A Syntactic Analysis of the Lexical, Pragmatic, and Semantic Properties of "Clausal" Nominal Expressions in Colloquial Japanese

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The paper deals with the lexical, pragmatic, and semantic properties of Japanese constructions such as *Taro-no usotuki!* (Taro-GEN liar), which means "Taro, you are a liar!" Since the constructions under investigation are "clause-like" nominal expressions, they are referred to as clausal nominal expressions (CNEs) in the present paper. It is argued that the three properties of CNEs are closely related to the syntactic structure of CNEs and that many of them can be deduced from the syntactic nature of CNEs. Specifically, it is proposed that CNEs should be identified as a vocative phrase (VocP) dominating a nominal Small Clause. It follows from the discussion that CNEs can provide us with evidence for the hypothesis that there is a Middle Field in the noun phrase structure as well as in the clausal structure.

Key Words：clausal nominal expressions, invocative expressions, Middle Field, nominal Small Clause, Vocative Phrase

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Ⅰ　Introduction [1]

In colloquial Japanese, expressions as in (1)[2] can be used to indicate dissatisfaction

toward the addressee. [3]

(1)　　a.　　　Onetyan-no baka!

　　　　　　　Sister-GEN fool

　　　　　　　　'Sis, you are a fool!'

　　　b.　　　Taro-no usotuki!

　　　　　　　Taro-GEN liar

　　　　　　　　'Taro, you are a liar!'

　　　　The *Gakken Gendai Sin Kokugo Ziten* (Gakken New Dictionary of Present-Day Japanese) describes this type of expression as a "friendly blaming expression" (p. 1112). In addition, according to Teramura (1991: 249), this construction has the form (2).

(2)　　　　[N_1-GEN N_2]

　　　　Interestingly, as indicated by the English translations in (1), we can obtain the subject-predicate interpretation in (1), which consists of only nouns.[4] We should also note the following two facts in this regard. First, N_1 serves as the subject, but it is marked with the genitive case marker **no**. Second, the construction in question does not have a Japanese copula such as *da* ('be'). Since the constructions in (1) are "clause-like" nominal expressions, we refer to them as CNEs (clausal nominal expressions). [5]

　　　　This paper argues that the three properties of CNEs, namely, lexical, pragmatic, and semantic, are closely related to the syntactic structure of CNEs and that many of them can be deduced from the syntactic nature of CNEs. Specifically, it is proposed that CNEs should be identified as a VocP (vocative phrase) dominating a Small Clause.

　　　　The remainder of this paper is structured as follows. Section 2 identifies the lexical, pragmatic, and semantic properties of CNEs. Section 3 discusses issues related to the derivation and syntactic structure of CNEs. Section 4 proposes the hypothesis that CNEs are syntactically composed of clausal elements such as Small Clauses. Section 5 shows the syntactic reason for the presence of the genitive case marker **no** in N_1 in (2), and clarifies how N_1-GEN functions as both a vocative expression and the subject of CNEs. Section 6 discusses the historical background and pragmatic aspects of the genitive case marker **no** used in vocative expressions. Finally, in Section 7, we briefly summarize the nine questions raised in this paper and their answers, and touch on the consequences of our proposal regarding the

syntactic structure of noun phrases.

II Three Distinct Properties

This section provides an overview of each of the lexical, pragmatic, and semantic properties of CNEs and concludes with a clarification of the six questions we seek to answer.

2.1 Lexical Properties

First, the lexical properties refer to the lexical restriction imposed on N_1 and N_2 in (2). For example, N_1 is limited to nouns indicating names or qualifications of the recipient (i.e., the addressee) (e.g., Taro, *onityan* 'big brother', *senpai* 'senior', *sensei* 'teacher').[6] More specifically, N_1 must be a noun used to call out to other people. In this paper, such expressions will be called "vocative expressions," which will be examined from a pragmatic viewpoint in Section 2.2.

With regard to N_2, it is limited to nouns that describe a person's negative properties (e.g., *usotuki* 'liar', *baka* 'fool').[7] Therefore, (3), whose N_2 is changed from *usotuki* ('liar') to *ikemen* ('handsome'), sounds unnatural because the lexical restriction on N_2 is not satisfied.

(3)　　*Taro-no *ikemen*!
　　　　Taro-GEN handsome
　　　　'Taro, you are handsome!'

We should note that N_1 and N_2 can be phrasal categories as well as lexical items. For example, they can be modified by adjectives, as shown in (4) and (5).

(4)　　Pre-modified N_1
　　　a.　*Iyana* onetyan-no baka!
　　　　　ugly sister-GEN fool
　　　　　'Ugly sis, you are a fool!'
　　　b.　*Nekurana* Taro-no usotuki!
　　　　　gloomy Taro-GEN liar
　　　　　'Gloomy Taro, you are a liar!'
(5)　　Pre-modified N_2

a.　　　Onetyan-no *oo* baka!

sister-GEN big fool

'Sis, you are a damn fool!'

b.　　　Taro-no *oo* usotuki!

