Headless Relative Clauses in Japanese

An Historical Study

by

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ABSTRACT

The present thesis examines the syntax and seman-
tics of headless relative clauses ("B pattern") and a
type of headed relative clauses ("A pattern") from
which they are likely to have developed. Based on a
systematic survey of representative sources of Japan-
ese from the Nara to Muromachi periods, it traces the
historical development of the various types of A and
B pattern observed. Both simple and stacked patterns
are dealt with, while some similar patterns are also
discussed.

Chapter I provides most of the general framework
and objectives of the thesis. It also presents an o-
verview of research into headless relative clauses
and some related phenomena published to date in Ja-
panese, English and German.

Chapter II examines the A pattern formed by the
particle no in the Nara period and thereafter and tra-
ces its historical development.

Chapter III deals with the A pattern formed by
particles other than no (zero etc.) during the same
periods.

Chapter IV discusses the B pattern formed by the
particle no for each period of Japanese language his-
tory covered in this thesis, while Chapter V focusses
on the B pattern formed by other particles (zero, case
particles such as o, emphatic particles such as wa,
and some others).

Chapter VI examines the relationship between the
A and B patterns and compares the various types of B
pattern. Results are discussed and contrasted with
earlier research.

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## Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| ASS | Associative particle |
| COMP | Complementising particle |
| COP | Copula |
| DO | Direct object |
| EMP | Emphatic Particle |
| EPI | Fixed epithet |
| F | *Final particle* |
| LOJ | Late Old Japanese |
| MdJ | Middle Japanese |
| MJ | Modern Japanese |
| MS | Manuscript |
| NKBT | <u>Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei</u> edition of Japanese Classical Literature (100 Vols., Iwanami) |
| NOM | Nominaliser |
| OBL | Oblique case |
| OJ | Old Japanese |
| PREF | Prefix |
| PRES | Presumptive |
| Q | Question particle |
| REST | Restrictive particle |
| SU | Subject particle |
| SUF | Suffix |
| TOP | Topic particle |

*Other abbreviations are explained in the text

*Abbreviations of sources are given at the end of Chapter I

Chapter I

## 1.1 General discussion of relative clauses

In the absence of evidence suggesting otherwise,[1]
it is safe to say that all natural languages possess
relative clauses (RCs) as part of their semantic/syntac-
tic inventory.

## 1.11 Semantic characteristics

In semantic terms, a relative clause is character-
ized by the fact that it contains a nominal (Rel NP) co-
referential or identical with a nominal (Head NP) modi-
fied by it, whether these nominals are explicit or not.
In standard English, for instance, the range of possibi-
lities with regard to omission of the coreferential
noun phrase is shown in examples 1 - 3 (coreferential
nominals are underlined; relative clauses are enclosed
in square brackets):


1 The <u>people</u> [<u>who</u> came] were relatives.

2 The <u>wallet</u> [he found ∅] was empty.

3 I didn't see ∅ [<u>what</u> the others saw].


In standard English, therefore, either one or both
nominals are explicit.

From the above semantic characterization it is evi-
dent that a relative clause cannot be an independent sen-
tence but is necessarily linked semantically to a noun
phrase forming part of another clause.

Another semantic concept characteristic of relative clauses is that of modification or restriction. As mentioned above, a relative clause modifies its Head NP.

Compare the English sentences 4 and 5:

4 The graduates who had disciplinary training found jobs easily.

5 The graduates, who had disciplinary training, found jobs easily.

A restrictive RC is semantically closely related to the Head NP which it modifies, limiting it to those entities for which it holds true (thereby at the same time distinguishing it from those for which it does not hold true) rather than providing new information on Head NP. Thus in ex.4 <u>graduates</u> is limited to those individuals or groups which have been trained in some discipline. In contrast, a nonrestrictive RC adds an independent comment on Head NP by way of providing some further information, which could equally be omitted without any change in the matrix sentence. In English, nonrestrictive RCs are also distinguished by comma intonation after Head NP.

A third semantic feature proposed for relative clauses is the 'Thematic Constraint' according to which a "relative clause must be a <u>statement about</u> its head noun" (Kuno 1976:420). According to this constraint relative clauses are only possible where Head NP represents the

theme of the sentence. Kuno maintains that the Keenan and Comrie (1972) hierarchy for the accessibility of noun phrases for relativization (where ≥ indicates "easier than or equal to in relativizability")

subject NP ≥ direct object NP ≥ indirect object NP ≥ objects of true prepositions ≥ possessor NP ≥ objects of comparative particles[2]

in fact appears to be a hierarchy for accessibility to thematic interpretation for noun phrases, i.e. the subject is the easiest one to relativize because it is most readily interpretable as the theme of the sentence.

## 1.12 Syntactic characteristics

Unlike semantic properties, which can be stated in general terms for relative clauses, the establishing of syntactic language universals for relative clauses seems to be largely dependent on language typology, especially with regard to word order. Most work on relative clause structure limits itself exclusively to restrictive RCs, and it is indeed for restrictive RCs that Downing (1978) establishes the following types of relative clauses with regard to the position of RCs in their sentence:

a) Prenominal RCs

b) Postnominal RCs

c) Replacive RCs

d) Left-extraposed RCs

e) Right-extraposed RCs

Downing (<u>ibid.</u>) establishes a number of implication-
al universals and implicational tendencies for each type
of relative clause in relation to the typology of the
languages exhibiting it besides the one and only language
universal covering all (restrictive) RCs that "all lan-
guages make use of restrictive relative clauses (as se-
mantically defined)" (<u>ibid</u>:381). Without going into de-
tails on such relationships in the languages of the world,
I will summarize a number of generalizations made by Down-
ing pertaining to verb-final languages in general and Ja-
panese in particular.

## 1.13 Types of relative clauses in verb-final languages

Prenominal RCs are characteristic of SOV languages
with very few exceptions. In modern Japanese the relati-
vization process involves only the deletion of Rel NP,
except for cases where the RC contains a copula, which
assumes the adnominal form (<u>rentai</u>-form remnant). Where
Rel NP is a genitive form, a pronoun may be retained.[3]

In modern Japanese, the form of the relative clause
takes the shape

$$[_S \ldots (PRO) \ldots V] \; N$$

as in, for instance,

6 [ (sono) ryōshin ga sude ni   naku natte ita] kodomo
     its    parents SU already    had-died          child

'a child whose parents had already died'

where S is the relative clause, PRO the pronoun which may

be retained, V the verb (or adjective), and N the head

nominal.

As Downing (ibid.) further points out, some SOV lan-

guages retain Rel NP in full lexical form rather than

pronominalising or deleting it. Instead, Head NP is dele-

ted. Ex.7 is an instance of this from classical Japanese.


7 [onna   no [iro      yurusaretaru]]    (IM:65,1)
     woman ASS colour is-permitted

   'a woman permitted to wear the forbidden colours'


Downing generalizes these headless relative clauses

as

$$[_{NP} \ [_{S} ...Rel \ NP...V]]$$

where NP is the nominal coreferential with the deleted

Head NP. Downing labels them 'replacive RCs' (see above),

where "the clause stands in the place of the nominal it

used to modify" (ibid.:398). He also formulates an impli-

cational language universal stating that all languages

with replacive RCs are SOV languages.


1.2 Relative clauses and rentai shūshoku in Japanese

One of the syntactic characteristics of Japanese -

conditioned largely by its typology as a SOV language -

is the fact that modifying elements always precede the

elements they modify. It is therefore quite natural that

traditional Japanese grammar (kokugogaku) has classified

all kinds of modification of the noun as rentai shūshoku,

regardless of whether the modification takes place in the

form of

    i) noun + particle <u>no</u>/<u>ga</u>

   ii) adnominal form of verbs/adjectives

  iii) others: <u>rentaishi</u>,[4] words whose only function

       is the modification of nouns


  As a matter of fact, the term <u>rentai shūshoku</u> merely indicates the modification of a <u>taigen</u>, a term roughly corresponding to a noun used in traditional Japanese grammar.

  It is not surprising that a term such as 'relative clause' should not have entered the inventory of Japanese grammatical terms until fairly recently; after all, the Japanese language does not possess relative pronouns and hardly displays any of the formal characteristics of relative clauses in any of the better-known languages of the West. Even Japanese grammarians of the generative-transformational brand - especially when writing in their native language - often prefer the term <u>rentai shūshoku</u> to 'relative clause', apparently for the reason that it covers a wider range of related phenomena in the language. In the following section, I will look at the concept of <u>rentai shūshoku</u> in order to specify the various types established by Japanese linguists and examine which of these are encompassed by the term 'relative clause'. In doing so, I shall limit my considerations on <u>rentai shūshoku</u> to the above type ii).


1.21 Classification of <u>rentai shūshoku</u>

In this section I mainly rely on work done by Inoue (1976) and Okutsu (1974).

It may be said that the admittedly speculative concept of deep structure as used in transformational grammar has provided us with a helpful means of classification in the area of rentai shūshoku. In the following I shall give the various categories and subcategories of rentai shūshoku (type ii), followed by examples in form of noun phrases or sentences and also, in the case of category I, the deep structures proposed for their derivation. Square brackets indicate the boundaries of rentai shūshoku; identical nominals are marked by the index $_i$; head nominals are underlined.

I  Rentai shūshoku with identical deep-structure nouns

Class 1 (Deletion of constituent object)

8 [yūjin  ga yonda] hon
    friend SU read    book

  'the book the friend read'

  ⇦ [yūjin ga hon$_i$ o yonda] hon$_i$
                     DO

Class 2a (Deletion of constituent subject of transitive verb)

9 [hon  o  yonda] yūjin
    book DO read    friend

  'the friend who read the book'

  ⇦ [yūjin$_i$ ga hon o yonda] yūjin$_i$
              SU

Class 2b (Deletion of constituent subject of in-

transitive verb)

10 [naku natta] <u>sofu</u>
     died      grandfather

   'the grandfather who died'

  ⇦ [sofu$_i$ ga naku natta] <u>sofu</u>$_i$
          SU

Class 3 (Deletion of matrix head noun)

11 kiku          no [hana  no  utsuroeru]$^5$ $\emptyset$ o
   chrysanthemum ASS flowerASS withered     DO

   orite                             (IM:18,2)
   pick+

   'she picked a chrysanthemum which had withered'

  ⇦ kiku no [hana$_i$ no utsuroeru] <u>hana</u>$_i$ o orite

Class 4 (Deletion of Head + ASS or Head while retain-

ing ASS)

12 futoi [mōsō    no  fushi o nuite,  fukaku umeta] $\emptyset$
   thick  bamboo ASS nodes DO pierce+ deeply buried

   naka   kara mizu  ga  waki-ide$^6$
   inside from water  SU  gush+come out+

   'water gushing forth from the inside of the thick

   bamboo, which had its nodes pierced and was bur-

   ied deeply'

  ⇦ futoi [mōsō$_i$ no fushi o nuite, fukaku umeta]

     <u>mōsō</u>$_i$ no  naka kara mizu ga waki-ide
          ASS

13 [daitoku no  hayō shinikeru] $\emptyset$ ga  muro ni
   priest  ASS long had-died    ASS hut  in

(YM:419,5)

'in the hut of the priest, who had long been

dead'

⇐ [daitoku$_i$ no hayō shinikeru] <u>daitoku$_i$</u> ga muro

ni

## II <u>Rentai shūshoku</u> modifying nouns of time and place[7]

14 [shijiji  ni shokuji o  suru] <u>mae</u> ni
   7 o'clock at meal   DO do      before

   'before taking a meal at seven o'clock'

15 [kado   o  magatta] <u>tokoro</u> ni
   corner DO turned    place   at

   'at a place around the corner'

## III 'Appositive' (<u>dōkaku</u>) <u>rentai shūshoku</u>

16 [sukoshi demo ii   seiseki  o  toru (to iu)]
   slightly even good results DO gain   COMP

   <u>yoku</u>   o  mote[8]
   desire DO have!

   'have a desire to gain even the slightest im-

   provement in your results!'

17 [kono dōro ga kiken-na]  koto o  mina ni yoku
   this road SU dangerous   fact DO all  to well

   shirasete kudasai[8]
   inform     please

   'please inform everyone that this road is dan-

   gerous'

18 [kakaru mi-arisama shi-tamau] Ø ito  ashiki
   such    PREF state do  SUF      very bad

```
          koto   nari                        (YM:397,5)
          thing is

          'it is very bad that you should be in such a

          state'
```

19 [konna ni tairyō    no   furyōhin    ga deta (to iu)]
       such  big  no.  ASS def.goods  SU appeared COMP

   no  wa  ima made ni nakatta[8]
   NOM TOP now until    hasn't-happened

   'it hasn't happened before that such a large num-

   ber of defective goods appeared on the market'


IV 'Partly appositive' (bubun-teki dōkaku) rentai shū-
shoku


20 [kodomo    ga asonde iru] koe  o  kiita[8]
     children SU playing are voiceDO heard

   'I heard the voice of playing children'


It is possible to draw a clear line between I on the
one hand and II-IV on the other on the grounds that with
the latter categories one cannot assume an identical NP
in their proposed deep structure. There appear to be
further differences between I and II-IV in the way the
nouns are modified and the types of nouns that are used,
but it is sufficient for our purposes here to establish
a difference as formulated above. As we have seen ear-
lier, the basic semantic characteristic of a relative
clause is the existence of coreferentiality between Rel
NP and Head NP; as this condition applies only to cate-
gory I of rentai shūshoku, it follows that this is the
only category falling under the concept of relative
clause in Japanese.

1.22 Relative clauses in Japanese

The difference we saw in English between restrictive
and nonrestrictive RCs exists in Japanese, too, albeit
purely on semantic grounds without any formal differ-
ences.[9] The following example from Inoue (1976)


21 [hotondo sezoku-ka     shite shimatte iru] daitoshi
     almost   secularization do+ have-completed cities

    de no seishin-undō     wa   mutsukashii
    in ASS spiritual mov't TOP is-difficult


may be interpreted as a nonrestrictive RC in the sense of


21a 'spiritual movement is difficult in the cities,

     which are almost totally secularized'


or as a     restrictive RC with the meaning of


21b 'Spiritual movement is difficult in the cities

     which are almost totally secularized.'


Inoue (ibid.) also points out that in Japanese the
combinations subete no + noun, arayuru + noun etc. can
only modify a restrictive RC. This is similar to the ob-
servation made in Stockwell et al. (1973) that in English
only restrictive RCs may modify the combination any + noun.

A major difference between Japanese and English RCs
stated by Inoue (ibid.) is the nonexistence in Japanese of
one particular type of nonrestrictive RC found in English,
namely the type in which a nonrestrictive RC modifies an
entire proposition:

22 The boss offered a salary rise, which pleased
everybody.

Among the various classes 1 - 4 of relative clauses
listed under category I, the first three, namely 1 - 2b,
are commonly found from the time of the earliest extant
works of Japanese:

(Class 1)

23 [ame no   shita no   ō-mi-takara   no tori-tsukureru]
    sky ASS under ASS PREF subjects SU PREF grow

okitsu-mi-toshi o                    (EN:117)
  rice-plants    DO

'the rice-plants which the subjects of the state
grow'

(Class 2a)

24 [mi- ke    mochi    suru] Wakauka no me no mikoto
   PREF food handling do

                              (EN:97)

'Wakauka no me no mikoto, who handles the emper-
or's food'

(Class 2b)

25 [tōyama,   chikayama ni oi-  tateru] ōki,
    far mts.  near mts. on grow+stand  big trees

oki          o                    (EN:62)
small trees DO

'the big and small trees growing on the near and

far mountains'

1.23 Headless RCs in Japanese

In category I, classes 3 and 4 deserve special attention. In both cases it is not Rel NP which is deleted in the relativization process, but Head NP. In other words, 3 and 4 are classes of headless RCs. In the majority of work done on Japanese relative clauses -- Teramura (1971), McCawley (1972), Kuno (1973, 1976) and Shibatani (1978) apart from those already mentioned -- these types of Japanese RCs have found virtually no mention, presumably because class 3 exists in this form only in pre-modern Japanese, and class 4 can be explained away as a special kind of category II. As a treatment of a type of relative clause (as distinct from <u>rentai shūshoku</u>) it was not until Harada (1974) and Kuroda (1974, 1975-6 and 1976-7) that attention was drawn to headless Japanese RCs by linguists, although they had long been attracting the attention of Japanese philologists as a somewhat puzzling phenomenon of <u>rentai shūshoku</u> in classical Japanese.

If we consider the underlying structure commonly assumed for the various types of RCs in Japanese and compare them with the surface RC structures, it is obvious that the relativization process for classes 1 and 2 consists of a deletion of the relative or constituent NP (which is coreferential with the matrix NP) and the case-marking particle attached to it. In sharp contrast, it is the head or matrix NP which is deleted with classes 3 and 4. A further difference is seen in the fact that the attached case mar-

ker is basically retained, at least in class 3. Downing (ibid.), who refers to this type of headless RCs as 'replacive RCs' mentions a small number of verb-final languages like Navajo and Bambara which allow Head NP to be omitted while Rel NP in a preceding RC is retained in its full lexical form, i.e. is not pronominalized. Thus far there are obvious cross-language parallels (although based on rather limited data) which justify the treatment of classes 3 and 4 as 'headless' RCs in accordance with language typology and structure.

Japanese does, however, pose certain problems in this respect which are due to the fact that Head NP is not necessarily omitted but may be pronominalized by a nominal expressing a general idea (ex.26) or even retained in full while Rel NP is also retained in full (ex.27).


26 kazareru uma    ni noreru [shikirō   no kandachibe
   decorated horse on ride       veteran ASS ct. noble

   to   oboshiki] hito,  shōnin no  iori ni kitaru.
   COMP appear    person saint ASS hut  to came

                                   (KM$_\text{I}$,III:216,2)

   'a veteran riding a decorated horse, who had the

   appearance of a court noble, came to the saint's

   hut.'


27 fukaki tani    ni    katabukite oitaru [ki    no
   deep   valley over lean+         grow     tree ASS

   eda  nakute    jūjō  bakari wa  noboritaramu  to
   twig hasn't+  10jō  about  EMP is-rising      COMP

   miyuru] ki    no  hosoki  ko-eda (KM$_\text{II}$,IV:413,10)
   appear  tree ASS thin    PREF twig

   'a thin twig of a tree leaning over a deep valley,

which had no branches (otherwise) and appeared to

be rising about 10 jō above ground'


Before proceeding to a description of these and other

relevant patterns in pre-modern Japanese in the following

chapters, it may be of use to survey the work done on these

phenomena by philologists and linguists of Japanese.


1.3 History of research into Japanese headless RCs [10]

To my knowledge the oldest reference to this pattern

in Japanese is in Joao Rodriguez (1604). After discussing

differences in the form of (prenominal) relative clauses

between Japanese and Portuguese, he goes on to observe

(Appendix 1., 87v.) that verb-adjoined particles such as

wa, o, oba may substitute nouns and therefore also the

head noun of a relative clause. He gives the following

examples with, in some cases, their Portuguese transla-

tions:


    Cayŏni mŏxitaruua. Aquelle que, etc.
    thus    speaks  TOP the one who

    'the one who speaks thus' 'the one who, etc.'


    Ya? corenaru cotjiquino  coxi caquetaruua masaxŭ
    hey? here is beggar  ASS    is-seated    TOP clearly

    sotobanite soro. i. Aquillo em que esta assentado.
    stupa     is     i.e. that   on which is seated

    'Hey? What the beggar here is sitting on is indeed

    a stupa.' 'i.e. that on which (he) is sitting'


    Sono tocoroni  amatano quiŏ    attauo       torareta.
    that place in  many    sûtras existed DO were taken

    'the many sûtras which had been there were stolen.'

It is interesting to note that Rodriquez' background in
European languages induces him to treat the phenomenon
as belonging to the category of relative clause, as is
of course obvious in his Portuguese translations, too.

In the first number (1932) of the first-year club
magazine of the Japanese literature class of Tokyo Impe-
rial University appeared an article by S. Hashimoto, which
according to the author's introductory remarks is based on
a manuscript he wrote while still in high school, i.e. it
would have been written in 1902 or before originally. This
article entitled "Tenioha <u>no</u> no isshu no yōhō ni tsuite
(on a certain use of the particle <u>no</u>)"   w a s   printed
as an appendix to vol.8 of Hashimoto's collected works
(1969).

In this short article Hashimoto comments on two ex-
amples given as instances of sentences involving the par-
ticle <u>no</u> terminating in the final (<u>shūshi</u>) form in Ōtsuki
(1897). Hashimoto contends that these examples do not be-
long to the 'subject-predicate' pattern to which they are
assigned in Ōtsuki, but rather the pattern '<u>no</u> - adnominal
(<u>rentai</u>) form + <u>nari</u> (copula) in the final form', and ex-
plains that after the adnominal form an abbreviation of
the noun <u>mono</u> must be assumed. With regard to the pattern
in question Hashimoto makes the following observations:

a) The adnominal section semantically modifies the

preceding noun (i.e. the noun marked by <u>no</u>)


b) Syntactically, this <u>no</u> is not the subject-mar-

king particle, but the <u>no</u> linking nouns (i.e. the

associative particle)

Yamada (1913[2]) lists a number of examples of the pattern in question as instances of _no_ "indicating the subject of a verb-derived noun phrase (jun-taiku)" (p.291). He makes, however, no distinction between the type classifiable as RCs and other, similar constructions which would come under category III in our classification.

In what is the first detailed study of the pattern, Yuzawa (1929[1]) points out the existence in modern Japanese of

i. atarashii sakana
   fresh      fish

ii. sakana no atarashii no
    fish   ASS fresh     NOM

and comments that no noteworthy difference in meaning seems to exist between the two. He further points out that ii. was commonly used in works of literature in classical Japanese since the Heian period. He cites a 'representative' example of the pattern from the 16th-century Mōgyū-shō and analyses it with comments in the following manner:

| tsukai | no | kan-naru | mono | ga | shingyo suru | zo |
|--------|----|----------|------|-----|--------------|-----|
| A | B | C | D | E | F | |
| messengers | ASS | evil | persons | SU | plunder do | EMP |

'the messengers who are evil plunder'

i) A is frequently modified rather than standing on its own.

ii) There are examples where elements semantically modifying C are found before A (in his examples such elements are mainly of the type noun + particle ni)

iii) The existence of examples where the syntactical relationship between A and C is not one of subject - predicate but object - predicate can be regarded as proof for the contention that the particle no (B) is not the subject-marker but the associative particle.

This contention is further supported by the fact that E can be regarded as a case-marker. Apart from case-markers, the associative particle ga and the emphatic particles wa, mo also appear in position E.

iv) Apart from no, other particles like ga, o, ni, Ø, wa and mo also appear in position B.

v) Especially in cases where B is ga, the omission rate of mono (D) is extremely high.

vi) Where a modified nominal A is omitted while the section originally modifying A remains in the adnominal form, B always takes the form of ga, never no.

vii) Where B is no, the function of this particle is modification of C (or D, if present). However, the sprachgefuhl of a native speaker suggests the opposite relationship, i.e. C modifying A. This runs

contrary to the basic principle that the modifying always precedes the modified in Japanese. Therefore, <u>no</u> (B) may be said to be equivalent to relative pronouns in languages such as English, thus compensating for the lack of such pronouns in Japanese.

viii) C specifies D. Where the nominal D is omitted, C is equivalent to a nominal.

ix) D 'represents' A. In the 'primitive' form of the pattern there are examples in which A is repeated in position D.

In the majority of examples D is missing and may be interpreted as being omitted.

x) <u>Ga</u> (E) is the subject marker. Apart from <u>ga</u>, other particles like <u>no</u>, <u>ni</u>, <u>to</u>, <u>o</u>, <u>wa</u>, <u>mo</u> are also found.

xi) A - C constitute a noun phrase and are therefore equivalent to a nominal.

xii) Where it is possible to divide C into two or more parts, i.e. a number of Cs are present, they may take the shape of a line-up without particles joining them together, or alternatively be connected by <u>ga</u>.

xiii) In the 'primitive' form of the pattern, a repetition of A occurs in position D. The reason why in the historical development of Japanese <u>mono</u> came to appear instead of the repeated A may be attributed to the following factors:

a) Better 'harmony' of the sentence

b) Influence of <u>kanbun</u> (Japanised usage of

classical Chinese

This analysis in Yuzawa (1929[1]) relies mainly upon
examples from sources of the Muromachi period. An account
of the pattern along similar lines, but based especially
on examples from <u>shōmono</u> is found in Yuzawa (1929[2]).


Ishigaki (1942) establishes two types of noun phrases
in classical Japanese on semantic grounds, action NPs (aNPs,
<u>sayōsei meishiku</u>) and state NPs (sNPs, <u>keijōsei meishiku</u>).

Drawing on work done by the 19th-century grammarian
Suzuki Akira, Ishigaki claims that all inflected words in
Japanese belong to either one of two groups, words expres-
sing action (words whose final form ends in -<u>u</u>), and words
expressing state (ending in -<u>i</u>).

Based on this distinction, Ishigaki shows that all
noun phrases can similarly be divided into aNPs and sNPs
depending on whether they contain an action-word or state-
word. Using data from an extensive survey of literary sour-
ces, Ishigaki shows that no restriction applies with regard
to predicates of constituent aNPs, whereas predicates of
constituent sNPs are restricted to being a state-word. The
matrix sentences containing such constituent NPs, too, can
be divided into sentences of action or state. Sentences of
action contain a sNP and may take matrix predicates of ei-
ther type. Sentences of state may contain NPs of either
type, but their matrix predicate can only be a word of
state.

With reference to the 'relative-pronoun-type' of use

of <u>no</u> and other particles, Ishigaki points out that the
majority of constituent predicates are state-words. If
they are not, then the matrix predicate must necessarily
be a word indicating state, which in the vast majority of
examples is <u>ari</u> or <u>nashi</u>.

Ishigaki (1944) traces the historical development
leading to the emergence of the conjunctive particle <u>ga</u>.
As part of his argument is relevant to the pattern in
question while also exploring the use of the particle <u>ga</u>
in this pattern, I will summarize some of his conclusions
here in itemized form.

    i) The subject-marker <u>ga</u> is not attached to inflected
       words in the Nara period and before. However, in
       'emphatic' noun phrases (<u>kantaiku</u>), for example

       haha  o  hanarete yuku ga  kanashisa (MYS:4338)
       motherDO leave+    go    ASS sorrow

       'the sorrow of leaving one's mother'

       it does get attached to inflected words, and this
       use of <u>ga</u> may therefore be considered as a trans-
       itional stage in its extension of use from asso-
       ciative to subject particle. The word following
       the particle <u>ga</u> (<u>kanashisa</u> etc.) is formally a
       noun, but being derived from an adjective (<u>kanashi</u>)
       by means of the nominalizing suffix -<u>sa</u>, it has
       some predicative faculty.

   ii) In the early Heian period this emphatic NP devel-
       oped into a 'predicative verb phrase (<u>juttai kei-</u>
       <u>shiki</u>)' as in, for example

```
omou   ga kanashiku haberu nari      (TM)
think  SU sad               is
```

'it is sad to think'


iii) Both action and state NPs existed already in the
Nara period. However, state NPs appeared only in
the object case (marked or unmarked), with no ex-
amples recorded in subject (ga) position.

iv) In the Heian period, the subject-marker ga came to
be attached to inflected words, too. From this,
two new uses of ga resulted:

  a) attached to aNPs

  b) attached to sNPs

As action NPs developed from the Nara period
emphatic NPs, it may be assumed that action NPs de-
veloped ahead of state NPs; however, no factual
evidence for this assumption is found in written
sources.

v) State NPs may be divided into two kinds found al-
ready in the Nara period according to whether the
yōgen of the NP modifies:

  a) the property of the subject

  b) the property of the object

Both are observed in the Heian period with NPs in
subject position, too.

In Ishigaki's terminology, subject pattern
type I refers to sentences containing an action
NP, type II to sentences containing a state NP of

the subject - predicate type, and type III to sentences containing a state NP of the object - predicate type.

vi) In all three types we have sentences where subject and predicate are connected by the particle ga, but the connexion has differing degrees of tightness.

In type I, the NP relates in its entirety to the predicate of the sentence.

In type II, only the nominal preceding ga relates directly to the predicate of the sentence, whereas the 'predicate' inside the NP predicates that same nominal. As a result, the connexion between what precedes and what follows the particle ga becomes looser.

Type III shows an even weaker connexion caused by the fact that the nominal preceding ga is the object within the NP while at the same time being the subject of the whole sentence.

vii) The function of linking identical nominals displayed by the particle no in the Nara period is not shared by ga. In theory, therefore, state NPs can only be formed by no, and this is actually the case with the vast majority of examples. However, in the GM a fair number of examples involving ga is found. Besides examples using emphatic particles or zero-particle instead of no, there are cases where the first nominal is not present with ga appearing after the adnominal form which marks the end of the relative NP. Thus the particle no, which

is, as it were, the hallmark of sNPs, is absent; this results in the impression that the y̲ōgen at the end of the NP functions as a predicate rather than as a modifier. Examples of this sort do not look like sNPs but rather like fully predicated clauses. For this reason g̲a assumes the appearance of a conjunctive particle, not a subject-marking particle. However, the question remains what impression was made on the speakers of the time with regard to the function of g̲a in such examples.

Tokieda (1950) comments on the pattern in question to the effect that the relationship between the first nominal and the adnominal form at the end of Rel NP is one of subject - predicate. With regard to 'stacked' examples (examples containing two or more elements C in Yuzawa 1929[1]), he establishes that they comply with the 'nested-boxes pattern (irekogata keishiki)' of his syntactic terminology, i.e. he assumes the existence of a principal - subordinate relationship between them.

Kitayama (1951) treats sNPs and aNPs under the one category of 'quasi-nouns'. He establishes three types according to the case-function of such NPs in their sentence:

a) subject-NPs

b) object NPs

c) adnominal NPs

He subdivides these groups further into three subgroups each depending on which type of particle is used

inside the NP into

1) <u>no</u>/<u>ga</u>

2) <u>wa</u>/<u>mo</u>/<u>zo</u>/<u>namu</u>

3) ∅

Saeki (1953) discusses the occasional occurrence in
the Heian period of examples of NPs where an identical
or similar noun is repeated after the adnominal form. He
proceeds to state that for this reason NPs ending in ad-
nominal forms (such as our headless NPs), which are com-
monly found in this period, ought to be regarded as pat-
terns in which nouns like <u>mono</u> have been abbreviated. To
support his claim that the adnominal form in this and
similar patterns (covering both state and action NPs) are
quasi-nouns (<u>jun-taigen</u>), he points out the existence of
examples in which the adnominal form is modified by noun
modifiers like <u>sono</u> and <u>kano</u>. He further comments that the
pattern is intrinsically the same as the pattern seen in
the following example from MJ:

```
biiru   no   hieta    no
beer    ASS chilled NOM
```

'beer which is chilled'

Tanabe (1954) is a syntactical analysis of our pat-
tern and some related phenomena. It concludes that the
first nominal and the adnominal form are in apposition.

Aoshima (1956) adopts basically the same position as

Saeki (1953), but follows Tokieda (1950) in assuming that
in case of stacked examples each element C (cf. above,
Yuzawa 1929[1]) is subordinate to the one preceding it.


Terada (1958), like Aoshima (1956), assumes subordi-
nation rather than apposition for stacked examples. How-
ever, the basic structure he assumes for the pattern is


_____ NOM _____NOM


where the unbroken lines represent modifying elements, thus
linking the pattern to the archaic pattern where an identi-
cal or similar nominal is repeated. He regards the type be-
ginning with initial nominal + no as the basic form of the
pattern, whereas examples lacking this initial combination
consisting of an adnominal form with attached particle ga
are considered as a variant where NOM + no are understood
from the context.


Konoshima (1959) explains the particles no and ga as
used in aNPs as subject particles. However, the same par-
ticles as used in sNPs are referred to as  'associative-
like (rentai joshi-teki)'. This distinction Konoshima jus-
tifies by mention of the fact that in stateNPs the case
relationship is not restricted to subject because there
are examples where it is one of object. The statistical
distribution of the two types of NPs, which shows that
sNPs are less frequent in archaic Japanese than aNPs in-
duces him to go a step further and speculate that the bas-

ic nature of no and ga is marking the subject rather than
an associative relationship.

Satō (1962) examines a large number of examples of
the pattern from the Heian period and concludes that the
function of no in the pattern is one of marking the sub-
ject.

Harada (1974) is a transformational-generative treat-
ment of relative clauses with the aim of establishing uni-
versal characteristics for them. He observes that examples
exist in Navajo (an American Indian language) and Heian-
period Japanese of a type of relative clause not found in
Indo-European languages. He points out that whereas for
RCs of the type known hitherto two NPs are assumed in deep
structure, where the one which is not the head noun is de-
leted in the transformational process, in the relativiza-
tion process of this type of RC the head noun is deleted.
Based on this discovery, he urges a reconsideration of
language universals with regard to RCs. He also points out
that these 'strange' RCs are only found in languages with
the basic word order of SOV.

Kuroda (1974) is the first of a series of three pa-
pers dealing with the B pattern and some related matters.
In this first paper Kuroda deals with the pattern as found
in Heian-period Japanese, using examples taken "at random"
from sources like MNS and GM (NKBT editions). He groups
these examples into 21 sub-patterns according to types of

relative connexion (the types of particles attached to NP$_1$ and NP$_2$ and the case relationship between these NPs). Like Terada (1958), he treats examples without the initial NP + no as cases where these syntactic elements are implied ('PRO'). He contends that the pattern formed by no is restrictive, whereas the variant formed by zero-particle etc. is nonrestrictive.

Wenck (1974) uses the term 'nachgestellter Attributivsatz (postpositioned attributive sentence)' for the pattern in question. He, too, establishes 22 sub-patterns according to types of relative connexion. He treats the 'archaic' pattern with repeated nouns as one particular variant of the pattern in question and provides some analysis of various types based on the criterion of tightness/laxity of connexion between NP$_1$ and NP$_2$. In contrast to Terada (1958) and Kuroda (1974) Wenck does not assume an implied NP$_1$ + no for examples without these elements; instead, he proposes an implied head noun.

Martin (1975) gives a host of examples for what appears to be the equivalent of the pattern in Modern Japanese; these examples are discussed under the heading of 'post-appositional no', which forms part of the general heading of 'nominalization'. He also includes examples of yatsu and similar nouns in place of the nominalizing no, which he describes as "pronominal reference to a case-marked noun in the adnominalization, the case being independent of the grammar of the larger structure within the final sentence." (p.861).

Akiba (1978) proposes a non-relative analysis of relative clauses in classical Japanese. Her argument is that it is more consistent with other types of nominal clauses to explain this pattern, too, as a nominal clause. She attempts to support this analysis further by the claim that the existence of a (deep-structure) nominal assumed to be deleted in the relativization process cannot be proven.

Kaiser (1979) is a survey of the pattern from selected sources of the Nara and Heian periods by the present author. All types documented in the sources are grouped according to types of relative connexion and shown in form of representative examples, not only for the pattern mainly referred to in this section, but also for the 'archaic' pattern. For the former (referred to as 'B pattern') 162 types are established, and for the latter ('A pattern') 31 types. The two patterns are then compared. An interesting fact emerging from this comparison is that although in the Nara period the repeated noun of the A pattern appears in both subject and object position, the second NP (in the adnominal form) in the B pattern appears only in object position during that same period. This would seem a factor indicating that the two patterns are potentially not identical. However, the data suggest that in the Nara period the two patterns were at quite different developmental stages, i.e. the A pattern is already fully developed or even on the decline, whereas the B pattern is in a very early stage of its development as evidenced by the

small number of examples in this period. Eventually, the
type

    i. $\underline{no}$ - $\underline{o}$

where the first particle is the one indicating basically
the relative connexion, and the second one the case sta-
tus of the pattern as a whole, emerges statistically as
the most common form of B pattern in the Heian period.
It is not surprising, therefore, that this type should
have been so prominent in early examples of the B pattern.
After this type, the next common one is the type where the
pattern has the case status of subject:

    ii. no - $\emptyset_S$/$\underline{ga}_S$

Thus, a parallel can be found to the situation obser-
ved with the A pattern. The conclusion arrived at from
this comparison is that it may be assumed that B developed
from A on the grounds that their diachronic distribution
is nearly complementary, and that no evidence is found
which indicates that the two are two different syntactic
structures.

In the remainder of the study, the various types of
B pattern are described historically. i.e. earliest ex-
amples are given and their subsequent development is dis-
cussed. A substantial number of types not found with the
A pattern are observed; these may be explained as more
developed forms of the B pattern as compared to the A
pattern due to the former pattern's far more widespread

use as documented statistically.

Pattern ii. (see above) gradually emerges into prominence to the extent of nearly catching up with i. as the most common B. pattern in the KM. It will be interesting to see if this tendency continues in later periods.

I now feel that this study has serious shortcomings. For this reason I have made an entirely new survey of all sources used again in the present (apart from the numerous later works used in addition) and shall use only the new data for the present thesis. However, those conclusions drawn in the earlier study that I still consider adequate will be referred to in the present work.

So much for a survey of the literature on headless relative clauses as found in classical Japanese (and, in part, the modern language, too). To my knowledge there is no literature dealing specifically with the 'archaic' pattern; there is, however, some degree of mention in work on the particle no. It is not sufficient to warrant a separate account of its research history, but relevant arguments will be mentioned in appropriate sections of this thesis.

I have purposely avoided voicing my criticism of the various approaches summarized above, attempting instead to treat them on their merits; I will however re-

fer critically to some of the conclusions drawn in the
above works at later stages.


1.4 Scope of thesis

1.41 Period covered

This thesis is an historical treatment of headless
relative clauses and related phenomena in the Japanese
language, from earliest sources down to the <u>kirishitan-
mono</u>, materials of romanized Japanese prepared by Jesuit
missionaries around the year 1600. Some 800 years of
Japanese language history are therefore covered.

These 800 years present a somewhat unique pheno-
menon when compared to the situation with most other
languages in that there is a complete continuity be-
tween the sources (for a detailed account of sources,
see below, 1.5) in the sense that they are all written
in the language of the Nara/Kyoto area, and almost with-
out exception represent the language of the Japanese
nobility and the educated (which, more often that not,
means the same class of people). There is evidence that
a variety of dialects existed in Japan from the time of
the earliest extant sources, but in comparison to the
multitudes of sources written in 'standard' Kyoto court
language, sources of regional language are few and far
between.

The single most important factor breaking this
continuity was the rise in importance of the eastern
capital Edo, which was triggered by the establishment of
the Tokugawa Shogunate there in 1603. It is thus only

after 1600 that we can speak of any substantial sources demonstrating differences between <u>Kamigata</u> ((Kyoto/Osaka area) and Edo language. The development of Osaka and Edo into major economic centres also marks the rise of the merchant class and with it the emergence of sources of colloquial Japanese, which had been scarce up to that time with the exception of sources such as <u>shōmono</u>, Japanese lecture notes on Buddhist, Confucian of other texts written in classical Chinese; the Japanese of these sources does exhibit some colloquial vocabulary and endings.

A further reason for choosing the year 1600 as the cut-off point for this thesis is the fact that most Japanese language historians[11] seem to be in agreement that if one were to make a broad division between modern and pre-modern Japanese, then this would be the most appropriate time for drawing the line (while of course keeping in mind that the centuries leading up to this time constitute a period of transition). This judgment is based on a variety of factors, some of which have already been mentioned above. More specifically, however, it is changes in grammatical features such as the falling together of the final (<u>shūshi</u>) and adnominal (<u>rentai</u>) forms and the decline of <u>kakari-musubi</u> (a pattern employing emphatic particles such as <u>koso</u>, <u>zo</u>, <u>namu</u> in correspondence with certain fixed forms of inflected words including the adnominal form used with <u>zo</u> and <u>namu</u>) which support the above division.

In Japanese historical linguistics the 1200 or more years of Japanese language history documented by written and other sources are commonly divided into five major

periods. As the same basis is adopted for this thesis, these five periods are given below, first in their English equivalents (for these I follow Miller (1967)), followed by the Japanese terms in rounded brackets, and, in square brackets, the main periods of Japanese political history they encompass, and finally the years of the Western calendar over which they extend.

Old (jōdai) Japanese [Nara period and before]

- 794

Late Old (chūko) Japanese [Heian]        794 - 1191

Middle (chūsei) Japanese [Kamakura/

    Yoshino/Muromachi/Azechi]        1192 - 1602

Early Modern (kinsei) Japanese [Edo]        1603 - 1867

Modern (kindai/gendai) Japanese [Meiji

    and after]        1868 -

The lengthy period of Late Old Japanese (Heian period) is often subdivided. In histories of Japanese literature it is common to adopt a three-part division into early, middle and late Heian periods; however, Nakata (1954), Tsukishima (1969) and others have proposed a four-part division for language history, which was originally based on the language of kunten sources (works providing Japanese glosses for Buddhist and Confucian texts written in classical Chinese), but in Tsukishima (1969) is extended to wabun (Japanese literature written chiefly in hiragana), too. In accordance with the above proposal, I will use the following subdivision for the Heian period:

| | |
|---|---|
| Early Heian period | 794 - 900 |
| Middle Heian period | 901 - 1000 |
| Late Heian period | 1001 - 1086 |
| Insei period | 1087 - 1191 |

In histories of the Japanese language the Insei (cloister government) period has often been included in Middle Japanese. However, I follow Nakata (1954), who argues in favour of including it in Late Old Japanese in the light of newly-discovered sources such as the kunten materials.

There has also been some argument among scholars as to where to place the dividing line between Middle and Early Modern Japanese, but the standard view places it at the year of establishment of the Tokugawa Shogunate in Edo in 1603.

Middle Japanese is a period scarce in reliable sources; it seems therefore sufficient to subdivide it into the Kamakura and Muromachi periods without attempting to subdivide the Muromachi period any further, despite of its length.

Early Modern Japanese is normally subdivided into an earlier and a latter period (centering, respectively, on the Kamigata and Edo dialects). As a division line between the two normally the Hōryaku era (1751 - 1763) is employed.

1.42 Objectives and methods

The objectives of this thesis are to arrive at a

comprehensive description of headless relative clauses
in Japanese for the periods of language history covered
by this study, in both syntactic and semantic terms, and
a description of its historical development.

For this purpose, extensive data gained from a sur-
vey of works (see below, 1.5) regarded representative of
the various periods covered will be analysed and evalua-
ted.

All relevant data are subject to their being ten-
able from a textcritical point of view (see below, 1.5);
however, nonrepresentative variants will occasionally
be used for reference.

1.421 Grammatical theory

This thesis does not adhere to any particular school
of linguistic theory or terminology. It makes use of some
notions and terms employed in generative-transformational
grammar with regard to relative clauses and the underly-
ing structures proposed for them. Traditional grammar
(kokugogaku), which in itself encompasses a variety of
systems, and others are also used.

1.422 Syntactically, the data for headless RCs, including
the 'archaic' pattern, will be analysed in accordance
with the following methods:

    i) Establishment of types of relative connexion with-
       in the RC

           The case relationship between the two NPs in
        the simple (as opposed to 'stacked') pattern will
        be established and the particles (including zero)

used in the connexion will be employed for sub-
classification. For instance, in the example

28 [warawa no   okashige-naru] $\emptyset$ ide-kite
NP$_1$              NP$_2$
boy      ~~ASS~~ is-handsome        come-out+

(GM:102,5)

'a boy, who is handsome, comes out'

the case relationship between NP$_1$ and NP$_2$ is one
of subject, while the two NPs are connected by
the particle no; these two features may be re-
presented by the formula no$_S$.

ii) Establishment of case status of RC

The case relationship between the RC and the
predicate of the matrix sentence will be analysed
and the particle marking it used for subclassifi-
cation. In 28, the whole RC is the subject of
ide-kite and is marked by the particle $\emptyset$; this
may be shown as $\emptyset_S$.

iii) Establishment of i) and ii) for stacked RCs

Stacked headless RCs will be treated in the
same manner as described under i) and ii). In
addition, the case relationships between NP$_2$ and
NP$_3$ ... NP$_n$ will be analysed and the attached
particles used for subclassification.

iv) Comparison to similar syntactic patterns

Notably in cases where particles other than
no mark NP$_1$, resulting proximities to other syn-
tactic patterns such as fully predicated clauses,
appositional and other forms of noun phrases

etc. will be discussed.

v) Identification of syntactic elements transgres-
sing the RC boundaries

Where syntactic elements normally expected
within the boundaries of the RC have 'migrated'
to a position outside, i.e. left of the RC, such
elements will be identified and the resulting ef-
fects on the syntactic structure of the RC dis-
cussed.


1.423 Semantically, the data for both headless RCs and
the archaic pattern will be analysed as follows:

i) Where $NP_1$ is preceded by a modifying section (as
is commonly the case), the relationship between
the modifying section and $NP_2$ - which in semantic
terms also modifies $NP_1$ - will be examined for
the respective degree of relevancy (or importance)
to $NP_1$ with examples giving some indication for
this.

ii) In stacked RCs each modifying section or NP will
be examined in relation to the others in order
to establish whether semantically any indications
exist for a principal - subordinate relationship
between them.

iii) Examples will be examined with a view of estab-
lishing whether they are restrictive or nonre-
strictive.

iv) In the 'archaic' pattern, which features repeated
nominals, such nominals will be examined with re-

gard to their semantic relationship whenever they are not identical but similar in meaning.

v) Where meaningful variants are found between different manuscripts of a work in regard to particular examples, I will attempt to utilize such differences to gain some insight into the <u>sprachgefuhl</u> of people at various times with regard to headless RCs.

## 1.5 Sources and their treatment

The periods of Japanese language history covered by this thesis extend, as mentioned earlier, from OJ to the end of MdJ (from the Nara to the Muromachi periods). Historical linguistics aims at describing language changes, attempting to establish when and why they occurred. In order to achieve this purpose it is imperative to choose data sources with care. One must ensure that such sources come as close as possible to representing a particular time or period in language history, and also that they are reliable in the sense of not being corrupt texts. The situation which one has to face when when dealing with Japanese sources representing the periods mentioned is that in the majority of cases the original MS of a given source is not available. In pre-printing times circulation of written works was of course only possible through brush-written copies prepared at the hands of copyists around the time the original was written but often much later. When we have to resort to such copies for lack of the original MS an obvious requirement is that they should be

- at least approximately - datable, and originate from a time as close as possible to the original work. However, with many of the older sources neither the original nor any reasonably close copies are available. In such cases it is possible to resort to collated or textcritical editions (kōhon), which compare a sizable number of copy-manuscripts often dating from times many centuries after the completion of the original work. It must be kept in mind, however, that to resort to such editions is only viable if discrepancies between MSs are not to wide, i.e. they must be close enough to permit us to obtain a reliable picture reflecting the original by eliminating, by way of comparing the MSs, copying mistakes made erroneously or under the influence of the contemporary idiom of the copyist. Needless to say, this procedure is far more acceptable in a survey of syntactical features than, say, phonetic ones, as the latter are far more easily influenced by the pronunciation and orthography prevailing in the age of the copyist. A further requirement in selecting sources is that sources ideally should be written in a style which is as close as possible to the spoken language of the day. In other words, they should not be written in a bungo ('literary') style of language, as this style often reflects an earlier stage of the language used in a classicist fashion.

