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The Structure of Predicate Sentences
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I'd like to present a proposal for a model of the structure of predicate sentences. Though I call it a model, it is still quite incomplete. It's halfway to becoming a model.

When explaining how a sentence is put together, most often one chops the sentence into a number of pieces and gives the pieces labels like "subject", "predicate", "adverbial modifier", or "independent word".

The approach I will describe here differs somewhat from this way of doing things. One way in which it differs is that it divides the elements that participate in the structure of a sentence and the ties among those elements into four "levels".

I will describe these levels at a later point; before that, I'd like to describe what led me to this approach.

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Among the pieces that form a sentence is a piece that is composed of a conjugable element or one of the auxiliary verbs ending in its adverbal (*ren'yōkei*) form. There are also many that end in a conjunctional particle. These are termed "subordinate phrases", "secondary phrases", or "subordinate clauses". Let us use for now the term "subordinate phrase" to refer to such elements. When subordinate phrases are considered in terms of their grammatical characteristics, there are a number of different types. Previously, I have proposed dividing these into three types.[1] Since that proposal forms a starting place for the current proposal, I would like to give a brief outline here.

First, there is the *~nagara* in a sentence like the following example.

> <u>*Tabako   o   nomi**nagara***</u>   *osyaberi   site   ita.*
> cigarette ACC smoke.ADVL.while chat   do.GER   be.PST
> 'I/we were chatting while smoking a cigarette.'

Semantically, it seems appropriate to say it "shows a continuous action performed at the same time as some primary action". (The so-called "adversative conjunction" *~nagara* is not the same. Below I will use the term "*~nagara* (continuous)" to differentiate this *~nagara* from the adversative *~nagara*.)

Notice that the predicate-like part, which we will provisionally refer to as the predicate part, in this case the *nomi-* of *nominagara*, cannot be put into a negative form *nomanainagara.[2]

Also, *-ta (da)* indicating past tense cannot be attached *nondanagara. The polite verbal ending *-masu* is also banned *nomimasinagara. None of the following forms are grammatical either: *nomoonagara [smoke.HORTATIVE.nagara], *nomumainagara [smoke.NEGATIVE-TENTATIVE.nagara], *nomudaroonagara [smoke.TENTATIVE.nagara].

Looking at these examples it is clear that the forms that the predicate part can take are quite limited.

How about the ~*node* 'because' found in the next example?

Tabako	*o*	*nomu*	*node*	*gan*	*ga*	*sinpai*	*da.*
cigarette	ACC	smoke.NPST	because	cancer	NOM	worry	COP.NPST

'Because (he) smokes cigarettes, cancer is a concern.'

Forms with the negative *tabako o nomanai node* or the past tense *tabako o nonda node* are extremely common. One can even say *tabako o nomimasu node*, using the polite verbal ending. In this sense, the range of forms that can co-occur with *node* is much broader than that of *nagara*.

However, the forms *nomoo node*, *nomumai node*, and *nomudaroo node* all seem to be unacceptable.

What about the *ga* 'but/and' in the following?

Tabako	*wa*	*nomu*	*ga*	*gan*	*no*	*koto*	*wa*	*sinpai*	*site*	*inai*
cigarettes	TOP	smoke.NPST	but	cancer	GEN	fact	TOP	worry	do.GER	be.NEG

'I smoke cigarettes, but I'm not worrying about cancer.'

Negative, past tense, and polite forms are all unquestionably good: *nomanai ga*, *nonda ga*, *nomimasu ga*. In addition, the negative-tentative and tentative forms in the following examples are also acceptable.

Kodomo da		*kara*	*masaka*	*tabako*	*wa*	*nomumai*		*ga …*
child	COP.NPST	since	surely	cigarette	TOP	smoke.NEGATIVE-TENTATIVE		but

'Since he's a child, surely he doesn't smoke cigarettes, but …'

Moo	*tabako*	*gurai*	*wa*	*nomu*	*daroo*		*ga …*

by.now cigarette   extent   TOP smoke.NPST COP.TENTATIVE but

'By now, he probably at least smokes cigarettes, but …'

The form *nomoo ga* is probably not acceptable, aside from some limited contexts like *tabako o nomoo ga, sake o nomoo ga, …* [cigarette ACC smoke,HORTATIVE but liquor ACC drink.HORTATIVE but] 'whether I smoke cigarettes or drink liquor, …'. However, one can frequently encounter examples like the following.

Konnan   wa   aroo   ga,   ganbatte   hosii
difficulty   TOP exist.HORTATIVE but   do.your.best.GER   want.NPST

'While there may be difficulties, I want you to do the best you can.'

In other words, a much greater variety of forms can appear in the predicate part of a construction with *ga* than in those of *~nagara* or *node*.

Up to this point, I have considered the predicate part of a subordinate phrase; now let us turn our attention to the non-predicate part. In the following example using *~nagara* (continuous), the non-predicate part would be *tabako o* [cigarette ACC].

Tabako o   nominagara, …
cigarette ACC smoke.*nagara*

'While smoking a cigarette, …'

As seen in *miti de asobinagara* [road LOC play.*nagara*] 'while playing in the road, …', *noriba no hoo e arukinagara* [boarding.area GEN direction toward walk.*nagara*] 'while walking toward the boarding area, …', or *tyawan ni te o kakenagara* [rice.bowl to hand ACC extend.*nagara*] 'while touching my rice bowl, …', in general any case-marked element can appear in a subordinate phrase with *~nagara* (continuous) (leaving aside for the moment *ga* nominative-case-marked elements, to which we shall return later).

In addition, what are called *jōtai fukushi* 'adverbs of state' in traditional Japanese grammar can also appear in subordinate phrases with *~nagara* (continuous).

Tabako o   yukkuri   nominagara …
cigarette ACC leisurely   smoke.*nagara*

'while smoking a cigarette in a leisurely manner, …

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*Tabako   o   <u>supasupa</u> nomi**nagara** …*
cigarette ACC puffing   smoke.*nagara*

'While puffing on a cigarette, …'

There are, however, elements that cannot appear in a subordinate phrase with ~*nagara* (continuous) or that do not easily appear in such subordinate phrases. What is generally called the "subject" is one such item.

<u>*Hitori   no onna ga*</u>   *tabako   o   nomi**nagara**, syabette   ita.*
one.CL   GEN woman NOM   cigarette   ACC smoke.*nagara* speak.GER be.PST

'One woman was speaking while smoking a cigarette.'

