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The Principle of Repulsion between Active Inflecting Words

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I. Stative inflecting words and active inflecting words

In his work *Gengyo shishuron* ("Theory of the four-way distinction in words"), Hanareya Okina Suzuki Akira presents a completely novel proposal for a categorization of inflecting words. It is argued under the title of "words for states and words for actions" and is presented as follows:

> For items that have heretofore been treated under a single category, variously called 'words of application,' 'words of function,' 'words of inflection,' etc., now I divide them into the two categories of 'stative words' and 'active words', with the distinction between them being whether either for the inflecting words in the "te, ni, wo, ha" class[i] attached to the ends of these words, or for these words themselves, the written symbol suffixed to the word root corresponds to second column 'i' rhymes[ii] or to third column 'u' rhymes. In the case of those rhyming with 'i', they are further divided into words ending in 'si' and those ending in 'ri'. In the case of 'si', it can be recognized as the 'si' in words such as 'kirakirasi' (shiny.CLS[iii]) or 'sugasugasi' (fresh.CLS), or in the contemporary speech as the '-sii' in 'nani-nanisi-i' (something-something-ACOP.CLS), the nature of which is denoting states: The '-si' of '-kesi' as in 'sizukesi' (tranquil.CLS), 'harukesi' (distant.CLS); of '-tasi' as in 'ureta-si' (annoying-CLS), 'medeta-si' (praiseworthy-CLS); of '-mekasi' as in 'hurumekasi' (old-fashioned.CLS), 'obomekasi' (vague.CLS) all are in this category, as is the '-si' in 'taka-si' (high-CLS), 'hiki-si' (low-CLS), 'yo-si' (good-CLS), 'a-si' (bad-CLS), 'kanasi' (disarming.CLS), 'tanosi' (interesting.CLS). In the case of '-ri', the form is 'ar-i' (exist-CLS) with the 'a-' being that 'a-' attested in words like 'ariari' (manifest), 'azayaka' (vivid), 'araharu' (appear) 'akiraka' (clear), which is elided and disappears when suffixed to other elements: 'wori' (be.sitting.ADI) is from 'wi-ari' (sit-exist.ADI); 'kik-eri' (hear-STV.ADI) and 'mi-tari' (see-PRF.ADI) are from 'kiki-ari' (hear-exist.ADI) and 'mi-te-ari' (see-PRF-exist.ADI); 'yuk-eri' (go-STV.ADI) and 'kaher-eri' (return-STV.ADI) are from 'yuki-ari' (go-exist.ADI) and 'kaheri-ari' (return-STV.ADI). Every such word ending in the character 'ri' is originally an active word that now denotes a state. In this way, all words that end in either 'i' or 'ri' denote states....

The point in which the categorization above differs in result from typical bipartite categorizations dividing predicates into verbs and adjectives is in its treatment of the 'ra'-row irregular inflecting verbs[iv], whereby verbs such as 'ari' (exist.ADI) 'wori' ('be.sitting.ADI'), 'haberi' (serve.ADI), 'imasokari' ('go.ADI'), etc. are separated from other verbs and subsumed under a category including adjectives.

That the distinction between stative and active predicates is not one merely applying to free inflecting morphemes but is also applicable to bound verbal suffixes

should be clear from the quotation above. But from the fact that verbal suffixes in Japanese are limited to two classes, those with conclusive forms in 'i' and those in 'u', without a single item having a conclusive form other than those two, the classification can be seen to partition all the inflecting forms of Japanese into two clear groups. Moreover, as a result of this, with regard to two forms that should be thought of as occupying the same category on the basis of semantics, namely 'ari' ('exist.ADI') and 'na-si' ('lacking-CLS'), the need for the strange analysis whereby the former is a verb and the latter is an adjective is eliminated. Furthermore, we must recognize that, as can be seen in the naming that Suzuki applies to the categories, the resulting grouping of inflecting words denoting the states of things and those denoting the actions of things is not a distinction merely drawn on the basis of morphology, but parallels observations on a semantic level as well. To this extent the analysis above captures an aspect of the nature of the Japanese language very accurately and can be thought of as having a significance equal to that of the partitioning of verbs from adjectives. Nevertheless, because the morphological utility of the analysis was lost due to the enormous disruption of the inflection system after the Muromachi period, which resulted in the elimination of the 'ra'-row irregular inflection, this analysis saw no development worth mentioning since the publication of *Gengyo shishuron*, and compared to the verb/adjective distinction, it seems to have been left in neglect. Nevertheless, the analysis can be thought of as having plenty of value at least with respect to the Japanese language that predates the loss of the 'ra'-row irregular inflection, so based on Suzuki's categorization, I propose, in the pages that follow, to investigate how said categorization is reflected in the makeup of the Japanese language.

Suzuki's analysis can be summarized as follows:

> All the inflecting words in the Japanese language can be divided into two groups depending on whether the conclusive form of a given word ends in an 'i' rhyme or a 'u' rhyme. There are no exceptions. The first group is designated as the group of stative predicates, and the latter is the group of active predicates.

Now, when making these definitions based on morphology, the semantic fact that, without exception, stative predicates always denote states of things and active predicates always denote actions of things strictly falls out as a consequence is (as noted above) an important feature of the categorization. However, language is never without change and development, with semantic shift and changes in lexical characteristics being unavoidable, so that items which undergo changes in lexical characteristics due to external influences are attested, albeit in small numbers. Specifically, the items presented in the discussion that immediately follows are originally active inflecting words which have come to be used as stative inflecting words (and there are no items exemplifying a shift in the opposite direction).

(1) miyu (be.visible.CLS), kikoyu (be.audible.CLS), oboyu (be.perceptible.CLS)

These words do not denote actions of things, but rather denote judgments about the subjective existence of things on the occasion of seeing, hearing, and perceiving them, and to this extent these words should be categorized together with stative inflecting words. It has already been pointed out by previous researchers that these words are originally 'miru' (see.ADN), 'kiku' (hear.ADC), and 'omohu' (think.ADC) with the verbal auxiliary '-yu' (-PASS.CLS) attached, and are thus not strictly single-morpheme items, but it can be said that on a semantic level their character of denoting not actions but rather states is a result of external influences.

(2) saburahu (serve.ADC), samorahu (wait.upon.ADC), ohasu (go.CLS)

It is generally acknowledged that originally each of these words respectively denoted distinct actions for the most part, but due to semantic change, they all came to be used in exactly the same way as 'ari' and 'haberi'. Furthermore, it can be proven that this semantic shift was a change due to external influences that occurred after the Heian period.

(3) to ihu (COMP say.ADC), ni naru ('COP.INF become.ADC')

These expressions are limited to cases where, respectively, 'to ihu' is used to express appellation, and 'ni naru' is used to express longevity. In contemporary Japanese as well, the statements 'watasi wa nanigasi to iimasu' (lit. 'I call (myself) such and such') and 'watasi wa boosai ni narimasu' (lit. 'I become such and such years old') express, in effect, the same meanings as 'watasi wa nanigasi desu' ('I am such and such') and 'watasi wa boosai desu' ('I am such and such years old'). Accordingly, it is clear that these expressions are not accompanied by the active meanings of 'to ihu' and 'ni naru', and their origins belong to a historical period that is amenable to empirical verification.

(4) –zu (NEG.ADI), -mu (CJR.ADC)

The conclusive form of the verbal auxiliary for negation 'zu' ends in a rhyme with 'u', but its inflectional paradigm should be identified with that of adjectives (Hashimoto, Shōwa 30 (1955) lecture "Kokubunpō taikei-ron"). Furthermore, its inflectional paradigm can clearly be seen to be made up of two distinct variant types, one in the 'na'-row and one in the 'za'-row, so that it must be admitted that this inflection is also a result of a change due to external influences. Furthermore, the conclusive form of the verbal auxiliary for conjecture 'mu' also ends in a rhyme with 'u', but, given that it originally was simply used

to denote either conjecture and futurity or to denote intention, it can be argued that semantically the first usage includes stativity in its meaning. The reason is that in Classical Japanese the expression 'yuka-<u>mu</u>' (go-CJR.ADC) was a single form with two senses, capable of expressing both conjecture and intention, but in Contemporary Spoken Japanese the expression 'yuka<u>u</u>' (go.HORT) expresses in the Standard Language only intention and not conjecture. In order to simply express conjecture the form becomes 'yuku dara<u>u</u>' (go.ADC COP.HORT) where, given that 'dara' can be traced back to 'de ari' (COP.GER exist.CLS), it can be seen that 'ari' mediates in the formation of the expression. In addition, these stay as two distinct forms in polite speech: 'yuki-<u>maseu</u>' (go-POL.HORT) and 'yuku <u>deseu</u>' (go.ADC COP.POL.HORT), but while, as can be seen in the expression

'Izure kuwasii koto wa hon<u>nin ga mawosiage</u><u>maseu</u> ga toriaezu watasi kara daitai wo

ohanasi simasu.' ('Eventually the person in question will tell the details, but for the moment I will give the gist') it cannot be easily claimed that there are absolutely no instances where '-maseu' expresses conjecture, normally 'yukimase<u>u</u>' expresses intention and 'yuku dese<u>u</u>' expresses conjecture. When we consider the relationship between '-masu' (-POL.CLS) and 'mawirasu' (submit.CLS), and that between 'desu' (COP.POL.CLS) and 'de ar-imasu' (COP-GER exist-POL.CLS) we also can see the existence of stativity in the forms that denote conjecture. If we state this from the point of view whereby auxiliary verbs are what Tokieda calls 'kannen-go' (conceptual-words), since we should consider the forms expressing the intention of the subject as being more direct expressions, it is more fitting to consider the expression simply denoting conjecture or futurity as being the result of an expansion of the usage of 'mu,' and accordingly the fact that 'mu' which rhymes with 'u' has come to denote stative meanings can be said to be a result of a change in lexical characteristics. The same can be said of the conjectural forms 'ramu' (CJR.ADC) and '-kemu' (-CJR.ADC).