Criteria such as mentioned above are the ideals one should strive for when selecting sources; however, even a close approximation of these ideals is not always possible. One is therefore forced to make compromises, but nevertheless the above attitude should be reflected in the

selection and treatment of sources.

The remoter the time, the greater normally the com-
promise one has to make. The Nara period offers on-
ly a small amount of prose sources usable for our pur-
pose (prose sources are, under normal circumstances, pre-
ferable to poetry sources because they are in closer
proximity to the spoken language of the time). The fact
that we are dealing with syntactic patterns somewhat al-
leviates our task in this respect, as differences in
style would not have as much influence on syntax as on,
say, lexicon.

A comprehensive survey of any period of language
history further necessitates a minimum amount of data
and thus also a minimum amount of sources. Therefore,
Nara-period sources such as Senmyō and Norito, which
are acceptable because they are written in prose, and
at least partly acceptable because of their notation,[12]
cannot quite represent the whole Nara period because of
limitations in quantity. On the other hand, lengthy
prose works such as the Kojiki are far too problematic
in their notation to be of use. In view of this situa-
tion there is no choice but to employ poetry sources
like the Man'yōshū, the songs of the Kojiki and Nihongi
and the Bussokuseki songs, as they are at least partly
notated in a phonetic way while also constituting a
fair amount of source material, thus compensating to
a certain degree for the lack of prose sources.

The ensuing Heian period encompasses about four
centuries; the abundance of sources available for this
period makes it desirable to subdivide it, in case of

this thesis, into four parts (see above, 1.41).

For the Early Heian period (794 - 900) I have cho-
sen the Taketori Monogatari and, as a non-literary
source, the so-called Tōdaiji Fujumon-kō. For the TM
I have had to rely on a collated edition, but the TF,
which is thought to have been written around the year
800, has come down to us in its original MS form. It
is partly written in Senmyō style, with kunten (auxili-
ary signs facilitating the reading of kanbun in Japan-
ese) employed additionally in some sections. Unfortu-
nately, the original MS was destroyed in an air raid
during WW II, but a photomechanic reproduction had been
made by then, which I have used.

For the Middle Heian period (901 - 1000) I have
used the Kokinshū, the Tosa Nikki, the Ise Monogatari
and the Yamato Monogatari. The TN, although not avail-
able in the original MS, presents quite a special case
in so far as Ikeda (1941) has established in his monu-
mental textcritical study of this work that the so-cal-
led Seikei Sho'oku MS is a painstakingly-prepared char-
acter-by-character copy of an original copy[13] of the
work made from the original in 1236. I have used a pho-
tomechanical reproduction of the Seikei Sho'oku MS. For
the remaining works I have used collated editions.

The main source used for the Late Heian period
(1001 - 1086) is the Genji Monogatari. Although none of
the numerous MSs of the work is satisfactory in the sense
that it dates back to the Heian period (the earliest com-
plete MS dates from the early Kamakura period), the mon-
umental Genji Monogatari Taisei, which compares almost

all of the numerous MSs, makes it possible to use this
work with its immense amount of material as a source
provided that care is taken to ensure that all data are
scrutinized against variants.

The situation is less favourable with the other
great prose work of the Late-Heian period, the Makura
no Sōshi. Although a collated edition is available, the
number of MSs is small, with significant differences ex-
isting between them. This makes it a difficult proposi-
tion for use as a data source; I will, however, use this
work occasionally for reference purposes.

For the Insei period (1087 - 1191) I have relied
mainly on the Konjaku Monogatari-shū, chiefly for rea-
sons of its bulk and the availability of the excellent
NKBT edition, which has an appendix listing the text
variants of the various MSs used in its preparation.
In addition, I have used the so-called Hokke Byakuza
Kikigaki-shō as a non-literary text. This substantial
fragment is a copy of lecture-notes of sermons on the
Lotus and other sûtras held in 1110. The MS used here
is estimated to date from the Insei period.

From the rather limited sources of the Kamakura pe-
riod I have chosen a photomechanical reproduction of the
Daifukukōji MS of the Hōjōki. This MS is said to be pos-
sibly in the author's own handwriting, and in any case to
go back to a time close to the time the work was writ-
ten (1212). A second reliable source is a photomechanical
reproduction of the middle volume of the Hōgen Monogatari,
the Bunpō MS; the copyist's postscript (shikigo) gives the

third day of August of the second year of the Bunpō era
(i.e. 1318) as the date of completion of copying; this
is reasonably close to the year 1252, the estimated year
of completion of the HM.

The third source for this period is a collection of
letters written by Shinran, the founder of the Jōdo-Shin
sect of Buddhism. They are available in the original and
can partly be dated exactly. There are also some letters
ascribed to Shinran, and other which are said to be
copies of his letters, but I have only used the ones
in his own handwriting (photomechanical reproduction).

From the even more limited materials of the Muromachi
period I have chosen a collated edition comparing 11 MSs
of the Chūka Jakubokushi-shō, a shōmono on Chinese and
Japanese poems written in kanbun; the estimated date of
its origin is 1533.

A further two sources dating from the very end of
the Muromachi period are the Isoho Monogatari and the
Heike Monogatari , both written and printed in romaniza-
tion by Portuguese missionaries in 1593 and 1592, respec-
tively. These text, which were compiled to help fellow
missionaries master the Japanese language, employ a fair-
ly colloquial style of language, although it must be kept
in mind that they were compiled as 'textbooks' and there-
fore are of a somewhat exemplary nature and perhaps too
traditional-minded to be true reflections of the spoken
language of the day; nevertheless, they are accessible
in the original (I have used photomechanical reproduc-
tions) and may therefore be regarded as sources of the
first order.

Below, I shall give a list of all primary sources
and their editions as used for the present thesis; they
are preceded by the abbreviations used for quoting them.
All are published in Tokyo.


## Nara period

KS : Kojiki songs; I. Takagi and T. Toyama, eds.
Kojiki sōsakuin, honbun-hen. Heibonsha, 1974.

NS : Nihongi songs; S.Ono. Jōdai kanazukai no ken-
kyū, honbun-hen. Iwanami, 1953.

FS : Fudoki songs; Fudoki. NKBT Vol.2. Iwanami, 1958.

EN : Engi Shiki Norito; N.Aoki, ed. Norito, honbun-
hen. Ōfūsha, 1975.

    K. Kuroita, ed. Shintei zōho kokushi taikei
'Engi Shiki'(fukyū-ban). Yoshikawa Kōbunkan,
1977.[74]

SNS : Shoku-Nihongi Senmyō; K. Kuroita, ed. Shintei
zōho kokushi taikei 'Shoku-Nihongi' (fukyū-ban).
Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1977.

MYS : Man'yōshū; A. Satake et al., eds. Man'yōshū,
honbun-hen.Hanawa Shobō, 1963.

BS : Bussokuseki songs; E. Kariya. Kokyō ibun. Ben-
seisha Bunko No.1. Benseisha, 1968.


## Early Heian period

TF : Tōdaiji Fujumon-kō; N. Nakata, ed. Todaiji Fuju-
mon-kō. Benseisha Bunko No. 12. Benseisha, 1976.

TM : Taketori Monogatari; T. Tanaka. Taketori Mono-
gatari no kenkyū, kōi-kaisetsu-hen. Hanawa Shobō,
1965.

## Middle Heian period

IM : Ise Monogatari; K. Ikeda. <u>Ise Monogatari ni</u>

<u>tsukite no kenkyū, honbun-hen</u>. Ookayama shoten,

1933.

KKS :Kokinshū; K. Nishimoto, ed. <u>Kokinshū kōhon</u>.

Kasama Shoin, 1977.

TN : Tosa Nikki; B. Hagitani, ed. <u>Ei'inbon Tosa</u>

<u>Nikki</u>. Shintensha, 1975.

YM : Yamato Monogatari; T. Abe. <u>Kōhon Yamato Mono-</u>

<u>gatari to sono kenkyū</u>. Enlarged edition. Sanseidō,

1974.


## Late Heian period

GM : Genji Monogatari; K. Ikeda, ed. <u>Genji Monogatari</u>

<u>Taisei, honbun-hen</u>. Chuō Kōron-sha, 1957.

MNS : Makura no Sōshi; J. Tanaka, ed. <u>Kōhon Makura no</u>

<u>Sōshi, honbun-hen</u>. Koten Bunko, 1969.


## Insei period

KM : Konjaku Monogatari-shū; <u>Konjaku Monogatari-shū</u>.

NKBT vols. 22 - 26. Iwanami, 1963.

HBK : Hokke Byakuza Kikigaki-shō; <u>Hokke Shuhō Ippyaku-</u>

<u>za Kikigaki-shō</u>. Benseisha Bunko No.4. Benseisha,

1976.


## Kamakura period

HK : Hōjōki; <u>Den-Kamo no Chōmei-hitsu, Daifukukōji-</u>

<u>bon Hōjōki</u>. Koten Bungaku Kankō Gyōkai, 1972.

HM : Hōgen Monogatari; 'Bunpō-bon Hōgen Monogatari'.

In: <u>Hōgen Monogatari, Vol.1</u>. Koten Kenkyū-kai,

1972.

SS : Shinran Shōsoku; 'Shinran Shōsoku'. In: <u>Shinran</u>

<u>Shinseki Shūsei 4</u>. Hōzōkan, 1977.


<u>Muromachi period</u>

CS : Chūka Jakubokushi-shō; T. Kamei, ed. <u>Gogaku</u>

<u>Shiryō to shite no Chuka Jakubokushi-shō</u>. Seibundō

1977.

AHM : Amakusaban Heike Monogatari; <u>Amakusa-ban Heike</u>

<u>Monogatari</u>. Benseisha Bunko Nos. 7 and 8. Bensei-

sha, 1976.

AIM : Amakusaban Isoho Monogatari; <u>Amakusa-ban Isoho</u>

<u>Monogatari</u>. Benseisha Bunko No.3. Benseisha, 1976.

NOTES to Chapter I

1 According to Hale (1975), Walbiri, an aboriginal language of Central Australia, lacks the embedded relative. Instead, it has what Hale terms an 'adjoined relative', a structure akin to conditionals of the if...then type. He however maintains that the embedded relative is nevertheless a language universal, and that its absence in a particular language should be regarded as a gap in its formal manifestation.

2 This hierarchy was slightly modified in Keenan and Comrie (1977).

3 See McCawley (1972).

4 It is generally accepted that rentaishi did not yet exist in OJ. For our purposes here, I assume their existence from LOJ onwards. This distinction is reflected in my romanizations, e.·g. so no (OJ) versus sono (LOJ etc.).

5 I normally use this abbreviated way of using square brackets embracing the semantic head NP together with Rel NP instead of the double bracketing as seen in ex. 7 (1.13).

6 This example (from Natsume Sōseki's novel Wagahai wa neko de aru)is borrowed from Inoue (1976).

7 Inoue (1976) embraces categories I - IV under the overall label of 'pseudo-relative clauses (giji kankeisetsu)', whereas Okutsu (1974) employs the broad term 'rentai shūshoku attached to nouns (fuka-meishi rentai shūshoku)'.

8 Example taken from Okutsu (1974).

9 In English, nonrestrictive RCs are distinguished by comma (intonation); the relative pronoun 'that' can only be used in restrictive RCs.

10 This section is a revised and extended version of part of Chapter 1 in Kaiser (1979).

11 See, for instance, Yuzawa (1929$^2$), Kobayashi (1936) and Doi (1957). Some scholars, however, draw the dividing line between ancient and modern Japanese between the Kamakura and Muromachi periods. Satō (1970), for instance, considers the social upheavals of the Yoshino (or Nanboku) period (1336 - 1392) as the turning point or period of change from pre-modern to modern Japanese. According to him, the Muromachi period displays more similarities than dissimilarities to modern Japanese.

12 The term notation is used with regard to the use of Chinese characters (kanji) in sources of Old (and, occasionally, Late Old) Japanese written in Man'yōgana, Senmyō style etc., i.e. the complex way of writing Japanese before the invention of the kana syllabaries. The fact that in many instances Chinese characters are not solely used to represent or approximate the sounds of Japanese phonetically, but used in conjunction with their inherent meanings (sometimes even in form of puns), makes it a very complex system of writing indeed. It must be pointed out that the 'readings' of substantial parts of the above sources are based on tradition and speculation. It is therefore necessary to scrutinize examples, using only those which are notated phonetically, at least in those parts relevant to our argument.

13 In what surely must rate as one of the most specta-
cular discoveries of original Japanese MSs, this ve-
ry copy, the so-called Tame'ie MS, has been found
and put up for sale by the noted second-hand book
dealer S. Sorimachi in February 1984. According to a
newspaper article by the well-known Japanese philo-
logist S. Ōno (1984), this MS neatly confirms the
assumptions and conclusions drawn in Ikeda (1941).
14 For the Norito Tsuina matsuri from Vol. 16 of the
Engi Shiki, which is not contained in the above work.

Chapter II

2.1 General discussion of A pattern formed by the par-

ticle no

The term 'archaic pattern' ('A pattern' henceforth)

is used for a phenomenon found most typically, although

by no means in great numbers, in Old Japanese:


29 kaze majiri ame  furu [yo$_i$   no  ame  majiri yuki
   wind mix+    rain falls night ASS rain mix+    snow

   furu] yo$_i$     wa sube  mo  naku      samuku shi
   falls night  EMP means EMP there-isn't cold EMP

   areba                                   (MYS:892)
   as-are

   'as nights when rain falls mixed with wind, and

   snow falls mixed with rain, are intolerably cold'


2.11 Syntactic features

In syntactic terms, 29 may be analysed as a head

noun N$_2$ (yo, underlined) preceded by a modifying section

(the boundaries of which are indicated by square brackets)

containing a noun N$_1$ semantically identical (i.e. refer-

ring to the same object, time, person etc. as N$_2$) to N$_2$.

N$_1$, which is followed by the particle no, is also prece-

ded by a modifying section (kaze majiri ame furu) in this

example.

When comparing 29 to the deep structure commonly pro-

posed for the B pattern (I will commonly use this term

instead of 'headless RCs') as seen in ex. 11 (1.21),


⇦ kiku no [hana$_i$ no utsuroeru] hana$_i$ o orite

then it may be said that the two appear to be basically
the same, the only difference being that the modifying
sections in ex.29 are somewhat more elaborate. This fact
necessitates an examination of the A pattern with a view
of establishing whether it is historically related to the
B pattern.


2.12 Semantic characteristics

    As we have already seen in Chapter I (1.11), a rela-
tive clause is characterized by the fact that it contains
a nominal (Rel NP) coreferential or identical with a nom-
inal (Head NP) modified by it, whether these nominals are
explicit or not. In case of the A pattern, these two nom-
inals are always both explicit. From this it follows that
in order to qualify as a type of relative clause, corefe-
rentiality or identity between these two nominals must be
established (in semantic terms). In order to illustrate
this point, let us consider the following example:


    30 haruhi no  Kasuga  no [yama no   takakura no
       EPI    ASS          ASS mt.  ASS            ASS

       Mikasa no ] yama ni                (MYS:372)
              ASS  mt.  at

       'at Mt. Mikasa of Mt. Kasuga'


    As Mt. Mikasa is one of the peaks of Mt. Kasuga,
the condition of coreferentiality is not fulfilled, and
therefore this example cannot be regarded as an instance
of A pattern, although syntactically it is not possible to
establish any difference to 29. Thus, from a semantic
viewpoint only, we can say that ex.30 represents the same

pattern of modification that is seen in examples like
the following:


    31 akiyama  .no   konoha             (MYS:16)
       autumn mt.ASS leaves

     'the leaves of the autumn mountain'


2.131 Classification of noun modification by means of
the particle no

In order to shed some more light on the nature of
modification seen in the A pattern as formed by no, as
well the similarities and differences that can be ob-
served when compared to other forms of modification in-
volving no, I will discuss briefly some of the uses of
this particle in Old Japanese.

Yamada (1913[1], p.390ff.) divides the basic function
of the associative (rentai) particle no into the fol-
lowing four subclasses:

    i. Where proper nouns are involved, they always
       come first (i.e. they modify the other noun).

   ii. The first noun indicates ownership, location
       etc., thus 'comprehending (hōkatsu suru)' the
       second noun, which in meaning forms part of the
       first noun. However, the main noun meaningwise
       is the second one.

  iii. The first noun restricts the second noun by in-
       dicating its quality, shape, status or source
       (sho'e).

   iv. Modification of equal nouns.[1]

The associative particle no is a particle joining

two nouns in a relationship of modifying - modified. The four subclasses established by Yamada refer to various shades of meaning observed in such modification, as is easily seen from some examples (modified nouns are underlined):

(i) Nara no <u>miyako</u>         (MYS:806)
         capital

   'the capital of Nara'

(ii) aoyagi     no <u>eda</u>         (MYS:3603)
     gr.willow      branch

   'a green-willow branch'

(iii) azusa    no <u>yumi</u>         (MYS:3567)
     catalpa      bow

   'a catalpa bow'

(iv) see ex.29

With regard to (i) - (iii), it is easily seen that $N_1$ specifies or restricts $N_2$. (i) distinguishes the capital of Nara from, say, that of Shiga, (ii) a branch of a green-willow tree from the branch of some other kind of tree (despite of the somewhat nebulous explanation in ii. above caused by the fact that $N_2$ forms part of $N_1$ and is therefore the smaller unit, the fact nevertheless is that <u>aoyagi</u> specifies the more general term <u>eda</u>, thus distinguishing it from branches belonging to other kinds of trees), and (iii) indicates that the bow is made of <u>azusa</u> (catalpa) wood, thereby setting it apart from bows made of different material. However, for (iv) it is not

possible to assume a 'simplest' form (unmodified $N_1$ +
$\underline{no}$ + unmodified $N_2$) parallel to the above examples (i)
- (iii).


*(iv') yo     no $\underline{yo}$    wa
       night    night  EMP


The above is not possible as a form of modification.
In simple terms, the basic purpose of modification may be
understood to lie in providing additional shades of meaning
or specification for the modified noun. However, in the
above example the first $\underline{yo}$ does not specify or enhance
the meaning of $N_2$ ($\underline{yo}$) in any way. Therefore, at least
for cases where $N_1$ and $N_2$ refer to identical entities,
(iv') is in that form unthinkable. On the above grounds
we may draw a line between i. - iii. on one side and iv. on
the other.

In the light of the above consideration we have to
assume that the simplest, most basic form of the A pat-
tern is one where one or both nouns are preceded by mo-
difying elements. In order to take a closer look at the
situation with regard to 'modifying elements', it will
be helpful to proceed to a classification of 'modifica-
tion ($\underline{sh\bar{u}shoku}$)' in Japanese.


2.132 Classification of modification in Japanese and
patterns of noun modification in the A pattern formed
by $\underline{no}$

The term $\underline{sh\bar{u}shoku}$ (modification) as used by Japan-
ese grammarians encompasses the following:

i) <u>rentai shūshoku</u>

ii) <u>ren'yō shūshoku</u>

The former refers to modification of a <u>taigen</u> (noun) by means of a noun + associative particle, or a <u>yōgen</u> (inflected word) in the adnominal form, or a <u>rentaishi</u> (cf. 1.2), whereas the latter refers to the modification of a <u>yōgen</u> by a variety of word classes, details of which are of no immediate concern to us here. For our purposes here, it will be necessary to employ the term 'modification' in a somewhat wider sense than normally used in traditional Japanese grammar and extend it to cover compound nouns as well.[2]

Yamada (1936) has made a classification of compound nouns of the type he refers to as <u>jukugo</u>, which are compound nouns made up from different components (as distinct from <u>jūgo</u>, compound nouns reduplicating the same component). According to this classification, the three word-classes of nouns, adjectives (in their stem-form) and verbs (in their <u>ren'yō</u> form) combine into all possible combinations. Of the nine possible combinations it is the first three (which have a noun in final, i.e. modified position) that concern us here.

I    noun + noun

II   adjective-stem + noun

III  <u>ren'yō</u>-form verb + noun

There is a further pattern of noun modification which Yamada does not include in the above but discusses elsewhere (<u>ibid</u>., p. 572 ff.); this is not a combination of two independent word classes as in the above I - III,

but a combination of a word-class incapable of standing on its own, a prefix (settōgo), and a noun.

IV prefix + noun

Prefixes attach various shades of meaning to nouns they modify. Sometimes they clearly specify or limit the noun as in

    a. o-gawa

       'small river'

in modern Japanese. In other cases they might specify it only vaguely, as in

    b. mi-yama

       'remote? mountain'

in premodern Japanese. In any case, they are formally analysable as prefixes attached to nouns.

For the remaining, more orthodox types of rentai shūshoku I will use the Roman numerals V and VI (rentaishi are generally not distinguishable from other forms of yōgen + noun modification - see Ch.I, Note 4):

    V noun + associative particle + noun

   VI yōgen (rentai form) + noun

In the following, I shall give examples for the various modification patterns of $N_1$ and $N_2$ as observed in the A pattern. Modifying elements are underlined with a double broken line, identical nouns with a single solid line. Translations, as is the case elsewhere, are only

intended to give a general idea of the meaning.

2.1321 Modification patterns of N$_1$

### Pattern I

32 <u>yo</u>'<u>oto</u>    no  t<span style="text-decoration: overline">o</span>'<u>oto</u>                    (MYS:531)
   night-sound    far sound

   'the far-off night sound'

### Pattern II

33 <u>akatoki</u>    no kawatare<u>toki</u>    ni   (MYS:4384)
   twilight-time who-is-that-time at

   'at the time of twilight, when people are not

   clearly reckognizable'

### Pattern III

34 <u>fuseio</u>  no mage<u>io</u>  no   uchi   ni   (MYS:892)
   low hut     bent hutASS inside in

   'in a low, bent hut'

### Pattern IV

35 <u>o-ya</u>    no  shiko<u>ya</u>                (MYS:3270)
   PREF hut     ugly hut

   'a small, ugly hut'

### Pattern V

36 <u>ama</u>    tsu <u>norito</u> no  futo<u>norito</u>   (EN:430)
   heavenASS prayer        imp.prayer

   'the heavenly, imposing prayers'

37 <u>so</u> no  <u>yo</u>    no  tsuku<u>yo</u>        (MYS:702)
   thatASS night        moon night

   'that moonlit night'

Pattern VI

(29) kaze majiri ame furu yo no ame majiri yuki furu

yo wa ...

2.1322 Modification patterns of N$_2$:

Pattern I

38 aohata$^3$    no  Kohata                    (MYS:148)
   green banner

   'the densely overgrown Kohata'

Pattern II

39 Kagehime tama    naraba   a ga   horu  tama   no
            jewel  if-is    I ASS  want  jewel

   awabishiratama.                         (NS:92)
   abalone-pearl

   'if Kagehime was a jewel, she would be the aba-

   lone pearl, which is my favourite.'

Pattern III

40 Kusakae      no  irie                    (KS:95)
        bight        indented bight

   'the bight of Kusaka'

Pattern IV

41 Mishimae     no  tama-e                   (MYS:1348)
        bight        PREF bight

   'the beautiful bight of Mishima'

Pattern V

42 ko  no  muka    tsu  o   no  Ona no  o  (MYS:3448)
   thisASS facing  ASS  peak      ASS  peak

'this peak of Ona lying across there'


43 Mohaki<u>tsu</u>    no   <u>s̲o̲</u>   no   <u>tsu</u>      (MYS:1759)
        harbour        thatASS harbour

   'that harbour of Mohaki'



                Pattern VI

(29) kaze majiri ame furu <u>yo</u> no <u>ame majiri yuki furu</u>

   <u>yo</u> wa ...



    As seen from the above examples, no difference is
observed with regard to the modification patterns of $N_1$
and $N_2$. In other words, all six patterns of modification
are possible with both $N_1$ and $N_2$.
    Modifying sections are not always as simple as in
the majority of the above examples. In case of Pattern I,
it may consist of what is a compound noun in itself:



44 <u>yatsukaho</u>    no   ikashiho          (EN:15)
   <u>8-hand ear</u>        thriving ear

   'the long, thriving ear (of the rice-plant)'



    This modifying section is further analysable into
<u>ya</u> ('eight';'many') and <u>tsuka</u> (a measure of lengthe).
    The modifying section may even be equivalent to a
whole sentence, as in the following example:



(33) aka<u>toki</u> no <u>kawataretoki</u>



Here, <u>ka wa tare</u> meaning 'who is that?' modifies

toki, hence kawataretoki means 'the-who-is-that-time',
i.e. the time of twilight when contours are indistinct.
However, such variations may be understood as being akin
to the basic noun + noun pattern, as indeed may other
extensions of patterns I, II, III, IV (in case of more
than one prefix) and V.

As is evident from ex.29, pattern VI often assumes
quite complex forms. In 29, $N_1$ (yo) is modified by ame ∅
furu, which is a subject (marked by zero-particle) - pre-
dicate combination, which in turn is modified by kaze ∅
majiri, which is another subject - predicate combina-
tion, this time in the ren'yō form, thus constituting a
ren'yō shūshoku (cf. 2.132) modifying the verb furu.

Let us now consider the following example:


45 o-Niitayama no moru     yama          (MYS:3436)
   PREF    mt.    guard    mt.

   'the mountain of Niita, which people guard'


Here, $NP_2$ looks like the simplest possible form
of pattern VI, with the modifying section consisting
only of a yōgen (in this case, a verb). Moru is, how-
ever, a transitive verb capable of taking an object;
it is therefore possible to assume that a further mo-
difying element (a subject hito, 'people') is implicit
or 'understood'.


2.1323 Examples with an unmodified noun

It deserves some attention that there are only
very few examples where one of the nouns in the A pat-

tern is <u>not</u> preceded by a modifying section. Such ex-
amples may be divided into two groups, examples with
unmodified $N_1$ and examples with unmodified $N_2$.


Unmodified $N_1$ (underlined)


46 <u>kuni</u>      no    yasokuni                (EN:352)
   countries    80    islands

   'the myriad countries'


47 <u>tachibana</u> no   towo   no   tachibana   (MYS:4058)
   orange              laden ASS orange

   'the fruit-laden orange-tree'

   ('the prosperous Tachibana family')


Unmodified $N_2$ (underlined)


48 yasojima no <u>shima</u>                     (MYS:3239)
   80   islands islands

   'the myriad islands'


As remarked above (2.131), modification involving
two identical unmodified nouns may not be expected. How-
ever, modification of the above type does exist, although
only very few instances of the types seen in examples 46
- 48 are observed in our data.


2.14 Interchangeability of $NP_1$ and $NP_2$

There are indications from a number of examples that
in the A pattern the first and second noun phrases ($N_1$
and $N_2$ with their respective modifying sections, if both

are present) are basically interchangeable. In the fol-
lowing examples, both $NP_1$ and $NP_2$ are underlined:


49 sumemima no mikoto no  naga-mi-ke   no
              e m p e r o r ASS longPREFmeal  ASS

   tō-mi-ke                                (EN:108)
   farPREF meal

   'the emperor's perpetual, eternal meal'


50 sumemima no mikoto no   tō-mi-ke      no

   naga-mi-ke                            (EN:126)

   'the emperor's eternal, perpetual meal'


(48) yasojima no shima


51 shima no   yasojima                    (EN:352)

   'the myriad islands'


A further indication of this is that in contrast
to the observation made in Yamada (1913[1]) with regard to
no-modification subclass i., proper nouns in the A pat-
tern appear not only in position of $NP_1$ but also of $NP_2$.[4]
In the following examples, proper nouns are underlined:


(45) o-Niitayama no moru yama


(42) ko no muka tsu o no Ona no o


This observation about the A pattern does not only
contrast with no-modification subclass i., where proper

nouns can only come first (in <u>modifying</u> position), but
also with subclasses ii. and iii., as will easily be
appreciated if we interchange $NP_1$ and $NP_2$ in the ex-
amples given for those subclasses above (both ii.' and
iii.' are hypothetical).


    ii.' eda    no   aoyagi

       'the green-willow of the branch'


    iii."yumi   no   azusa

       'the catalpa(-wood) of the bow'


With subclasses ii. and iii., interchange of $NP_1$
and $NP_2$ is possible in the sense that it does not ne-
cessarily result in an ungrammatical expression (al-
though the above ii.' and iii.' are not documented to
my knowledge), but unlike examples 48 - 51, where no
significant change in meaning seems to take place, it
results in a modifier - modified relationship that has
a completely different meaning.


## 2.15 Modification versus repetition

Earlier (2.131) I have maintained that a modifier -
modified relationship between entirely identical NPs is
neither to be expected in theory not is it observed in
our data. However, there are examples which seemingly
defeat such a statement.


    52 ōishi    ni  ya  iwai-motōru  <u>shitadami</u> no
       big stone on EMP creep-about periwinkle

```
shitadami no  ago      yo ago     yo shitadami no
periwinkle       my dearEMP my dearEMP periwinkleSU

iwai-motōri      uchite shi yamamu    (NS:8)
creep-about+     beat+  EMP let's-finish
```

'like the periwinkle creeping about on big rocks,

my dear, let us surround the enemy and finish him

off!'


Syntactically it seems impossible to distinguish ex.
52 from the A pattern. However, the fact that we may not
assume the existence of identical modification, and further,
indications from the context that in this case we have an
instance of the rhethorical device of repetition[5] enable us
to draw a line between the two phenomena. Such indications
(in case of this particular ex. 52) include repetition of
other sectionsof the song as well as the repetition of the
particle no after the second shitadami; these strongly sug-
gest that the two identical noun phrases marked by no (shi-
tadami no shitadami no) are syntactically parallel.

In view of this possibility, it is necessary to clas-
sify examples featuring a repetition of the particle no as
instances of repetition, even if one of the nouns is pre-
ceded by a modifying section, as there is no proof that the
facts are otherwise. (however, examples with two different
modifying sections for $N_1$ and $N_2$ respectively are included
under the A pattern here and are not classified as repeti-
tion):


```
53 mi-Eshino no Eshino no  ayu ayu koso wa  (NS:126)
   PREF                              EMP EMP

   'the ayu-fish of Eshino'
```

54 mi-Yoshino no  Yoshino no miya    wa (MYS:315)
   PREF                              palace EMP

   'the palace of Yoshino'


55 ko no   mi-ki   no mi-ki    no aya-ni  utadanoshi
   this    PREFwine   PREFwine   strangely enjoyable

                                  (KS:40)

   'this wine is strangely enjoyable'


The rhethorical device of repetition is of course
also observed in other instances which have no direct rela-
tion with the A pattern:[6]


56 ko     mo yo mi-ko    mochi fukushi mo  yo
   basketEMP EMP PREFbasket hold+ trowelEMP EMP

   mi-bukushi mochi                   (MYS:1)
   PREF trowel hold+

   'with a basket, a pretty basket in the hand, with

   a trowel, a pretty trowel in the hand'


2.16 We need to consider one more pattern of noun modifi-
cation which is syntactically not distinguishable from
the A pattern:


57 chie      no  hitoe               (MYS:963)
   1000-fold    1- fold


Semantically speaking, coreferential nouns are here
modified by nouns[7] indicating amount. The reason why it is
necessary to distinguish this pattern from the A pattern

becomes obvious when we reverse the order of NP$_1$ and NP$_2$:


?57' hitoe no chie


This type of example is not documented in our sour-
ces; even if it existed, it would obviously be totally
different in meaning to 57. Let us, however, consider
the following example:


58 china no iona                         (MYS:731)
    1000names 500names

    'many rumours'


Here, the numbers chi ('a thousand') and io ('five
hundred') are used in an idiomatic way; they do not indi-
cate a specific number but the general idea of 'many'. Al-
though my data does not yield any example of the opposite
order, there is no reason to assume that


58' iona no china


is not inherently possible. This assumption is supported by
an example similar to 58', where the numerically higher
number modifies the second noun (yao = 'eight hundred'):


59 yaoine    chi'ine              (EN:156)
    800ricepl.500 riceplants

    'many riceplants'


Example 59 is not formed by the particle no but by

zero-particle and will therefore be discussed in Chapter
III, but it is of a similar structure and therefore provides
us with a valuable hint pointing in the direction of the
possibility of example 58'.

In this connection, it may be useful to recall exs.
51 and 48.


(51) <u>shima</u> no <u>yaso̲jima</u>


(48) <u>yaso̲jima</u> no <u>shima</u>


Here, <u>yaso</u> ('eighty') is used in the same way as the numerals
<u>io</u>, <u>yao</u> and <u>chi</u> in exs. 58 and 59, i.e. it indicates not a
specific number, but an unspecified, large number. The fact
that this number may appear before both $N_1$ or $N_2$ also sup-
ports the above assumption.


2.17 'A pattern' with nouns not identical but similar in
      meaning

Occasionally there are examples of the A pattern form-
ed by the particle <u>no</u> where $N_1$ and $N_2$ are not identical but
similar in meaning.


    60 inishie    ni arikeru   <u>waza</u>     no kusubashiki
       old times  at happened  matter        strange

       <u>koto</u>
       thing                              (MYS:4211)

       'a matter which happened of old, a strange

       thing'


    61 hidari<u>te</u> no yumi toru <u>kata</u>      (MYS:2575)
       left hand     bow   hold side

'the left hand, the side holding the bow'

62 kashikoki <u>hito</u>   no   yoki   <u>omi</u>        (SNS:250,5)
   clever      person       good   courtier

'a clever person  who is a good courtier'

Needless to say, such 'similar' nouns refer to the same thing or person etc. and therefore fulfil the condition of coreferentiality stipulated earlier (1.11, 2.12).

2.18 Stacked examples

In case of the A pattern, the term 'stacked' is used to refer to examples with three or more coreferential nouns.

63 ama    tsu[[<u>mi-ke</u>    no   naga-<u>mi-ke</u>] no tō-<u>mi-ke</u>]
   heavenASS  PREFmeal       longPREFmeal   farPREFmeal

                                          (EN:388)

'the heavenly, perpetual, eternal meal'

64 nagare-kuru [[ <u>take</u>    no   i-kumi<u>dake</u>] ∅   yo<u>dake</u>]
   flow+   come    bamboo       PREF*thriv.* bamboo  node-bamboo

                                          (NS:97)

'the bamboo which comes floating along, which is
 a thriving bamboo, a bamboo with beautiful nodes'

Only the above two examples of A pattern formed (initially) by <u>no</u> are found in our data of Old Japanese. There are no examples which give any indication as to whether $NP_1$, $NP_2$ and $NP_3$ are interchangeable.

2.19 The above should suffice as a general discussion of the A pattern as formed by means of the particle no. From the fact that we may assume interchangeability of $NP_1$ and $NP_2$ in the simple pattern, and that we may exclude the possibility of entirely identical $NP_1$ and $NP_2$, I have been able to draw a line between this use of the adnominal particle no and other uses of the same particle.

Modification between coreferential nouns, as we have seen, can only be observed (and logically justified) with examples where at least one (more commonly, both) of the nouns is preceded by a modifying section. At this stage we may therefore assume that in the A pattern we are dealing with a type of modifying - modified relationship where (modification between identical segments not being possible to assume) modification takes place between the modifying section(s) and the nouns. In case of the most commonly found type of the A pattern where both nouns are modified, we may therefore assume that one and the same thing/person etc. is described (restricted, modified) from two separate viewpoints, or in terms of two different qualities both pertaining to that same person/thing etc.

We must, however, not forget that the Japanese language does, and already did have in Old Japanese, a different way of expressing two-fold (three-fold ... n-fold) modification of a noun:

a  tabure-madoeru    katakuna-naru    yatsuko    no
   ===============    =============    =======
   $M_1$              $M_2$            N
   completely-mad     stubborn         fellow     ASS

   kokorochi  o   ba[8]
   feelings   DO  EMP

'the feelings of a completely mad, stubborn fel-

low'


b <u>akiraka-ni</u> <u>kiyoki</u> <u>kokorochi</u> mochite[8]
$M_1$ $M_2$ N
bright pure feeling having

'with a bright, pure feeling'


In a, we have an instance of noun-modification by two $\underline{y\bar{o}}$-$\underline{gen}$ (inflected words) in the adnominal ($\underline{rentai}$) form, each thus modifying the noun separately, whereas in b the second modifying section ($M_2$), which is also in the adnominal form (modifying the noun it preceeds), is preceded by an $M_1$ in the conjunctive ($\underline{ren'y\bar{o}}$) form; in b, therefore, $M_1$ modifies $M_2$, and the combination $M_1$ and $M_2$, in turn, modifies the noun. In any case, we need not rely on statistics to be able to say that this way of lining up two modifying elements before the noun they modify (and in this respect, a and b are identical) is by far more common than the way of modification involving two separately modified, coreferential nouns we have seen in the A pattern.

One of my tasks in this study will be to attempt to establish any difference in expressional value between the A pattern/headless relative clauses on the one hand and the more usual way of noun modification seen in examples a and b.


2.2 Relative connexion within the A pattern

As mentioned above (1.422). I will examine the case relationship between $NP_1$ and $NP_2$. This case relationship between $NP_1$ and $NP_2$ is commonly referred to as the

relative connexion. More specifically, it is the case re-
lationship between the noun of $NP_1$ and the modifying sec-
tion of $NP_2$ which will be examined, as the case relation-
ship between $NP_1$ and $NP_2$ as a whole is of course one of
adnominal modification.


2.21 Treatment of examples where $NP_2$ consists of 'noun (no)
    + noun'

When attempting to establish the relative connexion, we
encounter some difficulty resulting from the fact that with
the A pattern the modifying section of $NP_2$ (double bro-
ken lines) is not necessarily a yōgen but sometimes a
noun.


(58) chi[na no io]na


(43) Mohaki[tsu no so no] tsu


(37) so no [yo no tsuku]yo


(38) ao[hata no Ko]hata


I will nevertheless attempt to establish the above-
mentioned relationship for examples of this type.[9] For
(58) it is possible to establish a subject – predicate
type of connexion, which in MJ could be expressed in
the following manner:


58' na     ga/wa   io   (aru)
    name   SU TOP   500   there are

'there are 500 names (many rumours)'

The relative connexion is therefore one of subject
or $\underline{no}_S$.[10]

(43) differs somewhat from (58) in that it cannot
be paraphrased into MJ along the same lines:


*43' tsu ga/wa so(re aru)
                that there is


It may, however, be interpreted as an equational[11]
sentence in the following way:


43'' tsu ga/wa   so(re   de aru)
                that       is

    'the harbour is that'


Ga/wa again mark the subject here $(\underline{no}_S)$.


In contrast, the relative connexion in (37) cannot
be interpreted as one of subject, i.e. the following
37' is ungrammatical:


*37' yo ga/wa tsuki[12]
              moon


The relationship between $\underline{yo}$ and $\underline{tsuki}$ may, however,
be interpreted as one of topic, which is normally in-
dicated by the particle $\underline{wa}$ in MJ:


37'' yo     wa   tsuki ga aru/dete iru
      night TOP moon   SU is there/is out

'as for the night, the moon is out'

For examples like (38), where <u>Kohata</u> is a proper noun, no relative connexion can be established because the meaning of the modifying section (<u>Ko</u>) is not clear. Examples of this type are therefore excluded from analysis of relative connexion.

2.22 Treatment of examples where NP$_2$ consists of a verb in the conjunctive (<u>ren'yō</u>) form + noun

One form of nominalization in Japanese is the so-called <u>ren'yō</u>-form noun (<u>ren'yō-kei meishi</u>), which formally is a verb in the <u>ren'yō</u> form used as a noun. Being derived from a verb, the case relationship between this form and the preceding N$_1$ is easily established.

(40) Kusaka[e no <u>iri</u>]e

(34) fuse[io no <u>mage</u>]io

In the former example, the case relationship is easily seen:

40'  e ga/wa   iri(konde iru)                    (<u>no</u>$_S$)
     SU TOP    is-indented

        'the bight is indented'

In case of the latter (34), <u>magu</u> is a transitive verb belonging to the lower second (<u>shimo nidan</u>) inflection; the case relationship between <u>io</u> and <u>mage</u> is therefore established as follows:

34' io  o  mage(ta)                    ($\underline{no}_O$)
      DO have-bent

'have bent the hut'


2.23 Treatment of examples where $NP_2$ consists of adjective stem + noun

The stem of an adjective could function as a noun in premodern Japanese, as is easily seen from examples where it modifies a noun by means of the particle no:


ana kaina    no  waza  ya [13]
ah  useless ASS thing EMP

'ah, what a useless affair!'


As we have seen above (2.132), adjective-stems are also commonly used to form composite nouns without no. Again, little difficulty is encountered in establishing the case relationship between the noun of $NP_1$ and the adjective of $NP_2$:


(44) yatsuka[ho no ikashi]ho          ($\underline{no}_S$)


2.24 Examples where $NP_2$ consists of a yōgen in the rentai form + noun

Here we have a 'full-fledged' yōgen modifying $N_2$; no difficulties are therefore encountered in establishing the relative connexion.


(61) hidari[te no yumi toru] kata [14]         ($\underline{no}_S$)


(45) Oniita[yama no moru] yama          ($\underline{no}_O$)

65 shirakumo    no tanabiku [kuni no a̱o̱k̲u̲m̲o̲̲̲̲̲̲̲̲̲n̲o̲
   white clouds SU trail    land    blue cloudsSU

   m̲u̲k̲a̲f̲u̲s̲u̲]   kuni[15]                    (MYS:3329)
   crouch afạr land

   'the land where the white clouds trail and the

   blue clouds crouch in the distance'    (no_L)


(29) kaze majiri ame furu [yo no a̲m̲e̲_m̲a̲j̲i̲r̲i̲_y̲u̲k̲i̲

   f̲u̲r̲u̲] yo wa                              (no_TEMP)


66 Futagami no   tōtoki [yama no n̲a̲m̲i̲t̲a̲c̲h̲i̲̲̲̲̲̲̲n̲o̲
         ASS noble   mt.       standing-along SU

   m̲i̲g̲a̲h̲o̲s̲h̲i̲]   yama                      (MYS:382)
   worth-seeing mt.

   'the noble mountain of Futagami, a mountain

   where the peaks' standing side by side is worth

   seeing'                                    (no_TOP)


Of the above examples, 65 can be interpreted as


65' (so   no) kuni de aokumo ga mukafusu
      that ASS land in      SU

   'in that land the blue clouds trail'


The particle de here indicates the location of the
action of the verb mukafusu. Hence, I will refer to this
case status as 'locative' (no_L).
   Ex.29 may be paraphrased in the following way:


29' yo ni ame majiri yuki furu
       in

In this use, the particle $\underline{ni}$ is attached to nouns indicating time; I will refer to this as 'temporal' $(\underline{no}_{TEMP})$.

In ex.66, $\underline{yama}$ may be interpreted as the topic of the relative connexion because $NP_2$ contains a subject - predicate clause; for our purposes here, I define 'topic' mechanically as the 'general subject' ($\underline{so\text{-}shu}$) of a subject - predicate clause. Paraphrased into MJ, this example looks roughly as follows:


66' (so   no) yama wa $^{16}$namitachi ga migahoshi
      thatASS mt.   TOP             SU

      'as for that mountain, the (way the) peaks stand alongside is worth seeing'


2.25 Distribution of the various types of relative connexions per form of $NP_2$

I now proceed to examine the relative frequency of relative connexions as seen in each form of $NP_2$ observed above (2.21 - 2.24). The results are given below in Table 1 (see over).

Table 1

| | (2.21) | (2.22) | (2.23) | (2.24) | unknown | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| $no_S$ | 29 | 6 | 23 | 6 | 6 | 70 |
| $no_O$ | | 2 | | 1 | | 3 |
| $no_L$ | | | | 1 | | 1 |
| $no_{TEMP}$ | | | | 5 | | 5 |
| $no_{TOP}$ | 3 | | 1 | | | 4 |
| unknown | 6 | | | | | 6 |
| | 38 | 8 | 24 | 13 | 6 | 89 |
| unknown[17] 3 | | | | | | 92 |

From Table 1 it is obvious that with regard to the nature of $NP_2$, examples are most frequent in (2.21), followed by (2.23), (2.24) and (2.22).

As far as the relative frequency of relative connexions is concerned, $no_S$ is by far most common, followed by $no_{TEMP}$, $no_{TOP}$, $no_O$ etc.

2.3 Syntactical status of the A pattern within the matrix sentence

2.31 As stated above (1.422), I will establish the syntactical relationship between the A pattern (in this instance, $NP_1$ no $NP_2$) and its predicate by indicating the particle (including zero) attached to the A pattern, and the syntactic relation this particle marks. The latter is stated only in cases where it is ambiguous; for instance, the particle o always indicates the direct

object, which makes further indication of its function in particular examples unnecessary. However, the particle _wa_, for instance, which is not a case marker proper but an emphatic particle (_kakari-joshi_) superseding other case markers, makes indication of its syntactic function in particular examples necessary. Such syntactic function may be one of topic ($\underline{wa}_{TOP}$), subject ($\underline{wa}_{S}$), or object ($\underline{wa}_{O}$) of the matrix predicate. Likewise, _no_ may indicate a relationship of subject ($\underline{no}_{S}$), genitive ($\underline{no}_{G}$), and others.

