

Japanese Nominal and Verbal Sentences seen from the viewpoint of the Topic and Kakarimusubi

主題と係り結びから見る日本語の体言文と用言文

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ABSTRACT

In this paper, the latent and essential pattern of Japanese sentence will be established that might be able to be discovered through the consideration of the relation between the topic and kakarimusubi (the rule of linked forms that is said to have spread before the Muromachi Period), based on the observation of the linguistic phenomenon of sentence structure terminating not with the dictionary end-form of a declinable word (*yōgen*¹) like a verb or an adjective but with the adnominal form (*rentaikei*) that ought to be followed by a noun (*taigen*) or nominal that is attributively modified by it.

The author considers the similarity or something common between the verbal or adjectival sentence structure with *kakarimusubi* and the nominal sentence structure, pointing out that the Japanese sentence structure with *kakarimusubi* has something in common with English cleft sentence structure and referring to the behavior of the adnominal form of *yōgen* that terminates a sentence as that of *taigen* that also terminates a sentence as the prototype of nominal sentence like '*Haru wa akebono.*', and constructs, based on his previous studies on the topic marker *wa* and Japanese nominal sentences, a hypothesis that the topic of a sentence tends to demand or aim at the adnominal form of a declinable as a nominal at the end of a verbal or adjectival sentence.

【Key words】 kakarimusubi, kakarijoshi, cleft sentence, Quale Topic, Memory Topic

1 Introduction

Kakarimusubi, which literally means that the form at the end of a sentence is linked to the preceding phrase followed by a special ancient binding particle and then which may be understood as the rule of linked forms, had been existed in ancient and medieval Japanese and almost collapsed during the Muromachi Period (1336-1573). When several special ancient binding particles, which will be referred to as kakarijoshi² for convenience

sake hereafter in this study, like *zo*, *namu*, *ya* and *ka* modify the preceding phrase in order to emphasize it in the middle of a sentence the end of the sentence does not take the end-form but takes the adnominal form (*rentaikei*) to terminate the sentence. There are some other kakarijoshi, *koso*, *wa* and *mo*, according to Yamada (1936). While *koso* causes a sentence to end with the imperfective form (*izenkei*), *wa* and *mo* have not been considered to require a specific form of a verb or an adjective. Among these kakarijoshi *zo* will be dealt with in this study. Nouns or nominal phrases and declinable or conjugational words like a verb, an auxiliary or an adjective will be referred to as 'taigen' and 'yōgen' respectively for convenience sake hereafter in this study.

We will see the latent and essential pattern of Japanese sentence by analyzing how ancient Japanese sentences with kakarimusubi took the adnominal form of yōgen at the end of those sentences and by observing the relation between the topic and kakarimusubi.

The author considers that there is something common between the verbal or adjectival sentence structure with kakarimusubi and the nominal sentence structure, pointing out the syntactic similarity between the Japanese sentence structure with kakarimusubi and English cleft sentence and referring to the behavior of the adnominal form of yōgen that terminates a sentence as that of taigen that also terminates a sentence as the prototype of nominal sentence like '*Haru wa akebono.*', and constructs a hypothesis that the topic of a sentence tends to demand or develop a powerful connection with the adnominal form of yōgen as a taigen at the end of a verbal or adjectival sentence in parallel with taigen at the end of the prototype of nominal sentence, and that the subjective case particle *ga* supplementarily appeared as the kakarijoshi *zo* faded.

2 Kakarimusubi - Linked Forms

The rule of kakarimusubi is that when the kakarijoshi *zo*, on which the consideration of the sentence structure in question in this study mainly focuses, modifies the preceding word or phrase in order to add emphasis to it in a sentence the end of the sentence does not take the end-form but takes the adnominal form to terminate the sentence.

Let us see the following classical actual example sentences created more than one thousand years ago cited from *Man'yōshū* (the 7th-8th century), *Ise Monogatari* (the 9th-10th century) and *Taketori Monogatari* (the 9th-10th century). Hereafter, a romanized sentence is put below each classical Japanese sentence and the translation of it is done by the author. Underlines, also hereafter, are drawn also by the author.

- (1) 吾が恋ふる君ぞ 昨夜 夢に見えつる (万葉集 二卷一五〇)

Aga kofuru kimi zo kizo no yo ime ni mietsuru (*Man'yōshū*, vol. 2-150)

You who I burn with passion for appeared in my dream last night.

- (2) 昔人は、かくいちはやきみやびをなんしける。(伊勢物語 第一段)
Mukashibito wa, kaku ichihayaki miyabi wo nan shikeru. (*Ise Monogatari*, First paragraph)
 Early people used to exhibit a swift behavior like this.
- (3) 飽かざる君や明日 別れなむ (万葉集 十二卷三二〇七)
Akazaru kimi ya asu wakarenamu (*Man'yōshū*, vol. 12-3207)
 You who I never get tired of being with will leave tomorrow.
- (4) いかなる所にか この木は さぶらひけむ。(竹取物語・蓬萊の玉の枝)
Ikanaru tokoro ni ka kono ki wa saburahikemu. (*Taketori Monogatari*, Hōrai no Tama no Eda)
 At what place does this tree grow?

As seen above, the underlined phrases ending with kakarijoshi *zo*, *nan*, *ya* and *ka* are transformative enough to let the auxiliary verb at the end of a sentence *tsu* (perfect), *keri* (past), *namu* (guess) and *kemu* (past guess) have the adnominal form *tsuru*, *keru*, *namu* and *kemu* respectively, though the adnominal form of *namu* and *kemu* are the same as its dictionary form.

This study, however, only deals with *zo* that the author considers to be the most important among kakarijoshi and the handiest for illustrating how Japanese core sentence structure has historically been formed thus far.

3 The Inversion Theory of Kakarimusubi

The following sentences show that the kakarijoshi *zo* had terminated a sentence, which implies that it functions as a copula at the end of a sentence. There had been this use of *zo* from the beginning in parallel with its use as a kakarijoshi in the later times.

- (5) かくのたまふは 誰ぞ。(竹取物語)
Kaku notamau wa ta zo. (*Taketori Monogatari*)
 Who is the person that says so?
- (6) まろは 更に 物言はぬ人 ぞよ。唯 人に 勝たせ奉らむ 勝たせ奉らじは 心ぞよ。
 (堤中納言物語)
Maro wa sarani monoiwanu hito zo yo. Tada hito ni katasetatematsuramu katasetatematsuraji wa kokoro zo yo. (*Tsutsumi Chūnagon Monogatari*)
 I am a man who knows how to keep a secret. However, whether or not you may be let to win depends on my discretion.

These have a simple structure [Topic *wa* - Noun + *zo*]. Thus, the order of the topic and the sentence-ending noun with *zo* in them can simply be inverted as follows respectively.

- (7) 誰ぞ かくのたまふは。

Ta zo kaku notamau wa.

- (8) 更に物言はぬ人ぞよ まろは。唯心ぞよ 人に勝たせ奉らむ 勝たせ奉らじは。

Sarani monoiwanu hito zo yo maro wa. Tada kokoro zo yo hito ni katasetatematsuramu katasetatematsuraji wa.

Interestingly, the second sentence in (6) is an *unagi*-sentence (Okutsu (1978)) because there is no logical relation between the topic and the noun at the end of the sentence, which will be considered later in this study.

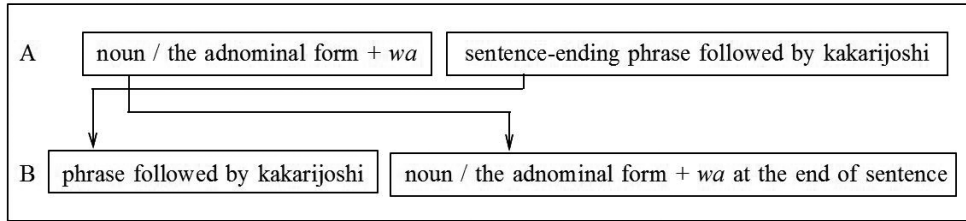


Figure 1

Therefore, according to the hitherto known inversion theory of kakarimusubi, which could be a reasonable understanding, a kakarijoshi had a function of giving its own role and meaning to the phrase followed by it by inverting the sentence-ending phrase followed by a kakarijoshi and the noun or the adnominal form of a verb or an adjective, as illustrated in *figure 1*. The pattern A indicates the original word order of a sentence ending with kakarijoshi and the pattern B indicates that it is created by the inversion of kakarimusubi.

This inversion theory is supported by, for example, Ōno (1993) that considers the sentence with kakarimusubi like (9) to have been created by inverting the *wa*-marked nominal phrase and the sentence-ending phrase followed by *so* in (10), and to have been derived from (10) that may possibly have the original normal structure 'Topic-Comment' with the word order '-*wa* -*so*.' This *so*, however, is the original previous form of *zo*. *Zo* could be similar in some degree to the English copula 'to be' when it is used at the end of a sentence, which had been classical usage since ancient times before kakarimusubi developed. And *zo* also had a function of emphasizing the phrase that precedes *zo* by strongly specifying it. Note that the literal translations indicated with the abbreviation (*lit.*) hereafter are grammatical in Japanese though it may be ungrammatical in English.

- (9) 色に出でていはなくのみそわが恋ふらくは (万葉集 十一卷二七二五)

Iro ni idete iwanaku nomi so waga kofuraku wa (*Man'yōshū*, vol. 11-2725)

I just do not voice my love.

- (10) わが恋ふらくは色に出でていはなくのみそ

Waga kofuraku wa iro ni idete iwanaku nomi so (Ōno 1993; pp.24-25)

(lit.) My love, I just do not voice.

The above inversion pattern can be illustrated as in figure 2.

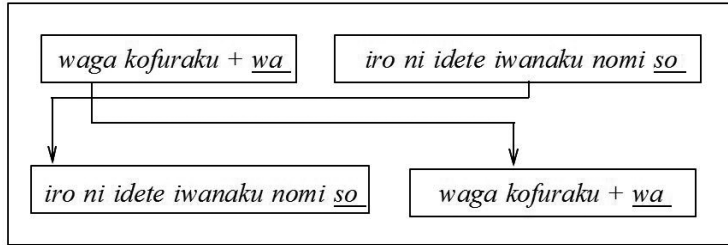


Figure 2

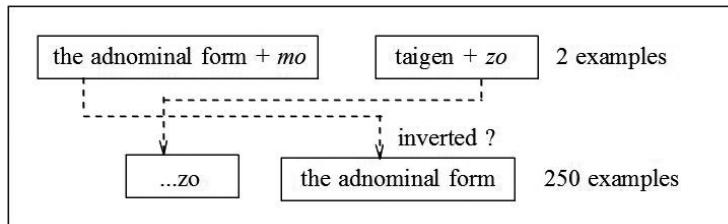


Figure 3

Although the above understanding of the scheme of kakarimusubi seems reasonable at a glance, Yanagida (1985; p.155-156) casts doubt as to this inversion theory by referring to evidence that there are only two examples with the structure 'the adnominal form + *mo*, taigen + *zo*' (*mo* marks an additional topic) that could have to possibly be the original pattern from which the pattern of kakarimusubi would have been derived, despite the fact that there are as many as around two hundred and fifty examples with the structure '...*zo* + the adnominal form' as the regular pattern of kakarimusubi in *Man'yōshū*, as illustrated in figure 3.

In this way, the above conventional inversion theory that kakarimusubi could have been generated by inverting the end of a sentence with kakarijoshi and the adnominal form might seem to have been denied recently, which, however, will be reconsidered hereafter in this study supporting the inversion theory in a different way.

