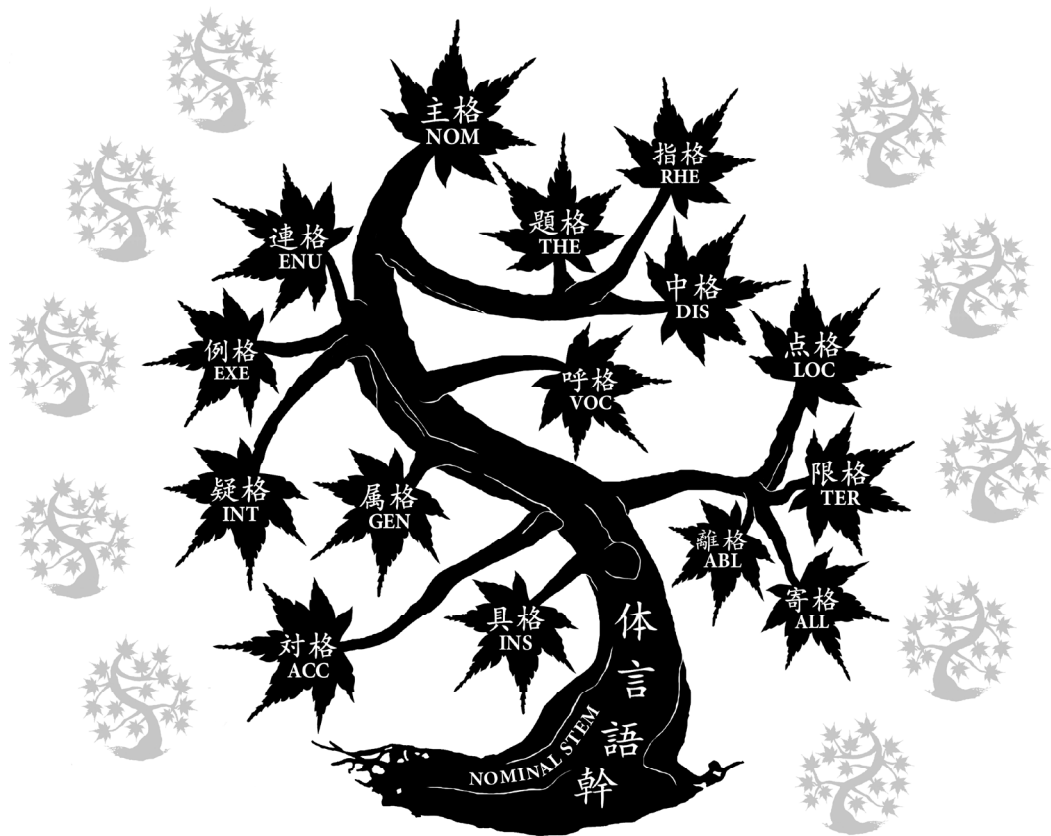


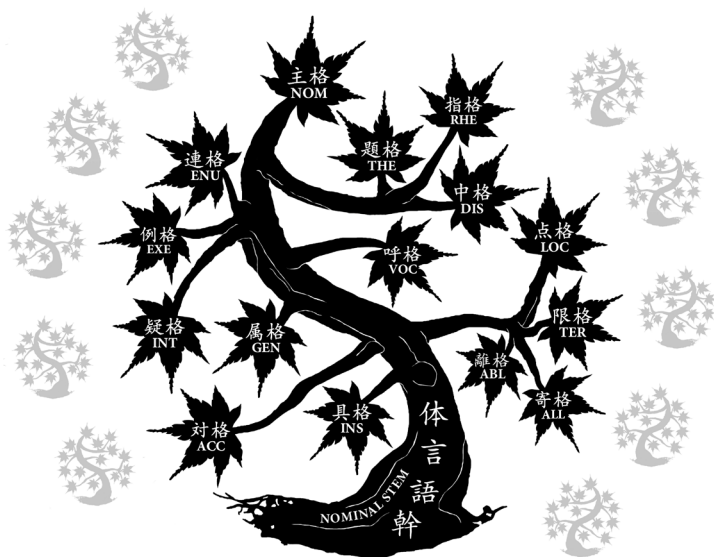
Arkadiusz Jabłoński



CASE IN JAPANESE

A MORPHOLOGICAL APPROACH

**CASE IN JAPANESE –
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Arkadiusz Jabłoński

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*The stone which the builders refused
is become the head stone of the corner.*

King James Bible, Psalm 118, 22

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Introduction

Inequality of the coverage of nominal and verbal phenomena in grammatical descriptions of Japanese is a fact. Material supporting this statement was presented and analyzed in a separate monograph, entitled *Japanese Nominal Elements as Abandoned Parts of Speech* (Jabłoński 2021a). While selected details and interpretations may differ, the consensus among various grammarians in applying analytic and isolating methodology to the synthetic and agglutinating phenomena of Japanese may be ascertained as surprisingly constant.

Japanese nominals are typically considered uninflected. Their grammatical markers are described as connected to nominal stems in an analytic and non-paradigmatic manner. The dictionary “meanings” of these markers are listed and analyzed instead of their systemic functions. This fact has numerous consequences, the main one being that the nominal elements of Japanese are literally abandoned in grammatical descriptions of the language.

In the above-mentioned monograph (ibid.), no ready solution was provided to the rather contradictory *status quo* of Japanese nominal elements. The aim was to emphasize the unanimously analytic character of existing approaches to the nominal elements of Japanese, while presenting a coherent methodological proposal for a systemic, paradigmatic and synthetic approach to them. Only a provisional list of postulates as to what should and what should not be considered a nominal case marker/form in Japanese was provided. It was accompanied by a tentative set of all possible nominal forms of Japanese, with several proposals regarding further steps to be made in order to reduce and organize the list into its final shape, as a concise, coherent and comprehensible paradigmatic model of Japanese declensional cases.

In this book, more specific steps are taken towards a paradigmatic model of Japanese morphology. A proposal for a morphological declensional paradigm is presented against the background of a synthetic, agglutinative account of Japanese nominal elements. While this is not the only conceivable technique of description, it is based on unambiguous evidence present in the actual language data, on the level of phonetic and phonological oppositions, that is, the level of lowest possible entropy.

Morphological cases are hence described with a focus on dedicated grammatical markers manifested clearly in the structure of inflectional nominal word forms. This is also done taking account of phenomena traditionally not perceived as related to the description of declension in Japanese. It is in this way that issues of the existing analytic and isolating approaches to Japanese may be separated from the systemic, paradigmatic description of the actual language facts and phenomena regarding the nominal elements of the language.

Chapter 1 covers the theoretical background of the synthetic and agglutinative approach to the nominal phenomena of Japanese. Chapter 2 is devoted to a description of the morphological methodology applied in the proposed account of Japanese declensional cases. Chapter 3 presents the proposed model of the inflectional nominal paradigm of Japanese, including also minor postulates related to its internal organization. In Chapter 4, some secondary phenomena related to the nominal case paradigm of Japanese are described. Chapter 5 presents conclusions and further potential lines of research.

The list of references includes a selection of monographs and grammatical descriptions from the areas of general and Japanese linguistics considered representative for the scope of this study.

Romanization of Japanese terms follows the Hepburn standard, with minor deviations, such as apostrophes to mark ambiguous morpheme boundaries (cf. *senpen'ichiritsu*). Grammatical markers accompanying the nominal elements within word forms are divided by hyphens in glossing (as in *watashi-wa*), to show their lexical and grammatical content. This does not affect the general postulate that they should be treated as the constituents of paradigmatic, synthetic nominal word forms. Their syntagmatic properties, conditioning their usage in phrases and sentences, are related to their paradigmatic forms.

Original Japanese terms are romanized as one-word units, without spaces between their constituents (as in *senpen'ichiritsu*), with the exception of romanized elements in the list of references (such as *Kōnihonbunpō bekkī*).

Additionally, nominal and verbal elements in the example sentences are glossed accordingly to their functions. In the lexical usage, dictionary definition is provided, grammatical markers being glossed with abbreviations (cf. *kur-u*: come-NPST). In the auxiliary usage, abbreviated

marking of grammatical functions with respective glossing of additional grammatical markers is provided (cf. *kur-u*: RES(AV)-NPST).

The examples and explanations presented below apply mainly to the contemporary version of the Japanese language considered standard, *hyōjungo* 標準語, typical for texts of official use and for the Japanese media, relatively close to the spoken version of Japanese used in the metropolitan area of Tokyo. They cannot and do not cover certain phenomena to be observed in dialects and in less official genres of Japanese. Similarly, only fragmentary phenomena of a diachronic nature are taken into account. This does not undermine the general premise that Japanese nominal elements, in standard or non-standard, contemporary or historical varieties of the language, may be described according to morphological, systemic, paradigmatic rules.

Example sentences, pictures and tables are numbered according to the chapters and sections in which they appear. Table 2.10.1 is the first table in section 10 of Chapter 2, and 2.3.a is the first example sentence in section 2.3.

Quotations generally preserve the original orthography and punctuation. Some editorial conventions have been standardized.

Similarly as in the case of the previous publication, one of the fundamental factors and an additional source of motivation which contributed to the current form of this text was the grant OPUS 10 No. 2015/19/B/HS2/00147, obtained in 2016 from the Polish National Science Centre, to finance the project “Towards a coherent description of Japanese grammar – a Polish dictionary (lexicon) of Japanese grammatical terms” – the result being published in 2021 (Jabłoński 2021). Another significant, though unexpected, reason to intensify editorial work on this text was the outbreak of COVID-19 in Europe in March through June 2020.

The proposed model of a declensional paradigm may and should be subject to further discussion and supplementation. While it is not planned as an alternative to the native Japanese approaches to the matter of Japanese grammar, which seem to be permanently dominated by a Sino-centric adherence to the script and an Anglo-centric trust in semantics and syntax over morphology, it may be useful for researchers and users of Japanese who are already acquainted with the primarily morphological approach to grammar based on the notion of inflection.

It is also compatible with the traditional description of Japanese as an agglutinative language. The phenomenon of agglutination, despite being misunderstood and described as contrastive to inflection, is in fact a subtype of the latter. This fact may be utilized in the systemic and paradigmatic description of Japanese nominal phenomena, so far attempted rather rarely or on vague and incoherent grounds. Given the non-immediate relations between language and reality, an issue raised from the early days of philosophical reflection on language, probably no fully systemic theory can provide the methodology to render exactly all of the internal rules of a language system. At the same time, whenever some systemic analogies exist, they may be utilized in order to obtain a more reliable – though schematic and approximate by its very definition – description of language phenomena.

The author would like to thank everyone who has contributed to the compilation and publication of this volume.

Poznań, June 2020

1. General Background

“[...] these so-called agglutinating languages
do not differ from the inflectional ones,
as do those which reject all indication
by means of inflection”

(Humboldt 1988: 107)

The nominal elements of Japanese, in this work identified with the group of vocabulary traditionally called *taigen* 体言, include *meishi* 名詞 ‘nouns’, *daimeishi* 代名詞 ‘[mainly personal] pronouns’ and *sūshi* 数詞 ‘numerals’. They do not include adjectives. Regular, inflected Japanese adjectives – *keiyōshi* 形容詞 – are verbal elements, being subject to conjugation. Other adjectival elements, traditionally recognized as *keiyōdōshi* 形容動詞 ‘noun adjectives’ (rendered also by alternative terms), constitute a transitory category between nominal and verbal elements, with extremely limited declension or with uninflected usage in analytic constructions of the nominal predicate, with a copula.

Japanese nominal elements in the semantic (lexical) perspective have designates (meanings) related most generally to concrete, tangible objects (things), with cognitive extensions to ideas conceptualized as objects. In syntax, they function as subject and other typically nominal arguments of phrases or sentences (such as object). The subject is understood not as an active designate of a sentence, but rather in combined semantic and syntactic terms, as the first argument of the predicate, with the nexus-conditioned connection between the former and the latter (cf. Jespersen 1924: 97, 108 ff.). It is necessary to add that in Japanese the marking of sentence subject is performed along with marking of the utterance topic/theme (Li, Thompson 1976), the latter being usually contrasted with comment/rheme, which tends to be overlooked in many descriptions of grammar. The roles of topic/subject/comment/object are regularly marked by morphological forms of nominal elements in Japanese. Other semantic and syntactic roles of the nominal elements regularly marked by morphological means include also the values of case specific to Japanese. This applies especially to the essive or perceptive character of the marking of elements of complete and incomplete

enumerations. Regardless of specific case values, in morphological terms, the nominal word units (systemic, paradigmatic variations of nominal dictionary units) may be conceptualized as consisting of uninflected, constant-form stems (with minor exceptions) connecting in an agglutinative manner to systemic and uni-functional grammatical markers in a fixed order (the latter also being uninflected as such).

1.1. Basic Notions

It is rather common in general linguistics to distinguish the lexical meaning of an element from its grammatical value. Lexical meanings are in general not systemic. They are typically defined in dictionaries. Their descriptions may be reduced to a basic relation between a sound string (*signum*) and a designate (*designatum*), as in the dyad of a sound-image and a concept proposed by de Saussure (1959: 11-12) or between the elements of a semantic triangle (Ogden, Richards 1923: 11). They may reveal irregularities across various language codes as well as complex associations of mutual character (related to their designates and semantic fields) and/or to more or less obvious actual or abstract objects. Lexical elements and their relations may be subject to description in terms of semiosis on the level of semantics (signs vs. objects), syntactics (signs vs. signs) and pragmatics (signs vs. interpreters) (cf. Morris 1938: 6-7, Morris 1946: 217-218). They may be linked by certain hierarchical relations of partly systemic character. As such, they may also form, at least to some extent, lexical paradigms. The range of at least some of these relations may vary on an individual basis. Also the range of syntactic functions that they may perform is not unambiguous. Despite some inevitable lexical and syntactic irregularities, competence and performance related to the phenomena occurring at these levels is a necessary basis of social activity viewed in terms of language behavior.

At the same time, there are language regularities that function on a less ambiguous level of differentiation. Lexical and syntactic rules may be opposed to systemic (grammatical) rules. The latter are applied on the more basic level of language phenomena and reduced to simple paradigmatic oppositions. This may in fact, with necessary but justified simplifications, be recognized as the method of grammatical descrip-

tion used in the first, spontaneous approaches to language matter that emerged on Indo-European ground, on the basis of Sanskrit, Greek and Latin. The first grammarians must have been intuitively aware that research in the lexical field, while complex and indispensable for the explanation of language phenomena, must be supported by relatively simple rules manifested in morphological paradigms of declension and conjugation. Organized (systemic, paradigmatic) enumeration of all possible grammatical forms of dictionary units resulted in the perspective of abstraction from (unsystemic) lexical intricacies, for the sake of methodological clarity, to oppositions supported by atomic (at least on a certain plane of abstraction) units of language, recognized most unambiguously on the level of least entropy, in terms of units close to minimal pairs on the level of pure phonetics and phonology.

In contemporary terms, declensional and conjugational oppositions are described on the basis of differentiation between a (relatively constant) lexical stem and grammatical markers (in Indo-European terms: mostly endings). These are not terms that classic grammarians have had at their disposal. The general and very simple rule is to distinguish between the constituents of a word form that are, as viewed in terms of their semantic properties, constant (stems or inflectional themes) and variable (markers or endings). Markers – as the very term suggests: marking fixed systemic values belonging to a grammatical dimension, not carrying lexical meanings (the latter being recognized as largely unsystemic) – are attached to stems. A finite set of values to which they are ascribed in a fixed manner may be described as a morphological paradigm of a word unit with its uniform (one) dictionary meaning. Meanings and their lexical intricacies may be subject to various interpretations or cognitive extensions. Morphological rules and paradigmatic values remain valid regardless, as manifested by fixed sets of numerous though largely comparable patterns of inflection.

The purely morphological approach has been adopted in the description of many codes. It is subject to certain issues and limitations. In models of declension, cases, case terms, and syntactic and semantic phenomena related to cases may not be intuitive or identical between various codes. Unjustified semantic calques and stereotypes may emerge, especially when paradigmatic patterns are thoughtlessly adopted from one code to another. One example, trivial but frequent, is the instinctive

though misleading identification of the morphological role of nominative case and the syntactic role of sentence subject. Further exceptions and instances of phonological neutralization of grammatical oppositions confirm that morphology may not be the only relevant level of linguistic analysis. Last but not least, morphological rules exhibit little or virtually no significance when unquestioningly applied to languages having scarce morphological oppositions or to morphological phenomena with low functional load. Still, once the complexity of morphological oppositions is proven as a fact in a language, the approach based on the systemic description of morphological paradigm(s) may serve as an effective means to reduce the number of basic units of classification. An organized list of inflection patterns, despite inevitable simplifications arising in its compilation, may thus be of substantial help to both researchers and students of inflecting languages.

1.2. Morphological Features and Typology

Morphological phenomena may be subject to diverse divisions, of varying intensity, into specific sub-levels. One of their main features, schematic but effective, is related to the generally unsystemic, unparadigmatic differentiation of dictionary word units, found in both inflecting and non-inflecting languages. An example opposition between the final vowel constituents of two Japanese word units, the regular noun *sora* 空 /sora/ ‘sky’ and the demonstrative pronoun *sore* それ /sore/ ‘that’, may be described in terms of a minimal pair in the Japanese phonological system. As such, it is based on systemic grounds: the ability to differentiate between the vowel phonemes /a/ and /e/, technically opposed by values in the dimension of vertical position of the tongue during their articulation (open vs. close-mid), is clearly and unambiguously a part of basic competence in the Japanese language.

At the same time, phonological oppositions may not reveal much systemic significance on the semantic or syntactic level. There are few, if any, other analogous pairs in which the differentiation between /a/ and /e/ (to be maintained in order for the morphological system of the language to function) is regularly translated into the opposition between a regular noun and a pronoun or similar element. The only function

of the opposition between the phonemes in question is to distinguish between the lexical meanings of two different dictionary units (words), in terms pointing at different designates, as in 1.2.a and 1.2.b, both in their syntactic role of direct object. Accordingly, the syntactic role of nominal elements of sentences is marked unambiguously in 1.2.a and 1.2.b by what will be considered in this book to be a synthetic declensional suffix *-o*, the marker of the accusative case (glossed as ACC). In other words, the role of direct object, systemic and regularly opposed to other roles of nominal elements in phrases, sentences and texts, is typically and unambiguously marked by connecting the adnominal grammatical element *-o* to the lexical nominal stem.

- 1.2.a. *Sora-o* *mi-te.*
 sky-ACC look-CON

空を見て。 ‘Look at the sky.’

- 1.2.b. *Sore-o* *mi-te.*
 that-ACC look-CON

それを見て。 ‘Look at that.’

A deeper analysis may reveal that the two units *sora* and *sore* are differentiated in speech also by the pattern of their pitch accent, at least in the standard dialect of Tokyo. Still, this feature, while not irrelevant and by no means recessive, cannot be considered primary in differentiating the two segments: it is rather hard to imagine that *sora* would be mistaken for *sore* – or the reverse – if the wrong pitch accent pattern were used.

In languages with inflecting properties, morphological features function also on a systemic level. Apart from marking lexical, non-systemic oppositions, such as the one between the heterogeneous dictionary word units *sora* and *sore* in 1.2.a and 1.2.b above, morphological oppositions also perform systemic, paradigmatic functions, as with the usage of the *-o* suffix and similar grammatical markers. Dictionary word units may inflect – that is, exhibit paradigmatic (regular and fixed) differentiation (systemic variants) of their forms – according to, among other things, the syntactic context in which they appear. In

order to detect and decode such marking, the speaker first needs to be fluent in the use of rules valid on the basic phonological and semantic level (in basic terms of being able to differentiate between *sora* and non-*sora*). Then, the same word unit *sora* (with one dictionary entry) may be used in its various word forms, with different grammatical markers connected to it, such as (to give only three examples): /sorao/ in 1.2.a, /soraga/ in 1.2.c and /sorawa/ in 1.2.d, with the same lexical stem *sora*, differentiated by different grammatical suffixes: -o /o/, -ga /ga/ and -wa /wa/. In descriptive, lay terms, it may be stated that the sentences 1.2.a, 1.2.c and 1.2.d. mention the same nominal designate *sora* (i.e. the same lexical information), employed in different syntactic roles in each of the sentences. Such roles are also unambiguously and systemically differentiated on the level of phonology, with units close to minimal pairs. Purely phonological oppositions in the cenemic structure of the -o, -ga and -wa markers (in fact, further differentiated, since they do not only apply to the phonetic features of their constituents, but also to some suprasegmental differences, such as, in strictly syllabic terms, the absence of an onset consonant in the -o marker and the presence of one in -ga and -wa) remain valid regardless. They do not differentiate different lexical units, since the -o, -ga and -wa markers do not carry any lexical information. They belong to a limited set of grammatical elements marking fixed paradigmatic values of nominal word forms created by attaching them to lexical nominal stems. Moreover, they are not interchangeable in their systemic functions.

- 1.2.c. *Sora-ga* *akaru-i.*
 sky-NTOP bright-NPST

空が明るい。 ‘The sky is bright./It is the sky that is bright.’

- 1.2.d. *Sora-wa* *akaru-i.*
 sky-TOP bright-NPST

空は明るい。 ‘The sky is bright./As to the sky, it is bright.’

As can be seen, no phonetic differentiation of the source syntactic roles of the lexical element *sora* emerges in its English translations in 1.2.a, 1.2.c and 1.2.d. They all contain the identical analytic word

form: *[the] sky*. This illustrates the lack of corresponding morphological oppositions in English. The syntactic roles of lexical elements are manifested primarily by the word order of English sentences.

On the other hand, also in Japanese, the opposition between 1.2.a, 1.2.c and 1.2.d concerns not only the respective morphological forms *sora-o*, *sora-ga* and *sora-wa*. It may also concern the sentence stress, and some other oppositions marked additionally by word order. At the same time, it is impossible to form the appropriate versions of 1.2.a, 1.2.c or 1.2.d without morphological competence with respect to the phonological structures and functions of respective grammatical markers. Moreover, it can probably be stated that the elements *sora-o*, *sora-ga* and *sora-wa* are the constituents of a finite (not innumerable), fixed (conveying regular oppositions between the dictionary form of a nominal element and its other forms) set of nominal word forms of the element *sora*. In other words, the element *sora*, similarly as most nominal elements of Japanese, could be considered inflected (showing different case forms, to be differentiated and applied on a systemic basis). Every decision to employ a morphological marker (or rather: a paradigmatic word form of the nominal stem equipped with it) is backed by systemic grammatical rules and has semantic and syntactic consequences. Conversely, the morphological (phonological) oppositions between the (not very numerous) nominal word forms themselves constitute a proof of a grammatical opposition. It is a linguist's task to list the forms and to describe them as a paradigmatic set of nominal word form variations.

There are also other phenomena in the Japanese sentences 1.2.c and 1.2.d that remain virtually invisible when viewed through the lens of English, a language with an alphabetic script (in many instances deviating significantly from its purely phonetic properties) and with many analytic, non-synthetic constructions, exhibiting also isolating features, with low functional load of synthetic word forms. Surprisingly, many relatively similar features are shared by the English and Chinese languages. It is from Chinese that the ideographic constituent *kanji* 漢字 of the hybrid Japanese script of today was imported. In the eyes of Japanese language users, this may lead to the recognition of (uninflected) nominal lexical stems, such as *sora*, written with ideograms (sinograms) such as 空, as separated (isolated) from their grammatical markers in respective word forms. As a consequence, the relations between stems

and markers may be described as syntactic, not morphological. This, with a certain amount of simplification, may be not unrelated to the fact that the Japanese term for ‘grammar’, *bunpō* 文法, contains the graphomorpheme/sinogram *bun* 文, standing for ‘sentence’.

Moreover, the agglutinative features of Japanese, with the morphological bond between the lexical stem and the grammatical markers being less strong than in fusional languages, may also lead to certain phenomena specific for Japanese, such as discontinuous nominal word forms (cf. 2.2) or case drop (cf. 2.3; in fact, it is a reconstructable marker drop, but the former term seems to be used at least in some sources). The latter phenomenon is shown in 1.2.e–1.2.h for the lexical elements *sora* and *sore* in various syntactic roles in their NUL forms (with no overt grammatical markers). This does not deny the validity of certain rules: 1. drop is allowed only when the dropped element can be restored; 2. without the perspective of marker restoration, the interpretation of the actual sentences is impossible; 3. restoration is most usually unambiguous (in practice, with very narrow possibilities of choice), not random. The process of restoration is usually based on the semantic properties of the verbal element of the sentence or of other related elements, as well as on the word order and sentence stress.

- 1.2.e. *Sora*[-ga] *akaru-i.*
 sky(NUL) [→NTOP] bright-NPST

空 (が) 明るい。 ‘The sky is bright./It is the sky that is bright.’

- 1.2.f. *Sora*[-wa] *akaru-i.*
 sky(NUL) [→TOP] bright-NPST

空 (は) 明るい。 ‘The sky is bright./As to the sky, it is bright.’

- 1.2.g. *Sora*[-o] *mi-te.*
 sky(NUL) [→ACC] look-CON

空 (を) 見て。 ‘Look at the sky.’

- 1.2.h. *Sore*[-o] *mi-te.*
 that(NUL) [→ACC] look-CON

それ (を) 見て。 ‘Look at that.’

In fact, as has been noted, among others, by Humboldt, in the motto introducing this chapter, the opposing segments of the agglutinative (*kōchaku* 膠着 or *tenchaku* 添着) vs. fusional (*kussetsu* 屈折) dichotomy (linked here, probably contrary to Humboldt's view, to some selected language phenomena rather than to all conceivable languages as such) reveal more proximity than differences in the morphological marking of grammatical values. They differ most significantly from the isolating properties (*koritsu* 孤立). These facts seem to be commonly neglected in the Anglo-centric and Sino-centric approaches to the Japanese nominal elements (Jabłoński 2021a).

1.3. Existing Descriptions

The difference between the systemic and the non-systemic approach is that the former may be based on certain simple rules that make it possible to enumerate a clearly distinguished set of basic elements. In the systemic, morphological approach to the Japanese nominal elements, this may be a limited, paradigmatic set of cases and case markers regularly connected to most, if not all, nominal stems. Hence the procedure of enumeration of all possible word forms (with all word forms of the central element of the paradigm, such as the lexical word unit *sora* in 1.2. above, organized according to their systemic functions) will lead to the systemic description of the nominal phenomena of Japanese, in terms of declension understood as ‘inflection by endings’ (*gobihenka* 語尾変化) or ‘inflection by cases’ (*kakuhenka* 格変化). In languages with valid inflecting properties, the morphological approach, moving the focus from the semantic and syntactic functions of what is known in generative terms as a noun phrase (NP) to the internal structure of word forms (*gokei* 語形), is considerably simpler. It may further be enhanced with a description of semantic and syntactic features of word forms, which are more complex by their very definition.

Unfortunately, despite the relatively common and rarely challenged recognition of the agglutinative properties of Japanese, the morphological features of its nominal elements usually tend to be neglected, for the sake of workarounds, often inherently contradictory. One instantly visible feature of Japanese grammars in this respect is an overt aban-

donment of synthetic methods of description in relation to the nominal elements of the language. This is despite the fact that the variation of verbal word forms of Japanese is typically described within a pattern of conjugation – or at least with an overt assumption that the verbal elements are inflected. Below, an example list of major flaws of existing descriptions of Japanese nominal elements is provided, with their sources; they are more thoroughly analyzed in the previous publication by the same author (Jabłoński 2021a).

- a. Grammatical markers are treated as (analytic) particles or postpositions. This is a very common approach to the grammatical markers of Japanese, represented by very many sources, starting with the oldest ones (Rodrigues 1604: 11, Collado 1632: 6). Also in Japanese school grammar, the adnominal markers are described as separate parts of speech, ‘particles’ *joshi* 助詞 (Hashimoto 1948: 78-79).
- b. Lack of conjugation (a fairly obvious feature of the nominal elements) is often leveled to a lack of inflection altogether. Conjugation is recognized as the only inflection pattern of Japanese, contrary to the actual language phenomena. This assumption is present in many definitions of nouns or nominal elements *taigen* 体言 (Yoshida 1927: 4-5, Tokieda 1950: 66-67, Bloch 1970: 56, Miller 1967: 335, Satō 1977: 130, Kitahara et al. 1981: 146-149, Kindaichi et al. 1988: 171, Tanaka et al. 1988: 669-670, Iwabuchi et al. 1989: 184-185, Hida et al. 2007: 198-199), which are described as non-conjugable in school grammar (Hashimoto 1948: 61, 65).
- c. Lexical stems, such as *sora* in 1.2.a and 1.2.c-1.2.g, are treated as equal to nominal units on the basis of their ideographic notation, being uninflected *per se*. In fact, for obvious reasons, the sinograms are uninflected. An enhanced reflection of such an assumption, however, may be seen in the traditional description of the grammatical elements as *tenioha* テニヲハ, *teniha* 手爾葉 or *okototen* フコト点・乎古止点, overtly alluding to the practice of *kunten* 訓点 ‘schematic strokes’ employed in the course of (*kanbun*)*kundoku* (漢文) 訓読 ‘deciphering the (Japanese) text written solely with sinograms – *kanbun* 漢文’. It is for this reason that the grammatical elements are described as separate, almost independent elements by many traditional grammarians and also by some fairly contemporary sources (Hashimoto 1969).

- d. The lack of the notion of word form as such is probably influenced by the ideographic script, but also by the inherently ambiguous native Japanese concept of ‘word-phrase’ *bunsetsu* 文節 (Hashimoto 1948: 53-54) or the opposition between the ‘concept words’ *gainengo* 概念語 and ‘words of perception’ *kannengo* 観念語 (Tokieda 1941: 231 ff.) This is sometimes supported by an overt *a priori* assumption that the Japanese nominal forms may not resemble cases in other languages (Tokieda *ibid*: 242).
- e. The highly agglutinative properties of Japanese are overtly recognized in terms of lack of inflection, characteristically applied only to the nominal elements of the language (Yoshida 1927: 129).
- f. Multiple case marking, or other (rather rare) phenomena when another element intervenes between the nominal stem and grammatical markers, are described by default as non-inflectional, based on the phenomenon of word form discontinuity, allegedly typical for all instances of nominal word forms (Lavrentev 2002: 24, Shibatani, Kageyama 2017: xx).
- g. Even if the nominal form patterns are presented in terms of cases, it is typical to describe only selected nominal grammatical markers, with special emphasis on the omission of *-wa* (as in 1.2.d) and *-mo* from the list of cases (Feldman 1953: 840, Kiyose 1995: 23-37). It is also quite common to present a separate description of case markers and topical markers *teidaijoshi* 提題助詞, usually in a manner in which the markers, treated as partly independent grammatical particles, are analyzed in one chapter together with phrase and sentence markers (Masuoka, Takubo 1992: 50) or are mixed; also in approaches alluding overtly to the morphology *keitairon* 形態論, there is recognition of single-marked and multiple-marked nominal word forms (Suzuki 1972: 206, Takahashi 2004: 27).
- h. The phenomenon of case (marker) drop is either regarded as absent from Japanese (probably by most existing grammatical sources) or described as omnipresent, as if case marking in Japanese were optional (Frellesvig 2010: 410-411).
- i. It is common in lexicographic sources (dictionaries) to list the grammatical elements as separate entries, with elaborate, multi-part descriptions of their particular meanings. The same may be seen in quite numerous grammatical sources (as with the example of the

grammatical marker *-o* in Golovnin 1986: 238-239 and Martin 1975: 40).

- j. Creative new approaches to the Japanese nominal cases may also be found. The cases are usually not described in terms of a systemic paradigm, and ambiguous or incomprehensible terms are often introduced (Suzuki 1972: 206, Nitta 1993: 28-37).
- k. It is not uncommon for grammatical sources on Japanese to mask the actual Japanese case functions by the undefined glossing of the undefined cases (Shibatani 1989). It is also not unknown to resort to examples of incorrect sentences in the intentional analytic description of phenomena that could otherwise be systemically described as synthetic case forms (Shibatani 2005: 203, Nakamura 2018: 249 ff.).
- l. There are also instances, not very frequent but striking, of linguistic *jamais vu*, including the overt recognition of verbal properties of nominal elements, such as their alleged conjugation (Kindaichi 1988: 177-178, Tsujimura 1996: 126-127).

The above list (a-l) includes but a tentative enumeration of internally or mutually contradictory approaches to the nominal elements of Japanese. The classification of their flaws could certainly be performed with even more methodological precision and divided into many other classes and subclasses, with further addition of many more sources of similar descriptions. What was intended to be demonstrated in the enumeration is the surprisingly solid and uniform conviction among Japanese and non-Japanese grammarians of the language concerning the lack of inflection of nominal elements of the language, or the rather obvious abandonment of their morphological features. It can be concluded without overgeneralization that the generally unanimous approach of grammarians of Japanese is to focus rather on the unsystemic and unparadigmatic features of the nominal elements than on their systemic and paradigmatic properties. This opens a gap between the morphological approaches to word forms understood as fixed, paradigmatic variants of lexical word units in the inflecting languages, and the inherently non-morphological approaches to noun phrases defined primarily as semantic and syntactic units, deprived of systemic, paradigmatic features.

1.4. The Objective

The objective of this monograph is relatively modest. It is to achieve a morphological paradigm of Japanese nominal cases, understood as a “set of words/word forms belonging to a given lexeme, organized according to a certain rule, mostly inflecting categories and their values” (Polański 1995: 382). Expressed in morphological terms: “[...] the inflecting paradigm of a lexeme is described as a set of its inflecting forms (flectemes), including the textual forms, being their representations; the set of lexeme’s flectemes as such constitutes the functional paradigm of the lexeme and the set of textual forms – its formal paradigm” (Orzechowska 1999: 270).

Accordingly, the notion of case *kaku* 格 in Japanese may be defined as:

1. A value of a grammatical dimension: signifying the semantic and syntactic functions of nominal elements (word units) by their morphological word forms (primarily synthetic).
2. A technique of marking (not being) the systemic internal (within – abstract – case form paradigm) and external (within – abstract or concrete – phrase or sentence) relations of nominal elements.
3. Most efficiently: defined on the lowest level of entropy (the highest level of clarity).
4. Most convincingly: an entity (value, concept) within a paradigm (a finite, fixed set of homogeneous entities opposed to one central, canonical element) (Jabłoński 2021a: 186).

For many conceivable reasons, a full set of Japanese nominal cases has probably not yet been described solely on the basis of morphological properties of the language. The projected output of this approach is a limited, fixed list (paradigmatic model) of the Japanese morphological nominal case forms, compatible with the properties of Japanese nominal elements. The goal is by no means to prove or claim that the phenomenon of declension does or does not exist in Japanese. Instead, it is rather to verify whether a simple and concise tool, namely the morphological approach to the phenomena of an inflecting (fusional or agglutinative) language, can be useful in the description of systemic facts.

2. Case Forms in Japanese: Stems and Markers

“The term case is also used for the phenomenon of having a case system and a language with such a system is sometimes referred to as a case language.”

(Blake 2001: 1)

The basic premise behind the morphological approach is that a language has a case system. Its systemic description may result in a fixed and organized output (paradigm (*gokei*)*henkaretsu* (語形) 変化列) of nominal cases (*meishi*)*kaku* (名詞) 格 understood as word forms *gokei* 語形), including all possible grammatical variants of a nominal element (in terms of a word unit *go* 語).

