SOME OBSERVATIONS ON ANTECEDENT-CONSEQUENT CONSTRUCTIONS
IN JAPANESE: A PRAGMATIC STUDY OF KARA AND NO DE

A Thesis

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To My Parents
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

In example sentences, abbreviations are used to indicate the meaning of grammatical words. All the abbreviations and their meanings are shown below.

ACC --- accusative
COND --- condition
COMP --- comparison
COP --- copula da
COP+ --- copula desu
COP-ATTR --- na
EMPH --- emphatic
EF --- extended predicate
GEN --- genitive
GER --- gerund
HON --- honorific
INST --- instrumental
LOC --- location
NEG --- negative
NOM --- nominative
PASS --- passive
PHF --- perfective
QUOT --- quotation
SF --- sentential final particle
TENT --- tentative
TOP --- topic

In this thesis, the Hepburn-style of Roman spelling is used for book titles, authors' names, place names and proper nouns, and the Jorden-style (1963) Roman spelling is used for example sentences.
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

1.1. Problem

In modern Japanese both *kara* and *no de* are used to express antecedent-consequent relationships. Both forms can be translated into English as "because", "since", or "as" since both often seem to have the same meanings. If Japanese native speakers are asked how *kara* and *no de* differ, most would answer, "They are interchangeable." However, closer examination suggests that depending on the discourse, this is often not the case. For example, consider the following examples:

(1) Haha no hi da *kara*, akai kaaneesyon o ageta. Mother’s Day COP because red carnations ACC give-PRF
   'I gave red carnations because it was Mother’s Day.'

(2) Haha no hi na *no de*, akai kaaneesyon o ageta. Mother’s Day COP-ATTR because red carnations ACC give-PRF
   'I gave red carnations because it was Mother’s Day.'

The fundamental difference between (1) and (2) depends on whether the antecedent-consequent relationship involves the speaker's own judgement or not. In *kara* construction, by the speaker's own subjective judgement, red carnations were chosen as the gift for Mother's Day from other several possible gifts. In contrast, in *no de*
construction, red carnations were bought without consideration of any other possible gifts because the speaker simply followed the custom of Mother's Day. In other words, the speaker's judgement is involved in kara construction and is not involved in no de construction. The difference between those constructions will be explained in detail in 2.1.

My goals in this thesis are to state the basic characteristics of kara and no de, to analyze these constructions from a pragmatic point of view, to identify the functions of no and de in no de and finally to observe how those characteristics represent themselves in Japanese literature.

In Chapter I, I will review previous researches of kara and no de. Especially Nagano's (1979: 467-488) research will be examined closely to observe the basic characteristics of kara and no de.

In Chapter II, I will propose the hypothesis about the basic difference between kara and no de. The hypothesis put forth is similar to the one presented by Nagano (1979: 467-488). Nagano states that kara occurs when an cause and effect relationship is explained subjectively, and no de is used when the relationship is stated objectively based on preexisting cause and effect relationship. Using this as a starting point, I will extend the analysis of kara and no de to include "special" usages, such as those involving politeness or sarcasm.

In Chapter III, I will talk up the function of de in no de. There are three possible analyses of this de:
1. Matsubata (1930: 309) and Nagano (1979: 475) claims that de in no de is the "instrumental" particle de.

2. Tawa (1974: 50-51) argues that de in no de is the gerund of desu.

3. Martin (1975: 857) claims that de in no de is the gerund of da.

Among these, I support Martin's claim. I will give two pieces of evidence to support his claim. First, I will test Tawa's claim that the emphatic word kara and the sentential final particle yo can occur with the "instrumental" particle de but cannot cooccur with de in no de. In the latter half of this chapter, the development of no de will be analyzed from a historical point of view.

In Chapter IV, I will show data concerning the occurrence of kara and no de from four different novels to further substantiate the hypothesis regarding kara and no de. The second half of this chapter, I will also present data from children's books and the Bible for further support.

1.2. Review of Previous Studies

Nagano (1979: 481) and Morita (1980: 110-112) note that the crucial difference between kara and no de is whether or not the speaker's judgement is involved. Let us first examine Nagano's view of S1 kara S2 (S1 and S2 represent the clauses which indicate a reason and a result, respectively). Nagano states that kara is used when S2 represents the speaker's prediction, assertion, will, decision, order, request or question. He claims that kara is much more natural in the
uses illustrated by the sentences below (Nagano 1979: 473).

1.2.1. "Kara"

Prediction

(3) Kyoo wa ii tenki da kara, umi wa ippai no
today TOP nice weather COP because beach TOP full GEN
hito daroo.
people COP-TENT

'Since it is a nice day today, there must be a lot of
people at the beach'

Assertion

(4) Kyoo wa ii tenki da kara, umi e ikoo.
today TOP nice weather COP because beach to go

'Let's go to the beach because it is a nice day today.'

Will

(5) Kyoo wa ii tenki da kara, umi ni iku.
today TOP nice weather COP because beach to go-TENT

'I will go to the beach because it is a nice day today.'

Decision

(6) Kyoo wa ii tenki da kara, umi ni iku koto
today TOP nice weather COP because beach to go thing
ni siyoo.
to do-TENT

'I decided to go to the beach because it is a nice day
today.'
Order

(7) Kyoo wa ii tenki da kara, niwa no sigoto o today TOP nice weather COP because yard GEN work ACC siro. do-IMP

'Do the yard work because it is a nice day today.'

Request

(8) Kyoo wa ii tenki da kara, buton o hosite. today TOP nice weather COP because futon ACC air out-GEN

'Air out the futon because it is a nice day today.'

Question

(9) Kyoo wa ii tenki da kara, musiatuku narimasu today TOP nice weather COP because hot and muggy become ka. Q

'Will it be hot and muggy because it is a nice day today?'

The characteristic shared by these kara clauses is the speaker’s subjective judgement. By speaker’s subjective judgement the causal (S1) and the resultant (S2) clauses are connected. As we observed above, the function of kara is to connect two independent and totally unrelated events in a cause and effect relationship (i.e., S1 and S2). For example, in (7), S1, kyoo wa ii tenki da, and S2, niwa no sigoto o siro, are totally unrelated events. After hearing S1 alone, the listener cannot predict what will follow. In a kara sentence, an event in S2 is posited entirely on the basis of the speaker’s judgement, and he or she is able to shape two independent events or facts into a cause and effect relationship (Morita 1980: 110–112).

The next examples will clarify this statement still more.
Itinitizuyu ie de benkyoo siyoo. Kinoo wa all day long home LOC study do-TENT today TOP tottemo ii tenki da na kara, no de, because very good weather COP-ATTR

'I decided to study at home all day long because today is a very nice day.'

The phrase "I decided to study at home all day long" is the consequent statement (S2). The cause of "studying at home all day long" is "today's nice weather" (S1). The events described in S1 and S2 are considered to be totally unrelated and the one (S2) therefore unpredictable from the other (S1). After hearing the theme of (S2) zutto benkyoo siyoo, the listener has no idea what the speaker will claim in S1 as the reason. Certainly few would expect to hear S1, tottemo ii tenki da, as the reason why the speaker studied all day long yesterday. The connection of those two events is unpredictable to the listeners, as there is no convention that we study at home if it is a nice day. Indeed, most often, the opposite is true. It seems clear, then, that this particular antecedent-consequent relationship is created totally by the speaker and not by any natural phenomenon. Thus, by using a kara sentence, the speaker is able to create a bond between two unrelated facts.

1.2.2. "No de"

No de is said to describe an obvious fact or a clear and readily observable antecedent-consequent relationship (Nagano 1979: 481).

The events or phenomena mentioned in S1 and S2 below are examples of
this. One such event is felt to be the natural consequence of the other (Morita 1980: 110-112). Nagano (1979: 447-449) claims that the use of no de in these sentences is much more natural, though kara can also be used. Let us examine some examples of no de.

**Phenomena in the Natural or Physical World**

(11) Konya wa samui no de, asu wa hare desu yo. tonight TOP cold because tomorrow TOP clear COP+TENT

'Tomorrow will be clear because tonight is cold.'

(12) Natu ni kurabete, huyu wa summer to compare-GER winter TOP
taionhozi no tame ni yobun na body temperature maintenance GEN purpose extra COP-ATTR
netu ga hituyoo to sareru no de heat NOM need QUOT do-PASS because
sono bun ayukumoto ni yori sessyu aaremakereba that amount food from ingestion do-PASS-NEG-COND
naranai.
become-NEG

'Compared with summer time, extra body heat is needed for temperature maintenance in the winter. Therefore, extra calories should be taken in in the form of food.'

**Phenomena in Society**

(15) En ga takaku natta no de, kaigai
Yen NOM expensive become-PREF because international
ryokoosya ga huita.
tourists NOM increase-PHP

'The number of international tourists rose because the yen increased in value.'
Phenomena in Physiology

(14) Tukareta no de, ka tto kire simatta.

'tire-FR because upset with come-GER and end up-FR'

'I became upset because I was tired.'

