

TEACHING WA AND GA
TO ENGLISH-SPEAKING STUDENTS

Sub-thesis submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts (Asian Studies)
at The Australian National University

March 1985

by

YUKIE ANZAI

DECLARATION

Except where otherwise indicated this thesis is
my own work.

YUKIE ANZAI

March 1985

GLOSSARY

KEY TO GRAMMATICAL ABBREVIATIONS

ACC	accusative case marker (o)
ALLAT	allative case marker (e)
CONT	continuous form
COP	copula (da (plain form); desu (polite form))
DAT	dative case marker (ni)
EXP	explanatory usage (n or no)
GEN	genitive case marker (no)
GER	gerund
IMP	imperative form
INTERROG	interrogative particle (ka)
LOC	locative case marker (ni, de)
NEG	negative
NOM	nominative case marker (ga)
NOMINAL	nominalizer (n, no or koto)
PAST	past tense
PL	plural
POL	politeness marker (-masu, -desu)
POTENT	potential form
SFP	sentence final particle
TEMP	temporal locative marker (ni)
TOP	topic marker (wa)

- *X X is ungrammatical
- ?X X is on the borderline between grammatical
 and ungrammatical

Every English translation appended to the ordinary Japanese example sentences given in this thesis is my own preferred translation for that sentence. In some cases this coincides with the translation given by the author from whom the example was borrowed, but in other cases I have substituted my own. However, all translations of examples given in quotations are those of the original author.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the following supervisors and scholars for their kind guidance during the preparation of this sub-thesis: Professor Anthony Alfonso, Dr. Hiroko C. Quackenbush and Dr. Karl H. Rensch, of The Australian National University, Assistant Professor Mieko Ohso of Kansai University of Foreign Studies, and Assistant Professor Yoshio Nitta of Osaka Women's College.

I extend heartfelt thanks to Str. Madeleine Ryan, Principal of Ursula College, ANU, for her warm encouragement and for providing me with a lovely room which enabled me to complete my work in such comfort.

I am particularly grateful to Miss Nerida Gray, part-time tutor in the Department of Linguistics and Japan Centre, ANU, who gave me invaluable assistance, contributing useful suggestions and checking my English.

I would also like to thank all the staff of Japan Centre, ANU, for their kindness and help.

ABSTRACT

To English speakers the distinction between the uses of the Japanese particles, "WA" and "GA", is one of the most difficult problems in learning Japanese, and this is particularly true in the case where "WA" and "GA" marks the NP which is equivalent to the subject in English. This usage of "WA" and "GA" is also extremely problematic for instructors in teaching Japanese to students whose native language is English. ✓

The present sub-thesis firstly introduces the major theories concerning the two particles, "WA" and "GA", advanced by several linguists.

Secondly, on the basis of these theories, a critical survey of several Japanese textbooks is presented, which examines how the two particles are introduced in these textbooks, when they are used to mark the NP which is equivalent to the subject in English.

Finally, on the basis of the theories discussed and the critical survey presented, methodological suggestions are advanced, concerning how to introduce this particular usage of "WA" and "GA", to English speaking students.

These suggestions are intended to make up for the inadequacies in the textbooks examined. They are concerned with the following four points:

1. The logical introduction of "WA" and "GA".
2. The presentation of several charts representing the functions of "WA" and "GA" in the basic sentence patterns of Japanese.
3. The initial introduction of "WA" and "GA".
4. The order of introducing the four basic functions of "WA" and "GA".

CONTENTS

	Page
Declaration	i
Glossary	ii
Acknowledgements	iv
Abstract	v
Introduction	1
1. The Particles "WA" and "GA" considered in Single Sentences	18
1.1 The Two Main Functions of "WA"	18
1.2 The Two Main Functions of "GA"	25
2. The Particles "WA" and "GA" Considered in the Context of Discourse Structure	33
2.1 Kuno's Hypothesis and Observations	34
2.2 Sentences of Description and Sentences of Judgement	46
3. A Critical Survey of Japanese Textbooks	52
3.1 What is the order of introducing the uses of "WA" and "GA", and in what kind of sentence patterns are they introduced?	53
3.2 How are the functions of "WA" and "GA" explained? Is the explanation sufficient for students to understand the distinction between the various uses of "WA" and "GA" appearing in the textbook concerned?	57
3.3 General Remarks on the Results of the Survey.	97
4. Teaching "WA" and "GA" in the Light of Various Linguistic Theories	101
5. Practical Suggestions for a Methodology for Teaching "WA" and "GA"	130
Suggestion 1 The logical introduction of "WA" and "GA"	131
Suggestion 2 Charts showing "WA" and "GA" in Basic Sentence Patterns	155
Suggestion 3 The order of introducing the uses of "WA" and "GA", and the kind of sentence patterns in which the two particles should be initially introduced	157

CONTENTS (Continued)

	Page
Suggestion 4 The order of introducing the four basic functions of "WA" and "GA", and the kind of sentence patterns in which the functions should be introduced.	163
6. Conclusion	165
Bibliography	167

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the present sub-thesis

To English speakers the distinction in meaning between the particles "WA" and "GA" is one of the most difficult problems in learning Japanese, and, what is more, a Japanese sentence cannot normally be composed without using either of these two particles, "WA" or "GA".

Watashi wa John desu.

I TOPIC COP+POL+NON-PAST

Watashi ga John desu.

I NOM COP+POL+NON-PAST

'I am John.'

Kare wa Nihongo o naratta.

he TOPIC Japanese ACC learned

Kare ga Nihongo o naratta.

he NOM Japanese ACC learned

'He learned Japanese.'

To express the situations conveyed by the English translations above, Japanese speakers use "WA" and "GA" distinctively, according to such factors as the exact context of the utterance. This distinction is naturally made subconsciously in the mind of the Japanese speaker. However, if a foreigner were to use one or these particles in the

wrong context, in most cases it would sound very strange indeed to the native speaker.

The purpose of the present sub-thesis is to study the theories concerning "WA" and "GA" advanced by several linguists, and on the basis of this study, to critically examine, from the pedagogical point of view, the way in which the basic functions of "WA" and "GA" are introduced to students in various Japanese textbooks. Finally a method is suggested for teaching "WA" and "GA", designed to make up for the inadequacies in the textbooks examined and aid in guiding students to a correct usage of these particles.

The scope of this thesis

The Japanese particles "WA" and "GA" both have a fairly wide range of functions, all of which must be carefully introduced and explained to students. However, there is one function of these particles which poses particular difficulties, both for students, at least those whose native language is English, and for instructors and textbook writers. This is when "WA" or "GA" is used to mark the NP which is equivalent to the subject in English, and it is this function only which is dealt with in this thesis.

Nevertheless, the reader may find it helpful to have some idea of the full range of the functions

of these particles, and so I have summarized below all the functions of "WA" and "GA" introduced in the Japanese textbooks examined.

- (1) "WA" and "GA" for marking the NP which is equivalent to the subject in English
- (2) "WA" for topicalizing elements in the sentence which are not equivalent to the subject in English
- (3) "WA" for contrasting elements in the sentence which are not equivalent to the subject in English
- (4) "WA" and "GA" which are introduced as constituents in the sentence pattern 'X WA x GA...', where x can be thought of as a part of X ✓
- (5) "GA" for marking the object of some specific verbals¹
- (6) "WA" for topicalizing in cases where the relationship between the topic and the predicate can only be understood by contextual or socio-cultural knowledge
- (7) "WA" and "GA" in subordinate clauses
- (8) "WA" and "GA" in idiomatic expressions

1 There are, in fact, some objections to the opinion that the particle "GA" in this construction is actually marking the object. Kuno mentions (1973a, P.79; 1973b, P.48), that Martin (1962, P.44) and Jorden (1962, P.100) are of the opinion that these NPs followed by "GA" are actually the subjects of the sentences given. Alfonso (1974, P.148) also maintains that "GA" marks the subject of this construction.

> functions (2)-(8) listed above, and that only in the case of function (1) were major methodological problems encountered. Consequently, this thesis is not concerned with the items (2)-(8) listed above. Rather, it deals with the following issue: how the distinction between 'WA and GA for marking the NP which is equivalent to the subject in English' should be best introduced to students, so that they can understand it easily and use these two particles correctly in normal speech.

The students with whom this thesis is concerned

The students with whom this thesis is concerned are restricted to university students or adult students who are learning Japanese in Japan, or learning it abroad in preparation for visiting Japan, normally for reasons of an academic nature.

Japanese Textbooks to be Examined

The Japanese textbooks examined in this thesis are:

Alfonso, A. (1982) Japanese, Book 1, 2, 3, Curriculum Development Centre, Canberra (J)

Alfonso, A. (1974) Japanese Language Patterns, Sophia University L.L. Center of Applied Linguistics, Tokyo (JLP)

International Christian University. (1979) Modern Japanese for University Students, Part I, Japanese Department, ICU, Tokyo (MJU)

- Japanese Language Promotion Center. (1971) Intensive Course in Japanese, Elementary, Language Service Co., Ltd., Tokyo (ICJ)
- Jorden, E.H. (1974) Beginning Japanese, Charles E. Tuttle Company, Tokyo (BJ)
- Mizutani, O. and N. (1978) An Introduction to Modern Japanese, The Japan Times Ltd., Tokyo (IMJ)
- The University of Nagoya Press. (1983) A Course in Modern Japanese, The University of Nagoya Press, Nagoya (CMJ)
- Waseda University. (1977) Gaikoku-gakusei-yoo Nihongo Kyookasho, Sho-kyuu, (Elementary Japanese for Foreign Students), Waseda University, Tokyo (NK)

Seven of these textbooks were chosen for the study because they are by far the most commonly used in universities both in Japan and overseas. The only exception is Alfonso's Japanese, which is designed for high school students. It was included in the survey because its presentation of "WA" and "GA" differs significantly from all the other textbooks examined, and is quite outstanding in many ways. Many of the techniques suggested in this text are undoubtedly valuable for students of any age.

The functions of "WA" and "GA"

This section is devoted to a brief statement of all the functions of "WA" and "GA" introduced in

the Japanese textbooks examined. Generally, the particle "WA" is regarded as the topic marker.

- (1) "WA" and "GA" for marking the NP which is equivalent to the subject in English

a. John ga Mary ni kinoo hana o
DAT yesterday flower ACC

katta.

buy + PAST

'John bought some flowers for Mary
yesterday.'

b. John wa Mary ni kinoo hana o katta.
(Topicalization of the subject)

c. John wa Mary ni kinoo hana o katta
(ga, Tom wa kawanakatta.)
but buy+NEG+PAST

'John bought some flowers for Mary
yesterday, (but Tom didn't).'

(Contrast of subjects)

- (2) "WA" for topicalizing elements in the sentence which are not equivalent to the subject in English

a. Mary ni wa John ga kinoo hana o katta.
(Topicalization of the indirect object)

b. Hana wa John ga Mary ni kinoo katta.
(Topicalization of the direct object)

c. Kinoo wa John ga Mary ni hana o katta.
(Topicalization of the adverbial)

In the examples (1b) and (2a,b,c) the topic has been chosen from the basic sentence (1a) which represents an objective fact (namely the 'proposition'), as a result of the speaker's subjective point of view concerning the things he is talking about. That is, the topic varies depending on which element of the statement the speaker regards as significant. In general, by taking a particular element as the topic of the statement, by marking that element with the thematic "WA", the speaker expresses something about his subjective judgement on the content of the statement. However, this does nothing to alter the objective facts of his utterance.

As seen above, the nominative particle "GA" as well as the accusative "O" disappear when "WA" is attached, while other particles are normally retained (as seen in the example (2a)). Some more examples of this kind are

- d. Koko kara wa Fuji-san ga mienai.
 this place from Fuji-Mt. NOM see+NEG
 '(People) cannot see Mt. Fuji from here.'
- e. Kyotoo ni wa tera ga takusan aru.
 LOC temple NOM many exist+NON-PAST
 'There are many temples in Kyoto.'
- f. Hachi-gatsu made wa Canberra ni iru.
 eight-month until LOC exist+NON-PAST
 '(Someone) will be staying in Canberra until August.'

In (d) (e) and (f) "WA" is attached to particles which represent 'SOURCE' 'LOCATION' and 'LIMIT', respectively.

(3) "WA" for contrasting elements in the sentence which are not equivalent to the subject in English

In the following examples "WA" is used to place the noun phrases in contrast.

a. John wa Mary ni wa kinoo hana o katta (ga,
but

watashi ni wa kawanakatta).

I DAT buy+NEG+PAST

'John bought some flowers for Mary
yesterday, but he didn't for me.'

(Contrast of the indirect objects)

b. John wa Mary ni kinoo hana wa katta
(ga, chokoreeto wa kawanakatta).

but chocolate buy+NEG+PAST

'John bought some flowers for Mary
yesterday, (but didn't buy her any
chocolate).'

(Contrast of the direct objects)

c. John wa Mary ni kinoo wa hana o
katta (ga, kyoo wa kawanakatta).

but today buy+NEG+PAST

'John bought some flowers for Mary
yesterday, (but today he didn't).'

(Contrast of the adverbials)

There are cases where more than one NP marked by "WA" occur in a single sentence as illustrated by the following examples.

- d. Kinoo wa, watashi wa, uchi de wa,
 yesterday I home LOC
 shokuji o shinakatta.

meal ACC do+NEG+PAST

'Yesterday I had no meals at home.'

- e. John wa, kudamono wa, mikan ga suki
 fruit mandarin NOM fondness
 da.

COP+NON-PAST

'As for fruit, John likes mandarins' or

'Speaking of John, for fruit he likes
 mandarins.'

- f. Anata wa, shinbun wa, nani o yonde
 you newspaper what ACC read+GER
 imasu ka.

be+POL+NON-PAST INTERROG

'As for newspapers, which one do you read?'

Concerning sentences such as (d) above, Kuno claims, "Adverbial phrases of TIME or PLACE can be the theme of a sentence, regardless of the thematization of the subject or object. Therefore, it must be said that a sentence can have as many as three themes." (1978, pp.312-313) Clearly the English translation given for this sentence is very rough. (It should be noted that Kuno's claim is open to question, and not all linguists would agree that a sentence can have more

than one theme. However, my purpose here is neither to dispute nor support the hypotheses presented. Rather, as a significant portion of my conclusions are based on Kuno's theories, I would simply like to give the full picture of his analysis of "WA" and "GA".)

Concerning the kind of sentence exemplified by (e) and (f) it is not always entirely clear which of the two NPs marked by WA is the theme of the sentence. It may be the case that the first "WA" marks the theme and the second marks a NP which is in contrast with another unmentioned NP, or vice versa. It may even be the case that both NPs are themes or that both are contrasted. With regard to these different uses of "WA" Shibatani (1978) endorses Mikami's opinion (1963, P.198), which he quotes as follows:

"The 'strong-voiced' and 'weak-voiced' usage of WA are continuous, rather than being rigidly separable." (P.216, my translation.) (NOTE: Mikami uses the term 'strong-voiced usage' to refer to instances where "WA" receives the 'contrastive' interpretation, and in the 'weak-voiced usage' it has no 'contrastive' function, that is, other things of the same kind are not explicitly taken into account but it serves simply to mark the theme of the sentence.)

Shibatani continues:

"In other words, as the 'strong-voiced' and 'weak-voiced' interpretations are continuous and have no real boundary between them, there are many cases where we cannot say that this one is the 'contrastive WA' but that one is not." (ibid.)

This analysis of the usages of "WA" seems to me basically correct. However, one more important remark by Shibatani should be mentioned at this point. "Even the weak-voiced 'WA' must be considered to represent some degree of contrast, because it appears in the surface structure. In the Japanese language, a theme without any degree of contrast is normally deleted at the level of surface structure." (ibid.)

As argued later in Chapter 5, I define the sentence involving this 'weak-voiced WA' as a 'neutral expression'. However, even a 'neutral expression' with "WA", in a strict sense, involves some degree of contrast, although the Japanese speaker is normally not conscious of the contrast in the expression.

(4) "WA" and "GA" which are introduced as constituents in the sentence pattern 'X WA x GA ...', where x can be thought of as a part of X.

Concerning the kind of sentence given below, Shibatani claims that it is reasonable to posit that, in the terms of transformational grammar, the sentence pattern "TOPIC-PREDICATE" exists in the deep

structure as a basic sentence pattern of the Japanese language (Shibatani, 1978, P.207).

