

# A Study of the Essential Nature Common to Various Core Types of Japanese Topic

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## Introduction

This study aims to search for the deep underlying essence of the Japanese topic marker *wa* digging up a common trait among several core types of 'topicalized sentence's (this study will hereafter use this term for convenience sake referring to the sentence with a topicalized word marked by *wa*) with *wa*-marked topic each of which has hitherto been considered especially by Noda (1996) to have its own essential property of *wa*, and to define the single universal nature of *wa* finding out what it has been that *wa* shows as wide-ranging phenomena. The topic marker *wa* is so recondite a particle that it must involve an issue that defies any attempt at a quick solution simply dividing the phenomena of the behavior of *wa* into several types by merely expressing interest in handling the intractable particle *wa* as a migration factor within a sentence. It seems to the author that *wa* is not a case particle proxy but a superordinate deeper-lying word that might be more than we can grammatically handle in a regular way within the rectilinear structure of a sentence presented on paper. This study, therefore, seeks to define, especially according to Tanimori (2021), what it is that could be expressed with the simplest way in the sense that seeming endless definitions of *wa* depending on various types of outward phenomena produced in *wa*-sentences should ultimately

be led to converge into one simple formula for *wa*, i.e., the essential nature of *wa*.

The Japanese topic marker *wa* seems complicated to use because it is considered to be used in seemingly several different ways as Noda (1996) marshals the five principles of how *wa* is used as follows.

1. For expressing old information (*ga* is chosen for expressing new information)
2. For the topic of a judgement sentence (*ga* is chosen for a phenomenon sentence)
3. Extending to the end of a sentence with a far-reaching ramification (*ga* extends within a phrase)
4. For the expressing of contrasting (*ga* is chosen for exclusion)
5. For expressing predication or specification (*ga* is chosen for specification)

The essential question in this study, however, is "Is there a simple principle of how to use *wa*?" and thus this study intends to rearrange, according to the author's previous studies, the above five principles and redesign the essential and united simple principle of how to use *wa* that must be able to rationally and reasonably explain many *wa*-involved linguistic phenomena including previously unexplained or unsatisfactorily explained ones, which are, for example, *unagi*-sentence (Okutsu 1978), *akebono*-sentence (Tanimori 2020, 2021) and the ones deemed miscellaneous by Mikami (1953).

### 1. About Whether or not *Wa* is a Surrogate Case Particle

As a matter of fact, Nitta (1991) clearly states, referring to *wa* in the following judging sentence (*hantei bun*) that a subject indicating any of the first-person, second-person and third-person may be put at the position of the noun with the underlying *ga*-case, which necessarily means that it is commonly considered that the following type of *wa* retains *ga*-case. Hereafter, the romanized sentences below the example sentences are added and English translations below the romanized sentences are done by the author.

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

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

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

However, such a sentence as (1) is often referred to as such a sentence as (2a), which is converted from (2b) with a *ga*-marked subject.

- (2) a. 代表理事は 太郎です。 *Daihyō riji wa Taro desu.*

The representative director is Taro.

- b. 太郎が 代表理事です。 *Taro ga daihyō riji desu.*

Taro is the representative director.

Letting aside the issue of the fact that (2a) is different from (1) from the viewpoint of whether the topic indicates a specific person as in (1) or not as in (2a), if it could be true that the *wa* marking the topic in (2a) acts for the subjective *ga* case in the same way as in (1), *daihyō riji* in (2b) as the hidden topic (*indai*: 陰題), which is generally considered to be moved up to the top position in (2a), would conflict with the *ga*-marked subject *Taro* in (2b) in the sense that the sentence (2b) is telling that the *ga*-marked subject corresponds to the element *daihyō riji* carrying the concealed subjective *ga* case.

Or more specifically, it could be said that it makes sense that the notion that *wa* must have acted as an underlying case particle since the early days in Nara period when *wa* had not been clearly differentiated from several case markers except the modern subjective case particle *ga* that had essentially been the genitive case at that time can be considered to be formed from the probable stereotype of many linguists that all the argument elements in a sentence must have a case from the perspective of modern European language grammar, putting aside the linguistic facts of *wa* being able to mark adjuncts like adverbials or of being able to follow a case particle implying that *wa* does not confer a case any more on the preceding case particle as in '*ni wa*, '*de wa*' or '*to wa*,' etc.. This study intends to assert that even the above type of topic, which seems to happen to conveniently function as the subject of the predicate indicating who is the representative director (= *daihyō riji*), does not necessarily contain the essential function of building up any logical case relation with the predicate.

The author has been questioning the realization, by means of *wa*, of various topicalized sentences with a topic having carried several concealed cases since such an era as Nara period when the above-mentioned logical cases were not clearly differentiated from each other, which means that *wa* had been freely, i.e., without paying no attention to the logicity between the topic and the rest of the sentence, used and then considers that the strong notion that *wa* must stand in for *ga*-case as referred to as above could have been inspired by the ready-made view that all the elements within a sentence must bear a case. The author will venture an idea that we should defy the stereotype of *wa* as a one-size-fits-all particle that lets various logical case relations underlie itself. Whatever the case that *wa* could seem to indicate may be, the author considers that *wa*, which is nothing of the kind of regular case particle, should not be dealt with on an equal footing with other general particles. Ōno (1978) also states that *wa* does not serve as and has

nothing to do with a case particle showing that the following example sentence is semantically inconclusive in that the former *wa* possibly indicating the subject may concurrently indicate the object because the latter *wa* possibly indicating the object may concurrently indicate the subject and vice versa.

- (3) この鼠は猫は食わない。 (Ōno (1978), p.27)

*Kono nezumi wa neko wa kuwanai.*

This mouse does not eat a cat. (or) This cat does not eat a mouse.

The above example indicates that the logical case, if concealed behind *wa*, may not be unvarying at the start of the utterance that gives expression to the topic unlike the subjective marker *ga* that is infallibly unvarying at the start of the utterance that gives expression to the subject at the beginning of a sentence like '*Kono nezumi ga neko wa kuwanai*' and the objective marker *wo* that is infallibly unvarying at the start of the utterance that gives expression to the object at the beginning of a sentence like '*Kono nezumi wo neko wa kuwanai*' respectively.

The following two examples (4) and (5) indicate that the logical cases of the topic are specified by the case particles, i.e., being toward Tokyo as the destination, not merely Tokyo itself, is set as the topic and being in a parking area, not merely a parking area itself, is set as the topic respectively. In this study, however, any word including not only a noun but also a noun together with an oblique particle is deemed to be a topic as long as it is followed by *wa* as is shown in (4) and (5).

- (4) 東京へは明日行く。 *Tokyo e wa ashita iku.*

To Toyo, I'll go tomorrow.

- (5) 駐車場では遊ばない。 *Chūshajō de wa asobanai.*

In a parking area, do not play.

What is more, this study considers that it is important to point out that *wa* in such a sentences as (4) or (5) expressly indicates that it can not add any more extra logical case to its preceding noun followed by a case particle because the phrases preceding *wa*, *Tokyo e* in (4) and *chūshajō de* in (5), in the topicalized phrases *Tokyo e wa* in (4) and *chūshajō de wa* in (5) respectively, clearly have already established, prior to *wa*, the logical case relation with the following verbs, *iku* (to go) and *asobu* (to play) respectively. In fact, since it was not thus far pointed out, though it is very important, that *wa* cannot concurrently serve as a case particle as long as the word marked by a case particle prior to *wa* has already settled what case is given to its preceding noun, the above point is worth emphasizing again as shown diagrammatically below. The topic marker *wa* does not give yet another case any more to the preceding case-marked phrase.

(6) [[Tokyo e] wa] ... ([[東京へ] は] ...)  
 [[To Tokyo - the allative case] topic -  $\phi$  case]

(7) [[Chūshajō de] wa] ... ([[駐車場で] は] ...)  
 [[In a parking area - the locative case] topic -  $\phi$  case]

However, the question remains over several case particles that refuse to accept the subsequent *wa* especially when it comes to the subjective case particle *ga* and the objective case particle *wo*. *Wa* does not allow them to remain before it as shown below, that is, the element marked by the core case particles, which are *ga* and *wo*, cannot be topicalized unlike oblique case particles that allow their preceding elements with them to be followed by *wa* as shown in (6) and (7). In fact, the following parenthesized translations imply the fundamental difference between (8a) and (8b) or between (9a) and (9b).

(8) a. 鳥が飛ぶ (ところだ)。  
*Tori ga tobu (tokoro da)*. (Birds (are going to) fly.)  
 b. 鳥は (←鳥がは) 飛ぶ (ものだ)。  
*Tori wa (←Tori ga wa) tobu (mono da)*. (Birds (are able to) fly.)

(9) a. 本をネットで買った。  
*Hon wo netto de katta*. (I bought books online.)  
 b. 本は (←本をは) ネットで買った。  
*Hon wa (←hon wo wa) netto de katta*. (Books, I used to buy online.)

Concerning to this question, the author considers that *ga* and *wo* behave quite differently from ordinary oblique case particles in that *ga* and *wo* are subject to the strong and direct influence of inflectable words (verb, adjective, etc.) unlike oblique case particles that let themselves go and be released from the direct influence of inflectable words. That is, the position of the elements marked by *ga* or *wo* is quite different from that of the adjuncts, which can be illustrated as below as to (8a) and (9a).

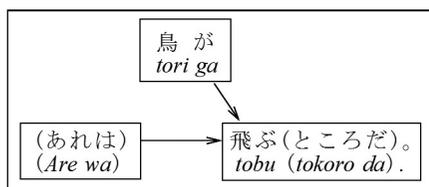


Figure 1

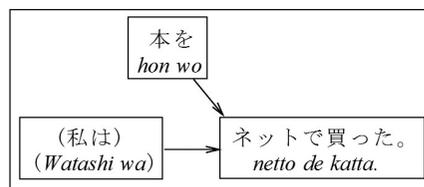


Figure 2

Figure 1 and figure 2, which schematically diagram (8a) and (9a) respectively, are created referring to Tanimori (1994), show that the topic, which does not always have to manifest itself in the same way as in a phenomenon-describing sentence

(現象描写文 *genshō byōsha bun*), and the element extracted from within the scope of the topic (Tanimori 2020), which may normally be called "comment" especially when it describes the attribute of the referent of the topic and hereafter will occasionally be called "extracted element" in this study in the sense that it does not necessarily describe the attribute of the referent of the topic but it is merely extracted from the topic, constitute the main pillar of a Japanese sentence with a 'supplementary case element' (Tanimori 2020) such as *ga*-marked element, *wo*-marked element, etc. that are stuck into the following extracted element expressed by a verb, adjective, etc..