The various types of case status found with the A pattern as formed by _no_ (each illustrated with an example) are as follows:

$\underline{o}$

```
67 akita      no hoda      o kari       (MYS:1539)
   aut.paddy     ear-paddy DO cut+
```

'cutting the autumnal paddy where the rice-ears are out'

$\underline{ni}$[18]

```
68 o-ya      no shikoya      ni  kaki-utemu   yarekomo
   PREFhut      wretched hut in  PREF discard  torn mat

   o   shikite                          (MYS:3270)
   DO  spread+
```

'spreading a torn mat that one would like to throw out in a small, wretched hut'

$\underline{to}$[18]

```
69 yasu-    mi-  tegura  no taru-      mi-   tegura
   peaceful PREF offering   substantial PREF offering

   to  tairakeku kikoshimese          (EN:91)
   OBL peacefully please-accept
```

'please accept peacefully the peaceful, sub-

stantial offering'


$\underline{wa}_S$

(29) kaze majiri ame furu yo no ame majiri yuki

furu yo $\underline{wa}$ sube mo naku samuku shi areba


$\underline{wa}_O$

| 70 | mi- | chi | no | nagachi | $\underline{wa}$ | yuki-katenu | ka | mo |
|----|-----|-----|----|---------|------------------|--------------|-----|-----|
| | PREF | road | | long road | EMP | hard-to-make | EMP | EMP |

(MYS:4341)

'the length of the road is hard to cover'


$\underline{mo}_O$

71 aratayo no matayo $\underline{mo}$ ochizu [19] (MYS:3120)
   new night   whole n.   EMP   not-fail+

'without failing one whole night'


$\underline{no}_S$

72 kitayama  ni tanabiku kumo  no aokumo     $\underline{no}$
   north mt. at trail     clouds    blue cl.  SU

hoshi hanare-yuki             (MYS:161)
stars depart+go+

'the blue clouds trailing over the northern

hills drift away from the stars'


$\underline{no}_G$

(34) fuseio no mageio $\underline{no}$  uchi  ni


$\underline{ga}_G$

73 midoriko    no mizuko       $\underline{ga}$ mi   (MYS:3791)
   inf. child    baby child ASS status

'the status of a baby child'

$$\underline{zo}_F$$

74 komoriku no  Hatsuse no  yama aohata Osaka no
   EPIT     ASS          ASS mt.  EPIT          ASS

   yama wa  hashiride     no yoroshiki yama no
   mt.  EMP running out   SU nice       mt.

   idetachi no kuwashiki  yama zo.    (MYS:3331)
   shape    SU beautiful  mt.  EMP

   'the montain of Osaka in Hatsuse is a beauti-

   ful mountain just outside the house.'

$$\emptyset_S$$

75 sakitaru hana     no ume  no  hana  $\emptyset$  mi   ni
   blooming blossom     plum ASS blossom   fruit into

   shi narinaba                    (MYS:399)
   EMP will-have-become

   'when the blooming plum-blossom has turned into

   a fruit'

$$\emptyset_O$$

76 yakigama          no  togama      $\emptyset$ mochite
   tempered sickle    sharp sickle    have+  .

                                   (EN:330)

   'with a tempered, sharp sickle'

       .

$$\emptyset_L$$

77 amakumo      no yaekumo      $\emptyset$ kakuri naru  kami
   heaven-clouds ASSmany clouds   hidden sound thunder

                                   (MYS:2568)

   'the thunder sounding hidden in the manifold

   clouds'

$$\emptyset_{TEMP}$$

78 miteshika  to ibusemu  toki no kakiho-
  want-to-see  COMPbe impatient.time ⌐ fence

  nasu hito  no tou   toki $\underline{\emptyset}$   (MYS: 1809)
  like people SU propose time

  'at a time when everybody felt impatient to

  marry her, and people proposed to her in great

  numbers'


$$\emptyset_F$$

(39) Kagehime tama naraba *a ga* horu tama no awabi-

  shiratama $\underline{\emptyset}$.      (NS: 92)


Table 2 shows the frequency of the above types for

our data sources of Old Japanese (Nara period).


Table 2

| | KS | NS | HS | EN | SNS | MYS | BS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| o | | | | 6 | 2 | 2 | | 10 |
| ni | | | | 8 | | 12 | | 20 |
| to | | | | 11 | | 3 | | 14 |
| wa$_S$ | | 1 | | 2 | | 2 | | 5 |
| wa$_O$ | | | | | | 1 | | 1 |
| mo$_O$ | | | | | | 1 | | 1 |
| no$_S$ | | | | | | 5 | | 5 |
| no$_G$ | 2 | 1 | | 1 | | 12 | | 16 |
| ga$_G$ | | | | | | 1 | | 1 |
| zo$_F$ | | | | | | 1 | | 1 |
| $\emptyset_S$ | | | 1 | | | 2 | | 3 |
| $\emptyset_O$ | | | | 5 | | 8 | | 13 |
| $\emptyset_L$ | | | | | | 1 | | 1 |
| $\emptyset_{TEMP}$ | | | | | | 1 | | 1 |
| $\emptyset_F$ | | 1 | | | | | | 1 |
| | 2 | 3 | 1 | 33 | 2 | 52 | 0 | 93[20] |

Among our sources for this period, the Man'yōshū is by far the largest, followed by the Engishiki Norito. It is therefore not surprising to find the data concentrated in these two works (the former a poetry source, the latter one of prose).

The total of all instances of 'object' ($\underline{o}$, $\underline{wa}_O$, $\underline{mo}_O$, $\emptyset_O$) is with 25 examples the largest group, followed by $\underline{ni}$, which adds up to 22 examples if $\emptyset_L$ and $\emptyset_{TEMP}$ are included, although $\underline{ni}$ itself includes a whole host of cases, some obvious, others oblique; this is followed by 'genitive' ($\underline{no}_G$, $\underline{ga}_G$; 17 exs.), $\underline{to}$ (14 exs., again including a variety of oblique cases), 'subject' ($\underline{wa}_S$, $\underline{no}_S$, $\emptyset_S$; 13 exs.), and 2 exs. of sentence-final uses of a copular nature ($\underline{zo}_F$, $\emptyset_F$).

2.32 In this period we encounter only two examples of stacked A pattern (cf. 2.18) involving the particle $\underline{no}$ between $NP_1$ and $NP_2$.

2.321 The relative connexion in these examples of stacked A pattern is, of course, two-fold; firstly, between $NP_1$ and $NP_2$, and secondly, between $NP_2$ and $NP_3$. In ex.63, both are of the variety $\underline{no}_S$ and belong to category 2.23 (cf.2.23), whereas in ex.64 the first connexion is $\underline{no}_S$, and the second one, $\emptyset_{TOP}$.

2.322 The type of case status of these stacked A patterns are $\underline{to}$ (63) and $\emptyset_F$ (64).

2.4 Semantic analysis of the A pattern formed by the particle <u>no</u>

2.41 I have established above (2.14) that there are strong indications that $NP_1$ and $NP_2$ in the A pattern are interchangeable. It may therefore seem pointless to argue about the relevancy of the two modifying sections to $N_1$ in examples like (49), as they may equally appear in the opposite order (ex.50):

    (49) <u>nagamike</u> no <u>tōmike</u>

    (50) <u>tōmike</u> no <u>nagamike</u>

    In general terms we may therefore say that both modifying sections are of equal relevancy to $N_1$ (or $N_2$, for that matter). We have seen that interchangeability also seems to apply for examples containing proper nouns.

    (45) <u>o-Niitayama</u> no <u>moru</u> yama

    (42) ko no <u>muka tsu</u> o no <u>Ona</u> no o

    However, there nevertheless seems to be some ground for argument.

    For instance, <u>makura kotoba</u>, which syntactically are not distinguishable from other forms of modification, always precede the NPs they modify.

(38) aohata no Kohata

Makura kotoba are fixed epithets which by associations of sound or meaning 'evoke' the main (or head) word they precede - by definition, $NP_1$ is therefore secondary in meaning to $NP_2$. However, this is mainly a matter of convention, and does not necessarily indicate that originally ao is less relevant to hata than Ko.

Despite of the apparent interchangeability of $NP_1$ and $NP_2$ it should also be kept in mind that in all other uses of the associative particle no its function is one of modification, i.e. what preceeds the particle no modifies what follows it. Despite of the interchangeability of $NP_1$ and $NP_2$ it may therefore be possible to assume the same underlying principle for the A pattern as well, i.e. $NP_2$ may be the core meaningwise, which is preceded by a modifying $NP_1$; this would make the modifying section of $NP_2$ the more immediate, more 'relevant' one. I shall attempt to pursue this question in more detail in Chapter IV.

2.42 At this stage, our data of stacked examples of the A pattern is too small to be able to examine the question of a principal-subordinate relationship between the various modifying sections contained in $NP_1 \ldots NP_n$.

2.43 As we have noted above (1.22), Modern Japanese does not make any formal distinction between restrictive and nonrestrictive relative clauses. The same holds true for Old Japanese, too, as far as we know. Establishing if any given RC is to be regarded as re-

strictive or nonrestrictive therefore largely seems a matter of interpretation. However, as Inoue (1976) points out for MJ, there are examples which may only be interpreted as nonrestrictive RCs. These are cases where the head noun is a noun of unique denotation of the type 'the Earth' (chikyū), 'the Sun' (taiyō), or any proper noun.[21]

Similar tendencies are found in our data from Old Japanese:

(61) hidarite no yumi ·· toru kata

The left hand is traditionally called the 'bow-hand', or hand used to carry the bow, as opposed to mete, the 'horse-hand', or hand used to hold the reigns when riding.

(42) ko no muka tsu o no Ona no o

In this example the head NP contains a proper noun; therefore it is not possible to take this clause as a restrictive RC because 'the peak of Ona which lies over there' would imply the existence of more than one peak of Ona.

The same may be said of examples where $NP_1$ and $NP_2$ are virtually identical in meaning:

(77) amakumo no yaekumo

cannot be interpreted as

*'the manifold clouds which are clouds in the sky'

Likewise, (58) cannot be understood as a restrictive RC:

(58) china no iona

*'many rumours which are a lot of rumours'

Other examples, and this applies to the majority of
our data, may only be interpreted from the context. To
cite a few of the more obvious ones:

(39) Kagehime tama naraba a ga horu tama no awabi-shira-
     tama

Because of the metaphor used here, we have to assume that
it is not a particular abalone-pearl which is being refer-
red to, but an abalone-pearl in the general sense.

(29) kaze majiri ame furu yo no ame majiri yuki furu yo
     wa sube mo naku samuku shi areba
     *'because nights when snow falls mixed with rain
     which are nights when rain falls mixed with wind
     are intolerably cold'

Obviously, the modification section of NP$_2$ is quite suffi-
cient to satisfy the claim expressed by the predicate of
the causal clause.

The following is an example of a restrictive RC as de-

terminable from the context only:


(75) imo ga ie ni sakitaru hana no ume no hana mi ni

shi narinaba ka mo kaku mo semu

'when the plum-blossom which blooms in my darling's

house has turned into a fruit, I will do as I like

with it (=her)'


The young girl is compared to a plum-blossom growing to-
wards maturity, and it is this one, the one growing in her
house, which concerns her prospective lover, and not just
any plum-blossom.[22]

To sum up the observations I have made here with re-
gard to the question of restrictive/nonrestrictiveness of
the A pattern (formed by no), we have seen that where $N_2$
is a proper noun, or a noun of unique denotation, or where
$N_1$ and $N_2$ have very much the same meaning, the pattern is
nonrestrictive, while other cases can be determined only
from the context.

Only one example (75) appears restrictive. This is
quite in keeping with the impression gained from 'typical'
examples of the A pattern such as 29 etc., which seem to
describe one noun from two different, but very similar an-
gles.


2.44 I have already mentioned (cf. 2.17) the existence of
examples where $N_1$ and $N_2$ are not identical (as is typical-
ly the case with the A pattern in Old Japanese) but simi-
lar in meaning. It is possible to establish a number of

types as far as the semantic relationship between $N_1$ and $N_2$ is concerned.[23]

   (i) identical common nouns - see ex.29

   (ii) similar common nouns

    79 ama     tsu <u>norito</u> no   futo<u>noritogoto</u>  (EN:460)
       heaven ASS prayers     noble prayers

     'the heavenly, noble prayers'

 (iii) identical abstract[24] nouns

   (33) aka<u>toki</u> no kawatare<u>toki</u>

  (iv) similar abstract nouns

  (60)inishie ni arikeru <u>waza</u> no kusubashiki <u>koto</u>

  (v) combination of common and abstract noun(double lines)

  (61)hidari<u>te</u> no yumi toru <u>kata</u>

  (v') combination of abstract noun (double lines) and

      common noun (single line)

  (62) kashikoki <u>hito</u> no yoki <u>omi</u>

   Of the 93 examples of the A pattern formed by the particle <u>no</u> given in Table 2 the various types (i) - (v') are distributed as follows:

    (i)         78

    (ii)        5

    (iii)      5

(iv)         . 2

(v)          1

(v')         2
             ___
             93


2.5 The A pattern formed by <u>no</u> after the Nara period

Although the A pattern is most typically found in our sources of OJ (Nara period), examples are also encountered - if more sporadically - in later periods. To round off this description of the A pattern (<u>no</u>), I will take a look at such examples.

Because of the scarcity of examples - especially when seen in relation to the bulk of some of our major sources like the GM and the KM - I also include some data found only in text variants; examples of this kind are explained as such in a note.

In the following, some examples are given (coreferential nouns are underlined).


80 hito no [<u>ie</u>   no Ike to   na   aru   <u>tokoro</u>]
   man ASS house          COMP name have place

   yori                                    (TN:31,8)
   from

   'from a man's home, which is a place called

   Ike'


81 [<u>taishō</u> no okashiyaka-ni wararaka-naru ke
              refined+       cheerful       aspect

   mo naki    <u>hito</u>] ni  soi-itaramu  ni
   EMP has-not man    with were-to-live if

                                    (GM:963,8)

'if she (Tamakazura) were to live with the <u>tai-</u>

<u>shō</u> (Kurohige), a man without any refinement

and cheerfulness,'


82 kono hashi no [[ <u>ki</u>  no hotoke no  zō    ni
   this pear ASS    tree    Buddha ASS statue into

   tsukuramu to  shite imada  tsukuri-oezaru  <u>ki</u>]
   make         OBL do    not yet make+finished  tree

   o  sutetaru]²⁵ o  hashi  ni hiki-wataseru
   DO discarded    DO bridge as PREF laid-across

   narikeri                        (KM_I,III:144,12)
   COP

   'they had laid across as a bridge the discarded

   wood of this pear-tree,²⁶ which they had intended

   to make into a Buddha statue, which was as yet

   incomplete'


83 Zōichi-kyō    ni wa [<u>hito</u> no yo    ni arite
        sūtra in EMP  man      world in is+

   ayamachi areba    mizukara aratamuru <u>mono</u>] o
   mistake  if-is    himself  amend      personDO

   shōnin to   iu   zo
   saint  COMP call EMP            .       (TS:359,13)

   'the Zōichi sūtra calls a man who amends mis-

   taken conduct in this world a saint'


2.51 Table 3 shows the relative frequency of the rela-

tive connexions for each pattern of NP₂ as established

above (cf.2.25).

Table 3

| | (2.21) | (2.22) | (2.23) | (2.24) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| $\underline{no}_S$ | | | | 15 | 15 |
| $\underline{no}_O$ | | | | 1 | 1 |
| $\underline{no}_{TEMP}$ | | | | 1 | 1 |
| $\underline{no}_{TOP}$ | | | | 4 | 4 |
| | 0 | 0 | 0 | 21 | 21 |

100% of examples in Table 3 belong to type (2.24). This markedly differs from the figures shown in Table 1, where (2.21) was the largest contingent.

However, the tendency of $\underline{no}_S$ being the most typical form of relative connexion remains unchanged when compared to Table 1; of the less common relative connexions, $\underline{no}_{TOP}$ shows an increased share when contrasted to Table 1.

2.52 The various types of case status are distributed per data source as follows.

Table 4

| | TN | GM | KM$_I$[27] | KM$_{II}$ | TS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| o | | | 1 | 2 | 1 | 4 |
| ni | | 1 | | | | 1 |
| nite | | 1[28] | | 1 | | 2 |
| to | | | 1 | | | 1 |
| wa$_S$ | | | | | 1 | 1 |
| mo$_S$ | | 1 | | | | 1 |
| no$_S$ | | 1 | 1 | 3 | | 5 |
| no$_G$ | | | | 1 | | 1 |
| yori | 1 | | | | | 1 |
| ∅$_S$ | | | 2 | | | 2 |
| ∅$_O$ | | 2 | | | | 2 |
| | 1 | 6 | 5 | 7 | 2 | 21 |

The largest group here is that of 'subject' (wa$_S$, mo$_S$, no$_S$, ∅$_S$) with 9 examples, followed by 'object' (o, ∅$_O$) with 6 examples and others.

Examples are naturally concentrated in the voluminous works of GM and KM, but the number of examples in the KM is triple that found in the GM (both are of similar size).

2.53 Analysis of the semantic relationship between N$_1$ and N$_2$.

2.531 In 2.44 above, I have established a classification

distinguishing between the various semantic relationships between $N_1$ and $N_2$ and employed it to analyse the distribution of the various types established for the A pattern formed by <u>no</u> in the Nara period.

Using the same classification, I will now examine the relative frequency of the various types for the data of the same pattern from our post-Nara sources.

The 21 examples recorded from these sources are distributed as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| (i) | 3 |
| (ii) | 4 |
| (iii) | 4 |
| (iv) | 1 |
| (v) | 7 |
| (v') | 2 |
| | 21 |

The largest group here is constituted by combinations of common and abstract nouns (9 exs.); within this group, the majority (7 exs.) is of the order common - abstract. In comparison, type (i) is not significant (14% of total). This situation is in sharp contrast to the tendency observed in our data from Nara-period sources, where the reverse situation was prevalent.

2.532 Of the 21 examples, 4 are restrictive ( 1 each in the GM and TS, and 2 in the $KM_{II}$).

2.533 A total of 2 examples involve unmodified $N_1$; both

are restrictive $(KM_{II},1; TS,1)$.


2.54 Only one example of stacked A pattern formed by <u>no</u> is encountered in our post-Nara period data.


    84 katakuna[[<u>mono no ko</u> no osanaki  <u>mono no ko</u>] no
        stubborn     person      immature    person

       yamuyamushi(ku)  ita(ku)  tazugana(ki)] <u>mono</u>  (wa)
            stupid+       very    undependable person EMP

       mumyō zo                     (TF:365)
       dark   EMP

       'a stubborn, immature, stupid and quite unde-

       pendable person is dark in the mind'


The notation of the TF is for the most part in rather sporadic <u>kunten</u> (Japanese glossary of classical Chinese); the sections in rounded brackets in ex.84 indicate readings supplemented from the context by Nakata (1969). As far as this example is concerned, the notation seems sufficient for qualifying it for inclusion in our data as $N_1$ and $N_2$ are clearly coreferential (both marked by <u>no</u>), and in turn modify $NP_3$, which terminates in a similar noun (<u>mono</u>) that is also coreferential; the case status of the RC within the embedding sentence is, however, uncertain (Nakata supplies the particle <u>wa</u> after <u>mono</u>, which would make the case status one of $\underline{wa}_S$).

At any rate, this is the only example of its kind and as such of course not sufficient to be commented on in general terms or to establish a principal – subordinate relationship between the various modifying sections.

2.6 Some tendencies apparent when comparing the A pattern

(no) of the Nara period with the same pattern after the

Nara period

2.61 As I have already mentioned earlier (2.51), one area

of major difference between the A pattern (no) in the Nara

period and thereafter lies in the modification pattern of

$N_2$. In Old Japanese, the two most common patterns were

(2.21)(noun + noun), and (2.23)(adjective stem + noun),

which carried a percentage of about 41% and 26% respective-

ly, whereas pattern (2.24)(yōgen in rentai-form + noun) was

a distant third with 14% (see 2.25, Table 1). In contrast,

in the data from Japanese after the Nara period, pattern

(2.24) has jumped to the most prominent position with

100%,whereas the previous leaders, patterns (2.22) and

(2.23) are now reduced to     0% each (cf. 2.51, Table

3).

This change is attributable to a variety of factors.

The bulk of our data for Old Japanese is taken from poetry

sources; even prose sources like the Engishiki Norito are

at least partly not written in plain narrative style, but

may be said to occupy a position inbetween poetry and pro-

se. Poetry employs certain techniques which are not normal-

ly used in prose writing at that time; among such tech-

niques we can count makura kotoba (fixed epithets),

jo-kotoba and engo (words of association by sound, mean-

ing etc.) and others, all of them similar in that they

give an additional dimension to poetic diction. Then

there is the technique of parallelism (tsuiku), which

is also widely used in poetry. Of the above, makura ko-

toba may occasionally play a part in our considerations
(cf.ex.38); however, the decision as to whether a <u>maku-</u>
<u>ra kotoba</u> was already regarded as a fixed epithet at the
time a poem was written (and as such by definition
would always have to preceed the noun it modifies) or
not is often extremely difficult, if not impossible, to
make. Of the poetic techniques mentioned, it is really
the device of parallelism that concerns us most in this
context. This technique is so prominent in our data of
Old Japanese that it seems no exaggeration to say that
the bulk of our data from the Nara period os intimately
connected with this technique. Parallelism is basically
a form of repetition involving partial change or aug-
mentation. In its simplest form this seems to assume
the form of noun + noun as in (67),


(67) <u>ak̲i̲ta</u> no <u>ho̲da</u>


or, adjective-stem + noun as in (34),


(34) <u>f̲u̲s̲e̲i̲o̲</u> no <u>ma̲g̲e̲i̲o̲</u>


or else, <u>ren'yō</u>-form verb + noun as in (76).


(76) <u>ya̲k̲i̲ga̲ma</u> no <u>to̲ga̲ma</u>[29]


Used in a more sophisticated manner, the same technique
assumes a somewhat more complex form in that the modifying
sections are extended beyond the range of the above exam-
ples, as seen in (29), for instance.

(29) <u>kaze majie ame furu</u> yo no <u>ame majie yuki furu</u> yo

Syntactically speaking, (29) is quite complex in that each
of the two NPs contain two subject - predicate sections,
the second one modified by the first, respectively. The
fact that the noun in each case is modified by a (or seve-
ral) subject - predicate combination means that the noun
is necessarily preceded by a <u>yōgen</u> in the <u>rentai</u> form, and
precisely this is the pattern which becomes so dominant
with the A pattern after the Nara period. However, an ex-
tended modifying section (<u>not</u> containing a subject - pre-
dicate combination or similar) does not always mean that
it contains a <u>yōgen</u>, as can be seen from ex. (42), for in-
stance.

(42) <u>ko no muka tsu</u> o no <u>Ona no</u> o

Here, particles like <u>no</u> and <u>tsu</u> string together a series
of nouns into a modifying section. On the whole, however,
the vast majority of examples containing lengthy modify-
ing sections do include a <u>yōgen</u> in the <u>rentai</u> form.

A further way of arriving at a more sophisticated
parallelism is to vary the noun itself besides the modi-
fying sections which precede it. Thus,

(61) <u>hidarite</u> no <u>yumi toru</u> kata

provides further variation by avoiding repetition of $N_1$

(<u>te</u>) by replacing it with the 'abstract' noun <u>kata</u>
('general area', 'side'). This contrasts with


85 <u>hidarite</u> no <u>wa ga oku   no</u> <u>te</u>       (MYS:1766)
   left hand    I  ASS depthASS hand

   'my left hand, which is the best hand'


where the same noun is repeated.


2.62 This brings us to a second major area of difference
when comparing the data of the Nara period and thereafter.
I am referring to the marked tendency of avoiding repeti-
tion of the same noun in the A pattern as observed after
the Nara period, especially in the case of common nouns.
As already briefly mentioned above (2.44; 2.53), there is
a pronounced difference in the percentage type (i) occurs:
in our data from the Nara period, type (i) occupies about
84% of    all    examples; in the post-Nara data, this
shrinks to ˙14%. On the other hand, the total of types
(ii), (iv), (v) and (v'), which are all types featuring a
repetition of <u>similar</u> instead of identical nouns, is just
under 11% in the Nara period, whereas it amounts to over
66% in the examples encountered thereafter. The percentage
for the remaining type (iii) (also involving repetition of
<u>identical</u> nouns, which in this case, however, are not com-
mon but abstract nouns) rises from 5.4% (Nara) to 19%
(post-Nara). This seemingly contradicts the above tendency
away from identical noun repetition; one must see this,
however, in conjunction with type (iv), which involves re-
petition of similar abstract nouns. This type is quite in-

significant with 2 exs. (Nara) and 1 ex. (post-Nara);
this may partly be attributable to the fact that there
are only limited possibilities for varying abstract
nouns by repetition in similar form;[30] however, there
is also the possibility that with abstract nouns the
need for variation was not felt as acutely as with com-
mon nouns. Of the five examples of type (iii) in the
Nara period, four involve repetition of toki ('time'),
while the fifth is he ('area'); in either case it
would be difficult to think of any other abstract noun
that these could have alternated with. The four examples
found in our data after the Nara period (all from the
KM) involve repetition of mono ('person', 2 exs.), hito
('man', 1 ex.) and mono ('thing', 1 ex.). With the ex-
ception of the last mono ('thing'), for which no al-
ternative seems available, the other three examples could
have alternated between hito and mono in the fashion of ex.
83 (see above, 2.5), but this possibility was not made use
of. At any rate, it is safe to say that in contrast to the
situation in the Nara period, where the vast majority of
examples of the A pattern involving the particle no fea-
ture repetition of identical common nouns, this is no lon-
ger so after the Nara period. The tendency now is to re-
place one common noun with a coreferential noun of an ab-
stract nature; although this 'abstract' noun is found in
position of $N_1$ or $N_2$, the tendency clearly is to position
it as $N_2$ (1o exs. versus 2).

2.63 Some minor differences are also observed when compar-
ring the frequency of relative connexions for our data be-

fore and after the end of the Nara period. For the A

pattern formed by no, in the Nara period it is the con-

nexion of 'subject' which is by far the most frequent

with 76%, followed by 'temporal' (5.4%), 'topic' (4.3%)

and 'object' (3.3%).

In our data after the Nara period, almost all types

of relative connexion are again documented with the ex-

ception of 'locative' ($no_L$), for which 1 example had

been recorded during the Nara period. Again, 'subject'

is by far the highest with over 71% of the total; dif-

ferences exist, however, in the order of the statisti-

cally less important types of relative connexion: second

place is taken over by 'topic' (19%), followed by 'tem-

poral' and 'object' with 4.8% each.

The reason for the nonexistence of 'locative' after

the Nara period is at this stage unclear; however, the

ascendancy of 'topic' in the post-Nara data (during the

Nara period, the percentage had been around the 1% mark)

may be explained in connexion with the increase of modi-

fication pattern (2.24) over the other patterns (2.21) -

(2.23). Pattern (2.24) frequently has much more extensi-

ve modifying sections, and thus provides an increased

possibility for $NP_2$ to contain a subject - predicate

combination modifying $N_2$, of which $N_1$ can be interpreted

as 'topic' (cf. ex. 66, 2.24).


2.64 Some differences also exist between relative frequen-

cies of case status of the A pattern formed by no between

the data of the Nara period and the ensuing periods. Of

the 93 examples of the Nara period (cf. 2.31, Table 2),

about 27% are instances of 'object', followed by ni (incl. 'locative' and 'temporal', about 24%), 'genitive' (about 18%), to (15%) and 'subject' (14%); of the 24 examples from our data after the Nara period (cf.2.52, Table 4), the group of 'subject' is largest with about 43%, followed by 'object' (29%), and ni[31] (14.3%) etc.

This difference may partly be due to the decline in use of 'oblique' types of case status (ni, to), which occupied a combined total of 36% in the Nara period; some of these types may have merged with 'subject'. This assumption is supported by the fact that the percentage of 'object' actually rises slightly from Nara to post-Nara in overall terms (27% to 29%).

A further look at Table 4 also shows that the only source where 'subject' is higher than 'object' is the KM; the KM is also the source where the case status of 'subject' in the B pattern is highest throughout all sources/periods examined (cf.4.513, Table 20).

NOTES to Chapter II

1 This is the pattern I call the 'A pattern'.
2 "The first part of a compound is in many respects like the adjunct of the second", Jespersen (1924), p.208.
3 Aohata is normally regarded as a makura kotoba.
4 Obviously examples involving two proper nouns cannot be expected, as the two nouns would pertain to different objects/places etc. and therefore not fulfil the condition of coreferentiality (cf. 2.12, ex.30).
5 KS:13 has a version of the same song without repetition of shitadami no.
6 On this issue, see for instance Brower and Miner (1961), p.48ff.
7 Although this is not entirely without problem, I follow most Japanese grammarians in treating numerals as nouns.
8 Example (from SNS) taken from Yamada (1913[1]).
9 Sakakura (1966), p.424ff. has an examination of composite nouns constituted of what originally had been two nouns; it is, however, not very helpful for our purposes.
10 $No_S$ does not indicate that the particle no functions as a subject-marker. It is used to indicate the nature of the relative connexion.
11 Asami (1956[2]) argues that the use of no as seen in the A pattern, i.e. linking identical nouns, may well be the basic function of this particle, and may be assumed to be based on the 'judgment' (handan) contained in 'A wa B de aru', i.e. an equational sentence.
12 Tsuki is the MJ equivalent of OJ tsuku.
13 This example is taken from Yamada (1908), p.874.
14 It is unnecessary in this context to make a distinction between identical and similar nouns in the A pattern. *adnominal form of the constituent verb is not marked phonetically,*
15 Although the ~~notation of this example is not phonetic,~~ I take the existence of no within the modifying section as an indication of a subject – predicate clause within a dependent clause; the yōgen may therefore be assumed to end in the adnominal form. Similar examples are treated in the same way.
16 This use of the particle wa is already widely observed in OJ.
17 Examples for which neither the form of $NP_2$ nor the relative connexion can be established.
18 No attempt is made here to differentiate the many, and often oblique, cases involved with the particles ni and to.
19 In taking this particle mo as object-marker here, I rely on the following example also from the MYS (3238): nuru yo o ochizu, which uses the object-marker o.
20 The discrepancy between the total of 93 here as opposed to 92 in Table 1 is due to the impossibility of including ex.48 in Table 1 due to the fact that $N_2$ has no modifying section.

21 Except for cases where these nouns are used like common nouns ('a nicer Earth', etc.); cf. Inoue (1976), Vol.1, p.167.

22 MYS:398 is a poem written by the same poet on the same topic as 399, presumably on the same occasion. Here (MYS:398) he employs a prenominal RC to say very much the same thing: imo ga ie ni sakitaru ume ...

23 The six types established here represent an extension of the four types used in Kaiser (1979), Ch.1, section 2.

24 Nouns without substantial content. e.g. toki ('time'), tokoro ('place'), mono ('thing'), mono ('person'), kata ('side', 'direction') etc. These, together with some others which are of no immediate concern to us here, are included under the term keishiki meishi ('formal nouns') as used, for instance, by Matsushita (1928).

25 Combinations of A and B pattern are treated here as examples of A pattern as long as the A pattern precedes the B pattern (ex.82). However, examples in which a coreferential B pattern is positioned within the boundaries of the A pattern are treated separately in Ch.VI (6.62).

26 Hashi appears to be a mistake for nashi.

27 I follow Ishigaki (1941) in dividing the KM into two parts (indicated here by $KM_I$ and $KM_{II}$), namely up to Vol.20, and from Vol.22 onwards (Vol.21 is presently nonexistent). This distinction is based on a study of the use of the particles no and ga, among others, which he proves to show marked differences in distribution between the two parts. He concludes by classifying $KM_I$ as being written in kanbun kundoku-tai (a style of written Japanese strongly influenced by classical Chinese in terms of grammar, vocabulary etc.), whereas $KM_{II}$ is said to be basically written in wabun kōgo-tai (colloquial-type written Japanese).

28 Group of Aobyōshi MSs only.

29 The repetition ($NP_2$) here is formally different as it takes the form adjective-stem + noun; 'mixed' combinations involving different word classes are of course not infrequent.

30 Koto can alternate with waza, and hito with mono ('person'), but no such possibilities seem to exist for mono ('thing') and toki, for instance.

31 Ni here includes nite.

Chapter III

3.1 General discussion of the A pattern formed by particles

other than no

I have already (cf. 2.17) touched upon an example of the

A pattern not formed by the particle no

(59) yaoine ∅ chiine

and at that stage compared it to a similar example formed

by no:

(58) china no iona

Similar comparisons could also be made between the

following two sets of examples.

86 ma- tama-de no tama-de sashi-kae
   PREF PREF hand    PREF hand insert-*mutually*
   *('true')* *('beautiful')*  *('beautiful')*
                                    (MYS:804)
                                  *beautiful*
   'mutually supporting the heads with ∧ arms'

87 ma-tama-de ∅ tama-de sashi-maki    (KS:3)
                              use-as-pillow
                          *beautiful*,
   'mutually using as pillows ∧ arms'

(79) ama tsu norito no futonoritogoto

88 ama tsu norito ∅ futonoritogoto    (EN:351)

Examples of this type are too numerous to be explained away as instances of unwritten <u>no</u>. The close resemblance between the above pairs of examples suggests a pattern semantically and syntactically akin to the A pattern formed by <u>no</u>, but such an assumption obviously requires further careful consideration. Another important reason why I propose to discuss this pattern is the occurrence of examples of B pattern formed by zero-particle such as the following:

```
89 Nan'in no Gorō Ø Mikawa no  kami  nite arikeru
                          ASS gov'r as   existed

   Iyo no Go o  kesō shikeri          (YM:453,3)
              DO love did
```

'Nan'in no Gorō, who was governor of Mikawa, was in love with Iyo no Go'

In order to attempt to shed some light on a possible historical connexion between examples like 89 and the A pattern formed by Ø (and other particles), I proceed to an examination of the latter.

3.11 Syntactic features

When coming across a zero-connexion between noun phrases in Japanese, one of the most important questions facing us in syntactic terms is the question of whether to regard it as an instance of conjunction or one of modification.

Nominal <u>conjunction</u> in Old Japanese (and subsequent periods of Japanese language history) was commonly achieved by juxtaposition.

90 [ame   ∅ tsuchi] o   nageki-koi-nomi (MYS:3241)
   NP₁      NP₂
   heaven   earth    DO appeal+beg+pray+

   'praying to (the gods of) heaven and earth'


91 [ominaeshi ∅ akihagi] ∅ₛ majiru Ashikino
   NP₁          NP₂          mingle

                                              (MYS:1530)

   'Ashikino, where ominaeshi and akihagi mingle'


As indicated by the square brackets, NP₁ and NP₂ are conjoined into one syntactic unit; in 90, this unit is the object of the clause (marked by o), whereas in 91 it is the subject (marked by zero-particle). The order of NP₁ and NP₂ may be assumed to be flexible in most cases, although convention reigns in some cases like ame-tsuchi in ex. 90, for which the opposite order is not documented.

Modification between nouns in OJ etc. commonly takes the form of N₁ no N₂ (cf.2.131):


92 aki     no kaze                    (MYS:1606)
   N₁         N₂
   autumn     wind

   'the autumn wind'


It may be said that the associative particle no here specifies or clarifies this relationship of modifier - modified. In addition to this specified (or explicit) form of modification between N₁ and N₂, Japanese also possesses the possibility of expressing

the same type of relationship as an unspecified, implicit form of modification:

93 $\underset{NP_1}{\underline{aki}} \underset{NP_2}{\underline{\emptyset kaze}}$                  (MYS:3666)

    'the autumn wind'

Here, no associative particle is present to make this relationship explicit. However, one of the basic syntactic characteristics of the language is the rule that modifier - modified can be stated in that order only, and this, together with certain implied semantic relationships between $N_1$ and $N_2$ make this form of modification possible.

If we therefore - purely on semantic grounds - distinguish between modification on one hand and conjunction (and some others[1]) on the other, it is possible to treat all examples of '$N_1 \emptyset N_2$' which do not belong to conjunction etc. as examples of zero-modification.

Thus, we can analyse ex.87 as a predicate (<u>sashi-maki</u>) preceded by a noun (<u>tama-de</u>) marked by zero-particle. This direct object of <u>sashi-maki</u> is in turn preceded (and modified) by <u>ma-tama-de</u>, a noun marked by zero-particle.


3.12 Semantic characteristics

Naturally, the A pattern marked by zero-particle too, must fulfil the condition of coreferentiality discussed above (1.11; 2.12).

94 mi-  ke    tsu <u>kuni</u> Ø kamukaze no  Ise no
   PREF food  ASS <u>land</u>  EPIT      ASS      ASS

<u>kuni</u> wa                              (MYS:3234)
<u>land</u> EMP

'the land of Ise, which provides the Emperor's

food'

Here, $N_1$ and $N_2$ (<u>kuni</u>) refer to the same place <u>Ise</u>; there-
fore this example qualifies ·as a noun phrase in which Head
NP is modified by an identical (as established semantical-
ly) Rel NP. This condition of coreferentiality is however
not fulfilled in the following example.

(25) [tō<u>yama</u> Ø chika<u>yama</u> ni oi-tateru] ō<u>ki</u> Ø o<u>ki</u>
       $N_1$         $N_2$             $N_1$   $N_2$

From the fact that both <u>yama</u> and <u>ki</u> are modified by se-
mantically opposite elements (<u>tō</u>/<u>chika</u>; <u>ō</u>/<u>o</u>) respective-
ly, it is obvious that in both cases $N_1$ and $N_2$ refer to
separate entities. On semantic grounds it is therefore
possible to rule out the possibility of zero-modification
between $N_1$ and $N_2$, and establish (25) as an example of
zero-conjunction.

3.13 Patterns of noun modification in the A pattern formed
     by particles other than <u>no</u>

     The overall number of our data for this variant of
the A pattern is much smaller than the equivalent number
for the A pattern formed by <u>no</u> (21 exs. against 93 exs.).
Nevertheless, almost all patterns of modification found in
the A pattern involving <u>no</u> are seen, with the exception of
pattern III for $N_1$, and patterns III and V for $N_2$.

Below, I shall illustrate the various patterns of noun modification with examples, firstly for $N_1$, and subsequently for $N_2$. Modifying elements are marked with a double broken line, identical nouns with a single solid line.

3.131 Modification patterns of $N_1$:

### Pattern I

(59) yaoine ∅ chi'ine

### Pattern II

95 kotonagushi ∅ egushi                    (KS:49)
   safe  saké      laugh-saké

   'the health-fostering, laugh-inducing saké'

### Pattern IV

96 ō-mae ∅ o-mae sukune                    (KS:81)

   'the sukune of ō-mae o-mae'

### Pattern V

(88) ama tsu norito ∅ futonoritogoto

### Pattern VI

97 asahi      no himukau tokoro ∅ yūhi      no
   morn.sun   SU shine    place    eve.sun  SU

   higakuru tokoro no Tatsuta no Tachino no
   shine    place  ASS         ASS         ASS

   o-     no     ni                    (EN:138)
   PREF  field   in

   'in the plain of Tachino in Tatsuta, which is

a place upon which the morning sun shines,

and a place upon which the evening sun

shines'

3.132 Modification patterns of $N_2$:

Pattern I

(59) yao<u>ine</u> ∅ <u>chi</u>'<u>ine</u>

Pattern II

(88) ama tsu <u>norito</u> ∅ <u>futonoritogoto</u>

Pattern IV

(87) ma-tama-<u>de</u> ∅ <u>tama-de</u> sashimaki

Pattern VI

(97) asahi no himukau <u>tokoro</u> ∅ <u>yūhi no higakuru</u>

<u>tokoro</u> no Tatsuta no Tachino no o-no ni

It is likely that because of the smaller data

of the A pattern formed by particles other than <u>no</u>

not all possible patterns are documented. However,

like in 2.132 above, no inherent difference appears

to exist between $N_1$ and $N_2$ as far as the distribution

of the above patterns is concerned.

3.133 Examples with an unmodified noun

Examples where either $N_1$ or $N_2$ is not preceded

by a modifying section were few in the more extensive-

ly documented A pattern formed by <u>no</u> (cf.2.1323). No

examples of that type are found in our data for A pat-

tern formed by particles other than <u>no</u>.


3.14 Interchangeability of $NP_1$ and $NP_2$

The only indication of interchangeability of $NP_1$

and $NP_2$ in our data of A pattern formed by particles

other than <u>no</u> is the relative position of nouns modi-

fying $N_1/N_2$ indicating large, non-specific numbers. As

seen from the following two examples, either order is

documented in our data, i.e. both <u>yao</u> and <u>chi</u> appear

before $N_1$ or $N_2$:


(59) <u>yaoine</u> $\emptyset$ <u>chi'ine</u>
$\quad\quad\overline{\quad\quad}\atop N_1 \quad\quad\overline{\quad}\atop N_2$


98 <u>chi'ine</u> $\emptyset$ <u>yaoine</u>                    (EN:112)
   1000 r.p. 800 rice-plants

   'many rice-plants'


3.15 Modification versus repetition

As observed above ((2.15), there are instances

where the possibility of repetition cannot be excluded

in cases where $NP_1$ and $NP_2$ are either identical (or only

one of the nouns is preceded by a modifying section) and

the particles marking $NP_1$ and $NP_2$ are identical and in-

dicate the same case. No examples of this type are ob-

served in our data of A pattern formed by particles

other than <u>no</u>.

3.16 'A pattern' formed by particles other than <u>no</u> -
instances of particles other than zero

There is only one instance of particles other
than zero forming the type of A pattern under discus-
sion here in our data from OJ:


99 tatoi nochi ni <u>mikado</u> <u>to tachite aru</u> <u>hito</u>
   if    later  emperor   as stand+exist person

   i   tachi    no  nochi ni imashi no tame ni
   ?   standing ASS  after you    ASS for

   iyanaku       shite shitagawazu nameku   aramu
   impolitely behave+not-obey+    respectless be

   <u>hito</u>    o  ba mikado    no  kurai ni oku koto
   person DO EMP emperor  ASS rank  at put NOM

   wa ezare                          (SNS:309,11)
   EMP must-not

   'if in future a person who has established him-
   self as emperor will subsequently show no re-
   spect to you and not obey you, then you must
   not allow that person to be emperor'


The particle <u>i</u>, which forms this example, is a
particle which is found almost exclusively in OJ. Its
function and meaning is as yet unclear, and for this
reason the above example cannot be included in our data.


3.17 Examples involving similar rather than identical
nouns

Again (cf.2.17), examples are encountered where
$N_1$ and $N_2$ are not identical but similar in meaning
(while, of course, being coreferential):

(88) ama tsu <u>norito</u> Ø futo<u>noritogoto</u>

## 3.2 Relative connexion within the A pattern formed by particles other than <u>no</u>

As I have done for the A pattern formed by <u>no</u> (cf. 2.2), I will establish the relative connexion for the A pattern formed by the particle zero etc. For this, I will follow the same procedures as in 2.2 above.

### 3.21 Examples where NP$_2$ consists of noun (<u>no</u>) + noun

(59) yao[ine Ø chi]ine

### 3.22 No examples are found in our data where NP$_2$ consists of a verb in the <u>ren'yō</u> form + noun (cf. 3.13).

### 3.23 Examples where NP$_2$ consists of adjective-stem + noun

(86) ama tsu[norito ₀ futo]noritogoto

### 3.24 Examples where NP$_2$ consists of a <u>yōgen</u> in the <u>rentai</u> form + noun

(97) asahi no himukau [tokoro Ø yūhi no higakuru]

tokoro no Tatsuta no Tachino no o-no ni

### 3.25 Distribution of the various forms of relative connexion per form of N$_2$ (cf. 2.25).

Table 5

| | (2.21) | (2.22) | (2.24) | unknown | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| $\emptyset_S$ | 15 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 18 |
| $\emptyset_L$ | 1 | | | | 1 |
| $\emptyset_{TOP}$ | 1 | | | | 11 |
| unknown | | | 1 | | 1 |
| | 17 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 21 |

Again (cf.2.25, Table 1), it is (2.21) which is the most common form of $NP_2$, with other types of $NP_2$ being much less frequent.

The category of 'subject' $(\emptyset_S)$ again constitutes the vast majority of relative connexions.

3.3 Syntactical status of the A pattern (zero etc.) within the matrix sentence

3.31 Table 6 shows the frequency of the various types of case status for our data from sources of Old Japanese (for establishment of types of case status, see above, 2.31).

Table 6

| | KS | NS | HS | EN | MYS | BS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| o | | | | 1 | | | 1 |
| ni | 1 | | | 4 | 1 | | 6 |
| to | | | | 1 | | | 1 |
| wa$_S$ | | | | | 2 | | 2 |
| no$_G$ | | | | 1 | | | 1 |
| $\emptyset_O$ | 4 | 2 | | | 1 | | 7 |
| $\emptyset_G$ | 1 | 1 | | | | | 2 |
| $\emptyset_F$ | | | | | 1 | | 1 |
| | 6 | 3 | 0 | 7 | 5 | 0 | 21 |

Despite of the greater bulk of the MYS, a disproportionally high number of examples are found in the EN and the KS. I have been unable to detect any correlation with differences in meter etc. between these sources; however, one factor which may be influential in this is the reoccurrence of identical or similar expressions within the EN, KS etc., something which is far less true for the MYS.

If we tally examples by case, it is again (cf.2.31) 'object' (o, $\emptyset_O$) which forms the largest contingent with 8 examples, followed by ni[2] (6 exs.), 'genitive' (no$_G$, $\emptyset_G$, 3 exs.) and 'subject' (wa$_S$, 2 exs.).

$\emptyset_G$ is a type of case status which has not been observed here yet:


(96) ō-mae $\emptyset$ o-mae $\emptyset_G$ sukune


In this example, the noun <u>sukune</u> is modified by the A pattern <u>ō-mae $\emptyset$ o-mae</u> , which occupies a case status of 'genitive'.


3.32 With the A pattern formed by zero etc., only one instance of stacked A pattern is observed in our data from OJ:


100 Makimuku no  Hishiro no  miya   wa  asahi   no
        ASS         ASS palace TOP morn.sunSU

    hideru <u>miya</u>   $\emptyset$ yūhi    no  higakeru <u>miya</u>   $\emptyset$
    shine  palace    eve.sun SU  shine         palace

    take   no  ne    no nedaru <u>miya</u> $\emptyset$ ki   no   ne
    bamboo ASS roots SU grow    palace tree ASS roots

    no nebau  <u>miya</u>.                    (KS:100)
    SU spread palace

'the palace of Hishiro at Makimuku is a palace upon which the morning sun shines, a palace upon which the evening sun shines, a palace where the bamboo roots are growing profusely, a palace where the tree-roots spread out.'


3.321 The relative connexion in this example is three-fold: firstly, between $NP_1$ and $NP_2$, secondly, between $NP_2$ and $NP_3$, and thirdly, between $NP_3$ and $NP_4$. In each

case, they belong to the variety $\emptyset_L$ and category 2.24.

3.322 The case status of this stacked example within the matrix sentence is $\emptyset_F$.

3.4 Semantic analysis of the A pattern (formed by zero etc.)

3.41 There are some indications that $NP_1$ and $NP_2$ may be interchangeable in this pattern, too (cf. 2.14; also 3.14). Therefore, it may again seem pointless to argue about the relevancy of the two modifying sections (contained in $NP_1$ and $NP_2$) to $N_1$, as they may well appear in either order:

(59) $\underline{\underline{yaoine}} \atop N_1$ $\emptyset$ $\underline{\underline{chi}}$ine

(98) $\underline{\underline{chiine}} \atop N_1$ $\emptyset$ $\underline{\underline{yao}}$ine

It is therefore possible to argue that both modifying sections are of equal semantic relevancy to $N_1$ (or $N_2$).

On the other hand, the overriding importance of the principle of modifier before modified in the Japanese language, which would, of course, place primary importance on $NP_2$ ($N_2$) over $NP_1$ ($N_1$), should not be forgotten.

