

A Study on the Syntactic Problems of Japanese Nominal and Adjectival Copula Sentences with a Topic

日本語の名詞・形容詞の主題コピュラ文における
統語論的問題についての一考察

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ABSTRACT

In this paper, with regard to Japanese nominal copula sentences including the ones terminating with a copula *da* preceded by an adjectival noun that is regarded as a kind of noun here and adjectival copula sentences terminating with a copula preceded by an *i*-adjective, the author considers the essential prototype of these two types of sentences to be designated by 'A *wa* B' possibly without the Japanese copula *da* or without its polite equivalent *desu*, partly due to the linguistic fact that the copula is not necessarily indispensable for framing Japanese nominal sentences and adjectival sentences. 'A *wa* B' can be understood by the symbolic expression 'A \supseteq B' that this study represents as a new paradigm of the prototype. All the elements in B are contained within the domain of the topic A and are ready to be flexibly linked to A in the speaker's brain when starting to give utterance.

Also, this study proposes that *ga*-marked argument and *o*-marked argument that play central roles in the group of Case¹ particles may work as supplementary Case elements, which is a new concept here, in the same way as other arguments or adjuncts marked by other Case particles such as *ni*, *e*, *de*, *kara*, *made*, *no*, *to*, *yori*, etc. By the default setting of the essential prototype 'A *wa* B' of Japanese nominal sentences and adjectival sentences as *unagi*-sentence (or *akebono*-sentence), we will see a new paradigm where *wa* may function as a connector of a topic (A) and a predicational element (B) without a logical Case relation between them and also will be able to grasp reasonable illustrations that may let supplementary Case elements properly behave between a topic and a sentence-ending predicational element.

【KEYWORDS】 topic, copula sentence, nominal sentence, adjectival sentence, supplementary Case element

1. Introduction

This study extracts several syntactic problems from the Japanese nominal copula sentences and adjectival copula sentences with a topic and argue them, while illustrating the illogical relation of a topic and a predicational noun or adjective that is put before a copula at the end of sentences. Adjectival copula sentences indicate, in this paper, the ones that terminate with what is called '*i*-adjective' that ends with *-i*. Nominal sentences here cover the seemingly nominal sentences that terminate with an adjectival noun expressing an adjectival state and the ones that terminate with a kinetic noun² that may behave in the same way as regular nouns with the copula *da* not only as a regular predicational noun but also as a predicational verb.

The author quotes several preceding studies on copula sentences and indicates the system malfunction of grammar, which can be observed in comparison with English syntax. This study clarifies what seem to be characteristics of Japanese nominal sentences and adjectival sentences, while developing the consideration of the topic and *unagi*-sentence.

2. Japanese Copula Sentences

Above two types of Japanese sentences, nominal copula sentences and adjectival copula sentences, show the same or similar property that will be described here. Although Japanese has a copula whose conjugated forms are *da* as the plain non-past form, *datta* as the plain past form, *desu* as the non-past polite form, *deshita* as the polite past form and *deshō* as the future conjecturing form, it is not necessarily indispensable in nominal copula sentences and adjectival copula sentences unlike in English as in (1). The sentence-ending particle *yo* may be added and remain beyond the copula or even without the copula, which implies that *yo* can terminate the sentence instead of *da* and that *da* is not indispensable, to round off the sentence as in (1) and (2) and adds the meaning 'you know'.

- (1) *Taro wa tetsugakusha (da / desu [deshō]) (yo).*
 Taro (is [may be]) a philosopher (, you know).
- (2) *Taro wa kashikoi (*da / desu [*deshita / deshō]) (yo).*
 Taro (is [was / may be]) clever (, you know).

Interestingly, even though *desu* and *deshō* can be added after the predicational adjective, its plain form *da* and its polite past form *deshita* cannot as in (2). In this sense, Japanese copula might be remaining in an immature stage unlike in

English where an adjective is always preceded by a copula so as to complete copula sentences.

By the way, in short, the major group of copula sentences can generally be classified into three as below, in Higgins (1979) that analyzes English copula sentences classified into three types. Examples and Japanese translations of them done by the author are put below each sentence as follows:

(3) a. predicational sentence

John is a philosopher.

Jon wa tetsugakusha da.

b. specificational sentence

The bank robber is John Smith.

Ginkō gōtō wa Jon Sumisu da.

c. identificational sentence

That man is Mary's brother.

Ano hito wa Mearī no onīsan da.

According to the English linguistic theory of copula sentences, Japanese predicational sentences, which are called *soteibun* in Japanese, have to ascribe a characteristic to the referent of the topic NP, if the theory may apply to Japanese nominal sentences in the same way. In fact, in Japanese also, there is the similar thought on copula sentences. According to current analyses of Japanese copula sentences, which might commonly be accepted, it can be said that also in Japanese the major group of copula sentences are considered to be predicational sentences, specificational sentences and identificational sentences, which can readily be confirmed in lots of essays on copula sentences, though it is also claimed by some scholars that there can be several more different types like inverted specificational sentences or definitional sentences, etc., which are not the author's concern here.

While predicational adjectives require a copula to form independent simple sentences in English, Japanese adjectival sentences do not require or occasionally must not invite a copula to form independent sentences as in (2). However, we should note that when we say we are analyzing copula sentences they necessarily do not only cover nominal sentences but also adjectival sentences, and thus that both Japanese nominal copula sentences and adjectival copula sentences as in the title of this study are being studied when we question here what Japanese copula sentences are like, though we might be likely to think Japanese copula sentences refer to only nominal sentences, seeing that A and B in "A is B"

are often expressed as NP1 and NP2 but that A and B are not always NP in Japanese, in spite of the fact that even nominal copula sentences do not require a copula in Japanese.

