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Classification of Noun-Concluding Sentences from a Syntactic Analysis Perspective

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Abstract

This paper discusses the problem of ‘noun-concluding sentences’ (NCS) in modern Japanese and aims to systematize classification based on syntactic analysis. An NCS refers to a noun predicate sentence in which the noun of the predicate requires a modification part and does not have an equivalent relation with the subject. The NCS is a special construction both from a linguistic typology perspective and from a Japanese syntax perspective.

NCS cover a wide range of semantic fields, and several classification systems have been attempted. However, because these classifications in the existing research depend on the lexical meanings of nouns of predicates, the individual categories are considered in parallel to each other, making it difficult to perceive a clear picture of relationships between them. This paper, therefore, focuses on a syntactic view of NCS, and on that basis, proposes the establishment of an NCS classification system.

This paper will attempt to show that NCS can be classified into two main groups: those which can take cognitive subjects as their themes (Type I), and those which cannot take cognitive subjects as their themes (Type II). Type I constructions can be further divided into two patterns based on whether the cognitive subject has a person restriction (Type I-1, I-2). Type II constructions also can be further divided into two patterns, those which take cognitive objects as their themes (Type II-1), and those which do not take any themes (Type II-2). Bringing a syntactic perspective to the classification of NCS constructions has therefore made it possible to see the systemicity between the classes.

Keywords: Japanese language, copula sentence, noun-concluding sentences

要旨

この論文は、現代日本語における「文末名詞文」を取り上げ、構文論的分析に基づく分類の体系化を行うことを目的とする。文末名詞文は、述部の名詞が連体修飾部を必須とし、かつ主題と同値関係を持たない名詞述語文を指し、類型論的に見ても日本語の構文論的に見ても、特殊な構文である。

「文末名詞文」の意味領域は多岐にわたり、従来いくつかの分類が試みられてきた。しかしこれまでの研究の分類は述部の名詞の語彙的意味に依存した分類になっているために、分類項目が並列的で、文類間の関係性が把握しにくいのが現状である。そこで本論文では、「文末名詞文」の構文論的な観点に注目し、「文末名詞文」の分類を立てることを提案する。

本論文では、「文末名詞文」を、認知主体を主題にとることができるもの（Ⅰ類）と、認知主体を主題にとることができないもの（Ⅱ類）の大きく2つに分けられることを主張する。さらにⅠ類は、その認知主体に人称制限があるかどうかで2つに分けられ（Ⅰ-1型、Ⅰ-2型）、Ⅱ類は、認知対象を主題に取るもの（Ⅱ-1型）と、どのような主題も取らないもの（Ⅱ-2型）にわけられる。このように構文の分類に統語的な観点を持ち込むことにより、分類間の体系性を示すことができる。

キーワード：日本語、コピュラ文、文末名詞文

1. Background

A nominal predicate sentence is a sentence structure where the predicate is a noun phrase accompanied by a copula. This structure is ubiquitous in many languages. For example, situations such as (1a) and (2a) which are expressed with a nominal predicate in Japanese are also expressed with nominal predicates in English (1b), (2b) and Chinese (1c), (2c).

- | | | | | |
|-------|--|--------|-------------|-------------|
| (1)a. | 彼は | とても | 賢い | 学生だ。 |
| | Kare-wa | totemo | kashikoi | gakusei-da. |
| | He-TOP | very | intelligent | student-COP |
| | <i>He is a very intelligent student.</i> | | | |

b. He is a very intelligent student.

c. 他 是 很 聪明的 学生。
Tā shì hěn cōngming-de xuésheng
He COP very intelligent-GEN student
He is a very intelligent student.

(2)a. これは 私の 母が 作った ケーキだ。
Kore-wa watashi-no haha-ga tsukut-ta kēki-da.
this-TOP I-GEN mother-NOM make-PAST cake- COP
This is the cake my mother made.

b. This is the cake my mother made.

c. 这 是 我 妈妈 做的 蛋糕。
Zhè shì wǒ māma zuò-de dàngāo
this COP my mother make-GEN cake
This is the cake my mother made.

However, Japanese nominal predicate sentences do not necessarily correspond to nominal predicate sentences in English and Chinese in all cases. For example, the Japanese nominal predicate sentences (3a) and (4a) cannot be expressed in English or Chinese as nominal predicate sentences, as can be seen in (3b), (4b) and (3c), (4c). Instead, they are expressed in constructions which use verbs of possession, as in (3b'), (4b') and (3c'), (4c').

(3)a. 彼は やさしい 性格だ。
Kare-wa yasashii seikaku-da.
He-TOP gentle nature-COP
He has a gentle nature.

b. * He is a gentle nature.

b'. He has a gentle nature.

c. * 他 是 很 温柔的 性格。
Tā shì hěn wēnróu-de xìnggé
He COP very gentle-GEN nature
**He is a gentle nature.*

c'. 他 有 很 温柔的 性格。
Tā yǒu hěn wēnróu-de xìnggé
He have very gentle-GEN nature
He has a gentle nature.

