

# On the Syntactically Different Position of *Wa* and *Ga* in Japanese *Wa-Ga* Pattern of Sentence

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## Introduction

1. Should *Wa* and *Ga* be Dealt with in the Same Arena?
2. *Ga* that Intrinsically Has Not Indicated the Subject
3. Behavior of *Ga* as Nominal Phrase Combiner
4. *Ga* in the Underlying Out-of-Place Syntactic Position
5. *Wa* Involvement with Case
  - 5.1. *Ga* and *No* Not Working Out Well with *Wa*
  - 5.2. Is *Wa* Involved with Case Particle?
  - 5.3. The Cause of the Absence of '*Ga Wa*'
6. Topicalized Sentence Viewed As Exceptional
7. The Behavior of *Ga* as Nominal Phrase Combiner in Syntactic Coordination with *Wa*

## Conclusion

## Introduction

The difference of the kakarjoshi *wa* as the topic marker and the case particle *ga* used to mainly mark the subject has constantly been discussed in syntactically the same arena in the sense that both *wa* and *ga* express the subject of a sentence at completely the same syntactic position as in the sentences like "*Sora wa aoi*" and "*Sora ga aoi*" both of which logically mean "The sky is blue," though, in truth, the topic marker *wa* does not always indicate the subject but expresses the subject just in many cases and also *ga* had not indicated the subject previously before it embarked on the indication of the case.

In this paper, the author will demonstrate the different structural position of *wa* and *ga* in a sentence from the syntactic viewpoint referring to the Japanese archaic

emphasizing sentence structure called "kakarimusubi" that has been deemed by the author to be a genuine counterpart to English cleft sentence.

Since the particle *ga* is generally said to have just started to function as the subject marker during the late Muromachi period (the 14th century), the author considers that it is not necessarily advisable to treat *wa* and *ga* as analogues for no better reason than that they both are able to mark the subject. Focusing on the underlying vestige of *ga* in the oft-quoted key sentence "*Zō wa hana ga nagai*," the author will unlock the secret of how to dispose *ga*, clarifying the nuts and bolts of it, in a proper location within a sentence.

### 1. Should *Wa* and *Ga* be Dealt with in the Same Arena?

Japanese particle *wa* that seems to be able, at least on the surface, to indicate the subject as the topic of a sentence in many cases has always been weighed against *ga* that seems to be able to actually indicate the subject today, on the same footing as follows.

- (1) 太郎は世話役だ。      *Taro wa sewayaku da.*  
Taro is an organizer.
- (2) 太郎が世話役だ。      *Taro ga sewayaku da.*  
Taro is the organizer.

As shown above, the translations of (1) and (2) are logically the same except that *sewayaku* of (1), which can be translated as "an organizer," can be dealt with as new information proposed at the time of speech and that *sewayaku* of (2), which can be translated as "the organizer," can be dealt with as known information proposed in advance of the time of speech. Such a type of sentence as (2) with the subject marked by *ga* is considered to imply that the speaker specifies who is the organizer knowing that the hearers are aware that there is someone who is the organizer, which is the reason *sewayaku* is dealt with as known information. On the other hand, such a type of sentence as (1) with the subject marked by *wa* can be considered to imply that the speaker explains about Taro specifying what Taro is, knowing that the hearers are unaware of what Taro is, which is the reason *sewayaku* can be dealt with as new information.

However, although the above recognition may correctly refer to the difference of the meanings of the sentences with the possible subject marked by *wa* and *ga*, the

peculiar structural position of *ga* that looks superficially the same as that of *wa* does not seem to have been discussed further thus far. Seeing *wa* and *ga* only through the lens of European language theory and arguing *wa* and *ga* treating them as roughly equivalents in the same arena just because they both appear to indicate the subject of a sentence with the logically identical contents would take forever to provide a problem-solving description of the missing piece of the puzzle about *wa* and the substantive difference of *wa* and *ga*.

In fact, in the author's perspective, frequently repeated arguments about *wa* as the proxy for case particles or about the difference of *wa* and *ga* seems to have let them remain less well-defined or declined halfway through to elaborate on what truly matters even in the most recent study on them. The author considers that no matter how carefully and detailedly *wa* and *ga* are examined without departing from the conventionally established view that any sentence element marked with *wa* or *ga* has to be caught in the grips of the logical case relation, it could be another question whether or not *ga* may compete as an equal with the versatility of *wa* as in (1) and (2). We may be bound by the belief that *wa* must act for a case particle within the framework of the general concept that any sentence element must be interconnected through logical case relations. For example, if we take one look at such an example sentence as (3) with the subjective case particle *ni*, we may notice that *wa* is attached optionally or extra in light of logic to the preceding case particle and that *wa* works independently from the preceding logical case indicated by *ni*. This issue will be discussed in detail later.

(3) 太郎にはそれができない。

*Taro ni wa sore ga dekinai.*

Taro cannot do that.

In this paper, being freed from the constraints of logical connections between *yōgen*, i.e., (auxiliary) verbs or adjectives, and *wa* or *ga*, it will be reconsidered through a perspective of sentence structure, that is, the structural difference of *wa* and *ga* will be elucidated in considerable detail through consideration of what position in a sentence *ga* originated in and of how *wa* can be linked to the sentence-ending words centered on nominals. The author's idea that Japanese particle *ga* seemingly indicating the subject today should not be weighed against *wa* on the same footing as in (1) and (2) will be reinforced by a new interpretation of *ga* attempted in the following section.



predominantly in *Man'yōshū*. Thus, the structure of the above phrase composed of the *ga*-marked nominal, the verb accompanied by an auxiliary and the modifiee is not shown in the parentheses as in (6a) but as in (6b). The translations to distinguish the structure of (6a) from that of (6b) are also shown in the parentheses.

- (6) a. [吾背子が 植ゑし] [秋萩] [waga seko ga uweshi] [akihagi]  
       [the Japanese autumn bush clover] [that my husband planted]  
       b. [吾背子が] [植ゑし秋萩] [waga seko ga] [uweshi akihagi]  
       [the planted Japanese autumn bush clover] [of my husband]

The following type of example phrase (7a) that can be heard even today has the same structure that more clearly shows the *ga* to be what creates the adnominal modifier as illustrated in (7b), not to be the subject marker as in (7c).

- (7) a. 我が良き友                   wa ga yoki tomo  
       my good friend  
       b. 我が [良き友]               wa ga [yoki tomo]  
       my [good friend]  
       c. \*[我が 良き] [友]       \*[wa ga yoki][tomo]  
       a friend \*that I am good

That is, *wa* (=I) cannot be the subject of the adjective *yoki* (=good) because what is good is not I but the friend. Thus, it turns out that the *ga*-marked nominal does not always mean that it is the subject just because it precedes a *yōgen* as a predicate-like verb or adjective.

Meanwhile, the following phrase whose structure outwardly remains the same as in (7) is different in that *ga* is progressing to the next stage of the process where the word marked by *ga* can be the subject of the following *yōgen*, *nikuki*. The English translations demonstrate a syntactically significant difference in (8b) and (8c).

- (8) a. 我が憎き宿敵               wa ga nikuki shukuteki  
       (my loathsome archenemy)  
       b. 我が [憎き宿敵]           wa ga [nikuki shukuteki]  
       my [hateful archenemy]  
       c. [我が憎き] 宿敵           [wa ga nikuki] shukuteki  
       the archenemy [that I hate]

(8) becomes different from (7) in that *ga* does not only behave adnominally as in (8b) but also may act as a subject marker as in (8c), whereas (7c) is syntactically incorrect. Unlike (7c) that structurally does not make sense, (8c) ensures syntactical

consistency taking *wa* (=I') as the subject. In this way, wildly divergent properties of *ga* is in fact hidden inside the phrase composed of the subject-like word and a *yōgen* followed by a nominal connected by *ga*, despite the structure that looks superficially the same.