The above linguistic phenomena observed in (1) and (2) and the fact that those forms of the copula are optionally put imply that the Japanese copula is not an essential factor for the creating of what is called "copula sentences" but that *wa*, which is the only functional element besides the copula in the sentences like (1) and (2), must be the essential factor. Also, it may be said that the fact that the sentence-ending particle *yo* can remain without the copula as in (1) and (2) may mean that the nominal sentences without a copula and the adjectival sentences without a copula, which accordingly have the basic structure "A *wa* B" (≡ A is B), can be dealt with as possibly independent sentences.

Obviously, there is no other functional factor besides *wa* that works for the framing of a copula sentence when *wa* is in a sentence that does not have a verbal predicate. Let us see the following. The underlined parts indicate nominal copula sentences.

- (4) *Ashita wa ame to kīta.* (I heard tomorrow is rainy.)
 (5) *Tokyo wa Katsushika no umare.* (*lit.* Tokyo is my birth. → I was born in Tokyo.)
 (6) *Nani wa tomoare.* (*lit.* Be what as it may. → At any rate.)
 (7) *Watashi ga byōki demo, anata wa...* (Though I am sick, you...)
 (8) *Watashi ga kodomo no toki, kanojo wa...* (When I was a child, she...)

All the above sentences (4)-(8) lack the copula *da* or *datta*. However, the subject must be marked by *ga* in (7) and (8) in order to create an independent copula sentence before *demo* and *toki* respectively, i.e., within the domain of *demo*-clause and within the domain of *toki*-clause respectively, because a topic marked by *wa* comes out of the subordinate clause (or phrase) ending with *demo* and *toki* respectively, i.e., because '*byōki demo*' and '*kodomo no toki*' become mere phrases meaning 'in spite of illness' and 'in my childhood' as in (9)-(10).

- (9) *Watashi wa* [*byōki demo,*] ... (I will... in spite of illness.)
 (10) *Watashi wa* [*kodomo no toki,*] ... (I did... in my childhood.)

Interestingly, although (7) and (8) are still copula sentences in Japanese, they cannot involve the copula *da* as in (11)-(12). The sigh * indicates the ungrammaticality of the sentence with it.

- (11) [*Watashi ga byōki *da demo,*] *anata wa...* (Though I am sick, you...)
 (12) [*Watashi ga kodomo *datta no toki,*] *kanojo wa...* (When I was a child,

she...)

Also, it is rather optional for a speaker to use a copula for creating nominal sentences even when expressing a past event and a present event at the same time in one sentence as below.

(13) *Kinō wa ame, kyō wa hare.*

Yesterday was rainy and today is fine.

These linguistic facts as above may imply that Japanese copula sentences do not necessarily require a copula or occasionally eliminate it from copula sentences, which may let us feel that the Japanese copula *da* is close to a supplementary element.

Therefore, this study attaches little importance to Japanese copula even when analyzing Japanese nominal copula sentences and adjectival copula sentences though in many cases they may be labeled 'copula sentences' in other studies, and thus nominal copula sentences and adjectival copula sentences hereafter will simply be called 'nominal sentences' and 'adjectival sentences'. Instead, the topic marker *wa* is put more emphasis on than a copula when arguing nominal sentences and adjectival sentences here. That is, when we argue the Japanese copula sentence "A *wa* B (*da*)," we have to remember that we should analyze *wa* that is a bizarre particle, which is not observed in English but has a qualification to frame nominal sentences and adjectival sentences without a copula, and thus that we will not have to solely insist on analyzing how A or B is referential or whether B is predicational, specificational or identificational instead of or without taking any account of *wa*.

In this way, the Japanese copula can be considered to merely be a supplementary element for mainly specifying tense when necessary and whether the sentence is affirmative or negative. This will be a coherent way of reasonably grasping nominal sentences and adjectival sentences due to the fact that if we follow the linguistic observation of English, which regards predicational and specificational sentences, etc. as the major group of copula sentences, we inevitably find it impossible to reasonably explain how *unagi*-sentence that will be discussed later, noun-concluding construction sentences (discussed in Tanimori (2014)) and nominal sentences terminating with a noun that expresses kinetic state (Tanimori 2019) are formed.

Incidentally, although the nominative Case marker *ga* also creates nominal sentences and adjectival sentences as in (14), the author leaves this issue open at this point and will argue it later or more detailedly, developing the theory of

Tanimori (1994), in another opportunity.

(14) a. *Taro ga tetsugakusha (da / desu) (yo)*.

Taro is a philosopher. (It's Taro that is a philosopher (, you know)).

b. *Taro ga kashikoi (*da / desu [*deshita / deshō]) (yo)*.

Taro is clever. (It's Taro that is clever (, you know)).

This study does not discuss cases of verb sentences that will be explained at some other opportunity. The author will limit himself here to the claim that Japanese nominal sentences and adjectival sentences can basically be created by *wa*.

3. The Function of Acting for Case Particles

Although majority of scholars seem to insist that *wa* should act for Case particles, it has been already argued by the author that *wa* does not have to act for any Case particle like *ga*, *o*, etc., showing the unreasonable function of *wa* that covers seeming plural Case particles in one sentence as in (16). It is claimed that even in the following well-known sentence presented by Mikami (1960) *wa* acts for a Case particle, which is *no* in the genitive Case. This problem is discussed more detailedly in Tanimori (2006).

