THE NO DA CONSTRUCTION IN JAPANESE

by

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# GLOSSARY

## KEY TO GRAMMATICAL ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>accusative case marker (o)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ALLAT</td>
<td>allative case marker (e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLASS</td>
<td>(noun) classifier</td>
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<tr>
<td>COLLO</td>
<td>colloquial</td>
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<tr>
<td>COMP</td>
<td>complementizer</td>
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<tr>
<td>CONJEC</td>
<td>conjectural form</td>
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<tr>
<td>COND</td>
<td>conditional</td>
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<tr>
<td>CONT</td>
<td>continuative form</td>
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<tr>
<td>COP</td>
<td>copula (da)</td>
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<tr>
<td>DESI</td>
<td>desirative (-tai)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>genitive case marker (no)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HON</td>
<td>honorific form</td>
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<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>imperative form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative case marker (ni, de)</td>
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<tr>
<td>MODI</td>
<td>modifying form</td>
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<td>NEG</td>
<td>negative form</td>
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<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>nominative case marker (ga)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAST</td>
<td>past tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POL</td>
<td>polite form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROG</td>
<td>progressive (-iru)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUES</td>
<td>question marker (ka)</td>
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<tr>
<td>QUOT</td>
<td>quotation marker (to)</td>
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<tr>
<td>SFP</td>
<td>sentence final particle</td>
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<tr>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>topic marker (wa)</td>
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<tr>
<td>?X</td>
<td>X is unlikely.</td>
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<tr>
<td>??X</td>
<td>X is highly unlikely.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*X</td>
<td>X is unacceptable.</td>
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ABSTRACT

The NO DA construction is one of the most common expressions in Japanese and at the same time it is one of the most difficult expressions for students of Japanese to master. Many linguists and authors of Japanese textbooks have attempted to describe various manifestations of NO DA in different contexts and situations. This sub-thesis is an attempt to explain these various manifestations in terms of a set of invariant semantic components.

In preparation for the semantic analysis of NO DA, the syntactic properties of this construction are first examined, to show where NO DA is located in the clause and how it differs syntactically from the rest of the so-called 'evidentials'. Next, NO DA is compared with expressions such as KARA DA and WAKE DA, with which it has something in common, both syntactically and semantically. On the basis of this discussion, two invariant semantic components are proposed as being common to all the manifestations of NO DA. The differences between these various manifestations are attributed to the linguistic or extra-linguistic context of the utterance.

In an effort to verify this analysis various examples of the use of NO DA are examined, firstly in its affirmative form, then in complex sentences involving NO DA KARA (in a reason clause) and NO DA GA
(in a prefatory remark) and finally in the conjectural, interrogative and negative forms.

The primary function of the NO DA construction was found to be one of cohesion. NO DA provides cohesion not only between the proposition embraced by it and the context or situation it refers to, but also between the speaker and the addressee. A particularly important factor is that, in using NO DA, the speaker indicates that he assumes that what he is referring to is in the consciousness of the addressee.
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Materials for example sentences

The following example sentences will serve to illustrate some important aspects of the syntax of the NO DA construction.

(1) Nihon de wa sakura wa "Japan LOC TOP cherry blossoms TOP
  "daidai ni shigetsu ni wakimasu approximately April in bloom (OLL
  "I'm Japanese cherry blossoms generally come out in April." 

(2) naka no chihou kara junjun-ni southern GEN region from in order
  "one after another"
  "They gradually come into bloom starting
  from the southern region."

Materials for example sentences
INTRODUCTION

The NO DA construction is one of the most common expressions in Japanese and at the same time it is one of the most difficult expressions for students of Japanese to master. Naturally many linguists have attempted to explain the function of the NO DA construction, and the various explanations they have offered are quite revealing. Nevertheless, there still seem to be some major problems unsolved, particularly with regard to the basic function of this construction, common to all its different manifestations.

The following example sentences will serve to illustrate some important aspects of the syntax of the NO DA construction.

(1) Nihon de wa sakura wa daitai shigatsu ni sakimasu.
"In Japan cherry blossoms generally come out in April."

(2) (kanojo wa) otoko no-yoo-ni minami no chihoo kara saite-iku.
"They gradually come into bloom starting from the southern region."
"Although she looks like a man, in fact she is a woman."

"Could you do a little errand for me?"

"Sorry, I am busy just now."

In sentence (1) it can be seen that NO DA comes directly after a verbal predicate. Sentence (2) shows that if the proposition preceding NO DA ends with a noun, NO DA is linked to it by NA, the modifying form of the copula. Sentence (3) illustrates the fact that NO DA often becomes N DA in colloquial conversation.

From these examples we can also see that NO DA appears at the end of a sentence (or followed only by a few highly peripheral sentential elements such as an evidential e.g. soo da (I hear) and sentence final particles which serve to convey illocutionary force, such as WA, KA, YO or NE, when these occur).

NO functions as a nominalizer, that is, it nominalizes the whole proposition which precedes it. DA is a copula, called hanteishi (the copula of judgement) by Teramura (1982). The combination of a
noun with DA constitutes a predicate. WA is a topic marker. Thus A WA B DA. (talking about A, it is B.) is a pattern of topic-comment sentence.

Teramura (1979) explains the NO DA construction as a kind of topic-comment sentence ('daijutsubun') i.e., A WA B DA, in which B is a sentence rather than a noun. To connect it to the copula DA, the sentence must be nominalized. Teramura says that NO is attached for that purpose, and gives the example:

(4) are wa nan da.
that TOP what COP
"What is that?"

(5) (are wa) shokuyoo-gaeru (no koe)
bullfrog GEN voice
desu.
COP POL
"That is (the croak of) a bullfrog."

(6) (are wa) shokuyoo-gaeru ga
bullfrog NOM
naite-iru NO DESU.
croak PROG
lit: "That is that a bullfrog is
croaking."

(Translation is mine)

This is the basic pattern of the NO DA construction and NO DA is obligatory here.

There are, however, cases in which the proposition can occur either with or without NO DA, depending on the context. These sentences do not necessarily have a
topic-comment structure like the one illustrated above.

(7) a. Boku wa iku.  
    TOP go  
    "I will go"

b. boku wa iku NO DA.

(8) a. nani ga hoshii desu ka.  
    NOM want COP QUES  
    "What would you like?"

b. nani ga hoshii N DESU KA.

Although the information conveyed is the same in both sentences (a) and (b), the way the speaker presents it is different. What is this difference? In what context does NO DA occur? The purpose of this thesis is to provide answers to these questions.

We have already observed that NO DA is located amongst the most peripheral elements of the clause, so let us examine Foley and Van Valin's description of the peripheral layer operators, to see just where NO DA fits into this scheme.

They explain that, like tense, status is a peripheral operator which describes the likelihood of the occurrence of the event or action described. In addition to status and tense, there are two other peripheral operators. The next peripheral operator in relative ordering is the category of evidentials...
Chapter I
Syntactic Analysis of So-called 'Evidentials'

Before beginning a semantic analysis of the NO DA construction, it is helpful to see where NO DA is located in Japanese sentence structure, especially in relation to other expressions which are semantically and syntactically quite similar to NO DA.

Foley and Van Valin (1984) propose a theory concerning 'the layered structure of the clause with operators,' aspects of which will be helpful in our discussion of the syntax of the NO DA construction. (See page 6). They utilize the notion of the clause consisting of three basic parts -- a nucleus, a core and a periphery. Modifying each of these parts, or 'layers', of the clause are various 'operators'.

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THE LAYERED STRUCTURE OF THE CLAUSE
WITH OPERATORS

(ILLOC FORCE (EVIDENTIAL (TENSE (STATUS [loc ... Inst (MODALITY [NP (NP) (DIRECTIONAL (ASPECT [Predicate]))]))])))

NUCLEUS

CORE

PERIPHERY

(... ) = OPERATORS

[ ... ] = Constituents

(Foley and Van Valin, 1984. P.224)
Evidentials mark the truthfulness of the proposition in terms of the way the speaker has ascertained this. Did he see with his eyes? Is it hearsay? and so on. (p.218) Finally, 'the outermost operator is illocutionary force, taking the entire periphery as well as the other peripheral operators, status, tense and evidentials, within its scope'. (p.220) It conveys elements not directly related to the proposition itself, such as the speaker's attitude towards the hearer, his illocutionary purpose and so on.

There is a group of expressions in Japanese which have been generally considered to belong to the category of evidentials: soo da-1 (seem), rashii (is likely), yoo da (appear, seem), nichigainai (must be), kamoshiremenai (might well be), hazu da (be supposed to be), soo da-2 (I hear), daroo (probably), etc.

Here are some example sentences to illustrate their meanings.

(9) a. kare wa kuru rashii.
    he TOP come is likely
    "It appears that he is likely to come."

b. kare wa kuru hazu da.
    he TOP come is supposed to
    "He is supposed to come."

c. kare wa kuru soo da-2.
    he TOP come I hear
    "I hear that he is coming."
Sentence (9-a) with rashii would be uttered when the speaker has some reason to believe that the events described in the proposition are likely to occur, although he does not specify what that reason is. Sentence (9-b) with hazu da also indicates that his judgement that the event is likely to occur is based on some unspecified grounds although in this case the grounds involve more general expectations related to propensity or schedule, rather than more concrete grounds. Sentence (9-c) with soo da-2 shows that the speaker has obtained his information from someone else.

Now, recall Foley and Van Valin's observation that 'Evidentials mark the truthfulness of the proposition in terms of the way the speaker has ascertained this.' (p. 218) (emphasis added). It will be quite clear from the translations and discussion above that several of these expressions which are generally classified as evidentials do not belong to that category according to this definition. Expressions like rashii (is likely), kamoshirenai (might well) and hazu da (be supposed to be) etc. should rather be considered as belonging to the category of 'status', expressing the likelihood of the proposition and giving no specific reason for this judgement, while soo da-2 (I hear) which marks the truthfulness of the proposition and the means by which the speaker has ascertained this, can be considered to
be a true evidential.

Now it will be clear why, syntactically, these expressions do not all behave in exactly the same way. Observe their position with respect to NO DA in the following examples.

(10) a. kare wa kuru rashii NO DA.
    he TOP come is likely
    "It appears that he is likely to come."
    a' *kare wa kuru NO DA rashii

b. kare wa kuru hazu na NO DA.
    "He is supposed to come."
    b' *kare wa kuru NO NA hazu da.

c. *kare wa kuru soo na NO DA.
    "I hear that he is coming."
    c' kare wa kuru NO DA soo da.

As shown in the examples above, some expressions precede NO DA whereas others follow it.

A B C
rashii (is likely) NO DA soo da-2
yoo da (appear, seem) (I hear)
nichigainai (must be)
kamoshirenai (might well be)
hazu da (be supposed to be)
The expressions under A which precede NO DA belong to the category of status, whereas soo da-2, which follows, is an evidential. Furthermore, as Foley and Van Valin's theory of the 'layered structure of the clause' predicts, the status operators precede the true evidential soo da-2.

There are, however, some other cases which appear not to conform to the structure proposed by Foley and Van Valin, namely soo da-1 (seem) and daroo (I think, most probably). Firstly, let us compare soo da-1 (it seems) with some of the expressions we have already examined.

(11) a. ashita wa ame ga furī soo da-1.
tomorrow TOP rain CONT It seems as if it will rain tomorrow.

b. ano ko wa ima-ni-mo nakidashi soo da-1.
that child TOP at any moment start CONT "That child seems as if he will start crying at any moment."

c. kono keeki wa oishi soo da-1.
this cake TOP delicious "This cake seems (e.g. looks/smells) delicious."
d. bukka ga agari
   price of goods NOM go up CONT

soo da-1.
"The price of goods seems to be about to go up."

e. ashita wa ame ga furu
   tomorrow TOP rain NOM fall
   rashii. (status)
   "It is likely that it will rain tomorrow."

f. ashita wa ame ga furu
   soo da-2. (evidential)
   "I hear that it will rain tomorrow."

In sentences (9-a) to (9-c), which are typical uses of soo da-1, this expression indicates that the speaker is 'on the spot' and that the truthfulness of his proposition is based on direct impressions through his senses. There are cases, of course, where the speaker may not have quite this degree of proximity to the events he describes. In sentence (11-d), for example, the speaker might have read an article written by an economist and obtained evidence of the rising price of goods from it. Note also that the predicate before soo da-1 cannot contain the category of tense. It appears in the so-called 'I-base' or 'continuative' form. Compare sentences followed by soo da-1 with
sentences followed by rashii (is likely) and soo da-2 (I hear).

(12) a. kinoo wa ame ga furi yesterday TOP rain NOM fall
   soo datta-1.
   PAST of soo da-1
   "It seemed as if it would rain yesterday."
   a' *kinoo wa ame ga furi soo da-1.

   b. kinoo wa ame ga futta fall PAST
   rashii.
   "It is likely that it rained yesterday."

   c. kinoo wa ame ga futta soo da-2.
   "I hear that it rained yesterday."

As shown above, tense precedes rashii and soo da-2, but not soo da-1. In the case of soo da-1, tense is located in the copula at the end of the expression, rather than in the proposition which precedes it. It can therefore be said that soo da-1 is a more inner operator than tense, whereas other expressions like rashii and soo da-2 are not.

From the semantic point of view, too, soo da-1 could be considered to be within the proposition, rather than being a peripheral operator. This is because sentences ending in soo da-1 constitute a
description of the world as the speaker perceives it. For example,

(13) ame ga furi soo da-l.
    rain NOM fall

"It seems as if it will rain."

In sentence (13), the speaker is describing the situation or environment in which he is, as he perceives it.

Soo da-l can modify a noun, but the grammaticality of elements from the categories of status and evidentials is somewhat dubious when they appear modifying a noun. Utterances of this sort tend to sound rather poetical or artificial.

(14) a. ame ga furi soo na-1 hi
    rain NOM fall MODI day

"A day when it seems as if it will rain"

b. ??ame ga furu kamoshirenai hi

"A day when it might well rain"

c. *ame ga furu soo na-2 hi

"A day when I hear it will rain."