The only forms that should be regarded as exceptions within the stative/active categorization are those few set out in the discussion above, but as previously noted these are all the result of either changes or expansions of the semantics or lexical characteristics due to external influences, changes which were newly arisen and certainly not any original characteristic of the words in question. For this reason, we can consider the stative/active categorization to be a truly magnificent categorization allowing of no exceptions with respect to the time period at which the inflections of words in the Japanese language had yet to be exposed to the eroding winds of language change, and from this standpoint, we can say that the above categorization has a necessity deeply rooted in the nature of the Japanese language.

Now, at the point when the items raised above (which morphologically have conclusive forms rhyming with 'u', while at the same time semantically denote states of things) had their membership shift from the class quasi-stative words to that of stative words, the scope of the class of stative words was as follows:

i. adjectives

  '-ku' inflection

  '-siku' inflection

ii. verbs

  'ra' row irregular inflection; 'miyu', 'kikoyu', 'oboyu', 'saburahu', 'samorahu',
  'ohasu', 'to ihu', 'ni naru'

iii. verbal auxiliaries

  'besi' ('ought'), '-tasi' ('desire'), 'gotosi' (semblative), '-mazi' (negative
  conjecture), '-mahosi' ('desire'), '-tari' (resultative), '-ri' (progressive), '-keri,'
  (modal past), 'meri' (evidential), 'nari' (evidential), 'bekari' ('ought'), '-takari'
  (be desirous of), '-mazikari' (negative conjecture), '-mahosikari' ('be desirous
  of'), '-zari' (negative), 'gotoku nari' (semblative), '-ki' (simple past), '-masi'
  (subjunctive), 'rasi' (evidential) '-zi' (negative conjectural), '-zu' (negative), '-mu'
  (conjectural), 'ramu' (conjectural), '-kemu' (conjectural)

Accordingly, all of the inflecting forms other than those listed above are active predicates.
I propose to investigate how the consequences of this categorization are reflected in the
structure of the Japanese language.

II.   Stative nominalizations[v] and active nominalizations

  It is said that the particle 'no' connects substantive expressions (and quasi-
substantive expressions) to inflecting words, thereby forming a nominative case
relationship, but in most of these instances they form nominalizations in complex
clauses,[vi] with simplex sentences being rather rare. Furthermore, the nominalizations
formed by 'no' in this way are distinguished as being of two types of extremely different
natures, such that the two cannot be treated as belonging to the same class, as has been

pointed out by Yuzawa Kōkichirō ("'No', 'ga' wo tomonau ku no ikkeisiki,"

Kokugogakuronkō). To wit:

(1)   友の   遠方より   訪れたるを   喜ぶ。

  Tomo=no   wenpauyori   otozure-taru=wo   yorokobu
  friend=NOM afar=ABL   visit-PRF.ADN=ACC celebrate.CLS
  '(We, they) celebrate the friend's having visited from afar'

(2)   友の   遠方より   訪れたるを   もてなす。

Tomo=no   wenpau=yori otozure-taru=wo   motenasu
friend=GEN afar=ABL   visit-PRF.ADN=ACC welcome.CLS
'(We, they) welcome the friend who has visited from afar'

In examples (1) and (2) above, the underlined parts take on object roles in relation to the predicates 'yorokobu' ('celebrate.ADC') and 'motenasu' ('welcome.ADC'), respectively, forming nominalizations through the mediation of the particle 'no'. Furthermore, the nominalizations in (1) and (2) are completely identical in form, admitting of no difference whatsoever, but considered from the aspect of their semantics, they are not necessarily the same. The reason is that in example (1), the interpretation is '(We, they) celebrate (the fact of) a friend's coming to visit from afar,' while in example (2) the interpretation is '(We, they) welcome a friend who has come to visit from afar,' so that in (1) the entire expression 'tomo no wenpau yori otozuretaru' takes on its grammatical dependency as a proposition or sentence, while in (2) the only element of 'tomo no wenpau yori motenasu' that semantically takes on a direct grammatical dependency is the noun 'tomo' ('friend').

In the final analysis, (2) means 'to welcome a friend,' so that 'come to visit from afar' is not

so much predicated of 'friend' as it is ascribed to 'friend.' In effect, the 'no' in (2) is, as Yuzawa might say, functioning in a way analogous to the relative pronouns in such languages as English, German, and French, forming something along the lines of an appositive construction. Rather than being a nominative marker, the 'no' in (2) is more properly characterized as being a genitive marker.

Given that we should distinguish between the two types of 'no' in nominalizations of the sort described above, the question is whether the difference between the two is a matter only of semantics, or whether there is some difference with regard to morpho-syntax as well.

	adjective	'ra' irregular	besi	mazi	mahosi	tari	Nari	Keri	ri	zari	kari	ki	miyu	samorahu	ohasu	toihu	ninaru	zu	mu	ramu	other
Senmyō		1	1																1		
Norito																					
Taketori																					
Ise	2					1	5	1													1
Tosa	1					1	2														
Yamato	4	2				4	5	8	1							1					
Genzi	59	36	6	2	2	109	63	7	36		16	4	2	1	1	2		10	4	1	13
Konjaku	56	61	5			107	113	129	12	3		9			5	2	1	13			33

Uji	16	18	2			37	35	31	1			5						5			8
Chomon	9	3				23	12	35	2				2							1	4
Gukan	1	1	1	1		1	7	16							3		1	3	2		
Hōgen	1				1	6	2	1													
Heiji	2					5		2				1								1S	
Total	151	122	15	3	3	294	293	234	53	3	16	24	2	8	6	4	1	31	9	1	59

If, as a preliminary test, we look at the attestations of the type in (2), namely those where 'no' is used as a relative pronoun and ascertain the type of inflecting word that locally combines with it, we get results as set out in the chart above. (The texts were chosen to provide an overview of each historical period: *Shokunihongi senmyō*, *Norito*, *Taketori monogatari*, *Ise monogatari*, *Tosa nikki*, *Yamato monogatari*, *Genji monogatari*, *Konjaku monogatari*, *Udi shūimonogatari*, *Kokon Chomonshū*, *Gukanshō*, *Hōgen monogatari*, *Heiji monogatari*. In addition, the base texts used for the survey are the same as those from volume 210 of *Kokugo to Kokubungaku*.)

The chart above indicates that the inflecting words heading the nominalizations that are formed through the mediation of 'no' belong in large part to the class of so-called stative inflecting words defined in the previous section. Several of these examples are presented below:

奪　　　靈　　　　乃　　　子菰

taputwo-ki mi-tama　　n-o　　　uminokwo=no
august-ADN HON-soul　　COP-ADN grandchild=NOM

遠　　　流天尋　　　　　　　　　京都仁

topo-ku　　nagasi-te　　aru=wo-ba　　　miyakwo=ni
distant-INF　　exile-PRF.INF exist.ADN=ACC-TOP capital=DAT

召上天　　　臣　　　止　　　成无

myesi-agete　　omi　　　to　　　nas-amu
call-raise.GER　　minister　　COP.INF　　make.become-CJR.CLS
'I wish to call to the capital your august spirit's descendants of who have been exiled to a distant place and make them ministers'

(*Senmyō* 34)

しろき　　　鳥の　　　はしと　　あしと

siro-ki　　　tori=no　　hasi=to　　asi=to

white-ADN   bird=NOM   beak=COO   foot=COO

あかき、 しぎの   大きさ   なる、

aka-ki   sigi=no   ohoki-sa   naru,
red-ADN   pheasant=GEN big-NMZ   COP.ADN

水の   上に   あそびつゝ

midu=no   uwe=ni   asobitutu
water=GEN   top=DAT   play.CTT

'a bird such that its beak and feet are red, and it is the size of a sandpiper playing on the surface of the water'

(*Ise monogatari*)

文時・ 惟茂が   舟の   遅れたりし、

huntoki   koremoti =ga hune=no   okure-tari-si,
Huntoki   Koremoti=GEN boat=NOM   be.late-PRF-PST.ADN

奈良志津より 室津へ   來ぬ

narasidu=yori murotu=he   ki-nu
Narasizu=ABL   Murotsu=ALL   come-PRF.CLS

'Huntoki's and Koremoti's boat which had been late came from Narasizu to Murotsu'