(15) *Zō wa hana ga nagai.*

An elephant's trunk is long. (*Zō no hana ga nagai.*)

In fact, it can necessarily be concluded, following Tanimori (2006, 2019, etc.), that it is unreasonable to expect, at the stage of starting utterance, that the single *wa* at the top of the single sentence as (16) where the topic referred to as the two different syntactical elements, i.e., what indicates a destination and what indicates a starting point, would have to take the two different Cases at the same time in one sentence, one of which is the allative Case and the other of which is the ablative Case, instead of acting for a single specific Case in one sentence. Thus, the author considers that *wa* has no function nor property of governing any Case because even if we grant that *wa* governs any Case what Case is being acted for by *wa* in one sentence occasionally cannot be determinate even after the rest of the sentence has been recognized, or because *wa* cannot specify any Case in adverbial phrases as in (17) where no Case has resided from the beginning in the adverb.

(16) *Kyoto wa kyō itte ashita kaerimasu.*

(*lit.*) Kyoto, I'll go today and come back tomorrow.

I'll go to Kyoto today and come back from there tomorrow.

(17) *Isoide wa ikemasen.*

(*lit.*) Hastily is not good.

You should not hurry.

And it has been argued by Tanimori (2006, 2014, 2017, 2019) that there can be no logical Case relation between the topic of sentences and any predicational elements, as in the seemingly illogical sentence below, which is from the old Japanese work of literature created one thousand years ago called "*Makura no sōshi*," in the sense that the spring cannot be the dawn.

(18) *Haru wa akebono.*

(*lit.*) The spring is the dawn.

This sentence, which originally lacks a copula and thus sounds like the writer exclaimatorily states what spring timelessly reminds us of, saying that the spring looks most wonderful especially when we feel it at dawn is a refined and highly respectable sentence that lets us notice that *wa* should have some special function completely without contemplating how *da* behaves because it is originally absent. Let us call this type of sentence "*akebono-sentence*" hereafter for convenience sake in this study.

It is obvious that the spring does not possess the attribute of the dawn, that the spring is not specified by the dawn or that the spring is not identified by the dawn, i.e., it can be said that no logical Case relation resides between the spring and the dawn. Also, above all, *da* that is a modern copula did not exist at the period when (18) was created, thus, we may necessarily conclude, by the fact that the sentence originally lacks the copula *da* and that there is not any other functional word besides the topic marker *wa* in (18), that *wa* must take on the property of being able to connect the topic and the predicational noun without adding the copula *da* positioned after the predicational noun. However, though the term 'predicational noun' is used here, the noun might not be 'predicational' in the strict sense in Japanese because first and foremost this sentence is not the predicational sentence but '*akebono-sentence*'.

4. *Unagi-sentence*

For example, in Nishiyama (2014) that is one of the latest articles that briefly summarizes Japanese nominal copula sentences, the major group of copula sentences expressed by "A *wa* B *da*" are considered to be the predicational

sentences that ascribe an attribute expressed by B to the referent of A, the inverted specificational sentences that designate the value meeting the description of A as B and the inverted identificational sentences that identify what A indicates by the description of B.

Therefore, it may be said that the most common type of nominal sentences in Japanese seems to be considered, without seriously taking into consideration, to be the predicational sentence because we probably feel in real life that nominal sentences in many cases express an attribute of the reference of the topic NP in order to explain what the NP is like.

As stated above, however, since the copular *da* is not indispensable for framing nominal sentences in Japanese, the term 'nominal sentence' is in many cases used in this study instead of "copula sentence" which is classified into the above three types in English. In fact, *tetsugakusha* (philosopher) in (1) can be considered to be an attribute of *Taro* in the same way as in English. This type of nominal sentences seem to predicate not only a characteristic as in (1) but a function or a role as in (19), etc. of the referent of the topic NP, and thus it can be thought that it may have been letting us feel that the above three types should be the major group of Japanese nominal sentences.

(19) *Taro wa kanji da.*

Taro is an organizer.

Despite the fact that such a Japanese nominal sentence as *akebono*-sentence reigns as a highly respectable nominal sentence, what can be the reason this type of sentence has been dealt with as a miscellaneous sentence by scholars? That may be because, the author thinks, the linguists may be willing, perhaps even at the sacrifice of Japanese highly respectable sentences, to conform the linguistic theory of Japanese copula sentences, in order to make it be a dominant theory of Japanese grammar, to that of European languages, especially English, under the circumstances that may have let them feel it hard to construct a new, valid, stable and coherent theory about Japanese tricky copula sentences that cover a seemingly odd type of copula sentence called "*akebono*-sentence" that is the very core of the problem in this study. In fact, it is queer that such an extremely simple type of sentence as (20), which is a typical type of sentence that may be found in any textbook for beginners of Japanese or can be heard here and there in daily life because it is a simple, useful and necessary type of sentence in real life, has not been explained at all, despite the fact that it is immediately obvious that such a type of nominal sentences is not a predicational sentence nor a specificational

sentence nor an identificational sentence, i.e., such an unexplainable type of nominal sentence has been made light of or ignored even by academic specialized books, and much more by textbooks for beginners.

(20) *Toire wa ni kai desu.*

(*lit.*) The washroom is the 2nd floor.

The washroom is on the 2nd floor.

It has been argued by Tanimori (2014, 2017, 2019) that the essential prototype of Japanese nominal sentences can be the one like *akebono*-sentence that reads "*Haru wa akebono.* (literally and illogically meaning that the spring is the dawn)," which is also considered to have the same structure as the seemingly exceptional or the seemingly odd sentence "*Boku wa unagi da.* (literally and also illogically meaning that I am an eel). This type of nominal sentence is hereafter called *unagi*-sentence for convenience sake following Tanimori (2014). Although the term *unagi-bun* (*unagi*-sentence) was proposed by Okutsu (1978), that study had no interest in what the essential type of nominal sentence is like nor how the topicalizer *wa* works while entirely focusing on the analysis of the sentence-ending copula *da* and claiming that *da* acts for any predicational verb preceded by any particle as in the sentence like "*Boku wa unagi o taberu* (I'll eat a bowl of rice topped with a grilled eel)."