Incidentally, the following are real examples seen in modern Japanese novels written a century ago.

- (9) [我が敬愛する] 下町の俳人某子 (永井荷風『銀座』, 1911)

[*wa ga keiaisuru*] *shitamachi no haijinn nanigashishi*

a certain individual, a haiku poet in the downtown, whom I adore

(Nagai Kafū, *Ginza*, 1911)

- (10) [我が愛する] 「東京」 (芥川龍之介『大川の水』, 1914)

[*wa ga aisuru*] "Tokyo"

Tokyo that I love (Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, *Ōkawa no Mizu*, 1914)

It can be considered that the above verbs *keiaisuru* and *aisuru* more strongly require the preceding *ga*-marked word as the subject so as to explicitly show who adores and loves respectively. Unlike most other particles, as already noted, *ga* has a striking feature of having properties that extend from the adnominal indication to the subjective indication.

However, the following (11) from *Man'yōshū* reveals presence of another type of *ga* that differs somewhat from that of (5).

- (11) 日な曇り 碓氷の坂を越えしだに 妹が恋しく 忘れぬかも

(万葉集, 4407)

*Hina kumori Ushu no saka wo koeshi dani imo ga kohishiku wasuraenu kamo.* (*Man'yōshū*, 4407)

Climbing over the slope of Ushu with a trace of sun, my wife being missed is unforgettable.

Yamada (2010), being influenced by the idea of Nomura (1993a), states that such *ga* as in (11) is hard to be regarded as bearing the function of adnominal modification just because it is included in a subordinate phrase and that it bears the function of continuous modification to the non-nominal phrase like '*koishiku* (being missed)'. Nomura (1993a) lets the function of *ga* (and *no*) be best defined, providing a unified explanation of mutually incompatible usages; the adnominal modification and the continuous modification, as a strong unification of the preceding word and the following modifiee, setting *ga* and *no* as "primitive modificational particles",

although Nomura (1993a), however, has a suspicion that *ga* (also referring to *no*) might have inherently had the function of a sort of continuous modification, Yamada (2010), by contrast, calls this type of *ga* in this undifferentiated state "primordial case particle."

The author considers, accepting the general idea of Nomura (1993a), that in the Nara period *ga* just shifted *taigen* (=nominals) into a modifying word to strongly combine with a modifiee as a preliminary stage to the development stage where it undergoes differentiation into the subjective indication and the adnominal indication and that this original nature of *ga* still remains today.

Yamada (2010) illustrates the flowchart of transition of *ga* as follows. The flowchart is slightly simplified by the author.

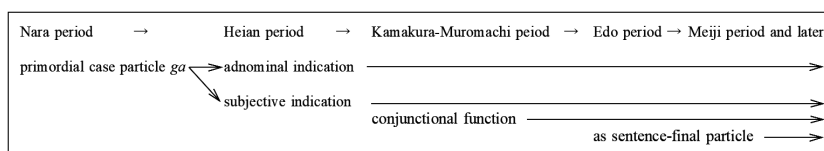


Figure 1

Following the above idea, this paper does not simply regard the *ga* at the undifferentiated stage as clearly having the genitive case but defines it as "nominal phrase combiner," which is a particle without any lexical meaning but with the only sheer grammatical function.

### 3. Behavior of *Ga* as Nominal Phrase Combiner

The author, however, considers that *ga*, as 'nominal phrase combiner,' must have retained the function that simply can unify the preceding word and the following modifiee which is mainly a nominal inclusive of the adnominal form of (auxiliary) verb or adjective, until today, due to the deep-rooted tendency of a grammatical function to die hard lingering for centuries without disappearing absolutely, and that the ability to give the subjective indication diverged later as the secondary ability, putting aside here the questions of the conjunctive function and sentence-final particle. Thus, the above flowchart of transition of *ga* in Figure 1 could be altered as follows.

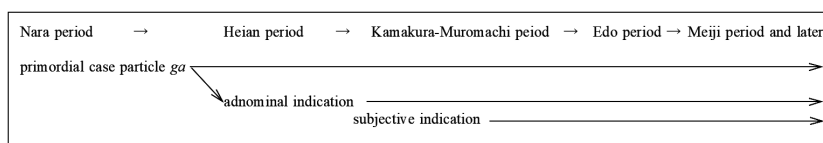


Figure 2

Although Nomura (1993b) points out that *ga* absolutely just indicates the subject and the possessor as main two usages in a narrow sense, the author still considers that its essential role is to just unify the preceding words and the following modifiees, as stated above being influenced by the idea of Nomura (1993a) and Yamada (2010) and also as shown in Figure 2, regardless of whether the *ga*-marked word must indicate the subject or the possessor.

Let us use the following example sentences that provide the illustration of the function that simply can unify the preceding word (the single-underlined part) and the following modifiee (the double-underlined part) lacking a logical case relation between them, and take a look at how *ga* is coupled on the following word in each of them.

- (12) 僕は 雷が 恐ろしい。 *Boku wa kaminari ga osoroshī.*  
I fear thunder.
- (13) 太郎は 猫が 好きだ。 *Taro wa neko ga suki da.*  
Taro likes a cat.
- (14) 僕は お金が 欲しい／要る。 *Boku wa okane ga hoshī/iru.*  
I want/need money.
- (15) 今僕は コーヒーが 飲みたい。 *Ima boku wa kōhī ga nomitai.*  
I want to drink coffee now.
- (16) 鼻は 象が 長い。 *Hana wa zō ga nagai.*  
As for a beak, an elephants has a long one.

Although the semantically appropriate subjects of the predicates, *osoroshī* and *suki da*, that mean to fear and to like in (12) and (13) respectively should be deemed to be *boku* and *Taro*, *kaminari* and *neko* that are connected to *osoroshī* and *suki da* by *ga* respectively morphologically look as if they were the subjects. Based on the concept of logical case relation in modern language grammar, this *ga* seems to be regarded as the object marker, which, however, the author considers to be an irrelevant idea greatly affected by the logical structure of European language theory as manifested by the English translations such as 'fear thunder' and 'likes a cat.'



Since the modern sentence-ending form of verbs, adjectives and proclitic auxiliaries has been dominated by the adnominal form instead of the dictionary form by virtue of the fact that *kakarijoshi* (binding particle) required the adnominal form at the end of a sentence to terminate the sentence in archaic Japanese or that the accepted usage called *taigendome* meaning placing a nominal to terminate a sentence, which could be associated with the above-stated usage in some aspects of the way of terminating Japanese sentences because the adnominal form is comparable to a nominal, has previously been fairly widely seen since ancient times though the dictionary form, however, also naturally had been able to terminate a sentence, the author brings up the idea that it could be argued that *kaminari* and *neko* in (12) and (13) are linked to the following words: *osoroshī* that could equal the modern built-in adnominal form and *suki (da)* that originally has been a nominal respectively without behaving as the subject nor the object, i.e., without moving the relation between the preceding phrase marked by *ga* and the following phrase to another level that reveals the logical correlation between them.

Therefore, the trace of *ga* as the primordial case particle that just shifts *taigen* into a modifying word to strongly combine with a modifiee naturally becomes able to be considered to have a function to play a role as the nominal phrase combiner for combining *kaminari* and *neko* with *osoroshī* and *suki (da)* respectively without indicating a definite logical case relation between them.

