INFORMATION PACKAGING OF SUBJECT AND TOPIC IN JAPANESE: SEMANTIC DIFFERENCES AND SELECTIONAL CRITERIA FOR NP GA AND NP WA

BY

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DECLARATION

Except when otherwise indicated

this thesis is my own work.

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ABSTRACT

Many attempts to characterise NP GA (non-topic subject) and NP WA (topic subject) have been made in the past. Some have examined their syntactic properties, some their semantic nature and others their discourse functions. None of these however, capture what native speakers understand by NP GA and NP WA, or properly reflect the intuition native speakers have for these items.

Another major failure of past analyses is that the differential process employed by native speakers when choosing between the two particles of GA and WA in a certain text or context has not been seriously studied. The assumption seems to have been that once NP GA or NP WA is somehow characterised, selection between the two is automatic, but as shown in this work, this is not the case.

The research herein was undertaken firstly, in order to pursue or extract the essential or real differences between NP GA and NP WA as understood by native speakers; and secondly, to find out how the selection of one particle over the other is carried out in a real situation, e.g., in an actual text. Two major claims are made as the result of this investigation.

Firstly, it is claimed that NP GA and NP WA can be described as denoting the concepts of existential assertion and existential presupposition respectively, and also that various syntactic as well as pragmatic phenomena concerning NP GA and NP WA can be accounted for by such fundamental semantic differences of NP GA and NP WA.

Secondly, this dissertation claims that there are three selectional patterns concerning the use of GA and WA. The first one is where there is no conflict among the differential factors for selection, and the second is where conflicting factors are resolved by the ranking of the factors. The first and the second patterns are thus rule-governed, i.e., the appropriate particle may be predicted by a set of rules. The third case consists of situations in which native speakers are free to disagree with one another. The choice of particles here is not decided by rules but because of semantic content of the particles.

The theoretical implications of this research are that NP GA and NP WA are both primary categories in semantic analysis and that some uses of NP GA and NP WA need to be treated as lexical items, rather than being dealt with solely by grammar rules.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

ACC	accusative case (o)
ABL	ablative case (kara)
ALL	allative case (made)
CMI	comitative case (to)
COM	sentential complementiser (no, koto, to, etc.)
COND	conditional affix (-ba, -tara, -to, -nara)
COP	copula (da, dearu, etc.)
DAT	dative case (ni)
GEN	genitive case (no)
IMP	imperative form
INS	instrumental case (de)
LOC	locative case (ni, de)
MA	modality affix (beki, hazu, mono)
MUT	mutative case (ni)
NOM	nominative case (ga)
NP	noun phrase
PAS	passive affix (rare)
PRE	presumptive (daroo, deshoo)
Q	question particle (ka)
REC	reciprocal case (to)
SFP	sentence final particle (ne, no, yo, etc.)
TOP	topic marker (wa)
*X	X is not acceptable.

??X X is not acceptable but is better than *X.

?X X is not acceptable but is better than ??X.

The nominative marker ga and topic marker wa with which this research is directly concerned are in capital letters, rather than underlined, throughout the thesis. Particles under attention in different sections of the thesis also follow this convention.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Unsolved problems concerning NP GA and NP WA

1.1.1 Characterisation of NP GA and NP WA at sentential level

The noun phrase (hereafter NP) GA and NP WA in sentences such as the following are usually recognised as the subject and the topic respectively (i.e., a topicalised subject in this case) of the sentence.[1]

(1) Jimuin GA kongetsu no shiharai no keisan o shiteiru.
clerk this month GEN payment GEN calculation ACC is doing
'The clerk is calculating this month's payment.'

(2) Jimuin WA kongetsu no shiharai no keisan o shiteiru.
'The clerk is calculating this month's payment.'

Here, the propositional content of (1) and (2) remains the same (as the given English translation indicates) despite the different markings of the subject. It is perhaps typologically meaningful to characterise a language as subject-prominent or topic-prominent or something in-between [see Li (1976)] and to claim that Japanese is indeed of the last type. One cannot pinpoint however, the real difference, whether semantic or pragmatic, the two different markings in (1) and (2) may cause. It is one thing to label NP GA and NP WA as subject and topic and it is quite another to <u>understand</u> what they actually do and <u>explain</u> why Japanese should have these two different markings.

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[1] Strictly speaking here the subject should be called the non-topic subject and the topic the topic subject. I use terms the 'topic' and 'theme' interchangeably throughout the thesis excepting in the cases indicated otherwise. The definition of subject which has often been discussed in relation to topic in Japanese follows that of Shibatani's (1979 and 1985). See 2.2 in Chpater 2 for the definition of subject employed throughout this thesis.

At the sentence level, Kuno (1973a and 1973b) presented a semantic analysis of NP GA and NP WA that attempted to do exactly that: namely, his study showed that there was much more to be discovered with regards to the nature of NP GA and NP WA than merely calling them subject and topic.[2] His work is significant and superior to other analyses, particularly those done by Japanese traditional grammarians, on two points.

Firstly, he found out that the concept of anaphoricity is an essential characteristic to understand a topic NP WA whilst it is irrelevant to account for a subject NP GA. His study was the first which attempted to examine topic NP WA, which is primarily a pragmatic notion, and subject NP GA, which is primarily a syntactic notion, from the common perspective of anaphoricity so that these two kinds of NPs may be compared on equal grounds.

Secondly, a non-topic subject NP GA was observed to have two different meanings: one, as indicating neutral description and the other, as exhaustive listing. He further noted that there is a relationship that exists between the meaning a given NP GA may indicate and the predicate type that occurs with the NP GA. Briefly stated here, a subject NP GA denotes the meaning of neutral description only when the co-occurring predicate includes a non-habitual action verb, or an existential verb, or an adjective/nominal representing changing states. When the predicate includes a verb/adjective/nominal representing a permanent state (or a habitual state), the interpretation of a subject NP GA is restricted to only exhaustive listing. Here again Kuno's study departs from other works on subject NP GA which are typically focussed on discussing and/or defining the status of <u>subject</u> in Japanese. By

[2] His work is reviewed thoroughly in Chapter 3 together with some major analyses put forward by other linguists on NP GA and NP WA.

introducing the notions of neutral description and exhaustive listing, Kuno made clearer the semantic intuition native speakers have of subject NP GA.

Despite the insightful work by Kuno, at the sentence level there remain many problems and questions that must be answered before one can grasp a better picture of topic subject NP WA and non-topic subject NP GA. The fundamental problem is whether or not NP GA and NP WA may be pursued in terms of other semantic, pragmatic or cognitive concepts so as to really understand what these markings are. Kuno says that anaphoricity is the concept by which one can understand an NP WA at sentence level but what would explain the nature of NP GA, when anaphoricity is irrelevant as far as NP GA is concerned? Rather than leaving NP WA in the realm of pragmatics as 'topic' and NP GA in that of syntax as 'subject', one should seek common concepts which will reveal the nature of both GA and WA markings.

It is also unknown why there should exist a connection between a certain predicate type and an interpretation NP GA yields such as neutral description or exhaustive listing as mentioned before. There is also Kuno's observation that in a subordinate clause only GA is allowed, but the reason why it is so has not been explained. One would hope that by understanding the nature of topic NP WA and subject NP GA, such relationships between predicate types and NP GA, or GA markings in a subordinate clause will also become explainable. At this stage it certainly remains a mystery why predicates should influence the interpretations of GA marked NPs, or why only GA is permissible in a subordinate clause.

It must be clear that although there have been many analyses made in the attempt to understand NP GA and NP WA, little is in fact known

about them and there still remain a number of significant questions regarding their use which do not have answers.

1.1.2 Functions of NP GA and NP WA at discourse level

At discourse level, the roles topic subject NP WA and non-topic subject NP GA can play have been rigorously investigated in recent linguistic research.[3] A number of linguists have adopted the Prague School functionalist concepts of new and old information in order to discover the roles played by these NPs in discourse.

The problem here is that different definitions of new/old information were employed by different analysts and consequently their findings lack coherency. The claim was made for instance, that NP WA carries what is old whilst NP GA carries what is new in discourse (Mikami:1963 and Chafe:1976), but at the same time some other studies (Maynard:1982 and 1987) have shown there are cases when NP GA seems to be carrying old rather than new information. The study of NP GA and NP WA at discourse level must start by sorting out the definitions of these functional concepts first.

1.1.3 Differential criteria

One major area that has been neglected in the past studies on NP GA and NP WA is the process by which one marking is selected over the other by native speakers in a certain situation or in a certain linguistic environment. In pursuing the roles and characterisations of NP GA and NP WA at sentential and discourse levels, a number of different determining critera are expected to be found, some of which

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[3] 'Discourse' should be understood to refer to a group of sentences that is interpreted to maintain a semantic coherency. 'Discourse' and 'text' are used interchangeably throughout the dissertation.

may sometimes conflict. No past studies, including the major works by Kuroda (1965) and Kuno (ibid.) on NP GA and NP WA have properly examined this aspect of the two markings.

1.2 Aims and objectives of the research

In summation, the purpose of this research is to explain the unsolved problems referred to in the above sections. Although in Japanese any argument of a verb may receive WA and become a topic NP (see Chapter 2 regarding this point), I will focus on the subject NPs for the main semantic analyses. This is because the differences between topic and non-topic subjects still remain unclear despite their highly frequent use in Japanese. However this does not mean that I will completely ignore non-subject topic NPs as I devote much of Chapter 4 to analyses of non-subject topic NPs.

This study will first of all look at NP GA and NP WA at sentential level in order to examine whether these NPs may be captured on the same ground, rather than placing these at the different levels of syntax and pragmatics. My research will claim that it is possible to explain these two types of NPs from a human cognitive aspect as each reflecting the ways people view and understand the world.

This research extends to NP GA and NP WA at discourse level, and attempts to elucidate the functions of the NPs in discourse. In order to do this it is first necessary to examine the different notions involved in what has generally been termed as new/old information and single out which notions may be utilised for the purpose of discovering the discourse roles of NP GA and NP WA.

An important aim of this research is to investigate how the semantics or functions of NP GA and NP WA at different levels of sentence and discourse interact to determine the marking of a par-

ticular NP in a text. To achieve this I will be looking into the differential factors that are at work for each GA and WA marking in an existing text. I will also show that the choice between GA and WA is sometimes subject to stylistic exploitations and thus cannot necessarily be predicted by grammar alone.

1.3 Approach

My main approach is semantic. That is, I claim that the pragmatic-discourse effects as well as syntactic ones can be traced back to more basic semantic meanings inherent in the words (i.e., GA and WA) themselves.

I will explore the various characterisations that other people have given in Chapters 3-10, giving my evaluation of the limitations of each approach.

1.4 Organisation

Chapter 2 gives a brief introduction on case marking and the topicalisation process in Japanese and also discusses the definition of subject that is employed in this study.

Chapter 3 presents a critical review of the past analyses on NP GA and NP WA at sentential level, clarifying the remaining problems.

Chapter 4 deals with the concepts of NP WA denoting contrastiveness and NP GA rendering an exhaustive listing interpretation. It also looks at WA marked non-subject arguments in relation to contrastiveness.

Chapters 5 and 6 examine topic subject NP WA and neutral subject NP GA. Chapter 5 focuses on the types of sentences in which these NPs occur. This gives clues to the analysis of the core meanings involved in topic NP WA and neutral subject NP GA. Chapter 6 attempts to

elucidate such core meanings by examining sentence types in which they occur.

Chapter 7 looks at GA and WA markings in subordinate clauses. It will be shown that the core meanings of GA and WA which were pursued in Chapter 6 can actually account for the occurrence or non-occurrence of the particles in different subordinate clause types.

Different discourse notions such as new/old information that may be applied to the examination of the discourse functions of NP GA and NP WA are studied in Chapter 8. Referent continuity and assumed familiarity value are the two notions which will be claimed to be promising for the purpose of examination.

Chapter 9 examines the possible relationship between each assumed familiarity value and NP GA/WA. A short novel will be used for the empirical investigation conducted.

The relationship between referent continuity and GA and WA markings in a text is examined in Chapter 10. The same short novel which was investigated in Chapter 9 is also used here for this purpose.

Chapter 11 attempts to scrutinise how the differential factors, which are sometimes conflicting, may be resolved in order for one particle to be chosen. A section from the above novel provided the material for a text completion experiment.

I will use several empirical experiments to test hypotheses throughout the thesis. A major finding of the thesis will be the result of one such experiment in Chapter 11. Chapters 3–10 are to be seen to 'set the stage' for an important claim which is made on the basis of the experimental evidence presented in Chapter 11.

2.0 CASE MARKING, SUBJECT AND TOPIC IN JAPANESE

This chapter will briefly review current approaches to case marking and grammatical relations in Japanese. The emphasis here is on clarifying the syntactic background presupposed in more pragmatic and semantic analyses in later chapters.

2.1 Case markings in Japanese

Cases in Japanese are specified by particles that are placed immediately after a noun phrase. Specification by these postnominal particles does not affect the freedom of word order, which is controlled by relative emphasis.[1] The case marking particles are listed below with example sentences of neutral (i.e., unmarked) word order.

GA: nominative case

(1) Tori GA naiteiru.
bird NOM be chirping
'Birds are chirping.'

O: accusative case

(2) Tori ga mushi O tsukamaeta.
bird NOM worm ACC caught
'The bird caught a worm.'

NI: dative, locative and mutative cases[2]

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[1] See Martin (1975) for details of the working principles for word order in Japanese. Word order in Japanese is usually said to be free so long as the predicate is put at the end of clause. However there is a neutral or unmarked order. In a simplified way it may be illustrated as TIME PLACE SUBJECT RECIPROCAL INSTRUMENTAL ABLATIVE ALLATIVE OBJECT PREDICATE.

[2] When the dative NI indicates direction such as in a clause hito NI kasu'lend to people', it may be replaced by another particle e meaning 'to' or 'toward'. See Martin (ibid.:46) for a discussion on the interchangeability of these particles.

(3) Chichi ga haha NI sono nyuusu o shiraseta.
father NOM mother DAT that news ACC informed
'Father informed Mother of the news.'

(4) Niwa NI chichi ga tatteita.
garden LOC father NOM was standing
'Father was standing in the garden.'

(5) Ame ga yuki NI kawatta.
rain NOM snow MUT changed
'The rain turned into snow.'

DE: locative (for dynamic location), instrumental cases

(6) Asoko DE ie o tateteiru.
that place LOC house ACC be building
'(They) are building a house over there.'

(7) Yuujin ga kuruma DE yattekita.
friend NOM car INS came over
'My friend came over by car.'

TO: reciprocal and comitative cases

(8) Chichi ga haha TO kooronshiteiru.
father NOM mother REC be arguing
'Father is arguing with Mother.'

(9) Taroo TO isshoni Hanako ga kita.
CMI together NOM came
'With Taroo came Hanako.'

NO: genitive case

(10) Dore ga Hanako NO kuruma desu ka?
which NOM GEN car COP
'Which is Hanako's car?'

KARA: ablative case

(11) Imooto ga booi-furendo KARA yubiwa o moratta.
younger sister NOM boy friend ABL ring ACC received
'My younger sister received a ring from her boy friend.'

MADE: allative case

(12) Haha ga shigatsu kara shichigatsu MADE nyuuinshita.
mother NOM April ABL July ALL was hospitalised
'My mother was hospitalised from April to July.'

Lastly, there is the particle e meaning 'to' or 'toward' that is not given a traditional case name but is still placed postpositionally and specifies the function of the NP in the sentence.

2.2 Subject in Japanese

NP GA in standard school grammar, which is largely influenced by what is called Hashimoto grammar [see Kitahara (1981) for details], is associated with subject; i.e., NP GA denotes subject. The definition of subject for various traditional grammarians seems to be twofold: firstly, subject is an NP marked by GA and secondly, it designates an entity that functions as 'subject' in the sense of Aristotelian logic, in which 'subject' is what is given some information by 'predicate' in a subject-predicate dichotomy. See the following examples.

(13) Tori GA naku.
bird chirp
'A bird chirps.'

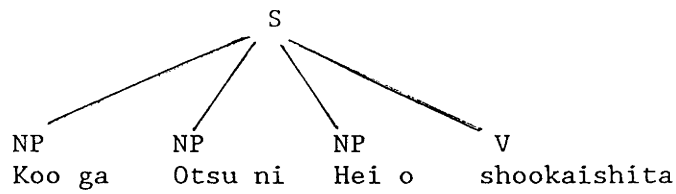
(14) Sakura no hana GA saiteiru.
cherry GEN flower be in bloom
'The cherry blossoms are in bloom.'

In both (13) and (14), GA marked NPs are given some information by the predicate part of the sentence and therefore they are considered to be the subject in traditional grammar terms.

Mikami, who advocated the removal of the concept of subject from Japanese grammar, is probably the only exception. He argued that unlike Latin or English where there is subject and verb agreement in number, gender or person, GA marked NPs in Japanese do not dictate any morphological or syntactic phenomenon. Thus, he insisted that the concept of subject is not only useless but misleading for Japanese grammar theory and is best eliminated [Mikami (1953) and (1960)]. He proposed that NP GA be treated equally with NP o (accusative) and NP ni (dative) thereby yielding the following structure for a sentence like (15).

(15) Koo ga Otsu ni Hei o shookaishita.
NOM DAT ACC introduced
'Koo introduced Hei to Otsu.'

(16)



As the diagramme indicates, Mikami's argument explicitly denies the existence in Japanese of the VP as well as the subject NP.

In current Japanese linguistic theories, subject is recognised as a justifiable syntactic category. Shibatani (1985) argues for the retention of grammatical subject according to the five following points.

Firstly, NP GA triggers the honorification process of verbs. The regular honorification of verbs takes the form of ga(or o)-infinitive-ninaru. For example the honorific form of the verb hikiawase-ru'to introduce' is o-hikiawase-ninaru. The anomalousness of sentences (17) and (18) below is due to the fact that sensei'teacher', which in Japanese cultural context may induce honorification of various kinds, is in dative and accusative case respectively.

(17) Sensei GA Hanako o Taroo ni ohikiawaseninatta.
teacher NOM ACC DAT introduced(HON)
'The teacher introduced Hanako to Taroo.'

(18) *Taroo GA Hanako o sensei ni ohikiawaseninatta.
NOM ACC DAT
'Taroo introduced Hanako to the teacher.'

(19) *Taroo GA sensei o Hanako ni ohikiawaseninatta.
NOM ACC DAT
'Taroo introduced the teacher to Hanako.'

Honorification is only possible when an NP is marked by the nominative case, GA.

Secondly, NP GA triggers reflexivisation as is shown by the Japanese reflexive pronoun jibun, literally meaning 'self'. In the following sentence jibun can only be interpreted to refer back to Taroo which is in the nominative case, but never to either Hanako or Jiroo.

(20) Taroo GA Hanako ni Jiroo o jibun no ie de shookaishita.
GEN house at introduced
'Taroo introduced Hanako to Jiroo at his own place.'

Thirdly, in a coordinated construction as for (21) or (22) below, it is possible to omit the NP GA of the second clause only if it is coreferential with the NP GA of the preceding clause.

(21) a. Ane$_i$ GA otooto o shikatte, $\emptyset_i$ naita.
older sister NOM younger brother ACC scolded and cried
'The older sister scolded her younger brother and (she) cried.'

b.*Ane GA otooto$_i$ o shikatte, $\emptyset_i$ naita.
'The older sister scolded the younger brother and (he) cried.'

(22) a. Otooto$_i$ GA ane ni shikararete, $\emptyset_i$ naita.
by be scolded and cried
'The younger brother was scolded by the older sister and (he) cried.'

b.*Otooto GA ane$_i$ ni shikararete, $\emptyset_i$ naita.
'The younger brother was scolded by the older sister and (she) cried.'

Omission in the second clause in a coordinated construction is also restricted to NP GA. Sentence (23) below exemplifies this.

(23) a. Kodomo$_i$ GA asondeite, ($\emptyset_i$ GA) haha ni shikarareta.
child was playing and mother by was scolded
'The child$_i$ was playing and (he$_i$) was scolded by the mother.'

b.*Kodomo$_i$ GA asondeite, haha GA ($\emptyset_i$ o) shikatta.
scolded
'The child$_i$ was playing and the mother scolded (him$_i$).'

The omission of <u>the child</u> is possible in the second clause only when it is with GA marking as in (23) a.

Fourthly, in the complex construction where its predicate requires the same NP in the main and the embedded clauses, the NP in the embedded clause must be GA marked and is obligatorily deleted (i.e., equi-noun deletion). If the NP in the embedded clause is marked with other than GA, the entire sentence becomes unacceptable. The desiderative predicate, verb (infinitive) + <u>tai</u>'desiderative morpheme' yields one typical example of this:

(24) Boku$_i$ GA (Ø$_i$ GA) iki-tai.
I go want
'I$_i$ want Ø$_i$ to go.'

In English a different subject of the embedded clause will simply result in its surface manifestation and the sentence will remain an acceptable sentence as in (25).

(25) I want John to go.

In Japanese however the tai desiderative does not allow this and a similar sentence to (25) above is expressed using an entirely different predicate:

(26) Boku GA Taroo ni itte-hoshii.
I DAT go want
'I want Taroo to go.'

If the equi-noun in the embedded clause does not take GA marking as in the case of boku'I' below the sentence becomes anomalous:

(27) *Boku$_i$ GA sensei GA boku$_i$ o/(Ø$_i$ o) home-tai.
I teacher praise want
'(Lit.) I want that the teacher praises me/Ø.'

If boku'I' in the embedded clause is raised to its subject position (i.e. GA marking) through the process of passivisation, the sentence becomes a perfectly good sentence:

(28) Boku$_i$ GA (Ø$_i$ GA) sensei ni homerare-tai.
by be praised want
'I want to be praised by the teacher.'

Lastly, the phenomenon called GA/NO conversion is permitted only within an NP GA. In Japanese, whilst admitting a subtle difference in nuance, the nominative GA and the genetive NO can be said to be interchangeable as below.

(29) a. Taroo NO ashi GA ookii.
foot NOM big
'Taroo's feet are big.'

b. Taroo GA ashi GA ookii.
'Taroo has big feet.'

This GA/NO conversion is not possible for NPs marked other than GA. In (30) below, GA and NO are both possible when the NP in question is marked by GA (b. sentence) but GA is not allowed when the NP is marked by the accusative O (a. sentence).

(30) a. Keisatsu ga [Makiko-san NO/*GA otoosan] O oshoku de
police POL father bribery for
tsukamaemashita.
caught
'The police arrested Makiko's father for bribery.'

b. [Makiko-san NO/GA otoosan] GA keisatsu ni oshoku de
father police by bribery for
tsukamaeraremashita.
was caught
'Makiko's father was arrested for bribery by the police.'

The definition of subject in Japanese employed in this study is thus summarised as follows:

i) it is marked by GA[3]

ii) it appears sentence-initially in an unmarked word order

iii) it triggers reflexivisation

iv) it triggers honorification

v) it is usually omitted in the latter clause of a coordinated construction and functions as the antecedent in the former clause

vi) it is deleted through equi-noun deletion in a complex construction

vii) it allows GA/NO conversion

2.2.1 Prototypes

It must be noted that in Japanese not all NPs marked by GA can be considered as subjects. See the sentence below:

[3] Of course this means that it is marked GA when not topicalised. It may be taken over by WA through topicalisation. See section 2.3.

(31) Taroo GA Hanako GA sukida.
like
'Taroo likes Hanako.'

(32) Taroo GA kuruma GA hoshii.
car want
'Taroo wants a car.'

The NPs in (31) and (32) are all GA marked. However the reflexivisation and honorification tests for subjecthood reveal that it is only the initial NPs that trigger these processes.

(31) a. Sensei GA Hanako GA o-sukida.[4]
teacher like
'The teacher likes(HON) Hanako.'

b.*Hanako GA Sensei GA o-sukida.
'Hanako likes(HON) the teacher.'

(31) b. is strange because this sentence would be interpreted that it is Hanako (rather than the teacher) being respected, which is socially and culturally unacceptable.

In the following sentence (33) the antecedent of the reflexive pronoun jibun can only be interpreted to be Taroo and not Hanako.

(33) Taroo GA Hanako GA jibun no imooto yori sukida.
GEN sister more than like
'Taroo likes Hanako more than his own sister.'

Therefore by the syntactic definitions I have considered there is only one subject in what are called 'double nominative constructions' in Japanese.

By the same token there are some NI (dative) marked NPs that assume syntactic characteristics of subject.

(34) Taroo NI eigo GA wakaru.
DAT English NOM understand
'Taroo understands English.'

(35) Taroo NI okane GA hitsuyoo da.
money NOM necessary COP
'Taroo needs money.'

---

[4] The honorific form of adjectival predicates is achieved by attaching one of the honorific prefixes of o or go.

Subjecthood tests of honorification and reflexivisation indicate that in these NP NI NP GA Predicate sentences it is the NI marked NPs and not the GA marked NPs that trigger the processes. See below:

(34) a. Sensei NI eigo GA o-wakari-ninaru.
teacher English understand(HON)
'The teacher understands(HON) English.'

b. Taroo NI Hanako GA jibun no imooto yori yoku wakaru.
self GEN sister than well understand
'Taroo understands Hanako better than his own sister.'

(35) a. Sensei NI okane GA go-hitsuyoo da.
money necessary(HON) COP
'The teacher needs(HON) money.'

b. Taroo NI Hanako GA jibun no shigoto yori hitsuyoo da.
self GEN job than necessary COP
'Taroo needs Hanako more than his own job.'

Shibatani (ibid.) advocated categorisation by prototypes. That is, in Japanese an NP cannot and should not be categorised as either subject or non-subject. Instead subjecthood may be considered as a cline that ranges from prototypical subject such as NP GA that shows every syntactic characteristic of subject, to not so typical ones such as those discussed above.[5]

Not so typical subjects like the second NP GA in double nominative constructions and dative NPs are excluded from the current study, thereby delimiting it to prototypical subjects. One of the issues this research is concerned with is the motivations for topicalisation of subject. A logical order will be to first examine typical subjects and then move on to examine atypical subjects. Thus, this thesis will take this first step by focusing on the prototypical subjects only.

[5] A detailed study on subjecthood of the atypical subjects is found in Sugimoto (1986).

2.3 Topicalisation

The treatment of the derivational process of topic NPs in transformational grammar has caused much discussion and argument amongst theorists in the past; at present there are two major competing theories.[6] Here I will briefly explain how, on the surface, the topic marker WA is attached to different noun postpositions.

When NPs marked by GA or O are topicalised, the particles GA and O must be obligatorily deleted. In the b. sentences below, NP GA and NP O are topicalised respectively but the particles are taken over by WA.

(36) a. Tori GA naiteiru.
bird NOM be chirping
'Birds are chirping.'

b. Tori WA naiteiru.
'Birds are chirping.'

(37) a. Tori ga mushi O tsukamaeta.
NOM worm ACC caught
'The bird caught a worm.'

b. Mushi WA tori ga tsukamaeta.
'The worm, the bird caught (it).'

NI is usually said to be optional with WA. That is to say, as far as grammar is concerned it may or may not appear with a WA marking. The sentences below illustrate that either with or without NI grammatical sentences are produced.

(38) Haha WA/ NI WA chichi ga sore o tsutaeta.
mother father NOM that ACC conveyed
'To mother, father conveyed it.'

(39) Niwa WA/ NI WA chichi ga tatteiru.
garden be standing
'In the garden, father is standing.'

---

[6] One theory extracts a topic NP from within the sentence. The other argues that a topic NP is already existent as a topic NP in the deep structure. Muraki (1970) represents the former theory and Kuno (1973a and b), the latter. See 3.2.3 for details of the theories.

For NPs that are marked with any particles other than GA, O or NI, it is not possible to drop the particles with topicalisation. When such NPs are topicalised, WA is attached directly after the particle. See below:

(40) Asoko DE WA ie o tateteiru.
that place LOC house ACC be building
'Over there (they) are building a house.'

(41) Taroo TO WA Hanako ga kita.
CMI NOM came
'With Taroo, Hanako came.'

(42) Koko KARA WA densha de ikemasu.
this place ABL train by can go
'From here (one) can go by train.'

Topicalised NPs are not restricted to one per clause. When there is only one topic NP it is normally placed sentence-initially. It is possible theoretically to have as many topic NPs as one needs, but in reality (in actual conversations or in authentic written text) it is rare to find more than two in a sentence or clause.[7]

[7] See section 4.2 where I deal with sentences with more than one WA marked NP.

3.0 REVIEW OF PAST ANALYSES AT SENTENTIAL LEVEL

3.1 Introduction

Past studies on NP GA and NP WA at sentential level are reviewed in this chapter. Section 3.2 deals with the major syntactic theories hitherto advocated. Section 3.3 deals with Kuno's analysis (1972, 1973a and 1973b) of NP WA and NP GA, the analysis which has been widely accepted as best describing the meaning and function of these noun phrases.

3.2 Review of syntactic analyses of NP GA and NP WA

The morphological markings of GA and WA have attracted much attention from traditional Japanese grammarians. In recent years the rise of transformational grammar (henceforth TG) has brought about many analyses concerned with the syntactic characteristics of the two noun phrases in Japanese. The main issues that have been involved in the traditional and TG analyses are: i) the status of 'subject' in Japanese, ii) the treatment of 'double nominative' sentences, and iii) the process of topicalisation. Summaries of the main analyses are presented in the following section to show what have been the concerns regarding NP GA and NP WA. A discussion on 'double nominative' sentences is not included, however, since as already mentioned in 2.2.1, I am dealing with prototypical subjects only in this study.

3.2.1 NP GA and status of subject

In the TG theory where subject is structurally defined as the NP that is directly governed by S in the tree diagram, Mikami's analysis where NP GA is treated equally with other NPs (as seen in section 2.2) has been considered to pose a problem. Not only does his analysis not uniquely define subject in Japanese but it also implies that there is no VP in Japanese [Shibatani (1985:4)].

A number of studies have been produced by transformational grammarians to support the existence of subject in Japanese. [See Inoue (1976), Kageyama (1978), Shibatani (1977, 1978 and 1985) and Sugimoto (1986) amongst others.] What is currently agreed upon by linguists on the status of subject in Japanese is that a subject NP is a morphosyntactic category that satisfies at least the following conditions[1]:

i) it is placed sentence-initially in an unmarked word order

ii) it is marked by GA (when not topicalised)

iii) it triggers honorification

iv) it triggers reflexivisation

In (5) and (6) the initial GA marked NPs, sensei GA and Tennoo GA triggered honorification as well as the reflexive pronoun jibun'oneself' which refers back to sensei and Tennoo respectively. Thus these GA marked NPs may be considered to be the subject of the sentence according to the above definition.

(1) Sensei GA jibun no nooryoku ni genkai o kanjiteirassharu.
teacher NOM self GEN ability DAT limit ACC is feeling(HON)
'The teacher is feeling the limitation of his(her) ability.'

(2) Tennoo GA kore o gojibun de okakininarimashita.
Emperor NOM this ACC self(HON) by wrote(HON)
'The Emperor wrote this by himself (with his own hand).'

---

[1] This is from Sugimoto's summary (1986:252-62).

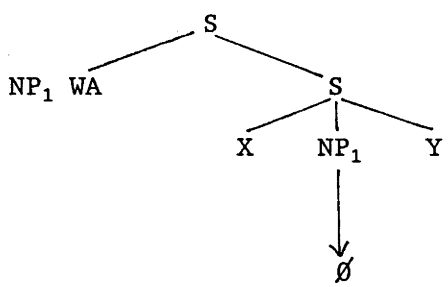
3.2.2 Topicalisation process

In the framework of transformational grammar there have been two fundamentally different theories competing with regards to the generation of topic-marked NP. Much discussion and a number of different approaches have evolved around these two basic theories. The first theory extracts an NP from the sentence and makes the NP the topic of the sentence. This transformation rule is called thematisation [Muraki (1970:154)] and is described as follows:

SD: X_1 [$_s$ X_2 NP_1 X_3]

SC: X_1 [$_s$ NP_1wa [$_s$ X_2 NP_1 X_3]]

The original NP (NP_1 in the above) is to be deleted by zero-pronominalisation. Thus we get the following tree diagram as the end result of derivation:



This extraction theory is not without problems. The gravest one lies with a group of sentences like (3) and (4) below, whose topic marked NP could not be traced back to any NP within the deep structure of the sentence.

(3) Sakana WA [tai ga ii].
fish TOP snapper NOM be good
'As for fish, snapper is good.'

(4) Suteeki WA [ano mise ga oishii].
steak TOP that shop NOM be delicious
'For steak, that shop is good.'

Such sentences are abundant in the language and need some uniform treatment.

This very problem with the first theory of thematisation was certainly one of the major forces that drove Kuno (1973a and 1973b) to take up an alternative view, which is the second theory alluded to above. The second theory proposes that a topic NP is not extracted in any way from within the sentence but is already existent as a topic NP in the deep structure. This theory, although it is more widely accepted than the other and although it also solves the problem the extraction theory suffered from, is not free from problems either. According to the second theory (5) is derived from the deep structure like (6):

(5) Kono hon WA, Taroo ga yonda.
this book TOP NOM read
'This book, Taroo read it.'

(6) [Kono hon] WA, Taroo ga kono hon o yonda.
TOP NOM ACC

From (6) kono hon o is deleted and thus (5) is obtained. This theory, however, cannot give an account (perhaps I should say an elegant non-ad hoc account) for the appearance of particles such as kara'from' and e'to' within the noun phrase as demonstrated in (7) and (8):

(7) Narita e WA densha demo ikemasu.
to TOP train also can go
'To Narita, you can also go by train.'

(8) Tonari kara WA, piano ga kikoetekita.
next door from TOP NOM was heard
'From the next door, a piano was heard.'

Presumably (7) and (8) are derived from (9) and (10) below:

(9) [Narita] WA, Narita e densha demo ikemasu.

(10) [Tonari] WA, tonari kara piano ga kikoetekita.

The explanation of the occurrence of particles like kara and e in the topic NPs presents a troublesome task simply because if there is from the outset a topic NP-WA in the deep structure, it would be very difficult to think of a non-complex rule which would correctly predict

the occurrence of these extra particles in the sentences. Therefore adherents of the second theory are often not given much choice but to resort to no more than a technical justification, i.e., the making up of rules and the ordering of such rules, etc. [See Kuno (1973b:236) for details.]

Like the two theories above, more recent theories of topic construction in Japanese which are discussed in the general framework of the Government and Binding theory, continue to be concerned with the formal rules which may produce the topic construction. [See Kitagawa (1982) and Farmer (1984).]

3.2.3 Problems with syntactic treatment of NP GA and NP WA

Although the syntactic analyses shed much light on the formal properties of NP GA or NP WA, they do not answer the very fundamenatal question of why NP GA and NP WA exist in Japanese. If NP GA is more basic than NP WA as many grammarians would insist, then the issue of what motivates topicalisation to take place, or why there is such a process, has not been given much attention. Thus their studies do not directly contribute to the enquiries this dissertation pursues such as finding out the difference between the topicalised or untopicalised sentences below:

(11) Chichi GA biiru o nondeiru.
my father NOM beer ACC is drinking
'My father is drinking beer.'

(12) Chichi WA biiru o nondeiru.
TOP
'My father is drinking beer.'

3.3 Review of semantic analyses of NP GA and NP WA

Kuroda's dissertation (1965), a seminal work not only in the analysis of Japanese topic construction but also in the general

development of TG theory, devoted one entire chapter to the semantic examination of NP WA and NP GA. Kuroda's topic transformation is one of the first rules proposed that change the meaning of the deep structure sentence. Kuno (1973a and 1973b) further developed Kuroda's analysis and proposed four distinctive meanings which WA and GA NPs may exhibit in different contexts. According to the proposal, which has been widely accepted ever since, WA marks theme or contrast and GA the subject of neutral description or exhaustive listing. (What neutral description and exhaustive listing refer to is explained in the next section.)

The diagram and example sentences below recapitulate Kuno's analysis of WA and GA.

NP WA
- theme — (13) Taroo WA hashitteiru.
  'Taroo is running.'
- contrast — (14) Taroo WA hashitteiru ga Jiroo-WA hashitteinai.
  'Taroo is running but Jiroo is not.'

NP GA
- subject of neutral description — (15) Tori GA naiteiru.
  'Birds are chirping.'
- exhaustive listing — (16) Taroo GA gakusei desu.
  'Taroo (and only Taroo) is a student.'

Fig. 1. Semantic analysis of NP GA and NP WA as proposed by Kuno and example sentences.

3.3.1 Semantic analyses of NP GA

The two meanings of NP GA, one as the subject of neutral description (henceforth ND) and the other, as the subject of exhaustive listing (henceforth EL) was first pointed out by Kuroda (ibid.) and was examined further by Kuno (ibid.).

(15) Tori GA naiteiru.
bird NOM is chirping

(16) Taroo GA gakusei desu.
NOM student COP
'Taroo (and only Taroo) is a student.'

Sentence (15) is unmarked in terms of such semantic/pragmatic features as focus, attention and emphasis but straightforwardly describes the event of birds chirping. Thus the name of 'neutral description' is given to such sentences. The NP in (15) tori GA is the subject of the descriptive sentence. Taroo GA in (16) on the other hand, is not only the subject of the sentence but also assumes an EL interpretation, whose meaning is indicated in the translation by the additional English word 'only'. What (16) asserts is that the one who is a student is Taroo and that no one else amongst other possible candidates is a student. If (16) were to become a neutral statement without any extra or marked information such as EL, any GA marking has to be replaced by a WA marking:

(17) Taroo WA gakusei desu.
'Taroo is a student.'

It is interesting to note that both Kuroda and Kuno observed the relationship existing between the type of interpretation NP GA receives and the type of predicate that appears in the sentence. Only when the predicate is of "action verbs, existential verbs, or adjectives/nominals that represents changing states" [Kuno (1973a:50)], NP GA receives an ND interpretation. There are no such restrictions for NP GA yielding an EL reading. For a quick grasp of the whole picture, it is possible here to diagrammatically represent the bifurcation of the predicate type with regards to the two interpretations of NP GA as below.

	Predicate	Interpretation of NP GA	Examples
A	1 Action verbs(non habitual)	EL / ND	(18)(19)
	2 Existential verbs		(20)
	3 Adjectives/Nominals representing changing states		(21)
B	4 Verbs representing permanent states(habitual)	EL	(22)
	5 Adjectives/Nominals representing permanent states		(16)(23)

Fig. 2. Predicate types and interpretations of NP GA

(18) Taroo GA hashitteiru.
is running
'Taroo is running.'

(19) Otoosan GA uchi ni kaettekimashita.
dad home to returned
'Dad returned home.'

(20) Tsukue no ue ni jisho GA aru.
desk GEN top on dictionary exist
'There is a dictionary on top of the desk.'

(21) Atama GA itai.
head is painful
'My head aches.'

(22) Uombatto GA hiruma nemuri, yoru katsudoosuru.
wombat day time sleep and night act
'Wombats (and only wombats) sleep during the day and become active at night.'

(16) Taroo GA gakusei desu.
student COP
'Taroo (and only Taroo) is a student.'

(23) John no me GA aoi desu.
eye is blue COP
'John's eyes (and only John's) are blue.'

The sentences (18), (19), (20) and (21) whose predicates designate more or less a temporary state yield an ND interpretation as we discussed before but can also yield an EL reading. That those sentences in some

context render an EL reading may be shown, according to Kuno, by the fact that (18), (19), (20) and (21) can answer the following questions respectively:

(24) Dare GA hashitteiru ka?
who is running Q
'Who is running?'

(25) Dare GA uchi ni kaettekimashita ka?
who home to returned Q
'Who returned home?'

(26) Tsukue no ue ni nani GA aru ka?
desk GEN top on what exist Q
'What is there on top of the desk?'

(27) Doko GA itai desu ka?
where is painful POL Q
'Whereabouts is painful? (Where does it hurt?)'

3.3.2 Semantic analyses of NP WA

Kuno claims that the nature of themes is such that they must either be anaphoric or generic. Anaphoricity is defined as "objects and concepts that have been mentioned and recorded in the registry of the present discourse" [Kuno (1973a:39), underlining is my own]. Furthermore, nouns of unique reference, such as the sun, the moon and my wife, are considered to be anaphoric and remain in the permanent registry for each given discourse together with generic noun phrases. The characteristic of theme as being either an anaphoric or a generic noun phrase is common to both Japanese and English. Thus 'the man that she met' in (28) has presumably been referred to previously so that listeners know who the speaker is talking about and this is why, Kuno says, that (28) but not (29) is acceptable.

(28) Speaking of the man she met, he was a hardworking accountant.

(29) *Speaking of a man that we met, he was a hardworking accountant.

Also observe the following Japanese sentences:[2]

(30) *Oozei no hito WA paatii ni kimashita.
many GEN people TOP party to came
'Speaking of many people, they came to the party.'

(31) *Tsumaranai hito WA paatii ni kimashita.
boring people TOP party to came
'Speaking of boring people, they came to the party.'

(32) *Dareka WA byooki desu.
somebody TOP sick COP
'Speaking of somebody, he is sick.'

Kuno imputes the unacceptability of the above sentences to the fact that the noun phrases oozei no hito'many people', tsumaranai hito'boring people' and dareka'somebody' do not have referents that are registered in the discourse at the time of utterance and therefore cannot be anaphoric.

The restriction that a theme must be either an anaphoric or a generic noun phrase however, does not seem to apply to contrastive NP WA. This observation of Kuno's is based on sentences like the following:

A: Kinoo no paatii WA doo deshita ka ?
yesterday GEN party TOP how COP Q

Omoshiroi hito ni iroiro aimashita ka ?
interesting people DAT various met Q
'How was yesterday's party? Did you meet various interesting people?'

(33) B: *Iie, tsumaranai hito WA takusan imashita.
no boring people TOP a lot existed
'No, there were a lot of boring people.'

(34) B: Iie, tsumaranai hito WA takusan imashita ga omoshiroi
but interesting
hito WA amari imasendeshita.
people TOP much did not exist
'No, there were a lot of boring people but not many interesting people.'

---

[2] Example sentences (28) – (32) are borrowed from Kuno (1973a:39 and 45).

According to Kuno tsumarani hito'boring people' in (33) is neither generic nor anaphoric and as such cannot be the theme of the sentence; this is why (33) results as an unacceptable sentence. On the other hand in (34) tsumaranai hito is contrasted with omoshiroi hito'interesting people', the result of which is a perfectly good Japanese sentence.