Also, it should be noted here that adjectival sentences do not have the same property as specificational sentences and identificational sentences since the referent of the topic NP in adjectival sentences cannot be specified by nor identified as what predicational adjectives, which just ascribe an attribute of the topic NP, express, and thus specificational sentences and identificational sentences should be subclassified under predicational sentences. Since a specificational sentence may not be an adjectival sentence, as stated above, it is inadequate to a prominent copula sentence.

Let us see the following adjectival sentences.

(21) a. *Hanako wa kaikei ni naritai.*

Hanako wants to be an accountant.

b. *Taro wa kanji da.*

(*lit.*) Taro is an organizer.

Taro wants to be an organizer.

The above copula sentence (21b) that is peculiar to Japanese predicates that Taro wants to be an organizer, i.e., expresses what he wants to be instead of ascribing the attribute of an organizer to Taro. Thus, it cannot be a predicational sentence

but be a typical *unagi*-sentence whose copula is considered to act for the predicative verb with an auxiliary verb *tai*, i.e., *naritai*, according to the theory of Okutsu (1978).

Even though the major types of nominal sentences seem to generally have been considered, as stated above, to be predicational sentences, specificational sentences and identificational sentences according to Higgins (1979) in particular, it has become more reasonable to consider, as Tanimori (2014, 2017, etc.) claims, that such a type of sentence as (18) that is regarded as an illogical sentence in English can be the prototype of Japanese nominal sentences.

Based on this idea that *akebono*-sentence, which is similar to *unagi*-sentence except that *unagi*-sentence ends with *da* and that the speaker of *akebono*-sentence exclamatorily mentions anything he or she wants to can be the prototype of Japanese nominal sentences, the author considers the essential prototype of nominal sentences and adjectival sentences to be designated by 'A *wa* B' possibly occasionally without the Japanese copula *da* or its conjugated forms like the polite equivalent *desu*, etc., partly due to the linguistic fact that the copula is not indispensable for the creating of nominal sentences and adjectival sentences and that its regular version *da* and *datta* or its polite past form *deshita* cannot be used for creating adjectival sentences, i.e., only its polite non-past form *desu* and *deshō* narrowly can be put directly after a predicational *i*-adjective for framing adjectival sentences.

Essentially the prototype of Japanese nominal sentences and adjectival sentences designated by 'A *wa* B' can be understood by the symbolic expression 'A \supseteq B' whose symbol " \supseteq " does not necessarily mean that A is a superset of B as is regularly realized in the mathematical expression, i.e., does not mean that all the elements included in B must be contained within the domain of A but is used to mean that B may indicate any element that is ready to be linked to the topic A in the speaker's or writer's brain when he or she is to start to give utterance. For example, when A is *hana* (a trunk; nose) B can be *zō* (an elephant), though *zō* is not contained in the concept of *hana* but *hana* is contained in *zō* as part of its body (See (37) for reference). Then any element expressed by B may come to be contained within the domain of the knowledge concerning the topicalized A. In other words, before B is linked to A, B can become any element that may exist beyond the concept of A in so far as it can be linked to A if required, in the sense that B can be anything that the topic reminds the speaker of at the time of creating a topicalized NP (A).

5. Essential Prototype of Japanese Nominal Sentences

The author will try to minutely argue several syntactic problems of Japanese topicalized nominal sentences and also of topicalized adjectival sentences and solutions of them. In contrast to the study of *da*, this study entertains maximum concern for and focuses on the essential function of the topicalizer *wa* and try to rearrange the hierarchy of Japanese nominal sentences and adjectival sentences. Although in fact the nominal sentence "A *wa* B (*da*)" seems to in some way express a relation between the topic NP and the predicational element, the author has considered that the essential property of Japanese nominal sentence 'A *wa* B (*da*)' is the allowance of the absence of the logical Case relation between the topic A and the referent of the predicational element B. In fact, if the main function of nominal sentence 'A *wa* B (*da*)' were to predicate an attribute of NP (A), *unagi*-sentence that must be the important Japanese nominal sentence type would have nowhere to reside in the domain of nominal sentences.

Tanimori (2018) claims that nominal sentences may also predicate an action or a movement of the referent of the topic NP, of the speaker or of the hearer, which can be said to be a noteworthy theory because an action or a movement cannot be covered by the property of generally accepted predicational sentences. In Sato (2014), there is a statement that asserts that nominal sentences express static, permanent or essential property. However, Japanese copula sentences do not have to have a similar surface syntax to English. This study does not attach much importance to specificational sentences and identificational sentences, following Tanimori (2017) that regards those types of sentences as subspecies of Japanese prototypical nominal sentence.

This study considers, as argued above, that the copula *da* may be an optional element that does not have the essential property of creating nominal sentences and adjectival sentences instead of acting for, as Okutsu (1978) claims, any predicate accompanied by a particle, or for a verb followed by an auxiliary verb, and that the essential capability to frame nominal sentences and adjectival sentences is built into the topic marker *wa*, since the topic NP marked by *wa* in many cases seemingly in the nominative Case may rather freely take any predicational element, regardless of which Case it takes or of whether or not it takes a Case, in the predicate of nominal sentences and adjectival sentences.

This considerable flexibility of *wa*, unlike the nominative Case that is necessarily installed in the subject of copula sentences in English, possibly with no function of taking Case may have been the reason the misunderstanding about

whether any predicate can freely be substituted for by *da* may have been produced.