The connection between S1 and S2 in a no de sentence is supported by natural phenomena but not by the speaker's subjective opinion. For example, in (13), S1, "the yen's high value," and S2, the growth of tourists, are naturally related phenomena in economics. The speaker has no control over this cause and effect relationship. If kara is used instead of no de in (13) (for example, Rn/ga/takaku/natta/kara/y/ kaigai/ryokoosya/ga/hueta), the speaker sounds less persuasive and more at pains to clarify and explain. Thus, we may conclude that a kara-related clause complex is based solely on the speaker's judgement, unlike in a no de-related clause complex, where the speaker's judgement is not crucially involved in the link.

As we have observed in previous examples, generally the speaker's perception is not involved in no de sentences. In other words, in no de clause complexes, the speaker can simply restate or explain a cause and effect relationship by relying on our knowledge of natural consequences.

Among the previous works, I support Nagano's study because his research led to one comprehensive generalization for the difference between kara and no de, as we saw above. The section below gives a brief summary of Nagano's argument.
1.2.3. Summary of Nagano's Theory: "Kara" and "Node"

In summary, the S1 kara S2 construction is used when S1 represents the speaker's subjective judgement or persuasive reasons for the situation in S2. Therefore, the situations described in S1 and S2 can be totally unrelated because S1 (reasons) and S2 (consequences) are connected by the speaker's personal judgement.²

The S1 no de S2 construction is used when a well-known cause and effect relationship between S1 and S2 is simply restated or explained by the speaker. Therefore, no personally subjective judgement is understood to be included in the S1 and S2 relationship because the events in S1 and S2 are understood to each other in the relevant community.

In the next chapter, I will propose a hypothesis for the difference between kara and no de which is similar to Nagano's, but one more crucial point is stated.
Notes: Chapter I

The followings observations of *kara* and *no de* are from previous researchers, which are cited in Nagano's article (Nagano 1979: 469-471).

Mio claims that compared with *kara*, *no de* does not indicate a cause or a reason clearly because *no de* is not originally a conjunction (*setsuzoku joshi*). He gives several examples, one of which is the emphatic word, *koso*, which cannot be attached to *no de* as in "Kaze/o/hiita/no/de/koso//kusuri/o/nonda/no/deau." Thus he claims that by using *no de*, a reason cannot be explained with emphatic tone.

Kindaiichi indicates that the use of *no de* to express a cause for some future situation is less natural than a *kara* clause. For example, "Kyou/wa/tenki/ga/yoi/no/de/asobi/ni/ikimasuyoo" is unnatural.

Matsumura analyzes the difference between *kara* and *no de* from a structural point of view. He claims that *no de* is not used when an order, desire, or assumption is expressed in the following clause, since *no de* is used when some true fact exists as cause. Thus, the *no de* construction is more highly constrained than *kara* because the substitution by *kara* is not permitted.

Kieda notes that *kara* can be replaced by *rue ni* and that *no de* can be replaced by *sono/tame/ni*. Yet here I will note my findings of *tame*, *kara* and *no de*. I observed the uses of those three forms in Japanese newspaper (Asahi Shinbun). In the social, economical, political, international news sections, *tame* is used overwhelmingly to express the "reasoning" compared with *no de*. From my research, no
kara was found in those sections of newspaper. However, tame seems to appear when only facts are described. When tame is used, it seems that the readers are made to be believed an information as a pure fact. However, interestingly kara appears in the sections of people's opinions, essays and personal columns. Although this analysis needs more evidence, it is an interesting point for future investigation.

Martin (1972: 144) claims that kara is used to emphasize the consequence and no de is used to emphasize the reason. He gives the following examples.

(i) Kyonen yama e itta kara, oyogu koto ga last year mountain to go-PRF because swim thing NOM dekimasen desita. be possible-NEG-PRF COP+-PRF

'Last year I went to the mountains, SO I COULDN'T SWIM.'

(ii) Kyonen yama e itta no de, oyogu koto ga last year mountain to go-PRF because swim thing NOM dekimasen desita. be possible-NEG-PRF COP+-PRF

'Last year I couldn't swim BECAUSE I WENT TO THE MOUNTAINS.'

The following example illustrates a special use of kara and no de which seem to relate to the basic rules discussed in section 1.2.3. This was suggested by Dr. Shigeru Miyagawa. First let us observe the example below.
(iii) A: Sumimasen. Kono ben ni gasorin sutando ga arimasen ka? excuse me around here LOC service station NOM be-NEG Q

'Excuse me. Is there a service station around here?'

B: Koko o massugu iku to, ginkoo ga arimasu {kara,} Here ACC straight go with bank NOM there is because soko o hidari ni magaru to, sugu soko desu yo. there ACC left to turn with nearby there COP+ SF

'If you take this road straight ahead, because you will see a bank, you will turn left there. You will find a service station near by.'

As I stated in 1.1, kara and no de can be translated as because or since or so. Is this true the above example? Obviously the translation of because is not acceptable. How shall we treat the above case of kara and no de? Are they different from the antecedent-consequence kara and no de? For now, I believe that the above uses of kara and no de are probably idiomatic, but function as the same antecedent-consequent kara and no de. Moreover, the kara is the original form and no de is simply used to express the connotation of politeness through objective detachment (see 2.3.). As we observed, kara is used when two totally independent events can be connected by the speaker's own subjective judgement. In the dialogue above, the speaker is connecting the two totally independent facts, "the location of bank existed" and "turning left on the corner." The relationship of these two facts is not previously clear to the listener. However, to the speaker, these two objectively unrelated facts are crucially related. Although these idiomatic uses cannot be translated into "because," we may conclude that their fundamental
functions are the same as the antecedent-consequent kara and no de.
CHAPTER II

THE PRAGMATIC MOTIVATIONS OF KARA AND NO DE

2.1. Antecedent-Consequent Constructions: "Kara" and "No de"

As we observed in Nagano's study of *kara* and *no de*, there is an obvious difference between them. In this section, I will state my own interpretation of the difference between *kara* and *no de*. Although many researchers have previously pointed out the grammatical differences between them, the crucial single difference between *kara* and *no de* depends on whether the link expressed between the antecedent and the consequent is understood to involve the speaker's own judgement or not:

**Kara**: involves the speaker; the antecedent-consequent relationship is mediated by the speaker's subjective judgement.

**No de**: does not involve the speaker; the antecedent-consequent relationship is presented objectively as a preexisting "universal relation."

In addition to these basic characteristics, I point out one more crucial point. As I noted in the summary of Nagano's explanation of *kara* and *no de*, Nagano states that *kara* and *no de* are used when a statement or information is presented subjectively and objectively, respectively. However, the basic functions of *kara* and *no de* create different "meanings" in different contexts, such as politeness and...
sarcasm. I will explain this in detail in 2.3.

Let us examine this hypothesis by using examples given at the beginning of this chapter.

(15) Ha no hi da kara, akai kaaneeyon o ageta.
    Mother's Day COP because red carnations ACC give-PRF
    'I gave red carnations because it was Mother's Day.'

(16) Ha no hi na no de, akai kaaneeyon o ageta.
    Mother's Day COP-ATTR because red carnations ACC give-PRF
    'I gave red carnations because it was Mother's Day.'

In (15) the speaker chose to give red carnations to his or her mother from among several other possible choices because it was Mother's Day. The speaker could have given her a microwave oven, a necklace or an airplane ticket to Hawaii. Yet he or she chose red carnations from among the possible gifts. In other words, the speaker's "subjective" judgement can be expressed by using the kara form. In contrast, (16) suggests that the speaker naturally gave red carnations because of the custom of Mother's Day and there was no consideration of any other possible gifts. In other words, no subjective judgement by the speaker was included in the no de form.

2.2. The Function of "De"

Before going further, it is necessary to account for the function of de in no de. There are three possibilities, one hypothesis stating that de is an "instrumental" particle and the other two hypotheses stating that de is the gerund of desu or da. Below I will proceed to illustrate why I believe that the gerund of da is the most accurate account of the function of de among these three
hypotheses. In Chapter III I will discuss the latter in greater detail. Below I will observe Kuno and Jorden's explanations of no desu and demonstrate that no de has the same origin as no desu but is not related with the "instrumental" particle de.

In the second and third hypothesis it is claimed that de is the gerund of desu. Thus, the no de is considered to have similar function as no desu. Let us observe how previous researchers explained the relationship between no de and no desu.

Kuno (1973: 223-233) and Jorden (1963: 52-56) note that the no desu form indicates some explanation for what the speaker has said or done, or the state he or she is involved in. The same interpretation is given by Alfonso (1966: 405):

"Basically, the meaning of a sentence does not change by the addition of NO DESU to it. However, the presence of NO DESU adds certain overtones to the statement, for it indicates some EXPLANATION, either of what was said or done, or will be said or done, and as such always suggests some context or situation."

Keeping their explanations in mind, let us compare the sentences with and without no desu.

(17) Mr. A asks Ms. B how today was without knowing any information about her condition on that day. The conversation starts as below:

(17a) A: Kyoo wa nani ka arimasita ka?
    today TOP something be-PHF Q

'Something happen today?'