As was demonstrated by means of simple examples in sentences 1.2.a–1.2.h, Japanese nominal elements most probably do exhibit morphological marking of grammatical values of case. In a rough perspective, nominal word forms, similarly as verbal word forms, consist of a lexical ‘stem’ *gokon* 語根 (this term, as well as the one for the declensional theme, is one of many items already present in the Japanese repertoire of terms, but used mainly in the derivational, not declensional perspective), in terms of inflection: an inflectional theme *gokan* 語幹 (one theme may consist of more than one stem), and of adnominal grammatical marker(s) *bunpōshihyō* 文法指標 (in strict case terms a proposed term for the latter could be *kakuji* 格辞 ‘case markers’). The markers, traditionally described as a rather incoherent group of ‘case particles’ *kakujoshi* 格助詞 or (analytic and semantic) postpositions *kōchishi* 後置詞, are in morphological terms (synthetic and grammatical) suffixes *gobi* 語尾. They reveal agglutinative properties (uni-functionality and fixed linear order) in a manner even more coherent than the conjugational forms of Japanese verbal elements. Nominal stems employed as declensional themes occur almost always in constant forms. The few, if not the only exceptions are the colloquial forms of demonstrative pronouns such as *kore* これ ‘this’ with the marker *-wa* glossed as TOP, in careless speech often contracted to *korya* こりゃ instead of the regular form *kore-wa* これは. Other changes in nominal stems are of derivational, not systemic character, as in the change at the boundary of morphemes from *sora* to *zora* in *akizora* in

2.1 below. There are certain (irregular) stem contractions of frequently used elements, typically found in informal style and in idiolects, as from *tokoro* 所 to *toko* とこ ‘place; spot’. Also some suppletive honorific variants of lexical stems, such as *mono* 者 ‘[humble] person’, *hito* 人 ‘man; person’ and *kata* 方 ‘[exalted] person’, may be described as largely non-systemic.

The tentative list of markers/cases quoted in 2.10 below was provided for further consideration in the previous publication (Jabłoński 2021a: 162-165). For a coherent morphological description of case forms of Japanese, it is necessary to take into account all phenomena related to this topic. Many of them are omitted in the sources or, conversely, raised as arguments against the description of case and declension in Japanese. A total approach to morphological phenomena demands their thorough explanation on possibly systemic grounds. In a general perspective, this should cover two diverse sides of a schematic process of actual communication, that is:

- 2.0.a. encoding (construction) of a word form, on the basis of a word unit – represented by an inflectional theme containing lexical stem(s) – in a certain semantic and syntactic context; and
- 2.0.b. decoding (parsing) of a word form into its inflectional theme and marker(s).

The encoding of lexical and grammatical information into the structure of an actual word form may be reduced to an algorithm consisting of three simple steps:

- 2.0.a.
 1. Identification of a nominal word unit in terms of its lexical stem(s) and inflectional theme.
 2. Identification of its grammatical function in an utterance.
 3. Application of grammatical marker(s), according to semantic and syntactic context.

In 2.0.a.1 above, an implicit assumption is made that the encoding agent (speaker, writer) knows the nominal word unit – with its stem(s) mapped onto the inflectional theme – beforehand, and in 2.0.a.3, that the

grammatical markers/forms are selected from an available set of case markers and cases. The decoding agent (hearer, reader) may not know in advance what nominal word unit, what internal structure of its lexical component(s), and what marker(s) were encoded in the procedure 2.0.a. They may experience more difficulty in mapping the syntactic strings (of sounds or graphemes) onto case forms. Hence more complex features should be taken into account when actual word forms are parsed. An algorithm of eight possible steps for nominal word form (case) decoding (parsing) in Japanese may be proposed as 2.0.b (alternative paths through the algorithm are indicated using the notation *1* for ‘yes’, *0* for ‘no’, *if* for condition, *and* for conjunction, *or* for alternative, and *goto* for ‘move to the given step’):

2.0.b.

1. Identification of a nominal word stem(s) as (one) inflectional theme, the lexical constituent of a simple (single stem) or compound (multiple stem, derivational) word (dictionary) unit (*if 1 goto 3 or if 0 goto 2*).
2. Detection of a nominal word form discontinuity (identification of more than one inflectional theme in a non-derivational sequence).
3. Adnominal grammatical marker(s) number (*n*) check (*if n=1 goto 7 or if n>1 goto 4 or if n=0 goto 5*).
4. Identification of more than one (if present) grammatical marker(s) in the nominal word form (*then goto 7*).
5. In case of lack of grammatical marker(s), check for the possibility of their reconstruction (*if 1 goto 6 or if 0=NOM goto 7*).
6. Reconstruction of missing (dropped) grammatical marker(s), according to the semantic and syntactic properties of the remaining sentence elements.
7. Semantic and syntactic interpretation of marker(s).
8. Semantic and syntactic interpretation of case(s) and form variants.

Successive steps of the algorithm 2.0.b are described in detail in sections 2.1 through 2.8.

2.1. Step One: Simple and Compound Inflectional Themes

The identification of lexical (stems) and grammatical elements (markers) in nominal word forms in Japanese is not a particularly difficult task. In many instances, lexical stems (and inflectional themes) are identical with simple (one stem) dictionary forms of nominal word units, as *sora* in 1.2 above. In the graphemic perspective, such a stem is often the part of a nominal word written with one ideographic element (sinogram), as 空 for *sora*. In other instances, similar rules of distinction apply to the single-morpheme native Japanese elements written with a syllabary, e.g. to the syllabic script version of *sora* そら, and to single-morpheme loanwords, such as *pen* ペン ‘pen’. Grammatical markers, such as *-o*, *-wa*, and *-ga* in 1.2.a–1.2.d, accompany the theme in fixed semantic and syntactic contexts, as the elements written always in syllabary. In the morphological perspective, the theme and marker(s) function as one synthetic word form *sōgōtekigokei* 総合的語形, as in *sora-o* 空を, *sora-wa* そらは and *sora-ga* 空が in 1.2.a and 1.2.c–1.2.d.

The proposed synthetic approach clearly appears more justified than a recognition of analytic constructions *bunsekitekigokei* 分析的語形. This is despite the fact that in the traditional approach the grammatical markers are in fact described as separate from the lexical nominal themes (which might additionally be rigidly rendered by spaces in romanization as *sora o*, *sora wa* and *sora ga*, respectively, quite apart from the fact that in the Japanese script there are no spaces, the difference between the themes and markers being manifested most typically by the heterogeneous – ideographic and syllabic – components of the system of writing). Adnominal grammatical markers in their declensional usage are by no means standalone or independent elements.

The above-mentioned distinction procedure is not significantly different when applied to the compound nominal word units formed in the process of derivation *hasei* 派生. Their constituent lexical stems, the preceding one(s) usually serving as modifier(s) of the other(s), may all be of native Japanese origin (as in *akizora* 秋空 ‘the autumn sky’, consisting of two potentially standalone morphemes *aki* 秋 ‘autumn’ and *sora* 空 ‘sky’) or of Sino-Japanese origin (as *kyūjitsu* 休日 ‘a holiday’: *kyū* 休 ‘rest’ and *jitsu* 日 ‘sun; day’). There are instances when the preceding component lexical stem(s) of a derivational construction

are not linked by the relation of modification, but are simply listed as an abbreviation of a longer explanation to which they etymologically allude, often being contrasted lexically. This is visible in the instance of *mu* 矛 with its potential native Japanese reading *hoko* ‘pike’ and *jun* 盾 with Japanese reading *tate* ‘shield’ in the compound unit *mujun* 矛盾 ‘contradiction’, or of *u* 有 ‘existence’ and *mu* 無 ‘nothing’ in *umu* 有無 ‘whether [something] is or is not’. Sometimes the stems are simply listed in a fixed order, as is seen for *sei/hotaru* 螢 ‘firefly’ and *setsu/yuki* 雪 ‘snow’ in the compound unit *seisetsu* 螢雪 ‘perseverance in study despite one’s poverty [lit. studying in the light of fireflies and in the reflected light of snow]’. Sino-Japanese word units constructed according to such derivational rules may reveal a complex structure of constituents ordered according to internal syntactic rules. The most widely recognized are probably the four-sinogram compounds *yojijukugo* 四字熟語, but they may also contain more than four elements, each functioning as a potential separate lexical nominal stem.

Compound themes may contain constituents of hybrid origin (as *Yokohamashi* 横浜市 ‘Yokohama City’: 横 ‘side’, 浜 ‘beach’, 市 ‘city’ – the first two components being of native Japanese origin and the last of Sino-Japanese origin). Also, components of foreign origin may be used in derivatives (as *rimōtokontorōru* リモートコントロール ‘a remote control’, with its components *rimōto* ‘remote’ and *kontorōru* ‘control’ borrowed directly from its English equivalent), which does not change their morphological properties significantly. They attach grammatical markers as one inflectional theme. The same applies to the abbreviated versions of both Sino-Japanese and borrowed nominal units (as *kōsoku* 高速 ‘a highway’ from *kōsokudōro* 高速道路, with its initial components *kōsoku* ‘high speed’ and *dōro* 道路 ‘road; street’, and *rimokon* リモコン derived from the above-mentioned *rimōtokontorōru*). Note also that *kōsoku* and *dōro* may be additionally split into their constituent lexical morphemes rendered by sinograms. According to similar rules, fairly long declensional themes may be formed with the employment of many nominal lexical stems. Partly regular compound themes forming lexical subsets of vocabulary may contain, among others, numeral (numbers) or circumnumeral (related elements) stems and honorific suffixes.

Constituent lexical morphemes of derivational units exhibit no internal grammatical markers, revealing isolating construction rules. Their

lexical functions are only to some extent marked by their order, which is mostly not reversible: in this sense, there is more than one lexical component (stem) in such constructions, but only one inflectional theme. From the point of view of the native Japanese grammatical system, they are synthetic units. This is also manifested in this text by their continuous romanization (with no internal spaces). The same applies to fossilized variants of numerous native toponyms, such as *Hikarigaoka* 光が丘 or *Yamanote* 山の手, in which the morphological *stem+marker* forms of constituents *hikari-ga* and *yama-no* are not independent and no longer fulfil their (ancient or contemporary) functions.

Analogous phenomena, not purely derivational but close to such, may be observed in fossilized phrases, such as proverbs and sayings. Such elements as *nemimi-ni mizu* 寝耳に水 ‘a bolt from the blue’ [lit. ‘water into a sleeping ear’] (an alternative romanization could also be *nemimi-ni-mizu*) may occur in the nominative case, preceding the copula in the nominal predicate (cf. 2.1.a), or in more complex structures, as in 2.1.b. Regardless of their romanization below, alluding to their fossilized syntactic structure, with the component *nemimi-ni* in the locative case, contemporarily they may function only as one inflectional theme, of which the usage in 2.1.b, in the genitive case, is a good example. Similar rules govern the nominalized usage of contemporary quotations, as in the title of the reference source quoted in 2.1.c below.

- | | | |
|--------|--------------------------|----------------|
| 2.1.a. | <i>Nemimi-ni mizu</i> | <i>dat-ta.</i> |
| | a.bolt.from.the.blue-NOM | be(COP)-PST |

寝耳に水だった。‘It was like a bolt from the blue [to me].’

- | | | | |
|--------|--------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| 2.1.b. | <i>Nemimi-ni mizu-no</i> | <i>mōshide-ni</i> | <i>tomadot-ta.</i> |
| | a.bolt.from.the.blue-GEN | proposal-LOC | be.at.loss-PST |

寝耳に水の申し出に戸惑った。‘[SOMEONE] was at loss [how to respond] to the completely unexpected proposal.’

- | | | |
|--------|------------------------------|--------------|
| 2.1.c. | <i>“Boku-wa unagi da”-no</i> | <i>bunpō</i> |
| | an.eel.for.me-GEN | grammar-NOM |

「僕はウナギだ」の文法 ‘the grammar of sentences [with the structure] as “*Boku-wa unagi da*”’ (Okutsu 1978)

In Sino-Japanese derivatives, case markers, especially of genitive case marking attributive internominal constructions (cf. 3.4.9), do not occur in the internal structure of compounds. This is not an implementation of case (marker) drop (4.6), but of a systemic derivational rule of Japanese compounds formed according to the requirements of a Sino-Japanese grammatical subsystem, primarily analytic and isolating, based on semantic syntactic rather than on morphological foundations. In such word units, formally constituting one nominal compound dictionary unit (perceived as one inflectional theme), apart from their syntactic functions, one grammatical marker (or one set of markers) may serve also as a delimitative element of the full (multi-stem) word form boundaries in the structure of a phrase, sentence or utterance. Accordingly, no grammatical markers are required to be reconstructed within such units. Neither the fact that single lexical stems do not change, nor the existence of derivational phenomena with many nominal stems and their extensions, provides any proof that Japanese nominal word units do not inflect according to the rules of the native grammatical system.

2.2. Step Two: Discontinuous (Non-Derivational) Inflectional Themes

An interesting extension of derivational phenomena is the occurrence of more than one lexical nominal stem with one grammatical marker (or one set of markers). Such units, actually forming syntactic collocations, do not function as one nominal word form, revealing a discontinuity. They contain more than one word unit (inflectional theme), with only one marker (or a set of markers). The preceding word unit (theme) in such constructions is supplemented by the following word unit (theme), the former functioning as a lexical clarifier of the latter. On the level of semantics, the *signa* (in the forms of both the single stem element and multiple stem elements of derivative constructions described above in 2.1) are two (rarely more, although the following element may be supplemented by a complex explanation, usually in parentheses in writing), but the *designatum* is one. This may be seen in *kore (gobihenka)-wa* in 2.2.a and in *tantō-no mono (kakarichō)-ni* in 2.2.b. The former could alternatively be glossed as “this-NOM |

(declension)-TOP” and the latter as “responsibility-GEN | person-NOM | section chief-LOC”, for the reasons stipulated in 2.3 below. As can be seen, on purely formal grounds a certain ambiguity may emerge about how such collocations, clearly different from compound derivational forms, should be parsed. They contain two potential nominal themes in a row (2.2.a) or two themes with an additional attributive nominal argument (*mono (kakarichō)-ni* with *tantō-no* in 2.2.b), also with more complex (usually attributive) intervals. They can be described within the framework of morphological case theory.

2.2.a.	<i>Kore (gobihenka)-</i>	<i>keitaijō-no</i>	<i>genshō</i>	<i>de ar-u.</i>
	<i>wa</i>			
	this(NUL)	morphology-	phenomenon-	be(COP)-
	(inflection)-TOP	GEN	NOM	NPST

これ（語尾変化）は形態上の現象である。 ‘This (inflection) is a morphological phenomenon.’

2.2.b.	<i>Tadachini</i>	<i>tantō-no</i>	<i>mono (kakarichō)-ni</i>	<i>shira-se-</i> <i>mash-ō.</i>
	immediately	charge	person(DEP, NUL)	know-CAS-
		-GEN	(section.chief)-LOC	POL-HYP

直ちに担当の者（係長）に知らせましょう。 ‘Let us immediately notify the person in charge (the section chief).’

The phenomenon in question tends to be described as unambiguously non-declensional. Lavrentev states that “other elements” such as “delimiting particles”, “modifiers” and “introductory sentences” may occupy the position between the nominal stem and the grammatical marker (Lavrentev 2002: 23). As Shibatani and Kageyama put it: “Because case markers can be set off by a pause, a filler, or even longer parenthetical material, it is clear that they are unlike declensional affixes in inflectional languages like German or Russian” (Shibatani, Kageyama 2017: xx).

In the first place, declensional affixes in Japanese are different from those of German and Russian. Japanese, German and Russian are different language codes, with different grammatical rules. Moreover, German is different from Russian, as can be verified by the connectivity of

German nominal stems even into extremely long units of derivational character. A relatively simple example is the unit *Terroranschlag* ‘terrorist attack’, consisting of two nominal stems (*Terror* ‘terror’ and *Anschlag* ‘attack’) but taking only one article. It is not quite clear why Shibatani and Kageyama do not describe such constructions as containing the article “set off” from one nominal theme by another nominal theme. Such phenomena may not always be comparable to the Russian fusional phenomena or to the Sino-Japanese compounds with internal isolating rules, as in 2.1. In practice, any extreme property of a code, for example, a tendency to form complex acronyms from contracted (usually one syllable for each lexical morpheme) forms of longer units in Russian (as in the very simple example of *terakt* (*mepakm*) instead of *terroristicheskij akt* (*meppopucmичeckий akm*) for ‘a terrorist attack’ – a unit with an adjectival constituent *terroristicheskij* ‘terrorist’ and a nominal constituent *akt* ‘act’) might be described as rooted in its regular properties, usually far from extreme. A clear-cut division between the derivative and syntactic rules may sometimes be impossible. Still, the agglutinative properties of Japanese, with a less strong morphological bond between lexical stems and grammatical markers than in the fusional languages mentioned in 1.2 above, enable in certain instances the detachment of some (especially: redundant) grammatical markers, without altering their systemic, paradigmatic functions, these being applied to more than one lexical stem functioning jointly as one dictionary word unit and inflectional theme.

Secondly, the phenomenon of discontinuation of a nominal word form may be explained in terms of an extended apposition, with a special instance of agreement between two nominal forms. This at the same time is the precise reason why the preceding linear element of the construction does not take the grammatical marker. The marker (the same for both elements) is connected to the following element, with possible attributive extensions (including attributive elements or complex attributive phrases modifying the following element), without changing the appositional character of the construction. By a comparable technique, to be further verified by in-depth corpus studies, quite regular connections with the use of the native Japanese nominal elements, such as personal pronouns, may also be formed (cf. *watashitachi kenkyūsha-wa* 私たち研究者は *we(NUL)* researchers-THE ‘we, the researchers’).

Thirdly, while constructions like in 2.2.a and 2.2.b reveal, in orthodox terms, instances of discontinuity in the structures of synthetic nominal word forms, the systemic functions of grammatical markers remain constant. It is also clear to which nominal stem the marker of the discontinuous construction connects. It is more reasonable to take the systemic properties of markers and forms as a basis than to question the morphological approach as a whole.

Last but not least, discontinuous forms are not extremely common. They are often limited to writing, with the interval in parentheses. The frequency of their occurrence should be verified by more thorough corpus studies. Also necessary for this purpose is a clear definition of basic morphological oppositions and a proposition for their paradigmatic description.

2.3. Step Three: Marker Present or Not

The phenomenon of zero marking includes the lack of case marker due to what is referred to in some sources as case drop. It may be related to the agglutinative properties of Japanese, with a less strong bond between the stem (declensional theme) and the marker within a word form than in fusional forms. On the other hand, a special instance of zero marking, glossed as the morphological form *N-0*, with bare nominal stem, sometimes referred to by Japanese grammarians as ‘bare case’ *hadakakaku* ハダカ格, is to be recognized as the axis of the paradigm, the nominative case, as mentioned in 3.1 and 3.4.1.

The difference between the two phenomena (case drop resulting with zero marking and nominative case), despite their superficial similarity, is that the nominative case NOM is not the result of case drop, and case drop is, in strict terms, not a morphological zero marking. When case drop occurs, the dropped marker may always be reconstructed. There is no possibility of marker reconstruction in the nominative case. In other words, the zero marker is a marker, not a lack of marker, in the nominative case form.

The nominative case with morphological zero as its regular and only marker, beside its central position in the morphological paradigm, exhibits regular usage in labels, captions and headers (including

nominal dictionary entries) and in the nominal predicate. It is glossed as NOM.

NUL is the glossing for the non-overt (dropped) marker to be reconstructed. An algorithm to distinguish between NUL (resulting from case drop), NOM (the nominative case) and no glossing at all (within derivational compounds) is provided in 2.3.a.

2.3.a.

- A. Non-last element(s) of compounds/discontinuous forms with more than one stem (cf. 2.1, 2.2):
 - Aa. In derivational compounds: no glossing (cf. *aki* in *akizora* in 2.1).
 - Ab. In discontinuous forms: NUL (cf. *kore* in *kore (gobihenka)-wa* in 2.2.a).
- B. Single stem forms and last elements of compounds/discontinuous forms (cf. 2.1):
 - Ba. Non-NOM marker: glossed as respective case (cf. *sora* in 1.2.a, 1.2.c and 1.2.d).
 - Bb. Marker absent, reconstructable (case drop): NUL [→ reconstructed (non-NOM) case] (cf. *sora* in 1.2.e–1.2.g).
 - Bc. Marker absent, non-reconstructable: NOM (cf. *genshō* in 2.2.a).

In brief, there is no need to recognize and gloss the NOM case within the segments of compound (derivational) nominal forms (such as *aki* in *akizora* in 2.1) Such forms, clearly with one declensional theme, do not have internal grammatical markers. Or, if they do, as in the fossilized forms of toponyms mentioned above in 2.1, the markers no longer fulfil their (ancient or contemporary) functions. To gloss the derivational component segments as NUL could lead to the (false) assumption that something else than what is already provided should occur in their structure. To gloss them as NOM is unnecessary. While it is a rule that NOM (bare stem) is used for the non-last components of derivational compounds in Japanese, such usage is not of a semantic or syntactic character. Last but not least, such a differentiation removes the need to gloss all potentially standalone components of compounds (including Sino-Japanese ones) or discontinuous forms, which would otherwise result in clear over-glossing, as in *kore-NOM(go-NOM-bi-NOM-hen-NOM-ka)-TOP* instead of *gobihenka-TOP* (cf. 2.2.a).

In the discontinuous forms (such as *kore* in *kore (gobihenka)-wa* in 2.2.a), the NUL glossing is provided for the non-last elements. They are not NOM case, sharing the same marker(s) with the following nominal stem(s) of such constructions.

Simple nominal forms (with one stem) are glossed accordingly, depending on the presence of a marker (non-NOM case), or the absence of a marker and the possibility (NUL→ non-NOM case) or the impossibility (NOM) of its reconstruction.

2.4. Step Four: Multiple Case Marking

Another phenomenon is the presence of more than one marker in one synthetic nominal word form. It is mentioned by Lavrentev (2002) in terms of “other elements” or “delimiting particles”, that is, probably, when a marker not traditionally described in Japanese school grammar as *kakujoshi* 格助詞 ‘case marker’, such as *-nado* in 2.4.a or *-dake* in 2.4.b, occurs between the declensional theme and the element described as *kakujoshi*. This seems to be, at least for some researchers, another reason to question the integrity of Japanese nominal word forms, with “case particles” being assigned the alleged role of “phrasal clitics rather than nominal declensions” (cf. Nakamura 2018: 249).

2.4.a. *Keikoku-nado-ga* *kai-te* *ari-mashi-ta.*
 warning-EXE-NTOP write-CON PASS(AV)-POL-PST
 警告などが書いてありました。 ‘There were warnings [and the like]
 written [on it].’

2.4.b. *Kore-dake-ga* *hoshi-i.*
 this-NTOP-NTOP want(ADJ, 1)-NPST
 これだけがほしい。 ‘I want only this.’

The dilemma whether to treat *keikoku-nado-ga* and *kore-dake-ga* above as word forms is in fact superficial. Both reveal double case marking. Multiple marking, described more thoroughly in 4.5, is not untypical of agglutinative phenomena, with uni-functional grammatical

markers. Japanese verbal elements also attach multiple conjugational markers. Nominal stems quite often attach two markers, rarely more than two. Needless to say, the recognition of multiple marking requires the prior description of such elements as *-nado* and *-dake* as adnominal grammatical markers, similarly as the other markers enumerated in 2.10.

2.5. Step Five: Absent Markers

The phenomenon of case (marker) drop, in step Bb of the algorithm 2.3.a, occurs in sentences like 1.2.e–1.2.h. Case drop is possible only under the obvious condition that the dropped markers can be reconstructed in an unambiguous manner. It is also rather an option than an obligation to perform case drop, which may not be executed automatically, even for a marker that is very easily reconstructable.

More details on the phenomenon of case drop are provided in 4.6. The absent and unreconstructable marker (0.0 in the proposed notation of case form schemes according to Table 4.6.1) is that of the nominative case (cf. Bc in 2.3.a).

2.6. Step Six: Marker Reconstruction

As in the sentences 1.2.e and 1.2.f, the marking of sentence subject and/or utterance theme may often be dropped. This is possible only under more detailed circumstances, related also to sentence stress, described more thoroughly in 4.6. The general direction of this process is from semantics and syntax to morphology. It is on the basis of semantic and syntactic clues that the marker may be successfully reconstructed. It is also the semantic and syntactic properties of the message and the utterance that may prevent marker drop.

In 1.2.g and 1.2.h, a more complex restoration of the dropped marker is possible, due to the transitive character of the verb *miru* 見る ‘see; look at’. It stands in contrast to the non-transitive (intransitive) features of the adjective *akarui* 明る ㄣ ‘bright’ in 1.2.e and 1.2.f, taking the argument of subject in first place. As Kiyose (1995: 24-25) aptly points out, adjectives, also in Japanese, do not take objects. Here is where

semantics comes in handy. The designate of *sora* 空 ‘the sky’ is rather untypical as a candidate for the first argument (subject) of the verbal elements in 1.2.g and 1.2.h.

2.7. Step Seven: Marker Function

Grammatical case markers define the role of nominal word units in syntactic contexts, as word forms. Parsing the grammatical marker(s) and identification of its function(s) is a necessary step towards the interpretation of a word form’s function in a syntactic context. It is a partly abstract step of identification of actual morphological markers with case forms and with paradigmatic functions assigned to them. As may be seen, in this instance, in contrast to the missing marker reconstruction described in 2.6, the direction of the process is from morphology to semantics and syntax. As such, the morphological properties of a nominal case form inevitably determine certain semantic and syntactic contexts in which the form occurs.

Perhaps the most convincing example of marker function recognition is the standalone case use described in 4.8. Still, in the perspective of any actual utterance and any actual case form, there is a certain range of systemic phenomena to be related to the use of morphological case, to be verified solely based on its morphological properties.

2.8. Step Eight: Case Form Variants

In the primarily morphological approach to nominal case in Japanese, the rule *one marker* = *one case* is applied. A more thorough approach to cases reveals that some cases are marked by primary and secondary markers. Primary markers are the most salient and frequent case indices used in nominal word forms, considered representative for each case. Secondary markers are differentiated and described as allomorphs of primary markers. They show clear morphological diversity from the primary markers. At the same time, they certainly lack semantic and syntactic features which could support their recognition as markers of other, heterogeneous cases than those marked by primary markers.

Secondary markers exhibit certain semantic nuances when compared with primary markers. A good example is *-koso* (cf. 3.4.3.g), secondary marker of the rhemative case with its primary form *N-ga*; *N-ga* and *N-koso* forms are often interchangeable in actual syntactic contexts. The nuance of the usage of *N-koso* instead of *N-ga* is related to strong emphasis of the designate, usually rendered in English translation with inherently lexical elements, such as *precisely* or *the very*. This nuance is on the one hand compatible with the systemic, grammatical properties of the rhemative case, indicated even by its name. On the other hand, it is of a lexical, non-systemic nature and may not significantly enrich the overall picture of the grammatical paradigm of nominal cases in Japanese.

Another example may be the secondary marker of the rhemative case *-dake* (cf. 3.4.3.j), with its distinctive quantitative function, rendered most commonly in translation with the English element *only*, compared with *-ga*. In many, if not in all instances, only the form with the primary marker *N-ga* or only the form with the secondary marker *N-dake* may be used in the actual utterance, with scarce possibility of their interchangeability. The secondary markers may, as in 2.4.b, be used along with the primary markers in multiple marker forms, such as *N-dake-ga*. They may also show other particular differences. For example, the primary marker of the rhemative case *-ga*, never marking an object, is clearly opposed to the accusative case *N'o*, and the combination **Nga'o* cannot occur in multiple case marking. This does not apply to the secondary marker of the rhemative case *-dake*. The combined form *Ndake'o* may occur, the RHE vs. ACC opposition thus being overridden by the quantitative properties of the *-dake* marker.

Furthermore, some doubts may arise about the diachronic relations of some elements. For example, the primary marker of the instrumental case *-de* and the secondary marker of the locative case *-nite* reveal clear diachronic affinity. Despite this, they are classified as the markers of different cases, which is seen as compatible with their contemporary, synchronic usage, as indicated in 3.4.11 and in 3.4.12.

In any systemic, methodological approach to the inherently unsystemic phenomena of language, a certain approximation needs to be made in order to achieve a manageable system of dimensions and values. Rather than Ockham's razor, it should be viewed in terms of the Aristotelian golden

mean. Accordingly, the above-mentioned semantic differences, rather than undermining the systemic view of the declensional case system, should probably be viewed rather in terms of nuances, not recognized as sufficient to support a proposed distinction of other, heterogeneous cases in the paradigmatic perspective. In other words, while providing some detailed differentiation of a lexical nature, they do not depart considerably from the systemic properties of a case as viewed in terms of a paradigmatic case model. Secondary case markers mark the same paradigmatic cases as primary markers. Their functional affinity to primary markers supports the coherency of the morphological case model.

2.9. Nominal Elements as a Class of Vocabulary

It is impossible to use Japanese without competence in applying the rules for attaching grammatical modifiers to the relatively constant forms of nominal lexical themes in a regular manner. Nominal elements of the language are declinable. This general morphological rule has some exceptions of semantic and syntactic character. Against the background of a general abandonment of the description of the nominal elements as parts of speech, some traces of the idea that the nominal elements *taigen* 体言 are not a uniform category may be found in attempts at its internal subdivision, as seen in Miller (1967: 335 ff.), or in some suggestive terminology, such as *copular nouns* (Miller *ibid.*: 328-333), *adjectival nouns* (Martin 1975: 132), or *noun-adjectives* (Kiyose 1995: 8-9).

Adjectival nouns are a transitory subcategory of the lexicon, traditionally described as verbal elements, despite their predicative use being limited to nominal predicate constructions. They reveal partly nominal properties, occurring in attributive, adnominal usage with the dedicated form of the copula *na* or in the genitive case. Some of them also exhibit adverbial usage with the dedicated form of the copula *ni*, which may also be linked to the declensional marker of the locative case. Certain elements partly related to this group, with quantitative meaning, such as *takusan* たくさん or *sukoshi* 少し, have mainly adverbial usage, with peripheral attributive properties in their genitive case.

The core of the nominal category *taigen* consists of regular nouns, of native Japanese, Sino-Japanese and xeno-Japanese origin. This group

includes also the subset defined in some classifications as personal pronouns, mostly with concrete semantic meanings and verifiable, tangible designates. They are subject to full declension, revealing a wide range of syntactic usages.

A number of nominal elements combine their lexical usage with grammatical functions, exhibiting regular declensional properties. This is the case with nominalizers such as *koto* 事・こと ‘matter’, *no* の ‘thing’, *mono* 物・者・もの ‘thing; [humble] person’ or *tokoro* 所・ところ ‘place’. Some other elements, like *nagara* ながら or *shidai* 次第, contemporarily fully or partly deprived of lexical meanings, have purely grammatical usage, with limited declension. They may be described as auxiliary nouns.

Interrogative pronominal elements, such as *dare* だれ ‘who’, *nani* 何 ‘what’ and *ikura* いくら ‘how much’, are also subject to limitations in their usage. They form regular, lexicalized forms of indefinite pronouns with the interrogative case marker *-ka*.

Some nominal elements have temporal designates, as with *kyō* 今日 ‘today’ or *maiban* 毎晩 ‘every night’. They are used mainly or solely as temporal modifiers, also in the genitive case, in attributive functions, with less common usage in other functions.

Japanese numerals, similarly as numerals in many other languages, have a nominal character, with limitations of a semantic nature as to their usage in certain syntactic roles. For example, they are less prone to appear as sentence subjects or utterance themes.

Some elements, mainly Sino-Japanese ones, are used mostly in analytic verbal constructions with the auxiliary verb *suru*. Certain uninflected Sino-Japanese elements of peripherally nominal character are also used as derivational prefixes and suffixes.

A group of nominal elements, including among others the demonstrative pronouns *kono* この ‘this’, *sono* その ‘that’ and *ano* あの ‘that over there’, are limited to their attributive adnominal usage, some being fossilized in their archaic genitive case form.

The above enumeration of nominal subcategories of Japanese is far from complete. Along with a general lack of interest from Japanese grammarians in the description of morphological properties of nominal elements, the indeclinable or partly declinable features of some nominal subcategories are also usually not mentioned in grammatical descrip-

tions. At the same time, they cannot serve as an argument that nominal elements as a whole should be described as non-inflected.

2.10. Initial List of Forms

Grammatical declensional markers are elements with a clearly auxiliary character, regularly functioning as case markers, attached on a regular basis to lexical stems (functioning as declensional themes) as suffixes in synthetic word forms. In the proposed classification they include both the traditional, ambiguous category of *kakujoshi* 格助詞, literally ‘case particles’, as well as other elements traditionally grouped as postpositional particles with allegedly different functions.

More detailed criteria for the enumeration of case markers and forms have been provided in the author’s previous publication (Jabłoński 2021a: 158-161). What are not considered case markers are mainly derivational elements, departing in various respects from the systemic properties of the case paradigm. The honorific prefixes and suffixes and suffixes of number may be considered the category closest to the markers of case, while not constituting such markers, mainly due to the fact that they do not connect to all nominal stems. Alternatively, it may be claimed on purely quantitative grounds that the number of nominal stems to which they connect is probably much smaller than the number of those to which they do not connect. Other derivational elements are not described as case markers generally for the same reason: they are connected only to selected groups of nominal elements, according at least partly to lexical criteria, and do not mark grammatical, systemic values.

A maximum possible set of Japanese units to be described as synthetic, paradigmatic word forms according to the primarily morphological method of description is provided in Table 2.10.1 below, as proposed earlier (in Jabłoński 2021a: 162-165). Contained in the table are the potential case forms described by different existing sources on Japanese grammar in terms of sole markers, often additionally classified into heterogeneous categories of functionally different markers with various – adnominal and adverbial – connectivity. Based on morphological criteria it is possible both to identify as a distinct list of case forms the

nominal forms following the (*inflectional*) *theme+marker(s)* pattern (the *theme* consisting of one or more *stem(s)*, as described in 2.1 and 2.2 above), and to take into account all possible markers, including those not described literally as case markers in traditional sources. It is possible and necessary to verify the contents of the table through the implementation of more advanced techniques of research, such as language corpus analysis. The proposed set of potential case forms may serve as a good starting point for such analysis.

Only the single-marker case forms are taken into account in the table, on the clear-cut systemic assumption that the multi-marker case forms are more complex variants of single-marker forms. The 34 declensional forms to be described as containing grammatical markers (with the one alternation *-kurai*: *-gurai*) attach the markers regularly, in a synthetic manner, to the lexical nominal stem(s) forming the inflectional nominal theme (*N*) in the final description of nominal case pattern, i.e. declension, according to the (*inflectional*) *theme+marker(s)* pattern, with its possible extensions as described above in 2.1, 2.2, 2.3 and 2.4.

In the table, the forms are tentatively described as Primary (basic) and Secondary (variants). In the description of cases, the latter are assigned to the former, the secondary case markers being in fact allomorphs of the primary case markers, with certain semantic and syntactic consequences, each described overtly as functionally close to its primary marker, with “as its variant, not a marker of a separate case” briefly indicated in the comments. The idea of primary and secondary markers and case forms is further explained in 4.2.