In the above example, the phrase *hitori no onna ga* can be thought of as the semantic subject of *(tabako o) nomi**nagara***, but it can also be considered the subject of *syabette ita*, or, at the very least there is nothing to prevent such a reading. Clearly it would appear that there is no subject that can be regarded as being tied exclusively to the ~*nagara* (continuous) subordinate phrase. In addition, as will be discussed later, a topic marked by *wa* also cannot appear in such a subordinate phrase.

It is also difficult for adverbial modifiers like *kinoo* 'yesterday' or *kyoo* 'today' expressing "time" to appear.[3] Negative polarity items like *kessite* 'absolutely', which call for a negative predicate, are also blocked as a matter of course. Other banned adverbs include *tabun* 'perhaps' and *masaka* 'surely'.

Just as in the case of the predicate part of a subordinate phrase, there is not a lot of variety in the elements that can appear in the non-predicate part of a ~*nagara* (continuous) subordinate phrase. It appears that the types of elements that can appear are quite limited.

The range of elements that can appear in a *node* subordinate phrase is broader than that for ~*nagara* (continuous) subordinate phrases.

First of all, a "subject" that is clearly tied exclusively to the subordinate phrase can appear.

<u>*Kaze ga*</u>   *hukidasita   node, wareware   wa syukkoo   o   toriyameta.*
wind NOM   start.to.blow.PST   because we   TOP set.out.to.sea ACC cancel.PST

'Since the wind started to blow, we cancelled our departure.'

Time-related adverbial modifiers can also appear.

<u>*Yuube*</u>   *yukkuri*   *neta*   *node kesa*   *wa*   *kibun*   *ga*   *ii.*
last.evening   leisurely   sleep.PST   since this.morning   TOP   feeling   NOM   good
'Since I got a good night's sleep last night, I feel good this morning.'

Negative polarity items calling for a negative predicate like *kessite* 'absolutely' and *roku ni* 'sufficiently' can also appear.

Siharai *wa*   <u>*kessite*</u>   *okurasenakatta*   *node,*   *ooi.ni*   *sin'yoo*
payment   TOP   absolutely   cause.to.become.late.NEG.PST   since   greatly   trust
o   *eta.*
ACC   acquire.PST
'Since he absolutely never allowed payment to become late, he greatly gained trust.'

<u>*Roku.ni*</u>   *eiyoo*   *no*   *aru*   *mono*   *mo*   *tabenai*   *node,*
sufficiently   nourishment   GEN   have.NPST   things   even   eat.NEG.NPST   since
kaoiro   *ga*   *warui.*
face.color   NOM   bad.NPST
'Since he doesn't eat enough nourishing food, his face color is bad.'

Apparently, however, neither a *wa*-marked topic phrase nor adverbs like *tabun* 'perhaps' or *masaka* 'surely' can appear in *node* subordinate phrases.

Subordinate phrases with *~ga* 'but', though, allow all the items blocked from appearing in *~nagara* (continuous) or *node* subordinate phrases.

<u>*Sensyutati wa*</u>, *hasiriowaru*   *to*   *asi*   *o*   *momimasu*   *ga,*   *kore*   *wa*
athletes   TOP   finish.running.NPST   when   legs   ACC   massage.NPST   but   this   TOP
tamatta   *hirooso*   *o*   *hayaku*   *bunkai-site*   *sanso.hokyuu*   *o*
accumulated   fatigue.element   ACC   quickly   break.down-do.GER   oxygen.supply   ACC
yoku   *suru*   *tame*   desu.   *(topic* wa*)*
better   make.NPST   in.order.to   COP.NPST
 'After running, the athletes massage their legs, but this is in order to break down the fatigue elements and improve oxygen supply.'

Tabun   kare mo   kuru   daroo   ga   okureru   kamosirenai.

perhaps he   also come.NPST   TENTATIVE but   become.late.NPST for.all.I.know

'He may come, too, but he might be late.'

<u>*Masaka*</u> *ano ko   ga   iede   nado   simasumai   ga,*

surely that child NOM   run.away   etc.   do.POL.NEG.TENTATIVE but

yahari   tyotto   sinpai   desu.

after.all a.little worry   COP.NPST

'Surely she'd never do anything like run away from home, but I am a little worried, after all.'

As can be seen from the above discussion, the elements in the non-predicate part of a subordinate phrase with ~*nagara* (continuous), ~*node*, and ~*ga* show the same tendencies as were seen in the case of the predicate part. Namely, in terms of the types of elements allowed, ~*nagara* is the most impoverished and ~*ga* is the richest in variety. ~*node* comes in somewhere in between. Putting the above observations together yields the following table.

		~nagara (continuous)	*~node*	*~ga*
Predicate Part of Subordinate Phrase	*~nai~* 'NEG'	✕	◯	◯
	~ta~ 'PST'	✕	◯	◯
	~masu~ 'POLITE'	✕	◯	◯
	~o~ 'HORTATIVE'	✕	✕	◯
	~mai~ 'NEG TENTATIVE'	✕	✕	◯
	~daroo~ 'TENTATIVE'	✕	✕	◯
Non-Predicate Part of Subordinate Phrase	Noun + case marker	◯	◯	◯
	Adverbs of state	◯	◯	◯
	Subject (*~ga*)	✕	◯	◯
	Time-related adverbial modifiers	✕	◯	◯
	Negative polarity items like *kessite, roku.ni*	✕	◯	◯
	Topic (*~wa*)	✕	✕	◯
	Sentential adverbs like *masaka, tabun*	✕	✕	◯

It is not just *~nagara*, *~node*, and *~ga* that have the kinds of characteristics described here. There are many such conjunctional particles in addition to these. In fact, subordinate phrases can be categorized by looking at these characteristics.

I will call the group of elements that share characteristics with *~nagara* (continuous) Type A, those that share characteristics with *~node*, Type B, and those that share characteristics with *~ga*, Type C. Although some of the elements to be considered here may display some different characteristics, they have all been heavy-handedly assigned to one of the types.