Unfortunately, the context in which examples appear provides very little by way of a hint for solving the above problem. There are some -inconclusive-- indications in the main text of the Kojiki and Nihongi in the sections preceding ex. 96, which is taken from Song no. 81 of the Kojiki; this song appears in almost identical form in the Nihongi, too (Song no. 72).

The main text of the Kojiki indicates that ō-mae o-mae sukune is one person; however, in the main text surrounding the song in the Nihongi, the person appears as ō-mae no sukune, which is in contradiction to the above principle of modifier - modified for ex. 96 in that this would place primary importance on $NP_1$. The Nihongi is, however, not supported by other sources such as the Kujiki, where it is not one but two persons (brothers), and the Shinsen Shōjiroku , where the name is o-mae no sukune[3], the latter being in agreement with the principle of modifier - modified for ex. 96. These contradictions make it difficult to accept any one of the above, but as three out of four sources treat this sukune as one, and not two, persons, I have decided to include it in our data.

3.42 Again (cf. 2.42), our data of stacked examples of this pattern is too limited for any attempt to establish a principal - subordinate relationship between the various modifying sections.

3.43 The conditions discussed above in 2.43 hold equally

true for the A pattern formed by zero etc. Therefore,
examples like (94) and (59) can only be interpreted as
nonrestrictive:


   (94) mike tsu kuni $\emptyset$ kamukaze no Ise no kuni wa


   (59) yaoine $\emptyset$ chiine


(94) can only be taken as a nonrestrictive clause be-
cause <u>Ise no kuni</u> is a proper noun, i.e. a noun of uni-
que denotation.

    In ex. (59), both <u>chi</u> and <u>yao</u> are not used as numer-
als in the strict sense but to indicate a vague, large
amount ('many','plenty'). Therefore $NP_1$ and $NP_2$ express
virtually the same meaning, and cannot be interpreted as
a restrictive clause.

    Most other examples are determinable only from the
context as far as restrictiveness/nonrestrictiveness are
concerned, but a scrutiny of all examples in this pe-
riod reveals that there is no definite example of a
restrictive clause. This applies to the only stacked
example as well.


3.44 Again (cf.2.44), it is possible to distinguish be-
tween a number of types in the semantic relationship
between $N_1$ and $N_2$ ($N_1/N_2$ are underlined):


   (i) identical common nouns
   (59) yao<u>ine</u> $\emptyset$ chi'<u>ine</u>

(ii) similar common nouns

(86) ama tsu <u>norito</u> ∅ futo<u>noritogoto</u>

(iii) identical abstract nouns

(97) asahi no himukau <u>tokoro</u> ∅ yūhi no higakuru

<u>tokoro</u>

No examples of the remaining patterns (iv), (v) and (v') are found in our OJ data.

The 21 examples of A pattern formed by zero etc. in OJ show the following distribution among patterns (i) to (iii):

|        |     |
|--------|-----|
| (i)    | 18  |
| (ii)   | 2   |
| (iii)  | 1   |
|        | ─── |
|        | 21  |

3.5 'A pattern' formed by particles other than <u>no</u> after the Nara period - general discussion

3.51 Similar to the situation observed in case of the A pattern formed by <u>no</u> (cf.2.5), the number of this type of A pattern found in our post-Nara data is comparatively small.

Below, some examples for this type of pattern are given:

101 mina oi[<u>bōshi</u> ∅ yugami-otoroetaru] <u>mono</u>
    all old monks    distorted+declined persons

    nomi ōkareba                    (GM:2000,12)
    REST as-are-many

'because all were old monks, who were out of

shape and run down'


102 ima monoshi-tamau wa   nochi no  ōkiotodo      no
    now is-here SUF    EMP after ASS min.of-state ASS

    ōn-[ musume     ∅ Makibashira hanaregataku  shi-
    PREF daughter               hard-to-leave make

    tamaishi] kimi o                 (GM:1447,5)
    SUF       lady DO

    'the one who was here now was the daughter of

    the eventual minister of state, the young lady

    Makibashira had been so close to'


103 Shujaku-in        no  miya     no  ōn-  hara ni
            ex-emp.   ASS daughter ASS PREF womb in

    mumare-tamaishi [ kimi wa$_O$ Renzei-in       ni
    was-born SUF        son EMP              ex-emp. at

    mi-  ko  no  yō ni oboshi-kashizuku] shi'i
    PREF son ASS  like thing+pamper      4th rank

    no  jijū ∅$_S$ sono koro jūshi bakari nite
    ASS            that time 14    about  is+

                                (GM:1466,3)

    'the boy who was born by the daughter of the

    ex-emperor Shujaku, the fourth-rank jijū whom

    the emperor pampered like his own son, was

    about fourteen at the time'


104 sono miru      o  takatsuki  ni morite [kashiwa
    that seaweed DO   high bowl   in serve+  oak

    o  ōite      idashitaru] kashiwa ni kakeri
    DO cover+    brought out  oak      on wrote

                            (IM:87,26)

    'they served the seaweed in an elevated bowl

    and wrote onto the oak leaves, with which they

'had covered it'

Examples 101 and 102 are instances of zero-con-
nexion; 101 is an example of $\emptyset_S$ and 102 of $\emptyset_O$.

In contrast, 103 and 104 are formed by particles
other than zero.

103 features the emphatic particle _wa_, which is
commonly used in OJ and subsequent periods to supersede
zero-particle for purposes of emphasis.[4]

Example 104 differs from all other instances of A
pattern observed so far in that neither _no_ nor zero (in-
cluding instances of zero superseded by emphatic particles)
is used to indicate the relative connexion. Instead, the
object-marking particle _o_ is used, which normally would
indicate that the first noun _kashiwa_ is the object of

_ōite idashitaru._

104 looks like the deep structure of Class 1 of
_rentai shūshoku_ with identical (deep-structure) NPs

(cf. ex. 8, 1.21), except that the subject of the verb
_ōite idashitaru_ is not present; ellipsis of the subject
is, however, very common and well known as a feature
typical of the Japanese language. We have already noted·
(cf. 2.11) that the A pattern as exemplified by ex. 29
typically assumes the form proposed as the deep struc-
ture of Category I of _rentai shūshoku_ (in that instance,
Class 3).

In other words, ex. 104 appears to be related to
Class 1 of Category I of _rentai shūshoku_, and thus, whi-
le belonging to the category of relative clause in Japane-

se, would seemingly not classify as belonging to the category of 'headless RCs' (see 1.22 and 1.23). However, there are examples of B pattern which seem to derive from a pattern identical to 104, as may be seen from the following example.


105 [kaina o   makura nite  ne-     tamaeru] ∅ ni
     arm    DO pillow as    sleep   SUF       on

    mi-   gushi no  tamaritaru hodo      (GM:1648,14)
    PREF  hair  SU  spread     way

    'the way her hair was spread thickly on her arm,

    on which she rested her head'


⟸ [kaina$_i$ o makura nite ne-tamaeru] __kaina$_i$__ ni migushi

   no tamaritaru hodo


From the above, ~~we therefore have to assume~~ *it follows* that in classical Japanese[5] we have to assume the possibility of 104 as a structure from which __either__ a prenominal RC may be derived (as commonly assumed, cf. 1.21), or, alternatively, a 'headless' RC may be derived in the fashion observed above. For this reason, there is ample ground justifying inclusion of the above pattern (and similar ones) into our considerations.

In the following, I will take a closer look at the various forms in which this pattern appears after the Nara period, and how these compare to the forms encountered in Old Japanese.


3.52 Types of relative connexion in the A pattern (zero
     etc.) after the Nara period

$$\emptyset_S$$

(see ex.101)

$$\emptyset_O$$

(see ex.102)

$$\emptyset_{TOP}$$

106 kono [ōna    $\emptyset$ koshi wa   futae naru] <u>mono</u>    no
    this    old woman back   EMP double is    person SU

    tsue ni kakarite             $(\text{KM}_I, \text{II}: 334, 13)$
    stick on leans+

    'this old woman, who had a bent back, was using

    a walking stick'

$$\underline{wa}_O$$

(see ex.103)

$$\underline{o}$$

(see ex.104)


The above five are the only types of relative con-
nexion encountered in our post-Nara data; however, the
number of examples is very small with o total of only
seven (one each from the IM, KM and AHM, and four from
the GM). Table 7 shows the relative frequency for each
pattern of $\text{NP}_2$ as established in 2.25 above.

Table 7

|  | (2.24) |
| --- | --- |
| $\emptyset_S$ | .2 |
| $\emptyset_O$ | 2 |
| $\emptyset_{TOP}$ | 1 |
| $\underline{wa}_O$ | 1 |
| $\underline{o}$ | 1 |
|  | 7 |

All examples belong to (2.24) exclusively, with no examples recorded in our data otherwise. This is a point worthy of attention, as it shows the same tendency as in 2.51 above.

In terms of frequency of relative connexion, 'object' ($\emptyset_O$, $\underline{wa}_O$, $\underline{o}$) is most common with 4 examples, followed by 'subject' ($\emptyset_S$, 2 exs.) and 'topic' ($\emptyset_{TOP}$, 1 ex.), but because of the small number of data such tendencies do not carry much weight.

3.53 Table 8 shows the various types of case status per data source:

Table 8

|  | IM | GM | KM | AIM |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| <u>o</u> | . | 1 |  |  | 1 |
| <u>ni</u> | 1 |  |  |  | 1 |
| <u>ga</u>$_S$ |  |  |  | 1 | 1 |
| <u>no</u>$_S$ |  |  | 1 |  | 1 |
| <u>nomi</u>$_S$ |  | 1 |  |  | 1 |
| $\emptyset_S$ | . | 2 |  |  | 2 |
|  | 1 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 7 |

The largest group here is that of 'subject' (<u>ga</u>$_S$, <u>no</u>$_S$, <u>nomi</u>$_S$, $\emptyset_S$) with 5 examples; the remainder is divided between 'object' and <u>ni</u> with one example each.

No example of <u>nomi</u> marking the case status of an A pattern was observed in the A pattern formed by <u>no</u>. The only example here is observed in the GM and was quoted above as ex. 101. <u>Nomi</u> is a restrictive particle used in the sense of ʌonly' and similar; in Japanese grammars it is normally assigned to the so-called <u>fuku-joshi</u>, which also include particles such as <u>bakari</u>, <u>sae</u>, <u>dani</u>, <u>nado</u> etc., which all have somewhat different meanings but behave syntactically in a very similar manner.

3.54 Identical nouns versus nouns of similar meaning

An examination of the relationship in meaning be-

tween the two nouns in this variant of the A pattern
(for the classification of this relationship, see 2.44
above) shows the following distribution:

|        |     |
|--------|-----|
| (i)    | 1   |
| (iii)  | 1   |
| (v)    | 4   |
| (v')   | 1   |
|        | 7   |

Over 70% of this small data is taken up by combina-
tions of common and abstract nouns; the vast majority of
these is of the order common - abstract (v). In contrast,
only one seventh belongs to type (i), which features re-
petition of an identical common noun. No examples are
observed of types (ii) and (iv).

3.55 No restrictive examples are observed.

3.56 Two examples have an unmodified $N_1$.

3.57 No examples of stacked A pattern formed by particles
other than no were encountered in our post-Nara sources.

3.6 Again (cf. 2.6), some points of difference are ob-
served when comparing the A pattern (zero etc.) of the
Nara period and thereafter.

3.61 One area of marked difference between the A pattern
(zero etc.) in the Nara period and thereafter is the mo-
dification pattern of $N_2$; this difference is quite in

keeping with the observation I have already made about tendencies apparent in the A pattern (no). In case of the A pattern formed by particles other than no, (2.21) is by far the most common pattern in OJ with 81%, followed by (2.24) with 9.5% and (2.22) with 4.8%. In contrast, all seven examples from our post-Nara data belong to (2.24). With regard to the sudden rise to dominance of (2.24) after the Nara period, this parallels the tendency already observed about the A pattern (no) (cf.2.61).

3.62 A second area of difference before and after the end of the Nara period is seen in the nature of repeated nouns in the A pattern (formed by zero etc.). In our data from Old Japanese, only types (i) - (iii) are recorded, with type (i) occupying about 82%, with the remainder being shared by (ii) and (iii) at about 9% each. In contrast, type (i) is down to 14.3% in our post-Nara data, whereas types (v) and (v') are now dominant at 71.4 %, together. The tendency after the Nara period is therefore one of favouring repetition of similar nouns over identical 'ones. When comparing (v) and (v'), it is type (v) which shows the higher occurrence in our data (4 exs. versus 1 ex.); it is therefore the order common - abstract which is most frequent. These tendencies are again in keeping with those observed with the A pattern formed by the particle no (cf. 2.62).

3.63 When comparing the frequency of relative connexions

in the data of the Nara period and thereafter, it is the group of 'subject' which is by far the largest in the Nara period (approx. 86%), with others all being exceedingly small (under 5%). Of the small data found in sources after the Nara period, 57% belong to 'object', followed by 'subject' (approx. 29%) and 'topic' (approx. 14%); however, this data consists of only 6 examples and may therefore not be very reliable statistically.

In any case, the high frequency of 'subject' in the Nara period parallels the tendency observed with the A pattern formed by <u>no</u> in the Nara period.

3.64 I have observed above (2.64) that when comparing the relative frequencies of case status of the A pattern (<u>no</u>) between the Nara period and thereafter, the case group of 'object' is the most prominent one, followed by <u>ni</u>, 'genitive', <u>to</u> and 'subject' in the Nara period, whereas after the Nara period 'subject' is largest, followed by 'object', 'genitive' and <u>ni</u>. A very similar situation exists with the A pattern (zero etc.) in the Nara period: 'object' is followed by <u>ni</u>, 'genitive' and 'subject'. The small post-Nara data, too, shows a tendency similar to the situation observed with the A pattern (<u>no</u>): 'subject' is followed by 'object' and <u>ni</u>.

3.7 When comparing the tendencies observed about the A pattern formed by <u>no</u> on one hand and by zero and other particles on the other, by and large similar tendencies become apparent. In both instances, the modification patterns of $N_2$ are very similar during the Nara period, with

(2.21) being by far the most common pattern; this tendency is reversed after the Nara period, where pattern (2.24) is clearly dominant. A similar tendency is obvious with regard to the nature of repeated nouns in both types of the A pattern: whereas in the data from the Nara period it is the repetition of identical common nouns which is most frequent in both instances (A pattern formed by no and zero etc.), repetition involving a similar (not identical) noun of an abstract nature is clearly favoured after the Nara period. In both instances it is the order of common noun - abstract similar noun which is the norm. Similar tendencies have also been observed with regard to the frequency of relative connexions, although here some discrepancy exists between the A pattern formed by no and that formed by zero etc. in our post-Nara data; in case of the former, the group of 'subject' amounts to nearly three quarters of the total, whereas it occupies less than one third in the latter; conversely, the group of 'object', which is very small at around 5% in the former, is largest in the latter, constituting almost two thirds of the total. However, we cannot discount the possibility of some of the data groups presenting a biased picture due to insufficient data size. When comparing the relative frequencies of case status between the two types of A pattern for the Nara period and thereafter, tendencies are again very similar indeed. By and large, therefore, it may be said that the tendencies observed with A pattern formed by no and A pattern formed by zero are highly similar.

NOTES to Chapter III

1 There are some further relationships which are se-
  mantically distinguishable from that of modifica-
  tion. Wenck (1974) distinguishes four, which he
  calls Parenthese, Reprise, deiktische Wiederauf-
  nahme and Satzteil-Wiederholung. All of these are
  characterized by a word order reverse to that of
  modifying - modified.

2 No attempt is again made to differentiate the many,
  and often oblique, cases involved with the particle
  ni.

3 See, for instance, the NKBT edition of Kodai Kayōshū,
  notes to KS:81 (1968 ed., p.86), and, for a discus-
  sion in English, Philippi (1968), Glossary, p.544,
  entry on 'Opo-mape-wo-mape-[nö]-sukune'.

4 Not all MSs have wa; the Aobyōshi group of MSs has
  Ø, and one of the Beppon MSs has no. I follow the
  Kawachi group of MSs, which, along with two Beppon
  MSs, have wa.

5 The term 'classical Japanese' is here, as on some
  other occasions, used loosely in the sense of 'pre-
  modern Japanese'.

Chapter IV


4.1 Headless RCs formed by <u>no</u> in OJ (Nara period)


4.111 As we have observed above (1.21), category I of

<u>rentai shūshoku</u> may be separated from categories II -

IV because it is the only category where an identical

NP may be assumed for its deep structure, thereby de-

fining it as the only variety of <u>rentai shūshoku</u> fal-

ling under the concept of 'relative clause' (as se-

mantically defined in 1.11).

    We have further established (1.23) that within

category I classes 3 and 4 may be isolated from the

remainder (classes 1 to 2b) in that they are the only

ones where Head NP is deleted in the process of rela-

tivization and not Rel NP as is the case otherwise.

    We also mentioned at that stage (<u>ibid</u>.) that cer-

tain OV languages like Navajo are reported to make use

of the same type of relativization, i.e. omitting Head

NP while retaining Rel NP in its full lexical form

without pronominalizing it. Japanese, as we already

stated then (<u>ibid</u>.), does, however, present a somewhat

different aspect in that it has the possibility of 'pro-

nominalizing' Head NP by means of an 'abstract' noun

(ex.26), or even retaining it in full while also retain-

ing Rel NP in full (ex.27).

    In Chapter II we have dealt at some length with ex-

amples of this type, which we referred to as 'A pattern

formed by the particle <u>no</u>', for the Japanese of the Nara

period (OJ) and thereafter (LOJ to MdJ). One fairly clear tendency observed when comparing the data from our sources before and after the end of the Nara period was the trend towards pronominalization by means of similar and, especially, abstract nouns after the Nara period as compared to the predominance of fully retained Head NP in OJ.

The A pattern formed by no, as we have shown statistically (Table 2, 2.31; Table 4, 2.52), is found much more commonly in our data from the one hundred years or so of OJ than in our data from the eight hundred-odd years of LOJ to MdJ. It does not, however, become completely extinct at any stage observable in our data.

A discussion of the pros and cons of the likelihood of a direct historical development from the A pattern to the B pattern (headless RCs) will be left until the final chapter of this thesis. Our data clearly indicates, however, that the two patterns do show a certain degree of overlap: although the A pattern is dominant in OJ it is still found in LOJ and MdJ; the reverse situation is true for the B pattern, which becomes dominant over the A pattern in LOJ and MdJ while being observed already in our data from sources of OJ, although not in any great numbers.

Below, some examples are given of the B pattern (formed by no) in OJ (square brackets indicate the boundaries of the RC; modified head nominals are underlined).

107 [kami-tachi   no   isurokoi-arebi-masu] ∅ o
    god   SUF               unruly SUF     DO

kotonaoshi   yawashi              (EN:284)
rectify+     appease+

'rectifying and appeasing the gods who are un-

ruly[1]'

108 arata-ni tsukureru [tera   no   ōyakedera   to
    newly       made       temple      imp. temple OBL

nasu-beki ]    ∅ wa  ōyakedera to  nashi-tamau
make must        EMP imp. temple into make   SUF

                             (SNS:198,16)

'he makes those of the newly established temples

which ought to be made into imperial temples into

imperial temples.'

109 haru   no   [hi   no   uraganashiki] ∅ ni   okure-
    spring ASS   day      sad            on   remain+

ite
stay+                      (MYS:3752)

'staying behind on a sad-feeling day of spring'

The most salient characteristic of the B pattern

when compared to the A pattern is the fact that the mo-

dified head nominal is always zero, a coreferential no-

minal being assumed to have been deleted in the relati-

vization process. Needless to say, the possibility of

assuming a coreferential nominal in place of zero is

the paramount semantic criterion for deciding whether a

particular example is a headless RC or not. Let us con-

sider the following example in order to illustrate this

point:

110 matsu   no  [ke    no   namitaru ]  $\emptyset_0$  mireba
pine    ASS  trees    lined-up       when-see

iwabito      no  ware o  mi-okuru to tatarishi
home-peopleSU  I    DO see-off  OBLwere-standing

mokoro[2]                  (MYS:4375)
like

'when I see the pine-trees lined up they appear

like the people of my home when they lined up to

see me off'

It is not impossible to interpret $\emptyset$ (zero) in this

example as replacing <u>ke</u> ('trees'), which would make it

an example of B pattern. However, it is also possible to

take it in the sense of (paraphrased into MJ) of

110'   (watashi ga) matsu no ki   no narande    iru
      I       SU  pine ASS tree SU are-lined-up

    <u>no</u> o mireba
    NOM DO when-see

110''  (watashi ga) matsu no ki ga narande iru <u>no</u> o
                             SU

    mireba

The nominalizing particle <u>no</u> in 110' may still

be understood to stand for <u>ki</u>, but more commonly it

would be taken as indicating the object NP[3] (as it

clearly does in 110'') of the verb of perception <u>miru</u>

in the sense of

'I saw the trees lined up'

or

'I saw the way the trees were lined up'  .


In other words, the square brackets in 110 ought
to^(be)-if the example is interpreted like this-  . rather
placed in the following way to indicate the extent of
the object NP of _miru_


(110) [matsu no ke no namitaru] $\emptyset_0$ mireba


where the second _no_ , just like _ga_ does in MJ as in
110'' , |marks the subject within this noun phrase.

Because of this possibility of two interpretations,
examples involving verbs of perception (_miru_, _kiku_ 'hear'
etc. ) are excluded from our data for the B pattern un-
less there are clear indications from the context ruling
out the possibility of object NP.

A further pattern which syntactically is not distin-
guishable from the B pattern is seen in the following ex-
ample.


111 [yamamori   no    arikeru] $\emptyset_0$   shirani   so   no yama
       mt. guard         existed          not-know+thatASS mt.

      ni shime yui-tatete                        (MYS:401)
      at rope  make+erect

    ?'not knowing the mountain guard who was there,

    I marked off an area of that mountain'


Again, it may marginally be possible to interpret
ex.111 in this way; the context, however, indicates that
it ought to be understood as follows.

(111) [yamamori no arikeru] $\phi_0$ shirani...

   'not knowing that there was a mountain guard,'

In MJ, this would normally be expressed as

111' [yamamori no/ga ita]     no/koto o shiranai de
                  SU      existed    NOM    DO not-know-and

i.e. no/koto again indicate the object NP of the verb
shiru, with yamamori again being the subject of the verb
iru ('exist') within the dependent clause. Thus, a dis-
tinction can be made in semantic terms only as to whether
$\phi$ is coreferential with yamamori or if it stands for a
nominalizer (in MJ) such as no or koto; the latter case
disqualifies an example from inclusion in the B pattern.

4.112 I will employ the various patterns of modification
of $N_1$ and $N_2$ as established in 2.132 to analyse the modi-
fication patterns observed in the B pattern of the Nara
period.

4.1121 In terms of modification patterns of $N_1$, the 11
examples of B pattern formed by no encountered in our
data from the Nara period are distributed as follows:

|  |  |
|---|---|
| Pattern I | 1 |
| II | 1 |
| V | 4 |
| VI | 4 |
| unmodified $N_1$ | 1 |
|  | 11 |

Patterns V and VI are most common, whereas no examples of patterns III and IV are found in this small data.

The various patterns analysed above rely on the modifying element immediately preceding $N_1$; seen as a whole, the modifying sections may assume quite complex forms (cf. also 2.132):

112  ko   no   kokoro ashiki [ko   no kokoro arabiru] ∅
      thisASS heart  bad     boy    heart  is-rough

     wa$_0$                           (EN:363)
     EMP

     'this malicious, rough boy'

Here, ko ('boy') is modified by ko no ('this') and the subject-predicate clause kokoro ashiki ('heart is bad', i.e. 'bad at heart', 'malicious').

113  su  ni iru[fune no   yūshio   matsuramu] ∅ yori
      bank at sit boat      eve.tide  await         more-than

     wa                          (MYS:2831)
     EMP

     'more than a boat stranded on a sand bank, which

     awaits the evening tide'

4.1122 In contrast to the modification patterns of $N_1$, which are distributed among four different patterns (or five if zero-modification is included) even for this small data, the only pattern observed for $N_2$ (which is always zero in the B pattern) is VI. This is, of course, due to the fact that with the other patterns (I - V) the

modifying section cannot stand on its own if the modi-
fied noun is deleted.

The modifying section can, however, stand on its
own in case of pattern VI; this phenomenon has its par-
allels in examples where no coreferential nominal (Rel
NP) precedes the (deleted) head nominal:


114 [matsurowazu  tachi-mukaishi ] ∅ mo  tsuyushimo
       not-complying stood+opposed      EMP EPI

     no kenaba kenubeku  yuku tori no arasou hashi ni
     SU if-perish-then-do  EPI     SU fight     when

                                        (MYS:199)

     'when those who did not comply and stood up in

     opposition fight desperately'


In this example, ∅ stands for <u>hito</u> ('people') or
some noun of a similar meaning without being preceded
by <u>hito no</u> or a similar Rel NP. It is not important at
this stage whether one assumes an 'understood' Rel NP
('PRO') for examples of this type, or an 'understood'
Head NP; at any rate, OJ (and the Japanese of several
periods thereafter) has the possibility of using a yō-
<u>gen</u>  in the adnominal form as a noun phrase.

When taking into account the whole of the modify-
ing section (instead of the element immediately preced-
ing $N_2$), again (cf.4.1121) quite complex combinations
are observed:


(113) su ni iru [fune no yūshio matsuramu] ∅ yori wa


Here, ∅ is preceded by an object-predicate clause

(y<u>ūshio</u>, marked by zero object-particle, <u>matsu</u>).


(112) ko no kokoro ashiki [ko no kokoro arabiru] $\emptyset$ wa$_0$


In this example, $\emptyset$ is modified by the subject-predicate clause <u>kokoro</u> (marked by zero subject particle) <u>arabiru</u>.


> 115  umi      no  [ko      no kiyoku akaki   kokoro o
>      birth  ASS  child      pure+  clean   heart  DO
>
>      mochite   mikado ni      tsukae-matsuramu] $\emptyset$ o  ba
>      having    court  at/for  serve  SUF                DO EMP

(SNS:329,2)

'the descendants who serve the imperial court

with pure, unspotted hearts'


Here, the lengthy modifying section consists of a locative (or benefactive) – predicate clause (<u>mikado ni tsukae-matsuru</u> 'serve (at) court') which is preceded by a subordinate clause specifying how the action of the verb <u>tsukae-matsuru</u> is performed; this clause can be further analysed into an object-predicate clause (<u>kokoro</u> + object marker <u>o</u> + <u>motsu</u> in the conjunctive form) and a verb phrase modifying the noun <u>kokoro</u>. In this verb phrase the first of its two constituents modifies the second one (zero-conjunction).


4.113 Examples with an unmodified noun

As we have seen above (2.1323), there are instances (though very few in number) where one of the two nouns

$(N_1/N_2)$ in the A pattern is not preceded by a modifying section. As indicated above (4.1121), there is one example with unmodified $N_1$ in our small data of Nara-period B pattern. In this example, which has already been quoted above as ex. 107, $N_1$ (<u>kami-tachi</u>) stands alone without a modifying section[4].

No examples of unmodified $N_2$ ($\emptyset$) are observed with the B pattern at this stage. In fact, it seems highly doubtful if any instance of unmodified $N_2$ can be expected with the B pattern.

The reason for this is twofold: firstly, in case of the B pattern $N_2$ is always zero; if the modifying section, too, were to be zero, the hallmark of the B pattern, which is a <u>yōgen</u> in the adnominal form, would be lost, resulting a sentence appearing incomplete and ungrammatical, and almost impossible to guess in meaning:

*108' arata-ni tsukureru tera no wa ōyakedera to
　　　　nashi-tamau

One use of the associative particle <u>no</u>, which becomes quite widespread from the Heian period onwards, is between a noun and a second noun, the latter being abbreviated because it is easily understood from the context:

116 ima no　aruji　mo　　saki　　no $\emptyset$ mo te
　　　now ASS master too　former ASS　EMP hand

　　　tori-kawashite
　　　take+exchange+

(TN:2,1)

'the present master and the former one shook

hands'

Here, $\emptyset$ stands for <u>aruji</u>, which is understood from
the context. This use of <u>no</u> has, however, not yet de-
veloped in OJ[5].

The second reason is that if no further infor-
mation is provided about $N_2$, i.e. both $M_2$ (the modi-
fying section preceding $N_2$) and $N_2$ are 'abbreviated',
then it seems far more plausible that $NP_2$ (including
the particle <u>no</u>) is deleted altogether[6]:

    108''     arata-ni tsukureru tera wa ōyakedera to

            nashi-tamau

This sentence is grammatical. Containing a pre-
nominal RC belonging to Class 1 (cf. 1.21), it means:

    'he makes the newly established temples

    into imperial temples'

Naturally, the additional meaning provided by the
omitted section <u>ōyakedera to nasubeki</u> $\emptyset$ is lost in
108''.

4.114 No stacked examples of the B pattern are observed
in our data from Nara-period sources.

4.115 Relative connexion within the B pattern (Nara
period)

Due to the fact that the modification pattern of $N_2$ belongs exclusively to pattern VI, no difficulties are encountered in establishing the relative connexion (cf. 1.422; 2.24) within the B pattern. The distribution of the various types of relative connexion is shown in Table 9.

Table 9

| | |
|---|---|
| $\underline{no}_S$ | 5 |
| $\underline{no}_O$ | 2 |
| $\underline{no}_{TEMP}$ | 2 |
| $\underline{no}_{TOP}$ | 2 |
| | 11 |

Although the data is small, $\underline{no}_S$ is obviously the most common relative connexion with 5 examples, followed by $\underline{no}_O$, $\underline{no}_{TEMP}$ and $\underline{no}_{TOP}$ with 2 examples each.

4.116 The various types of case status of the B pattern (Nara period) within the matrix sentence are shown per data source in Table 10.

Table 10

| | EN | SNS | MYS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| o | 1 | 2 | 3 | 6 |
| ni | | | 2 | 2 |
| yori | | | 1 | 1 |
| wa$_0$ | 1 | 1 | | 2 |
| | 2 | 3 | 6 | 11 |

The most common type of case status here is 'object' (o, wa$_0$) with 8 examples, followed by ni (2 examples) and yori (1 example).


4.12 Semantic analysis of the B pattern (Nara period) formed by no


4.121 As we have seen earlier (2.14; 2.41), in case of the A pattern there are indications that $NP_1$ and $NP_2$ may be interchangeable without any significant change in meaning.

This certainly appears to be the case when one compares the A pattern (formed by no) to other subclasses of no-modification (cf. 2.131), where interchange of $NP_1$ and $NP_2$ would result in an expression with a totally different meaning.

The B pattern is characterized by the fact that Head NP is assumed to be deleted in the relativization process. If we attempt an interchange of $NP_1$ and $NP_2$

with the B pattern, using, for instance, example 108,
the resulting structure may be assumed to be as fol-
lows:

108''' ōyakedera to nasubeki arata-ni tsukureru

tera wa...

This is basically the same structure as example a
in 2.19, i.e. a head noun is modified by two modifying
sections as indicated below:

108''' ōyakedera to nasubeki  arata-ni tsukureru  tera
       $M_1$                  $M_2$                N

Syntactically speaking, $M_2$ - N is an instance of
rentai shūshoku, Category I, Class 1; in other words,
it is a prenominal RC, for which deletion of Rel NP is
assumed (cf. 1.13). $M_1$ has basically the same relation
with N as $M_2$.

The question is, however, if we are right in as-
suming 108''' to be the correct form of an interchanged
$NP_1$ and $NP_2$; after all,

108'''' ōyakedera to nasubeki $\emptyset_1\emptyset_2$ arata-ni tsuku-

reru tera wa

where $\emptyset_1$ stands for tera and $\emptyset_2$ for no, does not seem
possible as an interpretation of 108'''. Rather, it
must be assumed that the adnominal form in $M_1$ (nasubeki)
modifies the head noun (tera), and not an implied Rel NP

noun + <u>no</u>.

Interchangeability of $NP_1$ and $NP_2$ may therefore not be assumed in the same way as with the A pattern. Instead, we may say that two different ways of relativization (deletion processes) can be assumed, one (by deletion of Head NP) resulting in the B pattern (headless RC), the other (by deletion of Rel NP) in the type of RC commonly found in MJ. This latter type is seen in 108'''. Both are similar in the respect that in either case there are two modifying sections semantically pertaining to the noun <u>tera</u>, regardless of whether this noun manifests itself as Head NP or Rel NP.

It may be useful to find any indications hinting at the relevancy of the two modifying sections to the (zero-) head noun in the B pattern, and also for any differences observable in expressional — value between headless RCs and prenominal RCs.

As we have observed earlier (4.113), no instances of unmodified $N_2$ are observed in our data, nor are examples of this type likely to exist. In examples with an unmodified noun the unmodified noun can therefore be only $N_1$. From this follows that in such examples it is the second modifying section (being the <u>only</u> one) which is more relevant to $N_2$.

There are only very few examples which provide us with any hints towards this question of relevancy. Example 107 (which has, as we have noted, an unmodified $N_1$) is one of them in that the context indicates that it is a restrictive RC, which may also be paraphrased

in a somewhat different way from the translation given

earlier:

'rectifying and appeasing those among the gods

who are unruly'

In other words, $NP_1$ (<u>kami-tachi</u>) is meaningwise

a | general or comprehensive term ('the gods'), where-

as $NP_2$ indicates a particular|part/certain elements

<u>within</u> that term ('the unruly ones'). The emphasis

clearly lies on the modifying section of $NP_2$, and this

confirms what we have already said about examples with

an unmodified $N_1$ in general terms.

Similar examples are also found otherwise, i.e.

with examples where both $N_1$ and $N_2$ are modified. 108

belongs to this group, as is evident from its trans-

lation (which is based on the context). A further ex-

ample is 115. All these examples are, incidentally, re-

strictive examples.

All these examples share a common feature meaning-

wise: $N_1$ is a comprehensive term (ex. 107), or else,

where specified by a modifying section, a plural term

(108; 115). Of such a term, a particular component is

singled out (and therefore emphasized) in $NP_2$, thus mak-

ing the modifying section of $NP_2$ the one more relevant

to $N_2$.

In contrast, 112 is quite different in meaning. As

Japanese does not normally make a formal distiction be-

tween singular and plural, it could be interpreted as

'those among the malicious boys who are rough'

or similar. However, the context indicates clearly
that a singular entity is referred to, namely <u>Homusubi</u>
<u>no kami</u>, the God of Fire. For this reason example 112
can only be interpreted as a nonrestrictive RC in the
sense indicated in the translation given under ex-
ample 112 above. This may seem to indicate that mean-
ingwise the first modifying section is of greater re-
levancy to $N_2$. It must, however, be kept in mind that
Japanese word order is fundamentally different from
English, where Head NP precedes Rel NP. In Japanese,
Head NP <u>follows</u> Rel NP. This brings us back to the is-
sue we briefly touched upon in 2.41 pertaining to the
basic function of the associative particle <u>no</u>, which
is essentially one of modification. If the use of <u>no</u>
in the B pattern (and also the A pattern, for that
matter) can be seen to represent the same basic func-
tion, then it would have to be the modifying section
of $NP_2$ which is of higher relevancy to $N_2$.

Example 112 provides us with a further valuable
hint indicating that this may indeed the case. The con-
text preceding 112 has a sentence quoting the goddess
<u>Izanami</u> as saying

117 kokoro ashiki ko  o  umi-okite  konu (EN:361)
    heart  bad     boy DO bear+leave+came

'I have given birth and left behind a malicious
boy'

The NP <u>kokoro ashiki ko</u> reoccurs almost immediately in a further quote by the goddess, of which example 112 forms the initial part. In other words, something which has already been mentioned in the immediate preceding context is taken up again and expanded on (in the modifying section of $NP_2$); this can be seen to be a clear indication that the new, added information (<u>kokoro ara-biru</u>) is the section with the higher degree of relevancy even though both modifying sections are highly similar in meaning.

4.122 From contextual considerations, 3 of the 11 examples of the B pattern in OJ are interpretable as restrictive. This represents a considerably higher percentage than we observed for the A pattern formed by <u>no</u> during the same period, where only 1 out of 93 examples was found to be restrictive.

4.13 As we shall see below, the B pattern is far more commonly found in our data from the Heian period, especially the Middle Heian period onwards. By comparison, examples are few in our Nara period data, a fact which may be interpreted as indicating that the B pattern may have been of comparatively recent origin at the time. It would be helpful if any dating of examples from the Nara period could be established as that would provide us with some clues as to the validity of the above assumption.

No examples of the B pattern formed by <u>no</u> are found

in some of our oldest sources such as the songs of the
Kojiki and the Nihongi. In case of the Norito, the two
examples of the A pattern (no) unfortunately do not be-
long to the few Norito for which approximate dating is
possible. Our three examples from the SNS (which con-
tains Senmyō ranging from the years 697 to 789) date
from the years 748 to 766, which corresponds to the
latter (more recent) half of that source. The MYS con-
tains songs covering a considerable span of time (about
three centuries, of which we only have a certain date
for the lower end (the most recent song, No. 4515, is
dated 1st of January, 759). The two datable songs among
our data (Nos. 481 and 1787) date from the years 744
and 728 respectively, which makes them comparatively
recent. No positive reason exists for assuming that the
remaining four examples would have been written in the
earlier half of the MYS age (i.e. before 710).

To sum up, there are no positive indications con-
tradicting the above assumption that the B pattern (no)
is a relatively new phenomenon in the language of OJ.


4.2  Headless RCs formed by no in the Early Heian period


4.211 Only two examples of this pattern are observed on
our (not very extensive) data from the Early Heian peri-
od. Both are from the TM and read as follows:


    118 Binzuru no   mae      naru  [hachi no hitaguro-ni
        Pindola ASS before is       bowl     pitch-black

        sumi tsukitaru] o torite            (TM:32,3)
        ink  attached    DO take+

'he picked up a bowl, which was sitting in
front of a statue of Pindola and was scorched
pitch-black'

119 amata no [hito no kokorozashi oroka-
many ASS people intentions indifferent

narazarishi] o munashiku shi-nashiteshi koso
were-not DO wasted have-made EMP

are                                         (TM:90,3)
happened

'I have turned away many suitors, who had serious
intentions,'

In both instances $N_1$ is preceded by a modifying
section. In 119, $NP_2$ contains a subject-predicate
clause.

4.212 The relative connexions in the above two examples
are $no_S$ (118) and $no_{TOP}$ (119).

4.213 The case status in both examples is one of 'ob-
ject'.

4.221 Both examples can be interpreted as nonrestrictive
(from the context).

4.222 No stacked examples are observed in our data for
this period.

4.3 Headless RCs formed by no in the Middle Heian peri-
od.

4.311 Considerably higher numbers of examples are observed in our sources for the Middle Heian period. The 44 examples of the B pattern formed by no are distributed among our four sources as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| IM | 12 |
| KKS | 4 |
| TN | 3 |
| YM | 25 |

With the exception of the KKS, the number of examples per source is roughly proportional to its bulk. The KKS, which is a collection of about 1100 poems consisting mainly of waka (31-syllable poems) has but one example in the genre of poetry; the remainder is found in the kotobagaki (introductory notes preceding the poems).

4.312 Of the 44 examples observed in this period, 9 have an unmodified $N_1$. This is a phenomenon not observed to this degree with the A pattern (cf.2.1323) or B pattern (cf.4.113) in the Nara period. To quote an example from the IM:

120 [onna    no mada yo    hezu        to    oboetaru] ga
      woman      yet  world inexper.COMP seemed      SU

    hito no ōn-   moto ni shinobite mono    kikoete
    man  ASS.PREF place to secretly  things  say +

                                          (IM:120,1)

'a woman, who seemed as yet inexperienced, secretly established a relationship with a man'

Onna has no modifying section attached to it. Of the nine examples of unmodified $N_1$ observed in this period, four (three in IM and one in YM) involve onna as $N_1$. This is not altogether surprising as both sources centre on amorous adventures of their heroes, and therefore descriptions of women of many kinds are very common.

4.3131 One example of stacked B pattern formed by no is observed in our data for this period:

121    saru ori   shimo   shiroki [[tori$_i$   no hashi to
       this time EMP    white      bird       beak and

     ashi to   akaki] $\emptyset_i$   shigi no   ōkisa naru] $\emptyset_i$
     legs and red      snipe ASS size   is

     mizu no   ue     ni asobitsutsu io   o   kuu
     water ASS above on play-play    fishDO eat

                                 (IM:9,30)

'just then a white bird, whose beak and legs were red, and which was of the size of a snipe, was playing on the water eating fish'

In this example, Rel NP (tori), marked by the particle no, is modified by an adjective in the adnominal form (shiroki), while it is followed by two NPs modifying nouns coreferential with tori (both $\emptyset$).

a) [hashi to ashi to akaki] $\emptyset$

b) [shigi no ōkisa naru] $\emptyset$

This stacked NP forms part of a sentence contain-

ing the predicate of, semantically speaking, <u>tori</u>, and syntactically, the last coreferential noun $(\emptyset)$. Naturally, both NPs a) and b) provide further information relevant to the noun <u>tori</u>.

4.3132 The two-fold relative connexion in this example is $\underline{\underline{no}}_{TOP}$ and $\emptyset_{TOP}$.

4.3133 The case status of this stacked example within the matrix sentence is $\emptyset_S$, as it occupies the status of 'subject' in relation to the predicate <u>kuu</u>.

4.3134 As indicated in the attached translation, this stacked example appears to be nonrestrictive.

4.3135 With regard to the relevancy of $NP_2$ and $NP_3$ to the <u>semantic</u> head <u>tori</u> it is interesting to see how the same story is quoted in some other sources.

One such source is the KKS, where it is found in the <u>kotobagaki</u> for song No. 411 (which is the same song that is also found in the  section of IM containing example 121) in the following form:

> 122 saru ori ni shiroki [tori no hashi to ashi to
>      akaki] $\emptyset$ kawa   no   hotori ni asobikeri
>               river ASS side    at played
>     'just then a white bird, whose beak and legs
>     were red, was playing by the river'

This is, of course, not a stacked RC but a simple

one, which does not contain information b) (cf. above, 4.3131). This is in keeping with the generally more concise nature of the KKS <u>kotobagaki</u> when compared to the more elaborate text surrounding the songs of the IM.

Ten of the about 70 MSs of the KKS give the relevant section of this example in an even more concise form:

122' 'shiroki [tori no hashi akaki] ∅...

'a white bird, which had red legs'

The same incident (complete with song) is also related in the KM, where the RC assumes the following form:

123 shikaru aida mizu no ue ni shigi no ōkisa aru
    that      time                              have

    shiroki [tori no hashi to ashi to wa  akaki] ∅
                                      EMP

    asobitsutsu uo  o   kuu              $(KM_{II}:331,6)$
                fish

    'meanwhile on the water a white bird of the size

    of a snipe, whose beak and legs were red, was

    playing on the water eating fish'

This is again only a simple RC, but unlike the 'condensed' version of the KKS, this example contains exactly the same amount of information as 121, the difference being only the position of the modifying·sections in relation to the semantic head noun (<u>tori</u>). The section equivalent in meaning to b) above (4.3131), <u>shigi no</u>

ōkisa aru, here precedes shiroki tori. In other words,
tori is preceded by two modifying sections instead of
only one (shiroki) in example 121, but is followed just
by one (instead of two in 121).

At this stage it is too early to make a final e-
valuation of the above differences, but if we assume for
the time being that the section closest to the syntac-
tic head (∅) is the most relevant one, then it is ob-
vious that 121 centres on b), whereas 122 and 123 cen-
tre on a).

4.314 Relative connexion within the B pattern (no) in
the Middle Heian period

The various types of relative connexion are dis-
tributed as shown in Table 11.

Table 11

| $no_S$ | 34 |
|---|---|
| $no_O$ | 4 |
| $no_{TOP}$ | 6 |
| | 44 |

Here, by far the most common relative connexion is
'subject', followed by 'topic' and 'object'.

4.315 Table 12 shows the various types of case status
of the B pattern (no) within the matrix sentence.

Table 12

| | IM | KKS | TN | YM | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| o | 5 | 1 | | 9 | 15 |
| ni | | | | 6 | 6 |
| wa$_{TOP}$ | | | 1 | | 1 |
| namu$_S$ | | | | 3 | 3 |
| ga$_S$ | 1 | | | 1 | 2 |
| ga$_G$ | 2 | | | 2 | 4 |
| yori | | 1 | | 1 | 2 |
| $\emptyset_S$ | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 8 |
| $\emptyset_O$ | 2 | | | | 2 |
| $\emptyset_G$ | | 1 | | | 1 |
| | 12 | 4 | 3 | 25 | 44 |

The most prominent group here is that of 'object' (o, $\emptyset_O$) with 17 examples, followed by 'subject' (namu$_S$, ga$_S$, $\emptyset_S$) with 13 examples, ni (6 examples) and 'genitive' (ga$_G$, $\emptyset_G$, 5 examples).

Table 12 contains three types of case status not observed so far; examples of these are given below.

wa$_{TOP}$

124 kono [kotoba   no uta   no yō   naru] $\emptyset$ wa$_{TOP}$
     these words       song ASSlike are

```
kajitori    no  onozukara no  kotoba nari
coxswains   ASS natural    ASS words   are
```

$$(\text{TN}:14,12)$$

'this language, which sounds like a poem, is the

natural language of the coxswains'

<u>Wa</u> here marks the topic of an equational sentence.

<u>namu</u>$_S$

125 kashira shiroki [onna  no  mizu  kumeru ] ∅ namu$_S$
    head    white    woman     water carry

mae   yori  ayashiki yō naru ie   ni  irikeru
front by    strange  look is hut  in  entered

$$(\text{YM}:521,8)$$

'a woman with white hair carrying water passed

in front of them and entered a wretched-looking

hovel'

<u>Namu</u> is an emphatic particle (<u>kakari-joshi</u>), which

normally replaces certain case-marking particles. In

this example, it may be said to be replacing the sub-

ject-marker ∅.

<u>ga</u>$_S$

See 120 (4.312). This example is discussed at some

length in Ishigaki (1940, p.202ff; 1955, p.26ff) as an

early example of the subject-marker <u>ga</u> attached to an

inflected word (<u>yōgen</u>) in the adnominal form. As Ishi-

gaki points out (cf. Ch.I, p.41, i) and p.42, iv)), no

examples of the subject-marker <u>ga</u> attached to inflected
words are found before the Heian period; it is there-
fore not surprising that this example is the earliest
one in our data.

4.316 We have already observed that in some cases the
modifying section of $NP_2$ assumes quite complex forms
(cf. 4.1122). Our data from Middle Heian period sources
again includes a number of examples having a subject-
predicate clause as part of the modifying section, and
also three examples with a verb phrase (<u>ren'yō shūshoku</u>)
(cf. example 115, 4.1122).