Although *hoshī* and *iru* in (14) that express wants and needs respectively follow an object-like word *okane*, it once again can be considered that the deeply ingrained theory that the preceding word like *okane* in (14) indicating a thing targeted at by the event expressed by the following predicate must be the object is due to the influence of the logical structure of European language grammar despite the linguistic fact of its being marked by *ga* that has no affinity nor connection with the objective case from the beginning. In a similar way, since *kōhī* in (15) is a pseudo-object of the adjective pattern auxiliary *tai* that expresses desire to do (to drink, here), it becomes able to be marked by *ga* by way of just shifting the *kōhī* into a modifying word to strongly be combined with the following modifiee (*nomi-*) *tai* as the sentence-ending predicate. As a matter of course, the object marker *wo*, which has always been combined with a transitive verb since ancient days, can also be chosen by the speaker who becomes more conscious of the transitivity of the verb *nomi-* (to drink) as in "*kōhī wo nomi(-tai)*," than of the psychological connection

of *kōhī* with *-tai*.

Therefore, it may follow from what has been stated above that where a speaker does not gain consciousness of semantic transitivity or in the case of a *yōgen* structured to be unaccompanied by the object, *ga* can be chosen instead of *wo* just as a glue for the previous and next words at the mutual convenience of them.

Given this, (16), which is created by making some changes to "*Hana wa zō ga ōkī* (鼻は象が大きい)" that is taken up by Ōno (1978; 45) leaving how it is generated unmentioned, permits the combination of *zō* and *nagai* by *ga* despite never mentioning "An elephant is long." The linguistic fact that "*Zō ga nagai*" literally means that an elephant is long can be mentioned in Japanese even though this sentence does not intend to state that an elephant is long strongly suggests that this *ga* does not indicate the subject but just shift *zō* into a modifying word and combine it with *nagai*, regardless of the logical relation between *zō* and *nagai*. The above-stated steps to adnominally combine the preceding non-subject word with the following *yōgen* gets us to the point where (16) is recognized as one example of the residual function of *ga* at the undifferentiated stage where it did not indicate any case.

#### 4. *Ga* in the Underlying Out-of-Place Syntactic Position

With the above-stated basic interpretation of *ga* in mind, let us get back to (1) and (2).

(17) 太郎は 次の会が 世話役だ。 (=Partly altered from (1))

*Taro wa tsugi no kai ga sewayaku da.*

Taro is an organizer of the next banquet.

(18) 太郎が 世話役だ。 (=2))

*Taro ga sewayaku da.*

Taro is the organizer.

Given that *ga* of ancient times did not serve the syntactic function for governing the case, although there is no question in modern Japanese that the *ga*-marked word acts as the subject and calls such a sentence as (18) into being, the possibly underlying syntactic position of the *ga*-marked subject could be dealt with in the manner that the *ga*-marked word being simply combined with the modifiee is connected to the topic that is occasionally hidden from view in context or in the scene of speech, as

schematically illustrated in Figure 3. Whereas, (17) could be differentially illustrated as in Figure 4, insomuch that the disparate location of 'Taro' is pointed out in an overt manner.

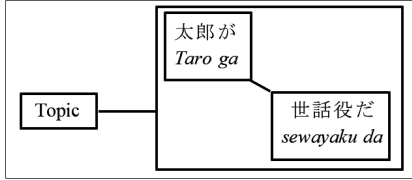


Figure 3

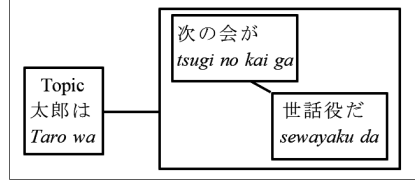


Figure 4

Comparing (18) and (17) that are illustrated to be structurally distinguishable in Figure 3 and 4 respectively will let us notice that *ga* may not be situated in the subject position of the whole sentence but could be latently situated in a location of the *taigen* shifted into the adnominal form that is strongly combined with the predicate *yōgen* as illustrated in Figure 3. In this case, although *ga* still looks to naturally indicate the subjective case, and even so in many cases, such notion of *ga*, which the author considers to be a yet-to-be-fixed flaw, will keep us enduring an incomprehensible inconvenience of the linguistic phenomena that are unexplainable through conventional methods as in the above examples (12)-(16). The *ga*-marked element, which need not be the subject as discussed thus far, of (17) can be put in the same syntactic position as that of (18) as shown in Figure 4, which means that the *ga*-marked element can ill afford to push away the *wa*-marked topic at the top of a sentence. The fact that logical translation of '*wa-ga*' part in (17), which is "the next banquet is the organizer," sound strange in English but proper in Japanese is evidence to suggest that *ga* works as nominal phrase combiner.

Then, the assumed topic in Figure 3 could be, for example, *tsugi no kai* (the next banquet), and thus the non-topic sentence (18) will reach completion with accompanying the topic as follows. The occasionally added literal translations with the abbreviation (*lit.*) may be ungrammatical though they are proper in the viewpoint of Japanese sentence structure; hereafter the same will apply.

(19) 次の会は 太郎が 世話役だ。

*Tsugi no kai wa Taro ga sewayaku da.*

As for the next banquet, Taro is the organizer.

(*lit.*) The next banquet is Taro's organizer.

As above, we commonly can see the completion of the non-topic sentence with the

*ga*-marked subject by being filled up with a hidden topic embedded in the backdrop for the speech. Let the sentence (19) that has the element to be topicalized and the one to be marked by *ga* on the opposite sides be illustrated schematically below in the same way as in Figure 4, and it turns out that it is possible to view (19) as sharing a common structure to (17) where the *ga*-marked element is in the subsidiary position attaching to 'sewayaku da' in essence in the sense that any logical case particle directly accompanies the following element, far from standing on an equal footing to the topic at the very beginning of a sentence.

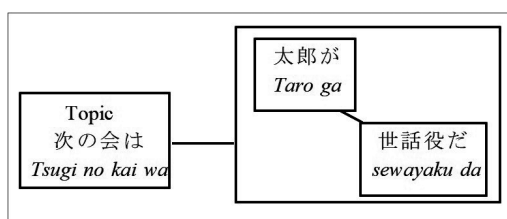


Figure 5

Based on the above considerations and observations, the general-purpose schema model of the '*wa-ga* pattern,' which could be the generalized schema of Figure 3-5, can be drawn as follows to show that it has a commonality with any *wa-ga* pattern sentence.

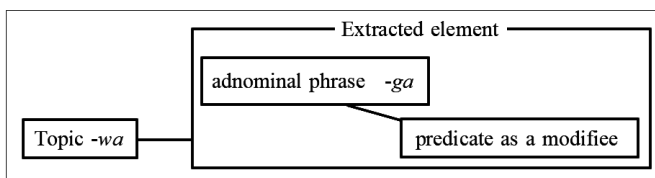


Figure 6

For details of 'Extracted element' in Figure 6 and the way to connect the topic to the sentence-ending element or for more details about the notion of how the topic is linked with the rest of the sentence, refer to Tanimori (2022), which goes into full detail about the process of the topic being connected regardless of the logical case relation, to the following sentence-ending element as easily and simply as a walk in the park not wasting any time in pondering in which element of the sentence the topic originates without being involved in a labyrinth of grammatical proceedings like establishing a too far-fetched relation between what the topic indicates and what the sentence-ending element indicates differently from the fundamental way of

interpreting the trail of the topic in a highly sophisticated way as in the following often-cited example.

Let us take a look at the following expressions in detail.

- (20) a. 牡蠣料理は 広島が 本場だ。  
*Kaki ryōri wa Hiroshima ga honba da.*  
 (lit.) Oyster cuisine, Hiroshima is the mecca.
- b. 広島が 牡蠣料理の 本場である (こと)  
*Hiroshima ga kaki ryōri no honba de aru (koto)*  
 (lit.) Hiroshima being the mecca of oyster cuisine

Although the topic '*kaki ryōri*' of (20a) is commonly said to have been moved from the embedded modifying phrase within a sentence element '*kaki ryōri no honba*' in (20b), the author finds it far-fetched to accept such a notion but has considered up until now that the topic regarded as of grave importance for providing the setting for the whole sentence must be created, not being moved from somewhere in the leftover part of the sentence, prior to the assembly of the sentence elements that would be generated subsequent to the setting of the topic (Tanimori (2020, 2021, 2022, etc.).