This would also be an indication of the fact that soo da-l is a less peripheral component. The more outer the operator is, the less likely that it will occur in a noun modifying clause.
(15) a. ame ga furi soo na-1 NO DA.
   "It seems that it will rain."
   b. ame ga furu NO DA soo da-2.
   "I hear that it will rain."
   b' *ame ga furu soo na-2 NO DA.

As we would expect, soo da-1, which follows the continuative form, precedes NO DA, whereas the evidential soo da-2 follows it.

From the evidence described above we can conclude that, although both soo da-1 and soo da-2 do indicate the source of evidence, they behave syntactically in different ways, showing that only soo da-2 is a true evidential.

The second expression mentioned above which is referred to as an 'evidential' by Teramura (1984)\(^2\), but which apparently does not conform to the theory of clause structure put forward by Foley and Van Valin, is daroo.

Daroo (most probably, I think) is a conjectural form of the copula DA. It can be interpreted roughly as: I am not sure whether X is true or not - I think it is true, but I don't want to commit myself and say "It is true."

When the weatherman says:

(16) ashita wa hareru deshoo.
    tomorrow TOP clear up POL of daroo
"It will probably be fine tomorrow."

he has some grounds for saying so. However, daroo is not necessarily uttered when the speaker has certain grounds for making his judgement on the proposition. It can indicate mere conjecture. For example, in a situation where some pet birds that a couple were keeping in a cage flew away, the wife (A) might ask her husband (B) regarding the birds:

(17) A: modotte-kuru kashira. return come I wonder
"I wonder whether (Do you think) they will come back?"

B: kuru daroo. come
"They will probably come back."

A: dooshite soo omou why so think
NO. (shortened form of NO DESU (KA))
"Why do you think so?

B: tada nantonaku sa. only obscurely SFP
"Just a feeling without any particular reason."

In response to A, B could express his conjecture without any real grounds.

Daroo seems to belong semantically to the category of status because it clearly expresses the degree of
likelihood of the proposition. However, syntactically it differs from the rest of the status group. Let us compare the position of NO DA in the following example sentences with daroo and other expressions which belong to the status group.

(18) a. kare wa kuru rashii NO DA.  
   he TOP come  
   "It appears that he is likely to come."

b. kare wa kuru nichigainai NO DA.  
   "He will undoubtedly come."

c. kare wa kuru kamoshirenai NO DA.  
   "He might well come."

d. kare wa kuru NO daroo.  
   "He will probably come."

e. *kare wa kuru daroo NO DA.

NO DA can follow operators belonging to the status category but this is not the case with daroo, as shown in the sentences above. Daroo seems to belong semantically to this category but syntactically it differs from the rest of the status group.

There is another group of expressions which seems to fall in the same position as status but they differ from it in that they do not express the likelihood of the proposition. Teramura(1984) calls them 'explanatory mood'. The expressions belonging to this category
consist of a 'formal noun' ('keishiki meishi') and the copula da. The reason why Teramura calls them 'explanatory mood' is that "these expressions have the characteristic of explaining to the addressee the reason, cause or background ... of a fact which is already known to the addressee."

(Teramura 1984, p. 222, translation mine)

Hazu da, wake da, tokoro da, koto da, mono da and NO DA are listed in this category.

The first member of this list, hazu da (is supposed to be), as discussed before, can be put in a category of status because it denotes the likelihood of the proposition. Actually, it is rather difficult to draw a sharp line between members of this group and those of the status category, and hazu da seems to be on the borderline between the two.

(19) a. kare wa moo Kyooto ni tsuite-iru hazu da.

"He should have arrived in Kyoto by now."

Wake (reason), tokoro (place), koto (abstract thing) and mono (concrete thing) are nouns which have the meaning shown in brackets, but when they are used as 'explanatory mood', in the form ... da, they do not necessarily maintain their original meaning.
(20) osake o nondara unten-shinai
alcohol ACC drink drive a car
COND NEG

koto da ne.
SFP

"One shouldn't drive after drinking."
(I suggest you don't drive after you drink.)

(21) toshi o toru-to wasureppoku-naru
age ACC gain COND easy to forget
become

mono da.
(it is natural)

"We become forgetful when we are old".

(22) suruto kimi wa boku no otooto to
then you TOP I GEN brother as
onaji toshi to-iu wake da ne.
same age QUOT say (that is) SFP

"Then you are the same age as my brother, aren't you?"

(Each of these example sentences has more implications depending on the context.)

All of these expressions, like NO DA, have the function of nominalizing the proposition. However, NO DA is different from the other expressions above in two ways. Firstly, NO itself does not have a meaning as an independent lexical item. Secondly, from amongst the expressions in this group only NO DA can follow any of the others.

(23) a. koko ni oita hazu da.
here LOC put

"I must have put it here."
b. koko ni oita NO DA.
"It is that I put it here.

c. koko ni oita hazu na NO DA.
"It is that I must have put it here."

d. *koko ni oita NO NA hazu da.

Kara da (it is because...) could also be included in this group, firstly because of its form, ...da, and secondly, because its semantic function, to give a reason, is a kind of explanation.

Whether we should call this group 'explanatory mood' or not is difficult to decide because, while some of the important usages of each expression are clearly 'explanatory', some of them are not necessarily so.

However, they do have something in common, as mentioned above. That is, they are composed of a 'formal noun' plus the copula da, and they follow the proposition. Semantically they add information about the speaker's attitude towards the content of the proposition in some way or another. They indicate attitudes such as his surprise or his consideration of the propositional content as an inevitable or a natural phenomenon.

The discussion so far can be summed up in the following table:
From the evidence presented in this chapter it can be seen that NO DA, as well as other 'explanatory mood' expressions, appears somewhere between the categories of status and evidential. Recall that status operators describe the speaker's judgement of the likelihood of the proposition. This is not a part of the proposition itself, but clearly very closely related to it. Evidentials are slightly further removed from the propositional content, in fact they allude to the speaker's judgement concerning the truthfulness of the proposition and the source of his information or knowledge. The significance of the position of NO DA between these two categories will be more clearly understood in the light of an understanding of its meaning and function. This is discussed in the following chapters.
NOTES FOR INTRODUCTION AND CHAPTER I


2. In a section titled 'Gaigen no muudo', Teramura (1984) discusses such expressions as sooda-1, rashii, yooda and sooda-2. He writes that Pamela Downing suggested he call them 'evidential(s)' or 'evidentiaries'.


"Just a moment, please. I have something to tell you." ("Hanashi ga aru N' DESU 'I have something to tell you' explains why the other is requested to wait.").

Alfonso (1966)

(25) okane ga amazai sa money MOM not much there isn't

NO DESU kuray, wadzukai ot shimaide... because waste... ACC do not

kudasai.

I ask you

'Since there isn't too much money, please don't use it wastefully.'

Sentence (25) 'would be literally translated as "The explanation for my worry is that there isn't too much money, therefore, please don't waste money.'

Alfonso (1966) claims that NO DA is also found in 'emphatic' sentences. (1974), Martin (1975), Misutani (1977) and Woolf (1980) all agree that 'emphatic' is one of the functions of this expression.
Chapter II
Theories Concerning the Basic Function of NO DA

2.1 Brief Literature Survey

Many linguists have attempted to explain the function of NO DA. Alfonso (1966), Kuno (1973) and others consider its basic function to be explanatory.

(24) chotto matte kudasai.
a little while wait I ask you

hanashi ga aru N DESU.
story NOM there is

"Just a moment, please. I have something to tell you." ("Hanashi ga aru N DESU [I have something to tell you] explains why the other is requested to wait.") Alfonso (1966)

(25) okane ga amari nai
money NOM not much there isn't

NO DESU kara, mudazukai o shinaide because waste ACC do not

kudasai. I ask you

"Since there isn't too much money, please don't use it wastefully." Sentence (25) 'would be literally translated as "The explanation for my worry is that there isn't too much money; therefore, please don't waste money."' Kuno (1973)

Alfonso (1966) claims that NO DA is also found in 'emphatic' sentences. Okutsu (1974), Martin (1975), Mizutani (1977) and McGloin (1980) all agree that 'emphasis' is one of the functions of this expression.
None of these authors, however, make any real attempt to clarify what they mean by this rather vague term. Here are some of the examples they give:

(26) kore wa watashi ga katta NO DA. this TOP I NOM buy PAST

'This is what I bought.'

'Noda is used here to emphasize the fact that I bought it.'
(Okutsu, 1974. translation is mine)

(27) watashi wa kooyuu keeken ga I TOP like this experience NOM

aru N DESU yo. Itaria e iku there is SFP Italy ALLAT go
desyoo. Itaria no doko e Italy GEN (every)where ALLAT
itte - mo hoogen o syabette-iru go even if dialects ACC speak PROG

N DESU yo.

"I have had this kind of experience. I went to Italy. Wherever I went, they were speaking various dialects. . . ."

'The function of this type of NO DESU is to emphasize particular information by presenting it as if it is already known to the listener.' McGloin (1980)

Mizutani (1977) adds that the kind of emphasis conveyed is 'emotional emphasis', and illustrates with the following example:

(28) nani o shite - iru N DESU ka. what ACC do PROG QUES

'What are you doing?'
Sentence (28) 'can be taken as an expression of the speaker's irritation, surprise, or concern.'

Mizutani (1977)

However, like other authors, Mizutani does not seem to explain exactly what he means by 'emphasis' and how N DESU functions in this context.

NO DA has also been described as conveying 'double judgement' (nijuu handan) by Hayashi (1964), Saji (1980) and Kamiya (1981). Hayashi decomposes the expression into the two components, NO and DA. He explains that:

DA has the function of giving the speaker's affirmative judgement with regard to the proposition. This is the same function as that of the "final" form of verbs and adjectives, [namely that form which appears at the end of a simple declarative sentence]. NO functions as a nominalizer, "objectivizing and conceptualizing" the proposition which is judged to be true by the speaker. (Translation is mine)

McGloin (1980) examines various uses of N(O) DESU.¹ She claims that the question form, N(O) DESU KA, is a question based on the speaker's assumptions. Ohso (1984) further examines N DESU KA and finds uses of it which can be described as neither explanation nor assumption. She suggests that 'the primary function of this kind of question is to
maintain communication with the addressee or simply to satisfy the speaker's curiosity'. Ohso (1984).

The first two sentences below illustrate uses of NO DA which might be described as explanation and assumption respectively, while the third illustrates the kind of sentence Ohso is talking about, which does not really fall into either of these two categories.

(29) doo shita N DESU ka.
how do PAST QUES
"What's the matter?"

"You are asking for an explanation of his worried look or his sickly appearance or his unusual haste or the like." Alfonso (1966)

(30) kono yubiwa Pari de katta
this ring Paris LOC buy PAST
N DESU ka.
QUES
"Did you buy this ring in Paris?"

"The speaker assumes it to be true that the addressee bought the ring and on this basis goes on to enquire about where he bought it." McGloin (1980)

(31) kawatta sukaato desu ne.
uncommon skirt COP POL SFP (isn't it)
doko de mitsuketa N DESU ka.
where LOC find PAST QUES
"That's an interesting skirt, isn't it? Where did you find it?"

("In small talk, people often ask questions not because they really need information but just to make conversation.") Ohso (1984)
A particularly insightful study of NO DA is that done by Shimozaki (1981). He examined a novel to test his hypothesis that 'the term NO DEARU [the written and formal form of NO DA] must have the function of logically developing the text into what might be considered a conclusion, thus necessitating the sentence which follows to initiate a new paragraph.' Furthermore, he discusses the scope of NO DA, concluding that it may have scope over only the preceding sentence, or over as much as a paragraph. For the latter case, he illustrates with the following example. (It is quoted from a novel by Oogai Mori.)

(32) boku wa yorokonde shoodaku-shita. I TOP willingly agree PAST
   konna fuu de, imamade nagai aida like this way until now long period
   tonari ni sumai-nagara, koosai-sezu- neighbour LOC live in spite of associate
   neg
   ni-ita OKADA to boku to wa PAST and I and TOP
   ittari-kitari-suru-yoo-ni-natta go come do come to a certain state PAST

NO DEARU.

"I agreed. In this way, Okada and I, who had not until now been acquainted even though we lived at such close quarters, often began to call on each other."

"Sentence (32=7) includes the whole paragraph within its scope of logical retroactivity (ronriteki sokyuu hani)."

(Shimozaki, 1981, p.120, translation is mine)
While many of these linguists have demonstrated considerable insight in their discussion of this expression, and contributed some valuable comments, none of them have succeeded convincingly to account for all the uses of the NO DA construction, or to satisfactorily explain its apparently different roles in different environments.

2.2 Cohesion in Discourse

I believe that all of the apparently diverse functions and uses of NO DA can be shown to have a single common element. I would like to explain the function of the NO DA construction from the viewpoint of 'cohesion'.

The following excerpt from Halliday and Hasan's Cohesion in English (1976) explains the general concept of 'text' and 'cohesion' in language.

A text is a unit of language in use. It is not a grammatical unit, like a clause or a sentence; and it is not defined by its size. . . . A text is best regarded as a SEMANTIC unit: a unit not of form but of meaning. (pp. 1-2)

The concept of cohesion is a semantic one; it refers to relations of meaning that exist within the text, and that define it as a text. Cohesion occurs where the INTERPRETATION of some element in the discourse is dependent on that of another.
The one PRESUPPOSES the other, in the sense that it cannot be effectively decoded except by recourse to it. (p.4) (Emphasis in the original)

Halliday and Hasan introduce the concept of a 'tie', which 'makes it possible to analyse a text in terms of its cohesive properties'. There are five kinds of 'ties' according to their analysis, namely reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction and lexical cohesion. The authors illustrate these various kinds of ties with the following examples:

(33) Three blind mice, Three blind mice. See how they run! See how they run! [Reference]

In (33), they refers to three blind mice. [Note that ties of reference are always pronominal.]

