókusama*
'the lady that { $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{has} \\ \text{lacks} \end{smallmatrix}$ } a child'
- (6) ? *ókusama ni/ga/no* { $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{irassyáru} / *o\text{-ide ni náru} / *o\text{-ide no} \\ \text{irassyaránai} / *o\text{-ide ni naránai} / *o\text{-ide de nái} \end{smallmatrix}$ } *okosan*
'the child that the lady { $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{has} \\ \text{lacks} \end{smallmatrix}$ }'
- (7) *okosan ga/no* { $\begin{smallmatrix} o\text{-ari ni náru} / o\text{-ari no} / (\text{gozaimásu}) \\ o\text{-ari ni naránai} / \quad / (\text{gozaimasén}) \end{smallmatrix}$ } *ókusama*
'the lady that { $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{has} \\ \text{lacks} \end{smallmatrix}$ } a child'
- (8) ? *ókusama ni/ga/no* { $\begin{smallmatrix} o\text{-ari ni náru} / o\text{-ari no} / (\text{gozaimásu}) \\ o\text{-ari ni naránai} / \quad / (\text{gozaimasén}) \end{smallmatrix}$ } *okosan*
'the child that the lady { $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{has} \\ \text{lacks} \end{smallmatrix}$ }'
- (9) *kodomo ga/no* { $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{arimásu} \\ \text{arimasén} \end{smallmatrix}$ } *onná* 'the woman that { $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{has} \\ \text{lacks} \end{smallmatrix}$ } a child'
- (10) ? *onná ni/ga/no* { $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{arimásu} \\ \text{arimasén} \end{smallmatrix}$ } *kodomo* → *onná ni* { $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{arimásu} \\ \text{arimasén} \end{smallmatrix}$ } *kodomo*
'the child that the woman { $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{has} \\ \text{lacks} \end{smallmatrix}$ }'
- (11) *kodomo ga/no* { $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{ari-sugiru} \\ \text{nasa-sugiru} \end{smallmatrix}$ } *onná* 'the woman that { $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{has} \\ \text{lacks} \end{smallmatrix}$ } too many children'
- (12) ? *onná ni/ga/no* { $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{ari-sugiru} \\ \text{nasa-sugiru} \end{smallmatrix}$ } *kodomo* → *onná ni* { $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{ari-sugiru} \\ \text{nasa-sugiru} \end{smallmatrix}$ } *kodomo* [ONLY]
'the children that the woman { $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{has} \\ \text{lacks} \end{smallmatrix}$ } 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.

And, with quasi-possessives:

- háha ni/ga kodomo ga wakátta 'the mother recognized the child'
 haha ni/ga/(?no) wakátta kodomo 'the child that the mother recognized'
 kodomo ga/no wakátta háha 'the mother that recognized the child'
 háha ni/ga kodomo ga miéta 'the child was visible to the mother'
 haha ni/ga/(?no) miéta kodomo 'the child that was visible to the mother'
 kodomo ga/no miéta háha 'the mother that the child was visible to'

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 áru kotó ga Kúniko o sokubaku sita 'Having the two children kept Kuniko tied down' (lg 1962.87) ← [Kúniko ni/ga] hutarí no kodomo ga áru 'Kuniko has two children'; Húkuko ni zikan no kánnen no náí kotó ga Masúnaga o tyúutyó saseru 'The fact that Fukuko has no concept of time makes Masunaga hesitate' (lg 1962.87) ← Húkuko ni/ga zikan no kánnen ga náí 'Hukuko has no concept of time'. The epitheme of Tízuko no inai zínsei wa ... 'Life without Chizuko' could be interpreted as a personified possessor (káre no zínsei ni/ga Tízuko ga inai 'His life lacks Chizuko') or as an extruded locative of time—or figuratively of place: Tízuko ga [káre no] zínsei ni inai 'Chizuko is not in his life'. Another interpretation would epithematize a dative of reference: [Káre no] zínsei ni {tótte} Tízuko ga inai 'For his life Chizuko does not exist'.

Examples of epithematized possessor: Motomoto sáinoo(¯) no áru KÁRE wa, ... 'He who had talent by nature ...' (SA 2665.113a) ← Káre ni/ga ... sáinoo(¯) ga áru 'He has talent ...'—the epitheme is used as a subdued thematization (of a subject); Túma to kawaií kodomo ga iru KÁRE ga, dóo site baisyún-hu o korositá no ka 'Why did he who had a wife and lovely child kill a prostitute?' (SA 2647.112d) ← Káre ni/ga túma to kawaií kodomo ga iru 'He has a wife and lovely child'—the epitheme is used as subject of a verb; ... ootoót ya imootó no náí WATASI wa ... 'I who have no younger brother or sister' (Endō 137) ← Watasi ni/ga (→ Watasi {ni} wa) ootoót ya imootó ga náí 'I have no younger brother or sister'; ... san-nín no óoki na magó no iru OBÁA-TYAN ... 'a granny who has three big grandchildren' (SA 2684.140c); ... sinryoo no zituryoku no áru ZYÓSYU ga ... 'the assistant who has the capability to examine and treat (patients)' (SA 2685.61e); Nán dé mo hanasi no dekíru yuuzin ga iru HITÓ, ... 'A person who has a friend whom he can talk about anything with' (SA 2645.103c) ← [Sonó-]hito ni/ga ... yuuzin ga iru '[that] person has a friend'; Kubiwa no áru INÚ daké ni ikíru kénri ga ataerarete iru 'The right to live is bestowed only upon collared dogs' (V 1972.165); ... asobi-ba no náí TOSÍ-KKO ni yumé o ataeru monó ... 'something to give dreams to city children who have no playgrounds' (SA 2670.107d) ← Tosi-kko ni/ga asobi-ba ga náí 'The city children have no playgrounds'—the epitheme is used as a dative; ... soroban no náí OTOKÓ da ... 'the man doesn't have an abacus' (Tk 3.306b); ... hahaoya no náí KO de ... 'is a motherless child' (Kb 215b); ... kodomo no iru KATEI dé wa ... 'in a family that has children' (SA 2649.97c). ← [sono] katei ni/ga kodomo ga iru '[that] family has children'—I am taking katei 'family', a synonym of uti(¯), as personified. Examples where the epithematized possessor is inanimate: Hei no náí SYOONÉN-IN mo óói 'There are many reformatories that have no walls' (SA 2688.26c); Si ga náí TÓSI da ga, nání ka no miriyoku(¯) wa áru 'It is a city that lacks poetry, but it does have a certain charm' (SA 2793.61d); ... sekinin to kengén no áru PÓSUTO wa ... 'posts with responsibility and authority'

(SA 2685.61c); *Zíntai ni gáí no áru NOOYAKU wa tukatté wa ikan [= ikenai]* ‘Pesticides harmful to the human body must not be used’ (SA 2684.62a)—the first phrase is a dative of confrontation (*zíntai ni táí-site*) or of reference (*zíntai ni tótte*) and *nooyaku ni gáí ga áru* ‘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 epithematized: *Hontoo ni nóoryoku(̄) no áru HITÓ ga sekinin no áru PÓSUTO ni túíte inái no desu* ‘People that really have ability are not assigned to the posts that carry responsibility’ (SA 2685.61c). And, with quasi-possessives: *Nihon-go no seisitu no yóku o-wakari no KÁTÁ ...* ‘Those [esteemed] persons who have a good understanding of the characteristics of the Japanese language ...’ ← *[Sono] kátá ni/ga Nihon-go no seisitu ga yóku o-wakari dá* ‘[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: *Sáuna no áru hóteru—hóteru no áru sáuna : Ueno-kankoo-hóteru—Ueno-Sauna-Onsen-Káikan* ‘The hotel that has a sauna—the sauna that has a hotel : Ueno Tourist Hotel—Ueno Sauna Bath Center’. Apparently the epithematized 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): ... *teki ga óói HITÓ datta* ‘He was a man who had many enemies ...’ (SA 2642.39a) ← *[Sono-]hito ga f́áruʒ teki ga óói* ‘He has many enemies’ ‘The enemies he has are many’—the epitheme is used as a descriptive Identifier; ... *atamá^[a] no yosa-sóo na OZYÓOSAN de aru* ‘She is a young lady with a seemingly good head on her shoulders’ ← *Ozyóosan ga f́áruʒ atamá ga yosa-sóo da* ‘She appears to have a good head’ < ‘The head that she has appears to be good’—the epitheme is used as a descriptive Identifier; *Kenri-ísiki no tuyói ima no KODOMO no kimoti ga, wakátte imasén né* ‘They don’t understand the feelings of the child of today, who has a strong awareness of his rights’ (SA 2665.127d) ← ... *kodomo ga f́áruʒ kenri-ísiki ga tuyói* ‘The awareness of rights possessed by the child ... is strong’—the epitheme is used as the possessor in a genitivization *Kodomo no [áru] kimoti* ‘the feelings that the child has’ of the possessive sentence *Kodomo ni/ga kimoti ga áru* ‘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-sígen ga sukúnáku, sono taigai-i^{s/}zón-do ga takái NIHÓN ni tótte, ...* ‘For Japan, who has few natural resources and who has a high degree of dependence on countries abroad for them, ...’ (SA 2648.45a) ← *Nihón ni/ga sizen-sígen ga sukúnáku, sono taigai-i^{s/}zón-do ga takái* ‘Japan has few natural resources and high dependence for them on countries abroad’ ← *Nihón ni/ga [áru] sizen-sígen ga sukunái* ‘The natural resources that Japan has are few’ + *Nihón ni/ga [áru] sono [= sizen-sígen no] taigai-i^{s/}zón-do ga takái* ‘The dependence of Japan on countries abroad for them [= natural resources] is high’.

A more complicated explanation is needed for this sentence: *Mattakú^[j], itimán nisen-en no gekkyuu tó wa omoénai husigi na ZÍNBUTU 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] zínbutu ga husigi dá* ‘The character is odd’—and also is the subject in a propositive

sentence [Sono] zínbutu ga ... gekkyuu {dá} that represents a possessive sentence [Sono] zínbutu ni/ga ... gekkyuu ga áru 'The character has a salary'. The propredicative sentence, however, has been incorporated in a quotational putative ... gekkyuu {dá} to omoéru 'is conceived of as [being] a salary ...' that is negativized with subdued focus ... gekkyuu {dá} tó wa omoénai and then adnominalized to the extruded epitheme. In Nán no kotó wa náí, ookii daké ga torié {dá} to iu ringo de áru '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 nán no kotó^[r] ga náí '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 áru 'The apple has a claim to fame'). The sentence Ookii daké ga [ringo no] torié da is equivalent to [Ringo no] torié wa ookii daké da 'The claim to fame [of the apple] is just that it is big', since gá marks the Identifier.

With quasi-possessives, it is possible to epithematize the (quasi-)POSSESSED, even though it can not be genitivized: Séihu ga zenryoo kai-agéru syokkan-séido [= syokuryoo-kánri no séido] o aratáme, kokumin ga hituyoo na SAITÉI-GEN daké séihu ga mendóo o míru '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 dá 'the people need [that] minimum'.

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 gá-marking in the immediately underlying sentence rather than assume that the phrase has been reduced to a nó-marked genitive, as in this sample of inalienable possession: kamí ga nagái kodomo 'a child with long hair' ← kodomo ga kamí ga nagái 'the child has hair that is long'; or ← kodomo no kamí ga nagái 'the hair of the child is long'.

But the LOCATIVE genitive, such as ié no 'of the house' in ié no máe [ni] '[in] front of the house', must be taken as the immediately underlying source of the epitheme in these adnominalizations: MÁE ni kuruma ga tomatte iru ANO IÉ 'that house that has a car parked in front of it' ← ANO IÉ NO MÁE ni kuruma ga tomatte iru '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'; Dénsya(-) ga SITA o tóotta HASÍ 'the bridge that the train passed under' ← Dénsya(-) ga HASÍ NO SITÁ o tóotta 'The train passed under a bridge'; MAWARI ni kankóo-kyaku ga atumátte iru DAIBUTÚ(-) 'The Big Buddha with tourists gathered around it' ← DAIBUTÚ(-) NO MAWARI ni kankóo-kyaku ga atumátte iru 'Around the Big Buddha tourists are gathered'.

Examples of various other kinds of genitives that have been epithematized:

(1) Partitive: MÁDO kara hakabá^[r] no miéru BÁA ga áru 'There is a bar from the window of which you can see a graveyard' (SA 2641.10) ← BÁA NO MÁDO kara hakabá ga miéru 'From the window of the bar you can see a graveyard'; ... ATAMÁ^[r] no okási na [= okásii] HITÓ ... 'a person with a funny head' (Endō 138) ← [Sonó-] HITO NO ATAMÁ ga okásii 'The person's head is funny'; ... bóku(-) ga SINÁRIO(-) o káita ÉIGA(-) ... 'a film that I wrote the scenario for' (Tk 3.194a) ← Bóku(-) ga ÉIGA(-) NO SINÁRIO(-) o káita 'I wrote the scenario of the film'.

(2) Underived attributive: ... KÁZU sukunái ZIKKEN-DÉETA 'scanty experimental data' (SA 2678.18b) ← ZIKKEN-DÉETA NO KÁZU [ga] sukunái 'The number of experimental data is scant'; ... monó o káku kotó ga SYOKÚGYOO de áru HITÓ-TATI ... 'people whose occupation is writing things' (Shibata 1965.204) ← monó o káku kotó ga HITÓ-TATI NO SYOKÚGYOO de áru 'Writing things is people's occupation', the genitive deriving from hitó-tati no ǵáruǵ syokúgyoo 'the occupation that people have' ← Hitó-tati ni/ga [sono] syokúgyoo ga áru 'People have the occupation' (an unnatural sentence as it stands); SAKAKUSE ga wáruku náí WATASI mo ... 'I whose drinking posture is not troublesome = who am not a rowdy drunk' (Endō 92) ← WATASI NO SAKAKUSE ga wáruku náí; kono sóhuto (ǵ) ga áreba, BUKKA ga báí(ǵ) no SINGATA ni kiri-kaeru hituyoo ga naku-narú no da kara, IBM [ai-bii-ému] ga kono sóhuto-úea o kai-ta-gatte irú no mo toozen dá 'Since with this softwear 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 softwear =] it' (SA 2635.39a) ← SINGATA NO BUKKA ga báí(ǵ) dá '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) ← KÉI-HOO NO KIHON 'the basis of criminal law'; ... zínruí no tyoowa ga TÉEMA no BANKOKU-HAKU 'the international exposition of which the theme is the harmony of mankind' (SA 2688.35d) ← BANKOKU-HAKU NO TÉEMA 'the theme of the international exposition'.

(4) Partitive?, Place-locative?: ... hituyoo na KÍZI ga hitó-me de wakáru génzai no SINBUN ... 'the modern newspaper whose essential articles are understood at a glance' (SA 2647.137e) ← ... SINBUN NO ... KÍZI ga ... wakáru 'the ... articles of the ... newspaper are understood ...'.

(5) Place-locative?: Dá ga watasi wa, Nihón ǵúrai heikin site, tabéru MONÓ⁽²⁾ no oisii KUNI wa náí yóo⁽¹⁾ 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' ← KUNI NO ... MONÓ ga oisii 'In the country things that you eat are delicious' or KUNI DE tabéru ... 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 *sóo* '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 particular meanings intended—as follows:¹⁴ Boosi no hitó ‘the person with the hat (on)’ ← [sonó-]hito ga boosi [o kabútte iru no] da ‘the person—it’s a hat [he’s wearing]’ ← [sonó-]hito ga boosi o kabútte iru ‘the person is wearing a hat’—a similar example is mégane no hitó ‘the person wearing glasses’, to be derived from [sonó-]hito ga mégane o kámete iru; Ano kádo no o-máwari-san ‘the policeman on the corner’ ← o-máwari-san ga ano kádo [ni tátte iru no] da ‘the policeman—it’s that corner [he’s standing on]’ ← o-máwari-san ga ano kádo ni tátte iru ‘the policeman is standing on that corner’; Ano zidóo-sya(⁻) no hitó ‘the person in that car’ ← [sonó-]hito ga ano zidóo-sya(⁻) [ni notte irú no] da ‘the person—it’s that car [he’s riding in]’ ← [sonó-]hito ga ano zidóo-sya(⁻) ni notte iru ‘the person is riding in that car’; Mukóo(⁻) no simá ‘the island [that appears] over there’ ← [sono] simá ga mukóo(⁻) [ni miéru no] da ‘the island—it’s over there [that it appears]’ ← [sono] simá ga mukóo(⁻) ni miéru ‘the island appears over there’; Teeburu no ué no koppu ‘the cup on the table’ ← koppu ga teeburu no ué [ni (oite) áru no] da ‘the cup—it’s on the table’ ← koppu ga teeburu no ué ni (oite) áru ‘the cup is (placed) on the table’; Syoo-wíndoo no omótya ‘toys [lined up] in the store window’ ← omótya ga syoo-wíndoo [ni narande irú no] da ‘the toys—it’s in the show window [they are lined up]’ ← omótya ga syoo-wíndoo ni narande iru ‘the toys are lined up in the show window’; Kínzyo no gaizin ‘a foreigner [living] in the neighborhood’ ← gaizin ga kínzyo [ni súde irú no] da ‘a foreigner—it’s the neighborhood [he’s living in]’ ← gaizin ga kínzyo ni súde iru ‘a foreigner is living in the neighborhood’; Tosyó-kan no hón ‘books from the library’ ← hón ga tosyó-kan [kara] da ‘the books are [from] the library’ ← hón ga tosyó-kan kara [karite áru no] da ‘the books—it’s the library that they are [borrowed] from’ ← hón o tosyó-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 (locative?, 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 gá under the option explained in § 13.1.6), a better explanation is simple ellipsis: Pikáso no é ‘a picture by Picasso’ can be derived directly from Pikáso no [káita] é, in turn coming from Pikáso ga/no káita é ‘a picture that Picasso painted’—with an epitheme extruded from the object of the sentence Pikáso ga é o káita ‘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 derivation assuming an ellipsis something like É ga Pikáso [o utúsu 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 túite] no kookoku ‘an ad about a house for rent’. Perhaps a similar explanation will account for méusi(⁻) ka óusi(⁻) ká no kúbetu ‘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 surú—with or without a preceding marker, depending on whether the N₂ is a transitive verbal noun, for that calls for an ó 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: *Ameriká-zin o aité no misé ga narande iru* 'Shops aiming at American customers line the streets' ← *Ameriká-zin o aité ni/to sita misé ...* 'Shops that have taken Americans as their customers ...' (the sentence with the adnominalized proredication can be tightened by turning the adnominalization into a compound noun: *Amerikazin-áite no misé ...*); *Éki no minami-guti ni tikákute, komámono(⁀) o senmon no misé wa arimasén ka* 'Isn't there a store that is at the station (and) near the south entrance and specializes in haberdashery?' ← ... *komámono(⁀) o senmon ni site iru misé ...* (Mikami 1963.103); ... *yasúi no o daisen no gyuuniku-ya dáta* 'it was a beef eatery that was mainly noted for being cheap' (Kb 244b—*daisen* 'a title label to paste on a book') ← ... *yasúi no o daisen ni sita* 'had made being cheap its label'; *Asú^[u] no ensoku wa, zé-hi, suitoo o yooi no kotó* 'Be sure to provide yourself with a water flask for tomorrow's picnic' (Morishige 299) ← ... *suitoo o yooi suru kotó [da]* 'One is to provide oneself with a water flask ...'. The telltale case-marker need not be *ó*: ... *syokuhin-gáisyá ni kínmu no go-syúzin to ...* 'with her husband, who is employed by a food company, ...' (SA 2816.32a) derives from *go-syúzin ga syokuhin-gáisyá ni kínmu suru* 'her husband is employed by a food company'.

Proredication is one way to explain the phrases that consist of case marker + *nó*, such as *asú E NO kagaku* 'science (aimed at=) for tomorrow', *Okinawa DÉ NO ziken* 'an incident on Okinawa', *soko DÉ NO seikatu* 'life in that place' (SA 2649.92a), *máiniti(⁀) no seikatu DÉ NO hu-yúkai na kotó* 'the unpleasant things in everyday life' (SA 2645.--), *otokó TO NO kankei* 'relations with men', *háha KARA NO tegami* 'a letter from mother', etc. In some situations the proredication represents the auxiliary *suru*, e.g. with verbal nouns: *Káre TO NO intábyuu* 'the interview with him' means *káre to suru/sita intábyuu* '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 proredicative finite sentence *Intábyuu ga/wa káre TO DA* 'The interview is with him'. But in the sentence ... "*roodoo kará no kaihoó*" to *iu ími DE NO nikutai-ansokú-bi o dandán huyásite 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-ansokú-bi ga(/wa) "roodoo kará no kaihoó" to iu ími 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 *dá*, which form represents the proredication of something like ... to *iu ími DE [wakáru no] DA* 'it is [understood] by being (= in) the meaning of ...'. (Ultimately the gerund is also perhaps a proredication from ... to *iu ími [ga áru no] da* 'it has the meaning ...'.) When identifications are adnominalized, the adnominalized copula (*ná/nó*) can be replaced by the more formal *de áru*, but apparently this is not true when proredications are adnominalized, perhaps because of the particularly colloquial nature of proredication to begin with. In general, proredications are more common in the adnominalized form with *nó* than in the underlying form with *dá* 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: *Ir ga Id da*.¹⁵ In terms of variable and value the sentence *Kane ga mondai da* 'MONEY is the question' (*Ir ga Id da*) says the same thing as *Mondai wa kane da* 'The question (–it) is MONEY' (*Id wa Ir da*); and the sentence *Kane wa mondai da* 'The money (–it) is a QUESTION' (*Id wa Ir da*) says the same thing as *Mondai ga kane da* 'A QUESTION is the money' (*Ir ga Id da*). Under adnominalization (without extrusion) we find both (1) *kane ga mondai no tokí* 'a time when MONEY is the question' (*Ir ga Id no N*) and (2) *kane no mondai no tokí* 'a time when money is the QUESTION' (*Ir no Id no N*)—if my attempt at interpreting the replacement of *gá* by *nó* 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 tokí* 'a time when a QUESTION is the money' (*Ir ga Id no N*) seems to be acceptable, but doubt is expressed about the acceptability of (?)*mondai no kane no tokí* 'a time when a question is the MONEY' (?)*Ir no Id no N*).

Examples of what I take to be *Ir ga Id no*: *Séihu ga supónsaa no purozyékuto da* 'It is a project that the GOVERNMENT is the sponsor of' (SA 2661.29c) ← *Séihu ga supónsaa da* = *Supónsaa wa séihu da* 'The sponsor is the government'—the epitheme is an extruded genitive 'project's sponsor'; ... *eyoo-syóogai ga gen'in no baai ga óói* ... 'There are many cases where the cause is a nutritional deficiency' (SA 2650.97c) ← *Eiyoo-syóogai ga gen'in da* = *Gen'in wa eyoo-syóogai da* 'The cause is a nutritional deficiency'—the epitheme is summational 'cases such that'; *Síkási, kore wa motomoto ziyuu-boeeki-syúgi ga hata-zírusi no Beikoku ni tótte, mattakú rikutu no tooránu hanaší [da]* 'But for (= coming from) America, which has always had free trade as its banner [= slogan], this is talk that makes no sense' (SA 2661.126b) ← *Ziyuu-boeeki-syúgi ga hata-zírusi da* = *Hata-zírusi wa ziyuu-boeeki-syúgi da* 'The banner is free trade'—the epitheme is an extruded genitive 'America's banner'; *Kénnai de gyuunyu ga gen'in no tyuudoku-zíken ga ókita* 'Within the province there occurred poisoning cases with milk as the cause' (SA 2678.19c); ... "Kookoku to Séi" no tyósyá de seisin-búnseki ga senmon no Huzisaki Sooití-si 'Mr Fujisaka Sōichi, who is the author of "Advertising and Sex" and whose specialty is psychoanalysis' (SA 2677.46a).

With the uncontracted copula, *Ir ga Id de áru N*: *Keibatu-syúgi ga kihon de áru kái-hoo* ... 'criminal law which has the principle of punishment as its basis' (SA 2688.28d); *Ótani san ga syatyoo de áru Syootiku-Kínema kara gekkyuu o moratte ita* 'I was receiving a salary from Shōchiku Cinema, of which Mr Ōtani (is =) was the president' (Tk 4.299); ... *zínruí no tyoowa ga téema no bankoku-haku* 'the international exposition of which the theme is harmony of mankind' (SA 2688.35d); ... *katei ga syokubá(-) de áru watasi zísín no sasáyaka na bunpitu-séikatu wa* ... 'my own little literary life as one whose home is his workshop (= whose workshop is at home)' ← *katei ga watasi no syokubá(-) de áru* = *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, yásuku katte tákaku uréba mookáru [no da]* = *Yásuku katte tákaku uréba mookáru no ga kabu no gensoku da* 'The principle of stocks is [that] you make money if you buy cheap and sell dear' (SA 2684.48a). However, it can be argued that under certain conversions (in subordinate clauses and under adnominalization to intruded epithemes) *N ga* represents the Identified—or perhaps the distinction between *Id* and *Ir* is neutralized, with *Kane ga mondai nára* ... and *Mondai ga kane nára* ... differing only by emphasis. A number of subtleties that I have overlooked are examined by Kuno.

no syokubá(¯) wa katei de áru '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 Id da* (= *Id wa Ir da*) → *Ir no Id*.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 (*Id wa Ir da*) or as EPITHEME (*Ir no Id*). What is confusing is the disappearance of the marker *gá* when the Identified gets extruded:

$$\text{Id wa Ir da} \leftarrow \text{Ir [ga Id] da} \leftarrow \text{Ir ga Id da} \rightarrow \text{Ir [ga Id] da} \rightarrow \text{Ir no Id}$$
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 *wá*, 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 *Id 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 *ní* can not stand as a theme-marker—and thus differs from the CASE markers *gá*, *ó*, and (the etymological identical) *ní*—but a pseudo thematization can be had by ringing various conversions on the copula (made up of the essive *ní* + the auxiliary *ár-* in various manifestations): *Kane dá to* (Kane *nára*) *mondai da* 'If it's money, that's a question' and *Mondai dá to* (Mondai *nára*, *Mondai da to iu to*) *kane da* 'If it's a matter of the question, it's money', etc.

As examples of *Ir no Id* we can cite such phrases¹⁷ as *Zyosei no anáta ga ...* 'You who are a woman', *Onná no watakusi ga ...* 'I who am a woman ...', *Namakemónó(¯) no bóku(¯) 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 áru*) is printed in capital letters: ... *kono kodomo ga ókíte iru aida wa, hahaoya NO watakusi wa ókíte inákutya ikenai* 'While this child is awake, I who am his mother must stay up' (SA 2640.20c); *Soko ni go-syúzin NO Teiraa-gúnsoo ga háitte kíta* 'Then Sergeant Taylor, her husband, came in'; *Sono tamé ni Súuzan no booi-huréndo NO Zyérii no ki o wáruku sasetári sita* 'For that reason it would sometimes put Susan's boyfriend Jerry in a bad mood'; *Kantoku NO Aavingu-Ráisu wa sinzin de ...* 'Irving Rice, the director, is a newcomer and ...'; ... *şikaku-móndai o, saibán-kan, kensatú-kan óyobi(¯) bengó-si NO sánsya ni kyootuu site kangáereba ...* 'if we think of the qualifications question as being common to the three—judge, prosecutor, and lawyer—'; *Seiyoo-húzin no boosi no genryóo NO nagái himo ni nátte ...* 'Becoming long long ribbon that is the material for western ladies' hats ...'; ... *takái ténmaku*

16. Instead of *nó* or *de áru*, you will sometimes see *náru*, the literary attributive form of the copula: *Háha naru hitó ga déte kite, ...* 'A woman who would be the mother came out and ...' (Fn 408).

17. And also *otokó no katá* 'male person' and *onná no katá* 'female person' despite the lexicalized *otokó-no-hito* and *onná-no-hito*; *otokó no o-ko-san* '[your] male child' and *onná no o-ko-san* '[your] female child' despite the lexicalized *otokó-no-ko* and *onná-no-ko*; cf. *anó-ko* 'that child' but *ano o-ko-san* 'that esteemed child', *anó-hito* 'that person' but *ano katá* 'that [esteemed] person'. (This information differs slightly from that in BJ 1.151.)

[=ténto] no teppén de wa hasigó-nori(¯) NO kyokúgei(¯) ga hazimatte iru 'At the top of the tall tent the ladder-climb act is beginning'; ... kootoo-saiban-syo tyookan máta-wa hánzi NO syokú(¯) ni átta monó o mo kuwaéru(¯) ¯béku, ... 'To be added are those who have been in the position of high-court judge or of justice ...'; ... doozi-kánsoku o okonaéba ... "ataranai tenki-yóhoo" NO akuhyoo o nozoku kotó mo tán-naru yumé de wa áru ¯mái 'If we perform simultaneous observations ... it will not be a mere dream to avoid the bad reputation of "inaccurate weather forecasts"'; Ittai kono yóo na mondai wa, dótira ga yói ka to iu mondai dé wa náku, sizen-zyóoken ya tá no saibai-zyóoken nádo no saibai-kánkyyoo ni tá-si dótira ga tekioo 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 hokyúu-kin(¯) NO katati dé nomi déte ita '... on the budget sheet it appeared only in the form of this subsidy'; Sore nára-ba, syoosetu-ka NO na ni óite(¯), arúi-wa zissen-ka NO na ni óite(¯), géndo o siranu hihyoo-séisin no ué 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-sangyóokai ni óite(¯) góku syoosúu no kyodai-dokusen-síhon nomi no kyuusai no tamé "syuutyyu-séisan" to "kigyoo-goorika" NO na no motó ni kyookoo si-tútu 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-hozyóhi NO meimoku de múri-yari(¯) osi-tukeráreta syoogaku no syakúzai(¯) ni ... 'small-scale loans that have been forcefully pushed under the heading of living subsidies'; Zyuuni-tubo NO híro-sa da ga, ... 'It's a width of twelve *tsubo*, but ...' (SA); Iti-niti ¯zyuu utí(¯) ni ite kázoku 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*: Kigeki-sákusya DE ARU watakusi wa, taidan 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); Syúhu de ari, tíisa na kodomo no hahaoya DE ÁRU watakusi ni tótte, ... 'For me who am a housewife, and am the mother of small child(ren) ...' (SA 2688.146); Seménto no genryóo DE ARU sekkái-seki ... 'Limestone which is the raw material for cement ...' (SA 2688.23a). The copula can be perfect, *Ir dátta Id* (or *Ir de átta 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 daihyóo-bu ga ... 'the representatives of the Pathet Lao who are supposed to be the "Enemy"' (SA 2688.4) comes from "teki" ga daihyóo-bu no *hazu* da = daihyóo-bu wa "teki" no *hazu* da 'the representatives are supposed to be the "Enemy"' ← "teki" ga daihyóo-bu da = daihyóo-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 siriai no Kánsái(¯) no áru zassi no hensyúu-sya wa* ... (Fukuda in Ōno 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 sensei ga siboo de kyookú-gaku senkoo no Árisón wa* ... 'Alison, majoring in education with the aspiration

to become a school teacher, ...' (SA 2680.22e) has an epitheme (Árison 'Alison') that can be taken as extruded from both embedded clauses: Gakkoo no sensei ga Árison no siboo da = Árison no siboo wa gakkoo no sensei da 'Alison's aspiration is (to be a) school teacher' is converted into a gerund to represent the CAUSE of kyooikú-gaku [ga] Árison no senkoo da = Árison no senkoo wa kyooikú-gaku da 'Alison's major is education'. In the following example kodomo NO muttú NO tokí represents kodomo GA muttú DE ARU/ATTA tokí 'the time when the child was six years old': Saisyō no kánai ga naku-nattá no ga, kodomo no muttú no tokí datta kara né, kyōo nízuyū-nen tatte '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 identificational sentences that represent DESCRIPTIVE identifications—the Identifier typically a noun modified by adnominalized description—will permit the structure *Id ga Ir da* when adnominalized to a summational epitheme:¹⁸ Watási-tái wa, Kindáiti GA sugúreta Ainugo-gákusya DE ARU kotó o sitte iru bákari de náku, konó-hito ga Áinu no hitóbito ni hukái aizyoo o mótte itá ni tigai ná to omóu 'Not only is it well known to us that Kindaichi 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 *gá* (optionally replaceable by *nó*) marks the Identified, which would be required to undergo subdued thematization if it were not adnominalized: Kindáiti WA sugúreta Ainugo-gákusya de aru 'Kindaichi 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 táí da 'The only (= best) fish is sea bream (= red snapper); Sea bream is THE fish' (cf. p. 251) and Aité ga aité da 'Such is the opponent' (p. 664) can be freely adnominalized to various epithemes, unchanged except for the form of the copula:

Sakana wa táí NA no da.	Sakana wa táí NO Nihón nara, ...
NO yóo da.	NA kotó wa (dare de mo sitte iru).
NO hazu da.	NO tamé, ... (= Sakana wa táí da kara).
Aité ga aité NA no da.	
NA kotó wa (dare de mo sitte iru).	
NO tamé, ... (= Aité ga aité da kara, ...)	
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); Byoonin ga byoonin [na] daké ni ... 'Just because patients are patients ...'; Basyo ga basyo [na] daké ni ... 'Just because it is the place it is ...'; Genkín ga || zyuuman-en mímán [de aru] | máde wa, || risoku wa || saikoo || nén || ní-wari, || ... '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 *Id* 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 [nó] N* which leaves two nouns juxtaposed as if they formed a compound noun. (Cf. Martin 1970, where there are listed additional ellipses that yield *NN*; see also § 25.) Usually the *nó* is best regarded as adnominalized proredication, 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 *nó*; 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} | yuubinrengoo-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* (ˉ) 'treaty' or *yuubin* 'postal service' + *rengoo* '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. Nonce formations sometimes allow either treatment: *Kyóoto* [no] | sitén-tyoo 'the branch head in Kyōto (= the head of the Kyōto branch)' can be tightened into the compound *Kyooto-siténtyoo* 'the Kyōto branch head'; *Bánkoku* | *Hakurán-kai* 'International Exposition' readily tightens into *Bankoku-Hakuránkai*, and that is easily abbreviated to *Bankoku-haku* and *Ban-paku* 'Expo'. And *nízyúu-nen* | *kinzoku* | *hyoosyoo-médaru* 'a badge-medal for twenty years of continuous service' (SA 2660.57a) can be said as *nizyuunenkinzoku-hyoosyoomédaru* '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 proredication; *zinken* [[*nó*] |] *zyuurin* 'violation of human rights' will eventually derive from something like *zinken o zyuurin surú no da* 'it is violating human rights'. Cf. § 14.3. Other examples of this: *kokki* [[*no*] |] *keiyoo* 'raising [of] the flag'; *úntin* [no] (|) *neage ga* ... 'the hiking of the fares' (from *úntin o neage suru* 'hikes the fares'); ...

You may be puzzled by written phrases that have an unwanted *nó* (as if the opposite of the situation described above): *A-kí 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-kí* [no] *de aru*, *V-rú* [no] *de aru*—and the copula is converted to its adnominal form *nó*, so that the underlying structure is something like *A-kí* [no] *no N* and *V-rú* [no] *no N*, in which the dropped *nó* is the nominalizer and the expressed *nó* is the copula: *Motiron*, *o-tagai ni aité* no *okúgata* (ˉ) *ni tái-site wa*, *ki-húzin ni tai-súru 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).

13.1.6. Subject Marking and Focus in Adnominalized Sentences.

In § 2.3 we found that any adjunct can be subdued by adding the particle *wá*—thereby

^{18a} The earliest example I have seen is late-Heian: *haku no kinu* 'a garment to wear' (Ruiju - Myōgi-shō, ?1081 A.D.).

removing the possibility of specifying the subject-object relationship because *gá* and *ó* are incompatible with *wá*. Something a bit similar can happen to the SUBJECT of an adnominalized sentence: the particle *gá* 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 *gá* 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 *gá* 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 *gá* to *nó* if there is the possibility of misinterpreting the *nó* as a genitive.

The above remarks were written with the notion that *gá* → *nó* (or ~~*gá*~~ *nó*) in an adnominalized sentence serves essentially the same function as *gá* → *wá* (or ~~*gá*~~ *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.¹⁹ Some speakers feel that the choice of *gá* or *nó* in an adnominalized sentence is nothing more than a stylistic option, with *gá* the more colloquial. So let us consider a somewhat different description:

The surface-subject marker *gá* 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 Tōkyō 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 *gá/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 *gá*.

The kind of epitheme is also, in general, irrelevant; all types occur, including the resultative, as in these examples: *Kodomo ga/no kirei ni káita ZÍ* 'a character nicely written by the child'; *Gásu ga/no hídoku moréru NIÓI* 'the smell of gas leaking terribly'; *Sénsyu ga/no rippa ni yuusyo sita YOROKÓBÍ(¯)* 'the delight that the champion has won'; *Senséi ga/no watasi no ronbun o yónda INSYOO* 'the teacher's impression on reading my thesis'; *Kókku ga/no sore o ryóori sita AZI* 'the flavor when the cook has cooked it'.

Even the all-purpose postadnominal (or general pronoun) *nó* will permit the replacement: ... *aite⁽²⁾ NO osóí no o hínan si-tai* 'wants to criticize a partner for being late (a partner's being late)²⁰ (Ōno 1966.126); *Watasi wa Biéntyan no hikoo-zyoo de renrák [u]-ki*

19. On the other hand, the notion of *nó* as a subdued version of *gá* may have merit; Tanaka Humio (in *Kokugo-bumpō no mondai-ten* 352-8) gives examples in which it is difficult to replace *gá* by *nó* because the noun carries intrinsic emphasis. And Yoshida clearly supports the notion, saying that in *Bóku(¯) no katta sebiro* 'The suit I bought' the emphasis is on *sebiro* 'suit' but in *Bóku(¯) ga katta sebiro* the emphasis is on *bóku(¯)* 'I' (Y 299-300).

20. Or, §14.2.3, 'wants to criticize whichever partner is late'.

NO *déru* no o *mátta* 'I waited at the Vientiane airport for the liaison plane to appear (SA 2673.22e); Masagó-zusi no ozisan NO *sindá* no o sitte *irú* ka i 'Did you know that the man at the Masago Sushi place is dead?'²¹ (Kb 16a); Sore kara, *kutikazu ga sukunái* no to, *kuti* no kiki-kata NO *sízuka* na no ga tokutyoo *dátta* 'And then, she had the special quality of being sparing of words and quiet in speech' (KKK 3.168) = Tokutyoo wa *kutikazu ga sukunái* no to *kuti* no kiki-kata GA *sízuka* na no *datta*'. And even direct nominalizations with ellipsis of *nó* can take the option: *Dandān yó* NO *hukéru* [no] ni turete *nemúku* wa *náru*, *hará* wa heru, *sae-agatté* wa *kúru* 'As the night gradually wears on I get sleepy, I get hungry, I start sobering up' (Kb 106b). But one avoids replacing *nó* *gá*^[1] by *nó* *nó*^[2], so that you are unlikely to hear (*)*doobutu o míru* no no *sukí* na kodomo for *doobutu o míru* no ga *sukí* na kodomo 'a child who likes to look at animals'; cf. *doobutu o míru kotó ga/no sukí* 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":

N ga S + *bákari*

daké [de *náku*], *nómi-nárazu*

tamé {ni} 'because'

(*kará*, *món* [da *kara*] 'because')²²

monó da 'it is natural that'

kusé ni

dógoro [ka]

nó da 'the fact is that'

nó de 'because of the fact that'

nó ni 'despite the fact that'

kotó ga áru 'ever'

yóo da [But see below.]

mitai da

(*sóo da*)²³

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 *nó da/de/ni* block the option in the meanings given, other uses of *nó* meaning 'fact' as well as 'the one' will permit the option, as will most uses of *kotó*, the only exception being the experiential possessive expressions ('ever') and perhaps a few similar usages(?).

Though *yóo da* will preclude *gá* → *nó*, the option is permitted when the resulting sentence is itself adnominalized (... *yóo* na N) or adverbialized (... *yóo* ni):²⁴ *Áme no huránai yóo* na hí ... 'A day when it doesn't rain ...'; *Mi no sukúmu*(¹) *yóo* na *sabísi-sa ga átta* 'There was the kind of loneliness that one's body cowers at' (Kb 83ab); ... *gátén*(¹) no *ikanai yóo* ni, ... 'as if in doubt' (Kb 140b); *Gokai no ná* *yóo* ni *ari-tái monó da* 'We want to keep it so there are no misunderstandings'. This is true also for evidentializations with -*soo da*; the option is permitted only for the adnominalization (... -*soo* na N) and the adverbialization (... -*soo* ni): *Ki no nasa-sóo* 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 *dá* *kara/mon*. See § 17.1.

23. But S with this is not an adnominalization: N *dá sóo da*. See § 18.

24. *Gótoku* and *gótoki* follow the same rules: *kimi* NO *siru gótoki* ... *oyá* ... 'the parent who is as you know' (Kb 327b = *kimi* no sitte *iru yóo* na ... *oyá* ...).

no nasa-sóo ni, ... 'looking uninterested' (Kb 44b); ... omoide no huka-sóo ni ... 'as if deep in memory' (Kb 50a)—more commonly said omoide [] huka-sóo ni. But only ki GA nasa-sóo + dá, dé, nára, ni miéru.

Similarly, hazu dá will not normally permit the option, but gá → 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 miéru hazu ga tóotoo o-mie ni narimasén desita 'Óyama 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 gá with various postadnominals: ... kore to iu yóo NO náí kágiri, ... 'so long as there is no business in particular to be done' (Kb 122b); ... kikái(¯) NO áru góto ni, ... 'every time the opportunity is available' (Kb 118a); O-nóbu wa hanási(¯) NO kíreta mamá ni daidokoro e tátta 'O-nobu went out to the kitchen without another word' (Kb 34b); ... kankei NO áru to iu kotó ga ... 'The fact that there is a relationship' (Kotoba no uchū 27a); ... Wakámiya-kun ni sonna monó NO átta to iu hanási d'atte atasya [= watasi wa] siranai yó 'I didn't even know that Wakamiya had such things' (Kb 185b); Hi NO kureru máde wa ... 'Until the day draws to a close ...'; Háha NO káeru máde ... 'Until/Before mother comes back ...'; Háha NO kaeránai utí(¯)/saki ni ... 'Before mother gets back ...'.

An adnominalized sentence that is a close-knit phrase will sometimes omit the subject marker entirely: ... zúnoo(¯) [ga/no] meiseki na Míeko san da kara yókatta kedo mo 'Fortunately Mieko 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 utí(¯) ya I sinseki no [utí(¯) ga/no] átta tokoró, || arúite I mimásu to || nán da ka || Yósiwara to wa || omoénaí n desu 'When I walk around where our house and my relatives' [house] used to be, somehow it just doesn't seem like the Yoshiwara' (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 epitheme extruded from a locative [sono] tokoró ni ... átta '(houses) were in [that] place'.

Throughout the history of Japanese the two particles gá 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, gá in the literary language and nó in the standard colloquial; some dialects, notably in the Ryūkyūs, use the local reflex of nó (pronounced nu) 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 gá 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 gá; see p. 48. The distribution of gá and nó in the older literary language has been explained in three ways (according to Kinoshita 19): (1) Yamada Yoshio says gá emphasizes the preceding noun, nó emphasizes the following noun; (2) Jugaku Akiko says nó shows respect, where gá shows intimacy or humility or dislike; (3) some say the selection is arbitrarily set with particular words. In conversational

passages of light fiction of the early 19th century, *nó* marked the subject of adnominalized sentences in preference to *gá* by a ratio of .88 to .12, according to Gekkan-Bumpō 2/11 (1970).

In §2.3 we observed that highlighting with *mó* is possible on any adjunct in the adnominalized sentence. It is also possible to highlight the adnominalized nucleus itself as can be seen from these examples: ... *tóozī no | hitóbito no || yosoo MO sinákatta | katati de ...* 'in a form unanticipated by people of that time' (R); *Hídeko no sonzai wa, || zibun no || nágaku MO | náí | syóogai(¯) ni, || kakegae no náí | ígi o | mótte | itá ni | tigai náí* 'Undoubtedly Hideko's existence held a precious meaning in his own none-too-long life' (lg 1962.86).²⁵ We suggested that except for cases where two contrasting sentences are conjoined before adnominalization (as in *Otokó wa nómu ga onná wa nománai 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 *gá* to *nó*. But (aside from other objections) that statement seems to be incorrect, for the following examples display a variety of situations in which *wá* is used to subdue adjuncts within an adnominalized simplex: ... *tatóe(¯) || huku-kénzi no | syussin de, || syuusýúu-sei no syuusýúu WA || oezáru | monó ni | túite mo ...* 'even with respect to those who have come up from assistant prosecutor but have NOT completed the procuratorial training ...' (KKK 3.186) ← ... *syuusýúu O oezáru monó ...; Moo iti-dó, || máe yori WA || óoki na | kóe de | yobimásu to ...* 'Upon calling again, with a voice LOUDER than before ...' (KKK 3.191) ← ... *máe yori [] ...* (directly adverbial); *Nihón no mondai ga || yagaté WA || kokusái-kan no | mondai to náru hí ga | áru kotó o | omói, ...* 'Thinking that there will be a day when Japan's problem at last becomes an INTERNATIONAL problem ...' (KKK 3.191) ← ... *ga yagaté [] ...; Ima-máde || yosán-men ni | arawasárete | inákatta || "enzyo-síkin" ga || kóndo WA || yosán-men ni || hakkíri || sógata o | arawásita | kotó 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) ← ... *ga kóndo [] ...; Sin-náikaku wa || "sensoo-náikaku" de | átte, || Tyuukyoo tó WA || tettei-teki ni tatakau kétúí de áru* 'The new cabinet is a "war cabinet" and is resolved to an all-out FIGHT with the Chinese Communists' (KKK 3.191) ← ... *Tyuukyoo tó ...; Sikási, || rakuda ní WA || kórite iru | hutarí ...* 'But the couple who have learned a lesson from a camel ...' (KKK 3.190) ← ... *rakuda ni ...; ... tasyoo tó mo || búngaku ni | kokóro no | áru | hitó ni WA || tae-gatái | búnsyoo da ga* 'It is a sentence that is INTOLERABLE to a person with the least sensitivity to literature (but ...)' (KKK 3.188) ← ... *hitó ni ...*

The following examples of subdued adjuncts within adnominalizations were noticed in the expository text in the cited pages of Sakakura: ... *kore wa, || bunpoo-teki ní WA || toriatukai-nikúí | monó de aru ...* 'this is something difficult to HANDLE grammatically' (164); ... *bunpoo-teki na mondai tó WA || kangaerarenai no ga | hutuu de áru* 'the USUAL ones are those that can NOT be thought of as grammatical problems' (172); *Kono gó wa, || kátute, || génzai to WA || kánari | koto-nátta | ími o | mótte || moti-irarete ita to omowaréru* 'This word is thought to have been used earlier with a meaning rather DIFFERENT from

25. From *Watasi mo tegami o káita* 'I too wrote a letter' you can produce *Watasi mo káita tegami* 'the letter that I too wrote'; it is possible to say *Watasi nó mo káita tegami* but only as the result of an ellipsis of a pronominalized genitive *Watasi nó* ≠ *no* ≠ *mo káita tegami* 'the letter written by mine too' in which what is dropped is equivalent to *monó* 'the one' or *kodomo* 'child' or the like.

[the one it has] at present' (187); ... to iú no mo, || hukugoo-dóosi to | sité WA || kangae-nikúí | monó de, || ... 'the very expression ... is something hard to CONCEIVE of as a compound verb' (187); ... no gótoki | kootai WA || mitome-nikúí | kotó 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 dá* = *Kanda ga Tookyoo dá* 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 *Aité ga aité da* 'The adversary is THAT adversary' or 'Such is the adversary' (Kb 165a). Sentences of this type (N_1 ga N_1 dá) are specificatory: *Kuruma ga kuruma dá kara* ... 'My car being the car that it is ...'. Cf. N_1 wa N_1 dé [mo], pp. 244-5; N_1 ga N_2 dé mo, pp. 249-50; N_1 mo N_1 [dé], p. 246.

Here is a clearcut example of an adnominalized identification in which the Identified (*N wa in N wa X dá*) is marked with *nó*: *Oziisan NO || koo-dánsi na no ni | odoróita* '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 *nó* 'fact' and the noun is a compound containing a semantically "adjectival" prefix: *koo*- 'good' + *dánsi* '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" (*kyuutyaku-go*) or "formal nouns" (*keisiki-méisi*) and "formal adverbs" (*keisiki-húkusi*), but I will call them POSTADNOMINALS. Some of the words in question are used fairly widely as ordinary nouns (*baai* 'situation', *wáke* '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*] *máe* '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 justified 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 *haná* '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 *áru* 'a certain' or the like. I do not take that approach because I would like to derive adnominal elements from the adnominali-

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 *Áru áki mo sue no samúí yóru no kotó*, ... 'One cold night at the very end of autumn, ...' (Takeda 1970.112) and *Kúgatu mo sue no, yóru no siti-zi ~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.

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*, *gurúrí*(⁻), *hazu*, *hóo*, *ippóo*, *kátá*, *katawará*(⁻), *múki*, *sái*, *samá*, *séi*, *tóori*, *wari*, *yóo*, The list that follows includes a number of words that are also treated as restrictives (§ 2.4): *bákari*, *daké*, *dógoro*, *góto*, *gúrai*, *hodó*, *ígai*, *ízen*, *ízyoo*, *kágiri*, *máde*, 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 *hodó* 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 conjunctivalization (§ 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 *ní* (usually subdued *ní wa*) and is similar in meaning to *tamé*. *Kará* is also treated as a case marker, as is *máde*; *máde*, 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 that of a pure noun. In all three instances, further adnominalization will require the copula (*dá*) to appear in the shape *nó*; but there are also a few postadnominals which behave like adjectival nouns, and after them the shape of the adnominalized copula is *ná*: *mítai*, *yóo*, ..., and optionally *gúrai*. 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 warúi* ‘The reason is bad’ and given the interpretation ‘a bad reason’ or it could be derived from [*Sore ga*] *warúi* ‘[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 warúi 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 ga [= kodomo nó ga] warúi*, that sentence in turn deriving from a permutation and thematization of *Kodomo ga [áru] rikutu ga warúi* ‘The reason possessed by the child is bad’.

An example of ambiguity is cited by Shibata 1966.189: *súbete no gen’in* can mean either ‘all the reasons’ (presumably from *gen’in ga súbete da* ‘the reasons are all’) or ‘the reason for everything’ (from *súbete ga/no áru gen’in*). Couldn’t this also be taken as [*sore ga*] *súbete 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 to iu ...*²⁷ 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: *omosirói to iu kotó* 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 (*Omosirói 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 *omosirói to iu to iu kotó* 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 *omosirói to iu to iu to iu kotó*, 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 they say that ...’) or a purely formal quotationalization, since that is permitted by the summational epitheme *kotó*.

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. *hóo*, *séi*, *hodó*, *daké*, *bákari*).

The list contains six columns of information. First, the epitheme type(s): *e*(xtruded), *s*(ummational), *r*(esultative), *t*(ransitional). 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. *N_{pj}* stands for place noun, *N_{tm}* for time noun, *N_{ab}* for abstract noun, *N_{ac}* 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, “[Q]” for those optionally permitting such linkage, and “*Q” for those which will not permit

27. Or, sometimes, *S tte ...* or *S to itta ...*; but only these versions of marking quotation can be used for quotationalization.

quotationalization. (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 dá* → *N nó*, but the following postadnominals will usually require *N ná* of all nominals: *bákari*, *daké*, *dókoró*, *hodó*, *ígai*, *ízyoo*, *kágiri*, *kotó*,²⁸ *máde*, *monó*,²⁹ *nó*, *wáke*.³⁰ (Instead of choosing *ná* 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

1	2	3	4	5	
t,r	(N)	Adv, V-ta PcN, (N)	V-ta	*Q	ageku {ni} '(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 (seldom VN dátta); sometimes V-anákatta, A-kátta, AN dátta: Nagái aida, áme ga huránakatta ageku, kaze ga hídoku húita no de hokori de tamaranákatá 'We had an awful wind on top of its not having rained for a long time, so the dust was unbearable'; Kúroo no ageku {ni} byooki ni náttá 'The upshot of all the work was that I got sick'; Nagúttari kéttari no ageku [= Nagúru kéru 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 hídoku sámukatta ageku (= ué) yamí-yo datta no de, dáre mo iki-ta-garanákatá 'That night was not only dreadfully cold but pitch black out and no one wanted to go'; ... to nári, ageku ni satuzin máde okásita 'and finally ended up committing murder' (SA 2793.95); Ageku no haté ni ... 'As the final upshot ...' (Tk 4.24a); Sanzan nónda ageku ga kono arísama(¯) da 'This scene is the outcome of all that wild drinking'.
t,(s)	(N)	N _{tm} , N _{pl}	V-te iru V-te ita V-anai VN no	*Q	aida {ni} 'while, during the time (interval) that; between where (they ...)'. Examples will be found in the dictionaries and textbooks. See also Okutsu 1974.298-9.
?s	N	N		[Q]	aidéa 'the idea (of ...)'; cf. án, kangáe.
t	N	N	V-ta VN no	*Q	akatuki {ní} wa '(on) the morrow of, once (that), in event/case of': Sensoo no akatuki wa 'In the event of war'; Kansei sita/no akatuki wa 'Once completed'; Soo náru rasíi ga hatasite soo náttá akatuki ní wa ... 'In the likely event (it happens) ...'; ... eiga-hakubutúkan ga dékita akatuki wa, soko ni hozon site moratté mo íi to iu yóo na monó wa, dóre desu ka 'once a film museum has come into being, which [of your roles] would you care to have preserved there?' (Tk 3.300b).

28. As a summational epitheme; optionally *N no 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).

t,(s)	(N)	N _{tm}	V-ta	?*Q	akuru(-) ... 'the next ... after': akuru ása (= yokuasa, yokutyoo) 'the morning after'; akuru ban 'the evening after'; akuru-hi(¯) (= yokuzitu) 'the day after', akuru-tosi (= yokutosi, yokunen) 'the year after'; akuru tuki (= yokugetu) 'the next month'; káette kita ~ ása 'the morning after we got back'; [] yóku háreta ~ ása 'the next morning [after that] which was nice and sunny'. Cf. fn. 62.
t,r	N		Adv	?*Q	amari '(in) the excess of; from an excess of': Urési-sa no amari námida o kobósita 'I shed tears overjoyed'; Hará ga táta amari, túi hidói kotó made itte simatta 'Overangered, I finally said something terrible'; Ki ga séku amari, kaké-asi de tonde itta 'Overeager, he dashed off'. Cf. amari Adv, AN; ¯amari R.
s	N	N		[Q]	án 'proposal, plan, scheme'.
s	(N)	N		[Q]	anbái 'condition, state, health; manner, way; (= azi) taste, flavor'.
s	N	N		[Q]	anken 'matter, case, item'.
?s,?e	N	N		*Q	aramasi 'summary, outline'.
?s	N	N		[Q]	arasói(¯) 'struggle'.
?s	N	N		[Q]	arasuzi 'summary, plot'.
s	(N)	N		[Q]	arísama(¯) [Chaplin prefers arísama] 'condition, situation, scene': Kurusínde iru arísama(¯) 'a situation of agony'; Sáigo made kurusínda arísama(¯) wa míte irarenákatta 'I couldn't stand watching the suffering to the very end'; Ningen no kurusímu arísama(¯) wa mi-táku náí 'I do not want to see human beings suffering'; Senzyoo wa zigokú no yóo na arísama(¯) datta 'The battlefield was a scene out of hell' (here the epitheme is extruded). Cf. yoosu, zyootai.
t	N	N _{tm}		?*Q	áru-hi 'one day when ...': Sono áru-hi ... 'Then one day ...'; ... is-syúukan hodo táta áru-hi ... 'one day when a week had passed ...' (SA 2641.17).
r	N	N		*Q	asiáto 'traces (of where ...), footprints (from ...)': Dáre ka ga yukí no ué o arúita asiáto ga nokótte iru 'There are footprints remaining from where someone walked on the snow'.
t	N	N		*Q	asimótó 'close by (at the foot of where ...)': Watasi ga tátte iru asimótó kara usagi ga tobi-dásita 'A rabbit darted out from (under) where I was standing'.
t	N	N _{pl}		?*Q	átari: (1) '(= hen) neighborhood, vicinity'
t		N _{tm}			(2) '(= góro) about (a time)'
s		N _{ab}			(3) 'feature (= ten); situation, appearance'
s	R	Adv			(4) 'or the like, of the sort (such that)' (= [ten] nádo): Hito o míte, monó o iu átari, nakanaka no rikoo-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-nóhara no Tookyoo de, toti o kai-símeta átari, syóonin to site no kankaku ga surudói 'He has a sharp sense as a business man, such that he bought up land in Tókyō when it was a burned-out stretch of land during the war'.

t	(N)	N _{tm}	V-ta	*Q	áto {de} 'later after (doing)': Zyúgyoo 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 wasuretyau '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 ₂ 'signs, traces, vestiges (of where); (on) the trace of where; scar': Kodái-zin no sún _[r] da áto ga dookutu no mamá nokótte iru 'The traces of where ancient man lived remain, caves and all'; Ka ni sasáreta áto ... '(The visible results of) a mosquito bite' (or: 'After being bitten by a mosquito').
?s	N	N		[Q]	ayamári 'the mistake/error of ...'.
s,t	(N)	N,Adv		[Q]	baai, bawai 'circumstance; occasion; case': Dóo-zitu ga áme no baai ní wa, undóo-kai wa tugí no do-yóobi made enki simásu 'In the event of rain on said date, the sports meet will be postponed to the following Saturday'; Hituyoo (Kiken) na baai ní wa, súgu renraku suru kotó 'In event of necessity (of danger) be sure to get in touch at once'; Sonna nó _[r] nki na kotó o itte 'ru baai zya náí yó 'It is no occasion to be saying such lackadaisical things'. Cf. Sore wa tokí to baai ni yoru 'That depends on the time and the occasion'.
?s,?t	R	N,Adv		*Q	bákari 'only, just' (= dake): ~ de {wa} náku 'not only (that) ...' (examples in KKK 3.202).
t		Adv	-ta	*Q	bákari ni 'just because': Roodoo-kúm _[r] iai ga kore o kobánda bákari ni, syakaiminsyu-too kakuryoo no soo-tázin ga okóri, sore ga kekkyokú minsyu-syúgi no teki no tamé ni miti o hiráku kíen(¯) o tukútta '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 kotó o itta bákari ni konna kotó ni ná _[r] tte simatta 'Just because I said such a thing, matters have come to this'. Cf. Alfonso 724.
					bákari ni ná _[r] tte iru 'is all set/ready for S (for it to happen)': Sukkári ni-zúkuri o site, hakobi-dásu bákari ni ná _[r] tte iru 'I've got everything packed and am all ready to go' (KKK 3.202). More examples in Alfonso 729.
s		PcN	V-ta	*Q	bákari da 'has just done' (= tokoró da): Zyettó-ki wa tyakuriku sita bákari desu 'The jet plane has just landed'; Tyakuriku sita bákari no zyettó-ki ... 'The jet plane that has just landed ...'. For V-te bákari iru, see p. 522; S to bákari [ni], p. 999 (n. 7); S to iwan bákari [ni], pp. 614-5.
s	N	N		[Q]	bámen(¯) 'scene (where ...)' (= síin): Káno-zyo ga arawáreta {to iu} bámen(¯) wa ... 'The scene where she appeared ...'.
s	N	N	V-ru	[Q]	bán 'one's turn (to V)': Watasi ga yómu bán désu ka 'Is it my turn to read?'; Kóndo wa Ákiko ga akké ni toraréru bán datta 'Now it was Akiko's turn to be

					astonished' (Ariyoshi 235). Cf. <i>zyun</i> , <i>zyunban</i> .
s	PcN	V-ru	*Q		ˉbéki 'ought to do' (see § 15.12b).
	Adn				ˉbekarazáru N = ˉbéki zya náí N 'N that ought not' (KKK 3.247).
		Adv			ˉbéku 'needing/having to do': ~ mo náí 'there should be no possibility/likelihood that'; ~ yogi-náku sareru 'becomes/is inevitable that' (Y 370).
				S	ˉbési = ˉbéki da.
?s	(N)	N	N no	?	bú 'department, section, heading; (= búruí) class, category, bracket'.
?s	N	N	N no	[Q]	búmon 'category, classification'.
s	(N)	N		[Q]	bún 'situation, state (= guai); part, portion; lot; status; ...'; ~ de/ni wa 'so long as, at the rate that': Kono bún de wa (Kono bún de ikéba) áme mo húru ˉmái 'At this rate we're not going to have any rain at all'; Zibun no kane de zibun no si-tai kotó o suru ʃto iuʃ bún ni wa oyá ^[r] no yurusí wa hituyoo náí 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]	búruí 'class, category'.
s,?t	R	N,		*Q	daké (1) 'only, just'; (2)—usually ˉdaké—'as much as (possible), all that': (1) "Aru-tyuu" ga byooin ni kákuri(ˉ) sareru daké de wa naoránai kotó wa, súde ni senmon-ka no zyoosiki de ári, ... '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 daké no kane ga irú n desu 'I need (only) enough money to buy it'; Sore o kau daké no kane ga náí n desu 'I lack enough money to buy it'; O-sake o sukósi nónda daké de kao ga akaku nátte iru 'Only having drunk a little rice wine I am red in the face'. (2) Suru daké no kotó wa sita 'I did what was to be done'; tabéru ˉdaké ^[r] tábete simau 'eats to one's heart's content'; naku daké ^[r] naite simau 'cries one's heart out'; Sukí na ˉdaké ^[r] turi o site asonde iki-nasái, to iú no de atta 'He said to enjoy all the fishing we liked (before leaving)' (SA 2671.95c); Kane o tamerú no ni osorosíi máde no syúunen(ˉ) o moyasi, sésse-to takuwaáru tamé ni syokuzi o kiri-tumerareru daké ^[r] 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); Átta daké ^[r] tábeta 'We ate all there was'.
					daké de/zya nákuʃteʃ 'not only': ... syókkingu na daké de náku, ... 'not only is it shocking but ...' (SA 2674.104b)—cf. nómi-nárazu, bákari de náku.
		V-ru			daké de íi 'If I could only ...'.
		V-ru/-ta			daké ^[r] no kotó wa áru 'is well worth doing (having done)': Sono mondai wa sirabéru daké ^[r] no kotó wa áru 'That problem merits examination'.
					daké ni/átte 'as might (can/could) be expected; for the very reason that; if only because': Hón o yónnda daké ni wakátta 'I understood it as might be expected for having read the book'; Sono toozi wa gakusei dátta daké ni sono kotó wa yóku siranákatta

'At that time I didn't know much about that, being only a student'; Kantan na daké ni káette yakusi-nikúí '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 senmon-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'; Níkkoo wa yuumei na tokoró [na] daké ni kankóo-kyaku ga óói no da 'Nikkō 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: attoo-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 = hodó 'all the more', see p. 560 (§9.3.1).

- t N_{tm} V-ru [Q] dán (ni náru) '(gets to be) the very moment to ..., the
VN no time to ...': Káeru dán ni nátte, ... 'When it came time to
leave (and go home)' (SA 2684.124cd); Iyóiyó saigo no
keiyaku to iu (Íza kimeru) dán ni nátte, aité ga mata
kangáe 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.
- s N N V-ru [Q] dandóri(-) 'plan, program': Asitá wa gózen ̄tyuu ni
VN no tátte, atira de yuuzin to ránti o tábete, gógo káigi 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'; Sá-te, iyóiyó
syokuzi to iu dandóri(-) ni nátte, sake o kai-wasúreta no ni ki ga túite komátta 'Well
when we finally arranged to have a meal I was embarrassed to discover I had for-
gotten to buy wine'.
- s N N [Q] dankai 'stage, phase, grade': Dekíru dankai ni náreba
... 'When one reaches the stage of being able ...'; Sore wa
máda zituyoo-ka sezu kizyoo no kenkyuu no dankai o
déte inai 'It has not been tested in practice but is still at the stage of theoretical
study'; Iyóiyó káre to kekkon ni túite gutai-teki na hanasí o suru dankai ni nátte
kíte iru ... to kokuhaku sité kara, ... 'After confessing that things had finally reached
the stage of concrete discussions with him about marriage ...' (Ariyoshi 293); ... íma,
rippoo no mondai to site, iroiro róngi sarete iru dankai de arimásu ga, ... 'at present
it is receiving considerable discussion as a legislative matter, and ...' (R).
- s N N [Q] dekígótó = zíken 'incident'.
- s N N [Q] densetu (o tutaéru(-), ii-tutaéru, katari-tutaéru)
'(tells) the tradition that ...': Káre wa mati^[1] no hitóbito
ga sósen no manuke dátta densetu o sono mamá^[1] ii-tutáete
iru tokoró ga, nan-to-náku nónki de, omosirói 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).
- s N N *Q doai 'degree, extent': ... koogai o dásite iru doai ni
taiao sita ... '[taxes] corresponding to the degree that

environmental damage is produced' (SA 2792.109e); ... sinsaku no zitai wa tukawareru doai ga kiwámete hikúi no de aru 'the extent to which the newly created character-shapes are used is extremely low' (Nagano 1968.68).

- ?s,?t R PcN, *Q dókoro 'hardly': see pp. 930-2.
Adv
- s,?t N N_{pl} [Q] donzoko 'the depths (that/where)': Sitúi no donzoko ni ótita 'I fell into the depths of despair'.
- s N N [Q] dóoki(-) 'motive': si-tai to iu ~ 'the motive for wanting to do'.
- s (N) N [Q] doorí 'reason (why ...)': Konna kantan na kotó ga wakaránai doorí wa nái 'There's no reason why you shouldn't understand such a simple thing'. But the most common uses are in S nó mo doorí da 'It is natural that S' and Doorí de ... 'That's why ...'.
- e (N), N *Q dóosi 'fellow who (with one/me) ...': tatakau dóosi 'a fellow fighter'; sin-zíru(-) dóosi 'a fellow believer'.
R
- ?s N N V-ru *Q dosúu 'the frequency (of doing)': Káno-zyo kara, tabako ni hí o túkete morau dosúu ga, kasanaru góto ni, Keikiti mo ... nádo o sitta 'Each time the frequency mounted of his having his cigarette lit by her, Keikichi became aware that ...' (V 138); Hánako ga Tároo o hoomon suru dosúu ga húeta 'The frequency of Hanako's visiting Tarō increased'.
- s,t (N) N_{tm} [Q] dotanba 'the critical moment when/where'—most commonly V-ta ~ {ni/máde}, especially V-[r]are-soo ni nátta ~: Oi-tumeráre, korosare-soo ni nátta dotanba máde kiken ni ki ga tukánakatta '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] eikyoo 'the influence/effect of': Doru-syókku de bukka ga agaru eikyoo o úketa 'We felt the effect of prices rising under the "dollar shock" '.
- s N N N no [Q] én 'connection, affinity, relation(ship)': Si-téi no én o musunda 'They formed a relationship of master and pupil'. But the common use is V-tá no ga én de ... 'as a consequence of having V-ed': Dookyúu-sei to site tukue o narabetá no ga én de kekkon simásita 'As a consequence of having shared neighboring desks as classmates, they got married'.
- ?s N N_{pl} [Q] gaimen 'the outside of where ...'.
- ?s N N [Q] gáinen 'concept, notion': gensi-syákai ni okéru kekkon/syúukyoo no gáinen 'the concept of marriage/religion in primitive society'.
- ?s N N [Q] gairyaku 'summary, epitome'.
- ?s N N [Q] gairon 'an outline (a general statement) of'.
- ?s N N [Q] gaisetu 'an outline (a general statement) of'.
- e R N ? gawa 'side; group'.
- s N N [Q] gen'an 'original plan': Minsyusyugi-teki kyooiku o okonau {to iu} gen'an de Amerika kara senmon-ka o

					yondá ga ... 'We invited specialists from America with the plan to practice democratic education, but ...'.
?s	N	N		[Q]	gen'in 'cause': Kodomo ga húeta {to iu} gen'in de ie ga tezema ni nátte kíta 'My house grew cramped from the proliferation of children'.
s	N	N		[Q]	genkai 'limit(s), the limitation that': Gaikoku-go wa sono kuni no hitó hodo wa ríkai(¯) dekinai {to iu} genkai ga wakátta 'I realized the limitation that one can not understand a foreign language as well as the people of the country where it is spoken'.
s	N	N		[Q]	gensyoo 'phenomenon': Kokuzin no tikará(¯) ga túyoku nari-sugita {to iu} gensyoo ga miraréru sóo da 'They say the phenomenon can be seen of blacks having become too powerful'.
t	N,R	N _{tm}		[Q]	génzai 'as of now (when ...); now that ...': Sensoo ga/no owatta génzai ... 'Now that the war is over ...'; Heiwa-zyóotai no génzai ... 'Now that we are at peace ...'.
s	N	N		[Q]	genzitu 'the hard fact that' (Ariyoshi 236).
s	N	N		[Q]	genzyoo 'present situation (conditions)': ... seikatu-húkúsi e no sikoo o tuyómete iru genzyoo dé wa, ... 'under the present situation when people are strengthening their interest in social well-being' (R).
e,?t		N,Adv		*Q	gí 'matter, affair, case' (=kén): Sono gí ni túki (túite, kán-site) moosiage-tai 'I wish to report on this matter'; Súde ni o-kiki no gí ... 'As you have heard ...'. In letter-writing used as a particle in the phrase Watakusi gi ¹ , 'As for me ...'.
s	N	N	V-ru	[Q]	gímu (ga áru) '(has) the duty to ...'. go-ón = ón.
t	R	Adv, V-ru PcN		*Q	góto {ni} 'every time that, whenever': kikái [ga] áru góto ni 'whenever one has the chance'; Kodomó-táti wa áu góto ni seityoo site iru 'Every time I see the children they've grown'; Hutuu kóodo ga issen-méetoru masu góto ni, kion wa, yáku rokú-do no wari de hikúku nátte iku 'Usually with each thousand meters rise in height the air temperature is lowered by about six degrees' (V 1967a. 97).
s		N [no] V-ru ga		*Q	góto áru, gótaru [Kyūshū dialect] = yóo da (Y 372-3). gótoki N = yóo na N 'an N such that (like)': Sátoo gótoki yátu wa hanasí mo si-taku náí 'I don't even want to talk about a guy like Satō'; Arasuka no gótoki {tokoró} wa réika nanzyúu-do to iu kion ni náru kotó mo maré(¯) dé wa náí 'In a place like Alaska it isn't unusual for the temperature to drop to tens of degrees below zero'; siráyuri no gótoki tati-súgata 'the (graceful) stance of an easter lily'.
					gótosi = yóo da. gótoku {ni} = yóo [ni] 'so that, like': Maborosi no

gótoku arawáreta 'It appeared like a phantom'; ... roohei ga kieru gótoku kieru 'will fade away like an old soldier (fades away)' (Tk 3.136b); Osorosii hígeki ga íppo toonóita(¯) tokí no gótoku ni, muné 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] = yóo da (Y 372-3).

- ?s N N [Q] guai 'situation, condition; way': koo iu guai ni 'in this manner, in this way'; Tó itta guai ni 'In such a situation'; ...
- ?s N N N no [Q] gún 'group'.
- s,?t R N, Adv [Q] gúrai (na/no) 'extent; at least; as much as to ..., so as to ..., virtually'; ~ nara 'if ... at all; rather than ...': Sinitai gúrai (= hodó) turákatta 'It was so agonizing I wanted to die'; Háiyaku káetta gúrai no kotó de kubi ni sareta 'I got fired for nothing more than leaving (work) a little early'; Konna kurusii seikatu o suru gúrai nara sinda hoo ga masi da 'Death would surely be preferable to a life this miserable'; Ma ni áu gúrai ni háiyaku dekaketa 'I left early enough to be on time'; Warai-tai gúrai datta 'I felt almost like laughing'; Goman-en dé mo yasúí gúrai da 'It would be cheap even at fifty thousand yen'; Bikkúri suru gúrai datta 'It was enough to startle me'; Sinda to itté mo ii gúrai datta 'I was all but dead (I was more dead than alive)'; Sekái-iti to itté mo ii gúrai na késiki da 'The scenery bids fair to be the best in the world'.
- t Npl N no *Q gurúri(¯) 'around' (= mawari): Iké^[u] no gurúri(¯) ni kí o ueru 'We will plant trees around the pond'; [Sono] gurúri(¯) o tori-maku koobá wa ... 'The factories surrounding (it) ...'. (MKZ^s prefers atonic version.)
- ?s N N [Q] haba 'the breadth, scope, range': ... iroiro na baai o kangae-awaseru haba o motánakereba, káisyaku ga tukánai 'without the scope of considering various situations, an interpretation will not be achieved' (Nagano 1966.202).
- t (N) Npl N no [Q] háigo '(in) back of; behind': Sutó o kankoo suru/sita háigo ni ... 'Behind the carrying out of the strike ...'; Teki no háigo ni wa kyoosanken-syókoku no ényoo ga áru 'In back of the enemy there is aid from the Communist countries'.
- s N N [Q] hakarigótó(¯) 'scheme, stratagem, plot': Hisóka ni daitóoryoo o ansatu siyoo to suru [ansatu suru to iu] hakarigótó(¯) ga átta 'There was a plot to secretly assassinate the president'.
- s N N [Q] hakobi 'stage, step; progress': Iyóiyoo syuppan no hakobi ni nátta 'We have finally reached the stage of publication'; ... koko ni, sono séika o matomete happyoo suru hakobi to nátta 'we have reached the stage of putting the results together here and publishing them' (Inokuchi 1); Túi ni, uri-daséru hakobi ni kogi-tuketa 'At last we have reached the stage where we can start selling'; Íza hanbai to iu hakobi ni itátta(¯) tokí ni, kéizai no dai-héndoo ga okótte, zitugen sinákatta 'Just when we

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 na hamé ni tatasárete yowátte imasu 'I am perplexed at having been placed in the odd predicament of getting my father for a supervisor'.
- s N N [Q] hanasí 'tale; report, rumor; happening; situation; (making) sense': Wagamámá de omoi-dasitá kara tyót-to wagahai no utí(-) no syúzin ga kono wagamámá de sippai sita hanasí 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 hanasí 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 tísiki no) hán'i de wa, sonna réi wa náí 'Within the bounds of what I know (Within the limits of my knowledge) there is no such example'; Nan-péezi kara nan-péezi made to iu hán'i o kimete 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(-), tuuhuu ni mondai ga átta 'While it was superior in water resistance, there was a problem in ventilation'; Kanzoo ga yowái no de wa náí ka to ka, sinpai site ita ten wa wáruku náí kotó ga wakátta hanmén(-), toonyoo-byoo to koo-kétuatu to inkoo tó ga kánari warúi to iu kotó ga wakátta '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 PcN [Q] hará '(belly =) intention (of someone other than the speaker—cf. tumori)': Kuti dé wa suru to ittá ga, sinai hará rasíi (or: suru hará wa nákata yóo da) 'He says he'll do it but he seems not to have any such intentions'; ... o teian 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 PcN [Q] harazúmori 'determination, resolution' (= késín): Sáigo made tatakau (yamenai) harazúmori de hazimeta 'I began with the determination to fight (not to give up) till the end'.
- ?s N N V-ru *Q hariai 'the worthwhileness of'; ~ ga áru 'is worth doing': ... atasi no hoo de kataru hariai ga áru yó 'it is worth my telling, you see' (Okitsu 1.139).

r,t	(N)	N, V-ta Adv N no	[Q]	haté {ni} (as) the end result of' (cf. sue, ageku): Situren sita/no haté {ni} zisatu sita 'Her disappointment in love led to suicide'; Sanza[n] nónda haté ni byooki ni nátta 'The result of all the wild drinking was that I got sick'.
t	N	N _{tm}	*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 Adv VN	*Q	hazumi {ni} 'in the act of', hazumi de 'by force/moment of': Tobi-agátta hazumi ni kutú ga núgetyatta 'In jumping up I lost my shoes'; Té o nobásite toróo to sita hazumi ni kóppu no mizu o kobósite simatta 'In reaching my hand out to take it, I spilled the cup of water'; Isidan o oríru hazumi ni subétte así o ótta I slipped going down the stone steps and broke my leg'; Okótta hazumi de, aité o nagútte 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, hyoosi, ikiói.
t	(N)	N _{pl} N no	*Q	hen 'locality, vicinity': Kono hen da 'It's in this vicinity'; Toogé no tyamise no hen máde itte miru 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 N no	*Q	hénrei(-) (ni) '(as) a return courtesy/present, (in) acknowledgment/appreciation of': Kékkoo na monó o itadaita hénrei(-) (= o-réi) ni kotira kará mo náni ka okurimasyóo '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	N _{tm}	*Q	hi 'day (when ...)' (accent drops when there is no adnominal modification): Tugi ni, sono háha 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 usinata 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 suidoo no sén kara mizu no sitatáru hibiki ga kikoéru 'There is a sound of water dripping from the taps in the kitchen' (V 134).
t	(N)	N _{pl}	*Q	hidari '(to) the left of (where ...)': Watakusi no {suwatta} hidari ni iru hitó 'The person on the left of me [of where I am seated]...'

t	(N)	N _{pl}	N no	*Q	hidari-dónari 'next on the left of (where ...)'. hidari-gawa 'the left of (where ...)'. higasi(¯) 'east of (where ...)'. hima 'time (to do)'; V-te iru hima ni 'while doing': Asobu hima ga náí 'I have no time to play'; Tegami o káku hima ga áttara ... 'If you have the time to write a letter ...'.
t	(N)	N _{pl}	N no	?[Q]	
t	(N)	N _{pl}	N no	*Q	
s	N	N	V-ru		
			VN no		
e	N	N		[Q]	hitó 'person (who ...)—as unmodified noun, atonic hito '(other) person/people'.
s	N, AN	N	-ru	[Q]	hituyoo 'the necessity of/to ...': ~ ga áru 'there is the necessity to, it is necessary to'; ~ ¯zyoo/kara 'from the necessity to': Sára ni kenkyuu no hituyoo ga áru 'There is need for further research'; Sonna ni isógu [to iu]

hituyoo wa mattakú^[1] náí to omóu 'I think there's simply no need to rush so'. Sometimes the necessity is already marked in the adnominalized sentence: Óokiku nákereba naránai hituyoo wa arimasén 'There is no necessity for it to have to be big'; Bookan site iru Nóbuko ni wa, sigoto no naiyoo mo, sore o sinákereba naránai hituyoo mo wakátte inákatta 'Nobuko, looking on, understood neither the nature of the work nor the necessity of (having to) do it' (V 130).

t	(N)	N _{pl}		*Q	hizamoto 'close by one (where ...)': Akanboo o asobasete iru hizamoto ni keito o korogaside amimono o site iru 'She is rolling yarn and weaving close by where she's letting the baby play at her feet'.
s,?t	R, (N)	N, Adv		*Q	hodó 'extent, degree; so much that, such that; even': Onsen mo kazoe-kirenai hodó da 'Hot spring resorts are too numerous to count' (Shūkan-Shinchō 844.58c); Kazoeru hodo sika náí 'They are barely enough to count =

They are hardly worth counting'; Bóku(¯) wa mukasi kara kóorasu ga dai-suki de, zibun dé mo utatte ita kotó mo áru hodó datta 'I have been very fond of choruses for a long time, and I've even done some singing myself' (SA 2654.56b); ... yóki sita hodó no séika wa agerarenákatta 'was unable to give as much in the way of results as had been anticipated' (SA 2673.115c); ... tábeta áto de, watási-táti wa mótte ita kámara de kinen-sátuei o sita hodó datta 'It was such that (= so good that) we even took a picture to remember it by with a camera we had with us' (SA 2674.103); Míru hodó ni kyóomí ga waite kíta 'The more I looked at it the more my interest welled up' (cf. S-réba S hodó/daké, p. 560); Nómu hodó ni yooki ni nátta 'The more I drank the better I felt'; ... Nihon-zín no baai, sore ga kyokután na hodó mu-isiki ni arawárete irú no de aru 'with Japanese, that appears unconsciously to an extreme degree' (Nakane 124); ... Sei'oo ni tai-súru izyoo na hodó no kookí-sin ga átta 'they had a curiosity about Western Europe to an unusual extent' (Nakane 131).

hodó ni wa miénai 'it does not look as if'.

V-ru hodó no kotó wa náí, V-ru hodó zya náí 'there is no need to, it is not worth V-ing': Senmon no hitó o tanómu hodó zya náí keredo, ... 'It's not worth hiring an expert, but ...' (BJ 2.270).

- s N N,Adv [Q] hoka {ni}, hoka {ní} wa 'in addition to (being/doing)', on top of' (= ué): Yósiko no hoka ni moo hitóri imootó ga arimásu 'In addition to Yoshiko there is still another younger sister'; Hito no monó o nusúnda hoka ni, hooka 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'; Zímu ga múdan(¯) de kaisya-síkin o tá no kaisya ni ryuuyoo site ita hoka, zibun no puráibéeto na kotogará(¯) ní made kaisya no kane ga tukaware, mi-séisan ni nátte iru kotó made wakátta '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 {ni}, hoka {ní} wa 'aside from (doing/being), except for (doing/being)' + NEGATIVE, usually náí: Ayamáru hoka {ni [wa]} náí 'There's nothing to do but apologize'; Buzi ni sono-hí^[1] sono-hí o okuri-tai to iu hoka ní wa [tái-sita nozomí(¯) wa] arimasén 'I have no great desire for anything except to see each day pass harmlessly by'; Sinu hoka náí 'Death is the only choice'; Kaze o hiite iru hoka wa warúi tokoró wa náí 'I am well save that I have a cold' (Kenkyusha). Cf. sika.
- t N N_{pl} *Q hókubu '(the part to the) north (of where ...)'.
 ?s N N V-ru [Q] hónnóo(¯) 'an instinct (to ...)': Zibun o kiken kara mamóru hónnóo(¯) ga áru 'One has an instinct to protect oneself from danger'.
- s N *Q hoo 'the alternative of ... (rather than the other),³¹ rather, preferably; (N no hoo) the direction of, towards': Kore yóri sore no hoo ga takái hazu desu 'That is surely more expensive than this' (BJ 2.28); Watakusi-dómo no hoo no teotí desita 'We were the ones at fault'; Tumaránu kotó wa háyaku wasureta hoo ga toku da 'Stupid things are best quickly forgotten'. In giving advice, V-ta hoo ga and V-(a)nai hoo ga are the usual forms: Soto de tabéru yori utí(¯) de tábeta hoo ga yasu-ágari da si kiraku da 'It is cheaper to eat at home than to eat out, and cozier, too'; Sonna kotó wa kóngo sinai hoo ga ii 'It would be better not to do such things in the future'.
- S hoo da 'rather S, on the S side': Watasi wa, supóotu o míru kotó ga sukí na hoo da to omóu 'I (think =) guess I'm rather fond of watching sports' (SA 2671.36a).
- S hoo de wa náí 'not too (much) S, not over(ly) S' (Hayashi 139): Karada mo amari tuyói hoo de wa náí si ... 'I'm none too sturdy, so ...'; Seiseki wa yuusyu na hoo de wa náikatta 'My grades were none too outstanding'. Cf. pp. 231-2, 386, 565.
- hódai: see §9.1.7.
- e,?s N N V-ru ?*Q hoo hoo 'method (to do)': zyúgyoo suru hoo hoo 'teaching method'.
 VN no
- s N N [Q] hookoku 'report (that ...)': Káigí ga súnnda {to iu}

31. Since only two alternatives are entertained, *Dóre no hoo will not occur; but Dóno hoo desu ka (= Dótira {no hoo} desu ka) 'Which one is it?' is acceptable.

					hookoku o úketa '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 désu 'It is a policy of fighting to the end'; Atakusya [=Watakusi wa] utí(¯) dé wa, yakusyó ^[j] no hanasí wa íssái sinai hoosin désu kedo mo ... 'I make it a policy never to talk office business at home but ...' (Tk 2.311a); ... sono utí(¯) no hitótu o moti-ite hoka o suteru hoosin o utidasite iru kotó wa ... 'tossing out a policy of using one of them and rejecting the other(s) ...' (K 1966.161). Cf. tatémae.
s	N	N		[Q]	huan 'uncertainty, apprehension, worry (= sinpai)': Asitá ni de mo kubi ni náru {to iu} huan de, sigoto ga té ni tukánaí 'I can't go about my work anxious I might lose my job (even tomorrow =) any day now'.
r	N	N		[Q]	hukái 'displeasure (at/from)': Arúite iru utí(¯) ni káre-ra wa dandá ^[j] yúkai na koohun no sámete yuku hukái o kan-zita 'While walking they felt a displeasure at the gradual fading of the gay mood' (V 133).
t	N	N		*Q	hukín '(in) the vicinity (of) where ...'.
s	N	N		[Q]	hukuan 'a scheme (in mind); a plan, an idea': Minsyu-teki kyooiku o motte kúru {to iu} hukuan o táteta 'They drew up a plan to bring in democratic education'.
?r,s	N	N		[Q]	human 'dissatisfaction, complaint': Zinsyu-teki ni sábetu sarete iru {to iu} human ga óói 'There are many complaints of being discriminated against racially'.
s	?N	N _{act}		[Q]	hurí (o suru) '(makes) a pretense of': Siranai hurí o site, áisatu mo sinákatta 'Pretending he didn't know us, he didn't even say hello'; Sirí mo sinái de, sitta (or: sitte iru) hurí o surú na 'Don't pretend to know when you haven't a clue'; Sinda hurí o sita hoo ga anzen da 'It will be safer to play dead'; Génki na (Genki-sóo na) hurí o site ita 'I was pretending to pep'; ... átta yoo ^[j] na hurí o site, ... 'making as if we had met' (SA 2687.23d).
s	(N), (R)	N, AN		[Q]	húu 'manner, way; air, bearing; (such) that': Era-sóo na húu o site irú ga, hira-syáin da 'He puts on airs of appearing important but he's an ordinary office worker'; Iká ni mo hyakusyoo ¯rasii húu o sita otokó da 'He was the complete farmer in his manner'; Heiki na húu ni hurumátta 'He acted nonchalant'; Konna húu de ... 'In this manner' (Y 347); ... sizen ga me-atarásiku kan-zirareru to iu húu da 'It was as if nature could be sensed in a new way' (Y 347); Kanzyoo-teki ni yowái monó no mikata o si-tai to itta húu na, iwába(¯) máa ís-syu no sentimentarízumu 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 húu no, kyoogén no yoro-méku asisákí(¯) ni omowáreta 'It seemed like the shaky steps of a kyōgen performer doing his hundred obeisances' (Y 348). Cf. yoo. The restrictive is ¯huu.
s?	N	N		[Q]	húukei 'a scene where ..., a view of ...': Sono yoko de

- seihú-gun no héisi ga narande onazi monó o katte iru húukei mo miráreta 'The sight was also seen of government troops lining up beside them to buy the same things' (SA 2688.10).
- s N N [Q] huuhyoo = uwasa (rumor).
- s N N [Q] huusetu = uwasa (rumor).
- s N N [Q] huusyuu 'custom, manner, practice': Yosó kara no toorai-mono o, yorokóbi(¯) o wakati-au to iu kimoti de, siriai ya kínzyo ni kubáru huusyuu 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 hyoosí ni 'at the moment when', hyoosí de 'by the accident/chance/impulse of': Kyuu ni tati-agatta/agaru hyoosí ni, kúra-kúra to memái ga site taórete simatta 'The moment I suddenly stood up I went black and fainted'; Nigeyóo to sita/suru hyoosí ni hando-bággú o otósite simatta 'In trying to flee I dropped my handbag'.
- s N N [Q] hyoozyóo(¯) 'an expression of ...': Ik-kágetu ¯ízyoo mo no gekisen to bussí-hókaku (= bússi [] hókaku) de tukarekitta hyoozyóo(¯) no kokuzin-héisi ... 'A black soldier with an expression of exhaustion from more than a month of heavy fighting and seizure of materiel' (SA 2684.37b).
- s R N, V,(A) [Q] ígai 'except/save for, outside of': Iwareda tóori sigoto o suru ígai {ni [wa]}, náni mo dekinái 'He can't do anything beyond what he's told how to do'; Iti-dó^[1] o-tya o nómi ni deta ígai 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] ígai ni torié ga náí 'This sort of stuff has nothing to recommend it beyond the fact that it is cheap'; ... zibun de kaisyuu suru hoo ga toku da to suru ígai náí '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^[1] yotta Adv Adv VN no ikiói no nariyuki de, ... 'That was the result of being thoroughly drunk' (SA 2793.97c); Hasítta ikiói de uekí-bati o watta 'In running I broke the flower pot' (MKZ⁵).
- s N N [Q] ikisatu 'details (intricacies, circumstances) about ...': Wakarénakereba naránaku nátta {to iu} ikisatu o setumei sita 'I explained the circumstances of our having to part'. Synonym yukutate.
- s N N [Q] ikken 'the affair/matter of ...': Gokuhi-búnsyo o happyoo sita [to iu] ikken de yuumei ni nátta otokó 'A man who became famous from the affair of publishing the secret documents'; gokuhi-búnsyo happyoo no (or: to iu) ikken ni yotte yuumei ni nátta otokó 'a man who became famous from the incident of the secret-documents publication'.

- s N N [Q] ikoo 'intention, idea, thought': Senkyó-sen ni syutuba suru/si-tai ikoo ga áru (or: ikoo o mótu) 'has the intention of entering the election campaign'.
- t N N_{tm} *Q íma 'now that/when ...': Káre ga naku-natta íma ... 'Now that he has passed away ...'; Keizai-zyóotai ga akka si-tútu áru íma de sae, nán-ra no sekkyoku-teki na té o útu kotó o okotátte(¯) iru séihu wa, munoo to iu hoka náí '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] ími 'sense, meaning; (= tamé [ni]) purpose, aim, idea': Tyuúoo-syuuken-ka o huségu ími de, kákuken no zíti o kyooryoku ni susumenákereba naránai '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 ... tó^[j]iu ími da 'it means ...'.
- s N N [Q] inboo 'plot, conspiracy (to do)': Ansatu siyoo to suru/iu (Ansatu no) inboo ga átta 'There was a plot to assassinate him'.
- s N N Q insyoo₁ 'the impression that ..., an impression of ...': Zimu-teki de tumetai hitó da to iu insyoo o úketa '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 yónda insyoo dé wa ... 'As the impression I got from reading this treatise ...' (SA 2651.22d); Ore ga koko de hazímete kyoodan ni tátta insyoo wa ... 'My impression on standing here on the teacher's platform for the first time ...'; Tyuúoo-Ázia o tabí-sita insyoo 'Impressions of journeying through Central Asia' (Tanigawa 64).
- s PcN V-ru ?*Q ippóo₁ '(doing) nothing but, steadily (does), keeps (doing)': Kangó-hu san no gekkyuu wa agaru ippóo da si 'And the salary for a nurse keeps rising' (Ariyoshi 73); Toti wa neagari suru ippóo de, ... 'Land just keeps rising in price, and ...' (SA 2689.147b); Tokoró-ga, Sinzyuku no kúuki wa nennen yogoreru ippóo [da] 'But the Shinjuku air keeps getting dirtier and dirtier year after year' (SA 2653.19b); Wakesirigao no táido o tóru ippóo, ... 'Always taking a knowing attitude ...' (SA 2653.128e); Mu-séigen ni huéru kuruma ni osarete, kodomo no sékái wa sémaku náru ippóo 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 ippóo₂ = katawará(¯) 'but on the other hand': Yo-nín no syoonén-táti wa, hót-to(¯) sita kaihóo-kan o aziwáu(¯) ippóo, ki no nuketa yóo na sabí-sa no mazítta dóo ni mo naránai kimoti 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, rékki to sita kotobá ga áru ippóo, tikágoro "Tookyóo-zin" to iu husigi na kotobá ga arawáreta 'While we have the perfectly respectable word "Yedoite", nonetheless there has lately appeared the peculiar word "Tokyoite" (SA 2648.35c); Asonda ippóo yóku

- hatarakí mo sita 'We enjoyed ourselves but at the same time we worked, too';
Sinamono ga yóí ippóo, nedan mo takái 'The merchandise is good, but on the other
hand the price is high, too'.
- s N N V-ru [Q] ísi '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 ísi datta 'My father in-
tended me for a physician' (Kenkyusha); Tákoku(¯) o
sinryaku suru ísi wa nái 'We have no intention of invading
other countries'.
- s (N) PcN V-i-tai *Q issín da 'is eager to V, is intent upon V-ing': Háha ni
ai-tái issín de, byóosin(¯) oosite ryokoo sita 'Eager to see
my mother, I urged my sick body into the trip'; Sikási
híeta karada o atatame-tái issín de, tobi-kónde simatta 'But he flung himself in [the
hot bath], eager to warm his chilled body' (SA 2672.23d); ... kyábía o tabe-tái issín
de ... 'intent upon eating caviar' (SA 2677.61b); ... Dóitu o yattuke-tái issín de ...
'intent upon getting the better of Germany' (Tk 3.280a).
- t (N) Adv ?*Q itímen(¯) 'but (at the same time), yet (on the other hand)':
Ohukuro wa, yasasii itímen(¯), hizyoo ni kibisíkatta kotó
mo gozaimásu 'My mother was gentle, yet she could be
very strict at times' (R); Kokumin wa kokumin de "Komáta daigí-si da" to omóu
itímen(¯) "Ano daigí-si yori oré-tái no hóo ga sínsi de aru" to iú n 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. itímen(¯) {ní wa} ... sono hanmén(¯) {ní wa} ... 'On the one
hand ... and yet (on the other) ...'.
- s N N [Q] itirei 'an example, an instance (of ...)': Nihonzin-
ryuugákúsei ga Ameriká-hei to site sensí sita {to iu} 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] íto 'intention, design, aim': Ansatu suru (Korosu) íto
wa nákata 'There was no intention to assassinate (kill)'.
(Káre ga dáizin o korosita íto wa imada-ni wakaránai 'His
motive in killing the minister is still not known' has an
epitheme extruded from the simplex: [sono] íto de
korosita 'killed with [that] intention'.)
- ?s N N V-ru [Q] íyoku 'the will to V': Ikíru íyoku o usinate, zisatu
sita 'He lost the will to live and committed suicide'; Saigo
made tatakai-tuzukéru {to iu} íyoku ga taisetu da 'A will
to fight to the end is important'.
- r R N_{tm} V-ru *Q ízen 'before (= máe), up till the time that': Kono
daigaku ni nyuugaku suru ízen ... 'Before I matriculated
at this university ...'; Kootuu-kikán, tyozoo-hoo no
hattatu suru ízen wa, kázitu o syóohin(¯) to suru yúíitu no hoohoo wa kánka to
suru kotó de atta 'Up till the time when (Before) there were developed the trans-
portation facilities and the preserving techniques, the only way to make a commercial

product out of fruit was to dry it' (V 141); *Íma kara rokú-nen máe, máda mánsyon naru monó ga konna ni hukuuu suru ízen ni, ...* 'Some six years ago now, before the "mansion" apartment-house had yet spread so, ...' (SA 2679.158).

- t R N ?[Q] *ízyoo* 'seeing that, now (that), in as much as, so long as, since': *Sigoto o hazimeru ízyoo, owari máde suru kákúgo 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 iru ízyoo damátte míte wa irarenai* 'In as much as I know (about it), I can't just look on without a word'; *Ningen ga umareta ízyoo hataraku, ^[1] bēki da* 'Man was born to work'; *Sore ga sinzitu de áru ízyoo, saiban ni wa kit-to kátu* 'That being the truth, we are sure to win in court'; *Káre no tinzyutu ga sinzitu(-) de átta ízyoo, dáre mo hantai suru kotó ga dekinakatta* 'In view of the fact that what he said was the truth, no one could oppose him'; *Nooritu-teki de nákata ízyoo wa, siháin-nin ni 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-zinbutu de aru {to iu} kádo de toraeráreta* 'He got arrested on the grounds of being a dangerous person'; *Hukéi no (Hukéi o okásita {to iu}) kádo de toogoku sareta* 'He got thrown in jail on charges of (having committed) blasphemy'.
- t N PcN, V-ta *Q *kaeri {ni}, 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) Tōkyō' (Nagano 1966.10).
- ?t R Adv *Q *kágiri* 'as long as, inasmuch as; as far as; insofar as'; NEGATIVE ~ 'so long as not = unless': *Watasi no sitte iru kágiri de wa, ...* 'As far as I know ...'; *Warúi kotó o sinai kágiri kubi ní wa dekinai* 'I can't get fired unless I do something wrong'. In the meaning (= *~dake*) 'all that ...' *~kágiri* has a dominant accent and is usually attached without juncture: *Dekíru (Yurusaréru) ~kágiri site mimásu* 'I will do all I can (all I am permitted)'. Cf. *hanaséru ~kágiri* 'all I can say' and *hanaséru kágiri* 'as long as I can speak'. *Kóe o kágiri ni* 'at the top of one's voice/lungs' is idiomatic.
- s N, N, [Q] *kakkoo* 'appearance': *Iki-ta-soo na kakkoo dá (ni nátte iru)* 'He has every appearance of seeming to want to go'; *Niriamiai no kakkoo dá* 'They are at daggers with each other'.
- s N N V-ru [Q] *kákúgo* 'the decision to do', ~ *da* 'is resolved to do': *Sinu {daké/hodo no} kákúgo o site, ...* 'Resolved to die, ...'; *Kuni ni tukúsu kákúgo da* 'I am resolved to do my utmost for the nation'.
- s N N *Q *kámáé* 'a posture, an attitude': ... *zikyúu-sen de tatakau kámáé o tóttá* 'took a posture of fighting a war of attrition'

				(SA 2679.19b); <i>Íma ni mo teki ni tobi-kakáru</i> (tobi-kakaróo to suru) <i>kámáé o míseta</i> 'We took a posture of setting upon the enemy at any moment'.
s		N	N no ³² ?*Q	<i>kán₁</i> (ga áru, o téi-site iru) '(presents) a spectacle of, impresses one as (if) being': <i>Senzyoo wa zigokú^[1] no kán ga átta</i> 'The battlefield was a vision of hell'.
s	(N)	N	[Q]	<i>kán₂</i> 'a feeling that': <i>Zínsei wa munasii(-) {monó da} to iu kán ga suru</i> 'One gets the feeling that life is empty'; <i>Hazímete satori o éta kán ga átta</i> 'For the first time I felt I had achieved satori (enlightenment)'; <i>Aiseki no kán [ga] kiwamátte námida o nagásita</i> 'I wept, overwhelmed by grief'; <i>Hukyoo ga káko no monó to nátta kán ga áru</i> 'There is a (= We have a) feeling that depressions have become a thing of the past' (SA 2673.44a).
r		N	N	[Q] <i>kanasímí(-)</i> 'the sadness of (= resulting from ...)': <i>Tómó o usinata kanasímí(-)</i> 'The sadness of losing a friend'.
s		N	N	[Q] <i>kangáe</i> 'thought, idea, intention': <i>Iku kangáe o suteta</i> 'I discarded the idea of going'; <i>Sorina kotó o siyoo to iu kangáe ga ukandá no wa itu-goro désu ka</i> 'When did the idea occur to you to want to do such a thing?'; <i>Zíko de mo okósita no de wa náí ka to iu kangáe ga ukanda</i> 'It occurred to me that he might have been in an accident or something'.
r		N	N	[Q] <i>kangeki</i> 'emotion, impression (from ...)': <i>Muzukasíi(-) síkén ga pásu dékita kangeki de, námida o kobósita</i> 'I shed tears with the emotion of having been able to pass the test'.
s,r		N	N	[Q] <i>kankaku</i> 'the feeling of (or: from)': <i>Turi de yúkai na no wa, óoki na sakana o hikkámete, ayásite, turi-agéru, ano kankaku désu né</i> '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	[Q] <i>kankei</i> (de, -zyoo) '(with, in view of) the connection/affinity of': <i>Tonari ni súde iru kankei de/-zyoo koosai sinai wáke ni wa ikanai</i> 'Since we are neighbors, we can hardly avoid social relationship'; ... <i>ningen to ningen to no kankei</i> 'relations between human being and human being' (Tanigawa 17).
s		N	N	[Q] <i>kánnen</i> 'the concept (idea, notion) of': <i>Sósen o uyamáu [to iu] kánnen wa Tooyóo-zin ni tuyói desyoo</i> 'The idea of venerating one's ancestors is strong in Orientals, you know'.
s		N	N	[Q] <i>kanoo-sei</i> 'the possibility that': <i>~ ga áru/nái</i> 'there

32. Or N no yóo na, N no gótoki, N sa-nágara no, sa-nágara N no.

is/isn't the possibility that', ~ ga óói/sukunái 'there is a large/small possibility that': Hánnin wa ura-kído kara sinnnyuu sita kanoo-sei ga óói 'There is a strong possibility that the culprit forced his entry by the back door'; Kono zíken wa daisanzi-táisen no tántyo [= tánsyo] ni náru kanoo-sei mo áru 'It is possible, too, that this incident will trigger a third world war'.

s,r 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 mótu 'harbors a feeling of having been betrayed'; Anó-hito wa hazukasíi to iu kanzi o mótte inai rasíi 'He appears to have no feeling of shame'.

s N N [Q] kanzyóo (da) 'the calculation (is) that = it is figured that': Konna húu ni syóobai o suréba mai-tuki no ríeki wa itimán-doru ni náru kanzyóo da 'Doing business in this fashion means we will make a profit of ten thousand dollars a month'.

s N N [Q] kao{tuki} 'a facial expression of ...': Hontoo wa wakáru no ni, náni mo wakaránai {to iu} kaotuki de, tobókete ita 'He really knows but he feigned ignorance with an expression of not knowing a thing'; Komátta {to iu} kaotuki = Komátta yóo na kaotuki 'an expression of embarrassment'.
(kará 'because': see § 17.1.)

e,s (Count) N [Q] kásyo 'place, spot (that ...); (= kudari) passage/part (where ...)': "Bóku" ga zyookyoo si, saisyo no itiya o sugósita kásyo de aru 'It is the passage where the young hero has arrived in Tōkyō and spent his first night there' (K 1966.56).

e N [Q] kátá 'esteemed person (who ...)'.
s N ?N, [Q] katati '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-zíken ga okori-sóo na katati da 'It looks as though a big incident might happen any time now'; Kyanpéen ga zu ni atatta (= úmaku seikoo sita) katati da 'The campaign appears to have been quite successful'; Eigá-kai no hukyoo o daiben sita katati dá ga, osamaránai 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); ... Róoma de, hwororomáano o mi-orosu takadai de hanasí o suru katati ni nátte orimásu né 'it's arranged so that they talk on a hill overlooking the Foro Romano in Rome, you see' (Tanigawa 196).

s N N V-ru [Q] katamúkí(¯) 'the tendency/propensity to': kyokután V-i-yasui ni hasíru katamúkí(¯) ga áru 'has a tendency to run to extremes'; kantan ni ketúron(¯) o dasi-yasúi katamúkí(¯) dá 'there's a tendency to come to simple conclusions'.

s,t	Adv	V-ru V-te iru VN no	*Q	katawará(-) 'besides V-ing, while V-ing (at the same time ...)': Osieru (Osiete iru) katawará(-), zibun mo daigakú-in de kenkyuu site iru 'While teaching, I am pursuing my own research in the graduate school'; Oosaka-syóogyoo o sotugyoo ^[1] gô(-), áni no misé o tetudáu katawará(-), zassi ni toosyo site ita bungaku-séinen ga ... 'The young literary man who, after graduating from Ōsaka Commercial (College) was submitting contributions to magazines while helping out at his brother's store ...' (Tk 3.302). Cf. ippóo, nágará.
?s	N	N no	[Q]	katégorii 'category'.
s	N	N V-ru	[Q]	katei 'the process (of)': Konpyúutaa de síryoo(-) o séiri suru {to iu} katei de matigái o mituketa 'We discovered the mistake by a process of checking the data by computer'.
s	N	N V-ru ³³	*Q	káti (ga áru) '(is) worth V-ing': Yómu káti ga/no áru hón da 'It is a book worth reading'.
s	N	N	[Q]	katudoo 'activity, movement': Kyooiku no kikái(-) o kintoo ni suru {to iu} katudoo ga takamátte kíta 'Actions for the equalizing of educational opportunity have been mounting'.
t	N	N _{pl}	*Q	kawakami 'upstream (of where ...)': see kawasimo.
t	N	Adv, ?PcN	?*Q	kawari {ni} (1) 'to make up for, making up for, offsetting, as compensation for; but (to offset that)'; (2) 'instead of' (cf. ^[1] gáwari): (1) Kinóo asonde simatta kawari {ni}, kyóo wa hutuka ^[1] bun hataraku 'To make up for taking yesterday off I'll do two days' work today'; Sono sigoto wa syuunyuu ga óói kawari {ni}, turai sigoto da 'The job brings in a large income, but it is hard work'. (2) Nikú o tabéru kawari {ni}, yasúi sakana o tábeta 'Instead of eating meat, I ate cheap fish'; Nikú no kawari ni sakana o tabeyóo 'Let's have fish instead of meat'; ... séito san-nin ga hán-suto(-) o yattá ga, kyóoin(-) wa séito o settoku suru kawari ni kuruma de oyá o yobi-yóseta '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 ...)': Atarasii kagaku-kóozyoo ga tátta kawasimo wa koogai ga hidói si, [koozyóo(-) ga tátta] kawakami mo sidai ni koogai ga húete iku sóo da 'Downstream of where the new chemical works went up the pollution 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 dá ga, [moete iru] kazakami wa anzen dá 'It is dangerous downwind of where it is

33. Also V-ru ^[1]hodó/dake no, V-ru ^[1]béki.

burning now but it is safe upwind [of where it is burning].

- s N N [Q] kéesu 'a case, an example' (cf. réi).
- s N N [Q] kéhái(¯), [old-fashioned] kéwái(¯) 'signs, indications';
 ~ ga suru/áru, ~ dá 'there are signs (that)'; ~ ga
 kói/usui 'indications are strong/weak (that)'; ~ o miséru
 (misénai) 'shows (no) signs': Áراسي ga ki-sóo na kéhái(¯) ga suru/áru 'There are indications that a storm is approaching'; Kanasímí(¯) no kéhái(¯) sae misénai 'He doesn't show the least indication of grief'; Kéizai akka no kéhái(¯) ga kói 'There are strong indications of a worsening of the economy'; Kóe wa kikoénaí ga, dáre ka ga tikazúite kúru kéhái(¯) ni/de migamáeta 'I couldn't hear a voice but I braced myself at signs that someone was approaching'; Naite iru kéiwái(¯) o Syoonósuke wa, sitte ita 'Shōnosuke well knew the signs of her tears' (V 1972.162). Cf. késiki.
- s N N V [Q] keika 'the course of (doing)': Byooki ga kaihuku site
 VN no iku keika o míru 'We watch the course of recovery from the illness'; Zíken no kónniti made tadótta keika wa ... 'The course that the affair has taken up till today ...'; Myúuzikaru no tukurárete iku keika o, munásiku(¯) kangáete kudasái 'Think of the course of a musical's getting composed as empty' (SA 2664.36a).
- s N ?N V-ru [Q] keikaku 'the plan to (do)'; ~ dá 'the plan is to do;
 ?PcN plans to do': Yooróppa e iku keikaku da 'I plan to go to Europe'.
- s N N V-ta [Q] keiken 'experience'; ~ ga áru/nái 'has/lacks the ex-
 VN no perience of having V-ed' (cf. V-ta kotó ga áru/nái): ... máda zyoosya-kyóhi o sareta keiken ga nái ... 'I've never been refused a lift (= ride)' (SA 2793.61c).
- s N N [Q] keikoo 'tendency': V-ru (VN no) ~ ga áru 'has a
 tendency to V'.
- s N N [Q] kéiryaku(¯) 'ruse, scheme; plot': Kanemotí(¯) no
 kodomo o yuukai suru {to iu} kéiryaku(¯) ni sippai sita
 'They failed in a scheme to kidnap a rich man's child'.
- s N N [Q] keisei 'a situation (of, where ...)': Kéizai ga akka suru
 {to iu} keisei ni óo-zite(¯) taisaku o tatéru 'We will set
 up policies in response to the situation of the economy's
 worsening'.
- r N N [Q] keiseki 'traces of (where ...), indications (that ...)':
 Nígeta (Dassoo sita) keiseki ga áru 'There are indications
 that they have fled (escaped)'; Dassoo (Hooka) no keiseki
 ga áru 'There are indications of escape (of arson)'; Hito
 ga sún-de iru keiseki wa nái 'There are no traces of people
 living there'.
- s N N [Q] keiyaku 'a contract, an agreement': Is-syúukan ni
 yonzyuu-zíkan hataraite hyakú-doru morau {to iu}
 keiyaku de sigoto o hazimeta 'I started work with a con-
 tract to work a hundred hours a week and receive a
 hundred dollars'.

- r, s; t N N, ? kekka 'result': Inhure o syuusoku suru tamé no seisaku de átta ga káette inhure o sokusin suru {to iu} kekka ni nátta '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(¯) ni sitasímu to iu kekka ni nátta ga, ... 'After my eyes went bad, it naturally resulted in my forming an attachment to radio, ...' (Gengo-Seikatsu 94.40). But quotationalization (... to iu kekka) is rejected for Watasi ga kankei-tóokyoku ni kiite míta 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) ^[V]. Hanketu no kekka, zen'in múzai to nátta 'All were acquitted as a result of judicial decision' (MJW). But VN ^[V]kekka has other uses: Kenkyuu no kekka o séiri suru 'We will consolidate the results of our research' (MJW). Cf. séika.
- s N [Q] kén 'matter, affair' (cf. ikken): Kokkai de mondai ni nátta "gokuhi-syóruí o happyoo sita" {to iu} kén ni túite 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] késiki 'signs, indications (that ...)' = kéhái.
- s N N [Q] késsín 'determination, resolution (to do)'; V-ru ~ da 'is resolved to do'; N no ~ o suru 'makes a resolution of N': Sinu máde tatakau késsín da 'We are resolved to fight till death'; Sinu késsín da 'I am determined to die'; Kin'en no késsín o sita 'I have resolved (have made the resolution) to give up smoking'.
- s N N [Q] kettén(¯) 'the fault (shortcoming) of ...': ... ano otokó no géi no ritugi-sugiru kettén(¯) wa ... 'his fault of being overmeticulous in his art' (Kb 269a); Ano otokó ni wa sake o nomi-sugiru {to iu} kettén(¯) ga áru 'He has the fault of drinking too much'. Cf. tánsyo.
- r,s N N [Q] ketumatu 'issue, outcome, upshot, conclusion': Kátute no dai-zyóyuu mo suramú-gai no issitú(¯) de íki o hiki-tóru {to iu} ketumatu o mukáeta 'Though once a great actress she faced an end of dragging her life along in a room in the slums'.
kévái: see kéhái.
- s N N [Q] ki₁ 'inclination, intention': V-ru ki ga áru/nái 'has a (has no) mind to V'; V-ru ki ni náru/naránai '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 = ki{moti} 'the feeling that'; ~ ga suru/sinai, ~ da 'has/lacks the feeling that': Konna sukósi de wa, tabéta {yóo na} ki ga sinai 'With such a little bit I hardly feel I have eaten anything at all'; ... Kensaku wa nan-to-náku

- 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 [Q] kiboo 'the hope to (V)': Seizi-ka ni náru kiboo de
VN no (kiboo o mótte) 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] kien(⁻) (1) V-ru (VN no) ~ 'the chance, opportunity, occasion (to/for ...)'; (2) V-ta (VN no) ~ 'the occasion/consequence of ...': (1) Hanasi-au kien(⁻) ga náí no de, hanasi-atta kotó wa náí 'Lacking an opportunity [to discuss it], we have not discussed it'. (2) Tonari ni suwatta {to iu} kien(⁻) de, kekkon sita 'As a consequence of sharing neighboring seats, we got married' (= Tonari ni suwattá no ga kien(⁻) de ...).
- r N N [Q] kietu(⁻) 'joy, delight, rapture': Sono atarashii tizin(⁻) o mituketa kietu(⁻) ... 'His joy at finding a new friend' (Takahashi 177).
- s,r N N [Q] kigu 'fear (that/of)' (=osoré): Oo-zísin ga okóru kigu de ... 'Out of fear that a big earthquake might occur ...'.
- s,r N N [Q] kigúroo 'worry, fear (that/of)' = sinpai, osoré.
- s N N [Q] kihúu(⁻) 'character, disposition, temper': Sigoto-hón'i no syokugyóo-kan wa, zibun no sigoto daké ni sennen suru kihúu(⁻) 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 Yoshimatsu, NHK Shimin-Daigaku 9.28).
- s N N [Q] kikái(⁻) 'opportunity, occasion'; V-ru (VN no) ~ ga áru/náí 'has/lacks an opportunity to V'; ~ o éru 'gets the opportunity'; ~ o mótu (mátu) 'has (awaits) the opportunity'; S ~ ni 'on the occasion that S, at the opportunity presented by S': Eigo o tukau kikái(⁻) ga náí 'I have no opportunity to use my English'; Ryuugaku no kikái(⁻) ga áttara ... 'If I should have the opportunity to go abroad to study ...'; Káre ni átta kikái(⁻) ni tanomímásita 'I took the opportunity of encountering him to make my request'; Nihón e iku (ikeru) {to iu} kikái(⁻) ga áttara nogasimasén 'If there should be an opportunity to go (to be able to go) to Japan I won't pass it up'; Natu-yásumi wa dókusyo(⁻) o suru yói kikái(⁻) ná no de ... 'Summer vacation is a good opportunity to do some reading ...' (Nagano 1966.134).
- s N N V-ru [Q] kikaku 'a plan (to V)': kankóo-sen o tukúru kikaku
VN no 'a plan to build a sightseeing boat'.
- s,r N N [Q] kiken 'danger': ... O-tóki san no sono ziyúu ga náni ka no hoozyuu no iró o niowásete iru kiken o, watasi wa ... O-tóki san no kao to mé to kóe to, karada no konasí to ni tíra-to kan-zita '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 dis-solute 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)':

- (1) Hanasi-kakeru (Hanasi no) kikkake ga nákatta 'There was no opportunity to speak to him'. (2) Yuuzin ni nátta kikkake wa, ... 'The occasion that led to our becoming friends ...'.
- s,[?]r N N [Q] kímí 'a feeling; a touch, a tinge': Ikubun ka ane-sama ya okáasan ni appaku saretá kímí mo átta ka née '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-zirarénai(⁠) {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': Káre wa háyaku Tookyoo e hairi-tái kimoti de ippai ni nátta 'He was filled with a feeling of wanting to get into Tōkyō quickly' (V 132). See also ki₂.
- ?s,[?]r N N [Q] kinen (ni) '(as a) commemoration of, (in) memory of': Koko de hutarí ga kekkon sita {to iu} kinen ni tíisa na kí o ueta 'Here we planted a little tree in honor of the couple's having wed'; Tiyomi ga yuki^[1] no huri-kakatta hí ni Tookyoo e kíta kinen ni Yúkiko to siyóo ka 'Shall we name her [= the newborn child] Yukiko in memory of Chiyomi's coming to Tōkyō on a snowy day?' (V 137)—the ní is apparently mutative 'so as (for it) to be'.
- s N N [Q] kioku 'a memory (of/that)' (cf. obóé): Dóko ka de míta {yóo na} kioku ga áru 'I have a memory of having seen him somewhere'.
- s ?N N V-ru [Q] kirai ga áru 'can be faulted for, is open to the charge of, has a tinge/touch of ...'; kirai ga náí de mo náí 'is not wholly free of, is not without a tinge of': Takken dá ga, ki ga túku no ga yáya osókatta kirai ga áru 'A splendid idea, but it seems to have come to their attention a bit late' (SA 2830.130e).
- s Adv V-ta *Q kirí, kkírí: See p. 422. Cf. pp. 78, 97.
- t (N) N_{pl} N no *Q kitá(⁠) 'north of (where ...)'.
s N N V-ru [Q] kitei 'provision, stipulation, rule (that ...)': V-ru kitei ni nátte iru 'it is the rule that one will V'; V-ru béki (V-anákereba naránai) {to iu} kitei 'a stipulation that one must V'.
- t (N) N ?[Q] kiwá 'the final moment/time (when); (= mágiwa) 'the brink (of)'.
- s N N [Q] kizasi 'a sign/omen/indication that ...': ... Betonamukáiketu mo tikái kizasi to iu '... is said to be a sign that a Vietnam solution is near ...' (SA 2688.4); Iyóiyó inhuréesyon no kizasi ga arawárete kíta 'Signs of inflation are finally beginning to appear'; Sensoo no owaru kizasi wa mattaku miénai 'There is not a sign in sight that the war will end'.
- s,r N N [Q] kizúkái 'fear, anxiety; likelihood (that/of)' = sinpai, osoré.

- kkiri = kiri.
- s N N [Q] kokóró 'heart, mind, intention, desire'; V-ru ~ da (ga áru) 'has a mind to V': Si-tai kokóró mo áru rasii 'He seems to be of a mind to do it, all right'; Isya ni náru kokóró da 'I have it in my heart to become a doctor'.
- s N N V-ru [Q] kokorogumi(-) 'intention'.
VN no
- s N N [Q] kokoromoti(-) 'feeling, frame of mind'; ~ ni náru 'gets in the mood (to V)'; ~ ga suru 'has a feeling (of/that)': Bóku(-) wa tyót-to bu-kimi ni nári, náni ka máe ni kiita yúurei no hanasí o Tíi kun ni hanasi-tái kokoromoti(-) o kan-zita '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] kokorozasi(-) 'intention; purpose; kindness': Watakusi o sinpai site kudasáru {to iu} o-kokorozasi wa makoto ni arigatái to omoimásu 'I feel truly grateful for your kindness in worrying about me'.
- s N N [Q] kokorozúkai 'solicitude, consideration': Ítu mo aite^[1] no tatibá ni nátte kangaéru {to iu} kokorozúkai ga tarimasén 'There is lacking the consideration of always thinking about things from the other fellow's standpoint'.
- s N N [Q] kokorozúmori 'plan, intention': Syóorai wa dokuritu suru {to iu} kokorozúmori de gozaimásu 'It is my plan to establish myself independently at some later time'.
- s N N V-ru [Q] kokorozyúnbi '(mental) preparation (to do)': Isya ga huzai nára súgu 119'ban o mawasite kyuukeyú-sya o yobu kokorozyúnbi mo átta 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 [Q] kóntán 'a plot (to V); a secret design, a scheme, an intrigue': Soori-dáizin o ansatu suru {to iu} kóntán ga átta 'There was a plot to assassinate the prime minister'; Ansatu no kóntán datta 'It was a design for assassination'. Synonym takurami(-).
- t (N) N_{pl} *Q koohoo 'behind (where ...), in back of (where ...)': Atarásiku koozyóo(-) o táteta koohoo ní wa máda akiti ga óói 'There is still a lot of vacant land behind where they put up a factory recently'.
- r N N *Q koohun 'excitement, stimulation': Kono sakuhiin o yónda syoogeki to koohun wa ... 'The impact and stimulation from reading this work' (Takahashi 172). Okutsu 341: [Q]
- s N N [Q] kóoi 'behavior, conduct, deed(s), act(s)': Hito ni sínsetu o tukúsu {to iu} kóoi wa utukusii monó da 'It is a beautiful thing to do all you can to be nice to people'.
- s N N [Q] kóokei(-) 'scene, view, spectacle': Atarásii Tookyoo no bokkoo site iku kóokei(-) ... 'The sight of a new Tōkyō starting to rise ...' (Takahashi 172).

- s N N [Q] koosan 'the probability that'; ~ dá 'it is probable that'; ~ ga ookii, ~ {ga} dái de aru 'it is highly probable that': Dóo-mo suráreta koosan ga ookii 'It is highly probable that he had had it [= his purse] swiped' (Shibata 1961.180); Makeru koosan mo sukúnáku náí 'The probability is not inconsiderable that we will lose'.
- t,s (N) N_{tm} [Q] kóro 'the approximate time (that/when)'; ~ kóro {made} ni wa 'by the time that ...'; V-anai/-anákatá kóro ni wa 'before (the time that) V': Watasi ga wakákatta kóro ... 'When I was young ...'; Atatakaku náru kóro {made} ni wa génki ni náru desyoo 'By the time it gets warm you will be well again'; Soro-soro kuraku nari-hazimeta kóro {ni} káette kíta 'We came back (at the time) when it had started to get dark'; Máo tegami ga todóita kóro da 'It's time the letter should have been delivered'; Mada hahaoya ni naránakatta kóro ni wa, ... 'Before I had become a mother ...'. Cf. ~góro (§2.4).
- s (N) N [Q] kotó 'fact; experience; statement; ...': see §14.1; §15.13.
- s (N) N [Q] kudari 'the passage/part/place/bit (where ...)': Ano syoosetu dé wa hutari ga wakaréru kudari ga itiban sukí da 'In that novel I like best the passage where the two people separate'; Ano sibai no, onná ga naite kudóita kudari ~igo wa tumaránakatta 'The rest of the play after where the woman put on her tearful wiles was dull'; Hanasi^[?] no wakare^[?] no kudari de naita 'I wept at the (place where there was a) separation in the story'.
- s N N [Q] kuhuu 'device, scheme' (cf. sikata, sikumi, syúdan). kúrai = gúrai.
- s N N [Q] kuraimákkusu 'the climax (which is when ..., of ...)': Ryokák-ki o nottóte hooseki o ubáu téguti mo igai-sei ga ári, oogatá-ki o koosoku-dóoro ni tyakuriku saseru kuraimákkusu wa súrúru 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).
- r,[?]s N N [Q] kúroo 'hardship(s), troubles; anxieties (resulting from ...)': ... binboo no kúroo ... 'the hardships/suffering of (= brought about by) poverty' (Tk 2.63a); Onna-de hitótu de kodomo o sodatéru {to iu} kúroo o kasaneta 'I suffered much hardship in raising a child as a woman alone'.
- s,[?]r N N [Q] kurusímí(⁻) 'the hardship (of ..., that results from ...)': Otto o usinata kurusímí(⁻) no ámari túma mo zisatu sita 'Overwhelmed by the hardship of losing her husband the wife committed suicide herself'; ... geri bákari site ita kurusímí(⁻) kará mo kaihoosarete simattá daroo 'apparently he had been freed, too, from the diarrhea that had been plaguing him' (Ariyoshi 232); ... sénti e déte ... siti-hatinénkan, kí-no-mi ya né o tabéru kurusímí(⁻) 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).

- s N N [Q] kusé 'bad habit, fault, foible (of)': ... mé o kosúru kusé ga ári, ... 'has the habit of rubbing his eyes' (Takeda 1970.82); ... kono áni wa tokiori, o-nésyo o suru kusé ga átta 'this older brother of mine was apt to wet the bed every now and then' (Endō 208).
- ?t (N) Adv, PcN *Q kusé {ni}³⁴ 'although, despite the fact that; deceptively in view of the fact that': Eigo ga wakáru kusé ni wakaránai hurí o sita 'Despite the fact that he understands English he pretended that he didn't'; Sitte ita kusé ni sirán-kaosité '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'; Suki de mo náí kusé ni takusá^[1] tabemásita 'He ate a lot as if he found it more to his taste than it was'.
- s N N [Q] kúuki 'air, tendency, attitude'.
- s N N [Q] kuwadáté(-) 'scheme, plan, venture; plot': Ansatu siyoo to suru/iu kuwadáté(-) dé wa, ni-sannen mo máe kara átta 'There had been a plan to assassinate him for several years'; Ansatu no kuwadáté(-) o sita otokó wa dáre daroo 'Who is the man who planned the assassination, I wonder'.
- s N N [Q] kyokúmén(-) '(tactical) situation': Teki ni kakomárete koritu suru {to iu} kyokúmén(-) ni oti-itta 'I fell into a situation where I stood alone surrounded by the enemy'.
- s N, VN V-ru, VN no [Q] kyooboo 'plot (to V)': Ansatu suru {to iu} kyooboo ga átta = Ansatu no kyooboo ga átta 'There was a plot of assassination'.
- s N N [Q] kyuuzyoo 'the plight/distress of ...': Kodomo ni gimukyóoiku o ukesaséru kotó mo dekinái kyuuzyoo da 'The plight is that we can not provide compulsory education for the children'; Syokuzi ní sae kotó-káku(-) kyuuzyoo o míte damátte wa irarenai 'We can hardly stand by silently in the face of the distress of lacking even food'; Taberarénaí {to iu} kyuuzyoo ... 'The distress of not being able to eat ...'.
- t N N_{tm} *Q ma 'time (while)'; V-ru (V-te iru, VN no) ma ni 'while V-ing': Rúsu no ma ni ... 'In one's absence ...'; Míru (Míte iru) ma ni zénbu tabetyatta 'He ate the whole thing up right before my very eyes'; Oni no inai ma ni asobimasyóo 'While the devil's away let's have our play'; Kisyá o mátu (mátte iru) ma ni ránti o tabemasyóo ka 'Shall we have lunch while we wait for the train?' In Isogásikute o-tya o nómu ma mo náí 'I'm so busy I haven't a moment to drink tea' the epitheme is extruded (from Sono ma ni o-tya 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 náí 'it is before long' (whence ma-mó-naku 'soon'). It also means 'luck': ma ga íi/warúi 'is fortunate/unfortunate'.
- t ?R³⁵ Adv, PcN *Q máde: (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 Tōkyō you will also hear kusé site: O-sake noméru kusé site géko mitai na kao site 'ru yó 'He puts on the face of a teetotaler 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.

(= daké): (1) ... gánko na máde no ziritu-sei ... 'autonomy (self-reliance) to the point of being obstinate' (SA 2680.104b); Sikási ryóokun ¹tomo zibun no ryóoti no dóko de náni ga turerú ka to iu kotó ni túite wa, seiroo na máde ni náni mo siranákatta '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); ... osorosii máde no syúunen(¯) ... 'an obsession that bordered on the terrifying' (SA 2665.116b); Píká-pika hikáru made, kutú o migaita 'I brushed my shoes till they were shiny'. (2) ... 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). (3) Soo ita máde/daké {no kotó} dá 'That's all I said'; Nén no tamé ni tazúnete míta máde/daké da 'I just inquired to be sure'; Mán-iti no baai wa bóku(¯) ga sekinin o oóu(¯) máde da = Mán-iti no baai daké wa bóku(¯) ga sekinin o oóu(¯) 'Only in a pinch will I take the responsibility'; V-rú máde mo náí 'there is no need to V'.

- | | | | | |
|---|------------|-----------------|---------------|--|
| t | (N) | N _{pl} | *Q | máe '(in) front of where': ... umá ga ... tóo-san no míte iru máe o toorimásu 'the horses pass by in front of where father is watching' (Kholodovich 128). |
| t | (N) | N _{tm} | V-ru
VN no | *Q máe {ni} 'before V-ing': Neru máe ni há o migaku 'I brush my teeth before going to bed'; Benkyoo no máe ni syokuzi siyóo ka 'Shall we eat before we study?'. |
| t | N | N _{tm} | ?[Q] | máe no TIME 'the TIME before': Sóhu no sankái-ki no hoozi no áru máe no ban, ... 'The evening before the ceremonies commemorating the third anniversary of the grandfather's death ...' (V 141); ... iyóio o-wakare to iu máe no ban ni, ... 'on the evening before finally parting' (Tanigawa 197). |
| s | N | N | [Q] | maezírase (= zentyoo) 'hunch, premonition, signs, omen (that ...)': Zisin ga okóru {to iu} maezírase ga arimásu ka 'Are there signs we will have an earthquake?' As a synonym of yokoku, quotationalization is required: zisin ga okóru to iu yokoku/maezírase 'prior notice (forewarning) that an earthquake will occur'. |
| t | | ?PcN | V-ta | *Q mágire {ni} 'under the influence of (having V-ed)': Yotta mágire ni ukkári himitu o morásita 'Under the influence of being drunk I let the secret out unwittingly'; ... Tyoozíroo wa, Sénsi o hanárete, kowái monó no inaku nátta mágire, dandán soko ni dooraku-mónó no hónrai ga káette kíta 'Chōjirō, separated from Senshi, had no one to fear and under the influence of that his basic nature of playboy gradually returned (= he gradually reverted to his playboy self)' (Kb 35a); ... hará no [= ga] tátta mágire ... (= haradati-mágire) 'under the influence of anger' (Kb 6b). For most speakers, this is limited to a few clichés, usually as a suffix on adjectives (uresi-mágire, kuyasi-mágire, kurusi-mágire), deverbal nouns (haradati-mágire 'under the influence of anger'), and mimetic nouns (gotagota-mágire 'in all the hubbub', dosakusa-mágire 'in all the uproar'). The word comes from magiré, a noun (derived from the infinitive magire 'be confused') that is common in the expression magiré mo náí 'is unmistakable, obvious'. |
| t | ?R,
(N) | N _{tm} | V-ru
VN no | [Q] mágiwa {ni} '(on) the verge of, just before': Sinu mágiwa ... 'On the brink of death ...'; Syuppatu suru/no |

- mágiwa 'On the verge of departing' = Syuppatu ṽmágiwa 'On the verge of departure'; Dekakeru mágiwa made sigoto ga átta 'There was work to be done right up to the moment of departure'; Iyóiyō syuppatu to iu mágiwa ni kuruma no kosyōo o hakken sita 'Just before we were finally to depart I discovered the car needed fixing'; {Sono} mágiwa ni nátte ... 'At the last minute ..., At the final (eleventh) hour ...'.
- ?t Adv, *Q mamá, manmá: see § 13.2.6.
PcN
- s N Nact *Q mane 'imitation, simulation (of ...); pretending to (be/do)': Ano doobutu wa kiken na tokí ni wa sinda mane o suru 'That animal when endangered pretends to be dead'; ... masúmasu tyoosi ni notte, umá no inanáku(ṽ) 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 dekimasén 'I can't emulate such as splendid person as that'.
- t (Adv) N no *Q mánímani(ṽ) 'at the mercy of (wind/waves/fate/...)'. Derived from an iterated version of mamá ni, this is limited to a few clichés: kaze no ~ hukárete iku 'is blown at the mercy of the wind', nami no ~ tadayóu 'drifts with the waves', nagaré no ~ (únmei no ~) uitári/ukandári sinzundári suru 'floats and sinks at the mercy of the current (of destiny)'.
- t (N) Npl *Q mannaka 'the very middle of (where ...)': Gakuséi-táti ga atumátte ita mannaka ni hitóri no kyóosi ga tátte ita 'In the very middle of where the students were gathered there stood a teacher'.
- ?r N N [Q] mánzoku 'satisfaction (at/that ...)': Katayamá-si wa naki-dásita Tosie o, zibun no doosatu ga atatta mánzoku to, kizu-túite iru káno-zyo ni tai-súru airen to, hutatú no kokóro 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 hazímete dokuryoku de monó o kansei sita {to iu} mánzoku o aziwátta(ṽ) 'I tasted the satisfaction of having completed something on my own for the first time in my life'.
- t (N) Npl *Q masítá 'directly under (where ...)': Sinkan-sen ga zyuugó-hun ṽókí(ṽ) ni tóoru {tokoró no} masítá no apáato ni súde iru kara, tamarimasén 'It's unbearable living in an apartment right below where the bullet trains whiz by every fifteen minutes'.
- t mas-sáityuu = sáityuu (midst).
- s N N [Q] matigái 'mistake (that consists) of ...': Zyósi o otósu {to iu} matigái ga óoi 'There are a lot of mistakes that consist of dropping particles'.
- s (N) Npl *Q maué 'directly over (where ...)': Atarásiku tiká ni tosyó-kan o tukútte iru maué de kodomo ga huttobóoru o site iru 'Children are playing football right over where they have newly built a library underground'.
- t (N) Npl V-te iru *Q mawari 'around (where ...)': Hahaoya ga sigoto o site N no iru mawari de kodomó-táti ga asonda 'The children played

where the mother was working'; Kuti no mawari ni tyokoréeto ga túite iru yó 'You've got chocolate all around your mouth'; Teeburu no mawari ni isu o naraberu 'I will arrange the chairs around the table' [ní is mutative-locative].

t	(N)	N _{pl}	*Q	mayokó(⁀) 'right beside (where ...), directly parallel (to where ...)'.
			V-ru	⁀mázi 'should not': see §8.6.
?s	(N) ³⁶	N		mé 'experience, treatment' (= keiken): Sini-soo na mé o míta 'I underwent an ordeal where I nearly died'; Hukuro-dáta ^(o) ki ni sareru mé ni átta 'I encountered the unpleasant experience of getting beaten up'; Dónna mé ni átte mo ... 'Whatever (sort of thing) I undergo ...'.
s	N	N	[Q]	médo 'prospect, hope': V-ru (VN no) ~ ga náí 'there is no prospect of (hope that)'.
s	N	N	[Q]	mén 'aspect, phase, side': Itte hosíi mén mo áru kedo ... 'In some ways they WANT to have us go, but ...' (R).
s	N	N	[Q]	míburi(⁀) 'gesture, motion': Yóku gaizin ga suru yóo na káta o sukuméru(⁀) míburi(⁀) de, "Nóo" to itta 'With a gesture of shrugging his shoulders the way foreigners often do, he said "No"'. t (N) N _{pl} *Q migi 'the right of (where ...)'. Cf. mígi 'the preceding'. t (N) N _{pl} *Q migidónari 'next on the right to (where ...)'. t (N) N _{pl} *Q migigawa 'the right of (where ...)'. s (N) N [Q] mikomi 'the likelihood/prospect that ...'; ~ ga áru/náí 'there is a (is no) likelihood that ...'; ~ dá 'it is likely that ...': Naóru (Kaihuku no) mikomi no náí byooki da 'It is an illness with no prospect of recovery'; Katéru (Kátu kotó ga dekíru) mikomi da 'We are likely to be able to win'; Káti wa kóngo masúmasu agaru mikomi desu 'We face the prospect of ever rising prices from now on'; ... ténki wa Nisi-Nihón kara kuzuréru mikomi desu '(and) the prospect is for the weather to deteriorate beginning in western Japan' (R).
t	(N)	N _{pl}	N no	*Q minami 'south of (where ...)'. r N N [Q] míryoku(⁀) 'the attraction/charm (that results from ...)': Máa, káigai e deraréru míryoku(⁀) mo ookíi n desyoo 'I guess (it's that) the lure of being able to go abroad must be great' (SA 2688.20c).
s	(N)	N	[Q]	mitoosi 'the prospect (that ...), the outlook (for ...)'; ~ dá 'the prospect is that ...': Kono mondai wa ní-sánniti ⁀tyuu ní wa kaiketu suru {to iu} mitoosi da 'The prospect is that this problem will be settled within the next few days'; ... ma-mó-naku, otto ga kaette kúru ni tigai náí mitoosi kara, sinken ni naréai no daroo 'she couldn't take it very seriously, in view of the prospect that surely her husband would be back shortly' (V 131). mitai (da/na/ni): see §2.12.

36. Can be modified by an adnominalized adjective: hidói/omósirói mé (ni átta, o míta) '(underwent) an awful/interesting experience'. Also by konna, sonna, and anna; but not by kono, sono, or ano.

- s N N V-ru [Q] miti 'way (to do)' (= súbé); Sakoku-zyóotai no kuni dé wa gaikoku-búnka o siru {to iu} miti ga náí 'In a country under isolation (from foreigners) there is no way to learn foreign culture'.
- s N N [Q] mokuromí(-) 'plan, scheme; intention': Ansatu suru {to iu} (Ansatu no) mokuromí(-) ga átta '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': Gengó-gaku o kenkyuu suru mokuteki de tobei sita 'I went/came to America for the purpose of studying linguistics'; Hito ni miséru mokuteki de káita monó de wa náí '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 kíta mokuteki wa ... 'My object in coming here ...'; Zíten(-) o hiku mokuteki wa iroiro 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] monoótó 'the sound of ...': Náni ka ga wareta (Náni ka o waru, Náni ka o watte iru) monoótó ga sita 'There was the sound of something breaking (of someone breaking something)'; Uzura wa hito no tóoru monoótó ni odoróite, tokidoki kuśá^[1] no náka kara tobi-tátu '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 motó '(being) under ...' (usually figurative): Sátóo senséi⁽¹⁾ no [sidoo/kantoku no] motó de yatte imásita 'I was doing it under [the guidance/direction of] Dr Satō'; Nenpoo nanazyuuman-en to iu yakusoku/keiyaku no motó ni tutómete 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 náí/miénai 'it does not appear likely that': Bukka wa iyóiyó agaru (tákaku náru) moyoo da 'Prices look to keep going up and up'; Móttö nomi-ta-sóo na moyoo da 'They appear to want to drink more'; Kéizai antei no moyoo wa mattakú^[1] náí/miénai 'There is not the least sign (or: likelihood) of the economy stabilizing'; Antei si-soo 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] múki 'some (so-inclined) people; those who ...': Nihón-tyoo o o-konomi no múki ni wa, yonzyóo-han mo gozaimásu 'For those who enjoy the Japanese style, we also have four-and-a-half-mat size rooms'; Watakusi-dómo no íken ni go-sandoo (go-sansei) no múki ga óói no de, yorokónde iru 'We are pleased that there are so many who are in agreement with our view'; Haikara-gónomi no múki ni wa Eikoku

- huu no báa ga yokaróo 'For those who like the stylish, an English sort of bar would be good/better'; Hakurái-hin(⁀) o arigata-gáru múki ni wa tyoodo ii sina da 'For those who welcome foreign goods, this is just the right piece of merchandise'; Tokaku kaimono no yuuwaku ni make-yasúi múki ni wa, toku ni o-susume si-tai tenbiki-tyókin desu 'For those too easily tempted to buy things, we have a paycheck-deduction savings plan that we especially recommend'; Honba no "Héaa" o míte kíta múki wa ... 'Those who saw the original [production of] "Hair" ...' (SA 2657.117d).
- s (N) N,Adv [Q] muné '(to) the effect that, (with) the purport of; (in effect saying) that': Koosyoo ga hutyoó ni owatta muné sirase ga átta 'There was a report to the effect that the negotiations had ended in failure'; Tikáku tobei suru muné {o} tutáete(⁀) morai-tai 'I want you to convey the message that I am leaving shortly for America'; ... izon ga áru muné o akíraka ni sita 'revealed that there are objections'; ... gózitu(⁀) kaitoo suru muné o tutáeta(⁀) '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. yósi₁.
- s,?r N N [Q] muzyun 'the contradiction, the inconsistency': Kono yóo na tezika na kotó o káette siranai muzyun ya, okási-sa 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.
 nágará: see § 9.1.3.
- t (N) N_{tm}, N_{pl} *Q náka 'the middle of, the midst of': Koko ni áru náka de dóre ga itiban íi ka 'Which is best among those here?'; Koo sita náka de Satoo-ha wa kúgatu ni háitte kara kensyúu-kai o hiráku 'In the midst of this the Satō faction opens a study and training session from the beginning of September' (SA 2689.137e); "Simin-gáikoo" o utatta simai-tósi ga ryuukoo suru náka de, ... 'In the midst of the popularity of the sister cities that have declared "citizens' diplomacy" ...' (SA 2666.31); Kónzatu no (Kónzatu site iru) náka ni, byoonin máde déta 'In the midst of the confusion (things got so bad that) we had people getting sick'; Hanran suru/no náka de ... 'In the midst of the uprising ...'; O-isogasii (Samúi, Atúi) náka o, yóku irassyaimásita 'How nice of you to come in the midst of your many commitments (in the cold, in the heat)'.
- t N N_{pl} *Q nánbu '(the part to the) south (of where ...)'.
 nánka: see § 2.9.
 nánte: see § 2.9.
- s N N [Q] narawási(⁀) 'custom, practice': Patto-Búun ni kiita hanasí da ga, mukóo(⁀) no geinóo-zin wa, sōo iu hwán kara no purézento wa massúgu sísetú(⁀) e kihú(⁀) suru narawási(⁀) 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').

r,s	N	N		[Q]	nariyuki 'consequences, outcome': Are wa mattaku ^[r] yotta ikióí no nariyuki de, ... 'That was the result of being thoroughly drunk' (SA 2793.97c).
r,s	N	N		[Q]	nayamí 'the distress of (that results from ...)': Tomodati ni somukáreta nayamí ... 'The distress of having a friend turn against you ...'; Otto ni suterareta nayamí ... 'The distress of being rejected by your husband ...'.
s	N	N		[Q]	nerai 'aim, purpose': Bukka o sagéru {to iu} nerai ga átta 'We had the aim of lowering prices'; Bukka o sageyóo to suru nerai de atarasíi seisaku o happyoo sita 'They made public new policies with the aim of trying to lower prices'; Sekinin keigen no nerai de atarasíi séido o tukútta 'We devised a new system with the aim of limiting responsibility'.
s	N	N	V-ru VN no	*Q	neuti (ga áru/nái) '(is, is not) worth V-ing': Kono hón wa itidoku suru {daké no} (itidoku no) neuti ga áru 'This book is worth a reading'; Kono ronbun wa yaku-súru {hodó no} neuti ga nái 'This treatise is not worth translating'.
s	N	N	V-ru VN no	[Q]	nínmu 'duty, service, mission': Sáigo made tatakau (tatakau ˉbéki, tatakanákereba naránai) nínmu ga áru 'We have the duty to fight to the very end'.
r	N	N		[Q]	nióí 'the smell of (resulting from ...)'. t (N) N _{pl} N no [Q] nisi 'west of (where ...)'. e;s nó 'the one(s) which ...; the fact that ...': see § 14.2. nómi = daké; nómi-nárazu = daké de/zya náku[te].
t	(N)	N _{tm}	V-ta VN no	*Q	notí(-) '(later) after ...': Setumei o úketa notí(-) ni sigoto o hazimeta 'I began the task after I had received instructions'; Sinda notí(-) 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-hyóosyoo o úketa ni-syúukan notí(-) ni ... 'two weeks after receiving a medal for long service ...' (SA 2664.19a); Sotugyoo no notí(-) ni kekkon sita 'I got married after graduating'; {Sono} notí(-) ni ... 'Afterward ...; Later on ...'.
s	N	N	V-ru VN no	[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 Tookyoo e iku nozomí(-) mo náku ... 'With no prospect of going to Tōkyō 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'.
?r,s	N	N		[Q]	obóé 'the memory/recollection of ...': Sikarareta obóé wa ... 'The memory of having been scolded ...'; Soo iwareta obóé ga áru 'I recall having that said to me'; Sore o míta

obóé wa náí 'I have no recollection of having seen it'; Ore n tókó zyaa unagi náńka kútta obóé wa née [= náí] zó 'I don't recall eating any eel at MY place' (Okitsu 1.177).

- r N N [Q] odoróki 'the surprise (at ..., that ...)': Hyakuman-en atatta {to iu} odoróki de monó mo ienákatta 'I was speechless with surprise at having won a million yen'.
- s,?t (N) N [Q] o-kage (de) 'owing/thanks to ...': ... minna ga ganbátte hataraita 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 ...'; Kéizai antei no o-kage de ... 'Owing to the stabilizing of the economy ...'; Bukka ga sagátta {to iu} o-kage de seikatu ga raku ni nátta 'Thanks to prices having lowered life has become easier'. Cf. tamé.
- s,?r N N [Q] okási-sa 'the oddity, incongruity, absurdity, ridiculousness': (An example will be found under muzyun.)
- t N N *Q óku 'way in the back (of where ...)': Osiire no huton ga tunde áru óku ni gókuhi(¯) no búnsyo o kakúsita 'I hid the secret documents way in the back of where the quilts are piled up in the cupboard'.
- s N N [Q] okusoku 'conjecture, speculation, guess (that ...)': Dóru ga sagáru okusoku kara mondai ga áru 'There are problems as a result of speculation that the dollar will fall in value'.
- s (N) N [Q] omói (= ki) 'a feeling that/of ...'; ~ da, ~ ga suru³⁷ 'feels that ...': ... hádá ni áwa ga syoo-zúru(¯) omói ga suru '(has the feeling of millet seeds arising on one's skin =) feels one's flesh crawl, feels goose-flesh' (SA 2685.118a); Masúnaga wa sinzoo ga kooru omói de aru 'Masunaga feels his heart freeze' (Ig 1962.89).
- s N N [Q] omoiyari 'consideration, thoughtfulness, sympathy, compassion': Byoonin ni yasasii kotobá o kakéru {to iu} omoiyari ga hosii 'Wanted is the thoughtfulness to use kind words when speaking to the ill'. But quotationalization is often obligatory: Komátte iru hitó o tasuke-tái to iu omoiyari ... 'The compassion to want to help people in trouble ...'.
- s N N [Q] omómotí(¯) 'a look of ...' (= hyoozyóo(¯), kaotuki): Késsín si-káneta omómotí(¯) de ... 'With a look of indecision ...'; Iki-taku nasa-sóo na omómotí(¯) ... 'A look of seeming not to want to go ...'; Kotowari-kaneta omómotí(¯) 'A look of reluctance to refuse ...'.
- s (N) N [Q] omomúki(¯) (1) 'aspect, appearance, looks'; ~ ga áru 'it appears as though'; (2) 'hearsay, gist' (= yósi, muné); ~ nári 'they say, the report is that' (= sóo da); ~ o mótte 'on the grounds that/of': (1) Kónniti no Nihón ni óité wa ippan-teki ni gunkoku-syugi-teki ni nátte iru {to iu} omomúki(¯) ga ári wa sinái daroo ka 'Doesn't it appear

37. As a synonym of ... ki ga suru; but as an extruded epitheme only omói o suru: Iyá na omói o sita 'I had a disagreeable feeling'; Kurusii/Hazukasii omói o suréba ... 'If one should feel pained/ashamed ...'.

as though there was a general drift toward militarism in the Japan of today?'.
 (2) Zíki syoosoo no omomúki(¯) o mótte hu-kyóka to kettei [sita] 'It has been
 decided not to grant permission on the grounds that the timing is premature'.

- | | | | | | |
|------|----------|-----------------|---------------|-----|---|
| t | N | N | | *Q | omoté '(in) front (of where ...)': Kádan o tukútta omoté [= máe] wa máda doronko dá 'In front of where I put in a flowerbed it is still just mud'. |
| r | N | N | | [Q] | ón, go-ón 'obligation (resulting from ...)': O-séwa ni nátta {to iu} go-ón wa wasuremasén 'I can not forget my indebtedness to you for taking trouble on my behalf'. |
| ?r | N | N | V-ta
N no | *Q | o-réi (ni) '(as) a reward for, (in) recognition/consideration of; (as) a return courtesy/present for (= hénrei(¯))': Káno-zyo wa, kinbō utí(¯) máde okutte moratta o-réi ni, Nárita ni náni ka purézento ga si-tákatta 'She wanted to give Narita some sort of present in appreciation for seeing her home the day before' (V 137); Osiete itadaita o-réi o dóo simasyóo 'What can I do to express my appreciation for the favor of being taught?' |
| s,?t | N | N _{tm} | | [Q] | orí 'time, occasion, opportunity': Sotira no hoo e iku orí ga áttara, o-yori simásu 'If I have the opportunity to get in your area, I will drop around'; Gakkai ni syusseki sita orí {ni} anó-hito ni átta 'I met him when I was attending the (scholarly) meetings'; Utiyama ga ... zuihitú-syuu o syuppan sita orí ni wa, ... Ró-Zin wa sono zyobun no hude o tóri, ... 'When Uchiyama published a collection of essays ... Lu Hsin authored the introduction ...' (SA 2792.94d). |
| s | N | N | | [Q] | osoré 'the fear/danger that ...': Káigai ni nígeta osoré mo áru 'There is also the fear that he may have fled abroad'; Kane ga náku náru osoré ga áru kara ... 'There is a danger of running out of (or: losing) money ...'; Sippai suru osoré wa náí 'There's no danger of my failing'; Taihúu ga kúru osoré ga áru sóo da 'They say there is danger of a typhoon coming'; Kono mamá de wa, tatakai ni itáru(¯) osoré ga áru 'With things as they are, there is fear we will come to war' (MJW); Zisatu no/suru osoré ga áreba ... 'If there is danger of (his committing) suicide ...'. Cf. sinpai. |
| r | N | N | | [Q] | otó 'the sound of (resulting from ...)'. Okutsu 191: *Q |
| t | N | N | | *Q | owari 'the end (when ...)': Hutari ga sinzyuu site simatta owari máde naki-nagara mite ita 'I watched in tears to the end where they committed a love suicide'. |
| s | N | N | V-ru
VN no | [Q] | púrán 'a plan (to V)'. |
| ?s | N | N | | [Q] | réi ₁ 'an example, an instance (of ...) (= itírei); a precedent (= senrei)': Nihon-zín de koko de gákúu o tótta {to iu} réi wa náí sóo da 'They say there has never been a case of a Japanese taking a degree here'. Cf. kéesu. |
| ?r | N | N | V-ta
N no | *Q | réi ₂ = o-réi: Naganága(¯) o-séwa ni nátta réi to ... 'In appreciation of all the trouble you've gone to ...' (Takahashi 172). |
| s | N,
VN | N | V-ru
VN no | [Q] | rensyuu 'drill, practice (in doing)': Kanzi o háyaku yómu {to iu} rensyuu ga hituyoo da 'Practice is needed in reading Chinese characters rapidly'. |

e	N	N		[Q]	renzyuu 'group, set, crowd (of people)': Ryokoo no sukí na renzyuu ga atumátte zyettó-ki o tyáataa sita 'A group of travel lovers got together and chartered a jet plane'. Younger version réntyuu(ˉ), says MKZ ⁵ .
?t	N	N		[Q]	rikutu 'reason (why/that) ...': Tikyuu ni ása to yóru ga áru ʃto iuʃ rikutu wa dáre ni de mo nattoku dekíru daroo 'Surely anyone can grasp the reason why the earth has morning and evening'.
t	N	N		*Q	rímen(ˉ) 'back of; behind (the fact that ...)': Káre ga zisatu sinákereba naránakatta rímen(ˉ) ní wa dónna mondai ga átta no daróo 'I wonder what may have been behind his having to commit suicide?'.
s	N	N	V-ru VN no	[Q]	risoo 'the ideal (to V)': Seikóo-sya ni náru ʃto iuʃ risoo o sutenai 'I have not abandoned my ideal to become a success'; Seikoo no(/suru) risoo wa suterarenai 'I can not abandon the ideal of succeeding (of success)'.
?t	N	N		[Q]	riyuu '(for) the reason that ...': Watasi ga hutatabi kore o ooyake _[1] ni siyoo to suru tika _[1] rá(ˉ) o éta riyuu mo, mata mattaku _[1] sono ten ni áru 'The very reason that I had the strength to try to make this public once again lies in that aspect' (V 139); Kenkoo ga sugurénaí riyuu ni, ... '[I resigned] because my health was none too good' (R).
?r,?t	N, VN	N _{tm} V-te iru	V-ta V-te iru	*Q	rúsu '(the time of) absence (ensuing from having V-ed); after ...': Watakusi ga dekaketa rúsu ni denpoo ga kíta 'While I was out a telegram came'; Ókusan ga kaimono 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[o] ... ga abura ˉdárake ni nátte kasegi-mawatte iru rúsu ni, ... téisyu [wa] mappíruma 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).
s	N	N	V-ru VN no	[Q]	ryóoken 'notion, idea, decision, intention (to V)': Hukuzyuu sinai ryóoken nara, kubi dá 'Any thought of disobeying and you're out'; Náze zisatu suru ʃto iuʃ 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 áru 'He has assassination in mind'; ... zibun no udé ni sakura no horímónó o suru ryóoken ni náttari ... 'he took it into his head to wear a tattoo of cherry blossoms on his own arm' (Kb 111a).
t	(N)	N _{pl}		*Q	sáhoo '(on) the left (of where ...) (= hidari).
t,s		N _{tm}		[Q]	sái 'occasion, time (when)': Go-ryokoo no sái datta kara ... 'Owing to the circumstances of the journey ...'; Hituyoo na/no sái ni wa ... 'In time of necessity .../On occasions when necessary ...'; Átta sái ni ... 'On the occasion of our encounter ...'; Syuppatu no sái wa ... 'The occasion of the departure ...'; Sono (Anna) sái ga/o ... 'That (Such an) occasion ...'.
t	N	N _{tm}		*Q	sáigo 'at the very end when ...'; cf. owari.
t,s	N	N _{tm}		*Q	saisyo 'at the very first (at the start) when ...': Keiba

ni itta saisyo ni mookátte, nettyuu suru yóo ni náru mítai na món desu 'It's like getting enthusiastic from winning when you've first gone to the races' (Tk 2.170b); Omae no sitt'óru saisyo kara sóo datta no ka 'Was it that way from the very beginning of your knowing about it?' (V 139); Osóraku, Sendái-si no Rezyaa-séntaa nádo ga, tukatta saisyo dé wa nakaróo ka 'Likely the "Sendai City Leisure Center", perhaps, was the first time it [the word "leisure"] was used' (Kotoba no yurai 171).

t (N) N_{tm} V-te *Q saityuu '(at) the height of; (in) the very midst of V-ing': Koogi(¯) o site iru saityuu {ni} totuzen taóreta 'In the midst of his lecture he suddenly toppled over'; Syokuzi [no] saityuu no hitó ... 'A person in the midst of a meal'; Atúi (Átu-sa no) saityuu da 'It is in the height of the heat'; Nyuugaku-síken [no] saityuu datta 'It was in the very middle of the entrance exams'. Cf. sánaka, VN ¯tyuu (§ 14.4).

t Adv *Q sákai 'because' [DIALECT]: see p. 973 (§ 17.1).

t N N_{tm}, *Q saki '(what is) ahead, beyond (where ...); place ahead, N_{pl} destination': Rokuon desu to, hoosoo sarerú no wa huki-konda is-syúukan ka tooka saki desu kara né 'With recorded programs, the broadcast is a week or ten days beyond when it was recorded' (Tk 2.180b); San-nín no háha o mótu yóo ni narimásita -umi no háha to, sodate^[i] no háha to, sore kara katazúita saki no, o-syuu-to-san desu '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); Siká mo, kono oohuku no bíza wa, Huransu ni, han-tosí ¯izyoo taizai suru monó de nákereba moraenái no de, sóo de náí hitó wa, itta saki no kuni de Huransu ni káeru kyóka o moráu no ni, baai ni yoreba hutuka mo mikka mo tubusú 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); Syuusoku suru saki wa máda hakkiri kimatte imasén 'It's not yet certain just where I will be taking a job'.

t N N_{pl} *Q sakízaki 'places (one goes to), destinations': Iku sakízaki ni tomodati ga iru 'Wherever I go I have friends'; Húne no tomatta sakízaki de/o kenbutu sita 'I saw the sights wherever the ship stopped'.

s N N V-ru [Q] sakuboo 'scheme, stratagem (to V)': Ansatu suru {to iu} sakuboo = Ansatu no sakuboo = Ansatu siyoo to suru sakuboo 'A scheme of assassination'.

s N [Q] samá = arísama(¯) 'condition, situation, the sight of (how ...), scene': Konran no samá o ma-no-átari míta 'I saw (a scene of) chaos before my very eyes'; Gunzin ¯dóosi ga uti-au samá de, mattaku^[i] metyakutya da 'What with fellow soldiers hitting each other (and all) it's a real mess'; Wakái hitóbito ga, katte na kotó o site iru samá o míte, námida o nagásita 'I shed tears seeing how the young folks do just what they want'.