Although this study intends to examine kakarimusubi structure with a focus on the phrase with *zo*, which hereafter will be referred to as '*zo*-phrase' for convenience sake, the author may also do some little more research on other kakarijoshi for reference. The following are sentences with kakarimusubi created by *ka* and *ya*,

- (11) 吾妹子が いか^かに思へ^かぬ^かば^かたまの 一夜も落ちず 夢にし見ゆる
 (万葉集 一五卷三六四七)

Wagimoko ga ikani omohe ka nubatama no hitoyo mo ochizu ime ni shi miyuru
(*Man'yōshū*, vol. 15-3647)

(lit.) How strongly my dear lady might think of me! It is her appearing every day even at pitch-black night in my dream.

- (12) 倉橋の山を 高みか 夜ごもりに出でくる 月の光 乏しき (万葉集 三卷二九〇)

Kurahashi no Yama wo takami ka yogomori ni idekuru tsuki no hikari toboshiki
(*Man'yōshū*, vol. 3-290)

(lit.) Mt. Kurahashi might be very high. It is in low light of the moon late at night.

- (13) 古の人に 我あれや 楽浪の 古き京を 見れば 悲しき (万葉集 一卷三二)

Inishihe no hito ni ware are ya sasanami no furuki miyako wo mireba kanashiki
(*Man'yōshū*, vol. 1-32)

(lit.) I might be a man in the past. It is sorrow I feel seeing the ruined old capital Ōmi.

Unlike *zo*, *ka* and *ya* express that the speaker is not sure about whether the phrase that precedes *ka* or *ya* reasonably describes or explains the reasoning of what is told in the statement that follows. Ōno (1993) assumes (14) and (15) to be the original sentences from which (11) and (12) are derived respectively, and Asakawa and Takebe (2014) assumes (16) to be the original sentence from which (13) is derived, through the process of inverting the adnominal phrase and the phrase marked by a kakarijoshi.

- (14) *Nubatama no hitoyo mo ochizu ime ni shi miyuru (koto wa) wagimoko ga ikani omohe ka*

(lit.) Her appearing every day even at pitch-black night in my dream indicates how strongly my dear lady might think of me.

- (15) *Yogomori ni idekuru tsuki no hikari toboshiki (wa) kurahashi no Yama wo takami ka*

(lit.) Low light of the moon late at night indicates Mt. Kurahashi might be very high.

- (16) *Sasanami no furuki miyako wo mireba kanashiki (wa) inishihe no hito ni ware are ya*

(lit.) Sorrow I feel seeing the ruined old capital Ōmi indicates I might be a man in the past.

As Ōno (1993) points out, Asakawa and Takebe (2014) also regards the original sentence from which the sentence with kakarimusubi structure is derived as topic-comment pattern of sentence [... *wa* ...], i.e., as the pattern A shown in *figure 1*, while at the same time Asakawa and Takebe (2014) also illustrates another view with the following examples.

- (17) 秋風の 吹きにし日より いつしかと 我が待ち恋ひし 君そ 来ませる

(万葉集 八卷一五二三)

Akikaze no fukinishi hi yori itsushikato aga machi kohishi kimi so kimaseru

(*Man'yōshū*, vol. 8-1523)

You, whom I have been missing since the day when the autumn breeze blew wondering when I would be able to meet, has come.

(18) 春日野に照れる夕日の 外のみ_に君を相見て 今そ 悔しき

(万葉集 十二卷三〇〇一)

Kasugano ni tereru yūhi no yoso nomi ni kimi wo ahimite ima so kuyashiki

(*Man'yōshū*, vol. 12-3001)

I just had been watching you discreetly from a distance like the setting sun shining light into Kasugano and now I regret only having done so.

According to their analysis, *kimaseru* and *kuyashiki* are the adnominal forms of *kimaseri* (to have come) and *kuyashi* (to be regretful) respectively, and thus the original forms into which the *zo*-phrase and the adnominal form in (17) and (18) are converted back are as follows.

(19) *kimaseru* kimi so ((It is ...) you that has come)

(20) *kuyashiki* ima so ((It is ...) now that I regret)

We should note that the above patterns of inversion do not become involved with *wa* that can be seen in (14)-(16), as illustrated in *figure 4* unlike in *figure 2*, and thus it can be said that no sweeping judgment has been made about whether or not the *wa*-marked topic is part of the inverted structure. Although there can be such an interpretation as will identify the topic-comment pattern of inversion with the kakarimusubi structure as in (14)-(16), which this study will not necessarily throw out, the position of the topic [...*wa*] will be reconsidered hereafter in this study.

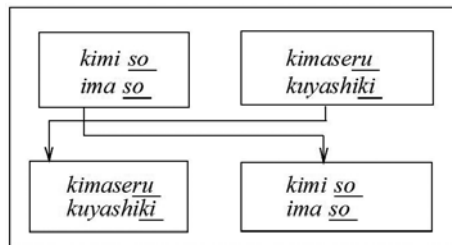


Figure 4

Incidentally, there is another theory of kakarimusubi that regards the sentence-ending *zo*-phrase as an annotation that emphasizes the *zo*-marked phrase. This study, however, which is intended to consider the backbone Japanese sentence from the viewpoint of sentence structure rather than that of pragmatic function, draws little attention to it

since it does not seem to provide a crucial clue to unwrapping the structural secrets of kakarimusubi.

4 The Modified Inversion Theory of Kakarimusubi

This study tries to be free from the traditional approach and to produce a new proposal hereafter by bringing a fundamental shift from conventional *modus operandi*. Then how could we modify an existing idea and advance a modified inversion theory of kakarimusubi?

It can be said that previous studies on kakarimusubi have ignored the topic in many cases marked by *wa* as inconsequential and still more treated the topic as an unimportant factor that is extraneous to kakarimusubi. That is, this study will make an original and unconventional attempt to newly consider the relation between the *wa*-marked topic and the kakarimusubi structure integrating them in a novel way to become a crucial factor in the emergence of the core structure of Japanese sentences.

At first, *figure 5* is illustrated schematically with the diagram of the inversion of the *zo*-phrase and the phrase ending with the adnominal form differently from *figure 1*, in the sense that the phrase ending with the adnominal form must not be marked by *wa* nor *mo* and that the topic resides in a domain outside of the scope where the inversion occurs. The *wa*-marked topic, which has significant presence within or even without a sentence, has had emerged previously to the time of speech far forward from the scope of the large *zo*-phrase where the inversion of kakarimusubi occurs.

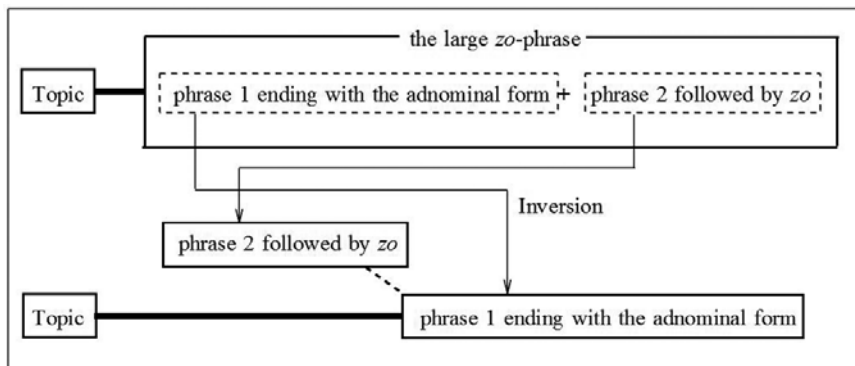


Figure 5

Note that *figure 5* shows that the inversion of kakarimusubi occurs just within the scope of the large *zo*-phrase, i.e., that just the two elements of the *zo*-phrase, phrase 1 ending with the adnominal form and phrase 2 followed by *zo*, are inverted. What is noteworthy is the fact that the phrase 2 followed by *zo* at the end of the original sentence

pattern before kakarimusubi occurs within the scope of the large *zo*-phrase culminates in a supplementary element that hooks into phrase 1 ending with the adnominal form. The small *zo*-phrase, which will simply be called '*zo*-phrase' hereafter in the sense that it emerges from the large *zo*-phrase being split by the inversion, becomes a supplementary element or comes to be considered to be a supplementary case element (Tanimori 2020) by becoming conscious of some logical case relation between the supplementary element and the *yōgen* in the adnominal form at the end of a sentence.

(9) that does not include the adnominal form of *yōgen* is just a pattern formed by the simple inversion of the topic and the predicate ending with *zo* in the same way as (21) that the author created, which does not elucidate the exact nature of kakarimusubi. Interestingly, the translation of this Japanese sentence by English with the inverted structure shows the analogous structure where 'happy' and 'those' are inverted in completely the same way as the Japanese inverted structure.

- (21) 幸ひ人ぞ, 心ゆく者は。
Saiwaibito zo, kokoro yuku mono wa.
Happy are those who are satisfied.

This analogous structure that turns out to be aligned in the same direction is illustrated in figure 6.

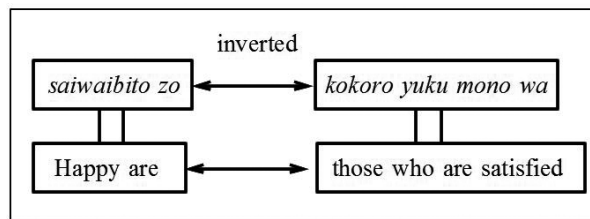


Figure 6

The author has become increasingly convinced that getting the hang of *wa* is the overarching point in illuminating the mechanics of kakarimusubi, that is, that the topic marked by *wa* (or *mo*) should not be localized to a narrowly limited confine in a sentence as (21) that is a simple sentence in which the topic and the comment is merely inverted but should have a powerful and leading position in the creation of kakarimusubi structure.

If so, where should *wa* be considered to be present and how could it behave in the sentence structure? In order to elucidate the true nature of kakarimusubi, let us consider again how the inversion mechanism of kakarimusubi could have worked. Before deepening the analysis of the sentence structure with kakarimusubi, let us see another simpler example with kakarimusubi formed by the *zo*-phrase.

(22) 心得ぬ事のみぞ多かる。(山田 1936)

Kokoro enu koto nomi zo ōkaru. (Yamada 1936)

Only the things that I don't understand are always numerous.

The fact that the word *ōkaru* (a large quantity) at the end of the above sentence is the adnominal form of a classical adjective *ōkari* (numerous), which can also function as *taigen* in classical Japanese, suggests that this sentence could be equivalent to a nominal sentence, whose structure can be illustrated as below.

(23) [Topic (...*wa*) [- (NP2 ...*zo*)] NP1].

Although (22) has no topic, which can often be dropped in Japanese, it should be considered that (22) discloses its topic, for example, *ware* as follows.

(24) 我は心得ぬ事のみぞ多かる。

Ware wa kokoro enu koto nomi zo ōkaru.

I always have only numerous things that I don't understand.

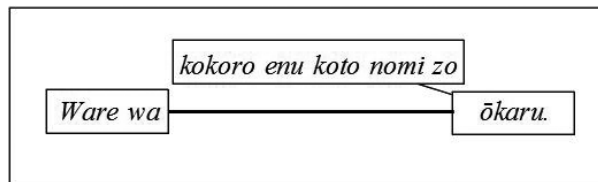


Figure 7

The structure [topic-comment] with the *zo*-phrase as a supplementary element can be illustrated as above. We should note that there is no logical case relation between the topic and sentence-ending adnominal form as NP. Figure 7 shows that the topic *ware* strongly leads to the nominal *ōkaru* at the end of the sentence and that the *zo*-phrase is hooked up to the nominal at the end of the sentence. This illustration indicates the essential structure considered in this study in the sense that the topic is given a dominant position in the backbone of Japanese sentence, and thus this can be a fresh idea in the sense that the topic has not been discussed in this way in other studies on *kakarimusubi* until now.

The above type of sentence, which has no logical case relation between the topic and the sentence-ending NP, is also commonly seen in modern Japanese just as the topic '*watashi (ni)*' and the sentence-ending NP '*...koto bakari*' are directly connected as follows.