(34) a. My axe is too blunt. I must get a sharper one.

b. You think Joan already knows? -- I think everybody does. [substitution]

One and does are both substitutes: one substitutes for axe, and does for knows.

(35) Joan brought some carnations, and Catherine some sweet peas. [ellipsis]

(36) a. A snowstorm followed the battle.

b. After the battle, there was a snowstorm.
c. After they had fought a battle, it snowed.

d. They fought a battle. Afterwards, it snowed.

"The time sequence' in this case is 'a cohesive agent, and it is this, the semantic relation in its cohesive function, that we are referring to as CONJUNCTION."

(37) Can you tell me where to stay in Geneva? I've never been to the place.

(38) Why does this little boy wriggle all the time? Girls don't wriggle.

Sentences (37) and (38) are examples of lexical cohesion. [Note that the tie in Example (37) has the same function as a tie of reference, but it is an ordinary noun, rather than a pronoun.]

The NO DA construction seems to have a slightly different role to all of these. The ties listed above are built in as part of the proposition. NO DA, on the other hand, appears outside the proposition, and indicates that the whole proposition embraced by NO DA is referring to the preceding utterances in the conversation or to the situation in which the conversation takes place - in other words, to the linguistic or to the extra-linguistic context. It reminds the hearer of the relationship between this utterance and what the speaker referred to. Thus the NO DA construction has what I shall term 'backward cohesion'. It does not have the dynamism of
introducing a new phase of a conversation. Instead, it serves to signal to the addressee that the speaker wishes to draw his attention to the link between the proposition embraced by NO DA and its context.

The 'backward cohesion' which NO DA gives is similar to the kind of loose cohesion provided by and in English and the so-called –TE form of the predicate in Japanese. For example, English and allows different interpretations depending on the content of the clauses which it connects, and on the context of the utterance. For example,

(39) a. Mary likes apples and Jennifer likes pears.
    b. He put off the light and left the room.
    c. She heard the news and started crying.

Sentence (39-a) is an example of simple juxtaposition (although contrastive connotation may also be involved), sentence (39-b) of a temporal sequence. Sentence (39-c) could be interpreted as a simple temporal sequence. However, the more likely interpretation is that not only did the two events occur sequentially in time but that also the first was the cause of the second. That is, and can also be used to link clauses which have an antecedent-consequent relationship. In the example sentences above, the exact interpretation of and is left to the addressee.
He has to figure out for himself just what the relationship is between the two linked clauses, from his knowledge of both the context of the utterance and of the real world.

Likewise, the Japanese -TE form of a predicate (which is sometimes realized phonologically as -DE) allows various interpretations.

(40) a. Mearii wa ringo ga sukiide
Mary TOP apple NOM like
Jenifaa wa nashi ga sukidesu.
Jennifer TOP pear NOM like POL
"Mary likes apples and Jennifer likes pears."

b. kare wa denki o keshite
he TOP light ACC put off
heya o deta.
room ACC go out PAST
"He put off the light and (then) left the room."

c. kanojo wa nyuuusu o kiite
she TOP news ACC hear
nakidashita.
start crying PAST
"Hearing the news, she started crying."

d. tamago o tsukatte keeki o
egg ACC use cake ACC
tsukutta.
make PAST
"I made a cake using eggs."
Sentences (40-a, b and c) with the -TE form have basically the same connotations as those with English and. The -TE form clause in sentence (40-d) is an example of an adverbial phrase. *Keeki o tsukutta* (I made a cake) is the main clause and *tamago o tsukatte* (using eggs) adds information as to how the speaker made the cake. In English, 'with' might be used to convey this information. It is the task of the addressee to interpret the use of -TE according to the particular clauses linked, the context of the utterance and his knowledge of the real world.

NO DA is similar to these devices in that it allows various interpretations depending on the context. This does not mean that NO DA is semantically empty. It does not allow just any interpretation of the relationship between the proposition it embraces and the preceding context, any more than does English and.

The exact way in which NO DA links a proposition to its context will be described in the following chapter.
NOTES FOR CHAPTER II

1. NO DESU is the polite form of NO DA, and is far more common than NO DA in conversation. NO DA / NO DESU is commonly contracted to N DA / N DESU.

2. In the very last stage of writing this thesis, I received from Professor Kunihiro of Tokyo University his article on NO DA. In it he examines the core meaning of NO DA. If my understanding of Professor Kunihiro's article is correct, then the conclusions I have reached independently of his work concerning the relationship between NO DA and its contextual use are supported by similar observations on his part. (For example, see sentence (8) and its explanation on page 8, Kunihiro, 1984.)

I am grateful to Professor Kunihiro for sending me his article and am encouraged by his findings.

3. Geis and Zwickey (1971) wrote an article 'On Invited Inferences', in which they explain: 'Sentences which express a temporal sequence of situations invite the inference that the first situation is a cause of or reason for the second.' They give examples, including the following, whose antecedent-consequent relationship is suggested by and.

Martha observed the children at play and smiled with pleasure.

The idea of the 'invited inference' is helpful to understand the function of NO DA.
Chapter III

NO DA Compared with Expressions Like

KARA DA and WAKE DA

As mentioned briefly in Chapter I, there are several expressions in Japanese which refer to the preceding utterances of the discourse, indicating the speaker's attitude to the proposition. They often provide some kind of explanation for the preceding utterances, but this is not always the case. As 'explanation' is often claimed to be the function of NO DA (e.g. Alfonso (1966), Kuno (1973), Teramura (1984)), it is important to distil the semantic difference between NO DA and these other expressions. It is also important to study the difference between NO DA and these other expressions from the syntactic point of view, since all of these expressions have the form ... DA and fill the same slot in sentence structure, as mentioned in chapter I.

3.1 KARA DA compared with NO DA

Since KARA DA (it is because ...) appears at the end of the reason-giving sentence, it is important to examine the difference between this expression and the use of NO DA which is also interpreted as functioning to give a reason.

(41) kinoo wa totemo
    yesterday TOP very
tsukaremashita.  
get tired POL PAST  
"I was very tired yesterday."

a. okyakusan ga takusan 
guests NOM many 
 kita KARA DESU. 
come PAST  
"It was because I had a lot of 
visitors."

b. okyakusan ga takusan kita NO DESU.  
"(The thing is that) I had a lot of 
visitors."

Sentence (41-a) gives the reason why the speaker was so tired. The use of NO DA, as in (41-b), would also be perfectly acceptable. In this sentence it actually functions in the same way as KARA DA, to give a reason. The difference lies, however, in that, while KARA DA indicates explicitly that the proposition preceding it gives the reason for the previous statement, NO DA does not. The proposition preceding NO DA certainly may be interpreted as a reason, and in this context it is entirely appropriate to interpret it in just this way. However, NO DA itself does not explicitly signal a reason. It is the task of the addressee to find out just how NO DA is functioning in the particular context or situation in which it is uttered. The addressee first has to find out what the speaker is referring back to. In many cases he may be
referring simply to the previous statement or sometimes to the whole of the preceding discourse. Or it may be that the speaker is actually referring not to any part of the linguistic context, but to the extra-linguistic context - i.e., to the situation in which the discourse is taking place.¹

Thus, the meaning or function of NO DA is not lexically encoded like that of KARA DA. In the sense that its exact function is only retrievable from an understanding of the context, it is like and in English and the -TE form of a predicate in Japanese, as mentioned in the previous chapter.

Let us next examine some further evidence of this difference between NO DA and KARA DA. When a sentence with NO DA can be interpreted as giving a reason, it is interchangeable with KARA DA. However, a sentence with KARA DA must always be presented directly after the utterance or utterances which it serves to explain.²

In the case of NO DA, there is no such constraint. For example, if a person were to suddenly stop still while walking with a friend, the friend might look back at him with a puzzled expression on his face. The one who has stopped might explain by saying:

(42) a. kutsu no himo ga kireta shoe GEN lace NOM break PAST

N DESU.

"It's just that my shoe lace has broken."
b. *kutsu no himo ga kireta
KARA DESU.
"It is because my shoe lace has broken."

Using NO DA in this situation, the speaker is answering an underlying or assumed question as to why he has stopped. KARA DA, on the other hand, requires linguistic context. If his friend were to ask:

(43) dooshite tomatta N DESU KA.
why stop PAST QUES
"Why have you stopped?"

then, both (42-a) and (42-b) would be possible, although (42-a) with N DESU is preferred because KARA DA is felt to be rather too explicit or too logical in casual conversation. However, when the relationship between two statements needs to be made logically or explicitly, KARA DA would be used. For example, if an expression such as nazenaraba or naze ka to ieba (The reason why is . . . / If you ask why . . .) appears, NO DA would not be suitable.

(44) watashi wa kaigai e ryokoo o
I TOP overseas ALLAT trip ACC
shita koto wa nai. naze ka to
do PAST thing TOP NEG why QUES QUOT
ieba notta hikooki wa
say COND on board airplane TOP
kanarazru ochiru nichigainai
without fail fall down must
to iu shinkoo ga aru
Quot say belief NOM there is
KARA DA. / ??NO DA. (H. Inoue 1981, p. 26)
"I have never been abroad. The reason
is that I have a strong belief that any
plane I board would surely crash."

3.2 WAKE DA compared with NO DA

When the proposition followed by NO DA serves as a
paraphrase or summary of either the linguistic or the
extra-linguistic context, there are cases where it is
interchangeable with WAKE DA.

(45) tooji kyooshi no kazu
at that time teacher GEN number
wa goku sukunakatta. shitagatte
TOP very (NEG) few PAST therefore
kobetsu-kyooju hooshiki o toru
private teaching method ACC adopt
kagiri kyooshi no oshie
as long as teacher GEN instruction
o ukeru koto no dekiru
ACC receive thing GEN can
seito no kazu mo goku
students GEN number also very (NEG)
sukunakatta. Betsu no iikata o
few PAST another way of saying ACC
sureba, kizoku ya daishoonin
do COND aristocrat and big merchants
no shitei-tachi ga kyooshi o
GEN children NOM teacher ACC
dokusen-shiteita WAKE DA. / NO DA.
monopolize PROG PAST

(H. Inoue 1981, p. 12)
"In those days, the number of teachers was very small. Therefore, as long as they adopted the private teaching method, the number of students who could receive their instruction was also very small. In other words, the sons and daughters of aristocrats and big merchants were monopolizing the teachers."

As the expression betsu no iikata o sureba (to put it in a different way) indicates, the sentence with WAKE DA here serves as an interpretation of the previous statement. WAKE DA is used when the interpretation would be understood as a natural consequence of the logic of the previous statement. It indicates that the speaker is giving an interpretation which he thinks that the addressee also could deduce, or at least follow, from the context.

In sentence (45), NO DA can replace WAKE DA. Although NO DA itself does not indicate the relationship between the two statements explicitly, the addressee is expected to deduce that the speaker is giving another interpretation to his previous statement. With the help of such expressions as betsu no iikata o sureba or tsumari (in short), this interpretation of NO DA is quite unambiguous. Even without expressions such as these, the addressee can usually still work out from the context whether the
proposition preceding NO DA is a paraphrase, summing up, or the like.

3.3 KOTO DA compared with NO DA

KOTO DA serves to show that the proposition it embraces constitutes the speaker's opinion. For example, it may be a piece of advice or a recommendation. In this sense, N(O) DA can replace KOTO DA. To iu KOTO DA (The fact is that . . .) can also be replaced by NO DA. Let us examine these two expressions more closely:

(46) fukki-shita revert PAST now that Japanese become

ijoo Nihonjin ni completely KOTO DESU.

 narikiru "Now that [Ogasawara] has been returned to Japan [after American occupation], you should convince yourself that you are Japanese." (Teramura 1984)

According to (Teramura 1984), the use of KOTO DA here means 'it is important . . . '. If KOTO DA were replaced by N DA, i.e., Nihonjin ni narikiru N DA, the sentence would sound more forceful. This is because, while KOTO DA simply indicates the speaker's opinion, N DA, in addition, is generally taken to indicate the presupposition that the addressee is not in the state which the speaker thinks he should be. This should not be thought of as the meaning of NO DA, but rather
the inference that it gives in this particular context. While the proposition with KOTO DA is relatively independent, that with NO DA is linked to something which the speaker assumes the addressee is aware of (e.g. from the context). The most likely conclusion as to why this opinion is given as linked to something in the addressee's awareness, is that the addressee is not living up to the speaker's expectations.

(47) watashi wa uta wa heta desu. I TOP song TOP bad at COP POL
piano mo dame desu. dansu mo piano also not good COP POL dance also
odoremasen. yoosuruni ongaku wa cannot dance POL in short music TOP
nigate da to iu KOTO DESU. / poor at COP QUOT say
nigate na N DESU.

"I am bad at singing, I cannot play the piano nor dance. In short, the fact is that I am poor at music."

As the expression yoosuruni (in short) indicates, the proposition preceding to iu KOTO DESU is thought of as another way of saying the previous statement. The speaker gives a piece of additional information which he thinks can be deduced from the facts which have just been enumerated. As in the case of KARA DA, (to iu) KOTO DA marks clearly and unambiguously, what the relationship is between the previous statement and the proposition preceding it.
Once again, since NO DA does not indicate the relationship between the two sentences explicitly, it relies more on the addressee's understanding of the context.

Unlike KARA DA, KOTO DA (combined with to iu) can refer to the extra-linguistic rather than just the linguistic context, though of course it will not have exactly the same meaning as NO DA. For example, imagine a party at which a husband has shown up without his wife. In such a situation the host might say:

(48) a. okusan wa konai N DESU ka.
   wife TOP come NEG QUES
   "Isn't your wife coming?"

b. okusan wa konai to iu
   KOTO DESU ka.
   "Is it a fact that your wife isn't coming?"

c. ??okusan wa kimasen ka.
   come NEG POL
   "Is your wife coming?"

Sentence (48-a), with N DESU, is the most likely in this situation. Sentence (48-b), with to iu koto desu, is possible. (48-c), without either, is unlikely in such a situation, where both the speaker and the addressee know that the wife is not there. In other words, the fact that his wife is not there is presupposed when the question is uttered. To iu koto
desu ka would be interpreted as: Am I correct in interpreting the fact that your wife is not with you, as meaning that she is not coming to the party? In a situation such as this, a such a sentence would sound rather stilted.