- a. [John wa [me ga ookii desu]]
 eye large COP+NON-PAST
 TOPIC PREDICATE
 'As for John, his eyes are large.' (John
 has large eyes.)
- b. Watashi wa nodo ga kawakimashita.
 I throat become dry+PAST
 'As for me, my throat is dry.' (I am
 thirsty.)
- c. Nihon wa Fuji-san ga yuumei desu.
 Japan Mt. fame COP+NON-PAST
 'As for Japan, Mt. Fuji is famous.'
 (Japan is famous for Mt. Fuji.)
- d. Umi wa iro ga aoi desu.
 sea colour blue COP+NON-PAST
 'As for the sea, its colour is blue.'
 (The colour of the sea is blue.)
- e. Hana wa sakura ga kirei desu.
 flower cherry beauty COP+NON-PAST
 'As for flowers, cherry blossoms are
 beautiful.'

The semantic restriction on the 'TOPIC-PREDICATE' structure, as in (a-e), is that the relationship between (x) and (X) is that (x) (= an NP in the PREDICATE) must be able to be thought of as a part of (X) (= the TOPIC).

- (5) "GA" for marking the object of some specific verbals

When the predicate of a sentence contains a transitive adjective, a transitive nominal adjective or some kinds of stative transitive verb, the particle "GA" occurs in the position where the object marker "O" (the accusative case marker) would be expected to occur, from the point of view of the meaning expressed by the sentence. It should be noted that the 'object marking "GA"' never has the exhaustive-listing connotation, unless it occurs in answer to a question. Cases in which the object marking "GA" occurs are limited to verbals of the following kind. Note that they all involve an extremely low degree of transitivity.

(A) Adjectives

i) Adjectives of sentiment

Boku wa Mary ga kowai.

I TOP am-afraid-of

'I am afraid of Mary.'

ii) Adjectives of competence

John wa Nihongo ga umai.

TOP Japanese is-good-at

'John is good at Japanese.'

(B) Nominal adjectives

i) Nominal adjectives of sentiment

Boku wa oyogu koto ga suki da.

I TOP swim NOMINAL fond-of am

'I like swimming.'

hoskii? ✓

ii) Nominal adjectives of competence

John wa Nihongo ga joozu da.

Japanese good-at COP+NON-PAST

'John is good at Japanese.'

iii) Nominal adjectives of need

Watashi wa okane ga hitsuyoo da.

I TOP money need COP+NON-PAST

'I am in need of money. I need money.'

(C) Verbs

i) Verbs of competence

a. John wa sashimi ga tabe-rareru.

TOP (raw fish) o eat+POTENT+NON-PAST

'John can eat sashimi.'

b. John wa Nihongo ga dekiru.

TOP Japanese o can do

'John can (handle) Japanese.'

Note that, in some circumstances, "O" can also be used to mark the objects of these predicates. "GA" is, however, generally considered more orthodox.

ii) Verbs of nonintentional perception

Koko kara Fuji-san ga mieru.

this place from Fuji-Mt. see

'(People) can see Mt. Fuji from here.'

iii) Verbs of possession/need

a. Boku wa kodomo ga aru/nai.

I TOP children have/not have

'I have/don't have children.'

b. Watashi wa okane ga iru.

I TOP money need

'I need money.'

- (6) "WA" for topicalizing in cases where the relationship between the topic and the predicate can only be understood by contextual or socio-cultural knowledge. (Shibatani, 1978, P.212.)

In the following examples, the NPs marked by "WA" are not coreferential with any sub-categorized argument of the verb. The semantic relationship between the NPs and the predicate can only be interpreted in the context, or by virtue of certain socio-cultural knowledge.

Demo kinoo wa kinodoku deshita ne. Anna
but yesterday pity COP+POL+PAST SFP such
arashi no naka o, ookina nimotsu o
storm GEN inside ACC big luggage ACC
motte... (NK, P.249)

hold+CONT

'(lit.) But yesterday - it was a pity, wasn't it?
- you having to carry heavy luggage through such
a storm.'

Tegami wa ichiban mukoo no madoguchi
letter most far GEN window
desu yo. (CMJ, L.8, P.173)

COP+POL+NON-PAST SFP

'(lit.) Letters - they're the window at the far
end. i.e. You can send a letter from the window
at the far end of the counter.'

This use of "WA" is very common in Japanese, and is very clearly based on the fundamental function of "WA", that is, to set up something at the head of the sentence, which the speaker wishes to talk about or ask about. This kind of sentence should be introduced to students in the final stages of learning the various uses of "WA". Students will be able to understand this usage naturally, after having acquired a sense of the basic functions of "WA" through examples of functions (1) to (5) above.

(7) "WA" and "GA" in subordinate clauses

Normally, in subordinate clauses, the NP equivalent to the subject in English is marked by "GA". The subject of a noun-modifying clause is invariably followed by "GA", never by "WA".

- a. John ga sensei na node ureshii.
 *wa teacher is because (I am) glad
 'I am glad because John is (our) teacher.'

- b. John ga kureta hon o yonda.
 *wa give+PAST book ACC read+PAST
 '(I) read the book which John gave me.'

However, "WA" representing 'contrast' is retained in subordinate clauses.

- a. Tom wa ikimasen. Demo John wa
 go+NEG+NON-PAST but
 iku node watashi mo ikimasu.
 go+NON-PAST as I also go+NON-PAST
 'Tom will not go. But as John is going, I
 am going, too.'

- b. Kore wa Tom wa taberu keredomo, John
 this eat+NON-PAST but
wa tabenai sakana desu.
 eat+NEG+NON-PAST fish COP+NON-PAST
 'This is the fish which Tom eats but John
 doesn't.'

(8) "WA and "GA" in idiomatic expressions.

Finally "WA" and "GA" are also used in
 idiomatic expressions such as the following:

Kon'nichi-wa 'Hello. Good afternoon.'

Konban-wa 'Good evening.'

Shikata ga arimasen 'It can't be helped.'

CHAPTER ONE

The Particles "WA" and "GA" Considered in Single Sentences

The purpose of this chapter is to study one of the major theories on "WA" and "GA" considered in single sentences, put forward by Susumu Kuno. Those parts of this theory which are relevant to this sub-thesis will be taken up, reorganized and summarized to fit in with the overall purpose of this work. I have chosen Kuno's theory, as it is one of the most widely accepted and well-argued theories and best suited for the discussion of the pedagogical aspects of this topic.

1.1 The Two Main Functions of "WA"

In this section Kuno's theory concerning the particle "WA", will be briefly introduced.

Kuno (1973, a and b) says that there are two different uses of "WA" from the point of view of sentence structure, one in which "WA" marks the theme of a sentence and the other in which it indicates a contrast. His argument can be summarized as follows:

1.1.1 "WA" for the theme of a sentence.

"WA" is attached to the "theme" of a sentence as shown in Examples (1) and (3)-(7) below; that is, "WA" follows the noun phrase which indicates what the speaker is going to talk about. In this use "WA" might be translated "Speaking of..., talking about..." or something of the like.

There are some restrictions on noun phrases which can be the theme of a sentence. Noun phrases which can be a theme must be either anaphoric or generic. Anaphoric noun phrases refer to elements that have already been mentioned and thus recorded in the registry of that particular discourse, or to elements that can be clearly identified by the hearer even though the speaker may not have mentioned them. Examples of anaphoric noun phrases of the latter type include objects that exist in the presence of the participants of the discourse and can be easily recognized by them. Nouns of unique reference in the universe of discourse, such as 'the sun', 'the moon', 'my wife', 'my children' are also included amongst the anaphoric noun phrases. Generic noun phrases refer to classes such as man (human beings in general), the Japanese (the Japanese in general), and the linguist (linguists in general, all linguists). They do not refer to some arbitrary members of the class. Generic noun phrases, says Kuno, seem to be

in the permanent registry of discourse, and do not have to be re-entered into the temporary registry for each discourse. In the sense that they are permanently stored in the registry of discourse, generic noun phrases are also anaphoric. Kuno claims that these restrictions are also true of "themes" in English sentences. Examples:

- a.* Speaking of three boys who came to the party, they did not behave themselves.
- b. Three boys came to the party. Speaking of the three boys, they did not behave themselves.

That is, Japanese and English have the same restrictions on the theme of a sentence. The use of "WA" outlined above will henceforth be referred to as "thematic WA".

1.1.1.1 Anaphoric noun phrases

- (1) a. John wa watashi no tomodachi da.

I GEN friend COP+NON-PAST

'Speaking of John, he is my friend.

John is my friend.'

- b. Futari wa party ni kita.

two DAT come+PAST

'Speaking of the two persons, they came to the party. The two persons came to the party.'

(1a) is grammatical only when John has already been mentioned in the discourse and is now being referred to again. (1b) is grammatical only when futari is taken as meaning 'the two people (under discussion).'

(2) a. * Oozei no hito wa party ni kita.

many GEN people DAT come+PAST

* 'Speaking of many people, they came to the party.'

b. * Omoshiroi hito wa party ni kita.

interesting people DAT come+PAST

* 'Speaking of interesting people, they came to the party.'

c. * Dareka wa byooki da.

somebody sickness COP+NON-PAST

* 'Speaking of somebody, he is sick.'

d. * Ame wa futte iru.

rain fall be

+GER +NON-PAST

lit: Speaking of rain, it is falling.

In (2a,b,c) oozei no hito (many people), omoshiroi hito (interesting people) and dareka (somebody) are noun phrases of nonanaphoric reference and their referents have presumably not been entered into the registry of the present discourse. Similarly, ame (rain) in this context is presumably neither generic nor anaphoric, and so (2d) cannot be interpreted as 'Speaking of rain, ...'. If ame (rain) has already

been entered into the discourse before (2d) is spoken, a grammatical sentence with the thematic interpretation can occur, as shown below:

- (3) Asa hayaku ame ga furi
 morning early rain NOM fall+CONT
 dashita.....Yoru ni natte mo
 start+PAST night become+GER even
ame wa futte ita.
 rain fall+GER be+PAST
 'It started raining early in the morning
 Speaking of the rain, it was still falling even
 when night fell.'

In (3) 'ame' (underlined) is an anaphoric noun. In (4), too, Kuno says that 'ame' is anaphoric, as it has unique reference.

- (4) Kyoo no ame wa zuibun hidoi.
 today GEN rain very violent
 'Today's rain is very violent.'

It was noted above that noun phrases whose referents can be clearly identified by the hearer, by virtue of their presence in the vicinity of the speech act, are also considered anaphoric. Thus they will co-occur with thematic WA, as in the example below.

- (5) Kore wa kyoo no shinbun da.
 this today GEN newspaper be+NON-PAST
 'This is today's newspaper.'

1.1.1.2 Generic noun phrases

- (6) a. Kujira wa honyuu-doobutsu da.
 whale mammal be+NON-PAST
 'Speaking of whales, they are mammals.
 A whale is a mammal.'
- b. Nihonjin wa kinbenna kokumin da.
 the Japanese hardworking people be+NON-PAST
 'Speaking of the Japanese, they are
 hardworking people. (the Japanese in
 general).'

1.1.1.3 Thematization of Quantified Nouns

Kuno claims that the NP no Quantifier
 construction can occur rather freely as a theme.

- (7) a. Gakusei no ooku wa dokushin da.
 student GEN many single be+NON-PAST
 'Many of the students are single.'
- b. Ooku no gakusei wa dokushin da.
 many GEN student single be+NON-PAST
 'Many students are single.'
- c. Amerika-zin no daibubun wa se ga takai.
 Americans GEN most part stature NOM high+NON-PAST
 'Most of the Americans are tall.'
- d. Daibubun no Amerika-zin wa se ga
 most part GEN Americans stature NOM
 takai.
 high+NON-PAST
 'Most Americans are tall.'

- e. Subete no ningen wa byoodoo da.
 all GEN human-beings equal be+NON-PAST
 'All human beings are equal.'

1.1.2 "WA" for contrasts

Kuno says that "WA" can also be used to place both anaphoric and nonanaphoric noun phrases in contrast. He calls this usage "contrastive WA". There are no restrictions on the noun phrase which precedes this contrastive "WA", provided the contrast is clear.

- (8) a. * Ame wa futte iru.
 rain fall+GER be+NON-PAST
 'Speaking of rain, it is falling.'
- b. Ame wa futte iru ga taishita koto
 rain fall+GER be+NON-PAST but serious matter
wa nai.
 not exist+NON-PAST
 'It is raining, but that doesn't matter.'
- (9) a. * Oozei no hito wa party ni kita.
 many GEN people DAT come+PAST
 'Speaking of many people, they came to the party.'
- b. Oozei no hito wa party ni kita ga,
 many GEN people DAT come+PAST but
omoshiroi hito wa hitori mo inakatta.
 interesting people one person even not exist+PAST
 'Many people came to the party all right, but there was no one interesting there.'

When the noun phrase preceding "WA" is generic or anaphoric, Kuno says, both the thematic and contrastive interpretations are possible. That is, an ambiguous sentence can result, if the context does not serve to clarify the interpretation intended. In both of the following sentences, (10) and (11), "WA" can be interpreted in two ways: thematic and contrastive.

(10) John wa sono hon o yonda.

that book ACC read+PAST

a. 'Speaking of John, he read that book.'

b. 'John read that book (but Mary didn't).'

(11) Watashi ga shitte iru hito wa

I NOM know+GER be+NON-PAST people

party ni konakatta.

DAT come-not-PAST.

a. 'Speaking of the people I know, they did not come to the party.'

b. '(People did come, but) there was no one I knew at the party.'

1.2 The Two Main Functions of "GA"

Kuno says that there are three different uses of "GA", depending on the character of the predicate.

1. "GA" for neutral description¹
2. "GA" for exhaustive-listing
3. "GA" for marking the object

However, as mentioned in the Introduction, this thesis is not concerned with the "GA" for marking the object.

1.2.1 "GA" for neutral description

In cases where the predicate belongs to any one of the categories listed below, "GA" attached to the subject of a sentence in isolation, out of context, indicates that that sentence represents a "neutral description".

(A) When the predicate represents an action or event described by an action verb

(12)a. John ga mimai ni kita.

inquiring after DAT come+PAST

'John came to inquire after (someone's) health.'

b. Tegami ga kita
letter come+PAST

'Some mail has come.'

c. Ame ga futte iru.
rain falling be

'It is raining.'

1 Kuno notes that observations (1) and (2) are originally due to S-Y Kuroda (1964).

(B) When the predicate involves existence described
by existential verbs

(13)a. Tsukue no ue ni hon ga aru.
desk GEN top LOC book exist+NON-PAST
(non animate)

b. Oya, asoko ni John ga iru.
oh there LOC exist+NON-PAST
(animate)

'Oh, John is over there.'

Adjectives like 'nai' (not to exist), 'ooi' (many, much) and 'sukunai' (few, little), which are related to 'existence' in their meaning, should be included in this category, although Kuno does not mention them.

(14)a. Watashi no kasa ga nai
I GEN umbrella not exist
(lit.) There is not my umbrella. 'I cannot
find my umbrella here.'

b. Ano gakkoo wa gakusei ga sukunai.
that school TOP student are-few
'As for that school, there are few students.'

(C) When the predicate represents a temporary state
described by adjectives or nominal adjectives

(15)a. Sora ga akai.
sky is-red
'Look! The sky is red.'

b. Atama ga itai.
head is-painful
'(lit.) Head aches. I have a headache.'

c. Te ga tsumetai.

hand are-cold

'My hands are cold.'

d. Ima sakura ga kirei da.

now cherry prettiness COP+NON-PAST

'The cherry blossoms are pretty at present.'

A descriptive sentence represents action, existence or a current temporary state, which can be observed objectively, and the whole sentence is presented as new information.

1.2.2 "GA" for exhaustive-listing

In cases where the predicate has the following characteristics, "GA" attached to the subject of a sentence invariably results in the "exhaustive-listing" interpretation.

(A) In cases where the predicate represents a stable state

(16) John ga gakusei desu.

student COP+POL+NON-PAST

'(Of all the people we are talking about)

John (and only John) is a student. It is

John who is a student.'

(17) John ga nihongo o shitte iru.

Japanese ACC know+GER is

'John (and only John) knows Japanese.'

However, these sentences are awkward, if not ungrammatical, out of context; that is, a Japanese speaker normally would not utter this kind of sentence in isolation. Sentences with the exhaustive-listing "GA" can be accepted as natural only when they are produced in contexts that require a noun phrase to be isolated from others of its type, and pointed to as the NP of whom the predication is true.

(18)a. Dare ga gakusei desu ka.

who student COP+POL+NON-PAST INTERROG

'Who is a student?'

b. John ga gakusei desu.

student COP+POL+NON-PAST

'John (and only John) is a student.'