(17b) B: Kyoo wa kyuryoobi desita.
    today TOP payday COP--PHF

'It was a payday today.'
(17c) B: Kyoo wa kyuuryoobi datta n(n) desu. today TOP payday COP-PRF EP COP+
'The explanation for my happy feeling is that it was a payday today.'

(18) Mr. A noticed that Ms. B seems to be in a good mood and wondered why Ms. B is so happy. The conversation starts as below:

(18a) A: Kyoo wa tokubetu na koto ga atta today TOP special COP-ATTR something NOM be-PRF n desu ka? EP COP+ Q
'(I have observed that you look happy.) Was there something special that happened today?'

(18b) B: Kyoo wa kyuuryoobi desita. today TOP payday COP+-PRF
'It was a payday today.'

(18c) B: kyoo wa kyuuryoobi datta n desu. today TOP payday COP-PRF EP COP+
'It (the explanation for my happy feeling) is that it was a payday today.'

The speaker in (17a) does not indicate whether he thinks the addressee had encountered something special on that day or not. Thus, both the question and the response are stated by not using the no (desu) form, as in (17a) and (17b). On the other hand, in (18a) the speaker has already noticed and observed that the listener has been in a good mood; therefore, no desu is chosen intentionally as in (18a) and (18c). It is clear that the no desu construction is used to give an explanation for what the speaker has some evidence for presupposing.
The interesting point brought up in the above no deuy construction is that the no deuy construction is also a way to indicate an explanation or a reason only when there is some information presupposed, or shared between the speaker and the listener. For example:

(18) B: Kyoo wa kyuuryoobi datta [no deuy] sakara, uresii [no deuy] today COP PRF payday COP because happy

n deuy.

I'm happy because today was payday.'

What we have seen suggests that no deuy has the same origin as no deuy. More detail will be discussed that deuy in no deuy is actually the gerund of deuy in Chapter III, but at this point I suggest that deuy in no deuy is the gerund of copula, and no deuy and no deuy have the same usage.

In the rest of this chapter, I will substantiate the hypothesis of kara and no deuy which I stated at the beginning of this chapter.

Kara: involves the speaker; the antecedent-consequent relationship is mediated by the speaker's subjective judgement.

No deuy: does not involve the speaker; the antecedent-consequent relationship is presented objectively as a preexisting "universal relation."

In addition to the above basic characteristics, I stated one more crucial point that these basic functions of kara and no deuy create different "meanings" in different contexts such as politeness and sarcasm.

In order to demonstrate the above hypothesis, I will provide evidence for this distinction from various perspectives. First, I will discuss
the usage of *kara* and *no de* is polite and sarcastic expressions; second, the two articles, Iwasaki's "Cohesion, Nonchallengeability and the *-n de*o*u* Clause in Japanese Spoken Discourse" (Iwasaki 1985: 125-142) and McGloin's "Some Politeness Strategies in Japanese" (McGloin 1994: 127-145), will be reviewed.

2.3. Pragmatics: Politeness and Sarcasm

Human communication is not the product of the literal meanings of messages (context-free) alone. The discourse can also strongly influence a literal (unmarked) message and sometimes create a different meaning from that literal messages. Let me explain this by using an English example. Two weeks ago, a husband promised his wife he would mow the lawn. But, because he has been watching football every weekend he has not done the job. The sentence "Would you mind if I asked you to mow the lawn this afternoon?" can be interpreted as ironic, in part because the less direct form "would" is used. The wife's request is sarcastic when phrased in this way, as it would not be in the simple imperative "mow the lawn." By playing upon a native speaker's instinctual "rendering", the wife twisted the meaning of a polite sentence to sharpen her request. The unmarked meaning of "would", in such a request—indirectness—is passed up for an ironic criticism, in the interpretation created by the listener.

Likewise, the basic "subjective" meaning of *kara* and "objective" meanings of *no de* are often applied in different discourses and can be used to create marked messages. What we should not misunderstand here is that sending the unique message is possible only if the
"subjective" and "objective" meanings of kara and no de are accepted as the unmarked messages of kara and no de. Let us now observe these usages of kara and no de in the sentences which can be used to express politeness and sarcasm.

2.3.1. Politeness

Listed below are three basic functions for politeness (Lakoff 1975: 64-73).

- **Formality:** when a speaker wants to maintain a distance between the speaker and the listener;
- **Deference:** when a speaker does not want to force his or her opinion onto the listener (giving an option of decision-making);
- **Camaraderie:** when a speaker wants to show a friendly attitude to the listener.

These three kinds of politeness can be applied to kara and no de sentences to illustrate how their pragmatic usages create different meanings from the basic meanings for the purpose of effective communication. Following are explanations and examples of these three functions.

2.3.1.1. Formality

Tawa (1974: 51-52) examined imperative sentences ending with the sentence-final particle yo to illustrate how no de is used to create or to maintain "formality" between the speaker and the listener.
Asita zehi oei sitai [kara, ] hati-zi ni tomorrow by all means NON-meet want because 8 o'clock at irasshyatte kudasai. NON-come-GER tsumi give me 'Please come at 8 o'clock because I really would like to meet with you.'

Asita zehi ai tai [kara, ] hati-zi ni tomorrow by all means meet want because 8 o'clock at koi yo. come SF 'Come at 8 o'clock because I really want to meet with you.'

From the sentence form in S2, speakers of Japanese can tell how close the speaker and the listener want to keep their relationship. In the polite request form in (20), there is a suggestion of a more distant relationship; whereas the imperative form in (21) indicates a closer relationship. According to their basic usages, kara should be used in both (20) and (21), because the speaker's desire or suggestion can be naturally expressed in the kara construction. However, the kara form is not appropriate to express politeness if the speaker wants to maintain "formality" (interpersonal distance) with the listener because kara expresses the speaker's own subjective guarantee of the relationship between S1 and S2, and does not leave room for the listener to state his or her own opinion. In other words, because the speaker is "present" in the kara construction, its use naturally leads to minimizing the distance between the speaker and the listener, hence formality cannot be induced. On the other hands, no de construction allows distance to be maintained between the speaker and the listener.
because the expression of the antecedent-consequent relationship does not involve the speaker. The speaker does not assert his or her judgement in the antecedent-consequent construction. In other words, the speaker is "distanced" from the listener; therefore, no de can indicate formality. The important point is that the observed informal/formal distinction between kara and no de derives from the proposed hypothesis that kara "involves the speaker," while no de does not.

2.3.1.2. Reference

The second kind of politeness, "deference," is appropriate when the speaker wants to give the listener an option of decision-making.

This type of politeness can be expressed with the no de construction but not with kara. Let us look at the following examples.

(22) Kono kurasu wa ima wa muzukasi sugiru yoo ni omoimasu this class TOP now TOP difficult too way in think

{kara} rainen o-tori ni natte wa ikaga
because next year NOM-take in become-GER TOP how
desyoo ka?
COP-TENT Q

'What do you think about taking this class next year, as it is too difficult for you now.'
tomorrow meeting ACC do-want QUOT think because

Please come to Room 333 at three o’clock with your data because I would like to have a meeting.'

Sentences (22) and (23) are respectively a suggestion and a request. According to the basic usages of kara and no de, kara should be used in both (22) and (23) since both sentences include the speaker’s subjective linking of S1 with S2. Yet, if the speaker wants to avoid appearing to force that interpretation onto the listener and wants to respect the listener’s choice, then the no de construction is more appropriate. In the no de construction, the speaker is understood to be not involved in the antecedent-consequent statement. Hence, the speaker does not assert his or her judgement in the no de construction, so that by using no de, the speaker can achieve the effect of not appearing to force his or her assertion on the listener. Thus, to the receiver of the above messages, there is no obligation to agree with the speaker’s suggestion to take the class next year or feel obliged to agree with the desire to have a meeting. By using the no de, the relationship between S1 and S2 is presented as an objective fact, instead of being identified with the speaker; in this way, the listener is given the option to express his or her own opinion, in turn creating more polite tone to the sentence in way of "deference."
2.3.1.3. Camaraderie

According to Lakoff (1975: 67-68), "camaraderie" has the following purposes:

1. To make the addressee feel that the speaker likes him and wants to be friends with him, is interested in him;
2. To establishing equalitarism between the speaker and the listener.

Unlike the previous kinds of politeness, "formality" and "deference", "camaraderie" appears when equality exists or is expected between the speaker and the listener. This "equality" can be defined as an equal position in status, knowledge or ability between the two. An example of this would be a professor allowing students to address him or her on a first name basis. The following is another example of "camaraderie." In this case, a sales person is trying to establish an equal position with a customer by using the no de form.
(24) Saikin no kamera wa hontoo ni yoku dekite iru n desu nee. recent GEN camera TOP really well make-COP EP COP+ SF
rosi:n mo pinto mo huru oto da {kara,} na COP+ because
exposure focus full automatic COP COP-ATTR
utumi tai toki ni utuseru si, hurassayu mo naizoo
take want when at take-can and flash also inwards
sarete iru kara, yoru demo motiron sinpai nai
de-PASS be because night even of course worry NEG
dasu si, hizuke ya zikan made ga kiroku
COP+ and date and time as far as NOM record
sareru yoo ni natte imasu {kara,} syasin no
do-PASS way become-GER be because picture GEN
iru no desu.
seiri no, raku desu si nee.
arranging also easy COP+ and SF

'These modern cameras are well-made. The focus and exposure are
fully automatic and the flash is also built-in, so that you don't
have to worry, even at night. Even the date and time are
recorded so that arranging albums is easy.'

