

Two types of modification and the adnominal modification in Japanese
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Since the pioneering study of Dixon (1977, 1982), the adjective category is the most controversial and problematic category for the definition of parts of speech system. The realization of the concept of adjectives varies from language to language. In languages with small class of adjectives, the adjectival concepts are expressed via the verbal form (Hausa) or via the nominal form (Quechua). That is to say, the adjective is bound on the one end by the verb and on the other end by the noun. Cross-linguistically, the adjective is a fluid category by nature.

However, the adjectival fluidity is not only observed cross-linguistically. Even within a language, the adjective has a very unstable status. For example, Japanese has a closed-class, non-productive adjective category. And it behaves more like verbs with their own inflection paradigm and needs no copula in predicative use. On the other hand, some attributive adjectives, like the adjective of color or size, alternate with the adnominal modification forms with *-no* (of) which share the same stem with the noun (1). Although all the attributive adjectives in Japanese do not have this adnominal alternate form (2), the omnipresence of this adnominal modification with *-no* (of) in Japanese sometimes leads children to miscategorizing adjectives as nouns, and to the overgeneration of *-no* (of) in the acquisition of Japanese noun phrases (Murasugi, Nakatani and Fuji 2009)(3). Then, what is the difference between the adjectival modification and the modification with *-no*, and what imposes this distinction?

Observation: First of all, the adjectival modification can describe the non-restrictive reading, but the modification with *-no* does not (4). Secondly, the adjectival modification can describe constant or temporal property of the head noun, but the modification with *-no* does not describe the property of the head noun (neither constant nor temporal) (5). Finally, only in the case of the specification reading, both forms are permitted (6).

Proposal : I propose that the function of the modification with *-no* (of) in Japanese is not to describe the property of the head noun, but to specify the object, like in the case of *the red one* in English. For example, in the case of *aka-no hon* (the book of red), it specifies the book among the other candidates, with the property of color. In other words, in the interpretation of the modification with *-no* (of) we are supposing the existence of the relative clause (the book which is red). According to Cinque (2010), the modification that assumes the relative clause is called the indirect (reduced relative clause) modification. Thus, like many languages cited in Cinque (2010), in Japanese the indirect modification has its formal realization with the adnominal modification form with *-no* (of).

Conclusion : This paper shows that in some Japanese attributive adjectives, there are two types of noun modification forms, the adjectival modification and the modification with *-no*(of). While the former can be interpreted as direct or indirect modification like the adnominal adjectives in English, the latter always assumes the relative clause in its interpretation. The adnominal modification with *-no* can be seen as another realization of the indirect modification of adnominal adjectives.

- (1) a. aka-i hon / aka-no hon
 red (adj.) book red(ness)-of book
 ‘red book’ ‘book of red’
 b. shiro-i kaban / shiro-no kaban
 white bag white(ness)-of bag
 ‘white bag’ ‘bag of white’
- (2) utsukusi-i hana / *utsukusi-sa-no hana
 beautiful flower beautifulness-of flower
 ‘beautiful flower’ ‘flower of beautiful’
- (3) a. atarasii *no kami (Yuta 1;11)
 new of paper ‘a new paper’
 b. siroi *no gohan (Yuta 2;0)
 white of rice ‘white rice’
 c. Tiisai *no buubuu tootta yo (Sumihare 1;11)
 small of car passed ‘A small car passed.’
- (4) a. Sora-ni aka-i / ??aka-no taiyou-ga noboru.
 sky-LOC red / red-of sun-NOM rises
 ‘the red sun rises in the sky’
 b. Fuyu-ni-wa kono machi-wa sihiro-i / ??shiro-no yuki ni oowareru.
 winter this town-NOM white / white-of snow-by be covered
 ‘In winter, this town is covered by white snow.’
- (5) a. Asoko-ni aka-i / ?aka-no kuruma-ga takusan tome-te-aru.
 there red / red-of cars many park
 ‘Many red cars are parked there’
 b. netsu-de aka-i / ??aka-no Hanako-no kao
 fever red / red-of Hanako-GEN face
 ‘Hanako’s red face burning with fever’
- (6) Sono aka-i / aka-no koppu-o tote.
 that red / red-of glass-ACC pass
 ‘Pass me the red glass’

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