A

- the *~nagara* (continuous) described above
- some subordinate phrases ending in *~te (de)* 'GER', such as <u>*te o tunaide*</u> *aruku* [hand ACC link.GER walk.NPST] 'walk hand-in-hand' or <u>*kami o hurimidasite*</u> *tobikakaru* [hair ACC dishevel.GER spring.at.NPST] 'jump on someone with one's hair in a disheveled state'
- subordinate phrases ending in *~tutu* 'while, despite'
- subordinate phrases ending with *ren'yōkei* 'adverbal form' reduplication
- some subordinate phrases ending with adjectives or nominal adjectives in their *ren'yōkei*, such as <u>*asioto mo takaku*</u> *tatisatta* [footsteps also loudly leave.PST] 'stomp out'[4]

Since, from a semantic point of view, most of these express circumstances or the way in which an action is taken, we can say that they have a meaning similar to that of what are called *jōtai fukushi* 'adverbs of state'.

B

- some subordinate phrases ending in ~*te* or in the *ren'yōkei* that semantically express "sequential or parallel actions or states", such as <u>to o simete</u> *dete itta* [door ACC close.GER leave.GER go.PST] 'shut the door and departed' or <u>enzin o tome</u> *saidobureeki o kakeru* [engine ACC stop.ADVL hand.brake ACC set.NPST] 'turn off the engine and set the hand brake'. Many subordinate phrases ending in ~*zuni* 'without ~ing' or ~*naide* 'without ~ing' can be thought to belong to this type.

- subordinate phrases ending in ~*node* discussed above. Also included here are subordinate phrases ending in ~*tara* 'if, when', ~*temo* 'even should', ~*to* 'if, when', ~*nara* 'if', ~*noni* 'even though', ~and ~*ba* 'if', that is, elements that express "conditional meaning". In addition, subordinate phrases ending in ~*te* showing 'reason, cause' and subordinate phrases that, although ending in ~*nagara*, express "adversative conjunction", unlike the ~*nagara* subordinate phrases included in Type A, should probably also be included here. Example include: <u>Kaze o hiite</u> *yasumimasita* [cold ACC catch.GER take.time.off.PST] 'I caught a cold and so I took time off.' <u>Zyuubun okane ga ari**nagara**</u> *kaoo to sinai* [plenty money NOM exist.*nagara* buy.HORTATIVE QUOTE do.NEG.NPST] 'Although he has enough money, he makes no move to buy it.'

C

- In addition to the ~*ga* discussed earlier, subordinate phrases ending in ~*kara* 'since', ~*keredo* (*keredomo, kedomo, kedo*) 'however', and ~*si* 'what's more' are the most important members of this type. Examples include: <u>Okane ga nai kara</u>, *kau no wa yosoo.* [money NOM not.exist since buy.NPST NMLZ TOP quit.HORTATIVE] 'Since I don't have the money, I'll hold off on buying it', <u>Sagasita keredo</u>, *mitukaranakatta* [search.PST however turn.up.NEG.PST] 'I looked for it. but it didn't turn up', and <u>Kesiki mo ii si</u>, *tabemono mo umai* [scenery also good what's.more food also delicious] 'The scenery is good and, what's more, the food is great'.

There are also the following differences among Types A, B, and C.

First, a subordinate phrase can be embedded within another subordinate phrase, but concerning this process as well, there are differences among the three types. For example, consider the following.

Kyarameruo *name**nagara*_____ *hasiru* *to* sita   o   *kamimasu*   *yo.*
caramel   ACC lick.*nagara*   run.NPST if tongue ACC bite.POL.NPST SFP
'If you lick your caramel while you're running, you'll bite your tongue.'

Kare *ga*   *"iitokoro* *da"* *to*   *iu*   <u>*node*</u> *itte*   *mita*   *keredo,*
he   NOM   goodplace COP QUOTE say.NPST since go.GER see.PST but
sore *hodo*   *de.mo.nakatta*   *yo*
that   extent   COP.even.NEG.PST   SFP
'Since he said it was a nice place, I tried going, but it wasn't really anything.'

(1) Elements that can become part of a subordinate phrase of Type A must be of Type A; elements belonging to Types B or C cannot be used within a Type A phrase.

(2) Elements that can become part of a subordinate phrase of Type B can be phrases of either Type B or Type A. It is difficult for an element of Type C to be used in a subordinate phrase of Type B.

(3) Elements that can become part of a subordinate phrase of Type C can be of Type C, or of Type B, or of Type A. That is, any of Types A, B, or C can appear within a subordinate phrase of Type C.

2

Secondly, a difference can be observed in what elements can appear as part of a adnominal modifier. It is possible for Types A and B to appear as part of a adnominal modifier, but, as a general rule, phrases of Type C do not appear as part of a adnominal modifier.

Consideration of the facts described so far, especially consideration of the relationship observed between the predicate part of a subordinate phrase and various non-predicate parts, allows us to make the following observations.

(1) There are certain non-predicate elements that can co-occur with a predicate even at a level before that predicate is marked as negative or not, is marked as a past tense utterance or not (has ~ta attached or not), is marked as a polite utterance or not (has ~masu attached or not),

or even before determining whether the predicate takes an ending expressing volitionality (affirmative or negative) or tentativeness. The non-predicate elements that can occur in Type A subordinate phrases are exactly such elements.

- noun + case marker (leaving the subject aside for the moment)
- Adverbs of state (*jōtai fukushi*) and the like
- Type A subordinate phrases (since some Type A phrases can appear as part of another Type A phrase)

(2) There are certain non-predicate elements that can only co-occur with a predicate at a level when that predicate has been marked as negative or not, or marked as a past tense utterance or not (has ~ta attached or not), or marked as a polite utterance or not (has ~masu attached or not). And, such elements can co-occur even before determining whether the predicate takes an ending expressing volitionality (affirmative or negative) or tentativeness. The non-predicate elements that can occur in Type B subordinate phrases are just such elements.

- subject (~*ga*)
- time-related adverbial expressions
- negative polarity items
- Type B subordinate phrases (since some Type B phrases can appear as part of another Type B phrase)

(3) There are certain non-predicate elements that can only co-occur with a predicate at a level when that predicate can take an ending expressing volitionality (affirmative or negative) or tentativeness. The non-predicate elements that can occur in Type C subordinate phrases are just such elements.

- topic (~*wa*)
- so-called declarative adverbs (*chinjutsushi*) like *masaka* 'surely' or *tabun* 'perhaps'
- Type C subordinate phrases

Incidentally, these elements can be considered not only to be items that appear in the formation of subordinate phrases but rather can be considered to appear in the formation of a sentence. The *tabako o* of <u>*tabako o nominagara*</u> [cigarette ACC smoke.*nagara*] 'while smoking a cigarette' is not something that only appears to form a *~nagara* phrase, but also appears in a sentence like the following.