Compared to the sentence with to iu KOTO DESU KA, the connection between (48-a) and the context described is implicit. NO DESU simply indicates that the speaker is referring to the fact that the addressee came by himself and links it to the assumption that his wife is not coming.

3.4 MONO DA compared with NO DA

MONO DA is also one of the expressions which NO DA can grammatically replace in some cases, although once again this does not indicate complete synonymity.

The following is an example of a sentence with MONO DA:

(49) a. oya no iu koto o parent GEN say thing ACC
       yoku kiku MONO DA (yo).
       well listen SFP

"You should listen to what your parents say."

b. oya no iu koto o yoku kiku N DA.

"Listen to what your parents say."

Both sentences (49-a) and (49-b) would be uttered
in a situation where the addressee does not listen to his parents. In (49-a), however, the speaker puts the proposition as a general rule or convention whereas in (49-b), N DA refers to a particular situation in which the addressee won't listen to his parents. That is, N DA is referring to something in the context of the discourse, which the speaker assumes the addressee is aware of.

The following is an example in which NO DA cannot replace MONO DA without some change in the sentence structure. Hearing the news of the death of a man who drove at excessive speed and ended up driving over a cliff, someone might say:

(50) a. baka na koto o silly COP thing ACC shita MONO DA. do PAST (indeed)

"He did a silly thing, indeed."

b. ??baka na koto o shita N DA.

c. nante baka na koto o shita N DA.

"What a silly thing he did!

The use of MONO DA in (50-a) shows that the proposition conveys the speaker's emotional attitude toward the events described, as indicated by the translation 'indeed'. This is clearly a somewhat different use of MONO DA to that described above with reference to example (49-a)."
Sentence (50-b) with NO DA is ambiguous and for this reason is unacceptable, or at least its acceptability decreases. The ambiguity arises from the fact that it is not clear whether the speaker is giving his interpretation of the news, as he would with WAKE DA, or expressing his feeling about, as with MONO DA. It is unlikely that (50-b) would be interpreted as giving an explanation (another possible interpretation of NO DA) because the participants of this conversation have all heard the news and know what happened.

The combination of nante (exclamatory word) and N DA in (50-c) makes the speaker's intention clear. That is, he is commenting on the news and expressing his emotional attitude. N DA of course, refers to the news of the car accident, which he can safely assume to be in the addressee's consciousness.

On the basis of the preceding examples and discussion, it will be clear that NO DA is distinct from KARA DA, WAKE DA, (to iu) KOTO DA and MONO DA. NO DA itself does not indicate explicitly in what way the proposition it follows is related to the context. Rather, it is interpreted in various ways depending on the context. NO DA is not frequently used. However, in

This is not to say that the use of NO DA is open to just any interpretation. By referring to the previous statement using NO DA, the speaker is, in effect, saying to the addressee 'I assume that you will
understand what I mean'. The use of NO DA thus indicates the assumption that the speaker can rely on the addressee's active cooperation and participation in the interpretation of his utterance. This reliance creates cohesion not only between the present utterance and its context, but also between the speaker and the addressee. It is 'emotional' rather than logical in that sense. It reinforces the sense of interaction between the participants in a dialogue.

Let us examine an example from a Japanese language textbook (Koide, 1983), which will illustrate this point. (See page 47). These are two versions, one formal and the other informal, of basically the same conversation, which consists of 14 utterances. In the formal version, N DESU appears only twice in both cases before the V-tai (desiderative) form and after GA (which introduces a prefatory remark). In the informal version, on the other hand, N DA appears 10 times, including one instance of NO KA (the informal interrogative form of NO DA). This clearly shows that when there is a sense of distance between the participants in a discourse, as in a formal conversation, NO DA is not frequently used. However, in an informal situation, where many elements in the discourse indicate the familiarity and sense of solidarity between the participants, NO DA is extremely common. It should be noted that this example
A. Formal:

1. Ashita koogai-mondai de hanashitai no desu ga, niji ni aeru kai ka.
2. Chotto matte kudasai. (Checking the Schedule), Sumimasen ga, niji wa hito ni au yakusoku ga aru node, dame desu. Sanji nara ii desu ga.
3. Dewa, sanji ni onegai shimasu. Kuruma de ikaitai n desu ga, chuushajoo ga arimasu ka.
5. Hai, kyonen Nihon no menkyo o torimashita.
6. Dewa, ki o tsukete unten shite kudasai.
7. Hai, ki o tsukemasu.
10. Nihon no shimbun o yonde imasu ka.
12. Dewa, moosugu yomeru deshoo.

B. Informal:

1. Ashita koogai-mondai de hanashitai n da ga, niji ni aeru kai?
3. Ja, sanji ni ne. Kuruma de ikaitai n da ga, chuushajoo aru kai?
4. Un, aru yo. Kuruma no unten dekiru no kai?
5. Un, kyonen Nihon no menkyo totta n da.
6. Ja, ki o tsukete unten shiro na.
7. Un, ki o tsukeru yo.
8. Kimi Nihongo ga joozu da ne. Doko de naratta n dai?
10. Nihon no shimbun yonderu kai?
12. Ja, moosugu yomeru ne.

"I want to talk with you about the pollution issue. Can I see you at two?"
"Wait a moment. (Checking the Schedule), I'm sorry, but I have an appointment to see someone at two. But I can make it at three."
"Then, please make it at three. I want to come by car - is there any parking place available?"
"Yes, there is. Can you drive?"
"Yes, I got a Japanese license last year."
"Well then, please drive carefully."
"Yes, I will."
"You are good at Japanese. Where did you learn it?"
"I studied a little at home (Country). And now, I'm studying it at a Japanese language school twice a week. But I'm not good yet."
"Are you reading Japanese newspapers?"
"No, I can't read them at all, because characters are so difficult. I'm learning them little by little."
"Then, you'll be able to read them very soon."
"I'll see you tomorrow, then."
"Yes, I'm looking forward to it."
conversation is not entirely natural, being made for students whose knowledge of Japanese is limited. However, it reflects frequent occurrence of NO DA in informal situations.

It is interesting to note that N DA is heard particularly often in children's conversation. This fact supports the claim that by using NO DA the speaker is saying 'I assume you will understand what I mean'. This may be because children tend to rely more on the addressee than do adults. They tend to be rather egocentric, and therefore they assume it is natural that others are ready and able to understand what they are talking about. For example, a child may even address a complete stranger, who has no knowledge about him, with an utterance such as the following:

(51) ouchi ga moechatta NO.5
house NOM burn PAST
FAM COLLO
"The house has been burnt down."

(52) boku-n-chi koinu ga iru
I GEN house puppy NOM there is
CHILD (BOY)
N DA.
"We've got a puppy in my house."

(53) Chibi ga shinjatta NO.
NOM die PAST
COLLO
"Chibi died."
The addressee may not even know whose house the child is talking about or not know who Chibi is - whether it is the name of a pet or someone's nickname. In such a case, when the referent is not known to the addressee, it is understood that the child is explaining about something important to him. It is as if the addressee had first asked dooshita NO (What is the matter?) and the child was responding to it.

N DESU is also found more often in the speech of women than in that of men. This is presumably because it creates cohesiveness or intimate feelings between the participants of the conversation, a feature of conversation which is generally recognized to be highly valued by Japanese women.6

We have seen that NO DA shows that it is referring to something in the linguistic or extra-linguistic context -- something that the speaker can safely assume that the addressee knows about. We have also seen that if there is more than one likely interpretation of the link between the proposition embraced by NO DA and its context, the sentence becomes less acceptable. This affirms the idea that by using NO DA the speaker assumes that the addressee can actually make the link intended and will not be left wondering what relationship the sentence in question has to the rest of the discourse or context. Finally, the 'vagueness' or lack of explicitness of NO DA means that it is often
more appropriate than more precise expressions like KARA DA or (to iu) KOTO DA in casual conversation. Furthermore, by inviting the addressee to participate in the interpretation of the proposition, it serves to create cohesiveness between the discourse participants.

Thus, I would like to propose the following two components as being the components of the meaning of NO DA. The wording of these components is based on the method of semantic analysis used by A. Wierzbicka7, although I have not attempted to fully utilize the semantic primitives Wierzbicka advocates for such explications. I suggest that components such as these can be used to clarify those elements common to all instances of this expression, regardless of the more precise interpretation which may be possible in any particular context (e.g. explanation, summary, etc.).

1. In saying X, I am talking about something you know about.
2. I assume you will understand why I say X now.

\[ X = \text{the proposition} \]

Let us explain how these semantic components fit the example sentences examined above.

Recall example (42-a) above where two men are walking and one of them suddenly stops, the other then looks back at him with a puzzled look.

\[ (54) \text{kutsu no himo ga} \]
\[ \text{shoe GEN lace NOM} \]
kireta N DESU. (=42-a)
break PAST

"It's just that my shoe lace has broken."

Although the speaker is stating that his shoe lace has broken in example (54) above, he is talking about or giving an answer to the addressee's puzzled look. As mentioned previously, N(O) DESU does not fully explain what he is talking about. It is left to the addressee's understanding of the context or situation in which the conversation is taking place. Therefore, the speaker uses N(O) DESU when he assumes the addressee will understand why he utters a particular utterance. In this case, even if there is no exchange of words, the speaker assumes the addressee will understand why he says 'My shoe lace has broken', because he interpreted the addressee's puzzled look as a question as to why he suddenly stopped. If his interpretation is correct, the addressee will understand the utterance as an explanation to his unuttered 'question'.

(55) okusan wa konai N DESU KA. (=48-a)
wife TOP come NEG

"Isn't your wife coming?"

(Abe. 1981. p.14)

By asking 'okusan wa konai N DESU KA' (Isn't your wife coming?), the speaker is talking about what he has observed, that is, the fact that the addressee has come
without his wife. Needless to say this fact is obvious to both the speaker and the addressee. Seeing that the addressee has come by himself, the speaker expresses his assumption that the wife is not coming based on this fact. When he utters the above question, he assumes that the addressee will understand why he asks that question. In other words, he assumes that the situation which has triggered the question will be understood by the addressee.


5. NO is a shortened or colloquial form of N/O DESU.


7. For a full description of Mrzezhicka’s method, see Mrzezhicka (1973) and (1980). I am indebted to Anna Mrzezhicka for reading my draft and guiding me towards an explication of the semantic components of NO DA.
NOTES FOR CHAPTER III

1. For example, when a person sees someone crying and asks,

Doo-shita N DESU KA? (What is the matter?)

he is not referring to the linguistic context but to the extra-linguistic context, that is, he is referring to what he observes — the crying of the addressee.

2. Kuno examines the difference between NO DESU and KARA DESU. See Kuno (1973), pp. 143-9.


5. NO is a shortened or colloquial form of N(O) DESU.


7. For a full description of Wierzbicka's method, see Wierzbicka (1972) and (1980). I am indebted to Anna Wierzbicka for reading my draft and guiding me towards an explication of the semantic components of NO DA.
Chapter IV
The Various Guises of NO DA

The NO DA construction is extremely common in both Japanese conversation and in written materials. In the different contexts in which it appears it has apparently diverse functions.

When a speaker explains, adds to or paraphrases what he has just said, or when he gives an answer to an 'underlying' question, there is naturally a close tie between what he assumes his interlocutor has already understood and what is being said. Thus, to highlight the relevance of his present utterance, he uses NO DA.

In addition there are numerous instances of contrast in which NO DA is used. When a certain proposition is in contrast with its preceding one, the preceding one can be thought of as underlying it, and NO DA is used to remind the addressee of this link.

NO DA often co-occurs with words of emphasis. The situation in which such words are used presupposes a certain context. It is unlikely that a speaker would emphasize entirely new information.

Anaphoric expressions such as kono yooni (like this) and sore dake no (to such an extent) also commonly co-occur with NO DA. This is understandable considering the "bridging" function of NO DA.

Finally, there are many more cases in which NO DA
appears, but only a few of them, in which the speaker adds some kind of emotion to the proposition, will be discussed here.

Let us now examine these different manifestations of the construction in the light of the discussion in the previous chapter in which the invariant semantic components of NO DA were described. It will soon be clear to the reader that the apparently diverse functions of this construction are the result of the wide range of contexts in which it appears and not of any variance in the meaning of NO DA itself.

4.1 EXPLANATION

A young unmarried mother who deserted her baby on the doorstep of a rich family with no children of their own, and who has been found out by a policeman, says:

(56) omawari-san watashi wa tashika-ni policeman I TOP surely
warui koto o shimashita. demo bad thing ACC do POL PAST but
kono ko no tame o omotte yatta this child GEN sake ACC think do PAST
N DESU. watashi wa kono ko o I TOP this child ACC
gakkoo ni yaru koto mo dekimasen. school LOC send thing even cannot
okanemochi no ie de sodatta hoo ga rich people GEN home LOC grow up than PAST
kono ko mo shiawase da to this child too happy COP QUOT
"Officer, I'm sorry I did the wrong thing, but I did it for the sake of my baby. I cannot even send him to school. I thought he would be happier if he were brought up in a rich family."

N DESU appears twice in the example cited above, where the young mother is trying to explain to a policeman how she came to leave her baby in front of the house of a rich family. By adding N DESU she indicates that what she is talking about is related to what she did, i.e., the fact that she deserted her baby. She is explaining or excusing what she did and why she did it. Thus NO DA itself does not actually have the function of 'giving an explanation', as Kuno (1973) and other linguists have supposed. Rather, it naturally occurs in a context where an explanation is being given, and it serves to indicate that the explanation is referring to something that the addressee already knows about - that is, what actually happened.

