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SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF THE NOMINALS
***MONO AND KOTO* IN JAPANESE**

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Abstract

Syntax and semantics of the nominals *mono* and *koto* in Japanese

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There is a group of words which are usually referred to as *keisiki-meisi* (i.e. formal nouns) in Japanese. The formal noun is defined as a noun which does not have a substantive meaning, and is not used in isolation, but requires a preceding modifier. In this thesis, examinations of various aspects of the Japanese nouns *mono* and *koto*, which are widely acknowledged as typical examples of formal noun, will be presented. *Mono* and *koto* occur with a variety of terms to produce additional derivatives. For example, when the copula *da* is attached to *mono* or *koto* at the end of a sentence, it becomes a sentence-final modality which strongly reflects the speaker's emotions or feelings. However, owing to the fact that *mono* and *koto* are also used on occasion as substantive nouns without preceding modifiers, scholars tend to merely clarify the boundary between the use of *mono* or *koto* as a substantive noun, and its use as a formal noun, giving two separate labels to the same noun. In this study, the existence of continuity between these two usages – substantive and formal – is hypothesised. The syntactic and semantic features observed throughout the derivative forms of *mono* and *koto* offer a chance to explore and identify the unifying features of the two different usages. It is also demonstrated that, viewed in the light of the framework of grammaticalisation, the category 'formal noun' is only a label that has been put onto a group of nouns which can be grammaticalised or which have already been grammaticalised.

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Abbreviations

The following abbreviations have been used in giving translations of the example sentences.

ACC	ACCusative case marker (<i>o</i>)
COP	COPula (<i>da/desu</i>)
CP	Conjunctive Particle
FN	Formal Noun
GEN	GENitive case marker (<i>no</i>)
NOM	NOMinative case marker (<i>ga</i>)
NOMI	NOMInaliser
SFM	Sentence-Final Modality
SFP	Sentence-Final Particle
TOP	TOPic marker (<i>wa</i>)
*	ungrammatical / unacceptable
?	awkward

Note on Romanisation

The *Kunrei* romanisation is adopted in Japanese examples.

The Hepburn system is used in translations of the examples and bibliographical information.

When a different system is adopted in citations, it is changed to the above system for unification.

Sources of Japanese Examples

Many of Japanese examples are taken from the following short stories in *Showa bungaku zenshu* Vol. 32 (Shogakukan 1989).

A: “Kawauso”, Kuniko Mukoda

B: “Ido no hoshi”, Rie Yoshiyuki

C: “Kaetteiku haha”, Haku Kohiyama

D: “Amagomori”, Kiichiro Takahashi

E: “Bosai no hirumae”, Takashi Tsujii

F: “Asai nemuri”, Kunie Iwahashi

G: “Suisho”, Kuninobu Noro

H: “Sakura-densha”, Kazuko Saegusa

I: “Uchusen”, Shuichi Sae

J: “Manhattan-to no onna”, Tomohiko Yamada

The source of each example is presented in the following format.

(e.g.) [B: 864]

[B: 864] indicates that the example is taken from “Ido no hoshi” by Rie Yoshiyuki, which is on page 864 of *Showa bungaku zenshu* Vol. 32 (Shogakukan 1989).

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Purpose of study

There is a group of words, such as *koto*, *wake*, and *tokoro*, which are usually referred to as *keisiki-meisi* (i.e. formal nouns) in Japanese.¹ The Japanese traditional grammarian Daizaburo Matsushita established the category ‘formal noun’ in 1930, and it has been largely adopted in the field of Japanese linguistics. The following definition of ‘formal nouns’, based on Matsushita (1930: 24-25), has been generally accepted.

- [1.1] a. It is a noun which has no substantive meaning.
 b. It is a noun which is always used with a preceding modifier.
 [My translation from the Japanese.]

However, there are in fact some usages where formal nouns do not require modifiers, and where they are considered to have a substantive meaning.

- [1.2] *Hahaoya tati wa issyun, kyoton to si, mono o otosita*
 mothers TOP for an instant be stupefied things ACC dropped
yoona kao ni natta. [H: 788]
 as if looked
 ‘The mothers looked stupefied for an instant, as if they had dropped something.’

¹ Although *keisiki-meisi* is sometimes translated as ‘pseudo-noun’, ‘empty noun’, or ‘prop noun’, the term ‘formal noun’ is adopted in this thesis.

- [1.3] *Takuzi no titi ga, hito o seme temo sinda ningen wa*
 Takuji GEN father NOM people ACC blame even if dead person TOP
kaeranai yo, to aida ni hairi, koto o osameta no dearu.
 not return SFP saying stepped in the matter ACC settled NOMI COP
 [A: 773]
 ‘Takuji’s father stepped in between them and settled the matter, saying that
 there is no point in blaming people as a dead person never returns to life.’

The above suggests that the establishment of the formal noun as a category is rather problematic. It seems that traditional Japanese grammarians, such as Daizaburo Matsushita, had no choice but to establish a new category because of the complicated functions of such nouns.

In this thesis, examinations of various aspects of the Japanese nouns *mono* and *koto*,² which can be described as multi-functioning nouns, will be presented.³ It should be noted that this is not an all-embracing study of formal nouns. To produce such a complete description would necessitate the enumeration of all of the formal nouns and a detailed investigation of each noun. However, the intensive analyses of *mono* and *koto*,⁴ which are widely acknowledged as typical examples of formal nouns,⁵ will present us with significant keys with which to understand the nature of formal nouns in general and the relation between formal nouns and substantive nouns.

² See Appendix (p.104) for the frequency of the use of *mono* and *koto* in Japanese text.

³ Focus will be placed not only on syntactic features but also on semantic and pragmatic features.

⁴ Since *mono* and *koto* are extremely fundamental and important words in Japanese, they have been attracting a great deal of research interest not only from linguistic but also from some other viewpoints. See Hiromatsu (1979) for a philosophical perspective and Araki (1983) for a folkloric perspective.

⁵ In this study, only formal nouns that can also be used as ordinary nouns are the main target. Thus, *mono* and *koto* are considered as appropriate examples.

1.2 Review of literature

1.2.1 Formal nouns and traditional Japanese grammarians

This section reviews the contributions of some traditional Japanese grammarians to the study of the nature of formal nouns.

1.2.1.1 Yamada (1908)

Ide (1967: 37-39) states that the first scholar to give much attention to the functions of these unique nouns was Yoshio Yamada, although Matsushita was the first scholar to name them ‘formal nouns’. According to Ide, Yamada (1908) insists that there is no necessity for grammatical subcategorisations in Japanese nouns.⁶ However, the following words in [1.4] are treated as nouns which require particular attention, because they have extensive meanings, and those meanings are difficult to interpret when the nouns are used independently.

[1.4] *yue, tame, toki, aida, tokoro, koto, mono, hodo, kurai.*

These features are considered basically identical to the definition of formal nouns shown in [1.1]. In fact, most of these words in [1.4] are treated as formal nouns in Matsushita (1930)⁷.

⁶ The one and only subcategorisation in Japanese nouns which exceptionally Yamada (1908) made is the distinction between *jittaigen* (i.e. substantive nouns) and *keisiki-taigen* (i.e. formal nouns). However, the term *keisiki-taigen* does not indicate the formal nouns under discussion in this thesis, but only pronouns and numerals.

⁷ It should be noted, as Ide (1967) indicates, that Yamada’s (1908) assertions are based on the observations of Japanese in the literary style, whereas those of Matsushita (1930) are based on the analyses of Japanese in the colloquial style.

1.2.1.2 Matsushita (1930)

Matsushita (1930: 24-25) described the formal nouns *mono* and *koto* in the following way.

- [1.5] a. Toohu no koto o bekkoo to iu tokoro ga aru.
 tofu GEN FN ACC tortoiseshell call place NOM exist
 ‘There is a place where tofu is called tortoiseshell.’
- b. Hitori kurai wa sansei suru mono mo aroo.
 one person at least TOP agree FN will be
 ‘There must be at least one person who agrees with it.’

Since *koto* in the above is not a *hon-meisi* (i.e. genuine noun), it does not represent ‘affair/matter’ but the object itself indicated by the name. *Mono* in the above is also not a genuine noun. It indicates the agent of the action. ... As shown in the above examples, the single-underlined parts are supplying substantive meanings to the following nouns that have only formal meanings. [My translation from the Japanese.]

Matsushita acknowledges two types of both *mono* and *koto*. Namely, both *mono* and *koto* can be either a genuine noun⁸ or a formal noun. By giving one noun two separate labels, the usages of *mono* in [1.2] and *koto* in [1.3] do not conflict with the definition of formal nouns. In fact, Matsushita (1930: 24) states that all of the substantive nouns in Japanese have formal meanings. Matsushita insists that whether a noun is a formal noun or a substantive noun is determined not by whether it has a formal meaning but by whether it bears a substantive meaning.

⁸ In Matsushita (1930: 24), ‘genuine noun’ is presented as a subcategory of ‘substantive noun’. The category ‘substantive noun’ is classified into three main groups, as follows.
 a. *Hon-meisi* (genuine noun): a noun whose substantive meaning is definite.
 b. *Mitei-meisi* (indefinite noun = interrogative): a noun whose substantive meaning is indefinite.
 c. *Dai-meisi* (pronoun): a noun whose substantive meaning is determined when it points to a thing.

1.2.1.3 Tokieda (1950)

Tokieda (1950: 77) also proposes a similar definition as in [1.6], giving similar examples shown in [1.7].

[1.6] a. It is a noun which has an extremely abstract meaning.

b. It is a noun which cannot be used independently.

[My translation from the Japanese.]

[1.7] *tabi, hazu, tame, mama, wake, no, ori, yoo, koto, ue, yue, kan, ken, ten, ageku, mono, tokoro, yosi.*

However, the following noteworthy remark in Tokieda (1950: 76) has to be taken into consideration to understand the above definition accurately.

[1.8] It is unreasonable to regard a formal noun, such as *tokoro*, *koto*, and *hazu*, as a word which only has a formal characteristic of a noun. There is no doubt as to the fact that those formal nouns bear concepts to be expressed. It is, therefore, more appropriate to state that the reason why they require adjectivals to complement and qualify them is only that those concepts are extremely abstract and formal.

[Underline not in original; my translation from the Japanese.]

That is, Tokieda affirms that formal nouns are not semantically empty.⁹ To put it another way, as is the case with ordinary nouns, formal nouns do have semantic contents although they are too abstract to be recognised if those nouns are used alone. The importance of this remark cannot be overstated as it offers the key to an

⁹ It follows from the fact that *no* is included in the list of formal nouns in [1.7] that Tokieda (1950) considers *no* to be a formal noun with a semantic content. Although there is room for argument on this point, the fuller study of *no* lies outside the scope of this thesis.

understanding of the continuity between substantive nouns and formal nouns, which will be discussed later in this thesis.

1.2.1.4 Sakuma (1956)

Sakuma (1956: 324-332) treats so-called formal nouns as *meisiteki-na kyūtyaku-go* (i.e. nominal adhesive word), and gives the definition of ‘adhesive word’ as follows.

[1.9] It is a word attached to a preceding clause or phrase, which assigns a part of speech to the preceding part.

[My translation from the Japanese.]

Sakuma explains that the function of relative pronouns in European languages is accomplished by adhesive words in Japanese, presenting the following example.

[1.10] *Amerika e ittekita* *mono wa daredemo soo iimasu.*
 the US to went and came back FN TOP every one so say
 ‘Every single person who has returned from the US says so.’

According to Sakuma, *mono* in [1.10] is an adhesive word which can only express a vague idea of ‘a person to be qualified or modified’, and it is difficult to consider this kind of word as either a content word, as it always requires a modifier, or as a function word, as it is not semantically empty.

As the term ‘adhesive word’ indicates, Sakuma regards *mono* in the above as a word attached to a clause,¹⁰ rather than as a noun modified by a preceding clause. However, basically speaking, there is no significant difference between Sakuma’s description and those by others, such as Yamada (1908) and Matsushita (1930).

¹⁰ It is possible to consider that Sakuma treats so-called formal nouns as nominalisers, rather than nouns.

1.2.2 Formal nouns and generative grammarians

The generative grammarian Keiichiro Okutsu presents comprehensive discussions¹¹ of the so-called formal nouns. Okutsu (1974: 204) presents the following sentences to show that whether or not a noun is a formal noun cannot be determined by whether or not the noun requires a modifier.

[1.11] a. *Asoko ni hito ga nannin ka tatteiru.*
 over there at people NOM some standing
 ‘Several people are standing there.’

b. *Mono wa taisetu ni sinakerebanaranai.*
 things TOP should take good care
 ‘We must take good care of things.’

c. *Toki to tokoro ni yotte zyuunan na taido o toreba yoi.*
 time and place according to flexible attitude ACC if take good
 ‘You have only to behave flexibly according to the time and place.’

Pointing out some usages where formal nouns are used without modifiers is a common method of refuting the category ‘formal noun’ by contradictory existence. However, we should not overlook the fact that Okutsu (1974: 205) emphasises the following point rather than the presence or absence of a modifier.

[1.12] The reason why formal nouns require a modifier is said to be that they have abstract meanings. Then, what is the abstractness of the meaning of nouns, and can it be a measure to divide Japanese nouns into two separate categories: formal nouns or non-formal nouns? ... Although *hito* (i.e. person) is usually

¹¹ Although *mono* and *koto* will be examined in this thesis, the contrast between *koto* and *no* seems rather common among generative grammarians. See Kuno (1973b: 213-222), Inoue (1976: 251-267), and Shibatani

regarded as a formal noun, nouns which are considered to be more abstract, such as *doobutu* (i.e. animal), *seibutu* (i.e. creature), *sonzai* (i.e. being) are generally not included in the category of formal nouns. It is thus considered impossible to draw a clear boundary between nouns in terms of the abstractness of their meanings. Namely, the abstractness has a continuity which cannot be severed.

[My translation from the Japanese.]

The statement in [1.12] is the outcome of critical analyses of the descriptions presented by some of the traditional Japanese grammarians observed earlier. Based on the above argumentation, Okutsu (1974: 206) comes to the conclusion that there is no necessity for the category of 'formal nouns' in Japanese grammar. The statement below is particularly important.

[1.13] There are continuous gradations of the abstractness between extremely abstract nouns and extremely concrete nouns. ... Corresponding to the grades of abstractness of nouns, contents of sentences are also considered to have similar gradations of abstractness. Therefore, one noun can be used to express a general meaning as well as a specific meaning (when used with adjectivals), according to the grade of abstractness which the content of the sentence has. ... There is no fixed dichotomy between formal nouns and non-formal nouns.

[My translation from the Japanese.]

In brief, Okutsu points out that whether or not a noun needs to be specified¹² is determined not only by what level of abstractness the noun itself has but also by what level of abstractness the content of the *sentence* bears. This remark¹³ is important since it draws our attention to the abstractness of *sentences*, something rarely recognised by traditional grammarians.

(1978: 69-79). This is because both of *koto* and *no* play a very important role as a complementiser in Japanese syntax.

¹² Okutsu (1974) analyses so-called formal nouns in terms of whether their meanings are 'general' or 'specific', rather than 'formal' or 'substantive'.

¹³ This remark relates to Okutsu's viewpoint on 'parts of speech'. See Okutsu et al. (1986: 3).

1.2.3 Formal nouns and recent research

Over the past few decades a considerable number of studies have been made on formal nouns. Some of them are developed from either the theories of traditional Japanese grammarians or those of the generative grammarians, and others are developed from different angles. These pieces of research can be broadly divided into several groups in terms of their main targets of discussion, as shown in [1.14].¹⁴

- [1.14] a. General discussion and relation between formal nouns and substantive nouns
 Teramura (1981), Uchida (1982), Takaichi (1986 and 1989), Momiyama (1990), Agetsuma (1990 and 1991), and Harada and Kotani (1991)
- b. Usage as a predicate (sentence-final modality)
 Takaichi (1987), Moriya (1989 and 1990), Momiyama (1992a and 1995b), and Tsubone (1994 and 1997)
- c. Usage as a conjunctive particle and a sentence-final particle
 Yamaguchi (1996), and Tsubone (1996)
- d. Other various kinds of usage
 Momiyama (1991, 1992b, and 1995a), and Saji (1993)
- e. Interrelation with verbs
 Adachi (1998)
- f. Interrelation with case particles
 Watanabe (1995)

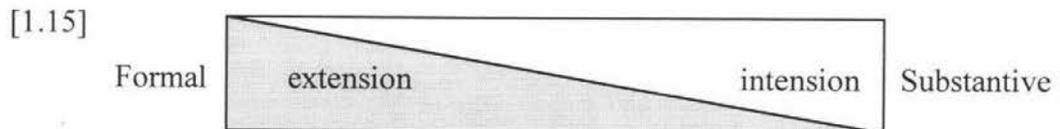
As may be seen in the above list, the formal nouns *mono* and *koto* have various aspects which have been analysed separately. The following section outlines notable

¹⁴ This is not a complete list of papers on formal nouns. Papers dealing with *mono* or *koto* have been mainly selected.

descriptions dealing with the relationship between formal nouns and substantive nouns, which is our main focus in this study.

1.2.3.1 Uchida (1982)

Uchida (1982: 244) claims that formal nouns have the widest extension and the simplest intension,¹⁵ as a counterargument against Matsushita (1928), who asserts that formal nouns have only extension. It is also pointed out that, between formal nouns and substantive nouns, there is, so to speak, a continuous grey zone between black and white. This idea can be schematised as in [1.15].



Uchida states that the fact that many formal nouns can be used as substantive nouns and the fact that some formal nouns, such as *wake*, *yosi*, *hushi*, and *hazu*, were originally substantive nouns are both evidential manifestations of the above continuous zone.

Based on the above, Uchida (1982: 246) argues that *hana* (i.e. flowers: the second *hana* in [1.16]) has an extremely strong characteristic as a formal noun although it is usually regarded as a substantive noun.

[1.16] *Kono hana wa sakura to iu hana da.*¹⁶
 this flower TOP cherry blossom called flower COP
 ‘(lit.) This flower is a flower called cherry blossom.’
 ‘This flower is called cherry blossom.’

¹⁵ Crystal (1997) defines ‘extension’ as a term to refer to the class of entities to which a word is correctly applied, and ‘intension’ as a term to refer to the set of defining properties which determines the applicability of a term.

¹⁶ This kind of tautological sentence is commonly used in Japanese, and is regarded as grammatical.

1.2.3.2 Takaichi (1986)

Following Uchida, Takaichi (1986) probes the above point more deeply. On the assumption that the formality of nouns is determined not by their lexical meaning, but by syntactic structures, ordinary nouns that require modifying phrases or clauses are closely examined.

Takaichi explains that there are three types of formalisation¹⁷ of nouns as in [1.17], and argues that even ordinary nouns need to be modified once those nouns are formalised.

[1.17] a. Formalisation of nouns being adverbial constituents (noun + particle)¹⁸

- e.g.) ~ *kyori de* (in the distance of ~)
 ~ *doosa de* (in the motion of ~)
 ~ *siwaza de* (due to ~)
 ~ *ito de* (with the intention of ~)

b. Formalisation of nouns being subjects/objects

e.g.) *Tozimari sita ie wa ooku natte iki, ...*

locked up houses TOP more getting

‘The number of houses which are locked up has increased more and more...’

c. Formalisation¹⁹ of predicate nouns

e.g.) *Suda ke mo ookii ie de aru.*

the Sudas also big family COP

‘The Sudas are also a big family.’