(4)a. 彼は 来年 留学する 予定だ。
Kare-wa rainen ryūgaku-suru yotei-da.
He-TOP next year study abroad plan-COP
He has a plan to study abroad next year.

b. * He is a plan to study abroad next year.

b'. He has a plan to study abroad next year.

c. * 他 是 明年 去 留学的 计划。
Tā shì míngnián qù liúxué-de jìhuà
He COP next year go study abroad-GEN plan
**He is a plan to study abroad next year.*

c'. 他 有 明年 去 留学的 计划。
Tā yǒu míngnián qù liúxué-de jìhuà
He have next year go study abroad-GEN plan
He has a plan to study abroad next year.

Thus, although nominal predicate sentences themselves are a ubiquitous construction across languages, the situations which can be expressed with this construction differ by language. In addition to the type of nominal predicate sentences seen in (1a) and (2a), Japanese also uses the type seen in (3a) and (4a), termed ‘noun-concluding sentences’ (NCS). (See Shinya 1989. The same construction is referred to by Tsunoda 1996 as a “noun-concluding construction” and by Tsunoda 2011 as a “mermaid construction”; in this paper we will use ‘NCS’.)

Ordinary nominal predicate sentences such as (5a) and (6a) are still valid as nominal predicate sentences even if the adnominal phrases (*totemo kashikoi* [very intelligent] and *watashi-no haha-ga tsukut-ta* [my mother made]) modifying the predicative nouns are removed, such as in (5b) and (6b). However, the NCS (7a) and (8a) work differently. The nouns *seikaku* and *yotei* still combine with the copula *da* to make the predicate, and yet as (7b) and (8b) show, without the adnominal phrases *yasashii* [gentle] and *rainen ryūgaku-suru* [to study abroad next year], they are not valid nominal predicate sentences. Because of this, the NCS is generally treated as a special construction which differs from ordinary nominal predicate sentences. Nouns which can form nominal predicate sentences when paired with adnominal phrases, despite the lack of a valid equivalence relation, are termed ‘sentence-final nouns’ (examples: *seikaku*, *yotei*).

- (5)a. 彼は とても 賢い 学生だ。(=1a)
Kare-wa totemo kashikoi gakusei-da.
He-TOP very intelligent student-COP
He is a very intelligent student.

- b. 彼は 学生だ。
Kare-wa gakusei-da.
He-TOP student-COP
He is a student.

- (6)a. これは 私の 母が 作った ケーキだ。(=2a)
Kore-wa watashi-no haha-ga tsukut-ta kēki-da.
this-TOP I-GEN mother-NOM make-PAST cake- COP
This is the cake my mother made.

- b. これは ケーキだ。
Kore-wa kēki-da.
this-TOP cake- COP
This is the cake.

- (7)a. 彼は やさしい 性格だ。(=3a)
Kare-wa yasashii seikaku-da.
He-TOP gentle nature-COP
He has a gentle nature.
- b. * 彼は 性格だ。
Kare-wa seikaku-da.
He-TOP nature-COP
**He is a nature.*
- (8)a. 彼は 来年 留学する 予定だ。(=4a)
Kare-wa rainen ryūgaku-suru yotei-da.
He-TOP next year study abroad plan-COP
He has a plan to study abroad next year.
- b. * 彼は 予定だ。
Kare-wa yotei-da.
He-TOP plan-COP
**He is a plan.*

From a linguistic typology standpoint, it has been reported that languages which have NCS like these tend to be Asian (Tsunoda 2011), but because Korean and Chinese do not allow them on as broad a scale as Japanese does (Inoue and Kim 1999; Sawada 2003; 2010; Inoue 2010), NCS have been regarded as a distinctive construction of the Japanese language.

2. Contrast with possessive constructions

Most sentence-final nouns will form functional verb combinations expressing possession (cf. Muraki 1980), but the behaviors of NCS and possessive constructions are not the same in all cases (Shinya 1989: 80-82).

Firstly, there are differences in their lexical distribution. As demonstrated by (9) below, the noun *ikō* in (9a) works in both NCS and possessive constructions, but *ishi* in (9b) only works in the possessive construction and does not work in the NCS.

Additionally, *yōsu* in (9c) produces a valid NCS, but cannot be used in the possessive construction. Therefore NCS and possessive constructions differ as to which sorts of nouns will make the construction valid.

(9) Lexical Distribution

- a. 彼は 辞任する {意向だ / 意向を 持っている}。
 Kare-wa jinin-suru {ikō-da / ikō-o motte-iru}.
 He-TOP resign {intention-COP/intention-ACC have-PROG}
He has an intention to resign.
- b. 彼は 辞任する {*意思だ / 意思を 持っている}。
 Kare-wa jinin-suru {*ishi-da / ishi-o motte-iru}.
 He-TOP resign {mind-COP / mind-ACC have-PROG}
He has a mind to resign.
- c. 彼は 辞任する {様子だ / *様子を 持っている}。
 Kare-wa jinin-suru {yōsu-da / *yōsu-o motte-iru}.
 He-TOP resign {look-COP / look-ACC have-PROG}
It looks like he will resign.