Taro-GEN big liar

'Taro, you are a big liar!'

In fact, (4) sounds slightly less natural than (1), although no significant difference can be detected between (1) and (5). This fact will be discussed regarding pragmatic grounds below.

The discussion given just above leads us to modify the structure in (2) as in (6).

(6)　　　[NP_1-GEN NP_2]

2. 2　　　Pragmatic Properties

Let us next look at the pragmatic properties of CNEs. CNEs sound most natural when the addressee is present in front of the addresser. This exchange would usually take place in a context where the participants are in a close relationship, such as family members or friends. Thus, (1b) sounds natural when Taro is present in front of the addresser; otherwise, it sounds unnatural. Interestingly, when speaking to himself or herself, the addresser can utter CNEs as if the addressee were in front of him or her.

The pragmatic property mentioned above confirms our analysis according to which NP_1-GEN in (6), referring to the addressee, serves as an invocative expression. This analysis explains why (1) sounds a little more natural than (4), in which NP_1-GEN is modified by adjectives. Obviously, the shorter the NP_1-GEN, the easier it is to call out to the addressee. Since NP_2 is not an invocative expression, it can be modified by adjectives, thereby accounting for the fact that no significant difference can be detected between (1) and (5) with regard to acceptability or naturalness.

Given that NP_1-GEN serves as an invocative expression, it is pragmatically used just like the deictic personal pronoun *you*, which falls into the category D(eterminer).[8] Thus, based on the deictic (or direct reference) usage of the invocative expression, it would be better to analyze NP_1 of (6) as DP. Therefore, we modify (6) again and assume the structure in (7) for "genuine" CNEs.

(7)　　　[DP-GEN NP]

However, we should note that there are CNEs in which the first noun does not seem to play the role of an invocative expression. Let us examine a typical case like (8), in which *Taro* of (1b) is replaced with a common noun *sensei-tati* 'teachers'. The suffix *-tati* indicates plurality of animate nouns in Japanese.

(8)　　　Sensei-tati-no usotuki!
　　　　　teachers-GEN liar
　　　a.　　　'You teachers are liars'
　　　b.　　　'All teachers are liars'

There are two different interpretations of (8) with respect to the reference of *sensei-tati* 'teachers'. On the one hand, *sensei-tati* refers to specific teachers located in front of the addresser. Under this interpretation (i.e., (8a)), the construction can be regarded as a "genuine" case of CNEs because *sensei-tati-no* functions as an invocative expression. On the other hand, it is possible that *sensei-tati* does not refer to specific teachers but teachers in general. Under this interpretation (i.e., (8b)), since *sensei-tati-no* fails to serve as an invocative expression, teachers do not have to be located in front of the addresser. The addresser usually uses (8) to speak to himself or herself as a statement of his or her discontent toward teachers. Therefore, this is a "nongenuine" case of CNEs. It will be argued in Chapter 5 that the two different interpretations examined are derived from two different structures of CNEs.

2. 3　Semantic Properties

Finally, we consider the semantic properties of CNEs. As already pointed out in Section 1, the subject-predicate relation between DP-GEN and NP in (7) is detectable, as the English translations of (1) show.

We should also note that the propositional meaning induced by this subject-predicate relation holds only at the time of utterance of CNEs.[9] In other words, it holds neither in the future nor in the past. To take (1b) as an example, the addresser thinks that Taro is a fool just at the point of utterance. Thus, as Koyanagi (2009: 132) points out, CNEs cannot cooccur with expressions that explicitly indicate the past tense. In (9b), the particle **wa** is used as the topic marker.

(9)　　a.　　　Okasan-no baka!

　　　　　　　mother-GEN fool

　　　　　　　'Mom, you are a fool'

　　　b.　　　*Kino-wa okasan-no baka!

　　　　　　　yesterday-TOP mother-GEN fool

　　　　　　　'Mom, you were a fool yesterday' (Intended meaning)

　　　c.　　　*Kino-no okasan-no baka!

　　　　　　　yesterday-GEN mother-GEN fool

　　　　　　　'Yesterday's mom, you were a fool' (Intended meaning)

2. 4　Interim Summary: Six Questions

Why do CNEs exhibit the various characteristics mentioned in the three preceding sub-sections? The purpose of this paper is to provide a theoretical answer to this question. In this last sub-section, let us summarize the fundamental questions raised so far regarding CNEs.

For the sake of exposition, let us start with questions regarding semantic properties. First, in spite of the fact that CNEs do not contain any sentential structure, why do they indicate the subject-predicate relation obtained (Question 1)? We also observed that the propositional meaning induced by the subject-predicate relation holds only at the point of utterance. Why should this be so (Question 2)?