38. Also VN no, A-i, A-sa no.

- t (N) N_{tm} V-te [Q] sánaka 'in the midst of ...': Tábete iru sánaka ni, kyuu ni tati-agatta 'In the midst of eating I suddenly sprang to my feet'; Tábete iru sánaka o neratte tazúneta 'They aimed their visit to be right in the middle of our meal'; Tábete iru sánaka ga itiban sízuka datta 'The quietest time was while we were in the midst of eating'; Syokuzi (Toogí) no sánaka {ni} dénki ga kietyatta 'In the midst of the meal (the debate) the electricity went off'; Oo-sáwagi no sánaka datta 'It was in the midst of a great fuss'; Atúi (Átu-sa no) sánaka {ni} kíta 'I came at the height of the heat'. Cf. (mas-)sáityuu.
- s N N [Q] sanzoo 'the miserable scene (horrible spectacle) of ...': Óoku no ningen ga sinde iru sanzoo o míta 'I looked on a scene of masses of men dying'; Kázi (Sensoo) no sanzoo wa ... 'The horrors presented by the fire (by the war) ...'; Zigokú no yóo na (no gótoki) sanzoo o téi-sita 'It presented a scene out of hell'.
- s N N [Q] sáwagi 'fuss, bustle, stir; noise; affair, story, incident': Sue ní wa odori-dásu sáwagi datta 'In the end there was the bustle of starting to dance'; Naki-dásita {to iu} sáwagi ni nátta 'It turned into an incident of tears'; Ura-niwa de seinén-táti ga maki o waru sáwagi wa syóogo sugí made kikoete ita 'The noise of the young men splitting firewood in the back yard could be heard till past noon' (V 143). For dókoro no sáwagi, see §15.6.
- ?r,?t (N) N [Q] séi '(in) consequence of, (as) a result of, owing to ...'; ~ da 'is owing/due to, is to be blamed on'; ~ ka 'perhaps because of'; ~ ni suru 'puts the blame on (the fact that)'; ~ de 'owing/due to'; ~ nara 'if due to'; ~ mo áru 'it is partly because' (átte 'partly because'): Netú no séi no dárú-sa desyoo 'I must be drooping because of the heat'; ... tyót-to kintyoo site ita séi mo áru no daroo, ... 'perhaps partly because I was a bit keyed up, ...' (CK); ... sóto ga yataru to ii o-ténki de akarúkatta séi mo átte, róbii ga tote-mo kuraku utútta '... in part because the outside was bright with extravagantly good weather, the lobby shone very dark' (CK 985.371); ... igákú-bu wa hunsoo no himotó datta séi mo átte, ... 'in part because the medical faculty was the source of the conflict' (CK 985.377); Toohoku no nóoka wa heikin site yútaka da ga, Kyúusyuu wa tikei no séi mo átte, soo yútaka de náí 'The farm families of the north-east are on the average well to do, but Kyūshū with its land configuration is not so wealthy' (SA 2642.41b); Byooki (Nenrei) no séi ka, ... 'Perhaps because of illness (of age), ...'. More examples of séi ka in §15.6.
- t N N *Q séibu '(the part to the) west (of where ...)': Yamá ga sobiete iru séibu wa kyuu ni heiya ni nátte iru 'West of where the mountains soar it suddenly becomes a plain'.
- s N N [Q] séido 'the system (that consists) of ...': Náikaku o mookéru {to iu} séido wa ... 'The system of establishing a cabinet ...'; Zyuuhas-sai kara senkyó-ken o ataeru {to iu} séido ni kaeta 'They changed to the system of giving the vote at the age of 18'. Cf. sísutemu, taisei, sósiki(-).

39. Also VN no, A-i, A-sa no.

- ?r N N [Q] séika 'result, outcome': Kónniti no seikoo wa nagái aida dóryoku(¯) o tuzuketa {to iu} séika 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': Káre wa súgu hito o utagau {to iu} seikaku da 'He has the trait of being suspicious of people'.
- s N N [Q] seisitu 'nature, character, property': ... doo-syokúbutu ga gaikai no sigeki o úkete muisi-teki ni ittei no hookoo ni mukau seisitu o toropízumu 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); Kyokután kara kyokután e tonde itte simau zibun no seisitu o ... 'one's own tendency to end up flying from one extreme to the other' (Takahashi 174).
- s N N [Q] sekinin 'responsibility': Káre wa sukézyúuru o tukúttari sikén o sitári suru {to iu} sekinin ga áru 'He has the responsibility for setting up schedules and giving examinations'.
- t (N) ?N_{pl} ?N_{tm} *Q sekizyoo 'at, (while) in attendance at': ... konaidá^[1] Yosíkawa Éizi san ga Asahi-sínbun no hitó-tati o yonde kái o yarareta sekizyoo, ... kényóo(¯) ga bíwa o yarimásita 'recently at a gathering put on for Asahi newspaper people by Yoshikawa Eiji, a blind maestro ... played the lute' (Tk 2.183a); Káigi^[1] no (Kono) sekizyoo {de} ... 'At the conference (Here in this place ...)'.
s N N [Q] sengén(¯) 'a declaration/pronouncement (of ..., that ...)': Daitooryoo-sénkyo ni dénai {to iu} sengén(¯) o sita 'He declared he would not stand in the presidential election'; Ákú-made arasóu {to iu} sengén(¯) o sita 'They declared a struggle to the bitter end'.
- s N N [Q] senrei 'a prior instance, a precedent': Kokuzin ga daitooryoo ni erabáreta {to iu} senrei wa nakaróo 'There would be no precedent of a black being elected president'.
- s,?t (N) ?N_{tm} *Q sétu 'time, occasion': O-hima no sétu {ni} wa zé-hi o-ide kudasái 'Please come when you have the time'; Go-kikoku no sétu {ni} wa ... 'On the occasion of your returning to your homeland ...'; Kotira no hoo e o-dekake ni nátta sétu wa, zé-hi go-renraku kudasái 'Should you come to these parts, please be sure to get in touch with me'; Ano sétu wa sitúrei simásita^[1] 'Excuse my discourtesy on that earlier occasion'; Kono sétu wa o-atúi hi ga tuzukimásu ga, ... 'At this time we have one hot day after another, but ...'.
- t (N) N_{tm} [Q] sétuna 'moment, instant': Kao o míta sétuna {ni} ... 'The moment I saw his face ...'; To o akeyoo to sita sétuna {ni} ... 'The moment I went to open the door ...'; Taimen no sétuna datta 'It was (It happened) the moment we confronted each other'.

- s N N V-ru [Q] sian 'tentative plan': Kaitei o kaihatu siyoo to suru
VN no sian ga áru 'There is a tentative plan to develop the bot-
tom 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] sígi = sidai 'circumstances etc.': Ríkon(⁻) suru {to
iu} sígi (Ríkon(⁻) no sígi) ni nátta/[tati-]itátta '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 siméru 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] siin 'the scene (of/where ...)': Hazímete katari-áu {to
iu} síin de ... 'In the scene where they first tell each other
...'; Kao o utúsita {to iu} = Kao ga utútte iru {to iu} siin
'The scene where the face is shown'.
sika + NEGATIVE = hoka (see §2.3.3, Alfonso 731-2):
... heya^[r] no súmi ni uisúkii o sui-kónnda kaimen no katamari
to site ótite iru sika nákkatta 'He was nothing but a whiskey-
soaked piece of sponge fallen in the corner of the room'
(SA 2659.70c).
- s N N V-ru [Q] sikake = sikumi: ~ ni nátte iru 'it is so contrived that
...'.
?s N N V-ru [Q] si-kata 'way (to do), method'. Cf. yari-kata, syúdan.
VN no
- s N N V-ru [Q] sikitari 'the customary practice to V'; ~ dá 'it is
customary to V'; ~ ga áru '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 misé wa káuntaa de kane o
haráwazu, zaseki de tyúumon(⁻) to dóozi(⁻) ni siharai 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 kikái 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':
Kozikí made suru {to iu} símatu ni nátta 'I was reduced
to a state of begging'; ... róoba wa Gootároo ni nedarareta
símatu o hanásite, ... 'the old woman told (the circum-
stances) of how she had been importuned by Gōtarō' (V 138).

s,r	N	N	[Q]	sinpai 'worry (that/lest ...), anxiety (over ...), fear (of that ...)': Kane ni komáru sinpai wa náí 'We have no worry about running out of money'; Koré-ra no byooki no sinpai ga sukósi de mo áreba ... 'Should there be the least fear (= suspicion) of these diseases ...' (SA 2668.106e); Iiyá ^[1] 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. osoré.
s	N	N	[Q]	sínri 'mentality, mental state, psychology': Hito o netámu {to iu} sínri da 'It is the sort of mentality that envies others'.
s	N	N	[Q]	sinsoo 'the actual facts, the real situation': Káre ga korosareta {to iu} sinsoo wa imada ni humei dá 'The true facts of murder are still untold'.
s	N	N	[Q]	sínrei(¯), sindei 'the (underlying) intention, motive': Zissai ní wa anó-hito o níkúnde iru {to iu} sinrei wa hoka no hitó ni wa soozoo mo dekinakatta 'What actually lay behind hating him could never be imagined by others'.
s	N	N	[Q]	sinzyoo ₁ 'feelings, what is in one's heart': Káre o ái-site iru {to iu} sinzyoo wa ... 'The feelings of loving him ...'
s	N	N	[Q]	sinzyoo ₂ 'genuine (true) feelings'.
?r,?s	N	N	[Q]	sirusi 'a sign, token, symbol, proof, memento, souvenir; symptoms': Níkkoo e itta sirusi ni, ... 'As a memento of a visit to Nikkō ...'; kánsya(¯)/ái no sirusi to site 'as a token of one's appreciation/love'.
s	N	N	[Q]	sísái(¯) 'reasons, circumstances; details, particulars; meaning': Anó-hito ga syatyoo ni erabáreta {to iu} sísái(¯) wa kongetu no zassi ni déte iru 'The story of how he got elected head of the company appears in this month's magazine(s)'.
?s	N	N	[Q]	sisei 'posture, pose, position'; suwatta (táttá) ~ 'a seated (standing) position'.
s	N	N	[Q]	sísutemu 'system' = séido.
t	(N)	N _{pl}	*Q	sitá(¯) ⁴⁰ 'under (where ...)'; V-ru ~ kara (= sóba) 'as soon as': Tukúru sitá(¯) kara, uri-kiréru (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 hatte áru sitá(¯) ni kogomatte [= kogonde] ... 'I crouched under where there was a wall calendar spread' (Kholodovich 128).
?t	N	N	?*Q	sitagawa 'the bottomside (of where ...)': Káapétto o

40. The final accentuation of sitá 'below', ué 'above', utí 'midst; home', hitó 'person', hí 'day', and tokoró 'place' holds only when these words are modified by an adnominal element present in the surface structure; otherwise they are atonic. But Hamako Chaplin treats sitá as always atonic; for that reason, here I have marked it with the optional accent cancellation (¯). And utí(¯) is always atonic for certain speakers; others make it oxytonic when modified; but for some speakers the word is oxytonic even when unmodified.

- siita sitagawa wa súgu konkuriito no yuka ni nátte iru
 'On the bottom of where the carpet is laid there is only
 the concrete floor'.
- s;t N N [Q]; sitagósirae 'preparations, spadework': Tenpura no
 *Q koromo o tukúru {to iu} sitagósirae wa dékite iru 'The
 preparation [that consists] of making the coating for the
 tempura has been done'; Tenpura o tukúru {tamé no}
 sitagósirae wa ... 'Preparations for making tempura ...'.
- s;t N N [Q]; sitaku 'preparation(s), arrangements' (= yóoi): Ryokoo-
 *Q yóohin o suutukéesu ni tuméru {to iu} sitaku/yóoi ni wa
 zikan ga kakáru 'It takes time for the preparations [that
 consist] of packing the suitcases'; Ryokoo no/suru {tamé
 no} sitaku wa ... 'Preparation for a trip ...'.
- ?s N N V-ru [Q] si-yoo = si-kata 'way (to do)'.
 VN no
- t (N) N_{pl} *Q sóba '(by) the side of (where ...), beside (where ...),
 the vicinity of (where ...)'; V-ru/-ta ~ kara 'as soon as V':
 Osowaru sóba kara wasurete simau 'I forget as soon as I
 am taught'; Syuunyuu ga huéru sóba kara bukka mo agaru 'Prices go up as fast as
 income rises'; Si-íreta sóba kara urikire ni náru 'As soon as we have laid in a supply
 it gets sold out'; Hahaoya ga suwatta sóba ni kodomo o suwaraseta 'The mother had
 the child sit beside where she was sitting'; Sore wa saikun ga watási-táti no syokuzi
 suru sóba e kíte no hanasí datta 'That was said by the wife who had come up beside
 where we were eating' (Kholodovich 128).
- s N N [Q] sóburi(¯) 'manner, looks; (attitudinal) signs': Káre o
 kiratte iru {to iu} (or: {yóo na}) sóburi(¯) o site iru '(She)
 shows signs of hating him'; Káre o kiratte iru {to iu} (or:
 {yóo na}) sóburi(¯) o site inai '(She) shows no signs of hating him'; Tabe-ta-sóo na
 sóburi(¯) o míseta '(He) showed signs of wanting to eat'.
- e N N [Q] sonzai 'a being; a figure, a person'.
 sóo da: see §18.
- s N N [Q] soodan 'agreement, arrangement (as a result of discus-
 sion)': Issyo ni soko e iku {to iu} soodan o sita 'We
 reached an agreement (made an arrangement) to go there
 together'.
- s N N [Q] sóodoo 'disturbance, dispute, trouble, riot': Keikan to
 gakusei ga tagai ni naguri-au {to iu} sóodoo ga okótta
 'There was a riot in which police and students were beat-
 ing each other up'.
- t Adv, Adv, V-ru *Q soosoo {ni} 'as soon as' (= V-te, soosoo ...): Káeru
 PcN PcN V-ta soosoo ... 'As soon as we leave (for home) ...'; Puro-
 yákyuu ga kaimaku sita soosoo ... 'As soon as the profes-
 sional baseball season opened ...'; Kyóosi ni nátta soosoo,
 ikinari kyooikú-kai no iyá na mén o mise-tukerareru to dóoz(¯) ni, yo-nó-naka no
 muzyun ni tyokumen simásite né '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

contact with the contradictions of society, (so ...), you see' (SA 2674.62d). The usual pattern with verbal nouns is to use soosoo {ni} adverbially after choosing to omit the gerund, VN [sitē] soosoo {ni}, as in Tokoró-ga, zyooriku soosoo ni "hoorudo-áppu" o kútyatta 'But as soon as we disembarked we faced a "holdup"' (Tk 3.125b).

- s N N [Q] sósiki(¯) 'organization, structure, system': Kono daigaku wa zyúu-nin no daihyoo-iin ga sóotyoo o kimeru {to iu} sósiki(¯) ni nátte iru 'This university is so structured that ten trustees select the president'. Cf. séido, taisei, sístemu.
- t N N_{pl} *Q sóto 'outside (of where ...)': Sibai no áru sóto de ... 'Outside of where they are having a play ...' (or, with extruded locative, 'Outside where they are having a play').
- t N N_{pl} *Q soto-gawa 'outside (of where ...)': Kakine de kugitta soto-gawa wa hosói miti de, uti-gawa wa kirei na kádan 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] súbé 'means, measure(s); way, method (to V)' (= syúdan, miti): Sikási, dóko e iku súbé mo náku, káette ikanéba naránai 'But with no means to go anywhere I must return home' (SA 2685.101c); Hodokósu súbé o siranai = Hodokósu súbé mo náí 'I am at a loss as to what to do'.
- t (N) N_{tm} V-ta *Q sue {ni} 'at the end, at last) after ..., at the end of ...': Toogi^[t] no sue, ... 'At the end of their deliberations ...'; ... zimu-kákari ni kiita sue, ... 'finally after I asked the business manager ...' (Tk 2.115b); ... oku basyo iroiro kangáeta sue, ... daidokoro ga erabáreta 'After thinking of various places to put it ... at last the kitchen was selected' (SA 2660.24a); Kubi o hinéeta sue ni, gyóosya wa yat-to ki ga túita 'After wracking his brain, the dealer finally caught on' (SA 2668.38b); Kikoku suru toki^[t] "Nihón no insyoo wa?" to tazúnetara, kuti o mógo-mogo saseta sue, "Kita-Húzi, Sanri-zuka" to kotáeta '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. ageku.
- s N,?R N [Q] sógata 'shape, form, appearance, looks, guise, posture': Konó-goro(¯) wa geisya ga suso o hiite arúku sógata ga mirarénaku nátta 'Lately the sight of geisha walking along trailing their skirts has practically vanished'; Kodomó-táti ga múzyaki ni asonde iru sógata wa ténsi no yóo desu né 'The children innocently playing are like little angels, aren't they'.
- t (N) N_{tm} V-ru *Q sunzén(¯) 'a moment (immediately) before ...': Syoototu no/suru sunzén(¯) {ni} ... 'A moment before the collision ...'.
- s N N [Q] sutáiru 'style': Onná no yóo ni hadé na kakkoo o suru {to iu} sutáiru ga hayátte irú kara ... 'The style of

s	N	N	[Q]	looking gaudy like a woman is all the rage, you see ...'. sutóorii 'story': Hutarí ga sinzyuu suru {to iu} sutóorii no éiga(-) da 'It is a movie with a story about a couple's love suicide'.				
s	N	N	[Q]	suzigákí(-) 'plot': Hutarí ga sinzyuu suru {to iu} suzigákí(-) dá 'It is a plot about a couple's love suicide'.				
t	N	N _{pl}	*Q	suzi-múkoo 'right across the street from where': Omae san ga, hikkósite koyóo to iu suzi-múkoo ni, hurugiya ga áru 'Right across the street here from where you propose to move to there is a used-clothes store' (Okitsu 1.387).				
s	N	N	[Q]	syóobun(-) 'disposition, temperament': Náni o surú no mo mendookusa-gáru syóobun(-) dáтта 'He was of a temperament to find it too much of a nuisance to do anything' (Takeda 1970.95).				
s	N	N	[Q]	syoodoo 'impulse; urge': Áni o korosi-tai {to iu} syoodoo o kan-zita 'He felt an urge to kill his (older) brother'.				
r	N	N	*Q	syoogeki 'shock, impact': Kono sakuhin o yónda syoogeki to koohun wa ... 'The impact and stimulation from reading this work ...' (Takahashi 172).				
s	N	N	[Q]	syooko 'proof (evidence) that ...': Nihón ga máda hontoo ni minsyú-ka(-) sarete inai syooko désu na, ... 'It is proof that Japan is still not democratized, I guess, ...' (Tk); Warúi kotó o sita syooko ... 'Proof that one did something wrong'; Akubi wa nemúi syooko da 'Yawning is a sign of sleepiness' (Kenkyusha); Kimi wa ano zíken ni wa mattakú ^[1] kankei ga náí {to iu} syooko o mísete morai-tai 'I'd like to see some evidence that you have no connection at all with that incident'.				
t	N	N	*Q	syoomén 'directly in front (of where ...)'. s	N	N	[Q]	syózon(-) '(what one has in) one's mind, idea, thought' (= kangáe): Akú-máde mo arasóu {to iu} syózon(-) de gozaimásu 'We have it in mind to struggle to the very end'; Kotowari-tái {to iu} syózon(-) de gozaimásu 'I am inclined to refuse'.
s	(N)	N	V-ru VN no	[Q]	syúdan 'means/measures to V' (= súbé): Róotin o kisei site inhure o osáeru {to iu} syúdan o tóru 'We will take measures to control inflation by regulating wages'. Cf. yósi ₂ , yari-kata, si-kata.			
s	N	N	[Q]	syúgan(-) 'the prime aim (of ...), the first consideration (which is to ...)': Kyooyoo o takaméru {to iu} syúgan(-) o wasurerú 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 sagéru {to iu} syukudai wa imada ni kaiketu sarete inai 'The standing question of lowering the prices of goods continues unresolved'.				

- s,²r N N [Q] syukuen 'fate, karma': ... sensoo ¹máe no onná ni saikai sita syukuen {de}, ... 'with the fortune of reen-countering the woman known before the war' (Kawabata: Saikai).
- s N N [Q] syúmi 'a taste for, an interest in': Watasi ní wa tinsyo ya syohan-bon, kikoo-bon o atuméru syúmi wa mattakú¹ náí ga 'I haven't the least interest in collecting rare books, first editions, or incunabula' (Endō 168).
- t N N_{tm} *Q syunkan {ni} '(at) the moment/instant that ...': Anó-hito ni átta syunkan ni hizyoo ni íi hitó da to omótta 'The moment I met him I felt he was a very nice person'; Dé wa deki¹gotó no átta syunkan ní wa dótti ka to omótta no ka 'Well at the moment the incident happened, which did you think it was?' (V 138); Tyakuriku no syunkan, ziko ga okótta 'The instant it landed, an accident happened'.
- s N N [Q] syuukan 'the habit/custom (of ...)': Syoogátú ni wa moti o tabéru syuukan ga áru 'We have the custom of eating rice cakes at New Year's'; Háyaku okíru syuukan désu 'I make it a habit to rise early'.
- s N N [Q] syuusei 'habit(u)de, second nature': ... zoorí-musi wa hikarí o sánete kurai tokoró ni nige-komu syuusei ga áru 'it is the nature of paramécia to avoid light and flee into dark places' (Kotoba no yurai 194); ... sugu tobi-dásite simau syuusei ga áru '[birds] habitually fly off immediately ...' (Kotoba no yurai 62).
- s N N [Q] syúzyutu '(medical) operation': Zyuugó-hari mo núu {to iu} dai-syúzyutu o úketa 'I had a major operation with 15 stitches'; Sinzyu no táne o ireru syúzyutu o mísete moratta 'I was shown the operation where they insert the pearl seed [into the oyster]' (Tk 3.303).
- t (N) N_{tm}, V-ru *Q tabí, tanbí 'every time that ...': Áu tabí ni issyo ni syokuzi suru 'Every time we see each other we have a meal together'; Kono tihó e kúru (kíta) tabí {ni}, utí(¯) e kíte kudasátta monó desu 'Whenever he would come (he came) to this area, he used to favor us with a visit'; Siken¹ no tabí {ni} rakudai sita 'I failed every exam'. Cf. túdo.
- s N N [Q] táido 'an attitude (of ...)': Ákú-made arasóu {to iu} táido o tótta 'We took an attitude of fighting to the bitter end'.
- s,²r N N [Q] taiken 'the (personal) experience (of ...)': Hitóri de kaigai-ryókoo o sita {to iu} taiken kara ryokóo-sya ni go-tyúui si-tai to omoimásu 'I would like to advise travelers on the basis of my experience of having traveled abroad by myself'.
- s N N [Q] taisei₁ 'system, structure, order': Zinsyu-sábetu o naku-su {to iu} taisei ga nozomasii 'What we would like to see is a system in which they do away with racial

				discrimination'. Cf. séido, sósiki(-), sísetemu.	
s	N	N	[Q]	taisei ₂ 'attitude (of readiness); arrangements; set-up': Rainen wa daitooryoo-sénkyo ni syutuba suru {to iu} taisei de zyúnbi o hazimete iru 'He is beginning preparations to be ready to become a candidate in the presidential election next year'.	
s	N	N	[Q]	takuramí(-) 'a plot, a scheme, a secret design' (= kóntán): Ansatu suru {to iu} (Ansatu no) takuramí(-) da 'It is a plot of assassination'.	
t	(N)	PcN, Adv	*Q	tamé 'sake, benefit; purpose, aim; owing to, as a result/consequence': see §13.2.9.	
s	(N)	N	[Q]	tamesí (ga náí) '(lacks) a precedent, an instance': Anó-hito wa zikan no yakusoku o mamótta {to iu} tamesí ga náí hitó datta 'He was a person who was never known to be on time for anything'; Ano otokó wa hito o okoráseta tamesí ga náí 'He has never angered a soul'; Ano utí(-) wa ⁽¹⁾ ítu itté mo rúsu datta tamesí ga náí 'Whenever I've gone to that house they've always been home'; Asoko no súsi wa iti-dó d ⁽¹⁾ átte úmakatta tamesí ga náí 'I've never once found their sushi good'; Sonna tamesí ga átta ka dóo ka siranai 'I don't know whether there is a precedent for (a prior example of) that or not'.	
r,s	N	N	[Q]	tanosímí(-), tanosí-sa 'the joy (delight) of ...': Hón o yómu tanosímí(-) ... 'The pleasure(s) of reading ...'; Ikíru tanosímí(-) ... 'The joy of living ...'.	
s	N	N	[Q]	tánsyo 'drawback, shortcoming, weak point': Ano zibikí ni wa reibun ga sukunái {to iu} tánsyo ga áru 'That dictionary has the drawback of not giving many example sentences'.	
s	N	N	[Q]	tatémae 'principle, policy, rule; position, stance': Kono misé wa genkín de torihiki suru {to iu} tatémae desu 'This store makes it a principle to do business on a cash basis'. Cf. hoosin.	
s	N	N	[Q]	táti '(one's) nature, stamp, temperament (such that)': Bóku(-) wa humin zya náku, hizyoo ni yóku nemuru táti na no de, kakuséi-zai yatté 'ta 'It's my nature to sleep quite well, with no insomnia, so I was on stimulants [rather than sleeping pills]' (SA 2792.29c).	
e	(N)	N	[Q]	té-ái(-) 'fellow, guy (= yátu); crowd, gang (= yátu-ra, renzyuu)'.	
s	N	N	[Q]	téma 'theme': Mazusíi onná ga tama-nó-kósi(-) ni noru {to iu} téma no syoosetu dá 'It is a novel with the theme of a poor girl marrying into riches'.	
s,t	N, VN	N	V-ru VN no	[Q]	téhái 'arrangement, plan (to do)': Hánnin o tuiseki suru tamé ni zenkoku-teki ni kao-zyásin o háihu(-) suru {to iu} téhái o totonóeta 'They set up a plan to distribute pictures of the culprit's face all over the country in order to catch him'; Hánnin o tuiseki suru {to iu} téhái o

					totonóeta 'They set up plans to pursue the culprit'.
s,t	N	N	V-ru VN no	[Q]	téhazu 'arrangement, plan (to do)': ... áizu o suru téhazu de atta 'it was an arrangement to give a signal' (Takeda 1970.42).
s	(N)	N		[Q]	téi 'appearance, signs; pretense; air; condition, state': Siranai téi de toori-sugita 'He passed by with an air of not knowing us'; Rippuku no téi datta 'He showed signs of anger'; Nikoyon no téi no otokó ga kíta 'There's a man here (at the door) who looks like a day laborer'; Sinsetu-sóo na téi o site (or: téi de) hidói kotó o suru yátu da 'He is a rascal who does awful things while pretending to kindness'; Gesyuku no téi ni site zitú wa doosei site iru 'He pretends to be boarding there but they're really living together'.
s	N,R	N		[Q]	téido(¯) 'degree, extent, level, limit': Kinóo no kázi wa daidokoro ga yaketa téido(¯) dátta 'Yesterday's fire was limited to the kitchen burning up'; Anó-hito no site iru téido(¯) no kotó nara, dáre de mo dekíru 'Anybody could do as much as HE is doing'; ... tikyuu o roku-syuu sita téido(¯) de dénpa mo tozetu site simatta 'When it had circled the earth six times its radio signals stopped' (SA 2678.137d); Mata, hoosya- sen no gáí desu ga, kyoobu-rentógen o tótta téido(¯) nára sinpai irimasén 'Moreover, there is [such a thing as] damage from radiation, but there's no need to worry about having had (no more than that in) a chest X-ray' (SA 2689.122a).
s		N		[Q]	teitáruku 'predicament, plight, mess, sorry state': Mukasi no oogánémoti mo íma wa seikatu-hógo o úkete iru {to iu} teitáruku da 'Even those who were wealthy in the old days are now in the sorry state of receiving wel- fare'.
s,?t	N, VN	N		[Q]	tekúbari 'preparations, arrangements'.
?t		N,Adv		?*Q	temae {ga/mo áru kara} 'out of consideration for the fact that ...; under the obligation of ...; in deference to ...': Tábeta temae, ... 'With the obligation incurred by having eaten it [the treat]...' (Tk 4.27a).
s	(N)	N		[Q]	ten 'point, respect, viewpoint, aspect'.
s,r	N	N		[Q]	ténmatu 'consequences, outcome': Koko ni itátta(¯) ténmatu wa ... 'The consequences of having coming to this point ...'. Cf. nariyuki.
t,?s	N	N		*Q	tetudái 'aid, help': kowamesi o tuméru tetudái o ... 'assistance in packing the <i>kowameshi</i> (rice cooked with red beans)' (Takahashi 172).
s,r	N	N		[Q]	tézyun(¯) 'routine, procedure, program': Yasasii monó kara muzukasíi(¯) monó ni susumu {to iu} tézyun(¯) de hazimeta sigoto desu 'It is a job I began with the procedure of advancing from the easier things to the more difficult'.
s	N	N		[Q]	tié 'the wisdom (of ...)': Téru ga soko o eránda tié ni Sínigo wa kansin sita 'Shingo admired Teru's wisdom in having chosen that place' (V 139).

s	N	N	V-ru VN no	[Q]	tikái(¯) 'oath, vow': Komáttá tokí ni wa tagai ni tasuke-au {to iu} tikái(¯) o táteta 'We took an oath to help each other in time of trouble'.
t	(N)	N _{pl}		*Q	tikáku 'nearby where ...': Watakusi ga móto yóku itta {tokoró no} tikáku ni, ii sakana-ya ga átta 'Near where I used to go a lot there was a good fish market'. Cf. sóba.
t;s	(N)	N		?[Q]	tokí 'time (when); occasion (that)': see §13.2.3.
t;s	(N)	N		?[Q]	tókó, tokoró 'place; situation; point': see §13.2.2.
t	N	N _{pl}		*Q	tonari 'next (door) to where ...; neighboring (where ...)': Káre ga íma súnde iru tonari wa akiya da 'The house next to where he is living now is vacant'.
t	N	N _{pl}		*Q	tóobu '(the part to the) east (of where ...)': cf. séibu.
s,?t		Adv, PcN		*Q	tóori 'just as, (faithfully) like': Watasi no hanásu tóori {ni} mane o site kudasái 'Do just as I say'; li-tukeráreta tóori {ni} suru 'I will do just as I have been told to'; Omóttá tóori no kekka o éta 'We achieved a result that was just as I thought it would be'; Ossyáru tóori desu 'It's just as you say = You're quite right' (Tanigawa 30); Yakusoku no tóori {ni} ... 'As promised ...'; Go-syooti (Go-zónzi) no tóori, ... 'As you are well aware ..., As you know ...'; Sono tóori datta 'It was just like that'. Cf. ¯dóori, §2.4; yóo ni (gótoku) §13.2.4.
t	?(N)	N _{tm}	V-ta	*Q	tóosyo 'when first, at the beginning when/after': Nihón e kíta tóosyo ... 'When first I came to Japan ...'; Kikoku sita tóosyo, ... 'At the beginning after returning from abroad ...'.
t	(N)	N	V-ta VN no	*Q	tooza wa 'for a (short) while after': Sín'yaku(¯) ga déta tooza wa kíkú ga, ma-mó-naku kikanaku náru 'When a new drug comes out it works for a while, but before long it becomes ineffective ...' (Tk 4.2b); Kekkon no tooza wa oyá to dookyo sita 'For a while after marriage we lived with my parents'; Kekkon sita tooza wa kenka mo sinákatta ga ... 'After we were married at first we didn't have any quarrels, but ...'; Amerika e kíta tooza wa Eigo ga zenzen wakaránakatta 'When I came to America it was a while before I understood any English'.
t	N	N _{tm}		[Q]	tóozi '(at) that time when ...': Sensoo ga owatta {to iu} tóozi wa hidói seikatu désita 'At that time when the war had just ended the living was terrible'.
s	N	N	V-ru VN no	[Q]	torikime 'an agreement (arrangement, understanding) to V': Kono sigoto o suru {to iu} torikime o sita 'I have made an agreement to do this work'.
t	N	N		[Q]	torízatá(¯) 'rumor (= uwasa)'—but Q is usual.
t	(N)	N _{tm}		*Q	totan 'the (very) instant/moment when': Nigéru totan ni, hando-bággú o otósite simatta 'Just as I ran away I dropped my hand bag'; Íppo sóto e déta totan ni, pisutoru de utáreta 'The moment I took a step outside I was hit by a pistol shot'; Ano geisya wa tati-agaru totan no sógata ga utukušii 'That geisha has a beautiful figure the very moment she stands up'; Kaidan o oriyóo to sita totan {ni}, humi-hazusite sita máde ótite simatta 'The moment I started to go down the stairs I slipped and fell to the

bottom'; Hikóo-ki ga tyakuriku no totan {ni}, énzin kara hí ga húita 'The moment the plane landed fire spouted from the motor'.

t,s (N) N_{tm} *Q totyuu '(while) in the midst of ...': Kaimono ni iku totyuu de, tizin(¯) ni átta 'In the midst of (going) shopping I ran into an acquaintance'; Hanásite iru totyuu de, kyuu ni okori-dasita 'In the midst of talking, he flew into a rage'; Tábeta iru totyuu de, tabako o nónde wa ikenai 'You shouldn't smoke while eating'; O-hanasi no totyuu, sitúrei desu ga ... 'Excuse me for interrupting, but ...'; Sanpo no totyuu kara káette kíta '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_{tm} *Q túdo 'every time' (= tabí)—largely limited to sono túdo {ni} 'on each occasion' (as in Daikin wa sono túdo ni itadakimásu 'Payment is expected at the time of each purchase'), and VN no túdo {ni} (as in rippuku/kaimono no túdo 'every time one angers/shops'), but occasionally other uses are found: Rippuku sita (Okótta) túdo ni monó o nagéru 'Whenever angry he throws things'; Tookyoo e kíta túdo ni utí(¯) e yoru 'When(ever) he is in Tōkyō he drops in at our house'.

t (N) N_{tm} *Q tugí {ni} 'next after ...'; tugí no (ása, ban, hí, tukí, tosí) = akuru(-)..., yoku-... 'the next ... after': ... satuei ga owatta tugí no hí ni ... 'on the next day after the filming was over' (Tk 3.194); Gákúí o tóru tugí ni wa yuumei na daigaku ni syuusyoku suru kiboo dá 'After I get my degree the next thing I want to do is get a job at a well-known university'; Kane o tameta tugí ni wa méiyo ga hósiku nátta 'After he had accumulated money, next he wanted fame'.

s,t N N,N_{tm} ?*Q tuide 'occasion'; ~ ga áru 'has occasion (to V)'; ~ tuide {ni} 'incidental to (doing), while, on the occasion of': Depáato e iku tuide ni (tuide ga áttara, tuide dá kara) ginkoo é mo yorimasyóo 'As long as we're out we may as well do all our errands [before returning home]'; ... no hanasí ga déta tuide ni iéba, ... 'While we are on the subject of ...' (SA 2685.62e).

r N N V-ta *Q tukaré 'weariness (from V)': Sono utí(¯) ni Susánoo wa yuubē^[2] nenákatta tukaré ga déte, wáre-sirazu(¯) ni úto-uto nemuri ni háitta 'Meanwhile, beset by a weariness from not having slept the night before, Susanō dozed off in spite of himself' (V 133).

s N N *Q túmi 'the crime/offense/sin of ...': Hito o korosita {to iu} túmi da 'It is the crime of having murdered'; Settoo no túmi 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] tutomé 'duty, service; job': Osieru {to iu} tutomé o mótte iru 'I have a job teaching'. Cf. sigoto.

- s N N [Q] tyánsu 'the chance that': Kaén-bin ga tonde kúru tyánsu wa húeta wáke da kara ná 'The chance has increased that a Molotov cocktail will come flying one's way, that's why' (Tk 3.144b).
- t (N) N_{tm} V-ta [Q] tyókúgo(-) {ni} 'right after ...' (= sugu áto): Nyuuyoku sita tyókúgo(-) dátta 'It was right after I had entered the bath'; Hatubyoo sita tyókúgo(-) ni ... 'Right after I came down with the illness ...'; Nyuugaku (Syuusen) no tyókúgo(-) dátta 'It was right after entering school (after the war ended)'; Dainizi-náikaku o sósiki(-) sita tyókúgo(-) kara ... 'From right after they formed the second cabinet ...' (V 141).
- t (N) N_{tm} V-ru [Q] tyokúzen(-) 'right before ...' (= sugu máe): Kono kusuri wa neru tyokúzen(-) ni nómu kotó 'This medicine to be taken right before bedtime'; Kisyá ga déru {to iu} tyokúzen(-) dátta 'It was right before the train left'.
- t N N *Q tyuusin 'in the center of (where ...)': Gakuséi-táti ga tóoron(-) si-átte iru tyuusin ní wa kyóozyu(-) ga damátte kiite ita 'In the center of the arguing students a professor listened quietly'; Sin'iti o sentoo ni kanazúti, makiwári, boogire o nigitta syoonén-táti ga, kóe o kágiri ni dai-kátudoo o yatte iru tyuusin ní wa, hikáru gin-haiiro ni nureta ryuusen-kei no kogata-bóoto méita monó ga korogatte ita 'In(to) the midst of where, with Sin'ichi in the lead, the lads—grasping hammers, sticks, and clubs—were rampaging at the top of their lungs, there came tumbling something that looked like a miniature streamlined boat painted a shiny silver-gray' (V 142).
- t (N) N(pl) *Q ué 'on top of; in addition to; as a result of; concerning'; V-ta ué {de} 'upon/after doing, as a result of doing'; S-ta ué wa 'now that ...'; S ué ni 'besides (the fact that ...)'; N no ué de 'as a result of N'; N no ué de wa 'as far as N is concerned': Wakaréru (Wakárete iru, Wakáreta, Ribetu(-) no) ué ni hutatabi o-me ni kakarimasén 'Once parted, I will never see you again'; Yóku kangáeta ué de ... 'Upon careful reflection ...'; Soodan sita/no ué {de}, go-henzi simásu 'Upon consultation I will reply'; Ryoosai no ué^[1], kénbo da 'She is a good wife and also a wise mother'. ACCENT: see fn. 40, p. 707.
- t (N) N_{pl} *Q úhoo '(on) the right (of where ...) (= migi).
- s N, N [Q] umaretuki 'character[istic from birth] such that': Ore wa, onná o míru 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).
- ?s N N [Q] undoo 'movement, activity; sport': Zyosei o kaihoo suru {to iu} undoo ga sakan ni nátta 'The movement to liberate women is thriving'.
- s N N [Q] únmei 'the fate (of/that)': ... Nihón e kaerénai únmei o ... 'the fate of being unable to return to Japan' (Y 183).
- ?t (N) N_{pl} *Q urá 'back (the other side) of (where ...)': Inu-goya no áru urá^[1] no hoo ni monoóki mo tukútta 'Back behind where the doghouse is I've built a storage shed, too'; Kusá [ga] booboo ni nátte iru urá ni wa, dare^[1] mo ikanai 'Nobody goes back behind

where the weeds are thick'. But both these examples could be taken, perhaps more readily, with urá as an extruded locative; the following could not: Kírei na kádan o tukútta [tokoró^[1]no] urá wa máda kusá ga booboo dá 'Back of where I put in a nice flowerbed it is still overrun with weeds'.

- ?s,?r N N [Q] uramí 'regret (that ...)'; ~ ga áru 'regrets (that ...)':
Ippoo-teki ní sika kangáénakatta {to iu} uramí ga áru 'I regret that I have considered matters only from one side'.
- t N N_{pl} *Q usiro 'behind (where ...)': Tookú^[1]no mukóo(-) ni samu-sóo na kí ga tátte iru usiro ni hutatú no tíisa na kakutoo ga otó mo náku yura-méite míeta '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-móndai o gáibu e morásita utagai de ... kaiheitai no ... yo-nín ga táiho sare ... 'four marines were arrested on suspicion of having leaked nuclear information' (SM 2801.30c); ... inkán(-) gozík-ko nusúnda utagai désu 'are suspected of stealing fifty impression seals' (R); ... tansekí-syoo no utagai ga áru 'there is a suspicion of gallstones' (Nagano 1968.132).
- t N N_{tm} N_{pl} ?[Q] utí(-) (1) 'while; within, during'; (2) 'among, between; (in) the midst of': (1) Íkite iru utí(-) ga haná da 'Life is a treasure'; Yasumí no utí(-) o nozoite ... 'Except during holidays ...'; Wakái (Kírei na) utí(-) ni sini-tai 'I want to die while still young (still pretty)'; Sigoto ga sumánaí utí(-) wa yamenai 'I will not stop while the job is unfinished (= until the job is done)'; Mátte iru utí(-) ni naosite kureta 'They fixed (= repaired) it for me while I waited'; Íkite ita utí(-) ni kono seikoo o mise-tákatta 'All my life I've wanted to show this success'. (2) Supóotu no utí(-) de sukí na monó wa yakyuu désu 'Among the sports I like is baseball'; Hutarí no utí(-) kara eránda 'I chose between the two'; Sonna téido(-) dé wa kanzi ga yoméru utí(-) ni wa hairánaí 'At that level you can hardly be said to be able to read characters'; Hatizyút-ten -íka de wa sikén ga yóku dékita {to iu} utí(-) ni wa hairénaí yó 'You can hardly be said to have done very well on the test if your grade was below 80'; Sonna mizikái monó wa ryokoo no utí(-) ni irenai 'You can hardly put such a short thing in the category of "trip"'. For V₁-rú ka V₁-(a)nai utí(-) {ni}, 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 N_{pl} *Q uti-gawa 'inside (of where ...)': see soto-gawa.
- ?t N N ?*Q uwakawa, uwakkawa 'the top side (of where ...)':
Ánko ga ippai ni tumátte iru uwakkawa wa deki-tate de huwa-huwa dá 'Being freshly done, the top [of the steamed bun] is all spongy over where the beanjelly is stuffed'.
- s N N [Q] uwasa 'rumor (that ...)'; ~ dá 'It is rumored (that ...)':
Kotosi -zyuu ni iinazuke no káigun heisóo-tyoo to kekkon suru uwasa dáтта 'It was rumored that she would marry the naval petty officer she is engaged to within the

- year' (V 132). In conversation it is more common to use quotation ... to iu uwasa dá.
- s,t N N [Q] wáke 'reason; circumstance, case; meaning, sense': see § 13.2.5.
- s N N [Q] wari {ni} 'in proportion to; for; considering that, given that': Manatu no wari ní wa susuzúii 'It is unusually cool for midsummer'; Nihon-^[1]zín no wari ni Eigo ga umái 'His English is good for a Japanese'; Rippa na wari ní wa yasúii 'It's cheap for being so nice'; Yóku tabéru wari ní wa yasete iru 'Considering how much I eat I am thin'; Yasete iru wari ní wa zyoobu désu 'You are sturdy to be so skinny'; Atúii wari ní wa áse ga dénai 'I'm not sweating much in spite of (= given) the heat'.
- ?s (N) N [Q] yákará 'gang' (= renzyuu): Sensoo o hazimeta yákará ga séngo saiban o ukéru no wa toozen dá 'It is only right that the gang who started the war should stand trial after it's over'.
- s N N V-ru [Q] yakusoku 'promise, agreement (to V)'; ~ o suru 'promises (to V)'; ~ dá 'is under promise/contract (to V), has agreed (to V)'; ~ ga áru 'has an agreement/appointment (to V)': Nihyakú-en ⁻gúrai no o katte kureru yakusoku dátta no yó 'He promised to buy me a 200-yen one, I tell you' (V 131).
- ?s N N V-ru [Q] yari-kata 'way (to do), procedure, means': Kodomo ni tabesaséru yari-kata ni túite wa ... 'With respect to ways to get children to eat ...'; Wakari-yásuku osiete kureru {to iu} yari-kata wa hoka ni kangaeraremasén ka 'Can't they think of a way to teach so as to make it easy to understand?'; ... tó, búka no káta o tataku yari-kata de áru 'it is his way to slap underlings on the shoulders, saying ...' (Kotoba no yurai 194-5). Cf. syúdan, si-kata.
- t (N) N_{tm} [Q] yásakí(¯) 'the very moment (point/verge) of, right when': Tobi-komóo to suru yásakí(¯) ga itiban kintyoo sita tokí da 'Right when we were on the point of jumping in was the tensest time'; Tobi-komóo to iu yásakí(¯) o neratte daki-túita 'I chose the very moment when he was about to jump in to put my arms around him'; Syokuzi o hazimeyoo to suru/sita yásakí(¯) ni hito ni koráreta 'We had people arrive just as we were about to begin eating'; ... biznesu-hóteru to site ninki o atúmete iru yásakí(¯) ⁻daké ni "kanban ni kizu ga túku" ... 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); ... hanásite ita yásakí(¯) désita 'It was right at the moment when I had been saying ...' (SA 2678.126b).
- e (N) N ?[Q] yátu 'damn one (= thing/person)' (abusive word for monó).
- s N N [Q] yokan 'premonition, hunch': Zisin ga okóru {to iu} (or: {yóo na}) yokan ga sita (yokan o mótta) 'I had a premonition that an earthquake would occur'.
- t N N *Q yoko '(to) the side (of where ...), alongside (where ...)': Émi ga dókusyo(¯) site iru sugu yoko de, Sigezoo ga

útura-útura site iru 'Right alongside of where Emi was reading (= beside Emi who was reading) Shigezō 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)': Ikiru {to iu} yokuboo ga tuyói/yowái 'The desire to live is strong/weak (= has a strong/weak desire to live)'; ... utí(¯) e motte káette kabe e kámete 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, akurú-tosi): Kityoo no yokunen {ni} ... 'The year after my return to Japan ...'; Háha ni sinareta yokunen ni zyookyoo sita 'I came to Tōkyō the year after I lost my mother'.
t	(N)	N _{tm}	?*Q	yokutosi = yokunen 'the year after ...': Watakusi ga heitai kara káette kíta 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 yokuyokú-zitu(¯) désita ka 'Was it two days after that?' (Tk 3.7b).
t	(N)	N _{tm}	?[Q]	yokuzitu 'the day after ...' (= akuru-hí(¯)): Bóku(¯) ga Kyóoto e itta yokuzitu ni hará o sékkai(¯) sitá ga ... 'They opened up her abdomen the day after I went to Kyōto, and ...' (Tk 3.311a).
s		AN	[Q]	yóo 'appearance': see §13.2.4.
t,s	N	N	V-ru [Q]	yóoi 'preparation, provision' (= sitaku, zyúnbi); ~ ga áru/nái 'is/isn't prepared (ready) to V': Gaikoo-kánkei o zyuritu suru yóoi ga áru 'We are ready to establish diplomatic relations'; Sikén o ukéru yóoi ga áru 'I am prepared (ready) to take the examination'; Ban no tití o haitatu suru yóoi ga ... 'preparations to deliver the evening milk' (Takahashi 177); Húzi no sainán ni sonáéru {to iu} yóoi ga hituyoo da 'Provision is necessary to prepare for unexpected disasters'.
s	N	N	[Q]	yoosoo 'aspect, phase, condition': Bukka ga hí-goto(¯) ni tóoki suru {to iu} yoosoo wa kiken da 'It is a dangerous condition for commodity prices to rise day after day'.
s	N	N	[Q]	yoosu 'situation, circumstance; appearance, signs, indication, likelihood': Kowagáru yoosu mo náku ... 'Without the least sign of fear ...'; Móo syokuzi wa sumáseta yoosu dátta 'Apparently the meal was over'; Sitte iru yoosu de ... 'Apparently knowing (aware) ...'; Yuki ga huri-sóo na yoosu da 'It looks as if it would snow'; Wáruku nátta yoosu ga miéte iru 'There are indications it has worsened'.

				{l} yóri: see §2.6, §21.1.(17).	
r,s	N	N	[Q]	yorokóbi(-) 'joy, delight in/that ... (resulting from ...)': Sigoto o nasi-togeta yorokóbi(-) ... 'One's delight at achieving the project ...'; Ikíru (íkite iru) yorokóbi(-) ... 'the joy of living ...'; ningen ni umareta yorokóbi(-) o ... 'the joy of having been born a human being' (V 133).	
s		N	[Q]	yósi ₁ 'the report that ...'; ~ da 'it is said that, the report is that ...'; ~ o tutaéru(-) 'conveys the message that ...': Sátoo san wa ryokoo -tyuu no yósi de, awánakatta 'As Mr Satō was reported to be away on a trip I did not see him'; Kónai yósi no kotowári(-) no denwa ga kíta 'There was a phoned turn-down, saying he would not come'.	
s		N	[Q]	yósi ₂ = syúdan 'means': Dóko ni irú ka {wa} siru yósi mo náí 'There is no way of knowing where he is'.	
s	N	N	V-ru	[Q]	yosoku 'estimate, forecast, prediction': Tokoró-ga, sonna boodai na kane no atumáru yosoku ga yumé to wakátta 'But I realized that the prediction of such a huge sum of money accumulating was a dream' (V 131); Kéizai ga kooten suru {to iu} yosoku de, atarasíi 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 atumáru {to iu} 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, prearrangement, schedule'; ~ dá 'the plan is (to V), I plan (to V)': Gógo yó-zi {ni} syuppatu suru/no yotei da 'I plan (am scheduled) to depart at 4 p.m.'; Káre ga káette simaéba Nóbuko wa hitóri de i-nokóru yotei de átta 'Nobuko planned to stay on alone once he left' (V 131).
?s	N	N		[Q]	yóti(-) 'room, margin, scope (to ...)' = yoyuu.
t		Adv		*Q	yótté ni 'because of' [DIALECT]: see p. 973.
?s	N	N		[Q]	yoyuu 'room, margin, scope (to ...)': Kane o tukau yoyuu wa náí 'I can't afford to spend money'. Cf. yóti, yutori.
t	(N)	N,Adv		[Q]	yúé {ni} '(for) the reason that, owing to ...': see §2.4a.
s	N	N		[Q]	yuen 'the reason that ...' [literary]: Káre 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]	yukutate [dialect?] = ikisatu 'details (intricacies, circumstances) about ...': ... Asakusa e koráreta yukutate ... 'The circumstances of his coming to Asakusa ...' (Kb).
s	N	N		[Q]	yumé 'a dream that ..., a hope that ...': Nihón e káetta yumé o míta 'I had a dream that I had returned to Japan'; Anó-hito ga kíta yumé datta 'The dream was that

- he had come'; Taihéi-yoo o hitóri de kóokai(¯) 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 hakúryoku wa káre-ra ga úketa saika (= sainán) o soozoo suru yutori o ataenáakatta 'Their intensity did not give one much latitude in imagining the calamity they had undergone' (SA 2647.89b); ... ítu de mo neage dekíru yutori o móti ... 'at any time has leeway to (be able to) raise prices' (SA 2684.136b). Cf. yoyuu.
- ?s N, VN N [Q] yuuwaku 'the temptation (to want) to ...': "Iyá na yátu da" to omói, Eisuke wa wanryoku-zata de Isaku o hippátte ki-tái yuuwaku o tyót-to kan-zita 'Thinking "What a disgusting fellow", Eisuke for a moment felt the temptation of wanting to drag Isaku into fisticuffs' (V 132); Tabe-tái {to iu} yuuwaku ní wa katemasén 'I can't resist the temptation to eat'.
- t (N) N_t [Q] zéngetu(¯) 'the month before ...'.
- t (N) N_t [Q] zennen 'the year before ...': Kotira e kúru zennen ni kekkon simásita 'I was married the year before I came here'; Tookyoo ni dai-zísín ga átta {tosí no} zennen ni ... 'In the year before [the year when] there was the big earthquake in Tōkyō ...'; Tookyoo dai-kúusyuu no zennen ... 'The year before the great Tōkyō air raids ...'.
- t (N) N_{pl} *Q zenpóo(¯) 'ahead (of where ...)'.
t (N) N_{tm} [Q] zenseki (= máe no yuu-gata) 'the evening before ...': Bóku-ra ga Tumagome o tátu zenseki, ... soobetu no én o hatta 'The evening before we left Tsumagome ... they put on a farewell party' (V 141).
- t (N) N_{tm} [Q] zensyuu 'the week before ...': Sotugyoo no zensyuu ... 'The week before graduation ...'; Sotugyoo-siki no áru/átta zensyuu ... 'The week before they have/had the graduation ceremonies ...'.
- s N N [Q] zentei 'premise; presumption, assumption': Iti-nití^[r] hati-zíkan hataraku {to iu} zentei de yatowáreta 'I was hired with the assumption that I would work eight hours a day'.
- s N N [Q] zentyoo 'hunch, premonition, omen (that ...)': cf. maezírase.
- t (N) N_{tm} [Q] zén'ya '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'; Matu^[r]i(¯) (Syuppatu) no zén'ya o neratte ... 'Timing it for the eve of the festival (of the departure) ...'.
- t (N) N_{tm} [Q] zenzitu 'the day before ...': Sore wa watasi ga kotira e túita zenzitu désita 'That was the day before I arrived here'; Siken^(s) no áru zenzitu ní wa asobenai 'I can not loaf on the day before we have an exam'; Siken^[r] no zenzitu wa benkyoo ga isogasíi 'The day before an exam I am busy with study'.
- t (N) N_{tm} [Q] zenzén-zitu(¯) 'the day before the day before ...':

- sinu zenzén-zitu(¯) ni 'two days before dying' (Tk 3.7a).
- t (-) N, Adv [Q] zibun(¯) 'time when ...': Amerika ni ita zibun(¯) ní wa tabémónó ni komátta 'While I was in America the food was a problem'; Wakákatta/Wakái zibun(¯) ní wa yóku asonda monó desu yó 'When I was young I really played around a lot, I tell you!'; Omae mo yome o morau zibun(¯) ni nátta no ni ... 'Though the time has come for you to take a bride ...' (Takeda 1970.56); Haná ga mankai no zibun(¯) da 'It is the time when the flowers are in full blossom'; Musumé ga máda gakkoo e ikanai zibun(¯), kínzyo no otokó-no-ko to asobi-hazímeta '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.
- s N N [Q] zigyoo 'enterprise, project, business': Kaígai ni Nihón no búнка o syookai suru {to iu} zigyoo ga hituyoo da 'There is a need for projects to introduce Japanese culture overseas'.
- s N, VN [Q] zikaku 'self-awareness that ...': Tití ni nátta {to iu} zikaku wa máda náí 'I still have no feeling of having become a father'; Ameriká-zin de aru (or: no, to iu) zikaku o mótu hitó ... 'A person who feels an awareness of being an American ...'.
- ?t N N_{tm} [Q] zikan 'the hour when, the time that ...; time to ...': Isogásikute tabéru zikan mo náí 'I am so busy I have no time to eat, even'; Móo syokuzi suru zikan da 'It is time to eat'.
- s N,R N [Q] ziken 'the incident (of ..., when/where ...)': Daitóoryoo ga ansatu sareru/sareta {to iu} ziken ga átta no wa 1960-néndai datta 'The incident of the president being assassinated was in the 1960s'; Kodomo ga aná ni oti-konda {to iu} ziken ga simen o nigiwawáseta (nigiwásita) 'The incident of the child falling in a hole was all over the newspapers'.
- ?t N N_{tm} [Q] ziki₁ 'the time (period, season) of ...': Kekkon ga óói ziki ni nátta 'It became the season when there are many marriages'; Úmi ga abareru ziki ... 'The period when the sea is rough ...'.
- ?s N N [Q] ziki₂ 'the opportunity (chance) to ...'.
- s N N [Q] zikken 'experiment': Doró kara nenyóo o tukúru {to iu} zikken o okonatte iru 'They are conducting an experiment to make (or: that consists of making) fuel out of mud'.
- s N N [Q] zirei 'instance, example; (= senrei) precedent': Sáiban ni maketa {to iu} zirei ga áru 'There are instances of being defeated in the court'.
- s N N [Q] zisei(¯) 'the trend (tendency) of the day, the present state, (the drift of) the times': Otokó mo onná mo onazi yóo na kakkoo o site iru {to iu} zisei(¯) ni narimásita né 'We've reached the state where (The times are such that) both men and women dress alike, I see'.

?t	N	N	[Q]	zísetu 'the season, the times': Sakura no haná ga saku {to iu} zísetu ni, Nihón e ikimasyóo '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'; Hito yóri sugúrete iru {to iu} zisin wa náí 'I have no confidence of being better than other people'.
s	N	N	[Q]	zítai 'situation, state of things' [somewhat literary]: Senkyoku ga akka si-tútu áru {to iu} zítai ni tái-site taisaku o kóoryo ̄tyuu dá 'We are in the midst of considering measures to cope with the deteriorating military situation'.
t	N	N _{tm}	[Q]	zítén(̄) 'a point in time (when ...)' [literary]: Kyoosoo o hazimeta zítén(̄) dé 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} zítén(̄) ni áru 'We are at a point where both parties are engaged in peace negotiations'; Dakyoo sú beki zítén(̄) ni tootatu sita 'We have arrived at a point where compromise is in order'.
s	N	N	[Q]	zittai 'actual condition, realities (of the situation)': Kéizai ga akka si-tútu áru {to iu} zittai ni túite kenkyuu no hituyoo ga áru 'There is a need for study of the realities of the worsening economy'.
s	N, AN	N	[Q]	ziyúu 'freedom (to do)': Zibun no kangáe o happyoo suru ziyúu ga áru hazu da 'We expect to have the freedom to publish our own thoughts'; Génron(̄) no ziyúu ... 'Freedom of speech ...'.
s	N	N	[Q]	zízitu 'fact (that ...)': Ókabe ya Mórita o koonin sita zízitu wa mitometá ga, sono riyuu mo iwanákereba itu syakuhoo suru tó mo iwanákatta '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 hí no seikatu ní 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 nosete iru zu nádo wa ... 'The arrangement of having the children ride in front ...' (Tsukagoshi 205).
t		Adv		zyóo: ... tó wa iú {l} zyóo 'although' = ... tó wa ié-do {mo}. 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 kyátti simásita 'I caught (= heard) a report that they've started war'.

- s N N [Q] zyookei 'scene, sight': ... áru kibun ga yóku arawárete iru zyookei o, múudo ga áru nádo to ittári suru 'a scene where a certain feeling is well evidenced is sometimes described as "having a (certain) mood to it", say' (Kotoba no yurai 164).
- s N N [Q] zyookén(⁻) 'condition, proviso, stipulation': Maisyuu ituka hataraku (hatarakanákereba naránai) {to iu} zyookén(⁻) de syuusyoku sita 'I was employed with the stipulation that I work five days a week'; Kimi ga tetudáu to iu zyookén(⁻) no motó ni hiki-ukeyóo 'I will undertake it under/with the understanding that you will assist (me)'.
- s N N [Q] zyookyoo 'conditions, state (of things), circumstance, situation': ... iti-niti^[1] ik-kái^[1] ˉgúrai sika monó o taberaréni zyookyoo n[i] náreba ... 'when it got to a state where we were able to eat only once a day' (R); ... mattaku is-sén mo náí yóo na zyookyoo dátta n desu ga ... 'we were in such straits that we didn't have a red cent to our names' (R); ... o-tagai ga masúmasu kiken na róohi(⁻) o suru to iu zyookyoo ... 'both sides making more and more dangerous extravagances' (Tanigawa 24).
- s N N [Q] zyoosei '(fluid) situation, condition, state (of things)': Kéizai wa masúmasu akka suru {to iu; yóo na} zyoosei dá 'The economy is in a state of increasing deterioration'; Kéizai akka no zyoosei ni kangámite, ... 'In view of the worsening state of the economy ...'.
- s N N [Q] zyooseki 'rules, formula': Sentyaku-zyun ni hito o ireru {to iu} zyooseki ˉdóori ni kónkai mo soo sita 'This time, too, we did it according to the formula of letting people in by order of arrival'.
- s N N [Q] zyootai '(static) situation, condition, state of things, aspect': Máiniti(⁻) sensí-sya no déru zyootai de, nayánde iru 'We are suffering under a situation of daily (war) casualties'; Arasótte iru zyootai dátta ryóok/goku wa kyuusen no zyootai (= kyuusen-zyóotai) ni nátte iru 'At present the two countries, which were in conflict, are in a state of armistice'.
- s N N V-ru [Q] zyun 'one's turn (to V)': ... yome o morau zyun no VN no watasi ga, ... 'I whose turn it was to receive a bride (= get married) ...' (SA 2684.138c). Cf. bán, zyunban.
- s N N V-ru [Q] zyúnbi 'preparation, arrangements (to V)': Tuki-ryókoo ˉyoo ni rokétto nádo o tukúru {to iu} zyúnbi ni wa bakudai na o-kane ga kakáru sóo da 'I understand they are spending an enormous amount of money to build the rocket and all for the moon shot'. Cf. sitaku, yóoi.
- s N N V-ru [Q] zyúnzyo 'the order (of doing)': kuruma ni nori-kómu VN no zyúnzyo '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 naránai* ‘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 wakáru* ‘understands (the reasons for) things, has good sense’; cf. the use of *S monó da = S kará 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-tyan wa | naku monó da* ‘You have to expect babies to cry’; *Yasúi | monó nara, || situ ga yóku | náí m⁽ⁿ⁾ da to | omóe* ‘If it’s cheap stuff, be aware that it’s likely to be of poor quality’; *Inú wa || yóku | hoéru | m⁽ⁿ⁾ desu* ‘Dogs (just naturally) do a lot of barking’; *Dáre ni mo, || it-tyoo | it-tan wa | áru monó da* ‘Everybody has strong points and weak points’ (MJW); *Tíisa na kodomo wall tokaku || byooki si-gati na m⁽ⁿ⁾ desu | né* ‘Young children are always getting sick, you know’.

(2) Imperfect *S + monó da* ‘really *S*, terribly *S*’: *Dóo-site, || nakanaka (|) rippa na monó desu* ‘How very splendid’ (Hayashi 156); *Dóo-mo, || kágaku no | sínpo wa || erái m⁽ⁿ⁾ da | yó* ‘Why, I tell you the progress of science is really something’ (Tk 3.308b); *Suppon no súupu | to iú no wa || umái m⁽ⁿ⁾ desu | né* ‘How delicious turtle soup is!’; *Mi-tái m⁽ⁿ⁾ da* ‘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*’: *Tosiyóri no | iu kotó wa || kiite oku monó da* ‘You should pay attention to what an old person says’ (Hayashi 136); *Hito no benkyoo no zyama wall sinai monó desu* ‘You shouldn’t bother me when I’m working’ (Hayashi 136).

(4) *V-ru monó de wa náí* ‘It is not the thing to do to *V*, It is not proper to *V*, You should not (make it a practice to) *V*’: *Dénsya(¯) no (|) náka de || tabako o suu monó de wa | náí* ‘People shouldn’t smoke on the train’.

(5) Perfect *S + monó da* ‘It used to be that ..., It would often happen that ...’: *Syatyoo wa || minná^[J] (|) otokó datta | monó desu ga, || konó-goro(¯) wa || onná ga | syatyoo ni náru | kotó 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 súde ita | tokí ni wa, || mái-asa || zúibun || háyaku | ókita | m⁽ⁿ⁾ desu* ‘When I was living in the country I used to get up very early every morning’; *Kodomo no kóro wall amai monó ga || dáí-suki datta | m⁽ⁿ⁾ desu ga, || íma wa || hotóndo || tabe-tái to | omowánaí* ‘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 || térebi o | minakatta | m⁽ⁿ⁾ desu ga, || koko sibáruku wa || máiban(¯) no yóo ni | míte 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 + *monó nara* 'If it's the case that (one can) then (of course) ...': *Kantan ni ikareru monó nara* || *konna ni sinpai sinai* 'If it's easy to go, then I'll not worry so much about it'; *Dekíru* | *monó nara*, || *íma* || *súgu* || *site age-tái keredo ...* 'If it's possible, I want to do it for you right away, but ...'. (See also Alfonso 1024.)

(7) V-[y]oo *monó nara*: see § 13.3.

(8) S *monó* 'because S', S *monó da kara* 'It is because (of the reason that)': see § 17.1.

(9) S₁ + *monó ka* S₂ 'I guess it must be because S₁ is the case that S₂'—very close to the meaning of S₁ *nó ka* S₂ 'perhaps it's that/because S₁ that S₂; I wonder if it isn't because of S₁ that S₂', p. 928.

(10) S + *monó ka* 'how can it be (the case) that ...?!' = 'surely it isn't (the case) that ...!': see p. 926 (§ 15.6).

(11) TIME + *to iu monó*: see § 21.1.(4b).

For *mono-no* (+ NUMBER), see p. 746 (§ 13.5). For S + *mono-no*, *monó[-o]*, see § 17.4.

As a prefix attached to a few adjectives and adjectival nouns *mono-* functions as an intensifier: *mono-sabíshii* 'dreary, lonely'; *mono-sugói* 'swell', *mono-súgoku* 'very'; *monó-sízuka* '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', *yasúi 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* 'bellyslappers (= film comedies)' (SA 2793.44c), *burusu-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 nádo o yarímásu tokí ni wa ...* 'when I do plays about the Meiji era ...' (R). And even *Edozidai-mono o káku* 'writes Edo period pieces' (Tk 3.185a), though that is unusual. *Saihooei-monó(-)* 'a rerun (of a TV film)' from the verbal noun *sai-hóoei* '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', *ganko-mono* 'a stubborn person', *ranboo-mono* 'a roughneck', *rikoo-mono* 'a clever person', *dokusin-mono* = *hitori-mónó(-)* 'an unmarried person'; (2) THING—*nomi-mono* 'beverage', *gohan-mono* 'rice dishes', *nori-mono* 'vehicle', *ki-mono* 'garment'; and (3) ACT—*kai-mono* 'shopping', *arai-mono* 'washing'. In some words the meaning is 'merchandising items (for ...)' or, more specifically, 'things (= garments) for': *otoko-mono* 'menswear', *kodomo-mono* 'children's things/clothing', And sometimes the suffix resembles English *-er* in making nouns that mean 'one characterized by ...' or the like: *sanzippondo-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-búngaku* '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 infinitives, as in *nomi-mono* 'beverage', *moti-mono* 'possessions', *tabé-mónó* 'food', *taté-mónó* 'building', *kangae-mónó(-)* 'puzzle(r), question', For 'something dropped; dropping something' NHK has *otosi-mónó(-)* with three accentuations, and to Hamako Chaplin a fourth version *otosi-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. Tokoró.

The noun tokoró (which has the short form tókó⁴¹) means 'place' but this meaning is often extended to 'situation', 'stage', 'point (in time)', 'moment', or 'occasion'—as in tokoro mo aróo ni 'of all occasions'; the final accent is present only when tokoró is modified by an adnominal element. Sometimes the meaning is very close to that of the nominalizers kotó and nó: kiku tokoró ni yoru to 'from what I hear' (SA 2674.107b); ... ikkoo mitomeyoo to sinai tokoró ga omosirói 'It is [an interesting feature =] interesting that he is quite unwilling to recognize ...' (SA 2685.105b). There are idiomatic uses with quotationalization in Kíkí | ippatú to iu tokoró de | tasúkete moratta 'I got saved by a hair' and Moo íp-pun tte | tókó de | 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 gá can not drop. But there is another use of S-ta tokoró with OPTIONAL gá;⁴² the meaning is roughly equivalent to S-tára 'when; if' or S-ru tó 'whereupon': Zibikí de | sirábeta (l) tokoró {ga} || déte 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, Zibikí de sirábeta tokoró ga, déte inákatta can be interpreted either as 'I looked in the dictionary but it wasn't there' or (= Zibikí de sirábeta tokoró déte inákatta) 'When I looked in the dictionary it wasn't there'. Examples of the optional gá: Súgu | utí(-) e (l) káetta | tokoró {ga} || oo-sáwagi ga | moti-agatte ita 'I came home right away, where I found much astir'; Motáseta | tokoró {ga} || taihen yorokónda 'I let him have it and he was delighted'; Tyokusetu hanásita | tokoró {ga} || kantan ni (l) 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 | deketata tokoró de, || ma ni awánai desyoo 'Even if you left now, I'm afraid you'd be too late'; Íkura densi-keisánki no | yusyutu wa || kinsi sarete iru to itte || yamete míta | tokoró de, || Amerika-kei no Huransu no kaisya ga || Huransu to Sóren no | yuukoo-kánkei o | motó ni || yusyutu o kyóka site | irú no de | áreba || nán to iu kotó wa náí '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; tókó must be modified, however, and there is no *Tókó-ga = Tokoró-ga 'But' or *Tókó-de = Tokoró-de 'Well; Then'. And tokoro-dókoró 'sporadically' is a fixed form. The abbreviation has an accent (optionally on either syllable): this will permit the distinction of Ore n[o] tókó da 'It's my place' from Ore n[o] toko dá 'It's my bed', though the latter expression is not in use.

42. When gá 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 *tokoró de* must be verbal, but that is untrue, as the following examples attest: *Dónna ní | tákakatta | tokoró de || sirete 'ru* 'It's certainly not much, to be so terribly expensive!'; *Suugaku ní | mutyuu dáta | tokoró de || nagatúzuki sinai* 'He may be enthusiastic about mathematics, but it won't last'; *Sitúrei (na | kotó) datta | tokoró de || tái-sita mondai ní⁽¹⁾ wa | náru mái* 'Rude though it may be, it's no big issue'; *Tatóe(⁻) || supái da to sita | tokoró de || sikéi(⁻) ní wa | naránai 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 imperfects can occur before *tokoró + dé* in various other meanings.

According to Tsuruoka 1972 *tokoró 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 *tokoró ga* came to be used with introductory adverbs *tatóe(⁻)*, *íkura*, etc., in the 1830s, but this usage declined after the 1920s; *tokoró de* came to express a hypothetical condition in the 1880s, and at the same time started being used with *tatóe(⁻)* etc., this usage having survived down to the present day.

As an impersonal nominal sentence, *S + tokoró da* can be used to set the relative time in a piece of discourse:

suru tokoró da 'is about to (just going to) do'

suru tokoró datta 'was about to (just going to) do'

site iru tokoró da 'is just doing'

site iru tokoró datta 'was just doing'

sita tokoró da 'has just done'

sita tokoró datta 'had just done'

site iru tokoró da 'has just been doing'

site ita tokoró datta 'had just been doing'

siyoo to site iru tokoró da 'is just about to do, is just on the point of doing'

siyoo to site iru tokoró datta 'was just about to do, was just on the point of doing'

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 *káette iru* normally means only 'is back', *káette iru tokoró da* means 'is just returning'; cf. BJ 2.204. With ...-(a)*nákattara*, *V-ru tokoró datta* can translate 'if it hadn't been for/that ... (I) would have done V': *Ane ga itte kurenákattara, || wasureru tokoró desita* 'If my (older) sister hadn't told me I would have forgotten'; *Kimi ga kónakattara || denwa o kakéru | tokoró datta* 'If you hadn't come I was going to call you (would have called you)'. And *moo sukósi de V-ru tokoró datta* is a good way to translate '(I) almost did V'.

By dropping the *dá* and marking the nominal with *é* or *ní* 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 *tokoró*: *Syáwaa o | abiyoo to site iru tokoró e | denwa ga átta* 'Just as I was about to step into the shower there was a phone call'; *Úto-uto site ita | tokoró e || hén na | otó ga | sita* 'Just as I had dozed off, there was an odd sound'. Another use of *S tokoró 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: *Kyóo wa hi ga yói no de kekkon ga óói tokoró e motté-kite, totu-zen no áme de, kuruma ga nakanaka kíte 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 hazímete sanma o mesi-agarimásita ga, kuuhuku no tokoró e motté-kite, syún no sanma desu 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): *Káno-zyo ga kooen o sanpo site iru tokoró o mita* 'I saw her (just as she was) walking in the park; ... *óyazi(-) ga ire-ba o aratte iru tokoró o mita kotó ga áru ka i* 'have you ever seen father wash(ing) his false teeth?' (Ariyoshi 111); *Ákiko wa kán no tátta amari ni isya ga ansitu kara déte kíta tokoró o tukamáete, ikinari kiita* 'Akiko, 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 *abunai tokoró o tasukéru* 'delivers one from danger') or of an ellipsis: *O-isogasii tokoró o [] arigatoo 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 tukútte iru tokoró e kimásita* 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 iu tokoró no teinei-go* 'what is called polite language today' (Tsuji-mura 102).

The restrictive *-dókoró* (§2.4) is derived from *tokoró*; for its use as a postadnominal, see §15.6. As a suffix *-dókoró* attaches to several verb infinitives to yield atonic nouns with somewhat specialized meanings:

kiki-dókoró '(the part) worth listening to, deserving to be heard'.

mi-dókoró 'something to be looked at or to' (*Koko ga sono sibai no mi-dókoró desu* 'This is the best part of the play'); 'merit, promise' (*Mi-dókoró no áru sákka(-) da* 'He is a writer of promise').

iki-dókoró (ga nái) '(lacks) a place to go'.

motte-iki-dókoró (ga nái) '(lacks) a place to take it = an outlet': *ikari no motte-iki-dókoró ga nái* 'has no outlet for one's anger'.

de-dókoró 'source': *Sonna o-kane no de-dókoró wa arimasén* 'We don't have any place to get such a sum of money'; *Sono zyoohoo no de-dókoró wa dare mo siranai* 'No one knows who supplies the information'.

yoridókoró 'something to rely upon, support, evidence'.

si-dókoró 'what ought to be done'—apparently limited to *sían no*^[v]~ : ... *kore kará ga sían no si-dókoró [da]* 'what happens next is the thing to be thought about' (SA 2663.117a).

i-dokoro 'one's whereabouts, location, address'.⁴³

Notice also tati-dókoró(τ) ni 'instantly, on the spot', an adverb of time. A number of the adverbs listed in §13.7 (ima-no-tokoro, mókka-no-tokoro, ...) derive from phrases with ... nō^[τ] tokorō^[τ].

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 tátu* 'time passes/elapsed',⁴⁴ it can substitute for *hima* 'unoccupied time, leisure' as in *toki ga áru/nái* 'has/lacks the time'; it can mean 'opportunity, chance' (= *kikái*(τ)) as in *toki o mátu* 'bides one's time, awaits one's chance'; it can refer to 'the contemporary period' (= *tóozí*) as in *toki no hitó/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 SUMMATIIONAL epitheme or '(at) the time (that ...), when ...' as a TRANSITIONAL epitheme. In the summational usage, *toki* may be used like *kotó* 'experience' (*Háyaku káeru toki/kotó mo áru* 'I sometimes leave early') or like *baai* 'situation', which—either directly adverbialized or marked with *ní*—often means 'in the event/case that = if' (cf. §9.3): *Mósi ll sunpoo ga ooki-sugiru toki wa ll hasami de lkireba l yói* 'In the event that the measurements should be too large, you can cut it with scissors' (SA 2650.98b); *Mósi ll soo'on no lonryoo-sókutei o site l morai-tai toki^[τ], ...* '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 toki ni wa ll syoomon o kakáseta hoo ga l li* 'When lending large sums of money, one had best have a note signed' (MJW); *Kókka o l utau toki ni wa ll kiritu simásu* '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 *ní*—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: *Rokuzyúu no (l)⁴⁶ toki^[τ], ll tyoonán ni ll hazimete no l magó ga l umareta* 'When he was sixty

43. Tokoro by itself sometimes translates as 'address': *Tokoro ga káite arimásu ka* 'Is the address written?'—cf. *Tokoró-ga, káite arimásu ka* 'But, is it written?'—and even *Tokoró-ga, tokoro ga káite arimásu ka* 'But, is the address written?'; *O-tokoro wa?* 'The address?' A written address is *tokoro-gaki* or (with name) *atena*; *zyúusyo* means '(place of) residence', *todoke-saki* means 'receiver's address, address to which it is to be delivered', and *ate-saki* 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 kakáru* 'it takes time'.

45. Or *tóki*. As a postadnominal the word is frequently accentuated *tóki*; in the examples of this book I have usually given only the conservative accentuation (*toki*). Regardless of the accentuation chosen, *tóki* often loses its juncture (and thus its accent) after a tonic phrase: ... *go-tugoo no ii toki^[τ]* ni 'when it is convenient for you' (BJ 2.159.4).

46. Speakers closely following the rules will voice the final vowel of *toki* when this juncture is suppressed; if the vowel is voiced, the juncture is probably present. Both versions have been recorded.

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 tóki ni rather than sono tokí ni 'at that time' (but only tokí ga tátu for 'time passes'), and that is what accounts for the accentuation in these examples: Kodomo no tóki, || yóku | kagaku-hakubutúkan e | itta 'When I was a child I often went to the Science Museum' (MJW); Anpo-zýóoyaku | kaitei no tóki, || Kísi san ga | syusyoo dátta 'Mr Kishi was Prime Minister at the time of the revision of the Security Treaty' (MJW).

Like other nouns and adverbs of time, tokí 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 (l) sotugyoo suru tokí made || gakkoo no tikáku ni | súnide ita 'Up till the time my child graduated we lived near the school'; Kodomo no tokí kara | kiite imásu ga || ... '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 epitheme⁴⁷ with the basic meaning of 'appearance' or 'likeness'. The morpheme, which comes from the Chinese word yàng = yàngzi (borrowed into Japanese as yoosu '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': Dénnya(¯) ga (l) okureru yóo datta 'It appeared that the train would be late'; Máda || dare mo kónai | yóo desu ga ... 'It appears that no one has come yet, but ...'; Iroiro || o-honeori dátta | yóo desu ga, ... 'You seem to have gone to a lot of trouble, ...' (Tk 3.209a); Áme ga | yanda yóo desu | né 'It looks as though the rain has let up'; Kodomo ga | iki-tai yóo desu kedo 'My boy seems to want to go, (but) ...'. The subject can be epithematized: okureru yóo na dénya(¯) '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: Syasin no yóo na | syazitu-teki na é nara || wakarimásu ga ... 'I can understand realistic paintings that are like photographs, but ...' (MJW); Daimyóo no | yóo na | seikatu o site iru 'He is living like a feudal lord' (MJW);⁴⁸ Sin-zirarénaí yóo na | hanasí desu ga || zituwa 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' (~ 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 na yóo ni | saset' oku | sá '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 kaíte áru yóo ni site kudasáí '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 | seikatu o site iru.

sometimes the best translation is 'tries to (not to) V': Okurenai yóo ni | site kudasái 'Try not to fall behind'; Kaze o hikanai yóo ni | ki o tuke-nasái 'Take care not to catch a cold'; Kuni ga sakáe, || kokumin no seikatu ga | yútaka ni | náru yóo ni | dóryoku 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 yóo na: Saisan ga toréru yóo na | keiei o sinákereba | naránai 'One must operate a business so that it makes a profit' (MJW); Hito no kokóro o | mayowásu yóo na | hoosoo o sité wa | likenai 'One must not make broadcasts which mislead public sentiment' (MJW); ... zyúu-nin 'ízyoo mo | tukau yóo na | misé o | tukuróo 'Let's set up a shop that will (be so large as to) employ over ten people' (SA 2793.105b); Kore wa || mi-ageru yóo na | lookii | tatémóno 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 náí yóo [ni] | go-tyúui kudasái 'Please do not leave any of your belongings behind'. Wasurenai yóo 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 yóo ni káite oite kudasái 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 Wasurenái de káite oite kudasái.

See p. 998 (§21) for the use of V-ru yóo [ní [tó]] in the indirect quotation of commands. V-ru (or V-anai) yóo ni náru means 'gets so that ..., reaches the point where ...', as in Zyoozú ni dekíru yóo ni náta 'I got to the point where I could do it quite well' and Arukénai yóo ni náta 'I got to the point where I couldn't walk'. Instead of V-(a)nai yóo ni náru you can use the option V-(a)naku náru (§9.1.11) with much the same meaning: Arukénaku náta 'I got so I couldn't walk'.

A noun phrase + no yóo da means '(it) looks to be N' or 'looks like N', and N₁ no yóo na N₂ often translates as 'an N₂ that is like N₁'; the pattern is used for exemplification: Tookyoo no yóo na | dai-tókai de mo ... 'Even in great metropolises like (such as) Tōkyō ...'; Kyóo no yóo na | akibare no hí wa || kimoti ga ii monó da 'You are bound to feel good on such a fine autumn day as today' (MJW); Niti-yóobi ka | saizitu no yóo na | hí ni wa ... 'On days like Sunday or a holiday ...'. To make the comparison explicit you can use the pattern N₁ to onazi yóo na N₂ 'an N₂ that is just like N₁': óyazi(̄) to onazi yóo na hitó 'a person who is just like my father', kore to onazi yóo na kimono 'a kimono that is just like this one'.

When adverbialized (with ní, or directly—by ellipsis of ní) the word yóo often translates as 'like': Méizi | sanzyuu-néndai | suisei no yóo ni | arawáreta | tensai-gáka no || geizyutu to || syógai o | tuzurimásu '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 ká no yóo {ni} means 'as if S (were true)': ... Zén wa, Nihon-búnka no daihyoo de áru ka no yóo ni kangaerárete iru rasii '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 "Ká no yóo ni" about a young man whose thoughts are constantly cast in the frame of 'As If'. Cf. Y 328-9, 332.

Comparisons of equality 'is as A as N' can be said with *N no yóo ni A* or *N to onazi yóo ni A*, as well as with *N ̄gúrai A*: Kono kodomo wa sono kodomo no yóo ni (sono kodomo to onazi yóo ni, sono kodomo ̄gúrai) sé ga takái 'This child is as tall as that child'. The predicate need not be an adjective: Kono kodomo wa sono kodomo no yóo ni (sono kodomo to onazi yóo ni, sono kodomo ̄gúrai) 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 *yóo*: *máiniti*(⁻) *no yóo ni* 'nearly every day' means practically the same thing as *máiniti*(⁻) 'every day' and *renzitu no yóo ni* 'for days on end' says little more than *renzitu* by itself. In expressions such as *watakusi no yóo na monó* 'a person like me', *yóo* is a way of expressing modesty or humility; cf. Y 330. In such expressions as {*mósi*} ... *yóo na kotó ga áreba* 'if by any chance it should happen that' the *yóo* merely attenuates the condition. And in the example ... *to iu yóo na zyootai de né* ... 'under a situation where, you see, ...' (R) both the quotation and the *yóo na* may be semantically vacuous. It seems to be particularly common to attenuate a statement of feelings with *yóo*: *Sore o iwareta tokí wa || naki-tai yóo na |ki[moti] ga sita* 'When told that, I felt like crying'; ... *hizyoo ni* (l) *natukasii yóo na, || sabisii yóo na, || myóo na |kanzi ga surú n desu* 'I get an odd kind of nostalgic-like, lonesome-like feeling' (Tk 3.236b).

The meaning of S *yóo da* overlaps with that of the evidential (V-i-soo da, etc., §20) and that of the semblative (*rasii*, §19); the differences in meaning are discussed on p. 988. Notice that S *yóo da* is rather general in meaning; it can be used, for example, instead of S *sóo da* (§18) to report hearsay. An evidential or semblative sentence can apparently add *yóo da*: ... *suzusii |rasii yóo na |kóe o |dasánakuttya |naránai* 'you must put out a voice that seems cool-like' (Tk 3.247a). It is possible to put the *yóo da* sentence into a putative conversion: *Muda na yóo ni |miemásu ga, || kessite || muda dé wa |arimasén* 'It looks as though it were useless, but it's not (useless) at all'. Introductory adverbs such as *maru-de* 'quite', *tyoodo* 'just', and *átaka-mo* 'as it were', sometimes anticipate ... *yóo da*.

Notice that the following expressions all mean virtually the same thing: *sono yóo na kotó*, *sonna yóo na kotó*, *soo iu yóo na kotó*, *soo iu kotó*, *sonna kotó*. See p. 1005 (§21.1) for ... *tó iu yóo na*, ... *[t]te yóo na*, ... *[t]té[e] na* and ... *tó iu yóo ni*, *[t]te yóo ni*. Notice also the various uses of *mítai* (§2.12).

The postadnominal *tóori* is used as a virtual synonym of *yóo* (Y 350), but it adnominalizes as a precopular noun: ... *késa |míta |tóori no |iró* 'a color like that seen this morning' (= *míta yóo na iró*). The postadnominal *húu* is similar in meaning; here is an example with S *yóo na húu*: *Maru-dell byooki o |ríkon*(⁻) *no koozitu to sitell tanosinde iru |yóo na |húu de átta* 'It was (for) all the world like enjoying the illness as an excuse for divorce' (Y 338). Yoshida says the use of *húu* dates from Edo times; in Y 347-8 there are a number of examples. Literary equivalents of *yóo* are *gótosi* = *yóo da*, *gótoki* = *yóo na*, *gótoku* {*ni*} = *yóo* {*ni*}; cf. §14.4. Neither S *húu da* nor S *yóo da* will be comfortably used in the tentative (*S *húu/yóo daroo*); cf. Y 347-8. But you may find S *yóo/húu || desyó[o]*? 'It appears that S, don't you think?'

Adnominalized or adverbialized *yóo*-sentences are much more frequent than the unconverted predicates. In one novel, Yoshida found the frequency to be .50 *yóo na*, and .45 *yóo ni*, with less than .05 for *yóo da/datta/de* (Y 336). An example of S *yóo de*: *Káhuu wa byoozyaku no [= na] yóo de zitú 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 *wáke* has a number of meanings: 'sense, meaning; reason, cause; circumstance, case'. It usually occurs as a summational epitheme: ... *káre no |naku wáke o |tazúneta*

'they asked why he was crying' (V 139). The question *Dóo iu wáke desu ka* asks 'What do you mean (by that, by what you are saying)?', and explanations frequently end with ... *tó iu wáke desu*, which may add as little to the sentence as a final 'I mean' adds in English. The rather empty use of *S wáke da* 'It's [the case] that S' (virtually equivalent to *S nó da*) is particularly common in the speech of the Kantō area (Zhs 2.19), and you will hear it a lot in Tōkyō: *Iroi-ro kawatta késiki mo, go-ran ni náta wáke desyoo né* 'I guess you must have seen all sorts of unusual scenery, too?' (Tk 3.317a); *Inzei wa péezi wari de kureru wáke da ga, Sibáku mátte kudasaí* 't te liú n desu né' 'They [are supposed to] pay royalties by the page, but they tell you "Please wait a bit", you see' (Tk 3.97a); *Túmari ano bangumí(-) wa, syóohin(-) no méekaa noll sénpei na wáke iyó* '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 wáke de wa/mo náí 'I don't (exactly) mean that S' is a way to disclaim an assertion and NEGATIVE + *wáke de wa/mo náí* 'I don't mean that not S' or 'It isn't the case that not S' is a way of admitting a possibility: *Kono yóo na kangae-káta wa, nádo ni molla ukagaenai wáke de wa arimasén ga, ...* 'It isn't that we can't (= We can, of course,) study this sort of thinking in ... and other works, but ...' (Tsuchimura 101).

S wáke ga/wa [hitótu mo] náí means 'It doesn't stand to reason that ...' or 'There is no reason (to think) that ...' or 'I can't think/believe that ...': *Íma látte hanásita bakari da kara byooki na wáke wa náí* 'He can't be sick, for I have just seen and talked with him'; *Hitóro de míttatte, omosirói wáke ga náí* 'I can't think it would be any fun to see it all alone' (Hayashi 141); *Watasi ga (I) ayamáru wáke wa náí* 'I have no reason to apologize'.

V-ru wáke ni {wa/mo} ikanai (or, to be more polite, *mairimasén*) 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 wáke ni wa ikanái n desu* 'One can not so easily explain it', and *V-(a)nai wáke ni {wa/mo} ikanai* (or *mairimasén*) 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)nákereba naránai*, *V-(a)nákute wa ikanai*, and other expressions of obligation: *Okoránai wáke ni wa ikanai* 'I can't help getting angry'.

In most uses you have the option of quotationalizing the sentence in front of *wáke*: *S to iu wáke ...*. Nominal sentences change *dá* to *ná* when adnominalized to *wáke*, but *nó* can be used when there is no ambiguity: *Soo iu kotó wa heiki no [= na] wáke desu iyó* '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]áke desu* 'it won't do, I mean' (R). Many Tōkyō speakers use *-w-* nondistinctively before the vowel *a* when a vowel precedes (cf. *bawai = baai* '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 nondistinctively intruded before *a*⁴⁹ (cf. *ki[y]ámete = kiwámete* 'extremely') so that you may think you have heard ... *ikenai [y]áke desu*, as if the noun before *desu* were *yáke* 'despair'; cf. the common pronunciation *ni[y]aka-áme* for *niwaka-áme* 'sudden shower'.

A passage with three examples of *wáke*: *Syosai ni komótte hón o hirogerú ga, kanarazú-*

49. And, for some speakers, before *o*, making *ioo* 'let's say' sound like *iyoo* 'let's stay' and *Uti ni orimásu* 'I am at home' difficult to distinguish from *Uti ni yorimásu* 'I will drop in at home'.

símo yónde iru wáke de wa náí. Genkoo-yóosi ni mukaú ga, kanarazú-símo zí o káku wáke de wa náí. Zibun ̄yoo no térebi o túkete bon'yári míte iru ga, honki de míte iru wáke de mo náí no da 'I hole up in my study and open a book, but I don't necessarily read. I face the empty squares of manuscript paper, but I don't necessarily write anything. I turn on my personal TV set and idly watch, but I don't always pay real attention to it, either' (Endō 84).

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 *Dóo-zo | sono mamá^[r]* 'Please stay as you are (don't disturb yourself, don't bother to move over, etc.)' and *Sono mamá^[r] o-mati kudasái* 'Hang on (for a minute), Hold the line' (on the telephone), or *kono* 'this' in *kono mamá^[r] ikéba* 'if it goes on (continues) like this'. In idiomatic expressions, *mamá* may appear without adnominal modification: {*Ukíyo*(-) *ga*} *mamá^[r] ni náru nara*[-ba] 'If I had my wishes'; *Mamá^[r] no kawá* = *Mamá^[r] no kawa-záihu* 'Let's let nature take its course' [rare?]; *Mamá^[r] 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^[r] || tukue no ué ni lokarete ita* 'And a manuscript was there on his desk half-written' (SA 2792.26); ... *ókusan ni || gekkyuu o || hukuró^[r] no mamá^[r] || watasite simá^[r] n desu* 'turns his salary over to his wife with the envelope unopened' (ISJ 8.3b.104); *Yoko o muita mamá^[r], || hitó-koto mo hanasánakatta* 'With his head turned aside, he spoke not a word' (MJW); *Omóu mamá^[r] | asonda* 'We played as we liked'; *Isógu mamá^[r], | áisatu mo sezu ni | kitaku sita* 'In a hurry as I was, I went home without saying good-bye'; *Mata || Nihón de wa, || kuruma ni notta mamá^[r] (l) miti o kíkú no ga | sitúrei na | kotó da to | sarete irú 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: *Nán da i, || ói, || kuti ni yoozi o ireta mamá^[r] de | syabéru na | yó* 'What—hey, don't talk with a toothpick in your mouth!' (Okitsu 1.55); *Suwatta mamá^[r] de || yorosii desyóo ka* 'May I stay seated [while speaking]?'; *Kutú o | haita mamá^[r] de | uti(-) ni agatta* 'He came into the house without removing his shoes'; *Óobaa o | kita mamá^[r] de | iru* 'He's leaving his overcoat on'; *Hudán-gí no | mamá^[r] de | iku* 'I'll go in my everyday clothes (without dressing up)'; *Náhi mo siranai mamá^[r] ni ...* 'Ignorant as I was ...' (R); *Yo-nó-naka wa || kokóro^[r] no (l) mamá^[r] ni | 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 || tukawanaku nátta | mamá^[r] desu* 'This room is no longer used (= continues in disuse)'; *Waisyatu wa || yogoreta mamá^[r] desita* 'The shirt remained soiled (= had not been laundered)'; *Sigezoo wa || mé o | tózita | mamá^[r] datta ga ...* 'Shigezō's eyes remained closed ...' (Ariyoshi 307). The predicated S *mamá* da can be adnominalized: ... *kitanái | reinkóoto o | kite, || boosi o kabútta | manmá no | syasín-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 líi desu* 'Things are all right as they are'; *Móto no |mamá ni |site óite kudasáí* 'Leave it undisturbed' (mutative conversion); *Kodomo no iu mamá ni |saseru oyá mo |iru* 'Some parents let their children do what the children say' (causativized mutative conversion), *Hutuka mo nemutta mamá nara, || isya ni míte |moratta hóo ga líi zya náí desyoo 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: *Omóttá |mamá o |litta* 'I said what was on my mind; I spoke my feelings'; *Míta |mamá o || syoozíkí ni |hanásita* 'I quite honestly told just what I had seen'. See p. 895 (§14.6) for direct nominalization + *ga mamá* (*surú ga mamá*).

In some expressions the meaning of *mamá* is very close to that of *gótoku* (or *yóo ni*) and that of *tóori* 'way, like'. Sometimes the meaning is 'in accordance with, as': *omóu mamá ni yaru* 'does as one wishes'; *hito no iu mamá ni náru* 'is at another's beck and call'; *meirei saretá (mei-ziráreta(-)) mamá ni sigoto o yameru* 'stops work as ordered'; *Oose no mamá ni itasimasyóo* 'I will do as you say'; *yó no hukéru mamá ni* 'as the night advances'.

V-ta *mamá* can be the equivalent of V-ta [k]kirí 'did it and that was that, did it and left matters there; did it and that was the end of it all': ... *yaoya e |kaimono ni yuku to itte (|) déta mamá || káette |kónakatta no de aru* 'went out saying she was going to the grocery store shopping and never came back' (SA 2668.122a); ... *onaka o kowásita manmá |naoránaí de ...* 'my stomach trouble stayed with me (and wouldn't get better)' (R); *Gó-zi -sugí ni |sigoto kara káette, || iki-tuke no syokudoo ni dekaketa mamá || káette |kimasén 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 *wá-ga mamá* 'my own way'; *kimama* (from *ki no/ga mamá*^[u]) is a synonym. *Omoi-no-mamá* is a closeknit phrase derived from *omóí 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 *sooróo*, to mean 'due/owing to, because, as since', corresponding to the colloquial S *kará* or S *nó de*. For more examples of *mamá*, see Alfonso 1075-6, Kenkyusha 1057b, and Terase 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'.⁵⁰

Hazu is commonly predicated with the copula as an affirmative impersonal statement S *hazu dá* 'presumably S', 'It would normally be assumed that S', 'I feel sure that S', 'It is supposed to be that S': *Uti no Kén-tyan wa || rainen no sángatu |sotugyoo 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 dé wa | káre ga | okóru hazu da 'No wonder he got mad'; Gunkan wa || sán-zi ni | nyuukoo suru/no hazu de áru 'The warship is expected to enter port at three o'clock'; Otóosan wa | móo || káette iru | hazu dá kara ... 'Father should be home by now, so— ...'; Sore wa || tíisa na | kodomo dé sae | sitte iru hazu no kotó da 'That is something that even a small child can be presumed to know'; Ninniku ni yowái hazu no | Nihon-zín ga, || tikágoro wa || Tyoosen-ryóori de || sita-túzumi o | útte 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 huutoo o akete míte || bikkúri simáshita 'When he opened the envelope that he naturally supposed had a letter inside, he was startled'; Yama-óku da kara || denwa ga náí (l) 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 áru no] ða 'It is [that there is] the normal expectation that S', and that is why the expression is usually negated as S hazu ga/wa náí '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': Namámete | ité wa || káre wa | seikoo suru hazu ga náí 'If he is lazy I don't see how he can have any success'; Sonna hazu wa || náí to | omoimásu ga ... 'That's not what I was expecting'; Ténki ga | warúi kara, || Hánako ga | kúru hazu wa | náí 'The weather is so bad that Hanako surely won't come' (= ... kit-tó kónai)—cf. Ténki ga | warúi kara, || Hánako ga | kónai hazu da 'The weather is bad, so Hanako is likely not to come'; ... kusuri ga háitte iru | hazu mo náí yóo na | tya-dansu no itiban sitá no | hikidasi máde || ... 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 náí, though unusual, is not entirely ruled out; Kenkyusha carries the example Sonna hazu dé wa | nákatta ga 'I did not bargain for that'. The adnominalized sentence can itself be negative: Sui-yóobi wa || yasumí zya náí (l) hazu desu ga 'Of a Wednesday they're surely not on holiday ...'.

With a double negative S-(a)nai hazu ga/wa náí, the meaning is 'There is little likelihood (it seems impossible) that not S' = 'It is bound to be that S': O-ténki ga | íi kara, || Hánako ga || asobi ni kónai hazu wa | náí 'The weather is so nice, Hanako is bound to come for a visit'; O-kane ga náí hazu wa | arimasén 'You surely must have money'; Íma || sugu | dekakerú nara, || ma ni awánai hazu wa | arimasén | yó '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 náí 'surely' or 'there is (can be) no doubt that S' and sometimes it approaches that of S tumori dá 'I intend/presume/feel/hope that': Kinóo || sore o suru hazu desita 'I should have done that yesterday'—Kinóo || sore o suru tumori desita 'I intended to do that yesterday'; Kinóo || sore o sita hazu desu | yó 'But I thought I did that yesterday'—Kinóo || sore o sita tumori desu | yó 'I tried to do that yesterday' or 'I have the feeling I did that yesterday'; Háa, || simeta | hazu ná n desu kedo, || yappári || tyót-to || aite 'másu | née 'Yes, I thought I had closed it, but it's still open a bit, I see' (ISJ 11.1b.268); Bóku(-) wa || tásika || soo itta hazu desu | yó 'I am sure (=confident) I said so'; ... soo itta ni || tigai náí desu | yó 'There can be no doubt that I said so [—just ask the others who were there]'; Anáta wa móo anó-hito ni átta hazu desu 'Surely you must have seen him by now (or: before)'.

Observe that the following sentence can mean much the same thing regardless of whether the subordinated predicates are converted to the perfect or not:

Kúru hazu { dáтта } hitó ga { kónai } 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 Kíta hazu ... '... the people who were supposed to be here ...'.) On the unusual ellipsis in Senséi ga/no kúru hazu [dá/datta] ga kónakatta '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-té {mo} ii 'might as well S, might well S'. Móo ll káette ite ll ii (l) hazu ná⁽ⁱ⁾ no ni ... is a somewhat stronger way of saying Móo ll káette iru (l) hazu ná⁽ⁱ⁾ no ni ... 'He really ought to be back by now, but [he isn't]'. Wakátte (l) ite {mo} ll ii hazu desu means 'He ought to (really should) understand'; cf. léba ll wakáru 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 dá* 'It is my intention/impression that S', will usually refer to the first person as the underlying subject; questions, such as S *tumori desu 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*: Nágaku l irassyáru l o-tumori desu ka 'Do you plan to stay long?' Since the reference is personal, you will occasionally hear *de irassyáru* used for the copula: Senséi wa ll dóo iu l o-tumori de irassyaimásu ka 'What do you have in mind, sir?' The intention can be negative: Sore wa l iwanai tumori desu 'I plan not to say that'. The statement of intention can itself be denied: Sore wa l iu tumori zya arimasén 'It is not my intention to say that'. And a negative intention can be denied: Sore wa l iwanai tumori zya arimasén 'It is not my intention not to say that'. But it is more common to say S *tumori ga/wa náí* 'has no mind (intention) to ...', does not have it in mind that S': Sore o suru tumori wa arimasén 'I have no intention of doing that'; Sore o suru tumori ga ll náí de mo l náí 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 dé* 'with the intention/idea/notion ...': Dóo iu (l) tumori de l soo iú n desu ka 'What do you have in mind by (saying) that?'; Zyoodán no (l) tumori de l ittá n desu kedo ... 'I intended it as a joke ...'; Warúi (l) tumori de l ittá no de wa l arimasén 'I meant no harm by my remarks'; Kyóoko wa ll hankoo no tumori de, ll sore-daké itta 'This was all Kyōko said by way of protest' (Kawabata: Suigetsu); Miti ga warúi kara ll sono tumori de ll—(ki o túkete kudasái⁽ⁱ⁾) 'The road is bad, so bear that in mind (—and be careful)'; Kono sitagaki wa ll máda l naosánai kara ll sono tumori de—(yónde kudasái⁽ⁱ⁾) 'This draft I haven't corrected yet so read it with that in mind'.

The translation of S *tumori dá* 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': Kírei ni l káita l tumori desu ga ... 'I hope I have written neatly (enough)'; Kírei ni l káita l

51. The meaning is usually intention if what precedes is a voluntary verb in the imperfect (V-ru *tumori dá*, V-anai *tumori dá*). When the meaning of the adnominalized predicate will not easily allow the translation 'intend to', the appropriate translation will express belief or impression. Surmised, however, is expressed by *hazu*: Komakái o-kane ga átta hazu desu ga ... 'I *thought* I had some small change, but ...' (BJ 2.25).

tumori désita ga ... 'I was under the impression that I had written neatly (enough)'; Kírei ni | káku | tumori 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': Hánako san wa || máda || wakái | tumori désu kedo ... 'Hanako is under the impression that she is still young ...'; Ano gakusei wa || seikoo sita tumori désu 'That student fancies (feels, believes) that he has been successful'. Instead of V-ru tumori dá (or V-ru tumori de iru) you will sometimes find V-ru tumori o site iru: ... tosi o | tóttara || kyóori ni | káeru | tumori 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 tumori: Asitá made ni | sumaséru {to iu} tumori de | 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 tumori 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 tumori ka can mean either 'Do you intend to say you will buy it?' or (= Kimi wa sore o kau tumori ka) 'Do you intend to buy it?'

Tumori is a noun 'estimate (of oneself)' derived from the infinitive of tumóru(=) 'accumulates' or, as here, 'estimates' (= mi-tumoru); it is, however, little used except as a post-adnominal.

13.2.9. *Tamé*.

The postadnominal *tamé* usually serves as a transitional epitheme and the resulting structure typically appears as an adverb or as a precopular noun (that is, with or without *ni* when adverbialized). In the expression *tamé ni náru/naránai* 'is/isn't beneficial', the word appears without an adnominal element; it can also begin a sentence with the implied omission of [Sono]: [Sono] *tamé ni*, ... 'Therefore ...; As a result [of that] ...'; ... kore máde | antei-teki de átta | hiyoo o | kyuu ni (l) age, || *tamé ni* || kákaku(=) wa | 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, *tamé* will appear as a pure noun with a case marker: Kimi no *tamé o* | kangáete || ... 'Thinking of your benefit (your own good) ...'.

We can summarize the uses of *tamé* under three categories:⁵²

(1) *N no tamé* means '(for) the sake/benefit/good of N': Kodomo no *tamé da* kara || ^(v) ^(v) *nán de* mo simásu 'Since it is for my child, I will do anything'; Kokumin no *tamé* {ni} || kono seisaku o kettei sita 'This policy was decided upon for the good of the people'; Bókoku/Sókoku no | *tamé ni* | tatakatta 'I fought for my motherland/fatherland'; Gaikokú-zin no | *tamé no* | gakkoo o mookéru 'We will establish a school for foreigners'; Zidoo no | *tamé no* || yói | yomimóno ga | hosii 'I want some good reading material for children'.

(2) *V-ru tamé {ni}* is a rough equivalent of *V-rú no ni* 'in order to V', or of *V-ru yóo {ni}* 'so as to V'; *VN no tamé {ni}* means 'for the purpose (with the aim) of VN': Ryugaku suru/no *tamé ni* || kane o tamete imásu 'I am saving my money in order to go

52. The minor juncture before *tamé* 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'; Hasamí wa || kírú | tamé no | monó da 'Scissors are for cutting (things with)'; Rakudai sinai tamé {ni} || tetuya site benkyoo suru 'I will study all night long so as not to fail'; Rikírýoo(-)/Nóoryoku o | tamésu tamé, || sikén o | úketa 'I took an examination to test my ability' (MJW); Ketuin o | logináu | tamé ni, || saiýoo-sikén o | sinákereba | naránai 'We have to give an employment examination in order to fill a vacancy' (MJW); Yútaka na | syákai o | kensetu suru tamé ni || dóryoku(-) suru 'We strive to establish a wealthy society' (MJW); Syokuyoku o | mitásu | tamé ni, || syokuzi o | suru 'We eat in order to satisfy our appetites' (MJW); Gaikoku-zíyoo o | sirabéru | tamé ni, || sisetú-dan o | okuru 'We will send a mission to study conditions in foreign countries' (MJW); Karada o | zyoobu ni suru tamé ni, || supóoto o | suru 'You play sports to put your body into shape' (MJW); lé o | tatéru | tamé ni || zaimoku o | kau 'I will purchase lumber to build a house'; Kokumin o | hógó suru | tamé ni, || hooritu ga áru 'To protect the people, we have laws'.

In *Kimono no tamé ni, iti-nitan eránde 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 tukúru no] da* → *Kimono [] no ...* and the meaning is the same as that of *Kimono o tukúru tamé ni ...*

(3) *S tamé {ni}* means 'owing to (the fact that ...), because of'—a somewhat formal equivalent of *S kará*⁵³—or (= séi) 'as a result/consequence of ...': ... *nagaré ga | hayái | tamé ni | hiroenákkata* 'because the current was so swift he couldn't pick it (= his dropped rifle) up' (Shibata 1961.223); *Syukketu taryoo no tamé, || zetumei sita* 'He died from an excessive loss of blood' (MJW); *Byooki no/dátta (I) tamé {ni} | syusseki dekinákatta* 'I could not attend because I was ill'. According to Nagano (1966.187) *S tamé {ni}* and *S kará* are not usually followed by a request or a command, unlike the looser *S nó de* 'since it is the case that S', but that distinction may be breaking down.

13.3. TENTATIVE AND HORTATIVE ADNOMINALS;

-[y]oo monó/món nara

In written Japanese you sometimes see an adnominalized hortative, tentative, or literary tentative—often before a postadnominal:

(1) HORTATIVE: ... *urá o kakóo sitagógoro* 'the intention to frustrate'.

(2) TENTATIVE: ... *kentóo mo tukánakatta* 'r^{oo}o zíken 'a matter that will likely not have been noticed'; ... *sono yóo na meisyoo sono-mónó no hassei ga kui-tomerarerú daroo kotó mo kitai sarerú no de aru* 'It is expected even that the generation of such names themselves can be blocked' (Shibata 1966.194); *Motíron, wá-ga kuni no hosyu-teki búnsi no aida ni senryoo-tóokyoku ni tai-súru hankan ga hikaku-teki tuyói de aróo kotó wa nanpito mo yooi ni kore o soozoo si-úru* '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); ... *káno-zyo wa zibun o mátte iru daroo háha ... no kotó o omoi-tuzuketa* 'she kept thinking of her mother who must be waiting for her' (Y 352); *Tatami ni sitára hyakú-mai sikerú daroo sitú wa ...* 'The room, which would probably take a hundred mats if carpeted with *tatami*, ...' (Y 352).

(3) LITERARY TENTATIVE: ... *naróo kotó nara* 'if it should become ...'; ... *sabisikaróo muné no utí(-)* 'in a breast that must be lonely'.

53. N no tamé {ni} = N dá kara.

Yoshida (351) says these forms smack of translation style and are not very comfortable.

The expression V-[y]oo monó/món nara⁵⁴ 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 dé mo suoo monó nara kotira ga seki-konde simaimásu 'I get to coughing if I breathe in smoke or anything' (Matsuda 59); Sono hanasí mo móttomo na kotó da si, ukkári kotowaróo mono nara aité o okorásite simai-soo na ikigómí(¯) 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 Kókki san ni kuti o kikoo monó nara áto de Úme tyan ni hidói mé ni áu kara, ki o tuke-nasái yó 'You be careful now, Ume, because if you should happen to take matters up with Mr Kokki you'll be in trouble later' (KKK 3.243); Yosyuu sinái de koyóo mon nara, súgu sikararerú n da kara, iyá n[i] náttýau '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, tatimati ii-tukeraretyaimásu yó 'One inadvertent bit of foul talk and you get told on immediately'; Tyót-to amai kao dé mo siyoo 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 -éru + monó nara with the same meaning, e.g. Katéru monó nara, kátte kói 'If you (think you) can beat me, just try!' Cf. MKZ^s 1107b: Ikeru monó nara itte mítai 'If I were able to go I'd like to'; Yareru 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]óo nara: Otokó-no-ko no átari ni yurete iru akai hikarí o yomóo nara "Kíyoko" 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 aróo monó 'one of the standing of N', see §21.1.(13). For -[y]óo ni, see §17.7. For -[y]óo zya nái 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 da 'It is the student's' is adnominalized, the copula dá drops:⁵⁵

54. 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 atonic verb; and many speakers (differing from our conservative version) make all V-[y]oo forms tonic, saying siyóo mono nara for our siyoo monó nara.

55. This is, however, putting the matter backwards. Gakusei nó da 'It is the student's' is itself a reduction of Gakusei nó [[mo]nó] da 'It is the one of the student', and that structure is far from simple (cf. §3.11.2).

Gakusei no itóko 'the student's cousin', identical in form with 'the cousin who is a student' from Gakusei dá 'It's a student'. So we must set up not only this special class of possessive nominal (NOUN + nó + copula), but also a special small class of postadnominals before which the imperfect copula changes to nó instead of dropping as would be expected: hazu, yóo, tumori, hoka, This means that we can make a difference between Gakusei no hazu/yóo da (from Gakusei dá) and Gakusei nó no hazu/yóo da (from Gakusei nó da); the difference fails to hold when the sentences are adnominalized before other nouns, for they neutralize the distinction: Gakusei no itóko da (from either Gakusei dá or Gakusei nó da) 'It is the student cousin' or 'It is the student's cousin'. Other examples: Gakusei nó no tumori dá 'I mean it for the student (to be the student's)', Gakusei no tumori dá '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 dá in its various forms including the infinitive ní used adverbially; they also occur directly adnominal, modifying a noun with no marker between:

(1a) konná 'like this', sonná 'like that', anná 'like that (remote)', dónna 'like what'.⁵⁶ The adverbialized konna/sonna/anna ní are equivalent to the Kansai dialect forms konai, sonai, and anai. Ōsaka uses the form dónai for dónna ni or for dóo 'how' (and dónai site for dóo yatte 'how'—in Tōkyō dóo site usually is taken to mean 'how come = why'), but dóo 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. Ōsaka forms with -nn- are also reported: dónnai (Zhs 4.193), sonnai (4.196). Examples: Yóo máa, konai uresi-sóo ni waraeta món ya 'What a lot of delightful laughs (like this =) this is!' (SA 2654.134d); Kore kara dónai site, syóobai tuzukerú ka, kentóo mo tukimasén 'I have no idea how I can stay in business from now on' (SA 2678.130b—Ōsaka); ... nán de anai iwarerú n yaro ka to omoimásu né 'I wonder why I was talked to that way' (Tk 3.289b—Ōsaka) = náze anna ni iwarerú n daroo ka These Kansai forms result from reducing the -nn- to -n- and dropping the initial nasal of ní: 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 Ōsaka: tabí [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 (konná, sonná, anná) appears before dá, dé, and other forms of the copula; also before nó (konná no wa/dá). But before ní, for unknown reasons (perhaps an ellipted {yóo}?), the accent drops: konna ní, sonna ní, anna ní. When the word is modifying a noun, the final accent is automatically canceled by the underlying juncture appropriate to adnominalizations (which often then disappears): konna kotó. These matters are taken up elsewhere. Dónna has an elegant synonym iká-ga: Kore wa iká-ga na monó de gozaimasyóo 'What sort of thing would this be?' (Tk 4.324b). This is an unusual formation, an attributive adjectival noun (=adnoun) built on the adverb iká-ga, which is derived from an abbreviation of iká ni ka; iká is a literary adjectival noun, and the appropriate literary equivalent of dónna is iká naru.

57. But some would derive konai (etc.) from kono yóo; cf. anai na monó = ano yóo na monó (Inokuchi 276). Such a derivation would presumably explain the uses of konai for konna ni as direct adverbialization, the equivalent of kono yóo [ni]. (The -a- in the second syllable remains unexplained.)

As adnominals, these words are synonyms of other expressions, derived (by semantic specialization) from quotational constructions, both imperfect (2d below) and perfect (2f below):

English	Adnoun	Synonym 1	Synonym 2	Synonym 3
'this sort of'	konná	koo iú	koo ittá	koo sitá
'that sort of'	sonná	soo iú	soo ittá	soo sitá
'that sort of'	anná	aa iú	aa ittá	aa sitá
'what sort of'	dónna	dóo iu	?dóo itta	?dóo sita
cf. (2g)	nán taru	nán to iu	nán to itta	?nán to sita

The adnouns 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, áa, dóo*). There is a contrast between *kóo na no wa* 'the one that is/does thus' and *konná no wa* '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 no ka* 'Is it one of that kind?' Examples: *Dóo site áa na no ka to omótte, bóku(¯) 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 résubian tte dóonna n daroo* 'The customers—lesbians—I wonder what they're like' (SA 2684.42c). The compound in *sonna-kóonná de (isogásikute ...)* '(is busy) with this sort and that sort = with all sorts of things' seems to be a derived noun: *sonna-kóonná no isogási-sa* 'busyness with all sorts of things'; *Sonna-kóonná ni tori-magirete yakusoku o wasuretyatta* 'I was so wrapped up in this and that, I forgot my appointment'; *Sonna-kóonná 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!'; *Dónna [da]?* 'Of what sort?' Of course, the phrases with *dá* and *ní* might themselves be regarded as elliptical: *sonná [l] yóo/monó] da* and *sonná [l] yóo ni > sonna [yóo] ni*. In origin these words are apparently contractions of *kono yóo na* (etc.), but the etymology does not prevent them from entering into new constructions with ... *yóo (da/na/ni)*: *Ée, sonna yóo 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 *yóo* was pronounced *yáu*, as attested by the historical spelling.

(1b) *onazi* 'the same'—also *onnazi* and *onnasi*.⁵⁸ In the literary language this is a special kind of adjective with the forms *onazi-ki* for attributive and *onazi け-し* for predicative, following a rule of haplology that obligatorily reduces *-si-si* and *-si-si (= -zi-si)* in adjective predicative forms. If you run across *onazi-ku*, it is a somewhat formal or semi-literary usage for *onazi {yóo} ni*; and *onazi-i*, from *onazi-[k]i*, is a pseudo-literary form for *onazi (+N)*. Although *onazi yóo ni* is more common, *onazi ní* also occurs: *Kango o Nihon-go to onazi ni tukatte iru* 'We use Chinese loanwords the same way as Japanese words'; ... *minsyuu ga onazi ni kyooiku o úke, onazi ni syakai-teki kúnren o úke, onazi 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 *onazi*

58. Not limited to Tōkyō speakers; an example from a Kyōto speaker: *onnasi ya ná (= onazi da ná)* 'it's the same, you see' (Tk 4.262b).

carries with it the reciprocal valence (§3.6) even when it is used as a directly adnominal prenoun: *kyóo to onazi tokí* 'the same time as today'; *Tyoodo bóku(ˉ) to onazi désuku ni narandé '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 (N_1 ga/no onazi N_2): *Náni ka otó no onazi {no} hoka 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: N_1 *tó* {no} onazi N_2 'the N_2 (that is) identical with N_1 '. But if no adjunct accompanies *onazi*, the copula must be suppressed: *onazi {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 {nó} ga hosíi* 'I want one the same as that'. The modern trend is to replace *onazi dá/ní* with *onazi yóo da/ni*, according to *Gekkan-Bumpō* 1/8.50a (1969).

NOTE: Since all the words of Type 1 (*konná*, *sonná*, *anná*, *dónna*; *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*: *Hanasí ga sonná na no de sugu kaette kíta* 'The talk being such, I left at once'; *Áme ga konná na no ni déte 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 (?) *Dónna na no ga íi 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)*, *daké (ni/átte)*, *hazu (dá)*, *hodó (ni wa miénai)*, *ippóo (= katawará(ˉ))*, *ízyoo*, *kanoo-sei (ga áru)*, *kekka*, *kúrai/gúrai*, *kusé ni*, *mamá*, *món/monó ka*, *séi ka*, *tamé*, *tokí*, *tokoró (= baai)*, *ué (ni/wa)*, *wáke (da)*, *yóo da*. A difference of meaning is felt with *Sonna kanoo-sei ga áru* 'There is such a possibility' and *Sonná na kanoo-sei 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: *Sonná da 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 rasíi* 'it is such-looking' or 'It seems to be such' but not **Sonna na rasíi*; *Onazi rasíi* 'It is identical-looking' or 'It seems to be identical' but not **Onazi na rasíi*. Words of Type 1 can also be converted into mutatives with *náru/suru* (§9.1.11)—unlike most of the predicable adverbs: ... *móo zyúu-nen máe desita né*.—*Sonna ní wa narimasén yó* '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 ni 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 ni náru* will only have the mutative meaning 'gets to be (becomes) such'; and *Sonna ni nómu* '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 *nómu* 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) *hyónna* 'strange, awkward' < *hén na*; *ironná* 'various' < *iroiro ná* (the final accent appears only in such contexts as *Ironná no ga áru kedo* 'There are various ones but' since **ironná da* and **ironná ni* are both impossible); *méssóo-na* = *méssóo(-)* *mo ná* 'absurd'.

(2b) *kono* 'this', *sono* 'that', *ano* and literary *káno* 'that (remote)', *dóno* 'what'.⁵⁹ These are to be distinguished from *kore nó* etc. either as possessive nominals 'of this one' (< *kore ni/ga áru* §3.11.2) or as adnominalizations of *kore dá* '(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 *káno* is sometimes used in modern Japanese to mean 'that well-known' or 'THE': *káno yuumei na Doobaa-sóoru 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' (*hontoo no*);⁶⁰ *tóo-no* 'the said ..., the ... at issue (or under consideration)'—cf. *réi no* 'the ... in question; the usual/customary ...' < *réi da*; *syóhan-no* 'all (and sundry), the various'; *kison-no* 'existing'; *tén'yo-no* 'heavensent', *saiai-no* (*ko*) 'most beloved (child)'—binoms of Chinese origin; *íkuta-no* 'numerous, various'; *kúdan-no* 'the aforesaid; the usual' < *kudari* 'item in a series' < *kudari* 'procession < going down'; *tott[e]oki-no* 'reserved, spare' < infinitive of *tótte oku* 'reserves'; [literary] *nokon-no* (*yuki*) 'the remaining (snow)' < *nokorí* 'remainder' < *nokóri* 'remain'; *moyori-no* 'adjacent, nearby, the nearest' < *mo* 'most' + *yori* 'approach'; *nága-no* 'long, for ever' (from the adjective *nága-* 'be long'); *áka-no* (*tanin*) 'an utter (stranger)' (from *áka* 'red', cf. *áka-tyan* 'baby'); *zúbu-no* 'out-and-out, utter, rank' (as in *zúbu-no siróoto* 'a rank amateur')—from a slang adverb, perhaps to be connected with *zubári*; *kússi-no(-)* 'leading, prominent' (from an otherwise unused Chinese binom 'bending fingers [to count]'). But *sin* no '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 tómó* → *sin no tomo* 'a true friend', *sin no yamí* → *sin no yami* 'utter darkness' (often carried as a lexical entry in dictionaries). Similar are *múhi/múni* no 'peerless' (as in *múni no sin'yuu* 'one's best friend'), *kissui* no 'pure', and *syussyoku* no 'prominent, excellent' (Tk 4.216a); but the predicative forms are little used, particularly (?*) *múni da*, though we find *Múni mo múni* ㄝㄉㄝㄝ, *tatta hitóri no sin'yuu dátta* 'Best of best, he was my one and only friend'. (For the emphatic iterative with *mó*, see p. 758.) Perhaps we should also add *náke-nasi(-)* no (*kane/tié*) 'what little (money/wisdom) one

59. Before *t*, *d*, or *n* the final *o* may drop, especially in *sono*: *son[o] tókí* 'at that time', *son[o] náka* 'in the midst of that'. The literary version of *dóno* is *izure no*. For reasons of accent we treat *anó-ko* (*sonó-ko*, *konó-ko*) and *anó-hito* (*sonó-hito*, *konó-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 mizikái zikan* 'but a brief time', *hon-no tumaránai monó* 'merely a worthless thing'; *Sore kara, hon-no ma-mo-nái kotó de atta* 'After that it was only a short time' (Fn 61a). Cf. *hon-no o-sirusi désu kedo* 'this is a mere token, but [my thanks go with it]'.

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 ... ̀kitté-no N 'the most N of all ...' (§2.4). The word arikitari '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+ no 'one which is' to a single nó: Arikitari nó wa irimasén 'I don't want an ordinary one' (=Arikitari no monó wa irimasén) but not *tóo-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. Mízu-sirazu no tanin 'an utter stranger' contains an adnominalized precopular noun (mízu-sirazu da kara ...). Other words which seem to be usually or exclusively adnominalized (with nó) include umi no (háha) '(mother) of birth, real (mother)', hitókado no (zínbutu) '(a personage) of consequence; considerable; competent', moromoro no (túmi) 'all sorts of, a catalog of (crimes)', yubiorí(̀) no = kússi-no(̀) 'leading, prominent', yuusuu no 'foremost', enrai no (otó/kyaku) '(a sound/guest) from afar', kóoko no (réi/aité) 'a likely (example/partner), an excellent', hatú no (syusya) 'the first (to report to the office)'; ití-ru no (nozomí(̀)) 'a ray of (hope)', ik-kiku no 'a scoop (hand-dip) of ...' (~ námida 'a few tears'), ik-kai no (búnsi) 'a mere/miserable/poor (scribbler)', iti-matu no (huan/kemuri) 'a touch/tinge of (uneasiness/smoke)'; dái no (otokó) 'a full-sized (man = a grown man)'; syáhan no (zizyoo/mondai) 'such (circumstances/problems)' [literary]; zenpuku no (sínrai) 'fullest/utmost (confidence)' (but there is also zenpuku-teki ni 'fully'), sasyoo no 'petty' (but also sasyoo dé wa, sasyoo nágara); misou no (dekígótó) 'unprecedented (event)'; mi-sósiki 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 dekíru monó de wa náí 'It is unlikely that an ordinary person could analyze it' (SA 2669.44b); Tyóttó-ya-sotto de, naóru monó de wa náí no de aru '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 kakarénei siromono de áru kotó wa matigái náí '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 tyotto-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 Títtó-ya-sotto de wa damé desu né 'Humdrum measures won't do, you see' (Fukuda in Ōno 1967.229).

(2d) koo iú 'this sort of', soo iú 'that sort of', aa iú 'that sort of', dóo iu '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 ... tó^[i] iu (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: koo ittá 'this sort of' (or 'said thus'), soo ittá 'that sort of' (or 'said that'), aa ittá 'that sort of' (or 'said that'), dóo itta 'what sort of' (or 'said what'); ... tó^[i] itta (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

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 usage 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 *dóo sita*, as well as for the expressions *dóo site* ‘how come = why’ and *dóo yatte* ‘how’ and perhaps ... *tó* *sité* 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) *óoki-na* (and downtown Tōkyō variant *ókki-na* = *okkii*) ‘large’ (but see p. 787 for *óoki ni* and below 3c for *óoi-naru*), *tiisa-na* (and downtown Tōkyō variant *tittya-na* = *tittyái*) ‘small’, *okási-na* ‘funny’; *í-na* ‘strange’ (though the noun *í* 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*, *tiisái*, and *okásii*; the option is normally available only if the epitheme is extruded: *óoki na hako* ‘a big box’ but not **óoki-na hazu da* ‘ought to be big’.⁶¹ (Apparently **tiisa ni* and **okási ni* never occur.) Japanese grammarians sometimes list *atátaka na* ‘warm’ and *kómaka 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 (*ataakái*, *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) *tái-sita* ‘immense, important, serious, very’, cf. adverb *tái-site*—these being the only forms of what would appear to be a defective durative-stative verb(al noun) **tai-suru* ‘looms large’; *tyotto-sita* ‘not much; fairly nice, decent, respectable’—this is a tonic since it comes from *tyot-tó* | *sitá*, cf. *tyót-to sita* ‘did it a bit (or a little while)’; *koo ittá/sitá* ‘this sort of’, *soo ittá/sitá* ‘that sort of’, *aa ittá/sitá* ‘that sort of’, *dóo itta/sita* ‘what sort of’ (see the discussion under 1a and 2d); *mótte-umareta* (*seisitu*) ‘natural-born (disposition)’; *dai-sóreta* ‘inordinate, outrageous’; *miageta* ‘admirable’; *omo-dátta* ‘principal, prominent’; *tonda* ‘surprising, extraordinary, serious’ < *tondá* ‘flown’, cf. *tondemonái* ‘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 *bakágeta* ‘foolish’, *gébita* ‘vulgar’, *akiretá* ‘disgusting’, and *kawattá* ‘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 *ugátu* ‘pierces, 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-hurus-* ‘does to the point of it getting old’ that are largely limited to use as adnominalized perfects (*V-i-hurusita* N) or as adnominalized precopular nouns derived from the infinitive (*V-i-hurusi no* N): *tukai-hurusita hude* = *tukaihurusi no hude* ‘a (well-)worn brush’, *ki-hurusita kimono* = *kihurusi no kimono* ‘(well-)worn clothing’, *haki-hurusita kutú* = *hakihurusi no kutú* ‘(well-)worn shoes’; *yomihurusi no zassi* ‘a

61. But apparently *okási-na* is somewhat freer; cf. remarks at the end of this section.

magazine well worn (from reading); ... kiki-hurúsita "Butoo é no kan'yuu" o hiitára ... 'when he played the all too familiar "Invitation to the Dance" ...' (Tk 3.281a). Kenkyusha lists both ii-hurúsita syare 'a stale joke' and ii-hurusáreta hanasí 'a timeworn story'; it also cites Mukasi kara ... to ii-hurusárete iru 'It is proverbially said that ...'.

(2ff) *sásitaru* (N + NEGATIVE) '(no) special/particular'—from the literary attributive perfect (§13.9) of *sásu* 'points to', cf. *sásite* '(not) particularly' (§13.7); ... (A literary synonym is *saséru*, the perfect-resultative of *sásu*.)

(2g) *{to-}áru* 'a certain', *sáru*₁ 'the last/past (time)', *sáru*₂ < *sá-áru* 'such; a certain'; *kakáru* 'such, this sort of' < *káku-áru*; *arayúru* (variants *araéru*, *arairu*), *ári* to *arayúru* 'all sorts of'; *{yó(-) ni}* *iwayúru* = *yó(-) ni iu* 'so-called, what is called (known as)'; *akuru* 'the next (day/morning/year)';⁶² *ataru* or *kitáru* 'the forthcoming, next' (+ date or day of week); *búkko(-) seru* ... 'the late (deceased) ...'; *saséru* = *sásitaru* (2ff).⁶³ The adnoun *áru* 'a certain' is to be distinguished from its source *áru* 'exists', as can be seen from the following pairs of sentences: *Áru kotó ga wakátta* 'I understood a certain thing' ≠ *Áru {to iu} kotó ga wakátta* 'I realized that it exists'; *Áru kotó ni ki ga tukimásita* 'I noticed a certain thing' ≠ [*Ginkoo no o-kane ga*] *áru kotó ni ki ga tukimásita* 'I noticed that there was [money in the bank]'. And *sáru* is to be distinguished from its source, the verb *sáru* 'departs' as in [*yó(-) o*] *sáru hí* 'the day one departs (this earth)'. For *tán naru* 'a plain, a mere ...', literary equivalent of *táda no*, see §13.7.(4). The adnominalized form of the subjective copula *táru* (< *tó áru*) can, like the objective copula (for which the adnominalized forms are literary *náru*, colloquial *de áru* or *nó*), connect two nouns in much the same way as ... *tó iu*: ... *Nihón no kindai-syóosetu no syuryuu táru si-syóosetu ya sinkyoo-syóosetu o mitomenai* 'does not recognize the first-person novels and psychological novels that are the mainstream of modern Japanese fiction' (SA 2685.105b). The expression *nán taru* = *nán to iu* 'what (sort of) a ...!' may express disapproval as in *Nán taru kakkoo dá, tó máyu o sikaméru(-) kotó wa náí* 'There's no need to knit your brows and think "What an awful appearance!" (SA 2684.119c). But in *nán taru ka* = *náni de aru ka*, the expected meaning obtains; an example is on p. 1002.

(2gg) *yama-násu* 'mountain-high, a mountain of (work etc.)'—from *yamá o násu* 'forms a mountain'.

(2h) *hoka-naránu* 'none other than, nothing but'—as in *Hoka-naránu anáta no kotó da kara, dekíru -daké no kotó wa itasimasyóo* 'Seeing it has to do with none other than you, I will do what I can'—equivalent to *hoka dé mo náí*; *toki-naránu* 'unseasonable, inopportune; sudden, unexpected'; *mama-naránu* 'not to one's wishes, unsatisfactory'; *muri-karánu* 'natural, not unreasonable'; *aránu* 'different, wrong; false; unexpected'; *sa-aránu* (*téi de*) '(with an) unconcerned (air)'; *tukánu* (*kotó*) 'abrupt (event)'. Here too probably we should list *omowánu* 'unexpected'—as in ... *omowánu Pári no kyuzitu o tanosinda* 'enjoyed an unexpected holiday in Paris' (SA 2663.101a), *iranu* 'unneeded, unnecessary', *ukanu* (*kao/omómoti(-)*) 'gloomy (face/countenance)' < 'not

62. But the following are often listed as lexical entries: *akuru-ása* 'next morning', *akuru-hi(-)* 'next day', *akuru-tosi* 'next year'. Only the last clearly requires (for reasons of accentuation) to be treated as a lexical unit. In *akuru sángatu tooka* 'the coming 10th of March' the word is obviously serving as an adnoun.

63. And with these perfect-resultative attributives (§9.6) perhaps also the idiomatic *íki to si* | *ikéru monó* 'everything alive' (in which the first part displays a literary use of the emphatic particle *si*).

floating'; kázu-naranu 'insignificant'—as in kázu-naranu mi nágara 'humble though this body be (= though I am)'; yokaránu 'bad, evil'—as in yokaránu kotó o site kíta yátu da 'is a guy who has been up to no good' (Tk 2.288b); kázu-sirenu 'innumerable'; And perhaps so-siránu kao = sosiranu-kao 'feigned ignorance'; so-siránu hurí o site 'feigning ignorance' (Takeda 1970.70). The epithet hitokata-naránu—as in Kaisya to sité wa, hitokata-naránu tikará(̄) no ire-yoo da 'It is an unusual effort for a company to put in' (SA 2665.18b)—is paired with the adverb hitokata-nárazu 'exceedingly, unusually'. And naminami naránu ... dá 'is an extraordinary ...' can be paraphrased as naminami no ... zya náí: Naminami naránu syúunen(̄) da 'It is an extraordinary tenacity' = Naminami no syúunen(̄) dé wa náí 'It is no ordinary tenacity (of purpose)'.

(2i) háe-áru 'glorious' < háé [ga] áru with an otherwise unused noun háé 'glory' derived from the intransitive infinitive háé 'shining'.

(2j) náki 'the deceased ..., the late ...'; yangoto-náki 'noble, august' < yamu kotó [ga] ná-si 'it is never-ending'—as in ... káno-zyo ga sáru yangoto-náki suzyoo no musumé de aru kotó 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 matá(-) > mattá(-) 'perfect, complete' has the attributive form matta-ki and that is used as a fixed epithet in the colloquial language. The infinitive matta-kú is also used, but only as an adverb 'completely'. In its Kansai abbreviated form matta-'u (matta-[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 Mattóo(-) na íryoo(-) no bízyon wa ... 'The vision of complete medical care ...' (SA 2664.30e).

(2jj) aru-máziki/-mazii 'unbecoming, unlikely'—see §8.6.

(2k) wá-ga 'our', literary genitive from the old pronoun wa[nu] = wa-re = wata{ku}si; óno-ga 'one's own' (= zibun no), literary genitive from óno = ono-re 'oneself', as in Óno-ga mimi o utagatta 'She doubted her own ears' (Fn 352b). The literary sizu-ga 'humble, lowly' (~ ya 'a hovel', ~ husé-ya 'a humble cottage') is treated as a prefix by Hamako Chaplin, who accentuates the two occurrences as compound nouns: sizugá-ya, sizugahusé-ya.

(3) Distributionally limited adjectival nouns:

(3a) adverbial + tó, adnominal + táru < tó^[r] áru (= tó^[r] sita): doodóo(-) 'imposing', kakusyaku 'hale, hearty', kookotu 'being enraptured', kooryoo 'bleak', menmén(-) 'un-ceasing', santán(-) 'tragic, horrible', sassoo 'gallant', tootoo 'copious, fluent', yuuyuu 'deliberate', These SUBJECTIVE adjectival nouns (with tó, tári/táru) are more common in the literary language; the colloquial prefers the OBJECTIVE adjectival nouns (with ní, dá/ná—literary ní, nári/náru). 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 tári in the literary equivalents: Táidoo mo doodóo(-), syuumoku o atúmeta súgata mo sassoo 'Not only is his attitude impressive but his attention-drawing figure is dashing, too'. We might regard this as the result of ellipsis, with ... tó^[r] site (iru) dropping. Notice also syú in syú(-)táru, a literary equivalent of ómo na 'main', and in syú(-)tó site 'mainly'.

(3b) adnominal + táru only: sái 'utmost, extreme'; byóo (taru iti-syóotoo) 'a tiny (speck of an island)'; zyun-zen 'pure, sheer, out-and-out'; káku 'reliable, certain'—as in Yoo-súru ni Yúnku mo, káku taru hoohóo-ron o mótte inai 'In short, Jungk [sic] himself has no reliable methodology' (SA 2677.158c);

At least some of the *táru* words can underlie a pseudo-literary causative that is limited to use as an attributive: *tarasimé-ru*. The causative is "pseudo"-literary because the genuine literary attributive form would be *tarasim-úru*, as we have noted elsewhere. An example is *kookotu(-)tarasiméru* 'enrapturing'.⁶⁴ But as the following example shows, *tarasiméru* is also used with regular nouns, functioning as a causative for the subjective copula—notice the quotation marks: *Otokó o "dánsi" tarasiméru monó ...* 'What makes a man into a "gentleman" ...' (SA 2642.104a). And, in this use, forms other than the attributive also occur: ... *Kyōto o site Nihón no búnka no tyuusin tarasiménakya ikan* 'we must make Kyōto the center of Japan's culture' (Tk 2.310a).

(3c) One word is uniquely adnominal + literary attributive *náru* only: *óoi(-)* 'large, great' as in *óoi-naru gimon* 'a great doubt' (SA 2672.127b), *mattakú^[1]óoi-naru "gosan"* 'a perfectly huge "miscalculation"' (SA 2680.116e). This derives from *óo[k]i* as in *óoki-na* (2e above) and *óo[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) *kánete* (no), etc.; (5) *métta na/ni*, etc.

There are also a few pseudo adnouns. Most of these are Chinese prefixes like *sín(-)* 'new' and *kyúu(-)* '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: *kyúu | syokumín-ti zídai* 'the old colonial period', cf. *kyuu-syokumínti zídai* 'the old-colony period'; *sín | kénpoo zídai* 'the new era of the constitution', cf. *sin-kénpoo zídai* 'the era of the new constitution'. These are special cases of derived phrases, similar to the pseudo postnouns such as *-tai* 'versus; by [a score of] ... to ...', *-ken* 'additionally', titles, and the like. A representative list of pseudo adnouns:⁶⁶

Béi(-) 'America(n)': *Béi Karihworunia-dáigaku no gakusei-demo-tai ga ...* 'student demonstrators at the University of California in America' (SA 2670.137a); ...

dái(-) 'number; -th': *dái | sánzyuu | sán-ka* 'Lesson 33'; *dái | ní-zi-teki ni narimáshu* '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 precopular?) noun by Ariyoshi Sawako in the title of her recent book *Kookotu no Hitó* 'The Ecstatic One', which has given this word current vogue as a euphemism for 'senile'; cf. *kookotu-róozin* '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: *káku | kokumin || káku || mínzoku no [|] aida ni* 'between each people, between each—race, ...'. The lack of juncture after *mei-* 'famous' indicates that it is a prefix: *mei-tóosyuu* 'famous pitcher', *mei-kyóozyuu* 'famous professor', *mei-tenooru-kásyuu* 'famous tenor singer' (Tk 3.188a).

66. The following items are sometimes treated as pseudo adnouns, but more often they are attached as prefixes: *hán(-)* 'anti-', *hí(-)* 'un-, non-', *tyóo(-)* 'ultra-, super-, sur-', *zén(-)* 'all-, pan-'. An example: *hán | kigyoo-teki na (|) undoo to iu monó ga ...* 'an anti-business movement' (R). Before an atonic nominal sometimes the juncture will drop, leaving behind the initial accent: *hí † | † ningen-teki na | kanri-syákai ga || ...* 'the un-humanlike managerial society' (R); this can also be said as *hiningenteki na*.

When a simple numeral follows, it loses its accent, forming a syntactic reduction that we will write with a hyphen: *dái-yon* | *hyoogá-ki* ni wa 'in the fourth glacial period' (R).

dóo(-) 'the said, the same': *dóo* | *súzi* ni yoru to 'according to the same sources' (R).

gén(-) 'the present': *gén* minamibetonamu-*séihu* wa 'the present South Vietnamese government' (minami-Bétonamu 'South Vietnam' + *séihu* 'government', minami 'south' + Bétonamu 'Vietnam');

hóo(-) 'square': *hóo* | *sanzyuu-máiru* '30 square miles', *hóo* | *zyúu-ri* '10 square ri';

káku(-) 'each': *káku* | *teeburu* ni 'on every table' (Tk 2.96a); *káku* | *kakuryoo* 'each minister of the cabinet'; *káku* | *ménbaa* 'each member' (R); *káku* | *bún'ya* *góto* ni 'in every field' (K 1966.209); *Nihón* *zyuu* no || *káku* | *hoomén* no | *senmon-ka* || *yáku* || *yonsen-nin* || ... 'about four thousand specialists from all parts of Japan' (R); *kaku* | *tihoo-tihoo* no | *zituzyoo* 'actual conditions in each of the localities' (R);

kín(-) 'a sum of; in money': *kín* | *gozyúu-en* 'a sum of fifty yen';

kó(-) 'the late, deceased' (= *kózin* no): *kó* Kobayasi Yosihiko sensei 'the late Dr Yoshihiko Kobayashi'.

?*mán(-)* 'fully': *Okosan* wa o-*ikutu désu ka*.—*Mán* hutatú *desu* 'How old is your child?—Two full years' (Tk 2.98a). But perhaps *mán* belongs with its synonym *maru* 'fully' as a prenumery adverb like *yáku* 'approximately' (see §13.7).

?*syóo(-)* 'exactly (... o'clock)': *syóo* | *hatí-zi* 'exactly eight o'clock';

Or is this a prenumery adverb?

zyún(-) 'pure' (do not confuse with *zyun-* 'semi-, quasi-'): *zyún* *Nihon-siki* no *ié* 'a pure Japanese style house' (cf. *zyun-Nihonsiki* no *ié* 'a quasi-Japanese style house'); *zyún* *naitimai* 'one-hundred percent Japan-grown rice' (cf. *zyun-naitimai* 'Japan-type rice imported from Formosa or Korea'); *zyún* *keizai-móndai* 'a purely economic question' (cf. *zyun-keizaimóndai* 'a quasi-economic question');

In some instances the pseudo adnoun might be regarded as an appositive N + N or as an Adverb + N: *kéi* 'total' (= *gookei*) as in *kéi* *hatizíp-pun* no *hoosoo* 'a total eighty minutes of broadcasting'; *myóo(-)* 'next year' (= *myoonen*) or 'tomorrow' (= *myóoniti*) as in *myóo(-)* *tooká* 'tomorrow the 10th'; *yóku(-)* 'the ensuing/next-day, season, year, etc.' as in *yóku(-)* *syóowa(-)* *sánzyuu kú-nen* no *háru* 'the ensuing spring of Shōwa 39 (= 1964);⁶⁷ *zóku* 'a sequel to; a continuation of; second series' (= *zokuhen*)—followed by the title of a book (or collection), a film, etc., as in *Zóku Sáru* no *Eisei* 'Beneath the Planet of the Apes' (SA 2688.107e—printed with a raised dot after *zóku*); *zén* 'former' as in ... *zén* *Toohoku-dai kyóozyu(-)* *Yamada Takaó-si* no ... 'by Mr Takao Yamada, former professor at Tōhoku University' (K 1966.59). A synonym⁶⁸ of the last item is *móto* 'former(ly)' as in *Níkuson móto* *huku-daitóoryoo* 'former Vice President Nixon', *Ikeda móto* *soori-dáizin* 'former Prime Minister Ikeda', *Kísi móto* *soori-dáizin* 'former Prime Minister Kishi'; this could be taken as ellipsis, *móto* [no = de aru] | N; cf. §28. Quite similar is the precopular noun *husyoo* 'incapable, unworthy' as used in formal speech to deprecate one's own name: *husyoo* [de áru] | *Sátóo Eisuke* ga ... 'unworthy I, Eisuke Satō, ...'. The word *móto* is not

67. Notice that *yóku(-)* can incorporate the time unit in its meaning: *yóku(-)* *hutuka* 'the 2d which is/was the following DAY' = *yokuzitu* no *hutuka*. *Yoku-* is a bound form (not an adnoun) in *yokuzitu* mo *yokuyokú-zitu(-)* mo 'both next day and the day after that' (Fn 71a).

68. But *zén* is more recently 'former' than *móto*, according to MKZ⁵. *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 *móto kara* 'from the first, originally', *móto wa* 'formerly, originally', *móto no yoo ni* 'as it used to be', etc. There are also a number of English elements—prefixes, titles, Japan-made truncations, epithets ("mánmosu" tyuusya-zyyo '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: ... *kookoo-sei atari wa, sonsyoo no "za" o tükete "za-huronto" to yobi-dásita* 'the high school students started calling it "The Front" with the honorific "the" attached' (SA 2686.29b). Cf. the political slogan *Sutoppu-za-Sátoo* '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. *ón | go-téinei na ...* 'the exaltedly honoredly polite ...'. There is also the pseudo prefix *óoru(-)* 'all, total(ly)' as in *sono ooru-musyozoku-giin ga ...* 'those totally unaffiliated Diet members' (Tk 4.16a).

For pseudo adnouns of a somewhat different type, resulting from obvious ellipsis, see *sasuga {no} N* (p. 788) and *iroiro {na/no} N* (p. 826). These are similar to the "un-completed" compounds of the type *dán-zyo [|] kyoogaku* 'co-education' and *dán-zyo [|] 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 {o | sureba} || sén | rokuzyuu san-nin no | siboo-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 áru* 'has N, is with N' and *N ga náí* 'lacks N, is without N' by dropping the marker *gá* and (sometimes optionally) suppressing the juncture before the predicate: *kén'i aru | súzi* 'authoritative sources' ← *kén'i ga | áru | súzi* 'sources that have authority'; *kokoro aru | sákka(-)* or *kokoro áru | sákka(-)* 'sensitive authors' (SA 2685.115d) ← *kokoro ga | áru | sákka(-)* 'authors who have heart'; *kyoomi aru | mondai* or *kyoomi áru | mondai* 'an interesting problem' ← *kyoomi ga | áru | mondai* 'a problem that has interest'; *ryoosiki áru | toná-táti* 'conscientious grownups' (SA 2685.115d) ← *ryoosiki ga [|] áru | toná-táti* 'grownups who have conscience'; *kázu aru | zí* 'numerous characters' ← *kázu ga | áru | zí* '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 *kázu ga | sukunái* 'the number are few' and *kázu ga | óói* 'the number are many' yield both the syntactic reductions *kázu sukunai/ooi* and the lexical derivatives *kazu-sukunái/-óói*.⁶⁹ These expressions compete with a casual version of the underlying sentences in which the marker *gá* 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 kóro kara, Satie to iu namae wa kázu sukunái (kázu sukunai, kazu-sukunái) 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 *ná-ki* (§13.9) are to be explained

69. The adverbialized *kázu óoku* is also said as *kazu-óoku*; but there is no **kazu-sukúnáku*, only *kázu sukúnáku*. See §9.1.

as quasi adnouns, e.g. *kóe naki kóe* 'a voice lacking voice = a silent voice' ← *kóe ga | náki | kóe* 'a voice that lacks voice' as in this example: *Símin no náka no kóe naki kóe o wasureté wa ikemasén* '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.

Adnouns 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 adnoun from the noun it modifies, but the juncture may drop in set phrases, which sometimes sound as if they were single lexical items: *wá-ga kuni* 'our country' (*wágakuni*), *wá-ga tomo* 'my/our friend' (*wágatomo*), *wá-ga syá* 'our company, our newspaper' (*wágaşya*), *wá-ga too* 'our party' (*wágatoo*), *wá-ga gún* 'our army' (*wágagun*), ...; *áru hi* no *ko^[r]tó* 'one day' (*áruhinokoto*); ...

Although the appropriate place for an adnoun 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 adnoun 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 adnouns, provided their meanings are not in conflict; an example is *onazi kono Sinbírúsuku* ... 'this same Simbirsk' (SA 2685.137b), which in Japanese is readily reversible to *kono onazi* though the English order is fixed.

Certain adnouns 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 adnoun to modify certain of the postadnominals that serve as summational or transitional epithemes. I have made a rough check on acceptable combinations of adnoun + *nó* (*wa*), *ko^{tó} wa*, *wáke wa*, *hazu da*, *tumori da*, *yóo da*, *hóo ga*, and *tamé*. (It should be borne in mind that all except *hazu*, *yóo*, and *hóo* can also serve as extruded epithemes, and that is the way *nó* is here taken.) Adnouns such as *sonná*, *onazi*, *ironná*, *sono*, *soo iú/ittá* (those of classes 1a-b, 2a-d) freely modify the postadnominals mentioned, with the following exceptions: **sono nó wa* is rejected, as are **ironna hóo ga* and **ironna tamé*. The adnouns of Type 2c (*hon-no*, *kúdan-no*, *moyori-no*, etc.) will not modify any postadnominal; *kúdan-no ko^{tó}* 'the said matter' contains the ordinary noun *ko^{tó}*. *Okási-na* and *tái-sita* are quite free (occurring before *yóo da*, *nó wa*, etc.), but **tái-sita hazu/tumori da* are rejected, as are **tái-sita hóo ga* and **tái-sita tamé*. *Tonda*, *tatta*, *arayúru*, and *iwayúru* 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-naránu no wa*, *muri-karánu no wa*, *sái-taru no wa*, and perhaps *ooi-náru no wa*; *hazu dá* and *yóo da* are permitted after *hoka-naránu*, *muri-karánu*, *aru-mázi[k]i*, *sái-taru*, and *zyunzen-táru*. (As ordinary nouns *ko^{tó}* and *wáke* occur with all of these as well as with a few of the other, more highly restricted adnouns.) Most of the adnouns can modify conjoined noun phrases (*onazi háha 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 adnouns will surprisingly permit modification or carry adjuncts, as remarked in *Kōgo-bumpō no mondai-ten* (175): *karada no zitú ni óoki-na hitó* 'a person truly large of

body', hitogoto ní mo aránu kotó 'an affair unexpected even of others', riron-teki ni arayúru gensyoo 'phenomena of theoretically all kinds'. The example *karada ga óoki-na sóo da* (id. 178) is a shortening of *óoki-na {no da} sóo da* if used at all, and (?)*karada no óoki-na no ni* (ibid.) seems strange even as a shortening of *karada no óoki-na {no ná} no ni*. A few adnouns can be modified by adverbs: ... *kinóo to mattaku^[1] onazi sùgata de kao o dásita* '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-dóosi* '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. *Téinei* as an adjectival noun means 'polite' and as a pure noun means 'politeness', roughly equivalent to *téinei-sa*—as in *Téinei ga dáiti* 'Politeness first', *Téinei mo taisetú* 'Politeness is important (too)', *Téinei o mamóre* 'Observe politeness', so that *téinei ni sugíru* 'exceeds in politeness' means much the same as *teinei-sugíru* 'is overly polite'.