(25) 私 (に) は分からないことばかりだ。

Watashi (ni) wa wakaranai koto bakari da.

I always have only lots of things that I don't understand.

The above topic can be replaced with, for example, the following another word. This versatility of *wa*-marked topic will be considered again later in this study.

- (26) 世の中は 分からないことばかりだ。
Yononaka wa wakaranai koto bakari da.

The world is full of the things that I don't understand.

The above (25) and (26) can be rephrased by adding the adjective *ōi* as the predicate in accordance with (22) that ends with the adnominal form of the adjectival word *ōkari*, as follows.

- (27) 私(に)は 分からないことばかりが 多い。
Watashi (ni) wa wakaranai koto bakari ga ōi.
- (28) 世の中は 分からないことばかりが 多い。
Yononaka wa wakaranai koto bakari ga ōi.

Rightfully, the kakarijoshi *zo*, which is a classical word, is not used in the modern sentences (27) and (28). Instead, *ga* as the subjective case marker has newly appeared, which is said to be a phenomenon that has been observed since the late Muromachi Period.

However, there had been *ga* as the genitive case marker since the ancient times as in the following examples that are found in *Man'yōshū*.

- (29) わが宿に 盛りに 咲ける 梅の花 散るべくなりぬ 見む人もがも
 (万葉集 五卷八五一)

Wa ga yado ni sakari ni sakeru umenohana chiru beku narinu mimu hito mogamo
 (*Man'yōshū*, vol. 5-851)

Apricot flowers in full bloom at my residence are falling. I just wish someone would see them.

- (30) 君がため 山田の沢に ゑぐ摘むと 雪消の水に 裳の裾 濡れぬ
 (万葉集 十卷一八三九)

Kimi ga tame yamatanosawa ni wegu tsumu to yukige no midu ni monosuso nurenu

(*Man'yōshū*, vol. 10-1839)

When I was going to pick black arrowhead tuber for the good of you in Yamata swamp, my hem of pants had gotten wet with snow meltwater.

Although the newly emerging *ga* as the subjective case marker in the Muromachi Period after the ancient time actually can be used in place of *zo* as in (27) and (28), it should not be considered to assume a role as *zo* because *zo* does not essentially indicate the subjective case nor the genitive case. And since the adnominal form of *yōgen* at the end of a sentence has internalized the sentence-ending dictionary form since the Muromachi Period, the *yōgen* at the end of a sentence in modern Japanese may be no longer regarded as the nominal phrase (NP). However, *ga* seems to still retain traces of the adnominal function in some degree, since the original essential nature is supposed not to vanish

completely.

Going back to the inverted structure of (22), the following that has the simple [topic-comment] structure could also have the original word order from which (22) emerges, in the same way as Ōno (1993) suggested.

(31) 多かるは心得ぬ事のみぞ。

Ōkaru wa kokoro enu koto nomi zo.

What are numerous are only the things that I don't understand.

However, as stated above, this type of possible inversion is rarely found in *Man'yōshū*, which includes only two actual examples, and thus can hardly be considered to be the distinctive pattern of kakarimusubi, as the thinking of Yanagida (1985) is referred to in the previous section. For this reason, there will be a strong possibility that such sentence as (24) with the restored topic that lies anterior to the inner structure [(NP2 ...zo) NP1] of (23) is newly proposed by the author as the original sentence from which (22) could emerge. The point is to consider (24) not to have been created by the inversion of the topic and the following comment in (31), though needless to say (31) may come into existence as a proper sentence. (24) should not be treated without any distinction as to whether or not the inversion is simply caused and whether or not the inversion is entwined with kakarimusubi. To wrap up the difference of the two inversions involved with (24) and (31), let the difference be illustrated as in *figure 8*.

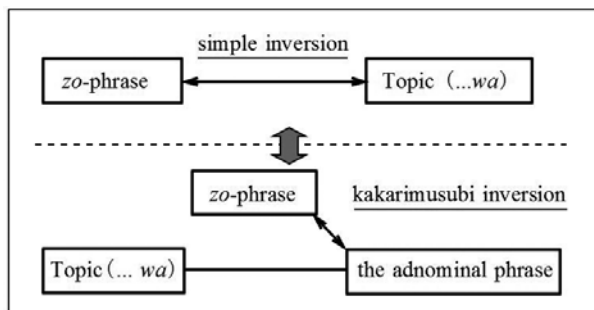


Figure 8

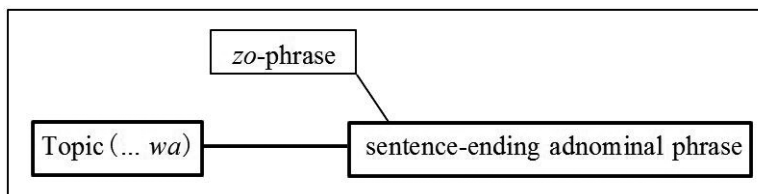


Figure 9

The *zo*-phrase could become merely a supplementary element in the sentence structure of kakarimusubi where the topic has strong control over the sentence-ending adnominal phrase and makes up a skeleton of sentence in consort with the sentence-ending adnominal phrase. It is quite conceivable that the above-mentioned newly presented view that the *zo*-phrase works as an annotation implies that the *zo*-phrase can be considered to be supplementary by seeing the *zo*-phrase being superimposed on the main phrase ending with the adnominal form, as illustrated in *figure 9* that indicates the backbone structure relating to the fundamental principle of kakarimusubi deliberated over in this study. We should note hereafter that both the front part followed by *zo* in the *zo*-phrase and the sentence-ending adnominal phrase are nominal phrases (NPs) and thus may notice that the backbone structure in *figure 9* can be modified into that in *figure 10* which this study considers to indicate the essential structure of kakarimusubi.

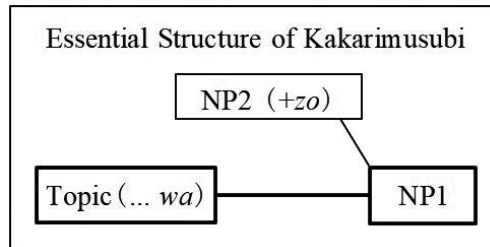


Figure 10

The following sentences conveniently include all the elements indicated in *figure 10*, the *wa*-marked topic, the *zo*-phrase and the adnominal form at the end, which are the current focal issues of kakarimusubi structure.

- (32) 奈呉の海に 潮の早干ば あさりしに 出でむと 鶴は 今ぞ 鳴くなる
 (万葉集 十八卷四〇三四)

Nago no umi ni shiho no hayahiba asari shini idemu to tadu wa ima zo nakunaru
 (*Man'yōshū*, vol. 18-4034)

In the sea of Nago, as the tide quickly ebbs while the cranes watch it, they are chattering now being about to go foraging for food.

- (33) 常磐なす 岩屋は いまもありけれど 住みける人ぞ 常なかりける
 (万葉集 三卷三〇八)

Tokiwa nasu iwaya wa ima mo arikeredo sumikeru hito zo tsune nakarikeru
 (*Man'yōshū*, vol. 3-308)

Although the sea cavern made of massive rocks still remains, the people that are said to have lived there are ever-changing.

(34) 人はいさ 心も知らず ふるさとは 花ぞ 昔の香に にほひける

(古今和歌集 卷一・四二)

Hito wa isa kokoro mo shirazu furusato wa hana zo mukashi no ka ni nihohikeru

(*Kokinwakashū*, vol. 1-42)

I do not know what is going on in your mind but my hometown is fragrant with the smell of apricot flowers just like in old times.

The structure of the above sentences (32)-(34) fits right in with the essential structure of kakarimusubi indicated in *figure 10* as illustrated in *figure 11*.

Figure 11 shows that the adnominal forms *nakunaru* (being heard chattering), *tsune nakarikeru* (being ever-changing) and *nihohikeru* (being fragrant) of NP1 express the present scene of the cranes, the sea cavern made of massive rocks and my hometown observed by the speaker, which let the topics *tadu* (the cranes), *tokiwa nasu iwaya* (the sea cavern made of massive rocks) and *furusato* (my hometown) get settled at the end of the sentences respectively, while NP2 has currently been just an inserted element that could not have necessarily been moved from the position of the modified word as illustrated in *figure 5*, i.e., NP1 states predicatively together with NP2 what the topic is like. Let us bring up this issue again later.

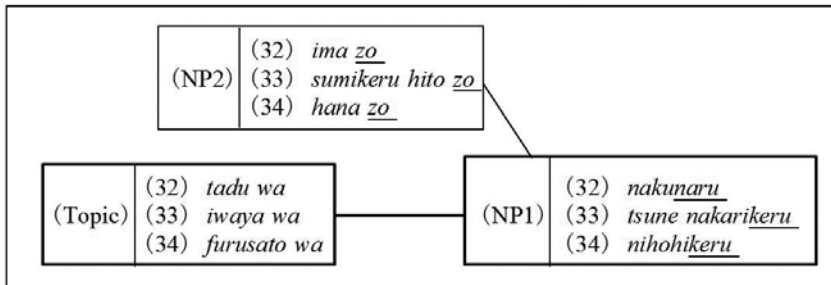


Figure 11

If the author points out incidentally here that there is the same structure with another kakarijoshi *nan* as above, (2) may be a good example, which can be illustrated as in *figure 12* in the same way as in *figure 11*.

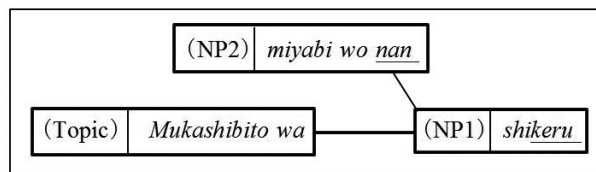


Figure 12

However, if NP1 is a mere noun or a noun followed by a function word like particle, the structure can be considered to show a marked tendency to be created by the simple inversion of NP1 as the topic, which occasionally may not be followed by *wa*, and NP2 followed by *zo*, as illustrated in *figure 13*.

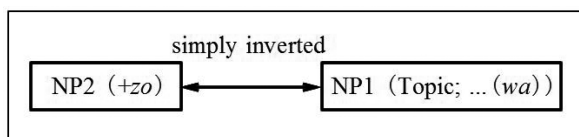


Figure 13

We have made a satisfactory disposition of the simple inversion indicated in *figure 13* when (10) was interpreted in relation to (9) and thus should note that the structures associated with the *zo*-phrase in *figure 9*, which inherently indicates the structure of kakarimusubi, and *figure 13*, which merely indicates a simple inversion of the topic and the predicate, are fundamentally different as has been analyzed up to this point in the sense that NP1 in *figure 10* should not be a topic marked by *wa* and that NP1, only when it should be a topic, is simply inverted as illustrated in *figure 13*.

5 English Cleft Sentence and Kakarimusubi Structure

Although Japanese and English languages look entirely different as to their sentence structures, the author would like to suggest the similarity hypothesis about Japanese classical kakarimusubi sentence and English cleft sentence, although we might wonder how the two structures of kakarimusubi sentence and English cleft sentence that must have emerged from historically quite different backgrounds could be similar.

Let us introspect and scrutinize the deep structure of them by making a comparison between the phrase orders of English cleft sentence and Japanese kakarimusubi sentence and also between those phrases in each type of sentence with a point of view that each phrase in English and Japanese sentences could have analogousness concerning its syntactic position and semantic role.

Some part that usually expresses new information in a cleft sentence is moved into a particular position ahead to its regular position in order to be laid more emphasis on. See the following English cleft sentences, which add emphasis to the underlined parts. Then, how should they be put into Japanese?