¹⁷ The term ‘formalisation’ indicates the process where a noun with a substantive meaning is used more formally, and becomes like a formal noun.

¹⁸ These phrases cannot be used without a modifier, although these nouns such as *kyori* (i.e. distance), *doosa* (i.e. motion), and *ito* (i.e. intention) are usually not regarded as formal nouns.

¹⁹ Takaichi states that predicate nouns tend to be formalised due to a semantic relationship between subjects and predicates, based on detailed discussions in Takahashi (1984).

Takaichi comes to the following conclusions.

- [1.18] a. A noun will become formalised when its semantic content is entirely included in that of the subject word, in a case where the noun is functioning as a predicate.
- b. A noun will become formalised when its semantic content is entirely included in that of a verb which relates to the noun.
- [My translation from the Japanese.]

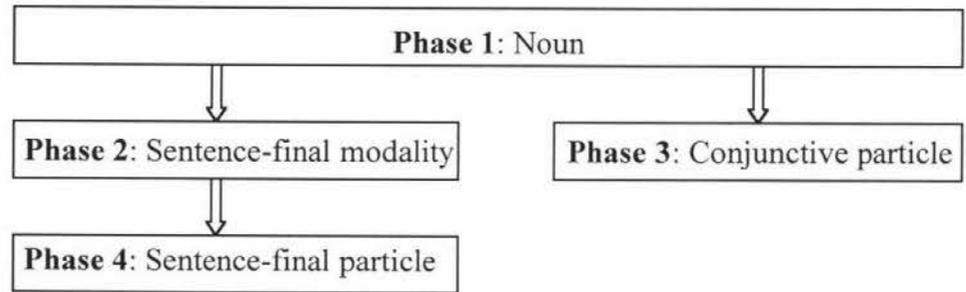
Takaichi argues that any noun can be formalised whenever one of the above conditions in [1.18] is fulfilled. Hence, labels such as formal noun and substantive noun no longer make sense here.

Takaichi gives the following explanation for the fact that *mono* and *koto* require modifiers in most cases: any kind of motion or phenomenon expressed by a verb must include the meaning of *mono* (i.e. a tangible thing) or *koto* (i.e. an intangible thing) to a greater or lesser degree, and this fulfils the condition in [1.18b].

1.2.3.3 Teramura (1981)

Both of the two studies above discuss the function of so-called formal nouns in terms of a phenomenon called ‘formalisation of nouns’. Teramura had already discussed this phenomenon in 1981. Teramura (1981) attempts to achieve a methodical description of the process of the formalisation of nouns in order to clarify how the original meanings of nouns are related to their derivative and formal usages. Based on Teramura’s account, the major derivation of formal nouns can be schematised as shown in [1.19].

[1.19]



Although there seems to be much merit in Teramura's approach, the observations and discussions presented in Teramura (1981) are not developed in depth. Therefore, more intensive analyses on *mono* and *koto* will be presented in the following chapters, tracing each of the four phases in [1.19].

Chapter 2

Syntactic and semantic analyses of *mono*

2.1 *Mono* as a noun

The following example, where *mono* is used without modifiers, was presented in Chapter 1.

- [1.2] *Hahaoya tati wa issyun, kyoton to si, mono o otosita*
 mothers TOP for an instant be stupefied things ACC dropped
yoona kao ni natta. [H: 788]
 as if looked
 ‘The mothers looked stupefied for an instant, as if they had dropped something.’

In the above sentence, *mono* is used to indicate a tangible object. This is considered to be the most fundamental meaning of the noun *mono*.

Mono without a modifier can also indicate an intangible thing, as in [2.1].

- [2.1] *Sonotabi ni Sakuta wa mono no kangaekata ya*
 each time Sakuta TOP things GEN way of thinking and
kanzikata ga hutari de mattaku tigatteiru no
 way of feeling NOM two people between completely different NOMI
o sirasarete odoraita. [E: 739]
 ACC come to notice was surprised
 ‘Each time, Sakuta was surprised as he noticed the fact that they were so different from each other in their ways of thinking and feeling.’

It should be noted, however, that this kind of usage shown in [2.1] is rather restricted, and is regarded as idiomatic. The following is a list of some other idiomatic phrases in which *mono* does not represent a physical object.¹

- [2.2] a. *Mono ni suru* ‘make a success of’
 b. *Mono ni naranai* ‘be good for nothing’
 c. *Mono o iwaseru.* ‘make full use of’
 d. *Mono no wakatta* ‘sensible’
 e. *Mono o sitteiru* ‘be well informed’

On the other hand, when a preceding clause or phrase modifies *mono*, it can indicate either a tangible or an intangible thing.

- [2.3] a. *Omiyage mo kattekita wa yo, Sakiko no*
 souvenir also bought and brought SFP SFP Sakiko GEN
daisuki na mono. [F: 812]
 favourite thing
 ‘I’ve got a souvenir for you, it’s Sakiko’s favourite thing.’

- b. *Kutisaki bakari ikigatte kaisyoo to iu mono ga*
 talk only act like a brave man reliability called a thing NOM
anta ni wa nai yo. [D: 705]
 you at TOP absent SFP
 ‘You are full of brave talk. You lack an important thing that is reliability.’
 = ‘You are all bark and no bite! You aren’t much of a man!’

We can see that *mono* does not keep its original meaning, that is, ‘a tangible object’ any more, when it is preceded by a modifier which represents something abstract, such as *kaisyoo* (i.e. reliability) in [2.3b]. In other words, whether *mono* represents a

¹ Harada and Kotani (1991: 5) state that *mono* in these idiomatic phrases indicates a certain normative logic which Japanese people commonly have in their mind.

tangible or an intangible thing is dependent on its preceding modifier. However, this does not necessarily mean that the *mono* being modified is semantically empty. It should be considered that *mono* always indicates ‘entity’ regardless of whether it is concrete or abstract.

The following are some definitions of *mono* obtained from several sources.

[2.4] a. Ono (1974: 29)

Mono: a thing, which is unchangeable in the passage of time.

b. Ikegami (1981: 257)

Mono: a thing, which is the outcome of recognition from the individual-unit-centred view.

c. The Japan Foundation (1986: 482)

Mono: thing, physical object; quality; property.

d. Morita (1989: 433)

Mono: a tangible object, which is basically unchangeable.

e. Momiyama (1990: 5)

Mono: a tangible being, excluding human beings and other animals.

f. Tsubone (1994)

Mono: an unchangeable general existence.

As was stated earlier, the most fundamental meaning of *mono* is ‘a tangible object’. However, taking into consideration the fact that *mono* indicates an intangible thing in many cases, it is reasonable not to include the word ‘tangible’ or ‘physical’ in the basic definition. As the word ‘unchangeable’, either physically or philosophically, is considered more important, *mono*’s basic meaning when used substantively² is defined as in [2.5].

[2.5] *Mono*: an unchangeable entity

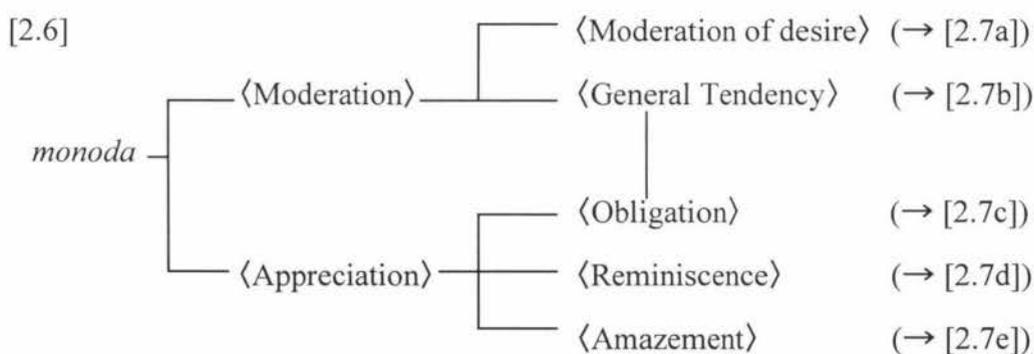
² In this study, when *mono* is used as a noun indicating an entity, it is called a substantive usage regardless of whether the entity is concrete or abstract.

In the rest of this chapter, the above basic definition will be employed when the meaning of *mono* in a derivational usage is compared with its original meaning.

2.2 *Mono* as a sentence-final modality

When the copula *da* is attached to *mono*, it becomes a sentence-final modality which expresses the speaker's subjective feeling. Numerous attempts have been made by scholars to elucidate functions of various sentence-final modalities³ in Japanese. Among these descriptions, Momiyama (1992a) and Tsubone (1994) deserve particular mention. Both of them attempt to discuss various semantic representations denoted by *monoda* (including *monodesu*, *monda*, and *mondesu*) in a systematic way.

Momiyama (1992a: 29) takes note of the polysemous characteristic of *monoda*, and subcategorises the semantic interpretations, as in [2.6], giving example sentences for each case.



[2.7] a. *Itido Tyuugoku ni ittemitai monoda.*

once at least China to want to go SFM

'I'd like to go on a tour of China once at least.'

b. *Suugaku no mondai ga toketa toki ni wa, mititarita*

mathematics GEN problem NOM are solved when TOP satisfied

kibun ni tutumareru monodesu.

feeling by surrounded SFM

³ Some scholars call these sentence-final modalities 'auxiliaries' or 'modal auxiliaries'. In this thesis, the term '(sentence-final) modality' is adopted.

‘It is natural to have a feeling of satisfaction when we have successfully solved a mathematical problem.’

c. *Hito ni attara aisatu gurai suru monoda.*

people when see greeting at least do SFM

‘You ought to greet people when you meet them.’

d. *Kodomo no koro wa mainiti no yooni kuraku naru made*

child when TOP everyday almost dark become until

soto de asonda monoda.

outside at played SFM

‘When I was a child, I would play outside until it got dark almost every day.’

e. *Ii zo! Yoku kansatusita monda.*

good SFP well observed SFM

‘Excellent! You *did* observe well.’

Similarly, Tsubone (1994: 65) subcategorises the usages of *monoda* into five types as follows.

- [2.8] (a) True character/real nature
 (b) Obligation
 (c) Reminiscence
 (d) Emotion/exclamation
 (e) Explanation/commentary

Tsubone argues that *monoda* in the above list, excluding usage (e), has to do with ‘generality’ to a greater or lesser extent. The following table shows how Tsubone categorises the above five usages by the keyword ‘generality’, the topic of a sentence, and the verb placed in front of *monoda*.

[2.9]

Generality	Topic	Verb in front of <i>mono</i>		Usage [†]
		Tense	Feature	
[+general]	group	present	[-self-control]	(a)
			[+self-control]	(a)/(b)
	group/individual	past	→ → →	(c)
		present/past	→ → →	(d)
[-general]	→ → → → → → → → → → → →		(e)	

[†] (a)-(e) indicate the usages presented in [2.8]

Although a slight difference can be observed between Momiyama (1992a) and Tsubone (1994),⁴ adequate general description regarding *monoda* as a sentence-final modality has been presented by these two scholars. Therefore, it is not necessary to examine each usage in detail here. The focus will be on the particular usage which is referred to as *monoda* for ‘explanation/commentary’ in Tsubone.⁵

As shown in [2.9], *monoda* for ‘explanation/commentary’ does not fit in with Tsubone’s unified account in terms of the keyword ‘generality’. The following are examples of *monoda* for ‘explanation/commentary’ presented in Tsubone.

[2.10] *DDI wa, zyuugo niti sigai tuuwa ryookin no nesage to ryookin*
 DDI TOP the 15th toll call charge GEN price cut and charging
seido no henkoo o yuuseisyoo ni ninkasinsei sita.
 system GEN change ACC Ministry of Posts to applied for approval
NTT ga kongetu zyuku niti kara nesage o suru no ni
 NTT NOM this month the 19th from price cut ACC do NOMI to

⁴ Tsubone (1994) insists that the usage that is described in Momiyama (1992a) as ‘moderation of desire’ should be included in the category of ‘true character/real nature’. Tsubone explains that the reason why the speaker’s desire is moderated is that *monoda* implies that ‘Generally speaking, people want to do it. Therefore, I want to do it as well.’ Hence, *monoda* as ‘moderation of desire’ is an expression by which the speaker tries to tell that his/her desire is not peculiar but general or generally acceptable.

⁵ This usage is not included in the list of the sentence-final modality *monoda* in Momiyama (1992a).

taikoosita mono de, ninkasarereba, zyuuiti gatu zyoozyun kara
 opposed FN COP if approved November the beginning from
zissi suru.

execute

‘On the 15th, DDI applied to the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications for approval of a reduction in price for toll calls and a change to the fee-charging system. It is to compete with NTT cutting its prices from the 19th of this month. If it is approved, it will take effect from the beginning of November.’

[2.11] *Yamahana si wa toosyo, Ito Tyuuzi gen huku syokityoo*

Mr. Yamahana TOP at first Chuji Ito current Deputy Secretary-General
no kiyoo o kangaeteita ga, saisyuuteki ni
 GEN appointment ACC was thinking but finally

‘sedai kootai’ o tuyoku isiki site, wakate no
 generations alternation ACC seriously consider young member GEN
Akamatu si kiyoo ni humikitta mono to mirareru.

Mr. Akamatsu appointment decided to do FN that it seems

‘Mr. Yamahana was originally planing to appoint Chuji Ito, the Deputy Secretary-General. However, he took (the necessity of) the alternation of generations seriously into consideration, and then finally decided to appoint one of the young members, Mr. Akamatsu.’

Tsubone argues that *monode* (i.e. an inflected form (*te*-form) of *monoda*) and *mono* (the *da*-deleted version of *monoda*) in the above examples are not modalities, because they do not express the speakers’ subjective views. Moreover, whereas *mono* in [2.10] is considered to refer to the fore-going topic that is ‘the reduction in price for toll calls and a change to the fee-charging system’, what *mono* points to is not explicitly expressed in [2.11]. According to Tsubone, we can assume the implicit topic for *mono* in [2.11] to be, for example, ‘the personnel affairs at this time’ from the context. However, Tsubone states that we should admit that what is topicalised is dependent on how the reader/hearer interprets the contents of the sentences. Tsubone

concludes that *monoda* for explanation/commentary is extremely similar to *mono*'s original usage as a noun.

Agetsuma (1990) provides a comprehensive study focusing on this special type of *monoda*.⁶

First, Agetsuma broadly divides the various usages of *monoda* into the following two basic categories in terms of their semantic representations, and explains that *monoda* for 'situational explanation' belongs to category (b).

- [2.12] (a) *Monoda* for 'constant occurrence'
 (b) *Monoda* for 'single occurrence'
 [My translation from the Japanese.]

Agetsuma claims that the various semantic interpretations of *monoda* such as 'obligation' and 'reminiscence' belong to category (a), and attempts to present a unified account for them in terms of the keyword 'constancy', which is similar to the concept of 'generality' used by Tsubone. However, whichever keyword is used, *monoda* for 'situational explanation' lies outside such a unified description.

The following two features are pointed out in Agetsuma (1990: 86) regarding syntactic characteristics of *monoda* for 'situational explanation'.

- [2.13] a. External relation⁷ exists between *mono* and its modifier.
 b. Only 'situation', which is expressed either explicitly or implicitly in the preceding context, can become a topic (theme).
 [My translation from the Japanese.]

⁶ The usage is referred to as 'situational explanation' in Agetsuma (1990).

⁷ 'External relation' indicates a type of pre-nominal modification where the modified noun does not have any case-relationship with the modifier, as in (a) below. On the other hand, 'internal relation' is a modification where the noun can be inserted into the preceding modifier as it has a case-relationship with the elements in the modifier, as in (b).

(a) *Ronbun o kaku koto* 'to write a thesis' → **Ronbun o koto o kaku*

Agetsuma argues that the characteristic that the word *mono* corresponds to the fore-going topic, as shown in [2.13b], is common to normal nominal-predicate sentences in Japanese, although the topic does not have to be a ‘situation’ for other predicative nouns. This remark indicates that there is a clear structural difference between a sentence where the sentence-final modality is used and one in which this type of *monoda* is used. Observe [2.14] below.

[2.14] a. *Hidoi koto o suru monoda.* [C: 1041]

terrible things ACC do SFM

‘(I’m upset that) They did such a nasty thing.’

→ [*Hidoi koto o suru*] + *monoda*

b. *Kodomora to no yoru wa kokoro tanosii mono datta.* [D: 707]

children with GEN night TOP enjoyable FN COP

‘The night with those kids was very enjoyable.’

→ [*Kodomora to no yoru wa kokoro tanosii mono datta.*]

situation ←-----↑
correspondence

It is clear that *monoda* for ‘situational explanation’ has in fact a similar structure to the following normal nominal-predicate sentence.

[2.15] *Kore wa kinoo katta hon da.*

this TOP yesterday bought book COP

‘This is a book which I bought yesterday.’

→ [*Kore wa kinoo katta hon da.*]

↑-----↑
correspondence

The sentence-final modality *monoda* does not have such an anaphoric feature, as shown in [2.14a]. This fact is the basis on which not only Agetsuma but also other

(b) *Ronbun ni kaku koto* ‘things to write in a thesis’ → *Ronbun ni koto o kaku* ‘(I) write things in a thesis.’ See Matsumoto (1997) for a detailed discussion of noun-modifying constructions in Japanese.

scholars, such as Teramura (1984), Moriya (1989), and Tsubone (1994), distinguish *monoda* for ‘explanation’ from the sentence-final modality *monoda*.⁸ They document how closely the word *mono* and the copula *da* are connected. In *monoda* for situational explanation, *mono* and *da* are loosely connected and *mono* still maintains the characteristics of a noun. On the other hand, *mono* in the modality *monoda* has become a constituent of the modal phrase, and is rarely recognised as a noun.

However, from the viewpoint adopted in this study, which focuses on the interrelation between the ordinary noun *mono* and the formal noun *mono*, it is not sufficient merely to draw a clear boundary between these two types of *monoda*. It is more appropriate and important to investigate any similarities between them. One may therefore hypothesise that the sentence-final modality is developed (or derived) from normal nominal-predicate structures.

As already explained, *mono* usually takes a pre-modifier. Thus, the following sentence is ungrammatical.

[2.16] **Kono hon wa* ϕ *mono da*.

As in [2.17] below, it becomes grammatical when there is a modifier.

[2.17] *Kono hon wa kinoo katta mono da*.
 this book TOP yesterday bought a thing COP
 ‘This book is the one which I bought yesterday.’

The topic (*Kono hon wa*) and *mono*’s pre-nominal modifier (*kinoo katta*) in [2.17] can make a complete sentence without *monoda*, as in [2.18] below.

[2.18] *Kono hon wa kinoo katta*.
 this book TOP yesterday bought

⁸ It is considered that Momiya (1992a) excluded *monoda* for ‘explanation’ from the list of the usages of *monoda*, shown in [2.6], for the same reason.

‘(lit.) With regard to this book, I bought it yesterday.’
 ‘I bought this book yesterday.’

Although the above phenomenon can be observed in many noun-modifying constructions, it is misleading to conclude that *monoda* is optionally attached to a complete sentence, particularly when a sentence structure such as in [2.19] is examined.