3.3.3 Problems with semantic analyses of NP GA and NP WA

As briefly mentioned in Chapter 1, the first problem relating to semantic analysis is that anaphoricity or genericness does not always explain what a topic NP WA is in Japanese. It is true that for most of the time, NP WA is found to be of either an anaphoric or generic nature, but there are cases of NP WA which cannot be considered neither anaphoric nor generic. See the examples below:

(35) Nihon no sarariiman no ooku WA ichoobyoo o
Japan GEN salaried man GEN many TOP stomach disorders ACC

motteiru.
have
'Many Japanese company employees have stomach disorders.'

(36) Kurasu de joodan ga wakaru omoshiroi hito WA
class in joke NOM understand interesting people TOP

minna paatii ni kita.
all party to came
'The interesting ones in class who understand jokes all came to the party.'

(37) Kono naka no dareka WA Hokkaidoo shusshin da.
this inside GEN someone TOP coming from COP
'Someone here (amongst us) comes from Hokkaidoo.'

These sentences are acceptable, even though the WA marked subjects are not generic, and even when the subjects are not anaphoric, such as when these sentences are used as the opening sentence of a conversation.

Another issue is the thematicity and contrastiveness of NP WA. Some linguists such as Inoue (1983b) and Kitahara (1981) have claimed that notions of thematicity and contrastiveness may be collapsed into one

and that the fundamental characterisation of topic NP WA is attributable to the notion of contrastiveness. It is necessary to further examine thematic NP WA and contrastive NP WA from this point of view.

Regarding NP GA there are questions naturally arising from the analysis of the interpretations NP GA renders and the predicate type with which the NP GA occurs. NP GA cannot be claimed to be fully understood unless one knows why it yields only an EL reading with certain predicates but both interpretations with other predicates. Also what would be the common underlying semantics of each group of predicates, if any, or is the bifurcation of predicate type based on some arbitrary criteria?

These unresolved problems and questions indicate that the semantic analysis of NP GA and NP WA is yet to be completed.

3.4 Conclusion

As noted in this chapter, whilst there have been many analyses dealing with NP GA and NP WA at sentential level, many fundamental issues remain unanswered. Accordingly, the research to follow is to be directed along the following lines:

1. Since anaphoricity and genericness do not serve to define nor characterise themes in Japanese, it is open to further examination whether or not thematic NP WA may be given any other characterisation.
2. It is necessary to investigate and clarify the relationship of the notions of contrastiveness and thematicity. Are they to be treated as distinct notions? If so, how do they differ? If not, what generalisation can one make?
3. A further investigation is also necessary for the two concepts of exhaustive listing (EL) and the subject of neutral description (ND) that were claimed to be expressed by NP GA. Although the predicate type

does seem to influence the interpretation of a given NP GA, it is not clear exactly what causes a certain interpretation.

4. In relation to 3, the significance of predicate classification as proposed by Kuno needs to be elucidated if the classification is to be proved valid at all.

4.0 CONTRASTIVE NP WA AND EXHAUSTIVE LISTING NP GA

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will examine contrastive NP WA and exhaustive listing (EL) NP GA. The approach adopted is firstly, to define and illustrate the key concepts of 'contrastiveness' and 'exhaustive listing', and to explain how such noun phrases yield these interpretations.

4.2 Contrastive NP WA

4.2.1 Subject NP

When it comes to the question of what is contrastiveness, there are at least two different notions discussed using the same term. One notion was expounded by Chafe (1976). Let us quote an example Chafe used as a good contrastive sentence; Rónald made the hamburgers, where Ronald receives the highest pitch and stress as indicated by the accent mark. Chafe's analysis (ibid.:33) would hold that "the speaker's knowledge that Ronald, as opposed to other possible candidates the addressee might have had in mind, is the right selection for this role". Contrastiveness for Chafe involves three factors: firstly, the background knowledge that is assumed to exist by the speaker between the speaker and the hearer (here, the background knowledge being that someone made the hamburgers). Secondly, the set of possible candidates. In saying Rónald made the hamburgers, the speaker assumes the hearer entertains various possible candidates as the maker of the hamburgers.

Contrastive sentences clarify the correct candidate(s) out of the set of possible candidates the hearer is assumed to have in mind.

Finally, there is a factor of assertion of such a clarification, the assertion being that the candidate given by the speaker is the correct one. Thus what is essentially conveyed in the sentence, Ronald made the hamburgers is: "I believe that you believe that someone made the hamburgers, that you have a limited set of candidates (perhaps one) in mind as that someone, and I am telling you that the someone is Ronald, rather than one of those others." (ibid.,p.35)

Kuno's conception of contrastiveness is very different from that of Chafe's. Let us look at (1), a good contrastive sentence according to Kuno's analysis:

(1) Jon WA sake o nomu ga, Merii WA nomanai.
John TOP alcohol ACC drink but Mary TOP drink not
'John drinks alcohol but Mary does not.'

What is contrasted here is John versus Mary with regard to whether he or she drinks. John and Mary are contrasted because one party drinks whilst the other does not. Although he did not attempt to make an explicit account of contrastiveness, it appears to be consistently implied throughout Kuno's discussion. Here the three factors Chafe claimed are involved in contrastive sentences are not involved at all; or alternatively we could say that there are three factors involved but that they are not isomorphic with what Chafe explained them to be. The background knowledge of (1) assumed by the speaker to exist between him and the hearer is that both parties know who John and Mary refer to in the world where the speaker and the hearer are. The set of possible candidates, Chafe's second factor, is pertinent here to the predicate part of the sentence. The set is very small having only two members therein – 'drink' or 'not drink'. The assertion, the third factor, made

for (1) is that a predicate (one of the members of the set) is the correct one.

It appears that what is crucially important to Kuno's sense of contrastiveness is for the two items marked by WA respectively, whether they be people, inanimate matters, etc., to occur with the polarised predicates; that is, one with a positive predicate and the other with a negative. It is in the sense of having polarised predicates that the two nouns come to be conceived to contrast with each other. We can, therefore, render a semi-formal account of Kuno's contrastive sentence as (2)[1]:

(2) as for $x \rightarrow f$, but as for $y \rightarrow \sim f$

x WA $\rightarrow f$, ga y WA $\rightarrow \sim f$[2]

(x and y are variables for names and f is a variable for a predicate.)[3]

A contrastive sentence is also possible when f is only implicitly expressed as in the following formula.[4]

(3) as for $x \rightarrow f$, but as for $y \rightarrow g$ ($g \neq f$)

(4) Haha WA neteita ga chichi WA mada
mother TOP was asleep but father TOP still

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[1] Notational conventions here follow those in J. Allwood, L. Andersson and O. Dahl (1977): $\rightarrow$ is implication, $\sim$ negation, & conjunction and $\exists$ existential quantifier.

[2] The conjunction ga must be taken as representing all other contrary conjunctions as noni 'although' in Japanese.

[3] I employ the concept of 'names' as Lyons (1977:148) uses it: names and predicates are terms which compose a proposition. Names refer to individuals which in the metaphysics of everyday usage designate persons, animals, various objects, etc.

[4] It is quite possible to render more formal characterisation of contrastive sentences. A plausible one may be given as $\exists x(x \rightarrow a \ \& \ f(x))$ but $\exists y(y \rightarrow b \ \& \sim f(y))$. Such formalisation however, is not adopted on two grounds. Firstly the usage of an existential quantifier involves complication of notions like presupposition and assertion which I pointedly wanted to avoid since I present these in Chapter 5 where the main discussion evolves specifically around the two concepts; and secondly, the semiformal representation seems to convey better the feel of contrastiveness native speakers receive from the natural language.

terebi o miteita.
T.V. ACC was watching
'Mother was asleep, but father was still watching T.V.'

Turning briefly to a thematic sentence for the purpose of comparison, one can observe an interesting fact about thematic and contrastive sentences, i.e., how remarkably similar the two types of sentence can be in actual meaning. If a thematic sentence is a sentence where there is some entity marked by WA which the rest of the sentence is about, a semi-formalisation of such a sentence takes place in the following way:

(5) as for x $\longrightarrow$ f

x WA $\longrightarrow$ f

Compare this with the formalisation of the contrastive sentence, (2), and it becomes evident why some linguists, particularly traditional grammarians of the Yamada School of grammar, attempted to argue that the constitutional meaning of WA lies in the notion of (potential) exclusiveness. If you select an individual (or individuals) to make a certain statement about the individual(s), by selecting the individual(s) you are always excluding all other individuals, if only potentially. Sentence (5) is therefore, always potentially contrastive. The boundary between thematic and contrastive WA is indeed quite often blurred, and it becomes difficult to determine in some contexts whether a certain NP WA should be taken as thematic or contrastive.

Notwithstanding the latent ambiguity of WA, I maintain that it is necessary to distinguish the two meanings of WA as (2) and (5), on account of the following reasons. Firstly, characterisation of thematic NP and contrastive NP seems to be quite different. Contrastive NPs are not as restricted as thematic NPs are by such notions as anaphoricity and genericness. See the sentences below:

(6) *Tsumaranai hito WA takusan imashita.
boring people TOP a lot existed
'There were lots of boring people.'

(7) Tsumaranai hito WA takusan imashita ga omoshiroi
boring people TOP a lot existed but interesting

hito WA amari imasendeshita.
people TOP so much not existed
'There were many boring people but there were not many interesting people.'

The NPs in (7) being contrastive NPs yield an acceptable sentence, whilst (6), having a thematic NP, is unacceptable.

Secondly, contrastiveness formalised as example (2) has a syntactic reflection. WA marked subjects present a most lucid example of this. WA marked subjects, when they are contrastive and only when they are explicitly contrastive and taking the formation of (2), can remain as WA marked inside a relative clause; otherwise a subject must always be marked by GA within a relative clause. It is quite possible, for instance, to have relative clauses like the following in which the two contrastive NPs are marked by WA.

(8) Watashi WA suki da ga shujin WA kiraina tabemono (ni
I TOP like COP but husband TOP dislike food amongst

rebaa ga aru.)
liver NOM exist
'(Amongst) the food which I like but my husband hates, (there is liver).'

(9) se WA hikui ga chikara WA tsuyoi Taroo-kun
height TOP low but muscle TOP strong
'(lit.) Taroo, whose height is short but whose muscles are strong'

(10) chichi WA tabeta ga haha WA nokoshita ryoori
father TOP ate but mother TOP left dish
'The dish, which father ate but mother left (could not finish)'

It is, however, not possible to have the following relative clause:

(11) *watashi WA sukina tabemono
I TOP like food
'the food that I like'

(12) *shujin WA kiraina tabemono
husband TOP hate food
'the food that my husband hates'

(13) *se WA hikui Taroo-kun
height TOP low
'Taroo whose height is short'

(14) *chikara WA tsuyoi Taroo-kun
muscle TOP strong
'Taroo whose muscles are strong'

(15) *chichi WA tabeta ryoori
father TOP ate dish
'the dish which father ate'

(16) *haha WA nokoshita ryoori
mother TOP left dish
'the dish mother left'

The WA marked NPs in (11) to (16) must be GA marked in order for each relative clause to be grammatical. It is the case even if we try to interpret such NPs as contrastive. To put it differently, a WA marked subject NP within a relative clause may never be interpreted as contrastive unless there are two WA marked NPs in a clause and additionally, they must appear in the form NP_1 WA ... ga, NP_2 WA Head Noun, where the contrastiveness is overtly expressed.

This is why I propose to distinguish contrastive and thematic NPs and do so by means of the two formalisations of (2) and (5). Although it is true, as stated earlier, that x in (5) may receive a contrastive interpretation, I claim that a contrastive interpretation imputed to x is nothing more than our contextual or pragmatic inference which has no formal and syntactic ground for its justification; thus a WA marked subject is taken to be a theme except when it is explicitly contrasted with another WA marked subject.

4.2.2 Non-subject NP

When an NP which is not a subject is marked by WA, the NP behaves somewhat differently from a WA marked subject with regards to the

interpretations it yields. In the following section I attempt to ascertain how WA marked non-subjects differ from subject NPs in this respect. There we will deal with the concept of the valency of a verb [Allerton (1982)]. Teramura (1982:5) applied a similar concept called hogo'complements' to his analysis of Japanese sentences. What is meant by the NPs other than subject, is to be understood to refer to those NPs which are necessary for a given verb but are not expressed as a subject.

4.2.2.1 Non-subject Type I

Observe the following where not only subjects but other NPs are marked by WA.

(17) Kachoo WA komakai koto ni WA yoku kizuku.
my boss TOP detailed matters DAT TOP well notice
'My boss notices detailed (minor) matters well.'

(18) Watashi WA haha ni WA ichioo soodanshita.
I TOP mother DAT TOP briefly consulted
'I briefly consulted my mother.'

(19) Yuujin WA kaado WA okuttekureta.
my friend TOP card TOP sent me
'My friend sent me a card.'

Interestingly the above underlined NPs uniformly yield a contrastive interpretation. Kuno (1973a and 1973b) accounted for this by formalising a rule which purported that in a case of more than one occurrence of WA NP, the first occurence and only it alone receives a thematic interpretation, leaving all other WA NPs to take a contrastive reading.[5] However, as will be observed below, even when the above sentences possess a deleted subject making the underlined WA NPs as the first WA NP of the sentence (a. sentences), or even when the order of the two NPs are reversed (b. sentences), it is still the underlined NPs that receive a contrastive reading.

[5] He withdrew the claim later in Danwa no bumpoo (1978).

(20) a. (Ø) Komakai koto ni WA yoku kizuku.
detailed matters DAT TOP well notice
'Ø notices detailed matters well.'

b. Komakai koto ni WA kachoo WA yoku kizuku.
detailed matters DAT TOP my boss TOP well notice
'My boss notices detailed matters well.'

(21) a. (Ø) Haha ni WA ichioo soodanshita.
mother DAT TOP briefly consulted
'Ø briefly consulted my mother.'

b. Haha ni WA watashi WA ichioo soodanshita.
mother DAT TOP I TOP briefly consulted
'I briefly consulted my mother.'

(22) a. (Ø) kaado WA okuttekureta.
card TOP sent me
'Ø sent me a card.'

b. Kaado WA yuujin WA okuttekureta.
card TOP my friend TOP sent me
'My friend sent me a card.'

It thus seems that non-subject NPs occurring with a WA marked subject in a sentence invariably yield a contrastive reading when WA marked without resorting to form (2). [Of course this does not mean that form (2) is invalid for non-subject NPs; when non-subject NPs occur in form (2) they cannot but succumb to a contrastive reading.] I call the WA marked non-subject NPs that exist with a WA marked subject NP and render a contrastive interpretation non-subject Type I to distinguish them from non-subject Type II which will be discussed next in 4.2.2.2.

One can find further support that non-subject Type I NPs render a contrastive reading through an examination of these NPs in a relative clause. A subject NP does not remain WA marked within a relative clause even if we try to impute a contrastive reading to it; it is only in the form of NP_1 WA ... ga, NP_2 WA ... Head Noun, that subject NPs can appear WA marked in a relative clause. Non-subject Type I NPs, which I claimed are always contrastive when WA marked, indeed appear as WA marked even in a relative clause yielding the exact interpretation of contrastive-

ness; and this is so without them taking the explicit contrastive form of NP_1 WA ... ga, NP_2 WA ... Head Noun. Observe the following:

(23) komakai koto ni WA yoku kizuku kachoo
detailed matters DAT TOP will notice my boss
'my boss who notices detailed matters well (but perhaps not important matters)'

(24) haha ni WA ichioo soodanshita watashi
mother DAT TOP briefly consulted I
'I who briefly consulted my mother (but perhaps not my father)'

(25) kaado WA okuttekureta yuujin
card TOP sent me my friend
'my friend who sent me a card (but perhaps not a gift)'

The English translation has additional information in brackets in order to bring about some sense of contrastiveness to those readers with no knowledge of Japanese; the sense of contrastiveness a native speaker would perceive by reading the Japanese clauses. As seen above, the behaviour of WA marked non-subject Type I NPs in a relative clause thus attests that such NPs must always be interpreted as contrastive and not thematic unlike WA marked subject NPs.

4.2.2.2 Non-subject Type II

Non-subject Type II NPs are those WA marked non-subject NPs that appear with a GA marked (rather than WA) subject in a sentence. Unlike Type I, Type II non-subject NPs are observed to be more thematic than contrastive.

(26) Yuujin ni moratta raketto WA otooto GA
friend from received racquet TOP younger brother NOM

tsukatteiru.
is using
'The racquet (I) got from my friend, my brother is using (it).'

(27) Seijikaikaku WA Hosokawa seiken GA okonau.
political reform TOP government NOM perform
'The political reform, the Hosokawa government will perform.'

(28) Kare no hon WA watashi GA kariteiru.
he GEN book TOP I NOM have borrowed
'His book, I have borrowed (it).'

A more natural interpretation for NP WA in the above sentences is to consider it as thematic. This seems to be triggered by the fact that the subjects in these sentences are all GA marked.

In a relative clause, unlike Type I NPs which appear WA marked assuming a contrastive reading, non-subject Type II NPs behave the same as thematic subject NPs in that unless the NPs are <u>overtly</u> contrasted with another NP, they cannot remain WA marked. In the following relative clauses, all a. clauses where non-subject Type II nouns are WA marked sound odd, whereas b. clauses where each noun assumes its original case marker or c. clauses where each noun is contrasted with another NP are acceptable.

(29) a.??yuujin ni moratta raketto WA tsukatteiru otooto
friend from received racquet TOP is using younger brother
'my brother who is using the racquet (I/he) got from (my/his) friend'[6]

b. yuujin ni moratta raketto O tsukatteiru otooto
ACC

c. yuujin ni moratta raketto WA tsukatteiru ga jibun de
TOP but self by

katta raketto WA tsukawanai otooto
bought TOP not use
'my brother who is using the racquet (I/he) got from (my/his) friend but does not use the racquet he bought himself'

(30) a.??kare no hon WA kariteiru watashi
he GEN book TOP have borrowed I
'I who have borrowed his book'

b. kare no hon O kariteiru watashi
ACC

c. kare no hon WA kariteiru ga sensei no hon WA
but teacher

kariteinai watashi
has not borrowed
'I who have borrowed his book but have not borrowed the teacher's book'

---

[6] In such a sentence the interpretation of who got the racquet from which friend must be determined contextually since there is no explicit reference in the Japanese sentence.

(31) a.??seijikaikaku WA okonau Hosokawa seiken
political reform TOP perform government
'The Hosokawa government who will perform the political reform'

b. seijikaikaku O okonau Hosokawa seiken
ACC

c. seijikaikaku WA okonau ga shotokuzei genzei WA
but income tax reduction

okonawanai Hosokawa seiken
not perform
'The Hosokawa government who will perform the political reform but not income tax reduction'

The above examples confirm that non-subject Type II NPs are to be distinguished from Type I as being thematic rather than contrastive.

4.2.2.3 Exceptions?

The two categorisations of non-subject NP WA as Type I and II apply most of the time. However there are non-subject NP WAs in Type I which sometimes receive a thematic reading against expectations, although occurrences are quite limited. See the examples below:

(32) Watashi WA kare to WA kodomo no koro kara tsukiatteiru.
I TOP he with TOP child GEN time since have associated
'I have associated with him since we were children.'

(33) Kare WA tomodachi to no yakusoku WA kanarazu mamoru.
he TOP friend with GEN promise TOP without fail keep
'He always keeps his promise with a friend.'

(34) Imooto WA CD WA karite kiku.
younger sister TOP CD TOP rent and listen to
'My younger sister rents CDs to listen to.'

The following example is taken from a novel.[7]

(35) Shigeko WA Toyotaroo to WA 16 mo toshi ga chigau.
TOP from TOP as much as age NOM differ
'Shigeko differs in age from Toyotaroo by 16 years. (Shigeko is 16 years younger than Toyotaroo.)'

Although interpreted as thematic rather than constrastive, these underlined NP WAs remain WA marked in a relative clause unlike Type II NP WAs as in the following:

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[7] Seichoo Matsumoto, Renkan (Tokyo:Koobunsha, 1981), p.7.

(36) Kare to WA kodomo no koro kara tsukiatteiru watashi
he with TOP child GEN time since have associated I
'I who have associated with him since we were children'

(37) Tomodachi to no yakusoku WA kanarazu mamoru kare
friend with GEN promise TOP without fail keep he
'he who always keeps his promise with a friend'

(38) CD WA karite kiku imooto
CD TOP rent listen younger sister
'my younger sister who rents CDs to listen to'

(39) Toyotaroo to WA 16 mo toshi ga chigau Shigeko
from TOP as much as age NOM differ
'Shigeko who differs in age by 16 years from Toyotaroo'

Whether or not Type I NP WAs are interpreted as thematic or contrastive seems to correlate with the easiness with which one can associate a contrastive referent. 'Detailed matters' in Japanese in (17) is usually understood as 'unimportant matters', for which a native speaker would be thinking of 'important matters' as contrasting matters. Thus sentence (17) in actuality would most naturally be understood as tantamont to saying 'my boss does not notice important matters'. Likewise one can think of contrasting referents for 'my mother' and 'a card' in (18) and (19) as 'my father' and 'a gift' without difficulty at all.

However, unless a contrastive NP is explicitly existing in a set context, one cannot so readily think of a contrasting referent for 'he', 'a promise with a friend', 'CD' or 'Toyotaroo'. (There is indeed no contrastive referent found in the novel.)

I thus conclude that there are two factors that induce a WA marked non-subject NP on top of an already existing WA marked subject within the same sentence. One factor is to bring about a contrastive reading for the WA marked non-subject that is most typically found in euphemisms. It can be pointed out that sentences (17), (18) and (19) are euphemisms for saying 'my boss does not notice important matters',

'I didn't consult my father' and 'my friend didn't send me a gift' respectively.

The other factor is to mark the sub-theme. When the main theme (i.e., referent) in discourse is marked with WA as the subject of a sentence, it is sometimes necessary to mark a non-subject NP with WA if the non-subject NP functions as the sub-theme. A sub-theme may be understood to be equivalent to a supporting actor or actress in a movie. It may not be a/the primary role but its function is nevertheless important and effective. Let us look at (32). A stretch of discourse where this sentence fits appropriately should be about 'I' and probably in a section where 'he' is talked about in relation to the main character 'I', 'he' would be marked with WA together with 'I' exactly as this sentence indicates.

The examination of the novel from which sentence (35) is taken reveals that the main character, 'I', is the person relating the story. However, for the particular section where (35) occurs is centred on Shigeko who has become the lover of the main character. Toyotaroo, who is Shigeko's husband, is introduced in order to explain the relationship they had as a married couple in the section. Therefore as far as this section is concerned, the main character is obviously Shigeko; Toyotaroo functions as the sub-theme, thus the WA marking of Toyotaroo to'with Toyotaroo'.

Lastly it is perhaps worth noting that in a real written text not only these thematic non-subject NPs but also WA marked non-subject NPs in general (i.e., both Type I and II) are not commonly encountered.

Therefore it is probably safe to state that the kind of NPs under discussion here (4.2.2) is a rare category.[8]

4.2.3 Time and location words

In Japanese, time words such as kinoo'yesterday', kyonen'last year' and locative phrases such as Nihon de'in Japan' and Oosutoraria de'in Australia' are sometimes used with WA. When time words appear WA marked they seem to be more commonly subject to a thematic rather than contrastive reading.

(40) Kyoo WA yoku hareteimasu ne.
today TOP well is clear SFP
'It's a fine day today, isn't it.'

(41) Konya WA soto de shokuji o shimashoo.
tonight TOP outside at meal ACC let's do
'Let's eat out tonight.'

(42) Kyonen WA ii koto ga takusan arimashita.
last year TOP good things NOM a lot happened
'Lots of nice things happened last year.'

Of course the underlined time words may well receive a contrastive reading and in fact some time words such as mukashi WA'before' can be argued to have a contrastive reading more naturally than a thematic reading. Compared to locative phrases (in strictly relative terms) however, time words are definitely more prone to a thematic reading. Observe the following:

(43) Oosutoraria de WA dansei mo yoku kaji o suru.
Australia in TOP men also often housework ACC do
'In Australia men also often do housework.'

(44) Nihon de WA shufu ga saifu o nigitteiru.
Japan in TOP housewife NOM wallet ACC is in charge
'In Japan housewives are in charge of family finances.'

(45) Shidonii de WA minato no mieru uchi ga takai.
Sydney in TOP harbour GEN can see house NOM expensive
'In Sydney houses with a harbour view are expensive.'

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[8] See the examination of non-subject NP WAs in a text in Chapter 10 as one piece of evidence of their minimal occurrences in real usage of the language.

It seems that the above locative phrases can receive both a contrastive and a thematic reading equally easily. No one reading is more easily yielded than the other in the case of locative phrases. The difference found between time phrases and locative phrases with regards to a likely reading they receive may be caused by our knowledge of the world: that it is relatively easy for us to nominate another contrasting place with a given place (because places are normally cities and countries of which everyone knows quite a few), whilst it is not as easy to think of a contrasting time with a given time.

Both time and location phrases can appear with WA in a relative clause with both rendering a contrastive interpretation. This phenomenon in a relative clause is the same as what was observed of non-subject Type I NPs which can appear WA marked in a relative clause and which always bear a contrastive reading.

4.3 Thematicity and contrastiveness

Following from the argument on WA marked subjects, non-subjects, time and locative words so far, what we are looking at is a cline of thematicity and contrastiveness. At one end of the cline is thematicity and the other, contrastiveness. Upon the cline WA marked subjects, time words, locative phrases and nonsubject NPs may be mapped according to the interpretation each category is likely to receive as below:

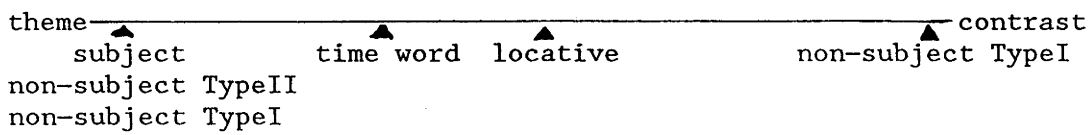

Fig. 3. Interpretations of WA marked subject, time word, locative word and non-subject.

A subject, when WA marked, is interpreted as the theme. In order for a subject to have a contrastive reading it is necessary to take the formula of (2) where the contrasting of two subjects is clearly marked. A possible contrastive reading a speaker could feel exists for a given subject is no more than a pragmatic inference of the speaker without any syntactic grounds. Non-subject Type II NPs are most naturally interpreted as thematic hence they are placed at the same end as subjects. Time words marked by WA receive a thematic reading in a sentence, although unlike WA marked subjects they are allowed to appear WA marked in a relative clause. Locative phrases receive either thematic or contrastive readings equally easily and are accordingly placed in the centre of the cline. Non-subject Type I NPs are interpreted as contrastive in an independent sentence and as such can appear in a relative clause as WA marked without having an explicitly contrasting NP.

One interpretation of the postulated cline of thematicity and contrastiveness may be suggested in the following way.

The theme of a sentence, which may easily be speculated to be also related to the theme of the discourse in which the sentence appears, is most naturally expressed as the subject of a sentence. In contrast to this, direct objects and indirect objects and other NPs have less to do with the thematicity of a sentence and consequently the theme of a discourse; therefore when such NPs are marked by WA, they are less likely to receive a thematic reading but are much more likely to receive a contrastive reading. What this cline displays is evidence that a prototypical subject is indeed primarily a theme as well. [See van Oosten (1985) for a discussion of English subjects where the overlap of prototypical agents and prototypical subjects and prototypical topics is noted.]

4.4 Exhaustive listing NP GA

When an NP GA in a sentence indicates the meaning of 'NP_1 and only NP_1', it is said to have an exhaustive listing (EL) reading. Kuno frequently used a pair of question and answer sentences as a good example of that which entices an EL reading. The GA marked NPs which transpire in the answer sentences below all receive an EL reading.

(46) a. Dare GA dokushin desu ka?
who NOM single COP Q
'Who is single?'

b. Jon GA dokushin desu.
John NOM single COP
'John is single.'

(47) a. Kinoo okaasan kara nani GA kita n desu ka?
yesterday mother from what NOM came COM COP Q
'(lit.) What came from your mother yesterday?'

b. Kozutsumi GA kimashita.
parcel NOM came
'A parcel came.'

(48) a. Sono naka ni nani GA haitteimashita ka?
that inside at what NOM was put in Q
'What was inside it?'

b. Takusan tabemono GA haitteimashita.
a lot food NOM was put in
'There was a lot of food.'

It is of interest to note that the notion of EL comes very close to Chafe's concept of contrastiveness previously referred to. Chafe used the sentence, Ronald made the hamburgers, in explaining his notion of contrastiveness, which in his terms involves the three factors of i) background knowledge, ii) the set of possible candidates and iii) assertion by the speaker.

The b. sentences above seem to involve at least two of the three factors proposed by Chafe: a certain assumption by the speaker, i.e., background knowledge, and assertion by the speaker. For instance, the speaker of (46) b. assumes that the person who asked the question

(46) a. assumes that there is someone (within a range understood by both parties) who is single; and by uttering (46) b., the speaker asserts that the person who is single is John. The second factor claimed by Chafe to be involved in contrastiveness, that is, the set of possible candidates, does not appear to be a necessary condition for EL. Some EL sentences may involve a set that is understood by the speaker and the hearer such as (46) b., but for some, like (47) b. or (48) b., it is difficult to imagine that the speaker knows or understands the limited set of possible candidates the inquirer had in mind; the inquirer might not have had in mind any range of candidates at all. Therefore the second factor suggested by Chafe seems to be irrelevant at least for the concept of EL.

As Kato (1985:82) noted, one of the main issues involved in the analysis of EL in the past has been to identify the factors which induce the reading of EL for GA marked NPs. In Kuno's analysis of NP GA, as seen before, any NP GA could have an EL reading regardless of the type of predicate it occurs with.

Although in past literature the discussion of EL has almost always been centred around subject NP GA, an EL interpretation is not unique or exclusive to the notion of subject and as such subjecthood can by no means be considered to be a deciding factor for EL.

(49) a. Jon WA nani o nomimashita ka?
John TOP what ACC drank Q
'What did John drink?'

b. Koohii o nomimashita.
coffee ACC drank
'0 drank coffee.'

(50) a. Oosutoraria de WA doko e ikimashita ka?
Australia in TOP where to went Q
'Where did you go in Australia?'

b. Meruborun to Shidonii to Kyanbera e ikimashita.
Melbourne and Sydney and Canberra to went
'I went to Melbourne, Sydney and Canberra.'

The underlined phrases seem to have an EL reading, since the speaker might well be considered to be lying if he answered with (49) b. and (50) b. when in reality John had not only coffee but also some beer, or when the speaker went to some other cities on top of the three cities mentioned.

Ota (1980:601) explained the instances of EL interpretation in English as a case of a purely pragmatic implication. He states that if a speaker answers 'John' or 'John did' to the question 'who came to dinner?' knowing that John and Mary did, the speaker might not be lying but is violating the Gricean cooperative principle: the speaker is not giving the necessary and sufficient information which is required of him by the above principle in order to establish a successful interaction between the speaker and the hearer.

In Japanese then, under the Gricean principle any constituent including NP GA which corresponds to an interrogative word will perforce convey an EL reading.[9] Taking into consideration the observation that factors such as type of predicate, case marking, do not actually delimit the possibility of an EL reading, it seems most plausible to account for the notion of EL as a pragmatic notion of implicature, specifically the Gricean cooperative principle.[10]

Now that the meaning of EL has been identified, the remaining problem is explaining why NP GA is restricted to yield only an EL interpretation and cannot yield a neutral descriptive meaning when combined with certain predicates. The answer for this problem cannot be sought without first understanding NP GA as denoting the subject of neutral description. This is dealt with in the next two chapters.

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[9] A WA marking cannot occur with an interrogative word in Japanese and thus it cannot yield an EL interpretation.

[10] Kato (1985:82) was the first to suggest that the EL reading of NP GA is a natural outcome of observing the Gricean cooperative principle.

5.0 SENTENCES WITH THEME NP WA OR SUBJECT NP GA

5.1 Introduction

This chapter starts by examining a problematic difference in the distribution of WA and GA; i.e., WA as the theme marker and GA as the subject marker of neutral descriptive sentences. Here theme refers to a noun phrase which is a subject of a sentence, but is marked by WA. For both GA marked and WA marked examples, we will be concerned with subjects only.

This chapter will focus on analysing sentences which have a theme or a non-theme subject. The analysis presented in this chapter yields a crucial clue towards the clarification of the differences in NP GA and NP WA, the details of which will be dealt with in Chapter 6.

The purpose of the study (in Chapters 5 and 6) is to search for a way that will enable the theme (NP WA) and subject of neutral description (NP GA) to be analysed on the same level. This is necessary because it would appear rather inadequate to explain NP WA as 'theme' (which is primarily a pragmatic concept), and NP GA as 'subject of neutral description' (which is more in the domain of syntax), if WA and GA could be analysed better by other, perhaps more common notions as I will claim in subsequent chapters.

5.2 Sentential semantics

5.2.1 Scene-description and qualification sentences

Compare (1) and (2) below:

(1) Hoshi WA kirei da.
star TOP beautiful COP
'Stars are beautiful.'

(2) Hoshi GA kirei da.
star NOM beautiful COP
'Stars are beautiful.'(1) and (2) are identical except for the marking of the subject. As reviewed in Chapter 2, GA and WA markings may be understood to reflect focus and presupposition respectively.[1] Sentence (1) which has the predicate as focus would then be interpreted to be responding to a question like (3):

(3) Hoshi WA doo desu ka?
TOP how COP Q
'How are the stars?'

Likewise, sentence (2), having the subject as its focus would be interpreted to be responding to either (4) or (5) below:

(4) Nani GA kirei desu ka?
what NOM beautiful COP Q
'What is beautiful?'

(5) Doo shimashita ka?
what happened Q
'What happened? (What's the matter with you?)'

In these discourse-induced interpretations (1) and (2) necessarily assume that there are some questions preceding them.

There are however, other meanings that may be ascribed to (1) and (2). These meanings seem not to be so much as discourse-induced as being inherent in the sentences, for the meanings are borne even in the situation where (1) and (2) are uttered as the first sentence to strike up a conversation. For (1) or (2) to be felicitous, both the addressee

[1] See Chapter 8 for further analysis of focus and presupposition.

and the speaker must normally be able to see stars at the time of utterance. When someone says (1) or (2) in an appropriate situation, hoping to start a conversation with another person, he is making a choice between two different conceptualisations of one and the same circumstance.

What the speaker is expressing by uttering (1) where the subject is marked by WA is that stars have the quality of being beautiful; in other words being beautiful is a general attribute of stars. Sentence (1) is thus, in effect a generic proposition. Sentence (2) on the other hand cannot express the permanent or general quality of stars being beautiful but what it does express is the current state of stars being so. 'Current' here means at the time of utterance. Sentence (2) actually describes the current scene of stars being beautiful. Therefore the English translation may be altered a little in an attempt to bring out the feel of each Japanese sentence as follows:

(1)' Stars are beautiful things.

(2)' The stars look beautiful.

This analysis which is based upon my intuition as a native speaker of the Japanese language may be tested by examining the compatibility of such time words as 'tonight' with the above sentences. If (1) denotes the general quality of stars as being claimed here and is therefore not semantically compatible with a time specifying word, (1) is expected to be anomalous with 'tonight' occurring in it. On the other hand, providing the claim is correct, sentence (2) would remain acceptable even with 'tonight' in it because (2) is a sentence which describes a scene of the night where the speaker and the addressee are, and thus it would be very natural for it to include 'tonight'. The result is indeed in accordance with our expectations.

(6) *Konya wa hoshi WA kirei da.
tonight TOP star TOP beautiful COP
'*Stars are beautiful things tonight.'

(7) Konya wa hoshi GA kirei da.
tonight TOP star NOM beautiful COP
'The stars look beautiful tonight.'

The anomaly of (6) is manifested in its English translation as well.

Further supporting evidence for the proposed analysis comes from the observation that only sentence (2) can occur with the exclamatory expression mite'look'. The Japanese expression mite (which has a more literal sense than its English equivalent), due to the very meaning of the word, requires the following statement to spontaneously describe an event or some state of affairs at the time, which in turn would validate the utterance of the exclamatory word.

(8) ??Mite, hoshi WA kirei da.
look TOP
'?Look, stars are beautiful things.'

(9) Mite, hoshi GA kirei da.
look NOM
'Look, the stars look beautiful.'

The difference in the semantics of (1) and (2) is acquired even when the subject noun is a definite noun as in the sentences below:

(10) Kinsei WA kirei da.
Venus TOP
'Venus (the planet) is beautiful.'

(11) Kinsei GA kirei da.
NOM
'Venus looks beautiful.'

Or likewise when the predicate is a verb:

(12) Ano sensei WA nekutai o shiteiru.
that teacher TOP tie ACC is wearing
'That teacher is wearing a tie.'

(13) Ano sensei GA nekutai o shiteiru.
NOM
'That teacher is wearing a tie.'

In sentence (12) wearing a tie is interpreted as one quality of the teacher whereas wearing a tie in (13) is a transitory phenomenon

happening now (since the verb is in its present tense) to the teacher. Reading (13) a native speaker is likely to understand for that teacher wearing a tie is a rare event.

From the observations above it seems to be reasonable to hypothesise that NP WA sentences and NP GA sentences intrinsically bear the semantic difference of the former having a qualifying nature whilst the latter has a scene-describing nature.[2]

5.2.2 Existence and appearance sentences

Sentences which denote the existence or appearance of an entity are most naturally marked with GA.[3]

(14) Uchi no niwa ni machi de ichiban furui sakura no
my GEN garden in town in most old cherry GEN

ki GA aru.
tree NOM exist
'In my garden there is the oldest cherry tree in town.'

(15) Doobutsuen ni koara GA iru.
zoo in koala exist
'There are koalas in the zoo.'

(16) Higashi kara ookina tsuki GA detekita.
east from big moon appeared
'From the east there appeared a big moon.'

---

[2] There are sentences which due to the semantics of the predicate can only be considered to be scene-descriptive, yet which are marked by WA.
(1) Taroo WA uchi no mae ni tatteiru.
house GEN front at is standing
'Taroo is standing in front of the house.'
Here it is difficult to construe standing in front of a house being anyone's quality (perhaps only in a very unusual situation may it be conceived to be one), yet (1) is in no way unacceptable. One interpretation is of course to assign the focus/presupposition dichotomy to the sentence, but there is another factor which induces WA marking for the subject; that is, to indicate discourse referent continuity. The issue of referent continuity is taken up in Chapter 9. Throughout this chapter any discourse-induced factors relating to WA and GA are ignored for the time being because they would confuse the analysis which is directed to reveal the discourse-unaffected meanings of the two particles.

[3] Here again this does not mean that such sentences cannot be marked by WA. In order to indicate presupposition or referent continuity, WA marking could easily be introduced in place of GA. See Chapter 10.

(17) Hikidashi no naka kara sagashiteita tegami GA detekita.
drawer GEN inside from looking for letter appeared
'The letter I was looking for turned up from inside the drawer.'

For these sentences one could argue that they cannot be separated from the notion of new information since appropriately asserting an existence or appearance of an entity necessarily assumes the addressee's ignorance of such an existence. This, however, is not an accurate statement. One may be quite familiar with an entity because it was perhaps introduced previously in the text (thus the entity itself is old information in a sense), but this does not automatically mean that the person also knows where the entity appeared or exists. Asserting existence or appearance of a certain entity does not have to assume ignorance of the entity on the part of the addressee.

There are examples taken from a novel which support my point that the usage of GA in existence and appearance sentences is not discourse-forced and that a GA marking is there because it is somehow inherently compatible with the semantics of existence and appearance. Note (18) and (19), Asimov (1950) [Japanese translation (pp.16 and 17)].[4]

(18) Kusa wa teire o sarezuni boobooto
grass TOP care ACC without having wildly

oishigetteitashi, ... sore GA tooku no chiheisen
is growing thick and that NOM far away GEN horizon

made zutto misseishite tsuzuiteita.
to all the way being dense extended
'The grass was growing thick and wild without much looking-after and, ... it extended densely all the way to the distant horizon.'

(19) Kare ga matagootoshita chiisana nuigurumi ningyoo GA,
he NOM attempted to step over small stuffed doll NOM

[4] Although Asimov's work is a translation from English, as a native speaker of Japanese I deem that the professionally translated work has very little influence from the original language, therefore that it provides reliable data of natural Japanese.

genjitsu no sasayakana nagori GA, soko ni atta.
reality GEN fragile remnant NOM there at existed
'There was the small stuffed doll which he had tried to step over, the fragile remnant of reality.'

In (18) and (19) the underlined subjects were previously mentioned yet because each sentence is asserting the existence of the subject entities, both are marked by GA. Discourse factors would not be able to account for these GA markings unless one postulates that something inherent in the meaning of GA happens to be congruous with the meaning of existence and appearance.

It is possible to subsume existential/appearing sentences and scene-descriptive sentences discussed in the preceding section into one category of scene-descriptive sentences. These say that something exists or has appeared at a place and are tantamount to describing a scene of the place at a given time. Hereafter, scene-descriptive sentences must be understood to include existential/appearing sentences as well.

5.2.3 Experimental investigation

A simple experimental survey was carried out in order to test the hypothesis that WA and GA sentences have different semantics which seem to be inherent in the sense that these semantics are not discourse-induced.

5.2.3.1 Method

Ten noun phrases were prepared. On a page the ten noun phrases, all GA marked, were placed and numbered from one to ten; on another page ten identical noun phrases were arranged the same way except that these noun phrases were all WA marked. Eight native speakers of Japanese were asked to make complete sentences with each and every noun phrase. Instructions were given that sentences be natural, simplex (as opposed

to complex) and were to be used in isolation; as for the WA marked examples, the participants were specifically requested not to make negative sentences. This request was made so as to eliminate another function of WA as marking the scope of negation [McGloin (1976:390-7)], which would have interferred with the present analysis of thematic WA.

The ten noun phrases used were as follows. (In the English translation, plurality and articles are dismissed due to the fact that Japanese normally does not overtly mark the two notions and that all the ten noun phrases used were unmarked for such notions):

1) sakura no hana 'cherry blossom'
cherry GEN flower

2) tanomareta shigoto 'work which one was asked to do'
asked(PAS) work

3) keeki o yaku nioi 'smell of someone baking a cake'
cake ACC bake smell

4) kinjo no inu 'dog of the neighbourhood'
neighbourhood GEN dog

5) Nihonjin kankookyaku 'Japanese tourist'
Japanese tourist

6) Hookushushoo kantei 'Prime Minister Hawke's official
Hawke P.M. official residence'
residence

7) magupai 'magpie'

8) watashi no ichiban shitashii tomodachi 'my best friend'
I GEN most close friend

9) yuujin ni karita hon 'book I borrowed from a friend'
friend from borrowed book

10) Fujisan 'Mt. Fuji'

There are four noun phrases which can be interpreted as being definite description (although definiteness is not a grammatical category and is thus not marked in Japanese); they are 4), 6), 8) and 10). Noun phrases 2) and 9) may be interpreted either as definite or indefinite but they are more likely to be given a definite interpreta-

tion over an indefinite interpretation; 1), 3), 5) and 7) seem to yield either interpretation as easily as the other.