(35) It was Taro that broke the shōji. [talking about a trouble maker]

(36) It was the shōji that Taro broke. [talking about a room problem]

Before considering how the above sentences should be put into Japanese, let us see

how the translation of English cleft sentence by Japanese is commonly done now. Any common grammar book or any common dictionary for Japanese learners of English seems to adopt such a structure as [... *no wa* ... (the linking verb; *da*, *desu*, *datta*, *deshita*, etc.)) that can be in many cases literally translated as 'what... is...,' which in a strict sense is not a cleft sentence but a pseudo-cleft sentence. This issue does not seem to have been pointed out by any study thus far. For example, *Royal English Grammar New Revised Edition* (2000, Ōbunsha) and *Genius English-Japanese Unabridged* (2002, Taishukan Shoten) that the author happens to have at hand give the following English example cleft sentences with the sentences translated into Japanese. Also, a literal translation by English done by the author is provided below each example sentence rewritten also by the author in Roman characters. The part underlined by the author indicates the subject clause.

- (37) It was this window Jim broke yesterday. ['that' is omitted]
ジムがきのう壊したのは この窓だ (Royal English Grammar)
Jimu ga kinō kowashita no wa kono mado da.
What Jim broke yesterday was this window.
- (38) It was in this year that the war broke out.
戦争が起きたのは この年だった (Royal English Grammar)
Sensō ga okita no wa kono toshi datta.
When the war broke out was in this year.
- (39) It was Mr. White who [that] gave Joe this ticket.
この切符をジョーにやったのは ホワイトさんでした (Genius English-Japanese)
Kono kippu wo Jō ni yatta no wa Howaito san deshita.
The person who gave this ticket to Joe was Mr. White.

Interestingly, through comparing the English original cleft sentences given first in each of the above example sentence sections with the modified English sentences put at the end literally translated from the Japanese sentences that appear in those books, it may turn out to be that any grammar book or dictionary, as far as the author is aware, actually adopt the pseudo-cleft type of Japanese sentences as the translations of them. The pronoun *no*, which equals English 'what' or 'the person who' in the literal translations, can be equivalent to the subject in English, and thus is put at the position of the subject in the whole sentence in Japanese. The above sentences literally translated to English from Japanese translations imply that the Japanese particle *no* as the head of the underlined subject clause equals the antecedent of the postposed relative clause in English sentences, i.e., *no* can be flexibly used as a substitute for English 'what...' as in (37), 'when...' as in (38), or 'the person who...' as in (39), etc., so to speak, as sort of an indefinite pronoun in pseudo-cleft sentences or possibly the conjunctive 'that' in English cleft sentences that do not

include an emphasized subject or object but include an emphasized adjunct.

This flexible particle *no* that may serve as an alternative to English 'what...', 'when...', or 'the person who...', etc. should be regarded as the core subject of the whole sentence in the same way as the English 'what,' 'when,' or 'the person who...' in the underlined subject clause of the above English pseudo-cleft sentences (37)-(39) can be regarded as the main subject, which will let us notice that the Japanese sentences that are dealt with as translations from English cleft sentences in possibly all the grammar books or dictionaries turn out to substantially be similar in structure to English pseudo-cleft sentences.

In this way, the structure of the above sentences translated to Japanese from English cleft sentences has turned out to clearly show that it is equivalent to that of the sentences translated to Japanese from English pseudo-cleft sentences, not cleft sentences. Then, why are these English cleft sentences converted to pseudo-cleft type of sentences when translated to Japanese in common grammar books or dictionaries? In order to provide an answer for this inquiry that nobody may have made thus far, we should do some thinking about the particle *no*.

Although the particle *no* doubles as an indefinite pronoun and a nominalizer in modern grammar, there seems to have been no clear concept 'indefinite pronoun' nor the definite category 'nominalizer' in classical Japanese grammar, i.e., there had been no distinction of these types of *no*, which, however, had existed as the genitive case marker. The particle *no* had not developed as the nominalizer till the latter half of the Muromachi Period, and thus does not seem to have been able to serve as the indefinite pronoun in classical Japanese because the pattern [yōgen + *no*] does not seem to have become a household expression yet in those days. In the first place, since a pseudo-cleft sentence that is otherwise known as 'wh-cleft' in English, which may be considered to have the functionality similar to that of a cleft sentence, lays emphasis on the phrase after the what-clause followed by a be-verb, the Japanese sentences in (37)-(39) that include the pronoun *no*, which can be considered to be equivalent to the pronoun 'what,' could be regarded as emphatic sentences that can be the translations of English pseudo-cleft sentences, not of cleft sentences.

In fact, in classical Japanese, there also had been such a seeming emphatic sentence as (40)-(41) without *no*, separately from kakarimusubi structure sentences, as follows.

- (40) 猛き 武士の心を慰むるは歌なり (古今和歌集 仮名序)

Takeki monofu no kokoro wo nagusamuru wa uta nari (*Kokin Wakashū*, Kanajo)

What heals the heart of a courageous samurai is a song.

- (41) ひきそばめて 急ぎ書き給ふは かしこへめなり (源氏物語 松風)

Hikisobamete isogi kakitamahu wa kashikohemenari

(*Genji Monogatari*, Matsukaze)

What Genji hurriedly writes on a paper hiding under his arm might be to her. The above type of sentence with the structure [...(the dictionary end-form) *wa...nari*] that is purported, according to Oda (2020), to be a type of cleft sentence, even though it lacked *no* in ancient Japanese, should be just normal topic sentences that occasionally may equal pseudo-cleft sentences because they may lay emphasis on the phrase after the *wa*-marked topic that equals the phrase after the what-clause + be in English. *Nari*, which equals the modern auxiliary verb *da* or *de aru* that means to be identified (as), is just put in the sentence-ending form, not in the adnominal form, at the end of the sentences, which may imply that they are characterized by a lower degree of emphasis than kakarimusubi structure.

In fact, if the above sentences are translated into modern Japanese, it turns out that they fall into the type of pseudo-cleft sentence, as follows, with the pronoun *no* as has been considered above.

(42) 勇敢な 武士の 心を 慰めるのは 歌である。(=(40))

Yukan na bushi no kokoro wo nagusameru no wa uta de aru.

(43) 脇に 引き寄せて 急いで 書かれるのは 彼女へである。(=(41))

Waki ni hikiyosete isoide kakareru no wa kanojo e de aru.

This fact implies that if the pattern [...(the dictionary end-form) *wa...nari*] were considered to be equivalent to cleft sentence pattern it would follow from what the author has considered above that the kakarimusubi structure sentence, which must be a possibly straight-ahead emphatic sentence similar to cleft sentence, has perforce to get left behind the category of emphatic sentences.

The author has reasons, as described above thus far, to suppose that kakarimusubi structure had served as a unique emphatic structure till the middle of the Muromachi Period in the same way as the possibly modern English cleft sentence does in the sense that unexpectedly both the phrase order and the predication relation of those phrases in a sentence could be considered to remarkably be alike. It could not be surprising that the deep structure of the process of preposing the emphasized word and postposing the predicative phrase which, however, takes the seemingly adnominal form in Japanese but can be considered to virtually act as a predicative predicate and takes the relative clause in the case of a cleft sentence whose emphasized element is an argument or takes the conjunctive phrase in the case of a cleft sentence whose emphasized element is an adjunct in English, is externalized in both Japanese and English, since the emphasized word, which usually expresses information new to the speaker and/or to the listener, will have a way of being fronted and thus mentioned ahead of the predicative phrase that expresses what is already understood by the speaker and/or by the listener in order to be

focused on and then to be added emphasis to, by reason that it is what the speaker wants to mention in precedence to what is already understood and recognized by the speaker in a sentence, which could be a fated aspect that any language must have in common as a matter of necessity. Modern Japanese does not have the same structure as English cleft sentence in a strict sense due to the lack of kakarijoshi, and thus ineluctably employs, the author considers, the type of pseudo-cleft sentence as the translation of English cleft sentences.

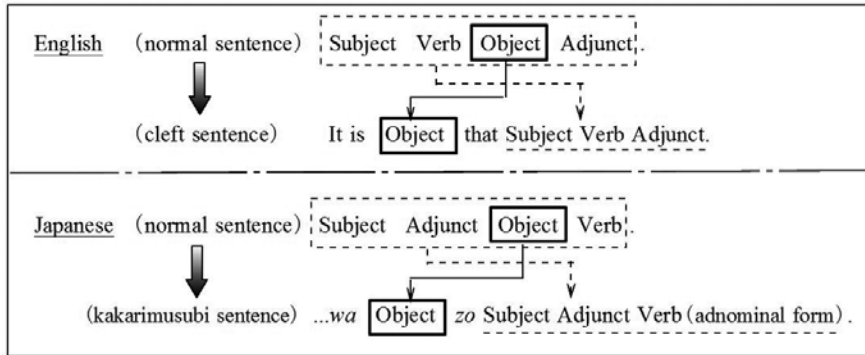


Figure 14

Figures 14-16 illustrate what is stated above by showing the movement of the emphasized word and the verb as the predicative predicate, in the case that the predicate is a transitive verb. Figure 14 shows the processes for preposing the object in English and Japanese, which look exactly alike, in order to form emphatic sentences, i.e., cleft sentence and kakarimusubi sentence. The processes applied to the syntactic transformation in Japanese in figure 14-16 are based on that illustrated in figure 10.

Figure 15 shows the processes for preposing the subject, which still look exactly alike, in order to form emphatic sentences.

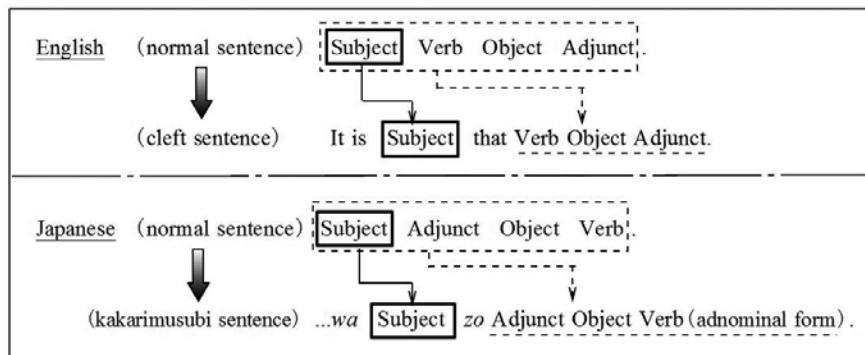


Figure 15

Figure 16 conveniently shows that even when it comes to an adjunct the processes of preposing the adjunct still properly remain exactly alike, in order to form emphatic sentences in English and Japanese.

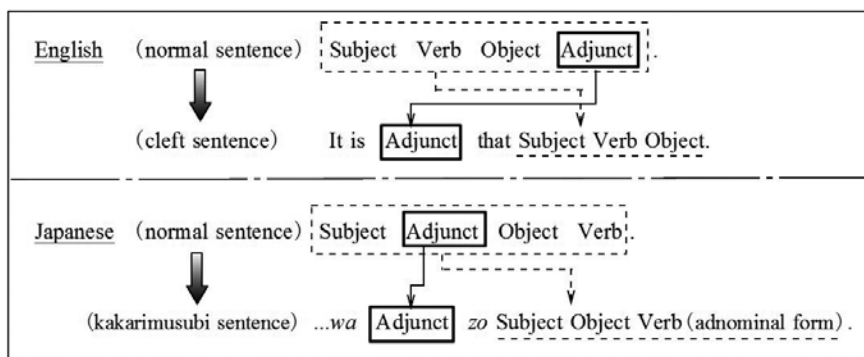


Figure 16

As seen above in *figure 14-16*, the mechanism of how the emphasized element and the rest of the normal sentence flow looks and works the same both in English and Japanese, i.e., after the element, which is to be emphasized in the cleft or kakarimusubi sentence, in the normal sentence is moved to the set position, the rest of the normal sentence is positioned at the end of the cleft or kakarimusubi sentence.