Secondly, the two constructions differ in the behavior of the subjects of their main and adnominal clauses. As demonstrated by (10a), the possessive construction *kakugo-o motte-iru* is valid even when the subject of the main clause (*kare*) is different from the subject of the adnominal clause (*kaisha*); however, this is not true of NCS, as demonstrated in (10b). The subjects of the main and adnominal clauses must be the same for an NCS, as in (10c).

(10) Subjects of Main Clauses and Adnominal Clauses

- a. 彼は 会社が 倒産するという 覚悟を
 Kare-wa kaisha-ga tōsan-suru-toiu kakugo-o
 He-TOP company-NOM go bankrupt-COMP preparedness-ACC
 持っている。
 motte-iru.
 have-PROG
He is prepared for his company to go bankrupt.

- b. * 彼は 会社が 倒産するという 覚悟だ。
 Kare-wa kaisha-ga tōsan-suru-toiu kakugo-da.
 He-TOP company-NOM go bankrupt-COMP preparedness-COP
He is prepared for his company to go bankrupt.
- c. 彼は 会社を 倒産から 救う 覚悟だ。
 Kare-wa kaisha-o tōsan-kara sukū kakugo-da.
 He-TOP company-ACC go bankrupt-ABL save preparedness-COP
He is prepared to save his company from bankruptcy.

Thirdly, the constructions differ on which forms are allowed in their adnominal clauses. The adnominal clause with the possessive construction *ketsui-o motte-iru* can take various adnominalized forms, as demonstrated in (11a-d), but NCS are almost exclusively restricted to the attributive form of verbs (11a) or *-toiu* clauses (11b). This is another indication that an attributive structure included within an NCS is different from a regular attributive structure.

(11) Forms Allowed in Adnominal Clauses

- a. 彼は 会社を 倒産から 救う
 Kare-wa kaisha-o tōsan-kara sukū
 He-TOP company-ACC go bankrupt-ABL save
 {決意だ / 決意を 持っている}。
 {ketsui-da / ketsui-o motte-iru}.
 {determination-COP / determination-ACC have-PROG}
He is determined to save the company from bankruptcy.
- b. 彼は 会社を 倒産から 救うという
 Kare-wa kaisha-o tōsan-kara sukū-toiu
 He-TOP company-ACC go bankrupt-ABL save-COMP
 {決意だ / 決意を 持っている}。
 {ketsui-da / ketsui-o motte-iru}.
 {determination-COP / determination-ACC have-PROG}
He is determined to save the company from bankruptcy.

- c. 彼は 会社を 倒産から 救おうとする
 Kare-wa kaisha-o tōsan-kara suku-ō-tosuru
 He-TOP company-ACC go bankrupt-ABL save-try to
 { *決意だ/ 決意を 持っている }。
 { ketsui-da/ ketsui-o motte-iru }.
 { determination-COP/ determination-ACC have-PROG }

He is determined to try to save the company from bankruptcy.

- d. 彼は 会社を 倒産から 救うだけの
 Kare-wa kaisha-o tōsan-kara sukū-dake-no
 He-TOP company-ACC go bankrupt-ABL save-enough
 { *決意だ/ 決意を 持っている }。
 { ketsui-da/ ketsui-o motte-iru }.
 { determination-COP/ determination-ACC have-PROG }

He is determined enough to save the company from bankruptcy.

3. Definition of the problem and goal of this paper

As demonstrated above, the NCS is a special construction both from a linguistic typology perspective and from a Japanese syntax perspective, yet the conditions under which an NCS achieves validity have not been very clearly determined. The sentence-final nouns capable of forming an NCS cover a wide range of semantic fields, and several classification systems for them have been attempted. Shinya (1989) classified NCS into seven types, labeled A through G, based on the semantic relationship between subject and predicate. Tsunoda (1996; 2011) later classified them into types 1 through 12 according to the semantic field of the sentence-final noun. Table 1 shows how these correspond to Shinya (1989). Noda (2006) reorganized the Shinya and Tsunoda categories and broadly classified them into types 1 through 4 based on which sort of other predicate elements they correspond to.