In the above situation, the objective phrasing of no de would be used
to avoid implying that the addressee does not know how Sl is related
to S2. The seller knows the buyer does not have much knowledge about
the modern camera, but in order to create a positive relationship with
the buyer, the seller pretends that the buyer has access to the
knowledge that links these Sl's with their respective S2's. In this
way, the buyer is not made to feel stupid. Another way of saying this
is "showing consideration for people's feelings or the notion of
saving 'face'" according to Brown and Levinson (1978: 56-283). By
using the no de construction, a speaker can create the impression that he or she assumes the listener knows some information about the statement or event under discussion.

These three types of polite expressions show that by using no de the speaker's opinion can be expressed in a polite way. This is because no de induces the impression that the speaker is not asserting the antecedent-consequent relationship. This gives the effect of formality, because the speaker is "not involved," hence is distanced from the listener. It also has the effect of deference because the speaker does not assert his or her opinion in the no de construction, hence is able to respect the listener's choice. Finally, camaraderie is also affected by the no de construction. The listener may not be embarrassed by not knowing that the speaker knows more information than the listener does. In this way the speaker is able to establish a positive relationship with the listener.

2.3.2. Sarcasm

We observed above the polite usages of no de; however, no de is often intentionally used to express sarcasm as well. McGloin (1984: 127-145) explains the polite and sarcastic usages in no de su. As I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, no de is considered to have the same origin as no desu because both forms can indicate explanation. First I take up the sarcastic expressions by showing the examples of kara and no de which are rearranged versions of McGloin's examples of no desu (McGloin 1984: 144). I will then observe how the sarcastic tone can be expressed in the no de form.
(25) Tosyositu no hon wa moti dasite wa ikenai reading room GEN book TOP take out-GER COMP prohibit-NEG koto ni natte imasu kara, tosyositu igai de wa thing be because reading room other LOC COMP tukawanai yoo ni site kudasai. use-NEG do-GER give me 'Because taking books out of the reading room is prohibited, please do not use (books) outside of the reading room.'

(26) Tosyositu no hon wa moti dasite wa ikenai reading room GEN book TOP take out-GER COMP prohibit-NEG koto ni natte imasu no de, tosyositu igai de wa thing be because reading room other LOC COMP tukawanai yoo ni site kudasai. use-NEG do-GER give me 'Because taking books out of the reading room is prohibited, please do not use (books) outside of the reading room.'

In the kara sentence in (25), the unfamiliar rule is explained to the listener for the first time, hence the listener may not be embarrassed at having been admonished about not removing the books. However, in the no de sentence in (26), the listener may be embarrassed by the speaker's statement as an obvious fact. Thus the use of no de invokes sarcasm. This sarcastic usage is also treated in Kuno's work with no desu sentences. Below, Kuno's version of no desu examples are arranged and applied to desu, n(o) desu, kara and no de constructions (Kuno 1973: 228-229).
(27) Okane ga amari nai deau yo. Dakara, mudazukai money NOM much exist-NEG COP+ SF thus waste sinaide kudasai. do-NEG-COP-GER give me
A wife says to her husband,
'There isn't too much money. So, please don't waste money.'

(28) Okane ga amari nai n deau yo. Dakara, mudazukai money NOM much exist-NEG EP COP+ SF thus waste sinaide kudasai. do-NEG-COP-GER give me
A wife says to her husband,
'As you know, there isn't too much money. So, please don't waste money.'

(29) Okane ga amari nai kara, komatte iru n deau yo. money NOM much exist-NEG because trouble-GER EP COP+ SF Dakara, mudazukai sinaide kudasai. so waste do-NEG-COP-GER give me
'I'm having trouble because there isn't too much money. So, please don't waste money.'

(30) Okane ga amari nai no de, komatte iru n deau yo. money NOM much exist-NEG because trouble be EP COP+ SF Dakara, mudazukai sinaide kudasai. so waste do-NEG-COP-GER give me
'As you know, I'm having trouble because there isn't too much money. So, please don't waste money.'

In (27) and (29) the wife assumes that her husband does not have any idea about their financial situation and is simply informing him about their money matters. However, in (28) and (30), the wife knows that her husband is aware of their financial crisis and emphasizes "As you know, we don't have much money, so please don't waste money." In (28)
and (30) the wife uses *n desu* and *no de* to criticize her husband. This form lends a sarcastic tone, as the husband is being told an obvious fact by his wife. This observation of *no desu* and *no de* derives from the hypothesis that the *no de* form is used when the speaker wishes to imply that some given or presupposed information is shared between the speaker and the listener, or is used as if such an information is shared.

2.4. Nonchallengeability

Iwasaki (1985: 127-129) claims that a speaker is able to state certain information as "nonchallengeable" by using either a relative clause or a *no desu* form. He offers both English and Japanese examples to explain nonchallengeability in the relative clause and the *no desu* form.

(31) 'I dated a girl last night, and I kissed her.'

(32) 'I kissed the girl whom I dated last night.'

(33) Anata wa tukarete iru. you TOP tired-GEE be

'You are tired.'

(34) Tukarete iru anata tte kirai. tired-GEE be you QUOT dislike

'I don't like you who's tired.'

In (31), the listener could challenge the speaker, claiming that he did not date or kiss a girl last night. On the other hand, in (32), the listener is unable to challenge the speaker's utterance because the information appears in a relative clause. This phenomenon is also seen in Japanese sentences. In (33), the listener could oppose the
speaker's statement by saying 'Tukarete/iru/ka/ tukarete/nai/ka/ wakan/nai/ kado/ka/ Tukarete/nai/ka/nai/yo/nai/ wakatta/ka/?' 'You do NOT know whether I am tired or not! I am NOT tired, OK?' But in (34), the speaker presents her opinion under the less challengeable presupposition that the listener is tired. In a relative clause, information is shielded from any objections. A similar phenomenon is seen in no desu sentences.

(35)  Anata wa tukareta.
     you 
     TOP tired

'You became tired.'

(36)  Anata wa tukareta no desu.
     you 
     TOP tired
     EP COP

'I know that you are tired.'

As a plain statement of fact, (35) is not acceptable because the speaker is violating the listener's territory of information (Kamio 1979: 213-231). However, if the speaker's judgement is presented in the no desu form as in (36), the speaker is able to state the information, which actually belongs to only the listener, as if that information has already been established and is shared with the speaker. In other words, the speaker is able to avoid "challenge" from the listener by using the no desu.

At the beginning of this chapter, I stated that no de and no desu have the same function: both constructions can be used to indicate explanation. Now, in order to confirm this, let us observe the following examples.
(37) Anata wa tukarete iru kara, neta hoo ga you TOP tired-GER be because sleep-PRF alternative NOM
ii. be good

'You had better sleep because you are tired.'

(38) Anata wa tukarete iru no de, neta hoo ga you TOP tired-GER be because sleep-PRF alternative NOM
ii. be good

'I know that you had better sleep because you are tired.'

(37) is be acceptable in an appropriate situation. Yet even if (37)
is used, the connotations of the sentence are different from (38). In
the kara form, the speaker is more likely to receive "challenge" from
the listener because the speaker cannot assert listener's territory of
information solely by his or her own subjective perception. In the no
de sentence, on the other hand, the speaker is less likely to receive
objection from the listener because no de does not assert the
speaker's subjective ideas in the linking of the antecedent-consequent
relationship.

As we observed in the above, when no de or no desu is used, some
information is gives or at least believed to be shared between the
speaker and the listener. In other words, by using no de which the
speaker's opinion is not asserted, the speaker is able to avoid
receiving "challenge."

2.5. Nullification of Territory Distinction

As we observed in Iwasaki's argument, both no de and no desu
forms can state information without asserting the speaker's subjective
point of view, as well as sometimes present information as though the speaker’s opinion is not included. Iwasaki claims that the use of no-dezu reflects a strategy which is used to present a new fact or opinion without raising any suspicion from the listener because the no-dezu form presents information objectively. Although McGloin does not mention the no-de form, her claim that the fundamental characteristic of no-dezu which allows the speaker to express himself or herself in a polite manner can also be understood to be the fundamental characteristic of no de (McGloin 1984: 127-145). Now let us discuss the characteristics of no de and no desu in the following examples.

(32) The speaker (B) is telling an experience in the U. S. which is totally new to the listener, and this speaker tries not to show off the experience to the listener.

(39a) A: Senkyuuubunko-ruokuzyuu nendai ni kurabete, saikin wa 1989’s COMP compared recently
zinsyu race
no sabetu GEN discrimination NOM decrease become-PRF seem
gan sukunaku natta you seem not
 desu nen. COP+ SF

'When we compared the racial discrimination of today with the 1960’s, it looks like it is decreasing.'