Second, consideration of the pragmatic properties leads to the question of why the addressee must be present in front of the addresser (Question 3). The lexical and semantic properties also raise the question of why DP-GEN functions as both an invocation expression and the subject in the subject-predicate relation of CNEs (Question 4). Furthermore, why is the type of NP in (7) limited to one indicating a negative nature of DP in (7) (Question 5)?

Finally, as mentioned in the discussion in (8), why are there two different interpretations obtainable in this "nongenuine" type of CNE (Question 6)?

As a further question, the derivation of CNEs is discussed in the next section.

Ⅲ　Derivation of CNEs

In this section, we will examine the derivation of CNEs, which is provided in the

Gakken Gendai Sin Kokugo Ziten (p. 1112). According to the dictionary, the genitive case marker **no** in (10b) originated as the nominative case marker **ga** in (10a).

(10)　　a.　　　　Papa-**ga** usotuki da.

　　　　　　　　　dad-NOM liar is

　　　　　　　　　'My dad is a liar'

　　　　b.　　　　Papa-**no** usotuki!

　　　　　　　　　dad-GEN liar

　　　　　　　　　'Dad, you are a liar'

Although it is not explicitly stated in the dictionary, it is implicitly assumed that (10b) is derived from (10a) through two processes: (i) replacing **ga** with **no**, and (ii) deleting the copular *da*. In what follows, we point out the advantages and disadvantages of this analysis.

　　As immediate advantages of the analysis given in the *Gakken Gendai Sin Kokugo Ziten*, it is possible to answer Questions 1 and 2. First, *papa* and *usotuki* are underlyingly the subject and predicate in (10a), respectively. It is natural that the same nouns retain the same grammatical functions in (10b). Thus, CNEs such as (10b) imply a subject-predicate relation. Second, CNEs lack the tense-bearing copula *da*; they can refer to neither the future tense nor the past tense. This results in the fact that the CNEs can only describe the propositional meaning holding only at the time of utterance. These amount to the answers to Questions 1 and 2.

　　However, the following empirical problems arise from the deviational analysis under consideration. First, it fails to capture the lexical properties of CNEs. For example, if we replace the semantically negative word *usotuki* 'liar' with the semantically positive word *ikemen* 'handsome' in (10a), the construction remains fine, as (11a) shows. However, it does not do so in the case of (10b), as (11b) indicates. [10]

(11)　　a.　　　　Papa-**ga** ikemen da.

　　　　　　　　　dad-NOM handsome is

　　　　　　　　　'My dad is handsome'

　　　　b.　　　　*Papa-**no** ikemen!

　　　　　　　　　dad-GEN handsome

　　　　　　　　　'Dad, you are handsome'

　　Second, there is also a syntactic difference between (10a) and (10b) as to whether

a WH question word can be used for DP. Specifically, a difference between (12a) and (12b) arises when the first DP is replaced by the WH word *dare* 'who' to form an interrogative sentence.

(12)　　a.　　　　Dare-**ga** usotuki da?

who-NOM liar is

'who is a liar?'

b.　　　　*Dare-**no** usotuki?

who-GEN liar

If (10b) is derived from (10a) by replacing **ga** with **no** and deleting *da*, then (12b) should be as grammatical as (12a). However, this expectation is not borne out. This fact raises a new question (Question 7) as to why DP cannot be questioned in CNEs.

As a result, the two-step derivational analysis of the *Gakken Gendai Sin Kokugo Ziten* is questionable and cannot be adopted. The difference in grammaticality between the (a) and (b) sentences in (11) and (12) suggests that CNEs are not derived by mere manipulation of the case particle replacement and the copula deletion. Instead, these facts point to the possibility that the (a) and (b) sentences are independently generated, which requires a more elaborate structural analysis of CNEs.

Finally, we examine a different type of example (13), in which the CNE *Taro-no usotuki* shown in (1b) is embedded in another construction. [11]

(13)　　a.　　　　[*Taro-no usotuki*]-ga kita.

[Taro-GEN liar]-NOM came

'*Taro the liar* came'

b.　　　　[*Taro -no usotuki*]-ppuri-ga hidoi.

[Taro-GEN liar]-behavior-NOM terrible

'*Taro's behavior of telling lies* is terrible' (Literal meaning)

However, the CNE *Taro-no usotuki* in both (13a) and (13b) differs from that in (1b) in the following two respects. First, the examples in (13) do not exhibit any pragmatic features. For example, it is most likely that (13) is uttered toward someone other than Taro as the addressee, or that (13) is used to when speaking to oneself, as in a soliloquy. Second, (13) differs from (1b) in semantic respects. For example, as shown in (14), (13) can co-occur with

past tense expressions.