In English, it may be because that-clause predicatively explains the preceding emphasized element as the subject of the verb that 'who' may be used as in (44) or that the verb in that-clause agrees in number and person with the subject expressed by the emphasized element.

(44) It is a man that/who shot the sheriff, not a woman.

The relative pronoun 'that' may or may not be replaced with 'who' influenced by 'a man' when the emphasized element is considered to seemingly function as the subject of the verb in that-clause, in the slightly different way from the antecedent of that-clause as a restricted or defining relative clause as in the following example sentence.

(45) It is the man who shot the sheriff.

The above sentence may be mentioned in such a context of utterance where, for example, the speaker tells who is the criminal pointing at a man in a photo. The speaker specifies the man as known information by defining who shot the sheriff, and thus 'it' refers to a specific target that is already understood by the speaker. The underlined part in (45) is the main clause and that-clause is subordinated. On the other hand, since 'it' in (44) is a dummy pronoun which introduces cleft sentences, the underlined part in (44) is almost like

a main clause or an independent sentence telling that a man shot the sheriff.

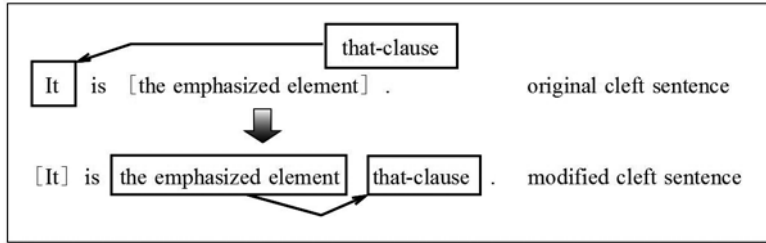


Figure 17

Thus, although that-clause in English cleft sentence originally modified the "it" at the top of the sentence, it may be said that that-clause predicatively, not in a restricted nor defining way, states what the thing expressed by the emphasized element is like or how the thing expressed by the element behaves despite being formally placed after the emphasized element so as to modify the element in modern English, as illustrated in *figure 17*.

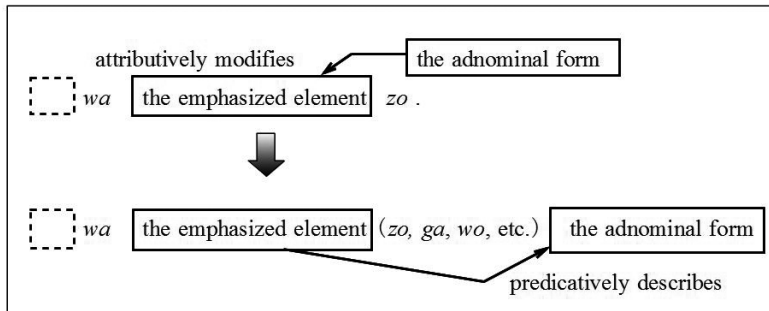


Figure 18

This change of sentential property can also be observed in kakarimusubi sentence. In Japanese, the adnominal form that is put at the end of a kakarimusubi sentence predicatively explains the *zo*-phrase, i.e., states what the thing expressed by the emphasized *zo*-phrase is like or how the thing expressed by the *zo*-phrase behaves, as illustrated above. Let us consider this issue in the next section. Apropos of *ga* in *figure 18*, *zo* was going to result in heading for decline and to give room for the rise of *ga*, etc.

Also, interestingly, it can be pointed out incidentally in Japanese that the demonstrative pronoun *so* (其) had been sublimated into the kakarijoshi *so*, which is the original form of *zo*, in a manner somewhat analogous to English 'that' in the sense that the demonstrative pronoun 'that' was sublimated into the relative pronoun or the conjunction

'that' constructing a cleft sentence. This transfiguration in Japanese may have something in common with that in English in the case of creating an emphatic sentence, i.e., the emphasized word should be put before the modifying attributive phrase that ends with the adnominal form in Japanese and begins with 'that' in English. In addition, the fact that *zo* that is put between the emphasized word and the phrase ending with the adnominal form at the end of a sentence disappeared and that the adnominal form became able to double as a sentence-ending form during the latter half of the Muromachi Period may appear to parallel the fact that 'that' placed between the emphasized word and the predicatively modifying phrase can be omitted in accordance with circumstances and that the function of modifying the antecedent may become able to terminate a sentence in English, in the sense that the emphasized word is predicatively explained by the phrase that follows the emphasized word, as illustrated in *figure 17-18*, as if the word and the phrase seemed to become one simplex sentence with *zo* and 'that' omitted as in the following sentences. In (46a), the object marker *wo* may occur independently with the fading of *zo*, which can be seen in such a sentence as the sentence derived from a kakarimusubi sentence.

According to the above-stated contrastive analysis hypothesis about Japanese kakarimusubi structure and English cleft sentence, the following (46a) and (46b) created by the author in Japanese can be considered to not only semasiologically but also structurally equal (47a) and (47b) in English respectively. However, in Japanese, the topic may be rewritten with '*kono tabi* (this time)' because the stage of utterance where the rest of the sentence unfolds can be the topic about which the following comment is given unlike in English.

(46) a. 此度は 太郎をぞ 挙ぐる。

Konotabi wa Taro wo zo aguru.

b. 此度は 太郎を を 挙ぐる。

Konotabi wa Taro wo aguru.

(47) a. It is Taro that we promote this time(, not Hanako).

b. (It is) Taro, we promote this time.

The author considers that the above mechanism is the main process by which the adnominal form at the end of Japanese sentence has become the dictionary end-form in modern Japanese. *Figure 19* shows that the sentence ending with *zo* that is possibly an original sentence could sound odd, and thus, in fact, the lower interpretation can be considered reasonable and proper.

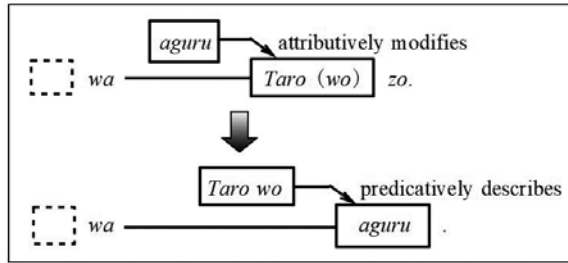


Figure 19

It seems that the predicate-like phrase ending with the adnominal form predicatively, not attributively, describes the object Taro marked by *wo* put at the position of the *zo*-phrase where *zo* was to disappear in the later period (in the Muromachi Period) in (46b) and that the predicate-like phrase in (47a) with 'that', which is originated from a modifying phrase, seems to predicatively, with 'that' omitted, describe Taro as the object in a direct way in (47b) where the 'It is' could have been reduced to a mere skeleton by substance, while (46a) and (47a) emphatically describe Taro as to who is the person promoted by 'us.'

The object marked by *wo* and also followed by *zo* in the following actual example sentences can also be considered to supplementarily be inserted between the topic and the sentence-ending phrase ending with the adnominal form rather than to be moved from the position of the modified element after the adnominal form as *figure 18* shows, because the fact that moving back the *zo*-phrase may let the sentence sound odd lets us deem that the *zo*-phrase is just a supplementary case element.

- (48) けはひ有様 はた さばかりならむをぞ あらまほしき程とは おほえ侍るべき
(源氏物語 第四十五帖 橋姫・第三章第九段)

Kehahi arisama hata sabakarinaramu wo zo aramahoshiki hodo to wa oboehaberu beki

(*Genji Monogatari*, Hashihime, vol. 45-3-9)

(lit.) Her appearance, after all, that level should be deemed desirable.

Her appearance, after all, should be deemed desirable at that level.

Although the following may be translated into cleft sentence, it still sounds more like a predication sentence with an object normally placed at its fair position.

- (49) 無禮講といふ事をぞ 始められける。(山田 1936)
Bureikō to iu koto wo zo hajimerarekeru. (Yamada 1936)

It is a relaxing party that they have started to have. → They have started to have a relaxing party.

It may be considered that the verb in the adnominal form at the end of a sentence as

above was to become able to undertake the role in terminating a sentence with the decreasing use of *zo*, which is ordinarily placed at the end of a sentence.

6 The Predication Relation of the Topic and the Adnominal Form

As seen in the above descriptions, it might be said that the order of the emphasized phrase and the predicative phrase ending with the adnominal form in Japanese is the same as that of the emphasized word and the predicative phrase ending with the relative clause beginning with "that" or "who" in the case an argument like the subject or object is emphasized or ending with the conjunctive clause beginning with 'that' in the case that an adjunct is emphasized in English, as illustrated below.

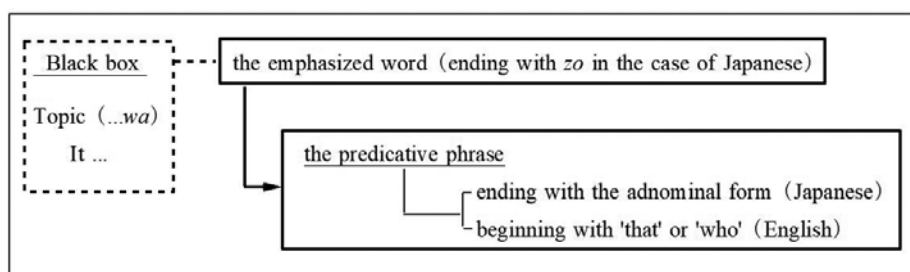


Figure 20

'Black box', which is just a tentative term here, in *figure 20* that may be put farther ahead of the emphasized word indicates such topic as is shown in *figure 10* in Japanese. In classical Japanese that did not have the particle *no* as a nominalizer or as an indefinite pronoun, as stated above, the author supposes here that the sentence with kakarimusubi structure served as an emphatic structure in a manner similar to the English cleft sentence. The anticipatory 'it', which may not be an antecedent any more now, that anticipates a cleft sentence could be considered to formally be put in the same way as in the sentence telling about the weather like "It is rainy." 'Black box' in *figure 20* may indicate a scene-like stage where the emphasized word and the predicative phrase become a sentence-like message, which may work like the underlying topic in Japanese and 'it' in English.

Going back to (35) and (36), if we put them into Japanese without using modern particle *no* that may not form a cleft sentence but form a pseudo-cleft type of sentence as has been mentioned above, they might have to be translated to classical Japanese as follows. This is the very critical problem which will have to be considered hereafter in this study.

(50) それは 太郎ぞ 障子を損ひたる。

Sore wa Taro zo shōji wo sokonahitaru. [talking about a trouble maker]

It was Taro that broke the shōji.

(51) それは 障子ぞ 太郎の損ひたる。

Sore wa shōji zo Taro no sokonahitaru. [talking about a room problem]

It was the shōji that Taro broke.

As for (50), in the context of the speaker being in trouble with a trouble maker, the speaker raises the topic of the situation where the persons concerned have the trouble and may utter it saying "sore wa." As for (51), in the context of the speaker being in trouble with the room, the speaker also raises the topic of the situation where they have the trouble and may utter it saying "sore wa." Also, the adnominal form that terminates the predicative phrase after the emphasized word equals English 'that' which modifies an antecedent. In this way, the structures of the sentence as a cleft sentence and as a kakarimusubi sentence could be the same except that the kakarijoshi *zo* working as the linking verb is postpositionally placed in Japanese unlike in English, as illustrated below.