(*Tosa nikki*)

此の 大徳の   親族 なりける

kono   daitoku=no   sizoku nar-ikeru
this   pious.monk=GEN   relative COP-MOD.ADN

人の 女の 内裏に   奉らん とて

hito=no musume=no   dairi=ni   tatematura-n tote
person=GEN daughter=NOM inner.palace=DAT offer.up-CJR.CLS   COMP

かしづきけるを   密か に   語らひてけり

kasiduki-keru=wo   hisoka ni   katarahi-te-keri
humbly.raise-MOD.ADN=ACC   secret   COP.INF   talk-PRF-MOD.CLS

'This high-ranked monk secretly seduced his relative's daughter, who was being carefully groomed with the intention of offering her into service to the inner palace'

(Yamato monogatari)

友だちの　　　人を　　　　　うしなへるが　　　　許

tomodati=no hito=wo   usinah-eru=ga   moto
friend=NOM   person=ACC   lose-STV.ADN=GEN place
'the home of a friend who had lost someone'

<div align="right">(*Ise monogatari*)</div>

In addition, there are examples with quasi-stative predicates:

紙の　　　御几帳の　　　　側より　　　仄　　　見ゆるを　　　　取りて

kami=no mi-kityau=no   soba=yori   hono miyuru=wo   torite
paper=NOM HON-partition=GEN side=ABL slightly be.visible.ADN=ACC take.GER
'taking the paper that was slightly visible to the side of the partition'

<div align="right">(*Genji, Yokobuye*)</div>

所領の　　　候を　　　　　人に　　　おしとられて　　　候

syoryau=no saburahu=wo   hito=ni   osi-tora-rete   saburahe
estate=NOM exist.ADN=ACC   person=DAT push-take-PASS.GER exist.CSS
'an estate that exists has been stolen by someone'

<div align="right">(*Chomonshū* 5)</div>

神ノ　　　御スルガ　　　　人ヲ　　　生贄　　　ニ　　　食　　　也

kami=no ohasuru=ga   hito=wo   ikenihe   ni   kuhu   nari
god=NOM exist.ADN=NOM   person=ACC sacrifice COP.INF eat.CLS EVD.CLS
'it appears that there is a god who eats people as sacrifices'

<div align="right">(*Konjaku* 26)</div>

女の　　　　　　　　辨といふを　　　　　呼び出でて

musume=no   ben to ihu=wo   yobi-idete
woman=NOM   Ben COMP say.ADN=ACC call-put.out.GER
'calling out (his) daughter who calls (herself) Ben'

<div align="right">(*Genji*, Aoi)</div>

王子ノ　　　四　　　　ニ　　　ナラセ給ヲ　　　　　　践祚 シテ

wauji=no   yo-tu   ni   nara-se-tamahu=wo   senso site

prince=NOM four-CLF   COP.INF   become-HON-HON.ADN=ACC   accede   do.GER

'making the prince, who was four years old, ascend to the throne'

<div align="right">(Gukanshō 6)</div>

兄弟など　　　には　　　　　あらぬ　　　人の、　　　氣近く　　　　言ひ通ひて

harakara=nado ni=ha　　　　ara-nu　　　　hito=no,　　　ke-dika-ku　　ihi-kayohite

sibling=RES　　　COP.INF=RES   exist-NEG.ADN person=NOM spirit-close-INF   say-commute.GER

事に　　　　　觸れつ　　　　自ら

koto=ni　　　huretutu　　　onodukara

matter=DAT   touch.upon.CTT   self

聲　　　氣はひをも　　　　聞き見馴れむは、

kowe　　　kehahi=wo=mo　　kiki-mi-nare-mu=ha,

voice　　presence=ACC=MPH hear-see-tame-CJR.ADN=RES

いかでか 唯　　　には　　　　思はむ

ikade=ka tada　　ni=ha　　　omoha-mu

how=FOC direct   COP.INF=RES   think-CJR.ADN

'for someone who is not even his brother by blood to sidle up to him and, touching on various matters, try to make himself familiar in voice and presence, how could anyone think this is innocent?'

<div align="right">(<i>Genji</i>, Yadoriki)</div>

Furthermore, as the language enters the Muromachi period, the inflecting words of Japanese lose the distinction between conclusive and adnominal forms for the most part, accompanied by the expiration of the 'ra' irregular inflection, but in this case, according to a survey of the *Amagusabon Heike monogatari* and *Esopo monogatari*, the only predicates following the relative pronoun use of particle 'no' are adjectives, the descendants of auxiliaries 'tari' and 'nari' –namely 'ta' and 'na', and quasi-stative predicates.

According to the discussion above, it can be provisionally concluded that nominalizations formed by the relative pronominal use of 'no' as in the aforementioned example (2) required stative predicates, but the point at issue here is the inventory of words grouped under 'other' in the immediately preceding chart, which contains neither purely stative nor quasi-stative predicates, and so is an aggregation of purely active ones. Moreover, these attestations cannot simply be set aside as exceptions, considering how

<div align="center">10</div>

numerous they are. So as not to shirk an onerous task, let us examine a few of the items grouped under 'other'.

嫡腹の　　　　　　　　　　限り　なくと

mukahibara=no　　　　kagiri　na-ku=to
child_by_marriage=NOM　limit　lacking_INF=COMP

思すは、　　　　　　　はかゞ゛しうも

omohasu=ha,　　　　hakabakasi-u=mo
think-HON.ADN=TOP　satisfactory_INF=MPH

得あらぬ　　に

e-ara-nu　　ni
can-exist-NEG.ADN　COP.INF

'she, who being a child by marriage, was considered to be blessed by fortune without limit, was in a position that was insupportable' (*Genji*, Sakaki)

物怪の　　　　　現れ出で來るも

mononoke=noarahare-ide-kuru=mo
evil.spirit=NOM appear-leave-come.ADN=MPH

無き　　　　に

na-ki　　　ni
lacking-ADN COP.INF

'(might) not there be an evil spirit that appears?' (*ibid*., Kashiwagi)

京の　　　　家の　　　　限り　なく　　　と

kyau=no　ihe=no　　kagiri na-ku　　to
capital=GEN house=NOM limit　lacking-INF　COP.INF

磨くも、　　　　え　　斯うは

migaku=mo　　e　　kau=ha
polish.ADN=MPH can.INF this.way=RES

あらぬや　　　　と　　覺ゆ

ara-nu=ya　　　to　　oboyu
exist-NEG.ADN=FOC COMP think.CLS

'he thought, "how can it be that there is a place that can rival my immeasurably beautiful home in the capital?"'

<div align="right">(ibid., Agemaki)</div>

山人ノ　　　　　　　　行キ通ズル、 五人　　有ケリ

yama-bito=no　　　　yuki-tuuzuru, go-nin　　ari-keri
mountain-people=NOM go-pass.ADN five-CLF　　exist-MOD.CLS
'there were five mountain people who were passing by'

<div align="right">(Konjaku 5)</div>

大ル　　　 童ノ　　　 本ヨリ　　 仕ル　　　　 有リ

opo-naru　　waraha=no moto=yori tukamaturu　　ari
big-COP.ADN　child=NOM origin=from serve.ADN　　exist.CLS
'there was a big child who had done service previously'

<div align="right">(ibid. 12)</div>

女ノ　　　 清水ニ　　　 強　　　 ニ　　　　 参ル　　　　 有ケリ

womuna=no　　kiyomidu=ni　anagati　ni　　　　mawiru
woman=NOM　　Kiyomizu=ALL willful　COP.INF　go.ADN　ari-keri exist-
MOD.CLS
'there was a woman who willfully went to Kiyomizu'

<div align="right">(ibid., 16)</div>

僧共ノ　　　　 相知ル、　　　 有テ

sou-domo=no ai-siru,　　　　arite
monk-PL=NOM RECP-know.ADN　exist.GER
'there being some monks with whom (he) was acquainted' (ibid., 17)

圓　　 ナル　　 物ノ　　 光ル　　 有ケリ

maruyaka naru　　mono=no hikaru　　ari-keri
round COP.ADN　　thing=NOM shine.ADN　exist-MOD.CLS
'there was a round thing that was shining'

<div align="right">(ibid., 27)</div>

武者ノ　　　　通ル　　　有ケリ

musya=no　　　tohoru　　ari-keri
warrior=NOM　　pass-ADN　　exist-MOD.CLS

'there was a warrior who was passing by'

<div align="right">(<i>ibid.</i>, 29)</div>

節會の　　　　袍とて　　　　　　　ほのゞ゛　　と

setiwe=no　　　uhenokinu=tote　　honobono　to
Sechie=GEN　overcloak=COMP　　scant　　　COPINF

ある　　　物の　　　　　人に　　　　　かすなどが

aru　　　　mono=no　　　hito=ni　　　kasu=nado=ga
exist.ADN person=NOM　　stranger=DAT　loan.ADN=RES=NOM