The problem about the difference of *wa* and *ga* through a perspective of position in syntactically different dimensions based on the whole shebang of *ga* stated above, which is a weighty subject of this paper, will be described later. This paper treats *ga* as a key to diminishing the effectiveness of a labyrinthine argument about how the topic is generated in a seemingly logical way and to unlocking the secrets of topicalization in a simple way.

## 5. *Wa* Involvement with Case

### 5.1. *Ga* and *No* Not Working Out Well with *Wa*

Let us see the following sentence created by adding partial modifications to (20a). Its literal translation may be unnatural in English unlike the Japanese source sentence.

- (21) 牡蠣は 広島が 養殖と料理の本場だ。  
*Kaki wa Hiroshima ga yōshoku to ryōri no honba da.*  
 (lit.) Oysters, Hiroshima is the mecca of aquaculture and cuisine.

Then, do we have to regard the original phrase into which the source of the topic

'kaki' of (21) could be deeply pushed as shown in (22) or possibly in (23)?

(22) 広島が [[[牡蠣の] 養殖と料理の] 本場]である (こと)

*Hiroshima ga [[[kaki no] yōshoku to ryōri no] honba] de aru (koto)*

Hiroshima being [the mecca [of [aquaculture and cuisine [of oysters]]]]

(23) 広島が [[[[牡蠣の] 養殖]と [[牡蠣の] 料理]] の 本場]である (こと)

*Hiroshima ga [[[[kaki no] yōshoku] to [[kaki no] ryōri] no] honba] de aru (koto)*

Hiroshima being [the mecca [of aquaculture [of oysters] and cuisine [of oyster]]]

Although it could be considered that the topic 'kaki' of (21) is removed from the predicative phrase 'kaki no yōshoku to ryōri no honba' in (22) or 'kaki no yōshoku to kaki no ryōri no honba' in (23), that is, it might be able to take 'yōshoku' and 'ryōri' as fishing operation of fishery product and cuisine specified by oysters respectively as suggested by (22) and (23), the author still considers that it is deemed appropriate to consider 'yōshoku' and 'ryōri' of (21) as simply referring to the fishery and cuisine as non-limiting common terms in a general sense respectively, which are supposed to turn out to be related to 'kaki' and 'ryōri' respectively purely and simply subsequent to utterance of the topic 'kaki.'

Alternatively, we can afford to say such a more complex phrase as (24), which is a perfectly natural phrase, constructed in a highly complicated way by the addition of words related to the topic 'kaki' of (21).

(24) 広島が [[[養殖牡蠣と牡蠣料理] の] 本場]である (こと)

*Hiroshima ga [[[yōshoku gaki to kaki ryōri] no] honba] de aru (koto)*

Hiroshima being [the mecca [of [cultivated oysters and oyster cuisine]]]

Assuming that the above-stated conventional idea that the topic must be transferred out of an element in the rest of the phrase under rigid constraints due to bidirectional logical relation between the topic and the component part within a certain source sentence element is at least seemingly reasonable, it follows that considering the topic of (21) derived from within two separate places in (24) at once could be a fatally flawed idea, since (24) includes two possible sources of the topic 'kaki' the former of which is a modified element and the latter of which is a modifying element, as illustrated in Figure 7. Worse still, no definite relationship between both of the elements and the topic is found.

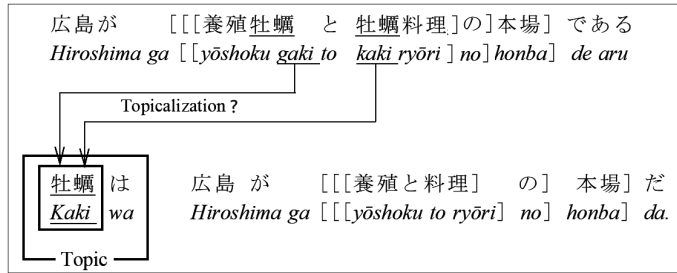


Figure 7

In fact, from all this, the author can't help questioning how truthful such a sentence conversion analysis of the topicalization process as above that appears to be too much of a stretch is. It is hard not to be suspicious about the conventional plausible claim acquired through labored explanation that on a consistent basis there must be, not incidentally, a logical relation between the topic and the component part within a certain source sentence element. If it is not worth mentioning that it is doubtful if these two positionally incongruous or non-conforming elements on different levels as the sources of the topic can be forcibly incorporated into a single topic of (21), it follows that every conceivable process of the topicalization being associated with a possible source element as shown in Figure 7 must be constructed as to any type of sentence. Thus, a careful evaluation of the conventional plausible theory should be performed. The author considers, on the theory having been advanced by him as above and thus far, that the topic should be in principle freed from the restrictions of the predominant fixed notions about the process of topic generation.

Here, the author could prove it best by the following sentence whose elements are recombined by shuffling subjunctions so as to build a plot.

- (25) 養殖の本場は牡蠣が広島で、鰻が鹿児島で、帆立が北海道だ。  
*Yōshoku no honba wa kaki ga Hiroshima de, unagi ga Kagoshima de, hotate ga Hokkaidō da.*  
*(lit.) The mecca of fishery, oyster is Hiroshima, eel is Kagoshima and scallop is Hokkaido.*

At the primary point of the putting of '*yōshoku no honba wa*' as the topic into the speaker's output, what seafood product; oyster, eel, scallop or any other unspecified one not yet stated the fishery mecca is going to be talked about has not yet been determined.



Figure 8

Figure 8 illustrates the conceivable transfer pathway of the topic, which shows that the three potential ingredients for the source of the topic get into a tangle and that the speaker cannot pin down the source of the topic '*yōshoku no honba*' because which fishery mecca to be referred to is not determined.

And incidentally, what is intriguing here is that saying that oyster is Hiroshima, that eel is Kagoshima and that scallop is Hokkaido as described in (25) is logically impossible though the grammatical Japanese sentences literally seem to be saying so, which is the grammar problem that involves the use of *ga* examined above. In other words, this proves that these three *ga*'s in (25) just unify the preceding words; *kaki*, *unagi* and *hotate*, and the following modifyees; *Hiroshima*, *Kagoshima* and *Hokkaidō* respectively regardless of its role in indicating the subject.

Back to the topic emergence, let us dare to restore a potential original phrase in which the topic '*yōshoku no honba*' of (25) could be returned.

- (26) 牡蠣の養殖の本場が 広島で、鰻の養殖の本場が 鹿児島で、帆立の養殖の本場が 北海道である (こと)

*Kaki no yōshoku no honba ga Hiroshima de, unagi no yōshoku no honba ga Kagoshima de, hotate no yōshoku no honba ga Hokkaidō de aru (koto)*  
 (lit.) Hiroshima being the mecca of oyster fishery, Kagoshima being the mecca of eel fishery and Hokkaido being the mecca of scallop fishery

If the topic of (25) can be returned to its potential original places as shown in (26), it follows that the three *ga*'s that remain after the topicalization of '*yōshoku no honba*' become directly attached, jumping over the modifyee '*yōshoku no honba*' regardless of its position, to the distantly positioned elements; *kaki*, *unagi* and *hotate* as in (25), and that furthermore, the possessive *no* is purged, being ignored or stamped down by the following *ga*, from between the modifying word '*kaki*' and the modifyee '*yōshoku no honba*' that is supposed to be taken away, as illustrated below. Figure 10 shows the logic flow triggered by the topicalization.