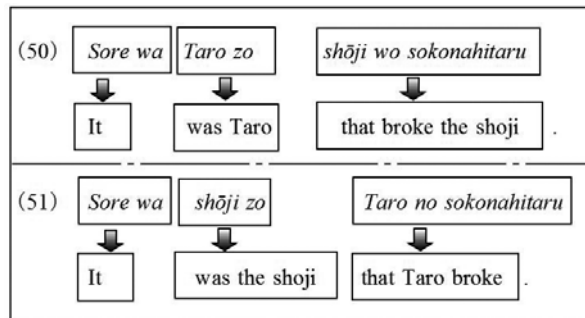


Figure 21

Although English 'it' might have functioned as a preparatory subject, 'it' becomes a dummy-like word that possibly could be considered to refer to the scene of utterance, after the emphasized element and the that-clause that works as a predicative phrase become an almost independent sentence. And in Japanese, *sore* can be considered to more clearly refer to the topic of a scene, not merely a scene of utterance, where the utterance is given. Anyhow putting aside the question of English 'it' and stopping discussing the matter further here, let us see that Japanese *sore* implies that the statement following it is given concerning the topic as illustrated in *figure 21*.

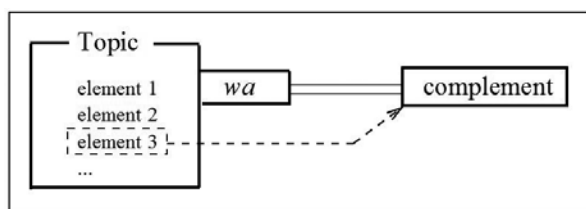


Figure 22

According to the theory of Tanimori (2017, 2020, etc.), the element that the topic most strongly reminds the speaker of at the time of utterance among the elements subsumed within the topic can be set as the complement after *wa* without a logical case relation between the topic and the complement, as illustrated in *figure 22*. The topic of (50) and (51) indicates the scene where a *shōji* has been broken before the speaker. The speaker sees the scene that is expressed by *sore* as the topic and extracts what the situational topic most strongly reminds the speaker of, which is expressed by the nominal phrase in the adnominal form of a verb, (*shōji wo*) *sokonahitaru* in (50) and (*Taro no*) *sokonahitaru* in (51) as illustrated below in the same fashion as *figure 9*.

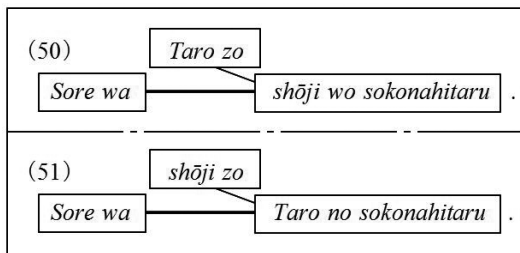


Figure 23

Therefore, *sore* positioned at the topic indicates the black box that includes '(*shōji wo*) *sokonahitaru*,' '(*Taro no*) *sokonahitaru*' or any other elements that describe the scene before the speaker at the time of utterance, like '*nusubito no nasu* (a thief's performing)' as in the following example sentence. The element expressing 'a thief's performing' is extracted from the Topic indicating the scene where the *shōji* is broken. Or equivalently, the topic indicating the scene before the speaker includes a thief's performing or an act.

(52) それは 仕業ぞ 盗人の為す。

Sore wa shiwaza zo nusubito no nasu. [talking about a property loss]

It is an act that a thief performed.

The structure of (52) can be illustrated as below.

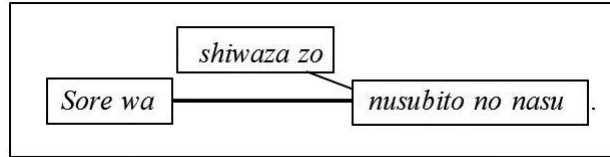


Figure 24

At this point, we will see that we can let the *zo*-phrases in the above sentences (50)-(52) go back to the original position at the end of a sentence, as below, with the order converse to the kakarimusubi inversion. These sentences do not have the emphatic structure of kakarimusubi, and thus English free translations are not formed of cleft sentence structure.

(53) それは 障子を損ひたる 太郎ぞ。

Sore wa shōji wo sokonahitaru Taro zo. [talking about a trouble maker]

The breaking was caused by Taro, who broke the shōji.

(54) それは 太郎の損ひたる 障子ぞ。

Sore wa Taro no sokonahitaru shōji zo. [talking about a room problem]

The damage was produced to the shōji by Taro.

(55) それは 盗人の為す 仕業ぞ。

Sore wa nusubito no nasu shiwaza zo. [talking about a property loss]

The situation on the ground relates an act that a thief performed.

In fact, the above sentences (53)-(55) possess the property of *unagi*-sentence (Tanimori (2006, 2018, 2019)) that cannot directly be put into English because *sore* indicates 'the breaking', 'the damage' and 'the situation on the ground' respectively, and thus no logical case relation can be observed between the topic *sore* and the complement *Taro*, *shōji* and *shiwaza* respectively.

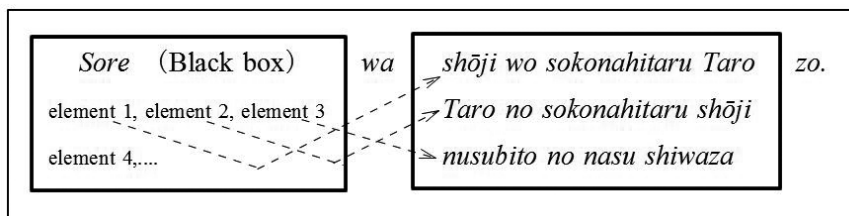


Figure 25

The author, thus, considers that the Japanese topic *sore* here that is referred to as 'black box' as stated above indicates a situation that has arisen earlier than the utterance before the eyes of the speaker and that an element that the speaker is most strongly reminded of is extracted from among countless elements relating to the topic, as illustrated

in *figure 25*.

According to Tanimori (2017, 2020, etc.), the topic marked by *wa* is considered to be able to directly be connected to the noun at the end of a sentence without any logical case relation between them. The following is *akebono*-sentence (Tanimori 2020) that is a famous sentence from *Makuranosōshi* (written in the 10th century), which shows that there is no logical relation between the topic and the taigen at the end of the sentence. *Akebono*-sentence is essentially the same as *unagi*-sentence except that it is stated without the sentence-ending copula.

- (56) 春は あけぼの。(枕草子)
Haru wa akebono. (Makuranosōshi)
(lit.) Spring is dawn.

The taigen at the end of the above sentence can be terminated by *zo* and also may follow a phrase ending with the adnominal form of a *yōgen*, for example, the classical adjective *wokashi* (meaning to be elegant) in this case, regardless of the logical case relation, as below.

- (57) 春は をかしき あけぼのぞ。
Haru wa wokashiki akebono zo.
 Spring is elegant at dawn. *(lit.)* Spring is an elegant dawn.

The above sentence turns out to be an *unagi*-sentence because the difference of (56) and (57) is just the adjunction of the modifying adjective and the copula. (57) is created in the same way as the following *unagi*-sentence.

- (58) 拙者は 旨き うなぎぞ。
Sessha wa umaki unagi zo.
 I eat delicious eel. *(lit.)* I am delicious eel.

Then let us see what can be observed by inverting the *zo*-phrase and the taigen at the end of the sentence in (57) and (58) in accordance with the modified inversion theory of *kakarimusubi*.

- (59) 春は あけぼのぞ をかしき。
Haru wa akebono zo wokashiki.
(lit.) Spring is the dawn's elegance. → As for the spring, it is the dawn that is elegant.
- (60) 拙者は うなぎぞ 旨き。
Sessha wa unagi zo umaki.
(lit.) To me, eel tastes good. → I enjoy tasty eel.

As seen above, we may notice the similarity of the structures of (59)-(60) and (32)-(34) by comparing *figure 26-27* that show the structures of (59)-(60) respectively and by seeing

figure 11 that shows the structures of (32)-(34).

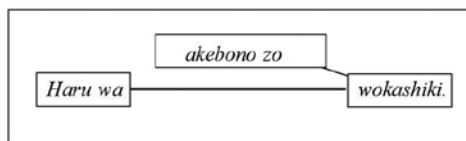


Figure 26

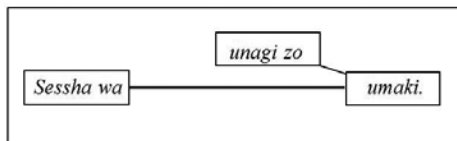


Figure 27

Interestingly, (61a)=(24) that also has the same structure as (59) can be rephrased as (61b) but the predicative adjective *ōkari* should not be used attributively, and thus (61a) should or can be rephrased as (61c) with the adjective's attributive form *ōkaru* dropped.

(61) a. 我は心得ぬ事のみぞ多かる。 (= (24))

Ware wa kokoro enu koto nomi zo ōkaru.

I always have only numerous things that I don't understand.

b. 我は*多かる心得ぬ事のみぞ。

*Ware wa *ōkaru kokoro enu koto nomi zo.*

c. 我は心得ぬ事のみぞ。

Ware wa kokoro enu koto nomi zo.

I have only things that I don't understand. (*lit.*) I am only things that I don't understand.

The structure of the above rephrased sentence (61b) is completely the same as that of (57)-(58) in the sense that *wa* directly can lead to the sentence-ending nominal phrase that has no logical case relation with the topic. However, the ungrammaticality of (61b) indicates that the adnominal phrase, which originally was supposed to modify the sentence-ending nominal phrase in the same manner as (57)-(58), has been denaturalized in the sense that it can be placed only predicatively at the end of the sentence, i.e., that it predicatively states what the thing the topic refers to is like. This fact implies that the phrase followed by the kakarijoshi *zo* may have become just a parenthetic statement as a supplementary case element in (61a). In this way, it can be considered that *wa* can be used to indicate a blackbox-like stage where the following comment concerning the topic is flexibly developed regardless of the logical case relation with the topic. In (57) and (59), it will be reasonable to consider that *akebono* with the adnominal phrase *wokashiki* that describes *akebono* in detail freely develops on the blackbox-like stage of the topic *haru*.

7 Topic as the Stage for Utterance

Going back to (1), its original sentence before the inversion operation can be (62b).

(62) a. 吾が恋ふる君ぞ昨夜夢に見えつる (万葉集 二卷一五〇) (= (1))

Aga kofuru kimi zo kizo no yo ime ni mietsuru (*Man'yōshū*, vol. 2-150)

You who I burn with passion for appeared in my dream last night.

b. 昨夜夢に見えつる 吾が恋ふる 君ぞ

Kizo no yo ime ni mietsuru aga kofuru kimi zo

The above underlined phrase '*kizo no yo ime ni mietsuru*' that ends with the adnominal form of the *yōgen* '*mietsu*' modifies the following phrase '*aga kofuru kimi*' in (62b) and then *zo* as the copula terminates the sentence at the end of the sentence, thus the literal translation of the whole sentence can be as follows.

(63) (Something) is you who I burn with passion for and appeared in my dream last night.

The linguistic fact that *zo* can be used as the copula implies that the 'something' at the topic position as shown in *figure 20* may equal or be identified as 'you' in this nominal sentence, though there can be no logical case relation between the 'something' and 'you'.

Then what does the 'something' in (63), which is not mentioned but can be a conceivable topic in this sentence, indicate at the topic position? As stated above, this 'something' that is freely linked to various elements that it can remind the speaker of functions as the black box-like stage where the comment in the nominal form concerning the topic is extracted. This 'black box' can be called 'Topic Network' (Tanimori 2017) as shown in *figure 28*. Thus, in (63), the topic 'something' located at the center of the Topic Network strongly reminds the speaker of 'you' as one of the elements that the topic is evocative of and that can be linked to the topic 'something' as shown in *figure 28*. NP2 is called "saucer" in Tanimori (1994).