4.317 Of the 44 examples observed in this period, 7 can
be interpreted as restrictive.

In most instances we have to rely on indications
from the context to distinguish between restrictive and
nonrestrictive clauses; there is, however, a number of
examples involving nouns of unique denotation, or NPs
of a highly similar meaning (cf. 2.43).

126 kono [shūtome      no  oi-kagamaritarite itaru]
    this  mother-in-law ASS old+bent            was-there

    o  tsune-ni    nikumitsutsu        (YM:584,3)
    DO always      criticize

    'she always criticized this mother-in-law, who

    was old and had a bent back'

127 yamazato      wa  mono  no  wabishiki  koto  koso
    mt.village    EMP things SU  sad         fact  EMP

```
are  [yo   no   uki  ] yori   wa   sumiyokarikeri
is      world    hard    rather EMP  easier-to-live
```

<div align="right">(KKS:944)</div>

'in a mountain village, it is true, one feels sad

and lonely, but it feels better to live there

than in this world, which is full of hardship'


```
128 aki    no [yo   no   nagaki] ni   me   o   samashite
    autumn ASS night      long    in   eyes DO  awake
```

<div align="right">(YM:588,6)</div>

'lying awake in the autumn night, which is long'


In the above nonrestrictive examples, shūtome ('moth-
er-in-law') and yo ('world') are nouns of unique denota-
tion[7], whereas in 128 $NP_1$ (aki no yo) and $NP_2$ (nagaki)
are virtually synonymous terms in Japanese poetry. On
account of these observations, the above examples can be
identified as nonrestrictive RCs.

The following are instances of restrictive RCs:


```
129 [tomo-dachi no  hisashū mōde-kozarikeru] moto  ni
    friendSUFF      long    hadn't-come       place to

    yomite tsukawashikeru
    wrote+ sent                           (KKS:976,intro.)
```

'a poem composed and sent to a friend who had

not visited for some time'


```
130 sate kono otoko wa  kure[take  no yo    nagaki]
    then this man   EMP black bamboo  nodes long

    o  kirite                          (YM:557,2)
    DO cut+
```

'then this man cut black bamboo which had long

nodes'

4.318 There is an interesting example shedding some light on the question of relevancy of modifying sections to the (zero) head nominal:

> 131 mukashi onna-harakara futari arikeri. Hitori wa
> of old  woman sisters   two     existed   one     EMP
>
> iyashiki [otoko no mazushiki] $\emptyset_0$ hitori wa
> lowly     man    poor                  one      EMP
>
> ate-naru otoko motarikeri[8]        (IM:41,1)
> noble    man   had
>
> 'Long ago, there were two sisters. One had a hus-
> band of low standing, who was poor, the other a
> husband of noble rank'

The interesting feature of this example is the parallel structure of the sentence containing the B pattern:

> (131)
> hitori wa [iyashiki [otoko no mazushiki]]$\emptyset$
>                                                   motari-
> hitori wa [ate-naru [otoko          ]] keri

The two parallel NPs are zero-conjoined by means of juxtapposition, both being object NPs of __motarikeru__ (both are marked by zero object-particle). In both NPs the parallel noun __otoko__ is modified by an adjective of an antonymous nature. However, in the first NP the noun __otoko__ is also followed by the associative particle __no__ plus an adjective in the adnominal form, which modifies a (deleted) head noun coreferential with __otoko__ (thus making it a headless RC), whereas in the second NP __otoko__ (which, of course, denotes a person different to the __otoko__ in the first NP) stands on its own.

The story which follows centres on the wife of the husband of low standing, with the story line developing around the fact that they were <u>poor</u>. This is one indication that <u>mazushiki</u> may be of higher relevancy to <u>otoko</u> than <u>iyashiki</u>; further indication lies in the fact that <u>iyashiki</u> and <u>ate-naru</u> are subsequently used to differentiate or identify the two husbands/wives in the following manner:

> iyashiki otoko motaru
>                 has
>
> 'the one with the lowly husband'

> ate-naru otoko kikite
>                hear
>
> 'the noble husband heard this'

From the above considerations it seems safe to say that in this example the modifying section following the semantic head noun is of greater relevancy, or, in other words, carries the greater emphasis of the two modifying sections surrounding <u>otoko</u>.

As we have seen earlier, the same situation naturally applies to examples with an unmodified $N_1$ (cf. 4.121); our data for this period includes 9 examples of this type.


4.4  Headless RCs formed by the particle <u>no</u> in the Late Heian Period

4.411 Statistically speaking, the GM is our only data source for this period, as I will use the MNS only for purposes of reference (cf. 1.5). The total number of simple examples of B pattern formed by _no_ is 331. When considering the relative bulk of the GM as compared to our Middle-Heian-Period sources such as the YM[9], the data size per amount of source is roughly equivalent; in other words, unlike during the period from Early to Middle Heian, no substantial increase in the occurrence of the B pattern is observed to take place from the Middle to Late Heian Periods.

4.412 Table 13 gives a breakdown of the various types of relative connexions.

Table 13

| | |
|---|---|
| _no_S | 249 |
| _no_O | 17 |
| _no_L | 1 |
| _no_TEMP | 3 |
| _no_TOP | 60 |
| _no_DIR | 1 |
| | 331 |

The most frequent relative connexion here is 'subject', followed by 'topic', 'object' and some

other, numerically small ones. $\underline{No}_{DIR}$ stands for

'directional'; the only example is given below.


132 tada yamazato   no   yō   ni ito   shizuka-naru
    just mt.villageASS way  in very quiet

    [tokoro no hito      mo   yuki-majiranu] $\emptyset_S$
     place      people  EMP go+  mix

    haberu o                              (GM:1576,5)
    exist   because

    'because there is a place, which is quiet just

    like a mountain village, to which people do not

    go intruding'


   The RC can be paraphrased in MJ as


132' sono tokoro ni/e hito ga itte wakeiru koto ga nai


4.413 Table 14 gives the types of case status of the B

pattern within the matrix sentence.

Table 14

| | |
|---|---|
| o | 86 |
| ni | 53 |
| nite | 8 |
| to | 3 |
| $wa_S$ | 18 |
| $wa_O$ | 4 |
| $wa_{TOP}$ | 4 |
| $mo_S$ | 20 |
| $mo_O$ | 3 |
| $mo_{TOP}$ | 2 |
| $ga_S$ | 18 |
| $ga_G$ | 1 |
| yori | 9 |
| shite | 5 |
| $zo_S$ | 4 |
| $ya'_S$ | 1 |
| $ya''_S$ | 1 |
| $sae_S$ | 1 |
| $dani_S$ | 1 |
| $bakari_O$ | 1 |
| $nado_S$ | 3 |
| $nado_O$ | 3 |
| zokashi | 1 |
| $nari_F$ | 5 |
| $\emptyset_S$ | 38 |
| $\emptyset_O$ | 25 |
| $\emptyset_G$ | 8 |
| $\emptyset_{TOP}$ | 4 |
| $\emptyset_F$ | 1 |
| | 331 |

The largest group here is 'object' ($o$, $wa_O$, $mo_O$, $bakari_O$, $nado_O$, $\emptyset_O$) with a total of 121 examples, followed by 'subject' ($wa_S$, $mo_S$, $ga_S$, $zo_S$, $ya'_S$, $ya''_S$, $sae_S$, $dani_S$, $nado_S$, $\emptyset_S$) with 106 examples, $ni$, which adds up to 61

examples if <u>nite</u> is included, and <u>yori</u>, 'genitive' ($\emptyset_G$, <u>ga</u>$_G$) and 'topic' (<u>wa</u>$_{TOP}$, <u>mo</u>$_{TOP}$, $\emptyset_{TOP}$) with 9 examples each, and others.

Examples are given below for some types of case status not observed so far.


<u>shite</u>


133  ōn-   tomo      ni saburau ue[warawa        no
     PREF companion as serve   trainee-courtier

     okashiki] shite   tatematsuri-tamau (GM:1551,1)
     refined   thro'   present         SUF

     'he presented it to her through a trainee pal-

     ace-courtier, who looked refined'


<u>Shite</u> is a case marker indicating instrument, or the person made to perform the action of a causative verb. All five examples observed here belong to the category of 'instrument'.


<u>ya</u>'$_S$


134 [nyōbō        no   iyashikaranu] ya$_S$ mata [ama   nado
    court-ladies  not-low                  also  nuns etc.

    no  yo   o  somukikeru] nado mo$_S$ taore-madoi
    world DO turned backs etc. EMP fall-be confused

                                          (GM:288,10)

    'court-ladies of no low standing and persons like

    nuns, who had turned their back on the world, too,

    were being knocked about in confusion'


This <u>ya</u>, which I have marked as <u>ya</u>' in order to dis-

tinguish it from the emphatic particle ya (ya''), is an
interjection connecting nouns in the sense of 'and (oth-
erwise)'; in this example it connects two headless RCs.


<u>ya</u>''$_S$


135 ima[mairi    no    kokoro shiranu] ya$_S$ aru
    now comers       heart  not-know       exist

                                        (GM:1936,14)

'are there any new court-ladies whom you are not

on good terms with?'


The emphatic particle ya here marks a question; it
supersedes a case-marker indicating subject (the NP in
square brackets is the subject of the matrix verb <u>aru</u>).


∅$_{TOP}$


136 mi-[te    nado no    kokoro todomete kaki-tameru]
    PREFhand etc.        heart  arrest   write+fix

∅$_{TOP}$ tsune  yori  mo  midokoro arite
        always more  EMP merit    have

                                        (GM:311,13)

'his calligraphy, which he wrote with special

care, commanded more attention than usually'


In this example, <u>midokoro arite</u> is a subject-predi-
cate clause; for this reason, the case status of the RC
can only be interpreted as 'topic'.


<u>nari</u>$_F$

137 ima[mairi   no kuchioshikaranu] nameri   to
    now comer      not-bad           COP PRES COMP

    oboshite                                    (GM:1823,13)
    think

    'he thought "it's probably a new court-lady,

    who is not bad", and...'

Nameri is the presumptive form of the copula nari.

There are some more 'new' case statuses not ob-
served so far, but these are basically no different from
others already listed. Thus, mo$_{TOP}$ may be understood via
wa$_{TOP}$, and 'new' emphatic and restrictive particles like
zo, sae, bakari  and dani are similar in use to namu
(cf. 4.315) and nomi (cf. 3.53).

4.414 We have already seen above (4.1122) that the modi-
fying section of NP$_2$ can take fairly complex forms; 115,
for instance, contains a subordinate clause conjoined by
-te conjunction. Some new forms of ren'yō shūshoku (verb-
modifying sections) are found in our data from this peri-
od, including zero-conjunction (conjunctive forms of
verbs, adjectives and verbal suffixes) and conjunctions
such as -tsutsu ('and, while'), -ba ('because') and
-nagara ('while'). Also observed are NPs containing quo-
tations and appositions. In the following examples, sub-
ordinate clauses are underlined (double broken lines).

138 murasaki no [kami  no  toshi henikere-ba  hai-
    purple    ASS  paper    years passed       ash

```
        okure      furumeitaru] ni              (GM:216,7)
        weaken     look-old     on
```

'on a purple paper, which had faded and looked

old because a long time had passed (since it

had been coloured)'


139 [oya-     tachi no  ko___dani_are___kashi_to
     parent   SUF       child=only==be!===EMP===COMP

    nai-tamauran] ni mo  e-misezu          (GM:1252,10)
    cry SUF          to EMP cannot-show

'he could not even show her to her parents, who

were probably crying, saying "if only we had

a child"'


Example 138 is an example of -ba conjunction, and

139 an instance of $NP_2$ containing a quotational sen-

tence.

A further interesting phenomenon observed in this

period for the first time is the appearance of emphatic

particles such as zo within the RC:


140 ito wakō  utsukushige-naru [onna  no shiroki
    very young+beautiful-looking woman    white

        aya    no  kinu  hitokasane, kurenai no  hakama
        twill  ASS robe  one         crimson ASS pants

        zo kitaru] ka    wa imijū  kōbashikute ate-naru
           wear       scent EMP very   fragrant     noble

        kewai     kagiri  nashi               (GM:1994,8)
        looks     limit   there isn't

'a very young, beautiful woman, who was wear-

ing a white twill robe and a crimson hakama[10],

had a highly fragrant perfume and was of a

very noble appearance'

Emphatic particles like <u>zo</u> and <u>namu</u> are used in the so-called <u>kakari-musubi</u> sentences, in which the adnominal form of <u>yōgen</u> is used in place of the final form to complete the sentence. The adnominal form in these emphatic sentences normally indicates, therefore, something akin to a full stop and, as these sentences are of an emphatic nature, italics for the section emphasized. Being mostly used to terminate a sentence, the use of <u>zo</u> etc. within the RC renders it quite obscure; in fact, the NKBT edition places a full stop after <u>kitaru</u>, failing to reckognize it as an example of B pattern.

Another noteworthy development is the appearance of elements transgressing the boundaries of the RC which they should be contained in (transgressing elements are underlined):

141 <u>ōki-naru matsu ni</u> [fuji      no saki-    kakarite
    big         pine  on  wisteria    bloom+    hang+

    tsukikage ni nayoitaru] $\emptyset_{TOP}$ kaze ni tsukite
    moonlight in flow                    wind in ride+

    sa-to     niou  ga  natsukashiku    (GM:533,2)
    suddenly smell SU   dear

    'a wisteria, which was blooming on a big pine-

    tree and was flowing in the moonlight, suddenly

    emitted its well-known fragrance in the wind'

142 <u>karetaru shitakusa no   naka ni</u> [rindō    nadeshiko
    withered undergrowthASS among     gentians wild pink

    nado no saki-idetaru] o   orase-tamaite
    etc.     bloom-come outDO make-pick SUF

                                    (GM:311,1)

'he had someone pick the gentians and wild pink,

which had sprung into blossom amongst the with-

ered undergrowth'


143 <u>tachi-okurete</u>  kono [kimi   no tachi-ide-tamaeru]
    come late          this  prince   come  out  SUF

$\emptyset_S$ ito  koyonaku metomaru  kokochi shite
   very greatly  stand out feeling makes

                                    (GM:1469,7)

'it was felt that this prince (<u>Kaoru</u>), who ar-

rived later than the others, stood out greatly'


In the above three examples, the underlined sec-
tions are in each case adverbial phrases/clauses, but
the verb they modify is not the verb of the matrix sen-
tence but a/the verb within the RC, as I have made ob-
vious in the translations.

In general terms, a NP in Japanese may be preceded
by elements modifying a verb inside it; the following
(construed) example based on 111 serves to illustrate
this point:


111'' [<u>soko ni</u> yamamori no arikeru] $\emptyset_O$ (=koto/no o)
       there

      shirani

      'not knowing that in that place there was

      a mountain guard'


As indicated by the square brackets, <u>soko ni</u> actu-
ally forms part of the NP (which is the object of the
verb <u>shiru</u>) rather than preceding the NP. This is, of

course, due to the fact that ∅ quite freely includes
such elements in the nominalization of the clause be-
cause the relationship between the noun (<u>yamamori</u>) and
the verb (<u>arikeru</u>) is one of subject - predicate; verb-
modifying elements may thus preceed the ~~verb~~ <sup>subject</sup> ~~(or predi-~~
~~cate)~~.

    The situation is, however, different in case of
the <sup>A</sup>~~B~~ pattern, where the syntactical relationship in
question is between nouns (joined by the associative
particle <u>no</u>); this makes the existence of 141' below
impossible, because the verb-modifying phrase (under-
lined) would end up modifying a noun.


    *143' <u>tachi-okurete</u> [kimi no tachi-ide-tamaeru] kimi


    In contrast to the A pattern, where there is an
explicit modification between nouns, the B pattern ends
in a <u>yōgen</u> in the adnominal form, with $N_2$ being only
implied. This probably accounts for the existence of
examples such as 139 - 141; these are, however, getting
dangerously close to making the B pattern unintelligible
as it becomes liable to be confused with <u>koto/no</u> NPs of
the type seen in 111''.


4.415 Of the 331 examples in this period, 53 involve an
unmodified noun.


4.416 A number of case-status groups from Table 14 has
been checked for restrictive/nonrestrictiveness. The

results are given below in Table 15.

Table 15

| type | total exs. | nonrest. | rest. |
|------|-----------|----------|-------|
| o | 85 | 73 | 12 (14.1%) |
| ni | 53 | 45 | 8 (15.0%) |
| $ga_S$ | 18 | 14 | 4 (22.0%) |
| $ga_G$ | 8 | 5 | 3 (37.5%) |
| yori | 9 | 9 | 0 ( 0.0%) |
| $\emptyset_S$ | 38 | 30 | 8 (21.1%) |
| $\emptyset_O$ | 25 | 21 | 4 (16.0%) |
| | 236 | 197 | 39 |

In overall terms, the percentage of restrictive examples here is 16.5%; in some types it is, however, considerably higher.

4.417 As briefly mentioned above (4.414), in this period we encounter examples with two headless RCs embedded in one matrix sentence. Example 134 above is an instance where ya (conjunctive interjection) conjoins two headless RCs. 144 below is an example where the two headless RCs appear in a somewhat different way: the first one indicates the location (marked by ni) of the second one.

144 michinokuni[gami    nado no fukudameru] ni
                paper etc.      thickish      on

furu[koto-   domo no menaretaru] nado wa
old   poems  SUF      well-known  etc. EMP

ito  susamajige-naru ·o              (GM:523,10)
very terrible-looking because

'because the well-known old poems looked quite

terrible on thickish Michinokuni paper'


Unlike 134, where both NPs are headless RCs, there

are also examples where only one NP takes the form of

a headless RC, while the other one appears as a pre-

nominal RC:


145 menotogo no   daitoku sore kara oji    no    azari
    nurse-son ASS priest   then from uncle ASS  s.priest

sono [deshi        no mutsumashiki] nado<sub>S</sub>[moto    yori
his   disciples ASS intimate        etc.      outset from

shiritaru]oi- bōshi   nado<sub>S</sub>        (GM:1936,10)
knew      old priests etc.

'the nurse's son, who was a priest, then his

uncle the senior priest, the (more) intimate ones

among his disciples, and old monks he had known

since earlier times'


In this enumeration of persons, the first two are

noun combinations joined by the associative particle no,

the third one a restrictive headless RC, and the last one

a prenominal RC. The restrictive nature of the restrictive

RC is indicated by the context.


4.421 13 examples of stacked B pattern are observed in

our data for this period. 12 of these are twofold, and
one threefold.

4.422 By their first relative connexion, the twofold
examples are distributed as follows:

Table 16

| | |
|---|---|
| $\underline{no}_S$ | 9 |
| $\underline{no}_{TOP}$ | 3 |
| | 12 |

Here, 'subject' is most frequent, followed by
'topic'.

4.423 By their second relative connexion, they are dis-
tributed as follows:

Table 17

| | |
|---|---|
| $\underline{o}$ | 3 |
| $\underline{ga}_S$ | 4 |
| $\underline{ga}_{TOP}$ | 2 |
| $\emptyset_S$ | 2 |
| $\emptyset_O$ | 1 |
| | 12 |

Here, 'subject' ($\underline{ga}_S$, $\emptyset_S$) is most common (6 ex-

amples), followed by 'object' ($\underline{o}$, $\emptyset_O$, 4 examples) and 'topic' 2 examples).

4.424 In terms of case status, these examples are distri- buted as follows:

Table 18

| | |
|---|---|
| $\underline{\dot{o}}$ | 4 |
| $\underline{ni}$ | 2 |
| $\underline{koso}_S$ | 1 |
| $\emptyset_S$ | 3 |
| $\emptyset_O$ | 2 |
| | 12 |

'Object' here is highest in number with 6 examples, followed by 'subject' (4 examples) and $\underline{ni}$ (2 examples).

4.425 The only threefold example is of the following type (the first three items indicate the respective relative connexions, and the fourth (in parentheses) the case sta- tus of the whole stacked clause):

$$\underline{no}_S - \underline{o} - \underline{ga}_S \quad ( \underline{o})$$

4.426 In general terms, stacked examples of B pattern observed in this period, which are formed by $\underline{no}$ in- itially, have as their second relative connexion either

o, ga or zero particle. The particle o here always

functions as an indicator of object, ga as one of

subject or topic, and zero as one of subject or object.

However, in the only stacked example observed in the

Middle Heian Period (121) we have seen the combination

no$_{TOP}$ - $\emptyset_{TOP}$ ($\emptyset$); $\emptyset$, therefore, may also indicate top-

ic, which is not surprising when one considers its use

in simple RCs.

Here are some examples of stacked headless RCs in

this period:

146 rani    no [[hana    no ito  omoshiroki] o  mo-
    orchid ASS  flower     very attractive  DO hold

    tamaerikeru] o ... sashi-irete        (GM:920,7)
    SUF          DO    insert

    'he inserted ... a very attractive orchid,

    which he had on him'[11]

147 ito   kōbashiki michinokuni[[gami  no sukoshi
    very fragrant                paper    somewhat

    toshi  he   atsuki] ga$_S$ kibamitaru] ni
    years  pass thick          yellowish    on

                                    (GM:755,1)

    'on a very fragrant Michinokuni paper, which

    was a little old and thick, and yellowish'

148 namanama no   kandachime yori  mo   hisangi
    average   ASS members      ratherEMP non-members

    no  [[shi'i-domo  no yo     no oboe
    ASS    4th-rankSUF    world ASS reputation

    kuchioshikarazu moto     no nezashi  iyashikara-
    not-bad +       origin ASS birth      not-mean

nu] ∅<sub>S</sub> yasuraka-ni mi      o   motenashi
        easily          self DO  acquit

furumaitaru] ∅<sub>S</sub> ito  kawaraka-nari ya (GM:39,9)
behave                very neat         EMP

'rather than average members of the <u>Daijōkan</u> it

is those non-members of fourth rank who have a

good reputation and are of no mean birth' who

acquit themselves with ease, who are the neat

ones'


In 146, the two NPs are joined by means of the par-
ticle <u>o</u>, which at the same time marks the object NP of
the verb (<u>mo-tamaerikeru</u>) of NP₂. By contrast, the case
relationship between the first and second NP in example
147 is one of subject, and accordingly is marked by <u>ga</u>.
The same case relationship is seen between NP₁ and NP₂
in 148; there it is, however, marked by zero-particle.


149 waga mi-[[[gushi no ochitarikeru] o   tori-
    her PREF  hair        had-fallen-outDO take+

    atsumete katsura  ni shi-tamaeru] <u>ga</u><sub>S</sub> kyūshaku
    gather   wig     into make SUF              9-feet

    yo  bakari nite ito kiyora-naru] o  okashige-
    over about is+  very beautiful   DO tasteful

    naru hako ni   irete              (GM:531,1)
         box  into insert+

    'into a tasteful box she put hair which had fal-

    len out and which she had collected and put to-

    gether into a hair-piece, which was over nine

    feet and very beautiful'


This is the only threefold example found in this
period. The first two NPs are connected by <u>o</u>, which al-

so marks the object of the verb(s) of the second NP;
the second and third NP are connected by <u>ga</u>, which at
the same time marks the subject of the third NP.

4.427 No example of stacked B pattern with unmodified
$N_1$ is observed in the data from our sources for this
period, nor have we seen any example of this type in
our data so far.

4.428 When it comes to stacked examples, the question
of restrictive/nonrestrictiveness is a tricky one as
it is quite conceivable that there may be <u>partly</u> re-
strictive examples.

Example 148 appears to be a case of restrictive
stacked B pattern, at least as far as the section con-
nected by <u>no</u> is concerned: in this example, the <u>aver-
age</u> members of a group of highest courtiers are com-
pared with <u>fair</u> members of a slightly lower group.

149 can be seen as being partly restrictive: <u>mi-
gushi no ochitarikeru</u> are those members of <u>Suetsumu-
hana's</u> hair which happened to fall out over some time,
the case not being that she would have gone entirely
bald; the remainder of this stacked RC, however, seems
nonrestrictive.

No positive indications of restrictiveness are
present in any of the other examples.

4.429 The stacked B patterns observed in this period
do not give much indication with regard to the rela-
tive importance of the individual RCs to the Rel NP

noun, or the modifying section preceding that noun.

In most examples the order of RCs with regard to the _semantic_ head noun (which is the Rel NP noun syntactically) appears interchangeable without significant change of meaning provided that connecting particles are also changed accordingly:

146' rani no [[hana no mo-tamaerikeru]ga omoshiroki]
o...

In other cases, the individual RCs appear to be in a 'progressive' meaningful order, which would be upset by such a change:

149' waga mi-[[gushi no tori-atsumete katsura ni
shi-tameru] ga ochitarikeru]...

149' is only possible in the sense of

'her hair, which she had collected and put
together into a hair-piece, and which had
fallen down'

In other words, in 149 it is the hair (or rather, some of it) which had fallen, whereas in 149' it is the wig. 149' is therefore not possible in the same sense as 149. This tendency appears to be somewhat more pronounced with stacked examples where individual RCs are joined by _o_; it does not, however, apply to all examples of this type.

4.43 Some further types of stacked B pattern are found in the MNS; among others, they include the following:

$$\underline{no}_S - \underline{ga}_S \quad (\underline{mo}_S)$$

$$\underline{no}_S - \underline{wa}_S \quad (\underline{ga}_S)$$

Text variants are, however, too numerous with regard to the above particles, making it virtually impossible to settle on any particular, definite version.


4.5  Headless RCs formed by <u>no</u> in the Insei Period


4.511 The total number of simple examples of B pattern observed in this period amounts to 603, of which 585 are found in the KM, and 18 in the HBK.

The HBK is a source small in volume, but the KM is a work which is roughly equivalent in size to the GM[12]; the KM contains therefore a considerably higher number of examples of this type than the GM in relative terms, too.

The 585 examples from the KM are divided between $KM_I$ and $KM_{II}$ (cf. Note 27, Ch.II) as follows:


| | |
|---|---|
| $KM_I$ : | 239 (41%) |
| $KM_{II}$: | 346 (59%) |


As $KM_{II}$ occupies only about 30%[12] of the volume

of the whole work, the occurrence of examples relative to the source volume is much higher in $KM_{II}$ than in $KM_{I}$.

4.512 Table 19 gives a breakdown of the types of relative connexion observed in this period.

Table 19

|  | $KM_I$ | $KM_{II}$ | HBK |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| $\underline{no}_S$ | 192 | 282 | 17 | 491 |
| $\underline{no}_O$ | 3 | 5 |  | 8 |
| $\underline{no}_{TOP}$ | 44 | 57 | 1 | 102 |
| $\underline{no}_L$ |  | 2 |  | 2 |
|  | 239 | 346 | 18 | 603 |

Here, 'subject' is dominant with 81.4%, followed by 'topic' with 16.9%, and 'object' and 'locative', which are both quite insignificant. No other types are observed in our sources for this period.

4.513 Table 20 gives the types of case status per source of the B pattern.

Table 20

| | $KM_I$ | $KM_{II}$ | HBK | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| o | 82 | 116 | 5 | 203 |
| ni | 49 | 55 | 6 | 110 |
| nite | | 1 | | 1 |
| to | 1 | 1 | | 2 |
| $wa_S$ | 1 | 4 | | 5 |
| $wa_O$ | | | 1 | 1 |
| $wa_{TOP}$ | 4 | 2 | | 6 |
| $mo_S$ | 4 | 3 | | 7 |
| $mo_{TOP}$ | 2 | | | 2 |
| $ga_S$ | 16 | 51 | 4 | 71 |
| $ga_G$ | 2 | 1 | | 3 |
| $ga_{TOP}$ | | 2 | | 2 |
| yori | 4 | 13 | 1 | 18 |
| $zo_O$ | 1 | 1 | | 2 |
| $namu_S$ | | 1 | | 1 |
| $ya'_O$ | | 1 | | 1 |
| $nari_F$ | 10 | 21 | | 31 |
| $\emptyset_S$ | 50 | 62 | 1 | 113 |
| $\emptyset_O$ | 9 | 9 | | 18 |
| $\emptyset_{TOP}$ | | 1 | | 1 |
| $\emptyset_{LOC}$ | 1 | | | 1 |
| $\emptyset_{DIR}$ | 1 | 1 | | 2 |
| $\emptyset_F$ | 2 | | | 2 |
| | 239 | 346 | 18 | 603 |

Despite of the larger number of examples when compared to the Late Heian Period, the number of case status types is somewhat lower here (cf. Table 14). Some of the above types (Table 20) have not been observed yet, however; examples for these are given below.

$$ga_{TOP}$$

150 Renge-ji     no   dō   no   mae    ni medetaki
          templeASS hall ASS front in beautiful

[momiji no arikeru] ga<sub>TOP</sub>    jūgatsu no koro'oi
maples      existed             October ASS time

iro    no medetakarikereba  Gion no bettō
colour SU because-was-nice         ASS abbot

Ryōzan ori   ni tsukawashitarikeru o
       pick for had-sent             but

(KM<sub>II</sub>,V:289,16)

'because the beautiful maples which were in

front of the main hall of the Renge temple were

beautiful in colour around October, the abbot

of Gion, <u>Ryōzan</u>, sent someone to pick some

branches, but'


∅<sub>DIR</sub>


151 chiisaki shiba     no  iori aru  ni   sumu
    small    brushwoodASS hut  exist in   live

[ouna       no toshigoro  aware-ni ataritsuru]
 old woman     for-years  pityfully faced-things

∅<sub>DIR</sub> tsugete yukamu to   omou  nari.(KM<sub>I</sub>,III:443,4)
      tell+   go       COMP think COP

'I am thinking of going to tell an old woman

living in a small brushwood hut, who has had a

hard time for many years.'


In example 150, the syntactic relationship between

<u>ga</u> and the predicate of the matrix clause (<u>iro no mede-</u>

<u>takarikereba</u>) can only be seen as one of topic - comment

because the matrix predicate is a subject - predicate

clause in itself.

In 151, the predicate <u>tsugete</u> is a verb of com-

munication; verbs of communication normally take the

particle <u>ni</u> to indicate the person to whom the com-

munication is directed to.

· If we tally the various types of case status by case alone (rather than by particle + case), the largest group is 'object' with 225 examples, followed by 'subject' with 197 examples, <u>ni</u> (including <u>nite</u>, 111), 'sentence-final' ($\emptyset_F$, <u>nari</u>$_F$, 33), <u>yori</u> (18), 'topic' and others.

4.514 No substantial increase in complexity of the modifying section of $N_2$ is observed in this period; on the contrary, the tendency is in the direction of brevity. An extreme, but fairly common, form of this is seen in examples where the modifying section of $N_2$ consists solely of the verb <u>ari</u> (indicating location or existence) or one of its variants (<u>iru</u>, <u>haberi</u>, <u>owasu</u> etc.). In some instances this also involves an unmodified $N_1$, which makes the B pattern very concise indeed:

152 [take    no aritsuru] o mi-tsukete ·
    toadstool    existed    DO find+

$$(\text{KM}_{II}, \text{V}: 97, 6)$$

'we found a toadstool, which was there'

Normally, however, $N_1$ is preceded by a modifying section, although it is often quite simple:

153 osanaki [warawa no arikeru] o   tsukete
    young       child      was-thereDO attach+

    asobasete                    $(\text{KM}_{II}, \text{V}: 198, 5)$
    let-play+

'she left the toddler to play under the super-

vision of a small child, whom she (also) had

with her'


Naturally, the modifying section can be much

longer, but in case of examples involving <u>ari</u> etc.,

a locational phrase, which strictly speaking should

appear within the RC, not infrequently precedes it

(transgressing the boundaries of the RC, cf.4.414):


154 <u>sono ie    ni</u>  yoki [nyōbō no owashikeru] o
    that house in  good   lady        was-there    DO

    shichi     ni   torite              (KM$_{II}$,V:152,13)
    hostage    as   take+

    'as·a hostage he took a fairly high-ranked

    court-lady, who lived in his mansion'


As a matter of fact, the earliest example where

the modifying section of NP$_2$ consists solely of <u>ari</u>

etc. is found in the YM, but this is the only example

observed in our data from the Middle Heian Period.

About 10 examples of this type are seen in the GM;

the KM, however, has well over a hundred, and in con-

junction with their occurrence (although this is by no

means the sole condition for their occurrence) a much

higher number of examples containing elements trans-

gressing the boundaries of the RC.

Occasionally, adverbs, too, are found in a po-

sition outside (preceding) the clause within which

they would appear normally:


155 <u>isasaka-ni</u> bō   no [gu    nado no arikeru] o
    slightly     cell ASS things etc.   existed   DO

nage-sute                          $(KM_I,III:361,1)$
discard +

'he threw out the furniture of his cell, of

which there had been a little'


A complexity not observed so far is seen in ex-
amples where a headless RC contains another headless
RC:


156 ebōshi kitaru [okina    no   chōzome no kariginu
            wear      old man      clove-diedASS

    [hakama no iyashige-naru] o kitaru] $\emptyset_S$
              shabby-looking DO wear

    kitarite                     $(KM_{II},V:57,8)$
    come +

    'an old man with his head covered by an ebōshi,

    who was wearing a clove-dyed kariginu and a

    hakama, which looked shabby, came'


The difference between this 'composite' B pat-
tern and stacked B pattern is the fact that in the for-
mer the two RCs refer to different entities (and there-
fore have different semantic heads), whereas in the
latter the two (or more) clauses refer to one and the
same head.

A further complexity not observed hitherto in-
volves the relationship between the B pattern and the
predicate of its matrix sentence:


156b sono mon  no   mukai    narikeru furuki  [mon
     that gate ASS opposite was      old        gate

    no tojite hito    mo   kayowanu] ni, sono mon
       shut+  people EMP  not-pass  at  that gate

no moto ni, hisakime no   onna ... fuseri.
ASSbase at   peddlar   ASS woman     lay

$$(\text{KM}_{\text{II}}, \text{V:300,13})$$

'by an old gate opposite that gate, which

was shut and not in use, by that door, a

peddlar woman lay'


The semantic head noun of the B pattern here is

taken up again and expanded somewhat (underlined sec-

tion), probably for purposes of clarification ( in

order to ensure that the case marker ni , which fol-

lows the RC, is not misunderstood as a conjunction).

This device has, however, the inherent danger of mis-

firing as the repetition actually makes the first ni

look more like a conjunction than it would otherwise.

At any rate; this device of repetition inevitably re-

sults in a slackening of the otherwise rather tight

connexion between the particle attached to the RC (ni)

and the predicate of the matrix sentence.

I have observed above (4.414) that elements

transgressing the RC boundaries have the effect of

bringing it into dangerously close proximity with

NPs of the koto/no type. An example from the HBK is

of some interest in this connexion:


```
                            ?
157 mata  Hōō       to  iu [tori no   ten     no
    also  Phoenix COMPcall bird    sky     ASS
                        ?
    sumi    ni  habikori] shōryō to  iu     [tori
    corner at  reign+     wren   COMP call bird

    no kano matsuke ni sukuu] ni mo  Fugenbosatsu
       that pine    in nest   OBL EMP Samanthabh.
```

wa    hanare-tamawazu          (HBK:omote,437)
EMP desert SUF -not

'Samantabhadra deserts neither the bird called

Phoenix, which reigns supreme in the extremes

of the sky, nor a bird called wren, which

nests in that pine-tree over there'


To exemplify the all-embracing love and concern

of the Bodhi-satva Samantabhadra two birds are men-

tioned in this sentence, one big and important, the

other small and insignificant. The second bird (shō-

ryō) is the semantic head of a straightforward head-

less RC; another headless RC attempted for describing

the Phoenix proves, however, somewhat abortive because

instead of terminating in the adnominal form it ends

in the ren'yō (adverbial) form in an obvious but fu-

tile attempt to modify the verb (sukuu) of the second

headless RC . The combination $RC_1$ and $RC_2$ is intended

to modify the (deleted) head noun following the se-

cond RC; this is, however, only possible with NPs of

the koto/no type. It may be said, therefore, that this

example has stepped across the boundary dividing the

two phenomena.


4.515 No examples where emphatic particles like zo,

namu etc. occur within the RC are observed in this pe-

riod.


4.516 The $KM_I$ has an interesting example shedding some

further light on the relevancy of modifying sections

to the (zero) head nominal (cf. 4.318). A renowned
saint is tricked into coming to the king's capital
from the wilderness by seducing him by means of five
hundred beautiful women with enticing singing voices
(Vo.5, story No.4). The order of modifying sections
in the relevant sentences is as follows:

158 yamugotonaki shōnin nari to iedomo
    eminent         saint  is  COMP even-if

$\overline{\overline{M}}_1$ iro_ni_medezu $\overline{\overline{M}}_2$ koe___ni_fukeranu mono
    sex at enjoy-not music in indulge-not person

    wa araji                    (KM$_I$,I:349,12)
    EMP there-wouldn't be

    'even though he may be an eminent saint,

    there is nobody who isn't enticed by sex

    and doesn't indulge in music'

159 $\overline{\overline{M}}_1$ tanjōbirei-naramu [nyonin no $\overline{\overline{M}}_2$ koe___bi-
    beautiful-are         women     voice beau-

    naramu] o meshi-atsumete (ibid.:349,13)
    tiful   DO call+ gather+

    'he gathered women of classic beauty who

    had beautiful voices'

160 $\overline{\overline{M}}_1$ tanjōbirei-ni-shite $\overline{\overline{M}}_2$ koe___bi-naru onna
    beautiful+         voice beautiful women

    o erabite                (ibid.:349,16)
    DO choose+

    'he chose women who were of classic beauty

    and had beautiful voices'

The order of the two meaningful elements in question here $(M_1$ and $M_2$, double broken lines) is the same in all three examples. In examples 158 and 160, a head noun (single solid line) is preceded by two modifying sections; the second one is, of course, in the adnominal form, whereas the first one is in the ren'yō (adverbial) form, thus modifying the second, with the resulting combination in turn modifying the head noun.

Unlike, for instance, English, Modern Japanese is not a language which uses stress accent to give prominence to parts of speech, and there is no reason why classical Japanese should have been any different in this respect. We may therefore assume that Japanese relies entirely on syntactic devices to line up modifying elements in order of importance, or even to stress them. In examples involving a number of modifying elements pertaining to the same head noun obviously the element closest to the head noun (i.e. directly preceding it) must be of the greatest relevancy to that head noun; this is also quite obvious from the syntax of examples 158 and 160, where only the second modifying element directly modifies the head noun (by means of the adnominal form).

Example 158, by contrast, is a headless RC; Rel NP (nyonin) is preceded by the modifying element less important in examples 158 and 160, whereas the second, more important modifying element in those examples here follows nyonin, modifying the (deleted)

syntactic head. Here, too, $M_2$ is closer to the syntactic head ($\emptyset$); it is therefore possible to assume that $M_2$ is more prominent than $M_1$, and this assumption is supported by the situation observed in examples 158 and 160.

4.517 83 of the 603 simple examples of B pattern observed in this period involve unmodified nouns.

4.518 Only very few of the 603 examples in this period can be considered restrictive (20). This is a considerably lower percentage than, for instance, in the Late Heian Period.

4.521 In our data for this period, 42 examples of stacked B pattern (no) are observed. Of these, 39 ($KM_I$:14, $KM_{II}$:25) are twofold, and 3 ($KM_I$:1, $KM_{II}$:2) are threefold.

4.522 Table 21 shows the distribution of relative connexion for the first particle (no) in the two-fold examples.

Table 21

| | |
|---|---|
| $no_S$ | 27 |
| $no_{TOP}$ | 12 |
| | 39 |

4.523 The distribution of relative connexion for the
second particle is shown in Table 22.

Table 22

| | |
|---|---|
| $\underline{ga}_S$ | 17 |
| $\underline{ga}_{TOP}$ | 8 |
| $\underline{ni}$ | 2 |
| $\underline{nado}_S$ | 1 |
| $\emptyset_S$ | 10 |
| $\emptyset_{TOP}$ | 1 |
| | 39 |

Here, 'subject' is most frequent with a total
of 28 examples, followed by 'topic' (9) and $\underline{ni}$ (2).

4.524 The particles indicating the case status (part-
ly) of the twofold patterns are distributed as follows.

Table 23

| | |
|---|---|
| $\underline{o}$ | 10 |
| $\underline{ni}$ | 2 |
| $\underline{to}$ | 1 |
| $\underline{ga}_S$ | 2 |
| $\underline{namu}_S$ | 1 |
| $\underline{nari}_F$ | 1 |
| $\emptyset_S$ | 20 |
| $\emptyset_O$ | 2 |
| | 39 |

Here, 'subject' is most common with 23 examples, followed by 'object' with 12 examples, and others.

4.525 The relative connexions (and case status of the stacked RC as a whole) of the threefold examples are shown below.

$$\underline{no}_S - \underline{ga}_S - \underline{ga}_{TOP} \quad (\underline{o})$$
$$\underline{no}_S - \underline{ga}_S - \underline{ga}_O \quad (\emptyset_{TOP})$$
$$\underline{no}_{TOP} - \underline{ga}_S - \underline{ga}_S \quad (\emptyset_S)$$

In all three examples, the second and third connecting particle is $\underline{ga}$; for the second connexion it indicates 'subject', whereas for the third connexion the range is from 'subject' through 'topic' to 'object'.

4.526 Only one of the above 42 examples of stacked B pattern involves an unmodified noun (twofold example).

4.527 None of these stacked examples can be considered restrictive (even in part).

4.528 A number of stacked examples, both two- and threefold, too (cf. 4.514), involve NPs consisting only of the verb $\underline{ari}$ in its adnominal form $\underline{aru}$.[13] Of the 10 examples of this type, 5 have $\underline{aru}$ as the first RC, whereas the remaining 5 have it as the last RC. An example each is given below.

161 ima wa mukashi [[sō no <u>arikeru</u>] ga<sub>S</sub>
    now EMP old     monk    existed

    yamugotonaki sō no moto ni miyazukae
    eminent       monk ASS place at serving

    shikeru] ∅<sub>S</sub> arikeri.     (KM<sub>II</sub>,V:207,6)
    did     existed

    'long ago, there was a young monk, who lived

    (then), who served in the palace under an

    eminent monk.'


162 shinden     no [[hashira no taorete nokoritaru]
    liv.room    ASS pillar     fall+    remained

    ga<sub>S</sub> <u>aru</u>] ni shiri o uchi-kakete
        exist on hips DO PREF put-down

                        (KM<sub>I</sub>,IV:72,9)

    'he sat down on a pillar in the living room,

    which had toppled over and had remained, and

    was there'


In case of the latter example, it is obvious that a person cannot sit down on a pillar unless that pillar has fallen over <u>first</u>; in other words, <u>aru</u> ('happened to be there') refers to a pillar which was there in a horizontal, not a vertical position. Not surprisingly, therefore, the NP <u>aru</u> comes after <u>taorete nokori-taru</u>. The position of <u>aru</u> here, then, is conditioned by the relationship of meaning between the two NPs.


4.529 The semantic relationship between NP$_2$ and NP$_3$ in twofold stacked clauses seems largely parallel (interchangeable without significant change in meaning); there does, however, appear to be a tendency for

the more 'obvious' or 'immediate' property of the

semantic head to come first, as may be seen from the

following examples.


163 toshi jūni,san  bakari no  [[onna    no katachi
    years 12,13        about ASS  woman      features

    birei-naru] mimyō no  kinu,    hakama kitaru]
    pretty      nice ASS robe               wore

    kitari-aeri                    (KM$_I$,III:451,7)
    come+  met

    'a woman of twelve or thirteen years of age,

    who was pretty and was wearing a beautiful

    upper garment and <u>hakama</u>, came and joined'


164 take    sanjaku bakari naru chiisaki [[okina
    height 3 feet   about  is   small         old man

    no asagi     no  kamishimo kitaru] ga shinubeki
    l. blue ASS              wore          dying

    kewai    naru] ... ari      (KM,IV:484,7)
    feeling  is         was-there

    'there was ... a little old man of about 3-

    foot height, who was wearing a light-blue

    <u>kamishimo</u> and who appeared to be on his last

    gasp'


165 motodori hanachitaru [[mono    no ue     no  kinu
    top-knot opened        person    upper ASS robe

    kitaru] ga kao kakite chi   aetaru] ga ōji
    wore       face pierce blood oozed    SU road

    no  mizo  no  hotori ni fushitareba
    ASS ditch ASS side    at as-was-lying

                        (KM$_{II}$,V:124,4)

    'because a person with open top-knot, who was

wearing a court-robe, and whose face was in-

jured with blood running down, was lying by

the ditch of the main street'

166 Tōjin     no   sugata no  gotoku  naru[[mono    no
    Chinese ASS shape  ASS  like   is    men    ASS

    kiwamete osoroshige-naru] hitai     ni  makō
    very       frightening-look  forehead on  head-b.

    shitaru]... ori-kitarinu. (KM$_I$,IV:103,1)
    do          came-down

    'men looking like Chinese, who looked very

    frightening, and were wearing headbands, came

    down'

167 wakaki [[otoko no tachi bakari o  hakitaru]
    young      man        sword only  DO carry

    ga  ito  tsuyoge-naru] yuki-tsuranarinu.
    very strong-looking go+  joined

                              (KM$_{II}$,V:175,7)

    'a young man joined them, who was armed with

    only a sword, and looked very strong'

In examples 163 and 166, a person's face or fa-

cial expression is described first, followed by a de-

scription of what they     wear; in 164 and 165, per-

sons' apparel is mentioned first, followed by what hap-

pened to them. We may therefore say that the more ob-

vious, but less important facts about these persons are

given first. It may also be possible to say that the

more static aspect is mentioned first, and the more

dynamic aspect thereafter (such a tendency is already

apparent in the Late Heian Period, e.g. example 148).

In the above example 167 this is not as obvious as in

the other examples; the same (young) man is, however,

referred to a little later in the same story as

tachi   hakitaru otoko         (<u>ibid</u>.:175,9)
sword   carry    man

'the man carrying a sword'

which suggests that NP$_2$ again mentions the more obvious property of the man.

4.531 It may seem surprising that the particle <u>ga</u>, which links RCs in stacked examples of the B pattern normally in position of 'subject', should appear in position of 'object' as in the following three-fold example.