(19)a. Dare ga nihongo o shitte iru ka.

who Japanese ACC know+GER is INTERROG

'Who knows Japanese?'

b. John ga nihongo o shitte iru.

Japanese ACC know+GER is

'John (and only John) knows Japanese.'

(20)a. Nani ga ningen no senzo desu

what man GEN ancestor COP+POL+NON-PAST

ka.

INTERROG

'What is the ancestor of mankind?'

- b. Saru ga ningen no senzo desu.
 monkey man GEN ancestor COP+POL+NON-PAST
 'It is the monkey that is the ancestor of
 man.'

Questions with interrogative pronouns require as an answer an exhaustive list of the things or people to whom that predication can be truthfully applied. This seems to be, Kuno says, why "GA", and not "WA", is used after the interrogative pronouns themselves. Recall that statements in which the predicate represents action, existence or current temporary state and in which "GA" appears, are taken as statements of neutral description.

From what has been mentioned above, it follows that when action verbs, existential verbs and adjectives of temporary states constitute the predicate of a sentence, a subject marked by "GA" can potentially be ambiguous. In other words, in such cases, the sentences can receive two interpretations: either neutral description or exhaustive listing, as shown in the comparisons between (21)(23)(25) and (22)(24) (26) respectively.

- (21) John ga mimai ni kita. (neutral-description)
 'John came to inquire after (someone's)
 health.'
- (22)a. Dare ga mimai ni kita ka.
 'Who came to inquire after (someone's)
 health?'

- b. John ga mimai ni kita. (exhaustive listing)
'John came to inquire after (someone's) health.'
- (23) Tsukue no ue ni hon ga aru. (neutral description)
'There are books on the desk.'
- (24)a. Tsukue no ue ni nani ga aru ka.
'What are there on the desk?'
- b. Tsukue no ue ni hon ga aru. (exhaustive listing)
'There are books on the desk.'
- (25) Te ga tsumetai. (neutral description)
'My hands are cold.'
- (26)a. Doko ga tsumetai ka.
'Which part (of your body) is cold?'
- b. Te ga tsumetai. (exhaustive listing)
'My hands are cold.'

As we have seen already, "GA" followed by a predicate representing a stable state results in the exhaustive-listing interpretation. However, Kuno points out the following special case with regard to the relationship between "GA" and this kind of predicate. When the subject contains a numeral or a quantifier, it can be followed by the descriptive "GA" with no implication of exhaustive listing, even if the predicate represents a stable state.

- (27)a. Watashi no class de wa, go-nin ga
 I GEN class in five-persons
 otoko de, roku-nin ga onna desu.
 male COP+CONT six-persons female COP+POL+
 NON-PAST
 'In my class, five are boys and six are
 girls.'
- b. Amerika-jin no ooku ga kanemochi desu.
 Americans of many rich COP+POL+NON-PAST
 'Many of the Americans are rich.'
- c. Daibubun no gakusei ga dokushin desu.
 most of students single COP+POL+NON-PAST
 'Most students are single.'
- d. Gakusei no daibubun ga dokushin desu.
 students of most single COP+POL+NON-PAST
 'Most of the students are single.'
- e. Subete no gakusei ga dokushin desu.
 all of students single COP+POL+NON-PAST
 'All students are single.'

(B) In cases where the predicate represents an

habitual action

- (28) John ga mainichi gakkoo e iku
 everyday school ALLAT go+NON-PAST
 'It is John who goes to school everyday.'

In this sentence the predicate represents
 John's habitual action, and so "GA" receives the
 exhaustive-listing interpretation.

CHAPTER TWO

The Particles "WA" and "GA" Considered in the Context
of Discourse Structure

In Chapter One, Kuno's theory on the basic functions of the particles "WA" and "GA" in isolated sentences was introduced. If the actual usage of "WA" and "GA" were perfectly controlled by the rules outlined in this theory, it would not be particularly difficult to teach "WA" and "GA" to students of Japanese. However, unfortunately, all examples of "WA" and "GA" appearing in actual speech cannot be explained by these rules. } ENG. ✓

For example:

- (1) a. Kinoo John ga tazunete kita.
yesterday visit+CONT come+PAST
'Yesterday John came to see me.'
- b. ? Kinoo John ga Mary o tazuneta.
yesterday ACC visit+PAST
'Yesterday John visited Mary.'

As the opening sentence of a conversation, (1a) is quite natural. However, (1b) sounds a little awkward, if the sentence is uttered at the opening of a conversation. In actual speech, the Japanese speaker would topicalize 'John', using the particle "WA", saying 'Kinoo John wa Mary o tazuneta'. (1b),

as a sentence in isolation, should receive the 'neutral descriptive' interpretation according to Kuno's theory introduced in Chapter One (1.2.1. (A)), because the predicate involves an action verb. However, the theory of 'neutral descriptive GA' cannot lead the student to form a correct utterance in this case. It follows that a knowledge of the meanings of "WA" and "GA" as they are introduced in the previous chapter would not be sufficient for students of Japanese to learn to use these two particles correctly.

Therefore, the meanings of "WA" and "GA" must also be examined from the point of view of discourse structure and context.

2.1 Kuno's hypothesis and observations

Kuno (1972) proposed 5 Hypotheses and 5 Observations concerning the particle "GA". All but one of the hypotheses are concerned with the deletion of the particle, and so are not relevant to the discussion in this section. However, Hypothesis 1 and all five Observations serve as a guide to solving the kind of problem described above.

In this work Kuno discusses the function of "GA" from the point of view of discourse structure. This is a very different standpoint from that of his

hypotheses based on the individual sentence which were introduced in Sections 1.1, 1.2.

It should be noted that Kuno argues from the standpoint of transformational grammar. He considers that a sentence with a theme which is marked by "WA" is the result of a transformation. All noun phrases are marked by case particles, nominative, accusative etc., in the deep structure. Thus he often refers to NPs marked by "WA", as well as those marked by "GA", as the subject of the sentence. This view point differs significantly from that of some other linguists. Alfonso (1974), for example, considers the theme to be a completely different concept from that of subject.

Kuno's Hypothesis 1 and his five observations are given below:

Hypothesis 1 --- "Ga as subject marker in the matrix sentence always signals that the subject conveys new, unpredictable information." (Kuno, 1972, p.273)

Observation 1 --- "The sentence X ga Y desu means 'Among Z, X (and only X) is Y.' When Z, the range from which X is chosen, is not specified in the context of such a sentence,..." "if the statement is universally true for all X, the sentence is then understood to be true for that particular X, but if the statement is not universally true, the sentence

is judged to be incomplete and ill-balanced." (Kuno 1972, p.274 and Kuno 1973, p.230)

Observation 2 --- "The most natural way to introduce an entirely new event in conversation seems to be to talk about the existence or... [appearance]...of something." (Kuno 1972, p.297)

Observation 3 --- "The speaker's existence or appearance is presupposed by virtue of the fact that he is speaking." "Therefore, it is not possible, it seems, for the speaker to talk about his existence or appearance at the place of his...[utterance]...as if it were...an entirely new event. This seems to be why almost all [first person]-ga sentences have the exhaustive-listing connotation, and cannot be understood as representing neutral description." (Kuno 1972, p.297 and pp.284-5)

Observation 4 --- "The speaker cannot objectively report as a [new] event [and not as a statement about the speaker himself], something he has done voluntarily." (Kuno 1972, p.297 and p.285)

Observation 5 --- "Questions are usually questions about something [which is known about]. One does not usually form a question which does not contain any old information." (Kuno 1972, p.297)

By applying Kuno's Hypothesis 1 and his observations given above, problems like those outlined below can be solved. A question and answer

format is used to present these problems and their solutions.

Q1. In a personal self-introduction, the subject is usually deleted and only one's name mentioned as follows:

- (2) Hajimemashite. John desu.
 nice to meet you COP+POL+NON-PAST
 'Nice to meet you. (I) am John.'

However, in a situation where several people introduce themselves in turn, it is not uncommon for at least some of them to mention the subject of the sentence when giving their names. In such a situation, normally it is correct to use the particle "WA", rather than "GA", for marking the first person pronoun, as follows:

- (3) Hajimemashite. (Nice to meet you.)
 Watashi wa John desu.
 COP+POL+NON-PAST
 * Watashi ga John desu.

'I am John.'

Thus, the subject of the sentence is thematized. What is the reason for this?

- A. According to 'Hypothesis 1', "GA" as subject marker always signals that the subject conveys new information. On the other hand, according to 'Observation 3', the speaker, Kuno says, does not seem to be able to represent his own existence as

if it were an entirely new item of information, leading to the unacceptability of the particle "GA" in this context. For this reason, the speaker marks himself as the theme of the sentence, using the particle "WA".

Q2. Why is the following sentence unnatural as an isolated utterance?

(4) ? John ga dokushin desu.

single COP+POL+NON-PAST

'John (and only John) is single.'

A. Kuno's 'Observation 1' gives the answer to this question. Firstly recall that, as the predicate of this sentence represents a stable state of the subject, in this case "GA" results in the 'exhaustive-listing' interpretation. The category corresponding to 'Z' of Kuno's Observation 1 is not specified in the context of this sentence, and so 'Z' will be considered to include the class of all human beings or at least all male of human beings. Common sense tells us that this sentence cannot be true, when uttered in isolation. This obvious falsity results in awkwardness and unnaturalness. Kuno says that if a context which defines the category 'Z' is given, as in the example below, this utterance

may be interpreted as a true statement and, as a result, to be perfectly grammatical.

- (5) Boku no kyoodai no naka de John ga dokushin
 I GEN siblings GEN among single
 desu.

COP+POL+NON-PAST

'Among my brothers and sisters, John (and only John) is single.'

In the following example, however, the category 'Z' does not need to be overtly clarified, because the word 'koochoo' (principal) implies the range of 'Z'. Thus, this example is grammatical as a sentence uttered in isolation.

- (6) Smith san ga kono gakkoo no koochoo
 Mr. this school GEN principal
 desu.

COP+POL+NON-PAST

'Mr. Smith (and only Mr. Smith) is the principal of this school.'

There is an important point related to these examples which I would like to explain here. In cases where marking the NP by "GA" results in the 'exhaustive-listing' interpretation but the speaker wants to produce a neutral description, the NP must be topicalized by "WA" to receive the neutral interpretation. Thus, the neutral

descriptive Japanese sentence which is equivalent to the English sentence 'John is single' must be expressed in Japanese as 'John wa dokushin desu.'

Q3. Why is Example (1a) natural, while (1b) is awkward, as a sentence at the opening of conversation?

(1) a. Kinoo John ga tazunete kita.
 yesterday visit+CONT come+PAST
 'Yesterday John came to see me.'

b. ? Kinoo John ga Mary o tazuneta.
 yesterday ACC visit+PAST
 'Yesterday John visited Mary.'

A. Kuno's 'Observation 2' is relevant to this question. 'Observation 2' states that "The most natural way to introduce an entirely new event in conversation seems to be to talk about the existence of ... [appearance] ... of something." In addition to 'Observation 2', Kuno explains that the awkwardness of (1b) is presumably due to John's appearance at a place which has nothing to do with the speaker, while in (1a) John appeared at the place where the speaker was. However, Kuno also says that in narratives this restriction seems to be loosened. (1b), as a sentence in narrative style, sounds quite natural, even if it is uttered at the opening of the story.

Q4. Why is the following sentence unnatural, if it occurs as the first sentence in a conversation?

(7) ? Boku ga kinoo Yokohama ni ikimashita.

I yesterday DAT go+POL+PAST

'I went to Yokohama yesterday.'

This sentence is hard to interpret as a 'neutral description', even though the verb 'ikimashita' (went) represents an action. The subject 'boku' (I) seems to receive the 'exhaustive-listing' interpretation. What is the reason for this?

A. Kuno's 'Observation 4' provides the answer to this question. "The speaker cannot objectively report, as a [new] event, something he [himself] has done voluntarily." It follows that, when the speaker (or the first person) describes his own voluntary actions, the particle "WA" is required to mark the first person pronoun as the theme of the sentence -- as that part of the sentence is already known information.

Recall the remark Kuno makes along with Observation 3, that almost all [first person]-ga sentences have the exhaustive-listing connotation, and cannot be understood as representing a neutral description. This seems to be an important feature of Japanese.

Q5. Why is the following sentence unnatural as a sentence uttered in isolation?

(8) ?? Watashi ga koko ni iru.

I this place LOC exist+NON-PAST
'I am here.'

A. This problem is similar to the one raised by "Q1" and "Q4", and the explanations given for them are also applicable here. However, there are several further points worth noting. This sentence is very awkward as a neutral description, even though the predicate represents a current temporary state. Kuno's argument concerning this issue was first introduced in Section 2.1. That is, in cases where a [subject] ga sentence represents a 'neutral description', the event or state described must be of the kind that can be objectively observed and reported by the speaker. 'Observation 4', referring to events, says, "The speaker cannot objectively report as a new event something he has done voluntarily." To account for the oddness of Sentence (8), which has a state verb, we will need to modify this observation slightly: The speaker cannot objectively report as new information anything about himself. Therefore, the subject of a sentence such as (8) above must be thematized by using "WA", if the sentence is to be interpreted as a simple 'neutral description'. That is:

- (9) Watashi wa koko ni iru.
 I this place LOC exist+NON-PAST
 'I am here.'

Q6. Why are the following sentences unnatural?

- (10)a. ? John ga kimashita ka.
 come+POL+PAST INTERROG
 'Did John come?'

- b. ? Nimotsu ga todokimashita ka.
 parcel reach+POL+PAST INTERROG
 'Did a parcel arrive?'

- A. 'Observation 5' is relevant to this question.
 Kuno gives the following explanation. In the declarative sentence 'John ga kimashita.' (John came.), 'John' and 'kimashita' (came) are both new information. Thus, the whole sentence represents new information. However, the interrogative sentence "John ga kimashita ka." (Did John come?), which is made by attaching the particle "ka" to the declarative sentence, is unnatural. Kuno remarks, "In fact this type of interrogative sentence does not seem to be used." (1973b, P.214, my translation.) His 'Observation 5' suggests the reason. It is extremely unusual to ask about the truth of entirely new information, no part of which has either been referred to previously in the discourse or is contextually anaphoric. This is the reason for

b. ?? John ga doko ni tatte imasu ka.

where LOC stand+GER be+POL INTERROG
+NON-PAST

'Where is John standing?'

/??'Where is a John standing?'

A. As Kuno says, these sentences sound "extremely awkward". (1972, P.288.) He gives the following explanation. "It is usually the case that in WH-questions, the frame for the WH-word represents known information. --- Perhaps, for this reason, it is not possible to form WH-questions out of NP-ga sentences which contain nothing but new information." (1972, P.287.) The awkwardness of the two sentences above "seems to be due to the confusion that arises from the fact that, while the frames of WH-questions in the sentences (i.e. John ga...kimashita 'John came' and John ga..tatte imasu 'John is standing') are expected to present known information, such ^{an} ~~as~~ interpretation is ruled out by the presence of ga for the subject marking." (1972, P.288.) The following questions, on the other hand, are grammatical. ✓✓

(13)a. John wa itsu kimashita ka.

when come+POL+PAST INTERROG

'When did John come?'

b. John wa doko ni tatte imasu ka.

where LOC stand+ be+POL+ INTERROG
GER NON-PAST

'Where is John standing?'

As seen above, I have illustrated, in the form of 7 Questions and Answers, one of Kuno's hypotheses and some of his observations concerning the uses of "WA" and "GA" from the point of view of new or old information. This method of illustrating Kuno's theoretical principles was chosen to fit in with the overall practical orientation of this thesis.

2.2 Sentences of description and sentences of judgement

When considering the difference between the usage of "WA" and "GA" from the point of view of discourse structure and context, there is another theory which should be introduced to students of Japanese, in order to lead them to an understanding of the distinction in meaning between these two particles.

Recall the restrictions on topicalization of noun phrases, described in the Introduction. Noun phrases which can become a topic must be either anaphoric or generic. However, the kind of NP which CAN be a topic is not always topicalized in actual speech.

Here is a typical example quoted from Shibatani (forthcoming) to illustrate a non-topicalized anaphoric NP in discourse structure.

- "a. Hitori no kodomo ga aruite kita.
 one of child NOM walking came
 'A child came walking.'
- b. Soko e inu ga hasitte kita.
 there at dog NOM running came
 'There came a dog running.'
- c. Sosite sono inu ga kodomo ni kamituita.
 and then that dog NOM child to bit
 'And then, the dog bit the child.'