- [2.19] a. *Mukasi wa hon o yonda monoda.*
 old days TOP book ACC read SFM
 ‘In the old days, I used to read books.’ (= reminiscence)
- b. *Mukasi wa hon o yonda.*
 old days TOP book ACC read
 ‘In the old days, I read books.’ (= fact)

Semantically speaking, it is true to say that a modal meaning of ‘reminiscence’ is given to the complete sentence in [2.19b] by attaching *monoda*, as shown in [2.19a]. However, syntactically, it should not be assumed that *monoda* is attached to the complete sentence in [2.19]. This misunderstanding is caused by the fact that there is no morphological difference between the sentence-final form and the pre-nominal form in Japanese verbs. However, on examination of a sentence, such as [2.20a] in which *monoda* is preceded not by a verb, but by a so-called *na*-adjective, where the pre-nominal form is morphologically distinguished from the sentence-final form, it becomes clear that the clause placed in front of *monoda* is not a complete sentence but a pre-nominal modifier.

- [2.20] a. *Nyuuziirando wa heiwana monda.*
 New Zealand TOP peaceful SFM
 ‘New Zealand is such a peaceful country.’ (= ironic exclamation)

- b. *Nyuuziirando wa heiwa da.*
 New Zealand TOP peaceful COP
 ‘New Zealand is peaceful.’ (= fact)

The same phenomenon can be observed in the case of other sentence-final modalities, which originally have a compound structure of a formal noun and the copula *da*, such as *hazuda* and *wakeda*.

- [2.21] a. *Nyuuziirando wa heiwa na hazuda.*
 New Zealand TOP peaceful SFM
 ‘I’m sure that New Zealand is peaceful.’ (= conviction)

- b. *Nyuuziirando wa heiwa na wakeda.*
 New Zealand TOP peaceful SFM
 ‘It is reasonable (to say) that New Zealand is peaceful.’ (= conclusion)

On the other hand, in the case of sentence-final modalities, which do not originally have a formal noun in their structures, preceding *na*-adjectives do not take the pre-nominal form. Usually, the stem, which is obtained through the ellipsis of *da* from the sentence-final form, is placed in front of them.

- [2.22] a. *Nyuuziirando wa heiwa rasii.*
 New Zealand TOP peaceful SFM
 ‘I heard that New Zealand is peaceful.’ (= hearsay)

- b. *Nyuuziirando wa heiwa kamosirenai.*
 New Zealand TOP peaceful SFM
 ‘New Zealand may be peaceful.’ (= supposition)

When the sentences in [2.22] are examined in terms of negation, it is apparent that the modalities are not usually negated.

- [2.23] a. **Nyuuziirando wa heiwa rasikunai.*
 b. **Nyuuziirando wa heiwa kamosirenakunai.*

In these modalities, the negation takes place inside the preceding sentences.

- [2.24] a. *Nyuuziirando wa heiwa dewa nai rasi.*
 New Zealand TOP peaceful not SFM
 ‘I heard that New Zealand is not peaceful.’ (= hearsay)

- b. *Nyuuziirando wa heiwa dewa nai kamosirenai.*
 New Zealand TOP peaceful not SFM
 ‘New Zealand may not be peaceful.’ (= supposition)

However, most of the modalities that consist of a formal noun and *da* can be negated.

- [2.25] a. *Nyuuziirando wa heiwa na hazu dewa nai.*
 New Zealand TOP peaceful SFM (negative)
 ‘I am sure that New Zealand is not peaceful.’ (= conviction)

- b. *Nyuuziirando wa heiwa na wake dewa nai.*
 New Zealand TOP peaceful SFM (negative)
 ‘It is not reasonable (to say) that New Zealand is peaceful.’ (= conclusion)

- c. ?*Nyuuziirando wa heiwa na mono dewa nai.*
 New Zealand TOP peaceful SFM (negative)
 ‘New Zealand is not a peaceful country.’

There are some problems to be considered. Firstly, the above modalities with the formal noun-copula construction do allow negation in the preceding modifiers as well. Consider the following examples.

[2.26] a. *Nyuuziirando wa heiwa dewanai hazuda.*

New Zealand TOP peaceful not SFM

‘I am sure that New Zealand is not peaceful.’ (= conviction)

b. *Nyuuziirando wa heiwa dewanai wakeda.*

New Zealand TOP peaceful not SFM

‘It is reasonable (to say) that New Zealand is not peaceful.’ (= conclusion)

c. ? *Nyuuziirando wa heiwa dewanai monoda.*

New Zealand TOP peaceful not SFM

‘New Zealand is not a peaceful country.’

Interestingly, regardless of the place of negation, *hazuda* and *wakeda* in [2.25] and [2.26] are still regarded as modal expressions. However, *monoda* in [2.25c] and [2.26c] seem to have lost the modal meaning (= ironic exclamation) observed in the original affirmative sentence in [2.20a]. This fact does not necessarily indicate that the modality *monoda* never allows negation. As shown below, the negative form *monodewanai* is acceptable in some cases and is still considered to maintain the modal meaning.

[2.27] a. *Sonna baai wa saki ni okane o harau monoda.*

such case TOP in advance money ACC pay SFM

‘You should pay in advance in such a case.’ (= obligation)

b. *Sonna baai wa saki ni okane o harau monodewanai.*

‘You should not pay in advance in such a case.’ (= prohibition)

[2.28] a. *Suugaku no mondai ga toketa toki niwa, mititarita kibun ni tutumareru monoda.* (←[2.7b])

‘It is natural to have a feeling of satisfaction when we have successfully solved a mathematical problem.’ (= general tendency)

- b. *Suugaku no mondai ga toketa toki niwa, mititarita kibun ni tutumareru monodewanai.*

‘It is unnatural to have a feeling of satisfaction when we have successfully solved a mathematical problem.’ (= general tendency)

However, negation can only be applied to *monoda* for obligation and general tendency. *Monoda* for the other semantic interpretations cannot be replaced with *monodewanai*, as shown in the following examples.

- [2.29] a. **Itido Tyuugoku ni ittemitai monodewanai.* (←[2.7a])

- b. **Kodomo no koro wa mainiti no yooni kurakunaru made soto de asonda monodewanai* (←[2.7d])

- c. **Izo! Yoku kansatusita monodewanai.* (←[2.7e])

Two points arise from the observations made in the last few paragraphs. One is that the modalities, which consist of a formal noun and the copula *da*, show syntactically different behaviour from the other modalities, which do not contain a formal noun. The other point is that, among those modalities which have the formal noun-copula construction, *monoda* is somewhat peculiar given that it does not allow negation in many cases, whereas other modalities, such as *hazuda* and *wakeda*, do so without losing their modal meanings.

The first point is not unexpected, if the sentence structure, in which these modalities are used, is regarded as a normal nominal-predicate structure. In the discussion of the primary issue presented in Chapter 1, that is, of the grey area (i.e. continuity) between black (substantive noun) and white (formal noun), it was noted that a formal noun is still supposed to have the characteristics of an ordinary noun even if the

copula *da* is attached. As discussed earlier, this can be envisaged as a matter of how closely a formal noun and the copula *da* are conjoined. Namely, a break (indicated by ‘+’) in a normal nominal-predicate sentence, such as in [2.30] below, also exists between a formal noun and the copula *da*, although the set (i.e. formal noun + *da*) has usually been recognised as one phrase.

[2.30] *Kono hon wa kinoo katta mono + da*. (←[2.17])

‘This book is the one which I bought yesterday.’

[2.31] *Nyuuziirando wa heiwana hazu + da*. (←[2.21a])

‘I am sure that New Zealand is peaceful.’

Given that a formal noun and the copula *da* are loosely connected, the independence of a formal noun is considered to be maintained to some extent, and that of the copula *da* is also preserved. It is thus natural for *da* in the formal noun-copula construction to have inflectional flexibility.

An interesting point arises. Needless to say, *monoda* is a modality with the formal noun-copula construction. However, as noted earlier, *monoda* does not allow itself to become the negative form *monodewanai* in most cases, except for the cases of expressing ‘prohibition’ or ‘general tendency’. The use of the past-tense form *monodatta* is also limited, as shown in the following examples.

[2.32] a. **Itido Tyuugoku ni ittemitai **monodatta***. (←[2.7a])

b. ?*Suugaku no mondai ga toketa toki niwa, mititarita kibun ni tutumareru **monodatta***. (←[2.7b])

c. **Hito ni attara aisatu gurai suru **monodatta***. (←[2.7c])

d. *Kodomo no koro wa mainiti no yooni kurakunaru made soto de asonda **monodatta***. (←[2.7d])

e. **Izo! Yoku kansatusita monodatta*. (←[2.7e])

Apart from the case of ‘reminiscence’ in [2.32d], *monodatta* is not acceptable. Although [2.32b] sounds relatively natural, it presents us with a sense of ‘reminiscence’⁹ rather than the notion of ‘general tendency/real nature’ expressed in the original version in [2.7b].

Thus, it can be seen that there are explicit differences between *monoda* and the other modalities such as *hazuda* in terms of their inflectional possibility, although they have morphologically the same structure. It is not the main aim of this section to compare *monoda* to *hazuda* or other modalities which consist of a formal noun and *da*. The focus is on the nature of *monoda* itself. An explanation will be offered as to why, in many cases, *monodatta* or *monodewanai* is unacceptable.

In this discussion, it is useful to take the description in Nitta (1991) into consideration. Nitta divides various modalities into two prototypical categories, genuine modality and pseudo-modality. The following definitions are given in Nitta (1991: 53).

[2.33] Let us provisionally call the expressions that represent only the speaker’s modal attitude, and can never be inflected to the past tense nor be negated, **genuine modality**.

[My translation from the Japanese.]

[2.34] Let us tentatively call the expressions that can indicate not only the speaker’s but also others’ modal attitude, and can be either negated or inflected to the past tense, **pseudo-modality**.

[My translation from the Japanese.]

⁹ Strictly speaking, in order to express ‘reminiscence’, the preceding predicate of *monoda* has to be in the perfect tense (i.e. *ta*-form), as in [2.7d] and [2.32d]. However, it is undeniable that [2.32b] also gives us a sense of ‘reminiscence’, although it is not an authentic pattern.

As there are cases where *monoda* can be inflected to *monodatta* or *monodewanai*, it is possible to say that *monoda* is a pseudo-modality, based on the above definition. The independence of *da* in *monoda*, which has been discussed in this section, is one of the pieces of evidence that supports the assumption that *monoda* is a pseudo-modality. However, the problem now arises of how to deal with *monoda* in [2.7a], [2.7c], and [2.7e].

Undoubtedly, the *monoda* in [2.7a], [2.7c], and [2.7e] are categorised as genuine modalities under Nitta's definition. With regard to this kind of problem, Nitta (1991: 57) presents an interesting insight into the phenomenon which he calls 'genuinisation'¹⁰ of pseudo-modality'.

[2.35] Genuinisation of pseudo-modality

Let us tentatively call the phenomenon that a pseudo-modality serves as a genuine-modality in a sentence, 'Genuinisation of pseudo-modality'.

[My translation from the Japanese.]

Nitta explains that when certain conditions are fulfilled by a pseudo-modality, it can be genuinised. He presents the following example of *tumorida* 'intend to' with the conditions in the brackets.

[2.36] *Sono syoogen o yoku kiitemiru tumoridesu.*

the testimony ACC carefully try to listen SFM

[the first person, *ga*-case, non-past, non-negative]

'I will try to listen to the testimony carefully.'

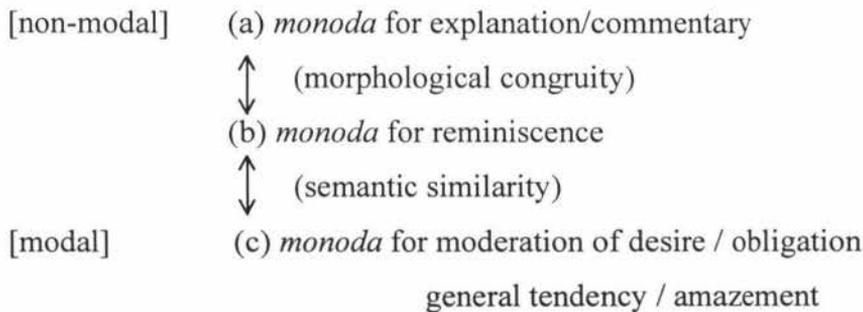
Although *monoda* is not taken as an example in Nitta (1991), it is possible for us to consider that 'genuinisation of pseudo-modality' has taken place in [2.7a], [2.7c], and [2.7e]. However, merely attaching such a label onto those *monoda* does not lead to any significant insights. The interrelation between the semantic property of the

¹⁰ The English word 'genuinisation', which means 'to make a thing genuine', is coined here, based on the Japanese word *sinsei-ka* coined by Nitta.

formal noun *mono* and the above phenomenon called ‘genuinisation of pseudo-modality’ requires further investigation.

As discussed earlier, Agetsuma (1990) and Tsubone (1994) try to present unified accounts for the modality *monoda* in terms of the keywords ‘constancy’ and ‘generality’ respectively. The question now arises as to relationship between these basic meanings and the change in syntactic behaviour called ‘genuinisation of pseudo-modality’. As observed earlier, among the five usages – moderation of desire, general tendency, obligation, reminiscence, and amazement – only *monoda* for reminiscence can take the past-tense form *monodatta*. The fact that *monoda* for reminiscence can take the past-tense form draws one’s attention to the usage of *monoda* for explanation/commentary, which is not recognised as a modality, as observed earlier. Based on both the morphological congruity (i.e. inflectional possibility) between *monoda* for reminiscence and *monoda* for explanation/commentary, and the semantic similarity between *monoda* for reminiscence and the other modal usages, it is hypothesised that *monoda* for reminiscence is an expression which is placed in the middle of the two categories, as in [2.37].

[2.37]



As noted earlier, both Agetsuma (1990) and Tsubone (1994) discuss *monoda* for reminiscence on the premise that it is included in the same group to which the other modalities, such as moderation of desire or obligation, belong. However, a contortion in the case of *monoda* for reminiscence becomes evident on examination of the

unified accounts based on the keyword ‘constancy’ in Agetsuma and ‘generality’ in Tsubone.

For example, Tsubone argues that ‘generality’ is still observed in the following *monoda* in [2.38], as it expresses ‘continuousness’. Namely, according to Tsubone, *monoda* in [2.38] indicates ‘a continuous state which I was in’, and therefore it still maintains the basic semantic feature of the noun *mono*, i.e. ‘generality’.

[2.38] *Toozi, syakaibu no kisyā datta watasi wa dokoka ni*
 then local news section GEN journalist COP I TOP somewhere
 “*uriosimi*” *no toirettopeepaa ya senzai ga*
 unwilling to sell GEN toilet paper and detergent NOM
kakusarete inai ka sagasi mawatta monodatta ga, doko ni mo
 are hidden whether or not search around SFM but anywhere
sonna sutokku wa mitukarazu, asi bakari ga itaku
 such stocks TOP are not found legs only NOM painful
natta monodatta. [Tsubone (1994: 71)]
 became SFM

‘I, a journalist working for the local news section at that time, tried to search out things like toilet paper and detergent, which could be hidden for the purpose of “holding them back from the market”. However, I didn’t find any such stocks, and I could only be conscious of the fact that I had aching legs as a result.’

An examination of Tsubone’s (1994: 66) definition of the noun *mono* will aid in the understanding of the basic semantic property of *mono* discussed here.

[2.39] *Mono* refers to neither a specific nor individual item but a general entity, which exists irrespective of the time axis. We can thus define *mono* as ‘an unchangeable general existence’.

[My translation from the Japanese.]

It is not specified in the above definition that ‘continuousness’ is regarded as one possible aspect of ‘generality’. A closer look into Tsubone’s argument is required, as it is still unclear how it can be determined that *monoda* in [2.38] maintains *mono*’s basic semantic feature. Tsubone explains that *monoda* for reminiscence represents the continuousness of action or state over a certain limited time in the past. A discrepancy is evident here. Even though it can be tentatively accepted that ‘continuousness’ is somehow related to ‘generality’, the above stipulation about time, that is, ‘over a certain limited time in the past’, contradicts Tsubone’s own definition of *mono*, i.e. a general entity which exists *irrespective* of the time axis.

The same contradiction is likely to be observed in the case of the proposed account in Agetsuma (1990) in terms of ‘constancy’. It is inconsistent to consider an activity or a state over a limited time ‘constant’. *Monoda* in [2.38] does not express a single occurrence but multiple occurrences. However, the meaning is not constant (or general) enough to categorise *monoda* in [2.38] in the same group as the other modalities. This fact illustrates the point that there is a semantic difference between *monoda* for reminiscence and the other modal *monoda*. The difference in terms of the morphological feature has already been pointed out. Therefore, *monoda* for reminiscence is somewhat peculiar, either morphologically or semantically, compared to the others.

Based on the above observations, it is presumed that *monoda* for reminiscence can be categorised in the group of *monoda* for commentary/explanation.

There are a number of similarities and differences between these two types of *monoda*. Firstly, the fact that *monoda* for reminiscence can be inflected to *monodatta*, as shown in [2.38], is understood as a morphological resemblance, since *monoda* for commentary/explanation can also be inflected. There are no obvious similarities in the semantic features. However, it is possible to regard *monoda* for reminiscence as a modality that expresses a comment or an explanation about ‘an activity or a state which takes place occasionally over a limited time in the past’. However, if the *monoda* in question is treated in this way, a plausible explanation is

needed for why *monoda* for commentary/explanation is less modal (i.e. plain) and *monoda* for reminiscence is modal (i.e. emotional).

This difference can be used as a crucial point in the discussion of the semantic distinction between these two types of *monoda*. However, the fact that *monoda* is not always an essential element in the expression of the feeling of reminiscence should not be overlooked. Consider the following sentences.

[2.40] a. *Mukasi wa hon o yonda* (←[2.19b])

old days TOP book ACC read

‘In the old days, I read books.’ (= fact)

b. *Mukasi wa yoku hon o yonda.*

old days TOP often book ACC read

‘In the old days, I read books often.’

c. *Mukasi wa hon o yonda monoda.* (←[2.19a])

‘In the old days, I used to read books.’ (= reminiscence)

d. *Mukasi wa yoku hon o yonda monoda.*

‘In the old days, I used to read books often.’ (= reminiscence)

[2.40a] is a plain statement which relates a fact which occurred in the past. When *monoda* is attached to the sentence as shown in [2.40c], it bears the sense of reminiscence. [2.40b] is a sentence which is made by adding an adverbial phrase to the sentence in [2.40a], and [2.40d] is formed by adding *monoda* to the sentence [2.40b]. The question now arises as to whether [2.40b] should be considered only as a plain statement which tells us a fact in the past in the same way that [2.40a] does, or whether [2.40b] expresses a sense of reminiscence to some extent. The latter position is more reasonable, as [2.40b] can indeed express a sense of reminiscence

aided by a certain tone in the speech.¹¹ It is also reasonable to consider that [2.40d] expresses a deeper emotional state than [2.40c], although both of them end with *monoda*. All these considerations make it clear that *monoda* is not the only element to express the feeling of reminiscence. It is more appropriate to regard that expressing reminiscence is an outcome of the combination of a proposition (i.e. the sentence placed in front), or more precisely, adverbial elements included in a proposition, and a modality itself.

Therefore, it is concluded that there are important similarities, both morphologically and semantically, between *monoda* for reminiscence and *monoda* for commentary/explanation, although *monoda* for reminiscence can express the speaker's emotional attitude with the help of other contextual elements, while *monoda* for commentary/explanation cannot.

Nitta (1991) treats *monoda* for reminiscence as an example of what he specially calls 'secondary modality'. Secondary modality is a modality which can be attached to a sentence, without changing the sentence type, in order to add some emotional attitude to a proposition. It is not necessary to discuss Nitta's argument in detail here. However, it is interesting that Nitta subcategorises *monoda* for reminiscence, giving it a new label.