5.2.3.2 Results

There were altogether eighty GA sentences and eighty WA sentences made by the subjects. Whether or not a given sentence is scene-descriptive or qualifying was determined by testing whether it could take a time-specifying word such as kyoo'today', kyonen'last year', asu'tomorrow' and so forth. As seen in (6) and (7), a qualifying sentence cannot semantically accommodate such time specifying words. The adverb itsumo'always', which is not time-specifying but is frequency-specifying, on the other hand is likely to occur with qualifying sentences but not with scene-descriptive ones. Example (20) below is anomalous with itsumo'always' but not so with konshuu'this week'; whilst (21) behaves exactly the opposite. Therefore (20) is determined as scene-descriptive and (21) as qualifying.

(20) Sakura no hana GA *itsumo/konshuu hiraita.
cherry GEN flower NOM always this week opened up
'The cherry blossoms *always/this week have opened up.'

(21) Sakura no hana WA itsumo/*kyoo sugu chiru.
TOP quickly fall
'The cherry blossoms always/*today quickly fall.'

Tested this way, the number of scene-descriptive sentences out of 80 GA subject sentences totalled 76; and that of qualifying sentences out of 80 WA subject sentences 63. See the table below:

TABLE 1

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF GA MARKED SCENE-DESCRIPTIVE SENTENCES AND WA MARKED QUALIFYING SENTENCES

	Scene-descriptive GA sentences	Qualifying WA sentences
No.	76	63
Percentage	90%	78.75%

The percentage of qualifying WA sentences is relatively smaller than that of scene-descriptive GA sentences. 20% of the WA sentences include scene-descriptive (including existential) sentences as in (22) and (23), and non-subject NP WA as in (24) and (25)[5]:

(22) Tanomareta shigoto WA kesa sunda.
asked work TOP this morning finished
'The work which I was asked to do was finished this morning.'

(23) Yuujin ni karita hon WA koko ni aru.
friend from borrowed book TOP here at exist
'The book I borrowed from a friend is here.'

(24) Tanomareta shigoto WA sugu yaranai to ikenai.
asked work TOP(ACC) quickly not do if not good
'One must swiftly do the work which one was asked to do.'

(25) Tanomareta shigoto WA shikkari yaritogeyoo.
asked work TOP(ACC) properly let's complete
'Let's complete the work properly which we were asked to do.'

It is unclear why some WA sentences given in the responses were non-qualifying; however, the result of the experiment did yield some reliable support for the proposed hypothesis of GA and WA sentences as predominantly denoting a scene and a quality respectively, particularly for GA sentences when the sentences are used in isolation. It can therefore be stated that our hypothesis is in basic accordance with native speakers' intuition.

[5] The collected sentences are presented unedited in Appendix I.

It is also important to point out that what made the native speakers choose a certain predicate and thus produce a scene-descriptive or qualifying sentence in the experiment were the particles GA and WA themselves and no other factors. This indicates that the difference in the sentential types may be traced back to the notions expressed by GA and WA themselves; what these notions actually are will be discussed in Chapter 6.

5.3 Factors of temporal/spatial specification

In this section an attempt will be made to provide scene-descriptive sentences (henceforth S-D sentences) and qualifying sentences (henceforth Q sentences) with more illuminating characterisation.
As seen before Q sentences do not occur with time-specifying words. The semantics of Q sentences in which the predicate qualifies the subject is not usually compatible with the notion of temporal specificity.

(26) Watashi WA onna desu.
I TOP woman COP
'I'm a woman.'

(27) Oosutoraria WA Nihon yori zutto hiroi.
Australia TOP Japan than by far is spacious
'Australia is far more spacious than Japan.'

(28) Imooto WA otonashii kodomo datta.
my younger sister TOP quiet child was(COP)
'My younger sister was a quiet child.'

All of the sentences above would be anomalous sentences with temporal specification such as kyoo'today', isshuu kan mae'a week ago', etc. The quality of the subject entities which are indicated by each predication is not of a temporary, transitory nature. Examples (26) - (28) cannot semantically be considered temporary, but if a qualification may conceivably be of transitory nature, the subject could be

marked by GA as in the example of (2) and create a feeling of temporariness. [Repeated as (29).]

(29) Hoshi GA kirei da.
star NOM beautiful COP
'The stars look beautiful.'

The omnitemporal nature of Q sentences, however, does not exclude the possibility of sentences being in the past or future tense. Sentence (28) is in the past tense and what it states is that in the past world, 'my sister' was a quiet child but it does not say that her being a quiet child was a momentary phenomenon in that past world. Assuming 'my sister' was still a child in 1965, the sentence would not be acceptable with an adverbial phrase like that below.

(30) *1965 nen aki, imooto WA otonashii kodomo datta.
year autumn my younger sister quiet child was(COP)
'*In the autumn of 1965 my younger sister was a quiet child.'

Unlike Q sentences, S-D sentences are not of an enduring nature. They describe how things are (or were, or will be) at a given time and do not make reference to periods outside the given time frame. How momentary is the time frame of S-D sentences, or for what particular length of time do S-D sentences become Q sentences, cannot be answered or perhaps need not be answered, for it is people's naive realism that cuts a piece of the world, conceptualises it and codes it into their own language. How things really are and how people see them need not coincide in a strict mathematical sense. If stars are shining beautifully in the sky, people conceive it as happening now even though the stars will probably keep shining until the dawn, exactly as they have shone in the past and will be shining in future.

S-D sentences necessarily involve a temporal reference to which its propositional content applies. Existential sentences which are included as S-D sentences seem to necessarily involve not a temporal reference but a spatial one. It is a philosophical question as to whether time

is more basic than space, or vice versa, or how interdependent the concepts of time and space are. It is not my intention here to answer these questions because S-D sentences are sufficiently characterised as necessarily having a temporal and/or spatial specification, whilst Q sentences do not. This means that the truth value of S-D sentences can only be determined against the temporal or spatial reference the proposition purports to describe; the truth value of Q sentences however, can be determined without such temporal or spatial reference insofar as the subject entity is properly identified. Again observe sentences (1) and (2):

(1) Hoshi WA kirei da.
star TOP beautiful COP
'Stars are beautiful things.'

(2) Hoshi GA kirei da.
NOM
'The stars look beautiful.'

The truth value of (2) cannot be decided unless it is known at which place and at what time the sentence is referring to. Sentence (1) on the other hand can be decided to be true if one knows what stars are.[6]

It is noted that some linguists including Kuno have noticed that for generic statements in Japanese the subject is marked by WA. However no one has seriously investigated and explained why the subject in such sentences must always be WA and why GA can never be used to compose such sentences. For instance, 'aboutness' is attributed to theme NP WA as its meaning and WA in generic sentences is said to exist there because generic sentences are about their subject NPs. However, it is circulatory since the 'aboutness' meaning of theme NP WA is often extracted from generic sentences in the first place. Our analysis of

[6] In this particular case because the proposition is a subjective one, one might argue that it simply cannot be decided to be true or false. Such an argument is indeed valid but it is not a relevant argument in line with my current discussion.

WA sentences and GA sentences as inherently possessing different temporal specificities (which are caused by GA and WA themselves) seems to provide a valid explanation for this phenomenon.

Putting aside the numerous philosophical problems associated with the notion of generic propositions, let us define here generic propositions as analytical propositions, that is, propositions that "hold with respect to all possible worlds" (Rescher 1979:52). Generic propositions defined in this way are to be conceived as omnitemporal and they are not temporally restricted. We can explain in this way how generic propositions in Japanese are expressed in the form of a WA sentence.

(31) Sankakkei no naikaku no wa WA 180 do desu.
triangle GEN interior angle GEN total TOP degrees COP
'The interior angles of a triangle add up to 180 degrees.'

(32) Taiyoo WA higashi kara noboru.
sun TOP east from rise
'The sun rises from the east.'

(33) Mizu WA sanso to suiso kara natteiru.
water TOP oxygen and hydrogen from is formed
'Water is made of oxygen and hydrogen .'

Gnomic propositions are different from generic propositions in that they do not so much express necessary, analytical truths but general truths which are nurtured and passed on from generation to generation in a given culture. Gnomic propositions often appear as proverbs and sayings. Although gnomic propositions differ in a strict philosophical sense from generic propositions, they nevertheless share the commonality of the same temporal specification; just as generic propositions are temporally unrestricted, so are gnomic propositions. Therefore in Japanese it can be shown that gnomic propositions are also often expressed as WA sentences.

(34) Oboreru mono WA wara o mo tsukamu.
drowning man TOP straw ACC even grab
'A drowning man would even hold on to a straw.'

(35) Noo aru taka WA tsume kakusu.
brain have hawk TOP claws hide
'A hawk with brains hides its claws. (A man of real ability is humble.)'

(36) Yamai WA ki kara.
sickness mind from
'Sickness comes from the mind.'

5.4 Some GA and WA sentence patterns with time/location words

5.4.1 X no Y GA Z, X no Y WA Z and X WA Y GA Z

It was observed in 5.3 that S–D sentences (Y GA Z) and Q sentences (Y WA Z) differ in their temporal/spatial specification. S–D sentences apply to a certain temporal and/or spatial specification whilst such temporal/spatial specificity is irrelevant for Q sentences. Therefore when its subject is modified by a time/location word and the subject is therefore temporally/spatially restricted, one might infer that both X no Y GA Z and X no Y WA Z (no is the genitive morpheme and X stands for a time/location word) should be acceptable in Japanese. This is because the two interpretations that firstly, the entity at the time and/or place is in such a state (scene-descriptive), and secondly the entity at the time and/or place has such a quality (qualitative), are both logical.

This inference however does not always hold true because as demonstrated in the following examples of X no Y GA Z, NP GA sometimes takes on only an EL reading and cannot neutrally describe the state of affairs. Sentence (38) becomes acceptable only if an EL reading is naturally conceivable (i.e., without too specialised context), hence the question marks.

(37) Konya no hoshi WA kirei da.
tonight GEN star TOP beautiful COP
'Tonight's stars are beautiful.'

(38)??Konya no hoshi GA kirei da.
ACC
'Tonight's stars are beautiful.'

(38) is marked by two question marks as it yields an interpretation like "it is tonight's stars and not the stars of any other night that are beautiful" and as such it requires a highly specialised context to be uttered felicitously. That X no Y GA Z receives only an EL reading and thus cannot neutrally describe a state is observed across all sentences which have static predicates as represented by adjective predicates.

(39)??Kesa no kuuki GA tsumetai.
this morning GEN air NOM is cold
'This morning's air is cold.'

(40)??Kyoo no sora GA aoi.
today GEN sky NOM is blue
'Today's sky is blue.'

(41)??Kinoo no kaze GA tsuyokatta.
yesterday GEN wind NOM was strong
'Yesterday's wind was strong.'

When X is a location word too, X no Y GA Z assumes an EL interpretation if Z is a static predicate.

(42) Hiroshima no kaki GA umai.
GEN oyster NOM is delicious
'Hiroshima's oysters (and not oysters of other places) are delicious.'

(43) Nagoya no kishimen GA yuumei da.
GEN noodle NOM famous COP
'Nagoya's noodles (and not noodles of other places) are famous.'

This fact obviously contradicts my argument as previously presented in 5.3. If Y GA Z is temporally/spatially specific as has been argued, there ought to be no reason why the modifying time and location word should bring in such restrictions on the interpretation of X no Y GA Z as it can only yield an EL reading.

I propose to explain this phenomenon firstly by pointing out that sentences with time/location words in genitive case from (38) through

(43) (=X no Y GA Z) may be converted to yield ND rather than EL reading using following constructions(=X wa Y GA Z).

(44) Konya wa hoshi GA kirei da.[7]
tonight TOP stars NOM beautiful COP
'Tonight, the stars look beautiful.'

(45) Kesa wa kuuki GA tsumetai.
this morning TOP air NOM is cold
'This morning the air is cold.'

(46) Kyoo wa sora GA aoi.
today TOP sky NOM is blue
'Today the sky is blue.'

(47) Kinoo wa kaze GA tsuyokatta.
yesterday TOP wind NOM was strong
'Yesterday the wind was strong (it was windy).'

(48) Hiroshima wa kaki GA umai.
TOP oysters NOM is delicious
'In Hiroshima oysters are delicious.(They have delicious oysters in Hiroshima.)'

(49) Tokyo wa sora GA kitanai.
TOP sky NOM is dirty
'In Tokyo the sky is dirty.'

In the sentences above the time/location words are all marked by WA and the structure of the sentences is such that Y GA Z is functioning as one predicate. Using notational brackets it may be described as X wa [Y GA Z] where the brackets indicate that what is inside them is operating together as the predicate part of the clause. This structure is not found in English syntax but is common in Japanese.

It appears that because there is such a structure available in Japanese, the two interpretations are assumed individually by each structure. That is to say that the two meanings which Y GA Z potentially denotes (i.e., ND and EL) when X is only implicit, are borne separately by X no Y GA Z and X wa Y GA Z when X is made explicit. Y GA Z was analysed to describe the state of affairs at a certain time and/or place, i.e., how things are at that time and place.

[7] This is in fact the sentence used before in 5.2.1. See sentence (7).

It was also mentioned in 5.2.1 that Y GA Z could have the discourse-induced meaning of EL as well. When X comes to the surface and therefore is overtly existent in the sentence, these two meanings are taken on by the two different structures of X no Y GA Z (EL) and X wa Y GA (scene-describing).

5.4.2 A time adverbial X

Time adverbs may usually be added on to Y GA Z to specify the time to which Y GA Z applies as demonstrated in (50)-(52) below:

(50) Konya shushoo no kuruma GA koko o tooru.
tonight prime minister GEN car NOM here ACC pass
'Tonight the Prime Minister's car is passing here.'

(51) Kinoo gakkoo GA hajimatta.
yesterday school NOM started
'School started yesterday.'

(52) Kesa ame GA futteita.
this morning rain NOM was falling
'It was raining this morning.'

Time adverbials are placed sentence initially (and therefore unmarked) as in the above, one may observe the sentence structure as being X Y GA Z in which X stands for a time adverb.

There are however some cases (although only a minority) where X cannot be put in straightforwardly. Note the sentences below:

(53) *Konya tsuki GA akarui.
tonight moon NOM is bright
'Tonight the moon is bright.'

(54) *Kesa mizu GA tsumetai.
this morning water NOM is cold
'This morning the water is cold.'

(55) *Ashita hoshi GA kirei daroo.
tomorrow star NOM be beautiful PRE
'The stars will be beautiful tomorrow.'

Sentences (53)-(55) are not possible in Japanese. These adverbs must be topicalised if one wishes to express in an acceptable form, the meaning each of the sentences intends to convey.

(56) Konya wa tsuki GA akarui.
tonight TOP moon NOM is bright
'Tonight the moon is bright.'

(57) Kesa wa mizu GA tsumetai.
this morning TOP water NOM is cold
'This morning the water is cold.'

(58) Ashita wa hoshi GA kirei daroo.
tomorrow TOP star NOM be beautiful PRE
'The stars will be beautiful tomorrow.'

Such Y GA Z sentences that obligatorily topicalise time adverbs are, a minority. Most of the time Y GA Z will take a time adverb without the operation of topicalisation.

Although the existence of Y GA Z sentences as (56) through (58) seem to defy my argument that Y GA Z describes a scene or a state of affairs at a specific time, I claim it to be not really so. It does not contradict my argument because in X wa Y GA Z, the structure is as such that Y GA Z functions as the predicate of the sentence (see the previous discussion in 5.4.1) and tells (or describes something) about X, which happens to be at a certain time in the cases above. Therefore whether Y GA Z applies to a certain time or describes a certain time, the actual semantic contents or particularisations that Y GA Z itself undertakes remain the same. It would mean that for what is at issue here in the current chapter, namely, to clarify the differences between Y WA Z and Y GA Z, the question of why in some cases the adverbial X must be topicalised when added to Y GA Z neither presents a problem nor is directly relevant.

It is nevertheless quite interesting to pursue their reasons for such a phenomenon. One can point out that in (56)–(58) the time adverbials are topicalised, indicating that in these sentences the time words cannot function as adverbs: One way of proving this is by demonstrating that (56)–(58) cannot function as answers to when-questions like the following.

(59) Itsu tsuki GA akarui ka?
when moon NOM is bright Q
'When is the moon bright?'

(60) Itsu mizu GA tsumetai ka?
when water NOM is cold Q
'When is water cold?'

(61) Itsu hoshi GA kirei ka?
when star NOM is beautiful Q
'When are the stars beautiful?'

Unlike (56)-(58) the sentences (50)-(52) where time adverbs are placed without wa form perfect answers to the questions below:

(62) Itsu shushoo no kuruma GA koko o tooru ka.
when prime minister GEN car NOM here ACC pass Q
'When is the Prime Minister's car passing here?'

(63) Itsu gakkoo GA hajimatta ka?
when school NOM started Q
'When did school start?'

(64) Itsu ame GA futteita ka?
when rain NOM was falling Q
'When was it raining?'

One may further note that question sentences (59)-(61) themselves would sound a little odd to native speakers.

All the observations regarding X wa Y GA Z above seem to be ascribable to the interpretation given in Japanese to this type of Y GA Z; namely, some Y GA Z clauses have the equivalent value in Japanese as an adjective or a noun predicate. This happens typically when Z contains an adjective or a noun within itself. Notice that in Japanese the following sentences are simply not possible unless the time words are topicalised.[8]

[8] Why Japanese does not allow the asterisked sentences may pose an interesting semantic challenge,as it would be if one attempted to explain why the English translations for the asterisked sentences are odd. However it is not pursued since here it will suffice just to point out this fact for what I hypothesise, that is, Y GA Z is temporally and/or spatially specific whilst Y WA Z is not inherently so.

(65) *Konya samui. --> Konya WA samui.
tonight (is) cold[9]
'?Tonight is cold.' 'Tonight it is cold.'

(66) *Kesa atatakai. --> Kesa WA atatakai.
this morning (is) warm
'??This morning is warm.' 'This morning it is warm.'

(67) *Ashita yuki daroo. --> Ashita WA yuki daroo.
tomorrow snow COP(PRE)
'*Tomorrow will snow.' 'Tomorrow it will snow.'

In Japanese some Y GA Z clauses are treated as tantamount to a single adjective or noun predicate and, as such, only convey something about the time rather than about how things are at the given time.[10]

5.5 Summary

This chapter dealt with what are normally called thematic (WA) and non-thematic (GA) sentences. The starting point of the argument was how WA and GA sentences, without being influenced by discourse factors seem to have their own inherent semantics. The sentential semantics were described as scene-descriptive and qualifying. It was hypothesised that these characterisations are what distinguish the two types of GA and WA marked sentences respectively. Moreover, it was argued that it is the difference in the subject marking of GA and WA that brings on such a difference in sentential semantics. A questionnaire survey conducted among native speakers of Japanese confirmed the hypothesis.

The distinction of scene-descriptive and qualification was further generalised. The two notions may be differentiated on the grounds of

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[9] Japanese adjectives conjugate in a similar way to verbs. I have placed the Enlish copula in brackets for this reason.

[10] I would like to emphasise again that whether Y GA Z is information about a certain time or describes the state of affairs at a given time, it does not deny the temporal factors involved in GA sentences as analysed so far in this chapter.

temporal/spatial specification. Scene-descriptive sentences are temporally/spatially specific and are therefore restricted whereas qualifying sentences are free from such restrictions. An experiment to test this hypothesis supported the proposal.

The interaction of GA and WA sentences with time/location words in different sentence contructions were also looked at. The phenomena seemingly contradicting my hypothesis that GA sentences are temporally/spatially restricted were argued not to be contradictions. X no Y GA Z (where X is a time or place word, Y a subject and Z a predicate), which does not describe a time or place-specific scene but rather yields a discourse-induced EL (exhaustive listing) meaning, was accounted as sharing EL and ND (neutral description) meanings with X WA Y GA Z. That is to say, due to the existence of the sentence construction of X WA Y GA Z, EL is assumed by X no Y GA Z and ND by X WA Y GA Z.

Also some obligatory topicalisations of time adverbs when these time adverbs are added to Y GA Z were examined. Topicalisation was explained to be necessary as Y GA Z itself functions like an adjective or noun predicate. I consequently claimed my hypothesis that GA sentences necessarily entail temporal/spatial specific interpretations whilst WA sentences are liberated from such restrictions, was sustained despite such apparently contradictory evidence.

6.0 EXISTENTIAL ASSERTION AND EXISTENTIAL PRESUPPOSITION

6.1 Introduction

It was argued in Chapter 5 that the difference in the semantics of NP GA and NP WA sentences which are not considered to be discourse-induced, can be determined by the mandatory temporal/spatial specification which is necessarily entailed in GA sentences, and conversely, the absence of such an obligatory entailment in WA sentences.

This chapter attempts to relate NP GA and NP WA as a manifestation of the concepts of existential assertion (EA) and existential presupposition (EP) respectively. It argues that these concepts, which each NP GA or NP WA denotes as a noun phrase, are responsible for the difference in the sentential semantics of GA sentences and WA sentences.

The notions of EA and EP proposed here are, however, not the oft-discussed mathematical logic notions defined in terms of truth condition. Rather, each is investigated for its functional or ontological aspect and is defined in such terms.

6.2 On EA and EP

6.2.1 EA and EP as logical concepts

In philosophical or linguistic literature the notions of presupposition and assertion are frequently defined and treated as mere logical notions (i.e., truth-conditional). In particular presupposition as a logical notion per se has engendered much discussion as to how it

is manifested in natural language and how in turn we should analyse presuppositions. The meaning of presupposition as discussed in linguistics, however, is elusive and it is elusive for at least two reasons. Firstly, the terminology 'presupposition' is employed in order to label heterogeneous linguistic phenomena and secondly, according to some scholars the notion itself is confused with other notions such as implicature and entailment.[1] It is not necessary here to go into further detail but it should be noted just how diverse a discussion can be on this notion of presupposition.

Existential presupposition (henceforth EP) as a truth-conditional notion originates from Strawson's argument (1950) which refuted Russell's analysis (1905) that claimed the following classic philosophical sentence (1) to be false.

(1) The present king of France is bald.

Strawson's argument develops roughly as follows: an existential proposition that is expressed by the definite description (i.e., 'the present king of France') that there is a king of France has to be satisfied in order for the whole statement to have the truth-value of being either true or false; when it is not satisfied the statement does not have any truth-value (alternatively, some consider that the statement has a truth-value of being neither true nor false). An existential proposition that there is a king of France then is a necessary condition for (1) and as well as $\sim$(1), for if the existential proposition is not satisfied not only (1) but $\sim$(1) cannot have

[1] See Chomsky (1969), Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1970), Keenan (1971) and McCawley (1968) to glimpse the variety of phenomena covered under the title of presupposition. Kempson (1975), Wilson (1975) and Wilson and Sperber (1979) argued that truth-conditional presupposition is in fact a case of entailment, whilst Karttunen and Peters (1979) inter alia, argued that it is a case of implicatures as originally proposed by Grice.

truth-value either. When an existential proposition is a necessary condition for both p and ~p, presuppositionists (Strawson being the forerunner) say it is a case of existential presupposition, rather than an assertion; thus the truth-conditional definition of existential presupposition may be given in the following way according to Strawson's argument: an existential presupposition remains constant under the conversion of negation and affirmation of a statement.

The notion of existential assertion (henceforth EA) as another truth-conditional notion is less complicated than existential presupposition, for it may be taken as a straightforward assertion which can be said to be either true or false. It follows that if there is a false existential assertion in a statement, the statement is false. It is obvious that this is the line of argument Russell proposed for the analysis of (1) above.

The validity of EP and EA as truth-conditional notions is accepted and their validity remains unchallenged here because unless one is dealing with the formal property of a language, EA and EP as purely formal logic notions do not have any direct relevance to the analysis of a natural language.

6.2.2 EA and EP as functional concepts

Strawson (1964) examined the function of EP in a rather detailed manner. The objective for the first half of his thesis was to investigate how EP differs from its assertion thereby justifying the validity of the notion of EP. He did this by taking a very pragmatic approach and used such concepts as 'assumed ignorance of audience by the speaker', 'assumed knowledge of audience by the speaker', 'informing knowledge to audience', and so forth. In other words in this article Strawson conceived language as a tool of communication rather

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task of identifying reference, as described can be undertaken only by a speaker who knows or presumes his audience to be already in possession of such knowledge of existence and uniqueness as this. The task of identifying reference is defined in terms of a type of speaker-intention which rules out ascription to the speaker of the intention to impart the existential-and-uniqueness information in question. All this can be put, perfectly naturally, in other ways. Thus, that there exists a particular item to which the name or description is applicable ... is no part of what the speaker asserts in an utterance in which the name or description is used to perform the function of identifying reference; it is, rather, a presupposition of his asserting what he asserts."

[Strawson (1971:89)]

Strawson's argument on the function of EP seems clear and uncontroversial as far as the function of EP is concerned. There is no explicit explanation by Strawson as to what accounts for EA. It is quite straightforward, however, to deduce it from his argument on the notion of EP. Stawson claimed as seen in the quote, that the existence of an item which is known or assumed to be known to an audience is only invoked by the speaker through the function of identifying reference and thus it must be a presupposition rather than an assertion. Then as an extension of Strawson's claim we cannot but infer that the only time it is possible to assert the existence of an item is when an audience is known or assumed to have no knowledge of what the item is. For example in the below sentence the existence of Ainu in Japan is asserted and it is asserted because I, the producer, am assuming no identifying knowledge of Ainu on your, the audience's, part.

(2) There are aboriginal people called Ainu in Japan.

As an assertive sentence on the existence of Ainu people in Japan, (2) may be said to be true if and only if there are such people in Japan.

6.2.3 Definition of EA and EP

The above conclusion on existential assertion that one may assert the existence of something only if that something is (or presumed to

be) not known to the audience, however, brings about an uncomfortable result. This is because such a conclusion fails to include any other existential assertions that are commonly made in any daily exchange of information. I believe it is possible to make existential assertions of an item which is assumed to be known to audience, for instance:

(3) Look, there is the neighbour's dumb dog in our yard again!

(4) (Looking at a photograph)
There is me in the front row.

Strawson's notion of EA then needs to be altered so that it can account for all types of existential assertions, even ones like (3) and (4) whose subject entities are known to the audience.

It is necessary here to consider the fundamental significance of existential assertion. Asserting the existence of some item becomes necessary, even if the item is (assumed to be) known to the audience, when that audience is (assumed to be) ignorant of its existence at a particular place or time, or at both a time and a place for which the statement is concerned. Sentence (3) above is an example of EA in which the existence of an entity (the neighbour's dog) is asserted of a particular place (our yard) and a particular time (time of utterance of the sentence). Sentence (4) is an example which merely asserts the existence of the figure of oneself in a particular place.

One may argue that existing in time necessarily implies existing in place or vice versa and therefore that a more detailed discussion is required as to how the notions of time and place interact in terms of existential assertion. The answer however, is not sought out since the notion of EA, as one that contrasts with EP, is sufficiently distinguishable without the detailed or strict categorisations of EA in terms of time and/or place.

I simply claim here that the asserting of an item to exist in a certain time and/or place is the notion of EA; it functions to assert an item, which may or may not be identifiable to the target audience, to exist at a particular location and/or time and not to invoke the identifying knowledge of the audience. Language needs the notion of EA in order to make known to the listener the existence of some item at a specified time and/or space, whilst it requires the notion of EP in order to invoke the identifying knowledge of the listener to a given item. We can then define the notion of EA in terms of its space and time boundness, whilst the notion of EP is definable in terms of the identifiability of an item assumed to be possible for an audience by the speaker. The notion of EP is solely concerned with the identifiability of an item for which it may be said that time and space are irrelevant.

6.3 NP GA and NP WA: manifestation of EA and EP

Let us look at the two sentences from a preceding section appearing as (5) and (6) below.

(5) Hoshi GA kirei da.
stars beautiful COP
'The stars are beautiful.'

(6) Hoshi WA kirei da.
stars beautiful COP
'Stars are beautiful.'

The propositions expressed by (5) and (6) is roughly of an identical form and may be expressed as (7):

(7) There are stars, and they are beautiful.

The two noun phrases hoshi GA of (5) and hoshi WA of (6) are both analysed as one and the same existential proposition, 'there are stars'. At a glance (7) does not seem to capture the difference seen between (5) and (6), i.e., (5) describes a scene of stars looking

beautiful which is being witnessed at the time of utterance whilst (6) is an attributive statement and as such (6) may be used without stars being visible at the time and/or place the statement is made. On the contrary, here I propose that (7) in fact conveys the difference between (5) and (6). It does so because the seemingly same existential proposition in (7) is of two different natures, one being an assertion and the other a presupposition.[2] I am claiming here that the existential proposition expressed by NP GA is an assertion whilst the existential proposition expressed by NP WA is a presupposition. EA was defined previously as asserting the existence of an item in space and/or time; the existential proposition expressed in (5) is asserted, and is therefore understood to be bound to a certain space and/or time, which for this particular statement happens to be here and now, i.e., the place and the time of utterance. The EP expressed by hoshi WA in (6) is to invoke the identifying knowledge of a listener and unlike the EA of (5) is not bound to any particular time or space; (6) as a whole is neither a time-bound nor a space-bound statement and is compatible with the omnitemporal interpretation claimed to be the central nature of qualifying statements in general.

It is now possible to explain the sentential semantics of GA and WA sentences as scene-descriptive and qualifying, which are claimed to originate from the very markings of GA and WA. The semantic difference of S-D and Q sentences was obtained as the difference of temporal and/or spatial specification. S-D sentences must have such a specification while Q sentences do not. Defining the notions of EA expressed in NP GA as time and/or space boundness neatly accounts for

[2] There is no convention in the usual practice of logical analyses that is used to indicate whether an existential proposition is an assertion or a presupposition.

the semantics of S-D sentences. At the same time the notion of EP expressed in NP WA and defined as identifiability for which time and space have no direct relevance can account for Q sentences. Therefore, for the first time it is possible to yield a systematic account for the semantics of NP GA and NP WA and the semantics of sentences in which these NPs occur.

6.3.1 EA in existential sentences

What was only tacitly understood in the preceding section on the discussion of EA is that it is the time and place the statement is intended to describe or be concerned with that the existential proposition expressed by NP GA is bound to. The existential proposition in (7) is analysed to be bound to the time and place the statement (5) is concerned with, which happens to be the time and place of utterance for this particular statement.

What seems to require further analysis is existential sentence patterns in Japanese. In Japanese both NP WA and NP GA are possible selections in existential constructions as in the sentences below:

(8) Tonari no inu WA niwa ni iru.
neighbour GEN dog TOP garden in exist
'The neighbour's dog is in the garden.'

(9) Tonari no inu GA niwa ni iru.
NOM
'The neighbour's dog is in the garden.'

Both (8) and (9) above can be analysed as (10).

(10) There is the neighbour's dog and it is in the garden.

The existential proposition in (10) as the analysis of (8) is however, a presupposition whose function is to invoke the hearer's identifying knowledge and as such there is no problem arising. The existential proposition in (10) as the analysis of (9) on the other hand is an

assertion and I analyse that it is bound to the time and/or place of the statement. Written explicitly the analysis of (9) is:

(10)' There is the neighbour's dog in the garden and it is in the garden.

Statement (9) is spatially bound to 'the garden', and accordingly the existential proposition in (10)' is to be interpreted to be bound to the place, 'the garden'. Consequently such an analysis leads to the conclusion that (10)' is in fact a type of tautology, because the former existential proposition asserts 'there is the neighbour's dog in the garden' and the latter 'it is in the garden'. A tautology should hold the value of necessary truth but statement (9) obviously does not possess necessary truth. All of this seems to defy the validity of the analysis of (9) as (10) and even the proposed analyses of EA as well.

In order to solve this problem, it is necessary to first observe an interesting phenomenon in Japanese whereby an entity whose existence in the real world is debatable such as a ghost may not take GA marking in an existential construction. For instance, when debating the existence of ghosts in the real world, one can assert or deny their existence only by using WA (and not GA) as below:

(11) Obake WA genjitsu ni iru.
ghost TOP reality in exist
'Ghosts exist in reality.'

(12) Obake WA genjitsu ni inai.
not exist
'Ghosts do not exist in reality.'

The usage of GA in such sentences simply does not yield acceptable sentences.

(13) *Obake GA genjitsu ni iru.

(14) *Obake GA genjitsu ni inai.

However if one is talking about a certain fictitious world where ghosts are understood to exist, GA may acceptably be used.

(15) Obake GA asoko ni iru!
ghost over there at exist
'There is a ghost over there!'

Similarly for someone who is actually seeing a ghost in reality, an existential construction with GA like the following would be uttered felicitously.

(16) Anata no ushiro ni obake GA iru!
you GEN back at ghost NOM exist
'There is a ghost behind you!'

The observations regarding an uncertain entity that, i) in asserting or denying its existence in reality GA cannot be used and, ii) usage of GA for an uncertain entity in an existential construction indicates that the speaker is actually seeing it or that the sentence is about a fictitious world where the uncertain entities exist, require a somewhat different notion of EA when it is expressed by NP GA in existential construction.

Unlike the usual EA which necessarily requires the assertion of an item at the particular time and place of the statement, the notion of EA expressed by NP GA in existential statements means an assertion of an item in the world (and not at the particular time or place) with which the statement is concerned. Such a world would normally be the real world where the speaker and the hearer are.

The problem of tautology may be solved and GA and WA distribution in existential sentence constructions may be made comprehensible by accepting this slightly different notion of EA that applies specifically and only to existential sentence constructions. For example, the former proposition in (10)' must be modified to assert that there is the neighbour's dog <u>in the world where the speaker and the hearer are</u>. It must not be or cannot be understood as 'there is the neighbour's dog <u>in the garden</u>' as previously analysed. Then (10)' is no longer a tautology. NP GA cannot be used in asserting or denying the

existence of ghosts in the real world because such GA sentences [like (13) and (14)] would only form either a tautology or a contradiction, neither of which is acceptable. In such a debate one can only identify the entity with the hearer. In other words one can only mark the entity with WA. It would not be possible to use GA for uncertain entities such as ghosts unless the person actually believes to be witnessing or have witnessed the entity.

I thus claim that the notion of EA when expressed by NP GA in existential constructions must be understood as binding an item to the world the sentence is concerned with, (which is normally the real world where the speaker and the hearer are) and not as binding it to a specific time and/or place like the notion of EA is generally understood to perform for all other kinds of sentence constructions.

6.3.2 Contrary evidence?

There are sentences which seem to have GA and WA markings that rebut the analysis which has been proposed as denoting EA and EP. Observe the following:[3]

(17) Aki ni naru to, kigi WA/GA kooyoo o hajimeru.
autumn to become COND trees red leaves ACC begin
'In autumn, trees begin to turn red.'

(18) Watashi ga asa ueki ni mizu o yatteiru to,
I morning plants to water ACC be giving COND

tonari no booya WA/GA mae o tootte iku.
neighbour GEN boy front ACC passing go
'When I'm watering the plants in the morning, the neighbour's boy passes by the front (of the house) every day.'

(19) Hachiji ni naru to, musume WA/GA piano no
8 o'clock to become COND my daughter piano GEN

renshuu o hajimeru.
practice ACC begin

---

[3] These sentences are again taken to be free from discourse factors. Either WA or GA may be used naturally as the first sentences to start a conversation.

'At eight o'clock, my daughter starts practicing the piano.'

In all three sentences, the subordinate clause is marked by to and such clauses function to signal "an action or state, upon the occurrence of which something else ALWAYS or HABITUALLY occurs." [Alfonso (1974:642)] Therefore due to the nature of the subordinate clause, it would be valid to assume that the content of the main clause must be of a habitual, in other words, more of a qualifying than of a scene-descriptive nature. Providing the proposed analysis holds correct, then the subject marking of the main clause should be WA and GA would not be possible. However as the above sentences show, GA markings are all acceptable, seemingly refuting the hypothesis.

In order to explain the acceptable GA markings, one needs to understand that to clauses function to specify time; although to is traditionally called a conditional morpheme, it is more like a time adverbial clause marker. What sentences (17) to (19) state is that at time x (specified by the subordinate clause), y (the main clause) happens. Therefore the main clause is indeed in this manner temporally bound. It happens because as the temporal specification made by a subordinate clause is easily interpreted as iterative, the statement as a whole can also assume non-temporally bound (and thus habitual) meaning.

The possibility of the two interpretations of temporal specification makes either marking of WA or GA acceptable. Sentences (17) to (19) are not counter examples of the analysis but may be considered to present supporting evidence, since if it were not for the analysis of EA and EP, the reason why both markings are accepted would not be easy to find. This fact serves to convince the validity of the analysis rather than to deny it.

6.3.3 Common denominator for predicates

It was reviewed that the type of predicate involved and the type of interpretation NP GA receives (EL or ND), have some kind of relationship as observed by Kuroda and Kuno. I re-present Figure 2 from Chapter 3 below.

	predicate	interpretation of NP GA
A	1 Action verbs (non-habitual) 2 Existential verbs 3 Adjectives/Nominals representing changing states	EL / ND
B	4 Verbs representing permanent states (habitual) 5 Adjectives/Nominals representing permanent states	EL

Fig. 2. Predicate types and interpretations of NP GA

It was previously pointed out that the crucial question posed here is why some predicates only allow an EL reading whilst others yield either EL or ND.

Now that the semantics of NP GA and NP WA are clarified as EA and EP, it is possible to render a better generalisation of the predicate types and to answer the question. Review the sentences below:

(20) Hoshi WA kirei da.
stars beautiful COP
'Stars are beautiful.'

(21) Hoshi GA kirei da.
stars beautiful COP
'The stars look beautiful.'

The predicate kirei da can receive either a temporarily restricted or unrestricted interpretation, thus yielding S–D or Q sentences depending on whether the subject is GA marked or WA marked. There are, however, those predicates which due to their semantics cannot receive a temporarily restricted (specific) interpretation. See the examples below:

(22) Kare WA gakusei da.
he student COP
'He is a student.'

(23) Kare WA futtoteiru.
he is fat
'He is fat.'

(24) Kare WA kekkonshiteiru.
he is married
'He is married.'

The predicates such as those in (22) to (24) would, by their nature, require a WA marked subject. If the subjects in these sentences were marked with GA rather than WA, they would be expected to yield self-contradicting sentences (i.e., the combination of time or space bound subjects and time or space unbound predicates) and accordingly, are totally unacceptable. However since NP GA can also be given a discourse-induced interpretation, namely an EL reading, these sentences would be acceptable as the answers to questions like 'Who is a student?', 'Who is fat?' and 'Who is married?'.

A better generalisation of predicate type A and type B may thus be given in terms of temporal and/or spatial specificity or boundness. Type A predicates are those which could be interpreted in either a temporally and/or spatially bound or unbound way such as kirei da'be beautiful', whilst Type B predicates can only be interpreted as temporally and/or spatially unbound such as in (22) to (24) above. Categorising predicates on the basis of temporal and/or spatial

specificity also answers why subject NP GA with a Type B predicate only takes on an EL reading, but with Type A can be either EL or ND.

6.3.4 EP and identifiability

The notion of EP is such that it is defineable by Strawson's concept of 'identifying knowledge' and likewise his 'function of identifying reference'. When a linguistic expression is used by the speaker in order to remind the hearer of a particular item in the hearer's (assumed) 'identifying knowledge', employing the process which is called the 'function of identifying reference', the speaker is not asserting the existence of the item, but is presupposing its existence. It thus may be said that identifiability is a crucial and central notion to the idea of EP. When a speaker utilises the notion of EP for any entity, the entity is somehow assumed by him to be identifiable to the hearer.

In Section 3.3.3, it was remarked that against Kuno's claim, genericness and anaphoricity do not characterise thematic NP WA. Such a counterclaim was made on the grounds of the unstarred sentences below (discourse factors are disregarded):

(25) *Oozei no hito WA paatii ni kimashita.
lot GEN people party to came
'Many people came to the party.'

(26) *Omoshiroi hito WA paatii ni kimashita.
interesting people party to came
'Interesting people came to the party.'

(27) *Dareka WA Hokkaidoo shusshin da.
someone coming from COP
'Someone comes from Hokkaidoo.'

(28) Nihon no sarariiman no ooku WA ichoobyoo
Japan GEN salaried man GEN many stomach disorders

o motteiru.
ACC have
'Many Japanese company employees suffer from stomach disorders.'

(29) Kurasu de joodan ga wakaru omoshiroi hito WA
class in joke NOM understand interesting people

minna paatii ni kita.
all party to came
'The interesting ones in class who understand jokes all came to the party.'

(30) Kono naka no dareka WA Hokkaidoo shusshin da.
this inside GEN someone coming from COP
'Someone here (amongst us) comes from Hokkaidoo.'

Kuno's analysis would account for the unacceptable WA marked NPs as being neither generic nor anaphoric but cannot explain why (28) - (30) can be acceptable even though the subjects in these sentences are neither generic nor anophoric.

If the fundamental characteristic of thematic NP WA is neither its anaphoricity nor genericness, but its identifiability, the acceptability of (28) - (30) and the unacceptability of (25) - (27) become understandable. Oozei no hito'many people' or omoshiroi hito'interesting people' or dareka'someone' is not identifiable to the hearer in the sense that it is not at all clear which referent these linguistic expressions are intended to refer to. In comparison Nihon no sarariiman no ooku'many Japanese company employees', kurasu de joodan ga wakaru omoshiroi hito'the interesting people in class who understand jokes' and kono naka no dareka'someone amongst us' yield much clearer information, although the respective head nouns are the same as those subjects in (25) to (27). This is because the modifying phrase or clause works to restrict the possible domain each head noun may refer to. The referents in these sentences are much more specific than the ones in (25)-(27) to the extent that they can be considered to be identifiable by the hearer.

It is worth noting that Iwasaki (1987) also reached the same conclusion as has been proposed here with regard to the nature of thematic noun phrases. He suggests that ""identifiability" should

replace the notions of "anaphoricity", "genericness", and "uniqueness" of a referent for a noun phrase to be marked by wa." (p.128)

His notion of identifiability, however, seems to be much narrower than what identifiability is intended to cover in this study. Iwasaki explicitly states that his idea of identifiability is to be understood as being the same as the notion of definiteness. [See Iwasaki (ibid.:1-37).] In the above examples of (28)-(30) for instance, none of the thematic NPs may be considered to have a definite referent, which would mean that according to Iwasaki's notion of identifiability these NPs are not identifiable. It is not too clear therefore, how Iwasaki's analysis could account for the difference of acceptability between sentences (25) - (27) and (28) - (30).