Forms are listed in alphabetical order of markers, starting from the morphological zero form (NOM), identical with the nominal inflectional theme (*N*, glossed as *N-0*), the morphological axis of the paradigm. The postulated full enumeration of markers/cases includes, as specified under the table, markers with various status, graphically differentiated based on the frequency of their description in existing sources on Japanese grammar as: **often described** (bold), less often or not traditionally described (underlined), and not generally described as case markers to date (no marking).

Form	P/S	Comments
<u><i>N-0 (zero)</i></u>	P	glossed tentatively as NUL, identical with bare nominal stem, sometimes referred to as <i>hadakakaku</i> ハダカ格 ‘bare case’, with regular usage as a dictionary entry, in labels, captions, headers and in the nominal predicate
<i>N-bakari</i>	S	usually not described as a case marker, close to <i>-ga</i> NTOP, with some semantic nuances, as its variant, not a marker of a separate case
<i>N-e</i>	P	glossed tentatively as ALL, substituted by <i>-ni</i> LOC only in the allegedly dative DAT function, referring to direction rather than place
<i>N-dake</i>	S	usually not described as a case marker, close to <i>-ga</i> NTOP, with some semantic nuances, as its variant, not a marker of a separate case
<i>N-dano</i>	S	usually not described as a case marker, close to <i>-ya</i> EXE, with some semantic nuances, as its variant, not a marker of a separate case
<i>N-datte</i>	S	usually not described as a case marker, close to <i>-mo</i> NTOP, with some semantic nuances, as its variant, not a marker of a separate case
<i>N-de</i>	P	glossed tentatively as INS, with instrumental use, also in many usages related to the instrumental use, in collective object marking
<i>N-ga</i>	P	glossed tentatively as NTOP (similarly as <i>N-mo</i>), erroneously identified as NOM by numerous sources, neither a marker of sentence subject only (marking also the rheme with sentence stress, never marking the object), nor the only marker of the sentence subject, opposed most saliently to <i>-wa</i> TOP and <i>-mo</i> NTOP and perhaps also to <i>0 (zero)</i> NUL
<u><i>N-goro</i></u>	S	glossed tentatively as LOC, alternative variant of <i>-ni</i> LOC in temporal usage, with more detailed honorific functions, rather not constituting a separate case marker
<i>N-hodo</i>	S	usually not described as a case marker, close to <i>-ga</i> NTOP, with some semantic nuances, as its variant, not a marker of a separate case
<u><i>N-ka</i></u>	P	marked tentatively as INT (interrogative), used in marking the alternative elements of an enumeration

Form	P/S	Comments
<i>N-kara</i>	P	glossed tentatively as ABL, with mainly ablative usage, in official contexts substituted by <i>-yori</i> , not marking the element of comparison
<i>N-koso</i>	S	usually not described as a case marker, close to <i>-ga</i> NTOP, with some semantic nuances, as its variant, not a marker of a separate case
<i>N-kurai/</i> <i>N-gurai</i>	S	usually not described as a case marker, close to <i>-ga</i> NTOP, with some semantic nuances, as its variant, not a marker of a separate case
<i>N-made</i>	P	glossed tentatively as TER (terminative), in temporal and spatial usages opposed to <i>-kara</i> ABL, in some instances substituted for <i>-mo</i> NTOP in marking the extreme range or the extreme element of comparison
<u><i>N-mo</i></u>	P	glossed tentatively as NTOP (similarly as <i>N-ga</i>), marking the rheme, also together with sentence arguments (subject and object), with sentence stress, usually not described as a case marker, due to its allegedly phrasal functions, opposed most saliently to <i>-ga</i> NTOP and <i>-wa</i> TOP and perhaps also to <i>0</i> (<i>zero</i>) NUL
<i>N-nado</i>	S	usually not described as a case marker, close to <i>-ya</i> EXE, with some semantic nuances, as its variant, not a marker of a separate case
<i>N-nanka</i>	S	usually not described as a case marker, close to <i>-ya</i> EXE, with some semantic nuances, as its variant, not a marker of a separate case
<i>N-nante</i>	S	usually not described as a case marker, close to <i>-ya</i> EXE, with some semantic nuances, as its variant, not a marker of a separate case
<i>N-nari</i>	S	usually not described as a case marker, close to <i>-ya</i> EXE, with some semantic nuances, as its variant, not a marker of a separate case
<i>N-ni</i>	P	glossed tentatively as LOC, with several usages, static and dynamic, related mainly to the place, not the direction of an action, including the usage often erroneously recognized as dative (DAT), close to <i>-e</i> ALL, probably the result of diachronic case syncretism

Form	P/S	Comments
<u>N-nite</u>	S	glossed tentatively as LOC, alternative variant of <i>-ni</i> LOC in spatial usage, with more detailed honorific functions, rather not a separate case marker
N-no	P	glossed tentatively as GEN, of adnominal (attributive) use, mostly in possessive/genitive usage, usually described with semantic variations
<i>N-nomi</i>	S	usually not described as a case marker, close to <i>-ga</i> NTOP, with some semantic nuances, as its variant, not a marker of a separate case
N-o	P	glossed tentatively as ACC, marking direct object (never sentence subject), also in collocations not translated as direct objects
<i>N-sae</i>	S	usually not described as a case marker, close to <i>-mo</i> NTOP, with some semantic nuances, as its variant, not a marker of a separate case
<i>N-shika</i>	S	usually not described as a case marker, close to <i>-ga</i> NTOP, with some semantic nuances, as its variant, not a marker of a separate case
<i>N-sura</i>	S	usually not described as a case marker, close to <i>-mo</i> NTOP, with some semantic nuances, as its variant, not a marker of a separate case
N-to	P	glossed tentatively as COM (comitative), used in complete enumerations and in related functions, as opposed mainly to <i>-ya</i> EXE
<u>N-wa</u>	P	glossed tentatively as TOP, marking the theme (topic), also together with sentence arguments (subject and object), including its contrastive use, usually not described as a case marker, due to its allegedly phrasal functions, opposed most saliently to <i>-ga</i> NTOP and <i>-mo</i> NTOP and to <i>0</i> (zero) NUL
<u>N-ya</u>	P	glossed tentatively as EXE (exemplificative), used in incomplete enumerations and in related functions, as opposed mainly to <i>-to</i> COM
<i>N-yara</i>	S	usually not described as a case marker, close to <i>-ya</i> EXE, with some semantic nuances, as its variant, not a marker of a separate case
N-yo	P	glossed tentatively as VOC, rare but still active in written and spoken Japanese, often substituted by <i>0</i> (zero) NUL

Form	P/S	Comments
<i>N-yori</i>	S	glossed temporarily as ABL, variant of <i>-kara</i> ABL in official contexts, not as a separate case marker, not replaced by <i>-kara</i> ABL in marking the less marked element of comparison

Table 2.10.1. Japanese morphological markers/cases: **often described** (bold), described less often or not described traditionally (underlined) and not generally described as case markers to date (no marking); P(imary) or S(econdary).

The set of case markers and forms in Table 2.10.1, although relatively small, is usually not provided by sources on Japanese grammar. The most common practice (as mentioned in Jabłoński 2021a) is to present only a description of selected markers, not introduced as a paradigmatic set. It is also not rare that case markers and other grammatical markers are simply enumerated, with no further comment on their systemic functions. Table 2.10.1 is hence an essential collection of elements to be further reduced, in Chapter 3, to the regular paradigm of Japanese case forms.

3. Japanese Case Paradigm – A Proposition

“Declension. Inflection of the inflecting lexemes by cases, [...] various word forms imposed by the context element, most often verb or preposition [...] Declension may be performed by inflecting endings [...] or by the affixes of agglutinative type.”

(Polański 1995: 101)

The proposal of a Japanese morphological case paradigm, with the cases emerging from thorough analysis of the initial list of markers/cases provided in Jabłoński (2021a) and in 2.10 above, requires further reduction and detailed organization. In such a process, case forms with all possible markers will be grouped into cases, assigned case terms and put in order, according to their grammatical functions and the internal relations within the paradigm. The rule *one marker = one case*, fundamental to the proposed morphological approach, will be preserved, with some necessary semantic and syntactic extensions.

3.1. From Case Markers/Forms To Cases

Markers (presented, contrary to many existing descriptions, as synthetic case forms, including the nominal themes *N* to which they are always connected in their adnominal usage) are enumerated in Table 2.10.1. The set of case forms in Table 2.10.1 was compiled with the intention to cover all possible morphological one-marker case forms in Japanese according to the (*inflectional*) *theme+marker(s)* scheme. As mentioned in 2.1, 2.2 and 2.4, both the *theme* and the *marker* elements of the scheme may show certain variations, not essential in terms of the general idea of morphological case. As shown in 2.3, 2.5 and 2.6, the marker may be the morphological zero (nominative case) or it may be dropped, with the possibility of its reconstruction obligatory. These morphological facts may foster certain confusion, often resulting in the lack of recognition of inflectional nominal phenomena in Japanese. Also the reasons why the 34 markers/forms listed in Table 2.10.1 do not equal

the 15 actual cases of Japanese proposed below may not be obvious when examined in strictly morphological terms. The proposed cases, with primary markers (most representative) and secondary markers (allomorphs), inevitably also reveal certain semantic and syntactic properties, seemingly contrary to the basic rule *one marker = one case* mentioned in 2.8. This requires further explanation.

Note that the semantic and syntactic extension of the rule *one marker = one case* does not violate the morphological foundations of the proposed approach. On the purely cenemic level, one marker still marks only one morphological case, with virtually no ambiguity resulting from the fact that one case may be marked by more than one marker. This rule holds both for the primary markers and for the secondary markers. For the sake of clarity, it is possible to gloss each marker, for example, with the same case abbreviation and with a different number in the grammatical description. Even without such glossing, proposed as an optional solution in the respective sections related to the cases marked with secondary markers in 3.4, but not implemented in detail in this book, it is clear which marker marks which case. In adhering to the basic rule *one marker = one case*, it is not necessary to adhere to its converse, *one case = one marker*, to ensure the morphological coherency of the proposed paradigm model.

Internal relations between the markers/forms go beyond the level of morphology. At the same time, the morphological level is the basic level for the differentiation of cases. Further examination of the actual semantic and syntactic usage of case forms confirms their more complex properties. Such properties are described in terms of main cases vs. related cases. First of all, the marking of nominal sentence arguments in Japanese, apart from the level of subject and object, is related also to the logical values of old (known, attenuated) information (topic, theme) and new (emphasized) information (rheme). This kind of marking may prevail over the subject vs. object marking, which is visible mainly in the usage of such cases as nominative vs. themative, rhemative and distinctive, but also, at least partly, in the usage of the terminative case (cf. 4.1.1). Another specific feature of nominal markers in Japanese is related to marking of the finite vs. infinite enumeration of nominal designates, in terms of values of the grammatical dimension referred to as perceptivity, as visible in the usage of the nominative vs. enumerative, exemplificative and interrogative cases

(cf. 4.1.2). Additionally, the temporal and spatial properties of Japanese may be described for the locative case vs. terminative, allative and ablativ cases, based on their systemic relations (cf. 4.1.3). There are also standalone cases in the proposed paradigm, not opposed to any related cases in the semantic perspective (cf. 4.1.4).

Details on the internal division of cases and on other case-related phenomena, including the standalone cases, are provided in 4.1. The idea of division into primary (most representative for the case, and frequent) and secondary case markers (less representative for the case, linked semantically and syntactically to the functions of the primary markers), and the details of that division, are more thoroughly described in 4.2.

3.2. Case Terms

Case terms are important in the morphological approach, constituting the basic labels for case values, motivated at least partly by case semantics and syntax. As such, a label does not (and cannot) serve as a complete definition of a case and its functions. Nor does the fact that the actual usage of a case is not necessarily related to the literal meaning of its label constitute a violation of systemic rules. Labels are related to certain fundamental properties of cases, making it possible to divide and distinguish them on an intuitive basis. They do not necessarily cover all possible semantic and syntactic details of the actual usage of a case.

Some case terms, already existing in the Japanese tradition of grammatical description (mainly in relation to non-Japanese case phenomena), may be taken into account as possible candidates to be effectively utilized as case terms in the description proposed below. They are most typically (and most effectively from a purely technical point of view) Sino-Japanese compounds of two ideograms (sinograms), with their second element (*genus proximum*) being *kaku* 格 ‘case’, the first element being *differentia specifica*, as in the following case terms: *shukaku* 主格 ‘nominative case’, *zokkaku* 属格 ‘genitive case’, *yokaku* 与格 ‘dative case’, *taikaku* 对格 ‘accusative case’, *gukaku* 具格 ‘instrumental case’, *shokaku* 所格 ‘locative case’, *kokaku* 呼格 ‘vocative case’.

The use of existing case terms in the proposed case paradigm may be an indirect though at the same time effective means of introducing

some already existing terminological solutions on the basis of technical terms in the morphological approach. On the other hand, there is no need to stick only to existing terms. Due to certain specific properties of Japanese cases in the proposed paradigm, some of the above terms may be replaced and supplemented by new ones to provide more effective labeling of the actual functions of cases.

The two-ideogram construction pattern may be an effective inspiration for the coining of new terms for Japanese morphological cases with no counterparts in other languages. The new terms are to be applied especially to such instances of morphological case value marking as those related to the logical arguments of subject, topic (theme) and rheme, with the terminative case as a partial extension of these, and to perceptive values. In a justified simplification, the new cases distinguished in 3.3 are related to the topic-prominent properties of Japanese (Li, Thompson 1976) (cf. 4.1.1), being only partially linked to subject and object marking and to the grammatical marking of immediately experienced information versus indirectly obtained or externally observed information. The marking of these values in Japanese reveals clear-cut systemic properties, despite various non-systemic descriptions proposed by existing sources on Japanese grammar.

Along with the proposal to choose labels so as to allude to the most representative semantic properties of the respective cases, it is also proposed to avoid homophonic case terms in the new terminology, for the sake of better recognition and more effective practical application of both case terms and cases. This should result in a comprehensible and precise set of paradigmatic case terms.

3.3. The Paradigm

Table 3.3.1 contains the proposed paradigm of 15 Japanese morphological one-marker cases. As already mentioned, multiple-marker cases are systemic morphological extensions of the one-marker cases, resulting from the differentiation between the primary and secondary markers/forms listed in Table 2.10.1 above.

The primary markers *honkakuji* 本格辞 form primary case forms *honkakugokei* 本格語形 (listed without parentheses, as the first case

forms for each case in the table). They are the most representative (and probably also most frequent, although this requires further verification) for the respective cases.

The secondary markers *fukukakuji* 副格辞 mark the secondary case forms *fukukakugokei* 副格語形 (listed after the primary case forms, in parentheses). They are defined as allomorphs of the primary markers. As such, they have functional semantic and syntactic properties similar to those of the primary markers, with certain variations, while lacking such functional load as to justify their description as primary markers of separate, independent cases.

EN	LA	JP	Case form(s)
*NOMinative	<i>nominativus</i>	主格 <i>shukaku</i>	<i>N0</i> (morphological zero)
THEmative	<i>propositivus</i>	題格 <i>daikaku</i>	<i>Nwa</i>
RHEmative	<i>nucleativus</i>	指格 <i>shikaku</i>	<i>Nga (Nbakari, Ndake, Nhodo, Nkoso, Ngurai, Nnomi, Nshika)</i>
DIStinctive	<i>distinctivus</i>	中格 <i>chūkaku</i>	<i>Nmo (Ndatte, Nsae, Nsura)</i>
ENUmerative	<i>comitativus</i>	連格 <i>renkaku</i>	<i>Nto</i>
EXEmplificative	<i>exemplificativus</i>	例格 <i>reikaku</i>	<i>Nya (Ndano, Nnado, Nnanka, Nnante, Nnari, Nyara)</i>
INTerrogative	<i>dubitativus</i>	疑格 <i>gikaku</i>	<i>Nka</i>
VOCative	<i>vocativus</i>	呼格 <i>kokaku</i>	<i>Nyo</i>
*GENitive	<i>genetivus</i>	属格 <i>zokkaku</i>	<i>Nno</i>
*ACCusative	<i>accusativus</i>	対格 <i>taikaku</i>	<i>N'o</i>
*INStrumental	<i>instrumentalis</i>	具格 <i>gukaku</i>	<i>Nde</i>
*LOCative	<i>locativus</i>	点格 <i>tenkaku</i>	<i>Nni (Ngoro, Nnite)</i>
TERminative	<i>terminativus</i>	限格 <i>genkaku</i>	<i>Nmade</i>
ALLative	<i>allativus</i>	寄格 <i>kikaku</i>	<i>N'e</i>
ABLative	<i>ablativus</i>	離格 <i>rikaku</i>	<i>Nkara (Nyori)</i>

Table 3.3.1. The proposed nominal case paradigm of Japanese

The order of cases in Table 3.3.1 is a compromise based on the traditional approach, focusing on the distinction of the nominative case form in the first place. It partially alludes to the general order of the original Latin cases, reflected also in many existing morphological paradigms of other languages. Additionally, it lists some specifically Japanese cases together in order to emphasize their mutual relations. This may result in further internal differentiation of the paradigm elements into main cases (*shuyōkaku* 主要格) and related cases (*kankeikaku* 関係格), the former marked by asterisks (*). As can be seen in the table, 7 cases are grouped as related cases of the nominative case and 3 other cases as related cases of the locative case. Other cases marked with asterisks, with no related cases, are described as standalone cases.

The romanized glossing in Table 3.3.1 is given without hyphens, with the intention of efficiently rendering the synthetic character of Japanese nominal word forms. Only the vowel-only markers are separated from the nominal stem, usually ending in a vowel, by an apostrophe ('), to avoid ambiguity as to their articulation. In the glossing of example sentences throughout this book, the nominal case forms are hyphenated, in order to mark precisely their internal (*inflectional*) *theme+marker(s)* structure.

Detailed information on each of the 15 cases of the paradigm listed in Table 3.3.1 is provided in the subsections of 3.4 below.

3.4. Case-by-Case Description

The descriptions of the cases listed in Table 3.3.1 above contain comments on case terms and their roles in the paradigm (main or related). Additional comments include the description of representative case functions and of any morphological variants.

3.4.1. Nominative Case

This, *N0*, is the canonical form of the Japanese nominal element, used in dictionary entries, identical with the lexical nominal stem (or, more precisely, with the declensional theme defined in 2.1 and 2.2 above,

which may contain one or more stems). It is one of the main cases, as opposed to the related cases differentiated in the proposed model. Its 7 related cases are described in detail in subsequent subsections and in 4.1.1–4.4.2.

The term *shukaku* 主格, already existing in the set of Japanese terms used for non-Japanese cases, is used here due to the central role of the case in the nominal inflection paradigm, as its morphological and ontological axis. The romanized notation, *N0*, is used to render clearly its morphological zero marker, not being subject to reconstruction or exchange with any other case marker. For a similar reason, the glossing of the nominative case in Japanese examples is not N(NOM) or N(NOM)- but N-NOM – in 3.4.1.a, for example, not rain(NOM) or rain(NOM)- but rain-NOM – despite the fact that the marker and the boundary between the declensional theme and the marker, typically marked by a hyphen, are not visible in the romanized version *ame*.

Due to common misunderstanding of the difference between the morphological features (case form) and syntactic functions of case (marking of sentence elements), the nominative case is surprisingly often identified in existing descriptions of Japanese as the one marking the sentence subject. This may also be related to the superficial similarity of the Sino-Japanese terms for subject and nominative case (cf. 4.1.1). Quite apart from the fact that Japanese is not a subject-prominent language (subject – the first argument of the predicate – is marked along with topic (theme)/comment (rheme), being logical arguments related to the information structure), the nominative case in the proposed approach, based on purely morphological and synchronic criteria, does not mark the subject connected to the predicate by a nexus relation (cf. Jespersen 1924: 97, 108 ff.). Still, the nominative case form may exhibit rhematic usage in some syntactic contexts.

The nominative case form *N0* is sometimes described as ‘bare case’ *hadakakaku* ハダカ格 in native Japanese sources (Suzuki 1972: 206; referred to also as English “nominative” case with the respective Japanese terms *namaekaku* なまえ格 *meikaku* 名格, not *shukaku* 主格, which is used for the “agentive” case with the marker *-ga* by Takahashi 2004: 27). Another term, at least partly of morphological origin, may be the ‘standard case’ *ippankaku* 一般格, proposed by Matsushita (1928: 40). In most sources, the nominative case *N0* is not mentioned or is considered

identical with the bare nominal stem resulting from the phenomenon of case drop of the rhemative case *Nga*. This is probably also for historical reasons (Feldman 1953: 840, Kiyose 1989: 33).

Typical occurrences of the nominative case form may be seen in dictionary entries, labels and captions, as in 3.4.1.a and 3.4.1.b. The case in such instances is free of syntactic relations with other elements, a fact which may also be considered as constituting a kind of syntactic relation.

3.4.1.a. *ame*
rain-NOM

雨 ‘rain [a dictionary entry]’

3.4.1.b. *Rakuda*
camel-NOM

ラクダ ‘camel [a caption]’

The nominative case is also typically used with a copula in the construction of nominal predicates, often marking new information (rheme), with accompanying sentence stress, as in 3.4.1.c.

3.4.1.c. *Ame* *da.*
rain-NOM be(COP, NPST)

雨だ。 ‘It’s rain[ing].’

As mentioned in 2.3, the nominative case is also used in the non-last components of compound derivational forms. Such usage is not glossed as NOM. It is also typical for the usage of certain nominal elements, such as a subclass of nouns used in the function of temporal modifiers, as *kinō* in 3.4.1.d, also with optional marking of new information (rheme, with sentence stress).

3.4.1.d. *Kinō* *ki-ta.*
yesterday-NOM come-PST

昨日来た。 ‘[SOMEONE/SOMETHING] came yesterday.’

3.4.2. Themative Case

The themative case *Nwa* is a related case of the nominative case. The Japanese term *daikaku* 題格 overtly alludes to the notion of *shudai* 主題 ‘topic; theme’. Its common occurrence in speech and validity in the paradigm are also confirmed by the fact that it is the only case with contracted spoken informal variants for the demonstrative pronouns, as in *kore*: *korya*, also with the regular variant *kore-wa*. It marks the topic (theme, as opposed to the comment, rheme), that is, the nominal element with a designate standing for given, known, old information. The topic is usually attenuated, which is rendered by lack of sentence stress, frequent dropping of the *-wa* marker, and also the possible dropping of the whole *Nwa* themative case form from a sentence. A typical example is sentence 3.4.2.a. Note that the element *kyō* 今日 ‘today’ may also be used as a temporal marker, in the nominative case *N0*, as in 3.4.1.d above, without the theme marking nuance, with rhematic sentence stress. Additionally, as the parentheses indicate, it may be omitted, as self-understood and easily reconstructable, the whole construction resulting in the sentence 3.4.1.c given above.

- 3.4.2.a. (*Kyō[-wa]*) *ame* *da.*
 (today[-THE]) rain-NOM be(COP, NPST)
 (今日 (は)) 雨だ。 ‘It’s rain[ing] (today)./(As to today,) it’s rain[ing].’

Since Japanese is a topic-prominent language (more precisely, it merges the features of subject-prominent and topic-prominent languages; cf. Li, Thompson 1976), the theme marking may prevail over the marking of other sentence arguments. Compare 3.4.2.b and 3.4.2.c.

- 3.4.2.b. *Watashi-wa* *shiri-mase-n* *de-shi-ta.*
 I-THE know-POL-NEG be(COP)-POL-PST
 私は知りませんでした。 ‘I didn’t know./As to me, I didn’t know.’

- 3.4.2.c. *Kyōkasho-wa* *mot-te* *ki-mashi-ta.*
 textbook-THE carry-CON RES(AV)-POL-PST
 教科書は持ってきました。 ‘[I] brought the textbook [with me]./As to the textbook, [I] brought it.’

In 3.4.2.b, the themative case marks the subject and the theme simultaneously. It may also be explained that subject marking is overridden by theme marking in the sentence. When a sentence subject not being the theme appears in sentences similar to 3.4.2.b, typically with a rhemative function in the information structure of the utterance, marked additionally by sentence stress, the rhemative case *Nga* is used instead. A neutralization of the marking of the subject vs. object opposition (based on subject-prominence, for the sake of emphasizing topic-prominence) may also be observed in 3.4.2.c in relation to direct object marking, typically performed with the accusative case *N'o*, but in some instances overridden by theme marking.

Such themative usage as above, without sentence stress, may be opposed to rhemative usage, with sentence stress, in answering questions like: “Who did not know?” or “What did you bring?” – with the subject or object being a new, emphasized element in the rhemative or accusative case, *Nga* or *N'o* respectively. The example sentences 3.4.2.b and 3.4.2.c answer questions like: “How about you?” or “Did you know?” and “How about the textbook?” or “Did you bring the textbook?” – with the topic element, identical with the subject or direct object respectively, already present in the context of the discourse. The topic element may be obvious, like *watashi-wa*, or may have been introduced before in the rhemative case *Nga*, as in the following sentence similar to 3.4.3.a: *Kyōkasho-ga hitsuyō de-s-u*. textbook-RHE necessary(NA) be(COP)-POL-NPST 教科書が必要で。 ‘A textbook is necessary./[We] are going to need a textbook.’

It is additionally clear on purely semantic grounds that the element *kyōkasho* 教科書 ‘a textbook’ cannot be the subject (first argument) of the transitive verb *motsu* 持つ ‘to carry’, the main element of the analytic progressive verbal construction of 3.4.2.c. It is interesting to notice that the marking of indirect objects is less often overridden by theme marking, probably due to their less strong bond with the verbal element and the resulting difficulty of reconstruction of the marking. These phenomena confirm the already mentioned topic-prominent nature of Japanese.

Another typical use of the themative case is in contrastive sentences, with more than one element in the themative case (in the function of sentence subject or direct object), as in 3.4.2.d. The contrastive function may narrow the scope of predication, as in 3.4.2.e, also with two or more

elements in the themative case. The elements in the themative case in such uses are subject to a certain sentence stress, but to a lesser extent than the rhemative elements. A similar phenomenon may be observed in the standalone usage of the themative case, as in 3.4.2.f, with sentence stress, to emphasize an obvious though not (yet) explicitly mentioned element of the context.

- 3.4.2.d. *Kyōkasho-wa mot-te ki-mashi-ta ga,*
 textbook-THE carry-CON RES(AV)-POL-PST but(SC)
nōto-wa wasure-te shimai-mashi-ta.
 notebook- forget-CON PER(AV)-POL-PST
 THE

教科書は持ってきましたが、ノートは忘れてしまいました。‘[I] brought the textbook [with me], but forgot [to bring] the notebook./As to the textbook, [I] brought it, but as to the notebook, [I] forgot it.’

- 3.4.2.e. *Kyō-wa nōto-wa iri-mase-n.*
 today-THE notebook-THE need-POL-NEG

今日はノートはいりません。‘[As to] today [and as to] the notebook [it] is not necessary.’

- 3.4.2.f. *Kyōkasho-wa?*
 textbook-THE

教科書は？‘[And what about] the textbook [, have you brought it]?’

The systemic introduction of the new element in the course of a longer text is often based on the interplay between the rhemative case (employed in the rhemative presentation of the new element) and the themative case (employed in the reference to the already known theme), as in 3.4.2.g below. It is in some respects similar to the regular usage of English indefinite and definite pronouns or techniques of anaphora. As indicated below, the element once introduced overtly may be dropped in the latter part of the text. Such ellipsis applies also to elements obvious from the context, even when they have not been overtly introduced. While this phenomenon might suggest that the themative case is marginal or irrelevant in Japanese, a hypothetical reconstruction of the omitted element may occur only in the themative case.

3.4.2.g. *Inu-ga* *i-ru.* (*Sono* *inu-wa*) *kawai-i.*
 dog-RHE be-NPST (this/that dog-THE) cute-NPST

犬がいる。(その犬は) かわいい。‘There is a dog [here]. The dog/It is cute.’”

The introduced element is not omitted when ambiguity might result. This is visible in the interplay between the joint subject in the rhemative case (with complete enumeration and non-last elements in the enumerative case) and the contrastive usage of the themative case in 3.4.2.h below.

3.4.2.h. *Inu-to* *neko-ga* *i-ru.*
 dog-ENU cat-RHE be-NPST
 Inu-wa *ki-no* *shita-ni* *i-ru.*
 dog-THE tree-GEN down-LOC be-NPST
 Neko-wa *ki-no* *ue-ni* *i-ru.*
 cat-THE tree-GEN top-LOC be-NPST

犬と猫がいる。犬は木の下にいる。猫は木の上にいる。‘There are a dog and a cat [here]. The dog is under the tree. The cat is on the tree.’

The properties of the themative case are usually not recognized as systemic. The oldest preserved European grammars of Japanese recognized *-wa* as a subject marker (literally: the marker of the nominative case) (Rodrigues 1604: 11 ff., Collado 1634: 6 ff.). In the later sources, it is excluded from the group of the so-called case particles and described as “merely an isolative particle” (Brown 1868: 33), “distinctive or separative particle” (Aston 1888: 148), “the nominative” (Baba 1888: 6), or “not, as some European writers have erroneously imagined, a sign of the nominative case” (Chamberlain 1898: 89). Contemporary sources consider the marker (usually not described as a systemic case marker) either as identical with *-ga* (rhemative case) (Fujisawa 1910: 10, Nitta 1993: 28-37), as a variant of the nominative case (Lavrentev 2002: 24), as the (rather not declensional) marker of “the focus of attention” (Martin 1975: 52-90), or as a “themative particle” (Kiyose 1995: 8-9, 37-39) of a clearly unsystemic nature.

3.4.3. Rhemative Case

The rhemative case *Nga* (in its primary form, also with several secondary morphological forms) is another case related to the nominative case. Its Japanese term proposed above overtly alludes to the marking of the most prominent element of the utterance. The rhemative case marks the sentence subject (as opposed to the predicate and to the other arguments of the latter, in terms of subject-prominence), often simultaneously with marking of the rheme, the emphasized element, with sentence stress (as opposed to the theme in terms of topic-prominence). Instances when the rhemative case marks solely the subject are limited to those where the designate is obvious in a given context or is emphasized on the same level as the remaining part of the sentence, containing the predicate. It never marks an object, direct or indirect in its primary form *Nga*. Due to a common misunderstanding, in non-morphological descriptions of Japanese nominal elements and in existing attempts at a morphological approach, the marker *-ga* or the *Nga* case are typically considered as markers of subject in the nominative case (also as the “agentive” case). They are also glossed as NOM or as *shukaku* 主格, often mixed with the thematic case, not recognized as a separate case. This seems to be a commonly accepted, though inadequate, definition, present in both old and newer sources on Japanese grammar (Rodrigues 1604: 11 ff., Colado 1634: 6 ff., Aston: 1888: 8, Baba 1888: 6, Chamberlain 1898: 66, Nippon-no-Rômaji-Sya 1916: 39, Matsushita 1928: 470, Omoto 1937: 2, Feldman 1953: 840, Suzuki 1972: 206, Kiyose 1989: 33, Shibatani 1990: 271, Nitta 1993: 28-37, Lavrentev 2002: 8, Takahashi 2004: 27).

The distinctive feature of the rhemative case is, rather than marking of the sentence subject, its inability to mark the element being the topic of the utterance. This feature, also recognized by Japanese sources in convoluted and mysterious terms of “the subject being included in the predicate” within specific constructions of a “nesting box” (Tokieda 1941: 370-371), is clearly linked to the topic-prominent rather than subject-prominent character of Japanese, being an argument against considering it as a sentence subject marker only.

There are instances where the rhemative case marks the first argument of a verb, the sentence subject, as in 3.4.3.a, with the verb of existence *aru* ある ‘to be; to exist’. Still, the element in the rhemative case

does not mark the subject only, nor is it the only case which may mark the subject. The systemic marking of topic and rheme, the arguments of the information structure of the utterance, takes precedence over marking of the sentence arguments, subject and object, both systems of marking often being interwoven.

- 3.4.3.a. *Ie-ga* *ar-u.*
 house-RHE exist-NPST

家がある。 ‘There is a house./[I] have a house./It is the house that [I] have.’

3.4.3.a may in some circumstances be a simple statement, with no sentence stress, with the rhemative case merely marking the subject. This applies when self-evident, obvious facts are mentioned, in a variety of the auto-themative usage mentioned below in 4.3.

It may also occur along with predication about a new or emphasized designate *ie* 家 ‘house’, with sentence stress, as in the introduction to a longer paragraph or in an answer to a question like 3.4.3.b, also with rhemative marking of the subject of inquiry *nani* 何 ‘what’. The interrogative pronoun *nani*, marking the rheme, may for this specific reason occur only in the rhemative case *Nga* in a question like 3.4.3.b, never in the themative case *Nwa*.

- 3.4.3.b. *Nani-ga* *ar-u?*
 what-RHE exist-NPST

何がある？ ‘What is [there]?/What do [you] have?’

In neither instance, 3.4.3.a or 3.4.3.b, is the element in the rhemative case *Nga* the topic of the sentence/utterance. An alternative version of 3.4.3.a, with the topic element *watashi* in the themative case *Nwa*, as in 3.4.2.c, mentions the already known, obvious topic element in the themative case *Nwa*, contrasting it with the rheme element, non-obvious, new, introduced in the rhemative case *Nga*.

The topic (theme), as in 3.4.3.a or 3.4.3.b, may not be mentioned at all, being obvious, or may be mentioned explicitly, in the themative case *Nwa*, as in 3.4.3.c. As seen above in 3.4.2.g and 3.4.2.h, the systemic introduction of the new context element in the rhemative case is also possible, ahead of its appearance in the themative case, as a theme in the following text.

3.4.3.c. *Watashi-wa ie-ga ar-u.*
 I-THE house-RHE exist-NPST

私は家がある。‘[I] have a house./As to me, I have a house.’

3.4.3.c, as mentioned also in 4.3, is an example of the most typical interplay between the sentence elements of theme and rheme in Japanese, in the themative and the rhemative case respectively. At the same time, only one of the elements may mark the sentence subject. As also mentioned in 4.3, the common recognition of such sentence structure as one with “double subject” is erroneous. The roles of the elements are typically marked by their linear position in the sentence, the subject or object being closer to the predicate, optionally preceded by the theme. In fact, the cases of nominal elements in such sentences may differ, similarly as their topic/comment marking, related to the speaker’s view on the context of the utterance and to the saliency of their designates. The basic rule is that the subject element is usually closer to the predicate than the topic. The first element of the sentence is not necessarily the subject, revealing morphological and syntactic nexus with the predicate, regardless of the sentence’s translation into English.

The marking of sentence subject is typical for the usage of the rhemative case in subordinate clauses, also with the option to mark the element as the rheme, with sentence stress, as with *ie* in 3.4.3.d and *watashi* in 3.4.3.e.

3.4.3.d. *Izu-ni ie-ga ar-u koto-o*
 Izu(PN)-LOC house-RHE exist-NPST NMN(AN)-ACC
shira-na-katta.
 know-NEG-PST

伊豆に家があることを知らなかった。‘[I] did not know that there is a house in Izu./[I] did not know that [SOMEONE] had a house in Izu.’