It follows from the discussion presented above that *monoda* for reminiscence has not totally become an independent modal element, which can be regarded as a fixed word. On the other hand, *monoda* for the other meanings is considered to be a fixed expression, which does not allow inflection. This is the phenomenon that Nitta calls 'genuinisation of pseudo-modality'.

It is thus reasonable, based on the investigations in this section, to place *monoda* for reminiscence between *monoda* for explanation/commentary and *monoda* for moderation of desire, obligation, etc., as was done in [2.37]. The scheme in [2.37]

¹¹ For example, it becomes possible when replacing *yonda* with *yondaa* which has a longer vowel sound with a descending tone. In the case of [2.40a], it is difficult to express a sense of reminiscence even using such a technique.

illustrates the important fact that there is a correlation among various kinds of *monoda* at the sentence end which do not seem to have any relationship to each other. Even *monoda* for commentary/explanation, which is excluded from the unified account in Tsubone (1994), as it cannot be explained in terms of ‘generality’, is included within this correlation.

2.3 *Mono* as a conjunctive particle

2.3.1 *Mono* as a conjunctive particle

Mono creates, with the help of some particles, various phrases which function like conjunctive particles.

In Morita and Matsuki (1989), the following are treated as phrases which have characteristics of conjunctive particles.¹²

[2.41] (*yoo*)-*mononara* / *mononara* / *monode* / *monodakara* / *mono-o*¹³ / *monono*

Tsubone (1996) attempts to give a unified description of *mononara*, *monono*, and *mono-o* by means of the keyword ‘generality’ in an extended study of Tsubone (1994), where the sentence-final modality *monoda* has been explained by the same keyword. Tsubone states that the study is merely a proposal that ‘generality’, which is observed in the meaning of the modality *monoda*, can also be found in the meanings of other derivatives such as *monono*, *mono-o*, and *mononara*. However, it is noteworthy that Tsubone discusses the above phrases as functioning like conjunctive particles, referring to the lexical meaning of the noun *mono* and the phrasal meaning of the modality *monoda*.

In the following section, examinations of each phrase in [2.41], with special attention to the descriptions in Morita and Matsuki (1989) and Tsubone (1996), are presented.

¹² In Kindaichi et al. (1998), the phrases in [2.41], except for *monode*, are regarded as independent conjunctive particles.

¹³ A hyphen is inserted to show that it is not a long vowel *oo*.

2.3.2 *Mononara*

Syntactically, *mononara*¹⁴ is attached to either the potential form of a verb, as in [2.42a], or the volitional form of a verb, as in [2.42b].¹⁵

[2.42] a. *Kaereru monnara kaettegoran.* [J: 972]

able to go back CP (if) try to go back

‘If you think you can go back, do it!’

b. *Watasitati ga sukosi demo arai kotoba o kuti ni siyoo,*

we NOM a little even harsh words ACC speak

mononara awate hutameite ikitaete simai soodesu. [I: 959]

CP (if) be flustered will die SFM (seem)

‘If we say something harsh, he will be so surprised and may die.’

Strictly speaking, even a verb that is not in the potential form can precede *mononara*, if the phrase in which the verb is included has the meaning of potential, as in the following example.

[2.43] *Mosi kane de sekai ga heiwa ni naru mononara, ...*

if money by world NOM peaceful become CP (if)

‘If the world can become peaceful by money, ...’

It is clear that the phrase *mononara* forms a conditional clause due to the function of the morpheme *nara*, which is generally regarded as a conjunctive particle. Therefore,

¹⁴ *Mononara* is sometimes pronounced *mon-nara*.

¹⁵ Morita and Matsuki (1989: 93-95) regard *mon(o)nara* in [2.42a] and [2.42b] as separate phrases, paying attention to the form of the preceding verbs. Such a distinction is considered acceptable only for the sake of convenience. However, as it may cause misunderstanding that there are two independent phrases which are originally different, these two are treated as the same phrase in this study.

it is helpful to compare *mononara* and *nara*, placing them in the same sentence structure, as follows.¹⁶

[2.44] a. *Kaereru nara kaettegoran.*

‘If you think you can go back, do it!’

b. *Watasitati ga sukosidemo arai kotoba o kuti ni sita nara, awate hutameite ikitaete simai soodesu.*

‘If we say something harsh, he will be so surprised and may die.’

The existence or absence of *mono* makes a great deal of difference in the sentential meanings. That is, [2.42a] reflects the speaker’s viewpoint, such as ‘I do not really believe that you can go back’, which is not implied in [2.44a]. The difference in the b-series is less clear than in the a-series. However, the following feature of *mononara*, stated in Morita and Matsuki (1989: 93-95), can be observed in [2.42b].

[2.45] *Yoo mononara* is used to represent that the speaker will experience something unwelcome if an event, which is unusual or which is unlikely to take place, really happens.

[My translation from the Japanese.]

Tsubone argues that what the speaker will experience is not necessarily an unwelcome event as shown [2.46], and concludes, having compared *mononara* and *nara*, that *mononara* is used for an assumption of an event which is unlikely to happen. Tsubone insists that the meaning of ‘although generally speaking it is unlikely to happen’ in *mononara* originates in the basic meaning of *mono*, that is, ‘generality’.

[2.46] *Takarakuzi ni demo ataroo mononara, sugu kinzyo no*
 lottery even win a prize CP (if) soon neighbours GEN

¹⁶ Due to the syntactic constraint by the particle *nara*, the preceding verb has been changed from the volitional form to the *ta*-form (perfect/past tense), in [2.44b].

yuumeezin ni naremasu yo.

celebrity can become SFP

‘If you win the lotto or something, you will soon be like a celebrity among your neighbours.’

It follows from the above that the existence of *mono* adds the speaker’s negative view only towards the possibility as to whether or not the event in focus may happen. In other words, the semantic feature of the noun *mono* is only related to its preceding clause, not to the second clause. This fact makes it plausible to consider that *mononara* is derived from the sentence-final modality *monoda*.

2.3.3 *Monode* / *monodakara*

Monode and *monodakara* are used in a similar way, as follows.

[2.47] a. *Natuyasumi na monode maemae kara*
 summer holiday COP CP (because) a long time ago from
yakusoku siteitasi ne. [D: 705]
 promise have made SFP

‘Because it’s a summer holiday, I have made a promise far in advance.’

b. *Tekitoo na onnatomodati ga inai monodakara*
 suitable female friends NOM absent CP (because)
utiakete iken o motomeru wake ni wa ikanai. [H: 784]
 confess opinion ACC seek impossible to do

‘Because I don’t have the right female friends, I can’t confess my situation and seek their opinions.’

Morita and Matsuki (1989: 104-105) present the following description of the use of these two conjunctive phrases.

[2.48] *Monode* and *monodakara* indicate, in a euphemistic way, that the event/fact in the first clause is the cause of the event/fact in the second clause. They are often used to express that the first event (i.e. cause) took place ‘unexpectedly’ or ‘against the speaker’s will’. Therefore, a person who intends to justify himself/herself frequently adopts these phrases in conversation.

[My translation from the Japanese.]

There are semantic similarities between *monode/monodakara* and *node/nodakara* in [2.49] below. However, *node/nodakara* sound stronger and more direct in terms of expressing the cause, while *monode/monodakara* in [2.47] sound more euphemistic.

[2.49] a. *Natuyasumi na **node** maemae kara yakusoku siteitasi ne.*

‘Because it’s a summer holiday, I have made a promise far in advance.’

b. *Tekitoo na onna tomodati ga inai **nodakara** utiakete iken o motomeru wake ni wa ikanai.*

‘Because I don’t have the right female friends, I can’t confess my situation and seek their opinions.’

It is also important to note that *monode* and *monodakara* cannot be used in a sentence that represents imperative, prohibitive, or invitational mood,¹⁷ whereas *node* can be.

[2.50] a. *Zikan ga nai **node** hayaku sinasai.*

time NOM no CP (because) hurry up

‘Hurry up as we don’t have much time.’

b. **Zikan ga nai **monode** / **monodakara** hayaku sinasai.*

‘Hurry up as we don’t have much time.’

¹⁷ See Morita and Matsuki (1989: 104) for a discussion of this point.

[2.51] a. *Kuraku natta node gaisyutu site wa ikemasen.*
 dark has become CP (because) going out TOP not allowed
 ‘You may not go out as it has become dark outside.’

b. **Kuraku natta monode / monodakara gaisyutu site wa ikemasen.*
 ‘You may not go out as it has become dark outside.’

[2.52] a. *Kyoo wa kondeiru node mata asita kimasyoo.*
 today TOP is crowded CP (because) again tomorrow let’s come here
 ‘Let’s come here again tomorrow as it is crowded today.’

b. **Kyoo wa kondeiru monode / monodakara mata asita kimasyoo.*
 ‘Let’s come here again tomorrow as it is crowded today.’

The b-series in [2.50] through [2.52] is not acceptable due to the euphemistic property of *monode/monodakara* which is inconsistent with a strong mood such as that expressed by the imperative and prohibitive.

There is another noteworthy description in Morita and Matsuki (1989: 104).

[2.53] The second event/fact (result) is sometimes omitted when it is considered understandable from the contextual information.

[My translation from the Japanese.]

The above claim indicates that the following examples in [2.54] are acceptable if they are uttered in a situation where it is obvious to the hearer that the speaker came late. Acknowledging these usages is very important as they clearly show continuity between the usage as a conjunctive particle and the usage as a sentence-final particle, which will be presented in a later section.

[2.54] a. *Basu ni nori okureta monode, ...*

bus on get fail to CP (because)

‘Because I missed the bus...’

b. *Basu ni nori okureta monodakara, ...*

‘Because I missed the bus...’

[2.54a] sounds more euphemistic than [2.54b]. This difference in the degrees of the euphemism originates in the difference between the morphemes *de* and *dakara*. As in [2.55] below, if we divide each sentence into two parts, the cause and the effect, it becomes clear that the causal relation is expressed by *dakara* more strongly and explicitly than *de*.¹⁸

[2.55] a. *Basu ni nori okureta. De tikokusite simatta.*

bus on get fail to thus came late

‘I missed the bus. Then, I came late.’

b. *Basu ni nori okureta. Dakara tikokusite simatta.*

‘I missed the bus. Therefore, I came late.’

There is another point to be noted, which is that *de* and *dakara* in [2.55] do not have any euphemistic nuance. This fact suggests that the euphemistic property which *monode* and *monodakara* bear is solely dependent on the existence of the noun *mono*. Since none of the meanings expressed by the sentence-final modality *monoda* observed in the previous chapter has any connection with euphemism, it is difficult to elucidate the connection between *monode/monodakara* and *monoda*. Euphemism does not seem to be explained by the speaker’s strong subjective view. However, *monoda* and *monodakara* do indeed relate to *monoda*. What should be noted is that it is not the authentic sentence-final modality *monoda* but the so-called *monoda* for explanation/commentary that they relate to. All of the above examples, in which *monoda/monodakara* are used, express that the speaker explains a reason/cause as a

¹⁸ *De* in [2.55a] is a colloquial version of the conjunction *sorede*.

circumstantial matter even if it is really a personal matter. That is to say, in [2.54a] for example, the speaker explains the fact that he/she missed the bus as if it were an uncontrollable circumstance. This is where the nuance of euphemism emerges. The ability of these phrases to express a situation objectively is an inherited property from *monoda* for explanation/commentary.

2.3.4 *Monono*

The phrase *monono*, as shown in [2.56], is accepted as a conjunctive particle in most major Japanese dictionaries. This illustrates the fact that the expression has commonly and frequently been used as a fixed phrase, even though *monono* consists of two elements: *mono* and *no*.¹⁹

[2.56] *Nagakiti o uti ni ireta monono aratamatta taimen wa*
 Nagakichi ACC house into enter CP (although) renewed seeing TOP
ki ga omoku Tsuya wa kaimono bukuro no nakami o reizooko ni
 lie heavy Tsuya TOP shopping bag GEN content ACC refrigerator into
simaikondari, booru ni mizu o hatte hanane o tuketarisita.
 put away bowl in water ACC fill plant roots ACC soaked
 ‘Although she let Nagakichi in, seeing him again weighed heavily on Tsuya’s
 mind. So she put the things from her shopping bag into the refrigerator,
 poured water into a bowl, and soaked plant roots.’

[D: 700]

Morita and Matsuki (1989: 122) explain that the function of ‘A *monono* B’ is to indicate that although the speaker tentatively admits A, B, which is regarded as a contradictory or conflicting consequence, may still take place. Similarly, Tsubone

¹⁹ Whereas *nara* in *mononara*, *de* in *monode*, and *dakara* in *monodakara*, which were discussed earlier, are considered to determine the basic meanings of those phrases, it is rather unclear in the case of *no* in *monono*, as *no* does not bear the meaning of ‘although’ in modern Japanese.

(1996: 47) argues that ‘A *monono* B’ indicates that B is a result contrary to the general expectations which are likely to occur in a circumstance such as A.

The function of *monono* is very similar to that of the conjunctive particle *noni*. However, a significant difference between them has been pointed out in Tsubone (1996: 44).

- [2.57] a. *Nihon ni kita noni Huzisan o miteinai no*
 Japan to have come CP (although) Mt. Fuji ACC have not seen NOMI
desu ka.
 COP SFP
 ‘Despite the fact that you have been in Japan, you haven’t seen Mt. Fuji yet!?’

b. **Nihon ni kita monono Huzisan o miteinai no desu ka.*

- [2.58] a. *Nihon ni kita noni Huzisan o miteinai no*
 Japan to have come CP (although) Mt. Fuji ACC have not seen NOMI
desu.
 COP
 ‘Despite the fact that I have been in Japan, I haven’t seen Mt. Fuji yet.’

b. *Nihon ni kita monono Huzisan o miteinai no desu.*

‘Despite the fact that I have been in Japan, I haven’t seen Mt. Fuji yet.’

As shown in the above, *monono* cannot be used in interrogative sentences. Tsubone explains that the characteristic of the word *mono*, which is to inform the hearer that the speaker regards the matter in focus as a general thing, makes [2.57b] unacceptable. To put it simply, the speaker’s subjective view expressed by *monono* is unsuited to interrogative sentences, in which the speaker seeks the hearer’s opinion or judgement.

In Morita and Matsuki (1989: 117-124), detailed subdivision of *monono* is presented. The following distinction is particularly noteworthy.

- [2.59] a. *Hoogakubu no gakusei to wa iu monono, sihoosiken*
 faculty of law GEN student called CP the National Bar Exam
o mezasiteiru gakusei kara roppoo sae
 ACC aiming at student from Compendium of Laws even
hiraita koto no nai yoona gakusei made tasyutayoo dearu to kiku.
 have not opened such student to various COP that hear
 ‘Although we can call them all ‘law students’, there are various kinds of
 students, from students who aim at the National Bar Examination to some
 other students who haven’t even opened a Compendium of Laws.’
- b. *Kono syoosetu wa yonda koto ga aru to wa iu monono,*
 this novel TOP have read before that TOP say CP
nizyuunen mo mae no koto na node donna suzi ka
 twenty years ago GEN thing COP CP what kind of plot
yoku oboeteinai.
 well do not remember
 ‘Although I have read this novel before, I cannot remember the plot
 because I read it about twenty years ago.’

According to Morita and Matsuki, ‘noun + *to wa iu monono*’ in [2.59a] is distinguished from ‘sentence + *to wa iu monono*’ in [2.59b], not only because of the morphological and syntactic differences but also because of the semantic differences. Morita and Matsuki define the meanings of these two phrases as follows.

- [2.60] a. **Noun + *to wa iu monono***
 ‘As there are various kinds of A, it is difficult for me (the speaker) to deal
 with them as one thing.’

b. Sentence + *to wa iu monono*

‘Although I (the speaker) admit that B is true, a contradictory or conflicting consequence occurs.’

[My translation from the Japanese.]

Furthermore, Morita and Matsuki claim that the above distinction is associated with the verb *iu*. That is, *iu* in [2.59a] still keeps its substantive meaning ‘tell/say’, whereas *iu* in [2.59b] does not.

The above claim can be extended to a consideration of the substantiveness of the noun *mono*. The fact that the verb *iu* in [2.59a] has a more substantive meaning than the one in [2.59b] suggests that the former *iu* has a stronger characteristic syntactically to modify the noun *mono*. This difference relates to the substantiveness of the noun *mono*. In other words, it is considered that, whereas *mono* is used substantively in [2.59a], *mono* in [2.59b] has been highly formalised.

The *monono*, which is usually regarded as a conjunctive particle, directly follows a sentence as in [2.56] or follows a sentence, taking *to wa iu* in between, as in [2.59b]. In either case, *monono* has been highly formalised. However, it is noteworthy that the ability to express the speaker’s subjective view is still maintained. This fact supports the claim that there is an interrelation between the sentence-final modality *monoda* and conjunctive particles which contain the noun *mono*. Furthermore, the phenomenon such as in [2.59a], where the same particle *monono* is used in a highly substantive way, also demonstrates the fact that there is continuity between the formal use and the substantive use of the noun *mono*.

2.3.5 *Mono-o*

Mono-o also often appears as a single-word entry in many Japanese dictionaries. This phrase generally indicates that a result, which is mentioned in the second clause,

is contrary to the fact/event illustrated in the first clause. The speaker's subjective attitude, such as discontent, complaint, resentment, or regret, is expressed. *Mono-o* is therefore clearly distinguished from other conjunctive particles which have similar grammatical functions, such as *ga* and *keredomo*.

- [2.61] a. *Damatteireba yokatta mono-o, aitu wa subete*
 if keep silent good CP (although) he TOP all
hakuzyoo site simatta.
 have confessed
 'Though I thought he'd better keep silent, he (unfortunately) owned up to everything.'
- b. *Damatte ireba yokatta ga, aitu wa subete hakuzyoo site simatta.*
 'Though it was better for him to keep silent, he owned up to everything.'
- c. *Damatte ireba yokatta keredomo, aitu wa subete hakuzyoo site simatta.*
 'Though it was better for him to keep silent, he owned up to everything.'

Only [2.61a] represents the speaker's strong complaint at the fact that 'he owned up to everything'. Although [2.61b] and [2.61c] also express the speaker's negative feeling to the fact in some extent, it is due to the phrase *te simatta*²⁰ in the expression *hakuzyoo site simatta*, not due to the conjunctive particles *ga* and *keredomo*.

It should also be noted, as an interesting contrast among the above conjunctive particles, that whereas *ga* and *keredomo* require the sequence of tenses between the first and the second clauses, this does not apply in the case of *mono-o*, as shown in the following sentences where the past tense adjective *yokatta* is changed to the present tense *ii*.

²⁰ Makino and Tsutsui (1986: 404) explain that, although the phrase *te simatta* fundamentally indicates the idea of completion in terms of action as in the following sentence (a), it also expresses the idea that someone did something which he/she should not have done or something happened which should not have happened as in (b).

(a) *Maiku wa sukkari Nihongo o wasurete simatta.* 'Mike has completely forgotten Japanese.'

- [2.62] a. *Damatte ireba ii mono-o, aitu wa subete hakuzyoo site simatta.*
 ‘Though I thought he’d better keep silent, he (unfortunately) owned up to everything.’
- b. **Damatte ireba ii ga, aitu wa subete hakuzyoo site simatta.*
- c. **Damatte ireba ii keredomo, aitu wa subete hakuzyoo site simatta.*

It is assumed that [2.61a] is used when the speaker still believes that ‘it was better for him to keep silent’ at the point of time of the utterance. On the other hand, [2.61b] and [2.61c] will be adopted if the speaker intends to express the fact that he/she believed that ‘it was better for him to keep silent’ at a point in time in the past, or, more precisely, before ‘he owned up to everything’. As the conjunctive particles *ga* and *keredomo* do not have the function of expressing the speaker’s subjective attitude, the point in time on which the speaker is focusing is not specified. Therefore, *ga* and *keredomo* must keep the sequence of tenses between the first and the second clauses.