> (14)　　a.　　　*Kino* [Taro-no usotuki]-ga uti-ni kita.
> 　　　　　　　yesterday [Taro-GEN liar]-NOM my place-to came
> 　　　　　　　'Yesterday Taro the liar came to my house'
> 　　　　b.　　　*Anotoki* [Taro -no usotuki]-ppuri-ga hidokatta.
> 　　　　　　　At that time [Taro-GEN liar]-behavior-NOM terrible-past
> 　　　　　　　'At that time Taro's behavior of telling lies was terrible'

　　The above discussion shows that, despite the surface similarities, the italicized part *Taro-no usotuki* in (13) should be distinguished from the "genuine" CNE shown in (1b). As the English translations show, *Taro-no usotuki* constitutes an appositive construction in (13a) (Kikuchi (2008)), and it serves as a modifier in (13b).[12] Therefore, in this paper, we will distinguish these two types of expressions and focus our analysis on the "genuine" type of CNE.

　　In closing, we recall that based on the difference in grammaticality in (12), Question 7 arises as to why DP in (7) cannot be questioned.

Ⅳ　Small Clause Analysis

　　On the basis of the facts discussed so far, we propose a structural analysis of CNEs in this section.

　　First, the fact that the subject-predicate relation can be decoded leads us to the assumption that CNEs contain a certain kind of clause structure, although they comprise only nominal categories such as DP and NP, as depicted in (7). This paves the way for the answer to Question 1.

　　Given this assumption, NP in (7) should serve as a predicate for DP-GEN. Since CNEs are used to accuse the addressee (i.e., DP-GEN), it is natural that NP is limited to nouns expressing negative properties of the DP. This constitutes an answer to Question 5.

　　However, we should note that the clause structure making up CNEs differs from ordinary clauses (e.g., CP) in three respects. First, as mentioned in the discussion of (10), CNEs have no tense-bearing elements like the copula. Second, as can be seen from the difference between (1) and (15), the genitive case marker **no** cannot be replaced with the

nominative case marker **ga**, which typically marks the subject of the sentence, in CNEs.

(15)　　a.　　　　*Onetyan-**ga** baka!

　　　　　　　　　Sister-NOM fool

　　　　　　　　　(Cf. Onetyan-**no** baka! (= (1a)))

　　　　b.　　　　*Taro-**ga** usotuki!

　　　　　　　　　Taro-NOM liar

　　　　　　　　　(Cf. Taro-**no** usotuki! (= (1b)))

　　　This fact seems to suggest that the clause structure composing CNEs cannot satisfy a structural licensing condition that allows the presence of the nominative case marker **ga** for the subject. With regard to such a condition, for example, Mihara and Hiraiwa (2006: 24–27) argue that the presence of the nominative case marker **ga** ultimately depends on the tense feature. We can then attribute the ungrammaticality of (15) to the lack of the tense-feature bearing element (i.e., the copula) in the clause structure composing CNEs.

　　　We can now look at the discussion provided above from different perspectives. First, because there is no tense-bearing element in the clause structure constituting CNEs, the propositional meaning induced by the structure does not refer to the future tense or the past tense, but holds only at the point of utterance. This is an answer to Question 2. Second, since DP-GEN is an invocative expression and the propositional meaning in question holds only at the time of utterance, the addressee must be present in front of the addresser. This is an answer to Question 3.

　　　Next, we re-examine the impossibility of questioning DP of DP-GEN, as illustrated in (12b). It follows from this fact that the clause structure making up CNEs cannot satisfy a syntactic licensing condition on the occurrence of WH words such as *dare* 'who'. In general, the presence of WH words is licensed by interrogative particles such as *ka* or *no* located in the complementizer position (i.e., C) in Japanese.[13] Thus, it can be argued that the clause structure for CNEs has no slot for interrogative particles. This is an answer to Question 7.

　　　The arguments given in this section amount to the hypothesis that the clause structure composing CNEs is a Small Clause, which lacks syntactic categories such as V, T, C.

V　Genitive Case and the Structure of CNEs

The Small Clause analysis of CNEs we proposed in Section 4 now faces a new question. This is because there are several different analyses proposed for the internal structure of Small Clauses in the study of generative syntax, thereby raising the question of which analysis is most appropriate for CNEs (Question 8). We would like to start out discussion by paying special attention to the status of DP-GEN of CNEs.

In Section 2, we pointed out that DP-GEN serves as an invocation expression. However, why is the genitive case marker **no** employed to mark the invocative expression (Question 9)? As a matter of fact, we argue that the answer to Question 9 is twofold: a structural reason and a historical and pragmatic reason. The former reason will be discussed in this section because it concerns the structure of CNEs, whereas the historical and pragmatic reason is not directly involved in the structural analysis and will be left to Section 6. We argue in what follows that the discussion regarding Question 9 leads to a clue to the answer to Questions 4 and 8.