有けるを

ari-keru=wo
exist-MOD.ADN=CJN

'there was a person who had very little who loaned his Sechi'e overcloak to a stranger'

<div align="right">(<i>Chomonshū</i> 3)</div>

妻の　　　　　いと　　物ねたみ　する 有けり

tuma=no　　ito　　　mono-netami　suru ari-keri
spouse=NOM　　extremely　object-hate do.ADN　exist-MOD.CLS

'there was a wife who was extremely resentful'

<div align="right">(<i>ibid.</i>, 16)</div>

蟬の　　　　露を　　　のまん　　　と　　　する　　　あり

semi=no　　tuyu=wo　nom-an　　　to　　suru　　ari
cicada=NOM dew-ACC　　drink-CJR.CLS　COMP　do.ADN　exist.CLS

'there was a cicada that was making to drink some dew'

<div align="right">(<i>ibid.</i>, 20)</div>

たより なかりける　　　　　　　　女の　　　　　清水に

tayori　na-k-ari-keru　　　　　　womuna=no　kiyomidu=ni
support lacking-INF-exist-MOD.ADN　woman=NOM　Kiyomizu=ALL

<div align="center">13</div>

あながち に   まいる、 ありけり

anagati   ni   mawiru, ari-keri

willful   COP.INF   go.ADN   exist-MOD.CLS

'a woman without an entourage willfully went to Kiyomizu'

(*Uji shūi* 11)

入たる   ものの   かへりゆく   なし

iri-taru   mono=no   kaheri-yuku   na-si

enter-PRF.ADN person=NOM   return-go.ADN lacking-CLS

'there are no people who have gone in who have returned'

(*ibid*., 11)

唐人の   雫   いみじく   をく   ありけり

karabito=no   san   imiji-ku   woku   ari-keri

China-person   abacus skillful-INF put.ADN   exist-MOD.CLS

'there was a Chinese person who skillfully manipulated the abacus'

(ibid., 14)

On examining these examples, there is one phenomenon common to all which comes to our attention. That is the fact that all the examples are complex clauses taking the nominalization formed from the particle 'no' as a subject, and furthermore, the inflecting word that makes up the predicate of the complex clause is either 'ari' or 'nasi'. In other words, stated on the basis of the status of 'no', the predicate that directly follows it is active, but in addition, the predicate that indirectly follows it is invariably stative, specifically either 'ari' or 'nasi'.

Of the items under 'other' in the preceding chart, excluding examples of the sort listed above, there remain extremely few items, and indeed among them are only either instances where the predicate is stative in variant texts, or instances where there clearly has been some morphological or semantic mixing through analogy. Especially in texts having orthography that is comparatively unclear, such as the *Konjaku monogatari*, where the script is 「入ル」 'iru' (enter.ADC), 「返ル」 'kaheru' (return.ADN), 「下ル」 'kudaru' (descend.ADC), 「爲ル」 'suru' (do.ADN), etc., readings of 'ir-eru' (enter-STV.ADN), 'kaher-eru' (return-STV.ADN), 'kudar-eru' (descend-STV.ADN), and 's-eru' (do-STV.ADN) possibly ought to be adopted. Consequently, as there are items that cannot be readily identified as active predicates, the only examples that are unmistakably exceptions are the seven following examples:

(1)   人の　　　　　むすめの　　　かしつく、

　　　hito=no　　　　　musume=no　kasiduku,
　　　person=GEN　daughter=NOM　be.raised.carefully-and

　　　いかで　　この　　おとこに 物　　　いはんと

　　　ikade　　　kono　otoko=ni mono　iha-n=to
　　　somehow　this　　man=DAT thing　say-CJR.CLS=COMP

　　　おもひけり

　　　omohi-keri
　　　think-MOD-CLS
　　　'someone's daughter who was being raised with great care thought she would by any means
　　　possible convey her thoughts to him'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(*Ise monogatari*)

(2)   受領どもの　　　　　面白き　　　　家造り

　　　zuryaudomo=no　　omosiro-ki　　ihe-dukuri
　　　landholder-PL=NOM　unusual-ADN　house-make

　　　好むが、　　　　この　宮の　　　　木立を

　　　konomu=ga,　　　kono　miya=no　　kodati =wo
　　　enjoy.ADN=NOM　this　　palace=GEN　copse=ACC

　　　心に　　　　附けて

　　　kokoro=ni　tukete
　　　mind=DAT　　attach.GER
　　　'landholders who enjoyed unusual architecture, taking an interest in the stand of trees of this
　　　palace'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(*Genji*, Yomogi'u)

(3)   夜　光ル　　玉ノ　　　　目出タク　　　明ク

　　　yo　hikaru　tama=no　medeta-ku　　akaru-ku
　　　night shine.ADNjewel=NOM　admirable-INF　bright-INF

　　　照スヲ　　持テ

　　　terasu=wo　motite
　　　shine.ADN　hold.GER

'picking up the jewel that glowed by night that shone admirably and brightly'

<div align="right">(Konjaku 10)</div>

(4)　　船ノ　　行クガ、　島隱レ　　爲ルヲ

hune=no yuku=ga, sima-gakure　suru=wo
boat=NOM　go.ADN=NOM　island-hidedo.ADN=ACC
'a boat that was going along that was hiding among islands'

<div align="right">(*ibid.*, 24)</div>

(5)　　女　　　　　形　　　美＝ト　　　　　聞クヲバ、

wonna=no　　katati uruhasi=to　　　kiku=woba,
woman=NOM　　form　beautiful.CLS=COMP hear.ADN=ACC

宮仕人ヲモ　　　　　　　人ノ　　　娘ヲモ

miya-dukahe-bito=wo=mo　　hito=no　　musume=wo=mo
palace-serve-person=ACC=MPH　person=GEN　daughter=ACC=MPH

見殘ス　　　　无ク　　　員ヲ　　　　盡シテ

mi-nokosu　　na-ku　　kazu=wo　　tukusite
see-leave.over.ADN　lacking-INF　number=ACC　exhaust.GER

見ム

mi-mu
see-CJR.CLS

'any woman who was heard to be beautiful in form, whether a palace servant or the daughter of a lord, he would want to see, exhausting the inventory of them, without leaving anyone unseen'

<div align="right">(*ibid.*, 27)</div>

(6)　　すゞめの　　おどりありくを、　石を　　　とりて

suzume=no　odori-ariku=wo,　　isi=wo　　torite
sparrow=NOM　dance-walk.ADN=ACC　stone=ACC　take.GER

もしや　とてうてば

mosi=ya tote uteba
if=FOC　COMP　hit.PRV

'when, taking a stone and, thinking, "Just maybe if... ," he hit a small sparrow that was hopping about'

<div align="center">16</div>

(7)　　この　　とらの　　　人　　　くふを、　　　　やすく　　射ん

　　　kono　tora=no　　hito　kuhu=wo,　　yasu-ku　uta-n
　　　this　tiger=NOM　people　eat.ADN=ACC　easy-INF　smite-CJR.CLS
　　　'(I) will easily smite this tiger that eats people'

Furthermore, in (4) the particle 'ga' can be considered a connective particle, and if we interpret (6) and (7) as meaning, respectively, 'at the event of (its) walking' and 'at the event of (its) eating,' it is not outside the realm of possibility to say that these too do not constitute exceptions. In either case, given that there are no rules without exceptions, it is conceivable that of all 1278 instances, a mere 0.5% (7 items) ought to be allowed for.

For these reasons I believe that it is plausible to refer to nominalizations formed by relative pronominal 'no' as stative nominalizations. From their semantics as well, stative nominalizations can be said to make ascriptions to things on the basis of the stative aspect of their properties, as previously discussed. Accordingly, it is surely natural that, in contrast to these, nominalizations formed through the nominative 'no' are to be referred to as active nominalizations. Again, as previously discussed, active nominalizations make predications about things on the basis of the active aspect of their properties.

So far, we have established that stative nominalizations require only stative predicates, but when we examine the nature of active nominalizations, we see that they receive no restriction whatsoever with regard to predicate type. Both active and stative predicates can be used freely and there is no need to take the effort to provide proof of this, but the phenomenon resulting from this deserves attention: Stative nominalizations and active nominalizations are complementary concepts with regard to semantics, but not with regard to morphology. That is, stative predicates can form both stative nominalizations and active nominalizations. In the two examples presented at the beginning of this section (reproduced below) the underlined part in (1) is an active nominalization while the underlined part in (2) is a stative nominalization, but the fact that the two expressions are morphologically identical bespeaks this state of affairs.

(1) <u>Tomo no wenpau yori otozuretaru</u> wo yorokobu.

(2) <u>Tomo no wenpau yori otozuretaru</u> wo motenasu.

In this instance the distinction between the two expressions is based purely on semantics, depending on whether there is predication based on an active aspect or there is ascription based on a stative aspect.