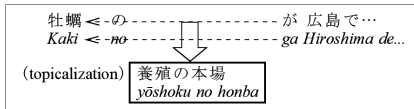


Figure 9

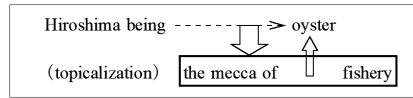


Figure 10

Despite the fact that the emphasis is on *no* of '*zō no hana*' of the hard-to-understand sentence '*Zō wa hana ga nagai*' and that the topic is deemed to be accompanied by the possessive case *no* according to the general theory, this *no* lies neglected though it should not. Therefore, the author considers that what the topic of (25) refers to is not exclusively limited to a fishery mecca of specific seafood product and thus the topic is quite unlikely to emerge from behind such inner part of a sentence element out of a labyrinth of grammatical procedure, which will be described later.

Some may consider that the following procedure, as illustrated in Figure 11, in which seemingly the same *no* remains unlike in Figure 9 could be conceivable.

(27) 養殖の本場は 牡蠣の が 広島で、～

*Yōshoku no honba wa kaki no ga Hiroshima de,...*

(lit.) The mecca of fishery, oyster's is Hiroshima, ...

However, the above *no* left behind before *ga* is not any longer the possessive case particle seen in (26) but the possessive pronoun with the meaning of 'the fishery mecca of (oyster),' which means that the *no* in question after '*kaki*' in (26) transforms itself to what differs in its grammatical property as in (27) though they outwardly look exactly the same. Thus, this general idea can be said to lack coherence.

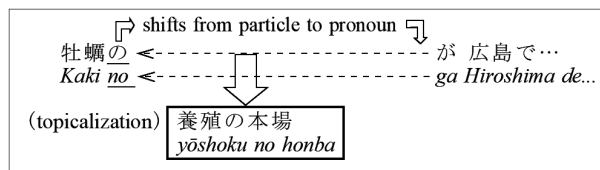


Figure 11

Then, where has the case particle *no* gone? Here, let us consider how the case is processed with consistency by the topicalization, which is a grammar problem that may have been passed over unnoticed. For example, Nitta (1991) regards the following type of *wa*, which is put at the position of the subject, as retaining *ga*-case.

(28) {私/あなた/彼} は 本会の 代表理事です。 (Nitta (1991), p.41)

{*Watashi/Anata/Kare*} *wa honkai no daihyō riji desu.*

{I / You / He} am / are / is the representative director of the meeting.

And besides, the topics of the following sentences (29a), (30a) and (31a) are commonly said to be derived from *ga*-marked element of the phrase (29b), *no*-marked one of (30b) and the modifiee marked by *ga* in (31b), and thus it seems that it follows that *wa* could be said to retain *ga*-case or *no*-case in this case.

- (29) a. 父は この本を 買ってくれた。  
*Chichi wa kono hon wo katte kureta.*  
 Father bought me this book.
- b. 父が この本を 買ってくれた (こと)  
*Chichi ga kono hon wo katte kureta (koto)*  
 Father's having bought me this book
- (30) a. 象は 鼻が 長い。  
*Zō wa hana ga nagai.*  
 An elephant, the trunk is long.
- b. 象の 鼻が 長い (こと)  
*Zō no hana ga nagai (koto)*  
 An elephant's trunk being long
- (31) a. 辞書は 新しいのが よい。  
*Jisho wa atarashī no ga yoi.*  
 A dictionary, a new one is good.
- b. 新しい辞書が よい (こと)  
*Atarashī jisho ga yoi (koto)*  
 A new dictionary being good

Although Noda (2021) treats the topicalization occurring in (30) separately from that in (29) as the *no*-marked element being the adnominal noun modifying the following noun, this paper considers that the conventional notion coherently maintains that logical cases including *no*-case are retained in *wa* even after the topicalization as shown in (29)-(31). Also, although Noda (2021) treats the topicalization occurring in (31) separately from that in (29) as the modifiee being the source of the topic, this paper considers that the modifiee is marked by *ga* and that otherwise the conventional notion about topicalization turns out to recognize the absence of case in the topic of (31a).

If the system to let the underlying logical case retain in *wa* after the topicalization could work really well, it will follow that it can be said to behave in an erratic way as we notice seeing the *no*-case of '*kaki ryōri no*' in (20b) being reset and not being

(19)	広島が <i>Hiroshima ga</i>	牡蠣料理の <i>kaki ryōri no</i> ↓ (topicalization) 牡蠣料理は <i>kaki ryōri wa</i>	本場である (こと) <i>honba de aru (koto)</i> ← The inner meaning of the above の ( <i>no</i> ) is ignored. 広島が 本場だ。 <i>Hiroshima ga honba da.</i>
(29)	象の <i>Zō no</i> ↓ (topicalization) 象は <i>Zō wa</i>	鼻が 長い (こと) <i>hana ga nagai (koto)</i> ← The inner meaning of the above の ( <i>no</i> ) remains. 象は 長い。 <i>hana ga nagai.</i>	
(21)	広島が <i>Hiroshima ga</i>	牡蠣の <i>kaki no</i> ↓ (topicalization) 牡蠣は <i>kaki wa</i>	養殖と料理の 本場である (こと) <i>yōshoku to ryōri no honba de aru (koto)</i> ← The inner meaning of the above の ( <i>no</i> ) is ignored.
(20)			広島が 養殖と料理の本場だ。 <i>Hiroshima ga yōshoku to ryōri no honba da.</i>
(28)	父が <i>Chichi ga</i> ↓ (topicalization) 父は <i>Chichi wa</i>	この本を 買ってくれた (こと) <i>kono hon wo katte kureta (koto)</i> ← The inner meaning of the above が ( <i>ga</i> ) remains. この本を 買ってくれた。 <i>kono hon wo katte kureta.</i>	
(25)	牡蠣の <i>Kaki no</i>	養殖の本場が <i>yōshoku no honba ga</i> ↓ (topicalization) 養殖の本場は <i>Yōshoku no honba wa</i>	広島で, ~ <i>Hiroshima de, ...</i> ← The inner meaning of the above の ( <i>no</i> ) replaces が ( <i>ga</i> ).
(24)			牡蠣が 広島で, ~ <i>kaki ga Hiroshima de, ...</i>
(30)	新しい <i>Atarashi</i>	辞書が <i>jisho ga</i> ↓ (topicalization) 辞書は <i>Jisho wa</i>	よい (こと) <i>yoi (koto)</i> ← The inner meaning of the above が ( <i>ga</i> ) is ignored. 新しいのが よい。 <i>atarashi no ga yoi.</i>

Figure 12

taken over in (20a) unlike in (30) in an inconsistent way in that the *wa* of (30a) may replace *no* but that of (20a) may not, the *no*-case of 'kaki no' in (22) or (23) being reset similarly in (21) whose topic 'kaki wa' discards the underlying *no*-case, and even the *ga*-case, which should be given substantial weight to as in (29), of 'yōshoku no honba ga' in (26) getting ignored in (25) because *ga* remains behind 'kaki,' after being detached from 'yōshoku no honba ga,' though making light of *ga* must be supposedly impermissible, as illustrated in Figure 12.

The author, here, points out incidentally that the following phrase (32b) with the same structure as (29b) cannot undergo the same process as in (29) in the sense that the topic of (32a) would not take over the underlying *ga*-case so as to let the *ga* remaining after the subject 'futarime' avoid being in a collision with the possibly built-in *ga*-case of the topic probably in the same way as the modifiee 'jisho,' which is also perceived to let go the *ga*-case in (31), differently from the fact that the topic of (29a) is alleged to take over the underlying *ga*-case.