In Literary Japanese the adjectival nouns are divided into two classes, according to whether the appropriate predicator is the OBJECTIVE copula *nári = ní^[1]ári* 'it is' or the SUBJECTIVE copula *tári = tó^[1]ári* '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 *tó*) 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 *suguréru* 'excels'—see §3.12); these phrases typically appear as the predicative AN *tó site iru* or as the adnominal AN *tó sita N* (with the semantically "empty" perfect), but you will also find the adverbialized AN *tó site^[1]*, sometimes equivalent to simple AN *tó*, and occasionally other forms will turn up. A number of the subjective adjectival nouns occur in the adnominal form AN *táru N*, as if forming phrasal adnouns; usually these can be paraphrased less stiffly as AN *tó sita N*.⁷¹

70. But a few adjectival nouns (such as *yóo* and *mítai*) 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 *tó site iru* and AN *tó sita^[1]*: *kakkoo wa ryúu to site iru* 'the looks are fashionable', *ryúu to sita* (**ryúu taru*) *kakkoo* 'fashionable looks'. And *gán* 'stubborn' appears only in the form *gán to site* 'stubbornly'; cf. *gán-ko*, an objective adjectival noun 'stubborn' and an abstract noun 'stubbornness'. *Yóo to site* 'dim(ly); not at all'—as in *Yóo to site yukue ga sirenai* 'Nothing much is known of his whereabouts'—is from a bound Chinese subjectival AN which lacks the *táru* form.

And you may run across the causative *tarasiméru* as in *a-zen tarasiméru* 'dumbfounds, takes one aback' and *kookotu tarasiméru* '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 riéki* 'petty profits' (SA 2681.26c); *ii* 'easy' (do not confuse with *ii* = *yói* 'is good' > V-i-ii = V-i-yasúi 'is easy to V')—*ii taru kotó* 'an easy matter'; *kúku* 'various; petty, trivial'; *sása* 'trivial'; *títí* 'tardy'; *doodóo*(-) 'splendid'—*doodóo*(-) *táru taikaku* 'a splendid physique', *doodóo*(-) *to susumu* 'advances grandly'; *moomóo*(-) 'thick, dense, murky'; *tootoo* 'eloquent'—*tootoo to hanásu* 'speaks eloquently'; *yuuyuu* 'deliberate'; *keikéi*(-) 'penetrating, glaring'; *aiái*(-) 'harmonious'; *in'in*(-)₁ 'boundless'; *in'in*(-)₂ 'lonely'; *manmán*(-)₁ 'boundless'; *manmán*(-)₂ 'brimming full'—Kenkyusha's examples with *dá* are perhaps to be explained as propredication *manmán*(-) {to site *irú no* } *da*; *tantan*₁ 'indifferent, disinterested; plain, light'; *tantan*₂ 'level, peaceful'; *tantan*₃ 'overflowing, brimming'; *sinsin*₁ 'brimming'—*Kyóomí sinsin táru monó ga áru* 'There are things full of interest' (Tk 2.309b); *sinsin*₂ 'deep'; *sinsin*₃ 'rapid'; *menmén*(-) 'unceasing'; *konkon*₁ 'earnest(ly), repeated(ly), serious(ly)'; *konkon*₂ 'sound asleep, unconscious'; *konkon*₃ '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 **sessetu* 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'; *sassoo* '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 táru kimoti ni nátta né* 'I got to feeling really gloomy, you see' (Tk 2.102a); *kenran* 'dazzling, gorgeous, brilliant'—*kenran táru misemónó no aida ni* 'among the dazzling shows' (Tk 4.67a); *haturatu* 'lively, perky'; *kakusyaku* 'hale, hearty'; *sekibaku* 'lonely, desolate' (also abstract noun 'desolateness').

(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 táru hyoozyóo*(-) *de udegúmi site ita* 'The securities men had their arms folded with an air of dejection' (SA 2679.27); *ki-zen*₁ 'dauntless'; *ki-zen*₂ '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 *honnen* 'natural, innate'); *an-zen* 'gloomy, doleful'; *kan-zen* 'bold' (also pure adverb = *kan-zen to* {site} 'boldly'); *san-zen* 'radiant'; *ketu-zen* 'resolute, determined'—*ketu-zen táru táido* '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'.^{71a} *Hitu-zen* 'inevitable' is a precopular noun: *hitu-zen no kotó* 'an inevitable event', *hitu-zen ni*

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 ... ˉzén 'like' attached as a kind of postnoun or pseudo restrictive: táika ˉzén = taika-zén 'like a great family; like an illustrious master'; gakusya ˉzén = gakusya-zén 'like a scholar'; sínsi ˉzén = sínsi-zén 'like a gentleman'. Notice that in the following example the postnoun is to be taken with the entire phrase: ... "táike no go-reízoo(ˉ)" ˉzén to site ite, ... 'she has the appearance of a "daughter of a wealthy family"' (SA 2673.152). In pronunciation, however, the word ˉzén is attached directly to the noun (= goreizoozén), which is preceded by a minor juncture. Another example: ... iká-ni mo, ído no náka no kaeru ˉzén to, ki-mama ni kurasite iru 'chooses to live very much like a frog in a well' (SA 2831.96b). In ... kogane dé mo kasite iru go-inkyo-sámá ˉzén 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 ˉzén. A similar example: ... Ákiko no yóo^(ˉ) na syokugyoo-húzin ˉzén to sita táipu de wa nákat^(ˉ)ta 'she was not the type of "very much the business woman" like Akiko' (Ariyoshi 220).

(6) A few Chinese loanwords that carry the Chinese suffix -ko '-like': kák-ko 'firm, resolute'; róo-ko 'steadfast'; zyún-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-Sinophilic.

(7) Mimetic and quasi-mimetic words of Japanese origin such as tyan-tó 'tidy, in good condition, perfect(ly)' etc.; see §21.7.

Sometimes two subjective adjectival nouns will be directly conjoined. Thus kuukúu(ˉ) 'vacant(-minded)' can be directly followed by zyaku-zyaku 'silent' to form the phrase kuukúu(ˉ) zyaku-zyaku 'absent-minded' and by baku-baku 'vast' to form the phrase kuukúu(ˉ) baku-baku 'vast and vacant'. Similar phrases are kúku 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 seisei(ˉ) doodóo(ˉ) 'fair and square'. Each of these phrases contains an underlying minor juncture but this will be suppressed if the first word is atonic. In ... heihei bonbon táru || hutuu no | onná de atta 'she was a plain and ordinary woman' (R) we find an expression roughly equivalent to the simple heibon na 'ordinary'.

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-néndai" "'The Splendid Seventies'" (SA 2660.42 heading); ... "sízuka naru 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 né' ... 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 náí, and this can be freely adnominalized: sízuka de/zya náí 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: Kírei! 'Pretty!'; Yáa, mígoto! 'Bravo!' (Hozaka 295). This is simple ellipsis of dá. Hayashi 76 observes that an adjectival noun can appear as an exclamation also in adnominal and adverbial form, giving the examples Sitúrei na! 'How rude!' and Kawaisóo ni! 'Pitiful!' That will explain this example: Maa, kyuu na 'Well, that's sudden!' (Fn 400b).

But we must assume ellipsis [da] ná (= né) for Nán taru sitúrei ná 'What discourtesy!' since sitúrei, with its adnominal modification, is functioning as a pure noun; we must assume the ellipsis also for ... kínzyo no inú yori tuyói no da sóo ná 'is stronger than the neighborhood dog, they say' (Fn 474a) since S sóo da does not normally adnominalize. Cf. the use of the adjective base as an exclamation (§ 9.1): Oo kówa! 'Oh frightful!' (Fn 54a).

(2) Optional ellipsis of some copula form such as dé or nára in certain sentence joinings such as N₁ mo AN {nara} N₂ mo AN dá: Kore mo kirei {nara}, sore mo kirei da 'This is pretty and so is that'; Udé mo tassya {nara} kangáe mo tásika da 'I am both strong of arm and sure of thought' (Hozaka 295).

(3) Obligatory or optional ellipsis of dá in certain sentence conversions (as with pure nouns): Tásika rasií 'It appears to be sure'; Tásika sá! 'It's sure, I tell you'; Tásika {da} né 'It's sure, you see'; Tásika {da} ka 'Is it sure?'; Tásika {da} ka sira 'I wonder if it's sure'. Tásika {da} yara 'I wonder if it's sure'. Tásika {da} yó 'Mind you, it's sure'.

(4) Optional ellipsis of ná before -dókoró: Sízuka {na} -dókoró 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 kusó/hetima/hé mo náí (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 kusó mo ári wa simasén 'This is a far cry from "phonetic" [writing]' (Fukuda in Ōno 1967.187).

(6) Ellipsis of dá with certain uses of quotation:

(6a) AN [da] to iéba 'as for being AN': Seitoo-teki to iéba ... 'As for being legitimate ...' (SA 2671.98d).

(6b) AN₁ [da] to iéba AN₁ na N: see § 21.1.(19).

(6c) AN {da} to itté mo 'even being AN': Sízuka to itté mo ... 'Even if it's quiet ...' (Shibata 1965.190).

(6d) AN {da} to iu kotó wa $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{motíron desu (ga)} \\ \text{iu máde mo náí (ga)} \end{array} \right\}$ 'Of course it is AN₁ (but)'.

(7) Paratactic conjoining of two adjectival nouns (cf. §2.8) AN₁ [dé] AN₂ dá— usually adnominalized to ná or adverbialized to ní:⁷² ... yuumoo kákan(¯) na toósi 'a brave and daring warrior' (Tk 2.203a); ... seikaku kanmei na hyoogén(¯) 'precise succinct expressions' (Ōno 1967.266); ... kikái-teki, goori-teki na kámera to hwírumu no genkai ni tyoosen suru 'defies the mechanical, rational limits of camera and film' (SA 2666.86a); ... tyuusyo-teki, zusiki-teki ni ... 'abstractly, (and) diagrammatically'; ... oogara [dé], zyuukoo [dé], seiren na tokoró mo dénka to wa kánari 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 zyooyoo {dé} heii na mózi 'easy characters in common use' (Ōno 1967.271) the first element is a precopular noun (zyooyoo no mózi 'characters in common use'). This construction is the origin of kíkai-kaikai, as in ~ na sibai 'a fantastic play' (Tk 2.331a), the second element being a variant of kíkái 'weird' that does not otherwise occur.

(8) Like the preceding, but with a conjunction (kátu 'and', arúi-wa 'or', ...?): Izure mo taihen hukuzatu [dé] kátu kónnan de, sono ué tagai ni irikúnda mondai de áru 'They are all problems that are very complicated and difficult, and moreover are intertwined with one another' (SA 2673.97c). But ... gaibu-teki arúi-wa naibu-teki na gen'in de ... 'from external or internal causes' (Kotoba no yurai 204a) must be from gaibu-teki [[dá] ka] or from gaibu-teki [ná]; the latter turns up in the example ... sei-teki na, arúi-wa zankoku na bámen(¯) ... 'scenes of sex or violence' (Nagano 1968.165).

(8a) Paratactic conjoining of an adjectival noun with an adverb AN [ní] Adv [tó]: Kírei sappári {to} wasureta 'I clean forgot completely'. Are there other examples, or should we treat kírei sappári {to} as an idiom?

(9) Directly adnominal, like an adnoun, through optional ellipsis of ná:⁷³

(9a) followed by any noun: ... syoosai na gizyutu-teki {na} déeta o happyoo suru kotó wa ... 'publishing detailed technical data' (SA 2678.136c).

(9b) followed by the adverbialized postadnominal daké ni: ... attoo-teki {na} daké 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] situgyóo-sya 'hidden and seasonal unemployed' (R).

(10) Emphatic iterations with ellipsis of [na kotó]:

(10a) AN₁ mo AN₁ {dá} 'is really AN' ← AN₁ [na kotó] mo AN₁ dá: Hadé mo hadé {da} 'It is terribly gaudy'.

72. In some examples a more elaborate ellipsis may be indicated: ... syakai-teki, seizi-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]] seizi-teki na kankei. And what is omitted in tyokusetu [] kasetu ni 'directly or indirectly' must be máta-wa 'or else', ká 'or', or possibly óyobi '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 Gán-ko [] no nán no tté 'What's all this stubbornness?'; see §14.2.3.

(10b) An extended version AN₁ mo AN₁ [de], INTENSIFIER (taihen or zúibun or hizyoo ni) AN₁ dá: Hadé mo hadé^[f] hizyoo ni hadé da 'Gaudy, it's really gaudy!' (Similar examples can be constructed with byooki, wázuka, takusan, sukósi, ...)

(10c) AN₁ wa AN₁ dá (ga) 'is AN all right (but)' ← AN₁ [na kotó] wa AN₁ dá: Hadé wa hadé desu ga ... 'It's gaudy all right, but ...'; Kono hen wa sízuka wa sízuka da ga, húben na tokoró da 'It's quiet around here, all right, but it is an inconvenient location'; Kinodókú wa kinodókú desu kedo 'Sad it is, to be sure, but ...'.

(11) AN₁ to itte kore ̄izyoo no AN₁ wa náí 'is the most AN possible': Tanzyun to itte kore ̄izyoo no tanzyun wa náku, ... 'Nothing could be simpler (than this), and ...' (Maeda 1962.98).

(12) Quasi-appositional uses (cf. §25):

(12a) AN | sono-mónó da 'is AN itself, is the quintessence of AN': "Gendáihan ukiyo-búro" wa, hissóri to sízuka sono-mónó da 'This "Modern Edition of the Sensual Baths" is hush personified' (SA).

(12b) AN | kono-ue-[mo]-náí 'is most AN, is the most AN in the world': ... gehín kono-ue-mo-náí gó ... 'the most vulgar of words' (Maeda 1962.98); Kawatta kotó áreba, kékkoo kono-ue-mo-náí kotó de, go-dookei no itarí(̄) de áru 'If they HAVE changed, it's simply splendid, and I offer my hearty congratulations' (Id. 104); ... syóonin ni tótte wa mattakú húziyuu kono-ue-mo-náí sékái de atta wáke desu 'for the merchant it was the most uncomfortable world imaginable, you see' (R).

(12c) AN | kiwamari náí 'is ever so AN; is AN no end (is no-end AN)': Sono kotoba-zúkai ga yúubi kiwamari náku, téinei kono-ue-mo-nákute ... 'Their use of language is of the utmost elegance and the highest courtesy' (Maeda 1962.169); ... o-sómatu kiwamari náí monó de ... 'being something ever so plain/coarse' (SA 2664.25b); Hinzyaku kiwamari náí ié ni súde iru 'I am living in a house that is ever so poor'; Sitúrei kiwamari náí yátu da 'He is the rudest so-and-so in the world'; Hukuzatu kiwamari náí kikái da 'It is the most complicated machine you can think of'; Karei kiwamari náí tatémóno da 'It is the most splendid building imaginable'.

I assume that this construction derives from something like AN [ná no ni] kiwamari [ga] náí 'The (being) AN lacks any extremity'. An alternative view might assume AN [dé] kiwamari [ga] náí 'It is AN and it lacks a limit'.

(13) AN | kiwamáru 'is AN in the extreme; is extremely AN': Keihaku kiwamáru monó ... 'An extremely fickle person ...'; Túmari, o-kane tee yátu wa, tame-kónde ugokasánakattara mu-ími kiwamáru '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 kírei ̄zúkume no ... zidái-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 kírei ̄zúkume = kirei-zúkume is a unique lexical item that should be entered in the dictionary.

The adjectival noun, like the raw adjective 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:

(1a) *-ka*: *óro-ka* 'stupid', *háru-ka* 'distant', *nódo-ka* 'tranquil', *tási-ka* 'sure', *mádo-ka* 'round; quiet', *kásu-ka* 'faint', *hóno-ka* 'vague', *ooma-ka* 'generous', *asáha-ka* 'shallow',⁷⁴ *hukúyo-ka* 'plump',⁷⁵ *niwa-ka* 'sudden',⁷⁶ *sizu-ka* 'quiet',⁷⁷ ...

(1b) *-ya-ka*: *sá-ya-ka* 'clear, bright'; *haná-ya-ka* 'showy', *hadé-ya-ka* 'flashy', *hisó-ya-ka* 'quiet, stealthy', *nigi-ya-ka* 'lively', *komá-ya-ka* 'fine, minute, deep', *nagó-ya-ka* 'congenial', *sitó-ya-ka* 'genteel', *sukó-ya-ka* 'healthy, sound', *taó-ya-ka* 'graceful', *sawá-ya-ka* 'refreshing', *hiyá-ya-ka* 'cold, cool', *siná-ya-ka* 'supple, pliant', *simé-ya-ka* 'quiet, funereal', *sasá-ya-ka* 'humble', *karú-ya-ka* 'light, easy', *yurú-ya-ka* 'loose, lenient'; *tutumasí-ya-ka* 'modest', *makotosí-ya-ka* 'spacious', ...

(1c) *-ra-ka*: *akí-ra-ka* 'obvious', *tai-rá-ka*(-) 'smooth, peaceful, pleased', *namé-ra-ka* 'smooth', *kiyó-ra-ka* 'clear', *hogá-ra-ka* 'cheerful', *yasú-ra-ka* 'restful', *nadá-ra-ka* 'gentle, smooth', *taká-ra-ka* 'loud'; *oó-ra-ka* 'magnanimous'; *tumabí-ra-ka* 'detailed', ...

(1d) *-ra*: *túbu-ra*(-) 'rotund'.

(1e) Other native or quasi-native words: *árata* 'new', *árawa*(-) 'open, public', *iki* 'stylish', *mígoto* 'splendid', *sukeébee* 'lewd, sexy', *saiwai* 'fortunate', *siawase* 'happy, lucky', *uwaki* 'fickle', *hesotya* 'comical', *itaike*(-) 'innocent, helpless, young', *kénage*(-) 'gallant', *nengoro* 'polite', *ibitu* 'warped, distorted', *mame* 'honest, diligent, healthy', *mazime* 'sincere', *hadé* 'gaudy', *matomo* 'honest', *mabara* 'sparse, sporadic', *yántya* 'naughty', *mídara*(-) 'licentious', *katakuna* 'stubborn', *yokosima* 'wicked, evil', *bukkíráboo* 'rambunctious', *iyátiko*(-) 'remarkable, miraculous', *hitamuki* 'earnest, single-minded', *tákumi*(-) 'adroit', *yatara* 'indiscriminate', *sakan* 'flourishing',⁷⁸ *sukí* 'liked',⁷⁹ *kirai* 'disliked',⁸⁰ *iyá* 'disliked, disgusting',⁸¹ *zimiti* 'honest, sober, steady',⁸² *oo-azi* 'insipid, unsubtle (in flavor)', *petyánko*(-)/*pesyánko*(-) 'flat', *hana-petya* 'flat-nosed'; *dái-suki* 'much liked', *dái-kirai* 'much disliked'; *zákku* (-) *baran* 'frank';⁸³ ...

(1f) Noun + adjective base: *izí-wáru* 'mean', *te-ara* 'harsh(-handed)', *te-mizika* 'short, brief'; *kotoba-súkuna* 'unwordy, curt' (~ *na áísatu*, ~ *ni iu*); [with *nigori*] *te-garu* 'easy, plain', *iro-ziro* 'fair-complexioned'; ...

(1g) Noun + adjectival noun: [with *nigori*] *mi-gírei* 'dapper', ...

(1h) Verb (or compound verb) infinitive: *sukí* '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 *sizu-ka* has a unique irregularity in attaching the abstract nominalization suffix *-sa*: *sizuké-sa* 'stillness'. But recently *sizuká-sa* has come into vogue—among automobile advertisers, at least. In *Sizuka no Umi* 'Sea of Tranquillity [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 *súki* 'liking'.

80. Also a noun 'dislike', both from the infinitive *kirai* 'disliking'.

81. From the interjection *iya* 'no!'; often shortened to *yá* (*na/ni*).

82. From a noun 'jog trot'.

83. Sometimes pronounced with juncture, as in this example: *Tyót-to, zákku baran na hanasí o si-sugitaimásita ga né* 'I ended up overdoing the frankness a bit' (Tk 4.212a). An example of *zákku* | *baran ni* || can be heard from the lips of a highschool girl on Tape 8b of NHK's *Anaansu Kyōshitsu*.

'negligent, slovenly', (Cf. §14.5.) But *dasinuke* 'sudden, unexpected' and *mukidasi* 'bare; frank' are usually treated as precopular nouns, adnominalizing with *nó*.

(1i) Other phrasal derivatives: *oo-gákari* 'large scale' (adjective base + *nigori* ed noun derived from verb infinitive *kakári* '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-gáwari* 'changeable', *mimi-záwari* 'jarring, discordant' (noun + *nigori* ed verb infinitive); *mimiyori* (*na hanasí*) 'welcome, encouraging (word)' (noun + verb infinitive); *hito-sáwagase* 'sensational' (noun + causative infinitive); *nen-íri*(⁻) 'scrupulous' (noun + intransitive infinitive); *kiréi-zukí*(⁻) 'tidy, neat, cleanly'; *zyoosiki-házure na seikatu ni* 'in a life removed from commonsense' (SA 2648.59c);

NOTE: The following adjectival nouns also form adjectives, as shown: *kómá-ká*, *komakái* 'fine'; *atátá-ka*, *atacakái* 'warm'; *yawa-rá-ka*, *yawarakái* 'soft'; *batu*, *batuí*(⁻) 'thick'; *teara*, *teará*(⁻) 'rough'; *hiyowa*, *hiyowái*(⁻) '(physically) weak, delicate'; *manmáru*(⁻), *manmaruí*(⁻) 'round'; *makkúro*, *makkurói* 'jet black'; *massíro*, *massirói* 'snow white'; *okási*(-)*na*, *okasíi* 'comical', *tiisa*(-)*na*, *tiisái* 'small', *óoki*(-)*na*, *ookíi* 'large'—the last three adjectival nouns are highly defective. Also found: *tebaya*, *tebayái* 'nimble',

(2) Certain sentence conversions:

(2a) *V-i-soo* 'looking/about to V'; *V-i-gé*(⁻), *A-soo/ge*, *AN-soo* '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 *yóbo-yobo* [*suru/to*] 'unsteadily, staggering'); *kona-gona* 'in(to) fragments' (from the noun *koná* 'flour, meal'); *tígu-hagu*(⁻) 'ill-assorted';

(4) Basic Chinese loanwords (and words made up in Japan of Chinese loanmorphs):

(4a) Of one morpheme: *myóo* 'odd', *kyyu* 'sudden', *kúu* 'empty', *hén* 'queer'; *rakú* 'comfortable', *gyaku* 'opposite', *toku* 'profitable', *kókú* 'harsh'; (S) *yóo* 'appearing that (S)'. (*Betu na/no* ... 'different, separate, another' is optionally adjectival or precopular noun, apparently with no difference of meaning.)

(4b) Of two morphemes: *muda* 'futile'; *ígai*(⁻) 'unexpected', *rikoo* 'clever', *zyáken* 'cruel', *góoka* 'deluxe, gorgeous', *zyoobu* 'sturdy', *onwa* 'mild', *génki* 'healthy', *rippa* 'splendid', *sísso* 'frugal'; *anzen* 'safe', *kanzen* 'perfect', *kinben* 'diligent', *kantan* 'simple', *néssín* 'zealous', *yuukan* 'brave', *bussóo* 'unsafe, unsettled'; *suteki* 'splendid'; *syoozíkí* 'honest', *meihaku* 'evident', *seimitu* 'precise, minute', *sottyoku* 'candid'; *hukuzatu* 'complicated', *gekiretu* 'violent';

(4c) Of more than two morphemes: *dai-zyóobu* 'safe, OK'; *zi-dáranku* 'slovenly'; *yuu-ígi* 'significant'; *koo-hán'i* 'extensive';

(5) Basic foreign loanwords (mostly from English); here listed by number of syllables, subordered by mora structure:

ONE SYLLABLE: none?⁸⁴

TWO SYLLABLES: *húru* 'full' (~ *ni tukau* 'uses fully'), *táhu* 'tough, rugged'; *puréen* 'plain' (or is this three syllables?);

84. Perhaps *hái* 'high = intoxicated' as in *kibun ga hái ni náttiyatte* 'feeling high, getting a high'. *Róo* '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).

THREE SYLLABLES: haikara 'fashionable' (from "high-collar"); sīnpuru 'simple', yunīiku 'unique', naīibu 'naive', sumúuzu 'smooth', huréssyu 'fresh', bibiddo (Tanigawa 123) or vividdo 'vivid' (Kotoba no uchū 1967/12.41b), pópuyuraa 'popular', tyáamingu 'charming', nánsensu 'nonsensical',

FOUR SYLLABLES: rázikaru 'radical'; yúumorasu 'humorous', dérikéeto 'delicate', puráibéeto 'private', kurásikku 'classic',

FIVE SYLLABLES: gurotésuku 'grotesque', kurásikaru 'classical', rízumikaru 'rhythmical'; hisuteríkku 'hysterical', atorándamu 'at random, random' (atorándamu ni 'randomly' SA 2670.51a), sentiméntaru 'sentimental',

(6) Words made with the suffix *-teki* '-type, -ic, -ical' (a Chinese loanmorph):

(6a) Attached to one-morpheme Chinese elements: si-teki₁ 'private', si-teki₂ 'poetic'; byoo-teki 'morbid, abnormal', doo-teki 'dynamic', koo-teki₁ 'public, official', koo-teki₂ 'ideal' (as in koo-teki na basyo 'an ideal place'), gai-teki 'external, extrinsic', nai-teki 'internal, intrinsic', tan-teki 'frank' (tan-teki ni iéba 'speaking frankly'), ryoo-teki 'quantitative', situ-teki 'qualitative' (not *sit-teki because sitú is a free noun), but-teki 'material, physical' (not *butu-teki because BUTU is a bound morpheme), sei-teki 'sexual', geki-teki 'dramatic',

(6b) Attached to two-morpheme Chinese words (usually free binoms): ito-teki 'intentional', risoo-teki 'ideal', zyosei-teki 'feminine', sekai-teki 'worldwide', kozin-teki 'individual, private', goori-teki 'rational, logical', sinpo-teki 'progressive', Nihon-teki 'Japanesey, typically Japanese'; kagaku-teki 'scientific'; genzitu-teki 'real, actual', sekkyoku-teki 'positive, constructive, progressive', syookyoku-teki 'negative, destructive, conservative'; kokusai-teki 'international';⁸⁵

(6c) Attached to a Chinese reduplicated morpheme: daidai-teki 'grand'.

(6d) Attached to native Japanese structures from various sources: heturai-teki na kotobá 'a flattering word'; kotowaza-teki na monó 'proverb-type things'; hanasikotoba-teki 'colloquial, spoken-language type'; sakigake-teki na ayumí 'a pioneering step' (SA 2662.19e)—from saki [ni] káke 'run ahead'; "tukue no ue₁ no kangae-kata"-teki de áru 'is "armchair speculation"-ish' (Y 136); Ikeda-teki na amari Ikeda-teki na Ookurá-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): Amerika-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 zinbutu 'Don Juan-type (donjuanesque) characters' (Tk 2.99b); konpyuutaa-teki na yóoso ga áru 'there are computer-like elements to it' (SA 2793.44b);

(6f) Attached to a compound noun: ... hanahada taisyuu-syoosetu-teki de áru ga ... 'it is very popular-novelish but ...' (Tk 4.41);

(6g) Attached to a phrase containing an adnoun: daí ni-zi-teki na mondai 'a secondary problem', daí 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.

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-móndai!*). We are unable to tell from the accent alone, however, that an expression such as *kokusai-teki* {*na*} *gímu* 'international obligation' is not to be taken as a compound noun *kokusaiteki*{*na*}-*gímu*, since *gímu* is prototonic to begin with; what decides the question is the parallelism with the clearcut examples. Notice that the optional ellipsis of *ná* is possible before words of native and European origin as well as before Chinese loanwords: ... *kono matí no óoki na keizai-teki sasáé(ˉ) tó mo nátte iru* 'also forms the big economic support for this town' (SA 2647.117d); ... *goiron-teki tatibá no mondai* ... 'a problem from the lexicological standpoint'. Nor does the source of the *-teki* word make any difference:

Amerika-teki {*na*} *sutáiru/bunmei* 'American-type styles/civilization';

Huransu-teki {*na*} *heasutáiru* 'French-type hairstyle';

ideorogii-teki {*na*} *sooi* 'ideological differences';

hahaoya-teki {*na*} *aizyoo* 'mother(-type) love';

monogatari-teki génzai 'the "narrative" present' (KgKbg 389.27b);

Korya, amari dansei-teki {*na*} *sinri zya ná ga né.*—*Baasan-teki sinri da ná* '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 ná | mondái-ten* 'non-economic points in question'. A pair of paratactically conjoined adjectival nouns can directly precede the modified noun: *kiso-teki zissai-teki kenkyuu* 'fundamental realistic research' (Kaneda in Ōno 1967.280)—a raised dot separates the two adjectival nouns in the text, but the noun is not set off by punctuation; *wá-ga kokumin no seisin-teki bunka-teki kósei(ˉ) o sokonáu* '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 *náru* and the negative attributive *narazáru*, which is usually preferred—for some reason—to the alternate form *naránu* that is more common after pure nouns: *keizai-teki náru mondai* to *keizai-teki narazáru mondai* 'problems that are economic and problems that are not economic'. Do not be dismayed to run across *-teki NÓ* in print; some find that form more congenial: ... *itizi-teki no deki-gotó* 'a temporary event' (Kaneda in Ōno 1967.301); ... *zinsyu-teki no henken* ... 'racial prejudice' (Tk 2.113b); ... *sono sensei wa ... sore wa zettai-teki no monó de aru* 'for that scholar ... it is something absolute' (Ōno 1967.159); ... *yappári senmon-teki no syúuren o tumanákya naránai 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 *ní* is optional: *hikaku-teki* {*ni*} *yooi ni* (or: *yasasiku*) *zikkoo sareru* 'is accomplished comparatively easily', *hikaku-teki* {*ni*} *honsitu-teki 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-rironteki* '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-góohoo* 'illegal'. But it is more common for *hi-* + NOUN to yield a noun: *hi-kumiáin* 'a non-union member', *hi-kókumin* 'a non-patriot, an unpatriotic person', *hi-sentóoin* 'a noncombatant', The verbal noun *higunzi-ka(-)* 'demilitarization' is derived from such a noun (*hi-gúnzi*), 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-tóosei* 'uncontrolled'. Cf. §8.8.

(8) Very recently, the suffix *-tikku* '-tic' has been detached from such foreignisms as *ekuzo-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); *Zúibun manga-tikku da* 'It's very cartoonish' (SA 2677.153e). Nor do Japanese hesitate to create innovative foreignisms such as *poruno-tikku* 'pornographic' (SA 2838.47a).

(9) 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-tásika* 'uncertain', *hu-tégiwa* 'clumsy', *hu-táme* 'disadvantageous', *hu-níai* 'unbecoming', *hu-mímoti* 'profligate', *hu-sídara* 'slovenly' (cf. *darasi-nái*);

(9b) To free Chinese binoms that are mostly pure nouns (abstract): *hu-kéizai* 'uneconomical', *hu-nínzyoo* 'inhuman', *hu-kéiki* 'unprosperous, dismal', *hu-kíritu* 'disorderly', *hu-kínsin* 'imprudent', *hu-tyúuzitu* 'disloyal', *hu-tókusaku* 'inexpedient', *hu-kíryoo₁* 'uncomely', *hu-kíryoo₂* 'incompetent'; *hu-néssin* 'unzealous', *hu-syóoziki* 'dishonest', *hu-yúkai* 'unpleasant'; *hu-bénkyoo* 'unstudious'; *hu-símatu* '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: *húri* 'disadvantageous', *huan* 'uneasy', *húben* 'inconvenient', *humei* 'unclear, unknown', *husei* 'unjust', *huyoo₁* 'useless', *huyoo₂* 'unused, waste',

Although most words made with the prefix *hu-* are adjectival nouns, a few are pure nouns (abstract), e.g. *hu-sánsei* '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-zóroi* 'uniform, scraggly'; (b) to a free Chinese binom: *hu-góokaku* 'disqualified', *hu-kín'itu* 'unequal, uneven', (... *ni*) *hu-ánnai* 'unfamiliar (with), ignorant (of)'; (c) to a single morpheme of Chinese origin, with the resulting precopular noun best treated as a primitive lexical item: *hudoo* 'unmovable', *hukyuu* 'immortal, imperishable', *huryoo* 'inferior, delinquent', *husin* 'faithless'; *hutei₃* 'rebellious' (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-kyóoiku* 'uneducated', *mu-ígi* 'senseless', *mu-ími* 'meaningless', *mu-zóosa* 'artless', *mu-sínkei* 'insensible', *mu-séigen* 'unrestricted, unlimited',

(10b) To a single morpheme of Chinese origin, the resulting adjectival noun being best treated as a primitive lexical item: *múri* 'unreasonable, excessive', *muhoo*

'unlawful', munoo 'incompetent', muboo 'reckless', múyoku 'free of avarice', múryoku 'powerless; incompetent',

(10c) To a native Japanese noun: múkuti 'taciturn',?

For examples of *mu-* forming precopular nouns, see §13.8.

(11) An alternant reading of *hu-* in the sense 'not being' is *bu-₁*; an alternant reading of *mu-* 'lacking' is *bu-₂*. (But, as noted below, the native orthography is unreliable on the historic identification.)

(11a) *Bu-₁* attaches to adjectival nouns to yield adjectival nouns: bu-tyóohoo 'impolite; awkward; unaccustomed (to tobacco/liquor)', bu-kíyoo 'clumsy', bu-iki 'unrefined',

(11b) *Bu-₂* attaches to abstract nouns to yield adjectival nouns: bu-énryoo 'unrestrained, unceremonious', bu-sáhoo 'ill-mannered', bú-kímí(¯) 'uncanny', bu-áísoo 'unsociable', bu-áísatu 'uncivil, impolite', bu-húuryuu 'inelegant' (since húuryuu is also an adjectival noun this word is sometimes treated as having *bu-₁*),

(11c) 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-kíryoo '(being) uncomely, (being) incompetent', bu-yóozin '(being) unsafe', bu-^S/_Záiku '(being) clumsy', bu-kákko = bú-zama(¯) '(being) unshapely, ungainly', bu-sítuke '(being) illbred',

(11d) 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', búrei '(being) rude', busyóo '(being) indolent', busúii(¯) '(being) unpolished', buryoo '(being) tedious',

(12) 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 kaiketu suru 'solves the problem' → mondai ga mi-káiketu da 'the problem is unsolved'; kenkyuu o kansei suru 'completes the research' → kenkyuu ga mi-kánsei da 'the research is incomplete'. Other examples include mi-sósiki 'unorganized', mi-kéiken 'unexperienced', mi-háitoo 'undistributed', There is at least one intransitive verbal noun that takes *mi-*: heitai ga hukuin suru 'a soldier gets demobilized' → heitai ga mi-húkúin da 'a soldier is undemobilized'. 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-seinen '(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', mikan₁ 'unpublished', mikan₂ 'incomplete', miketu 'undecided', mikon 'unmarried', míman 'not exceeding', mímei(¯) {ni} '(while) not yet light', minoo 'unpaid', miryoo 'unexecuted', misai 'unsettled (account)', misetu 'uninstalled', misyoo 'unidentified', misui 'unconsummated, attempted', míti 'unknown', mityaku 'unarrived', mizen {ni} 'before anything happens' (= mihatu), A few such words are used as nouns: mirai 'the future', míren 'lingering affection; cowardice', And mízyuku(¯) 'unripe' is usually treated as an adjectival noun. Mibóo-zin 'widow' contains a bound noun 'undeceased'; mimon 'unheard of' appears only in the phrase zéndai mimon '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 *nó/ná* 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 *ná* is replaced by *nó* under other circumstances, such as those given earlier for *-teki* and the following examples: *Watasi wa tabako no hoo ga sukí de, sake wa anmari sukí NO hoo de ná* ‘I rather like tobacco, but I’m not too fond of alcohol’ (Tk 2.250a), *Hontoo ni Nihon ga o-suki no yoo ni kan-zimasita* ‘I felt she [Helen Keller] really liked Japan’ (Tk 2.266a); *Óngaku mo nakanaka o-suki no yoo desu ná* ‘You appear to like music quite a lot, too’ (Tk 2.206a); ... *o-suki no yoo da* ‘you seem to like it’ (SA 2688.21b); ... *máda, itaíke(¯) no koro, ...* ‘when she was still quite young’ (Fn 247b); ... *kónniti no syakai-séikatu ni hu-káketu no monó 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 kodomó-táti* and *musin NA kodomó-táti* ‘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 *húhúyoo* ‘unnecessary’ are like ‘reckless’ in preferring *ná*, but *múyoo(¯)* ‘needless’ is like ‘hatless’ in preferring *nó*. (Of these several words, only ‘reckless’ would appear to convert to the adverbial *ní*; the *ní* forms of the other words will occur only in the mutative conversions with *náru/suru* or the like, and that categorizes them as adverbial-lacking.) *Kentoo-tígai na (kotó/kangáe/hanasi)* ‘mistaken (fact/idea/tale)’ is used as an adjectival noun, but it is also an intransitive verbal noun *kentoo-tígai suru* ‘guesses wrong’ and that, by predication, could account for the adnominalization *kentoo-tígai no N* in Kenkyusha’s examples.

13.6. QUANTITY NOMINALS

A number of simple lexical items refer to quantities: *takusán, óoku, ámata* ‘lots’; *sukósi* or *syóosyoo* ‘a little, a few’; *súbeté, zénbu, minná* ‘all’; *hotóndo* ‘almost all’; *dai-búbun* ‘most, the overwhelming majority’; *tasúu* ‘a large number, a majority’; *syoosúu* ‘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 *ití* 1, *ní* 2, *san* 3, *sí* or *yón* 4, *gó(¯)* 5, *rokú* 6, *sití* or *nána* 7, *hatí* 8, *kyúu* or *kú(¯)* 9, *zyúu* 10) and higher figures (such as those made with digit + *-zyuu* 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’ (*hán*—as in *han-kánen* ‘half a

86. As in *kú-zi reiréi-hun* ‘9:00 o’clock’.

year'), *súu-* 'several', and so on,⁸⁷ but also the interrogative *nán-* 'how many' and its less common synonym *íku-*.⁸⁸

A number of the restrictives (§2.4) function to quantify, in a rough manner, ordinary nouns as well as numbers—notably *ṅúrai* 'at least, as much as', *hodó* 'to the full extent of, (not) so much as', *ṅaké* 'only; exactly', *ṅákari* 'only; approximately'. (From the viewpoint of "logical quantification" such focus particles as *mó*, *sáe*, 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 adverbial or adnominal, though they can be used as pure nouns followed by such case markers as *gá* and *ó*.

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 ní de katta* 'We won by three to two'. (On the quasi-restrictive 'tai' 'versus', see p. 124.)⁸⁹

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.⁹⁰ (A still newer system, borrowed from English, is limited to certain modern contexts such as sports, where you will hear *wán*, *túu*, *súrii* ... '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 (*hitó-* 1, *huta-* 2, *mi-* 3, *yo-* 4, *itu-* 5, *mu-* 6, *naná-* 7,

87. The "and so on" includes ... *ṅó* 'more than, (somewhat) over ...', a cover term for the numerals one to ten in higher figures: ... *kyúuzuu yó ni oyonde iru* 'amounts to over 90 of them' (Tk 3.52). (On *ṅó* '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 *ní* and *gó*([~]) when they appear last: *sánzuyu san* 'ten (= *sán*-ten) *san-nii iti-yón gó* '33.32145'. Everyday fractions are said as DENOMINATOR *ṅun* no NUMERATOR: *ní* 'ṅun no *iti* 'one half' (= *han-bún* 'half'), *san* 'ṅun no *ní* 'two thirds', *si* 'ṅun no *san* (or *yón* 'ṅun no *san*) 'three fourths', *siti* 'ṅun no *yón* (seldom *si*) or *naná* 'ṅun no *yón* 'four sevenths', *kyúu* 'ṅun no *ní* 'two ninths', *zyúu* 'ṅun no *siti* (or *naná*) 'seven tenths'. The numerator attaches directly to a counter: *san* 'ṅun no *íp-pai* 'one third of a cup(full)'. For other uses of *ṅun* see §2.4. (Cf. Hirayama 1960.897, BJ 2.336.)

88. Do not confuse *nán-* (= *íku-*) with *náni* 'what', a word optionally (but in speech usually) shortened to *nán* when followed in the same basic phrase with a word that begins with *d*, *t*, *n*, or (occasionally) *s*, *z*, or *r*. Uncontracted *nani-* is used with a variety of words, mostly free nouns, in asking 'what': *nani-daigaku* 'what university', *nani-sinbun* 'what newspaper'; *nani-iro* 'what color' (= *dónna iro*), *nani-zin* 'what nationality', *nani-ku* 'what ward', *nani-mati* 'what town', ... (Regular compound-noun accentuation.) *Íku-zi* for *nán-zi* 'what o'clock, what time' seems to be a Tōkyō expression; but other uses of *íku-* ... for *nán-* ... are widespread throughout the country.

89. Above 'eleven', as explained below, the primary set of numerals—borrowed from Chinese, but with non-Chinese *yón* '4' and *naná* '7' often substituting for *si* and *siti*—are used alone to represent numbers with the underlying structure NUMERAL + *-tú* (a general counter and a counter for years of age): *nízuyu gó* 'twenty-five (things, or years old)'. A different way of looking at this is to forget about the historical morpheme *-tú* and say that numbers such as *hitótu*, *hutátú*, ... , *tóo*, *zyuuiti*, ... *nízuyu gó*, ... , (etc.) are basic "cardinal" numbers, used whenever you do not wish to make a more specific reference; the forms *hito-*, *huta-*, 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 *tóo* 'ten' does not include the counter *-tú* 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 animates (animals, fish, insects)'. And *-ban* 'nights' is of Chinese origin but takes the native numerals.

ya- 8, kokóno- 9, and to- or too- 10) are appropriate with the general counter -tú, 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 hitó-tu, huta-tú, mi-ttú, yo-ttú, itú-tu, mu-ttú, naná-tu, ya-ttú, kokóno-tu, and too. 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 problem in some other way, such as substituting the general counter -tú (itú-tu for itu-hako). The general counter is also used to count years of age, equivalent to the more formal counter 'sai used with the Chinese numerals;⁹¹ íku-tu means 'how many' or (= nán-sai) 'how many years old' (in both meanings the honorific form is o-ikutu), kokóno-tu means 'nine (things)' or 'nine years old', too means 'ten (things)' or 'ten years old', and zyuuití 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'—hátati, a remnant of the earlier system of counting.⁹² In asking 'how many' you can either use nán- (or íku-) attached to the specific counter, or you can use the general íku-tu; you will choose to be specific when expecting a particular counter in the reply. Íku-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 nán{í}-ra is now little used except as an indefinite '(not) any, some'. Notice that -ra in these words is NOT the collectivizer rá 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': zyuuití 11, zyuuní 12, zyuúsan 13, zyuuyón or zyuusí 14, zyúugo 15, zyuurokú 16, zyuunána or zyuusití 17, zyuuhatí 18, zyúuku (occasionally zyuukyúu) 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, yónzyuu (or sizyúu) 40, gozyúu 50, rokuzyúu 60, nanázyuu (or sitizyúu) 70, hatizyúu 80, kyúuzzyuu (occasionally kuzyúu) 90; súu-zyuu 'several tens'.⁹³ This is because the teens

91. Hyakusái 'one hundred years old' is irregularly accentuated; but it is more natural to say hyakú.

92. Ages can be counted in months and, on occasion, even in weeks: rok-kágetu is-syúukan desu 'is six months and one week old'. (For animals, shorter spans can be counted: hutuka no ko-néko 'a two-day old kitten'. The usual way to express the age of infants is exemplified by Kyóo de hutuka/nisyúukan desu 'Today is its second day/week'.) From hitótu hán 'one and a half' to kokónotu hán 'nine and a half' it is possible to use 'and a half'; for higher ages you can only add the 'half' by choosing the more formal structure with 'sai: nízi-sai rok-kágetu is the way to say 'twenty and a half years old', not *hátati hán. To say 'over (an age)' you add sugi: hátati sugi 'over/past twenty'. The antonym is miman: hátati miman '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-sanzzyuu '20 or 30', san-sizzyuu '30 or 40', si-gozyuu '40 or 50', go-rokuzyuu '50 or 60', roku-sitizzyuu '60 or 70', siti-hatizzyuu

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 (hyakú or ippyakú 100, nihyakú 200, sánbyaku 300, yónhyaku [rarely sihyakú] 400, gohyakú 500, roppyakú 600, nanáhyaku [rarely sitihiyakú] 700, happyakú 800, kyúuhyaku 900), of the THOUSANDS (sén⁹⁴ or issén 1000, nisén 2000, sanzén 3000, yonsén 4000, gosén 5000, rokusén 6000, nanasén [rarely sitisén] 7000, hassén 8000, kyuusén 9000), and of the TEN-THOUSANDS (itimán 10 000, nimán 20 000, sanmán 30 000, yonmán 40 000, gomán 50 000, rokumán 60 000, nanamán or sitimán 70 000, hatimán 80 000, kyúuman [occasionally kumán] 90 000). From zyuumán 100 000 to hyakumán 'a million' the numbers use -zyúumán as if a counter: ní-zyúumán 200 000, sán-zyúumán 300 000, yón-zyúumán or si-zyúumán 400 000, go-zyúumán 500 000, roku-zyúumán 600 000, siti-zyúumán or naná-zyúumán 700 000, hati-zyúumán 800 000, kyúu-zyúumán 900 000. And similarly with -hyakúmán for the millions, -sénmán for the ten millions (sán-zénmán 'thirty million'). Hundred millions are counted with 'oku, American-count billions with -zyúuoku (a hundred million is óku or ití-oku, a thousand million = a billion is zyúu-oku), American-count trillions with 'tyóo (a trillion is tyóo or ít-tyóo). Each of these higher 'counter'-like numbers can be preceded by nán- or íku- 'how many (hundreds, thousands, etc.)' and by súu- 'several (hundreds, thousands, etc.)': nán-byaku or íku-hyaku 'how many hundreds', nán-zén or íku-sén 'how many thousands', nán-mán or íku-mán 'how many tens of thousands'; súu-hyaku 'several hundred', súu-sén 'several thousands', súu-mán 'several tens of thousands'. The accentuation of some of these compounds fluctuates; the newer pattern prefers the accent on nán- and súu-. 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 sanmán sanzén sánbyaku sánzyuu sán-bon, the counter -hon (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 ʔhán 'and a half' and the ordinalizer ʔmé '...-th' as in sanmán sanzén sánbyaku sán-bon ʔmé (= sanbonmé) 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 ʔmé = sanbanmé 'the third (number)'; cf. mittú ʔmé = mittumé 'the third one/thing'. For 'first', in place of hitó-tu ʔmé (nó N) etc., it is quite common to use hazime (nó N) 'the beginning (N)'. The quasi adnoun dáí (§ 13.5) makes an ordinal that is more formal: dáí(-)ni = dáí ní-ban {ʔmé} 'second'. (Tugí no ... 'The following/next ...' is sometimes said for 'the second ...')

The unhappy distinction between the primary set of numerals (those borrowed from

70 or 80', hak-kuzyuu '80 or 90'. Apparently these are usually treated as atonic 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 atonic: sanzýuu-mai '30 (sheets)' but ni-sanzýuu-mai '20 or 30 (sheets)'.
94. The accent on sén is often suppressed (along with the following juncture) when it is the first element in a longer numerical expression: Sen^[1] nihyakú-en desita 'It was ¥ 1200' (BJ 1.28.16) = Sén | nihyakú-en desita.

Chinese) and the secondary or native set is further confused by the following peculiarities:⁹⁵

(1) It is now so common to substitute *yón* for *sí* 'four' and *nána* (*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, *yón* often (but not always) drops the final -n: *yó-en* '4 yen', *yo-nen* '4 years', *yo-nín* '4 people', *yo-ninmae* '4 portions', *yó-zi* '4 o'clock' (also '4 letters'), *yo-zíkan* '4 hours', *yo-zyóo* '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'.⁹⁶ Certain fixed expressions will occur ONLY with *si-* and *siti-*: *sigatú* 'April', *sitigatú* 'July'; *si-go...* 'four or five', *roku-siti...* 'six or seven', *siti-hati...* 'seven or eight'.⁹⁷ But *si-* will never be heard with most of the common counters: *yó-zi* '4 o'clock', *yo-zíkan* '4 hours', *yón-pun* '4 minutes', *yo-nen* '4 years', *yon-kágetu* '4 months', *yón-ko* '4 small artifacts', Yet you will hear either *yón-hiki* or *sí-hiki* for '4 nonhuman animates' and *yón-hon* or *sí-hon* for '4 slender objects'; and the approximate numerals are fixed, as cited above, regardless of the counter to which they attach. 'Seven o'clock' is usually said as *siti-zi* but *naná-zi* is sometimes used for clarity, as in a public announcement. 'Fourteen years old' is usually said as *zyuusí* (rather than *zyuuyón*) and *zyuuyón-sai* (rather than **zyuusí-sai*), but 'seventeen years old' is either *zyuusiti* or *zyuunána* and *zyuusiti-sai* or *zyuunána-sai*; similar habits prevail for '24, 34, ...' and '27, 37, ...'.

(2) The numeral for '9' is *kú*(¹) but it is usually pronounced *kyúu*. In the higher combinations you will usually hear only *kyúu*: *kyúuzyuu* (occasionally *kuzyúu*) '90', *kyúuhyaku* '900', *kyuusén* '9000', *kyuumán* (occasionally *kumán*) '90 000'. Yet certain fixed expressions occur only with *ku-*: *kugatú* '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 *zyúuku* but *zyuukyúu-sai*; *sizyúu kú-sai* (= *yónzyuu kyúu-sai* '49') is taken as a pun of *sizyuu kusái* 'is always smelly'.

(3) Under certain circumstances (e.g. stock-market quotations) you will sometimes hear *huta-* substituting for *ni-* 'two': *huta-mán* *huta-sén* *hutá-hyaku* *hutá-zyuu* *huta-en* '22 222 yen'.

95. We hit 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 *yón-* even where *yo-* is the norm: *yón-nen*, etc.

97. Also *zyuusi-go-* '14 or 15', *zyuuroku-siti-* '16 or 17', *zyuusiti-hati-* '17 or 18'; *zyuuhak-ku-* '18 or 19'. The expression *sán-yokka*(¹) '3 or 4 days' is exceptional, as are *zyuusan-yokka* '13 or 14 days' and *nizyuu sán-yokka*(¹) '23 or 24 days'; cf. *ní-sánniti*(¹) '2 or 3 days', *sí-goniti*(¹) '4 or 5 days', *gó-rokuniti*(¹) '5 or 6 days', *roku-sitiniti* '6 or 7 days', *siti-hatiniti* '7 or 8 days', *hak-kuniti* '8 or 9 days'. Notice that '4 (pencils)' is *yón-hon*, never **si-hon*, but '3 or 4 (pencils)' is *san-sihon*, never **san-yónhon*. You can assume that '3 or 4' is *san-si-* except in these words: *san-yobai* '3 or 4 times', *san-yóen* '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-yozikan* '3 or 4 hours'. Observe the following approximate numbers in the higher sets: *ni-sanbyaku* 'two or three hundred', *san-sihyaku* 'three or four hundred', *si-gohyaku* 'four or five hundred', *go-roppyaku* 'five or six hundred', *roku-sitihyaku* 'six or seven hundred', *siti-happyaku* 'seven or eight hundred', *hak-kuhyaku* 'eight or nine hundred'; *ni-sanzen* '2-3000', *san-sisen* '3-4000', *si-gosen* '4-5000', *go-rokusen* '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-sizyuu* '30 or 40', *si-gozyuu* '40 or 50'.

(4) In reciting the last part of a telephone number 'ten' may be said either *zyúu-ban* or *tóo-ban*; 'two' is either *ní-ban* or *hutá-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-kágetu*, *hak-kágetu*;⁹⁸ *is-sénti*, *has-sénti*); *zyuu-* '10' will reduce to *ziC-* (or *zyuC-*) under similar circumstances (*zik-kágetu* or *zyuk-kágetu*; *zis-sénti* or *zyus-sénti*); *roku-* '6' and *hyaku-* '100' will reduce to *roC-* and *hyaC-* before *k-* or *p-* (which is often a reflex of *h-*): *rok-kágetu*, *róp-pon*, *hyáp-pon*. But before certain counters the full forms are often heard: *iti-kiro* or *ík-kiro* 'one kilo', *hati-paasénto* or *hap-paasénto* '8 percent', *zyuu-síisii* or *zis-síisii* (or *zyus-síisii*) '10 cc's', *zyuuiti-póndo* or *zyuuiip-póndo* '11 pounds', *hati-syásen* or *has-syásen* '8 lanes (of traffic)', *zyuuroku-paasénto* or *zyuurop-paasénto* '16 percent', *roku-kiroméetoru* or *rok-kiroméetoru* '6 kilometers', *roku-kóonen* or *rok-kóonen* '6 light years', *hyaku-paasénto* or *hyap-paasénto* 'one hundred percent', *hyaku-péezi* or *hyap-péezi* '100 pages, page 100'. The preceding remarks about *iti-*, *hati-*, *roku-*, and *hyaku-* will also apply to *zyuuiti-* '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): *ní-hun* '2 minutes' but *sán-pun* '3 minutes', *yón-pun* '4 minutes', *róp-pun* '6 minutes', *zip-pun* (or *zyúp-pun*) '10 minutes'. But after *yon-* '4', the following counters retain *h-*: *-hon* 'slender objects' (*yón-hon*), *-hiki* 'animals' (*yón-hiki*), *-hyoo* 'votes' (*yón-hyoo*), *-haku* 'overnights' (*yón-haku*), ...; cf. *yónhyaku* '400'.

(7) After *nán-* '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'⁹⁹ (*san-gai* '3rd floor'—cf. *san-kái* '3rd time'), *-ken* 'buildings' (*sán-gen* '3 buildings'); *-hon* 'slender objects' (*sán-bon* '3 slender objects'), *-hai* 'cupfuls' (*sán-bai* '3 cupfuls'), *-hiki* 'animals' (*sán-biki* '3 animals'), *-hen* 'times' (*san-bén* '3 times'); *-soku* 'paired footwear' (*sán-zoku* '3 pairs'), *-syaku* 'unit of measure' (*sán-zyaku* '3 *shaku*'), ...

(8) People and days are counted in a somewhat irregular fashion. *PEOPLE* are counted with *'nin*, but *hitó-ri* and *huta-ri* take the place of *iti-nin* 'one person' and *ní-nin* 'two persons', respectively, except in fixed compounds or when part of a larger number: *zyuuiti-nin* '11 people', *zyuuni-nin* '12 people', *nízyuu iti-nin* '21 people', *nízyuu ní-nin* '22 people', *hyakú^[j] iti-nin* '101 people', *hyakú^[j] ní-nin* '102 people'. The basic count for people includes 3 *san-nin*, 4 *yo-nin* (or old-fashioned *yottari*), 5 *go-nin*, 6 *rokú-nin*, 7 *siti-nin* (less commonly *naná-nin*), 8 *hati-nin*, 9 *kyúu-nin* (less commonly *ku-nin*), 10 *zyúu-nin*; 100 *hyakú-nin*; 1000 *sén-nin*(⁻), 10 000 *mán-nin*(⁻). By hundreds people are counted 100 *hyakú-nin*, 200 *nihyakú-nin*, 300 *sánbyakú-nin*, 400 *yónhakú-nin*, 500 *gohyakú-nin*, 600 *roppyakú-nin*, 700 *nanáhyakú-nin* (or *sitihyakú-nin*), 800 *happyakú-nin*, 900 *kyúuhyakú-nin*. 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 *nán-nin* or *íku-nin*; 'several people' is *súu-nin*(⁻).

98. But sometimes also *hati-kágetu*, though you will apparently never hear **iti-kágetu* for *ik-kágetu*. Both *háp-pon* 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-kái*, also *hati-kai* '8th floor'.

99. But both *nán-gai*(⁻) and *nán-kai*(⁻) are reported for 'how many floors, which floor'; K lists only the atonic version, H gives both.

'Several hundred people' is *súuhyakú-nin*, 'several thousand people' is *suusen-nin*, 'several tens of thousands of people' is *suuman-nin*. DAYS are counted by attaching *-niti*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-kka*, 4 *yo-kka*, 5 *ituká(̄)*, 6 *mui-ka*, 7 *nano-ká(̄)* or *nanu-ká(̄)*, 8 *yoo-ka*, 9 *kokono-ká(̄)*, 10 *too-ka*. Of the higher numbers only those with '...4' obligatorily preserve the *-ka* form:¹⁰¹ 11 *zyuuiti-niti*, 12 *zyuuni-niti*, 13 *zyúúsán-niti*, 14 *zyúuyo-kka*, 15 *zyúugo-niti*, 16 *zyuuroku-niti*, 17 *zyuusiti-niti*, 18 *zyuuhati-niti*, 19 *zyúuku-niti*; 21 *nízyuu iti-niti*, 22 *nízyuu ni-niti*, 23 *nízyuu sán-niti*, 24 *nízyuu yo-kka*, 25 *nízyuu gó-niti*, 26 *nízyuu roku-niti*, 27 *nízyuu siti-niti*, 28 *nízyuu hati-niti*, 29 *nízyuu kú-niti*, 30 *sánzyúu-niti*, 31 *sánzyuu iti-niti*, '34 days' is *sánzyuu yo-kka*, '104 days' is *hyakú yo-kka*, '114 days' is *hyakú zyúuyo-kka*, 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 *nán-niti* (or *íku-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]í [ga] táti* 'the moon rises', though sometimes the word *itizitu* (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 *zyúu-niti* and *nízyúu-niti* used as a less common option, in COUNTING only: *sánbyaku zyúu-niti* '310 days', *sánbyaku {to} too-ka* '310 days' or '310th day'; *sánbyaku nízyúu-niti* '320 days', *sánbyaku {to} hatu-ka* '320 days' or '320th day'. (The expression *nihyakú 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:¹⁰² *-gúramu* 'grams', *-kirogúramu* 'kilograms', *-rítтору* 'liters', *-kágetu* 'months', *-syúukan* 'weeks', *-péizi* 'pages', etc. A few counters consistently make atonic numbers: *-bai* 'times (as much)', *-kai* 'floor, story', *-soo* 'layer', *-syuu* 'weeks', *-toori* '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 *-nti* or, after *n*, just *-ti*: *ní-sán[ni]ti* 'two or three days'.

101. And similarly *dái ni-niti* '2d day' (= *hutu-ka mé*), *dái sán-niti* '3d day' (= *mi-kka mé*), and so on, but *dái yo-kka* '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: *hitó-nigiri* 'one (hand-grasped thing)', *hitó-katazuke* 'one tidying'; *Dáre ka sake [o] kai ni hitó-ppasiri [= hitó-hasiri] itte kíte kurenée ka* 'Won't somebody go (run the errand to) buy some rice wine for us?' (Okitsu 1.348). (For some reason *hitó-kátamari* 'one (lump)' has two variant patterns.) And longer native counters that are not infinitives also seem to be preaccentuated: *hitó-kusari* 'a chain, a section of a sequence'—as in ... *mandan o hitó-kusari hazimerú ga* ... 'he starts a section (a bit) of his comic patter' (SA 2664.52c) and *utá o hitó-kusari utau* 'sings a song' (Kenkyusha).

numeral, and you can regard this as the regular productive pattern: 'ko 'small artifacts', 'hun 'minutes', 'zi 'o'clock', 'sai 'years of age', 'wari 'ten-percents', 'kiro 'kilos', 'doru 'dollars', etc.

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, *kyúu-* 9, *nán-*, and numbers above 10.

(2) *-dó* 'times' after 1, 2, and 5 (*iti-dó*, *ni-dó*, *go-dó*) but 'do elsewhere (except *yo-dó* = *yón-do*).

(3) *-satú* 'bound volumes' after 1, 6, 7, 8, 10 (*is-satú*, *roku-satú*, *nana-satú*, *has-satú*, *zis-satú*) but 'satu elsewhere.

(4) *-gatú* 'month (names)' but 'gatu after 3, 5, 9, *nán-*: *sángatu* 'March', *gógatu* 'May', *kúgatu* 'September', *nán-gatu* 'what month'.

(5) *-kyokú* 'tunes' after 1, 6, 8, 10 (*ik-kyokú*, *rok-kyokú*, *hak-kyokú*, *zik-kyokú*) but 'kyoku elsewhere.

(6) *-sún* 'inches' but 'sun after 3 (*sán-zun*), 4 (*yón-sun*), 7 (*naná-sun*), 9 (*kyúu-sun*), *nán-* (*nán-zun*), and numbers above 10.

(7) *-sén* 'sen, cents' but 'sen after 4 (*yón-sen*), 9 (*kyúu-sen*), *nán-* (*nán-sen*), and numbers above 10.

The counter for YEN tends to be preaccentuated (...*'en*) but the following numbers are atonic:¹⁰³ *iti-en* '¥1', *ni-en* '¥2', *san-en* '¥3', *roku-en* '¥6', *siti-en* (= *naná-en*) '¥7', *hati-en* '¥8', *zyuu-en* '¥10'; *hyaku-en* '¥100'; *sen-en* (or *sén-en*) = *issen-en* '¥1000' and the thousands; *itiman-en* '¥10 000' and the ten-thousands (*hyakuman-en* 'a million yen'). The remaining numbers regularly put the accent on the syllable before the counter (*itiokú-en* 'a hundred million yen'), but some speakers will instead retain the accent of a number that by itself has an initial accent, saying *nízyuu-en* for *nizyúu-en* '¥20', *sánzyuu-en* for *sanzyúu-en* '¥30', *sánbyaku-en* for *sanbyakú-en* '¥300', *yónhyaku-en* for *yonhyakú-en* '¥400', *nanáhyaku-en* for *nanahyakú-en* '¥700', *kyúuhyaku-en* for *kyuuhyakú-en* '¥900', and *súhyaku-en* for *suuhyakú-en* 'several hundred yen'. In the examples just cited Hamako Chaplin uses the second version (preaccentuated), but she prefers *zyúuyo-en* rather than *zyuuyó-en* '¥14' (cf. *zyúuyo-nen* '14 years', *zyúuyo-kka* '14 days'—but *zyuuyón* '14') and *zyúugo-en* rather than *zyuugó-en* '¥15'. In her speech *'en* is preaccentuated with the approximate counters for the tens (*nisanzyúu-en* '¥20-30', *sansizyúu-en* '¥30-40', *sigozyúu-en* '¥40-50', ... *hakkuzyúu-en* '¥80-90'), but she treats the approximate hundreds and thousands and ten-thousands as atonic: *nisanbyaku-en* '¥200-300', *sansihyaku-en* '¥300-400', ...; *nisanzen-en* '¥2-3000', *sansisen-en* '¥3-4000', ...; *nisanman-en* '¥20-30 000'. Notice the following: *nán-en* 'how many yen', *nanzýúu-en* 'how many tens of yen', *nánbyakú-en* 'how many hundreds of yen'; *nanzen-en* 'how many thousands of yen', *nanman-en* 'how many tens of thousands of yen', *nan'oku-en* 'how many hundreds of millions of yen'. Also: *súzyúu-en* 'some tens of

103. But 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, and 8 are preaccentuated when the last part of a numerical phrase is: *nízyuu* *iti-en* '¥21', *yónzyuu* *ni-en* '¥42' (BJ 1.27), *gozyúu* *sán-en* '¥53', *hyaku* *roku-en* '¥106', *sánbyaku* *hati-en* '¥308'. 'Ten' is always atonic: *hyakú* *zyuu-en* '¥110'.

yen', *súuhyakú-en* 'hundreds of yen'; *suusen-en* 'thousands of yen', *suuman-en* 'tens of thousands of yen', *suuoku-en* 'hundreds of millions of yen'.

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 *kyúu-nen*). Traditionally the even thousands and ten-thousands are also atonic but newer usage allows *sen-nen* and *mán-nen* as well as *sen-nen* and *man-nen*. 'Several years' is *súu-nen*(⁻), the newer usage favoring the tonic version. 'How many years' is *nán-nen* (or *íku-nen*); 'how many hundreds of years' is *nánbyakú-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 *zyúuyo-nen* '14 years', *zyúugo-nen* '15 years', and *zyúuku-nen* '19 years' (but also *zyuukyúu-nen*); '13 years', however, is *zyuusán-nen*. For 'one half year' there is a special word *han-tosí*. Centuries are counted *hyakú-nen*, *nihyakú-nen*, *sánbyakú-nen*, *yónhyakú-nen*, *gohyakú-nen*, *roppyakú-nen*, *nanáhyakú-nen*, *happyakú-nen*, *kyúuhyakú-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 *nízyuu* '20', *sánzyuu* '30', *yónzyuu* '40', *nanázyuu* '70', and *kyúuzyyuu* '90' will dominate the accent of the normally preaccentuated counters (either obligatorily or optionally) when the numeral appears in its reduced form *...ziq-* or *...zyuq-* as in *nízís-sai* (*nízyús-sai*) '20 years of age' and *sánzíp-pun* '30 minutes' but not when it appears in its full form, as in *nizyúu-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 *nízyúu-mai* '20 sheets of paper', *sánzyúu-nen* '30 years', *yónzyúu-byoo* '40 seconds', *nanázyúu-doru* '70 dollars', and *kyúuzyyúu-nin* '90 people'. There is usually an accent on *nán-* 'how many, which' before shorter counters; exceptions are *nan-bai* 'how many multiples' (cf. *nán-bai* 'how many cupfuls'), *nan-doki* 'what hour', *nán-kai*(⁻) or *nán-gai*(⁻) 'how many floors, what floor' (only atonic in K), *nán-zén* 'how many thousands', *nán-mán* 'how many tens of thousands', *nan-zyóo* 'what mat-size'. Longer counters retain their accents: *nan-kágetu*, *nan-kásyo*, *nan-kánen*, *nan-zíkan*, *nan-bánti*, *nan-gúramu*, Notice also *nánzyúu-en/-nen/-nin*; *nánbyakú-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: *hitótu mo náí* 'lacks even one', *ití-mai mo minái* '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 *gozyúu rokú-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-Rínsyoo no 68-nen* (= *rokuzyúu hati-nen*) *gogatú-goo ni, de aru* 'It is in the May '68 issue of Japan Physician' (SA 2679.138a—the comma before the copula is purely visual, hence the suppression of accent on *áru*).

Unexpected abbreviations are occasionally encountered, as in *Kyónen no zyúu, zyuitigatú*, ... = *Kyónen no zyugatú, zyuitigatú*, ... 'October and November of last year ...'. And you may now and then see an odd ellipsis such as this: *sigatú nízyuu yok-ka, nízyuu go[-nítí] ryóo-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-kásyó* '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-zíkan* 'three hours', *zyúu-byoo* '10 seconds') or linearity (*zyuu-méetoru* '10 meters—high, long, distant'). There are "ordinal counters" such as 'zi 'o'clock', *-kai* '...-th floor', 'sai 'year of age', *-gatú* '...-th month (of the year—as a name)', *-pézi* '...-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', *ní-hai* 'two cupfuls',¹⁰⁵ ...) and ARBITRARY measures of weight (*hyaku-gúramu* 'a hundred grams') or volume (*iti-rítтору* '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', *kire* 'cut', *tumami* 'pinched'.

The shape classifiers are analyzed by Sanches into the following hierarchic categories:¹⁰⁷

‘hon length predominating:

‘hon three-dimensional.

‘suzi two-dimensional.

‘mai length and breadth predominating:

‘men two-dimensional.

‘mai three-dimensional.

‘mai regular shape.

‘hén irregular shape.

104. But *hitó-tokoro* 'one place' = *hitótu-tokoro* (SA 2670.142) = *hitót-tokoro* is idiomatic. There seems to be no **hutá-tokoro* or **hutát[u]-tokoro*. Notice that *iti-* 'one' is sometimes prefixed to a noun to mean 'a certain' (= *áru*) or just 'a': *iti-róozin* 'a certain old man', *iti-Nihonzin* 'a (certain) Japanese', *iti-kénsiki* 'an opinion, one view'; *sono iti-tyóokoo desu né* 'is a symptom of that' (Tanigawa 17).

105. But *hai* can be used to count "loads" in any container: *hikóo-ki ni íp-pai ka ní-hai zútu* 'a plane/ful or two each' or 'a load or two in each plane' (Tk 2.321b). The precopular noun *ippai* 'full' and the quasi-restrictive *-ippai* (§2.4) are derived from *íp-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 no inú* will be a more impressive (and probably, but not necessarily, a larger) dog than *íp-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 *‘suzi* (*hitó-suzi*) and *‘tubu* (*hitó-tubu*).

‘ko length, breadth, and depth (all equally prominent):

‘tyoo square.

-‘kai irregular surface.

‘ko round:

‘kyuu larger.

--- smaller:

‘tubu solid.

-teki liquid.

In her valuable study Sanches reveals the following trends in present-day usage of counters: (1) Numeral-classifier forms are being dropped in favor of the “cardinal numbers” (hitó-tu—tóo, zyuuití, zyuuní, ...). 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 íp-pon no hasigo ‘one ladder’ is as common as all three of the taxonomic references put together: ití-dai (“relatively large artifact”), ik-kyakú (“legged implement”), and ík-ko (“relatively small artifact”). In counting a coin, such as the ten-yen piece (zyuuen-dóoka or zyuuen-dama), ití-mai seems to be more common than ík-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”.¹⁰⁸

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 ití-mai kaimásita ‘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-katazuke katazúketa ‘gave the storeroom a tidying’ (Fn 401a); Áse o kákeba syáwaa o hitó-abi [suru] ‘When you sweat you have a shower’ (SA 2660.13a); ... róoraa de ue kara hitó-nade gasat-to yaru ‘you give it a firm press from above with the roller’ (SA 2660.26c); Hitó-huri mata ki-sóo na kurai sóra ... ‘A dark sky

108. The usual way to count bridges seems to be the general counter: huta-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 hasi and *ni-dai no hasi to be acceptable, but they are rejected. Perhaps a technical classifier can be supplied by some engineer—a graduate, say, of Hitotubasi-dáigaku?

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: *matí o hitó-mawari suru* 'makes a tour of the town'. In (*tabako o*) *ip-pukú^[1] 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 *utí(¯) kara ip-po mo deraré^[1]nai* '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 (*¯zútu* '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):

Ní-mai no | irógami o | tótta 'I took two (or the two) pieces of colored paper'.

(2) Inverted apposition (Number [*nó*] | N → N | Number):

Irógami | ní-mai o | tótta 'I took two (or the two) pieces of colored paper'.

(3) Adverbialization (N *gá/ó* | Number):

Irógami o | ní-mai | tótta 'I took two (or the two) pieces of colored paper'.

(4) Preposed adverbialization (N *gá/ó* | Number → Number || N *gá/ó*):

Ní-mai || irógami o | tótta 'I took two (or the two) pieces of colored paper'.

But there is a fifth possibility:

(5) Appositional ellipsis:¹⁰⁹

Irógami no | ní-mai o | tótta 'I took two of the pieces of colored paper'.

We will explain this as a reduction of *Irógami no ní-mai [no [irógami]] o tótta* 'I took two sheets [of paper] of the paper ...' because you can say *Hyakú-mai no irógami no ní-mai o tótta* '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] | ní-mai o | tótta* '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 hi^[1] ití-nítí ¯daké 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 *kírei na* 'pretty' or 'clean', etc.):¹¹⁰

(1a) *Ano ní-mai no | irógami o | tótta.*
Anna

(2a) *Ano irógami | ní-mai o | tótta.*
Anna

(3a) *Ano irógami o | ní-mai | tótta.*
Anna

(4a) **Ano ní-mai || irógami o | tótta.*
*Anna

(5a) *Ano irógami no | ní-mai o | tótta.*
Anna

(6a) *Ano irógami [no] | ní-mai o | tótta.*
Anna

The only difficulties arise with preposed adverbialization, and that is because an adverb can not be modified by an adnominal phrase. If we move the adnominal to the other side of the juncture, the sentence is acceptable:

(4b) *Ní-mai || ^{ano} irógami o | tótta.*
anna

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) *Ní-mai no | ^{ano} irógami o | tótta.*
anna

(2b) ?*Irógami | ^{ano} ní-mai o | tótta.*
anna

(3b) **Irógami o | ^{ano} ní-mai | tótta.*
anna

(5b) *Irógami no | ^{ano} ní-mai o | tótta.*
anna

(6b) ?*Irógami [no] | ^{ano} ní-mai o | tótta.*
anna

} 'I took {the} two pieces
of that
that kind of colored paper'.

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 ní-mai no | kírei na | irógami o | tótta.*

(2c) ?*Kírei na | irógami | ano ní-mai o | tótta.*

(3c) **Ano irógami o | kírei na | ní-mai | tótta.*

(4c) **Ano ní-mai || kírei na | irógami o | tótta.*

(5c) *Ano irógami no | kírei na | ní-mai o | tótta.*¹¹¹

(6c) ?*Ano irógami [no] | kírei na | ní-mai o | tótta.*

110. Although there is a basic juncture after the adnominal, it disappears after the atonic adnouns *ano* and *anna* (←*anná*). You will hear the juncture with *Kírei na* | ... 'Pretty/Clean ...' or with *Réi no* | ... 'The said ...'.

111. With the same meaning as (1c). If the first juncture is raised to major, thus emphasizing *kírei*, the meaning will be 'I took the pretty two of those pieces of colored paper'. Throughout I am ignoring

It is sometimes held that adverbialization of the number is possible only when the noun is marked by *gá* or *ó*, but this is not quite true; “N *kará/tó/ní/é* | Number” are infrequent in print but they occur in conversation. All of the following examples with the mutative-locative are acceptable:

- (1d) *Ní-mai no | irógami ni | zí o | káita.*
 (2d) *Irógami | ní-mai ni | zí o | káita.*
 (3d) *Irógami ni | ní-mai | zí o | káita.*
 (4d) *Ní-mai || irógami ni | zí o | káita.*
 (5d) *Irógami no | ní-mai ni | zí o | káita.*
 (6d) *?Irógami [no] | ní-mai ni | zí o | káita.*

The types with adverbialization (3 and 4),¹¹² will permit the indefinite adnominal modifications of the noun (*anna irógami*) but not the definite (*ano irógami*). 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 *nó* N *gá/ó*) and indefinite (N *gá/ó* Number) is possible only when the noun is marked as subject or object”.

When a count expression is predicated as a nominal (... *dá*), it is impossible to have the number adverbialized, there being nothing in the structure for the adverbial phrase to modify:

- (1e) *Ní-mai no | irógami datta.*
 (2e) *Irógami | ní-mai datta.*
 (3e) **Irógami [ga/o] | ní-mai datta.¹¹³*
 (4e) **Ní-mai || irógami [ga/o] datta.¹¹⁴*
 (5e) *Irógami no | ní-mai datta.*
 (6e) *?Irógami [no] | ní-mai datta.*

On the difference between *Iroiro mondai ga áru*, which has the two sources *Mondai ga iroiro áru* and *Iroiro {no/ná} mondai ga áru*, and *Takusán mondai ga áru* with only the one source *Mondai ga takusán áru*, see p. 826 (§ 13.8). When a number is adnominalized to the noun it is counting, the phrase NUMBER *nó* | NOUN will not permit the dropping of the adnominalized copula *nó*; 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-pézi mi-hiraki no kookoku o pat-to dásita* ‘splashed right out with an ad in a two-page spread (= on two facing pages)’ (Tk 3.237b) we can take *ni-pézi* either as an adverbial modification of the adnominalized precopular noun *mi-hiraki* ‘spread-out face-to-face [to the extent of two pages]’ or as a reduction of *ni-pézi 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 thematizations. 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 *kará/tó/ní/é* | Number, despite acceptable examples such as *Tomodati ni go-rokunin aimásita* ‘I met five or six friends’.

113. Considered as simple predication, with the same meaning as (1): ‘It was {the} two pieces of colored paper’. Under propredication (i.e. with ellipsis of a verb) such forms as this are possible: *Irógami o | ní-mai [| tóttá no] da* ‘[I took] two pieces of colored paper’.

114. But (?) *Ní-mai || irógami o [] da* might be acceptable with propredication of the sort suggested in the preceding note.

'a two-page advertisement' in which *ni-péézi* is an epithet of size, rather than a counting of advertisements, for that would be simply *hutatu* no *kookoku*.

A few examples, arranged by type:

(1) *Watakusi no háha de arimáshu ga, san-nín no otokó-no-ko o unde, nízyuu hatí de syúzin o naku-site, ...* 'My mother—she bore three boys, and at the age of 28 lost her husband, ...' (R).

(2) *Máa, watakusi ga kyóodai siti-nin no yón-ban mé de otokó to iú no wa watakusi hitóri datta n desu* 'Well, I was the fourth of seven children, and the only boy' (R); ... *biirú-bako muttú ga ...* 'six cases of beer' (SA 2665.116a); *Atasi wa sono-bá(¯) ni i-awáseta hitó hutarí kara kiité 'ta kara, ...* 'Since I had heard it from two of the people who happened to be in that place ...' (Tk 3.119a); *Tookyoo-tihoo-kensatú-tyoo wa ll seipan-gyóosya kara ll sén ll nihyakuman-en o ll damasi-totta l kin'yuu-burókaa l san-nín o ll kyóo ll sági no utagai de l táiho simásita* 'The Tōkyō 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); *Óogázumu de mo kóe ga dasénai nante iú no mo, husúma(¯) hitótu hedátete yaru to iu zyuutaku-zízyoo da kara [de áru]* '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 iti-mai mo náí* 'We're out of Kleenex' (MJW); *Watasi wa áru kaiga-tenran-káizyoo no issitú(¯) de, tíisa na aburá-e o iti-mai hakken sita* 'I discovered a little oil painting in one room of a certain painting exhibition hall' (V 1967a.99); *Anmari náí ga, kodomo no tokí, Kónme(¯) no turibori de húna o san-sihiki tutta kotó ga áru* '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) *Háha wa ... ko no té e yo-tubu bákari sore o noseta* 'The mother put four pieces of it [the candy] in the child's hand' (V 1967a.99); ... *óoki na issitú(¯) ni nízyuu mo sindai ga narande ita* 'in one big room were lined up all of twenty beds' (V 1967a.98), with high-lighting focus; ... *soo iu siten kara míru to ll né ll hutatú syúruí l arimásite ll né 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 *hutatu ll syúruí {ga} ← syúruí ga l hutatú*; ... *moo hitótu gimón ni omóu kotó wa dóko ni áru 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 *hitótu*; either way, *hitótu* refers to the entire phrase *gimón ni omóu kotó*, not *gimón*.

(5) Examples sought.

(6) ... *syoogákúsei no musumé hutarí wa ...* 'my two daughters who are in primary school' (SA 2666.108c); *Toránpu l gozyúú ní-mai kara ll iti-mai o l nukidásu tokí ni ...* 'when you draw one out of the 52 cards in the deck' (R); ... *zyookyaku hitóri ga kowáreta mado-gárasu no hahen de tooká-kan no kegá o sita to iu kotó 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-nín ni kodomo hutarí ...* 'four adults and two children'; ... *senmon-teki tísiki o mótta hitó-tati súu-nin(¯) o atúmete ...* 'bringing together a number of people with specialized knowledge' (Kotoba no yurai 197); (?)... *zyuuhatí-nin tyuu yo-nín ga ...* 'four of the eighteen persons' (SA 2672.117b).

Such examples as *Kántoo itien(¯) ni watatte* 'extending all over Kantō', *murá itien(¯) ni* 'through the whole village', *syúui súbete ga* 'the entire surroundings', etc., may be examples of the reduced appositional ellipsis (6). Cf. p. 1049.

With the noun omitted, an adverbialized number can be ambiguous: *Go-nin mīta* can mean either 'Five people saw [it]' (= *Hito ga go-nin mīta*) or '[I] saw five people' (= *Hito o go-nin mīta*); *Minnā mōtte imasu 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: *Watakushi no || siti-nen || koohai de ātta* '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 *ryōo* '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 ryōo 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 ryōo da* 'It is the same quantity as that', a nominal sentence that contains an adnominalization (*sore to onazi ...*) with the underlying structure *Sore [no ryōo] to onazi dá* 'It is the same as [the quantity of] that'. A few of the predicable adverbs are sometimes used in ways similar to the adverbialized and adnominalized uses of such quantity nouns as *hotōndo* '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 *tō* 'and', for example, and mark the conjoined phrase with a case marker such as *o*, it is possible to make various combinations of number phrases before the case marker is attached:

(1) *tō (1) o*: *Ni-mai no irōgami to íp-pon no iro-énpitu o tōtta* 'I took {the} two pieces of colored paper and {the} one crayon'.¹¹⁵

{2} *tō (2) o*: *Irōgami ni-mai to iro-énpitu íp-pon o tōtta* 'I took {the} two pieces of colored paper and {the} one crayon'.

(1) *tō (2) o*: *Ni-mai no irōgami to iro-énpitu íp-pon o tōtta* 'I took {the} two pieces of colored paper and {the} one crayon'.

(2) *tō (1) o*: *Irōgami ni-mai to íp-pon no iro-énpitu o tōtta* 'I took {the} two pieces of colored paper and {the} one crayon'.

(5) *tō (5) o*:¹¹⁶ *Irōgami no ni-mai to iro-énpitu no íp-pon o tōtta* 'I took two of the pieces of colored paper and one of the crayons'.

(1) *tō (5) o*: *Ni-mai no irōgami to iro-énpitu no íp-pon o tōtta* 'I took {the} two pieces of colored paper and one of the crayons'.

(5) *tō (1) o*: *Irōgami no ni-mai to íp-pon no iro-énpitu o tōtta* 'I took two of the pieces of colored paper and one of the crayons'.

{2} *tō (5) o*: *Irōgami ni-mai to iro-énpitu no íp-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 *kinoo* 'yesterday' in front of the first instance of (5) in each conjoining.

(5) *tó* (2) *ó*: *Irógami no ní-mai to iro-énpitu íp-pon o tótta* '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) *tó* (3): *Irógami o ní-mai to iro-énpitu o íp-pon tótta* '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) *tó* (3): *Irógami ní-mai to iro-énpitu o íp-pon tótta* 'I took {the} two pieces of colored paper and {the} one crayon'.

(3) *tó* (2): *Irógami o ní-mai to iro-énpitu íp-pon o tótta* '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) *tó* (3): *Irógami no ní-mai to iro-énpitu o íp-pon tótta* '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 *tó*:

**Ní-mai no irógami o to íp-pon no iro-énpitu o [to] tótta*.

**Ní-mai no irógami o to iro-énpitu o [to] tótta*.

**Irógami ní-mai o to iro-énpitu íp-pon o [to] tótta*.

It is not required that both nouns be quantified: ... *hagaki o ní-mai to enpitu o dásite* ... 'taking out two postcards and [a] pencil' (V 1967a.99).

Two numbers that count the same noun can be conjoined with *ká* 'or':¹¹⁷ *Sono setomono o tóo ka nízyuu 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: *Tó wa iu monó-no, ití-nen de gozyúu ní-mei ka sán-mei sika katazukánai* '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 *tó*, as in *ní-sai suu-kágetu no kodomo* 'a child of two years and some months' and *Rokú-sai to rok-kágetu kara narátta Nihon-bútoo* ... '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 *gá*) or as direct object (N *ó*), nor are they marked as indirect object with the particle *ní*, 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-syúukan ka tooka* 'a week or ten days' (Tk 2.180b).

optionally with the *ní* that is the copula infinitive (or essive): *súgu* {*ni*} 'directly', *koko kara súgu no tokoró* 'a place immediate to here', *Móo súgu da* 'It's immediately ahead'. Certain others must be directly adverbialized: from *sibároku da* 'it's a while' there is only *sibároku* 'for a while', not **sibároku ní*. These typically adverbial nominals that do not normally become subject or object we will call ADVERBS. Those that are directly adverbial (without *ní*) are either PURE adverbs (i.e. always adverbial) or PREDICABLE adverbs, the latter allowing the predicative *dá* and the adnominal *nó*. Those requiring *ní* 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 ii to omóu* 'I think "sometimes" might be all right'.)

The majority of adverbs occur freely as nominal sentences predicated with ... *dá* in its various forms; even in such a case as that of *másaka* 'surely (not)' (usually anticipating tentative and negative) we need to assume (?*) *másaka da* to account for *másaka no baai/tokí* '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: *hotóndo* [ga/o] 'almost (all)', *óoku* [ga/o] 'lots'. The pure adverb *itiban* 'most' (always atonic) is derived from *iti-ban* 'number one'; a synonym *móttó-mo* is derived from the highlighted form of the adverb *móttó* (= *mót-to*, § 21.7), as is the (sometimes identically accentuated) predicable adverb *móttó-mo* = *toozen* 'natural', often used as a sentence-introducing conjunction 'of course' or 'but'.^{118a} Other words that are frequently used adverbially turn out to be directly adverbialized PLACE NOUNS (*hóoboo* 'all directions, everywhere', ...) or TIME NOUNS: *háru* 'spring' or 'in spring', *syunkan* 'an instant' or 'for an instant', *izen* 'former times' or 'formerly',¹¹⁹ etc.—cf. § 9.1.13. Among the words which are adverbs as here defined are *mata* 'again, likewise', *zenzen* 'completely, utterly', *sunáwati* 'namely' or (= *masásiku*, *torimo-naósazu*) 'precisely, nothing but', *sasuga* 'as may be expected, nonetheless', *tú₁* 'finally', *yattó* 'finally, after much trouble' [= *yat-tó*, § 21.7], *itioo* 'once; at first; in general; tentatively', *náo-sara* (̄) 'all the more/less', *náo* 'still (more/less)', *náo-nao* 'still; additionally', ...

Adverbs with a basic final accent (*yagaté* 'before long', *sassokú* 'at once', *sekkakú* 'especially', etc.) will drop the accent unless followed by a particle (such as *wá* or *mó*) or some form of the copula (*dá*, *ní*, *nó*, etc.), and that together with historical considerations is why dictionaries often—perhaps unwisely—list the forms as atonic; similar are oxytonic time nouns such as *kinóo* 'yesterday', *natú* 'summer', *asitá* 'tomorrow', etc., and quantity nouns such as *iti-dó* '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 *tó* = subjective adverb; Adv {*tó*} optionally subjective/objective adverb; Adv {*ní*} = ordinary adverb that is optionally an adverbialized adjectival (or precopular) noun, which may lack other parts of the paradigm; Adv {*tó/ní*} = subjective/objective adverb that is optionally an adverbialized adjectival (or precopular) noun; ... *ní* = adverbialized adjectival noun or precopular (quasi-adjectival) noun, which may lack other parts of the paradigm.

118a. But the traditional etymology derives *móttó-mo* from *moto-moto*.

119. And even *syóogai* 'life(time)': *Gó wa SYÓOGAI yame ró tte iu yóo na kotó o iu hitó ga áru keredo mo ...* 'There are those who tell me to give up playing *gó* 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 *kóo* 'thus', *sóo* 'so', *áa* 'so [remote]', which—being monosyllabic—could be regarded as either prototonic or oxytonic; the loss of accent under unfocused adverbialization¹²⁰ shows them to be oxytonic—the result of the history of the forms, as shown by *kóo* < *ka*-[k]ú,¹²¹ in contrast with *dóo* 'how' which retains its prototonic accent under adverbialization (*dóo* *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* | *kotó* → *sonna* | *kotó*) and then often disappears itself (→ *sonna* *kotó*). The interrogative accent overrides such restrictions, since it is an INITIAL accent, as shown by *dónna*; hence the accent of *dóo*, unlike that of *kóo*, is not basically oxytonic 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 predicated 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*(^u) §9.2.1], *maru*-[k]kiri = *maru-de* = *ten-de* '(not) at all', *túi-zo* '(not) at all, (not) ever', *dánzite*(^u) 'absolutely (not)' [< gerund of DAN-*ziru* = *danzúru*(^u) 'concludes, judges' §9.2.1]; *betudan* '(not) especially' (usually without *ni*); *konrínzai* (= -"sai) '(not) under any circumstances'; *ikkoo* [*ni*] '(not) in the least' (with affirmative 'absolutely, quite'); *mootoo* (... *nái*) '(has none) at all', *náni-mo*(^u) '(not) in any way', *kanarazú-símo* '(not) always/necessarily'; cf. (below) *métta ni* + NEGATIVE 'rarely', ... *sika* + NEGATIVE 'only' (§2.3.3). Also anticipating a negative are these adverbializations: *betu ni* '(not) particularly, (nothing) in particular', ...; and, often, *sukósi mo* = *tittó mo* '(not) in the least', *tote-mo* 'quite', *zettai ní* 'absolutely', *zenzen* '(not) at all', *hotóndo* '(not) quite, hardly', ...; cf. *hitó-tu mo* (etc.) + NEGATIVE. See §8.7.

(1b) anticipating a tentative: *osóroku* 'probably',¹²² *sázo*(-kasi) 'likely', *tábun* 'probably', *ookata* 'in all probability', *kit-tó* 'undoubtedly, surely'; ...

120. *Koo suru* 'We do it this way', *Sóo wa sinai* 'We don't do it that way'; ... ^[u] *tó ii-nagara, kóo mo iú 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 *káku* (prototonic), but that is an innovation—or borrowing; the Kyōto form has an accentuation that would be cognate with Tōkyō **kakú*, which we assume as the direct source of the colloquial *kóo*. I would presume that *sóo* 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* = *siko*[o] that appears in *sikóo site* = *siká site* = modern *so*[o] *site* 'thus; then'. Note, however, the elegant adjectival nouns *kayoo* and *sayoo*, made by attaching the Chinese loanmorph *yóo* < *yáu* (< Chinese *yāng*) 'appearance' to *ka*- and to *sa*;- perhaps *kóo* and *sóo* are directly contracted from these.

122. But the semantic anticipations are not always realized formally. We would expect *osóroku* to be followed by *surú daroo* 'it will probably happen'—or *suru 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: *Osóroku kotosi* 'Tyuu ni kokkai wa kaisan suru' 'Probably the Diet will be dissolved within the year'. *Másaka* and *yómo ya* 'surely (not)' anticipate both tentative and negative, not necessarily in the same form: *Kimi ni aóo to wa omowanakatta* 'I didn't think I would run into you' (Hayashi 150). When the tentative is anticipated by *mósi ka sitára*, *mósi ka suru to*, *hyót-to suru to*, or *arúi-wa* the meaning is more like that of *ká mo sirenai* 'maybe', according to Hayashi 149.

(1c) anticipating a conditional (or some equivalent way of stating a condition): *mósi* [mo], *tatóe*($\bar{\quad}$), *mán-iti*, *yósi* ya 'if'.

(1d) anticipating a request: *dóo-zo*, *dóo-ka*, *nani-tozo* 'please'; anticipating a request or desire: *zé-hi* 'by all means, for sure'.

(1e) [LITERARY] anticipating ... $\bar{\quad}$ *béki/bési* 'ought': *subekároku* 'by all means, necessarily' (< *su' béku*).

(1f) anticipating a simile (such as ... *yóo da*): *átákamo* [semi-literary] = *tyoodo* = *maru-de* 'just (... like)'; *dóo-mo* 'somehow' (also 'very')—as in *Sore wa dóo-mo seikaku de náí yóo da* 'That somehow seems incorrect' (SA 2660.41b); *sá-mo* 'just (as if)'.

(1g) anticipating an identifier: *sunáwati* 'in other words', *túmari* 'id est', *kekkyókú* 'in the last analysis'; *táká-ga* 'merely, only'; maybe *takádáka*($\bar{\quad}$) 'at highest/most', *séizei* 'at the outside', *giri-giri* 'at the lowest (limit)'; ...; *hito-yonde* 'what is called, what people call'—as in *hito-yonde "keieisya-orinpíkkú"* 'it is known as the "executives olympics"' (SA 2653.136) and *Sáeki*($\bar{\quad}$)-*si wa hito-yonde "hansen-bóozu"* [da] 'Mr Saeki is known as the "anti-war bonze"' (SA 2647.60a)—but this is a simple reduction of *hito ga yonde* 'when people call it [it is ...]' (gerund of condition, §9.2) and that phrase can carry adjuncts, as in ... *zoku ni hito ga yonde Ésasi no Hanzíroo to iu otokó ga ita* 'There was a man ... popularly called Hanjirō of Esashi' (Shibata 1961.25).

(1h) the three words for 'very' *taihen*, *táisoo*, and *zúibun*, if we dissociate them from the adjectival nouns from which they come by direct adverbialization.

(1i) *góku*, *góku-goku*($\bar{\quad}$) 'extremely'; *hanahada* 'extremely', *tote-mo* 'quite, indeed, (not) at all', *hóbo* 'nearly', *tyoodo* 'just, exactly' (a time reference must be in round figures: *tyoodo sán-zi zíp-pun* 'just 3:10' is fine but not **tyoodo sán-zi zyuusán-pun* 'just 3:13'), *suutoo* = *zutto* (= *zut-to*) 'by far', *yahári* 'also, nonetheless', *moo* 'more', *móo*($\bar{\quad}$) 'already', *túí*₂ 'unintentionally', *sémete* [< vt. gerund] 'at least/ most', *éte*($\bar{\quad}$) [site] [perhaps from the gerund of vt. *é* 'get'] 'often, frequently (= *yóku*); apt/prone/liable to (= *yáya* [to] *mo suréba*), *káette* [< vi. gerund] 'on the contrary, rather', *músiro* 'rather', *tóotoo* 'at last', *yagaté* 'before long', *tái-site* 'greatly' (cf. *tái-sita* 'great, much' §13.5), *gái-site* 'in general', *sore yúé* 'therefore' [< *sore ga yúé ni* 'with that for a reason'], *sá-te* 'well, now', *sunáwati* 'namely' (see above), *túmari* [< vi. infinitive *tumári*] 'after all, in brief, id est' (see above), *syosen* = *kekkyókú/kekkyoku-no-tokoró* = *tootei* 'after all', *séizei* 'to/at the utmost', *sadáme-si* [? v. infinitive + emphatic particle] = *sadámete* 'presumably', *sígeku* 'profusely, lots' and *asi-sígeku* '(visiting) frequently' [< *síge-ku* infinitive of the literary adjective *síge-* 'be profuse']; *narubéku*($\bar{\quad}$) 'as possible' [< *náru* $\bar{\quad}$ *béku* 'so that it ought to become']—*narubeku nára* 'if possible' can be treated as propredication or ellipsis; *míngoto* (? = *míngoto 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 (*nó* ← *dá*) but lack the nominal sentence (*... *dá*) from which the adnominal should be derived; these are DEFECTIVE PREDICABLE ADVERBS: *kánete* 'previously', *kánete no* 'previous'; *mókka* 'at present', *mókka no* 'current'; *tátte*($\bar{\quad}$) 'insistently', *tátte*($\bar{\quad}$) no 'insistent'; *zyúurai* 'hitherto', *zyúurai no* 'former, existing'; *sási-mo*($\bar{\quad}$) 'such (a), as he/it is'—as in *Sási-mo*($\bar{\quad}$) *óoki na kuzira mo tóotoo tukamatta* 'Big as he was the whale was finally caught', *sási-mo*($\bar{\quad}$) no 'such a; that he/it is'—as in *sási-mo*($\bar{\quad}$) no *yúusya mo* 'brave man that he is' and *sási-mo*($\bar{\quad}$) no *watakusi 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 predicable adverb *kórai* 'from of old' is sometimes preceded by a (junctured) noun, presumably with ellipsis of *nó*: ... *mínzoku kórai no géngo o kokugo to site*, ... 'treating as the national language the language traditional to the people' (Ōno 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* ^[ó] as in ... *atumátta no wa tatta no rokú-nin* 'there were only six people gathered' (SA 2674.26c). These defective predicable 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 predicable adverb: *ippasi yakú ni tátu* 'is useful enough', *ippasi no otona-átukai de* 'treated like a regular grownup' (SA 2666.32a), but not **ippasi dá*. 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 *ní* (i.e. with the objective essive): *tóku ni* 'especially'; *ítigai ni* 'all-out, sweepingly'; *musyoo ní* 'inordinately'; *tádati ni* 'directly, immediately'; *massígura ni* 'impetuously, at full speed'; *omomuro ni* 'slowly, quietly, patiently'; *mása ni*¹²³ 'precisely, just', (+ *-y*)*oo to suru* 'about to'; *móro 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* (= *óo[k]i ni*) 'greatly' (see 5 below); *tínami(-) ní* 'by the way' [*< tinamí* derived noun *< tinámi*, vi. 'being related']; *narabi ní* 'and, additionally, both together' [*< 'in a row' derived noun < vi. 'standing in a row'*]; *hitori-de ní* 'spontaneously' [presumably from *hitori de* 'being alone'—but *hitori"-té* 'alone-hand' would be another possible etymology]; *tende{n} ní* 'separately, respectively, each'; *hikkirí-nási ni* 'without letup'; *tokkú(-) ní* '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(-) ní* 'together'; *tutó ni* 'early, long ago'; *gén ni* 'actually', *án ni* 'tacitly, implicitly', *gé ni* (= *zítú ni*) 'truly', *kóto ni* 'especially', *túi ni* 'at last'; *zyózyo ni* 'little by little, gradually'; *issei ní* 'unanimously'; *génka ni* 'promptly, at once'; *mídari ni* [literary] 'rashly; without good reason (or permission); excessively'; *túbusa ni* [literary] 'in detail, fully', *yúu ni* [literary] 'gently, amply'; *nokke ní* (= *aonoke/aomuke ní*) 'facing upward', (= *nokke kará* = *hazime kará*) 'from the start'; These are usually listed in dictionaries as lexical adverbs, and the *ní* is often hyphenated in the romanization. Cf. also the direct nominalizations (§ 14.6) *yoo-súru ni* 'in brief', For *iká(-)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 *tári/táru*): *dén-to(-)* 'conspicuously (placed)', *kit-tó* 'surely; sternly', *tón-to(-)* 'entirely; (not) at all', *tyót-to* 'a bit', etc.—see § 21.7. Other subjective adjectival nouns that are similarly defective seem to be at the same time members of other classes: *iroiro {tó}*- is also an adverb and an objective adjectival (or precopular) noun; *dandán {to}* is also a predicable adverb (*dandán da/ni/no*) and a pure adverb—which, like all basic oxytones, loses its final accent before the underlying juncture that marks direct adverbialization. *Zubári {to}* 'boldly' is a predicable adverb: *enryoo no náí zubári no situmon* = ... *zubári to sita situmon* 'a bold and unabashed question',

123. Cf. *másaka* 'surely [not]' *< *mása {da} ka* 'is it exact?'

Mása ni sono-mónó^[1] zubári desu 'You said it! You hit the nail on the head!' = Mása ni zubári sono-mónó^[1] desu. And occasionally it seems to be used as an (objective) adjectival noun: sono-mónó^[1] zubári na ii-kata = zubári sono mónó^[1] no ii-kata 'calling a spade a spade'. (On sono-mónó, see §25.) Zóku-zoku(-) 'repeatedly, successively' is a predicable 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 "motíron" ni wa nakanaka TO hukumí 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 Tōkyō speech métta is also used as a pure adverb without ní (an example will be found in Kb 31b); sétu na 'earnest', sétu ni 'earnestly'; yatara ná 'indiscriminate, random', yatara ní 'indiscriminately' (yatara *tó* is also reported); roku ná 'satisfactory', roku ní '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 naru—with the LITERARY attributive (= adnominal) form of the copula instead of the colloquial ná—'a plain, a mere' (= *táda no*), 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 *nára*, and have other limitations in distribution. Uturo 'hollow' usually appears adnominalized (uturo na *mé* 'hollow eyes') or adverbialized (uturo ni *mi-hiraita mé* 'eyes wide-open hollowly'), but uturo *dá* seems to be acceptable. Uron 'suspicious, questionable, shady' is usually adnominalized (*táido no uron na otokó* 'a man of questionable attitude') or adverbialized (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 adverbialized (*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): *sára* 'new, anew'; ? *kakubetu* 'individual(ly)', ? *betudan* 'special(ly)'—*betudan ní* 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 suru to* 'at any moment', *Hutyúui na hitó wa tokaku ziko o okosi-yasúi* (or *okosi-gati da*) 'A careless person is apt to cause accidents'; But *tokaku* belongs with defective predicable adverbs (p. 785).

The word *sasuga*¹²⁵ 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 *dóomo* 'ever so much' used as a short form of 'Thank you very much'; both uses are also found in Iwate prefecture (Zhs 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[ik]a su[rú] ga* 'is so but'. (The traditional characters RYUUSEKI 'flowing stones' were arbitrarily borrowed from an uncertain literary allusion.)

hánnin o tukamaeta can have two meanings: Sasuga {no} FBI wa sin-hánnin o tukamaeta 'The FBI being what they are caught the real culprit'; Sasuga {ni} FBI wa sin-hánnin o tukamaeta 'As we might expect, however, the FBI caught the real culprit'. Cf. the remarks on iroiro {no} mondai, p. 826.

The word sizyoo '(in) history' seems to be a defective place noun. It can be used with the mutative-locative ní (sizyoo ni na o todoméru '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 zínbutu '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-sáikoo '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: ... zínruí || hatú no | zinkoo-éisei 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-éiga ... 'the first color movie in our country' (Tk 2.196b); Sékái hatú no ... 'The first ... in the world'; Rekisi-zyoo hatú no ... 'The first ... in history'; ... sékái | go-ban ʹmé no | hoyúu-koku 'the fifth nation in the world to possess them [nuclear weapons]' (R); ... sékái daisán-i to iwareru kesyooihin-méekaa Sisei-doo ní wa ... 'for Shiseido, cosmetic maker said to be third in the world, ...' (SA 2688.18c); ... ooki-sa dé wa sékái dái-ni 'second in the world in size' (Tk 4.189a); Sékái saityoo no únga ... 'The longest canal in the world ...'; ... sono tíiki saidai no dansu-hóoru ... 'the biggest dance hall in the area' (Tk 2.115b); ... tóozii || sékái || saidai no | tokai désita 'it was the largest city in the world at that time' (R); ... sékái kyootuu no tenzi no gakuhu 'musical scores in a braille notation common to the whole world' (Tk 2.178a); ... bánkoku kyootuu no keisokú-hoo(ʹ) ni yoru kóosu ... 'a track in accord with standard international measure' (Tk 3.80b). When the temporary adverb is modifying ití [no] 'the most/best in ...' or ití^[1] A-i 'the most A in ...' (of a rather large place), the expression is sometimes tightened into a single word, a predicable adverb made by attaching ití as a regular preaccentuated suffix: Tookyóo-iti takái 'is the tallest in Tōkyō', sékái-iti ookíi 'the largest in the world', etc. But in general, and especially with longer (or less common) placenames, a juncture will intervene: Sékái ití no dai-tókai 'the biggest city in the world'; Higasi-Yooróppa ití no nagái únga 'the longest canal in eastern Europe'; Nisi-Dóitu ití no kesyooihin-méekaa 'the ranking cosmetic maker in West Germany'; Tóoyoo ití no koogyoo-títai 'the prime industrial belt of the Orient'; Nágoya ití no koogyoo-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 predicable adverbs, but that is due to the ellipsis of a quotative element, as shown in brackets: Tookyóo-iti [to iú no] to Nippón-iti [to iú no] o kyatti-huréezu ni suru wari ni, ... 'To the extent that they turn "number one in Tōkyō" 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 hosi ga déte iru 'The sky is full of stars' and also phrases like koko zyúu-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

epithematized: *keizai-teki ni hukyoo dátta koko zyúu-nen* 'these past ten years that have been economically depressed'.

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 *syógai* 'life(time)' is used to mean 'for life; for all one's life; for the rest of one's life'. The relational noun *saki* 'ahead; future' underlies *sákki* and *saki-hodo* 'a little while ago'—used as a direct adverb, adnominalized with ... *nó*, or (like many time adverbs) turned into a temporal ablative (*sákki kara* 'from a little while ago')—as well as the precopular noun *sáki* 'previous(ly)', which is defective in that it lacks the predicative form **sáki da* 'it is previous', having only the adverbial *sáki ni* and the adnominal *sáki no*. In addition to *saki-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* = *náni-hodo*(⁻) = *dóre-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): *dóre-dake*(⁻) 'how much/many', *kore-daké* 'this much/many', *sore-daké* 'that much/many', *are-daké* 'that much/many'. In dialects (at least) there are variants *dón-dake*(⁻), *kon-daké*, *son-daké* (and *hon-daké*)—but not **an-daké* (Makimura 266b): *Aa, ore wa kon-daké ka sira* 'Mmh, I wonder if this is all there is for me' (Tk 4.274a—speaking is the writer Niwa Fumio). We also find *koi-dake* and *soi-dake*, but apparently not **ai-dake* or **dói-dake*(⁻). (In the meaning 'just, only, nothing but', equivalent to one use of *bákari*, we find *daké* following *kore/sore/are* but not *dóre*.) There would seem to be no accentual reason to treat *kore/sore/are* *bákari* as adverbs rather than as directly adverbialized restrictive-marked nominals; dictionaries, however, often do so, perhaps in consideration of such variants as *kore-ppákari/ppákasi/-ppati* and *korenbákari* 'just this much': *Ore wa titioya no o-kage ní wa korenbákari mo nátte wa inái 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-kiri* (or *-kkiri* or *-giri*)¹²⁶ as adverbs rather than phrases, but (cf. §2.3.3) we will follow the dictionaries on this: *Móo zyuu-súunen mukasi no hanasi*. *Sore-kiri*^[1] *awánakatta* '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*: *dóno-kurai*(⁻) 'how much/far/long' (also *-gurai*?), *kono-kurai* (also *-gurai*?) and *kore-kurai/-gurai/-kkurai*¹²⁷ 'this much'; *sono-kurai/-gurai* and *sore-kurai/-gurai* 'that much', *ano-kurai* (also *-gurai*?) and *are-kurai/-gurai/-kkurai*¹²⁸ 'that much', *ikura-gúrai* 'how much', *onazi-kúrai*(⁻)/*-gúrai*(⁻) 'to the same extent'; but there is no **dore-kurai/-gurai*. The accent dictionaries list *ikurá-ka* 'some; somewhat, partially' and *íkurá-mo* 'ever so many/much; (not) very many/much' and NHK alone lists *íktu-mo* 'ever so many' (with regular accentuation); K and H both

126. The final accent will be heard only when *dá*, *dé*, or some other form of the copula follows; but the adnominalized copula *nó* will normally cancel the final accent, as will the underlying juncture appropriate to the directly adverbial use.

127. An example: ... *moo kore-kkurai no món desyo?* 'it's already this much of a thing, you know' (Tk 2.188a).

128. *Híyo* [= *hiyó-dori*(⁻)] *to wa tyót-to tigua ga, are-kkurai no tori de, hai-iro no yátu né* 'It is a little different from the bulbul but it is a bird of about that size and is gray' (Tk 4.295ab).

list *náni-mo*([~]) '(not) anything; (not) in any way' and most dictionaries list *dóo-mo* 'somehow; very' (probably because the expected meaning of the highlighted adverb is expressed as *dóo ni mo*) and *dóo-ka* 'please', since 'somehow, anyhow' is usually said as *dóo ni ka*. The expressions *dóo-ni-mo* and *dóo-ni-ka* are also often listed as single lexical items, as is *náni-ka* 'something'. In some of these apparent lexicalizations, it is unclear whether the expected regular syntactic formations also occur (*kore ̀gúrai* '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-*kú*, as *háyaku* 'early, fast') and of adjectival nouns (AN *ní*, as *kyokután ni* 'extremely'), see §9.1.11. The adverbs *síge-ku* 'in profusion, lots' or (= *asi-sígeku*) 'frequently' and *syúuné-ku* 'persistently' are the only modern forms of two of the few literary adjective bases that end in *e* (no colloquial adjective base ends in *e*); *syúuné-* is from the Chinese loanword *syúunen*([~]) 'persistence'. A few adverbs are derived by attaching the suffix *-kú* to something other than an adjective base: *mósi-ku* [*wa*] 'or else' < *mósi* 'if'; *yooya-ku* 'finally' < *yau-ya* < *yáya* 'slightly'; *kotogóto-ku* 'all' < *koto-góto* [*ni*] '[in] everything' < reduplicated noun *kotó*; *ká-ku* (= *kóo*) 'thus'; *siká-ku* (= *sóo*) 'so'; Notice also the old-fashioned *Negáwaku* *wa* ... 'Prithee ...', *Osimúráku wa* ... 'It is to be regretted that ...', and *N ga/no íwaku* = *N no hanasí 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: *nokórazu* 'all, entirely', *táezu* 'constantly', ...; *tookárazu* 'in the near future, before very long' (< 'not being distant', §8.6), As observed in §9.1, a few adverbs derive from verb infinitives: *túmari* 'after all; in short', *toriwake* (= *toriwakete*) 'especially', The adverb *ne-kósogi*([~]) 'entirely; root and branch' is a variant of the dialect version *ne-kósoge*, derived from the verbal sentence *né o kosóge* 'scraping the root'. A number of adverbs are derived from gerunds; to the lists in §9.2 we can add *tikátte*([~]) and *kami-kárete* (both 'vowing') as synonyms of *kanarazu* 'unfailingly' and the literary *sásite* '(not) particularly', said to be from [*kore zo to*] *sásite* 'indicating it to be precisely this'—cf. the literary attributive perfect *sásitaru* NOUN + NEGATIVE 'no special/particular N'. Various adverbializations are often listed as lexical adverbs or conjunctions; in addition to the adverbializations with *ní* from adjectival or precopular nouns, you will also find *omóeba* 'come to think of it, in retrospect, on reflection', There are a few adverbs which derive from ablativized noun phrases: *atamá-[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: *míru-míru* 'in the twinkling of an eye', *masú-masu* 'more and more', *núru-nuru* (= *núra-nura*) 'slippery, clammy' (from the literary predicative equivalent to *nureru*), *ózu-ozu* 'fearfully' (from the literary predicative equivalent to *ozíru*), *naku-naku* 'in tears'; *osoru-óoru* 'in fear, hesitant' (as in *osoru-óoru no mooside* 'a hesitantly made proposal'), and *kawaru-gáwaru* 'in turns, one after another'. The first five—iterated dissyllables—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 íwaku* 'Confucius say[s]'; there is also a noun *íwaku*([~]) 'reason; tale'. The pure noun *omówaku*([~]) is sometimes written with the Chinese character found in the second loanmorph of *méiwaku* 'trouble, bother', but that is a false etymology. *Omoéraku* 'what (I) think, methinks' is the *V-r[u] aku* form of the literary perfect (§9.6) *omoéri* 'has thought'.

To this list we can add the adverbs *tuku-zúku* (= *tuku-*"*tuku*) *{to}* 'thoroughly, earnestly' and *misu-misu* 'before one's eyes', derived from a variant of the verb *mésu* (probably < *mí-a-s-*), an old subject-exalting form of *mí-ru* 'sees, looks'. Perhaps *hikú-hiku* 'jerking, gasping, nervous' (whence eventually *bikkúri* 'surprised') and *súru-suru* '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}-toko{ro}* 'for the present, for the time being, as yet' < *ima no tokoró* 'the present place/situation', *káre-kore* 'around, approximately' < *káre* (= are) *ya kore* 'that and this'; *míru-ma ni* 'in the twinkling of an eye, in an instant'; *asana-ásana* = *ása-na ása-na* 'morning after morning, every morning', *asana-yúuna* = *ása-na yuu-na* = *ása-na yúu-na* '(every) morning and evening'—the *-na* in these expressions is probably a contraction of *ní wa*; *iyademo-óodemo* = *iyá de mo óo de mo*^{129a} 'whether yea or nay' = 'willy-nilly'; *koto-nó-hoka*([~]) 'exceedingly; unexpectedly'; *tódo-no-tumari* = *kekkyókú* 'in the end' (also an abstract noun 'the upshot, the final consequence'); *múyami-yatara ni* 'rashly'; *noruka-sóruka* = *norú ka sóru ka* 'sink or swim', *itika-bátika* = *ití ka batí ka* 'sink or swim' (~ *no dai-syóobu desu yó* (SA 2793.129b));

Often listed as a prefix, the quasi adverb *ái* is separated from the verb it modifies by a minor juncture: *ái | arasóu*, *ái | tatakau*, *ái | kataráu*, *ái | imasiméru*([~]), etc. The adverb, derived from the infinitive *ái* 'meet', has two meanings: one is a synonym of *ái-tomo ni* = *tómo*([~]) *ní* 'together, jointly' and the other is a synonym of *tagai ní* 'mutually, reciprocally, each other'. In the latter sense, *ái V* carries the same meaning as *V-i-au* (see §9.1.10); but *ái míru* can mean 'look at it together' (only?) whereas *mi-au* means only 'look at each other, exchange glances'. Kenkyusha gives 'together' examples of *ái yorokóbu* 'share joy' and *ái narande iku* 'go side by side'; the 'reciprocally' examples given are *ái mukatte suwaru* 'sit face to face' and *ái tuide* 'successively, one after another'.¹³⁰ The quasi adverb *ái* is well known in the set phrase *ái zéngo site* 'though not simultaneously = while differing in time' as in this example: *Tyósyá wa ái zéngo site "Gendai-búngaku no sintai" ... to iu hyoorón-syuu mo hakkoo sitá 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 *ái* is typically followed by a verb (*ái ogináu* 'complement each other', *ái nite iru* 'are mutually resemblant'), or a verbal noun predicated by *suru* (*ái itti suru* 'mutually accord', *ái muzyun suru* 'are mutually contradictory', *ái tekioo suru* 'are mutually accommodating') or a bound verbal noun predicated by *-su* or *-ziru* (*ái tuu-ziru* 'communicate with each other'); but occasionally other kinds of predicates are found: *ái hitosíi* 'are mutually equivalent', ...; *ái irenai* 'are inconsistent with each other'. Sometimes the "mutuality" is reinforced by adverbial expressions of similar meaning: ... *sorézore o-tagai ni ái oginátte, ...* 'they mutually complement each other respectively' (Nakane 83). I have confirmed the acceptability of *ái* with *ses-súru* 'get together', *kasamaru* 'mutually accumulate',

129a. Or *iyaga-óodemo* = *iyá ga óo de mo*.

130. More examples: ... *ái tonari-átta hutatú no kuni de ...* 'in two countries neighboring each other' (Kotoba no uchū 1967/4.15a); ... *hutatú no séiryoku ga ái tairitu suru sékai de, ...* 'in a world where two powers stand opposed to each other' (MJW); *ái koto-nátta génri no monó* 'those mutually responsive with ...' (Y 359); *hotóndo ái kikkoo suru gúrai ni tukawarete iru* 'are used virtually as if in mutual rivalry' (Mabuchi 210); *ái hisyoo suru* 'checks them against each other' (Gekkan-Bumpō 2/11.52b); A word of caution: what looks in print as though it might be **ái tai-súru* is in fact *aitai*([~]) *suru* 'face each other', a verbal noun—cf. *aitai*([~]) *zúkú*([~]) 'by (mutual) agreement'; the hyphenation in Kenkyusha is misleading. Cf. *ái han-súru* 'run counter to each other'.

hakáru 'plan together', maziwáru 'associate with each other', tudóu 'gather together', ...; also ái tazusáete '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) ái is rather freely prefixed to verbs with no special meaning, other than elegance, and that is the source of such expressions as Ai-sumimasén 'I'm very sorry/grateful; ai-kawarazu '(in good health) as always', and ái-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 (... dá), but they generally resist the mutative conversions of § 9.1.11, though individual exceptions can be found: sibáruku ni náru 'gets to be a while' is acceptable but *sibáruku ni suru 'makes it a while' is not. The deictic-anaphoric correlatives kóo 'like this', sóo 'like that', áa 'like that', and dóo 'how' occur directly before náru/suru in the mutative conversions (*kóo ni náru/suru → koo náru/suru), with all but dóo losing their accents, as is usual when they are followed by anything other than the copula or a particle. This direct use before náru/suru is to be attributed to the fact that the derivation includes the morpheme -kú (kóo < ka-ú < ka-kú),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: Súgu sóba da 'It is right nearby'; Sukósi migi desu 'It is a bit to the right'; Háruka saki ni ... 'Way ahead ...'; Móttö nanpoo no úmi ... 'seas farther south' (SA 2677.70c). Adverbialized quantity nouns can modify relational nouns in the same way, as we see in sono sán-yokka áto, ... 'three or four days after that' (SA 2689.126d), in which the entire phrase is directly adverbialized, but only after the noun phrase sán-yokka áto has been adnominally modified by the adnoun sono 'that'.

There are also adverbs which modify numbers or numerical phrases: maru 'fully' as in maru sánzyuu rokú-sai 'fully 36 years old'; asikake 'including the first and last (year), a full (number of years)'; syóomi 'just, clear, full, net' as in ... syáin(¯) to site hataraitá no wa syóomi han-tukí 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 sán-pun to kakaránakatta 'it didn't take three minutes' (SA 2639.106), mono-no san-yonzíppun mo iku to ... 'when I had walked for a matter of thirty or forty minutes' (SA 2642.35a); yáku 'approximately'; púrasu(¯) '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 mattakú 'complete(ly)' as if it belonged to two classes, pure adverb (mattakú^[1] siranai 'is completely ignorant', mattakú^[1] urusái 'is quite vexing') and defective precopular noun (Mattakú^[1] dá 'True',¹³² mattakú no úso 'an utter fabrication')

131. Corresponding to the accentually aberrant káku used as a semi-literary equivalent of kóo in the modern standard language. (See p. 784.)

132. But the accentuation given here implies an adverbial use with propredicative ellipsis such as Mattakú^[1] [(l) sóo] da. Unless it can be shown that (?)Mattakú da occurs, the proper assignment would

which lacks the adverbialized form with ... ní. From the distribution alone it would be sufficient to call *mattakú* a predicable adverb (*mattakú da/no, mattakú*); apparently the double classification is justified only by the meanings and by limitations on the kinds of nouns that can be modified by *mattakú no*, as in this example: *Mórita-si ga syoogákkoo o sotogyoo sita kóro, Tumagoi-mura wa zidoosya-dóoro mo tóotte inai mattakú no sanson dátta* 'When Mr Morita graduated from primary school Tsumagoi was an utter mountain village without even an automobile road running through it' (SA 2684.63e). When the adjectival noun *tásika* 'certain' is directly adverbialized it serves as a sentential adverb that is used to open a sentence as a transitional theme or conjunction with the meaning 'I think' or 'clearly (if I am not mistaken)'; cf. the adverbialization *tásika ni*, which usually modifies (and directly precedes) a predicate nucleus.

Adverbs seem to be highly idiosyncratic with respect to FOCUS; some adverbs take *wá* or *mó* freely, others take only *wá* or only *mó*, 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: *matá-site-mo, matá-mo, matá-mo-ya* = *matá-mata*(⁻) 'repeatedly; once again'; *átáka-mo, ádáka-mo* 'just (as if)'; *iyásiku-mo* 'even slightly'; *imíziku-mo* 'aptly, admirably'; *tote-mo* 'absolutely, utterly, quite'; *sá-mo* 'evidently, so'; *siká-mo* 'moreover'; *kuregure-mo* 'repeatedly', *móttó-mo* 'most'; *iyaga-uénimo* (also *iyá ga ué ni mo, iyá ga ue ní mo*) 'even more, all the more'.

WA: *arúi-wa* 'maybe; or; some/others'; *mósiku-wa* 'or; otherwise'; *mátá-wa* 'or else, and(/or)'; *hiité-wa* 'and by extension, furthermore, moreover'; (Often listed is *zítu wa* = *zítu ni* 'in truth', but *zítu* is a pure noun.)

SI-MO: *kanarazú-sí-mo* '(not) necessarily'; *orí-si-mo* 'just then'; *tokí-si-mo* 'just then'; *máda-si-mo* 'preferable, rather'—as in *Zyuutaku wa syataku ga áreba máda-si-mo da ga, ...* 'For housing it's better to have a company house, but ...' (SA 2674.113a); (But *sási-mo* does not belong here; see p. 501.)

{MO}: *kéredo {mo}* 'but'; *náo {mo}* 'furthermore' (SA 2689.119a); *mósi {mo}* 'if, perchance';

{WA}: *túmari {wa}* 'in brief; after all' (SA 2678.116d); *osóraku {wa}* 'probably'; *mázu {wa}* 'about, nearly, on the whole', as in ... *mázu wa tyuu-kíbo no kokusai-gákkai* '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)', *kanarazu* = *kanarazú ya* 'for sure', *másite*(⁻) = *másite ya* 'much more/less'; *yómo {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 *wá* or *mó*. Usually the focus will carry a difference of meaning (and translation): *sá-te* 'well, now', *sá-te wa* 'so then, besides',

seem to be that of a defective adverb lacking the predicate form. If so, it differs from the adverb *sassokú* 'sudden': *Sassokú desu ga ...* and *Sassokú* [¹] *desu ga ...* 'It is sudden, but ...' are both used; cf. Martin 1970, fn. 1.

sá-te mo = sáte-sate 'indeed, how very', sá-te koso 'that is why'; Predicable adverbs can take other markers of focus and restriction; sika can be applied both to adverbs and to adverbial phrases (such as those made with the postadnominal hodó): ... tokitama SIKÁ kao o dasánaku nátta 'got so he only seldom showed his face' (Kb 125a); ... kanzýoo suru hodó SIKÁ nori-te ga arimasén 'there are barely enough passengers to count' (Kb 125a). Examples of adverbs followed by various markers of focus, restriction, etc.: Ukkári WA sin'yoo dekinai (= Ukkári sin'yoo wa dekinai) 'You can't absentmindedly trust them'; Hitodoori mo máda, tirahora SIKÁ nákatta 'There was still pedestrian traffic only here and there' (Kb 251b); ... sugu ni DE MO ... 'right away, say, ...' (Kb 274b); Tikáku ni súde irú no ni tokitama SÚRA aemasén 'Though he lives nearby, I don't get to see him even occasionally'; Saikin KÓSO kono hen mo ié ga óoku nátta ga, sore máde wa zooki-báyasi bákari desita 'It is just lately that houses have sprung up around here (too), but up to then it was nothing but woods'; Anó-hito ni wa tokitama NÁDO/NÁNKA zya náku, máiniti(⁻) ai-tái n desu 'Him I want to see every day, not just once in a while or something'; Máiniti(⁻) zya náku, tokitama ṬGÚRAI nara awásete yaroo 'I'll let you see him if not every day at least once in a while'; Kúyo-kuyo BÁKARI sinákutt'atte [= sinákute mo] súmu wáke zyaa náí ka, nání-mo(⁻)? 'Can't you get along without worrying all the time?' (Kb 285b); Ano otokó wa saikin BÁKARI de mo si-gokai toonan ni átte iru sóo da 'He's been robbed four or five times just lately'; Tokitama DAKÉ de mo íi kara ai-tái monó da 'I want to see him even if it's only once in a while'; Aéru nara, tokitama D'ÁTTE kamaimasén 'If I can see him I don't mind if it is even once in a while'; Saikin HODÓ de wa náí ga, ano hen wa móto kara yóozin no warúi tokoró desita 'That's always been a place where the security (= police protection) was bad, though not as bad as recently'. (Anó-hito wa sendatté MADE kono gakkoo ni tutómete imá⁽¹⁾sita '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 [gá] A-kú, especially those with obligatory ellipsis of the subject marker.¹³³ When the noun is atonic, the juncture will drop with the case-marker, leaving a single phonological word: keiki ɛga | ɛ yóku 'in a lively way', kimae ɛga | ɛ yóku 'generously', tugoo ɛga | ɛ yóku 'conveniently'. When the noun is tonic, in many phrases the juncture persists, letting you hear two accent phrases: ikiói ɛgaɛ | yóku 'vigorously, forcefully', (On kázu óoku/sukúnáku and kazu-óoku, see § 13.5, § 9.1.) Oxytonic nouns behave like atonic nouns, leaving no overt indication of the juncture: tegiwá ɛga | ɛ yóku → tegiwá^[1] yóku 'skillfully'; orí ɛga | ɛ yóku → orí^[1] yóku 'opportunistically, fortunately'. But in other instances, the accentuation clearly tells us that the phrase has been reduced to a lexical compound: otí-naku 'without omission' < otí ɛga | ɛ náku; yamú-naku 'unavoidably' < yamú ɛ[no] ga | ɛ náku 'without any stopping' (or perhaps < yamú [[no] o | é-]naku 'being unable to stop?'); cf. p. 374. For 'unluckily' you will hear both ún wáruku with minor juncture and ún (-) waruku with the juncture dropped but the accentuation remaining phrasal (not *un-wáruku); yet 'luckily' seems to be said only as ún (-) yoku with no juncture, perhaps because it is a syllable shorter. The expressions derive from ún ga wáruku/yóku 'luck being bad/good'. A similar problem is the reduction of téi ga yóku 'appearance being good',

133. And those based on an otherwise unused noun, such as that found in kokoro-oki náku 'with-out reservation; hesitancy; easy in mind; heartily'. Notice that expressions such as kakúsu kotó náku 'concealing nothing' require the suppression of gá, even though the noun (kotó) is modified (here by the adnominalized verb kakúsu 'hides it').

which is said either as *tei-yóku* (by Hamako Chaplin) or as *téi (-) yoku* (by H) and means 'decently, gracefully'; MKZ^s lists both versions. (There is no **téi-wárukú*; the closest antonym is *bu-kiyoo ni* 'clumsily'.)

On the derivation of *ítu-no-má-ní-ka* 'before one is aware, unnoticed' from an interrogativized propredication *ítu no l ma ní [da] ka* 'is it (happening) in the interval of when/sometime/anytime', see p. 923. The adverb *sikáru-ni {máta(-)}* 'however' is derived from *siká áru {no}* 'though it be thus' with the literary adverb *siká = siká-ku = sóo*. Cf. *sikási* 'however' from *siká + si* (particle or infinitive, cf. 487); *siká-mo* 'moreover'.

Although *orí-kara* 'just then' and *onozukara (= onozu-to)* 'by itself, of its own accord' are adverbs, *mízukara* 'oneself, itself' is a pure noun (subclassed as a pronoun) as is the synonym *zibun*, since *mízukara ga/o* can be heard; but *mízukara* is sometimes directly adverbialized to mean 'by oneself, by one's own efforts'. Though often used as adverbs, the four words *sorézore*, *meiméi*, *menmén*, and *onóono* 'each, respectively' are also pure nouns: *kono onóono wa* 'each of these'; *meiméi ga* (SA 2724.29b). *O-tagai* 'each other' is sometimes used as a noun: *o-tagai o rikai(-) si-áu* 'mutually understand each other'; ... *o-tagai ga masúmasu kiken na róohi(-) o suru to iu zyookyoo* ... '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: *túi saikin* 'quite recently, just lately', *túi saki-hodo* 'just a while back'; *mattakú totu-zen {ni}* 'quite suddenly'; *Sono hayasí ga, osorósiku nágaku tuzuita* 'That forest stretched an awfully long way' (SA 2642.34a). When there are two adverbials 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 ní mo másite ikenai kotó wa ...* 'And even worse (than that) ...' (*sore ní* 'on top of that, besides' = *sono ue {ni}*); *ángai(-) tote-mo ii monó da* 'it is an unexpectedly very good thing' (CK 985.379); *Míte ótte, hanahada dóo-mo hu-yú kai desita né, mótto 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 *móttö zut-to karúi* 'far lighter' but not **zut-to móttö karúi*. 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/dáiti ni, ...* 'First, to start with, ...';¹³⁴ TIME + SPEED: *Áru-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 tyoohoo-kíkan to no sessyoku wa, áru ása, mattakú totu-zen ni okótta* '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 | háyaku | ókite* will be understood only as 'rises early-in-the-morning' but *ása || háyaku | 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 hanáyaka ni* 'disgustingly gaudily'. Sometimes a manner adverbial is used to modify

134. But in *Séngo ma-mó-naku no kóro ni ...* 'At a time not long after the war ...' the directly adverbialized time noun *séngo* modifies the adverb *ma-mó-naku* 'soon' to form an adverbial phrase that is predicated and adnominalized to *kóro* 'time'. In *Séngo(-) ma-mó-naku no áru-ban, ...* 'One evening shortly after the war ...' (Tk 3.253) we find further adverbialization of the resulting structure—also with predication and adnominalization.

another descriptive adverbial: *reitán 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: *iyá ni hanáyaka da* 'it is disgustingly gaudy', *reitán ni hiniku dá* '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: *súgoku* 'terribly',¹³⁵ *hídoku* 'hideously', *osorósiku* 'frightfully', etc. By using one or more degree adverbs it is possible to inflate the structures given above: *súgoku reitán ni hiniku ni* 'in a terribly coolly cynical way', *hizyoo ni osorósiku iyá ni hanáyaka 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-nin sorótte* '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-nin [no hitó ga] soróu* 'three people form a group'. The latter explanation is supported by such phrases as *go-húuhu [ga] o-soroi de* 'husband and wife together'. Some double adverbs have been phonologically consolidated into single lexical items and are so carried by dictionaries: *íma-nao* 'even now, still today',¹³⁶ *náo-sara(-)* 'all the more', *náo-mata*, 'moreover', *náo-nao* 'more and more, still more', Other double adverbs are clichés: *kírei sappári suteru* 'throws it clean away' (or *kírei sappári*, Tsukagoshi 38).

We have spoken before of the use of degree adverbs to modify relational nouns: *móo(-)* *daibu máe {ni}* 'now quite some time ago'; *moo tyót-to saki ni* 'a little farther ahead'; *Kooban no túi sóba da* 'It is right next to the police box'; *Kono sukósi sitá no Purinsu-Hóteru no áru hukín 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 súgu áto [de/ni]* 'immediately after that [in time/order]', *sono súgu tonari dé wa* 'right next door to that'; ... *kara saki ga tigau* 'from ... on it's different' (Maeda 1961.172); *Sono mata ué no tentyoo [= misé no tyóo]* *wa zyoomu-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 yóri mo higasi(-)* 'more east than that, further east yet'; *Koko yóri mo hitótu kawa-simo no murá de wa* 'in a village one down the river from here'; *Anáta yori yohodo ue desu yó* 'I am much older than you' (Tk 2.135a). And adverbialized quantity nouns (numbers or quantifiers) are quite common: *hitóri saki ni déru* 'leaves one person ahead of others', *yottú tosi-ue no káno-zyo wa* 'she who is four years older' (SA 2635.59b); *mittú tosi-ue no 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-kágetu máe* 'two months ago/earlier/before', *sono san-nen notí ni* 'three years after that', The quantity can be focused or restricted: *yónhyakú-nen gúrai máe* 'some four hundred years ago', *nihyakú-nen ámari mo máe ni* 'over two hundred years earlier' (Ōno 1966.89); *Móo(-)* *nizyúu-nen mo mukasi no kotó ni náru ga* 'It was all of twenty years ago (but/and) ...'.

135. There is a contemporary use of the adjective *sugói* as equivalent to the degree adverb (mono-) *súgoku* 'very', according to *Kōgo-bumpō no mondai-ten* 275. An example recorded from 1972 television: *Sugói || hukuzatu ná n desu || née* 'It's real complicated, isn't it!' And *erái = eraku*, KKK 44.149.

136. But the following sentence will not permit the reading *íma-nao*, since we need *íma* as a directly adverbialized time noun to serve as epitheme for the adnominalized sentence ending *tátta*: ... *kansei gó(-)* *hutá-tuki ámari tátta íma náo kōokai sarezu 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 adverbialized sentence: *ík-ken oite tonari dá* 'it is two doors removed/away'. Sometimes an unexpected word turns out to be a relational noun: *Kamakurá(¯) ¯zidai no góku hazime o sakái* to site ... 'Taking the very beginning of the Kamakura period as a boundary, ...' (Ōno 1966.96); ... *góku syóki no kóro*, ... 'in the very early days' (Tk 4.323b); ... *syoogákkoo no góku syokyuu kara*, ... '(starting) from the most elementary class in primary school' (Ōno 1967.179); ... *taihen enpóo(¯) kara kíta* 'has come from quite far away'; *Móttö zyooryuu no hóo ga ii desyoo* 'Farther upstream would be better'. And sometimes the adverbial modification is *mata* 'again' interpolated between adnoun and noun: *sono mata o-kage de* 'thanks to that again' (Maeda 1962.170); *sono mata tugí 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: *Sihón-kin(¯) no KÁNARI óoku o Amerika kara úkete iru* 'We are getting fairly much capital from America' (*óoku* here is a noun derived from the infinitive *óoku* 'being much', not the infinitive itself); *Gakusei no HIZYOO NI óoku ga sensoo hantai da* 'Quite many of the students are opposed to the war'; *ZÚIBUN syooryóo(¯) o ireru to, kóoka ga áru* 'There is an effect when you put in a very small quantity'; *GÓKU ití-bu no hokusén-kei no hitó ga kageki ná 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 *móttö* 'more'; you can supply the basis for the comparison by prefacing your description with *N yóri* 'than N', which will make *móttö* redundant but not unacceptable. When the basis for comparison is not specified, instead of *móttö* you will sometimes find *yóri(¯)* directly preceding the descriptive word: *Yori omosirói* 'It is more interesting'; *Yori ánka na gesyuku o motoméru* '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 prefaced *yóri(¯)* 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 *wá* or *mó* or *ká*, can intervene between *yóri(¯)* and the descriptive word; (2) The resulting phrase can not be preceded by any modification, nor can the domain of *yóri(¯)* extend beyond the immediately following expression; (3) The presence of *yóri(¯)* does not serve to block the optional ellipsis of {*ná*} 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 *móttö* as *yóri(¯)* with optional accent, most speakers seem to treat the word as atonic except for oratorical or reading pronunciations, when you may hear such versions as *Yóri | túyoku* ... 'More powerfully ...' (R). For the phrase *yóri(¯) óoki na yorokóbí(¯)* 'a greater joy' the pronunciation *yóri 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 sízuka na | tokoró de* 'in a quieter place', *yori kyooryoku na monó* '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 ni ll* ... 'in order to support a livelihood with more foresight' (SA 2793.125a); *Zyúgyoo o | yori | omosiróku suru { | } tamé ni ll* ... 'in order to make the teaching more interesting ...'. We might account for the

prefaced *yóri*(-) as an ellipsis of [N] *yóri* 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 *náni ka yori* 'than something') were omitted; the tonic version would be expected from the omission of some atonic noun (as in *sore yóri* '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: *syóo | kú-zi*; (2) adverb + time noun: *tyoodo [l] kú-zi, kittíri | kú-zi, kakkíri | kú-zi*; (3) time noun + adverb: *kú-zi | kakkíri*. The last form—a stylistic inversion?—is not used by all speakers. In place of *kakkíri* there are possibly speakers who use *kókkíri*, apparently a "downtown" Tōkyō dialect form. But from the data in dictionaries this word appears to be a restrictive ... *˘kókkíri* used as a synonym of one meaning of *˘daké* 'exactly': *iti-dó/ip-pén ˘kókkíri* 'exactly once', *hitótu ˘kókkíri* 'exactly one', *hyaku-en ˘kókkíri* 'exactly a hundred yen' (= *kakkíri hyaku-en*). Shimmura carries a variant with voiced initial *˘gókkíri*. See § 2.4.

In addition to specific collocational restrictions, certain adverbs such as *háyaku* 'fast' or *súra-sura* 'smoothly' will normally modify only verbal predicates; *súgoku* 'awfully', on the other hand, freely occurs with adjectives and also with at least some verbal predicates (*hasír-u, isógu, benkyoo suru, ...*). A few adverbs are so limited as to be bound intensifiers; thus *ippúu*(-) seems to occur only in *ippúu*(-) *kawatte iru* = *ippúu*(-) *tigau* 'is eccentric, unconventional'. *Hyakú mo* 'even a hundred' functions as an adverb idiomatically bound to the phrase *hyakú mo syooti da* 'knows full well'. The literary adverb *izukúnzo* (from *iduku n[i] = dóko ni + zo*) is usually followed by *siran* = *siramu* to represent the meaning 'How should we/I know?' The adverb *ryoo-ryoo* 'both (mutually)' appears to be always followed by the quasi adverb *ái*: *Sóren daihyoo, Béi daihyoo, ryoo-ryoo ái táizi site yuzurazu, koosyoo wa kuretu ni itátta*(-) 'The Soviet representative and the American representative were unyielding on both sides and the negotiations reached the breaking point'. But *ryoo-ryoo* is peculiar in that, unlike other adverbs, it will permit adnominal modification, as if it were a noun like *sóhoo* or *ryoohóo*(-) 'both'; yet, it is unlike *sóhoo* in that it can not be marked by *gá* or *ó*, and thus is an adverb rather than a noun: *Seisan husoku to zyuyoo no ryoo-ryoo ái mátte, itizirusii kákaku*(-) *no kootoo o manéita* '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 dissyllables such as *níko-níko* 'smiling' that coexist with the non-reduplicated dissyllable in a discontinuous structure of the pattern $C_1 V_1 q/n C_2 V_2$ 'ri (thus *nikkóri* 'smiling'): *háki-háki* : *hakkíri* 'brisk, clear(cut)'; *méki-meki* : *mekkíri* 'remarkably, noticeably'; *úka-uka* : *ukkári* 'inattentively, absentmindedly'; *bíku-bíku* : *bikkúri* 'startled'; *yuku-yuku* ('as one goes' >) 'by and by, eventually, in the future' : *yukkúri* 'slowly'; *nobi-nobi* : *nonbíri* 'carefree'; *bóya-bóya* : *bon'yári* 'vague'. *With nigori*: *simi-zími* 'thoroughly, seriously'; *simíri* 'seriously, quietly'. *Without -q/n-*: *súra-sura* 'smoothly, easily' : *súrari* 'smoothly; slender'.

(2) Similar morphemes that occur only in the *-q/n*'ri form: *assári* 'simple, plain'

(but Shimmura lists *asa-asa* 'simply, lightly'); *dossári* 'ever so many/much'; *dossíri* 'massive; dignified' (*dósi-dosi* 'rapidly; constantly; in large numbers'); *pokkúri* 'suddenly, all at once' (*póka-poka* 'warm; repeatedly drubbing'); *sukkári* 'completely, totally'; *sokkúri* 'entirely; exactly; intact'—as precopular/adjectival noun (p. 1051) 'just like'.

(3) Similar morphemes that occur only in the reduplicated form: *dósi-dosi* 'rapidly; constantly; in large numbers'; *kóro-koro* 'rolling, chirping'; *séka-seka* 'fidgety, restless'; *úzya-uzya* 'in swarms'; *zóku-zoku* 'feeling chilled/thrilled'. *Two-mora monosyllables*: *gún-gun* 'steadily (progressing), vigorously'; *dón-don* 'boom-boom; rapidly, steadily'.

(4) Disparate dissyllables: *téki-paki* 'briskly, speedily'; *tíra-hora* 'sporadically'.

(5) Iterated verb imperfects (see p. 790): *kawaru-gáwaru* 'in turns, one after another'; *masú-masu* 'more and more'; *miru-miru* 'in the twinkling of an eye'; *misu-misu* 'before one's eyes'; *naku-naku* 'in tears'; *núru-nuru* 'slippery, clammy'; *osoru-ósoru* 'in fear; hesitant'; *ózu-ozu* 'fearfully'; *tuku-zúku* 'thoroughly, earnestly'.

(6) Iterated verb infinitives (see p. 411): (a) *vni./?adv.:* *aki-áki* 'growing weary'; *kori-kóri*, *kori-góri* 'learning to one's sorrow'; *músi-musi* 'being muggy, steamy'; *ózi-ozí* 'fearfully, timorously'; *súbe-subé* 'growing smooth, sleek'; *úne-une* 'undulating'. (b) adverb: *kawari-gáwari* 'in turns'; *kasane-gásane* 'repeatedly; wholeheartedly'; *naki-naki(=)* 'in tears'; *oi-ói(=)* 'gradually, by and by' (nonpredicable). (c) subjective adverb with optional *tó*: *ari-ári* 'vividly'; *hare-báre* 'unclouded; cheerfully'; *hie-bíe* 'cold'; *hore-bóre* 'fondly; enchanting, fascinating';¹³⁷ *iki-íki* 'vivid'; *kare-gare* 'about to wither'; *nobi-nóbi₁* 'feeling relieved'; (?) *nóme-nome*, *óme-ome* 'shamelessly'; *sae-záe* 'refreshingly, cheerfully'; *simi-zími* 'thoroughly' (see above); *úki-úki* 'lighthearted, jaunty'. Other iterated verb infinitives are precopular nouns (*nobi-nobi₂* 'with delay after delay', ...) and there is one derived adjective, *nare-naré-si-* 'intimate'.

(7) Iterated adjective bases (sometimes with attenuated meanings) that can be subgrouped according to privileges of occurrence as follows:

SUBGROUP	Adv + V	+ <i>tó</i>	+ { <i>to</i> } site iru { <i>to</i> } sita N	+ <i>dá</i> no N
(a) <i>gótu-gotu</i> 'rough, stiff' (also adjectival noun)	+	+	+	+
<i>nóro-noro</i> 'sluggish'	+	+	+	(+)
<i>yuru-yúru</i> 'loose, slow'	+	+	+	+
(b) <i>ao-áo</i> 'verdant'	+	+	+	—
<i>hoso-bóso</i> 'slender'	+	+	+	—
<i>kúdo-kudo</i> 'tedious'	+	+	+	—
<i>maru-máru</i> 'plump'	+	+	+	—
<i>naga-nága(=)</i> 'long'	+	+	+	—
<i>núku-nuku</i> 'warm'	+	+	+	—
<i>súgo-sugo</i> 'dejected'	+	+	+	—
<i>úto-uto</i> 'drowsy'	+	+	+	—
(c) <i>hiro-bíro</i> 'wide open'	—	+	+	—
<i>samu-zámu</i> 'cold'	—	+	+	—
<i>siro-zíro</i> 'white'	—	+	+	—

137. Guromúiko ga enzetu suru toki,^[7] *míte* 'te *hore-bóre simásu né* 'When Gromyko gives a talk, it's fascinating to watch' (Tk 2.119b).

SUBGROUP	Adv + V	+ tó	+ {to} site iru {to} sita N	+ dá no N
(d) kowa-gówa(¯) 'timid'	+	+	—	(+)
síbu-sibu(¯) 'reluctant'	+	+	—	(+)
tiká-zika(¯) 'near; soon'	+	+	—	(+) ¹³⁸
usu-usu 'faint, slight' ¹³⁹	+	+	—	(+)
(e) haya-báya 'early; prompt'	+	+	—	—
karu-gáru 'light; easy'	+	+	—	—
taka-dáka 'high' (cf. takádáka(¯) 'at most')	+	+	—	—
yasu-yásu 'easy'	+	+	—	—
úma-úma 'neatly, proficiently' (= mánmá-to)	+	+	—	—
(f) (ínoti) kara-gara 'barely'	+	—	—	+
(g) atu-atu 'heated; passionate' ¹⁴⁰	—	—	—	+

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 tokoró o tabéru no dá ga ... 'They are eaten when they are piping hot' (SA 2680.124d). The words in Subgroup (c) are like subjective adjectival nouns, but the táru form does not occur; tíma-tima 'small and round' (? < tí[isákute] ma[rui]) seems to belong here, but there is no adjective tima-. The one word in Subgroup (f), kara-gara, is a predicable 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 tó. With a few exceptions (as noted above) these are not predicable; they are pure adverbs. The word akaáka-to with its obligatory tó is a subjective adverb; so, usually, are hukábúka-to 'deeply' and dékadeka-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 otó ga suru 'a sound is made', níoi 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 suguréru, 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-músume 'girl-like, girlish(ly)', kodomo-kódomo 'childlike, childish(ly)', etc. Examples: ... sonna byoonin-byóonin sita kaotuki dé wa nákatá 'didn't have such a terribly sick(man) look' (Fn 210ab); ... monzén(¯)

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 haréru '(the weather) slightly clears' in Kb.

140. And the derivative oo-átuatu(?) in oo-átuatu no sáiyuu de atta 'were in the midst of a passionate love affair'.

ni iru o-boosan ga syoobai-syóobai site ite hu-yúkai datta monó⁽ⁱ⁾ 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. The iterated verb infinitives of Subgroup 6a above are probably to be taken as bound verbal nouns (intransitive). You may occasionally run across the subjective *tó* where the scheme above would fail to sanction it, e.g. with *oi-ói(⁀)* in this example: ... *oi-ói(⁀)* to tuyói aityaku o kanzi-dásita 'gradually started to feel a strong attachment' (SA 2661.33d). You will also find *oi-ói(⁀)* 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.¹⁴¹ 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 *íma*, *zén'ya*, *kóngo(⁀)*, *konó-sái*, *kon[o]aidá*, *konó-goro(⁀)*, *kono-saki*, *konókata*, *sákkon(⁀)*; *mímei(⁀)* {ni} 'early in the morning'; *seizén* {ni} 'while still alive, before (one's) death', *sígo* {ni} 'after (one's) death'; *gózitu(⁀)* 'some future date, later'; *áru-hi* 'one day, once (upon a time)—cf. *Sonna áru-hi*, ... 'On one such day' (Endō 91), *áru-ban* 'one evening', *áru-toki* 'one time', *áru-tuki áru-hi* '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 *níwaka 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*, *tokorodókoru*, etc.

(7) adverbs of DEGREE (and QUANTITY)—but excluding quantity nouns.

(8) adverbs of MANNER—but excluding many infinitive conversions of adjectives (*-kú*) and adjectival nouns (*ní*) such as *itízu ni* 'wholeheartedly' (cf. *itízu na kangáe/hitó*) 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.

141. Not included, for example, are the deictic adverbs *kóo*, *sóo*, *áa*, and *dóo*; *to-kaku*; ...; many of the direct adverbializations of §9.1.13; and idiomatic phrases such as *kono bún tóe/ni* 'at this rate' (§13.2), *kúru hi mo | kúru hi mo* 'day after day, day in day out' (§27), *hi iti-niti to* 'every day' (= *hi-bi ni*), *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 (N *ní/é/máde*); when an adverbialized adjective (or, perhaps, directly adverbialized noun derived from an adverbialized adjective?) is used to express direction—as in *Migi no hóo e tooku isí o nageru* 'throws the stone far to the right'—it is probably best treated as a mutative use of the adjective infinitive. MKZ is said to carry some 1555 entries labeled "adverb" (Kōgo-bumpō 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 nára can follow; and n means nó can follow (to adnominalize the adverb). When the adverb is cited with optional {ní} or {tó} the information on distribution is intended to apply to the raw adverb unless otherwise stated; in general, when tó or ní is added, the adverb will enjoy greater freedom with respect to focus.

LIST OF ADVERBS

(1) Adverbs of TIME

—	—	—	n	mókka '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{o}-toko{ro} 'for the present, for the time being, as yet'
—	—	—	(n)	sénpan 'recently'
—	—	—	(n)	káhan 'recently'
w	m	—	n	kázitu 'the other day, recently'
w	—	—	n	kono-tokoró 'lately' (cf. saikin {ni}, a time noun)
w	m	d	n	kokontokó, kokontokoró 'recently, lately, of late': Atasi mo kokontokó ^[i] wázuka san-yonen no aida ni, syoogi tte monó ga ún-tó ^[i] túyoku 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	senzítú(¯) 'the other day, recently'
—	—	—	n	sasizume '(for/at) present'
(w)	—	—	n	sasiatari, sasiatatte '(for/at) the present'
w	—	d	n	sasiatari-no-tokoró '(for/at) the present'
—	—	—	—	ikken {sita tokoró} 'at first glance; seemingly' (ikken is also a transitive verbal noun 'glance at')
—	—	—	(n)	orí-kara 'just then'
—	—	—	(n)	arakazime 'in advance': Arakazime no utiawase ga átta (¯)rasíi 'Apparently there were arrangements in advance'.
—	—	—	—	móo(¯) 'already; now'
—	—	—	—	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	saki-hodo 'a while back'; ~ ¯rai (§2.4) = ~ kara 'since/from a while back'
w	m	—	—	sáki(¯) ní (= ízen) 'earlier, previously'; as a noun saki is always atonic: saki ni iku 'goes first (in advance)'.
—	—	—	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')

—	—	—	—	i-zen {to site} 'as ever/before'
(w)	—	—	(n)	yagaté 'before long': yagaté ^[1] no kotó ni 'before long', yagaté wa (KKK 3.191, SA 2655.29d)
—	—	—	—	hodó-náku 'before long, soon'
—	—	d	(n)	ma-mó-naku 'soon': sore kara ~ no zyuuni-gatú ^[1] nízyuu gó-niti 'the 25th of December, which was soon after that' (Agawa 1:171b).
—	—	d	(n)	tookárazu 'in the near future, before very long'
w	m	—	(n)	yuku-yuku 'by and by, eventually, in the future'
—	—	—	—	sooban 'sooner or later'
w	—	—	—	túi ni 'finally'
—	—	—	n	yooyaku 'finally'
—	—	—	—	súde ni {site} 'finally'
—	—	—	—	súnde ni
—	—	—	—	súndé-no-kotó {ni/de} } 'any moment (now/then); very nearly'
—	—	—	—	sunde-no-tokoró {de} }
—	—	—	—	tóotoo 'at last'
—	—	—	—	tódo 'at last' [literary] ¹⁴²
w	—	—	—	tódo-no-tumari 'in the end, as the final outcome' (~ wa, Fn 2.182b)
w	m	d	—	sáigo ni 'lastly, finally'
w	m	d	—	saisyo ní 'first'
w	m	d	—	hazime ní 'first'
w	—	d	—	dáiti ni 'first'
—	—	—	—	túide(¯) 'next, secondly'
—	—	(d)	—	tutó ni 'early, long ago'
w	m	d	n	sén, moo-sén 'before': sén no wáihu ni 'by my former wife' (Tk 2.104b); sén wa hizyoo ni yóku kita 'before, they used to come quite often' (Tk 4.295a). But is sén {ni} a time noun? sen-no-uti wa = móto wa 'originally, formerly' (Tk 3.189b) ≠ sén no uti(¯) wa 'my former home'
—	—	d	—	tokkú(¯) ní } 'long since' ¹⁴³
—	—	—	—	tóo ni }
—	—	d	n	ítu-no-má-ní-ka 'before one knows it'
w	—	(d)	—	mizen ní 'before it happens (forestalling)'
—	—	d	(—)	noti-hodo 'later on' (but noti is a time noun)
—	—	—	(n)	kóonen(¯) 'in later years; later on, afterwards'
w	(m)	?	n	syóorai 'in future' (also a noun 'the future')
—	—	—	—	íza 'at the (critical) moment'

(2) Adverbs of DURATION

w	—	d	n	sibároku 'for a while'
w	—	—	n	toobun 'for the time being, temporarily; for the present'
w	—	?	(n)	zánzi 'for a short time' [literary]—also noun?

142. From *tódo* 'a fully grown grey mullet (*bora*)', because the fish is called different names at different stages of growth.

143. But there is also *tokkú no mukasi* 'long ago'; these expressions are variants of *tóku* 'early' (the infinitive of a literary adjective *tó-* 'quick' < 'sharp').

w	m	d	n	ittokí(¯)	'for a while'—or is this a noun?
w	m	—	—	katatokí(¯)	'(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)	nagáruku	'for a long time'
—	—	—	—	hisásiku	'for a long time' (NOTE: Like its synonym hisasiburi ní/dé, hisábisa ni/de 'after a long interval' is a precopular noun.)
w	m	d	—	nágaku	'for a long time, lengthily' (§9.1.11)
—	—	—	n	nénrai(¯)	'for some years now': nénrai(¯) no nozomí(¯) '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	kahán-rai	'for some time now/past'
—	—	—	n	TIME QUANTITY + ¯rai	'for ... now': suu-kágetu ¯rai = suukagetú-rai 'for some months now', etc.
—	—	—	n	TIME + ¯zyuu	'all through': kyóo ¯zyuu 'all through today', hitó-ban ¯zyuu 'all through the night' ¹⁴⁴
w	—	d	n	nénzyuu	'all through the year'
w	m	d	n	nengara-nénzyuu, nén-gara nénzyuu	'all year around'
(—)	—	(d)	n	syuuzitu(-syúuya)	'all day (and all night)'
—	—	—	n	syúuya	'all night long' (also atonic?)
w	—	d	n	yodoosi	'all night long'
—	—	d	n	yoppité(¯)	'all night long' [< yoppitói < yó hitó-yo 'one night of night']
(w)	—	d	n	yomosugara	'all night long' [literary]
w	m	d	n	tunézúne(¯)	'all the time, always' ¹⁴⁵
w	—	d	—	hikkirí-nási ni	'without letup'
—	—	—	—	nóbetu {ni}, nóbetara(¯), nóbetu-makúnasi ni	'continuously, uninterruptedly'
—	—	—	—	táezu	'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	sassokú	'at once'; Sassokú ni mo (*Sassokú mo/ni) sirábeta mimasyóo 'Let's check right away'.
—	—	d	n	sokkoku	'instantly, this instant' (also sokkoku ní wa)
w	—	d	—	tádati ni	'immediately'
(w)	—	(d)	—	sássá to	'at once, as quickly as possible'

144. But PLACE + ¯zyuu yields a place noun (sékái ¯zyuu o ryokoo sita 'traveled the world over') and TIME + ¯tyuu yields a time noun (kotosi ¯tyuu {ni} 'at some time during the year').