Now, the existence of two types of nominalization, stative and active, is due to characteristics of the particle 'no'. Specifically, this comes from the fact that the particle 'no' can express a possessive or genitive meaning when combining with a noun, such as in the expression 'otodo=no kwo-ra' (minister=GEN child-PL, 'the children of the Minister'), while at the same time the particle 'no' can express an appositive meaning when joining together similar nouns, such as in the expression 'ya-tuka-po no ikasi-po' (eight-fist-ear COP.ADN plenty-ear, 'long rice which is plenty-grained rice'). This appositive function is one not found in other particles, so it is by principle that stative nominalizations (which may be thought of as a development of this appositive use) cannot be formed through any other particle. In fact, when we look through the history of the Japanese language, at the earliest stages there was no such particle other than 'no,' but as Yuzawa states, in later eras, approximately from the Heian period onward, other particles (namely, nominative particles and focus particles) were infected with this usage, most likely through analogy with 'no'. Furthermore, this usage was extended to structures completely unaccompanied by particles. As a consequence, it falls out for all nominalizations, needless to say whether they be accompanied by 'no' or not, that they belong either to the class of active nominalizations or to that of stative ones, and furthermore, stative nominalizations get their status as such just as they are, regardless of the presence or absence of particle 'no,' with the presence of 'no' not changing the meaning one iota.

The discussion above can be summarized as follows:

> All nominalizations can be divided into two groups: stative nominalizations and active nominalizations. There are no other groups but these two. Active nominalizations can be freely formed on any kind of inflecting word, but the inflecting word of a stative nominalization must be a stative inflecting word. As one exception, a stative nominalization can take an active inflecting word provided that the resulting nominalization is the subject of a complex clause, where the inflecting word of that clause must be stative.

III. Stative nominalizations and active following clauses

In the previous section we saw that stative nominalizations take only stative inflecting words, but there was an exception for stative nominalizations that take active inflecting words, under the condition that any such nominalization function as the subject of a complex clause, where that complex clause furthermore has a stative inflecting word as its predicate. On the basis of this we can imagine that there is some sort of interrelation between the inflecting word of the nominalization and the inflecting word that forms the predication in the following clause.

Accordingly, in this section I propose mainly to examine the inflecting words that form the predicates of complex clauses taking these nominalizations as subjects. In the Japanese language, there are three possible frames for marking subjects: one where

particle 'no' is used, one where particle 'ga' is used, and one where no particle is used at all. For this reason, where these nominalizations form the subjects of following clauses as well, we expect three cases to occur based on those frames. But because particle 'no' cannot directly mark an inflecting word (on this point see my article in *Kokugo to kokubungaku* Vol. 210), 'no' doesn't function to mark these nominalizations. Accordingly, the only two possible patterns are as follows:

nominalization {∅, ga} inflecting word (where ∅ means no accompanying particle)

As these nominalizations are divided into two groups, stative and active, as described in the previous section, there are accordingly four cases to consider. Let us examine examples where a stative nominalization is the subject of the complex clause, starting with the expressions in which there is no accompanying particle. Expressions of this form are

also found in poems, appearing in small numbers in the *Man'yōshū*.

(1634) 衣手に   水澁   つくまで

koromo-de=ni   mi-sibu   tuku=made
robe-hand=ALL   water-foam   stick.ADN=ALL

植ゑし   田を   引板

uwe-si   ta=wo   pik-ita
plant-PAST.ADN   field=ACC   pull-plank

吾が   延へ   守れる

wa=ga   pape   mamor-eru
PRS.1SG-NOM   extend.INF   guard-STV.ADN

苦し

kurusi (眞守有栗子)

agonizing.CLS
'guarding the field (I) planted even unto scum sticking to (my) cuffs, my extending a bull-roarer, is agonizing'

(Book 8)

(2518) 吾妹子し   吾を   邊ると

wa-g-imo-kwo=si   a=wo   okuru=to

I-GEN-beloved-child   I=ACC   see.off.CLS=COMP

白細布の　　　袖　　漬づまでに

sirwotape=no swode pidu=madeni
white=GEN   sleeve   get.wet.ADN=ALL

哭きし　念ほゆ

<u>naki-si</u>   <u>omopoyu</u> (哭四所念)

cry-PST.ADN come.to.mind.CLS

'my wife's crying even unto her sleeves getting wet, making to see me off, comes to mind'

(Book 11)

(2913)　いつまでに 生かむ 命ぞ

itu=madeni ika-mu inoti=zo
when=ALL   live-CJR-CLS life=FOC

凡は　　　戀ひつつ

opoyoso=pa   kwopwitutu
preponderant=RES yearn.CTT

あらずは 死なむ　勝れり

ara-zupa   <u>sina-mu</u>   <u>masar-eri</u>(死上有)

exist-NEG.CND die-CJR.CLS   surpass-STV.CLS

'Will this life last forever? On the whole, rather than yearning, it is better that I should die'

(Book 12)

All these examples have following clauses that take active nominalizations as subjects, with the wavy underline marking the inflecting word of the nominalization, and the straight underline marking the inflecting word in the complex clause. What is notable about the examples above is that the inflecting words of the complex clauses (that is, the words with the straight underlines) are all stative inflecting words. The interlinear glosses for these words are almost completely certain, giving 'kurusi' (painful.CLS, an adjective), 'masar-eri' (surpass-STV.CLS, a verb with an auxiliary 'ri,' the inflection of which is 'ra' irregular), and 'omopoyu' (come.to.mind.CLS, a quasi-stative inflecting word). Drawing a conclusion from just these few examples is of course risky, but it is unlikely that the facts

set out above are coincidence. The reason for this is that, in the *Man'yōshū* there are

hardly any other instances of a complex predicate taking an active nominalization for a subject as in the examples above, but in the same collection, we do find 32 examples like the one below, with a special stative nominalization formed with a conclusive inflecting word, where moreover the complex clause invariably has a predicate formed on the inflecting word 'miyu' (be.visible.CLS).

(3449)   しろたへの   衣の   袖を

       sirwo-tape=no   koromo=no   swode=wo
       white-cloth=COP-ADN   robe=GEN   sleeve=ACC

       眞久良我よ   海人榜ぎ來   見ゆ

       makuraga=ywo pito <u>kogi-ku</u>   <u>miyu</u> (許伎久見由)

       Makuraga=ABL stranger row-come.CLS   be.visible.CLS

       浪   立つな   ゆめ

       nami   tatu=na   yume
       wave   stand.CLS=PHB ever

       '(making a pillow of the sleeve of your robe of white cloth) there is visible a fisher from Makuraga rowing towards here. Waves, don't ever rise!'

                                                       (Book 14)

That the word 'miyu' is a quasi-stative inflecting predicate has been already pointed out. Additional examples of complex predicates taking stative nominalizations as subjects in the *Man'yōshū* include the following:

(169)   あかね さす   日は   照らせれど

      akane sasu   pi=pa   teras-eredo
      redness extend.ADN sun-RES   shine-STV.CSS

      ぬばたまの   夜   渡る   月の

      nubatama=no ywo wataru   tukwi=no
      jewel=GEN   night cross.ADN moon=NOM

      隠らく   惜しも

      <u>kakuraku</u>   <u>wosi=mo</u> (隠良久惜毛)

      hide.NML   regrettable.CLS=MPH

'although the sun which radiates redness is shining, how regrettable is it that the moon which crosses the jewel-black night is hiding!'

(Book 2)

Examples like these displaying the special form of the so-called 'ku-gohō' appear with

considerable frequency, but in these instances the inflecting word in the complex clause is only ever an adjective of one of the following types:

(1) conclusive adjective with either particle 'mo' or suffix '-mi' attached
(2) adnominal adjective
(3) infinitive adjective

We do find two extremely rare examples in which the inflecting words are verbs, presented here:

(1609) 宇陀の　　　野の　　　秋萩

uda=no　　nwo=no　　aki-pagwi
Uda=GEN　field=GEN　autumn-bushclover

凌ぎ　　　鳴く　鹿も、

sinwogi　　naku　sika=mo,
overlay.INF　cry.ADNdeer=MPH

妻に　　　戀ふらく

tuma=ni　　kwopuraku
spouse=DAT　yearn.NML

我には　　　益さじ

ware=ni=pa　　masa-zi (戀樂苦……不益)

I=DAT=RES　　exceed-NEGCJR.CLS
'the longing for one's spouse, by even by the deer that cries lying on the autumn bushclover in the fields of Uda, could not possibly surpass me'

(Book 8)

(2022) 相見らく　　　飽き足らねども

<u>api-miraku</u>   aki-tara-nedomo (相見久厭雖不足)

RECP-see.NML   be.sated-suffice-NEG.CSS

いなの　　めの　　　明け行きにけり

ina=no   me=no   ake-yuki-ni-kyeri
rice-ear=GEN eye=GEN   dawn-go-PRF-MOD.CLS

船出　　　　せむ　　嬢

pune-de   se-mu   tuma
boat-depart   do.CJR   spouse
'Although our seeing each other is never enough, the dawn is breaking. My spouse, I shall set sail'

(Book 10)

But the auxiliaries which end the expressions are '-zi' and '-zu', both stative inflecting words.