- (32) a. 父は2人目がこの本を買ってくれた。  
*Chichi wa futarime ga kono hon wo katte kureta.*  
 My second father bought me this book.
- b. 2人目の父がこの本を買ってくれた(こと)  
*Futarime no chichi ga kono hon wo katte kureta (koto)*  
 My second father's having bought me this book

Or, let us ponder by which sentence element in the possible source phrase the topic in the following sentences with the [*wa-ga* pattern] could be identified.

- (33) 鯛は刺身がいい。  
*Tai wa sashimi ga ī.*  
*(lit.)* Sea bream, slices in the raw are good.
- (34) 刺身は鯛がいい。  
*Sashimi wa tai ga ī.*  
*(lit.)* Slices in the raw, sea bream is good.

The author considers that it is reasonable to regard the '*sashimi*' in (33) not as referring to slices of sea bream in the raw but as referring to mere slices of raw fish in a general sense at the time of speech in the same way that the '*yōshoku*' and '*ryōri*' could be regarded as simply referring to the fishery and cuisine respectively in a general sense in the case of (22) or (23).

Probably, identifying the sources of the topics '*tai*' and '*sashimi*' of (33) and (34) respectively will prove to be about as next to impossible as each other, as we will understand from looking at possible source phrases (35) and (36).

- (35) 鯛の刺身がいい(こと)  
*Tai no sashimi ga ī (koto)*  
*(lit.)* Slices of sea bream in the raw being good
- (36) 刺身の鯛がいい(こと)  
*Sashimi no tai ga ī (koto)*  
*(lit.)* Sliced sea bream in the raw being good

Here, the author has no choice but to say that it is doubtful if it is really advisable to determine which specified element the topic is derived from, by the fact that whether the topic of (33) is derived from the '*tai*' of (35) or from that of (36) is indeterminable, while whether the topic of (34) is derived from the '*sashimi*' of (35) or from that of (36) is indeterminable in like wise.

Assuming that '*tai no*' of (35) is topicalized being detached from '*sashimi ga*' and

put at the position of the topic in (33), it might be able to be deemed to still retain the *no*-case before '*sashimi*' in (33) at least on the surface because the word order of [*tai-no-sashimi-ga*] in (35) succeeded to that of [*ta-wa-sashimi-ga*] in (33) except for the changed *no*. However, assuming that '*tai ga*' of (36) is topicalized being detached from the preceding '*sashimi no*' and put at the position of the topic in (33), it can be deemed that the topic '*tai wa*' has put away its possible built-in *ga*-case because '*sashimi*' instead preoccupied this *ga*-case after, to make matters more complicated, the *no*-case of '*sashimi no*' in (36) is neglected in (33).

Assuming that '*sashimi no*' of (36) is topicalized being detached from '*tai ga*' and put at the position of the topic in (34), it might be able to be deemed to still retain the *no*-case before '*tai*' in (34) at least on the surface because the word order of [*sashimi-no-tai-ga*] in (36) succeeded to that of [*sashimi-wa-tai-ga*] in (34) except for the changed *no*. However, assuming that '*sashimi ga*' of (35) is topicalized being detached from '*tai no*' and put at the position of the topic in (34), it can be deemed that the topic '*sashimi wa*' has put away its possible built-in *ga*-case because '*tai*' instead preoccupied this *ga*-case after, to make matters more complicated, the *no*-case of '*tai no*' in (35) is neglected in (34).

## 5.2. Is *Wa* Involved with Case Particle?

For example, the topic '*Taro wa*' of (37a) generated from the *ga*-marked element of (37b) extracting the *ga*-case from the element is supposed to retain the *ga*-case according to the conventional theory, otherwise the *wo*-case of '*kuruma wo*' actually comes into collision with the *ga*-case if left behind there as shown in (37c).

- (37) a. 太郎は 車を買った。  
*Taro wa kuruma wo katta.*  
 Taro bought a car.
- b. 車を 太郎が買った (こと)  
*Kuruma wo Taro ga katta (koto)*  
 Taro's having bought a car
- c. 太郎は 車を\*が買った。  
*Taro wa kuruma wo\*ga katta.*

This means that if it were true that *wa* is supposed to come out with a case from a source element the topic would come to have to have the built-in case. However, as we have seen so far, despite the fact that the *wa*-marked topic is deemed, according

to the conventional theory, to have to be accompanied by a logical case, it turns out that a problem arises as to whether it is appropriate to occasionally or arbitrarily ignore the logical case that would be retained by topicalization as shown in Figure 12.

Therefore, (37a) should be deemed to be fundamentally separate from (37b) in terms of the fact that (37b) is just part of another phrase with a topic such as '*Jitsu wa kuruma wo Taro ga katta.*' This means that *ga*-marked element can ill afford to push away the topic position, which is the main purport of this paper.

And besides, let us see if the topic of the following sentence with the [*wa-ga* pattern], which has been regarded as a special type of sentence deemed to have no original source phrase according to the conventional theory, could be returned to its potential source position in the conceivable phrase purported to be the original one previous to topicalization. If the author dares to restore (38), provisionally following the conventional theory of topicalization, to its original logical expression as a nominal phrase that could have been prior to topicalization, the particle *de*, which indicates the case of selection range, will inevitably appear as in (39). Let this case be called 'range case' for convenience sake here.

- (38) 魚は 鯛が いい。  
*Sakana wa tai ga ī.*  
 As for fish, sea bream is good.
- (39) 魚で 鯛が いい (こと)  
*Sakana de tai ga ī (koto)*  
 Among fish, sea bream being good
- (40) 魚では 鯛が いい。 (= (38))  
*Sakana de wa tai ga ī.*

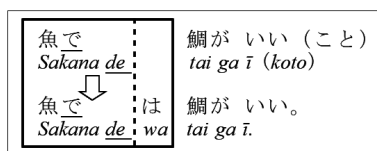


Figure 13

The phrase (39) as the original source phrase of (38) has not been noted thus far. Thereafter, it should be noted here that the *wa* is not retaining any underlying logical case in (37) due to the fact that the full form of the topic of (38) can be '*sakana de wa,*' in which the range case particle *de* subsists separately from *wa* as in (40) and

as illustrated in Figure 13. And, the author would like to add that it deserves special mention that (38) is not special nor exceptional even in the eyes of the conventional theory of topicalization.

Incidentally, the *no* of (36) that could be deemed to be the original logical expression of (34) can also be replaced with *de* as follows, whose structure looks the same as that of (39).

- (41) 刺身で鯛がいい (こと)  
*Sashimi de tai ga ī (koto)*  
 Sea bream being good in sashimi

Therefore, as there can be more than one original logical expressions, that is, as it is unable to fully specify what logical case is tucked in *wa*, it is safe to say that the theory that *wa* retains underlying logical case is uncertain.

Other than that, the same phenomenon as above can be observed as below.

- (42) a. 太郎には弟がいる。  
*Taro ni wa otōto ga iru.*  
 Taro has a younger brother.  
 b. 太郎に弟がいる (こと)  
*Taro ni otōto ga iru (koto)*  
 Taro having a younger brother
- (43) a. 明日からは師走だ。  
*Ashita kara wa shiwasu da.*  
 From tomorrow, December starts.  
 b. 明日から師走である (こと)  
*Ashita kara shiwasu de aru (koto)*  
 December's starting from tomorrow

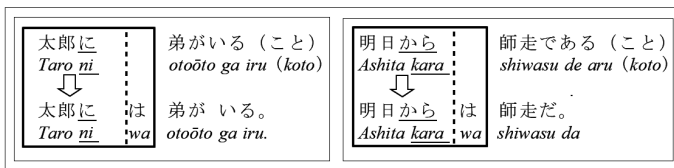


Figure 14

Since *wa* follows *ni* and *kara* in (42a) and (43a) respectively, it is strange to say that *wa* acts as *ni* and *kara* in the logical sense, and thus we notice that the above topics do not take in the source cases, *ni* nor *kara*, in completely the same way that *de* does

not become incorporated into *wa* in (40) as Figure 14 shows,

### 5.3. The Cause of the Absence of '*Ga Wa*'

It seems to generally be taken for granted that *ga*, which is the most predominant particle, exceptionally becomes completely incorporated, to outward seeming, into *wa* on a consistent basis not subsisting separately from *wa* probably because it can be deemed to principally play the significant semantic role that overlaps with *wa* on key aspects, and thus if *ga* took the form of '*ga wa*' it means the form would be in contravention of the conventional grammar rule, while, however, another predominant particle *wo* may not become completely incorporated into *wa* inasmuch as it can be added emphasis to by *wa* as seen in the following ancient writing. Note that the *ba* after *wo* is the euphonic form of *wa*.