As mentioned earlier, *mono-o* generally includes the expression of a negative attitude by the speaker, such as discontent, complaint, resentment, or regret, with regard to a result which is contradictory to his/her initial expectation. However, there are some cases where the speaker has a positive attitude to a contradictory result, as Tsubone (1996: 45-46) points out.

- [2.63] *Honrai nara zynban de watasi ga yakuin o*
 originally turn in I NOM executive officer ACC
sinakerebanaranai mono-o, ano kata ga kawari ni
 must do CP (although) that person NOM instead
yatte kudasattandesu.
 did for me

(b) *Watasi wa tigau basu ni notte simatta.* ‘I mistakenly got on the wrong bus.’

‘Although I was duly expected to assume the position of executive officer as it was my turn, he kindly accepted it in my stead.’

Although a contradictory relation between the two clauses is still represented in [2.63], the speaker is rather pleased about the result, which is different from his/her initial expectations. It follows from these points that *mono-o* cannot be generalised as a phrase which indicates the speaker’s *negative* attitude. When the speaker’s subjective view is positive in the first clause, the second clause expresses the speaker’s negative view, and vice versa. For example, as it is certain that the speaker’s view towards *Damatte ireba yokatta* is positive in [2.61a], the second clause expresses his/her negative feeling.

It is very important to note that the meaning of a *mono-o* sentence is determined not by what is literally expressed in the first clause, but by how the speaker regards what is expressed. In other words, without taking pragmatic aspects into consideration, the semantic contents of sentences in which *mono-o* is used cannot be correctly interpreted. For example, in [2.63], in the case where the speaker desperately wanted to take the executive officer’s position and the desire has been thwarted by the other person, [2.63] would be a very ironic expression, while still being a perfectly grammatical sentence. Needless to say, what the speaker meant would be completely opposite to what is literally presented, in this case.

From the above observations, it is clear that the fundamental function of the phrase *mono-o* is to indicate a contradictory relation between two clauses, expressing the speaker’s subjective view, either positive or negative, regarding the first clause.

In addition to the above general usage of *mono-o*, there is an exceptional usage which is presented in Morita and Matsuki (1989: 105).

[2.64] *Soredake sinken ni ittekureru mono-o, musu wa dekinaidesyoo.*
 such seriously tell me CP ignoring TOP cannot do
 ‘As he says it to me in such an earnest manner, I cannot ignore him.’

As shown in the English translation, *mono-o* in [2.64] expresses a causal relation between the two clauses, not a contradictory relation. This is a very interesting phenomenon as it shows that one phrase can function in two almost opposite ways. However, it should be noted that this usage is not usually included in the definitions of *mono-o* as a conjunctive particle in dictionaries.

Morita and Matsuki (1989: 105) also state that it is more natural to use *mono* alone without the particle *o* in order to express a causal relation, as in [2.65] below.

[2.65] *Soredake sinken ni ittekureru mono, musu wa dekinaidesyoo.*

‘As he says it to me in such an earnest manner, I cannot ignore him.’

Semantically, no significant difference can be determined between [2.64] and [2.65], apart from the fact that the lack of the particle *o* in [2.65] gives the impression of the presence of two independent sentences.²¹

In order to discuss the relation between the conjunctive particle *mono-o* and the sentence-final modality *monoda*, the paraphrasability of the structure ‘A *mono-o* B’ into the structure ‘A *monoda*. *Sore o* B’ argued in Tsubone (1996: 45-46) can be examined.

[2.66] a. *Otonasiku iu koto o kikeba kega o sinakute sunda*
 quietly say thing ACC if listened to without hurting finished
mono-o, aitu ga sawagu kara utta n da.
 CP (although) he NOM made a noise because shot NOMI COP

‘Although he wouldn’t have got hurt if he obeyed what I asked him to do, I finally shot him as he became noisy.’

²¹ The first clause including *mono* in [2.65] sounds like a sentence followed by the sentence-final particle *mono*. The relation between *mono-o* as a conjunctive particle and *mono* as a sentence-final particle will be examined in the following section.

- b. *Otonasiku iu koto o kikeba kega o sinakute sumu monoda.*
 quietly say thing ACC if listen to without hurting finish SFM
Sore o aitu ga sawagu kara utta n da.
 nevertheless he NOM made a noise because shot NOMI COP
 ‘If he’d obeyed what I asked him to do, he wouldn’t have got hurt. But, I
 shot him as he became noisy.’

According to Tsubone, the above paraphrasability shows that *mono* in *mono-o* has the same function as *mono* in the sentence-final modality *monoda*. This is a remarkable insight. However, as shown in [2.67b] below, the paraphrasing from the two-clause construction to the syndetic construction faces a problem in the case of *mono-o* that indicates a causal relation.

[2.67] a. *Soredake sinken ni ittekureru mono-o, musu wa dekinaidesyoo.* (←[2.64])

‘As he says it to me in such an earnest manner, I cannot ignore him.’

b. **Soredake sinken ni ittekureru monoda.*

Sore o musu wa dekinaidesyoo.

‘He says it to me in such an earnest manner. Therefore, I cannot ignore him.’

This fact indicates that the speaker’s subjective view expressed by the sentence-final modality *monoda* is not completely inherited by *mono-o* for a causal relation. This is considered to be why *mono-o* for a causal relation is not usually regarded as a single-word conjunctive particle. That is, the phrasal meaning of *mono-o* in question is too weak for it to be treated as a fixed and independent phrase.

2.4 *Mono* as a sentence-final particle

In the following examples, *mono* functions like a sentence-final particle which expresses a reason.

- [2.68] a. *Hazukasiku nanka nai desu yo, datte itumo miteru kao bakari*
 shame don't feel COP SFP because always seeing faces only
naranderu n desu mono. [B: 864]
 are there NOMI COP SFP (because)
 'I don't feel shame, because all the faces in front of me are familiar to me.'
- b. *Watasi wa moo kessin sitanda si kaasan ni mo*
 I TOP already have decided mother to also
yakusoku sitanda mono. [D: 702]
 made a promise SFP (because)
 'Because I have already made up my mind, and made a promise to my mother'

The following description of the above kind of usage of *mono* is given in Morita and Matsuki (1989: 174).

- [2.69] In modern Japanese, *mono-o* is used in the form of *mono* (i.e. without *o*) mainly by women. It has a nuance of complaining or refuting with an attitude like a spoiled child. It often becomes *mon*.
 [My translation from the Japanese.]

As stated in [2.69], Morita and Matsuki consider that *mono* as a sentence-final particle appears as the result of an ellipsis process from *mono-o*. It has previously been discussed, presenting the following example, that the phrase *mono-o* has a usage which expresses a causal relation.

[2.70] a. *Soredake sinken ni ittekureru **mono-o**, musu wa dekinaidesyoo.* (←[2.64])

‘As he says it to me in such an earnest manner, I cannot ignore him.’

b. *Soredake sinken-ni ittekureru **mono**, musu wa dekinaidesyoo.*

‘As he says it to me in such an earnest manner, I cannot ignore him.’

c. *Musu wa dekinaidesyoo, soredake sinken ni ittekureru **mono**.*

‘I cannot ignore him, as he says it to me in such an earnest manner.’

d. *Soredake sinken ni ittekureru **mono**.*

‘Because he says it to me in such an earnest manner.’

[2.70b] is produced through the ellipsis of the particle *o*, and [2.70c] is created through the inversion of [2.70b]. Moreover, by detaching the second clause from the first clause in [2.70c], the sentence in [2.70d] results. From these steps, it is considered plausible that the sentence-final particle *mono* for expressing a reason is derived from the conjunctive particle *mono*.

However, there is another possibility. *Mono* as a sentence-final particle can also be assumed to derive from *monode/monodakara*, which also functions as a conjunctive particle expressing a reason. Consider the following four steps.

[2.71] a. *Tekitoo na onnatomodati ga inai **monodakara**, utiakete iken o motomeru wake ni wa ikanai.* (←[2.49b])

‘Because I don’t have the right female friends, I can’t confess my situation and seek their opinions.’

b. *Tekitoo na onnatomodati ga inai **mono**, utiakete iken o motomeru wake ni wa ikanai.*

‘Because I don’t have the right female friends, I can’t confess my situation and seek their opinions.’

c. *Utiakete iken o motomeru wake ni wa ikanai, tekitoo na onnatomodati ga inai mono.*

‘I can’t confess my situation and seek someone’s opinions, because I don’t have the right female friends.’

d. *Tekitoo na onnatomodati ga inai mono.*

‘Because I don’t have the right female friends.’

As the fourth step in [2.71d] works in the same way in [2.70d], it is difficult to judge which conjunctive particle is the original morpheme of the sentence-final particle *mono*. It is, thus, necessary to examine whether *monode* and *mono-o* can indicate a reason at a sentence end.

[2.72] a. *Natuyasumi na monode.*

summer holiday COP SFP (because)

‘Because it’s a summer holiday.’

b. **Natuyasumi na mono-o.*

As shown in the above, *mono-o* cannot indicate a reason at a sentence end. This fact makes it more plausible to assume that *mono* is derived not from *mono-o* but from *monode*. However, *mono-o* indicating a reason at a sentence end is shown in Morita and Matsuki (1989).

[2.73] ‘*Datte nee, risoo wa taberaremasen mono-o!*’

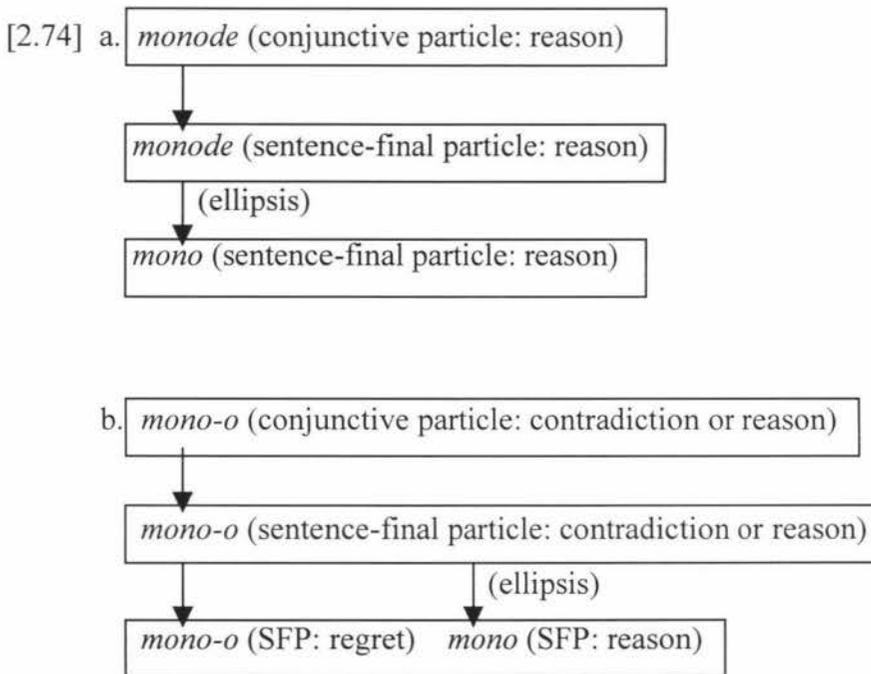
well you know an ideal TOP inedible SFP (because)

‘Because we can’t eat an ideal.’

As the above utterance is metaphorical, the context should be given for the full understanding of the sentence. However, even if the context is given, it is still difficult to capture the meaning of ‘reason’ from the above *mono-o*, since this kind of

usage is outdated. In fact, the above example is extracted from a novel written in 1901 (Meiji period).²²

From this discussion, the schema in [2.74a] below for the derivation of the sentence-final particle *mono* expressing a reason, seems convincing. However, the usage of *mono-o* as a sentence-final particle indicating ‘regret’²³ in [2.75] also suggests that there is also a close link between the sentence-final particle *mono-o* and the conjunctive particle *mono-o*, which is schematised as in [2.74b].



[2.75] *Aitu ni wa damatte ireba yokatta mono-o!*
 him to TOP if kept secret good SFP (regret)
 ‘You should not have told him that!’

The question of which derivation is correct, [2.74a] or [2.74b] in the above, cannot be answered without more evidential factors. However, it is very clear that there is

²² Another example presented in Morita and Matsuki is from a novel written in 1887.

²³ The meaning of ‘regret’ comes from a contradiction between the result and what the speaker expected. Expressing contradiction is the main function of the conjunctive particle *mono-o*, as stated earlier.

indeed a close relationship both syntactically and semantically between the derivatives from the noun *mono* used as a conjunctive particle and those used as a sentence-final particle.

Monoka is also often used as a sentence-final particle, as in [2.76].

- [2.76] *Akatonbo ga tukamaru monoka.* [G: 919]
 red dragonfly NOM be caught SFP
 ‘A red dragonfly can never be caught.’

Monoka consists of the noun *mono* and the sentence-final particle *ka*, which creates an interrogative sentence. However, the above sentence is not a normal question; it is rather a rhetorical question. In this aspect, *monoka* is similar to the following special use of the particle *ka*.

- [2.77] *Akatonbo ga tukamaerareyoo ka.*
 red dragonfly NOM can be caught SFP
 ‘I wonder whether you can catch a red dragonfly. (I don’t think you can.)’

The above sentence in [2.77] seems structurally a normal interrogative. However, semantically and pragmatically, the speaker’s negative judgement on the proposition has been implied. The same is true for the sentence in [2.76], where the negative implication is much stronger. There is no doubt that this strong subjective view is related to the semantic property expressed by the sentence-final modality *monoda*. That is, what the following sentence in [2.78] expresses has been implicitly included in the meaning of the above sentence in [2.76].

- [2.78] *Akatonbo ga tukamaru monodewanai.*
 red dragonfly NOM be caught SFP (negative)
 ‘We can hardly ever catch a red dragonfly.’

Since *mono dewa nai* is the negative form of the sentence-final modality *monoda*, it is evident that *monoka* has a close relation semantically to *monoda*. Furthermore, the syntactic correspondence between the affirmative copula *da* and the interrogative marker *ka* also supports the claim that there is a close relation between the two phrases.

Chapter 3

Syntactic and semantic analyses of *koto*

3.1 *Koto* as a noun

3.1.1. *Koto* as a substantive noun and its basic definition

The following example, where *koto* is used without modifiers, was presented in Chapter 1.

[1.3] *Takuji no titi ga, hito o seme temo sinda ningen wa*
 Takuji GEN father NOM people ACC blame even if dead person TOP
kaeranai yo, to aida ni hairi, koto o osameta no dearu.
 not return SFP saying stepped in the matter ACC settled NOMI COP
 [A: 773]

‘Takuji’s father stepped in between them and settled the matter, saying that there is no point in blaming people as a dead person never returns to life.’

In the above sentence, *koto* is used to indicate an intangible matter. The most fundamental meaning of the noun *koto* is to indicate something intangible such as ‘matter’ or ‘affair’. However, the above kind of usage without a modifier is extremely rare. It is common to use the following compound nouns (Verb + Noun) for describing a trouble or a matter to be settled.

- [3.1] *momegoto*¹: *momeru* (to dispute) + *koto* (a matter)
arasoigoto: *arasou* (to argue) + *koto* (a matter)
isakaigoto: *isakau* (to quarrel/fight) + *koto* (a matter)

The use of *koto* without a modifier is basically limited to idiomatic phrases such as in [3.2] below.² However, the basic meaning of *koto*, that is, ‘matter/affair’, is always maintained to a greater or lesser extent even in these fixed phrases.

- [3.2] a. *koto o aradateru*: make matters worse
 b. *koto o okosu*: cause trouble
 c. *koto to sidai ni yoru*: depend on the circumstances
 d. *koto naki o eru*: virtually no harm is done
 e. *koto mo arooni*: of all things

The following are definitions of *koto* taken from several sources.

- [3.3] a. Ono (1974: 29)
Koto: a matter or an action, which is changeable in the passage of time.
 b. Ikegami (1981: 257)
Koto: a thing, which is the outcome of recognition from the overall-state-centred view.
 c. The Japan Foundation (1986: 400)
Koto: matter, affair.
 d. Morita (1989: 433)
Koto: a phenomenon or a situation, which occurs, appears, fluctuates, and comes to an end.

Whereas *mono* can indicate either a tangible or an intangible object as observed in Chapter 2, *koto* always indicates an intangible thing which is not static but dynamic. Thus, *koto*’s basic meaning when used substantively³ can be defined as in [3.4].

¹ The phenomenon called *rendaku* (sequential voicing) takes place on the consonant *k*, and it becomes *g*.

² *Koto o osameta* in [1.3] is also regarded as an idiomatic phrase.

³ As noted earlier, in this study, when *koto* is used as an independent noun, it is called a substantive usage.

[3.4] *Koto*: a thing (matter/affair), which is changeable

As with the investigation of *mono* in Chapter 2, modification by a preceding clause, which can be simply represented as ‘clause + *koto*’, is the main focus of investigation here. It is, however, important to note that there are the other types of modification shown in [3.5].

- [3.5] a. Determiner⁴ + *koto*
 b. Clause + *to* (quotative marker) + *iu* (say, call) + *koto*
 c. Clause + *to* (quotative marker) + *no* (genitive case marker) + *koto*

Therefore, each of the above structures in [3.5] will be briefly examined in 3.1.2 – 3.1.5 and the relationship of the basic meaning of *koto* as defined in [3.4] to these syntactic structures will be investigated.

3.1.2 Clause + *koto*

Without contextual information, the following sentence in [3.6] is semantically ambiguous.

[3.6] *Ootuka wa zuutto mae kara kyoo iu koto o*
 Otsuka TOP far before from today say thing/NOMI ACC
kangaeteita mitaida. [B: 867]
 has been thinking SFM (seem)

- a. It seems that Otsuka had already decided what to say today a long time ago.
- b. It seems that Otsuka had already decided to say it today a long time ago.

⁴ ‘Determiner’ is taken in the wide sense here. It includes ‘noun + *no* (+ *koto*)’ and ‘adjective (+ *koto*)’.

Generally, when [3.6] has the meaning of (a), *koto* is considered as a noun modified by *kyoo iu*. On the other hand, when the meaning of (b) is expressed, *koto* is regarded as a nominaliser which changes *kyoo iu* into a noun clause. From a syntactic viewpoint, Teramura (1984) calls the former ‘internal relation’ and the latter ‘external relation’, based on the fact that the noun *koto* can be inserted as an argument with a case particle as shown in [3.7] below, whereas the nominaliser *koto* cannot.⁵

[3.7] a. *Kyoo iu koto*

‘(lit.) A thing to say today’

↓

b. (*Ootuka wa*) *Kyoo koto o iu*.

‘(lit.) (Otsuka) says a thing today.’

The syntactic distinction between the internal relation and the external relation is extremely important when we analyse pre-nominal modification in Japanese.⁶ However, the nominaliser *koto* should not be treated as if it were an independent morpheme that is fundamentally different from the noun *koto*. Although there seem to be many differences in their functions, similarities between them have to be sought in order to elucidate the nature of the clause + *koto* construction.