With regard to the syntactic reason why the genitive case marker **no** is used to mark the invocative expression, we survey Saito's (1985) and Mihara and Hiraiwa's (2006: 24) argument that within the projection of N, the genitive case marker **no** marks elements (whether DP or PP) that precede the head N. Therefore, it is natural to assume that the Small Clause structure of CNEs is a nominal projection, rather than a typical clause structure like CP or TP.

In fact, Stowell (1981, 1983) and Chomsky (1986) propose a structure of Small Clauses that can be analyzed as a projection of N. If Stowell's proposal is adopted, the structure of Small Clauses of CNEs will be (16), and Chomsky's proposal is employed, it will be (17)

(16) [$_{NP}$ DP-GEN [$_{N'}$ NP]]

(17) [$_{NP}$ DP-GEN [$_{NP}$ NP]]

In (16), DP-GEN is introduced to syntactic calculation at the (last) derivational stage when the whole NP (i.e., Small Clause) is constructed. On the other hand, in (17), after the lower NP is formed, DP-GEN is introduced as an adjunct phrase to build the whole NP structure.

In this paper, we partly adopt the two analyses schematized in (16) and (17) in order to capture the fact that DP-GEN plays a dual role as an invocative expression and the subject. Specifically, CNEs are derived through the two stages of derivation. First, DP-GEN originates

as the subject of the (nominal) Small Clause, to which the genitive case marker is assigned, as indicated in (18), which is based on (16). Second, DP-GEN moves from its original position to a higher one to receive an interpretation as an invocative expression, as illustrated in (19), which corresponds to (17).

(18) [$_{NP}$ DP-GEN [$_{N'}$ NP]]
(19) DP-GEN [$_{NP}$ ___ [$_{N'}$ NP]]

The proposed analysis is similar to Espinal's (2013) analysis of Catalan and English invocative constructions in significant respects. On the basis of Higgins' (1979) analysis of copula constructions, Espinal (2013: 123) argues for the structural analysis shown in (22) of predicational cases of invocative constructions in Catalan (20) and English (21). [14]

(20)　　　Tu, idiota! (Catalan)

(21)　　　You, idiot!

(22)　　　[$_{VocP}$ [$_{Voc}$ Tu_i] [$_{DP}$ [$_D$ t_i] [$_{NP}$[$_N$　　idiota]]]]
　　　　　　You　　　　　　　　idiot

Since Japanese CNEs, denoting the subject-predicate relation, can be considered predicational cases of invocative constructions, we follow Espinal's (2013) analysis and propose in the present paper that CNEs constitute a Vocative Phrase dominating the nominal Small Clause, as schematized in (23). This is the final answer to Question 8. [15]

(23)　　　[$_{VocP}$ $DP\text{-}GEN$ [$_{NP}$ t [$_{N'}$ N]]]

Specifically, DP-GEN is underlyingly the subject of the (nominal) Small Clause, which is marked with the genitive case maker **no**, and it moves to VocP for the vocative interpretation. This is an answer to Question 4.

Finally, let us re-consider Question 6 regarding (8). [16]

(24)　　　Sensei-tati-no usotuki!
　　　　　teachers-GEN liar
　　　　　a.　　　'You teachers are liars'
　　　　　b.　　　'All teachers are liars'

As we have already observed, there are two possible interpretations in (24): s*ensei-tati* 'teachers' may be either an invocation expression (i.e., (24a)) or the subject referring to teachers in general (i.e., (24b)). We argue that the two interpretations stem from different structures for (24). More specifically, interpretation (24a) is induced from the movement of DP-GEN to VocP, as in (25).

(25)   [$_{VocP}$ *teachers-GEN* [$_{NP}$ *t* [$_{N'}$ liar]]]

In contrast, under interpretation (24b), if DP-GEN remains in situ in the subject position of Small Clause, as in (26), it does not receive an invocative function because it is not situated in VocP.

(26)   [$_{NP}$ *teachers-GEN* [$_{N'}$ liar]]

The discussion of (25) and (26) offers an answer to Question 6.

Ⅵ Historical Aspects of Genitive Case

In this section, we will try to provide more observations from historical and pragmatic perspectives in order to offer a complete answer to Question 9.

Let us first consider what the *Nihon Kokugo Daiziten* (Japanese Language Dictionary) says about the genitive case marker **no** used for indicative expressions. According to it, the invocative expression marked with the genitive case marker **no** is underlyingly followed by a noun indicating a person, which is to be deleted (p. 754).[17] Historically, the genitive case **no** started to mark invocative expressions in the Edo period (1603–1867). The dictionary contains the following examples from literature written in the early 1800s.