168 onore ga [[[musume no haberu] ga$_S$ kainin    shi
    my    ASS    daughter exist       pregnancy do+

sude ni_ kono tsuki  ni atarite haberitsuru]
already  this month  in due    has-been

ga$_O$ tachimachi ni ya  to   omoite  hiru mo
       any-time    at EMP COMP think   day  EMP

yadori shi-tatematsuru] ∅$_{TOP}$ tada    ima
keep-in do SUF                    right   now

niwaka ni sono keshiki no habereba
suddenly   that signs   SU as-exists

(KM$_{II}$,IV:467,4)

'as my daughter, whom I happen to have, who is pregnant and already in her last month, whom we have had staying with us during today thinking she may be due any moment, is suddenly showing signs of labour right now'

In this example, <u>musume</u> can only be interpreted

as the object of <u>yadori shi-tatematsuru</u>.[14]

Examples of this type ($ga_O$, $ga_{TOP}$) may be seen
as an indication that the particle <u>ga</u> is mainly used
to conjoin clauses in stacked examples (rather than
indicating their case status). It is interesting to
note in this context that no example involving the
particle <u>o</u> to join clauses is found in our data from
the Insei Period; almost all conjoining particles are
of the variety <u>ga</u> or $\emptyset$, the case status being 'subject'
or 'topic'. Apart from the above $ga_O$, the only excep-
tions are two examples involving <u>ni</u> appearing in two
sentences describing one particular  incident in the
same story. One of these examples is given below:


169 [[hamaguri no chiisayaka-naru] <u>ni</u> miru no
    clam         small              weed

    fusayaka-nite oi-idetarikeru] o  mitsukete
    profusely    has-grown       find+

                      ($KM_{II}$,V:238,12)

    'he found a clam, which was small, on which
    seeweed had grown profusely'


The above is, incidentally, the only example of
unmodified $N_1$, as in the other example (<u>ibid.</u>:239,7)
<u>hamaguri</u> is modified by <u>chiisaki</u> ('small').


4.532 There are some examples of stacked B pattern in
this period which display added complexities such as
containing another (simple) B pattern, inserted clauses
ending in the final (<u>shūshi</u>) form, and repeated ele-
ments intervening between the B pattern and the predi-

cate of the matrix sentence, but I shall not enter in-
to details here.

## 4.6 Headless RCs formed by no in the Kamakura Period

Japanese language sources are scarce for the
Kamakura period. The sources used here are not very
voluminous, either. It is therefore not surprising

that the total number of examples in this period is
small; there are 12 examples of simple B pattern,
and 1 example of stacked pattern. No examples at all
were observed in the SS.

4.611 Table 24 shows the frequency of relative con-
nections per source.

Table 24

|          | HK | HM |    |
|----------|----|----|----|
| $\underline{no}$S   | 1  | 7  | 8  |
| $\underline{no}$TOP |    | 4  | 4  |
|          | 1  | 11 | 12 |

4.612 The types of case status within the matrix sen-
tence are shown per source in Table 25.

Table 25

| | HK | HM | |
|---|---|---|---|
| $\underline{o}$ | | 5 | 5 |
| $\underline{ni}$ | | 2 | 2 |
| $\underline{wa}_S$ | | 1 | 1 |
| $\underline{mo}_S$ | 1 | | 1 |
| $\underline{ga}_S$ | | 1 | 1 |
| $\emptyset_O$ | | 2 | 2 |
| | 1 | 11 | 12 |

Here, 'object' is highest with 7 examples, fol-
lowed by 'subject' with 3 and $\underline{ni}$ with 2 examples.

4.613 Two of the examples in the HM involve unmodi-
fied nouns.

4.614 One example is restrictive (HM).

4.621 The only example of stacked B pattern in this
period is found in the HM.

4.622 Its twofold relative connexion is of the fol-
lowing type:

$\underline{no}_{TOP}$ - $\underline{ga}_S$

4.623 Its case status within the matrix sentence is $\phi_O$.

4.624 None of its sections can be considered restrictive.

4.7  Headless RCs formed by <u>no</u> in the Muromachi period
4.711 Our sources for this period are several times greater in volume than those for the previous period; they are, however, much smaller when compared to those of the Late Heian or Insei Periods.

4.712 Table 26 shows the distribution of relative connexions per source for simple B pattern.

Table 26

|  | TS | AHM | AIM | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| <u>no</u>S | 28 | 36 | 5 | 69 |
| <u>no</u>O | | 1 | | 1 |
| <u>no</u>TOP | 3 | 8 | 2 | 13 |
| <u>no</u>L | | 2 | | 2 |
| | 31 | 47 | 7 | 85 |

4.713 The types of case status within the matrix sentence are shown in Table 27.

Table 27

|        | TS | AHM | AIM |    |
| ------ | -- | --- | --- | -- |
| o      | 12 | 22  | 4   | 38 |
| ni     | 6  | 11  | 2   | 19 |
| wa_S   | 3  | 2   |     | 5  |
| wa_O   |    | 2   |     | 2  |
| wa_TOP | 3  |     | 1   | 4  |
| ga_S   | 6  | 6   |     | 12 |
| yori   |    | 1   |     | 1  |
| ∅_G    | 1  | 3   |     | 4  |
|        | 31 | 47  | 7   | 85 |

Here, 'object' is most common with 40 examples, followed by ni (19), 'subject' (17), 'topic' (4) and others.

4.714 8 examples are restrictive.

4.715 All of our Muromachi-period sources are said to reflect to a fair degree the spoken language of the time. It is therefore not surprising to find that some examples of B pattern show an amalgamation of the ad-nominal (rentai) and final (shūshi) forms of inflected words (yōgen) and inflected suffixes attached to them.[15] Examples of this type are especially frequent in the AHM and AIM.

170 [take    no makkuro-ni <u>haeta</u>] wa ten    o  harau
    bamboo    black          grown    sky   DO sweep

    ka    to  omou   zo                    (TS:26,14)
    EMP   COMPthink EMP

    'the bamboo, which grows all black, appears as

    though it sweeps the skies'


171 curoqino [juzuno    <u>chijsai</u>]no[16]    (AHM:387,18)
    ebony ASS rosary    small

    'an ebony rosary, which was small'


172 Yasuyori nhůdǒ       ua  figaxiyama no Sôrinji
           lay-priest EMP          ASS     temple

    ni   vaga [sanzǒ no <u>atta</u>] ni vochitçuite
    at   his   mt.ret.    existed in settled

                                  (AHM:82,22)

    'the lay priest Yasuyori settled down in the

    mountain retreat, which he had within the

    grounds of the Sōrin temple at Higashiyama'


Forms like <u>haeta</u>, <u>chiisai</u> and <u>atta</u> (instead of
<u>haetaru</u>, <u>chiisaki</u> and <u>attaru</u>) are formally not dis-
tinguishable from final forms; this means that the B
pattern has lost one important formal characteristic,
namely the adnominal-form ending of the NP. It seems,
however, fairly certain that the above forms, which
represent algamated final and adnominal forms, were
still being understood as <u>functioning</u> as an adnominal
form in this context.


4.716 A number of examples in this period, too (cf.
4.514) involve <u>ari</u> etc. standing on its own; also,

examples where elements transgress the boundaries of the B pattern are not uncommon (172 above is such an example; <u>figaxiyama no Sôrinji</u> is the element normally expected within the RC).

Furthermore, there is an interesting example in the AHM which is of a type not observed in earlier periods:

173 Iqezzuqiua    curocuriguena [vmano      vmauomo
              EMP dark chestnut   horse       horsesDOEMP

fitouomo       amari kurötareba,   iqezzuqito
peopleDOEMP overly as-bites                    COMP

tcuqerareta], fassunno vmato      qicoyete
was-named      (4')8''ASS horseCOMP  said

gozaru.                              (AHM:233,6)
is

'It is said that Ikezuki is a 4'8'' horse of

dark chestnut colour, which was named ikezuki

('eater of things alive') because it bites

both horses and people excessively.'

In this example, a B pattern ending in an amalgamated final/adnominal form modifies a further, explicit, head nominal (<u>hassun no uma</u>); it is not clear if the relationship between the predicate of the B pattern and this head nominal is one of adnominal modification, or of zero conjunction by juxtaposition. However, the matrix sentence, which is a topic - comment (equational) type of sentence, makes the latter possibility quite remote; this point can easily appreciated if one considers the form this example would take as an A pattern:

?173' Ikezuki wa kurokurige na [uma no uma o mo

hito o mo amari kurōtareba ikezuki to

tsukerareta] uma, hassun no uma to ...


It appears as though tsukerareta in 173 modifies

hassun no uma , i.e. no head nominal uma can be assumed

after tsukerareta. The only possibility, therefore, is

to interpret this example as another instance of con-

tamination between the B pattern and another, similar

but distinct syntactical pattern (cf. example 157, 4.

514).


4.717 The number of stacked examples found in this pe-

riod is small. There are only three (all twofold) ex-

amples (all AHM).


4.7171 The types of twofold relative connexions are

given below:


$\underline{no}_S$ - $\underline{ga}_S$     2 examples

$\underline{no}_S$ - $\underline{o}$     1 example


4.7172 The case status of the stacked RCs is distri-

buted as follows:


ni     2 examples

o     1 example


4.7173 One example involves an unmodified noun; none

of the examples is restrictive (in total or in part).

4.8   In this Chapter, we have made a survey of the B
pattern formed by <u>no</u>, covering sources of the Japanese
language extending over some 800 years.

4.811 We have observed an increase in the degree of
complexity in and around the Late Heian Period, with
not much substantial change taking place thereafter,
with the exception of certain indications suggesting
that the B pattern occasionally gets dangerously close
to other syntactic patterns.

   We have, however, also seen some very consistent
statistics regarding the relative connexion and case
status of the B pattern - by and large, these have re-
mained very much the same over this long span of time.

4.812 Thus, the relative connexion of 'subject' ($\underline{no}_S$)
has consistently been of a higher occurrence than all
other types throughout these eight centries (although
it shared first place with 'topic' in the Early Heian
Period; the total number of examples there was, how-
ever, very low with only two). It is followed by 'top-
ic' in second place, although this is shared with 'ob-
ject' and 'temporal' in Nara, and 'subject' in Early
Heian. Third place is generally occupied by 'object',
although no example is recorded in the small data of
the Kamakura Period, and 'object' is displaced into
fourth rank by 'locative' by a small margin in the
Muromachi Period.

4.813 A similarly consistent picture emerges when examining the relative frequency of the major types of case status over these eight centuries: 'object' occupies first place throughout; second place goes mostly to 'subject' and third to <u>ni</u>, although no example of 'subject' is found in the Nara period, and 'object' is the only one encountered in Early Heian. Numbers are, however, very small in both instances. Also, <u>ni</u> displaces 'subject' in second place by a small margin in the Muromachi period.

4.82 When we observe the situation in more detail, however, it is possible to point out a number of historical changes which occur during the time covered by this thesis.

4.821 In general terms, there is a development towards greater complexity; examples of a nature not observed in earlier periods are found as time progresses. In some cases, the B pattern appears to approach the limit of being recognizable as such because syntactic features characteristic of other patterns are included in it.

4.822 Until the Insei Period, instances involving elements transgressing the boundaries of the RC gradually increase to a fairly high percentage. Some of these can be linked with instances of <u>ari</u> standing on its own; this latter phenomenon is also on

the increase until the Insei Period.

4.823 Elements intervening between the particle attached to the RC and the predicate of the matrix sentence occasionally cause a repetition of that particle attached to a repeated head noun or similar; this variation is observed for the first time in the Insei Period.

4.824 Some change is seen with regard to the particles indicating the case status of the RC; this change can be understood as running parallel to a corresponding development in the Japanese language at large, although no statistics on this are available in the literature.

If we compare, for instance, the relative frequency of the particles $\underline{o}$ and $\emptyset_O$ in expressing the case status of 'object', and $\underline{ga}_S/\emptyset_S$ for 'subject' as a percentage of total 'object'/'subject' of the B pattern within the matrix sentence, this development shows as indicated in Table 28 below.

Table 28

| | $\underline{o}$ | $\emptyset_O$ | others | $\underline{ga}_S$ | $\emptyset_S$ | others |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mid.H. | 88% | 12% | 0% | 15% | 53% | 32% |
| LateH. | 71% | 21% | 8% | 17% | 36% | 47% |
| Insei | 90% | 8% | 2% | 36% | 57% | 7% |
| Kamak. | 71% | 29% | 0% | 33% | 0% | 67% |
| Murom. | 95% | 0% | 5% | 71% | 0% | 29% |

Compared to $\emptyset_O$, the particle o is consistently more frequent throughout the periods contained in Table 28; if we ignore the very small data of the Kamakura period, it may be said that o is generally on the rise throughout, except for the Late Heian Period (GM), which shows a decrease. Almost exactly the reverse situation applies to $\emptyset_O$, which shows an increase until the Late Heian Period, and declines to zero thereafter.

The subject-marker ga, too, is on the increase steadily, from 15% in Middle Heian to 71% in Muromachi. The situation with $\emptyset_S$ is, however, more complex: it is quite high until the Insei Period (with a 'dip' inbetween during the Late Heian Period), but then disappears altogether.

This overall development parallels the general tendency to increasingly express case relations by means of the relevant case particle rather than zero, which was quite common earlier, especially for expressing 'subject'.

Once again disregarding the small data from the Kamakura period, it may be said that the GM provides an exception in the above developments by relatively favouring $\emptyset_O$ for expressing 'object', and a combination of 'others' (emphatic particles) and $\emptyset_S$ over ga for 'subject' (whereas the increase of $\emptyset_S$ in the Insei Period does not take place at the expense of the strongly growing ga, but rather the dramatically declining 'others'). The exceptional position of the GM in this development can probably be explained in

connexion with its style of writing, which is said to
be exceptionally vague, more hinting than pointing,
with very long sentences.

4.825 There has been a fair number of restrictive ex-
amples among the simple B patterns formed by no (al-
though there are no formal characteristics distin-
guishing them from the more frequently observed non-
restrictive ones.

With the exception of the Early Heian Period, the
percentage of restrictive examples hovers between 36%
(Nara) and 20% (Late Heian) until Late Heian, but
thereafter suddenly drops to a mere 3% in the Insei
Period, and remains under 10% for the remainder. It
is possible to link this change with the increased
number of syntactic elements which transgress
the boundaries of the B pattern in the Insei Period:
both may be an indication that the particle no by
then had developed a tendency to be understood at
least partly as a subject-marker rather than an as-
sociative one.

4.83 For the stacked pattern, too, some fairly con-
sistent statistics can be observed.

4.831 In case of the twofold pattern, the first con-
nexion (no) is one of 'subject' or 'topic' only,
with no examples of 'object' observed. In periods
with a substantial number of examples 'subject' clear-
ly leads 'topic'.

4.832 The second connexion is generally led by 'subject'; second place is, however, divided between 'object' (Late Heian) and 'topic' (Insei Period) in periods with a fair number of examples.

4.833 The case status of these stacked examples within the matrix sentence is difficult to formulate in general terms; in periods with a substantial number of examples the situation is as follows: 'object' tops 'subject' in the Late Heian Period, whereas 'subject' tops 'object' in the Insei Period.

4.834 The total numbers of threefold examples is only four, which makes any statistic evaluation unreliable.

However, it may be worth repeating (cf. 4.525) that in the three Insei Period examples both the second and third connexions are exclusively formed by the particle ga.

4.841 In historical terms it is interesting to observe the rôle played by the particle ga in the second relative connexion: ga ($ga_S$, $ga_{TOP}$) is already quite prominent in the Late Heian Period (50% of second connexions), but rises to 64% in the Insei Period, and occupies 100% and 66% respectively in the admittedly poorly documented Kamakura and Muromachi Periods. It is thus the most commonly used particle effecting the second connexion (the figures for $ga_S$ alone are 33%, 44%, 100% and 66%).

4.842 As observed above (4.833), the occurrence of 'object in the second relative connexion is quite prominent in the Late Heian Period, but fades into insignificance thereafter. A similar tendency is apparent for the case status of stacked examples, which changes from being dominated by 'object' in the Late Heian Period to being dominated by 'subject' in the Insei Period; the trend thereafter is, however, not clear.

4.843 The occurrence of restrictive examples (in total or in part) in the stacked pattern is very low. They are, however, not entirely absent, and this is true for both the twofold and threefold pattern.

4.844 Only two stacked examples (one in the Insei, and one in the Muromachi Period) involve an unmodified semantic head noun (or $N_1$); this is in contrast with the simple pattern, where this occurrence is not uncommon.

NOTES to Chapter IV

1   No attempt is made in this translation to account
    for the verb <u>isurokou</u>, for which no meaning has yet
    been established, as this is the only example re-
    corded of it.

2   This <u>sakimori no uta</u>(frontier guard's poem) con-
    tains forms of Eastern dialect: <u>ke</u> corresponds to
    'standard' <u>ki</u>, <u>iwabito</u> to <u>iebito</u>, and <u>tatarishi</u>
    to <u>taterishi</u>.

3   For a discussion of this use of <u>no</u> in MJ, see, for
    instance, Kuno (1973) and Josephs (1976).

4   <u>-tachi</u> is a nominal suffix.

5   One early example is observed in BS:lower l.4:
    <u>kusurishi wa tsune no ∅ mo aredo</u>...

6   Precisely that is the difference between MYS:398
    and MYS:399 (cf. Ch.II, Note 22).

7   <u>Shūtome</u> here is modified by <u>kono</u> ('this'), which
    would make it a noun of unique denotation at any
    rate.

8   I am indebted to Associate Professor M. Okazaki
    of Kokugakuin University for drawing my attention
    to the implications this example presents (person-
    al communication).

9   Calculation based on the number of pages in the
    NKBT edition.

10  Underlining here is intended to convey the empha-
    sis provided by <u>zo</u>.

11  Translations are again only a rough guide; the
    translation of stacked examples is especially
    problematic as their existence in English is dis-
    puted. See, for instance, Stockwell <u>et.al.</u> (1973)
    p.442ff.

12  Estimates based on the number of pages in the
    NKBT editions.

13  One early example of this is found in the Late
    Heian Period (GM:2041,12), where <u>aru</u> is positioned
    last.

14  The NKBT edition (Vol.IV, p.467, headnote 15) in-
    terprets this example as being only twofold on
    account of two of the <u>rufubon</u> MSs having <u>ni</u> in-
    stead of zero after <u>yadori shi-tatematsuru</u>. As
    six other MSs including <u>kohon</u> do, however  have
    zero, I consider this argument insufficient and
    follow the other MSs.

15  This process was not to be completed until the
    ensuing Tokugawa Period; the two forms are still
    often distinguished in the above sources, espe-
    cially the TS.

16  For original examples from the AHM and AIM, which
    were written in (Portuguese) romanization, I re-
    tain the original spelling.

Chapter V

5.1 General description of headless RCs formed by particles other than no

5.11 In our discussion of the A pattern formed by particles other than no I have discussed the syntactic device of zero-modification (as distinct from zero-conjunction) between nouns in Japanese (3.11). On that occasion I have observed that no-modification between nouns may be regarded as explicit noun modification, whereas modification between nouns without no may be said to be an implicit type of modification.

In general terms, headless (or replacive) RCs have been assigned the formula

$$[_{NP} [_S \ldots \text{Rel NP} \ldots \text{V}]]$$

in Downing (1978), where, as we have seen above (1.13), NP is the nominal coreferential with the deleted Head NP. We have mentioned in that context that example 7 is an instance of this from classical Japanese (Middle Heian Period).

(7) [onna no [iro yurusaretaru]]

The above general formula applies, however, equally to example 89 (cf. 3.1).

(89) [Nan'in no Gorō [Mikawa no kami nite arikeru]]

In both instances there is a nominal coreferential
with the deleted head noun which modifies that deleted
head noun; in (7) this takes the form of no-modifica-
tion, and in (89), zero-modification. In either case,
the verb of Rel NP ends in the adnominal form; in clas-
sical Japanese this may be said to be the indicator
that Rel NP has replaced the "nominal it used to modify"
(Downing, ibid.:398).

Further evidence supporting the above assumption is
the existence of pairs of highly similar examples where
one example employs no-modification, and the other, zero-
modification:


174 Hon'in no  kitanokata no  mi- [otōto    no
         ASS main-wife  ASS PREF  y.sister

    warawana     o Ōfune to  iu ] imasukarikeri.
    child's nameDO      COMPcall existed

                                   (YM:410,8)

    'the main wife of Hon'in had a younger sister,

    who was called Ōfune by her infant name!'


175 sono mikado    no  mi- [ko    ∅ Takaiko to mōsu]
    that emperor  ASS PREF  child            COMP call

    imasokarikeri.              (IM:39,1)
    existed

    'that emperor had a daughter, who was called

    Takaiko'


Examples where the two NPs are joined by zero-par-
ticle rather than no may be explained in the above man-
ner as instances of zero-modification between two core-
ferential nouns, of which one is explicit, the other im-

plicit (or deleted).

5.12 Basically the same explanation can be given for ex-
amples involving an emphatic particle to join the two
NPs, as it is a common occurrence in Japanese (especial-
ly the pre-modern language) for such a particle to re-
place zero-particle, thus providing additional shades of
meaning such as emphasis to parts of the NP.

> 176 [kimi <u>wa</u> on- zo ni matowarete fushi-tamaeru]
>     girl     PREF dress by wound     lie    SUF
>
> o semete okoshite          (GM:192,7)
> DO forcibly rouse
>
> 'he forcibly roused the girl, who was lying there
>
> with her dress wound around her'

> 177 koe no ito tōtoki ni [azari <u>mo</u> yoi      ni
>     voice ASS very august due-to priest last night at
>
> saburaite neburitaru] uchi-odorokite darani yomu.
> serve+     was-asleep PREF wake-up         read
>
>                               (GM:1655,8)
>
> 'because of the august voice the high priest, who
>
> was asleep after his turn last night, too, woke
>
> up and read the <u>dhāranī</u>.'

The above examples are instances where the emphatic
particles <u>wa</u> and <u>mo</u> replace zero-particle, the former for
reasons of contrastive emphasis on <u>kimi</u> as compared to
other young persons around, and the latter to emphasize
<u>azari</u> in the sense of linking him with other priests who
also had been chanting incantations during the night (and
may have fallen asleep, too).

178 [Ben zo "..." tote katachi mo kaetekeru] o
            thinking shape    EMP had changed DO

shiite    meshi-idete                (GM:1686,3)
forcibly  order-out

'against her will he ordered Ben, who had entered

the lay priesthood thinking "...", before himself'

179 Ni  no [miya namu  shikibukyō ni    nari-tamai-          ✓
    two ASS prince                into turn SUF

keru] omo'omoshūte tsune-ni shimo mairi-tamawazu.
      important+    always   EMP   come  SUF not

'The second prince, who had attained the rank of

shikibukyō, was a man of importance and did not

come very often'                        (GM:1962,8)


180 chūgū     no  haha   Miyasudokoro no kokoro ni mo
    empress  ASS mother                SU  heart  in EMP

irezu       hashiri-kai-tamaeru hito[kudari bakari
insert-not  run-write-SUF       one  line

waza to naranu]o   ete            (GM:984,3)
nonchalant     DO  gain+

'he gained a short passage jotted down carelessly

by the empress's mother Miyasudokoro, which was

nonchalant'


The above examples are instances where emphatic and

other particles like zo, namu and bakari replace zero-

particle.

Despite of the existence of such examples it seems,

however, that not all examples appearing to belong to

the above types of examples can be included in our data;

let us consider, for instance, the following:

181 ōn-   menoto nado yō  no   oi-shiraeru [hitobito zo
     PREF nurses etc. likeASS old+stupid     people

"..." to uchi-mazete omou  ]∅mo arikeru
        COMP PREF mix    think    EMP existed

                                        (GM: 1065,7)

'as for the old court-ladies such as her nurses,

there were some who had mixed feelings, think-

ing "..."'


182 waga mi    sa    bakari to   omoi-agari-tamau kiwa
    themselves so   much   COMP think-up   SUF    degree

no  [hito   koso tayori ni tsuketsutsu keshibami
ASS   persons      chance at getting      hint

koto ide-kikoe-tamau]∅mo  arikere (GM:784,8)
things speak-out SUF      EMP were

'as for those who fancied themselves to be of

suitable rank, some, on occasions, gave indica-

tions of their intentions or even voiced them,

but'


183 [kashizuki   nado shitashū mi   ni soubeki]∅wa
     assistants       closely  her with be-close EMP

imijū   eri-totonoete                (GM:695,11)
very    choose+line-up

'they carefully chose the people who were to be

in close proximity with her, such as her as-

sistants'


If the particle attached to what appears to be the

semantic head was <u>no</u> (instead of <u>zo</u>, <u>koso</u> etc., then the

above examples could safely be regarded as instances of

B pattern. The reason why this assumption is not neces-

sarily correct for the above examples is due to the following possibilities: firstly, the particle zo etc. may be replacing the subject/topic marker Ø (equivalent to MJ wa) in a copular sentence, and secondly, the NP modifies a (deleted) head noun which (while being coreferential with the semantic head noun to which the particle zo etc. is attached) forms part of the predicate of that noun in the following way:

181' ...oi-shiraeru hitobito zo ["..." to uchi-mazete

     omou] Ø mo arikeru

This type of NP is commonly encountered in pre-modern Japanese. Below, some examples are given:

184 ...onaji naoshisugata naru hito taterikeri.
     same         attire in   man   was-standing

   [Kakurenamu to omoikeru] Ø o hiki-todometareba
   hide         COMP think      DO PREF stopped-when

                        (GM:1471,4)

   'there was standing a man in the same (noble)

   attire of naoshi. When he stopped that man, who was

   attempting to hide,'

185 ōn-kaji     ni saburau daitoko-tachi, dokyō
    PREFincant. for serve h.priests SUF sūtra-reading

   no sō     nado mo mina koe   yamete idenu naru
   ASS priests etc.EMP all voice halt+ seem      left

   o    saritomo [tachidomarite mono subeki] Ø mo
   but still     stay-behind+ things do      EMP

   aramu                     (GM:1391,1)
   exist

'it appears that the high priests who are here to perform incantations and the priests reading the <u>sûtra</u> have halted their voices and left; however, some might be staying behind and still carry on'

Kuroda (1974) treats examples of this type, where the subject etc. of the <u>yōgen</u> in the adnominal form within the NP is not present but 'understood' as 'PRO$_S$' in instances where the relationship between the 'understood' noun and the <u>yōgen</u> is one of subject, as is the case in the above examples 181 and 182. Terada (1958) adopts basically the same attitude (cf. 1.3, p. 46). Kuroda (1974) does, however, not exclude the possibility that it may be the syntactic head noun which is 'understood'. I follow Wenck (1974, Vol III, p.838, footnote No.5) in assuming the latter possibility; in other words, I do not, as Kuroda and Terada do, assume 184' as the underlying structure of 184, but 184'':

184' [hito no kakurenamu to omoikeru] hito

184'' [kakurenamu to omoikeru] hito [1]

184'' is, of course, a prenominal RC of the type commonly observed in MJ.

Example 183 is somewhat different from 181 and 182 in that the context indicates that <u>nado</u> cannot be replaced by <u>no</u> or zero-particle. <u>Nado</u> indicates that the noun <u>kashizuki</u> modifies the verb <u>sou</u> as one instance out of several, i.e. in the sense of 'etcetera'. It

does, therefore, form part of the NP in which <u>kashizuki</u> is, however, not the semantic head but a verb modifier:

183' [kashizuki nado shitashū mi ni soubeki] ∅ wa...

Here, ∅ stands for <u>hito</u> (or a similar head noun). 183 belongs therefore to the same type of NP as examples 184 and 185.

5.13 In Chapter IV we have seen that although the majority of relative connexions between NPs joined by the particle <u>no</u> belongs to the types <u>subject</u>, <u>topic</u> etc., instances of <u>object</u>, <u>temporal</u>, <u>locative</u> etc. are also observed. The syntactic relationship of 'object' is, of course, normally expressed by the particle <u>o</u> (or $\emptyset_0$) if the relationship is between a noun and its predicate, whereas 'temporal' and 'locative' are normally expressed by the particle <u>ni</u>.

In the following example, for instance, the relationship between <u>musume</u> and <u>kashizukikeru</u> is one of object:

186 kono daitoku no  shizoku narikeru hito no
    this priest  ASS relation was      man  ASS

[musume  <u>no</u> uchi   ni tatematsuramu tote
 daughter      palace to  will-send        thinking

kashizukikeru] o misoka-ni  kataraikeri
raise with care DO secretly   seduced

(YM:611,8)

'he secretly seduced the daughter of a man re-
lated to this monk, whom he (=that man) was

bringing up with great care in the intention

of sending her to court as the Emperor's mis-

tress'


This is an instance of B pattern formed by the as-

sociative particle no, which in itself does not indicate

the relationship of 'object' between the noun preceding

no and its predicate, but the associative relationship

between the noun musume and the implicit (deleted) head

(musume or mono etc.) .

It is possible to assume that the semantic head

musume can alternatively be marked by the particle

which would normally be used to indicate its syntactic

function within the limits of the B pattern, i.e. the

particle o in case of example 186. Thus, the following

alternative to 186 appears possible:


186' ...hito no [musume o uchi ni tatematsuramu

tote kashizukikeru] o misoka-ni kataraikeru


The above assumption is verified by the existence

of examples such as the following:


187 kano tono    no  shinden no  mae   ni  sukoshi
    his  mansion ASS main hallASS front at  a little

    tōku taterikeru [sakura o chikaku hori-ue-
    far  had-stood   cherry   nearby  dig+plant

    tamaikeru] ga  karesama-ni miekereba (YM:463,1)
    SUF        SU  withering   as-looked

    'because a cherry-tree which had been standing

    a little far away in front of the main hall of

his mansion, which he had transplanted nearby,

looked as though it was going to wither,'

Where the syntactic relationship between the seman-
tic head and its predicate is one of 'locative' etc., the
particle <u>ni</u> is occasionally found in place of <u>no</u>:

188 kano Shōkyoden no   mae   no [matsu <u>ni</u> yuki no
    that              ASS front ASS pine       snow SU

    furi-kakarikeru] o orite          (YM:533,4)
    fall+lie         DO break

    'she pulled off a (branch of) pine standing in

    front of that <u>Shōkyōden</u>, upon which snow had

    fallen,'

An important question with regard to examples in
which <u>o</u> and <u>ni</u> join the NPs is whether they can be re-
garded as instances of B pattern with a semantic head
noun in the way indicated in 187 and 188, or if they
rather ought to be regarded in the manner indicated in
187':

187' [kano tono no shinden no mae ni sokoshi tōku   .

     taterikeru sakura o chikaku hori-ue-tamaikeru]

     ga...

This would make it an example of the type seen in
184, where a (deleted) syntactic head is modified (or
replaced) by a modifying section in the adnominal form,
which does not contain a semantic head noun.

However, I choose to treat examples of this kind
as instances of B pattern; the reasons for doing so are
as follows:

Firstly, there is a semantic head noun which is co-
referential with the syntactic head noun (deleted); the
pattern does therefore fit the general formula for head-
less (or replacive) RCs.

Secondly, it is not uncommon to find syntactic
elements transgressing the boundaries of the B pat-
tern formed by no; the existence of such elements with
examples of B pattern formed by particles other than no
(e.g. 194 below) is therefore insufficient for ruling
out the possibility that this pattern, too, is a vari-
ant of the B pattern.


5.14 We have to consider one further particle used to
form the B pattern, ga.


189 [Ben ga maireru] ni notamau            (GM:1605,1)
            had-come to tell

    'she told Ben, who was with her'


In Chapter III we did not observe any examples of
A pattern formed by ga. However, the overall number of
examples is small, and this makes is difficult to cate-
gorically deny the possibility of A pattern formed by
ga, especially if one takes into consideration that the
particle ga   was  statistically far less common in OJ
than no.

The above example (189) of B pattern formed by ga

involves the particle _ga_ attached to the semantic head
noun;[2] however, there are also examples of a similar
nature, where _ga_ is attached to the adnominal form of
a _yōgen_:


190 [ito   wakaki jōrō-datsu _ga_ [mie-tatematsuraji
     very young  appear-senior  not-wish-to-be-seen

     to   omou]] Ø wa  shimo kokoro ni makasete
     COMPthink.   EMP EMP   heart  to leave-to

     itareba                          (GM:1452,5)
     as-were-there

     'because young court-ladies appearing to be

     fairly high in rank, who did not want their

     face to be seen by him, chose to remain inside'


I exclude examples of this type from our consider-
ations for the same reason that I have excluded ex-
amples such as 184 (cf.5.12): a head noun (_nyōbo_ etc.)
may be assumed after _omou_, which makes 190 an example
of twofold prenominal RC with an 'understood' head; the
particle _ga_ serves to connect the two modifying clauses.


5.2  Headless RCs formed by particles other than _no_ in
the Nara period


5.211 Only one example of this type is found in our data
for this period; it is formed by the particle _ga_ and is
given below.


191 [imo  ga iishi] o  okite              (MYS:4429)
    wife    spoke  DO leave

    'leaving behind my wife, who protested,'

5.212 The relative connexion is one of subject.

5.213 The case status of the RC within the matrix sentence is $\underline{o}$ (object).

5.214 The RC is obviously nonrestrictive, as it refers to the author's wife (or lover).

5.215 The above example has an unmodified $N_1$.

5.216 No stacked examples are observed in our data for this period.

5.3  Headless RCs formed by particles other than $\underline{no}$ in the Early Heian Period

5.311 Here, three examples are observed; all are in the TFM.

5.312 Two of these examples are formed by $\underline{ga}$, and one by zero-particle. One example for each type is given below.

    192 [Sobu ga Kochi    ni yukishi] wa kabe o   shiroku
              N.China to went       EMPhead DO white

        shite kuni ni kitariki.          (TFM:25)
        made+ home to came

        'Sobu, who went to North China, came back home

        with white hair'

193 bin[patsu ∅ $^3$ fukudameru] o   mo   kaki-mo- osamezu
    side-locks        were-fluffy DO EMP PREF EMP not-mend

(TFM:127)

'she did not even straighten her side-locks,

which were fluffy'

5.313 The relative connexion in all three examples is

'subject'.

5.314 The case status within the matrix sentence is dis-

tributed as follows:

Table 29

| o | 1 |
|---|---|
| wa$_S$ | 2 |
| | 3 |

5.315 All three examples are nonrestrictive.

5.316 The two examples involving *ga* have an unmodified

$N_1$.

5.317 No instances of stacked examples are observed.

5.4  Headless RCs formed by particles other than *no* in

the Middle Heian period

5.411 The 24 simple examples observed in this period

are distributed among the four sources used as follows:

Table 30

| IM | 4 |
|---|---|
| KKS | 3 |
| TN | 1 |
| YM | 16 |
| | 24 |

Proportionally speaking, the number of data is not quite in line with the relative size of the sources; data are relatively scarce in the TN and IM, whereas the YM has a fairly large number of examples. All KKS examples are from prose sections (kotobagaki, sachū), with no examples found in the poems.

5.412 Of the 24 examples observed in this period, 3 have an unmodified $N_1$.

5.413 The various types of relative connexion are distributed among the four sources as shown in Table 31.

Table 31

|  | IM | KKS | TN | YM |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| o |  |  |  | 2 | 2 |
| ni | 1 |  |  | 1 | 2 |
| ga$_S$ |  | 1 |  |  | 1 |
| bakari$_O$ |  |  |  | 1 | 1 |
| ∅$_S$ | 3 | 2 | 1 | 11 | 17 |
| ∅$_O$ |  |  |  | 1 | 1 |
|  | 4 | 3 | 1 | 16 | 24 |

Here, 'subject' is most frequent with 18 examples, followed by 'object' with 4 and ni with 2 examples.

5.414 The types of case status within the matrix sentence are distributed as follows:

Table 32

|  | IM | KKS | TN | YM |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| o |  |  |  | 5 | 5 |
| ni | 1 | 1 |  | 3 | 5 |
| ga$_S$ |  |  |  | 1 | 1 |
| ga$_G$ |  |  |  | 2 | 2 |
| namu$_S$ |  |  |  | 1 | 1 |
| ∅$_S$ | 3 |  |  | 4 | 7 |
| ∅$_O$ |  |  | 1 |  | 1 |
| ∅$_G$ |  | 2 |  |  | 2 |
|  | 4 | 3 | 1 | 16 | 24 |

The most prominent group here is 'subject' with 9 examples, followed by 'object' with 6 examples, ni (5 examples) and others.

5.415 Among our examples from this period, the occasional one has a somewhat complex modifying section of (deleted) $N_2$ which contains a subordinate clause joined by conjunctions such as -te or -ba etc; on the whole, however, they are quite simple.

No complex modifying sections have, incidentally, been observed in our examples for the Nara and Early Heian Periods.

On the other hand, there are again some examples involving aru and similar verbs standing on their own; in one example of this type, a locational NP is found outside (preceding) the boundaries of the RC, in another instance aru occurs without this being the case.

Altogether, two examples involve aru on its own. The number of elements transgressing the RC boundaries, on the other hand, is four; three are locational NPs marked by ni, and one an ablative NP marked by yori. The following is one of the examples involving a transgressing ni-phrase (underlined):

194 kano miya      ni Yamato to   iu [hito  ∅ saburai-
     his   mansion in       COMPcall lady    served

    keru] o  mono  nado notamaikereba (YM:619,5)
          DO  things etc. as-said

    'because he made advances to a court-lady cal-
    led Yamato, who served in the Shikibukyō's man-
    sion'

5.416 One of the examples appears to be an instance of restrictive RC:

195 kono ori  ni aru      hitobito orifushi ni
    this time at present people   occasion for

    tsuketsutsu kara[    uta-domo Ø_S toki ni        ↙ sensa !
    suit            Chinese poemsSUF    time for

    nitsukawashiki] iu.                 (TN:26,9)
    befitting      say

?'at this time the people present recited as the

occasion demanded Chinese poems which suited the

occasion'

This example is, however, not without problem, as
orifushi ni tsuketsutsu and toki ni nitsukawashiki are
virtually identical in meaning, which would seem to ren-
der one or the other superfluous. There is, therefore, a
possibility the RC toki ni tsukawashiki is the author's
(probably somewhat ironical) comment on the proceedings
(which, after all, involved mainly country bumpkins!) in
the manner conveyed by the following translation:

'at this time the people present recited as the

occasion demanded Chinese poems, which actually

happened to suit the occasion'

5.421 In our sources for this period, three examples of
stacked headless RCs are observed; all three are found
in the YM.

5.422 By twofold relative connexion (combined with their
case status in the matrix sentence) these examples are

distributed as follows:

$$\emptyset_S - \emptyset_{S_4} \quad (\emptyset_S)$$
$$\emptyset_S - nan\text{-}_S \quad (\underline{o})$$
$$\emptyset_S - \underline{o} \qquad (\underline{o})$$

The first connexion is in each case one of $\emptyset_S$; the second one has two instances of 'subject' and one of 'object'. The latter instance is, however, as will be obvious from the example below, not without problem with regard to the second relative connexion.

. 196 Mizunoo no mikado no ōn-toki Sadaiben no
        ASS emperorASS PREFtime      ASS

  [[musume  $\emptyset_S$ Ben no miyasundokoro tote
    daughter       ASS court-lady    called

  imasukarikeru] <u>o</u> mikado   mi-  gushi oroshi-
  existed           emperor  PREF hair  cut-off

  tamōte nochi ni hitori imasukarikeru] o Sai-
  SUF     after    alone  existed        DO

  chūjō shinobite kayoikeri          (YM:596,6)
     . secretly visited

'The Sai-chūjō (Narihira) secretly visited the daughter of a Sadaiben, who, during the reign of emperor Mizunoo had served the emperor under the name of court-lady Ben, who had been the only one since the emperor had entered the lay priesthood'

The second relative connexion in the above example is indicated by the particle <u>o</u>, a particle which marks the object when used as a case marker. However, the syn-

tactic relationship between the NP preceding o and the

predicate of the ensuing NP (hitori imasukarikeru) is

clearly one of subject. Not surprisingly, therefore,

two MSs[5] have zero-particle instead of o, which makes

it possible to interpret this example as an instance of

$$\phi_S - \phi_S \quad (\underline{o})$$

The remaining 9 MSs have, however, o; we have there-
fore little choice but to accept 196 in its above form.

The only possible interpretation of 196, then, is

to take the second NP as the object of the matrix predi-

cate (kayoikeri); the same consideration applies to $NP_3$,

which has o attached to it, too. The question, then, is

if the semantic head noun (musume) should also be inter-

preted as $\phi_O$, which would make this stacked RC an ex-

ample of very loose relative connexions between the NPs

involved. In fact, it would render it indistinguishable

from an appositional construction in which the second

and third NPs are syntactically parallel.

Similar considerations are possible for examples of

simple B pattern which employ the same case particle or

case for the relative connexion and the case status with-

in the matrix sentence:

```
197  sono Yamashina no [miya     ni taki otoshi mizu
     his              ASS palace    w.fall drop+water

     hashirase nado shite omoshiroku tsukuraretaru]ni
     make-run  etc. do +  nicely     is-made

     mōde-tamōte                      (IM:78,4)
     go    SUF
```

'he went to his Yamashina palace, which was con-

structed in a most pleasing manner with water-

falls and streams of water'

Such an interpretation could further be extended to

examples involving such combinations of relative connexion

and case status as $\emptyset_S$ - $\emptyset_S$ (cf. 175), or in fact any ex-

ample joined by zero-particle, as it could be maintained

that $\emptyset$ expresses the same case as the particle indicating

the case status of the RC within the matrix sentence,

thus proposing $\emptyset_O$ - o, $\emptyset_L$ - ni etc. instead of $\emptyset_S$ - o,

and $\emptyset_S$ - ni. However, there is no positive argument for

making such a case, and it is contradicted, at any rate,

by examples involving different particles (combinations

like o - ga, ni - o etc., which are, after all, much more

frequent than examples with identical cases such as o - o

or o - $\emptyset_O$, the latter numbering only 9 out of 25 examples

for this period for simple B pattern).

A further argument against such a treatment of the

above stacked example 196 arises from the fact that it

has a temporal NP preceding the boundaries of the stacked

RC; this temporal NP would normally form part of the RC.

The NP Mizunoo no mikado no ōn-toki cannot modify the

matrix predicate (kayoikeri) for semantic reasons: the

Sai-chūjō obviously visits the lady after the emperor's

abdication and entry into the lay priesthood. For this

reason, it can only be interpreted as modifying the

predicate of $NP_2$ as indicated in the underlined section

in 196':

196' Sadaiben no [musume $\emptyset_S$ <u>Mizunoo no mikado no</u>

<u>ōn-toki</u> Ben no miyasundokoro tote imasukari-

keru] o ...

Assuming that the above represents the correct in-
terpretation as to where the underlined NP belongs, it
seems highly unlikely to assume that the semantic head
<u>musume</u> could figure in an 'object' relative connexion
as shown below in 196'', sandwiched as it is between
two elements (underlined) of a clause belonging to-
gether semantically:

??196'' <u>Mizunoo no mikado no ōn-toki</u> Sadaiben no

[musume $\emptyset_O$ Ben no miyasundokoro tote imasu-

karikeru] o ...

5.423 The types of case status of these stacked clauses
in the matrix sentence are 'object' (2 examples) and
'subject' (1 example).

5.424 None of these examples involves an unmodified $N_1$.

5.425 None of these examples can be assumed to be re-
strictive as a whole or in part.

5.426 In two of the three stacked examples $NP_2$ and $NP_3$
appear basically interchangeable; this does, however,
not seem to be the case in the remaining example (196).
Although syntactically speaking both $NP_2$ and $NP_3$ are
objects of the matrix verb and employ identical tenses,
there is a 'progressive' relationship between them in

terms of time (indicated by the temporal clause ending

in <u>nochi ni</u> in NP$_3$). This progressive relationship is

obviously not due to the particle <u>o</u>; rather, it appears

to be conditioned by the context.

5.5 Headless RCs formed by particles other than <u>no</u> in

the Late Heian period

5.511 Our only source for this period, the GM, has 110

examples of the pattern under discussion. By types of

relative connexion they are distributed as follows.

Table 33

| | |
|---|---|
| <u>o</u> | 11 |
| <u>ni</u> | 2 |
| <u>to</u>$_O$ | 1 |
| <u>ga</u>$_S$ | 2 |
| <u>wa</u>$_S$ | 11 |
| <u>wa</u>$_O$ | 1 |
| <u>wa</u>$_{TOP}$ | 1 |
| <u>mo</u>$_S$ | 6 |
| <u>mo</u>$_O$ | 1 |
| <u>zo</u>$_S$ | 1 |
| <u>namu</u>$_S$ | 1 |
| <u>bakari</u>$_S$ | 2 |
| $\emptyset_S$ | 43 |
| $\emptyset_O$ | 22 |
| $\emptyset_{TOP}$ | 5 |
| | 110 |

Here, 'subject' rangest highest with 66 examples,

followed by 'object' with 36, 'topic' with 6, and <u>ni</u>

with 2 examples.

5.512 The distribution of types of case status within the matrix sentence is shown in Table 34.

Table 34

| | |
|---|---|
| o | 41 |
| ni | 16 |
| ga$_S$ | 9 |
| ga$_G$ | 2 |
| wa$_S$ | 3 |
| wa$_O$ | 2 |
| wa$_{TOP}$ | 1 |
| mo$_S$ | 2 |
| namu$_O$ | 1 |
| shite | 1 |
| yo$_S$ | 1 |
| $\emptyset_S$ | 16 |
| $\emptyset_O$ | 13 |
| $\emptyset_G$ | 2 |
| | 110 |

The most prominent group here is 'object' with a total of 57 examples, followed by 'subject' (31), ni (16) and others.

The only example involving the interjection yo is of some interest, as this particle functions somewhat simi- lar to an exclamation mark in English, and as such does not, of course, indicate a case relationship in itself. However, the case relationship between the NP it is at- tached to and the matrix predicate is clearly one of subject, and therefore I have shown this relationship as

$\underline{yo}_S$.

198 kamu no kimi no   ōn-harakara no  [dainagon ∅
             ASS PREF brother ASS

    Takasago utaishi] yo Tō-chūnagon ko-   ōitono
          sang                           late minister

    no  tarō    Makibashira no  hitotsubara nado
    ASS e.son                ASS real brother etc.

    mairi-tamaeri                    (GM: 1467,7)
    came  SUF

    'kamu no kimi's (Tamazakura's) dainagon-brother

    - the man who sang Takasago, remember? - and the

    Tō-chūnagon, the eldest son of the late minister

    (Kurohige), Makibashira's real (uterine) brother,

    came'


As may be seen from the translation, the interjection
yo makes $NP_2$ virtually stand on its own, much like an
apposition. It is interesting to note that no such example
was observed in our data of the B pattern formed by no.


5.513 The modifying section of $N_2$ is generally again
(cf. 5.415) quite simple, with only very few examples of
a more complex nature observed. More complex examples in-
clude instances where the RC contains a concessive clause
(underlined) marked by -do, as seen in the following ex-
ample.