The notion of identifiability is left more or less as an a priori notion. It is a notion that can distinguish for example, dareka'someone' from kono naka no dareka'someone amongst us' or omoshiroi hito'interesting people' from kurasu de joodan ga wakaru omoshiroi hito'interesting people in class who understand jokes'; as such, common pragmatic concepts such as definiteness or referentiality cannot characterise the notion of identifiability, let alone define it.

6.3.5 EA, EP and negation

Negation in Japanese is marked by the negative morpheme nai which is attached to a verb, or an adjective.[4] There is no Japanese equivalent for English phrases such as 'no student', 'nobody', etc. In Japanese negation always appears clause-finally where verbals are placed.

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[4] In Japanese adjectives conjugate as well as verbs. Nai can also be used independently meaning 'not exist' as an antonym of aru'exist' (for inanimate matters)' or iru'exist' (for animate matters)'.

The following are examples of negative sentences, which contain NP GA and NP WA respectively.

(31) Hoshi GA kireidewanai.
stars NOM are not beautiful
'The stars are not beautiful.'

(32) Hoshi WA kireidewanai.
stars TOP are not beautiful
'Stars are not beautiful.'

Despite the negation, the interpretations of (31) and (32) which are caused by the markings of GA and WA remain the same as their affirmative counterparts. In other words (32) is most naturally interpreted to state the general nature of any stars beyond a particular time and place whilst the stars referred to in (31) are the stars that are existing at the time and place of the utterance.

Therefore these two negative sentences seem to show that the negative scope does not extend to the NPs but restricted to the predicate of the sentence. Let us observe further examples.

(33) a. Denki GA tsukanai.
light NOM does not come on
'The light does not come on.'

b. Denki WA tsukanai.
TOP
'The light does not come on.'

(34) a. Enjin GA kakaranai.
engine NOM does not start
'The engine does not start.'

b. Enjin WA kakaranai.
TOP
'The engine does not start.'

(35) a. Terebi GA utsuranai.
T.V. NOM does not show
'The T.V. (picture) does not appear.'

b. Terebi WA utsuranai.
TOP
'The T.V. (picture) does not appear.'

The propositional content for the a. and b. sentences is the same but like (31) and (32) due to the markings of GA and WA, GA sentences convey that the events described therein are here and now where the utterances, therefore the entities, are bound. However unlike (32), our pragmatic knowledge prevents NP WA sentences from being interpreted as stating the general nature of the entities simply because everyone knows that lights not coming on, or engines not starting, or television sets not showing anything cannot be one of the general properties of lights or engines or T.V. sets. Consequently, b. sentences are understood to illustrate the currently continuing state of these items which are identifiable to the hearer as to which particular light, engine or T.V. set is being referred to.

The difference between a. and b. sentences may be subtle but it is definite and the difference is the same as that of the affirmative GA and WA sentences, which was analysed to be caused by the notions of EP (=identifiability) and EA (=temporal and/or spatial boundness).

These observations confirm that the notions of EA and EP as have been discussed must indeed be construed as functional rather than strictly truth-conditional notions. This is because what the above fact indicates is that for both affirmative and negative forms, the existential proposition expressed by NP GA or NP WA remains unaffected. If one attempts to approach the concepts of EA and EP from a purely truth-conditional stance then the difference between the two concepts will collapse since as a truth-conditional notion, a presupposition is claimed to be what remains constant under both affirmation and negation.

I took a similarly pragmatic approach in 6.3.1 where I explained how a superficial tautology which results from an existential construction

including NP GA must not be understood as a tautology.[5] Unless one keeps a pragmatic modus operandi, negative existential constructions such as (36) and its analysis (37) below may present problems.

(36) Chuushajoo ni kare no kuruma GA nai.
car park in he GEN car NOM not exist
'His car is not in the car park.'

(37) There is his car and it is not in the car park.

As examined in 6.3.1, the existential proposition is an assertion (because it is marked by GA) and it asserts that there is his car in the world where the speaker and the hearer are. The existential proposition expressed by NP GA in (37) is indeed an assertion rather than a presupposition in the sense that the referent is bound to the real world. This may be corroborated by the fact that (38) below having GA is not an acceptable sentence in Japanese.

(38) *Konoyo ni kare no kuruma GA nai.
this world in he GEN car NOM not exist
'There is not his car in this world.'

The reason for unacceptability of (38) is clear when one understands that the NP (=kare no kuruma) is asserted to exist in the real world by the usage of GA but the rest of the proposition asserts it does not exist in the real world; this is an obvious contradiction.

What is important to note for a negative existential construction like (36) is that nai in (36) only negates the latter proposition in (37) and not the former. A truth-conditionalist might insist that if the existential proposition in (37) is an assertion then it must be negated as well. However such an analysis does not reflect what (36) expresses since a native speaker would recognise that all (36) means is that at the time of the utterance, his car (although it does exist somewhere in the world) is not in the car park. Truth-conditionalists

[5] When I say 'pragmatic' I am referring to such functional notions as discussed by Strawson (in 6.2.2) or my own in 6.2.3.

would also have real difficulty in explaining why (38) is not acceptable in Japanese.

From the examination of negative sentences too, we have thus verified the notion of existential assertion as manifested by NP GA may and must be defined in such functional terms as space and time boundness of the referent, and the notion of existential presupposition, manifested by NP WA is defined as the identifiability of the referent.

6.4 Conclusion: ontology of EA and EP

Givon (1979a) raised an intriguing argument concerning the relationship that holds between language and the way people who use the language construe the universe. An epitome of Givon's argument is roughly as follows: The commonly proposed claim that language reflects events is not entirely accurate, for this would mean that events exist somewhat as independent facts outside our cognitive coding. The fact is that people conceive the universe and that our cognition-perception is calibrated so as to conceive the universe as nonrandom. Language therefore, is not a reflection of objects or events but is an "elaborated construct" (ibid., p.313) established upon our calibrated cognition-perception of the universe.

Givon's argument sheds much light on some universal linguistic facts by relating such known facts from a more ontological perspective, viz., as a necessary outcome of the way in which man construes the universe. Particularly relevant among these discussions is the discussion on nouns and verbs.

Found in all languages, the two major classes of verb and noun are argued to correlate with what Givon calls "THE TIME-STABILITY CRITERION FOR ENTITIES", which is proposed as the dimension that makes possible

individuation out of the universe of chaos. This criterion says, "an entity x is identical to itself if it is identical only to itself but not to any other entity y at time a and also at time b which directly follows time a." (ibid., p.320) Time-stability, according to Givon, is a continuum going from most stable to least stable. On the stable end of continuum are the nouns which at the core, code more concrete (i.e., time-stable) entities existing in time and space. On the other end of continuum are the verbs which most commonly code actions and events. Actions and events are less concrete than what is coded as nouns and are most typically existent in time only.

When the notions of EA and EP manifesting as GA and WA in Japanese are compared with Givon's time-stability criterion for entities, one cannot help noticing that Givon's criterion and the notions of EA and EP are in fact founded primarily on the common concept of time. The notion of EA was defined in terms of the spatio-temporal boundness of an entity (i.e., the entity is bound to a particular point of time and/or space) while EP was a concept which transgresses such factors by being related with the omnitemporality or trans-world identifiability [Lyons (1977:790)] of an entity. The spatio-temporal boundness of an entity and the identifiability of an entity easily translate into Givon's time-stability criterion as (spatio-)temporal boundness being on the not-so-stable end of the scale while identifiability is obviously on the stable end. In this case, the notions of EA and EP manifesting as different particles in Japanese may be said to represent nonarbitrary notions in language. It may even be claimed that on a broader scale, they are indeed in accordance with the ways the human organism construes the world. Such a claim in turn would validate the proposed analysis of EA and EP as examined and argued in this chapter.

7.0 NP GA AND NP WA IN SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

7.1 Introduction

It is commonly claimed by those who are working in the framework of transformational grammar that the distinction between NP WA and NP GA extends only so far for independent clauses and that the distinction is neutralised into NP GA in all dependent clauses. This however, has already been proved false in Chapter 4 where we saw that relative clauses could have contrastive WA marked noun phrases quite naturally occurring in them.

It takes only a glance at a novel or newspaper to realise that the above claim does not only not hold for relative clauses, but for other kinds of dependent clauses as well. Despite this, research on the use of NP WA and NP GA in subordinate clauses has not been widespread in the past. Mikami (1970) and Kuno (1973b) touched upon the problem but neither of their works were done in depth nor were they comprehensive in the sense that they did not look at all the subordinate clauses possible in the Japanese language.

To my knowledge, Noda's article (1986) is the only exception that gave serious thought to this problem. He categorised Japanese complex sentences into four groups and examined how the subject noun phrase marked by GA or WA appearing at the beginning of the complex sentence

is interpreted.[1] Examples will make it easier to understand what is meant here.[2]

(1) Taroo-GA uwagi o nuide, ∅ hangaa ni kaketa.
NOM jacket ACC take off hanger to hung up
'Taroo took off the jacket and ∅ hung it up on the hanger.'

(2) Taroo-WA uwagi o nuide, ∅ hangaa ni kaketa.
'Taroo took off the jacket and ∅ hung it up on the hanger.'

(3) Taroo-GA uwagi o nugu to, ∅ hangaa ni kaketa.
when
'Taroo took off the jacket and ∅ hung it up on the hanger.'

(4) Taroo-WA uwagi o nugu to, ∅ hangaa ni kaketa.
when
'Taroo took off the jacket and ∅ hung it up on the hanger.'

The verb nuide is the infinitive form of nugu and functions above to indicate that there is a subordinate clause to follow. Although all of the above main clauses have deleted subjects, a native speaker understands that the subjects of the main clause (1), (2) and (4) are Taroo but for (3) it has to be someone else other than Taroo. As to who is the subject of the main clause of (3), only the context in which the sentence may appropriately be placed can clarify it. Noda attributed such differences of interpretation as we have seen to the interaction between NP WA or NP GA and the subordinate clause type.

Noda's focus was therefore, not so much on WA and GA marked subject NPs within subordinate clauses but more on the interpretation of the deleted subject of a main clause. Also because he was seeking the pedagogical value of the research, (that is, his attempt was to come up with some useful generalisations which learners of the language can follow), the categorisation or grouping of subordinate clauses as

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[1] In Japanese the subordinate clause precedes the main clause. A subordinate clause is indicated either by a subordinating particle attached at the end of the clause or by an inflection of the verb that comes at the end of the clause.

[2] Example sentences (1)-(4) are taken from Noda (1986:31).

proposed by Noda was a little oversimplified. For instance there are discrepancies observed amongst the same category subordinate clauses with regards to NP WA and NP GA subjects, which Noda himself was willing to admit (p.39). Thus whilst Noda's work holds much value as a pioneering work on the problem of NP WA and NP GA in complex sentences, it still leaves some aspects to be explored.

In this chapter I will examine the distribution of NP WA and NP GA within different subordinate clause types and attempt to assess how far the claim that the subject in a subordinate clause must be GA marked actually holds[3]. I will also be claiming that the result obtained from this examination supports the analysis of NP GA and NP WA as representing the concepts of EA and EP as was proposed in the preceding chapters.

7.2 Types of subordinate clause in Japanese

As we can do for many other languages in the world, we can distinguish three types of subordinate clauses (SCs) in Japanese: those which modify noun phrases, those which modify verb phrases or whole clauses, and those which function as noun phrases themselves. They are commonly called relative clauses, adverbial clauses and complements respectively. Examples of each type of SC in Japanese may be given as below:

(5) Metsuboo ni mukatteiru jinrui
extinction toward is heading human race
'The human race which is heading for extinction'

(6) Jinrui ga metsuboo-shita ato, nani ga chikyuu o shihai-suru
human race NOM extinguished after what NOM earth ACC conquer

[3] What this sentence means is that my study here is not going to be comprehensive with regards to GA and WA in every possible occurrence of SC. For instance a whole SC may be topicalised or occur in some syntactic environment which could affect the GA and WA markings within the clause. I do not intend to cover every instance of SC in such cases but to differentiate SCs by their types in this study.

daroo.
I wonder
'After the human race is extingushed, I wonder what will conquer earth.'

(7) Ookuno hito ga jinrui ga metsuboo-suru to shinjiteiru.
many people NOM human race NOM extinguish COM believe
'Many people believe that the human race will be extinguished.'

Adverbial clauses and complements have subordinating morphemes (SMs) at the end of the clause. For (6), the SM is ato and for (7), to. Some adverbial clauses such as conditionals may be indicated by a verb inflection. For instance (6) could be made into a conditional clause by changing the verb metsuboo-suru'to extinguish' to its conditional form metsuboo-shitara:

(8) Jinrui ga metsuboo-shitara,.....
'If the human race is extinguished,.....'

SCs marked by a verb form however, are limited in Japanese: they are restricted only to conditionals.

In addition to the three SC types that may affect the occurrence of NP GA and NP WA within the clause, also important is the kind of SM by which the clause is marked. This is so, one suspects, because many SMs in Japanese are derived from nouns and as such, a number of them still retain lexical meaning and certain characteristics of nouns. These noun-like SMs are recognised by Japanese traditional grammarians who refer to these as keishiki-meishi'empty nouns'. According to Teramura (1980), in modern day Japanese empty nouns have come to assume one of the following functions: firstly as conjunctions (in Teramura's sense of the word, which is equivalent to our adverbial SMs); secondly as nominalisers or complementisers; and thirdly as modality particles. It may be possible that adverbial clauses or complements which are marked by empty nouns behave differently with regard to GA and WA markings from those which are marked by SMs with no lexical content. The

possibility cannot be dismissed at this stage since such SCs with empty nouns functioning as subordinate markers are structurally the same as relative clauses in Japanese and if there is any difference found in the distribution of WA and GA amongst SCs, one must know whether or not the distinctions exist at all according to the nature of subordinating morphemes.

Thus I propose the following classification of SC types in Japanese:

I **RELATIVE CLAUSE (RC)**

1 Internal RC

2 External RC

3 To-iu RC

II **SC MARKED BY SM WITH NOMINALITY**

1 Adverbial C

2 Complement C

III **SC MARKED BY SM WITH LITTLE OR NO NOMINALITY**

1 Adverbial C

2 Complement C

The internal and external RCs above must not be confused with the internal and external RCs Keenan (1985:143) distinguished. In a normal RC construction the modifying clause lacks a noun phrase and its head noun phrase fits as the NP lacking in the clause. It is usually possible to trace the head NP back into the clause. Following Teramura (ibid.) I refer to such relative clauses as internal since the head noun has the internal relationship with the clause. The head NP of external RCs on the other hand is not traceable into the clause and thus the modifying clause in external RC construction is just like an independent sentence with no missing NP. The relationship of the head NP and the modifying clause is like that of apposition. The modifying

clause explains the content of the head NP. See (9), (10) and (11) below:

(9) Kaji ga hirogatta genin
fire NOM spread cause
'The cause of the fire having spread wide'

(10) Dareka ga kaidan o agaru oto
someone NOM stairs ACC go up sound
'The sound of someone going up the stairs'

(11) Shichinin no samurai ga noomin o tasukeru eiga
seven of NOM farmers ACC help movie
'The movie in which seven samurais help the farmers'

These typical external RCs nicely exemplify that modifying clauses in such RC constructions do not lack an NP and have the syntactic properties of a sentence. These examples also show that the semantic relationship of the head and the modifying clause is that the modifying clause is an elaboration on the content of the head nouns.

Amongst external RCs there are those which require the morpheme to-iu to be placed between the head NP and the modifying clause. To-iu may be analysed as the complementiser to and the verb iu'to say', but it has ceased to function as the verb and complementiser and has instead become more like one morpheme which is needed only for certain external RCs and is never used for internal RCs. As to the exact definition of external RCs which must obligatorily take to-iu, one has yet to be resolved. It appears that the semantics of the head NPs and of the modifying clauses trigger the usage of to-iu, but the analysis is still far from reaching any conclusive result or generalisation.[4] I am not going into further details for to-iu RCs for they do not have direct relevance to the purpose of our study.

[4] For more detailed discussion on to-iu RC, readers are referred to Teramura (1980:106-19).

For adverbial clauses of II-1 and III-1 above, I propose to further subcategorise them according to their semantics as: time clause, reason clause, condition clause, degree clause and manner clause. II-1 does not have condition clauses and III-1 likewise lacks manner clauses.

7.3 NP GA and NP WA in subordinate clauses

7.3.1 Examination and data

All three types of RC and every kind of SC were checked and examined as regards to the possibility of NP GA and NP WA occurring within the clauses. Naturally those SCs which obligatorily delete their subjects are of no concern to us since they are always the same as that of the main clause.

As can be seen in the data below, all example sentences are deliberately given different subjects for the subordinate clause and the main clause because such sentences present the least ambiguous examples if NP WA is at all allowed to occur in a subordinate clause. This leaves no room for contention to arise because NP WA in a subordinate clause is in fact the subject of the main clause and because the real subject of the subordinate clause is deleted because it is the same as that of the main clause.

The plus sign in the GA and WA columns signify that such subject NPs marked as GA and WA do occur in the specified SC type. For each case of '+' one example sentence is given so as to testify its validity. The impossibility of NP WA or NP GA in an SC is marked by a minus sign. The asterisks, which only appear in the WA column, indicate that a WA marked subject NP is allowed, but only contrastively. This means that in such decontextualised sentences as the examples below,

there must be two explicit WA marked NPs in order to ensure the contrastive meaning.[5]

	GA	WA
I RELATIVE CLAUSE		
1 Internal RC	+	*

-chichi GA tabeta ryoori
father NOM ate dish
'the dish which father ate'

-chichi WA tabeta ga haha WA nokoshita ryoori
father TOP ate but mother TOP left dish
'the dish which father ate but mother did not finish'

2 External RC	+	*

-kuruma GA tooru oto
car NOM pass sound
'the sound of a car passing'

-noo WA shindeiru ga shinzoo WA ugoiteiru jootai
brain TOP is dead but heart TOP is alive condition
'the condition where the brain is dead but the heart is beating'

3 <u>To-iu</u> RC	+	+

-kare GA/WA moo kikokushita to-iu uwasa
he NOM/TOP already returned to ones's country rumour
'the rumour that he already returned to his country'

II SC MARKED BY MORPHEMES WITH NOMINALITY

1 Adverbial clause

<u>1 Time clause</u>

-Kare GA fumoto made oritekita <u>toki(wa/ni/niwa)</u>, ame wa	+	-
he NOM mountain foot to came down when rain TOP		

[5] The only exception to this is the NP WA subject in the SC marked by <u>warini</u>'in comparison'(II-1-4). The subject is contrastive yet lacks its contrasting NP within the clause. This is because the meaning of <u>warini</u> intrinsicly brings out the contrastive connotation, making the subject in the subordinate clause and that in the main contrast with each other. The following sentences have been checked as acceptable by other native speakers as well.

yandeita.[6]
stopped
'When he reached the foot of the mountain, the rain had stopped.'

-Haha GA inai aidani, denwa o suru. + -

mother NOM is away while telephone ACC make
'While mother is away, I'll make a telephone call.'

-Haha GA inai aida, terebi o miteita. + -

mother NOM is away during T.V. ACC was watching
'While mother was away, I was watching T.V.'

-Haha GA inai uchini, denwa o suru. + -

mother NOM is away while telephone ACC make
'While mother is away, I'll make a telephone call.'

-Sakura GA saku koro(ni), chichi ga modottekita. + -

cherry NOM bloom when father NOM returned
'Father returned when cherry blossoms bloomed.'

-Ame GA futta ato(ni), hi ga sashitekita. + -

rain NOM fell after the sun NOM started shining
'After it rained, the sun started shining.'

-Watashi GA heya ni haitta totan(ni), denki ga kieta. + -

I NOM room into entered the moment light NOM went out
'The moment I entered the room, the light went out.'

-Kare GA modottekita tokoro, okane wa moo nakatta sooda. + -

he NOM returned when money TOP already was gone I hear
'When he returned, apparently the money was already gone.'

-Denwa GA naru tabi(ni), watashi wa tobiagatta. + -

telephone NOM ring every time I TOP jumped
'Every time the telephone rang, I jumped.'

-Watashi GA ryoorishiteiru saichuu(ni), jama ga haitta. + -

I NOM was cooking in the midst of interruption NOM occurred
'In the midst of my cooking, an interruption occurred.'

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[6] Each particle in brackets may be attached to the subordinating morpheme. The attachment of such a particle creates a certain difference in meaning but the difference is not significant for the purpose of our survey.

2 Reason clause

-Ame GA/WA furanakatta tame(ni), shiai wa okonawareta. + +
rain NOM/TOP did not fall because game TOP was held
'The game was held because it did not rain.'

-Kanojo GA/WA bijin dearu (ga)yue(ni), dansei wa keiensuru. + +
she NOM/TOP beauty COP because men TOP shun
'Because she is a beauty, men shun her.'

-Ame GA futta okagede, kusaki ga ikikaetta. + *
rain NOM fell thanks to plants NOM came back to life
'Because it rained, plants came back to life.'

-Chichi WA ki ga mijikakatta ga haha WA odayakana seikaku
father TOP temper NOM short but mother TOP gentle nature

deatta okagede, watashi ni wa yasuragi o erareru basho ga atta.
was thanks to I LOC comfort ACC receive place NOM existed
'Although father was short-tempered, because mother was of gentle
nature, I had a place where I could receive comfort.'

-Ka GA ookatta seide, watashi wa hitobanjuu nemurenakatta. + *
mosquito NOM abundant because I TOP all night could not sleep
'Because there were many mosquitoes, I could not sleep all night.'

-Kion WA takakatta ga sora WA kumotteita seide,
temperature TOP was high but sky TOP was overcast because

shigoto wa omotta hodo tsurakunakatta.
work TOP expected as much as was not trying
'Although the temperature was high, because the sky was overcast,
the work was not as trying as expected.'

3 Condition clause

N.A.

4 Degree clause

-Ame GA futta warini, jimen wa kawaiteiru. + *
rain NOM fell in comparison ground TOP is dry
'The ground is not so wet as one would expect from the rain.'

-Kare wa atama WA ii warini, yooryoo wa yokunai.
he TOP head TOP good in comparison efficiency TOP not good
'He is not efficient to the same extent as he is smart.'

-Kion GA hikui ueni, kaze ga tsuyokatta. + *
temperature NOM low on top wind NOM strong
'The temperature was low and on top of that it was windy.'

-Kare wa tomodachi WA ooi ga kane WA nai ueni,
he TOP friends TOP many but money TOP not exist on top

onnazuki da.
womanizer COP
'He has many friends but not much money and on top of that

(he) is a womanizer.'

5 Manner clause

-Watashi ga itta toori(ni), ano hito wa ii hito datta deshoo. + *
I NOM said just as that man TOP good man was PRE
'Just as I said, that man was a nice man, wasn't he?'

-Chuugokujin WA akarui iro o konomu ga Nihonjin WA kurai
Chinese TOP bright colour ACC like but Japanese TOP dark

iro o konomu toori(ni), onaji Ajiajin demo Chuugokujin
colour ACC like just as same Asians even Chinese

to Nihonjin wa kanari chigau.
and Japanese TOP rather differ
'Just as the Chinese are fond of bright colours and the Japanese prefer dark colours, the Chinese and the Japanese are rather different even though they are both Asians.'

-Watashi GA itta yooni, ano hito wa ii hito datta deshoo. + *
just like
'Just like I said, that man was a nice man, wasn't he?'

-Chuugokujin WA akarui iro o konomu ga Nihonjin WA kurai iro

o konomu yooni, onaji Ajiajin demo Chuugokujin to Nihonjin
just like
wa kanari chigau.

'Just as the Chinese are fond of bright colours and the Japanese prefer dark colours, the Chinese and the Japanese are rather different even though they are both Asians.'

2 Complement clause

-Watashi wa kujira GA/WA honyuurui dearu koto o shitteiru. + +
I TOP whale NOM/TOP mammal COP COM ACC know
'I know that whales are mammals.'

III SC MARKED BY MORPHEMES WITH LITTLE OR NO NOMINALITY

1 Adverbial clause

1 Time clause

-Nihon GA kaikokusuru izen(ni), gaikoku no fune wa + -

Japan NOM open up the country before foreign of ship TOP

otozureteita.
were visiting
'Before Japan had opened itself up, foreign ships had been visiting (Japan).'

-Kare GA owaru made, matoo + –
he NOM finish until let's wait
'Let's wait until he finishes.'

-Kare GA koko ni kuru madeni, heya o katazukeyoo. + –

he NOM here to come before room ACC let's clean up
'Let's clean up the room before he turns up.'

-Kare GA kaettekite kara, dekaketa. + –

he NOM return after went out
'After he came home, we went out.'

-Iyoiyo kaihyoo GA hajimaru niatari, kaku kooho + –

at last ballot counting NOM start now that each candidate

tomo kinchooshiteiru.
all are nervous
'Now that the ballot counting is at last to start, each candidate is nervous.'

-Watashi GA uchi ni hairu gahayaika, ame ga + –

I NOM house into enter no sooner than rain NOM

furidashita.
started to fall
'No sooner than I entered the house, it started raining.'

-Watashi GA futottekuru nitsurete, kare wa tsumetaku natta. + –

I NOM become fat together he TOP cold became
'As I became increasingly fat, he turned increasingly cold.'

-Kurofune GA tsuite irai, Nihonjuu wa oosawagi datta. + –

Black Ship NOM arrive since all over Japan TOP much excited COP
'Since the Black Ships arrived, there was much excitement everywhere in Japan.'

-Kurofune GA tsuite igo, Nihonjuu wa oosawagi datta. + –

after
'After the Black Ships arrived, there was much excitement everywhere in Japan.'

-Kuroda-kun GA kishidai, wareware wa shuppatsusuru. + –

Mr Kuroda NOM come as soon as we TOP take off
'As soon as Mr Kuroda comes, we will take off.'

2 Reason clause

-Soto GA/WA ame datta node, watashi wa dekakenakatta. + +
outside NOM/TOP rain was because I TOP did not go out
'Since it was raining outside, I didn't go out.'

-Soto GA/WA ame da kara, koen ni daremo inai daroo. + +
outside NOM/TOP rain is because park in anybody not exist PRE
'Since it is raining outside, there will be nobody in the park.'

-Kabuka GA/WA jooshoogimi toatte, + +
stock prices NOM/TOP in the trend of going up since

ookina kai ga tsuzuiteiru.
big buy NOM is continuing
'Since stock prices are going up, big buys are continuing.'

-Ani GA/WA ramboomono de shirareteiru dakeatte, + +
my brother NOM/TOP rascal as is known because

seito wa kare ni nakanaka te o dasootoshinakatta.
student TOP him toward hardly hand ACC did not extend
'Since my brother was a well-known rascal, the students were
not readily resorting to violence with him.'

-Ani GA/WA ramboomono de shirareteiru dakeni, + +
because
seito wa kare ni nakanaka te o dasootoshinakatta.

'Since my brother was a well-known rascal, the students were
not readily resorting to violence with him.'

-Anata GA/WA itsumo sumashiteiru monodakara, otokonoko ga + +
you NOM/TOP always be aloof because boys NOM

yokei karakau wakeyo.
all the more tease SFP
'Because you are always aloof, boys tease you more.'

-Kono na GA/WA Gyokuro to magirawashi kotokara, + +
this name NOM/TOP with be confusing because

gyookai wa shiyoo o kinshishita.
industry TOP usage ACC banned
'Because this name was similar to Gyokuro(a kind of tea)
the industry banned its usage.'

-Maitoshi niwa ni kao o dasu sono kusa GA/WA + +
every year garden in face ACC appear that grass NOM/TOP

susuki ni niteiru tokorokara, watashi wa aki ni
eulalia with resemble because I TOP autumn to

sore o kazatte otsukimi o shita.
that ACC decorate moon viewing ACC did
'Because the grass which appeared in my garden every year
resembled Japanese eulalia, I used to do moon viewing
with the decoration of the grass.'

-Anata GA/WA bijin dearu bakarini, kaette dansei wa + +
you NOM/TOP beauty COP because all the more men TOP

keiensuru no kamoshirenai.
shun COM maybe
'Because you are a beauty, men may shun you all the more.'

-Anata GA/*WA so iu ijoo, watashi mo ato niwa hikenai. + -

you NOM/TOP so say because I either back to recede
'Because you insist I cannot back off either.'

-Anata GA/*WA so iu karaniwa, shooko ga aru no deshoo. + -

you NOM/TOP so say since proof NOM exist PRE
'Since you insist, I guess there is proof for it.'

3 Condition clause

-Anata GA yaranakattara, dare ga yaru noyo! + -

you NOM if did not do who NOM do SFP
'If you didn't do it, who would do it!'

-Anata GA yaranakereba, dara ga yaru noyo! + -

if did no do
'If you didn't do it, who would do it!'

-Anata GA ikunara, watashi mo iku wa. + -

you NOM go if I also go SFP
'If you go, I will go too.'

-Anata GA konai to, paatii ga moriagaranai. + -

you NOM not come if party NOM not rise
'If you do not come, the party will not be as enjoyable.'

4 Degree clause

-Iki GA kooru kurai, soto wa samui. + -

breath NOM freeze extent outside TOP cold
'The outside is cold to the extent that your breath may freeze.'

-Iki GA kooru hodo, soto wa samui. + -

degree
'The outside is cold to the extent that your breath may freeze.'

-Anata GA iru kagiri, watashi wa kaeranai. + -

you NOM stay as long as I TOP will not go home
'As long as you stay, I will not go home.'

-Anata GA monku o iu dake, kare wa katakunani naru. + -

you NOM complaint ACC say for that he TOP stubborn become
'For as much as you complain, he will become stubborn.'

-Chuusei no hitobito wa chikyuu GA/WA taira da to shinjiteita. + +
medieval of people TOP earth NOM/TOP flat COP COM believed
'Medieval people believed that earth is flat.'

-Watashi wa musuko ni kare GA/WA hontoni gakkoo e itta ka(dooka) + +
I TOP son DAT he NOM/TOP really school to went if

kiitemita.
asked
'I asked my son if he really went to school.'

-Anata GA hayaku yoku naru yoo(ni) inotteiru wa. + +
you NOM quickly better become COM am praying SFP
'I am praying that you will become better quickly.'

-Shinzooshikkan ga aru hito WA kore ni noranai yoo(ni)
heart disease NOM exist person TOP this in not ride COM

keikoku ga atta.
warning NOM existed
'There was a warning that people with heart disease should not ride in this.'

-Watashi wa kare GA/WA osake o nomanai no o + +
I TOP he NOM/TOP alcohol ACC not drink COM ACC

ukkari wasureteita.
carelessly had forgotten
'I had carelessly forgotten that he doesn't drink alcohol.'

Fig. 4. Occurrence of GA and WA markings within subordinate clauses and clause examples.

7.3.2 Summary of data and observations

The below chart summarises the data according to clause type.

TABLE 2

SUBORDINATE CLAUSE TYPE AND GA/WA OCCURRENCE

		GA	WA			GA	WA
I	1 Internal RC	+	*				
	2 External RC	+	*				
	3 To-iu RC	+	+				
II	1-1 Time C	+	−	III	1-1 Time C	+	−
	1-2 Reason C	+	+/*		1-2 Reason C	+	+/−
	1-3 Conditional C	NA			1-3 Conditional C	+	−
	1-4 Degree C	+	*		1-4 Degree C	+	−
	1-5 Manner C	+	*		1-5 Manner C	NA	
	2 Comp C	+	+		2 Comp C	+	+

NB: The reason clauses II-1-2 allow NP WA except for two types of clauses; one marked by seide'thanks to' and the other by okagede 'thanks to'. These two only allow contrastive NP WA. The reason clauses III-1-2 also have two exceptions which do not allow NP WA at all. They are clauses marked by karaniwa'once that' and ijoo'now that'.

Each clause type yields a consistent result except for reason clauses where there is a split in the WA column. The ratio of + and * in reason clauses II is two vs. two, whilst the ratio of + and − in reason clauses III is nine vs. two. Thus it may be said that not only the majority of reason clauses, Type III, but also the majority of the entire number of reason clauses (11 out of 15) allow NP WA to occur within them.

One obvious fact observeable from the chart is that NP GA is allowed in all SCs, but that there is variation with respect of the occurrence of NP WA. A quick glance at the chart may give the impression that nominality or non-nominality of SMs could account for such a variation of NP WA occurrences, for it is predominantly Type III clauses whose SMs have little or no nominality that shun WA marked NPs and I and II SCs mostly permit NP WA if only as contrasting NPs. A closer observation however, reveals that the first impression may be misleading or at least it makes one suspect that there could be other factors involved other than the nominality of SMs influencing the distribution of NP WA. This is because time clauses and complements, regardless of their SM type, yield - and + respectively regarding the occurrence of NP WA.

What can be safely said about the effect of SMs on the occurrence of NP WA in a clause is that (non-)nominality of morphemes could be the factor for causing the differences between reason clauses II and III or between degree clauses II and III. We cannot therefore, deduce any generalisations which are based upon nominality or non-nominality of SMs.

Now let us look at another chart which organises the types of clauses according to their compatibility with NP GA and NP WA.

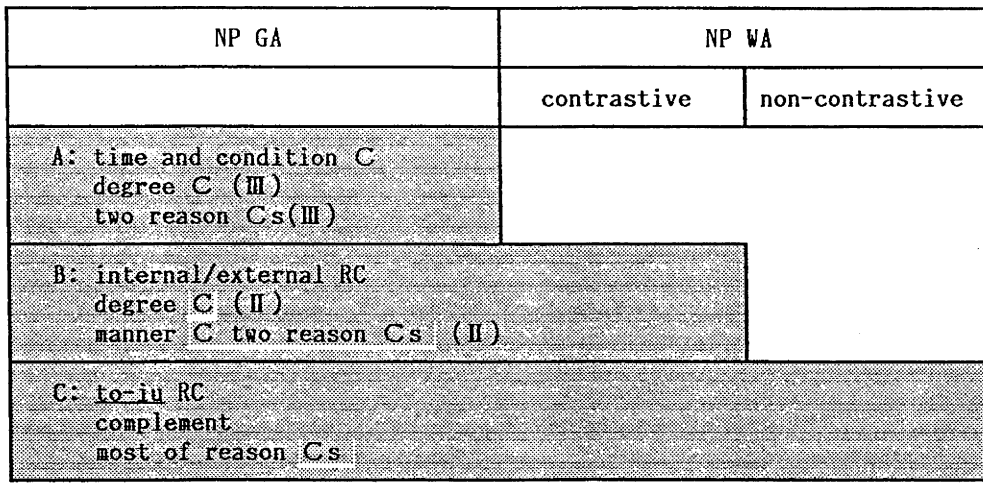

Fig. 5. Compatibility of NP GA/WA and subordinate clause type.

The above chart makes it easier to see which clauses are reconcilable with NP WA subject. Putting aside the exceptional reason clauses which appear in A and B, we can see that time clauses, condition clauses and degree clauses(III) are hard-core NP GA subordinate clauses, whilst to-iu relative clauses, complement clauses and most reason clauses will take NP WA. Other relative clauses, degree clauses(II) and manner clauses fit in between the two groups.

7.3.3 One further note on complement clauses

In Fig.4 and 5 complement clauses were resolved to allow both WA and GA occuring in them. It may however be pointed out that a closer examination of complements present cases where the aforementioned generalisation does not always hold. For example in the complement clauses of (12) and (13) below WA does not seem possible.

(12) Kare wa hi GA/*WA shizumu no o miteita.
he TOP the sun sink COM ACC was watching
'He was watching the sun going down.'

(13) Watashi wa rinjin GA/*WA kuruma de dekakeru no o kiita.
I TOP neighbour car by leave COM ACC heard
'I heard the neighbour going out by car.'

What is common between (12) and (13) is that the complements are the objects of the sentences with sensory verbs as their predicates such as 'see' and 'hear'.

When complements marked by the complementiser no are topicalised as in (14) and (15), GA seems to be the obligatory subject marking in the SC unless the subject is contrastive as in (16).

(14) Hiroshima no kaki GA/*WA yuumeina no wa daredemo shitteiru.
GEN oyster famous COM TOP everybody know
'Everyone knows that oysters of Hiroshima are famous.'

(15) Anata GA/*WA gamanzuyoi no wa umaretsuki da.
you patient COM TOP born with COP
'(Lit.)That you are patient is (something you are) born with.'

(16) Fuyu GA/WA samuku natsu GA/WA atsui no wa atarimae da.
winter cold and summer hot COM TOP natural COP
'That winter is cold and summer is hot is natural.'

One may also make other observations relating to the occurrence of GA and WA in complements such as that the complements marked by ka(a type of complementiser) predominantly allow only GA for the subjects although WA is possible as well. See the complements in (17)-(19) below:

(17) Haha wa watashi GA/*WA itsu kaetta ka shiranai.
mother TOP i when returned COM not know
'My mother does not know when I returned.'

(18) Watashi wa kare GA/*WA honki ka joodan ka hadanshikaneru.
I TOP he serious COM joking COM cannot judge
'I cannot tell whether he is serious or joking.'

(19) Haha wa imooto GA/WA hontouni kekkonsuru ki ka
mother TOP sister truly marry intention COM

toitadashita.
asked
'My mother asked my sister if she really intended to get married.'

Occurrence or non-occurrence of GA and WA in these complement clauses is not governed by the nature of the SCs themselves. What causes the obligatory GA in (12) and (13) appears to be strongly related to the fact that both sentences take sensory verbs as the main clause predicate. That is to say, in the combination of a complement and a sensory predicate in the main clause, without exception GA is chosen for the subordinate clause subject marking. It seems that for the sentences (14) to (16) also the topicalisation process of complements involved (which is indicated by wa following no) and the appearance of GA subject in SCs are related.

In other words there are more factors at work for the distribution of GA and WA in such SCs as in (12) to (19) above than just the type and/or the nature of SC. Thus if one attempted to account for all such GA and WA markings in complements, one would need to go much further beyond the straight categorisations of SC types. As implied in the previous sections or explicitly noted in footnote 3, the focus of the study in this chapter lies in exploring the nature of SCs and the possible relationships that may exist between the occurrence of the two particles and different SC types. Therefore the clarification of GA and WA markings within complements under varying environment exceeds the scope of the current study and as such may not appropriately be dealt with here. For the purpose of this study it suffices to state that both WA and GA can indeed appear in complement clauses as shown in Fig.5.

7.3.4 Discussion of data and observations

There are two points concerning NP WA and NP GA in SCs that have been established from the above examination. Firstly NP GA is uniformly allowed in all the SCs but NP WA is not. Secondly the occurrence or non-occurrence of NP WA in different SCs is not imputable to the

differences in semantic or syntactic features of SMs. We will come back to the first point later; now the focus of the investigation is to seek plausible answers to the question of why some SCs allow an NP WA subject in themselves when some never do. One small caveat: we lay aside the four reason clauses in A and B for the moment as they, being exceptions, may present a hindrance to the possible generalisations we can reach through deduction of the data.

Looking at the clauses in C which are most liberal towards occurrence of subject NP WA, a Japanese speaker would probably realise that what differentiates C from A and B clauses is their "independentness" as clauses: C clauses, unlike the rest, are very much like independent sentences both syntactically and semantically.

Firstly, the tense in complement and reason clauses is independent of the tense of the main clause verb and is not in anyway governed by it. It is of course also true of <u>to-iu</u> RCs. Normally SCs succumb their tense to the tense of the main clause. Instead the verb in such SCs (i.e. A and B SCs) functions to indicate an aspectual interpretation. See the examples below.

(20) Nihon e iku toki, kaban o katta.
Japan to go when bag ACC bought
'When I went to Japan, I bought a bag.'

(21) Nihon e itta toki, kaban o katta.
went
'When I went to Japan, I bought a bag.'

The main verb in both (20) and (21) is past tense. However the tense of the SC in (20) is non-past while in (21) it is past. Thus in (20) buying a bag preceded going to Japan; when buying a bag took place, going to Japan is as yet to eventuate. In (21) buying a bag followed going to Japan; when buying a bag took place, you were already in Japan. For C group clauses this does not happen.

Secondly, modality morphemes such as daroo'it is assumed that', hazuda'it must be' and rashii'it seems that' which in Japanese are postverbally attached, thus appearing at the end of a sentence, may occur in C clauses. It is either impossible or very awkward for other SCs to include these modality morphemes.

(22) Ashita wa ame ga furu daroo to iu yosoo (C)
tomorrow TOP rain NOM fall MA forecast
'The forecast that says it will rain tomorrow'

(23) Tanaka-san kara denwa ga aru hazuda kara, (C)
Mr from telephone NOM exist MA because
'Because there should be a telephone call from Mr Tanaka,...'

(24) *Ame ga furu daroo toki, (A)
rain NOM fall MA when
'When it is predicted to rain,...'

(25) ??Kare ga miru rashii eiga (B)
he ACC see MA movie
'?The movie which he seems to see'

Thirdly, although this point is not as widely applicable as the other two points, there is a tendency for C clauses, particularly for reason clauses that if the verb of the main clause is in its polite form, the SC verb is also inflected to its polite form. The significance of this point is that it indicates a certain independency of such SCs from the main clause thus proving completeness of the SCs as independent sentences from the morphological point of view. SCs in A and B more or less obligatorily take up a plain form verb (versus polite form) regardless of the form the main verb is in.[7]

In addition to the above characteristics C clauses have, to-iu RCs have another characteristic which separates them from the other kinds

[7] For actual figures of polite form occurring in different SCs readers are referred to Mio (1958) where he surveyed a collection of scenarios for polite forms in complex and compound sentences. His statistics show that 73% of the reason clauses marked by kara'because' had polite forms when the main verb was in polite form, whilst only 7.3% of conditional clauses marked by to'if' or 6% marked by tara'if' actually had polite forms.

of RCs in B and which evinces that to-iu RCs are more like independent clauses. The subject marker GA is freely interchangeable (same semantics and pragmatics) with the genitive marker no in internal RCs.

(26) Haha GA/NO chuumonshita ryoori
mother ordered dish
'The dish mother ordered'

(27) Kippu GA/NO nai hito
ticket not have people
'People who don't have tickets'

To much the same extent external RCs too allow the switch-over of markers:

(28) Omee no okkasan GA/NO kurushinda jijoo to,[8]
you GEN mother suffered reasons and
'The reasons why your mother suffered and, '

(29) Watashi GA/NO suwatteiru tonari
I am sitting next
'Next to where I am sitting'

To-iu RCs however do not allow GA marked subjects to be marked by the genitive. In other words in a to-iu RC the subject is always marked by GA just like it would always be marked by GA in an independent clause:

(30) Ryooshin GA/*NO rikonsuru to iu hanashi
parents divorce talk
'The talk that the parents will divorce'

(31) Ani no byooki GA/*NO omowashikunai to iu shirase
brother of sickness not good news
'The news that says that my brother's sickness is rather serious'

Now if C group SCs assume the characteristics of an independent clause as have been shown so far, it is probably natural that NP WA subjects occur in these SCs just like NP WA subjects occur in independent clauses. Thus I claim that the independent nature of C group clauses accounts for an NP WA subject occurring within the clause.