(27)   a.   Mosi kamikata-no.   Tito koko-ni matte kun-nase.
                Hey Kyoto-GEN.   bit here wait please
                'Hey you, man from Kyoto! Wait here for a while'
                (Comic novel: *Tokaidochu Hizakurige*, 1802–1809)

         b.   Maa-maa, Otowaya-no,   omae hazime ne
                Well, well, Otowaya-GEN, you start Particle

'Well, man of Otowaya! You start now'

(Kabuki: *Chomohiyoku Yamazaki Odori*, 1819)

c.　　　　Tokini, uranai-no ...　　　　　Mise-wo tanomimasu zoya

Well, fortune-telling-GEN ... store-ACC ask-favor-of Particle

'Well, fortuneteller! Please take care of the store'

(Kabuki: *Kataki-uti Tengatyaya*, 1832)

The invocative usage of **no** can also be found in novels which are written in Present-Day Japanese but set in the Edo period. For the purpose of observation, we focus on one of them below.

The novel studied here is *Zenigata Heizi Torimono-hikae* (Detective stories of Heizi Zenigata),[18] written by Kodo Nomura. Since Nomura was born in 1882, it can be assumed that his linguistic intuition for Japanese is based on the Japanese language of the late period of Edo. The stories under consideration describe the life of people in the Edo period as well as Heizi Zenigata's investigations to arrest criminals. A careful examination shows that a certain consistent relation can be identified between the linguistic expressions to call out to Heizi and the personal relationship with him. This can be summarized as follows:

(28)　a.　　　　Heizi's boss calls him "Heizi" by his first name.

　　　b.　　　　Hatibei, the assistant detective working under Heizi, calls him "Oyabun" (captain) based on Heizi's professional status.

　　　c.　　　　Citizens in Edo (Old Tokyo) call him "Oyabun-san" (captain-Mister), "Heizi Oyabun" (Heizi captain), "Zenigata-no oyabun" (Zenigata-GEN captain), or "Zenigata-no oyabun-san" (Zenigata-GEN captain-Mister). They call him neither by his first name only nor by his last name only.

　　　d.　　　　Sakiti, Heizi's colleague, calls him "Zenigata-no" (Zenigata-GEN)

It should be noted here that Sakiti uses the genitive invocative expression to call out to Heizi Zenigata. Of course, it is quite possible for Sakiti to simply call him by his family name only, "Zenigata". However, that would sound as if Sakiti had an unpleasant feeling against Heizi. If Sakiti called him "Zenigata-no oyabun" (Zenigata-GEN captain), that would sound too polite for speaking to a coworker. It can be inferred from these facts that, as a compromise between avoiding simplicity and being too polite at the same time, the noun

oyabun (captain) is deleted from the phrase *Zenigata-no oyabun* (Zenigata-GEN captain), thereby leaving the genitive case form *Zenigata-no,* as in (28d). In terms of Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness strategy, the use of the genitive case marker **no** for invocative expressions contributes to maintaining positive face wants, [19] bringing about a (slightly) polite connotation.

We would like to argue that the linguistic intuition pointed out has been carried over into Present-Day Japanese. For example, the case particle **no** in (1) can be omitted, as in (29).

(29)   a.   Onetyan baka!

               Sister fool

               'Sis, you fool!'

    b.   Taro usotuki!

               Taro liar

               'Taro, you liar!'

However, there emerges a difference in politeness between (1) and (29): (29) sounds harsher than (1). Obviously, the difference is due to the presence or absence of the genitive case marker **no**. As already pointed out, the presence of the genitive case **no**, marking invocative phrases, can induce a polite connotation.

The above discussion has provided an answer to Question 9 from a historical and pragmatic perspective. As a result, CNEs can be regarded as contradictory expressions in that they adopt a polite manner of speaking toward the addressee (i.e., DP-GEN), whereas the (predicate) NP describes the addressee by means of words and phrases devaluing him or her. We argue that this conflicting choice of grammatical devices characterizes CNEs and leads the *Gakken Gendai Sin Kokugo Ziten* to describe CNEs as "friendly blaming expressions" (p. 1112), as mentioned in Section 1.

VII Summary and Consequences

In this final section, we will first recapitulate the nine questions and answers discussed so far, and deal with the consequences of our proposal with regard to the cartographic analysis of noun phrases.

7. 1 Summary

First, we have argued for the hypothesis that CNEs should be assigned the structure depicted in (23). [20]

(30)　　　$[_{VocP} DP\text{-}GEN [_{NP} t [_{N'} N]]] (= (23))$

In the course of the discussion leading up to (30), we provided the following answers to the nine questions.

Question 1: Why do CNEs indicate the subject-predicate relation despite being composed of nominal categories?

Answer 1: Because they contain a (nominal) Small Clause, which is dominated by the Vocative Phrase.

Question 2: Why is it that the propositional meaning induced by the subject-predicate relation of CNEs holds only at the point of utterance?

Answer 2: Because there is no tense-bearing element (i.e., the copula) in CNEs.

Question 3: Why is the addressee required to be present in front of the addresser?

Answer 3: DP-GEN, referring to the addressee, serves as an invocation expression, and the propositional meaning in question holds only at the point of utterance.