145. Also used as a time noun, a synonym of túne: Tunézúne(¯) ga taisetu da, Tunézúne(¯) o taisetu ni suru.

—	—	—	—	tóttó-to 'at once, as quickly as possible' (< tóku to tóku to 'sharply sharply > quickly quickly')
w	(-)	(d)	—	tati-dókoró(¯) ní 'instantly, on the spot'
w	—	—	—	génka ni 'promptly, at once'
—	—	d	n	tatimati {ni} 'instantly, in an instant'
—	—	—	(-)	iti-háyaku 'promptly, quickly'
—	—	d	—	massígura ni 'impetuously, at full speed'
w	—	d	n	ikinari 'abruptly'
—	—	d	—	míru-ma ni 'in the twinkling of an eye, in an instant'
—	—	(...)	(n)	kyúukyo 'hastily, hurriedly'
w	—	d	—	yaniwa ní 'suddenly'
—	—	d	n	totu-zen {ni} 'suddenly'
—	—	—	—	ga-zen 'suddenly'
w	m	d	—	kyuu ní 'suddenly'
w?	—	d	?	hyoi tó 'suddenly, unexpectedly'
—	—	—	—	sát-to(¯) 'suddenly'
—	—	—	—	dót-to(¯) 'bursting out suddenly; stampeding'
w	—	—	—	ói-sore-to 'readily; on short notice'
w	m	d	n	yukkúri {to} 'slowly, taking one's time'
—	—	—	—	dandán {ni/to} 'gradually'
w	—	(-)	—	zyózyo ni 'a little at a time, gradually'

(4) Adverbs of FREQUENCY

w	—	—	—	ittan '(just) once'
—	—	—	—	issai 'once or twice'
w	m	d	n	itido-nárazu 'more than once'
—	—	—	n?	maremare {ni} 'seldom, rarely' (cf. mare(¯), adjectival noun)
w	—	d	n	síba-siba 'often'
w	m	d	n	asi-sígeku 'often, frequently'
—	—	—	—	oo'oo {ni site} 'frequently, not seldom'
—	—	—	—	dósi-dosi 'in rapid succession; in large numbers'
(-)	(-)	—	—	zóku-zoku(¯) {tó} 'repeatedly, successively' (~ tó, Tk 4.277)
—	—	—	—	kasanete 'repeatedly'; hi o kasanete 'over a period of many days'
w	—	d	(n)	hutatabi 'again, twice'
w	m	d	n	koto-aratámete 'again'
—	(-)	d	n	mata 'again' (= hutatabi); cf. mata 'what is more, at the same time', máta(¯) 'and/or', máta-wa 'or else, and/or' (CONJUNCTIONS); máta-no-hi 'tomorrow; another (later) day' (TIME NOUN).
—	—	—	—	mátá-mo{-ya} 'again (undesirably)'
—	—	—	—	mátá-mata(¯) 'again, repeatedly' (= kasanete)
—	—	—	—	matazoro(¯) = mátá-site-mo 'yet again (gratuitously)'
w	m	d	(-)	tyóku-tyoku, tyói-tyoi 'now and then; often'
w	—	d	n	yori-yori 'from time to time'
w	—	d	n	tokidoki 'sometimes'

w	—	d	n	tokíori(¯) 'sometimes, off and on'
w	?	d	n	tokitama 'occasionally'
w	—	(d)	n	oríori(¯) {ní} 'occasionally, on occasion'
—	—	—	—	éte {site} 'often'
w	m	d	—	sígésige {to} 'frequently, often'—where you expect *sígésige no hoomon you find sígésige {to} sita hoomon 'frequent visits'.
w	—	d	n	tabitabi 'often'
—	—	—	—	máma 'often' (as in máma áru 'it often happens')
—	—	d	n	saisan 'over and over'
w	(—)	d	n	saisan-sáisi 'over and over again'
w	(—)	d	n	saisai 'often'
w	(—)	d	n	(nennen-)saisai 'year after year'
—	—	—	—	asana-yúuna 'morning and evening' (= ása-na yúu-na)
—	—	—	—	ašana-ásana 'morning after morning' (= ása-na ása-na)
—	—	—	—	híni-hini(¯) 'day after day, every day'
—	—	—	—	yóna-yona(¯) 'night after night'
—	—	—	—	hínimasi(¯) = himasí(¯) ni '(more) by the day, daily'
w	—	—	—	métta ni '(not) rashly = (seldom)'
—	—	d	n	zúizi 'at any time, at all times; from time to time, on occasion' [literary]
(5) Adverbs combining TIME + FREQUENCY				
—	—	d	n	kanégáne(¯) 'often before'
—	—	d	—	sára ni 'anew'
(6) Adverbs of PLACE or ORDER				
—	—	d	(n)	harúbáru {to} 'afar; at a distance'
—	—	d	n	tugítugi {to/ní} 'one after another; in succession'
w	(—)	d	n	hitotu-hitótu, hitotu-bítotu 'one by one; individually'
w	—	d	(n)	ití-iti 'one by one; separately; in detail'
—	—	(—)	n	kawaru-gáwaru, komógomo [literary] 'one after another, by turns'
—	—	—	(—)	tikúzi 'one after another, in order, successively' [literary]
—	—	d	n	zyun-gúri(¯) {ní} 'in order'
(7) Adverbs of DEGREE (and QUANTITY)				
—	—	d	n	íssái 'absolutely; wholly' (also noun)
—	—	d	—	sukkári 'wholly'
—	—	d	n	súbete 'wholly, generally' (also noun)
—	—	d	(n)	nokórazu 'all, entirely'
—	—	d	—	nóbe 'in all, in toto': nóbe hyakú-nin no gakusya 'a hundred scholars in all'.
w	—	d	n	kotogótoku 'all, completely'
w	—	—	n	arakata 'mostly, on the whole, for the most part'
(—)	(—)	?	n	arittake 'all there is, the whole thing' (followed by ó only as the result of ellipsis: ínóti no arittake [no monó] o katamukéru 'devotes one's whole life').

w	(m)	—	—	sémete 'at most/least: just' (sémete mo N; sémete wa, Tk 2.240a)
—	—	d	(n)	kyokúryoku(¯) 'to the utmost, as best/most one can'
—	—	(-)	n	koto-nó-hoka(¯) 'exceedingly, exceptionally; unexpectedly'
—	—	d	—	mekkíri 'remarkably'
—	—	d	n	amari {ní}, anmari 'overly' ¹⁴⁶
w	(m)	—	—	húndan ni 'lavishly, lots'
w	—	d	—	yokei {ní} 'much; too much'—also yoke: Yoke uraná n desu yó 'We don't sell much of it!' (Tk 4.73b); yokei is both an adverb and an adjectival noun (yokei na kotó 'an uncalled-for remark').
(-)	(-)	—	—	wánsa to, wánsa-wánsa to 'in droves' (cf. wansa-gáaru 'chorus girls')
—	—	—	—	taráhuku(¯) '(eats) one's belly full' (= manpuku, hara-íppai)
—	—	—	—	táta 'lots; many; more and more' [literary]
—	—	—	(n)	issoo 'all the more, still more'
w	m	(-)	(-)	tan-tó 'lots; [dialect] a little'
—	—	—	—	sikotama 'quite a lot'
—	—	—	—	tanmári {to} 'quite a lot'
—	—	—	(n)	kánari 'fairly; quite'—also adjectival/precopular noun (~ na/no N).
—	—	—	—	kékkoo 'quite (a lot)' (~ omosirói 'quite interesting')—also adjectival noun 'splendid; satisfactory'.
—	—	—	—	sukunakarazu 'quite a lot' (N ga ~ áru 'has quite a few N')—but óoku 'much, many' is a pure noun.
—	—	—	—	wariai {ní} 'comparatively, rather'
—	—	—	—	híkaku-teki {ní} 'comparatively, rather'
—	—	—	—	sígoku 'exceedingly'
—	—	—	(n)	zu[ba]-núkete 'extraordinarily'
—	—	—	—	sukóburu 'extraordinarily, most'
—	—	—	—	kiwámete 'extremely'
—	—	—	—	góku 'extremely'
—	—	—	—	góku-goku(¯) 'extremely'
—	—	—	—	hanahada 'extremely' (= hanahadásiku: ~ 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 adjectival noun.
—	—	d	—	taihen 'very'—also adjectival noun.
—	—	d	—	zúibun {to} 'very'—also adjectival noun; Zúibun to osoi hanasí

146. This follows the data in MKZ⁵; NHK appears to give a[n]mari for the adverb and anmari for the adjectival noun, K has anmári for the adjectival noun. Since the word comes from the noun amari 'surplus', derived from the infinitive amari 'be too much', we could treat the "atonic" adverb as having an automatically cancelled final accent (in the absence of *~ wa/mo). But if amari ni/na is atonic, the basic form of the adverb must be atonic, too. Cf. [~]amari, §2.4.

				da 'It's a [tale =] situation much delayed (in coming about)' (SA 2672.60).
—	—	—	—	óoi ni 'greatly'
—	—	—	—	tái-site 'greatly'
w	—	—	(n)	gái-site 'in general'
w	—	—	—	ittai ní 'in general'—cf. ittai (LOGICAL RELATION)
—	—	—	n	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)
—	—	—	—	hóbo 'nearly'
—	—	d	n	hotóndo 'almost; nearly' (also quantity noun = hotóndo zénbu 'almost all')
—	—	—	—	káre-kore 'around, about, nearly' (from '[while saying] this and that')
—	—	—	—	yáku 'almost, about'
—	—	—	—	múryo 'no less than, as many as, approximately'
w	m	d	n	aramasi 'almost, about' (also noun 'gist, summary')
w	—	d	—	zat-tó 'roughly, approximately; briefly, sketchily'
w	—	d	n	ooyoso 'almost, about'
w	—	d	n	oyoso 'almost, about'
—	—	(d)	—	kokoromoti 'slightly, a little' (d = nára)
w	m	d	n	isásaka 'slightly, a bit'
w	m	d	n	sukósi 'a little' (quantity noun)
w	—	d	n	íkura-ka 'somewhat'—cf. íkura ka 'some amount' (quantity noun).
w	—	d	n	ikubun {ká} 'in part'—also quantity noun 'some'.
—	—	—	—	yáya 'slightly'
w	m	—	—	itigai ni 'all-out, sweepingly'
(w)	—	d	n	ne-kósogi(¯) 'entirely': ne-kósogi(¯) ní wa.
w	?	d	n	aráizárai(¯) 'every last thing'
—	—	—	—	moo '(some) more' (+ quantity), '(continuing) some more' (+ affirmative), '(not continuing) any more' (+ negative); cf. móo(¯) 'already; now'
—	—	d	—	móttö 'more'
—	—	—	(n)	masúmasu 'more and more'
—	—	—	—	másite(¯) = másite ya 'much more/less'
—	—	—	—	móttö-mo 'most' (cf. móttö-mo 'of course')
—	—	d	n	itiban 'most' (cf. iti-ban 'number one')
—	—	—	—	simizími {to} 'keenly; fully'
—	—	d	n	heikin {site} 'on the average'
—	m	—	(n)	náo 'still (more/less)'
—	—	d	(n)	náo-sara(¯) 'all the more/less'
w	(-)	d	n	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-tó 'softly, stealthily'
—	—	d	n	nainái(¯) {ni} 'privately, by oneself, quietly, secretly' (≠ nainái suru 'all gone, finish, put away' [babytalk])
w	(m)	d	—	gún-gun {to} 'steadily forward'
(w)	(m)	d	—	kossóri {to} 'stealthily' (w: kossóri to wa hanasánai)
w	—	(d)	n	omote-muki 'openly, publicly'
—	—	—	—	dén-to(¯) 'conspicuously (placed)'
(w)	(m)	d	—	kóro-koro {to} 'rolling; chirping'
(w)	(m)	d	—	sóyo-soyo 'gently' (w: sóyo-soyo to wa hukánai)
(w)	(—)	—	—	kitin-to 'accurately, punctually, neatly'
w	(m)	—	—	hakkíri {to} 'clearly, exactly' (m: hakkíri mo kikanákatta)
w	(—)	—	—	tyan-tó 'perfectly, neatly'
—	—	—	—	hira-hira {to} 'fluttering'
—	—	—	—	kát-to(¯) 'suddenly arising, opening up'
—	—	d	—	kan-zen {tó} 'boldly'
—	—	—	—	sut-to 'straight (out), up quickly; relieved'
—	—	d	—	séka-seka {to} 'restlessly'
w	(—)	—	—	átahuta {to} 'in a hurry' (said to be from awate-hutaméku 'fluster oneself')
—	—	—	(n)	hitásura(¯) {ni} 'intently, wholeheartedly'—pure adverb and also adjectival noun, as in hitásura(¯) na táido 'an intent attitude'.
w	—	d	—	wáza-to 'on purpose, deliberately'
w	—	d	(n)	wáza-waza 'on purpose, deliberately'
(?)	?	d	n	husyoo-búsyoo {ni} 'reluctantly, unwilling'—both adverb and precopular noun: husyoo-búsyoo {ni} haráu 'pays reluctantly', husyoo-búsyoo no táido 'a reluctant attitude'.
w	m	—	—	kúyo-kuyo 'worrying, moping' (~ suru, ~ sinpai suru)
w	—	d	—	hitori-de ní 'spontaneously'
—	—	—	—	sozoro {ní} 'somehow in spite of oneself'
w	—	—	—	zit-tó 'fixedly'
—	—	—	—	hakárázu-mo 'by accident'
—	—	—	—	hyót-to 'by chance'
—	—	d	n	guu-zen 'by chance'
w	m	d	—	guu-zen ní 'by chance'
—	—	—	—	sétu ni 'earnestly'
—	—	—	n	tátte(¯) 'insistently'
w	m	d	—	múge ni 'bluntly, flatly'
—	—	—	—	rúru {to} 'minutely, in detail; continuously'
w	m	(d)	—	túbusa ni 'in detail, fully'
(w)	—	(d)	n	tikuiti 'in detail, item by item'
—	—	—	—	yúu ni 'gently; amply'
w	(m)	—	—	syúuné-ku 'persistently'
—	—	—	—	ákuseku {to} 'sedulously' (also intransitive verbal noun, N ni ákuseku suru 'worries about N; is eager for N')

—	—	d	(—)	zubáři {to} 'boldly'
—	—	d	n	namazi[i], namazi-kka 'rashly; imperfectly'—also namazii {ní}, namazi-kka {ní}, adverb and precopular noun.
w	—	d	(n)	siite 'forcibly, by force'
w	m	d	—	túyoku 'hard, vigorously' (§ 9.1.11)
—	—	—	—	mitimiti 'while on the way, while walking (= aruki-nágara)' ¹⁴⁷
—	—	—	—	sitátaka 'heavily (beating, drinking, scolding ...), hard'
w	—	d	—	tukétuke {to} '(speaking) harshly'—instead of the adnominal with nó you will find tukétuke {to} sita ii-kata 'harsh man- ner of speaking'.
(w)	(m)	—	—	zóku-zoku {to} 'feeling chilled/thrilled'
(—)	—	—	—	suttámonda 'wrangling' (~ suru, ~ no ageku/sáwagi; ~ fsuru kotó} wa go-men dá)
?	—	—	—	yassa-móssa 'in disorder/trouble; helter-skelter' (~ to, ~ suru)

(9) Adverbs of EVALUATION

—	—	—	—	iyá ni, 'yá ni 'disgustingly; strangely (= myóo ni); terribly (= báka ni)'
—	—	d	—	osorósiku 'terribly, frightfully'
w	m	d	—	(mono-)súgoku 'awfully, terribly' (also DEGREE)
w	m	d	—	mezurásiku 'unusually, exceptionally'
w	m	d	—	subarásiku 'wonderfully, gloriously' (shades into DEGREE)
—	—	—	n	tobikiri 'most, best' (shades into DEGREE)
w	m	d	—	hagésiku 'violently; passionately'
w	m	d	—	yasasiku 'nicely'
—	—	—	(n)	isso 'rather; preferably'
—	—	—	—	móro ni 'completely, thoroughly; in a jumble'
—	—	—	—	roku ni '(not) satisfactorily'
—	—	d	n	máda-si-mo 'preferably, rather'
w	—	—	—	mídari ni 'rashly; without good reason (or permission); excessively'
w	(m)	d	—	múri ni 'forcibly; unreasonably; excessively' (also MANNER?)
(w)	—	(—)	(n)	múriyari(¯) {ni} 'forcibly'
w	—	(d)	—	múyami ni 'rashly; excessively' (also MANNER?)
w	—	(d)	—	yatara ní 'indiscriminately; excessively'
w	—	(d)	—	múyami-yatara ni 'rashly'
w	—	(d)	—	musyoo ní 'inordinately'
—	—	—	—	sanzan {ní}, sanza(-ppara) 'severely, harshly' (sanzan is also an adjectival noun)
—	—	—	n	ippasi '(properly) enough, like other people, just as good/much as everyone else'
w	(m)	d	n	úmaku 'happily, successfully, nicely, smoothly; adroitly'

147. Like totyuu and aida ¯zyuu, this can also serve as a postadnominal, directly adverbialized as a predicable adverb; in that usage, mitimiti can be followed by dá, nó, mó, and perhaps wá. An example with mó: káeru mitimiti MO kangaeta no da ga ... 'he thought about it on his way back (too)' (Fn 213b).

—	—	d	n	saiwai 'happily, fortunately'
—	m	—	—	saiwai ní 'happily, fortunately'
—	m	—	—	hukóo ni 'unfortunately'
—	—	d	n	ainiku {tó} 'unfortunately'—also adjectival noun 'unfortunate'
w	m	—	—	rippa ní 'splendidly'
—	—	—	—	míngoto = míngoto ni 'admirably'
—	—	—	—	táda-de-sae 'even under normal circumstances; (more/worse so) than ever' (Okitsu 1.334)

(10) Adverbs of LOGICAL RELATION

—	—	—	—	káette 'contrariwise'
—	—	—	(n)	músiro 'rather' (n: músiro no kotó)
—	—	—	—	náraba 'if possible, preferably'
—	—	—	—	yahári 'also; nevertheless'
—	—	d	n	sore yúé 'therefore' (cf. §2.4a)
—	—	—	—	nán da ka 'somehow (or other), sorta, somewhat; for some (unknown) reason' (cf. Y 385-6)
—	—	—	(n)	an-nó-zyoo 'as expected'
—	—	—	—	tínami(¯) ní 'by the way'
—	—	—	—	ma-no-atari {ní} 'before one's eyes; actually'
—	—	—	—	gén ni 'actually'
—	—	—	(—)	ge ni 'truly' (~mo is literary)
—	—	—	—	zitú ni 'truly'
—	—	—	—	án ni 'tacitly, implicitly'
—	—	—	—	mása ni 'precisely; just'
w	—	—	(n)	syosen 'after all' (n: syosen no tokoró; syosen wa, Tk 2.188a)
w	—	—	(n)	kekkyokú 'after all; in the last analysis' (kekkyokú no hana ^(?))
w	m	(d)	—	kekkyoku-no-tokoró 'after all'
w	—	—	(n)	hikkyoo 'after all; virtually; in substance'
—	—	—	(n)	tootei 'after all; absolutely; ultimately' (tootei no kotó de wa ná)
—	—	—	—	hiité-wa 'and by extension; moreover, furthermore'
—	—	—	—	kédasi 'after all; probably'
—	—	d	n	umaretuki 'by/from birth' (also noun, postadnominal—see §13.2)
—	—	—	n	séirai 'by nature, naturally, constitutionally'
—?	—	—	—	yúrai 'originally, by nature, from the first' (< yurai 'origin')
w	—	d	n	motomoto 'originally, naturally; strictly speaking'
w	—	(d)	n	daitai 'on the whole, in substance (= daitai ni óite); strictly speaking, originally (= motomoto)'
—	—	(d)	(n)	ittai 'properly speaking, originally; [what etc.] in the world'; ittai ni 'in general' (ittai no tokoró)
w	?	d	n	gánrai 'originally' ¹⁴⁸

148. Occasionally gánrai functions as pure noun '(by) one's origin': N wa gánrai ga, Tookyóo-zin na no de arimásu ... 'N is a Tokyoite by origin' (this may be idiomatic).

—	—	—	n	sómo-somo 'to begin with; in the first place; wh(atever) ...!; well, now'
—	—	—	—	símete 'all told, in total' (usually followed by a sum of money)
—	—	—	—	awásete 'altogether, in all'
w	—	d	—	issei ní 'unanimously'
w	?	d	—	ái-tomo ni
w	?	d	—	tómo(⁀) ní
w	m	d	—	issyó ní
—	—	(d)	n	tomódomo(⁀) {ní}
—	—	d	n	morotomo {ní}
—	—	—	—	ryoo-ryoo (ái ...) 'both (mutually)'—see p. 798.
w	—	—	—	[o-]tagai ní 'mutually, reciprocally', ¹⁴⁹
w	?	d	—	tendé[n](⁀) ní 'separately, respectively; each'
w	m	—	—	kakubetu ní 'individually'
—	—	(d)	n	sorézore, meimei, onóono 'each, severally, respectively'—but also nouns: kono sorézore ni wa 'to each of these'
—	—	—	—	sunáwati
—	—	—	—	sóku (= sunáwati)
—	—	—	(n)	masásiku (n: masásiku no tokoró ^(t))
w	—	—	n	tori-mo-naósazu
w	—	—	(n)	túmari 'id est; in brief' (n: túmari no tokoró ^(t) /hanási ^(t))
—	—	—	—	hito-yonde 'what is called, what people call'
—	—	—	—	narabi ni 'and, additionally, both together'
w	m	d	n	matá-no-na(⁀) 'alias; also known as'
—	m	—	?	wákete 'most of all; all the more; in particular'
—	—	—	(n)	toriwake[-te] 'especially'
w	—	—	—	tóku ni 'especially'
—	—	—	—	kóto ni 'especially'
—	—	—	—	nakánzuku 'especially; in particular (among the many)' (= náka de mo)
—	—	—	n	itidan 'especially, conspicuously' (also noun)
—	—	d	n	hitósio 'especially; all the more, much more'
—	—	—	n	hitókiwa 'especially, conspicuously'
—	—	—	—	tán ni 'simply, merely'
—	—	d	n	táda 'merely' (see § 3.1 for other uses)
—	—	—	n	tatta 'only, just'
—	—	—	—	táká-ga 'merely, only'
—	—	—	(n)	takádáka(⁀) 'at highest/most' (n: takádáka(⁀) no tokoró)
—	—	—	(n)	séizei 'at the outside; at most, to the utmost' (n: séizei no tokoró)—also séize (Tk 4.52a).
—	(m)	d	n	gíri-giri 'at the lowest limit' (m: gíri-giri mo gíri-giri)
—	—	d	n	móppara(⁀) 'mainly, exclusively' (móppara(⁀) no tokoró wa)

149. There is an adnominal form [o-]tagai nó 'reciprocal', but the expected *tagai dá 'it is reciprocal' seems to be always replaced by o-tagai dá. In o-tagai o rikai(⁀) si-áu 'mutually understand each other' the word is used as a noun.

—	—	—	—	ómo ni 'principally'
—	—	—	—	náo-nao 'still; additionally'
—	—	—	—	betu ni '(not) especially'
—	—	—	n	betudan '(not) especially'

(11) Adverbs of SENTENTIAL RELATION:
ASSERTION AND PREDICTION

—	—	—	—	dóo-sité mo 'by any/all means; surely; eventually; all things considered'
—	—	d	(n)	kanarazu 'for sure, inevitably' (= kanarazú ya)
—	—	—	(n)	kanarazú-símo '(not) necessarily' (~ no kotó/hanasí)
—	—	—	—	ikiói 'necessarily, inevitably, perforce, a fortiori' (also noun 'force')
—	m	—	(n)	tikátte(¯) 'for sure' (tikátte no yakusoku—or is this the gerund?)
—	—	(d)	—	kit-tó 'surely'
—	m	—	n	sasuga: sasuga wa 'naturally enough' (Sasuga wa Tokugawa san desú 'That's just like you, Mr Tokugawa', Tk 3.209b); sasuga nó (see §13.5, p. 752), sasuga {ní} (§13.7, p. 788).
—	—	—	—	hataséru-ka-na = hatásite 'sure enough'
—	—	d	n	mattakú 'truly, indeed; I must say' (also DEGREE 'wholly, utterly, perfectly')
—	—	—	—	naru-hodo 'true/truly enough'
—	—	d	n	motíron 'undoubtedly; (as a matter) of course'
w	—	—	—	subekáráku 'by all means, necessarily (ought)' (+ ... ¯béki)
—	—	—	—	zóngai(¯) 'contrary to (or beyond) expectations'; cf. ángai(¯) under 12
w	m?	d	n	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. tárika ni 'certainly, for certain'
—	—	—	—	tekkíri 'surely, clearly, I (must) conclude that'
DENIAL				
—	—	—	—	kessite '(not) ever; absolutely (not)' (also PROHIBITION)
—	—	—	—	táete '(not) at all, (not) in the least'
—	—	—	(n)	tote-mo 'utterly (not)' (also DEGREE)
—	—	—	—	náni-mo(¯) '(not) in any way'
—	—	—	—	tittó-mo '(not) in the least' (= sukósi mo + NEGATIVE)
—	—	—	(n)	másaka 'surely (would not)'—conjecture + denial
—	—	d	n	manzara '(not) wholly'—or is this DEGREE?
—	—	—	n	tootei 'absolutely (not)'
—	—	—	—	túi-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)

—	—	—	—	maru-[k]kiri '(not) at all'	
—	—	—	—	ten-de '(not) at all'	
—	—	(d)	—	kára-[k]kiri, -[k]kisi 'utterly, quite, totally' (~ dá = ~ damé da)	
—	—	—	—	ikkána(¯), itukána(¯) [< iká na] '(not) on any account' [old-fashioned] = dóo-sité mo	
				PROHIBITION or REFUSAL	
—	—	—	—	kessite '(not) under any circumstances; (not) ever' (also DENIAL)	
—	—	—	—	dán-zite(¯) '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	
—	—	—	—	tatóe(¯) 'if'	
—	(-)	—	—	mósi 'if'; mósi ya/ka {sitára, suru to} 'if perchance'	
—	—	—	n	mósi mo 'if, perchance' (mósi mo no kotó ga áreba/áttara 'in the unlikely event')	
—	—	d?	n	mán'iti 'if'	
—	—	—	(n)	yósi ya 'if'	
				COMPARISON	
—	—	—	—	átáka-mo, ádáka-mo 'just (like)'	
—	—	d	(n)	tyoodo 'just (like)' (d: Sáizu ga tyoodo nára [= tyoodo yókereba] iró ya katati wa kamawánai '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	
—	—	—	(n)	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 Kyōto variant of hoka = sika, cf. Inokuchi 286, 291)	
				(12) Adverbs with MULTIPLE MEANINGS	
—	—	d	n	ziki {ní}	PLACE 'nearby' (koko kara ziki no gakkoo) SPEED 'immediately'
					MANNER 'readily'
w	(-)	d	n	súgu {ni}	SPEED 'immediately' (súgu ni mo; koko kara súgu no gakkoo) MANNER 'readily'

—	—	d	n	nakanaka {tó}¹ ¹⁵⁰	DEGREE 'considerably; (not) anywhere near enough'
					MANNER '(not) readily' (or SPEED?)
—	—	(-) ¹⁵¹	—	hu-to	SPEED 'at once, in an instant'
					MANNER 'unexpectedly, by chance'
—	—	—	—	dóo-yara	DEGREE 'barely'
					LOGICAL RELATION 'likely'
—	—	d	(n)	máda (ímada, imada-ni)	TIME '(not) yet': Syokuzi ga máda no hitó wa imasén ka 'Isn't there anyone who hasn't eaten yet?'
					DEGREE 'still (more); no more than'
—	—	d	n	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{yat-tó} \\ \text{katugatu} \\ \text{katukatu} \end{array} \right\}$	TIME 'at last'
					MANNER 'with difficulty' (or is this a combination of TIME + MANNER?)
—	—	d	—	háruka {ni}¹ ¹⁵²	PLACE 'far off'
					TIME 'long ago'
					DEGREE 'by far'
—	—	—	(n)	toriaezu	SPEED 'at once' (= tádati ni)
					TIME 'first of all' (= mázu); 'for the time being' (= toobun)—toriaezu no syóti to site 'as a temporary measure' (Ōno 1967.241)
w	—	d	n	syóttuu, sízyuu	DURATION 'from start to finish; the entire time'
					FREQUENCY 'always, frequently'
w	(m)	?	n	itioo	MANNER 'always, constantly, without letup'
					FREQUENCY 'once' (itioo mo nioo mo 'again and again')
					DEGREE 'in general; in outline'
					LOGICAL RELATION 'tentatively; for the sake of formality'
—	—	—	—	dóo-mo	(1) DEGREE 'very; ever so much'—whence, by ellipsis of ~ [sumimasén], 'thank you' and 'excuse me'.
					MANNER 'how/somehow'
					(2) = dóo-sité mo, dóo-sit'átte '(not) on any account, willynilly'; (= nán to sité mo) 'at any cost; inevitably'
					(3) = nán to itté mo 'eventually, come what may'
					(4) = dóo míte mo 'to all appearances'
w	(m)	d	n	tyót-to	DEGREE 'somewhat, a little' (= tyoui-tó)
					DURATION 'a little while'

150. Kono "motíron" 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 = daróo.

151. Kekkyokú,^[1] 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.

					EVALUATION 'well/but ...' (hesitancy or reservation)
w	-	d	n	daitai	SENTENTIAL (desire) 'please'
w	m	(-)	n	daitai-ni-óite	DEGREE 'generally; for the most part; practically; almost; substantially'
					LOGICAL RELATION 'strictly speaking; originally; from the start'
-	-	-	-	gút-to(-)	SPEED 'suddenly, at once'
(w) ¹⁵³	-	-	-	mázu	DEGREE 'markedly, by far'
					TIME 'first of all; well now'
					DEGREE + EVALUATION 'about, fairly (well)'; (+ NEGATIVE) 'hardly'
					LOGICAL RELATION 'anyway, anyhow' (= tó-ni-kaku)
-	-	d	(n)	ángai(-) ¹⁵⁴	DEGREE 'unexpectedly (much)'
					SENTENTIAL RELATION 'contrary to (or beyond) expectations'
-	-	-	-	túi	DEGREE 'just (a short time/distance)'
					MANNER 'by mistake/chance, carelessly, inadvertently'
-	-	?	-	tómi ni	SPEED 'suddenly'
					DEGREE 'exceedingly'
w	(m) ¹⁵⁵	?	-	yóku	FREQUENCY 'often'
					DEGREE 'much, lots'
					EVALUATION 'nicely, well; with ease, readily'
-	-	(d)	-	iyóiyó	DEGREE 'more and more'
					TIME 'at last'
					LOGICAL RELATION 'really'
w	(m)	-	-	sígeku	DEGREE 'lots, in profusion'
					FREQUENCY 'often' (= asi-sígeku)
-	-	-	n	zyuzyúu(-)	DEGREE 'exceedingly'
					FREQUENCY 'repeatedly'
w	-	-	n	higoro	DURATION 'for a long time'
					FREQUENCY 'usually, ordinarily, always'
-	-	-	-	zut-to	DURATION 'all during/through'
					PLACE 'directly, all the way'
					DEGREE 'by far'
w	(-)	(-)	-	ún-tó	DEGREE 'by far, way': ún-tó ^[1] takái tókó 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 uchū 1967/8.25a).

					utata	QUANTITY 'lots, abundantly; generously'
						MANNER 'hard, with force; severely'
-	-	-	-			DEGREE 'increasingly; deeply'
						MANNER 'somehow in spite of oneself' (= sozoro {ní})
w	-?	-?	n		hitó-sikiri	TIME 'at one time' (= kátute)
						DURATION 'for a while' (= sibároku)
w	-	-	-		izure	TIME 'one of these days; someday; sooner or later'
-	-	-	-			LOGICAL RELATION 'anyhow'
						(Also a literary equivalent for dóre, dótira, and dóko, §29.)
-	-	-	(-)		tama-tama	MANNER 'by chance'
-	-	(-)	n			FREQUENCY 'very occasionally, once in a while' (= tama ní {wa})

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 *Á | náisi wa || B*; *Á naisi || 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) coordinative (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), contemporal (SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH—sore to tómo/dóozi ni), and comparative (BY COMPARISON WITH—sore ni kurabete, sore yóri 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) coordinative conjunctions (AND ALSO)

- | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| sosite—also sequential | sikásite, sikári sikásite (Tk 3.) |
| sore kara—also sequential | —also sequential? |

sore ni
 sono ue
 máta(¯) 'and/or, and again/more'
 (N₁ ~ N₁); N mo ~ 'also'
 mata 'what is more, at the same time'¹⁵⁶
 (cf. mata 'again', adverb)
 kátu
 kátu(-)mata
 narabi ni
 náisi
 óyobi(¯)
 yahári

náo
 sára ni
 omake ni
 híité-wa
 awásete
 másite(¯)
 siká-mo
 [sore ni] kuwaerú ni, kuwaúrú ni =
 kuóorú ni (see §13.8a)
 katágata 'at the same time; coincidental-
 ly'—see §9.1.7.(9b).

(2) sequential conjunctions (AND THEN/NOW)

sosite—also coordinative
 sore kara—also coordinative
 [sore] de—also consequential
 [sore] dé wa
 tokoró-de¹⁵⁷

[sono] tugí [ni]
 [sono] totan ni, ... (Shibata 1961.187)
 sá-te
 sá-te sikáraba 'well then' (Tk 2.245a)
 sómo-somo

(3) consequential conjunctions (AND SO)

[sore] de—also sequential
 [sore] dá kara
 [sore] désu kara
 [sore] de arimásu kara (SA 2672.18a)
 [sore] de áru kara (SA 2669.47b)
 [sore ni] yotte
 [sore o] mótte

dá no de = sore ná no de
 [sono] doorí de = dóori-de
 [sono] tamé ni
 [sore] to iu wáke de (SA 2661.24a)
 sitagátte(¯)
 sore yúé {ni}
 yúé ni

(4) disjunctive conjunctions (OR ELSE)

sore tó mo
 tádasi wa
 arúi-wa
 háta—as in A ka B ka, háta C ka

mátá-wa 'or else, and/or; also/alternatively'
 mósiku-wa
 náisi wa

(5) adversative conjunctions (BUT, AND YET)

[dá] ga
 sóo da/desu ga
 [sore] dá ga
 [sore] désu ga
 [sore] de arimásu ga

[sore] de áru ga
 sore ga¹⁵⁸
 ké[re]do [mo]
 [sore] dá ke[re]do [mo]
 [sore] désu ke[re]do [mo]

156. Notice also the use in Watakusi no yuuzin no (I) mata||sono yuuzin 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).

157. Cf. Tokoro dé ... 'As/At the place ...'. Tokoró-de "usually introduces a shift in subject" (BJ 2.304 n. 26).

158. As in Sore ga desu yó, kyoozyú-kai no íken wa, tatimati gyakuten site simattá n desu 'But then the view of the association of professors suddenly reversed' (SA 2671.30a)—desu yó is interpolation; you will also find Sore ga né ...

tokoró-ga ¹⁵⁹	sikáru ni
[sore] dé mo	tádasi
[sore] d'átte	táda (Táda, ... 'But, ...')
sono-kuse = sore de ite	móttó-mo
dá no ni = sore ná no ni	motíron
sikási, sikasi-nágara; ga sikási	muron

(6) corrective conjunctions (CONTRARIWISE)

káette
sore dókoro ka
?músiro

(7) explanatory conjunctions (ID EST)

sunáwati	motomoto
masásiku	ittai
tori-mo-naósazu	haté wa
túmari, tumáru tokoró ^[r]	hito-yonde
[sore] to iú no wa	mata ⁽⁻⁾ -no-na [wa]
[sore] to iu kotó wa	iu náreba
kekkyokú	itte míreba
kekkyoku-no-tokoró	iwába ⁽⁻⁾
tootei	ikóoru 'equals, is equivalent to' ¹⁶⁰

Conjunctions are often used to signal a direct, paratactic conjoining of noun phrases: ... gyooretu máta⁽⁻⁾ gyooretu no pabiríon, ... 'row upon row of pavilions' (SA 2676.109a); ... go-nen mósiku-wa zyúu-nen no kigen ga ... 'a term of five or ten years' (SA 2686.44d). In the following sentence the conjunction máta⁽⁻⁾ is used to mark an intensive iteration of a free verbal noun before attachment of the auxiliary: ... tyooyaku máta⁽⁻⁾ tyooyaku site hattatu 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⁽⁻⁾ VN [o] 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 necessary and effective' (Ōno 1967.177—ni sité = dé). But the copula connector can be suppressed, leaving a direct conjoinment: ... goohoo kátu tekisei na monó 'what is lawful and proper' (SA 2688.25c); ... máda wakái ga yúunoo 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); Naiyoo wa, gutai-teki kátu rinsyoo-teki de, ... 'The content is concrete and clinical, and ...' (SA

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]'.

160. Mósi iti-ónsu IKÓORU sánzyuu kyúu-doru datta to sité mo, iti-wari no mooké 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'.

2653.128a); Sékkusu no kaihoo wa, móhaya sekai-teki kátu rekisi-teki na zízitu to itte íi 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 kátu: ... móttó-mo kokugo ni husawásiku, kátu heimei ni kore o syóki(¯) suru ... 'writing these in a way most suitable for Japanese and (most) simple' (Shibata in Ōno 1967.47). The next example is presumably an adverbialization of a phrase that consists of two adjectival nouns conjoined with the conjunction kátu: Sono kotó o sottyoku kátu tan-teki ni hyoomei sita monó ga ... 'What has demonstrated this fact frankly and bluntly ...' (Kaneda in Ōno 1967.288). That is, I assume an immediately underlying structure sottyoku [de] kátu tan-teki da—rather than sottyoku [ni] kátu tan-teki ni with the conjoining of two adverbialized adjectival nouns; cf. § 13.5a.

The somewhat more literary usage kátu {wa} V₁-i kátu {wa} V₂ has a meaning very close to that of paired representatives V₁-tári V₂-tári suru: ... kawá no kátu kie, kátu arawárete taéru kotó no náí suiwoo ... 'the bubbles of the river that incessantly vanish and (re)appear' (SA 2676.93b); ... senpai wa, yama-óku no syoogákkoo sika dekinái kotó o, kátu wabi, kátu házita ga ... 'my older friend was alternately apologetic and shamefaced that he could only introduce me to a remote primary school but ...' (lg 78); Káno-zyo wa kátu wa naki, kátu wa kóe o huri-sibótte sakebimásu 'She sobs and wails' (lg 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' (lg 78); Sore kara bóku(¯) wa nakábá(¯) nemuri, nakábá(¯) mu-ísiki no zyootai dátta 'Then I was in a state half asleep, half unconscious' (lg 78); ... nakábá(¯) wa sore o omoi-nágara nakábá(¯) wa sore o wasure-nagara, ... 'while half remembering that and half forgetting it' (lg 78); Matúnaga wa nakábá(¯) wa kookí-sin nakábá(¯) wa kyoéi-sin kara kono suzigákí(¯) ni sansei sita 'Matsunaga agreed to the scheme partly from curiosity, partly from vanity' (lg 78); Atarásiku tukútte iru anó-hito no ié wa, nakábá(¯) yoohuu, nakábá(¯) wahuu 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(¯) zyoodán to site warukuti o ii-áu '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, urusái kotó bákari iu 'They talk trouble, whether it be strikes or raises or whatever'; Yáre kenkoku-kinénbi, yáre kootei-tanzýóobi, yáre soozyúu-setu, yáre kikokú-sai tóo-too, samázama no syukusái-zitu ga tikazúku 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, ...' (lg 78).

The word púrasu(¯) 'plus' is borrowed from English as a noun meaning 'advantage': Motíron, purásu(¯) to mainasu o tómo(¯) ni mótu sangyoo mo áru 'Of course some industries will have both advantages and disadvantages' (SA 2685.25d); Én kiriage no purasu-máinasu 'The advantages and disadvantages of devaluing the yen' (SA 2685 heading). But púrasu(¯) is also used as if a conjunction: ... kentikú-hi|púrasu(¯)|hyakuman-en dé ... 'for construction costs plus a million yen' (SA 2659.118b); ... iti-síon|púrasu(¯)|liti-bóon (or iti-bóoin) 'one consonant plus one vowel'. This conjunction-like behavior is an extension of the use of púrasu(¯) and mainasu as prenumerary adverbs: purásu(¯) san 'plus three, three over (count), up three', mainasu zyúusan 'minus thirteen, thirteen under (count), thirteen short,

down thirteen'.¹⁶¹ An underlying juncture will surface with longer numbers: *mainasu | sánbyaku | sánzyuu* 'down 330'. I have even come across $\bar{\text{p}}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{s}}\bar{\text{u}}$ as a quasi-restrictive in *hyaku-zíkan* $\bar{\text{p}}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{s}}\bar{\text{u}}$ '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 | kén | hóteru* 'a combined restaurant and hotel' (SA 2689.126c); ... *pán-ya | kén | kasí-ya* 'a bakeshop and confectionery' (SA 2863.63a); ... *syusyoo | kén | gaisyyoo* 'prime minister and at the same time (his own) foreign minister'; *Nízyuu ís-sai no Súuzan wa, googoo-dánsaa kén kásyu de aru* '21-year-old Susan is a (combination of) *gogo*-dancer and singer' (SA 2656.134b); ... *mizugi no kaisetú-sya kén móderu no katawará(̄)* *kodomó-táti ni suiei o osiete iru sóo da ga ...* 'in addition to being a promoter and model for swimsuits she teaches swimming to children, we hear, and ...' (SA 2640.42); *Tatami-siki no byoositu wa sinsitu kén hokori-ppói sagyoo-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 heyá wa, oosetumá-ken 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 *sinhonkái roodóo-sya no toosoo* 'the struggle of labor against capital'; *ní-tai ití no tokutén(̄) de kátu* 'wins by a score of 2 to 1' (Kenkyusha); *sán-tai san desu ga* 'it's three to three (and ...)'. This might be regarded as a reduction of ... *ni tai-súru* 'in confrontation with = as against'. The digit following *-tai* will sometime lose its accent, with the juncture dropping; in the case of *ití-tái ití* 'one to one' the syntactic reduction is lexicalized as a precopular noun: *itítái-iti no tatibá de* 'on a one-to-one footing' (Nagano 1968.152), *itítái-iti de hanasi-au* 'talk one-to-one' (MKZ⁵).

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 *sibáruku* '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) *ní*. 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, séngetu yori mainasu sén nihyakú-en óoku no riéki ga átta* 'We had ¥1200 less profit this month than last' (V 1967a.103).

162. In §2.4 we treat $\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{i}}$ as a quasi-restrictive. But for Hamako Chaplin in some uses there is no prior-accent cancellation or preaccentuation: *Wáseda tái | Keioo no baai* 'in the case of Waseda vs. Keiō', *Keioo tái | Wáseda no baai* 'in the case of Keiō vs. Waseda'; *dansei tái (l) dansei no baai to || zyosei tái | zyosei no baai tó de mo, || ...* '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 *dá* to *nó*; they differ from adverbs in that they normally require *ní* when adverbialized. (But the *ní* 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* ‘occasional’, for example, occurs in *Tama dá kara ...* ‘Because it is only occasional ...’, [taihen] *tama ní* ‘[very] occasionally’, and *tama no yasumí/niti-yóobi* ‘an occasional holiday/Sunday’; we conclude that *tama* is a precopular noun. Another example is *ippan* ‘general, common, average’ as in *góku ippan no hitóbito* ‘extremely average people’ (SA 2670.103e)—note the modification by an adverb of degree—and *ippan ní* ‘generally’; *ippan dá* ‘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 *zénbu* ‘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); *syákai | ippan ní wa* ‘in the society as a whole’ (R). A similar expression is *N {no} | zenpan* as in *syákai zenpan ga* ‘the whole society’. There are a number of other expressions with the prefix *zen-* ‘entire’, such as *Nihón | zéndo* ‘all Japan’; but *Nihon-zénkoku* ‘all Japan’ is usually tightened into a compound noun instead of appearing as the expected *Nihón | zénkoku*. On these expressions, see §25.

In the following sentences the word *uttetuke* ‘just right, most suitable’ appears to be a precopular noun: *Kono sigoto wa káre ni uttetuke dá* ‘This work is just right for him’; *Káre ni uttetuke no sigoto dá* ‘It is just the right work for him’; *Sono sigoto ni uttetuke no hitó* ‘He is just the man for the work’; *Uttetuke zya náí* ‘It is not the most suitable’; *Uttetuke na món ka* ‘Surely it is not the most suitable’ (*ná* because of *món*). But there seems to be no adverbial **uttetuke ní* (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 hanasí} da* ‘It’s news to me’; there is no **motté-no-hoka(⁀) [ní]* ‘outrageously’ or **hatu-mimi [ní]* ‘as news’. The two words *tokubetu* ‘special’ and *betu-betu* ‘separate, apart’ are precopular nouns with all three forms *dá*, *nó*, and *ní*; but the *dá* forms of *békkó(⁀)* ‘separate(ly), *sára* ‘new(ly)’, and *hatú* ‘first (time)’ are seldom heard. You will find all three forms for *nanáme* ‘aslant’ and its Tōkyō-dialect equivalents *hasu{kai}*, and for *omoi-ómói* ‘as (each) one pleases’—*omoi-ómói no sutáiru de* ‘each in his own style’ (CK 985.378). In *sya ni kamaéru* ‘assumes a stylishly slanting pose’ the word *sya* must be an adverbialized precopular or adjectival noun (equivalent to *nanáme* ‘aslant’), 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 gá/ó*); but *byoodoo dá* has two meanings ‘it is equality’ and ‘it is equal’, and the latter indicates a precopular noun, subject to the adverbialization *byoodoo ní* ‘equally’ and the adnominalization *byoodoo nó* ‘equal’. (But the word is also sometimes treated as an adjectival noun: *byoodoo na sógata ni* ‘in equal respect’—SA 2670.52b.)

From meaning alone we would assume that *byooki dá* ‘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 ní* ‘in a sick manner’¹⁶³ that we expect by analogy with *génki ni* ‘in a lively/

163. That is said with *byooki no yóo ni*. In *byooki ni náru* ‘becomes an illness’ or ‘becomes ill’ *ní* is the mutative conversion from *dá*, not the adverbial; see §9.1.11.

healthy manner' and *byoodoo ní* 'equally'. If we reinterpreted our semantics we might attribute the "ambiguity" of *byooki dá* 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 dá* '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 *uttetuke* 'suitable', simply lacks the adverbial form.¹⁶⁴ As it turns out, we actually have two classes of precopular nouns: those which are virtually adjectival nouns (and often can take *ná* instead of *nó* as an option) and those lacking the adverbial form, most of which are derived from verbs or nouns. Other examples of the latter include *mæ-muki* 'forward-looking' as in *mæ-muki no zyuutaku-séisaku* 'forward-looking housing plans' (SA 2684.126d), *motté-no-hoka* (–) 'outrageous', *motte-kói* 'ideal(ly 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 sūgata* '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 *iró* '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', *kin-iro* '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', *sora-iro* 'sky blue, light blue', *tamago-iro* 'egg-shell = light tan; egg-yolk = yellowish', *titi-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 ní* 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: *mīdori* 'green', *murāsaki* 'purple', *kurenai* 'crimson', *kassyoku* 'brown', and the modern terms *burāun* 'brown', *burūu* 'blue', *pīnku* 'pink', *burákku* 'black', *howáito* 'white', and *gurí[i]nu* 'green'.¹⁶⁵ Color words with the intensive prefix *ma(q/n)-* are usually treated as adjectival nouns: *makká* 'crimson', *massáo* 'deep blue, ghastly pale'; *mattyáiro* 'quite brown', *makkíiro* 'quite yellow', *makkúro* 'jet black', *massíro* 'pure white'. But on occasion you may run across these words used as precopular nouns (adnominalized with *nó* instead of *ná*); and the last two freely form adjectives, *makkurói* and *massirói*. The word *ki-iro* 'yellow', like other color names that contain *iró* 'color', is both an abstract noun and a precopular noun; unlike the others, it is

164. Similar to *byooki* in grammar, *kitoku* means 'serious, critical' as a precopular noun and 'critical condition' as an abstract noun: *háha 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 (*áka to síro no hatá* 'a red and white flag'); when the color is named (*áo o erábu* 'selects blue'); or when the color is modified (*usui áo no kabe* 'a light blue wall', *kói áka no kami* 'dark red paper').

also freely used as an adjective *kiroi* 'is yellow'. None of the color words—whether precopular or adjectival nouns—use *ní* as an adverbial, only as a mutative, a putative, or a case-marker; and the use of the infinitives of the color adjectives (*kiroku*, *makkúroku*, *massíroku*) 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 adnominal position, and it is often questionable whether the predicative form is in use: we find *zekkoo no hikoo-biyori* 'ideal flying weather', *zekkoo no tyánsu* 'an excellent chance', *zekkoo no kond'isyon no motó* 'under perfect conditions', and *nezumi ni tótte zekkoo no esá(-)* 'the best bait for rats', but we are unlikely to run across *zekkoo dá* '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', Some precopular nouns have individually LIMITED distributions: *dai-nasi* 'ruined', from the phrase *dái ga nási* 'lacks a base', occurs only in the mutative conversion *dai-nasi ni náru* 'gets ruined' and *dai-nasi ni suru* 'ruins'. Compare *monkú-nási* 'perfect, satisfactory', from the phrase *mónku ga nási* 'has no complaint', which occurs in all copular forms—adnominal *nó*, adverbial *ní*, and finite *dá* (etc.)—though there is no **monkú-nási sono mónó* 'perfection itself'. *Issyo-kuta* 'mishmash, jumble' is common in the mutative (N o *issyo-kuta ni suru* 'makes a jumble of N') but it also occurs with *dé*, *dá*, and *nó*. 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*, *zyúurai*, *tyokusetu*, *ippan*,

Some words are adjectival nouns and at the same time either precopular nouns or adverbs, depending on whether *ní* is required for adverbialization; they adnominalize sometimes by converting *dá* to *nó* (precopular noun) and sometimes by converting *dá* to *ná* (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 quantitative description where the adjectival noun concentrates on qualitative description. When the writer presents us with *samázáma(-) no zyoohoo* 'all sorts of information' (SA 2677.50a) he is taken to mean something like '(much) information of many kinds'; if he had written *samázáma(-) na zyoohoo* it would have been taken to mean 'highly varied (pieces of) information'. But it is difficult to see any difference in meaning between the two versions of *akusitu no/na* 'inferior' and *tókusyu(-) na/no* 'special'.¹⁶⁶ Nor does meaning or context determine whether you say *kará/karappo no N* or *kará/karappo na N* 'empty N'; an example of the latter: *nakámi no kará na syuugi-zútumi* 'a congratulatory envelope empty of contents' (Fn 175b).

The following words can be treated as adjectival nouns, as precopular nouns, or as adverbs (i.e. directly adverbialized without *ní* as well as with it): *sootoo* 'reasonable, fair, considerable'; *iroiro* 'various', *samázáma(-)* 'various';¹⁶⁷ *matímati(-)* 'various', *moromoro*

166. *Dókuzi(-)* 'original; individual, personal' is normally treated as a precopular noun, but you may occasionally see *dókuzi(-) na N* in print. *Zimei* 'self-evident' is similar.

167. Both *iroiro* and *samázáma(-)* occasionally turn up as pure nouns meaning 'the varieties': ... *tatami no zí 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 "*Nó*" *no iroiro* 'Various kinds of *nó*'.

'various, all' (in modern writings largely limited to the adnominal *moromoro nó/ná*); *kánari* 'fair, passable', *takusán* 'much', *wázuka* 'few, scanty', *kotó-sara*(⁻) 'deliberate; especial', *?isásaka* 'slight'. According to Mio 149 the following also belong in this list: *hontoo*, *toozen*, *zyuubún*, *anmari*, *sokkúri*, *sínmi* 'kind', *hitorimae*, *sizen*, *betu*, *kangae-dóori*. But (Mio 147) the following do not: *muron*, *motíron*, *zissai*, *ookata*, *sekkakú*, *karisome*, *ooyoso*, *yobo-yobo*, *hazímete*, *súbete*. (These are mostly adverbs; he also includes *kánari* and *wázuka*—but see above.) *Kázu-kazu* '(in) large numbers; numerous' is a quantity noun (*Gotisoo no kázu-kazu ga narabimásita* 'Lots of goodies were lined up') that can be predicated (*Kázu-kazu na no ni odoróita* 'I was amazed at the number') and directly adverbialized (*Kázu-kazu itadakimásita* 'I received many') as well as adnominalized (*Kázu-kazu no N*). The word *torídóri*(⁻), from a reduplication of the infinitive *tóri* 'take', means 'to each one's taste' or 'various', and it is usually treated as a precopular noun; the expression *iró^[1] torídóri*(⁻) *no/ni* 'in all sorts of colors', often heard in advertising, contains an ellipsis: *iró [ga/no] ...*

The word *tokúí*(⁻) '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.) *Dooitu* '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 nó* can mean 'of nature') and 'natural, spontaneous' as an ambivalently adjectival/precopular noun (*sizen ná/nó N*); *toozen* 'natural, reasonable', on the other hand, is not an abstract noun and only displays the grammar of an adjectival/precopular noun (*toozen ná/nó N*). In colloquial usage both *sizen* and *toozen* can be directly adverbialized, though it is common to use *ní*; thus they are adverbs as well as adjectival/precopular nouns. A similar grammar characterizes *tyokusetu* 'direct': *tyokusetu ná/nó N*, *tyokusetu {ní}*.

A number of words belong to the class of abstract nouns as well as to the class of adjectival nouns: *gán-ko* means both 'stubbornness' and 'stubborn'; *sínsetu* means both 'kindness' and 'kind'; *sikakú* means both 'a square' and 'square' (as in the mutative *sikakú ni kíru* 'cuts it square'), the latter treated as either an adjectival or a precopular noun and also forming an adjective *sikakúi* 'is square'—similarly *manmáru*(⁻) *na/no N*, *manmarúi* 'is perfectly round'. As an abstract noun 'present fashion' *ima-yoo* is obsolescent but it continues to function as a precopular noun 'modern'.

The word *súgu* is an adjectival noun (*súgu da*, *súgu na N*) now largely replaced by a prefixed version *massúgu* 'straight; direct; honest' with the adverbialization *massúgu {ní}* (thus it is also an adverb). But in the common meanings 'directly' (= *tyokusetu*) and 'immediately' (= *ziki ní*) we find only the forms *súgu* and *súgu ni*; and in the common meaning 'right (nearby)' it is an ordinary predicable adverb with the forms *súgu*, *súgu da*, and *súgu no N*—as in *Té o nobáseba súgu no tokoró ni taipuráitaa ga áru* 'I have a typewriter right at hand' (but the adnominalized form is usually replaced by *súgu soko/sóba no N*). In the latter meaning *ziki* is also a simple adverb, but in the meaning 'immediately' it is more commonly said as *ziki ní*. *Zíka* 'immediately' usually occurs as *zika ni*, but it is also found in noun compounds such as *zika-dánpan* 'direct negotiations'—to be derived, however, from *zika ni dánpan suru [kotó]*. (*Ziki-tórihiki* '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: *iroiro samázama/matímati*(⁻) 'various and diverse', *syúzyu matímati*(⁻)/*iroiro* 'various and sundry'; *syúzyu samázama*(⁻) *no sooi ga*

áru 'there are various and sundry differences' (Ōno 1967.5); syúzyu zatta na/no gyóozi 'various functions', ...¹⁶⁸ Syúzyu and zatta belong to the same classes as samázama—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 dáisyoo samázama no N 'N in various sizes large and small' dáisyoo 'large and small (sizes)' could be regarded as a precopular noun (but defective for there is no adverbial *dáisyoo ni 'largely and smallly') 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 Takusán mondai ga áru has only the latter type of source, being a permutation from Mondai ga takusán áru 'There are a lot of problems'. The difference is clearly seen by the unacceptability of *Takusán mondai dá kara → Takusán no 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 takusán: Ití-mai kamí ga áru = Kamí ga ití-mai áru 'There is one sheet of paper' is quite acceptable but *Ití-mai kamí da kara (= Ití-mai no kamí da 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-tígai no áni 'the brother two years older' might lead us to think that AGE-tígai 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-tígai ga óói 'A discrepancy of two years in age is common' and Hon-no hitotu-tígai ga óói 'A mere one year difference in age is common'. (But kentoo-tígai is both a verbal noun 'guessing wrong, miscalculating' and an adjectival noun: kentoo-tígai na kotó/kangáe/hanasí '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 [hitó/monó]} 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 weak-kneed'; cf. yuru-hun {no} seizi-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-syákai 'overcrowded society' (SA 2689.49c) ? < kamitu {no} syákai.

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-tódoke 'without notice/leave' (todoké being a noun derived from the transitive infinitive todóke); mu-hízuke 'undated'; ...

168. Also sikázika kákukaku(°) 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 náru (= de áru) where we would expect ná: ... syúzyu naru atarasii réi o mi-dasu kotó ga dekíru 'we can spot various new examples' (Ishigaki Kenji 33). The expected form appears in syúzyu na mén ni óite(°) 'in various aspects' (Kotoba no uchū 1967/4.11).

(1b) A single, usually bound, morpheme of Chinese origin; the resulting word is best treated as a primitive lexical item: *múseki* 'without registered domicile', *musaku* 'without resources, resourceless', *múteki* 'invincible', *músyoku₁* 'colorless', *músyoku₂* 'jobless', *múzi* 'unpatterned, solid-color', *múkan* 'lacking office', *múryoo*(-) 'free of charge', ...

(1c) A free noun of Chinese origin, usually containing two morphemes: *mu-tyákuriku* 'nonstop (flight)', *mu-kánkei* 'unrelated', *mu-syózoku* 'unattached', *mu-téiken* 'lacking a fixed opinion, vacillating', *mu-rísoku* 'free of interest', *mu-bóobi* 'defenseless', *mu-zyóoken* 'unconditional', ... (The negative prefixes *hi-* and *hu-*, on the other hand, usually make adjectival nouns; for exceptions, see p. 764.)

(2) Chinese binoms: *anmoku* 'tacit', *byoodoo* 'equal', *ippan* 'general, average', *kakudan* 'particular, noticeable', *syosoo* 'premature; too early/soon', *tóssa*(-) 'instantaneous', *tokubetu* 'special', *zatta* 'sundry', *byooki* 'ill'; *kazyuu* 'overloaded'; *saikoo* 'maximum, the greatest', *saitei* 'minimum, the worst', *saiaku* 'the worst', *sairyoo* 'the best' (*sairyoo no seisaku* 'the best policy'); *honnen* (preferred to the older *honzen*) 'natural, innate'; *kinsyoo* 'scanty'; *tayoo* 'diverse'; *híssu*(-) 'obligatory', *nín'i*(-) 'optional'; *sínki* '(a)new, fresh'; *kookyuu* 'permanent' (there is an adjectival noun *kookyuu-teki*); *yúuhu* 'having a husband, being married'; *zekkoo* 'excellent'; ...

(3) Chinese reduplications: *betu-betu* 'separate, apart'; (*with nigori*) *syúzyu* 'sundry'; ...

(4) Single morphemes that were free adjectives in Chinese: *dái* 'great; large(r)' as in *Watasi no dái no hiiki no ana[únsaa] san da* 'He is an announcer who is a great favorite of mine' (SA 2678.46ab) and *dái no tuki* 'an odd (= 31-day) month' and *Songai ga dái datta* 'The damage was great', but this is also an abstract noun as in *dái o násu* 'achieves greatness'; ...

(5) Color names with the suffix *-iro* (from the noun *iró* 'color'): see above.

(6) Iterated verb infinitives: see §9.1.1b.

(7) Native words of miscellaneous structures: *hadaka* 'naked', *suppádaka* 'stark-naked', *hatu-mimi* 'news (heard for the first time)', *uttetuke* 'most suitable, just right', *tama* 'occasional', *dasinuke* 'sudden, unexpected', *mukidasi* 'bare, naked, frank', *haenuki* = *kissui* 'born and bred',¹⁷⁰ *karisome* 'temporary, transient; trifling, slight' (~ *ní mo* 'for even a moment, [not] at all'), *togire-tógire* 'interrupted, intermittent, broken, choppy', *hudebuto* '(writing) in bold strokes', *ottu-káttu* 'about equally, evenly matched' (~ *ni* 'in the nick of time'), ...

(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 (*-mé*) for those derived from tonic adjectives.

170. As in *haenuki no Edokko* 'a Tokyoite born and bred', *haenuki no gunzin* 'a military man to the core', *kono daigaku no haenuki no kó-zukai* 'a janitor whose world is confined to this university'. Notice the common ellipsis in *Oosaka [no] haenuki no sinbun* 'a truly Ōsaka newspaper' (Tk 3.288a) and *Nikkatu [no] haenuki no hitó desita kara né* '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 hitó/kotó]*.

atu- 'thick': Sutéeki wa atu-me no hoo ga umai 'Steak tastes better a bit thick'.

átu- 'hot': Onsite ga atu-mé(-) dá 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.]

háya- 'fast': Okure-soo da kara haya-mé(-) ni arúku 'I will walk fast since I'm about to be late'.

híku- 'low': Kákine wa hiku-mé(-) ni sita hoo ga me-záwari ni naránai desyoo 'If we lowered the fence a bit it wouldn't look so bad'.

híro- 'broad': Asobi-ba o hiro-mé(-) ni tótte sekkei suru yoo ni 'Plan your play-ground on the wide side'.

hóso- 'narrow, slim': Dóa o hoso-mé(-) ni akete, nozoita 'I opened the door a narrow bit and peeped'.

húká- 'deep': Kono ryooi wa huka-mé^(u)(-) no hatí ni motte kudasai 'Pile this cooked dish into a fairly deep bowl'.

hútó- 'fat': Gesui no páipu wa huto-mé^(u)(-) nó ga tukatte áru yoo da 'For sewers, pipes that are fairly big around seem to be used'.

kára- 'spicy': Natú wa kara-mé(-) ni azi-tuké(-) o suru yoo ni 'In summer, spice your food on the hot side'.

karu- 'light in weight': Hazime no aida wa karu-me no rákétto de rensyuu sita hoo ga rakú desyoo 'At the beginning it would be easier if you practiced with a racket on the light side'. [Little used.]

kata- 'hard': Sukósi kata-me ni yuderárete itá 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'.

mizíká- 'short': Kodomó-huku wa mizika-mé^(u)(-) no hoo ga kawaii 'Children's clothes are cuter when on the short side'.

nága- 'long': Yoko wa naga-mé(-) ni, usiro wa mizíkaku kátto site kudasai 'Cut it [= my hair] long on the sides and short in back'.

núru- '(luke)warm': O-húro wa nuru-mé(-) ni yu-kágen site kudasai 'Have the water in the bath on the warm (rather than hot) side'.

óo- 'much, many': Kuriimu o oo-mé(-) ni ireta koohii ga sukí da 'I like coffee with a fair amount of cream in it'; Kúmó ga oo-mé(-) desu 'It's quite cloudy'.

óoki- 'large': Nán dé mo tasyoo ooki-mé(-) ni tukutte okéba matigái nai 'It would be no mistake to make everything more or less on the large side'.

oso- 'slow': Sigoto wa oso-me dá ga seikaku na yoo da 'The work is a bit slow but it seems to be accurate'. [Little used.]

sukúná- 'scarce, few': ... hutuu yori mo sukuna-mé(-) ni kimerarete imasu '... have been set at fewer than usual' (SA 2665.101e).

táka- 'tall': Moo sukósi taka-mé(-) ni bóoru o nagéreba, aité ga komáru daroo 'If I throw the ball any higher, my partner will be in trouble'.

tiísá- 'small': Tiisa-mé^(u)(-) no bótan(-) o takusán^(u) tüketa óobaa wa waka-muki desyoo ka 'Would an overcoat with lots of smallish buttons be suitable for a young person?' [Little used.]

túyo- 'strong': Soko wa, mótto tuyó-mé(-) ni hiite 'Put a little more force into your playing of that passage [on the piano]'.

usu- 'thin': Yóru no o-tya wa usu-me ni taténai to, nemurenaku náru 'If I don't brew the tea at night on the weak side, I find I can't get to sleep'.

yásu- 'cheap': [Bóku(-) wa zyakkan sukuna-mé^(u)(-) no hoo ga ii. Kontikusyoo to

raibaru-ísiki o moyaserú no wa kyúuryoo desu kara né.] Zibun o kánri suru syúdan to site, sukósi yasu-mé(¯) no kyúuryoo 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).

yawaráká- 'soft': Kore wa kiwámete yawaraka-mé(¯) ni hukkúri to taki-agéru 'This [= the rice] they cook up very soft and puffy' (SA 2676.116d).

yówa- 'weak': Hi-kágen wa yowa-mé(¯) ni site, nágaku niru kotó 'To be cooked for a long time over a low flame'.

yúru- 'loose': Íhuku wa yuru-mé(¯) ni tukútta hoo ga rakú 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-mé(¯) 'moderate' comes from the transitive verb hikáeru 'refrains from, is moderate/temperate in'. Like other precopular nouns, these words do not normally become subjects or objects; on occasion you may find gá (and perhaps ó) immediately following, but only as the result of ellipsis: Haya-mé(¯) [ni suru hoo] ga ii 'It would be better [to do it] a bit on the fast side'. The word haya-mé(¯) is also used as an adjectival noun 'early' as in ... haya-mé(¯) na hirú o tabéru to sugu ... '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 mé 'eye', notably the two words oo-me 'large eyes = taking a generous view' as in Kore kara ki o tukemásu kara kóndo daké wa oo-me ni míte itadakemasén 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 hurí o site usu-me o akete míte 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: kisétu no kawari-me ni ítu mo ... 'always at the change of seasons', where -me is attached to the infinitive of kawaru 'it changes'; perhaps wake-mé 'dividing line, part(ition), crisis', wakaré-mé 'turning point, parting of the way', sakai-mé 'boundary line, crisis', and sini-me 'moment of death'.

The ordinal numbers ('first, second, third ...') are made by attaching (-)¯mé to a numeral + counter.¹⁷¹ The result is a noun: hutatu-mé [= hutatú ¯mé] ga owaru to 'when the second one is finished', mittu-mé [= mittú ¯mé] 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 hutatú ¯mé {no ǰ noǰ } 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 -tú only go up to 'ninth' (kokónotu ¯mé); you will recall that the series for general counting (and for counting years of age) uses -tú through '9', tóo for '10', and then switches to the Chinese numerals with no overt counter: zyuuiti '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-mé ni wa 'at every second/other word = constantly'. Except for such idioms, we will space ¯mé as a quasi-restrictive.

'number' followed by (-)̄mé as if making a single counter -̄banmé: (zyuu-banmé or zyuuban-mé=) zyúu-ban ̄mé 'tenth', zyuiti-ban ̄mé 'eleventh', hyakú-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 dáí- to the Chinese numerals, with or without 'ban ̄mé: dáí-ni or dáí ní-ban ̄mé 'second'. As the last example shows, dáí is attached as a pseudo adnoun when the number is more than two morphemes long: dáí nizík-ka 'Lesson 20', dáí sánbyaku sánzyuu (or dáí sánbyaku sánzyúu-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 sánbyaku sánzyuu sán-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: san-kái náisi yon-kái ̄mé ni means the same thing as san-kai ̄mé [ni] mátá-wa yon-kái ̄mé ni 'on the 3rd or 4th time' (major juncture is appropriate both before and after the conjunctions náisi and mátá-wa). The example below (from Shiga Naoya, quoted from V 140) puts an ordinalized number in the indefinite form by attaching [dá(tta)] ka and then modifying that structure with the sentence adverb tábun 'perhaps' (tábun hutuka ̄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 hutuka ̄mé 'second day' as a transitional epitheme that is modified by an adnominalized sentence: Tómi ga sono syúzyutu o ukéru tamé ni nyuuin sita tábun hutuka ̄mé ka ni bóku(-) wa Yamada no ié 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: káette kíta 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 mé '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 mié 'appearance', a derived noun from the infinitive mié 'appear', itself an old passive-type derivative from the transitive verb mí(-) '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-mé 'damn fool', hyakusyoo-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 kúru to káre wa íp-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).

mé 'sonuvabitch', yowamusi-mé 'damn coward', namakemono-mé 'damn lazybones', etc. We also find koitu-mé 'this bastard', soitu-mé 'that bastard', and aitu-mé 'that bastard' (but not *dóitu-mé '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: hakuti-mé 'damn imbecile' (SA 2685.22d), Wagamama-musume-mé! 'Wilful damn daughter!' (SA 2260.122a—heading). Writers will sometimes use watakusi-mé '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 mé = me-sú 'female', usually encountered as a prefix me(n)-, opposite of [w]ó = [w]o-sú 'male'. The prefix is often associated with the word yátu, which is probably a truncation of yátuko = yákkō 'slave' from yá-tu ko = ié 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 áru will (except in formal speech) contract to dá when not adnominalized—and then it will sometimes drop; when the nominal sentence is adnominalized, the copula appears as ná or nó, 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 óru 'stays', áru 'is', and verbs derived from them—such as sikáru 'is so', habér-u 'serves a superior', the objective copula náru, and the subjective copula táru—in that the INFINITIVE (óri, ári, sikári, habéri, nári, tári) 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-si*): Genkin-huyoo-zídai, mása ni tikási de aru 'The cashless era is now upon us' (SA 2660.25b); Ténki wa yósi, kaze wa nási, bura-túku no ni motte-kói no hí da 'The weather is fine, there is no wind, it's the perfect day to stroll' (Kb 335a); Tokoro-sémasi to naranda o-kage de, kodomo wa ukkári kake-dasu kotó mo déki ya sinai 'Owing to [play-equipment] things being all crowded up, the children can't enjoy a good free run' (SA 2666.108e); Uri-tási—Kai-tási— 'Wanted to sell—Wanted to buy—' (SA 2688.36c); Zyósi to syoozin wa yasinai-gátasi to iimásu ga ... 'They say that women and children are hard to raise, but ...' (SA 2678.139c); E-yásuki

monó wa usinai-yásusi '(What is easily got is easily lost =) Easy come, easy go'; Óbi ni mizíkási tasukí(¯) ni nágasi '(It's too short for a sash, too long for a sleeve-tie =) It is good for neither one thing nor the other'; Kyuu-káabu-zíko óosi 'Sudden curve—many accidents' (roadsign); Yósi! 'OK!'; "Nán de mo yósi" ni ... 'Indiscriminately (regardless of what it may be) ...'; "Dáre de mo yósi" ni ... 'Indiscriminately (regardless of who it may be) ...'.

When an adjective base ends in the syllables *si* or *zi*, haplology suppresses the ending itself: *yorosi*[*si*] 'it is all right', *onazi*[*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 *ítasi káyusi* 'it hurts and it itches' is used idiomatically to mean 'is ticklish, delicate'; it is often reduced to a single word, the precopular noun *itasi-káyusi* (no *mondai* 'a delicate problem').

Examples of the adjective ATTRIBUTIVE form (*A-ki*): *Húruki yóki zidai to iú na* 'Don't talk of the "good old days"' (SA 2676.114c); ... *kono yóki huusyuu ga* ... 'this excellent practice' (SA 2685.62e); ... *yóki aité* ... 'a suitable partner'; ... *sono yóki mén*, ... 'a good feature about it' (SA 2664.90d); *Yóki ími de no Makyaverísuto* 'He is a Macchiavelian in the best sense' (SA 2651.71d); *Yóki pápa de mo náku, yóki otto dé mo náí bóku(¯) o túma ya kodomó-táti wa dóno-yóo ni míte 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); ... *ásiki kígyoo(¯) ga ryoosin-teki kígyoo(¯) o taósu no de aru* 'the evil businesses drive out the conscientious businesses' (SA 2688.45d)—*ási-* is the usual literary equivalent of *wáru-* 'bad' (the predicative form suppresses the ending: *kígyoo(¯)* [*ga*] *ási*[*si*] 'the business is evil'); ... *tookí sósen* ... 'distant ancestors' (Tk 4.264a); ... *takumásiki nínsoo* 'a strong face' (Tk 4.238); *Orokásiki zyosei wa—*'And the FOOLISH woman—?' (Tk 2.105a); *Iyóiyó ayasiki innén(¯) désu ná* 'More and more mysterious connections, hmm' [*jocular*] (Tk 2.72b); *Kyooyoo takaki interi-húzin to site* ... 'As an intellectual lady of high culture ...' (SA 2664.102d)—the literary language often drops the subject marker *gá*, as here after the first word; *Káre ni tótte, itiban omoide [ga] óoki kyóku(¯) de áru* 'For him it is the song with the most memories' (SA 2652.67c); *Tíkaki kóro mo, ... sinde simatta* 'As a recent example, ... died [neglected]' (CK 985.362); *Yásuki ni túku* 'We take the line of least resistance'—also, perhaps, said as *yásuki o nusúmu* (Tk 3.137a); ... *Sinátorá to obósiki eiga-háiyuu ga* ... 'a movie actor who would appear to be a [fictionalized] Sinatra' (SA 2679.118d); ... *éiga(¯) no gízuyutu rásiki monó o* ... 'things that are like movie techniques' (SA 2635.59a). See also *aru-máziki = aru-mazíi* 'unbecoming, unlikely', §15.12a. The attributive often appears with direct nominalization, equivalent to colloquial *A-í no* ...: *Túmari, taiki-ósen ni túite wa utagawásiki wa bas-sé yo to iu rónri na no da* 'In short, the logic is to punish whoever is suspect with regard to air pollution' (SA 2649.43c); ... *ói(¯) mo wákaki mo* 'both the agèd and the young'—*ói(¯)* is a noun 'the agèd' derived from the infinitive *ói* 'age, get old'; *Húruki ga utí(¯) ní mo hurúi onná ni wa, ...* 'For a woman who is the most old-fashioned of the old-fashioned ...' (Fn 278a)—on the literary genitive (*húruki ga utí(¯) = hurúi no no utí(¯)*) 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 *takái* right before the literary *wákaki* in the following sentence: ... *tóozí wa syuusai no homaré(¯) ga takái wákaki gákuto 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 *nái*—*nási* and *náki*, respectively:

NÁSI: *Sínin*(⁻) *ni kuti nási* 'Dead men [have no mouths=] tell no tales'; ... *Súupu wa, nási?*—*Nái desu, ée.* ... 'How about soup: none?—There wasn't any, that's right' (SA 2658.124). Direct adverbialization of ... *nási* is common: *Íma de mo né, atakusi no utí*(⁻) *tte iú no wa, rázio*(⁻) *wa nási, kúro-siro no buk-koware no térebi sika nái 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 *nási* are often treated as if precopular nouns (*da/ni/no*): *Kore nási de wa, kónniti no Mitúbisi wa nákatte to ieyoo* 'We can probably say that had it not been for this we would not have the Mitsubishi of today' (SA 2689.18d); ... *tyuugákú-sei tte no wa, kodomo dé mo nási otona dé mo nási no zidai désu kara né,* ... 'Since the junior high school student is at an age that is neither child nor grownup, you see ...' (Tk 2.270b); *Náze hitókoto no renraku mo nási ni, bóku*(⁻) *no tati-ai mo nási 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 nási ni* ... 'Without the least explanation ...'; ... *si-kata [ga] nási ni* ... 'with no other recourse' (Tk 3.254a). Cf. ... *~daké de nási ni = ... ~daké de náku[te]* 'not only ... but', §8.1, §9.1. You will also find direct nominalizations: ... *sínin*(⁻) *ni kuti [ga] nási o ii kotó ni suru wáke de wa arimasén ga* ... 'I do not mean to take advantage of the fact that the dead can not speak, but ...'.

NÁKI: ... *aizyoo náki kekkon* 'a loveless marriage' (Tk 2.262b); ... *kakumei náki kakumei* 'a revolution without revolution' (SA 2680.103c); *Íma, Óobei*(⁻) *dé wa, miti náki miti o kuruma de hasíru ohuroodo-réésingu ga dai-ryúukoo [de aru]* '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 *Watasi no náki tití mo* ... 'My late father ...' (SA 2671.117b) and *Íma wa náki Leonard Bloomfield* 'The late Leonard Bloomfield'. The accentuation indicates that certain phrases are best regarded as lexical primitives: *kokoro-náki sinryakú-sya* 'the heartless invaders' (= *kokoro-nái < kokoró [ga] ná-*); ... *itizi-kyúusen no yamú-naki ni itátta*(⁻) 'reached the point where a truce is inevitable' (SA 2656.147c) (= *yamú no ga nái* 'there is no stopping').

In *Nízyúu-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 *Zyúu-nen no nágaki nénetu* 'Ten long years' the word is clearly functioning as an adjective. The noun *omóki*(⁻) 'weight, dignity' derives from *omo-ki* '(which is) heavy'. There are a few nouns derived from the A-si forms; notably men's names such as *Tádasi, Másasi, Hírosi, Yásusi*, etc., and the words *karasi* 'mustard' from *kára-si* 'is piquant', *súsi* 'vinegared rice' from *sú-si* 'is sour', *árasí* 'storm' from *ára-si* 'is rough', and perhaps *akasi* 'light' from *aká-si* 'is red/bright' and *omosi* 'weight' from *omó-si* 'is heavy'. In *Káre-ra no koodoo no yósi-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 *yósi* 'is good' and *ási* 'is bad'; a similar example is the precopular noun *itasi-káyusi* (no N) 'delicate, awkward, ticklish' from *ítasi* 'is painful' and *káyusi* 'is itchy'. 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-nasi* 'a goodfornothing' derives from the phrase *roku de ná-si* '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: ... *tanosikáru ~béki syokutaku* 'the dining table

that ought to be delightful' (SA 2652.140c). In *wakakárisi hí* '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, Kámata no éki de bízin 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-*karazáru* (etc.) see §8.6. Here are two examples: *e-yasukaránu monó* 'something rarely come by (met with)'; *e-yasukarazáru zén'i no hitó* 'a person of rare goodwill' (Kb 411a.5).

In the following examples the infinitive *ári* functions as the literary predicative: "*Wáre ári to omóu yúé ni wáre ári*" "'Je pense donc je suis'" (Tk 3.156b); ... *situmei no osoré ári* [= *osoré ga áru*] *to ganka-byóotoo ni nyuuin sasereta* 'He was hospitalized in the ophthalmology ward with the diagnosis that there was danger he might lose his eyesight ...' (SA 2656.28b); ... *zyósi puro-resu ni sonó-hito 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, kyoyoo ári de, ...* 'What with rules, with exceptions, with dispensations, ...' (Kaneda in Ōno 1967.276); *Ritoo ári, hekison ári, onsen ári, yamā ári minato ári da ga, súbete tyósyá ni tótte wa míti no basyo de ári, minami kara kitá(-) e Nihón o tabí sita kikoo 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); *Sisoo ya koodoo no mén de mo, minséi-kei ári, "sanpá-kei" ári, "hippii-anaakisutó-kei" ári de, makoto ni hyakka-séihoo no omomúki(-)* '[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: "*Sikári*" *to kotáeru* '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 máta(-) sín nari, désu ka* 'Is it a case of "The opposite also holds true"?' (Tk 4.45b); *Kodomó-táti wa ákanbée. Toozen nári. Nán no hentetu mo náí búranko ni, dáre 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: *Nekki-kyuu naru aidéa wa ...* 'The idea of a hot-air balloon ...' (SA 2647.4); *Soo site sonó-hito wa watasi o googoo-kúrabu naru tokoró e turete itta* 'Then he took me to a place that was a gogo club' (SA 2660.134b); ... *sootoo náru kingaku* 'an appropriate sum' (9SA 2680.121c); ... *ika-yoo náru tokoró* 'what sort of place' (SA 2663.104d); *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 like this, ...' (SA 2679.158); ... *byooin e háiru to iu "Míti naru tokoró e no yori-miti" o sita kotó ni yotte, gaikoku-ryókoo o sita tokí ni masáru(-) tó mo otoránai(-), iroiro no kyookun o éta* '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'

(SA 2645.47a); ... nite hí naru monó datta ga 'it was a thing that was similar and yet (= but) different' (SA 2641.10). In the example ... wá-ga kuni no gakusya no utí(¯) naru búnka no keisei ni ... 'in the culture formation among the scholars of our country' (SA 2659.114b) náru is presumably to be taken as equivalent to colloquial de^[1]áru = nó, rather than as ní^[1]áru with locative ní.

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).

narazáru (see also § 8.6): Niwasaki ni óite(¯) kuruma no nánbaa ga Tookyoo-nánbaa de, "kappe" narazáru tokoró o kóozí(¯) site iru 'The license number of the car left in front of the garden is a Tōkyō number and proudly proclaims that it is not some "hillbilly's" place' (SA 2648.35c).

NOTE: The negative equivalent of sentence-final nári is ní árazu (cf. § 8.5): Íma ya aidéa no náí hitó wa hito ni árazu 'Nowadays the person without ideas is not a person at all' (SA 2652.47b).

narasiméru (pseudo-literary causative): ... genzitu ni kanoo narasiméru zyookén(¯) o ... 'the conditions that will make it possible in reality' (Tanigawa 139); ... sono zoogo ó mo kanoo narasiméru kisó ... 'the foundation that makes the very word coinages possible' (Kgg 43.61).

nári-si (attributive perfect): ... syoowa-syóki túmari rebyuu-keiégeki [ga] hanáyaka nárísi kóro no Asakusa-rókkú o haikai ni sita merodórama '(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).

nári-ki (predicative perfect): Nógiku no gótoki kimi náríki 'I recall you were [fresh and unsophisticated] like a wild chamomile' (epithematic identification—quoted in K 1966.214).

tári: Sosite konketu de áru kotó o iti-nítí 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 taru monó ... 'he who is a parent'; Zyosei taru monó, koo iu kunren ni onozukara netú ga háiru 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 biznesú-man taru monó ... 'he who is a businessman in the worldwide-economy era ...' (Gd 1969/9.66a); ... kókka no kihón-hoo(¯) táru kénpoo no kaisei 'the revision of the constitution which is the fundamental law of the land' (KKK 25.78b); Yuui-ténpen no hagesii bundan ni átte, sánzyuu gonén-kan mo dáí is-sen no sákka(¯) táru tii o kákuho site kíta no wa, yooi naránu kotó datta ni tigai náí '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).

tarasiméru: (see p. 750)

tarazu: used in the colloquial only to quote literary passages such as Oyá,^[1] oyá tarazu to mo, ko wa ko táre 'Even if the father be not paternal let the child be filial'.

taránu: not used (see § 8.6)

tarazáru (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 tárisi monó sura, hansen-úndoo ni sánka(¯) site

iru g^énzai, ... 'Today when even former military men are taking part in the anti-war movement ...':

táři-ki (predicative perfect): used in the colloquial only to quote literary passages.

The colloquial verb *suru* is the descendent of the literary attributive form; the predicative form is *su*. You will often find this form used before *ḥéki*, since the literary post-adnominal adjective *bé-si/-ki* normally follows the predicative form—including the morphological predicative form for *áru* (etc.), identical with the attributive (as for consonant verbs in general). The polite auxiliary *-i-másu* is by origin a predicative form and we sometimes find the attributive *-i-masúru* used in adnominalized sentences (see § 22.1).

Vowel verb bases of more than one syllable (*kangáe*- 'think', *kurabe*- 'compare', *óti*- 'fall', *síi*- 'force', ...) drop the final vowel and add *-u* for the predicative, *-uru* for the attributive.¹⁷⁴ The predicative form *kangáú* occurs in ... *kangáú ḥéki yóti ga áru to omóu* 'I believe there is room to think about it' (K 1955.65) and the attributive form *kangáúru* occurs directly nominalized in *Túra-tura kangáúru ni* ... 'Upon careful reflection ...' (Kansai speaker Endō Shūsaku, SA 2651.46c).¹⁷⁵ For 'compare' the forms are attributive *kuraburu* and predicative *kurabu*, the latter found in this example: *Íma o toki-méku "Móotáa-syoo" ... ni wa kurabu ḥéku mo nái 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 *kakáru* may represent the predicative of the passive of *káku* (the attributive being *kakarúru*, the infinitive *kakáre*, the negative *kakárezu*) and mean 'it gets written' or it may represent the convergent attributive-predicative form of the verb *kakáru* 'it hangs' (infinitive *kakári*, negative *kakarázu*); another possibility is that it may represent the attributive form of a verb using the infinitive for most of its predicative functions — *kakári* 'is like this' (an abbreviation of *káku ári*), for which the negative is *kakarázu* (= *káku árazu*).

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*: *Nagamúreba* = *Nagaméreba* 'Upon scrutiny ...' (SA 2660.136d).

The literary forms for 'fall' (infinitive *óti*) are attributive *otúru* and predicative *ótu*; for the infinitive *házi* 'ashamed' the forms are predicative *házu* and attributive *házu ru*, as in ... *házu ru kotó wa náni mo nái ga*, ... 'there's nothing to be ashamed of, but ...' (SA 2664.28a). The literary forms for 'force'—attributive *siúru* and predicative *siú*—were earlier spelled "sihu(ru)" and the infinitive *síi* was spelled "sihi"; because the cluster of two like vowels came from dropping an earlier labial (originally *-p-*) that separated them.¹⁷⁶ 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 Tōkyō pronunciation) in writing *-au*. Similarly, the rare case of *-eu* is traditionally pronounced *-yoo*: *uréu* = *uréeru* 'grieves' is pronounced /uryóo/; the attributive is *uréuru* /uryóoru/. The negative is *uréezu*.

175. But in *kangae-u ḥéku mo arimasén* 'there is no likelihood of its being thinkable' (Tsukagoshi 76), the predicative is of the auxiliary *-u(ru)* = *-eru*; see § 9.1.10.

176. Modern *mukúru*(⁷) is given the literary form *mukuy(i)-*, with the predicative *mukuyu* and the attributive *mukuyuru*, but in earlier times it was apparently *mukúp-*, a consonant base (Satō 1.95), and that has apparently survived as the source of *mukuwarenu issyoo* 'an unrewarded life' (MKZ⁵ 1077c).

-y-. The verb *mie-* 'appear', for example, makes literary forms that are spelled *miyúru* for the attributive and *miyu* for the predicative. Since the distinction between *-iu-* and *-iyu-* 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 **siyúru* for 'forces' or **kuwáyu(-)* and **kuwayúru* for *kuwá(h)u(-)* and *kuwa(h)úru(-)*, corresponding to the colloquial *kuwaéru(-)* 'adds'. In reading the literary forms, speakers will often follow the patterns of vowel reduction characteristic of dialect speech (where *kau* 'buys' is pronounced *koo*) and say *ku[w]óo(-)* for *kuwáu(-)* and *ku[w]óoru(-)* for *kuwaúru(-)*. The literary conjunction equivalent to the formal colloquial [*sore ni*] *kuwaéru ni* 'moreover' is *kuwáu ru ni*, usually pronounced *kuóoru ni*, as you may hear in a public speech.

When we come across a predicative form ending in *-u*, we can not 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.¹⁷⁷ 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 *áki* 'weary', *tari* 'suffice', and *kari* 'borrow' are the same in virtually all dialects. But in Tōkyō these verbs are treated as vowel bases, so that the imperfects are *áki ru*, *tariru*, and *kariru* while the negatives are *áki nai*, *tarinai*, and *karinai*; in western Japan they are usually treated as consonant bases with the imperfects *áku*, *taru*, and *karu* and the negatives *akán*, *taran*, and *karan*. The infinitive *simi* 'permeates' is similar in that Tōkyō treats the verb as a vowel base (imperfect *simiru*, negative *siminai*) but in western Japan it is often treated as a consonant base (imperfect *simu*—in Ōsaka also *syumu*, negative *siman*). A less obvious case is *tare* 'drip': Tōkyō speakers say *mizu ga tareru* (*tarinai*) 'water drips (doesn't drip)' but the Ōsaka forms are said to be *mizu ga taru* (*taranai*), apparently homonymous with 'suffice' (infinitive *tari*). (Cf. Maeda 1961.214. Is the Ōsaka infinitive for 'drip' *tari*?) The infinitive *móre* 'leak' also is treated either as a vowel verb (*moréru*, *moré nai*) or as a consonant verb (*móru*, *moránai*—is the infinitive *móri*?), and these forms are apparently both in current use in Tōkyō (cf. BJ 2.277 n. 26).¹⁷⁸ The verb *sinóbu(-)* 'tolerates' is a consonant base in the colloquial, but a vowel base (attributive *sinóbúru(-)*, infinitive *sinóbi(-)*) in the literary, and it is from the literary that the colloquial borrows the negative in the stereotyped expression *V-ru ni sinobinai(-)* '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 Hidaka-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 Kyūshū such old forms as *orúru* = *oríru* 'descends', *sugúru* = *sugíru* 'exceeds', and even *sinuru* = *sinu* 'dies' are still alive (H 1968.149, 165).

178. In the Nara period (Satō 1.90) the following verbs were treated as consonant bases, though they later became vowel bases as indicated: *kák(e)-* 'hang it', *mák(e)-* 'appoint' (whence modern *makase-* 'entrust with', originally a causative), *wák(e)-* 'divide it'; *momít(e)-* later *momíd(e)-* 'leaves turn color'; *todóm(e)-* 'stop it', *hur(e)-* 'touch', *kakúr(e)-* '(vanish =) die', *osór(e)-* 'fear', *wasur(e)-* 'forget', *tár(e)-* 'droop/drip it'; *tar(i)-* 'suffice'. In the Heian period (Satō 1.114) the following were treated as consonant bases: *sidár(e)-* 'droop', *tur(e)-* 'follow' (intransitive; the vowel form was transitive 'bring as company'), *mór(e)-* 'leak', *midár(e)-* 'be disturbed' (also 'disturb' = later *midás-*); *um(e)-* 'bury'; *ík(i)-* 'live'.

one's heart to do' (see § 14.6). The expression *mi/kokóró 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* (*mí*- 'see', *i*- 'stay', *í*- 'shoot' or 'cast metal', *hí*- 'get dry') simply add *-rú* for both the attributive and the predicative forms, as in the colloquial. (The irregular verb *kí*- 'come' is normally replaced by a variant, the consonant base *kitár*-, a contraction of a compound of *kí*- 'come' + *itár*(-) 'reach'.) But the one-syllable vowel bases *é*- 'get' and *hé*- 'pass' have separate forms in the literary language for the attributive (*úru*, *húru*) and the predicative (*ú*, *hú*); the infinitives are *é* and *hé*, the negative *é-zu* and *hé-zu*. An example of the attributive: *tosí o húru* [= *héru*] *hodó ni* ... 'as one passes through the years' (SA 2684.138c). The verb *dé*- 'emerge' has the literary shape *íde*:- the predicative form is *ídu* (= *ízu*), the attributive is *idúru* (= *izúru*), and the negative is *ídezu*. The infinitive *íde* 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-nú/-núru*, and *-i-ki/-si* in § 9.5; and the literary perfect-resultative *-éri/-éru* in § 9.6. We have also seen the quasi-literary causative form *V-(a)siméru*, made from the infinitive *V-(a) síme* by colloquial patterns; the genuine literary forms *V-(a)simu* and *V-(a)simuru* are also sometimes used: ... *kánozyo-ra no íssyu no risoo-syúgi no sikarasimúru tokoró na no de wa nakaróo 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 *sikár*- < *sikáár*- 'is such'.

There is also a literary version for the colloquial perfect *-tá* (§ 11), the forms being *-i-táru* for the attributive and *-i-tári* 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); *Óitaru Gyaban* ... 'Gabain, who has aged ...' (SA 2679.118a); *Réi no gótoku ni kazari-tátetaru tosi* no kure '(It is) the end of the year all decorated up as usual' (SA 2657.3); *Tugí ni arawáretaru wa* [= *arawáreta* no wa] *onná no kao* 'It was a woman's face that next appeared' (SA 2660.135d); *Arawáretaru wa káta-ya kuro-táitu ni 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-kí mo* are sometimes used to mean 'but, however' where the colloquial would have *V-rú keredomo* and *A-í keredomo*. Cf. LF 72-3; Henderson 163-4. *V-rú ni* and *A-kí ni* are used to mean 'despite (the fact that)'—corresponding to colloquial *V-rú no ni* and *A-í no ni*—but also to mean 'where, where-upon'. The perfect predicative form *túkétari* '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 óo* 'Have I got it?—Yea!' (and *Étari óo* in Miyara 1954.112); *étari tó* *bákari* and *étari kasikósi tó* means 'with great eagerness'

(kasikó-si being the literary predicative of the adjective 'wise, shrewd'); etarí-gao(ˉ) 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(ˉ) gyaku ni toú raku [wa] 'what I inquire, conversely [is]' (Tk 2.220a); Nozomú raku wa ... 'It is hoped that ...'; Osímu raku wa ... 'It is a pity that ...';¹⁷⁹ 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 ˉáku—the accentuation is unclear) and then obligatorily reducing the forms by contraction and/or crasis:

(1) consonant verbs ... C[u] aku: iw[ú] aku = íwaku 'what one says (is ...)'; negáw[u] aku = negáwáku wa 'what one requests (is ...)';¹⁸⁰ katar[ú] aku = kataráku 'what one tells (is ...)'; ár[u] aku = áráku 'that (it) exists ...; that (one) has ...'; tir[ú] aku = haná [ga] tíraku wa 'the scattering of the flowers'.

(2) vowel verbs ...r[u] aku: tugur[ú] aku = tugúráku 'what is reported (= tugerú no, tugeru kotó); oyúr[u] aku = oyúráku 'being old';¹⁸¹ kúr[u] aku = kúráku 'coming'; sur[ú] aku = súráku 'doing'; mír[u] aku = míráku 'seeing'.

(3) adjectives ...-ki aku > -keku: tákaki aku > tákakeku 'being high; what is high'; yásuki aku > yásukeku 'being cheap/easy; what is cheap/easy'; hósiki aku > hósikeku 'being desired; what is desired'.

(4) verb negative ... (a)n[u] aku = ... (a)naku: sen[ú] aku = sénaku 'not doing' (= sinái no, sinai kotó).

(5) literary tentative/hortative ... (a)m[u] aku = ... (a)maku: sém[u] aku = sémáku 'not likely/wanting to do' (= sinái daroo, suru ˉmái). See also ˉ(a)mási 'wants to (be/do)' < ˉ(a)má[ku] hósi < ˉám[u] aku hósi-, § 15.12a.

(6) various perfects:

V-i-túr[u] aku = V-i-túráku (= V-tá no, V-ta kotó);

V-i-núr[u] aku = V-i-núráku (= V-tá no, V-ta kotó);

V-i-ár[u] aku = V-ér[u] aku = V-éráku (= V-te iru kotó/no; V-tá no, V-ta

kotó)¹⁸²

V-i-ki-ár[u] aku = V-i-kér[u] aku = V-i-kéráku

V-i-ki aku¹⁸³ = V-i-kéku

V-i-si aku = V-i-siku¹⁸⁴

(7) perfect tentative:

V-i-ki-ám[u] aku = V-i-kém[u] aku = V-i-kémáku (= V-tá daroo).

179. As in ... osímu raku wa, watasi ni yakuyu no tísiki ga náí 'I am sorry to say I have no knowledge of baseball' (Tk 3.53). Urám raku wa 'It is regretted that ...' corresponds to earlier uramúr[u] aku.

180. A variant: negáwaku 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 iéráku 'Men of old said as follows' (MKZ^s 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 Terasé 214, Shimmura 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 hasámu* 'hears casually', *ko-te o kazasu* 'shades one's eyes with one's hand', *ko-kubi o kasigéru* 'cocks one's head (slightly)', *ko-mata o hiráite/hirogete* 'taking short strides', *oo-mata o hiráite/hirogete* 'taking long strides', *oo-áse o káku* '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 hasítte* '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 kíta* 'came tripping (to meet us)'.

The adjectives *sukunái* 'is little in quantity; are few' and *óói* '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 epitheme: *Kodomo ga óói* 'Children are many' will not readily convert to (?)*Óói kodomo* 'Many children' for that will be said as *Takusán no kodomo* or *Óoku no kodomo* 'A lot of children'; *Kane ga sukunái* 'Money is little (in quantity)' will not readily convert to (?)*Sukunái 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 epithematization of other adjuncts: [*Kodomo ga*] *óói háha* ... 'A mother who has many children ...', [*Kane ga*] *sukunái tokí* ... 'A time when money is in short supply ...'. And when the epitheme is to be used in a negative sentence, it is possible to extrude the subject of these adjectives: *Anmari óói kodomo no sewá ga dekinái* '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: *Sukunái kane o dóo tukaimasyóo ka* 'How shall we use such a small amount of money as this?' (= *konna ni sukósi no kane*). Other examples occur in written Japanese: ... *Hukuzawa Yukiti wa "Gakúmon no susume"* *sonó-ta o sukunái kanzi ni yotte káki*, ... 'Fukuzawa Yukichi wrote "The promotion of learning" and other works with very few Chinese characters' (Ōno 1966.232); ... *sukunakaránu 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: *ko¹tó* makes a general nominalization that is abstract, habitual, or remote; *no* makes a specific or definite nominalization that is single, immediate, concrete, or directly perceivable. The basic difference between *ko¹tó* and *no* can be seen in sentences of the type exemplified by *Soo kangáéru NO wa toozen no KOTÓ da* 'It is natural to think so', an identificational sentence with the specific nominalization (*soo kangáéru no da* 'to think so') as the Identified and the general nominalization (*toozen no ko¹tó ga* 'a natural fact') as the Identifier, with the usual thematization and focus (... *no da* → ... *no wa*, ... *ko¹tó ga* → ... *ko¹tó da*). Notice also: *Káre-ra no mokuteki wa watasi no kao o míru ko¹tó datta* 'Their purpose was to get a look at [my face =] me' (Endō 197). A detailed discussion of the semantic features that differentiate *ko¹tó* and *no* will be found in Josephs (to appear); he labels the features DIRECT (*no*) and INDIRECT (*ko¹tó*).

There are a number of compound nouns with *-goto* (= "koto) as later member: *negai-gótó*(⁻) 'one's desire', *warai-gótó*(⁻) 'laughing matter', *kangae-gótó*(⁻) 'something to think about; concern', *si-goto* 'work, job', *deki-gótó* 'a happening', *kaké-goto* 'gambling'; *sinpai-gótó*(⁻) 'a matter of concern, a worry', *zyoodan-gótó*(⁻) 'a joking matter', *soodan-gótó*(⁻) '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 *ko¹tó₁* with various meanings that can be summarized as 'the act/fact/experience of ...'. Nominal sentences convert *dá* to *ná*: *Aitu ga warúi yátu na | ko¹tó wa || dáre de⁽¹⁾ mo sitte 'ru yó* 'That he is an evil bastard is known to everyone, I tell you'.

To be distinguished is the use of *ko²tó* as an ordinary (though usually modified¹) noun 'facts (about), matter (regarding)': *Sensei no | ko¹tó desu ga ...* 'It's (a matter) regarding the teacher ...'; *Hontoo no ko¹tó o litte kure* 'Tell the real story; Tell the truth'; *Sonna ko¹tó wa || ore no sitta ko¹tó zya | 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 *Asitá no ko¹tó desu ga ...* 'It's about tomorrow (that I want to speak to you) ...' is very similar in meaning to *Asitá wa [née] ...* '(Now, as for) tomorrow ...'. When the sentence adnominalized to *ko²tó* is something other than a predicated pure noun, the sentence is usually quotationalized: *Okyaku-san ga míeta to iu | ko¹tó da* 'It's (about the fact) that guests have arrived'; *Kozútumi ga | tyót-to | omoi to iu ko¹tó da* 'It's a matter of the parcel being a bit too heavy'; *Kónban | damé da to iu | ko¹tó da* 'It's that tonight is out'. The nominalizations (including those made on predicated pure nouns, *N da to iu ko¹tó*) 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 ikisatu wa ...* 'Details about the matter are ...'; *ko¹tó ga | okóreba* 'if an incident should arise' (SA 2685.99b); *Kotó wa, || Nikuson no | nerai doori ni | susumu daró ka* 'Will the matter go as Nixon aims it to?' (SA 2679.18b).

Kore da Omoi Móo kíta Móo kíta daroo to iu kotó o/wa kikanákatta	}	to iu kotó o/wa siranákatta 'I didn't know (that)	}	it was this'. it was heavy'. it had come'.
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Móo | kíta daroo to iu | kotó o/wa | kikanákatta 'I hadn't heard that it was probably already here'.

Hayákatta to iu | kotó ga | wakátta 'I realized that it was early'.

Another use of kotó₂ as object is N n^[1] kotó₂ o iu 'it refers to N, it means N'. Notice also N t^[1] iú no wa S kotó₂ da = N wa S t^[1] iu kotó₂ da 'N means (doing, being) S'. The word kotó₂ as an ordinary noun has a number of meanings: 'matter, affair, thing; circumstances, case; incident, event; task, duty, work'. S t^[1] iu kotó nara (or S t^[1] iu kotó de áreba) 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 t^[1] iu kotó, as well: Ima-máde | tukatte ite || kóoka ga | ná iu | kotó de áreba, || kusuri o | kaete miru to iu | kotó mo || hitóu no | hoohoo désu '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 kotó are described elsewhere: ... t^[1] o no kotó₂ da, §21; N o kotó to mo sinai, §21.4; ... ni koto-kaite, §14.6.2. For sentence-final kotó, see §15.13, §16.2.(17). Kotó is also used in letterwriting as a polite substitute for the particle gá: Watakusi koto, meaning something like Watakusi no kotó de 'It's about me', is used at the beginning of a letter where you might expect Watakusi ga; cf. kóso. Another particle-like use is ALIAS kotó || NAME (with the juncture cancelling the final accent of kotó): Hasegawa Kazuo kotó || Hayasi Tyoozírōo 'Chōjirō Hayashi, later known as Kazuo Hasegawa'; An-Turu san kotó, || sákka(°) || Ándoo | Turuó-si ... 'the writer Mr Tsuruo Andō, who goes by the nickname of An Tsuru' (SA 2656.24). Perhaps this usage can be regarded as a shortening of B n^[1] kotó n^[1] 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 kotó—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: ... KOTÓ || kane NI TÁI-SITE WA, ... 'when it comes to money' (Tk 3.283); ... KOTÓ || koo iu mondai NI TÚITE WA, ... 'with respect to this matter' (Tk 2.67b); ... KOTÓ || gó NI | KAN-SÚRU | kágiri wa ... 'as long as the subject is the game of gó' (Tk 2.74b); ... KOTÓ || seibutu-syákai no | kotó TO | NÁRU TO ... 'when it comes to a matter of the biological society' (SA 2677.112e); KOTÓ || kaikái-siki NI | KÁN-SITE WA || Minpoo sizyoo || hazimatte írai to iu || dooitu zikán-waku, || dooitu gámen(°), || dooitu ónsei(°), || dooitu supóonsaa de || hoosoo [suru] to iu kyooryoku-buri [da] 'In the matter of opening ceremonies [of the Ōsaka Exposition], the collaboration—unprecedented since the beginning of the private network (Minkan-hoosoo-rénmei = Minpoo-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 kotó always forms a phrase to itself and is never focused by wá or mó.

A number of uses of kotó₂ involve adverbialization, with the copula dá converting to the infinitive ní (§9.1.11) to produce set phrases such as mazúí kotó ni 'inconveniently enough, unfortunately, awkward as it happened to be', omosirói kotó ni 'interestingly/amusingly (enough)', osorosii kotó ni 'frightening to tell', kanasii kotó ni 'sad to say', arigatái kotó ni 'happily enough, fortunately', uresii kotó ni 'to my delight', kokkei na kotó ni 'comically enough' (Tk 2.64b), hiniku na kotó ni 'ironically enough', iyá na kotó ni 'to my disgust, unpleasant to say', yákkai na kotó ni 'annoyingly enough', ígai(°) na

kotó ni 'surprisingly enough', tugoo ga ii kotó ni 'conveniently enough'; odoróita kotó ni 'to one's surprise', komátta kotó ni 'to one's distress' (~ wa ... 'the trouble is that ...'); husigi na kotó ni wa 'oddly enough, strange to tell', osii kotó ni wa 'pitiful to say, it is a pity that'; warúi kotó ni {wa} 'unfortunately', nãni yori mo warúi kotó ni 'worst of all'; cf. não warúi kotó wa 'worse still', and the dephrasal adverb Totemó-no-kotó-ni 'While you are about it ...'. For expressions with kotó ni nãru/suru, see §14.1.2. Notice also (§9.3) sinai kotó ni wa 'unless it happens' (= sinákereba, sinai to, sinái de wa) or 'so long as it does not happen' (= sinai kágiri, sinai utí(-)), and suru kotó nãsi ni {wa} with similar meanings (§14.6). With dropping of ní (§9.1.12) we get such direct adverbializations as isso no kotó^[1] 'preferably, rather',² nagái kotó^[1] 'for a long time',³ and hayái kotó^[1] 'promptly'—listed by some dictionaries as lexical adverbs; cf. áru-hi no kotó^[1] 'one day ...' ← áru-hi no kotó datta 'it happened one day', Séngetu nízyuu iti-nití no kotó^[1], ... 'On the 21st of last month ...' (SA 2654.141c). Observe also súde-no-kotó {ni} or súde no tokoró de = sú[n]de ni 'almost, on the point of' (< intransitive gerund súde 'ending'—súde ni also means 'already').

In the imperfect form, V-ru kotó₂ da can be used to convey advice ('the thing to do is to V'): Sãa || hataraku kotó da 'I guess what we/you better do is work'; Sonna kéesu ni l áeba, || o-mãwari-san ni l tugeru kotó desu 'If you meet with such a case [= run into such an incident], you should tell a policeman' (SA 2661.111c).

This is the origin of the usage to express an indirect command: Eda o oránai l kotó da 'Please don't break the branches'; Tabako o nománai l kotó [da] 'No smoking, please'; Yokei na o-sékkai wa, || sinai kotó da l ná 'You'd do well to mind your own business' (Hayashi 136). Compare V-ru monó de wa náí 'It is not the [proper] thing to ...': Hito o yubi-sãsu l monó de wa l arimasén 'You shouldn't point at people' (Hayashi 172). Perhaps this is the likeliest source for the expression V-ru kotó to suru 'I will make it a point to V, I'll be sure to V' as in Asitã^[1] áme de mo iku kotó to simãsu 'I'll be sure to go even if it rains tomorrow'. Somewhat different is S kotó to suru to 'If [we suppose/assume/know that] S': Asitã^[1] kãre ga Tookyoo ni túku kotó to suru to, watasi wa éki made mukae ni ikanéba naránai 'If he is to arrive in Tokyo tomorrow I'll have to go to the station to meet him'.⁴

The meaning of TIME no kotó da 'It's a matter of TIME' is 'happened (or will happen) at a time': Zyúu-nen máe no kotó da 'It happened ten years ago', Asátte no kotó da 'It will take place day after tomorrow'. This is the source of yat-tó^[1] no kotó de (= yat-tó^[1]) 'at long last, barely, narrowly'—and its synonym yooyaku no kotó de (= yooyaku)—together with some of the direct adverbializations of ... no kotó above. Dekiru kotó nara means 'If (it's) possible; If I can'. Dóo sita kotó {[da] ka} means 'What happened?' or—interpolated in a narrative—'what-do-you-know-but; somehow (or other)'.

One interesting usage of kotó₁ can be called the ITERATIVE CONCESSIVE: S₁ kotó

2. Isso no koto^[1] || ziei-tai o l yamete simaoo, tó wa || kangáénakatta? 'You didn't think of quitting the Self Defence Force as preferable [to resistance while a member]?' (SA 2662.24c).

3. ... nagái koto^[1] koko ni nete ite ... 'having slept here for a long period' (SA 2672.23b). This use of A-i koto^[1] as the equivalent (in a few instances) of A-ku is reminiscent of the use of V-(a)nákú wa náí as a variant of V-(a)nai kotó wa náí, p. 394.

4. But this sentence would be more comfortable with kotó ni nãru to. And V-ru kotó ni suru 'decides to (makes it a point to) V' is more common than V-ru kotó 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 káku kotó^(r) wa | káku ga || ... 'I'll write the letter, never fear, but ...'; Kore mo || yasúi kotó^(r) wa | yasúi n da kedo, || ii mōn da | né 'This also is cheap enough, all right, but it's a good one' (Tk 4.294a); Wakáru kotó^(r) wa | wakáru kedo || ... 'I understand, all right, but ...'; Iki-tai kotó^(r) wa | iki-tái ga || ... 'I want to go, all right, but ...'. Various changes can be rung on the resulting sentence, and the input can be negative, desiderative, etc., but it must be imperfect:⁵ Iki-tai kotó^(r) wa | iki-tákatta ga || ... 'I wanted to go, all right, but ...'; Iki-taku náí kotó^(r) wa | iki-taku náí ga || ... 'I don't want to go, it is true, but ...'; Yari-sugiru kotó^(r) wa | yari-súgita ka mo | sirenái ga || ... 'I may have overdone things a bit, but ...'; Kodomo wa || génki na kotó^(r) wa | génki desu ga || ... 'The child is healthy, all right, but ...'; Káre wa || tomodati na kotó^(r) wa | tomodati dá kedo || ... 'He is a friend, true, but ...'; Hontoo na kotó^(r) wa | hontoo dá kedo || ... 'It's the truth, to be sure, but ...'; Omosirói kotó^(r) wa | omosírokatta kedo || ... 'It was fun all right, but ...'. An adjectival noun permits optional dropping of [na kotó]: Sízuka {na kotó} wa | sízuka 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 kotó is taken as the ordinary noun (meaning 'doings' or the like) all sorts of combinations can occur:

Watasi wa || suru kotó wa | surú ga, || sinai kotó wa | sinái '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 kotó wa | sinái ga, || suru kotó 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 kotó wa | surú ga, || suru kotó wa | sinái 'I do what others don't do but don't do the things others DO do'.

Hito no suru kotó wa | sinái ga, || sinai kotó wa | suru 'I don't do what others do but do do things others don't do'.

Watasi wa || suru kotó wa | sinái ga, || sinai kotó 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 kotó wa | surú ga, || suru kotó 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 || si-tai kotó wa | surú ga, || si-taku náí | kotó wa | sinái 'I do the things I want to do and don't do the things I don't want to do'.

Watasi wa || si-tai kotó wa | sinái ga, || si-taku náí | kotó wa | surú n da 'I don't do the things I want to do but do the things I don't want to do'.

A sentence like Náí kotó wa náí 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 mó for wá will make the

5. In contrast with S₁ mo S₁ 'really S' which can take an input that is perfect: tábeta mo tábeta '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 dáta/na kotó wa N dáta kedo.

6. According to BJ 2.282-3 there are speakers who make a difference in juncture between Ikanai kotó wa | náí 'It isn't that I'm not going' and Ikanai kotó wa || náí 'I always go'. A similar example: Tití ga kaeránai kotó wa náí 'It never happens that father fails to come home' (= 'Father always comes home') or 'It isn't that father fails to come home'.

meaning clearly experiential. (Two other meanings could be interpreted from *Nái kotó wa náí 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 [w]a* you may hear the assimilated form *kotáa* or a shortened version *kotá*.^[1] In rapid speech you may run across other forms:

... *kotó da* → *kóttá*: *Iyá na | kóttá* 'It's something I don't like' (Kb 161a); *Íi kóttá | né* 'Nice, isn't it' (Tk 3.32a); *Hontoo no kóttá* 'It's true' (Kb 106b); *Nán no kóttá | wakaránai* 'Heaven knows what it is all about' (Tk 3.310b); *Anó-hito no | kóttá kara* 'Because it is about him' (Kb 99a); *Móo, || anmari || gaisyutu sinai kóttá | ná* 'I don't go out much any more' (SA 2792.32c); *Koo iu tokí wa || waru-ágaki | sinai kóttá* 'At such a time there's no point in [useless struggling =] fretting' (SA 2676.92a); ... *tái-sita | kóttá | ná ...* 'it's a terrible thing, you know' (Kb 196b).

... *kotó daroo* → *kóttaro[o]*⁷: *Sonna kóttaroo to | omóttá | yó* 'I thought something like that would happen' (Kb 175a); ... *korya || tote-mo hu-kánoo na | kóttaroo | ná* 'this, I think is quite impossible, you see' (Tk 3.217b).

?... *kotó datta* → *kóttatta*: Examples sought.

... *kotó desu* → *kóttesu*⁸: *Gá, || ano otokó no kóttesu, ...* 'But it's about him ...' (Kb 131b); ... *kore wa | íi kóttesu | né* 'this is something good (to do)' (Tk 4.109b); *Oosaká-zin no | ii-soo na kóttesu | né* 'It's what you'd expect an Osakan to say, all right' (Tk 4.229b).

... *kotó desyoo* → *kóttesyoo[o]*: *Má[a], || sonna kóttesyoo | né* 'Why, I guess that's the way it is, all right' (Tk 4.60a); ... *hutuu no baai ní wa || ná | kóttesyoo | né* 'I guess it wouldn't happen under ordinary circumstances, would it' (Tk 3.15b).

... *kotó desita* → *kóttésita*: *Kinodókú na kóttésita | ná* 'That was a shame' (Fn 162a).

... *kotó desite* → *kóttésite*: Examples sought.

... *kotó de* → *kótte*: *Sonna kótte || íi | siai ga | dekimásu ka* 'With such things happening, how can you have a good game?' (Tk 3.59a); ... *Nihón || daké ni | áru | kótte | né ...* 'is something that happens only in Japan' (Tk 3.36b); *Kore wa | móo || taisetú na kótte* 'This is now an important matter' (SA 2669.50b—speaking is Inumaru Tetsuzō, born in rural Ishikawa prefecture in 1887; on sentence-final *dé*, see §9.2.1a).

... *kotó zya náí* → *kóttya náí*: *Dá kara | iwan kóttya | náí* 'Now you see what I was talking about!' (Hayashi 165)—*iwan[u]* = *iwanai*; *Dé mo || betu ni || atasi to húuhu datta | wáke zya | náí kara, || sitta kóttya | náí* 'But since he wasn't my husband it was none of my business' (SA 2666.44d).

... *kotó zyaa (= de wa)* → *kóttya[a]*: *Sonna kóttya, ...* 'In such an event ...' (Tk 4.220ab); *Honto no kóttyaa | née* 'It's NOT true' (Kb 162b); *Sonna tái-sita | kóttyaa | née n da* 'It's no big deal' (Kb 151a). But there are dialects (such as that of Mie, Zhs 4.44 and 48) where *kóttya(tta)* is a contraction of *kotó da(tta)*, or perhaps of the dialect equivalent *kotó zya(tta)*. An example: *Aburá-tubo kara | tenzyoo nozoku tó wa, || kimi mítai na | yátu no | kóttya* '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*: *Warai-gottya náí yó* = *Warai-gotó(-) zya náí yó* 'Tis no laughing matter, I tell you' (Okitsu 1.270).

7. In some dialects *kóttyaroo[o]*: *Ima-goro wa, || sá-zo || seiséi | sit'óru | kóttyaroo* 'You must feel relieved these days' (Y 358).

8. In dialects also *kóttasu* (from *kotó dasu*), *kóttosu* (from *kotó dosu*), and *kón desu* (from *kotó ndesu*, in which [nd] represents a dialect pronunciation of /d/); cf. Y 455.

14.1.1. *Experiential nominalizations: kotó ga áru/nái.*

An adnominalized sentence + kotó₁ ga áru means 'it sometimes happens that S' or 'there exists the experience that S'; an adnominalized sentence + kotó₁ ga nái means 'it never happens that S' or 'there lacks the experience that S'. The juncture before kotó usually drops. The resulting sentences require some special tricks of translation, as shown below:

- (1a) yobu kotó ga áru 'we sometimes [DO] call'
 yobu kotó ga nái 'we never [DO] call'
 hayái kotó^(r) ga áru 'sometimes it is (IS) early'
 hayái kotó^(r) ga nái 'it is never (NEVER) early'
 génki na kotó^(r) ga áru 'he is sometimes healthy'
 génki na kotó^(r) ga nái 'he is never healthy'
- (1b) yobu kotó ga átta 'we sometimes called (DID call), used to call'
 yobu kotó ga nákatta 'we never [DID] call, didn't use to call'
 hayái kotó^(r) ga átta 'sometimes it was (WAS, used to be) early'
 hayái kotó^(r) ga nákatta 'it was never (NEVER, it never used to be) early'
 génki na kotó^(r) ga átta 'sometimes he was (WAS, used to be) healthy'
 génki na kotó^(r) ga nákatta 'he was never (NEVER, he never used to be) healthy'
- (1c) yonda kotó ga áru 'we have (on occasion) called, we called once'
 yonda kotó ga nái 'we have never called'
 háyakatta kotó^(r) ga áru 'it has (on occasion) been early, it was once early'
 háyakatta kotó^(r) ga nái 'it has never been early'
 génki datta kotó^(r) ga áru 'he has (on occasion) been healthy, he was once healthy'
 génki datta kotó^(r) ga nái 'he has never been healthy'
- (1d) yonda kotó ga átta 'we had (on occasion) called, we had once called'
 yonda kotó ga nákatta 'we had never called'
 háyakatta kotó^(r) ga átta 'it had (on occasion) been early, it had once been early'
 háyakatta kotó^(r) ga nákatta 'it had never been early'
 génki datta kotó^(r) ga átta 'he had (on occasion, once) been healthy'
 génki datta kotó^(r) ga nákatta 'he had never been healthy'
- (2a) yobanai kotó ga áru 'we sometimes don't call'
 yobanai kotó ga nái 'it never happens that we don't call = we always (unfailingly) call'
 háyaku nái kotó^(r) ga áru 'it sometimes fails to be early'
 háyaku nái kotó^(r) ga nái 'it never fails to be early'
 génki zya nái kotó^(r) ga áru 'he is sometimes not healthy'
 génki zya nái kotó^(r) ga nái 'he never fails to be healthy'
- (2b) yobanai kotó ga átta 'we sometimes didn't call, we used to fail to call'
 yobanai kotó ga nákatta 'we never used to fail to call'

háyaku nái kotó⁽ⁱ⁾ ga átta 'it used to fail to be early, it sometimes failed to be early'
 háyaku nái kotó⁽ⁱ⁾ ga nákatta 'it never used to fail to be early'

génki zya nái kotó⁽ⁱ⁾ ga átta 'he used to be (was) sometimes not healthy'
 génki zya nái kotó⁽ⁱ⁾ ga nákatta 'he never used to fail to be healthy'

- (2c) yobanákat⁽ⁱ⁾ta kotó⁽ⁱ⁾ ga áru 'we have (on occasion, once) failed to call'
 yobanákat⁽ⁱ⁾ta kotó⁽ⁱ⁾ ga nái 'we have never failed to call'

háyaku nákatta kotó⁽ⁱ⁾ ga áru 'it has (on occasion, once) failed to be early'
 háyaku nákatta kotó⁽ⁱ⁾ ga nái 'it has never failed to be early'

génki zya nákatta kotó⁽ⁱ⁾ ga áru 'he has (on occasion, once) failed to be healthy'
 génki zya nákatta kotó⁽ⁱ⁾ ga nái 'he has never failed to be healthy'

- (2d) yobanákat⁽ⁱ⁾ta kotó⁽ⁱ⁾ ga átta 'we had (on occasion, once) failed to call'
 yobanákat⁽ⁱ⁾ta kotó⁽ⁱ⁾ ga nákatta 'we had never failed to call'

háyaku nákatta kotó⁽ⁱ⁾ ga átta 'it had (on occasion, once) failed to be early'
 háyaku nákatta kotó⁽ⁱ⁾ ga nákatta 'it had never failed to be early'

génki zya nákatta kotó⁽ⁱ⁾ ga átta 'he had (on occasion, once) failed to be healthy'
 génki zya nákatta kotó⁽ⁱ⁾ ga nákatta '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 kotó mo áru (or: byoonin de áru kotó mo áru) 'I have my share of illness', roodóo-sya datta kotó ga áru '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 áru and nái to begin with, including ari-sugiru and nasa-sugiru, ari-nágara and nái nagara, etc.^{8a} The focus on kotó can be highlighted (kotó mo áru etc.) or subdued (kotó wa áru). It is rare, however, to find focus applied to the possession verb: ... kotó ga ári wa/mo/sae suru or ... kotó ga náku wa/mo/sae áru. Two or more experiential sentences can be conjoined: Koo iu turi-kata wa || míta kotó⁽ⁱ⁾ mo [I nákereba] || kíita kotó mo | nái ga, || ... 'Such fishing methods I had neither seen nor [had I] heard of, but ...' (SA 2672.98a). It is even possible to make a second kotó-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 kotó ga áru kotó⁽ⁱ⁾ mo áru 'It also happens that we sometimes call'.
- + - + Yobu kotó ga nái kotó⁽ⁱ⁾ mo áru 'It also happens that we never call'.
- + + - ?Yobu kotó ga áru kotó⁽ⁱ⁾ mo nái 'It also never happens that we sometimes call'.
- + - - Yobu kotó ga nái kotó⁽ⁱ⁾ mo nái 'It also never happens that we fail (ever) to call'.
- + + Yobanai kotó ga áru kotó⁽ⁱ⁾ mo áru 'It also happens that we sometimes fail to call'.
- + - ?Yobanai kotó ga áru kotó⁽ⁱ⁾ mo nái 'It also never happens that we sometimes don't call (sometimes fail to call)'.
- - + ?Yobanai kotó ga nái kotó⁽ⁱ⁾ mo áru 'It also happens that we never fail to call'.
- - - ?Yobanai kotó ga nái kotó⁽ⁱ⁾ mo nái 'It also never happens that we unflinchingly 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: Irásita kotó^[i] 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 mo | náí 'There's nothing expensive about it' or 'It isn't expensive at all'; Zenzen naku-naru tte kotó wa | náí ga, || usúkú wa | náru | né 'It isn't that it completely disappears (or: It never completely disappears) but it DOES grow faint, doesn't it' (Tk 4.274b); Taberarénai kotó wa | náí no | 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 íkura ... sité mo ... si-sugíru kotó wa náí '(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 kessite 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 ní wa 'on occasion, every now and then' or synonymous phrases. Remember that ... -tári 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 sukúnáku náí '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 náí 'There are few (not many) instances where S = It seldom happens that S' or 'Seldom S' (= anmari S NEGATIVE).

S kotó ga itizirúsiku náí 'It is not unusual for it to happen that S'.

The subject particle gá may drop in rapid speech (at least in certain contexts), leaving suru kotó [ga] náí, and that is susceptible to still another interpretation 'there is no necessity to do it' = suru kotó [wa/mo] náí. This is not to be confused with suru kotó zya náí 'you shouldn't do it' from suru kotó da 'you are supposed to do it'. To recapitulate:

'never does it'	{	suru kotó ga náí	}	
		suru kotó ^[1] náí		
		suru kotó wa/mo náí		
		suru kotó zya náí		
		suru kotó de wa/mo náí		
				'there is no need to do it'
				'ought not to do it'

With kotó taken as the ordinary noun kotó₂, of course, there is a third meaning for suru kotó wa/mo náí 'there is nothing to do', epithematizing the extruded object (kotó_o suru). But an intransitive verb would not be liable to such an interpretation: Isógu kotó wa | náí | 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 | kuti o dásu kotó wa | náí (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 náí 'It is not exactly the case that S', as in this example with a negative S: Kantan ni | gaikoku-go de setumei dekinái kotó de mo |

9. A first-aid technique to help disentangle the syntax: replace the first kotó with tokí 'time, occasion'—S tokí ga áru kotó^(o) mo áru 'there also happen to be times when S'.

nái 'It isn't exactly that I can't explain it simply in a foreign language'. Notice also the usage *V-ru/-ta daké no kotó wa áru* '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 kotó wa nái* is sometimes expressed by a variant version, *V-(a)nákú wa nái* (§9.1).

14.1.2. *Kotó ni náru/suru.*

In §9.1.11 we observed that the infinitives of adjectivals (*A-kú*) and of nominals (*N ní*) enter into MUTATIVE conversions with *náru* 'it gets to be' and *suru* 'makes it so that it is'. These expressions can be formed on imperfect and perfect nominalizations with *kotó*; 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 kotó⁽¹⁾ ni náru* = *Óokiku náru* 'It gets (to be) big'; *Kantan na kotó ni suru* = *Kantan ni suru* 'It makes it simple(r)'. There are several meanings:

(1) *V-ru kotó ni suru* means 'decides to do' or 'arranges to do'—as in *Soodan no kekka, ll Káiro e l tobu kotó ni l sitá ga, ll ...* 'Upon consultation we decided to fly to Cairo, but ...' (SA 2676.90a); *V-ru kotó ni náru* 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 kotó ni nátte 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' = *sinákereba naránai, sinákute wa ikenai*) or advice ('better' = *sita hoo ga ii*) or likelihood ('likely, expected to' = *suru hazu dá*) than of prior understandings 'according to arrangements (it will happen that)': *Sotugyoo site kara ll kaisya ni háiru l kotó ni l nátte iru* 'I'm supposed to go to work for the company after I graduate'. There is a corresponding meaning for *V-ru kotó ni site iru* 'makes it a rule/practice to V' and *V-(a)nai kotó ni site iru* 'makes it a rule/practice not to V': *Gózen(-) -tyuu wa ll tabako o (l) suwanai kotó ni l site imásu* 'I make it a rule not to smoke in the morning'; *Atasi wa l né, ll senkyo-énzetu l daké wa ll kotowáru kotó⁽²⁾ ni l site imásu l yó* 'I make it a practice to turn down (bids to make) election speeches' (Tk 2.278b); *Soko de ll kotira wa ll koyá(-) o l tukútte ll roozín(-) ni (l) mihari o sase, ll kotó ga l okóreba ll tatimati zyúu o l tótte, ll tádasi ll sóra e l zyuukoo o muketé da ga, ll ikakusyágeki o l suru kotó ni l site iru* 'Then we built a hut and put an old man on guard, with 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 kotó ni nátte 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 verbals, but includes adjectivals and impersonal verbals, as in these examples (from Hayashi 132): *Natú wa ll atúi kotó⁽²⁾ ni l nátte iru* 'Summers are traditionally hot'; *Gó-zi de l owaru kotó ni l nátte imásu* 'It ends at five o'clock (by tradition, by arrangement, by rule, etc.)'.

(2) *V-ru/-ta kotó ni náru* means 'will be doing (will have done)'; with *náru* perfectivized to *nátta* the translation is 'would be doing (would have done)'. *V-ru kotó ni náru* 'will be doing, will have been doing': *Gógatu de ll han-tosi^[1] yómu kotó⁽²⁾ ni l náru* 'I will have read it for half a year by May'. *V-ta kotó ni náru* 'will have done': *Mata yómeba ll ni-dó^[1] yónnda kotó⁽²⁾ ni l náru* 'I will have read it two times if I read it again'.

V-te iru kotó ni náru 'will be (or have been) doing': Gógatu de || han-tósi yónde iru kotó^(r) ni | náru daroo 'I guess by May I will have been reading it for half a year'.

V-te ita kotó ni náru 'will be (or have been) doing': Gógatu de || han-tósi yónde ita kotó^(r) ni | náru 'I will have been reading it for half a year by May'.

But *V-ru kotó ni náta* will usually be taken as 'it was arranged that *V*' (and that is the source of the resultative *náte iru* above): Okinawa dé wa || séngo⁽⁻⁾ || kuruma wa || Amerika no yóo ni || dóoro no | migigawa o hasíru kotó^(r) ni | náta 'On Okinawa after the war it was decided that cars would drive on the right of the road, as in America'.

(3) *S kotó ni wa naránai* means 'it can not be said that *S*; it hardly amounts to a case of *S*': Táda || muzukasii⁽⁻⁾ kango o | takusán tukau kotó ga || búnsyoo o | yóku suru | kotó ni wa | naránai '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: Isogásii kotó^(r) ni wa | naránai 'It can not be said that he is busy'; Isogásii kotó^(r) ni wa | naránakatta 'It could not be said that he was busy'; Isogásikatta kotó^(r) ni wa | naránai 'He can not be said to have been busy'; Isogásikatta kotó^(r) ni wa | naránakatta 'He could not be said to have been busy'. The juncture is often suppressed before the *kotó* phrase (thus removing its accent): Doozyoo suru kotó wa || tasukéru (l) kotó^(r) ni wa | naránai 'Sympathy won't help (her)'.

(4) *S-ta kotó ni suru* means 'assumes that *S*, supposes that *S*': Koko ni ita kotó ni | simasyoo 'Let's assume/suppose that you were here'.

14.1.3. The circumlocutionary potential: *kotó ga dekiru*.

One way to say 'can (do)' is *V-ru kotó ga dekiru*.¹⁰ If the verbal predicate is *suru* 'does' you have the option of dropping *suru kotó* [ga]: benkyoo [suru kotó [ga]] dekiru 'can study', yásuku [suru kotó [ga]] dekiru 'can make it cheap'. The option applies to the honorific infinitive + *suru* in object-exalting conversions (§6.3): O-negai [suru kotó [ga]] dekimásu ka 'Can I ask it of you?' And the ellipsis can leave a direct object stranded behind: Sore o zikkoo [suru kotó ga] dekinai desyoo '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 *dekiru* is capable of making; excluded are desideratives (**Iku kotó ga deki-tái* → *Iku kotó ga dékitara ii* 'I wish I could go'), passives (even as honorific—the expected **dekiraréru* is replaced by *o-deki ni náru*), favors, commands, and exhortations, since "ability" is considered to be outside human control. (But notice that *V-ru yóo ni náru* can be converted into a potential.) Nuclear focus can be applied to *dekiru* (*V-ru kotó ga déki 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: Hón o || yómi mo | déki wa | sinai kusé ni || ... 'Despite the fact that he can't even read a book ...'. You can make the output sentence negative (*Sore wa yameru kotó wa dekinai* '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: *Iti-nití* ~zyuu || tabénai de | iru kotó wa | dekiru 'I can get by without eating all day' = *Iti-nití* ~zyuu || tabénai de | súmu, §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-rú no ga dekiru* 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: *Dare de mo sinu kotó ga dekiru kedo* ... 'Anybody can die, but ...'.

aware that native speakers prefer the latter expressions whenever they are possible; in the speech of many Japanese *dekíru* 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 propensive 'it is likely to happen' (§9.1.8): *Natú wa átuku nari-yasúi*.

Notice that nothing prevents you from forming a circumlocutionary potential on a causative (*saseru kotó ga dekíru* 'can make someone do it') but you can not do the same on a passive (**sareru kotó ga dekíru* 'can have it happen to one'—the English will correspond to Japanese *sare-yasúi*) or on a potential: **dekíru kotó ga dekíru*, **V-eru kotó ga dekíru* '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 *dekíru* is pronounced in a variant version *dekéru*:¹¹ *Gootoo san wa || warúi kotó ga | dekéru | hitó desu | yó* '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 + kotó 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 kotó ga A-i* (or *AN da*) is 'it is A (or AN) to do V': *Sibai o míru kotó ga | omosirói* 'It is fun to see a play'; *Inaka de yasúmu kotó ga | tanosii* 'It is pleasant to have a vacation in the country'; *Sensoo ga okoránai kotó ga | nozomasii(-)* 'It is to be hoped that we will have no war'; *Ōngaku o | kiku kotó ga | sukí da* 'I like to listen to music'; *Sonna hitó ni | áu kotó ga | 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: *Dán-zite(-), || sirizóku kotó wa | narimasén* 'We definitely must not retreat' (Hayashi 172) = ... *sirizóite wa | likemasén*. Instead of *kotó ga* you may occasionally find *nó ga*, usually implying a comparison. There is a slight difference in meaning between *Oyógu kotó ga yasasii* 'It is easy to swim' and *Oyogi-yasúi* (= *Oyógu kotó ga si-yasúi*) '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 *kotó* in meaning, but more specific and often implying a comparison, and less commonly used for *kotó* 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-gákusei de || ninsin sitári | surú NO ga | óói to | iú no wa, || ...* '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 *ná*. The imperfect copula *dá* always becomes *ná* before the postadnominal *nó* (as before *bákari*,

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) *óoke na* = *óoki na*.

daké, dókoro, gúrai, hodó, kotó₁, 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 *dá*.¹² The short form sometimes appears elsewhere, as well: *Íma de mo || sonná n ga | áru n desu | 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 | 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 || nóko-noko || agatte kún | 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 | sono-mónó wa || bóku(¯) wal mínakatta kara, || kí no | ué ni | án no ka [= áru no ka], || kí no | sitá ni | án no ka, || siranákatta n da kedo 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'; ... *kimi n tókó ...* 'your place' (KKK 3.10); ... *ore n 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 tokoró ...* 'The [place =] passage that is there' = 'That bit ...' (SA 2663.105c); the full example is given below. Another abbreviation to bear in mind is *náa* for *nó [w]a*: *Omae mo hatarakú naa | ii ga, || karada o kowásitya | naránee | yó [= kowásite wa naránai yó]* 'It's all right for you to work, but you mustn't harm your health' (Fn 118b); ... *site okú naa || osii zya ná | ka* 'Isn't it a shame to ...' (Fn 83a). Cf. the contraction *táa* for *tó [w]a*.

Here are the patterns of the *nó*-nominalization:

Verbal	Yobu.	→	Yobú n[o] da.
	Yonda.		Yondá n[o] da.
Adjectival	Ookíi.		Ookíi n[o] da.
	Óokikatta.		Óokikatta n[o] da.
Adjective-nominal	Sízuka da.		Sízuka na n[o] da. ¹³
	Sízuka datta.		Sízuka datta n[o] da.
Nominal	Tomodati da.		Tomodati ná n[o] da. ¹³
	Tomodati dáta.		Tomodati dáta n[o] da.
Possessive (§ 13.4)	Tomodati nó da.		Tomodati nó na n[o] da. ¹³
	Tomodati nó datta.		Tomodati nó datta n[o] da.

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 n-foǝ da* may further contract to *V:n [n] da*, so that *sún da = sún ɸnǝ da* comes from *surú n-foǝ da*. Similarly, *áru n-foǝ da* will sometimes contract to *án ɸnǝ da*, as in ... *káite án desu = ... káite áru no desu* 'it is written ...'. Dialect versions of *S n[o] da = S n[o] zya* and *S n[o] ya*: *Áto kara minná, watasi no mane o sitá n ya [= sitá no da]* 'Afterward everyone imitated me' (SA 2669.49b—speaking is Inumaru Tetsuzō, born in rural Ishikawa prefecture in 1887).

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 | hotóndo ga, || tokai no || "kakko-ii" monó⁽⁶⁾ bakari da. || KORE WA, || katei-kánkyoo ya || kooyuu-kánkei | daké de | riyuu-zukerarénai, || syakai-kánkyoo to mo | missetu ni | kanren 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 *n^o de aru* *n^o de aru* appears”. The use of *S n^o da* is especially common when some sort of reservations may be mentioned (*Káre wa koo iú n da ga ...* ‘This is what he says, but ...’) or be implied or expected, as with the desiderative: *Iki-tái 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 surú n da* ‘Do it like this’, *Soo sinái n da* ‘Don’t do it like that’; *Nakú n zya náí—daman-nasái* [= *damari-nasái*] ‘Don’t cry—be still’ (SA 2820.31d—to a baby). Also, in summing up decisions: *Tó-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’): *kúmo ga sú(ˉ) o kánete irú no o míru* ‘sees a spider spin(ning) a web’; *sore o ittá no mo kikanákatta* ‘didn’t hear him say that, either’. Examples of *S n^o* followed by *gá*, *ó*, and *ní*: *Zibun ga, ll zibun no kodomo o sikarú no ga, ll náze l warúi [ka]* ‘What’s the matter with me scolding my own child?’ (= *Zibun ga zibun no kodomo o sikatte náni/dóko ga warúi [ka]*, §9.2); *Soko n[o] tokoró o l kiki-morásita no ga l zannén de aru* ‘I’m sorry that I failed to catch [= hear] that bit’ (SA 2663.105c); *Káno-zyo wa ll ... watasi no káeru no o l mátte itá(ˉ) no da* ‘She was waiting for me to return’ (SA 2639.35a); ... *toki¹⁵ no tátu no o l wasurete* ‘forgetting the passage of time’ (SA 2665.104c); *Bútai ga ll ti-mámiré(ˉ) dáta no o l obóete iru* ‘I remember that the squad was covered with blood’ (SA 2670.46a); ... *kono sábetu mo l nakusú no ni l seikoo sita* ‘succeeded in getting rid of this discrimination, too’ (SA 2674.38d); *Tumetai áse no l nagaréru no o ll káre wa ll todome-kaneta* ‘He was unable to stop the cold sweat from pouring (down his back)’ (Kb 240a).

The *n^o*-nominalizations can be negativized (*S n[o] zya náí*) 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 nománai no [= nománai wáke] zya náí* ‘It’s not that he doesn’t smoke’. The sentences can be converted into concessives (*S no nágara*—but this sounds strange with verbal inputs), provisionals (*S n^o nara*,¹⁶ as in *Asoko ga sizuka na no nara benkyoo si ni itté mo íi* ‘Provided it’s quiet there, we can go there to study’), and representatives (*S n^o dattari*, as in *Ookii no dattari tiisái no dáttari suru* ‘Sometimes they’re large and sometimes they’re small’). They can be made tentative (*S n^o daróo*) and they can become perfect (*S n^o datta*) even when the input sentence is itself perfect (*Yondá no*

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 n^o da* is to EXPLAIN or PERSUADE. Kuno (1973) provides a good translation for *S n^o da* ‘The explanation (or evidence) [for that] is S’; he also observes that when paired with a request *S n^o da* is often reproachful.

15. The highlighted negative can be used in an interesting way: ... *máiniti(ˉ), kurai, in’utu na sóra bákari ga tuzuita. S^oo ka to itte húru no de mo nákatta* ‘... every day only a dark gloomy sky held. Still, it didn’t quite rain’ (Kb 25b).

16. *V-rú n[o] nara* and *A-í n[o] nara* often shorten to *V-rú nara* and *A-í nara* with the meaning ‘if it’s a case of ...’; cf. §17.8. Another example: *Sinú n nara anna tokoró ga íi náa* ‘A place like that would be nice to choose for one’s death’ (Y 399).

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), conjunctionalized (*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'; *Ookii no no hazu da* 'It must be the big one' or 'It must be the big one's'. *Tomodati nó no hazu da* 'It must be the friend's'—cf. *Tomodati no hazu da* 'It must be the friend' ← *Tomodati dá*; *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 na 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 be 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').¹⁸

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-dó, toko e háitta NO O ókite kíta rásiku, sita ni nemaki o ki-kónde iru* 'The maid had apparently gone to bed but then got up, for she was bundled in her night clothes underneath' (Fn 392a); *Soosaku-négai ga déte né, iti-dó utí(-) e káetta keredo mo, okáasan ga "Sekigun[-ha] e itté mo ii ga, utí(-) ni ite okure"* to iú *NO O, mata utí(-) 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 Tōkyō treat *nó de* and *nó ni* (especially the latter) as conjunctionalizations (§ 17) in these additional meanings: they will say *Kore dá 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*] *dá 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 i n da sóo desu yó* 'They say it isn't (so) painful ...' (SA 2650.44cd). There is also *S n[o] da sóo {da} ná*; cf. p. 757.

18. The *kotó*-nominalizations also adnominalize: *Sensoo no kotó da* 'It's about the war' → *Sensoo no kotó no hanasí 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 be the one that I saw'.

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 *sóo 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) + *nári*, as described in § 15.19. *Kyūshū* speakers use *S tó dya* for *S nó da* (Zhs 6.16, n.5). Kansai dialects have *N n[ō] 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-í* [w]óru, see p. 454); ... *iut'óru n ya = itte irú 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 (Ōsaka): *Kyóo 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 ná non de yósite* (= *Kane ga ná 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 dāre non ya* 'Whose is this?' (Maeda 1965.454b).

(2) *S non = S nó*: *Sitte 'rú non ka* (= *Sitte irú no ka*) 'You know it?' (ibid.); *Kyūsyū-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 Ōsaka office lady is talking); ... *Oosaka no hōo wa "itibiri" iú non ka* (= *to iú no ka*) ... 'in Ōsaka I think they call it "ichibiri" (cutting up)' (SA 2654.135b)—on omission of the quotation marker *tó*, see p. 1001; *Erái kinodókú 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 wakái hitó wa, hun'iki ni toke-komú non ga hayái desu né. Yoo* (= *Yóku*), *iú non ka, kore, ittan, hén na hookoo ni náttara abunái 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 2654.135b).

(3) *S non = S nó to*: *Oosaka-ben de yaru yótté ni omosirói tokoró mo áru non tigáú ka náa* = *Oosaka-ben de yarú no de omosirói tokoró mo áru no to tigáú* (= *áru no zya ná*) *ka ná* 'I wonder if it isn't that there are some amusing spots because I am using the Ōsaka dialect?' (SA 2654.135a).

(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*: *Hái, tésuto sūnda si ... Ítu mo watasi ga kono térebi o míte 'ru non sitte 'rú kara* (= *míte irú no o sitte irú 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).

(7) *S non de = S nó de*: *Sore ga gozarimahén non de, kore de ma ni awásit 'okimásita = Sore ga gozaimasén no de, kore de ma ni awásete okimásita 'As that was lacking, I had them 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); Míta kotó ga áru non 'I've seen it' (ibid.); Nán de hadasi ni náru 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 Groceryman', go-kínzyo 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 (\rightarrow *nen ya* \rightarrow *nen*) and dropping of the final nasal (*nen* \rightarrow *ne*). An example: *Iku kotó wa ikú nen kedo = Iku 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 equivalent 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*: *Náni o surú nen na = Náni o surú no da ná 'What are you doing?'; Há háa, anna húu ni, kóiki(¯) ni háiru nén ná, to omóttá ga ... (= ... háiru 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 Tōkyō you seldom hear *nó da* after the polite *V-i-másu* form, but you will find the equivalent *nen* used in Kansai in this way: ... *kakkoo-ée to omoimásu nen = kakkoo-ii to omóu no desu 'I think it's nice' (SA 2673.26d; Ōsaka office lady speaking).* And the final *-s[u]* often assimilates, so that you will hear *V-i-mán nen* for *V-i-másu nen (= V-rú no desu)* and *dén nen* for *désu nen (= ná no desu)*: *Yasasii to tigaimán nen 'It's not easy' (SA 2657.46a); Watasi, otokó de kúroo surú no, sukí den nen 'I like to work for a man' (SA 2657.48d; speaking is Miyako Chōchō, an entertainer born in Tōkyō but a Kansai resident since the age of four).* The sequence *sún nen* represents a Kansai version of *surú no da*: *Soko de náni 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 misinterpretation as *né[e]*): ... *soko ni hitótu no sén ga arimán ne (= áru no desu) 'There is one line there' (SA 2657.46a); Simán ne = Surú no desu 'I will do it' (Maeda 1965.441); Omahan no sekinin yá ne de = Omaesan no sekinin ná no de[su] 'It's your responsibility' (ibid.); Nán de ya ne = Nán de (Náze) na no da 'How come?' (ibid.); Míte n ne = Míte irú no da 'I am watching' (Makimura 538a); Onnasi surú ne yattara ... = Onazi surú no dattara 'If one were to do it the same ...' (ibid.); Síyahen ne ya kedo = Sinái no da kedo 'I haven't done it (won't do it) but ...' (ibid.); Sóo ya ne ya té = Sóo da to iu kotó da 'That's what they say' (ibid.).**

14.2.1. *N[ó] de.*

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*: *Ittá n ya nen = Ittá no [na no] da 'He's gone' (Makimura 543a).*

20. The contraction *V-rú n[o] de* \rightarrow *V²n [n] de* is sometimes heard: *sún de = surú no de; án de = áru no de.*

way to link a circumstance to its consequence: *Áme ga | hútta no de | sanpo dekinakatta* ‘Since it rained, we couldn’t take our walk’ or ‘It rained, so we couldn’t take our walk’; *Bóku(ˉ) wa | utí(ˉ) ni (l) kaeri-táku | nátta no de | nigemásita ...* ‘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*-conjunctivalization (§ 17.1): *Áme ga hútta kara (hútta monó de, hútta tamé) 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 Tōkyō 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 ka = S séi ka* ‘perhaps because *S*’, § 15.6; *V-rú/-tá n[o] de wa*—and contractions *V-rú n zya*, *V²n [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[ó] de mo* for stating a concession: *Úntin wa, | konténa ga | hattatu sita tamé ni | Amerika ni hakobú n de mo | yasúi* ‘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 | késiki ga | ii no de | yuumei desu. | Mata, | Nihón wa | zisin ga | óói no de mo | yuumei 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. *Kōgo-bumpō 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-másu*, *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 *ní* 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(ˉ) to | onna(ˉ) | bákarí de, | sei-sóonen no | otokó wa | hotóndo | inai. | Miná(ˉ) | sensoo ni itte 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 2686.43c). 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 dé mo | yómu no to | káku no de | ni-zikan | gúrai | toráreyau n desu* ‘even so with reading it and writing it two hours are taken up’ (SA 2676.50a).

prerequisite: Kírei ni | káku no ni wa || hude ga iru 'To write nicely you need a brush'.²² And, at least when *wá* is present, it is possible to omit *nó*, leaving a direct nominalization (§ 14.6): Kaze o naósu [no] ni wa || kono kusuri o nónde kudašái 'Drink this medicine to get well'. In these "necessity" expressions, *ní* can be thought of as elliptical for {no tamé} ni: Hito o tanosimaséru ni wa, || mázu, || zibun ga || hito-itibai(-), | kúroo | sinákute 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^[1] no kao o míru ni mo || ni-zíkan mo | dénsya(-) ni | noranákereba | naránai '... just to see my grandchild's face I have to ride the train for two whole hours' (SA 2671.130d); Mótto-mo, || yodomí(-) ya || manneri o nakusú ni wa, || ryuudoo saserú no ga | ií n de | né 'Of course to avoid stagnation and [mannerism =] stereotype it's good to move people around' (SA 2674.113e—manneri = mannerízumu; for sentence-final *dé né*, see § 9.2.1a). And *nó* ni can be thought of as elliptical for *nó* {tamé} ni: ... gaikoku no ryokóo-sya o | sasóu 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.)'—*ní* occurs as the essive (or copula infinitive) with a special implication: 'despite the fact that'.²³

Yobú no da. → Yobú no ni 'Although (despite the fact that) one calls ...'.

Ookíi no da. → Ookíi no ni 'Although (it is) big ...'.

Tomodati ná no da. → Tomodati ná no ni 'Despite it's being a friend ...'.

Tomodati nó na no da. → Tomodati nó na no ni 'Despite it's being a friend's ...'.

The antithetical meaning is stronger than that found in conjunctivalizations with *ké[re]do* [mo] 'though' and *gá* 'but' (§ 17.5) or *mono-no* or *monó-o* (§ 17.4): Deeto-kúrabu ni | damasáreta. || Kane o harátta no ni | onná ga | kónai 'I was swindled by a "date club", I paid my money but no girl showed up' (SA 2689.120c); Sono aida, || hóbo | iti-ní, || eisei wa || tikyuu o mawatte ita hazu ná no ni, || Amerika wa || sono kotó o, || Tyuugoku-séihu yori | saki ní wa || happyoo sinákatta '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': H²sya [etti-sya] ni || ni-kágetu mo | hatarakanái no ni, ||

22. The concluding sentence need not express "necessity"; other types of example include these: Otaku e ikú no ni {wa} || Sinbasi-eki no | sóba o || toorimásu ka 'In going to your house, do you pass near Shimbashi station?' (BJ 2.168.3); Nihon-go o oboéru no ni {wa} || zikan ga kakáru desyoo? 'It takes time—doesn't it—to learn Japanese?' (ibid.); Kippu o káu no ni {wa} || dóo sitara | ií n desyoo ka 'What should you do to buy tickets?' (BJ 2.160.9—other examples 172.H); Asoko e ikú no ni wa || nán de | ikéba | itiban bēnri desyoo ka 'How is it most convenient to go there?' (BJ 2.241.6). V-rú no ni mo also occurs: Háiru no ni mo déru no ni mo kyóka ga hituyoo désu 'Permission is needed both to enter and to leave'.

23. Both *gá* and *ó* are also used to signal antithesis; see § 2.2.

b^oku(-) wa || matá-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 atúí no ni || dekakerú n desu ka 'Are you going out despite this heat?' and by the adnoun ano 'that' in Ano samúí no ni || deketá n desu ka 'You went out in that cold?'; these expressions seem to be rather idiomatic, with n^o substituting for ... hí 'day (that is ...)'. The English 'I wish ...' will translate certain uses of S n^o ni in sentence-final position (making a fragment or minor sentence type, § 23): Kanemótí(-) nára | íi no ni 'I wish I were rich (but ...)'; Asoko dáttara | yókatta no ni 'I wish that had been thê place (but ...)'. These expressions are discussed elsewhere (§ 9.3, § 9.4). Another sentence-fragment usage is with Sekkakú^[r] ..., as in these examples (from Hayashi 158): Sekkakú^[r] tooi tokoró kara | kíta no ni 'And you've come from such a distance, too! [What a shame that there is little to offer you etc.]'; Sekkakú^[r] yóoi ga | dékite | irú no ni 'And after all the trouble of getting ready [what a shame that ...]'.

In place of S n^o ni you may hear S kusé ni (§ 13.2) for situations that involve some feeling of deceit: Yásuku | katta kusé ni || tákakatta (|) to iu 'He claims it was expensive (despite the fact that =) though he bought it cheap'; Siranai kusé ni || sitta kao o suru 'He puts on a knowing look even though he doesn't know'; Káre wa || wakái | kusé ni | marude || nanazís-sai -sugí no || roozín(-) no yóo na | kotó 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-Wésson da ga, || dóo iu | monó ka || kenzyuu wa || tiisái kusé^(s) ni, || hídoku || zyuukoo na atúryoku o | mótte 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-Tōkyō 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 conjunctualization, saying (?)Mongái-kan da kuse ni for Mongái-kan no(?!na) kusé ni.

Remember that S n^o ni may also represent an ordinary nominalization followed by the dative marker ní (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 Óói no ni odoróita 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 Tikei ga kawatte irú no ni | bikkúri si, || ... '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 kangáeru no ni ... to omóu 'My opinion is to think that ...' the ní 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 n^o ni [tái-site] 'as against the fact that S (or the act of S)', thus attributing the divergent meanings of S n^o ni to different derivations.

In written Japanese, direct nominalization can leave both V-rú {no} ni (wa) 'for the purpose of V' and V-rú {no} ni 'despite the fact that V; when V; V whereupon' (see § 13.8a), as well as other uses of S {n^o} ni where ní 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 *Dá no ni ...*. Though not common, polite stylization (V-i-másu, A-i desu, N désu) can be applied before *nó ni*.