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[8] This was quoted from a novel in Teramura (ibid.:114). In the original the subject in the RC is marked by NO.

We have seen therefore, what distinguishes C from A and B. Now we are in a position to find out what differentiates A from the rest. A includes SCs which never allow NP-WA subjects to occur in them: these are what I call hard-core NP GA clauses.

It is of importance to note that the degree clauses in A (there are four different SMs for the degree clauses; they are kagiri, dake, hodo and kurai, all of which are morphemes with only marginal nominality) have meanings similar to conditional clauses, i.e., they denote a hypothetical world. See the examples:

(32) Anata ga iru kagiri, watashi wa kaeranai.
you NOM stay as long as I TOP will not return
'As long as you stay, I will not return(I will stay).'

(33) Anata ga monku o iu dake, kare wa
you NOM complaint ACC say for that much he TOP

taido o kookasaseru.
attitude ACC make stubborn
'For as much as you complain, he will be more stubborn.'

(34) Iki ga kooru hodo, soto wa samukatta.
breath NOM freeze degree outside TOP was cold
'The outside was so cold that your breath would freeze.'

(35) Iki ga kooru kurai, soto wa samukatta.
degree
'The outside was so cold that your breath would freeze.'

For (32) and (33) it is reasonably easy to understand that the SCs denote a hypothetical world perhaps even by reading the English translation. In fact one can change the SC 'as long as you stay' to 'if you stay' or 'for as much as you complain' to 'if you complain' without distorting the original meaning of the sentences. The same operation in Japanese does not change the semantic content of the original sentences either as demonstrated below.

(36) Anata ga iru nara, watashi wa kaeranai.
you NOM stay if I TOP will not return
'If you stay, I will not return.'

(37) Anata ga monku o ieba, kare wa taido o
you NOM complain ACC say(COND) he TOP attitude ACC

kookasaseru.
make stubborn
'If you complain, he will be more stubborn.'

Examples (34) and (35) might be a little more difficult to interpret as denoting a hypothetical world and we will end up with a rather cumbersome sentence if the subordinate clause is changed into an 'if' clause. However if one can see that (34) and (35) are rephraseable to 'the outside is as cold as the world where your breath freezes', or 'the outside was so cold that your breath would have frozen if you had been there', then it is easy to conceive that the subordinate clause is indeed denoting a hypothetical world.

The semantics of time and conditional clauses require that they specify a world by which the truth value of the main clause proposition is judged. The truth or falseness of the main clause proposition is decided strictly against the world or the world at the time specified by the subordinate clause. See (38) and (39) below:

(38) Ichioku-en attara, sugu shigoto o
100 million yen if existed immediately work ACC
yameru wa.
quit SFP
'If (I) had 100 million yen, I would immediately quit my job.'

(39) Ame ga furidashita toki, watashi wa choodo uchi
rain NOM started to fall when I TOP luckily home

ni ita.
at was
'When it started raining, luckily I was at home.'

The truth value of the proposition 'I quit my job' is not to be judged in the real world where I am writing this thesis but only in the world where I have 100 million yen. Likewise one cannot decide the truth value of 'I am home' until it is viewed as a state which existed at the time of the world when it started raining.

Condition and time clauses thus function to create or produce a certain (hypothetical) world, upon which the truth value of the main proposition depends. Creating or producing a (hypothetical) world necessarily involves asserting the existence of relevant entities in that particular world. In other words, subject NPs occurring in condition and time clauses must be asserted rather than presupposed to exist in that world. The central concept of existential assertion which a subject NP GA was claimed to denote was explained to be spatio-temporal boundness in Chapter 5. This is why in these SCs the subject cannot be marked by WA but is always GA marked, because only NP GA and not NP WA may denote existential assertion (spatio-temporal boundness) of the subject NP to the given world.

I have so far accounted for categories A and C: WA marked subjects freely appear in C clauses because C clauses are very much like independent clauses; WA marked subjects never appear in A clauses because A clauses assert the existence of a certain world. It is then probably inevitable that SCs must have a category like B where those SCs which lack the characteristics of independent clauses and have little to do with the concept of existential assertion, therefore exhibit a unique behaviour of their own with regard to subject NP WA. Category B clauses do not allow a subject NP WA except as contrasting NPs only.

Let us go back to the first point I made at the beginning of this section that all SCs invariably permit NP GA subjects. Since I presented an argument that category A takes only GA marked subjects because these SCs assert the existence of a world for which only existential assertion NP GA is appropriate, one may well wonder if all other subject NP GAs in other kinds of SCs denote the concept of EA. My answer to this has to be no. My argument for category A is valid as

an explanation of why NP WA never occurs in these SCs and although it also seems to explain the obligatory marking of GA in such clauses, it does not deny other possible reasons which may exist for the general appearance of NP GA subjects across all the SCs.

For instance, Maynard (1987) argued that the main flow of information in discourse is indicated by the appearance of WA markings at appropriate places whereas the GA marking of subject is used to signal that the information is more or less secondary or subordinate to the main flow. She further argued that this intersentential behaviour of GA marking also applies intrasententially and that that is why noncontrastive WA in subordinate clauses must be replaced by GA in Japanese. Her argument seems plausible so far as the relationship between GA marking and secondary information can be established, but of course it would not be able to explain the various patterns of WA occurrence within SCs as seen in my study.

From the viewpoint of the EA expressed by NP GA, it is perhaps possible to surmise a reason for NP GA in all SCs; that is, the dependence of a SC on its main clause. This may be the cause of prevalent NP GA, for this dependence of a subordinate is indeed boundness to its main clause and NP GA denotes a certain kind of boundness as EA. This conjecture however, remains as such because it is a moot point as to how the boundness of two different sorts, one as the boundness of a subordinate clause to its main clause and the other, as the boundness of an entity to a spatio-temporal frame, could be conceived as the same concept.

7.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I examined the occurrence of subject NP GA and NP WA in SCs in Japanese. There were three patterns of occurrence for such

NPs observed: those which do not allow any WA marked subject (A), those which allow WA marked subjects only as contrastive NPs (B) and those which allow WA marked subjects quite freely (C). Occurrence of NP GA subject was observed throughout all SCs.

The three patterns were accounted for by the interaction of two factors. One factor was the independent nature of SCs in the C category which includes to-iu RCs, complement clauses and most reason clauses. The other was the concept of existential assertion involved in SCs in category A which is made up of time and conditional clauses. The independent nature of category C SCs was explained to be the plausible cause of subject NP WAs in these clauses. The concept of existential assertion which category A clauses inherently involve is claimed to exclude WA marked subject because NP WA cannot express the concept of existential assertion.

Although we admittedly could not account for the four exceptional reason clauses put aside at the very beginning, I believe that the explanatory capability of the proposed two factors, which combined can explain the behaviour of all other SCs concerning NP GA and NP WA subjects, justifies the validity of the analysis presented above.

There are two important points regarding NP WA and NP GA in Japanese confirmed in this chapter. Firstly, not only NP GA subjects, but NP WA subjects also appear in SCs. Secondly, the concept of existential assertion, which I claim is the central notion of subject NP GA and which I define as spatio-temporal boundness, was shown to be very significant. Indeed it would be a difficult task to render a credible explication for the behaviour of A clauses if we had to do so without the notion of existential assertion.

8.0 NEW/OLD INFORMATION (SURVEY OF NOTIONS)

8.1 Introduction

Prince (1981a:225) pointed out that notions labeled as new/old, known/unkown, unpredictable/known or other similar terms have not been defined to the extent that a working linguist would find satisfactory to apply to any analysis. It is also true, as perhaps the proliferation of terms might indicate, that these discourse notions proposed by different linguists do not always overlap.

It is therefore necessary to first study the notions in order to decide which of these similar yet differing discourse notions may be put into use for the analysis of NP GA and NP WA in discourse.

8.2 Historical background

The new/old distinction is widely attributed to the Prague School functionalists who discussed the idea in connection with their unique notion of functional sentence perspective (FSP).[1]

Western linguistics was made aware of this notion largely through Halliday's detailed analysis of spoken English text in 1967. Since then the distinction of new/old information has been adopted by many linguists and psycholinguists as a useful analytical concept that might explain some syntactic phenomena such as the (pseudo-)cleft construction, backward pronominalisation and definite or indefinite markings of NP. [See Chomsky (1971), Kuno (1972 and 1978), Hornby

[1] See Firbas (1966:240-41) for a concise summary on FSP.

(1972), Clark and Haviland (1977) and Chafe (1976) inter alia.]

In the course of the increasingly popular application of the notion however, the notion as originally used by Halliday has changed somewhat and in some cases it has come to assume different meanings from linguist to linguist. For example, the information unit for example, where the new/old information manifests itself, has moved from being something defineable by such phonological terms such as tone group or pause boundary to something that may assume more syntactic reflection like a clause or a sentence.

Whilst it appears that this kind of disagreement has surfaced over a period of time, there are other aspects as well that seem to have remained in constant agreement. Firstly, linguists generally agree that the bifurcation of new/old is dichotomous in the sense that it does not represent two polarities of a cline of informational age. In one information unit there are no elements that may be said to be less old than the old information or less new than the new information of the unit.

Secondly, the notion of information structure is understood explicitly or implicitly to be the result of the speaker's calibration; i.e., it is the addressor who judges what must be new or old in the eye of the addressee and presents it as such. The distinction of old or new is based on an assumption on the part of the addressor who continuously assesses the relationship between what he wants to say and the informational knowledge of the addressee at the time.

8.3 Halliday's notions (1967 and 1985)

Halliday's explanation of what is new/old information begins with the identification of an information structure or unit. Halliday was primarily concerned with spoken text and therefore an information unit

is defined by a phonological factor of tone, which may also be referred to as pitch contour or intonation [Halliday (1985:274–5)]. Pitch contour may be falling, rising or mixed. Spoken discourse consists of, according to Halliday, "a sequence of information units, one following the other in unbroken succession with no pause or discontinuity between them" (ibid.:274).

An information unit however, is not necessarily coextensive with a clause. Although one information unit can take the form of one clause (this Halliday calls 'default' meaning 'unmarked' condition), it is not at all unusual for one information unit to cover more than one clause, extending over the next few clauses or perhaps just half of the next. An information unit is structurally made up with new (i.e., non-recoverable for the listener) and old (i.e., recoverable for the listener) information, but in some cases perhaps exclusively with new information.

Two other phonological elements must be introduced in order to recognise the informational distinction of new and old: they are 'foot' and 'prominence'. A foot is a unit of time length "consisting of one or more syllables" (ibid.:272) which forms a regular beat found in natural speech. Prominence is carried by one foot and this is where the main pitch movement such as the main fall and rise occurs within a given information unit. There is only one tonic prominence per information unit and it marks where the new information ends. One of Halliday's examples is presented below:

(5) In this job, Anne, we're working with silver. Now silver needs to have love.

// now / silver / needs to have / love //

Halliday's analysis is that the second clause was spoken as forming one informational structure and thus is marked so by double slashes.

Within it there are four feet, the last of which carries the prominence thereby marking the end of new information. Here due to the preceding clause it is possible to know that 'silver' in the second clause is in fact given and therefore where the new element begins may be shown as the following.

// now / silver / needs to have / love //
given ——→ ←—— new

Out of the context, Halliday says, it is not possible to tell where the distinction of given and new transpires in this clause; all that is to be known in such a case would be that at least 'love' is new.

This explication of new/old information based upon phonological elements perforce necessitates Halliday's insistence on the correlation between discourse form and the new/old information structure contained within it as the following quote indicates:

> "These [information statuses] are options on the part of the speaker, not determined by the textual or situational environment, what is new is in the last resort what the speaker chooses to present as new, and predictions from the discourse have only a high probability of being fulfilled." (1967:211)

His view had not changed in 1985:

> "We can now see more clearly what the terms Given and New actually mean. The significant variable is: information that is presented by the speaker as recoverable (Given) or not recoverable (New) to the listener. What is treated as recoverable may be so because it has been mentioned before; but that is not the only possibility. It may be something that is in the situation, like I and you; or in the air, so to speak; or something that is not around at all but that the speaker wants to present as Given for rhetorical purposes. The meaning is: this is not news. Likewise, what is treated as non-recoverable may be something that has not been mentioned or not. The meaning is: attend to this: this is news." (1985:277)

Therefore whereas Halliday's analysis of English spoken discourse procures considerable understanding of one genre of English, it would certainly not be appropriate to directly utilise his analytical model to languages other than English. Halliday's ideas of what given/new

information (recoverable or non-recoverable to the listener) mean might be useful but the means to identify which part of a given text actually expresses these notions cannot be applied to Japanese.

The next two sections deal with the notion of new/old information which has deviated somewhat from what Halliday originally intended to mean. In particular new/old information that is manifested in some syntactic forms will be examined.

8.4 Presupposition and focus

Notions of presupposition and focus are similar to (if not the same as) Halliday's given/new information. The difference is that the notions of presupposition and focus are indentified by or attributable to some particular syntactic forms such as cleft or pseudo-cleft structures.

The presupposition of the sentence 'it is the government who is to blame for it' would be 'someone or something is to blame for it' and that presupposition is expressed by the clause 'who is to blame for it' in the sentence. Observe how Chomsky, who was the first to present and apply the notions, explains these concepts:

> "<38> (a) is it JOHN who writes poetry?
> (b) it isn't JOHN who writes poetry.
> Under normal intonation the capitalized word receives main stress and serves as the point of maximal inflection of the pitch contour. A natural response to <38> might be, for example, <39>:
> <39> no, it is BILL who writes poetry.
> The sentence <39> is a possible answer to <38a> and corroboration of <38b>. The semantic representation of <38> must indicate, in some manner, that 'John" is the <u>focus</u> of the sentence and that the sentence expresses the <u>presupposition</u> that someone writes poetry. In the natural response, <39>, the presupposition of <38> is again expressed, and only the focus differs. On the other hand, a response such as, <40> does not express the presupposition of <38>:
> <40> no, John writes only short STORIES," (1971:199).

Presupposition is what is taken to be already known to the addressee and focus is what is assumed to be unknown to him. Whoever asks, "is it John who writes poetry?", in Chomsky's example, knows that someone writes poetry but does not know if that somebody is John. In answering the question if the known information (i.e., presupposition) was garbled and completely unheard by the hearer and thus if only the unknown information (focus) was heard by the hearer as "no, ...Bill...", the hearer would still be satisfied, because the focus fills the gaps or holes he previously held in his propositional knowledge.

Likewise, not only for cleft sentences and alike but also for a natural pair of a question and an answer in general, there is usually a common presupposition found underlying both the question and answer:

(6) A: Who broke the glass?

B: Nickie did.

The presupposition of A's question is 'someone broke the glass', which is also the underlying presupposition of B's answer.[2]

The notion of presupposition and focus has been applied by a number of psycholinguists, notably, Hornby (1972), Clark and Clark (1977), Clark and Haviland (1977). See the quote from Clark and Haviland below where the actual terms employed are given and new information but the idea is clearly that of presupposition and focus:

> "...declarative sentences convey two kinds of information: (1)information the speaker considers given – information he believes the listener already knows and accepts as true; and (2)information the speaker considers new – information he believes the listener does not know. ... Consider the sentence <u>It was Percival who piqued the professor</u>, which with normal intonation, has its major stress on <u>Percival</u>. Its given information is that someone piqued the professor; its new information, which is conveyed by

[2] It is of course possible for B to deny A's presupposition. B may well say 'Nobody broke the glass. Look, no glass is missing from the set.' Such a question and answer pair is much rarer and is therefore marked.

the constituent containing the strongest stress, is that someone is Percival." (p.3)

In relation to GA and WA markings in Japanese, it may be observed that presupposition and focus seem to get reflected as WA and GA markings respectively. In a pseudo-cleft sentence like (7) WA (and never GA) is used to indicate the presupposed information clause whilst with a question word or the focus NP, WA cannot be used as in (8). (Japanese does not have true cleft constructions.)

(7) Garasu o watta no WA Nikkii da.
glass ACC broke COM COP
'The one who broke the glass is Nickie.'

(8) A: Dare GA garasu o watta no ka?
who glass ACC broke COM Q
'Who broke the glass?'

B: Nikkii GA watta n da yo.
broke COM COP SFP
'Nickie broke it.'

The notions of focus and presupposition usually being associated with a particular syntactic form however, could not be directly applied to examine GA and WA markings in a text much bigger than a question and answer pair. In fact (pseudo-) cleft sentences and a question and answer pair are the only structures which the notions have been applied to and found useful so far.

8.5 New/old information as a status of referent

The notion of new/old information as indicating one status of a referent (which is denoted by a noun phrase) was first expounded by Chafe (1976). According to Chafe the status of new or old (Chafe uses the term 'given') is just one of the several statuses which may be given to a referent. Chafe's assumption is that in order for the addressee to process what is being transmitted, it is necessary for the addressor to have an on-going assessment of what the addressee is

thinking of at the time of issuance of the message. If the addressor fails to do so, the message might not be assimilated by the addressee. So depending on the judgement of the addressee at the moment, Chafe says that a referent may be given the following statuses; (a) the referent "may be either given or new; (b) it may be a focus of contrast; (c) it may be definite or indefinite; (d) it may be the subject of its sentence; (e) it may be the topic of its sentence; and (f) it may represent the individual whose point of view the speaker is taking, or with whom the speaker empathizes". (p.28)

Chafe's idea of given and new information is elaborated in the following manner. "Given (or old) information is that knowledge which the speaker assumes to be in the consciousness of the addressee at the time of the utterance. ... new information is what the speaker assumes he is introducing into the addressee's consciousness by what he says." (p.30) It is of interest to note as well that Chafe states that "the most common linguistic basis for the speaker's assuming something to be in the addressee's consciousness is ... the prior mention of a referent" (p.32) and that at least in English the NP that is given old information status is expressed with a lower pitch and weaker stress and is subject to pronominalisation.

8.5.1 Assumed familiarity

A more recent analysis of this notion of new/old information is given by Prince (1979 and 1981a). Her analysis is characterised by its unique classification of different values of new and old information. She abandons the terminology new/old information uses the unsullied term ASSUMED FAMILIARITY in order to eliminate unnecessary, unhelpful and possibly confusing connotations that are associated with previously used terminology. What Prince was concerned with was to find the

correlation between linguistic forms and her assumed familiarity values.

A concrete example of what Prince was concerned with might be: imagine there is a person named Bob Willis who we know very well as a friend and also as a colleague at work. The person, Bob Willis, may be correctly referred to in a number of different ways by us when we want to talk about him for one reason or another. He may simply be referred to as 'Bob, 'he', 'the man', or 'a man I work with', etc. A speaker must pick the appropriate form to refer to Bob Willis so that the hearer will not be left bewildered as to who is being referred to. The appropriate choice of form is a prerequisite for successful communication between the speaker and the hearer. What is the appropriate form for a certain referent is determined, according to Prince, by the speaker's assumption of how familiar the referent is to the hearer.

So like Chafe, Prince was also concerned with the status of a referent but she went further and attempted to delineate the systematic correlation between forms (of the referent) and assumed familiarity values (of the referent). Below is the taxonomy proposed by Prince (ibid.:237).

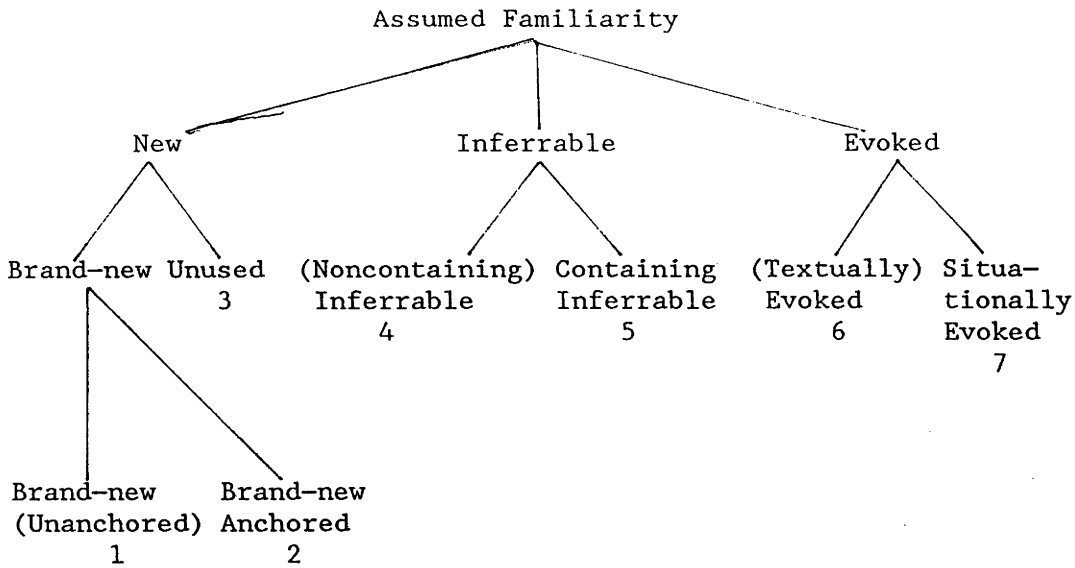

Fig. 6. Assumed familiarity taxonomy as proposed by Prince.

Examples of referents that have the above assumed familiarity values (AF values) are given by Prince as below.

(9) I got on <u>a bus</u> yesterday and <u>the driver</u> was drunk.
1 4

(10) <u>A guy I work with</u> says <u>he</u> knows you.
2 6

(11) <u>Noam Chomsky</u> went to Penn.
3

(12) Hey, <u>one of these eggs</u> is broken!
5

(13) Pardon, would <u>you</u> have change of a quarter?
7

Brand-new entities are newly-introduced discourse entities that the hearer has to create for the discourse. 'A bus' and 'a guy I work with' in (9) and (10) above are Brand-new entities by this definition. 'A guy I work with' is Anchored because the entity 'a guy' in the NP is linked to another discourse entity 'I', which is contained in the NP. 'A bus' is distinguished from Anchored as Unanchored in this way. 'Noam Chomsky' on the other hand, may be assumed to be existing already in

the hearer's discourse-model.[3] Upon encountering 'Noam Chomsky', the hearer may not have to create an entity referred to; by the name, but simply needs to remember it. In such a case 'Noam Chomsky' is said to have Unused value. Brand-new Unanchored, Brand-new Anchored and Unused entities are all subsumed under the value of New as the taxonomy indicates.

Evoked entities are of two types; Situationally Evoked and Textually Evoked. 'He' in (10) represents a Textually Evoked entity since what it refers to has been presented to the hearer in the former part of the sentence; whereas 'you' in (13) is Situationally Evoked since what it refers to is presented to the hearer "in the salient features of the extratextual context" (p.236) as a discourse participant.

An entity is Inferrable if the speaker assumes the hearer can infer it by reasoning from other Evoked or Inferrable entities. 'The driver' in (9) is inferrable from 'a bus' on the assumed knowledge that a bus has a driver. A Containing Inferrable is an NP "where what is inferenced off of is properly contained within the Inferrable NP itself" (p.236). 'One of these eggs' in (12) is a Containing Inferrable, "as it is inferrable, by a set-member inference, from these eggs, which is contained within the NP and which, in the usual case, is Situationally Evoked" (p.236).

Prince's approach took a more detailed and concrete form than anyone else's which went before her and convincingly demonstrated a way in which the concept of new/old information could be effectively utilised in an analysis of real linguistic data. The next chapter will apply Prince's taxonomy to NP GA and NP WA in a Japanese text and attempt to

[3] An explanation on what a discourse-model is in its exact definition is found in Prince (ibid.:235).

assess how useful the taxonomy is to understand the distribution of these markings in a text.

8.5.2 Referent continuity

Givon's work (1983) studied the status of referent from a perspective that is related to but nevertheless quite different from Prince's and Chafe's. The objective of his analysis is set to produce a quantitive correlation between such linguistic devices as zero-anaphora, pronouns and right or left dislocated definite NPs and their continuity in discourse by observing certain measurements. Givon states (ibid.:12-3):

> "The text itself does not reveal the assumptions made by the speakers or hearers as to topic identifiability in a direct way, nor does it reveal; the ease or difficulty they experience in processing and filing topics in discourse. The text reveals, however, two types of information which in this study we have endeavored to correlate:
>
> (i) The grammatical, 'purely linguistic' devices used by the speaker to code various topics/participants in the discourse; and
>
> (ii) The exact position of those topics in the discourse, in terms of thematic paragraph structure, distance from last previous appearance, the clustering with potential other interfering topics, persistence in subsequent discourse context."

There are three discourse measurements proposed and studied in his volume of work. They are termed as; i) referential distance (look-back), ii) potential interference (ambiguity) and iii) persistence (decay). The first measurement assesses the distance between the current position of the referent and its immediately preceding occurence by counting the number of clauses existing in between. Likewise the third measurement of persistence counts the number of subsequent clauses in which the referent "continues an uninterrupted presence as a semantic argument of the clause" (p.15), thus this

measurement assesses the distance of persistence of a referent. The second measurement counts the number of existing referents other than the one currently measured and assesses the disruptive effect which potential referents may have on referent identification.[4]

What Givon attempted to do was to find out how a referent is evoked in discourse (i.e., by what linguistic form) and once evoked how it is kept evoked throughout the discourse; how far, for instance, an unstressed pronoun can keep on evoking the same referent; how long it is before it goes back to becoming a full definite NP; or, how continuity affects the appearance of left-dislocated NPs, etc. Referent continuity involves careful manipulation of forms that are derived from the speaker's constant observation of the shared knowledge between him and the hearer, which is ever changing with the progress of discourse.

Thus the notions discussed by Chafe, Prince and Givon are related in the sense that they approach new/old information as meaning the status of referent. The two most recent works on the notion by Prince and Givon have successfully produced more concrete analytical models that may readily be applied to languages other than English. These models appear promising for the purpose of elucidating the interaction of values of information and linguistic forms in any language.

8.6 Summary/Conclusion

This chapter firstly looked at the historical aspect of the notion of new/old information. It then examined three distinctive notions that have been discussed in literature under the same alias of new/old information or the alike. The first was that of Halliday's. Halliday's

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[4] These measurements are discussed in more detail in the next chapter where actual measurements are undertaken on WA and GA marked NPs in Japanese.

concept of new/old information was claimed to be characterised by its heavy dependence on phonological elements (specifically English) for identification. It was thus noted that Halliday's model cannot be directly adopted for the study of GA and WA particles in Japanese.

The second concept of new/old information is what is more appropriately called presupposition and focus as first noted by Chomsky. It was observed that the two notions of presupposition and focus have direct influence on the occurence of GA and WA in a pseudo-cleft structure and also in a pair of a question and an answer, as GA denoting focus and WA denoting presupposition. However, it was pointed out that application of the notions is restricted to these two forms only.

The third concept was new/old information indicating a certain status of referent. Here two models of analysis were claimed to be potentially useful. They are Prince's classification of assumed familiarity values and Givon's referent continuity measurements.

In the two chapters to follow, an examination is therefore in order to find how GA and WA markings in Japanese reflect the assumed familiarity values and referent continuity in discourse; the crucial questions to be answered are 'do the two markings really reflect these concepts?' and if yes, 'in what way do they do so?'.

9.0 ASSUMED FAMILIARITY VALUES, NP GA AND NP WA

9.1 Introduction

This chapter attempts to examine the relationship that may exist between the assumed familiarity values (AF values) proposed by Prince and NP GA and NP WA in a text.

Hinds (1987) investigated the way thematisation in Japanese correlates with AF values but his investigation was not extensive enough in terms of the amount of text investigated to draw a definite conclusion. There were no statistics presented for instance, so one does not know yet what relevant predictions AF values may, or may not make for the distribution of NP GA and NP WA in a text.

A whole short story will be examined here in an attempt to obtain a more objective (i.e., empirical) analysis.[1]

9.2 Hinds' analysis

Hinds (ibid.:87) presented his examination of WA and GA in relation to the taxonomy of AF values as follows:

[1] Abe's fictional novel "Te" was used. The details are given in Appendix II.

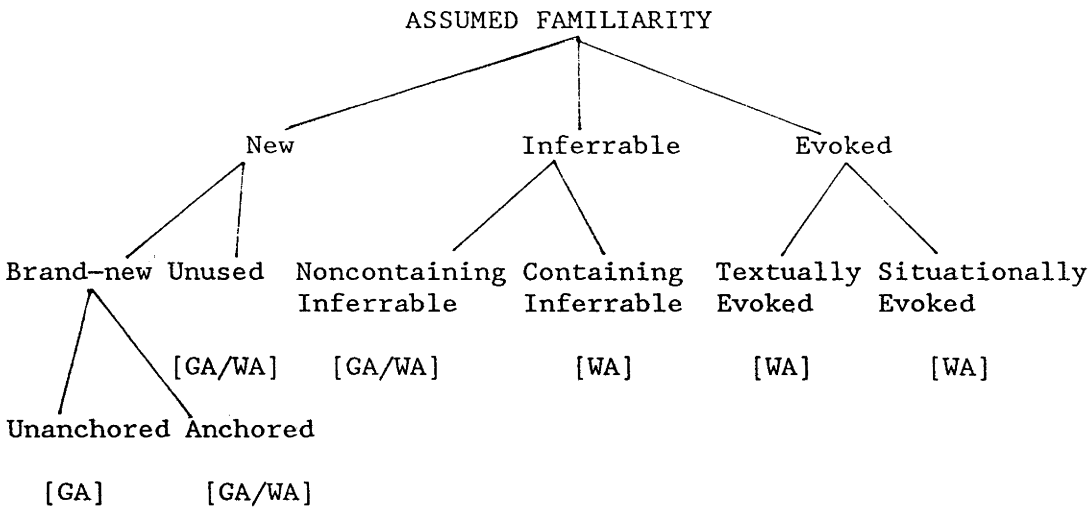

Fig. 7. Assumed familiarity value and GA/WA occurrence as analysed by Hinds.

He states:

> "If we reexamine the distribution of the postpositional particles wa and ga from the standpoint of this taxonomy, we discover that those items termed "Inferrable" and "Evoked" are typically marked by wa. This much is well known to the linguistic public, and is simply a refinement of the term "given".
> In Prince's category "New", however, we find, contrary to expectation, that ga does not mark each of these noun phrases. We find that noun phrases which indicate "Unused" information are marked by wa. Further, we find that "Brand-new Anchored" information may be marked by either wa or ga. It is only the category "Brand-new Unanchored" which obligatorily requires ga marking." (p.87)[2]

It is unclear how Hinds reached the above conclusion. It is not stated in the study whether or not Hinds actually looked at any particular discourse to obtain the result, although an implication is there that he did investigate discourse of one sort or another.

Although Hinds' analysis seems to be claimed as almost being categorical to the extent that he purports that taxonomy can explain

[2] There is a discrepancy between the figure presented by Hinds as Fig.7 and what he states in the quote. He lists both GA/WA in his diagramme for New Unused but says as if it is marked only by WA. He should have been more careful and said that some noun phrases which indicate "Unused" information are marked by WA.

the distribution of GA and WA in Japanese discourse, going through any discourse, one can find with no difficulty occurrences of GA and WA markings that do not fit into the analysis above. In particular, this applies to the occurrences of GA markings for entities that may be categorised as Containing Inferrable, Textually Evoked and Situationally Evoked, to which Hinds claimed WA is typically assigned. This is illustrated by the following example:

(1) Kantaroo ga ochita tokini, ore no awase no katasode GA
fell when I GEN kimono GEN one sleeve

mogete, kyuuni te ga jiyuuni natta.[3]
tore off suddenly arm NOM free became
'When Kantaroo fell (down to the ground), one of the sleeves of my kimono tore off and my arm suddenly became free.'

Here 'one of the sleeves' has the value of Containing Inferrable since it is inferrable from 'my kimono' which is properly contained in the NP. The NP however, is marked by GA despite Hinds' claim.

There is also an example from my own study of Abe's book.

(2) Aru hi, sono "te" no koe GA, han-heiwashugisha no mimi .
one day that "Hands" GEN voice anti pacifists POS ears

ni tomatta no datta. (p.42)
to reached COM COP
'One day the voice of "Hands" reached the anti-pacifists.'

The story where the above sentence occurs is related through the eyes of a dove, the central figure of the story; thus in the story the first person pronoun always refers to the dove. "Te"("Hands"), being treated as a proper noun in quotation marks, indicates the pair of hands which looks after the dove and consequently refers to the caretaker himself. In the immediately preceding sentences it is told that "Hands" has been going around telling people what had happened to his dove which is now dead and has become a metallic statue placed in the middle of the town

[3] The example is taken from S. Natsume, p.6. The details of the book are found in the Sources of Primary Data.

square as a symbol of peace. In this context sono "te" no koe'the voice of "Hands"' is textually evoked, but again is marked by GA contrary to what Hinds' analysis predicts.

Examples of Situationally Evoked discourse entities would be difficult to find in written discourse such as a novel but it is not hard to imagine the following conversation taking place in a real situation.

(3) Two females chatting at a party:

A: Asoko ni tatteiru hito GA ima kotchi o mite
there at standing person now here ACC see and

waratta wayo.
smiled SFP
'That person standing over there looked at us (over here) and smiled.'

B: Hontoo? Kao ni mioboe wa nai kedo...
really face at memory TOP not exist but
'Really? I don't recognise the face though...'

Obviously asoko ni tatteiru hito in such a context is situationally evoked but it is most naturally marked with GA.

9.3 Examination

9.3.1 Examined data

A complete story of Abe's is found in the Appendix. The following are the NPs whose referent status was analysed according to the AF values. Syntactically induced GA markings (i.e., those in certain subordinate clauses which were dealt with in Chapter 7) are excluded from the examination. The sentence number (Snt #) corresponds to the number marked in the text of the Appendix. AF values are indicated as follows:

BN.Un: Brand-new Unanchored

BN.Anc: Brand-new Anchored

U: Unused

C.Inf: Containing Inferrable

NC.Inf: Non-containing Inferrable

T.E: Textually Evoked

S.E: Situationally Evoked

#	NPs	Snt#	AF values
1	fubuki GA 'snow storm'	1	BN.Anc
2	gaitoo WA 'street lights'	3	NC.Inf
3	ore WA 'I'	3	?
4	ore no hada WA 'my surface'	4	C.Inf
5	zenshin ni haritsuita yuki WA 'snow stuck all over me'	4	NC.Inf
6	ore WA 'I'	5	T.E
7	sore WA 'that'	6	T.E
8	hitokage WA 'the human shadow'	7	T.E
9	otoko no me WA 'the man's eyes'	9	C.Inf
10	otoko WA 'the man'	10	T.E
11	otoko no momite no oto GA 'the sound of the man's hands rubbing'	13	BN.Anc
12	ha to hone to kinniku no naru oto GA 'the sound of the teeth, bones and muscle squeaking'	14	BN.Anc
13	yohodo no jiken GA 'a major event'	14	BN.Un
14	otoko WA 'the man'	15	T.E

15 kore WA 'this'	18	NC.Inf
16 ano otoko WA 'that man'	20	T.E
17 'Te' WA '"Hands"'	21	T.E
18 kinzoku no ompa ni chikai shindoo GA 'metallic vibrations close to a sonic wave'	23	NC.Inf
19 ore WA 'I'	24	T.E
20 sono oto WA 'that sound'	25	NC.Inf
21 sore GA 'that'	27	T.E
22 ore GA 'I'	28	T.E
23 'Te' GA '"Hands"'	28	T.E
24 ore WA 'I'	29	T.E
25 'Te' WA '"Hands"'	30	T.E
26 ore WA 'I'	31	T.E
27 'Te' WA '"Hands"'	31	T.E
28 ore WA 'I'	32	T.E
29 ore WA 'I'	33	T.E
30 aoi sora to, nakama o otte sora o kakeru tsubasa no kankaku no tanoshisa to, shokuji no toki no awatadashisa to, togiretogire kakudai sareta jikan no taba GA 'the blue sky, the joyous feeling of wings when chasing after friends in the sky, the rush at a meal and the disruptively expanded time bundle'	34	BN.Un
31 ore WA 'I'	35	T.E

32 tooji no ore WA 'I at that time'	37	T.E.
33 sensoo GA 'the war'	38	NC.Inf
34 ore to ore no nakama WA 'I and my friends'	38	T.E
35 wake no wakaranu mukiritsu to konran GA 'incomprehensible disorder and confusion'	39	BN.Un
36 sono muchitsujo GA 'that disorder'	40	T.E
37 aoi sora to, nakama o otte sora o kakeru tsubasa no kankaku no tanoshisa to, shokuji no toki no awatadashisa to, togiretogire kakudai sareta jikan no taba GA 'See #35 for translation'	40	T.E
38 noraneko no shinnyuu GA 'entrance of stray cats'	41	BN.Un
39 nakama no kazu GA 'the number of friends'	41	C.Inf
40 ore no sekininsha datta hato-han no heitai GA 'the pigeon group soldier who was in charge of me'	43	T.E
41 kare WA 'he'	44	T.E
42 'Te' WA '"Hands"'	45	T.E
43 orime WA 'the crease'	45	NC.Inf
44 booshi WA 'the hat'	46	NC.Inf
45 aburake no nai kami GA 'the glossless hair'	46	NC.Inf
46 'Te' WA '"Hands"'	47	T.E
47 shuukan GA 'habit'	48	NC.Inf
48 ore WA 'I'	48	T.E
49 'Te' WA '"Hands"'	49	T.E

50 ore WA 'I'	50	T.E
51 'Te' WA '"Hands"'	51	T.E
52 sore WA 'that'	52	NC.Inf
53 ore WA 'I'	53	T.E
54 'Te' GA '"Hands"'	54	T.E
55 kore WA 'this'	55	T.E
56 kore GA 'this'	56	T.E
57 ore WA 'I'	57	T.E
58 ore WA 'I'	57	T.E
59 kono kikan WA 'this period'	58	NC.Inf
60 mishiranu otoko GA 'a strange man'	60	BN.Un
61 ore WA 'I'	61	T.E
62 ore WA 'I'	62	T.E
63 'Te' GA '"Hands"'	63	T.E
64 'Te' to otoko WA '"Hands" and the man'	64	T.E
65 'Te' WA '"Hands"'	65	T.E
66 soitsu WA 'that fellow'	68	T.E
67 otoko WA 'the man'	69	T.E
68 otoko WA 'the man'	73	T.E

69 futari WA 'the two people'	75	T.E
70 otoko WA 'the man'	75	T.E
71 'Te' WA '"Hands"'	75	T.E
72 otoko GA 'the man'	77	T.E
73 'Te' GA '"Hands"'	80	T.E
74 otoko WA 'the man'	83	T.E
75 'Te' WA '"Hands"'	85	T.E
76 futari WA 'the two people'	86	T.E
77 otoko GA 'the man'	88	T.E
78 'Te' WA '"Hands"'	88	T.E
79 soodan WA 'the talk'	88	NC.Inf
80 'Te' GA '"Hands"'	89	T.E
81 shigoto GA 'the work'	90	T.E
82 otoko GA 'the man'	94	T.E
83 'Te' GA '"Hands"'	96	T.E
84 ore WA 'I'	97	T.E
85 ore WA 'I'	100	T.E
86 ore no nakami WA 'my insides'	101	C.Inf
87 ore no nakami WA 'my insides'	102	T.E

88 kawa no hoo WA 'the skin'	103	NC.Inf
89 otoko WA 'the man'	105	T.E
90 ore WA 'I'	106	T.E
91 otoko WA 'the man'	107	T.E
92 kondo no jiken WA 'this event'	108	NC.Inf
93 ore WA 'I'	110	T.E
94 ore WA 'I'	110	T.E
95 ore WA 'I'	112	T.E
96 ore WA 'I'	113	T.E
97 sono henkei no kansei WA 'completion of the transformation'	114	C.Inf
98 ore WA 'I'	115	T.E
99 ore WA 'I'	115	T.E
100 ore WA 'I'	116	T.E
101 ore WA 'I'	117	T.E
102 ore WA 'I'	118	T.E
103 ore WA 'I'	118	T.E
104 ore WA 'I'	119	T.E
105 ore WA 'I'	120	T.E
106 sore WA 'that'	121	T.E

107 'Te' WA '"Hands"'	123	T.E
108 'Te' no shutsugen WA 'appearance of "Hands"'	124	NC.Inf
109 'Te' WA '"Hands"'	125	T.E
110 ore WA 'I'	127	T.E
111 'Te' WA '"Hands"'	128	T.E
112 kare WA 'he'	129	T.E
113 sore WA 'that'	130	T.E
114 kare WA 'he'	132	T.E
115 sono 'Te' no koe GA 'the voice of "Hands"'	135	T.E
116 sono hanashi WA 'that story'	136	T.E
117 'Te' WA '"Hands"'	137	T.E
118 hanashi WA 'the story'	138	T.E
119 'Te' WA '"Hands"'	139	T.E
120 ore WA 'I'	140	T.E
121 'Te' WA '"Hands"'	141	T.E
122 yukiboozu GA 'snowman'	143	U
123 yukionna GA 'snowwoman'	143	U
124 kare WA 'he'	143	T.E
125 'Te' WA '"Hands"'	144	T.E

126 shi, go-nin no otoko GA 'four or five men'	144	BN.Un
127 otoko no hitori GA 'one of the men'	145	C.Inf
128 betsuna hitori GA 'another one'	145	C.Inf
129 otoko-tachi WA 'the men'	146	T.E
130 otoko no hitori GA 'one of the men'	147	C.Inf
131 betsuna otoko GA 'another man'	150	NC.Inf
132 genjitsu GA 'reality'	151	?
133 kono otoko-tachi WA 'these men'	154	T.E
134 ore GA 'I'	155	T.E
135 ore o sonzaisaseteiru monotachi GA 'people who allowed me to exist'	156	BN.Anc
136 ore to 'Te' no kankei WA 'the relationship between me and "Hands"'	158	C.Inf
137 hanashi WA 'the story'	159	NC.Inf
138 ore WA 'I'	160	T.E
139 ore WA 'I'	160	T.E
140 ore WA 'I'	161	T.E
141 ore no ichibu WA 'a part of me'	161	C.Inf
142 so no pisutoru no tama no hitotsu GA 'one of the bullets of the pistol'	162	C.Inf
143 ore WA 'I'	163	T.E
144 ore to iu no WA 'the thing called I'	164	T.E

145 ore WA 'I'	165	T.E
146 ore ga shiyoosareru mokuteki WA 'the purpose for which I am used'	166	NC.Inf
147 ore WA 'I'	167	T.E
148 boodaina enerugii GA 'an enormous amount of energy'	167	BN.Un
149 ore no atama WA 'my head'	168	C.Inf
150 poketto no tamoto-kuzu GA 'the fluff of the pocket'	169	BN.Un
151 ore WA 'I'	170	T.E
152 ore WA 'I'	171	T.E
153 machi no fuukei GA 'the scenery of a town'	172	BN.Un
154 yakunin-tachi WA 'the government officials'	176	NC.Inf
155 hikigane GA 'the trigger'	178	NC.Inf
156 kigeki no enerugii GA 'the energy of the comedy'	178	NC.Inf
157 ore WA 'I'	178	T.E
158 sore WA 'that'	179	T.E
159 ore WA 'I'	181	T.E
160 'Te' ga umeki taoreru oto GA 'the sound of "Hands" moaning and falling down'	182	NC.Inf
161 ore WA 'I'	183	T.E

Fig. 8. Analysis of assumed familiarity values of GA and WA marked NPs in Abe's short fiction.