Question 4: Why does DP-GEN function as both an invocation expression and the subject of CNEs?

Answer 4: DP-GEN is underlyingly the subject of the Small Clause in CNEs, and it moves up to VocP at a later phase of derivation so that it can receive an invocative interpretation.

Question 5: Why is the NP in (7) limited to words or phrases expressing the negative properties of DP-GEN?

Answer 5: The answer is two-fold. The NP functions as the predicate of the Small Clause in CNEs, which indicates a certain property of its subject (i.e., DP-GEN). CNEs are used to blame DP-GEN, the subject of the Small Clause. Therefore, NP is limited to nouns or phrases devaluing the subject DP-GEN.

Question 6: Why are there two different interpretations available in the case of the "nongenuine" type of CNE?

Answer 6: The difference in the role of DP-GEN arises from two slightly different structures. If DP-GEN moves from the subject position of the Small Clause to VocP, it is

interpreted as an invocative expression as well as the subject. CNEs constitute a Vocative Phrase in this case. However, if DP-GEN stays in situ, it is not interpreted as an invocative expression but the subject only. CNEs constitute a (nominal) Small Clause in this case.

Question 7: Why may the DP not be replaced with a WH word?

Answer 7: Because there is no element or structural position in the Small Clause of CNEs that licenses the occurrence of WH words.

Question 8: Which structural analysis of the Small Clause is appropriate for CNEs?

Answer 8: In order to account for the occurrence of the genitive case marker **no**, we assumed that the Small Clause in question consists of nominal projections based on the proposals by Stowell (1981, 1983) and Chomsky (1986). We also assumed that the Small Clause is dominated by VocP.
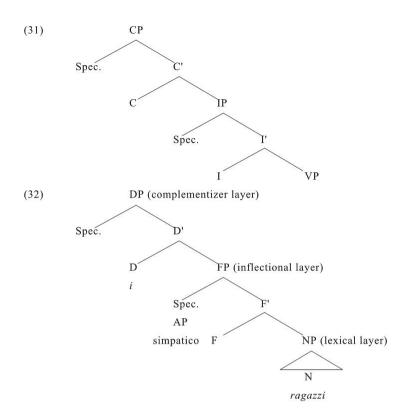
Question 9: Why is the invocative expression marked with the genitive case marker **no**?

Answer 9: The answer is three-fold. Syntactically, the Small Clause consists of nominal projections, which are responsible for **no**-marking. Historically, the genitive case marker **no** has been used for invocative expressions since the early nineteenth century. Pragmatically, the genitive case marker **no** is used for invocative expressions in compliance with a politeness strategy.

7. 2　Consequences

In terms of the recent structural analysis of noun phrases, we would like to discuss the consequences of our proposal schematized in (30), which is built upon nominal projections as its base. We would first like to discuss two important hypotheses for our argument.

First, it has been argued in generative syntax that the noun phrase structure corresponds, hierarchically speaking, to a clausal structure. For example, based on the clause structure illustrated in (31), Cardinaletti and Giusti (2015: 152) hypothesize a structure shown in (32) for the Italian DP *i simpatici ragazzi* (the nice boys). A comparison of (31) and (32) indicates that CP, IP, and VP in (31) correspond to DP, FP, and NP in (32), respectively.

(31)

```
               CP
             /    \
         Spec.     C'
                 /    \
                C      IP
                     /    \
                 Spec.     I'
                         /    \
                        I      VP
```

(32)

```
          DP (complementizer layer)
         /    \
     Spec.     D'
             /    \
            D      FP (inflectional layer)
            i     /    \
              Spec.     F'
              AP      /    \
          simpatico  F      NP (lexical layer)
                            /\
                           N
                        ragazzi
```

Second, it has also been hypothesized that there is a left peripheral domain composed of the projections of discourse features dominating vP (Belletti (2001, 2004, 2009)), which we will refer to as "the middle field". Given this hypothesis, the clausal structure illustrated in (33), which is originally proposed by Rizzi (1997), should be modified as in (34).

(33)　　$[_{CP} ... [_{Left Periphery} ... [_{TP} ... [_{vP} ... VP ...]]]]$

(34)　　$[_{CP} ... [_{Left Periphery} ... [_{TP} ... [_{Left Periphery (= Middle Field)} ... [_{vP} ... VP ...]]]]]]$

In line with the two hypotheses given, the noun phrase structure indicated in (35) should also be modified as in (36), on the assumption that it includes a functional category nP corresponding to vP. [21]

(35)　　$[_{DP} ... [_{Left Periphery} ... [_{FP} ... [_{nP} ... NP ...]]]]$

(36)　　$[_{DP} ... [_{Left Periphery} ... [_{FP} ... [_{Left Periphery (= Middle Field)} ... [_{nP} ... NP ...]]]]]]$

With (36) in mind, let us re-examine the structure of CNEs. If this analysis is correct, then a question arises as to how to analyze the structure of CNEs. More specifically, which domain of (36) does DP-GEN occupy? To put it differently, to which part of (36) does VocP correspond?