In sentence (c), the word 'inu' (dog) is marked by "GA" and not topicalized by "WA", even though 'inu' is an anaphoric NP. But, as Shibatani points out, "The sentences (a)-(c) constitute a perfectly well-formed chunk of narrative." Shibatani continues:

"Of course the inu in question can be topicalized, as below, but then there is a slight difference between the two versions of narrative.

- c' Sosite sono inu wa kodomo ni kamituita.
 and then that dog TOP child to bit
 'And then, the dog, it bit the child.'

It is extremely important for students of Japanese to understand the difference between (c) and (c') in learning the usages of "WA" and "GA". Shibatani explains the difference between (c) and (c'), on the basis of the theory of 'sentences of

description' versus 'sentences of judgement', which was originally advanced by Isago Mio (1948).

However, before introducing Mio's theory, it seems appropriate to look at Shibatani's explanation about the difference between (c) and (c'). It is quoted here.

"The difference is this; in the (a)-(c) version, each event is described as if witnessed afresh. To seek analogy in cinema, the (a)-(c) version involves three scenes in succession. In the (a)-(c') version, on the other hand, the first two sentences describe two successive events, presented as two discrete scenes, but the (c') sentence does not constitute a different scene; it rather dwells on the scene introduced by the (b) sentence by ...[focussing] on the dog introduced there. In uttering (c'), the speaker is not simply saying what has happened next; rather he is making a "judgment" regarding the dog, i.e. what can be said about the dog that came running."

This explanation will be more clearly understood by referring to Mio's theory. Mio considered the functions of the particles "WA" and "GA" from the point of view of two different types of sentences: sentences of description and sentences of judgement.

Sentences of description -- A sentence of this type has the pattern "Nominal+GA+Verb", for example,

- (14) Ame ga futte iru.
 rain fall+GER be+NON-PAST
 'It is raining.'

- (15) Tori ga tonde iru.
 bird fly+GER be+NON-PAST
 'A bird is flying.'

Mio (1948) explains, "This is the kind of sentence that simply describes a certain phenomenon as it is. In such a sentence, the speaker expresses what he has perceived through his senses, just as it is, with no reference to his personal judgement. There is no gap between the phenomenon and the speaker's expression, in this kind of sentence." (My translation.) In other words, Mio is saying that this type of sentence objectively describes events or states of affairs in the real world.

Sentences of judgement -- A typical sentence of this type involves a topic, marked by "WA". A sentence of this type expresses the speaker's judgement or gives an explanation about something.

Mio gives the example,

- (16) "Ame wa futte  ru."
 rain fall+GER be+COLL+NON-PAST
 'It is raining.'

(contracted form) ✓

and explains:

"This sentence does not simply convey the information that it is raining, but the speaker, who has chosen the topic 'Ame wa?' (How about rain?), first considers, with regard to that topic, whether it is raining or whether it has already stopped. He then chooses his 'answer' 'futte ru' (is raining), and after that, produces an appropriate sentence by combining his 'answer' with his topic. That is, the speaker forms his sentence by subjectively uniting these two different concepts." (My translation.)

Concerning the sentence,

(17) "Ame wa suiteki da."

rain waterdrop COP+NON-PAST

'Rain is (i.e. consists of) drops of water.'

Mio says:

"This sentence represents a truth which has been formed in the speaker's subjective mind by combining the two concepts, ame (rain) and suiteki (waterdrops)." (My translation.) Mio explains that a sentence like this one is not presented as an objective truth, but as the subjective opinion of the speaker. Mio also discusses the syntactic structure of a sentence of judgement. "In a sentence of judgement, the subject of the verb appears as the topic. A

topic is something quite different from the concept of grammatical case. The sentence structure is not 'subject -- predicate', but rather 'topic -- comment'." (My translation.)

From the discussion in this chapter it will be clear to the reader that teaching the use of "WA" and "GA" in isolated sentences is not adequate. Students also need to be shown how these two particles are used in the context of discourse structure.

CHAPTER THREE

A critical survey of Japanese textbooks

On the basis of the theories introduced in the previous Chapters concerning the function and use of the particles "WA" and "GA", in this chapter I shall make a critical survey of several Japanese textbooks, from the point of view of their method of introducing the two particles.

The textbooks were examined to determine whether their explanations and examples of "WA" and "GA" are sufficient to equip students for both the comprehension and the use of these two particles. The survey was undertaken in order to discover the most common inadequacies and ultimately to suggest ways to remedy them (see Chapters 4 and 5).

The findings of the survey of the Japanese textbooks (listed in Introduction) will be briefly reported. The survey was strictly limited to an examination of the introduction of "WA" and "GA" and only those points which are relevant to the discussion which follows and that of Chapters Four and Five are summarized here.

The two particles concerned are naturally introduced in sentences in all Japanese textbooks. Several Japanese sentence patterns particularly

common in the introduction of "WA" and "GA" in the textbooks are shown below.

1. Predicate Nominal (or Predicate Nominal-Adjectival) Sentences

$$NP_1 \begin{Bmatrix} WA \\ GA \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} NP_2 \\ NA \end{Bmatrix} \text{ desu.}$$

COP+POL+NON-PAST

✓?

2. Predicate Adjectival Sentences

$$NP \begin{Bmatrix} WA \\ GA \end{Bmatrix} \text{ Adj. desu.}$$

3. Existential Sentences

$$NP_1 \text{ ni } NP_2 \begin{Bmatrix} WA \\ GA \end{Bmatrix} \begin{matrix} \text{arimasu} & (NP_2 = \text{inanimate}) \\ \text{imasu} & (NP_2 = \text{animate}) \end{matrix}$$

4. Intransitive or Transitive Sentences

$$NP_1 \begin{Bmatrix} WA \\ GA \end{Bmatrix} (NP_2) \begin{matrix} \text{intransitive verb (excluding verbs} \\ \text{of existence)} \\ \text{transitive verb} \end{matrix}$$

- 3.1 What is the order of introducing the uses of "WA" and "GA", and in what kind of sentence patterns are they introduced?

1. In seven textbooks out of eight, "WA" is introduced first. Nagoya University's A Course in Modern Japanese is the only exception. This textbook begins with presenting the difference between the functions of "WA" and "GA" in Lesson 1. Thus both particles are introduced virtually at the same time.

2. In four textbooks "WA" is introduced in Predicate Nominal Sentences.

In four textbooks "WA" is introduced in Intransitive or Transitive Sentences. However, two textbooks out of these four are written by the same author (Alfonso), and one is written by Jorden. In other words, out of the four textbooks which introduce "WA" in sentences with verbal predicates, three are written by non-native speakers of Japanese. The fourth is Nagoya University's CMJ.

The reason why Alfonso's textbooks begin by introducing the particle "WA" in Predicate Verbal Sentences can be found in his remarks in the teacher's manual for his textbook Japanese which is designed for high school students. "The art of teaching a language is to actually teach grammar without the students being aware that they are learning it. It is more effective with students of this age group to make them conscious at all times that they are talking about play and sports, about food and drink, about their daily activities, rather than that they are learning the rules of the Japanese language." (p.5)

From the point of view of a language teaching theory such as this, the introduction of Predicate Verbal Sentences from the very beginning is

the obvious choice. The other textbooks by Alfonso examined in the survey, JLP, seems to have been written with the same philosophy in mind, in spite of the fact that it is designed for adult students. Predicate ^Vverbal ^Ssentences can be used to describe one's various daily activities, and this kind of self-expression is doubtless enjoyable for students of any age. This would be an advantage especially in courses being taught outside of Japan where students have few opportunities of speaking or hearing Japanese outside of the classroom. Every effort should indeed be made to make Japanese as relevant and interesting as possible for these students. ✓✓

However, this thesis concentrates on the introduction of "WA" and "GA" to university students or adult students who are learning Japanese in Japan. In this situation, the sentence pattern that would be most useful to the students would be the Predicate Nominal Sentence Pattern, which they can use for self-introduction and requesting and understanding simple information about the people and things around them. The particular interest provided by the Predicate Verbal Sentence, which can be used to describe one's actions, would obviously not be as necessary in this context.

In Jorden's textbook Beginning Japanese, too, Lesson 1 begins with Predicate Verbal Sentences.

However, most of the sentences in this lesson are simply useful classroom expressions. Lesson 2 introduces the Predicate Nominal Sentence Pattern, "NP₁ wa NP₂ desu."

Nagoya University's A Course in Modern Japanese also introduces Predicate Verbal Sentences first. The reason for this can be explained as follows:

- i) This textbook aims to introduce the structure of typical Japanese sentences from the very beginning. In predicate verbal sentences, several important features of Japanese grammar can be demonstrated, such as the form of verbs, the basic particles and the word order.
 - ii) Lesson 1 presents materials about the university cafeteria and the food it provides - one of the most relevant topics to students who have recently arrived on campus. The Predicate Verbal Sentence Pattern is used to describe what the students in the cafeteria are eating and drinking.
3. "GA" (as a subject marker) is introduced in Existential Sentences in seven of the eight textbooks. Only Nagoya University's CMJ introduces it in Predicate Verbal Sentences. In Alfonso's two textbooks, "GA" for marking the object of

stative transitive verbals appears first, even before it is introduced as a subject marker in Existential sentences.

- 3.2 How are the functions of "WA" and "GA" explained? Is the explanation sufficient for students to understand the distinction between the various uses of "WA" and "GA" appearing in the textbook concerned?

1. An Introduction to Modern Japanese

This textbook introduces "WA" for marking a topic with the following example and explanation.

"Tookyoo wa nan-ji desu ka.

what time COP+POL+NON-PAST INTERROG

'What time is it in Tokyo?'

'WA' follows the topic that the speaker wants to talk about. Here, the topic that the speaker wishes to emphasize is 'Tokyo', so he starts his sentence with 'Tookyoo-wa'. To find out what time it is in New York he would say

'Nyuuyooku-wa'."

Concerning the 'contrastive' "WA", there is the following account:

"- Iroirona koto o shimashita ne.

various thing ACC do+POL+PAST SFP

'You did a lot of things, didn't you?'

- Ee, demo amari benkyoo wa shimasendeshita.

yes but much study do+POL+NEG+PAST

'Yes, ^{but} as for study, I didn't do very much.'

Here, -wa is used instead of -o [the accusative particle] to emphasize the contrast between studying and the other activities Sato [the name of the speaker] was engaged in." Notice that with this example the textbook succeeds in illustrating not only the contrastive function of "WA", but also its role in the topicalization of the object of the verb.

"GA" - This particle is introduced as a constituent of the fixed sentence pattern which expresses the existence of something. "X-ga Y-ni arimasu is the basic pattern expressing existence of an inanimate object (or objects) in a certain place."

Along with Existential Sentences, the fixed rule 'Interrogative Pronoun + GA' is presented. On this basis students will be led to an understanding of the 'exhaustive-listing' interpretation of "GA".

However, this explanation of "WA" and "GA" will not be adequate in a large number of cases. For example, students will not be able to understand why the NP in example (2) below, given in this textbook, must be marked by "GA" and not by "WA",

while "WA" is correct in (1), in spite of the fact that the two sentences are apparently of basically the same kind.

(1) Watashi wa hachi - ji goro okimasu.

I eight o'clock about get up+POL+NON-PAST
'I get up at about eight o'clock.'

(2) Yuugata, --- Yoshikawa san ga kimashita.

evening title come+POL+PAST
'In the evening, -- Mr Yoshikawa came.'

It would be perfectly understandable if students chose the particle "WA" to mark the NP in (2) on the basis of the grammatical explanation of "WA" in this textbook. That is, students are not equipped to choose between the 'neutral descriptive' "GA" and the topicalizing "WA".

2. Modern Japanese for University Students

The unique features of this textbook in introducing "WA" and "GA" are that -

1. Both "WA" and "GA" are introduced as subject markers. The conditions under which each one should be used are presented.
2. In all examples of basic sentence patterns with the exception of Existential Sentences, the NP which is said to be the subject of the verb is marked by "WA".

In Lesson 1, which introduces Predicate Nominal Sentences, the following explanation is given:

"Wa, a particle indicating the subject of the sentence, combines with the preceding word to form the subject of the sentence." (p.1) However, in the English translations given for the Japanese sentences, the NP concerned is sometimes translated as the subject of the sentence, and at other times as an adverb, with no semblance of consistency, as shown below.

(3) Kinoo wa atsukatta desu .
 yesterday hot+PAST COP+POL
 'Yesterday was hot.' (L.6) ✓

(4) Kyoo wa atsui desu ne .
 today hot+NON-PAST COP+POL SFP
 'It's hot today, isn't it?' (L.6) ✓

Nevertheless, in cases where the predicate represents a state, as in the examples above, English speakers will simply understand that "WA" is a particle indicating the subject, and a reasonably good translation can be made - "Yesterday was hot."

However, in cases such as "Tookyoo wa nan ji desu ka" (What time is it in Tokyo?), regarding the NP preceding "WA" as a subject will result in completely unacceptable English translations.

* 'What time is Tokyo?'

(Ans. *'Tokyo is one o'clock.')

That is, the explanation of "WA" given in this textbook can only lead students to conclude that

the concept of subject in Japanese is totally different from that in English. This would be a misunderstanding. Thus for two important reasons it does not seem appropriate to explain "WA" as a particle indicating the subject of the sentence. The fact that an NP marked by "WA" need not necessarily be the subject, and in fact may not even be co-referential with any sub-categorized argument of the verb, means that this approach will leave students with a thoroughly inadequate understanding of this particle, and with a severe misunderstanding of the notion of subject-hood in Japanese.

In this textbook there is another explanation of "WA", presented as follows:

"Any predicate modifier can be used at the beginning of a sentence with wa. When this is done, however, in case the modifier contains either ga or o, the particle ga or o is omitted.

(a) Otanjoobi ni (wa) chichi ga kamera o
 birthday on father camera ACC
 kuremashita.
 give me+PAST

'On my birthday (my) father gave me a
 camera.'

(b) Chichi wa otanjoobi ni kamera o kuremashita.
 (My) father gave me a camera on my birthday.

(c) Kamera wa otanjoobi ni chichi ga kuremashita.

'This camera - (my) father gave it to me on my birthday.'" (P.217)

On the basis of this remark and the definition of "WA" mentioned above, it must follow that any predicate modifier can be the subject of the sentence. However, this would mean that example sentence (c) above would have to be said to contain two subjects and no object. To English speaking students it must be very difficult to understand how the object of (a) and (b) has become the subject in (c), though the sentence still remains in the active voice. The NP marked by "WA" in (c) would be far better explained as the topicalization of the object of the verb.

In the same textbook, Modern Japanese for University Students, "GA" is introduced in Existential Sentences with the following remark. "Ga is a particle which is used here to show the actor or the subject of the predicate." (p.19)

The difference between "WA" and "GA", as the subject marker, is described as follows:

"ga: [marks] (actor or subject) in a single sentence. This indicates emphasis on the subject, and ga may be replaced by wa with a lessening of this emphasis." (p.391)

"In a single sentence it can be roughly said that wa is used when the subject or the actor has been previously introduced and is not emphasized, while ga is used when the actor or the subject is specially emphasized." (p.392)

As seen already, this interpretation of "GA" is not always applicable. For example, it would be more natural to interpret the "GA" in example (a) above as the 'neutral descriptive' "GA". A native speaker of Japanese is more likely to feel the whole sentence conveys new information, rather than that 'chichi' (father) is emphasized by "GA". As for example (b), it would be appropriate to explain that, in this case, the predicate is a comment on the father. Therefore, the predicate should be considered at the central part of the statement, rather than interpreting 'chichi' (father) to be presented with less emphasis. Generally speaking, it seems both inadequate and misleading to explain the functions of "WA" or "GA" in terms of 'emphasis'.
Comments in conclusion:

1. The term 'TOPIC' does not appear in this textbook to explain the basic function of "WA" (although it is used in the description of one particular construction). I think it is sensible not to employ this term in explaining the basic function of this

particle because of the difficulties and complications of explaining to English speakers that the NP equivalent to the English subject appears now as the topic and now as the subject. However, an adequate alternative is not found in simply explaining that both "WA" and "GA" indicate the subject of the sentence.

2. The difference between "WA" and "GA" is inadequately dealt with in this textbook. This should be accounted for more precisely, and concrete examples appropriate to the explanations given should be provided.

3. Intensive Course in Japanese

In this textbook, "GA" and "WA" are defined as the Subject and Topic marker respectively. "WA" is generally explained as follows - "If the subject is understood and is the immediate topic of conversation, it is followed by the particle WA". (Notes, p.23)

In Lesson 1, the function of "WA" is explained with concrete examples in Predicate Nominal Sentences.