Kuno (1973b) and Makino and Tsutsui (1986) give two noteworthy descriptions of the nominaliser *koto*. They both compare *koto* with *no*, which performs a similar function.⁷

[3.8] *Koto* is used for nominalizing a proposition and forming an abstract concept out of the proposition, while *no* is used for representing a concrete event. ... One can see or hear a concrete event, but not an abstract concept.

[Kuno (1973b: 221)]

⁵ [3.7b] sounds slightly awkward as *koto* usually needs a preceding modifier or determiner. However, it is still possible for *koto* to be inserted into the clause ‘*kyoo iu*’, having a case-relationship with the verb ‘*iu*’.

⁶ The distinction between the internal and the external relation can be observed not only when a modified noun is a so-called formal noun but also when a modified noun is an ordinary noun.

⁷ Kuno (1973b) also includes a quotative marker *to* in the discussion.

- [3.9] a. *Syoosetu o kaku koto wa muzukasii.*
 novel ACC write NOMI TOP difficult
 ‘Writing a novel is hard.’
- b. *Syoosetu o kaku no wa muzukasii.*
 novel ACC write NOMI TOP difficult
 ‘Writing a novel is hard.’

In contrast to another nominalizer *no*, *koto* tends to indicate something the speaker does not feel close to. Thus, in (a), the nominalizer *koto* indicates that the speaker of the sentence is not personally involved in writing a novel; in other words, he is stating the sentence in general or objective terms. The nominalizer *no*, however, indicates something which the speaker can directly perceive or empathize with. Therefore, if *koto* in (a) is replaced by *no*, the nominalizer now indicates that the speaker of the sentence is somehow personally involved with writing a novel; in short, he is empathetic with an act of writing a novel. [Makino and Tsutsui (1986: 194-195)]

Therefore, ‘*kyoo iu*’ in [3.6] can be explained as a proposition which forms an abstract concept with the nominaliser *koto*. A certain psychological distance between the speaker and the proposition can also be assumed. The process of forming an abstract concept out of a proposition seems to be related to the basic meaning of the noun *koto*. Consider the following examples.

- [3.10] a. *Kyoo gakkoo ni itta.*
 today school to went
 ‘I went to school today.’
- b. *kyoo gakkoo ni itta koto*
 today school to went NOMI
 ‘that I went to school today’

Koto in [3.10b] can be replaced with a noun that has a similar meaning to the basic definition of *koto* in [3.4], for example, with the noun *zizitu* (fact).

- [3.11] *kyoo gakkoo ni itta zizitu*
 today school to went fact
 ‘the fact that I went to school today’

When the meaning of ‘changeable’ in the definition is focused on, a noun such as *kooi* (act) can replace *koto*.

- [3.12] a. *undoo o suru koto*
 exercise ACC do NOMI
 ‘to do exercise’
- b. *undoo o suru kooi*
 exercise ACC do act
 ‘the act of doing exercise’

Therefore, the nominaliser *koto* is not entirely a function word that is semantically empty. It is in fact a formalised usage compared to the highly substantive usage observed in the internal relation such as in [3.6a]. However, the nominaliser *koto* should be categorised as a subdivision of the usage of the noun *koto*, rather than as a usage which is not related to the noun *koto*.

3.1.3 Determiner + *koto*

In the following examples, *koto* is modified by *iikagenna*, *sonna*, or *mugoi*. It can be seen from [3.13] that what one actually says can also be expressed by the noun *koto*. This is natural, as each word which a person utters is a thing which is intangible, changeable, and dynamic.

[3.13] a. *Ootuka no haha ga Yuusaku ni iikagenna koto o*
 Otsuka GEN mother NOM Yusaku to irresponsible thing ACC
itta no kamosirenai. [B: 867]
 said NOMI SFM (may)
 ‘Otsuka’s mother may have told Yusaku irresponsible things.’

b. *Sonna koto iu to omotte?* [G: 918]
 such thing say that do you think?
 ‘Do you think I will say such a thing?’

[3.14] a. *Kanozyo ni mugoi koto o sita to iu omoi dake ga,*
 her to cruel thing ACC did that feeling only NOM
sibaraku nokotteita ga, yagate sore mo wasureta. [E: 737]
 for a while remained but soon it also disappeared
 ‘I thought for a while that I had done a cruel thing to her, but that feeling
 disappeared as time went by.’

b. *Nani suru ka wakaranai wa yo, sonna koto sitara.* [H: 787]
 what do don’t know SFP SFP such thing if do
 ‘I don’t know what she will do, if you do such a thing.’

Noun + *no* is also often employed to modify the noun *koto* as shown in [3.15].

[3.15] a. *Takuji wa saki no koto wa kangaemai to omotteiru.*
 Takuji TOP future GEN thing TOP try not to think that have been thinking
 [A: 772]
 ‘Takuji tries not to think ahead.’

b. *Sorekiri, syuzyutu no koto mo hiyoo no koto mo*
 since then operation GEN thing either cost GEN thing or

hutari no wadai ni wa noboranakatta. [H: 784]

the two GEN topic at TOP did not come up

‘Since then, neither the operation nor its cost has become a topic of their conversation.’

Makino and Tsutsui (1986: 193) present the following simple account of this noun + *no* + *koto* structure.⁸

[3.16] N *no koto*, whose literal meaning is ‘thing of N’, is often used with such verbs as *sitteiru* ‘know’, *hanasu* ‘talk’ and *wasureru* ‘forget’, and means ‘know about N’, ‘talk about N’, etc.

The co-occurrence relation between verbs and N (noun) + *no* + *koto* is important. However, let us limit our focus here to a consideration of the literal meaning of N (noun) + *no* + *koto* as stated in [3.16]. The examples in [3.15] can be clearly explained in terms of the literal meaning. For instance, *saki no koto* in [3.15] indicates ‘things of/about the future’. This fact illustrates that each *koto* in [3.15] maintains its basic meaning as defined in [3.4]. However, particular attention is required when a noun indicating an animate being is placed in front of *no koto*, as follows.

[3.17] a. *Nagakiti no koto o kangaeru to atama ga itakunaru*
 Nagakichi GEN FN ACC think if head NOM become aching
node kumihimo ni syuutyuu siyoo to suru ga, soto no
 because braid work on concentrate try to do but outside GEN
huu-u ga ki ni naru. [D: 703]
 wind and rain NOM feel anxious

‘As she feels a headache whenever she thinks of Nagakichi, she tries to concentrate on her braid work. But the wind and rain outside distract her attention.’

⁸ Little explanation has been given of this usage, although a great deal of research has been done on *koto*.

- b. *Haha ga watasi no koto o musuko da to omoidasita*
 mother NOM I GEN FN ACC son COP that remembered
no ka dooka, kaotuki kara wa wakaranai. [C: 1044]
 NOMI whether or not face from TOP not understandable
 ‘We can’t tell from my mother’s face whether or not she has remembered
 that I’m her son.’

It can be seen in [3.17a], *Nagakiti no koto* represents ‘things of/about Nagakichi’. On the other hand, it is impossible to consider that *watasi no koto* expresses ‘things of/about me’ in [3.17b]. The question then arises: what is *no koto* in [3.17b]? Interestingly, [3.18b] can still be grammatical and maintain the same meaning without *no koto* as shown below, whereas [3.18a] becomes ungrammatical.

- [3.18] a. **Nagakiti o kangaeru to atama ga itakunaru node kumihimo ni syuutyuusiyoo*
to suru ga, soto no huu ga ki ni naru.

- b. *Haha ga watasi o musuko da to omoidasita no ka dooka, kaotuki kara wa*
wakaranai.
 ‘We can’t tell from my mother’s face whether or not she has remembered that
 I’m her son.’

This optionality shows that the noun *koto* in [3.17b] does not carry a strong substantive meaning. It is thus possible to regard that this *koto* is already formalised somehow. However, it is appropriate to consider that it is a euphemistic way of describing an individual,⁹ as mentioned in Ikegami (1981: 256-261). Ikegami explains that [3.19a] below seems to be used more commonly than [3.19b], because the latter is too explicit, and also because it is preferred to envelop *mono* (i.e. individual) within *koto* (i.e. overall state) in Japanese.

⁹ This usage is considered to be related to the function of the nominaliser discussed in the previous section, which is to form an abstract concept out of a proposition.

- [3.19] a. *Anata Taroo san no koto suki na no ne.*
 you Taro GEN FN like COP NOMI SFP
 ‘You like Taro, don’t you?’
- b. *Anata Taroo san suki na no ne.*
 you Taro like COP NOMI SFP
 ‘You like Taro, don’t you?’

Therefore, the usages of *koto* in [3.17b] and [3.19a] are closely related to its basic meaning as defined in [3.4], although they are grammatically optional and semantically less substantive than others such as in [3.15] and [3.17a].

3.1.4 Clause + *to iu* + *koto*

The following is an example of a sentence where a clause and the noun *koto* are conjoined by *to iu*. The sequence *to iu* in [3.20a] is considered optional as the sentence in [3.20b] is grammatical and the basic meaning of the original sentence in [3.20a] is still maintained.

- [3.20] a. *Sonna keika ga, kaisya no zyoomu no musume o morau to iu koto ni ikubun tyuutyositeita Sakuta no kimoti o hukkiraseta no deatta.* [E: 738]
 such events NOM company GEN executive GEN daughter ACC
 marry such FN to somehow hesitated Sakuta GEN mind
 ACC freed NOMI COP
 ‘Such events enabled Sakuta to get rid of all his worries about marrying a daughter of the company’s executive.’
- b. *Sonna keika ga, kaisya no zyoomu no musume o morau koto ni ikubun tyuutyositeita Sakuta no kimoti o hukkiraseta no deatta.*

‘Such events enabled Sakuta to get rid of all his worries about marrying a daughter of the company’s executive.’

However, strictly speaking, the semantic representations of these two sentences are not completely identical. Makino and Tsutsui (1995: 483) give the following account concerning this point.

[3.21] The difference between *S to iu koto* and *S koto* is that the former is used when *S* represents a concept rather than a fact or when the speaker/writer views the concrete content of *S* at a conceptual level. On the other hand, *S koto* is used when *S* represents a fact (or something nearly factual) and the speaker/writer views it at a concrete level.

It is indeed conceivable that the speaker views the concrete content of the fact at a conceptual level in [3.20a]. The reason why *to iu* is optional is that the preceding clause represents something nearly factual, which is usually followed directly by the nominaliser *koto*. Thus, there is a slight difference between *to iu koto* and the nominaliser *koto*.¹⁰ However, it should not be assumed that the difference originates in *koto* in these two usages.¹¹ As stated earlier, the nominaliser *koto* is a subcategory of the noun *koto*. The same is true of *koto* in the sequence *to iu koto*. That this *koto* is not semantically empty is made clear by replacing *koto* with a noun, for instance *kooi* (act), which has a similar meaning to the noun *koto*.¹²

[3.22] *Sonna keika ga, kaisyu no zyoomu no musume o morau to iu kooi ni ikubun tyuutyositeita Sakuta no kimoti o hukkiraseta no deatta.*

‘Such events enabled Sakuta to get rid of all his worries about the act of marrying a daughter of the company’s executive.’

¹⁰ It is more appropriate to state a difference in nuance rather than in semantic representation, as there is no dramatic difference in their basic meanings.

¹¹ The difference is due to the existence of *to iu*. See Maynard (1993) for a detailed discussion on *to yuu* (= *to iu*) in the clause-noun combination.

¹² This is the same as the process used in the examination of the nominaliser *koto*.

Furthermore, the fact that only a noun can fill the syntactic position directly after *to iu* indicates that *koto* in the sequence *to iu koto* is indeed a noun.

[3.22] above is an example of a case where a clause is positioned in front of *to iu koto*. In Japanese, a predicate in a clause is not necessarily a verb. Either an adjective or a noun can become a predicate. When a noun is a predicate, it is usually followed by the copula *da* or its equivalent such as *desu* (the polite version). It is, however, sometimes the case that a noun is directly followed by the sequence *to iu koto* as shown below.

- [3.23] *Takezawa isi mo, sin-iri no minarai kangohu no teoti*
 Dr. Takezawa also new coming trainee nurse GEN mistake
to iu koto de, Takuzi ni atama o sageta. [A: 773]
 that is FN COP Takuji to apologised
 ‘Dr. Takezawa apologised to Takuji, admitting that it was a mistake made by a
 new student nurse.’

The above sentence is obtained through the ellipsis of *da* (or its equivalent) from the following sentence.

- [3.24] *Takezawa isi mo, sin-iri no minarai kangohu no teoti da to iu koto de, Takuzi ni atama o sageta.*

That is, what originally precedes *to iu koto* is not a noun but a clause which contains a nominal predicate. However, it should be noted, as a syntactic fact, that what remains in [3.23] is the phrase noun + *to iu koto*.

When two nouns are combined by *to iu*, there is generally a common characteristic between the two things indicated by those nouns. More precisely, there must be a specific-general relation between two nouns, as shown in [3.25].

- [3.25] a. *sakura to iu hana*
 cherry blossoms called flowers
 ‘flowers called cherry blossoms’
- b. *konpyuuta to iu kikai*
 computer called machine
 ‘a machine called a computer’

It is thus predicted that a preceding noun and *koto* must have a specific-general relation if *koto* in the phrase *to iu koto* bears the characteristic of a noun. In fact, the noun *teoti* (mistake) basically indicates a thing which is intangible and changeable: the specific-general relation between this noun and *koto* can be perceived. Usually, the phrase *to iu koto* does not allow a tangible thing to precede it, except for a case such as in [3.26] where a certain context is given.

- [3.26] a. *Hanako ga kuroi tukue o katta rasii yo.*
 Hanako NOM black desk ACC bought SFM SFP
 ‘I heard that Hanako bought a black desk.’
- b. *Kuroi tukue **to iu koto** wa Hanako ga hazimete*
 black desk that is FN TOP Hanako NOM for the first time
siro igai no kagu o katta wakeda ne.
 white not GEN furniture ACC bought SFM SFP
 ‘‘A black desk’’ means that she bought a piece of furniture which is not white for the first time.’

The noun preceding *to iu koto* in [3.26b] is indeed a concrete noun. However, it should be noted that it does not actually indicate a black desk, but the fact that Hanako bought a black desk. It is reasonable to consider that [3.26b] is a result of deleting items in [3.27] below, which are recoverable from the context. The underlined words in [3.27] are the items recoverable from the utterance in [3.26a].

[3.27] *Hanako ga kuroi tukue o katta to iu koto wa Hanako ga hazimete siro igai no kagu o katta wake dane.*

‘The fact that Hanako bought a black desk means that she bought a piece of furniture which is not white for the first time.’

It is thus considered that a noun which indicates a tangible object can precede *to iu koto* only when it is interpreted from the context as a part of a fact, a matter, or an affair. When there is no relevant context, such nouns cannot fill the position, as in [3.28].

[3.28] **tukue to iu koto*
 **hana to iu koto*
 **konpyuuta to iu koto*

It follows from the above that *koto* in the sequence *to iu koto* also carries the basic meaning of the noun *koto*.

3.1.5 Clause + *to no* + *koto*

There is another type of clause-noun combination. It is accomplished by *to* (quotative marker) and *no* (genitive case marker).

[3.29] a. *kaigi o tyuusi suru to no kettei*
 meeting ACC cancel that GEN decision
 ‘a decision that they will cancel the meeting’

b. *atarasii kuruma o kau to no hanasi*
 new car ACC buy that GEN story
 ‘a story that he/she will buy a new car’

Due to the function of the quotative marker *to*, the phrase *to no* + noun is used to describe the third party's action or state, which the speaker heard about. When *koto* fills the noun position, it becomes a fixed expression for reporting, as in [3.30].

- [3.30] *Taroo wa kuru to no koto da.*
 Taro TOP come that GEN FN COP
 'I have heard that Taro will come.'

The phrase *to no koto da* does not inflect freely. As shown below, it can become the past tense form but not the negative form.

- [3.31] a. *Taroo wa kuru to no koto datta.*
 'I heard that Taro would come.'

b. **Taroo wa kuru to no koto de wa nai.*

The above illustrates that *to no koto da* is syntactically a kind of modality attached to the preceding proposition, although it does not express the speaker's subjective view as *monoda* does, as discussed in Chapter 2.

The following replacement suggests that the semantic representation of *koto* in the phrase is not semantically empty.

- [3.32] *Taroo wa kuru to no hanasi da.*
 Taro TOP come that GEN story COP
 'I have heard the story/news that Taro will come.'

It is reasonable to consider that the basic meaning of the noun *koto* is maintained also in this phrase, as *hanasi* (story, news) is a thing that is changeable and intangible.

3.2 *Koto* as a sentence-final modality

Teramura (1984: 296-297) claims that the modality *kotoda*¹³ expresses two types of meanings, presenting the following examples.

[3.33] a. *Hayaku Sawada san ni yuigonsyo o kaitemorau kotoda.*

soon Mr. Sawada a will ACC write for you SFM

‘You’d better ask Mr. Sawada to write his will soon.’

b. *Ima ni natte, yokumo sonna koto ga ieta kotoda.*

now at become how dare such thing NOM could say SFM

‘I’m surprised at the fact that you say such a thing now.’

Kotoda in [3.33a] expresses the meaning that the speaker gives the hearer a suggestion or a recommendation. On the other hand, *kotoda* in [3.33b] describes the speaker’s astonishment with a negative feeling.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the negative form of the copula *da* is *de wa nai*. However, Teramura states that *kotoda* for a suggestion or a recommendation is negated in a different way as shown in [3.34b].

[3.34] a. **Hayaku Sawada san ni yuigonsyo o kaitemorau koto de wa nai.*

b. *Hayaku Sawada san ni yuigonsyo o kaitemorau koto wa nai.*

‘You do not have to ask Mr. Sawada to write his will soon.’

Kotoda that expresses the speaker’s astonishment does not allow the negation.

[3.35] a. **Ima ni natte, yokumo sonna koto ga ieta koto de wa nai.*

b. **Ima ni natte, yokumo sonna koto ga ieta koto wa nai.*

¹³ *Kotoda* tends to become *kotta* in colloquial speech.

It follows from the above that *kotoda* for astonishment is a more fixed expression than *kotoda* for a suggestion or a recommendation. To put it in other words, the independence of the noun *koto* is preserved in *kotoda* for a suggestion or a recommendation, but is largely lost in *kotoda* expressing astonishment. The following paraphrasability supports this claim.

[3.36] a. *Anata ga sinakereba naranai koto wa,*
 you NOM have to do thing TOP
hayaku Sawada san ni yuigonsyo o kaitemorau kotoda.
 soon Mr. Sawada a will ACC write for you SFM
 ‘What you have to do is to ask Mr. Sawada to write his will soon.’

b. **Watasi ga odoroiita koto wa,*
 I NOM be surprised thing TOP
ima ni natte, yokumo sonna koto ga ieta kotoda.
 now at become how dare such thing NOM could say SFM
 ‘What I am surprised at was that you say such a thing now.’

In [3.36a], the first *koto* and *koto* in the phrase *kotoda* correspond, although the first one has an internal relation and the second one has an external relation.¹⁴ This fact indicates that *koto* in *kotoda* for a suggestion/recommendation maintains a strong characteristic as a noun. On the other hand, *kotoda* for astonishment cannot be paraphrased in the same way. To make [3.36b] grammatical, *to iu* has to be inserted between the preceding clause and *kotoda*.

[3.37] *Watasi ga odoroiita koto wa, ima ni natte, yokumo sonna koto ga ieta to iu kotoda.*

‘What I am surprised at was that you say such a thing now.’