Furthermore, *figure 3* and *4* show that such a supplementary case element hanging from the extracted element (though it is turned upside down in the figure) cannot be moved up to the position of the topic marked by *wa* due to its property as a supplementary case element that is subject to the strong and direct influence of the following inflectable word (especially a verb). They show that the *ga*-marked and *wo*-marked supplementary elements cannot or can hardly get quit of the controlled structure of the verbs, *tobu* (to fly) and *kau* (to buy), colliding with the subsistence of the possibly underlying original topics, *are wa* and *watashi wa*, respectively.

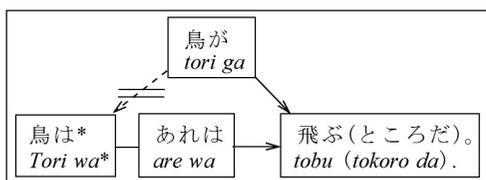


Figure 3

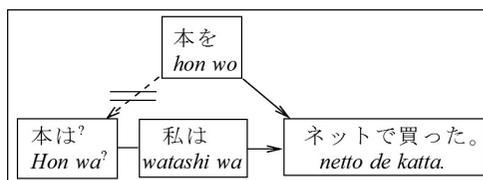


Figure 4

However, in the case of *wo*, since the following sentence that is analogue to the one in *figure 4* could be rather grammatical or acceptable when it is stated describing the attribute-like status of unspecified books, the topic that might have stemmed from the *wo*-marked element, though this study does not regard it as the one derived from the *wo*-marked element, can be a neutral topic or occasionally may indicate contrasting books with some other things other than books. Note the sentence-ending verb is in the present tense that does not express a one-time event as in (9a) but expresses a repeated habit indicating the attribute of the books the speaker usually buys as if the verbal sentence were an adjectival sentence.

(10) 本は 私は ネットで 買う。

*Hon wa watashi wa netto de kau.*

As for books, I usually buy online.

In this sense, *wo* seems to hover in between the core case particle *ga* and the oblique case particles that will be dealt with later. Therefore, it can be considered that a supplementary case element marked by *ga* or in a way also by *wo* rigidly belongs with a verb's control domain and that it cannot be transplantable from its standard position to the topic position as illustrated in *figure 3-4*.

However, the following two sentences, which are quite different from (8a) and (9a) respectively, are grammatical because the topics, *tori wa* and *hon wa*, are originally set up at the start of utterance unlike the *ga*-marked and *wo*-marked case elements in *figure 1-2* and the rest of the sentence including the sentence-ending predicate is merely extracted from the topics so as to describe them instead of staying behind as the origin for the topic creeps off, as illustrated in *figure 5*. Let them be stated in archaic Japanese in order to show that the sentences end with a nominal, which was common especially in the *kakarimusubi* structure, in the same manner as (35), (46), (47), (59) and (60) that will be dealt with later.

- (11) a. 鳥は 飛ぶものぞ。  
*Tori wa tobu mono zo.* (Birds fly.)  
 b. 本は ネットにてぞ 買ひける。  
*Hon wa netto nite zo kahikeru.* (Books, I used to buy online.)

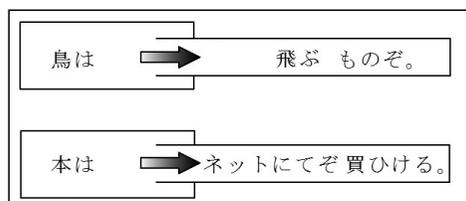


Figure 5

In this case, it can be said that the extracted elements may describe the attribute of what the topic refers to, that is, the event *tobu* describes the common or possibly temporal attribute of birds seen at the time of speech and *netto de katta* describes an unspecific attribute of books that the speaker used to buy. Incidentally, it is worthy of attention that Horikawa (2012) points out that the following type of verbal sentence (12) has a topic analogue to that of an adjectival sentence from the beginning because it does not describe a temporary moving phenomenon but becomes an attribute-describing sentence as suggested in the round brackets.

- (12) アルコールは 水に 溶ける。(Horikawa (2012))

*Arukōru wa mizu ni tokeru.*

Alcohol dissolves in water. (Alcohol has the property of dissolving in water.)

Horikawa (2012) makes a further comment that whether we can say the *ga*-marked element, i.e., *arukōru ga* in the seemingly original sentence (13), can be considered to have been topicalized is questionable and that the subjective element of a verbal sentence corresponding to that of an adjectival sentence had appeared as a topic from the beginning, which could have something in common with the author's view that has been thus far given in the sense that the author considers (8b) is not derived from (8a) with the *ga*-marked element, as illustrated in *figure 3*.

(13) アルコールが水に溶ける。

*Arukōru ga mizu ni tokeru.* (The alcohol is in the process of dissolving in the water.)

On the other hand, the topic, which is the topicalized adjunct moved out of the verb's scope, that includes a word with an oblique case as in (4) and (5) allows the main original topic to co-occur with it without any hindrance, as shown below unlike in *figure 3* and *figure 4*.

(14) 東京へは 太郎は 明日行く。 *Tokyo e wa Taro wa ashita iku.*

For Tokyo, Taro will leave tomorrow.

(15) 駐車場では 子どもは 遊ばない。 *Chūshajō de wa kodomo wa asobanai.*

In a parking area, children do not (or must not) play.

The two topics in (14) and (15) co-occur without altering their properties in the sense that the both may not explicitly express contrast but rather neutrally express topicalization, though it can be a problem of degree. It should be noted here, however, that in some cases the oblique case particle involved in the formation of a topic can or should be dropped but that either way this study deems the word marked by an oblique case particle to be able to be a topic as far as it is followed by *wa*.

The above linguistic facts can be considered to indicate the difference of the behaviors of core case particles (*ga* and *wo*) diagrammed as in *figure 3-4* and ordinary oblique case particles diagrammed as in *figure 6-7*.

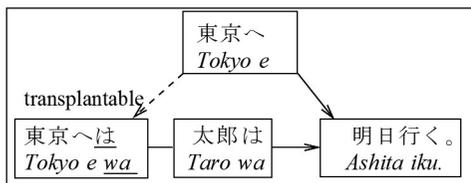


Figure 6

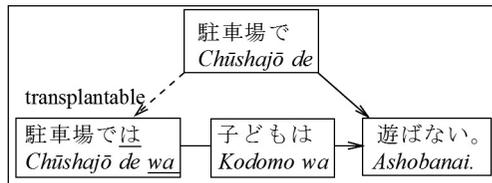


Figure 7

However, this study insists that such an adjunct with an oblique case particle is not ready to be moved up to the topic position but that it is placed at the appropriate position as the topic from the start in order to be a topic from which the following comment is extracted. What *Tokyo e* expresses as a topic in (14) is not merely Tokyo but 'toward Tokyo' that embraces the following comment such as "Taro will leave tomorrow," that is, this sentence is stating what will occur 'in the direction of Tokyo.' In the same way, what *chūshajō de* expresses as a topic in (15) is not merely a parking area but 'in a parking area' that embraces the following comment such as "children do not (*or* must not) play," that is, this sentence is stating what will occur (is not or must not be done) 'in a parking area.'

In order to know that the second *wa* as in (14)-(15) neutrally indicates a topic, let it be replaced with the subjective case particle *ga* and scrutinize the sentence meaning.

- (16) 東京へは 太郎が 明日行く。      *Tokyo e wa Taro ga ashita iku.*

For Tokyo, Taro, not someone else, will leave tomorrow.

- (17) 駐車場では 子どもが 遊ばない。      *Chūshajō de wa kodomo ga asobanai.*

In a parking area, children do not play (but older people may play).

As indicated above, the *ga*-marked subjects in (16)-(17) are not neutrally presented unlike the *wa*-marked subjects as a topic in (14)-(15) but are emphatically referred to occasionally even with an emotional response as their translations indicate. Furthermore, the nuance of prohibition in (15), which is produced by *wa* and is neutrally referred to children's behavior, is not included in (17). Therefore, the second *wa*-marked element in (14)-(15) can still indicate a neutral topic even after the first one, and vice versa, i.e., even when the second one is fronted.

For this reason, two topics installed in one sentence as in (14)-(15) may co-occur in rather unbiased manner, which may imply that the core case particles *ga* and *wo* do not move from an element incorporated into a verb to the topic position at the beginning of a sentence in order to be a topic and that the topic seemingly accompanied by the deep *ga*-case or the deep *wo*-case has had already emerged at the start of utterance. The following actual example also referred to by Tanimori (2019) gives evidence that the topic, which might have been deemed to be derived from a *wo*-marked element, subsists independent of the following clearly mentioned *wo*-marked object that may be dropped in many cases in usual sentences because it is instantly noticeable that what is referred to as the object of the verb. Note that the literal translations indicated hereafter with the abbreviation (*lit.*) may occasionally be ungrammatical or improper in English though they are reasonable

or grammatical in the viewpoint of Japanese sentence structure.

(18) 学問の自由は、これを保障する。 (日本国憲法第23条)

*Gakumon no jiyū wa, kore wo hoshō suru.*

(the Article 23 of the Japanese Constitution)

(lit.) Academic freedom, we guarantee it.

→ Academic freedom is guaranteed.

As thus far described, this study has it that the topic, from which the following predicative element is extracted in many cases as a comment describing the attribute of what is relevant to the topic or indicating the logical case relation with the topic, has had already emerged at the start of utterance. Therefore, *gakumon no jiyū* (academic freedom) as a topic in (18) is not deemed to be an object of the verb *hoshō suru* (to guarantee) but to be the setting for describing what is the most important information for the speaker, which is defined as what 'the topic most strongly reminds the speaker of' (Tanimori 1994), extracted from within the 'Topic Network' (Tanimori 2014) where various relevant elements associated with the topic are linked to the topic in the speaker's brain or mind and ready to be chosen as a right one as the predicative comment that follows the topic.

In order to intensify the above discussions, let us see the following sentence.

(19) 京都は 今日 行って 明日 帰ります。

*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.