(39b) B: Amerika de wa ironna zinsyu no gakusei to issyo America LOC TOP various races GEN student with together
ni gakkoo de benkyoo suru[aka] LOC top need.
[no de] [no desu]
with school LOC study do because SF

'It is because in America students study together in school with a variety of the races.'
According to the basic usages, kara should appear because the listener actually does not know anything about the information presented by the speaker. However, as the polite expression, the no de and no de su constructions are more appropriate than kara construction. McGloin (1984: 133) explains the reason why no de and no de su are more polite expressions than kara as "the speaker, by using no de su—i.e., by presenting the information as if it were shared also by the hearer, tries to create a sense of rapport with the hearer, thereby involving the hearer in the conversation or his point of view." She calls this a "nullification of territory distinction between a speaker and a listener" (McGloin 1984: 138). By nullifying the gap of the knowledge between the speaker and the listener, the listener may not be embarrassed at not knowing the information which was presented by the speaker. We can see that McGloin's claim of "nullification of territory" in no de su form derives straight forwardly from the hypothesis about no de. The reason why the speaker is able to express politeness in no de is that no de or no de su does not assert the speaker's own opinion but expresses the speaker's statement as objectively given information. By using this objective expression no de and no de su, new information can be presented to the listener as if he or she has known that information. In addition to Iwasaki's study, this observation of McGloin's constitutes further evidence for the claim that no de and no de su have the same function. In the next chapter, I will analyze the functions of no and de in no de.
Note: Chapter II

1Inoue (1987: 26-27) gives an interesting test to show that the no de construction is used when some information is shared between the speaker and the listener. Let us observe her examples.

(i) Kinoo wa doosite sigoto o yasunda no desu ka?
    yesterday TOP why work ACC absent-PRF EP COP+ Q
    'Why didn't you come to work yesterday?'

(ii) Kinoo wa doosite yasunda no (n) desu ka?
    yesterday TOP why absent-PRF EP COP+ Q
    'Why didn't you come yesterday?'

(iii) Kaze o hiita [no (n)] desu
    cold ACC catch because COP+
    'Because I caught a cold. The reason was that I caught a cold.'

She claims that no is preferable since some information is shared with the listener.

(iv) Kinoo wa doo sita no (n) desu ka
    yesterday TOP how do-PRF EP COP+ Q
    'What happened yesterday?'

(v) Kaze o hiita [no] desu.
    cold ACC catch-PRF because COP+
    'I caught a cold.'

Interestingly, in (v) kara is not acceptable because the speaker has been given some information about the listener's absence.
CHAPTER III
THE FUNCTIONS OF NO AND DE IN NO DE

At beginning of the previous chapter I noted three different identifications of the de in no de: one which sees de as the "instrumental" particle and other two claim it is the gerund of the formal and the informal copulas (degu and da).

Hypothesis I
Matsushita (1930: 309) and Nagano (1979: 475) claim that no and de in no de are a nominalizer and the "instrumental" de.

Hypothesis II
Tawa (1974: 50-51) argues that no and de in no de are a nominalizer and the gerund of degu.

Hypothesis III
Martin (1975: 857) claims that no and de in no de are a nominalizer and the gerund of da.

In this chapter I will first review these three hypotheses and demonstrate that Hypothesis III is the most accurate one among them by examining the historical evidence.
3.1. Hypothesis I: "De" as the "Instrumental" Particle

Matsushita (1930: 309) states that 노 and 데 have independent functions: 노 is a nominalizer and 데 in 노 데 is an instrumental particle (hoho kaku). In the following examples, he illustrates that 데 in 노 데 and the instrumental particle 데 has the same function.

(40) Ame ga hutte iru no de, hitode ga sukaisai. rain NOM fall-GER be because turnout of people NOM be few

'There are not many people present because it is raining.'

(41) Kōu de hitode ga sukaisai. raining INST turnout of people NOM be few

'There are not many people present because of the rain.'

(42) Kaze de taoreta. wind INST be blown down-PRF.

'It was blown down by the wind.'

(43) Gan de sinda. cancer INST die-PRF

'He died from cancer.'

Matsushita claims that in (41), the phrase あめ が ひと て いる が で would be equivalent to こう because the phrase あめ が ひと て いる が で nominalized by が. Thus he analyzes that the が in 노 で is same as the "instrumental" particle で as in (42) and (43). If the "instrumental" particle で and で in 노 で are analyzed from an historical point of view, it will be clear that both two forms are actually derived from the same string に て. I will discuss this in detail in 3.3.
3.2. Hypothesis II: "De" as the Gerund of "Desu"

Tawa (1974: 50-51) offers two pieces of evidence that de in no de is not the instrumental particle de. She claims that the emphatic word koso and the sentencial final particle yo can be attached to the "instrumental" particle de but not to no de. She tests her claim in the following examples.

(44) Zitensya de kimasita.
    bicycle INST come-PRF
    'I came by bicycle.'

(45) Zitensya de koso koko made koreta no deu yo.
    bicycle INST EMPH here until come-can-PRF EP COP+ SF
    'It was only by bicycle that I was able to come.'

(46) *Okane ga atta no de koso sore ga dekita no desu.
    money NOM have because EMPH that NOM can-PRF EP COP+
    'It was possible only because he had money.'

Tawa (1974: 50-51) claims that de in (46) is different from de in (44) and (45). If the de in all three sentences were the same, it should be possible to attach the emphatic word koso to the de in (46). She says that the "instrumental" particle de is therefore not related to the de in no de.

Here is another test, which uses the "new-information" particle yo. The sentence-final particle yo can only occur with the "instrumental" particle de as in (48) but not with the no de as in (50).1

(47) Han de kita no?
    how INST come-PRF SF
    'How did you come here?'
If de in (48) and in (50) had the same function, the response *kira na no de yo in (50) should be grammatical. From this evidence, she claims that de in no de is not the instrumental particle. However, it may be assumed that Tawa did not consider the polite gerund desite. I will point out two pieces of evidence to demonstrate that de in no de is not the gerund of desu as Tawa claims.

Martin (1975: 405, 856) claims that de is the gerund of da and desite is the gerund of desu. The examples below indicate the two gerund forms of de and desite.

Examples of "de"

(51) Omosiroya mon de, sikasi...
    interesting thing COP but
    'It's interesting, but...'
    (Kubota 1963: 218)

(52) Doosite de?
    why COP
    'Why is it?'
    (Kubota 1963: 273)
Examples of "desite"

(53) Kore wa hizyou ni arigatai kottesite [=koto desite]
    this TOP extremely thankful thing=COP+-GER [ thing COP+-GER]
    ne.
    SF

'This is an extremely welcome event, you see.'

(Tokugawa 1953 vol. 3: 42)

(54) ... menksi to iu koto wa hitotu no sigoto
    seeing people QUOT call thing TOP one GEN work
    desite ne.
    COP+-GER SF

'...Seeing people is part of the job, you know.'

(Tokugawa 1953 vol. 4: 16)

As we can observe, de is the informal gerund and desite is the polite gerund of the copula. This suggests that de in no de is the gerund of de but not of desu. I will discuss the historical development of de in the next section to further support this view of de in no de.

According to Charles Quinn (personal communication), desite is not used to indicate an antecedent-consequent relationship. Let us compare the functions of de and desite in the following examples.

(55) Densya ga okureta no de kaigi ni derarenakatta.
    train GEN late-PRF EP COP-GER meeting to attend-con-PRF

'I couldn't attend the meeting because the train was late.'

(56) #Densya ga okureta no desite kaigi ni derarenakatta.
    train GEN late-PRF EP COP+-GER meeting to attend-con-PRF

'I couldn't attend the meeting because the train was late.'

Although both de and desite are the gerund of the copula, the antecedent-consequent relationship is not indicated in (56). This demonstrates that de in no de is not the gerund of desu.
3.3. Hypothesis III: "De" as the gerund of "da"

Martin (1975: 857) claims that de in no de is the gerund of
da.4 He notes (1975: 239) that da is derived from de+ar(r)- and de
comes from ni te, the gerund of the passive, by way of nde < n'te. Let
us now observe how the de in no de is related to ni te.

Ni te had various functions. Two functions among them are the
copula gerund and the "instrumental" particle. The following are some
examples of those functions.

1. Ni te functions as the copula

(57) Tuki no miyako no hito ni te titi haha ari.
    moon GEN capital GEN people COP mother father have
    'I have a father and a mother who are the people of the
capital in the moon.'
    (Taketori monogatari: 128)

2. Ni te functions as the "instrumental" particle

(58) Kozee ni te wa tayasuu semetosu gatasi.
    small group INST COMP easy fight hard
    'It is hard to win easily in small groups.'
    (Heike monogatari: 315)

Both the copula de and the instrumental particle de as forms are
contractions of ni te: it is only in context that we can distinguish
these two forms of de. Phonologically, de evolved from ni te via nii
 te and then [n] de, a change said to have been completed by the "early
middle ages" (chusei shoki).
3.4. Function of "No"

In this section I will discuss why no de construction is the objective way of stating information. To demonstrate this, let us review the function and meaning of no.