Table 1: Semantic classifications of sentence-final nouns in existing research

Shinya 1989	Tsunoda 1996; 2011	Noda 2006
A: Predicate positions the subject in a paradigmatic set <i>shurui, rui, tagui, taipu, hō, burui, kurasu, kaisō, keitō, patān</i>	6: Habit 7: Human personality 8: Deontic expression 9: Bodily characteristic	(4) Class
B: Predicate states an attribute of the subject <i>seishitsu, seikaku, kishitsu, kishō, shōbun, tachi, taishitsu, hitogara, tachiba, kōsei, kōzō, shikumi, keishiki, yōshiki, kaodachi, ninsō, taikaku, nioi, katachi, omomuki, teisai, unsei, mibun, shusshin, naka, kankei</i>	10: Configuration of something inanimate (Formal nouns: <i>hō, muki</i>)	(3) Part or aspect of a subject
C: Predicate outlines an intuitive grasp of the subject or of a certain situation <i>kanji, yōsu, moyō, jōtai, fū, arisama, fuzei, kakkō, kūki, kehai, kishoku, taïdo, soburi, iikata, kuchō, kuchiburi, hyōjō, chōshi, guai, ikioi</i>	3: State, result 5: Impression, atmosphere	(1) Auxiliary equivalent a: Condition or state (<i>~yōda</i>)
D: Predicate expresses the subjective viewpoint of the subject D-1: Bodily sensation <i>kanji</i>	4: Emotion	(2) Thought or feeling verb equivalent b: Emotion (<i>~to kanjiru, ~to omou</i>)
D-2: Emotion, mentality <i>kanji, kimochi, omoi, inshō, kokoromochi, kibun, shinkyō</i>		
D-3: Will <i>ikō, ki, kontan, ryōken, kakugo, kangae, kesshin, kokorogumi, hōshin, yotei, shugi, keisan, tsumori</i>	1: Will (Formal noun: <i>tsumori</i>)	(1) Auxiliary equivalent c: Will (<i>~shiyō to omou, ~suru koto ni shite iru</i>)
D-4: Consciousness/understanding, opinion <i>iken, kangae, inshō, kangaekata, ninshiki, mikata, kaishaku, handan</i>		(2) Thought or feeling verb equivalent a: Thought (<i>~to kangaeru</i>)
E: Expression of a situation in more detail or additional commentary from another angle <i>anbai, guai, shidai, dōri, hanashi, rikutsu, wake, tenmatsu, shimatsu</i>	(Formal nouns: <i>wake, shidai</i>)	(1) Auxiliary equivalent d: Explanation (<i>~koto ni naru/natta</i>)
F: Expression of a positional relationship to the subject in terms of time or location <i>tokoro, kinpen, chikaku, soba, tonari, sunzen, saichū, tochū, koro, chokuzen, chokugo, ato, jibun</i>	11: Temporal relationship (Formal noun: <i>tokoro</i>)	
G: Conveying a phenomenon as information the speaker obtained from others <i>koto, hanashi, uwasa, hyōban, yoshi</i>	(Formal noun: <i>yoshi</i>)	
	2: Plan, expectation	(1) Auxiliary equivalent b: Conjecture (<i>~darō</i>)
	12: Suspicion	

However, because these classifications in the existing research depend on the lexical meanings of sentence-final nouns, the individual categories are considered in parallel to each other, making it difficult to perceive a clear picture of any relationships between them. In this paper, therefore, we will focus on a syntactic view of NCS, and propose the establishment of an NCS classification system on that basis rather than classifying them according to the lexical meaning of the sentence-final nouns. Specifically, we will classify NCS on the basis of the semantic relationships of the NP which are allowed to appear in their themes. Doing so enables us to take syntactic constraints, something only partially covered in the existing research to date, and incorporate them into our classification indicators. This in turn allows us to grasp the relationships between categories.

4. Proposed classification of this paper

In this paper we will first begin by dividing the situations expressed by NCS into ‘cognitive subject’, ‘cognitive content’, and ‘cognitive object’.

Cognitive content refers to cognitive activities such as perception, will, thought, judgment, explanation, reporting, and ascription; the cognitive subject is the agent whose cognition consists of these activities. The object which returns the information gained through the cognitive activities is the cognitive object. Table 2 outlines the proposal, which divides NCS into three main groups: those which take cognitive subjects as their themes (Type I), those which take cognitive objects as their themes (Type II-1), and those which do not take themes (Type II-2).

Table 2: Syntactic classifications of noun-concluding sentences

【Classification by Shinya (1989)】	
Type I: Constructions which can take cognitive subjects as their themes	
— Pattern I-1: Constructions restricted to the first person	
{Watashi/*Kare}-wa karada-ga uite-iru kanji-da.	【Type D-1】
{Watashi/*Kare}-wa jinin-shitai kimochi-da.	【Type D-2】
— Pattern I-2: Constructions with no person restriction	
{Watashi /Kare}-wa jinin-suru kangae-da.	【Type D-3】
{Watashi /Kare }-wa kono shujutsu-wa muzukashii-toiu handan-da.	【Type D-4】
Type II: Constructions which cannot take cognitive subjects as their themes	
— Pattern II-1: Constructions which take cognitive objects as their themes	
Group II-1a	
Kare-wa gaman-ga dekinai taipu-da	【Type A】
Kare-wa yasashii seikaku-da.	【Type B】
Kare-wa dekakeru yosu-da.	【Type C】
Group II-1b	
Kantō chihō-wa asu ame-ga furu moyō-da.	【Type C】
Nihon-wa sakura-ga saki-hajime-ta tokoro-da.	【Type F】
Kare-wa ojōsan-ga kekkon-suru-toiu hanashi-da.	【Type G】
— Pattern II-2: Constructions which do not take themes	
Daijin-ga o-mie-ni-nat-ta yōsu-da.	【Type C】
Hitode-ga tarinai-toiu-node, watashi-ga yoba-re-ta shidai-da.	【Type E】
Hannin-o mita hito-ga iru-toiu hanashi-da.	【Type G】