4.2 PARAPHRASING

In written materials especially, NO DA (NO DEARU) often co-occurs with such words as tsumari (in short), yoosuruni (in sum, in short) and iikaereba (to put (it) in another way). As these expressions indicate, they will appear in a sentence which summarises or paraphrases what has been said before.
EXAMPLE:

In an essay titled 'The Military Look' by Kooboo Abe (1981), there is a paragraph in which two photos are being compared: one of Nazi soldiers who were about to enter into Stalingrad in triumph and the other of Nazi soldiers who had just surrendered. The writer explains:

'Well, the second photo was probably taken a few months after the first. Although the place is different, there are demolished buildings, as in the other photo, and two Nazi soldiers are walking toward us from amongst the destroyed buildings. . . . . It is probably a Red Army soldier who is standing in front of the camera.'

(57-1) **tsumari** karera wa koofuku-shita
*in short* they *TOP* surrender *PAST*

Nachisu no heishi na NO DA.
Nazi GEN soldiers COP MODI

"In short, they are Nazi soldiers who have surrendered."

(57-2) iya, **motto** seikaku-ni ieba, tsui
no more precisely say *COND* only

sakki Nachisu no heishi dearu
a little Nazi GEN soldier COP
while ago (written)

koto o yameta futari no
ting ACC cease *PAST* two persons GEN

Doitsujin na NO DEARU.
German COP MODI

(Kooboo Abe. 1981. p.14)
"Well, to put it more precisely, they are two Germans who only a little while ago ceased being Nazi soldiers."

Tsumari (in short) indicates that the proposition following is a summary of the preceding description. The author first describes the soldiers in the photo and then comes directly to the point, i.e., the soldiers are Nazis who have surrendered. Sentence (57-2) is yet another paraphrase but as motto seikaku-ni ieba (to put it more precisely) indicates, it gives a more precise definition of the soldiers who appear in the photo. In paraphrasing it is essential that the link to the preceding parts of the discourse be made clear, and the combination of such words as tsumari or motto seikaku-ni ieba and NO DA serves this function.

4.3 CONTRAST

When proposition A is contrasted with proposition B, the speaker naturally has A in mind when he utters B. NO DA is required here. Alternatively a single theme may be introduced and then two contrasting comments made on this theme. Again NO DA is required to link these comments to the theme. Thus A (NA) NO DE WA NAKU, B (NA) NO DEARU is a pattern of contrast of two propositions concerning a single theme.

EXAMPLE:

In an essay about people adrift on the sea, the
writer contrasts them with adventurers. He points out that adventurers set out with a specific goal. They are supposed to be prepared for great hardship and thus press on to the limits of their endurance. Although the going might be hard, they derive pleasure from it too.

(58) kore ni taishite hyooryuu to wa compared to this drifting QUOT TOP
sainan no isshu na NO DEARU.
calamity GEN a kind of COP
MODI
(NEC. p. 82)
"Compared to this, drifting is a kind of calamity."

Kore ni taishite (compared to this) indicates that this sentence is somehow in opposition to what was being talked about before. In this case it is adventurers and drifting people who are contrasted. NO DEARU, at the end, does not in itself give the key to what kind of relationship the two parts of the utterance have. It simply signals that the proposition preceded by NO DEARU is related to what has gone before, and the fact that the relationship is one of contrast is indicated by a distinct expression.

(59) neko wa fushigi-na doobutsu dearu.
cat TOP strange animal COP
"A cat is a strange animal."

daichi-ni kodoku da. iya kodoku na
firstly lonely COP no lonely COP
MODI
NO DE WA NAKUTE, hitori de iru koto
NEG of NO DA by oneself is thing
o konomu NO DEARU.
ACC like

(NEC. p. 223)

"Firstly, it is lonely. No, it isn't that it is lonely but (it is) that it likes being alone."

The author introduces his theme, a cat here, first. He then goes on to talk about it and the contrast is made.

4.4 WITH WORDS EXPRESSING EMPHASIS

It has often been observed that NO DA frequently co-occurs with words of emphasis (Alfonso (1966), Okutsu (1974), Mizutani (1977), McGloin (1980)).

(60) kono me de tashika-ni
this eyes with definitely
mita N DESU.
see PAST

"I'm positive. I saw it with my own eyes." (Alfonso 1966 p.412)

(61) a. ittai itsu hajimeru
what on earth when start
N DESU KA.
QUES

"When on earth are you going to start?" (Alfonso 1966 p.412)

b. ?? ittai itsu hajimemasu ka.
start POL QUES
The situation in which such words of emphasis are used presupposes a certain context. It seems that either the speaker himself introduces some information and then places emphasis on it (as in example (60)), or he may be emphasizing something his interlocutor has just said.

For example, sentence (60) above is likely to be uttered when the addressee has expressed, or otherwise indicated, some doubt as to whether the speaker actually saw the thing in question or not. It is unlikely that the combination of 'tashika-ni (definitely) ... N DESU' would be used without any such presupposition, although it could be used if the speaker knows his story is so unlikely that it is sure to be doubted. Regardless of whether there is an overt or an assumed question, whether the speaker saw (it) or not is the matter of concern here. Tashika-ni emphasizes his assertion that he did see it and N DESU indicates that he is responding to the real or presumed doubts of his addressee. Without N DESU the assertion sounds rather independent of the context, and thus creates a certain lack of cohesion.

Example (61-a) above might be addressed to a person who for no apparent reason has still not begun what he is supposed to do, even 30 minutes after the scheduled time. The words itsu hajimeru (when are you going to start) clearly indicate that he has not
started yet and the speaker presumes that this situation is in the addressee's mind when he challenges him. Sentence (61-b), without N DESU, is very odd. It seems impossible that the speaker would not be referring to the extra-linguistic context (the fact that the addressee has not begun what he is supposed to do), and to his presumption of what the addressee is thinking about, with such a remark.\(^2\)

\[(62)\]  
\[a.\] dooshitemo Amerika ni iku N DA.  
whatever America LOC go  
"I will go to America whatever happens."

\[b.\] dooshitemo Amerika ni ikimasu.  
go POL

In sentence (62-a) above, dooshitemo (whatever) emphasizes the speaker's determination. The difference between sentence (62-a) with N DA and (62-b) without it, lies in that the former implies that there are some objections or obstacles to the proposed trip, and it is as if the speaker were challenging them. NO DA is taken to refer to such objections. The latter has less of these challenging overtones, although it also has the hint of the possibility of obstacles or difficulties because of the word dooshitemo (whatever).

\[(63)\] nani o guzuguzu-shite-iru N DA.  
what ACC be long about PROG  
"What are you so long about?"
As indicated by the translation so, the speaker refers to the situation, in which the addressee is being extremely tardy. The sentence has an implication of irritation, and Mizutani ((1977) quoted above) would attribute this implication to the use of N DA. Without N DA, this sentence sounds rather odd. However, N DA itself does not mean that the speaker is irritated. By using N DA the speaker is referring to the situation which is causing his irritation or indignation, a situation of which he assumes the addressee to be thoroughly aware.

(64) atchi e ike to ittara
that way ALLAT go IMP QUOT say COND PAST
iku N DA.
go
"When I tell you to go away, you go away."

Although the meaning conveyed by iku N DA is basically the same as that of ike (imperative form of 'go') here, iku N DA sounds stronger, because again N DA is taken to refer to a situation in which the addressee refuses or shows some reluctance to leave the speaker's presence. Without N DA the so-called 'dictionary form' of the verb (i.e. iku) cannot be understood as an imperative. This kind of imperative nearly always occurs in the context of some reluctance
or resistance which provides the 'background' to which the utterance is linked.

N(O) DA and N(O) DAROO (conjecture form)/ N DESHOO (polite form of N DAROO) also appear at the end of exclamatory sentences.

(65) a. waa, oishii.
   "Mm, delicious!"

b. nante oishii N DESHOO.
   "How delicious (it is)!"

c. *nante oishii deshoo.

d. nante oishii keeki deshoo.
   "What a delicious cake it is!"

Sentence (65-a) above is a direct expression of the speaker's feeling. It has no overt referent. On the other hand, sentences (65-b) and (65-d) have a referent. The acceptability of (65-b) and (65-d) and the unacceptability of (65-c) shows that if nante is used, it has to have a referent in the same sentence. In the case of (65-d), the referent is overt, namely the cake, whereas in (65-b), N (DESHOO) refers to whatever was eaten. Sentence (65-b) also conveys the speakers emotional feeling, the same as sentence (65-a). However, it is only the combination of nante . . . N DESHOO that creates such an implication. The
use of N DESHOO here indicates that the speaker assumes that the addressee will understand what he is referring to or commenting on.

4.5 WITH ANAPHORIC EXPRESSIONS

Anaphoric expressions such as sonna wake de (for such reasons) or sore dake no (to such an extent) have referents which have either occurred previously in the discourse, or in some way rely on the context of the discourse for their interpretation. Therefore, they sometimes co-occur with NO DA.

EXAMPLE:

In a certain essay about Mt. Fuji, there is a long paragraph which describes the mountain's reputation as a jinx. It is said that all students who see the mountain fail their entrance exams. However, the author insists that in spite of the fact that he has already failed his entrance exam once, after seeing Mt. Fuji, he would definitely look at it again, if only he had the chance. The paragraph concludes with the sentence:

(66) gaikokujin narazu-tomo 'Fujiyama' wa
    foreigner even if not Mt. Fuji TOP

sore dake no miryoku o motta
    to such an extent charm ACC have PAST

yama na NO DEARU.
    mountain

(NEC. p.100)
"It is not only for foreigners, but also for us Japanese, that Mt. Fuji is such a fascinating mountain."

The anaphoric expression sore dake no (to such extent) and NO DESU refer back to the preceding sentence, which indicates that the author cannot resist the charm of Mt. Fuji. Alternatively, it could be taken to refer to the whole paragraph, which describes Mt. Fuji, because the entire description is made to show what a fascinating mountain it is.

EXAMPLE:

There is a story about a Swiss boy who fell in love with a Japanese girl at first sight. He wanted to marry her. Hearing the outline of the story, and wanting to hear more, a friend of the storyteller says to him:

(67) hoo, sonna-ni bijin na
well to such beautiful COP
an extent girl MODI

NO KA ne.
SFP

"Well, was it that she was such a beautiful girl?"

In the sentence above NO KA implies that this question is based on what was reported about the girl. 'Sonna-ni' (to such an extent) presupposes that there has been some implication at least that the girl was very beautiful.
4.6 Some other guises of NO DA

'Surprise', 'confirmation of expectations' and 'boasting'

There are some other uses of NO DA in which the speaker adds some kind of emotion to the proposition. Several linguists have pointed out the fact that NO DA often occurs in sentences expressing surprise. NO DA sometimes appears when the speaker announces his discovery of something or some new fact.

For example:

A writer who is describing that area of suburban Tokyo in which she now lives explains:

"In between the road and the house in which we have been living for the past 6 months, there is a paddy field. Even in there, there are fireflies."

(68) nanto soko ni hotaru ga iru
why! there LOC firefly NOM there is

NO DA.

"Why! There are fireflies even there!"

It may seem that the strong implication of surprise in this sentence simply comes from the inclusion of the word nanto (why!...). However, even without this word there is no doubt that the native speaker of Japanese would still sense that the author is informing him of something special or important - in this case, a feeling of surprise. This implication just would not be felt in the absence of NO DA.
(69) a. soko ni hotaru ga iru NO DA.  
"There are fireflies even there!"

b. soko ni hotaru ga iru.  
"There are fireflies there."

The sense of surprise, however, is not contributed by NO DA. Only by virtue of its function of linking the sentence to the context, can NO DA be said to be responsible for this inference. In the context of a narration about the suburbs of Tokyo, the reader will no doubt be surprised by the presence of fireflies nowadays.

However, NO DA has one further duty to perform in this particular utterance. NO DA is a signal that the speaker is responding to or appealing to the addressee in some way. In this case the preceding sentence introduces the existence of a rice paddy and describes its location. This introduction has the effect of creating a certain measure of suspense and no doubt leaves the reader wondering just why the author has mentioned it. The sentence with NO DA provides the answer. He has used the rice paddy to introduce his punch-line -- that fireflies are to be found even in the suburbs of Tokyo. In thus responding to a feeling of suspense the sentence with NO DA seems to have particular impact, or what many authors have described as 'emphasis'. It should be quite clear from this
example that this so-called 'emphatic' use of NO DA simply results from this special kind of context combined with NO DA's invariant semantic properties.

The following examples will serve to illustrate that it is the context which determines what N(O) DESU infers. Sentence (70) below would be uttered, for instance, when a person finally manages to find his friend at a different station exit from the one at which he thought they were supposed to meet. Sentence (71) would be uttered when the person searches for his friend, and finds him, as anticipated, at a snack bar that the friend frequents on his way home.

(70) konna tokoro ni ita
like this place LOC be PAST

N DESU KA.

"Oh, so you were here, (all the time) were you?"

(71) yahari koko ni ita
as expected here LOC be PAST

NO DESU ne. SFP

"Oh, here you are, just as I expected."

Sentence (70) implies surprise whereas sentence (71) does not. (71) indicates that the speaker's expectation has been met. These contrary inferences can be explained by the fact that these two instances of NO DA are occurring in two very different contexts. It is this context which determines what NO DA infers.
The similarity between these two sentences is that, in both cases, the deictic pronouns (konna (like this) and koko (here)) provide evidence that the subject of the proposition is actually present in the context of the utterance. NO DESU refers to the presence of the addressee and the fact that the speaker has noticed it.

Ohta (1984) analyses NO DA in detail in a recent study and claims it has 17 'functional features'. 'Boasting' is found to be one of them.

(72) boku no inu wa konkuuru de ittoo o totta N DA.
   I GEN dog TOP contest ACC win PAST
   "My dog won the first prize in the contest."

(73) boku no inu wa ashigas san-bon na N DA.
   I GEN dog TOP leg NOM three CLASS
   "My dog has (only) three legs."

The examples above have the same topic, namely 'my dog'. Sentence (72) can be said to have a 'boasting' implication. Sentence (73), on the other hand, is rather unlikely to occur as a boast. It is difficult to tell just what kind of implication this NO DA does convey without further context. It could be an answer or explanation to a question concerning, for example, what kind of dog the speaker has or why the dog cannot
run fast. It is again context which determines what kind of implication NO DA conveys.