> *Tabako   o   pukapuka   nonde   ita.*
> cigarette ACC puffingly   smoke.GER   be.PST

'He was puffing away on his cigarette.'

If one removes the *kara* 'since' from the following, one can make a perfectly good independent sentence.

Masaka	*kare*	*ga*	*kuru*	*koto*	*wa*	*aru*	*mai*	*kara, …*
surely	he	NOM	come.NPST	NMLZ	TOP	exist.NPST	NEG.TENTATIVE	since

'Since he surely wouldn't come, …'

Masaka	*kare*	*ga*	*kuru*	*koto*	*wa*	*aru*	*mai.*
surely	he	NOM	come.NPST	NMLZ	TOP	exist.NPST	NEG.TENTATIVE

'Surely he wouldn't come.'

Granted, this may be a broad, imprecise statement, but, in any case, if this statement is accurate, *masaka*, *kare ga kuru koto wa*, and *aru mai* are on the one hand elements forming a ~*kara* phrase, but at the same time, it seems reasonable to consider them to be elements composing an independent sentence.

> However, it may be the case that if we consider this case rigorously, it may be wrong to unconditionally say without proper proof that elements appearing in a subordinate phrase and elements appearing in an independent sentence are the same. We cannot simply state that the *tabako o* in *tabako o nominagara* and the *tabako o* in *tabako o nonda* are identical. However, unless some major impediment to viewing them as being the same should arise, it is probably possible to advance our considerations under the assumption that they are.

Viewed in this way, we can think of the elements and their combinations described in (1), (2), and (3) as "levels" in the composition of a sentence (a predicate sentence in this case). For example, the sentence below would be viewed as passing through the levels given below it in its composition.

Sumire	*no*	*hati*	*wa,*	*asu*	*no*	*asa*	*watasi*	*ga*	*mizu*	*o*
violet	GEN	pot	TOP	tomorrow	GEN	morning	I	NOM	water	ACC

yarimasyoo.
give.POL.HORTATIVE

'As for the pot of violets, I will give them water tomorrow morning.'

mizu   o   yaru .... *(1)*

water   ACC give.NPST

'give water'

asu   no   asa   watasi ga   mizu   o   yarimasu .... *(2)*

tomorrow GEN morning   I   NOM   water   ACC give.POL.NPST

'tomorrow morning I will give water'

Sumire no   hati wa, asu   no   asa   watasi ga   mizu   o

violet   GEN pot   TOP tomorrow GEN morning   I   NOM   water   ACC

yarimasyoo .... *(3)*

give.POL.HORTATIVE

'As for the pot of violets, I will give them water tomorrow morning.'

At this point, we should notice that the elements composing a sentence are not limited to those given in (1), (2), and (3). That is, there are elements such as those listed in (4).

(4) vocative terms, conjunctions (mostly those coming at the beginning of a sentence) and interjections, orders (affirmative and negative = prohibitions), and others like sentence final particles and interjectional particles.

For example, predicates in the imperative and sentence final particles do not appear in subordinate phrases ending with *~ga* or *~kara*. Vocatives and conjunctions are not contained solely within Type C subordinate phrases. Consider the previous example with a vocative phrase and a sentence final particle added.

K-san,   sumire no   hati wa, asu   no   asa   watasi ga   mizu   o

Ms K   violet   GEN pot   TOP tomorrow GEN morning   I   NOM   water   ACC

yarimasyoo   ne .... *(4)*

give.POL.HORTATIVE   SFP

'Ms K, as for the pot of violets, I will give them water tomorrow morning, okay?'

The levels labeled (1), (2), and (3), respectively, correspond to the Type A, Type B, and Type C subordinate phrase types given earlier. Below the levels will also be referred to as Levels A, B, and C, and level (4) will be referred to as Level D.

There is a problem regarding how to express the fact that sentences (predicate sentences) are composed from these four levels A, B, C, and D. One way would be to consider the four levels to participate in a kind of "addition" and to say that a sentence is composed through the addition of the levels. There may be some other, better way of expressing this, and more thorough consideration is needed, but here, for now, I will try using addition.

Mizu o yaru ....(A)

 Asu no asa watasi ga mizu o yarimasu .... (B)

 Sumire no hati wa asu no asa watasi ga yarimasyoo .... (C)

 +   *K-san, sumire no hati wa asu no asa watasi ga mizu o yarimasyoo ne*..........(D)

     K-san, sumire no hati wa asu no asa watasi ga mizu o yarimasyoo ne.............(Sentence)

A similar kind of addition can also take place within a level, A with A, B with B, and so on. Such addition is probably simpler and more easily understood.

mizu o yaru [water ACC give.NPST] .... (A$_1$)

+ *dondon yaru* [steadily give.NPST]... (A$_2$)

mizu o dondon yaru 'steadily give water' .... (A$_3$)

watasi ga mizu o yarimasu [I NOM water ACC give.POL.NPST].................................... (B$_1$)

+ *Asu no asa mizu o yarimasu* [tomorrow GEN morning water ACC give.POL.NPST] ... (B$_2$)

Asu no asa watasi ga mizu o yarimasu 'Tomorrow morning I will give water'.................. (B$_3$)

Considered in this way, the same element may on occasion be added several times. For example, in the *K-san, sumire no hati …* example given earlier, *mizu o* ends up being added four times. This could perhaps be seen as being an unfortunate outcome, but it would be no problem if we consider this addition to be like Boolean algebra in which $1 + 1 = 1$. No matter how many times *mizu o* is added, it remains simply *mizu o*. In the case of *mizu o yaru + dondon yaru* as well, *yaru + yaru* is simply *yaru*.

The division of subordinate phrases into three types earlier was done principally based on what elements could appear in each. That was an observation of facts. However, following that,

as an interpretation of what was observed, several levels were considered, and it was proposed that a sentence is composed by adding them together.

It should be pointed out that the four levels are not, in fact, in a temporally sequential relationship when composing a sentence. When we write a sentence, of course we do not proceed by first writing the predicate word and the nouns with which it is associated, followed by writing the subject, and then adding an interjection at the very end. The levels discussed above should be called "structural levels" resulting from the interpretation outlined above.

3

Here I would like to bring together the elements that can appear in each of the levels A, B, C, and D, the associations among them, and the grammatical characteristics each level has. There are still more elements in addition to those discussed so far. Consideration of how they are distributed is needed, Also, there are some points in the discussion so far that need correction.

(1) Level A

The elements belonging to this level that have already been discussed are listed below.