The sequence *to iu* makes the ungrammatical sentence in [3.36b] grammatical as it ensures the independence of the noun *koto*. This fact illustrates that [3.36b] is

¹⁴ See p.22 for an explanation of internal and external relations in this context.

ungrammatical, as *koto* in *kotoda* of the sentence no longer maintains a distinct independence as a noun.

Neither *kotoda* for suggestion/recommendation nor *kotoda* for astonishment allows the past tense form.

[3.38] a. **Hayaku Sawada san ni yuigonsyo o kaitemorau kotodatta.*

b. **Ima ni natte, yokumo sonna koto ga ieta kotodatta.*

The reason that [3.38b] is ungrammatical seems to be the semantic conflict between the past tense and the beginning phrase *Ima ni natte*. However, even without this phrase, the sentence still remains ungrammatical.

[3.39] **Yokumo sonna koto ga ieta kotodatta.*

It is understandable that *kotoda* for astonishment does not have a past-tense form, as expressing surprise is a spur-of-the-moment act at the point of time of the utterance. Even if it is about an event in the past, *kotoda* is still considered to be expressing the speaker's present mental state.

Kotoda for suggestion/recommendation, however, is unlikely to refer to such a momentary act. It is thus possible to make the sentence in [3.38a] grammatical simply by adding an appropriate clause as in [3.40] below.

[3.40] *Anata ga sinakereba naranakatta koto wa, hayaku Sawada san ni yuigonsyo o kaitemorau kotodatta.*

‘What you had to do was to ask Mr. Sawada to write his will soon.’

What is important here is that *kotodatta* in the above example is no longer a modal expression. It is in fact an ordinary nominal predicate, which consists of a noun and the copula *da*. This *kotodatta* and *kotoda* in [3.36a] are similar to *monoda* for commentary/explanation, which was discussed in the previous chapter. Therefore, it

can be assumed that the sentence-final modality *kotoda* is developed from a normal nominal predicate structure. However, it should be noted that *kotoda* is not as rich in modal meaning as *monoda*. Thus, strictly speaking, whether or not *kotoda* for suggestion/recommendation, such as in [3.33a], is indeed a sentence-final modality is unclear. Based on the fact that *kotoda* in [3.36a] is similar to *monoda* for commentary/explanation, it is more reasonable to consider that *kotoda* in [3.33a] expresses the speaker's suggestion/recommendation only because the implicit meaning, which is made explicit in [3.36a] (i.e. 'what you have to do is'), is presupposed from the context. In fact, without an appropriate context, *kotoda* itself cannot be a modal expression to indicate a suggestion/recommendation. In such a case, where no relevant context is given, the sentence-final expression *bekida* tends to be used instead.

- [3.41] *Hayaku Sawada san ni yuigonsyo o kaitemorau bekida*
 soon Mr. Sawada a will ACC write for you SFM
 'You should ask Mr. Sawada to write his will soon.'

It follows from the above observation that it is problematic to consider this type of *kotoda* as an authentic sentence-final modality. On the other hand, *kotoda* for astonishment is clearly a sentence-final modality since it is a very fixed expression, as stated earlier. The three criteria for genuine modality proposed in Nitta (1991: 53), which were discussed in Chapter 2, are also fulfilled by this type of *kotoda*, since it represents only the speaker's modal attitude, and never be inflected to the past tense nor be negated. That is to say, *koto* in *kotoda* for astonishment is highly formalised. *Kotoda* for a suggestion/recommendation is placed between this formalised usage as a sentence-final modality and a substantive usage, which is simply an ordinary noun followed by the copula *da*. In other words, *kotoda* for a suggestion/recommendation has characteristics of either formal or substantive usage. This illustrates the fact that there is continuity between the formal usage and the substantive usage of the noun *koto*, as was also found to be the case with *mono* in Chapter 2.

In the previous section, the sequence *to no koto da* was presented as an expression to describe the third party's action or state, which the speaker heard. The same function is also carried out by the sequence *to iu koto da*.

[3.42] *Taroo wa kuru to iu koto da.*

Taro TOP come heard that

'I have heard that Taro will come.'

The phrase *to iu koto da* cannot become the negative form but it can become the past tense form.

[3.43] a. **Taroo wa kuru to iu koto de wa nai.*

b. *Taroo wa kuru to iu koto datta.*

'I heard that Taro would come.'

Masuoka and Takubo (1992: 131) treat these two phrases, *to no koto da* and *to iu koto da*, as mood¹⁵ used for 'reporting' or 'delivering a message'. These are surely non-normal predicates as their inflection is somewhat restricted. However, these are not authentic sentence-final modalities either, as they do not express the speaker's subjective and modal attitude. It has already been observed that the *koto* in these phrases are used substantively as nouns. Therefore, the functions to express 'reporting' or 'delivering a message' are mainly due to the quotative marker *to*, the genitive case marker *no*, and the verb *iu* ('say', 'call'). It is thus inappropriate to include these phrases in the group of modalities derived from the noun *koto*, which are related to the basic meaning of the noun to a greater or lesser degree.

The question which now arises is how *kotoda* for astonishment, which is regarded as a genuine sentence-final modality, is related to the basic meaning of the noun *koto*. The comparison between [3.33b] and [3.44] below where *kotoda* is replaced by *monoda* that also expresses astonishment, elucidates the relation.

¹⁵ Masuoka and Takubo (1992: 117) define mood as a grammatical form which expresses the speaker's judgement or attitude to the proposition or the hearer. That is, what is referred to as mood by Masuoka and Takubo is modality in this study.

[3.44] *Ima ni natte, yokumo sonna koto ga ieta monoda.*
 now at become how dare such thing NOM could say SFM
 ‘I’m surprised at the fact that you say such a thing now.’

Monoda demonstrates deeper emotion than *kotoda*. This difference originates in the fundamental difference in the meanings of the nouns *mono* and *koto*. As stated earlier, *mono* indicates an unchangeable entity whereas *koto* represents a thing (matter/affair), which is changeable. More precisely, *koto* indicates a phenomenon or a situation, which occurs, appears, fluctuates, and comes to an end, as defined in Morita (1989: 433). This dynamic characteristic gives the sentence-final modality *kotoda* the ability to express an instantaneous and light sense of surprise, whereas unchangeability in the basic meaning of *mono* gives *monoda* a very solid and strong nuance. Therefore, *monoda* expresses a deeper astonishment, as if it were based on logical reasoning, than *koto* does.

3.3 *Koto* as a conjunctive particle

Similarly to *monoda*, *kotoda* can be morphologically changed to *kotode*, *kotoni*, *kotonara*, etc., through the inflection of the copula *da*. However, these are usually not regarded as conjunctive particles,¹⁶ whereas *monono*, *mononara*, etc. appear as single-word entries of conjunctive particles in most Japanese dictionaries.

However, *kotoniwa* and *kotonara* are treated as phrases functioning like conjunctive particles in Morita and Matsuki (1989: 90-95). Although *kotoniwa* is a similar expression to *mononara* discussed in the previous chapter, its use is limited and rare.

- [3.45] *Naroo kotonara, issyoo osoba ni otukaesitai kimoti desu.*
 become CP life time nearby want to service mind COP
 ‘If I may, I would like to be in your service forever.’
 [Morita and Matsuki (1989: 94)]

Kotonara in the above example is a literary phrase, which expresses the speaker’s wish. The expression has been somehow idiomatised. On the other hand, *kotoniwa* is commonly observed in both written and spoken materials. The following example is given.

- [3.46] *Koko de nani ka te o utte okanai kotonowa, ato de*
 here at some measure ACC not take CP later
simatu ga tukanakunaru ni tigainai no da
 become impossible to deal with definite NOMI COP
 ‘If we don’t take any appropriate measure at this stage, it is certain that things
 will be too messy to be dealt with.’
 [Morita and Matsuki (1989: 90)]

¹⁶ Kindaichi et al. (1998) admit only *kototote*, which indicates a reason, as a single-word entry as a conjunctive particle containing the noun *koto*. Morphologically and semantically, this phrase is not considered as a derivative from the modality *kotoda*.

As shown in the above, *kotoniwa* functions like a conjunctive particle which comprises a conditional clause. The negative auxiliary *nai* always precedes the phrase. *Kotoniwa* does not seem to be an inflected form of the modality *kotoda*. Thus, semantic inheritance of the modality is not observed. Although *koto* in this phrase has an external relation to the preceding clause, the noun *koto* itself is considered to be highly formalised, and the phrase is firmly fixed.

The phrase *kotoni* is also often found in both written and spoken materials.

[3.47] a. *Husigi na kotoni, issai no yokuboo ga naeteita.* [J: 968]
 surprising CP all GEN desire NOM was gone
 ‘Surprisingly, all the desire I had was gone.’

b. *Hazukasii kotoni, watasi wa titioya de arinagara, watasi yori*
 shameful CP I TOP father COP being me than
setake ga nobita, taisyuu no kituku natta musuko o
 height NOM taller body odour GEN stronger become son ACC
donoyoo ni atukatteiika wakarazu, haremono ni demo
 how should treat have no idea swelling to something like
hureru yooni siteiru no desu. [I: 957]
 touch as if doing NOMI COP
 ‘Shamefully, though I’m his father, I treat my son, who has grown taller than me and has strong body odour, with extreme caution.’

The above kind of *kotoni* is categorised as a phrase functioning like an adverbial particle in Morita and Matsuki. However, the distinction between adverbial particles and conjunctive particles is not very significant, as a conditional clause created by a conjunctive particle is in fact an adverbial clause. In other words, *kotoni* can also be treated as an adverbial particle.

Morphologically, *kotoni* seems like an inflected form of the modality *kotoda*. However, since it does not contain any modal elements in its meaning, it is simply

understood as a normal predicate combination of the noun *koto* and *ni*, which is an inflected form of the copula *da*. This claim is supported by the fact that the *kotoda(ga)* in the following paraphrases do not have modal meaning.

[3.48] a. *Husigi na kotodaga, issai no yokuboo ga naeteita.*

‘It was surprising, but all the desire I had was gone.’

b. *Hazukasii kotodaga, watasi wa titioya de arinagara, watasi yori setake ga nobita, taisyuu no kituku natta musuko o donoyoo ni atukatteiika wakarazu, haremono ni demo hureru yooni siteiru no desu.*

‘Shamefully, though I’m his father, I treat my son, who has grown taller than me and has strong body odour, with extreme caution.’

Kotode, which is treated as a compound particle that indicates a means or a cause in Makino and Tsutsui (1995: 137-139), is a similar example to the above *kotoni*. As shown in the following examples from Makino and Tsutsui, although *kotode* behaves like a conjunctive particle or an adverbial particle, there is no modal meaning expressed by the phrase.

[3.49] a. *Watasi ga zyuuman en dasu kotode.*

I NOM a hundred thousand yen pay CP

mondai wa kaiketusita

problem TOP solved

‘The problem was solved by my paying 100,000 yen.’

b. *Watasi wa Eigo ga heta na kotode tokidoki son o siteiru.*

I TOP English NOM poor CP sometimes have a bad deal

‘I am sometimes put at a disadvantage because I am poor at English.’

The above *kotode* is simply a combination of the noun *koto* and the particle *de* which indicates a means or a cause. That is to say, not the noun *koto* but the particle *de* plays an important role in conjoining two clauses.

It follows from the discussion in this section that although there are some cases where phrases containing the noun *koto* behave syntactically like conjunctive or adverbial particles, they are semantically very plain and none of them clearly expresses the speaker's subjective and modal view, as was patently observed in the case of *mono*.

3.4 *Koto* as a sentence-final particle

Okamoto (1995: 232-233) presents the following two examples, labelling them ‘*koto* for exclamation’ and ‘*koto* for giving an order or direction’ respectively.

[3.50] a. *Ara, suteki desu koto.*

oh nice COP SFP

‘Oh, how nice!’

b. *Saku no naka ni hairanai koto.*

fence GEN inside to not enter SFP

‘You must not go inside the fence.’

The use of the above expressions is socio-linguistically very limited. *Koto* for exclamation is used by females and is becoming less common in modern Japanese. *Koto* for giving an order or direction is widely used even now but is usually observed in written forms, not in utterances.

The above two types of semantic representations seem closely related to the two types of meanings, ‘astonishment’ and ‘suggestion/recommendation’, which the sentence-final modality *kotoda* can express. It is hypothesised that the sentence-final particle *koto* is derived from the sentence-final modality *kotoda* through the ellipsis of the copula *da*.

[3.51] a. **Ara, suteki desu kotoda.*

b. *Saku no naka ni hairanai kotoda.*

fence GEN inside to not enter SFM

‘You must not go inside the fence.’

[3.51a] is ungrammatical as the sentence-final modality *kotoda* cannot be preceded by the honorific form *desu*. This fact has been one of the grounds on which Okamoto bases her claim that the exclamatory *koto* is not a complementiser but a true sentence-final particle.¹⁷ However, from the viewpoint of considering that *kotoda* is the fixed sentence-final modality, and at the same time, is a compound predicate consisting of the noun *koto* and the copula *da*, the *koto* in [3.50] are supposed to have the characteristics of both a complementiser¹⁸ and a sentence-final particle. The grammaticality of [3.50a] and the ungrammaticality of [3.51a] seem to suggest that *koto* in [3.50a] is not a complementiser, as Okamoto argues. It is, however, more reasonable to consider that *koto* in [3.50a] is an irregular use. It seems that, due to this irregularity, the use of this kind of *koto* is becoming less common in modern Japanese. The following uncertainty in the grammaticality judgement made by Okamoto also supports the above claim.

[3.52] a. *Maa, o-niwa ga kirei da koto.*
 oh garden NOM beautiful COP SFP
 ‘Oh, how pretty the garden is!’

b.? *Maa, o-niwa ga kirei na koto.*

If the exclamatory *koto* is indeed a true sentence-final particle, not a complementiser, the pre-nominal form *kiree na* will never be accepted. However, as Okamoto gives it a question mark, the sentence is not completely ungrammatical. This phenomenon is considered natural, as [3.52b] is syntactically authentic. This authentic usage corresponds to the sentence-final modality *kotoda* for astonishment both syntactically and semantically. It should be noted, however, that because the irregular use as in [3.52a] has taken a firm hold in Japanese, not [3.52b] but [3.52a] has been commonly used.

¹⁷ Okamoto also discusses the sentence-final particle *koto* in terms of paraphrasability and inferability of meaning.

¹⁸ As noted earlier, the complementiser *koto* is a subdivision of the various usages of the noun *koto*.

The following examples, where *koto* for a direction/order is not accepted, are presented in Okamoto (1995: 234).

[3.53] <when the addressee is unable to control the situation>

a. **Hana ga hayaku saku koto.*

‘The flowers must bloom quickly.’

< when the verb is in the potential form>

b. **Saku no naka ni hairanai koto.*

‘(lit.) That you cannot go inside the fence.’

<when *koto* is preceded by the auxiliary *nakerebanaranai* (i.e. must)>

c. **Oya o daizi ni sinakereba naranai koto.*

‘(lit.) That you must take good care of your parents.’

Okamoto states that the above examples show that a sense of duty or rule is associated with *koto*, and that *koto* imparts a directive force to the sentence. This claim is supported by the following simple contrast. Whether or not a sentence has a directive mood is obviously dependent on the presence or absence of *koto*.

[3.54] a. *Saku no naka ni hairanai.*

‘I don’t go inside the fence.’

b. *Saku no naka ni hairanai koto.*

‘You must not go inside the fence.’

It is obvious that the above *koto* in [3.54b] and the sentence-final modality *kotoda* for a suggestion/recommendation in [3.51b] have very similar functions. In fact, all of the regulations for the clauses preceding *koto* for a direction/order, presented in [3.53], also apply to *kotoda* for a suggestion/recommendation, as shown below.

[3.55] <when the addressee is unable to control the situation>

a. **Hana ga hayaku saku kotoda.*

<when the verb is in the potential form>

b. **Saku no naka ni hairenai kotoda.*

<when *kotoda* is preceded by the auxiliary *nakerebanaranai* (must)>

c. **Oya o daizi ni sinakereba naranai kotoda.*

However, giving the following examples, Okamoto (1995: 235) claims that giving an order should be distinguished from making a suggestion.

[3.56] <a teacher to student in class>

a. *Syukudai wa asita dasu koto.*

homework TOP tomorrow hand in SFP

‘You must turn in your homework tomorrow.’

b. **Syukudai wa asita dasu kotoda.*

‘It is important to turn in your homework tomorrow.’

It is certainly true that giving an order and making a suggestion are not identical. However, it is more appropriate to consider that giving an order is a stronger form of making a suggestion. In other words, when the sentence-final particle *koto* is derived from the sentence-final modality *kotoda* through the ellipsis of *da*, the meaning that is originally expressed by *kotoda* becomes much stronger in the meaning of the particle *koto*.¹⁹ The same applies to the case of the exclamatory *koto* and the sentence-final modality *kotoda* for astonishment. The exclamatory *koto* expresses a greater and more instantaneous surprise than the *kotoda*. Due to this exaggerated semantic property, the exclamatory *koto* tends to be adopted in ironic expressions more frequently than *kotoda*.

¹⁹ One of the reasons why a rhetorical technique called *taigendome* (finishing a sentence with a noun) is commonly used in Japanese poetry is that the deletion of the copula *da* gives the hearer/reader a stronger impression.

Therefore, there is no problem in considering that both *koto* for giving a direction/order and for exclamation are generated through the ellipsis of *da* from the sentence-final modality *kotoda*.

There is another structure where *koto* is used for expressing a command. The following examples are presented in Makino and Tsutsui (1995: 135-136).

[3.57] a. *Syoosai wa 23 peezi (o) sansyoo no koto.*
 details TOP page 23 ACC refer GEN SFP
 ‘See page 23 for details.’

b. *Bentoo (o) zisan no koto.*
 lunchbox ACC bring GEN SFP
 ‘Bring your own lunch.’

c. *Seihuku (o) tyakuyoo no koto.*
 uniform ACC wear GEN SFP
 ‘Wear uniforms.’

Makino and Tsutsui explain that *koto* in the above examples, along with *koto* which are directly attached to the preceding clause, are used only in written Japanese, often for rules and regulations. Thus, the *koto* in [3.57] are considered to be equivalent to the *koto* for giving an order or a direction, which has already been discussed. However, these examples do not fit into the structure of the sentence-final modality *kotoda*.

[3.58] a. **Syoosai wa 23 peezi (o) sansyoo no kotoda.*
 b. **Bentoo (o) zisan no kotoda.*
 c. **Seihuku (o) tyakuyoo no kotoda.*

The ungrammaticality of the above examples in [3.58] should not be regarded as a counter-example to the assumption that the sentence-final particle *koto* is derived from the sentence-final modality *kotoda*. *Koto* in [3.57] are merely paraphrases of the following sentences in [3.59], for the purpose of making the statements more formal and crisp.²⁰ This claim is supported by the fact that only nouns which can create a verb with *suru* (do) are placed in front of the sequence *no koto*.

[3.59] a. *Syoosai wa 23 peezi o sansyoo suru koto.*

‘See page 23 for details.’

b. *Bentoo o zisan suru koto.*

‘Bring your own lunch.’

c. *Seihuku o tyakuyoo suru koto.*

‘Wear uniforms.’

All of the above three examples can fit into the construction where *kotoda* for a suggestion/recommendation is used. It is thus considered that the noun + *no* + *koto* structure such as in [3.57] also has its root in the sentence-final modality *kotoda*.