As has been examined above, NO DA appears in a considerable range of contexts and situations, from explanatory, paraphrasing or contrasting to those which may involve emotional inferences of various kinds. However, it can be seen that NO DA does function in the same way throughout on these many and various manifestations.
NOTES FOR CHAPTER IV


2. See NOTES for Chapter II, 2.

3. Before the interrogative particle KA, the DA of NO DA is deleted, resulting in NO KA.

Chapter V

NO DA in Combination with Conjunctions

In this chapter we shall examine two expressions in which NO DA appears in a non-final position in the sentence, namely NO DA KARA and NO DA GA. In these expressions NO DA appears in a clause final, rather than sentence final position, before the subordinating conjunction KARA (because) and the coordinating conjunction GA (but). KARA by itself denotes reason, and thus appears in the clause final position of a reason-clause. GA connects two clauses which are related either in terms of contrast, or in which the first is somehow prefatory to the second.

Other authors have analyzed the NO DA KARA and NO DA GA constructions in various ways, but it is evident that they can best be explained by referring to the cohesive properties of NO DA.

5.1 NO DA KARA

The word KARA in Japanese means 'because'. NO DA may appear before it in the subordinate clause. It is interesting to note that when the subordinate clause ends in NO DA KARA the accompanying clause cannot be a simple statement of fact, but must be modified by one of the peripheral layer operators - status (indicating the likelihood of the proposition), evidentials
(indicating the truth value of the proposition and the source from which the information was obtained) or illocutionary force (requests, orders, statements of intention etc.). Observe the following examples:

(74) a. taifuu ga kuru KARA,
typhoon NOM come because

b. *taifuu ga kuru NO DA KARA,

Kyoo wa gakkoo ga oyasumi
today TOP school NOM be off

ni narimashita.
become POL PAST

"Because typhoon is coming, (it has been decided that) school is off today."

(75) i) gakkoo e iku no wa
school ALLAT go COMP TOP

yamenasai.
stop IMP

"Don't go to school."

ii) gakkoo e iku no wa yamemasu.
"I will not go to school."

As shown in Sentence (74) above, whose main clause is an objective description of fact, only (a) with a KARA clause is acceptable. NO DA preceding KARA is incompatible with the objective statement. On the other hand, if the main clause is a subjective sentence like (75-i and ii), expressing the speaker's order or intention in these examples, the reason clauses with NO DA are also acceptable.
This phenomenon is, however, not confined to reason clauses with NO DA, but is common to all reason clauses containing peripheral layer operators. Thus, reason clauses expressing status and evidentials are equally unacceptable when the main clause constitutes an objective description of fact as shown in sentence (76-i) below. Sentence (76-ii and iii), on the other hand, are acceptable with any of the reason clauses in sentences (76-a, b and c) because they are subjective utterances.

(76) a. taifuu ga kuru kamoshirenai typhoon NOM come might well KARA, "Because it might be the case that typhoon is coming,"

b. taifuu ga kuru daroo KARA, probably "Because it will probably be the case that typhoon is coming,"

c. taifuu ga kuru soo da KARA, I hear "Because I hear that typhoon is coming,"

i) * kyoo wa gakkoo ga oyasumi ni narimashita. "It has been decided that school is off today."

ii) gakkoo e iku no wa yamenasai. "Don't go to school."
iii) gakkoo e iku no wa yamemasu.

"I will not go to school."

The reason for this restriction on the type of subordinate clause which can precede an objective statement is as follows: A speaker can attribute his intentions, request, order or his judgement to factors such as the likelihood of his proposition, or the evidence on which his proposition is based, whereas he cannot attribute a simple fact to these elements.

The fact that NO DA KARA clauses behave in the same way as reason clauses containing other peripheral layer operators provides further evidence regarding the syntactic position of NO DA in the periphery of the clause.

Let us now turn to an examination of the use of the NO DA KARA construction. The following example will give the reader the general idea of how the construction is used. It is a quote from an essay on the rights of so-called "passive" smokers -- those who do not smoke themselves but cannot avoid inhaling quantities of the cigarette smoke produced by those around them. The author observes that smokers use the pretext that since they smoke with full awareness of its harm, no one should interfere with them.

(77) gai ga aru koto o
harm NOM there is thing ACC
Their reasoning is that since they smoke being fully aware of its harm, no one should be critical about it.

NO DA is used here because there is a presupposition that there is some criticism about smoking. NO DA links the statement to this presupposition, indicating that the speaker assumes the addressee also to be aware of the criticism. The smokers are conscious of this criticism when they assert that they are fully aware of the dangers of smoking yet still choose to do so. The use of NO DA gives the statement an argumentative tone, as if the speaker were directly addressing his critics. Thus NO DA has essentially the same function in this construction as when it appears in the main clause.

Kuno (1973), Noda (1981) and McGloin (1980,1984) have all tried to explain the NO DA KARA construction. Each one has succeeded to some extent in revealing the meaning of NO DA KARA, but none of their conclusions are completely adequate. Their analyses will be briefly examined here.
Kuno (1973) gives the following examples and explanation of the use of NO DA KARA.

(78) a. okane ga amari arimasen money NOM much exist-not kara, mudazukai o shinaide because waste ACC do not kudasai. please
"Since there isn't too much money please don't use it wastefully."

b. okane ga amari nai no-desu exist-not kara, mudazukai o shinaide kudasai.

Example (a) is a simple neutral request. On the other hand, (b) implies that the speaker has some basis for suspecting that the hearer has been wasting money. It would be literally translated as "The explanation for my worry is that there isn't too much money". Example (b), if uttered to someone who has not shown signs of wasting money, would be a very impolite request. (pp.228-229)

Noda (1981), however, does not find Kuno's explanation of these examples entirely adequate, and revises it slightly, as follows:

To make Kuno's explanation more complete, the use of NO DA here points out to the addressee that the situation of lack of money can be inferred from some information
which the speaker thinks should be quite obvious to the addressee. If the information is in fact not available to the addressee, s/he is held responsible by the speaker for not observing something which is actually not possible for her/him to observe, and in this sense the utterance is very impolite, since it unjustly accuses the addressee. A translation that is even more revealing, and more indicative of the true meaning than Kuno's version, might be, "The situation which I am talking about and which I assume also to be obvious to you is that there isn't too much money, and you should be able to see this, so please don't waste money."

(Noda 1981, p.50)
(Emphasis added)

However, the use of NO DESU does not necessarily mean, as Noda claims, that the content of the proposition 'can be inferred from some information which the speaker thinks should be quite obvious to the addressee'. It simply means that the speaker assumes that the addressee can understand why the speaker says what he does. For example, a possible version of sentence (78-b) would be:

(79) anata wa zutto uchi o hanare-te-ita
    you TOP for a home ACC be away from
    long time

    kara shiranai deshoo ga, ima uchi
    because know NEG CONJECT but now home
    of COP
A mother explains the financial situation of the family to her son who has been away from home for a long time and has just come back. What NO DESU implies here is that the son will understand his mother's fear that he might use money wastefully if he does not know the financial situation, presumably because he has done so in the past. However, it is quite clear that the information contained in the proposition could not possibly be obvious to him. Only after he hears the proposition followed by NO DESU, is he expected to infer the fear of his mother.

McGloin (1980) discusses the NO DA KARA construction from the viewpoint of EMPHASIS. She claims:

"... NO DESU is used when the speaker subjectively assumes that there is some necessity to emphasize his reason or his statement. ..."

(80) kono pai wa oishii kara / this pie TOP delicious because n dakara, tabete - mite - kudasai. eat see I ask you
"Since this pie tastes good / since this pie does taste good, please try some."
(McGloin 1980, pp.133-4)

The explanation given by McGloin here does not fully clarify in what way NO DA functions in this instance. The word 'emphasis' which she uses is rather vague. As already discussed in Chapter IV, by using NO DA, the speaker indicates that he is responding to the addressee in some way. In this case, as McGloin rightly points out, the inference is that the addressee is apparently reluctant to try the pie which is offered.

When the speaker says 'kono pai wa oishii n da kara' (Since this pie does taste good), he implies the following: I assume you will understand why I say this (this pie does taste good) now. It is because you are hesitating, but I do not want to say it explicitly. He then goes on to appeal to the addressee to eat the pie, on this basis. These cohesive properties of NO DA will explain clearly the difference between the KARA clause and N DA KARA clause in sentence (80) above.

5.2 NO DA GA

NO DA GA (sometimes NO DA KEREDO (MO)) is another expression which results from the combination of NO DA with a conjunction. GA by itself has 'two main usages from an English point of view' according to Alfonso (1968):
One is a meaning of 'BUT', 'ALTHOUGH'. The second usage of GA is that of pointing out AN INTRODUCTORY remark, a PREFATORY sentence, so that the listener is better prepared to understand the main point of the statement.

The first of the two usages mentioned by Alfonso is no doubt self-explanatory, while the second will be illustrated below (Example (82)). GA and KEREDOMO are interchangeable in many cases (although KEREDOMO can appear at the beginning of a sentence, while GA usually cannot).

Let us begin by examining how McGloin (1984) explains the use of NO DA KEREDOMO.

McGloin claims that:

The basic function of NO DESU is to present certain information as old information in discourse. . . . . . . The speaker presents information which is known only to himself as if the addressee also knew it, or information which is known only to the addressee as if the speaker also knew it. [Which seems rather unlikely! - T.S.] In other words, NO DA seems to have the function of presenting information which is known to either the speaker or the addressee as if it were shared information.

(McGloin 1984, pp.254-5)

(Translation is mine)
Referring to this example, McGloin maintains that:

Since NO DESU has the function of presenting information as if it were already known, it is often used to introduce background information. This type of NO DESU appears in the S-1 NO DESU KEREDOMO/GA S-2 pattern and although S-1, as well as S-2, is new information to the addressee, S-1 is presented as if it were known information, thus playing the role of introducing the more important S-2.

(81) shikashi,rippa da nna,buchoo-but respectable COP indeed chief
san wa. boku nanka nee, ryooshin ga
TOP I HUMBLE SFP parents NOM

Ishinomaki ni iru N DESU KEREDOMO,
LOC there is although

ano, Sendai made shucchoo-shite well as far as make a business trip
mo, ashi ga nobi-nai N DESU yo.
even leg NOM extend NEG SFP if

"Well, I respect you, Sir (for going out of your way to visit your parents). My parents live in Ishinomaki, but even when I make a business trip to Sendai, I don't extend my trip to Ishinomaki (to see them)."

However, it seems to me that it is the function of KEREDOMO (or GA) rather than that of NO DESU, to present the information as background or as prefatory.
The following example will illustrate this:

(82) aru hi makuramoto ni nyooboo o one day by one's LOC wife ACC bedside
yonde, "jitsu wa imamade kakushite-
call to tell until now have been
the truth
ita KEREDOMO, onna ga iru
hiding woman NOM there is
to itta. QUOT say PAST
(NEC. p.317)
"One day he called his wife to his bedside and said, 'To tell the truth, I have been hiding this from you until now, but there's another woman.'"

In the example above, the proposition preceding KEREDOMO serves as a prefatory remark or 'background information' and NO DESU does not even appear. The main statement follows KEREDOMO, namely, onna ga iru (I have a woman).

Returning to example (81), quoted from McGloin, the use of N DESU KEREDOMO here seems, as we would expect, to give cohesion to the discourse. When the addressee hears N DESU, he receives the signal that the speaker is linking his statement to what the addressee has just been talking about -- namely, his visits to his parents. It is not a matter of presenting new information as if it were known, but of introducing information, which is linked to what has preceded it and which is needed to fully understand the main statement to follow.
As indicated by the use of contrast between rippa na buchoo-san (respectable chief) and boku nanka (a humble expression for I (first person sg.)), the speaker is indicating that he is conscious of what his boss has just said, and is comparing it with his own case. Furthermore, in this case, the propositions preceding both N DESU KEREDOMO and the second N DESU (which appears at the end of the sentence) could also be thought of as following on from the opening sentence, that is, shikashi, rippa da naa, buchoo-san wa (I respect you, sir). The boss may be wondering why the speaker expresses such respect to him, and these would provide the answers.

It is very common for NO DESU to be used in combination with GA at the opening of a conversation. This seems completely contradictory to the suggestion that NO DA provides a link to preceding discourse. However, let us look at some examples. A stranger might ask you the way, saying:

(83) a. ano, chotto michi o otazune-shitai
extcuse me way ACC ask POL want
N DESU GA, A.N.U. wa dochira
tOP which
no hoogaku deshoo ka.
GEN direction COP QUES
CONJEC
"Excuse me, could you tell me the way? . . . Which way is it to the A.N.U.?"

b.?? ano chotto michi o otazune-shitai
desu ga, . . .
The use of N DESU here at the opening of the conversation can be explained as a device on the part of the speaker to make his utterance cohesive. When the speaker informs the addressee his intention or desire, N DESU usually follows. If N DESU is deleted, the utterance sounds as if the speaker were asserting his desire one-sidedly. Thus sentence (83-b) above is unlikely. When there is no apparent referring situation or context, it seems that N DESU can be considered as a device in which the speaker responds to the addressee as if he were asked such a question as 'What is the matter?', 'What would you like to do?' or 'Is there anything that I can do for you?'

The unacceptability of sentence (83-d) will support the assumption made above because michi o otazune-suru (I am asking you the way) could be an answer to none of the assumed questions above. Although sentence (83-c) does not have such a cohesive device as N DESU, it is acceptable because, ano chotto (excuse me) and ga (which introduces a prefatory remark) provides the addressee adequate indication why the speaker stops him and what he is going to say next.
Sentence (83-a) with the desirative form and N DESU GA is, however, more cohesive and therefore, in this case, polite because the speaker chooses the device to explain his intention as if he were asked by the addressee.

(84) okane ga nakute money NOM there isn't
komatte-iru N DESU GA, be in a spot of bother
kashite-kudasai-masen ka. lend could you QUES
"As I don't have any money, I'm in a spot of bother. . . . Could you lend me some, please?"