5. Occurrence of cognitive subjects

We will first examine whether or not NCS can take a cognitive subject. In (12) and (13), where the subject perceives the sensation of *karada-ga uite-iru* [body is floating] or makes the judgment *kono shujutsu-wa muzukashii* [this operation is difficult], we can express the first-person pronoun *watashi*, the subject performing cognition, with the theme marker *wa*. On the other hand, as (14a) and (15a) show, when ascribing attributes, such as in *kare-wa yasashii* [he is gentle], or making determinations, such as *Kantō chihō-wa asu ame-ga furu* [it will rain in the Kantō region tomorrow], the first-person cognitive subject cannot appear in the NCS. Only NCS which take the object of the attribution (e.g. *kare*) or determination (e.g. *Kantō chihō*) as their themes are possible, as in (14b) and (15b). And so we will classify constructions (12) and (13), which can take cognitive subjects as their themes, as Type I. Constructions which cannot take cognitive subjects as their themes will be Type II.

Type I: Constructions which can take cognitive subjects as their themes

- (12) 私は 身体が 浮いている 感じた。
Watashi-wa karada-ga uite-iru kanji-da.
I-TOP body-NOM float-PROG feeling-COP
I feel like my body is floating.

- (13) 私は この 手術は 難しいという 判断だ。
Watashi-wa kono shujutsu-wa muzukashii-toiu handan-da.
I-TOP this operation-TOP difficult-COMP judgement-COP
I judge that this operation is difficult.

Type II: Constructions which cannot take cognitive subjects as their themes

- (14) a. * 私は 彼は やさしい 性格だ。
Watashi-wa kare-wa yasashii seikaku-da.
I-TOP He-TOP gentle nature-COP
I feel that he has a gentle nature.

- b. 彼は やさしい 性格だ。
 Kare-wa yasashii seikaku-da.
 He-TOP gentle nature-COP
He has a gentle nature.

- (15) a.* 私は 関東地方は 明日 雨が 降る
 Watashi-wa Kantō chihō-wa asu ame-ga furu
 I-TOP Kanto region-TOP tomorrow rain-NOM fall
 模様だ。
 moyō-da.
 condition-COP

I estimate that the Kanto region will have rain tomorrow.

- b. 関東地方は 明日 雨が 降る 模様だ。
 Kantō chihō-wa asu ame-ga furu moyō-da.
 Kanto region-TOP tomorrow rain-NOM fall condition-COP
The Kanto region will have rain tomorrow.

Type I constructions which can take cognitive subjects as their themes can be further divided into two patterns based on whether the cognitive subject has a person restriction. ‘Person restriction’ is the phenomenon wherein sentences with adjectives of sensation or emotion in their predicates like (16) and (17) below can only take a first-person theme. Similarly, as shown in (18), (19), and (20), verbs expressing perception, will, thought, judgment such as *kanjiru*, *omou*, and *kangaeru* can take either first- or third-person themes if they are in the continuous aspect, whereas in forms without an aspect they are restricted to the first person.

- (16) {私/*彼}は お腹が 痛い。
 {Watashi/*Kare}-wa onaka-ga itai.
 {I/He}-TOP stomach-NOM ache
{I have/He has} a stomachache.

- (17) {私/*彼}は 故郷が 懐かしい。
 {Watashi/*Kare-wa kokyō-ga natsukashii.
 {I/He}-TOP hometown-NOM miss
{I miss my hometown./He misses his hometown.}
- (18) a. {私/*彼}は 身体が 浮いている ように 感じる。
 {Watashi/*Kare}-wa karada-ga uite-iru yō-ni kanjiru.
 {I/He}-TOP body-NOM float-PROG like feel
{I feel/He feels} like {my/his} body is floating.
- b. {私/彼}は 身体が 浮いている ように
 {Watashi/Kare}-wa karada-ga uite-iru yō-ni
 {I/He}-TOP body-NOM float-PROG like
 感じている。
 kanjite-iru.
 feel-PROG
{I feel/He feels} like {my/his} body is floating..
- (19) a. {私/*彼}は 辞任したいと 思う。
 {Watashi/*Kare}-wa jinin-shitai-to omou.
 {I/He}-TOP resign-want-COMP think
{I want/He wants} to resign.
- b. {私/彼}は 辞任したいと 思っている。
 {Watashi/Kare}-wa jinin-shitai-to omotte-iru.
 {I/He}-TOP resign-want- COMP think-PROG
{I want/He wants} to resign.
- (20) a. {私/*彼}は この 手術は 難しいと
 {Watashi/*Kare}-wa kono shujutsu-wa muzukashii-to
 {I/He}-TOP this operation-TOP difficult-COMP
 考える。
 kangaeru.
 consider
{I consider/He considers} this operation to be difficult.