In Chapter 2, we discussed the fact that the sentence-final particle *mono* is strongly related to some of the conjunctive particles which contain the noun *mono*. As stated earlier, there are not many conjunctive particles including the noun *koto*, which are treated as single words. Furthermore, it is also mentioned that there is no conjunctive particle that has inherited the meaning expressed by the sentence-final modality *kotoda*. Thus, it seems difficult to show the close relationship between the sentence-final particle and the conjunctive particle in the case of *koto*. However, Morita and Matsuki (1989) point out, giving the following example, that the phrase *kotoniwa*, which functions like a conjunctive particle, is also used like a sentence-final particle.

²⁰ The accusative marker *o* in [3.57] is often dropped for the same purpose.

[3.60] *Tonikaku, hayaku ikanai kotonniwa.*

anyway soon not go SFP (if)

‘(lit) Anyway, if I don’t go soon,’

‘Anyway, I have to go soon.’

The above usage of *kotonniwa* is similar to the usage of *monode* observed in Chapter 2, in that they both function as sentence-final particles as a result of the deletion of the second clause that is supposed to follow the conjunctive particles *kotonniwa* and *monode*.

Based on the above, it is considered theoretically possible that the phrase *kotode* in [3.49b], which functions like a conjunctive particle indicating a cause, is also used as a sentence-final particle, by deleting the second clause. However, the system does not operate in the same way. As shown in [3.61] below, a meaningless sentence results.

[3.61] ??*Watasi wa Eigo ga heta na kotode.*

‘As I am poor at English.’

It is considered that [3.61] is inadequate in its meaning due to the semantic and pragmatic plainness of the noun *koto*. This fact forms a clear contrast to the case of *mono*, as the following example is semantically adequate to indicate that the speaker expresses a reason.

[3.62] *Watasi wa Eigo ga heta na monode.*

I TOP English NOM poor SFP (because)

‘As I am poor at English.’

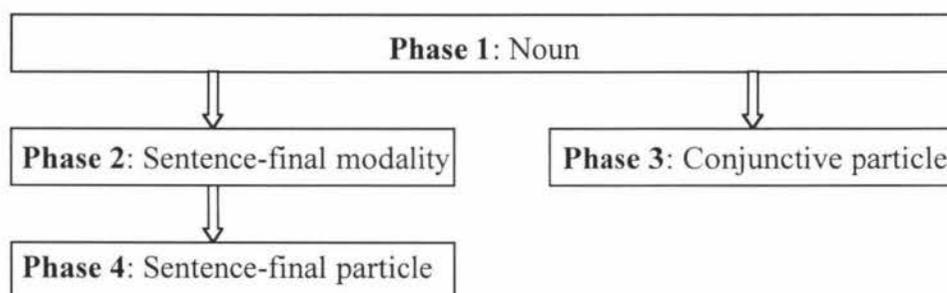
Chapter 4

Conclusion

4.1 Re-examination of Teramura (1981)

We have observed *mono* and *koto* based on the following four phases presented in Teramura (1981).

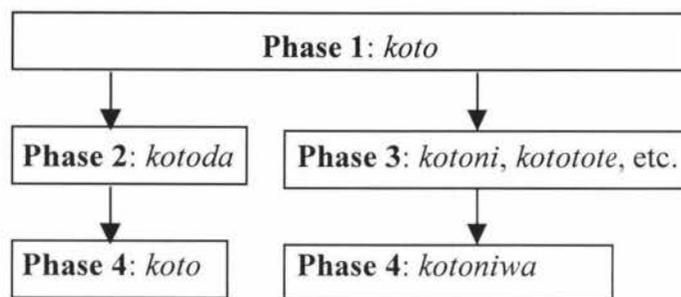
[1.19]



Although Teramura does not present detailed discussion on the order of these four phases, Phase 2 and Phase 3 are treated as derivations which develop simultaneously. In other words, there is no sequence between Phase 2 and Phase 3. It is notable, however, that Teramura clearly states that Phase 4 derives from Phase 2 through the ellipsis of the copula *da*, as illustrated in [1.19].

The above two-stream assumption can be applied to the derivations of *koto* with a slight adjustment, as in [4.1].

[4.1]



The above diagram represents the two significant findings in Chapter 3 regarding the derivations of the noun *koto*. Firstly, although there are phrases such as *kototote* and *kotoni* which are used like a conjunctive particle or an adverbial particle, there is no interrelation between these phrases and the sentence-final modality *kotoda*. These are not inflected forms of *kotoda*, but the phrases in which the noun *koto* is followed by other particle(s). It is thus appropriate to place *kotoda* and *kotoni* in the different streams. Secondly, it is noted that *koto* as a sentence-final particle is considered as the ellipsis version of *kotoda*. This fact is clearly indicated in the above diagram by placing Phase 4 beneath Phase 2.

It is also mentioned in Chapter 3 that the conjunctive particle *kotonowa* can also be used like a sentence-final particle. This kind of usage has to be placed beneath Phase 3, to show the relationship between Phases 3 and 4. This is the slight adjustment to Teramura (1981) mentioned above, which is required in the case of *koto*.

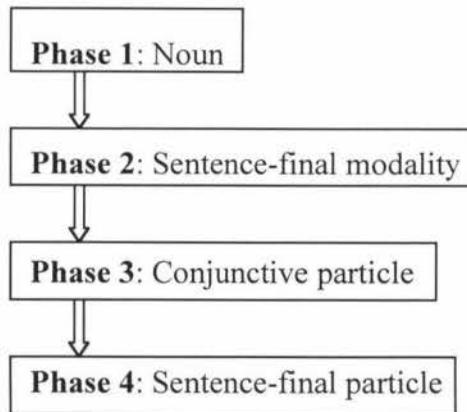
On the other hand, in the case of *mono*, the two-stream assumption in Teramura faces at least two difficulties. The first is that it cannot account for the semantic similarities between the usage as a conjunctive particle and the usage as a sentence-final particle. For example, the sentence-final particle *mono* strongly relates to *mono-o* and *monode*, which serve as conjunctive particles. The second is that it is unnatural to assume that single-layered sentence structures,¹ where the sentence-final modality

¹ The term 'single-layered sentence' indicates that there is no conjointness in the sentence, whereas 'multiple-layered sentence' suggests that there is at least one conjointness. These terms are used here, since we cannot describe the difference between Phases 2 and 3 by means of existing terms, such as simple sentence, compound

monoda is used, and multiple-layered sentence structures, where the inflected forms of the modality *monoda* are used, take place separately.² It is more reasonable to consider that a multiple-layered sentence structure evolves from a single-layered sentence structure. It is unlikely that the process takes place either the other way around or concurrently.

It is, therefore, necessary to rewrite the four phases in Teramura (1981) in a one-stream line, to account for the derivational changes of the noun *mono*, as shown in [4.2].

[4.2]



The chart in [4.2] indicates that, as the first step, *mono* is used as a normal noun. As previously observed, there are some cases where *mono* is used without preceding modifiers. It is thus possible to categorise this *mono* as an ordinary noun at this stage. As the next step, *mono* is shifted to the sentence-final position, in front of the copula *da* or *desu* (and their inflected forms). Creating a predicate with the copula is one of the most fundamental and important syntactic features of Japanese nouns. It is, however, noted that *monoda* that do not denote the speaker's subjective view have been excluded from this Phase 2, although it has been observed that the sentence-final modality *monoda* derives from such a plain nominal predicate *monoda*.

sentence, complex sentence, matrix clause, and embedded clause. Both of them are complex sentences that contain an embedded clause (or embedded clauses), since *mono* and *koto* always require a preceding modifier in these cases.

² This does not apply to the case of *koto*, as there is no conjunctive particle which is considered as an inflected form of the modality *kotoda*.

The Japanese copula *da* has several inflected forms, such as *ni*, *no*, *na*, *datta*, *dattara*, *de*, and *dattari*.³ These inflections can take place even when a noun and the copula establish a fixed modal predicate such as *monoda* and *kotoda*. In this way, phrases functioning like conjunctive particles, such as *monode* and *monono*, are derived. This is Phase 3 in the above chart.

Although many of the derivatives functioning like conjunctive particles are treated in modern Japanese dictionaries as single-word entries, it is clear that such phrases structurally consist of two elements. Since the ellipsis of the copula *da* (or *desu*) easily takes place in the case of noun + copula construction as shown in [4.3], *da* and its inflected forms, such as *de*, *ni*, and *no*, can also be separated from the preceding nouns. This is Phase 4.

[4.3] a. *A, ame da.*
 oh rain COP
 ‘Oh, it’s raining!’

b. *A, ame ϕ .*
 ‘Oh, it’s raining!’

The above one-stream assumption can clearly explain the derivations from formal nouns to sentence-final particles which are based on the inflections of the copula *da*. However, those which do not include the copula *da*, such as *mono-o* and *monoka*, are left outside of the stream. As *mono* is originally an ordinary noun, it is reasonable that it can take not only the copula *da* but also some other particles such as *o* and *ka*. It is thus necessary to return to a multiple-stream hypothesis, which, however, differs from Teramura’s version. The following diagram in [4.4] illustrates the derivational changes of the noun *mono*.

³ Opinions vary as to the number of inflected forms of the copula *da*. Here, Masuoka and Takubo’s (1992: 25-28) definition and account are adopted.

[4.4]

Phase 1

Noun

*mono***Phase 2**

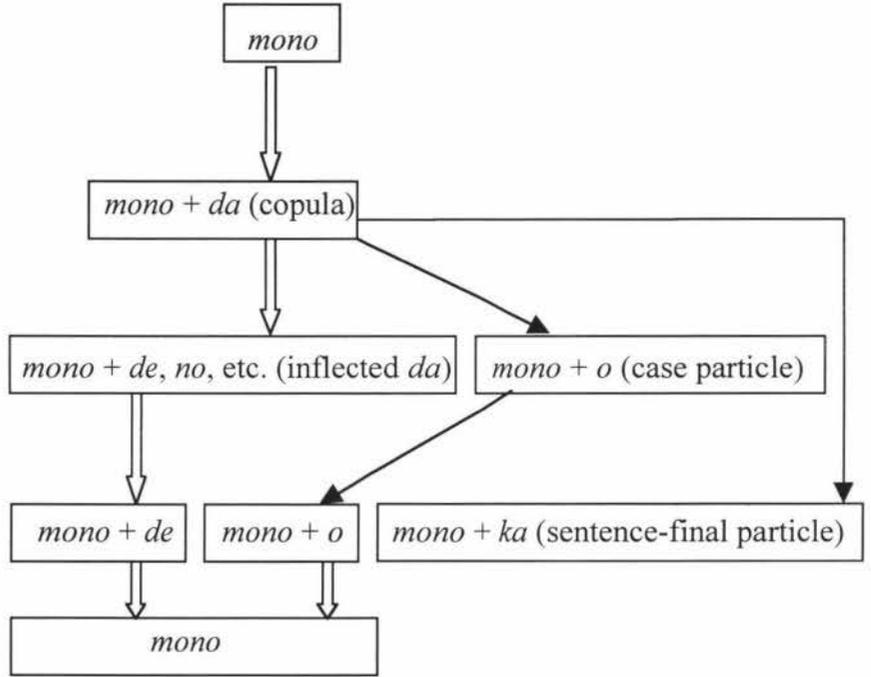
SFM

mono + da (copula)**Phase 3**

CP

mono + de, no, etc. (inflected *da*)*mono + o* (case particle)**Phase 4**

SFP

*mono + de**mono + o**mono + ka* (sentence-final particle)*mono*

4.2 Grammaticalisation of *mono* and *koto*

Both of the nouns *mono* and *koto* finally reach the stage where they are used as sentence-final particles. These changes from content words to function words are called grammaticalisation. The fact that *mono* and *koto* are fundamental words in Japanese accords with the following statement in Hopper and Traugott (1993: 97).

[4.5] [T]he lexical items that grammaticalize are typically what are known as “basic words”.

Within the framework of the grammaticalisation, Hopper (1991: 22) presents the five principles, Layering, Divergence, Specialisation, Persistence, and De-categorialisation. The principles of Persistence and De-categorialisation are considered particularly important and relevant to the discussion here.

[4.6] a. Persistence

When a form undergoes grammaticalization from a lexical to a grammatical function, so long as it is grammatically viable some traces of its original lexical meanings tend to adhere to it, and details of its lexical history may be reflected in constraints on its grammatical distribution.

b. De-categorialization

Forms undergoing grammaticalization tend to lose or neutralize the morphological markers and syntactic privileges characteristic of the full categories Noun and Verb, and to assume attributes characteristic of secondary categories such as Adjective, Participle, Preposition, etc.

In this study, the basic meanings of *mono* and *koto* have been defined as ‘an unchangeable entity’ and ‘a changeable thing (matter/affair)’ respectively.

Once *mono* starts functioning as a modality, a conjunctive particle or a sentence-final particle, its original meaning seems to have disappeared. However, it is rather appropriate to consider that the noun *mono* has become polysemic and that its original meaning is still maintained in these various meanings expressed by the derivatives, although it is inherited by such derivatives in a metaphorical manner rather than in a literal manner. For example, the meaning of ‘an unchangeable entity’ metaphorically leads to the meaning of ‘a fixed thing/idea’. It seems probable that the meanings expressed by the sentence-final modality *monoda* originate in such metaphorical meaning of the noun *mono*. For example, the sentence-final modality *monoda*, which indicates obligation, marks what is expressed in the preceding clause as ‘a fixed thing’ which the speaker thinks the hearer should do.

Koto frequently serves as a nominaliser, which is usually considered to be of grammatical status rather than lexical. However, as mentioned in Chapter 3, even such a nominaliser is not a purely functional word, and is still categorised in Phase 1 in the diagram in [4.1], since the meaning of ‘a changeable thing (matter/affair)’ has been inherited. Furthermore, the derivations in Phase 2-4 develop from either this function of *koto* as a nominaliser or the function of *koto* as an ordinary noun which indicates ‘thing (matter/affair)’. It is thus clear that the persistence of the original meaning is observed in the grammaticalisation of the noun *koto*, as well as in the case of the noun *mono* stated in the above.

Next, the derivation of *mono* is examined in terms of de-categorialisation. For example, *monode* can function as a sentence-final particle which indicates a reason, as shown in [2.72a].

- [2.72] a. *Natuyasumi na monode.*
 summer holiday COP SFP
 ‘Because it’s a summer holiday.’

The morpheme *na* in [2.72a] is the pre-nominal form of the copula *da*. This fact suggests that this *mono* in *monode* still has the characteristic of the original noun.

However, when *de* is detached from the particle *monode*, *mono* no longer requires the pre-nominal form, as in [4.7].

[4.7] a. **Natuyasumi na mono*.

‘Because it’s a summer holiday.’

b. *Natuyasumi da mono*.

summer holiday COP SFP

‘Because it’s a summer holiday.’

The fact that the pre-nominal form of the copula *da* is not acceptable as in [4.7a] indicates that *mono* as a sentence-final particle no longer preserves the syntactic characteristic of the original noun. This claim is also supported by the fact that *mono* can be placed directly after *desu*, as in [2.68a]

[2.68] a. ‘*Hazukasiku nanka nai desuyo, Datte itumo miteru kao bakari naranderu n desu mono*.’

‘I don’t feel shame, because all the faces in front of me are familiar to me.’

Desu, which is a polite version of the copula *da*, does not appear in an embedded clause which modifies the following noun. Thus, the *mono* in *monode* which maintains the characteristic of a noun, cannot be preceded by *desu*, as shown in [4.8].

[4.8] **Hazukasiku nanka nai desuyo, Datte itumo miteru kao bakari naranderu n desu monode*.

The same is true for the case of the noun *koto*. As stated earlier, the derivations develop from either *koto* as a nominaliser or *koto* as an ordinary noun which indicates ‘thing (matter/affair)’. Thus, in most cases, preceding modifiers take the pre-nominal form. However, the feminine sentence-final particle *koto*, such as in [3.50a], is an exception, as it can follow *desu*.

[3.50] a. *Ara, suteki desu koto.*

‘Oh, how nice!’

As seen in the above, de-categorialisation has in fact taken place in the grammaticalisation of the nouns *mono* and *koto*, although it does not occur until the process reaches the very last stage, which is categorised as Phase 4 in [4.1] and [4.4].⁴ It is reasonable that de-categorialisation does not occur in the previous Phases, since, apart from the feminine sentence-final particles *mono* and *koto*, all the derivatives categorised in Phases 2 and 3 are not true function words, but quasi-function words which still keep the features of content words to some extent.

It is clear from the above observations that the model of derivational changes proposed in Teramura (1981), which are similarly observed in many of the so-called formal nouns, is explained as the process of grammaticalisation.

⁴ See Ono (1998) for syntactic de-categorialisation observed in the process of grammaticalisation of Japanese verbals into auxiliaries.

4.3 The category *keisiki-meisi*

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the category *keisiki-meisi* (formal noun) has been largely accepted in the field of Japanese linguistics as a subcategory of the noun. Scholars who agree with the categorisation call *mono* and *koto*, which do not have preceding modifiers, such as in [1.2] and [1.3], ordinary nouns, and distinguish such *mono* and *koto* from the formal nouns *mono* and *koto*. This is a typical example of a superficial sub-division, where the origin of a morpheme is neglected. Needless to say, it does not necessarily mean that no one noticed the problematic subcategorisation of the formal nouns. In fact, quite a few discussions have been presented with regard to the nature of formal nouns and the interrelation between *mono*, *koto*, etc. as ordinary nouns and formal nouns. Teramura's approach of considering *mono* and *koto* as sentence-final particles as a result of derivations from the formal noun *mono* and *koto* is particularly outstanding. However, it seems that the impression that the category of formal noun is a somewhat unique property seen only in Japanese has not yet disappeared, even in Teramura (1981).

The derivational changes of the nouns *mono* and *koto*, which were investigated in Chapter 2 and 3 based on Teramura's description, are discussed in the framework of the grammaticalisation in the previous section. Grammaticalisation is a process which is considered universal throughout all natural languages, as Heine et al. (1991: 2) state.

[4.9] Where a lexical unit or structure assumes a grammatical function, or where a grammatical unit assumes a more grammatical function, we are dealing with grammaticalization, a process that can be found in all languages known to us and may involve any kind of grammatical function.

[Underline not in original.]

It follows from the observations in the previous section that the category *keisiki-meisi* (formal noun) is only a label that has been put onto a group of nouns which can be grammaticalised or which have already been grammaticalised. In other words, viewed in the light of the framework of grammaticalisation, the category of formal noun is not a unique property in Japanese but a manifestation of a phenomenon which can be observed in many natural languages.

Appendix

Table

The number of sentences which include at least one of *mono* or *koto*[†] and the ratio to the total number of sentences in 10 selected short stories

Short Story ‡		Total number of sentences	Sentences incl. <i>mono/koto</i>	Ratio
A	“Kawauso”	203	36	17.73%
B	“Ido no hoshi”	389	49	12.60%
C	“Kaetteiku haha”	569	73	12.83%
D	“Amagomori”	470	71	15.11%
E	“Bosai no hirumae”	451	97	21.51%
F	“Asai nemuri”	531	87	16.38%
G	“Suisho”	641	81	12.64%
H	“Sakura-densha”	418	31	7.42%
I	“Uchusen”	363	64	17.63%
J	“Manhattan-to no onna”	335	49	14.63%
Total		4370	638	14.60%

[†] *Mono* and *koto* that form compound nouns and adjectives with some other morphemes are included in the enumeration, although such compound words are not discussed in the text of this thesis.

[‡] These short stories are taken from *Showa bungaku zenshu* Vol. 32 (Shogakukan 1989). These are also the sources of Japanese examples in the text of this thesis.

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