(Tanimori 2020)

The above sentence, which is referred to in Tanimori (2020), attests to the linguistic fact that the *wa*-marked element can hardly be considered to flow from two possible initial positions, which are before *itte* (go) in such a way as to be said "*Kyoto ni itte* (go to Kyoto)" and also at the same time before *kaerimasu* (come back) in such a way as to be said "*Kyoto kara kaerimasu* (come back from Kyoto)," since it would make no sense at all, if it could involve a logical process, that the single *wa* indicates two hundred-and-eighty-degree different logical case relations at the same time and also at the same position.

The author has drawn, from this linguistic fact, the conclusion that the topic must be set at the start of utterance regardless of the logical case relation between the *wa*-marked element and the following predicative element (a verb, an adjective, a noun, etc.), which might to some extent lead to the consideration of Horikawa

(2012) that takes issue with the tacitly understood idea as far back as Mikami Akira that the representability of Topic-Comment relation takes form when there is a case relation though how to view the topic is still different between the author and Horikawa.

Among lots of long-smoldering arguments over *wa*, the following issue should be above all others paid close attention to, since both the topics in (20) and (21) will not fit into the category of the agent of action.

(20) 空は青い。 *Sora wa aoi.* (The sky is blue.)

(21) 幹事は太郎です。 *Kanji wa Taro desu.* (The manager is Taro.)

In fact, although it looks like the *wa* indicating the above topics that express the subject and the first ones in (14)-(15) are quite different from that of (11a) in the sense that it does not necessarily indicate a doer of some action but expresses having some attribute as in (20), an identification as in (21), information that the speaker most wants to mention about the topic as in (14)-(15) respectively, seemingly appearing, as we have seen, to be variable depending on whether the predicative element following *wa* is a verbal one, an adjectival one or a nominal one, *wa* must have been employing a yet-to-be-defined mechanism that consistently works in various types of sentences supported by an unfathomed principle of essential quality, which may seem to have been to some extent elucidated by Tanimori (2019). That is, also as stated above, the topics in (20) and (21) can be deemed not to be derived from *ga*-marked subject but to merely have been set up as a sentential stage for making the following statement as to the topic.

Tanimori (2019) states as follows: When the speaker sets up a topic, a variety of kinds of elements concerning the topic may immediately, mediated by synapses, be generated and linked to each other in his or her mind (or brain). The speaker then just chooses the most suitable one among them as a word or phrase and can utilize it for continuing to make a comment concerning the topic. Hence, Japanese topicalization can be simply realized without the presence of the logical relation between the topic and any word or phrase which the speaker intends to utter, only if the topic's semasiological relatedness to the word or phrase and the contextual coherence of the sentence are properly balanced (p.85).

Intriguingly, the view that (10) is stated describing the attribute of unspecified books though its topic might have been deemed to be derived from a *wo*-marked element could be similar to that of Horikawa (2012) having it that the following type of verbal sentence (22) describes the attribute of the referent of the topic on the ground that *wa* can be replaced with *ga* that expresses the subject as in (23)

against the orthodox grammatical rule that it must be replaced with *wo* expressing the object.

- (22) この辞書は 法学部の学生が よく使う。 (Horikawa (2012))

*Kono jisho wa hōgakubu no gakusei ga yoku tsukau.*

This dictionary, many students of the law faculty use.

- (23) この辞書が 法学部の学生が よく使う。

*Kono jisho ga hōgakubu no gakusei ga yoku tsukau.*

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Thus, the above sentence is regarded in Horikawa (2012) as an equivalent of adjectival sentence as shown by the following translation that describes the properties of the referent of the topic on the ground that replacement of *wa* with the subjective case particle *ga* is accepted despite the assumed fact that the topic would have to express the object if it were supposed to be derived from an object of action. This idea may have something in common with the go-it-alone idea of this study that even a verbal element relevant to the topic can be extracted from the topic describing something concerning the topic in that Horikawa (2012) also regards the verbal predicate describes the attribute of the subject, which will reinforce the theory of this study.

At this stage, where the sentence with a topic that might have had the objective case has become equivalent to an adjectival sentence, the following sentence (24) created with replacement of *wa* with *ga* in (22) can be acceptable in parallel with (25) that is considered above to be able to have a neutral topic.

- (24) この辞書は 法学部の学生は よく使う。

*Kono jisho wa hōgakubu no gakusei wa yoku tsukau.*

This dictionary is familiar among the students of the law faculty.

- (25) 本は私は ネットで 買う。 (= (10))

*Hon wa watashi wa netto de kau.*

Books are supposed to be available online to me.

What the above linguistic fact implies is that the topic has been set from the beginning of utterance at the top of the sentence as stated as to (25)(=(10)), without having been moved from a position of the following predicative element, and that a view as to the topic unfolds, that is, the following statement emerges through the development of the predicate, which might in a sense to some extent coincides with the idea of Horikawa (2012). However, this study does not consider the topic to have any case not so much because replacement of *wa* with *ga* in (23) is admitted but partly because, as we have seen above, the first *wa* directly after an

oblique case particle cannot have any more case in (14) and (15).

This study will suggest the idea that there might be no logical consistency in the argument of Noda (1996) due to the fact that although it states that the faculty of *wa* to express a topic means that *wa* is quite different and independent from that of case particles like *ga*, *wo*, *ni*, *de*, *no*, etc. but that a noun of any case may become a topic, it covers the words as the elements that can be a topic, ranging from a noun included in the *no*-marked phrases modifying a noun and a modified noun in them to an element included in a subordinate clause which does not have any logical case relation at all with the predicate of the main clause because of the seclusion from the related scope of case particle, in addition to failing to cover an adverb or adverbial phrase as a word that also can be a topic without difficulty in Japanese as in the following example sentences.

(26) 当面は 競争力の回復が緊急課題だ。

*Tōmen wa kyōsōryoku no kaifuku ga kinkyū kadai da.*

(lit.) For the moment is the pressing task as for regaining competitiveness.

→ Regaining competitiveness is the pressing task for the moment.

(27) 急いでは 事をし損じる。

*Seite wa koto wo shisonjiru.*

(lit.) Hurriedly lets you blunder. → Haste makes waste.

The *wa* of the topicalized phrase *tōmen wa* in (26) can be dropped, which means that the phrase is a topic created of an adverb and *wa*, while the *wa* of *seite wa* in (27) can similarly be dropped, which also implies that the phrase is a topic created of an adverbial *te*-form and *wa*. In this way, this study doggedly considers a topic to express no logical case relation with the following predicative element, that is, even an adverb or adverbial phrase is able to be a topic as above despite the fact that it does not indicate any logical case relation with the following predicate modified adverbially by it from ground zero.

## 2. Six Core Types of Topicalized Sentences and New Insight into Them

### 2.1. "*Chichi wa kono hon wo katte kureta*" and "*Zō wa hana ga nagai*"

It seems to commonly be claimed that such sentences as the following sentences (28a), (29a) and (30a) are the topicalized ones derived from the logically constructed nominal phrases (28b), (29b) and (30b) ending with *koto* respectively through moving the original element marked by a case particle in nominal phrases to the topic position at the top of the sentences. The *koto*, however, is just added in the parenthesis to clearly specify the logical case relation between elements in the original nominal phrase. The example sentences and nominal phrases in (28) and (30) are from Noda (1996), while (30a), which is a famous sentence having frequently been under discussion, has been borrowed by Noda (1996) originally from Mikami (1960). (29) is added by the author here in order to also provide new insight into yet another important case particle *wo* together with *ga*.

- (28) a. 父は この本 を 買って くれた。

*Chichi wa kono hon wo katte kureta.*

(lit.) My father, he bought this book and gave it to me.

- b. 父が この本 を 買って くれた (こと)

*Chichi ga kono hon wo katte kureta (koto)*

My father's having bought this book and given to me

- (29) a. この本は 父 が 買って くれた。

*Kono hon wa chichi ga katte kureta.*

(lit.) This book, my father bought and gave to me.

- b. この本 を 父が 買って くれた (こと)

*Kono hon wo chichi ga katte kureta (koto)*

This book's having been bought for me by my father

- (30) a. 象は 鼻 が 長い。

*Zō wa hana ga nagai.*

An elephant, its trunk is long.

- b. 象の 鼻 が 長い (こと)

*Zō no hana ga nagai (koto)*

An elephant's trunk being long

As has been discussed above, a significant but hitherto marginalized question about whether the topic surely is always able to keep on indicating the case that the element at the original place of the source nominal phrase has had as shown above should be raised here. Thus, a major focus in this regard will be whether or not the topic is set up being moved from some element in a source sentence that is

regarded as the original non-topic sentence. In fact, although it may look like that the topics of (28a) and (29a) indicate the original case in that the topics of (28a) and (29a) are from the subject of the act of buying and the object in the event of the father's buying respectively, the author considers that the question still remains whether it simply might have happened to work that way because the above manipulation of case particles seems to be able to be considered to tentatively be shown within the conventional framework that sentential elements, which are mainly case elements, are considered to be moved up to the top of a sentence to be a topic.

As for (28b), there should or can be another implied topic, for example, *tanjōbi wa*, as shown below in the same way as in cases where the implied topic *are wa* is put in *figure 1* that illustrates (8a).

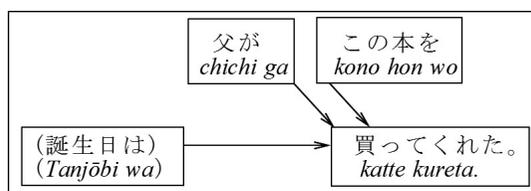


Figure 8

As the above structure shows, two supplementary case elements, which are marked by the core case particles *ga* and *wo*, hook into the predicate that emerges out of the Topic Network (Tanimori 2014), that is, the *ga*-marked and *wo*-marked elements stay at the position of a supplementary case element without moving up to the topic position, though the topic of (28a) seems to commonly have been regarded as the one created after being moved from the *ga*-marked element expressing the agent of the action in the nominal phrase (28b) that seems to have been seen as the origin of (28a). In this respect, the author holds an opinion that runs contrary to the ideas of how the topic should be considered to emerge. When the speaker of the sentence in *figure 8* thinks of his birthday, the 'birthday' has already been designed in mind with the purpose of making a specific comment on his birthday. According to the topic theory of the author, after various pieces of accompanying information are linked to the topic in mind, the speaker may choose what he most wants to state and attach it to the topic, i.e., information of the event of his father's having bought the book in this case as can be visualized in *figure 8*. Thus, the mere agent of buying the book in (28b) is totally different from the topicalized subject established as the setting for utterance from the beginning in (28a). In the same way, the mere object of Father's buying in (29b) is totally

different from the topicalized object in (29a).