"Watashi wa Nihonjin desu."
 I Japan-person COP+POL+NON-PAST
 'I'm Japanese.'



WA in watashi wa indicates that the word preceding it, i.e. watashi is to be defined.

'Watashi wa --- desu' is a pattern meaning 'I am ---.'

The 'contrastive' WA is initially presented as a result of negation, and examples in non-negative sentences are provided in Lesson 2.

"GA is introduced in Existential Sentences as follows:

"'---ga imasu' is used by a speaker when he recognizes the existence of a person or an animal and talks about its being in a certain place. GA indicates that existence of a person or an animal."

(Notes, p.113)

Note that this explanation uses the expression 'recognize'. One of the functions of "GA" is thus appropriately taught here. That is, this explanation implies that the speaker recognizes the existence of something and conveys this fact as new information. This can be contrasted with the use of "WA" in sentences with the predicate imasu, which describe location rather than existence.

Tanaka san wa ima --- kenkyuushitsu ni imasu. ✓
 title now office LOC exist+POL+
 NON-PAST

'Mr Tanaka is --- in the office now.' (L.7, p.202)

The speaker is giving a comment here on the referent marked by "WA", rather than introducing his

existence as new information. This is the difference between '---ni---ga imasu' and '---wa---ni imasu'.

The two rules, that interrogative pronouns are to be marked by "GA" and that "WA" indicates something which is anaphoric, are introduced in this textbook as follows:

"Dore ga oishii desu ka.
 which one delicious COP+POL+NON-PAST INTERROG
 'Which one is delicious?'
 Ano akai sakana ga oishii desu.
 that red fish delicious COP+POL+NON-PAST
 'That red fish is delicious.'

In sentences beginning with such interrogative words as dore ['which one'], dono ['which'], doko ['which place'] and dochira ['which one'], the particle that follows the interrogative word is ga and not wa. The first example above means the same as 'oishi no wa dore desu ka'. [Which is a delicious one?], but when the topic of oishii --- has already been introduced in the conversation, then wa is used as in 'oishii no wa' ['a delicious one'].

However, when dore ['which one'], which has an indefinite meaning, is used, then the thing asked about has not previously been introduced into the conversation. For this reason, wa cannot be used and ga is used instead." (Notes, pp.129 and 130. Emphasis added.) This text also remarks that the NP in the answer to a WH-question should be marked by "GA".

(u/l) ✓

The explanation above, designed to show that the difference between the particles "WA" and "GA" is related to the matter of the presentation of old or new information, is actually slightly misleading. It implies that the use of "WA" in the phrase oishii no wa (a delicious one) is entirely responsible for the interpretation that the referent is old information, and that if "GA" were used here instead the construction would introduce new information. However, the fact is that "GA" could never be used here, because this fronting construction in Japanese, like the ~~pseudo~~^{psuedo}-cleft construction in English, is itself an anaphoric device. The use of "WA" simply agrees with the anaphora of the construction, it is not actually necessary to have already introduced the topic of oishii no (delicious one) into the conversation if this construction is to be used, provided the referent is anaphoric in some other way. For example, as long as the speaker has a pre-supposition that at least one of the items offered to him is delicious, then he can even use this sentence to open a conversation. In terms of a pedagogical grammar, it would be better presented simply as a rule of Japanese that the NP in any sentence involving this fronting construction, except when functioning as an answer to a question, should be marked by "WA" and not by "GA". In fact the text-

book Introduction to Modern Japanese introduces constructions of this kind as a fixed pattern involving "WA".

4. A course in Modern Japanese ✓

Intransitive and Transitive Sentences are introduced first in Lesson 1, under the heading 'Basic structure of sentences in Japanese'. In all the examples given the NP under discussion is marked by "GA". The sentences for drill, too, have this NP marked by "GA", except in the case of those with negative predicates.

In Lesson 1 there are 28 'example sentences' presented. Only 4 of these sound natural as isolated utterances. However, in two sentences out of these four, the subject is deleted, and in the other two, the NP is an interrogative pronoun. As a result, there is not a single example illustrating the use of "GA" marking the subject in a natural, declarative sentence amongst the 'examples' in this lesson. Some of the unnatural examples are shown below. These sentences are grammatically correct, but all require special contexts for their use. The question marks below indicate their degree of oddness in the absence of these special contexts.

(5) ? Ame ga furimasu.

rain fall+POL-NON-PAST

'It will rain.'

- (6) ? Kinoo Ruin san ga teepu o kikimashita.
 yesterday Lwin title tape ACC listen+POL+PAST
 'Mr Lwin listened to a tape yesterday.'
- (7) ?? Arisu san ga teepu o kikimasu
 Alice title tape ACC listen+POL+NON-PAST
 ka.
 INTERROG
 'Is Alice going to listen to a tape?'
- (8) ?? Arisu san ga nani o yomimashita ka.
 Alice title what ACC read+POL+PAST INTERROG
 'What did Alice read?'
- (9) ?? Dare .ga nani o yomimashita ka.
 who what ACC read+POL+PAST INTERROG
 'Who read what?'
- (10)?? Ruin san ga Arisu san o dare ni shookai
 Lwin title Alice title ACC whom DAT introduction
 shimashita ka.
 do+POL+PAST INTERROG.
 'Who did Mr Lwin introduce Alice to?'

All these sentences would occur only in particular situation^S. For example, when one wants to^A make sure of what one has just heard, example (7) could be used. (See Chapter Two, 2.1, Kuno's 'Hypothesis 1'.) These sentences do not convey the neutral information one would expect of isolated examples in a textbook. ✓

In this textbook the use of "GA" is explained as follows:

"---, ga is added to a noun which indicates the person who does something or the thing which happens;---" (p.1)

This is an appropriate explanation of "GA", it seems, from the pedagogical point of view, because this explanation is always true, at least as far as sentences with action verbs are concerned. If one explains "GA" by using the term 'subject', students may be confused, because the NP which is equivalent to the English subject can be marked not only by "GA" but also by "WA".

"WA" is explained in this text as follows:

"The basic function of a wa-phrase is to present the topic of a sentence or a conversation and the rest of the sentence or a series of sentences give comments about the topic." (p.20)

The grammatical difference between "GA" and "WA" is clearly explained with the examples and discussion below.

"Examples:

1. Sakana o tabemashita.
 fish ACC eat+POL+PAST.
 'Someone* ate fish.'

2. Sakana ga tabemashita.

fish NOM eat+POL+PAST.

'A fish ate something.'

3. Sakana wa tabemashita.

fish TOP eat+POL+PAST.

'As for fish, someone* ate it.' or

'As for fish, it ate something.'

(*Someone may be the speaker.)

In the above examples, the same noun sakana 'fish' and the same verb tabemashita 'ate' are used in different sentences. The difference is the particle used in each sentence. Sakana in the first sentence is the object of the action of eating because the particle used in it is o, the object-indicating particle.

Sakana in the second sentence is something which does the action of eating because of the particle ga, the actor-indicating particle.

However, the third sentence cannot be interpreted in one specific way because the particle wa does not give any information about the grammatical case. The two interpretations above are possible because sakana means either an animal which eats, or food which is to be eaten." (p.20)

Although this explanation of the difference between "WA" and "GA" is very clear, there are several important problems with the general

presentation given in this textbook. The first is quite simply that there is not a single example of the use of "WA" in all the sentences given for drill practice in this lesson. This imbalance is reversed in the example dialogues and reading materials, where "GA" does not appear. Secondly, in the examples for drill practice, both 'neutral descriptive' "GA" and 'exhaustive-listing' "GA" are presented together without any comment as to the difference in meaning. On this basis of the explanations and the examples provided in this textbook then, students will probably have a reasonable understanding of the possible interpretation of "WA", but will have no introduction to the two distinct meanings of "GA" and no basis at all for choosing between "WA" and "GA" when they come to have to produce sentences of their own.

As noted above, the examples given in Lesson 1 of this textbook to illustrate the use of "GA" to mark an actor tend to be fairly unnatural. This is often because, like most language textbooks, the authors have chosen to use a large number of proper nouns, particularly names of people and places, in their example sentences. Their intention is, presumably, to make language learning as interesting and potentially relevant to the student as possible. A student is far more likely to take an interest in

learning to understand and produce a sentence like "John went to Tokyo", than one like "A boy went to a city". However, inherently anaphoric noun phrases, such as personal names, referring to actors, cannot be marked by "GA" in isolated utterances. They require a particular context, such as a question-answer context, in which they can appear naturally as 'new information' marked by "GA". For this reason I advocate that "WA", and not "GA", be used when introducing the basic sentence patterns of Japanese, (with the exception of the Existential Sentence Pattern), proper nouns in isolated utterances being easily understood as topical. This suggestion will be discussed and supported more fully in the Chapter Five.

Predicate Nominal Sentences are introduced as having the structure "Noun 1 wa Noun 2 desu." There is no account given for the use of the particle "WA" here. Students are simply expected to understand this use of "WA" by referring to the English translation appended to each Japanese sentence.

Predicate Adjectival Sentences are introduced as exhibiting the structure "---ga ^{-i Adj.}_{I-Adj.} desu" (i.e. ordinary adjectives), and again, no attempt is made to either relate this use of "GA" to that in previous examples given (i.e. when it

indicates an actor) or to provide a new explanation of this particle in these constructions. The NPs appearing in all the example sentences are marked by "GA", as shown below.

"Examples (p.45)

1. Atama ga itai desu.
 head painful COP+POL+NON-PAST
 'Head is painful.' (Lit.)
 ('I have a headache.')
2. Kao ga akai desu.
 face red COP+POL+NON-PAST
 'Face is red.' (Lit.)
 ('My face is red.')
3. Hon ga yasui desu.
 book cheap COP+POL+NON-PAST
 'Books are cheap.' (Lit.)
 ('These books are cheap.')

The "GA" appearing in (1) and (2) is used for 'neutral description', and the two sentences are natural. However, the "GA" used in (3) can receive only the 'exhaustive-listing' interpretation, because the predicate represents the stable state of the NP concerned. Thus, a sentence such as (3) would not actually be uttered as a sentence in isolation. The Japanese translation for the English sentence above 'These books are cheap' must be

'Kono hon wa yasui desu.'

these book cheap COP+POL+NON-PAST

By virtue of the demonstrative adjective 'these', 'book' is naturally understood to be anaphoric, and so must be marked by "WA". The Japanese sentence given in this textbook should be translated as 'Books and only books are cheap'. It is clear that the introduction of Predicate Adjectival Sentences with only the particle "GA" is quite misleading.

Concerning the predicative use of 'Na- ^{-ha} Adjectives' (i.e. nominal adjective), this textbook explains that they involve the same structure as Predicate Nominal Sentences, that is, "Noun wa Na- ^{-ha} Adj. desu". As in Predicate Nominal Sentences the NP in sentences of this kind is marked by "WA" when a neutral description is intended, and by "GA" for exhaustive listing, as shown below.

1. Kono kaban wa joobu desu.
 this bag strength COP+POL+NON-PAST
 'This bag is strong.'
2. Kanji ga taihen desu.
 Chinese character ~~hardness~~ COP+POL+NON-PAST ✓
 'It is Kanji that are hard (to learn).'

To avoid confusion in distinguishing which one of the two particles should be used, in the case of both Predicate Adjectival Sentences and Predicate Nominal-Adjectival Sentences, I would like to suggest that sentences of neutral description and sentences of exhaustive listing be presented separately in two non-contiguous Lessons.

Finally in this textbook, the term 'subject' appears for the first time along with the introduction of Existential Sentences. The NP preceding "GA" is explained as the subject of the verb.

5. Nihongo Kyookasho (Elementary Japanese for Foreign Students)

"WA" is introduced as the topic marker, and "GA" as the subject marker, along with the following explanation of the difference. "A proper understanding of what is a topic can be a great help when it comes to determining whether to use ga or wa in a given sentence. Stated very simply, if a noun is followed by ga then, in general, it is that noun which is the key information being conveyed by the sentence.

e.g. Dare ga uta o utaimasu ka.
 who song ACC sing+POL+NON-PAST INTERROG
 (Who is going to sing?)
 Kimu san ga uta o utaimasu.
 Kim title song ACC sing+POL+NON-PAST
 (Miss Kim is going to sing.)

If a noun is followed by wa, then it is the rest of the sentence or part of it, that is the key information being conveyed.

e.g. Kimu san wa nani o shimasu ka.

Kim title what ACC do+POL+NON-PAST INTERROG

(What is Miss Kim going to do?)

Kimu san wa uta o utaimasu.

(Miss Kim is going to sing.)"

(Short Grammar^{tical} Explanations p.25). ✓

This explanation is roughly equivalent to the familiar idea of new or old information, and is extremely helpful to students.

The explanation continues,

"In some contexts, a sentence containing a noun followed by ga may not be the answer to some specific implied question such as 'Who is going to play the violin?', but may be the answer to a more general implied question such as 'Who is going to do what?' or 'What is going to happen now?'

e.g. Kore kara Satoo san ga baiorin o hikimasu.

this from title violin ACC play+POL+NON-PAST

(Now Mr Satoo is going to play the violin.)

This could be considered an answer to the implied question,

Kore kara dare ga nani o shimasu ka.

this from who what ACC do+POL+ INTERROG
NON-PAST

(Now, who is going to do what?)" (ibid, p.25)

In this way, this textbook explains both the 'exhaustive-listing' and 'neutral descriptive' uses

of "GA" as both involving answers to some kind of question, overt or implied. This kind of discussion concerning how to distinguish the uses of the particles is not found in any of the other textbooks surveyed. It seems to be extremely helpful for pedagogical purposes and for this reason it has been quoted in detail.

6. Alfonso, Japanese

This series of textbooks is designed for high school students. On the basis of Alfonso's philosophy of language teaching, "WA" and "GA" are thoughtfully introduced to young students, in such a way that they can learn to enjoy talking about their daily activities in Japanese, without being conscious of grammatical rules.

The series involves three books. Book 1, which is designed for the first year of the course, contains 30 Units. In Book 1, the particle "GA" does not appear at all. That is, students do not learn any usage of "GA" during the first year. Nevertheless, all the materials presented in Book 1 involve natural Japanese and are interesting and enjoyable for the students.

The main part of the text is in the form of dialogues, generally between high school classmates. The speaker's statements about himself and his

questions about the hearer constitute the central part of the dialogues, and the third person scarcely appears. Now it is a characteristic of the Japanese language that first and second person subjects are not normally mentioned, being highly topical and easily understood from the context of the discourse. Alfonso introduces this important aspect of Japanese by familiarizing students with actual Japanese conversations. In Unit 12, where the particle "WA" appears for the first time, Alfonso remarks that the speaker needs to mention the subject of a Japanese sentence only when it is required by the context. He explains that the kinds of context that require that the subject be mentioned are those where the speaker changes the subject or the topic of conversation, or where he describes differences or gives contrasts or comparisons. He explains that 'KIMI-WA?' (you TOP) is equivalent to 'And how about you?', and in the same way, 'KYOO-WA?' (today TOP) is equivalent to 'And how about today?'

Dialogue 1.

Jiroo:	Kyampu	ni	ikimasu	ka?
	camping	DAT	go+POL+NON-PAST	INTERROG
	'Are you going camping?'			
Tom:	Ee,	ikimasu.	Kimi	<u>wa</u> ?
	yes	go+POL+NON-PAST	you	
	'Yes, I am. And how about you?'			

Jiroo: Boku wa ikimasen.

I go+POL+NEG+NON-PAST

'I am not.'

Dialogue 2.

Hanako: Arisu san, kinoo doko e
Alice tittle yesterday which place DAT
ikimashita ka.

go+POL+PAST INTERROG

'Where did you go yesterday, Alice?'

Alice: "Opera House" ni ikimashita.

DAT go+POL+PAST

Anata wa?

you

'I went to the Opera House. And how about
you?'

Hanako: Watashi wa doobutsuen ni ikimashita.

I zoo DAT go+POL+PAST

Tomu kun wa?

tittle

'I went to the zoo. And you, Tom?'

Tom: Boku wa --- Boku wa --- Boku wa ---

I I I

Aa, boku wa Michiko san no uchi e

ah I tittle GEN house DAT

ikimashita.

go+POL+PAST

'I---I---I---Ah, I went to Michiko's
house.'