14.2.3. Post-appositional *nó*.

An unusual use of the *nó*-nominalization is exemplified by the sentence *Kutúsita no | usúi no wa | náí ka* 'Haven't you any thin stockings?' One way to explain this is as follows: *Kutúsita ga usúi* 'The stockings are thin' → *Kutúsita ga/no usúi no da* 'It is the ones (about which we can say) the stockings are thin, It is the ones with thin stockings' → *Kutúsita no usúi no ga áru* '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 áru*): *Kutúsita da* 'They are stockings' → *Kutúsita 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: *Bíiru no || tumetái no o | kudasái* 'Give me a cold beer' (or 'Give me a beer and make it a cold one?'). Examples: *O-imo no (|) nitá no ga | áru | yó!* 'Boiled sweet potatoes!'; *Kawagutu no (|) haki-hurusita no o | kureta* 'He gave me his old shoes'; *Botányuki no || nisiki no | yóo no na ga | huri-dasita* 'It started to snow large flakes, like brocade'; ... *tizikomaru to || umebosi no táne no || dekáí no | mítai ni | nanimásu* 'when it [a leech] curls itself up it gets like a big dried plum' (Tk 4.154b); *Rosiya-ónna no | lookii no wa, || mattaku || zóo mítai desu kara | né* 'The big(gest of the) Russian women [athletes] are just like elephants, that's why' (Tk 3.82a); *Watasi, buta no koma-gire o katte áta no [o] motte kíta wa* 'I've brought (with me) some chopped pork that I had bought' (Ariyoshi 33); ... *yádo o | déru to, || óoki na usi no | sindá no o || hito ga katúide kíta* 'when he left the lodgings, (he saw that) people had brought on their shoulders a big ox that had died' (Takeda 1970.48); *Sono kí no | ue^[1] no hóo ni wa || tatta hitótu (-)dake^[1] || kaki no | akái no ga | nokótte imásita* 'On top of the branch of the tree there was only one persimmon remaining that was red' (Kholodovich 125); *Sosite || kaerí ni || kudámono no | íi no ga | áttara || katte kíte moraoo* 'And on your way back if there's any good fruit I'd like you to buy some' (ibid.); *Yuuzin wa || tokidoki || áyu no | hósita no ya || kaki no hósita no o | okutte kureta* 'A friend sometimes sent me dried trout and dried persimmons' (ibid.); *Bannín wa || ... imo^[1], || négi no | takuwáéta no o | motte kíta* 'The caretaker brought out sweet potatoes and onions that he had hoarded' (id. 129); *Róohi wa || ... kataté(-) ní wa || Sakurada-bíiru no || sén no | nuitá no o || ságete || háitte | kúru* 'The old woman servant came in with an uncapped bottle of Sakurada beer in one hand' (ibid.); *Koitu [w]a (|) hanamí e iku (|) kakkoo zya | née | yá [= náí | yó], || dóo | mít'atte || néko no | sindá no o | sute ni iku yóo 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). Instead of *nó*, you may find *yátu*: *Iku tokí wa || kanarazu || seiyoo-tenúgui no || óoki na | yátu o | buraságete 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 kúu no ni, || hutuu wa || ití-mai no | NORÍ O || íkutu ka ni || tíisaku | kitta NO O | kuttukéru 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 || kegá site || ótite | 'rú NO O | hirotte kíte, || sodáteta kotó^(o) ga | arimásu | yó ' I once picked up and raised a bird of the kind called *nojiko* that had fallen from an injury' (Tk 3.100b)—cf. Meziro o || itiban takusáñ míta NO wa, || nán-ba -gúrai desu ka 'The time that you saw the most *mejiro* birds (= silvereyes), how many was it [that you saw]?' (ibid.); Koo iu HOOKOKU GA || saikin || sinbun ni déte iru NO O | mimásite, || ... 'I saw this sort of announcement appearing recently in the newspaper ...' (Tanigawa 16); Reikiti wa || ... syoozi ni || sottí-kotti || ANÁ GA aite | irú NO O | tukurótte ita 'Reikichi was patching the holes that had appeared here and there in the *shōji*' (Kholodovich 126); HÓOSYA GA | deinei no náka ni | loti-itte || sukósi mo (I) ugokán NO O || osite || osite || osi-tóosita 'They pushed and pushed and pushed on the gun carriage that was so-stuck in the mud it wouldn't move a bit' (ibid.); Suru to || SÚGIKO GA || món kara | déru NO NI | átta 'Then he met Sugiko who was leaving through the gate' (id. 127); ... O-kísi wa || ... AINOKO-BÚNE GA | káeru NO E notte || ... 'O-kishi rode in the hybrid boat on its way back ...' (ibid.).

The following examples might be taken as the antithetical ('but/and') use of nominalization, as suggested by their translations, but they may well be of the same type as the preceding sentences: Sono || Ériko kara || áru-hi, | TEGAMI GA kíta NO O, || Hutákiri wa || ukkári, || tukue ni dasi-ppanasi ni site, || Oíkawa | Hátu ni || mirárete simatta 'One day from Eriko there came a letter, but Futakiri inadvertently left it out on the table and wound up having it read by Hatsu Oikawa' (Fn 53a); Háha no | tukue no ué ni, || kaki-kake no KÁADO GA | tunde áru NO O, || syozai-náku || Ériko wa || yónde | míta 'On her mother's desk there were piled half-written [experiment writeup] cards, and out of boredom Eriko tried reading them' (Fn 61b); Sore kara, || tonde kúru | hae nánzo, || SINBÚN-SI [O] | marumeta YÁTU de || pat-to tataki-otósitari | né '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 *nó* (or, in the last, *yátu*) 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 epitheme is not a pronominal reference it can usually be treated as a resultative epitheme: Késa | MOTI o tábeta | NOKORÍ ... 'The remains of the sticky rice we ate this morning ...' (Takahashi 177); ... zatta na ZÍNSYU ga | takusáñ kíte iru | AMERIKÁ-ZIN ni, ... 'for Americans who are (the result of) many races who have come (to America)' (Tanigawa 159). Perhaps the examples with *nó* and *yátu* can be regarded as a subtype of this structure. A less obvious type is found in Aságao ga | akaku saita | IRÓ 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 tokoró o* ('saw, discovered, seized, etc.) N just when N V': Doroboo ga kane o tótte iru no o tukamaeta 'They caught the thief taking the money' = Doroboo ga kane o tótte iru tokoró 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 tokoró no no o tukamaeta 'they caught the one [namely N] who is at the point of V' with reductions to *N ga V tokoró 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 [obáatyan o] Sigezoo ni mukatte hanáyaka ni

23a. A good example: Hyakuen ga gozyúu-doru datta NO GA, yónzyuu gó-doru ni nári, yonzyúu-doru ni nári, ... 'The hundred yen that used to be \$50 became \$45, it became \$40 ...' (Agawa 1.259a).

warai-nagarā^[1] syaberi-tuzukete irú no o nokósite, Ákiko ga ómoya ni modóru to, ... 'Akiko left her [the old lady] talking away laughing merrily toward Shigezō, 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: háha 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 Ise-monogátari, with direct nominalization: Onná no máda yó(-) hézu to oboetáru [] 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, | nán no [tte], || kogoezini suru gúrai datta 'It was so indescribably cold that we nearly froze to death'; Samúi no, || sámuku | nái no ... 'terribly cold'; Yuki ga | húru no, | 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 kotó} de wa náí 'whether S or not is not in question = really S': Okótta no || okoránai no dé⁽²⁾ wa | arimasén 'I really blew my top'; Odoróita no || odorokánai no zya | arimasén 'Were WE ever surprised!'; Sikararetá no || sikararenái no dé⁽²⁾ wa | gozaimasén 'What a dreadful scolding I got!'; Tábeta no | nán no zya | arimasén 'How we ate!' Notice that even when the affirmative is perfect (V-tá) the negative remains imperfect (V-anai); cf. p. 603. More examples of the "reduced" form: Ikú no | káeru no [to] || ii-átte iru 'They are arguing over whether to go or to return'; Surú kara | dóo no, || sinái kara | dóo no || to iu kotó wa | náí 'It is not a question of whether one does or one doesn't'. A similar expression is the idiom dóo no kóo no 'saying/asking this or that': ~ itte 'on one pretext or another', ~ iwazu ni 'without question', etc. See also the discussion of dá no = désu no = de gozaimásu no, § 15.17.

Hayashi 154 gives a number of examples with S no nán no tté, saying they are most common with adjectives, yet little used with adjectival nouns—which, when used, commonly drop ná: Gánko [] no nán no tté 'What's all this stubbornness?!' He gives examples with verbs: Íya, húru no nán no tté 'Oh how it's raining!' And also with polarity-paired verbals: Yohodo hará ga | hette ita to miéte, || kúu no || kuwánai no | tté 'He looked starved, he ate so much!' The expression nánno-sono (= nán de mo náí) '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, || koo itta toráburu mo || nánno-sono, ... 'But indifferent to even this sort of trouble, ...' (SA 2666.16e); Ima-máde | bekkyo site ita syuutome o hikitóru nánte || nánno-sono to | bákari, || otótosi no | áki ni | hikkósite ... '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 *nó*, § 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 *nó* 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) Kinóò utí(-) de háha ga kodomo ni okási o watasita.
 (1) ——— Uti(-) de háha ga kodomo ni okási o watasitá no wa kinóo da.
 (2) Kinóò ——— háha ga kodomo ni okási o watasitá no wa utí(-) [dé] da.
 (3) Kinóò utí(-) de ——— kodomo ni okási o watasitá no wa háha da.
 (4) Kinóò utí(-) de háha ga ——— okási o watasitá no wa kodomo [ní] da.
 (5) Kinóò utí(-) de háha ga kodomo ni ——— watasitá no wa okási 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* [ni], *máe* [ni], *áto* [de]; and of extruded cause—*kará*, *támé* [ni].

EXAMPLES OF CLEFT SENTENCES WITH VARIOUS EXTRUSIONS

(1) Extruded subject: *Káketé | kíta no wa | Itoó dáttá* 'It was Itoó who had run up' (Ig 1962.90); *Táyori ni | náru no wa, || yahári | sake de áru* 'It turns out to be liquor that one relies upon' (Ig 1962.90); *Siká-mo, || uretá no wa || sore daké de wa | náí* 'Moreover that's not the only one that sold' (Ig 1962.90); *Dé mo, || syúzin ga | bútyoo(-) ni (|) náttá | tokí ni, || itiban yorokónda no wa || syúzin no || imootó desu | yó | né* '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); ... kekkyokú^[L] || kátta no wa || D'íkku datta 'in the end it was Dick who won' (KKK 3.185); ... zyúnsa(¯) ni | turerarete || háittel kíta no wa || Súuzan da '... in comes Susan escorted by police' (KKK 3.185); Sá-te || kono "sáwagi" de || itiban || toku o site irú no wa || dáre ka 'Well, now, who is it that profits most from this "fuss"?' (SA 2664.24c).

(1a) Extruded surface-subject (from converted sentences): Mayótte iru || Kúniko no | kokóro o | kimesasetá no wa || Ayao no || omoigake-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): Natukasii no wa || isiyaki-imo da 'It's hot-pebble roasted sweet potatoes that I hanker after' (SA 2666.110a).

(2) Extruded object: Ó no | tuttá no wa, || is-syakú^[L] tikái | iwana to, || goroku-sun no || yamame ní-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); Matumoto-tei de siiku site irú no wa || tyóozame (¯)daké de wa | náí 'It is not just sturgeon that they are raising at Mr Matsumoto's mansion' (SA 2677.63b); Dá ga, || byooín ¯gawa ga | itiban sinpai sitá no wa, || háto o | baitai to suru | saikin no dénpa(¯) 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 || móttö-mo || tyuumoku senéba | naránu no wa || kyóotei seiritu ni itáru(¯) máde no || Sóren no | táido no | kyuuhen de ári, || sono || sín'i 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 || hutarí ga | arúite | irú no wa || áo ya | áka no || néon ni | irodoráreta | sakari-ba 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 ii-dásita no wa || Ginza no || áru | kissá-ten(¯) da 'It was in a Ginza coffee shop that he suggested that' (Ig 1962.90); ... ísiki ga | too-nóite(¯) itte, || tugí ni | ki ga túita no wa || yasen-byóoin no | béddo no | 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 || attoo-teki ni | zipán-zoku ga | óói no wa || Yokohama [dá] 'In eastern Japan it is Yokohama where there are an overwhelming number of blue-jean wearers' (SA 2668.9); Syukuhaku saretá no wa, || dótira desita ka | ná 'Where did Your Highness stay?' (Tk 3.175b—addressed to Prince Chichibu); Míru no wa | Mitukósi [de], || kaú no wa | ítibá [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^[L] || Masúnaga ga | Sasazuka no ié ni | káetta no wa || zyuuní-zi ¯sugí da 'That night it was after midnight when Masunaga got back to Sasazuka's house' (Ig 1962.90); Hukóo na | ziken ga | okótta no wa || yokka no || hiru-góro datta 'It was around noon on the fourth that the unhappy incident occurred' (SA 2680.22d); Káre | zisin ga || natú o | sugósita no wa, || sono || máta(¯) || iti-nen | máe made de áru 'It was even a year before that that he himself had spent the summer (there)' (Ig 1962.90); Kono hón ga | kakáreta no wa || muron | senzen dá kara, ... 'It was, of course, before the war that this book was written, so ...' (SA 2649.110a); Sikási || Háruko no | sono izumi(¯) ga || kareta yóo ni | kan-ziretá no wa || han-tosí ¯gákari | máe 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 | súbete ga | modótte | 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, || ligurú-goo kara lootoo ga átta no wa || yokuzitu no || gógo ni | nátte 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: Rokuzyuú^[1] hati-nen no || daitooryoo-sénkyo no | sái ni mo || koogai-móndai ni | huretá no wa | ití-dó^[1] -daké de, || táí-site | zyuyoo na mondai tó wa | kangáete | inákatta yóo da '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: Taiwán^[1](-) de | o-yakunin o nasútte | 'tá no wa, || ítu kara || ítu made datta n desu ka 'You were an official on Taiwan over what period?' (Tk 4.160a).

(5) Extruded cause or reason: Así ga || komakáku | hurerú no wa || kuyásikute | tamaranáí kara da '(My) legs are trembling because it is excruciating' (Ig. 1962.91); Sigoto ga || yotei yóri | okuretá no wa || níbuku | nátta | atamá^[1] no tamé^[1] [|] bákari de | náí 'It isn't just because of my sluggish head that the work is behind schedule' (Ig 1962.91); Gúnbu ni wa, || Betonamu-sénsoo ni | katénai no wa || kaihoo-sénsen -gawa ga | "seiiki" o mótte | irú kara da, tó^[1] no | kangáe ga || nezúyoku | átta '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); Eigyoo kaisi o || kaimaku to dóozi(-) ni | sinái no wa || náze ka 'Why don't they open for business with the start of the Fair?' (SA 2669.120d); Anáta ga | kami-gata o kaenáí no wa || náze desu ka 'Why is it that you won't change your hair style?' (SA 2668.97b); Senséi ga | tuihoo ni sitei saretá no wa, || nán de desu ka 'What is the reason you were named in the purge?' (SA 2660.47a); Anáta ga || ítu mo || burázyaa o | site inái no wa || dóo site desu ka 'Why is it that you never wear a bra?' (SA 2668.97c); Mórúgan(-) ni yoru to, || koo sita yobi-kata ga áru no wa, || keitei to || símai to ga || sóogo ni | kekkon no aité de átta kará de áru (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' (Ōno 1966.159).

(6) Extruded instrumental: Atira de koogí^[1](-) nasáru no wa || Eigo dé [desu/desita ka]? 'Was it in English that you lectured over there [in America]?' (Tk 3.160b).

(7) Extruded sentential adverbials: Sikási || Mótoko ga | múkuti de, || utiki na seisitu ni (|) sodati-tútu | áru no wa || zízitu de aru 'But it is true that Motoko is growing up to be reticent and bashful by nature' (Ig. 1962.91) ← Zízitu Mótoko ga ... 'In truth Motoko ...'; Géngo ga || óoku no | baai, || búnka to | hukugoo site || kyooson site irú no wa | sizen de áru 'It is natural that languages for the most part coexist in a complex with cultures' (Ōno 1966.192) ← Sizen ni ... 'Naturally ...'; Akíyama san ga | awatete tori-modositá no wa || motíron de aru 'It goes without saying that Mr Akiyama hastily retrieved it' (SA 2673.139d) ← Motíron Akíyama san ga ... 'Of course Mr Akiyama ...'; Ayao ga || syozí-hin(-) no || kaneme no monó o || hotóndo || zénbu || tebanásita no wa || motíron de aru 'It goes without saying that Ayao handed over virtually all the valuables he had' (Ig 1962.91) ← Motíron Ayao ga ... 'Of course Ayao ...'; Sono kyootan ga, || inaka no sóntyoo de atta | tití ni || sono || bizin-ga no e-hágaki o | kawasetá no wa || akíraka 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) ← Akíraka ni ... 'Obviously ...'; ... muzukasíi(-) mondai ni (|) tooméni(-) surú no wa || akíraka de ari, ... 'It is clear that we face a difficult problem, and ...' (KKK 3.171).

In some sentences the Identified is attenuated by the kotó-nominalization, as in these examples (numbered according to adjunct-extrusion type):

(1a) Sore kara || watasi o | odorokáseta no wa, || bízin ga || ígai(⁻) ni || oogara de áru kotó datta 'What surprised me next was that the beauties are unexpectedly large women' (Ig 1962.90); Sinpai ni náru no wa, || imootó no yóo ni site | issyo ni kurasite ita || Tízuko no | kotó desita 'The worry was over Chizuko with whom she was living like a sister' (KKK 3.185)—or is this the noun kotó?

(2) Korétika ga || náni yori | osóreta no wa, || Higasi Sanzyóoin ga || higo-ro kara || Mitínaga o || tokubetu ni || go-tyooguu [= tyóoi(⁻)] ni nátte iru | kotó datta 'What Korechika feared more than anything was that H.S. was showing special favor toward Michinaga these days' (Ig 1962.90); Kono-góro(⁻), kan-zirú no wa, || tosí-góto ni || huruhon-ya ga | hette yuku kotó de aru 'What I feel lately is that the number of secondhand book shops is declining with each passing year' (SA 2656.112b).

(4) DDŦ no | kiséki(⁻) ni | (l) odoróita no wa, || haisen-tyókugo no | kotó de aru 'It was right after losing the war that we were startled by the miracle of DDT' (SA 2684.45a); Sómeya to || Kúniko to no | aida ni || zyóozi ga | hazimattá no wa || sono ban no kotó de atta 'The beginning of the affair between Someya and Kuniko was something that happened that night' (Ig 1962.90-1); Nitiro-sénsoo ga | owattá no wa || sono || tyókugo(⁻) no | kotó da 'It was right after that that the Russo-Japanese War ended' (SA 2660.116d); Gaburíéru ga || Kurisutian no | té o | tótta no wa, || sonna || áru ban no | kotó datta 'róo ka 'Might it have been some such evening as that that Gabrielle took Christian by the hand?' (SA 2649.105a); Yodogawa Nagáharu ga || térebi no || "Nityoo-yooga-gékizyoo" no | kaisétú-sya to site | toozyoo sitá no wa, || Syóowa(⁻) || yónzyuu | iti-nen no || zyuugatú no | kotó 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); Sikási || sono kotó ga || óoku no | hitó ni yotte || túyoku || ísiki | sareru yóo ni | nátta no wa, || osóroku || seizyóo-syoku ga | huyuu sité kara no | kotó 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 kotó: Táda || koko de || mondai ni náru | kotó wa || ... to iu | kettén(⁻) o | mótu | kotó de aru '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-wárai ni | náru no wa || hazukasii | kotó de aru '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 subdued Identifieds (... nó wa). But a cleft sentence can also HIGHLIGHT the Identified, as in these examples (see also those on p. 241): Nooyaku háiki(⁻) ni túite || kumiái-in no || ísi | tooitu ga || sunnári to | dékita no mo || 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 (ísi {no} | tooitu 'unity of opinion = consensus' results from ellipsis, as does nooyaku {no} háiki(⁻) 'abandoning of pesticides'); Kono yóo na | kékka(⁻) o | (l) míru to, || tyoohookéi-syoku to || seihookéi-syoku to no || dóre ga | yói ka to | omoi-mayóu no mo || muri-karánu | tokoró de aru '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); Korétika

no | omói ga || háha no | titi^[f] || Sigétada no | kotó ni | oyondá no mo | toozen dátta 'It was only natural that Korechika's thoughts should dwell on his mother's father Shigetada' (Ig 1962.91); Kore to tómo(¬) ni || kaihukú-ki ni | háitta || haisen Doitu-kókumin no | zisin ga || takamáru no mo | toozen de átte, ... '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 onná da 'The partner is a/the WOMAN', has an equivalent form with the Identifier marked by gá and the Identified marked by the essive ní that underlies the copula dá: Onná 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) Kinóo ga utí(¬) de háha ga kodomo ni okási o watasitá no da.
- (2a) Utí(¬) ga kinóo^[f] háha ga kodomo ni okási o watasitá no da.
- (3a) Háha ga kinóo^[f] utí(¬) de kodomo ni okási o watasitá no da.
- (4a) Kodomo ga kinóo^[f] utí(¬) de háha ga okási o watasitá no da.
- (5a) Okási ga kinóo^[f] utí(¬) de háha ga watasitá 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 Máiniti(¬), || kaisya o déru no ga || yóru || kú-zi -sugí [da] 'Every night it is past nine when he leaves the office' (SA 2668.24d)—extruded time; Itiban komátta no ga, || zyoyuu-búsoku de aru 'What has been MOST distressing is the shortage of actresses' (SA 2635.59a)—extruded dative or instrumental; Sosite || kinnen, || kótte | itá no ga | léiga(¬) -zúkuri de, || zíp-pon hodó^(o) no | tyoohen karaa-gekiéiga o || zisaku | 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-zúkuri NI kótte ita); Kono || "séntaa" to | narande || séngo(¬) no (|) Nihón ni || kyuugeki ni húeta no ga || kákusyu no | soodán-situ ya | soodan-zyó(¬) de áru '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, || kutikazu ga sukunái no to || kuti no kiki-kata no sízuka na no ga, || 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, || ... tizin(¬) o (|) tazunéru no ga | 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, tokí, tokoró) 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. *Hási ga tabe-yasúi* 'It is easy to eat with chopsticks' would be immediately derived by terminal ellipsis from *Hási ga tabe-yasúi no da* (= *Tabe-yasúi no wa hási [de] da* 'It is chopsticks that are easy to eat with'), a cleft sentence that has extruded the instrumental from [*Hito ga monó o*] *hási de tábe(-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'.²⁵ 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'.²⁶ 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 watasítá no wa okási da* 'It is sweets that the mother handed the child'—with assumed underlay of *Okási ga háha ga kodomo ni watasítá no da* 'SWEETS is what the mother handed the child'—should lead, by way of *Háha ga kodomo ni watasítá no ga okási da* 'WHAT THE MOTHER HANDED THE CHILD is sweets', to *Okási wa háha ga kodomo ni watasítá 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 *okási o*).

We might think it possible to carry this process one step further and produce (*)*Okási ga háha ga watasítá no ná no wa kodomo da* 'It's the child that sweets is what the mother handed him' from an underlying (*)*Kodomo ga okási ga háha ga watasítá no ná no da* 'The CHILD is the one that it's sweets is what the mother handed him'. But these sentences are blocked by a rule that does not permit *S *no ná no da* to begin with (p. 253). Thus the following monstrosities are all to be rejected not for clumsiness alone but for violating the rule as given:²⁷

**Kodomo ga okási ga háha ga watasítá 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 okási ga háha ga watasítá 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 okási ga háha ga watasítá no ná no ná no ná no wa uti dé 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 okási ga háha ga watasítá no ná no ná no ná no da* 'HOME is where

25. An authentic example: *Itiban mondai ná no wa || zyakunén-soo ni |lataeru |eikyoo dá* '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: *Siká-mo || kono íkku no || móttó-mo |síba-siba |kikarerú no ga, || hokanaránu || 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 "TILT" or "This problem will not compute", and the grammarian puts an asterisk in front of his attempt.

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: Aité na no wa onná na no da 'It is a fact that it is a/the woman that is the partner' = Onná ga aité 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 kotó*, *surú 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*:

VNI (verbal noun, intransitive):

Kóogyoo ga dokuritu *suru* 'Industry becomes (or is) independent'.
→ Kóogyoo no dokuritu ... '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 ...'.
(2) 'Study of [= about] the scholars ...'.
→ Sizin no kenkyuu ... (1) 'Study of [= about] the poets ...'.
(2) 'Study by the poets ...'.

Thus the sentence *Gakusya no sizin no kenkyuu dá* 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 dá*); (4) 'It is a study about poet-scholars'; (5) 'It is a study by scholar's poets' (*gakusya no* ← *gakusya nó* [*monó*] *da*); (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 dé* [*surú no*] *da* 'It is [happening] in foreign countries' → *Gaikoku dé no kenkyuu* ... 'Study [done] in foreign countries ...'. This is in keeping with the practice for nouns in general: *Gaikoku é no húne* ... 'A boat [headed] for foreign countries ...', *Gaikoku tó no torihiki* ... 'Transactions [entered into] with foreign countries', etc. Often (as in the last example) the noun is a lexicalized predicate with specific valences carried over; see § 3.8a. A Japanese scholar once suggested creating by analogy the combinations **N gá no* and **N ó no* to clear up the subject-object ambiguity: **Gakusya gá 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 o suru kenkyuu* ... 'Study that one does on poets ...'. Other devices are available to make both subject and object explicit: *sizin ni yoru kenkyuu* 'study by poets', *sizin ni túite no kenkyuu* 'study about poets'.

Whether transitive or intransitive, verbal nouns can be treated as the object of the predicator *suru* and marked with *ó*, PROVIDED no other object is mentioned: *Kóogyoo ga dokuritu 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 *ó*, but this turns out to be untrue: while you can not say **Kéizai o kenkyuu o 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 ó 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 o 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-í ɬoɬ wa/mo suru*.²⁸ In Korean the corresponding structure allows both the object and (optionally) the verbal noun to be marked with the particle corresponding to the Japanese *ó*: kyengcey *lu/ yenkwu ɬu/ɬ hanta* 'studies economics'.

Free verbal nouns make a potential only by way of the expression *suru kotó ga dekíru*, for VN *sareru* can be taken only as passive or as subject-exalting (depending on the marking of the adjuncts), though VN *saserareru* can also have the potential meaning 'can cause one to do VN'. VN *suru kotó ga dekíru* can be shortened to VN *ga dekíru* and VN *dekíru*, 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 *gá* or *ó* 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. *áísatu 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 genitized (or predicated and adnominalized) with *nó*. Quasi-free verbal nouns can, under certain circumstances, be separated from *suru* by a juncture, but not by *gá/ó* or *wá/mó*. Both free and quasi-free verbal nouns will permit the reduction of the potential VN [*suru 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 *gá* or *ó*, though the markers will sometimes casually drop: *mane [o] suru* 'imitates', *míbáe(-) [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] woru* 'there exists the doing' (by appropriate contraction and vowel assimilation), i.e. the infinitive *si < si-í* + 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 sewá o suru* or as hito *o sewá suru*, for *sewá* is a free verbal noun. The final accent of *sewá*—and of *annái* 'guiding'—never drops when a form of *suru* is added; compare *áisatu | sinákattara* and its minor juncture with *sewá sinákattara* and *annái sinákattara*. (I here report Hamako Chaplin's usage. Apparently there are other speakers who will say *sewá^[r] sinákattara* and *annái sinákattara*, reflecting an underlying juncture that suppresses the final accent of the verbal noun before itself disappearing. Other oxytonic verbal nouns: *sikí [o] suru* 'directs', *henzí [o] suru* 'replies' (*henzí sita no wa*, BJ 2.312.E5), *dangén [o] suru* 'asserts', *kegá [o] suru*²⁹ 'has an accident, injures oneself', *tabí [o] suru* 'journeys',) The accentuation of *ái-súru* 'loves' usually follows the patterns you would expect for a vowel verb: *ái-sita*, *ái-sínakattara*, *ái-simasén desita*, etc. But some speakers will heed an underlying juncture before the longer forms and say *ái-sinákattara*, *ái-simasén desita*, etc. That option is even more often chosen, it would appear, for *kói-súru* 'loves'; perhaps that is because *kói* is a native noun (derived from the infinitive 'beg; love') and *kói o suru* will be used, though (**ái o suru* would be unusual. A few pseudo verbal nouns of Japanese origin: (*hito to*) *naka-náori [o] suru* 'gets back on good terms (with a person)'; *o-syáberi [o] suru* 'chatters' (cf. *o-syaberi suru*, the object-exalting conversion of *syabéru*—rarely used); *sayonára [o] suru* 'takes one's farewell, say good-bye'—cf. ... *bunmei-syákai ni o-sáraba site* ... 'bidding farewell to civilized society' (SA 2661.133c), in which the last phrase represents a synonym of *o-sáraba o tugete*; 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)'; *Tutómete iru to, || okeiko-góto(¯) ga | 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 predicating these action nouns, however, is not so different from the use of *suru* to predicate a sensory stimulus: *otó ga suru* 'makes a noise', *nióí 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/kakéru* 'makes a phone call', *o-kan o suru/tukéru* 'heats the wine', *nékkuresu o suru/tukéru* 'wears a necklace', *mégane o suru/kakéru* 'wears glasses', *óbi (nékutai, bāndo, béruto) o suru/siméru* 'wears a sash (necktie, belt)', *yubiwa (tebúkuro) 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: *Dé mo || raisukáree no | NEDAN ga || sen-en mo surú n da | zé* 'But the price of rice curry costs (= is) a whole thousand yen!' (SA 2640.105a); *Watasi no oi wa || káta made | taréru | KAMÍ o | site itá no de aru* 'My nephew had [= was wearing] his hair down to his shoulders, you see' (SA 2684.40a); *Yó ni mo | osorosíi | KAO o sita otokó ...* 'A man with the most frightful face ...' (R); *Nán da i, || ano san-ban ¯mé no wa || ... nán tee | kitanéé | SIRÍ o | site 'rú n da* '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. *Kegá* can take a body part as direct object: *así o kegá suru* 'injures one's leg' = *así ni kegá {o} 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 káku* is an obligatory shortening of *tegami o kák [i ... sur]u* and *denwa o kakéru* is an obligatory shortening of *denwa o káke [... su]ru*.

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: *dáko suru* 'embraces', *ónbu suru* 'carries on the back', *námida suru* 'weeps' (free because you can say *námida 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'; *tomádó(í)* 'losing one's bearings', a compound of a noun 'door' + the noun *madó(í)* derived from an intransitive verb infinitive; *?kói suru* (= *koi-súru*) 'loves', from the noun derived from a transitive verb infinitive; There are also many free and quasi-free verbal nouns taken from English: *sutoráiki [o] suru* 'goes on strike', *kotobá o másutaa suru* 'masters a language', *onná ni/o kí[s]su suru* 'kisses a girl', *seikatu o enzyói suru* 'enjoys life'; *tyárenzi [suru kotó ga] dekiru* 'can challenge', From the Chinese binom found in *ími o suru* 'has meaning, makes sense' we would expect the reduction *ími suru*, functioning as a free verbal noun; but this is usually replaced by the BOUND verbal noun *imi-súru* (*imi-site*, *imi-sínai*). This is an unusual case; cf. *kánsya* 'thank', *sáiban* 'judge', *káisyaku* 'appreciate', *íbu* 'pacify'—all free verbal nouns. Some speakers may treat *íti suru* 'is located (in), finds its place' in the same unusual way (*?íti-súru*, *?íti-site*, *?íti-sita*, ...), but we will follow MKZ⁵ in considering *íti* to be a free verbal noun only, reduced from *íti [o] suru*; another free verbal noun is *ízi suru* 'maintains' (*ízi site*). Words derived from verbal nouns are not necessarily verbal nouns themselves: *táimen* 'encounter, interview' is used as a free verbal noun, but *syo-táimen* '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: (*monó o*) *watakuši-suru* 'appropriates (things)', (*N ni*) *kumi-súru* 'takes part (in N), joins (N)', (*N o*) *yomi-súru(í)* 'sings the praises (of N)', (*N ni*) *kokóro-suru* 'pays attention (to N), attends to (N)', (*tyuumoku ni*) *atai-suru* 'is worthy (of attention)', (*N ni*) *hukairí(í)-suru* 'delves deep (into N)', (*ekimáe(í) ni*) *tamuro-suru* 'encamps (in front of the station)', *Kemí-súru* 'lets (years) elapse; investigates' derives from an old variant of the Chinese morpheme KEN; a synonym in the first meaning is *es-súru(í)* (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: *hito ni gáí o suru* means 'does harm to a person' and *hito o gai-súru* means 'harms a person'. *Són suru* (notice the accent) is simply a shortening of *són o suru* 'causes damage'; the bound version is *son-zíru(í)* 'damages'.³⁰ Other examples: *toku [o] suru* 'provides benefit (to)', *syaku [o] suru* 'serves the wine', *réi [o] suru* 'bows', *kán(í) [o] suru* 'heats the wine', *bán [o] suru* 'stands guard', *hún [o] suru* '(a dog) defecates' (cf. *N ni hun-súru* 'takes the role of N'), *rakú [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. *Són [o] suru* is intransitive; *son-zíru(í)* is both intransitive and (= *kowásu*) transitive, but it is obsolescent in the standard colloquial language. (It also functions as a semi-literary infinitive-auxiliary, §9.1.10.)

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 ...-sinai. 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-súru '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-súru 'abbreviates' will have the imperfect ryakú-su as a common option, and from that we get ryaku-sánai competing with ryaku-sínai; you will also find ryaku-sázu and possibly ryaku-sízu, though most speakers feel more comfortable with ryaku-sézu, since (in Tōkyō, at least) this negative ending -(a)zu is not very colloquial, to begin with. (An example of zoku-sázu 'not belonging' appears in SA 2680.101b.) 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 -suru daroo), -sanai (as well as -sinai), and -su N (as well as -suru N):

yaku- 'translate'	zoku- 'belong'	huku- 'serve'
ryaku- 'abbreviate'		zyuku- 'ripen'

The verb monó-su[ru] 'does; writes' probably belongs here, though it is of native origin. Chaplin prefers -sanai and -sazu for the negative. Cf. yadó-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: -sanai (as well as -sinai) and -su N (as well as -suru N), but NOT -su daroo for -suru daroo:

ka- 'assign, assess'	tyoo- 'collect, solicit'
ki- 'anticipate'	hun- 'impersonate'
to- 'wager'	taku- 'entrust'
zi- 'resign'	yoku- 'bathe'
gyo- 'control'	eki- 'benefit'
yoo- 'need' (-sinai Tk 4.193b)	teki- 'fit'
guu- 'treat'	kai- 'understand' ³¹
kyoo- 'offer'	hai- 'bow'
syoo- 'call'	gai- 'harm'

(3) Less well assimilated.

(3a) Although -sanai is accepted, reservations are expressed about -su N:

in- 'imprint'	hen- 'incline'
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(3b) Although -sanai is accepted, -su N is rejected in favor of -suru N:

haku- 'obtain'	geki- 'get excited'
oku- 'flinch'	han- 'oppose'
soku- 'conform'	men- 'face'

31. And probably kai- 'insert, go between': ... sukōsi mo i ni kái-sánu no de aru 'doesn't mind in the least' (Fn 43b). An example of 'understand': Bunmei o kai-sánai 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'	baku- 'refute'
yuu- 'possess'	bas- 'punish' (BATU)
hyoo- 'criticize'	tei- 'present'

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'	hi- 'conceal'
ga- 'celebrate'	ri- 'profit'
ha- 'dispatch'	si- 'contribute'
sya- 'thank'	ho- 'appoint'
za- 'sit'	syo- 'handle'
zyo- 'divide, exclude'	das- 'doff; omit; escape' (DATU)
hu- 'affix; refer'	has- 'issue; leave' (HATU)
goo- 'name, declare'	sas- 'conjecture' (SATU)
koo- 'resist'	tas- 'reach' (TATU)
ryoo- 'govern'	kes- 'determine' (KETU)
soo- 'perform, play'	nes- 'heat' (NETU)
tyuu- 'put to death'	ses- 'contact, adjoin' (SETU)
tai- 'confront'	tes- 'penetrate' (TETU)
sei- 'control'	bos- 'sink; hide' (BOTU)
rui- 'be akin/similar to'	kus- 'bend' (KUTU)
sen- 'proclaim'	saku- 'plan'
	syuku- 'congratulate'

(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'	zoo- 'keep, cherish'
gi- 'discuss' ³²	tyoo- 'mourn'
i- 'entrust'	hoo- 'satirize'
mi- 'charm'	as- 'press' (ATU)
go- 'rank'	kis- 'eat, drink, smoke' (KITU)
mo- 'mimic'	mes- 'perish' (METU)
roo- 'labor'	syoku- 'eat'
	tyaku- 'arrive; wear'

(7) Unassimilated. The forms are -suru N, -sinai:

do- 'reclaim, redeem'	gas- 'combine' (GA [P]U = GOO)
(-)si- 'regard as'	kas- 'thirst' (KATU)
kyuu- 'stop, rest'	zes- 'be the ultimate' (ZETU)
hei- 'invite, engage, enlist'	is- 'let slip, deviate' (ITU)

32. Yet here is an example of gi-sánai, in a jocular context: Tó-ni-kaku giin na n da kara, gi-sánakya ikemasén yó 'But since they are "giin" (Diet members) they've got to "gi" (deliberate)' (Tk 4.17a).

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 *róo-su* as well as *roo-súru* 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 ni 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):

VERBAL NOUN	CAUSATIVE	POTENTIAL	PASSIVE
	-saseru	-seru	-sareru
ka- 'assign, assess'	(+)	(+)	
(-)si- 'regard as'			+
gyo- 'control'	(+)	+	(+)
syo- 'handle'		(+)	
to- 'wager'	(+)	(+)	
hyoo- 'criticize'			(+)
kyoo- 'offer'			+
syoo- 'call'		(+)	+
guu- 'treat'			(+)
tyuu- 'put to death'			+
hai- 'bow'		(+)	
kai- 'understand'		+	
hei- 'invite, engage, enlist'			(+)
sen- 'proclaim'		(+)	
hun- 'impersonate'	+	+	
bas- 'punish'	?(p. 289)	+	+
das- 'do off; omit; escape'		+	
sas- 'conjecture'		+	
tas- 'reach'		+	
tes- 'penetrate'		(+)	
is- 'let slip, deviate'		+ ³³	

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'	+	+	
huku- 'serve'	+	+	
zyuku- 'ripen'	+		

For the passive you will sometimes see the pseudo-literary *-serareru* in place of *-sareru*: ... to syoo-serar^éru monó ... 'those that are called ...' (Tk 4.95b). (The true literary form is *-seraruru/-sararu*.) 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-súru* 'models after; likens to', *hi-súru* 'compares', (*seikatu ni*) *kyuu-súru* 'is in need (for one's livelihood)', *kyuu-súru* 'supplies', *sen-súru* 'compiles, composes', *roku-súru* '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 *...-ziru*, 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 *...-zizu*, but the latter also occurs: ... *yooi ni sin-zizu*(^[-]), ... 'does not easily trust/believe' (SA 2674.94c); ... *ki^[f]ri no yoo na monó no i hirogarú no o i kan-zizu ní 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 *...-zé yo: k^ín-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-súru* 'opposes'. The final velar nasal of many Chinese morphemes turned into a high vowel in Japanese, and the high vowel (*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-zíru*(^[-]) 'throws' < DHEU, *koo-zíru*(^[-]) 'gets aggravated' < KAU, and *hoo-zíru*(^[-]) 'reports' < PAU. Eight of these verbal nouns do not come from Chinese at all, though they are treated just like those that do: *omon-zíru*(^[-]) 'values' is said to be from *omo-mi* 'heaviness' + *suru*; *karon-zíru* 'belittles' is said to be from *karo-mi*, a variant of *karu-mi* 'lightness', + *suru*; *aman-zíru* 'contents one-

self with' is from ama-mi 'sweetness' + suru; yasun-zíru 'is contented with' is from yasumi 'ease' + suru; uton-zíru 'is cold toward' is from uto-mi 'alienation' + suru; gaen-zíru 'consents' is said to be from kae ni suru; sakin-zíru 'goes ahead' is from saki ni suru; soran-zíru 'memorizes' is from sóra ni suru.

Of the auxiliary-voicing bound verbal nouns, only one seems to be used with object-exaltation: 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:

VERBAL NOUN	o...-i						
	-ziru	-zuru	-zinai	-zezu	-zisaseru	-zirareru	ni náru
ei- 'be reflected'	+	(+)	+	-	-	-	-
mei- 'command'	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+
doo- 'be agitated'	+	+	+	+	-	+	-
hoo- 'requite; report'	+	(+)	?	?	-	- ³⁴	-
koo- 'get aggravated'	+	-	+	-	(+)	-	-
kyoo- 'amuse oneself'	+	+	+	+	+	-	(+)
oo- 'respond, comply'	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	-
syoo- 'invite'	+	(+)	?	?	-	+	-
syoo- 'produce, generate; happen'	+	(+)	+ ³⁵	?	+	-	-
too- 'throw'	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	-
tyoo- 'grow up; excel'	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
zyoo- 'multiply; take advantage of'	+	+	+	+	-	+	-
hoo- 'seal; enclose'	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
tuu- 'get/put through'	+	(+)	+	+	-	+	-
an- 'worry'	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	(+)
dan- 'discuss, negotiate'	+	+	?	?	-	-	-
dan-/tan- 'twang, play'	+	(+)	+	+	+	(+)	+
kan- 'feel'	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
san- 'go'	+	(+)	+	+	-	-	-
gen- 'deduct, lessen'	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	-
ken- 'present'	+	(+)	+	+	-	-	-
men- 'dismiss; exempt'	+	(+)	+	+	-	?	(+)
sen- 'decoct'	+	-	+	-	+	(+)	-
ten- 'rotate, change'	+	(+)	+	+	+	(+)	(+)
ten- 'drop; ignite; make tea'	+	+	+	(+)	-	-	-
gin- 'chant, recite'	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+
kin- 'forbid'	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+
nin- 'appoint'	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+
sin- 'trust'	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+
tin- 'state'	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-

34. Yet here is an example from print: Sinbun ni hoo-ziráreta (〓) || kózin no | nenrei wa || gozyúu ní-
sai datta no de aru 'The age reported in the newspapers for the deceased was 52' (SA 2793.122a).

35. Mú kara yúu wa syoo-zinái n da 'Out of nothing, nothing comes' (Tk 4.266b); cf. 'You don't get something for nothing'.

VERBAL NOUN							O...-i
	-ziru	-zuru	-zinai	-zesu	-zisaseru	-zizareru	ni naru
kon- 'blend'	+	(+)	+	+	(+)	(+)	-
son- 'damage'	+	(+)	+	(+)	-	-	-
kun- 'perfume'	+	+	-	+	(+)	-	-
zyun- 'apply correspondingly'	+	(+)	+	+	-	-	-
zyun- 'sacrifice one's life'	+	(+)	+	+	-	+	(+)
aman- 'content oneself'	+	(+)	+	+	+	-	-
soran- 'memorize'	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
gaen- 'consent'	-	(+)	+	+	(+)	-	-
sakin- 'go ahead'	+	+	+	+	-	+	-
karon- 'belittle'	+	(+)	+	+	(+)	+	-
omon- 'value'	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	-
uton- 'be cold toward'	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
yasun- 'content oneself'	+	(+)	-	+	+	+	-

Most bound verbal nouns are TONIC: ka-súru, ká-site, ka-sínai, ... ; yaku-súru, yoo-súru, tai-súru, kan-súru, 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-súru(-), bas-súru(-), kis-súru(-), (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-zíru(-), kyoo-zíru(-), oo-zíru(-), But tuu-ziru 'communicates (etc.)' has only the atonic version. (3) Most instances of ...n-ziru are optionally tonic or atonic: sin-zíru(-), omon-zíru(-), But kan-ziru 'feels' has only the atonic version, and seven of the eight native Japanese bound verbal nouns are always tonic: amán-, karón-, gaén-, utón-, yasún-, sakín-, során-ziru; cf. omon-zíru(-). 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,³⁶ 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 Ameriká-ka(-) suru in one interpretation (intransitive) is logically equivalent to Ameriká-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'í-ka(-) 'simplification', kan'í-ka(-) suru 'it simplifies; simplifies it'; kikái-ka(-) 'mechanization', kikái-ka(-) suru 'it gets mechanized; mechanizes it'; goorí-ka(-) 'rationalization', goorí-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 hakugán-si-suru 'looks askance at people, looks coldly

36. And occasionally other types of nouns: konpyuutá-ka(-) 'computerization' from konpyúutaa 'computer', rekoodó-ka(-) 'recording' from rekóodo; zyuukagakuoogyóo-ka(-) "'heavy-chemical industrialization" = conversion to heavy-chemical industries' from zyuukagaku-kóogyoo 'heavy-chemical industry'.

upon a person'; ... azi o dogái-si-site 'ru, ... 'they neglect flavor ...' (SA 2689.55b); ... danzetu o kadái-si-suru 'overestimates the generation gap' (SA 2680.29d); ... hoo o zettái-si-site kangáeru kotó wa dekinai 'We can not think of the law from such an absolute viewpoint' (SA 2677.51d); ... sono téido(-) de || Asakusa ga || tati-naorú ka | dóo ka, || gimón-si-suru | kankéi-sya ga | óói 'there are many in the business who regard it as doubtful whether at this rate Asakusa can get back on its feet' (SA 2658.111e); ... súde ni || Miki | Takeó-si no | rikkóho ga | kakuzitú-si-sarete | irú ga ... 'Mr Miki Takeo's candidacy is already regarded as certain but ...' (SA 2689.136a); ... yuubóo-si-sarete iru 'is regarded as hopeful'; ... mondái-si-sarete kíta '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: ... tabúo-si-sarete ita 'which had been regarded as tabu' (SA 2677.117b); Sore de || daiitizi-táisen no || Pári no || koowa-káigi no | tokí ni wa, || Kónoe san ga | kikenzinbutú-si-sarete ita 'And so at the time of the Paris peace conference of World War I Mr Konoé was regarded as a dangerous character' (Tanigawa 39); Ziki-séiken no || honméi-si-sareru || Hukuda | Takeó-si wa || dóo ka 'What about Mr Takeo Fukuda, who is regarded as the likely winner of political power next?' (SA 2663.116d); Tó wa ie, || sékái no | Kurosawa mo, || itíbu de wa || "káko no | hitó"-si-sare, || "íma-sara(-) || déru | makú de mo || nakaróo ni" || to || hiyakasi-hánbun de || mukaeru múki mo | sukúnáku | nái '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); ... "ígaku no || dendóo"-si-sarete | kíta | daigaku-byóoin ... 'the university hospitals which have come to be regarded as "sanctuaries of medical science" ...' (SA 2660.146). For this reason, a good argument can be made to treat (ʔ)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: "ígaku no dendoo" si-sarete. But the juncture and accentuation would favor retaining the first hyphen: "ígaku no dendóo"-si sarete. So I have retained both. In part, our problem with (ʔ)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 (rá, táti, etc.) and short titles (kun, si; san; etc.). Notice that in tokubetu-si-suru 'regards as special' and dooitú-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 *dooissi-.

The infinitive-derived noun atukai 'handling, dealing with' is attached to free nouns to form a compound noun meaning 'treating as': sirooto-átukai 'treating one as an amateur', zyamamono-átukai 'treating one as unwanted (as a nuisance)', mamako-átukai 'treating one as a stepchild', tanin-átukai 'treating one as a stranger', kodomo-átukai 'treating one as a child', hanzaisya-átukai 'treating one like a criminal', These nouns can be used as subjects or objects: tagosaku-átukai o ukéru '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-átukai suru, A ga B ni tái-site N-átukai o suru, B ga A ni N-átukai sareru, etc.: Are wa || kitigai-átukai | saretá n desu, || kyónen 'He got treated like a madman, last year' (Tk 3.56a). For some you will also find A ga B o N-átukai ni suru: Káre wa káno-zyo o mamako-átukai ni suru 'A treats B as a stepchild'; Mooretu-syáin to iu | kangae-káta no | náka ni wa || ...

ningen o || syoomoohin-átukai ni | suru yóo na | monó ga | áru no (l) de^(t) wa | náí ka | to
 omoimásu 'I can't help thinking there's a bit of using the human being as a piece of ex-
 pendable goods in the idea of the "zealous company man"' (R).

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 úmi no monó^(t) o | tábete || HATUBYOO suru hitó to || [] sinái hitó ga | déru n desu | né. || Náze ka | ná 'Eating the same seafood some people get sick and some do not, you see. I wonder why' (SA 2681.44a); Zim-in-too ga || koko de | BOOSOO surú ka, | [] sinái ka, || to iu mondai ni narimásu | yó 'It is a problem of whether the Liberal Democratic Party will run wild or not' (SA 2663.20a); SÁSZU | suru monó mo, | [] sareru monó mo, || tómo(¯) ni || wakái kara, || naniwa-busi no eikyoo náńka || úkete 'nai to || ganbáru 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: Ikkóo(¯) wa || gógo | gó-zi [ni], || Haneda-kúukoo ni | TOOTYAKU [si(te)], || tádati 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 sí optionally drops when a verbal noun takes nuclear focus: Sono kóro wa || íma no yóo na | zyootai ni náru kotó^(t) wa || YOSOO [sí] 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). It is possible to conjoin 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^(t)gí(¯) kenkyuu sita monó 'those who have lectured and/or researched on this' (KKK 3.81). When read aloud, the direct conjoining may be signaled by juncture: ... kinóo ni hiki-tuzuki || Konkóorudo ga || ririku | tyakuriku suru sái no [l] soo'oo || menmitu ni | sirabéru | kotó^(t) ni site orimásu '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, || seikatu ni hituyoo na monó mo || sorézore || míbun [] | soo'oo no monó de | áru ¯béki | kotó 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 || kono sángatu || úmaku | ikéba || dezain-gákkoo o | sotugyoo [surú no] désu 'I will graduate from design school this March if all goes well'; Yo-nen máe, || Toodai-hoogákúbu o | sotugyoo [suru] to dóozi(¯) ni || keisatú-tyoo ni | háiri, || ... 'Four years ago upon graduating from the law faculty of Tōkyō University he joined the police department and ...' (SA 2656.50c); Kaisya o (l) sooritu no sái, || ... '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 kotó ga dekíru, but ellipsis is possible: Dáre ga náni o gáman [suru kotó ga] dekíru 'Who can stand what?'. And the object of a transitive verbal noun can replace ó by gá when the ellipsis is chosen: Dáre ni/ga náni ga gáman dekíru 'Who can stand what?'. The underlying marking may be obscured by focus: Watakusi wa anmari kóokoo mo [suru kotó ga] dekimasén de ... 'I have been unable to do very much for my parents ...' (R) ← kóokoo ㊦㊧ mo.

14.4. VERBAL-NOUN RENOMINALIZATIONS: *-tyuu*, *-gó(-)*, *-zén*; *-zumi*.

Nouns referring to times or events can attach as quasi-restrictives (§ 2.4) the three Sino-Japanese temporal suffixes *-tyuu* 'during', *-gó(-)* 'after', and *-zén* 'before': *sensoo -tyuu* = *sensoo-tyuu* 'during the war', *sensoo -gó(-)* = *sensoo-gó(-)* (= *séngo*) 'after the war', *sensoo -zén* = *sensoo-zén* (= *senzen*) 'before the war'. There are various lexically determined limitations; despite *gózen(-)* *-tyuu* = *gozen-tyuu* 'during the morning' there is no **gozen-zén* nor ?**gozen-gó(-)*. And the restrictive *-máe* often replaces *-zén*: *sensoo -máe* '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* (< -"tyúu-) which means 'all through (a time or place)', as you can see from the minimal contrast of *Yasumí -tyuu dá* (= *Yasumi-tyuu dá*) 'It is during the vacation' with *Yasumí -zyuu dá* (= *Yasumi-zyuu dá*) 'It is through the entire vacation'.

Any verbal noun of appropriate aspect can attach *-tyuu dá* to mean 'is in the midst of doing = is doing'.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' → *Sanpo -tyuu dá* 'He is in the midst of a walk'. But it makes better sense to treat the form as an abbreviation of *site iru sáityuu da* 'is in the (very) midst of doing': *sanpo* [*site iru sái*]*tyuu dá*.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' → *Kaisya ga/de syukusya o kentiku -tyuu dá* 'The company is in the midst of building dormitories'; *Tadáima || kono hikoo-ki wa || Óosima no |zyookuu o hikoo -tyuu de gozaimásu* 'Right now this airplane is in flight over Ōshima' (R); *Otóosan ga | né, || kore o kíru ka | kiránai ka, || sían -tyuu ná n da* 'Father is undecided whether to cut this or not' (V 1972.165); *Káre wa || karada o wáruku site, || kaisya o kyuusyoku -tyuu ná 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 dá* = *o-V-i ni náru* and *V-i-hazime nó* (§ 9.1.11); the direct object is, of course, an adjunct to the verbal element in the underlying sentence.

Both *-gó(-)* and *-zén* are similar: *Syukusya o kentiku -gó(-) [ni] ...* = *Syukusya o kentiku sita áto [de] ...* 'After building the dormitory ...'; *Syukusya o kentiku -zén [ni] ...* = *Syukusya o kentiku suru máe [ni] ...* 'Before building the dormitory ...'; *Yonen-kóosu o syuuryoo -gó(-) wa ...* 'After completing the four-year course ...'; *Tookyoo-tóritu no noogyoo-kóokoo o sotugyoo -gó(-) mo, ...* 'Even after graduating from the Tōkyō Metro-

37. The verbal noun need not be of Chinese origin: *woomingu-áppu -tyuu* 'while warming up (for a game)' is from English.

38. But in some examples we must assume an abbreviation of *sarete iru sáityuu*, with the passive: *... tó no ikoo ga túyoku kentoo -tyuu de áru* 'under close study is the idea of ...' (KKK 3.167); *hoosoo -tyuu da* 'is being broadcast'; Perhaps also in the sign *Takusii zyoomú-in bosyuu -tyuu [da]* 'Taxi drivers wanted', though the lack of a particle after *zyoomú-in* makes it hard to decide.

politan agricultural high school ...' (SA 2669.16a); Raihoo ̄tyuu no Índo daitóoryoo wa Kyóoto o kenbutu ̄gó(̄) Oosaka e mukau 'The president of India now visiting Japan will proceed to Ōsaka after seeing Kyōto'. 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 ̄gó(̄) = Sore ni kanpuku sita áto ... 'after admiring 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 í]go and VN [suru í]zen, respectively, following the lead suggested by the derivation VN [site iru sái]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-séiken [ga] seiritu ̄gó(̄) 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 hanasí in [O-]hanasi-tyuu dá 'It is in the midst of [your] talking',³⁹ the action noun sigoto in Sigoto-tyuu dá 'It is in the midst of one's work', etc. There is no *sigoto-gó(̄) = sigoto sita áto 'after doing the work', nor *sigoto-zén = sigoto suru máe 'before doing the work'. Other lexical cases include Seeru-tyuu désu 'It is on sale'; but Níkuson-si no roonin ̄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 ̄sumí, is derived from the noun sumí '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 etymon.) 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: ... bángároo, || nikai-béddo, || yágu no | rúi mo || súde ni || tyúumon(̄) ̄zumi de, || mókka, || 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'; *hassō zumi nari* 'he has sent' indicates completed action, and is roughly identical in meaning with *hassō sitari*"; for *sitari* (= *sitári*) read *séri*. Additional examples: ... ní-nen | máe ni | happyoo ̄zumi no "ronbun" kara ... 'from a "thesis" published two years ago' (SA 2666.26); O-kási nádo o | okurú no ni, || aná ga | aitári, || húruku | nátte | yóo ̄zumi no zii-pan de || sóto o | tutúnde | átta 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)—yóo o suru means 'is of use'; Sikási, || zidóo-sya(̄) no | syatai-bángoo ya || denwa-bángoo de || keiken ̄zumi no tóori, ... 'But as proved by license-plate numbers and telephone numbers ...' (SA 2657.43d); Senséi ga | kyóka ̄zumi de || kono heyá o |

39. Cf. Káigi ̄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 níinki(̄) ̄tyuu 'during his present term (of office)' (R). That is the treatment we follow elsewhere (e.g. in §2.4).

tukawaseru 'They let this room be used when a teacher has approved'; Kaisya ga/de syukusya o kentiku ʔzumi desu 'The company has completed the building of the dormitory'.

The expressions that result from the four conversions discussed in this section function as predicable adverbs.⁴⁰ When the quasi-restrictive ʔzyuu is attached to a TIME word, the result is a predicable adverb (hitó-ban ʔzyuu 'all night long') but when it is attached to a place word (or other noun) the result is a place noun: sékái ʔzyuu o ryokoo sita 'traveled all over the world', karada ʔzyuu ga itái 'aches all over one's body'.

14.5. INFINITIVE-DERIVED NOUNS

A large number of nouns are derived from verbal infinitives.⁴¹ Those nouns derived from the infinitives of "atonic" verbs are basically atonic; they remain without an accent even when followed by a particle. But the infinitive of the atonic 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 wá or mó: ikí mo 'even go[ing]' (infinitive) but iki mo 'even the trip out' (derived noun). Nouns derived from the infinitives of tonic verbs are basically oxytonic and you will hear the accent on the last syllable when a particle follows: káeri mo 'even return[ing]' (infinitive) but kaerí mo 'even the trip back'. In many environments, to be sure, you will hear both kaerí (derived noun from infinitive of tonic verb) and ikí (infinitive of atonic verb) without an accent; before a juncture it will be impossible to hear a difference between ikí 'go[ing]' and iki 'the trip out', but kaerí 'the trip back'—even though it loses its accent—will sound different from káeri '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 oxytonic infinitives of the "atonic" bases lose their accent before ní 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:

negái 'requesting'	negái 'request'
omói 'thinking'	omói 'thought'
yatói 'hiring'	yatói 'employee'
kangáe 'thinking'	kangáe 'thought'

But some are reported as also oxytonic:

kurúi 'going mad'	kurúi 'madness'
sorói 'lining up'	sorói 'array'

40. But, at least when attached to nouns referring to times or events (that are not verbal nouns), the suffixes ʔtyuu, ʔgó(ʔ), and ʔzén appear to yield resulting forms that are TIME nouns; though typically used as adverbs, they can take optional time-locative marking with ní (yasumí ʔtyuu {ni} 'during the vacation') and occasionally other case markers: benkyoo ʔtyuu o zyama sita 'bothered her while she was studying' (Ariyoshi 300). Moreover, at least some expressions with ʔtyuu can be used as pure nouns meaning 'person in the midst of doing' as in roonin ʔtyuu {no hitó} 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.

obóe 'recalling'	obóe 'memory'
kokoróe 'knowing'	kokoróe 'knowledge'
sasáe(-) 'supporting'	sasáe(-) 'support, prop'

The atonic form for the last example represents a variant in the verb base itself (see p. 25). But there is only the atonic uttae 'complaint' from uttae(-) '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):

arasói 'struggling'	arasói(-) 'a struggle'
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(3) When the derived noun comes from a tonic infinitive of more than four syllables the accent may be regular (oxytonic) or atonic:

kokorozási 'aiming'	kokorozási(-) 'aim'
hazukasíme 'humiliating'	hazukasímé(-) '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:

yorokóbi 'rejoicing'	yorokóbi(-) 'joy'
kokorómi 'trying'	kokorómi(-) 'trial'
kurusími 'suffering'	kurusími(-) 'distress'
ikigómi 'being enthusiastic'	ikigómi(-) 'enthusiasm'
sikuzíri 'blundering'	sikuzíri(-) 'blunder'
ayamáti 'erring'	ayamáti(-) 'error'
kuwadáte 'scheming'	kuwadáté(-) 'scheme'
akiráme 'resigning oneself'	akirámé(-) 'resignation'
samatáge 'hindering'	samatágé(-) 'hindrance'

But for some, only the two tonic versions are reported:

ayamári 'apologizing'	ayamári 'apology; error'
atumári 'gathering'	atumári 'a gathering'
honoméki 'glimmering'	honoméki 'glimmer'

And for some, only the oxytonic and atonic versions are reported:

awarémi 'pitying'	awarémi(-) 'pity'
narawási 'accustoming'	narawási(-) 'custom'
takurámi 'scheming'	takurámi(-) 'scheme'

(5) Nine nouns derived from tonic infinitives are irregularly prototonic, but two also have the regular form:

kári(-) 'hunting' [literary]	kári 'hunt(ing)'
óbi(-) 'wearing (as a girdle)'	óbi 'sash, girdle'
tómi 'being rich'	tómi 'riches'
tátari 'cursing'	tátari 'curse'
táyori 'relying'	táyori 'reliance'
sawági 'clamoring'	sawági 'clamor'
simári 'tightly closing'	simari 'being tightly closed'
domóri 'stammering'	dómori 'stammerer'
háre 'being clear'	háre 'clear/fair weather'
kaségi 'earning'	kasegi 'earnings; job'
kagiri 'limiting'	kágiri 'limit'
sinógi '(bravely) enduring'	sínogi 'suffering'
sabáki 'disposing; judging'	sabaki 'disposal; judgment'

Nagási 'letting flow' has the regular derived noun nagási in the meaning 'a drain (sink)' and also the irregularly accentuated nágasi with the meanings 'cruising (taxi); street musician;

bath service'. The infinitive *tanómi* 'requesting; relying' underlies the regular derived noun *tanomí* 'request' and the irregularly accentuated *tánomi* 'reliance' (= *táyori*). *Hánare* = *hanare-zásiki* '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 (= *nukí*) 'omitting' *núki* 'omission'

The noun *átari* 'vicinity' is probably derived from the infinitive *atari* (= *atari*) '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 *tugi* in the sense of 'patch' as in *tugi o ateru* 'puts on a patch'—cf. *tugí o mátte iru* 'waits for what is coming next' (SA 2688.100c).

(8) At least two nouns that are derived from tonic infinitives are irregularly atonic:

dé 'emerging' *de* '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* = *dekiai* 'ready-made' that belongs with (5) above. In origin *déki*- is a compound verb (made up of *dé* 'emerge' and *kí* '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 *arukí* 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 *sinzi-sugi* '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-zíru*(-).)

I have looked in a number of dictionaries for *kagerí* 'darkness, shadowing' but with no success, despite this example: *Óoki na mádo ga kagerí^[1] no náí 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; *tagirí* 'boiling' despite an example of *kama no tagirí o kiite* 'hearing the kettle's boiling' in SA 2678.116a; And *yobi* 'call', *rikimí* 'strain; bluff' (Tk 3.295b), *itói* 'hatred' (as in *itói^[1] no náí teai* 'a fellow without rancor', Kb) are apparently listed only by Shimmura. The noun *tukaihirusi*, derived from the compound infinitive *tukai-hurúsi* 'wearing out', is used as a synonym of *tukai-hurúsita* 'worn-out' in *tukaihirusi no táiya*(-) 'worn-out tires' (SA 2670.107d) but I have not found it in a dictionary. The derived noun *obié*(-) 'fear' from the infinitive of *obiéru*(-) 'fears' is apparently a non-standard synonym of *osoré*, carried only by Shimmura; it is used as a summational epitheme in this example: ... *to iu obié*(-) *mo tetudátte* ... 'partly helped by the fear that ...' (SA 2665.127d). Though some dictionaries, such as Shimmura, give a separate entry for *osimí* 'begrudging' from the transitive infinitive *osimi*, the derived noun appears only in *osimi*(-)*náku* 'freely, without grudging the expense' and in compounds of the type *N-ósimi*, yielding such verbal nouns as those in *mono-ósimi suru* 'is stingy' and *hone-ósimi sinai* 'spares no efforts'. (For some reason, *make-osimi* '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 simásita* '[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: ugokí 'movement', utagai 'doubt', sirabé 'investigation', nerai 'aim', asobi 'game'; sassi 'conjecture', kanzi 'feeling'; |
| (B) | 741 | (.1683) | from compound verbs: utiawase 'previous arrangement, appointment', toriatukai 'handling', wariate 'allotment', mitoosi 'prospect', kumitate 'structure', moosiire 'proposal', sikumi 'contrivance' (< si-kúmi '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: kasí-kári 'lending and borrowing', agári-ságari(¯) 'rising and falling', norí-ori 'boarding and alighting', |
| (E) | 1716 | (.3897) | a compound of N + infinitive: yuki-dóké(¯) 'snow thaw', nezi-máwasi 'screwdriver', |
| (F) | 842 | (.1912) | a compound of infinitive + N: tati-bá 'standpoint, footing', todoke-saki 'destination, consignee', |
| | <hr/> | <hr/> | |
| | 4403 | (1.0000) | |

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-wárai* '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: *oyogí* 'swimming', *sirabé* 'investigation', *kasidasi* 'lending out', ...; (1b) the content of the process: *kangáe* 'thought', *osie* 'instruction', *nozomí(¯)* 'hope', *negái* 'request', *nayamí* 'worry', *inorí* 'prayer', ...; (1c) the appearance, method, degree, condition, or feel of the process: *suberí* [*ga íi*] 'smoothness of slipping', [*kome no*] *deki* 'the harvest [of rice]', *ure-yuki* 'the (amount of) sales', *atari* [*ga yawarakái*] 'the feeling (from contact) [is soft]',

(2) the product or result of the process: (2a) from a transitive verb: *tutumí* 'bundle',

horí 'ditch', kakituke 'note, bill', ... ; (2b) from an intransitive verb: amarí 'excess', katamari 'clod', koori 'ice', atumári 'gathering', kubomi 'dent',

(3) the agent of the process: (3a) human agent: súri 'thief', dómori 'stammerer', minarai 'trainee', tukisoi 'attendant', yopparai 'drunkard', ... ; (3b) nonhuman agent: nagaré 'stream, flow', samatágé(-) 'hindrance', sasáé(-) 'support, prop',

(4) the object of the process: tumami 'knob (to grasp)', yatói 'employee', sasiire (= sasiire-mono) 'a thing sent in',

(5) the means of the process: hakarí 'scales (for weighing)', hatakí 'duster',

(6) the aim of the process: kobosí (= mizu-kóbosí) 'a basin to catch rinse water poured from teacups',

(7) the place of the process: toorí 'way, street', haté '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 sukí 'liked' and kirai 'disliked' and the precopular nouns mukidasi 'bare; frank' and dasinuke 'sudden, unexpected'. There are also adverbs, sometimes with different accentuation: túmari (< tumári) 'after all', amari (< amarí < amári) 'too, overly'; óyobi(-) (< oyobi) 'additionally, and'; aráizárai(-) '(down to) every last thing, without reserve' (< arai + sarai). The restrictive -átari probably comes from the infinitive atari. The postadnominal toori 'like' (whence the restrictive -dóori 'like') is probably derived from toorí 'way', in turn the derived noun from the infinitive toori '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 atonic accentuation. These should be distinguished from nouns that are compounded of two infinitive-derived nouns (often antonyms), which may enjoy a variety of accentuations: agarí-ságari(-) 'rise and fall'—there is no *agari-sagári 'rising and falling'; Tookyoo no ikí-kí(-) 'trips to and from Tōkyō'—there is no *Tookyoo e iki-kí 'going and coming to Tōkyō'; norí-ori 'boarding and alighting'—there is no *nori-óri '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-káe 'transferring (vehicles)'; nomikomi [ga warúi/osoí] '[is slow in] catching on, comprehending' from nomi-komi 'drinking in'; nariyuki 'progress, development' from nari-yuku 'turns out, becomes'; The verbal excessives, as we have remarked, will usually yield a derived noun (always atonic): ii-sugi 'exaggeration' from ii-súgi 'exaggerating', nomi-sugi 'intemperance' from nomi-sugi 'overdrinking', It is something similar that underlies the sentence conversions of §9.1.7: V-i-~sasi [dé], V-i-~kake [nó], V-i-~tuke [nó], V-i-~hazime [nó]; as well as V-i-~tate (§9.1.6) and probably V-i-~gati (§9.1.5). The atonic accentuation of these forms points to their origin as nouns derived from compound-verb infinitives V₁-i - V₂-i. Sono moesasi o asimótó e suteta 'he dropped the [match]butt at his feet' (SA 2689.43b) includes a noun derived from moe-sasi [no mátti] 'half-burned [match]'.

There are a few nouns derived from causative infinitives, notably uresigarase 'flattery' from uresigaráse 'causing one to enjoy' and iyagarase 'an unpleasantry' from iyagaráse 'causing one to loathe'; the atonic 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-síme 'causing to show', a literary causative. There are also a few nouns derived from passive

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 *hito-nákasé(-)* 'a nuisance to people', *hanasase-zyóózu* 'being good at getting people to talk', *nikumare-mónó(-)* 'an object of hatred', ... ; some examples appear to be nonce formations: *musi-sasare* 'being stung by an insect' (Nishio); *kenasare no sómo-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-wárai* [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-si*).

The meaning of the derived noun will sometimes seem far removed from that of the underlying infinitive. 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 *kabúri-túku(-)* '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-yógari* 'complaisant, complaisance' (adjectival noun and abstract noun) is **yo-garí*, an otherwise unused derived noun from the obsolescent intransitive verb *yo-gáru* '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: *desí o sinzi-sugiru* 'trusts too much in one's disciple' will yield *desí¹ 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 *atarasii gakúmon no umi no kurusímí(-)* 'the birth pangs of a new science' is derived from ... *umi de kurusímu* '[the world] suffers from the birth ...'; within the noun phrase, ... *gakúmon no umi* is derived from ... *gakúmon o umu* 'gives birth to a science'. *Umi no háha to sodaté¹ no háha* 'the mother who gave me birth and the mother who brought me up' (R) contains structures derived from *háha ga umi* 'mother give birth' and *háha ga sodáte* 'mother bring up'. But some derived nouns today bear very little association with the infinitives from which they come; the relationship is etymological: *hayasí* 'forest' is derived from *hayási* 'letting it grow/luxuriate' but surely less association is felt between those two words than is felt between *hayasí* 'musical accompaniment' and *hayási* 'accompanying'. (Ultimately all four words, and also *háe*- 'grow' are related to the adjective *háya*- 'fast'.)

Sometimes an infinitive-derived noun seems to be used in place of a nominalization. *Oyogí ga dekiru* and *Oyógu kotó 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

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 *món 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 | watakusi no inoti wa || ... nobásu ni | atai-sinai* 'The life of me who am about to die at any moment is not worth prolonging'.

-/- (2a) *ni atatte/atarimásite* 'when (it comes to), at the time of': *Syómotu o | erábu ni | atatte ...* 'When it comes to selecting books ...'.

(2b) *ní wa ataranai* 'there is no need to' (= *ní wa oyobanai*): *Sore-daké nara || betu ni || odoróku ni wa | 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 tékisuto wa || itinén-sei ga | yómu ni wa | husawasii* 'This text is suitable for first-year students to read'; *Káno-zyo mo | sore o kirú ni || husawásiku | nai* 'It is inappropriate for HER to wear that' (lg 1962.84).

w/m (4) *ni itáru(-)* 'comes to (do), leads to (doing), results/ends in (doing)': *Sippai no kekka || hasan surú ni | itátta(-)* 'The failure led to bankruptcy'; *Túi ni || koo kangáeru ni | itátta(-)* 'She finally got around to thinking this way'; *Sikasi-nágara, || sono kotó ga || káre no | koodoo o || yokusei surú ni wa | itaránakatta* 'But that did not lead to controlling his behavior'; *Sosite || kóndo no | sekai-táisen -gó(-) ní wa, || yooyaku || itiren no || kokugo-séisaku ga | zissi sarerú ni | itátta(-)* 'Then, after the recent world war, at last a series of language policies came to be put into effect' (Shibata 1965.198); *Sin-zírú ni | itáru(-)* 'They will come to believe it'.

-/- (4a) *ni itátte wa, ni itáttya(-), ni itátára* '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 máde | soo iú ni | itátte wa || benkai no yóti(-) wa | nai* 'There's no excuse for Tanaka (going so far as) to say that'; *Anna hitó ni made | site morau ni | itátte wa, || watasi wa || hazukasii* 'I'd be ashamed to have such a person do it for me'; *Ano | nónki na | hitó ga || "isogasii" ni | itátte wa || (= taboo ni náru ni | itátte wa ||) watasi mo || hatarakanákereba | naránai* 'If that lazy fellow is busy, then I better get some work done, too'.

-/m (5a) *ni kakawárazu(-)* 'regardless of ..., despite ...': *Hantai ga áru ni mo | kakawárazu(-) || ...* 'Despite there being opposition ...'; *... issyo ni || sazukeráeru -béki de | átta ni mo | kakawárazu(-), || sore o || koróri to | 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); *... konómu [no] to || konomazáru [no] ni | kakawárazu(-) || ...* 'whether we like(d) it or not ...' (SA 2662.90); *... ísiki no, || takái [[no] to] | hikúí [no] ni | kakawárazu(-) || ...* 'regardless of the consciousness being high or low'.

w/?m (5b) *ni kawari náí* '... in any event (come what may); is bound to ...': *Káre ga | seikoo surú ni | kawari {wa} náí* 'He is bound to succeed'.

-/- (6) ni kosita kotó wa náí 'there is nothing so good as ...; there is nothing like ...-ing; you're best advised to ...': Itte míru ni | kosita kotó wa | náí 'There's nothing like going and seeing'; Zibun de nímotu o | tóri ni | ikú ni | kosita kotó wa | arimasén 'The best thing to do is to go get your luggage yourself'.

w/?m (7a) ni makaséru 'leaves it to (happen), lets it (happen)': Mé o tubutte || musumé-
ra no | sárú ni | makáseta 'He closed his eyes and let the girls depart'; Syúui no | zyúmoku
mo || sigéru ni | makasárete iru 'The surrounding vegetation is left to overgrow'; Katte ni
hanásu ni wa | makaseraréni 'They can't be left to talk freely'. Cf. omóu ni | makasénai/
makasénu (1) 'finds it difficult (to do)', (2) 'is disappointing, vexatious' (náhi mo ~
'things do not turn out as one wishes').

w/?m (7b) ni masáru(⁻) 'outrivals (doing/being), is better/worse than': Sizén-syoku o |
tabéru ni | masáru(⁻) | kenkoo-hoo wa | lárú ~ mái 'Surely there is no better way to stay
healthy than to eat natural foods'; ... kiki-si ni masáru(⁻) | susamázi-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 | oyobanai 'There's no need to go that far'; Sinpai surú ni wa |
oyobanai 'There's no call for alarm'; Ippan-syuukánsi wa || móosu ni | oyobanai (= iu máde
mo | náí) 'It goes without saying for the general weeklies' (SA 2651.68a); Iú ni wa |
oyobanai 'It goes without saying'; N₁ wa | iú ni oyobazu N₂ (= N₁ wa motíron N₂) 'N₂ to
say nothing of N₁'; Ayamáru ni wa | oyobanai 'You need not apologize'; Isógu ni wa |
oyobanai 'There's no need to rush'. But affirmative examples can be found: ... hiragana-
máziri no | kokubungakú-syo(⁻) ga, || ki-kátuzi de || tasúú | syuppan sarerú ni | oyonde, ...
'there was need for works on Japanese literature with hiragana-mixed script to be pub-
lished with wooden movable type in large numbers, and ...' (Ōno 1966.223).

-/- (8b) ni siku wa náí 'nothing is like, nothing is the equal of, nothing is as good as;
it is best (to do)': Yóozin suru ni | siku {kotó|} wa náí 'There's nothing like being cautious';
Benkyoo {surú|} ni siku {kotó|} wa náí 'There's nothing the equal of hard work'; Háyaku |
okíru ni | siku wa náí 'It is best to rise early'. Cf. Kane ni siku {monó|} wa náí '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 [kotó/monó/nó] wa

-/- (8c) ni sikazu '[there is no equal to=] it is best (to)': Háyaku | okíru ni | sikazu
'It is best to rise early'; Benkyoo {surú|} ni sikazu 'Nothing compares with (is the equal of)
hard work'.

w/m (9) ni sinóbu(⁻) '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 sinobíru {monó|} ka, both from the literary vowel-base version sinóbi-)
or compounded as sinobi-kanéru(⁻) 'can not stand to do': Sono sanzoo wa || míru ni |
sinobínákatta 'I could not bear the tragic sight'; ... míru ni | sinobi-káneta(⁻) 'couldn't bear
to look' (Fn 59b); (?) ... míru ni | sinobíru { | monó| } ka 'How could I possibly watch ...?!'.

-/- (10) ni sitagátte(⁻) (= ni turete) 'in proportion to, (accordingly) as': Bunmei ga
susumú ni | sitagátte(⁻) ... 'As civilization progresses ...': Syuunyuu ga masú ni | sitagátte(⁻) ...
'In proportion as one's income rises ...'; Tosí o | tóru ni | sitagátte(⁻) || tié ga | túku 'Wisdom

comes with age'; Karada ga yóku | náru ni | sitagátte(-), || Tookyoo ga | kóisiku | nátta 'As my health returned I began to long for Tōkyō'.

w/m (11) ni taénai 'cannot bear to do': Káre-ra no | kaiwa o | kíkú ni | taénakatta 'I couldn't stand listening to their conversation'; ... kyooretu na || kíkú ni | taénai yóo na | hukoowá-on ... 'a loud discord unbearable to hear' (Tk 3.45a); ... míru ni | taénai | kyoogén ... 'a farce that you can't stand to see' (SA 2684.118d).

w/m (12) ni tariru/taru 'is sufficient to do; (= ni atai suru) is worth doing': Koré-ra || ... undoo wa, || izure mo || séken o | lugokásu ni | tarinákatta 'None of these movements ... was adequate to move the public' (Ōno 1966.236); Mozi-zínkoo no | zooka no | sūgata o | ukagaú ni | tariyoo [= tarirú daroo] 'It [= the increase of haiku writers over a thirty-year period from 178 to more than 3000] will serve to give some idea of the growth of the literate population' (Ōno 1966.224); Iú ni | tarinai kotó ... 'a thing not worth mentioning'; Ron-zúrú ni | tarinai 'It is not worth discussing'; Aité ni | surú ni | tarinai 'He is not a good match'; Rúpo no | naiyoo wa || watasi no | yóo na | ... ningen ó sae || odorokaséru ni | taru monó de aru 'The content of the report is enough to startle even a person such as me ...' (SA 2673.42a); Hotóndo || odoróku ni | taranai 'I should scarcely have been surprised'; Kyuudai sitá no wa || ayasímu ni | taranai 'No wonder he passed'; Syoo-súru ni | taru 'It is worthy of praise'; Tóru ni | tarinai kotó da 'It's a trivial matter'.

w/m (13) ni teki-súru 'proves suitable for (doing)': Sore wa || bungaku-teki ni atukaú ni wa || óoi-ni | tekí-site iru 'It lends itself admirably to a literary treatment'; Kánúu o | noserú ni || tekí-sita | monó ... 'something suitable for carrying a canoe'.

?w/m (14a) ni todomáru 'it is limited to (the doing), it amounts to nothing more than simply ...', ni todomárazu 'not merely/only ... but (also/even)': Tán ni || kiboo o | nóbeta ni | todomáru 'I simply expressed my desire'; Zíken wa || yaziuma o | yorokobaséru ni | todomáta 'The affair served only to delight the masses' (Ig 1962.84); ... tukatte yói | góku o | sentei sitá ni | todomárazu, || sono || tadasíi | hatuon [to] || ákusento o | 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 todoméru 'limits it to (the doing), lets it be nothing more than': ... sono (l) yootén(-) o | nobéru ni | todoméru 'I will limit myself to mentioning the main points'; Koko dé wa, || íma || moosimásita yóo na | ten de || tyuumoku sú beki | monó o | ní-san | tori-agerú ni | todomemásu 'I will limit myself here to giving two or three noteworthy examples of what I have been speaking about' (Tsuji-mura 157).

-/- (15) ni turete 'in proportion to, (accordingly) as': Tokí ga | tátu ni | turete ... 'As time goes by ...'; Kanemóti(-) ni | náru ni | turete || sinpai ga | óoku | náru 'Wealth brings with it many anxieties'; Óoku | náru ni | turete ... 'As they grow in number ...'; Sotugyoo no | hí ga | tikazúku ni | turete ... 'As graduation day draws near ...'; Éiga(-) ga | susumú ni | turete ... 'As the film progresses ...'; Syuutyakú-eki || Singapóoru ni | tikazúku ni | turete || syánai ni | kuuseki ga medátte | kíta 'As we drew near Singapore, the terminal station, the number of empty seats became noticeable' (SA 2660.16).

w/m (16) ni zyuubún da 'is sufficient for (doing), is enough to (do)': Sore wa || káre-ra o | odorokaséru ni || zyuubún na | nyúusu datta 'That was a bit of news sufficient to startle them'; Sore wa || káre no | ludemáe(-) o | syoo-súru ni || zyuubún de aru 'That is sufficient to prove his ability'.

w/m (17) ni uttétuke dá 'is just the one for (doing)': Imootó wa || ... hakobú ni wa | uttétuke dátta 'The younger sister was (built) ... just right to carry it' (lg 56); Asoko e doráibu | surú ni wa, || káre wa | uttétuke no aité dátta 'He was the ideal person to drive there with' (cf. lg 56).

-/- (18a) ni sité mo 'regardless of ...; even if ...' (§9.1.11, §9.2.2, §2.11): Dóko de | dékita ni | sité mo || ... 'Regardless where it may have come from ...'; Tatóeba || sore ga || dékínai ni | sité mo ... 'For example, even if that proves impossible ...'; Sono sikén wa || muzukásikatta ni | sité mo || tugí no | sikén wa || yasasíi ka mo | sirenái kara ... 'That test may have been hard but perhaps the next one will be easy, so ...'; Mensetu o ukéru tokí⁽¹⁾ wa || tatóe(-) || zisin ga áru ni | sité mo || yahári | huan na monó da 'When you are to be interviewed you are bound to feel uneasy even if you have confidence'; Zíko to | iu kotó ni | náru ni | sité mo, || séken wa || kimi o | hanzaisya-átukai surú⁽²⁾ 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, || songai wa || unten site ita monó to, || hoyúu-sya no | watasi tó de || baisyoo sinákereba | naránai ni | sité mo, || kíngaku(-) no | hutan no wariái wa || dóno-yóo ni | náru no desyóo⁽³⁾ ka 'Well, then, granted that the damages must be covered by both the driver and me who am the owner (hoyúu-sya = syoyúu-sya), how is the responsibility for the sum proportioned?' (SA 2664.107d); Sore ga owatta tokí⁽¹⁾, || syoonén-táti no | kokóro ni, || náni ka || múra-mura sita | monó ga || ókita to | sité mo | husigi wa náí '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, || toppatu-teki dé wa | átta ni | sité mo, || kessite || "ígai(-) na (l) de kígótó" de wa | ná katta 'This accident, unexpected though it was indeed, was by no means an "unforeseen incident"' (SA 2676.143); Tóozi no | riarízumu ni || sizensyugi-teki keikoo ga átta ni | sité mo, || sore wa || káre no | sekinin dé wa || náí to | 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 || seihuku suru kotó ga || dékita ni | sita tokoró ga, || ... 'Even if he had been able to conquer this strong army, ...'.

-/m⁴⁴ (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 ...': Ikú ni si ro || yasúmu ni si ro, || hookoku daké wa | sit' oke 'Just let us know, whether you go or whether you don't'; Íi ni | sé yo, || warúi ni | sé yo, || tyót-to || insyoo-teki désita 'Whether good or bad, it was rather impressive'; ... káre-ra mo (l) máta(-), || iká ni || si-teki sensai to | hyoogén(-) no | hengen ni takuetu site itá ni mo | sé yo, || kekkyokú 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: Dónna ni | bínboo [na no] ni | sé yo || ... 'However poor one may be ...'. In writing, however, the formal de áru may appear: Siróoto no | bóku-ra ni wa, || tootei (l) wakaránai | sékái de | áru ni mo | sé yo, || tobaku to iu | yakuza-teki sonzai ga, || Nihón no minsyú-ka(-) no (l) seityoo o | musibánde iru kotó⁽¹⁾ | daké wa || 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).

44. In paired sentences, if one is ... ní mo, the other must also be highlighted.

(20) ní mo hodó ga áru 'there's a limit to ...; one can do/be just so ...': Osói ni mo | hodó ga | áru 'One can be just so late'.

(21) to onazi ..., to dooyoo ... 'the same as (doing) ...': Watasi ga (l) muné ni | ukabetá [no] to | onazi kotó o | káre wa | itta 'He said the same thing that had floated into my mind' (lg 55); Kinóo kiitá [no] to | onazi hanasí da 'It is the same story I heard yesterday'; Ítu mo | syuudóo-si ga suru to | onazi yóo ni | Míyo no | té ga | karuku | Syoozyuuroo no káta ni | nóbita 'Miyó's hand reached lightly out to Shōjurō's shoulder the same as the monks would always do' (lg 56); "Motéru monó" to "motazáru monó" no aida dé wa, mizu ga tákaki kara hikúki ni nagaréru to dooyoo no gensoku ga sonzai site irú 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 tómo(¯) ni 'at the same time as; together with (the fact that)': ... to iu tatibá ga | arimásu to | tómo(¯) ni | ... 'has such a standpoint and at the same time ...'; Zyuukyuu-séiki ni | nátte | déko ga | oogatá-ka(¯) suru to | tómo(¯) ni | ningyóo-geki wa | sabíreta(¯) 'In the 19th century with the shift to oversize heads, the puppet drama declined' (SA 2651.79); ... hónsyō wa, | soo iu kooki-sin ni | kotáeru to | tómo(¯) ni, | óoku no | kotó o | watási-táti ni | kizukásete 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 tó, but that is a misprint); "Bankokú-haku no | tosi^[1] | akeru" | ... wa | kensetu-kóozi ga | hóbo | owatta | kakkók-kan no | moyoo o | genba-tyúukei de | tutaéru(¯) to | (l) tómo(¯) ni, | bankokú-haku no | rekisi ya | kaimaku-zyúnbi ni | matuwáru | episóodo o | 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 expositions and the episodes that accompany opening preparations' (SA 2660.128d).

(22b) to issyo ni 'at the same time as': ... sore o nuku to issyo ni, | món ga | aita 'with his removing it [the bolt], the door opened' (Fn 420a).

(22c) to dóozi(¯) ni 'at the same time', to doo-zíkoku ni 'at the same moment as ...': Híme ga ano gen'ei o míta to | doo-zíkoku ni | tyúui wa | sinzoo o | uti-nukarete | taóreta 'At the instant the princess saw that vision the lieutenant fell, shot through the heart' (lg 56); Hí wa | túku to | dóozi(¯) ni | sirói | hai ni | tutumárete | daidai-iro ni | nátta 'The fire as soon as ignited was surrounded with white ashes and turned orange' (lg 56).

For [NEGATIVE +] tó mo kagiránai 'who can tell but what = perhaps' and tó wa kagiránai 'it does not necessarily follow that', see §21.1.(8); these are special uses of quotation, not direct nominalizations.

(23) ga hayái ka 'no sooner ... than': Tuka ni (l) té o | kakéru ga | hayái ka | ... 'Almost before he could be seen to put his hand on the hilt (of the sword) ...'; Dénnya(¯) o (l) oríru ga | hayái ka, | káre wa | itimóku-san ni | hasiri-dasita 'No sooner off the train than he started running like mad' (KKK 3.18); ... tutumí o | lakerú ga | hayái ka, | ... 'no sooner had they opened the packages, than ...' (R).

(24) ga íi 'it is better to do, one should do': Ikanáí ga | íi 'It would be better not to go'; Denwa surú ga | íi 'You ought to telephone'; Móo | osói kara | netá ga | íi desyoo 'It's already late so we had better get some sleep'. Also V-rú/V-tá ga yokaróo (or íi daroo):

Zityoo surú ga | yokaróo 'You'd better be circumspect'; Moo iti-dó^[r] | de-naositá ga | yokaróo 'We better try again'. We could regard all these expressions as involving ellipsis of nó or of hóo:

Surú	}	[no/hóo] ga íi [daroo].
Sitá		
Sináí		
Sináikatta		

In place of *gá* you may find the focus particles *wá* or *mó*: *Sináí [no] mo íi* 'It would be better not to do it (even/either)'. Cf. *Sináí de mo íi* 'You need not do it' and *Sináí de wa irarenai* 'One just has to do it' in which *sináí de* functions as the negative gerund, and presumably there is no ellipsis. To be sure, the expression *S [nó] ga/wa/mo íi* need not be advice; it can also be a report that some fact is appreciated: *Amerika e itte, are o yarimásitara, ll taihen yorokónde | kuretá wa | íi keredo mo, ll áto no | páat'ii de, ll are wa | Betonamu-sénsoo no | kotó o | mozitta | monó ka, ll to kikaretyatta* 'When I went to America and performed that (kyōgen 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); *Suisu-dókei o ll Nihōn no hán-ne(-) -íka ni | negittá wa | íi ga, ll Haneda ni túitara ll hári ga | tomatte 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}* 'like ...-ing' (=S yóo ni); *ga gótoku/gótoki da = ga gótosi* 'is like ...-ing' (=S yóo da): *Kawá ga nagaréru ga gótoku ni ..., Kawá^[r] no nagaréru ga | gótoku ni ...* 'Like a river flowing ...'; *Kawá^[r] no nagaréru ga | gótoki da* 'It is like a river flowing'; ... *maru-de ll gizyoo ni okéru(-) ll dai-énzetu o | kikú ga | gótoku de atta* 'it was just like listening to a major speech on the floor (of the Diet)' (Tk 4.228); *Sono-mónó ga | ganzen ni náí no ni, ll áru ga | gótoku ni | omoi-ukabu monó ga | íméezi 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' (Kotoba no yurai 178); ... *sonó-hito no | dóosa(-) ga ll átákamo ll "sizen" no surú ga | gótoku de aru* 'it is just as if his actions were done by "Nature"' (Ōno 1966.64); *Gozyū^[u] gó-sai to | ié-do mo ll siti-hatizissai ni | tás-site(-) irú ga | gótoku | miéru* 'He may be fifty-five but he looks like he had reached seventy or eighty' (SA 2665.116b); ... *Kuhara san wa | tit-tó mo | koohun site inái ka ni | mie, ll nitizyoo-sáhan o | katarú ga | gótosi* '(but) Mr Kuhara shows not the least excitement and appears as though he were telling a commonplace' (?Tk); *Sugitáru wa oyobazáru ga gótosi* 'Too much is as bad as too little' (SA 2837.23a). For some speakers an "atonic" 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 ... *omomúki(-) nari*) to report hearsay in a way corresponding to the colloquial ... *sóo da* or ... *to iu/no kotó 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 | mamá ni, ll Beihei ga | oozéi^[r] atumátte ita* 'Just as Matsuda said, there were a lot of American troops gathered'; *Surú ga | mamá ni | sasete okoo* 'Let's let him have his own way'; *O-kéiko ni háitte, ll o-síbai wa ll Réiton no | iú ga | mamá desu | 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)': ... *kitanái*

to | kangaeráreta ga | tamé ni || betu no tokoró ni | okareta monó ... 'a thing put in a separate place because it was thought dirty' (Ōno 1966.42); Táda || iu ⁽¹⁾ békí | súbé o | siranáí ga | tamé ni, || sono yóo na | monoíi o | site irú ni | sugínai 'They only talk like that because they don't know what to say'; Korasán [⁽¹⁾ < Korasamu = Korasoo] ga | tamé ... 'For the purpose of disciplining ...'; Kenkyuu sén [⁽¹⁾ < semu = siyoo] ga | tamé ni ... 'For the purpose of studying ...'.

(28) ga yúé ni 'because of': Tabitabi míru ga | yúé ni || wasurerarenai 'I am unable to forget it because of seeing it so often'; Igirisu wa || káko ga | káko de áru ga | yúé ni, || sore ga | génzai mo | iki-tuzúketé iru kuni de ⁽¹⁾ 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); ... mása ni || Amerika wa | "teikoku" de áru ga | yúé ni, || kono | rekisi-teki ziken o || iwaóo to | sinákatta || oozéi no | hitóbito ga | iru '... because America is exactly an "empire" there are many people who were 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 onazi [kotó] da, mo doozen da 'is the same thing as, is virtually': Tyoodai sitá mo | onazi kotó desu 'I will take the will for the deed'; Atarásii mo | onazi desu 'It is as good as new'; ... sindá mo | doozen da 'is the same as (might as well be) dead' (Fn 161a).

(30) o matánai 'it needs no ...-ing, it goes without ...-ing': Iú o | matánai 'It needs no mention, it goes without saying'.

(31) o énai 'can't ...'; V-(a)záru o énai 'can't help doing': Yamú o | énai/ézu 'It can not be stopped' > yamu-o-énai/-ézu 'is unavoidable'; Káre no | seikoo o || homezáru o | énai 'I can not help admiring his success'; Káre wa || seikoo o | sezáru o | énai 'He can not help succeeding'; ... iká ni mo || okásiku | kan-zezáru o | énai 'can not help feeling it rather odd' (SA 2654.42b). Mori Ōgai used a kotó-nominalization: Kore ní wa || bóku() mo || hídoku || kyoosyuku sezáru | kotó o | énai 'At this I can not help being terribly embarrassed' (Y 178).

(32) no miti 'the way to do' (bookish?—cf. p. 659): Ríkai() surú no miti ... 'The way to understand it ...'.

(33) no hoka 'outside of those that ...' (bookish?—cf. p. 659): ... kinsyoo no reigai o nozokú no hoka wa ... 'all (others) with the exclusion of a few exceptions' (KKK 3.192).

(34) N no (/ga?) gótoki wa = N no gótoki monó wa (= N no yóo na monó wa = N nádo wa) 'N for example; say N; one such as N' (KKK 3.185; MKZ 293b).

See also S ⁽¹⁾ tō suru and S ⁽¹⁾ tō sité mo (§21.4); cf. ni sité mo above, ni sité wa (p. 229).

There are a number of additional types that are best treated as abbreviations of ⁽¹⁾ nó ni or of [⁽¹⁾ nó] tamé ni (cf. §14.2.2; Ig 39–40), such as these: Háyaku | ikú ni wa || dóo sitára | íi desyoo 'How can we get there fast?'; ... káre ni | kátu ni wa || dóo sitára | íi ka, || kangáeta n desu 'I've thought about how best to beat him' (SA 2685.45a); Hu-kéiki na tokí() de | né, || udé ni | syokú wa | (I) nási, || syóobai | yarú ni mo | sihon ga náí '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 | hutokoro o neraú ni wa, || kyooiku-syóobai ni | kagíru ... 'There's nothing like educational merchandising if you are aiming at the (breast of the) school-conscious mama' (SA 2664.23e)

—first part; Hutuu no saráii-man ga | zimae de mótu ni wa || tyót-to | takái 'It [= a small computer] is a bit too expensive for the usual salary earner to afford by himself' (SA 2660.23e); ... seihú-gun no | tokoró e | modóru ni wa, || amari ní mo || too-sugiru 'it was entirely too far to return to where the government troops were' (SA 2678.41c), Saiken-táikai to | iú ni wa || amari ni | hodo-tóoi | ságata datta 'It was too distant a guise to be called a reorganization convention' (SA 2678.134a); Manabú ni | yasaki, || rakú ni | kakéru | mózi ga || tukuri-dasareneba | naránakatta '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); ... sirú ni | yósi | nási 'there is no way of knowing'; ... onná no hatuzyoo o sirú ni wa | yósi | náku, ... 'there being no way for her to know woman's sexual arousal ...' (Fn 66b). Here belong the various expressions of NECESSITY: Móttó-mo || syooryoo dé mo || okíru ka | dóo ka o | tasikaméru ni wa, || háruka ni | genmitu na zikken ga hituyoo de áru 'In order to ascertain whether it happens even with the smallest quantity, far more rigorous experiments are necessary' (SA 2651.21c); Hankó^[1] bannoo to iwareru wá-ga kuni de wa, || nání o | hazimerú ni mo | linkán() ga hituyoo désu '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 hankó [ga] bannoo [da] 'the chop is omnipotent'; Kotosi no | sin-sotugyóosei wa, || itiryuu-dáigaku ni | háiru ni wa || roonin o | ní-nen site || benkyoo sinákereba | naránai to | iú 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 [tamé] ni mo or as surú [no] ni [sité] mo: Amerika no kígyoo() wa || kozin-tán'i de | sigoto o surú ga, || Nihón no kígyoo() dé wa || nání o | surú ni mo || ka^[1] | tán'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 [sité] mo is appropriate: Zinan-húuhu wa || dóko e | ikú ni mo | issyo ni turete itte kuretá ga, || kono utí() dé wa || itu mo | rusu-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 iú ni {wa} ('...' to iu) 'A says ("...")' is equivalent to A ga iú no ni, serving as an introductory alert to a quotation, or (... sóo da) to a hearsay report: ... syúui no | kimoti o | daiben suru yóo na | tyoosi de || kuti o hiráite | iú ni wa, || "----" 'In a tone as if to apologize for the feel of the surroundings he opened his mouth and said "----"' (SA 2660.13c); Káre ga | iú ni wa, || ... sóo de || ... 'He says that ...' (SA 2793.132a). Similar are {Watasi ga} omóu ni ... 'In my opinion ...', {Hirugáette} kangáeru ni ... 'Upon reflection ...'; ... yóri sas-súru() ni ... 'To judge from ...'.

Among sentence-introducers (§ 24) we find Yoo-súru ni ... 'In a word ...'. See also -[y]óo ga and -[y]óo ni (§ 17.6); -[y]óo (and S) + zya náí ka (§ 15.16). The expression iú máde mo náí 'it goes without saying' involves a postadnominal (§ 13.2) rather than a particle; but ... to iú de mo náku 'even without saying' would seem to be a case of omitted nó—hence, in a sense, a good COLLOQUIAL direct nominalization. We have treated V-(a)zu ni súmu = V-(a)nái de súmu 'gets by without doing' in a separate section (§ 9.6).

45. Perhaps || ka-tán'i da for those more familiar with the term.

The various examples given earlier include adjectives as well as verbs.⁴⁶ We also come across examples of literary adjective predicative forms (A-si) that are directly nominalized, such as *nási* (= *nái*) 'it is lacking' in *nási ni* = *náku* and *nási de* = *nákute*, often preceded directly by an unmarked noun (or noun + *mó*—but also + *wá*, *gá*, *sáe*, *súra*, *daké*; cf. Mio 139) and frequently to be translated as 'without (even)'.⁴⁷ *Senséi daké de nási ni gakusei mo ...* is equivalent to *Senséi daké de/zya náku{te} gakusei mo ...* 'Not only the teacher but also the student'. There are a number of idiomatic clichés: *Nán no rikutu mo nási ni ...* 'For no reason at all ...'; *Náni-ge-nási(⁻) ni ...* 'Casually ...'; *O-kamai nási da* 'It is of no concern to me'; *Sizen wa || sonna kotó || o-kamai nási desu* 'Nature doesn't care about such things' (SA 2649.117d). And ... *kotó nási ni {wa}* is equivalent to ... *kotó ga nákute wa* (= *nákereba*) 'unless' in stating a negative condition or contingency: *Syakai-teki doobutu to sité no |zínruí ni |tótte wa || tagai ni |tasuke-au kotó nási ni wa || tán-naru |sonzai mo || kónnan to |náru kara de áru* '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-syúgi o |hakai sen [= siyoo] to suru |teki o hakken suru kotó nási ni || minsyu-syúgi no |kensetu wa |nái* 'There is no building of democracy unless an enemy is discovered seeking to destroy it' (KKK 3.139). Nominalized *nási* enters into a compound noun (of the "dvandva" or coordinate type) with nominalized *ári* or *áru*: *áru-nasi*, *ári-nasi* 'existence or nonexistence' as in *N no áru-nasi ni kakawaránai de* 'regardless of whether N exists or not'. (You will recall that in Literary Japanese the infinitive *ári* takes over in place of *áru* 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 *nó*:

(1) Antonymously paired sentences:

(1a) Directly juxtaposed antonymous sentences (see also 12a below): *Kotobá no || tadási, || tadásiku |nái wa, || syákai no |syuukan ni yoru kotó desu* 'Whether words are right or wrong is a matter that depends on the usage of the society' (Shibata 1966.59); *Tuu-ziru tuu-zinái ni (|) kankei náku, ...* 'Without respect to whether it is understood or not, ...' (Maeda 1962.19); *Iku ikanái wa || áto de |kimeté mo |íi* 'You can decide later whether to go or not'; *Sikási, || mondai wa || zikan no |óoi |sukunái |daké no |kotó de wa |nái, ...* 'But the problem is not a matter just of how many or how few the hours are ...' (Kaneda in Ōno 1967.298); *Kore wa || kessite, || yói |warúí o |itte irú no de wa |arimasén* 'This is by no means saying it is good or bad ...' (Ōkubo in Ōno 1967.133); *Yosida san mo kúru |kónai wa || ánta ga |sitte 'rú wa |né* 'You know whether Mr Yoshida is coming or not, don't you?'; *Soo iu tabí o |site míreba, || kono |kyókuti(⁻) no syookoku ga || nísín no |toréru |toréni de || sikátu(⁻) o |sáyuu (|) sareru zizyoo ga || íkura ka || wakátte |ki-sóo*

46. Direct nominalization of nominal sentences (N dá, AN dá) is much rarer, but occasionally it turns up: *Sikási, sensoo da, sokai da, otto no zyuutai dá de, ...* 'But what with (there being) the war, the evacuation, the husband's grave illness, ...' (Kawabata: Suigetsu). This example puts the copula gerund (*dé*) squarely after the copula imperfect (*dá*). In the following example we are forced to recognize ellipsis because of the juncture: ... *toozen no kotó da |to iu kurai ni |omótte ...* 'thinking it was only natural' (Shiba 144).

47. Here is an example of the literary attributive *náki* directly nominalized: ... *monmóo-ritu wa || náki ni |hitosii yóo ni |hette simau* 'illiteracy [rate] is reduced so that it is virtually nonexistent' (Ōno 1967.164). The noun *omóki(⁻)* 'importance, weight'—as in *kéizai ni |omóki(⁻) o |násu* 'weighs heavily on the economy'—is derived from a direct nominalization of the literary attributive *omoki* 'being heavy'.

de aru '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); *búnka no | tika rá(-) no | tuyói | yowái ni | yotte, || géngo ni || hénka ga | okóru* 'changes happen to a language according to whether the power of the culture is strong or weak' (Ōno 1966.161); *Atúi | suzusií ni | kankei-náku, || tó-ni-kaku || rokugatú kara | hatigatú made wa, || myóo ni | tyoosi ga warúi* 'Regardless of whether it is hot or cool, I feel oddly bad from June to August' (Tk 3.138b); *Kookoo no | sin-sotugyóosya wa, || syonín-kyuu no || takái | hikúi de || syokúgyoo [ya], || kaisya o | lerabánai ...* '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); ... "ó" to || "wó" to o || ákusento no || hikúi | takái de || kúbetu sita '(he) differentiated [the kana] "o" and "wo" by whether the accent is low or high' (Ōno 1966.214); *Sore -irai, || umái | mazúi wa || kuuhuku no zyootai to | missetu na kankei ga ári, || syukan-teki na monó da to | sitta* 'From that time on, I have been aware that whether something tastes good or bad is a subjective thing closely tied to the emptiness of one's stomach' (SA 2674.110e).

(1b) Antonymous sentences paired with highlighting *mó*: *Sore ga | sen-en mo surú no de wa, || umái mo | mazúi mo | náí* '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 | atarasíi | kyooiku-séido o || ikásu mo | korosú mo || kokumin no | nétui | hitótu de aru* 'Whether this new educational system is let live or is killed it all depends on the enthusiasm of the people'; *Sirú mo | siranú mo | náí, || wá-ga | syokubá(-) no | dooryoo de áru* 'He is a workshop colleague whom I know but not particularly well' (SA 2669.106a); *Syooti surú mo | sinái mo || náí | wá* 'It's not a matter of consenting or not consenting' (Kb 389b); *Dóo surú mo | koo surú mo || náí | sá* 'It doesn't matter what happens' (Kb 35b); *Iyá ka? || -Iyá mo | íi mo || náí wa | yó. || Zettai | hukanoózi [= hu-kánoo na kotó] desu | yó* 'You don't wanna?—It's not wanna or don't wanna, it is absolutely an impossibility' (Fn 179b); *Sore kara || iti-zíkan to | tatánai utí(-) ni, || omae, || sagasú mo | sagasanái mo | náí, || 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 *nái* (or by *ári wa sinai, áru 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: *Hazí mo gaibun mo náí* '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 *kusó mo* 'or shit', *hetima mo* 'or a snakegourd', or *hé mo* 'or a fart':

Ikú mo { *ikanái*
kusó/hetima/hé } *mo náí* 'It's hardly a matter of going or not'.

Omosirói mo { *omosiroku náí*
kusó/hetima/hé } *mo náí* 'I don't care if it's fun or not'.

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 *kusó mo* or *hetima mo* or *hé mo* in the second slot: *Hadé mo kusó/hetima/hé mo náí* 'It's hardly a question of being gaudy'; *Sikási mo hetima mo née [= náí], ...* 'There's no "but" about it

48. As in *Kandoo mo hé mo áru ka* 'What do you mean, disown me?!' (Tk 3.15a).

at all, ...' (Kb 187b). The sentences can be perfect, as well as imperfect, but notice that if you use *kusó/hetima/hé mo* in place of the negativized repeat you do not perfectivize that part (**kusó/hetima/hé dátta mo*):

Ittá mo	}	<div style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;"> ikanákatta kusó hé hetima </div>	mo áru mon ka 'Surely it's not a matter of having gone (or not)'.
Omosírokatta mo	}	<div style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;"> omosíroku nákatta kusó hé hetima </div>	mo ári wa sinai 'It's ridiculous to talk of it's being fun or not'.
Génki datta mo	}	<div style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;"> génki zya nákatta kusó hé hetima </div>	mo náí 'It is hardly a matter of whether one was healthy'.

Instead of ... *kusó/hetima mo náí* you will sometimes find ... *nāni mo náí*: *Máa, || sore | kimattá no? ||—Kimattá mo nāni mo | náí* 'Well, that's decided, then?—Decided, nothing!' (Fn 60b). From the adverbialization of this (... *nāni mo náku*), with ellipsis of *náku*, we get sentences such as the following: *Ítakatta desyoo. ||—Saisyo wa || itái mo nāni mo [] , || táda, || sibiretyatte, || maruku nátte || unátte | 'tá 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 benumbed I curled up and moaned' (SA 2649.47d).

(1c) Antonymous sentences paired with *ni túkē*^[1] (see §9.7): *Yói ni tuke | warúi ni tuke, || iroiro to || mondai ga áru* 'Whether with respect to the good or with respect to the bad, there are various problems' (Maeda 1962.1); *Tó-mo-kaku, || kono | "nodo-ziman-konkúuru" wa || yóki ni tuke, || ásiki ni tuke, || Nihōn no ongaku-zyóokuyoo ga || mígoto ni | tooei sarete kíta | moyoosi de átta | kotó ni wa || iron wa náí* '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—*ásiki* = *wáruki* 'bad').

(1d) *V₁-tá mo V₁-ta* 'really did, did ever so much'; *V₁-(a)nái mo V₁-(a)nai* 'really doesn't/didn't, doesn't/didn't at all'; *A₁-í mo A₁-i* 'is ever so A'; *V₁-rú mo V₁-tári*: *Tábeta mo | tábeta* 'I ate and ate; I ate ever so much'; *Tabénaí mo | tabénaí* 'I don't eat a thing' or 'I haven't eaten a thing'; *Sirói mo | sirói* 'It is ever so white'; *Tóru mo | tóttari, || itioku-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: *Tótta mo | tótta | itioku-en, || aita kuti ga husagaranai* 'A hundred million yen grabbed, I'm flabbergasted!' These expressions are vivid and short. They are never said with *kotó* or *nó* before *mó*.

(2) *V-tá {no} ga sáigo {da}* 'Once it has happened that's the end of it': *Sóto e || así o | dásita [] ga | sáigo {de}, || hyakuén-satu ga || tonde simaú 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 nánka e || té o | tukkónnda [] ga | sáigo {de}, || íkura | té o | aratt'átte, || tume no aida e | nuká ga | hasamáttimatte, || ano kusamí ga | nuké yaa | sinee [= nuké wa | sinai]* '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 {no} to V_2 -rú {no} to 'V₁-ing and V₂-ing': Yómu to | káku to wa || tigau 'Reading it and writing it are two different things' (Kusakabe 1968.62); Kikú to | míru to wa || 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 wa || "nómu || útu || kau" || mittú -tomo sorótte | irú kara, || o-yome no ki-té ga | arimasén 'Tanaka's son indulges in "drink, wager, and [geisha-]purchase" so he lacks a prospective bride'.

(4) S dé mo náí 'it is not even a matter of S; it is not exactly that S': Dáre o | togaméru de mo | náí | kutyoo de ... 'In a tone that wasn't accusing anybody ...' (SA 2647.86b); Syoomén de || muki-átte iru | gunsyuu wa, || ugóku de mo | náku || táda || níya-niya | sūru | 'The crowd facing each other head-on do not move but just sneer' (Gd 1969/9.108); Minná wa || hu-to | damátte, || káre o || míru de mo | náku, || mínai de mo | náku, || sekí no | yamu máde || mátte | 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 túite 'with respect to S': ... kingu-sáamon o | turú ni | túite || ... kibisíi | saisoku ga | 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 {no}: Míru mo | múzan na | kinén-hin(⁻) ni (l) nátte simau 'It ends up being a souvenir horrible to look at'; ... míru mo | múzan na | súgata desita 'it was a horrible sight to see' (SA 2681.44d); ... nádo, || míru mo | kikú mo || kotogótoku || kono tabí ga | hazímete [de] || ... 'this trip was the first [opportunity] to see and hear all these things, such as ...' (SA 2662.51a); En-zúrú wa || Hitotubasi-dáigaku || karaté-bu no || Ée-kun [da] 'Lecturing is Mr A from the karate group of Hitotsubashi University' (SA 2674.99d). Koko ni híroo | simasúru wa, || ún o | tén ni | makásete no | dai-bóoken [da] 'What we will reveal here is a great venture with one's fate entrusted to heaven' (SA 2666.16)—for V-i-masúru, see p. 1031; "Tokoro kawaréba sina kawaru" | [to iú no] wa || toozen dá keredo mo, || Nepáaru de wa || bikkúri suru koto^[l] | bákarí desita | yó 'It is natural that "things differ as places change" (Tokoro [ga] kawaréba sina [ga] kawaru) but I tell you in Nepal it was one surprise after another' (SA 2664.110a); Kúu ni || komátte | irú no de wa | náí ka ... 'I wonder if they are not hard-pressed for food to eat ...'; Siranú ga | hotoké(⁻) désu | né 'Ignorance is bliss, you know' (SA 2671.47c); Watakusi ga omóu ni wa, || ... 'In my opinion, ...'.

(7) S nára S de yói/i—see §9.3.1: p. 562.

(8) Directly nominalized imperatives—with ellipsis of [to iú no]: Doronawa-siki ni, || kore ga tarináí kara || kane o kíhú(⁻) site kure | [to iú no] dé wa || komáru '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-~~boo~~-nawa '(making) rope after the robber appears'; Kumiai wa || toókkyoku ni | táí-site, || kensyúu-bi o | yokóse | [to iú no da] no, || kensyúu-hi o | dáse | [to iú no da] nó to, || meimoku daké wa || yói | yookyuu o | dásu, || honto no tokoró wa, || namake-tái no to | tigua 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 don't they just want to loaf?' (SA 2661.112e); "Són [o] | sinai téido(⁻) ni | sigoto o yare^[l], | ga || kaisya no (l) mótoo da 'The motto of the company

[that exclusively employs retired people] is “Work only to the extent that you do yourself no harm” (SA 2681.104c); *Góo ni lireba* [= *háireba*], || *Góo ni sitagáe* (I) da ‘It’s “When in Rome do as the Romans do”’ (Fn 94a); *Sá-te* || *sore kara lesukooto-gáido o* | *sendoo ni* [site] || *zyóonai o* | *mawaru wáke de ga*, || *súgu* || *zyóonai* \neg *yoo* [no |] *denki-zidóosya*(\neg) o | *yobé no*, || *kán-tyoo*(\neg) ni || *demukaesase ró to* || *hunzori-káeru* | “oomono” ga *óoi* ‘Well then it is a matter of touring 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 wa* || *asobe*, *asobé no* | *zidai da* ‘This is the age of “play! play!”’ (SA 2792.17d); ... *umé yo* | *huyáse yo no* | *zidai* ‘the era of “breed and multiply!”’ (Shibata 1961.173); *Nóme ya* | *utaé no* | *oo-sáwagi* ‘A great spree of drinking and singing ...’.

(9) Directly nominalized hortatives: *Dé*, | *dóko e ikoo* | *koko e ikoo no* | *ageku* || *Mukoozima e* ... ‘Then, lacking any better inspiration, I went to Mukōjima ...’ (Kb 125a), *nó* = *de áru*; *Sore o kyootyoo siyoo ga* | *tamé ni wa*, ... ‘In order to emphasize that ...’ (Maeda 1961.121).

(10) Paired interrogative sentences of various types:

(10a) S_1 [ka] to S_2 [ka] to [iú no] o *tówazu*(\neg) ‘without respect to (regardless of) whether S_1 or S_2 ’: ... *sore ga* || *Nihon-go de áru to* || *gaikoku-go de áru to o* | *tówazu*(\neg) || ... ‘regardless of whether it is Japanese or is some other language’ (Tsuji-mura 1967.206). Notice that we must assume direct nominalization—or ellipsis—because the quotation-marker *tó* 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 *tó* ‘and’ (§2.7) and consider the direct nominalization as applied to each sentence before the linkage: S_1 [no] to S_2 [no] *tó o* ...

(10b) S_1 [ka] to S_1 -NEGATIVE [ka] to ‘whether S_1 or not’: *Minná ga* || *ísiki suru to* | *sinái to ni* | *kakawárazu*(\neg) | *né* ‘Regardless whether they are all aware of it or not’ (Tk 2.123ab); *Sikási* | *né*, || *utí*(\neg) to *iu monó wa*, || *wáihu ga* | *irú to* | *inái to dé* wa || *kóo mo* | *tigau ka to* | *omóu* | *kúrai* | *tigau* | *né* ‘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 *tó*’s is to conjoin the directly nominalized sentences.

(10c) S_1 [ka] to S_1 -NEGATIVE [ka to] ‘whether S_1 or not’:⁴⁹ *Tokoró-ga* || *sakibiki no inú ga* || *irú to* | *inái de wa* || *éraku* | *tigau sóo desu* | *yó* ‘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_1 [ka to] S_1 -NEGATIVE [ka to [iú no]] ‘whether S_1 or not’: *Kaisan o suru sinái wa*, || ... = *Kaisan o surú ka* | *sinái ka to* | [iú no] wa, ... ‘(The question of) whether to dissolve or not ...’ (Tk 4.220a); *Dá kara* || *kau kawanái wa*, || *koosyoo no kekka daroo zya* | *nái desu ka* ‘So whether we buy or not surely will depend on the result of the negotiations’ (Fn 27b).

(10e) S_1 ka S_1 -NEGATIVE [ka no *utí*(\neg)] ni ‘no sooner S_1 than ...’ (see p. 928): ... *káre ga* || *yose-gáyo* o || *hazimerú ka* | *hazimenái ni*, || ... ‘barely had he started going to vaudeville shows when ...’ (Kb 279b).

(10f) S_1 *tó ka* S_1 -NEGATIVE *tó ka* ‘whether (saying) S_1 or (saying) not S_1 ’:

49. But * S_1 ka to S_1 -NEGATIVE ka (ga/o/de/...) is rejected.

Ueno no | Sinobazu-no-iké de, || hasu no haná ga | hiráku toki⁽¹⁾ ni || otó ga || surú tó⁽¹⁾ ka || sinái tó⁽¹⁾ ka, || zúibun || gíron sita kotó⁽¹⁾ ga | arimásita | né 'There was quite a debate over whether when the lotuses in Ueno's Shinobazu Pond open they make a noise or not' (Tk 2.289b).

(11) S zya náí 'it isn't a matter/question of S': Maa || íi | sá. ||—Maa || íi | zya || náí wa | yó 'Well, that's enough (about that).—Whaddaya mean that's enough?! ...' (? Fn). See also S zya náí 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).⁵⁰ In contemporary prose this pattern can perhaps be treated as an ellipsis of S no †da to iu† N. Compare S no ími = S tó no ími = S to iu ími †da† 'it means S'.

(12a) Adnominalizations of paired antonymous nominalizations: Kindái-ka(¯) ni tomonáu || syo-móndai no | náka ni wa, || sono mondai ga || hyoomén-ka(¯) suru (l) ziki ni || hayái || osói no | sá(¯) wa (l) áru ga, ... '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 | warúi no | mondai dé wa | náku, || i-zínruí wa | i-zínruí da 'It's not a question of good or bad, but race is race' (SA 2660.136c); Mookátte iru, || mookátte | inái no || mondai zya náí to | 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: ... boo de nagúru || kéro no | ranboo o hataraita 'they beat [and kicked =] the living daylight out of him with a stick' (SA 2647.116). In another text (SA 2680.143b) a comma separates the two verbs: ... nagúru, || kéro no | ranboo-róozeki 'an outrage of punching and kicking'.

(12c) Other adnominalizations of direct nominalizations: ... térebi ni | sitasímu no | kóo to | moosemasyóo '(I suggest that) we can call it the season for familiarizing ourselves with television' (SA 2660.128a); Matumoto san wa || 'San-nen máe, | Tookyoo de || kissá-ten o | keiei site ita toki no || nazimí-kyaku de, || sanzís-sai 'kúrai' || †to iu† no hoka wa || náni mo | siranái no †da to iu† | litten-barí(¯) [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 Tōkyō teashop three years ago and he is about thirty years old"' (SA 2663.127e); Wakái | monó mo || yagaté wa | oíru. || Soo sita | sake-erarénaí | zízitu o | músi site wa || ningen táru no | sikaku súra | náí '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 kí 'a chronicle of ...': Náki | háha o | kóuru no | kí 'A chronicle of loving one's late mother' (SA 2684.238—heading). In this example, kóuru 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]úru, 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 Kholodovich (118), from the 16th-century translation of Aesop's fables: Áru-toki | yazin || kaihen [=

50. According to Noriko Kajikawa the example Nagái no no | hóoga | yói 'The longer (one) is better' is cited as early Meiji usage by Yamada Yoshio (Nihon bumpō kōgi p. 205, Tōkyō 1924).

kaihin] ni || déte || úmi no | mǐdori no || nagóyaka NA O | mǐreba || ... 'Once when a hick went to the seaside and saw how peaceful the green of the ocean was ...'. In the following sentence zyoozú and hetá are used as abstract nouns (paratactically conjoined) rather than being directly nominalized adjectival nouns, as one might mistakenly think: Tuzurí ga || tadásiku sae | áreba, || kaki-káta no | zyoozú^[U] [] hetá wa, || mondai ni simasén 'If the spelling just be right, I won't make an issue over the skill or clumsiness of the penmanship'.

Mátta, the perfect of mátu 'waits', is used as a noun in the expression máttá o kakéru/ suru 'calls a halt': ... kookoku ni || máttá o | káketa || Koo-tori-i [= Koosei-torihiki-iinkai] é no | uramí wa | hukái '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-nási da* 'No "time out" allowed'. Other examples of directly nominalized perfects: Syakei-keíken no | tobosíi(¯) | wakamonó(¯) ga || wakátta | wakátta de, || tuppasíru to | abunai 'It is dangerous when young men with no social experience go dashing in with the idea they know it all' (SA 2678.49ab); Seiyóo-zin dattara, || yappári || boomei sitára | boomei sitá de, || soko no kuni de | sinu máde | kurasu to iu hitó ga || zúibun || óói | wáke desu | yó | né '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); ... Sagáreba | sagátta de, || ... 'When they fall ...' (SA 2679.28bc—the full example is given in §9.3.1); Koo iu tokoró no | hitó wa, || sore, || té ga | sawatta, || así ga | sawattá de | kane o | toru 'People in this sort of position, why, they take in money every time they lift a finger or move a toe' (Fn 146b); ... subétta | korondá de || atamá ga | ippai désu | né '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 ní o: Soko de || kekkón-siki wa | gensyuku ni [site], || hiróo-en wa | kánso NI | [surú no] O || móttóo ni [site] || kekkonsikizyoo o | sekkei sitá 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 ári is used three times in the function of a literary predicative, and the conjoined phrase that results is directly nominalized: Gensoku ári, || reigai ári, || kyoyoo ári de, || ... '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 ári with nási: Ko nási, || íé nási, || kane nási de/no || hidói | kurasi désu ga, || sini-tákú mo | arimasén '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 nári used in a similar way: Mukasi wa || musumé nari, || túma nari, || zotyuu nári de, || sono | kami-kátati [= kami-gata] mo || íhuku mo | tigatte ita monó da '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 atumátta | hitó-tati ni wa || gakusya ári || ongak[u]-ka ári || geizyutu-ka ári de, || iroiro na hitó ga | imásita '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: Ryokóo-sya no | ningen to | áezu ni, || hagúrete | simattára, || "bánzi | kyúu-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. *Ní* [wa/mo] *tigai náí*.

A sentence in the imperfect or perfect (but not the tentative) will allow you to add *ni tigai náí* with the meaning 'surely, undoubtedly, no doubt' or '(surely) must be/do' etc. In a nominal sentence the imperfect copula *dá* obligatorily drops:

Yobu. → Yobú *ni tigai náí* 'Surely he calls (or will call)'.

Yonda. → Yondá *ni tigai náí* 'Surely he called'.

Ookii. → Ookíi *ni tigai náí* 'Surely it is large'.

Óokikatta. → Óokikatta *ni tigai náí* 'Surely it was large'.

Hón da. → Hón *ni tigai náí* 'Surely it is a book'.

Hón datta. → Hón datta *ni tigai náí* 'Surely it was a book'.

Sízuka da. → Sízuka *ni tigai náí* 'Surely it is quiet'.

Sízuka datta. → Sízuka datta *ni tigai náí* 'Surely it was quiet'.

Tigai is a noun 'discrepancy' derived from the infinitive of *tigau* 'it differs', and *tigai náí* can be thought of as a reduction from *tigai ga/wa náí* 'there is no discrepancy (in the fact that ...)'; the form with *wá* is also heard: *Kákkoku* | *kisyá-dan wa*, || *itte míreba*, || *o-tagai ni* || *kyoosoo-áite de* | *áru kotó* | *ni* | *tigai wa náí 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 sooi* {*wa*} *náí*; *sooi* is a synonym of *tigai*: *Íma de mo*, || *Mótoko wa* || *konna húukei no* | *náka ni* | *itá ni* | *sooi náí* 'Surely Motoko was still in a setting of this sort' (lg 1962.86); *Káre wa* || *hídoku* || *yopparatte itá ni* | *sooi arimasén* '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: *Yobanáí ni tigai náí* 'Surely he won't call'; *Óokiku náí ni tigai náí* 'Surely it isn't large'; *Hón zya náí ni tigai náí* 'Surely it isn't a book'; *Osóraku tábete ináí ni tigai náí* 'No doubt they don't eat it' (SA 2677.62e). You can even create such involved sentences as *Yobanai kotó ga náí kotó mo náí ni tigai náí* 'Surely it also never happens that they unfailingly call' with a quadruple negative (§14.1.1). But the expression is incompatible with hearsay (*... *sóo ni tigai náí*), with the semblative (*... *rasíi ni tigai náí*), and with the evidential (*...-*sóo/-gé ni tigai náí*).

The sentence that you end up with can be stylized (*ni tigai* {*wa*} *arimasén/gozaimasén*), quoted (*ni tigai náí to iu*), hearsay-reported (*ni tigai náí sóo da*); it can be made perfect (*ni tigai nákatta*)⁵¹ or tentative (*ni tigai náí daróo*) or perfect tentative (*ni tigai nákatta daróo*); it can be extended (*ni tigai náí né/ka/etc.*—even *ni tigai náí ka mo sirenai* 'maybe there's no doubt that'); it can be adnominalized (*ni tigai náí N* 'The N that undoubtedly') or nominalized (*ni tigai náí kotó* [*ga áru*], *ni tigai náí no da*), converted to infinitive (*ni tigai náku* [*náru*]) or to gerund (*ni tigai nákute wa/mo*, *ni tigai náí de*),⁵² made concessive (*ni tigai náí nagara* 'while surely'), made provisional (*ni tigai nákereba*) or conditional (*ni tigai nákattara*) or representative (*ni tigai nákattari*); it can be conjunctionalized (*ni tigai náí kara/to/si/etc.*); it can become evidential (*ni tigai nasa-sóo da*, *ni tigai na-gé da*) and semblative (*ni tigai náí rasíi*); the nucleus can be subdued (*ni tigai náku wa áru*) or highlighted (*ni tigai náku mo áru*, *ni tigai náku sae áreba*). But the expression can not be made excessive: there is no *... *ni tigai nasa-sugiru* (cf. *Tigai ga/wa nasa-sugiru* 'There are too

51. *Sore wa* (|) *sóo* [*de aru*] *ni* | *tigai nákatta* 'There was no question but of it's being true' (lg 1962.86).

52. But further uses are subject to the limitations of *áru* itself, e.g. you do not expect to get *... *ni tigai náí de kudasái*.

few discrepancies'). And it is limited with respect to a few other things more generally precluded from adjectivals (e.g. forming a desiderative) or verbals 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 dátta ni tigai náí* means 'There's no doubt it was that', *Sore ni tigai náí* means 'There's no doubt it is that', *Sore ni tigai nákatta* means 'There was no doubt that it was that', and *Sore dátta ni tigai nákatta* means 'There was no doubt that it was (had been) that'.

Additional examples: *Óoki na | kutuzyoku dátta ni | tigai náí* 'It was unquestionably a great humiliation' (SA 2649.105e); ... *kowáreta | dóa kara | hazusitá ni tigai náí || kugi-ana no hiraki-sugita (l) kanagu ...* 'a metal fitting with over-wide nail holes that must have been removed from a broken door' (SA 2645.46a); *Suróogan wa, || kooyaku no íssyu ni wa | tigai náí* 'Surely a slogan IS a kind of public commitment' (SA 2666.37b); *Méiga ni wa | tigai náí no | daróo ga, ...* 'It is probably undeniable that it is a famous painting but ...' (SA 2648.4); *Kono náka kara || sugúreta lsi o mituke-dásu kotó wa, || nankai dé wa | lnáku to mo, || nánzi de | áru ni wa | tigai náí* '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 [zii-enu-píi] no | zoodai wa || sínpo no | hitótu ni wa | tigai náí ga ...* 'increase of GNP is certainly a (kind of) progress but ...' (SA 2689.140d).

In substandard and dialect speech you will hear the pronunciation *tigee née*: *Sóo ni wa | tigee née* 'That must be right' (Kb 95a). (This will sound more natural with *ni wa* reduced to *nya*.) According to Fujiwara 67 the sentence *Tigai náí* is used in Shizuoka to mean 'Yes, indeed'. The Kōchi dialect of Shikoku uses ... *ni kaaran* (= *kawaranai*) to mean ... *ni tigai náí* or ... *rasíi*, according to Zhs 5.18.

14.6.2. *Ní [wa/mo] sugínai*.

When a sentence is followed by *ni sugínai* the meaning is 'It is nothing more than (a case of) ...' or 'only, just, merely'. Often there is an anticipatory *táda* 'just' or *tán ni* 'simply': *Koré-ra wa || tán ni || doogú ni | sugínai ga ...* 'These [examples] are nothing more than merely [words for] tools but ...' (Ōno 1966.162); *Táda || iu | békí | súbé o | siranái ga | tamé ni, || sono yóo na | monoíi o | site irú ni | sugínai* 'They only talk like that because they don't know what to say' (Maeda 1962.54). An imperfect nominal sentence obligatorily drops the copula [*dá*]: *Tíisa na | hón ni | sugínai* 'It is merely a little book'. Adjectival nouns can take the expression: *Maré(-) ni sugínai* 'It is just rare (that's all)'; cf. *Mare-sugiru* 'It is overly rare' (or 'Too many of them are rare'), *Mare-suginai* '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 sugínai* is attached can be imperfect, perfect, negative, etc., but not tentative (**Yobú daroo ni sugínai*) nor hearsay (**Yobu sóo ni sugínai*). The semblative has been reported, though with some disapproval, in sentences like *Sensoo ga okótta | rásíi ni sugínai* (= *Sensoo ga okótta | rásiku miéru ni sugínai*) '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-sóo [na no] ni sugínai* = *Zyoobu-sóo ni miéru ni sugínai* 'He only LOOKS robust'. Both ... *ni tigai náí ni sugínai* and ... *ni sugínai ni tigai náí* are said to be acceptable.

The resulting sentence can be converted into any sentence appropriate for a negative,

including the evidential (ni suginasa-sóo da) and the semblative (ni sugínai ~rasíi). But it can not have its nucleus put in focus: *ni suginaku wa áru, *ni súgi wa sinai; *ni suginaku mo/sae áru, *ni súgi mo/sae sinai.

The form N ní sika sugínai 'it is nothing more than just ...' also occurs: Zítú wa ll róbotto ni sika | sugínai 'It is really nothing but a robot' (SA 2635.21); Seiyoó-zin no | gaikoo ~zyoo no ll bízi (l) réiku wa ll hizoku na | don'yoku(¯) o | ooi-kakusu, ll tán naru ll véeru ni sika | sugínai no de wa | náí ka '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/-rú ni sika sugínai: Gutai-teki na kotó wa | nóbezu, ll táda ll ippan-teki na kotó o | setumei sitá/surú ni sika | sugínai 'Instead of saying something concrete they only explained/explain in generalities'. But it is difficult even to elicit an example of A-í/-kátta ni sika sugínai.

14.6.3. *Ní [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 | kimatte irú ga ll zikan ga kakáru desyoo 'He is bound to succeed but it will take time'; Konna ni tábetara, ll o-naka [o] kowásu ni | 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 | kimatte iru 'The other side is bound to win'; Káre wa ll korosarerú ni | kimatte ita 'It was clear that he would be killed'; Ikanáí ni | kimatte iru | sá 'Of course I won't go'; Natú wa ll atúí ni | kimatte iru 'You have to expect summers to be hot'; Kusuri wa mazúí ni | kimatte iru 'Medicine always tastes bad'; Kono ié mo ll káno-zyo no | monó de aru ni | kimatte iru 'Obviously this house belongs to her, too'. In the last example, de áru 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 daroo 'I think that obviously ...') and it can be converted to polite style: Aa iull yaru kí no náí | sensoo wa, ll makerú ni | kimatte imásu 'An (unwilling =) unpopular war like that you're bound to lose' (SA 2668.47c).

14.6.4. *Ni kagíru.*

The expression ni kagíru can be added to an imperfect sentence with the meaning 'the best (or only) way is to (do/be)': Kimi wa ll damátte irú^(y) ni | kagíru | yó 'Your best bet is to keep your mouth shut'; Isogasíi ni | kagíru 'The only thing to do is be busy'; Tatami wa ll atarasíi ni | kagíru 'Mats are best when new'; Syaberánai ni | kagíru | yó 'You do best to cut out the chatter'; Heiki de irú no ni | kagíru 'It's best to stay unperturbed'; Eigo ni zyukutatu surú ni wa | Amerika ni itte benkyoo surú ni | kagíru '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 kagíru 'This is the best'. The expression can be made negative, as a denial or contradiction. But internal focus is rejected: *... ní wa/mo kagíru. Cf. [NEGATIVE +] ... tó mo kagiránai; ... tó wa kagiránai—§21.1.(8).

14.6.5. *Ní [mo] koto-kaite.*

The expression ní [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.

'of all the possibilities to ... (you had to go and ...)': *lú ni [mo] | koto-kaite || sonna sitúrei na | ii-kata o suru* 'Of all things you have to say something so rude!'; *Hanásu ni | koto-kaite, || byoonin no makurá-moto de, || saikin || onazi byooki de sinda hitó no koto⁽¹⁾ o | ii-dásita* 'Of all the things one might talk about, he had to start talking at the patient's bedside about someone who had recently died of the same malady'; *Nihon-zín wa || gaikokuryókoo no | kinén-hin(-) to site || kaú ni mo | koto-kaite || sono || Nihon-séihin o | katte káetta* 'Of all things for a Japanese to buy as a souvenir of travel abroad he came back with something made in Japan!'. The focus can be highlighted but not subduded: *... *ní wa koto-kaite*. I have been unable to find or elicit a negative in this expression. *Koto-kaite* is a contraction of *kotó o kaite* 'lacking the ...-ing', and you will sometimes find the uncontracted form: ... *saserú ni | kotó o | kaite, || ...* 'for lack of anything (better/else) to have her do' (Fn 45b). Alternate accentuations: *kotó-kaite, koto-káite*.

14.6.6. Verbal Iteration with Direct Nominalization + *ní*.

There are two patterns of verbal iteration that involve direct nominalization of the imperfect verbal. The first is $V_1 \text{ ní wa}(?/mo) V_1$ and it seems to be roughly equivalent to $V_1 \text{ kotó wa } V_1$ (§ 14.1—that pattern holds not just for V but for any S): *Ikú ni wa | ikú ga/kedo || = Iku kotó wa | ikú ga/kedo ||* 'I'm going, all right, but ...'; *Reigai mo || áru ni wa | arimásu ga ||* 'There are exceptions, to be sure, but ...'; *Hanásu ni wa | hanásita n desu ga ||* 'I spoke, all right, but ...'; *Irú nya [= ni wa] | irú kedo ||* 'There ARE some but ...' (Saitama, Zhs 2.179); *Sakana mo || tabéru ni wa | tabéru ga, || anmari sukí zya | ná i na da* 'Fish, too, I'll eat, but I'm not too fond of them(, either)'; *Ittá ni wa | ittá ga || súgu || káettyatta n da* 'I went all right but I came right back'; *Dóa wa || áru ni wa | áru ga || kagí mo | zyoo mo ná i kara, || sore wa || íssyu no | soosyoku ná no da to | kangáeta hóo ga | tadasikatta* '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); *Káesu ni wa | káesu ni | sité mo ||—uti(-) e || han-tukí -bákari | oit' oite || sore kara káesu kotó⁽¹⁾ ni | simasyóo 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 sité mo*, p. 893. The sentence can end without expressing the reservation of the 'but' clause: *Mukasi kara, || syokugyoo-byoo to sité no | zensoku wa, || áru ni wa | látta* 'From early days asthma HAS been around as an occupational disease, to be sure' (SA 2649.41c).

The second pattern is $V_1\text{-rú ni } V_1\text{-POTENTIAL NEGATIVE}$ with the meaning 'can not possibly (do)': *Urú ni | urenai | uti(-) ...* 'A house one can't sell for the life of one ...'; *Kosú ni | kosarenu | kakí ga | áru* 'There is a fence impossible to cross'; *Yamú ni | yamarenu | kimoti ...* 'An impulse too strong to resist'; *Iú ni | iwarenu | kanasímí(-) ...* 'An agony beyond description'; *Susumú ni | susumarenu | kónzatu ...* 'A total impasse'; *Kaú ni | kawarenai | kottóo-hin(-) ...* 'A curio that can not be bought for love nor money'; *Tóku ni | tokarénu | mondai ...* 'A problem beyond solution'; *Koráeru ni | koraerarenu | kutúu(-) ...* 'A pain one can not possibly endure'; *Déru ni | derarénu | kago no tori ...* 'A caged bird that can not get out'; ... *míru ni | mi-kanete* 'unable to look' (Fn 50a). There are examples of highlighting: *Nakú ni mo | nakenu | ningyoo ...* 'A doll that can not even cry'; *Sinú ni mo | sinezu, || ikíru ni mo | ikiraréni* 'I can't die, nor can I go on living' (Fn 412b).

In contrast with $V_1\text{-í [wa/mo] } V_1\text{-ru}$ (§ 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: *Dénsya(-) wa | tyoo-mán'in [de], ||*

óku no h⁽²⁾o ni | osi-komerárete simatte, || oriyóo ni mo | orirarénaí 'The train was so crowded that we were shoved back and could not get off, try as we would'. This contains highlighting and is used predicatively; it probably belongs with the types in § 17.7. Verbal nouns do not readily enter into this structure (? VN surú ni VN dekinai N). Cf. V-rú ni taénaí 'can not stand doing' (§ 14.6).

14.7. ABSTRACT LEXICAL 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 conversions 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 *ár-* 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: *kí ga takái* 'the tree is tall' → *kí no táka-sa* 'the height of the tree', *kotó ga muzukasíi(-)* 'the matter is difficult' → *kotó no muzukási-sa* 'the difficulty in/of the matter'. Examples: *Kuzira no ému no | nága-sa(-) wa || zyuu-méetoru ni mo | náru | yó* 'The length of a whale's M[embrum = penis] may be a whopping ten meters!' (SA 2676.114c); *Sono || ningen-rási-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 (*háya-ku* : *háya-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 *abunaku náru* 'becomes dangerous' displays no accent in the infinitive, *abunákú wa naránai* '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: *abuná-sa* 'dangerousness'. But for shorter atonic verbs, the usual practice is to treat the noun as atonic: *aka-sa* 'redness', despite *akákú wa naránai* 'does NOT become red'; *omo-sa* 'heaviness', despite *omókú wa naránai* '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 *táka-sa*, *nága-sa* 'length', and *túyo-sa* 'strength'—and also lists both *hutó-sa* and *huto-sa* for *hutó* 'fat around'. Atonic *oo-sa* 'muchness' and *ooki-sa* 'bigness = size' are the only forms reported for *óo-* 'much, many' and *óoki-* 'big'.

Most adjectival nouns will also attach *-sa* to make an abstract noun.⁵⁴ The prevailing accentuation rules (Akinaga 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'; *óroka* 'stupid', *oroká-sa* 'stupidity'; *genki* 'healthy', *genkí-sa* 'healthiness'.

54. And this is true regardless of the pedigree of the adjectival noun: *Derakkusú-sa wa arimasén ga*, ... 'There's nothing of the deluxe to it, but ...' (Tsunagoshi 131a).

This sentence contains an abstract noun from an adjective (*yóí*) as well as one from an adjectival noun (*bénri*): *Keirin keiba no yó-sa wa || súhyakú-en de | kén ga | kae, || utí(-) de | térebi o | míru kotó mo | dekíru to iu || benrí-sa ni | áru no de wa | náí 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 máde no | kyooiku no || iikagen-sa ga wakáru* ‘You can see the perfunctory nature of education up to now’ (SA 2666.97d). *Sízuka* is usually given the irregular form *sizuké-sa* ‘quietness’, but *sizuká-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: *Sizuká-sa ya || iwá ni | simi-íru | semi no kóe* ‘The stillness!—the cicada voices permeate the rock’ (cf. Miyara 1954.188). *Sizuké-sa* is formed on a literary adjective *sizúke-si* = *sízuka da* ‘is quiet’.

Abstract nouns can be made from desideratives and negatives, including *nái*, the negative of *áru*: ... *zisin no ná-sa* ... ‘lack of self-confidence’ (Tk 2.140a); ... *tóonai ni | okéru(-) | híhan(-) no (|) ná-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 *-kágen* ‘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 - kágen*), but occasionally *V-ana-sa* appears in other contexts: *Sono || wakarána-sa ni | heikoo sita* ‘I was amazed at his failure to understand’; *Zibun no itarana-sa wa || zikaku site orimásu* ‘I am fully aware of my own inadequacy’; ... *kooun ní mo, || tatimati || káre wa, || sono kakkoo no tukána-sa kara | sukuwareta* ‘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 ná-sa*, despite an unusual example of an abstract noun made on the negativized copula (*N de ná-sa*): *Sono sógata no | karisome de ná-sa ga, || Ítoko o | omoku útta* ‘The untriviality of the figure struck Itoko heavily’ (Ig 1959.57).

There are compound nouns made by attaching *hósi-sa* ‘desire’ to adjective + noun: *amai-mono-hósisá* ‘a desire for sweet things’, *takai-mono-hósisá* ‘a taste for expensive things’, *mezurasii-mono-hósisá* ‘a yearning for exotic things’, The *-sa* form is sometimes used as an expletive (cf. Hayashi 155-6) as in this example: *Amarí no kudaraná-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 kurá-si* ‘It is ever so dark’ (Kb 227b); *Sámu-sa wa sámu-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 kotó ga | iyá-sa ni, || Ken’iti wa || suki-ppara o osáeru kotó ga | tabitabi de átta* ‘Out of a feeling of dislike for such things, Ken’ichi found himself having to put up with an empty stomach quite often’ (Ig 57); *Sikararerú no ga | kówa-sa ni, || utí(-) e (|) kaeránakatta* ‘From a dread of getting scolded, he would not go home’; *Syozaí-ná-sa ni* ...

55. And it is found in each of the last two sentences of Endō 265. Cf. p. 760 n. 77.

'From boredom ...'; Káre no |gíron ~méita |hanasí o | háyaku | 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-kénbutu |si-ta-sa ni || ... 'With the desire to see Europe ...' (SA 2670.138); ... sono onná no kao [o] mí-ta-sa ni ... 'from a desire to see that woman's face' (Endō 189). From kowái monó ga/o mí-ta-sa ni 'out of a desire to look at scary things' comes a derived noun kowaimonomítasa 'a desire to look at scary things'; it is followed by the gerund dé in Fn 62a. The structure of the noun is similar to that of naimono-nédari 'asking for the unobtainable' ← náí monó 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: táka-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-mí, sibu-mí); the longer tonic adjectives yield forms accentuated on either the suffix or the last syllable of the base, or atonic forms: omosiró-mi, omosiro-mí, omosiro-mi. But there seem to be individual fluctuations and exceptions (táka-mi 'height'). A few adjectival nouns also produce -mi forms, and the accentuation is variable: sinken 'earnest' yields sinken-mi or sinkén-mi; sínsetu yields sínsetu-mí, sínsetú-mi, or sínsetu-mi (Akinaga, *ibid.*).

For some words, variant accentuation correlates with a difference in meaning: atu-sa means either 'hotness, heat' or 'summer heat' but átu-sa is limited to the second meaning; sámu-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-mí and huká-mi, but in the meaning 'depth' only huka-mí; siró-mi means only 'sap, albumen; white meat' but síro-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 (V₁-i-mi V₂-i-mi = V₁-tári V₂-tári, §9.4) and with the suffix that participated in a peculiar construction of early Japanese, N o 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. itámu 'hurts' from itái 'is painful', and as part of the suffixes -me- and -mar- that occur (separately or, with paired transitivity, jointly) for over 30 adjectives: hiroméru 'widens it', hiromáru 'it widens' from hirói 'is wide'. The suffix -sa has been etymologically associated with samá '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 (hanási 'talking', hanasi-káta '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 || mé o | mi-háttá no wa, || mázu || dáí-iti ni || gakkí é no || káre-ra no || nazimi-káta de aru 'What caught

my eye was, first of all, the way they were familiar with their instruments' (SA 2665.33a) ← *káre-ra ga* | *gakkí (e =) ní nazímu* 'they become familiar with their instruments'; ... *kabe no kizuki-káta* 'the construction of the walls' ← *kabe o kizúku* 'they construct the walls'; *Syakai-ka* [no] *zyúgyoo no* | *uke-káta* ... 'Receiving instruction in social studies ...' ← *zyúgyoo o* | *ukéru* 'they receive instruction'; *Inú o* || *ziyúu ni* | *saseru* ||—*sore ga* || *wága-ya no* | *inú no* | *ai-si-káta datta* 'Giving the dog his freedom—that was the way we loved dogs in our family' (SA 2663.103a) ← *inú o* | *ai-súru* 'we love dogs'; ... *kí no* | *ue-kata* || *arú-wa* || *isi*^[1] | *no oki-kata de*, || *hitótu no* | *niwa ga* || *híroku* | *náttari* || *sémaku* | *náttari suru* 'By the planting of trees or the placing of stones, a single garden gets wider or narrower' (Tk 2.327a) ← *kí o* | *ueru* 'they plant trees', *isi o* | *loku* 'they place stones'. The noun need not carry any of the underlying adjuncts; it can be modified by other adnominalizations: *Ke no seisitu wa* || *amari zyootoo de náku*, || *arai monó de*, || *arai tumugi-káta o* | *site iru* 'The quality of the wool being none too high, it is coarse stuff and is given a coarse weave' (SA 2685.79); *Siká-mo* || *kono umare-kata mo* || *sodati-káta mo* || *kyooyoo mo* || *minná*^[1] | *tigattá 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-káta* 'way of continuing to do it').⁵⁶ A few examples: ... *imootó ga* | *zankoku na korosare-kata o* | *suru bámen*(⁻) | *ga* (l) | *átte* ... 'there is a scene [in the book] where the younger sister was the victim of ruthless murder and ...' (SA 2662.44d); *Táda* || *mondai wa*, || *sono* || *tukuri-káta*, | *siyoo sare-kata de áru* 'But the question is the way people form them and the way they get used' (SA 2655.29b); ... *sono* (l) | *soonyuu sare-kata zítai ni* || *kiwámete* || *zyuuyoo na* | *imi-ái*(⁻) | *ga* | *kan-zirareru* 'in the very way it is inserted, an extremely important significance makes itself felt' (SA 2680.104c)—for the spontaneous passive-potential at the end, see §4.

Instead of *-kata* you can attach the suffix *-yoo*, with the same pattern of accentuation: *hanasi-yóo* 'way of talking', *yobi-yoo* 'way of calling'. It is particularly common to replace *si-kata* 'way of doing' by *si-yoo* or its contraction *syoo* in the expression *Si-yoo* (*Syoo*) *ga náí* 'There's nothing can be done'. In Kansai dialects this is pronounced *Si-ya*[a] *nái*, and that is evidence confirming the historical spelling that shows us the older form was *yau*, coming from Chinese *yàng* 'appearance'. We can compare other cases of *au* > *aa*, which seems to be particularly common from northeast Hyōgo through Izumo (Zhs 4.314 n. 4): *ka*[h]u-te > *kau-te* > *kaa-te* 'buying' (Zhs 4.327)⁵⁷ where Kyōto has *koo-te*; *n*[i]-te *ar-a-mu* > *de ara*[m]u > *darau* > *dara*[a] 'probably is' (= *daróo*, Zhs 4.305 n. 5); *kura*[k]u *natte* > *kuraa nátte* 'becoming dark' (Zhs 4.312) where Kyōto has *kuroo nátte*.

There is another use of *V-i-yoo* as a SENTENTIAL nominalization that can retain the adjuncts of the underlying verb: *Oetu o* || *osae-yóo ga* | *nákatta* 'There was no way to suppress the sobs' (Tk 4.271a); *Ryokóo-sya no* | *kanási-sa*(⁻), || *dáre ní* | *yari-yoo mo*, | *wake-yóo mo* | *nái* 'The sadness of a traveler—there's no giving it to anyone, nor sharing it' (Kb 251b); ... *mattaku*^[1] || *peten ni kakáta to sika* | *ii-yoo ga náí* 'It can only be said that he was completely deceived' (SA 2687.137e); *Ano baai*, || *dáre*^[1] | *d'átte* | *o* (l) | *tome-yoo ga náí desu* | *yó* 'In such a situation there's no way to detain anybody' (SA 2681.123d); *Nái* | *monó o* ||

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 | náí zya náí 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 náí* '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 (... tó 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 | utagai no oki-yóo wa | nákatta* 'Mr Tahara ... had no way for suspicions to arise' (SA 2666.112c). But in *té no | take-yóo no náí | kyóri* 'a distance out of (hand's) reach' we must assume an objectival genitive, derived from *té o tukéru* '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, || Tároo no | yuumei ni nari-káta wa || ippuu | kawatte ita* 'Now, Tarō's way of becoming famous was quite odd' (lg 58). In this example, the conversion is made on [*Tároo ga*] *yuumei ni nári* 'Tarō 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 náńka ...* 'the way the introduction was made' (Tk 2.116b); ... *piano no hiki-ppuri ...* 'the way the piano is played'; ... *nomi-ppuri ga íi ...* 'is a good drinker' (Tk 2.250b); ... *hanasi-ppuri mo yóku 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 *Sóo desu | yó*. Some of the particles (*ká, ná, kké, 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 | ná* 'I'll speak, you see' with voiceless /u/. (In *Sóo 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 náí 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 (*sóo da* §18) and quotations (§21), the semblative (*rasíi* §19), the evidential (*-sóo 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, yóo da, ...*), some of the direct nominalizations (such as *ni tigai náí* §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 *né*; see §15.4 (*wá í*), §15.7 (*ká í/é, dá í/é; -i-másse, dósse/dásse, -rú na í, -e ró í*), §16.1 (*-é í, -e ró í*).

The "interjection"-type particles—called "cessationals" (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, friends¹ that was originally intended as an endearment, in contrast with the similar use of 'sir' or 'ma'm' 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' = *Soo sitára omosirói née*. Sometimes né expresses a concession: *Sóo 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 syuunyuu désu ka?* 'Eh?—(you wonder about) earnings?' (SA 2671.30b—small hiragana TU). This is common with peremptory commands: *Modóreq!* 'Go back!' When followed by a quotative *tó*, the glottal catch assimilates so that we hear a long /tt/: "*O-kotowariq*" to *kuti o tugumaréru no ga itiban yari-nikú!* 'It's the hardest thing to be clammed up on with a "Not interested!"' (SA); *Simáttaq to omótte ...* 'Thinking "Damn!" ...' (SA 2677.122d—written with small katakana TU); *Dé, toozí-sya wa* "*Kore daq*" to *omótta rasii* 'And so the concerned parties apparently thought "This is it!"' (SA 2684.118b—small katakana TU); ... *yararetaq to omóttara ...* 'if you think "I've been had [= poisoned]!"' (SA 2674.50b); ... *kore wáq to omótta n zya ná!* 'didn't you think "what's this?!"' (SA 2574.46b—written with small hiragana TU). See also *ttó*, § 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 desu[:]* 'This?'. This is seldom shown in print, but I have seen *Sóo desu kaa?* 'Ohh?' written with hiragana /a/.³ See § 15.6.

The plain imperfect of the copula (*dá*) often drops before a particle. It is common to drop *dá* before *ká* and extensions (*ká sira*, *ká mo sirenai*, *ká né* etc.), and before *sá* the ellipsis seems to be obligatory; before *né* (or *ná*) and *yó*, speakers have a choice: for the meaning 'Mind you, it's that' men usually say *Sore dá yó* or (§ 14.2) *Sore ná n da yó*, women say *Sore yó* or *Sore ná no yó*. (Just the opposite in some dialects.)

The word *dá* 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 *dá* (and *dá ná*, *dá né*, *dá ga né*, *dá yó*) will be found in Y 384. As a sentence-final particle *dá* 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: *â* = *aq*, *a'*.

3. The lengthening is sometimes used to emphasize an adverb: ... *sore kara háha wa SUKÓOSI masi ni nári*, ... 'then my mother got a little better' (SA 2684.139b) spelled, in hiragana, "sukousi". Emphatic lengthening of particles and mimetic words is often represented by katakana: *Ára, sóo[:]* 'Oh, really??' (Ariyoshi 71) has the hiragana spelling "so-u" followed by small katakana "o".

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.⁴ In speaking to yourself ná is often more natural than né; notice the appropriate English pronominal references in the translation of this example: Zúibun tigau ná to omóttá né 'It's quite different, I thought to myself, you see' (Tk 4.295a). Nominal sentences (like Kore dá 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 há[a] or é[e] or n[n] 'uh-huh' is often called for.