Jorden (1962: 167) says of the pronominal particle no that "The nominal no 'one' or 'ones' may refer to a person, thing, place, time, or act, depending on context..." She also explains no as referring to an 'act' as it "may occur as a grammatical subject, object, topic, goal, etc." Let us observe the use of the pronominal particle no in Yoshikawa's examples (Yoshikawa 1977: 252).

(59) Gohan ga nokotte syoo ga nai kara uti de tabete rice NOM left-GER cannot help because house LOC eat-GER

okure. Asari no tukudani to please clams GEN food boiled down in soy and

mossai no yaita no de. dried saedine GEN grill-PRF EP with

'I don't know what to do the left over rice, please eat at
gome and have it with clams and dried fish.

(60) Aoziroi kao no obason wa, okuma o arau no o pale face GEN old lady TOP pot ACC wash EP ACC

yumete, kitu soo na me o site... quit-GER harsh-look-ATTR eyes ACC look-GER

'The old lady, with the pale face, quit washing and looked
with harsh eyes..."
(61) Watasi wa ki no doku ni matta kedo, ii yoo ga nai no de, damatte imasita. NOM NEG EP COP silent-GER be-PHR

'Although I felt sorry, I didn’t say anything because there was no way to express [what I felt].'

(62) Moo zuibun osoi no ni, m.mna ne nai no? already extremely late EP everybody sleep-NEG SF

'Even though it is already very late, aren't you-all going to sleep (yet)?'

As we can see in the above examples, no attaches to the informal predicative form of a verb or an adjective and functions as a nominalizer. By nominalizing a previous verb or adjective, the no phrases express a "thing" in (59) and an "event" in (60), (61) and (62).

Now let us consider the meaning of no. Noda (1981: 21-22) explains the meaning of no as follows: "the underlying single function of the noun NO seems to be that of pointing, or referring. That is, the presence of the noun NO denotes that there exists some entity that is being referred to or being pointed to." This denotation of no is considered as the reason why no de is an objective way of expressing an antecedent-consequent relationship. Let us observe one of the basic sentences of no de.
En ga takaku _natta_ no de, kaiga:
Yen NOM expensive become-PRF because international
ryokoosya ga _hueta_,
tourists NOM increase-PRF

'The number of international tourists rose because the yen increased in value.'

In (63), by using the _no de_ construction, the speaker simply refers
to, or points to the fact of the yen's high value. The relationship
of the two facts the yen's high value and the growth of tourists is
presented as a natural consequence for the economy. Thus, the _no de_
construction is interpreted in an objective way of restating or
explaining an antecedent-consequent relationship.

We also observed in Chapter II that _no de_ creates various
meanings in different contexts although there is a single function of
=no. The following are some examples of polite usage of _no de_.

(94) Kyoo wa samui _kara_, kooto ga _irimasu ne._
today TOP cold because coat NOM need SF

'We need coats because it is cold today.'

(95) Kyoo wa samui _no de_, kooto ga _irimasu ne._
today TOP cold because coat NOM need SF

'We need coats because it is cold today.'

In (95) the speaker believes that he or she needs a coat because of
the cold weather but leaves an option to the listener to make his or
her own decision. What makes this _no de_ sentence different from the
_kara_ sentence is the function of _no_. In (95) the speaker simply
points to the fact "the cold weather" by using _no_ and gives a chance
the listener to decide whether he or she needs a coat or not. This is
why no de is considered as the objective way of expressing the antecedent-consequent relationship. As I stated earlier in relating Nāda's discussion, the no has a single meaning: to refer or to point to a fact or an event. However, the no can create not only a polite connotation but also a sarcastic connotation depending on the contexts. Let us observe McGloin's example of no desu which is used to indicate sarcastic message (McGloin 1984: 139).

(66) Samui desu ka?
cold COP Q

'Are you cold?'

(67) Samui n desu ka?
cold EP COP Q

'Is it that you are cold?'

In (66) the speaker does not know whether the listener is cold. Yet in (67) the speaker points to something that he or she has in fact observed; the speaker might have seen, for example, that the listener was shivering. Thus, the use of no in this case creates an impolite, sarcastic tone in the sentence because by using no the speaker simply refers to the given information but not new information according to Charles Quinn.5 As we have observed in the above, the no functions to point to a fact or an event objectively. However, that single function of no creates different connotations in different contexts.
By attaching different sentence-final particles to kara and no de clauses, we can demonstrate that the de in no de is actually functioning as a gerund, i.e., that of de.

(i) Doosite sono kutu ga kiri na no?
    why the shoes NOM dislike COP-ATTR SF

'Why don't you like the shoes?'

a. Akai kara.                  Akai no de.
b. Akai kara no.               Akai no de no.
c. Akai kara na.               Akai no de na.
d. Akai kara sa.               Akai no de sa.
e. Akai kara yo.               ?Akai no de yo.
f. Akai kara da wa.            ?Akai no de da wa.
g. Akai kara na no.            ?Akai no de na no.

The speech-act meanings of the clauses above are changed by adding sentence-final particles such as de, sa, yo wa or no. Inappropriate sentences are the product of attaching yo, wa and na no to no de. Yo is much more natural in kara sentences than in no de sentences because, as Uyeno (1971: 109) claims, the particle yo "implies the speaker's emphasis in giving a piece of information to the addressee."

This characteristic of yo conflicts with no de because while yo emphasizes the speaker's opinion, a no de-clause excludes entirely the speaker's opinion. According to Kenkyu Shiryou Nihon Bumpos, the sentence final wa and no also have the function of asserting the speaker's opinion (Suzuki and Hayashi 1986: 244-245). These
conflicts make the ungrammatical sentence as in (i.e). Yo is able to combine with the assertive clause + kara but not with the presupposed clause + no de. The reason why yo conflicts with no de is similar to the yo case, as yo expresses an assertion of the speaker’s opinion. The sentence-final particle no also cannot occur with no de. The reason is that this no is identical with the one is no de. The repetition of clause + no desu + no desu is ungrammatical. This suggests that the de in no de is not a “means” particle but rather is the -te form of desu.

2 The example (49) is not cited from Tanou’s article.

3 I will show one more piece of evidence to make Hypothesis I more accurate. Let us observe the following examples.

(ii) Kyoo sankai syawna o abita no we, atui kara today three times shower ACC take-PRF EP TOP hot because desu.

COP+ ‘The reason why I took a shower three times is that it is hot today.’

(iii) #Kyoo sankai syawna o abita no wa, atui no de today three times shower ACC take-PRF EP TOP hot because desu.

COP+ ‘The reason why I took a shower three times is that it is hot today.’

(iv) Kinoo okutta tegami wa, sokutatu de desu. yesterday sent-PRF letter TOP express mail INST COP+

‘The letter which I sent yesterday was by express mail.’
In addition to the two previous tests with こそ and こ, the above examples with せぬ also suggest that the "instrumental" particle で and で in はなで do not have the same function. The interesting point raised in these above examples is that で in はなで can be treated as the copula せぬ. This claim becomes clearer if (iii) and (iv) are compared. せぬ can cooccur with the instrumental particle で as in (iv) but cannot with はなで as is (iii) If we assume that で in はなで is the gerund of copula で, the underlying form of すや はなで せぬ will be a double せぬ form すや はなで せぬ. From this evidence, it seems reasonable to say may be possible to predict that that で in はなで is the gerund of the copula で.

4According to Kokugo Daijiten (Nihon Daijiten Hinkokokai 1976: 30), で is the attributive form (rentai-kei) of で.

5Charles J. Quine note (personal communication) that こ functions to present given information but not new information.
CHAPTER IV

USAGE OF KARA AND NO DE IN LITERATURE

Up until now we have observed pragmatic and historical evidence to support our basic characterization of kara and no de: kara establishes a relationship subjectively, while no de does so objectively. In this final chapter, we will see how these basic characteristics of kara and no de function are demonstrated in written narratives. We will be especially concerned to examine how the usage of several novelists distinguishes between kara and no de. In the first portion of this chapter the occurrences of kara and no de in two novels, **Gyo** (Mori Ogai) and **Sembazuru** (Kawabata Yasunari), will be presented. In the second part, I will analyze how kara and no de appear throughout the entire story in two novels, **Shiosai** (Mishima Yukio) and **Onsho no kanata ni** (Kikuchi Kan). Finally, I will offer a hypothesis based on my findings from these four novels and test this hypothesis against usage observed in children’s books and the Bible.

4.1. The Usages of “Kara” and “No de” in Literature

Before I discuss the results, I will explain how I collected the data from the two novels.

48
4.1.1. Method

I collected occurrences of *kara* and *no de* and classified these occurrences into four groups: *kara* and *no de* occurring in quotations and *kara* and *no de* occurring in narration. All the occurrences in characters' utterances were classified as "quotation." This also includes occurrences of indirect quotation. Those which appear in narration were classified as "narration."