In this way, it can be seen that the complex causes taking active nominalizations as subjects in the *Man'yōshū* are all formed on stative inflecting words, with no active inflecting words attested. When we make a further survey of the various texts in each of the historical periods to ascertain whether this pattern has the character of a universal law, we obtain data on complex clauses taking active nominalizations as subjects as set out in the chart below. In the Asuka-Nara period, aside from the examples in the *Man'yōshū*, the only instances of complex sentences having 'miyu' as predicate are found in the poems of the *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki*.

	Adjective	'ra' irregular	besi	katasi	gohosi	tari	nari	keri	ri	zari	zu	miyu	kikoyu	oboyu
Taketori							1							
Ise														
Tosa														
Yamato	2						3							
Genzi	71	9					63					2	1	1
Konjaku	22	16	1		2	2	92	1		1	1			
Uji	10	1		1			10							
Chomon	31	4	3		1	1	71		1			1		
Gukan	5		1				4					1		

Hōgen		1					2							
Heiji							1							
Total	141	31	5	1	3	3	247	1	1	1	1	3	2	1

As can be seen in the chart above, one can verify that all attestations have stative predicates. A few examples are presented below:

手　叩けば　　　山彦の　　　　答ふる、

te   tatakeba   yamahiko=no kotahuru,
hand beat.PRV   Yamahiko=NOM   answer.ADN

いと　　　煩はし

ito   wadurahasi
extremely   burdensome.CLS

'when (he) clapped (his) hands, Yamahiko's answering was extremely lethargic'

(*Genji*, Yugao)

筆の行く、限りありて

hude=no yuku, kagiri arite
brush=NOM   go.ADN limit exist.GER

'there was a limit to how far the brush would go'

(*Genji*, Eawase)

コノ　宴ヲ　　　オコサルヽ、　　然ル　　　ベシ

kono   utage=wo okosa-ruru,   sikaru   be-si
this   party=ACC   instigate-PASS.ADN   be.this.way   fitting-CLS

'this party's being held was in a manner most appropriate'

(*Gukanshō* 6)

目はなに　　　いる、　　　たへがたし

me-hana=ni   iru,   tahe-gata-si
eye-nose=ALL   enter.ADN   endure-difficult-CLS

'it is difficult to endure (the rice) that gets in the nose and eyes'

(*Uji shūi* 11)

一　　　ノ　　　牛ヲ　　　殺シテ

hito-tu   no   usi=wo   korosite
one-CLF   COP-ADN   cow=ACC   kill.GER

其ノ　　報ヲ　　　　受ケム、

sono   hou=wo   uke-mu,
this   reward=ACC receive-CJR.ADN

併　　　　　　如ㇾ此 シ

sikasinagara   kaku=no goto-si
in.the.end   this.way=GEN   similar-CLS

'but in the end, their intending to kill one cow and receiving the reward for it turned out like this'

<div align="right">(*Konjaku* 2)</div>

汝ヂ　　　出家　　　　ノ　　　　人

nandi   syutuke   no   hito
PRS.2SG   forsake.home COP.ADN person

香油ヲ　　　身二　　　塗ル、

kau-yu=wo mi=ni   nuru,
fragrance-oil   body=DAT paint.ADN

糞ヲ　　　　塗ルニ　　　　似タリ

kuso=wo   nuru=ni   ni-tari
excrement=ACC slather.ADN=DAT resemble-PRF.CLS

'for you to slather ointment on the body of a person who has taken holy orders is like slathering excrement (on them)'

<div align="right">(Konjaku 2)</div>

斯く　　迎ふるを　　　翁は

kaku   mukahuru=wo okina=ha
this.way   greet.ADN=ACC   old.man=RES

泣き歎く、　能はぬ　　　　　　事なり

naki-nageku, ataha-nu   koto nari
cry-grieve.ADN be.commensurate-NEG.ADN   matter   COP.CLS

'for (you) old man, to cry and grieve about my coming to take (her) away, is something that is inappropriate'

<div align="right">(*Taketori*)</div>

其	女、	力ノ	強キ、
sono	womuna,	tikara=no	<u>tuyo-ki</u>,
this	woman	strength=NOM	be.strong-ADN

人ノ	力	百人ニ	當リケリ
hito=no	tikara	hyaku-nin=ni	<u>atari-keri</u>
person=GEN	strength	100-CLF=DAT	equal-MOD.CLS

'as for this woman, her strength being strong was equal to the strength of one hundred people'

<div align="right">(*Konjaku* 23)</div>

われ	きのふ	物語	せん=と
ware	kinohu	monogatari	se-n=to
PRS.1SG	yesterday	speaking	do-CJR.CLS=COMP

思ひしに	我を	見ざりし、
omohi-si=ni	ware=wo	<u>mi-zari-si</u>,
think-PAST.ADN=CJN	PRS.1SG=ACC	see-NEG-PST.ADN

ほいを	そむけり
hoi=wo	<u>somuk-eri</u>
true.intentions=ACC	counter-STV.CLS

'Yesterday when I thought I'd talk to you, your having ignored me went against (my) wishes'

<div align="right">(*Chomonshū* 2)</div>

壹演	召ニ	隨テ	參テ
itien	mesi=ni	sitagahite	mawirite
Ichien	command=DAT	obey.GER	come.GER

大臣ノ	御枕上	ニシテ
otodo=no	ohomu-makura-gami	nisite
minister=GEN	HON-pillow-top	COP.GER

金剛般若經ヲ	讀誦	スル、

kongauhan'nyakukei=wo dokuzyu suru

Diamond-sutra=ACC   read   do.ADN,

數卷二   不レ及ザル   程ニ

su-kuan=ni   oyoba-zaru   hodoni

number-scoll=DAT attain-NEG.ADN   time.when

'Ichien's obeying orders, coming, and at the head of the Daijin's pillow, reciting the

Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā sutra, did not get through even a few scrolls, when...'

(*Konjaku* 14)

現   ニ   人ヲ   馬二

araha ni   hito=wo   uma ni

clear   COP.INF   person=ACC horse COP.INF

打成ケル、   更ニ   不二心得－ズ

uti-nasi-keru,   sarani   kokoro-e-zu

beat-make.become-MOD.ADN   furthermore mind-gain-NEG.CLS

'we also don't know if (they) actually beat (people) into becoming horses'

(*Konjaku* 31)

下人も   數多く   頼もしげ

simo-bito=mo   kazuoho-ku   tanomosi-ge

low-person=MPH   number many-INF confident-air

なる   氣色にて   橋より   今

naru   kesiki=nite hasi=yori   ima

COP.ADN mood=INS   bridge=ABL now

渡り來る、   見ゆ

watari-kuru,   miyu

cross-come.ADN   be.visible.CLS

'one could see many underlings with a confident air come crossing over the bridge now'

(*Genji*, Yadoriki)

此   禪師ヲ   取テ   打出ント

kono   zenzi=wo torite   uti-ide-n=to

this   Zenzi=ACC take-GER smite-put.out-CJR.CLS=COMP

シケル、   又   聞ヘテ

<u>si-keru</u>,   mata   <u>kikohete</u>

do-MOD.ADN   again   be.audible.GER

'moreover, (their) trying to take and kill this Zenzi being heard of'

(*Gukanshō* 6)

生きたらじ=と   思ひ   沈み給へる、

iki-tara-zi=to   omohi   <u>sizumi-tamap-eru</u>,

live-PRF-NEGCJR=COMP   think.INF   sink-HON-STV.ADN

理   と   覺ゆれば

kotowari   to   <u>oboyureba</u>

natural.order   COMP   feel.PRV

'As (he) felt thinking to live no longer and being depressed to be reasonable'

(*Genji*, Tamakadura)

With the discussion above we have demonstrated that for instances unaccompanied by particles, the inflecting words of complex clauses that take nominalizations as subjects are invariably stative. This state of affairs is exactly the same for instances marked with 'ga.' A few examples are presented here.

わが きぬ は がん=と   しつる

wa=ga kinu haga-n=to   si-turu

PRS.1SG   robe strip.off-CJR.CLS=COMP do-PRF.ADN

男の にはか に   うせぬるが

otoko=no nihaka ni   <u>use-nuru</u>=ga

man=NOM   sudden COP.INF   disappear-PRF.ADN=NOM

あやしければ

<u>ayasi-kereba</u>

suspicious-PRV

'as the man who tried to strip off my robes who suddenly disappeared was suspicious' (*Uji shūi* 14)

水の なきが   大事   なれば

midu=no   na-ki=ga   daizi   nareba
water=NOM   lacking-ADN big.incident COP.PRV
'as the water's lacking was a matter of great concern'

<div align="right">(ibid., 7)</div>

さばかり   語らひつるが   流石   に

sa=bakari   katarahi-turu=ga   sasuga   ni
such.way=RES speak-PRF.ADN=NOM   expected   COP.INF

覺えて

oboyete
feel.GER
'feeling that even having talked so much, it was all as to be expected'

<div align="right">(Taketori)</div>

To summarize the points discussed above, the inflecting words of complex clauses taking active nominalizations as subjects are invariably stative. They follow the pattern below:

active nominalization {ga,∅} stative inflecting word

In contrast to this, when the subject is a stative nominalization both when unaccompanied by particle marking and when marked with 'ga,' either an active inflecting word or a stative inflecting word can be freely used as the predicate of the complex clause.