Therefore, (28a) and (29a) will be illustrated as in *figure 9* and *figure 10* respectively in the same way as *figure 8* in that one supplementary case element, which is marked by the core case particle *ga* or *wo*, hooks into the predicate that emerges out of the Topic Network, that is, the *ga*-marked or *wo*-marked element remains at the position of a supplementary case element without moving up to the topic position.

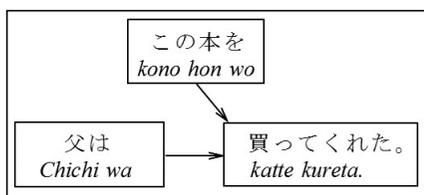


Figure 9

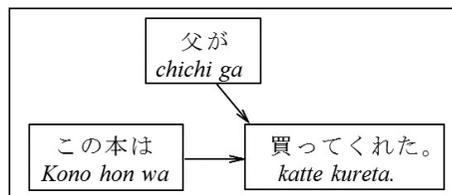


Figure 10

The similarities between the above two sentences and (30a) that also has a resemblance to another two core types of topicalized sentences will be discussed later.

Particularly, can we really say that the topic *zo* of (30a) still indicates the genitive case? Although the structure of topicalized sentences is commonly referred to as [Topic-Comment] construction, this study will refer to it as [Topic-Extracted Content] construction, based on the theory of Tanimori (2020, 2021) that places emphasis on the linguistic fact that the part of sentence following the topic is not necessarily a comment that describes the attribute of the referent of the topic as in an *unagi*-sentence or an *akebono*-sentence (Tanimori 2020). The author has stated his main idea about *wa* that it cannot be considered to infallibly act as a case particle especially such as *ga*. What is noteworthy here is the fact that the same must go for (30a) and (30b), which has not been noted thus far, that is, although the topic *zō* is commonly considered to stem from the adnominal phrase *zō no* with the genitive case as shown in (30b), the issue that its logical case relation with the main predicate can not indicate the genitive case any more in (30a) or has not been revealed in spite of the fact that any topic is considered to hide a case in it has not been touched upon as to (30a) thus far. In addition, it should be noted that the impact of *wa* is bound to reach the end of a sentence affecting all the elements in the middle of a sentence or of an independent phrase called "C類 (C rui; C type)" ending with the coordinate conjunctions such as *ga*, *kara*, *shi*, etc.. As a reference, Mikami states that *wa* goes over the border of the period and has an impact on elements in the sentences that follow the first

sentence with a topic marked by the *wa*.

Therefore, if the genitive case of (30b) were continually retained in (30a), the scope of influence of *wa* would have to be established as shown by the following structural drawing.

- (31) 【象は (=の) 鼻】 が 長い。  
 【*Zō wa (= no) hana*】 *ga nagai*.

【\*An elephant ('s), the trunk】 is long.

If *wa* takes over the genitive case relation as shown in (31) or as is widely claimed as illustrated in (30), (31) must be extremely inconvenient at a deep level as a sentence having a structural flaw in the sense that *wa* is cooped up in the square brackets in spite of the linguistic fact that *wa* must be located external to the domain of the predicative phrase so that *wa* may govern the entirety of the predicate preceded by the topic. Since the impact of *wa* is bound to reach the end of a sentence, the predicate *nagai* (to be long) at the end of the sentence which needs the subject with the built-in subject case cannot receive nor accept *wa* with the built-in genitive case.

In this way, although it seems to commonly have been believed that *wa* acts for some case in the topicalized sentences such as (28a) and (29a) after being moved from an element with a case in its original phrase such as (28b) and (29b), any study seems to have provided little guidance with respect to whether or not the cases that are acted for by the topics as in (30a) or as in (38a) and (39a) which will be dealt with later are surely retained in the same way as in (28) and (29) even after being moved from their original elements as in (30b), (38b) and (39b) respectively or what cases are hidden under *wa*. This study will get further into this issue concerning the use of *wa* raised by Noda (1996).

The fact that the topic *zō (wa)* has a strong impact as far as the end of the sentence implies that the *wa*-marked topic must be present out of the scope indicated by 《 》 of the *ga*-marked subject followed by the adjectival predicate *nagai*, not within the square bracketed phrase as in (31), as illustrated below.

- (32) 象は 《鼻が 長い》。  
*Zō wa* 《*hana ga nagai*》.

As the above schematic sentence shows, if the structure of (31) were valid, the scopes of *wa* and *ga*, which are indicated by 【 】 as in (31) and 《 》 as in (32) respectively, should have to be congested as below, which would present inconvenience to calling the sentence into being.

- (33) 【象は 《鼻】 が 長い》。

【*Zō wa* 《*hana*】 *ga nagai*】.

It can be considered that while *wa* as in (28a) and (11a) might commonly have been considered to act for the subjective *ga*-case probably because it looks like *wa* conveniently functions as if it were like *ga* seemingly indicating the subject, another type of *wa* as in (30a) does not seem to have been touched upon probably because inconvenience arises as shown in (31) that has *wa* with the built-in genitive case, which may be hard to properly be explained. However, since *wa* governs the entirety of the predicate as stated above, the scope of *wa* must not thin out before the end of the sentence as in (33) but must be influential as far as to the end of the sentence spreading from stem to stern, and thus the scope of *ga* must not penetrate that of *wa* as in (33) so that *wa* may govern the entirety of the predicate with the built-in *ga* element.

Therefore, the scopes of *wa* and *ga* in (32) must be extended as more specifically illustrated below respectively, which shows that the scope of *ga* is completely embedded within the scope of *wa*.

(34) 【象は《鼻が長い》】。

【*Zō wa* 《*hana ga nagai*】】.

The diagrammatic representation of (33) and the inclusion relation of *wa*-scope and *ga*-scope in (34) can be illustrated as in *figure 11* and *figure 12* respectively. This structural difference of (33) that shows a cracked structure and (34) that shows a reasonably stabilized structure will let us disconfirm the assertion that (30a) is derived from (30b), i.e., the assertion that *wa* has been sprung from the genitive case particle *no* as shown in (30).

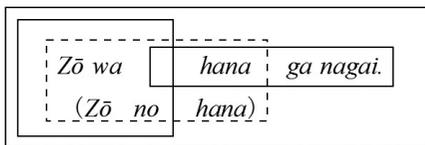


Figure 11

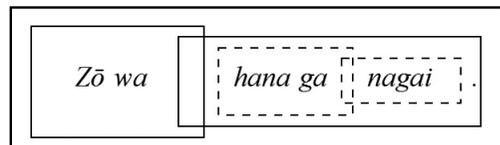


Figure 12

Tanimori (2021) reveals its idea referring to the same sentence as (30a) like the following: (30a) could be archaically rephrased as (35). *Zo* is the archaic binding particle, which is discussed in detail in Tanimori (2021), that lets the sentence-ending verb or adjective in the adnominal form terminate the sentence. Here *nagaki*, which is the adnominal form of the archaic adjective *nagashi* meaning 'long,' can terminate the sentence.

(35) 象は鼻ぞ長き。

*Zō wa hana zo nagaki*.

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

The position of the *zo*-phrase in (35) can be inverted as in (36) that is the prototype mold ending with *zo* as the original form of copula, notably whose structure turns out to precisely be the same as that of *unagi*-sentence literally stating that 'I am' an eel.

(36) 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.

Intriguingly, the archaic case particle *ga*, which originally had not indicated the subjective case but the genitive case like *no*, replaced *zo* in (35) with the fading of kakarjoshi in the Muromachi Period as below.

(37) 象は 鼻が 長き。

(← 象は 鼻の 長き。)

*Zō wa hana ga nagaki.*

(← *Zō wa hana no nagaki.*)

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

→ As for an elephant, it is characterized by the trunk's being long.

The author considers that since such *ga* as has the function of the genitive case particle *no* is ready to connect its preceding noun to its following nominal, i.e., to connect *hana* (trunk) to *nagaki* (being long) in (35), have come to be connected by the archaic genitive case particle *ga* through the process of being connected by *no* as shown in (37), and that (37) can also be deemed to be an *unagi*-sentence as the literal translation of (37) indicates. Interestingly, both (36) and (37) as *unagi*-sentence can be rephrased directly as modern version expression respectively as follows, though there might be a subtle nuance.

(38) 象は なんといっても 長い鼻だよ。

*Zō wa nanto ittemo nagai hana da yo.*

(lit.) More than anything, an elephant is a long trunk.

(39) 象は なんといっても 鼻の長いことよ。

*Zō wa nanto (ittemo) hana no nagai koto yo.*

(lit.) More than anything, an elephant is the trunk's being long.

This fact indicates that (30a) is derived from such a type of *unagi*-sentence as (39). And such a type as (38) can be the prototype from which such a type of *unagi*-sentence as (39) is derived. Then, after the genitive case particle *no* is replaced with *ga* the nominal phrase at the end of sentence will be an adjectival phrase with *koto* omitted, which has let *ga* metamorphose from the genitive case particle into the subjective particle as in (30a).

One other thing to note here is that the modern version of sentence like (30a),

if the *ga*-marked phrase is put back at the end of the sentence, turns out to have the same structure as that of (40) as shown below, which is also an *unagi*-sentence and is not a miscellaneous sentence but still remains as a modern grammatical sentence though its literal meaning is illogical from a standpoint of the logic of Western languages. For this reason, intriguingly, we may notice that the essential underlying structure of (30a) is *unagi*-sentence type.

(40) 象は長い鼻だ。

*Zō wa nagai hana da.*

(lit.) An elephant is a long trunk.

Let the relation of (30a) and (40) be illustrated below predicated on the above notion, which is introduced by Tanimori (2021), that (30a) is not derived from (30b) as discussed above but could be derived from an *unagi*-sentence that is regarded by Tanimori (2017) as the prototype of Japanese nominal sentence.

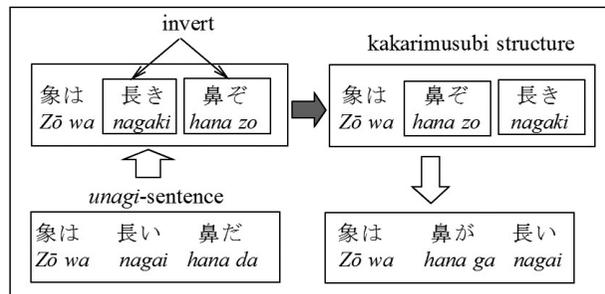


Figure 13

According to the Theory of Nesting Structure propounded by Tokieda (1950), the *wa*-marked topic of (41) seems to be included in or fully incorporated into the nested structure judging from the position of the *wa*-marked phrase, as shown in figure 14 that appears in Tokieda (1950).