- conjugable word (the predicate part)
- noun + case marker (non-predicate part element)
- adverbs of state (non-predicate part element)
- Level A subordinate phrases

There are many points in this list that need amplification.

First, regarding the conjugable word of the predicate part, as mentioned before, it is in a form prior to determining whether it is negated or is not negated, whether it is a past statement or is not a past statement, whether it is in a polite form or is not in a polite form. That is, taking the verb *kaku* 'write' as an example it could be expressed as the form *kak-*.

However, it appears that causative forms, passive forms, forms expressing giving and receiving, and forms expressing respect (honorific forms) can appear at the A level, given that the following are all acceptable.

zi	*o*	*kakasenagara*
characters	ACC	write.CAUS.*nagara*

'While having someone write characters, …'

hito   ni   <u>warawarenagara</u>

people   DAT laugh.PASS.*nagara*

'While being laughed at by people, …'

kata   o   <u>tataite yari-</u> (<u>age-</u>)   nagara

shoulder   ACC hit.GER give (give)   nagara

'While doing someone the favor of hitting his shoulder, …'

(With *yarinagara* the recipient is of lower status than the hitter; with *agenagara*, he or she is of equal or higher status.)

*kata   o   tataite morai- (itadaki-)   **nagara***

shoulder   ACC hit.GER receive (receive)   nagara

'While having someone hit my shoulder, …'

(With *morai**nagara***, the recipient is of equal or higher status than the hitter; with *itadaki**nagara***, he or she is of lower status.)

*osake   o   <u>mesiagari**nagara**</u>*

liquor   ACC drink (HON).*nagara*

'While someone of higher status is drinking something alcoholic, …'

The category "noun + case marker" in the non-predicate part elements includes such elements as <u>*kata o* *tataku*</u> [shoulder ACC hit.NPST] 'hit a shoulder', <u>*yama ni* *noboru*</u> [mountain to climb.NPST] 'climb on a mountain', <u>*ie e* *kaeru*</u> [house to return.NPST] 'go home', <u>*miti de* *asobu*</u> [street LOC play.NPST] 'play in the street', and <u>*onna no ko to* *kenka suru*</u> [woman GEN child with fight do.NPST] 'fight with a girl'. In addition to the above, however, elements like so-called complements such as <u>*iin ni* *naru (suru)*</u> [committee.member DAT become (make)] 'become (make someone) a committee member' and <u>*owari to* *naru (suru)*</u> [conclusion QUOTE become (make)] 'come to (bring to) an end' can be thought to be included in this level. Quotations of the form " '…' *to iu*" can also appear at this level.

It may be reasonable to also view the ~*ni* 'to, in order to' in <u>*tegami o dasi ni iku*</u> [letter ACC send.ADVL to go.NPST] 'go to mail a letter' as belonging to the A level. In fact, it probably does.

It is an interesting question whether a subject (or an element functioning like a subject) belongs at this level. It was stated earlier that a Type A subordinate phrase does not have a subject element that is restricted only to that phrase. However, in phrases ending in the

adverbial form of an adjective or a nominal adjective, a subject-like form can appear (*asioto mo takaku* [footstep.sound also loud(ly)] 'with footsteps also loud, …'). Even if we do not term this element a subject and even though it does not actually appear very often, it may be convenient for the description of a number of items to postulate that a "nominative" is already present at the A level.[1]

In the category of adverbs of state or categories of Type A subordinate phrases should be included such constructions as ~*soo ni* 'looking like one is about to …' as in *nakisoo ni* 'looking like he was about to cry…' or *waraidasisoo ni* 'looking like he was about to burst out laughing …', ~*yoo ni* 'in order that', and ~*(no) toori (ni)* 'just as (foretold, expected, etc.)'. It also appears a good idea to recognize so-called extent adverbs as belonging to the A level.

Sanbon	*entotu*		*no*	*ookina*	*hune*	*ga,*	*yaya*	*katamuki**nagara**,*	*minato*	*o*
three-CL	smokestack		GEN	big	ship	NOM	somewhat	tilt.*nagara*	harbor	ACC

dete   itta.
leave.GER   go.PST

'Listing slightly, a three-smokestack, large ship left the harbor.'

The connections between the conjugable word of the predicate part and the elements of the non-predicate part are often influenced by their lexical characteristics, especially their semantic characteristics. One cannot say *sugata o kieru* [form ACC disappear (vi)]. It must be *sugata o kesu* [form ACC make.disappear (vt)] 'disappear, go away'. On the other hand, if one begins with *sugata ga* [form NOM], then one must follow with *kieru* 'disappear (vi)'; one does not say *sugata ga kesu* [form NOM make.disappear (vt)]. Also, one does not say either *sugata ga gutugutu kieru* [form NOM simmering disappear] 'disappear in a simmer' or *sugata o gutugutu kesu* [form ACC simmering make.disappear] 'make disappear in a simmer'. *Okayu o gutugutu niru* [rice,gruel ACC simmering boil (vt)] 'simmer the rice gruel' and *okayu ga gutugutu nieru* [rice.gruel NOM simmering boil (vi)] 'the rice gruel simmers', on the other hand, are perfectly acceptable. In other words, the elements belonging to the A level and the connections among them can be said to have strong "lexico-syntactic" characteristics, if such a word can be used here. In this way one ought to be able to recognize a number of patterns in the elements and the connections among them.

The elements or sequences of elements belonging to the A level can become part of other elements at the same A level. Elements or sequences of elements at the A level can also form part of adnominal modifiers.

(2) Level B

Elements belonging to the B level include the following.

- conjugating words (predicate part)
- all non-predicate part elements that appeared at the A level.
- the so-called subject
- time-related modifiers, negation-related modifiers
- Type B subordinate phrases

There are many points that require amplification and explanation.

Regarding the conjugable word of the predicate part, it is at this level that it is determined whether it is negated or is not negated, whether it is a past statement or is not a past statement, and whether it is in a polite form or is not in a polite form. It can be said that it is at this level that the conjugating word of the predicate part becomes more predicate-like.

> Below I will refer to what I have up to this point called past statements as "determined" and
> those not past statements as "undetermined".

Also, the following forms can be thought of as first becoming available for use in the predicate part at the B level because they cannot appear in Type A subordinate phrases but can appear in Type B subordinate phrases. Some, it must be admitted, may be questionable.