- b. {私/彼}は この 手術は 難しいと
 {Watashi/Kare}-wa kono shujutsu-wa muzukashii-to
 {I/He}-TOP this operation-TOP difficult-COMP

考えている。

kangaete-iru.

consider-PROG

{I consider/He considers} this operation to be difficult.

The same sort of person restrictions related to cognitive subjects are seen in NCS. There are both first-person-only constructions like (21) and (22), as well as constructions with no such person restriction like (23) and (24) (Shinya 1989: 78; Sawada 2014). We will designate these Pattern I-1 and Pattern I-2, respectively.

Pattern I-1: Constructions restricted to the first person

- (21) {私/*彼}は 身体が 浮いている 感じだ。
 {Watashi/*Kare}-wa karada-ga uite-iru kanji-da.
 {I/He}-TOP body-NOM float-PROG feeling-COP
{I feel/He feels} like {my/his} body is floating.

- (22) {私/*彼}は 辞任したい 気持ちだ。
 {Watashi/*Kare}-wa jinin-shitai kimochi-da.
 {I/He}-TOP resign-want wish-COP
{I have/He has} a wish to resign.

Pattern I-2: Constructions with no person restriction

- (23) {私/彼}は 辞任する 考えだ。
 {Watashi/Kare}-wa jinin-suru kangae-da.
 {I/He}-TOP resign thought-COP
{I am/He is} thinking of resigning.

- (24) {私/彼}は この 手術は 難しいという 判断だ。
 {Watashi/Kare}-wa kono shujutsu-wa muzukashii-toi handan-da.
 {I/He}-TOP this operation-TOP difficult-CO judgement-COP
{I judge/He judges} this operation to be difficult.

Thus we are able to treat the NCS which fall under Type I in parallel with phenomena in other constructions outside of NCS.

6. Occurrence of cognitive objects

Next, we will take a close look at Type II constructions, which cannot take a cognitive subject. NCS which do not take a cognitive subject either take a cognitive object as their theme (Pattern II-1) or take no theme at all (Pattern II-2).

Pattern II-1: Constructions which take cognitive objects as their themes

- (25) 彼は やさしい 性格だ。
Kare-wa yasashii seikaku-da.
He-TOP gentle nature-COP
He has a gentle nature.

- (26) 関東地方は 明日 雨が 降る 模様だ。
Kantō chihō-wa asu ame-ga furu moyō-da.
Kanto region-TOP tomorrow rain-NOM fall condition-COP
The Kanto region will have rain tomorrow.

Pattern II-2: Constructions which do not take themes

- (27) 人手が 足りないので、
Hitode-ga tarinai-node,
people-NOM not enough-because

私が 呼ばれた 次第だ。
watashi-ga yoba-re-ta shidai-da.
I-NOM call-PASS-PAST cause-COP

Because there are not enough people, I was called here.

NCS can express the object of an attribution as their theme, as with *kare* in (25); likewise, they can express the object of a determination as their theme, as with *Kantō chihō* as the object of the determination *asu ame-ga furu* in (26). On the other hand, there are some cases where the carrier of the attribute cannot be expressed as the theme. For example, in (27) there is no object to which to attribute the explanation *watashi-ga yoba-re-ta*; the nearest could possibly be ‘the

circumstances at the time of the utterance'. But that cannot be expressed as the theme of the sentence, and thus the sentence becomes themeless as in (27). This means that among the constructions which cannot express a cognitive subject, there are both constructions in which cognitive objects surface as the carriers of the information (=Group II-1b), and constructions which are circumstance-reliant and where no cognitive object surfaces (=Pattern II-2).

7. Independence of sentence-final nouns

Finally, we will take a more detailed look at NCS of Pattern II-1, which take cognitive objects as themes. Pattern II-1 includes sentences such as the following:

Pattern II-1: Constructions which take cognitive objects as their themes

(28) 彼は やさしい 性格だ。

Kare-wa yasashii seikaku-da.

He-TOP gentle nature-COP

He has a gentle nature.

(29) 関東地方は 明日 雨が 降る 模様だ。

Kantō chihō-wa asu ame-ga furu moyō-da.

Kanto region-TOP tomorrow rain-NOM fall condition-COP

The Kanto region will have rain tomorrow.