(41) 彼は勉強家です。

(Tokieda (1950))

*Kare wa benkyōka desu.*

(He is a hard worker.)



Figure 14

Although Tokieda (1950) states that looking at the words prescribed by a particle is the same as looking at the relationship between reciprocating words unified by a particle because a word is always unified by a particle, and that the word unified by a particle, which is an element of sentence, is referred to as a case holder from the point of view of the relationship with the total integration, the author considers that the *wa*-marked topic does not accept its position as a mere

element of sentence that has a reciprocal relationship with other elements prescribed by a particle because *wa* should not be considered to indicate a case like nominative, objective nor genitive case, etc. but should be considered on an exceptional basis.

Let us look at another figure that indicates a more complicated nesting structure in Takemoto & Miyazaki (2007) that the author happens to have on hand.

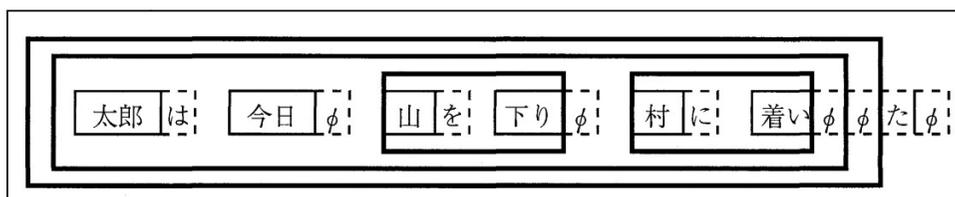


Figure 15

The sentence in *figure 15* states that Taro descended the mountain and has reached the village today. As we will understand from looking at *figure 15*, the topic *Taro wa* (太郎は) is fully incorporated just as one of the built-in elements into the whole sentence that is in the grip of the last outer *ta* (た) representing the perfective, which shows that the topic has been further embedded than *ta* within the sentence whose elements bear a linear relationship to each other, as diagrammed in (42).

- (42) [[[太郎は] [今日] [[山を下り] [村に]] 着い] た].  
 [[[Taro wa] [kyō] [[yama wo ori] [mura ni]] tsui] ta].

However, the author proposes that we should shift our perception about the position of the topic considering the topic to be nestled outside the scope of the rest of the sentence as shown in *figure 16* with the same text, which reflects the views of the author who considers all the remaining elements of the sentence, even including the perfective auxiliary *ta* and also being able to include a modal element if there is, other than the topic to be extracted from within the Topic Network (Tanimori 2014), as has been proposed in Tanimori (2014, 2021).

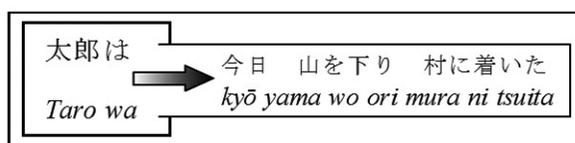


Figure 16

Therefore, this sentence should be diagrammed as in (43), where the topic is located lateral to the following scope enclosed in square brackets 《 》 of the description about the topic in the same way as in (34).

(43) 【太郎は《[今日] [[山を下り] [村に]] 着いた》】。

【*Taro wa* 《[*kyō*] [[*yama wo ori*] [*mura ni*]] *tsuita*》】.

In this way, the author considers that the topic, as we know it with its location as illustrated in *figure 16* or diagrammed in (43), which is at a specific distance from the description about the topic, bundles all the sentential elements generated out of itself into the whole sentence.

## 2.2. "*Kaki ryōri wa Hiroshima ga honba da*" and "*Jisho wa atarashī no ga ī*"

Still another two sentences have also been designated typical core types of topicalized sentences with the topic as (44a) and (45a), whose source nominal phrases are (44b) and (45b) respectively, that are deemed to be derived from the noun moved from its original position in the source *no*-marked phrase modifying a following noun and from its original position of the modified noun in a subordinate clause respectively, that is, (44b) and (45b) are considered to be the templates for (44a) and (45a) respectively, according to the analysis of Noda (1996). The underlined parts indicate the topic in (44a) and (45a) and the parts underlined with a wavy line indicate its source phrase in (44b) and (45b), i.e., the *no*-marked phrase modifying a noun in (44b) and the subordinate clause including a modified noun in (45b), respectively.

(44) a. かき料理は 広島が 本場だ。

*Kaki ryōri wa Hiroshima ga honba da.*

(lit.) Oyster cuisine, Hiroshima is the home of it.

b. 広島が かき料理の 本場である (こと)

*Hiroshima ga kaki ryōri no honba de aru (koto)*

(lit.) Hiroshima being the home of oyster cuisine

(45) a. 辞書は 新しいのが いい。

*Jisho wa atarashī no ga ī.*

(lit.) A dictionary, a new one is fine.

b. 新しい辞書が いい (こと)

*Atarashī jisho ga ī (koto)*

(lit.) A new dictionary's being fine

It seems to commonly be asserted that the embedded elements in (44b) and (45b) can be topicalized as in (44a) and (45a) respectively by moving them, i.e., the modifying element and the modified element respectively. Although Noda (1996) shows that (44b) and (45b) include a logical case of the topic's source element, and

thus it follows that the topics of (44a) and (45a) must have underlying case relations, which are the genitive case and the subjective case respectively, the process of how the source case in (28b) is stored in the topic of (28a) seems to have been also here unconsidered in the same way as the process of eliminating the source case, which is the genitive case, in (30b) as discussed above.

It seems to commonly be asserted that (44a) and (45a) are derived from the nominal phrases (44b) and (45b) respectively, which may express the logical case relation between the topic and its relevant element, and thus if it could be true, the underlined *no*-marked phrase modifying the following noun would be supposed to be topicalized in (44a) and the modified noun included in the subordinate clause would be supposed to be topicalized in (45a) respectively. That is, the topics are deemed to be derived from the noun moved from the original position of the noun included in the *no*-marked adnominal phrase modifying the following noun and from the noun moved from the original position of the modified noun in a subordinate clause respectively, which can be diagrammed as below in *figure 17* and *figure 18* respectively.

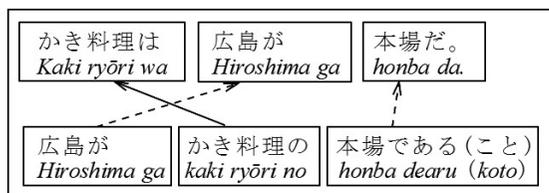


Figure 17

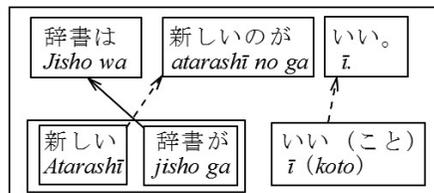


Figure 18

However, can the embedded elements in (44b) and (45b) really be topicalized as in (44a) and (45a) respectively by moving the purported original elements, i.e., the modifying one and the modified one, as asserted by Noda (1996)? Can (44b) and (45b) be readily interpreted as the original phrases only by using the logic of case or probably by logical reasoning by analogy?

The author, however, rather considers that the topic marked by *wa* and its relevant element must not be tied by logic-related case relation, and that they are logically separate from each other despite the fact that they are joined together by *wa* just for linguistic form, which hence may be the state of topicalization called "二分結合" (*Nibun Ketsugō*; dichotomous joint) by Onoe (1977). However, the author considers the topic and the relevant element not to be dichotomously jointed but to be inclusively related. From the author's clarifying way of thinking as above, it follows that there is patent inconsistency between the topicalization operated by arbitrarily leaving a lasting mark of *no* even after the topicalization probably due

to the resemblance of the topicalized sentence to its source phrase in (30), as in the similarities of *Zō wa hana ga nagai* and *Zō no hana ga nagai (koto)*, and that operated by arbitrarily eliminating completely the trace of *no* in (44a) after its topicalization. Similarly, in (45), the topic *jisho* would cannon into the following *ga*-marked subject *atarashī no ga* if the topic had an underlying *ga*-case owing to stemming from its source phrase *jisho ga*. This problem will be discussed in detail below.

First, since it is supposed that the underlined part with a wavy line in (44b) includes a case relation indicating the genitive case by *no* is moved up to the top of the sentence (44a) so as to become a topic, the topic of (44a) should be supposed to have an underlying case relation that must be the same as (44b) in the same way as *wa* that marks the topic of (28a) could be supposed to take over the subjective case indicated by *ga* in (28b). The author, however, considers that it can be said that (44a) has no logical consistency with (44b) in the sense that the underlying case relation of the topic in (44a) may not indicate any case, let alone the genitive case, because oyster cuisine simply cannot be said to be identified as the home of oyster, despite the fact that (28a) and (29a) may happen to seem to conveniently retain the same case relations as (28b) and (29b) respectively, which could simply be said to have turned out well.

On the other hand, the underlined part with a wavy line in (45b) that would be the topic may include a case relation, which equals the subjective case in that the phrase states that such a dictionary is fine, and thus, in fact, the underlying logical case of the topic in (45a) may tentatively look the same as the one of the underlined part with a wavy line in (45b). The author, however, considers here again that it will become something of a problem that the topic of (45a) would collide against the subject *atarashī no* (a new one) marked by *ga* if the topic still retained the subjective case due to the fact that *atarashī no* can clearly be regarded as the subject of the predicate *ī* (to be fine) in (42a), i.e., it is marked by *ga* saying that a new one (= dictionary) is fine and the topic *jisho* also must logically be regarded as the subject of the predicate *ī* at the same time saying that such a dictionary is fine. As for (44), although it looks like *wa* occasionally expresses the subjective case inheriting the subjective case of *ga* as in (28) or it looks like *wa* occasionally expresses the objective case inheriting the objective case of *wo* as in (29), the important point is that *wa* cannot express the genitive case any more even if it were to inherit the genitive case of *no*. This issue seems to have been ignored or does not seem to have been referred to despite the fact

that although *ga* after *Hiroshima* in (44b) remains in (44a) *no* in (44b) is converted into *wa* that does not have the genitive case any more without being recognized that it should be supposed to retain the genitive case. Or if *wa* in (44a) were to inherit the genitive case of *no* used in (44b), it would be impossible to shake out the structural bug as shown in *figure 19*.