3.4.3.e. *Watashi-ga mot-te ki-ta kyōkasho da.*
 I-RHE carry-CON RES(AV)- PST textbook- NOM be(COP, NPST)

私が持ってきた教科書だ。‘It is the textbook that I brought.’

Both sentences may also appear in their extended versions – probably less frequent, but technically correct. Of these, 3.4.3.f as an extension of 3.4.3.d reveals the topical element *watashi*, in the rhemative case *Nwa*, connected by nexus, as its subject, to the main predicate *shiranakatta*.

Note that the structure of the sentence in subject-prominent English and in topic-prominent Japanese (also exhibiting some elements of subject-prominence) differs significantly. The element *hito-ga*, with the designate being the subject ‘person’ of the verb ‘to have’ in the English translation of the sentence, in its Japanese version is the rheme only, not the subject. More precisely: it is one of two rhemative elements, of which the element *ie* may be both the rheme and subject or the subject only, their hierarchy of rhemative importance being further differentiated prosodically, by sentence stress. In other words, the element *hito* is deprived of the nexus relation to the predicate of the subordinate clause *aru*, which clearly takes the element *ie* as its subject.

The above-mentioned phenomenon is another argument against the identification of the rhemative case with the sentence subject. It is also different from the nominative case, despite the fact that in numerous contemporary sources it is rendered also by its obscure and erroneous glossing as NOM. Elements in the position of *hito* in 3.4.3.f may, usually in idiolects, in subordinate clauses – and only in subordinate clauses – with semantic reference to possession of a property, skill or feature, occur in the locative case *Nni*. This is compatible with the point-marking properties of the locative case.

The rules of word order, with the subject or object being the element closest to the predicate, are preserved in 3.4.3.f. The element *koto-o* is the nominalizer of the objective clause starting with *ano*, being marked as direct object, in the accusative case. This may also optionally be neutralized to the themative case in the manner described earlier in 3.4.2.

3.4.3.f.	<i>Watashi-wa</i>	<i>ano</i>	<i>hito-ga</i>	<i>Izu-ni</i>
	I-THE	that	man-RHE	Izu(PN)-LOC
	<i>ie-ga</i>	<i>ar-u</i>	<i>koto-o</i>	<i>shira-na-katta.</i>
	house-RHE	exist-NPST	NMN(AN)-ACC	know-NEG-PST

私はあの人伊豆に家があることを知らなかった。 ‘[As to me, I] did not know that that person had a house in Izu.’

Secondary forms of the rhemative case (with its alternative markers – allomorphs) – *Nbakari*, *Ndake*, *Nhodo*, *Nkoso*, *Ngurai*, *Nnomi*, *Nshika* – perform clearly rhemative functions in their use in the position of the sentence subject, as direct object (in contrast to the primary form *Nga*) and in the nominal predicate with emphasis. They display certain semantic and syntactic distinctions from the primary form *Nga*, not significant enough to for them to be described as separate cases. Of these, the most heterogeneous from the rhemative marking properties of the RHE case (which is clearly opposed, among others, to the direct object marking of the ACC case) is the possibility of combining at least *-dake* with the marking of the accusative case *-o* in multiple case marking. The secondary markers of the rhemative case are all glossed as RHE, in the same way as the primary form. An alternative glossing, with the use of distinctive digits, RHE2, RHE3 and so on, is also possible.

The form *Nkoso* has the rhemative function of marking ‘this, not the other’ element of the context, as in 3.4.3.g, often being interchangeable with the primary case form *Nga*, with sentence stress. The *Nhodo* form occurs with comparative marking ‘to the [same] extent as’, as in 3.4.3.h. *Nhodo* may also be used in a euphemistic honorific function with numerals, numeral classifiers and nouns related to quantity and quality.

3.4.3.g. *Watashi-koso* *ayamar-u* *beki* *da*.
 I-RHE apologize-NPST must(ANA) be(COP, NPST)
 私こそ謝るべきだ。 ‘It is me who should apologize.’

3.4.3.h. *Ane-hodo* *haya-ku* *hashir-e-na-i*.
 elder.sister-RHE fast-CON run-POT-NEG-NPST
 姉ほど速く走れない。 ‘[I] cannot run as fast as [my] elder sister.’

The forms *Nbakari*, *Ndake*, *Ngurai*, *Nnomi* and *Nshika*, in many cases non-interchangeable with the primary case form *Nga*, exhibit various limitative quantitative and qualitative usage (being translated as ‘only; solely; at least’), as in 3.4.3.i–3.4.3.m, including also the purely technical delimitative usage with numerals, numeral classifiers and nouns related to quantity and quality. *Nnomi* exhibits more formal use. *Nshika* attaches to the negative form of the predicate.

3.4.3.i. *Ame-bakari* *dat-ta.*
rain-RHE be(COP)-PST

雨ばかりだった。‘It was [only] raining [and raining].’

3.4.3.j. *Kare-dake* *mat-te* *kure-ta.*
he-RHE wait-CON GVI(AV, N1)-PST

彼だけ待ってくれた。‘It was only him who [kindly] waited [for me].’

3.4.3.k. *Nichiyōbi-gurai* *yukkuri* *sugoshi-ta-i.*
Sunday-RHE slowly spend-VOL(1)-NPST

日曜日ぐらいゆっくり過ごしたい。‘I would like to spend at least Sunday with no hurry.’

3.4.3.l. *Kankeisha-nomi*
authorized.person-RHE

関係者のみ ‘Authorized Persons Only/[No Entry] to Unauthorized Persons’

3.4.3.m. *Anata-shika* *i-na-i.*
you-RHE exist-NEG-NPST

あなたしかいない。‘[I]’ve got only you.’

Both primary and secondary forms of the rhemative case may occur as the first (and only) valence object of adjectival predicates, with more or less emphasis of the rhemative role of the designate in the informational structure of an utterance marked by sentence stress. Japanese adjectives are inflected verbal elements (as *hoshii* 欲しい ‘want’ in 3.4.3.n) or transitory (neither nominal nor verbal) uninflected elements used in nominal predicate constructions with the copula (as *suki* 好き ‘like’ in 3.4.3.o below). As Kiyose mentions, they “do not take objects” (1995: 24). Consequently, the respective nominal elements in the rhemative case in 3.4.3.n and 3.4.3.o may occur in the themative or distinctive case, but not in the accusative case. That the possible translations of 3.4.3.n and 3.4.3.o may contain transitive (verbal) constructions, with direct objects in the (morphologically, semantically or syntactically recognized) accusative case, is unrelated to the fact that the respective Japanese constructions are adjectival and (similarly as

in many other languages) intransitive. The fact that the elements in the examples below are marked perceptively as first-hand information (in more comprehensible terms: first person, as indicated in the glossing) is unrelated to this phenomenon.

3.4.3.n. *Ie-ga* *hoshi-i.*
 house-RHE want(ADJ, 1)-NPST

家が欲しい。‘I want a house.’

3.4.3.o. *Kono* *ie-ga* *suki* *de-s-u.*
 this house-RHE like(NA, 1) be(COP)-POL-NPST

この家が好きです。‘I like this house.’

According to the emphasis of the verbal (and transitive) or non-verbal (intransitive) properties of the predicate, which may merge in some verbal forms, nominal arguments of different type (and in different cases, based on systemic requirements) may be used. This is mentioned in the description of the accusative case, in the examples 3.4.10.f and 3.4.10.g.

3.4.4. Distinctive Case

The distinctive case *Nmo* (in its primary form, with three secondary morphological forms) is another related case of the nominative case. In terms of topic-prominence, it marks the rheme (comment, as opposed to the topic, theme), always with sentence stress, often simultaneously with marking of the subject, but also with marking of the object. This property is alluded to also by the Japanese term for the case proposed above.

The distinctive case is usually not described as a case, with its alleged “meaning” translated into English as ‘too’ or ‘even’, not with a function perceived as systemic. This may be seen also in one of the descriptions of its sole marker, apart from the case particles and case forms as such, as “having the function to exhibit the theme” (Kiyose 1995: 8-9, 37-39). Still, the distinctive case actually exhibits the rheme in opposition to the thematic case *Nwa*, with similar neutralization of the marking of the sentence subject and direct object as with the thematic case. It is in rela-

tion to this fact that another description mentions that the sentence *A-mo B-mo yob-u.*, with two different nominal arguments in the distinctive case and the verb *yobu* 呼ぶ ‘call’, may allegedly “be ambiguous – in theory, at least – to the extent of ten meanings” (Martin 1975: 66). Even though the author mentions that it is only “in theory”, the focus on the unsystemic and – quite surprisingly – ungrammatical features of the case is clear in such a statement. The distinctive case, in both its single and multiple usages, emphasizes the rheme in a more intensive manner than the rhemative case *Nga*, usually requiring lexical marking in its translation into English, as in 3.4.4.a. Also with numerals, numeral classifiers and nouns of quantity, the quantitative emphasis is made with the use of the distinctive case.

3.4.4.a. *Kyō-mo* *ame* *da.*
 today-DIS rain-NOM be(COP, NPST)

今日も雨だ。 ‘Also today it’s rain[ing]./Even today it’s raining.’

As mentioned, since Japanese is primarily a topic-prominent language, rheme marking may prevail over the marking of other sentence arguments, as subject in 3.4.4.b and direct object in 3.4.4.c.

3.4.4.b. *Watashi-mo* *shiri-mase-n* *de-shi-ta.*
 I-DIS know-POL-NEG be(COP)-POL-PST

私も知りませんでした。 ‘I also didn’t know./Even I didn’t know.’

3.4.4.c. *Kyōkasho-mo* *mot-te* *ki-mashi-ta.*
 textbook-DIS carry-CON RES(AV)-POL-PST

教科書も持ってきました。 ‘[I] also brought the textbook [with me]./[I] even brought the textbook.’

With two or more elements in the distinctive case, the typical function of that case is to emphasize both elements (‘both... and...’), which is clear and unambiguous, as in 3.4.4.d. The analogous sentence structure with the negative form of the respective predicate, as indicated in the alternative version of the verb below, may be used to mark absolute denial with respect to its rhemative content as considered central to the act of predication (‘neither... nor...’).

3.4.4.d.	<i>Tegami-mo</i>	<i>takkyūbin-mo</i>	<i>todoi-ta/todoka-na-i.</i>
	letter-DIS	parcel-DIS	reach-PST/reach-NEG-NPST

手紙も宅急便も届いた・届かない。‘[I] received both the letter and the parcel./[I] received neither the letter nor the parcel.’

The distinctive case also performs a largely lexicalized, total function, positive or negative (depending on the form of the predicate), with interrogative pronouns such as *dare* 誰・だれ ‘who’: *daremo* だれも ‘everyone; no one’.

Secondary case forms of the distinctive case (with its alternative markers – allomorphs) – *Ndatte*, *Nsae*, *Nsura* – reveal certain lexical differentiation. This fact is not significant enough to describe them as separate cases, due to their functional affinity to the primary case form. *Ndatte* is most informal and colloquial, *Nsae* and *Nsura* exhibiting more formal usage, as in 3.4.4.e–3.4.4.g. They mark qualitative rather than quantitative emphatic nuances related to the designates, with neutralization of subject and object roles. They are all glossed as DIS, in the same way as the primary form. An alternative solution with the use of digits, as in DIS2, DIS3 and so on, is also possible.

3.4.4.e.	<i>Kodomo-datte</i>	<i>deki-ru</i>	<i>koto</i>	<i>da.</i>
	child-DIS	can-NPST	NMN(AN)-NOM	be(COP, NPST)

子供だってできることだ。‘Even children can do it.’

3.4.4.f.	<i>Jibun-no</i>	<i>namae-sae</i>	<i>wasure-ta.</i>
	oneself-GEN	name-DIS	forget-PST

自分の名前さえ忘れた。‘[SOMEONE] forgot even [THEIR] own name.’

3.4.4.g.	<i>Hiragana-sura</i>	<i>kak-e-na-i.</i>
	<i>hiragana.syllabary-DIS</i>	write-POT-NEG-NPST

平仮名すら書けない。‘[SOMEONE] cannot even write the *hiragana* syllabary.’

3.4.5. Enumerative Case

The enumerative case *Nto* marks the complete enumeration (of one or more elements), in terms of the perceptive values described in 4.1.2. The designate in the enumerative case is the first-hand information, mentioned in an exact, complete manner. Also the Japanese term proposed for the case alludes to this property.

The enumerative case is a related case of the nominative case, being opposed to the exemplificative case *Nya* and the interrogative case *Nka*. It does not have secondary forms.

The very term *enumerative case* is used to emphasize the paradigmatic properties of the case, present in relatively many descriptions, but usually not described in terms of a triad, as below, together with the exemplificative case and the interrogative case. The term *comitative case* (also as *comitativus* in its Latin version in Table 3.3.1) and other related terms used in existing descriptions (“accompaniment, comparison” in Nippon-no-Rômajī-Sya 1916: 39, “comitative” in Feldman 1953: 840, Kiyose 1995: 23-37 and Lavrentev 2002: 24, *yodōkaku* 与同格 in Matsushita 1928: 470 or *aikata* 相方 in Nitta 1993: 28-37, “fellow/comitative” in Suzuki 1972: 206 and Takahashi 2004: 27) lack such paradigmatic reference.

Complete enumeration may occur in joint nominal arguments (subjects and objects), with their syntactic function marked by the case of the last element, as in 3.4.5.a. It may also mark the symmetry of involvement in a mutual action, as in the indirect object in 3.4.5.b (this usage may be described as contrastive to the locative case *Nni*, marking asymmetrical involvement, as mentioned in 4.7 and presented in 4.7.k). Also the use of the enumerative case typical in exact quotations, as in 3.4.5.c, expanded further by uses of essive character, as in 3.4.5.d, may be related to its most typical function in instances of complete enumeration.

3.4.5.a.	<i>Wain-to</i>	<i>mizu-o</i>	<i>kudasa-i.</i>
	wine-ENU	water-ACC	give.in(N1, EXL)-IMP

ワインと水をください。 ‘Wine and water, please.’

3.4.5.b. *Kanai-to* *sōdan* *shi-ta.*
 own.wife-ENU consultation-NOM do(AV)-PST

家内と相談した。‘I consulted [this] with [my] wife.’

3.4.5.c. *Tanaka-to* *mōshi-mas-u.*
 Tanaka(PN)-ENU say(MOD)-POL-NPST

田中と申します。‘My name is Tanaka.’

3.4.5.d. *Ano* *kata-o* *shi-to* *aoi-de* *i-mas-u.*
 that person-ACC teacher- look.up.to- PRG(AV)-POL-
 ENU CON NPST

あのかたを師と仰いでいます。‘I consider that person my teacher.’

3.4.6. Exemplificative Case

The exemplificative case *Nya* (also with its secondary forms), a related case of the nominative case, marks incomplete enumeration, in terms of the perceptive values described in 4.1.2, being opposed to the enumerative case *Nto* and interrogative case *Nka*. The case and its paradigmatic connection to other related cases of the nominative case are usually not described in existing sources on Japanese grammar. The designate in the exemplificative case is the non-first-hand information, mentioned in an inexact, euphemistic, incomplete or careless manner. The proposed Japanese term for the case overtly alludes to this function.

Incomplete enumeration may be applied in joint subjects and objects, with the last object in the secondary form of the exemplificative case *Nnado* and with their syntactic functions marked by multiple case marking, as in 3.4.6.a. The secondary form *Nnado* also exhibits euphemistic, polite usage, as in 3.4.6.b.

3.4.6.a. *Wain-ya* *mizu-nado-o* *morat-ta.*
 wine-EXE water-EXE-ACC get.in(1)-PST

ワインや水などをもらった。‘I had [things like] some wine and water.’

3.4.6.b.	<i>Kore-nado</i>	<i>ikaga</i>	<i>de-sh-ō</i>	<i>ka.</i>
	this-EXE	how	be(COP)-POL-HYP	INT(SP)

これなどいかがでしょう。‘How about this?’

Other secondary forms of the exemplificative case, *Ndano*, *Nnanka*, *Nnante*, *Nnari*, *Nyara*, exhibit certain semantic and syntactic distinctions from the primary exemplificative case form *Nya*, not significant enough to for them to be described as separate cases. They are all glossed as EXE, in the same way as the primary form. The use of distinctive digits, as in EXE2, EXE3 and so on, is also possible in glossing.

The main difference between the secondary forms, as compared to the primary form *Nya* and the secondary form *Nnado*, is the colloquial, informal, rather careless manner of referring to one (*Nnanka*, *Nnante*) or more (*Ndano*, *Nnari*, *Nyara*) designates, as in 3.4.6.c–3.4.6.g.

3.4.6.c.	<i>Wain-dano</i>	<i>mizu-dano-o</i>	<i>kat-ta.</i>
	wine-EXE	water-EXE-ACC	buy-PST

ワインだの水だのを買った。‘I bought [things like] some wine and water.’

3.4.6.d.	<i>Wain-nanka</i>	<i>ira-na-i.</i>
	wine-EXE	need-NEG-NPST

ワインなんか要らない。‘I need no wine [or anything].’

3.4.6.e.	<i>Wain-nante</i>	<i>mazu-i.</i>
	wine-EXE	taste.bad(ADJ)-NPST

ワインなんてまずい。‘Wine [and the like] tastes bad.’

3.4.6.f.	<i>Wain-nari</i>	<i>mizu-nari</i>	<i>kur-e.</i>
	wine-EXE	water-EXE	give.in(N1)-IMP

ワインなり水なりくれ。‘Wine or water – give me [some].’

3.4.6.g.	<i>Wain-yara</i>	<i>kakuteru-yara,</i>	<i>nomimono-ga</i>
	wine-EXE	cocktail-EXE	drink-RHE
	<i>takusan</i>	<i>de-te</i>	<i>ki-ta.</i>
	a lot	come.out-CON	RES(AV)-PST

ワインやらカクテルやら、飲み物がたくさん出てきた。‘There were many drinks [served], be it wine or cocktails [and the like].’

3.4.7. Interrogative Case

The interrogative case *Nka*, as implied also by its proposed Japanese term, marks an alternative, as opposed to the enumerative case *Nto* and exemplificative case *Nya*. The interrogative case and its paradigmatic connection to other related cases of the nominative case are usually not described in existing sources on Japanese grammar. The designate in the interrogative case is one of several possible designates to choose, or else remains uncertain, as in 3.4.7.a.

3.4.7.a.	<i>Mizu-ka</i>	<i>jūsu-ka</i>	<i>tsumeta-i</i>	<i>nomimono-ga</i>	<i>hoshi-i.</i>
	water-INT	juice-INT	cold-NPST	drink-RHE	want(ADJ,1)-NPST

水かジュースか冷たい飲み物が欲しい。‘I want something cold to drink, water or juice.’

Interrogative pronouns like *doko* どこ ‘where’ in the interrogative case form partly lexicalized indefinite versions: *dokoka* どこか ‘somewhere’.

3.4.8. Vocative Case

The vocative case *Nyo*, the term being mentioned in some existing descriptions of Japanese grammar, although mainly as a reference to the vocative case in the Latin paradigm of nominal cases, is in strict terms an standalone case. It is described as the related case of the nominative case rather than a standalone case, due both to the low frequency of its contemporary usage and to the fact that it is often changed to the

nominative case in vocative use. It is used in its full form, in the function of affected reference to the nominal designate, mainly in formal and written texts, as in the genuine title of the linguistic source in 3.4.8.a, or in poetry, rarely occurring in contemporary speech. The element in the vocative case is syntactically independent (which may also be viewed as a subtype of dependency), usually being separated from other elements with a comma or a space in writing.

3.4.8.a.	<i>Nihongo-yo,</i>	<i>doko-e</i>	<i>ik-u?</i>
	Japanese.language-VOC	where-ALL	go-NPST

日本語よ、どこへ行く？ ‘Oh, the Japanese language, where are you heading?’

3.4.9. Genitive Case

The genitive case *Nno* is a main, standalone case. As regards the terminology given in Table 3.3.1, the Japanese term for genitive case is one of the terms traditionally used in Japanese linguistics for non-Japanese cases, alluding overtly to the possessive properties of the case, considered central to its various semantic functions. The genitive case, with one morphological form consisting of one marker attached to a constant lexical nominal stem (with minor exceptions, such as *nanno* 何の, the genitive form of the interrogative pronoun *nani* 何 ‘what’), reveals relatively many semantic and syntactic instances of usage, defined rather misleadingly by various sources, including Japanese lexicographical (dictionary) sources, in terms of their allegedly distinct “meanings”. All of the alleged meanings and sub-meanings of the genitive case may be reduced to its prepositional connection with another nominal (head) element (according to the scheme *Nno N[...J]*), as its modifier. Its actual functions, however different they may be, can probably be linked in cognitive terms of radial resemblance to the possessive function. The uniform case marker of the genitive case is the main argument for such a statement, made on purely morphological premises.

Note that the genitive case is often not used in compound derivational word forms of native Japanese, Sino-Japanese and Chinese origin, due to their internal properties as mentioned in 2.1.

To emphasize the attributive usage of the genitive case, all example sentences in this subsection contain main nominal elements in the nominative case linked to attributive nominal elements in their genitive case. The case of the main element (head) of the construction may be different than NOM, according to the syntactic function of the attributive genitive phrase terminated by its main nominal element. The genitive case of Japanese displays no adverbial usage.

The probably most typical, literary possessive usage of the genitive case, as in 3.4.9.a, does not differ significantly from its other usages, of which 3.4.9.b and 3.4.9.c include inanimate designates, which cannot occur in the semantic role of possessors. Moreover, such sentences as 3.4.9.c happen also to be interpreted in terms of the allegedly temporal meaning of the genitive case or marker, which is not different from, for example, the functions of the Saxon genitive in English (cf. *Wednesday's meeting*). Certain usages of the genitive case are overtly considered appositional, like that provided in 3.4.9.d (cf. Kiyose 1995: 21-22). This may be considered another extension of its basic usage for the attributive connection of two nominal elements.

It is not untypical that the usage of the genitive sketched above may lead to some ambiguities on the purely semantic level, as visible in the many possible translations of 3.4.9.e. This is not untypical for morphological cases, and may not as such constitute an argument against the identification of a genitive case.

- | | | |
|----------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 3.4.9.a. | <i>watashi-no</i>
I-GEN | <i>kasa</i>
umbrella-NOM |
|----------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|

私の傘 ‘my umbrella’

- | | | |
|----------|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 3.4.9.b. | <i>kabe-no</i>
wall-GEN | <i>iro</i>
color-NOM |
|----------|----------------------------|-------------------------|

壁の色 ‘the wall color’

- | | | |
|----------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 3.4.9.c. | <i>mukashi-no</i>
past-GEN | <i>hanashi</i>
story-NOM |
|----------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|

昔の話 ‘a story from the past’

3.4.9.d. *Pōrandojin-no* *watashi*
 Polish.national-GEN I-NOM

ポーランド人の私 ‘me, [as] a person of Polish nationality’

3.4.9.e. *Nihongo-no* *hon*
 Japanese.language-GEN book-NOM

日本語の本 ‘a book in the Japanese language/a book on the Japanese language/a Japanese language textbook’

The existing grammatical sources quite often describe this case (be it considered a case or an analytic case marker) in a systemic manner. Such recognition may be obscured by some sources of highly unmorphological character, a representative example being Tsujimura (1996: 126-127), with a description of Japanese nouns covering only two pages, of which half a page, probably due to a rather unjustified analogy with the Saxon genitive in English, is devoted to the description of the analytic marker of “Genitive Case particle” *no*, which “intervenes between the two” nominal elements. Matsushita (1928: 470) and many other authors and sources propose the description of the genitive case as an ‘adnominal case’ *rentaikaku* 連体格. Some authors, such as Suzuki (1972: 206) and Takahashi (2004: 27), despite the morphological character of the proposed descriptions, propose the same term in order to distinguish the genitive case from the other “non-adnominal” cases, including also instances of multiple case marking which include the genitive marker. At the same time, also in instances of the case marker *-no* being connected as the last marker in the agglutinative structure of a Japanese nominal word form, after another case marker or markers (cf. 4.6 on multiple case marking), its function does not change when compared with single-marker forms.

It is probably more or less on the same grounds as those mentioned above that objections to the description of *-no* as a case marker or case particle, due to its allegedly non-syntactic function, unrelated to the predicate, are raised by some authors (Yamada 2004: 51). Such a position seems rather to obscure the primarily morphological approach proposed in this book. The semantic or syntactic features of a case should not interfere with its otherwise unambiguous morphological marking on the initial level of case paradigm analysis and description.

Furthermore, for systemic and easily explicable reasons, it is misleading to explain the function of the genitive case as marking sentence subject, despite what some sources say, as mentioned in 4.7. The genitive case is also frequent in the adpositional constructions described in 4.9.

3.4.10. Accusative Case

The accusative case *N'o* is a main, standalone case. Its proposed term is sometimes mentioned in Japanese descriptions of non-Japanese case systems. The accusative case is usually distinguished, also for semantic and/or syntactic reasons, as the case marking the direct object. In Japanese, it serves as a very regular way of marking the direct object, including in collocations that do not contain the direct object in translations to other languages. The latter is probably the reason why, instead of one clear general function of the case and its one morphological marker, numerous semantic and syntactic quasi-variants of it are described by various sources, the most representative being Martin (1975: 40), with six alleged meanings of the “case particle *-o*”, and Golovnin (1986: 238-239), with seven similar though not identical meanings. Despite the existing unsystemic and unparadigmatic approaches, the accusative case has only one basic function: marking the direct object.

This one, clear-cut, function of the accusative case seems to influence the descriptions of several other phenomena related to its usage. They are often to be interpreted in a manner that is seemingly paradoxical, but at the same time close to the linguistic and systemic facts of Japanese.

First of all, due to the high (based mainly on semantic grounds) predictability of the role of a designate of a predicate argument as direct object, the accusative case marker is prone to case drop. This phenomenon, not to be confused with the unambiguous zero marking of the nominative case, leads also to an (erroneous) description of the accusative case form as a bare stem or as having “zero marker” (as in Feldman 1953: 840 or Kiyose 1995: 33). While certain historical, diachronic reasons may lie behind such a description, case drop (with an unambiguously reconstructable marker; cf. 4.5) should not be mistaken for usage of the nominative case (with zero marker and no reconstructable overt marker; cf. 3.4.1).

Another non-crucial issue with the Japanese accusative case may be that the direct object marking may be overridden by theme/rheme marking (with the themative, distinctive and terminative cases, though not the rhemative), as already mentioned and demonstrated in 3.4.2.c and 3.4.4.c above. This phenomenon is explicable in systemic terms with reference to subject-prominence, a property co-existing with topic-prominence in Japanese.

The most representative, core and canonical usage of the accusative case is undoubtedly in marking the terminals of direct objects, intuitively recognized, as Kiyose (1995: 23) puts it in purely semantic terms, as words “influenced directly by the action”, as in 3.4.10.a and 3.4.10.b below.

- 3.4.10.a. *Mizu-o* *non-da.*
 water-ACC drink-PST

水を飲んだ。 ‘[I] drank water.’

- 3.4.10.b. *Tegami-o* *dashi-ta.*
 letter-ACC send-PST

手紙を出した。 ‘[I] sent a letter.’

In contrast to the above usages, classified by Martin (1975: 40) as “affective” or “cathetic”, the same author also differentiates, among others, the alleged “traversal”, as in 3.4.10.c, “ablative”, as in 3.4.10.d, and “temporal object”, as in 3.4.10.e. This view is contradicted – in a direct manner only with regard to 3.4.10.c, but with effective and systemic reference to all similar dilemmas – by the statement of Kiyose (1995: 24): “the suffix *-o* [...] denotes the pure accusative case [...] Even though the semantic equivalents in English are ‘flies through the sky’ [...], they have no influence on the Japanese grammar”. This, however, despite the other remark of Kiyose mentioned above, is not necessarily due to the rather naive, semantically oriented view that the designates of *sora* 空 ‘sky’, *densha* 電車 ‘train’ or *Tōkyō* 東京 ‘Tokyo’ are “influenced” by the action. Instances of canonical usage of the uniform case form *N’o* may extend into non-canonical usage. Such instances may be defined as peripheral examples of the accusative case functions in

Japanese, with the necessary stipulation that the rather doubtful existence of the respective passive counterparts of 3.4.10.c–3.4.10.e does not necessarily constitute an argument against the peripherally transitive character of their predicates.

3.4.10.c. *Sora-o* *tob-u.*
 sky-ACC fly-NPST

空を飛ぶ。 ‘[SOMEONE/SOMETHING] flies through the sky.’

3.4.10.d. *Densha-o* *ori-ta.*
 train-ACC get.off-PST

電車を降りた。 ‘[SOMEONE] got off the train.’

3.4.10.e. *Tōkyō-de* *isshō-o* *kurashi-ta.*
 Tokyo-INS whole.life-ACC spend-PST

東京で一生を暮らした。 ‘[SOMEONE] spent [their] whole life in Tokyo.’

Due to the virtual insignificance of similar quasi-issues, and to the strong reconstructability of the direct object marker, the accusative case, instead of being viewed as a weak case, should probably rather be described as one of most salient cases in the Japanese case system. It is the only case in the proposed paradigm unambiguously marking the direct object, while at the same time, it marks morphologically the direct object only, having no other values.

As in the examples 3.4.3.n and 3.4.3.o given in the description of the rhemative case, adjectival predicates do not connect to a nominal element in the accusative case, since they do not take direct objects. Adjectival (intransitive) features may also merge with the properties of transitive verbal elements, as may be seen in 3.4.10.f and 3.4.10.g.

The main verbal element *taberu* 食べる ‘to eat’ reveals unambiguous transitive properties, overriding the adjectival properties of the volitional (desiderative) marker *-ta-*, described in the traditional approach as an auxiliary element, and taking adjectival grammatical markers in 3.4.10.f. A similar phenomenon occurs in its potential form in 3.4.10.g. Direct objects of transitive verbs appear typically in the accusative case *N’o*. Some at least partly adjectival properties of verbal elements (the

potential form in 3.4.10.g, similarly as the volitional form in 3.4.10.f, refers to features, not to actual actions or states) are attenuated in such usage for the sake of transitive properties, such as the taking of regular direct objects in the accusative case.

3.4.10.f. *Motto* *sushi-o* *tabe-ta-i.*
 more sushi-ACC eat-VOL(1)-NPST

もっと寿司を食べたい。 ‘I want [to eat] more sushi./To eat more sushi is what I want.’

3.4.10.g. *Sushi-o* *tabe-rare-na-i.*
 sushi-ACC eat-POT-NEG-NPST

寿司を食べられない。 ‘[I] cannot eat sushi./Eating sushi is what [I] cannot do.’

In the same constructions as above, the partly adjectival properties of the volitional marker *-ta-* and the potential marker *-rare-* may be emphasized and expressed with the usage of the designates in the rhemative case *Nga*. In 3.4.10.h and 3.4.10.g, it is the transitive properties of the verbal element *taberu* that are attenuated. As in 3.4.10.f and 3.4.10.g above, the respective semantic nuances have been at least partly rendered in the translation of the examples.

3.4.10.h. *Motto* *sushi-ga* *tabe-ta-i.*
 more sushi-RHE eat-VOL(1)-NPST

もっと寿司が食べたい。 ‘I want [to eat] more sushi./It is more sushi that I want [to eat].’

3.4.10.i. *Sushi-ga* *tabe-rare-na-i.*
 sushi-RHE eat-POT-NEG-NPST

寿司が食べられない。 ‘[I] cannot eat sushi./It is sushi that [I] cannot eat.’

The data presented above is not compatible with the findings of Kiyose (1995: 25), who finds sentences like 3.4.10.f ungrammatical, or with the hypothesis of Makino (2005) on the alleged “cognitive change” of the rhemative and accusative cases, or rather of their respective mark-

ers, *-ga* and *-o*. At the same time, they are based on systemic rules, supporting the claim of radial resemblance of some interdependencies between intransitive vs. transitive properties and rhematic vs. accusative case usage in Japanese, as proposed elsewhere (Jabłoński 2019). Their gradable character does not weaken or remove the significance of certain prototypical rules. The purely adjectival predicates, as in 3.4.3.n–3.4.3.o, do not take direct objects in the accusative case. The purely verbal, transitive predicates, as in 3.4.10.a and 3.4.10.b, do take such objects in the accusative case. This phenomenon, also occurring in conjunction with the topic-prominent and subject-prominent features of Japanese, does not undermine the primary function of the accusative case as a marker of direct objects.

3.4.11. Instrumental Case

The instrumental case *Nde* is a main, standalone case, with no secondary forms. Its marker is commonly described as a “case particle” in traditional descriptions of Japanese. Its most representative function is usually defined as marking the instrument (indirect object) of an action, according to its literal term, with several semantic extensions. The most representative of them is mentioned in some sources, including the most up-to-date Polish source on Japanese grammar, with the description of two *-de* markers (particles), each with a distinctive number in the subscript, of which the particle *-de₁* marks the “tool or means of action”, with extensions such as “material and substance”, “cause”, “manner”, “time” and “measure”. The particle *-de₂* is the “action locative” marker, “naming the place where an action, a movement or an activity aimed at an object is performed” (Huszcza 2003: 319–325). It is more or less on the basis of the same criteria that Golovnin (1986: 242) distinguishes seven functions of the marker, and Kiyose (1995: 30) distinguishes the purely instrumental and the non-instrumental functions of the case, with the marker *-de* being assigned both to the locative and to the instrumental case (Kiyose 1995: 33).

3.4.11.a–3.4.11.c may be provided as representative examples of the instrumental case marking an instrument or means.

3.4.11.a. *Pen-de kai-ta.*
 pen-INS write-PST

ペンで書いた。‘[I] wrote [it] with a pen.’

3.4.11.b. *Senzai-de arawa-na-i to, tore-na-i.*
 detergent- wash-NEG-NPST when(SC) come.off-NEG-
 INS NPST

洗剤で洗わないと、取れない。‘[It] won’t come off, if not washed with a detergent.’

3.4.11.c. *Jitensha-de kayo-e-na-i.*
 bicycle-INS commute-POT-NEG-NPST

自転車で通えない。‘[I] cannot commute by bicycle.’

3.4.11.d–3.4.11.f illustrate the usages of the instrumental case often described as locative.

3.4.11.d. *Terebi-de mi-ta nyūsu da.*
 TV-INS see-PST news-NOM be(COP, NPST)

テレビで見たニュースだ。‘[It] is the news I saw on TV.’

3.4.11.e. *Kodomo-wa nakaniwa-de ason-da.*
 child-TOP patio-INS play-PST

子供は中庭で遊んだ。‘The children played on the patio.’

3.4.11.f. *Konsāto-de shiriat-ta.*
 concert-INS get.acquainted-PST

コンサートで知り合った。‘[We] met [for the first time] at a concert.’

On purely morphological grounds, quite apart from the fact that also in other languages having an instrumental case it does not solely mark the tool or instrument, the case exhibits consistently one and only one marker. Semantic distinction between the two basic functions, the instrumental and locative, may be considered typical of descriptions given in didactic terms.

marked by the instrumental case. Rather than marking them as tools or places of activity, the instrumental case alludes to their (abstract) collective, not place-oriented features. This may also be viewed as opposed to the usage of the locative case *Nni*, focused on the (concrete and individual) spot or location of an action or other fact conveyed by the predicate. Intricate definitions of lexical meanings derived from this function, although not impossible as such and probably even to be recommended for further elaboration, seem rather to obscure the general function of the instrumental case.