It can be said that predicational adjectives describe the subject, expressing some state or emotion of it, etc. Accordingly, adjectives indicate what the subject marked by *wa* in many cases is like. Then let us see how the following adjectival sentence with the *wa*-marked topic behaves.

(22) *Amusuterudamu no asa wa hayai.*

[lit.] The morning at Amsterdam is early.

→ The day at Amsterdam starts early in the morning. / The people's activities at Amsterdam start early in the morning.

Although (22) as a Japanese adjectival sentence could literally mean, if it were a predicational sentence, that the morning at Amsterdam is early, it can not mean the morning at Amsterdam starts early. It may sound funny because the morning at any place starts early, of course. Seeing that there is no logical relation between 'The morning at Amsterdam' as the topic of the sentence and the predicational element 'early' and that *hayai* (early) logically implies that the day at Amsterdam starts early or that the people's activities at Amsterdam start early, it can be said that Japanese adjectival sentences, which would have to be predicational sentences if adjectives had to express an attribute of the subject, may not have to express an attribute of a topic as the subject of those sentences.

Thus, we may conclude also here that a topic may be linked with any predicational element in adjectival sentences in Japanese in the same way as *unagi*-sentence. This linguistic fact that *wa* has such a high flexibility to freely let a predicational element be at the end of sentences even when the relation of them is illogical implies that *wa* has been assimilating the function of acting as a substitute predicate that Okutsu (1978) proposed as the function of the copula *da*.

Although the following predicational nouns are adjectival nouns (Tanimori 1994), adjectival nouns can be said to express state or feeling as well as *i*-adjectives that are said to be the words that express state or feeling (*Nihon Bumpō Daijiten* (1971)).

(23) *Sensei wa genki da.*

The teacher is healthy.

(24) *Watashi wa taikutsu da.*

I am bored.

Since the adjectival noun *genki* in (23) expresses the state of the teacher and *taikutsu* in (24) expresses the feeling of the speaker, it can be said that the state and the feeling expressed by *genki* and *taikutsu* respectively are what the subjects

are possessed of.

However, the following shows that there can be cases where what the topic indicates may cause some affect to the speaker. Since the adjectival noun *fuben* that literally means 'inconvenience', the sentence does not logically mean that the subject person *watashi* is 'inconvenience'.

(25) *Watashi wa kono dōgu de wa fuben da.*

(lit.) I am inconvenient with this tool. → I am inconvenienced by this tool.

In this way, we have seen that the reference of the topic NP can be directly and illogically connected to the predicational element in Japanese.

The following example shows that the adjectival noun *manzoku* that literally means 'satisfaction' may describe, as the predicational element, both the feeling of the speaker and the resulting state of the game.

(26) a. *Wareware wa konkai no shōri ni manzoku da.*

We are satisfied with this victory.

b. *Konkai no shōri wa manzoku da.*

This victory is satisfactory to us.

In Japanese, unlike in English, these types of words do not have to logically change their word forms according to whether the referent of the topic is a human or a thing the human's feeling targets at, and thus the topic NP may accept any predicational element even if it is illogically linked to the topic, in the same way as in *unagi*-sentence or *akebono*-sentence.

Let us see the difference of the adjectival noun *taikutsu* that literally means 'boredom' in (24) and (27).

(27) *Kaigi wa taikutsu da.*

The meeting is boring.

Interestingly, since the meeting is, needless to say, not bored but the speaker who attends the meeting feels bored, the Japanese word '*taikutsu*' may also indicate what causes boredom to the speaker. Unlike in (24), the meaning of this word is changed to 'boring' in (27), though it is used in the same word form in the both sentences in Japanese. This linguistic fact may show that the acceptability of the illogicality between the topic and the predicational element is considerably high in Japanese and thus that there can be no logical relation between the topic and the predicational element, as argued in Tanimori (2006, 2014, 2017, 2018).

Hayashi (2013) states that as for the sentence 'A *wa* B *da*. A *ga* B *da*.' of which B is a noun we notice that there can be various ways of speaking some of

which obviously lacks the subject-predicate relation as in "*Sono ten wa, yahari yokozuna desu ne.*" (*lit.* In that sense, it's the *yokozuna* as we expect.) or some of which can freely be understood as we like as in "*Ushiro wa gake da.*" (*lit.* My back is a cliff.) in our daily language life, and that it is sufficient for us to simply connect A and B without considering the relation of A and B complicatedly. It is also here admitted that the above two sentences do not have the subject-predicate relation in them and that such types of sentences are usually used in our daily language life. However, such types are not dealt with properly by scholars, occasionally referred to as miscellaneous sentences with distorted or twisted Case relation between *wa* and predicational elements.

The author considers, based on the theory that *wa* has the property of flexibly to accept any predicational element, that the topic A can simply be connected to B that is what "the topic most strongly reminds the speaker of" (Tanimori 1994), without any logical relation between them, and proposes here the formula ' $A \supseteq B$ ' indicating that B is extracted from within the domain of the topic A as shown below.

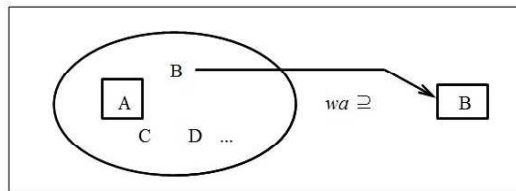


figure 1

The author considers, in accordance with Tanimori (2006, 2017, 2018), that when the speaker or the writer sets a topic (A), a variety of elements (B, C, D...) concerning the topic are generated in his or her mind and linked to each other, and that the speaker or the writer chooses the most suitable or favorable one (B) among them and sets it as the predicational element that terminates nominal sentences or adjectival sentences, as shown in *figure 1*.