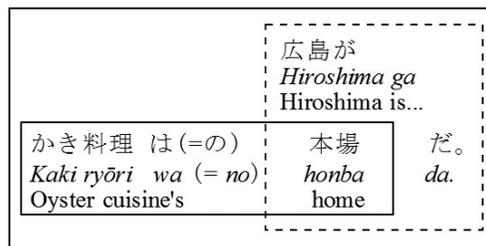


Figure 19

Through the process of kakarimusubi structure modification discussed in Tanimori (2021), the archaic versions of (44a) and (45a) will be (46) and (47) respectively with the kakarijoshi *zo* that had been used till around the middle of the Muromachi Period before being replaced by the subjective case particle *ga* and is considered by Tanimori (2021) to form a Japanese cleft sentence structure as shown in the literal translation of (46). The parenthesized sentence of (47) has the form of transition between the archaic kakarimusubi structure and the modern version sentence (45a), though *ga* there gives out a comparatively weak signal of the genitive case unlike *Zō wa hana ga nagaki* in (37) in which *ga* may still give the archaic sign of the genitive case since the function of the kakarijoshi *zo* had been changing in a dramatic way.

(46) かき料理は 広島ぞ 本場(なる)。

*Kaki ryōri wa Hiroshima zo honba (naru).*

(lit.) Oyster cuisine, it is Hiroshima that is the home of it.

→ As for oyster cuisine, after all, Hiroshima is famous for being home to it.

(47) 辞書は 新しきぞ よき。

→ 辞書は 新しきが よし。

*Jisho wa atarashiki zo yoki.*

→ *Jisho wa atarashiki ga yoshi.*

(lit.) A dictionary, it is the state of being new that is fine.

→ A dictionary is fine at the very time when being new. / I need a new dictionary.

Note the meaning of the adnominal form *atarashiki* that does not modify a noun but becomes a nominal in its own because of the absence of the modern *no* that is a nominalizer rather than as an indefinite pronoun, which will be discussed below, and the natural tendency of the topic marked by *wa* to fix the end of the

sentence with a nominal like *honba* as in (46) or the adnominal form of a verb, which may serve as a nominal, like *naru* as in (46) or the adnominal form of an adjective like *yoki* as in (47), and we will notice the commonality not only between (35) and (37) but also between (46) and (47).

Another more important point is that we should recognize the *no* in (45a) as just a nominalizer that is not used for plugging the gap as if it were the indefinite pronoun referring to *jisho* (dictionary) expressed in its source phrase after the word there (*jisho*) that is moved up to the top cataphorically referring to the *no* but used for just filling the gap in modern grammar, which does not allow the adnominal form *atarashī* to be directly connected to *ga* in (45a), between the preceding adjective and the following particle *ga*, which could be recognized with the following knowledge that (45a) could be restated in archaic Japanese with the kakarijoshi (binding particle) *zo* that substituted in later periods for the modern subjective particle *ga* and with the adnominal form of adjective *yoki* at the end of the sentence as in (47). The intermediate version in the round brackets in (47) shows that *ga* is in the process of change from the genitive case particle to the subjective case particle letting the form of the sentence-ending adjective transform from the adnominal form *yoki* to the dictionary form *yoshi*. Thus, the adnominal form *atarashiki* in (47) does not mean "a new one (dictionary)" but just means "the fact of being new," that is, (45a) originally stated that the fact of being new is fine as to a dictionary, as indicated in (47).

Therefore, we may consider that in the first place the proclitic word *jisho* in (45b) is not moved up from within an embedded internal structure, being extraposed, to the outside topic position at the beginning of the sentence because it is reasonably considered that the indefinite pronoun *no* has come to be inserted probably by the speculation that the adjective *atarashī* implies something new beyond the reason why the adnominal form may not directly be connected to a particle. In view of *no* discussed above, it is inserted there purely and simply because *no* must be put between the preceding adnominal form of adjective and a case particle like *ga* in modern Japanese despite the fact that originally the adnominal form of the adjective that precedes a particle was not a modifier but a nominal in its own. Furthermore, the deeper-lying sentence structure flows from the archaic kakarimusubi structure sharing the same architecture as *Zō wa hana ga nagai* and *Kaki ryōri wa Hiroshima ga honba da*.

When we look at the above archaic version of sentence (47) that is comparable to (45a) this way, we will also notice that the *no* in (45a) that may have been

regarded by Noda (1996) as an indefinite pronoun, which equals the English "one," might rather have to be deemed to be a nominalizer seeing the linguistic fact that the other nominalizer *koto* is used in the sentence-ending predicate of (51) instead of *no* as in *koto da* simply because *no da* becomes an independent special auxiliary having a different specific meaning, that is, the grammaticality of (51) implies that the sentence-ending nominalized adjective can terminate a topicalized sentence as in (47), and thus it follows that (45a) stems from (47).

According to the unprecedented theory advanced by Tanimori (2021), the above sentence (46) with a kakarimusubi structure will be rephrased as an *unagi*-sentence with the position of *zo*-phrase inverted as below.

(48) かき料理は 本場 広島ぞ。

*Kaki ryōri wa honba Hiroshima zo.*

(lit.) Oyster cuisine is the home of it, Hiroshima.

→ Oyster cuisine can be enjoyed in the home of it, Hiroshima.

Although the *zo*-phrase in (47) may be difficult to be transferred to the end of the sentence probably because the kakarijoshi *zo* has reached maturity as a more kakarijoshi-like particle rather than a copula or there are two adnominal forms of adjective successively placed, (47) could be rephrased as below, which once again becomes an *unagi*-sentence, in the same way as (48) in the sense that *zo* is used as a copula at the end of a sentence doing its primary duty.

(49) 辞書は とにかくにも 新しきぞ。

*Jisho wa tonikakunimo atarashiki zo.*

(lit.) A dictionary is the fact of being new anyway.

→ A dictionary is fine at the very time when being (a) new (edition) anyway.

Furthermore, it is very intriguing to see that (48) and (49) can be translated straight into the modern version of *unagi*-sentence without any sort of structural alteration as below respectively.

(50) かき料理は なんととっても 本場(の) 広島だ。

*Kaki ryōri wa nanto ittemo honba (no) Hiroshima da.*

(lit.) Oyster cuisine is the home of it, Hiroshima, anyway.

→ Oyster cuisine should be tasted in the home of it, Hiroshima, anyway.

(51) 辞書は とにかく 新しいことだ。(\*ものだ)

*Jisho wa tonikaku atarashī koto da. (\*mono da)*

(lit.) A dictionary is the fact of being new anyway. (\*a new one)

→ Whatever dictionaries for you -- the point is that they should be new

(editions) anyway.

(51) is not an attribute-descriptive nominal predicate sentence but can be regarded as an *unagi*-sentence with the nominalizer *koto* in the predicate, which can be proved by the fact that the nominal *koto* in the predicate of (51) must not be replaced with *mono* (thing) as could be expected from the literal translation. Notice that (50) and (51) have the same sentence structure as (38) and (39) respectively, and we will see that *wa* of the sentence (30a) *Zō wa hana ga nagai* that is famous for its vexed linguistic question has the only one essential function in common to (44a) and (45a) that probably have commonly been regarded as being of a different nature from (30a).

Since the above two types of sentences (50) and (51) are grammatically reasonable due to the fact that they are Japanese distinctive type of nominal sentence called "*unagi*-sentence" designated by Tanimori (2017) as the prototype of Japanese nominal sentences, this study considers them to be the most pertinent to the core types of topicalized sentences (44a) and (45a) and here advances the theory that the original sentences from which the fourth and fifth core types of topicalized sentences like (44a) and (45a) are derived are such types of *unagi*-sentence as (50) and (51) respectively just in the same manner as (30a) is derived from (38) or (39) that is an *unagi*-sentence as well as (50) and (51). (50) and (51) can also be deemed to be an *akebobo*-sentence (Tanimori 2020) as the following figure shows the considerable analogy between them.

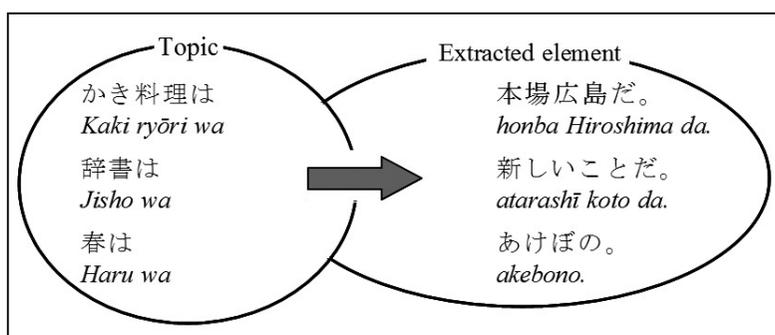


Figure 20

Thus, this study has learned that the third, the fourth and the last fifth core types of topicalized sentences can be considered to have been derived in common from the prototype of Japanese nominal sentences and that the first and the second core types of topicalized sentences emerge, based on the principle that the comment-like relevant element is extracted from the topic without the need for a logical case relation between them, in common with the prototype of Japanese

nominal sentences, which will reinforce the theory propounded by this study. The difference between the first two core types of topicalized sentences and the last three core types of topicalized sentences is just whether the predicate is composed of a verb expressing a dynamic event as in (28a) and (29a) or a word like a noun or an adjective expressing a static event as in (30a), (44a) and (45a).

It is very interesting that not only (50) and (51) share the same structure as (38) and (39) respectively but also the first two core types of topicalized sentences (28a) and (29a) share the same structure, where the topic is directly connected to the nominal phrase as a predicate, as can be seen in the rephrased versions in the archaic Japanese with the adnominal form *tamahishi* (to have given), which works as a nominal at the end of the sentence, as shown below.

- (52) 父は この本を 買ひ 給ひし。      *Chichi wa kono hon wo kahitamahishi.*  
 (lit.) My father is the having bought this book for me.
- (53) この本は 父の 買ひ 給ひし。      *Kono hon wa chichi no kahitamahishi.*  
 (lit.) This book is my father's having bought for me.

Thus, the diagrammed structure of the above two sentences ending with the adnominal form *tamahishi* as a nominal at the end of them will be drawn as below in the same way as *figure 20*.