Notice Alfonso's excellent use of natural dialogues to first illustrate subject ellipsis and then to introduce the function of "WA" of singling out a certain thing from others of its kind, showing differences, contrasts and comparisons. As seen at the opening of Dialogue 2 one can avoid mentioning the subject of the sentence by addressing the hearer by his name, even when there are more than two participants in the conversation. At the end of conversation Tom's stumbling over his words is a clever device used to reinforce the function of "WA" showing something in contrast. All through this series of textbooks many examples of this tactful presentation of Japanese grammar in natural contexts can be found, not only grammar related to "WA" and "GA" but to every aspect of Japanese.

Dialogue 3

Boku wa oyogi ni ikimasu.

I swimming DAT go+POL+NON-PAST

Kimi wa?

you

'I'm going swimming. How about you?'

At the next stage, this kind of "WA", appearing at the opening of conversation, is presented with no explanation. However, since students have already learned the function of "WA" implying 'differences' 'contrasts' and 'comparisons', they will be able to

understand easily this 'thematic' sense of "WA", that is, this situation where the speaker is talking about himself, setting himself up as the topic. Actually there is some degree of contrast shown in Dialogue (3), but it is very weak and can be said to be relatively neutral. It belongs to what I call, in Chapter Four, 'neutral expression'. The difference between 'contrastive' "WA" and 'thematic' "WA" can be interpreted as a difference in the degree of contrast, as pointed out by Mikami and Shibatani (See PP.10-11). With examples such as those above, Alfonso leads his students steadily and cleverly towards understanding the 'thematic' usage of "WA", after initially introducing the 'contrastive' usage. His teaching technique is full of invaluable ideas such as this.

"GA" is introduced in Existential Sentences_s with the following remark, in Book 2. (Book 2 is designed for the second year of the course. It contains Unit 31-60.) ✓

"Use -GA when you want to know WHO is in a certain place, or WHAT is in a certain place."
(P.44)

With this remark, the rule that question words are marked by "GA" is introduced.

"Use -GA when you want to tell someone WHO or WHAT is in a certain place." (P.44)

With this remark, the 'neutral descriptive' "GA" is introduced.

Since this series of textbooks is designed for a long-term course (3 or 4 years), young students can study slowly but steadily, unit by unit, and each unit generally contains one grammatical item to learn. This is in accordance with Alfonso's language teaching philosophy that "--- in the teaching process different aspects should be presented separately, one at a time ---" (JLP, P.XI) The textbook presents numerous good examples of the use of "WA" and "GA" in appropriate and natural situations so that students can begin to understand intuitively the different connotations or meanings of the two particles, without the need for complex theoretical explanations. The examples are well chosen and serve to represent the various aspects of the two particles outlined in Chapters One and Two - "WA" indicates 'anaphora', 'old information' and 'speaker's judgement', while "GA" indicates 'exhaustive-listing', 'neutral description' and 'new information', including the subjective description of particular events, natural phenomena and physical feelings.

The reason why the particle "GA" is not introduced at all in Book 1 (that is, during the first year of the course) is presumably that the author has tried to avoid any confusion with the

particle "WA" in the initial stages. It is certainly true that, presented with the two particles from the outset, young students would realize intuitively that both serve to mark the NP which functions as the subject of the sentence in English, even if they are not given any detailed grammatical explanation.

However, there is one usage of "GA" which I think really should be introduced in Book 1. This is not actually the usage of "GA" which I ultimately recommend be introduced to students first (See Chapter Five). However, given the general format that Alfonso uses, it is the one which would be most appropriate for students undertaking this particular elementary course. This is the rule that, if the subject of the sentence is an interrogative word, it should be marked by "GA", not by "WA", and that in the answer to a question, the subject should be marked by "GA". The reasons for this suggestion are as follows:

1. So long as the introduction of the usage of "GA" in Book 1 is limited to this rule only, it would be possible for students to come to an understanding of the fact that there are two of actor-indicating markers in Japanese without any confusion. (This textbook begins by presenting only sentences with action verbs.)

2. This basic function of "GA", that of providing the answer to a question, would be clearly impressed on student's mind, in clear contrast with the various uses of "WA".
3. If, having this previous knowledge of "GA", the students are presented with its use in Existential Sentences in Book 2, they will soon learn that they can use "GA" when they want to tell someone WHO or WHAT is in a certain place, even if the sentence is not uttered in a question and answer context. On this basis they could more easily discover intuitively the connection between the 'exhaustive-listing' usage, which appears, for example, in an answer to an overt question, and the 'neutral descriptive' usage, which is the one found in Existential Sentences. The two usages clearly have a common element as we have already seen.
4. It does not seem realistic for students not to be able to use the expression 'dare ga' (who) for more than a year after they start learning Japanese, even though the central part of the dialogues in Book 1 is limited to affairs between the speaker and the hearer, and the sentence pattern used is the Intransitive and Transitive Sentence Pattern.

7. Japanese Language Patterns

In regard to this textbook, I would particularly like to remark on the following two points:

(1) This textbook contains a special Lesson for reintegrating all the functions of "WA" and "GA" which have been previously treated separately in concrete examples. In this Lesson (L.33), the distinction between the uses of the two particles is explicitly dealt with, and represented in the form of contrast and comparison between the general types of context in which each one appears. This kind of special Lesson is extremely helpful for students, because one of the reasons for difficulties in distinguishing between "WA" and "GA" is, it seems, that both particles appear in almost every kind of sentence in numerous, slightly different contexts and with slightly different interpretations. Students cannot be expected to appreciate the complex use of these two particles in the structure of Japanese discourse without such explicit comparison. Nor can one sufficiently account for the functions of these particles in simple isolated examples as one can with some other grammatical items such as expressions of 'request', 'desire', 'volition' and 'approval and prohibition'.

None of the other seven textbooks examined include this kind of special Lesson for "WA" and "GA". However, I would like to suggest that these particles do need to be clearly and systematically compared and contrasted in order that students be able to consolidate the various aspects of knowledge that they have gleaned about each one separately.

(2) This Lesson presents a fundamental rule for distinguishing between the uses of "WA" and "GA", along with some other supplementary features of these particles.

There are several problems with this presentation, which will be discussed below.

1. As a 'Fundamental Rule', "WA" is introduced as indicating topic or contrast, and it is explained that something ~~already~~ ^{already} known or clearly understood should be treated as a topic. (PP.972-4, PP.984-6).

V✓

In this explanation there is some problem as to what kind of NP should be topicalized.

Observe the following example:

Hora, ima taiyoo ga noboru.

look now sun rise+NON-PAST

'Look! The sun is just rising.'

In this sentence "GA" cannot normally be replaced by "WA", even though 'taiyoo' (the sun) is something which would be "clearly understood" by

any listener. (In a highly artistic expression, "WA" could be used in the same context as above.)

Alfonso does go on to say, in his supplementary explanation, that "GA" is used with something present and immediate, where there are no reflective observations, and this explanation would certainly account for examples of this kind. However, the problem is that the student is left with no way of deciding which criterion to apply in this case - whether the rule of topicalization or one of these supplementary features of the two particles which are given as a further guideline. Therefore, it would be necessary to explain clearly in what kind of context even anaphoric NPs are not topicalized, as well as providing thorough exemplification of these apparent exceptions.

NPs which can be topicalized are necessarily anaphoric or generic. However, anaphoric or generic NPs are not always topicalized. Needless to say, every author of Japanese textbooks knows this fact, and therefore, the expressions, 'roughly stated' or 'generally speaking' or something of like are often used when the criteria necessary for topicalization are introduced. The author of a language textbook is not necessarily expected to understand perfectly

every aspect of the complicated issue of topicalization, nor is he expected to attempt to convey every detail of the issues to his students. Even so, I would like to suggest that a more thorough explanation than that given in this textbook could and should be given to the student. This issue will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Five.

2. As a 'Fundamental Rule', the function of "GA" is explained as follows: "Use GA to mark the subject when WHAT FOLLOWS is already known, and you want to draw attention to the SUBJECT ITSELF". (P.972)

This explanation is not sufficient. It explains only the 'exhaustive-listing' function "GA", described by Kuno. When "GA" is used with the 'neutral-descriptive' connotation, both the subject and what follows are unknown, that is, they are both new information to which the speaker wants to draw the listener's attention.
e.g.

Umi no mukoo kara hi ga
 sea GEN beyond from sun
 demashita. (J, Book 2, P.87)
 come out+POL+NON-PAST
 'The sun came up from behind the sea.'

In this sentence, 'hi' (the sun) and 'demashita' (came up) are both important facts which the speaker wants to inform the listener about. Thus, it is necessary to introduce the 'neutral descriptive' usage of "GA" as well, as part of any fundamental rule.

3. In addition to the 'Fundamental Rule', Alfonso gives some further details about the use of "GA" and "WA". These can be summarized as follows:

"GA" is used when the expression is concerned with any of the following:

- (1) something PRESENT at the time of the speech event
- (2) the PERSONAL (impressions or feelings)
- (3) the SUBJECTIVE
- (4) the IMMEDIATE and PARTICULAR
- (5) impressionistic verbs (e.g. 'mieru' (see))

"GA" is not used: when defining or when making reflective observations.

"WA", on the other hand, would be used when the expression is concerned with:

- (1') DEFINING (or giving an OPINION about the nature of a thing)
- (2') the GENERAL DESCRIPTION of a thing
- (3') an OBJECTIVE expression

(4') second thoughts or reflection (a certain backing-off from a scene to describe it objectively and in general terms.)

Every one of these points expresses correctly something about the different natures of "WA" and "GA". However, if we try to distinguish between the use of "WA" and "GA" on the basis of these characteristics, in some cases we will not obtain the correct results. The following set of examples given in the textbook can certainly be explained by some of these characteristics of "WA" and "GA".

- (1) a. Yuki GA shiroi,
 snow (be) white
 'The snow is white.'
- b. Yuki WA shiroi,
 snow (be) white
 'Snow is white.'

The use of "GA" in (1a) could be explained by characters (1) and (4), and of "WA" (1b) by (1'), (2') and (4'). However, the same is not applicable to the set of examples below, although they are predicate adjectival sentences in the same way as (1a,b).

- (2) a. Zoo GA ookii_Λ ✓
 elephant (be) big
 'It is elephants that are big.'
 *'The elephant is big.'

- b. Zoo WA ookii_Λ ✓
 elephant (be) big
 'Elephants are big.'

(2a) can receive only the 'exhaustive-listing' interpretation. The Japanese translation for 'The elephant is big' might be, for instance,

- c. Sono zoo WA ookii
 the elephant (be) big

That is, when we speak of a stable state or an inherent attribute of something, we cannot use "GA" for marking the NP referring to it, even if the referent is an immediate and particular thing. As a result, Sentence (1a) actually has a slightly odd connotation - that is, that this particular snow is white, although some other snow might well be some other colour. In this case, Alfonso seems to have chosen a somewhat unfortunate example, and Kuno's illustration of the same phenomenon with the sentence 'Sora ga akai' (The sky is red) is more felicitous. Thus, I would like to suggest that it would be better to introduce the concepts of 'a stable state' and 'a temporary state' which are remarked on by Kuno

(1973) (originally by Kuroda (1964)), when we teach the uses of "WA" and "GA" in predicate adjectival (or nominal-adjectival) sentences.

The contrasted criteria of SUBJECTIVE (3) and OBJECTIVE (3') are also not applicable in all cases:

- (3) Shingo_o ga aka da. ✓
 traffic light red COP+NON-PAST
 Tomare.
 stop+IMP

'The traffic light is red. Stop!'

The underlined "GA" cannot be replaced by "WA". This predicate nominal sentence is a totally OBJECTIVE expression, but at the same time it expresses no reflective observation. That is, by trying to make a choice between "WA" and "GA" according to these criteria, one is bound to come to a contradiction. In this case, too, the student could be led to a correct choice of particle by introducing the concepts of 'a stable state' and 'a temporary state'.

The contrasted characteristics of "GA" being SUBJECTIVE and "WA" OBJECTIVE are generally more applicable to predicate adjectival (or nominal-adjectival) sentences rather than to the other kinds of sentence.

It seems, in fact, that several of the characteristics of "WA" and "GA" itemized above appear more clearly in one kind of sentence pattern than they do in any other kind. The contrast between the characteristics (2)(3)(4) and (1')(2')(3') would be easily understood in Predicate Adjectival (or Nominal-Adjectival) Sentences. The contrast between "WA", which is often used for definitions, and "GA", which never is, would appear most clearly in Predicate Nominal Sentences. The contrast between (4) and (2')(4') would be recognized typically in Predicate Verbal or Adjectival Sentences.

Therefore, in leading students to a clear understanding of the differences between "WA" and "GA", it seems best to describe how the two particles behave in each of the four basic sentence patterns of Japanese. I would like to suggest that the uses of "WA" and "GA" be presented primarily in relation to the sentence patterns.

8. Beginning Japanese

In this textbook Jorden, the author, writes, "The particle WA 'as for', 'in reference to' following a nominal occurs in two kinds of constructions:

(1) It follows the general topic (often one already under discussion) about which something new or significant is about to be stated or asked: X wa 'I am talking about X -- listen to what I am about to say; 'as for X, the following is significant.'

Examples:

Kore wa rāītaā desu.

this lighter be+POL+NON-PAST

'This is a LIGHTER.'

(i.e. 'I'm talking about this: what I want to say is that it's a lighter.')

In this construction, the word after wa regularly begins a new accent phrase.

(2) Wa also occurs as the particle of comparison, following a topic which is being compared: X wa 'X in comparison with others' or 'insofar as we're talking about X'.

Examples:

Kore wa rāītaā desu.

this lighter be+POL+NON-PAST

'This (in comparison with others) is a lighter.'

In this construction, the word after wa often does not begin a new accent phrase." (Part 1, P.43)

Jorden, quoted above, classifies examples of the use of the particle "WA" into two kinds of construction. However, this distinction does not seem necessary.

The difference pointed out by Jorden is not very clear, either in terms of the meaning or the 'accent pattern' of the construction. It seems reasonable to suggest that a particular noun phrase is necessarily regarded in comparison with others in some sense, when it is taken up as a topic.

The concept 'contrast' is not introduced with the particle "WA" in this textbook. As mentioned in the Introduction (P.10), there is no distinctive border-line between the 'thematic' and the 'contrastive' usages. However, it would be easier for students to understand if the 'contrastive' usage were clearly introduced with typical examples.

"GA" is introduced as the subject-marking particle, with the following examples.

"Tanaka-san ga simasita.

title do+POL+PAST

'MR. TANAKA did [it].' (tells who did it)

Kore ga atarasii desu.

this new COP+POL+NON-PAST

'THIS is new.' (tells which one is new)

Sore ga dame desu.

that no good COP+POL+NON-PAST

'THAT's out of order.' (tells which one is out of order)" (Part 1, P.42)

The author remarks that the location of the emphasis in the English equivalent should be observed.

The "GA" used in the three examples above is clearly that described by Kuno as the 'exhaustive-listing' "GA". The 'exhaustive-listing' usage can be accepted as natural only when it is employed in contexts that require a noun phrase to be isolated from others of its type, and pointed to as the NP of whom the predication is true. (See Chapter One, P.29) The 'neutral-descriptive' "GA", on the other hand, does not require such a specific context. This is a very important difference between the 'exhaustive-listing' and 'neutral-descriptive' usages. This different point should clearly be introduced to students. That is, the two concepts concerning the functions of "GA" should be introduced, whether or not more easily understood terminology is employed, from the pedagogical point of view.

3.3 General Remarks on the Results of the Survey

1. In all of the textbooks examined, the function of "WA" and "GA" in a particular isolated example of a particular sentence pattern is explained, in a way that is appropriate to that individual example. On the basis students are required to infer the meaning of these particles appearing in other sentence patterns, and in the same sentence pattern in various contexts. In other words,

these textbooks tend to try to explain one usage of each particle fairly clearly, and then leave students to conclude that virtually all other examples of that particle involve basically the same usage.

2. An actual explanation of the use of the 'neutral descriptive' "GA" seems to be intentionally avoided, and the method employed is that of simply presenting examples.
3. There are few examples of Predicate Adjectival Sentences presented in the textbooks in which the NP is marked by "GA" and the predicate represents the current temporary state of the NP. These few examples are those of the kind that represent one's physical state, such as "Atama ga itai" (I have a headache.) and "Kimochi ga warui" (I feel sick.). There are even fewer examples given of sentences describing natural phenomena - like "Kaze ga tsumetai." (The wind is chilly.) - where the NP is always marked by "GA". This kind of Predicate Adjectival Sentence should be more fully exemplified in the textbooks, firstly because it is extremely common in Japanese, and secondly because it provides excellent natural examples of the 'neutral descriptive' role of "GA".