Let us look at the following sentences and see how the ungrammatical adjective in the sense that it cannot be used for the inanimate thing in English may be properly used in Japanese.

(28) *Kanojo ni moratta purezento wa ureshī nā.*

(*lit.*) The present she gave me is glad.

→ I'm glad for the present she gave me.

Although the above literal translation is ungrammatical in English in the sense that

the relation between the 'present' and 'glad' is not logical nor the present is glad, (28) is proper in Japanese. According to the mechanism shown in *figure 1*, after the predicational element '*ureshī*' that is generated being linked to the topic '*Kanojo ni moratta purezento*', the speaker may freely, regardless of whether or not the subject is a human, set '*ureshī*' as the predicational element without the logical relation with the topic.

6. Supplementary Case Element

Additionally, this study proposes the new syntax theory that a *ga*-marked argument in nominal sentences and adjectival sentences is just a supplementary element that can be attached to B, as in *figure 2*.

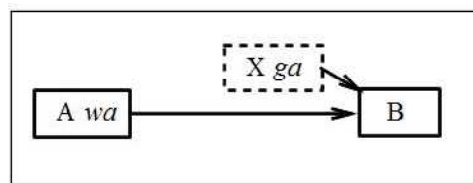


figure 2

Figure 2 shows that even an argument marked by *ga* that occupies a central position in the group of Case particles, may not be positioned at the beginning of a sentence as the subject argument that seems to play the most important role among arguments but may be rather optionally positioned before the predicational element, which is a noun or an adjective, in order to add more detailed information as to what the subject is like or occasionally what the object of B is like. This theory originally proposed here that Case-marked argument may be optionally positioned before the predicational element so as to add more detailed information may permit the topic to freely be linked with any predicational element.

Let us see the following well-known sentence again and consider its structure.

(29) *Zō wa hana ga nagai.* (= (15))

(*lit.*) An elephant, its trunk is long.

When the speaker or the writer sees an elephant and incorporates the word *nagai* that correlates with the topic into his or her mind, he or she can simply attach *nagai* directly to the topic. Then the utterance becomes '*Zō wa nagai,*' which can be okay by itself as a sentence but will be (29) if the *ga*-marked argument '*hana ga*' is attached as in *figure 2* in order to give more detailed information as to what part

of elephant is long. Let us call hereafter this element that has a Case as in (29) 'supplementary Case element'.

Let us see the following actual examples of nominal sentences.

(30) *Bichikuhin wa kore ga hitsuyō.* (Japan Weather Association)

(lit.) Stocks, this is necessary.

(31) *iOS 12 no 'Shashin' wa kore ga benri!* (engadget's advertisement)

(lit.) The photos of iOS 12, this is convenient!

The above both nominal sentences lack the copula *da* and have the same structure as the adjectival sentence (29), which can be illustrated below in the same way as *figure 2*. The sentence (30) states that stocks are necessary and that 'this' among them is particularly necessary as a stock after more detailed information is added by *ga* to the predicational element '*hitsuyō*'. Similarly, the sentence (31) states that the photos of iOS 12 are convenient and that 'this', which implies that it is a nice device, is particularly convenient for operating the photos after more detailed information is added by *ga* to the predicational element '*benri*'.

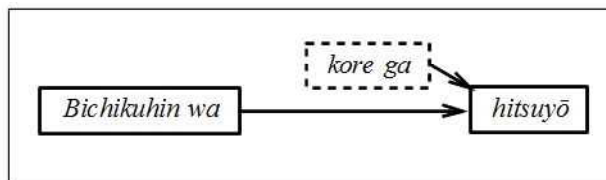


figure 3

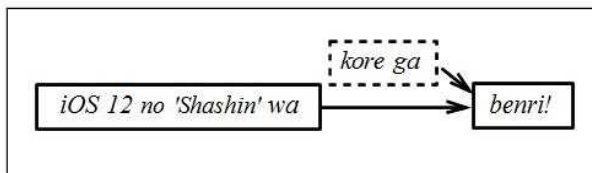


figure 4

In the same way as in *figure 1*, if more other elements (C, D,...) concerning the topic are generated in the speaker's or the writer's mind and linked to the topic and/or to each other, he or she can choose the most suitable or favorable one among them and sets it as the predicational element that terminates nominal sentences or adjectival sentences.

Again in the same way as in *figure 2*, arguments marked by other Case particles can be positioned before the predicational elements. *Ga*-marked argument is not the only special supplementary Case element. Let us see some more sentences with other Cases as below.

- (32) *Boku wa ashita shutchō de Tokyo da.*
 (lit.) I am Tokyo on business tomorrow. (I'll be in Tokyo on business tomorrow.)
- (33) *Boku wa ashita kara shigoto da.*
 (lit.) I am the work from tomorrow. (I'll be at work tomorrow.)



figure 5

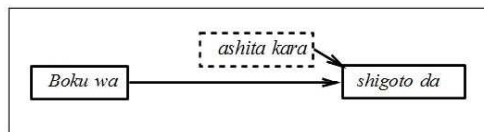


figure 6

The above two sentences are *unagi*-sentence whose predicational elements are preceded by supplementary Case elements indicated by *de* and *kara* respectively. Their structures can be shown as above in the same way as in *figure 3-4*.

As we notice by seeing the above figures, the two supplementary Case elements, the *de*-marked one and the *kara*-marked one, are placed at the same structural positions as in *figure 3-4*, which implies that even the *ga*-marked argument may be equally dealt with though *ga* is in fact the most powerful particle possibly due to the fact that it can indicate a subjective element. However, compared with the sentences with other supplementary Case elements like (32) - (33), (29) may not be commonly stated without any context or makes a hearer be inclined to know what is long if the speaker states it without the *ga*-marked argument like "*Zō wa nagai nā*".