ある   人の   子の   童

ar-u   hito=no   ko=no   waraha
exist-ADV person=GEN child COP.ADN youngster

なる、   ひそかに   いふ

nar-u,   hisoka ni   ih-u
COP-ADN   furtive COP.INF say-ADC
'a youngster who was a certain person's child said (this) furtively'

<div align="right">(Tosa)</div>

新院ノ   御ヲモイ人ノ   烏丸殿トテ

sin'in=no   mi-womoi-bito=no   karasumaru-dono=tote
new.retiree=GEN   HON-think-person=GEN Karasumaro-HON=COMP

アリシ、   イマダ   生タリケレバ

ari-si,   imada   iki-tari-kereba
exist-SPST.ADN yet   live-PRF-MPST.PRV

'as a person, named Karasumaru, who was beloved of the lately retired emperor, was still alive...'

<div align="right">(<i>Gukansyō</i> 5)</div>

女の   まだ 世   へずと

onna=no   mada yo   he-zu=to
woman=NOM   yet   world   pass-NEG.CLS=COMP

おぼえたるが   人の   御もとに

oboe-taru=ga   hito=no   ohon-moto=ni
perceive-PRF.ADN=NOM   person=GEN HON-place=DAT

しのびて

sinobite
sneak.GER

'a woman who was believed to have not yet experienced the world, having crept to the place of a person of high status,...'

<div align="right">(<i>Ise</i>)</div>

香の   御唐櫃に   入れたりけるが

kau=no   ohon-karabitu=ni   ire-tari-keru=ga
incense=GEN HON-Chinese.chest=DAT   put.in-PRF-MPST.ADN=NOM

いと   懐かしく   香りたるを

ito   natukasi-ku   kaori-taru=wo
extremely   enticing-INF   be.fragrant.ADN=ACC

'(the robes) that (they) had put into the incense smoking chest were giving off a fragrance in a most enticing way'

<div align="right">(<i>Genji</i>, Yomogi'u)</div>

In short, they fall into the following pattern:

    stative nominalization {ga,∅} all inflecting words

As set out in the previous section, because active nominalizations have the status of the substantive word 'koto' (fact) whereas stative nominalizations have the status of the substantive word 'mono' (person), the complex clauses that take these two types of subjects respectively follow patterns like those below:

tomo=no	wenpau=yori	otozure-taru(fact)=ga	uresi-ki	nari.
friend=NOM	afar=ABL	visit-PRF.ADN=NOM	joyous-ADN	COP.CLS

'a friend's visiting from afar is a joyous occasion'

tomo=no	wenpau=yori	otozure-taru(entity)=ga	to-guti=nite	yobu.
friend=NOM	afar=ABL	visit-PRF.ADN=NOM	door-mouth=LOC	call.CLS

'a friend who was visiting from afar called from the doorway'

Accordingly, the predicates of complex clauses taking active nominalizations as subjects ascribe the properties of facts from a stative aspect, while the predicates of complex clauses taking stative nominalizations as subjects predicate the properties of entities from an active aspect. Consequently, we can refer to complex clauses taking active nominalizations as subjects as stative complex clauses, and to complex clauses taking stative nominalizations as subjects as active complex clauses.

At this point the discussion in this section can be summarized as follows:

> Active complex clauses can take any kind of inflective word, but stative complex clauses must take only active inflecting words.

IV. The principle of repulsion between active inflecting words

The considerations above can be organized in the following way.

Principle 1

> All of the inflecting words in the Japanese language are divided into two groups depending on whether their conclusive inflection ends with an 'i' rhyme or with an 'u' rhyme. There are no other classes besides these two. We designate the first as the class of stative inflecting words, and the second as the class of active inflecting words. Stative inflecting words denote states, and active inflecting words denote actions.
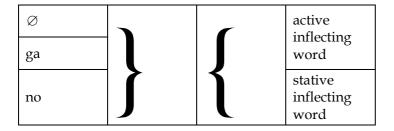
Principle 2

All nominalizations are divided into two classes: those that predicate properties of things from an active aspect, and those that ascribe properties to things from a stative aspect. There are no other classes besides these two. We designate the first as the class of active nominalizations and the second as the class of stative nominalizations. The inflecting word in an active nominalization can be any type of inflecting word, while the inflecting word in a stative nominalization must be stative. However, a stative nominalization can have an active inflecting word provided that it is the subject of a complex clause where that complex clause takes a stative inflecting word.

Principle 3

All complex clauses that take nominalizations as subjects are divided into two groups: Those that predicate properties of subjects from an active aspect, and those that ascribe properties to subjects from a stative aspect. There are no other classes besides these two. We designate the first as the class of active complex clauses, and the second as the class of stative complex clauses. Active complex clauses take stative nominalizations as subjects and can take any kind of inflecting word as predicate. In contrast, stative complex clauses take active nominalizations as subjects, but only take stative predicates.

If we set aside focus particles and the like for the moment, we can diagram Principle 2 in a way that reduces each relation to a pattern:
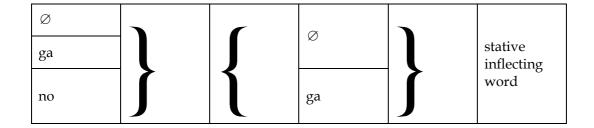
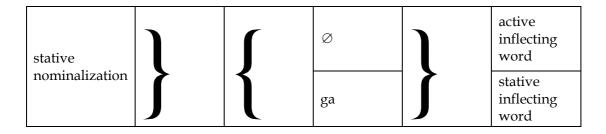(1) Structure of active nominalizations

∅	}	{	active inflecting word
ga			
no			stative inflecting word

(2) Structure of stative nominalizations

∅	}	stative inflecting word
ga		
no		

(3) Structure of special stative nominalizations

∅			∅		stative inflecting word
ga	}	{		}	
no			ga		

Next we diagram Principle 3:

(4) Structure of active complex clauses

stative nominalization	}	{	∅	}	active inflecting word
			ga		stative inflecting word

(5) Structure of stative complex clause

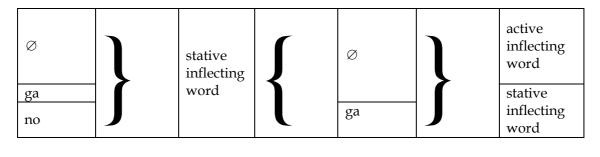| active nominalization	}	{	∅	}	stative inflecting word
			ga		

If we substitute the pattern in (1) for its corresponding term in (5), and substitute the pattern in (2) for its corresponding term in (4), we get the following diagrams:
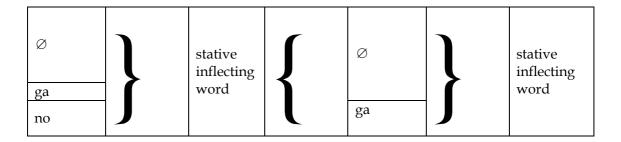
  (A)

∅		active inflecting word		∅		stative inflecting word
ga	}	stative inflecting word	{		}	
no				ga		

(B)

∅ / ga / no	}	stative inflecting word	{	∅ / ga	}	active inflecting word / stative inflecting word

(C)

∅ / ga / no	}	stative inflecting word	{	∅ / ga	}	stative inflecting word

In the diagrams above, (A) indicates the structure of a stative complex clause, while (B) and (C) indicate the structures of active complex clauses. In short, calculating the combinations with the forms that normally mark subjects ('no,' 'ga,' and zero particle) yields the following total:

$$12 + 12 + 6 = 30$$

There are 30 distinct patterns that are possible. Furthermore, from among these 30 patterns, an interesting conclusion can be drawn about the combination of inflecting words. Namely, stative predicates can co-occur with each other, but combinations where an active predicate co-occurs with an active predicate are not to be found. At this point we can infer a further principle:

Principle 4

> For all complex clauses taking nominalizations as subjects, at least one of either the inflecting word in the nominalization or the inflecting word in the complex clause must be a stative inflecting word. It is in principle absolutely impossible for the inflecting word in the nominalization and the inflecting word in the complex clause to both be active.

I designate the principle above as the principle of repulsion between active inflecting words.

With regard to the combination of particle 'no' with particle 'ga,' we can illustrate the above fact with examples from *Genji monogatari*.

(a) Where 'no' forms an active nominalization marked by 'ga' and the inflecting word that selects that nominalization is stative.

この　　君の　　　　いたく　　　まめだち過して

kono　kimi=no　　ita-ku　　　mame-dati-sugusite
this　　lord=NOM　extreme-INF　conscientious-stand-exceed.GER

常　　　　に　　　もどき給ふが

tune　　　ni　　　modoki-tamahu=ga
constant　COP.INF　act.impulsively-HON.ADN=NOM

妬きを

neta-ki=wo
despicable-ADN=CNJ

'given how he resented this lord's most excessive showing of conscientiousness and his always acting impulsively'

(Momiji no ga)

(b) Where 'no' forms an active nominalization marked by 'ga', and both the inflecting word selecting that nominalization and the inflecting word forming that nominalization are stative.