- ~*te iru* [GER be] 'progressive or resultant state', ~*te aru* [GER exist] 'resultant state', ~*te oku* [GER place] 'do for later use or benefit', ~*te simau* [GER put.away] 'end up doing, do completely'
- ~*nakereba naranai* 'NEG.PROV turn.out.NEG] 'must do'
- ~*tai* [DESIDERATIVE] 'want to do', ~*te hosii* [GER want] 'want someone to do, want something to happen'
- ~*hazu (da)* [expectation (COP)] 'can be expected', ~*no (da)* [NMLZ (COP)] 'it is a matter of ~', ~*wake (da)* [reason (COP)] 'it is a matter of ~', ~*koto (da)* [NMLZ (COP)] 'it is a matter of ~', ~*dake (da)* [only (COP)] 'it is just ~', ~*nomi (da)* [only (COP)] 'it is just ~', ~*made (da)* [as.far.as (COP)] 'do no more than ~'

Among the elements of the non-predicate part that can appear at this level is the so-called subject. Time-related modifiers and negation-related modifiers were given earlier; both are

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adverbial modifiers and there are a variety of elements in this class that can appear at this level. For now, the following two groups of adverbials can be given.

The first group consists of words like *kitto* 'surely', *tonikaku* 'at any rate', *zitu ni* 'actually, *makoto ni* 'truly', and *yappari* 'as expected'.[2]

The second group are a set of words that could be said to express the meaning "a kind of evaluation of the results of the action or state expressed by the predicate". Examples include *umai koto ni* [skillful NMLZ ADV] 'fortunately', *kansin ni mo (kansin.na koto ni)* [admiration ADV even (admirable NMLZ ADV)] 'admirably', *saiwai ni mo (saiwai.na koto ni)* [fortunate ADV even (fortunate NMLZ ADV)] 'fortunately', *zannen ni mo (zannen.na koto ni)* [regrettable ADV even (regrettable NMLZ ADV)] 'regrettably, unfortunately'.

There may be other groups.

Elements that pattern with Type B subordinate phrases include those ending in "formal nouns" (or elements that pattern with formal nouns) such as *~sita ageku* [do.PST outcome] 'as a result of having ~', *~sita tokoro (ga, de)* [do.PST place (NOM, LOC)] 'at the point where one has ~', *~sita totan* [do.PST instant] 'just when someone did ~, no sooner had someone ~', *~sita kekka* [do.PST result] 'as a result of having ~', *~sita tame (ni)* [do.PST sake (ADV)] 'because of having ~', and *~sita kankeizyoo* [do.PST connection.on] 'in connection with having ~'.

The noun + case marker, adverbs of state, and other things that belong to the A level elements, as well as the Type A subordinate phrases, should also be considered B level elements when working at the B level. Just as the conjugating word in the predicate part acquires various grammatical characteristics unique to the B level when working at the B level, the non-predicate elements can also be considered to acquire B level grammatical characteristics when the level changes from A to B. In the following example, *mizu sika* clearly belongs to the B level as the form *sika* requires the predicate to be in the negative form.

> *mizu sika*　　　　　*nomanai*
> water other.than　　drink.NEG.NPST
> 'I drink only water'

However, the A level relation *mizu o* [water ACC] relation still needs to be recognized. After reaching the B level, the pattern *~sika ~nai* is formed. The same can be said of the following sets.

> *yukkuri aruku* .... *(A)*
> slowly　walk.NPST

'walk slowly'

yukkuri (to) *wa*   *arukanai* ....*(B)*
slowly   QUOTE TOP walk.NEG.NPST
'Not walk slowly.'

te *o* *tunaide* *aruku* ....*(A)*
hand ACC hold.GER   walk.NPST
'walk holding hands'

te *o* *tudaidewa*   *arukanai* ....*(B)*
hand ACC hold.GER.TOP   walk.NEG.NPST
'not walk holding hands'

Generally speaking, it would seem one could say that if a concord particle or an adverbial particle is added to an A level non-predicate element, it becomes a B level element, but there appear to be some vexing problems with regard to this generalization.[3]

A variety of patterns can be seen in the connections between the predicate part elements and the non-predicate part elements at the B level. For example, *kessite* 'absolutely' and *roku.ni* 'sufficiently' appear with negative predicates.

There is naturally a tight connection between the appearance of time-related modifiers and whether a predicate appears in the determined or undetermined form. Also, words like the *saiwai ni mo* and *umai koto ni* forms given earlier normally appear with the determined form of a predicate.

Otosita   *yubiwa wa,* *saiwai.ni.mo* *motinusi* *no* *te* *ni* *modorimasita.*
drop.PST   ring   TOP fortunately   owner   GEN hand DAT return.POL.PST
'Fortunately, the ring he had dropped was returned to its owner.'

Among the Type B subordinate phrases as well, there are some that require their predicates to be in the undetermined form and some that require them to be in the determined form.[4]

The elements or sequences of elements belonging to the B level can, of course, become part of another B level element, and elements or sequences of elements belonging to the B level can also become part of adnominal modifiers.

(3) Level C

Elements belonging to the C level include at least those below.

- conjugating word (predicate part)
- all the non-predicate elements appearing at the B level, including elements from the A level.
- topic (~*wa*)
- some of the so-called declarative adverbs such as *masaka* 'surely' and *tabun* 'perhaps'
- Type C subordinate phrases

It is at this level that it is determined whether the conjugating word of the predicate part is an expression showing volition or not, and whether or not it is an expression showing surmise or tentativeness.

In other words, we can say that it is at this level that the modal characteristics of the predicate are determined. As a rough characterization, this is correct, but there are still a number of questions as to how much is included in this level. (See the following section on the D level for more discussion.)

Concerning the non-predicate part elements, the characteristics of these also change along with the differentiation of the predicate parts.

The non-predicate part elements that appeared at the B level acquire C level characteristics just as the predicate elements do. The clearest example is of the subject from the B level becoming a topic at the C level.

Ahiru   no   ko   ga   *hakutyoo*   *ni*   *narimasita.* ....*(B)*
duck   GEN child NOM   swan   DAT become.POL.PST
'A duckling turned into a swan.'

Ahiru   no   ko   wa, *hakutyoo*   *ni*   *narimasita.* ....*(C)*
duck   GEN child TOP   swan   DAT become.POL.PST
'The duckling turned into a swan

Many varied patterns are possible for sequences of C level elements. C level elements or sequences of elements can become part of other C level elements. When we get to the C level, however, the elements cannot become part of an adnominal modifier.[5]

(4) Level D

The following can be counted as Level D elements.