Constant marking of pauses with né or sá or yó 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-úndoo or (Uyeno 133) ne-sa-yo - tuihoo-úndoo 'Movement to banish né sá yó'. 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 tté né, akai o-yóhuku kite né, óoki na hukuro katúide né, yasasii kaizyuu mitai na hitó^[1], '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 (*Nóme né) unless accompanied by yó (Nóme yó né). For abbreviation of né to í or é, see §15.7 (ká í, dá í). Stylized sentences are often extended with né[e] (... desu né[e], ... de gozaimásu 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: Sóo | yó || né 'That's right, my dear' (woman to woman). For the feminine ... wá né[e], see §15.4; for ká né, see below. There are rustic dialects that use a particle nóo in place of náa: Soko de nóo wasi mo késsín sita n zya 'That's when ah made up mah mind, yuh see' (=Soko de née/náa watasi mo késsín sita n da); Sikási, wasi-ra gen'eki zídai to tigoote [= tigatte], yamanobori-dóogu wa sínpo sita. Kane wa kakarimásu nóo '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 dá kara née) from a Yamaguchi woman and of ...-te nóo, ... (= -te née) from a Gifu man can be found in SA 2673.26a/c. We would expect a shortened form nó, as well as nóo, and the following sentence might be taken as an example: Sore de ádóresu o káke tte iú 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 ní[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 yó.

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 sukimásita née; syokuzi simasyóo ‘I’m hungry and you must be, too; let’s eat’. In responding to a statement that ends in né, the addressee will often come back with né (cf. Uyeno 119): Samúi né—Sóo né ‘It’s cold, isn’t it.—Yes, it is’.

In Kansai speech a preceding -s[u] is often assimilated so that you will hear -mán né[e] for -másu né[e] and dén né[e] for désu né[e], dén ná[a] for désu ná[a]: Sore ga mondai dén náa ‘THAT is the problem’ (SA 2669.101c). (On Kansai s[u]n > hn > nn, see Zhs 4.229.)

By ellipsis (of sore or sóo) expressions such as dá né/ná, désu né/ná, and dé né/ná often turn up as interpolations within the sentence—or at the very beginning: [Sore] dé né, Ráito-san wa koko de hóteru o benkyoo nasátta wáke desyoo. [Soo] de áru kara, Ráito-san wa ryoori-zyoo no kotó 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 Dá kedo né and Dá ga ná ‘But ...’. Cf. §24.

Hayashi 157 observes that -tára (conditional) and -réba (provisional) are sometimes followed directly by náa as well as by ii náa and ii n da ga náa to express yearnings: Sóra o tobetára [] náa ‘If only I could fly in the sky!’; Mítiko san no yóo ni utukúsikattara [] náa ‘If only I were beautiful the way Michiko is!’; Híme ga ite kureréba [] náa ‘If only we have a “princess” (= [baby] girl)!’; Sémete anó-hito ṅúrai nára(-ba) [] náa ‘If only it’s him (or an equivalent) at least!’.

Although the origins of né[e], ná[a], and nó[o] are obscure, it is possible that they are all abbreviations from the negative: náí⁵ becoming née by the common crasis characteristic of downtown Tōkyō speech (and widespread elsewhere, as well), náa coming from ná[i] or from ná[ku] by abbreviation, with compensatory lengthening of the vowel (later shortened in all three versions); and nóo representing the Kansai version of náku (i.e. ná[k]u = ná’u). An alternative explanation of nóo would take it back to the Azuma (= eastern) dialect of Old Japanese, which had negative verb forms ending in -nahw- [naF] (and -nohw-? —see Miller 169). A wilder speculation is that né[e] and ná[a] might be from an old word for ‘you’, nandi < na-muti; cf. the suggestion in §15.4 that the particle wá may have once been the word for ‘I’, proto-Japanese ba(nu). Other speculations involve the word for ‘what’ nání (but Ryūkyū nuu) and the literary particle námu/nán ‘indeed’.

In place of V-i-ná[sái] yo ‘do V!’ downtown Tōkyō men often use a variant V-i-née as in Súsí kui-née = Susi o kui-ná[sái] yo ‘Eat some sushi’—cf. kuwánee ‘I will not eat’. With vowel verbs, this can lead to ambiguity: /sinee/ can represent either sinee = sinai ‘I will not do it’ or si-née = si-ná[sái] yo. But the accent will show the difference: tabénee = tabénai, tabe-née = tabe-ná[sái] yo. Do not confuse this with né[e].

In Saitama prefecture (Shibata 1961.71) náí—probably a variant of ná + yó—is used to

5. There are Kyūshū dialects in which náí (or néi, née, náa) means ‘yes’ (and Chikamatsu used it in that sense); this is presumed to be a shortening from nári = [sóo] da, thus unrelated either to the negative or to the Korean n[ye]y ‘yes’. Compare the widespread ná[n] ‘uh-huh, yeah’—usually written “un”. Note also ina ‘nay’ and V-ru ná = V-ru nákáre ‘do not V!’ (§15.12). A more direct explanation for some of the dialect forms in the northeast would be a shortening of [Sóo] nda [yo/i] since [nd] is the local pronunciation corresponding to standard /d/. (Cf. Fujiwara 1965.35–6).

mean *né*, and the word corresponding to standard *nái* (= *arimasén*) is pronounced *née*, as in downtown Tōkyō speech. Thus Saitama *Sóo da nái* is equivalent to *Soo da né* 'That's right, isn't it' and is not to be taken as *Sóo zya née* = *Sóo zya nái* 'That's not right', though there are dialects which use *N da nái* for *N zya nái* (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 *motíron* '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 *dá* when adding *sá*: *Kore da.* → *Kore f̄dāḥ sá!* (or, § 14.2, *Kore ná no f̄dāḥ sá!*). *Sízuka f̄dāḥ sá!* (*Sízuka na no f̄dāḥ sá!*) 'It's quiet!' This is perhaps the source of the occasional interpolation of *sá* after phrases within the sentence, especially with *kará* 'because' and *kédo* '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 tté 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: *Náni sá* 'What (is it)?'; *Zya dóko e nerú no sá* 'Well WHERE shall I lie down?'; *Dóo site sá—otóosan 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): **Náni o suru sá* → *Náni o surú no sá* 'What WILL we do?'. A sentence ending ... *tó sá!* or ... *tté sá!* is a lively way of quoting someone, as in Kenkyusha's example *Káre wa mata kúru to sá* 'He says he will come again'; sometimes the quotational meaning is attenuated—*Mukasi áru tokoró ni oziisan to obáasan ga átta 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 *Aitu ano kóe de nodo-zíman ni déta n da tté sá* 'And to think he put a voice like that on display!' (KKK 3.54) and perhaps in *Móo háru da tté sá* 'So it's springtime!' (SA 2665.89c—spoken by an unconcerned stone in a cartoon). For ... *tté 'ttára sá sore kóso ...* (theme + anaphoric reprise) see the example in § 21.2. For ... *si sá*, see § 17.3. The adverb *yassa-móssa* 'in disorder/trouble, helter-skelter' is derived from the exchange *Yaru sá—Modósu 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 nái sá* are possible, but not **S yóo/rasii/sóo sá* (Uyeno 85). Do not confuse *sá* with 's' *á*, 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 *sooróo*.

15.3. | *Yó*'

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: *Másaka úso zya arimásu ˉmái yó = ... zya nái 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 *Suru 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], gakk[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 Tōkyō 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, Tarō!' (This corresponds to the literary and dialect use of *yá*. Usually people are hailed without a particle.)

The copula *dá* is optionally omitted: *Kore {dá} yo* (or, §14.2, *Kore ná no {dá} yó*) 'It's this!'; *Damé {dá} yo!* (*Damé na no {dá} 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 *sé e* for *sé yo* 'do it!' as in *Mokuteki wa, wareware ga ningen ˉrasii seikatu ga dekéru [= dekíru] yó^(o) ni, séihu wa háiryō se e, to iu kotó 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—Ōsaka speaker). Maeda 1961.20 says that *é* for yó is no longer so much used in Ōsaka but still is frequent in Kyōto.

A sequence of yó *né/ná* is possible:⁸ *Kono bún zya ziki-syátyoo wa, ore dá yó né* 'At this rate, I tell you, I'll be the next head of the company' (SA 2655.113a); *Géndai no seikatu to iú ka, íma no saraiiman-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); *Kekkyokú wa, dootokú-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 yo ná* 'Keep your chin up!' (SA 2672.27e); *Omosirói desu yó né*. *Kyoogén hodo omosirói monó wa nái desu né* 'They ARE amusing, you know. There's nothing so amusing as kyōgen farces, I'd say' (SA 2659.52d). Uyeno (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. Uyeno 101-2, who observes that commands with yó are often followed by *ii {desu} ka* 'OK?' and requests with yó are often followed by *Tanómu 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 *yó*; but consider *yá* (§ 15.6a), *yáa* 'hey!'; *yó'u* = *yó*[k]u 'well', *yó-si* 'good!'. A remote connection with *zó* and its Ryukyuan equivalent *dó*[o] is also possible.

15.4. [l] *Wá'*

At the end of unstylized sentences, the particle *wá* is almost exclusively a woman's item and it helps give female speech its characteristically feminine flavor. Uyeno observes that the female use of *wá* carries an implication of the speaker's femininity and hence is inappropriate in "official" situations—particularly to a male boss or the like, since the female use of *wá* in speaking to a male often implies an intimate relationship. With polite and honorific stylizations (§ 22: *-másu wa*, *désu 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 /*wái*/, apparently [l] *wá* *i* = [l] *wá* *yó* (see § 15.7) is dialectical: *Wasi no yóo na roozin*(-) *ga syabéru kotó wa náni mo arimasén wá i* 'There's nothing for an old codger like me to talk about' (SA 2662.60c); *Kore wa taihen na tokoró e kíte simatta wá i* 'What a terrible place I've ended up in!' (SA 2669.62—speaking is a young man from Rishiri-tō, an island off Hokkaidō).

For *wá yó* see § 15.3; both that sequence and *wá né*[e]/*ná*[a] seem to be exclusively feminine:⁹ *Iutára, biznesu-hóteru to awáseta yóo na seikaku désu wa ná* 'Why, it [= a rendezvous hotel (abekku-hóteru)] 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 *yutára* and is equivalent to Tōkyō *ittára* or *yuttára*).

But the following two examples of *wá ná* are from the speech of the critic Nakano Yoshio (who appears to be from Kansai): *Rokuon-tépu ga áru to iú kara, sore ga déreba, dónna hanasiai dáta ka, wakarimásu wá 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); *Sikási, mondai wa seizi to sinkoo no kankei désu wá 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: *Hitóri hyakuman-en hodó kakarimásu wá ná* 'It [= the expedition] costs a million yen a person, you know' (SA 2680.114d). On Tōkyō men's use of *wá* EVEN WITH PLAIN-STYLE FORMS see Mio 357, from which I take these examples: *Áru wa, áru wa, mono-súgoku áru* 'There are, there are, there are indeed!'; *Are mo hosii wa, kore mo hosii wa, dé wa komáru* '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 itta món da to omóu wa* 'He was clever saying that, I think' (Shiba 121).

Is the difference between masculine and feminine usage of *wá* correlated with the difference between the two phrasing treatments (*wa* with no juncture versus *wá* with preceding

9. There is also *wá yó née*: *Ara || sitte 'ru wá yó | né* 'Oh, I've got it (= I know it)!' (R). The feminine expression ... *dá wá* {*yó*} 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).

junction)? 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 *wá* are sometimes inserted as lively circumstances in a larger setting: *Gá, kúru wa kúru wa, yon-mán nisén-nin no zyukén-sya ga na-nóri(ˉ) déta* 'But, come one come all, forty-two thousand examinees appeared as candidates' (SA 2654.140a); *Áru wa áru wa, zuráři to hóteru ga noki o narabete sukima mo náku, miti o hasánde ryoogawa ni hisiméki tátte irú no da* 'What a lot there are—hotels lined up eave to eave solidly crowding both sides of the street' (SA 2659.130e); *Dé mo, makú ga aku to súgu ni, bútai de ísyoo o tuke-nágara, seríhu(ˉ) wa iu wá, utau wá, sigusa wa áru wá, desyó* '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 onná wa, syabéru wa syabéru wa, akireru hodó da yó* 'That woman will talk your ear off!'; *Tároo wa, tabéru wa tabéru wa yamá-hodo átta o-kási o zénbu tairágetyatta(ˉ) yó* 'Tarō ate his way through the stack of cakes that had been there'. Sometimes parallel sentences ending in *wá* are followed by *dé*—with or without juncture?—as a list of emphatic reasons: *Syakkín wa suru wa syakkín wa (or siharai wa) tamaru wá de komátte iru* 'Incurring debts, piling up debts (or payments)—with all that I'm in a fix'; *Tantóo-sya ga yoŕi-tukerárete, o-medama o tyoodai suru wa, Okumura no hwán ˉrásiki sityóo-sya ... kará wa* "téepu nara yókute, náze hónnin ga déte utáú no wa ikenáı no ka" to itta tuikyuu no denwa ga zyán-zyan kakátte kúru wa, *dé* ^[r] *mattakú* ^[r] *atamá* no itái 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 *wá*; do adjectival and nominal sentences also occur? Negatives? Desideratives? Perfects?

We have noted elsewhere that the focus particle *wá* sometimes contracts to a[a]. The emphatic particle *wá* also contracts in the same way, and V(r)u *wá* will sometimes be heard as V(r)'a[a]: *Zya, koko ni hyaku-en ár'a* [= *áru wá*] 'Well here's a hundred yen' (R); *Huzakéru na i, toshima sugír' a i* [= *sugíru wa yo*] 'Don't kid me, she's well over forty!' (Okitsu 1.109); *Moo íp-pai, tanóm'aa* [= *tanómu wa*] 'Gimme another drink!' (Fn 439b); *Nánni mo náı kúuki no náka o órite [i]ku yóo na kanzi dés'aa né* [= *désu wá né*] 'It's a feeling like going down through empty air, you see!' (Tk 4.44a); "Sinkoo-syúukyoo wa íntiki(ˉ) nári" to iu kangae-káta ga, *íma no wakái hitó-tati no muné ni wa né o hatte 'r'aa né* [= *hatte irú wá 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 ... *dé sá* (copula gerund + emphatic particle) or *dés'a* [a] = *dés[u w]á*.

On the Tōkyō male use of [w]a, see Maeda 1961.160, who describes such forms as N *dá 'a*, N *dés'aa*, Kú'r'aa (Kúru *wá*), *lí ya = lí wa* (with intrusive *y*). But Zhs 2.21 observes that in southwest Kantō people often lengthen N *dá*[a] and V-*tá*[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.) + *yó* or + *mo*[*nó*].

In Kansai speech, *-másu wá* contracts to *-mássa*, *dósu/dásu/désu wá* to *dóssa/dássa/déssa* (= *désu wá*), as explained in § 22.1: *Kore kara Ákasi no utí(ˉ) e kaerimássa* 'Now I'll go back home to Akashi' (SA 2672.17a). In the speech of young women in Ōsaka a sentence-

final *sí* is used like *wá* (Maeda 1961.164-5): *Úti no kotó^[1] wasuretára, akan si* 'You mustn't forget me now' (166).

15.5. *Zó, zé*

Two forceful particles *zó* and *zé* are almost exclusively used by men: *Keikan ga kíta zó, háyaku nigé ro* 'Cheese-it, the cops!' (SA 2655.37c); *Óya, mata náni ka nágeta zó* 'Oh-oh, they've thrown something else!' (KKK 3.63); *Té o agé roq--nigeyóo 'tt'atte damé da zó* 'Hands up—you can't get away!' (KKK 3.63). Uyeno says that a woman may use *zó*, but only in speaking to herself. Of the two, only *zé* can follow the hortative (*Ikóo zé* 'Let's go, man!' but not **Ikóo zó!*) and neither can follow a command (**Iké zé/zó*).

Zé is apparently friendlier than *zó*; 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 *Zyáa, asitá mo kono-hen dá 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-nasái yó]*. *Osoku náru to mata ohukuro-san ga sinpai 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 táisyoo d'atte, anmari matomo zya arimasén zé* 'Our boss is none too honest, either!' (KKK 3.63). But except for situations of that sort, *zó* and *zé* sound strange with polite stylization.

In literary or pseudo-literary phraseology, you will come across *zó yá* to mean little more than an insistent *dá ká*: *Mótó-yori mondai wa, sinkoo tó wa náni zo ya to iu, makoto ni kongen-teki na tokoró kara okótte iru wáke 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 syoomén kara toi-káketári, ...* 'asking head-on what "human life" (really) is, and ...' (SA 2673.112d)—*nán = nán[i]*. Another literary use is as an emphatic *gá*: *Kámi nómi zo siru* 'God only knows!' (= *Kámi-sama daké ga sitte iru* 'Only God knows').

Both *zé* and *zó* have coexisted as dialect variants for over a thousand years (cf. *nánzo = náze* 'why' and *nazo* 'riddle'); the particle *zó* was much used for emphasis in the literary language and is related to some uses of *tó* and *-do* (see § 2.3.4). Maeda (1961.164) suggests that *zé* is a shortening of *zee < zoe ? < zó yó*; *zó yá* has also been suggested as the origin (Gekkan-Bumpō 2/5.56b).

According to Maeda (id. 41) Ōsaka has replaced *zé* by *dé*¹⁰ and uses *té[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 *tó sá*. (Cf. Ōsaka *káte*, § 2.9.) The use of *te[e]* is reminiscent of the Kyūshū sentence-final *tái*: *Kékkoo desu tái* 'That's fine' (SA 2678.135ab); *Kangáete mireba, okási na hanasí desu tái* 'When you think about it, it's a funny story' (id. 135d). Fujimura 115 suggests that Kyūshū *tái* is from *tó i < tó yó*; the vowel development is peculiar—but notice *sá* (and the interjection *sá[a]*), perhaps from the deictic *sa/so*; and *má[a]* 'well' (short form SA 2676.111) or 'now; more' (= *íma*, as in *[i]ma sukósi = mo[o] sukósi*), which are etymologically akin to *móo* 'already; now' and *mo[o]/móto* 'more', cf. Ryūkyū *naa* 'now, already' < *nyaa < myaa < (y)imya < (y)ima*. (This would open

10. An example: *Watasi wa ore ya náí de [= ore zya náí zé] to kotaéta ga, osóroku sore wa watasi dátta ka mo sirenu* 'I 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 *máa*. The interpolated *maa* of Hyōgo is from *maan* < *omahan* = *omae* 'you', according to Zhs 4.274 n 1. Kyūshū also has sentence-final particles *bái* and (meaning 'of course') *kusai* (Tōjō 1954.76). In southern Kyūshū *S tóo* corresponds to western Kyūshū *S tái* and *S óo* corresponds to *S bái* (Zhs 6.21). Other emphatic sentence extensions used in western Kyūshū are *S món ná* and *S tó zyá*. 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 connected with *wá*—and ultimately, perhaps, with the first-person pronoun.)

15.6. *Ká*

The particle *ká* 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 *ñ*) and a rise of intonation; the half-lengthening restores voicing to any syllable that has become unvoiced under the devocalization rules: *Sóosu da* 'It's sauce', *Sóosu* 'Sauce', *Sóosu ka* 'Is it sauce?', *Sóosu[:]*? 'Sauce?'. For nominal sentences, the unstylized copula *dá* usually drops, as in the preceding example; it is in doubt whether **Nán da ka* and **Dáre 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: *Sóosu desu[:]*? = *Sóosu desu ka*? And when the sentence contains a content-interrogative (an indeterminate), it is often *ká* that drops: *Dáre da* or *Dáre 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 *Dáre ka* (or *Dáre da ka*) *sirimasén* 'I don't know who it is' or 'Somebody doesn't know'; *Dáre dátta ka sirimasén 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 *Náni ka sira*) *nódo ni tukáeta yóo 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 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-ní-ka* 'in no time at all' is usually treated by dictionaries as a

11. The forms are all right within a larger structure: *Náni ga nán da ka wakaránai* (or *Náni ga náni ka wakaránai*) 'I don't know what is what (=what everything is)'; *Dáre ga Tanaka {da} ka sitte 'rú no?* 'You know which one is Tanaka?'; *Nán da ka kentóo ga tukimásu ka* 'Can you guess what it is?' (SA 2666.42a); *Nán da ka sinnái [=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-kúroo bákari kánete nán da ka warúi desu né* '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 *ítu no ma ní ǂdaǂ ka* 'it is at the interval of when'. *Ítu-no-hí-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 + *ká* can occur before or after a relational particle such as the ablative *kará*: *Dáre kara ǂdaǂ ka tegami ga kimásita* = *Dáre ǂdaǂ ka kara tegami ga kimásita*; *Dáre kara datta ka tegami ga kimásita* = *Dáre datta ka kara tegami ga kimásita*. These four sentences all mean 'A letter came from somebody'. Examples with the case particle between the interrogative-indefinite word and *ká*: *Ga mo dóko e ka sáta(-)* 'The moth went off somewhere' (Kb 82b); *Sibároku site génan wa dóko kara ka ude-íppai ni zyúu o motidasite kíta* 'After a while the servant started bringing out armloads of guns from somewhere' (SA 2685.98c). When an interrogative number is followed by *ká*, the meaning is 'some (number of)' as in *nánzén-nen ka no mukasi kara* 'from some thousands of years back' and *iti-nen to nan-kágetu ka* '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 tó mo* 'or else': *Kore ka, ǂsore tó mo ǂsore ka* 'Is it this, or that?'; *Kore dáta ka, ǂsore tó mo ǂsore dáta ka* 'Was it this, or that?'; ... *úso ka hontoo ka wakaránai yóo na hanasí o sité 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 *norú ka sóru ka* 'win or lose, sink or swim'. Alternative questions can be stated as separate consecutive sentences, with or without *Sore tó mo* 'Or else' to introduce the second sentence: *Kyóo ni simásu ka, ǂsore tó mo ǂasitá ni simásu ka* 'Will you (decide to) do it today, or tomorrow?' can be said also as: *Kyóo ni simásu ka. ǂSore tó mo ǂasitá ni simásu ka* 'Will you (decide to) do it today? Or, will you do it tomorrow?' An example: *Okyaku-sama nó desu ka? Sore tó mo purézentó 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 tó mo*: *Inumarú san go-zísín no seikatu wa zeitákú desu ka, sore tó mo* 'Is your own life, Mr Inumarú, on the luxurious side?' (SA 2669.48c—what is omitted at the end is *zeitákú/sóo zya náí 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 íi daroo* 'A or B (or C) would be fine'. Cf. *A tó B* (§2.7) which might be regarded as coming from quotation (§21), as I have indicated for *A tó ka B* (see §21.6); or, again, from *A dá tó* (§17.2—cf. *A da B da C da to ...*), though derivation from the particle 'with' may be simpler. In *Kore ka náni ka da* 'It is this or something' we have the special meaning of *ká* with an indefinite, and this does not de-interrogativize (to **Kore ka nán da*) directly; instead, *náni ka* (← **Nán da ka*) is directly nominalized and the sentence is to be treated as *N₁ dá ka + N₂ dá ka* → *N₁ ka N₂ da* 'It is N₁ or N₂' with *N₂* derived from a sentence **N dá ka*. The copula is not always omitted in expressions of the type *N₁ [dá] ka N₂ [dá] ka* 'N₁ or N₂': *Watasi no tanzýoo-bi wa kyúu Nihón-gun no Sinzyú-wan koogeki no yokuzitu. Sono iti-nití da ka hutuka dá ka notí(-)* ni umareta rasii Sakamoto Kyúu san 'My birth was the day after the former Japanese military forces attacked Pearl Harbor. Kyú Sakamoto was born, I understand, a day or two after that' (SA 2664.41a)—both sentences have dropped the final copula *ǂdáǂ* or *ǂdátaǂ*, and the latter sentence is an epithematic identification (§3.10a). Conjoined structures *N₁ ǂdáǂ/dáta ka N₂ ǂdáǂ/dáta ka* can take case markers such as *gá* and *ó* and *ní*: *Watasi ka ootoót ka ga o-ukagai simásu* 'Either I or my little brother will call on you'; ... "kimi" dáta ka "bóku(-)" dáta ka o moti-iru kotó ... '... to

use “kimi” or “boku” ...’ (Maeda 1962.69—the full sentence will be found on p. 167); ... zibun no misé no wakái monó ka dáre ka *ni* kiite ... ‘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: *Dáre* {*datta*} ka *ni* aimásita ‘I met somebody’; *Ítu* {*datta*} ka {*ga*} mondai da ‘It is a question when it is (was)’; *Dóno-yóo* *ni* tiguá ka o simesóo(–) ‘I will show how they differ’; *Dónna* *ni* óói ka *ni* odorokasáreta ‘I was surprised at how many there were’. But direct nominalization is typical for any question, with or without an indeterminate: *Kónban kúru* ka {*ga*} wakaránai ‘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. *uezíní*(–) o *surú* ka *nusubito* *ni* náru ka *ni* mayóu ‘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: *Nusubito* *ni* náru ka ‘Will I become a thief’ is derived from **Nusubito* *ni* náru ka 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* ka ‘Don’t you understand?’ from **Wakarimasén* ka da/desu ‘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) *Dóo* [da] ka ‘How is it?’: *Kónban kúru* ka *dóo* ka {*ga*} wakaránai ‘I don’t know whether he is coming tonight or not/what’. (In written Japanese you will also find ... *ína* ka ‘or not’.) It is more common to do this rather than repeat the sentence in its negative form: *Kúru* ka *kónai* ka {*ga*} wakaránai ‘I don’t know whether he is coming or not coming’, but there is nothing ungrammatical about such a sentence. In place of *Dóo* ka you also hear *Náni* ka as the alternative to a pure nominal sentence: *Kore* ka *náni/dóo* ka {*ga*} wakaránai ‘I don’t know whether it’s this or what/not’. But adjectival nominals, like adjectivals and verbals, will take only *Dóo* ka: *Bénri* ka *dóo* ka {*o*} sitte *irú* ka ‘Do you know whether it is convenient or not?’

More examples of noun-like uses of *ká*-marked questions: *Huyú* *ni* náru to *zyookuu* kara úete *iru* ke{*da*}mono *ga* *iná* ka *dóo* ka o *sirábe*, ... ‘In winter they check from the air whether there might not be animals starving (or might be), and ...’ (SA 2663.50b); *Sosite* *sore* *wa*, *náze* *sóo* *na* no ka o *ríkai*(–) *surú* no *ni* *wa* *yaku*-*datimásu* ‘And that is useful in understanding why things are that way’ (SA 2679.104a); *Dóko* *de* *tomarú* ka *ga* *dái*-*iti* no mondai *dá* ‘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* *ga* *túketa* ka *wa* wakaránai ‘I don’t know who attached it (or: turned it on)’ (ISJ 8.1.66); *Nihon-kókumin* no *sóoi* *ga* *tyuuritu* o *nozomú* ka *nozomán* ka *de*, *tyuuritu* *ga* *dekíru* ka *dekín* ka *ga* *kimaru* to *omóu* n *desu* ‘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); *Sore* *ga* *ítu* *made* *tuzukú* ka *da* *ná* ‘It’s a question of how long it will continue’

(SA 2679.48d); Yoo-súru ni nagéru ka nagénaí ka *de* wa náku, mótu kotó ga sekigun-ha ni zoku-súru tamé ni hituyoo dátta to iu kotó^(r) '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); ... mírai no hénka o, iká-ni háyaku yómu ka *de* syóbu 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'ii ni dóre-dake(°) tikará(°) o irerú ka *de*, sono kuni no syórai 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 dóo surú ka *de*, íka no san-táipu ni bunrui dekíru to iu 'It is said that they can be classified into the following three types, depending on what they do after they quit [their professorships]' (SA 2671.30b); ... dóko ni dóo syóbun site irú ka *made* tukánde wa inái no ga zitzuyoo no yóo 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 *ká* 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 *suru yó* are marked as men's speech.

By way of direct nominalization (?—see remarks above) questions can be adnominalized: (Maru-de / Átaka-mo) ... áru/átta ka no yóo da 'It is just as if we had (got) ...'; *surú ka* no yóo ni (miéru/omowaréru or suru) '(seems or makes) as if to do'; ... de áru ka no gótoku kangáéru tokoró ... 'when we think as if to wonder whether it is ...'; etc. One special use of the 'or not' alternative question (without reduction to *Dóo ka*) is found in *Surú ka sinai utí(°) ni* ... *sita* 'I did it before I knew it'¹³ (for which there is a literary or semi-literary equivalent *Surú ya ina ya*, in which *ina* 'nay' functions as an analog to colloquial *dóo*, and *yá* to colloquial *ká*); we would instead expect (?*)*Surú ka sinái ka no utí(°) ni* ..., with the former regarded as an abbreviation, that also explaining *surú ka sinái ka ni*—described below. The following sentences would seem to be direct adverbialization (rather than, say, *ó*-ellipsis): *Zibun de káu ka hitó ni tanómu ka itasimásu* 'I'll either buy it myself or ask someone'; *Kono natú wa úmi e ikú ka yamá e ikú ka simásu* 'This summer I'll go either to the sea or to the mountains'. (But, for the *ó*-ellipsis interpretation, cf. *Koohii ka otya ka {o} mesiajarimasén 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?!'; *Nománai monó desu ka* 'Surely you will drink something!'; *Ano teppén made ikenai 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 verbal used in this way, but the adjectival perfect seems to occur: *Atúkatta món ka—sámukatta 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 *iyóiyó* 'at last, really' or *mata* '(not) again?!', as in these examples from Hayashi 156: *Iyóiyó zaa-tto kúru ka* 'Is it [the rain] going to start coming down in earnest?';

13. As in ... *situmon ga owarú ka owaranai utí(°) ni*, ... 'the question was barely finished when ...' (SA 2661.25c); ... *bóku(°) no mono-gátari ga owarú ka owaranu syunkan ni tu-to tati-agatte* ... 'the instant my tale was done, she jumped to her feet and ...' (Esuperanto 52.343a). On the optional cancellation of the accent of the affirmative question, see below.

Iyóiyó gakkoo tó mo o-wakare ka 'Are we really saying farewell to school at last?'; Mata áme ka 'Not rain again!'; Mata damé ka 'Another mistake?!'

Another way to ask a question, a friendly use much favored by women and children, is to use a *nó*-nominalization (§ 14.2) as a complete sentence (with a slight rise of pitch): Kónban kúru no? 'Are you coming this evening?'; Omosírókatta 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 daroo no?) because the tentative does not normally adnominalize (§ 13.3). Cf. § 15.14 ff.

The particle *ká* 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 ... *ká* 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 omóu to S₂* '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 *Dáre 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 itte* 'Should that be surprising/questioned ...' starts with an ellipsis of *S₁* or of *Sóo/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: *Sóo de náí hí de mo, Utidá-si wa yóru no zyuuni-zi máe ni kitaku surú no wa tukí ni iti-dó⁽¹⁾ áru ka nási* [= *nái 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'; ... *kawaií ogawa ga nagárete ite, haba ga san-méetoru áru ka da ga, soko ni masú ga súde iru* '... a charming stream flows, a bare three meters wide, and trout live there' (SA 2671.92b); *Igirisu hógo⁽¹⁾ ka* [= *hogó-ka*] *no dokóo-koku de, zinkoo wa iti-mán áru ka nási ka, nami no sekai-tizu ni wa notte inai mini-kókka de aru* 'It is an emirate (sheikdom) under British protection, the population hardly ten thousand, a mini-nation uncarried on the usual world map' (SA 2673.139a). A similar use is found in this sentence: *Yat-tó⁽¹⁾ utí(-) ni túita toki, DÓO SITA KOTÓ KA, kuti no náka ni wa móo nánni mo nokótte inákatta* '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 ina ya* (above), *surú ga hayái ka* (§ 14.6) and *sitá ka to omóu to* (§ 21.1.(18)):

(1) *surú/sitá ka sinái ka no utí(-) ni*:¹⁴ *Túita ka tukánai ka no utí(-) ni móo káette kityatta* 'We no sooner got there than we turned around and came back'.

(2) *surú ka sinái utí(-) ni*: *Senséi ga káeru ka kaeranai 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 | dénai | utí(-) ni* can also be said as *deru ka dénai | utí(-) ni* and as *deru ka dénai uti ni*.

'No sooner had you left to go home, sir, than she arrived'; Nihyakú-nin ga kawá o watattá ga, watari-owáru ka owaranai uti(¯) ni kaihoo-sénsen 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) surú ka sinái ka ni: To o akerú ka akenái ka ni, ikiói yóku néko ga tobi-kónde kíta 'I barely opened the door when in rushed the cat' (Nagano 177); Sensei ga káeru ka kaeránai ka ni káno-zyo ga kimásita 'You had barely left to go home, sir, when she arrived'.

(4) surú ka sinái [] ni:¹⁵ ... káre ga yose-gáyoí o hazimerú ka hazimenái [] ni, ... 'No sooner had he started attending vaudeville (than) ...' (Kb 279b).

(4a) surú ka sezu ni: ... zyumyoo ga nácutte, hátati ni náru ka nárazu ni kono-yó(¯) o sáтта(¯) '... did not live long, leaving this world at hardly twenty years of age' (Kb 50a).

(5) surú ka sinái ka no N: Segóbia nánte iú no wa hyakú-nen ni hitóri déru ka dénai ka no "tyoo-ténsai" desu yó '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) surú ka sinái N: Yóku rokuzyúú^[1] hati-nen no Itigatú ni Betonamu e okurareta káre wa, ni-kágetu tátu ka tatánai Sángatu tuitatí no sentoo de hínsi(¯) no zyuusyoo o ottá 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 + nó ka or + séi ka (obligatory reductions from nó [da] ka and séi [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 to wakáru to sin'yoo ga takái no ka, taitei nosete kureru 'They generally give me a lift, I guess (= perhaps/apparently) because when they see I'm a student they have confidence (that they can trust me) ...'; Sono séi ka ... 'Perhaps that's why ...'; ... Húkuko no kóe o mimí ni sitá no ka huri-múita otokó ... 'a man who turned his head apparently because he had heard Hukuko's voice' (lg 1962.105); Sí no Nihon-go wa rippa dá ga, Nihon-go dé wa ími ga zyuubún ni tuuzinai to kan-zitá no ka, ítu ka 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 wáke de, suteru monó ga náhi mo nákatte no ka, uti(¯) no wakí ni átta gomí-bako(¯) wa tukatte náku, zitén-sya no kuukí-ire ga hoori-konde átta '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 nó is similar to that in nó de, §14.2.1. Since the vowel of n[ó] optionally drops, you will hear such sequences as N ná n ka (cf. N nánka 'N or the like, the likes of N), A-í n ka, V-rú n ka, V-tá n ka, etc. And /-run[o]/ sometimes assimilates to /-nn[o]/ so that for surú no ka you may hear sún no ka → sún n ka = /súnka/—with the usual reduction of nnC to nC; and for site [i]rú no ka you may hear sité 'n no ka → sité 'n n ka = /siténka/.

Nó ka can also, of course, be any of the expected interrogativizations of ... nó da, as in these examples from KKK 3.173: Náze soo náru no ka 'Why is it that it turns out that way?'; Sikási hutarí wa dóo sitára zyútú ga tokéru no ka wakaránai no de ... 'But the two

15. Since the "atonic" negatives show an accent before [] ní, we will assume that what is omitted is ká: sinái [ka] ni. If the ellipsis were an omission of uti(¯), we would have difficulty explaining the reversal in the accent cancellation found in sinái uti(¯) ni (which owes to the underlying juncture before uti).

did not know how they could dispell the sorcery and ...'. On S_1 [nó] ka S_2 to express "a guessed cause and effect 'perhaps it's (that)'"', cf. Alfonso 800. And ... ká no yóo ni is used as an equivalent of ... ká to omóu yóo ni, § 21.1.(18), to mean 'as if perhaps': ... náhi mo nákatta ka no yóo ni ... 'as if nothing had happened' (SA 2679.41d); Hóo o nádete toori-sugiru yókaze ga natú^[1] no owari o tugerú ka no yóo ni tumetai 'The night wind rubbing past one's cheek is cold as if to tell the end of summer' (SA 2647.116); Naru-hodo, géngo wa iká-ni mo sizen ni kawarú ka no yóo 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 ... ká no yóo da 'it seems as if': Kore wa sa-nágara(¯) géndai no inpáasónaru na ningen-kánkei o syootyoo site irú ka no yóo de aru 'This seems as if it really symbolizes the impersonal human relationships of the present day' (SA 2659.134a). For that matter, simple ká is sometimes equivalent to 'perhaps' or 'apparently':¹⁶ Seisan-teki de átta zidai wa yáya hurú ka to omowaréru ga, ... 'The era when it was productive would seem to be perhaps a bit earlier, but ...' (Sakakura 320); Go-zónzi ka to omoimásu ga 'I think you perhaps know but ...'; Go-zónzi zya ná ka to omoimásu ga 'I think you perhaps don't know but' (or, if taken rhetorically, the same meaning as the preceding)—in these expressions ká is equivalent to daróo and that could be used instead; Go-zónzi da to omoimásu ga 'I think you know but ...' is more direct. Sometimes an introductory question will best translate as 'I think': Yon-kai desu ka, óoki na o-niwa ga dekíru yóo desu né '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 ...-té ka 'perhaps/apparently because' are to be regarded as containing an ellipsis ...-té fdaǰ ka, representing a nominalization of the gerund (§ 9.2.1): Sono tamé mo átte ka, ... 'Maybe THAT's why ...' (SA 2640.105d); Sono séi mo átte ka, ... 'Perhaps partly for that reason ...' (SA 2664.29a); Sono kai átte ka ... 'Apparently as the effect of that ...' (SA 2665.9d); SF-syóosetu ... no eikyoo mo átte ka ... 'Perhaps/apparently under the influence of science fiction' (SA 2659.38a); Kámo wa máiniti(¯), kimoti yosásóo ni suimen o oyógi, kozákana o otté ka ikióí yóku sensui 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-úrikomi ga seikoo sité ka, Toonan-Ázia de wa Nihon-séihin 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 mósi ka/ya 'if (perchance)', § 13.7.

The expression dóo iu wáke ka (or dóo iu monó ka or dóo sita wáke/kotó ka) means 'for some reason or other' and could be regarded perhaps as an ellipsis of dóo iu wáke ka [siranái ga] ... '[I don't know] what the reason is [but], ...' (cf. náni ka 'something [or other]'). Similar in meaning and derivation are dóo iu riyuu dé fdaǰ ka 'for some reason or other' and soo iu wáke de fdaǰ ka dóo fdaǰ 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 ...': Zyuuí-gatú^[1] tuitatí^[1] guu-zen ka kói ka, zieitai-kinénbi ni táiho 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 kói ka guu-zen ka 'whether by design or by accident' will be found in

16. Hoka ni sen'yaku ga { átta no/kara/tamé ka, } káre 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 *ká*-phrases: *Sore to ko'oo sité ka, arúi-wa sore ga saki ka, hóteru ga áto ka, hóteru ga saki ka, sei-kákumei ga áto ka, mótitu motáretu no kankei de hóteru wa zoosyoku si, yagaté^[1] zíwaziwa to syákai ni né o orósite ki-sóo 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 *ká* is sometimes used for little more than emphasis, e.g. in *yóri ka* [mo] or *yó' ka* = *yóri mo* 'than' (p. 141), *mósi ka* [sitara, 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? Kónban? Káre o turete tté? Sore wa née ...* 'Me? Tonight? You say bringing him? Well, ...'. In Shikoku dialects *N ka* is used like *N ttára*, §21.1, to set up a theme (Doi 283).

The particle *ká* is used in virtually every dialect of Japanese. A variant (S+) *kó* is reported for Ishikawa (Zhs 3.149 etc.); this may be a contraction of *k[á n]ó*, fortuitously resembling the Korean doublet *ka/ko*. In Kansai speech you will find *-mákka* for *-másu ka*: *Sore wa dáre de mo hairemákka* [= *hairemásu ka*] 'Well, can anybody go in?' (SA 2669.111d); ... *tigaimákka* [= *tigaimásu ka*] '... isn't it?' (SA 2669.101c). And for *desu ka* you will find *dékka*, (Kyōto) *dókka*, and (Ōsaka) *dákka*: *Watakusi dékka* 'You mean me?' (SA 2669.101e); *E? Wate dékka?* 'Eh? You mean me?' (SA 2672.17a); *Dóo dekka* 'How is it?' (SA 2669.112d). A dialect variant of ...*rú ka* is ...*kka*: *Mísete yakka* [= *yarú ka*] 'Shall I show it?'

S + bákari f̄daʃ ka by itself means 'Is it just that S?'; when another sentence is conjoined, the meaning is 'Not only S but ...': *Sore ga kóndo wa pitári to syaberánai bákari ka, hazime wa hita-[-ʃ]kákusi(-) ni kakúsite '-yagán da (= i-yagán n[o] da = i-yagáru 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 *hitakákusi*, *hitakakusi*, *hitagákusi*, or *hitagakusi*). *N bákari f̄daʃ ka* 'not only N but' appears in the sentence-opener *Sore bákari ka ...* 'Not only that but ...'. = 'What's more, ...; moreover, ...'.

S/N + ˉdókoru f̄daʃ ka is a kind of rhetorical question ('How could anyone think merely S/N?!') implying the answer *S/N + ˉdókoru* [no *sáwagi/sátá/hanasí*] *de wa ná* '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, itidoo kámo o mí ni ura-niwa ni dekakerú ga, kámo ˉdókoru ka, suzume ip-pikí^[1] inai* '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); ... *búnsyoo ˉdókoru ka namae súra mánzoku ni kakénai* '... can't even write his name satisfactorily, much less a sentence' (KKK 3.121); *Are wa rippa na sikéi(-) da. Watasi wa a-zen to suru dókoru ka osorósiku náta* 'It was a fine example of lynching. I was more than dumb-founded; I was frightened' (KKK 3.120); *Kono daigaku ní wa, higasi-káigan kara ˉdókoru*

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 sinanai dókoro ka, zibun de hakken sita kusuri o nomi-hazimeté kara wa, méki-meki to kóoka ga arawáre, yagate⁽¹⁾ móto no tóori no karada ni káetta no o míte murá⁽²⁾ no hitóbito wa kii no kán ni utarezú 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 \bar{d} ókoro ka 'On the contrary' or 'That's quite out of the question (because ...)'. (This expression will not permit ellipsis; a sentence can not 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 \bar{d} ókoro de wa náku nátta 'But with the 1965 recession, [company-sponsored team] basketball became out of the question' (SA 2669.16a); Bóoryoku($\bar{}$) tó ka téro, sonna monó wa demókúrasii no yo-nó-naka de ími ga náí dókoro zya nákute, taihen na gáí 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 tanosii ga, nimotu o hakobú no wa tanosii 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 \bar{d} ókoro, but a sentence attaches the word as a postadnominal (§13.2) with an underlying juncture between.¹⁷ You may run across an ellipsis AN $\{na\}$ \bar{d} ókoro in which the accent of a tonic adjectival noun is cancelled: sízuka \bar{d} ókoro = sízuka na |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 \bar{d} ókoro ka, tamaranaku zikan ga osii 'Actually, even I myself, far from having free time, begrudge the hours terribly' (SA 2673.39c). In the sentence Kigeki 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 [kotó] \bar{d} ókoro or the like; otherwise we would expect (?*) sonná na |dókoro 'far from (its) being like that'.

As a unit ... \bar{d} ókoro 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 \bar{d} ókoro ka sirasé mo sinákatta 'Did you see him? See him—why, I didn't even let him know [I was in town]'; Wakaré 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 ($\bar{}$)dókoro can be said either as yomudókoro or as yómudokoro (= yómu [|] dókoro), but the cancellation is obligatory (perhaps owing to the underlying juncture) for the "atonic" verb or adjective forms: nakú ($\bar{}$)dókoro 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: áme ($\bar{}$)dókoro can be said as ámedokoro or as amedókoro, haná ($\bar{}$)dókoro can be said as hanádokoro or as hanadókoro, the latter version being indistinguishable from hana ($\bar{}$)dókoro.

naitá desyoo?—Kanásíkute ˉdókorō ka, urésíkute nakimásita, iyá na hitó da kara ... 'You surely cried at the sadness of parting?—At the sadness?—far from it, I cried with joy, he's such a dreadful person'; ... Tároo wa dezáato o, syokuzi ga súde kara dókorō ka,¹⁸ syokuzi no sitaku mo dekinai utí(ˉ) ni tábete simatta 'Far from waiting till the end of the meal, Tarō ate up the dessert before I had the meal prepared'; Atuku ˉdókorō ka, kamí no yóo ni usuku kitta 'Thick?!—why I sliced it thin as paper!'; Kírei ni káite áru desyoo?—Kírei ni ˉdókorō ka, zí no katati sáe wakaránai hodo ranboo ni káita 'Surely it is written neatly?—Neatly?! why it's written so poorly you can hardly make out the shapes of the characters'; Tábe ni ˉdókorō ka mizu o nómi ni mo iki-taku ná hodo namake-mónó(ˉ) desu 'He is such a lazybones that he doesn't even want to go get a drink of water, much less eat'; Hima na tokí ni wa utí(ˉ) ni ite térebi de mo míte 'ru n desu ka?—lie, utí(ˉ) ni ité ˉdókorō ka zimú-syo ni itté sae míte imasu yó 'When you have nothing to do do you stay home and watch television?—[Watch] at home, nothing!—I watch even at the office!' (the reply could also have been: lie, ... zimú-syo ni itté ása kara ban máde tutómete imasu yó '... I am busy at the office from morning till night').

In all its uses *dókorō* can be shortened to *dóko*.

15.6a. *Ya'*

In Literary Japanese the question particle *yá* has a number of uses, some of which are heard in expressions that have been borrowed into the colloquial language, such as *áni hakarán ya* 'quite unexpectedly'—roughly equivalent in structure to *dóo site hakaróo* (= *hakáru daroo*) *ka* 'how is one to estimate?'—and especially ... *ya ína ya*, which means either 'whether or not' (= ... *ka dóo ka*) or 'no sooner ... than; as soon as ...' (= *sitá ka to omóu to, surú ka sinai utí(ˉ) ni* or *surú ka sinái ka ni, suru to sugu*; cf. *-rú nari*, §15.19): *Áru ya ína ya wa gimō da* 'Whether it exists or not is in doubt'; ... *tokudane de áru ya ína ya mo wakarán desu kara né* 'For I don't know whether it is a scoop or not ...' (Tk); *Tabéru ya ína ya haki-hazimeta* 'No sooner had I eaten it than I started vomiting'; *Syokuzi o surú ya ína ya tonde itta* 'As soon as he had finished eating he dashed away'; *Koogeki wa seihoo kara kaisi saretá ga, hazimarú ya ína ya Seihú-gun wa nígete 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' *ína ya* may be omitted: *Sotugyoo surú ya yookoo sita* 'Right after graduating he took a trip abroad'; *Pató-kaa ga arawaréru ya káno-zyo-tati no sógata wa kiete simatta* 'As soon as the patrol car appeared the women vanished' (SA 2681.104b). The noun *ínaya* 'an objection', as in *Kane o dásu kotó ni ínaya wa ná n da* 'I have no objection to paying the money', is derived from *ína ya* 'is it nay?'. *Ína* 'nay' also underlies the verb *inám-* 'nay-say, gainsay, deny, refuse' as in *Inaménai no wa ...* 'It can not be denied that ...'.

Literary clichés such as *Osóru kotó ya áru* = *Osoréru kotó ga áru 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 ... *kotó áru ya* with the appropriate attributive form of the existential verb *ári*. (But unpermuted ... *áru/ári 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-té kara* from ˉ*dókorō ka* (for reasons not entirely clear) and so the accent cancellation is inoperative.

Another stereotyped usage is V_1 -rú ya V_1 -azu da ‘almost, nearly; hardly’ as in these examples (from Ig 76): Hotóndo kúu ya kúwazu de ... ‘Almost half starved ...’; Sore wa mózi -dóori kúu ya kúwazu no máiniti(-) de átta ‘It was day after day of, literally, near starvation’; Yómu ya yómazu de hógó ni site simai ... ‘It’s hardly read before it’s thrown away as wastepaper ...’. This is sometimes similar in meaning to V -rú ya ína ya: ... syotáimen no áisatu ga súmu ya súmazu ni, ... ‘with the introductory greetings barely finished ...’ (Fn 162a); ... sánzyuu ni náru ya nárazu no wakái mi-sora no yakusya ... ‘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 keizái-gaku sura wakaránai—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 óite(-) ó ya de áru ‘How much less need is there to mention ...!’ as in Iwán ya sararíi-man to site nyuusya si, syatyoo no íti ni túita hitóbito ni óite(-) ó ya 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”: Yusyutu-kóotyoo no zidóo-sya(-) mo, totan ni riéki o usinai-dásu. Iwán ya zoosén-gyoo ni óite(-) ó ya de aru ‘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 háha o ya nokósu ‘ramu ‘Has he perhaps left a mother back home (in his native province?’ In this example Nokósu ‘ramu is equivalent to the colloquial nokósu daróo ‘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 sirenu is used as a semi-literary equivalent of ká mo sirenai ‘perhaps’ (§ 15.8): Kazyyu na kazei wa toti-káikaku keikaku o suihoon ni ki-sesiméru ya mo sirenu ... ‘Excessive taxes may spell the end of plans for land reform ...’; the form sesiméru is semi-literary for the literary attributive sesimúru (< si-asim[e s]Juru) equivalent to colloquial saseru ‘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: Maa íi yá, sikkári yaroo ‘Well OK! let’s hold tight’ (KKK 3.224); Kaeróo yá ‘Let’s go home!’ (KKK 3.224); Kón’ya wa bihuteki o tabeyóo yá ‘Tonight let’s have steak’ (SA 2662.51c); Bóku(-) mo kooihii de íi yá ‘Make mine coffee, too’; Daitai, o-sú wa tiisái ya né ‘The male is usually small, you see’ (Tk 4.295b); Omosirói yá ‘It’s fun!’ (SA 2640.11); Zyoodán zya arimasén yá ‘It’s no joke, I tell you’ (SA 2660.51a). It is also used—in old-fashioned (regional or literary) speech—after a name as a vocative marker (where yó also is used): Obáasan ya! ‘Hey there, granny!’; Sóre, Usa-tyan ya, 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, kanarazú ya—would appear to be in most cases a variant of the focus particle wá. But yómo ya ‘surely (not)’ and mósi ya (= mósi ka/mo) ‘if (perchance)’ seem clearly to have the question particle; the other cases might be similarly treated. (Cf. yóri ka/mo/wa.)

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 omoimásu” “... I don’t think THAT c’n be called a revolution” (Kagaku-Asahi 1968/7.96). For yá₃ = zya₁ (= dé wa), see § 8, p. 373n: ... ya n[ái] ka = ... zya náí ka, § 15.16. Note also the yá₄ that is a variant of the focus particle wá (§ 2.3.4). For zó ya (= dá ka), see § 15.5.

15.7. Ká né[e]/ná[a]; (ká, dá, -tá) í/é

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]: Sóo ka ná[a] ‘I wonder about that’; Dáre ka kore o katte kureru hitó wa inái ka náa ‘Isn’t there ANYBODY who will buy this from me?!’ (Hayashi 157); Yóru, osokú made, mátte ‘tá kedo, kónai n da. Dénki túket’ oita kara, ókite ‘ru no wakáttiyatta no ka náa. Dé mo, inái n zya náí ka ná ‘I stayed up till late at night waiting, 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 í; others, said to be dialect speakers (but MKZ says “feminine”), use ká é: Ano né, kimi, himitu ga mamoréru ka i ‘Say, you think you can keep a secret?’ (KKK 3.10); Kimi n-fo} tókó ni sake wa náí 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/í/é: Kore ká í? ‘Is it this one?’; Daizyóobu ka i ‘OK?’; Bóku(-) 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 í (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); Dóo sita no da e ... ‘What happened?’ (KKK 3.11). Similarly, ...tá ka né can shorten to ...tá né and this may be pronounced ...tá í/é: Dáre datta í ‘Who was it?’; Ésu wa dóo sita i ‘What’s happened to S?’ (Kb 33b—not si-tai ‘wants to do’); Ítu sinda i ‘When did he die?’; Dóo kangáeta i ‘What did you think up?’ (Okitsu 1.24—not Dóo kangae-tái ‘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 with hortatives: Ikóo ka né ‘Shall we/I go?’ (Also: Ikóo ka i/e-?). Notice that ká í and dá í may be pronounced as kée and dée by speakers who regularly or often substitute /ee/ for /ai/: Dóo sitee = Dóo sita i ‘What happened?’; Dóo dee = Dóo 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/í and dá é/í are simply abbreviations of ká/dá né is quite plausible. But it has also been suggested that é/í perhaps comes from the literary question marker yá (Tsuru 55c). The Kansai use of sentence-final é in -másu é (etc.) is probably from yó; see below.

On *í* 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: *Hí o tuke ró í* 'Light the fire!'; *Yokei na kotó surú na í* 'Don't stick your nose in other people's business!'; *Yóo mo née [= náí] no ni, yokei na kotó 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 [w]á í*, *Tengugórirá ga kisen kara nígeta [w]á í* 'Terrible, Long-Nose Gorilla has escaped from the ship!'; *[I]yá da [w]á í!* *Úso da [w]á í!* *Damé da [w]á í!* '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 yo*: *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 *-másse* = *-másu é* = *-másu yó*: *O-tosiyori mo miemásse* 'Old folks come also' (SA 2659.133b). Similar are *dósse* (Kyōto) and *dásse* (Ōsaka) for *désu é* = *désu yó*. You will also find *désse*: *Ni-nó-mai wa go-men désse [= désu yó]* 'Never again, thank you' (SA 2670.21d); *Án[í]-san, orinpíkku kitté(-) wa íma, sén nihyakú-en desse* 'Young man, let me tell you those Olympic stamps are now worth twelve hundred yen' (SA 2672.18a). Notice too the Kyōto example *Tyót-to o-turi ga tarimahén é [= tarimasén yó]* 'The change is a bit short' (Inokuchi 100; also *tarimahén dosse*).

Kindaichi Kyōsuke (1959.175-6) suggests that the question usage of (*dá/ká*) *í* comes from sentence-final *yó[o]* "used in areas around Tōkyō" (... *désu ka yoo*). That would help explain these examples, where *í* appears after *-ru* and *désu*: *Sono oyá no óoya no kao wa dóko de tatéru i* 'How can you give "face" to the landlord who is [like] a father to you?' (Okitsu 1.323); ... *ittee, kóndo wa nán no yóo desu 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 í* of Fukushima prefecture. He observes that speakers in Gumma prefecture put *í* on the end of a sentence for politeness.)

15.8. [] *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 *sire-* 'be known' → *sirenai* 'is not known' or the negative potential form of *siru* (→ *sireru*) → *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 '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 siremasén* or *ká mo sirenái desu* (§ 22.1). It can be nominalized (*ká mo sirenái no da*) and adnominalized (*Kúru ka mo sirenai hitó da* 'It is a person who may come'), adverbialized (... *de áru ka mo sirezu*, ... Ariyoshi 232), conjunctionalized (*ká mo sirenái 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 sirenái daroo [ga ...]*). It can be followed by further sentence extensions: *ká mo siren[ai] né[e]/sá/yó/wá/zó*, but not **ká mo sirenái ka [né/í]*, though (?)*ká mo sirenái ka sira* (§ 15.9) is occasionally heard. An example of *ká*

mo sirenái zya náí ka will be found in § 15.16. Downtown speakers permit nuclear focus subdual: S ká mo siré ya sinee [= siré wa sinai] (Okitsu 1.505).

Sometimes the expression is left dangling without the verb: Sóo ka mo, née 'Maybe so, you know' (R); Nanazyuu-néndai ni wa utyuu-símin te na [= to iu yóo na] monó mo tanzýoo(¯) surú ka 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 sira[nai]: Sóo ka mo sira '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 ya náí for zya náí: Sikási né, kore wa ánta to íken ga tiguaú ka mo sirán keredo 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 ka mo wakaránai. Since the sequence /-ranai/ is often reduced to /-nnai/ you will also hear ... ká mo wakánai/sinnai; and /ee/ is substituted for /ai/ in downtown Tōkyō and other inelegant areas, so you may come across ... ká mo wakaráne/sirane and ... ká mo wakánee/sinne, as in this example: Mítu tyan wa ore no kotó o keibetu surú ka mo sinné keredo ... 'Mitsu, you may despise me, but ...' (SA 2640.108e). For an example of yá mo sirenu 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 = kúru ka 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 arúí-wa 'perhaps' (also a conjunction 'or' and 'some ... others'): Kono otokó,^[1] arúí-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-syookengáisyá ni o-rei o iwanákereba 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 = siranai 'I don't know', and the sequence ká sira is tacked onto a sentence that you wonder about to yourself: Sóo ka sira 'I wonder about that'; Náze hituyoo ná no ka 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 ikóo ka 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 Tōkyō 1945) has ká sira in place of ká sira: Kokóro de omótte mo, iwanái n zya náí ka sira '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 [l] zya náí ka and the tentative S [l] daróo. See § 15.16 and § 12.1.

sira after stylization: *Kodomo ga gakkoo é de mo iku tosi-goro ni narimásitara, watakusi, nemuru zikan ga arimásu ka sira* 'Perhaps when my child has reached the age to go to school or the like, then I will have some time to sleep' (SA 2640.20c).

Occasionally *ká sira* will turn up in a nonfinal position; the sentence has been directly adverbialized, creating clichés that are usually pronounced with the accent removed—*dáre ka sira*, *ítu ka sira*, *dóko ka sira*, *nán [i] ka sira*, as in: *Náni ka sira* (= *Nán daroo ka*) *nódo ni tukáeta yoo na kanzi desu* 'I have the feeling something is stuck in my throat'; ... *ítu mo nán ka sira yatte* 'ru 'I'm always doing something (or other)' (Tk 4.314a); *nán ka sira* = *náni ka sira*. In the following example, the *ká sira* phrase would appear to be in apposition: *Gaikokú-zin no Nihón-ron ni wa, dóko ka sira múri na rikai(¯) ya kentoo-házure ga tukímono de ari* ... 'The theories foreigners have about Japan are inevitably accompanied by SOME POINTS of unreasonable interpretation and miscalculation, and ...' (SA 2662.91a). Examples with adnominalization, such as *dóko {da} (or {datta}) ka sira no monó* 'a thing from I-don't-know-where = from somewhere or other' may provide us with a transition in the development of the indefinite phrases such as *dóko [datta] ka* 'somewhere'.

15.10. Kké'

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: *Yonda kke* 'He called, I recall'; *Óokikatta kke* 'It was large, I recall'; *Senséi datta kke* 'It was the teacher, I recall'; *Senséi 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 toki utatte irásita kke* 'You were singing at that time, I recall'; *Nán datta kke {ka née}* 'What was it, now let me see'; *Dóko ni oitá kke* 'Now let's see if I can recall where I put it'; *Ee-to, nán te tokoró da kke, wasuretá wá* 'Uh, lemme think, I've forgotten what place it is' (KKK 3.43); *Anáta wa kotosi kazoédosi 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 hukuramaseta kotó mo átta kke né* 'There were times too, I recall, when I let my chest swell with daydreams, you know'; *Anó-hito no namae wa nán to iú n da kke né/ná* 'Now what was his name, I wonder'; *Omeé [= omae] mo itízi wa kore ni ki ga átta n da kke náa* 'YOU used to be interested in this, I recall' (Y 387); *Aa, sóo sóo, sonna zyoyuu ga itá kke née* 'Oh, that's right, there WAS such an actress, now, wasn't there' (KKK 3.43); *Sono máe wa buróoti, sono máe wa kutibeni, sono máe 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 kinóo wa omotákute 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-ikutu désita kké né—Kyúzyuu desu tté* 'How old WAS he, now?—Ninety, they say' (Ariyoshi 174); *Dóko desita kke né* 'Where was it, now?'; *Íkura desita kke* 'How much was that, now?' (Fn 185b); *Née-san wa íkutu desita kke né* 'How old did you say you were, my dear?' (Y 231); *Senséi wa yóku tanka o rooei simásita kke* 'The teacher (or You) would often read poems aloud, I recall'; *Koo iu hanási o kiita kotó ga arimásita 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 *dá* and *-tá*. In *Tōkyō kke* is not used after *A-i*, though *A'katta kke* is accepted, and some speakers are hesitant about *N dá kke*, preferring *N dátta kke*, except when *N* includes an interrogative as in *Dáre no hón da kke ka náa* 'Whose book was it, I wonder'. For one locality where *A-í kke* is used, see Zhs 3.17.

It is generally assumed that *kké* comes from an abbreviation of the literary *-kéri* < *-ki ári*. Yoshida (231-2), who speaks of it as "retrospective or past-past", traces *-tá kke* from earlier *-tákkeru* < *-tárikeru*; 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 dátta kke* is largely limited to *Tōkyō* (Y 232).

15.11. *Tté; káte*

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 *tté*". One is used to mark quotations as if a variant of *tó* (§ 21—examples of this *tté* will be found in KKK 3.72-3); the other serves as a lively equivalent of the highlighted gerund used to express a concession: *-té 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 *nCC* → *nC* and *nnC* → *nC*, so that *Hón tte* is pronounced (and sometimes written) /*hónte*/ and *Nán[i] tte* will sound the same as the word *nánte* (§ 2.9). In the following examples "te" was written for *tté* after /n/: *Ningen te sonna món na n desu yó* 'People are like that, I tell you' (SA 2669.92c); ... *Rosiyá-zin to Nihon-zin te, sūgoku nite* 'ru to omotta no né '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 *tté*: ... *koo ii-tai baai mo áru te* [= *áru tte*] 'I understand there are occasions when you want to say this' (SA 2674.101a).

But the rules needed to describe how the particle *tté* attaches in the second situation (marking a concession) seem a bit odd if we merely assume that *tté* is a synonym of *mó* and, like it, attaches to the gerund: *V-té mo* = *V-tá tte*, *A-kúte mo* = *A-kúta tte*, *N dé mo* = *N dá 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 *tté* is attached. I believe a better explanation is to regard the concessive /*tté*/ as a special use of the gerund *átte* 'being', with the final vowel of the gerund obligatorily dropped: *V-tféé átte*, *A-kútfeé átte*, *N dféé átte*. The usage in question, however, is more extensive than the usual conversions of gerund + *áru* would lead us to expect, so I propose writing the forms as *V-t'átte*, *A-kút'átte*, and *N d'átte*, with no space between the apostrophe and *átte*.²¹ We will write *Dáre ga kít'átte* = *Dáre ga kíte mo* 'Whoever comes', *Dóre ga hósikut'átte* = *Dóre ga hósikute mo* 'Whichever is wanted', *Nán d'átte ii* = *Nán dé mo ii* 'Anything will do'. Examples: *Kóndo no ga damé da to iwaret'átte situboo wa sinai yó* 'I won't be disappointed even if I'm told this one is no good' (Y 239); *Hito no*

21. But do not assume that /*tatte*/ is always *-t'átte*; it may represent *-ta tté* = *-ta tó*, as in this sentence: *Aru-Kápóne náanka mo irerareté [i]ta tte iu yuumei na tokoró da kedo, ...* 'It is a famous place where they say even the like of Al Capone was held ...' (SA 2673.122c). Additional examples of *d'átte* = *dé mo* will be found in § 2.11.

kokóro nánte, íkura gakúmon o sit'áte, kenkyuu o sit'áte, wakarí-kko náí daroo to bóku(¯) wa omóu n desu 'Another person's heart is impossible to understand, in my opinion, however much learning or research you may do' (Y 239); Káette kónakut'atte íi yó 'You need not come home' (Y 558); Dé mo íi zya náí desu ka, daigaku e ikanákut'atte 'But isn't it all right—NOT to go to college?' (SA 2666.44b); Osóraku dóno syúukyoo ni d'atte human daróo to omóu 'I daresay there will be discontent with any religion' (SA 2671.19d); Hóra, dóнна otokó no kokóro no náka ni d'atte áru desyó, ítu ka utí(¯) o tobi-dásite ate-zúppóo(¯) no tabí ni de-tái tte iu yumé ga 'Look, it must be in every man's heart—the dream of wanting sometime to fly out of the house and go off on a random journey' (SA 2668.116c).

You will recall that to express a concession the gerund need not always be highlighted: Itté {mo} íi 'It's all right to go'. And there are occasional examples of ...t'áte mo: ... gakkóo-gun ni nátt'atte mo seiseki o otósu mái to ... 'not wanting to let the grades drop even though it becomes just one of many schools' (SA 2673.17c); Dóko made d'atte mo, túite iku 'I'll follow you anywhere' (Terase 116).

Sentence-final tté is used, often after polite stylization, as an equivalent of ... sóo da or of ... tó no kotó da or ... tó¹ iu hanasí/kotó da 'they say ...', 'I hear ...' (see § 18): Gaizin no miná-san, soo ossyaimásu, Nihon-zin te kíyoo da tté 'All the foreigners say that, that the Japanese are skillful' (SA 2664.37a). The "sentence-final" tté can be followed by né[e]: Sinbun-kísyá ni nátta n da tté né 'I hear he's become a reporter, you see' (KKK 3.75); É mo káku n desu tté né 'I hear you draw pictures, too?' (SA 2666.43b). And it can be preceded by yó: Kono namae de san-nen táttara, anáta wa tíi to méiyo to o-kane o éru kotó ni narimásu yó tté '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 tté can mean 'Did I hear (you say) ...?' as in these examples: Máiniti(¯) vaiorin o hiite 'rú n desu tté? 'Did you say you play the violin every day?' (KKK 3.173); Hánnin o tukamaeta yó!—Tukamaeta tté? 'We've caught the culprit!'—'You've caught him?' (KKK 3.75); Dáre ga iku tté? = Dáre ga ikú ka tté? 'Who'd you say was going?' See § 14.2.3 for paired nó-marked questions followed by tté, often AFFIRMATIVE nó NEGATIVE nó tté 'What do you mean ...?! = very ...'. On tté sá, see § 15.2. In KKK 3.75 there are two examples that have dá tté as an afterthought at the very end of a report: Sositára, ... teikyúu-bu ga áru n desu tté née dá tté 'And I hear they have a tennis group ..., as I understand it'; Tó ittára, mai-tosi site 'rú zya náí ka, dá tté 'From what is said I understand they must do it every year'. Observe that what confronts us here is not the D'áte 'But' (= Dé mo) that is found in such examples as D'áte, kuyasii n desu mono! 'But it's simply mortifying!' (KKK 3.257).

Tté (like té[e]) is also used as an abbreviation of the expressions *to iu*²² and *to iú no wa* (usually with an identificational or adjectival sentence—examples are in KKK 3.74); but *tté no wa* also occurs, with tté substituting for just the two words tó and iu, as in this example: Konó-goro(¯) no gakusei wa sonkei suru tté no wa odateru kotó da to omótte 'ru n desu 'Students nowadays think to respect means to flatter' (Ōno 1966.55). Often tté,

22. As in Takasimaya tte tokoró ga ... '[the place called] Takashimaya' (SA 2672.61b) and Watasi ga Tookyoo ūmare da tte kotó de wa nákute, ... '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-ongaesi sinákereba {naránai} tte kimoti ga tuyói ... 'I have a strong feeling that I must repay my obligation ...' (SA 2670.113b). An example in an apposition: Atityúudo, táido tte monó wa né, ... 'The "taido"—(what is called) attitude, you see, ...' (SA 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.—] Énniti 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 náí ka sira 'I wonder if war isn't something the male needs every now and then' (SA 2664.92e); ... okámisan te monó wa ... 'the housewife ...' (Tk 2.104b); Okosan te ángai(-) karee-zuki désu né 'Children are unusually fond of curry, aren't they' (SA 2679.122d); Tyoosyú-sya tte no wa, yonaká ni ókite benkyoo site 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 tté = to iú no [wa] used as a thematic afterthought: Iyá desu || nées || otokó tte 'Aren't they awful?'—men ...' (with the afterthought spoken in a lowered register of voice). In some sentences tté represents a contraction of *to itte*; there is additional ellipsis in this example: Sutorippaa ni nátte mo [ii to i]tté, 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 tté representing an abbreviation of *to itte* [*mo*], unless it is to be taken as a dialect version of -kut'átte: Káko nánka íkura utukúsikattatte, yókattatte, nán ni náru 'The past and all, however beautiful [you say] it was, however nice, what does it come to?' (Y 239). In the example ... taihen da, tté n de ... 'they say it would be terrible ... so ...' (SA 2672.28b) /ttende/ represents a contraction of ... to itte irú no de.

A less colloquial version of tté in both quotative and concessive uses is tóte, from which tté 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 aru tote = íkura da t[o]te = íkura d'atte = íkura de mo 'however much', dóko e ittá tote = dóko e ittá t[o]te = dóko e itt'átte = dóko e itté mo 'wherever one goes'. But I believe that the use of ...-tá tote for ... t'átte may be a back-formation, pseudo-literary in nature, and that all historically legitimate cases of tóte are to be taken as equivalent to ... tó itte 'saying that ...' and attached to finite forms only, so that ...-ta tote should only be used where ...-ta to itté mo is possible; accordingly (*)-kuta tote should be avoided, and Siranákut'atte hazukásiku náí 'There's no shame in not knowing' should not be cited as (*)Siranákuta tote ...²³ (The examples in KKK 3.123 are V-tá tote and N de átta tote. Presumably the appropriate reflex for N d'átte would be N †dá† tóte or N de áru tote.) And we will join Kazama (203 ff) in condemning (*)d'átt'atte as a pleonasm for d'átte 'even being' (= dé mo) while allowing the homonymous dátta tte 'saying that it was'. See the discussion in § 21.3.

The sequence /ttatte/ is an abbreviation that can be spelled 'tt'átte = [i]tt'átte 'even saying' (= itté mo);²⁴ and /ttettatte/ represents tte 'tt'átte = to itt'átte 'even saying that ...'

23. Terase 146 constructs examples of "colloquial" tóte {mo} as equivalent to d'átte (= dé mo) after a case-marked noun (Nihón e tote mo); as equivalent to A-kút'atte (= A-kúte mo) after an adjective imperfect (kurusii tote mo); and as equivalent to V-t'átte after a verb perfect (yondá tote). In Wakayama the form ná'atte (from náku ári-te) is used where standard Japanese would have nákute (Zhs 4.329). Yoshida says -t'átte is from -tá tote, which will be found in written versions of conversation only under special circumstances: Ki ni surú na; ki ni surú na, ki ni sitá tote dóo dekiru 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 tt'átte will turn up where you would expect tó itt'átte = tó itté mo: Sikási sore wa Nihon-zin no syuukan desyoo. Kyuu ni kae

(= to itté mo), with the first /t/ automatically suppressed after /n/, so that /nántettatte/ represents nán[i] tte 'tt'atte = nán[i] to itt'áte 'whatever one says = when all is said and done, after all' (= nán to itté mo). Cf. nán t'atte (SA 2670.150), a further abbreviation of nán[i] to itt'áte.

Not to be confused with tté 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 /tetatte/ represents -té 't'atte = -té [i]t'áte 'even doing', equivalent to -té [i]té mo, as in this example: Sore ga tasyoo Sangiin no zyoosiki to tigatté 't'atte kamawánai zya náí 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 káte after a noun²⁶ that a Tōkyō speaker would mark with d'áte, dé mo, or just mó. But káte also occurs after inflected forms:

V-tá kate = V-t'áte (= V-té mo): Áto de naitá kate siran wá yó 'She may have cried later, I don't know' (KKK 25.74b); Rokuzyúu ni nátta kate, rippa ni yakú ni tátta hitó ga óoi desu yó 'There are plenty of people who, though sixty years old, have rendered splendid service' (Tk 3.285b); Nanbo yakusoku iutá kate ... (= Íkura yakusoku o itt'áte) 'However much they promise, ...' (SA 2689.147a); ... kúroo ga átta kate (= átt'atte, átte mo) tati-agaru seizon-kyóosoo wa hagési-sa mo aróo 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).

V-(á)n kate = V-(a)nákute mo, V-(a)nákut'atte: ... kakán kate 'even without writing' (Zhs 4.230); Sinpai sén kate yorosi (= Sinpai sinákute mo yorosii) 'You need not worry about it' (Y 512); Sonna hidói kotó sén kate ée ya náí ka (= Sonna hidói kotó o sinákute mo ii zya náí ka) 'Must you do such a terrible thing?' (Makimura 1956.164a).

V-rú kate: Náni o surú kate saki-dátu monó wa nán to yara 'Whatever you may do the important thing is something or other'.

N yá kate (or N káte) = N d'áte: Kono tuki ya kate ... = Kóngetu d'atte ... 'This month even ...' (Maeda 1965.129).

A-[k]ú kate = A-kú d'atte, A-kú de mo: Nága'u [/nágoo/] kate mizíka'u [/mizíkoo/] kate dóo ni dé mo kittáru de = Nágaku d'atte mizíkaku d'atte dóo ni dé mo kítte iru zé 'Both long and short, they are cut every which way!' (Makimura 1956.164a).

A-ku náí kate = A-[k]u ná[k]ute mo = A-ku nákut'atte: Úmaku náí kate = Úmaku ná'ute mo, Úma'u ná'ute mo [/úmoo nóotemo/] 'Even if it is not tasty/skillful ...' (Maeda 1961.215).

According to Maeda (1965.129c) káte first appeared around 1860, replacing an earlier kátte, an abbreviation of kátete (which appeared around 1780), a form derived from ká + tóte. All three forms (kate, katte, katete) are found in kana spellings of the modern period.

ró tt'atte, sómo-somo múri na soodan désu yó 'But surely that is a custom of Japanese people. Why, it would be absurd from the very beginning to advise "Suddenly change it!"' (SA 2673.35e).

25. But some would account for the double tt 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: Íma kara kate osoi koto arahen (= Íma kara de mo osoi kotó wa náí) 'You won't be late even (starting) now' (Makimura 1956.164a).

The forms *katte* and *katete* are reported for Fukui province: *warii katte* = *wárukute mo* 'even if it's bad' (Zhs 3.235), *orósu katete* = *orósite mo* 'even if they lower it' (Zhs 3.232). Makimura (1956.164a) says that the Ōsaka sentence *Míta kate kamahen* (= *Mít'atte kamawánai*) 'It doesn't matter if you look' can be further abbreviated to *Míta te kamahen*.

15.12. *Ná; nákáre*

A negative command (i.e. a direct prohibition) can be made by following the verbal imperfect *V-rú* with the particle *ná*: *Kesú na* 'Do not erase!' (Cf. *Kesu ná* 'I will erase it, you see' ← *Kesú ná*.) Carefully distinguish the infinitive *V-i + (-)ná*, an abbreviation of *nasái*: *Kesi-ná[sái]* 'Erase!' (see § 16.3).

The particle can be followed by *yó* for emphasis: *Kesú na yó* 'Don't erase!'; *Nigásu na yó* 'Don't let it [= the fish] get away!'; (SA 2664.83b); *Óoki na kóe o dásu na yó* 'Don't shout so!' = 'Keep your voice down!' (SA 2671.93a). And *yó* is sometimes pronounced *í*: *Mútya o surú na í* 'Don't be rash!' (KKK 25.74a). Some speakers pronounce /nai/ as /nee/: *Ranboo na kotó o iú nee* [= *iú na yó*] 'Don't say such rough things!' (Okitsu 1.61). The negative imperative can be put into a direct quotation, with or without *yó*: *Kéti-keti surú na yó tte ittá n desu kedo né* 'He told me "Don't be stingy!", you see, but ...' (SA 2672.62a). The verb can take polite stylization before adding *ná*: *Kesimásu na* 'Do not erase!' (with fully voiced *u* before *na*—cf. the unvoiced *u* in *Kesimásu ná* 'I will erase it, you see').

The particle *ná* has the same meaning as *nákáre* < *nák[u] áre* 'let there not be' (a literary imperative), and that form is sometimes seen, especially in slogans or the like: *Ogoru nákáre, zimin-too* 'Beware of pride, O Liberal Democratic Party!' (SA 2661.116a); *Táka-ga benpi to iu nákáre* 'Don't say (it is) just constipation!' (heading of a medical note in SA 2650.97b); *Haguréru kotó o osoréru nákáre* 'Have no fear of going astray' (SA 2678.117d); *Konpyúutaa yó, sararii-man no sasáyaka na tanosímí() o ubáu nákáre* '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 *nákáre*, so that the structure seems to be saying *V-rú* [no *ga*] *nák[u] áre* 'let there be no *V-ing*'. Compare the noun *koto-nakare*, an abbreviation of *kotonakare-syúgi* '(the principle of) peace-at-any-price' from *kotó ga nákáre* 'let there be no incident!', as in ... *koto-nakare no genzyoo-izi-ha* 'the status-quo wing in favor of peace at all costs' (Fn 200b).

15.12a. *~Mái, ~mázi/ ~máziki; -(a)mási_{1,2}*

As described in § 12.2, the negative form of the hortative ('Let's not do it!') can be expressed by attaching *~mái* at the end of the verb imperfect, either plain (*V-rú ~mái*) or polite (*V-i-~mási ~mái*), and the forms are sometimes used as written equivalents of the negative tentative *-(a)nái daroo* (§ 12.1).²⁷ These forms are derived from an inflected

27. It is not always clear whether *V-rú ~mái* is to be taken as a hortative or a tentative: *Bóku() wa kodomo o tukúru ~mái* '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-rú ~mái* is more like *V-(a)nái tumori da* 'I have it in mind (I intend) not to' and the "tentative" meaning is more like *V-(a)nái ni tigai nái* 'will surely not', *V-(a)nái ni kimatte iru* 'is bound not to', or *V-(a)nái rasii* 'will apparently not', rather than like *V-(a)nái daroo*.

auxiliary of the literary language with the attributive form ʔmázi-ki and the predicative form ʔmázi = ʔmáziʔ-siʔ. In the literary language the auxiliary follows the predicative form, including the TRUE predicative of áru and derivatives (náru, táru), óru, 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-máziki ‘unbecoming, unlikely’, which now functions as an adnoun and is sometimes given a more colloquial version aru-mazii (MKZ), the consonant of -[k]i having dropped for all adjectives in the modern language.

Henderson 153 says that the forms with ʔmái are now “more used in the west and south than in Tōkyō 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 ʔmái, kúru ʔmái, and míru ʔmái in favor of i-mái, ko-mái, and mi-mái. In this study we will say that the -rú of vowel verbs OPTIONALLY drops, so that kúru ʔmái and kúʔ ʔmái are both acceptable (as are suru ʔmái and suʔ ʔmái as well as míru ʔmái and míʔ ʔmái, iru ʔmái and iʔ ʔmái etc.); we treat ko-mái or ki-mái and se-mái as dialect forms for kú[ru] ʔmái and su[rú] ʔmái respectively. The historical explanation is somewhat more complicated for each of the forms, but we will not go into that here.²⁸ I have recorded examples which attach ʔmái without the accent cancellation: yamerú mái can be regarded as a variant, within the standard language, of yamerú ʔmái.

These forms should not be confused with the literary forms -(a)mási₁ ‘will probably (be/do)’, a derivative from -(á)mu the literary tentative-hortative (whence -aʔu > -[y]oo the modern hortative); and -(a)mási₂ ‘wants to (be/do)’, a contraction of -(a)máʔkuʔ hōsi < -ám[u] aku (nominalization of the literary tentative-hortative = V-[y]oo kotó) followed by the adjective hōsiʔ-siʔ, a contraction of *po[r-á]si- ‘desirable’, from the old verb hór- ‘desire’ (in meaning equivalent to modern hosi-gáru) from which hór(e)- ‘become infatuated (with)’ is a derivative.

Dialect variants of ʔmái include ʔmée, ʔméi, ʔmyáa, and ʔmáa (Y 312). Examples of ʔmái taken from modern fiction will be found in Y 305-16.

15.12b. ʔBési/ʔbéki, ʔbéku, ʔbekárazu/ʔbekarazáru; ʔbéi, ʔbé[e], ʔbé ná

The literary language has an inflected auxiliary with the predicative form ʔbé-si, the attributive form ʔbé-ki. It is attached in the same way as ʔmázi: to the predicative form—including the true predicative form of áru (and derivatives), óru, and habéru, which coincides with the attributive form, as does that of consonant verbs in general. (On the substitution of the infinitives ári, óri, 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 bési/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 (= áru ʔmái), iromai (= irú ʔmái), and ikomai (= ikú ʔmái) 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 ʔbéki.

infinitives, such as *tábe* 'eat' and *abí*⁽¹⁾ 'bathe in', are shorter than the attributives (*tabúru/tabú* = colloquial *tabéru* 'eats', *aburú/abú* = *abirú*⁽¹⁾ '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 kotó ga dekiru*); (3) presumption 'is likely/expected/presumed to' (= *suru hazu dá*);³⁰ tentative 'probably does or will do' (= *surú daroo*); definite future 'will do' (= *suru* in a restricted sense); indirect command (= *suru kotó da, sé yo*). Only the first meaning—'ought to' or 'must'—is common in the colloquial, which uses the form *̀béki 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 náí* 'ought/must not' (= *sité wa ikenai, surú na*) but in writing there is often a replacement by the literary negatives *̀bekárazu* < *̀bék[u] árazu* (predicative) and *̀bekarazáru* < *̀bék[u] arazáru* (attributive); examples of the attributive will be found in KKK 3.247, and here is an example of the predicative: *Tatí-syóoben su ̀bekárazu* 'No urinating' (Tk 4.260a). The double-negative expression *V-(a)záru ̀bekárazu* is equivalent to the colloquial *V-(a)nákereba naránai* 'must' and thus is much the same as one use of *V-rú ̀bési*.

The infinitive form *̀béku* 'needing to' also occurs: *Nagái ryokoo ni iku ̀béku, zyúnbi o hazimete iru* 'Having to go on a long trip we are beginning our preparations' (Morishige 168). *Su[ru] ̀béku mo náí* means 'There should be no possibility of doing it'. (Cf. *A-kú wa náí* = *A-i kotó wa náí*, p. 372). And *V-rú ̀béku yogi-náku sareru* 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 + *-káru* (< *-k[u] áru*) *̀bési*: ... *tanosikáru ̀béki syokutaku* '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-mazíi* mentioned in the preceding section.) And *̀béi* is widely pronounced as /bee/. This is the source of the form *V-ru bée* heard in dialect speech as an equivalent of the tentative *V-rú daroo*: *Áme ga húru ̀bée* = *Áme ga húru daroo* 'It will likely rain'. With the copula the form seems to be /nbee/ as in *Sóo da nbee* = *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 *né[e]*?—can follow, as in these examples: *Attí wa tokkú-ni yuki^[1] hútte samúi ̀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 zúibun 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*; *nánte*

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 kotó/nó (as often in other fragments such as those with ... kará), it would make sense to treat kotó and nó by class overlap as sentence extensions together with the other sentence-final particles. In the case of kotó (but not nó) a nominal sentence can stand unadnominalized with dá, 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 yó); or (3) questions (accompanied by an appropriate rise of intonation). Examples: Dá ga || sono úmi no || nán to | máa | kitanái kotó^[1] {?da} 'But, my [máa], what a dirty sea it is!' (from a newspaper); ... okumen mo náí wakamonó(-) ga nán to húeta kotó^[1] {?da} yó '... how the number of brazen young people has grown!' (SA 2654.134d); Zúibun, zisin ga o-ari desu koto 'You DO have a lot of confidence in yourself!' (Fn 323b); Móo, káeru no? 'Are we leaving now?' (SA 2653.59c); [Zúibun hirói desu né.—] Dé mo né, máda híroku 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 kotó exclamation can be preceded by a deictic used merely for emphasis: Sono tuyói koto! 'How strong!' (Hayashi 155; cf. p. 859). For an example of exclamatory kotó after a rhetorical question, see p. 948. People in Kanazawa often end sentences with ... tó^[1] koto, somewhat in the spirit of English 'I tellya': ... déte kíta n ya to koto = déte kíta n desu yó '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 kotó, however, seems to be distinctively feminine, especially after dá: Máa, kírei na kusí da koto 'Why, what a lovely comb!' (Y 388); Kansin dá koto. Wakái no ni mo niawánai 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) ... kotó [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[o] da, ikú n[o] ka. And in dialect speech you may run across a sentence-final n[ó] of the same sort: Totie tyaan—ítu gakkoo [o] e ikú n? Benkyoo dónai surú n? (= Totie-tyan—ítu gakkoo e ikú no ka; benkyoo dónna ni surú no ka) 'Li'l Toshie, when you goin' to school? How you gonna learn?' (SA 2665.112c). On the use of S nó as a question, etc., see § 14.2.

The kotó-exclamation shows surprise at a sudden apperception; SENTENCE + nánte is similar, but adds a touch of incredulity, as in these examples from Hayashi 153: Huyú, kaminári ga áru nánte 'What's it doing thundering in the wintertime?!'; Kúmó yori mo takái 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 báka 'fool'.) As Hayashi points out, these expressions are very similar to SENTENCE + tó wa 'to think of ...!', 'imagine ...!', § 21.1.(10). For other uses of nánte, see § 2.9.

15.14. *Tó mo*

Tó mo is used as a sentence-final extension to mean 'of course' or 'indeed': *Sóo da to mo* 'Yes, indeed'; *Kamaimasén to mo* 'Of course it's all right'; *Kíta to mo* 'Of course I'm here', *Iku tó mo* (or *Ikú to mo*) 'I will go indeed' (all from KKK 3.125). As the last example illustrates, *tó mo* attaches to an atonic verb form in the same way as *tó* alone does: either losing its accent after the inherent accent of the ending (*Ikú to mo*) or retaining its own accent at the expense of the accent of the ending (*Iku tó mo* ← *Ikú | tó mo*).³¹ 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 ... *omoéru* or ... *ieru* as the omitted verb. In Shiga and Fukui (Zhs 4.126 n. 7) a sentence + *kurai* (or *kúrai*?) is used like *S tó mo* in *Tōkyō* to mean 'of course'.

In addition to the sentence-final usage, *tó mo* can also represent a highlighted quotation—or a highlighted version of almost any of the various uses of quotations. Note in particular *tó mo tukánai* §21.1.(7), *tó mo kagiránai* §21.1.(8), *tó mo = -té mo* (etc.) and *dé mo* §21.1.(9),³² *tó mo náku* §21.1.(12), *tó mo aróo monó/hitó* §21.1.(13). For *N nárazu to mo = N daké de náku* 'others besides (in addition to) N', see p. 368. For *sore tó mo* 'or (else)' to introduce an alternative question, see p. 924. For *nári* [to [mo]] see §15.19. These examples show specialized uses of quotations: ... *masárú tó mo otoránai* 'kessaku' to *syoo-saréru* 'it can be called a "masterpiece" equal to any' (SA 2689.19b); ... *kore mo Tookyoo ni masárú tó mo otoránu nedan dá ga* ... 'this is a price that neither exceeds nor trails *Tōkyō* but ...' (CK 985.271); ... *mé o tukarásu to mo siraná de, káre-ra wa syuukán-si o yómu* '... ignoring their tired eyes they read the weeklies' (Hayashi 117).

And, of course, *tó mo* may be a highlighted reciprocal 'even/also with' as in *Áni to mo ootoó to mo kenka suru* 'I quarrel with both my older and my younger brother'. The noun *tómó* 'companion' and the adverbialization *tómo() ni* '(as a companion =) together'—equivalent to *issyō ni*—are best treated separately. (The noun is the source of the collectivizer *~dómo*, §2.7.) Synonyms of *tómo() ni* 'together', in addition to *issyō ni*, are *tomódomo() {ni}* and *morotomo {ni}*.

There are two suffixes—or, likely, quasi-restrictives (§2.4)—that derive from the noun *tómó*:

(1) (-)~tomo (< ~tomó^[1]) 'all ...' (atonicizing) as in *húuhu ~tomo = huuhutomo* 'both husband and wife', *símai ~tomo = simaitomo* 'both/all the sisters', *ryóosya ~tomo = ryoosyatomo* 'both persons together', *ryóokun ~tomo = ryookuntomo* 'both the two gentlemen' (SA 2681.95b), *ryoo-zíko ~tomo = ryoozikotomo* 'both accidents' (SA 2688.130e), *Ryoo-zín'ei ~tomo né = Ryoozin'eitomo né* 'Both camps alike, you see' (Tk 2.247a), *ryoohóo() ~tomo = ryoohootomo* 'both', *ryoogan ~tomo = ryoogantomo* 'both

31. This is explained in Martin 1967.251 n. 8. Another example of the accent option is *Kore dá to mo = Kore da tó mo* 'Of course it's this'—notice that *dá* can not drop.

32. Of which I take *káku N tó mo* to be an example, since it means *dóno N dé mo* 'whatever N' as in this example: *káku | sinku-tánku to mo || kore ni dóo | táisyo | surú ka ni, | kúryo site iru || kotó mo | 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: *káku ea-ráin to mo* 'each and every airline' (SA 2685.80), *káku depáato to mo* 'each and every department store' (SA 2685.112a). I believe *káku-sya to mo* 'each and every firm' (SA 2672.30d) belongs here, too; cf. *káku-syoo ~góto ni* 'in each and every paragraph' (SA 2685.105a).

eyes', mittú ˉtomo = mittutomo 'all three', mikka ˉtomo = mikkatomo 'all three days', yonín ˉtomo = yonintomo 'all four people'.

(2) (-)ˉtomo(ˉ) 'including ...' (dominant prototonic but optionally atonicizing) as in sóoryóo ˉtomo(ˉ) = sooryootómo or sooryootomo 'including postage', huroku ˉtomo(ˉ) = hurokutómo or hurokutomo 'including appendix'.

The first suffix should not be confused with the use of tó mo after a number as in Mikka tó mo kakaránai 'It won't take even three days'; see §21.1.(4).

Expressions such as Kyóo lasú tómo(ˉ) ʃniʃ || háré desyoo 'Today and tomorrow will both be fair' involve parataxis or ellipsis that leaves two nouns directly conjoined and immediately followed by the adverbial tómo(ˉ) ʃniʃ 'together': Kyóo [to] lasú [wa] | tómo(ˉ) ʃniʃ. Examples: Humikiri-zíko no tamé || Tóobu | Toozyoo-sen ga || nobori | kudari tómo(ˉ) || hutuu ni nátte imáshu 'Owing to an accident at a crossing, on the Tōbu Tōjō line both the up-trains and down-trains are out of operation' (R); ... ími yoofoo tómo(ˉ) ... 'both meaning and use (together) ...'; mágutí, okúyuki tómo(ˉ) ni 'frontage and depth (of the shop) together' (SA 2671.38c); ... iró wa natú huyú tómo(ˉ) kón de, ... 'the color is dark blue summer and winter alike, and ...' (SA 2671.107)—the ellipsis is natú [to] | huyú [wa] | tómo(ˉ) [ni] || with junctures that cancel the final accents on natú and huyú and then automatically disappear so that natu huyu tómo(ˉ) is pronounced as if it were a single word.

Similar cases involve an inherently nonsingular noun: zí-ta tómo(ˉ) ni 'both oneself and others', méi-zitu(ˉ) tómo(ˉ) ni 'both in name and in reality'; dán-zyo tómo(ˉ) 'both men and women', sitú-ryoo tómo(ˉ) 'both quality and quantity'. (These differ from the nouns that take ˉtomo 'all' in not being numbers.) The adverbial expression zéhi-tomo(ˉ) 'at all costs, for sure' apparently comes from zé-hi 'right or wrong = by all means' + tó mo [áre káku mo áre] '[be it] even so or [be it even thus]' with the old deictic tó (= sóo) best known in tó-ni-kaku = tó-mo-kaku [-mo] = tó ni mo káku ni mo 'whether so or thus' = 'nonetheless, anyway'; cf. Sore wa tó-mo-kaku ... 'Be that as it may ...'.

15.15. Ttára, tteba[a]; tó, ttó, tó ka

A number of sentence extensions derive from various quotational structures, and these are treated in other sections. Ttára 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 náru kara míni nánka tukúttara 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. [l] Zya náí [ka/no], [l] zya arimasén ka (= zya náí desu ka), [l] 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 náí {ka/no}, politely zya náí desu ka or zya arimasén ka, hyperpolitely dé wa [or zya] gozaimasén ka. Imperfect nominal sentences will either drop the copula dá or nominalize with ... ná nō. The normal

pattern attaches the stretch that starts with *zya* (or *dé wa*) as a sentence extension without juncture; the basic final accent of an “atonic” inflected form will surface and the underlying accents in the extension will automatically drop. (See further discussion at the end of this section.) Examples: *Hayái zya nái [ka]?* ‘Aren’t we early? = Surely we are early’; *Háyaku nái zya nái [ka]?* ‘Surely we aren’t early’; *Íi zya nái desu ka* ‘But isn’t that nice!’ (SA 2673.46c); *Íi zya nái no?* ‘Nice, isn’t it? = How nice!’ [said after putting a record on the record player]; *Sonna kotó, kangaeraré nái zya nái desu ka* ‘Surely such a thing is unthinkable!’ (KKK 3.282); *Nihón ga Amerika o osáe, bookei no tóppu ni tátte iru kotó o míte mo, Nihon-zín ga kirawarete iru hazu ga nái zya nái 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 kanarazú-sí-mo ryoosin-teki zya nái ka 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); *Koitsu wa dare d’atte uresikaróo zya arimasén ka [= uresii daroo zya arimasén ka = uresii hazu dé wa arimasén ka]* ‘Surely ANYONE would be delighted with this one’; *Sonna kotó ni náttte wa komáru zya arimasén 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’): *Sosite, konna sitúrei na monó o to tirigami ni tutúnda monó o watasú zya arimasén 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 kónai zya arimasén ka* ‘He said he’d come but I guess he’s not coming, after all’ (Alfonso 803); *Sóra o míru to nání ka sirói monó ga ótite kúru zya arimasén ka* ‘When I look at the sky what do I see but something white coming down’ (Alfonso 805); *Náka o míru to 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 sitára, ikinari mukóo(¯) no kénpei no zípu ga máe ni tukkónde kíte, zyama o surú zya nái 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[ó]* can be used: *Kekkon sité mo zenzen aénai nánte hígeki ga okóru n zya gozaimasén 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)—apparently a rhetorical question with exclamatory *kotó*, § 15.13. The rhetorical question is also used to soften a hortative: *Kaeróo zya arimasén ka* ‘Shall we leave now?’; *Íp-pai nomóo zya nái ka* ‘How about a drink?’; *Sáa, tabeyóo zya nái no?* ‘Let’s eat, shall we?’; *Yameyóo zya nái ka* ‘Let’s not (do it)’; *Kaeróo zya (or: de wa) gozaimasén ka* ‘Shall we leave?’

In some dialects *zya* will be replaced by *ya*: ... *soko de benkyoo siyóo ya nái ka to omótte* ‘thinking I might study there’ (SA 2639.45a). Moreover *ya nái ka* can contract to *ya n ka* as in this Ōsaka example: *Monogótuu kimoti ée ya n ka = Monosúgoku kimoti [ga] íi zya nái ka* ‘What a terribly good feeling!’ According to Zhs 2.21 the abbreviated forms *S zya n ka = S zya nái ka* are coming into Tōkyō from surrounding dialects of the south-west Kantō area: *Íi zya n ka; Ikóo 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: Nagasaki zya I arimasén ka 'Isn't it Nagasaki?', Sízuka zya I náí kara ... 'Because it isn't quiet ...'. If the word expressing what is denied is atonic, the juncture is usually suppressed: Yokohama zya [I] arimasén ka 'Isn't it Yokohama?' and Kantan zya [I] náí 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] daróo, 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 kakáru zya I arimasén ka 'SURELY it will cost money!' With this option, the basic final accent of an "atonic" inflected form will be suppressed, after which the juncture will itself disappear: Kane o tukaú [I] zya arimasén ka 'SURELY we will spend money!' But more commonly you will attach the stretch with no juncture; the underlying final accent of an "atonic" inflected form will be heard, and the accent on the negative auxiliary automatically cancelled: Kane ga kakáru zya arimasén ka 'Surely it will cost money!' Kane o tukaú zya arimasén ka 'Surely we will spend money!'

15.17. Dá no

There are a number of ways to conjoin noun phrases as coordinates: A to B {to}, A ya B, A tó 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 ní or subjective tó) or the copula dá, which is liable to drop before yá or ká 'question'; the ellipsis is usual, though not obligatory, for we find A dá ka B dá ka or A dá tó ka B dá tó ka in examples such as these (from Ig 77): Kono ningen wa musuko dá ka musumé da ka ga hitóri áru to iu hanasí datta ga ... 'The story was that this individual had a son or a daughter, one or the other, and ...'; Wataru tanbí ni ni-sén da ka is-sén da ka no hasí-sén o toráreta 'Every time we crossed we were charged a bridge toll of two sen or one sen'; Sirí da ka hará da ka, dóotai to omowaréru itíbu ga wázuka ni suimen ni miéru daké 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'; Káre-ra ni hituyoo na monó wa sirákaba(¯) no hayasí da to ka pópura no namiki dá to ka mizu dá to ka gensi-teki na húukei da to ka ikoku-zyóotyó da to ka de, koré-ra no monó nara taitei mihon ga sorótte ita 'The things they require are birch forests or rows of poplars or water or primitive landscape or exotic sentiments, and of such things we generally had an array of samples'.

Under §14.2.3. we observed paired sentences nominalized with nó, of which these two (from Ig 77) are examples: Súita no sukáreta no to iu kúuki ni ... 'In an atmosphere of good grace or bad (grace) ...'; Íya, sonna hazíru no wabirú no to itta nama-yasasíi(¯) kimoti dé wa náí '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 dá no: Hón da no zassi dá no (= Hón yara zassi yára) ga góta-góta tunde áru 'Books and magazines are piled up helter-skelter'. This could be regarded a nominalization but for the fact that dá does not change to ná. Henderson 70 is probably wrong in his suggestion that dá no might be a contraction of tó áru monó; the dá would seem to be the copula, cf. the variant N dá no de/ni = N ná no de/ni (§14.2) and the sentence-introducer

Dá no ni = Ná no ni 'But'. Examples of dá no (from Ig 77): Kási da no sibai no kippu dá no o máiniti(¯) no yóo ni motté kíte ... 'Bringing candy or theater tickets every-day ...'; Sibai dá no ongákkai da no no kippu ... '... tickets to the theater and to concerts'; Uti(¯) no kodomo no kóro da no, wakái musumé no kóro da no no hanasí ... '... stories from when a child at home and when she was a young lady ...'; Haikyuu dá no tooroku dá no, sonna kotó wa náhi 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 Róndon da no Pári(i) da no (Bérurín da no) ironna tokoró e itté kíta 'I've been to all sorts of places—London, Paris, (Berlin,) and so on'.

KKK 3.69 has examples in which nádo replaces the second dá no: ... ebi dá no áwabi sazái(¯) nádo o siirete kíta '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 yá can be assumed); ... goosei-zyúsi da no beekuráito nádo no atarasíi seihoo ya ooyóo-hoo(¯) o hatumei si ... '... he discovered new ways to make and use plastics and bakelite and so on'; ... budoo dá no kurí nádo o motta o-sara o ... '... a plate heaped with grapes and chestnuts and things' (motta is from moru). In this example N dá no is followed directly by nánka: Hukú da no nánka wa betu desyó.—Zenzen betu desú 'Clothes and whatnot must be separate [from your regular allowance].—Quite separate' (SA 2663.46b). And sometimes (as with other conjoining-markers) the second dá no will be omitted with nothing to mark its absence: Mánnyuu da no Bíruma e mo, ikaretá n zya ná n desu ka 'Didn't you get to Manchuria and Burma too [as well as other places]?' (Tk 2.323a); Gakusya dá no geizyutu-ka ga sumáu uti(¯) o tukúru kotó mo hituyoo desú 'It is necessary, too, to construct houses for scholars and artists to live in' (Tk 2.310b). Other examples of dá no: Sóo yó, hén née, kyúuri da no kyábetu da no kaú no wa heiki de, o-imo wa hazukasíi nánte okasíi 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); Tóo-tyan da no, née-tyan da no, Ken-íti(¯) san dá no, sagasí ni kíte kuretá no sá 'Daddy and Sis and Ken-ichi, they kindly came to look (for it/me)' (KKK 3.69); Suna dá no koisi dá no ga atumátte, suiryuu no atúryoku de iwá ni náru 'Sand and pebbles bunch together and turn into rock under the pressure of the current' (Tk 2.162a); Sono tok^[i], hóoboo no yadoya de, gaku dá no kakémono da no ni, muzukasíi mózi ga áru to, Sasakí-si to watakusi tó de soodan si-nagará^[i] yónnda monó 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 tó sometimes follows the conjoined expression, with or without a quoting verb: ... waisetu dá no nán da no to iwareta ... 'was said to be obscene and all' (Fukuda in Ōno 1967.222); Otya dá no ikébana da no to isogasíi 'I'm busy with the tea ceremony and flower arranging and the like'; Áa da no kóo da no [to], urusái kotó da 'What with this and that it is a nuisance'; Ookíi da no tiisái 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: Sukí da no kirai dá no to itte iraremasén 'You mustn't harp on your likes and dislikes'. Alfonso suggests that in speech the quoted uses of dá no may be more common than the other uses. Examples of the quoted use (KKK 3.69): Higasí(¯) dá no nisi dá no, kitá(¯) dá no tte iú kedo hontoo wa, tikyuu ni toozai-nánboku ga áru wáke zya ná desyo, táda, ningen ga tükete 'ru daké na no yó '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 Sobiétto da no tte katte ni wakú o hamete, kenka sitári, sensoo sitári, báka née '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-kói 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 yoohuku de gozaimásu no iroiro hosigáru n de gozaimásu née 'They want all sorts of things—Japanese kimonos, Western suits, ...'. (This is the origin of the misleading suggestion in Chamberlain 1924 that the conjunctive dá no can be stylized to de gozaimásu nó.) 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 essive ní (underlying the copula dá, nó, etc.). The conjoined expression is treated as a noun, and dá no is functioning as a conjunctive; 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, tté, tó itte/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, yamá no, oozóra no tó iki-tagáru '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 ga/o is an abbreviation of something like A dá {tó} ka B dá {tó} ka ga/o. Cf. A dátta {tó} ka B dátta {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 joiner, derives from the literary copula, and thus ultimately from the essive ní also. Like nári and yára (§ 15.18)—and, in fact, all nominal joiners (including tó, yá, ní, ká, tó ka, dé 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 yara'u = yara[m]u) from a literary expression N yá arán/arámu, in Heian times N ní ya arámu (Terase 225a), equivalent to N d[e] aróo ka 'would it be?' with yá being a permuted postadnominal interrogative. (Cf.

Satō 2.109-10, Chamberlain 488, Henderson 349.) It can be used as a soft equivalent of *ká*, especially when the question is oblique or quoted: *Náni ga náni yara sappári wakaránai* 'I just can't make out what is what' (= *Náni ga nán da ka ...*); *Dótti ga áni yara ootoótó yara wakaránai* 'I don't know which is the older brother and which the younger'; *Kúru yara kónai yara hakkíri wakaránai* 'I don't quite know whether he's coming or not' (= *Kúru ka kónai/dóo ka ...*); *Ítu-no-má-ní-yara* (SA 2673.50a) = *Ítu-no-má-ní-ka* 'unawares' (see pp. 923-4).

When used as a complete sentence the meaning is usually 'I wonder' (= *ká ne* or *ká sira*): *Dáre ga dáre yara* 'I wonder who is who = I wonder who everybody is'; *Ítu owaru kotó yara* 'I wonder when it will end' = *Ítu owaru kotó da [ka] ne*; *Dóko e ittá yara* 'I wonder where he went' = *Dóko e ittá ka sira*; *Dóko de dóo site irú no yara* 'I wonder where he is and how he is getting along'. But after *tó* it serves to quote adages and the like: "*Sáru(-) monó wa híbi ni utósi*" to *yara* 'As they say, "Out of sight, out of mind" '.

In the same vein, *tó yara* can be used as a gentle equivalent of *tó ka* in its various uses (§ 21.6): *Yamada tó yara iu hitó* = *Yamada tó ka iu hitó* 'a person, called, I believe, Yamada'; ... *tó yara iu hanási da* 'The story is something to the effect that ...'; ... "*Tyosenzin-gakuseikumiai-réngoo*" to *yara no namae de* ... '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 *ká*: *Dáre ni yara* (or *Dáre yara ni*) *watasita* = *Dáre ka ni watasita* 'I handed it over to someone'; *Náni yara miéru* = *Náni ka miéru* 'Something is visible'; *Náni yara kawatta monó* 'something strange'. *Dóo yara*³³ is equivalent to *dóo ni ka* 'somehow or other; barely (managing)' but it is also used like *dóo mo* to reinforce a statement of appearance 'ever so (likely)': *Asitá wa dóo yara* (= *dóo mo*) *áme no yóo desu né* 'It certainly looks like rain tomorrow'. Kenkyusha gives the examples *Dóo yara hare-sóo da* 'The weather is likely to clear up' and *Dóo yara rúsu tyuu ni tazúnete kíta rasii* 'He called in my absence, apparently'. These examples are from KKK 3.226: *Hutarí ga hanasi-nágara arúite iku uti(-) ni dóo yara miti o matigáeta rásiku, tonde-mo-nái tokoró e déte simaimásita* 'While the two were walking along talking they seem somehow to have lost their way, ending up at some totally unexpected place'; *Akegata kara áme wa yande, dóo yara kyóo wa sukósi wa hare-má^[k] no mie-sóo na ása de áru* '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 *ká* can not take the place of *yára* (though *mó* can), since *dóo ka* has another meaning 'please'. Conversely, *yára* can not take the place of *ká* when it is used for *mó* after *yóri*: *yó[ri] ka = yóri mo*, § 2.6.

Paired (or multiple) sentences with *yára* are coordinated and used adverbially—or first nominalized and then gerundized with *dá* changing to *dé*: *Waméku yara donáru yara {de} oo-sáwagi da* 'What with screaming and yelling there is a great fuss'; *Kinóo uti(-) e oozéi no hitó ga kúru yara káeru yara de taihen nigiyaka desita* 'It was very lively yesterday with so many people going and coming around the house'.³⁴ The conjoined phrase can be quoted: *Mizu o kumú yara táoru o sibóru yara to itta guai ni ...* 'In a situation where you dip water and wring towels ...'.

33. Though the reasons are not compelling, elsewhere we treat *dóo-yara*, *dóo-mo*, and *dóo-ka* as lexical adverbs (hyphenated), following the dictionaries.

34. Kuno 1973.121 observes that in such expressions *yára* "seems to be suitable only when the speaker is annoyed (or affected) by the actions or states enumerated by the construction".

Adjectival sentences, and those with adjectival nouns, are more commonly nominalized with *nó* before *yára* is attached: *Iki-tái no yara iki-taku náí no yara hakkíri wakaránaí* 'I don't quite know whether I want to go or not'; *Ookíi no yara tiisái 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*: *Uresíi yara kanasíi yara wakaránaí* 'I don't know whether I'm happy or sad'.

Nominal sentences can reduce to N_1 *yára* N_2 *yára* (N_3 *yára* ...) with the meaning 'and (among others)', equivalent to N_1 *ya* N_2 ; the conjoined phrase can be put in the same positions as any noun: *Hana yára nódo yara ni tumátta mizu o ...* '... fluid clogged up in the nose or throat'; *Koora ni koké(̄) yára mizuaka yára ga habikori-hóodai ni habikóttá, yuu'utu-sóo na dorage de áru* 'It's a sad-looking mud turtle, thoroughly incrustated with moss and slime on its shell' (SA 2681.92a); *Akanboo no kóbusi(̄) ga ... áka yara áo yara kúro yara ni tadarete itá no de áru* '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 isogasíi)* '(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 *nán(̄) ya kán ya* and *nán yara kán yara*, but not **náni ya [ra] káre/are ya [ra]*.

15.19. *Nári; ná{ri} [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 *-nari* (according to H, oxytonic *-nari*) which means 'shape', as in *mikazuki-nari (no monó)* '(a thing of) crescent shape' and *magari-nari* 'curved shape'; it also means '(appropriate) state', as in *Káre ga kodomo no ii-nari (or iinari-sídai) ni náru* '(He) gives in to his child's every word (= wish)' and *Kimi no ii-nari ni dasóo* 'I'll pay whatever you say' (Tk 3.237a). From the latter meaning of the suffix *-nari* there has developed a use as a quasi-restrictive (§ 2.4) 'appropriate to, to be expected of', as in these examples: *sore -nari ni* 'in its own way' or 'just as it is'; *sore -nari no hituzen-sei* 'an inevitability of its own' (SA 2677.159c); *Zibun wa zibun -nari ni íkite iki-tai* 'I want to start living according to my own principles'; ... *zibun -nari ni arasótte ikoo to ...* 'wanting to struggle along in one's own way ...' (SA 2672.136e); *káre-ra -nari no péesu de ...* 'at their own pace' (SA 2639.41e); *Watasi -nari ni téigi sasete moraú nara, ...* 'If I may be permitted to define it in my own way, ...' (SA 2673.40c); ... *watakusi -nari no kangáe de baken o kai, ...* 'I buy horserace tickets according to my own estimates' (SA 2685.119a); *tiisái kodomo -nari no handán-ryoku* 'the discernment of a little child'; ... *wá-ga íkka wa wá-ga íkka -nari ni inú o ái-site ita ...* 'my family loved the dog in our own way' (SA 2663.102). Although *-nari* 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 -nari ni* 'Shigecko, 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 nari* '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: ... *keiyákú-kin*(⁻) *wa nenkan nisenman-en nári de*, ... 'with a contract that calls for twenty million yen a year ...' (SA); *Kokumin-hóken da kara sán-wari hutan no hyákú^[1] hatizyúu-en nari ga, kusurí-dai*(⁻) *de átta* '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 nári no mini-béssoo mo* ... 'even a mini-villa with a million-yen price tag' (SA 2687.49a); ... *heyá-dai*(⁻) *sen-en nári o siharáu toki*, ... 'when I paid the thousand yen for the room ...' (Shibata 1961.79); *Gentei sán-bu, ití-bu itimán nisen-en nári no gooka-bon* '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 *nári* is used to conjoin two (or more) parallel adjuncts with a meaning very close to *N₁ dé mo N₂ dé mo* 'whether *N₁* or *N₂*; either *N₁* or *N₂*' and not unlike *N₁ ká 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 *nári* added after, as can be seen in the following two examples (found in both *Kenkyusha* and *Henderson*): *Iwá nari isí nari e kuttúku* 'They fasten onto rocks or stones, and the like'; *Syómen*(⁻) *dé nari kootoo dé nari moosikomi-nasái* 'Apply either in writing or (by word of mouth =) in person'. Other examples: *Murá nari matí nari* ... 'Whether village or town ...'; *Kore wa sonó-hito no zoku-súru gakkoo nári syákai nari ga, sekinin o mótu* 'béki na n desu' 'This is something that the school or society he belongs to must bear the responsibility for' (Tk 3.79a); *Tooka nári hatuka nári da* 'It will be the tenth or the twentieth of the month'; *Yamá e nari úmi e nari* '(Let's go) either to the mountains or to the sea!'; *Móttö-mo, taigai-tóosi ga riéki o age, rísi nari rizyun nári ga okuri-kaesaréru kotó ni náreba, zítai wa kawatte kúru* '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); *Bútyoo*(⁻) *ní nari katyoo ní nari soodan si-nasái* 'Consult the division head or the section chief'; *Kotobá o kokuban nári kamí nari ni kaki-toraseru* 'We have them take dictation at the blackboard or (on paper =) at their desks'; *Kókka nari koeki-dántai nari ga sonsitu o hutan suru* 'Either the nation or some public corporation bears the loss'; *Tití nari háha nari ni ukagaimásu* 'I will ask my father or my mother'; *Yamá nari úmi nari sukí na tokoró ni ike* 'Go some place you like, say the mountains or the sea'; *Zassi nári hón nari sukí na monó o tótte kudasai* 'Take whatever you like—a magazine, say, or a book'.

The idiomatic phrase *dái nari syóo nari* 'whether large or small' is a variant of *dái nare syóo nare*, with the literary concessive of the literary copula (KKK 3.134). Sometimes (perhaps with *yá* or *ká* as a model) *nári* is omitted after the second noun: ... *Kore wa sán-i nari, gó-i made hoosyoo sú beki da to omoimásu* '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); ... *nízyúu-nen nari sánzyúu-nen to tuzuku kotó ni náru* ... 'it gets to be a matter that drags on for twenty or thirty years' (SA 2677.119c); ... *íkkyo ni roomá-zi nari kana-mozi ni arataméru nádo to iu kotó wa kangáete inai to omóu* 'I do not believe they are thinking, for instance, to switch to romanization or kana letters in a single stroke ...' (Shibata 1965.205); ... *Nihón nari gaikoku no gakkoo 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 ikanái nari hakkíri henzí o site kudasái* 'Answer clearly whether you are going or not going'; *Iki-tái nari iki-taku náí nari hakkíri itte kudasái* 'Tell me definitely whether you do want to go or you don't want to go'; *Damátte ité wa wakaránai kara itái nari kayúi nari (sukí 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)'; *Míta nari kiitá nari hakkíri 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): *Háiru nari déru nari si-nasái* 'Come in or go out, one or the other'; *Ikú nari káeru nari katte ni si ro* 'Either go or return, whichever you please'; *Benkyoo surú nari nerú nari hakkíri sitara dóo da* 'How about making up your mind whether you're going to study or sleep?'; *Watasi ga káette kúru made tabéru nari, nómu nari site kudasái* '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 *nó*-nominalization being preferred (*sirói no nari kurói no nari* 'white or black'), but verb-derived or verb-related adjectives will be found: *Isogásii nari isogásiku náí nari (sirasete kudasái)* '(Let me know) whether you are busy or are not busy'; *Iki-tái nari iki-taku náí nari hakkíri site morai-tai* 'I'd like you to make it clear whether you want to go or not'; *Hosíi nari hósiku náí nari kikimasyóo* 'Let's ask whether they want it or don't want it'.

When *nári*, or *nári*, appears directly after a single verb phrase or a sentence it is always without accent since the accent of the base (or, if an atonic 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-rú nari* (when unpaired) is usually 'as soon as', roughly the equivalent of *V-ru to^[1] súgu* or *V-rú ya ina ya*: *Míru nari tati-agatta* 'I rose upon seeing him'; *Bangóhan o tabéru nari nete simatta* 'I went to bed right after dinner'; *Matí e túku nari renraku site kudasái* 'Please get in touch with me as soon as you arrive in town'; ... *misé o déru nari, así o hayámeta* 'once out of the shop he quickened his pace' (KKK 25.82a).

The meaning of *V-tá nari*, however, resembles that of *V-ta mamá* 'just (as it is)': *Netá nari* 'while still in bed', *suwattá nari* '(while) seated, from one's seat'; etc. In this example from KKK 3.134 *nari* refers to the entire situation from the third word on: *Káre wa nedoko no ué ni hará-bai(¯) ni nátte, makurámoto no tabakó-bon ni tabako o sutetá nari zit-tó^[1] sono é o mi-agate 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-rú nari* and *V-tá nari* in these two examples: *Ása okíru nari mizu o kabúru* 'As soon as he gets up in the morning he pours water over himself', *Ása ókita nari 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: *Watakusi ní nari {to} soodan site moraeatára ...* 'I wish they would consult, say, me ...'; *Bóku(¯) ní nari {to} tyót-to itte kuré sae sitára yókatta no ni née* 'You might have just said something about it to me, at least'; *Zyotyuu ní nari {to} tukatte itadakemasén ka* 'Won't you hire me, say, as a maid?'; *O-dénwa de nari {to} o-kikase kudasaimasén ka* 'May I perhaps have the favor of a phone call from you?'

As the translations indicate, the effect of *nári* {to} is similar to that of one use of *dé mo* (not *d'átte!*) 'for example, say, or something, at least, perhaps'. In this use, at least, *nári-to* can be shortened to *ná-to* (Terase 156, MKZ); Makimura 1956.512b implies that the shortening is an Ōsaka phenomenon. Yoshida 430 gives examples from modern fiction of *ná-to*, *nát-to*, and *nái-to*—all of which, he tells us, are dialect variants of *nári-to*.

The other use is something like the other use of *dé mo* = *d'átte* 'even if it be', and in that use *nári* is optionally followed by *tó* or by *tó mo*: *Syasin dé nari {to} {mo} } mi-tái monó da* 'I want to see it at least in a photograph'; *O-tuide ni nári {to} {mo} } yotte kudasái* 'Drop by whenever you are in the neighborhood'; *Sémete sono syunkan daké nari to {mo}, ziko o mitume, mízukara o hansei suru kikái(¯) tarasime-tái to mo watakusi wa negátte 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 nári to {mo}* 'to some extent (at least)', *sasáyaka nari to mo* ... 'little (= humble) though it may be' (SA 2670.113e), and *ippúnkan nari to {mo}* 'even for a moment'. In all these expressions it is more common for the *tó* not to drop, and with an indeterminate, where the meaning is '...-ever, ... at all', the *tó* is apparently obligatory: *nán nari to {mo}* = *nán de mo* 'whatever (it may be); anything (at all)', *dóko nari to {mo}* 'wherever, anywhere', *ítu nari to {mo}* 'whenever, any time at all', etc. Here are examples in sentences: *Sáa dóko e nari to sukí na tokoró e ikú ga yói* 'Well, it would be a good idea to go wherever pleases you' (Ig 67); *Káre wa zibun no higó-sya ¯ate no tegami ni, zensen e dásite morai-tai to iú no de, "Izure é nari to haizoku sasete itadaki-tai, yakú ni wa tatánaku to mo, kiken na tokoró nara dóko de mo kékkoo desu" to káite, ...* '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 nari to*, at the beginning, turns into the colloquial *dóko de mo* later).

With much the same meaning as *nári to {mo}* the expression *tári to mo* is found in ... *iti-nití tari to mo yasúmu kotó o siranai* 'knows not a day's rest' (Kgg 81.94). This is a literary touch, made by attaching *tó mo* (= *dé mo*) to the subjective copula (*t[ó] ár-*) in its infinitive-used-for-predicative form; the other form, *nári to {mo}*, is the same structure made with the objective copula. Other examples: *iti-byoo (íp-pun, iti-zíkan) tari to mo* 'for even a second (minute, hour)'; *it-tekí (íp-pai) tari to mo* 'even a drop (a drink)'.

In Literary Japanese the copula *nári* (< *ní ár-i*) can be used at the end of a directly adnominalized sentence where the corresponding structure in the modern language would require the nominalizer *nó* (*S nó da*): *surú nári* = *surú 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 *nó* 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 *nári*³⁵ to mean 'is said to' or 'seems' equivalent to the modern hearsay (*V-i-sóo da*) or evidential (*S + sóo da*): *sú nári* = (1) *suru sóo da* 'is said to do'; (2) *suru yóo da, si-sóo 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 *nári* has a different origin, possibly *n[e]* 'sound' + *ári*. See Mabuchi 1968.160.

bases) the literary form will be interpretable either way: *yobú nári* (1) = *yobú no da*; (2) = *yobu sóo da* or *yobi-sóo da*. Probably we should distinguish these two uses by juncture: *yobú^[1] nári* → /yobunári/ 'is said to call, seems to call'; *yobú^[2] nári* → /yobúnari/ '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) *ká-si* is a literary particle of emphasis, now heard only in a few clichés such as *yókare ká-si to omótte* 'desiring for it to be good', [N ga] *áre ká-si* 'that there may be [N]', N de *áre ká-si* 'may it be N', Examples: *Yumé de áre ká-si to omóu* 'I wish it were all a dream' (Kenkyusha); *Yaziuma wa kotó [ga] áre ká-si to mátu monó 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 *yó*; but it can occur after *yó* (at least when *yó* is attached to a vowel verb): *mí yo ká-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 *zó* (S *zó ká-si* = S *nó de áru yó* 'It is indeed a fact that S'); and a few nominals: *Sá ká-si* = *Sóo [da] yó* 'Yes, indeed!'; *Íza ká-si* = *Sáa* '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 + *yó*: ... *oré-táti ni kikoe yó ga-si ni*, "... tte iu hitó ga ita monó ná 'There was a guy saying "... as if wanting us to hear his words' (SA 2665.24c); *Kikoe yó ga-si no hanasí* 'Talk meant to be overheard'; *Kore mí yo ga-si ni míseta* 'He showed it ostentatiously (wanting people to look at it)'. Also: *kotó áre ga-si na mé* 'eyes eager for something to happen' (KKK 44.47).

(3) *gá-na* is a relic of a literary form which turns up in a few common clichés in the modern language: *Áto wa iwazú mó ga-na* 'The rest is better left unsaid' = 'The less said about the rest, the better' (SA 2658.11d); ... *náku mo ga-na no búbun de aru* 'they are parts that are dispensable/redundant' (Maeda 1962.203); *Kore wa árazu mó ga-na da* 'This is unnecessary/unwanted' (Kenkyusha). There is another usage, equivalent to *dé mo* 'even; or something' (MKZ 144c): *Hima na suki gá-na rensyuu o site iru* 'We drill every spare moment we have'; *Itta monó de ga-na gozaimasyóo* 'He must have gone or something'; *Náni ga-na ...* 'Something (or other); Anything ...' (cf. Henderson 100). In *hí ga-na iti-ní^[1]* '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:

A-ku }
N } mo/si ga [na] 'wants it to be A/N' = A-i yóo ni ari-tái (hosíi), N de áru yóo ni ari-tái (hosíi)

V-te (-) si { ga [na] }
 { ga mo } 'wants to do' = V-i-tai

V-i-ni-si ga [na] 'wants it to happen' = V-ru yóo ni ari-tái (hosíi)

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 ge 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 ... móosi* is the source (Fujiwara 1965.92ff) of various dialect sentence extensions:

S ná móosi: namo[n], nam[u], nao; nasi, na[s]su

S nó móosi: nomo[si], no[o]si, no[o]su; nesu, ne[e]si

S é móosi (? < né, ? < yó): emusi, emo, and (y)esi

Examples of *S mo* and *S na mo* (pronounced [nãð]) 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, habéru, 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 hosii*, 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 hosii*. 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-nán* 'it must be so': ... *sá mo ari-nán to omoi-nágara* *kyootan sitá no de aru* '... was filled with wonder, thinking it must be so' (Ikeda Yasaburō). (The accent of *ari-nán* seems to be irregular.)

16 COMMANDS AND REQUESTS

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 *dóo-zo* 'please' (and synonymous *dóo-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 *Tanómu 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")¹ but which may in FORM be a third-person term because of pronominal avoidance: *Tároo san ga iki-nasái* 'Tarō, you go' is quite acceptable but **Dáre ga iki-nasái* 'Who go?' is not. And some commands are addressed to oneself: *Ei, mendóo da; kítimae [= kítte 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: *Onná no monó wa onná ga tukúre* '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 **Dóko de mátte kudasái [ka]* 'Wait where!?' but you can say *Dóko de matimasyóo 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 túke!* '(Tell your lies! =) Stop lying!' (*Úso o túku na*); *Báka ie!* '(Say all the silly things you can! =) Don't be silly!' (*Báka na kotó o iú na*).

16.1. THE IMPERATIVE

The imperative ends in *-é*, optionally followed by the particle *yó* for consonant verbs and obligatorily followed by *yó* or by *>ró* (*yó*) for vowel verbs,² with an optional abbreviation of TONIC *>ró yó* (→ ... 'royo) to *yó* (→ ... 'yo). Vowel verb bases of more than one syllable reduce both *é-é* and *e-é* to *é* and both *í-é* and *i-é* to *í*; but while monosyllabic vowel verb bases similarly reduce *é-é* and *é-í* to *é* and *í*, they reduce *e-é* and *e-í* to unaccented *e* and *i*, respectively. The derivations continue as follows:

... → *tábe yó* → *tábe yo* = /*tábeyo*/ 'eat!'
... → *tábe >ró* → *tabé ro* = /*tabéro*/ 'eat!'
... → *tábe >ró yó* → *tábe >ro yo* → *tabé ro yo* = /*tabéroyo*/ 'eat!'

1. As in this telling example: ... *kimi ga ie, anáta ossyái to yuzuri-átte ...* "'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: *mí ⟩ró* = *mí ro* [yo] 'look!' (= *mí yo*), *i ⟩ró* = *i ró* [yo] 'stay' (= *i yó*), *ne ⟩ró* = *ne ró* [yo] 'sleep' (= *ne yó*). Thus the accentuation in the following example: *Sizuka ni si ro, damátte i ro* 'Be quiet, shut up!' (SA 2659.49d —the accent is on *ró* in both sentences, but cancelled by the final juncture).

- ... → óki yó → óki yo = /ókiyo/ 'arise!
 ... → óki >ró → óki ro = /okiro/ 'arise!
 ... → óki >ró yó → óki >ro yo → okí ro yo = /okíroyo/ 'arise!
 ... → aké yó → aké yo = /akéyo/ 'open it!
 ... → aké >ró → aké >ro → ake ró = /akeró/(→ akeroll) 'open it!
 ... → aké >ró yó → aké >ro yo → ake ró yo = /akeróyo/ 'open it!
 ... → abí yó → abí yo = /abíyo/ 'bathe!
 ... → abí >ró → abí ró = /abiró/(→ abiroll) 'bathe!
 ... → abí >ró yó → abí >ro yo → abí ró yo = /abiróyo/ 'bathe!'

The following verbs are irregular:

(1) suru	sé yo ³	si ro, si ró yo
(2) kúru	— [LIT. kó yo]	kói, kói yo ⁴
(3) kéru	—	ké ro, ké ro yo ⁵
(4) kureru	—	kure, kuré yo, o-kure yo ⁶
(5) kudasáru		kudasái {yo}
nasáru		nasái {yo}
irassyáru		irassyái {yo}
ossyáru		ossyái {yo}

It is possible to add *ttára* (§21.1): *Misé ro ttara* 'Show me, I tell you!' I have one example of *V-é 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 yó*) 'hey!' Is it added after *ró* [yo]? A variant of *yó* in the shape *í* is sometimes used by downtown *Tōkyō* speakers, and also in other dialects: *Kono mondai o tóite mí i* (= *mí yo*) 'Try answering this question'; *Ake ró i* (= *Ake ró yo*) 'Open up!'; *Omae, utatte mí i ... odotte mí i ...* 'Try singing, try dancing, ...' (Tk 2.320a). MKZ 28b associates this *í* with the variant of *né* found in *ká í* = *ká né* and *nán da i* = *nán da né* (§ 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 *í* (or *é*) for *yó*. In *Hokkaidō* *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 *Tōkyō*?) 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 *Tōkyō* colloquial speech. The imperative appears without *yó* in the form underlying the adverbs *nán[i]-se* = *náni-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 *kére* 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 *Tōkyō* is actually *kéttyae* {yo} < *kétte simae yó*. If *kére* occurs (cf. Lewin 109) it is in nonstandard speech.

6. *Kure ró* {yo} is dialect.

Kyūshū (Zhs 6.23, 26). The forms in ... ró {yo} are often replaced by simple ... yó in quotations (§21): *Mí ro [yo]!—Mí yo to ittá kara míta n desu* ‘Look!—He said “Look!” so I looked’. But the form with just ró CAN be quoted, as in this example from the complaint of a six-year-old: *Otóosan wa, úmi wa kitanái kara púuru de gáman si ro tte iú kedo sá, bóku(ⁱ) wa doo-se oyogénai kara, úmi nánka kitanákut’atte kamawánai n da. Suna-ásobi dekiréba ii n da 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: ... *koogyoo-kóokoo e singaku si ro to iu titioya no susume o kette* ... ‘I rejected my father’s urging to continue my studies in a commercial high school and ...’ (SA 2662.22a); *Tyuugaku no tokí ténisu o yatté ‘te, kookoo-sei no tokí wa óyazi(ⁱ) ga benkyoo si ro si ro tté, supóotu wa yaraserenákatta 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 náre, *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: *Ténki ni náre yo, Háre yo* ‘Clear up!’ If the imperative is made on a passive, the passive is probably to be taken as subject-exalting: *Kangáete miráre yo = Kangáete go-ran nasái* ‘Think about it’ or ‘Just think’ (K 1966.177). It is unusual to find imperatives from áru (or de áru) except in written style: *Syoozíkí/Sínsetu/Téinei de áre* ‘Be honest/kind/polite!’, *Kámi mo syooran áre* ‘May God be my witness = So help me God!’, ... *ni syukuhuku áre* ‘May ... be blessed!’ (Cf. *nákáre*, § 16.3.) A more colloquial style would use a fragment ... (de) áru yóo ni. And A-káre < A-k[u] áre has a special use when followed by *tó omótte yaru* ‘with the idea/desire that it be A’: ... *kawaií imootó no tamé ni yókare to omótte yaru kotó ga* ... ‘thinking of what would be best for his dear little sister’ (SA 2668.112b); ... *seito no tamé ni yókare to omótte yatte ita* ... ‘were doing it with the thought of benefiting the students’ (SA 2663.28a). Is this expression limited to the adjective yói (=ii)? Cf. *yókare* (-kási)—see § 15.20, MKZ. (For the concessive use of A-káre, see just below.) Examples of áre and de áre: *Désu kara, tanzyun na hoosoku de áre to iu hoo ga, dodai múri na tyuumon(ⁱ) ná no ká mo siremasén* ‘That’s why maybe it is a fundamentally unreasonable request to ask that they be simple rules’ (Kaneda in Ōno 1967.276); *Sonna tokí no atasi no kao, go-soozoo áre* ‘Just imagine my face at that time!’ (Tk 2.192a); ... *hitótu dókusya(ⁱ) no hoo de go-kandai na syare-kibun o o-moti áre* ‘May the reader have a generous feeling for the wit’ (Tk 2.228). The imperative can be formed on the polite stylization: -*máse {yó/né}* or -*mási {yó/né}*. An unusual example, made on the subject-exalting passive of *nasu* (whence by contraction the subject-exalting *nasáru = suru*): *Sore ga damé nara mi no hú-un to o-akirame nasaremáse* ‘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 -*ré* [do], § 9.3:

(1) *de áre = dé mo*: *Nán no heyá de are, móo koko ni tomete morau hoka wa náí* ‘We have no choice but to get put up for the night here, whatever the room may be’; *Syúukyoo de are, gakkoo no syúusin de are, soo iu kotó wa zénbu kinsei de, ...* ‘Both in

religion and in school-taught ethics, all such things are taboo ...' (Tk 3.109b); ... *sinrui*(-) *de áre tizin*(-) *de áre* ... 'whether it be a relative or an acquaintance' (SA 2665.36c).

(2) *áre* = *átte mo*: Examples lacking.

(2a) *náre* = *dé [átte] mo*: *dái nare syóo nare* 'whether large or small' (a variant version: *dái nari syóo nari*, KKK 3.134).

(2b) *ní ... áre* = *dé [átte] mo*: In the literary language *N ní mo áre* abbreviates to *N ní m[o] áre* = *N ni máre*, just as *N máre* = *N m[o] áre*; you may run across this in modern texts: *Nanigoto ní mare* [= *Nán de mo*, *Náni de átte mo*], *mottai-na-gáru kotó o siranu seikaku to miéru* 'In all things, she looked to be of a character ignorant of conspicuous waste' (Fn 299a).

(3) *-kú áre* > *-káre* (= *-kúte mo*): *óokáre sukúnákare*, *ookare-sukúnákare*; *sukúnákare óokare* 'more or less'; *tákakare yásukare*, *yásukare tákakare* 'whether costly or cheap'; *túyokare yówakare*, *yówakare túyokare* 'whether strong or weak'; *osokare-háyákare* 'sooner or later'; *yókare asikáre*, *yokare-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) *tó wa ie* = *tó itté mo* (§21): *Byooki tó wa 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) $ni \left\{ \begin{array}{l} si\ ro \\ sé\ yo \end{array} \right\} = ni\ sité\ mo = dé\ mo$: *Dótira ni si ro sore wa onazi da* 'Either one/way, it's all the same'; *Dóno-yóo na zizyoo ni sé yo ... dekinakatta* 'It was impossible ... under any circumstances'. This can be regarded as an example of the direct nominalization with dropped essive (i.e. = *N ná no ni sé yo*); see §14.6. From the last type we get a number of clichés such as the adverbs *doo-se* and *náni-si-ro/náni-se[-yo]* mentioned earlier, and a way of linking sentences with 'or' meaning: *X ni sé yo Y ni sé yo*, *X ni si ro Y ni si ro* = *X ni sité mo Y ni sité mo* = *X dé mo Y dé mo* '(whether) X or Y'.

The DOMAIN of an imperative may include sentences conjoined by the gerund or the infinitive: *Utí*(-) *e káette góhan o tabé 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 conjunctivalizations (such as *kará*, *tó*, *gá*, *sí*) can only take the second treatment, and that is apparently why KKK 23.236 rejects these sentences: (*)*Kimi wa sake mo nómu ga tabako mo nóme* 'Both drink and smoke!'; (*)*Kimi wa sake mo nománai 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 tabéru 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 ... núizyae*, *núizyae tte iu kotó de* 'Nowadays ... [in commercial photography] it's all "strip! strip!"' (SA 2680.48c)—*núizyae* = *núide 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: ... *túma mo ko mo náru yóo ni náre*. (*Ore ni hituyoo ná no wa, kono onná hitóri da*) '... let my wife and child become what they will. (All I need is

this woman)' (SA 2793.105a). And there is the old saying *Zén wa isóge* 'Don't put off a good thing' which might be taken as 'may the good be hastened'. Notice also the saying *Sá mo áreba áre* 'So be it' (sometimes shortened to *Sábare*) from 'Since it is so, let it be so', *áreba* being the literary use of the provisional to mean 'because'.

16.2. CIRCUMLOCUTIONS

The most common way to make a request is to ask it as a favor:

(1) *Site kudasái {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 tótte kudasái* 'Pass the soy sauce, please'; *Náni ka tabesásete kudasái yó* 'Let me have something to eat'; ... *itt' o-kure yó* 'say it; get it said' (Tk 3.3a); *Zibun de o-tya ǀgúrai irete nónd' o-kure yó* 'Make your own tea!' (Okitsu 1.254); *Katyoo 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 kudasaimásu ka? Site kurerú ka?* 'Will you do it for me?'; *Kyóo tomemásu ka?* 'Will you put me up for the night?'

But the question is usually made softer by phrasing it negatively:

(3) *Site kudasaimasén ka? Site kurenái/kuren ka?*⁷ 'Won't you do it for me?' Subduing the gerund will further soften the expression: *Sité wa kudasaimasén/kurenái ka*. And making the verb tentative will lower the posture from which the plea is made (says Hayashi 170): *Sité wa kudasaimasén desyoo ka*, *Sité wa kure[rú] ǀmái ka* (= *kurenái daroo ka*).

A still less direct circumlocution is to ask if one will receive the favor:

(4) *Site itadakimásu ka? Site moráú ka?* 'Will I get you to do it for me?'

More commonly, this is put as a potential (§4.4):

(5) *Site itadakemásu ka? Site moraerú 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 itadakemásu desyoo ka? Site moraerú 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 itadakemasén ka? Site moraenái ka?* 'Can't I get you to do it for me?'

(6a) *Site itadakemasén desyoo ka? Site moraenái 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 itadaki-tái (morai-tái) desu*: *Site hosíi (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 hosíi* 'I'd like this work done'. This can be made more polite by using an honorific infinitive (or equivalent verbal noun): *Kono yúuga na kahwetériya 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-pézi 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 *monó/n[o] desu ga*, suggesting a negative expectation, real or feigned:

7. In *Kyōto* also shortened to *Sité 'n' ka*.

(7a) Site itadaki-tai/morai-tai monó/n[o] desu ga ... Site hosii monó/n[o] desu ga ...

Another, rather casual, way to make a request is to use just the gerund (with *kudasái* dropped, as it were); this can be followed by *né* or *yó*:

(8) Site {*né/yó*}: Sono kádo de tyót-to mátte 'te *yó* 'Wait for me on that corner'; Mótto óku e túmete *né* 'Move over (and make room for me)'; Kangaesásete 'Let me think it over'; Kón'ya kaesána 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) + (-)nasái {*yó/né*}:⁸

(9) Si-nasái {*né/yo*} 'Do it': Yobi-nasái, O-yobi nasái 'Call him'; Mi-nasái, Go-ran nasái 'Look'; Syoosetu-ka ni o-nari nasái 'Become a novelist' (SA 2685.43b). The older form of *nasái* was *nasáre*, and this still occurs in some dialects (Y 492); the Kansai version is V-i-naháre {*yá*}: Oyá ni kóokoo si-naháre *yá* (= si-nasái *yó*) 'Show proper devotion to your [parent =] father' (SA 2685.111b). And V-i-na[h]áre can reduce to V-i-náre (Maeda 1961.225); V-i-naae, V-i-nahai (Y 498). In Chiba V-i-nasái can be shortened to V-i-sái (Zhs 2.223-5) and that is often pronounced V-i-sée (Zhs 2.228): Ki-[na]sái {*yó*}, Ki-sée {*yó*} 'Come here'. Other dialect versions include V-i-nasee, V-i-nasai (and V-i-nsee?), V-i-nai, and V-i-nee (Y 492); V-i-nhiya is said to be contracted from *nahari-yare* (Y 499). The preceding structure can be shortened to infinitive + (-) *ná* {*yo*}:⁹

(10) Yobi-ná {*yo*} 'Call him'; Mi-ná {*yo*} Go-ran ná {*yo*} 'Look'; Sono yoko no néko no sara o dokásit' oki-ná yo 'Take away that cat saucer on the side' (Okitsu 1.378); Kotira é mo kootya o kure ná 'Let me have some tea, too' (cf. Kurerú na 'Don't give me ...'). Note that *-ri(-)ná* sometimes is pronounced *-nná*, so that only the accent will distinguish it from *-rú ná* or *-rú na* when those are reduced to *-n ná* and *'n na*, respectively:

Kaen-ná = Kaeri-ná (= Kaeri-nasái) 'Go home'.

Káen ná = Káeru ná (= Káeru né) 'You are going home, aren't you'.

Káen na = Káeru na (= Káeru nákáre) 'Don't go home'.

Atonic verbs will converge the first two forms:

Suwan-ná = Suwari-ná (= Suwari-nasái) 'Sit down'.

Suwan ná = Suwaru ná (= Suwaru né) 'You will sit down, won't you'.

Suwan na = Suwarú na (= Suwaru nákáre) 'Don't sit down'.

Moreover ...re ná is also sometimes pronounced ...nná, and that is the immediate source of *kun-ná* (= *kure-nasái*) in the following example: Zyáa, íp-pai *kun-ná* 'Well, give me a drink!' (Tk 4.226b). In dialects, *o-kun nasái* < *o-kure nasái* will also be heard. In Kansai V-te *kun-nare* < *kure-nahare* is an equivalent of V-te *kudasái*. And *ná yo* is sometimes pronounced *ná i* or *néé*: Súsí kui-née = Súsí o kui-ná yo 'Eat some sushi'; Maa, kottí e ki-née '[Oh, it's you,] well, come over here!' (Okitsu 1.189); Maa, mati-née 'Well, wait' (Fn 440b). A phrase written "akenee" might represent either *akenee* = *akenai* 'will not open it' or *ake née* = *ake ná yo* = *ake nasái yo* 'open it!'; a phrase written "okinee" might represent either *okínee* = *okínai* 'will not get up' or *oki née* = *oki ná yo* = *oki nasái yo* 'put/leave it

8. When attached to the infinitive, *-nasái* is a form from the paradigm of a compound verb V-i-*nasáru*, hence the hyphen in *Mi-nasái*. But the honorific infinitive behaves like a verbal noun, hence the space in *O-yobi nasái* and *Go-ran nasái*. Infinitives that end in *-ri* will often assimilate this syllable to the following nasal: *O-hairi nasái* 'Come in' may be heard as *O-hain nasái*.

9. But not *... ná né!

(there)!'; and "sinee" might be either *sinee* = *sinai* 'will not do' or *si-ná yo* = *si-nasái yo* 'do it!'.

The imperative auxiliary *nasái* or its abbreviation *ná* can drop altogether after an honorific infinitive¹⁰ or an equivalent verbal noun:

(10a) *O-yobi {yó}* 'Call!'; *Go-ran {yó}* 'Look!'; *Go-men* 'Excuse me!'; *O-yasumi* '(Rest! =) Good night!'; *Hén, issyo ni o-mi yó* 'Pff, you look too!' (Fn 348b); *O-ide yó, o-ide yó!* 'Come here, come here!'. This form will permit an honorific infinitive from *suru*, found nowhere else¹¹ in the grammar: *Sízuka ni o-si* (= *si-nasái* = *nasái*) 'Be quiet!'; *Ansin o-si, Oikawá-kun(-)* 'Don't worry, [colleague] Oikawa!' (Fn 65b); *Sore kara Hattsan, omae-san mo súgu ni káette sitaku o o-si yó* 'And then you, too, Hattsan, you go and make your preparations' (Okitsu 1.460). Cf. Hayashi 169; his example is *li-kagen ni o-si* 'Enough of that!'

Notice that gerund + *go-ran nasái* 'try doing it' is often used to mean simply 'do it', and freely drops the *nasái*:

(11) *Yonde go-ran [nasái]* 'Try calling' or 'Call!'; *Míte go-ran [nasái]* 'Try looking' or 'Look'. For more on *-te go-ran* and *-te mí ro*, see §9.2.4.(7).

Somewhat more polite is the honorific infinitive + *kudasái {né/yó}*:

(12) *O-yobi kudasái {né/yó}* 'Call!'; *Go-ran kudasái {né/yó}* 'Look!'; *Kaityuu-mono o zyuubún ni go-tyúui kudasái* 'Watch your pockets [against pickpockets]!' There is no *(o-)kure *kudasái/nasái*;¹² instead, *Kudasái* itself is used for 'Give me'.

The expressions with *nasái* and *kudasái* can be made more polite with stylization (§22.1): *O-yobi nasaimáse/kudasaimáse* 'Call!'; *Dóo-zo, miná-san, go-sanka kudasaimáse* '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 yóo ni* + request forms of *suru*: *Yobu yóo ni site kudasái* 'Please arrange it so that you call'. Cf. quoted requests, §21. More politely, *V-(r)u yóo ni* can be followed by *tanómu/negáu* 'requests': *Yobu yóo ni tanómu* 'I ask you to call!'; *Yobu yóo ni negáu* 'I beg you to call!'; *Yobu yóo ni o-negai [o]*¹³ *simásu* 'I humbly beg you to call'. *O-negai simásu* '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 simásu* can be preceded by *Dóo-zo* for greater emphasis; *Dóo-zo* is also used with the meaning 'Please [go right ahead]' in giving permission or the like.) Notice also *o-V-i negaemasén ka* 'could I ask you to V; do you suppose you might V'. Some other forms are:

(13) *Si-tamáe/-tamái {yo}*: used by male superiors to subordinates and juniors—and more widely in dialects, where *tamáu* is used to mean *kureru/kudasáru*.

10. Yoshida (241-2) allows also the plain infinitive (*Máti* 'Wait!'), citing examples from both older and recent fiction.

11. Except in the now rare negative *o-si de nái* 'don't do it'; see §16.3.

12. But an example of *kun-ná* < *kure-ná* is given above. We also find *kunnée* < *kure-ná yo*: ... *ore ni kunnée* 'Gimme some' (Okitsu 1.74); *Tya o ip-pee [= ip-pai] irete kunnée ná* 'Make me a cuppa tea, wontcha?' (Okitsu 1.254). Notice also the Kyōto form *o-ku' n'ái* = *kudasái* 'please (give me)' (Inokuchi 270); this is from *o-ku[re] n[as]ái*.

13. The optional *o*-marker is permitted only for those honorific infinitives which are also used as derived (verbal) nouns; cf. *O-negai (= Negái) ga arimásu ga* ... 'I have a request to make of you'. But (*zi* o) *o-kaki [ita]simásu* 'I write (the characters) for you' will not permit **o-kaki o [ita]simásu* even with the direct object of the verb itself dropped.

(14) Site kure-tamáe/-tamái: less direct than the preceding.

(15) Site tyoodái {yo}: more relaxed than Site itadakimásu, but more polite than Site moraimásu. Tyoodai suru is a synonym of itadaku; tyoodai functions as the honorific infinitive (with object exaltation only) of morau. With a direct object, stated or implied, it is like kudasái in translating as 'Give me'. As a verbal noun tyoodai is atonic, but it is oxytonic (tyoodái) when used as the equivalent of kudasái, which has a basic final accent. Nominalizations can be used as oblique requests:

(16) Yobú n[o] da 'It's a matter of calling = You're to call'; Háyaku arúku n[o] desu 'Walk fast!' (cf. §14.2).

(17) Tabako o nománai kotó ǂdaǂ '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 wáke ni wa mairimasén desyoo ka? 'Wouldn't it be within the realm of [reason =] possibility to receive the favor of your V-ing?', V-te kudasaimásu yóo ni (watakusi wa) o-negai [o] itasimásu, V-te kudasáru kotó o o-negai itasimásu. By ellipsis there is also sentence-final ... yóo ni (cf. Hayashi 169): Kóre-kore, sukósi sízuka ni suru yóo ni 'Come come, let's have a bit of quiet'; Kessite tagon ni sinai yóo ni 'Do not divulge it to others' (SA 2679.63d); Zí wa téinei ni káku yóo ni 'I wish you would write more carefully'. Tōjō (1954.196-7) calls our attention to the use of simple statements for commands, as when the primary school teacher says Minná^[1]tatimásu 'Everyone will (please) stand up!' meaning O-tati nasái 'Please stand up!' and the peddler says Kaimásu '(You will) buy some!' meaning Katte kudasái 'Please buy some'. Yoshida (240) mentions the use of the perfect as a rough command (Mátta! 'Wait!', Noita noita 'Out of the way—move on!'); he says it was common to use V-i-tári this way during the Edo period.

In Shikoku, for V-te kudasái you may hear V-te tuka[a]sai or V-te tukahare (Zhs 5.15, 19); these are also used in the Chūgoku area of Honshū, where a shorter form V-te tukai is reported, as well (Zhs 5.21). In southern Kyūshū, 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 nákáre 'let there not be', which you will sometimes see in print (§15.12). The resulting forms (V-rú na) should be carefully distinguished from V-i-ná = V-i-nasái:¹⁴

Yobú na 'Don't call'.	Yobi-ná 'Call'.
Káeru na 'Don't go home'.	Kaeri-ná 'Go home'.
Also: Káen na.	Also: Kaen-ná.
Tabéru na 'Don't eat it'.	Tabe-ná 'Eat it'.
Also: Tabén na.	
Míru na 'Don't look'.	Mi-ná 'Look'.

This negative command can be followed by the particle yó (just as can the infinitive + -ná):

14. But in the Kōchi dialect of Shikoku the form V-i na is a milder equivalent of V-rú na, a negative command rather than an affirmative. See Doi 219-20. Cf. the Ōsaka forms given at the end of this section.

Máa, soo okóru na yo 'Well don't get so angry' (Okitsu 1.240). A dialect variant of yó is í: Iyá na kotó o iú na i 'Don't say such unpleasant things' (Okitsu 1.323); Tibi-tibi agén na i [= agerú na yo] 'Don't give it in driblets!' (Okitsu 1.301). And ná í may be pronounced née: Baka ni sún nee = Baka ni surú na yo 'Don't kid me!' (Okitsu 1.302). Do not confuse this ná í or née with náí (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 kudasaimásu ka? Sinái de kurerú ka?
- (3) Sinái de kudasaimasén ka? Sinái de kurenái/kuren ka?
- (4) Sinái de itadakimásu ka? Sinái de morau ka?
- (5) Sinái de itadakemásu ka? Sinái de moraeru ka?
- (6) Sinái de itadakemasén ka? Sinái de moraenái ka?
- (7) Sinái de itadaki-tai/morai-tai (n desu). Sinái de hosii (n desu).

Cf. Site morai-taku/hósiku náí 'I don't want to have it done'.

- (8) Sinái de {né/yó}.

Or, you can use the form V-(a)nai yóo ni + a request form of suru or a form of tanómu or negáu:

- (9) Sinai yóo ni site kudasái. 'Please arrange it so that you don't'.
- (10) Sinai yóo ni tanomimásu (o-negai simásu) 'I beg you not to'.

There is, of course, some difference of meaning between Matánai yóo ni site kure 'Arrange it so you don't wait' and Mátu yóo ni sinái de kure 'Don't arrange it so you wait'.

In Edo and Meiji times female speech included prohibitions of the form o-V-i de náí, as in Sinpai o-si de náí 'Don't worry!'; such forms are seldom found now (Y 450), but here is an example from vaudeville: Báka na kotó o o-ii de náí 'Don't talk nonsense!' (Okitsu 1.12; and with final yó, 1.171).

Notice that 'Don't do X, (instead) do Y' is said this way: X o sinái de Y o si ro (sé yo, site kudasái, etc.). For sinái de you can substitute sezu ni (§9.6), with a bit more bookish flavor, but not sinákute; cf. §9.2. See also the discussion of PROHIBITIONS (V-té wa ikenai etc.) in §9.2.2.

Hayashi 171-2 gives examples of the following sort: Báka na mane o si-nasáru na, si-nasán na (= Báka na mane o nasáru na) 'Don't make silly gestures'; Gakkári si-nasaránu yóo (= Gakkári sinai/nasaránai 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: Yóku benkyoo {si-}nasái 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{n}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 '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 CONJUNCTIONALIZATIONS

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 náí kara ... 'It isn't this and so ...') or stylized (Kore desu kara ... or Kore de gozaimásu kara ... 'It is this and so ...'), or both (Kore zya arimasén kara ... or Kore zya gozaimasén 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 *gá*—in fact it is almost obligatory if the final sentence is stylized; it is next most common with *ké[re]do*, and then *kará*, 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] *dá*] *ga/ké[re]do* 'but' and [[soo] *suru*] *tó* '(well,) then'—not to be confused with the detached quotation marker *Tó(,)* ... '(And) that ...' or '(Un)quote, ...', §21.

17.1. SENTENCE + *kará/mon[ó]*; *V-rú kará ni wa*, *V-tá kará [ni] wa*

The particle *kará*—or its colloquial synonym *monó/món*, more commonly heard from women (cf. §17.4)—means '... and so' or 'because ...' after imperfect, perfect, or tentative:

- Verbal: Yobu. → Yobú *kara* 'Because he calls/will call ...'
 Yonda. → Yondá *kara* 'Because he called ...'
 Yobú daroo. → Yobú daroo *kara* 'Because he will probably call ...'
- Neg.: Yobanai. → Yobanáí *kara* 'Because he does/will not call ...'
- Adjectival: Ookii. → Ookii *kara* 'Because it is big ...'
 Óokikatta. → Óokikatta *kara* 'Because it was big ...'
 Ookii daroo. → Ookii daroo *kara* 'Because it probably is/will be big ...'
- Neg.: Óokiku náí. → Óokiku náí *kara* 'Because it isn't big ...'
- Nominal: Senséi da. → Senséi da *kara* 'Because it is the teacher ...'
 Senséi datta. → Senséi datta *kara* 'Because it was the teacher ...'
 Senséi daroo. → Senséi daroo *kara* 'Because it probably is the teacher ...'
- Neg.: Senséi zya náí. → Senséi zya náí *kara* 'Because it isn't the teacher ...'

The synonym *monó/món* is also to be treated as a particle rather than as a postadnominal (as in other uses of the word) because an imperfect nominal sentence ends in *dá*, rather than *ná*: *Kore wa bōku(̄) no inú da mon[ó]*, *nárete iru hazu sá* '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 ... *monó/món* 'because?') is in flux, as before *sóo da* (§18) and *nó de/ni* (§14.2); we will treat as non-Tōkyō the forms *N na monó/món desu kara*, *N na sóo da*, and *N dá no de/ni*.