- (44) この世をばわが世とぞ思ふ望月のかけたることもなしと思えば  
(藤原道長, 『小右記』(藤原実資), 10-11 世紀)

*Kono yo wo ba waga yo to zo omohu mochiduki no kaketaru koto mo nashi to omoheba*

(Fujiwara no Michinaga, *Shōyūki* written by Fujiwara no Sanesuke, the 10-11th centuries)

This world, I recognize as my world. It lacks nothing like the full moon. This pattern of combining *wo* and *wa* still can be seen as in the following current sentence. It turns out that *wo* still does not become completely incorporated, even on the surface, into *wa*.

- (45) 失礼をばいたしました。  
*Shitsurei wo ba itashimashita.*

Forgive me for being rude.

However, the author considers that the form of *ga* being completely incorporated into *wa* is just a seeming phenomenon on the ground that the fact that *ga*, which had been just a nominal phrase combiner as stated above, developed as the case marker indicating subjective in the Muromachi period much later than other case particles.

Therefore, it could be argued that originally it had not been possible for the combination of *ga* and *wa* to come into existence unlike that of *wo* and *wa*, *ni* and *wa*, etc. simply because *ga* had not been the subjective case marker since ancient times. It could also be argued that *wa* has functioned as the topic marker as if it were indicating the subjective case in many cases with no need of incorporating *ga* into



itself because there had been no word marked by *ga* so as to become the subject from the very beginning. The ancient subject not as the topic was unmarked as follows.

- (46) 昔, 男ありけり。 (『伊勢物語』 9-10 世紀)  
*Mukashi, otoko arikeri.* (*Ise Monogatari*, the 9-10th centuries)

Once upon a time, there lived a man.

The above subject *otoko*, which could ordinarily be marked by *ga* in modern Japanese, is unmarked because *ga* did not definitely indicate the subjective case in those times. Thus, the ordinary phrase (47) was stated in a simple way without *ga* in ancient times as (48), though such a sentence as "*Ame furu*." lacking *ga* sounds odd today as the printed words.

- (47) 雨が降る。 *Ame ga furu.* Rain falls.  
 (48) 雨, 降りけり。 *Ame, furikeri.* Rain falls.

And, if the subject *ame* of (48) is topicalized by *wa*, it becomes as in (49). Anecdotally, the form of the sentence-ending auxiliary verb is converted from the dictionary form to the adnominal form, which could be caused by the binding particle *wa*, as the case may be.

- (49) 間なくそ 雨は零りける。 (万葉集, 天武天皇 卷 1-25 番歌)  
*Ma nakuso ame wa furikeru.*

(*Man'yōshū*, the Emperor Tenmu, Vol.1, the 25th poem)

Uninterruptedly, rain falls.

The subject *ame* was not marked by *ga* from the very beginning as indicated in (48), and thus it is natural that it has not been possible for such an unlikely topicalized form as '*ame ga wa*' to enter into existence as in (50). Even after *ga* developed as the subject indicator much later than other particles, there seems to have been no enough time for the form to attain grammatical maturity or no need to.

- (50) 雨\*がは降る。  
*Ame \*ga wa furu.* Rain falls.

Thus, it is impossible to find hide nor hair of *ga* in the position immediately preceding *wa* since day one.

What the above consideration tells us is that contrary to the generally accepted view, which embraces the concept propounded by Mikami (1960), that the *wa* of '*Zō wa hana ga nagai*' (=30a), which has been deemed to be derived from the logical phrase '*Zō no hana ga nagai (koto)*' (=30b), acts as *no*, it is all the more conceivable

that the *wa* may stay far away from *no* in that such a form of '*no wa*' as in (51) is utterly ungrammatical in the same way that the form of '*ga wa*' as in (50) can't be grammatical because the *wa* is free of a case particle as seen even in such example sentences as (42a) and (43a).

- (51) 象\*のは 鼻が長い。  
*Zō \*no wa hana ga nagai.* (lit.) \*Elephant's, the trunk is long.

As considered from a variety of perspectives in terms of (21) thus far, the above-observed phenomenon of *wa* being completely unrelated to a case particle can be deemed to be no less true of '*no wa*' in (51) than of '*ga wa*' in (50).

## 6. Topicalized Sentence Viewed As Exceptional

In turn, other than the above-discussed sentences, there are even more vexed topicalized sentences of which in-depth discussion is more likely to be avoided, as follows.

- (52) これは, 僕がしくじった! *Kore wa, boku ga shikujitta!*  
 (lit.) This, I really screwed up!
- (53) これは, ガスが漏れている。 *Kore wa, gasu ga morete iru.*  
 (lit.) This, gas is leaking.
- (54) あれは, 人が倒れている。 *Are wa, hito ga taorete iru.*  
 (lit.) That, a person is lying.
- (55) あの音は, だれかがいる。 *Ano oto wa, dareka ga iru.*  
 (lit.) That sound, somebody is there.
- (56) ぼくは 鰻だ。 *Boku wa, unagi da.*  
 (lit.) I am eel bowl.
- (57) 春は あけぼの。(枕草子) *Haru wa akebono.*  
 (lit.) Spring, (is) dawn. (*Makura no sōshi*, the 10th century)

The above types of sentences are even said by some scholars to be extraordinary sentences with a twisted case structure probably because it is intractably hard to build up a logical case relation between the topics of them and the possible source elements, that is, the topics of them are impossible to be put back to where they could be. For details, as mentioned above, about the notion of how the topic is linked with an element in the rest of the sentence, refer to Tanimori (2022).

What the author would like to state here is that even though the above types of

sentences are established with accompanying *ga* except for (56) and (57), (56) and (57) also could be deemed to be of the same stripe as (52)-(55) by being complemented with a possible *ga*-marked phrase as in (58) and (59) respectively.

- (58) ぼくは, 好物が 鰻だ。 *Boku wa, kōbutsu ga unagi da.*  
 (lit.) I, the favorite food is eel bowl.
- (59) 春は あけぼのが よい。 *Haru wa akebono ga yoi.*  
 (lit.) Spring, dawn is good.

In this case, the relation between the topic and the *ga*-marked phrase could be readily interpreted as the topic being derived from '*boku no*' and '*haru no*' respectively in the following possible source phrases in a relatively simple way if the conventional notion of topicalization were considered to still hold good here too.

- (60) ぼくの 好物が 鰻である (こと)  
*Boku no kōbutsu ga unagi de aru (koto)*  
 My favorite food being eel bowl
- (61) 春の あけぼのが よい (こと)  
*Haru no akebono ga yoi (koto)*  
 Spring's dawn being good

However, the internal contradictions embraced between such sentences as (58)-(59) and such possible source phrases as (60)-(61) respectively are previously mentioned at the occasion of the examination into (33)-(36).