Assigning the variable X to the cognitive object and N to the sentence-final noun, Pattern II-1 can be further divided into two groups based on whether or not 'X-no N' returns a valid noun phrase (NP). For example, performing this operation on (30a), the cognitive object of an attribute, *kare*, and the sentence-final noun *seikaku* can create the NP *kare-no seikaku* [his nature], with which we can form the interrogative sentence (30b). (31) works the same way. In contrast, combining the cognitive object of a judgment, *Kantō chihō*, and the sentence-final noun *moyō* in (32a) creates the nonsense NP *Kantō chihō-no moyō* [the Kanto region's seeming]. The interrogative sentence formed in (32b) is likewise invalid. (33) works the same way. We will designate the constructions where 'X-no N' can apply as Group II-1a, and the constructions where 'X-no N' cannot apply as Group II-1b.

Group II-1a: Constructions where ‘X-no N’ returns a valid NP.

- (30) a. 彼は やさしい 性格だ。
Kare-wa yasashii seikaku-da.
He-TOP gentle nature-COP
He has a gentle nature.

- b. 彼の 性格
Kare-no seikaku
He-GEN nature
his nature

- (31) a. 彼は 出かける 様子だ。
Kare-wa dekakeru yōsu-da.
He-GEN leave look-COP
It looks like he is leaving.

- b. 彼の 様子
Kare-no yōsu
He-GEN look
his look

Group II-1b: Constructions where ‘X-no N’ returns an invalid NP.

- (32) a. 関東地方は 明日 雨が 降る 模様だ。
Kantō chihō-wa asu ame-ga furu moyō-da.
Kanto region-TOP tomorrow rain-NOM fall condition-COP
The Kanto region will have rain tomorrow.

- b. * 関東地方の 模様
Kantō chihō-no moyō
Kanto region-GEN condition
the condition in Kanto region

- (33) a. 日本は 桜が 咲き始める ところだ。
Nihon-wa sakura-ga saki-hajimeru tokoro-da.
Japan-TOP cherry blossom-NOM bloom-begin situation-COP
Cherry blossoms are just beginning to bloom in Japan.

- b. * 日本の ところ
 Nihon-no tokoro
 Japan-GEN situation
the situation in Japan

This classification based on whether ‘X-no N’ is valid is further connected to the occurrence of case particles within the adnominal clause. It has been pointed out that in Japanese, an NP within the adnominal clause which takes the nominative particle *ga*, the *ga* can be replaced with *no* when the modified word is an independent morpheme, but the *ga* cannot be replaced with *no* when the modified noun’s independence level is low (Mikami 1953; 1972: 373-374). For example, as in (34) below, when the modified word is an independent morpheme such as *hon*, the nominative case *watashi-ga* in the adnominal clause may be replaced with *watashi-no*. However, as in (35), when the modified word has the nominalizing affix *no* and is not independent, the nominative case *watashi-ga* in the adnominal clause may not be replaced with *watashi-no*. This phenomenon is termed ‘*ga-no* conversion’.

- (34) a. これは 私が 買った 本だ。
 Kore-wa watashi-ga kat-ta hon-da.
 this-TOP I-NOM buy-PAST book-COP
This is the book I bought.

- b. これは 私の 買った 本だ。
 Kore-wa watashi-no kat-ta hon-da.
 this-TOP I-GEN buy-PAST book-COP
This is the book I bought.

- (35) a. この 本は 私が 買ったのだ。
 Kono hon-wa watashi-ga kat-ta-no-da.
 this book-TOP I-NOM buy-PAST-NMLZ-COP
This is the book I bought.

- b. * この 本は 私の 買ったのだ。
 Kono hon-wa watashi-no kat-ta-no-da.
 this book-TOP I-GEN buy-PAST-NMLZ-COP
This is the book I bought.

Applying this test to NCS and observing the results, it can be seen that the classifications in Group II-1a and Group II-1b discussed above are also linked to the phenomenon of *ga-no* conversion. All of the Group II-1a constructions where ‘X-no N’ was possible also permit *ga-no* conversion. For example, the *ga*-noun *gaman* in the adnominal clause *gaman-ga dekinai* (36a) can take *no* to form *gaman-no dekinai*. (37) works the same way. Meanwhile, *ga-no* conversion is not possible in any of the Group II-1b constructions where ‘X-no N’ was not possible. For example, the *ga*-noun *ame* in the adnominal clause *ame-ga furu* (38a) cannot take *no* and form *ame-no furu*. (39) works the same way.

Group II-1a: Constructions where *ga-no* conversion is possible¹

(36) a. 彼は 我慢が できない タイプだ。
 Kare-wa gaman-ga dekinai taipu-da.
 He-TOP patience-NOM cannot do type-COP
He is an impatient type.

b. 彼は 我慢の できない タイプだ。
 Kare-wa gaman-no dekinai taipu-da.
 He-TOP patience-GEN cannot do type-COP
He is an impatient type.