The conjunctionalized sentence with *kará* or *mon[ó]* can not be subdued with *wá* or highlighted with *mó* or *sáe*; for *kará wa* as ellipsis of *kará [ni] wa* see below. The *kará*-marked sentence is sometimes emphasized with *kóso* (*Dá kara koso* 'Just for that reason') in a semi-literary use similar to the more colloquial *sá* (*dá kara sá*). The conjunctionalized sentence can stand as a nominal, i.e. be directly nominalized and predicated: *Yobú kara da* 'It is because I (will) call'; *Yobú kara de ...* 'Since/As it's because I (will) call ...'; *To iú no*

mo ... *kará* da 'And THAT is because ...' (SA 2665.126a). Occurrences followed by sentence extensions *yó/né/sá* are to be derived from such sentences, with *dá* dropped. In this respect *kará* differs from all other conjunctualizations, leading us to say that it belongs by cleavage to two classes: conjunctualizing 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 *kará* when a juncture does not immediately follow the phrase (e.g. ... | *kará* ni wa, ... | *kará* de gozaimásita etc.). Notice that the adjunct marker *kará* 'from' (§2.2) and V-*té* *kara* (§4.2.3) behave in similar ways; moreover, in addition to the (predicative) nominalization they also permit case marking (*gá/ó*), which S *kará* 'because' will not.¹ S *kará* behaves like a PREDICABLE ADVERB.

A colloquial synonym for *kará* is the postadnominal *tamé* (§13.2), which has also the meaning '(for) the sake of'. Proof that *tamé* is not a conjunctualizing particle will be found in the fact that, unlike *kará*, it requires the *dá* of a nominal sentence to change to *nó*: *Byooki dá kara* = *Byooki no tamé* [ni]. In the perfect, of course, there is no way to tell: *Byooki dáta kara/tamé*.

The expressions V-*rú/-tá* *kará* ni wa (often contracted to ... *kará* 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 matigái áru* '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 yoo na kotó 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 naránai* 'Now that we are going to the mountains we've got to make proper preparations'; *Yarú kara ni wa, honki yó* 'As long as I am to do it, I do my best' (SA 2679.154); *Doo-se, Amerika máde dekakerú kara ni wa, yukkúri dekíru* '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'; *Hazimetá kara ni wa, dóko made mo yaranákereba naránai* 'Now that I have started, I'll have to go through with it all the way'; *Soo ittá kara [ni] wa soo sinákereba naránai* 'Now that we have said it we must do it'; *Wakátta kara [ni] wa moo ni-dó to simasén* 'Now that I understand I won't do it ever again'. As the last two sentences illustrate, the *ní* is optional provided the verb is perfect.

Some other instances of ... *kará* ni may turn up. *Míru kara ni oisi-soo na gotisoo* 'A feast delicious from the very sight of it' and *Míru kara ni iyá na yátu da* 'He's an obvious scoundrel' employ an idiomatic usage that perhaps derives from a direct nominalization of *míru*, with *kará* fulfilling an ablative role 'starting from (the doing)' and *ní* functioning as the essive or copula infinitive; the expression is given, with optional *ní*, as a separate entry in MKZ. Perhaps S *kará* ni 'just because'—a literary or dialectal equivalent of the standard adnominalized S + *daké de*—comes directly from this by ellipsis: *Nán-do itté mo wakarán kara ni toótoo té o dásite simattá 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

1. Both *-té* *kará* and *-rú/-tá* *kará* can be followed not only by *dá/dé* (or the negative *zya náí/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 kara*; presumably the same restriction holds for *V-rú kará [ni] wa*.

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, zyunsui na géki ni tati-kaette irú kara ni hoka-naránai* 'that is simply because he has returned to down-to-earth, genuine drama' (KKK 3.38); ... *Man'yóo-syuu ni Azumá-uta ga óoku saisyuu saretá no mo ... Yamato-tihóo no hitóbito no kyóomi o sosóttá kara ni hoka-naránai* 'The very inclusion of many Eastern songs in the *Man'yō-shū* ... is precisely because they had excited the interest of people in the Yamato area' (Ōno 1966.219).

Another way to say 'just because' when followed by NEGATIVE is *S kara tté = S kara to itte* '(saying/thinking) it is because ...' as in these examples: *Muzukasii kara to itte yameté wa ikenai* 'You shouldn't give it up just because it is difficult'; ... *teikoo-ken ga áru kara to itte séihu ga kantan ni konran ni otíru kotó wa náí* '... the government never simply falls into confusion precisely because the right of opposition exists' (KKK 3.39); *Nedan ga takái kara to itte hinsitu ga íi to wa kagiránai* 'A high price does not necessarily mean high quality'; *O-níisan to kekkon sitá kara tte, ootoo^[1] no anáta o ai-súru kimoti wa arimasén* 'I don't feel like loving YOU just because I married your brother'; *Atamakázu ga tarínai kara tte yakyuu wa yameru wáke 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[ó]*te with little more than emphasis intended by the ellipsis of *tó omótte* 'thinking that ...' or the like: *Sáigo no yóru máma ni tyót-to ohanasi ga áru kara to, watasi no heyá ni máma o yobi, "..."^[1] tó ano-kátá ga iimásita* 'The last night, having something to talk to mama about, he called her to my room and said "...'" (KKK 3.39); *Sukósi da kara to mendoo-gátte nokorí-bi o somatu ni suru kotó wa móttó-mo hu-kéizai desu* 'It is most uneconomical to neglect the embers fussing about there being so little left of the fire' (KKK 3.39); *Sono yokuzitu, koko ni itára abunái kara, tó minná mata ni-zúkuri o hazimemásita* 'The next day, since it would be dangerous to stay here, everyone began packing up' (KKK 3.39); *Nani-siro yói kotó ga káite áru daroo kara to, issyoo-kénmei ni yomóo to suru monó o sae hippátte iku tika^[1]rá^[1]) no náí 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 *i* in the example *osoku narimásita—tyót-to yoozi ga átta mon desu kara* 'I'm late—it's because there was some business I had to attend to' unless *mon[ó]* 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 || kakemásita kedo || dé mo || hanasi-tyuu dáttá mon desu kara* 'Yes, I phoned him but the line was busy, however'. More examples: *Aité ga itte kurenai món da kara, zibun de "háí" o itte simaú no ga, anáunsaa no "háí" ka mo siremasén né, "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); *Isya ni náru tumori dáttá mon desu kara né* 'That was because I intended to become a doctor, you see' (Tk 3.164a); *Kón'ya wa hanabi da mon da kara minná sóto e déte ite* 'Tonight there's fireworks so everybody's outside' (Kb 45a); *Osoku narimásite. Yodogoo-zíken de góta-góta simásita monó desu kara* '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: *Bóku⁽⁻⁾ no inú mo, onazi iró datta monó da kara, kimi ga, bóku⁽⁻⁾ no inú o tótte ikoo to sitá no da to omóttá n da yó* 'I thought it was

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-conjunctivalization on a sentence that contains a tó-conjunctivalization—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-hanbaigyoo [da]. Rieki-ritu ga takái no wa, ihoo no TAME rísoku 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 tikái kara sakana ga atarásii* 'The fish are fresh because the sea is nearby' or 'The sea is nearby so the fish are fresh' (SA 2669.48a) and ... *sukí 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: *Tugí 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[o] desu, de gozaimásu 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 gozaimásu; ... désu kara to itte ... de gozaimásu). 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 kará in the second use—ending a sentence of explanation—there is sometimes a feeling of protest or complaint: *D'átte, sore wa utá desu mono!* 'But that's a song!' (SA 2651.46d); *Teisyu-kánpaku nánte kotobá wa móo(¯) kikaremasén mono né* 'Words like "masterful husband" just aren't heard any more, are they' (SA 2665.114e); *Eigo no kyóosi wa Kanagawá-ken kara ni-zíkan mo kakátte 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] (né/ná/...). In the following example the copula appears in its gerund form: *Sonohi-gúراس no hoo 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 *Soo 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/desu kara as a kind of compound particle. As sentence-introducers you will hear *Soo iu wáke da mon desu kara, ...; Dá mon de, ...; and Dá mon desu kara, ...* 'And that's why ...' (K in Ōno 1967.29).

that way', *Máda kodomo dá⁽¹⁾ 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 ... (*desu*) *món ne*: *Go-roku-nen máe kara desu món né* 'It's been for five or six years now' (42c); ... *to iu kotó desu món né* 'It's a matter of ...' (43b); ... *tugi no teiréi-kai de seiritu sitá desu món né* 'it was set up at the next regular meeting' (43c); *Soo iu kóe ga túyokatta n desu món né* 'Strong voices were behind that' (43c); ... *kozín-kéiei to ka doozoku-kéiei desu món né* '... it's individual or family businesses' (42c); ... *zimin-too wa nízyuu yo-nín desu món né* '... it's 24 Liberal Democrats' (44a); ... *to ittá desu món né* '... said' (45a); ... *hannoo ga sukunái desu món né* 'there were few repercussions' (45a); *Simín ga sisei o dóo míru ka, desu món né* 'It's a question of how the people look at the city government' (46a); *Simín-kánzyoo ga watasi o sityoo ni sitá desu món né*, ... 'Popular sentiment is what made me mayor ...' (46b). The mayor's interview also contains some examples of *món dé*: ... *tóozí nízyuu kyúu-sai desita món dé, mukau ki ga tuyói da yó né*, ... 'at that time I was 29 years old so I was full of steam, you see, ...' (43b); *Táda, watasi mo wakái mon de, rooren-sa ga arimasén mon de, máda yootí-en desu món de né, sono ten wa tyót-to sinpai desu* 'But / am young, I have no experience; I'm still just a kindergartener, you know—and that worries me a bit' (45b).

On the difference in usage between *S kará* and *S nó de*, see §14.2.1. Nagano (1970.205) has examples of *S nó da/desu kara* and is puzzled at the unacceptability of **S ná no na no de* (or **S ná no desu no de*); see our discussion on the ungrammaticality of **N ná no ná no*, p. 868.

Here are *kará*-marked sentences followed by various particles:

S kara nádo⁽¹⁾: *Taka-sugirú kara nádo to iu riyuu de, katte moraená-katta* 'I wasn't able to get it bought for me on the grounds that it was too expensive and all'.

S kara náhte⁽¹⁾: *Riyuu wa byooki dá-tta kara nánte itté 'ta kedo, honto ká sira* 'He was saying the reason was because he was sick and all, but I wonder if that's true'.

S kara yori⁽¹⁾: *Sámukatta kara yori, ki-táku ná-katta kara no hoo ga hontoo no riyuu ni tikái to omoimásu* 'Rather than because it was cold, what I think is nearer the real reason is that he didn't want to come'.

S kara -dókoró: *Kono hatuon ga dekinái no wa Nihon-zín da kara -dókoró zya náí* 'The inability to achieve this pronunciation is hardly a matter of being because one is a Japanese'.

S kara bakari⁽¹⁾: *Sámukatta kara bakari de wa arimasén* 'It's not just because it was cold'.

S kara daké⁽¹⁾: *Sámukatta kara daké zya arimasén* 'It's not just because it was cold'.

S kara nómi⁽¹⁾: *Sámukatta kara nómi tó wa omoénai* 'I can't think it is just because it was cold'.

S kara -gúrai⁽¹⁾: *Sámukatta kará -gúrai no riyuu de yakusoku o yabúru to wa kesikarán* '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 *Sámukatta [kará da to iu] gúrai ...*. I have been unable to elicit examples of *S kará + ná-ka, dé mo = d'átte, dé mo* 'or something', *hodó, máde, sika, sáe, or súra*. The surface string *dé mo* appears in *Riyuu no hitótu wa benkyoo sinákatta kará de mo áru* 'One of the reasons is also because I didn't study', but that is the result of highlighting the copula *dá = dé ... áru*.

A number of dialects (especially in western Japan) use *l sákai* (or a variant *l sáke[e]*) in place of *kará*: *Nán de mo ée sákai, iko, háya yó iko* (= *Nán de mo ii kara, ikoo, háyaku mo ikoo*) '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} yótté* (also dialect) are to be treated as conjunctionalizations like the standard *kará*, in spite of the juncture: *Só ya sákai* (= *Sóo da kara*) 'Because it is so ...' (Makimura 271a); ... *tanomí ya sákai* '(as it is a request) = please' (Inokuchi 98); *Ane ga bizin yattara [= dattara] imootó mo kirei ya sákai, sugu ni tonde itte ryóosin ni hanasi o tukeru n 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 ya sákai, ii kotó nai n ya nai ka. Sibáruku no sínboo ya 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, wasira wa genbakubyoo-kánzya da ni yótté isya no susume mo átte 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 271 a) to be from the noun *sakái*, 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/sakái = desu kara*. In Ōsaka (and elsewhere) *{ni}* is optional after *sákai*, and that is true also of its synonym *yótté* (though I lack an example of *NI yótté ni*): *Ooki ni, tugi de orimásu sákai ni, kékkoo dosu* 'Thank you very much but I'm getting off at the next stop' (Inokuchi 99); ... *tugi orimásu yótté ni* 'I'm getting off at the next stop' (ibid.); *Ooki ni, sekkakú dosu kedo, kono tugi orimásu yótté, móo kékkoo dosu* '(SAME)' (ibid.); *o-wakái yótté ni náa = o-wakái kara née* 'because you are young, you see' (Zhs 4.202); *otiru yótte = otiru kara* 'because it will fall' (Zhs 4.202); *Oosaka-ben de yaru yótté ni omosirói tokoró mo áru non tiguaú ka* (= *Oosaka-ben de yaru no de omosirói tokoró mo áru no zya nai 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 kara*, 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); *sakee [ni]*, *sukee, sukai* (Niigata, Zhs 2.329, 336). An early example of *S sákai ni* appears in Diego Collado's 1632 book *Zangé-roku* (Kokugogaku jiten 1074a). Dialects in central Honshū, Shikoku, and Kyūshū (Zhs 5.15 n. 7, 19, 25) have forms such as *S + keni, ken,*³ *kee, kini, kin, kii* (Kyūshū); cf. *Toyama Zya keni[i] = Dá kara* (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 de* is used in some areas much as *N ná no de* (= *N dá kara*) is used in standard Japanese.

In western Japan (especially Ōsaka) *-su + sákai* often is pronounced *-ssákai* and *-su + yótté ni* is pronounced *-ssyótté [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 6.21) = *S keredo mo* 'but'.

4. *S + zya ken* is used in a number of areas to mean something like *S nó da kara* or *S nó de*: ... *móo zénbu soróu zya ken nóo* '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 Ōsaka *dásu* = *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-*r[u] ahan te* (as in /*ikahante/* 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 = samúi no de*). These forms—and variants *ahade*, *ahede*, *ente*—are said to be contractions from *hodo ni yotte* (Kōza-kokugo-shi 1.172).

17.2 SENTENCE + TÓ

The particle *tó* occurs after the imperfect with the meaning 'when(ever)' or 'if'; after the verbal imperfect it can also mean 'as soon as' (= infinitive + *-sídai*, §9.1.2). In these several meanings it parallels the subdued gerund *-té 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 ...'
 Sensei da. → Sensei 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 ...'
 Óokiku ná. → Óokiku ná to 'When/If it isn't big'; 'Unless it is big ...'
 Sensei zya ná. → Sensei zya ná 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 ...
 Sensei da. → Sensei desu to ...
 Sensei de gozaimásu to ...
 Sensei de irassyaimásu to ...

For example: *Sukósi oogesa ni moosimásu to ...* 'If I may exaggerate a bit ...' (R); *Kantan ni hukusyuu simásu to, tugi no yóo ni narimásu* 'Now let us review briefly what we have learned' (R). Compare the use of the particle *tó* (= *tté*) after imperfect, perfect, and tentative to mark a quotation (§21).

Alfonso (650 ff) describes *tó* 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 *tó* "connects only statements of fact".

Some common expressions follow the *tó*-conjunctionalization with an adjective and translate as 'it is (or would be) A to ...': *...-ru to omosirói* 'it is (or would be) fun to ...'; *...-ru to yói/ií* '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 hutari*) *yoru to sawaru to* 'whenever they (these two) get together'—apparently a coordinate parataxis 'when they approach and when they touch'.

Mio (290-1) suggests that *tó* is somewhat stiff in speech and is usually replaced by *-tára*, *-té*, or *-té wa*, depending on the meaning:

(1) = *-tára*: with affirmative verbs, an "established condition"; with nominals and adjectives or with negative verbs (formally adjectives) a "hypothetical condition"—thus, presumably, *Atúi to (súgu) = Átukattara* 'If it's hot, then (immediately)' and *Átuku náí to = Átuku nákattara* 'If it isn't hot, then' but *Átuku náru to = Átuku náttara* 'When it gets to be hot, then'.

(2) = *-té*: temporal sequence 'and then': *sore o kiku/míru to = kiite/míte* '(upon) hearing/seeing that'.

(3) = *-té wa*: habitual consequence 'every time that ... then': *Hén na monó o tabéru to (ítu mo) byooki ni náru = Hén na monó o tabete wa byooki ni náru* 'When(ever) I eat strange things I get sick'. Apparently *S tó wa* is sometimes used in this sense, for MKZ 911a has this sentence: *Nómu to wa kenka suru* 'Every time he drinks he quarrels' (= *Nónde wa kenka suru*). Cf. *Nómu to mo kenka [wa] sinai* 'He doesn't quarrel even though/when he drinks' (= *Nónde mo kenka [wa] sinai*). The sentences *Nómu to kenka wa sinai* 'When he drinks he does not quarrel' and *Nómu to kenka mo sinai* 'When he drinks he doesn't quarrel even/either' are both acceptable but the following are unacceptable: **Nómu to wa kenka sinai*; **Nómu to mo kenka surú (si, yameru tó mo kenka suru)*; **Nómu to wa kenka wa suru*; **Nómu to mo kenka mo sinai*.

Since there are at least three meanings for *-ru to*, some sentences are ambiguous. Thus *Dénsya(¯) ni nori-okuréru to básu de ikanákereba naránai* can mean 'If you miss your train you'll have to take the bus' or 'Whenever you miss the train you have to take the bus'. Notice that *tó* 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 **Amerika e iku tó*; the proper form is *Amerika e iku tokí wa (húne de ikimásu 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 *N dá tó* 'if/when it is N = as for N' is treated as having a postnominal particle "dá-tó". Notice that the western Japan form of this is *N yá tó: úti-ra ya to [= watasí-ra da to]* 'as for us' (Inokuchi 254).

Use of the particle *tó* 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 + SÍ

The particle *sí* 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 *sí*; cf. BJ 2.57-8, where it is observed that the second sentence often begins with *sono ue* 'moreover' after *S sí*, with *sore kara* 'and then' after *S-té*. Here are some patterns:

Yobu.	→ Yobú sí ... 'He calls/will call, and ...'
Yonda.	→ Yondá sí ... 'He called, and ...'
Yobú daroo.	→ Yobú daroo sí ... 'He's likely to call, and ...'
Ookii.	→ Ookii sí ... 'It's big and ...'
Óokikatta.	→ Óokikatta sí ... 'It was big and ...'
Ookii daroo.	→ Ookii daroo sí ... 'It must be big and ...'

- Senséi da. → Senséi da si ... 'It's the teacher and ...'
 Senséi datta. → Senséi datta si ... 'It was the teacher and ...'
 Senséi daroo. → Senséi daroo si ... 'It must be the teacher and ...'

The sentence can first be negativized (Yobaná si, Óokiku ná si, Senséi zya ná si) or stylized (Yobimásu si, Ookii desu si, Senséi desu si)—or, of course, both: Yobimasén si, Óokiku arimasén [desita] si, Senséi zya arimasén [desyoo] si, etc.

In some cases, where the 'also' sentence is omitted, the sentence with *si* implies reason or cause: Bóku(¯) daké zya ná daroo si (hoka no hito mo ótita n da kara) daizyóobu desu yo 'It's OK—I'm not the only one (who failed)'; Minná sóo daroo si (anáta soo sité mo) daizyóobu desu 'It's OK—everybody will be like that (so you can do that too)'; Íma siyoo sarete iru kikái wa, minná^[r] oogata dá si nedan ga takái '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 sitára móttö kurusii daroo si, kekkyoku^[r] onéesan mítai ná no ga itiban rikoo né '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: ... yukí da si, do-yóobi da 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); Kyuuzitu dá si, ténki da si, Yamada ga kúru daroo 'It's a holiday, the weather's nice—Yamada will come, I think'; Yó mo aketá si, háreta si, syuppatu suru to siyóo ka 'Dawn has come, the sky is clear; shall we start to make our departure?'; Dé mo, o-kane mo tariná si, monó mo ná si, honto ni itiban turai tokí 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 *surú kara* to mean 'because' or 'since': Húben da si surú kara, ... 'Since it is inconvenient, ...'; Yóku sigoto o sinái si surú kara, ... 'Since I don't work much (or well) ...'; ... yuuryoku náru tugi no seikyoku-tantóosya mo inái n da si surú 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 *surú no de* as in Alfonso 564: Ténki wa ii SI yasumí da SI surú no de ... 'Since the weather's nice and it's a day off ...'. The *suru* is a verbal dummy, similar to that used with *-tári* (§9.4). The following example (from Matsuda) would seem to be a direct nominalization of the conjoined sentence ($S\ si + S\ si \rightarrow S\ si\ S\ si\ da$) that has been gerundized (... dá → ... dé): Nihon-go itinen-kúrasu wa, kootoo-kyoozyúhoo(¯) ni yoru dórúru ga tyuusin no tamé,^[r] kyóosi no kóe ga motánai kúrai tukaréru SI, zyúgyoo ga tanyoo ni naránai yóo^[r] ni ki o tukaú SI DE, gozip-pun ga naga-sugiru kúrai ni kan-ziru kotó ga arimásu '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 $S_1\ si\ S_2\ kará$ and $S_1\ si\ S_2\ no\ de$, including these: Háa—dé mo, móo kore kara káeru kotó ni itasimásu—sóro-soro dénsya(¯) mo náku narimásu SI, sore ni mósi tomodati dé mo kónakattara, hitó-ban zyuu yowattayaimásu 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—'; Mutukasii SI sore ni itinifí^[r] no utí(¯) iti-nizíkan sika pén o tóru kotó o yurusárete inái NO DE, susumi ga osói 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 yósi 'is good' and wárusi 'is bad' and a few other clichés (Mio cites Sámusa wa sámusi '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 onná to issyo ni dónna soko e oti-kondé mo yósi [de], mata issyo ni tenzyoo e mai-agátte mo yósi [da], soo iu gímu to sikaku tó o dóozi(-) ni sonáete iru otokó wa tyót-to hoka ni áru $\bar{m}ái$ '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 tó: ... mo yósi [to]; ... mo yósi [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 sí may represent an ellipsis of surú si rather than exemplify the conjoining use of the infinitive of suru, but his example does not make that interpretation compelling.

A single sí-marked sentence can be followed by sá or né (or ná) with or without the implication of cause or reason: Utí(-) ni káett'atte tumánnai [= tumaránai] si né 'I'm bored if I go home, so [that's why I come here to the sauna]' (SA 2662.97a); Niti-yóobi wa naru-béku(-) atumáru yóo ni site 'másu kedo, minná o-sígoto ga arimásu kara.—Anáta mo áru si né '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 arúite iru to ii kotó ga óói desyo.—Karada ga zyoobu ni náru?—Tigau. O-kane o hirou kotó d'atte áru si sá '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 sí-marked sentences that need not be interpreted as implying cause or reason: Attí no sétu(-) o kikéba naru-hodo to omóu si, kottí no hoo no iu kotó o kikéba naru-hodo to omóu 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 si described in this section first appeared in the 17th century. In the speech of young Ōsaka women, sentence-final sí is an emphatic marker corresponding to the use of wá (see § 15.4), according to Maeda 1961.164-5. It is said to be a "polite" particle in the northeast.

17.4. SENTENCE + ké[re]do/mono-no/monó[-o]

The particle ké[re]do can be added to the imperfect, perfect, or tentative of any sentence, and it is often reinforced with the particle mó: kedo mo (SA 2686.27e), kéredo mo. With or without mó, it can be followed by né or sá. The sentence can first be negatized, stylized, etc. There are two meanings.

The first meaning 'however, but' is somewhat similar to that of nó ni (§ 14.2.2 'despite'): Karada ga tiisái kedo tikaará(-) wa tuyói 'He is small in body but mighty in strength'. Cf. tó itté mo (§ 21), tté (§ 15.11). Old-fashioned synonyms are [educated colloquial] mono-no and [written style] monó-o. Though common up to the Meiji period, monó-o is now rare; in its place we find just monó, with the particle dropped. Mio says monó 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—*Siranákatta n desu mono* 'But I didn't know!'; cf. *mon[ó] = kará*, §17.1, p. 968. Old men sometimes use *S kéredo mo ga* 'S (however,) but': ... *tásika ni ookii dageki désita keredo mo ga* ... 'it certainly was a great blow, but ...' (Tk 4.249b).

The other meaning of *ké[re]do [mo]* is 'and also': *Undoo mo surú 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 (*Áme mo húru si kaze mo húku* 'It rains and the wind blows' = *Kaze mo húku si áme mo húru* 'The wind blows and it rains') with little change in flavor, where those with *kédo* often imply surprise at the second sentence in view of the first. Cf. *Ké[re]do [mo]* as a sentence-introducer (§24), perhaps best regarded as an abbreviation of *Dá kedo ... < [Sore] dá kedo ...*

Examples of *mono-no*: *Sositu wa áru mono-no kíyoo ga wazawai site iru* 'While he has the temperament he suffers from a lack of skill'; *Soko e itta mono-no dóo káeru ka wakaránaku nátta* 'Once I got there I had no idea how I would get back'; *Kuti de sóo wa iu mono-no kokóro^[r] no uti⁽⁻⁾ wa mattaku^[r] hantai de ...* 'He may say so but in his heart he is completely opposed'; *Yooyaku koko máde kíta mono-no, tukare-hatete kore kara saki wa^[r] ip-po mo susumenákatta* 'I finally made it to this place, but I was so worn out I couldn't go on a step from here'; *Kana gúrai wa yoméru mono-no, kanzi to kítara zenzen wakaránai* 'I can read kana, all right, but when it comes to Chinese characters I'm completely in the dark'; *Uti⁽⁻⁾ no máe made itté wa míta mono-no, náka e háiru yúuki wa nákatta* 'I did try going as far as the front of the house, but I lacked the courage to go in'; *Syusai-zóroi to wa iu mono-no, tensai nádo to ieru yóo na gakusei wa hitóri^[r] 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 *monó[-o]*, and here is another: *Sottyoku ni hanáseba yói monó-o, benkai bákari 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: *nakú (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: *yómu [?!] mono-no*. From what is said in Terase 220-1, it would appear that the colloquial language treats *monó-o* as a conjunctionalizing (presumably *N dá monó-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 náru monó-o, N náru mono-no*). An example is cited from the novelist Futabatei of ... *yóo na mono-no = ... yóo da kara*. Actually, both expressions are quite old-fashioned. The sentence-opener *Tó wa iu mono-no ...* 'Nevertheless ...' (SA 2684.137a) is equivalent in meaning to *Tó wa ié[-do mo] ...*

In Hokkaidō and northeastern Honshū *S + do mo* (perhaps the expected reflex of *tó mo?*) is heard where we would expect *S kéredo mo*, as in these examples from Hokkaidō: *Ziman de née do mo (= Ziman zya náí keredo mo)* 'I'm not proud of it, but ...' (Zhs 1.326); *Kanáyⁿ desita do mo (= Kanawánai n desita keredo mo)* 'I was no match but ...' (Zhs 1.327). These examples are from the speech of a *sumō* wrestler from Niigata (Tk 3.16-20): ... *itigai⁽⁻⁾ ní wa ienáí do mo ...* 'I can't say in general but' (16a); ... *sita no hóo ni wa áru do mo ...* 'there are some below but' (18a); *Wasi mo bíiru yori wísúkíi no*

hóo ga íi n da do mo ... 'I prefer whiskey to beer, myself, but ...' (19b); Sonna kotó wa náí do mo né, ... 'Such things never happen, but, you see, ...' (20a).

In southern Kyūshū S don (probably < do mo) is used to mean 'but', and Miyazaki and Ōita use S kendon (Zhs 6.21).⁵ But Nagasaki is famous as the home of S batten, which Tōjō (1954.76) suggests may come from ba t[ō]te mo, observing that in Fukuoka they also say S batte mo; ba presumably would be the accusative marker corresponding to standard ó (but perhaps cognate with the focus marker wá?). The core case markers gá, ó, and ní are each used to carry the meaning 'but' in one or more constructions; cf. § 2.2.

17.5. SENTENCE + GÁ

The particle gá 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 desyóo ga, ... 'as you (must surely) know' (SA 2678.27a); Sá-te, anáta no baai désu ga, kígen o kimenákatta to suréba, ossyáru tóori sánzyúu-nen desu ga, ... 'Well, in your case, if no term was set, then as you say it is thirty years, and ...' (SA 2677.119a). Gá can be followed by né as in ... wakarimásu ga né and ... tō omóu n desu ga né, but instead of ... gá sá the usual form is ... kédó sá.⁶ The sentence can be (and often is) stylized; it can also be negativized, etc. In addition to the 'but' meaning (Samúi ga gáman siyoo 'It's cold but we'll have to put up with it') we also find the meaning 'and also': Haná mo kirei da ga niói mo yói 'The flowers are pretty and also fragrant'. Often sentences are left dangling with gá ... 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 désu ga ... 'This is Tanaka speaking'.

A number of sentence-openers make use of gá: Sitúrei desu ga, o-ikutu désu ka 'Excuse me for asking, but how old are you?'; Áto de kiita hanasí da ga ... 'Later I found out that ...'. Statements of desire, request, hope, and the like often trail off with a softening gá For a Shikoku usage of sentence-final gá as an emphatic, see Doi 287-8.

Sentence + gá might be regarded as an abbreviation of adnominalized sentence + tokoró ga 'whereupon, but' (sometimes 'when, if'—see § 13.2.2): Masúi-zai da kara yóku kiku to omótta tokoró ga, nakanaka kikanai 'It is an anesthetic so I thought it would be quite effective, but it just wouldn't take effect' (Tk 4.155b); Úmaku ikú daroo to omótta tokoró ga sippai sita 'While I thought it would go well, it failed'; Osoru-ósoru sensei ni soodan site míta tokoró ga, sensei wa dai-sánsei de átta '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, Terasé 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 ...'.⁷

5. The form kendo is reported from around Kyōto, as is kennaa = keredo mo ná/né (Inokuchi 281).

6. Perhaps this is because sá calls for plain-style forms. In the everyday speech of today a preference has been noticed for gá with polite stylization (simásu ga) and kédó with unstylized sentences (surú kedo); I am tempted to suspect that prosodic factors may be partly responsible, the extra syllable of kédó making up for the shortness of the plain forms.

7. As seen in these examples: SORE GA kóndo wa pitári to syaberánai bákari ka, hazime wa hita-[']kákusi(¯) ni kakúsite '-yan da (= i-yagáru 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 nánte, sakunen wa seisansya-béika o sue-oita. SORE GA dóo da, masúmasu bukka wa agatte 'rú zya náí ka'' to,

Instead of *-ta* {*| tokoró*} *ga*, the form *-ta* ^[r]*nō* *ga* is sometimes used, as in these examples: Hazime húuhu hutarí datta NO GA, kodomo *ga* dékite issitú^[i] hósiku náttari, ... 'At first they were just two, husband and wife, but they had a baby and wanted an extra room ...' (SA 2640.39d); Saikin no sibaí-zúkuri *ga*, náni ka kabe ni butukatté 'ta NO GA, ano yari-kata de kabe *ga* yabúreta kanzi de, ii kotó da to omóu n desu yó '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.

Ōide (115) speaks of three uses of *S ga*:

(1) opposition, as in *Watasi wa iki-tái ga yoozi de ikenai* 'I want to go but I can't because of things to do';

(2) cause or reason, as in *Káre wa óoi ni dóryoku(-) sitá ga, syubi yóku seikoo sita* 'He put in a lot of effort and succeeded in everything';

(3) a light connection or addition, as in *Watasi mo sitte irú ga, káre wa sínsetu 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 *gá*-marked structure, in the expression *S ga || sono tamé ka ...* 'S and perhaps that's why ...'. Jordan (BJ 2.202 n. 1) observes that *gá* is often used to separate "a statement from a related question". Ōide (123) advises the careful speaker to connect sentences with *gá* as little as possible, choosing instead connectors that are more specific.

Normally you can not omit the copula in *S hazu dá/dátta ga* 'is/was' to be presumed likely that *S'*, but when the *S* is affirmative and the sentence following the 'but' is its negation, we are permitted the option of dropping the copula (whether imperfect *dá* or perfect *dátta*): *Oyama san to Koizumi san no [ga] miéru hazu {dá} ga tóotoo o-mie ni narimasén desita* 'Oyama and Koizumi ought to be visible, but finally they have gone out of sight' (Kb 39a.7); *Káre mo kúru hazu [dátta] ga kónakatta* 'He was supposed to come, too, but he didn't'. The "negation" is semantic; it need not be the negative conversion of the first predicate: *Móodo wa sinu hazu {dá} ga iki-nokottá no datta* 'Maude ought to have died (in the concentration camp), too, but she had survived' (SA 2816.165c).

According to Ishigaki Kenji, the use of *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-monogátari* (11th or 12th century) and *Uji-shūi-monogátari* (13th century), gradually increasing in frequency, as shown by Ishigaki's chart (p. 53).

As an equivalent of *gá* 'but', Okinawan uses *-siga* and in Yaeyama we find both *-siga* and *-songa*.

bukka-zyóosyoo ni tai-súru urami wa toseikatú-sya to kawaranái no de aru 'Last year they stabilized the rice-producer prices saying that when rice goes up commodity prices go up (in general). But then what do we find—the commodity prices keep going up and up anyway, don't they?'—their [= the farmers'] resentment of rising prices is no different from that of the city-dweller' (SA 2584.18c, *ore ga* = *sore ná no ni* 'despite its being that').

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 + GÁ

The literary tentative (§12.3) is characterized by attaching the hortative ending to all verbs (*kakóo* instead of *káku daroo*, *aróo* instead of *áru daroo*), and using the abbreviation *-karóo* (< *-ku aróo*) for adjectives: *samukaróo* instead of *samúi daroo*, *nakaróo* instead of *nái daroo*. The verb negative is *V-rú ʔmái* (optionally—but preferably—shortened to *V-[ru] ʔmái* after vowel bases) rather than *V-(a)nái daroo*; the adjective negative is *A-ku nakaróo* rather than *A-ku nái daroo*; the copula negative is *dé wa nakaróo* rather than *zya nái daroo*.

Contrasting sentences in the literary tentative appear with the particle *gá* following each to mean 'whether ... or ...': *A daroo ga B daroo ga kamawánai* 'It matters not whether it is A or B'. The meaning is much the same as that of *-té mo*: *A dé mo B dé mo kamawánai*. Examples: *Onazi daroo ga tigaoo ga* 'Whether the same or different'; *Komaroo ga komaru ʔmái ga* 'Whether embarrassed or not'; *Kamaoo ga kamau ʔmái ga* 'Whether it makes a difference or not'; *Samukaroo ga atukaroo ga* 'Whether cold or hot'; *Tabeyoo ga tabe[ru] ʔmái ga* 'Whether we eat or not' (= colloquial *Taberu daroo ga, tabenai daroo ga* ...); *Romantikku de l aroo ga l aru ʔmái ga* || *sore wa l musí dekinai l hassoo desu yo* 'Whether romantic or not, this is a conception that cannot be ignored'; *Ikoo ga l iku ʔmái ga* || *ore no katte dá* 'It's up to me whether I want to go or not' (KKK 3.27); *Aitu ga ikoo ga iku ʔmái ga*, *ore no sitta kotó zya nái* 'It's none of my business whether he goes or not'; *Giin de aroo ga nakaroo ga,*⁹ *rippa na hitó wa takusan óru wáke desu né* 'Whether they are Diet members or not, there are many fine persons, you know = There are many fine persons, you know—some Diet members, some not' (Tk 4.16a); *Riyuu ga aroo ga nakaroo ga nagurareru no wa dare si mo iyá da* 'Nobody likes to get punched, whether there is a reason or not' (SA 2681.122a); *Syokuryoo(ʔ) no seisan daroo ga, kikái daroo ga nan daroo ga, Amerika no seisan-sei wa, wareware ni kurabete suu-bai de aru* 'Whether it be in food production or machinery or whatever, America's productivity is several times greater than ours' (SA 2678.44a); *Ginza no yon-tyoomé(ʔ) daroo ga, mizu no ué daroo ga, dóko de mo ii* 'I don't care where it is—the heart of the Ginza, (somewhere) on the water, anywhere will do' (SA 2689.121c); *Gótyoo ga sinoo ga syooi ga sinoo ga, soosiki ní wa kanarazu gungaku-tai ga túita món desu* 'Whether a sergeant died or a lieutenant died, there was always a military band at the funeral' (Tk 4.94a); *Kózin o l gisei ni site l kókka o l takameyoo to suru l seisaku ní wa* || *sore ga* || *puroretariáato no l dokusai to YOBAREYOO GA* || *Hwea-Diiru to iu na de l YOBAREYOO GA* || *watakusi wa l hantai dá* 'I'm opposed to a policy of elevating the nation at the sacrifice of the individual regardless whether it be called Dictatorship of the Proletariat or whether it be called Fair Deal' (KKK 3.26-7); *Sánbyaku rokuzyuu gó-niti hotondo kawaranái n desu. Nityoo daroo ga syukuzitu daroo ga, syogatú ganzitu daroo ga, nenzuyu onazi {dá}* 'The 365 days hardly change at all. Whether Sunday or a holiday, or New Year's, it's the same throughout the year' (SA 2650.42d).

Instead of *gá* the quotative particle *tó* can be used in these expressions; see §21.5. And, like the expressions with *tó*, the expressions with *gá* can also appear unpaired, equivalent to a more colloquial *-té mo* (cf. Alfonso 867): ... *sono toti ni donna tatémóno o tateyoo ga* [= *tátete mo*] *ziyuu de aru* 'you are free to build any kind of building on that land' (SA 2668.107a). Rarely, an example of stylization will turn up: *itasimasyoo ga itasimasu ʔmái ga* 'whether I will do it or not'.

9. I.e. *Giin de aroo ga* [*giin de*] *nakaroo ga*.

17.7. LITERARY TENTATIVE + *NI*

There are two uses of *-[y]óo ni*:

(1) ... *aróo ni* 'of all ... (there might be)', ... *daróo ni* 'of all ... (it might be)': *Basyo mo aróo ni watasi o anna tokoró e turete itta* 'He took me to such a place of all places'; *Hito mo aróo ni kimi ga sonna kotó o ioo tó wa!* 'To think that you, of all persons, should say so'; *Yamada wa kotó mo aróo ni Ísa no sóba ni tikayótte kita* 'Yamada, of all things, approached Isa' (Ig 40).

(2) *V-[y]óo ni mo* 'despite an effort/desire to (do)': *Nínpu o tanomóo ni mo ... kíte kureru hitó ga náí* 'Try as we would, we couldn't get a coolie' (Ig 40); *Sakebi-góe o ageyóo ni mo ... kóe ga dénakatta* 'Try to yell as he would, he could not find his voice' (Ig 40); *Sore o taizi site yaróo ni mo dóo sitára íi ka kentóo ga tukánaí* '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 yaróo ni mo gyozyoo wa ume-taterárete simau* 'The fishing grounds gets so filled in you can't even fish' (SA 2688.22d); *Bankoku-haku o kenbutu siyóo ni mo tomaru tokoró ga náí* '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]óo no ni* with the predicated 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 tanómu* [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 *tó omótte/sité mo*: *Soo siyóo ni mo o-kane ga náí* = *Soo siyoo to omótte/sité mo o-kane ga náí* 'I'd like to do it but I lack the money'.

17.8. SENTENCE-FINAL TENTATIVE + *NI*

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 sitasimaséru kotó mo dékita daroo ni* 'Such a simple thing [as exporting the word *shibusá* along with the word *shibui*] might have been the key to familiarizing them with Japanese' (Kazama 109); *Tabakó-nomi no kimoti wa || o-tagai yóku | wakátte 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); *Zénbu tabe-kirenai utí(¯) ni karada no hoo ga máitta n desyoo ná; sá-zo kokoro-nókorí 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: *Mattí-bako no íe ni, toraréru yoo na kóoka no monó mo náí daroo ni, nán no tamé ni inú o káu 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 anáta ga, mótto yóku o-sirabe ni náttara, konna kotó wa okoránakatta 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) náí*

daróo ni you may find (N de/zya) nakaróo ni: Tó wa ie, sékái no Kurosawa mo, itíbu de wa "káko no hitó"-si-sare, "íma-sara(¯) déru makú de mo nakaróo ni" to hiyakasi-hánbun de mukaeru múki mo sukúnáku náí "But the world-famous [film director] Kurosawa himself is regarded in some quarters as a "has-been", 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).

17.9. SENTENCE + NÁRA[-BA]

We might consider sentence + nára[-ba] 'if (it's a case of)' as still another kind of conjunctualization, but I think it is better treated as just an optional dropping of nó in the nominalization of §14.2: Yobú nara[-ba] ← Yobú no nara[-ba] 'If you are calling' (← Yobú no da). Sometimes the n[ó] is actually present: Nyóobo[o] mo kodomo mo sankootai-sei to iú n nara, hanasí wa betu dá ga né 'If we speak of wife and children on the three-shift system, too, it's a different story' (SA 2640.20a); Sinú n nara anna tokoró ga íi náa 'A place like that would be nice to choose for one's death' (Y 399); ... tori-hazusú n nara ... 'if it is to be dismantled' (SA 2689.121d); Kodomó-táti ga nemutté n nara fñemutte irú no nara] ... '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 akereú nara, kore o akete kudasái 'If you're going to open a window, open this one'; Mótto seikaku ni iú nara-ba 'To put it more accurately ...' (SA 2651.97a). The sentence can be imperfect, perfect, or (?)tentative. The meaning of -tá nara seems to be about the same as that of -tára (§9.3.3); we might consider treating the latter—synchronically at least—as an abbreviation of the former:¹⁰ Tookyoo e ittá nara, Teikoku-Hóteru o go-zónzi desyoo 'If you've been to Tōkyō, surely you know the Imperial Hotel'.

Of the structure S_1 nara S_2 , Kuno 1973.183 tells us that: (1) S_1 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) S_2 represents the speaker's "evaluation, supposition, will, resolution, request, or order"; and (3) unless S_2 is a request, command, desire (or the like) S_2 can not be "a state or action whose realization depends upon the future realization or completion of the action represented by S_1 ".

According to Mio (294) the nára-marked sentence can be stylized (V-i-másu nara) but this is rare for nominal sentences (N desu nara → N nára) and rejected for nominal tentatives (*N desyóo nara → N nára). The expression kore nára to iu hito 'a suitable person' seems to be the result of ellipsis: Kore nára [íi] ... 'if it be this one [it is suitable]'. For -[y]óo nara = -[y]oo monó nara, see §13.3. For the expressions N_1 nára N_1 and N_1 mo N_1 nára N_2 (dá), see §9.3.2.

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 náreba to mean 'since (it is a matter of); seeing that' after a directly nominalized verb: iu náreba 'so to speak' (= íwába(¯)), tatakau náreba 'since I am to fight'. Yoshida would derive nára from a shortening of nár[eb]a rather than of the literary nára[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 nara 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 "atonic" 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 datta *sóo da* 'They say it/he was a teacher'.

Sensei nó *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 ... irassyaimásu *sóo de gozaimásu née*. When the subject of the hearsay sentence is being exalted, you can use *sóo de irassyaimásu* in place of *sóo de gozaimásu*: Go-sotugyoo *da/nasáru sóo de irassyaimásu né* 'I hear you are graduating'; Cf. Kiite mimásu to, kodomono kóro wa taihen *bizin datta sóo de gozaimásu* 'People tell us she [our mother] was quite a beauty when a child' (R). But *S *sóo de orimásu* is not used.

Instead of *sóo da* you can use various quotational devices (§21) such as *tó^[1]iu hanasí da*, *tó no kotó da*, *tó^[1]iu kotó da*, *tó ka* (§21.6), *tté*, or *tó*. The new sentences can all be extended with particles like *sá/yó/wá/né/ ...* (§15). Another common way to report hearsay is S n[ó] *da tó^[1]sá/yó*; cf. S n[ó] *da tó^[1]mo* 'Of course S'. There seems to be some doubt about *ká*: *Sóo 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 (*)*Sóo da sóo ka*. On the other hand, *Sóo da tó^[1]no kotó {desu} ka* is accepted either way. There is no *(*desu*) *tté ka* or *(*desu*) *tó ka*, but *tté 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 da kara/to/si/kedo/ga*, *sóo nara [-ba]* (§17); *sóo ni tigai ná* (§14.6.1), but not *... *sóo ni sugínai* (§14.6.2) [? nor other cases involving direct nominalization, §14.6]. Adnominalization is impossible (*... *sóo na hitó/hazu da*); when *ná* appears after *sóo* it represents {*dá*} *ná* as in *Sóo da sóo ná* 'So they say, don't they' and ... *kyokutan na ningen-húsin ni oti-iru sóo ná* 'they are said to fall into extreme distrust of their fellow men, you see' (SA 2660.54e).

Although perfect and gerund are possible (*Háha mo génki da sóo datta* 'They said mother was well too', *Háha mo génki da sóo de ansin sita* 'I was relieved hearing that mother is well too'),¹ tentative (*... *sóo daroo*) and infinitive (*... *sóo ni*) are not acceptable.² The negative is unusual: (?*)*Sóo da sóo zya ná* 'It's untrue that they say it is so'; cf. *Sóo zya ná sóo da*

1. Hogó-tyoo *da sóo de motíron íkite iru* 'It [= a rare bird on sale] is said to be a protected bird [species] so of course it is alive' (SA 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 tigai ná*.

'I hear it isn't so', ... kurúsiku náí n da sóo 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 hanasí de wa (N no hanasí 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 ... sóo da.

In written Japanese you sometimes see the semi-literary equivalent of hearsay-reporting: [adnominalized sentence +] yósi da. Yósi '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 náru N₂ sometimes written where the spoken language would have N₁ tó^[b] 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 sóo 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: Kyúuryoo ga agatta sóo zya náí ka 'Didn't I hear you had a raise in pay?'

19 THE SEMBLATIVE: { | } ˉrasii

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 dá will drop in a nominal sentence:

Yobu { | } ˉrasii 'It seems that he calls (or will call)'.

Takái { | } ˉrasii 'It seems that it is expensive'.

Áme { | } ˉrasii 'It seems to be rain'.

Sízuka { | } ˉrasii 'It seems to be quiet'.

Watasi no { | } ˉrasii 'It seems to be mine'.

Asitá kara { | } ˉrasii 'It seems to be (starting) from tomorrow'.

The word rasii is optionally preceded by an underlying juncture.¹ 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: Áme { | } ˉrasii will be heard as /amerasii/ (juncture option spurned), as /áme rasii/ (juncture option taken and secondary accent on rasii), and as /ámerasii/ (juncture option taken and then the juncture itself ignored). From the pronunciation /hanarasii/ you will not know whether what was intended is Hana { | } ˉrasii 'It seems to be a nose' or (= /hanárasii/) Haná { | } ˉrasii '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: áme (ˉ)rasii will not permit the pronunciation /amerasii/ with no accent.

The inpuɣ sentence can be perfect: Yonda rasii 'It seems that he called', Tákakatta (ˉ)rasii 'It seems to have been expensive', Sízuka datta (ˉ)rasii 'It seems to have been quiet', Watasi nó datta (ˉ)rasii 'It seems to have been mine'. Or, the semblative can be perfectivized: Yobu rásikatta 'It seemed that he called (would call)', Takái (ˉ)rásikatta 'It seemed to be expensive'; Sízuka (ˉ)rásikatta 'It seemed to be quiet', Watasi nó rásikatta 'It seemed to be mine', Áme (ˉ)rásikatta 'It seemed to be rain'. Or, again, both sentences can be made perfect: Yonda rásikatta 'It seemed that he had called', Tákakatta (ˉ)rásikatta 'It seemed that it had been expensive', Sízuka datta (ˉ)rásikatta 'It seemed that it had been quiet', Watasi nó datta (ˉ)rásikatta 'It seemed that it had been mine', Áme datta (ˉ)rásikatta 'It seemed that it had been rain'; Syóobu ga túita (ˉ)rásikatta '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

1. We must assume this, despite the complications of the resulting description below, in order to account for the lack of such patterns as *yobúrasii and *yondárasii.

he does/will not call', Yobu rásiku náí 'It does not seem that he will call', Yobanai rásiku náí 'It does not seem that he does/will not call', etc. And all combinations of perfect and negative appear to be possible: Yobanákatte (-)rasii 'He seems to have not called', Yonda rásiku nákatte 'It did not seem that he had called'. But doubt is cast on (?)Yobanákatte (-)rásiku nákatte '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 rasii daroo 'I think it seems that he will call',² the concessives Yobu rásikute mo = Yobu rásikut'atte 'Even if/though it seems that he will call', the provisional Yobu rásikereba 'If it seems ...',³ the conditional Yobu rásikattara 'If it seem(ed) ...', and Yobu rasii nara [-ba] 'If it seems ...', as well as the gerund: Soo sitára sinbun-hanbáiten ga uti(-) ni renraku sita rásikute, mukae ni kite ture-modosáreta 'Then, the newspaper dealer apparently having got in touch with my family, they came to get me and I was taken back home' (SA 2678.47a); Mítuko wa tákusii de kake-tuketa rásikute, ma-mó-naku arawáreta 'Mitsuko soon appeared, apparently having rushed over by taxi' (Ariyoshi 31).

When a construction calls for a repeat of S + (-)rasii, including N (-)rasii, the second S is usually optional: ... Oosaka-ben rásikereba [] rasii hodó, ... 'the more it seems to be Ósaka dialect, the more ...' (Maeda 1961.149); ... tíisa na kodomo rásikereba [] rasii hodó, ... 'the more he seems a little child, the more ...'.

We accept semblative + hearsay, as in Áme ga húru (-)rasii sóo da = Áme ga húru (-)rasii tté 'I hear it seems it will rain', and probably also hearsay + semblative: (?)Áme ga húru sóo (-)rasii 'It seems they say it will rain'. Although both (-)rasii sóo da and (-)rasii yóo da are accepted,⁴ *rasi-sóo da (evidential) is rejected, as are *rasii hazu/tumori da. An example of N { } dá (-)rásiku omowaréru 'seems like it is N': Aité wa syakoo-kíssa ka náni ka no zyosei rásiku omowaremásita 'The other person seemed like a cabaret hostess or some such woman' (Tsuji-mura 64).

S (-)rasii can be followed by sentence-extenders ká, ká né, and sometimes even ká sira ('I wonder whether it seems') and ká mo sirenai ('maybe it seems'); S (-)rasii ni suginai 'It only seems that S' is acceptable but *S (-)rasii ni tigai náí 'It undoubtedly appears that S' is not. The semblative sentence can be stylized: S (-)rasii desu, S (-)rásyuu gozaimásu—but not *S (-)rásikute irassyaimásu since the semblative does not itself carry a personal reference. Nuclear focus is permitted: Yobu rásiku wa/mo áru (or náí), Yobu rásiku sae áreba, An intransitive mutative may occur, S (-)rásiku nátta 'It got so it appeared that S'; but not a transitive mutative, *S (-)rásiku 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 táido '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 (-)rasikaróo ga { } (-)rásiku nakaróo ga = S (-)rasii daroo ga { } (-)rásiku náí daroo ga 'whether it seems that S or it doesn't seem that S' and S (-)rasikaróo ga S-(a)nai (-)rasikaróo ga = S (-)rasii daroo ga S-(a)nai (-)rasii daroo ga 'whether it seems that S or it seems that S [does/is] not'.

3. But (-)rásikereba is often replaced by (-)rasii nara according to Y 316.

4. Also S-(a)nai (-)rasii yóo da, S (-)rásiku náí yóo da, S-(a)nai (-)rásiku náí yóo da, S (-)rasii yóo zya náí (or yóo ni miénai), S (-)rásiku náí yóo zya náí (or yóo ni miénai), S-(a)nai (-)rasii yóo zya náí (or yóo ni miénai). But rejected—for clumsiness?—is *S-(a)nai (-)rásiku náí yóo zya náí (or yóo ni miénai).

foolish, stupid'; Hito wa kessin site otoko-rasiku, gunzin-rasiku, syatyoo-rasiku naru 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 waza-to 'on purpose'. There are negatives in -rasikaranu: gityoo-rasikaranu gityoo datta 'was an unchairmanly sort of chairman' (SA 2685.62b), tyuugakusei-rasikaranu hankoo 'a crime unlikely for a junior high school student' (SA 2652.121e). But the more colloquial negative is -rasiku nai: Soko ni tikara(-) no komotta roozin-rasiku nai koe ga hiroma no kuuki o nami-datseta '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-soo da, -rasi-ge da 'seems suitable to be'. And they form derived nouns with -sa: otoko-rasi-sa 'manliness'. The sentence-converting 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: /senseerasii/ 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 atonic.

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. Nikui (-)rasii 'It seems to be hateful, and contrast the homonymous Niku (-)rasii 'It seems to be meat', Niku-rasii 'It is worthy (= real) meat'. Suita(-)rasii 'is sweet, loveable' is an idiomatic phrase, or perhaps a derived adjective (as Kenkyusha treats it), from the semblative applied to the perfect of suku 'likes, loves'.

The meaning of the semblative is very close to that of adnominal + yoo da (or yoo ni mieru) and its colloquial synonym mitai da, § 13.2. Sometimes the semblative is used in a meaning very close to that of hearsay (soo da);⁵ other times it seems closer to the evidential (-soo da) but the meaning centers on surmisal, deduction, or inference and can be translated as 'likely' (cf. hazu da). 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: ... yoo da INDIRECT JUDGMENT, ...-soo da APPEARANCE or TENDENCY or IMMINENCE, ... (-)rasii PRESUMPTION or INFERENCE, ... hazu da 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 yoo da, .1456 -soo da; .1116 rasii; .0146 huu da; .0098 mitai da; .0072 -ge ni; .0016 toori da.

Sometimes Rasii will be heard as a complete sentence, probably to be regarded as an abbreviation of Soo (-)rasii 'It seems to be like that' = 'I guess so', e.g. Sore nara-ba rasii desu 'That will be fine, I guess'. Rasiku nai desyoo? 'Unlikely, what?' An example from an interview: Ren'ai tyuu [= to iu] monó, siran no?—Rasii desu ne '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 + nai serves for hearsay as well as semblative; see §15.19.

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: *Minná^[r]yorokónnda n desu kedo, riyoo saretá rasii tokoró mo átte ...* 'We were all delighted but there were (situations=) times when we seem to have been used ...' (SA 2649.46b); *Hontoo ni kokorobosói (-)rasii tokí ga arimásu* 'There are times when he seems truly depressed' (Y 319); *Omae ga Tukida to náka no ii (-)rasii kotó wa ...* 'That you appear to be friendly with Tsukida ...' (KKK 3.279); *Kó-itizíkan tátu to, tabigéinin-tati ga ide-tátu (-)rasii monoótó ga kikoete kíta* 'After a short while you could begin hearing the sounds of the traveling entertainers apparently leaving' (Y 318); *Misé de katta rasii aka-zyóotin mo áru* 'There are red lanterns, too, that look store-bought' (Y 319); *Tookyoo to, Kyóoto kara kíta (-)rasii zyosei-kóosei []* 'It's high-school girls who seem to have come from Tōkyō and Kyōto' (SA 2837.31d); *Gyosen rasii sirá-ho(-)* 'A white sail that appears to be a fishing boat ...' (KKK 3.279); ... *hozyutú-tyoo ga ... koosyá-tyoo ni, hanasi-kakete iru (-)rasii kóe ga kikoete kíta* '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 (-)rásiki: *Muron tegákari (-)rásiki monó wa áru* 'Of course there IS an apparent clue' (Sa 2668.30c); *Sore rásiki monó o kan-zimásu né, yoyaku wa simasén ga* 'You feel something like that, not making reservations' (Tk 2.278b); ... *kangó-hu ya, sore rásiki monó ni kansatu o tayori-sugirú no wa ...* 'the excessive reliance on nurses and such-like persons for observation [of patients] ...' (SA 2666.115e). Cf. Kenkyusha's example *Íkura mátte ité mo sore rasii hitó wa kónakatta* 'I waited and waited but no one looking anything like him came'. *Sore-rasii N* may sometimes translate as 'a likely N': *sore-rasii kónkyo* 'a likely (reliable/plausible) basis' (SA 2673.131c) = *konkyo-rasii kónkyo* (see below).

A nominal sentence will suppress the imperfect copula when the semblative is applied, *N fda* rasii; but the copula will appear in the perfect, *N dátta* rasii, as in this example: *Iwamoto sensei te no wa, nakanaka ganko-mono dátta (-)rasii desu ná* '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 (-)rasii*: ... *sono miti no biggu-syóotto (oomono) de áru (-)rásikatta* '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-) + (-)rasii: *Nippon-kazyuu-kyóokai wa tokusei no zísyo o o-moti [] rasii* 'The Japan Fruit Juice Association seem to have their own special dictionary' (SA 2649.110a); the subject exaltation (o-moti dá= o-moti ni náru or mótte irassyáru) 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 pro-predicative copula in the following examples: *Enpitu no óreta sín de [] (-)rásiku káite átta* 'It was written apparently with the lead from a broken pencil' (Y 321); *Káre [] (-)rásiku, ... itta* 'Characteristically, he said ...' (Y 322); *Ákiko wa iká-ni mo Kyóoko [] (-)rasii to omótta ga ...* 'Akiko thought "How very like Kyōko [to say a thing like that]"' (Ariyoshi 255). When the semblative is applied to *S nó da* 'It is that S' (§ 4.2), the imperfect copula drops, leaving *S nó [] (-)rasii* as in *Mítiko ga soko ni irú no (-)rasii* '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 butukaranákatta ... 'did not run into any particular incident worth mentioning' (SA 2664.92d); ... hannoo-rasii hannoo ga nákatatta '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 semblative as such, but a semblative-derived adjective, as described earlier; the accent of -rasii always dominates the attached noun, and that must be a single pure noun (*A tó B -rasii A tó 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 haiuee-rasii háiuée ga nozomasii(¯) 'What is needed is a real highway worthy of the name'; Kuruma ga yo[n]-dai narande hasiréru hodó no haiuee-rasii honkaku-teki na háiuée 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 (-)tarasii, § 3.13. (A list of adjectives derived with the complex suffix -a-si- will be found in KKK 7.263-4.) Examples of the semblative conversion can be found in the Man'yō-shū⁶ 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). Satō (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 da 'He seems to be about to call'.

Waru-sóo da 'It looks bad'.

Zyoobu-soo da 'He looks sturdy'.

A pure noun can be used only when predicated with the formal uncontracted copula: *koo-séiseki de ari-sóo da* 'looks to be good results'. Tonic bases produce tonic evidentials, with the accent on -sóo/-gé; atonic bases produce atonic evidentials. (The accent optionally drops from -gé.) 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 gozaimásu*) and it can be made subject-exalting: *Íi monó o o-morai ni nari-sóo de irassyaimásu/ gozaimásu 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 *daróo*, *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 hí* '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-zin no ii-sóo na kóttesu* [= *kotó desu*] *né* 'It's what you'd expect an Ōsaka person to say, all right' (Tk 4.229b); *Káno-zyo ga suwari-sóo na isu* 'The kind of chair she is likely to sit in'; *Háha ga o-kási o yari-soo na kodomo* 'A child that the mother is likely to give sweets to'; *Kimi ga yomi-sóo na hón zya náí no?* 'Isn't it a book (of the sort) you're likely to read?'. (The epitheme 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* [*náru/suru*, V] and -soo *dé* [*sae áreba*], provisional -soo *nára*[-*ba*], conditional -soo *dáttara*, representative -soo *dáttari*. It can be extended with *ká*, *né*, *ká sira*, *ká mo sirenai*, etc. It can be made semblative -soo *rasíi* (somewhat redundant); -soo *ni sugínai* occurs but *-soo *ni tigai náí* is doubtful, though some accept *Zyoobu-soo ni tigai náí* 'You can't say he doesn't look sturdy'. (Also accepted: *Atira wa áme ga huri-sóo ni tigai náí*, as an abbreviation of ...-soo *ni miéru ni tigai náí*.)

Evidentials can be made negative, usually in these forms: -soo (*wa/*)*mo náí*, -soo *dé/ní wa/mo náí*, or -soo *dé/ní wa/mo miénai* (cf. remarks in §8). The form -soo *ni náí* 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 *n[i] ár[-i]* is

1. As usual, *dá* may drop before certain sentence-extenders (§15): *Omosiro-sóo [] né ...* 'Looks interesting, huh ...' (KKK 3.251); *Kyóo-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 *ná* in the speech of old people or those using dialects (cf. Y 403); this is not to be taken as -soo [*da*] *ná* but as a sentence-final occurrence of the adnominalized copula after an adjectival noun.

replaced by -soo $n[i]t[e] \acute{a}r[-i] \rightarrow$ -soo dá, but -soo ní $\{wa/mo\} \acute{a}razu$ has simply replaced $\acute{a}razu$ by náí. According to Hayashi 139, the evidential of an adjective or an adjectival noun is made negative in the form -soo de $\{wa\}$ náí (uma-sóo de náí 'is not appetizing', zyoobu-soo dé wa náí 'is not robust-looking') and the evidential of a verb is made negative in the form V-i-soo mo náí or V-i-soo ní $\{mo\}$ náí: Máda owari-soo mo náí 'There is still no sign of its ending'; Kono hen dé wa mitukari-soo ni náí 'It looks unlikely to be found around here'; Zyuuiti-gatú^[1] tooka, tyót-to tákoo de wa mirare-sóo mo náí deki-gotó ga átta 'On November 10th a little incident happened that is unlikely to be seen in any other school' (SA 2665.24a); Ryóokoku no tairitu wa, yooi ni osamari-sóo ni náí '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 náí, A-soo dé mo náí or A-ku nasa-sóo da. Jorden (BJ 2.123) says the following sentences are interchangeable: Dekinasa-sóo desu 'It looks impossible', Deki-sóo zya arimasén 'It doesn't look possible', and Deki-sóo ni wa miemasén 'It doesn't look as if it will be possible'. ISJ (6.15.286) has the example Sonna kotó wa tootei deki-sóo ni wa omoénaí 'Such a thing doesn't appear to be likely after all'. In Y 405 there is actually an example of V-i-soo ga náí: Iká ni ízyutu ga susundé mo, kore wa deki-sóo ga náí 'However much the medical arts may progress, there is no likelihood that this can be'; cf. ... sore o zikkoo zuru kotó ga deki-sóo 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: Ibikí de wa nasa-sóo datta 'Apparently it wasn't (that he was) snoring' (Ariyoshi 307); Riyuu wa hitótu de wa nasa-sóo da ga, ... 'There seems to be more than one reason, but ...'; Dóo-mo sóo de wa nasa-sóo da 'That seems very unlikely, somehow' (Tanigawa 172); Sono tegami no tyoosi da to, átte mo omosíróku nasa-sóo 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 náí to attach -sa before adding -sóo: Nasa-sóo da 'It looks (to be) missing'. The same irregularity is true of Yói (= Íi) 'It is good'; Yosa-sóo da '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 excessives (iwa-na-sugíru 'too seldom says', ... kíte 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-sugíru, kíte i-nasa-soo na yoosu. Yoshida (407) says that na-sóo da is a Meiji usage and that the newer nasa-sóo da is more popular in the Shōwa era. (But *yo-sóo never occurred for yosa-sóo.) The examples in Y 407 include these: Soo-site túma kara tokidoki monotarina-sóo 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-sóo da né 'I just can't seem to understand ...'; Tái-sita kotó wa nasa-sóo da 'It doesn't seem to be of any great importance'. Other adjectives ending in -na-i, whether clearly derived from negatives (nasake-náí 'is heartless') or not (kitanáí '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-sugíru for those adjectives clearly derived from N ga náí—such as tayori-náí, akke-náí, darasi-náí, etc.—but rejects the -sa- for all other cases, such as osanáí, hakanáí, sukunáí, kitanáí, and even the etymologically negative kudaranaí and tumaránaí. He observes that speakers are uncertain about the etymology of the slang word egetunáí 'is vulgar, coarse' and therefore accord it either treatment. The pseudo-literary

forms Nakari-sóo da (contracted from Náku ari-sóo da) and Yokari-sóo da (from Yóku ari-sóo da) sometimes appear in print; but they strike most speakers as odd. Cf. Mio 134, 140.

The negative infinitives -soo [ní/dé] mo náku and -ge [ní/dé] mo náku are not uncommon: Bukka wa sagari-sóo mo náku, simin-séikatu wa iyóyo kurúsiku nari-sóo 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]-soo mo náí, ?V-(a)na[sa]-soo ni miénai; ?A-ku nasa-sóo mo náí, ?A-ku nasa-sóo ni miénai.

Evidentials made on semblatives are rejected (*Áme ga húru rasi-sóo da), but semblatives are made on evidentials from underlying verbal sentences: Áme ga huri-sóo (–) rasíi '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: Áme ga huri-sóo ni miéru/omowaréru/ ... 'It seems/appears to look like rain' or Áme ga huri-sóo ni [watasi wa] omóu 'I think it looks like rain'. What about (?)Áme ga huri-sóo (–)rásiku omowaréru?

Among the adjectival sentences that can be made evidential are the facilitative conversions (§9.1.8): Si-niku-sóo da 'It looks difficult to do'. Martin 1968.51 suggests that desideratives are excluded (*Iki-ta-soo da) unless verbalized (§7.2): Iki-ta-gari-soo 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-soo na kao o site ita 'He looked as if he wanted to go', etc. On ii-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-soo da 'looks desirous (to do)' and the form V-ta sóo da 'did as I hear tell' will look the same in kana spelling. For tonic verbs, the forms will differ in accent:

tabe-ta-sóo da	ori-ta-sóo da	hanasi-ta-sóo da
tábeta sóo da	órita sóo da	hanásita sóo da

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:

yame-ta-soo dá	abi-ta-soo dá	kasi-ta-soo dá
yameta sóo da	abita sóo da	kasita sóo da

But for those who make all desideratives tonic, the forms from atonic verbs will converge in accent:

yame-ta-sóo da	abi-ta-sóo da	kasi-ta-sóo da
yameta sóo da	abita sóo da	kasita sóo da

Speakers who do not commonly use the old-fashioned -ge and prefer Natukasi-sóo 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/-ppiro-ge (na) 'open, frank' (there is no *ake-hiro/ppiro-i), kotó-mo-nágé ni² (kotaéru) '(answers) nonchalantly', and hito-mo-nage (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: Sohutó-boo no ríbon ni tuma-yóozi o hasánda daihyoo ga, "Konna dai-kánkei o úkete íi monó daroo ka" to ii-ta-ge ni, mózi-mózi si-nagara bara no hanátába 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); Túmari sore-daké,^[1] konpyúutaa no riyoo ga susunde iru to ii-ta-ge no yóo 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 ná → nó before yóo, see p. 766). Siranu-ge ‘apparently ignoring’ can be treated as idiomatic: Konna musúu(¯) no hígekí 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: ... sirananda-ge ni ‘as if [one] had not known’. More examples of -ge: Káre-ra wa, hazime wa urayamasi-gé(¯) na manázasi de mi-tumeru ‘At first they stare with an envious look’ (SA 2647.118a); Kore ní wa Nissan wa human-ge dá ‘With this, Nissan seems to be displeased’ (SA 2668.124d); ... tokui-gé(¯) ni hanásu ‘speaks with pride’ (SA 2652.119a); Kono se ga hikúku, hutótta, hitó-kuse ari-gé(¯) na tura-gámae no zínbutu wa ... ‘This short, fat, sinister-looking character ...’ (SA 2674.104c). The negative of -ge da is -ge náí: Sono tosí no háru wa, ítu mo no Sínsyuu ni ni-ge náí atatakái soosyun de átta ‘The spring of that year was an early one warmer than seemed appropriate for Shinano’ (Y 350). This is the source of nanige-náí ‘is nonchalant (as if it were nothing)’ and sarige-náí ‘is unconcerned (as if it were not so)’.

From the basic meaning of the evidential ‘looks (appears)’—as in Kono yukí wa tumori-soo 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 íma 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-sóo de dénai ... ‘is about to emerge and then doesn’t’ (SA 2650.97a); Zyookyaku ni tótte wa “oohuku-bíntaa” no tosí ni nari-sóo da ‘For the passenger [on public transportation] it’s going to be a year of getting it from all sides’ (SA 2660.42b); Húne ga sizumi-sóo ni náru to, nezumi wa itiháyaku nigéru ‘When a ship is about to sink the rats are quick to desert it’ (SA 2671.29b); ... ki ga tooku nattyai-sóo da [= nátte simai-sóo 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: Káiro no tikáku no syooson dé wa, Isuráeru no supái ni sare, korosare-soo ni narimásita ‘In a small village near Cairo he was taken for an Israeli spy and was nearly killed’ (SA 2664.100c); the transitive mutative supái 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: Hossóri sita karadá-tuki(¯) de sinkeisitu-sóo de aru ‘He has a slender build and looks nervous’ (SA 2666.59d).

The expression ari-sóo sometimes calls for special translations: ari-sóo na kotó ‘a probability’, ari-sóo mo náí kotó ‘an improbability’, ari-sóo na hanasí de ... ‘according to a likely story ...’, ari-sóo mo náí zíken ‘an improbable incident’; Obóete imasén ga, ari-sóo na kóttesu né ‘I don’t recall it, but it seems likely to have happened’ (Tk 2.135b); Ari-sóo na sínri dá né ‘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: Igirisu no Tyáaruzu óozi ga óoi o tugu máde ni wa, máda sootoo no nensúu ga ari-sóo da ‘There would seem to

3. In this meaning, the evidential can not be made negative (Y 405); ...-soo ni/mo náí can deny only the ‘likelihood’ meaning, as shown by examples in Y 406: Tote-mo, uti(¯) no o-káasama yurúsíte kudasari-sóo mo náí 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 gé da* for the same meaning: *Áme ga húru ge da* 'It looks like rain' (Zhs 2.22). Two forms reported from Gumma are *nasa-gé* = *nasa-sóo* 'appearing to be lacking' (Zhs 2.130.7) and *yosa-gé* = *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 ... *kámi-sama zya [= da] gé-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 *sóo* < *s[i-k]á[k]u* 'thus' (Y 404), the presumed source of the hearsay conversion.⁴ And -ge is the nigoried form of the noun *ke* (= *kéhái*([~])) 'indication, symptoms'.

The -ge forms made from atonic verbs, adjectives, and adjectival nouns are also atonic: *karu-ge*, *human-ge*. According to the patterns used in this book, those made from tonic verbs, adjectives, and adjectival nouns are optionally atonic or oxytonic: *natukasi-gé*([~]), *tokui-gé*([~]). For the tonic forms MKZ^s generally prefers a penultimate accent: *natukasí-ge*, *tokuí-ge*. But MKZ^s has a number of exceptions: *ita-gé*, *nibu-gé*, *niku-gé*, *osi-gé*, *samu-gé*, *samu-gé*, *sema-gé*, *yowa-gé* (despite *hosí-ge*, *huká-ge*, *tuyó-ge*); and, unless misprints, *kanasí-ge* from atonic *kanasi-* and *nemutá-ge* from atonic *nemuta-*.

4. But it has also been proposed that both the evidential and the hearsay might have arisen from a reduction of *samá* 'appearance', by way of *sam[a] > saũ* (with nasality) > *sau* (Gekkan-Bumpō 1/8.50-1).

21 QUOTATIONS

A sentence can be quoted by adding the particle *tó* '(says/thinks) that'. (The accent and juncture of phrases marked by *tó* 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: *iu* (pronounced /yuu/) 'says'—and numerous connotationally marked synonyms such as *nukasu* 'impudently says', *morásu* 'reveals, lets it leak (that)', *yodómu* 'stammers (that)', *tubuyáku* 'mutters', *hozáku* 'grumbles', *sasayáku* 'whispers', *sawágu* 'clamors', *yobu* 'calls', *ikkatu suru* 'roars, thunders (that)', *zekkyoo suru* 'screams, cries out (that)', *homéru* 'praises', *hínan suru* 'criticizes, complains', *kusásu* 'disparages, belittles (saying that)', *unuboreru* 'flatters oneself (that)', *áisatu suru* 'greet(s) (with the words)', *sidoo suru* 'counsel(s)', *unnun suru* 'comment(s)', *kotaéru* = *henzi suru* 'answer(s)', ... ; *káku* 'write(s)', ... ; *omóu* 'think(s), feel(s)', *kangaéru* 'think(s), opine(s)', *sir-u* 'find out, learn, know', *wakáru* 'find out, understand', *ísiki suru* 'is aware/conscious (that)'; *kitai suru* 'expect(s) (that)', *nozómu(-)* 'hope(s)', *sin-zíru(-)* 'believe(s) (that)', *sinpai suru* 'worry(ies) (that)',¹ *syutyoo suru* 'claim(s) (that)', *hándán suru* 'judge(s) (that)', *dantei suru* 'conclude(s) (that)', *dangén suru* 'affirm(s) (that)', *bunseki suru* 'give the analysis (that)', *setumei suru* 'explain(s)', *akíraka ni suru* 'make it clear (that), announce, reveal', *kimeru* 'decide(s) (that)'; ... ; *zannen-gáru* 'regret', *senden suru* 'advertise (that)', *husigi-gáru* 'wonder, be curious (that)' (SA 2662.96c), *mezurasi-gáru* 'marvel (that)' (SA 2672.60), *akireru* 'be amazed (that)', ... ; *míru* 'see (that)', *kiku* 'hear/ask (that)'; *omoéru* 'it is thought (that)', *kangaeraréru* 'it is thought (that)', *kan-zirareru* 'it is felt that', *mitomerareru* 'it is recognized that', *nagameraréru* 'it is viewed that'; ...²

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 *tó* *fitte* 'saying that' or *tó* *tomótte* 'thinking/feeling that' as in these examples: *Okureté wa naránai to, isóide arúita* 'I hurried my steps, feeling I mustn't be late' (Hayashi 184); *Hataraita tameta kityoo na kane dá kara to, sassoku^[1] tyokin sita* 'Since [I realized] it was precious money I had saved up from working I put it in the bank at once' (Hayashi 184); *Kono háru koso wa to saigo no oikomi-bénkyoo o site imásu ga ...* 'He is pursuing last-minute studying with the idea that this spring is It' (SA 2662.106a); *Yotto-zuki no káre wa, issyo ni noroo to bóku(-) o sasotta* 'He, the great yacht-lover, invited me to ride with him' (SA 2650.59d). See below for further discussion of this sort of ellipsis. With verbs that more specifically involve the processing or reproduction of information, how-

1. And, perhaps as a propredicated verbal noun, *sinpai dá*: ... *táizi ni warúi eikyoo o oyobosú no de wa náí ka to sinpai desu* 'I am concerned whether there might not be a bad effect on the unborn child' (SA 2689.122ab).

2. Kuno 1973.213 points out that S *tó* does not presuppose the factuality (truth) of S and thus is appropriate with 'said, felt, thought, asserted' etc. Some verbs will allow only S *kotó* o (*wasureru* 'forgets', *omoi-dasu* 'remembers'), some will allow only S *tó* (*iu* 'says', *gokai suru* 'misunderstands', ...) and some will allow either (*kiku* 'hear', *sin-zíru(-)* 'believes', *utagau* 'doubts', *nagéku* 'deplores', *zihaku suru* 'confesses', ...).

ever, we will probably wish to assume a direct tie with the quotation: ... *moraenái ka to irai suru* (= *tanómu*) 'asks whether one might not receive ...'; *Ití, ní, san to kazoé ro* 'Count one, two, three!' (SA 2670.95b); ... *tasúkete kure to sugáru(-)* to ... 'when implored to help'; "*Katte kuré [yo]"* to *segámu/sebíru* 'He badgers me to buy it for him'; ... *iranai tte kotowáta n da* 'I declined, saying I didn't want it' (Tk 4.297a).

The quotation stands in an adverbial relationship to the information verb,³ which will sometimes take a direct object: ... *hitóbito wa, kore kóso Bukkyóo-to no tóku mappoo no tokí ga kíta to, yó(-)* no *syuumatu o sín-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-sén san-zén to iu békko no mózi o kioku suru kotó o óoki na hutan to kangaéru* 'They think memorizing, say, two or three thousand separate letters to be a big burden' (Ōno 1966.236); *Hoka no hitó wa sore o teinei-sugiru to tóru ka mo sirenai ...* 'Other people might take that as too polite ...' (Tsumijura 79); *Sore o onná wa hakuzyoo 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 bóku(-)* o *máda bóttyan da to kangaéte 'ru rasii ga ...* 'You still think of me as "Sonny-boy", it seems, but ...' (Natsume Sōseki). Notice that the transitive putative *Haná o utukúsiku omóu* 'I feel the flowers to be beautiful' can be paraphrased as *Haná o utukusii to omóu* as well as *Haná ga utukusii to omóu* '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: ... *kotobá o hontoo ni doogú da to omóttara ...* 'if you think language to be really a tool' (Fukuda in Ōno 218); *Koko o byooin da to omótte 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: ... *tó || hazime wa | [watasi wa] | omoimásita* '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 ... *tó, [soori-dáizin ga/wa] kono yóo ni nobemásita* '... 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(-)noosánbutu ga yasúi no wa danpíngu ni gen'in suru to, watasi ní wa kangaeraréru* '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: *Yobú ka to iu, Ookii ka to iu, Dáre 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 ká* 'whether S', *S tó* can never be marked by *gá* or *ó*. Anaphoric reference to a quotation can be made with the adverb *sóo*: ... *de wa nái ka to || soo omoimásu* 'surely it is ..., so I think' (R).

Commands and prohibitions can be quoted directly (though the English translation is often indirect): Ari-ttake tukae to iú no de wa náí 'It's not a case of telling you to use all there are'; Dá kara, dóo si ro tó wa iwanai 'So I don't tell people what to do' (SA 2635.104); ... Amerika-séihu ni dóru o kín ni kae ro to yookyuu dekiru no wa kakkoku-séihu -daké de aru tamé, ... 'since the only ones who can demand of the American government that dollars be exchanged for gold are the other governments ...' (SA 2676.45b); Káason zyósi wa, kín-zé yo to iu 'Miss [Rachel] Carson tells us to ban them [= pesticides]' (SA 2684.45b); Kéti-keti surú na yó tté ittá n desu kedo né 'He told me "Don't be stingy", you see, but ...' (SA 2672.62a). (But ... ro yo is usually replaced by ... yo, as noted in § 16.1.) There is a special way to quote a command indirectly: V-ru yóo ni {tó} + some quoting verb such as iu 'says', tanómu '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 yóo ni {tó} itte kudasái, are not too common; instead, for 'Tell him to do it' you use the causative to produce a somewhat vaguer sentence Sasete kudasái 'Get him to do it'. Similarly, Saseyoo '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 yóo ni {tó} ioo. The quoted command can be affirmative or negative: Kúru/Kónai yoo ni {tó} itta 'He told us to come/not come'; Suru/sinai yóo ni {tó} motómota 'We requested them to do it (not to do it)'.⁴ Strictly speaking, this indirect command quotation is perhaps to be taken as a conversion of the imperative (-é etc., § 16.1). But the "imperative" meaning is not always obvious: ... ningen ni saiwai o motarásite kureru yóo ni nozómu(¯) ... 'hopes/desires that they [= the gods] will favor the human being by providing blessings' (Ōno 1966.54); ... wakái hitóbito ga kono hón o yónde kudasáru yóo ni to kiboo site iru 'I am in hopes that young people ... will kindly read this book' (Ōno 1966.240); see also the examples of ... yóo ni that are cited on p. 1003. Actually the meaning of yóo ni is basically 'so that (it will)' or 'so as to (do)'—a mutative ní, § 9.1.11—and a great variety of verbs can follow: Byooki ni naránai yóo ni yáru n desu 'You do it in order not to get sick'; Wasuremono náí yóo ni go-tyúui kudasái 'Be careful not to forget anything'; Dénsya(¯) ni okurenai [or ma ni áu] yóo ni isóida 'I rushed so as not to be late [so as to be on time] for the train'; Túmari kúgatu no sin-gákki ni Gaburiéru ga hutatabi kyoodan ni tátu kotó ga náí yóo ni, zíken o katazukeyóo to no íto 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 yóo ni suru is often equivalent to V-ru kotó ni suru 'decides/arranges to V', and V-ru yóo ni nátte iru means much the same as V-ru kotó ni nátte iru 'it is arranged that/for V'. Cf. Konó-goro(¯) wa syare o ukkári iwanai yóo ni site 'másu '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:

<i>(quasi-)directly</i>	<i>indirectly</i>
V-e [yo] to	V-ru yóo ni [to]
V-e ro [yo] to	
V-rú na [yo] to	
	V-(a)nai yóo ni [to]

The final tó or ní (or ní tó) can be followed by the focus markers wá, mó, sika, etc.—for example, when a negativized quotation verb is to be emphasized. The ní of yóo ni will sometimes drop, leaving a direct adverbialization (§ 9.1.13). But if ní drops, the structure is closed; tó will not follow.

yóo ni {to} iu. 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 omóu 'I think I'd like to go'), auto-suggestions (Ikoo to omóu 'I think I'll go'),⁵ and tentatives (Ikú daroo to omóu 'I think he'll go'); cf. §21.5. For an elliptical construction that looks as if a quotation of the conditional, -tára [ii] tó omóu, see §9.4; a similar case is -té wa [ikenai] to omóu 'think it won't do'.

The quotation can be subdued: ... tó wa (iwanákatta). It can be highlighted: ... tó mo (iu); ... tó sae (iéba); ... tó sura.⁶ It can be restricted by bákari, -gúrai, máde, and daké (but apparently not by hodó or kóso), and also by dé mo 'or something'. It can be marked by sika. Examples: Kono-aidá no Kita-Betonamú-gun no sensí-sya wa, yónhyaku to MO, gohyakú to MO tutaerárete iru 'Recent casualties of the North Vietnamese forces are reported to be four hundred or five hundred dead' (SA 2673.22d); ... ká to BÁKARI omótte 'wondering just whether ...';⁷ Damasáreta to BÁKARI NI ikári(⁻) o buti-make, ... 'Harping on his having been deceived he vented his anger, ...' (SA 2670.23e); Muzukasii(⁻) to BÁKARI itte imásu 'All he ever has to say is that it is difficult'; Íma (Kono tokí) ka to BÁKARI [omótte]... 'Thinking now (this) is the best time to ...'; Sóo da to DAKÉ itta 'He only said yes'; ... tó DE MO ióo ka 'Shall we say, perhaps, that ...'; ... yahári "iti-dó míte simatta ningen" no isíki to DE MO itta monó o kan-ziru kotó ga dekíru '... you can also feel something like a sense of "a person seen once and done with"' (SA 2681.101b); Itíbu no báka na hitóbito no hukóo o sukuu tamé ni, matomo na oozéi no hitóbito o hukóo ni otosi-ireté mo yói, tó DE MO kangáete 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 warúi to DE MO iú n desu ka 'What? Are you by any chance saying I'm to blame?' (Ariyoshi 215); Génki da to GÚRAI káitara dóo desu ka 'How about writing at least that we are in good health?'; ... tó MADE dantei surú no de aru 'He concludes even that ...' (SA 2656.26d); ... áru gaikóo-kan wa "Dáre mo ga káre no seisinbyóo-i ni nari-tagáete iru" tó MADE kokuhyoo 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, to iú no ga isya no zyoosiki de átta ga, kono kusuri no ran'yoo de sibóo-ritu ga takamátta 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, "Sinde 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 asirátta to MADE WA ikanái 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 nátte, básu de zen'in ga KAEROO TO syuugoo site míru to, dóo mo hutari tarinai '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^[i] sae sureba '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^[i] 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 tó MADE WA iwanákatta '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); Kogítte no séido ga náí daké ni, Nihón no hóo ga kanzen na kyassuresu-táisei ni tikái 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 Zítoo zyotei no kenkoo na yuukén na kanzyú-sei wa, Nára ˉzídai no zyosei no seikatu-kánzyoo o daihyoo suru tó SAE itte yóo yóo ni omowaréru 'It seems that we might well say even that this vigorous, brave sensitivity of Empress Jitō is representative of the feelings of life of the women of the Nara Period' (Ōno 1966.93); Kono otokó wa Dénbee no kodomo tó SIKA kangaerénai 'We can only think that this man is Dembē's son' (SA 2671.107c); Sáo to sika omoemasén né 'That's all one can think, isn't it' (Tk 3.259a); Náni ka "seizyoo na hándán" o kuruwaséru gen'in ga átta to SIKA kangaerénai 'It can only be thought that there was some factor to derange his "normal judgment"' (SA 2637.27c); "Noo-kóménto, syókúmu ˉzyoo no himítu" to SIKA kotáénakatta 'The only reply was "No comment, it's a confidential office matter' (SA 2649.106d); Konna dai-kásyu wa, kono-yó(¯) ni inai tó SURA bóku(¯) wa omótte 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 tó marks the quotation as adverbial, there is no *... tó ga/o. And since the pro-predication ... tó da is usually nominalized as ... tó no kotó, there is no *... tó no ˉnóŋ ga/o, either. This perhaps also accounts for the fact that there is no *tó nádo, only ... nádo tó: ... báka da nádo to wa yúmé-sara omótte inai zíko o ... 'oneself, of whom one would never dream of thinking "I'm a fool" or the like' (Maeda 1962.25); Kóndo no Syoogatu^[r], mósi atarasíi gomú-in o osita gazyoo ga todóitara, insatú-dai(¯) o ketítta ná, nádo to omowánai yóo^(r) 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).

The quotation can be propredicated ... tó da; it then (usually) nominalizes with kotó and becomes ... tó no kotó da, a synonym of the hearsay report ... sóo da 'They say that ..., I hear tell that ...', §18.⁸ By turning the propredication into a question ... tó ˉdaŋ ka, you can suggest vagueness or doubt: Iki-tai tó ka itte imásu 'They are saying they want to go or something'; for other uses of tó ka see §21.6.

A colloquial synonym of tó is [t]té,⁹ a less colloquial form is tóte, attached to nouns and tonic inflected forms as a particle (kore tóte, 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 Káre ga iú ni wa, ... sóo de ... 'He says that ... and ...' (SA 2793.132a).

9. As found twice in this sentence: Yokuzitu, bóku(¯) ga káeru tokí^(r) ni, sore o hitótu kureru TTE iú n de né, iranai TTE kotowátta n 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 tó is somehow "feminine" (Y 442). Konoshima (1970.25) says that [t]té for tó is common in eastern Japan; it appears frequently in the Kyōto speech reported in Inokuchi.

forms: ittá { | } tóte = ittá tote or itta tóte '(saying) that one went'. See § 15.11, §21.3; notice that [t]té also serves as an abbreviation of tó iu and tó itte. Many speakers agree with BJ 2.120 (fn. 2) in using tté for tó only before verbs of SAYING, not verbs of THINKING; yet examples of tté omóu can be found: Húra-hura arúite 'te kane ga torérya (= toréreba) itiban ii syóobai da tte omótte kíta n da né 'I started thinking the best business was if you could get money by just strolling around' (KKK 3.73); ... sono tísiki o kyuusyuu sú beki da tte omoimásu né 'I think, you see, that we should absorb that knowledge ...' (SA 2673.47).

An abbreviation of tó^[r] yuu (= tó^[r] iu) → tyuu or ttyuu is common in many parts of Japan (e.g. Kyūshū) though little used by Tōkyō speakers: Kodomo, gakusei tyuu no wa, idai na kanoo-sei ga áru 'The child, the student, such a one has great potential' (SA 2678.48c); Kangáete míru tyuu to, ... 'Now that I think about it ...' (SA 2678.47a); ... tyuu kótte (= to iu kotó de [su]) 'It is a matter of ...' (SA 2686.46c—speaking is Kishige Riichi, mayor of Asuka village, Nara); Dóo iu kotó ka ttyuu to, ... 'If you wonder what's happening, ...' (Tk 4.163a—a speaker born in Fukui prefecture who had lived in Taiwan); ... "Soko wa omáe-táti no háiru tokoró zya néé" ttyuu '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): toyuu → tyuu → tu [u]. You will also find tó⁽ⁱ⁾ iu abbreviated → téé or [t]tee or [t]te, as in these examples: ... íma no yo-nó-naka tee monó ga ... 'this world of today' (Maeda 1962.149); Nyuuin téé no wa, dókusyo(-) ní wa ii kikái(-) desu yó 'Being hospitalized, you see, is a good opportunity for reading' (Tk 2.99a); Siatu tee to báka ni suru keikoo ga arimásite né, ... 'Speaking of finger pressure (treatment) there's a tendency to overdo it, you know, ...' (Tk 4.103b); Atasí-dómo o-kási no koozyóo(-) e itte, tyokoréeto no úmi o mimásu to, kore kui-tái ttee ki ga simasén 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 naku-naru tte kotó wa náí ga, usukú wa náru né 'It isn't that it completely disappears, but it DOES grow faint, doesn't it' (Tk 4.274b); Anná no [] dóo tte kotó [] náí 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; ... sínpo tte monó ga náí to omóu n desu 'there's nothing in the way of progress, it seems to me' (SA 2685.122d). Cf. the abbreviation tē ná for tó^[r] 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 ii {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} omoimásita '(I) thought I would quit' (SA 2657.45a); Móo yosóo omóu 'I wanna quit now' (R). Cf. Doi 228 (citing ... ~mái {to} omóu 'think I won't') and 271-2. Omission of the quotation 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: Koomei-too wa toritugi-ten ni, sono hón o kotowáre to méi-zita(-) to utagawarete iru 'It is suspected that the Kōmei-tō ordered the agencies to turn the book down' (SA 2665.32b); ... Huziyama-

Ginkoo too-dori wa, "Wasi wa rakkan site iru" to katatta to tutaeráretá 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 dá: Kúro o síro [da] to syutyoo suru 'claims that black is white'. (Cf. Mikami 1963.145.) But the ellipsis is not obligatory, and dá is often present: Zibun o syuusai da to kangáeru 'thinks of oneself as a genius'. When the quotation involves NAMING (cf. §21.1) the noun is directly quoted with no copula: Tanaka to moosimásu 'I am (named) Tanaka'; Kono gensyoo o hooden to yobu 'This phenomenon is called electric discharge'; Ano sunáku wa nán to iimásu ka 'What is the name of that snack bar?'; Sintároo to nazúketa 'He was given the name Shintarō'. In such sentences the tó is functioning as an essive itself; note the distinction drawn between OBJECTIVE ESSIVE (ní) and SUBJECTIVE ESSIVE (tó) in §13.5a, and compare otokó to umarete 'being born [as] a male'. Quotations with N dá tó, 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: ní + ár- yields the literary nár- and also the adnominal colloquial forms ná/nó; ní-te + ár- contract into the colloquial forms dá/dé etc. But it is also possible to make a copula on the subjective essive: tó + ár- > tár-i/tár-u, p. 754. And uncontracted forms of tó^[1] áru will occasionally be seen, especially tó^[1] átte, which sometimes means 'with/at the thought of' or 'on the grounds of (its being)': Inhure-zídai to átte, zisan-hózen ni motte-kói to iu hanasí mo áru 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 kaihoo sareru to átte, sen'in-táti no aida ni hót-to(⁻) sita kúuki ga nagárete ita '... as it became apparent that they would soon be liberated, an air of relief floated among the crewmen' (SA 2674.129a); Hazímete no kaigai-ryókoo to átte muné o wáku-waku sasete itá ga, syuppatu ga tikazúku ni turete hukitu na kotó bákari ga atamá ni ukande kíta '[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 átte haikán-sya wa baizoo de áru 'While the International Exposition is being held, the number of visitors to the temple is doubled' (SA 2647.60); Hokaku-yóogu issiki(⁻) mo nisen-en mo áreba totonoeráeru to átte, oosyúu-hin(⁻) no hotóndo wa moti-nusi 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); Syóobai to átte wa, itasi-kata mo arimasén ga né 'If it's business, there's nothing we can do about it, you see' (Tk 3.190a). The expression is sometimes contracted to t'átte: Sore nára nigeyóo t'átte, nigásu monó ka 'Then you want to flee, but how can I let you go?' (SA 2793.106c). On other uses of átte, see p. 490. N tó^[1] áreba is also fairly common: Meirei to áreba ... 'If it be a command ...'; Hituyoo to áreba ... 'If it prove necessary; should the necessity arise ...'; Nán to mo hén na "kooyoo" mo átta món da ga, sin-séihin to áreba, kono téido(⁻) no "huku-sáyoo" wa, tukímono 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 nán taru (<náni tó áru) sometimes appears where you would expect nán de aru (or just náni [da]): Nippon-zín wa, booken no nán taru ka o ríkai(⁻) siyoo to sinai 'I don't pretend to understand what the Japanese mean by adventure' (SA 2679.150). The surface phrase made from tó + iu often functions as a kind of copula: N tó^[1] iu N (or N tó no N, p. 1011) = N de áru N (>N no N), N táru N (<N to áru 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 káeru to iu muné no tegami o yokósita* 'He [sent me a letter saying =] wrote that he would be home by Sunday'.

Often a sentence + *tó* can be regarded as an ellipsis of *tó*^[1] *itte* 'saying that ...' or *tó*^[1] *omótte* 'thinking that ...', though the quotative verb may be attenuated to little more than a grammatical device: *Senséi wa erái n da kara to, wága-koto no yóo ni ootoó 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 *tó*^[1] *site* '(treating it) as': *Ningen to umaretára hito no tamé ni tukusánakereba 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 suru tó wa, utukúsiku náí hitó mo utukusii yóo ni to iroiro té o kuwaéru(=) 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' (Ōno 1966.28)—though perhaps this is best viewed as ... *yóo ni {site} tó {omótte}* 'thinking to make it so that ...'.

The quotation-marker *tó* 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 ll tó ll iimásita* 'He said—[and I] quote—"S"'. The second juncture can be reduced (*S ll tó ll iimásita*), leaving *tó* to function rather like a conjunction. This is somewhat similar to the modern use of *Ké{re}do {mo}* ... 'But ...' as a sentence-introducer (like *Sikási* ...) in addition to its use as a conjunctivalizing 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 *tó* may also be a reduction from [*Soo*] *suru* to 'Then ...' as in this example: *Tó, O-kíta san mo inái no ka* 'Well, then, is O-kita 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*, *sitá to*, ...); but a more conservative version of Japanese, that in general followed here (as in the accent dictionaries), attaches *tó* to inflected forms with an underlying minor juncture that cancels the final accent, before disappearing itself (*surú | tó* → *suru tó*, *sitá | tó* → *sita tó*) so that the accent is on the *tó*, though that *too* will go unheard unless immediately followed by a particle or the copula (... *tó wa*, ... *tó mo*, ... *tó 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 ...'.

Japanese use the expression X to iu N dá¹² 'It is the N which we call X = it is the N (called) X , it is the N of X ': Sága to iu matí 'the city of Saga', Sátoo Tároo to iu hitó 'a man named Tarō Satō', hukyoo to iu zyootai 'the condition known as a depression', áki to iu kisétu 'the season (we call) autumn', Tyuuo-Kóoron to iu zassi 'the magazine Chūo Kōron', Yukíguni to iu yuumei na syoosetu 'the famous novel (titled) Snow Country', Mónako to iu tíisa na kuni 'the little country of Monaco', ...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 dóo iu/itta as synonyms of konna, sonna, anna, and dóнна to modify nouns (§ 13.5); also soo iu utí(-) ní mo 'meanwhile'. The expressions N to iu monó/yátu, N to itta monó/yátu, and N [t]te[e] monó/yátu '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-kai no hendoo to iu monó wa íssyu no aranami dá ga ... 'The vicissitudes of the economic world are a kind of troubled sea [for us] but ...'; Tabémónó^[1] no azi to iu monó wa nenrei tó ka, karada no tyoosi ni yotte daibu tigatte kúru yó⁽¹⁾ 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(-) de tózan(-) tee monó o míte 'ru n desu ga né, ... 'I see mountain climbing in movies but ...' (Tk 4.46a); Kono kigoo ttee yátu ga, ... 'This wielding of pen/brush ...' (Tk 2.147b); Ningen te monó wa, taitei zén'i no doobutu désu kara né '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 nási ... 'With no particular aim ...'; N wa kore to itta tokutyoo mo náí ga ... 'There's nothing especially distinctive about N but ...'; Kore to iu hón ga náí 'I have no book(s) to speak of'; Soo, betu ni, kore to iu hanasí wa náí n desu kedo né 'We don't so much talk about anything in particular, you see' (R). This expression can also be said with the gerund, kore to itte N = kore to itta/iu N : Kore to itte sangyoo mo náí '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 ... tó iu N + negative '(nothing) definite, in particular', as in these examples: Dóko to iu ate wa náí 'I have no definite destination in mind'; Doo to iu riyuu wa arimasén keredo mo 'There isn't any reason in particular, but ...' (SA 2654.44d); Kore daké nara dóo 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: Tokubetu ni | dóo † | † koo | to iu séito de wa | nákatta 'He was nothing special as a pupil' (SA 2640.107b).

The expression N_1 to iu N_1 means 'each and every N ' or 'every single N ', as in these examples: Yagate^[1], rekóodo wa mirion-séaa ni nári, kekkón-siki to iu kekkón-siki de, kono utá ga utaware, tyoodo syukkón-ka no yakumé o hatasi-hazíméta '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-niwa no haná to iu haná wa komakái áme ni nure sizukú o túkete issoo akarui iró 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

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: ... giri^[1] [] iu món ga arimásu kara né 'for there is such a thing as giri (obligation), you know' (Tk 3.290b).

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 kii to iu* {*ookii*} *kii* 'each and every large tree'; *omosirói hón to iu* {*omosirói*} *hón* 'every single interesting book'. But any other kind of modification (including a single adjectival noun) must precede the entire expression: *óoki na kii to iu kii* 'each and every large tree'; *kityoo na hón to iu hón* 'every single rare book'; *omosíróku nái hón to iu hón* 'each and every uninteresting book'; *watasi no hón to iu hón* 'every single one of my books'. When the noun is not countable, the meaning is intensive or insistent: *kón'ya to iu kón'ya* 'this very night'; *kyóo to iu kyóo wa* 'this very day' (Okitsu 1.114).

In *Sore to iú no mo ... kará de áru* 'THAT is owing to the fact that ...' we could omit ... to *iú no ...* with little difference of meaning. In the following example, *N to iú no wa ... baai dá* means 'By *N* we refer to a situation (such) that ...': *Kei-kásitu to iú no wa, dáre de mo ari-gati na kotó de, siká-mo kázi ni náru kanoo-sei mo usui baai désu* '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: ... *Tyóoan ni tukimásita. Kono Tyóoan to iimásu no wa, motíron, Tóo 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 *Nán to iu ...* 'What a ...!' as in *Nán to iu ii o-ténki desu né* 'What nice weather it is!'

In some of these quasi-appositional uses, the perfect *itta* can replace the imperfect *iu*, especially when the identification is in the nature of a description: *Akai syátu ni, hosomé(¯) no zubón, gomuzóori to itta hucusoo {dá[tta]}* '[He was] attired in a red shirt with narrow trousers and rubber zori' (Gd 1969/9.101). Notice that ... *tó iu yóo* na freely abbreviates to ... *té na*, as in ... *té na tyoosi de* 'in a tone such as to say ...', but ... *tó iu yóo ni* does NOT abbreviate to **té ni*. You will also find ... [t]te *yóo na*, which can abbreviate to [t]té na as in *Gomakásu tte na yátu wa imasén* 'There isn't any so-and-so likely to swindle you' (Tk 4.103a), and ... [t]te *yóo ni*, which does NOT abbreviate. The contractions *tyuu* < *tó iu* and *tyuutára* < *tó iutára* (= *ittára*) and *tyuute* < *tó itte* are largely confined to western and southern Japan; *tuu* < *tó iu* is sometimes heard in northern Honshū.

(2) With *náru* 'becomes' and similar mutative verbs (including perhaps *yamá to tunda* 'it piled up mountain-high = a whole heap accumulated'), *tó* is virtually equivalent to *ni* '(changing) so as to be': *Kóto ni kookuu-syóokoo to náru to ...* 'Especially when one gets to be an air force officer ...' (lg 35); ... *kekkon no aité to naréru onná o ...* 'the women who could become one's partner in marriage' (Ōno 1966.160); *Káno-zyo wa sore ni mutyuu to nári, kuusoo no sékái wa kiete itta* 'She became absorbed in it [= school] and her imaginary world gradually faded' (SA 2639.35d); ... *Man'yóo-gana o syooryaku site káku no ga syuppatú-ten to nátte ita* 'The writing of *Man'yō-gana* in abbreviated forms formed the point of departure' (Ōno 1966.204). From a weather report: ... *háretari | kumóttari || tó | narimasyóo* 'it will become fair with cloudy periods'. What little difference of meaning distinguishes *tó náru* from *ni náru* is often a matter of personalized or subjective reaction: the 'we' in the translation of *Yagate sensoo to nátta* '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 tó náru* and *N ni náru*: *Ínoti to iu monó wa, kane de kaeru monó de wa arimasén. Másite, tórihiki(¯) no TAISYOO TO NÁRU monó de mo arimasén. Nedan nádo tukeraréru monó de wa arimasén. Táda, kói arui-wa kasitu*

ni yotte ínóti ga ubawáreta tokí⁽²⁾ ni, songai-báisyoo 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 ... ^[L]tó náru translates as 'it amounts to ...' or 'it constitutes ...': ... syákai 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' (Ōno 1966.162). And sometimes ... ^[L]tó náru to, ... ^[L]tó náreba, ... ^[L]tó náttara, or ... ^[L]tó nátte wa following a noun or directly nominalized sentence will translate as 'when it comes to (the situation of) ..., if it happens that ...': ... sono búraku ni iku to náru to ... 'If you go to the villages there ...' (Ig 38); Kane o uke-totta to náru to, súbete wa hyoohen sita 'When he had received the money, everything took on a new look' (Ig 38); Sake to náttara mé ga náí n desu kara 'When it comes to wine, I am all too fond of it' (Y 444); Íma to nátte wa ... 'When we come to the present ...; And now ...'. Compare the expressions with ... ^[L]tó suru (§21.4); ABC o syú to site means much the same as ABC ga syú to nári 'mainly ABC'. The expression nán to náreba 'If it comes to saying "what [for]"' 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 ^[L]tó mo náreba means 'when it comes to N itself/himself, typically enough (or: not unexpectedly)': Daigaku no kyóosi to mo náreba, sasuga ni iroiro na kotó o omoi-tuku monó da 'The college teachers themselves, typically enough, have lots of ideas (= suggestions)' (SA 2648.35c); Ittóo-sya to mo náreba syawaa-rúumu ga túki, booi ga syokuzi o kyakuseki ní made "demaē" 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, ... ^[L]tó kítara or ... ^[L]tó kíte wa 'When it comes to ..., As to ...' is virtually equivalent to wá as the marker of a subdued theme: Anáta to kítara, zúibun, Yosio san ni go-néssín né 'You are awfully keen on Yoshio, I must say' (Y 444); Ore to kíte wa, hitosuzi-nawa(¯) de ikanákatta. Omae to kíte wa hutasuzi-nawa(¯) de wa iku ¯mái 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 ^[L]tó—often followed by a negative—is sometimes equivalent to hodó: Hyaku-méetoru to ikanai utí(¯) ni ... 'Before we had gone a hundred meters ...'; Sán-pun to {mo} kakaránakatta 'It didn't take three minutes'; ... yónde mikka to kakaránaí 'It wouldn't take three days to read it' (SA 2657.120b); Ití-nen (Ik-kánen) to tuzukanai 'It won't last a year'; Toosen site ma mo náí, ik-kágetu to tatánaí tokí desu kara né 'For it is [= was] a time shortly after being elected, less than a month' (SA 2660.48c); Káre-ra [to] dooyoo [ni], watasi mo hyakú-nen to wa ikínaí 'Like them, I will hardly live a hundred years, either' (SA 2657.120a); Is-syun to madóu 'I am perplexed for a moment'; Úso happyakú to narabete káku 'He writes eight hundred lies in a row'; Hanasí ga yamá to áru 'I have a heap of things to say'; Nán-nen to kuroo-kéiei o tuzukete iru bóku-táti no si no zassi ... 'Our poetry magazine that we have been struggling to keep going for some years now' (CK 985.326); Sono tabí ni, hando-bággú kara, nisen-en sanzen-en to, hette iku 'Every time [she bet] her handbag would shrink by two or three thousand yen' (Fn 299a); Ni-dó^[L] sán-do to naosáseta 'I had it altered two or three times'. A somewhat unusual extension of this usage: Sookan wa Syóowa(¯) sánzyuu yo-nen to hurúí 'It [the comic

magazine Manga-sánde] 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’, hotóndo/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 tó of: A dá to ka B dá to ka tó iroiro na syúru ga áru ‘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^[1]maki no o-kyoo no uti^[1](-), sánzyuu ní-syu hyakú^[1]sán-maki to iu wázuka no makimono ni ... ‘of the 4960 scrolls of scripture preserved ... a small number of scrolls to the extent of (some) 103, of 32 types, have ...’ (Ōno 1966.204).

(4b) A time word + tó iu monó ‘a matter of (so much time)’ is a way of saying ‘for (about) ...’: Kono ni-sankágetu to iu monó^[1], zenzen áme ga huránakatta ‘We have had no rain for the past several months’; Kono ní-sánniti to iu monó^[1], tabénaí de sugósita ‘I’ve had nothing to eat for the last few days’; ... kono itinén-kan to iu monó^[1], ... ‘for the past year or so’ (SA 2635.106). Sore kara to iu monó means ‘for a while after that’: Sore kara to iu monó^[1], iroiro na arubáito ni hi o sugósita ‘For some time after that I passed the days with various part-time jobs’ (SA 2637.56c); Sore kara to iu monó^[1], tokidoki dódokoro ka, hima sáe áru to Akutagawá-ke(-) o otozúreta(-) ‘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 gógatu, Noto-hántoo ga kokutei-kóoen ni sitei sareté kara to iu monó^[1], Noto-búumu ni isoo hákusya(-) 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); Kyooiku-dai ga sai-zyúusyoo hunsóo-koo ni nátte kara to iu monó^[1], ... ‘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’; Uti(-) no hoo e to órite itta ‘He went down toward home’; Tugi kara tugi e to ... izyuu suru ‘We keep moving from one place to another’; Ina-saku wa ... toobu-Nihón e to sidai ni hiromátte itta ‘Rice cultivation ... gradually spread to Eastern Japan’ (Ōno 1966.218-9); ... kízoku no konran wa yagaté hurúi taisei no hookai é to susunde iku ‘the disorder among the nobility eventually leads to the breakdown of the old structure’ (Ōno 1966.212); ... senkyoku ga kyuu o tugeru to, níwaka 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 mo awái midori no suiden kara kói 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 otokó o kae, ... ‘His mother kept taking up with one man after another and ...’ (SA 2661.125c); Sosite gízyutu wa háado-úea kara sóhuto-úea e to susunde kíta ‘And technology has progressed from hardware to software’ (CK 985.61); Hassya -gō(-) ma-mó-naku, rokéto no sisei wa yuudoo-seigyo-sóoti de yoko-muki ni kaerare, tikyuu o mawaru kidoo é to tonde yukú no de aru ‘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 atarasii hénka ga, higasi(-) kara nisi é to hiromátta kekka de áru ‘This too is a result of the spread of innovations from the east

to the west' (Ōno 1966.220); ... syooryóo(⁻) kara tairyóo(⁻) e, táŋki kara tyóoki e to rinsyoo-zíkken o okonai, ... '... conducting clinical experiments ranging from small quantities to large, from short periods to long ...' (SA 2651.22e); Ue e ue é to tumi-kasanátte iku monó mo áreba ... sita e sita é 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 é to hiromátta ... 'the pronunciation of Eastern Japan spread farther and farther to the west ...' (Ōno 1966.220); Áto kara áto kara to tyúumon(⁻) ga kúru 'Orders keep pouring in'; Úteki (= Amadare) ga usiro kara usiro kará to suberi-otite iru 'The raindrops keep sliding down from behind'; Is-sekí no bóoto ga zyooryuu kara karyuu e, karyuu kara zyooryuu é to, ittári kítari site nagasí-zuri 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): "Utukúsi" ga nikusin-teki na aizyoo kara, karén-sa(⁻) ni taisúru aizyoo o arawásu yóo ni to utúta tamé ni ... 'Because [the adjective] "utsukushi" had shifted, from physical love, to express affection toward the pathetic ...' (Ōno 1966.63). But other examples have a mutative verb with (N kará) N é to: ... Nanbókú-tyoo(⁻) zídai o héte Murómati zídai ni náru to, kekkon no keisiki 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' (Ōno 1966.96); ... huan kara iradatí(⁻) e, iradatí(⁻) kara ikarí(⁻) e, ikarí(⁻) kara nikusími(⁻) é to, samázama(⁻) ni kanzyoo ga hénka 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 ii hitó o* [yatoóo] *tó sagasita wáke desu yó* 'Let me tell you, I really looked for someone suitable [to hire] ...' (SA 2665.44a); *le* no *súbete ga títí* no omoide ni tunagarú no de, atarasíi toti o [kaoo] *tó sagasite mituketá* no ga kono toti {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-oo] | *tó* | [omótte] *sagasu*.

(6) With *miéru* 'it seems' and *obosíi/obósiki* '[that] looks/appears to be' (usually adnominal, but sometimes adverbialized *obósiku*), quotation is used to show appearance: *Nihon-zín to wa miénai* 'He doesn't look like a Japanese'; *Gaizin to obosíi/obósiki monó* 'a person who looks to be a foreigner'; ... *nán to, sono sinbun, késa, máda, dáre mo míte inai to obósiku*, ... '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* *miéru* means 'seems to be' with the added implication that it

IS that way too, like as not; while N^[r] miéru, 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 N^[r] ni omowaréru (etc.) from N^[r] dá^[r] tó omowaréru on p. 469.

(7) The somewhat literary expression ... tó mo tukánai means something like 'not quite arriving at, not quite making it; not exactly; manqué': Áse to mo aká to mo tukánai nióí 'a smell that was a cross between sweat and dirt'; Zyoodán to mo honki tó mo tókazu ... 'Half joking and half serious ...' or 'Not exactly joking and not exactly serious, either ...'; ... honne tó mo zyoodán to mo tukánai kotobá o kutibasiri-nágara, ... 'while blurting out words that are neither quite serious nor quite jesting' (SA 2677.114c); Ókite iru n desu ka i.—Ókite iru to mo tókazu, nete 'ru tó mo tókazu ... 'Are you up?—Not exactly up and not exactly in bed ...' (Okitsu 1.213); ... tó, benkai tó mo honne tó mo tukánai tyoosi de tubuyáku no datta 'They would grumble "..." in a tone of not quite excuse and not quite truth' (SA 2659.41d); Óoki na aki-kan ni tundora no koké(¯) tó mo kusá to mo tukánai monó ga osi-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: umekí to mo tukánu kotobá o 'in words that were not quite a groan' (Ig 35). And more than two 'not-quotes' are possible: Tosima Yosio san ga bannen, syoosetu tó mo ésee to mo hyooron tó mo tukánai zitú ni omosirói 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 tó mo is presumably followed by ellipsis of {tukánakereba} if we follow the explanation suggested in §9.3.2.

(8) The expression (negative +) ... tó mo kagiránai 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 náí to mo kagiránai 'Such a thing might happen'; Sikási zibun no karada no náka ni wa, ákuma mo súde inai tó mo kagiránai 'It is not impossible, however, that in one's own body some devil may be living' (Ig 1962.84); Ítu-nandoki(¯) dáre ga kónai to mo kagirimasén 'Someone may come at any moment'; Kóoku d'atte, kore kara nyuusatu suru wáke da kara, abura ga déru kanoo-sei no takái tokoró wa gaikoku no oote [= ooté-suzi] ni torárete, kásu o tukamasarénai to mo kagiránai '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 kagíru (§ 14.6.4) and ... [? only affirmative +] ... tó wa kagiránai 'it does not necessarily follow that': Kanemóti(¯) wa kanarazú-símo koohuku tó wa kagiránai (Kenkyusha) = Kanemóti(¯) ga kanarazú-símo koohuku da tó wa kagiránai 'The rich man is not always (necessarily) happy'; Daigákú-sei da ga kanarazú-símo kanemóti(¯) no musuko da tó wa kagiránai 'He is a university student but it does not necessarily follow that he is a rich man's son'; Gámen(¯) ni ikizúku no wa, sono seisakú-sya no séisin bákari [de aru] to wa kagiránai 'What breathes on canvas is not necessarily just the creator's spirit' (Ig 1962.84). The following three examples are from Hayashi 139: Máiniti(¯) áu to wa kagiránai 'We don't necessarily meet every day'; Otona ga kodomo yóri kasikói to wa kagiránai 'Grownups aren't always wiser than children'; Anzen-títái ni ité mo anzen da tó wa kagiránai 'You're not always safe even in a safety area'.

(8a) Some expressions similar to the preceding are S + tó wa ienai 'you can hardly say that S, S is far from being the case', S + tó wa miénai 'it hardly appears that S', S + tó

wa omoénaí/omowarénaí 'it hardly seems that S'. Two examples from Hayashi 139: Sinbun ga túne ni sínzitu(⁻) o tutáete(⁻) iru tó wa ienai 'You can hardly say the newspapers always report the truth'; Kanemótí(⁻) ga koohuku da tó wa ienai 'Rich men are far from happy'. Two examples from Kenkyusha: Kimi wa gozyúu to wa miénaí 'No one would take you for fifty'; Guu-zen tó wa omoénaí '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-kúte mo, N tó mo = N dé mo [literary N nári to mo]. Examples: Ínoti ni kakawáru to mo 'Even at the cost of one's life'; Osoku tó mo 'At the latest'; Sukúnáku to mo 'At the least'; Óoku to mo 'At the most', Kónaku to mo yorosii = Kónakute mo íi 'You need not come'; Ituká(⁻) yóri okureru kotó wa áru to mo háyaku wa náí daroo 'It may be later than the 5th but not earlier'. With indeterminates the literary tentative + tó mo is equivalent to [dé] mo or -té mo: Dóko e ikoo tó mo = Dóko e itté mo 'Wherever one goes' (cf. §21.5); Dótira to mo íi = Dótira de mo íi 'Either will do'; Ima-máde nán to mo nákata 'It was OK (perfectly normal) up to this point'. Nán to mo '[not] any at all' is also sometimes used as an intensifier 'utterly, quite': Nán to mo komátta 'I was in quite a fix'. The adverb tasyoo 'slightly' also occurs followed by tó mo (equivalent to dé mo) as in the example ... sottyoku ni itte, tasyoo tó mo búngaku ni kokóro no áru hitó ni wa tae-gatái búnsyoo 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)náku to mo = V-(a)nákute 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 senseí ga osiete kurezu tó mo [= kurenákute mo], zibun de benkyoo surú no ga 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 nárazu to mo (= zya nákute mo) is found in such expressions as Tíisa na l kodomo nárazu to mo 'Even if it isn't a little child ...'. As with -té {mo} the focus particle sometimes drops: iwazu to sireta 'it was clear without one's saying it'; ... sonna daigákú-sei ni wa betu ni koten o yomásezu to [?mo] manga o yomásete okéba íi no de wa náí ka 'wouldn't it be better to set such university 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 itté mo since that fuller expression is sometimes used as a purely grammatical device ('however'—see below), as are ... tó iéba and ... tó ittára 'speaking of' (cf. §21.2), and (S) tó sité mo ('though', §21.4). See also N nári to [mo] and N tári to mo, §15.19.

(9a) S tó itté {mo} is sometimes equivalent to INFINITIVE + -té (mo) 'even though' (cf. N tóte mo = N dé mo, § 21.3): Huyú to itté mo Hiroshima no sámu-sa wa tái-sita kotó wa náí 'Even in winter (= huyú de mo) the cold weather in Hiroshima is never extreme'. But sometimes the best translation for N tó itté mo is 'as (examples of) N(s) go': Suisoo to itté mo, kore wa tyót-to sukéeru ga ookíi 'As [fish] tanks go, this one is a bit large in scale (= size)' (SA 2677.61a). A special case is INDETERMINATE + tó itté {mo}: ... dóko to itte {mo} (= dóko de mo) bún no keisiki ní wa arawarénaí '... it does not appear anywhere in the form of the sentence'; Gimu-kyóoiku wa nán to itté mo ... kokumin-kyóoiku no kitei de áru 'Compulsory education is, after all, the basis of popular education ...'. For ... tó itté [mo] íi hodo/kúrai, see p. 499.

(9b) S tó iú no ni 'although it be said that S' means little more than S nó ni 'despite

(that) S': ... rokugatú da to iú no ni máda zyánppaa o ki-kónnda otokó datta 'It was a man who ... and was still bundled up in a jumper even though it was June' (Kb 213a).

(9c) S ^[t]tó iú 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 ^[t]tó itte irú 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 ^[t]tó iu wáke de, S ^[t]tó itte): Músyá san ni mísetara, "Áa, sóo" te n de, roku ni mínai n desu 'When I show it to Musha (= Mushakōji) he says "Ah yes" and barely glances at it' (Tk 4.294a); Kono hóo ga omosirói kara tte n de, ... 'On the grounds that this was more interesting ...' (Tk 4.213a); Tyuugaku nánka de koosoku ni ihan sitári suru to, misesime no tamé ni te n de, teigaku ya taigaku no syóbun o kúu séito ga irú keredo mo, ... '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 ^[t]tó wa—often contracted to ^[t]táa—can be regarded as an abbreviation of ^[t]tó iú no wa in such sentences as these: Tomodati ^[t]tó wa [or Tomodati ^[t]táa] dáre no kotó ka 'By "a friend", just who do you mean?'; Kawaisóo taa horeta tte kotó yo 'What's pitiful is to have fallen in love' (= Kawaisóo to [iú no] wa horeta to iu kotó da yó); Doowa-kyóoiku to wa nán[i] na no ka 'Just what is this "co-harmonious education"?' (SA 2672.136b). Some Hokuriku dialects (e.g. Toyama) use the abbreviation tya < té wa = ^[t]tó [iú no] wa: Takusañ kakaséru tya, nán-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 ^[t]tó wa is sentence-final, it marks an exclamation of surprise or incredulity, rather like S + nánte (§ 15.13a) as in Anó-hito wa kónndo no syatyoo ^[t]tó wa! 'To think that he will be our new boss!' and these examples from Hayashi 153: Kodomo ni makeru ^[t]tó wa 'To think of a child getting the better of me!'; Daihyoo ga kimi da ^[t]tó wa 'Imagine the representative being you (of all people)!. X ^[t]tó wa A o iu means 'By X we mean A'.

(10a) S ^[t]tó wa ié-fo do [mo] is a fancy way of saying 'though S': Káno-zyo no kokóro wa ore no monó {da} ^[t]tó wa ie, sore -ízyoo ni sukósi mo sinten sinai 'Though her heart was mine, beyond that we made no progress' (SA 2642.37c); Tasyoo no tatemasi ga átta to wa ie, tatémóno wa toozi no mamá ^[t]tó wa 'Although there have been some additions the building remains much the same (as it was then)' (SA 2688.26a).

(10b) The expression ... ^[t]tó no N is an adnominalization of ... ^[t]tó da and is the equivalent of ... ^[t]tó iu N: ... zenkoku-senkyó-ku wa zenpai site huken-tan'i-ippon ni aratame-tái to no ikoo ga túyoku kentoo -tyuu de áru 'Under close study is the idea of abolishing nationwide electoral districts and changing to a single prefecture (and metropolis) unit' (KKK 3.167); ... kore o sekkyoku ni mitomu -bési [= mitomeru -béki da] to no tuyói íken ga ári ... 'there is a strong opinion that this should be positively recognized and ...' (KKK 3.167); ... "renpoo-zyoohoo-séntaa" o tukúru -bési [= tukúru -béki da] to no kankoku o dásita '... put out a recommendation that a "joint intelligence center" be set up' (SA 2662.35d). And sentence + ^[t]tó no kotó da is equivalent to ... ^[t]tó iu kotó da 'I hear (or They say) that ...', one of several ways to report hearsay. In Kanazawa people often end sentences with ... ^[t]tó koto ('... I tellya'); see p. 945. The quoted hortative -[y]oo ^[t]tó is adnominalized to a summational epitheme of purpose or aspiration: ... syóten(-) mo

14. Just as S ^[t]tó itte irú no da shortens into S [t]té n da: ... motte ike té n da 'You're being told to take it ...' (Okitsu 1.317).

hanbái-moo ni kumi-ireyoo tó no nerai de, ... 'with the aim of trying to weave the book-shops into a sales network ...' (SA 2677.31a).

(11) A number of well-worn clichés that are used as sentence-openers come from abbreviated quotations:¹⁵ ... –To iu to? 'Which means [what]?, And that means?' (SA 2677.117c); To iú no wa ... (kará da) 'And that's because ...'; To iu wáke de mo náí ga ... 'Not exactly that ...'; Tó wa mata dóo-site ... 'Why do you say that ...'; Tó mo suréba = Tó mo suru to 'Sometimes ..., Yet ...' (cf. §21.4); Tó wa itté mo ... (SA 2639.97a) = Tó wa ié-_[i]-do [mo]} ... 'Even so ...'; Tó wa ii-nagara ... 'Granted that ...; Nonetheless ...'; Tó wa iu mono-no ... 'Nevertheless ...' (SA 2661.33c). And a number come from unabbreviated quotations, as well: Dótira ka to iéba = Dótira ka to iu to 'If anything, rather ...'; Nán to itté mo 'Say what you will; anyway' [cf. Dóko made itté mo 'Go where you will' = 'Everywhere (you go)']; Sore to iú no wa, ... 'In particular, ...; To be specific ...'; Sore wa sóo to {site} 'Be that as it may ...; By the way ...'. Quotation is a purely grammatical device in Dá kara t[o]te = Dá kara to itte or Sáreba 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: Sikási sóo wa itté mo ... 'But even so ...', Soo iéba ... 'If you put it that way ..., Oh yes ...', Iú máde mo náí ga ... 'It goes without saying that ...'.

(12) The expression ítu to wa náku (or ítu to wa nási ni) means 'before one knows/realizes it, in no time at all'; compare the dephrasal adverbs nan-to-náku and doko-to-náku, both of which mean 'somehow' as does nan-to. An indeterminate number + tó náku means 'quite a number of ...'; íkutu to náku = íkutu mo: Soko ni kyodai na tánkú ga íkutu to náku ári, ... 'In that place there were quite a few huge tanks, and ...' (SA 2672.96c). The expression V-ru tó mo náku (or V-ru tó mo nási ni, § 14.6) means '[does it] unawares, without knowing it' or 'without intending (premeditating) it, casually, off-handedly': Kiku tó mo náku nusumi-giki suru 'unintentionally eavesdrops', Kúru to mo náku kíte simatta 'I didn't mean to come, but just happened to'. An indeterminate + tó mo náku is usually to be translated 'not [any] in particular': Ozyóosan wa sono uti(-) no dáre ni to mo náku kóe o agete sakénda monó da 'The young lady raised her voice and shouted to no one in particular among them' (Shibata 1961.174); ... dáre ni iu tó mo náku, hitori-gótó no yóo ni koo itta 'not particularly speaking to anyone, she spoke thus, as if to herself' (Kb 69a). These expressions, along with yóru-to-naku hirú-to-naku 'night and day', are derived from the colloquial negative of tó áru, the copula built on the subjective essive.

(13) The nominal expression N tó mo aróo monó/hitó (with the literary tentative of áru) is the equivalent of N dé mo áru hazu no monó/hitó and means 'one with the status (caliber) of N' or 'N of all things/people (surprisingly)': Eisiki-zin to mo aróo hitó-tati ... 'Those who are intellectuals (of all people) ...'; Syatyoo no ókusan to mo aróo monó ga ima-zibun hitóri de konna tokoró e o-ide ni nátte wa o-uti ni sumánaku wa gozaimasén 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 kyoozyú-kai to mo aróo monó ga, zyuudai na bámen(-) de konna arísama(-) dátta n desu 'On an important stage such was the spectacle of (what pretends to be) an association of university professors of all things!' (SA 2671.30a). Cf. ... tó áru (?= ... tó site áru) > ...-táru, § 13.5a.

15. Cf. the summational quotation that picks up the opener in this example: To iu kotó wa, tiryoo-hoo wa náí to iu kotó 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 ... *omoéru* or ... *ieru* as the omitted verb.

(15) *N + tó^[r]iu tó* (*N + tee tó*; *N + tó^[r] iéba/ittára*) is a roundabout way to state a theme that is virtually the same as *N + wá* (as subdued theme); similar is *N + dá^[r] tó* (or *N + nára/dáttara*). Cf. § 21.2. *N tó^[r] iú 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^[r] itté mo ii-sugi dé wa náí* means 'it is no exaggeration to say that': *Káre wa sékái saidai no kagákú-sya de áru to itté mo ii-sugi dé wa náí* '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^[r] iu/itta tokoró desu (né)* [or *desyóo*] means 'I would say that ...' or '... and that's the way things are' or '... and that's how matters stand'. See Alfonso 1166.

(17) In place of *S yóri {wa}* 'rather than do/be' you can quote the sentence (*S tó^[r] iu*) and adnominalize the "saying" sentence to the postadnominal *yóri*:¹⁶ *Hannoo wa yowái, to iú yóri, hotóndo ga kyóomí o simésite(-) kuremasén desita* 'Rather than the reaction being weak, hardly anyone showed interest' (SA 2662.24b); *Mu-kánsin to iú 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); *Zyuugatú ni háitte, kyuu ni suzúsiku nátta. Suzusii to iú yóri, hada-samúi hí no hoo ga oói* 'Entering October it has suddenly become cool. Rather than "cool", chilly days are in the majority' (SA 2649.97a); *Nihon-zín ni tótte ... Sina-go o búnsyoo to site kaki-konasu kónnan wa, kónniti watási-táti ga, Eigo ... o kaki-konasu kónnan to, hodo-tóoku(-) náí to iú yóri wa músiro, kúroo wa isoo óokikatta ni sooi náí* '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 iú yóri mo gakusya to iu hoo da* 'He is more of a scholar than a businessman' or *Seikoo to iú yóri wa hu-séikoo de áru* 'It is a failure instead of (= rather than) a success' (= *Seikoo de nákute hu-séikoo de áru*, Morishige 186) and resumptive sentences that begin *Tó iú yóri wa* 'Or rather [than saying that]' (see Alfonso 1113).

(18) *S + ká to omóu yoo 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 yoo 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. *-rú 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 náí 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 (*iú*) before disappearing. You can say either *N to iú yóri* or *N to iu yóri*.

(19) A kind of emphatic iteration is achieved by S_1 to *ieba* S_1 {*gá/kédo*} 'really does/is S all right [but ...]; does/is all too (= more than enough)': Hataraku to *ieba* hatarakú ga 'He really works, all right, but ...'; Kangáeta to *ieba* kangáeta kedo 'I gave it more than enough thought, but ...'; Ookii to *ieba* ookii ga 'It's more than big enough, all right, but ...'; Kessaku [dá] to *ieba* kessaku dá ga 'It is indeed a masterpiece, but ...'; Sízuka [da] to *ieba* sízuka da kedo 'It's nothing if not quiet, all right, but ...'; ... amari to *ieba* amari na moosetu ga séken ni rúhu site óri, ... 'entirely too great a fallacy is widespread in the world ...' (Maeda 1962.194); ... husigi to *ieba* husigi de áru 'is strange indeed' (SA 2688.107d). Notice that *dá* usually drops, even after adjectival nouns. The repeated S can enter into any appropriate conversions and can be modified by an adverb: ... bakabakasii to *ieba* mattakú^[1] bakabakasii sensoo-kígeki da ga ... 'it is indeed quite a silly war comedy but ...' (SA 2688.108b). Somewhat different is S to *ieba* *ierú* (keredo) 'one COULD say ... (but)': Motíron bóku(-) wa náni mo siranákatta no da kara syoo ga náí to *ieba* *ierú* keredo, dé 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 *tó* 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 yósi to 'This is enough!'; Móo yamet' okoo to 'Let's stop now!'; Dái iti-ban 'mé ni wa kono ... (oo) ... Tyuu-nánbei no keizai-kóozoo to iu monó ga Amerika to kuraberu to taihen tigai ga áru 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 *tó* is best treated as an abbreviated quotation rather than as emphatic, e.g.: Sono kazoku-séikatu mo kanarazú-símo sore zya(a) katei to iu kotobá de motte(e) ningen-kánkei ga súbete setumei dekíru ka to iu to sóo 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 *ká* *tó*^[1] 'I wonder' (short for *ká* *tó* omóu?)—KKK 23.53-4: ... sono tamé ni wa (ee) kotobá ni túite hutatú no mén ni tyakumoku suru kotó ga hituyoo dé wa nákaroo 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) náni ka kenkyuu-kíkan to iu monó ga kokumin no seikatu *tó* wa uita tokoró ni (ee) gakusya ga atumáru to itta yóo na kotó ni nátte simaú no de wa náí 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'; ... kekkyokú kono ningen ga ziyúu to zinken o kakutoku suru tamé ni tatakatte kíta rekisi da to iu kotó mo *ierú* n zya náí 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. tté): Siranáí tto 'I just dunno!'; Móo neyóo {t}to 'Now to bed!'. (The doubling usually induces an accent on the preceding syllable but that may be paralinguistic here.) Apparently tté can freely be used in this sort of sentence; Kenkyusha has the examples Sóo daroo/desyoo tte 'I can quite imagine that; I shouldn't wonder!'

(21) Number + *tó* {*wa/mo*} náí leads to such quasi-idiomatic expressions as hutatú to {*wa/mo*} náí 'is unique' and hutarí to {*wa/mo*} náí 'is peerless'. Any number that consists of '2' + counter can appear: ni-satú to {*wa/mo*} náí '(a book) is unparalleled', hutá-ma to {*wa/mo*} náí '(a room) is unmatched', etc. There is a similar expression with

an adverb that is not a number: *matá to náí* 'is unparalleled, unique'; other negatives can replace *nái*: *Matá to dekinái kotó da* 'It is something that can never happen again' (SA 2659.49d). Cf. *ni-dó tó^[1] + NEGATIVE* 'not ... again': ... *ni-dó to kono onná ni átte wa narán zó* 'You must not see this woman again!' (SA 2649.105c); *Déte ike! Bóku(⁻) no máe ni ni-dó to arawaréru na!* 'Get out! Don't let me see you ever again!' (SA 2655.122b).

(22) For ... *tó^[1] ittára arimasén*, see §9.3.3.

(23) Hortative (—or literary tentative?) + *tó^[1] iú no ni* can mean 'just when it is about to': *Kore kara dandán yóru ni nátte ikoo to iú no ni Áiko san nánka hitóri de irarerú mono ka* 'With the night about to set in now how can Aiko remain alone?' (Mio 94).

(24) For *S kara^[1] + tó^[1] itte* 'just because S' see §17.1.

(25) For *S + tó/tté sá!* see §15.2. And notice (20) above, of which this would seem to be a special case.

(26) The expression (N/S +) ... *tó^[1] iú 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 *tó* ii) to mean 'whether (we speak of) N₁ or N₂ = both N₁ and N₂': *kóe to ii sógata to ii* 'whether in voice or in figure = both her voice and her figure' = *kóe ni sé yo sógata ni sé yo, kóe ni si ro sógata ni si ro*; *mé no iró to ii, kíba no rétu to ii* 'both the eye color and the fang occlusion'; *hukusoo to ii, táido to ii* 'both in attire and in attitude'; *Táimingu to ii, seiryoo to ii, nakanaka rippa na azitéetaa de aru* 'Both in timing and in vocal resonance he is a thoroughly splendid agitator' (Gd 1969/9.109); ... *tikágoro no toohú(⁻) to ii, hanpén to ii, nán-to "danti-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': ... *Kyoowa-too to ii Minsyu-too to itté mo tái-sita 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 tó^[1] tówazu(⁻)* 'without inquiring S' means 'regardless whether S, even if S': ... *nitiyoo, saizitu de áru to tówazu(⁻)* 'even if it is Sunday or a holiday' (SA 2670.107a). Cf. *N o tówazu(⁻)* 'irrespective of N', pp. 152, 591. The expression *S/N₁ tó^[1] iwazu S/N₂ tó^[1] 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 gaikoku-go to iwazu dóna kotobá de mo sóo na n desu* 'It's the same in every language—whether Japanese or a foreign language'; *Senséi to iwazu isya to iwazu kangáe wa onazi desyóo* '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 ... *tó {wa} ...-azu*, e.g.: *Kisyá to wa na-nórazu(⁻) hanasi-kaketá no da ga, ...* 'I approached him without calling myself (= revealing myself as) a newspaperman and ...' (SA).

(30) The expression *N o monó to mo sezu* (cf. §21.4) means 'in spite of (undaunted by) N': *Yóru zyuuítí-zi, Watanabe san wa enkai no tukaré o monó to mo sezu 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 tó^[1] arayúru (kotó/monó)* 'each and every (thing), all sorts of (things), the catalogue of (things)' seems to preface the adnoun *arayúru* 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 $\text{ári } \overset{[r]}{\text{tò}}$).

(32) For ... $\overset{[r]}{\text{tò}}$ iwan bákari 'all but saying', see p. 614.

(33) Idiomatic quotations include: are yó | are yo to iu ma ni || ... 'in no time at all; before your eyes; before you can say ("that! that!" =) Jack Robinson' (SA 2659.132e); ún to mo | sún to mo | iwanai 'says neither ún (yeah) nor sún (inch?) = says neither yes nor no; makes no response': Tegami o dásite mo, ún to mo sún to mo itte kónai 'I sent a letter but got no (yes-or-no =) reply back' (SA 2670.43a). Is the etymology entangled with un-sun-káruta, name of a card game < Portuguese um 'one' and sum[mo] 'summm'?

(34) Sometimes $\overset{[r]}{\text{tò}}$, like ní, is used to mark an adverbialization: siawase $\overset{[r]}{\text{tò}}$ = siawase ní 'luckily' (from siawase 'luck', abstract noun and adjectival noun); wariái $\overset{[r]}{\text{tò}}$ = wariái {ní} 'comparatively'. See §21.7 for more on this. And see §13.5a for the use of $\overset{[r]}{\text{tò}}$ as the adverbial form of subjective adjectival nouns (AN táru/ $\overset{[r]}{\text{tò}}$).

21.2. TTÁRA, TTÉBA

Quotation is a common way to mention a topic for comment: X $\overset{[r]}{\text{tò}}$ ittára (iéba,¹⁷ iu $\overset{[r]}{\text{tò}}$, itté wa¹⁸) 'When it comes to X, As for X'. From this come the colloquial particles ttára and ttéba.¹⁹ Kore ttára/ttéba ... 'When it comes to this ...; As for this ...'. The particle ttéba is used almost exclusively by women. Because of the indirection, this sort of topic citation is fairly polite. Anata tteba! 'Oh you!'—with accent-flattening from anáta tteba—is often said by a woman exasperated with her husband.

Sentence-final ttéba (§15.15) can mean two things: (1) 'I tell you', a strong statement as in Iyá da tteba! = Iyá da yo! 'But I don't like it!'; (2) = {nasái} yo, a command, as in Bóku(¯) ga koosyoo site yarú kara moo sibáruku o-mati ttéba '(I tell you) I'll negotiate for you so you wait a little longer'. Sometimes the final vowel is lengthened: Mátte ttebaa! 'I told you to wait!'

Sentence-final ttára can have the same two meanings, but they are expressed with stronger feeling: Iyá da ttara! 'But I DON'T like it!'; Káesite, káesite, káesite ttara! 'You gimme that back!'; Misé ro ttara 'Show me, I tell you!'

The first t- in these colloquial particles is automatically suppressed after n, as is that of tté: Súgata san ttara /súgatasantara/. For ttára náí = [to i]ttára náí, as in Káre no hyooban no wáru-sa ttara nákatta 'He had the worst reputation!' (KKK 25.78a), see p. 565. An equivalent expression is ttátte [= $\overset{[r]}{\text{tò}}$ itt'átte = $\overset{[r]}{\text{tò}}$ itté mo] náí: Dóo-mo bakabakasii ttatte arimasén ya 'How utterly stupid!' (Okitsu 1.245). Notice that /... ttettara/ is to be interpreted as ... tte 'ttára = ... $\overset{[r]}{\text{tò}}$ ittára 'if/when one says that ...', a quoted condition used as one of the many devices to introduce a theme, as in this example: Omoi-dasú no tte 'ttara sá, sore kóso arihureta tabémónó na no né 'What it reminds me of, precisely, IS a very common food' (Morishige 148). Sentences such as Isogasii tteba isogasii n da ga ná 'I'm busy, all right, but ...' (Morishige 231) seem to mean the same as S₁ kotó wa S₁ ga/kédo.

17. Or iyá[a].

18. Or ittyá[a].

19. Also ttéeba (Tk 4.317b) and (below) ttébaa.

21.3. TÓ[TE], TTÉ

The particle *tó*, sometimes extended to *tóte*, can occur at the end of a phrase as if an abbreviation of ... *tó*^[t]*omótte* 'thinking that ...' or ... *tó*^[t]*itte* 'saying that', followed by a predicate that usually expresses action. A special—but perhaps questionable—use of *tóte* that it does not share with *tó* is after the perfect *-tá*, with the meaning 'even (do)ing': *S-tá tóte* = *S-té mo*.²⁰ For this meaning it is more colloquial to attach *-t'átte* to verbal sentences, *-kut'átte* to adjectival sentences, and *d'átte* to nominal sentences. See the discussion in §15.11.

The use of *d'átt'átte* to mean *dé mo* 'even' is condemned by Kazama (203 ff) as pleonastic; *d'átte* alone is quite enough. But *dátta tte* of course can occur as a quotation with the interpretation *dátta tó*^[t] [*itte*] '[saying] that it was', just as you can use *V-tá tté* and *A-kátta tte* for the perfect forms of *V-rú tté* and *A-í tté*.

KKK 3.123 gives two examples in which *N tóte mo* is used to mean *N dé mo*; compare the similar use of *N tó*^[t]*itte mo*, §21.1.(9a). MKZ 614a cites an example of *V-rú tóte* that is equivalent to *V-[y]oo to site* 'trying/starting to do': *Mizu o kumú tóte ido e ótita* 'I fell in the well trying to draw water'. Perhaps this usage could be regarded as an abbreviation of ... *tó*^[t]*omótte* 'thinking that (I would draw water ...)'.²⁰

In addition to the uses mentioned above (equivalent to *tóte*), *tté* is also used as a variant version of the quotation-marker *tó*, as an abbreviation of *tó*^[t]*itte*, and as an abbreviation of *tó*^[t]*iu*—as in this example: *Husigi na onná da náa, kimi tte onná wa ...* 'You're an odd girl, you are' (Kb 381a). Sentence-final *tté* sometimes marks a fragment with the quoting nucleus omitted. Thus *Íi tté!* 'Say when!' (in pouring a drink or the like) means something like *Íi to itte kudasái* 'Please say "That's enough" [when I have poured all you want]'. The expression *soo iú no tté no wa* (CK 985.372) means *soo iu {mo}nó to iu {mo}nó wa* 'each and every such (one)', with *tté* representing a contraction of *tó*^[t]*iu*. For the Kansai use of *káte* for *tóte*, see §2.11, §15.11. On *S kará t[o]te* = *S kará tó* (*itte/omótte*), see §17.1. An example of *S tóte* 'on the grounds that S = because S' in formal written Japanese is cited in LF 87. For *S tté/tó sá!* see §15.2.

Both *tóte* and *tté* are attached in the same way as *tó* (whether marking a quotation or a conjunctive), 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 (*surú tó*, *sitá tóte*, *amái tte*); when attached with an underlying juncture, the juncture will disappear after suppressing the preceding accent (*suru tó*, *sita tóte*, *amai tté*), and thus there will be an accent on the particle itself unless (for *tó* and *tté*) it is suppressed by an immediately following juncture. Both *Tó ...* and *Tté ...* can be used as conjunction-like sentence-introducers, "Quote ..." (or, rather, "... Unquote").

20. Perhaps this usage, which is found in the written-style colloquial, can be regarded as elliptical for *S-ta* [*kotó*] *tóte*, a treatment suggested by the following example (in which *kotó* could have been omitted): *Íma-sara(˘) itte míta kotó tóte [= itte míte mo] si-kata ga áru ˘mái* 'It would be of no use to say it at this late date'. Compare *S-ru kotó tóte* 'because S' (in which *kotó* can NOT be omitted): *Yóku syooti site iru kotó tóte, sugu ni setumei site yatta* 'Since I know it well, I explained it to him right away'; *Narénu kotó tóte sikuzitta* 'Being unfamiliar with it, I blundered'.

21.4. SENTENCE + ^[1]TÔ SURU/NÁRU: PERIPHRASTIC PUTATIVES,
SUBJECTIVE MUTATIVES

A statement can be followed by ^[1]tô suru to mean 'supposes that, considers (it) that, treats it as (true that)': Yobu/Yonda to suru; Ookii to suru; Senséi {da} to suru. The copula optionally (but commonly) drops, even after an adjectival noun: Sízuka {da} to suru. A few other mutative verbs also occur with ^[1]tô (which is substituting, as it were, for ní): S to kimeru 'decides/determines that (or for it to be) S', ...

From the gerund of N {da} ^[1]tô suru we get N [da] ^[1]tô sité {wa} 'considering it to be N, considered as N'; cf. N ni sité {wa} 'for/as N', p. 229. In honorific speech itasimásite may replace sité in these expressions.²¹ N ^[1]tô sité wa sometimes contracts to N ^[1]sityá[a]: Menseki to sityáa, dai-tósi desu yó 'In size, it [= Kyōto] is a metropolis, you see' (Tk 2.308a); Wazyutu-ka to sityáa, 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 site, ... '(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 X o 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 X o 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 onná 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: "Imi-kótoba" to iéba, kekkonsiki-zyoo nádo de, tukaú no o sakéru ^[1]béki da to sareru kotobá 'By "tabu words" is meant words about which it is considered that one should avoid using them in wedding halls and the like' (Ōno 1966.45); Mooko-go mo, zyuusan-séiki no kiroku ga hurúi to sareru 'Even for Mongolian, documents of the 13th century are considered old' (Ōno 1966.191). Sentence + ^[1]tô sarete iru will commonly translate as 'It is considered/assumed that ...'. But N ^[1]tô sareté wa may be a subject-exalting version of N ^[1]tô sité wa, grammatically an anomaly in that what is exalted is the ^[1]tô-marked noun (there being no specific subject for the suru): ... are wa héika to sareté wa, téinei na o-tumori zya náí ka siran 'I wonder if that, for His Majesty, wasn't intended to be polite' (Shishi Bunroku in SA 2658.125b).

We can regard sentences with ^[1]tô suru as periphrastic putatives or as SUBJECTIVE (transitive) mutatives, in direct contrast with ní ^[1]suru, the OBJECTIVE (transitive) mutatives (§9.1.11): Táda, byoozyoo ni yotté wa, anzei o hituyoo to si nyuuin suru baai mo arimásu '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 ^[1]tô + suru (or kimeru, kuwadatéru, kétéui suru; tutoméru, dóryoku(-) suru) means 'decides (plans; endeavors) to do', and Mása ni ... siyoo ^[1]tô suru means 'is about to (begin), is going to (do)'. Cf. V-[y]oo ^[1]tô iu tokí ni or V-[y]oo ^[1]tô iú no

21. In N ^[1]tô itasimásite, the verb itasu 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 ... ^[1]tô nasátte/nasaimásite because the reference of the verbal element is essentially impersonal. For ... ^[1]tô 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 ^[1]to 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 kíta 'Just as I was going/trying/starting to write a letter, a phone call came'; Túma ga áto o oóo(¯) to sitára, ... '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 Jizō festival [too] is finally about to begin now' (KKK 25.80b); ... kuraku naróo to suru tokí ni 'when it was about to get dark ...'; Móo natú mo sugiyóo to site itá 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 (*)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)n < -(a)mu, e.g. in Tatakai wa mása ni kaisi sen [=siyoo] to site iru 'The battle is about to begin'. For more examples, see §12.2.

(1a) Hortative -[y]oo + ^[1]tó {mo} 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, tyósyá wa kekkon suru kotó ga dekinakatta no de wa nákute, siyoo to sinái 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 kítin ni kakúreta kiri déte koyóo to sinákatta 'she stayed hidden away in the next-door kitchen and showed no signs of coming out' (SA 2670.92c); Sikási, Ándoo san to wa umá ga áu to iú no ka, Ándoo san go-zísin, hoka no isya ni maru-de kakaróo to nasaránai n desu 'But perhaps because I seemed to hit it off with Mr Andō, Mr Andō himself was not the least inclined to consult other doctors' (SA 2656.26b)—note the subject-exalting nasáru used for suru. For more examples see §12.12. Similar in meaning is V-[y]oo ^[1]tó {mo} omowánai: Watasi wa nemuroo to omowánakatta 'I had no thought of sleep' (lg 1962.85).

(2) Perfect (-tá) + ^[1]to 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, mósi, okósita to suréba sore ní wa tokubetu no riyuu ga aróo 'This should cause no error or the like, and in the event it does, there will be some special reason for that'. Imperfect (-rú) + ^[1]to suréba means 'if (at all)', much like -rú no dé wa, -rú n[o] zya (§9.3): Iku to suréba, asitá ni náru desyoo 'If we're going at all, it will be tomorrow'; Génka ga takái to suréba, urinikú to iu kotó mo kangáeru 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-hin(¯) ga hotóndo soakú-hin(¯) da to suréba, kuni no sin'yoo o usinau 'If exports are quite shoddy, the nation is discredited'; Seiseki ga wárukatta to suréba [or Warúi seiseki dátta to suréba] nyuugaku wa muzukasii(¯) 'If you've got bad grades, it's hard to gain admission (to the school)'.²²

(3) S + ^[1]to sité mo (= S ^[1]to 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'; ... íma íkite ita to sité mo ... 'even if (they were) alive today' (Tk 3.230b); ... tatóeba gésuto wa nakama-dóosi no yuuzyo-syútuen da to sité mo, taihen na aka-zi no hazu da '... even if,

22. Yet Yoshida (166) claims that V-[y]oo ^[1]to 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 + ^[r]nité mo 'regardless of S, even if S', § 14.6.(18).

(4) The expression X o kotó/monó to mo sinai means 'makes nothing of (= disregards) X'; cf. §21.1.(30). For V-ru kotó to suru, see p. 843 (§ 14.1). We can compare Senséi to sité wa dooi dekinai 'The teacher, quā teacher (= [in his role] as teacher), can not agree' with Senséi ni sité wa ^[r]tišiki ga sukunái 'For a teacher, he is singularly lacking in knowledge'. Neither the putative (^[r]tó suru) nor the mutative (^[r]ni suru) are to be taken literally here.

The distinction between ^[r]tó suru and ^[r]ni suru is sometimes hard to draw, as we have seen. The distinction between ^[r]tó nāru and ^[r]ni nāru—the INTRANSITIVE mutatives, subjective and objective respectively—is even finer; many speakers appear to treat N ^[r]tó nāru as a fancy or semi-literary version of N ^[r]ni nāru, with no particular feeling of the subjective versus the objective in spite of the difference in choice of ^[r]tó or ^[r]ni. If a difference is felt, the expression with ^[r]tó will be used for situations that are less real, less enduring, or less substantial—to parallel the distinction of ^[r]tó suru from ^[r]ni suru. The various specific uses of ^[r]tó nāru are treated in §21.1.(2).

It is possible to separate ^[r]tó or ^[r]ni from suru (as from nāru) with various focus and restrictive elements: ... ^[r]tó DE MO suréba 'If we suppose, say, that ...'; Tantyoo-sa o sakeyóo to DE MO sitá no desu 'I tried at least to avoid monotony'; Hotóndo kozin-kyóozyu ni tikái kyooiku o óoku no séito ni ataeyoo ^[r]tó 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-[y]oo to nasáru are cited in Y 167.

21.5. LITERARY TENTATIVE + ^[r]TÓ

The literary tentative (§12.3) + ^[r]tó occurs, often in contrasting pairs, with the same meaning as the literary tentative + ^[r]gá (§ 17.6) 'whether ... (or)': Anáta wa ikoo to iku ^[r]mái [or ikanakaróo] to sore wa kamawánai, watasi wa iki-tái n desu 'It makes no difference whether you go or not, I want to go anyway' [= ... itté mo, ikanakute mo ...]; Kimi ga iki-takaróo to dóo daroo to bóku(⁻) wa kamawánai 'It makes no difference to me whether you want to go or not'; Kueyóo to kuenakaróo to [= Kúete mo kuénakute mo] búngaku o sinái de wa irarenai hitó-tati da 'They are people who must engage in literary pursuits whether they can eat (= make a living at it) or not'; Kore daróo to kore zya nakaróo to kamawánai = Kore dé mo kore de nákute mo kamawánai 'It doesn't make any difference whether it is this or not'; Kore daróo to are daróo to kamawánai 'It doesn't matter whether it is this or that'; O-kane ga aróo to nakaróo to [= átte mo nákute mo] kai-tai monó wa kai-tái n desu 'Whether I have the money or not, what I want to buy I want to buy'; Tatóeba, túi kono-aidá made, kodomo wa sazukari-mónó(⁻) dáttá. Íma de wa umoo to umu ^[r]mái to katte ni náttá '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-dáizin ga korosareyoo to dóo siyoo to, zenzen, mu-kánsin né 'I couldn't care less whether the prime minister gets killed or not' (Fn 201b). Although this is most common for such adjectivals as ^[r]nái, ^[r]sukunái, and desideratives (V-i-tai), occasionally other adjectives are heard: Ookikaróo to tiisakaróo to ... 'Whether it be large or small ...', Takakaróo to yasukaróo 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 kimi no katte da* 'It's up to you where you go'; *Dóo siyoo to ii de wa nái ka* 'Isn't there any way that it's all right?'; *Nakoo to waraoo to kamáu mōn ka? Dóo naróo to kamawánai.* '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 tó* is sometimes followed by *mó*: *Dóko e ikoo tó mo = Dóko e itté mo* 'Wherever you go' = 'Everywhere (you go)'; *Dónna ni sabisikaróo to mo = Dónna ni sabisíkute mo* 'However lonely one may be'. Compare the optional absence of *mó* in statements of permission: *Itté {mo} ii* 'You may go' (p. 480). A rare case of polite stylization will turn up: *itasimasyóo to itasimásu 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 *dé*, provided the copula in the first part has reverted to its formal (uncontracted) form *de áru*: ... *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 áru mái to*. If we start off with *AN₁ dé mo* we will have to end with *AN₁ de/zya nákute mo*; if we start with *AN₁ d'átte*, 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 sóo 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-sídai {ni} tabéru* 'We eat plants or grasses, or whatever is at hand'; *O-kéikoo tte, dónna?—O-hana tó ka o-ryóori to ka desu né* '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)': *Bunsi-seibutúgaku to ka nán to ka no kake-góe 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 iu kóe 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 {site}* 'Somehow or other, Anyhow ...' is derived.

In writing, at least, case-marking particles occasionally follow *tó ka*: *Sikási sore wa óoki na yamá to ka kawá 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'; ... *homéru tte iú no wa tokí to ka baai tó ka o sootoo erándari sinai to sunnári uke-totte moraenai kotó ga óói no de wa nái ka* '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); Tyuuo-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 Chūō Kōron or Kaizō ...' (Tk 2.210b); ... iegará(¯) to ka umare tó ka o omon-zíru(¯) yóri wa ... 'rather than value one's family standing or birth or the like' (Ōno 1966.83); Dá kedo, watási-táti ni suréba, ano Kirisutó-kyoo to ka Búkkyyoo to ka ní⁽ⁱ⁾ wa, kairitu ga áru n desu né '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 {o} iwaretyau 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-dezain da to ka kosutyuumu-dezain 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, keisatú-hoo(¯) no mondai dá tó ka, kyooikú-hi no mondai tó ka, suto-kinsíhoo(¯) dá tó ka, arúi-wa gunzin-onkyúu-hoo(¯) tó ka, soo iu mono no náka 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 térebi ni yoru "Sin-zidai no sénkyo" to yara o osieyoo to iu "Gendai-senkyo-zemináaru" naru benkyoo-kai ga hirakaréru ... '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 Kyōto the meaning of ... tó ka ... tó ka is carried by ... kanno ... kanno [? < ká + nó] (Zhs 4.232); in western Kyūshū, 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. MKZ^s 981c); onozu-to 'spontaneously' (= onozukara); wáza-to 'on purpose'; siká-to 'definitely, firmly'; sésse-to 'frequently, diligently'; wariq-to = wariái to 'relatively'; ói-sore-to 'readily' (< 'saying "oh that!"'); ari-ári to 'vividly' (from ári 'existing'); akaáka-to 'brightly'—cf. kúdo-kudo {to} 'tediously'; ...