- Conjugating words (the predicate part)
- All the non-predicate part elements that have appeared at the C level (including elements that appeared at the A and B levels).
- Words used as vocatives
- Conjunctions (primarily ones that come at the beginning of a sentence) and some types of interjections or interjection particles. [Translator's note: Minami refers here to particles that are addressee directed such as confirmation-seeking *ne* or *nee* or assertive *sa* or *yo*.]
- Question words such as *nani* 'what', *dare* 'who', *itu* 'when, *doko* 'where, *naze* 'why', and the like.
- Words like *zehi* 'by all means', *doozo* 'go ahead', and the like.

Of these, the first that presents a problem is the conjugating word in the predicate part. At this D level it is determined whether the expression will be an imperative (affirmative imperative or negative imperative [=prohibition]) or a non-imperative expression. If it is a non-imperative expression, it is further determined whether it is an interrogative expression or a non-interrogative expression. If it is a non-interrogative expression, the declarative expression can be presented in a variety of forms. In addition to this, various interjections can be inserted. In other words, in a broad sense, it is at this level that the modal aspects of the predicate are given their most detailed expression.

There is a lot of room for more intensive consideration concerning this predicate part since, for example, it would be possible to separate the elements treated here as Level D elements (namely, imperative forms (*nome* [drink.IMP] 'drink!', *nomu-na* [drink-NEG.IMP] 'Don't drink!', *nominasai* [drink.do.IMP] 'Have a drink!', *nominasaru-na* [drink.do-NEG.IMP] 'Don't have a drink!', and the like), interrogative forms (*nomu ka* [drink Q] 'Will/do you drink?' and the like), various non-interrogative declarative forms (*nomu* [drink.NPST] 'drink', *nomu wa* [drink.NPST SFP] 'drink', *nomu zo* [drink.NPST SFP] 'drink', *nomu tomo* [drink.NPST SFP] 'drink', and the like) from the same forms with interjection particles affixed to them (*nomu ka ne* [drink.NPST Q confirmation.particle] 'I wonder whether he drinks.', *nomu wa ne* [drink.NPST SFP

confirmation.particle] 'He drinks, doesn't he.', *nomu tomo sa* [drink.NPST SFP assertion.particle] 'He most certainly drinks, you know', and the like) and think of them as belonging to different levels. If considering them to belong to different levels, it would be possible to either consider the forms without the interjection particles attached as belonging to Level C or to not consider them as belonging to Level C but assign them to Level D and treat the interjection particles as belonging to an E level. If in the end they are assigned to different levels, it will not be just predicate part elements that need to be reassigned but also such non-predicate part elements as interrogative words and words like *zehi* 'by all means', *doozo* 'go ahead', and the like.

Just like the predicate part elements, at this D level, the non-predicate elements that have appeared up to the C level can be considered to have gained D-level characteristics. The following example, with interjection particles affixed to such elements, shows this most clearly.

Boku <u>*nee*</u>,		*tonkatu*	*wa*	*iya*	*da*	*kara* <u>*saa*</u>,	*tikinraisu*	*ni*
I	you.know	pork.cutlet	TOP	disagreeable	COP.NPST	since well.then	chicken.rice	DAT

site	*yo.*
make.GER	SFP

'Since, I, you know, don't like pork cutlet, you know, make it chicken and rice.'

The following example also shows the same thing.

Kore	*wa*	<u>*desune*</u>,	*tensyon'aamu*	*to*	*iimasite*	<u>*desune*</u>,	*teepu*	*ga*	<u>*desune*</u>,
this	TOP	you.see	tension.arm	QUOTE	say.POL.GER	you.see	tape	NOM	you.see

tarumanai	*yooni*	<u>*desune*</u>,	*hatte*	*oku*	*mono*	*de*	<u>*desune*</u>, …
not.become.slack	so.that	you.see	stretch.GER	set.NPST	thing	COP.GER	you.see

'This, you see, is called a tension arm, you see, and is a thing that, you see, you stretch the tape across, you see, so that it doesn't go slack, you see, and …'

The vocative expressions discussed earlier are of course expressions that involve another party. There is also an example somewhat similar of the first person *watasi* or *watakusi* being used in an interjection-like way. This could also probably be considered an element that first occurs when this D level is reached.

Senkyo	*no*	*tameni*	*ooisogi.de*	*dooro*	*no*	*hosoo*	*o*	*saseta*

election GEN for.the.sake.of   great.hurry.in   road   GEN paving ACC cause.to.happen.PST

toiu   koto   wa,   watakusi, zettai.ni   zizitu   ni   han.simasu

that   NMLZ TOP I   absolutely   reality   DAT conflict.do.POL.NPST

'(The story) that I hastily had the roads paved for the sake of the election, I, is totally not true.'

Furthermore, so-called parenthetical phrases (or sentences) can probably be viewed as elements appearing at the D level.

A variety of patterns can also be distinguished in the sequencing of D-level elements.

4

There are many matters that may be problematic regarding the approach to analyzing sentences discussed thus far. Here I would like to touch upon one or two of them.

What does the analysis clarify?

In addition to clarifying the structure of a sentence, in what area is this way of analyzing particularly useful? I believe one can adduce that it makes each of the elements participating in the formation of a sentence and the relations among them much clearer than hitherto. From the viewpoint of this analysis, one can always capture the connections between elements of the predicate part and elements of the non-predicate part. Namely, one can ascertain which non-predicate part elements are primarily related to what aspects of the predicate part and, to a certain extent, the level within which those relations hold. For example, the adverbial modifiers *yukkuri* 'slowly', *yahari* 'after all', and *masaka* 'surely (not)', which are treated uniformly in previous grammatical analyses, are each related to the predicate part at a different level in the analysis described above (*yukkuri* – A, *yahari* – B, *masaka* –C).

It is not a new idea that among the elements that comprise a sentence and the relations that bind them together, there are aspects that concern propositional content (or logic) and aspects that concern modality. However, as to whether or not those two aspects are firmly situated in previous analyses, I feel that in most cases they have not been. In the analysis described here, it is possible to do so to a certain degree (As one moves from the A level to the B, C, and D levels, modal characteristics increase. Also, it is possible to specify just what aspects have been added.)

Another advantage of the analysis proposed here is that it allows a unified analysis of the structure of normal sentences, subordinate phrases, and adnominal modifiers. The initial basis for establishing the levels A, B, C, and D was the categorization of subordinate phrases, but the levels can also characterize different types of phrases such that this sort of subordinate phrase is an A-level one, an adnominal modifier is a B-level or lower, and so on.