3.4.12. Locative Case

The locative case *Nni* is a main case with three related cases. From the semantic and syntactic point of view, its primary form, with the marker *-ni*, has (static) locative, (dynamic) dative (allative) and (dynamic) ablative (agential) uses, all marking the indirect object in syntactic terms. This fact is rendered in various ways by existing grammatical sources. The most popular manner of explanation of the locative case is to present each of its meanings as separate and independent. The present proposal is due to the uniform morphological marker of the case, despite its various functions, the concept of *one marker = one case* being regarded as central. This requires a certain abstraction from the individual meanings towards one central function. As such, the point-marking function, also rendered overtly by the newly coined Japanese term *tenkaku* 点格 (lit. ‘point-case’) for the locative case, is described as prominent in virtually all of its usages. This solution, related to the clear-cut static locative function of the case, rendered by its English and Latin terms, along with the convincing opposition against the collective meaning of the instrumental case, makes it possible to overcome a seeming paradox between the dynamic (allative and dative) versus static (locative) values marked by the same marker and case form. This seems to be further confirmed by the fact that while there is no other case clearly marking the (static) point in space or time in Japanese, other cases may mark the vector of (dynamic) activity (cf. 4.1.3). It is worthwhile to note that the diachronic affinity of the *-ni* marker to the copula, like that of other contemporary case markers, such as *-to* of the

enumerative case and *-de* of the instrumental case, is also clearly of static, not dynamic character.

The possible controversies over the coherent description of the locative case may be illustrated by its English translations as *to*, *on*, *at*, *for*, despite its label as dative (Nippon-no-Rômajī-Sya 1916: 39), or by the description of the marker *-ni* as both dative and locative (Aston 1888:8). It is described also as a “basive” case *ikyokaku* 依拠格, with both *-ni* and *-e* markers, by Matsushita (1928: 470). Some older sources (Fujisawa 1910: 10) as well as a number of the newer ones (Feldman 1953: 840, Lavrentev 2002: 24) identify it only as dative; Suzuki (1972: 204) and Takahashi (2004: 27) in their literally morphological descriptions mention the traditional Japanese term for a non-Japanese dative case *yokaku* 与格, unambiguously accompanied by the corresponding English term in the latter source. Eighteen (basic) meanings are differentiated by Golovnin (1986: 240-241). According to Huszcza, the particle *-ni*₁ is a dative marker, with the extensions “indirect object”, “passive” and “causative”. The particle *-ni*₂ is the “purely locative” marker, meaning also “target”, “direction” and “time” (Huszcza 2003: 290-299). An even more elaborate classification is proposed by Kiyose (1995: 33), who assigns the marker both to the dative/agential case (the latter term alluding to the function of marking the subject terminal in passive sentences) and to the locative case (marked simultaneously by *-de*, otherwise the marker of the instrumental case).

3.4.12.a–3.4.12.c illustrate the basic functions of the locative case, reduced schematically to indicating a point in space or time. Note that 3.4.12.a is superficially similar to 3.4.11.e, and 3.4.12.b to 3.4.11.g. It is mainly the instrumental case and the locative case form, respectively, that differentiate them, with substantial impact on their overall meanings. The difference is not, as is commonly claimed, the dynamic character of the predicate with the instrumental case against the static character of the predicate with the locative case; it lies in the properties of the cases, collective (including extension from an instrument to whereabouts) for the former, and point-marking (location) for the latter. At the same time, it is not possible to substitute the locative for the instrumental case in 3.4.12.c, which clearly marks a point in time, with no possibility of collective extension. Such non-interchangeability of the locative case form with any other case form may be observed in the precise marking of spatial and temporal position, to be achieved

only with the use of the locative case *Nni*, not with any other case of the Japanese declension paradigm.

An argument for the affinity of the marker *-ni* to the copula forms, supported by diachronic data, may additionally be raised to explain this phenomenon. On the other hand, the *-de* of the instrumental case and the *-to* of the enumerative case or even the *-no* of the genitive case also reveal diachronic affinity to the copula, which may not necessarily influence their contemporary usage in the marking of declensional oppositions.

- 3.4.12.a. *Kodomo-wa* *nakaniwa-ni* *i-ta.*
 child-TOP patio-LOC be-PST

子供は中庭にいた。‘The children were on the patio.’

- 3.4.12.b. *Futsuka-ni* *owat-ta.*
 two.days/second.day-LOC end-PST

二日に終わった。‘[Something] ended on the second day [of the month].’

- 3.4.12.c. *Shichijinijuppun-ni* *shuppatsu* *shi-mas-u.*
 seven.o’clock.twenty. minutes-LOC departure-NOM do(AV)-POL-NPST

7時20分に出発します。‘[We] [will] depart at 7:20.’

As may be seen in 3.4.12.d–3.4.12.e, the dative/allative function, with the vector of activity turned outwards from the active agent towards the target (passive agent) of the action, is an important extension of the locative function. This, however, is also based on the point-marking properties of the case.

- 3.4.12.d. *Imōto-ni* *age-ta.*
 younger.sister-LOC give.out-PST

妹に上げた。‘[I] gave [something] to [my] younger sister.’

- 3.4.12.e. *Yaoyasan-ni* *it-te* *ki-ta.*
 grocery-LOC go-CON RES(AV)-PST

八百屋さんに行ってきた。‘[SOMEONE] went to the grocery [and back].’

Another function of the locative case, clearly contrasting with the dative/allative mentioned above, is the ablative/agential, as in 3.4.12.f–3.4.12.g. As may be seen, the vector of activity originates from (outward) the source of activity performed on the lexically inactive (3.4.12.f) or grammatically passive (3.4.12.g) object (target), often not mentioned overtly, which is certainly opposite to the situation in 3.4.12.d–3.4.12.e.

3.4.12.f. *Haha-ni* *morat-ta.*
 mother-LOC get.in(1)-PST

母にもらった。‘[I] received it from [my] mother.’

3.4.12.g. *Suri-ni* *saifu-o* *nusum-are-ta.*
 pickpocket-LOC purse-ACC steal-PASS-PST

すりに財布を盗まれた。‘[I] had my purse stolen [by a pickpocket].’

Numerous minor differentiations of the point-marking properties of the locative case do not change its basic and clear-cut locative (point-marking) function.

The case has two secondary forms with clear semantic nuanced differentiation, active only in contemporary static (locative) usage. They are glossed as LOC, but the more technical approach of glossing them as LOC2 and LOC3 is also possible.

The secondary form *Ngoro* is used in temporal position marking, with some honorific, euphemistic nuance, as in 3.4.12.h. The partly similar spatial reference of the secondary form *Nnite*, less frequent, archaic and more formal, is shown in 3.4.12.i. It is possible to draw parallels between the latter usage and the allegedly locative function of the instrumental case shown above in 3.4.11.d–3.4.11.f. At the same time, the secondary form *Nnite* is not active in instrumental usage, and the spatial, locative usage of the instrumental case *Nde* lacks formal connotations.

3.4.12.h. *Goji-goro* *iki-mas-u.*
 five.o’clock-LOC go-POL-NPST

5時ごろ行きます。‘[I] will be [there] at five.’

- 3.4.12.i. *Kinosaki-nite*
Kinosaki(PN)-LOC

城崎にて。 ‘at Kinosaki/[what happened] in Kinosaki’

The locative case, as a main case in the proposed morphological declension paradigm, is assigned three related cases with the functions of spatial and temporal marking. They are the terminative case *Nmade*, the allative case *N’e* and the ablative case *Nkara*.

3.4.13. Terminative Case

The terminative case *Nmade*, a related case of the locative case, with no secondary forms, has the basic function of marking the target point (indirect object) of a process. This function is described in existing accounts of Japanese adnominal markers in various ways, four of its alleged separate meanings being differentiated by Golovnin (1986: 245) and two by Martin (1975: 46); it is referred to as the terminative case by Feldman (1953: 840), Kiyose 1995: 33) and Lavrentev (2002: 24), and as “address case” or “terminative case” by Suzuki (1972: 206) and Takahashi (2004: 27). In many other descriptions *-made* is not recognized as a case marker.

The terminative case is typically used in bracket constructions with the ablative case, to mark spatial and temporal spans or border points, often marked with numeric values, as in 3.4.13.a and 3.24.13.b. It may also exhibit standalone usage, as in 3.4.13.c.

- | | | | | | |
|-----------|------------------|------------------|----------------|-------------------------|------------------|
| 3.4.13.a. | <i>Koko-kara</i> | <i>kōsoku-no</i> | <i>deguchi</i> | <i>nikiro</i> | <i>da.</i> |
| | | | <i>-made</i> | | |
| | here-ABL | highway-
GEN | exit-TER | two.kilome-
ters-NOM | be(COP,
NPST) |

ここから高速の出口まで2キロだ。 ‘It is 2 kilometers from here to the highway exit.’

- | | | | |
|-----------|--------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| 3.4.13.b. | <i>Kayōbi-kara</i> | <i>kin’yōbi-made</i> | <i>kakat-ta.</i> |
| | Tuesday-ABL | Friday-TER | last-PST |

火曜日から金曜日までかかった。 ‘It took from Tuesday to Friday.’

3.4.13.c.	<i>Raishū-made</i>	<i>todok-u</i>	<i>de-sh-ō.</i>
	next.week-TER	arrive-NPST	be(COP)-POL-HYP

来週まで届くでしょう。‘[It] should have arrived by next week.’

The property of marking the limit point of a process may reveal enhanced rhematic usage in marking a designate with extreme properties, as in 3.4.13.d. This may also be rendered by the use of the primary form of the distinctive case *Nmo* or of some of its secondary variants (which at the same time may not be an argument for the interchangeability of the terminative and distinctive cases). Note that the neutralization of the marking of sentence arguments (direct object in 3.4.13.d), typical of theme and rheme marking, may also be regarded as characteristic for such usage.

3.4.13.d.	<i>Udedokei-made</i>	<i>ubawa-rare-ta.</i>
	wristwatch-TER	rob-PASS-PST

腕時計まで奪われた。‘[I] was even robbed of [my] wristwatch.’

3.4.14. Allative Case

The allative case *N'e* is a case related to the locative case, with no secondary forms. Despite its alleged two functions, differentiated – with various stipulations – by Golovnin (1986: 241) and Martin (1975: 46), it marks the direction of verbs of movement (indirect object), in spatial, not temporal terms. This basic property of the case is alluded to by its proposed Japanese term. The allative case is only in certain contexts interchangeable with the locative case *Nni* in its dative/allative usage. This also occurs in contexts where the point-marking and direction-marking of the locative case is neutralized, as in 3.4.12.e above (the locative case argument in 3.4.12.e may usually be seamlessly exchanged with the allative case argument). In all of its usages the allative case marks a constant direction of the movement vector (rather than a literal point), denoting the more or less clearly marked target of the process, as in 3.4.14.a (also in this usage the allative case argument may be replaced by the locative case argument), as opposite to the the ablative

case *Nkara*, also in bracket constructions with the ablative case form, as in 3.4.14.b, and in its standalone usage, as in 3.4.14.c.

- 3.4.14.a. *Higashi-e* *mukat-te* *dekake-ta.*
 East-ALL head-CON set.off-PST

東へ向かって出かけた。‘[SOMEONE] set off heading East.’

- 3.4.14.b. *Hidari-kara* *migi-e* *idō* *shi-ta.*
 left-ABL right-ALL move-NOM do(AV)-PST

左から右へ移動した。‘[SOMETHING] moved from left to right.’

- 3.4.14.c. *Kawada-sama-e*
 Kawada(PN)-HON-ALL

川田様へ。‘For Mr./Ms. Kawada [annotation on an envelope etc.]’

3.4.15. Ablative Case

The ablative case *Nkara*, a related case of the locative case, with one secondary form *Nyori* (glossed also as ABL, with the technical possibility of being glossed as ABL2), indicates the direction of movement, with the movement vector directed from (outward) the object (initial point of movement). This function, alluded to by the proposed Japanese term for the case, contrasts with that of the allative case *N’e* and also partly with that of the terminative case *Nmade*. It is often used in bracket constructions with the terminative case, as in 3.4.13.b and 3.4.14.b above. It also marks the source point of the process in standalone usage, as in 3.4.15.a and 3.4.15.b.

- 3.4.15.a. *Koko-kara* *dekake-yō*
 here-ABL set.off-HYP

ここから出かけよう。‘Let’s set off from here.’

- 3.4.15.b. *Kawada-kara*
 Kawada(PN)-ABL

川田から。‘From Kawada [annotation on an envelope etc.]’

The extensions of the above usages reveal in some instances only partial (and not without semantic nuances) exchangeability with the usage of accusative case *N'o* (as in 3.4.10.d compared with 3.4.15.c). The ablative case may further mark the material or ingredients, in a manner partly different from the use of the instrumental case in 3.4.11.j (with the material or ingredients undergoing certain qualitative change in some process), as in 3.4.15.d. It may also be described as exchangeable with the ablative use of the locative case in 3.4.12.f, including also its agential use, marking the active agent in sentences with passive predicate, of the type of 3.4.12.g, as in 3.4.15.e and 3.4.15.g respectively. Still, as mentioned further in 4.7, the ablative case *Nkara* marks the vector of movement (physical or metaphorical) in a more technical manner than the locative case *Nni*. Its exchangeability with the locative case may be acknowledged as partial at best. This is especially visible in such sentences as 3.4.15.e, where the referent may not wish to be explicitly granted the role of receiver of a favor or present, in which case the locative case *Nni* may be preferred over the allative case *N'e*.

3.4.15.c. *Densha-kara* *ori-ta.*
 train-ABL get.off-PST

電車から降りた。‘[SOMEONE] got off the train.’

3.4.15.d. *Ringo-kara* *wain-o* *tsukut-ta.*
 apple-ABL wine-ACC make-PST

リンゴからワインを作った。‘[I] made wine from apples.’

3.4.15.e. *Haha-kara* *morat-ta.*
 mother-ABL get.in(1)-PST

母からもらった。‘[I] received [it] from my mother.’

3.4.15.f. *Suri-kara* *saifu-o* *nusuma-re-ta.*
 pickpocket-ABL purse-ACC steal-PASS-PST

すりから財布を盗まれた。‘[I] had my purse stolen [by a pickpocket].’

The above examples do not justify the universal exchangeability of the ablative case *Nkara* with the accusative case *N'o*, instrumental case

Nde or locative case *Nni*. 3.4.15.c differs from the similar use of the accusative case in 3.4.10.d, being marked as to its technical conceptualization of a container (source) being left by the active agent of the process. The ablative case *Nkara* may hence be described as marking, in its usage similar to 3.4.15.c, some untypical or unexpected circumstances, for example, with the negative potential form of the respective verbal element, to emphasize the fact that someone cannot/could not get off the train for some specific reasons, such as a door malfunction. As mentioned, the marking of the material or ingredient by the ablative case is obligatorily linked to a process in which the basic properties of the source object are subject to change (paper remains paper in the instrumental case usage of the designate as 3.4.11.j, but the apples are processed into wine, with different target qualities, in 3.4.15.d). Also in its ablative and agential usage in 3.4.15.e, the technical character of the marking of the (tangible and known) source (the active agent) of the process plays a central role, which may sometimes be avoided for honorific (marking of the benefactor) or ontological reasons (the active agent may be unknown), in which instances the locative case *Nni* may be a better choice on pragmatic grounds.

The secondary form of the ablative case *Nyori* may be exchanged with the primary case form *Nkara* in most usages, but only in formal, usually written contexts. It is not exchangeable with the primary case form *Nkara* in its comparative usage, in which it serves to mark the unmarked object of comparison, as in 3.4.15.g and 3.4.15.h, with the marked object of comparison often marked by the rhemative case *Nga*.

3.4.15.g. *Hana-yori* *dango*.
 flower-ABL dumpling-NOM

花より団子。‘Cake before flowers.’ [a proverb]

3.4.15.h. *Kurokoshō-yori* *tōgarashi-no* *hō-ga* *kara-i*.
 black.pepper- cayenne. part(AN)-RHE hot-NPST
 ABL pepper-GEN

黒コショウより唐辛子の方が辛い。‘Cayenne pepper is hotter than black pepper.’

Golovnin (1986: 244-245) differentiates seven functions of the ablative case marker. Martin describes not less than ten of its “meanings” (1975: 44-46). In both sources, the marker *-yori* is described separately from *-kara*. Feldman (1953: 840) describes the ablative case with both *-kara* and *-yori* markers, the latter classified as formal, and the ablative-comparative case with the *-yori* marker only. Kiyose (1995: 33) describes both markers as concurrent ablative case markers. Matsushita (1928: 470) proposes the terms “departive case” *shuppatsukaku* 出発格 for the form with the marker *-kara* and “comparative case” *hikakukaku* 比較格 for the form with *-yori*. Suzuki (1972: 206) and Takahashi (2004: 27) identify the “ablative case” *dedokorokaku* でどころ格, not mentioning the marker *-yori* in the case table.

Above, the most salient features of the 15 cases of the Japanese morphological model of declension were described, with emphasis placed on their systemic, paradigmatic properties. This, similarly as in other declensional case systems, does not exclude the existence of certain exceptional, non-systemic features of some case forms or of their lexicalized occurrences with particular verbs or in other collocations. Such features and instances are consequently regarded as less salient and less representative in the systemic perspective of description. They do not undermine the systemic and paradigmatic features of case markers and case forms. Systemic rules may reveal exceptions and irregularities. On the other hand, the sets of exceptions and irregularities, no matter how elaborate, do not evolve into systemic rules.

4. Case-Related Phenomena in Japanese

“The first topic to be discussed must therefore be that of similarity and dissimilarity, because this distinction is at the very basis of all inflections and comprises the systemic relationship of words. Similar refers to what is seen to have most features identical to those of whatever it is to which it is similar; what is seen to be the opposite of this is dissimilar. Each and every proposition regarding what is similar as well as what is dissimilar consists by definition of at least two elements, because nothing can be similar without being similar to something else, and the corollary is that dissimilar cannot be predicated of anything unless there is an indication of what it is unlike.”

(Varro 1996: 59)

Japanese cases having been described in Chapter 3, certain more advanced phenomena related to the case system and the declensional paradigm of Japanese are presented in this chapter. They reveal some features unique to Japanese. Still, in the general perspective these are not peculiarities that cannot be described in a systemic manner, not to mention that they are not arguments against the synthetic approach to cases as such. It is rather the contrary: the application of the proposed morphological case model makes it possible to explain them as systemic and regular. It is for this reason that they are described in this chapter as substantial systemic extensions of the case phenomena in Japanese. Below, the internal division of cases, their primary and secondary markers, issues related to the description of the alleged “double subject” of Japanese, case syncretism, case drop, multiple case marking, case interchangeability, standalone case use, adpositional constructions, and some peripheral phenomena related to case are mentioned, as well as some guidance for the subclassification of nominal elements of Japanese.

4.1. Cases – Internal Division

In strictly technical terms, the very fact that the 15 cases of Japanese have been described in Chapter 3 is already a certain systemic achievement. The clear-cut differentiation of case forms makes it possible to focus on actual cases and their functions, not on the innumerable functions or “meanings” of an infinite (not counted and hence inevitably viewed as innumerable) set of markers. In fact, 15 is not a large number of cases, especially considering that it is the output of an approach founded on a morphological basis, with all possible case markers taken into account. The fixed order of 15 cases was introduced both to present the case values in an organized manner and to render the internal relations between cases. This includes in the first place the relations between the main and related cases. They have been arranged with regard to morphological oppositions based on more advanced properties of compound linguistic units, such as sentences and messages: 1. theme/rheme/subject marking (a triad of related cases grouped under the nominative case), 2. perceptivity value marking (another triad of related cases of the nominative case), and 3. spatial/temporal marking (a triad of related cases under the locative case). Standalone cases may be described as a separate group of main cases which do not have secondary cases connected to them and are themselves not related to any main cases. The vocative case, formally a standalone case, is described as a case related to the nominative, due to its rare contemporary usage.

4.1.1. Theme/Rheme/Subject

In a strictly formal approach to the sentence arguments, a subject (in Japanese *shugo* 主語), as opposed to an object (*mokutekigo* 目的語 or *kyakugo* 客語), is an argument of a predicate (*jutsugo* 述語). This is a typical description for subject-prominent languages, with overt marking of subject and object(s). Actually, on an appropriate level of abstraction, it may be assumed that Japanese reveals subject vs. object marking along with marking of the topic vs. comment opposition (cf. Li, Thompson 1976), the latter being more prominent and the former being in some instances overridden by the latter. The description of the topic

(theme, *shudai* 主題, *tēma* テーマ) vs. comment (rheme, *kaidai* 解題, *kaisetsu* 解説, *rēma* レーマ) may at least to a certain extent be unclear on strictly syntactic grounds, since they are not sentence arguments in a strict sense, constituting opposite values of the basic predication scheme given in 4.1.1.a. A simple practical illustration is given in 4.1.1.b, with neutralization of the subject marking in the element *watashi* 私 ‘I’, in the thematic case *Nwa*. The element *watashi-wa* simultaneously fulfills the syntactic role of subject and the logical role of theme, only the former being unambiguously marked by the thematic case *Nwa*. This function is often neutralized in translation into languages without grammatical marking of topic-prominence, including English. At the same time, the sentence stress of the rhemative elements is usually constant, regardless of grammatical marking. In the example sentences in this section, the elements being subject to sentence stress are marked in bold.

4.1.1.a.	As to the THEME/TOPIC, old/given information	it is RHEME/COMMENT. new information
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4.1.1.b.	<i>Watashi-wa</i> <i>nihonjin</i> <i>de-s-u.</i> I-THE Japanese.national-NOM be(COP)-POL-NPST
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私は日本人です。‘I am **Japanese**./As to me, I am **Japanese**.’

As mentioned in 3.4.1, 3.4.2, 3.4.3 and 3.4.4, the simple scheme of 4.1.1.a may be implemented in various collocations, with the omission of the old/given information, with its partial emphasis in contrastive usage of the thematic case *Nwa*, with the roles of subject in the rhemative case *Nga* not-emphasized or emphasized, and with the typically rhemative emphasis of the distinctive case *Nmo*. The rhemative case *Nga*, traditionally linked with the function of marking the sentence subject, is neither the marker of the subject only (it may also mark the rheme, along with marking the subject), nor the only marker of subject (subject marking may be neutralized with theme and rheme marking in the thematic case *Nwa*, in the rhemative case *Nga*, including its secondary forms, in the distinctive case *Nmo*, and partly also in the terminative case *Nmade*). The rhemative case *Nga* may also mark the non-emphasized or peripheral arguments of the subordinate clause (not necessarily subjects, as in 3.4.3.f).

It could be argued that the fact that subject and object are typically recognized as marked sentence arguments, while topic (theme) and comment (rheme) are not, speaks against considering the marking of the latter to be a declensional phenomenon. This claim, often not formulated in writing, but instead raised in individual conversations with researchers on Japanese grammar, is usually supported by the statement that the former and the latter should not be described as phenomena on the same level of abstraction. While the marking of subject and object occurs at the level of a sentence, in terms of their relation to the main verbal element, topic and comment marking is performed at the logical level, with respect to old and new information, related rather to ontology than to syntax. On the other hand, it is a fact that in Japanese topic and comment are regularly marked on the morphological level, with prosodic (sentence stress) and syntactic (word order) extensions, similarly as other case values, not necessarily on the same level of syntax. Topic and comment marking is a systemic phenomenon in Japanese, revealing also a systemic interplay with subject and object marking, as described in 3.4.1–3.4.4.

The topic vs. comment opposition may also be marked by solely prosodic means, with the lack or presence of sentence stress applied to the case forms other than the themative, rhemative, distinctive, nominative and terminative cases, described herein as active primarily in marking the theme/subject/rheme oppositions. The examples below show the related usage of the nominal elements in the genitive case (4.1.1.c) and in the ablative case (4.1.1.d), with the rhematively emphasized elements (also the non-nominal ones) in bold. As may be verified, the genitive and the ablative case (and the respective non-nominal elements) are not primarily active in systemic marking of the theme/subject/rheme oppositions, which may explain why they are used in their typical functions in the examples below, apart from the rhemative sentence stress marking. This is an ontological phenomenon typical and known also in other subject-prominent languages, such as Polish and English, which lack morphological marking of the values topic vs. comment. This will not be described in detail here.

4.1.1.c.	<i>Chiga-u.</i>	<i>Watashi-no</i>	<i>de-s-u.</i>
	differ-NPST	I-GEN	be(COP)-POL-NPST

違う。私のです。‘No. [It] is **mine**.’

4.1.1.d.	<i>Asoko</i>	<i>ja na-i.</i>	<i>Koko-kara</i>	<i>de-te</i>	<i>ki-ta.</i>
	over.there-	be(COP)-	here-ABL	come.out-	RES(AV)-PST)
	NOM	NPST		CON	

あそこじゃない。ここから出てきた。‘[It is] not [from] there. [It] came out **from here.**’

As may be further specified, the use of the nominal predicate (cf. 4.10), as in 4.1.1.c, may function as a mental shortcut for more compound constructions, for example, for 4.1.1.e in 4.1.1.f below, also with possible neutralization of case marking, as in 4.1.1.f, as well as with possible neutralization of the temporal past marking of the copula. Since the nominative case of the nominal element is most typically used in nominal predicate constructions, it is justified to gloss such usage either as NOM, as below in 4.1.1.f, or alternatively, as an instance of case (marker) drop (cf. 4.6), as NUL→ABL.

4.1.1.e.	<i>Asoko</i>	<i>ja na-i.</i>	<i>Koko-kara</i>	<i>da/dat-ta.</i>
	over.	be(COP)-	here-ABL	be(COP, NPST)/
	there(NOM)	NPST		be(COP)-PST

あそこじゃない。ここからだ・だった。‘[It is] not [from] there. [It] is/was **from here.**’

4.1.1.f.	<i>Asoko</i>	<i>ja na-i.</i>	<i>Koko</i>	<i>da/dat-ta.</i>
	over.	be(COP)-	here-NOM	be(COP, NPST)/
	there(NOM)	NPST		be(COP)-PST

あそこじゃない。ここだ・だった。‘[It is] not [from] there. [It] is/was [from] **here.**’

Data on the theme/subject/rheme marking, both morphological and prosodic (with sentence stress of the **bold elements**), of the themative, rhemative and distinctive cases (given in their primary forms below), as opposed to the nominative case, is provided in Table 4.1.1.1. The examples provided in the table, some of them being extensions of the properties of the respective cases mentioned in the previous chapters, are supplemented with the numbers of sentences illustrating the respective case functions in the text above and below.

NOM <i>N0</i>	general (often rhemative) reference (dictionary entry, nominal predicate, caption, label, etc.) (cf. 3.4.1.a–3.4.1.d) <i>Kaji</i> <i>da!</i> fire-NOM be(COP, NPST) 火事だ！ ‘Fire!’
THE <i>Nwa:</i> theme	1. known, expected theme (cf. 3.4.2.a) <i>Nihon-wa</i> <i>shimaguni</i> <i>de-s-u.</i> Japan-THE island.country-NOM be(COP)-POL-NPST 日本は島国です。 ‘Japan is an island country.’
also + subject	2. anaphor with a repeated element introduced as a rheme, with omission possible (cf. RHE 3) (cf. 3.4.2.g, 3.4.2.h) <i>Mukashi</i> <i>otoko-ga</i> <i>i-ta.</i> past-NOM man-RHE exist-PST (<i>Sono</i> <i>otoko-wa</i> <i>yama-no</i> (that man-THE) mountain-GEN <i>oku-ni</i> <i>sun-de</i> <i>i-ta.</i> inside-LOC live-CON PRG(AV)-PST 昔男がいた。(その男は) 山の奥に住んでいた。 ‘Once there was a man. He lived deep in the mountains.’
	3. contrastive multiple themes (cf. 3.4.2.d) <i>Kōcha-wa</i> <i>suki</i> <i>de-s-u</i> black.tea-THE like(NA, 1) be(COP)-POL-NPST <i>ga,</i> <i>ryokucha-wa</i> <i>nigate</i> but(SC) green.tea-THE dislike(NA, 1) <i>de-s-u.</i> be(COP)-POL-NPST 紅茶は好きですが、緑茶は苦手です。 ‘I like black tea , but I do not like green tea .’ narrowing of the scope of predication (cf. 3.4.2.e) <i>Watashi-wa</i> <i>kyō-wa</i> <i>dame.</i> I-THE today-THE no.good(NA) 私は今日はダメ。 ‘As to me, [and as to] today [, it] does not suit me.’
	4. emphasized standalone theme (cf. 3.4.2.f) <i>Okane-wa?</i> money-THE お金は？ ‘[And] [where’s] the money ?’

RHE Nga: rheme only ≠ subject subject only ≠ rheme or subject + rheme	1. auto-themative (the theme being obvious or self-explanatory) sentence subject (cf. 3.4.3.a, 3.4.3.c) <i>Ame-ga fut-te i-ru.</i> rain-RHE fall-CON PRG(AV)-NPST 雨が降っている。‘It’s raining.’ <i>Okane-ga na-i.</i> money-RHE not.exist(ADJ)-NPST お金がない。‘[I] have no money.’
	2. subordinate clause argument (emphasized or not) (cf. 3.4.3.d, 3.4.3.e), often the sentence subject, but occurring also in other roles (cf. 3.4.3.f) <i>Tanimori-san-ga nobe-ta kadai-wa</i> Ms.Tanimori(PN) mention- subject- -HON-RHE PST THE <i>kore-kara shūchū shi-te</i> this-ABL focus-NOM do(AV)-CON <i>kenkyū shi-te iki-ta-i</i> study-NOM do(AV)-CON PRO(AV)- VOL(1)-NPST <i>to omoi-mas-u.</i> that(SC) think-POL-NPST 谷森さんが述べた課題はこれから集中して研究していきたいと思います。‘From now on, I would like to focus and elaborate on the subject mentioned by Ms. Tanimori.’
	3. new element introduced as a rheme, with possible anaphor as a theme in the following text (cf. THE 2) (cf. 3.4.2.g, 3.4.2.h), also in the position preceding the argument of sentence subject of the 1. or 2. type (cf. 4.3.d) <i>Mukashi otoko-ga i-ta.</i> past-NOM man-RHE exist-PST <i>(Sono otoko-wa)</i> (that man-THE) mountain-GEN <i>oku-ni sun-de i-ta.</i> inside-LOC live-CON PRG(AV)-PST 昔男がいた。(その男は) 山の奥に住んでいた。‘Once there was a man. He lived deep in the mountains.’ Q&A rheme (cf. 3.4.3.b) <i>Nani-ga i-i?</i> what-RHE good-NPST

	<p><i>Sore-ga</i> <i>i-i.</i> that-RHE good-NPST 「何がいい?」「それがいい。」 ‘– What would you like?’ ‘– I want that.’</p> <p>4. particular sentence subject (incl. rheme) with general theme (cf. 3.4.3.c) <i>Pōrando-wa</i> <i>shokuryōhin-no</i> <i>nedan-ga</i> Poland-THE food-GEN price-RHE <i>taka-i.</i> high-NPST ポーランドは食料品の値段が高い。 ‘Food is expensive in Poland./As to Poland, food is expensive.’</p>
DIS <i>Nmo:</i> rheme also + subject	<p>1. declarative rheme, with one or more elements (cf. 3.4.4.b, 3.4.4.d) <i>Watashi-mo</i> <i>da</i> <i>yo.</i> I-DIS be(COP, NPST) EMP(SP) 私もだよ。 ‘[It is] me too.’ <i>Konna</i> <i>hanashi-mo</i> <i>ari-mashi-ta.</i> such story-DIS exist-POL-PST こんな話もありました。 ‘I also heard such a story.’</p> <p>2. negative rheme, with one or more elements (cf. 3.4.4.b, 3.4.4.d) <i>Hitotsu-mo</i> <i>na-i.</i> one-DIS not.exist(ADJ)-NPST 一つもない。 ‘There is not even one [left].’ <i>Jikan-mo</i> <i>kane-mo</i> <i>ari-mase-n.</i> time-DIS money-DIS exist-POL-NEG 時間もお金ありません。 ‘[I] have neither time nor money.’</p> <p>3. total designate (often in secondary and multi-marker case forms) (cf. 3.4.4.e) <i>Doko-ni-de-mo</i> <i>ari-mashi-ta.</i> where-LOC-INS-DIS exist-POL-PST どこにでもありました。 ‘[Something] was everywhere.’ <i>Dare-de-mo</i> <i>shit-te</i> <i>i-ru.</i> who-INS-DIS know-CON PRG(AV)-NPST 誰でも知っている。 ‘Everyone knows [it].’</p>

Table 4.1.1.1. Theme/sentence subject/rheme marking – comparison of the nominative case and its related cases (note that **bold** font marks sentence stress, not the respective case forms)

It may be added that, in the broader perspective of the informative structure of an utterance, the relations between cases may be schematically reduced to the basic opposition between marking a clear and emphasized designate or an unclear and attenuated one. The cases of the former group (enumerative, vocative, genitive, accusative, instrumental, locative, terminative, allative and ablative) are more prone to occur in rhematic usage, as in 4.1.1.c–4.1.1.f above (similarly as the nominative, rhematic and distinctive cases). The cases of the latter group (exemplificative and interrogative, probably due to their imperceptive features, described more thoroughly in 3.4.6 and 3.4.7 above and in 4.1.2 below) are not prone (similarly as the thematic case, beside its contrastive and emphasized standalone usage as in Table 4.1.1.1 above) or are much less prone to occur in marking of the rhematicized content. On the other hand, as shown in Table 4.1.1.1, only the nominative case and its three related cases – the thematic, rhematic and distinctive – may be systematically described as cases marking the theme/subject/rheme on the level of the logical structure of information and on the level of purely syntactic interdependence of elements within a sentence.

4.1.2. Perceptivity

Perceptivity is a tentatively proposed grammatical dimension with values related to the source of information (*jōhōgen* 情報源), partly in terms of evidentiality (cf. “In languages with grammatical evidentiality, marking how one knows something is a must.” in Aikhenvald 2005: 6). Its values are marked in Japanese, for both nominal and verbal elements. The term *perceptive* is used after Huszcza (1998: 303 ff.), who distinguishes the *imperceptive form* of the Japanese verbal elements only. While the perceptive values of the verbal elements are more complex than those of the nominal elements, the techniques of enumeration (of one or more nominal arguments regarded as definite, complete or indefinite, incomplete) may be opposed with respect to both groups on the morphological level, in terms of systemic, paradigmatic values. In the proposed model of declension, the enumerative case *Nto*, the exemplificative case *Nya* and the interrogative case *Nka* mark

perceptivity values, being described as related cases of the nominative case *N0*, with its function of general, neutral reference to the designate.

A comparison of the cases related to perceptivity marking in Japanese is provided in Table 4.1.2.1, with the nominative as the central case of the paradigm. Many secondary forms of the exemplificative case enumerated earlier in Table 3.3.1 do not show considerable systemic differences in this respect against the primary form *Nya* and have not been analyzed as separate case forms. The examples provided throughout the table, some of them being extensions of the properties of the respective cases mentioned in the previous chapters, have been supplemented with the numbers of sentences illustrating the respective case functions in the text above.