There is one more point that needs to be clarified before I discuss the results. The reasoning *no de* often appears in the form *no desu* or *no da*. These forms are not necessarily the reasoning *no de* but could be the descriptive *no de* (see the example (69)). In order to distinguish between the descriptive *no desu* or *no da* and the reasoning *no de*, each occurrence of *no de* was tested by replacing it with *kara desu* or *kara da*. When the replacement is possible, the *no da* is counted as the reasoning *no de*. For the purposes of this thesis, the reasoning *no desu* is considered to be a syntagmatic variant of *no de*. Following are some examples of this. (68) and (69) are given only to illustrate the methodology. The actual tabular results listed in Appendix B are the product of the same method.

(68) "Asu no ban wa otoo-san ga mezurasiku tomorrow night TOP father NOM usually
okyaku-san o simasu. Tu no kentyoo kara oideta entertain a guest GEN prefectural office from come-PRF
skyyuku de uti e tomarareru no desu..."
visitor COP-GEN house to stay-HEN EF COP+
"Tomorrow night is unusual that my father will entertain
a guest. It is because the guest being from the Tu prefectural
office, will stay at our house..."

(Mishima 1954: 110)
In (68) we know that no desu is the reasoning form because the meaning of the sentence does not change even if kara desu is substituted for no desu. However, in the example below this substitution is not possible.

(69) Hiroshi kara sokutatu no ryosin ga kita. Hutuuyubin de from express GEN mail NOM come-PRF ordinary mail INST

wa honnin no kitoo COMP the person himself GEN returning to the island

no hoo ga saki ni naru kumo sirenai no de... earlier become might because

sokutatu ni site yokosita no de ary. express mail de-GER send-PRF NP COP-GER

'The letter from Hiroshi came by express mail. He had sent it by express mail... because he would return home to the island before the letter would have been delivered by ordinary mail.'

(Mishima 1954: 71)

No de ary in (69) is the descriptive no de because it cannot be replaced by kara de ary. No de ary in (69) thus would not count as a variant of the no de form.

4.1.2. Results

From the following charts, we can discern two significant patterns of distribution of kara and no de in the two novels [Gan and Senbazuru]. Kara is used more in quotations than no de and no de appears more frequently in narration as compared with kara. The appearances of kara and no de in these two novels are shown in Appendix A.
Table 1: The Appearances of "Kara" and "No de" in "Gan" and "Senbazuryu"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Titles</th>
<th>Quotation</th>
<th></th>
<th>Narration</th>
<th></th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kara</td>
<td>no de/da</td>
<td>kara</td>
<td>no de/da</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gan</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>82.6%</td>
<td>17.3%</td>
<td>30.8%</td>
<td>69.1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senbazuryu</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>92.3%</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
<td>31.2%</td>
<td>68.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the chart above, the numbers in the first row show the occurrences of *kara* and *no de* in quotations and narration. The numbers in the second row shows the percentages of each *kara* and *no de* category: in order to compare the rates of occurrences between *kara* and *no de* in quotation and narration categories, the percentages of each *kara* and *no de* was calculated. The total occurrences of quotation or narration equal 100 %, and the percentages were calculated down to one decimal places. For example in *Gan*, there are 104 occurrences of *kara* and *no de* in quotation (86+18). Among these, 86 occurrences are *kara* which equals to 82.6 %, and 18 occurrences are *no de* which equals to 17.3 %.

4.1.3. Findings

From the above data, we can observe two significant points.

1. In quotations, *kara* appears more than *no de* (86 *kara* appear compared with 18 *no de* in *Gan* and 24 *kara* appear compared with 2 *no de* in *Senbazuryu*).
2. In narration, no de appears more than kara (132 no de appear compared with 59 kara in Gan and 11 no de appear compared with 5 kara in Senbazuru).

Let us discuss the second finding first.

4.1.3.1. "No de" in Narration

As the data reveal, no de is definitely preferred over kara in narration. In Gan, 132 no de (69.1%) appear while 59 kara (30.8%) appear, and in Senbazuru, 11 no de (69.7%) appear while 5 kara (31.2%) appear. Since these novels are fictions, the contents of these stories have to be totally created by the author. If this situation is applied to the basic rules of kara and no de, kara should be used more often. Yet in reality this is not the case. Why is no de used more frequently than kara in narration? According to our hypothesis of no de, this linking device establishes a relationship without basing it on the speaker's subjective point of view. What I wish to argue is that this basic meaning is exploited by the author in narration. The author's main goal as a narrator is presenting information as a believable fact without incurring any objection from the readers. No de is thus used as a literary device to give an impression that is contrary to the fact that the contents of a story are actually a product of the author's own judgement. Thus, as long as the information is presented in no de form, the author is allowed to offer his or her subjective as if it were a shared "fact" between the author and the audience.
4.1.3.2. "Kara" in Quotations

In quotations, the content of the characters' utterances are presented as the characters' own experience or opinion. However, those characters' utterances are actually controlled by the author since these books are fictions. In other words, the author presents his or her ideas through characters' utterances as if the characters are telling their own experience or opinions. To make this possible, the author chooses kara instead of no de as a literary device. As our basic hypothesis states, the speaker (in this case, the particular character being quoted) is "involved" in the expression because the antecedent-consequent relationship is understood to be created by the speaker. By exploiting this basic feature of kara, the author is able to "give life" to the characters. By using kara, the character's presence is felt, hence the reader can more effectively believe the character's presence.

4.1.3.3. Distribution of "No de" Through a Written Text

In this section we will look to see how kara and no de are distributed throughout a story. Especially the appearances of no de increases markedly in the latter half of the stories. This will be another evidence to support my hypothesis of no de. The following charts show how kara and no de appear in each of Shiosai's sixteen chapters and in Onshu no kanata ni's four chapters. Since the occurrence in each chapter is small in Shiosai, the second chart shows how kara and no de occur if sixteen chapters are divided into four sections. For the purpose of showing how I collected data, all the
occurrence in Shiosai and Onshu no kanata ni are shown in Appendix B.

Table 2: The Appearances of "Kara" and "No de" in "Shiosai" and "Onshu no kanata ni"

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Chapters</th>
<th>Quotation</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kara</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>15</td>
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<table>
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<th>Chapters</th>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>no de</td>
</tr>
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<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The frequency of occurrence of no de in narration doubles beginning with chapter five in Shiosai and the last chapter of Onshu no kanata ni. 17 occurrences of no de can be found in narration in the first four chapters of Shiosai; however, from chapter five the number of occurrences more than doubles in each group of four chapters (44, 45 and 49) compared with the first four chapters. Below, we analyze this data based on the distinction between kara and no de proposed in this thesis.

In Chapter I we stated that no de is used when a fact is known as a shared, presupposel information by both the speaker and the listener. In the early chapters of these stories, there is not much information shared as presupposed fact. Therefore, in the first half the narrator tends to explain the situation, background settings and characters' personalities or emotions in order to build up a foundation for the story. This is why not many cause and effect statements appear in the initial chapters. However, in the latter half, the no de form (in narration) increases markedly because the
author seems to be able to connect two events and control the story by using the foundation laid in the early chapters. 1

4.2. Observations in the Children's Articles and the Bible

Based on the use of *kara* and *no de* in Japanese written narrative described above, I predict that their usages as seen in *Shiosai* and *Onahu no kanata ni* should also be seen in the children's books and the Bible. Since children have not yet fully achieved the adult level of common sense or learned knowledge in the world, I predict that *kara* will be used more often than *no de* in children's books. Similarly, the Bible, of which no evidence of God's utterances or actions was available before it was written, should contain *kara* more frequently than *no de* in the God's utterances. First let us discuss how *kara* and *no de* are used in children's books.

4.2.1. "Kara" and "No de" in Children's Books

For this research, I chose some articles about scientific phenomena for sixth grade children. Since children's articles are relatively short and the topics for children are different from those for adults, a comparison between children's and adults' articles was not conducted. Thus, although the hypothesis that the frequency of the use of *kara* is higher in children's books than in adults' books could not be tested statistically, we can examine this hypothesis by considering several examples in the following articles for children.
（70）ハミミトガバメリトヤスエガカトスイトウモノデス　蜂蜜　ACC　吃　if　lose　weight　Q　QUOT　say　question　COP+
　ga...　たとえ、　ハミミトガバメリトヤスエガウソエン　蜂蜜　ACC　吃　only　lose　weight　成功　do-GER　成功　that　time　at　TOP
　ヤスエガ　こと　ニセコウシテ　モ　ソノトキニワ、　lose　weight　こと　成功　do-GER　成功　that　time　at　TOP
　アンタノカレダノセイヨウガヘイキンガトーレムク　あなたの　身体　GEN　营养　TOP　平衡　NOM　吃　can-NEG
　ナッテ、　ブユキニナッテ　imasu　yo...　Ningen　ga　become-GER　病　become-GER　成为　SF　人类　NOM
　ケンコウニイキテイクタイメニワ、　タンパク質、　シブ、　healthy　live-GER　for　TOP　蛋白质　fat
　トオルイナド、　ノ　スユクズイガトッテ　イクウメギレバ　GEN　餐　ACC　吃-GER　吃
　ナラナイガレ　desu、　because　COP+

'Now as for the question about whether you would lose weight if you ate honey, even if you eat only honey and you succeed at losing weight, by the time you do so, your body will have lost its ability to balance its nutrients, and you will be sick. In order for humans stay healthy, we have to include protein, fats and starches in our diet.'