Categorizing the structures of sentences into four levels at first glance appears to be a macroscopic analysis, but, when compared with school grammar, in many cases what is a single "constituent" in school grammar is analyzed into four levels in the analysis described here, so, to a certain extent, it could also be said to be a micro approach.

With the approach described here, it is necessary to reconsider the concept of "constituents" used hitherto.

What sorts of things need more consideration?

There are a great number of things that need to be considered. Among them, one that truly needs consideration is the elimination of "ambiguity".

For example, there is the handling of imperative forms and interrogative forms of the predicate parts at the D level raised as a problem in the preceding Part III. Should we, upon further consideration, continue to treat them when they have interjection particles affixed the same as when they are not accompanied by such particles or should we consider them separately; and if considering them separately, should we consider them together with C-level elements? These questions must be decided based on firm evidence.

Considering the fact that problems like these arise, one could think of an approach in which, rather than dividing into four levels, one creates a new level each time a predicate takes on a form that differentiates it in some way. That is, divide forms finely into as many levels as needed, and consider the sentence to be an expression of the summation over all the levels. The problems arising at the D level can perhaps be said to show the limitations caused by the approach taken here of first starting with the categorization of subordinate phrases and then forcing them into four levels.

Another case of ambiguity is found in the following example.

> *Tabako   wa   <u>nomu   mai</u>*
> cigarette TOP smoke.NPST NEG.HORTATIVE
> 'I will not smoke!'

The form *nomu mai* found in this example is a predicate form that first appears at the C level. If we consider the meaning of the form *~mai*, it includes both "will, intention" and "negation". However, while expressions of will or intention are clearly C-level elements, predicate forms incorporating negation (as considered in the analysis presented here) are determined at the B level. In spite of this, the *~mai* form first appears at the C level. Something seems odd here.

The following explanation can be given for this oddity. The verb *nomu* 'smoke' picks up the meaning of negation at the B level and then has the meaning of will or intention added at the C level, taking the form *nomu mai* at the level where the meaning of will or intention has been added.

This may appear to be a kind of cheating, but if one thinks of it as described below, it really cannot be simply dismissed as cheating.

If we hypothesize a kind of "language" machine that knows the vocabulary and ways of constructing sentences for a language, the A, B, C, and D levels described here, together with the elements of each level and the relations among them, can be thought of as belonging to the realm of a machine-internal "machine language". The language that is output from the machine is separate and different from this machine language. The fact that the form output is *~mai* is purely a problem of output. There is simply a regular correspondence between the output form and the internal machine language. With such a conception, the explanation given earlier becomes possible.

Such an explanation is fine as far as it goes. The ambiguity referred to earlier comes in later. Within the realm of the machine language, in what kinds of relations are the various elements linked together? What is the relation between them and the elements of the output stage? Such problems are still not well understood. In order to truly clarify such problems, we need to replace all the elements with well-defined symbols such that a kind of calculation can be performed on them. This is the next great task before us.

Abbreviations used in glosses

ACC   accusative
ADN   adnominal
ADV   adverbial
ADVL   adverbal form of conjugating word (*ren'yōkei*)
CAUS   causative
CL   classifier
COP   copula
DAT   dative
GEN   genitive
GER   gerundive
HON   honorific
LOC   locative
NEG   negative
NMLZ   nominalizer
NOM   nominative
NPI   negative polarity item
NPST   non-past
PASS   passive
POL   polite
PROV   provisional
PST   past
SFP   sentence final particle
TOP   topic

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[1] Minami, Fujio. 1964. "*Fukubun* [Compound sentences]". In *Kōza gendaigo* [Lectures on Modern Japanese] 6, *Kōgo bunpō no mondaiten* [Problems in colloquial grammar]. Meiji Shoin. Please also refer to "*Hanashikotoba no bunkei* [Patterns in speech]" (2). *Kokuritsu kokugo kenkyūjo hōkoku* 23 [NINJAL reports 23]. 1963.

[2] With the adversative conjunction ~*nagara*, the negative form of a predicate can appear. Also, and this is a problem we will take up later, a subject limited in scope to the *nagara* clause can appear. *Mimi wa kikoenu nagara* [ear TOP can.hear.NEG nagara] 'Although he cannot hear', *husi wa totowanu nagara* [melody TOP line.up.NEG nagara] 'although the melody doesn't match', *ookiku kuti o hiraite,* [big.ADVL mouth ACC open.GER] 'opens his mouth wide, and' *takaraka ni utatte iru no dearu.* [loud ADVL sing.GER be.NPST NMLZ COP.NPST] 'sings loudly.' (*Gendaigo no joshi/jodōshi* [Particles and auxiliary verbs in Modern Japanese]. NINJAL reports 3. 1951. Page 130.)

[3] There appears to be some question as to whether all adverbial modifiers referring to "time" are banned from ~*nagara* (continuous) clauses. More consideration of such clauses is needed.

[4] In cases like this, subject(-like) elements appear to be allowed in Type A subordinate clauses. This will also be taken up later (see Section III).

[1] I will not take it up here, but if the problem is recast in terms consideration of noun-like phrases or compounds, it seems there are times when it would be better to treat this "subject" or "nominative word" in the same manner as *o*-marked (accusative case) and *ni*-marked (dative case) words.

[2] Words in this group cannot appear in Type A subordinate phrases. They do appear in Type B subordinate phrases. They can also appear in adnominal modifiers. Accordingly, we can say they are B level elements.

[3] It often happens that addition of the concord particle *wa* makes the element a C level topic element. There are also cases, however, when even with the addition of *wa* an element remains at the B level. Distinguishing between them is a vexing problem.

[4] See Minami, Fujio. 1964. "*Fukubun* [Compound sentences]". In *Kōza gendaigo* [Lectures on Modern Japanese] 6, *Kōgo bunpō no mondaiten* (2) [Problems in colloquial grammar (2)]. Meiji Shoin.

[5] I have proposed in the past to divide all sequences of forms into those that can become adnominal modifiers or part of an adnominal modifier and those that cannot, and to call the former "phrases" (*ku* 句) and the later "clauses" (*setsu* 節). (Minami, Fujio. 1961. *Bunron no bunseki ni tsuite no hitotsu no kokoromi* [An attempt regarding syntactic analysis]. *Kokugogaku* 43.) Those in levels A and B here would be phrases and those in C and D would be clauses.

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