NOM <i>N0</i>	general reference (dictionary entry, label, nominal predicate) (cf. 3.4.1.a–3.4.1.d)		
ENU <i>Nto</i>: (directly) experienced information	complete enumeration, the last element in case form marking the role of the enumeration sequence in the sentence (cf. 3.4.5.a), also as exact quotation or reference to a single nominal argument (3.4.5.b, 3.4.5.c, 3.4.5.d)		
	<i>Yoku</i> well	<i>hiyashi-ta</i> chill-PST	<i>zuburokka-to</i> Zubrovka (PN)-ENU
	<i>kokakōra-to</i> Coca-Cola (PN)-ENU	<i>kōri-o</i> ice-ACC	<i>maze-ru</i> mix-NPST
	<i>to</i> when(SC)	<i>oishi-i</i> tasty-NPST	<i>kakuteru-ga</i> cocktail-RHE
	<i>deki-ru.</i> come.up- NPST		
	よく冷やしたズブロッカとコカ・コーラと氷を混ぜるとおいしいカクテルができる。‘When you mix well-chilled Zubrovka, Coca-Cola and ice , you will get a tasty cocktail.’		

<p>EXE <i>Nya</i> (and secondary variants): (indirectly) perceived information (of inexact or careless reference)</p>	<p>incomplete enumeration, the last element in case form marking the role of the enumeration sequence (cf. 3.4.6.a) <i>Suzuki-kun-ya</i> <i>Itō-kun-nado-ga</i> <i>yat-te</i> Suzuki-HON-EXE Itō-HON-EXE-RHE do-CON <i>ki-mashi-ta.</i> come-POL-PST 鈴木君や伊藤君などがやってきました。 ‘Suzuki and Itō [and others] came.’ euphemistic enumeration, in secondary form <i>Nnado</i> (cf. 3.4.6.b) <i>Ocha-nado</i> <i>ikaga</i> <i>de-sh-ō</i> tea-EXE how be(COP)-POL-HYP <i>ka.</i> INT(SP) お茶などいかがでしょうか。 ‘How about [some] tea?’ careless enumeration, in secondary form <i>Nnanka</i> and others (cf. 3.4.6.d) <i>Omiyage-nanka</i> <i>ira-na-i.</i> present-EXE need-NEG-NPST お土産なんかいいらない。 ‘I don’t need any presents [or anything].’</p>
<p>INT <i>Nka</i>: doubt or alternative</p>	<p>inexact or alternative reference (cf. 3.4.7.a) <i>Omiyage-ni</i> <i>chokorēto-ka</i> <i>nan-ka</i> present-LOC chocolate-INT what-INT <i>kat-te</i> <i>kure-na-i?</i> buy-CON GVI(AV, N1)- NEG-NPST お土産にチョコレートかなんか買ってくれない。 ‘Could you buy me chocolate or something for a present?’</p>

Table 4.1.2.1. Perceptive value marking and comparison of the nominative case and its related cases

4.1.3. Spatial/Temporal Marking

Four cases of Japanese (the locative case *Nni* and the three cases related to it: the terminative case *Nmade*, the allative case *N’e* and the ablative case *Nkara*) are semantically linked to the marking of spatial

and temporal values. They reveal various values as regards indicating a static or dynamic location, a place or a direction, a limitation, or marking of the movement vector with various directions. These features, primarily lexical, may be extended to systemic, paradigmatic oppositions marked by morphological means.

A comparison of cases related to spatial and temporal marking in Japanese is provided in Table 4.1.3.1, as opposed both internally and to the nominative case, which is the central case of the paradigm. The examples provided throughout the table, some of them being extensions of the properties of the respective cases mentioned in the previous chapters, have been supplemented with the numbers of sentences illustrating the respective case functions in the text above. The secondary forms of the locative case do not show systemic differences against the primary form *Nni* and are not analyzed in the table. The secondary form *Nyori* of the ablative case shows systemic differences from the primary form *Nkara*.

NOM <i>N0</i>	general reference (dictionary entry, label, nominal predicate) (cf. 3.4.1.a–3.4.1.d)
LOC <i>Nni</i> : (static) point in time or space, (dynamic) neutral/ ambiguous direction	1. (static) location (cf. 3.4.12.a, 3.4.12.b, 3.4.12.c) <i>Ie-ni</i> <i>i-ru.</i> house-LOC exist-NPST 家にいる。‘[SOMEONE] is in the house .’
	2. (dynamic) destination point (cf. ALL 1) (cf. 3.4.12.d, 3.4.12.e) <i>Yūbinkyoku-ni</i> <i>it-te</i> <i>kur-u.</i> post.office-LOC go-CON come-NPST 郵便局に行ってくる。‘[SOMEONE] will go to the post office [and back].’
	3. (dynamic) source of favor, action (cf. ABL 1) (cf. 3.4.12.f) <i>Ani-ni</i> <i>morat-ta.</i> elder.brother-LOC get.in(1)-PST 兄にもらった。‘I got [it] from my elder brother .’
	4. (dynamic) passive action agent (cf. 3.4.12.g) <i>Hito-ni</i> <i>yara-re-ta.</i> man-LOC do-PASS-PST 人にやられた。‘I was fooled [by SOMEONE].’

<p>TER <i>Nmade</i>: boundary, temporal or spatial</p>	<p>1. limitation (point), temporal or spatial (cf. 3.4.13.a–3.4.13.c)</p> <p style="text-align: center;"> <i>Ototoi-kara</i> <i>kyō-made</i> <i>kakat-ta</i>. the.day.before.yesterday-ABL today-TER take-PST 一昨日から今日までかかった。 ‘It took from the day before yesterday up to today.’ </p> <p>2. extreme reference (rhematic: cf. DIS <i>Rmo</i>) (cf. 3.4.13.d)</p> <p style="text-align: center;"> <i>Tanjōbi-ni</i> <i>Nihon-e-no</i> <i>kōkūken-made</i> birthday-LOC Japan-ALL-GEN airline.ticket-TER <i>morat-ta</i>. get.in(1)-PST 誕生日に日本への航空券までもらった。 ‘I even got an airline ticket to Japan for [my] birthday.’ </p> <p style="text-align: center;"> <i>Koko-made</i> <i>da</i> <i>yo</i>. here-TER be(COP, NPST) EMP(SP) ここまでだよ。 ‘This is enough.’ </p>
<p>ALL <i>N’e</i>: (dynamic) direction towards an element (inside), non-point, spatial</p>	<p>1. general (spatial) destination (direction) of movement (cf. LOC 2) (cf. 3.4.14.a, 3.4.14.c)</p> <p style="text-align: center;"> <i>Yūbinkyoku-e</i> <i>it-te</i> <i>kur-u</i>. post.office-ALL go-CON RES(AV)-NPST 郵便局へ行ってくる。 ‘[SOMEONE will] go to the post office [and back].’ </p> <p>2. direction in space, quasi-point (cf. 3.4.14.b)</p> <p style="text-align: center;"> <i>Naka-e</i> <i>hair-u</i> <i>koto-ni</i> middle-ALL enter-NPST NMN(AN)-LOC <i>shi-ta</i>. do(AV)-PST 中へ入ることにした。 ‘[I] decided to enter inside.’ </p>
<p>ABL <i>Nkara/Nyori</i>: (dynamic) direction from an element, spatial or temporal</p>	<p>1. source of movement or action direction, spatial or temporal (interchangeable with <i>Nyori</i> form only in formal usage), with various semantic extensions (cf. 3.4.15.a–3.4.15.f)</p> <p style="text-align: center;"> <i>Bokoku-kara</i> <i>hanare-te</i> <i>it-ta</i>. homeland-ABL leave-CON PRO(AV)-PST 母国から離れた行った。 ‘[SOMEONE] left [THEIR] homeland.’ </p>

	2. unmarked party of comparison (only <i>Nyori</i> form) (cf. 3.4.15.g, 3.4.15.h)
	<i>Koko-yori</i> <i>hiro-i</i> <i>ie-ga</i> here-ABL wide-NPST house-RHE <i>hoshi-i.</i> want(ADJ, 1)-NPST ここより広い家が欲しい。 ‘I want a bigger house than [this one] here. ’

Table 4.1.3.1. Spatial/temporal value marking and comparison of the nominative case and its related cases

4.1.4. Standalone Cases

The genitive, accusative and instrumental cases constitute a group of relatively independent, standalone cases (*dokuritsukaku* 独立格) in the proposed morphological model of Japanese declension. These cases do not have related cases. Another significant feature is their lack of secondary case forms, the cases being marked by one and only marker each.

In strict terms, the vocative case, with rare, purely vocative usage, but with a distinct morphological marker, described as a related case of the nominative case, though having significant semantic and syntactic dependencies, could also be considered a standalone case. In contemporary usage, except in strict formal contexts, it is usually replaced by the nominative case in its dedicated vocative function.

A comparison of standalone cases in Japanese is provided in Table 4.1.4.1, opposed both internally and to the nominative case, which is the central case of the paradigm. The examples provided throughout the table, some of them being extensions of the properties of the respective cases mentioned in the previous chapters, have been supplemented with the numbers of sentences illustrating the respective case functions in the text above.

NOM <i>N0</i>	general reference (dictionary entry, label, nominal predicate) (cf. 3.4.1.a–3.4.1.d)
GEN <i>Nno</i> : attribute – probably radially related to its primary possessive function	attributive functions, related literally or radially to possession, with various semantic extensions (cf. 3.4.9.a–3.4.9.e) <i>watashi-no kasa</i> I-GEN umbrella-NOM 私の傘 ‘my umbrella’ <i>kabe-no iro</i> wall-GEN color-NOM 壁の色 ‘the wall color’ <i>ashita-no kaigi</i> tomorrow-GEN meeting-NOM 明日の会議 ‘tomorrow’s meeting’ <i>ore-no kat-ta hon</i> I-GEN buy-PST book-NOM 私の買った本 ‘the book I bought’ (cf. 4.7.f)
ACC <i>N'o</i> : direct object	direct object, with various semantic extensions (cf. 3.4.10.a–3.4.10.e) <i>Mizu-o nom-u.</i> water-ACC drink-NPST 水を飲む。 ‘[I will] drink water .’ <i>Sora-o tob-u.</i> sky-ACC fly-NPST 空を飛ぶ。 ‘[SOMETHING] will fly through the sky .’ <i>Densha-o ori-ru.</i> train-ACC get.off-NPST 電車を降りる。 ‘[I will] get off the train .’ <i>Kanojo-no koto-o kangae-ru.</i> she-GEN matter-ACC think-NPST 彼女のことを考える。 ‘[I] think of her .’ <i>Shukudai-o wasure-ta.</i> homework-ACC forget-PST 宿題を忘れた。 ‘[I] forgot [my] homework .’

INS <i>Nde</i> : collective indirect object – probably related radially to its primary instrumental function	indirect object, with collective usage variants (tool, means, material, space) (cf. 3.4.11.a–3.4.11.j)
	<i>Pen-de</i> <i>kak-u.</i>
	pen-INS write-NPST
	ペンで書く。 ‘[I will] write [it] with a pen. ’
	<i>San-nin-de</i> <i>ki-ta.</i>
	three-men(NC)-INS come-PST
	三人で来た。 ‘ Three [of them] came.’
	<i>Zenbu-de</i> <i>ikura</i> <i>de-s-u</i>
	all-INS how.much be(COP)-POL-NPST
	<i>ka.</i>
	INT(SP)
	全部でいくらですか。 ‘How much is it for everything? ’
	<i>Pari-de</i> <i>at-ta.</i>
	Paris(PN)-INS meet-PST
	パリで会った。 ‘[They] met [somewhere] in Paris. ’
	<i>Chaperu-de</i> <i>shiki-ga</i> <i>ar-u.</i>
	chapel-INS ceremony-RHE exist-NPST
	チャペルで式がある。 ‘The ceremony is [going to be performed] in the chapel. ’

Table 4.1.4.1. Standalone cases of Japanese versus the nominative case

4.2. Primary and Secondary Forms

As mentioned in 3.1, the initial set of 34 case markers/forms does not necessarily equal 34 cases of Japanese. This is due to the interdependencies of the 34 markers/forms, in terms of their relations both to the markers described as primary for a case (forming primary case forms) and to the other markers, described as secondary (forming the secondary case forms, i.e. case form variants) in 2.8. The primary markers/forms are considered more representative and more frequent, often lacking certain semantic features (cf. the number and quantity marking of the secondary markers of the rhemative case as compared with the primary marker *Nga*) or syntactic properties (cf. the dedicated comparative function of the secondary marker/form of the ablative case *Nyori* as compared with its primary marker/form *Nkara*).

The above properties being undoubtedly gradable and disputable, there are no grounds to consider the markers/forms described as secondary as markers/forms of separate case values from those of the primary markers/forms, especially in terms of their clear-cut opposition to the other cases and markers/forms. To follow strictly the initial rule: *one marker = one case* (especially in its converse: *one case = one marker*) would probably result in an unnecessary complication of the overall case model. This being concluded, it is not impossible that at least some of the abstractions and generalizations made in the proposed model will be considered unnecessary or excessive on deeper analysis.

As a separate, though certainly not crucial issue, a tentative division into the cases with and without primary and secondary markers may be attempted. On this, purely quantitative ground, the latter cases might be described as strong, standalone cases, perhaps with some more detailed secondary qualitative consequences. This can perhaps be verified on the basis of more thorough study of language corpora with the application of the proposed morphological model of declension.

4.3. “Double Subject”?

The concept of the so-called “double subject”, an issue partly though significantly related to the theme/subject/rheme marking mentioned in 4.1.1, is often mentioned in sources on Japanese grammar. Its roots may be described, with great but justified simplification, with reference to the concept of Japanese sentences as “nesting boxes” introduced by Tokieda, who regarded the subject as “included in the predicate” (Tokieda 1941: 370-371). This was developed by other Japanese linguists, including Mikami (1984), who even elaborated on the concept of the “abolition of subject” from the scope of Japanese grammatical description (Mikami 1959).

Traces of dilemmas related to the (internal sentence argument) structure of subject (versus object, both related to the sentence predicate and valid solely on the level of the sentence) and the (external logical) structure of topic (versus comment, not related directly to the sentence predicate, but rather to the information structure of an utterance; cf. Li, Thompson 1976 and 4.1.1 above) may also be seen in the traditional though simplified division into the “small subject” and “large subject”. This is described

not only by Japanese grammatical sources of general use, which in some parts deviate significantly from the principles of general linguistics (cf. Iwabuchi 1981: 30-31), but also by expert sources (cf. Shibatani 2005: 202-203). Such descriptions may be accompanied by elaborate comments on the “deep structure” of Japanese sentences, often with rather misleading comments that such cases of the Japanese declension model as the rhemative may allegedly not only mark “the subject of action” but also “the object of affection” (Nihongo Kyōiku Gakkai 2005: 582).

The above-mentioned account by Shibatani (2005) may be considered representative in this respect. It covers several aspects of the issue, referred to otherwise, according to the title of the source, as “non-canonical” constructions of Japanese. A closer look reveals that it is not only related to the concept of the alleged “canonicity” of a construction, apparently based on the structure of a default sentence of English. It also seems to have emerged from the attitude of open neglect towards the topic-prominent structure of Japanese sentences and utterances. Despite the view on the “deep structure” of the sentence based on the seemingly automatic and obvious connection of an “active agent” to the predicate, as its (first) subject argument, in languages with subject-prominent structures, the topic-prominent marking may be performed for different purposes, with subsequent semantic and syntactic consequences. In the topic-prominent languages, including Japanese, the already mentioned nexus (primarily syntactic; cf. Jespersen 1924: 97, 108 ff.) connection between the predicate and the subject, not the semantic connection with the active agent, may prevail. This observation seems to be supported by morphological data (regular marking) and by other relations (not necessarily related solely to syntax) between the elements of sentences and utterances.

Sentence 4.3.a, borrowed from the title of a well-known book by Mikami (1984), is an example of a very typical construction of Japanese, similar to 3.4.3.c above, in which the themative case *Nwa* (*zō-wa* ‘elephant’) marks unambiguously the topic of the utterance. The element in the rhemative case *Nga* (*hana-ga* ‘nose/trunk’), linked by nexus to the (adjectival) predicate of the sentence *naga-i* ‘[be] long’, marks its subject. Note that in the instance of an adjective-centered predicate of Japanese (and not only Japanese), due to the rather obvious intransitive properties of adjectives, the element *hana-ga* may by no means,

even regardless of its unambiguous morphological rhematic marking *Nga*, be considered the direct object of the Japanese sentence. This has no relation with the fact that in the English translation apparently the same “deep structure” is rendered differently, i.e. by the transitive verb *to have*, linked with the argument *nose/trunk* as its (second) argument (direct object), with the element *elephant* as its (first) element (subject). Moreover, there is no possibility of verifying which of the two structures (Japanese or English) better renders the undoubtedly primary “deep structure” of the sentence, with the (long) nose/trunk as the elephant’s body part. These interdependencies may be only partly rendered by the structure of the English sentence, as in the second version of its translation below, although usually they are “lost in translation”, as in its first version, leading to an immediate (but false) conclusion that also in Japanese it is *zō* ‘elephant’ that should be considered the subject of the sentence, despite its clear-cut morphological case marking solely as the topic of the utterance.

- 4.3.a. *Zō-wa* *hana-ga* *naga-i*.
 elephant-THE nose-RHE long-NPST

象は鼻が長い。 ‘The elephant [has] a long nose/trunk./As to the elephant, [its] nose/trunk is long./Elephant[s] [have] long nose[s]/trunk[s].

The topic/comment structure of 4.3.a justifies its identification as a correct answer to the hypothetical question 4.3.b. It is a question about the comment element (*nani-ga*) interpreted within the contextual frame of a topic (*zō-wa*). This structure is also not utterly impossible to render in the corresponding English sentence, as seen in the second version of its proposed translation, although it is usually neutralized, as in the first version of the translation.

- 4.3.b. *Zō-wa* *nani-ga* *naga-i?*
 elephant-THE what-RHE long-NPST

象は何が長い。 ‘Which part of the elephant[’s body] is long?/As to the elephant, what [which part of its body] is long?’

The fact that the differentiation of subject and predicate in a Japanese sentence is also important may be illustrated by 4.3.c, which is a usual,

complete, basic sentence of Japanese, with the clear nexus connection of the predicate and subject. Its topic is optional, often obvious to the extent that sentences of this type may be described as auto-themative (with the theme element being obvious or not requiring overt specification). As may be seen, the same sentence in English translation may be viewed as incomplete, as with its possible translation as an epithet (as in the third version of its proposed translation below, with similar auto-themative reference). This does not undermine the completeness of the original structure of the sentence in Japanese.

- 4.3.c. *Hana-ga* *naga-i.*
 nose-RHE long-NPST

鼻が長い。 ‘The nose is long./It is the nose that is long./[A] long nose.’

Despite the completeness of 4.3.c in Japanese, many sources reveal a strong preference to analyze, as a basic sentence pattern, 4.3.d instead. A way of dealing with 4.3.d is sometimes proposed in grammatical descriptions, including the source by Shibatani (2005), with the explanation that both *zō* ‘elephant’ and *hana* ‘nose’ are subjects (both, according to a specific mental shortcut, being described as alleged instances of the nominative case). The subsequent, rather erroneous glossing of the two *Nga* case forms as NOM, obscuring the information structure marking of the utterance, is another characteristic outcome of such methodology (cf. Shibatani 1990: 271). Another frequently implemented solution is to automatically gloss the elements in the rhemative case as SUBJ, despite their rhemative properties (cf. Blake 2001: 9). This explanation, while appearing to be simple, is unfortunately misleading, copying the English (subject-prominent) sentence structure into the Japanese (topic-prominent) argument marking and obscuring the description of the latter.

- 4.3.d. *Zō-ga* *hana-ga* *naga-i.*
 elephant-RHE nose-RHE long-NPST

象が鼻が長い。 ‘The elephant [has] a long nose./It is the elephant that [has] a long nose.’

4.3.d is undoubtedly a valid sentence in Japanese. Its meaning, however, should be rendered with the sentence stress on the element *zō* ‘elephant’, since it is marked, morphologically (by its rhemative marker), prosodically (by sentence stress) and syntactically (as taking a more remote position from the predicate element than the subject), as the rheme, not as the subject of predication. This relation, which is very characteristic in terms of differences between topic-prominent and subject-prominent phenomena, may be only partly rendered in writing (in which the sentence stress is usually not shown, either in English or in Japanese) only in the second proposed version of its English translation, as opposed to the second (again, not the first) version of translation of 4.3.a.

In other words, 4.3.d is not the answer to the question 4.3.b. Its first nominal element is marked as rhemative, the whole utterance being rather the answer to 4.3.e. This phenomenon is usually neglected by grammarians of Japanese. The confusion resulting from this may be seen in the common mixing of 4.3.a with 4.3.d, despite the above-mentioned clear-cut differences in the information structure marking. The basic structure for the proposed act of predication (despite its inherent triviality) is 4.3.c (also being a possible answer to 4.3.b), with optional extensions to 4.3.a and 4.3.d, each being valid only in restricted contextual circumstances.

4.3.e. *Nani-ga* *hana-ga* *naga-i?*
 that-RHE nose-RHE long-NPST

何が鼻が長い。 ‘What [has] a/the long nose?/What is [a thing whose] nose is long?’

Another example of modification of the content of 4.3.c and 4.3.a is 4.3.f, with two consecutive nominal arguments in the themative case *Nwa*. 4.3.f is a typical example of how the scope of predication may be narrowed by the subsequent use of the arguments in the themative case in its contrastive function, similar to 3.4.2.e. This may also be neutralized in the first proposed version of its English translation below.

4.3.f. *Zō-wa* *hana-wa* *naga-i.*
 elephant-THE nose-THE long-NPST

象は鼻は長い。 ‘The elephant [has] a long nose/trunk./As to the elephant, when it comes to its nose/trunk, it is long.’

The nexus relation of the element closer to the predicate (*hana*), as the subject (first argument) of the predicate, is also supported by the inability of the other element (*zō*) to function as the first argument of the adjectival predicate in question. The hypothetical analogous sentences with this element as subject, be it in the themative (4.3.g) or in the rhemative case (4.3.h), are obviously non-sentences in Japanese and in English, due to purely lexical factors.

4.3.g. **Zō-wa* *naga-i*.
 elephant-THE long-NPST

*象は長い。 ‘*The elephant is long./*As to the elephant, it is long.’

4.3.h. **Zō-ga* *naga-i*.
 elephant-RHE long-NPST

*象が長い。 ‘*The elephant is long./*It is the elephant that is long./*A long elephant.’

Due to the clear-cut morphological, semantic and syntactic relations between the sentence and the utterance elements, it is also possible to observe, at least hypothetically, variations similar to 4.3.i, seemingly violating the basic rule of the linear proximity of the subject (first argument of the predicate, connected to it by nexus) to the predicate element on the level of a sentence.

4.3.i. *Hana-wa* *zō-ga* *naga-i*.
 nose-THE elephant-RHE long-NPST

鼻は象が長い。 ‘As to the nose, [it is] the elephant [which] [has] [it] long./As to the nose, it is the elephant whose [nose/trunk] is long.’

Still, the above-mentioned lexical arguments for considering 4.3.g and 4.3.h as non-sentences remain valid. The rules of language economy make it possible to omit the element *hana* marked overtly (morphologically, in the rhemative case *Nga*) as sentence subject, once it has appeared as the utterance topic, as in 4.3.i. It is the lexical rules that enable the receiver of the sentence to reconstruct easily its full – though not necessarily obligatory on the level of “surface structure” – version as 4.3.j.

4.3.j.	<i>Hana-wa</i>	<i>zō-ga</i>	<i>hana-ga</i>	<i>naga-i.</i>
	nose-THE	elephant-RHE	nose-RHE	long-NPST

鼻は象が鼻が長い。‘As to the nose, [it is] the elephant [who] [has] a long nose/trunk./As to the nose, it is the elephant [whose] nose/trunk is long.’

On the basis of the above explanation, necessarily to be verified and validated further by thorough analysis of comprehensive corpus data, it is concluded that when information structure interdependencies are eradicated from the declension system of Japanese, it may perhaps be easier to define the alleged sentence subjects. At the same time, such a manner of description is no more than partially effective. On its basis, it is almost impossible to achieve a convincing description of the subject/object and topic/comment rules in the actual sentences and utterances of Japanese.

4.4. Case Syncretism

The phenomenon of case syncretism is investigated here only from the morphological point of view. In this perspective, a smaller number of morphological markers results in a greater number of systemic values conveyed by each marker. This phenomenon, similarly as the inevitable fluctuation in the lexical properties of dictionary units, may be considered to be typical and to result from the dynamic properties of the language. It is in this sense, probably, that the remark by Kuryłowicz that “there is [probably] no case form that would reveal one and only function” (Kuryłowicz 1987: 134-135) should be interpreted. In the proposed model, it is mainly the dilemmas related to the uniform markers of the instrumental case and the locative case, and their specific functions not necessarily covered by their respective case term labels, that may require some clarification.

The instrumental and the non-instrumental functions of the Japanese instrumental case *Nde* or its marker *-de*, mentioned in detail in 3.4.11, are differentiated systemically in terms of the extension of the instrumental value to collective value marking. These functions may be linked, as proposed above, on semantic grounds. Not only are there no morphological grounds to describe them as separate cases, there

is also a clear semantic affinity of the instrumental properties and the collective properties of the instrumental case marking. A possible proposal to describe the various semantic usages of the instrumental case as instances of phonological neutralization of a grammatical opposition may be considered valid only under the (rather illusory) assumption that there is a universal need for a declensional system to convey the instrumental meaning with one dedicated marker or form.

In the Japanese declensional system, there is also no dedicated form of the dative case. In the proposed morphological model of declension, the dative case functions, marked by the same marker as the locative case, are merged into the functions of the locative case *Nni*. As mentioned in 3.4.12, dative/allative, ablative and locative values are carried by the locative case form, revealing further properties of point marking. Based on linguistic facts, proposals to describe the *-ni* marker or the *Nni* case form as related (solely) to the dative or to any other (ablative, locative or allative) separated function of the Japanese locative case are not justified. All values of the locative case may convincingly be semantically linked to its basic function of point marking, as proposed above. Also in the instance of the locative case of Japanese, with one uniform marker but with various functions linked on semantic grounds, there is no need to recognize the phonological neutralization of particular grammatical oppositions, regardless of the fact that they may exist in the morphological case systems of other languages.

A description of phenomena related to case syncretism goes beyond the objective of this work. At this level it may be concluded that a study of such phenomena within the framework of the morphological model of declension will be more systemic than one based on virtually innumerable lexical definitions of “case meanings”. Accordingly, the potential historical interdependencies between the markers and cases of Japanese cannot substitute for the contemporary relations between the morphological cases of the language. Also the fact that a certain language dispenses with one marker/case in instances marked by more markers/cases in other languages should not lead to the potential recognition of case functions as multiple or contradictory. Such an approach might be useful only for didactic purposes, to compare two or more case systems.

4.5. Multiple Marking

Another sub-area of study on the morphological nominal phenomena of Japanese is the multiple marking of case forms (see also 2.4 above). Such instances may be defined in terms of the use of more than one grammatical marker in one morphological nominal case form.

Table 3.3.1, with the proposed paradigm of morphological cases, includes only the single-marker case forms. It is not impossible to describe the single-marker forms along with the multiple-marker forms, as has been done in some previous research; see, for example, the approach to the genitive-combined cases taken by Suzuki (1972: 206) and Takahashi (2004: 27). Such a decision has an inevitable impact on the coherence of the declension model. It seems to be more coherent for methodological reasons to describe the multi-marker case forms as including the grammatical markers in the particular functions that are differentiated most clearly in the single-marker case forms.

Multiple case marking is hence viewed as a systemic, both quantitative and qualitative, extension of single case marking. It is a phenomenon emerging from the agglutinative properties of Japanese, with single-function case markers, manifested probably even in a more coherent and convincing manner in the features of the nominal elements than in the verbal elements of the language, although, as already pointed out, only the latter are traditionally described as inflected by grammarians of Japanese.

Probably the most common combinations of Japanese declensional markers into multiple-marker declensional forms (to be further verified on the basis of thorough corpus studies) are those with the markers of the thematic case *Nwa* and distinctive case *Nmo*, presented below in 4.5.a and 4.5.b combined with the marker of the locative case *Nni*.

- | | | |
|--------|-------------------|---------------------|
| 4.5.a. | <i>Koko-ni-wa</i> | <i>na-i.</i> |
| | here-LOC-THE | not.exist(ADJ)-NPST |

ここにはない。‘[It] is not here/As to here, [it] is not [here].’

- | | | |
|--------|-------------------|---------------------|
| 4.5.b. | <i>Doko-ni-mo</i> | <i>na-i.</i> |
| | where-LOC-DIS | not.exist(ADJ)-NPST |

どこにもない。‘I cannot find [it] anywhere./[It] is not in any [conceivable] place.’

As is clearly visible in 4.5.a and 4.5.b, each of the multiple markers of a compound declensional form may fulfill its canonical functions, as described separately for each single marker case form in 3.3 and 3.4. The order of markers in the multiple-marker forms is fixed, with the thematic and distinctive markers being preceded by other markers.

Similarly, another very frequent phenomenon of multiple case marking in Japanese may be observed for the genitive case *Nno*. Its marker occurs regularly with other markers, always in the last position of the compound form, marking the attributive connection with another nominal element, as in 4.5.c. Also in 4.5.c both markers fulfill their typical functions: allative (marking movement towards the object) and genitive (connecting the nominal element with another nominal element). As such, the function of the genitive marker may be regarded as technical (connective), while the function of the allative marker is more associated with semantic features of the nominal word form.

4.5.c.	<i>Shibuya-e-no</i>	<i>basu</i>
	Shibuya(PN)-ALL-GEN	bus-NOM

渋谷へのバス ‘a bus to Shibuya’

More thorough analysis may reveal particular features of multiple-marker forms. Due to the complexity of the multiple-marker phenomena, only selected examples are provided below.

Some markers do not combine with others in multiple-marker forms. The rhematic case *Nga* marker in general does not occur in such multiple-marker forms as 4.5.a or 4.5.b. Its use in such forms would be contradictory to the regular oppositions between the markers of the thematic case, the rhematic case and the distinctive case in marking the theme/rheme/subject, as described in detail in 4.1.1. It may be used in some lexicalized instances of multiple marking, the very phenomenon of multiple-marking lexicalization requiring more study based on corpus data. Still, the clearly lexicalized instances of the use of the *-ga* marker in multiple-marker forms, as in the element *daremoga* 誰もが ‘everyone’, rather a separate dictionary unit (in the nominative case *N0*) than a regular multi-marker form (*Nmoga*) of the interrogative pronoun *dare* 誰・だれ ‘who’, reflect only partly its regular rhematic, emphasizing function found in the single-marker forms.

Certain markers are less prone to occur in multiple-marker forms. In other instances, the connectivity of markers may be subject to certain requirements, rather lexical than systemic. In 4.5.c, for example, the genitive case marker may only be combined with the allative case marker *-e*, not with the locative case marker *-ni*, despite the interchangeability of the allative and locative case markers in such usage in single-marker forms. This phenomenon is also related to the above-mentioned adnominal connectivity of the genitive case, which may also mark elements in their attributive position with reference to static location, as in *nakaniwa-no kodomo* patio-GEN children-NOM ‘children of/on/ from the patio’, not **niwa-ni-no kodomo* *garden-LOC-GEN children-NOM for the respective element of 3.4.12.a.

The order of markers in multiple-marker forms may also, rather rarely, be altered, with certain purely lexical consequences, as demonstrated in 4.5.d and 4.5.e. In 4.5.d the terminative case marker *-made* displays its purely terminative function when connected in the first position of the multi-marker case form *Nmadeni*. In 4.5.e, it displays its rheme-marking properties when connected in the second (last) position of the multi-marker form, similarly as the distinctive case marker *-mo* in 4.5.b.

- 4.5.d. *Getsumatsu-made-ni* *shūryō* *shi-te* *hoshi-i.*
 end.of.the.month- end-NOM do(AV)- want(ADJ, 1)-
 TER-LOC CON NPST

月末までに終了してほしい。 ‘I want to have it finished by the end of the month.’

- 4.5.e. *Kazoku-ni-made* *wasure-rare-ta.*
 family-LOC-TER forget-PASS-PST

家族にまで忘れられた。 ‘[SOMEONE] was forgotten even by [THEIR own] family.’

4.6. Case (Marker) Drop

The phenomenon of case (marker) drop occurs when case marking is neutralized, with the marker being dropped. This, due to a weaker morphological bond between the nominal stem and declensional marker in the agglutinative nominal word forms of Japanese, may occur relatively frequently. The phenomenon is usually encountered in careless, informal speech. On the other hand, it may also be described as related to the intuitive application of certain cognitive features related to the more prominent function of bare stems (not necessarily to be considered alike with the nominative case forms, since the appropriate case marker may and should in most instances be reconstructed) in some circumstances. Such features may also be seen in other languages. This may be the reason why, to give a trivial but characteristic example, a signboard with two nominal elements (the slash marking a line break): *Cartridges / Refill* may function effectively in its phatic, advertising usage, while the appropriate attributive, genitive relation between the two elements may be easily reconstructed as in the phrase *refill of cartridges*, to be used in the text of more detailed instructions.

As mentioned above in 2.1, derivational nominal forms of Japanese consisting of several nominal stems should not be mistaken for instances of case drop. Sino-Japanese compounds, containing also hybrid xeno-Japanese stems, with the non-last elements being compounds in the nominative case, as in *gijutsujōhōmagajin* 技術情報マガジン ‘technical information magazine’, do not emerge in the process of case drop and do not have any dropped markers to be reconstructed.

Last but not least, the description of case drop should not be viewed as a substitute for or a proof of the non-existence of inflection of Japanese nominal elements. This, similarly as the regular connection of case markers in the nominal word forms of Japanese, is a systemic phenomenon. Both the omission and the reconstruction of the dropped marker(s) are rooted in systemic rules. They do not occur at random, automatically, obligatorily, or at the speaker’s whim, as at least some of the contemporary analytic and unsystemic approaches to the Japanese nominals may convince readers not familiar enough with the actual usage of the language (cf. especially Frellesvig 2010: 410-411).

To describe the case drop patterns in a coherent and reliable manner, a distinction between the ZERO and the NON-ZERO declensional forms is defined on the basic level, as in Table 4.6.1. As may be seen, the pure ZERO form, never containing the overt marker (alternatively, its marker may be described as morphological zero), is the nominative case *N0*, in its various systemic usages, standalone, partly extended by its synthetic use in derivational forms. It is marked as 0.0 (no marker and no drop). As the form immediately opposed to it, the non-drop, NON-ZERO 1.1 form (including its extensions: 1.2 with double case marking and 1.3 with triple case marking) should be described (with no case drop or with only partial case drop being possible). Still, the clear opposition between the 0.0 form and the 1.1/1.2/1.3 forms is not the only one to be described for the Japanese nominal element forms. This is where the phenomenon of case drop should be mentioned.

Table 4.6.1 contains also two additional rows, for the 0.1 ZERO form (with no marker = with case drop, but with obligatory reconstructability of the marker) and for the 1.0 NON-ZERO form (with an overt marker, despite the optional possibility of it being dropped). This area, grayed out in the table, is the range of instances when case drop may (but does not have to) be implemented. Whether the marker is actually dropped or not may also partly vary between specific constructions, or even between the secondary case forms, due to non-systemic factors.