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 /t/ in -q tó:²⁴ aq (to iu) 'Oh!'—

23. See also § 13.5a for the subjective adjectival nouns (marked by táru/tó), some of which are old Chinese mimetic adverbs.

24. In this book you will find these words sometimes written ...q(-)to, but more often ...t(-)to. Other cases of "tt" are usually reductions of such sequences as ...tU-t... or ...tI-t... 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 áa '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!'; zaaq (to huri-dasu) '(pours down) copiously'.

(2) Those that do not normally occur except "quoted" with ¹tó suru/náru; they end in a glottal catch (-q to suru/náru 'makes with a "...'" effect'): gyoq to suru/náru 'acts/gets startled, frightened'; haq to suru/náru 'acts/gets startled, taken aback'; hoq to suru/náru 'acts/gets relieved'; muq to suru/náru 'acts/gets indignant, miffed; seems/gets stuffy, close'; ?zoq to suru 'shudders'—see below.

(3) Those that only occur adverbially with -q tó /tto/ or with -n tó: dóq(̄) to 'bursting out suddenly; stampeding'; gúq(̄) to 'suddenly, with a jerk; tightly; considerably'; káq(̄) to 'suddenly arising; opening up'; kiq tó 'surely, I bet'; móq to 'more' (from moo 'more'); hyóq to 'by chance'; yaq tó 'at last, with much difficulty'; sáq(̄) to 'suddenly'; suq to 'straight (out); up quickly; relieved'; soq tó 'quietly; secretly'; ti-ḡq tó = tyoi tó 'a little bit'; tyóq to 'a little bit; please; say!'—whence tyót-to da 'is slight' as in tyót-to no kaze 'a slight cold'; zaq tó 'roughly; sketchily'; ziq tó 'steadily, intently; quietly, patiently'; zuq to 'all the way; directly; considerably' (also zuuq to); dén(̄) to 'conspicuously (placed)'; kitín to 'accurately, punctually, neatly'; tan tó 'lots'; tón(̄) to 'utterly; completely'; tyan tó 'perfectly, regularly, neatly, safely, comme-il-faut'; ún(̄) tó 'with great force; copiously; lots'.

(4) Other mimetic words that can occur as adverbs alone and also with tó (suru/náru): bon'yári, bon'yári {to} suru 'absent-minded, vague'; hakkíri, hakkíri {to} suru 'clear, precise'; ottóri {to} 'quietly, generously'. When these forms occur alone with suru, as in bikkúri suru 'is startled', they look as if they might be verbal nouns, but the words must be adverbs since they can not be followed by the object-marker: *bikkúri o suru; cf. sanpo o suru 'strolls'. When you can apply focus, the appropriate particle (wá/mó etc.) is better attached to the adverb: bikkúri wa/mo suru rather than (*)bikkúri si wa/mo suru. Examples: Tái-site gakkári mo sinákatta n desu 'I wasn't so terribly discouraged' (SA 2666.44b); Té o aratte míru to, naru-hodo, núru-nuru mo béta-beta mo sinái de, sekken no yóo ni kirei ni araeta 'When I washed my hands [with it], I found that I could wash them clean as with soap, without any slimey or sticky feeling' (SA 2656.60c). You may, however, run across (?) bikkúri si sae sureba as well as bikkúri sae sureba '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:

gappóri (zeikin o tóru) [MKZ^s] '(takes) lots (of taxes)'.

húnwaka = húwa-huwa [MKZ] 'soft, floating': Tóire no náka made húnwaka to attakái wága-ya ... 'Our home that is warm [with central heating] floating all the way into the toilet ...' (SA 2659.118b).

kutyá-kutya to gámu o kámi, ... 'smacking their chewing gum' (SA 2654.133b)—[Shimmura: = kusyá-kusya 'rumpled'].

kwáq(̄) to hiráite 'opening wide' (SA 2666.85c) = káq(̄) to with expressive labialization?

an atonic morpheme the (-)tó carries a basic accent, but many of these adverbs never occur in a position for the accent to be heard (i.e. before wá, mó, or dá); and some (like certain other basically oxytonic adverbs) have been reinterpreted as atonic.

hin'yári 'cold' (cf. hiya-hiya): Kúuki ga hin'yári to site huyú da náa 'the air is cold and it's winter' (SA 2662.42c).

ninmári 'smirking' [Shimmura, MKZ⁵] (cf. niko-niko, nikkóri): Yobi-koo no keiei-sya ga ninmári suru wáke da 'No wonder the operators of cram schools are all smiles' (SA 2663.27a); ninmári waratta 'smirked' (SA 2666.19e).

sin to 'silent, quiet' [Shimmura, MKZ⁵]: sin to site iru 'is still', sin to sita tokoró 'a quiet place', sin to sízuka ni náru 'becomes quite still' (cf. sini 'death', sízuka 'quiet'; sitóyaka 'gentle', sitó-sito 'gently').

The expression suttóbu (SA 2670.116b, MKZ⁵ 586b) looks like a contraction from súq(-) [to] tobu 'springs up'.

These interjectional 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:

- (1) s sy t ty z zy d
- (2) p py h hy b by
- (3) k ky g gy

One group of mimetic words is built upon 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'):

CVq	páq to	CV-CV	?pá-pa
CV:	páa	CVq-CV	páp-pa = páq-pa
CV:q	páaq	CV-CVq	pa-páq
CVn	pán	Cvq-CVq	pap-páq = paq-páq
CV:n	páan		

A large group of dissyllables enter into variant formations of the following types:

CV ₁ CV ₂ -to	háta to, --, --	'with a slap; suddenly'
CV ₁ CV ₂ -CV ₁ CV ₂	háta-hata, páta-pata, báta-bata	'flap, slap; hastily'
CV ₁ n/qCV ₂ ri	--, pattári, battári	'with a bang; suddenly'
CV ₁ CV ₂ n	--, patán, batán	'with a thud; suddenly'
CV ₁ CV ₂ q	--, --, batáq (to)	'with a slap; suddenly'
CV ₁ qCV ₂	háta to (nirámu), --, --	'(slapping with one's eyes = glaring)'

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: gyággya (= gyáq-gya) 'squalling, bawling'; kwátya-kwatya or gwátya-gwatya 'splattering in large messy droppings'; zázza (= záq-za) 'pouring'; wóoq to 'with much commotion (?)'; gyuíq 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, rumped', pótú-potu 'in small drops/spots, sporadically', gúru-guru 'round and round', dossári 'in large quantity', ...

PSYCHOMIMES (gizyoo-go)²⁵ 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 zíro-ziro mite ... 'Staring (fixedly) at the audience ...' (Tk 3.252a); ... haiyuu san wa anmari gésó-geso ni yaseté 'tya komarimásu né 'if an actor is too skinny it won't do' (Tk 3.244b); ... ránpu ga páq-to(¯) túku 'the light pops on' (Tk 3.235a); Seiyoo o gurúq-to mawatte kíte, ... 'After travelling around the Occident ...' (Tk 3.234a); Sono uti(¯) ni, mukóo(¯) kara náni ka tíra-tira to hikáru monó ga miéte kíta 'Meanwhile from across the way there began to appear something flashing' (Tk 3.284a); ... sura-suráq to kotáeru 'answers smoothly' (Tk 3.215a); ... ban-tya o gábu-gabu nóndari site kíte ... 'gulping down coarse tea' (Tk); ... kenbutu wa wáq-to(¯) kíta ... 'the audience came in droves' (Tk 3.220a); ... tana kara óoki na nímotu ga bóku(¯) no senaka e basáq-to okkótte ki-yagátta 'from the rack a big piece of luggage came tumbling down thump on my back' (Tk 3.120a); Náni 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 tó 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 tyóttó = tyóq to, móttó = móq to, zuttó = zuq to, kittó = kiq tó, tyántó = tyan tó, úntó = ún(¯) tó; hakkíri, yukkúri, 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, hyóttó, kittó, móttó, onozuto, tantó, titó, tittó, tóntó, tyántó, tyóttó, úntó, wázato, yattó, zattó, zittó, zutto.

25. I take the term (and the concept) from H. Kindaichi in Ōno 1967.29-30.

22 STYLIZATIONS

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*/-*masúreba* 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 ... *gá* ‘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: *Másu 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 ími de* ‘in a sense like that I have just mentioned’; *Kinóo^[1] mairimásita tokoró wa née* (*kírei* 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)*nái* desite are apparently used by no one, not even sentence-final as questions or (with optional *yó*) statements in female speech.

LINK	MIO 252	KKK 25.170		overall
		conversation	other	
gá	94.5 ²	87.7	98.2	94.9
kéredo	86.0	63.6	57.1	62.5
món desu kara	76.0	48.9	100.0	74.7
kará	73.0			
sí	58.0	41.7	61.1	53.3
nó de	28.0	13.3	24.5	21.9
nó ni	20.0	33.3	14.3	20.0
tó	7.3	21.5	25.3	23.7
-tára	6.0	0.0	35.3	19.7
-té mo			4.5	1.7
-te			4.5	1.2
-réba			0.0	0.0

Although there are some questions on the statistics, the general picture is quite clear. (The large difference between the two studies with respect to *tó* may indicate that the KKK study included the quotational *tó*, which Mio—and we—would exclude.)

Mikami (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 (*sité*); (2) conditionals (*sítára*, *suru tó*); (3) ... *nó de*, ... *nó ni*; (4) predicative + conjunction (presumably *gá*, *kará*, *kéredo*, *sí*); (5) sentence-final. Mikami (1963a.27) says that V-i ni iku (§9.1.1) does not stylize the V (in fact there is no *V-mási as such anywhere) nor does V-rú/-tá *kará ni* [wa] (§17.1) despite the acceptability of V-i-másu/-másita *kara* without *ni*. An example of ... *arimásu 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 orimásu*), hence (there being no **simásite kudasáru*) not before *kudasái* in polite requests (**simásite kudasái* → *site kudasaimáse*). The stylized gerund is used sentence-final (see §9.2.1a): *Soo iu íken mo arimásite 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 atarimásite*, *tukimásite*, etc.), the stylization seems to add a touch of elegance.

Mikami (1963a.25) points out that the polite infinitive *-mási-i* is not actually used for anything, except to build the gerund *-másiite* (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: *Utí(-) e káeri/káette góhan o tábeta* 'I returned home and ate' but *Utí(-) e kaerimásiite/*kaerimási* *góhan o tabemásiita*. Mikami (1963a.30) also says that while speakers accept both plain gerund + exalting polite (*O-uti e káette mesiarimásu ka*) and exalting plain or polite gerund + exalting polite (*O-uti e o-kaeri ni nátte/narimásiite mesiarimásu ka*), it is a bit "rude" to follow the unexalting polite gerund by the exalting polite: "*O-uti e kaerimásiite mesiarimásu ka*".

2. I.e. only 5.5 percent of sentences that end in *désu* (etc.) have *dá* (etc.) rather than *désu* (etc.) before *gá* 'but' within them.

Although *N désite*³ and *N de gozaimásite* will be heard, neither **A-í desite* nor **A-í de gozaimásite* are acceptable, being replaced by *A-[k]u gozaimásite* or just *A-[k]ute*. Instead of *N désite* you may hear *N de arimásite*: *Atakusi wa íma de mo kookoku-syasinka de arimásite, nyuudo-syasinka to iwareru kotó 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 utí(-) ni* 'Despite the cold weather'; *Nami^f no sízuka de gozaimásita kotó wa* 'The fact that the waves were calm'; *Sore ga hontoo de gozaimásita baai 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 (*-másita*) making up the bulk (about 70 percent) of the cases and the imperfect (*-másu*) occurring in most of the remaining 30 percent of the examples. (But we find examples such as ... *zikan ga gozaimasén 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 *tabéru* (and now *itadaku*) for *kúu* 'eats', *motoméru* for *kau* 'buys', *naku-naru* 'passes away' for *sinu* 'dies', *yorosii* for *yói/íi* 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 da*.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 *-másu* to the infinitive of verbals, by attaching to (the imperfect or perfect of) adjectivals the word *désu*, and by changing *dá* to *désu* after nominals. An alternative to *V-i-másu* attaches *désu* to the verbal imperfect: *Yobú desu* = *Yobimásu*. This form seems to be gaining popularity among younger *Tōkyō* speakers; you will also hear *dátta desu* for *désita*—or perhaps for *dátta no desu*: *Ítu mo ohanasi-tyuu dátta desu yo* ‘Your line’s been busy (all day)’; *Erái otóosan datta desu né* ‘He was a splendid father, wasn’t he’ (Tk 2.94b); ... *sono tugí ga atasi dátta desu né* ‘and the next was me, you see’ (Tk 4.300a); *Mukasya [= Mukasi wa] sóo datta desu né* ‘That’s the way it used to be, all right’ (Tk 3.325a); *Utida san no koogi-buri wa, dóo iu húu datta ka* ‘What was your lecture style like, Mr Uchida?’ (Tk 3.98a). An example of *N dé wa átta desu* (= *N dé wa arimásita*): *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).

The negative is traditionally built on the polite form (*Yobu* → *Yobimásu* → *Yobimasén*), 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* → *Yobimásu* → *Yobimásita*) but the reversed order is increasingly popular (*Yobu* → *Yonda* → *Yondá desu*); the reversed order is especially favored for adjectivals, and some speakers would completely reject *Ookii desita* in favor of *Óokikatta desu*. The forms with verbal/adjectival + *désu* are often considered to be abbreviations of verbal/adjectival + *nó 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 *káeru desu* = *kaerimásu* have been slower to spread than the adjective forms, including verbal negatives.⁵ The following examples of *-(a)nai desu* are from the speech of Miss Yoshinaga Sayuri (b. *Tōkyō* 1945) in an interview in SA 2645: *Goori-teki zya nai desu yó* ‘It isn’t logical, I tell you’ (48d); (*Imootó-san to kenka suru?—*) *Imootó to wa sinai desu né* ‘(Do you quarrel with your younger sister?—) I don’t, not with my sister’ (48d); *Sóo wa omowanai desu* ‘I don’t think so’ (50c). And from Miss Itō Yukari (b. *Tōkyō* 1947): (*Séetaa améru 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): *Bóku(=) wa sake [o] nomán 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: *Mínai desu né* ‘I don’t watch it [= television comedy]’ (SA 2658.127d). An example from Hatano Akira (b. *Kanagawa* 1911): *Nai desu ná* ‘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.: *Sinai desu* ‘I don’t’ (42d); *Sonná no, nai desu yó* ‘I haven’t any like that’ (43b); *Sóo de mo nai desu yó* ‘That’s not true, either’ (43c).

5. One use of *V-rú desu* is to combine an expression of respect (in the form of a subject-exaltation conversion on the *V-ru*) with polite friendliness: *Sore zya, taitei no ningen yóri wa óoku mawatte irassyáru desu né* ‘And you’ve been around more than most people, haven’t you’ (Tk 2.260a). Examples of *V-rú desu* (even *áru desu*) and *V-i-másu 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*, where men are more likely to drop the *n*.

In addition to *yobimásu* and *yobú desu*, Tsujimura observes that *yobimásu desu* is “used by merchants” (211). Sometimes one gets the feeling that *désu* can be added to just about anything to lend a touch of politeness.⁶ It should be noted that *désu* is often underarticulated and sometimes reduces to *’s[u]* as in the following examples (SA 2657.143): ... *sukunái n ’su yó* ‘... are few!’; *Mattakú^l menboku-nái ’su yó* ‘I am thoroughly ashamed of myself, I tell you’. The speaker, to be sure, is a *rakugo* comic storyteller. But here are more examples: *Sorya katyoo no meirei de yattá n ’su yó* ‘I tell you I did that at the section head’s orders’ (SA 2688.145a); *Muzukasii ’su ná* ‘It’s hard, you know’ (SA 2679.150—*katakana su*); *Assi-ra [= Watasii-ra] kankei náí ’su yó* ‘Makes no difference to us [taxi drivers whether the companies raise the fares or not]’ (SA 2666.37a); *Ánta wa nán ’su ka* ‘What are you doing here?’ (SA 2669.37a—policeman harassing bystander); *Sóo ’su yó née* ‘That’s true enough, all right’ (SA 2689.161b—*katakana su*); *Sóo ’s’ e < Sóo [da]sse = Sóo desu yó/né* (Ōsaka, Zhs 4.205); *Sóo ’s’ a ná[a] = Sóo desu wa náa* ‘That’s true, isn’t it’ (Okitsu 1.227, 248). The following paradigms show some of the possibilities for each category in polite stylization:

	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
IMPERFECT	<i>Yobimásu.</i> <i>Yobú desu.</i> <i>Ookii desu.</i> <i>Hón desu.</i>	<i>Yobimasén.</i> <i>Yobanáí desu.</i> <i>Óokiku arimasén.</i> <i>Óokiku náí desu.</i> <i>Hón zya arimasén.</i> <i>Hón zya náí desu.</i>
PERFECT	<i>Yobimásita.</i> <i>Yondá desu.</i> ⁸ <i>Ookii desita.</i> <i>Óokikatta desu.</i> <i>Hón desita.</i>	<i>Yobimasén desita.</i> ⁷ <i>Yobanákkatta desu.</i> <i>Óokiku arimasén desita.</i> <i>Óokiku nákkatta desu.</i> <i>Hón zya arimasén desita.</i> <i>Hón zya nákkatta desu.</i>
TENTATIVE	<i>Yobimásu (n) desyoo.</i> <i>Yobú desyoo.</i> ⁹	<i>Yobimasén desyoo.</i> <i>Yobanáí desyoo.</i> ¹⁰ <i>Yobimásu ~mái.</i>

6. Thus the following ingratiating sentences from Suzuki Kenji, an NHK announcer (SA 2676.46ab): *Hái, yarimásu desu yó; ... yarimásita desu né; Ironna tegami ga kimásu desu né.* A less exuberant example: ... *sono mama^[j] zyósyu to site nokorimásita desu* ‘I remained on as an assistant’ (SA 2689.53b).

7. On the Meiji usage of *-masénkatta* and *-masénanda = -masén desita*, see Mio 217 and Tsujimura 161, 162 (n. 5-6); cf. the dialect form *-(a)nanda = -(a)nákatta*, p. 372. Here is an example: ... *sukósi^[j] mo hosigáři wa nasaimasénanda* ‘hadn’t the least desire for it’ (Fn 53a). According to Y 467, the form *-masén desita* appeared in Meiji times and came to replace *-masénanda* (also *-masinanda*) by way of the form *-maséndatta*. The contraction *-masen(an)da (= -masén desita)* in Mie and Nara (Hōgen-gaku gaisetsu 406) should not be misconstrued as some strange combination of *-masén + dá*.

8. Mio 224 observes that *-másita desu* is “unrefined”, and its abbreviation *-mási[t a d]esu* is even more so. Examples will be found in n.6 above.

9. For an example of *arimasyoo = aru desyoo*, see p. 615 (§12.3).

10. Tsujimura 117 quotes Mio as favoring *-(a)nái desyoo* over *-masén desyoo*; that preference despite *-masén desita* and the dim view taken of *(*)-(a)nái desita*.

	Ookii desyoo.	Óokiku arimasén desyoo. Óokiku náí desyoo. Óokiku arimásu ~mái.
	Hón desyoo.	Hón zya arimasén desyoo. Hón zya náí desyoo. Hón zya arimásu ~mái.
PERF. TENT.	Yobimásita desyoo. Yondá desyoo. ¹¹ Ookii desita desyoo. Óokikatta desyoo. Hón desita desyoo. ¹² Hón datta desyoo.	Yobimasén desita desyoo. Yobanákatatta desyoo. Óokiku arimasén desita desyoo. Óokiku nákatatta desyoo. Hón zya arimasén desita desyoo. Hón zya nákatatta desyoo.
HORTATIVE IMPERATIVE	Yobimasyóo. Yobimáse. Yobimási. ¹⁴	Yobimásu ~mái. ¹³ Yobimásu na.

The imperative is usually limited to subject-exalting verbs (*kudasaimáse*, *nasaimáse* etc.) so that **ikimáse* will not be heard from a standard speaker, for he will instead say *irassyaimáse* or *o-ide* (*ni nátte*) *kudasaimáse*. According to Tsujimura 204 the imperative *-máse/-mási* is used only with these verbs: *irassyáru*, *nasáru*, *kudasáru*, *ossyáru*; *asobasu*, *mesiagaru*, *mésu*. But I believe you will see other verbs in the form *V-i-máse* in advertisements from time to time. Y 284 says *-máse* is limited in Tōkyō to subject-exalting verbs, but in Shikoku is widely used for all verbs (e.g. *ikimáse* 'go').

Though not common, adnominalization of *-másu* occurs (particularly with postadnominals), as in *Go-kóohai kudasaimásu yóo ni o-negai itasimásu* 'Please use your good offices on my behalf', and sometimes a pseudo-literary ATTRIBUTIVE form *-masúru* is written (Mio 220): *Sore ni Wakáyama ni orimasúru háha ga are bákari táyori ni itásite(-)* 'And I will depend to that extent on my mother who is in Wakayama'; *Taku é de mo máitte iru yóo ni itasóo ka to zon-zimasúru no de gozaimásu* 'I am wondering whether I should decide to come and stay perhaps at your house'; *Koko ni híroo simasúru {no} wa, ún o tén ni makásete no dai-bóoken {da}* '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/nó*, for the copula): *Sore ni gisei no tamé o omótte mimasúru to, gesyuku ni okimásu no wa ikága de gozaimasyóo* 'And thinking of the victims' welfare, how about putting them in a boarding house?' (As *okimásu* in the last part of the example shows, the use of *-masúru* is only an

11. Mio 224 says *-mási* 'roo is "little used now"; Mio 233 gives examples of *gozaimási* '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-yúkai desita 'roo né* 'It must have been unpleasant' (SA 2660.47a—Iizawa Tadashi).

13. But often replaced by: (1) *Yobanai kotó ni simasyóo*; *Yamemasyóo* 'Let's not'; (2) *Yobanai tumori desu* 'I think I won't'; cf. § 12.1.

14. *V-i-mási* is a Tōkyō pronunciation; in Ōsaka only the *V-i-máse* version is used (Maeda 1961.218). The latter version is also heard in older and uptown Tōkyō 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 kázoku de arimasúru to ka arúi-wa syotái de arimasúru to ka arúi-wa máta utí(¯) nánte iu kotobá mo tukaimásu ... ‘we use words like “family”, or “household”, or “home” ...’.¹⁵

Notice that -másu ¯mái (= -masén desyoo), the negative tentative, is apparently never replaced by *-masúru ¯mái. And there seems to be no use of *-masítáru ...; nor, despite -táreba (kóso) §9.3.1, can we find an example of *-másitareba (kóso).

The provisional form (virtually limited to sentences whose final predicate is honorifically stylized) is either -máseba or -masúreba. But Tsujimura 203 says that -máseba is “not standard” and that -masúreba 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]/-mai-su[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 -a form of the old verb mawir-u ‘goes, comes, etc.’ (whence modern máir-u) + the verbal auxiliary su[ru], whose presence is attested by the negative -masén[u], cf. sen[u] = sinai.¹⁶

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 dé wa/mo arimásu; and it will suffice to explain historically both the Tōkyō form and the Ōsaka form dásu: Tōkyō is dé [arimá]su, Ōsaka is d[é] arim[á]su.¹⁷ But the Kyōto form dōsu will have to be explained as an abbreviation from d[é]g[o]zaim[á]su or from d[é] o[wa]su/omasu.¹⁸ Since these are all relatively modern forms, the divergent developments are not surprising, especially in view of the reputation of Kyōto speakers for greater elegance than is found in the speech of Tōkyō and Ōsaka. According to Lewin (128-9) dá was contracted from de ári in Muromachi times (i.e. sometime during the 15th or 16th centuries) and désu was contracted from de arimásu or de sooróo 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-masu will often drop the nasal V-i-[m]asu, intrude a palatal

15. The -masúru forms are used for both attributive and predicative functions in formal speeches, according to Gekkan-Bumpō 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 < mawósu ‘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]asu.

18. But these descriptions are misleading. Dásu is a contraction of de omásu, still used in Ōsaka; dōsu is a contraction of de ósu, ósu being the Kyōto contraction of omásu. Omásu (not to be confused with orimásu ‘stays’) is a polite Kansai verb used as an equivalent of arimásu (the plain form being áru) and sometimes also of imásu/orimásu.

semivowel V-i-yasu, and sometimes reduce to V-yasu. And that will account for such Ōsaka forms as these: ... to omowareyasu = omowaremásu (SA 2678.205a); ... to iu iikata o itasiyasu [= itasímásu] (SA 2678.205-6); kiyan na (Zhs 4.191) < kiyas[_u] na < kiyasu na < ki[m]asu na = kimásu ná; iiyasu mon naa (Zhs 4.192) = iimásu kara náa; nariasita (Zhs 4.197) = narímásita; narihen wa (Zhs 4.192) = narimasén wá. (I here assume a different development from that explaining the negative forms on p. 376.) In place of dé arimásu (or its contraction desu, Ōsaka dásu, and the Kyōto equivalent dósu) you will sometimes find dé^[r] yá[n]su: Zyumyoo ga nóbite kíta sóo 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 dásu = desu: Kázitu, kansan to sita doobutú-en no gorira-gáaden de no kotó 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 Kyōto dósu, also appears (Shūkan-Yomiuri 1289.67).

The Tōkyō polite copula desu, 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 Ōsaka dásu < d[é om]ásu and Kyōto dósu < d[é] ósu (ósu being the Kyōto equivalent of Ōsaka omásu = arimásu). The final -su on these forms, and also on other polite and hyperpolite forms such as go[w]asu < goza[r]imásu, is often lisped or assimilated to a following consonant. The lisp is especially characteristic of Kyōto 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 Ōsaka and Kyōto speech, expanded from Maeda 1961.19, with the Tōkyō equivalents on the left:

TŌKYŌ	ŌSAKA	KYŌTO
désu	dásu; desu	dósu, ¹⁹ dóh; desu, déh
zya arimasén	ya omahén	ya ohén/oohén ²⁰
arimásu	omásu	ósu, ²¹ óh
V-i-másu, -masén	V-i-másu, -mahén	V-i-másu/-máh, -mahén ^{21a}
désu ka	dák ka; dék ka	dósu ka, dóh ka; desu ka, déh ka
arimásu ka	omák ka	ósu ka, óh ka
V-i-másu ka	V-i-mák ka	V-i-másu ka, V-i-máh ka

19. But notice the contraction in ... nó '[o]su = ... nó desu.

20. Zhs 4.240. The ya in these forms is from dé wa > dé [w]a > dé ya > dyá₁ > ya₁; cf. dé á[ru] > dyá₂ > yá₂ (= dá).

21. Though sometimes thought to be contractions of o- + arimásu, the verb o[ma]su goes back to omasu/owasu, an old honorific for 'go, come, be (animate or inanimate)', ultimately derived from o- + ma[w]ira-su, the likely source of -másu itself. Cf. Makimura 131-2. O[ma]su is used as an equivalent of iru/óru as well as áru (Zhs 4.20). And it serves as an auxiliary (comparable to áru) in other constructions, e.g.: Yohodo donari-tóo omásita ga, ... 'I very much wanted to shout, but ...' (SA 2671.118c) —equivalent to donari-tá[k]ju [wa] arimásita = donari-tákatta desu. The negative of the V-te ya sentence (in which ya is to be taken as the copula, equivalent to dá—see §9.2.1) is V-te ya omahén (= V-te zya arimasén); these are Ōsaka forms of an intermediate degree of politeness (Maeda 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.

désu kara	dás sakai; dés sakai ²²	dós sakai, ²³ dés sakai ²⁴
arimásu kara	omás sakai	ós sakai
V-i-másu kara	V-i-más sakai	V-i-más sakai
daró[o]	yaró	yaró
desyó[o]	dássyaro; déssyaro	dósu yaro, dóssyaro; désu yaro, déssyaro ²⁵
áru/arimásu desyóo	omássyaro	óssyaro
V-ru/-i-másu desyóo	V-i-mássyaro	V-i-massyaro
V-i-masyóo	V-i-mahyo, -maho, -mao ²⁶	
désu yó	dásse; désse	dósu e, dósse, ²⁷ désu e, désse
arimásu yó	omásse	ósu e, ósse
V-i-másu yó	V-i-másse	V-i-másu e, V-i-másse
désu wa, dés'a[a]	dássa; déssa	dósu wa, dós'a[a], dóssa; désu wa, dés'a[a], déssa
arimásu wa, arimás'a[a]	omásssa	ósu wa, ós'a[a], óssa
V-i-másu wa, V-i-más'a[a]	V-i-másssa	V-i-másu wa, V-i-más'a[a], V-i-másssa
désu ná	dán ná; dén ná	dósu ná, dóh ná, dón ná ²⁸
arimásu ná	omán ná	ósu ná, óh ná, ?ón ná
V-i-másu ná	V-i-mán ná	V-i-másu ná, V-i-mán ná, V-i-mán ná ²⁹

Examples of dialect polite forms: Kane ga mokuteki ya omahén 'Money is not the object' (SA 2678.65cd, Ōsaka); Kane o tóru kotó ga mokuteki ya omahén né 'Taking money is not the object' (id.); Rokotu no hyoogén(¯) ya ohén 'It's not a frank expression' (Shūkan-Yomiuri 1289.67a, Kyōto); Tosi-kasa no monó ga ikán to sin'yoo ná sákai si-yoo ga ohén [= si-yoo ga arimasén] '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); Móo arasimahén yaro [= Móo arimasén desyoo] 'There wouldn't be any more' (Ōsaka, Zhs 4.197) < ár[i w]a simasén[u] + yaro = daróo; ... yarasimahén yaro [= yarasimásén desyoo] 'probably wouldn't do it' (Zhs 4.197); Zyettó-ki no séi desu yaro ná 'It's because of those jets, you know' (SA 2678.65e, Ōsaka); Sore mo toozen déssyaro 'It [= the accident] was only too likely to happen' (SA 2678.128a, Toyonaka); ... narimásita yaro [= náтта desyóo, narimasita desyóo] 'must have become ...' (Ōsaka, Zhs 4.195); O-turi oo osse [= óo[k]u osu e = óo[o] gozaimásu yó] 'You've given me too much change!' (Kyōto, Inokuchi 101); Yorosi osu [= Yorosi[ku] osu = Yorosyuu gozaimásu yó] 'That's quite all right'; Akimahén e [= Ikemasén yó] 'That won't do' (Kyōto, Inokuchi

22. Zhs 4.211.

23. Zhs 4.232.

24. Zhs 4.233.

25. The doubled sibilant in these forms reflects a more general habit; cf. tossyóri < tosiyóri, nittyo[o] < nitiyoo. And notice the contraction in ... nó [do]ssyaro (Zhs 4.234).

26. Maeda 1961.75. We can add -mayo (Y 290).

27. Zhs 4.232. It is said that dósse is masculine, dósu e feminine (SM 2795.102).

28. Zhs 4.229.

29. But -manne is said to be from -masu no e/yo (Inokuchi 274).

269); Kora, uti no kodomo dónne ya [ʔ = dósu 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 dá to de gozaimásu; the negative is dé {wa} gozaimasén. But if the subject is to be exalted, de irassyaimásu will replace de gozaimásu: Tanaka senseí de wa irassyaimasén ka ‘Aren’t you Dr. Tanaka?’ Adjectival sentences are made honorific by adding gozaimásu (negative gozaimasén) 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 = óokyuu, okási-‘u = okásyuu
...o-‘u	...oo	kúro-‘u = kúroo
...a-‘u	...oo	táka-‘u = tákoo

But further contraction takes place in óo[k]u > óoo > óo gozaimásu ‘are many’ and too[k]u > tooo > too gozaimásu ‘is distant’; we would expect yówa[k]u > yó[w]oo > (?)yóo gozaimásu ‘is weak’ to sound the same as yó[k]u > yóo gozaimásu ‘is good’, but I have been unable to confirm either that form or kówa[k]u > kó[w]oo > (?)kóo gozaimásu ‘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 irassyaimásu will often replace A-[k]u gozaimásu: O-isogásikute irassyaimasén ka ‘Aren’t you busy?’

Strictly speaking, the only verbal that takes honorific stylization is Áru → Gozaimásu.³⁰ For other verbals, nominalization is necessary (Yobú no de gozaimásu); but sometimes the nó is dropped (Yobú de gozaimásu). Like -másu, gozaimásu is less common in adnominalized or adverbialized conversions, but we find the forms gozaimásite (gerund), gozaimásitara (conditional), gozaimásitari (alternative), and gozaimáseba or gozaimasúreba (provisional—but these forms are not in use, as mentioned earlier). The corresponding negative forms are gozaimasén de[site], gozaimasén desitara, gozaimasén desitari, and gozaimasén nara. In modern Japanese gozáru itself is virtually unused, but you will hear it on the kabuki stage and in samurai films—with REGULAR conjugation, so that gozarimásu is used for gozaimásu. 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 gozaimásu, 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 áru, with polite stylization of the verb gerund and honorific stylization of the auxiliary.

nádo, oyobu tokoró de wa gozaránu '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-gozáre* = *nandemo-kói* 'Jack of all trades'. And *gozarimásu* will sometimes turn up outside the theater, too: *Sóo de gozarimásu ka* = *Sóo desu ka* (Fn 150b). For the form *gozaimásuru*, borrowed from the literary attributive, see the remarks on *-masúru* in the preceding section; the example with *N de arimasúru tó ka* could have been said with *N de gozaimásuru tó ka*. In western Japan *gozaimásu* is often reduced to *gozánsu*: *Otótosi Sanhuransísuko e itta tokí wa, omosíroo gozánsita né* 'Visiting San Francisco year before last was most enjoyable, you know' (SA 2659.120e—traditional theater man Matsumoto Gennosuke); ... *yó[ku] gozánsita* 'was good' (SA 2689.42b). A further reduction to *go[zaim]ásu*, usually spelled *gowásu* (with intruded labial semivowel *-w-* after rounded *o*), is also common in western Japan and elsewhere (e.g. Nagano, Zhs 2.567): ... *ne-kónde simoota no de gowasu* [= *ne-kónde simatta no de gozaimasu*] 'fell asleep' (KKK 25.76a). This is sometimes further reduced to *g[ozaim]ásu* = *g'ásu*: *Ée, are wa úmo g'ásita* 'Yes, he was good (at it)' (Tk 2.15a—*úmoo* < *úma[k]u*); ... *okásyuu g'ásita né* '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*:

gozaisu	goze[e]su ³¹	gozasu ^{31a} gozyasu	goasu gaisu goisu	gowasu gesu ³² gosu gasu
gozansu	gozyensu ³³	goansu gonsu gansu gan ³⁴		
[go]zeensu ³⁵ [g]ozaimasu ³⁷ [goz]ansu ³⁸	gozensu ^{36,33}			[g]owasu ³⁹

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.

31. Ishikawa, Zhs 3.112.

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.

35. Zhs 1.83-4.

36. Zhs 1.86.

37. Kyōto, Zhs 4.245; 'ozaimahén 4.230. For the copula Y 471 (in a chart based on Kindaichi Kyōsuke) includes the forms *de [go]zaimásu*, *[de] 'zaimásu*, *'zaimásu*, *'zamásu*, and *'zánsu*; another line of development listed includes *de go[z]ánsu*, *de gó[n]su*, *de gá[n]su*, *deá[n]su*, *dá[n]su*.

38. Chiba 2.323—or is this from *arimasu*?

39. In *N de owasu* = *N de gozaimásu* (Tk 2.4a).

IMPERF.	Gozaimásu. Óokyyu gozaimásu. Hón de gozaimásu. ⁴⁰ Yobú (no) de gozaimásu. Yobimásu de gozaimásu.	Gozaimasén. Óokiku/Óokyyu gozaimasén. Hón de wa gozaimasén. Yobú (no) de wa gozaimasén. Yobanáí (no) de gozaimásu. Yobimasén de gozaimásu.
PERF.	Gozaimásita. Óokyyu gozaimásita. Óokikatta de gozaimásu. Hón de gozaimásita. Yondá (no) de gozaimásu. Yobú (no) de gozaimásita.	Gozaimasén desita. Óokiku/Óokyyu gozaimasén desita. Óokiku nákatta de gozaimásu. Hón de wa gozaimasén desita. Yondá (no) de wa gozaimasén desita. Yobanákatta (no) de wa gozaimasén.
TENT.	Gozaimasyóo. Gozaimásu desyoo. Óokyyu gozaimasyóo. Hón de gozaimasyóo. Yobú (no) de gozaimasyóo. Yobimásu de gozaimasyóo.	Gozaimasén desyoo. Gozaimásu máí. Óokiku/Óokyyu gozaimasén desyoo. Hón de wa gozaimasén desyoo. Hón de wa náí de gozaimasyóo. Yobú (no) de gozaimasén desyoo. Yobanáí (no) de gozaimasyóo. Yobimasén de gozaimasyóo.
PERF.	Gozaimásita desyoo. ⁴¹	Gozaimasén desita desyoo.
TENT.	Óokyyu gozaimásita desyoo. Óokikatta de gozaimasyóo. Hón de gozaimásita desyoo. Yobú (no) de gozaimásita desyoo. Yondá (no) de gozaimásita desyoo.	Óokiku/Óokyyu gozaimasén desita desyoo. Óokiku nákatta de gozaimasyóo. Hón de wa gozaimasén desita desyoo. Yobú (no) de wa gozaimasén desita desyoo. Yondá (no) de wa gozaimasén desyoo. Yobanákatta (no) de gozaimásu desyoo.

Since the only verbal which will undergo honorific stylization is *Áru*, and it can not be made into a proposal or a command, we find no honorific hortative or imperative as such. *Yobimásu de gozaimásu/gozaimasyóo* occur, but the perfect and the gerund can not be made in this fashion: **yobimásu de gozaimásita* → *yobú de gozaimásita*, **yobimásu de gozaimásite* → ? *yobú de gozaimásite*. (Cf. Mio 47.) And the use of *-másu de gozaimásu desu*) to shopkeepers soliciting favor.⁴²

40. And (in the speech of entertainers, at least) ... *de gozaimásu* is sometimes truncated: ... *de gozai*. (Okitsu 1.415 has an example.)

41. As in Niwa ni iké ga gozaimásita desyoo 'There was a pond in the garden, you see' (Tk 2.142b). Mio 233 gives examples of *gozaimásita* 'too but implies that it is little used.

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 héika ga, kumá ga goyoo-tei no kinzyo ni déru to ka iu yóo na hanasí o sarete né, kitune mo óói to ka né. Sore de "Ano kitune wa BAKASIMÁSU DE GŌZAIMÁSU" 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 náru from the interviewer, Iizawa Tadashi (id. 125b): Héika wa kitune ga bakásu kotó ni, kyóomí o o-simesi ni narimasén desita ka

For VERBAL sentences, the ordinary speaker will normally not go beyond the polite forms available in the polite paradigm (yobimásu, yobimásita, yobimásu desyóo) unless he has syntactic reasons to make a nominalization (yobú no desu → yobú no de gozaimásu or yobimásu no de gozaimásu): Kekkon sité mo zenzen aénai nánte hígeki ga okóru n zya gozaimasén 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 kotó, §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 omosirói hanasí ga gozaimásu 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 omosirói hanasí ga áru n[o] de gozaimásu keredomo If both parts are highly stylized, the result will be Iroiro omosirói hanasí ga gozaimásu n[o] de gozaimásu 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 arimásu or de gozaimásu (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 daróo/desyóo will be replaced by aróo/arimasyóo (or by gozaimasyóo), náí daróo/desyóo will be replaced by nakaróo or by áru/arimásu mái, and hayái daróo/desyóo by hayakaróo or by háyaku aróo/arimasyóo (or háyoo gozaimasyóo). And the tentative will be allowed to modify nouns, especially postadnominals such as kotó, hazu, monó, hitó, etc.; recall that the colloquial language will adnominalize only the imperfect or perfect forms of a sentence, so that the formal tekitoo de aróo monó 'ones probably suitable' will have to be rephrased as tekitoo da to omowaréru monó 'ones that are thought suitable', tekitoo ni omowaréru monó 'ones that appear suitable', tekitoo na hazu no monó 'ones that are likely to be suitable', or just tekitoo na monó 'ones that are suitable'. In formal writing, subject and object markers (gá 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?'; Tennoo-heíka no o-hanasi ní wa, yúumoa wa o-ari désu ka 'Does His Majesty the Emperor have humor in his conversation?'; Héíka wa dóo iu o-kotoba o o-tukai ni náru 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 bureaucratese, 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 *sooróo* (historically spelled *sahurahu*), a verb that originally meant ‘serves’, etymologically related to the noun *samurai*.⁴³ 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):

káku ‘writes’	káki sooroo
kakánai ‘does not write’	kákazu sooroo
aku ‘it opens’	aki sooróo
akanai ‘it does not open’	akazu sooróo
takái ‘it is high’	tákaku sooroo
tákaku náí ‘it is not high’	tákaku náku sooroo
áru ‘it exists’	kore-ári sooroo
náí ‘it does not exist’	kore-náku sooroo
N dá ‘it is N’	{ N ni kore-ári sooroo N ni góza sooroo N ni sooróo (LF 128)
N de/zya náí ‘it is not N’	{ N ni kore-náku sooroo N ni árazu sooroo

Although some of the inflected forms of *sooróo* are in use—*soorawába* ‘if’, *sooraéba* ‘since’, *sooraédo mo* ‘although’—it is rare to find the gerund (for which the appropriate form is *sooróote*, cf. Kansai *haróote* = *harátte*) or the tentative (*soorawán* < *soorawámu*), the latter being replaced by the affirmative V-ru *béku sooroo* (normally only with meaning ‘will’; cf. *béku*, § 15.12b) and the negative V-ru *máziku sooroo* ‘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 *-táru*: V-táru *monó ni {góza} sooróo* (LF 129).

43. If we follow Satō (2.318-9) the etymological development is *sooroo* < *saurapu* < *saburapu* < *samorapu*. The island of Toshima, not far from Tōkyō, still has *sooróo* 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 *sá* used so widely in Tōkyō. The auxiliary is also found (as a sentence-extender) on the island of Oki, off Shimane prefecture, as *S sara* < *saaraa* < *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 kore-ári:

Soodan {itasi} sooróo	}	'(Someone) consults/consulted'.
Soodan ái-nari sooroo		
Soodan kore-ári sooroo		

Itasi sooróo is used for both 1st and 3rd person subjects; for the 2nd person ('you') an auxiliary is called for: (infinitive V-i+) nasáre, kudasáre, asobasare, nási-kudasáre (+ sooróo). This means that su[ru] itself is little seen; but serare sooróo is used for the passive (LF 127). For '(I) humbly do' tatemáúri sooroo is the equivalent of colloquial itasimásu.

Corresponding to the colloquial V-te iru (both resultative and continuative) there is V-i óri sooroo, using the auxiliary [w]óri attached to the infinitive. Other auxiliaries to be encountered include V-i tatemáúri sooroo, roughly the equivalent of V-i-másu (polite 'does'), and V-i káne sooroo 'can not'. Desideratives are common: V-i-taku sooróo 'wishes to do', V-i-taku náku sooroo 'does not wish to do'. There can follow certain postadnominal expressions, of which MKZ lists these:

...-i sooróo	tokoro 'but' (= S ga)	
	aida	}
	mama	
	ni tuki	
	yosi 'according to report ...; since we hear that ...' (= S sóo de)	
	ya 'question' (= S ka)	
	zyoo 'with respect to; in view of; although' ⁴⁴	

There are also a few nouns that are used as postnominal particles, notably N gí(̄) '(it is a matter) concerning'—an equivalent of N wá or N ni kán-site wa or kotó N ni 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 ué '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 iú { | } zyóo and ... tó wa ii-zyoo 'although' (the equivalent of ... tó wa ié-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, sayonára. Asita né. — Asita né. Hiruma? — Yóru. 'Well, goodbye. See you tomorrow. — See you tomorrow. During the day? — No, in the evening.'

Mósi-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*, *site*; *dá*, *dáta*, *dé*.

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 *ie* '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 | né || ...* '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 (*kóre!* < *kore* 'this') or from short verbal forms (*máte!* 'wait', *mí ro!* 'look!'); others are stereotyped phrases, or truncations therefrom: *sibáruku* [*desita*], *arigato*[*o gozaimásu*], *yóo koso* [*irassyaimásita*], *tadá¹ima* [*kaerimásita*], 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 *íma* 'now' (or of both), and that *sá*[*a*] comes from either the old deictic *sá* = *so*[*re*] or (by contraction) from the auxiliary *sooróo* < *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 sámú* '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.

INTERJECTIONS

áá, á, áq 'oh, good gracious, my goodness'	íya háya, íya móo 'gee; well'
óó, ó, óq 'oh'	másaka 'surely not!; no way!'
yáa, yá, yáq 'oh, gee; well; hi!'	nóo 'no'
wáa, wáq 'hurray'	sasuga 'as expected! I might have known!'
hurée 'hurray'	kó wa iká ni 'lo and behold!' (from a
banzái 'hurray'	literary analog of kore wa dóo)
ára, áraq 'oh, good gracious, my goodness'	kore-wa kore-wa 'oh, how nice (of you)'
óya 'goodness, oh dear, oh my'	kore-wa sitári 'good heavens'
óya óya 'tsk tsk!'	yáre-yare 'thank god, hallelujah'
kóre 'here, say'	simátta 'dammit, damn it; oh dear; god'
kóra 'hey there'	baka-yároo 'damn'
sóre 'look, look out, see'	kono-yároo 'damn'
hóra/sóra 'look, see, remember'	kuso 'shit, dammit'
dóre 'now, let me see, I wonder'	kusottaré 'shitface, (you) scum' ¹
ná[a]ni(-) 'what, why, pooh'	náni-kuso 'shit, dammit, hell'
súwa 'great heavens; great scott'	kon[o]-tikusyó[o], tikusyó[o] 'damn
ói 'hey, man, guy'	beast = damn you/it/him'
óoi 'ahoy, hallo'	máa, má 'well, say; dear me; please (do)'
yóo 'hello; bravo'	máa-maa 'come come; could be'
appáre 'bravo; good show'	sáa, sá 'come (let's); now (there); well let
simeta 'I've got it! good!'	me see'
mósi-mosi 'say, hey, hello'	íza 'now (let's)'
óorai 'all right, OK; go ahead (you're safe)'	ee-to 'well, let me see now, uh, er'
sóo 'yes, true'	ano né 'uh, er; hey; say'
óo 'yea, yes'	wássyo[i] 'heave-ho'
háa, áa, háq 'yes'	dokkói 'hold on, just a minute (there)'
háí, áí 'yes'	dokkói-syo 'heigh-ho, heave-ho'
hée, ée 'yeah, yes'	yói-syo 'yo-heave-ho, yo-ho'
iésu 'yes'	hákkusyó, hákkusyon, hákkusyoo 'ker-
ookée 'OK'	choo, ah-choo' (with a sneeze)
yósi 'OK; fine'	sayonara, sayo[o]nára 'good-bye' (from
ún, n 'uh-huh, yes, yup, yep'	'if it be so')
hún 'yes' (see Inokuchi 198)	ábayo 'bye(-bye)' (from sá árabá 'if it be
[hu-]hún 'hm(ph), pshaw'	so' + yó)
ha-háa 'ah yes, very well'	sárabá 'farewell' [literary] (from sá árabá
iie, ie (lg 87) 'no, nope'	'if it be so')
íya 'nay; rather'	...

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 || máa || ... Dé wa || kekkyokú^[1] || máa || ... Tokoró-ga || máa || ...

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).

Kéredo mo | máa || ... hizyoo ni | máa || ... kotó desu kara | máa || ... soko de | máa || ... soko kara [|] máa || ... soko o | máa || ... sóro-soro | máa || ... (all from a single short stretch in a TV discussion).

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 désu/dá [yó/né], are desyó[o], are zya náí [désu] ka; dá [né/ná/yó],² dé [né/ná], désu [né/ná/yó];³ ká; ún, n; sóo; tté; soko dé 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: aité no sono | zyootai to iu monó | né || 'the other fellow's, uh, condition, you see' (R); ... ano || otokó^[1] no || sono | kimoti ni || sono | nátte || sosite | sono nékutai || ... 'uh, the fellow's, uh, he got in the mood and then his necktie ...' (R). On longer interpolations, such as nán to iú ka {ná/sira}, nán te iimásu ka (= nán to ittára ii ka, lg 87), and nán to moosimásu ka 'what shall I say, how shall I put it', see KKK 23.160-3. We have observed in §15 how some of the particles extending a sentence seem to function as a kind of mirror image of interjections that are put before (or sometimes inserted within) the sentence.

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 désu né. Senséi wa 'Quick-tempered; aren't you, professor' (V 39); Dóo sita no desu ka, anó-hito wa 'What's happened—to him?' (V 40); Kigeki-teki na zínbutu da né, ano otokó wa 'A comical character, he is' (V 40); Soko ná no desu mondai wa 'That's just where it is, the problem' (Tanigawa 23); Zúibun बातúí monó -rasii desu yó, sore wa 'Looks real thick, that one' (SA 2655.37b); Yuumóa o kaisínai wáke desu ná, onná to iu monó wa 'It's that they don't understand humor, you see—women' (SA 2653.46c); ... hidói zya náí ka minná^[1] 'aren't you just terrible, all of you!' (CK 985.392); Dé mo, anmari tuyói desu yó, kaki-ppuri ga 'But it's too forceful, I tell you—your way of writing' (SA 2671.25d); Zúibun kawarimásita né, Yokosuka mo né 'It's all so changed, isn't it, Yokosuka and all'; Syóowa(-) zyuukú-nen no háru desita ka ná, dai-gékizyoo ga minná^[1] heisa ni nátta 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: Mí ro, mí ro. Ano boosi o 'Look at it, look at it; that hat' (V 39); Anáta sitte 'ru? O-tonari no ókusan o 'You know her?—the woman next door' (V 39); O-kiki nasái, ano kotori no utá o 'Listen to it, that bird's song' (V 40);

2. Sore wa, dá, omae ga ikenái n da yó 'That, uh, you mustn't, I tell you!' (KKK 3.258). See also §15.

3. Watasi wá desu né, ... 'I, you see, ...' (Tk 3.64a). See Y 468-9.

Bóku(¯) ga damásu? Kimi o? 'I'm bamboozling? You?' (SA 2671.22b); Bóku(¯) wa sukí na n da náa, kotobá ga gissíri tumáttá sibai tté 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 narimasén desu ka, Huru-ya kara 'You haven't heard from them—the Furuya people?' (V 39); Dóo sita no, ima-zibun 'What have you done now, at a time like this?' (V 40).

(4) adverbial elements: Sore dé mo o-níi-san no kotó o wasureté wa irassyaránakutte yó. Kit-tó^[1] 'But you won't forget about your older brother. Surely (not)' (V 39); Íi zya náí desu ka, nakanaka 'Isn't that nice—really quite?' (Tk 3.225a); Hazukasíi desu yó, mattakú^[1] 'I am ashamed—utterly'; Sono tokí mo tésuto datta desyoo, tábun 'That time too must have been a test (filming)—no doubt' (Tk 3.300); Sore nára nígeta no desyoo ka. Watasi o kiratte 'In that case, I wonder if she ran away—out of dislike for me' (V 39); Anáta, seibutugákúsya ni nari-tái? tennoo-héika mítai ni 'Would you like to become a biologist?—like His Majesty the Emperor' (SA 2663.42c); Zibun hitóri de oyóide 'masita, Kurasaki-reiyon no suiéi-bu e itte 'I would swim by myself—going to the swimming facilities at Kurashiki Rayon' (SA 2638.44a); Dáre ga itiban hihyoo-ka desu ka, anáta ni túite 'Who is the best critic—of you[r work]?' (SA 2663.44a); Kore, omosirói hanasí desu né, kiite 'ru to 'This is an interesting story, you know—while you're listening to it' (SA 2676.48d); Áa, daibu tosi-torimásita né, bókú-ra no átta kóro 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: Byúhhwe desu né, íssyu no 'It's a buffet, you see, sort of' (SA 2658.124c); Sore wa yumé^[1] no iti-búbun da yó. Bóku(¯) 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: Dásu na (–) supíido 'Speeding—No!'; Minná de nakusóo (–) abunai hámono 'Dangerous blades—let's all get rid of them!'; Hosi-garimasén—kátu made wa! 'We will forego desires—till victory!' (a relic of World War II).

Sometimes more than one element may be given as afterthought: Sukí ka, kimi wa, heyá 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 Aríгато dó⁽²⁾[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 || dóo-mo | aríгато[o gozaimásu]. A common way to ask Íma [wa] nán-zi [desu ka] 'What time is it now?' is Nán-zi | Íma.

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-kaériba ..., li-kaéru to ... 'In other words ...'.

Ippan-teki ni itte ... 'Speaking in general terms ...'.

Hoka dé mo arimasén ga ..., Hoka dé mo náí n desu ga ... 'All I want to say is ...'.

Oozáppa ni itte ... 'Loosely speaking ...'.

Gái-site iéba ... 'Generally speaking ...'.

Betu no kotobá de iéba ... 'Put in other words ...'.

Tatóete iéba ..., Tatóete iu to ..., Tatoéru nara-ba ... 'Figuratively speaking ...; So to speak ...'.

Kantan ni itte simaéba ... 'To put it simply ...'.

Tan-teki ni itte mireba ... 'To put it bluntly ...'.

Syooziki^[1] itte/ittára/iéba ..., Syooziki^[1] ... 'To tell the truth ...'.

Zitú o iu to ..., Zitú wa ... 'To tell the truth ...'.

Ari-tei(¯) ni iéba ... 'To tell the truth ...'.

Sen-zi-tuméréba ..., Sen-zi-tuméru(¯) to ... = Sen-zi-túmete(¯) iéba ... 'What it boils down to is ...; Reduced to essentials ...'.

Náo hitótu take-kuwaete iéba ... 'To add one further note ...' (Maeda 1962.74).

Wadai ga kawatte 'rú [n desu kedo/ga] ... 'Not to change the subject but ...' = 'To change the subject ...' (R).

Tyót-to hanasí ga soremasú ga ... 'This is a bit off the track but ...'.

Tyót-to hanasí ga yokomiti ni soremasíta ga ... 'I've gone off on a tangent, but ...' (R).

[Watakusi ga] omóu ni ... 'In my opinion ...'.

Omóeba ... 'Come to think of it ...'.

Kangáete miru to ... 'Upon reflection ...'.

Tanómu kara ... 'As a favor to me ...'.

O-negai {dá kara}, ... 'As a favor to me ...'.

Tyót-to ukagaimásu ga ... 'May I inquire ...'.

Uketamawaréba ..., Uketamawarimasúreba ... 'I understand (am told) that ...'.

Moo ik-ka^[1] moosimásu to ... 'To repeat, ...'.

Nán-ben mo moosimásu keredo mo ... 'I repeat myself but ...'.

Saki-hodo no hanasí desu keredo (sore wa) ... 'I refer back to what was said earlier'.

Móttö wakari-yásuku iéba ... 'To make it easier to understand ...' (Tk 3.139a).

Móttö kuwásiku iéba (iu to) ... 'To put the matter more precisely ...'.

Tyót-to mi-nikúí ka mo siremasén keredo mo ... 'This may be a bit hard to read, but ...' = 'I'm sorry about my handwriting'.

Kotowátte okú^(o) ga, ... 'Let me remind/warn you that ...; Bear in mind that ..., Remember, ...; Mind you, ...'.

Some refer to the speech situation directly or indirectly:

Íi k o da kara ... 'Be a good little boy/girl and (do that for me)'.

Tokí ni ... 'By the way ...'.

Are desu ga ... 'Uh (what I want to say is) ...'.

... no kotó desu kedo (are wa) ... 'I am speaking of ... and'.

Yokei na kotó desu ga ... 'My remarks are uncalled for, perhaps, but ...'.

Sukósi hanasí wa hurú ga ... 'This isn't new, but ...'.

Réi no mondai desu 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 ...'.

Totyuu ni narimásita ga ... 'Excuse the interruption'.

Sóo wa iu mono-no ... 'Nevertheless ...'.

Sóo wa itté mo ... 'Even so ...'.

Soo iéba ... 'Speaking of that ...'.

Kore n-i} tai-site ... '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 kotó ka ... 'Somehow or other ...'.

Nán to sita kotó ka ... 'Somehow or other ...' (lg 87).

Dóo sita wáke ka ... 'For some reason or other ...'.

Dóo [sité] mo ... 'There is no denying that ...', 'In ever so much ...'.

Hizyoo ni zannén na kotó de ... 'It is very regrettable but ...'.

Síte iu to ... 'If forced to say ...; If one must say something ...; If anything ...'.

Náze ka to iéba ..., Náze nara ..., Náze nareba ... 'The reason is ...'.

Dótira ka to/tte iu to ... 'If anything ...; If a choice is to be made ...'.

Dótira ni sité mo ... 'Either way ...' (Lit. Izure ni sité mo ...).

Mósi ka sitára (suru to) ... 'Perchance ...', 'On the chance that ...'.

Mósi mo no kotó ga áttara ... 'Perchance ...'.

Mán-iti no kotó ga áttara ... 'Perchance ...'.

Náni ga dóo átte mo ... 'When all is said and done ...': ~ Taiheiyoo-sénsoo wa Nihón ni tótte, máinasu 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 ...'.

Site mireba (miru to) ... 'And so we see that ...' (SA 2668.40b).

Toozen no kotó da ga ... 'Naturally enough ...'.

Íi ka ..., Íi ná ..., Yósi ... 'OK, ...'.

Tó-ni/mo-kaku [mo] ... 'Nonetheless ...'.

Tó-mo-are ... 'Nonetheless ...'.

Soko de ... 'Thereupon ...'.

Sore wa sóo to ... 'Be that as it may ...'.

Sore wa sore to sité 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 ... *kotó 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:

- [dekíru] nára-ba ... 'If possible ...; Preferably ...'.
 [soo] suru to ..., s'u to ..., to ... 'Well then ...'.
 [soo] site ... 'And then ...'.
 [soo] suru utí ni ... 'Meanwhile ...'.
 [[soo] suru] tokoró ga ... 'But ...'.
 [[soo] suru] to tómo(¯) ni ... 'At the same time ...'.
 [[soo] suru] kusé ni ... 'Nonetheless ...'.
 [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] da to suru to ... 'Granted that, ...; If so, ...': Da to suru to, tyotto-sita seizi-ka yá⁽¹⁾ né [= dá né] 'If so, he's a petty politician' (SA 2663.20c).
 [sóo] da to sureba ... 'Granted that, ...; If so ...' (CK 985.314).
 [sóo] dá ga/kedo ... 'But ...'.
 [sóo] désu ga/kedo ... 'But ...'.
 [sóo] dá kara ... 'So ...'.
 [sóo] désu 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] dá kara to itte ... 'On such grounds ...'.
 [sore] dé ... 'Then ..., So ...'.
 [sore] dé wa ..., [sore] zya[a] ... 'Well, then ...'.
 [sore] dé mo ..., [sore] d'átte ... 'But ...; Even so, ...'.
 [sore] ná no ni ... 'Nonetheless ...'.
 [sore] ní mo kakawárazu ... 'Regardless [of that] ..., Nevertheless ...'.
 [sore] nára = sonnára 'If so, ...'.
 [sore] bákari/daké ka ... 'Not only that but ...; What's more ...'.
 [sore] bákari/daké de náku ... 'Not only that but ...; And what's more ...'.
 [sore] to iu wáke de ... 'For that reason ...' (SA 2661.24a).
 [sore] to iu kotó wa ... 'That refers to ...'.
 [sore] to iú no wa ... 'That refers to ...'.
 [sore] kara ... 'After[ward], ...; Then ...'.
 [sore] de áru ga yúé ni ... 'For that reason ...' (Tanigawa 48).
 [sore] to site mireba ... 'Seen in that way ...'.
 [sore] to sureba ... 'So considered ...'.
 [[sore] to] dóozi(¯) ni ... 'At the same time ...; Then ...; Also ...'.
 [[sore] ni] yotte ... 'Accordingly ...; Hence ...'.
 [[sore] ni] sitagátte(¯) ... 'Consequently ...; Accordingly ...'.
 [sore ni] túite/tukimásite wa ... 'In this connection ...; Consequently ...'.
 [sóo/sore] de/zya nákereba ... 'Otherwise ...'.
 [sóo/sore] de/zya náku [t]te mo ... 'Even so, ...; Anyway ...'.
 [sono] totan ni ... 'At that moment ...; Whereupon ...' (Shibata 1961.187).
 [sono] tamé ni ... 'Therefore ...'.
 [sono] doorí de ... = dóori-de 'For that reason ...' (SA 2672.24c).

25 APPOSITION

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 (*gá, ó, ní, tó*) has dropped (§2.2a); (2) a conjoiner (*tó, yá, 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: ... *ní-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); *Syuytyakú-eki* [*no*] *Singapóoru ni tikazúku ni turete* ... 'As we drew near to Singapore, the terminal station ...' (SA 2660.16); *Kyóori* [*no*] *Niigata e káette* ... 'Returning to his home town of Niigata ...' (R); ... *syooogyoo-tósi* [*no*] *Oosaka no hitó no kotobá* ... 'the language of the people of Ōsaka the commercial metropolis' (Miyara 1954.176); *Tyuukintoo-kínmu* [*no*] *keikén-sya* ... '... a person with work experience in the Middle East' (SA 2665.19e); *Béi-So* [*no*] *syunoo-káidan* ... 'the American-Soviet summit talks' (R); *Syakaiminsyu-too* [*no*] *kakuryoo* ... 'The Social Democratic ministers ...'; ... *syusyoo* [*no*] *sokkin dé* ... 'those who are close to the Prime Minister and ...' (SA)—*sokkin* = *sokkín-sya*; *Koré-ra* [*no*] *Man'yóo-syuu no réi ni wa* ... 'Among these examples from the Man'yōshū ...'; *Nihon-zyósei* [*de aru*] *Ono Yóoko to kekkon* [*site*] *Írai* ... 'Since marrying the Japanese woman Ono Yōko ...' (SA); *Watási-táti* [*no*] *Ísi wa*, ... 'We physicians ...' (SA 2689.122c); *Wareware* [*de áru*] *Nihon-zín wa* ... 'We Japanese ...'; ... *watási-táti* [*no*] *zyosei wa* ... 'we women' (SA 2661.111a); *Bóku-táti* [*de áru*] *sutáhu ga* ... 'we [men who are] the staff' (SA 2652.64c); ... *káre-ra* [*no*] *husái ni yuusyoku o syootai sarete*, ... '... got invited to dinner by that couple and ...' (SA 2656.62c); *Koko* [*no*] *Dóitu de mo* ... 'Even here in Germany ...' (SA 2672.96c); *Kátute no gekisén-ti* [*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* [] *saikin* ... 'lately now' (SA 2689.119a) and *Koko* [] *zyúu-nen* ^[1] *ízyoo 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: *Rokugatú* [*no*] *gosyuu no térebi wa* ... 'Television during the fifth [*sic!*] week in June ...' (SA 2685.115c); *Sángatu* [*no*] *hazime* {⁻*góro*} *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 ...'; *Zyuukyuu-séiki* [*no*] *matu kara* ... 'From the end of the 19th century ...' (Martin 1970.443); ... *rokugatú* [^[1]*no*] *hatuka* [*no*] || *ka-yóobi made ni* || ... 'by Tuesday, the 20th of June' (R);

1. As it is in *zyúu-nen* [] *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* [] *izure o tówazu*(⁻) '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 asitá* [^[1]*iti-niti* ⁻*bun no kaimono o site kitó* [= *kaerímiti*] *ni túita* 'Akiko did a day's shopping for the evening and the morrow and then started home' (Ariyoshi 175) probably puts *kón'ya to asitá* in apposition to the entire phrase *iti-niti* ⁻*bun no kaimono*.

Meizi-ísin [no] tyokuzen ... 'Right before the Meiji Restoration ...'; Syuusen [no] tyókúgo(¯) ... 'Right after the end of the war ...'; ... Nikkatsu no hookai [no] sunzén(¯) to iu tokí mo tokí,^[2] ... 'Right on the brink of Nikkatsu's collapse, ...' (SA 2664.103c); Nisi-Dóitu [no] kokkyoo ni ... 'At the West German border ...'; Sángatu [no] tooka ... 'March 10th'; Nízuyu ití-nen [no] natú,^[3] ... 'In the summer of (Shōwa 21 =) 1946 ...' (SA 2671.39a).

Other kinds of genitive are sometimes represented by ellipsis, too:

(1) Táido [no] ikán ni yotte kimaru 'It is decided on the basis of how one's attitude is'; kari-kata [no] ikán de wa ... 'by the manner of borrowing' (SA 2677.53c); Sono un'e to kánri [no] ikán koso ga, kónniti kangaerénakereba naránai mondai ná 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). Ikán is a noun (ikán o mondai ni suru, ikán ga mondai ni náru) derived from the literary adverb iká-ni 'how' (cf. that elegant equivalent of dóo 'how', iká-ga < iká-ni ka).

(2) Ígi [no] moositate ... 'A statement of dissent = a formal objection, an exception'; Ísi [no] tooitu ga dékita 'a consensus formed'; síngi [no] hikinobasi 'prolongation of deliberations'.

(3) Sanhuransísuko [no] okiai no Arukatorasu-too 'Alcatraz Island off-shore from San Francisco' (SA 2673.114d).

(4) ... ikkai [no] syuzyutusitu-dónari no kanrí-situ de ... 'in the office next to the operating room on the first floor' (SA 2666.112c).

(5) ... yákusya [no] atogaki ni yoru to, ... 'according to the translator's postface' (SA 2676.97c).

(6) ... Kántoo [no] dai-sínsai no mae-no-tosí ni, ... 'the year before the great Kantō earthquake' (R).

(7) Kokuden [no] Okatímati 'the Okachimachi station of the National Railway'.

(8) Satoo-séiken [no] || kono | hatí-nen || ... 'These past eight years of the Satō regime ...' (R).

(9) Kákkoku [no] | kisyá-dan wa ... 'the corps of international reporters' (R).

Certain examples involve quantification with a specific number: Súusúrohu-ra [de aru] san-nín wa ... 'Suslov and two others ...' (SA 2673.131a); koko zyúu-nen 'these past ten years' (see §13.7). Others show quantification with some word meaning 'all' or 'general' (cf. §13.8):² Syákai [no] zenpan ga ... 'The whole society ...'; Syákai [no] ippan ní wa ... 'In society as a whole ...'; Kyúusyuu ittai o hukúmete ... 'including all of Kyūshū'; Nagásaki ittai ni ... 'in the Nagasaki area as a whole'; ... kóogyoo zentai ni ... 'all of industry' (Martin 1970.443); ... kono íssyo zenpén o ... 'the whole of this volume' (Maeda 1962.1); Nihón zéndo 'all Japan' (but Nihón zénkoku is usually tightened into the compound Nihon-zénkoku). The quantifying word often has the prefix zen- 'all' or iti- 'one (whole)';³ káku(-) 'each' also turns up: Syákai kákkai kara ... 'From each society ...'. The expressions iti-men 'all over, the entire surface, full of' and íppai 'all over (around)' are

2. The expression útyuu [no] zentai 'the entire universe' is put into further apposition in ... útyuu zentai itáru-tokoró ni nagárete óru 'is flowing everywhere in the entire universe' (TK 3.159a).

3. As in ... kotosi | ití-nen no | siawase o | inorímásita 'they prayed for happiness for all of this year [on New Year's Day]' (R). These types should be distinguished from the direct adverbialization of a place noun found in zénkoku [de] itiyoo 'alike throughout the country', zénkoku [de] itiritu (no/ni) 'uniform/uniformly throughout the country'.

similar in meaning to the quasi-restrictive \bar{i} ppai 'full' (§2.4) but they are preceded by an underlying juncture (which may be dropped as a surface option): *Sóra iti-men ni hosi ga déte iru* 'The sky is full of stars'; *mádo^(r)ippai ni* 'all over the window'. The expression *N | hitótu da* 'it all depends on N' resembles both \bar{s} idai and daké in meaning: *Anáta no okonai hitótu desu* 'It all depends on your behavior'; ... *kokumin no nétui hitótu 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 dá can, apparently, be replaced by *ni kakátte iru*.

The expression *N | sen'yoo* 'for the exclusive use of N' resembles the quasi-restrictive \bar{y} oo 'for the use of', but is separated from the noun by an underlying juncture: *hokóo-sya sen'yoo no sígunaru* 'a signal for the pedestrians' (Tsukagoshi 100); *zyósi | sen'yoo no syáwaa* '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: ... *hyakú soko-soko dátta káado no hakkoo-gínkoo wa ...* 'the banks issuing (credit) cards, which were only about a hundred in number ...' (SA 2660.25a) ← *hyakú | soko-soko*; *Han-tósi^(r) soko-soko no kotó da* 'It is a matter of only about a half year' ← *Han-tósi | soko-soko*; ... *sánzís-sai soko-soko no koomú-in da ga, ...* 'is a civil servant around thirty years of age' (SA 2676.106b); ... *tukí ni zyuuróp-pon soko-soko sika tukurénai n desu* 'for we can only make about sixteen films a month' (Tk 3.236a); *Hyakuen 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 mó | soko-soko ni [site]* 'letting even NUMBER be just around there or there'—cf. *Ása-han mo soko-soko ni tobi-dásu* 'dashes out with a hasty breakfast' (Kenkyusha). For the use of *kakkíri* 'exactly' in *kú-zi kakkíri* 'exactly nine o'clock', and possibly *kokkíri* as a synonym, see §13.7.

Sorézóre 'each one, individually, respectively' (< sore-"-sore) is sometimes used as a quantifier in apposition: *hito sorézóre ni yorimásite* 'depending on the particular person'; *koré-ra sorézóre no N* 'these respective N'; *Kákuzin sorézóre no risoo ga áru* 'Each has his own ideal' (Kenkyusha); Similar is the use of *kózin* '(as an) individual': *Kore ga Kéinzu kózin no kangáe de atta* 'This was Keynes's individual thinking' (SA 2672.49d); *Kane wa káre kózin ga moratte ita wáke de wa náí* 'He did not receive the money as an individual' (SA 2686.26c).

Words for 'self' are common in apposition: *Watakusi zísín ..., Watakusi zibun ...* 'I myself ...'; *Mákino-san go-zísín wa ...* 'Mr Makino himself ...' (Tk 3.207b); ... *to iu kotó^[r] zítai ga ...* 'the very fact that ...' (SA 2684.105b); ... *gíin mízukara ga ...* 'the Diet members themselves ...' (Tk 4.14a); ... *tennóo mízukara ga ...* 'the emperor himself' (Shiba 89); ... *gakkai mízukara ga ...* 'the society itself' (SA 2670.34a); ... *taisyuu mízukara ga sánka⁽⁻⁾ suru kotó ni yotte minóru⁽⁻⁾ to surú 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 ZÍSIN ...* 'I myself (in person) ..., I my very own self ...'; *Koré-ra no zyookén⁽⁻⁾ wa súbete ningen SORE ZÍSIN no zyookén⁽⁻⁾ de átte ...* 'These conditions are the conditions of the human being himself ...'; *Kónkai no sippai wa, seisaku \bar{z} yoo no monó de wa náku, seizi-táikei SORE ZÍSIN no kekkan ni yoru monó to ieyoo* 'The failure this time can be said to be due to defects in the political system itself, rather than the policies'; *Én no káti SORE ZÍTAI ga mondai ni nátta* '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 tái-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-mónó* or by *zítai*, *zísín*, or *zibun*—all with much the same meaning; but **watakusi/soitu/aitu sono-mónó* are replaced by *watakusi/soitu/aitu zísín*. (Yet *sono-mónó* can be used after other words of personal reference: *gakusei sono-mónó* 'the student as student'.) *Zubári sono-mónó* means 'frankness itself' and it is a reversible phrase: *zubári sono-mónó no ii-kata* = *sono-mónó zubári no ii-kata* 'calling a spade a spade'; *Mása ni sono-mónó zubári desu* = *Mása ni zubári sono-mónó desu* 'You hit the nail (right) on the head; You said it!'

Like *nádo* 'and the like' (§ 2.9), the expression *sonó-ta* 'and other(s)' directly follows a noun: *Taigúu(¯) sonó-ta ni mo mondai ga áru* 'There are problems in treatment and other things'; *zakka sonó-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 *ígai* 'outside of': *Zyuugyóo-in, syootái-kyaku hoka no tatiiri o kinsi suru* 'Entry by others than employees and guests is forbidden'.

The word *sokkúri* 'just like' is a precopular noun (optionally an adjectival noun, KKK 44.49), often found in apposition with a pure noun: *Wáni sokkúri no kao to kíba o site iru* [= the pike] has a face and fangs just like a crocodile' (SA 2666.84c); ... *Yamamoto Húziko sokkúri no onná ga arúite iru* 'a woman is walking along who looks just like Fujiko Yamamoto' (SA 2662.110d); ... *Nihón no koogyoo-dánti sokkúri no keikan o mísete iru* 'it presents a scene just like the industrial areas of Japan' (SA 2659.43b); *Éiga(¯) no syuzin-koo sokkúri da* 'He is just like a movie hero'. This usage is an ellipsis N {to/ni} *sokkúri*; the full form can be seen in these examples: ... *kore to sokkúri no hanasi ga* ... 'a story identical with this' (SA 2650.92d); ... *mattakú^[1] watasi no bóohu* [= *naku-natta titi*] *ni sokkúri de atta* 'he was the spit and image of my late father' (SA 2659.69c). A very similar expression is N {ni} *iki-utusi dá* 'is a living picture of N, closely resembles N'. The predicable adverb *sa-nagara* 'just like (that)' can anticipate a simile (*Sa-nagara(¯) N no yóo da* 'It is just like N') or be used in direct apposition with a noun:⁵ *Zitubutu sa-nagara(¯) no móderu/misemónó* 'a model/show just like the real thing', *Nihón no "tuyu" sa-nagara(¯) no áme 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 wázyutu desu* 'It is better storytelling than you

4. On AN |*sono-mónó da* 'is the quintessence of AN' and AN |*kiwamari náí* 'is ever so AN', see §13.5a, p. 759. In print I have seen "*sono kotó*" used after an abstract noun; that is an ill-advised substitute for *sono-mónó*, which is appropriate after abstract nouns as well as other kinds. But it is more polite to use *sonó-hito* for people: *Akutágawa |sonó-hito mo* 'Akutagawa himself'. Notice also S *kotó zítai* 'the fact itself, that S'.

5. Apparently with obligatory suppression of *ni* or *ga*: *Zigokú^[1] ni/ga* *sa-nagara(¯) no sanzyoo 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): *seiyoo suresure no tokoró ni áru hyoogén(¯)* 'expressions that are just a shade from correct usage' (Nagano 1970.217); *Zikan suresure ni ma ni átta* 'We made it barely in time'; *Yuusyoo suresure no tokoró made itta* 'I had got to where victory was within my grasp'; *atama^[1] suresure máde 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 *sottí e noke* 'put it aside over there'.

The word *tappúri* 'full' is basically an adverb. One of its uses is to modify a following quantity as in these examples from *Kenkyusha*: *tappúri zyuugó-hun* 'a good quarter of an hour', *tappúri zyuú-máiru* 'a good ten miles', *tappúri ní-syoo* 'a full measure of 2 *shō*'. When *tappúri* stands after a noun, the meaning is 'being full of N', and the expression is treated as an adjectival noun:⁶ ... *zisin tappúri na táido ni* ... 'with an attitude full of self-confidence' (Tk 4.312b); ... *hiniku tappúri ni koo káite irú no de aru* 'they write like this, full of sarcasm' (SA); *Kózukai/Ryohi tappúri* ... '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: *Tataikai ga takenawa de áru* 'The battle is at its height', *Tataikai 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 | *takenawa*: *Syuryoo-siizun takenawa dá ga* ... 'It is the height of the hunting season ...' (SA 2660.49c); ... *bangumi-séisaku 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 *sizyoo saikoo no* ... 'the highest in history', *zínruí hatú no* ... 'mankind's first ...', *sékái dáí-iti no* ... 'the Number One ... in the world', *Nisi-Dóitu ití no* ... 'the foremost ... in West Germany') and for *sásuga* [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/ni] *KYOOTUU no zyuudai-móndai de aru kotó wa* ... 'Things which are important problems common to the modern man ...'; *Kyóoto* [ni] *KOYUU no kotobá* ... 'Words peculiar/native to Kyōto ...'; *Káre* [ni] *TOKUYUU no, ano kutibúe*(⁻) *o, narasítá no da* 'He sounded that peculiar whistle of his' (Fn 290a); *Káre* [ni] *DOKUTOKU no yari-kata de* ... 'In his own individual way ...'; ... *zyoodai-go* [ni] *DÓKUZI*(⁻) *no seikaku* ... 'characteristics original to the ancient language' (Mabuchi 193); *Káre* [ni] *ITIRYUU no gyakusetu da* 'It is a paradox of his own'; *Maku-ái*(⁻) *ni haiyúu-táti* [ni] *YUKARI no sina o utta* 'During the intermission they sold things [souvenirs] connected/associated with the actors' (SA 2676.40a); *Tosí* [ni] *SOO'OO ni* 'appropriately for one's age', *mibun* [ni] *SOO'OO na kurasi* 'a life fitting one's status'; *syuunyuu* [ni] *SOO'OO no seikatu o suru* 'leads a life appropriate to one's income', *tíi* [ni] *SOO'OO no koosai o suru* 'engages in social intercourse that is appropriate to one's position';⁸ ... *koko dé mo súde ni, kónniti* [to] *DOOYOO no zyootai de átta kotó wa* ...

6. Optionally a precopular noun: *Zisin tappúri no hanasi-káta o suru* 'He talks full of confidence'. The adverbialized adjectival/precopular noun competes with the adverb (directly adverbialized): *Zisin tappúri* {ni} *hanasi-dasita* '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 hyoozyóo*(⁻) *o miséru* 'shows a visage brimming with confidence'.

7. Here is another example that may be of the same type: *dáisyo* [] *suuzyuk-kásyo* 'some tens of places large and small' (SA 2686.29b). Or is *dáisyo* functioning as a pure noun 'big (ones) and little (ones)'? See also *husyoo* | NAME 'unworthy I ... by name', p. 751 (§13.5); *dán-zyo* | *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 proredication

'the fact that there too already it was the same situation as today' (Tsuji-mura 1967.84); ... motínusi [ga] HUMEI da 'the ownership is unknown = it goes unclaimed', ... yukue [ga] HUMEI ni náru = yukue-húmei ni náru 'the destination becomes unknown = disappears'. Notice also ík-ko [ga] gozyúu-en no ringo ... 'apples that are fifty yen apiece'. In kono gakka [no] tantoo no kyóozyu(¯) 'the professor who covers this work' (Kenkyusha) and ... Eigo [no] tantoo no senséi to hanásu kotó ga óokatta '... 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 proredication. (Tantoo is a transitive verbal noun.) Certain set phrases will not permit the dropped particle to surface: *bízi* | *réiku* 'rhetorical flourishes, eloquence' comes from a structure N \bar{t} \bar{t} \bar{t} N. (It is also said in a single phonological word, as a syntactic reduction: *bízi* \bar{r} \bar{e} \bar{i} \bar{k} .)

A common type of apposition puts a specific noun phrase after a generalized or indefinite noun phrase:⁹ *dóko ka késiki no íi tokoró* 'some place where the scenery is nice', *dáre ka Eigo ga dekíru hitó* 'some person who can speak English', *ítu ka hima na tokí* 'sometime when you are free', *náni mo kyóokun ¯rasii 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 *íi tokoró no dóko ka* 'some place that is a nice place' rather than *dóko ka no íi tokoró* 'a nice place that is some place'.¹⁰ The problem is similar to that posed by titles (§26): *Sátóo soori-dáizin* 'Prime Minister Sató' is probably better interpreted as *soori-dáizin no* [= *de áru*] *Sátóo* 'Sató who is prime minister' rather than *Sátóo no* [= *de aru*] *soori-dáizin* 'the prime minister who is Sató'. Cf. *syoogun léyasu(¯)* 'Ieyasu the Shōgun', 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 áru] N₁: *Ningen Henrii-Míraa no, kaksáreta 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. *Áporo | tuki-ryókoo* 'Moonshot Apollo' or 'the Apollo moonshot'. Something more like English apposition is seen in PRONOUN || NOUN: ... *sono síki o tóru no ga, káre Kumágaya Hírosi da* '... and he, Hiroshi Kumagaya (in person), is conducting them' = 'and they are conducted by the well-known H. K. (= *káno K. 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 sánbyaku ití-mai* '24 301 sheets'. But some other explanation

from *soo'oo site iru*. *Sootoo* is similar in its grammar; from these two words are derived the precopular nouns *sore-sootoo* = *sore-soo'oo* 'corresponding'. Cf. *¯sootoo*, §2.4.

9. The opposite might appear to be true in ... *suteru monó ga náni mo nákata no ka* ... 'apparently because there was nothing to be thrown away ...' (SA 2665.117a) but the case marking (ga) tells us that the following *náni mo* must be adverbial. This is not the pseudo apposition coming from anaphoric reprise of a theme (described below), but rather a quantification, in which *náni mo* 'nothing' functions like *hitoto mo* '(not) even one'.

10. But such examples as *Náni o báka 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: Syóowa(¯) [no] zyúu-nen [no] sángatu [no] tooka [no] gógo [no] hatí-zi 'eight o'clock p.m. on the tenth of March of the year Shōwa 10 (1935)'. But further quantification (hatí-zi zíp-pun 'ten minutes after eight') must be handled some other way.

Expressions of the type A tó B {tó} dótira mo (or ryoo hóo(¯)) 'A and B both', A tó B tó C {tó} minná^[1] 'A and B and C all of them', are a special case of counting, and are to be treated in the same way as kamí ití-mai 'a sheet of paper'.¹¹ This can be noun + directly adverbialized number, as in Kamí [ga] ití-mai irimásu 'I want one sheet of paper', or it can be an apposition (Kamí ití-mai [ga] irimásu 'I want one sheet of paper') that must be assumed to involve inversion from ití-mai no kamí '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: ... heyá sonó-ta íssái 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], SORE wa kóoka arimasén 'This type of thing, it won't be effective'; Kono hitéi-kei to iu yóo na katati mo KORE mo yahári ná yóo de arimásu '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: Nómu monó mo kúu monó mo NÁNI MO náku ... 'They had nothing to eat or drink (or anything) ...' (SA 2648.61c); Tyoosén no heigóo-si kara NÁNI kara kangáéru to né 'When you think of it from the viewpoint of the history of the annexation of Korea and all ...' (Tk 3.5a); Niwa wa, iké kara NÁNI kara minná (sono nióí 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 nádo and its synonyms, § 2.9. And some of our conjunctive phrases, such as sore ni 'to that = additionally, and also' have similar origins: Nomímono wa, Nihon-syu, bíiru, SORE 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).

Still 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 túite no] N. Examples (from Ig 1962.88): Ittai, zibun ga ítu kara konna huukei no náka ni itá NO KA, Mótoko no KIOKU wa mattaku náí 'There is not the least memory for Motoko of just when she got into this kind of state' (... no ka to iu kioku ...); Korétika ga hatásite ítu miyako e kaeri-tuitá KA, seikaku no [= na] KOTÓ WA wakaránai 'It is unclear precisely when Korechika finally made it back to the capital' (... ka to iu kotó ...).

11. An example: Míru monó [to/ya] kiku monó [ga], súbete mono-sabísiku ... 'Everything I see or hear is dreary to me' (Tk 3.224a); an alternative explanation would be ... monó [no] súbete [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: Maa, niwatori to tamágo(¯) to dótti ga saki da tte kotó ni mo narimásu 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 tó or not.

26 NAMES, TITLES

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 atonic 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: Takáhasi zyo-kyóozyu ‘Assistant Professor Takahashi’, Óotani Sátoko urakata ‘Lady Abbess Satoko Ōtani’ (Tk 2.267b). These are UNREDUCED titles. Common titles such as senséi ‘Dr’ or ‘Maestro’, zyósi ‘Ms’, kyóozyu(̄) ‘Professor’, etc., are usually reduced by dropping the juncture. In Yamada senséi (or Yamada zyósi) the dropping of the juncture might be just the usual surface adjustment whereby a minor juncture rather freely drops after a short atonic phrase, since the family name Yamada is atonic; but the lack of juncture after a tonic name, as in Takáhasi senséi (or Takáhasi zyósi⁽¹⁾), 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, often are cited with ‘si ‘city of ...’ attached to the name: Kóobe = Koobé-si, Kawasaki = Kawasakí-si, Kamakurá(̄) = Kamakurá-si, etc. Tōkyō, however, enjoys unique status as a “(capital) metropolis” so it attaches ‘to: Tookyoo = Tookyóo-to ‘the metropolis (or capital city) of Tōkyō’. And you will find Ōsaka and Kyōto referred to both as cities (Oosaka = Oosaká-si, Kyōoto = Kyootó-si) and as “municipalities” with the suffix ‘hu (Oosaka = Oosaká-hu, Kyōoto = Kyootó-hu). Prefectures are designated by the suffix ‘ken: Saitama(̄) = Saitamá-ken, Míe = Mié-ken, Kanágawa(̄) = Kanagawá-ken, Yamánasi = Yamanasí-ken, Gúnma = Gunmá-ken, Isikawa = Isikawá-ken. Some place names function in more than one role: Nagásaki = Nagasakí-si ‘the city of Nagasaki’ or Nagasakí-ken ‘the prefecture of Nagasaki’; Hirosima = Hirosimá-si ‘the city of Hiroshima’ or Hirosimá-ken ‘the prefecture of Hiroshima’. Mountains usually have fixed designations with the suffix ‘san (or -yama) attached: Eberesutó-san ‘Mt Everest’ (Eberésuto); Asama-yama ‘Mt Asama’; Húzi-san² ‘(Mt) Fuji’—also called, poetically, Húzi-no-yama and these days sometimes even “Huziyama”, 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 kawá ‘river’): Tone-gawa ‘the (river) Tone’, Yodo-gawa ‘the (river) Yodo’, Kamo-gawa ‘the (river) Kamo’, Sumidá-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: Takáhasi ̄senséi = /takahasisenséi/—and therefore, by analogy, /yamadasenséi/ = Yamada ̄senséi. 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 atonic example of kootyoo ‘school principal’ as well as the tonic examples of tennóo ‘Emperor’, koogóo ‘Empress’, hooóo ‘Pope’, séntyoo ‘ship Captain’, kóosyaku ‘Prince’, táisi ‘Ambassador’, and dáizin ‘cabinet Minister’ (but this is usually ...dáizin with the particular ministry specified). Hamako Chaplin uses the quasi-restrictive accentuation for Raisyáwaa ̄táisi ‘Ambassador Reischauer’.

2. The accentuation is irregular, as if it were ‘Mr Fuji’ instead of ‘Mt Fuji’; we expect *Huzi-san.

(River)', Teemuzú-gawa 'the Thames', Misissippí[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 'zi/-zi or -dera, but the accent is sometimes capricious, especially when the temple designation is used as a geographical or political unit, e.g. Kitizyoo-zí. Railway stations are designated by 'eki: Tookyoo = Tookyóo-eki, Ueno = Uenó-eki, Kyóoto = Kyootó-eki, Nagásaki = Nagasaki-eki. Modern institutions are sometimes designated by a free noun used as the second part of a compound noun, e.g. daigaku 'university' in Tookyoo-dáigaku, Kyooto-dáigaku, and Ekiben-dáigaku 'Hicktown University'.³ 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, tyakuriku-kóosu ni háiru tokoró 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: Takáhasi | Yósiko 'Yoshiko Takahashi'. The juncture can be thought of as representing a dropped nó, such as we find in Japanese names of an earlier era: Huziwarano Mitínaga(⁀) 'Michinaga of the Fujiwaras'.⁴ 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-Syóo 'Bernard Shaw', Seodoa-Ruuzubéruto 'Theodore Roosevelt', Dagurasu-Makkáasaa 'Douglas MacArthur'. Under certain circumstances a Japanese (or partly Japanese) name will be given a sophisticated foreign treatment; if Sátoo Yúriko were to become a TV personality, say, she might be presented as Yuriko-Sátoo and perhaps even change her name to Zyuurii-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: Asikaga-Yosímitu = Asikága Yosímitu, i.e. Asikága no Yosímitu; Tokugawa-léyasu = Tokúgawa léyasu(⁀), i.e. Tokúgawa no léyasu(⁀); Toyotomi-Hidéyosi = Toyotomi Hidéyosi(⁀), i.e. Toyotomi no Hidéyosi(⁀).

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, ...'⁵—has no effect 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": Sátoo san/sama, Yamada san/sama, Harupo-Márukusu sama/san 'Mr Harpo Marx', Yósiko tyan/tyama 'little Miss Yoshiko', 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.⁶ But ozi, o-tóo, o-káa, o-báa, etc., are also used without the

3. This is true of geographical terms as well: Noto-hántoo 'the Noto peninsula' is Nóto + hantoo, Tugaru-káikyoo 'the straits of Tsugaru' is Túgaru + kaikyoo. 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. Place names and family names have inherent accentuations which are largely unpredictable and must be learned individually. (A helpful hint: many surnames of three or four syllables are atonic.)

4. Certain impersonal names can be explained in the same way: Bitámin(⁀) | Bii | Zyuuní 'Vitamin B-12'.

5. The traditional way to say explicitly 'Mrs Takahashi' is Takáhasi san no óku-san (or óku-sama); 'Miss Takahashi' is Takáhasi san no ozyóo-san/-sama.

6. Those kin terms with a basic final accent lose it when attaching -san: ootoó but ootoo(-)san,

title; and -sama, -tyan, and -tyama can readily replace -san in these words. The word ákatyan 'baby' (from 'little mister/miss red one') is a set form; on rare occasions you may hear ákatyama or ákasan. The title san can be followed by the collectivizer táti (§2.7): Yamada san táti (also Yamada sán-tati?) 'Mr/Ms Yamada and associates' or 'the Yamadas', Sátō san tati 'Mr/Ms Satō and group' or 'the Satōs'. The title sama can be followed by the collectivizers táti or ṽgáta: Yamada sama táti or Yamada samá-tati, Takáhasi sama tati; Yamada sama gáta or Yamada samá-gata, Takáhasi sama ṽgáta = /takahasisamagáta/ or Takáhasi ṽsamá-gata = /takahasisamagata/. The iterated title sama(-)sama⁷ 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)': Sore mo, ón no hukái, giri^[1] no hukái ohukuro sama(-)sama dá 'Yes indeed, she's your fine fine mother toward whom you owe so much obligation' (Fn 144b). Kenkyusha gives the example Soo site kureréba Kimura sama(-)sama da 'I shall thank Mr Kimura ever so much, if he is good enough to do so'.

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: Takáhasi kun, Yamada kun or Yamadá-kun. The title sí 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—Sátō si 'Mr Satō', Níkuson si 'Mr Nixon', Goruda-Méia si 'Mrs Golda Meir', Gárubo si 'Miss Garbo', Guroria-Sutáinemu si 'Ms Gloria Steinem'—this is a (preaccentuated) suffix after an atonic noun: Yamadá-si 'Mr Yamada', Nakágawa Susumú-si 'Mr Susumu Nakagawa'. The title kun can be followed by the collectivizers táti, rá, and dómo:⁸ Yamada kun or Yamadá-kun will yield Yamada kun táti or Yamada kún-tati or Yamadá-kun tati, Yamada kún-ra or Yamadá-kun ra, and Yamada kun dómo; Takáhasi kun will yield Takáhasi kun tati, Takáhasi kun ra, and Takáhasi kun domo.

The title sí can be followed by the collectivizer rá: Yamadá-si ra, **Takáhasi sí⁽¹⁾ ra**. For women the title zyósi is often used instead of sí: kó|| Okamoto [|] Kánoko zyósi⁽²⁾ '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 Níkuson huzin, and Mr and Mrs Nixon is translated as Níkuson (go-)husái. The rather formal word dóno(ṽ) is

imootó but imooto(-)san, musumé but musume(-)san. This seems to indicate that a dropped juncture cancelled the accent before vanishing, confirming the treatment of san/sama as a syntactic reduction. (Ozyóo-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-sán from kozóo 'young Buddhist priest'. Some other unpredictable accentuations: osewa-sama 'trouble' (from o-séwa from sewá), oheya-samá(ṽ) 'concubine', okyaku-sámá 'guest', Osyaka-sámá 'Buddha', otera-sámá 'Buddhist priest', otori-sámá '(feast of) the Ōtori shrine', ...

7. For Hamako Chaplin this is atonic; MKZ gives sama-samá and K implies |sama-samá in the citations syóobai sama-sámá 'welcome business indeed' and kaisya sama-sámá '(our) most obliging company (= generous employer)';

8. The collective term syókun 'colleagues' is used as a term of address (like miná-san 'ladies and gentlemen') and as a kind of title after a few terms, e.g. gakusei syókun. The collective term syósi 'gentlemen' is sometimes used in a similar way, e.g. kyoozyu syósi 'professors'. There is also ryóo-si 'both gentlemen': Sugano Kén, Usuda Hiroshi ryóo-si ni yoru ... 'according to [Messrs] K. Sugano and H. Usuda'.

sometimes used as an unreduced title⁹ '... Esquire' or 'Mr ...' in addressing letters or the like: Takáhasi Tároo dóno(¯), Yamada Susumu dóno(¯). Other title-like words which may appear at the end of an address (unreduced) include kíká '(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 (˘)óo. The former is usually attached as a suffix (thus Takahasí-roo from Takáhasi); the latter seems to be used—at times—as an unreduced title, preceded by an underlying minor juncture: ... kó || Tooyama Mituru lóo wa ... 'the late [elderly gentleman] Mitsuru Tōyama' (Tk 2.157); Sasuga Syóo óo wa hiniku-ya de áru ... '(Old) Shaw is the cynic indeed ...' (Tk 2.115a); ... Muséi-roo no go-kóosetu o ukagai-tái n desu ga ... 'I'd like to ask your valued opinion, venerable Musei' (Tk 2.124a). The designation roozín(¯) 'elderly gentleman' is compounded with a name to refer to an older literary figure: Kubota-róozin from Kúbota, Kozima-róozin (Tk 2.198b) from Kozima.

Examples of unreduced titles, separated from the name by an underlying juncture: Kúbota soosyoo 'Master [haiku poet] Kubota'; Zissóozi kantoku '(Film) Director [Akio] Jissōji'; Béteran(¯) no Isikawa kamerá-man ga ... 'Veteran cameraman Ishikawa ...' (SA 2686.41b); Miyata Téru ana (SA 2670.25b) = Miyata Téru anánsaa '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 toosyu 'Pitcher Shiroki' (Tk 3.56); Hurusityóhu zen-syúsyoo ni yotte, ... 'According to ex-premier Khrushchev, ...' (SA 2673.131a); ... Áiti | zén | gaimu-dáizin ga || ... 'former foreign minister Aichi ...' (R).

The title kóosyaku 'Prince' is usually unreduced,¹⁰ but its abbreviation kóo is apparently treated as a reduced title: Kónoe Atúmaro kóosyaku (Tk 3.52); Kónoe Ayámaro koo (Tk 3.52). Hakusyaku 'Count' and its abbreviation háku are similar: Takáhasi hakusyaku; ... tokí no | sítyoo || Gotoo [|] Sinpei háku o | tasúketa '... helped Count Shinpei Gotō, mayor at that time' (Tk 3.212). And I presume that dásyaku(¯) '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 sensei⁽¹⁾ 'Dr Sato' is followed later in the discourse by a reference to sensei, the appropriate translation is usually 'he' or 'him';¹¹ once Buráun zyósi⁽²⁾ 'Ms Brown' is introduced, later references to zyósi are appropriately translated as 'she/her'. Sí 'the person mentioned = he/she' (= dóosi '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-dáizin 'Prime Minister Satō' is derived from soori-dáizin no Sátoo 'Satō who is prime minister' rather than taken as a straight ellipsis of Sátoo [no] |

9. The accent dictionaries give this as a reduced title: Takáhasi dono, Yamada dóno(¯).

10. But sometimes treated as a quasi-restrictive: Konoe-kóosyaku 'Prince Konoe'. See earlier footnote (p. 1055).

11. Unless we adopt the unctuous type of "nurses" fostered by the American medical establishment ("Doctor will see you now") and much favored by Madison Avenue ("Now watch busy home-maker wash shirt with Product X").

Soori-dáizin 'the prime minister who is Satō'. Of course, with a straight ellipsis (and no inversion), soori-dáizin Sátoo 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 léyasu(⁀) 'Ieyasu the Shōgun'. Another example is dáizin Ámano 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 wa || Gakusyuuin-dáigaku | kyóozyu || Óono | Susumu san désita 'Speaking was Mr Susumu Ōno, professor at Gakushūin University (R). Notice the major juncture after kyóozyu(⁀) 'professor', representing an ellipsis of *nó* (= *de áru*) 'who is'. (The minor juncture before the word also marks a dropped *nó*.)

Sumō wrestlers are given professional nicknames, called sikó-na(⁀), that end in -yama, as if they were mountains; to this is attached the title 'zeki, an abbreviation of sekitorí '(champion) wrestler': Haguroyamá-zeki = sekitorí Haguroyama 'Haguro-yama the sumō wrestler'.

In written Japanese you may see a title separated from the name by parenthetical material: Kónkai no kóosi, Dokoo (Tosio—Toosiba syatyoo) san mo Táyo (Sigeki —Toore kaityoo) san mo kátute wa séito san datta 'The instructors of the present session, Mr (Toshio) Dokō (president of Toshiba) and Mr (Shigeki) Tayo (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 'Messrs ...' is cited on p. 146. Sometimes what might be a title is little more than descriptive specification, to be treated as simple apposition: Zyóo-tati Béi kaiheitái-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-Tákútoo 'Mao Tse-tung', Syoo-Káiseki 'Chiang Kai-shek', Són-Bun 'Sun Wen (= Sun Yatsen)', Hoo-Tí-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 Huroorensu-Howáito (⁀)zyósi 'Miss Florence White' may be more often heard as /huroorensuhowaitozyósi/ than as /huroorensuhowáito |zyósi/; this is particularly true when the name is short: Howáito ⁀zyósi /howaitozyósi/ 'Miss White' rather than Howáito zyósi /howáito |zyósi/, Baanaado-hákase 'Dr Barnard' rather than Báanaádo hákase. Some speakers will extend this practice to longer titles as well: ... Warutohaimu-zimusóotyoo no |motó ni || ... 'under [UN] Secretary General Waldheim' (R). But apparently these expressions are more commonly broken into shorter phrases: ... Níkuson |daitóoryoo nol íkoo o || ... 'President Nixon's opinion' (R); ... Sóuru no |NHK || Sí Mizu | tokuháin ni |yorimásu to || ... 'according to NHK's Seoul correspondent Shimizu' (R); Amerika no || Kissínzyaa || daitóoryoo | hosá-kan wa || ... Kissínzyaa | hosá-kan wa || ... 'American presidential adviser Kissinger ... Adviser Kissinger ...' (R); ... Kánkoku no || Kin-Yóosyoku | gaimú-bu | tyookan wa || ... Kín | tyookan wa mata || ... Kín | tyookan wa | sára ni || ... 'South Korean foreign affairs minister Kim Yong-shik ... Minister Kim moreover ... Minister Kim further ...' (R); Howaito-Háusu no || Néssen | hodóo-kan wa || ... 'White House spokesman Nessen' (R); Tóru do | syusyoo ga || ... 'Prime Minister Trudeau' (R); Warutoháimul zimu-sóotyoo ga || ... '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 yó* 'It's terrible—terrible, terrible, terrible!'; *Asuko [o] |yameru |yameru tte litte itá kedo, ...* 'He kept saying he'd quit that place ...' (BJ 2.73.27); *O-dénwa siyoo siyoo to omoi-nágara túi [dekínakute go-men nasái]* 'I kept meaning to phone you and then I ended up not doing so [please excuse me]' (cf. BJ 2.326.31); *Áse o dasi-kitte, dasi-kitte, turai, turai* 'You sweat and sweat; it's tough, it's tough' (SA 2671.47a); ... *nódo ga kawaíte kawaíte, ...* 'thirsty, thirsty' (SA 2671.94b); ... *sabísikute sabísikute, tamarimasén* 'is terribly terribly lonely' (KKK 3.80); *Máiniti(¯) ga iyá de iyá de tamaranáí no* 'Every day is simply unbearable' (SA 2642.37); ... *kore ga, daizí de daizí de, táda kodomo no tamé ni íkite kíta háha de, ...* 'she is a mother who has lived only for her children, treating us with great care' (R); *Hazime wa muné ga dóki-doki sitá ga, nán-kai mo yatte 'ru utí(¯) ni omosírókute omosírókute yamerarenaku nátyatta* '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); *Tokoró-ga, dandán dandán sono byoozyoo ga susumimásite, ...* 'But little by little her illness took its course, and ...' (R); ... *dandán dandán dandán ...* 'little by little by little'; ... *yukkúri yukkúri arúite ikú n da né* 'he walks along very slowly' (Tk 4.290a); *Móttö móttö taisetú na kotó wa, ...* 'A much much more important matter ...' (SA 2671.44b); *Ítu mo máe e máe e to susumu kotó no dekiru to iu kotó wa saiwai na kotó de aru* 'Being able to progress onward and onward all the time is a happy thing' (CK 985.60); *Tugí-tugi ni sita e sita é to rensetu site iku ...* 'They are connected continuously all the way down'; ... *ítu made mo itu made mo utai-tuzukéru* '(We would) keep on singing forever and ever' (SA 2650.59a); *Ítu mo itu mo ...* 'All the time ...'; *Áto kara áto kara ...* 'One after another, in rapid succession ...'; *Dé mo, nán-kai mo nán-kai mo tanomi-konda* 'But I kept up my earnest entreaty time after time' (SA 2640.61a); *Dóno aná mo dóno aná mo sitai ga tumátte ita* 'Corpses were stuffed into every hole' (SA 2670.46b); *Máiniti(¯) máiniti(¯) no sigoto ní mo, ...* 'Even in everyday chores ...'; *Sízuka ni sízuka ni arúku* 'We will walk very quietly'; *Hirumá míta Kawasaki to tigai, sízuka na sízuka na matí de atta* 'Quite different from Kawasaki seen in the day-time, it was a hushed city'; *Tíisa na tíisa na matí ...* 'A tiny little town ...'; *Zyúku ga áru kara, asobú nánte tote-mo tote-mo [...]* 'I've got private school, so there's little chance to play or anything' (SA 2635.41c—five-year-old boy talking).

Some of the iterations are, in translation at least, idiomatic: *Kúru o-múko-san, kúru o-múko-san ga minná naku-nattimatte* 'Bridegroom after bridegroom, they all passed away ...' (Okitsu 1.253); *Sóra wa kúru hí mo kúru hí mo haiiro [dá]* 'The sky was grey day after day' (SA 2670.135a); ... *íma ka íma ka to ... mátte ita* 'was waiting [wondering whether it would be at any moment =] eagerly' (Kb 234a); ... *sáigo ni, are yo are yo to iu aida ni, kimi ga tóppu ni nátte simoota ná* '... and at last, all of a sudden, you ended up at the top, didn't you' (SA 2651.42c); *Sáigo ni wa medétási medétási de owaru monogátari* 'Finally the story has a happy ending' (Ōno 1966.105); ... *medétási medétási no monogátari de owaru kotó no dekinai ... kónnan ...* 'difficulties that can not wind up as a story with a happy ending' (Ōno 1966.107).

The pattern *sono N₁ sono N₁* is used to mean 'each particular/individual N₁' or 'each and every N₁' (cf. *sorézore < sore-''sore ? < sore-ni-sore* 'individually, respectively'):¹ ... *Syuukan-Ásahi ni sité mo Bungei-Syúntyoo ni sité mo, sono góo sono góo ni yotte, naiyoo wa zénbu tigau* 'Whether it be Weekly Asahi or Bungei Shunchō, the content is completely different from issue to issue' (Tk 4.241b); *Kono yóo na gutái-rei wa, sono toti sono toti ni, musuu ni korogatte iru* 'Concrete examples of this sort abound all over the country' (Maeda 1962.124); ... *sonó-hito sonó-hito no syukan ni yotte* 'depending on the intuition of the particular individual' (Tsuji-mura 78); ... *sono-hi^[1] sono-hi^[1] no seiseki* 'the daily results' (SA 2663.48c); ... *sono-hi^[1] sono-hi^[1] o kurasu* 'lives through each day'; ... *sono zidai sono zidai no sesóo(-)* ... 'the social conditions of each individual age'. But occasionally the iteration of *sono N* may be merely emphatic: *sono-ba sono-bá(-)* de 'right then and there'.

In the iterative pattern *sono N₁ sono N₁* (= *dóno N₁ 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*: *Áu hito áu hito ga áisatu sita* (= *Átta hito wa dáre de mo áisatu sita*) 'Everyone I met greeted me'; *Kúru monó^[1] kúru monó ni o-miyage o yatta* 'They gave presents to all comers'; *Míru monó^[1] míru monó ga mezurasií kara, akinai* 'Everything I see is so unusual my interest never lags'. And in *Suru kotó^[1] násu kotó^[1] 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 kamí* 'every single sheet of paper'. And we also observed reduplications such as *yamáyama* 'mountains' and *simázima* 'islands', to be entered in the dictionary as unpredictable lexical items, sometimes narrowed in meaning to 'each individual N': ... *koré-ra no ié-ie no totan wa Nihon-sei ná no da* 'the zinc on [the roof of] every one of these houses was made in Japan' (SA 2669.62e); ... *soré-ra no misé-mise(-)* wa ... 'those several shops, each one of them ...' (SA 2663.34d); ... *tihoo-tihoo no hoogén* 'the dialects of the various regions' (Maeda 1962.219); *Kotobá wa tihoo-tihoo de tigau* 'Language differs from region to region' (Kotoba no yurai 130); ... *yoosyo-yóosyo de* 'at every strategic position'. Some of the words derived by these patterns are virtually synonymous with iterations of *sono N*; ... *toti-tóti ni yotte koto-náru ga* ... 'it differs from place to place, but ...' (SA 2659.71b) means much the same thing as *sono toti sono toti de zúibun tigau*. And sometimes you will find *sono* + reduplicated noun: *Máa sono keesu-kéesu ni yotte tigaimásu* 'Why, it varies from case to case' = *sono kéesu sono kéesu ni yotte tigaimásu*.² Some of the reduplicated nouns have unpredictable nuances of meaning that show up in idiomatic translations: *ikura-íkura* 'just how much', *kázu ga ikura-íkura(-)* *húeta* 'the number increased a certain amount'; *setuna-sétuna ni ikíru* 'lives from moment to moment'; *omoi-ómói no sutáiru de* 'each in his own style' (CK 985.378—*omoi-ómói* is a precopular

1. But *sono tóki* 'that time' forms a compound *sonotoki-sonotóki*, as in ... *sonotoki-sonotóki no mondai o syóri suru to iu kotó 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-sonotóki DE*, in contrast with *sono tóki NI* 'at that time'.

2. In *baai-baai ni yotte* 'depending on the place' and *nendai-nendai ni yotte* 'depending on the age', for some reason the iterated atonic noun fails to pick up the appropriate compound-noun accent (**baai-báai*, **nendai-néndai*). 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 dé wa* ... 'school year by school year' (Nagano 1966.140).

noun); *uta* no *aida-áida*(^[1])³ ni ... 'between each of the songs' (Tk 3.115b); *yuku saki-zaki de* 'in the various places one goes' but *saki-zaki* '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)'.³

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 énerugii no ooki-sa ni TÁDA-TADA bikkúri suru* 'We are simply startled by the size of man's energy ...'; *MÁDA-MADA arimásu* 'We've got lots more'. The adverbs *goku-goku* 'extremely' from *góku* and *yoku-yoku* 'extremely much; thorough(ly)' from *yóku* are similar, except that they have shed their accent. (Other cases of atonicization include *maru-maru* 'completely, entirely'—cf. *maru-máru* {to} *hutóru* 'gets plump'—*ato-ato* 'the distant future' and *mae-mae* 'for a long time already'.) The adverb *tokoro-dókoru* 'everywhere', on the other hand, has the regular accentuation of a compound noun. *Matá-mata*(⁻) = *matá-mo*{-ya} '(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 *ása-na ása-na* 'morning after morning' has the earmarks of an iteration, but it is optionally accentuated as a compound noun *asana-ásana*; the adverb *yóna-yona* 'night after night' is a syntactic reduction (from an underlying *yó-na* | *yó-na*) and it is optionally atonicized *yona-yona*. And a similar expression meaning 'every morning and night' has three versions: *ása-na yúu-na*, *ásana(-)yuuna*, and *asana-yúuna*—as in ~ *no gongyóo*(⁻) '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[i]* [*w*]a 'as for in ...' seems more likely. The accentuation of the idiomatic expression meaning 'every inlet and bay = all parts [of Japan]' 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: (*Nihón no*) *tú-tú urá-ura*, *tútú(-)uraura*, *tutu-uráura*.

The adverb *sirazu-sírazu* (*no utí*(⁻) *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 *tiká-zika*(⁻) *ni iku* 'goes up close', {*koré-kore*} *siká-zika* (*no* ...) 'such and such'. You will find intensive reduplication of verbs (made by preposing the infinitive) in *miti-mítite iru* 'is brimful' and *tumori-tumótte 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 *máti-mati* 'waiting' (iterated verbal infinitive) and *matí-mati* 'town after town' or 'street after street'; the latter is probably the source of the precopular/adjectival noun *matímatí*(⁻) 'diverse'—cf. *kú-ku* (*táru* ...) 'diverse' or 'petty' from *kú* 'sector, section, ward'. See also *soko-soko* 'approximately' (§25).

Repetitions can sometimes be the result of a kind of interlaced sentence-joining that we have overlooked in our description: ... *nán*[*i*] *to náni ga íkura íkura de* ... 'just how much each item is' (Ariyoshi 62).

3. Some speakers may make a difference between *aida-áida*, with the productive accentuation appropriate to a compound, and *aida-aida* with an atonic accentuation that indicates a syntactic reduction (*aida* [|] *aida*), using the latter for spatial location: *hón no aida(-)aida* 'between the each of the books' but *sigoto no aida-áida* '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 *dá* 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 *dá*.¹ 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 *dá*, as explained in § 15: *Ryokoo ˉbákkari ʃdaʃ yó! ... hutarí de yattyaú kara kantan ʃdaʃ yó* ‘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 can not be sure except from context whether to interpret an omitted predicator as imperfect or perfect. At the end of the headline *Undóo* in *hutarí ga ihan o kú ni ʃsiteʃ 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: *Hirusúgi ni ókíte, sono mamá saúna 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 *dá* and *suru*, the gerunds *dé* and *sité* are also sometimes omitted, often with a comma to mark their absence; examples will be found in § 9.1.12.² 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: *Séigi ni tuyókerya séi ni mo ʃtuyóiʃ to iu wáke ka* ‘Perhaps the intention is to be (“strong”=) heavy on righteousness and on sex as well’ (SA 2685.116b)—cf. § 9.3.2; *Bútai wa hutatú ni wakáre, Tyóo ga ittai o ʃsikiʃ siteʃ, Soobai ga hoka no ittai o sikiʃ sita* ‘The outfit split in two, with *Chō* (?—or, the Leader?) commanding one group and *Sōbai* the other’ (Ig 1962.92); *Tóozí no hooritu dé wa otokó ga sán-zyuu ʃni náttetʃ onná wa nízyuu gó ni naránakereba, ziyúu no kekkon wa mitomerarenákatta* ‘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); *Zéndo ʃwaʃ mizubítasiʃ(ˉ) ʃni náttatʃ* ‘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 *Káre no ryokoo [da]* ‘It is his trip’ and *Káre ga ryokoo [suru]* ‘He travels’.

2. Here is an example omitting both *dé* and *dá*: *Nisi-Dóitu no heikin (-) koosaku-ménseki wa itikéiei ˉátari ití-nóomin ˉátari hat-tyóobu [de], Huransu wa sono báí ˉízyoo [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-kúrumi no ryoo-sóde ga uwamuki ni {nátte}, kubireta tékubi ga soko kara tyúu(¯) ni nóbita 'O-kurumi's sleeves were turned up and her constricted wrists extended from there into mid-air' (lg 1962.92). In the last example, we know that what is omitted can not be *sité* 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 kéesu o máe ni {site}, wakái onná ga iru 'A young woman is standing with the glass case of the (stair) landing in front of her' (lg 1962.97); Kore o kawakiri ni {site}, sono-gó(¯) Kyóodo no syuugeki wa síba-siba kuri-kaesareta 'With this for a start, afterwards the Huns' attacks were repeated often' (lg 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-nágara, ... 'While thinking we would have a party, ...' (SA 2687.120a); Ori-kara, "Dóo-zo go-zyoosen o [site kudasái]" to iu kotó ni nátte, hitóbito wa húne e nagare-komu 'At that moment it was "All aboard" and people streamed on the ship' (CK 985.268); O-teywaraka ni [site kudasái] 'Take it easy (on me) = Treat me gently'. It is not always obvious exactly which of several possible verbs a speaker might have had in mind (as well as whether the form is perfect or imperfect): ... to iú no ga kyootuu-íken datta ga, náka ni wa tugí no yóo na kóe mo [] 'It was the consensus that ... but in the midst there were [also] some voices as follows' (SA 2673.110c)—*áru?*, *átta?*, *déta?*; Narikin-syúmi ga dóo-mo [] né 'The taste of the new rich—well!' (SA 2663.19b)—apparently something like *utagawasíi* 'is questionable' is intended; Dé wa, teeburu-supíiti o [] 'Now, the table speeches' (SA 2669.140—the M.C. at a wedding)—perhaps *itasimasyóo* 'let us do' or *ukagaimasyóo* 'let us listen to' is intended; Sitúrei site, así o [].—Aa, dóo-zo dásite kudasái 'Excuse me, my feet ...—Oh, please put them out in a comfortable position' (SA 2666.44a)—what verb was intended?; ... yappári, kéizai no hóo o?—Zyáa náí n da.—Dé wa, búnka?—Dé mo náí 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: [] Daróo 'I guess (so)' (Fn 338b); Nání? Kimi wa, wasi o karakáu ki ká né.—[] Dé wa arimasén ga, ... 'What's this, are you trying to tease me?—No, but ...' (Fn 388a)—perhaps what is omitted is *sore* 'that'; Yúki san wa, honto ni, O-túya san to hutarí ~kkiri de, irú no daróo ka.—[] Dé, gozaimasyóo. '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 *sóo*): Anáta ga purodyúusu site?—[] Mítai ni náttýatta n desu 'With you producing it?—[So] it seems' (SA 2666.24c); Ei, [] mamá yó! 'Well, I don't care!'—presumably *kono* or *sono* is omitted; [] Daké 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 joiners such as *tó* or *yá* 'and'. The accentuation and meanings of certain idiomatic expressions indicate that they are syntactic reductions from such conjoined phrases: *hónke* [to |] *honmoto* '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 N_1 [no] | N_2 ; see p. 659 and Martin 1970.

A few odd cases of ellipsis I have collected: Anáta {no {kutu} } to onazi kutu ... 'The

same shoes as you(rs) ...'; Ore mo máda wákaku, zibun de iú no mo [] na n da ga, gaiken (= sotomi) wa sumáato na hōo de, Kéiko o kokóro kara ái-site iru '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 { | hén} 'strange'.

Elliptical expressions described elsewhere in this book include VN [si] ni iku (§9.1.1), [suru kotó ga] dekíru (§14.1.3), N o hazime [to site] (p. 472), V-té wa [ikenai] to omóu (p. 999), V-tára [íi] to omóu (p. 566), sappári [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-syóodai), etc.

There is a kind of ellipsis that is sometimes called GAPPING, 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'ítiroo wa hidari-gawa ni [séki o símete], gakusei wa migi ni séki o símeta 'Shin'ichirō occupied the seat on the left and the student occupied the seat on the right' (V 1972.162); ... sidai ni hikúí íti e [[tó] oi-komárete], otóta(¯) íti e tó oi-komárete iki-soo da ... 'they seem to get gradually driven into a lower position, into an inferior position' (Ōno 1966.105).

It is difficult to explain certain ellipses as mere surface omissions. In the example kéizai, boeeki-móndai ni túite 'with respect to economic and trade problems' we would appear to have a shortening of keizai-móndai to/ya boeeki-móndai '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 Amerika || Kanada-teki na | suizyun ni | ... tikazuíte iru | 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 ¯móndai as a quasi-restrictive—like ¯ziken 'incident'.

29 DEMONSTRATIVES; DEICTICS AND ANAPHORICS; PRONOUNS

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 *yaru* 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* 'I/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 (*dó-* 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 *dóre*) 'relative time' or 'place'; (2) *-ko* 'place'; (3) *-tira* or *-tti* 'direction; alternative (of two)' and [elegant] 'person'; (4) *-no*⁴ adnominal; (5) *-nná* (contraction of *-no yóo na*) 'of such kind as'; (6) *-[k]ú* adverbial (typically of manner). The last suffix makes somewhat irregular forms, as shown in the chart and explained later.

CHART OF DEICTIC DEMONSTRATIVES

<i>proximal</i>	<i>mesial</i>	<i>distal</i>	<i>indeterminate</i>	
<i>kore</i>	<i>sore</i>	<i>are</i>	<i>dóre</i>	individual
<i>koko</i>	<i>soko</i>	<i>asoko, asuko</i> ⁵	<i>dóko</i>	place
<i>kotira, kottí</i>	<i>sotira, sotti</i>	<i>atira, attí</i>	<i>dótira, dótti</i>	direction; alternative
<i>kono</i>	<i>sono</i>	<i>ano</i>	<i>dónno</i>	adnominal
<i>konná</i> ⁶	<i>sonná</i>	<i>anná</i>	<i>dónna</i>	= <i>no yóo na</i>
<i>kóo</i> ⁷	<i>sóo</i>	<i>áa</i>	<i>dóo</i>	adverbial (of manner)

1. Also as an auxiliary: *denwa ga kakátte kúru* 'there is a phone call for me/us', *denwa o kámete kúru* 'phones me/us'.

2. There are differences in the way the three-way distinction is drawn in parts of the Ryūkyūs 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 Gōtō. Although modern Korean marks three degrees of distance, only two of the forms are likely cognates with Japanese and each of those is asked by one degree: *kē/ko/ky* corresponds to Japanese *so-* in meaning but to *ko-* in form, *cē/co* corresponds to Japanese *a-* in meaning but to *so-* in form, and *yē/yo/i* corresponds to Japanese *ko-* in meaning.

3. In dialects (such as those of the Ryūkyūs) 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 *koré*([~]) for 'this person' (= *konó-hito*). As interjections, these words usually are prototonic: *Kóre! Sóre! Áre!* The interjections *kóra, sóra, and ára* are contractions of *kore/sore/are + wá*. *Dóre* is also used as an interjection: *Bu-kíyoo da né; dóre, bóku*([~]) *ga mótte yaru* 'How clumsy you are! Here, let me hold it' (Kawabata: *Suigetsu*).

4. In rapid speech this sometimes contracts to *-n[o]* before *d, t, or especially n*: *son[o] náka no ...* (R).

5. Also (N. Kyūshū) *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 'náta (originally a contraction of -n[o k]átá), 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 dáre '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 (*)dóti 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, *kore* means 'the immediate/impending time', *sore* means 'that earlier/later time', and *are* means 'that remote time'; the temporal reference is largely limited to the ablative (kará 'from') or allative (máde 'till'), and the resulting forms are often treated as lexical units, as we will see below. In place of *kore*, *sore*, *are*, and *dóre* you will sometimes hear *koitu*, *soitu*, *aitu*, and *dóitu*; these are contractions of ko[no] yátu 'this rascal [originally slave]' etc., used as a slangy reference to people or things, but not to times. *Kore kará* can mean 'from now on' (= ima kara) as well as 'from this one' (= koitu kará) and *sore kará* can mean 'till then' as well as 'up to that one' (= soitu máde); but *dóre kara* can mean only 'from which one' (= dóitu 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,⁶ 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 dá (and related forms); it is suppressed before ní.

7. The final accent on kóo, sóo, and áa is suppressed except before dá (and related forms including ní) and before wá, mó, or similar particles.

8. As in Tukuri-bánasi da to omóu ga, konna hanasí 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 soori-dáizin ga kono-yóo ni nobemásita '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 káre wa* ‘that he’ (Shiba 46), *sono káno-zyo ga* ‘that she’ (Tk 3.103)—it is possible to say *sono anó-hito* and *sono anó-ko* for ‘that him/her’, but not **sono ano otokó* for *sono otokó* ‘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: *Iká naru húuhu d’atte, go-nín no kodomo ga átte, go-dó sika are ga nákatta to iu húuhu wa náí kara né* ‘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-tái* ‘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-tái* ‘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 *káno*, an older form of *ano*: *káno yuumei na N* ‘that well-known N’. Compare the use of *káre* ‘he’ and *káno-zyo* ‘she’ to mean ‘lover’ (often *káre-si*) and ‘mistress’, respectively. *Kyátu*, an abbreviation of *k[áno] yátu*, is a deprecatory or intimate equivalent of *aitu* ‘that one’.

Anaphoric words typically refer to specific adjuncts of an earlier sentence, often adverbialized 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 kamí no sika no yóo na musumé wa hisó-hiso to sara o arai, sore ga súmu to, okkasan to issyo ni káette 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: *Omosirókereba sore de íi, to omóu* ‘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 gá*) or object (*kore ó*); unlike many other nouns, they are seldom modified or quantified, but that sort of structure is not totally precluded: *Háha wa ... ko no té e yo-tubu bákari 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 *kó* and *só* were used as demonstratives equivalent to modern *kore* and *sore*, and they are still found in clichés of the epistolary style (*kó wa, só mo, sómo-somo*); corresponding to modern *are* the older language also had *ká*, the source of *káre* ‘he’ (earlier ‘that one’). The literary adverb *ká-ku* means ‘in this way, like this’ and it is the source of modern *kóo*; corresponding to modern *sóo* ‘like that, so’ we find both *sá* and *siká*, the former perhaps a contraction of the latter. Modern *sóo* comes from *s[ik]á-[k]u*; *áa* and *dóo* are said to have been formed by analogy with *kóo*. *Ká* and *sá* are used in a few modern idioms such as *náni mo ká mo* ‘anything and everything’ and *sá mo nákereba* ‘otherwise’; they are also found in the adverbs *ka-/sa-hodo* and *ka-/sa-bákari* ‘to this/that extent’, *sá-made* ‘to that extent’, *sá-zo* ‘indeed’, *ka-yoo* ‘like this’ (= *kóo, káku*) and *sa-yoo* ‘like that’ (= *sóo, siká, sá*)—for which there is a short variant *sai*, often used by male clerks waiting on women: *Sai desu ka* ‘Really?’ (Okitsu 1.264). *Siká* is found in *siká-ku* ‘so’ (source of modern *sóo*), *siká-mo* ‘moreover’, *siká-si* ‘however’, and the literary verb *sikári/sikáru* < *siká ári/áru* ‘it is so’. Corresponding to the modern *asoko/asuko* ‘over there’ the literary language has *kásiko*. Both the colloquial and the literary use

itu for 'when' and nani for 'what' (with the optional contraction nan before d, t, or n—not to be confused with nan- = iku- 'how many' before any sound); the literary has tare for the colloquial dare 'who'. For the colloquial doko 'where' the literary language uses izuko/izuku (< iduko/iduku); literary izure (< idure) is the source of modern dore 'which (of more than two)', but it is also used to mean nani 'what', doko 'where', and dotira 'what direction'. In place of doko,⁹ the literary language uses iká-ni or iká-ga (< iká n[i] ka); ikán is an abbreviation of iká-ni that is also used as a noun 'the question of how/what' (= doko de aru ka);¹⁰ iká-ni can also mean donna ni, and iká na[ru] is a literary or dialect equivalent of donna. The morpheme ika- also appears in ika-hodo 'how much' (= dore-hodo(-)), ika-bákari 'to what extent' (= dono-gurai), and ika-yoo 'like what' (= dono-yoo). 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' (= dore-hodo(-)); it also appears as a variant of nan- in making the indeterminate form of numbers that consist of numeral + counter: iku-zi = nan-zi, iku-nin = nan-nin, iku-niti = nan-niti, 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' < *sono hoka, cf. sono 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', sono-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 *sono-yó(-) 'that world' and *dono-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 doko is 'how, in what manner', but it will often be translated 'what' or 'anything' when it is an adjunct of suru 'does': doko suru does not require so precise an answer as nani o suru 'does what'. 'Does it how/somewhat' is said as doko {ni} suru (or donna ni suru); the ni is required if mó or ká is attached, since doko-mo and doko-ka are used as adverbs with other meanings ('very' etc. and 'please').

10. Ikán to mo = doko-sité mo: ikán to mo syóti náí 'there's nought can be done' (Tk 3.83). Kore iká-ni is an idiomatic cliché expressing dismayed surprise: Haite kíta geta ga náí to wa kore iká-ni 'What's happened to the geta I arrived wearing?!' (Okitsu 233).

do we find *kore* ̄gúrai 'as much as this one' as well as *kore-gurai* 'this much'?¹¹

LIST OF DEMONSTRATIVE EXPRESSIONS

	<i>ko-</i>	<i>so-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>do-</i>
	<i>kore-ra</i>	<i>sore-ra</i>	<i>are-ra</i>	—
	<i>kore-kirí(-)</i>	<i>sore-kirí</i>	<i>are-kirí</i>	—
	-kkirí	-kkirí	-kkirí	
	-kkisi			
	-girí	-girí	-girí	
	<i>kore-kágiri</i>			
	(= <i>kore-kkirí</i>)			
	<i>kore-kurai</i>	<i>sore-kurai</i>	<i>are-kurai</i>	(<i>dore-kurai</i> DIAL.)
	-gurai	-gurai	-gurai	
	<i>kono-kurai</i> ¹²	<i>sono-kurai</i>	<i>ano-kurai</i>	<i>dóno-kurai(-)</i>
				<i>dono-gurai</i>
				<i>dono-teido</i> ¹³
	<i>kore-hodó(-)</i>	<i>sore-hodó(-)</i>	<i>are-hodó(-)</i>	<i>dóre-hodo(-)</i>
	<i>konó-hodo(-)</i>	—	—	—
	<i>kore-daké(-)</i>	<i>sore-daké(-)</i>	<i>are-daké(-)</i>	<i>dóre-dake(-)</i>
DIAL.	<i>kon-dake</i>	? <i>son-dake</i>	<i>an-dake</i> ¹⁴	—
		<i>sore-daké ni</i>		
	<i>kore-bákari</i>	<i>sore-bákari</i>	<i>are-bákari</i>	—
	-ppákari	-ppákari	-ppákari	
	-ppákasi	-ppákasi	-ppákasi	
	-nbákari			
	<i>koré-siki(-)</i>	<i>soré-siki(-)</i>	<i>aré-siki(-)</i>	—
	<i>kore-dógoro</i> {ka}	<i>sore-dógoro</i> {ka}	<i>are-dógoro</i> {ka}	—
		<i>sore-súra</i>		
		<i>sore-tómo</i>		
	<i>kore-nára</i>	<i>sore-nára</i>	<i>are-nára</i>	—
		<i>sonnára</i>		
	<i>kore-kará(-)</i>	<i>sore-kará(-)</i>	<i>are-kará(-)</i>	— (<i>ítu kara</i>)
	<i>kore-máde</i>	<i>sore-máde</i>	<i>are-máde</i>	— (<i>ítu made</i>)
	<i>konó-goro(-)</i>	<i>sono-kóro</i>	<i>ano-kóro</i>	— (<i>itu-goro</i>)

11. In a context that would appear to indicate anaphoric + ̄gúrai I have recorded the form as atonic: ... *sore(-)gurai no ooki-sa nó ga* ... 'ones of about the size of that one'. A clear case of anaphoric + ̄daké (since the *ga*-marker precludes the adverb): *Tiisai kedo kekkyoku are daké ga otóosan no nokósite zaisan ná n da wa né* 'It's tiny but that's all the property father had, isn't it' (Ariyoshi 264).

12. Like the restrictive ̄gúrai itself, these words can function as quantity nouns as well as adverbs: ... *koko ni nyuuzyoo sita hitó no dono-kurai GA* ... 'about how many of those admitted into the place here ...' (Tk 3.255a).

13. *Mázu, Méizi ̄zidai ni kanzi ga dono-teido seikaku ni kakáreta ka* 'Just how accurately were Chinese characters written in Meiji times?' (K 1966.53). This is equivalent in meaning to *dóno téido(-) máde* 'up to what extent'.

14. SA 1671.19b. For conflicting data, see p. 789.

kono-setu	sonó-sétu	ano-sétu	—
kono-sái	(sono-sai, sono-sái ni)	(ano-sai)	—
kono-zíbun	sono-zíbun	ano-zíbun	—
kono-tóki	sono-tóki	ano-tóki	—
kono-hí	sono-hí	ano-hí	dóno-hi
kono-tabi (= kóndo ¹⁵)	sonó-tabi	anó-tabi	—
kono-ori	sono-ori	?—	—
kono-túgi	sono-túgi	ano-túgi	—
kono-notí	sono-notí(⁀)	ano-noti	—
kono-gó(⁀)	sono-go	—	—
—	sono-mukasi	—	—
	sono-kámi(⁀)		
	(= mukasi)		
kono-saki			
kono-máe			
kono-kán	sonó-kán	—	—
—	sono-uti {ni} ¹⁶	—	—
kon[o-]aidá			
kono-zyuu	—	—	—
kono-tokoro ¹⁷	—	—	—
kono-hen(⁀)	sono-hen	ano-hen	dono-hen
kokó[i]ra	sokó[i]ra	asokó[i]ra	dókoira ¹⁸
—	—	—	dokora-hen
kono-ué	sono-ué		
kono-hito	sonó-hito	anó-hito	(dóno-hito, dáre)
kono-ko	sonó-ko	anó-ko	(dóno-ko, dáre)
kono-kátá	sono-kátá	ano-kátá	dóno-kata (dónata)
konó-kata ¹⁹			
konó-ta	sonó-ta	—	—
konó-hoka	sonó-hoka	anó-hoka	—
konó-hóo ²⁰	sonó-hóo ²¹	—	—
kokó-moto ²²	sokó-moto ²³	—	—

15. The kón- of kóndo 'this recent/present/next time' is the Chinese loanmorph meaning 'now', not related to ko- 'this'. The word kóndo has a Tōkyō variant kónda, which is not to be misconstrued as merely an abbreviation of kóndo wa or a mistake: Kónda wa ima-máde to wa tigatte, saikyóo-sya ga meizin ni náru wáke da 'This time, different from up to now, the strongest one gets to be champion' (Tk 3.135a); Kónda no tatakai dé wa, ... 'In the next match' (Tk 3.139a); ... kónda no náikaku 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 tokoró 'this place' (= koko).

18. The -[i]ra is a contraction of -yara, probably < yá ára[mu].

19. 'Since'.

20. 'Oneself'.

21. 'You'.

22. 'Me'.

23. 'You'.

	sonó-moto		
koré-sya ²⁴	soré-sya ²⁵	—	—
—	sono-mónó ²⁶	—	—
	sono-múki		
	sono-súzi		
	(sono-miti)?		dono-miti ²⁷
kono-yó(¯)	—	ano-yó(¯)	—
kore-tei ²⁸	sore-tei	are-tei	—
kono-yóo	sono-yóo(¯)	ano-yóo	dóno-yóo
kono-tóori	sono-tóori	ano-tóori	?—
kono-bún			
—	sono-bá(¯)		
	sonoba-kágiri		
	sonoba-nógare		
—	sono-hazu ²⁹	—	—
kono-mamá	sono-mamá	ano-mamá	—
kono-kuse	sono-kuse		—
kono-yósi	sono-yósi	—	—
—	sono-zitu	—	—
kono-yúé [ni]	sono-yúé [ni]	?—	—
(—)	sore-yúé	—	—
	sore-narí(¯) [ni]		
—	sore-soo'oo = sore-sootoo ³⁰	—	—
koré-kore	sore-sore	—	—
kóre-kore!			dóre-dore!
	soré-zóre		
kore-wa kore-wa	sore-wa sore-wa		
		aré-kore	
		káre-kore	
koko-kásiko	soko-kásiko	—	—
	sokó-koko		
	sokó-soko(¯)		dóko-soko
(koko-máde)	soko-máde	(—)	dóko-doko ³¹
			dóko-made

24. Shimmura 809d.

25. 'One of "those" (geishas)'. MKZ⁵ 654b.

26. 'Itself'.

27. 'Either way'; cf. dóno miti 'what/which way'.

28. Shimmura 809d.

29. Meaning 'naturally, of course'. The regularly formed phrases are *konna/sonna/anna/dónna 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 aru* 'It is a fact that it has content of a sort' (SA 2651.97a).31. *Amerika dé wa dóko-doko ni o-ide ni nátta wáke desu ka* 'Just where all did you go in America?' (Tk 3.160b).

—	—	—	dotira-hóomen ³²
—	dáre-sore	dáre-kare	dáre-dare
—	sotira-kótira	atira-kótira	—
	sotí-kóti	atí-kóti	
	sottí-kótti	atti-kótti	
kóo-koo	sóo-soo	—	—
—	sóo-koo	—	—

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 *dé mo* when the sentence is affirmative ('any ...soever'). But some of these expressions are used in unpredictable ways and with unexpected meanings: *ítu 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 kotó ga náí* 'it never happens that S'). In addition to *náni ka* 'something', *dáre ka* 'someone', *ítu ka* 'sometime', *íku-tu ka* 'some number of', *íku-ra ka* (and *nán[i]-ra ka*) 'some amount of', etc., there are the following expressions made with demonstratives from our list: *dóko ka* 'somewhere, someplace', *dóre ka* 'some one (of three or more)', *dótira/dótti ka* 'one or the other', *dóno N ka* 'some one of the Ns', and *dóo ka* which originally meant 'somehow' but is now used mainly in the meaning 'please', with *dóo 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 ní* (or *háyo[o] ní*) corresponds to the standard *háyaku* 'early, fast'; the use of *ní* after *dóo*, *kóo*, *sóo*, and *áa* turns up in certain expressions even in the standard language. *Dóo ka* itself is used with *suru* to mean 'something is the matter, something happens, something goes wrong'; *dóo suru* means 'what happens' as well as 'how does it happen' (= *dónna ni suru*) and *dóo site* means 'what happening' as well as 'how'³³ (= *dónna 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: *dáre ni ka* (= *dáre ka ni*), *dóko e ka* (= *dóko ka e*), *náni kara ka* (= *náni ka kara*). The expressions with *mó* usually require case markers other than *gá* and *ó* to precede the *mó*: *Dáre ni mo agenai* 'I will give it to no one', *Dóko e mo ikanai* 'I will go nowhere', and even *ítu made mo* 'for ever' (with the temporal allative).

There are a number of idiomatic phrases made up of *dó-... mo kó-... mo* (with *kó-* picking up an accent);³⁵ these are emphatic ways of saying 'each and every' or '[not] any one of them': *dóre mo | kóre mo*; *dóitu mo | kóitu mo*; *dóo ni mo | kóo ni mo*; *dóo mo | kóo mo*; and the somewhat unusual *dóo náte | kóo náte* (Nagano 1966.155). Sometimes these

32. Meaning *dótti no hoo* (Okitsu 1.59).

33. Though 'how' is usually *dóo yatte* rather than *dóo 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 *nán[i] de*.

35. But only in the shorter, idiomatic expressions. Thus the *ko-* words remain atonic in these examples: *Dóko no | koko nó to litte irú no wa || mendóo da kara, || mukóo(ː) e itte | mite ...* 'Not wanting to argue about the place, I went over there to see ...' (Okitsu 1.342); *Dóo surú mo | koo surú mo || náí | sá* 'It doesn't matter what happens' (Kb 35b); *Dé, || dóko e ikoo | koko e ikóo no | ageku || Mukoozima e ...* 'Then, lacking any better inspiration, I went to Mukōjima ...' (Kb 125a); *Dóo sita n desu ka?—Dóo sita mo | koo sitá mo || arimasén | yó* '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 *dóo* {ni} ka | *kóo* {ni} ka 'somehow or other' can be reduced to doonika-kóonika or dooka-kóoka.³⁶ The expression *dóo no* | *kóo no* is explained in §14.2.3. Instead of *kóre*, the literary *ká{re}* is used with *dáre*: *dáre mo* | *ká{re}* mo 'anybody and everybody'. With *náni* the form used is *ká* or *kán{i}*: *náni mo* | *ká{ni}* mo or *nán de mo* | *ká{n}* de mo 'anything and everything'.³⁷ With *dóko* the form used is *ká{siko}*: *dóko mo* | *ká{siko}* mo 'anywhere and everywhere' (SA 2670.106c). But *dóko mo* | *asoko mo* and *dóko mo* | *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 *ó*): *daremo-ká{re}mo*, *nanimo-ká{ni}mo*, *nandemo-kándemo*, *dokomo-ká{siko}mo*. Other combinations of demonstratives can be found: *sore mo kore mo* {minná} 'all these things'; *are ya kore yá (de)* '(what with) this and/or that, one thing and/or another'; *sonna-kónná (de/no)* 'of one sort and another' (§13.5). Also to be treated as single lexical items are *dáre-hitóri*(-) '[not] a single person' (= *hitóri mo*) and *náni-hitótu*(-) '[not] a single thing' (= *hitótu mo*), though NHK lists also *náni* | *hitótu*. 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: *monó* (or *yátu*) 'thing/person', *kotó* 'matter/event', *hitó* 'person', *tokoró* (or *tókó*) 'place; situation; time', *toki* '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 *hitó* '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 *hitó* 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: *konó-hito*, *sonó-hito*, *anó-hito*; *konó-ko*, *sonó-ko*, *anó-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 *dóo-sité mo* | *kóo-sité mo* or *doositemo-kóositémo* 'one way or another'. Cf. *áa mo si* | *kóo mo site* 'doing that and doing this = doing this and that'; *áa de mo ná* | *kóo de mo ná* 'is neither this nor that'.

37. We also find *náni ya ká{ni} ya* or *náni yara ká{ni} yara* or *nán yara kán yara* 'this or that, something or other'; *nán to ka ká{n} to ka*, *nán da no ká{n} da no*, and *nán da ká{n} da* 'this or that, something or other': ... *nán da ká da to warúguti ya*, *hiniku ya*, *iziwáru o sareté 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 *nán to mo ká{n} to mo*: ... *nán to mo ká to mo wakaránai* 'understands not one thing' (TK 3.256b). The -ni of *kán{i}* is usually taken to be by analogy with *náni*, but both may reflect an early use of the essive *ni*.

gender, though it can always be specified by a phrase such as *kono otokó* 'this man', and *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 *bá[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 *ná[-re]*; an extended form *na-muti* is the source (by contraction) of the literary pronoun *nánzi*(⁷) and the Amami pronoun *namyi*. 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 per cent of the overt references to the first person were made with some word felt to be specifically a personal pronoun—such as *watasi*, *bōku*(⁷), *ore*, etc.; but only .28 of the overt references to the second person were made by such a word—*anáta*, *omae*, *kimi*, *o-taku*, etc.; and a mere .0152 of the overt references to the third person were made by pronouns such as *káre*, *are*, or *kotira-san*. The other overt references found in the study were made with name or kinterm (such as *ane* or *née-san* 'Big Sister = I', *née-san* 'Big Sister = You') or, for the second person, title (*senséi* '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. Iizawa 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*; *ate*; *watti* (Mio 302); *a[s]si*,³⁸ *wa[s]si*; *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 né. Watasi wa aikokú-sya desu yó* 'Anyway, I admired it. I am a patriot, you see' (SA 2679.50a).

The pronoun *bōku*(¹) 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*(¹), 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 *Bōku 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 *ōra*:³⁹ *Omāe wa ima, ōra o misē 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 *oi* 'nephew'. The word *uti*(¹) 'house, home' will sometimes be translated as a first-person pronoun in English: *uti*(¹) *no inū* 'our/my dog, the dog we have at our place'. As a genuine first-person pronoun, the word is prototonic, *úti* 'I/me', and is limited to the speech of Kansai women (according to MKZ⁵). 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 *anáta* 'you'. Cf. Suzuki 1973 and the remarks in *Kotoba no yurai* 45-6: "Lately *o-taku* is often used a second-person pronoun. [To the pronoun *anáta*] shop people will stick on *sama* and say *anáta-sama*, but this is overly polite, so *o-taku* has recently appeared." *Kotira* or *kottí* is a rather polite way of referring to oneself; *kottya* is a contracted version of *kotira*: *Aa iú no o erábu no wa, kottya mo rakú zya nái* 'I'm not pleased at electing that sort, either' (Niwa Fumio in Tk 4.270). The more literary *kóti* is also used; and *kóti-no-hito* is one way for a wife to call her husband (= *anáta*). *Kotitō-ra*(¹) 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 *koti*(¹) *no*

38. *Assi to kánai no hutarí 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; *uraa* (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-kábu o ubáú" wa, aité no tokúí(¯) 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 yó, sessya, and syóosei, all of Chinese origin;⁴⁰ the imperial 'we' of pre-war Japan was the pronoun tìn, now replaced by wáre, 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 '(one)self' 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 bóku(¯) may nonetheless use zibun in talking to themselves or 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 dekimásu 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: "Nán 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 zísín,⁴² often the second element in an apposition (including zibun zísín and zibún-táti zísín), óno or onore (both sometimes 'you' or 'me'), and mízukara,⁴³ which is also used as an adverb '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-tagai⁴⁴ 'each other, reciprocally' has the honorific prefix o- used rather vacuously (the exalting form is o-tagai-sama); it is most often found adverbialized by predication with ní. The four distributive pronouns meaning 'each (its own), respectively' have the grammar of pure nouns but are often directly adverbialized: sorézore, meiméi, menmén, and onóono.

The "individual" demonstratives (kore, sore, 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 (koré-ra, soré-ra, aré-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 tó 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 názo wa 'the likes of me' (Okitsu 1.306).

41. We must not overlook the advent of mii 'I/me' and yúu 'you'; the former is carried among the entries of MKZ⁵. The male first-person pronoun waga-hai is literary.

42. And exalting go-zísín, as in go-zísín 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. Byoonin wa mízukara o írýoo(¯) no sotogawa ni oite, sóto kara sukui ga 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-tagai o koosoku suru monó de wa 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 anó-ko-ra and anó-ko-tati are used; anó-hito-tati is more common than (?)anó-hito-ra. Wáre has the plural wáre-ra or wareware, but the standard language lacks *wáre-tati, as well as *dóre-tati, though koré-tati, soré-tati, aré-tati and dáre-tati (= dáre-dare,⁴⁵ dáre to dáre) can be used with reference to people. (The reduplicated forms of the demonstratives have special meanings: kórekore 'come come!', korékore 'such and such', ?soresore 'so and so', sorézore 'respectively', dóredore 'now now!'—there is no *aréare or *kárekare.) 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 zibun-ra, zibun-táti, zibun-dómo, gozibun-táti, and gozibun-gáta are sometimes used even when the plurality would appear to be already obvious: Watási-táti wa zibun-táti no heyá 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 zisin wa nán no kioku mo náí kara, zibun ga nagaíki 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 hanasí o sita kotó 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 senséi-tati 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: Ototoi no ban, déte ikimásita. Bóku-táti wakaréru kotó ni sitá n desu 'She left night before last. We have decided to split up' (Ariyoshi 304). In a Kawabata story (Izu no odoriko) 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-tati 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-tati.

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 ní 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-sámá no heya' (the guest's =) your room'; and the salesperson in a shop may ask for okyaku-sámá no denwa-bángoo '(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 anáta-tati or anátá-gáta(=) you can add the collectivizer to the title (senséi-táti, senséi-gáta, etc.); or you can use miná-san or minasán-gata '(all of) you; (you) gentlemen, ladies, ladies and gentlemen'.⁴⁷ It is handy to remember that (... no) katá is a nice way to say 'person' and (... no) katá-gata can be used for 'you esteemed people (who/of ...)' as in gaikoku (or gaikokú-zin) no katá-gata 'you foreigners'. You will also hear dótira-sama mo for 'both/all of you': Dótira-sama mo, o-yasumi nasái 'Good-night, everybody'. Onoonó-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 kinterms as bóoya or bóttyan for boys and ozyóttyan or (old-fashioned) zyóttyan for girls. Children typically refer to unrelated grownups with kinterms assimilated to their apparent age: ozisan 'Uncle', obasan 'Aunt', oziisan 'Grandfather', obáasan 'Grandmother'. Reference to the second and third persons in Japanese is inevitably bound up with concepts of social status and with the system of kinterms, and there is considerable variation in traditions of usage, as well as the forms, in different parts of the country. In Ōsaka the word an-san, an abbreviation of anáta-sama is a polite word for 'you', not to be confused with áni-san '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 óno = 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-]núsi 'you' appears to be dialect or slang. O-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)

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 katugárete irú 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: Yái, yánu si no Kóobee ttee no wa únu ka!—Hée—únu de—gozaimásu 'What, are YOU Kōbē the landlord?!—Yes, I am' (Okitsu 1.395).

'your body/health'—and the feminine epistolary *ón-moto* or *o-móto*, 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 *taikei* for 'you' to an older friend (Tk 2.109b); *ónsi* '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, *sotí*, 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).

30 USAGE CONSTRAINTS; AGRAMMATISMS; IDIOMS; LEXICAL COMPOUNDS

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 simasyóo ka 'Shall I (= Would you like me to) show it to you?' and O-kasi simasyóo ka 'Shall I (= Would you like me to) lend it to you?' will feel confident he can say O-nose simasyóo 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 {sasi-}agemasyóo ka to translate the English expression. Certain transitive verbs such as noseru 'gives a ride to' and otósu 'drops' (paired with intransitives noru 'rides' and otíru 'falls') function as quasi causatives and are subject to constraints similar to those for regularly formed causatives such as noraseru 'causes to ride' and otisaséru 'causes to fall'; but other superficially similar verbs such as miséru 'shows' (paired with míru 'sees') and kasu 'lends' (paired with karíru 'borrows') are free of the constraints of the related forms misaséru '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 nátte kudasaimasén ka (BJ 2.17.K4) is not used to mean 'Won't you give me a lift, please', which is said as Nosete kudasaimasén 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 kiránai katá wa o-kirase kudasái '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 kíru '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] kiránai] katá '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 blends or semantic analogies, as when the creator of zenzen arukóoru ˘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 náí 'lacks'. When an agrammatism is widespread our grammar must adjust to allow for it; instead of deploring 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 *ó*.

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 *hara-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: ... *dáre d'átte* ⁽¹⁾*Isigurá-si o hínan suru ki ní wa narénai* '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 *ní* and intruded before *suru*: ... *to iu ki ga, watasi ní wa suru* 'I DO have the feeling that ...' (SA 2645.46d). *Ki ni ir-u* 'pleases one, one likes' (= *sukí da*), on the other hand, is not readily split: (?)*ki ní wa iranákatta* is more likely to be said as *ki ni irí wa sinákatta*. The noun [o-]kiiiiri 'one's favorite' is derived from the infinitive of the idiom: *kiiiiri no zidóo-sya*(⁻) '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 ái wa sinákatta* 'was NOT in time', rather than internally, **ma ní wa awánakatta*.

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 ukéru* 'takes for true, accepts as truth'; *tyó/syó ni túku* 'gets underway, makes a beginning'; *maikyo ni itomá*(⁻) *ga nái* 'are too numerous to count/mention'; *kámpu náki made* {*ni*} 'thoroughly, scathingly, roundly'; *nitti mo sátti mo* (*tukánai* Kb 315b, *ikanai, ugokénai*) 'is in a pinch, is caught between two fires'; *múyoo*(⁻) *no tyoobutu* '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 *ken mo hororo* (*no áisatu*) 'brusque (greetings)' is the result of recognizing that the *ken-* of *kéndon* 'harsh' and *kenken-googoo* 'clamorous' suggests the crying of pheasants, for which the mimetic expression is *horo-[ho]ro*. In the example *te-gúsune hiite kyaku o mátta 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 *túukaa* 'intimate understanding' (as in *túukaa no náka* 'a relationship where words are unneeded' and *Aitu to aitu wa túukaa 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 [gá] | tumáru 'is cornered/pressed' is also said as séppa tumáru^[1] and as seppa-tumáru. 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 | mí-mane*, *mi-yóo mí-mane*, and *miyoo-mí-mane* all mean '(being) influenced by another's example' and come from *mi-yóo* [tó] *mí-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'); *otókó-no-ko* 'boy' and *onná-no-ko* 'girl' (cf. *onná no ko* [domo] 'the woman's child', *onná no senséi* 'a female teacher' or 'the girl's teacher'); *yo-nó-naka* 'the world, the public' from *yó(-) no náka* 'midst of the world'; *oziiityan-obáatyan* 'grampa-n-gramma' from *oziiityan* {-to} *obáatyan* 'grandpa and grandma'; *ima-máde* 'up to now' ← **íma máde*; etc. On the other hand, the compound-like accentuation of phrases marked by restrictives and quasi-restrictives such as *gúrai* 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 *kyuusen-zyóotai* '(the condition of being) an armistice', *heiwa-zyóotai* '(state of) peace', *kootyaku-zyóotai* 'deadlock, standstill', *hoowa-zyóotai* 'saturation, saturated', *saimin-zyóotai* '(under) hypnosis', *sinkyuu-zyóotai* [*ni náru*] '[becomes] a vacuum', *taihai-zyóotai* '(state of) corruption, depravity', *doobutu no kenkoo-zyóotai* 'the health of the animals' (SA 2813.31b), *panikku-zyóotai ni nátta* 'went into a panic' (SA 2835.126b);

zyookén(-) 'condition' as in *ondo-zyóoken* 'the [condition of the] temperature';

guai 'condition' as in *kókóá no toke-gúai* 'the meltedness of the cocoa' and *Kín-tyan wa dóo da i, hutokoro-gúai wa* 'How about it, Kin-chan, how's your pocketbook?' (Okitsu 1.291);

gensyoo 'phenomenon' as in zísín no rooka-génsyoo 'her own growing old' (Ariyoshi 246);

taiguu 'treatment' as in Kokuzin wa mukóo(¯) de sabetu-táiguu úket' óru kara, ... 'The blacks are subject to discrimination over there, so ...' (Tk 3.59a);

mondai 'question, issue' as in zinsyu-móndai '[the issue of] race';

sikake 'device' as in bane-zíkake 'a spring, spring [works]' and tokei-zíkake 'clockwork';

undoo 'movement' as in roodoo-úndoo 'labor [as a movement]' and teikoo-úndoo 'the resistance [movement]'

tuzuki 'series, string' as in rokusatu-túzuki no "Kokugobunka-kóoza" to iu monó 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 [erueru-sóoti] 'language laboratory (facilities)';

Suffixes include 'sya 'company' as in sinbún-sya 'newspaper (as institution/business)'; 'ryoku 'power of, -tion' as in soozóo-ryoku '[one's power of] imagination' and syuutyúu-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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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 Jordan 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, adnouns precede particles, verbs and adverbs 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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