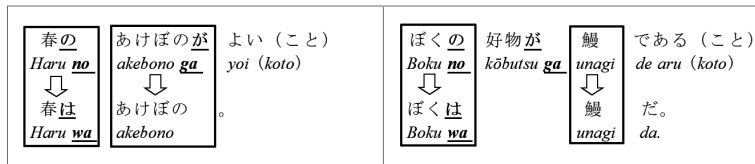


Figure 15

On the third hand, the consideration of the relations of (60)-(61) to (56)-(57) respectively raises another different problem as shown in Figure 15. It should be noted that the positioning of the source phrase subsequent to the topic is syntactically different.

As can be noticed by looking at Figure 15, the predicative phrase '*unagi (da)*' subsequent to the topic in (56) derives from the predicative element subsequent to the *ga*-marked subject '*kōbutsu ga*' disregarding the existence of *ga*-marked element, whereas the predicative phrase '*akebono*' subsequent to the topic in (57) derives

from the *ga*-marked subject '*akebono ga*' disregarding the subjective case indicated by *ga*.

It is suggested by Tanimori (2022), which explains that the topics of (56) and (57) are just directly connected to the predicative elements, that such behavior of *wa* toward its subsequent phrase can be significantly flexible regardless of whether or not the relation of them is logical.

Going back to the mention of the above types of sentences being established with accompanying *ga*, the behavior of *ga* in (52)-(55) and potentially also in (56) and (57), which is discussed above, will lead to a different interpretation of sentences with the '*wa-ga* pattern'. Although the interpretation of *ga* as the subjective case has become the principle of structural analysis established by the contemporary linguistic theory, the author considers that its inherent function to simply unify the preceding word and the following modifiee, which is mentioned above, could develop a solution for the puzzling problems contained in the argument over the applicability of a logical coherence between the conventional theory's established rules and the existing conditions found in a series of the above example sentences including (20). Meanwhile, a new theory has been developed by a fresh interpretation of the relation between the topic and the rest of sentence in terms of an underlying similarity between the '*wa-ga* pattern' and *kakarimusubi* structure revealed by Tanimori (2021), which is, however, beyond the scope of this paper.

## **7. The Behavior of *Ga* as Nominal Phrase Combiner in Syntactic Coordination with *Wa***

Let us reconsider, here, what all the above observations suggest. In the example topicalized sentences and their possible source phrases prior to topicalization discussed above, the notion of the topic retaining the original logical case of the possible source element exposed its problem of inconstancy. In view of arguing about those clear-cut examples as above, treating of such far-fetched airtight topicalization being caught up in the notion that the topic must be derived from a sentence element for its source logically consistent with the preceding or following element as shown in Figure 7, 8, 9, 11 and 12 will inevitably be prone to bugs as discussed thus far, whence it follows that the conventional notion of the topic potentially having been brought from a predetermined modifiee as a component

within a certain sentence element upon commencement of utterance could be dispelled.

How the combination of the topic and the *ga*-marked phrase accompanied by the predicative element is created as in (12)-(16), (20a), (30a), (31a), (33)-(34), (38), (52)-(55) and (58)-(59) can be now explicable by the unified principle, which is formulated by the interpretation of 'nominal phrase combiner', that works better in the long run performing its function also with respect to the conventionally recognized general way of *ga* behaving to outward seeming as in (21).

What has been found in this paper is that even when *ga* appears to logically indicate the subject such as an agent, a logical relation between the *ga*-marked phrase and the predicative element need not be built up, that is, even if there seems to superficially exist a logical relation between them, it means it just happens that way in the sense that the semantic relation of both words just happens to be able to be linked logically. To put it in other words, since the consistent application of the case logic to a variety of topicalized sentences with elements having a seemingly logical relation with the topic turned out to remain buggy as has been hitherto observed, it may be a bit of a stretch to construct a universal principle of topicalization only out of logic.

Considering that the behavior of *ga* as the nominal phrase combiner deep inside in syntactic coordination with *wa* and as a case particle that occurred just after the late medieval ages for indicating the subject has the advantage that there is no need to be caught between racking our brain for a way to build the logically plausible pathway for topicalization and feeling intimidated by blinking inconvenient cases where no logical relation of the topic and the possible source element is found. For example, the following sentence shows that there cannot be no logical relation of the topic and any conceivable source element in the rest of the sentence because the *te*-form of a verb that precedes *wa* cannot be marked by a case particle in that no possible original phrase can be created as in (62b).

(62) a. 急いてはは 事を し損じる。

Seite wa koto wo shisonjitu.

A little over-precipitance may ruin all.

b. \*急いてが 事を し損じる。

Seite \*ga koto wo shisonjitu.

And, if we necessitate creating the full formed sentence with the *ga*-marked

element, which just happens to appear to be the subject here, it will be as follows fitting well into the framework of Figure 6, which shows that the *ga*-marked element assumes its positioning in regard to the syntactic structure without bumping into the *wa*-marked topic as shown in Figure 6, following the same format as "*Zō wa hana ga nagai.*"

(63) 急いては誰もが事をし損じる。

*Seite wa daremo ga koto wo shisonjitu.*

(lit.) A little over-precipitance is anybody's failing in all.

The above literal translation implies the true nature of *ga* as the nominal phrase combiner that connects two nominals; *daremo* (anybody) and *shisonjiru* (failing to do) that originates from the adnominal form of the archaic word (*shi-*) *sonzu*. The adnominal form of a verb swept the sentence-ending form of a verb influenced by the *kakarimusubi* structure of a sentence in the medieval ages, which can be referred to by Tanimori (2021, 2023).

## Conclusion

According to the perspective provided by this paper, there will be no need to, in order to resolve a variety of contradictions among the correspondence relations between the *wa*-marked element (=topic) and the *ga*-marked one without treating *wa* and *ga* on a syntactically equal footing, stick at the task of associating the topic with a case element (esp. the *ga*-marked element) from the perspective based on logic.

Figure 16 presents a conceptual diagram, showing the correlation between *wa*-marked topic and *ga*-marked phrase via predicative element, that definitely indicates the decidedly different position of *wa* and *ga* on a syntactic level unlike in the case where (1) and (2) with the parallel-disposed particles *wa* and *ga* respectively are simply intercompared in terms of their flattened structures.

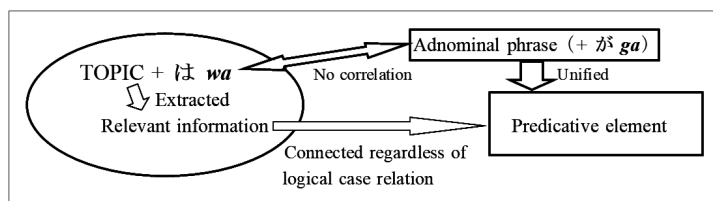


Figure 16

For details about the topic's involvement with the predicative element, i.e., the correlation between the *wa*-marked topic and the extracted predicative element that the *ga*-marked adnominal phrase is attached to, refer mainly to Tanimori (2022), and here the author has focused on the relation between the topic and the *ga*-marked adnominal phrase and that between the *ga*-marked adnominal phrase and the predicative element.

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## 日本語の「は」と「が」の統語論的位置の違いについて

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キーワード：ハ, ガ, 「ハ-ガ」パターン, 名詞句連結

## 要旨

本稿では「～は～が…」文における「は」と「が」の表示成分を対等な位置づけで比較するのではなく統語論的・構造的に次元の異なる位置にそれぞれ置いて考察することを提案する。その場合に「が」が表示するものをまず主格ではなく本来の属格とした。その上でさらに原初的な機能としての「体言の連結」を立てて様々な「～が」と接続する句との関係を吟味する。また主題化による主題と元の要素（特に「～が」）との論理的関係には矛盾や非整合性が多々みられることも示す。それらの矛盾の解決にはまず主題化に論理的格関係が関与しないことを主張する。そして「が」の「体言の連結」という本来の機能により主格にこだわらない「～が…」の接続の様相をみた。このことでより統一的な原理で「～は～が…」文の統語論的構成が説明できるとした。