4. The examples which are the rarest of all are those of the kind that present neutral descriptions of events or phenomena in which the NP is marked by "GA" in Predicate Nominal Sentences, such as

Densha ga manin datta.

train fullness COP+PAST

'The train was full.'

Shitsugyoo ga mondai da.

unemployment problem COP+NON-PAST

'Unemployment is a problem.'

This type of sentence is almost completely ignored, in spite of its being very common in Japanese, as illustrated later in Chapter Five. The only example of this kind appearing in some textbooks examined involves the noun 'byooki' (illness) in the predicate. For example:

Obaasan ga byooki desu.

grandmother illness COP+POL+NON-PAST

(J, Book 3, P.103)

'My grandmother is ill.'

It is important that textbook writers be aware that every function of both "WA" and "GA" can appear in every kind of sentence pattern and not one of the resulting eight patterns is uncommon in its occurrence in actual speech in Japanese. Therefore it is important to lead students to an

understanding of the two particles by presenting every kind of typical example, rather than concentrating on some and ignoring others.

5. None of the textbooks examined, except for Alfonso's Japanese Language Patterns, contain a special Lesson designed for teaching "WA" and "GA" integrally and logically. (I would like to note, however, that during the final stages of the preparation of this sub-thesis Alfonso published a fourth book in his series Japanese (1984: INTERIM EDITION) which does, in fact, contain just such a lesson. None of the comments I make in my work are relevant to this recent publication, as time unfortunately did not allow me to include it in the scope of survey.)

CHAPTER FOUR

Teaching "WA" and "GA" in the light of various linguistic theories

In my general remarks on the survey of Japanese textbooks discussed in the previous section, I pointed out that a major fault of every one of the textbooks examined is that, while they deal fairly thoroughly with one function of each particle, they tend to leave students to discover the other functions for themselves. The explanations given are generally oversimplified, and will not equip students to either use or understand these particles with confidence. In order to make up for these obvious inadequacy I suggest that teachers need a full list of the basic functions of these particles, and should be made aware of how these basic functions can be used to best explain the typical kind of examples which commonly appear in dialogues and reading materials in Japanese textbooks. To this end I have collected a number of representative examples from the textbooks surveyed and categorized them according to the particular function of 'WA' or 'GA' which they best illustrate. (Several examples have been supplemented by the author for discussion.) The descriptions of these functions are derived from my

examination of hypotheses on "WA" and "GA" presented by various linguists, as well as from a few of the better explanations given in the textbooks themselves. Of course, the terminology employed by the linguists whose work has been discussed is generally not appropriate for teaching purposes, and has been suitably modified in the description of each function. Once again it will be seen that I do not consider that the functions of these two particles can be adequately explained to students in general or simple terms. Various usages require various explanations, and this is why several major theories have been utilized in the formation of this list of functions. This approach clearly implies that I do not consider any one single theory adequate to explain to students each and every example of the occurrence of these two particles.

Functions [A]-[D] are those of the particle "WA".

[A] In the 3 examples below, it would be best to explain "WA" as meaning "as for ..., speaking of ..." or something of the like. Its function is simply to announce the theme of the sentence to follow, to foreground one particular thing against the background of other things in the same context. This usage of "WA" may simply introduce a topic, or may clearly signal a change of topic in the new sentence.

(1) Hirokute kireina toshokan datta.

spacious tidy library COP+PAST

Hito wa amari inakatta.

(source?)

✓

people few exist+NEG+PAST

'(It) was a spacious, nicely organized library.

There were few people inside.'

In sentences describing the existence of something, the relevant NP is usually followed by "GA" (See Chapter Three below). However, in this example the NP, 'hito' (people), is topicalized, marked by "WA". It would not be sufficient to explain this usage of "WA" simply as 'contrastive', from the pedagogical point of view. Of course there is some degree of contrast implied, because there were only small numbers of people in spite of the spaciousness of the library. However, it is felt in this context that, besides the feeling of 'contrast', there is a shift of topic from the first sentence to the second. The first sentence is talking about the library building, and the second one is a statement about the people inside, who are, of course, anaphoric by virtue of the context presented. So the topicalization of this NP represents a shift in what the speaker is talking about, and would be well translated by the "As for ..." construction in English.

(2) Kore wa motto arimasu ka.

this one more exist+POL+ INTERROG (BJ, P.57)
NON-PAST

'Is there any more of this one?'

This example is also concerned with the existence of something. The NP is topicalized because it exists in the vicinity of the speaker and hearer, and it is actually pointed out by the speaker. The NP is context anaphoric rather than discourse anaphoric and NPs of this kind are normally topicalized. There is no emphasis involved - the question is quite neutral. Thus, this NP is marked by "WA". If the speaker were to point out the referent saying, 'Kore ga motto arimasu ka', it would sound as if he were emphasizing the NP. This usage of "GA" is discussed below ([J]).

(3) [Panda no] akachan wa aki ni umaremasu.

panda GEN baby autumn TEMP be born+POL+
NON-PAST
(J, Book 3, P.37, Reading and Writing)

'Baby pandas are born in autumn.'

This NP receives a 'generic' interpretation if the sentence is uttered in isolation. If a particular baby panda is expected to be born, the NP must be marked by "GA" rather than "WA", as in: Panda no akachan ga aki ni umaremasu (The baby panda is going to be born in autumn). When the predicate represents an action (e.g. umareru (be born)), an NP marked by "GA" receives the 'neutral description' interpretation, as mentioned above (Chapter One, 2.1). That is, whole the sentence - both the NP and the predicate - is new information. The NP in

✓

example (3) is correctly explained as 'generic' in the discussion which accompanies this example in the textbook concerned, so it is marked by "WA" -
 "Speaking of pandas ..."

[B] Mio's discussion regarding 'sentences of judgement' is most helpful in explaining the function of "WA" in the following examples. The speaker has chosen a particular topic and is giving his opinion, or 'judgement', about it.

(4) Ima no kodomo wa terebi o mite ... manga
 nowadays GEN child TV ACC watch+CONT comic
 o yonde ... rekoodo o kiite, amari
 ACC read+CONT record ACC listen+CONT much
 benkyooshinai to omoimasu.
 study+NEG that think+POL+NON-PAST

(J, Book 3, P.79)

'Kids nowadays - they watch TV --- read comics
 --- listen to records --- I don't think they
 study much.'

In this example the NP marked by "WA" is singled out at the beginning of the sentence as the topic, about which the speaker goes on to give an opinion. This kind of "WA", representing the topic of one's opinion, appears quite often in Japanese utterances. This kind of "WA" could be said to produce the effect of 'emphasis' by virtue of the

fact that it involves some degree of contrast. For example, the speaker in example (4) could be taken to imply that 'kids in the old days' were quite different. [As Mikami says (P.10), "WA" always has some 'contrastive' function, whether it be weak or strong. He also points out that there is no real boundary between the 'strong-voiced' and 'weak-voiced' usages. Therefore it is better to avoid accounting for "WA" as 'contrastive' unless the student can recognize 'contrast' quite clearly, whether actually expressed or just implied.] However, considering the actual connotations or nuances of these sentences, it is not entirely appropriate to account for this kind of usage as 'emphatic' or 'contrastive'. It would be better to account for this usage of "WA" as follows: when the Japanese speaker wishes to express an opinion about something, he has a tendency to give the topic of his opinion first, marking it with "WA", and then to offer his opinion about it.

The following example can be explained in the same way.

- (5) Kondo no ryokoo wa ii benkyoo ni
 this time GEN trip good study DAT
 nari soo da. (NK, P.373)
 become+CONT seem COP+NON-PAST
 'This trip looks like it will be very
 educational.'

This example has been taken from Waseda University's Nihongo Kyookasho (Elementary Japanese for Foreign Students). If the student wishes to express 'what will be very educational', according to the explanation of the functions of "GA" in this textbook (see P.76), it is most likely that he will choose "GA" to mark the NP, resulting in the exhaustive listing interpretation. However, the native speaker naturally topicalizes this NP, using "WA", and then goes on to give his opinion or judgement on his topic.

(6) Anna doresu wa takusan arimasu yo.
 such dress many exist+POL+NON-PAST SFP
 Ima katte mo kawanakute mo ii desu.
 now if buy if not buy good COP+POL+NON-PAST
 (J, Book 2, P.166)

'There are lots of dresses like that one. It doesn't matter whether you buy it now or not.'

In this example the speaker does not describe the existence of something objectively, but presents the information as a judgement, based on his own observations. If he were simply describing the existence of something objectively, the relevant NP would be marked by "GA". In this case, too, the function of "WA" would be explained more properly as that of introducing a sentence of judgement, rather than as indicating a contrast, implying that other kinds of dress might not be found so easily.

In many examples like (4)(5) and (6) above it is possible to explain the usage of "WA" simply in terms of 'anaphora'. However, it is helpful to familiarize students with the nature of sentences of judgement, by introducing typical examples of this kind, which clearly represents the speaker's opinion or judgement.

[C] In the following 3 examples, the explanation of "WA" given in Waseda University's Nihongo Kyookasho (Elementary Japanese for Foreign Students) (introduce^d on P.76) is most helpful in explaining why the NPs are marked by "WA" rather than by "GA". The textbook says that in sentences whose subject is marked by "WA", the predicate can be said to be the key information of the statement. ✓

(7) Mada [eigakan ni] ~~h~~anakute mo ii ✓
yet movie theatre into if not enter good
desu.

COP+POL+NON-PAST

Eiga wa go-ji kara hajimarimasu.

film five o'clock from begin+POL+NON-PAST

(J, Book 2, P165)

'We don't have to go in [to the theatre] yet.

The film begins at five.'

(8) Koobe hatsu ichi-ji chaku [no densha] wa
 departure one o'clock arrival GEN train
 jikan doori ni tsukimasu ka.
 time right on arrive+POL+NON-PAST INTERROG

(BJ, L.19, P.347)

'Will [the train] from Kobe due at one o'clock
 arrive on time?'

In (7) and (8) everyone concerned knows that, in due course, the film will begin and the train will arrive. In both of these examples, the key information of the statement is not the subject but the predicate, that is the question about the subject. Therefore, the NP in each of the sentences is marked by "WA". Furthermore, Kuno's 'Observation 5', that 'Questions are usually questions about something [which is known about], is also applicable to example (8). Thus, the NP in example (8) should be marked by "WA", as it constitutes this 'old information', as long as the question is understood in a neutral sense.

(9) ... Eki no soba de ringo o itsutsu
 station GEN place nearby LOC apple ACC five pieces
 kaimashita. Mise no hito wa ringo o
 buy+POL+PAST shop GEN person apple ACC
 tsutsumimashita. (IMJ, P.81)
 wrap+POL+PAST

Soshite kireina ribbon o tsukemashita,
 and pretty ribbon ACC put+POL+PAST

✓

'(I) bought five apples near the station. The shop-keeper wrapped them up and tied them with a pretty ribbon.'

In this example it is possible to interpret the function of "WA" as simply marking a noun which is anaphoric in that particular context. However, this does not seem a sufficient explanation for the linguistic facts. In the same context this NP could equally well be marked by "GA". If it were, the sentence would simply describe an event, which happened in front of the speaker. However, what he wishes to convey in this particular sentence seems to be that the shop keeper's action was in some way beneficial to him. Therefore, "WA" has been used rather than "GA", indicating that the key information of statement, the new and interesting information, is the predicate, rather than the NP mise no hito ('the shop keeper'). It would be unusual to focus on the agent by marking it with "GA", because no one but the shop-keeper would be expected to wrap the apples in this situation.

[D] In examples of the kind given below, it is important to point out to students that the speaker cannot describe himself objectively. In other words, in describing his own existence, action, or temporary state, the speaker must mark

the NP referring to himself by "WA", not by "GA",
at least if the statement is a neutral one.

(The hearer need not be described objectively, in
normal conversation, because an event or state
concerning himself is naturally already known to
the hearer. Nitta (1977))

✓ 2,1979

(10) Yamamoto: Ja, chotto matte ite kudasai.

well just wait+CONT be+CONT please

Ima denwa o kakete

now telephone ACC call+CONT

kimasu.

come+POL+NON-PAST

'Well, wait just for a minute, please.

I'm going to make a phone call.'

Johnson: Hai, onegaishimasu. Watashi wa

yes require+POL+NON-PAST I

koko ni imasu. (ICJ, Book 2, P.501)

this place LOC exist+POL+NON-PAST

'O.K., thank you. I'll be waiting

here.'

(11) Boku wa uchi ni kaerimasu.

I home DAT return+POL+NON-PAST

(J, Book 2, P.157)

'I'm going back home.'

In the section [E] and forward, the functions of the
particle "GA" will be examined.

[E] In the following examples, the particle "GA" singles out the NP it follows as the particular thing (whether animate or inanimate) that is most properly referred to by that predicate.

From the point of view of grammatical theory, this usage of "GA" is the 'exhaustive-listing' usage. However, from the pedagogical point of view it is necessary to explain this in detail, providing the student with examples of contexts which generally require this kind of "GA".

(12) Chotto misete kudasai. ... (BJ, L.5, P.59)

just · show+CONT please

Aa, kore ga ii desu.

oh this one fine COP+POL+NON-PAST

'Just let me have a look please. Oh, this one is fine.' *I'll take this one. ✓*

Because of this general function of singling out one thing that is most properly referred to by the predicate, this kind of sentence with "GA" is used for choice, as in the example above.

(13) Kenkoo no tame ni wa, kisoku tadashii

health GEN sake for TOP rule correct

seikatsu o suru koto ga ichiban ✓

life ACC do+NON-PAST that most

taisetsu desu. (ICJ, L.42, P.466)

importance COP+POL+NON-PAST

'To be in good health, what is most important is to be in a regular routine.'

As shown in this example, "GA" is used in superlative expressions.

- (14) Kare wa konogoro sukoshi tsukareteiru n
 he TOP recently a little is-tired EXP
 desu. Arubaito ga taihen
 COP+POL+NON-PAST part-time job hardness
 nandeshoo. (IMJ, P.130)
 must-be
 'He's been tired recently. It's his part-time
 job that's too much, I suppose.'

There are many things which might make a person tired.
 Out of those things, the speaker is singling out the
 one thing which he thinks the most likely to be the
 cause of this person's fatigue.

- (15) Asoko ni dare ga imasu ka.
 that place LOC who exist+POL+NON-PAST INTER-ROG
 'Who's over there?'
 Sensee ga imasu. (MJU, P.21)
 teacher exist+POL+NON-PAST
 'There's a teacher.'

In Japanese, when it is the subject of the predicate
 which is in question, the interrogative pronoun is
 always marked by "GA". An appropriate answer will
 enumerate all the NPs for which that predication is
 true in that particular context. It would not be
 adequate to list only some of those NPs in answer to
 a WH-question in Japanese. The use of "GA" in all

these examples can be explained as the 'exhaustive-listing' usage in Kuno's theory.

[F] Waseda University's Nihongo Kyookasho (Elementary Japanese) describes the same kind of examples from a slightly different viewpoint (see P.76). The textbook says that the subject can be said to constitute the 'key information' of the description or statement. The speaker wishes to attract attention to the subject rather than the predicate.

I think that it is necessary to introduce both of these theories to students - "GA" giving an enumeration of the NPs for which the predication is true, and "GA" focussing on the NP it follows. This is because one theory may account for the function of "GA" more clearly than the other, depending on the particular context.

(16) ^{Ja}
Jya, kondo wa watashi ga utsushimashoo. ✓

O.K. this time TOP I take+POL+VOL

(ICJ, L.29, P.172) 173 ✓

(Lit.) O.K. I'll take [the picture] this time. 'Let me take the picture this time.'

As understood from the context, in this example the 'key information' of the statement is the NP marked by "GA".

The underlined "GA" in this example can be replaced by "WA" which receives the 'contrastive' interpretation. That is, both "GA" and "WA" are grammatical in this context. However, when "GA" is used the focus is not on the 'contrast' but on the 'lighter'. This depends on the speaker's feeling or choice. In a case like this in which both "WA" and "GA" are grammatical, the choice is up to the speaker, depending on just what it is he wishes to focus on. This fact should be pointed out to students when comparing the two particles.

[G] In the context of the following examples, the function of "GA" would be better accounted for by explaining that it serves to indicate new information.

- (20) Ima omoidashita n desu
 now remember+PAST EXP COP+POL+NON-PAST
 ga ne?
 you know
 Boku no tomodachi ga asoko no hisho
 I GEN friend that place GEN secretary
 desu yo. (BJ, L.24, P.72)
 COP+POL+NON-PAST SFP
 'I just remembered, you know? A friend of
 mine is a secretary at that place.'