199 asahanada no   kaifu  no [orimono ∅ orisama
    light-blueASS sea-lifeASS fabric  design

    namamekitaredo niyoiyaka-naranu] ni  ito koki
    elegant-but    not-flashy        to  very dark

```
kaineri        gushite                    (GM:753,12)
red silk       add
```

'to a light-blue fabric with sea-life motives,

which was elegant in design but not flashy, he

added a crimson fabric of glossed silk'


The RC may also contain an appositional clause (under-
lined), which only vaguely modifies the verb of the RC:


```
200 ōn- [fumi-domo    ∅ yareba    oshi to obosarekeru
    PREF letter SUF      if-tear   pity COMP thought

    ni  ya  sukoshizutsu nokoshi-tamaerikeru] o
    COP Q   little-by-little left SUF          DO

    mono no tsuide ni goranjitsuke yarase-tamai nado
      occasionally    find+        make-tear SUF etc.

    suru ni                        (GM:1420,14)
    do   as
```

'he occasionally found letters from ladies,

which - was it (as the old poem has it) that he

thought that they were too valuable to be torn

up? - he had amassed little by little, and had

them torn up'


A few examples are also found in which syntactic el-
ements normally expected within the RC precede it. All
five examples of this type involve locative clauses
marked by ni.


5.514 No example of a clearly nonrestrictive nature is
observed in our data for this period.


5.515 24 examples have an unmodified N₁.

5.521 Five examples of stacked B pattern are found in the GM. This is a relatively small number when compared to the number (three) found in the much smaller data for the Middle Heian Period (cf. 5.421).

5.522 Their distribution by twofold relative connexion (combined with the case status within the matrix sentence) is as follows:

$\emptyset_S$ - $\emptyset_S$    ($\emptyset_S$)

$\emptyset_S$ - $\emptyset_S$    ($\underline{o}$)

$\emptyset_S$ - $\underline{ga}_S$    ($\underline{namu}_S$)

$\emptyset_S$ - $\underline{ga}_S$    ($\underline{o}$)

$\underline{mo}_S$ - $\underline{o}$    ($\underline{mo}_O$)

The first relative connexion is 'subject' throughout, indicated by $\emptyset$ (4 examples) or $\underline{mo}$ (1 example).

The second connexion, too, is dominated by 'subject' (expressed by $\emptyset$ and $\underline{ga}$ with two examples each), with one instance of 'object' ($\underline{o}$).

In terms of case status within the matrix sentence, 'object' is slightly more frequent than 'subject' (3 vs. 2 examples).

5.523 None of these stacked examples involves an unmodified $N_1$.

5.524 None can be assumed to be restrictive even in part.

5.525 In three of the five examples, $NP_2$ and $NP_3$ appear

interchangeable; the remaining examples, however, present a somewhat different picture:

201 nanigashi ga [[imōto ∅ ko- Emon no kami no
  certain man ASS sister late     ASS

  kita no kata nite haberishi] ga ama ni narite
   wife  had-been    nun into turn

  haberu] nan hitori mochite haberishi onnago
  has  EMP one  have  had   girl

  o ushinaite nochi ... kanashibi ... (GM:2057,11)
  DO lose  after  is-sad

  'a certain man's sister, who had been the wife of the late Emon no kami, and is now a member of the lay-priesthood, is very sad after losing her only daughter'

In the above example, $NP_2$ and $NP_3$ are clearly not interchangeable, as is obvious from the progressive relationship between these NPs, and also from the tenses used therein (past - present). The two NPs are linked by ga on this occasion; however, in the only other example where $NP_2$ and $NP_3$ are linked by ga the relationship is not a progressive one. It appears therefore that the progressive relationship in 201 is not conditioned by the particle ga but rather by the context.

  The other example involves the particle o to link $NP_2$ and $NP_3$:

202 Tsukushi nite wa kuchioshikaranu [[hitobito
    in  EMP not-bad    persons

  mo kyō yori chiriboi-kitaru] nado o
  EMP capital from made-their-way etc.

        tayori ni tsukete yobi-atsume nado shite safura-
        chance for suit   call+gather etc. do     em-

        waseshi] mo   niwaka-ni madoi-ide-tamaishi sawagi
        ployed   EMP suddenly waver+left  SUF·    turmoil

        ni mina okurashitekereba          (GM:747,14)
        in all  as-had-left

        'as in the confusion of their helter-skelter de-

        parture they had left behind all the lady-atten-

        dants, whom they had manage to bring together

        and employ in Tsukushi from some reasonable lady-

        attendants, who had made their way from the capi-

        tal'


    This example is of some interest as it involves an

element preceding the stacked RC (Tsukushi nite); if this

element were to take its expected place within the stacked

RC, it would form part of NP$_3$. Besides the particle o

within the above context, this is another factor making

for a progressive relationship between NP$_2$ and NP$_3$.


5.6  Headless RCs formed by particles other than no in

the Insei period


5.611 In our two sources for this period, 165 examples

of simple B pattern of this type are observed. Their

distribution by relative connexion is shown in Table 35

below.

Table 35

| | KM$_I$ | KM$_{II}$ | HBK | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| o | 17 | 22 | | 39 |
| ni | | 2 | | 2 |
| ga$_S$ | 10 | 15 | 1 | 26 |
| ga$_{TOP}$ | | | 1 | 1 |
| wa$_S$ | 5 | 8 | | 13 |
| wa$_{TOP}$ | | 1 | | 1 |
| mo$_S$ | | 2 | | 2 |
| zo$_S$ | | 1 | | 1 |
| nado$_O$ | | 1 | | 1 |
| bakari$_S$ | | 1 | | 1 |
| $\emptyset_S$ | 32 | 37 | | 69 |
| $\emptyset_O$ | 1 | 4 | | 5 |
| $\emptyset_{TOP}$ | 2 | 2 | | 4 |
| | 67 | 96 | 2 | 165 |

In frequency, 'subject' here ranks first with 112 examples, followed by 'object' (45), 'topic' (6) and ni (2).

The only instance of ga$_{TOP}$ is seen in the following example:

203 [Daibadatta ga  Muken       no   soko    ni-shite
    Devadatta          Avīci-hell ASS bottom   at

    kurushimi[6] kiwamarinaki] ni mo  busshō mashimasu
    pain         is-unlimited  in EMP Buddhahood exists

                                    (HBK:omote 435)

    'Devadatta, who endures unlimited pain in the

    depths of the hell of Avīci, too, possesses

    potential Buddhahood'

The syntactic relationship between the noun kurushimi
and the adjective kiwamarinaki is one of subject – pred-

icate; <u>Daibadatta</u> can therefore only be understood as the topic of the clause.

203 is, incidentally, one of several examples which throw some light on the function of <u>ga</u> in the B pattern. 203 is immediately preceded by a syntactically parallel but semantically contrasting B pattern formed by <u>no</u>:

204 [Bonden       no  moromoro no  raku   ni  hokorite
      Brahmadeva          every     ASS comfortOBL enjoy+

      inochi hachiman-daigō-naru] ni mo  busshō
      life          eternal-is        in EMP Buddhahood

      mashimasu                              (HBK:<u>omote</u> 434)
      exists

'Brahmadeva, who enjoys every comfort and has an eternal life, too, possesses potential Buddhahood'

Both clauses have as their semantic head an unmodified proper noun and are thus highly similar; however, one is marked by <u>ga</u> (203), the other by <u>no</u> (204). The issues involved in this difference will be discussed below (5.612).

5.612 One of the semantic differences between the associative particles <u>no</u> and <u>ga</u> in Japanese much discussed by Japanese grammarians[7] is the 'difference in respect/disrespect (<u>sonpi no sa</u>)' evident in their usage when attached to personal nouns or personal pronouns in classical Japanese. There seems to be general agreement that <u>no</u> is attached to nouns/pronouns to which the speaker etc. wants to attach psychological distance (or which he wants to treat in a neutral manner), whereas <u>ga</u> is used after

nouns/pronouns to which the speaker wishes to give proximity (ranging from intimate to insulting). This is, of course, closely related to the general difference in meaning between the two particles, which has been described as 'wide' or 'loose' (no), and 'narrow' or 'tight' (ga),[8] with the latter resulting in an expression of greater proximity or intimacy when used in conjunction with personal nouns or pronouns.

The above (5.611) examples 203 and 204 illustrate this difference (which seems to be undisputed, although the reasons have not been explained adequately as yet) in usage: Devadatta (ex.203) is a Judas-like figure, who betrayed the Buddha; Brahmadeva, on the other hand, is one of the major Buddhist deities.

In this connexion it is of great interest to observe to what types of nominals the particle ga is attached in the B pattern.

We have already seen that the only example of B pattern formed by particles other than no in the Nara period is an example formed by ga (cf.5.211, ex.191) attached to a personal noun (imo, '(my)wife','(my) lover').

In the two examples of B pattern formed by ga in the Early Heian Period, ga is also attached to personal nouns (one of the two examples is given above (192, 5.312)).

The only example formed by ga found in our sources for the Middle Heian Period is observed in the kotoba-gaki of the KKS. It is attached to chichi ('father'), which is again a personal noun.

One of the two examples involving ga observed in the Late Heian Period has already been quoted above (189,

5.14); <u>Ben</u> is an abbreviated form of a court lady's title, used very much like a name. The other example involves a reflexive personal pronoun of the first person, <u>ono</u>:

205 [ono <u>ga</u> ito   medetashi to   mi-tatematsuru] o
    I       very beautiful COMP consider SUF   DO

    ba   tazune-mo-   omohosade [9]       (GM:122,8)
    EMP visit   EMP   not-thinking

'(your) not even thinking of visiting me, who considers you so beautiful,'

Our data from sources of the Insei Period show a considerably higher occurrence of B pattern formed by <u>ga</u>, 26 in all if $ga_{TOP}$ is included. The nominals to which <u>ga</u> is attached are as shown in Table 36.

<u>Table 36</u>

|  | $KM_I$ | $KM_{II}$ | HBK |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| personal name | 5 | 12 | 1 | 18 |
| personal pronoun | 3 | 1 |  | 4 |
| family rank |  | 1 |  | 1 |
| professional rank | 2 | 1 |  | 3 |
| numeral+counter |  |  | 1 | 1 |
|  | 10 | 15 | 2 | 27 |

'Family rank' is intended to cover nouns such as <u>chichi</u> ('father') or <u>ani</u> ('elder brother') etc.; 'professional rank' covers 'profession' as well, including nouns like <u>ben</u>, <u>hangan-dai</u> etc.

All four instances of personal pronouns are forms of

<u>wa</u>/<u>ware</u> ('I'), as in, for instance, the following example.


206 [wa<u>ga</u> uete  muriki-naru] o  haruka-ni tōki tokoro
    I     starved+ weak      DO far       distant place

    ni hakari-yarite  nanji hitori jiki-seri
    to tricked+send+  you   alone  ate

                              (KM$_\text{I}$:I, 221,14)

    'you tricked me and sent me, who is starved and

    weak, to a far-away place, and ate alone'


The only example involving the combination numeral+

counter before <u>ga</u> reads as follows.


207 kono [gonin <u>ga</u> yo    fukaku ayashiki sugata shite
    these 5 men        night deep   strange  form   do+

    aru] o karamete              (HBK:<u>omote</u> 500)
    exist DO arrest

    'they arrested these five, who were there late at

    night in strange outfits'


In all examples formed by the particle <u>ga</u> observed

so far, <u>ga</u> is attached to nominals referring to persons.

This fact may be viewed as a strong indication that <u>ga</u>

is used as an alternative to the associative particle <u>no</u>

in examples of the B pattern where intimacy or disrespect

towards the semantic head nominal do not warrant the use

of the more 'distant' <u>no</u>. <u>Ga</u> cannot, therefore, be regar-

ded as a subject marker in such examples, although no

instances of <u>ga</u>$_0$ etc. have been observed. The following

example provides some further strong support for this

assumption:


208 [Kuji       <u>no</u> sagashikarishi] mo  shiniki,
    Confucius      was-wise          EMP died

[Tōseki ga isamerishi] mo shiniki (KM$_I$,II:319,2)
Dao-zhi    was-brave    EMP died

'Confucius, who was wise, died; Dao-zhi, who

was brave, also died'

Confucius was, of course, a well-known Chinese

sage; by contrast, Dao-zhi was a famous bandit, hence

ga is attached to the latters name.

5.613 The types of case status of the RC within the

matrix sentence are distributed as follows.

Table 37

| | KM$_I$ | KM$_{II}$ | HBK | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| o | 26 | 33 | 1 | 60 |
| ni | 8 | 13 | 1 | 22 |
| ga$_S$ | 5 | 29 | | 34 |
| ga$_G$ | | 1 | | 1 |
| yori | 2 | 1 | | 3 |
| wa$_S$ | 1 | 1 | | 2 |
| wa$_O$ | | 2 | | 2 |
| wa$_{TOP}$ | | 1 | | 1 |
| mo$_S$ | 1 | 4 | | 5 |
| sora$_S$ | 1 | | | 1 |
| nado$_O$ | | 1 | | 1 |
| nari$_F$ | 1 | 2 | | 3 |
| ka$_F$ | 1 | 1 | | 2 |
| $\emptyset_S$ | 15 | 3 | | 18 |
| $\emptyset_O$ | 1 | 3 | | 4 |
| $\emptyset_{TOP}$ | 4 | 1 | | 5 |
| $\emptyset_F$ | 1 | | | 1 |
| | 67 | 96 | 2 | 165 |

The largest group is 'object' here with 67 examples,

followed by 'subject' (60 examples), <u>ni</u> (22) and others.


5.614 On the whole, the modifying section of NP$_2$ is

again (cf. 5.415, 5.513) relatively simple, although

in some instances appositional or subordinate clauses

are observed.

Elements preceding the boundaries of the RC include

<u>ni-</u> and <u>yori</u>-phrases, and adverbs. A phenomenon not ob-

served hitherto is the occurrence of transgressing subject-

phrases:


209 | Shidatsu ga ie ni todomareru hito, <u>Shidatsu ga</u>
ASS house at had-stayed man <u>SU</u>

[fumi o shirushi-okikeru] o mitsuketari
letter DO write+ left DO found

$$(KM_I, II: 131, 10)$$

'a person who had remained in Shidatsu's house

found a letter, which Shidatsu had written for

posterity'


In this example, a subject NP (underlined) marked

by <u>ga</u> precedes a B pattern formed by <u>o</u>.

In some instances there are <u>two</u> elements preceding

the RC rather than only one as observed so far:


210 kono shōni, tsune-ni, <u>tonari no ie ni</u>
this boy always next ASS house at

<u>niwatori no</u> [kaigo o umeru] o hisoka-ni
<u>hens SU</u> eggs laid DO secretly

yukite nusumite $$(KM_I, II: 219, 8)$$
go+ steal+

'this boy always secretly went and stole eggs,

which the hens laid at the neighbour's house'


Here, a B pattern is preceded by a locative NP
marked by <u>ni</u> and a subject NP marked by <u>no</u>.


211 <u>shibashi to   iite</u>   <u>uchi yori</u>   [hito $\emptyset_S$ ide-kitaru]
    a moment COMPtell+ inside from man        out-came

    o   mireba                          (KM$_{II}$,V:273,8)
    DO when-looked

    'when they looked at the man, who, having told

    them to wait for a little while, came out'


This is an instance of B pattern preceded by a verb-
modifying phrase ending in the <u>te</u> form, and an ablative
phrase marked by <u>yori</u>. Both meaningwise belong inside the
B pattern.

A further complexity, which was observed with the B
pattern formed by <u>no</u> (cf.4.515) but not so far with the
B pattern formed by other particles, involves the sec-
tion between the end of the B pattern and the matrix pre-
dicate:


212 kashikokarikeru [inu o toshigoro  kai-tsukete
    was-intelligent  dog   for-years  keep+

    arikeru] ga, yo      uchi-fukuru hodo ni, koto-
    existed  SU  night PREF deepen while      other

    inu-domo wa  fushitaru ni, <u>kono inu</u> hitotsu
    dog SUF  EMP slept      while this dog alone

    niwaka-ni <u>oki-hashirite</u>          (KM$_{II}$,V:193,15)
    suddenly   rose+run


    'an intelligent dog, who had been kept there

    for some years, while the other dogs were a-

> sleep as the night wore on, this dog alone
>
> all of a sudden got up and ran'

The semantic head noun of the B pattern is taken
up again (single solid line) in proximity to its rather
distant matrix predicate (double broken lines), obvious-
ly for purposes of clarification. However, the overall
effect seems to be a slackening of the normally rather
tight syntactic cohesion between the B pattern and its
matrix predicate, and this usage of ga no doubt was
instrumental in developing the conjunction ga from the
subject marker.[10]

The Insei Period is, in fact, the period of language
history for which Ishigaki (1944) assumes the emergence of
the conjunction ga, although, according to him, examples
are still very few. The above example 212 may be said
to be on the borderline in this respect; there is, how-
ever, a possibility that is was still understood as a
B pattern (the repetition involves, after all, the sub-
ject of the matrix predicate).

In case of ga, along with o and ni, we always do
have to consider the possibility of conjunction; with
o and ni this applies from earlier periods onwards, with
ga, from the Insei Period.

Let us consider the following example in this con-
nexion:

```
213 ie      mo   sumite  hito    mo    nakarikereba, tada
    house   EMP  is-empty+peopleEMP  as-weren't-there only

    osanaki [warawa ∅_S hitori namu arikeru] mo_S, kinu
    young    girl       alone  EMP  existed   EMP  dress
```

> kiru koto mo   naku,   mono    kuu koto mo
> wear NOM  EMP not-exist things+eatNOM EMP
>
> katakute warinakarikereba, <u>sore mo</u>$_S$ ide-sarinikeri
> hard+    as-was-hard-to-bear she      exit+left
>
> 'because her house was empty and no attendants
>
> were there, a young girl, who had been there
>
> all alone, too, because things were hard to
>
> bear as there were no clothes to wear and it
>
> was difficult to get anything to eat, she, too,
>
> left'                          (KM$_{II}$,V:220,17)


Although <u>mo</u>, too, can be a (concessive) conjunction,
the context (especially the first conditional <u>ba</u>-clause)
indicates clearly that this is not the case here.

Incidentally, the adverb <u>tada</u> in 213 is also an in-
stance of an element transgressing the boundaries of the
RC, as it normally can be expected to be positioned in-
side the RC.

As far as the occurrence of examples of 'repetition'
of the above type is concerned, a conservative inter-
pretation of simple B pattern in this period arrives at
a total of three examples.


5.615 No restrictive examples are observed in this
period.


5.621 A total of five examples of stacked B pattern
formed by particles other than <u>no</u> are found in our data
for this period; all are from the KM (KM$_I$,2 examples;
KM$_{II}$, 3 examples).

5.622 The first relative connexion is distributed as

follows:


### Table 38

|        | $KM_I$ | $KM_{II}$ |   |
|--------|--------|-----------|---|
| o      | 1      |           | 1 |
| ø̵ₛ     | 1      | 3         | 4 |
|        | 2      | 3         | 5 |


Here, the connexion of 'subject' is most common

with four examples, followed by 'object' (one example).


5.623 The second relative connexion is distributed as

shown in Table 39.


### Table 39

|           | $KM_I$ | $KM_{II}$ |   |
|-----------|--------|-----------|---|
| ga̱ₛ      | 1      | 2         | 3 |
| ga̱ₜₒₚ    |        | 1         | 1 |
| ø̵ₛ       | 1      |           | 1 |
|           | 2      | 3         | 5 |


Here, 'subject' is again most frequent with four

examples, followed by 'topic' with one example.


5.624 The types of case status of the stacked clause

within the matrix sentence is distributed as follows.

Table 40

|      | $KM_I$ | $KM_{II}$ |     |
| ---- | ------ | --------- | --- |
| o    | 1      |           | 1   |
| ni   |        | 1         | 1   |
| ga$_S$ |      | 2         | 2   |
| ∅$_S$ | 1     |           | 1   |
|      | 2      | 3         | 5   |

Here, 'subject' is most common (3 examples), followed by 'object' and ni with one example each.

5.625 None of these examples involves an unmodified $N_1$.

5.626 None can be interpreted as restrictive even in part.

5.627 An examination of the semantic relationship between $NP_2$ and $NP_3$ (which are syntactically joined by ga in five instances, and by zero-particle in one instance) shows that we are dealing with a 'progressive' rather than an entirely 'parallel' relationship; in other words, the reverse order ($NP_3$ - $NP_2$) would render the meaning of the stacked clause unintelligible or nonsensical.

214  mata moto     no  kuni   yori (?)[11] to  iu
     again originalASScountry from        COMPcall

[[hito ∅$_S$ kentōshi to-shite yukitarikeru] ga
  man              as         had-gone

kaeri-kitarikeru] ni tomonaite kaerinamu tote
had-come-back        OBL accompany+attempted-to-

return                          ($KM_{II}$,IV:342,4)

'he attempted to come back with a man called ?,

who had gone from Japan as a kentōshi, and had

come back'

In this example, the action of 'going' obviously would have to <u>preceed</u> that of 'coming back'.

This example is also another instance (cf.202, 5.525) of stacked RC preceded by a syntactic element transgressing its boundaries.

In contrast to 202, the transgressing element (<u>mata moto no kuni yori</u> would form part of $NP_2$ if it were positioned in its expected place; this further supports the assumption made above in 5.525 that the particle <u>ga</u> is not in itself responsible for the 'progressive' relationship between $NP_2$ and $NP_3$.

A further good example illustrating a progressive relationship between $NP_2$ and $NP_3$ is the following:


215 shikaru aida, toshi sanjū bakari naru otoko
    meanwhile age   30   about  are  men

  [[futari  ø usunibuiro no suikan ni  susogo
    two       light-grey ASS     and dark-hem

  no  hakama kitaru] ga hakama no  soba torite
  ASS       wear           ASS side take+

  takaku hasamite, mae   ni ōki-naru katana
  highly tuck-in+  front in big      sword

  arawa-ni sashite, aya'igasa    kubi ni kake,
  visibly  carry+   braided hats neck on place+

  gesu      naredomo tsukizukishiku  karobika-naru]
  commoner are-but gentle+         elegant

  ø   ide-kitaru                       $(KM_{II},V:167,14)$
      come-out

'meanwhile, two men of about thirty years of age, who were wearing light-grey <u>suikan</u> and <u>hakama</u> with dark-coloured hems, and who had tucked up their <u>hakama</u> high on one side, visibly carried big swords, and wore braided hats on their shoul-

ders, and were of common descent but looked

gentle and elegantly dressed, came'

In this highly complex example, <u>hakama</u> (a skirt-
like piece of apparel), which has already been mentioned
as being worn by the two men earlier (in NP$_2$), is taken
up again and expanded on at the beginning of NP$_3$. Clear-
ly, this repetition of <u>hakama</u> presupposes its previous
mention (in NP$_2$), which makes an interchange of NP$_2$ and
NP$_3$ impossible.

Another interesting example in this context is the
following:

216 sono [[ ito    o   musubi-tsugitsutsu yawara
    this    string  tie+   join+        slowly

    oroshi-kudasu] ga, kiwamete hosokute kaze ni
    lower+let-down     very     thin+    wind by

    fukarete tadayoi-kudaru] o  me      shita nite
    blown+   float+come-down     wife    below at

    <u>kore o mite</u>                    (KM$_\text{I}$,II:333,11)
    this DO see+

'this string, which he slowly lowered tying the
pieces together, which came floating down blown
about by the wind as it was very thin, his wife
below saw it and'

The repetition of the demonstrative pronoun <u>kore</u> (with
the attached object marker <u>o</u>) standing for the (deleted)
head noun of the stacked clause ensures that the stacked
clause is understood as the object of the matrix predi-
cate; this device does, on the other hand, also raise the
possibility that the particle <u>o</u> which is attached to the

stacked clause may be taken as a conjunctive particle

('but') because of the 'intervention' of another ob-

ject NP between the stacked RC and the matrix predicate.

This causes a loosening of the normally rather tight

connexion between the B pattern and the matrix predi-

cate; a tight connexion is of course especially ne-

cessary for recognition of the B pattern in cases

where the particle attached to the B pattern can func-

tion as case particle or conjunctive particle. This

observation is of course equally true for the simple B

pattern, as we have already seen above (5.614).


5.7 Headless RCs formed by particles other than no in

the Kamakura period

In our data from this period, ten examples are

observed, all in the HM.


5.711 The types of relative connexion are shown below.


Table 41

| | |
|---|---|
| ni | 1 |
| ga$_S$ | 3 |
| wa$_S$ | 1 |
| mo$_S$ | 2 |
| ∅$_S$ | 3 |
| | 10 |


'Subject' is very prominent here with 9 examples;
the re~~The three examples of~~ ga$_S$ all involve personal

The three examples of ga$_S$ all involve personal

names before _ga_.

The only example involving the particle _ni_ is a
rather strange one, for which some closer examination
seems warranted:


217 ¦hōshi no [suibyō    _ni_ mizu  o  irete tera  no
       monks SU  water-jar     water DO put+  templeASS

       kata      e  tōrikeru] o Iehiro koi-ukete
       direction in walked     DO         ask+receive+

                                            (HM:54,6)

?⸍Iehiro asked for a water-jar, in which monks
had put water and walked in the direction of
the temple'


The object of the matrix predicate in this ex-
ample is clearly _suibyō_, and not _hōshi_; thus the mo-
difying section of the 'understood' $N_2$ (_suibyō_) would
have to be assumed to read as follows:


*217' [mizu o irete tera no kata e tōrikeru] _suibyō_


As indicated by the asterisk, the above is a form
of modification which is clearly not possible as _tōri-_
_keru_ refers to _hōshi_, and not _suibyō_, meaningwise, be-
cause the latter cannot be linked to _tōrikeru_ in any
meaningful way, neither as subject, object, topic, lo-
cative, instrument or other.

An examination of other MSs reveals a fair degree
of variation between MSs.

The _Nakarai_ MS has the passage in virtually iden-

tical form, which is not surprising as it is said to
be either a copy of the <u>Bunpō</u> MS (from which 217 is
taken) or to go back to a common 'ancestor' MS from
which both have been copied.

The <u>Keishi</u> MS has the following variation:


217'' [suibyō o motte tōrikeru] o mubai-torite
          hold+                    snatch+take+


This B pattern lacks the section <u>mizu o irete</u>
<u>tera no kata e</u>; instead it has <u>motte</u> (and is formed
by <u>o</u> as <u>suibyō</u> is the object of <u>motte</u>). The modifi-
cation section of the 'understood' $N_2$ based on 217''
can be assumed to look as follows:


217'''[motte tōrikeru] <u>suibyō</u>


This seems acceptable, and 217'' can therefore be
regarded to be without problem.

The <u>Kotohiragū</u> MS (and some others) has a version
similar to 217'', which also seems acceptable:


                                12
217'''''[suibyō o mochite tera no kata e tōrikeru]
           o Iehiro koi-torite
                ask+take


From the above considerations it is obvious that
217 is not without problems, and possibly should not
be included in our data; the <u>Bunpō</u> MS is, however,
the only surviving MS of the HM which dates back to

the Kamakura Period; for this reason I choose to in-
clude 217 as a 'hybrid' example of B pattern (it
certainly does not appear to be a simple copying mis-
take) which sheds some light on the limits of per-
missible variation of this pattern.

5.712 The types of case status within the matrix sen-
tence and their distribution are given below.

Table 42

| | |
|---|---|
| o | 2 |
| ni | 1 |
| $ga_S$ | 3 |
| $ga_G$ | 1 |
| $mo_S$ | 2 |
| $\emptyset_S$ | 1 |
| | 10 |

Here, 'subject' is most prominent with 6 examples,
followed by 'object' (2) and others.

5.713 None of these examples can be seen to be restric-
tive.

5.714 All examples are relatively simple, with no
transgressing elements etc. observed.

5.715 No stacked examples are observed in our data for
this period.

5.8 Headless RCs formed by particles other than no in

the Muromachi period

Our sources for this period yield 57 examples of simple B pattern.

5.811 By relative connexion, their distribution among the sources is as follows.

Table 43

|  | TS | AHM | AIM |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| o | 1 | 5 |  | 6 |
| ga$_S$ | 2 | 21 | 4 | 27 |
| wa$_S$ |  | 6 |  | 6 |
| mo$_S$ |  | 1 |  | 1 |
| ∅$_S$ | 2 | 13 | 2 | 17 |
|  | 5 | 46 | 6 | 57 |

Here, 'subject' is overwhelmingly strong with 51 examples, followed by 'object' with 6 examples.

By connecting particle, ga is most frequent with 27 examples, followed by ∅ (17) and others. The nouns to which the particle ga is attached show some deviation from the situation encountered thus far (cf. 5.612;5. 711), because there are examples where the noun is neither a personal pronoun nor a personal name/indicator of professional or family rank etc.

The two examples involving ga in the TS are still very much in line with our sources from earlier periods in that one features a personal pronoun (waga), the other the noun fu ('woman' or 'wife'). The latter is, however, somewhat different from earlier examples be-

cause its meaning is not 'my/his wife' but 'a̱ wife', 'a̱ married woman'.

When we get down to the sources from the very end of the Muromachi Period, examples are encountered in which the noun in question is not indicative of a person at all:

218 cauagixi no [fuchi ga̱ atta] ni corobi itte
    shore    ASS pool    existed into fall+enter+

                          (AHM:214,19)

    'they fell into a water-pool close to the river-shore, which happened to be there'

219 amata no [quaixenga̱ figaxicara nixini yucu]mo
    many  ASS ships       east from west to go  EMP

    ari,                  ( AIM: 472,6 )
    existed+

    'there were many ships, which were going from east to west'

Of the 21 examples involving ga̱ in the AHM, 4 are attached to nouns which do not pertain to persons; in the AIM, 2 of the 4 examples are of this type.[13]

5.812 The types of case status within the matrix sentence are distributed as follows.

Table 44

| | TS | AHM | AIM | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| o | 2 | 28 | 3 | 33 |
| ni | | 5 | | 5 |
| ga_S | .2 | 10 | 2 | 14 |
| ga_G | 1 | | | 1 |
| wa_TOP | | 2 | | 2 |
| mo_S | | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| | 5 | 46 | 6 | 57 |

'Object' occurs here most frequently (33 examples), followed by 'subject' (16), ni (5), and others.

5.813 None of these examples are restrictive.

5.814 In the AHM and AIM, 8 examples of elements transgressing the RC boundaries are observed. 6 of these involve elements marked by ni (adverbs, temporal and locational phrases etc.), 1 each involves a te-clause, a temporal toki-phrase, a subject-phrase marked by zero-particle, and an object-phrase marked by o. The latter is a type not observed so far; the only example is given below.

220 voriximo sono isobatauo [funega touotta]ga cono
    that-time that beach DO  ship   passed  SU this

    xicauo  mite  yauo    ytateta (AIM:494,11)
    deer DO see+ arrowsDO shot

    'a ship, which at that moment passed by that

    beach, saw this deer and shot a series of ar-

    rows at it'

5.9  This chapter has been dealing with the B pattern formed by particles other than no. In this histo-

rical survey covering sources from the Nara to Muromachi
periods we have dealt 'en bloc' with a variety of B pat-
tern unified only by the fact that they are not formed
by no but by one of a variety of other particles in-
stead, and that they all conform to the general formula
of the B pattern.

In general terms, some fairly constant statistics
are again (cf. 4.811) found with this type of B pattern,
too, throughout the eight centuries spanned by our sour-
ces.


5.911 The relative connexion of 'subject' is clearly the
most prominent type throughout our data. Second place is
generally occupied by 'object' in periods with a reason-
able number of examples, while third place is somewhat
difficult to decide upon, being mostly occupied by ei-
ther ni or 'topic'; where 'topic' is present (Late Heian
and Insei periods), however, it tops ni.


5.912 When we survey the relative occurrence of the vari-
ous types of case status of the RC within the matrix
sentence in the periods of language history covered here,
'object' generally comes out on top. Where this is not
the case, the overall data is small and/or it occupies a
close second place next to 'subject'. Third place goes
to ni where at all represented (which is in periods with
a fair number of examples).


5.92 When our data is scrutinized in detail, however,
a number of changes can be observed in the course of

time.

5.921 During the early periods (Nara, Early Heian),
the particle ga is found more often than any other par-
ticle in forming the B pattern of this type (this ob-
servation is somewhat speculative because of the small
overall number of data).

By contrast, from Mid-Heian through Insei (which
are amply documented), zero-particle clearly dominates
all other types of relative connexions in the B pattern
formed by particles other than no, while ga becomes
quite insignificant in the Mid-Heian and Late Heian pe-
riods; it is, however, on the rise again in the Insei
period.

From Kamakura onwards, ga becomes highly prominent
again, sharing first place in Kamakura, and clearly e-
merging on top again in the Muromachi period.

This development can be seen to run parallel to
other developments involving the particle ga in general
and its use in the B pattern in particular.

As far is the use of ga in the relative connexion
of B pattern is concerned, we have seen that from the
Nara through the Insei periods it is used exclusively
after nominals indicating a person; there are several
examples where ga is seen to alternate with no in pairs
of B pattern where one person is treated in a 'distant'
(respectful) manner (marked by no), and the other in an
'intimate' (or disrespectful) way (marked by ga).

This fact indicates that this use of ga represents
its function as associative marker rather than subject-

marker; both are functions of this particle which are observed from earliest sources of the language, and no clear decision has ·yet been arrived at among Japanese grammarians as to which use of ga is the earlier, intrinsic one.

It is said[14] that from about the Muromachi period onwards no is mainly used as associative particle, while ga functions chiefly as subject-particle, although its use as associative particle after personal nouns (and, to a certain extent, other proper nouns) still continues.

As we have seen earlier (5.811), at the end of the Muromachi period instances of B pattern emerge where ga is attached to nouns other than personal (or other proper) nouns; this may be seen as an indication that ga as used within the B pattern now tended to be understood as subject-marker rather than associative marker. Further support for this assumption is provided by the emergence in the Muromachi period of an example (220, 5.814) of B pattern formed by ga preceded by a 'transgressing' object-phrase.

5.922 Some other major particles used for joining the B pattern are o and ni. As far as the object-marker o is concerned, earliest examples of this use are found in Mid-Heian (3 examples); the case status of these clauses is equally divided there between 'subject', 'object' ($\emptyset_0$) and 'genitive'. In Late Heian, instances of 'object' are slightly higher than 'subject', while others are small. In the Insei period, 'object' is

three times greater than 'subject', and in Muromachi five times greater (no examples are recorded in the scant Kamakura period data). Thus there is a clear tendency for the o-pattern to be used in instances where both relative connexion and case status are 'object'.

The o-pattern is never very high in occurrence as a percentage of B pattern formed by particles other than no, hovering mostly around the 10% mark where present with the exception of the Insei period, where it occupies 24%.

Obviously, the o-pattern must be seen in conjunction with the $\emptyset_0$ pattern (and other forms of object-connexion, which are, however, very small in number); interestingly, the $\emptyset_0$ pattern is quite prominent in the Late Heian period (20%), whereas it is very small (3%) in the Insei period, and is not observed in our data thereafter. This means that object-connexion begins growing in Late Heian with 20% overall (including other forms of object-connexion, too), reaches its peak in the Late Heian period with 33% overall, and begins to decline in the Insei period (27%), coming down to 10.5% in the Muromachi period. The percentage occupied by the particle o, however, differs significantly between Late Heian on one hand, and the Insei and Muromachi periods on the other. In the former period, 30.5% of the object-pattern is expressed by the particle o, whereas the percentages for the latter periods are 87 and 100, respectively. Thus, object-connexion reaches its peak in Late Heian, is still quite signifi-

cant in the Insei period, and still not inconsiderable in the Muromachi period; however, the means by which this connexion is effected changes quite dramatically from a supremacy of $\emptyset$ to a domination by the particle o.

As we have seen above (ex.209, 5.614) there are examples in which a subject NP precedes (transgresses) the boundaries of the RC. This is observed first in the Insei period, where the subject NP precedes a B pattern formed by o. Five more examples are found in our data, four in the Insei period, and one in the Muromachi period. They all appear in examples of B pattern formed by the particle o; moreover, the case status of all these examples is 'object', too, all marked by the particle o. This phenomenon will be discussed further in Chapter VI (6.41 ).


5.923 The particle ni forming the B pattern makes its appearance only on rare occasions. Observed first in our Mid-Heian data with 2 examples, it subsequently never appears in more than two examples in any period, even in periods where examples of the B pattern are numerous. The number of examples formed by ni reverts to nought in the Muromachi period.

No examples of $\emptyset_L$ etc. are observed.


5.924 One of the most common forms of relative connexion ever since its first appearance in our Early Heian data is zero-particle. The three types of zero-connexion observed in our sources are $\emptyset_S$, $\emptyset_O$ and $\emptyset_{TOP}$ , with

the former clearly dominating the latter two through-
out.

The percentage of the various types of zero-con-
nexion in the B pattern formed by particles other than
no is distributed per period of language history as
shown in Table 45.

Table 45

| | $\emptyset_S$ | $\emptyset_O$ | $\emptyset_{TOP}$ | total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Early H. | 33% | | | 33% |
| Middle H. | 68% | 4% | | 72% |
| Late H. | 40% | 20% | 4.5% | 64.5% |
| Insei | 42% | 3% | 2.4% | 47.4% |
| Kamakura | 30% | | | 30% |
| Muromachi. | 17% | | | 17% |

In overall terms, zero-connexion peaks in Mid-
Heian with 72%, and from there gradually declines to
the 17% of the Muromachi period. The reason for this
decline can be thought to be two-fold; firstly, great-
er diversification of particles used for relative con-
nexions (especially in the Late Heian period), and se-
condly, the increasing tendency to use the relevant
case marker in preference to zero-particle (especially
from the Insei period onwards). This latter tendency,
which seems to replace the earlier tendency after the
Late Heian period, is particularly conspicuous in the
shift from $\emptyset_O$ to o in the Insei and Muromachi periods

as we have seen already (5.922), but can also be seen
in the obvious shift in importance from $\emptyset_S$ to ga in
the Kamakura and Muromachi periods as seen from the
following Table 46.

Table 46

| | $\emptyset_S$ | ga$_S$ | %of total subject |
|---|---|---|---|
| Late H. | 40% | 1.8% | 60% |
| Insei | 42% | 15.8% | 68% |
| Kamakura | 30% | 30% | 90% |
| Muromachi | 17% | 47.4% | 89.5% |

The above tendency is accompanied by an overall
tendency towards subject-connexion over others, there-
by obscuring it partly; this latter tendency is, how-
ever, stationary between the Kamakura and Muromachi
periods, whereas the shift from $\emptyset_S$ to ga$_S$ is obvious
during the same time.

5.925 Emphatic particles forming the B pattern are
found in fair numbers form the Late Heian period on-
wards. Mainly observed are wa and mo, whereas zo/namu
etc. are very low in occurrence. The percentage of em-
phatic particles among the particles other than no
forming the B pattern ranges from 10 to 30% where
present, but no clear pattern of historical change can
be detected. The case they represent changes, however,
from 86% 'subject' (Late Heian) via 94% (Insei) to 100%

'subject' (Kamakura and Muromachi periods).

5.93 As we have seen throughout this chapter, no instances of restrictive RCs are observed (with one possible exception found in the TN; cf. ex. 195, 5.416).

It appears possible to see the type of B pattern dealt with in the present chapter as a pattern used specifically for forming nonrestrictive RCs, although the reasons for assuming this for the various types of B pattern formed by particles other than no are not necessarily uniform. This point will be discussed in detail in Chapter VI (6.32 - 6.34).

5.941 Examples of stacked B pattern formed by particles other than no are fairly small in number; the first example appears in the YM (Mid-Heian).

The first relative connexion in the 14 examples observed throughout is mainly effected by $\emptyset_S$ (86%), with the remainder divided equally between $\underline{mo}_S$ and $\underline{o}$. The only instance of object-connexion is explicitly expressed by the object-marker $\underline{o}$.

The second connexion is distributed as shown in Table 47.

Table 47

| | $\underline{ga}_S$ | $\underline{ga}_{TOP}$ | $\underline{o}$ | $\underline{namu}_S$ | $\emptyset_S$ | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Middle H. | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| Late H. | 2 | | 1 | | 2 | 5 |
| Insei | 3 | 1 | | | 1 | 5 |
| Muromachi | 1 | | | | | 1 |
| | 6 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 14 |

As seen in Table 47, the second connexion, too, is mainly one of 'subject' (78.5%); the particle used, however, tends to shift away from ∅ (and emphatic particle) to <u>ga</u> from Late Heian/Insei onwards.

As far as types of case status within the matrix sentence are concerned, 'object' · is most common (7 examples), followed closely by 'subject' (6 examples), and 1 example of <u>ni</u>.

5.942 No restrictive examples are observed here, either (cf. 5.93).

NOTES to Chapter V

1   For discussion of a phenomenon related to this issue, see 6.61.
2   For a more detailed discussion of this type of B pattern, see below (5.612).
3   Nakata (1969) supplies the particle <u>no</u> in his reading of the text. In this section, however, a fair amount of <u>furigana</u> and <u>kaeriten</u> are used to clarify readings, which seems to make zero-particle a more reasonable proposition.
4   <u>Nan</u> is a nasalized version of the emphatic particle <u>namu</u>.
5   The <u>Den-Tameie</u> and <u>Kō-Amidabutsu</u> MSs.
6   The <u>katakana</u> syllable <u>mi</u> in <u>kurushimi</u> is not clearly visible; it can, however, be assumed with reasonable certainty, as Yamagishi indicates in his reading, which is attached to our source (p.99).
7   See, for instance, Aoki (1952) for the Nara period, Tōgō (1968) and Yasuda (1956) for the Heian period, and Jugaku (1958) for the Muromachi period.
8   On this point, see, for instance, Yamada (1913[1]) and Asami (1956[1]).
9   There is a number of papers by Japanese philologists which specifically deal with this example. Kadosaki (1967) and Konoshima (1967), for instance, question the possibility of interpreting this example as an instance of B pattern, presumably because a repetition of <u>ono</u> or <u>onore</u> after <u>mi-tatematsuru</u> seems odd (it is indeed difficult to find examples where <u>ono</u> etc. is preceded by a modifying section). However, if one assumes <u>mono</u> instead of a repeated <u>ono</u>, there does not appear to be much of a problem at all. At any rate, it is difficult to see how <u>o ba</u> could be interpreted as a conjunction, or how <u>mi-tatematsuru</u> could be interpreted as <u>mi-tatematsuru koto</u> within this context.

    There is, incidentally, another potential example of a similar nature in the GM (446,3); however, the Chinese character 我 there could also be read <u>ware</u> instead of <u>waga</u>, which is favoured by most editions, which makes it uncertain as an example.
10  On this point, see Ishigaki (1944, p.40ff. in the 1955 reprint), who takes <u>ga</u> in this example as a type of conjunctive particle.
11  This section (probably containing the name of the <u>kentōshi</u>) is blank in all MSs.
12  <u>Mochite</u> is the uncontracted form of <u>motte</u>.
13  The remaining two examples are instances of animals (dog;wolf); strictly speaking, therefore, no human beings are involved. The nature of the AIM suggests, however, that animals are treated on a quasi-human basis, which makes an exclusion of these examples from the category of 'persons' difficult.
14  On this point see, for instance, Ima'izumi (1939), p.230ff, and Kobayashi (1936), p.228.

Chapter VI

6.1 In our plan for the present thesis we have oper-
ated on the assumption that an historical link exists
between the A and B patterns. We have, therefore, ex-
amined the A pattern formed by no in Chapter II, and
the B pattern formed by the same particle in Chapter
IV. Chapter III was devoted to variants of the A pat-
tern formed by particles other than no, and Chapter V
to forms of B pattern answering to the same descrip-
tion.

When comparing the results of such analysis of
the above types of A and B pattern, there indeed seems
little room for argument with regard to the validity
of the above assumption.

6.11 As we have observed earlier (1.23, 2.11), the
formula for the A pattern in general looks like the
underlying structure that can be assumed for a trans-
formational derivation of the B pattern.[1]

6.12 In semantic terms, too, as has been mentioned on
numerous occasions, the condition of coreferentiality
between $N_1$ and $N_2$ (whether the latter is explicit, as
in the A pattern, or implicit, as in the B pattern) is
an important factor without which neither the A pat-
tern nor the B pattern can be established. This con-
dition is, therefore, necessarily shared by both pat-
terns.

6.131 Our syntactical analysis has shown that the A pattern as typically observed in the Nara period (as the time of Japanese language history when it is by far most commonly observed) overwhelmingly makes use of the relative connexion of 'subject' (cf. 2.25, 3. 25). Analysis of the B pattern in its most extensively documented periods, the Late Heian and Insei periods, shows an identical tendency (cf. 4.412, 4.512, 5.511, 5.611).

6.132 Analysis of the case status of the typical A pattern within the matrix sentence has shown that 'object' is most commonly observed (cf. 2.31, 3.31). We have been able to point out the same fact about the typical B pattern (cf. 4.413, 4.513, 5.512, 5.613).

6.14 In general terms, then, there seems little problem in assuming that the B pattern, which peaks around the Late Heian/Insei periods both in variety of types observed and in frequency after having already been well established in Mid-Heian, derives in some way from the A pattern, which peaks (as far as we can tell from written sources) in the Nara period, and quickly declines thereafter.

6.2 The question is, however, how this development can be seen to have taken place, and how we can reconcile and explain some differences existing between the A and B patterns.

6.21 In its most typical form, the A pattern assumes

the $N_2$-modification types 2.21 and 2.23, while 2.24

and 2.22 are much less common, 2.24 being only 13%

of the Nara-period data in case of the pattern formed

by $\underline{no}^2$(cf. 2.25, 2.61).

However, the B pattern can directly be derived

only from type 2.24, as with the other types simple

deletion of $N_2$ is not possible.

Unfortunately we have no means of showing that

chronologically type 2.24 is more recent than the

other types, or that it has been growing during the

Nara period. The fact that type 2.24 greatly increa-

ses _after_ the Nara period (to 83% and 100% respective-

ly of the pattern formed by _no_ and the pattern formed

by other particles) is not necessarily proof for this

as the possibility of influences from the B pattern

can not be excluded. However, the most complex examples

of A pattern in the Nara period belong to type 2.24,

and this is certainly an indication that this is the

most highly developed type of A pattern (and there-

fore presumably the most recent).

What became of the remaining types can only be a

matter of speculation: 2.23 (adjective-stem+noun) can

be assumed to have turned into adjective (_rentai_ form)

+ noun once the form of modification seen in 2.23 be-

came less productive (which probably was the case al-

ready around the end of the Nara period), thus joining

forces with 2.24; similar considerations can be made

for 2.22 (_ren'yō_ → _rentai_ form). The first noun in

2.21 would have to be supplied with a _yōgen_ in the _rentai_ (adnominal) form (or an associative particle). At any rate, the fact is that types other than 2.24 became extinct in the post-Nara A pattern.

6.22 Only one example (1% of total) of A pattern formed by _no_ was found to be restrictive, whereas the percentage of restrictive examples in the B pattern formed by _no_ is much higher in the Nara period (27%). and some of the better-documented subsequent periods as shown below.