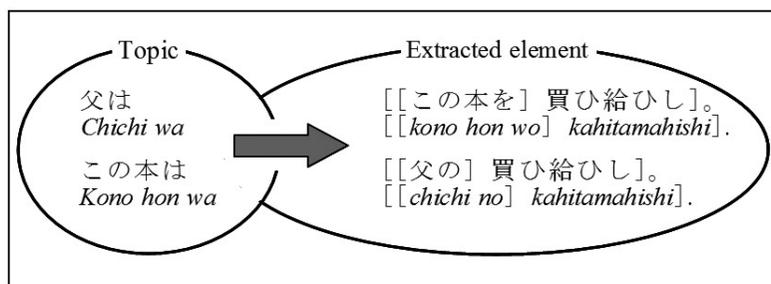


Figure 21

### 2.3. "Hana ga saku no wa shichigatsu goro da" and "Kono nioi wa gasu ga moreteru yo"

The following sentences in the presence of *wa* seem to be considered to have a qualitatively different structures in terms of *wa*, which are designated by Noda (1996) as the last two core types of topicalized sentences.

- (54) 花が 咲くのは 7月ごろだ。  
*Hana ga saku no wa shichigatsu goro da.*  
 (lit.) Flower blooming is around in July.  
 → Flower blooming, it is common around in July.

(55) このにおいは ガスが漏れてるよ。

*Kono nioi wa gasu ga moreteru yo.*

(lit.) This smell is the fact that the gas is leaking.

→ This smell, it warns us that the gas is leaking.

According to Noda (1996), the original nominal phrase of (54) is deemed to be (56a) and after the clause *hana ga saku* is topicalized as in (56b) *no* which can be deemed a nominalizer, is added to make the sentence grammatical as in (56c) that is regarded as a cleft sentence because Japanese cleft sentence is commonly considered to have the structure like [verb / adjective + *no wa...*].

(56) a. 7月ごろ 花が咲く (こと)。 *Shichigatsu goro hana ga saku (koto).*

b. \*花が咲くは7月ごろ。 *\*Hana ga saku wa shichigatsu goro.*

c. 花が咲くのは7月ごろ (だ)。

*Hana ga saku no wa shichigatsu goro (da).*

→ (lit.) Flowers' blooming is around in July. *or* When flowers bloom is around in July.

However, this study considers that (56c) should be deemed a pseudo-cleft sentence as its second literal translation beginning with "When..." suggests, which is discussed in Tanimori (2021). Although it may be difficult to draw the line between *no* as an indefinite pronoun and *no* as a nominalizer in (56c) in terms of the modern particle *no*, this sentence can be deemed a normal nominal sentence whether this *no* is an indefinite pronoun or a nominalizer in the sense that if this *no* is a nominalizer (56c) can be deemed an *unagi*-sentence as its first literal translation indicates and that if this *no* is an indefinite pronoun (56c) can be deemed a common nominal sentence (i.e., a pseudo-cleft sentence). Anyhow, it will be unreasonable to regard (56c) as a cleft sentence not as a pseudo-cleft sentence, because the phrase that should be emphasized, i.e., *shichigatsu goro* here, is placed at the end of the sentence in spite of the fact that the phrase of which the word arrangement in a sentence will be changed for emphasis should be placed prior to the other predicative elements so as to be laid more emphasis on in the same way as in "It is around in July that flowers bloom."

Although Noda (1996) states that (56b) is grammatically wrong, the author considers (56b) is not bizarre due to the fact that (56b) is perfectly acceptable in archaic Japanese because of the absence of the nominalizer *no* in archaic Japanese as has been discussed above and also because of the grammaticality of connecting the adnominal form functioning as a noun directly to the following particle like *wa* without inserting *no* in archaic Japanese as in the following grammatical sentence.

The nominalizer *no* in (57) does not need to be put before the verbs *ihu* and *okonahu* in the adnominal form working as a noun so as to be used as the subjective element. And thus, (56b) can be grammatically proper.

(57) 言ふは易し, 行ふは難し。 *Ihu wa yasushi, okonahu wa gatashi.*

Saying is easy, doing is hard.

Accordingly, (54) will be reworded in the archaic Japanese as below.

(58) 花の咲きにほふは7月ごろぞ。

*Hana no sakinihohu wa shichigatsu goro zo.*

→ Flower blooming, it is common around in July.

The author considers that such a type of sentence as English cleft sentence does not seem to exist in modern Japanese though there is such a type of sentence as English pseudo-cleft sentence like (56c) and that there had been a special type of sentence with the structure called "*kakarimusubi*" in archaic Japanese, which has such a sentence structure as English cleft sentence, as has been discussed in Tanimori (2021). The following sentence, which is arranged for reference so as to be differentiated from (56c), shows that the Japanese archaic sentence with *kakarimusubi* structure has the similar structure to English cleft sentence. The verb at the end of the sentence has the adnominal form that works in the same way as the English that-clause in the cleft sentence in the sense that it modifies the emphasized phrase that precedes it, that is, the phrase underlined with a wavy line corresponds with the English that-clause.

(59) (そこは) 7月ごろぞ 花の咲きにほふ。

*(Soko wa) Shichigatsu goro zo hana no sakinihohu.*

It is around in July that flowers bloom (there).

Next, although it is stated by Noda (1996) that such a type of sentence as (55) is deemed a special one created by some unknown extraordinary cause, the author has been discussing explicitly in detail in Tanimori (2019, 2020, etc.) the idea that it should be regarded as an *unagi*-sentence that is deemed by the author to be the prototype of Japanese nominal sentences whether the predicate is a noun or a verb, etc.. Thus, (55) can be reworded in archaic Japanese as below.

(60) このにおいは ガスぞ漏りたる。

*Kono nioi wa gasu zo moritaru.*

(lit.) This smell is gas leaking.

→ From this smell, I guess it is gas that is leaking.

In like wise, the above sentence has the structure of the cleft sentence ending with the adnominal form *moritaru* (that is leaking) and thus, the phrase underlined with

a wavy line corresponds with the English that-clause of the cleft sentence. We will notice that (55) can also be regarded as having the same mode of structure as (44a) and (45a) by seeing the similarity with (46) and (47).

And, it also can be noticed that (61) has the same mode of structure as (30a) by seeing the similarity with (37) that fits the pattern of [topic-*wa*, -*ga*/-*no* + the adnominal form] .

(61) このにおいは ガスの漏りたる。

*Kono nioi wa gasu no moritaru.*

(lit.) This smell is the leaking of gas.

→ This smell warns of the leaking of gas.

In view of the above linguistic facts, the conceptual diagram illustrating the relation between the topic and the extracted element seen in (58) and (61) that are created by being rephrased in archaic Japanese from (54) and (55) respectively will be of the same structure as in *figure 20* and *figure 21* as shown below.

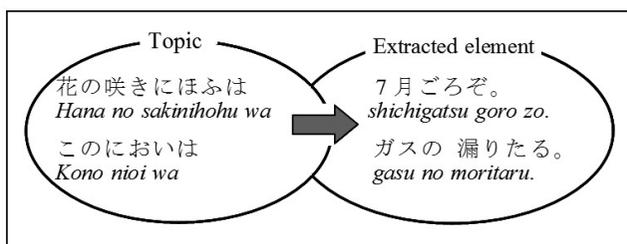


Figure 22

### 3. Common Emergence Process of Various Core Types of Topicalized Sentences

It has commonly been explained that a topicalized sentence has the [Topic - Comment] structure and that the topic is created by moving an element included in the rest of the phrase, i.e., an element included in the comment to the top of sentence, implying that the remaining elements except the topic marked by *wa* in the original phrase form the comment on the topic.

However, if it is true that the topic emerges from an element included in the rest of the original phrase by being moved from there, the upshot will have to be that the topic remains under the sway of the comment, as a corollary of that kind of thinking that such a comment includes various constituent parts one of which is moved up to the top of sentence even from within a subordinate clause included in the comment so as to become a topic. And thus, the above common idea will contradict the fundamental principle of *wa* that the power of influence generated

by *wa* extends to the end of a sentence (occasionally beyond the sentence) since the background of *wa* stated above means that the power of influence of *wa* is stuck in the scope of the rest of the original phrase as shown in the leftward schema in the flowchart illustrated in *figure 23*, which shows the above-stated conventional thinking about the background of *wa* introduces a critical bug. Accordingly, the relation of the topic and the comment should be as shown in the rightward schema in *figure 23* in the same way as in *figure 16*. Note that the direction of the symbol indicating contained elements is opposite.

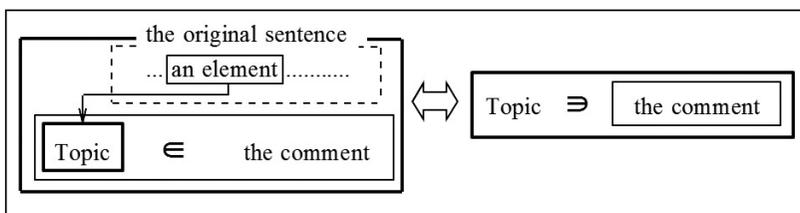


Figure 23

As stated above, although the element extracted from within Topic Network may normally be called "comment" especially when it describes the attribute of the topic, the author has let it usually be called "extracted element" since it has been considered that the topic applies aptly to every relationship between the topic and the element in the predicate by the above thought of the topic regardless of the logical case relation between them. Thus, this study makes a point that the predicate is extracted from within the Topic Network as illustrated in *figure 24* differently from the Tokieda's idea that the predicate incorporates the topic as illustrated in *figure 14* or *figure 15*.

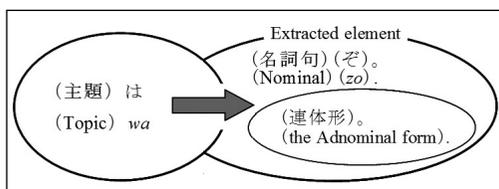


Figure 24

Let the following three special sentences that may look superficially exceptional be analyzed here according to the principle of *wa* proposed by this study.

- (62) 今は昔。 (今昔物語, 12世紀)  
*Ima wa mukashi.* (Konjaku Monogatari, 12th century)  
 (lit.) Now is the past.  
 → Thinking about it now, it is a very long time ago.

- (63) 何はともあれ。 *Nani wa tomo are.*  
 (lit.) Let what be so. / No matter what may be.  
 → No matter how things may be. / At any rate.
- (64) 東京は神田の生まれだ。 *Tokyo wa Kanda no umare da.*  
 (lit.) Tokyo is my birth in Kanda. → Here in Tokyo, I was born in Kanda.