- (34) *Zō wa hana ga shinshukujizai da.*
 An elephant is capable of expansion and contraction of its trunk.
- (35) *Boku wa koshi ga itai.*
 I have a pain in my lower back.

The above *ga*-marked arguments, '*hana ga*' and '*koshi ga*', as the seeming subjects of the predicational elements turn out to be rather supplementary elements and are reduced to prepositional phrases as supplementary elements in English in the sense that they are the prepositional adjuncts in English translations as in (34) - (35), which may also imply that the elements marked even by *ga* can be close to supplementary Case elements at least in topicalized sentences. We will notice that the above two sentences also can be indicated in completely the same way as the other sentences with supplementary Case elements as below.

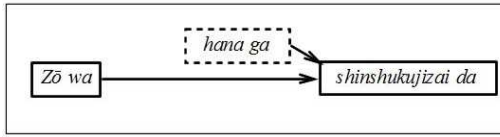


figure 7

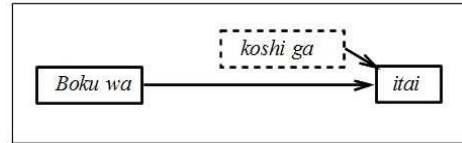


figure 8

Also interestingly, as stated above that any predicational elements can be extracted from among the referential elements generated within the domain of the topic, we will see that the topic and the predicational element in (34) can be reversed without losing its grammaticality as below. Then, the supplementary Case element is put into an argument ('a trunk') as the subject in English in this case and into the topic ('*Hana wa*') in Japanese.

(36) *Hana wa zō ga shinshukujizai da.*

A trunk of an elephant is stretchable.

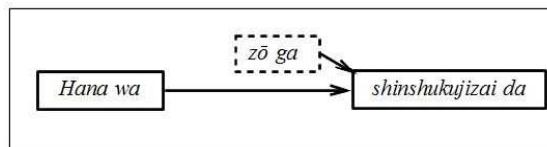


figure 9

Compare *figure 7* with *figure 9*, and we will see that both (34) and (36) are able to keep the same structure even after the hierarchical order of the topic and the supplementary Case element is reversed. This phenomenon implies that the topic and the predicational element in nominal sentences are the two foundations for the forming of the prototype of nominal sentences rather than supplementary Case elements including *ga*-marked argument.

In fact, the hierarchical order of the topic and the *ga*-marked argument in (15) that is an adjectival sentence can also be reversed with no grammatical problem as below.

(37) *Hana wa zō ga nagai.*

As for a trunk, an elephant's one is long.

The hierarchical orders of the topic and the *ga*-marked argument in (15) and (37) can structurally be shown in the same fashion, regardless of the logical relation between the topic and the predicational element, as in *figure 10-11* respectively.

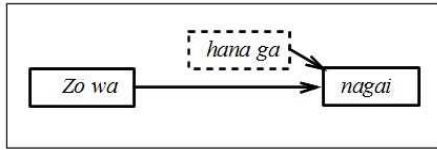


figure 10

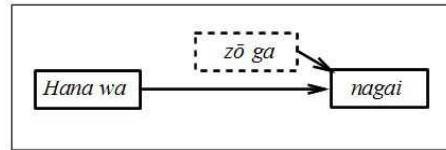


figure 11

The Case particles that mark the arguments or some of adjuncts may be changed according to the meaning of the whole sentence, as shown below.

(38) *Enkai wa Taro ga kanji da.*

The party's manager is Taro.

(39) *Taro wa enkai de kanji da.*

Taro is the manager of (*lit. in*) the party.

The hierarchical orders of the topic and the arguments or adjuncts as the supplementary Case elements in (38) and (39) that can structurally be shown in the same way may also be observed in *figure 12* and *figure 13* respectively as below.

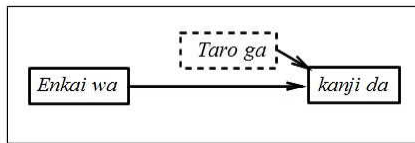


figure 12



figure 13

The operation of reversing the hierarchical order of the topic and an argument or adjunct marked by a Case particle may not be always perfectly possible. However, it can be concluded here that when the linguistic environment that enables the natural context is established the restriction on the logical relation between the topic and the predicational element may be lifted, due to the linguistic fact that the exchange of the hierarchical order of the topic and the supplementary Case element is occasionally possible.

Let us see next how the *o*-marked argument that is a second important Case element can be positioned as a supplementary Case element in nominal sentences.

(40) *Eki wa tsugi no kado o sasetu da.* (Tanimori 2018)

(*lit.*) The station is the left turn at the next corner.

You'll see the station after turning left at the next corner.

Interestingly, even the above *o*-marked argument '*tsugi no kado o*' that should be used to modify a verb like "*sasetsu suru* (= to turn left)" can be positioned directly before a noun, which can be called 'kinetic noun' as a term in Tanimori (2018), as the supplementary Case element. Thus, the *o*-marked argument can also be dealt with as the supplementary Case element, as shown below in the same way as in *figure 3-4*. Also here, it is noticeable that the relation between the topic and the predicational noun '*sasetsu*' is illogical because the station is not the left turn.