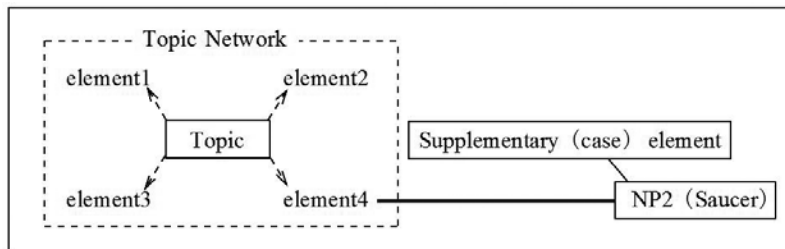


Figure 28

For example, when a speaker notices a woman falling down and says, "Oh! Someone is down there!", what could be the topic and the Topic Network? See the *figure 29*. The illustrations or photos are, hereafter, from *Ichitaro*, licensed to use by JustSystems Corporation.



Figure 29

Through the sensory organs, which are the eyes in this case, the speaker may generate such an image as *figure 29*, which will be the topic expressed by 'are.' The whole sensuous impression, which equals the whole box of *figure 29*, then generates several elements like a tree, a car, a road or houses, etc. within it and what makes the deepest imprint on the speaker among them will naturally be the woman falling on the road, and thus the speaker extracts it as what he or she wants to state most and directly connects it to the topic in the same way as *akebono*-sentence or *unagi*-sentence as in the following classical version sentence. The parenthesized sentence is its modern version.

(64) あ、あれは人ぞ倒るる。(あ、あれは人が倒れている。)

A! Are wa hito zo tafururu. (A! Are wa hito ga taorete iru.)

(lit.) Oh! That's a woman's falling down. → Oh! There's a woman. She's down.

It may be considered that the verbal comment, *tafururu*, expressed in the adnominal form concerning the topic is extracted from within the Topic Network. And the original sentence preceding the kakarimusubi inversion can be as follows. The adnominal form *tafururu* naturally modifies the noun *hito*. It is noticeable that the sentence-ending nominal, which is *hito* here, functions without fault under the topic even in this nominal sentence in the same vein as (64).

(65) あ、あれは倒るる人ぞ。(あ、あれは倒れている人だ。)

A! Are wa tafururu hito zo. (A! Are wa taorete iru hito da.)

(lit.) Oh! That's a woman who is down. → Oh! There's a woman. She's down.

The above operation of the inversion in (65) is similar to that of (62) aside from the fact that (62) lacks the restorable topic, which will be described later.

If a sensuous impression is generated through olfactory or auditory organs and what most strongly imprints on the speaker's mind is gas leaking or someone's coming, the speaker may say as follows. *Moru* and *kuru* are the classical adnominal forms of the verbs *moru* (to leak) and *ku* (to come).

(66) この臭いはガスぞ漏る。(この臭いはガスが漏れている。)

Kono nioi wa gasu zo moru. (Kono nioi wa gasu ga morete iru.)

(lit.) This smell is the gas leaking. → This smell lets me scent the gas leaking.

- (67) この足音は 誰がしぞ ここへ 来る。(この足音は 誰かが こっちに やって来る。)

Kono ashioto wa daregashi zo kokoe kuru. (*Kono ashioto wa dareka ga yattekuru.*)

(lit.) This sound of footsteps is someone's coming here. → This sound of footsteps means someone is coming here.

In the same manner as (65), (66)-(67) can be rephrased as follows, which implies that the kakarimusubi sentences are generated by the inversion of the *zo*-phrase and that the adnominal form of the verbs, *moru* and *kuru*, attributively modified *gasu* and *daregashi* marked by *zo* in the first stage.

- (68) この臭いは 漏る ガスぞ。(この臭いは 漏れているガスだ。)

Kono nioi wa moru gasu zo. (*Kono nioi wa morete iru gasu da.*)

(lit.) This smell is the gas that leaks. → This is the smell of a gas leak.

- (69) この足音は ここへ 来る 誰がしぞ。(この足音は こっちにやってくる 誰かだ。)

Kono ashioto wa koko e kuru daregashi zo. (*Kono ashioto wa kotchi ni yattekuru dareka da.*)

(lit.) This sound of footsteps is someone who is coming here. → This sound of footsteps might be that of someone who is coming here.

Although the above sensuous impressions created by the olfactories or the auditory organs cannot be drawn as in *figure 29* because visual information cannot be detected by the nose nor the ears, the same mechanism can be considered to work in the same vein as in (65), i.e., what most strongly imprints on the speaker's mind within the Topic Network is linked to the topic regardless of the logical case relation with the topic in the sense that smell itself is not gas or that a sound itself is not someone. Therefore, it is unnecessary to consider the above type of sentences to be miscellaneous as Mikami (1953) deemed or to have a twisted case as is generally alleged, or rather the author should say that they are the very essential Japanese nominal sentences as stated in Tanimori (2006, 2017, etc.).

Let us call the above type of topic that indicates the nature of sight, smell or sound, etc. "Quale Topic," which is direct information from sense organs. In opposition to this, there can be another type of topic that does not indicate the nature of sight, smell or sound, etc., as in the following sentence, which is a well-known one cited from Mikami (1960).

- (70) 象は 鼻が 長い。

Zō wa hana ga nagai.

(lit.) An elephant is long by the trunk. → An elephant has a long trunk.

This sentence could be classically rephrased as follows. *Nagaki* is the adnominal form of the classical adjective *nagashi*, thus, intriguingly, the sentence structure of (71) turns out to precisely be the same as that of (64).

(71) 象は 鼻ぞ 長き。

Zō wa hana zo nagaki.

As for an elephant, it is the trunk that is long.

In Addition, the position of the *zo*-phrase in the above sentence can be inverted as below, notably whose structure is precisely the same as (58) as an *unagi*-sentence.

(72) 象は 長き 鼻ぞ。

Zō wa nagaki hana zo.

(*lit.*) An elephant is a long trunk. → As for an elephant, it is characterized by the long trunk.

One other thing to note here is that the modern version of sentence whose *ga*-marked phrase is inverted turns out to be the same as (72) as follows, which is also an *unagi*-sentence and is not a miscellaneous sentence.

(73) 象は 長い 鼻だ。

Zō wa nagai hana da.

Also, the above sentence can be abbreviated as below and still remains grammatical because the topic flexibly takes any element that is extracted from within the Topic Network as thus far described in this study. As a reference, there is a noun *chōbirui* (長鼻類) meaning proboscidean that includes *chōbi* (長鼻) that can also be read *nagabana* meaning a long trunk. Also, there is an adjectival noun *nagabana*. Here, the adjectival noun *nagabana* can directly be linked to the topic without a logical relation with the topic. The classical version of this sentence is also grammatical as an *unagi*-sentence.

(74) a. 象は 長鼻だ。

Zō wa nagabana da.

b. 象は 長鼻ぞ。

Zō wa nagabana zo.

Although the topic *zō* is not a Quale Topic in the sense that it is a piece of stored information in the speaker's brain unless the speaker sees the elephant for the first time at the time of speech, the process of extracting a comment concerning the topic works in exactly the same way as (64) except that the comment following the topic is not made of direct information from sense organs. The comment is made through the retrieval of stored information as to elephants in the speaker's brain, as illustrated in *figure 30* that describes the process of extracting comments from stored information in the speaker's brain expressed in (71), (72) and (74b), also in the same manner as in *figure 10* or *figure 28*.

Thus, in opposition to Quale Topic, let us call the above type of topic as stored and fixed information in the speaker's brain as a long-lasting memory from which relevant elements can be extracted "Memory Topic" to distinguish from Quale Topic. In view of

these linguistic phenomena as in *figure 30*, we can get to the point where we know that the Japanese topic may freely and flexibly accept whatever types of element included in the predicative phrase at the end of a sentence or may not choose an element that is an extension of it in choosing what pattern of sentence structure.

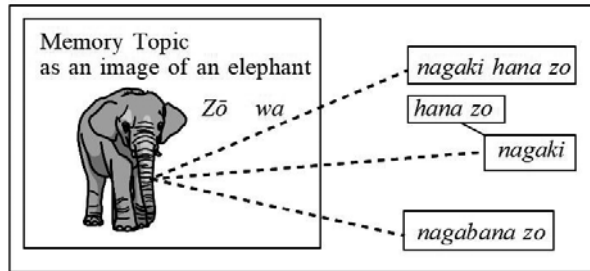


Figure 30

Since the syntactic relation of (71)-(72) are precisely the same as that of (64)-(65), (66)-(68) and (67)-(69), the essential underlying structure of (70) could be considered to be that of the kakarimusubi sentence (71). However, in fact, *ga* has not replaced *zo* because these two particles have different functions, as Yanagida (1985), for example, suggests that *ga* as the subjective case marker seems to have occupied the place of *zo* with the fading of kakarijoshi.

Getting back to (56), (57) and (59), we may again notice that the essential underlying structure of them is *unagi*-sentence type as illustrated in *figure 31*, which can be described in the same vein as in *figure 30*. The topic *haru* (the spring) can be a Quale Topic if the speaker immediately and directly states that *akebono* (the dawn) is elegant extracting the comment from the broad panorama of the spring at the time of speech or can be a Memory Topic if the speaker makes a value judgment on the spring recalling his or her scene recognition or returning to the scene of the spring.

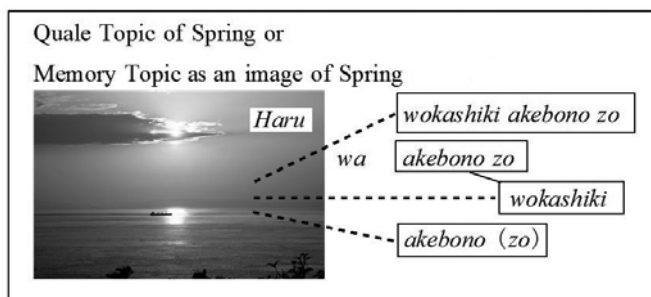


Figure 31

Let us see anew the similarities among (1)=(62), (64), (71) and (59) by adding the possible

topic *are* to (1).

(75) a. あれは 吾が恋ふる 君ぞ 昨夜 夢に見えつる (= (1))

Are wa aga kofuru kimi zo kizo no yo ime ni mietsuru

It is you who I burn with passion for that appeared in my dream last night.

b. あれは 人ぞ 倒るる。 (= (64))

Are wa hito zo tafururu.

It is a woman that is down there.

c. 象は 鼻ぞ 長き。 (= (71))

Zō wa hana zo nagaki.

(lit.) The elephant is the trunk that is long. → As for an elephant, it is the trunk that is long.

d. 春は あけぼのぞ をかしき。 (= (59))

Haru wa akebono zo wokashiki.

(lit.) Spring is the dawn that is elegant. → In the spring, it is the dawn that is elegant.

Although the above former two Japanese sentences can be translated into English cleft sentences as how kakarimusubi sentence and cleft sentence resemble is described above, the Japanese topic is not the same as English 'it' in the sense that the Japanese topic seems to more specifically refer to 'something' in (63). The 'something' in (63) or *are* in (75a) could be a scene, which is a stage for utterance, where the speaker saw his dear lady in precisely the same way as in (75b). The only difference, if there is, of *are* between (75a) and (75b) is that the former indicates Memory Topic like phantasm and the latter refers to Quale Topic as a scene that is unfolded in front of the speaker. The topic *are* in (75a) is similar to *zō* in (75c) in that *zō* refers to mental notes that have been made in the speaker's brain except that the former might be a short-lasting memory created at the last minute and the latter is a long-lasting memory that anyone has as common knowledge. Therefore, the common characteristic of these sentences together with (75d) can be recognized as in *figure 32*.