Firstly, the direct literal translation of (62) contradicts itself because two conflicting elements in meaning 'now' and 'the past' are directly connected by *wa*. Although this problem cannot be solved by adopting the logic of the Western languages, this sentence is properly recognized as a Japanese canonical sentence, which does not seem to grammatically or syntactically have been referred to or examined by any study thus far. According to the originally proposed theory of *wa* in this study, the element *mukashi*, which is certainly included in *ima* as an 'Informational Element' (Tanimori 2017) and is what the speaker most likes to mention at the time of speech, is able to suitably extracted from among the referential elements linked to the topic *ima*. The writer of this sentence mentioned this word at the beginning and then went on with a once-upon-a-time story. In addition, the syntactic commonality between (62) and the topicalized sentences discussed in this study thus far may be found by invoking the archaic kakarimusubi structure with the kakarijoshi *zo* and the adnominal form *suguru* meaning to have passed away, which is discussed in Tanimori (2021), as follows.

- (65) 今は昔ぞ過ぐる。  
*Ima wa mukashi zo suguru.*  
 (lit.) In the now, it is the past that has passed away.  
 → Thinking about it now, it is a very long time ago.

Secondly, the topic of (63) is an interrogative word that includes empty information despite the fact that an interrogative word cannot be followed by *wa* but must be followed by *ga* when it indicates the subject as in "*Nani \*wa / ga i desu ka.*" However, the following comment-like predicate *tomo are*, which is made of *to* (so), *mo* (also) and *are* (let be), that means "let be so" or "no matter...may be" also includes no concrete information, and thus it turns out that an empty element can possibly mathematically have been extracted from an empty set as a topic as illustrated below.

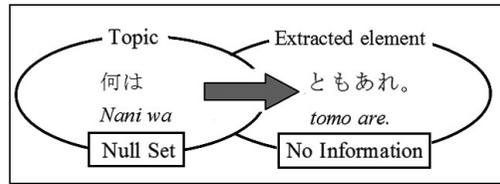


Figure 25

This interpretation will be supported by evidence from the fact that *ga* must be used instead of *wa* if the predicate that follows the topic of an interrogative word includes concrete information, for example, *mondai* (a problem) as below.

(66) 何が 問題であれ。 *Nani ga mondai de are.*

(lit.) Let what be a problem. → No matter what may be a problem.

Thirdly, on the face of (64), this seems like a special sentence that shows bizarre linguistic behavior. Fukuma (2004) assumes the following informational structure in which the topic is involved into just one segment of the predicate.

(67) [東京は 神田] の 生まれだ。 [*Tokyo wa Kanda*] *no umare da.*

Thus, if the position of *wa* is proclaimed in (67) as below in (68), it turns out that *wa* is deeply embedded in the phrase that is locally incorporated in the modifying phrase before the noun *umare* at the end of the sentence.

(68) [[[東京は 神田] の] 生まれ] だ。 [[[*Tokyo wa Kanda*] *no*] *umare*] *da.*

Considering the distinctive presence of *wa*, its position as above is very inconvenient because *wa* must consist on the outside of the comment that follows as below.

(69) 東京は [[神田の生まれ] だ]。 *Tokyo wa [[Kanda no umare] da].*

Here also, since the possible underlying archaic sentence constructed by kakarimusubi structure may share commonality of syntax, let (69) be put into kakarimusubi structure, and we may discover common ground between (69) and the other topicalized sentences we have seen thus far, for example, (30a)=(71)), as illustrated below.

(70) 東京は [[神田ぞ] [生まるる]]。

*Tokyo wa [[Kanda zo] [umaruru]].*

(lit.) In Tokyo, it is in Kanda that I was born.

While *umare* in (64) is a modern Japanese noun meaning 'birth,' its archaic equivalent is the adnominal form *umaruru* that may terminate the sentence in the same way as the sentence-ending nominal in the topicalized sentences with kakarimusubi structure as shown in figure 24. Accordingly, it may follow that (64), which could be considered to have stemmed from (70), emphatically states the

place where the speaker was born because the kakarimusubi structure implies Japanese cleft sentence as discussed in Tanimori (2021) and as thereunder expressed in the literal translation of (70).

That is, it follows from what this study has propounded thus far that the above sentence is created by extracting *Kanda no umare* that is what the speaker most wants to state at the time of speech from within the topic Tokyo, which is all-too-familiar known information that is widely shared among speakers, in just the same manner as the following sentence that shares just the same architecture as (69) that is illustrated in *figure 26*.

(71) 象は [[鼻の長き]]。

*Zō wa* [[*hana no nagaki*]].

(from (37))

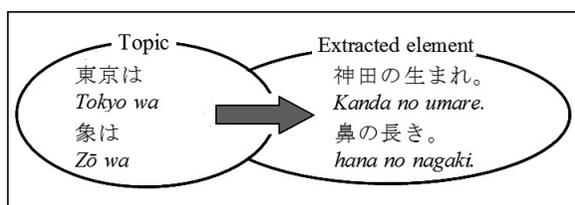


Figure 26

Although it may be fully expected that it often happens that any element in the predicate forges a logical case relationship with the topic because it is quite unlikely that the topic does not establish a relationship with any element included in the predicate, the newly proposed theory of *wa* in this study covers the entire spectrum from an element with some case to the element that has no case like an adverb or to an element that cannot have any case with the topic in effect as in an *unagi*-sentence that has been deemed miscellaneous due to the absence of its logical case relation with the topic.

## Conclusion

On the conventional basis of how the topic should be considered to stem from an element within the predicative comment, the Japanese topicalized sentences are subdivided into the following six types: *Chichi wa kono hon wo katte kureta*, *Zō wa hana ga nagai*, *Kaki ryōri wa Hiroshima ga honba da*, *Jisho wa atarashī no ga ī*, *Hana ga saku no wa shichi gatsu goro da*. And, yet another sentence *Kono hon wa chichi ga katte kureta* that has been considered to hide, behind *wa*, the underlying objective case, which is a case of force unlike oblique cases, is added.

In this study, it is considered that *wa* is the most important factor forming Japanese core syntax and that such an essential factor could not be subdivided

into subtypes according to which element in the predicate *wa* stems from, that is, this study considers that *wa* should work as a unit. And thus, the author has pursued the root cause of its leading to the emergence of variously subdivided core types of topicalized sentences.

Since most elements in a sentence would be logically related to each other in the sense that there might usually be some logical case relation with each other, it is highly predictable that one or another case relation will be found between the arbitrarily chosen elements in the sentence when one of them is topicalized. However, seeing adverbial elements with no logical case relation with any other element can also be readily topicalized or that no logical case relation can be found in an *unagi*-sentence having been deemed miscellaneous because a word that is remote in terms of case relation from the origin of the topic is topicalized, this study propounds the idea that the predicative element is extracted from among the ones that refer to the topic regardless of the presence or absence of the logical case relation between them.

Along this line of considering in this study, six core types of topicalized sentences preoccupied with the former original concept of *wa*, the one-size-fits-all solution of *wa* newly proposed in this study could be admitted to have an enormous advantage over the predecessors in the sense that it dovetails perfectly with the idea that *unagi*-sentence is the prototype of Japanese sentences including not only nominal sentences but also verbal and adjectival sentences.

The table below shows the syntactic commonality among the several core types or representative topicalized sentences dealt with mainly in this study by making a list of them arranged in a table so that they look distinguishable according to whether the segment indicates the topic, kakarijoshi-derived phrase or sentence-ending nominal phrase.

Table 1

Topic ... <i>wa</i>	Kakarijoshi-derived phrase	Sentence-ending nominal phrase
<i>Zō wa</i>	<i>hana zo</i> (→ <i>hana no/ga</i> )	<i>nagaki</i> (→ <i>nagaki/nagashi</i> (→ <i>nagai</i> ))
<i>Kaki ryōri wa</i>	<i>Hiroshima zo</i>	<i>honba</i> ( <i>naru</i> (→ <i>da</i> ))
<i>Jisho wa</i>	<i>atarashiki zo</i> (→ <i>atarashiki ga</i> )	<i>yoki</i> (→ <i>yoshi</i> (→ <i>ī</i> ))
<i>Kono nioi wa</i>	<i>gasu zo</i> (→ <i>gasu no/ga</i> )	<i>moritaru</i> (→ <i>moreteru</i> )
<i>Tokyo wa</i>	<i>Kanda zo</i> (→ <i>Kanda no</i> )	<i>umaruru</i> (→ <i>umare</i> )
<i>Ima wa</i>	<i>mukashi</i> ( <i>zo</i> )	( <i>suguru</i> )
<i>Haru wa</i>	<i>akebono</i> ( <i>zo</i> )	( <i>wokashiki</i> ) (Tanimori 2021)

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# 主題文のさまざまなタイプに共通する 「は」の本質の考察

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キーワード：主題、主題文、「は」、係り結び、抽出要素

## 要旨

本稿では主題文の様々なタイプに共通する「は」の本質を追求することにある。まず様々なタイプの主題文とは次のものである。これらは野田（1996）による典型的な主題文であるが本考察の主な対象とした。各文の右側括弧内に元とされる名詞句を並置したが最後の雑例とされる主題文の元の名詞句は想定されないことになる。

- |                     |                   |
|---------------------|-------------------|
| (1) 父はこの本を買ってくれた。   | (父がこの本を買ってくれたこと)  |
| (2) 象は鼻が長い。         | (象の鼻が長いこと)        |
| (3) かき料理は広島が本場だ。    | (広島がかき料理の本場であること) |
| (4) 辞書は新しいのがいい。     | (新しい辞書がいいこと)      |
| (5) 花が咲くのは7月ごろだ。    | (7月ごろ花が咲くこと)      |
| (6) このにおいはガスが漏れてるよ。 | (-)               |

本稿では稿者の従前よりの「は」に係る考察をもとに上記の文に共通する「は」の本質を次のように分析し結論づけた。

・「は」は主題に係る諸要素の中から話者がもっとも述べたいものを論理的格関係にかかわらず抽出して結びつける（本文中Figure 24参照）。

そしてこの原理が上の様々なタイプの主題文に汎用的に当てはまり得て機能し得ることを解析し提言したことになる。その場合に主題文の背後で機能しているとみる日本語古来の係り結び構文を示しつつ独自の説明を試みている（本文中Table 1参照）。