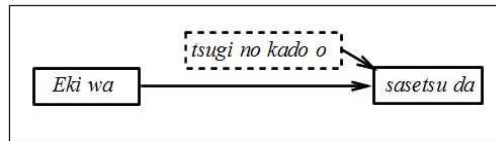


figure 14

However, we have to here be reminded that *ga*-marked argument and *o*-marked argument that should assist in completing the meaning of a verb may be indicated as in '*sasetsu suru* <Agent, Waypoint>' and may have to be incorporated into a verb at the level of the lexical mechanism. Here in this study, since nominal sentences and adjectival sentences are being dealt with and any argument-like element can flexibly be omitted in Japanese, the author has considered that what is called '*ga*-marked argument' or '*o*-marked argument' is close to an optional adjunct-like element at least in nominal sentences and adjectival sentences, and thus that it should be dealt with as the supplementary Case element as in *figure 2*.

Let us see that it is not difficult to notice, if we adopt the theory of this study, the similarity between the structures shown above and those of the 'noun-concluding construction sentences' with an extended predicate terminating with a predicational noun that are said to be peculiar sentences by scholars because the extended nominal predicates of them have not been properly explained yet. Noun-concluding construction sentences are dealt with in Tanimori (2017).

- (41) *Taro wa asu Nagoya ni iku yotei da.* (Tsunoda 1996, Tanimori 2017)
 (*lit.*) Taro is the schedule that he is going to Nagoya tomorrow.
 → Taro is scheduled to go to Nagoya tomorrow.

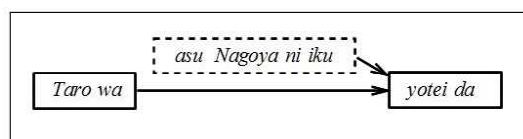


figure 15

The structure of (41) can be shown as in *figure 15* in the same way as in *figure 2-9* in the sense that there is no logical relation between Taro and the schedule because the human Taro is not the schedule.

However, the clause that precedes the predicational noun 'yotei' may not seem to be a supplementary Case element but is a modifying clause that may just seem to function as a supplementary Case element and that is always required to add detailed information to 'yotei' in order to fill up the semasiologically unfilled part, because only the predicational element 'yotei' is not sufficient to complete the sentence. This clause may not have to remain as a clause but may be an element in genitive Case as below.

(42) *Taro wa asu Nagoya iki no yotei da.*

Accordingly, the expression as a supplementary Case element is positioned in the same way as in *figure 16*. Another typical noun that can be placed in the same position as 'yotei' in this type of sentences, noun-concluding construction sentences, is 'tsumori' that means 'intention', which can replace the above 'yotei'.

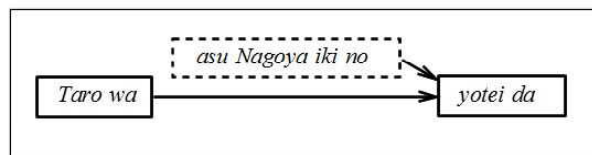


figure 16

The author considers that the core of (41), "*Taro wa yotei da*", equals *unagi*-sentence apart from the fact that the predicational element 'yotei' always requires some supplementary element occasionally as a clause with detailed information so as to be filled up with a necessary information and to conclude the nominal sentence. In fact, if we add some detailed information to the predicational element 'unagi' in the same way as the above, the original *unagi*-sentence can be as follows with a supplementary Case element.

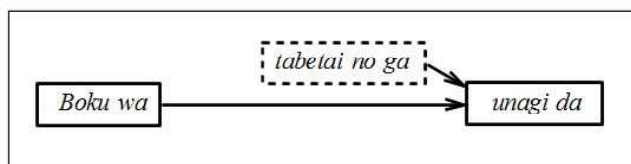


figure 17

The supplementary Case element in *figure 17* can flexibly be changed or omitted depending on the context where what the speaker wants to mention can establish the linguistic environment that enables the sentence meaning to be reasonable and understandable.

7. Summary

We have seen the new paradigm where (adjectival) nouns and *i*-adjectives can be dealt with as predicational elements that do not necessarily require logical Case relation with the topic, in parallel to the behavior of the predicational element '*unagi*' of *unagi*-sentence or of the predicational element '*akebono*' of *akebono*-sentence, by seeing illustrations that may let us notice that supplementary Case elements properly behave at a reasonable position between a topic and a sentence-ending predicational element. Also, we have seen how we can grasp the conceivable syntax that can be common to seeming regular nominal or adjectival sentences and *unagi*-sentence that the author considers to be the prototype of nominal sentences and adjectival sentences.

The author has quoted preceding studies on copula sentences so as to indicate the system malfunction, which can be observed in comparison with English syntax, of the logical Case relation between a topic and a predicational element at the end of the sentence, and has clarified what seem to be characteristics of Japanese nominal sentences and adjectival sentences, by developing the consideration of the topic and *unagi*-sentence

要 旨

本稿では、日本語の形容名詞を含む名詞で終わる名詞文と形容詞文に関して、そのプロトタイプを、その成立に必須ではないコピュラがなくてもよい格好で「AはB」と表示されることを考察し、「A ⊃ B」として設定する。Bの要素はトピックAの領域に含まれ、発話時に自在にAにリンクされるとする。

また、格助詞の中で主要な役割を持つガ格やヲ格に表示される項であっても、他の格要素や付加語と同様に、新たな概念である「補助的格要素」として振る舞うことを提唱する。「AはB」のデフォルトをウナギ文とみなし、ハがトピックAと叙述的（措定的）要素Bを論理的格関係と無関係に結ぶという新たなパラダイムを、補助的格要素が機能的に振る舞う説明を通してみていく。

【キーワード】 トピック、コピュラ文、名詞文、形容詞文、補助的格要素

NOTE

- 1 The grammatical case is hereafter in this study indicated by 'Case' so that we may definitely know that it is a grammatical case.
- 2 This term, which may almost equal the term generally known as 'verbal noun', is from Tanimori (2018).

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