Once the application of case drop is considered possible (the obligatory reconstructability of the marker having been verified in advance), it may be performed – or not. It is hence for the speaker to decide whether case drop is actually applied, but only under the primary obligation that the reconstructability of the marker has been successfully tested. It is not possible for case drop to occur when the marker cannot be reconstructed. It is also not obligatory to implement case drop even in circumstances when a marker is undoubtedly reconstructable. Additionally, some register-related circumstances, such as the use of a nominal form in puns or language games, may influence the increased occurrence of the case drop phenomenon in certain contexts. Such circumstances may not be described as systemic on the purely morphological level of analysis, nor can they support a conclusion that the systemic rules of declension do not hold.

<p>TYPE 0: ZERO (marker absent)</p>	<p>0.0. zero marking (morphological zero N0) = NOM case (not always rendered in glossing, cf. 2.3.a)</p> <p><i>Nippon</i> Japan-NOM 日本 ‘Japan’ [title or caption]</p> <p><i>Kaji</i> <i>da!</i> fire-NOM be(COP, NPST) 火事だ! ‘Fire!’ [in nominal predicate]</p> <p><i>anaguma</i> hole[NOM]+bear-NOM=badger-NOM 穴熊 ‘a badger.’ [first position in native compound]</p> <p><i>Komaeshi</i> Komae(PN)[NOM]+city-NOM=Komae.city-NOM 狛江市 ‘the city of Komae.’ [first position in Sino-Japanese compound]</p> <p><i>Asu</i> <i>iki-mas-u.</i> tomorrow-NOM go-POL-NPST 明日行きます。 ‘I will go tomorrow.’ [adverbial of time]</p> <p><i>Biiru-o</i> <i>ni-hai</i> <i>non-da.</i> beer-ACC two[NOM]-pints(NC)-NOM drink-PST ビールを二杯飲んだ。 ‘I drank two pints of beer.’ [numeral with numeral classifier]</p>
	<p>0.1. case (marker) drop = reconstructable drop.</p> <p><i>Hito[-ga]</i> <i>i-ru.</i> man(NUL) [→RHE] exist-NPST 人 (が) いる。 ‘There are people [there].’ [drop]</p> <p><i>Meshi[-o]</i> <i>kut-ta.</i> meal(NUL) [→ACC] eat-PST 飯 (を) 食った。 ‘[I] had [my] meal.’ [drop]</p> <p><i>Gakkō[-e]</i> <i>it-te</i> <i>ki-ta.</i> school(NUL) [→ALL] go-CON RES(AV)-PST 学校 (へ) 行ってきた。 ‘[I] was at school.’ [drop]</p>

TYPE 1: NON-ZERO (marker present)	1.0. optional drop = droppable, no marker drop.		
	<i>Hito-ga</i> man-RHE	<i>i-ru.</i> exist-NPST	
	人がいる。‘There are people [there].’ [no drop]		
	<i>Meshi-o</i> meal-ACC	<i>kut-ta.</i> eat-PST	
	飯を食った。‘[I] had [my] meal .’ [no drop]		
	<i>Gakkō-e</i> school-ALL	<i>it-te</i> go-CON	<i>ki-ta.</i> RES(AV)-PST
	学校へ行ってきた。‘[I] was at school .’ [no drop]		
	1.1. marker always present = no (or rare) marker drop.		
	<i>ore-no</i> I-GEN	<i>kasa</i> umbrella-NOM	
	俺の傘。‘ my umbrella’ [no drop]		
	<i>Sore-mo</i> this-DIS	<i>hoshi-i.</i> want(ADJ)-NPST	
	それも欲しい。‘I want also this .’ [no drop]		
	<i>Haha-ni</i> mother-LOC	<i>mora-u.</i> get.in(1)-NPST	
	母にもらう。‘[I will] get it from my mother .’ [no drop]		
	(incl. 1.2)		
	<i>haha-e-no</i> mother-ALL-GEN	<i>tegami</i> letter-NOM	
	母への手紙 ‘a letter to [my] mother ’ [double case marking, no drop]		
	(and 1.3, with partial marker drop in some instances)		
	<i>AT-to</i> AT-ENU	<i>MT-to-de-wa</i> MT-ENU-INS-THE	<i>dochira-ga</i> which-RHE
	<i>untē</i> drive-NOM	<i>shi-yasu-i?</i> do(AV)-easy(DER, ADJ)-NPST	
	AT と MT とではどちらが運転しやすい？ ‘Which is easier to drive, an automatic or manual transmission car ?’		
	[triple case marking, no drop or only partial drop possible]		

Table 4.6.1. Case form pattern and the phenomenon of case (marker) drop

Not only is case drop systemic, non-obligatory and non-automatic, it is also more or less typical for some cases of the Japanese declension, or for some case form usages, as may be briefly ascertained on the basis of fragmentary language data, to be further verified in thorough corpus-based research. As may be concluded, it is much harder to describe the actual instances of case drop when no declensional pattern is available to the researcher. In Table 4.6.2, tentative data on the applicability of case drop (droppability) is presented against the cases of the Japanese declension paradigm presented earlier in 3.3.

On the basis of the actual evidence of language usage it may be claimed that case drop is a gradable phenomenon. The N (no) in the table below marks the (rather) non-droppable word forms, both the nominative case (0.0) and the 1.1 cases. All droppable word forms (marked as Y in the table) may appear in their version with drop (0.1) or without drop (1.0), according to the free decision of the speaker. Some cases may reveal droppability only in certain usages. This applies, on systemic and regular grounds, to the thematic case (with its marker droppable in its non-contrastive usage), the rhematic case (with its marker droppable only in its non-emphatic usage) and the locative case (with its marker droppable mostly or solely in its non-dative/ablative usage).

Case	Droppability pattern	Case	Droppability pattern
NOM <i>N0</i>	N 0.0.	GEN <i>Nno</i>	N 1.1.
THE <i>Nwa</i>	Y 0.1. 1.0./ N (cont.) 1.1.	ACC <i>N'o</i>	Y 0.1. 1.0.
RHE <i>Nga</i>	Y 0.1. 1.0./ N (emp.) 1.1.	INS <i>Nde</i>	N 1.1.
DIS <i>Nmo</i>	N 1.1.	LOC <i>Nni</i>	Y 0.1. 1.0. (dat.)/ N 1.1.
ENU <i>Nto</i>	N 1.1.	TER <i>Nmade</i>	N 1.1.
EXE <i>Nya</i>	N 1.1.	ALL <i>N'e</i>	Y 0.1. 1.0.
INT <i>Nka</i>	N 1.1.	ABL <i>Nkara</i>	N 1.1.
VOC <i>Nyo</i>	Y 0.1. 1.0.	TOTAL	Y=3 vs. N=9 (Y/N=3)

Table 4.6.2. Case (marker) droppability (Yes vs. No) as a gradable phenomenon

The contents of Table 4.6.2 are merely hypotheses, being based on certain necessary approximation, with the possibility and necessity of their further verification on the basis of more differentiated corpus data. From a purely quantitative point of view, it may be pointed out that from the perspective of the whole model of Japanese declension there are more non-droppable cases (9 or, with the exclusion of the nominative case, 8) than droppable or partly droppable cases (3+3). This may further support the claim that case drop is one of the valid though rather peripheral phenomena related to the morphological model of Japanese declension.

4.7. Case Interchangeability?

The topic of case interchangeability in Japanese is a common motif in the dominant linguistic discourse in which the significance of systemic features of Japanese nominals is undermined in various ways. This is not to say that there are no instances in Japanese when at least certain case forms reveal interchangeability to some extent (similarly as in other morphological systems, in fact). At the same time, the phenomenon of case interchangeability is usually explicable in systemic terms, and does not deny the primarily systemic properties of the morphological nominal paradigm of Japanese.

Probably the most commonly cited, though clearly only apparent, dilemma concerning the Japanese cases is the interdependence between marking of the direct object and the usage of adjectives. Its proper recognition and description often seems to be blurred by the fact that Japanese adjectival constructions (intransitive, since adjectives “do not take objects”, as Kiyose 1995: 34-35 aptly noted; cf. also 3.4.3) are most effectively translated into English with the use of verbal constructions, often revealing transitive properties, as is the case with the adjective *hoshii* 欲しい・ほしい, usually rendered in English translation by such verbs as ‘want; hope; wish’.

Note that a typical explanation concerning *hoshii* in popular sources on Japanese grammar in English states that this element has: “adjective meaning: want, want (someone) to, would like (someone) to” (Tanimori 1994: 65) or simply indicates that “s.t. is desired by the speaker” (Maki-

no, Tsutsui 1986: 144). This feature, difficult indeed when explained solely from the perspective of an immediate, superficial reference to the facts of another language (usually English) is probably the reason why many sources fall back on extremely elaborate semantic explanations based on the alleged fact that the Japanese adjectives of this sort, that is, “connecting to *ga*-case”, are related to “sensations, subjective emotions, abilities and the like” (Koyano 1989). This may explain why, as mentioned above in 4.3, also with reference to the quasi-concept of “double subject”, some sources claim that the rhemative case may allegedly not only mark “the subject of action” but also “the object of affection” (Nihongo Kyōiku Gakkai 2005: 582). In other semantics-related descriptions of the rhemative case (or rather of its marker *-ga*, described as analytic and independent), such properties may be listed as the meaning of “the bearer of a certain state” (Golovnin 1986: 237) or of “the emotionally affected (= the cathetic subject, with a desire, like, dislike, or fear)” (Martin 1975: 38). As mentioned in relation to the examples 3.4.10.f–3.4.10.i above and in Jabłoński (2019), systemic explanation of the phenomenon in primarily morphological terms may be at least to some extent more effective.

Direct object marking in Japanese can in fact be opposed not only to subject marking, but also to subject/theme/rheme marking. In addition, the accusative case may also be rhematized (and occur with sentence stress) or topicalized (and mark the utterance theme, without sentence stress). These phenomena, however, occur in actual sentences and utterances of Japanese not due to some inexplicable and random choices of speakers, but according to certain systemic grammatical rules. It is the task of a linguist to search for such rules and to describe them. To claim that the rhemative and accusative cases in Japanese are interchangeable, or to maintain that a “cognitive change” (Makino 2005) is observed in the marking of the respective syntactic values, is based on non-systemic premises and does not seem to be backed by sufficient corpus data. There is no doubt that the rhemative case *Nga* does not mark the object and the accusative case *N'o* does not mark the subject in Japanese sentences, regardless of their English translation, as the examples 4.7.a through 4.7.d further confirm. The possibility of using one or the other case in 4.7.b–4.7.c does not exclude certain semantic nuances, as may have been only partly and imperfectly marked in their

English translation. This explanation is supported by the systemic features of the case paradigm and by no means implies that “-ga is replaced by -o” or similar.

- 4.7.a. *Ashi-ga* *naga-i.*
 leg-RHE long(ADJ)-NPST

足が長い。 ‘The legs are long./It is the legs that are long./[SOMEONE has] long legs.’

- 4.7.b. *Mizu-ga* *nomi-ta-i.*
 water-RHE drink-VOL(1)-NPST

水が飲みたい。 ‘[I] want to drink water./It is water that [I] want to drink.’

- 4.7.c. *Mizu-o* *nomi-ta-i.*
 water-ACC drink-VOL(1)-NPST

水を飲みたい。 ‘[I] want to drink water./What [I] want to do is drink water.’

- 4.7.d. *Mizu-o* *non-da.*
 water-ACC drink-PST

水を飲んだ。 ‘[SOMEONE] drank water.’

Another commonly mentioned instance of alleged case interchangeability concerns the rhemative case *Nga* and the genitive case *Nno*. As Makino & Tsutsui put it: “In relative clauses, the subject may be marked by *no*” (1986: 119). The authors provide an example sentence similar to 4.7.f below, which, in comparison with its version 4.7.e, with the rhemative case, may indeed convince a lay user of Japanese grammar that the cases (or, more often: case markers) can easily be interchanged. This is further confirmed by the respective notes on relative clauses in the same source (ibid.: 378).

- 4.7.e. *Watashi-ga* *kat-ta* *hon* *de-s-u.*
 I-RHE buy-PST book-NOM be(COP)-POL-NPST

私が買った本です。 ‘[It] is the book I bought.’

4.7.f.	<i>Watashi-no</i>	<i>kat-ta</i>	<i>hon</i>	<i>de-s-u.</i>
	I-GEN	buy-PST	book-NOM	be(COP)-POL-NPST

私の買った本です。‘[It] is the book I bought.’

Unfortunately, such an explanation does not seem to be correct. The genitive case (or, in an analytic, non-systemic approach, its marker *-no* or *no*) never marks the subject. In more general, technical terms, the Japanese genitive case does not mark the argument of a verbal element. Its basic (and only) function may be explained as marking the attributive relation of the nominal element (modifier) of a sentence with another nominal element, which follows the former element (modifier) in the linear structure of a sentence or phrase. The element (modifier, attribute) in the genitive case may modify the nominal argument of the predicate, but not the predicate as such. This is unquestionably a fundamental difference. The nominal element following the modifier in the genitive phrase within a phrase or sentence (as *hon* in 4.7.f) can usually be anticipated by the speaker. An additional semantic hint may be that in many (although not in all) instances a possessive relation between the designate of the attribute (*watashi* 私 ‘I’) and of the modified element (*hon* 本 ‘book’) may be successfully verified (as in *watashi-no hon* 私の本 ‘my book’). This is the reason why the preceding nominal element, in this instance identical with the designate of the semantic subject (active agent) in 4.7.e, is in the genitive case in 4.7.f. It is not because the sentence subject is marked by the genitive case or because the genitive case form is governed by the predicate in Japanese. It is for the obvious reason that the next, modified nominal element follows the genitive case form by which it is modified and, as such, does not influence the proper recognition of the respective sentence arguments in Japanese, only confirming the systemic properties of the genitive case mentioned above in 3.4.9. In other words, the above phenomenon, very common in speech, probably less frequent in writing (to be further verified on actual corpus data), illustrates not the (random) interchangeability of cases in Japanese, but the inherently systemic fact that the subject of sentences such as 4.7.e may not be overtly and exclusively marked, since it is clear from other (common-sense-related) evidence which argument is the active agent of the sentence.

To what extent the (rather incorrect) belief in the alleged interchangeability of the rhemative and genitive cases is rooted among linguists of Japanese may also be indicated by comments made by Kiyose (1995: 21-22), or in various fragments by Okutsu (1978), on the *-no* marker as one of the variants of the copula. At the same time, it is noted that the diachronic function of the marker was to mark the subject, although this fact is not usually linked with its rather frequent connection to the predicate in the attributive verbal form *rentaikei* 連体形, with clear nominal properties, showing at least partial declension.

In two more instances of the alleged interchangeability of cases in Japanese, the ablative case *Nkara* is involved. Note that the ablative case in the paradigm model proposed in 3.3 is described as a related case of the locative case *Nni*, with the technical function of marking the direction of movement with the movement vector outwards from a starting point or area. This is the most salient feature of the ablative case *Nkara*, not marked by any other case.

It is quite common, especially in educational sources on Japanese, to mention the alleged interchangeability of the accusative and ablative cases, as in 3.4.10.d and 3.4.15.c above and 4.7.g and 4.7.h below. One may find frequent descriptions of the accusative case (or rather: its marker *-o*) as marking “the place (object) from which or on which (based on which) the movement starts” (Golovnin 1986: 239) or “(=*kara*) place departed from (with quasi-intransitive verbs as *deru* ‘leaves’, *tatsu* ‘departs’, *oriru* ‘descends from’, etc.) ABLATIVE OBJECT” (Martin 1975: 40). While there are no obstacles to verifying various hypotheses based on the differentiated semantic properties of cases, the morphological evidence seems rather to support the initial premise that there is one accusative case *N’o*, marking (with inevitably varying intensity) the object of transitive verbal elements. This, additionally, has no connection to the fact that the counterparts of the elements may not be transitive in translation into languages other than Japanese.

The meanings of the two sentences of each pair mentioned above and below are different, as indicated by the reconstructed questions in parentheses that could be asked in order to receive the respective answers. The technical, directional function of the ablative makes it virtually impossible for it to occur in a sentence like 4.7.h to mark the usual, everyday act of leaving one’s house (to set off for work, for example). It is rather suited

to technically marking the unusual act of leaving an object conceptualized as a container, as in the context of emergency evacuation. Also the potential form of the sentence 4.7.g, as in 4.7.i, may well suggest that some internal reasons (such as illness, lack of time, lost key, lack of someone's permission) prevented the referent from leaving the house, while the potential counterpart of 4.7.h, 4.7.j, may be used rather to mark certain external reasons, such as a locked door, malfunction of the lock or other obstacles not directly related to the referent. This opposition may in certain usages be neutralized. Still, it is not appropriate to consider the accusative case and the ablative case as interchangeable.

4.7.g. *Ie-o* *de-ta.*
 house-ACC get.out-PST

家を出た。‘[SOMEONE] left the house.’ (What happened?)

4.7.h. *Ie-kara* *de-ta.*
 house-ABL get.out-PST

家から出た。‘[SOMEONE] evacuated from the house.’ (Where did THEY get out from?)

4.7.i. *Ie-o* *de-rare-na-katta.*
 house-ACC get.out-POT-NEG-PST

家を出られなかった。‘[SOMEONE] could not leave the house.’ (What happened?)

4.7.j. *Ie-kara* *de-rare-na-katta.*
 house-ABL get.out-POT-NEG-PST

家から出られなかった。‘[SOMEONE] could not evacuate from the house.’ (Where could THEY not get out from?)

A similar phenomenon related to usage of the ablative case *Nkara*, partially mentioned already in 3.4.15, may be observed in its relation to the locative case *Nni*, with which it is also not fully or automatically exchangeable. The sentence 4.7.l, with the ablative case form, is more precise and technical in marking the direction of movement, possibly also with certain volitional nuance, than 4.7.k, and may hence be avoided in contexts when

an overtly passive role of the referent (as beneficiary of a gift or favor) is not to be emphasized. This fact is also marked by the appropriate hypothetical questions leading to the sentences, given in parentheses below.

- 4.7.k. *Chichi-ni* *morat-ta.*
 own.father-LOC get.in(1)-PST

父にもらった。 ‘[SOMEONE] got [something] from [THEIR] father.’
 (What happened?)

- 4.7.l. *Chichi-kara* *morat-ta.*
 own.father-ABL get.in(1)-PST

父からもらった。 ‘[SOMEONE] got [something] from [THEIR] father.’
 (Who did they get it from?)

The locative case *Nni* is also sometimes mentioned as interchangeable with the enumerative case *Nto*. On closer analysis, this phenomenon also reveals certain limitations of a systemic nature. Compared with the ablative case *Nkara*, the locative case *Nni* exhibits considerably weaker properties of (dynamic movement) direction vector marking. Still, they are stronger than those of the enumerative case *Nto*, as may be seen in the pair of sentences below. This is due to the (static existence) point-marking properties of the locative case *Nni* mentioned in 3.4.12. It may mark the asymmetrical involvement of the participants in the process, which may further be related to a difference in vertical honorific ranks, as in 4.7.m. The enumerative case, as mentioned in 3.4.5, may mark the symmetrical involvement of the referents in the process, emphasizing their equal character or less significant distance in their vertical honorific ranks, as may be observed in 4.7.n. For this reason, it is not appropriate to describe the locative case *Nni* and the ablative case *Nkara* as interchangeable, as is additionally indicated by the overt questions in parentheses below.

- 4.7.m. *Sensei-ni* *sōdan* *shi-ta.*
 teacher-LOC consultation-NOM do(AV)-PST

先生に相談した。 ‘[SOMEONE] consulted with [THEIR] teacher.’ (What uni-directional, asymmetrical act took place?)

4.7.n.	<i>Chichi-to</i>	<i>sōdan</i>	<i>shi-ta.</i>
	own.father-ENU	consultation-NOM	do(AV)-PST

父と相談した。‘[SOMEONE] consulted with [THEIR] father.’ (What mutual, symmetrical act took place?)

Probably the most interchangeable cases are the locative case *Nni* in its dative/allative use and the allative case *N’e*. Still, as additionally marked by the questions in brackets below, the sentences with the locative case *Nni*, as in 4.7.o, tend to mark the destination point, while the use of the allative case *N’e*, as in 4.7.p, marks the direction of movement. This confirms that the exchangeability of the cases is rather an option than a rule.

4.7.o.	<i>Sapporo-ni</i>	<i>it-te</i>	<i>ki-ta.</i>
	Sapporo(PN)-LOC	go-CON	RES(AV)-PST

札幌へ行ってきた。‘[SOMEONE] went to Sapporo [and got back].’ (What was the destination point?)

4.7.p.	<i>Sapporo-e</i>	<i>it-te</i>	<i>ki-ta.</i>
	Sapporo(PN)-ALL	go-CON	RES(AV)-PST

札幌へ行ってきた。‘[SOMEONE] went to Sapporo [and got back].’ (What was the direction of movement?)

As may be concluded on the basis of the above, the proposed case interchangeability may, under certain circumstances, be defined as a hypothetical option to use different morphological case forms in the same syntactic position. This phenomenon is observable in many languages with morphological case paradigms. At the same time, it is not, at least in most of its instances, identical with the merger of case functions or with the impossibility of distinguishing between the use of two or more cases. Semantic consequences of morphological oppositions, even in instances that are hardly translatable or utterly untranslatable to other languages (the latter unsurprisingly often being English), remain valid. To ignore them means to insist on an improper description of linguistic facts.

Although there is no need to go into detail here, it may appear significantly easier to postulate the phenomenon of alleged case inter-

changeability with an explanation of case markers described in isolation from a full declensional paradigm. Once the paradigm is set and the inter-case relations are defined, it is clear that cases are usually not exchangeable, due to their different systemic functions, being rooted in the paradigm and opposed within it according to certain regular rules and grammatical functions.

4.8. Standalone Usage

Standalone case use – despite the remarks of some, such as Blake, who categorizes it as ungoverned case (2001: 9) – exhibits the regular features of a case, according to the primarily morphological approach: as defined by its position and role in the morphological case paradigm. Whether such usage occurs only in exclamations, slogans or in similar communication genres seems to be an issue of secondary importance. The only difference with languages exhibiting scarce morphological properties of nominal elements is the self-revealing morphological form (phonological structure) of the respective nominal units, rendered in the languages with scarce morphological properties by other means, such as prepositional constructions in English (with the use of the preposition *for*), as in 4.8.a, or by the order of elements (*resources* preceding *generations*).

4.8.a.	<i>tsugi-no</i>	<i>sedai-ni</i>	<i>kankyōshigen-o</i>
	next-GEN	generation-LOC	environmental.resources-ACC

次の世代に環境資源を ‘[Let us provide/leave/protect/save the] environmental resources for the next generations[.]’

In 4.8.a, the element in the locative case *Nni*, due mainly to its morphological form, clearly and unambiguously marks the indirect object and governs the attributive element in the genitive case *Nno*. The element in the accusative case *N’o*, in the same clear and unambiguous way, marks the direct object. They are both obligatorily governed by the transitive verbal form of the predicate. This is independent of the fact that the verbal form is actually not present in the phrase, which

does not constitute a full sentence in strict terms. Once the verbal form is supplied by a certain verbal unit (which is not a completely unambiguous process, as indicated in the multiple English translations of 4.8.a), it must fulfill the requirements as to having the appropriate terminals for direct object (transitivity) and indirect object (target of giving/movement). In fact, the verbal form is not necessarily crucial in such instances, whether or not they have developed from the full, governed constructions. Certain lexical properties make it possible to determine only from the morphological nominal forms present in the above example what the complete meaning of the phrase is, with little or almost no ambiguity. Such standalone usage of nominal case forms may lead to further discussion regarding the conventionality of the very concepts of head and argument. It may even be explained that while the nominal element is governed by the verbal element, the reverse is also true in instances similar to 4.8.a. Such discussion, going beyond the scope of this publication, can only support the hypothesis that the systemic properties of Japanese nominal cases should be described on similar premises as cases in other languages with rich morphological properties.

4.9. Case Forms in Regular Analytic Constructions

Along with synthetic phenomena, Japanese also produces analytic constructions with regular, systemic usage of nominal elements as their main and auxiliary components. It is proposed that such constructions, constituting actual noun phrases (NP) in Japanese and revealing internal and external interdependencies of the case of their main nominal component and the case or conjugational form of their auxiliary component, should be recognized and described with emphasis on the synthetic features of their main nominal compounds.

Japanese adpositional constructions consist of a main noun, with its lexical meaning, usually, but not always, in the genitive case *Nno*, attached within an analytic construction to another element belonging to a relatively large (but functionally limited) group of auxiliary nouns. Certain auxiliary elements may also be used in some instances as independent lexical nouns. Such constructions, as exemplified in

4.9.a (*tsukue* 机 ‘table’, in the genitive case, is the main element of the construction, while *ue* 上 ‘top; upper part’, its auxiliary element, described in many of its usages as an auxiliary noun, may also exhibit independent lexical usage, in the meaning of ‘top; the upper part’, as in the sentence *Ue-wa yuki da*. up-TOP snow-NOM be(COP, NPST) 上は雪だ。 ‘There is snow on the top [of the mountain].’) may be considered counterparts of the English analytic adpositional constructions. They occur regularly, with systemic usage of nominal word forms, and require description at some point of linguistic analysis. They may serve as further proof of the regular morphological properties of Japanese nominal elements.

4.9.a.	<i>Tsukue-no</i>	<i>ue-ni</i>	<i>ar-u.</i>
	table-GEN	up(AN)-LOC	exist-NPST

机の上にある。 ‘[It] is on the table.’

Another regular analytic phenomenon related to nominal elements and case in Japanese is the usage of nominal units in their case forms governed by the (auxiliary) verbal element accompanying them. The verbal elements in some constructions may reveal both lexical and grammatical properties, showing also morphological activity, according to their conjugational paradigm. Such patterns, similar to 4.9.b (with the verbal element *yoru* 寄る・因る・よる in its auxiliary function, active also at least partly with its lexical meaning ‘depend; be based’), are listed as regular constructions (literally: ‘sentence patterns’ *bunkei* 文型) by many educational sources for teaching Japanese as a foreign language. At the same time, they generally do not seem to be recognized in grammatical terms by grammarians of Japanese, being usually rather curiously referred to not with the focus on their verbal component with the auxiliary function, but in terms of the sole declensional ending of the nominal element, described traditionally as the analytic grammatical (case) particle. The locative case nominal construction *Nni yotte* as in 4.9.b is hence typically referred to as *-ni yotte*, which significantly obscures the declensional, synthetic properties of its main nominal element. The locative case of the noun being the indirect object in such constructions is clearly governed by the lexical properties of the verb *yoru*.

4.9.b. *Saizu-ni* *yot-te* *nedan-ga* *chiga-u.*
 size-LOC depend(AV)-CON price-RHE differ-NPST
 サイズによって値段が違う。 ‘The price differs according to size.’

Only two examples of case interdependencies in the analytic constructions of Japanese were provided in 4.9.a and 4.9.b. Constructions of the 4.9.a type may be considered adpositional and described jointly. Constructions of the 4.9.b type show clear internal interdependencies between the auxiliary verbal element and the main nominal element. At the same time, both types of constructions exhibit at least partial grammaticalization, with the lexical meaning of their auxiliary elements still being active. While this may be a proof of ongoing language change, probably in a direction towards grammaticalization, from the purely lexical meaning to the auxiliary usage, their regular, systemic features may be considered representative and salient enough to provide their description in terms of systemic patterns of nominal case form usage.

4.10. Nominal Predicate and Case

A comparison of many grammatical sources on Japanese may result in the conclusion that the grammarians following the traditional approach seem unable to give an effective description of the copula (Holđa 2006: 146-150). A typical, intuitive would-be solution to this issue in Japanese school grammar, literally copied by many other grammatical sources, is to treat the copula as the ending of the nominal adjective (Kindaichi et al. 1988: 171). This is effective only partially, since the Japanese copula does not differ significantly in many respects from the copulae of other languages, being very often used in its dedicated function of the auxiliary verbal element of the nominal predicate. In such an instance, the lexical nominal element, not constituting the predicate independently, may be used in the predicate position of the sentence. To claim that this is significantly different from the role of copulae in other languages, or that such usage is proof of the existence of a (rather extraordinary) conjugational predicate of nominal elements (cf. Tsujimura 1996: 126-127), does not seem to be a necessary extension of

the existing set of linguistic tools available to describe the copula in Japanese. The copula, as implemented in the regular construction of the nominal predicate, is, similarly as in many other languages, a grammatical instrument used to equip nominal elements with predicative features. Certain peculiarities in such usage of this element in Japanese should be viewed as secondary with respect to its primary grammatical features.

The examples provided above, including 2.2.a, 3.4.1.c, 3.4.2.a, 3.4.3.e and others, may be viewed as containing the most typical instances of the construction of a nominal predicate, usually with the nominal element in the nominative case preceding the copula. It is also possible to use the copula with a kind of standalone usage of a case form, as in 4.10.a and 4.10.b. Such instances do not violate the general rules of nominal predicate use in Japanese.

- 4.10.a. *Koko-made* *da.*
 here-TER be(COP, NPST)

ここまでだ。 ‘[It] is until here./Enough.’

- 4.10.b. *Watashi-no* *da.*
 I-GEN be(COP, NPST)

私のだ。 ‘[It] is mine.’

This is not to claim that there is no research on the copula and on nominal predicate constructions in Japanese. One of the frequently quoted examples is the work by Okutsu (1978). There are also convincing remarks that may lead to conclusions on the affinity of the contemporary forms of the copula with various nominal case markers (Frellesvig 2010: 93 ff.), as compared with its archaic usage. They remain valid, despite the rather ambiguous statement that “The basic function of the copula in Japanese is to predicate, adnominalize or adverbialize nouns” (Frellesvig *ibid.*: 94). Such a definition illustrates the characteristic distrust felt by grammarians of Japanese towards the idea of systemic description of the nominal predicate constructions, occurring both with nominal elements in the strict sense of the term and with uninflected adjectives (cf. adjectival nouns in 4.12), a peripheral category of nominal elements, with no or only partial declension. They do not occur with the verbal elements (verbs

and inflecting adjectives), which exhibit strong predicative properties. This confirms that the inability to function as an independent predicate is one of the crucial syntactic features of nominal elements, not only in Japanese. Accordingly, probably many, if not most, of the instances of copula usage provided and described by Frellesvig (2010: *ibid.*) can with no significant difficulty be described as regular case forms or as evolving into such. The traditional neglect of the concept of paradigmatic description of Japanese nominal elements may be regarded as the main factor influencing such methodological decisions.

Another etymologically supported position is that the contemporary analytic copula *de aru* consists of “the adnominal particle *de* and the auxiliary verb *aru*”. This is how it is described, among others, by Huszcza et al. (1998: 507). Accordingly, its synthetic forms, such as the non-past plain informal *da* or the past plain informal *datta*, are viewed as contracted from *de aru* and *de atta*. This leads to the conclusion that the nominal element is in the *Nde* (instrumental) case in such instances, with an immediate consequence in the description of synthetic forms of the copula as being contracted with the nominal word form. The contraction being a diachronic fact, it is rather unlikely that the synthetic constructions have to be expanded to the instrumental case in the synchronic process of their decoding. On the other hand, the constructions of nominal elements with the auxiliary verbs *naru* and *suru*, which can be linked to the contemporary paradigm of the copula, are not contracted, with the nominals appearing in the regular locative *Nni* case form (or, alternatively, connecting analytically to the copula in its *ni* form in the nominative case *N0*).

Quite regardless of whether or not the ancient forms of the copula are described as regular markers of nominal cases, and whether contemporary forms of the copula contain case markers, adnominal grammatical markers are defined systemically as marking regular, paradigmatic case form oppositions. To describe them as (conjugational rather than declensional) examples of usage of the copula viewed as a specific, analytic “auxiliary verb” would significantly obscure their systemic functions. A coherent description of the regular construction of the nominal predicate, in which its main nominal element may occur in various case forms, with the copula supporting its predicative function, is a systemic solution that emphasizes the actual paradigmatic properties

of the nominal case forms. From an ontological perspective, tracking the set of (conjugational) diachronic forms of the copula should be viewed as a research task different from the description of the (declensional) paradigm of nominal markers and forms.

4.11. Peripheral Phenomena

Each of the several regular phenomena mentioned below, related to the nominal elements of Japanese, could be described in a separate subchapter. They are listed jointly in order to emphasize their partly systemic features and secondary, peripheral character, confirmed also by the fact that they are not always described as systemic in grammatical descriptions.

Nominalization of adjectival elements is achieved with the synthetic markers *-sa* さ and *-mi* み attached to adjectival stems, or in certain instances, by the use of the adjectival stems alone, which are subject to regular declension. Verbs nominalized by analytic elements, auxiliary nouns as mentioned under 2 in 4.12, such as *no* の and *koto* こと, are also declinable, with the declensional marker attached to the nominalizers.

Apart from the option of their nominalization, verbs also have a regular gerund form in their morphological paradigm. It is known in traditional, syllabic terms as *ren'yōkei* 連用形 (usually translated into English as ‘connective form’) and, apart from its uses described as synthetic attachment of conjugational markers, also has declensional forms in contemporary usage. In diachronic usage, nominal properties are also exhibited by the regular verbal form *rentaikei* 連体形 (usually described as ‘attributive form’ in English sources).

Declensional markers, apart from their synthetic usage with nominal stems (declensional themes) in case forms, also exhibit analytic auxiliary use with non-nominal elements, that is, in constructions with main verbal units. In such instances, to be described within the domains of syntax and semantics, not morphology, and clearly different from declensional marking, they function as phrasal/sentence markers (such as the enumerative/quotation marker *to* or the interrogatory marker *ka*). Not only should this not be seen as an argument against the primary character of their declensional, synthetic usage, it is possible to link their analytic properties to their function in the declensional paradigm.

As mentioned under 3 in 4.12, adjectival nouns connect to the dedicated form of the copula *ni* に in their adverbial usage. This should probably not be described as a form of the locative case, but in some instances may perhaps be viewed as its extension.

Derivational phenomena, mentioned also below in 4.12, should be described in at least partly systemic terms, despite their inherently unsystemic, lexical character. They seem to be of interest to many researchers, and are regularly described in the existing sources on Japanese grammar. At the same time, the description of derivation, given its not fully systemic features, should be linked to the morphological properties of Japanese nominals. It is neither an independent phenomenon, nor can it substitute for an explanation of systemic features.

4.12. Nominal Element Subclassifications

As the content of subchapter 2.9 above may suggest, the Japanese nominal elements are not a monolithic category, but form several subclasses. This is also true of the nominal elements of other languages. In a systemic description, it is essential in the first place to differentiate between the lexical (semantic) subclasses, listed in the tentative division below as class 0, probably infinite by their very definition, and systemic, grammatical subclasses exhibiting certain regular, categorial, morphological and syntactic features. The actual morphological features of the elements belonging to each group may differ, ranging from a full declensional pattern (the majority of nominal elements), through partial declension (resulting from various factors, of a mainly semantic nature), to no declension (one-element paradigms, to be observed in certain auxiliary nouns, adjectival nouns and adverbial nouns). Also their range of syntactic roles may be wider (lexical nouns) or limited to certain syntactic positions (as with adverbial nouns of primarily temporal usage). Specific features of each group remain subject to further verification.