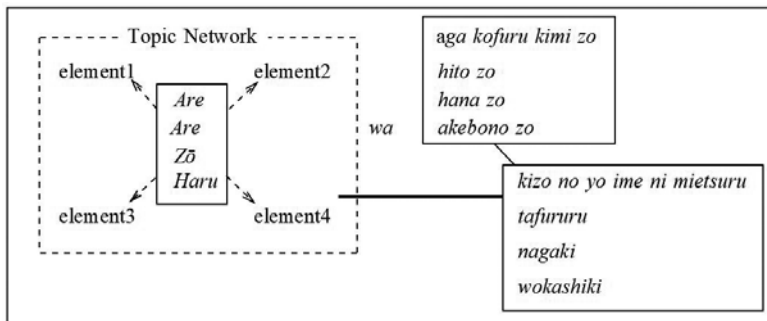


Figure 32

In addition, the possible original sentence of (75a) with the inverted *zo*-phrase can be as follows. Note that the English translation includes 'and' instead of 'that.'

- (76) あれは 昨夜 夢に 見えつる 吾が恋ふる 君ぞ
Are wa kizo no yo ime ni mietsuru aga kofuru kimi zo

It is you who I burn with passion for and appeared in my dream last night.

Then, the common structural characteristic of (76), (65), (72) and (57) can also let us notice their relatedness by the illustration as in *figure 32-33*. While the topics of the former two sentences could internalize the subjective case since the topic *are* is identified as *kimi* as in (76) or as *hito* as in (65), those in the latter two sentences that are *unagi*-sentences cannot hold any logical case relation with the sentence-ending nominals, *nagaki* (the fact of being long) and *wokashiki* (the fact of being elegant). However, these four sentences share the same structure that can be the original of the inverted kakarimusubi sentences (75a)-(75d).

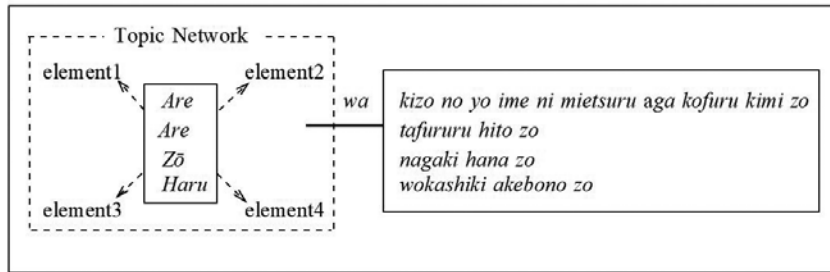


Figure 33

Getting back to (32)-(34), let us consider again the following that are core parts of (32)-(34) with the structure [*-wa -zo* + the adnominal form]. Note that these have the tangible topic as their essential part.

- (77) 鶴は 今ぞ 鳴くなる (万葉集 十八卷四〇三四) (=32)
Tadu wa ima zo nakunaru (Man'yōshū, vol. 18-4034)

It is now when the cranes chatter.

- (78) 岩屋は 住みける人ぞ 常なかりける (万葉集 三卷三〇八) (=33)
Iwaya wa sumikeru hito zo tsune nakarikeru (Man'yōshū, vol. 3-308)

In the sea cavern, it is the people who are said to have lived there that are ever-changing.

- (79) ふるさとは 花ぞ 昔の香に にほひける (古今和歌集 卷一・四二) (=34)
Furusato wa hana zo mukashi no ka ni nihohikeru (Kokinwakashū, vol. 1-42)

It is the smell of apricot flowers that my hometown is fragrant with just like in old times.

Then, it turns out that the structures of the above sentences can be illustrated in precisely

the same manner as (75a)-(75c) as in *figure 34* below or also as (24).

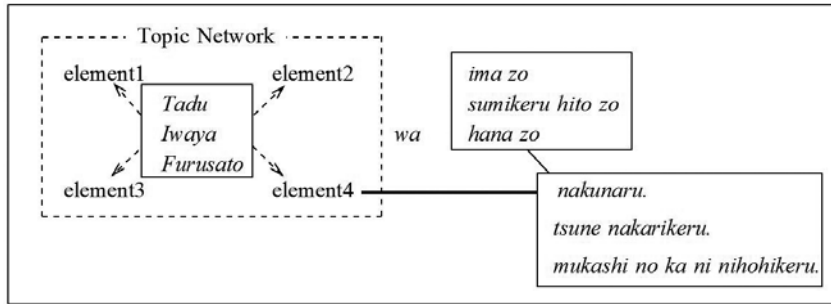


Figure 34

Although (77)-(79) may not absolutely seem to be able to smoothly be restored to their original structure prior to the kakarimusubi inversion operation since the *zo*-emphasized phrases may have become just inserted supplementary elements due to the transmutation of *zo* as stated concerning *figure 11*, (79), in fact, is still able to be restored to its original sentence that is an *unagi*-sentence as follows.

(80) ふるさとは 昔の香に にほひける 花ぞ

Furusato wa mukashi no ka ni nihohikeru hana zo

(lit.) My hometown is apricot flowers whose smell is fragrant just like in old times.

→ My hometown is full of apricot flowers whose smell is fragrant just like in old times.

The above structure can be illustrated as below in precisely the same manner as an *unagi*-sentence rearranged as (81), and thus as in *figure 35*.

(81) 春は をかしき あけぼのぞ。(=57)

Haru wa wokashiki akebono zo.

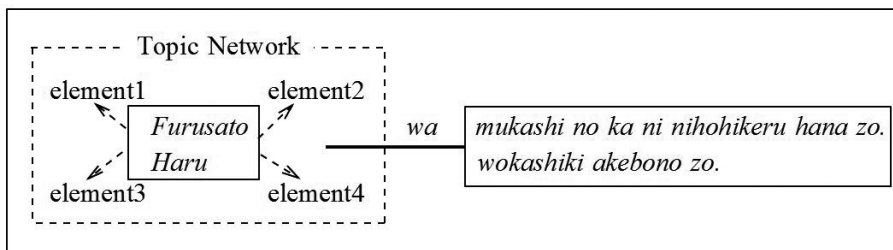


Figure 35

Last but not least, the process from (71) to (70) can be considered to be as follows.

(82) 象は 鼻ぞ 長き。(=(71))

Zō wa hana zo nagaki.

(83) 象は鼻が長い。(=(70))

Zō wa hana ga nagai.

The sentence-ending phrase *nagaki* in (82) is in the adnominal form having a character as a noun, and thus with the fading of the power and the extinction of *zo*, *ga* became able to get the positionally convenient scope for its presence because *ga* originally had been a genitive case particle placed before a nominal since ancient times as mentioned above.

Therefore, the following transitional hypothetical sentence could be reasonable in the sense that *hana* and *nagaki*, which are both nominal, can reasonably be connected by the genitive case particle *ga*, which would subsequently develop as a modern subjective case particle, and that there is nothing wrong with (84) from a grammatical standpoint because it is an *unagi*-sentence, which is grammatically proper as stated repeatedly in this study.

(84) 象は鼻が長き。

Zō wa hana ga nagaki.

(lit.) An elephant is the trunk's being long.

8 Summary

This study has observed several classical sentences that have the kakarimusubi structure by comparing them with the modern sentences like *unagi*-sentence that have been treated as miscellaneous sentences or have been considered to have a twisted case. i.e., to have illogical case relation between the topic and the sentence-ending predicative phrases, which are nominals or originally have derived from the classical adnominal form of verbs, or by comparing with such modern [-*wa -ga*...] type of sentences as "*zō wa hana ga nagai*."

Through exploring and uncovering the possible similarity between kakarimusubi sentences and English cleft sentences, this study may have shown why the sentence-ending verb or adjective takes the adnominal form placed caudally from the *zo*-phrase. In fact, there had existed almost concurrently such a linguistic phenomenon as let the end-form terminate a sentence since ancient times. However, the end-form was destined to be overcome by the adnominal form that came to the forefront owing to the *zo*-phrase that once had gained linguistic power and was to let the subjective particle *ga*, which formerly had worked solely as a genitive case particle, newly possess the linguistic power to mark the subjective case with the gradual fading of *zo* since the latter half of the Muromachi Period. The author would like to return to this issue later in another time.

On the basis of unconventional considerations, this study has presented one idea that might have revealed to a certain degree the mystery of kakarimusubi structure that

has been left over the past 250 years since Motoori Norinaga first discovered the law of kakarimusubi in the 18th century, by considering the topic and other collinear elements including the *zo*-phrase, the sentence-ending predicative phrase ending with the adnominal form and the supplementary case element, etc., to be non-collinear elements in a sentence in a different way from conventional grammar that generally regards them merely as collinear elements handling them only linearly, i.e., that solely treats linear movements of sentential elements as grammatical, and by transforming the conventional paradigm of linguistic theory into three-dimensional one (or four-dimensional if temporal dimension is added as suggested by (64) or in *figure 29*) in order to make it possible to produce a usable linguistic system without regarding an *unagi*-sentence as a miscellaneous sentence with a twisted case relation, also by amalgamating the topic theory, which Tanimori (1994, 2017, 2020, etc.) modified and advanced as a new one, treating the topic not as an element on paper only but as Quale or Memory Topic that emerges in an area away from paper, that such a pattern of sentence as *unagi*-sentence or *akebono*-sentence should be the very prototype of Japanese nominal sentences, into the kakarimusubi structure.

NOTE

- 1 Let the grammatical term 'yōgen' be used hereafter in order to refer to a declinable word instead of 'verb' or 'adjective.' Yōgen also means a verb or an adjective followed by an auxiliary.
- 2 Although a binding particle might normally be called '*keijoshi*,' let us call it '*kakarijoshi*' following Yamada (1936) in this study.

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(Fixed a typo on October 1, 2022.)

要旨

本稿では、日本語の係り結び文について、本居宣長以来様々に問われてきた係り結び構文の構造が都合よく説明できるように考察すべく、従来の捉え方とは異なる新たな提案として、英語の分裂文との間にその表現上の意図から生じる構造的及び意味機能上の特徴に共通点があることを指摘しつつ、また、用言の連体形は修飾機能を持つものの体言的な性格も有しながら、その被修飾句+係助詞ゾが、分裂文と同様に、強調のために前置されて残された修飾部の連体形のまま文終止を担うようになったと言えようことを指摘し、先行する係り結びの研究を援用しつつ、係り結び文において強調される文要素が文中で確固たる地位を与えられ安定的に常置されるようになると、その必要性の希薄化による役割の弱体化とともに係助詞の衰退を招き、そこにガが古来属格であったことから、また文中の都合の良い位置関係から見ても、体言的性格を持つ用言の連体形に属格的に機能する格好で前接するポジションを取り、或いは、文末述語句に対する補助的（格）要素として係助詞特にゾに代わる格好で入り込み、その句内の位置からみてもやがて主格として強く意識されるようになった、と合理的にみられようことを例示し考察した。

主題については、紙上の文内で線上的に単に要素移動として取り扱うものとしてではなく、独自の視点からクオリアトピック (Quale Topic) とメモリートピック (Memory Topic) という2つのカテゴリーに大別し、しかし共通して、文末述語句である連体句とは、文頭の主題から格関係に関わりなく抽出される様々な情報を含む要素でありながら、話者にとってもっとも表出したいものが単純に（論理性に係わらず）接続されて文末に配置されるものとし、そこに係り結びに係る従前から唱えられた倒置理論を修正しつつ融合させて、文成立全体としての整合性を独自に考察した。その上で改めて、「象は鼻が長い」といった現代文を吟味すべく、古文の係り結び文と対照させながら、上述したように、係助詞の前接部分が前置されてのち係助詞の衰退・消滅後も係留される中で、助詞の穴を補うかのように格助詞ガの入り込むに適した余地がそこに与えられ、結果的に「～ハ～ガ～」という構成上の主要要素が基本文型の原型に組み込まれてきたことについても少しく考察した。今後も残る日本語の基本文型に係る課題について独自の手法で吟味したいと考えている。

【キーワード】 係り結び、係助詞、分裂文、クオリアトピック、メモリートピック