9.3.2 Problems and comments

There were a few characteristics observed for the novel studied that have been pointed out by Prince to be distinctive of written text. First, there were a number of cases of a high degree of metalinguistic inferencing, which Prince noted does not seem to be so common in oral text. For example, although it is a straightforward matter to infer NP #23 kinzoku no ompa ni chikai shindoo'metallic vibrations close to a sonic wave' is a natural outcome of the action of sawing expressed in the preceding sentence, it is less obvious that NP #52 shuukan'habit' must be referring to some kind of routine action which usually exists between a pet and its caretaker.

Second, much complexity arises from the abstractness of entities used in the novel. The NP, #35, aoi sora to, nakama o otte sora o kakeru tsubasa no kankaku no tanoshisa to, shokuji no toki no awatadashisa to, togiretogireni kakudaisareta jikan no taba'the blue sky, the joyous feeling of wings when chasing after friends in the sky, the rush at a meal and the disruptively expanded time bundle' is a good example of this. Strictly speaking, there is a philosophical problem about the referential status of such abstract nouns as 'the joyous feeling of wings' and 'the disruptively expanded time bundle'.

There was also one seemingly very literature-specific usage of NP. (Such a usage of an NP was not observed by Prince simply because the written text studied by Prince was of an academic nature.) For the reference ore'I' of Snt #3, appearing here for the first time in the text, it is completely unidentifiable whether 'I' refers to the author himself (in which case the AF value would be Situationally Evoked) or the main character of the story (where the AF value would be Brand-new Unanchored). Who this 'I' refers to is only gradually unveiled as the

reader proceeds into the next several paragraphs. Because of the lack of clarity of the referent the apparent intention is that readers will be more readily absorbed into the story.

Although there were these problems and two cases where the referent status was too blurred to be given an AF value, Prince's taxonomy adequately served for categorisation.

9.3.3 Results and discussion

TABLE 3

COUNT OF ASSUMED FAMILIARITY VALUES
IN ABE'S SHORT FICTION

	number of occurrences
BN.Un	10
BN.Anc	3
U	2
NC.Inf	24
C.Inf	11
T.E	109
S.E	0
total	159

In the novel studied, Evoked entities are by far the most common entities. Prince noted the decrease of Evoked entities and increase of Inferrables in the written academic text she studied; there were only 8 Evoked entities versus 15 Inferrables, compared to 92 Evoked entities versus 39 Inferrables in her oral text. Here in the Abe novel there are 109 Evoked entities and 35 Inferrables. In this respect, despite belonging to the same category of text as written, this fictional novel is closer to the oral text than to the academic text.

As for GA and WA markings and their possible relationship with AF values, see the following table.

TABLE 4

ANALYSIS OF GA AND WA IN SHORT FICTION
(BY NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE)

	GA(46)		WA(112)	
Evoked				
Textually	18	39.1%	91	81.3%
Situationally	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Total	18	39.1%	91	81.3%
Inferrable				
Non-containing	9	19.6%	15	13.4%
Containing	4	8.7%	7	6.3%
Total	13	*28.3%	22	*19.6%
New				
Unused	2	4.3%	0	0.0%
Brand-new Anchored	3	6.5%	0	0.0%
Brand-new Unanchored	10	21.7%	0	0.0%
Total	15	32.6%	0	0.0%

* Figures are subject to rounding.

The most surprising finding is that GA appears almost evenly in the three informational values of Evoked, Inferrable and New, with the highest percentage (39.1%) of GA occurrence for Evoked entities. This is the opposite of what Hinds' analysis claimed. From this result and that of Hinds', it seems one must conclude that the usage of GA in a text is not dictated by AF values.

As far as this particular analysis is concerned, the occurrence of WA is restricted to Evoked and Inferrable and further WA marked Evoked entities preponderate over WA marked Inferrables by four times. It is however, too hasty to conclude that WA does not occur to mark entities in the New category. As evidenced in Hinds' study, one may find in

other texts cases where Unused and Brand-new Anchored entities are marked by WA.[4]

What the above analysis tells us is that there is a strong tendency (but not a rule) that Evoked entities are much more likely to be marked by WA. To a considerably lesser extent this tendency also applies to Inferrables. The ratio of WA occurrence against GA confirms this point. See the following tables:

TABLE 5

NUMBER OF GA AND WA OCCURRENCES FOR EACH ASSUMED FAMILIARITY VALUE

	Number of GA	WA
BN.Un	10	0
BN.Anc	3	0
Un	2	0
NC.Inf	9	15
C.Inf	4	7
T.E	18	91

[4] See p.88 in Hinds' paper where Rowe's text, which included WA marked Brand-new Anchored and Unused entities, is presented.

TABLE 6

RATIO OF WA OCCURRENCES FOR EACH ASSUMED FAMILIARITY VALUE

	Ratio of WA Occurrences
New	
BN.Un	0%
BN.Anc	0%
Un	0%
Inferrable	
NC.Inf	62.5%
C.Inf	63.6%
Evoked	
T.E	85.4%

Another point that cannot pass unmentioned is the marking of the sub-class of Brand-new Unanchored in the New category. There are no cases where the entities in this class are WA marked in neither our analysis nor in Hinds' analysis. It is also impossible to make up a sentence with a WA marked Brand-new Unanchored subject NP that sounds semantically/pragmatically correct or acceptable to a native speaker. For example, sentences (1) or (2) would not be acceptable as discourse initial sentences:

(1) *Henna otoko WA soto o aruiteita.
strange man outside ACC was walking
'A strange man was walking outside.'

(2) *Kotori WA ichiwa mori de umareta.
bird one forest in was born
'A bird was born in the forest.'

9.4 Conclusion

Against Hinds' claim that the distribution of WA and GA in Japanese texts is explainable by Prince's taxonomy, it was found that the taxonomy contributes towards unveiling the GA and WA distribution only for two points. Firstly, with 100% accuracy it predicts that a Brand-new Unanchored NP takes GA marking. Secondly, it predicts that when an

NP is Evoked, it is much more likely to take WA marking over GA marking. Other values in the taxonomy do not seem to have direct relevance as far as the two particles are concerned in Japanese texts.

The finding that Brand-new Unanchored NPs are necessarily marked by GA is interesting in the light of the analysis previously presented on NP GA and NP WA as denoting the notions of EA and EP respectively (Chapter 6). As elaborated by Prince (pp.234-5), a Brand-new Unanchored entity is an entity which has to be created for the particular text. The speaker tells the hearer to create a new entity by asserting such an existence into the text; naturally the entity on its first presentation is completely unidentifiable to the hearer. It is therefore logically impossible to assign a WA marking, which expresses the notion of presupposed existence (=identifiability), to this class of entities. The reason why only GA is permissible for these entities would be difficult to apprise without the notions of EA and EP.

10.0 REFERENT CONTINUITY, NP GA AND NP WA

10.1 Introduction

This chapter attempts to investigate how referent continuity in a text interacts with the markings of GA and WA. Hinds' study of referent continuity in Japanese text (1983) was not designed specifically for, nor restricted to GA and WA markings per se. It has therefore, left unexplored some aspects of the relationship between referent continuity and the two particles which will be the subject of the inquiry to follow.

The study will supplement Hinds' findings and contribute to a further understanding of GA and WA in a text.

10.2 Givon's continuity measurements

Givon proposes three measurements by which one can appraise referent continuity in the discourse of any language. The three measurements are termed Referential Distance, Potential Interference and Persistence.

Referential Distance counts the number of clauses that exist between the current NP and its previous occurrence. The minimal value that can be assigned is 1 (clause) and the maximum value is arbitrarily decided as 20. The lower the value is, the more continuous the referent is, thus a value of 1 indicates that the referent is maximally continuous. The previous mention of a referent does not have to be overt. It may be a zero-anaphora as long as it is considered to be a semantic argument of the predicate.

Potential Interference counts the number of interfering referents in the immediately preceding clauses, which may disrupt referent identification. Counting occurs only if referents in the preceding clauses are semantically compatible with the predicate of the clause which is presently under consideration. The clauses are again arbitrarily defined as being between 1 and 5 to the left of the referent. If there are no interfering referents within the boundary, a value of 0 is assigned. If there is one referent found, a value of 1 is assigned; likewise 2 for two referents and so on. This measurement assesses the disruptive effect which is caused by other referents on referent availability. Lower scores indicate lesser degrees of ambiguity.

Persistence measures the number of clauses to the right of the referent in which the referent continues to be a semantic argument of the predicate(s), may it be an agent, a patient or anything else. Counting takes place regardless of the grammatical means by which the referent is expressed, so long as the referent remains as a semantic argument of the clause. A value of 0 is given to the referent that ceases to be a semantic argument in the following clause. A low value signifies the low persistence of a given referent, which indicates that the referent is not of a continuous nature. By definition there is no ceiling to the maximal value that can be assigned.

Referent continuity and the measurement of Referential Distance or Persistence correlate as exhibited in the following diagram.

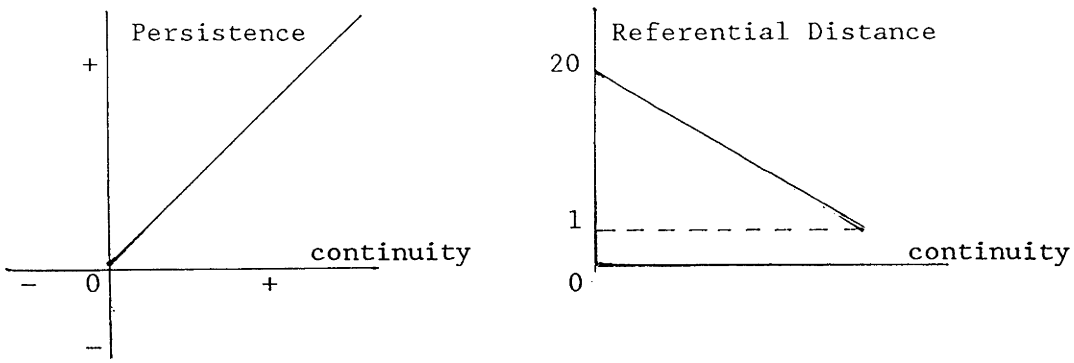

Fig. 9. Correlation between referent continuity and Persistence and between referent continuity and Referential Distance.

10.3 Review of Hinds' study of referent continuity

Hinds (1983) conducted a quantative study of referent continuity in Japanese text, applying the two measurements of Referential Distance and Persistence to three types of text. The texts included the written folktale of Momotaroo (primarily written for children), a semi-structured interview between two females, and a relaxed conversation between two males.

The grammatical (and morphological) devices that were examined for continuity are charted as below:

SUBJECT/TOPIC
NP ga
NP wa/mo
NP 0 (no overt particle)
pronoun ga
pronoun wa/mo
pronoun 0
ellipsis (zero anaphora)

DIRECT OBJECT
NP o/ni/ga
NP 0
pronoun o/ni/ga
pronoun 0
ellipsis

Fig. 10. List of subjects, topics and direct objects that were examined for referent continuity by Hinds.

One factor that may be considered relevant for the study of referent continuity which is yet to be included in the chart is WA marked direct and indirect objects. In Chapter 4 WA marked object NPs which are interpreted as thematic (type II) were distinguished from WA marked contrastive objects (type I). Thematic object NPs cannot be excluded if we are to achieve a better understanding of the relationship between NP WA and continuity.

Despite the linguistic differences between written and oral texts (such as the frequent omission of particles and extensive use of ellipsis in oral text), the study yielded fairly uniform, uncontradicting results amongst the three texts, confirming what was more or less expected of continuity and linguistic devices even before the study.

Firstly, it was confirmed that ellipsis (zero-anaphora) is the unmarked form of referent continuity in Japanese. Secondly, pronouns mark an intermediate position between zero-anaphora and a full NP in terms of continuity. Thirdly, GA marked NPs (including GA marked pronouns) were found to be of the most discontinuous nature whereas WA

marked NPs were more continuous than GA marked, though less so compared to zero-anaphora.

Whilst Hinds' study was significant in the sense that his study made it possible for the first time to prove objectively (i.e., by means of quantitative analysis) what had been claimed, it still leaves some areas uninvestigated. One such area is, as mentioned before, the WA marked object. Admittedly objects may be expected to be less continuous than subjects, even when WA marked, but a comparison between the two WA marked grammatical categories may bring interesting results.

Another uncovered area is the measurement of Interference. Since Hinds' study disregards this measurement, one does not know yet whether the markings of a subject (or the form of a subject) are affected by such a factor. This point is particularly important since Clancy (1980) claimed that NPs are marked by WA when there are other possible referent candidates in the part of text. Clancy's claim may therefore be proven quantitatively using Givon's measurement.

10.4 Examination of referent continuity and NP GA and NP WA

10.4.1 Data, results and discussion

The first two thirds of Abe's short story (sentences #1 to #121 Appendix II) was examined for referent continuity. This extract tells of the history of the dove and "Hands" and brings readers up to the time when the dove is relating its tale (which is 'now' in the story); thus this portion may be considered to form a thematic unit [Longacre (1979)], which must be kept when examining referent continuity. The grammatical items that are measured for continuity are charted below. Since our interest lies specifically in the two particles of GA and WA, NPs herein include both full NPs and pronouns; there is no division set

for the two forms of NP.

SUBJECT	DIRECT AND INDIRECT OBJECT
NP GA	NP NI/O/GA/TO
NP WA	NP (NI/TO)WA
ZERO	

Fig. 11. List of subjects, direct objects and indirect objects that are examined for referent continuity.

Three measurements were applied to all three items of subject but for direct and indirect object the measurement of Interference was excluded, simply because there were hardly any interferences counted for direct or indirect object arguments.

There were 213 main, subordinate and other clauses counted in the portion of text.[1] Relative clauses and adverbial clauses such as manner clauses which necessarily have the same subject as the main clause and thus obligatorily take zero marked subjects were counted as part of the main clause in which the structures appear. Those GA marked subject NPs in subordinate clauses whose markings are considered syntactically induced (see Chapter 7) and thus not influenced by referent continuity are excluded from counting.

The following is a table of the results obtained. The figures indicate the average value of each measurement.

[1] Other clauses mean those that contain direct speech in them. When a clause contains direct speech, it was counted as one clause since direct speech sentences are excluded on the grounds that they are likely to interfere with accurate measurements for continuity.

TABLE 7

ANALYSIS OF REFERENT CONTINUITY IN SHORT FICTION

SUBJECT	Referential Distance	Persistence	Interference
NP GA (26)	15.42	0.81	0.37
NP WA (78)	5.49	1.54	0.31
ZERO (68)	1.15	2.31	0.09
OBJECT			
NP O* (61)	14.72	0.64	----
NP (NI/TO)WA (0)	13	1	1

* Although deleted from the chart for purely a technical reason, examined NPs include all other particles of NI,GA and TO as listed in Fig. 11.
N.B. Numbers in brackets are the counts of actual occurrences in the text.

Hinds' findings are basically confirmed by this data that ellipted subjects are the most continuous, thus are the unmarked form to indicate continuity; NP WA subjects are the next most continuous; and NP GA is least continuous.

There are however, other interesting findings that are obtained from the results. Firstly, the low persistence value of subject NP GA seems to show that they mainly function to introduce relatively unimportant entities (props rather than major characters) into the story, such as in the following:

"Sono yo, fubuki GA machijuu fukiareteita."(That night a snow storm was blowing fiercely through the town.) (snt #1)

"Yukiboozu GA hoe, yukionna GA naki, kare wa juppogotoni tsumazuita."(Snowmen howled, snowwomen screamed and he tripped over at every tenth step.) (snt #143)

Subject NP GAs are used in the example to describe a setting in which the main events are to take place or where the main characters act.

Secondly, the particularly low value of Interference for zero subject shows that ellipsis seems to be restricted to occur only in an environment where there is no confusion as to which referent the ellipted is referring to. Clancy's claim (ibid.) that even continuous (and therefore important in the discourse) entities are not ellipted but are overtly expressed with WA marking when there is intereference from other referents seems to hold as far as this data is concerned.

Thirdly, object NPs were found to be quite discontinuous as the high Referential Distance and the low Persistence values signify.

The fourth point is to do with WA marked objects whose occurrence was minimal in the data examined. The table shows that there was only one instance of non-contrastive WA marked object. No conclusion can really be drawn from such small data. Counting all the WA marked objects (thematic or contrastive), there were only six instances of WA marked objects in the entire corpus of the novel. Four out of these were thematic and one contrastive. There was one case of WA object whose referent was abstract and thus could not be considered for continuity.[2]

From this observation it seems quite rare for objects to be marked by WA in Japanese written discourse, at least in the genre of novels. This would mean that at least in fictitious novels, the particle WA functions primarily to mark the referent continuity of the text, which manifests in subjects. The only instance of thematic WA marked object in the examined data, ore niwa 'to me' in sentence 42, is a NI marked object but it is an NP which has a number of characteristics of subject as discussed in Chapter 2. Thus although it was not a typical subject

[2] This refers to atarmae no koto WA 'the fact of matter of course' in sentence #110 in the Appendix.

by definition, one can understand it was perhaps easier to trigger the particle WA compared with typical O marked objects.

10.4.2 Study by Clancy and Downing

One study that must be mentioned in relation to referent continuity and the two particles of GA and WA is Clancy and Downing's study of 1987. Contrary to usual opinion, Clancy and Downing argue that WA is not to be considered as a participant identification device, at least not in oral narratives. Their data base was strictly oral, being induced from native speakers who were asked to explain what happens in some short cartoons shown to them previously. Their claim that WA markings do not directly contribute toward the thematic continuity of a narrative is based on three observations that they made from their data.

Firstly, although there was a tendency to mark more important characters with WA, there were many cases where minor characters in the cartoon were also marked by WA. Secondly, there was no real evidence discerned that NP WA persists (as in the sense of Givon's analysis) longer than NP GA. Their third point was that when the hero of a narrative story generally tends to be marked in a more attenuated linguistic form [Givon (ibid.) and Chafe (1976)], both NP GA and NP WA are found to be equally likely to induce a zero switch reference; in a chain of clauses, subject continuity patterns of NP_1 GA $\rightarrow$ NP_2 (interruption by other referents) $\rightarrow \emptyset$ ($=NP_1$) and NP_1 WA $\rightarrow$ NP_2 $\rightarrow\emptyset$ ($=NP_1$) were both found to be common. What this third point signifies is that assuming a zero switch reference provides a reliable indication for the participant's importance, there is no clear evidence that NP WA is used to mark the thematic character in the story.

The conclusion that Clancy and Downing drew from their study is that many instances of WA markings are due to "extremely local motivations, unrelated to the narrator's desire to elevate a particular character to the role of thematic participant." (p.24) The local (versus global and thematic) motivation means contrastiveness.[3] They go on to say that "the primary function of WA is to serve as a cohesive device, linking textual elements of varying degrees of contrastivity."(pp.46-7)

Therefore what Clancy and Downing are claiming is that the thematic continuity which appears to be marked by WA is actually the culminative collection of extremely locally motivated WA markings spread throughout a text.

Assuming their claim is correct, it still seems not to be wrong to consider in the overall structure of a text that WA is used to mark an important, and thus is the most continuous referent. If a certain character is kept consistently compared with other different characters, even with only local motivation throughout the text, and is therefore kept marked with WA, it would be reasonable to deem the character that keeps appearing as the thematic character of the text. In such a case, despite the extensive differences in the actual analyses of written narrative data [as shown by Maynard's (1987) and Hinds' studies as well as mine here] on one hand and oral data (as shown by Clancy and Downing) on the other, the claim that referent continuity is indicated not by GA markings but actually by WA markings in Japanese discourse still holds.

[3] Clancy and Downing use the term 'contrastivity'.

10.5 Interaction between other factors and referent continuity

It has been noted (in Chapter 5) that when the sentential semantics are such that they describe some permanent (within the loose recognition of human cognitive capacity and not in any strict logical sense) state of the subject as in some attributive or equative sentences like (1) and (2) below, the subject must be introduced by WA; and that when GA is used the interpretation can only be that of Exhaustive Listing.[4]

(1)a. Yumebatake WA Nagoya de yuuki-yasai dake
in organically-grown vegetables only

o uru mezurashii yaoya dearu.
ACC sell unusual greengrocery COP
'Yumebatake is an unusual greengrocery in Nagoya that sells only organically grown vegetables.'

(1)b. Yumebatake GA Nagoya de yuuki-yasai dake o uru mezurashii yaoya dearu.

'Yumebatake (and it alone) is the unusual greengrocery in Nagoya that sells only organically grown vegetables.'

(2)a. Tongareba WA Nyuujiirand-ryoo no shima de Hawai
New Zealand territory GEN island and

kara yaku 3,000km minami ni ichisuru.
from about south at is situated
'Tongareva is a New Zealand island and is situated approximately 3,000km south of Hawaii.'

(2)b. Tongareba GA Nyuujiirand-ryoo no shima de Hawai kara yaku 3,000km minami ni ichisuru.

'Tongareva (and it alone) is a New Zealand island and is situated approximately 3,000km south of Hawaii.'

What would happen then, when Yumebatake or Tongareba are first introduced into a discourse in the form of above sentences? One may well wonder whether GA must be used from the continuity point of view. The fact is that (1)a and (2)a make perfectly acceptable opening

[4] Such a GA marked NP that only renders an EL reading was dealt with in Section 6.3.3.

sentences in discourse. It would of course also be natural that a discourse begins with such existential sentences as (3) and (4) preceding (1)a or (2)a.

(3) Yumebatake to iu yaoya GA aru.
COM call greengrocer exist
'There is a greengrocer called Yumebatake.'

(4) Tongareba to iu shima GA aru.
COM call island exist
'There is an island called Tongareva.'

In this case there would be no conflicting factors of continuity and sentential semantics. However a discourse may dispense with these existential sentences and start with (1)a or (2)a.

This seems to indicate that the semantics of attributive or equative sentences override the principle of referent continuity; even when the referent is appearing for the first time in discourse and thus is of discontinuous nature, it is marked by WA if it is the subject of an attributive or equative sentence that describes the permanent state of the subject.

In the text studied there were 18 instances of such usage of WA out of the total of 78. Referential Distance and Persistence values change as shown below when these instances of WA are excluded from counting.

TABLE 8

MODIFIED ANALYSIS OF REFERENT CONTINUITY AND NP WA

	Referential Distance	Persistence
NP WA	3.38 (5.49)	1.84 (1.54)

N.B. The figures in brackets show the original result.

There is a rather definite trend for NP WA to show a stronger continuous nature.

By the same token, even a continuous referent subject may be marked by GA when it is in an existential sentence or in a sentence that expresses an emergence of the referent on a scene. This is especially true when a change of time or place occurs in the story line. Also GA would be employed when the context requires for a certain sentence to assume an Exhaustive Listing interpretation.

There are two cases of GA marking for a continuous referent in existential sentences (snt #43 and 63) but no cases of GA yielding an EL reading were found in the text studied.

Lastly it must be noted that there were a number of instances of GA in the text which marked an obviously continuous referent, but of which the reason why is not known at this stage. Such GA markings neither mark the subject in an existential sentence nor yield an EL interpretation. These mysterious GA markings specifically refer to those that mark otoko'the man' and "Te"'"Hands"' in the dialogue scene between snt #75 and 96. Obviously both 'the man' and '"Hands"' are considered to be quite continuous but some occurrences take GA markings. The motivation for such GA markings here will be discussed and clarified in the next chapter.

10.6 Summary

The following points were discovered to add to Hinds' analysis in the relationship between referent continuity and GA and WA markings in Japanese text:

i) GA marks a referent first introduced into a text (i.e., high Referential Distance value) and its low Persistence value indicates that it mainly functions to introduce props.

ii) Ellipsis is used for a most continuous subject but it occurs only when there is no confusion as to which referent the

ellipted refers to. Otherwise a WA marked overt subject is employed.

iii) WA marked objects, unlike WA marked subjects, are very rare and at the same time discontinuous.

iv) The sentential semantics of attributive/equative sentences override referent continuity. When such sentences express some permanent state of the subject, the subject is marked by WA even for its first appearance in the text.

v) Even a continuous referent is marked by GA when the context requires an Exhaustive Listing reading, or it is very likely to be marked by GA when it is the subject of an existential sentence, and particularly if the sentence involves a change of scene in the story.

Finally some GA markings whose motivation could not be clarified were observed. Such GA markings will be dealt with next.

11.0 DIFFERENTIAL FACTORS FOR GA/WA

11.1 Introduction

The analyses of NP GA and NP WA presented in previous chapters predict their occurrence in a text based on the following points:

i) A contrasted referent is marked by WA.

ii) A referent to which an EL reading is imputed is marked by GA.

iii) In certain subordinate clauses a subject NP is always marked by GA. (See Chapter 7.)

iv) A referent that has the Assumed Familiarity value of Brand-new Unanchored is marked by GA.

v) A referent that has the Assumed Familiarity value of Evoked is much more likely to be marked by WA than by GA.

vi) A referent that is appearing for the first time in a text is marked by GA.

vii) A continued referent is most likely to be marked by WA.

viii) Even when a referent is appearing for the first time in a text, it is marked by WA when the sentence in which the referent appears is of equative or attributive nature, unless for some contextual reason it intends to bring out an EL interpretation.

This chapter examines how extensively the above predictions apply in an actual text. The purpose of such an examination is to find out: firstly, whether <u>all</u> occurrences of NP GA and NP WA in a text may be accounted for on the basis of the above prescriptions; and secondly, if not, what selectional factors are involved and how are these

different selectional factors interacting to bring up a certain marking? An experiment was conducted in order to achieve this purpose.

11.2 Experiment

11.2.1 Method and examined data

A thematically coherent section of Abe's short story was given to 26 native speakers of Japanese. The extract of the story in the survey had blanks where GA and WA occur in the original text. Since the subjects were assumed not to have read the story before, the survey paper had a summary of the story line of what had happened so far to bring the subjects up to the starting point of the extract. The main characters were also introduced in the summary.

The subjects were all second year university students aged between 19-23, three of whom were female. They were instructed to fill out the blanks in the text either with GA or WA, whichever particle they judged more appropriate. No time limit was set for the subjects to do the filling out. They were told not to think too deeply but to respond quickly, more or less using their intuition. They were also reminded that there are no correct or wrong answers.

Below is the body of the text as presented to the students. (The English gloss is given according to the original paragraph boundaries. Each sentence is also numbered to correspond to the English sentences in the gloss.)

1 Sore (1) misemonogoya datta. 2 Soko de ore (2) shirukuhatto no soko ni tojikomerare, hipparidasareta toki, katteni tobidashite hatosha ni kaettekureba yokatta. 3 Kaettekuruto, "te" (3) sakini kite matteite, ichigoo hodo no mame o, tabesasete kureta. 4 Kore (4) kesshite wari

no warui shigoto dewanakatta. 5 Sono hi kara, kore (5) ore no nikka ni natta. 6 Ore (6) "te" no seikei no doogu to nari, muron ore (7) jikakusezu, atarashii shuukan ni tokekondeitta.

"1 It was a show booth. 2 There I was confined to the bottom of a silk-hat and when pulled out, I could come back to the dovecot by myself. 3 Upon arriving, "Hands" was waiting and gave me one-goo of beans.[1] 4 It was not such a bad job. 5 From that day on, this had become my daily routine. 6 I became the means of support for "Hands", and of course without realising this, I became accustomed to the new practice."

7 Kono kikan (8) zuibunto nagakatta yooni omou. 8 Kono misemonogoya no kikan (9) owatta no wa, aru nodokana haru no gogo datta. 9 Hi o zenshin ni ukete, utoutoshiteita toki, mishiranu otoko (10) chikazuitekita. 10 Ore (11) keikaishite, tobitatsu shisei de migamaeta ga, ato ippo chikazukeba, to iu tokoro de tomari, kowaki ni kakaeteita kamiire o mochinaoshite, tokiori chiratto nagashime o kure-nagara, shikirini empitsu o ugokashi hajimeta. 11 Betsuni kiken (12) nasasoona node, ore (13) jitto shiteita. 12 Soko ni "te" (14) yattekita. 13 "Te" to otoko (15) futakoto-mikoto, kogoe de aisatsu o kawashita. 14 "Te" (16) otoko no temoto ni miiri nagara, itta. 15 "Taisoona dekibae desu naa. 16 Rippana hato deshoo. 17 Koitsu (17) watashi no jiman de ne, senjichuu, eiyuu-kunshoo o moratta yatsu desu yo." 18 Otoko (18) bikkurishita yooni te o yasumeta. "19 Ja, nanika, koitsu, denshobato datta n da ne." "20 Ee, imaja, misemonogoya no tejina no hato o yatteorimasu ga ne, ochibureta mon desu yo." "21 Hahha, soitsu (19) hiniku

[1] A Japanese unit of quantity measurement. One goo is approximately 180cc.

da." 22 Otoko (20) waratte itta. "23 Tsugini hato no zoo no moderu to iu wake ka."

"7 I think this period went on for quite a long time. 8 It was one calm spring afternoon when this period of show booth life came to an end. 9 When I was dozing off with sunlight on my body, a strange man approached me. 10 I became alert, and waited all ready to fly out, but (he) stopped (where) one more step (would have made me fly out), and reheld the paper case under his arm and throwing occasional glances at me, started moving his pencil. 11 Detecting that there was no danger, I remained still. 12 There "Hands" came over. 13 "Hands" and the man exchanged a few words of greeting. 14 "Hands" said, looking at the man's hand. "15 It's fine work. 16 He is a great dove, isn't he. 17 He is my pride, received a hero's medal during the war." 18 The man halted his hand surprised. "19 Then, tell me, he was a carrier pigeon, was he?" "20 Yes, although he is just a magic dove in a show booth now; he has come down in the world." "21 Ha,ha that's ironic." 22 The man said laughing. "23 Next he is the model for a dove statue."

24 Shibaraku no aida, futari (21) damari, otoko (22) te o ugokashi, "te" (23) otoko no temoto o nozokikonda. "25 Che, ugoku naa." 26 to otoko (24) itta. "27 Sorya ikimono desu mono, shikata arimasen yo." 28 to "te" (25) itta. "29 Kimi, shoobai daro, nantoka, ugokanai yooni dekinai ka ne." "30 Muri desu yo." "31 Sore jaa, " 32 to otoko (26) te o yasume, kyuuni shinkenna gochoo de "33 Tsukamaeru koto wa dekiru wake da ne."

"24 For a while, the two kept silent, the man kept moving his hand and "Hands" kept watching. "25 Rats, he moves." 26 said the man. "27 Of course, it's a live creature,it cannot be helped." 28 said "Hands". "29 You, it's business; can't you keep him still somehow?" "30 Impossible." "31 Then," 32 the man rested his hand and in a suddenly serious tone, "33 you can seize him, can't you."

34 "Te" (27) subayaku matataki o kurikaeshi, sono aida ni naniyara keisanshita rashiku, "35 ee" to unazuita. 36 Sore kara futari (28) kogoe de soodanshihajimeta. 37 Miken ni shiwa o yose, yubi de wa ya sen o kaki, kubi o shihoo ni futte, nagaikoto kakatte kakehikishita. 38 Otoko (29)

ryoote o uchiawase, "te" (30) kokubi o kashigeta ga, kuchi otsugumi, sore de soodan (31) matomatta rashikatta.

"34 "Hands" blinked quickly and repeatedly, but apparently having calculated something, nodded "35 Yes". 36 Then the two started discussing in soft voices. 37 They frowned, drew circles and lines with finger, shook their heads and took a long time haggling. 38 The man put his hands together, and "Hands" tilted his head but kept quiet and it seemed the haggling was settled."

39 "Te" (32) ore o tsukanda. 40 Mada shigoto ga sumanai noni, poketto kara mame no fukuro o toridashite, ore no ebako o ippai ni shita. "41 Saa, kue yo." 42 Hidoku yasashii koe de, soo itta. "43 Sabishii kane" 44 to ushiro kara otoko (33) itta. "45 Atarimae desu yo" 46 to "te" (34) haradatashigeni kotaeta.

"39 "Hands" grabbed me. 41 Even though there was no work done, he took out a bag of beans and filled my box. "41 Go on, eat." 42 said he in an extremely gentle voice. "43 Sad?" 44 asked the man from behind. "45 Of course, I am." 46 "Hands" answered angrily."

47 Ore (35) itsumo no yooni kago ni irerareta. 48 Shikashi tsureteikareta no wa misemonogoya dewanakatta. 49 Ookina, kurai tatemono no, yakuhin kusai heya datta. 50 Soko de ore (36) aomukeni nekasare, mune no ke o kakiwakerare, surudoi mesu de, kirihirakareta. 51 Ore no nakami (37) eguri-dasare, marude shatsu o nugu yooni, kawa dakeni sareta. 52 Ore no nakami (38), sugu nabe ni irerare, nite, tabe-rareteshimatta. 53 Soshite, kawa no hoo (39), naka ni tsumemono o sare, harigane no honegumi de sasaerarete, haku-sei ni natta.

"47 I was put in a box as usual. 48 But it was not the show booth where I was taken. 49 It was a chemical smelling room in a large, dark building. 50 There I was put feet up and had my chest feathers separated and cut open with a sharp knife. 51 My insides were taken out and only my skin was left as if taking off a shirt. 52 My insides were immediate-ly put in a pan, cooked and eaten. 53 And the skin was filled

inside, supported by wires and (I) became a stuffed bird."[2]

11.2.2 Results

There were 39 blanks in the text to be filled out by subjects. The results obtained are tabulated below. The first column indicates what the original text gave as for GA or WA markings. The second and the third columns show how many of the subjects inserted WA or GA for each blank. The last column signifies the ratio of agreement to the original marking: 100% means that every and each subject had the same marking as the original; the lower the percentage, the lower the ratio of agreement.

TABLE 9

AGREEMENT WITH ORIGINAL GA/WA MARKINGS
(BY NUMBER AND RATIO)

	WA	GA	Ratio %
1 WA	26	0	100.0
2 WA	22	4	84.6
3 GA	9	17	65.4
4 WA	26	0	100.0
5 GA	1	25	96.2
6 WA	22	4	84.6
7 WA	26	0	100.0
8 WA*	20	5	76.9
9 GA	0	26	100.0
10 GA	0	26	100.0
11 WA	26	0	100.0
12 WA	25	1	96.2
13 WA	26	0	100.0
14 GA	0	26	100.0
15 WA	26	0	100.0
16 WA*	20	5	76.9
17 WA	24	2	92.3
18 WA*	25	0	96.2
19 WA	26	0	100.0

[2] The markings in sentences 8, 33 and 48 were not tested since this dissertation concerns itself with GA and WA marked referents as confirmed in the introductory chapter. For WA or GA that appear in pseudo-cleft constructions like sentences 8 and 48 or in the fixed expression of koto wa/ga dekiru'be able to' as in sentence 33, it is doubtful whether they actually mark a referent. They are therefore exempted from the current study.

20	WA	24	2	92.3
21	WA	26	0	100.0
22	WA	19	7	73.1
23	WA	23	3	88.5
24	GA	17	9	34.6
25	GA	11	15	57.7
26	WA**	24	1	96.0
27	WA	24	2	92.3
28	WA	22	4	84.6
29	GA	16	10	38.5
30	WA	23	3	88.5
31	WA	12	14	46.2
32	GA	15	11	42.3
33	GA	3	23	88.5
34	GA	20	6	23.1
35	WA	26	0	100.0
36	WA	26	0	100.0
37	WA	11	15	42.3
38	WA	23	3	88.5
39	WA	26	0	100.0

* Numbers 8, 16 and 18 show total subject numbers of 25 instead of 26. This is because one subject had both WA and GA with no preference over the other for these blanks. Therefore his markings are not recorded as being either WA or GA. Nevertheless, since this lack of preference does not accord with the text, I am counting these answers as disagreement with the author and this is reflected in the Agreement Ratio column where ratio calculations are therefore based on a total of 26 respondents.

** One subject did not give any answer for this blank, therefore the total number of responses was 25.

The results may be summarised into the following points:

i) 71.8% (28 out of 39 tested blanks) showed higher than an 80% ratio of agreement with the original markings.

ii) Out of those 28 which had higher than 80% agreement, 50% (14 out of 28) showed 100% agreement.

iii) 28.2% (11 out of 39) showed lower than an 80% ratio of agreement with the original markings.

iv) Out of those 11 which had lower than 80% agreement, 54.5% (6 out of 11) indicated less than 50% agreement with the original markings.

Roughly stated, approximately 70% of the total number of tested blanks were in perfect or near perfect agreement with the original GA and WA markings, whilst approximately 30% exhibited significant disagreement amongst the native speakers. (Less than an 80% agreement ratio would mean that at least one person out of five disagreed with the author's original marking.) Furthermore, the blanks that have less than 50% of agreement are concentrated in one section of the text; specifically between sentences 25 to 46, where the main body of the conversation between 'the man' and '"Hands"' occurs.

In the next section, each marking will be taken up and examined in the light of the analyses of NP GA and NP WA so far yielded in this dissertation.

11.3 Discussion

11.3.1 100% agreement ratio

BLANK 1: The pronoun sore'that' refers to the place 'the dove' was taken to by '"Hands"' and thus the referent is only inferable from the previous sentence in the summary given to the students preceding the text. The referent is showing its first appearance in the text here. It is however, the subject of an equative construction. The continuity principle is expected to be overriden by the equative sentence construction from the analysis in Section 10.5. The previous analysis predicts WA here. All the subjects put in WA as predicted.

BLANK 4: As in blank 1 , the referent is appearing for the first time in an equative sentence construction. The referent is referred to as the pronoun kore'this' and is inferable from sentences 2 and 3 (see the English gloss). Here again our analysis predicts WA and all the subjects opted for WA.

BLANK 7: This marks the third appearance of the first person pronoun ore'I'. The second appearance of the first person pronoun is to be marked by blank 6 which occurs within the same sentence as blank 7. The first person pronoun here is therefore most continuous and our analysis of continuity in Chapter 10 predicts a definite WA marking. The prediction was confirmed by 100% agreement by the subjects with the author's WA.

BLANK 9: This marks the subject in the subordinate clause and the subordinate clause is semantically a time clause occurring in the pseudo-cleft construction of NP GA ... no wa ... datta'when NP ... was ...'. The complimentiser no stands for the subordinate clause morpheme toki'when' or 'the time when'. The analysis in Subsection 7.3.3, on time subordinate clauses predicts GA here. GA was unanimously supported.

BLANK 10: The referent in sentence 9 for blank 10 is mishiranu otoko'a strange man' and has the familiarity value of Brand-new Unanchored. The analysis in Subsection 9.3.3, predicts that only GA is possible. The author and all subjects had GA here.

BLANK 11: Ore'I' which blank 11 marks was expressed as a zero-anaphora in the immediately preceding sentence, towards the end of which the Brand-new Unanchored referent mishiranu otoko'a strange man' was introduced. Due to this interruption, ore'I' is made explicit here rather than indicated by zero-anaphora. In these circumstances WA is expected from the analysis conducted in Section 10.4. WA was accorded 100% support.

BLANK 13: The first person pronoun which blank 13 marks is continued from blank 11. In the flow of clauses between blanks 11 and 13, the zero-anaphora refers to the strange man. The first person pronoun made explicit here is still perceived as being very continuous. The

continuity principle predicts WA. The subjects and the author showed 100 % agreement on WA.

BLANK 14: The referent is '"Hands"'. The referent was introduced in the summary and it appeared in sentence 3 in the tested text and does not appear again as a subject until blank 14. It cannot therefore be considered as very continuous, although it is not a brand-new referent. In addition the sentence construction here is that of an existence and appearance indicated by the location word soko ni'to that place' and the verb yattekita'came over'. For these reasons only GA is expected. The author and all the subjects selected GA.

BLANK 15: The referent is "Te" to otoko'"Hands" and the man'. They are both highly continuous from the preceding sentences. The continuity principle very strongly predicts WA and WA was unanimously chosen.

BLANK 19: What the pronoun soitsu'that' refers to is only inferable from the preceding speech of '"Hands"' but the equative sentence construction in which blank 19 occurs calls for WA only. WA was selected by the author and all the subjects.

BLANK 21: The referents referred to as futari'the two' meaning '"Hands"' and 'the man' are extremely continuous as the scene has been depicting the conversation between these two people. As for the above-mentioned case of blank 15, the continuity principle strongly predicts WA. It received 100% support.

BLANK 35: The referent here is 'the dove' referred to in the first person pronoun. It is not so continuous as it may be marked off as a zero-anaphora but it is neither discontinuous nor qualified for an EL interpretation. Thus the continuity principle predicts WA. The prediction was confirmed by all subjects.

BLANK 36: The referent is 'the dove' and this is expressed in the first person pronoun. Being two sentences after the sentence where the

previous mention of 'the dove' occurred (i.e., where blank 35 was), it is very continuous. The continuity principle predicts only WA. The prediction was confirmed by a 100% agreement ratio with the author's WA marking.

BLANK 39: This is an instance of the contrastive usage of WA analysed in Section 4.2. The referent, the skin of the dove, is contrasted with the insides of the dove that were mentioned in the preceding sentence. The analysis on contrastive WA rejects the possibility of a GA occurrence here. WA was opted for by the author and all subjects.

11.3.2 80–99% agreement ratio

BLANK 2: This signifies the first appearance of the first person pronoun, ore'I' in the text. The continuity principle predicts GA. However the author's WA received an 84.6% agreement ratio from the subjects. It seems that the concept of empathy is at work here. Simply stated, empathy means the eyes or the camera angle through which a story is related.[3] As Kuno (ibid.:107) noted, when the first person pronoun is in the text, it is most natural that the text is related through the eyes of the speaker (the first person pronoun). This means that in such a text, the first person pronoun is likely to be the most continuous referent of all. The intuition that native speakers have for the relationship between empathy and the first person pronoun seems to have induced many WA markings here.