Table 48

| | |
|---|---|
| Nara | 27% |
| Early H. | 0% |
| Middle H. | 16% |
| Late H. | 16.5% |
| Insei | 3% |
| Kamakura | · 8% |
| Muromachi | 9% |

All restrictive examples of B pattern in the Nara period belong to the type explained in 4.121 above with regard to the relevancy question for examples like 107 and 108. All such examples have a plural noun as $N_1$, a fact which is indicated either by a plural suffix such as (-_tachi_) or from the context (Japanese being a language which normally does not make a formal dis-

tinction between singular and plural). The same type
is also found in later periods, notably the Late Hei-
an (cf. 4.413, examples 134 and 135) and Insei (cf.
4.516, example 159) periods.

It is possible to relate this type of restric-
tive B pattern to a type of structure seen in the fol-
lowing example.

221 hana  no [ki   -domo no [sakari naru] mo
    bloom ASS trees SUF       peak   are   EMP

    madashiki]] mo  kozue  okashū kasumi-watareru
    premature   EMP boughs nicely shrouded-all-way

    ni
    when                        (GM:1408,6)

    'when of the various fruit-trees the ones in

    full bloom as well as those not yet in bloom

    were nicely shrouded by mist'

Because of their idiomatic nature, I have excluded
examples of the above type from our considerations, as
I have also done for examples of the same type formed
by zero-particle[3] instead of no. The following example
is an instance of the latter.

222 sekai   no [onoko∅ [ate-naru] mo [iyashiki]] mo
    world   ASS men      noble     EMP lowly        EMP

                                (TM:22,2)

    'men from everywhere - high or low in stan-

    ding - '

The above differ from stacked examples in the re-
spect that $NP_2$ and $NP_3$ do not refer to identical enti-

ties, while both being coreferential to the semantic
head noun.

At any rate, these examples are similar to the
type of restrictive example which constitutes all
examples of restrictive RCs in the Nara period in
that the NP(s) following the semantic head refer to
specific members or parts of the semantic head rather
than its totality.

No example of A pattern formed by no of this type
is found in the Nara period. However, as mentioned a-
bove (2.61), the vast majority of examples of A pat-
tern in the Nara period represent some form of paral-
lelism, which means that one entity is expressed in
terms of (in case of simple A pattern) two often high-
ly similar or complementary attributes:


(49) naga-mi-ke no tō-mi-ke


Because of the nature of these attributes, it is
not surprising that they can be interchanged without
upsetting the general meaning:


(50) tō-mi-ke no naga-mi-ke


This form of A pattern is quite different in mean-
ing from the type of B pattern discussed above. In the
former, the two NPs are highly parallel and similar in
meaning, whereas in the latter, part of a larger enti-
ty is singled out for comment, which means that it is

<u>not</u> parallel or complementary in meaning.

The typical form of A pattern found in the Nara period may be said to represent some form of rhetorical or poetic diction/technique (cf. 2.61); although this technique shows some development (seen to a certain degree in the Nara period, but far more pronouncedly in the periods thereafter) in providing variation through the use of similar or abstract nouns instead of identical common nouns (cf. 2.62), its appearance after the Nara period is only sporadic.

If we are correct in assuming that the basic form of the A pattern is a kind of rhetoric device used mainly in poetry and non-narrative prose such as the <u>Norito</u> etc., which, moreover, is already somewhat ar-chaic or fossilized in flavour at the time, as is in-dicated by the frequent reoccurrence of examples <u>with-in</u> sources such as the EN and MYS[4] and <u>across</u> sour-ces,[5] then only very limited applicability in narra-tive or descriptive prose writing can be expected.

It is also obvious from the nature of this form of A pattern that restrictive examples are not likely to be found; indeed, the only restrictive example of A pattern in the Nara period is of a different nature (see below, 6.23).

When comparing the typical A pattern formed by <u>no</u> to the typical B pattern formed by the same par-ticle in the Nara period and thereafter, it is obvious that there is a great deal of similarity. Throughout it is the 'parallel' form of RC that is by far the

most common form in all periods of language history treated in this thesis, and this form typically remains nonrestrictive. As I have been mainly concerned with the development of the RCs, I have not given such examples with any consistency, but examples 112 and 113 are typical examples from the Nara period, and examples 128 and 131 for the Middle Heian period. Below some examples are given for later periods.

223 neri'iro no [koromo no kowaraka-naru] o kite
    yellow ASS garment    is-rustic     DO wear+

$$(\text{KM}_{\text{II}}, \text{IV}:238,6)$$

'she was wearing a yellow garment, which was rustic'

224 kuroito'odoshi no [yoroi  no sakari  sukoshi
    black                ASS armour     peak     somewhat

sugitaru] ni                          (HM:15,11)
passed    on

'on top of a black suit of armour, which had seen better days,'

225 curoqi no [juzuno chijsaijuo tçumaguraxerareta-
    black   ASS rosary small    DO he-told

ga,                                   (AHM:387,18)
but

'he was telling the beads of a black rosary, which was small, but'

The typical A pattern, which had already peaked by the Nara period, and the typical B pattern, which seems likely to have emerged around the latter half of

the Nara period and retains highly similar character-
istics until at least the Muromachi period, thus can
be said to have a highly likely historical connexion
with the somewhat fossilized and stylistically re-
stricted A pattern that gives way to the B pattern,
which is widely usable in narrative prose (but in-
itially also encountered in poetry).

6.23 However, the situation with regard to the type of
restrictive examples of B pattern formed by no in the
Nara period is not clear because no similar forms of
restrictive A pattern are found in the Nara period.
The only restrictive example (75) in this period does
not appear to be convertable into a B pattern; if one
of the nouns were deleted, it would rather result in
a prenominal RC:

75' [imo ga ie ni sakitaru] ume no hana[6]

There are, however, some instances of A pattern
which are highly similar to the type of restrictive
B pattern that is found in the Nara period. I am re-
ferring to examples with an unmodified $N_1$ such as 46
and 47.

As we have seen earlier (4.121), the question of
restrictiveness is dependent on the context or inter-
pretation of any particular example; even if $N_1$ is a
plural term as in 112, it may still be interpreted as
a nonrestrictive clause if the context so indicates.

The same consideration applies to 47, for instance, which easily converts into a B pattern:

47' [tachibana no towo naru]

Example 47 would be a clear example of restrictive A pattern of the type of restrictive B pattern found in the Nara period if it were not for the context, which indicates that <u>tachibana</u> (besides its more obvious meaning) is also a word play on the Tachibana family, which makes it a noun of unique denotation that can interpreted only as a nonrestrictive clause. Nevertheless, our A pattern data from the Nara period is not entirely without possible precedents for the restrictive type of B pattern seen in the same period.

6.24 Most of the considerations made above about the relationship between the A and B patterns formed by <u>no</u> also apply to the relation between the equivalent patterns formed by zero-particle.

As far as the question of restrictiveness is concerned, however, there is a difference between the <u>no</u> pattern and the pattern formed by other particles.

With the latter, no restrictive examples are found if we leave aside one doubtful example of B pattern from the TN (cf. 5.416, ex. 195).

The typical A pattern formed by zero etc. is highly similar to the corresponding <u>no</u>-pattern in that the two NPs in the simple pattern are again of a par-

allel nature. In contrast to the A pattern formed by

no, however, no instances of unmodified $N_1$ are observed

in our data throughout. In contrast, the only example

of B pattern formed by particles other than no in the

Nara period has an unmodified $N_1$. This is not really

surprising, though; as we have observed earlier (5.612),

for the major part of language history covered in this

thesis ga is exclusively used to form B pattern that

has a personal noun or pronoun as $N_1$, and such nouns/

pronouns mostly happen to be unmodified. In fact, all

six examples found until Late Heian have an unmodified

$N_1$, and in those few examples of the Insei period that

have a modified $N_1$ (12 out of 26 examples), the name

is preceded by words like kono ('this same'), kano

('that'), or elements indicating position, title, other

part of name, etc.

No examples of A pattern formed by ga are observed

throughout, and in the Nara period the only particle

forming the type of A pattern discussed here is zero.

All other types of connecting particles can therefore

be seen as a later development.

Ga appears only after personal nouns within simple

B pattern; however, no instances of personal nouns in

semantic head position are seen in our examples of this

type of A pattern, which means that there never was any

room for ga to appear in any of these examples.

An example involving a personal noun is, however,

observed in the A pattern formed by no:

(73) midoriko no mizuko ga mi

This example is formed by <u>no</u> rather than <u>ga</u>; it
is not clear whether this indicates that A pattern
cannot be formed by <u>ga</u>, or whether other factors are
involved. We may assume that in the following example
employing the same semantic head noun (also from the
MYS) there would have been a choice between <u>no</u> and <u>ga</u>,
because it is a B pattern; again, however, <u>no</u> is used:

```
226 midoriko no naku o  mo  okite     (MYS:481)
    baby         cry DO EMP leave+
```

'leaving behind the baby, which was crying'

At any rate, no examples of <u>ga</u> forming an A pat-
tern are observed; it is therefore likely that its use
in the B pattern represents a new development. The
same can be said about particles other than zero, al-
though some instances are observed with the A pattern
<u>after</u> the Nara period.

Despite of some new developments taking place in
the transition from A to B pattern, they share the im-
portant semantic characteristic of being nonrestric-
tive throughout.

6.31 We have divided the A and B patterns into those
formed by <u>no</u> on one hand, and those by zero and other
particles on the other in our treatment of headless RCs
and the patterns they are likely to derive from.

On semantic grounds it is possible to draw a line
between these groups on account of the fact that in
the latter group restrictive examples do not occur,

whereas the <u>no</u> pattern can be restrictive or nonrestrictive depending on the type of $N_1$ and/or the context. In this sense a division between the patterns formed by <u>no</u> and by other particles is justified; however, the reasons for the nonrestrictiveness of the various types of B pattern formed by particles other than <u>no</u> (zero, <u>ga</u>, <u>o</u> etc.) do not necessarily appear to be the same.

6.32 Zero-modification, as opposed to <u>no</u>-modification, may be seen as a rather lax, implicit way of modification between coreferential NPs. The exact degree of laxity is obviously difficult to judge, but examples like 198 (cf. 5.512) indicate that it may be in the proximity of an appositional construction. This quality may be assumed to be quite pronounced when both the relative connexion and the case status of the RC are zero and indicate the same case ( $\emptyset_S$ - $\emptyset_S$, $\emptyset_O$ - $\emptyset_O$ etc.). 198 goes a step further by adding the interjection <u>yo</u> to the RC.

In English, this lax type of relationship between the semantic head and the RC following it is indicated by comma (intonation) in case of a nonrestrictive clause. English can go a step further by making the appositional relationship even more pronounced, as indicated in the following alternative translation of 89:

(89') 'Nan'in no Gorō =the fellow who was governor
of Mikawa= was in love with Iyo no Go'

Judging from the occurrence of examples such as 198 it may well be this latter type of sentence which is expressed by the zero-pattern.

Similar considerations apply to variants of the zero-pattern using emphatic and some other particles superseding zero-particle. Such particles add various shades of emphasis etc. to the semantic head nominal, but essentially are forms of zero-connexion.

6.33 With regard to _ga_-connexion we have pointed out that from the Nara through Insei periods _ga_ is exclusively attached to personal nouns/pronouns, i.e. nouns of unique denotation. All such examples are therefore necessarily nonrestrictive. This is, however, due to the nature of the semantic head and fails to give us any indication of the nature of connexion provided by _ga_ itself. As we have seen above (5.612), this particle _ga_ is likely to be the associative rather than the subject marker. The question remains if an A pattern can possibly be formed by _ga_; although there is no clear proof, the likely answer is no. As pointed out by Yamada (1913[1]), one of the differences between the associative particles _no_ and _ga_ in OJ is that only _no_ is used between NPs of a specifying - specified relationship (type iii., 2.131). The A pattern (type iv., 2.131) may be regarded as a special form of such a relationship, which means that _ga_ cannot be expected to form an A pattern.[7]

How, then, can we explain the use of _ga_ in the B

pattern, which is observed as early as in the Nara period?

$N_1$ _ga_ $N_2$ is said to differ from $N_1$ _no_ $N_2$ in the respect that considerable emphasis lies on $N_1$, whereas the reverse is true in case of the latter.[8] For this reason _ga_ could not be used in types iii. and iv. of _no_-modification. It was, however, commonly used to indicate a possessive relationship between the two nouns, and was generally attached to _personal_ nouns in the vast majority of examples in OJ (and until much later) in both its uses as associative and subject marker.[9] The difference in emphasis/deemphasis on $N_1$ explains, as Konoshima (1956) points out, the difference in levels of 'politeness' between the two particles when attached to personal nouns.[10] We may assume that once $N_2$ was absent from the pattern in question, it became possible to use _ga_ instead of _no_ where the particular meaning of 'familiarity' etc. was required for the personal noun preceding it.

6.34 Finally we have to consider the type of B pattern joined by the particles _o_ or _ni_. It is possible to combine these particles into a third group separate from _no/ga_ and zero because they do not indicate any form of modification between $NP_1$ and $NP_2$; instead, only the case relationship between the NPs is indicated (the modificational relationship being entirely left to the context).

No examples of this type are found with Nara-peri-

od A pattern ; one example of A pattern formed by o
is, however, observed in the YM (ex. 104, 3.51).
There is a possibility, though, that this example re-
presents a development incurred by the influence of
the B pattern.

The number of examples formed by ni is small with
only 7 examples recorded from our data throughout. This
compares with 12 examples of no_L    etc. for the B pat-
tern formed by no; this shows that relative connexions
expressable by the particle ni are generally few. This
applies, by the way, more or less to the A pattern as
well.

The pattern formed by o is, however, more common,
as is, of course, the relative connexion of 'object' in
general in both the A and B patterns.

As we have shown above (5.922), object-connexion
generally declines after Late Heian, while the percent-
age of o rises significantly. In other words there is a
marked tendency to express object-connexion by means of
the particle o.

This relationship between o and $\emptyset_0$ itself suggests
that the pattern formed by o, too, is basically nonre-
strictive, and in fact no restrictive examples are ob-
served in our data.

The above assumption is further supported from se-
mantic considerations, too:


(187) kano tono no shinden no mae ni sukoshi tōku

        taterikeru [sakura o chikaku hori-ue-tamaikeru]

        ga karesama ni miekereba

227 [e        o ito  ōku    motasete mairi-tamaeri-
    pictures  very plenty make-carry came SUF

keru] ∅₀ nyōbo    shite anata ni mairase-tamaite
         ladies   by    across to make-take+SUF

(GM:1969,1)

'he had some court-ladies take the pictures,

of which he had brought plenty, across'

Regardless of whether the semantic head (under-
lined) is preceded by a modifying section or not, the
effect of the particle o, which joins the two NPs in
the manner of an ordinary object - predicate relation-
ship, seems to preclude the possibility of taking the
RC as a restrictive one. In other words, the matrix
predicate of the RC can only be taken as referring to
the semantic head in its totality, and not any part
thereof in the sense of 'some of'. Neither can this
pattern be understood to single out a particular item
(the semantic head) from others of the same kind in
the sense of 'the pictures which he brought' (as op-
posed to pictures brought by others).

Similar considerations apply to the pattern formed
by ni.

6.41 As mentioned above, the development of the B pat-
tern from the A pattern can be attributed to a number
of factors. The tendency for $N_2$ to become pronominal-
ized by means of a similar or abstract noun can be seen
to lead to its eventual deletion, whereas a rise in im-
portance of the most "dynamic" type of modification of

$N_2$, 2.24 (which probably derives partly also from 2.23 and possibly others) would have set the stage for the possibility of $N_2$ being deleted.

Once established, the B pattern soon displays characteristics which would not have been possible with the A pattern: syntactic elements which in the A pattern would have been possible within $NP_2$ only are now occasionally observed in a position before the semantic head noun (cf. 4.414). The occurrence of such elements has already been pointed out in Wenck (1974, Vol.III, p.842), who states that such examples mostly involve "objects of place preceding a predicate of existence".[11] Yuzawa (1929[1]), too, makes similar observations, as do some others.

The present study points out the existence of other transgressing elements such as adverbs (_fukushi_), subject NPs and an example of a direct object NP. It is interesting to examine such elements in relation to the type of B pattern they appear with.

In general, the most common type of transgressing elements are locative (sometimes temporal) NPs marked by _ni_, but ablative NPs marked by _yori_, adverbs of time or location and other adverbial phrases are also found.

When one compares the B pattern formed by _no_ and by other particles, some differences are observed in this regard. Transgressing elements appear earlier with the pattern formed by other particles with 4 examples in the Middle Heian period (zero and _o_ patterns), whereas with the _no_ pattern such elements do not oc-

cur until the Late Heian period (3 examples). This can
be seen as an indication of the laxer syntactic con-
nexion between NPs in the pattern formed by zero and
o etc.

A further point of difference between the no-pat-
tern and the pattern formed by other particles is the
occurrence of transgressing subject and object NPs with
the latter.

Subject NPs appear from the Insei period onwards
(cf. 5.614, 209 and 210). All six examples of this
type are observed with B pattern formed by o; all are
instances of 'object' in case status, too. The fact that
transgressing subject NPs do not occur with the no-pat-
tern again indicates the laxer syntactic connexion be-
tween $NP_1$ and $NP_2$ in the o-pattern; it is possible that
examples such as 210 were by this time understood in
the following way:

> 210' [tonari no ie ni niwatori no kaigo o umeru] o
>     ... nusumite

The above would be an object NP of the verb nusumu
containing the syntactical elements 'indirect object' -
'subject' - 'object' - 'predicate' in their normal or-
der in a predicative sentence, nominalization being
provided only by the adnominal form of the predicate
(umeru); only the context provides any indication as
to which noun is to be 'understood' as the coreferen-
tial noun after the NP. It could be niwatori ('chicken')
or kaigo ('eggs') that were stolen, and only the context

of the story tells us that it actually is the latter.
Thus transgressing elements tend to obscure one of the
most important characteristics of the B pattern, the
semantic head, which is typically preceded by a <u>rentai</u>
<u>shūshoku</u> (noun-modifying) section and <u>not</u> a <u>ren'yō shū-</u>
<u>shoku</u> (verb-modifying) one as is the case with trans-
gressing elements.

The only example of a transgressing object NP is
not found until the end of the Muromachi period (5.814,
example 220). In this example both relative connexion
and case status are indicated by <u>ga</u>. Again, it seems
possible that this example was at the time understood
in the following way:

220' [orishimo sono isobata o fune ga tōtta] ga

kono shika o mite ...

This would make the section in square brackets a
subject NP of <u>mite</u>, again in the order of a normal
predicative sentence. The fact that a verb-modifying
section precedes the semantic head makes it highly
unlikely that the connecting particle <u>ga</u> was still un-
derstood as the associative particle, but rather as
the subject-marker.

The overall occurrence of transgressing elements
in relation to the total number of examples per period
of language history is given below for the <u>no</u>- and
zero-patterns.

Table 49

|            | no-pattern | zero-pattern |
|------------|------------|--------------|
| Middle H.  | 0%         | 16%          |
| Late H.    | 1%         | 4.5%         |
| Insei      | 8.2%       | 15%          |
| Muromachi  | 9%         | 22%          |

In both the no- and zero-patterns (including other
particles) the occurrence of transgressing elements shows
a tendency to increase around the Insei/Muromachi peri-
ods (no examples are observed in the Kamakura period),
but the percentages with the no-pattern are generally
lower by 50% or more with the pattern formed by par-
ticles other than no.

The fact that verb-modifying sections can precede
NPs of this type can be attributed to the nature of
particles involved in their formation: no and zero can
also be subject-markers, whereas o[12] and emphatic par-
ticles etc. are exclusively used in verb-modification.
However, the fact that no has retained its associative
use right down into MJ as well as the tighter associ-
ative connexion provided by no can be seen to account
for the differences seen in Table 49.

6.42 A further point of difference between the B pat-
tern formed by no and other particles can be seen in
the overall occurrence of the relative connexion of
'topic' and 'object':

Table 50

|  | no-pattern | zero-pattern |
|---|---|---|
| topic | 17% | 3% |
| object | 3% | 25% |

'Topic' is relatively prominent throughout in the pattern formed by no, whereas 'object' is low in occurrence. The reverse situation applies to the pattern formed by zero etc.

As mentioned earlier (2.24), for the purpose of this thesis I define 'topic' as the relation between a $NP_1$ which is interpretable as the 'general subject' of another subject-clause $(NP_2)$. That fact that 'topic' occurs far less often in the pattern formed by zero etc. may indicate two things: the laxer syntactic connexion between $NP_1$ and $NP_2$ may not easily accommodate a subject-clause within $NP_2$, and the higher likelihood that zero etc. is understood as a subject-marker rather than an associative marker tends to prevent the occurrence of another subject-clause after $NP_1$. It may be, of course, a combination of both.

The marked difference in the overall occurrence of the relative connexion of 'object' can partly be explained by the inclusion under zero-particle etc. of the connexion formed by o. As we have seen above (5.922), 'object' is increasingly expressed by o from the Insei period onwards, whereas until the Late Heian period o-connexion occupied only half or less of all relative connexions of 'object'; this means that a substantial proportion of 'object' is indicated by zero and other

particles besides o. At any rate, the pattern formed
by zero and other particles can be said to be general-
ly more dynamic than the no-pattern; this assumption
is confirmed by the much lower occurrence (at a ratio
of about 1 : 7) of the 'static' aru on its own as $NP_2$
in the zero-pattern when compared to the no-pattern.

Incidentally, almost all of the 22 examples of
sole aru in the pattern formed by zero etc. are ex-
amples formed by $\emptyset_S$ until the late Muromachi period,
where 9 examples formed by $ga_S$ are seen. Only one ex-
ample of object-connexion is seen :


228 hirosa shichi, hachi-bu bakari no [san        o
    width  7         8          about  ASS d.block

    arikeru] o   te   ni sasagete (KM_{II},IV:311,11)
    existed  DO hand in carry+

    'he carried a divining-block of about 7,8 bu

    width, which happened to be there, in his

    hand'


The fact that


*san o arikeru


is not possible as an object-clause seems to indicate
that this is a clear instance of an appositional con-
struction, in clear contradiction to the principle that
case particles such as o always primarily indicate the
case relationship between $NP_1$ and $NP_2$; we may, however,
still regard this example as a uncommon variant of the
B pattern, although there are of course no formal char-

acteristics distinguishing it from an appositional
construction.

Around the Insei period, the B pattern formed by
o, which initially had characteristics that were very
similar to the typical no-pattern (i.e. the semantic
head was preceded by a modifying section), begins to
increasingly show a tendency toward examples of the
following type:


229 samusa no yo, [fusuma o ōeru   ] o nugi-sutete
    cold   ASSnight quilt    covered DO take+discard+

                          (KM$_I$,II:201,15)

    'in this cold night, throwing out the quilt,

    which covered you'


Here, NP$_1$ is unmodified, and the modifying sec-
tion of NP$_2$ is a verb on its own, too. This concise
form of B pattern is especially conspicuous in examples
where both the connecting particle and the particle in-
dicating the case status are o (a pattern fairly common
in and after the Insei period). It is, however, inter-
esting to see that even in examples that appear as dy-
namic as the above  NP$_2$ can still be interpreted as a
'state NP' according to Ishigaki (1942),[13] with only very
few exceptions (see below, 6.75).


6.51 Stacked A pattern, although small in number, is ob-
served with both the no- and zero-patterns in the Nara
period (cf. 2.18, 3.32).

6.511 In case of the former, two examples are found in our Nara-period data. Both are three-fold. In one example the connecting particles are both $no_S$, and in the other, $no_S$ and $\emptyset_S$ for the first and second connexion. Similar characteristics are found with stacked B pattern (no) throughout: the first connexion is one of 'subject' (70%) or 'topic' (30%) overall, with no instance of 'object' observed. The second connexion has 'subject' most frequently with 67%, followed by 'topic' (20%), 'object' (10%) and ni (3%). Ga is the connecting particle for 62% of second connexions, and 100% of third connexions, regardless of case relationship.

As we have seen above (6.33), the particle ga cannot be expected to form an A pattern. We have also seen that the use of ga to form a B pattern was restricted to instances where $NP_1$ indicates a person until about the Kamakura/Muromachi periods; the relaxation of this rule probably coincided with a shift from associative to subject particle in the understanding of ga.

However, the use of ga in the stacked pattern is fundamentally different in that it follows not a noun but an inflected word in the adnominal form. It is a well-known fact that in OJ in a form of adnominal modification, the so-called kantai-ku (emphatic NP), no is used when the preceding word is a noun, whereas ga is used when it is an inflected word.[14] It is therefore possible to argue that

NOUN no - NOUN no - NOUN (A pattern)

becomes


NOUN <u>no</u> - YŌGEN <u>ga</u> - YŌGEN (B pattern)


In other words, the associative particle <u>ga</u> joins
NP$_2$ and NP$_3$ (and so forth in three-fold ... n-fold ex-
amples) in the same way that <u>no</u> does in the stacked A
pattern, replacing <u>no</u> because N$_2$ (N$_3$ ... ) has been
deleted.

Although our data shows a high incidence of <u>ga</u> in
the stacked B pattern formed by <u>no</u>, other particles
are also used. <u>Ga</u> is chiefly used where the relative
connexion is one of 'subject' or 'topic', with only one
instance of 'object' observed (third connexion in ex-
ample 168). Zero-particle is also used for relative
connexions of 'subject', 'topic' and 'object', while
<u>o</u> and <u>ni</u> are used where the connexion is one of direct
object and indirect object, respectively. Thus it seems
doubtful if <u>ga</u> was always understood as the associative
particle, because it mostly indicated the relative con-
nexion of 'subject' in stacked B pattern.

On the other hand, examples are found where the
context suggests the notion of contrast between the NP
to which <u>ga</u> is attached and the following NP. 167 is
such an example; a more appropriate translation than
the one given with 167 would be the following:


(167) 'a young man, ... , who was armed with only

a sword, <u>but</u> looked very strong'

Examples of this type no doubt played a part in the development of _ga_ as connective particle.

6.52 Only two examples of stacked B pattern formed by _no_ (both in the GM) were found to be restrictive at least in part. In both examples it is only the section connected by _no_ which is restrictive for certain, although there is a possibility that the section connected by zero-particle following the restrictive section in example 148 may be restrictive, too. As far as this example is concerned, two of the _Aobyōshi_ MSs and all of the _Kawachi_ MSs have _ga_ instead of _no_; however, I do not consider this sufficient evidence to suggest that _ga_ or zero can form a restrictive section of stacked B pattern. _No_, however, certainly can, and this fact is quite in agreement with the observation we have made about the simple B pattern formed by _no_.

6.521 Only one example of stacked A pattern formed by particles other than _no_ is found in our Nara-period data (example 100). In this four-fold example all three relative connexions are effected by zero, and the case status is one of 'locative' in each case. 'Locative' is not observed otherwise in stacked A or B pattern; it is, however, observed with simple A pattern.

Stacked B pattern formed by zero etc. is not very common, with only 14 examples observed throughout our data. This is a ratio of 23% when compared to the 60

examples of stacked B pattern formed by no, a ratio
which is lower than the corresponding one for simple
B pattern, which is 34%.

This type of stacked B pattern is mainly formed
by zero, but the emphatic particle mo and the object-
marker o are also observed.

'Subject' is most common in the second connexion
with 79%, followed by 'object' (14%) and 'topic' (7%).
Ga is the most frequent particle forming the second
connexion (50%).

The situation with regard to the relative fre-
quency of 'subject' and 'topic' in the pattern formed
by no on one hand and zero etc. on the other is similar
to what we have observed above (6.42) for the simple
pattern.


6.61 We have seen that the A pattern, after having
peaked in the Nara period (or possibly at an earlier,
not documentable stage), lingers on thereafter without
ever disappearing, for the most part in the form in-
volving an abstract $N_2$.[15]

It is interesting to note in this connexion that
in sources where a high number of MSs exist, such as
the GM or MNS, many more examples of this type of A
pattern are found in text variants. For instance, the
following example 230 of B pattern appears as an ex-
ample of A pattern in some MSs of the GM (ex.231).

230 hito    no shirazaramu [koto   no kokoro ni
    people SU do-not-know    thing       mind    in

    shiruku omoi-iderarenubekaramu] o   ie
    clearly can-recall                  DO say!

                                (GM:1185,11)

    'tell me a story which people do not know,

    which you can recall clearly in your mind'


231 hito no shirazaramu [koto no kokoro ni shiruku .

    omoi-iderarenubekaran] koto o ie  (7 Kawachi MSs)


Apparently there always remained the possibility of

"switching back" to the A pattern whenever this was

thought desirable for reasons of clarification or other-

wise.

The GM also has a number of examples of a quite

extraordinary nature, which seem to occupy a position

somewhere inbetween the A and B patterns:


232 [nyōbō      nado no in    no ōn-toki saburaite
    ct.ladies etc.    ex-emp.ASS PREFtime served+

    oi-shiraeru]-domo wa   kanashikute (GM:476,7)
    grown-old     SUF  EMP feel sad+

    'those among the court-ladies who had been

    serving under the ex-emperor and had grown old

    felt sad'


The noun suffix -domo (indicating plural) here is

attached not to a noun but a verb in the adnominal form.

This is a most unusual occurrence contradicting the en-

tire literature on Japanese syntax. For example, Yama-

da (1913[2], p.476) states that -domo is attached "to

nouns and pronouns", and Akiba (1978, p.19) comments that "A noun suffix (i.e. a plural suffix) can never occur without being actually∧to a lexical noun.".

In 232 above -<u>domo</u> is, however, clearly attached to a headless RC. Headless RCs are, however, not the only type of NP to which -<u>domo</u> can be attached, as is seen in the following example:

233 [ōn-  mi    ni naretaru]-<u>domo</u> o tsukawasu
     PREF body to adapted              DO send

(GM:473,6)

'he sent garments which had become soft from his wearing them'

As mentioned above (5.12, 184' and 184''), I treat examples like 233 as a prenominal RC with an 'understood' head noun; it may therefore be said that in both the above examples 232 and 233 -<u>domo</u> is attached to an 'understood' head noun. In other words, -<u>domo</u> can not only be attached to nouns and pronouns, but also to noun phrases; this is a fact that to my knowledge has not been reported in the literature as yet.

It must be said, however, that the type of B pattern seen in example 232 above is observed only very rarely. Among our sources only the GM has examples of this type; examples there total only four. The semantic head in these examples is human (<u>go'i</u> 'fifth-rank official', <u>nyōbō</u> and similar) on three occasions, and an object (<u>chōdo</u> 'personal effects') one one occasion. Three examples are formed by <u>no</u>, and one by zero-particle. I have excluded these examples from our statis-

tics as there is a possibility that they are idiomatic (-domo being attachable to the RC only on limited occasions conditioned by the semantic head noun).

Incidentally, the B pattern has (in the wake of the decline of the rentai form as a specialized adnominal form) reverted to the A pattern in MJ, where the following are possible:

234 [biiru no tsumetai] no o kudasai
        beer       cold      NOM DO please

235 [biiru no tsumetai] yatsu o kudasai
                              NOM

but not

*236 [biiru no tsumetai] biiru o kudasai

*237 [biiru no tsumetai] ∅ o kudasai

6.62 Only one example of stacked A pattern was observed in our data after the Nara period (cf. 2.54). However, there is a number of stacked examples which are composite examples made up of A and B pattern.

238 toshi gojū bakari no [[onna    no muge no  gesu
      age   50   about  ASS woman         terrible churl

    ni mo aranu] ga asagi-naru harihitoe        ni
    wasn't               light-blue starched dress  with

    ayashi no hakama kite, kao  wa  aonibu→naru
    crude  ASS           wear+ face EMP light-blue

```
        neriginu ni  mizu  o   tsutsumitaru yō  nite,
        gl.silk  in  water DO  shrouded         was-like+

        isshin     yūyū-to haretaru] mono  Ø_S  gesu  ni
        whole-body sloppily swollen              churl by

        te o  hikarete, chō     no mae ni ide-kitaru
        hand DO was led+  office ASS before came
```

$$(\text{KM}_{\text{II}}, \text{IV}:286,8)$$

'a woman of about fifty years of age, who was

not altogether of low standing, who was wearing

a light-blue, starched upper garment and a crude

hakama, with a face that looked as though water

was shrouded in light-blue glossed silk, whose

body was swollen all over, was led before the

office by a lowly person'


The second NP in this example is a B pattern

joined to $\text{NP}_3$ by ga; $\text{NP}_3$ is an A pattern modifying the

syntactic head noun mono ('person'), which, like the

deleted noun of $\text{NP}_2$, is coreferential with the semantic

head noun onna. Some of the total of five examples of

this type observed (GM[16]:1, $\text{KM}_{\text{II}}$:3, AHM:1) feature a

quite lengthy A pattern; this would seem to indicate

that the repeated (pronominalized) noun serves the pur-

pose of clarification, but some others are quite short.

Four of the five examples are formed by no, the

remaining one by $Ø_S$.

Examples of this type again show that it remained

possible to revert to the A pattern when this was

deemed necessary for reasons of more clarity or *for some*

*other reason.*


6.7 Some conclusions

6.711 I have attempted to show that the B pattern
(headless RCs) generally can be seen to have devel-
oped from the least 'archaic' type of A pattern, which
has a verb or adjective in the adnominal form that mo-
difies $N_2$.

Arguments that I have presented in favour of this
assumption include the following.

a) Type 2.24 of A pattern has the same structure
   as the deep structure commonly assumed for the
   B pattern (cf.6.11).

b) Highly similar tendencies are observed with
   regard to types of relative connexion and case
   status between the A and B patterns for both
   the pattern formed by no and by zero etc. (cf.
   6.131, 6.132).

c) Semantically, the condition of coreferentiality
   between $N_1$ and $N_2$ is met by both patterns (cf.
   6.12).

Some earlier research vaguely suggests a possible
connexion between the two patterns; Wenck (1974) gives
two examples of the A pattern in his discussion of the
B pattern, and Yuzawa (1929[1]) gives an example of Muro-
machi-period A pattern having mono as $N_2$ with the ob-
servation that mono is very often abbreviated (cf.1.3).

Asami (1956[2]) is the only researcher to suggest any
historical development of the A pattern in concrete
terms. According to his speculation, however, the A pat-
tern moved in the direction of deleting $N_1$, thereby re-
sulting in prenominal RCs and similar structures; he
fails to even mention the B pattern in this connexion.

6.712 The fact that examples of stacked A pattern are very few in OJ in case of both the no- and zero-patterns (a total of 3 examples) makes a comparison with stacked B pattern difficult. However, the majority of examples has a first relative connexion of 'subject', and one example (100) belongs to the modification type 2.24. With the exception of case status, where no clear tendency is observable with the stacked A pattern, therefore, considerations similar to a) - c) above (6.711) appear possible.

6.713 In order to examine a possible historical connexion between A and B pattern this study has, for the first time, analysed the modification patterns of $N_1/N_2$ of the A pattern; by this means we have been able to show that a development A to B can only be assumed via what appears to be the most developed modification pattern in the OJ A pattern, 2.24. Developments in the post-Nara A pattern, where 2.24 is dominant, seem to confirm this (although cross-influences from the B pattern cannot be ruled out entirely).

6.714 An analysis of the semantic relationship between $N_1$ and $N_2$ in the A pattern was first attempted in Kaiser (1979)(cf.Ch.II, Note 23), and was extended here further. It shows a clear tendency away from repetition of identical common nouns towards the combination of common and abstract nouns. This strongly suggests that we ought to assume an abstract noun for the deleted $N_2$ in the B pattern, and not, as is commonly proposed, a

repeated $N_1$. Yuzawa (1929[1]) does suggest a similar development from his vantage point of Muromachi-period sources, but does not provide any proof for his assumption, and further suggests influences from <u>kanbun</u> for this development to occur (cf.1.3). This latter point is easily discounted by pointing at the relatively much higher occurrence of B (and A) pattern in $KM_{II}$, which has been analysed as the <u>less</u> kanbun-prone than $KM_I$ (cf.Ch.II, Note 27).

6.715 This study also analysed for the first time the often intricate relative connexion for modification type 2.21 in the A pattern.

6.721 In earlier research it was suggested by Kuroda (1974) that the B pattern formed by <u>no</u> is restrictive, whereas the pattern formed by other particles is non-restrictive, a contention which was mainly based on a contextual analysis of a limited set of randomly chosen data.

The present thesis shows that his assumption about the <u>no</u>-pattern is false in that it can be either restrictive or nonrestrictive depending on the context (including the type of $N_1$), whereas the types of patterns formed by other particles are nonrestrictive (cf. 6.22, 6.31), which confirms the assumption made in Kuroda (1974).

We have also provided a subdivision for the B pattern formed by particles other than <u>no</u>.

Firstly, we have combined the zero-pattern with

the pattern where emphatic and other particles super-
sede zero as a pattern of an appositional nature (cf.
6.32).

Secondly, we have isolated the ga-pattern, which
is characteristically nonrestrictive because $NP_1$ is
typically a personal nominal (i.e. a nominal of unique
denotation), while some emphasis is placed on $NP_1$ due
to the nature of the associative particle ga.

Thirdly, there is the pattern formed by the case-
markers o and ni; here there is no explicit modifica-
tional relationship between $NP_1$ and $NP_2$, such a re-
lationship being provided by the context only. All
examples seem nonrestrictive, again only from contextual
considerations (cf.6.34).

Formal distinctions can also be made between the
ga- and o-patterns in that transgressing object NPs
occur only with the former, whereas transgressing sub-
ject NPs are seen only with the latter (cf.6.41).

All observations contained in 6.721 are made here
for the first time.


6.731 We have been able to make some observations on
the question of relevancy to the semantic head of the
modifying sections for the B pattern formed by no (cf.
4.121, 4.318, 4.516). Our evidence clearly indicates
that the modifying section of $NP_2$ is more relevant to
$N_1$ than the modifying section preceding $N_1$, if pre-
sent (cf.4.121).

If we assume some difference in importance or em-

phasis between the modifying sections preceding (where present) and following the semantic head noun of a B pattern formed by no, we have to conclude that the section following it is the more important or emphasized section. This may show in the form of ex. 107 (i.e. a smaller, specific group within a larger, more comprehensive one), where the context indicates that a restrictive clause is emphasized in the absence of a modifying section of $N_1$, or in the form of ex. 120, where a nonrestrictive clause is emphasized after an unmodified $N_1$. Furthermore, it can also take the shape of ex. 112, where the nonrestrictive RC is emphasized in contrast to the modifying section of $N_1$, which contains information that is already known, or ex. 159, where a restrictive clause is emphasized in contrast to the modifying section of $N_1$.

From the above considerations wa can conclude that a difference can be assumed between the MJ sentences i. and ii. given by Yuzawa (1929[1]) in 1.3 above in that atarashii has greater emphasis in ii. than in i.

6.732 The question is if similar considerations to the above apply to the patterns formed by particles other than no as well.

Unfortunately, I have been unable to find any indications of the kind seen with the no-pattern in regard to the relevancy question; the matter therefore becomes largely one of speculation.

We have already seen that in case of the ga-pattern some emphasis can be assumed to be on $NP_1$ (cf.6.33);

it is, however, difficult to see how this applies in
absolute terms when one thinks of examples such as 208,
in which two persons are contrasted, one marked by no,
the other by ga. We would still have to assume that in
relative terms isamerishi receives more emphasis in
ii. below than in i. (construed example).

    i. isamerishi Tōseki mo shiniki[17].

    ii. Tōseki ga isamerishi mo shiniki

The modifying section of $N_2$ also appears to re-
ceive more emphasis than that of $N_1$ in examples formed
by o and ni, and also by zero (ex. 198!), as similar
comparisons to the above indicate. In a way, this is not
surprising, as in each case an implied head noun can be
assumed.

It seems, then, that the question of relevancy or
emphasis is quite independent of the notion of restric-
tiveness; the latter is dependent on the tightness of
connexion between the two NPs, which is in turn condi-
tioned by the particle connecting them.

As we have observed earlier (3.51, 4.121), it is
possible to assume that from the deep structure of Class
1 of rentai shūshoku with identical NPs either a preno-
minal RC or a headless RC can be derived (depending,
probably, upon which modifying section is to be given
special emphasis). Moreover, in case of the latter,
the following options are available:

a) repeating the identical nominal (Head NP) =

A pattern

b) pronominalizing it by means of an abstract noun

etc. = A pattern

c) deleting it = B pattern

Among the above three options, a) seems to have

an 'archaic' flavour after the Nara period; diachron-

ically speaking, it becomes increasingly rare (and

probably disappears entirely at some stage of language

history).

Option c) (B pattern) is by far the most commonly

observed one between the Early Heian and Muromachi pe-

riods; however, b) seems to be available throughout

these periods, probably for purposes of clarification.

With the disappearance of a specialized adnominal form,

MJ has reverted to b, regardless of whether we call $N_2$

in that pattern a nominalizer or an abstract noun (cf.

6.61).


6.733 Some earlier research suggests a principal-subor-

dinate relationship between the NPs in stacked B pat-

tern (cf. 1.3, Tokieda (1950), Aoshima (1956) and Tera-

da (1958)).

This thesis shows, however, quite clearly that on

a number of occasions $NP_2$ and $NP_3$ are interchangeable

(cf.4.429, 5.525). There are examples which do display

a 'progressive' relationship between NPs, or have a ten-

dency for the more 'obvious' or 'immediate' property

of the head noun to come earlier (cf.4.529), but this

seems due to the context and not the syntactic struc-

ture of the stacked B pattern.

6.74 If we consider the overall tendencies for (simple) A and B pattern with regard to the relative connexion, the Keenan and Comrie (1972) hierarchy (cf.1.11) is by and large confirmed (as far as it is applicable to the Japanese language) in that the order observed with both the no-pattern and the pattern formed by other particles is 'subject', '(direct) object' and 'indirect object' (if we take L, TEMP, DIR etc. as functions normally expressed by the particle ni to basically represent 'indirect object').

'Topic' does not figure in the Keenan and Comrie hierarchy; however, it occupies quite an important position in our study, as it ranks mostly second-highest in the no-pattern, and third-highest in the pattern formed by other particles overall. I have attempted an explanation of this difference above (6.42).

If we subdivide the pattern formed by particles other than no into the following five subgroups, the situation with regard to the relative connexion (or relativizability) is as follows (nos. of examples in rounded brackets):

1. zero;       subject ≥ object ≥ topic
               (150)      (28)      (9)

2. EMP etc.    subject ≥ object ≥ topic
               (48)       (4)       (2)

3. ga          subject ≥           topic
               (62)                 (1)

4. o                       object
                           (58)

5. ni                                      ind.obj.
                                             (7)

Here, 1. and 2. present the same situation as described above in general terms, but _ga_ (with one exception), _o_ and _ni_ 'specialize' on connexions of the type they normally indicate as casemarkers, i.e. 'subject', 'object' and 'indirect object', respectively.

6.75 Finally, we perhaps ought to briefly consider a possible relationship between the relative occurrence of B pattern in a certain source and the particular style of that source. At this stage this is only possible in very general terms, but a comparison between the GM and the KM does provide us with some valuable hints in that direction.

Examples of both _no-_ and zero-pattern show a marked increase from the GM to the KM, although there had been no clear tendency of increase from Mid-Heian to Late Heian. Rather than interpreting this as a diachronic tendency towards wider use of the B pattern in the Insei period, it appears possible to see this difference as conditioned by the different styles of writing evident in these two large works.

As Ishigaki (1942) has shown, either the constituent or the matrix predicate of a B pattern is necessarily a state-word. Although there are some exceptions to this rule according to the present author's observation (Kaiser (1979) lists 26 exceptions down to the Insei period only), his contention is correct for the vast majority of B patterns. The fact that these predicates are basically words indicating a state shows that the B pattern is basically a _descriptive_ pattern concerned

with non-dynamic aspects of persons/things rather than their actions. Apart from the fact that the KM is far less elegant but more precise in its use of language, its content-matter conditions a much more narrative type of prose. Descriptions of persons and objects take up a fairly large share in the many hundreds of short tales that make up the work; as the tales are short, each of them involves descriptions of _new_ persons and things to a much greater degree than the GM.

In this connexion it would also be interesting to see if the B pattern is more commonly used in conversational or narrative sections within a work. Unfortunately no clear distinction between conversational style (dialogue) and narration is observed in any of our sources. However, the GM is generally said to represent the spoken language of the nobility of the time without distinguishing between the above styles as yet (the _written_ language of the day in the formal sense was classical Chinese); therefore the very fact that the B pattern is widely used in this source may be interpreted as an indication that it _is_ usable in colloquial language. Incidentally, the percentage of B pattern used in quotations of people's speech is 34% in case of the _no_-pattern, and 13% in case of the pattern formed by zero and other particles; this may be an indication that the former was felt to be more natural when reporting people's speech, but our present sources and data permit no final decision on this matter.

NOTES to Chapter VI

1 One of the main arguments for nonrelative analysis of relative clauses in Akiba (1978, p.80),"the existence of $NOM_i$ in the 'relative clause' is impossible to prove[1] because it never appears on the surface in any form", is clearly invalidated by this evidence.

2 The situation is similar with the A pattern formed by other particles: 2.24 is about 14% (cf.3.25).

3 The vast majority of these idiomatic expressions is formed by zero-particle, and the small number of examples formed by no is not without zero-variants in other MSs. This is not surprising when one considers the unnaturalness of the English translation of 221, which would fare better if translated as a nonrestrictive clause in the sense of 'the various fruit-trees, those in full bloom and those not blooming yet, ...'

4 For instance, ex.50 appears 5 times in identical form in the EN, while examples 86, 32 and others reoccur in the MYS.

5 For instance, ex.51 (EN) reoccurs in the MYS, 40 and 87 (KS) reappear in the MYS (albeit formed by no instead of zero in case of ex.87), and ex.74 is found in similar form in the NS.

6 This is basically the structure seen in MYS:398 (cf.Ch.II, Note 22).

7 For this reason the comment made in Yuzawa (1929[1], cf.1.3 above) that with the ga-pattern "the omission rate of mono is extremely high" seems pointless.

8 See Yamada (1913[1]) and Konoshima (1956).

9 See Konoshima (1956).

10 Polite forms in Japanese are commonly a result of avoiding directness/emphasis.

11 Translated from the German by the present author.

12 No examples of transgressing elements are observed in our data for the pattern formed by ni.

13 Ōeru can be analysed into the dynamic verb ōu ('to cover') and the ending -ru, which is said to be derived from aru and indicates a state.

14 On this point, see Yamada (1913[1]), p.415.

15 Although our sources for the Muromachi period contain only one example, Yuzawa (1929[2]) gives further examples for this period, while Martin (1975) gives examples for MJ.

16 Kawachi MSs only.

17 The naturalness of i. and similar construed examples appears questionable, especially where $N_1$ is a personal pronoun. A separate study examining the modification patterns of personal pronouns appears necessary in order to solve this problem.

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