The example above is also the opening sentence of a conversation. If N DESU is deleted from it, the utterance will sound rather abrupt, as if the speaker was asserting his financial situation regardless of what was in the addressee's mind. NO DESU is introduced to link the proposition to what is assumed to be in addressee's consciousness -- in this case, the speaker naturally assumes that the addressee wants to know why he has come to see him. In the same situation an English speaker might say, "Well, it's just that as I don't have any money, I'm in a spot of bother...."

Again, as in example (84) above, it is hard to interpret the proposition preceding N DESU GA as if it were known information, as McGloin (1984) claims. The
use of GA indicates that it is a prefatory remark, introducing the speaker's request for money, and NO DA links this remark to what the addressee is assumed to be thinking about.

Let us quote one more example from McGloin (1980).

(85) kono pai wa watashi ga yaita
n dakara /?kara tabete mite kudasai.
"I baked this pie, so please try some."
(p.134)

McGloin claims that 'the fact that one baked a pie is not a matter-of-fact basis for offering the pie. Hence, the speaker emphasizes the kara-clause by no desu'.

I suggest, however, that N DESU GA would be more likely than N DESU KARA in a sentence like this. This is because a sentence with N DESU GA is given as an answer or explanation in response to an assumed question, for example, why the speaker is standing in front of the guest or at her neighbour's door with a pie. N DESU KARA is only used in a situation in which the speaker has to provide some reason for offering the pie -- she has to persuade the addressee, for example, when the addressee is reluctant to try some.

Ohta (1984) points out an interesting fact about the NO DESU GA construction, which lends support to my claim that NO DESU is used to solicit the addressee's understanding. After quoting Martin (1975), who says
that **no da** is used sometimes 'to "pad" a sentence so as to give it extra indirectness and politeness', Ohta (1984) points out that:

It is important to note that such a use of **NO DA** invariably occurs in a statement about the speaker's own feelings, desires, physical conditions, circumstances and convenience, where some sort of reservation [i.e. on the part of the speaker -- T.S.] is expected. Therefore, statements containing in the predicate such expressions as **hoshii** 'I long for', **V-tai** 'I want to do', **omou** 'I think', **zutuu ga suru** 'I have a headache', **tugoo ga ii** 'It suits my convenience', etc., take **no desu ga**, particularly when these are followed by expressions of request for a favor or permission. (p.35)

Here are some examples of the kind of request Ohta is referring to.

(86) suko**shi samui** N DESU GA, mado
a little cold window

**ACC shimete mo ii desu ka.**

"It's just that I am a little bit cold. . . . would you mind if I close the window?"

(87) onaka **ga suita** N DESU GA,
stomach NOM empty PAST

**nanika taberu mono**
something eat thing

**wa arimasen ka.**

TOP there isn't QUES
"It's just that I am hungry . . . is there anything to eat?"

When NO DESU is used, there has to be a situation or a context which is referred back to. However, in the examples above there is no apparent prior situation or context to refer to. It is difficult to think of even an 'assumed question' as in examples (83), (84) and the N DESU GA version of (85) unless there is some indication of a situation which can be regarded as the source for later reference. For example, the addressee has opened a window and let the cold air in, in the case of example (86), or the speaker is found by the addressee looking for food in the kitchen, in the case of example (87). Suppose examples (86) and (87) are uttered without any such context or situation. It can still be explained by the cohesive properties of NO DA. Our knowledge that GA follows a prefatory remark provides the key to this unexpected use of NO DA. When hearing NO DESU, the addressee receives the signal (or more precisely, the speaker assumes that the addressee receives the signal) that the speaker is soliciting his co-operation. He starts looking for the situation or context referred to. Then, when he hears GA, he understands that the proposition preceding NO DESU GA is used as a prefatory remark. He can then interpret NO DA as giving an early explanation in order to pave
the way for the request or whatever which follows N DESU GA.

This may apply to examples (83), (84) and the N DESU GA version of (85) as well. N DESU in these N DESU GA clauses could be interpreted as an answer to the assumed question or/and the explanation to an offer or a request which follows N DESU GA.

By examining sentences with NO DA KARA and NO DA GA (or NO DA KEREDOMO), the contribution of NO DA in these constructions becomes clear. The usage of NO DA varies, as has been explained, from reminding the addressee of old information to introducing new information. However, NO DA always appeals directly to the addressee to understand why the speaker utters the proposition. Therefore, NO DA provides cohesion not only to the previous statement or situation but also between the speaker and the addressee.

Naturally enough, languages other than Japanese have similar devices for indicating this kind of cohesion. Prince (1978) points out that the discourse condition on WH-clefts in English is as follows:

A WH-cleft will not occur coherently in a discourse if the material inside the (subject) WH-clause does not represent material which the cooperative speaker can assume to be appropriately in the hearer's consciousness at the time of hearing the utterance.

(Prince 1978, p.888)
She gives an example of what can and cannot be assumed to be appropriately in the hearer's consciousness.

(88) a. ## What we're going to look at today (this term) is . . .

b. ### What one of my colleagues said this morning was . . .

(Prince 1978, p.888)

(## represents an opening of a conversation.)

Prince explains that a college professor may felicitously begin a lecture (or a course) with (88-a), but not usually with (88-b). The same can be said of NO DA. The speaker expects the addressee to construct the 'bridge' between what he is saying and what he assumes to be in the addressee's consciousness.

Daroq in origin is the conjectural form of the copula da, but it is not limited to a nominal predicate. It follows adjectival and verbal predicates as well. In that sense it is considered to be a peripheral operator as are mushii (is likely), kahoshireni (might/well be) etc.

When NO DA is combined with daroq, it becomes NO DAROQ. NO DAROQ is also used when the speaker comments on something while assuming that the addressee will understand what he is talking about. By uttering NO DAROQ, he implies that there is a source or some evidence on which his conjecture is based. For example:

(a) ashita wa ame ga furu tomorrow TOP rain DOM fall
daroq.
"It will probably rain tomorrow."

(b) ashita wa ame ga furu tomorrow TOP rain DOM fall
NO DAROQ.

Sentence (89-a) above can be an independent utterance. It can be mere conjecture. On the other hand, sentence (89-b) has to have a situation or
Chapter VI
Conjectural, Interrogative and Negative Forms of NO DA

6.1 Conjectural form of NO DA -- NO DAROO

Daroo in origin is the conjectural form of the copula da, but it is not limited to a nominal predicate. It follows adjectival and verbal predicates as well. In that sense it is considered to be a peripheral operator as are rashii (is likely), kamoshirenai (might well be) etc.

When NO DA is combined with daroo, it becomes NO DAROO. NO DAROO is also used when the speaker comments on something while assuming that the addressee will understand what he is talking about. By uttering NO DAROO, he implies that there is a source or some evidence on which his conjecture is based. For example:

(89) a. ashita wa ame ga furu
tomorrow TOP rain NOM fall daroo.

"It will probably rain tomorrow."

b. ashita wa ame ga furu
NO DAROO.

Sentence (89-a) above can be an independent utterance. It can be mere conjecture. On the other hand, sentence (89-b) has to have a situation or
context to which the speaker can refer. For example, the speaker is looking up at the sky where thick clouds are covered. Hearing NO DAROO, the addressee is expected to know that the speaker is referring to the state of the sky.

Likewise, in the following example:

(90) a. kare wa nete-iru daroo.
   he TOP sleep PROG

"He is probably sleeping."

b. kare wa nete-iru NO DAROO.

In the case of sentence (90-a), whether he is sleeping or not is the matter of concern. On the other hand, sentence (90-b) would be a comment upon or an answer to why he had not shown up yet. In such a situation as, for example, where the person in question has not shown up at the breakfast table, one of his family members might utter (90-b). The speaker assumes that the addressee will understand why he utters sentence (90-b). NO DA serves to indicate the source or evidence on which his conjecture is based.

Let us quote one more example from a 'diary' written by Michiko Inukai (1979). After questioning herself, "Why have I been involved in such an enormous problem as understanding America? I am at a loss these days to know what America is". She continues:
"Well, it's all right (I won't let it bother me too much), a country is an enormous living thing. It is not limited to America. It is probably wrong to expect to be able to understand America after one or two years' study and only 17-18 years' acquaintance with it."

By using NO DA(ROO), the author refers to the previous statement that she is at a loss to know what America is these days and at the same time indicates the grounds by which she came to have that conclusion.

6.2 Interrogative form of NO DA - NO KA

There are some insightful studies on the Interrogative of NO DA, namely NO KA / NO DESU KA
(polite form of NO KA), as mentioned in Chapter II. 'Explanation verification', 'assumption verification' and 'social question' are found among them. These interrogatives will now be examined using the aforementioned cohesive property of NO DA.

Let us examine the yes-no questions first, then WH-questions:

(92) a. atsui desu ka.
hot COP POL QUES
"Do you feel hot?"

b. atsui N DESU KA.

Sentence (92-a) above is a simple question asking the addressee whether he feels hot or not, whereas (92-b) can be considered as a comment on what the addressee has just said or what the speaker saw, e.g., he might see perspiration on the addressee's forehead. When the speaker uses NO DA, he assumes that the addressee will understand what he is talking about and why he raised that question. Thus N DESU in the interrogative sentence does function in the same way as in the affirmative sentence.

(93) ikinari ni-satsu nukidashite
suddenly two CLASS take out
katta sei ka, waka-shujin
buy PAST because of QUES young owner

'Fukuhara-san (author's name) no hon o
NOM (author's name) GEN book ACC

"Yes, I bought it in Paris."
atsumete-orareru N DESU KA'/
collect PROG HON

*-oraremasu ka', to tazuneta.
PROG HON POL QUES QUOT ask PAST
(NEC. p.124)

"I wonder whether it is because I
suddenly picked out the two books (from
the bookshelf), and bought them that the
young owner (of the bookshop) asked,
'Are you collecting Fukuhara's books?"

In sentence (93) N DESU refers to what the owner
saw, i.e., the customer suddenly picking out two of
Fukuhara's books without looking at any others. When
he uttered the question, he is assuming that the
customer will understand what he is talking about and
therefore why he is raising such a question. Without N
DESU, it would sound unnatural. The speaker is in fact
asking a question regarding the addressee's action in
selecting only those books. This link between the
situation and the question must be, and is, indicated
by N DESU.

McGloin examines the following interrogative
sentences:

(94) Q. Kono yubiwa, Pari de (a) katta n desu ka?
this ring Paris LOC buy PAST

(b)?kaimashita ka?
buy POL PAST

"Did you buy this ring in Paris?"

A. (a) Hai, Pari de kaimashita.
yes Paris LOC buy POL PAST

?*katta n desu.

"Yes, I bought it in Paris."
(b) Iie, Pari de katta n zya arimasen. NEG of N DESU
    *kaimasen deshita. buy POL NEG COP POL PAST

"No, I didn't buy it in Paris."

(95) Q: Pari de yubiwa o kaimashita ka? Paris LOC ring ACC buy POL PAST QUES

"Did you buy a ring in Paris?"

A: (a) Hai, kaimashita. yes buy POL PAST

"Yes, I did."

(b) Iie, (Pari de wa) kaimasen desita. no Pari LOC TOP buy POL COP POL NEG PAST

"No, I didn't (buy one in Paris)."

First, compare (94-Q) and (95-Q). In (94-Q) the speaker assumes it to be true that the addressee bought the ring and further wants to know if it was in Paris that he/she bought it. On the other hand, (95-Q) does not make such an assumption. That is, by uttering (95-Q), the speaker wants to find out whether the addressee bought a ring or not. Notice that, in (94-Q), the question without no desu is awkward, while the use of no desu is inappropriate in (95-Q).

(McGloin 1980, pp.121-122)

The use of N DESU in McGloin's examples here can be partly explained by the definiteness of yubiwa (ring). In sentence (94), kono yubiwa (this ring) is a
definite expression and clearly indicates that the speaker assumes that the addressee knows what he is referring to. On the other hand, in sentence (95), just yubiwa (a ring) has no such referent. The distinction between definite and indefinite expressions has some bearing on the inclusion or not of N DESU and this distinction partly accounts for the low acceptability of question (94-Q) and acceptability of question (95-Q) without N DESU.

It is, however, possible to have such a question as (96-b) below with N DESU:

(96) a. Pari de yubiwa o
     Paris LOC ring ACC
     kaimashita ka.
     buy POL PAST QUES
     "Did you buy a ring in Paris?"

b. Pari de yubiwa o
    Paris LOC ring ACC
    katta N DESU KA.
    buy PAST
    "Did you buy a ring in Paris, (then)?"

The difference between sentences (96-a) and (96-b) can be explained better by the cohesive property of NO DA. Sentence (96-a) simply asks whether the addressee bought a ring in Paris or not whereas (90-b) implies that there is some situation which induces the speaker
to utter the question. The speaker assumes that what triggered the question is quite obvious to the addressee. For example, after a girlfriend of the speaker tells him that she has just been to Paris, he notices that she is wearing a new ring. He can assume that the addressee, the girlfriend, will understand why he is putting such a question. N DESU indicates that his question is based on the mutual understanding of information available to him, i.e., the fact that she went to Paris and that she is wearing a new ring. On the other hand, another plausible interpretation of N DESU in this case is that it refers back to some remark of the addressee before she went to Paris, i.e., that she would buy a ring when she went there. In this instance, N DESU implies: 'You told me that you would buy a ring in Paris, therefore I am asking you this now'. In this case, it would not be necessary for a ring to actually exist on the spot where the conversation is taking place. The unacceptability of (97-a) below and the acceptability of (97-b) will illustrate the difference just mentioned.

(97) a. ??yappari Pari de yubiwa o kaimashita ka.
   as was expected

b. yappari Pari de yubiwa o katta N DESU KA.

"Did you buy a ring in Paris as was expected?" (as you told me?)
Ohso (1984) points out that 'professionals who have to get information as part of their job often ask questions without using n desu.'