BLANK 5: The referent is mentioned in the sentence immediately before and thus the continuity principle predicts WA. However an EL reading is required from the context. The analysis from Section 10.5

[3] Kuno (1978) studied how emapthy and various syntactic phenomena such as topic deletion and passive constructions correlate.

predicts GA. The explicit temporal adverb sono hi kara'from the day on' is also considered to contribute to GA marking from the analysis of the notion of EA in Sections 6.2 and 6.3. GA had 96.2% agreement.

BLANK 6: The referent (ore'I') is continuous from the immediately preceding sentence. It is however possible from the context to render an EL reading as 'it is me and no one else and not even "Hands" himself, who started supporting "Hands"'. Thus although the continuity principle predicts WA, it did not receive unanimous agreement.

BLANK 12: The analysis presented in Subsections 7.3.2 and 7.3.3 predicts either GA or WA in this reason clause. Only one subject put in GA here and all other subjects as well as the author himself opted for WA. This particular WA marking has to be dealt within the framework of the negative scope designator discussed by McGloin (1976). This WA marking is therefore beyond the limit of the current study. However one may point out that WA in a negative sentence often marks the negative scope in Japanese and that this is probably why WA received a very high level of 96.2% agreement here.

BLANK 17: The referent is 'the dove' which is mentioned in the previous sentence and the sentence is an equative sentence. The analyses on referent continuity in Chapter 10 and on equative sentence construction in Chapter 5 predict WA. Indeed WA received 92.3% agreement. The reason why 100% was not achieved may be accounted for by the fact that an EL reading in this context is also not impossible.

BLANKS 18, 20, 23, 26, 27, 28 and 30: The referents of these blanks are one of the following three; '"Hands"', 'the man' and 'the two of them'. The text where these blanks occur depicts the interaction of '"Hands"' and 'the man' and therefore both 'the man' and '"Hands"' are continuous in this portion of the text. The agreement ratio to the author's WA markings is high ranging from 84.6% to 96.2%. Although WA

did not have unanimous agreement, the level of disagreement is only minimal.

BLANK 33: The referent here is 'the man'. The continuity principle predicts WA but the author gave GA, which was agreed with by 88.5% of the subjects. Here it seems the spatial adverb ushiro kara'from behind' placed sentence-initially has induced some GA markings. The explicit spatial frame introduced by the adverb outweighs continuity as an equative sentence construction outweighs continuity. The combination of an explicit spatial framing and GA marking is a logical consequence from the analysis of the notion of EA in 6.2.2 and 6.3 in Chapter 6.

BLANK 38: The referent 'my insides' is mentioned in the immediately preceding sentence and thus is continuous. The continuity principle predicts WA. WA received 88.5% agreement from the subjects.

11.3.3 50-79% agreement ratio

BLANK 3: This marks "te"'"Hands"' appearing for the first time. The author and 17 subjects chose GA and 9 subjects WA. Although the referent appears for the first time here, it is introduced in the summary of the previous story placed before the tested text. Thus it is not brand-new as the blank 10 referent, 'a man' was. This seems to be the reason why it was conceived as somewhat continuous by some subjects making them opt for WA rather than GA.

BLANK 8: This marks the subject in an equative subordinate clause which occurs as the object clause of the predicate yoo ni omou'think that'. Considering that such object clauses have many more independent characteristics than other subordinate clauses (see Subsection 7.3.3), it is expected that the equative sentence pattern will induce only WA markings. However the result obtained shows 6 subjects chose GA including one subject that stated that GA and WA are equally accep-

table. Although the clause kono kikan WA zuibunto nagakatta'this period was rather long' may correctly be categorised to be of equative nature, it is perhaps not so difficult to observe that this clause fundamentally differs from a typical equative clause such as below:

(1) Watashi WA Yamada da.
I COP
'I am Yamada.'

In (1) GA in place of WA only induces an EL reading, however, in (2) it can assume a neutral reading.

(2) Kono kikan GA zuibunto nagakatta.
this period rather was long
'This period was rather long. (This period went on for rather a long time.)'

As the English translation in brackets shows, despite the equative sentence pattern, the meaning of (2) can bear that of an event description; thus the neutral reading even with the GA marking. Most subjects and the author as well choose WA for blank 8 simply because it is an equative clause; but a significant number of subjects put in GA because a GA marking does not yield an EL reading and also because these subjects could have been more sensitive (of course unconsciously) to the fact that the marking appears within a subordinate clause.

BLANKS 16 and 22: The referents these blanks mark are '"Hands"' and 'the man' respectively. '"Hands"' and 'the man' are continuous since they are both mentioned in the immediately preceding sentences. However the WA agreement ratio was below 80% for both; 76.9% for blank 16 and 73.1% for blank 22. This slight fall on the continuous marker WA for these two blanks may be accounted for by the switch reference that takes place in the flow of "te" to otoko'"Hands" and the man' (15)→"te"'"Hands"' (16)→otoko'the man' (18) and futari'the two' (20)→otoko'the man' (22)→"te"'"Hands"' (23). Although in the overall structure both '"Hands"' and 'the man' are continuous, in these

localised segments the switch reference occurs from the two of them to only one of them. That is, both blanks 16 and 22 are marking only one of the referents immediately after the two were mentioned. It is plausible to assume that some GA markings were induced by this process of switching from two to one, since a similar ratio of fall on WA was observed for both blanks 16 and 22.

BLANK 25: Since the referent that blank 25 marks is'"Hands"', which is continuous from the preceding text, the continuity principle predicts WA here. However just over half the subjects (15) opted for GA, agreeing with the author's marking, whilst 11 subjects chose WA. This relatively high occurrence of GA may be caused by the change of scene taking place in the text, in which the dialogue between 'the man' (24) and '"Hands"' (25) implicitly indicates. The scene changes from the two men keeping quiet as 'the man' draws the dove to the scene where 'the man' complains about 'the dove' moving, which eventually leads to their haggling. As discussed next in Subsection 11.3.4, some occurrences of GA at a change of scene against the continuity principle, are observed also for blanks 24, 29 and 32.

11.3.4 Less than 50% agreement ratio

There are some interesting and important observations to make concerning those markings which had a ratio of less than 50% agreement with the author's markings.

Firstly, the contentious markings are concentrated in one part of the text, specifically between sentences 25 and 46. Five out of six markings of less than 50% agreement are included in this section. Secondly, this particular segment of the text is characterised by the direct speech conversation undertaken between '"Hands"' and 'the man' and the description of the interactions between the two men therefore,

is quite different in nature from the rest of the text which includes only little direct speech material.

Under these conditions, then, what is expected to happen to the markings of the two men is that according to the principle of referent continuity, both '"Hands"' and 'the man' will be marked by WA, for both referents are highly continuous in this section of the text. Veritably the blanks to mark these referents where the author has WA (blanks 26, 27, 28 and 30) all received more than 80% agreement from the subjects, whilst those where the author chose GA over WA (blanks 24, 25, 29, 32 and 34) had a low percentage of agreement; blank 34 especially, being the lowest, had only 23.1% ageement.

There are also cases of WA and GA agreement opposite to what has been discussed. That is, the author used WA in lieu of an expected GA. The author's choice of WA resulted in a low agreement percentage. This refers to blanks 31 and 37.

Each case is taken up and examined below.

BLANK 24: The referent to mark is 'the man'. Against the referent continuity principle GA was used by the author, with which only 34.6% of the subjects agreed. There are two plausible reasons why the author chose GA. Firstly the author wanted to create a certain effect by the use of GA. That is, GA projects a more vivid image of the scene which the continuity WA fails to achieve. And the reason why the author needed to bring about this effect lies in the importance of the section of the text from sentence 25 to sentence 46 (where blanks 24 to 34 are contained). The very importance of this section of the text however, may be realised only against the overall structure of the story. '"Hands"', after selling off his dove, slowly goes lunatic from remorse and becomes obsessed with 'the dove' which was eventually transformed to a metallic statue posted up in the town square as a symbol of peace.

Anti-pacifists, who hate the existence of the symbol, cunningly manipulate the lunatic '"Hands"' to pull down 'the dove' statue. In the end '"Hands"' gets shot dead by a bullet which was made by melting down the metallic dove. Thus against this background, it is evident that the section currently in question describes an important turning point in the story, for because of this deal '"Hands"' had with 'the man', the peaceful relationship enjoyed by 'the dove' and '"Hands"' up to the time is effaced. This later leads to the dramatic ending of the death of '"Hands"' by a part of the very same dove.

Secondly, the statement of complaint by 'the man' (whom blank 24 marks) notates a change of scene. Previously, the two men were keeping quiet as the dove was being drawn. Their silence is broken here. Indeed the reason why the author's GA was not rejected more strongly by the subjects (after all it did get 34.6% support) seems to be explained by this factor of scene change.

BLANK 29: The referent here is again 'the man', and again GA was chosen by the author against the referent continuity principle, for which he only had 38.5% support from the subjects. Just like blank 24 this was a good place to have GA from the author's point of view, because this again marks a change of scene from the process of haggling to its settlement and the author also wanted the special effect of vividness created by GA for the reason explained in the preceding discussion on blank 24.

BLANK 32: The referent which blank 32 marks is '"Hands"'. Since this section of the text consists of the dialogue between 'the man' and '"Hands"', '"Hands"' is most continuous just as 'the man' is, and is expected to take WA marking. Many subjects (well over half) gave WA here but the author's choice was GA. The sentence in which blank 32 occurs signifies the beginning of the parting scene of '"Hands"' and

'the dove', which immediately follows the settlement of the haggling. This sentence therefore, indicates a change of scene. The author again took adavantage of this fact and used GA in order to engender the feeling of tension in the reader's mind by creating a graphic image of the scene.

BLANK 34: The referent here is '"Hands"' and most naturally the continuity principle predicts WA, against which the author has GA. It must be noted that unlike the preceding blanks 24, 29 and 32 above, blank 34 does not occur in a sentence which marks a scene change. This fact probably explains why the agreement figure of the subjects to the author's GA is significantly lower compared to those for the preceding blanks. GA was agreed with by 34.6%, 38.5% and 42.3% of the subjects for blanks 24, 29 and 32 respectively but GA for blank 34 received a mere 23.1% agreement, meaning that the continuity principle was employed much more prevalently.

The author nevertheless ignored the continuity principle and ignored the fact that the sentence with blank 34 does not indicate a change of scene and opted for GA. Why? This is because the statement by '"Hands"' depicts the emotions of '"Hands"' after selling off 'the dove' and thus from the author's point of view it needs to be emphasised and made vivid to readers. Such an effect could not be achieved by WA following the continuity principle.

BLANK 31: The expression soodan ga matomaru'haggling settles' where blank 31 appears is more or less a fixed phrase and in this sense blank 31 may be expected to be more naturally marked by GA. In fact a little more than 50% (14 out of 26) of the subjects gave GA for this blank. However the author himself marks soodan'haggling' with WA. It seems that the author is attempting to reduce the situation's vividness by marking the referent with WA and thus making the referent seem as if

it was continuous. In this way a WA marking is employed to subdue the impact of the event which a GA marking may bring forth. Rather than using GA for the expression soodan ga matomaru, the author highlighted the man's putting his hands together by using GA in blank 29 (otoko GA ryoote o uchiawase), which itself indicates that the matter has been settled between 'the man' and '"Hands"'. Soodan wa matomatta rashikatta merely confirms this settlement by explicitly stating so.

BLANK 37: Similarly to blank 31 above, blank 37 which marks ore no nakami'my insides', a discontinuous referent, is given WA by the author whereas 15 out of 26 subjects answered GA. The event of the dove's insides being dug out, although repugnant and impressionable for the reader, it does not hold much importance for the main flow of the story line. This message here that the event is not as important as it may strike one seems to be conveyed by the WA marking for blank 37.

11.4 Other examples of unpredictable usage of GA and WA

Apart from the above analysis of NP GA and NP WA to create some special effects in text, there is another interesting usage of NP WA, which has been noted by some linguists (Kitahara [1981] and Hinds [1987]). This is to introduce the main character in a novel by using WA right from the beginning of the story.

For example, see the opening sentences of Kuchibue o fukutoki'When one whistles' by Endoo (quoted in Hinds [ibid.:95]; capitalisation and underlining are my own).

""Shitsurei desu ga..."
"Excuse me..."

Ozu WA yukkuri me o aketa.
Ozu slowly opened his eyes.

kono shinkansen no naka de itsu no aida ni ka,
nemutte ita.
At some point he had dropped off to sleep on the
bullet train.

fuyu no wabishii hizashi ga Hamanako no namariiro no
suimen ni sashite, ni, sanseki no kobune ga uite iru.
The cheerless winter sun shone upon the grey surface
of Lake Hamana, where two or three boats floated."

The effect of the usage of WA in such a situation is that WA makes readers feel as if the referent is already identifiable. It consequently evokes the feeling in the reader's mind that the referent is likely to be continued from there onward, therefore, the character referred to will be an important figure in the story.

A similar effect is discerned in the lyrics of a popular Japanese song called Joogashima no ame'Rain on Jooga Island'.

Ame WA furu furu, Joogashima no iso ni,
rain fall fall GEN beach on
'Rain is falling on the beach of Joogashima,

Rikyuu-nezumi no ame GA furu.
mouse GEN
'rain of Rikyuu mouse (grey colour) is falling.'

This line describes the scene of raining on the island that is present before the writer's eyes. As a scene-describing sentence and as well as having a discontinuous entity as its subject, the former sentence is most naturally expected to take a GA marking for its subject. However the writer chooses to use WA instead. Since WA would be interpreted as already identifiable and continuous here, a native speaker confronted with these lyrics feels that the rain must have had the writer's attention for some time before he uttered the words. Using a visual analogy, the camera focus would firstly be placed on the falling rain itself, then it would zoom back to capture the whole setting in wide-angle; the latter part is effectively described by the usage of GA for the second occurrence of ame'rain' in the lyrics.

11.5 Summary and conclusion

The experiment conducted on GA and WA in a section of Abe's novel has shown that approximately 70% of the markings are explainable by the analyses presented in previous chapters and the factors involved to determine these markings were identified.

However there were a significant number of uses of GA and WA which could not be explained straightforwardly by what was already analysed. These exceptional GA and WA usages were treated as special effect creators. GA was used to bring about some vivid, deliberately striking feeling to the scene. On the other hand, WA was sometimes employed to subdue possible impact. It was also noted that a WA marking for a character first appearing in a story engenders the feeling of familiarity to the referent in the reader's mind.

From my earlier analysis of the basic meaning of GA and WA in Chapter 6, combined with the results of this chapter, I am able to conclude that the special effects that GA and WA produce are not arbitrary in the sense that even the special effects generated seem to be a logical extension of the basic meaning of GA and WA. The concept of EA which GA has at its core, can induce an element of vividness to an event or scene because the concept of EA is a spatially or temporally bound concept. When GA is used, a spatial or temporal frame is placed forward as it were, which puts the scene or event described by the sentence in relief from the surrounding text.

WA on the other hand, expresses the concept of EP, which indicates the identifiability of the referent beyond the boundary of a particular space or time. Thus WA can soften an impact which GA may produce, by taking away a spatial or temporal frame from the scene.

12.0 CONCLUSION

12.1 Summary

12.1.1 Meanings and functions of NP GA and NP WA

The starting point of this research on the meanings and functions of NP GA and NP WA was the inadequacies and incongruity of previous analyses.

At sentential level the two NPs had not been analysed using comparable criteria; i.e., NP GA was considered to be a subject which is no more than a syntactic category, while NP WA was a topic whose function is to be sought in the domain of semantics or pragmatics. At discourse level the usual association of NP GA with new information and of NP WA with old is undermined due to the differing definitions employed by different analysts.

This dissertation has claimed that at sentential level, subject NP GA and topic NP WA respectively denote the notions of existential assertion (EA) and existential presupposition (EP) which are cognitively based notions. NP WA expresses a referent which the speaker assumes can be negotiated with the hearer to be <u>presupposed</u> to exist in the universe of discourse; the referent is therefore assumed to be indentifiable to the hearer. The key notion that characterises NP WA is existential presupposition.

The referent expressed by NP GA is <u>asserted</u> to exist by the speaker: the notion involved in NP GA is existential assertion. The referent in NP GA does not therefore have to be indentifiable to the hearer, and

at the same time, the notion of EA necessarily implies that the referent is temporally or spatially bound since existence is indeed a temporally and spatially bound notion.

By proposing the analyses of NP GA and NP WA as denoting EA and EP, this study was able to explain the relationships between the predicate types and interpretations an NP GA renders with a predicate (i.e., exhaustive listing or neutral description, discussed in Chapter 4 and also in Chapter 6). These notions were also claimed to account for the different patterns of NP GA and NP WA distributions in subordinate clauses. It was shown in Chapter 6 how the interaction of the semantics of subordinate clauses and the EA or EP notions condition the occurrence or non-occurrence of NP GA or NP WA in subordinate clauses.

At discourse level the examination of a short fictional novel revealed that the AF value of Brand-new Unanchored always takes GA whilst referent continuity is always marked by WA.

It follows from the definitions of EA and EP that a referent which cannot be assumed to be identifiable to the hearer, such as those that have the AF value of Brand-new Unanchored, must always be marked by GA. If WA is used, the sentence in which such an NP occurs becomes uninterpretable.

The reason why continuity is marked by WA rather than GA in Japanese is clear once the notion EP expressed by NP WA is captured. It is because a continued referent in discourse is an identified referent. When a referent is newly introduced rather than continued, it is not identifiable and it must be asserted to exist in the universe of discourse. This is why a newly introduced referent is marked by GA in Japanese.

12.1.2 Differential criteria

Selectional criteria for the marking of GA and WA in text, which have been largely neglected in past studies, were examined in this study. Using a text completion experiment, I looked into the way the various factors interact to determine the use of GA and WA for NPs. The working factors as indentified in Chapters 5–11 are: i) whether the marking occurs in a subordinate clause, ii) whether the referent to be marked is given a contrastive interpretation, iii) whether the referent is Brand-new Unanchored or Evoked, iv) whether the referent is continuous or discontinuous, v) whether the sentence is of equative/attributive or scene-descriptive nature, and vi) whether the context induces an EL reading for the given referent.

The result of the experiment showed three determining patterns as follows:

i) when there is no conflict existing amongst the selectional criteria. Such cases where a Brand-new referent appears in an existential sentence resulting in a GA marking, or where an inferable referent occurs in a time subordinate clause (whose subject is necessarily marked by GA), are the cases of no conflicting criteria. As shown in the experiment 100% agreement among the native speakers was observed on the marking for such cases.

ii) Conflicting criteria are resolved by grammar. In these cases, the criteria do conflict, but Japanese speakers share a way to rank criteria in such a way that one factor definitely outweighs all other ones and all native Japanese speakers opt for one of the markers instead of the other one. Cases where a first-time appearing inferable referent, which requires

GA, gets marked by WA due to the equative construction, represent good examples of this ranking of the criteria. 100% agreement or near 100% agreement on such markings was observed in the experiment.

iii) Finally, and most importantly, there is a residue of cases in which Japanese speakers are free to disagree with one another. This means that conflict in GA/WA criteria is not resolved by grammar but that it may be resolved in different ways by different speakers. Thus the Japanese language is not deterministic for these particular cases. For example, in the experiment, the author used GA in order to achieve an effect of 'vividness' where the continuity principle favours WA.

Thus the findings from the experiment conducted in Chapter 11 showed that some GA/WA selections are shared by all Japanese speakers whilst some are not shared, and these unshared cases may be used to create various literary effects.

12.2 Theoretical significance of the research

There are two points arising from the research that bear importance on the theory of grammar. Firstly, I demonstrated through the semantic analysis of GA and WA that GA and WA are both primary, i.e., the meanings of the markers are captured by the concepts of EA and EP which are really cognitively (in the sense of people's understanding and interpretation of the world) based notions. There are sentences whose subject could not possibly be marked by WA in any circumstances because of the incompatibility of the meaning of the particle and the sentence. NP WA cannot therefore be considered to be a derived or a secondary NP such as a topicalised subject as far as the semantics of it is

concerned. Any grammatical analysis of Japanese which has treated NP WA as secondary needs to be modified to take this fact into account.

Secondly, the findings from the experiment on GA/WA selection indicate that the choice between GA and WA is not always grammatical but is sometimes lexical. This means that GA and WA cannot be dealt with by means of 'rules' only but instead the choice between the two particles is determined by their semantic content. On the basis of this finding one may claim that GA and WA are best treated in a system of grammar in which grammar (rules) and lexis are reasonably well distinguished.

12.3 Future research directions

One area which requires future research in order to grasp an even better picture of GA and WA is obviously a study into spoken discourse. The investigation into their determining process in spoken material as compared to the written novel examined in this thesis will be beneficial especially when one considers the phenomenon of particle deletion that transpires in conversation. In casual talk people often drop particles including GA and WA. Consequently, in speaking what would be the criteria for choosing GA or WA or no particle?

Another area for further study is the possible change over time that may be taking place in the usage of GA and WA. The text completion experiment conducted in Chapter 11 had second year university students as subjects, most of whom were therefore, nineteen or twenty years of age. I personally noticed a few cases where my intuition was different from some subjects for the choices of particles. Although every usage was accounted for as analysed in Chapter 11, some selections of GA/WA by the subjects were not what I would have selected. Significantly, my intuition was more in accordance with the author's (of course exempting

the special effect creators). This observation may be indicating that there is a change in the use of GA and WA, however subtle, happening down through the generations of native Japanese speakers.

Lastly, if one assumes the principle of the-common-form-the-common-underlying-semantics, future research should look into the applicability of the analysis in this work to other types of GA and WA. For example, how appropriate or applicable are the notions of EA and EP to GA as an object marker, or to WA as a negative scope designator?

A considerable amount of work such as the aforementioned is still necessary before the whole picture of NP GA and NP WA is completely drawn and presented to us.

APPENDIX I

SENTENCE COMPLETION DATA (EXPERIMENT IN CHAPTER 5)

SAKURA NO HANA GA'cherry blossoms'

1. Sakura no hana GA saiteimasu. (1)[1]
   'The cherry blossoms are in bloom.'

2. Sakura no hana Ga kireini sakimashita.
   'The cherry blossoms have bloomed beautifully.'

3. Sakura no hana GA saita. (5)
   '(The) cherry blossoms have bloomed.'

4. Sakura no hana GA saiteiru.
   '(The) cherry blossoms are in bloom.

TANOMARETA SHIGOTO GA'the work (I) have been asked to do'

1. Tanomareta shigoto GA mada dekiteimasen.
   'The work I have been asked to do is not done yet.'

2. Tanomareta shigoto GA uttoushiku kanjiraretekita.
   'I feel bothered about the work I have been asked to do.'

3. Tanomareta shigoto GA owatta. (2)
   'The work I have been asked to do has finished.'

4. Tanomareta shigoto GA yatto dekita.
   'The work I have been asked to do has finally finished.'

5. Tanomareta shigoto GA dekinakute komatteiru.
   'The work I have been asked to do cannot be done and I am in trouble.'

6. Tanomareta shigoto GA owaranai.
   'The work I have been asked to do never ends.'

7. Tanomareta shigoto GA dekiagatta.
   'The work I have been asked to do is all finished.'

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[1] The number in brackets indicates the number of the identical sentences made by different subjects. Thus 2 here means there were two such sentences collected in the data.

KEEKI O YAKU NIOI GA'smell of (someone) baking a cake'

1. Keeki o yaku nioi GA shiteimasu.
   'There is the smell of someone baking a cake.'

2. Keeki o yaku nioi GA puunto hana ni tsuita.
   'I smelled someone baking a cake.'

3. Keeki o yaku nioi GA suru. (5)
   'There is the smell of someone baking a cake.'

4. Keeki o yaku nioi GA shiteiru.
   'There is the smell of someone baking a cake.'

KINJO NO INU GA'neighbourhood dog'

1. Kinjo no inu GA hoeteimasu. (3)
   'A/The neighbourhood dog is barking.'

2. Kinjo no inu GA jaretekita.
   'A/The neighbourhood dog playfully came up to me.'

3. Kinjo no inu GA naiteiru. (3)
   'A/The neighbourhood dog is barking.'

4. Kinjo no inu GA hoete urusai.
   'A/The neighbourhood dog is barking noisily.'

NIHONJIN KANKOOKYAKU GA'Japanese tourists'

1. Nihonjin kankookyaku GA takusan kimasu.
   'Many Japanese tourists come visiting.'

2. Nihonjin kankookyaku GA zorozoro aruitekuru.
   'Japanese tourists are coming strolling.'

3. Nihonjin kankookyaku GA ooi desu ne!
   'There are many Japanese tourists aren't there!'

4. Nihonjin kankookyaku GA fueteiru. (2)
   'Japanese tourists are on the increase.'

5. Nihonjin kankookyaku GA ooi.
   'There are many Japanese tourists.'

6. Nihonjin kankookyaku GA takusan otozureteiru.
   'Many Japanese tourists are visiting.'

7. Nihonjin kankookyaku GA oshiyoseru.
   'Many Japanese tourists are storming in.'

HOOKUSHUSHOO KANTEI GA'Prime Minister Hawke's official residence'

1. Hookushushoo kantei GA kaji de yakemashita. (2)
   'P.M. Hawke's official residence was burnt down by a fire.'

2. Hookushushoo kantei GA mamonaku miemasu.
'P.M. Hawke's official residence will come into (our) view soon.'

3. Hookushushoo kantei GA mieru.
'(I) can see P.M. Hawke's official residence.'

4. Hookushushoo kantei GA kaji ni natta.
'P.M. Hawke's official residence caught fire.'

5. Hookushushoo kantei GA mietekimasu.
'P.M. Hawke's official residence will come into (our) view.'

6. Hookushushoo kantei GA enjooshita.
'P.M. Hawke's residence burnt down.'

7. Hookushushoo kantei GA itensuru.
'P.M. Hawke's official residence is to be moved.'

MAGUPAI GA'magpie'

1. Magupai GA takusan imasu.
'There are many magpies.'

2. Magupai GA nakayoku sora e tondeitta.
'Magpies flew into the sky happily.'

3. Magupai GA kita.
'A magpie/Magpies came down.'

4. Magupai GA ki ni tomatteiru.
'A magpie is/Magpies are resting in the tree.'

5. Magupai GA tondeiru. (2)
'There is a magpie flying.'

6. Magupai GA kenka o shiteiru.
'Magpies are fighting.'

7. Magupai GA osottekita.
'A magpie/Magpies came attacking me.'

WATASHI NO ICHIBAN SHITASHII TOMODACHI GA'my best friend'

1. Watashi no ichiban shitashii tomodachi GA Oosutoraria ni kita.
'My best friend came to Australia.'

2. Watashi no ichiban shitashii tomodachi GA tooku e itteshimatta.
'My best friend has gone far away.'

3. Watashi no ichiban shitashii tomodachi GA shinda.
'My best friend died.'

4. Watashi no ichiban shitashii tomodachi GA Nihon kara kuru n desu.
'My best friend is coming from Japan.'

5. Watashi no ichiban shitashii tomodachi GA kekkonshita.
'My best friend got married.'

6. Watashi no ichiban shitashii tomodachi GA raigetsu Kyanbera ni kimasu.
'My best friend is coming to Canberra next month.'

7. Watashi no ichiban shitashii tomodachi GA jiko ni atta.
'My best friend had an accident.'

8. Watashi no ichiban shitashii tomodachi GA kekkonsuru.
'My best friend is going to get married.'

YUUJIN NI KARITA HON GA'the book I borrowed from a friend'

1. Yuujin ni karita hon GA mitsukaranai. (3)
'I cannot find the book I borrowed from a friend.'

2. Yuujin ni karita hon GA nakunatta. (2)
'The book I borrowed from a friend is lost.'

3. Yuujin ni karita hon GA yogoreteshimatta.
'The book I borrowed from a friend got dirty.'

4. Yuujin ni karita hon GA boroboro ni natchatta.
'The book I borrowed from a friend is tattered.'

5. Yuujin ni karita hon GA itsunomanika kieteshimatta.
'The book I borrowed from a friend has disappeared unnoticed.'

FUJISAN GA'Mt.Fuji'

1. Fujisan GA miemasu. (3)
'I can see Mt.Fuji.'

2. Fujisan GA toutou funkashita.
'Mt.Fuji finally erupted.'

3. Fujisan GA funkasuru.
'Mt.Fuji is going to erupt.'

4. Fujisan GA kyou wa kirei ni mieru.
'We can see Mt.Fuji clearly today.'

5. Fujisan GA mietekita. (2)
'Mt.Fuji has come into view.'

SAKURA NO HANA WA'cherry blossoms'

1. Sakura no hana WA mankai da.
'Cherry blossoms are in full bloom.'

2. Sakura no hana WA Nihon no shoochoo da.
'Cherry blossoms are the symbol of Japan.'

3. Sakura no hana WA konshuu ippai de owari da.
'Cherry blossoms will finish by the end of this week.'

4. Sakura no hana WA kirei da.
'Cherry blossoms are beautiful.'

5. Sakura no hana WA moo chirimashita.
'Cherry blossoms have fallen already.'

6. Sakura no hana WA sugu chiru.
'Cherry blossoms soon fall (do no last long).'

7. Sakura no hana WA hakanaku chitteshimatta.
'Cherry blossoms have fallen ephemerally.'

8. Sakura no hana WA Nihon no kokka desu.
'The cherry blossom is the Japanese national flower.'

TANOMARETA SHIGOTO WA'the work (I) have been asked to do'

1. Tanomareta shigoto WA kichinto katazukeru beki desu.
'(One) should finish properly the work one has been asked to do.'

2. Tanomareta shigoto WA shikkari yaritogeyoo.
'Let us finish properly the work we have been asked to do.'

3. Tanomareta shigoto WA sugu yaranai to ikenai.
'One should promptly do the work one has been asked to do.'

4. Tanomareta shigoto WA dekiteimasu.
'The work I have been asked to do is done and ready.'

5. Tanomareta shigoto WA yaritakunai.
'I don't want to do the work I have been asked to do.'

6. Tanomareta shigoto WA sugu sumasetai.
'(I) would like to finish promptly the work I have been asked to do.'

7. Tanomareta shigoto WA yaritogenakerebanaranai.
'One should finish the work one has been asked to do.'

8. Tanomareta shigoto WA kyoojuu ni otodokeshimasu.
'I will bring over the work I was asked to do today.'

KEEKI O YAKU NIOI WA'smell of (someone) baking a cake'

1. Keeki o yaku nioi WA nantomo ienai.
'The smell of someone baking a cake is (so good as to be) undescribable.'

2. Keeki o yaku nioi WA gamandekiru.
'The smell of someone baking a cake is bearable.'

3. Keeki o yaku nioi WA shokuyoku o sasou.
'The smell of someone baking a cake is appetizing.'

4. Keeki o yaku nioi WA suki da.
'I like the smell of someone baking a cake.'

5. Keeki o yaku nioi WA ii desu ne.
'The smell of someone baking a cake is wonderful, isn't it.'

6. Keeki o yaku nioi WA natsukashii kanji ga suru.
'The smell of someone baking a cake makes me feel nostalgic.'

7. Keeki o yaku nioi WA shokuyoku o sosorimasu.
'The smell of someone baking a cake is very appetizing.'

8. Keeki o yaku nioi WA ieki no bumpitsu o shigekishimasu.
'The smell of someone baking a cake stimulates the secretion of stomach juices.'

KINJO NO INU WA'neighbourhood dog'

1. Kinjo no inu WA itsumo urusaku hoemasu.
'The neighbourhood dog always barks noisily.'

2. Kinjo no inu WA yasashii me o shiteiru.
'The neighbourhood dog has gentle eyes.'

3. Kinjo no inu WA itsumo urusai.
'Neighbourhood dogs are/The neighbourhood dog is always noisy.'

4. Kinjo no inu WA mina osu desu.
'All the neighbourhood dogs are males.'

5. Kinjo no inu WA itsumo hoeteiru.
'The neighbourhood dog is always barking.'

6. Kinjo no inu WA taikaku ga ii.
'The neighbourhood dog has a powerful physique.'

7. Kinjo no inu WA moo sankai mo kodomo o unda.
'The neighbourhood dog has borne puppies three times already.'

8. Kinjo no inu WA otonashii.
'The neighbourhood dog is gentle.'

NIHONJIN KANKOOKYAKU WA'Japanese tourists'

1. Nihonjin kankookyaku WA 8000man ni tasshita.
'The number of Japanese tourists has reached 80,000,000.'

2. Nihonjin kankookyaku WA kirawaremono da.
'Japanese tourists are disliked.'

3. Nihonjin kankookyaku WA shuudankoodoo ga suki da.
'Japanese tourists like to act in groups.'

4. Nihonjin kankookyaku WA saikin tokuni ooku natta.
'Japanese tourists have particularly increased lately.'

5. Nihonjin kankookyaku WA onaji fuku o kiteiru.
'Japanese tourists are all dressed the same.'

6. Nihonjin kankookyaku WA taitei kamera o motteiru.
'Japanese tourists usually carry cameras.'

7. Nihonjin kankookyaku WA dokoe ittemo medachimasu.
'Japanese tourists stand out wherever they go.'

8. Nihonjin kankookyaku WA manaa ga warui no de yuumei desu.
'Japanese tourists are famous for their bad manners.'

HOOKUSHUSHOO KANTEI WA'Prime Minister Hawke's official residence'

1. Hookushushoo kantei WA ookii desu. (2)
'P.M. Hawke's official residence is large.'

2. Hookushushoo kantei WA dare ga tsugi ni sumu no deshoo.
'I wonder who is going to live in P.M. Hawke's official residence next.'

3. Hookushushoo kantei WA rippa desu yo.
'P.M. Hawke's official residence is grand.'

4. Hookushushoo kantei WA yama no mukoo ni aru.
'P.M. Hawke's official residence is located over the hill.'

5. Hookushushoo kantei WA shinkokkaigijidoo no chikaku ni aru.
'P.M. Hawke's official residence is near the new Parliament House.'

6. Hookushushoo kantei WA midori ni kakomareteiru.
'P.M. Hawke's official residence is surrounded by green trees.'

7. Hookushushoo kantei WA karappo da.
'P.M. Hawke's official residence is empty.'

MAGUPAI WA'magpie'

1. Magupai WA karasu ni niteiru.
'A magpie looks like a crow.'

2. Magupai WA Oosutoraria rashii tori da.
'A magpie is a typical Australian bird.'

3. Magupai WA Oosutoraria no tori desu.
'A magpie is an Australian bird.'

4. Magupai WA iyana tori da.
'A magpie is a vile bird.'

5. Magupai WA ano ki ni itsumo tomatte iru.
'The magpie is always resting in that tree.'

6. Magupai WA osoroshii.
'Magpies are scary.'

7. Magupai WA mina ni kirawareteiru.
'Magpies are disliked by everyone.'

8. Magupai WA kiken desu.
'Magpies are dangerous.'

WATASHI NO ICHIBAN SHITASHII TOMODACHI WA'My best friend'

1. Watashi no ichiban shitashii tomodachi WA Tanakasan desu.
'My best friend is Mr. Tanaka.'

2. Watashi no ichiban shitashii tomodachi WA takaishita.
'My best friend passed away.'

3. Watashi no ichiban shitashii tomodachi WA kono machi ni iru.
'My best friend lives in this town.'

4. Watashi no ichiban shitashii tomodachi WA Nihon ni kaerimashita.
'My best friend has returned to Japan.'

5. Watashi no ichiban shitashii tomodachi WA totemo shinsetsu da.
'My best friend is very kind.'

6. Watashi no ichiban shitashii tomodachi WA Nihon ni imasu.
'My best friend is in Japan.'

7. Watashi no ichiban shitashii tomodachi WA Reiko desu.
'My best friend is Reiko.'

8. Watashi no ichiban shitashii tomodachi WA Yasumichan yo.
'My best friend is Yasumichan.'

YUUJIN NI KARITA HON WA'the book I borrowed from a friend'

1. Yuujin ni karita hon WA hyooshi ga toreteiru.
'The book I borrowed from a friend has no front page.'

2. Yuujin ni karita hon WA totemo omoshirokatta.
'The book I borrowed from a friend was very interesting.'

3. Yuujin ni karita hon WA kichinto hokanshimasu.
'I always look after books I have borrowed from a friend.'

4. Yuujin ni karita hon WA doko ni aru n daroo.
'I wonder where the book I borrowed from a friend is.'

5. Yuujin ni karita hon WA koko ni arimasu.
'The book I borrowed from a friend is here.'

6. Yuujin ni karita hon WA tsumaranakatta.
'The book I borrowed from a friend was boring.'

7. Yuujin ni karita hon WA sugu kaeshimashoo.
'One should promptly return the book one has borrowed from a friend.'

8. Yuujin ni karita hon WA kore desu.
'The book I borrowed from a friend is this one.'

FUJISAN WA'Mt.Fuji'

1. Fujisan WA Nihon ichi takai yama desu. (3)
'Mt.Fuji is the tallest mountain in Japan.'

2. Fujisan WA subarashii.
'Mt.Fuji is wonderful.'

3. Fujisan WA Nihon ichi utsukushii to iwareteiru.
'Mt.Fuji is said to be the most beautiful mountain in Japan.'

4. Fujisan WA Nihon no yama desu.
'Mt.Fuji is a Japanese mountain.'

5. Fujisan WA Gaikokujin demo shitteiru.
'Mt.Fuji is known by foreigners too.'

6. Fujisan WA Nihon ichi da.
'Mt.Fuji is the highest in Japan.'

APPENDIX II

ABE'S SHORT FICTION

1. Sono yo fubuki GA, machi-juu o fukiareteita.
that night snow storm NOM town ACC was blowing wild
'That night a snow storm was blowing wildly through the town.'

2. Tooku kara, jinari no yooni fukiyosete,
distant from earth rumbling GEN like come blowing and

denchuu ya ki ya kabe ni ataru to,
electric pole or tree or wall against hit when

neko ya akago ya byoonin no koe o mane, ame
cat or baby or the sick GEN voice ACC copy and rain

de sae minogashita semai sukima o yooshanaku
COP even missed seeing narrow gap ACC without mercy

fukitooshite wa, hitobito ni mazushisa o omoishiraseta.
blow through TOP people DAT poverty ACC taught
'(It) came blowing from distance like the rumbling of earth and when it hit against an electric pole or a tree or a wall, it copied the sound of a cat or a baby or the sick and mercilessly blowing through the narrowest gap which even rain would miss, (it) brought poverty home to people.'

3. Hitodoori wa naku, gaitoo WA shiroi kona ni

people TOP not exist and street light TOP white powder by

tsutsumarete, zensekai ga bakuzentoshita shiroi kokuu
wrapped(PAS) and the whole NOM vague white emptiness

ni mieru naka de, ore WA itsumo no yooni tatteita.
DAT appear inside LOC I TOP always GEN as was standing
'There was not a soul and the street lights were wrapped in white powder and as usual I was standing where the whole world appeared like a vague white emptiness.'

4. Ore no tatteiru yotsutsuji no hiroba WA marude kaze
I GEN is standing intersection GEN square TOP at all wind

o saegiru mono ga naku, sonoue ore no hada WA
ACC stop thing NOM not exist in addition I GEN skin TOP

kanzenni chikai netsu no dootai nanode, gaiki yori
completely almost heat GEN conductor because outside air than

tsumetaku hiekitteshimai, zenshin ni haritsuita yuki WA
cold gone cold and whole body LOC stuck snow TOP

zarazarani kootte sekiei no kona no yoo datta.
coarsely freeze and crystal GEN powder GEN like was
'There was nothing that stopped the wind at the corner square where I was standing and in addition, because my body is almost a perfect heat conductor, (it) had gone colder than the air and the snow stuck all over my body was coarsely frozen just like crystal powder.'

5. Futo ore WA shiroi kokuu no naka ni ugoku kasukana
suddenly I TOP white emptiness GEN inside LOC move faint

mono o mita.
thing ACC saw
'Suddenly I saw something moving in the white emptiness.'

6. Sore WA chikazuki, hitokage ni natta.
that TOP come close and human shape DAT became
'That came close and became a human shape.'

7. Hitokage WA sarani chikazuki, ore no tatteiru dai
human shape TOP further come close and I GEN standing stand

no shita ni kite, ore o miageta.
GEN underneath LOC come and I ACC looked up
'The human shape came closer and came right up to the stand on which I was standing and looked up at me.'

8. Araori no nuno de suppori kao o tsutsunda,
coarse woven GEN fabric by completely face ACC wrapped

chiisana otoko datta.
small man was
'(It) was a small man whose face was wrapped in a coarsely woven fabric.'

9. Otoko no me WA ayashiku wananaiteita.
man GEN eye TOP strangely was trembling
'The man's eyes were trembling strangely.'

10. Otoko WA ore no tatteiru ishi no dai ni kakureru
man TOP I GEN is standing stone GEN stand by hide

yooni, awatadashii shisen o shihoo ni hashirase,
as if busy glance ACC all directions to send and

yagate kare no ashiato ga yuki ni umatteshimau to,
in a while he GEN footprint NOM snow by disappear COND

sorosoro ashiba o tashikamenagara, dai o hainoborihajimeta.
slowly footing ACC ensuring stand ACC began to climb
'The man threw quick glances in all directions as if to hide at the stone stand on which I was standing, and in a while, when his footprints were buried in snow, (he) began to slowly climb up, ensuring his footing.'

11. Dotto kaze ga tsuyoku naru tabini, furiotosaresoo
in a gust wind ACC strong become whenever almost blown off(PAS)

ni natte, atama o ishi ni tsukkomu yooni haritsuita.
DAT become and head ACC stone LOC bury like hung on
'Every time a gust of wind came, (he) almost got blown off and

hung on as if to bury his head into the stone.'

12. Ni, san-do, te GA hazuretari, ashi GA subettari,
two three times hand NOM became loose foot NOM slipped

atama GA hanaretarishita nimo kakawarazu, kekkyoku karada
head NOM swang even despite always body

no dokoka, toriwake me ni mienai ishi de shikkari
GEN somewhere especially eye for invisible will by firmly

kajiritsuiteite, tootoo dai no ue made tadoritsuita.
is holding on and at last stand GEN top as far as reached
'Although a few times (he had) his hands come loose or a foot slip or his head swing out, (he) always (had) some part of the body holding on with a strong invisible will and in the end (he) reached the top of the stand.'

13. Yukiboozu no umeki, yukionna no himei ni mo
snowman GEN moaning snowwoman GEN screaming by even

kesarezu, otoko no momite no oto GA
without being destroyed man GEN rubbing hands GEN sound NOM

kikoe, yohodo arakureta te ni chigainakatta.
is audible and extremely rough hand DAT had to be
'One could hear the sound of the man's rubbing hands which even the moaning of the snowman or screaming of the snowwoman did not erase, (they) must have been extremely rough.'