(37) a. 彼は 自信が ある 様子だ。
 Kare-wa jishin-ga aru yōsu-da.
 He-TOP confidence-NOM be look-COP
He seems to be confident.

b. 彼は 自信の ある 様子だ。
 Kare-wa jishin-no aru yōsu-da.
 He-TOP confidence-GEN be look-COP
He seems to be confident.

Group II-1b: Constructions where *ga-no* conversion is not possible

(38) a. 関東地方は 明日 雨が 降る 模様だ。
 Kantō chihō-wa asu ame-ga furu moyō-da.
 Kanto region-TOP tomorrow rain-NOM fall condition-COP
The Kanto region will have rain tomorrow.

b.*関東地方は 明日 雨の 降る 模様だ。
Kantō chihō-wa asu ame-no furu moyō-da.
Kanto region-TOP tomorrow rain-GEN fall condition-COP
The Kanto region will have rain tomorrow.

(39) a. 日本は 桜が 咲き始める ところだ。
Nihon-wa sakura-ga saki-hajimeru tokoro-da.
Japan-TOP cherry blossom-NOM bloom-begin situation-COP
Cherry blossoms are just beginning to bloom in Japan.

b.*日本は 桜の 咲き始める ところだ。
Nihon-wa sakura-no saki-hajimeru tokoro-da.
Japan-TOP cherry blossom-GEN bloom-begin situation-COP
Cherry blossoms are just beginning to bloom in Japan.

This demonstrates that the sentence-final nouns in Group II-1a are closer in nature to independent nouns, and the ones in Group II-1b are non-independent in nature. In terms of the existing research, Shinya (1989: 77), Tsunoda (1996: 152), and Satō (2004: 74) each touch on *ga-no* conversion in NCS, but go no further than citing examples such as (38) or (39) and pointing out that *ga-no* conversion does not apply (or is difficult to apply) to NCS. However, as we can see from Group II-1a, in reality, there are some NCS which are close in nature to an ordinary nominal predicate sentence with an adnominal clause such as (34), and to which *ga-no* conversion can be applied.

Additionally, some items in Group II-1a have been more narrowly classified in existing research.

- (40) 彼は 我慢が できない タイプだ。 【Type A】
Kare-wa gaman-ga dekinai taipu-da.
He-TOP patience-NOM cannot do type-COP
He is an impatient type.
- (41) 彼は やさしい 性格だ。 【Type B】
Kare-wa yasashii seikaku-da.
He-TOP gentle nature-COP
He has a gentle nature.
- (42) 彼は 出かける 様子だ。 【Type C】
Kare-wa dekakeru yōsu-da.
He-TOP leave look-COP
It looks like he is leaving.

For example, Types A/B and Type C represent what Masuoka (1987) called the contrast between “intrinsic attributes” and “non-intrinsic attributes,” while also corresponding to Noda’s (2006) “class/part or aspect nominal predicate sentences” and “grounds for a conjecture nominal predicate sentences.” The difference between Type A and Type B corresponds to the classifications of “category attribute” and “possession attribute” according to Masuoka (2004). Furthermore, the difference between Types A/C and Type B corresponds to Inoue’s (2010) distinction between “location-pattern noun-concluding constructions” and “possession-pattern noun-concluding constructions.” Still, these are all functional classifications of NCS, and likely, are not related to the syntactic differences observed in this paper.

8. Conclusion

In this paper we have proposed a classification of NCS from a syntactic perspective. The two significant aspects of this proposal are as follows:

Firstly, we focused on the theme structure of NCS and classified them based on the semantic role of the noun phrases which appeared in the theme. This clarified the patterns NCS are capable of taking, enabling a classification that is not reliant on lexical meanings.

Secondly, we were able to incorporate syntactic constraints into classification indicators. Significantly, in the case of the cognitive-subject-themed Type I, classifying constructions according to person restrictions made it possible to discuss these NCS in the same terms as modal forms in other types of sentences. In the case of the cognitive-object-themed Type II, classifying constructions according to *ga-no* conversion achieved clarification of the independence of sentence-final nouns. Bringing a syntactic perspective to the classification of NCS constructions has therefore made it possible to see the systemicity between classes and handle phenomena with characteristics that fall in the middle.

¹ There are various factors which can block *ga-no* conversion, including the intervention of additional elements (Harada 1971; Makino 1980), the presence of an accusative object (Watanabe 1996), the fronting of accusative or oblique objects (Kageyama 1978), the intervention of *~toiu* (U 2000; Oshima 2010), noun predicates, and content clauses which contain a speaker's claim or value judgement (Oshima 2010). It is not the case that Group II-1 constructions will allow *ga-no* conversion in all circumstances. There are some expressions where *ga-no* conversion will not work, such as *Kare-wa tsuneni meue-no hito-{ga/*no} kawai-gatte kureru taipu-da.* and *Kare-wa jishin -{ga/*no} aru-toiu kuchiburi-da.*

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