Since VocP can naturally be related to discourse features, it should be possible to assume that DP-GEN is located in the left periphery. However, it is not obvious at all whether it should be located in the upper part of the left periphery (see the half-tone dot meshing of (37a)) or the lower part (i.e., the middle field; see the half-tone dot meshing of (37b)).

(37)　　a.　　$[_{DP} \ldots$ $[_{\text{Left Periphery}}$ DP-GEN $[_{FP} \ldots$ $[_{\text{Left Periphery}} \ldots$ $[_{nP} \ldots$ NP $\ldots$]]]]

　　　　b.　　$[_{DP} \ldots$ $[_{\text{Left Periphery}} \ldots$ $[_{FP} \ldots$ $[_{\text{Left Periphery}}$ DP-GEN $[_{nP} \ldots$ NP $\ldots$]]]]

Considerations of derivational economy seem to favor (37b) over (37a). This is because (37a) impels us to delete both FP and the unused Left Periphery immediately dominating nP, but (37b) does not. Once the lower Left Periphery has been completed, it can be transferred without introducing DP, the upper Left Periphery, or FP to derivation, and therefore no extra operations are necessary in the case of (37b). Therefore, we conclude that DP-GEN moves to the (lower) Left Periphery, which is also referred to as the Middle Field of the noun phrase structure.

It follows from the discussion that CNEs can provide us with evidence for the hypothesis that there is a Middle Field in the noun phrase structure as well as in the clausal structure. To the best of our knowledge, it is not clear whether there is empirical evidence other than CNEs for the middle field in noun phrases. This is an issue for future research.

Notes

2.　　　GEN and NOM indicate genitive case and nominative case, respectively.

3.　　　The examples in (1) are quoted from Teramura (1991: 249), but the exclamation mark has been added in this paper. Teramura (1991: 249) points out that (1) is similar to the English expression *You fool!* However, we submit that a more detailed analysis of Japanese and English CNEs is necessary. For example, the vocabulary used as N_1 and N_2 is much richer in Japanese than in English.

4.　　　Koyanagi (2009: 130) also observes that (1) indicates a propositional meaning, and points out that the mechanism by which (1) is generated is not clear.

5.　　　This type of construction does not seem to have a specific terminology. For example, Kikuchi (2008: 280), Sasai (2017), and Suzuki (2002: 35, 41) call it "an evaluative appositive construction", "a labeling sentence", and "a proclamation type", respectively.

6.　　　Furukawa (2019: 89–91) provides a more detailed analysis of N_1.

7.　　　Koyanagi (2009: 132) makes a similar observation. We will argue that the lexical restrictions imposed on N_2 can be derived from the intended purpose of CNEs (i.e., to taunt people). This point will be discussed in Section 4.

8.　　　In general, the second personal pronoun *you* is employed as an invocative expression. See Espinar's (2013) discussion of the second personal pronoun in vocative constructions.

9.　　　Hisashi Inoue, the late famous writer in Japan, also pays special attention to this fact in his essay.

10.　　　See also the explanation of (3) for the unnaturalness of (11b).

11.　　　Koyanagi (2009: 131–132) identifies no difference between (1a) and the italicized part of (13). His observation is inconsistent with ours. This is because the latter exhibit properties different from those of (1b), as discussed in this section.

12.　　Kikuchi (2008) proposed the same structural analysis for (1b) and (13). However, as discussed in this section, *Taro-no usotuki* in (1b) is syntactically different from that in (13), despite their superficial similarities. Due to space limitations, this paper will exclusively analyze the "genuine" type of CNE, exemplified in (1).

13.　　A fairly simple hypothesis is adopted here for simplicity.

14.　　See also note 2 with regard to English cases.

15.　　It is necessary to clarify the differences between Japanese and Catalan/English as well as the manners in which relevant features are checked in (23). However, due to space constraints, these issues will not be discussed in this paper.

16.　　(8) is reproduced as (24).

17.　　To take (27a) as an example, the invocative expression *kamikata-no* (Kyoto-GEN) derives from *kamikata-no hito* (Kyoto-GEN man) via deletion of the animate noun *hito*.

18.　　This paper examines the Akita Syoten edition, first published in 1968, and *Zenigata Heizi Torimono-hikae: Saru-mawasi* (Detective Stories of Heizi Zenigata: Monkey-Training), published by Mainichi Shimbun in1999, which contains five stories written between 1950 and 1951.

19.　　According to Ide and Yoshida (1999: 447), "positive face wants" are typically "those relating to the need for approval or the establishment of a cooperative relationship, and are addressed by positive politeness strategies".

20.　　(23) is redisplayed as (30).

21.　　For brevity, we omit a discussion of the nP corresponding to vP in this paper.

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