Below, a proposition for a tentative subclassification of the Japanese nominal elements is provided. Apart from listing various possibilities of lexical division of the elements of group 0, the order of the list is not influenced by any other methodologically based criteria.

0. Lexical (semantic) and other inherently non-systemic subclassifications. These may be based on many criteria, each being unique and suited to different *ad hoc* purposes:
 - a. a classification according to nominal stem origin, i.e. native Japanese, Sino-Japanese, loaned and hybrid nouns, this being combined with or described separately from their independent and dependent (derivational) usage as prefixes or suffixes listed below in 8;
 - b. a classification according to the categorial or individual features of the designates, i.e. common and proper nouns;
 - c. a classification according to countability: countable and uncountable nouns, with further inclusion of collective nouns;
 - d. a classification according to the ontological status of the designates, i.e. material and abstract nouns;
 - e. a classification according to the identity of the designates, i.e. animate and inanimate nouns;
 - f. a classification according to the number of morae, i.e. one-mora and multi-mora nouns;
 - g. a classification according to the number of lexical stems in a nominal dictionary unit, i.e. simple and compound nouns;
 - h. various classifications based on detailed lexical features of the units, i.e. into synonyms, homonyms, antonyms, hyperonyms, hyponyms and so on.
1. Regular (lexical) nouns. This is probably the most representative category of nominal elements, including such units as *hito* 人 ‘man; human’, *inu* 犬 ‘dog’, *kujira* クジラ ‘whale’, *mono* 物 ‘thing’, *tokoro* 所 ‘place’, *sekai* 世界 ‘world; universe’, *gakkō* 学校 ‘school’, アート ‘art’. Most exhibit a full paradigm of declension, appearing in sentences as subjects, objects, attributes and other typically nominal modifiers. Apart from their lexical definitions (meanings of objects, with various extensions), central to their usage, they may also have auxiliary and derivational properties, as with *hito*, *mono* and *tokoro* listed above.
2. Auxiliary nouns (including the limited nouns and participial nouns defined by Miller 1967: 335-340). Auxiliary nouns exhibit a certain variety, accompanying the main lexical elements of grammatical constructions in various collocations, synthetically and analytically, and

with differences as to the regularity of word forms, constructions or derivatives formed using them. Also some contemporary declensional endings, such as *hodo* ほど, are not only of nominal origin, but are also used analytically with verbal main units, or even exhibit lexical usage. Hence the clearest distinction is probably between the common nouns of group 1 above, which lack any auxiliary usage, and the nominal elements classified by elements of diachronic origin that contemporarily display exclusively or almost exclusively auxiliary usage, such as *bakari* ばかり, *yō* 様・よう (more often occurring as an adjectival noun), *nagara* ながら. Auxiliary nouns may appear in their regular case forms in their syntactic usage.

3. Adjectival nouns (copular nouns according to Miller *ibid.*, referred to also by other terms as mentioned in 2.9 above) are a transitory category of uninflected elements with mainly adjectival application (with general lexical meaning related to features, not things). They are not independent, in the sense that in their syntactic usage they always occur in collocations with the copula, that is, in nominal predicate constructions, including both typical and less typical instances. Such elements as *shizuka* 静か ‘quiet’, *kirei* きれい ‘nice; clean’ and many others contemporarily require dedicated forms of the copula: *na* な in their attributive usage and *ni* に in their adverbial usage. Probably a group of elements that are partly inflected and occur in the genitive case in their attributive usage, such as *kara* 空 ‘empty’ or *eikyū* 永久 ‘eternal’, should be described as a separate subgroup of adjectival nouns. A limited number of adjectival nouns occur both with the *na* copular form and in the genitive case *Nno* in the attributive position.
4. Adverbial nouns may be generalized as elements functioning in the adverbial position of a sentence, with reference to various features of predicates, usually (most typically) as quantitative modifiers, such as *hotondo* ほとんど ‘mostly’, *daibu* 大分 ‘greatly’, *sukoshi* 少し ‘some; little’ and *akanaka* なかなか ‘rather; fairly; pretty’, or (rather less typically) as other modifiers, including temporal ones, such as *kyō* 今日 ‘today’ or *maiban* 毎晩 ‘every night’. The latter may also be regarded as a separate class of temporal adverbs. There are various arguments for describing at least some such elements as nominal elements and some as adverbs. Some of them,

to different extents, may also exhibit declensional forms, at least in certain usages.

5. Pronouns in Japanese have many properties similar to those of nouns, being declinable, functioning in the positions of subject and other nominal sentence arguments, and exhibiting lexical meanings. At the same time they constitute a clearly distinct group of elements whose lexical meanings reveal pragmatic interplay with deictic features. Personal pronouns such as *watashi* 私・わたし ‘I’, *anata* あなた ‘you’ or *wagahai* 吾輩 ‘[self-exalting] I’ may to a certain extent be ascribed fixed personal values, although this concerns rather the honorific person (based on the opposition between the speaker’s own group and the other groups) than a purely technical opposition between the first, second and third person (in terms of a speaker, a hearer and other elements of the speech situation). Some units, like *sensei* 先生 ‘professor’, may both display pronominal properties and function as regular nouns or even as honorific suffixes. Honorific oppositions are also valid for the interrogative pronominal units, such as *dare* だれ ‘who’ vs. *donata* どなた ‘who [exalting]’, and demonstrative pronouns, such as *koko* ここ ‘here [neutral]’ and *kochira* こちら ‘here [modest]’. Demonstrative pronouns reveal a partly lexical opposition of close-range, mid-range, far-range and interrogative values, marked by the morphemes *ko-*, *so-*, *a-* and *do-*. Their forms *kono* この ‘this [speaker’s domain]’, *sono* その ‘that [hearer’s domain]’, *ano* あの ‘that over there [neither speaker’s, nor hearer’s domain]’ and *dono* どの ‘which [interrogative]’, rather misleadingly classified as an illusionary category of pronouns by Miller (ibid.) and in traditional descriptions of grammar, should be probably described as diachronic forms of nouns of demonstrative character, fossilized contemporarily in their genitive form and having solely attributive usage.
6. Numerals (quantity nouns according to Miller ibid.) are a rough grouping consisting of a limited set of elements of native origin starting with *hitotsu* 一つ ‘one’, an infinite set of elements of Sino-Japanese origin starting with *ichi* 一 ‘one’, and a loaned set of elements of English origin, active mostly as prefixes, starting with *wan* ワン ‘one’. Alternative forms of numerals may occur in dates and in proper noun units. They may be supplemented by a set of

numeral classifiers of mainly Sino-Japanese origin, used as suffixes with the Sino-Japanese numerals, and a set of interrogative numeral pronouns, such as *ikura* いくら ‘how much’. Such elements are subject to declension, usually in a manner suited to the repertoire of their syntactic roles, which are limited to some extent by their lexical reference to number.

7. Hybrid nouns are probably not a numerous subcategory, including at least one element *onaji* 同じ ‘the same’, being originally an inflecting adjective, fossilized in its ancient form. Contemporarily the element is evolving towards the features of the adjectival nouns described in 3.
8. Suffixes and prefixes are a group having native, Sino-Japanese or xeno-Japanese origin. They are at least partly free morphemes, with lexical meanings, connected to main elements in a synthetic manner in the process of derivation. A certain qualitative difference may be observed between how they function as dependent elements of native Japanese units, such as the honorificative prefixes *o-/go-* お・御 or the honorificative suffix *-kun* 君 ‘colleague [of a lower honorific status than the speaker]’, as partly independent native Japanese elements such as *-te* 手 ‘the active agent’ in *hanashite* 話し手 ‘speaker’, as dependent Sino-Japanese elements such as the prefix *kaku-* 各 ‘each’ or the partly independent suffixes *(-)kaku* 格 ‘case’ and *(-)shugi* 主義 ‘ideology’, and as xeno-Japanese elements such as the prefix *nyū-* ニュー in *nyūtaun* ニュータウン ‘new district’, as well as their hybrid variants. There are also elements functioning as derivational circumfixes, as with *tai-[...]-sei* 耐…性 in *taikasei* 耐火性 ‘fire-proof[ness]; fire-resistance’. A more thorough analysis of Sino-Japanese and xeno-Japanese morphemes may lead to a description of their various functions in the contemporary elements of Japanese, inherited in various ways from their original usage in the language environment from which they have been loaned. At the same time, their properties, heterogeneous in terms of the native grammatical system of contemporary Japanese, support their classification as not fully independent units of Japanese vocabulary.

As has been demonstrated in the foregoing sections of this chapter, Japanese nominal elements display many features and phenomena

that require a more thorough description in purely grammatical terms. Only an outline of such phenomena has been given above, with the main intention of emphasizing that a non-systemic, unparadigmatic approach to the nominal elements of Japanese may significantly obscure the description of their detailed secondary features. At the same time, a systemic and paradigmatic approach may lead to a more thorough analysis of their regular features.

5. Conclusions and Further Perspectives

“A declension is neither a list of forms nor a series of logical abstractions but a combination of the two [...] Forms and functions are interdependent and it is difficult, if not impossible, to separate them. Linguistically, morphology has no real, autonomous object. It cannot form a discipline distinct from syntax.”

(Saussure 1959: 135)

The content of the foregoing chapters, as has already been mentioned, was not presented with the intention of proving that the phenomenon of declension does or does not exist in Japanese. The objective was rather to verify whether this morphological tool, simple and concise, can be used effectively for the purposes of grammatical description of the nominal elements of Japanese.

As de Saussure aptly emphasized in the quotation used as the motto of this chapter, declension cannot be based solely on morphological grounds. Morphological features, verifiable in an immediate and unambiguous manner at the cenemic level, mark more advanced relations, to be specified on the more elaborate level of pleremes, in terms of semantics and syntax. Still, it is impossible to achieve the latter while neglecting the former, as is often done in existing descriptions of Japanese nominal elements. On the other hand, the bare list of cases reveals the basic oppositions, constituting a foundation for the necessary next steps towards further semantic and syntactic abstractions and verifications. In the first place, case order, basic case terms and their internal relations should also be distinguished in order to create a paradigmatic repertoire of nominal forms. With such a tool, simple and convenient, more advanced explanations of phenomena of the Japanese language may be achieved. Without an overall description of all morphological case forms and without information on the schematic relations between them, at least some of the significant case interdependencies tend to be overlooked. As the status quo of grammatical description of Japanese in the dominant grammatical sources may confirm, this often results

in explanations based on the semantics or syntax of an only partly defined or open group of “grammatical particles” or “postpositions”, with unsystemic and virtually infinite “meanings”.

While proper and coherent recognition of the morphological features of Japanese is crucial for the description of its declension, this should be supplemented by the explanation of more advanced phenomena related to the nominal elements of Japanese. In this chapter, several remarks on possible extensions of the model are provided, along with the final conclusions of this work.

5.1. Morphology and Beyond

The proposed systemic morphological paradigm of Japanese nominal cases provided in 3.3, based on the basic definition of case given in 1.4, organized according to the fundamental (*inflectional*) *theme+marker(s)* scheme and compatible with further specification of the features and variations of forms, nominal stems and markers as described in Chapter 2, with certain semantic and syntactic extensions as in 3.1, is not free of certain ambiguities. At the same time, as pointed out in 3.1, the basic morphological rule *one marker = one case* is consistently maintained.

Certain areas requiring more precise definition may be seen also from the examples of necessary extensions proposed in Chapter 4. At the same time, while the ambiguities are not to be neglected, the proposed explications seem to offer significantly more systemic theoretical output than the attitude of general neglect towards morphological phenomena represented by most of the existing sources on Japanese grammar. It may be claimed that in the status quo of study of the nominal elements of Japanese, certain systemic rules may not be visible precisely because of the fact that a systemic approach has not been implemented with sufficient consistency. Thus, the ambiguities do not necessarily represent incongruities or flaws of the morphological approach as such.

The internal division of cases (4.1) is made with special emphasis on the semantic and syntactic phenomena characteristic or perhaps even unique for the Japanese language. Its objective is twofold: it is proposed both as a technique of organizing the 15 morphological cases of Japanese, and as a means to expose certain systemic oppositions

between cases and case groups. The proposed solution is probably one of several possible. At the same time, in the dominant non-systemic and non-paradigmatic approach to the nominal elements of Japanese, the virtual inexplicability of certain synthetic and systemic phenomena in terms of the allegedly analytic and unsystemic functions of the theme/rheme markers and perceptive value markers may often be observed. While case/form functions are relatively easy to define on the basic level, some more elaborate interdependencies, such as the theme vs. rheme opposition, may take on more significance in the purely morphological marking than the dichotomy between the subject and other verbal arguments, including the opposition between subject and object. Still, the morphological phenomena, being immediately available to the language user, remain the basic level of the analysis. More detailed research on these is certainly required, with the proposed basic level and terms to be preserved as its starting point.

Qualitatively similar phenomena may be viewed in terms of grammatical allomorphs (secondary markers) being homosemic (bearing basically the same grammatical functions, with some lexical variations) and homosyntactic (revealing in many, though not in all, instances similar syntactic usage) extensions of the primary markers (4.2). In this instance, too, morphology is not the sole level of analysis, but is an effective basis on which to link the secondary markers to the primary markers and cases. Various semantic features may prevail over the purely morphological marking. The former and the latter may be effectively linked by the description of properties related to their semantics and syntax. While it is not a common solution to group different morphological markers/case forms as one paradigmatic case, it is supported by their semantic and syntactic affinity. It is on specific semantic grounds that the *Nkoso* secondary marker form of the rhemative case, with the primary case form *Nga*, may be chosen. At the same time, both the *Nga* and *Nkoso* forms unambiguously mark the rhemative case. What is to be described in this instance is rather the semantic nuances related to the actual usage of morphologically differentiated forms of one case than the opposition between two (or more) heterogeneous case forms.

As can be seen from examples of such phenomena as the alleged double subject (4.3), case syncretism (4.4) and case drop (4.5), the enumeration of case markers, with systemic reduction of the tentative

list of markers (2.10) to cases, efficiently supports the explanation of at least several topics traditionally concerned dubious in descriptions of Japanese grammar. There is no need to describe double subject in Japanese. Quite apart from whether two concurrent subjects are actually conceivable in a sentence, the notions of topic (theme) and comment (rheme) and their description in the context of topic-prominence in Japanese grammatical marking explain effectively the relations between the elements in question in terms of a theme/rheme/subject triad (4.1.1). Similarly, as may be observed in the traditional descriptions, diachronic issues and semantic variations often do influence the contemporary instances of single case markers with multiple functions, but this does not happen in a random and inexplicable manner. The secondary form of the ablative case *Nyori* co-exists contemporarily with the primary form of the case *Nkara*. They are not interchangeable, however, since *Nyori* exhibits more formal usage than *Nkara* in marking the vector of movement from the designate. The contemporary non-marked usage of *Nyori* is limited to comparative constructions, in which *Nkara* is not used. Certain simplifications made in the traditional approach may also be approached systemically in the paradigmatic description. The phenomenon of case drop, neglected or overestimated in many grammatical descriptions, is neither automatic nor does it apply to all cases in the same manner. These topics, linked to similar or comparable phenomena in other inflectional languages, also require more thorough analysis with a focus on morphological case marking. The proposed paradigmatic case model may be helpful in such analysis.

The phenomena of multiple case marking (4.6), with several subtypes, should be considered typical in the context of the basically uni-functional properties of the agglutinative markers of the language. They are also linked to the phenomenon of partial lexicalization of some grammatical (single or multiple) marker functions, to be described as secondary variation of the primarily systemic rules.

Finally, also the partial interchangeability of case markers/forms (4.7) is not to be explained as typical for all case forms and applied in an unsystemic manner. This phenomenon, occurring with considerable qualitative variety, is also based on the systemic features of cases. Similar phenomena may be observed not only in Japanese, but also in other languages with morphological case systems. A morphological paradigm

of cases cannot and does not necessarily render all conceivable semantic and syntactic oppositions. The list of clearly defined morphological cases and the extensive explanation of their actual application are two different topics. Last but not least, the actual application of systemic, paradigmatic rules, valid in the layer of *langue* or *competence*, does not exclude certain productivity and creativity, not always strictly based on systemic grounds, related rather to the creative activity of language users, belonging to the layer of *parole* or *performance*. While there is no need to go into this in detail, it does not constitute an argument against the systemic properties of Japanese nominal elements. It may be concluded, roughly but adequately, that in the considerable majority of instances the use of two heterogeneous case forms is dependent on certain nuances. This is evidence that the study of paradigmatic relations between cases is basic to the understanding of language and to its usage at a more advanced level, not defined strictly by an overt and finite set of rules.

As can be seen, the existence of a whole range of issues on the boundaries of the grammatical, generally systemic rules and the lexical, generally unsystemic meanings does not undermine the overall applicability of the systemic approach, compatible with the generally unquestioned agglutinative, synthetic features of Japanese nominal elements. Being different from isolating and analytic properties, they reveal proximity to the features of strictly inflecting languages, requiring the application of an appropriate research methodology, to be based on the morphological level of word form differentiation for an inflected word (dictionary) unit.

It is far beyond the modest objectives of this book to describe all possible nominal case interdependencies in Japanese. The following section contains an outline of possible further extensions of the approach. It covers in the first place a proposal for a more thorough approach to other grammatical phenomena of Japanese. Then, some general perspectives of language corpus analysis with NLP tools are presented. Finally, the broader perspective of the comparative analysis of case phenomena in Japanese and other languages is demonstrated.

5.2. Possible Extensions

The morphological theory of case should be furnished with certain extensions, to ensure a more thorough description of the grammatical phenomena of Japanese. In this field, certain language concepts functioning on the level of universals may be balanced against the actual systemic features of Japanese.

First of all, the properties of Japanese verb government or verb valence with respect to nominal arguments may be more effectively described with the practical application of the morphological theory of case. The traditional view that the first nominal argument of a verbal element of a sentence (a predicate) is regarded as its subject (and only as its subject) is often imposed in place of more advanced explanations on the informational structure of the utterance, the latter being overtly marked with morphological means in Japanese. This methodological attitude influences, significantly though erroneously, the identification of the respective elements in Japanese syntax. It is not only the subject, as in the subject-prominent languages, but also the topic, as in the other topic-prominent languages as well as other languages with both topic and subject prominence, like Korean, that can be marked in a systemic, unambiguous and morphological manner in Japanese. Considering this fact, an adequate solution leading to the recognition of topic and subject marking in government or valence-related theory should be proposed. The fact that the subject is often identical with the topic (theme) or with the comment (rheme) does not constitute an obstacle in the process of coherently distinguishing the three concepts. Since neither of the latter two is an obligatory argument of the verbal element, they may be considered its zero arguments, in some utterances identical with the subject (in this instance – and only in this instance – to be described as equal to the first argument), and in some other utterances distinct from it (and marked by respective cases), as presented in 4.1.1 and 4.3. Additionally, the theme and the rheme may be marked, as explained in 4.3, by non-morphological, syntactic means such as word order, or by prosodic means such as sentence stress. This remark may also be helpful in research on the informational structure of utterances in languages other than Japanese that lack morphological marking of the topic/theme or rheme. It may be tentatively postulated

here that at least when it comes to such a prosodic feature as sentence stress, its value is very often, if not always, identical in the utterances of Japanese and of other languages.

As another significant set of oppositions, values related to perceptivity are precisely marked in the Japanese case system, as mentioned in 4.1.2. The perceptive oppositions, not necessarily identical with the concept of evidentiality, cover a wide range of phenomena, starting from the oppositions in marking complete or incomplete enumerations, through marking of the reliability of information, and ending with pragmatic oppositions of an honorific nature. They are usually neglected in the traditional approach. It seems justified to describe them as supplementing the set of declensional features, and perhaps also providing certain systemic premises for the effective description of such phenomena as case drop or case interchangeability.

Another possible extension of the case model in Japanese, as partially mentioned above, may be a re-definition of transitivity. In Japanese there is a regular opposition between the marking of a subject and an object of a sentence. This opposition may merge with or be neutralized by the topic (theme) and comment (rheme) marking, in a manner probably typical for languages with concurrent topic and subject prominence. Japanese adjectival elements, regardless of the detailed classification of this group, reveal certain verbal features, but unambiguously lack transitive features. Furthermore, while it is in many cases possible to transform transitive active sentence constructions into passive constructions, with subsequent change in the roles of involved nominal arguments, there are instances when such transformation is not possible. Since the direct object argument occurs consistently in the accusative case in such active constructions, the lack of corresponding passive versions may not necessarily testify *per se* against the transitive features of the respective active constructions.

More systemic focus should be placed on a coherent description of adpositional constructions, as well as constructions with nominal elements with their case form governed by verbal elements of partly auxiliary, partly lexical nature (cf. 4.9). These may be regarded as at least partly evolving towards systemic, grammatical phenomena.

There is a need for a focused, systemic approach to constructions with the nominal predicate (4.10) and to the further subclassification of

nominal elements (4.12). While the implementation of these and other extensions goes far beyond the purpose of this publication, which is designed to be concise and to focus mainly on the proposal for a coherent morphological model of Japanese declension, it will surely be much easier and more systemic within the framework of the Japanese morphological cases than with the application of a purely syntactic or semantic/lexical methodology of description.

As has also been mentioned in several passages above, further research on the nominal phenomena of Japanese should include the use of NLP tools and the application of the techniques of language corpus analysis to verify or falsify both the proposed model and the morphological methodology that lies at its foundations. The existing corpora, mostly not annotated with case values and usually not even analyzed within the framework of morphological case, may relatively easily be glossed with the proposed case values, with significant impact on their usefulness. Also on this level of the proposed model of practical application, several further stages of potential analysis can probably be indicated, especially with reference to the notion of the case form and case markers briefly described in the initial subchapters of Chapter 2 of this book.

Once the morphological model has been verified against actual corpus data, numerous potential gains may emerge from its application. Comparative analysis of Japanese morphological cases vs. cases of other languages may be attempted, with interesting results to be expected. Languages with morphological case systems are obvious candidates for comparison, and the comparative tools enhanced with application of the other proposed extensions mentioned above will probably bring about even more interesting results, embodying and emphasizing the basic task of linguistics, which is to research the systemic properties of various language codes. An integrated approach to morphological nominal case, supported by the language data of Japanese, but at the same time largely obscured by the isolating and analytic tradition of grammatical description of the language, largely influenced by languages with scarce or non-primary inflecting properties, may be another means to test whether certain features of Japanese considered as non-existent within the framework of the traditional approach are not similar to other features known from languages with rich morphological phenomena.

Although no limitation on the purely structuralist methodology is proposed here, this is probably the way in which the initial objective sketched by Ferdinand de Saussure, as “language studied in and for itself” (Saussure 1959: 232), can be effectively achieved, with further semantic, syntactic and cognitive extensions not being impossible – as suggested, for example, in the quotation used as the motto of this chapter.

5.3. Conclusions

As shown in the author’s previous work (Jabłoński 2021a), the lack of grammatical studies on the Japanese nominal elements based on the actual morphological features of the language is a factor that significantly impedes the effective understanding, description and explanation of phenomena of Japanese grammar. The morphological model of declension proposed in this work is designed as an initial step towards a comprehensive description of Japanese nominal elements. As such, it fills a significant gap in the traditional description of Japanese, with nominal elements considered as uninflected, in contrast to the verbal elements, which are usually described as inflected. In traditional descriptions, the adnominal grammatical markers were treated as allegedly standalone, analytic, unsystemic particles or postpositions, despite their systemic functions. This was due to the lack of recognition of the paradigmatic features of Japanese nominal phenomena, which, given the common recognition of the dominance of agglutinative features in the morphology of the language, appears rather paradoxical in this methodological context.

Morphological phenomena are valid on the most basic level of description, a level close to the minimal pairs that constitute a very effective tool of phonological research. On a basic level of acquiring language competence, they have to be memorized, like any other systemic rules of the language. On more elaborate levels of language study, as well as on the level of conscious reflection on language phenomena, they may effectively render deeper relations, as encoded superficially by the basic, atomic units of the code. The morphological paradigm of declension is an example of a simple and concise tool for such purposes, with the necessary simplifications and abstractions typical for theoretical models.

The morphological features of the language may be subject to numerous extensions, some mentioned above in Chapter 4, some others in 5.2 above, to be developed further. The extensions are based on morphological features and rules, being backed by their intuitive and immediate recognition in terms of minimal pair oppositions among the users of languages with complex morphological properties.

As indicated above (and also in the conclusion of Jabłoński 2021a), the morphological paradigm may not be of much use – or may be of virtually no use – when applied to languages with scarce morphological oppositions or with morphological oppositions having low functional load on the systemic level of description. This does not deny the validity of the morphological features of Japanese nominal elements, traditionally neglected in grammatical descriptions of the language. Nor does it prove that languages which have more complex systemic morphological features, or where such features have a greater functional load, are more complex or harder to memorize. The contemporary prevalence of semantics- or syntax-based studies on grammar and on the functions of nominal elements in a general (often English-centered) perspective does not automatically negate the morphological rules. The diverse morphological properties of languages require adequate tools for their description. Among such tools, the pattern of declension is proposed for (inflecting) languages like Japanese, exhibiting advanced morphological properties, despite the fact that they are usually not described in a compatible manner in existing grammatical sources.

The author is aware that the proposal of a morphological description of the Japanese nominal elements may not gain popularity, especially among users of uninflected languages or languages with scarce morphological oppositions, accustomed to the analytic and isolating manner of description of Japanese. The current dominance of English in linguistic discourse is not without influence on this fact. At the same time, it is his conviction (naïve, though backed up by language facts) that the task of a linguist is to describe the systemic features of languages, not necessarily based on a presupposed direct relation between the language being described and the language of description (the latter surprisingly often being English). While natural languages are clearly not based solely on clear-cut systemic, grammatical rules, at least some such rules may be described, with necessary abstraction and approximation.

A proposal to begin the description in the morphological layer, which has relatively least entropy, should be taken into consideration in this process. Thus, being a kind of conscious and intended step back to the cenemic basics of a code, a discussion on the morphological properties of languages may contribute to better understanding of the grammatical phenomena on more advanced levels of complexity.

Index of Japanese Terms

Below is provided a selection of Japanese terms, in their romanized and original versions, together with English translations and comments. The terms are listed in alphabetical order of their romanized versions.

<i>Romanized term</i>	Original	English translation and comments
<i>aikata</i>	相方	‘fellow/comitative (case)’ [unusual term]
<i>bunkei</i>	文型	‘sentence pattern’
<i>bunpō</i>	文法	‘grammar’
<i>bunpōshihyō</i>	文法指標	‘grammatical markers’
<i>bunsekitekigokei</i>	分析の語形	‘analytic word forms’
<i>bunsetsu</i>	文節	‘word forms [or rather: ‘phrases’ or ‘phrase words’ in school grammar]’
<i>chūkaku</i>	中格	‘distinctive case’
<i>daikaku</i>	題格	‘thematic case’
<i>daimeishi</i>	代名詞	‘pronouns’ [usually personal pronouns]
<i>dedokorokaku</i>	でどころ格	‘ablative case’ [lit. ‘departive case’]
<i>dokuritsukaku</i>	独立格	‘standalone cases’
<i>fukukakugokei</i>	副格語形	‘secondary case forms’
<i>fukukakuji</i>	副格辞	‘secondary case markers’ [as opposed to <i>honkakuji</i>]
<i>gainengo</i>	概念語	lit. ‘concept words’
<i>genkaku</i>	限格	‘terminative case’
<i>gikaku</i>	疑格	‘interrogative case’
<i>go</i>	語	‘word unit’
<i>gokei</i>	語形	‘word form’
<i>gobi</i>	語尾	‘ending; suffix’
<i>gobihenka</i>	語尾変化	‘inflection by endings’
<i>gokan</i>	語幹	‘inflectional theme’
<i>gokon</i>	語根	‘lexical stem’

<i>gukaku</i>	具格	‘instrumental case’
<i>hadakakaku</i>	ハダカ格	lit. ‘bare case’ [with no morphological markers]
<i>hasei</i>	派生	‘derivation’
<i>henkaretsu</i>	変化列	‘inflectional paradigm’
<i>hikakukaku</i>	比較格	‘comparative case’ [unusual term for ablative case]
<i>honkakugokei</i>	本格語形	‘primary case forms’
<i>honkakuji</i>	本格辞	‘primary (case) markers’ [as opposed to <i>fukukakuji</i>]
<i>hyōjungo</i>	標準語	‘standard [Japanese] language’
<i>ikyokaku</i>	依拠格	‘locative case’ [lit. ‘basive case’, unusual term]
<i>ippankaku</i>	一般格	‘standard cases’
<i>joshi</i>	助詞	‘grammatical particles’, [lit. ‘auxiliary lexical elements’]
<i>jōhōgen</i>	情報源	‘source of information’
<i>jutsugo</i>	述語	‘predicate’
<i>kaidai</i>	解題	‘rheme’
<i>kaisetsu</i>	解説	‘rheme’
<i>kaku</i>	格	‘case’
<i>kakuji</i>	格辞	‘case marker’ [proposed term]
<i>kaikenka</i>	格変化	‘declension’ [lit. ‘inflection by cases’]
<i>kakujoshi</i>	格助詞	lit. ‘case particles’
<i>kanbun</i>	漢文	‘Japanese script with the sole use of sinograms’
<i>kanji</i>	漢字	‘Japanese ideograms (sinograms)’
<i>kankeikaku</i>	関係格	‘related cases’ [as opposed to <i>shuyōkaku</i>]
<i>kannengo</i>	観念語	lit. ‘words of perception’
<i>keitairon</i>	形態論	‘morphology’
<i>keiyōdōshi</i>	形容動詞	‘non-inflected adjectives [also: copular nouns, adjectival nouns, non-inflected adjectives or non-predicative adjectives]’
<i>keiyōshi</i>	形容詞	‘inflected adjectives’

<i>kikaku</i>	寄格	‘allative case’
<i>kokaku</i>	呼格	‘vocative case’
<i>koritsu(go)</i>	孤立（語）	‘isolating (language)’
<i>kōchaku(go)</i>	膠着（語）	‘agglutinative (language)’
<i>kōchishi</i>	後置詞	‘(analytic) postposition’
<i>(kanbun)kundoku</i>	（漢文）訓読	‘deciphering <i>kanbun</i> into the classical Japanese text’
<i>kunten</i>	訓点	‘schematic strokes [in <i>kundoku</i>]’
<i>kussetsu(go)</i>	屈折（語）	‘fusional (language)’
<i>kyakugo</i>	客語	‘object’
<i>meishi</i>	名詞	‘nouns’
<i>meikaku</i>	名格	‘nominative case’ [unusual term, lit. ‘name case’]
<i>mokutekigo</i>	目的語	‘object’
<i>namaekaku</i>	なまえ格	‘nominative case’ [unusual term, lit. ‘name case’]
<i>okototen</i>	ヲコト点・乎古 止点	‘grammatical elements’ [traditional, ideographic script- oriented term]
<i>reikaku</i>	例格	‘exemplificative case’
<i>renkaku</i>	連格	‘enumerative case’
<i>rentaikaku</i>	連体格	‘adnominal case’ [unusual term for genitive case]
<i>rentaikei</i>	連体形	‘attributive verbal form’ [in classical description models]
<i>ren’yōkei</i>	連用形	‘attributive connective form’ [in classical description models]
<i>rēma</i>	レーマ	‘comment; rheme’
<i>rikaku</i>	離格	‘ablative case’
<i>shikaku</i>	指格	‘rhematic case’
<i>shokaku</i>	所格	‘locative case’ [unusual term]
<i>shudai</i>	主題	‘topic; theme’
<i>shugo</i>	主語	‘subject’
<i>shukaku</i>	主格	‘nominative case’
<i>shuppatsukaku</i>	出発格	‘departive case’ [unusual term for ablative case]

<i>shuyōkaku</i>	主要格	‘main cases’ [as opposed to <i>kankeikaku</i>]
<i>sōgōtekigokei</i>	総合的語形	‘synthetic word forms’
<i>sūshi</i>	数詞	‘numerals’
<i>taigen</i>	体言	‘nominal elements’
<i>taikaku</i>	対格	‘accusative case’
<i>teidaijoshi</i>	提題助詞	‘topical markers’
<i>teni(o)ha</i>	テニヲハ・手 爾葉	‘grammatical elements’ [traditional, ideographic script- oriented term]
<i>tenkaku</i>	点格	‘locative case’
<i>tenchaku(go)</i>	添着 (語)	‘agglutinative (language)’ [traditional term]
<i>tēma</i>	テーマ	‘topic; theme’
<i>yodōkaku</i>	与同格	‘comitative case’ [unusual term, lit. ‘equal giving case’]
<i>yojijukugo</i>	四字熟語	‘four-sinogram compounds’
<i>yokaku</i>	与格	‘dative case’
<i>zokkaku</i>	属格	‘genitive case’

Glosses and Abbreviations

ABL – ablative case
ACC – accusative case
ADJ – regular adjective
ALL – allative case
AN – auxiliary noun
ANA – auxiliary noun adjective
AV – auxiliary verb
CAS – causative
COM – comitative case
CON – connecting
COP – copula
DAT – dative case
DEP – depreciative
DER – derivative element
DIS – distinctive case
EMP – emphatic
ENU – enumerative case
EXE – exemplificative case
EXL – exalting
GEN – genitive case
GVI – give in (benefactive)
HON – honorific
HYP – hypothetical
IMP – imperative
INS – instrumental case
INT – interrogative case/particle
LOC – locative case
NA – noun adjective
MOD – modestive
NC – numeral classifier
NEG – negative
NMN – nominalizer
NOM – nominative case
NPST – non-past

NTOP – non-topic (tentative glossing of several markers of contemporary Japanese)
 NUL – case drop (with a non-NOM marker reconstructable)
 PASS – passive
 PER – perfect
 PST – past
 PN – proper name
 POL – polite
 POT – potential
 PRG – progressive
 PRO – prognostic
 RES – resultative
 RHE – rhemative case
 SC – phrase/sentence connector
 SP – sentence particle (different from SC, also with phrasal functions)
 SUBJ – subject
 TER – terminative case
 THE – themative case
 TOP – topic/theme case
 VOC – vocative case
 VOL – volitional
 1 – first person (including also perceptive marking of directly experienced information)
 N1 – non-first person

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CASE IN JAPANESE –

A MORPHOLOGICAL APPROACH

Japanese nominal elements are usually not described as inflected. This fact, as was presented in the author's previous publication, *Japanese Nominal Elements as Abandoned Parts of Speech* (2021), may lead to the conclusion that they are, literally, abandoned parts of speech in the grammatical descriptions of Japanese. In this volume, a more thorough explanation of the morphological case system and the morphological, paradigmatic declension model of Japanese is provided. Rather than to answer the question of whether or not declension exists in Japanese, an attempt is made to use existing and commonly accepted linguistic methodology to give a systemic description of the morphological properties of Japanese nominal elements. The proposed model of Japanese morphological cases is also presented, along with necessary explanations on the basic case functions and the internal classification of markers and cases. As an extension of the morphological case paradigm of Japanese, several case phenomena of the language are described. Further perspectives for the study of Japanese nominal cases are presented as a conclusion.

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