(Policeman in the course of his investigation):

(98) kare wa kino he TOP yesterday what time

shussha shimashita ka?
come to the office do POL PAST QUES

"What time did he come to work yesterday?"

(Ohso 1984)

She continues, 'The same sort of questions would be asked with n desu in different situations'.

(Two men had drinks and talked until 4 a.m. Next day one of them rings the other in his office.)

(99) Boku wa juuni-ji made I TOP twelve until o'clock

nechatta yo. kimi wa nan-ji ni

sleep in SFP you TOP what time

COLLO PAST

shussha - shita no?
come to do PAST the office

"I slept until midday. What time did you get to the office?"

(Ohso 1984)

This example from Ohso clearly shows the function of NO DESU. When the conversational situation needs some sort of distance, NO DESU usually does not occur.
On the other hand, when the speaker feels the necessity to indicate his personal concern about the addressee, NO DESU is used. This is also true for the answer to the above type of question.

For example, in a situation where someone suddenly starts slapping his pockets, a person near him might say:

(100)  

a. doo-shita N DESU KA.  
how do PAST

b. doo-shimashita ka.  
how do POL PAST QUES

"What is the matter?"

The person asked would answer:

(101)  

a. saifu ga nai N DESU.  
purse NOM there isn't

"I can't find my purse."

b. ??saifu ga arimasen.  
"I can't find my purse."

Sentence (100-a) would be the more plausible. N DESU refers to the addressee's slapping of his pockets. The use of N DESU stems from the speaker's concern about the addressee. However, (100-b) is also possible especially when the speaker is a stranger or their relationship requires a degree of distance for some other reason.

When answering a question like (100-a), NO DESU is usually required because it indicates that the
addressee is responding to the speaker's concern. Sentence (101-b), without N DESU, lacks the sense of response, and thus is unlikely in this situation. In a military organization, however, a soldier might answer like that to his senior officer because he is expected to keep a certain distance from his superior.

Let us compare two dialogues which are uttered in the same situation but with different participants — i.e., with a differing relationship between the participants.

(102) (Between a soldier and his senior officer)

Officer: oi, doo-shita N DA.
    hey how do PAST
    "Hey, what is the matter?"

Soldier: ha! saifu ga arimasen.
    purse NOM there isn't
    "I can't find my purse, sir."

Officer: yoku sagashita NO KA.
    well look for PAST
    "Did you look for it thoroughly?"

Soldier: hai, sagashimashita.
    yes look for POL PAST
    "Yes, I did, sir."

(103) A. doo-shita N DESU KA.
    "What is the matter?"

B. saifu ga nai N DESU.
    "I can't find my purse."
A. yoku sagashimashita ka.
"Did you look for it thoroughly?"

B. ee, sagashita N DESU GA . . .
"Yes, I did, but . . ."

The officer uses N DA and NO KA which point out directly the situation in which the soldier is slapping his pockets. On the other hand, the soldier avoids using NO DESU in order to preserve some distance. If he were to use NO DESU, it would indicate that he is responding to his officer directly and individually. However, there is a method of showing that he is responding to the officer while still keeping a certain distance. N DE ARIMASU is the expression to be used in such a case. N indicates response and DE ARIMASU creates distance because DE ARU is a formal form of DA and -MASU is a polite morpheme. It is rather archaic and not often heard except in formal speech or in an organization like the military where distancing is considered of prime importance.

Compared to this, example (103) is appropriate to a situation which is quite ordinary, that is, one in which both participants refer to the situation or what the other party says, and respond in a free manner. The reason why A does not use NO DESU in the second question can be explained by a sense of reserve. Use of N DESU could suggest some kind of accusation,
because it refers immediately to what A has just said, i.e., it suggests 'although you say that you cannot find your purse, . . . (I have a doubt . . .)'. Between close friends or immediate relatives, NO KA or N DESU KA would be used for the second question as well.

As illustrated in the examples above, it is difficult to draw a sharp line between an acceptable and an unacceptable sentence as far as the presence of NO DA goes, because the use of NO DA varies according to the individual and also according to the relationship between the participants and the situation in which it is uttered. In general, older people tend to use NO (DESU) less and the younger generation tend to use it a lot more. It is often to be seen in magazines and heard on T.V. programs. This is probably because youngsters do not pay as much attention to distancing themselves from one another any more. These sociological aspects, however, are beyond the scope of this study.

Ohso (1984) observes that when a speaker is asking what he is supposed to do, the question will always have N DESU.

(One of the participants asks at a conference venue.)

(104) Tooroku wa doko de suru n desu ka?

register TOP where LOC do QUES

*shimasu ka?
do POL QUES
"Where are we supposed to register?"

(Ohso 1984)

It seems that N DESU refers to the situation -- that the speaker is a participant of the conference and that he is supposed to register. When he utters sentence (104), he assumes this understanding of the situation is in the addressee's consciousness. N DESU can be interpreted as: I understand you are the person in charge and I am supposed to register, therefore I assume you will understand why I ask this question of you now.

Let us examine a few more questions with WH-words.

Hearing that a friend recently moved to some other place and that he had had difficulty in transporting his belongings because they were so many and so heavy, a friend of his might say:

(105) a. dare-ka tetsudatte-kureta
     anyone help give a favor PAST
     N DESU KA.
     "Did anyone help you?"

b. dare-ka tetsudatte-kuremashita ka.
     give a favor QUES
     POL PAST

In the situation mentioned above, both sentence (105-a) and sentence (105-b) are possible. However, in the case of sentence (105-a), the speaker appears more
sympathetic to the addressee, because N DESU clearly indicates that he is responding to the remark that the addressee had a hard time because of his heavy belongings. Although it is obvious that both questions are triggered by what the addressee has just said, sentence (105-b), without N DESU, does not overly indicate this close tie.

(106) kawatta sukaato desu ne.
uncommon skirt COP POL SFP
"That's an interesting skirt, isn't it?"

a. doko de mitsuketa N DESU KA.
where LOC find PAST
"Where did you find it?"

b. doko de mitsukemashita ka.
find POL PAST QUES
(Ohso 1984)

Sentence (106-a) with N DESU, is far more common than (106-b). Ohso (1984) describes this type of sentence as 'social talk' -- just to make conversation. This could be so, or on the other hand, the speaker may really want to know where the addressee got it. In either case, N DESU is necessary because it refers to the skirt and also thus reflects by its cohesive property the speaker's interest or concern about the skirt.

(107) a. itsu okane o kaeshite-kureru
when money ACC return give
(a favor)
109

N DESU KA.

"When will you give (me) the money back, then?"

b. itsu okane o kaeshite-kuremasu ka.

"When will you give (me) the money back?"

Sentence (107-a) with N DESU refers to the situation in which the addressee has not returned the money in the time that he should have, and thus creates the implication of irritation on the part of the speaker. Sentence (107-b) on the other hand, is an independent question and makes no reference to such a situation as that of sentence (107-a).

The speaker is simply trying to get information concerning the time when he can expect to get his money back.

(108) a. naze konakatta N DESU KA.

"Why didn't you come?"

b. ??naze kimasendeshita ka.

Sentence (108-a) above would be addressed to a person who was absent from work, school, or a meeting etc. The fact that the person didn't come is presupposed. The speaker is referring to that fact and
assumes that the addressee will understand what triggered such a question.

It seems that a 'reason-asking' question almost always requires N(0) DESU. This is understandable in that when a speaker asks for a reason, it always presupposes the rest of the proposition.

(109) a. naze doa o akeru N DESHOO KA.
    why door ACC open CONJEC

    "Why will they open the door?"

b. *naze doa o akeru deshoo ka.
    CONJEC
    of desu

In the example above, the fact that the policeman is about to open the door is presupposed. The participants of this conversation might be standing in a corridor, along which a policeman has come and is about to open the door of a neighbouring flat. The speaker can assume that the topic of his conversation is also clearly in the addressee's consciousness. Without N DESHOO, the reason-asking question would not be acceptable.

Various types of questions have been examined here. Some of these allow sentences either with or without N DESU, depending on the context and also the relationship between the participants of the conversation. It should be clear from the above that only when the speaker can safely assume that the
addressee can infer what triggered the question, is N DESU used. In other words, N DESU can be interpreted as: I assume you will understand why I ask you this now.

6.3 Negative form of NO DA -- NO DE WA NAI

When a speaker negates a proposition, he usually has a positive alternative in mind. Unless he wants the addressee to guess the answer or to put him in suspense he usually gives it after the negative statement. Thus there is often a sentence of a negative form followed by a positive one. This basically follows the pattern discussed in Chapter IV under the heading of CONTRAST, namely A NA NO DE WA NAKU, B NA NO DEARU, except that both a negative form and a positive form of NO DA are dealt with here, appearing in independent clauses rather than in the same clause.

The following example will illustrate this pattern:

(110) shotai-doogu wa nani mo nakatta.
      household good TOP nothing there isn't PAST

      Tookyoo e oite-kita NO DE WA NAI,
      Tokyo ALLAT leave come behind PAST

      hajime kara sore rashiki mono o
      beginning from it like thing ACC

      motanakatta NO DEARU.
      have NEG PAST

      (NEC. p.57)
"There were no household goods. (You might think I left them in Tokyo, but) it isn't that I left them in Tokyo, (but is that) I did not have any of the sorts of things one might call 'household goods'."

Now, let us examine a negative answer to a question with N DESU.

(111) neboo-shita oversleep PAST N DESU KA.
"You overslept, did you?"

a) iie, neboo-shita N JA ARIMASEN.
   no oversleep COLLO PAST DE WA
"No, I didn't oversleep."

densha ga okureta N DESU.
train NOM be late
"It's that the train was late."

b) ??iie, neboo-shimasendeshita.
   no oversleep POL NEG PAST

(112) (Looking at pot plants at a friend's house, a guest asks):
mainichi mizu o yaru N DESU KA.
every day water ACC give
"Do you water them every day?"

a) iie, mainichi wa yarimasen.
   no every day TOP give POL NEG
ichinichi ka futsuka oki
one day or two day every
ni yatte-imasu.
other day give PROG POL
"No, I didn’t sp."
"No, I don't water them every day. I water them every 2 or 3 days."

b) ??iie, mainichi yaru N JA ARIMASEN.

The reason why sentence (111-a) with N JA ARIMASEN is acceptable whereas sentence (112-b) is not, relates to the sense of censure implied in the question. In sentence (111-a) the speaker negates what the questioner has just said to defend himself on the charge of having overslept. N JA ARIMASEN refers to what has just been asked as well as to the fact that the responder was late. It has the connotation: your assumption is wrong. Then the responder gives an explanation or 'correct answer' for his delay, using N DESU. Here he has a good reason to negate what the questioner has just said. On the other hand, in the case of sentence (112), if the responder uses N JA ARIMASEN the answer sounds unnatural because it indicates that he is fully countering what the questioner has just said in a situation that does not call for outright dismissal of the question.

The following example will illustrate this point.

(113) A: kinoo eega ni irasshatta yesterday movie to go HON PAST N DESU KA.

"Did you go to the movies yesterday?"

B: a) iie, ikimasendeshita. no go POL NEG PAST

"No, I didn't go."
b) ??iie, itta N JA ARIMASEN.

c) iie, ikanakatta N DESU.

"No, I didn't go."

(114) Father: ashita shiken ga aru
tomorrow exam NOM there is

noni eega ni itta
in spite movie to go PAST of

NO KA.

"Did you go to the movies in spite of having an exam tomorrow?"

Son: iya, eega ni itta
no movie to go PAST

N JA NAI yo. tomodachi no
SFP friend GEN

tokoro de benkyoo-shiteta
place LOC study do PAST COLLO

N DA.

"No, I didn't go to the movies. I was studying at a friend's place."

In example (113), the answer (b) with N JA ARIMASEN is inappropriate. If B simply wants to give information as to whether he went to the movies or not, (a) is an appropriate answer. If B wants to be fully responsive to A's question, but without having an argumentative overtone, he would answer (c) with N DESU in which he negates the predicate, but not the entire proposition which the addressee has just said.
In the situation of sentence (114), a father is accusing his son of going to see a movie, presumably because he often goes to the movies and does not study much. He answers by negating what his father has just said. In this case, N JA NAI is indispensable because he is objecting to his father's accusation.

An analogous difference to that of the presence or absence of N(O) DESU is found in English. Bolinger explains the difference between sentences with that and without:

If a husband is asked Do you love me? and replies You know that I do, his words sound argumentative -- he is answering the question; but if he replies You know I do he is affirming the fact.

(Bolinger 1972, p.61)

In some situations a full response is necessary and in others it may create argumentative overtones. This is especially true when the speaker negates what the addressee has just said by using NO DE WA ARIMASEN (or N JA ARIMASEN).
NOTES FOR CHAPTER VI

1. Ohso examines NO DESU in question situations. In it, she refers to other linguists' findings as 'explanation verification' and 'assumption verification'. Then she explores another type of question which can be distinguished from the above. She calls it 'social question'. See Ohso (1984).
CONCLUSION

In this thesis I have tried to abstract one core meaning of the NO DA construction in Japanese, which is common throughout all its different manifestations. I found that whenever a speaker uses NO DA he is indicating a link between what he is saying and what he thinks can be reasonably assumed to be in the addressee's consciousness at that time.

The speaker may arrive at his assumption as to what could be in the addressee's consciousness on the basis of one of a number of different factors. He may be referring to something that he himself has introduced a certain theme and now wish to add some further explanation about it. Alternatively, the speaker may be referring to something that the addressee has just said, and be indicating with NO DA that his utterance is a direct response to it. Finally, NO DA may express a link between what the speaker is saying and the situation in which both of the participants find themselves. In this case the speaker can safely assume that what he is referring is obvious to the addressee.

The proposal of an invariant meaning of the NO DA construction obviously implies that the numerous interpretations proposed by linguists actually result from the context of the utterance rather than from the semantics of NO DA.
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MATERIALS FOR EXAMPLE SENTENCES


*Nihon Essayist Club is abbreviated as NEC in this thesis.