14. Mata, ha to hone to kinniku no naru oto GA
also teeth and bone and muscle GEN squeak sound NOM

kikoe, yohodo no jiken GA kare o machiuketeiru ni
is audible major GEN event NOM he ACC is waiting DAT

chigainakatta.
had to be
'Also one could hear the sound of the teeth and bones and muscles squeaking; a major event must be waiting (for him).'

15. Kata kara kaketa fukuro kara, ni-shaku amari no kananoko
shoulder from hung bag from two shaku about GEN steel saw

to yasuri o toridashi, otoko WA betsu no te de ore no
and file ACC take out and man TOP other GEN hand by I GEN

ashikubi o tashikameta.
ankle ACC confirmed
'(He) took out a steel saw about two shaku (one shaku = 30cm) long and a file, and felt for my ankle with the other hand.'

16. To, sono toki, ore WA otoko GA dare deatta ka omoidashita.
then that time I TOP man NOM who COP Q remembered
'Then I remembered immeditately who the man was.'

17. Ano otoko da.
that man COP
'(It) was that man.'

18. Kore WA ano otoko no tetsuki deari, ano otoko ni shika
this TOP that man GEN hand move is and that man DAT only

dekinai tetsuki da.
impossible hand move COP
'This is that man's hand movement and the movement only that man is capable of.'

19. Iya, sore ijooni, ore o henkeishi, ore ni ummei o
no that more than I ACC transform and I DAT destiny ACC

ataeta, "te" sono mono da.
gave hand that thing COP
'No, more than that, it is the very "Hands" which transformed me and bestowed destiny upon me.'

20. Ore nitotte, ano otoko WA, sono "Te" no fuzokubutsu
I for that man TOP that hand GEN appendage

ni suginakatta.
DAT did not pass
'For me, that man was a mere appendage to those "Hands".'

21. "Te" WA sono hidari de shikkari ore no ashikubi o osae,
hand TOP that left with firmly I GEN ankle ACC hold and

migite de yasuri o ashikubi no tsukene ni ategai,
right hand with file ACC ankle GEN the bottom LOC apply and

ore no ashikubi o kizutsukehajimeta.
I GEN ankle ACC began to damage
'"Hands" firmly held my ankle with his left hand and applied the file to the root of my ankle with his right hand and began to file.'

22. Sorekara, kananoko ni mochikae, ore no ashi o
then steel saw to change and I GEN leg ACC

setsudanshihajimeta.
began to cut
'Then (he) changed (it) to the saw and has begun to cut off my leg.'

23. Kinzoku no, ompa ni chikai shindoo GA, ore no
metal GEN sonic wave to close vibration NOM I GEN

zenshin o haimawatta.
whole body ACC crawled
'Metallic vibrations close to a sonic wave crawled all over my body.'

24. Ore WA natta.
I TOP resounded
'I resounded.'

25. Shikashi, ichi-meetoru saki de, sono oto WA, yukiboozu to
however one meter ahead LOC that sound TOP snowman and

yukionna no hakarishirenu ibukuro ni sukkari
snowwoman GEN immeasurable stomach by entirely

nomikomare kieteshimatta.
swallowed(PAS) and disappeared
'However, only a meter ahead, that sound was swallowed in by the immeasurable stomachs of the snowman and snowwoman and disappeared.'

26. Sate, "te" no shigoto no koto o ieba, ore no ashikubi
now hand GEN work GEN thing ACC say(COND) I GEN ankle

o ichi-miri kiru noni nokogiri o go-kai
ACC one millimeter cut to saw ACC five times

oofukusasenakerebanarazu, san-oofuku ni ichibyoo
have to move backward and forward three returns for one second

kakaru to sureba, ore no ahikubi no futosa wa yon-senchi
take COND if I GEN ankle GEN thickness TOP four cm

roku-miri aru no da kara, aida de hikkakatari
six mm exist COM COP because between in get stuck or

magotsuitarisuru jikan o irete, sukunakutomo
lose the position time ACC include and at least

ni-fun kakaru.
two minutes take
'Well, talking about the job of "Hands", (he) has to move the saw backward and forward five times in order to cut one millimeter of my ankle, and if three return movements take one second, since my ankle is 4.6 cm thick, it will at least take two minutes (to cut the ankle off) including the time when (he) gets stuck and loses his position.'

27. Sore GA nihon aru no da kara, nakayasumi ni kogoeta
that NOM two exist COM COP because break for frozen

te o mominawasetarishite, zatto go-fun mireba
hand ACC rub together and roughly five minutes estimate(COND)

ii daroo.
good PRE
'Since there are two of that (ankles), even if (he) rubs his freezing hands together for a rest, five minutes should finish

the job.'

28. Sokode, sono aida o riyooshite, ore GA nanimono
that being so that time ACC utilise and I NOM who

deari, "te" GA nanimono deatta ka o hanasu to shiyoo.
is and hand NOM who was Q ACC talk COM will do
'Therefore, (I) will utilise that time and tell (you) who I am and who "Hands" is.'

29. Katsute ore WA denshobato deatta.
a long time ago I TOP carrier pigeon was
'A long time ago I was a carrier pigeon.'

30. Soshite "te" WA hatohan no heitai deari, ore no
and hand TOP pigeon GEN soldier is and I GEN

kainushi datta.
caretaker was
'And "Hands" was a soldier belonging to the pigeon group and was my caretaker.'

31. Soshite ima ore WA doo de tsukurareta "heiwa no hato"
and now I TOP copper by made(PAS) peace GEN dove

no zoo deari, "te" WA ore no ashikubi o nokogiri de
GEN statue is and hand TOP I GEN ankle AC saw with

hiiteiru.
is cutting
'And now I am a statue of "Peace Dove" made of copper and "Hands" is cutting my ankle with a saw.'

32. Ore ga denshobato datta koro, ore WA kettoo no tadashii
I NOM carrier pigeon was when I TOP blood line GEN correct

sugurete utsukushii hato de, rikoo demoari, ooku no
excellent beautiful pigeon and smart is also and many GEN

tegara o tatete, ashi ni wa tsuushinkan
distinguished service ACC render and leg LOC TOP message tube

no hokani, arumisei no akai "eiyuu-kunshoo" o tsuketeita.
GEN other than aluminium GEN red hero medal ACC wore
'When I was a carrier pigeon, I was a pedigreed, excellent and beautiful pigeon and smart as well, and rendered many distinguished services and in addition to the message tube on my leg, wore a red "Hero's medal" made of aluminium.'

33. Shikashi muron, ore WA sonna koto o shiranakatta.
however naturally I TOP such thing ACC did not know
'But of course, I did not know of such a matter.'

34. Ore ni wa tada aoi sora to, nakama o otte, sora o
I DAT TOP only blue sky and friends ACC chase and sky ACC

kakeru tsubasa no kankaku no tanoshisa to, shokuji no
fly wing GEN feeling GEN joy and meal GEN

toki no awatadashisa to, togiretogireni kakudaisareta
time GEN rush and disruptively expanded(PAS)

jikan no taba GA sonzaisuru ni suginakatta.
time GEN bundle NOM exist DAT did not pass
'To me there existed only the blue sky, the joyous feeling of wings when chasing after friends in the sky, the rush at a meal and the disruptively expanded time bundle.'

35. Ore WA tanjun de, yuiitsu no ore datta.
I TOP simple COP unique GEN I was
'I was simple (being) and nothing more than that.'

36. Keiyooshi mo naku, setsumei mo tsukanai ore datta.
adjective also not exist and explanation also not attach I was
'There were neither adjectives nor explanations of me.'

37. Ima de koso, konna setsumei mo dekiru
now COP just because like this explanation even is possible

no da ga, tooji no ore WA ore dearu koto sae
GEN COP but at that time GEN I TOP I COP COM even

ishikishinakatta.
was not aware
'Now I am able to explain, but at that time I was not even aware of my own indentity.'

38. Aru hi, totsuzen sensoo GA owatte, ore to ore no nakama
one day suddenly war NOM end and I and I GEN friend

WA mochinushi no nakunatta hatosha ni okizarinisareta.
TOP owner GEN lost dove cot at was deserted
'One day the war suddenly ended and I and my friends were deserted at the dovecot which (now) lost the owner.'

39. Fue o narashite ore-tachi ni shokuji o shiraseru mono
whistle ACC blow we to meal ACC notify person

mo, hatosha no wara o torikaetekureru mono mo, mahoo ni
also dovecot GEN straw ACC change for us person also magic by

kakatta yooni sugata o keshiteshimai, wake no
was put on as if appearance ACC vanish and reason GEN

wakaranu mukiritsu to konran GA osoikakatta.
incomprehensible disorder and confusion NOM attacked
'The person who blew a whistle to a meal, the person who changed straws in the dovecot all disappeared as if by a magic, and incomprehensible disorder and confusion came over (us).'

40. Shikashi, hodonaku, mizu to tabemono to haiguusha o
however in no time water and food and spouse ACC

mitsukeru koto ni nareru to, sono muchitsujo GA
find COM to get used to COND that confusion NOM

sonomama chitsujo ni kawari, futatabi aoi sora to,
as it is order to change and again blue sky and

nakama o otte sora o kakeru tsubasa no kankaku no
friend ACC chase sky ACC fly wing GEN feeling GEN

tanoshisa to, shokuji no toki no awatadashisa to,
joy and meal GEN time GEN rush and

togiretogireni kakudaisareta jikan no taba GA sonzaisuru
disruptively expanded (PAS) time GEN bundle NOM exist

dake datta.
only COP
'However when (we) in no time got used to finding water, food and a spouse, that confusion became orderly and again there only existed the blue sky, the joyous feeling of wings when chasing after friends in the sky, the rush at a meal and the disruptively expanded time bundle.'

41. Sono aida ni, kawatta koto to ieba, te o ireru
that time at changed thing COM tell(COND) hand ACC put in

mono mo nai mamani, hatosha no kakoi no itanda
person even not exist as it is dovecot GEN fence GEN broke

tokoro kara, noraneko no shinnyuu GA hoshiimama ni nari,
place from wild cat GEN entrance NOM become freely available

aruiwa itazurakozoo no shuugeki o uketarishite, nakama
or wild child GEN attack ACC received and friend

no kazu GA hetteitta koto da.
GEN number NOM decreased COM COP
'The (only) thing that changed during that time, was that the number of friends decreased from the free entrance of wild cats which was made possible from the break of the dovecot fence that lost a caretaker, and also from the attacks of wild children.'

42. Mottomo, esa o asaru ni tsugoo no yoi atarashii su
of course food ACC get for convenience GEN good new nest

o mitsukete, tobisatta nakama mo itakamoshirenu ga,
ACC find and left friends also might have existed but

nanibun, ore ni wa bakuzentoshita genshookan o
at any rate I to TOP vague feeling of decrease ACC

kanjiru koto ga dekiru dake de, hakkirishita koto wa
feel COM NOM is possible only and clear COM TOP

wakaranai.
not know
'Of course there might have been those which left for a more convenient place for food, but I could only feel a vague sense of decrease and nothing was clear.'

43. Nankagetsuka tatta aru hi no koto, ore no
a number of months passed certain day GEN event I GEN

sekininsha datta hato-han no heitai GA hyokkori
person in charge was pigeon group GEN soldier NOM suddenly

arawareta.
appeared
'After a number of months the pigeon group soldier who was in charge of me appeared out of the blue.

44. Soshite sono hi kara, kare WA ore no unmei no "te" ni
and that day from he TOP I GEN fate GEN hand to

natta no datta.
became COM was
'And from that day on, he has become the "Hands" of my fate.'

45. "Te" WA yahari gunpuku o kiteita ga,
hand TOP as usual military uniform ACC was wearing but

izen no yooni kenshoo mo bando mo
old times GEN like shoulder ensign also band also

shiteorazu, orime WA tsuburete shiwakucha datta.
does not have and crease TOP is crushed and mess was
'"Hand" was in a military uniform, but did not have a shoulder ensign or a band like before and the creases were crushed and messy.'

46. Booshi WA kabutteorazu, aburakke no nai kami ga
hat TOP not have and oil GEN not exist hair NOM

hokorippoku nobiteita.
in dust has grown
'(He) did not have a hat on, and (his) glossless hair had grown with dust.'

47. "Te" WA natsukashisooni, dooji ni ikubun yamashisooni, ore
hand TOP longingly same time at a little ashamedly I

o mita.
ACC looked at
'"Hands" looked at me longingly and simultaneously a little ashamedly.'

48. Totsuzen shuukan GA, kiri no yooni ore o hitashi,
suddenly habit NOM fog GEN like I ACC soak and

omowazu "te" no kata ni tomatte, ore WA fuanna
involuntarily hand GEN shoulder on perch and I TOP uneasy

kyooshuu o kanjita.
nostalgia ACC felt
'Suddenly the (old) habit permeated me like fog, and (I) unknowingly perched on the shoulder of "Hands" and felt some uneasy nostalgia.'

49. "Te" WA shizukani tsubasa no ushiro kara ore o tsukanda.
hand TOP gently wing GEN behind from I ACC held
'"Hands" held me gently from behind my wings.'

50. Ore WA sareru mama ni natteiru shuukan o
I TOP done(PAS) as it is to stay habit ACC

omoidashiteita.
was remembering
'I was remembering the habit of staying quiet.'

51. "Te" WA ore o mukashi no yooni hako ni ire, soshite
I TOP I ACC old times GEN like box into put and and

dokoka ni tsuresatta.
somewhere to took away
'"Hands" put me in a box like old times and took (me) away somewhere.'

52. Sore WA misemonogoya datta.
that TOP show booth was
'It was a show booth.'

53. Soko de ore WA shirukuhatto no soko ni tojikomerare,
there at I TOP silkhat GEN bottom at is confined and

hipparidasareta toki, katteni tobidashite hatosha ni

pulled out(PAS) when freely jump out and dovecot to

kaettekureba yokatta.
return(COND) was good
'There I was confined to the bottom of a silkhat and when pulled out (I) could return to the dovecot by myself.'

54. Kaettekuru to, "te" GA sakini kite matteite,
return when hand NOM ahead come and is waiting and

ichigoo hodo no mame o
one goo(Japanese mesurement) approximately GEN beans ACC

tabesasetekureta.
gave me
'Upon returning, "Hands" was waiting already and gave me one-goo of beans.'

55. Kore WA kesshite wari no warui shugoto dewanakatta.
this TOP by all means profit GEN bad job was not
'This was by no means a bad job.'

56. Sono hi kara, kore GA ore no nikka ni natta.
that day from this NOM I GEN daily routine to became
'From that day on, this had become my daily routine.'

57. Ore WA "te" no seikei no doogu ni nari, muron ore WA
I TOP hand GEN support GEN means to become and of course I TOP

jikakusezu, atarashii shuukan ni tokekondeitta.
without realising new habit to melt into
'I became the means of support for "Hands", and of course without realising (this), I became accustomed to the new practice.'

58. Kono kikan WA zuibunto nagakatta yooni omou.
this period TOP rather was long like think
'I think this period was quite a long time.'

59. Kono misemonogoya no kikan ga owatta no WA, aru nodokana
this show booth GEN period NOM finished COM TOP one calm

haru no gogo datta.
spring GEN afternoon was
'It was one calm spring afternoon when this period of show booth came to an end.'

60. Hi o zenshin ni ukete utoutoshiteita toki,
sunlight ACC whole body on receive and was dozing off when

mishiranu otoko GA chikazuitekita.
strange man NOM approached me
'When I was dozing off with sunlight on my body, a strange man approached me.'

61. Ore WA keikaishite, tobitatsu shisei de migamaeta ga,
I TOP become alert and fly out position with waited but

atoippo chikazukeba to-iu tokoro de tachidomari,
one more step come closer(COND) COM place at stop and

kowaki ni kakaeteita kami-ire o mochinaoshite, tokiori
underarm in was holding paper case ACC rehold and occasionally

chirato nagashime o kurenagara, shikirini empitsu o
quickly glance ACC throwing busily pencil ACC

ugokashihajimeta.
began moving
' I became alert and waited all ready to fly out, but (he) stopped where one more step (would have made me fly out), and reheld the paper case underarm and throwing occasional glances at me, started moving his pencil busily. '

62. Betsuni kiken wa nasasoona no de,
particularly danger TOP does not seem to exist COM COP

ore WA jittoshiteita.
I TOP remained still
'Since there didn't seem to be any danger, I remained still.'

63. Soko ni "te" GA yattekita.
there to hand NOM came over
'There "Hands" came over.'

64. "Te" to otoko WA futakoto-mikoto, kogoe de
hand and man TOP a few words soft voice in

aisatsu o kawashita.
greetings ACC exchanged
'"Hands" and the man exchanged a few words of greeting in a soft voice.'

65. "Te" wa otoko no temoto ni miirinagara, itta.
hand TOP man GEN hand at looking, said
'"Hands" said, looking at the man's hand.'

66. "Taisoona dekibae desu naa."
fine work COP SFP
'"It's fine work. '

67. Rippana hato deshoo.
great pigeon PRE
'(He is) a great pigeon, isn't he? '

68. Koitsu WA watashi no jiman de ne, senjichuu, eiyukunshoo
this fellow TOP I GEN pride COP SFP during war hero medal

o morratta yatsu desu yo."
ACC received fellow cop SFP
'He is my pride; received a hero's medal during the war" '

69. Otoko WA bikkurishita youni te o yasumeta.
man TOP surprised as if hand ACC rested
'The man halted his hand as if surprised.'

70. "Ja, nanika, koitsu, denshobato datta n da ne."
well tell me this one carrier pigeon was COM COP SFP
'"Then , tell me , he was a carrier pigeon, was he?"'

71. "Ee, imaja, misemonogoya no tejina no hato o
yes now show booth GEN magic GEN pigeon ACC

yatteorimasu ga ne, ochibureta mono desu yo. "
is doing but SFP come down MA COP SFP
'"Yes, although he is just a magic dove in a show booth now;
(he) has come down in the world indeed." '

72. "Ha,ha, soitsu wa hiniku da."
that TOP irony is
'"Ha,ha, that's ironic." '

73. Otoko WA waratte itta.
man TOP laughing said
'The man said laughing.'

74. "Tsugini hato no zuo no moderu to-iu wake ka."
next dove GEN statue GEN model COM MA Q
'"Next he is the model for a dove statue."'

75. Shibaraku no aida, futari WA damari, otoko WA
short while GEN time two people TOP keep quiet and man TOP

te o ugokashi "te" WA otoko no temoto o nozokikonda.
hand ACC move and hand TOP man GEN hand ACC looked into

'For a while, the two kept silent and the man kept moving his hand and "Hands" kept watching.'

76. "Che, ugoku naa. "
rats move SFP
'"Rats, (he) moves."'

77. to otoko GA itta.
COM man NOM said
'said the man.'

78. "Sorya, ikimono desu mono, shikata arimasen yo."
of course living creature COP MA ways not exist SFP
'"Of course, (it's) a living creature, it cannot be helped." '

79. to "te" GA itta.
COM hand NOM said
'said "Hands".'

80. "Kimi, shoobai daro, nantoka, ugokanai youni dekinai ka
you business PRE somehow not move so that cannot Q

ne."
SFP
'"You, (it's) business; can't (you) keep (him) still somehow?" '

81. "Muri desu yo."
impossible COP SFP
'"(It's) impossible." '

82. "Sore jaa,"
That in case of
'"In that case,"'

83. to otoko WA te o yasume, kyuuni shinkenna gochoo de
COM man TOP hand ACC rest and suddenly serious tone in
'the man rested his hand and in a suddenly serious tone'

84. "Tsukamaeru koto wa dekiru wake da ne."
seize COM TOP is possible MA COP SFP
'"(You) can seize him, can't you."'

85. "Te" WA subayaku matataki o kurikaeshi, sono aida
hand TOP quickly blinking ACC repeat and that between

ni naniyara keisanshita rashiku, "ee" to unazuita.
in something calculated seems and yes COM nodded
'"Hands" blinked quickly and repeatedly and apparently having calculated something, nodded "yes".'

86. Sore kara futari WA kogoe de soodanshihajimeta.
that from two people TOP soft voice in started discussing
'Then the two started discussing in soft voices.'

87. Miken ni shiwa o yose, yubi de wa
between the eyes at wrinkle ACC gather and finger WITH circle

ya sen o kaki, kubi o shihooni futte,
and line ACC draw and head ACC in all directions shake and

nagaikoto kakatte kakehikishita.
a long time take and haggled
'They frowned, drew circles and lines with their fingers, shook their heads in all directions and took a long time haggling.'

88. Otoko GA ryoote o awase, "te" WA kokubi o
man NOM both hands ACC put together and hand TOP head ACC

kashigeta ga, kuchi o tsugumi, sorede soodan WA
tilted but mouth ACC close and then haggling TOP

matomatta rashikatta.
settled seemed
'The man put his hands together, and "Hands" tilted his head but kept quiet and it seemed the haggling was settled.'

89. "Te" GA ore o tsukanda.
hand NOW I ACC grabbed
'"Hands" grabbed me. '

90. Mada shigoto GA nanimo sumanai noni, poketto kara mame
yet job NOM nothing not finished despite pocket from beans

no fukuro o toridashite, ore no ebako o ippai ni shita.
GEN bag ACC take out and I GEN food box ACC full to did
'Even though there was no work done yet, (he) took out a bag of beans from the pocket and filled my food box.'

91. "Saa, kue yo."
here eat SFP
'"Go on, eat." '

92. Hidoku yasashii koe de soo itta.
extremely gentle voice in so said
' (He) said in an extremely gentle voice.

93. "Sabishii ka ne. "
sad Q SFP
'"Sad?" '

94. to ushiro kara otoko GA itta.
COM behind from man NOM said
'asked the man from behind. '

95. "Atarimae desu yo. "
natural COP SFP
'"Of course." '

96. to "te" GA haradatashigeni kotaeta.
COM hand NOM angrily answered
'"Hands" answered angrily.'

97. Ore WA itsumo no youni hako ni irerareta.
I TOP usual GEN like box into was put in

'I was put into the box as usual.'

98. Shikashi, tsureteikareta no wa misemonogoya dewanakatta.
but taken(PAS) COM TOP show booth was not
'However it was not to the show booth where I was taken.'

99. Ookina, kurai tatemono no , yakuhin kusai heya datta.
big dark building GEN chemicals smelling room was
' (It) was a chemical smelling room in a large, dark building.'

100. Sokode ore WA aomukeni nekasare, mune no
there I TOP on the back made to lie down and chest GEN

ke o kakiwakerare, surudoi mesu de, kirareta.
feather ACC was separated and sharp knife with was cut open
'There I was put feet up and had my chest feathers separated and cut open with a sharp knife.'

101. Ore no nakami WA eguridasare, marude shatsu o
I GEN insides TOP is taken out and just like shirt ACC

nugu yooni, kawa dake ni sarete.
take off like skin only to was made
'My insides were taken out and I had only skin left just like taking off a shirt.'

102. Ore no nakami WA sugu nabe ni irerare, nite,
I GEN insides TOP immediately pan in was put and cook and

tabarareteshimatta.
was eaten
'My insides were immediately put in a pan, cooked and eaten.'

103. Soshite, kawa no hoo WA, naka ni tsumemono o sare,
and skin GEN side TOP inside in stuffing ACC is done and

harigane no honegumi de sasaerarete, hakusei ni natta.
wire GEN frame by is supported and stuffed to became
'And the skin part was filled inside, supported by a wire frame and I became a stuffed bird.'

104. Sorekara, futatabi hako ni osamerare, tsugini hakobareta
then again box in is put away and next was carried

no WA rei no otoko no atorie datta.
COM TOP in question GEN man GEN studio was
'Then, again (I) was put away in a box and it was the man's studio to where (I) was carried.'

105. Otoko WA ore o moderu-dai ni nose, tsubasa no guai
man TOP I ACC model stand on place and wing GEN condition

ya kubi no ichi o naoshita.
and neck GEN position ACC corrected
'The man placed me on a model stand and corrected the wings and the position of my neck.'

106. Mohaya, ore WA sareru mama datta.
now I TOP is done as was
'Now I was completely under (his) control.'

107. Otoko WA ore o mitsumete wa, nendo o konetari kezuttari
man TOP I ACC stare at TOP clay ACC mix and scrape and

shita.
did
'The man stared at me and mixed and scraped clay.'

108. Gaiken dake kara ieba, kondo no jiken WA ore
appearance only from say(COND) this time GEN incident TOP I

nitotte soo taishita koto dewanakatta yooni mieru

for so significant matter was not like seem

kamoshirenai.
may
'Superficially, this incident may seem to be insignificant for me.'

109. Daga, dooshite, taihenna chigaiyoo da.
but rather enormous change COP
'But, (it) is rather a big change.'

110. Inochi ga nakunatta to-iu yoona, atarimae no koto WA
life NOM lost COM like matter of course GEN event TOP

betsu ni shite mo, ore WA ikko no kanzenna buttai
separate to make even I TOP one GEN complete material object

ni nari, sore bakari denaku, ore WA ikko no kannen
to become and that only is not and I TOP one GEN concept

sono mono ni natta.
that thing to became
'Apart from the fact of losing life, I have become a complete material object and not only that, I have became a concept itself.'

111. Iya, kannen sono mono ni naritsutsuatta.
no concept that thing to was becoming
'No, (I) was becoming a concept itself.'

112. Otoko no te no naka de, ore WA kannen ni
man GEN hand GEN inside at I TOP concept to

zookeisaretsutsuaru no da.
is being formed COM COP
'Inside the man's hands, I am being formed into a concept.'

113. Kankaku no sekibunchi dearu ni suginai ore kara ore WA
feeling GEN integral value COP for not pass I from I TOP

imi no sekibunchi ni henkeishita no da.
meaning GEN integral value to transfromed COM COP

'I transformed from myself who was only an integral value of feelings to that which has an integral value of meaning.'

114. Sono henkei no kansei WA, aru natsu no hi,
that transformation GEN completion TOP one summer GEN day

isoida tameni fukanzen datta boofu no tameni, ore no
hurried due to improper was preservation GEN due to I GEN

kawa ga uchigawa kara hookaishi, uji ni
skin NOM inside from deteriorate and maggot by

kuiyaburarehajimeta koto ni yoru.
bagan to be torn off COM to is attributable
'The completion of transformation is attributable to the fact that one summer my skin decayed from the inside and began to be torn off by maggots due to the improper preservation (which was) done in a hurry.'

115. Ore WA kamado ni hoorikomare, moyasareteshimai,
I TOP kiln in is thrown away and is burnt and

sono kawarini, ore WA otoko no te no shita de
that in place of I TOP man GEN hand GEN under at

"hato no zoo" ni natte shiagatteita.
pigeon GEN statue to become and was finished
'I was thrown away in a kiln and burnt, and furthermore, I finished up as "the pigeon statue" by the man's hand.'

116. Soshite totsuzen, ore WA issai no imi o rikaishita.
and suddenly I TOP all GEN meaning ACC comprehended
'And suddenly I comprehended the meaning of everything.'

117. Ore WA ima, "heiwa no hato" no zoo dearu.
I TOP now peace GEN pigeon GEN statue COP
'I am now the statue of "Peace Pigeon".'

118. Ore WA meikakuna imi o mochi, imi sore jitai
I TOP clear meaning ACC hold and meaning that itself

dewaaru ga, shikashi, ore WA tanjunni ore-jishin de
COP but however I TOP simply myself by
ore dearu koto wa dekinai no da.
I COP COM TOP is not possible COM COP
'I have a clear meaning and am the meaning itself but I cannot be myself simply by myself.'

119. Kantanni ieba, ore o sasaetekureru mono no kooi
simply say(COND) I ACC support people GEN deed

niyotte nomi, ore WA sonzaishiuru no da.
by only I TOP can exist COM COP
'Simply stated, I can only exist by the deed of those who support me.'

120. Sonna jijoo de, ore WA machi no yotsutsuji ni
such circumstances in I TOP town GEN intersection at

tatasareta.
was hoisted
'In such a situation, I was hoisted up at the intersection of the town.'

121. Sore WA mata, seiji no rikigaku no yotsutsuji daroo.
that TOP also politics GEN dynamics GEN intersection PRE
'That was also the intersection of political dynamics.'

122. Tokorode, moto ni modoroo.
incidently original to let's return
'Incidently, let us go back to the beginning.'

123. "Te" WA ore no nibanme no ashi o moo hikiowaru
hand TOP I GEN the second GEN leg ACC already finish sawing

yoo da.
looks like COP
'"Hands" seems to be finishing sawing my second leg already.'

124. Shikashi, sono go no ikisatsu o chotto hanashite-
but that after GEN what happened ACC a little not tell

okanai to, "te" no shutsugen WA amari totsuzen de
COND hand GEN emergence TOP too abrupt and

guuzen sugiru yooni mierukamoshirenai.
accidental too as if may seem
'But unless (I) tell you what happened after that, the emergence of "Hands" may seem too sudden and accidental.'

125. "Te" WA ore no inochi o shihei nan-maika de utteshimatta
hand TOP I GEN life ACC note a few for sold off

koto ni, hidoku kookai o kanjitanisooinakatta.
COM about terribly remorse ACC must have felt
'"Hands" must have felt terribly sorry about selling off my life for just a few notes.'

126. Ano ato mainichi no youni, yotsutsuji ni arawarete wa,
that after every day GEN like intersection at appear TOP

tabako o ippuku suiowaru aida, jitto ore o
cigarette ACC one finish inhaling while hard I ACC

mitsumeteita mono da.
was looking at MA COP
'After that (event), (he)used to appear at the intersection almost every day and stared at me while (he) smoked a cigarette.'

127. "Te" no yowayowashii manazashi o mikaesu to, ore WA
hand GEN feeble eyes ACC look back COND I TOP

samazamana koto o rikaisuru koto ga dekita.
various matters ACC understand COM NOM was possible

'When (I) looked back at "Hands'" feeble eyes, I was able to understand lots of things.'

128. "Te" WA masumasu kurashi ni owareteita.
hand TOP increasingly life by was chased
'"Hands" was chased by life harder and harder ("Hands" was becoming poorer and poorer.)'

129. Kare WA hibi no fukoo ga nanika ore nitaisuru
he TOP every day GEN unhappiness NOM somehow I against

tsumi no sei dearu ka no yoona moosoo ni
crime GEN cause COP Q COM like imagination by

tsukarehajimeteiru rashikatta.
was beginning to be attached seemed
'Apparently he was beginning to have the idea that the misery of his life is due to the crime against me.'

130. Muron sore WA tannaru moosoo ni suginakatta.
of course that TOP simply imagination for did not pass
'Of course it was no more than his imagination.'

131. Shikashi, kare ni shitemireba, genjitsu deatta.
but he for if it is concerned reality was
'But for him (it) was reality.'

132. Kare WA kono himitsu o jibun hitori de tamotteiru koto
he TOP this secret ACC self oneself by keep COM

ni taerarenakunatta.
to became no longer bearable
'He could no longer bear to keep this secret to himself.'

133. Soshite, au hito goto ni, ore no ummei nitsuite
and meet person every for I GEN fate about

monogataru no datta.
relate COM was
'And (he) related my fate to every person he met.'

134. Ore o, "heiwa no shoochoo" kara, "te" no ummei ni
I ACC peace GEN symbol from hand GEN fate to

hikiorosu tameni.
bring down in order to
'In order to bring me down to the fate of "Hands" from a "Peace symbol".'

135. Aru hi, sono "te" no koe GA, han-heiwashugisha no mimi
one day that hand GEN voice NOM anti-pacifist GEN ear

ni tomatta no datta.
at caught up COM was
'One day "Hands'" voice caught the ears of anti-pacifists.'

136. ... Daga, sono hanashi WA atomawashi ni shiyoo.
but that story TOP later to will make

'... But, (I) will tell the story later.'

137. "Te" WA moo ore no ashi o nihon tomo hikikitteshimatta.
hand TOP already I GEN leg ACC two both cut free
'"Hands" has already cut both of my legs free.'

138. Sate, hanashi WA hajime kara no tsuzuki dearu.
well story TOP beginning from GEN continuation COP
'Well, the story is to continue from the beginning.'

139. "Te" WA taorekakatta ore o ude ni uke, koshi
hand TOP half fell down I ACC arm into receive and waist

ni maiteatta roopu de kukuru to, shizukani ore o
on rolled around rope with tie when gently I ACC

jimen ni oroshita.
ground to lowered
'"Hands" received me as I was half falling down and after tying me with the rope that was around his waist, (he) gently lowered me to the ground.'

140. Ore WA suppori yuki ni umari, mirumiru
I TOP completely snow in is buried and rapidly

mienakunatteshimatta.
disappeared
'I was completely buried in the snow and rapidly went out of sight.'

141. "Te" WA sono roopu o dai ni kukuritsuke, suberiorita.
hand TOP that rope ACC stand to tie and slid down
'"Hands" tied the rope to the stand and slid down.'

142. Sorekara, ore o yuki no naka kara hikidashite, se
then I ACC snow GEN inside from dig out and back

ni seoi, ikizumaru fubuki no naka o, kaze
on carry and suffocating snow storm GEN inside ACC wind

to hantai no hookoo ni korogaru yooni kakedashita.
to opposite GEN direction to rolling as if began to run
'Then, (he) dug me out of the snow, put me on his back and began to run against the wind as rolling in the suffocating snow storm.'

143. Yukiboozu GA hoe, Yukionna GA naki, kare WA
snowman NOM howl and snowwoman NOM scream and he TOP

juppo goto ni tsumazuita.
ten steps every at tripped over
'The snowman howled and the snowwoman screamed and he tripped over at every tenth step.

144. Machi o futatsu hodo koshita, aru machikado
town ACC two approximately went passing one town corner

no, yake-biru no chikashitsu no iriguchi de, "te"
GEN burnt building GEN basement GEN entrance at hand

WA ashi o tome, naka kara shi, go-nin no otoko
TOP foot ACC stop and inside from four five people GEN man

GA arawareta.
NOM appeared
'At the basement entrance of a burnt building which is about two towns away, "Hands" stopped and four or five men came out from inside.'

145. Otoko no hitori GA ore o uketori, betsuna hitori GA
man GEN one NOM I ACC receive and another one NOM

"te" ni nanika footoo o tewatashi, ponto kata
hand to something envelope ACC hand in and lightly shoulder

o utte waratta.
ACC pat and smiled
'A man received me and another one gave something like an envelope to "Hands" and patted (him) lightly on the shoulder, smiling.'

146. Sorekara, bonyari tachitsukusu "te" o atoni nokoshite,
then lost standing hand ACC behind leave and

otoko-tachi WA ashibayani tachisatta.
men TOP quickly went away
'Then leaving behind "Hands" (who was) standing (looking) lost, the man quickly went away.'

147. Tachisarinagara, otoko no hitori GA itta.
while leaving man GEN one NOM said
'While leaving, one of the men said.'

148. "Umaku itta ne.
well went SFP
'"(It) went well.'

149. Kichigai mo tsukaiyoo da."
crazy man even how to use COP
'Even a crazy man is useful.'

150. Betsuna otoko GA itta.
another man NOM said
'Another one said.'

151. "Genjitsu GA kuusoo o riyooshita no da.
reality NOM imagination ACC utilised COM COP
'"Reality made use of fantasy.'

152. Yatsu ga hannin da to daremo utagawanai yo.
fellow NOM culprit COP COM nobody not doubt SFP
'Nobody would doubt that the fellow is the culprit.'

153. Soreni kichigai to kiteyagaru."
on top lunatic COM come
'In addition (he) is lunatic."'

154. Kono otoko-tachi WA, seifu no mawashimono datta no
this men TOP government GEN secret agents were COM

da.
COP
'These men were secret agents of the goverment.'

155. Karera ni wa ore GA mezawari datta.
they for TOP I NOM eyesore was
'For them I was an eyesore.'

156. Ore o sonzaisaseteiru mono-tachi GA mezawari datta.
I ACC let exist people NOM eyesore were
'People who allowed me to exist were eyesores.'

157. Sokode, semai genjitsu ni moomoku to nari,
then narrow reality for blind to become and

kyookishita "te" o sosonokashita to-iu wake datta.
went lunatic hand ACC incited COM MA was
'Then, (they) incited "Hands" who had gone blind to reality
and gone lunatic.'

158. Daga, ore to "te" no kankei WA, kore de owatta
but I and hand GEN relationship TOP this WITH ended

wake dewanai.
MA is not
'However the relationship between me and "Hands" did not end
there.'

159. Hanashi WA mada tsuzuku no da.
story TOP still continue COM COP
'The story is still to continue.'

160. Ore WA sugu himitsu koojoo ni hakobare,
I TOP immediately secret factory to is carried and

yookaisare, sarani betsuna koojoo ni hakobarete,
melted(PAS) and further another factory to is carried and

hoka no ore to onaji seibun no kinzoku ni
other GEN I as same composition GEN metal with

kongoosare, ore WA kihakuna, boodaina katamari
is mixed and I TOP rarefied enormous lump

ni natta.
to became
'I was immediately carried to a secret factory, melted, carried
to another factory and mixed with other metal which had the same
composition as me and I became an enormous rarefied lump.'

161. Sorekara, ore WA samazamana mono ni kakoosare, ore no
then I TOP various thing GEN is processed and I GEN

ichibu WA pisutoru no tama ni natta.
part TOP pistol GEN bullet TO became
'Then I was processed into different things and part of me became a pistol bullet.'

162. Iya, ichibu dewaaru ga, sudeni kotai no jooken o
no part COP but already individual GEN condition ACC

ushinatta ore nitotte, sono pisutoru no tama hitotsu
lost I for that pistol GEN bullet one

GA, ore sonomono deatta.
NOM I itself was
'No, (it) was part (of me), but for me, who had lost the condition of being an individual, the one pistol bullet was my very self.'

163. Ore WA are demoari, kore demoari, mata ichibu demoari
I TOP that COP this COP also part COP

zenbu demoatta.
whole COP
'I was that and this, also a part and an entirety.'

164. Dakara, igo, ore to iu no WA sono ikko no pisutoru
therefore hereafter I COM call one TOP that one GEN pistol

no tama no koto dearu.
GEN bullet GEN thing COP
'Hereafter therefore, the thing called I means that one pistol bullet.'

165. Ore WA himitsu no yooto ni aterareta.
I TOP secret GEN use to was assigned
'I was assigned to a secret use.'

166. Ore ga shiyoosareru mokuteki WA, sudeni sadamatteita.
I NOM is used purpose TOP already was decided
'The purpose of my use was already decided.'

167. Ore WA hitotsu no pisutoru no naka ni tsumekomare,
I TOP one GEN pistol GEN inside in is loaded and

haigo ni wa boodaina enerugii GA ore o oshidasoo
behind me at TOP enormous energy NOM I ACC push out

to migamaeteita.
COM was waiting
'I was loaded into a pistol and an enormous amount of energy was waiting behind me to push me out.'

168. Ore no atama WA kurai chiisana tonneru o
I GEN head TOP dark small tunnel ACC

nozoiteita.
was looking through
'My head was looking through a small dark tunnel.'

169. Sono saki ni WA poketto no tamotokuzu GA mieteita.
that ahead at TOP pocket GEN fluff NOM could be seen
'Ahead (I) could see the fluff of a pocket.'

170. Ore WA poketto no naka no pisutoru to isshoni, sonna
I TOP pocket GEN inside GEN pistol WITH together such

jootai de, ni san nichi mo machi-machi o samayotta
condition in two three day about towns ACC wandered

dearoo ka.
PRE Q
'I wandered through towns for a few days or so with the pistol in the pocket in such a condition.'

171. Aru yo, totsuzen, ore WA kuuchuu ni hikidasareta.
one night suddenly I TOP air to was pulled out
'One night, I was suddenly pulled out into the air.'

172. Tonneru no saki ni WA, tamotokuzu dewanaku, machi no
tunnel GEN end at TOP fluff is not and town GEN

fuukei GA atta.
scenery NOM exist
'At the end of the tunnel, (there) was not fluff but there was scenery of a town.'

173. Tsuide, gaitoo ni tereshidasareta hitori no otoko no
and street light by was shone one GEN man GEN

sugata o mita.
figure ACC saw
'Then (I) saw a man's figure shone by the street lights.'

174. "Te" deatta.
hand was
'(It) was "Hands".'

175. "Heiwa no hato" no nusutto toshite, seifu kara
peace GEN dove GEN stealer as government from

shimeisare, ikkagetsu amari nigemawatte, tsuini
identified(PAS) and one month about ran away and finally

kutsujoku to hiroo no haremono ni natta awarena
humiliation and exhaustion GEN protuberance to became pitiful

"te" no sugata datta.
hand GEN figure was
'(It) was the figure of "Hands", who had became a protuberance of humiliation and exhaustion after running away for a month after (he) was identified as the stealer of "Peace Dove" by the government.'

176. Yakunin-tachi WA, kare o tsukatte ore o
government officials TOP he ACC use and I ACC

nusumase, tsugini kare o nakimono ni shiyoo to
make steal and next he ACC deceased to make COM

kuwadateta no da.
planned COM COP
'The government officials got him to steal me and then planned to kill him.'

177. Shikamo, ore o tsukatte!
and I ACC using
'And (that is by) using me!'

178. Hikigane GA hikare, kigeki no enerugii GA
trigger NOM was pulled and comedy GEN energy NOM

bakuhatsushite, ore WA icchokusenni tonneru o
blow and I TOP dead straight tunnel ACC

suberidashita.
began to run
'The trigger was pulled and the energy of the comedy blew up and I began to run straight out the tunnel.'

179. Sore WA yuiitsu no hitsuzen no michi datta.
that TOP only GEN inevitable GEN way COP
'That was the only inevitable way.'

180. Hoka no michi WA nakatta.
other GEN way TOP did not exist
'There were no other ways.'

181. Ore WA "te" ni mukatte massugu hashiri, ikuraka
I TOP hand to going toward straight run and some

no niku to chi o kezuritotte, sonomama toorinuke,
GEN flesh and blood ACC take and as it is go through and

gairoju no miki ni tsukisasatte, tsubureta.
roadside tree GEN trunk to pierce crumbled
'I ran straight to "Hands" and took away some flesh and blood and went through (him) with it and pierced the trunk of a roadside tree and crumbled.'

182. Ore no haigo de, "te" ga umeki, taoreru oto
I GEN behind me at hand NOM moan and fall down sound

GA shita.
NOM did
'There was the sound of "Hands" moaning and falling down behind me.'

183. Soshite, ore WA saigo no henkei o kanryooshita.
and I TOP last GEN transformation ACC completed
'And I completed the last transformation.'

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