年頃　　　　　に　　　習ひ侍りにける

tosigoro　　　ni　　　narahi-haberi-ni-keru
year.upon.year　COP.INF　copy-serve-PRF-MOD.ADN

宮仕の　　　　　　　今はとて

miya-dukahe=no　　ima=wa=tote
palace-servants=NOM　now=RES=COMP

絶え侍らむが　　　　心細き　　　　になむ

taye-habera-mu=ga　　kokoro-boso-ki　ni=namu
stop-serve-CJR.ADN=NOM mind-narrow-ADN COP.INF=FOC

'it is quite a desolation, that the palace servants' who observed the custom for years should leave off, as if to say, "No more"'

(Shii ga moto)

(c) Where 'no' forms a stative nominalization marked by 'ga', and only the inflecting word forming that nominalization is stative.

よからぬ	狐など	いふ	なる
yo-karanu	kitune=nado	ihu	naru
good-NEG.ADN	fox=RES	say.ADN	EVID.ADN

物の	諮れたるが	亡き	人の
mono=no	tabure-taru=ga	na-ki	hito=no
thing=NOM	plot-PRF.ADN=NOM	dead-ADN	person=NOM

面伏	なる	事	言ひ出つるも
omote-buse	naru	koto	ihi-iduru=mo
surface-face.down	COP.ADN	purport	say-put.out.ADN=MPH

'words to embarrass the dead that something people call a "wily fox" who has played a dirty trick says'

(Wakana no ge)

(d) Where 'no' forms a stative nominalization marked by 'ga,' and both the inflecting word that forms that nominalization and the inflecting word that selects that nominalization are stative.

雲の 薄く	渡れるが	鈍色
kumo=nousu-ku	water-eru=ga	nibi-iro
cloud=NOM thin-INF	cross-STV-.DN=NOM	dull-color

なるを
naru=wo
COP.ADN=ACC

'clouds that are spreading thinly that are dull-colored'

(Usugumo)

(e) Where 'no' forms a stative nominalization marked by 'ga', and only the inflecting word selecting that nominalization is stative.

こよなく	衰へたる	宮仕人などの
koyona-ku	otorohe-taru	miya-dukahe-bito=nado=no
incomparable-INF	fall.into.decline-PRF.ADN	palace-servant-person=RES=NOM

巌の	中尋ぬるが

iwa-ho=no   nakatadunuru=ga
stone-peak=GEN   middle   search.ADN=NOM

落ち留れるなどこそ   あれ

oti-tomar-eru=nado=koso   are
fall-stop-STV.ADN=RES=FOC   exist.XCL
'although (she) was a palace servant incomparably reduced in fortune who had aspired to the
life of a recluse and who had fallen short'

<div align="right">(Miotukusi)</div>

The five scenarios above comprise the full inventory of types. There are as a rule no instances where the inflecting word preceding 'ga' and the inflecting word following 'ga' are both active. Thus, for example, an expression such as the following cannot be formed in the Japanese language.

* kodomo=no muragaru=ga   sawagu[vii]
  child=NOM   cluster.ADN=NOM   make.disturbance.CLS
(intended) 'Children who gather make a disturbance'

This is because both the inflecting word preceding 'ga' and that following 'ga' are active. In order to form a grammatical expression, either the inflecting word following 'ga' needs to be made stative, making the expression a stative complex clause taking an active nominalization:

kodomo=no   muragaru=ga   sawagasi-i
child=NOM   cluster.ADN=NOM   boisterous-CLS
'Children who gather are boisterous'

Or the inflecting word preceding 'ga needs to be made stative, making the expression an active complex clause taking a stative nominalization as subject:

kodomo=no   muragar-eru=ga   sawagu
child=NOM   cluster-STV.ADN=NOM make.disturbance.CLS
'Children who are gathered make a disturbance'

One or the other of these alternatives must be adopted.
    With the extinction of the 'ra' irregular inflectional type after the Muromachi period, the morphological distinction between stative and active inflecting words was lost, but the principle above can be seen to operate to a considerable degree even to the present day.

{ gunkan=no susumu warship=NOM proceed.ADN no=wa rippa NMLZ=TOP magnificent da COP.CLS 'warships proceeding are magnificent' gunkan no rippa warship=NOM magnificent na no=ga COP.ADN NMLZ=NOM susumu proceed.CLS 'warships that are magnificent proceed'	**{** tanku=no hasiru no=wa tank=NOM drive NMLZ=TOP sugo-i amazing-CLS 'tanks driving are amazing' tanku=no sugo-i tank=NOM amazing-CLS no=ga hasiru NMLZ=NOM drive.CLS 'tanks that are amazing drive'

The relationships can be seen in the data above. Consequently, the principle of repulsion between active predicates is a universal principle that obtains throughout all periods of the Japanese language and is fundamental to the rules governing the structure of complex clauses. Furthermore, there are many advantages to be had in applying this rule to the interpretation of texts. To set out the main instances, first there is the distinction between the nominative case marker 'ga' and the connective particle 'ga.' In short, because clauses can be easily formed in Japanese without subjects, even if no subject appears after particle 'ga,' it is not necessarily the case that this particle 'ga' cannot be considered to be a connective particle. However, in that case, if both the inflecting word preceding 'ga' and that following 'ga' are active, we can immediately determine that this 'ga' is a connective particle and not a nominative case marker. Secondly, the same point can be made for instances unaccompanied by particles. Particularly starting from the Middle Ages, even when no 'kakari-musubi' relationship is admitted, sentences can be freely ended with adnominal forms, and because inflecting words for which the conclusive form and the adnominal form are identical are comparatively abundant, it is frequently difficult to judge only from morphology whether a given sequence represents two independent clauses or whether it represents a complex clause in which subject-predicate relation obtains. Here again, if the inflecting words in the two parts are both active, we can immediately determine that the sequence comprises two mutually independent clauses with no nominative relation between them. Furthermore, as is clear from figures (A), (B), and (C) above, when a complex clause takes an active inflecting word as its predicate, it can be immediately determined that these fit pattern (B), and that the subject constitutes a stative nominalization. Various other advantages can be found in the examination along historical principles of the 30 patterns described above, which are not all attested at any given period, but as the allotted number of pages for this study has already been exceeded, I shall leave this point with only a description of the direction that might be pursued.

It is demonstrable that the method used in the classification of inflecting words by Hanareya Okina Suzuki Akira is reflected in the structure of the Japanese on a rather large

scale, with the distinction between stative and active inflecting words being a basic duality that governs inflecting forms in the Japanese language. This classification can be considered to have a value easily comparable to that of the classification into adjectives and verbs.

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[i] Apparently defining it as the class of suffixes and clitics, Suzuki includes all verbal auxiliaries in this class.

[ii] The columns of the syllabary array are headed by 'a', 'i', 'u', 'e', and 'o'.

[iii] Phonemic transcription includes *kō-otu* distinctions for Old Japanese. Remaining examples are transcribed with *rekisiteki kanazukai* for historical texts and for created examples in Classical Japanese style. Glosses and translations have been added to show grammatical analysis compatible with Frellesvig, Bjarke. A History of the Japanese Language, Cambridge University Press, 2010. The abbreviations used in glosses are as follows: ABL = ablative particle; ACC = accusative particle; ACOP = adjectival copula; ADC = ambiguous between adnominal and conclusive indflection; ADI = ambiguous between adnominal and infinitive; ADN = adnominal inflection; ALL = allative particle; CJN; conjunctional particle; CJR = conjectural auxiliary; CLF = classifier; CLS = conclusive inflection; COMP = complementizer; COP = copula; COO = coordinating particle; CND = conditional inflection; CSS = concessive inflection; CTT= continuative inflection; DAT = dative particle; EVD = evidential extension; FOC = focus particle; GEN = genitive particle; GER = gerund inflection; HON = honorific prefix or auxiliary; HORT = hortative inflection; INF = infinitive inflection; INS = instrumental particle; LOC = locational particle; MOD = modal past auxiliary; MPH = emphatic particle; NMLZ = nominalizing pronoun; NMZ = nominalizing suffix; NOM = nominative particle; PASS = passive auxiliary; PHB = prohibitive particle; PL = plural; PRF = perfective auxiliary; PRV = provisional inflection; PST = past auxiliary; RECP = reciprocal prefix; RES = restrictive particle; SG = singular; STV = stative auxiliary; TOP = topic particle; XCL = exclamatory inflection.

[iv] The rows of the syllabary array are headed by 'a', 'ka', 'sa', 'ta', 'na', 'ha', 'ma', 'ya', 'ra', and 'wa'.

[v] Ishigaki uses the term 'meisiku' (名詞句, literally 'noun phrase') to refer to nominalized clauses. I replace this term with 'nominalization' to avoid confusion with the more general sense.

[vi] Roughly, any clause having a subject-predicate relation and within which a second

subject-predicate relation obtains.

[vii] The asterisk '*' has been added to indicate an unattested pattern.

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