（Aijima 1986: 78）
(71). Ka wa ti o suu no desu... Kore wa mosquito TOP blood ACC suck EP COP+ this TOP watakusitati ga ayukumotu o toru no to onai desu we NOM food ACC take EP same COP+ kara, yuketu to wa imi ga tigaimusu... because blood transfusion COMP meaning NOM different 'Mosquitoes sip the blood... This is different from blood transfusion since this is the same thing we do when we eat food.'

(Aijima 1986: 160)

(72). Sengoku daimyoo ga kirisutokyoo no hukyoo ni warring states daimyoo NOM Christianity GEN propagation kooiteki de atta no wa, boeki garami no yasin ga favorably COP-GER EP TOP trade GEN ambition NOM atta kara desu. exist-PRF because COP+

'The reason why the daimyoo in the age of civil war were favorably disposed toward the propagation of Christianity was because they had an ambition for trading.'

(Kasahara 1984: 132)

As observed above, children obviously do not know all the facts or events which count as common knowledge among adults. Thus, these kara expressions are usually fine to use with children, whereas they would be insulting if used with adults. From the cause and effect relationships above, it is clear that the adult writers assume that the children do not know these facts. This observation, while inconclusive, does suggest that kara seems to appear more frequently in children's books than does no de.
4.2.2. "Kara" and "No de" in the Bible

Now let us examine the hypothesis I mentioned earlier, whereby the use of *kara* should be much more frequent in the God's utterances in the Bible than that of *no de*. This prediction was derived from the hypothesis that a totally unpredictable cause and effect relationship can be introduced by using *kara*. Since we can reason that nobody but God introduced certain ideas which are in the Bible to people for the first time, *kara* was chosen in translation. I will provide the occurrence of *kara* and *no de* in the Bible below. The following figures represent a portion of *Genesis* in the Old Testament.

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Quotation</th>
<th>Narration</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>kara</em></td>
<td><em>no de</em></td>
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(Nihon Seisho Kyokai: 1-11)
Table 3 (continued)

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<td>Chapters</td>
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The interesting point is that kara is definitely used when God's utterances or actions are written. Among the eight appearances of kara, seven were used for God's utterances or actions. The following examples are God's utterances or actions (Nihon Seisho Kyokai 1955: 2-11). The English translations are cited from the Holy Bible (Moffatt 1926: 2-10).

(73) Kami wa sono dai siti-niti o syukuhuku site, kore o seibetsu sareta. Kami ga kono hi ni, sono subetsu no soozoo no waza o owatte yasumareta kara de aru. (p. 2)

'On the seventh day God ceased his work, he desisted from working on the seventh day; so God blessed and consecrated the seventh, because on it he desisted from all his work of creation.' (p. 2)
Onna wa habi ni itta, "Watasi tata wa sono no ki no ni o taberu koto wa yurusarete imasu ga, tada sono no tsunu ni aru ki no ni ni tuite wa, "kore o totte taberu na, kore ni hururu na, ainde wa ikonai kara to, kami wa iware masita."

'The woman said to the serpent, "We can eat fruit from the trees in the park, but, as for the tree in the centre of the park, God has said, 'You must not eat from it, you must not touch it, lest you die.'"' (p. 3)

"...anata wa kao ni ase site pan o tabe, tu ni tuti ni kara,
Anata wa tuti kara torareta no on kara.
Anata wa, tiri da kara, tiri ni kereru." (p. 4)

"...till you return to the ground from which you were taken;
for dust you are,
and you return to dust."' (p. 4)

Syu wa sono kuobasii karii o kaide, kokoro ni iwareta.
"Watasi wa mohaya ni do to hito no yue ni ti o morowannai.
Hito ga kokoro ni omoi hakaru koto wa, osanai toki kara warui kara de aru..." (p. 9)

'Eternal said to himself, 'Never again will I curse the ground, though the bent of man's mind is indeed towards evil from his youth; never again will I destroy every living creature as I have done...''' (p. 8)

As seen in above, the contents of God's statements or actions are
totally new and unpredictable to the people of that time; therefore, *kara* is appropriate. Now, in order to confirm the above findings, let me provide the sentences where three occurrences of *no de* appeared in God's utterances or actions (see the chart of God's utterances). We can see that they are not counter example to our proposal.

(77) Ooma wa kotsutsu, "*Hebi ga watasi o damasita no desu. Sore de watasi wa tabemasita.*" Syu maru kami wa hebi ni iwareta.

"Omae wa, kono koto o sita no de, subete no katiku, no no subete no kemono no uti, mottomo norowareru..." (p. 3-4)

The woman said, "I ate because the serpent beguiled me." So God the Eternal said to the serpent, "Since you have done this,

A curse on you of all creature!

a curse on you of all beasts!..."' (p. 3)

(78) "Anata ga tuma no kotoba o kiite, taberu na to...watasi ga meizita ki kara totte tabeta no de, ti wa anata no tame ni noroware, anata wa issyo, kuruisinde ti kara syokumotu o toru..."

(p. 4)

"'Since you have listened to what your wife said and have eaten from the tree of which I forbade you to eat, Cursed is the ground on your account,

you shall win food from it with suffering all your life;...'" (p. 3)
Sokode, su wa iwareta. "Watasi ne rei wa nagaku hito no naka ni todemara nai. Kare (sic=karera?) wa niku ni sugisai no da..." (p. 7)

'So the Eternal said, "Human creatures are but flesh; my spirit is not be immortal in them;..."' (p. 6)

In (77), no in antecedent clause points to the previously stated information "the snake told a lie to the woman." Therefore, the consequent clause may be expected by the readers. Similarly, the antecedent-consequent relationship in (78) is predictable because it is based on the content in (74). In (74) the woman had known that God ordered not to eat fruit from the particular tree. To eat fruit from that tree is prohibited since God stated that order. This cause and effect had already been given as a warning by God so that people knew that they should not eat from the tree. The antecedent-consequent relationships in both (77) and (78) are not presented as totally new statements, but as predictable statements. This observation supports the hypothesis that no da is usually used when some preexisting information exists between the speaker and the listener.

In (79), the no da sentence is interpreted as a sarcastic usage. Although this antecedent-consequent relationship is totally created as God's judgement, God's statement is asserted as unchallengeable, undoubtful information because no factualizes the clause "human creatures are but flesh." Since God presents the statement as if it is a well-known fact, the scornful connotation is created in the God's utterance. This also is evidence that no de is the objective way of expressing antecedent-consequent relationship.
The important point raised in both children's books and the Bible is that the kanna construction is used when the speaker believes that no presupposed information is shared with the listener. However, in no de construction the speaker indicates antecedent-consequent relationship based on the previously stated information.
Here I will present Ikegami's interesting theory concerning the role of no de in English (Ikegami 1980: 162). He claims that unlike the articles "a" and "an," the article plays the role of no de in English. By using "the," English speakers are able to indicate whether a thing or an event which is being discussed has been introduced or not. However, in Japanese, there is no such functional word. Thus, he states that in Japanese, expressions such as no de aru are used as substitutions for "the" in English. Each language has its own grammar and a way of expressing a thing in order to convey given or presupposed information. This conclusion of Ikegami seems to relate to the universality of human language.
CHAPTER V
CONCLUSION

In Chapters I and II, we concluded that the basic difference between *kara* and *no de* depends on whether the link between one clause and another is presented as based on whether the speaker’s subjective judgement is indicated or not. When the speaker is expressing a relationship between two clauses as based on his or her point of view, *kara* is used. When the speaker is explaining a statement based on the preexisting common knowledge such as phenomena in nature or society, *no de* is chosen. We also discussed expressions of politeness and sarcasm as the pragmatic usages. Depending on the discourse, the speaker is able to choose the other one which seems to violate the basic rules of *kara* and *no de*. However, even in those usages, the concepts of the fundamental rules are never abolished or changed. Actually without those basic rules, the messages of politeness and sarcasm cannot be expressed in *kara* and *no de* sentences.

In Chapter III, we observed three arguments for the origin of *no de*. One hypothesis was *no de* as a nominalizer (*no*) and the "instrumental" particle *de*. The second one was *no de* as a nominalizer (*no*) and the gerund of *dezu*. The last one was *no de* as a nominalizer and the gerund of *de*. The third hypothesis was supported from a
contextualist and historical view.

In the final chapter, we observed how authors distinguish between *kara* and *no de*, whether consciously or unconsciously, in the writing of novels. This pattern is also seen in children’s books and in the Japanese-translation of the Bible. From these observations we discovered how speakers of Japanese; whether consciously or unconsciously, choose between *kara* and *no de* to different ends.
APPENDIX A

THE APPEARANCES OF KARA AND NO DE IN GAN AND SENRAZURU

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**THE APPEARANCES OF KARA AND NO DE IN SHIOSAI AND ONSHU NO KANATA NI**

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LIST OF REFERENCES


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