In this example, 'asoko' (that place) is referring to a certain company which has obviously already been

introduced into the conversation. The hearer knows already that there are secretaries there. That one of them is a friend of the speaker, however, is new information.

- (21) Gozongi no yoo ni, Tanaka san ga
 your knowledge as title
 piano o hikimasu. Watashi ga
 piano ACC play+POL+NON-PAST I
 uta o utaimasu.
 song ACC sing+POL+NON-PAST
 'As you know, Tanaka plays the piano. I'm
 the one who sings.'

The "GA" in the first sentence in this example simply serves to convey a neutral description. However, in the second sentence it introduces the fact that the speaker, too, has musical talent, and this is clearly new information to the hearer.

[H] In the following examples, events, actions, existence and temporary states, which can all be observed objectively, are described in a neutral way. This usage of "GA" is best understood as the 'neutral descriptive' usage in Kuno's theory. The difference between the 'neutral descriptive' usage and the 'exhaustive listing' usage is that, in the former both the NP and the predicate together, that is, the whole sentence,

represents new information, while in the latter only the NP represents new information.

- (22) Toshokan ga aku. (ICJ, L.23, P.51)
 library open+NON-PAST
 'The library is just opening.'
- (23) yo-ji ni tomodachi ga kimashita.
 four o'clock at friend come+POL+PAST
 (J, Book 2, P.144)
 'My friend came at four.'
- (24) A, Tooru-kun, anna chiisai kodomo ga ootobai
 such small child motor-bike
 ni . notte hashitte ikimashita yo.
 on get on+CONT run+CONT go+POL+PAST SFP
 'Look, Tooru! Such a small boy is riding a motor bike!' (J, Book 3, P.55, Reading and Writing)
- (25) A, haha ga yonde imasu.
 oh mother call+GER is+POL+NON-PAST
 Chotto shitsureishimasu. (NK, P.172)
 just excuse me
 'Oh, my mother is calling. Excuse me a moment.'
- (26) A, neko ga doa no soto ni imasu ; ✓
 oh cat door GEN outside LOC exist+POL+NON-PAST
 '(Look!) The cat is outside. (J. Book 2, P.154) , ✓

- (27) Asoko ni kissaten ga
 that place LOC coffee shop
 arimasu ne.
 exist+POL+NON-PAST EMP (IMJ, P.20)
 'There's a coffee shop over there.'
- (28) Rinji kyuugyoo no kami ga hatte
 special holiday GEN paper stick+CONT
 arimashita.
 exist+POL+PAST (ICJ, L.24, P.69)
 'There was a notice saying the store was
 closed.'
- (29) Mae .ni mo ushiro ni mo zutto densha
 front LOC also back LOC also far train
ga tsuzuite imashita. (ICJ, L.25, P.82)
 continue+GEN exist+POL+PAST
 'Quite a few trains were lined up in front
 of and behind us.'
- (30) Kaoiro ga warui desu ne.
 complexion bad COP+POL+NON-PAST SFP
 'You look pale, don't you?' (NK, P.137)

[I] The use of "GA" in all of the following examples
 can be well explained as the 'neutral descriptive'
 usage along with those in group [H] above.
 However, this kind of usage is especially common
 in sentences like those below describing natural
 or social phenomena. This is why Mio generally

called sentences in which the subject is marked by "GA", 'sentences describing phenomena'. This kind of characteristic usage would be most helpful for students to be aware of when they are learning the various uses of "WA" and "GA".

- (31) Ki ga akaku narimashita.
 tree red+CONT become+POL+PAST
 (J, Book 3, P.50)
 'The trees have become tinged with red.'
- (32) Ashita ame ga furu deshoo, (MJU, P.103) ✓
 tomorrow rain fall+NON-PAST will
 'It will probably rain tomorrow.'
- (33) Watashi wa oyogimasendeshita. Mada (umi no)
 I TOP swim+POL+NEG+PAST still sea GEN
 mizu ga tsumetai desu. (ICJ, L.18, P.447)
 water cold COP+POL+NON-PAST
 'I didn't swim. The (sea) water is still too cold.'
- (34) Jinkoo mitsudo ga takaku naru.
 population density high+CONT become+NON-PAST
 'The population density increases.' (NK, P.354)

[J] Noun phrases which can be topicalized are invariably 'anaphoric'. However, anaphoric noun phrases are not always topicalized. There are two cases in which anaphoric NPs are not topicalized. In this section, these two cases

are discussed. This point should be explained to students of Japanese.

The first case is that in which the speaker intentionally does not topicalize the anaphoric NP (~~Eg~~^Xs. (35), (36) and (37)), and the other is the one in which it is impossible for the anaphoric NP to be topicalized (~~Eg~~^X. (38)).

✓

✓

In the following examples, the speaker intentionally does not topicalize the anaphoric noun phrase, even though he has the option.

Recall that Shibatani explains the difference between sentences of description with "GA" and sentences of judgement with "WA" as a difference in the kind of narration involved (see P.48 above). However, he explains nothing about the communicative effect which is produced depending on which of the two types of sentence is employed. This is a most important matter, and if students of Japanese have no idea about this point, their knowledge of the functions of "WA" and "GA" will not be sufficient. I would like to point out that when an anaphoric noun phrase of a particular kind (see below) is marked by "GA" rather than by "WA", then there is a difference in the 'emphatic' effect conveyed. Recall the explanation in Modern Japanese for University Students, concerning the functions of "GA" (Chapter Three, P.62): "ga": [marks] (the actor or subject) in

a single sentence. This indicates emphasis on the subject, and ga may be replaced by wa with a lessening of this emphasis." (P.391) This explanation is not adequate because "GA" does not always put 'emphasis' on the noun phrase in question (i.e. what is called 'subject' in MJU) (The 'neutral descriptive' "GA" does not indicate 'emphasis'.) However, when some kinds of anaphoric NP are marked by "GA", the NP does indeed seem to be emphasized. By virtue of the emphasis on the noun phrase concerned, the sentence, it seems, is understood to convey information which is somehow unusual, out of the ordinary or sensational. Observe the following examples.

(35) Tanaka: Komarimasu ne.

trouble SFP

Ruin san wa itsumo teepu o

Lwin title TOP usually tape ACC

kikimasen ne.

listen+POL+NEG+NON-PAST SFP

'It's no good, is it? Mr. Lwin hardly ever listens to tapes, does he?'

Alice: Iie, Tanaka sensei, kinoo

no teacher yesterday

Ruin san ga teepu o kikimashita.

Lwin title tape ACC listen+POL+PAST

Mezurashii desu ne.

rare COP+POL+NON-PAST SFP.

'No, Mr. Tanaka. Mr. Lwin did actually listen to a tape yesterday. That was quite unusual, wasn't it?'

In this case, the underlined "GA" can be replaced by "WA". However, "GA" conveys the sense that the information is somehow 'unusual' and so "GA" rather than "WA" more adequately corresponds with the sentence following, 'Mezurashii desu ne'. (That was quite unusual, wasn't it?)

(36) A: John to Mary wa senshuu mo mata
and last week also again
kenkashimashita ne.
quarrel+POL+PAST SFP
Futari wa naka ga warui desu
two persons terms bad COP+POL+NON-PAST
ne.

SFP

'John and Mary quarrelled again last week,
didn't they? They are on bad terms, aren't
they?'

B. Ne, soo omou deshoo.
(agreement) so think probably
Tokoroga ano futari ga konyakushita
but that two persons engage+PAST
n desu yo.

EXP COP+POL+NON-PAST SFP

'Yes, so one would think. But actually they
are enagaged.'

In this case, 'futari' (the two persons) is emphasized by the particle "GA", and it conveys 'a feeling of surprise'.

Let us look at Shibatani's examples once again.

- (37) a. Hitori no kodomo ga aruite kita.
 one GEN child walk+GER come+PAST
 'A child came walking.'
- b. Soko e inu ga hashitte kita
 there DAT dog run+GER come+PAST
 'There came a dog running.'
- c. Soshite sono inu ga kodomo ni kamitsuita.
 and then that dog child DAT bite+PAST
 'And then, the dog bit the child.'
- c'. Soshite sono inu wa kodomo ni kamitsuita.
 and then that dog child DAT bite+PAST
 'And then, the dog, it bit the child.'

The (a)-(c) version gives a more lively impression of the event to the hearer than that conveyed by the (a)-(c') version, and in the former the NP 'inu' ('dog') sounds more emphasized than it does in the latter. The reason for this is that the (a)-(c) version presents an objective and immediate description of the event, while the (a)-(c') version represents a speaker's reflected judgement about the event. This usage of "GA" is not dissimilar to the use of the so-called "historic present" in English narratives.

Recall Example (a)(P.61) in which the anaphoric NP chichi ((my) father) was marked by "GA". It was explicitly pointed out, in regard to this example, that the native speaker of Japanese would not read this sentence as emphatic in any way, but rather interprets it as neutral.

- (a) Otanjoobi ni (wa) chichi ga kamera o
 birthday on father camera ACC
 kuremashita.
 give me+PAST
 'On my birthday (my) father gave me a
 camera.'

The difference between this example, where the interpretation of "GA" is neutral, and those given above, where it is emphatic, lies in the difference between the kind of anaphoric NP involved. While Ruin san (Mr. Lwin, Eg. (35)), ano futari (those two persons, EG. (36)) and sono inu (that dog, Eg. (37)) are all context and/or discourse anaphoric NPs, the noun chichi (father) in the example immediately above is anaphoric by virtue of its belonging to the permanent register of discourse (see PP.19-20). Anaphoric NPs of this kind, as well as generic NPs, simply receive either the neutral description or exhaustive-listing connotation when marked by "GA", depending on the context. This is shown in the following examples:

(A) Moo haru ga chikai. (neutral description)
 already spring (be) near
 'Spring is drawing near.'

(B) Saru ga ningen no senzo
 monkey mankind GEN ancestor
 desu. (exhaustive-listing) ✓
 COP+POL+NON-PAST
 'It is the monkey that is the ancestor of
 mankind.'

There are cases, however, where the speaker
 does not have the choice of topicalizing the
 anaphoric NP, and must mark it with "GA". Observe
 the following discourse fragments:

(38) (A and B are talking about an apple on the
 table.)

A. Kore wa zuibun ookina ringo desu ne.
 this very big apple COP+NON-PAST SFP
 'This is a very big apple, isn't it?'

B. Eee, sore wa Aomori kara
 yes that one name of prefecture from
 okutte kita n desu.
 send+CONT come+PAST EXP COP+NON-PAST
 'Yes, it came from Aomori.'

A. Soo desu ka. Kore ga 'Mutsu'
 so COP+NON-PAST INTERROG this name of
 to yuu no ka na. kind of apples
 call NOMINAL INTERROG SFP

'Did it? I wonder if this is the kind they call 'Mutsu'.

B. A, ringo ga ochimasu yo.

oh apple fall+POL+NON-PAST SFP

'Oh, the apple is falling off the table.'

The underlined "GA" cannot be replaced by "WA", that is, 'ringo' (apple) cannot be topicalized even though the noun is anaphoric. The reason for this can be seen by examining the fundamental meaning of a theme. Topicalization means that the speaker has chosen a particular thing as a topic, on which he gives his opinion, judgement, feelings or the like. Thus, when a particular NP can be topicalized, the sentence involving the NP could always be expressed with the following sentence pattern in English: 'Speaking of (the NP),---'. However, in the above example, what happened to the apple is a momentary phenomenon, and so it is not the kind of event that can be presented as the speaker's considered opinion or judgement. In this kind of situation, the noun phrase, though anaphoric, cannot be topicalized.

Further Remarks

As we have seen by examining a variety of examples from some of the most popular Japanese textbooks the use of "WA" and "GA" is influenced by a number of factors - notably by the speaker's

interpretation of the actual situation or context, and his response to it. Therefore, it would not be appropriate to try to explain all the uses of these two particles by simply saying that "WA" indicates the TOPIC and "GA" indicates the SUBJECT of a sentence. Nor is it adequate, from the student's point of view, to base an explanation solely on linguistic terminology describing function, such as 'contrastive', 'exhaustive-listing' and so on. The fact that Japanese linguists have explained the functions of these particles from numerous different perspectives, indicates that "WA" and "GA" might best be introduced to the student as having slightly different functions or uses in different situations or contexts. However, this does not mean that we should simply make up a suitable account for each particular instance of "WA" and "GA" encountered throughout a Japanese language course. We must begin with an explanation which is easy to understand and of a fairly general nature, even if it is not fully adequate, and we can progressively make necessary amendments or add new elements to this as the student progresses. By gradually introducing students to the various uses of "WA" and "GA", we can help them to recognize the most fundamental functions of these two particles. The fundamental function of "WA" is to single out from others of its kind the thing which

the speaker wants to talk about or ask about. The particle thus always involves some degree of contrast, although this may be so weak as to result in an apparently neutral expression. The fundamental function of "GA", on the other hand, is to present/point to the thing which responds to the question or issue raised in that context, whether it be overt (e.g. "Who kissed Mary?") or implied ("Who did what?", "What's happening now?"). So, it can be said that while "WA" presents a particular thing in contrast with others of the same kind, whether the contrast is strong or weak, "GA" presents a particular thing as the answer to one of the 3 subject interrogatives, 'who' or 'what', or 'which' (in Japanese, 'dare ga', or 'nani ga', or 'dore ga', respectively) and it does not matter whether the WH-question is overt or covert.

CHAPTER FIVE

Practical suggestions for a methodology for teaching
WA and GA

In Chapter Three, 3.2, I advanced the suggestion that several theories, rather than a single one, concerning the particles "WA" and "GA" considered from slightly different points of view, should be introduced to students of Japanese to assist them in their understanding of the meanings of the particles. I also showed how these theories could be used to explain a number of example sentences, representative of those which commonly appear in Japanese Language textbooks.

In this Chapter, I would like to suggest that one Lesson in a textbook should be specifically designed for reinforcing the student's knowledge of the two particles, "WA" and "GA", and to propose a way of presenting the functions of the two particles logically and integrally in that specific Lesson. Actually my proposal is that this lesson incorporate all the usages of both "WA" and "GA", as described in the Introduction to this thesis. However, in this chapter I shall continue to discuss only those usages of "WA" and "GA" which mark the NP which is equivalent to the subject in English.

This kind of Lesson is contained in Alfonso's Japanese Language Patterns, as mentioned in Chapter Three, 3.1.2. However, my suggestions differ somewhat from Alfonso's Lesson in that I present the uses of "WA" and "GA" in relation to the basic sentence patterns of Japanese, and produce a number of charts designed to summarize clearly these different uses, based primarily on Kuno's theories, (1972) and (1973).

Suggestion 1. Logical introduction of "WA" and "GA"

In the teacher's manual for his textbook Japanese, Alfonso (1977) writes: "The young student cannot discover intuitively the rules and patterns of the language when the data presented to him is overloaded with grammar and it does not give him the means to talk about what interests him. ... These aptitudes of the young are gradually replaced with a stronger reliance on abstraction and logic which is very common in educated adults, ..." (P.3)

It is certainly true that quite a different approach is required for language students of different ages and educational backgrounds. The approach suggested in this thesis is aimed specifically at adult students studying at the tertiary level. Having surveyed the Japanese textbooks listed in the Introduction, I have found that, as Alfonso suggests, it would indeed be difficult for adult students, particularly those whose educational background equips

them to deal best with abstraction and generalization, to discover logically or intuitively the rules for the use of the two particles, "WA" and "GA", on the basis of any of these presentations. This is because the data about the particles presented to them in most textbooks is 'overloaded', not with grammar, but with numerous and varied examples appearing in equally numerous and varied situations and contexts. Students seem to be thrown into a sea of Japanese sentences and encounter "WA" and "GA" appearing in slightly different contexts and with slightly different interpretations, all around them. The rules are hidden under the surface, and grammatical explanations are generally oversimplified, if they are given at all. This approach may well be appropriate for very young language students who, firstly, are probably not yet able to handle very abstract explanations and, secondly, are generally involved in fairly long-term language programmes. However, I would like to suggest that adult students should be introduced to the particles not only through examples in conversations and drills, but also in an abstract and logical way. That is, they should be given more details in grammatical explanations, along with a generally more systematic presentation of the data. This approach will result in a far more efficient use of the generally shorter time available to adult language students.

As an important part of this approach, I suggest that the textbook include one Lesson, the sole purpose of which is to reintegrate all the functions of "WA" and "GA" which have already been introduced separately in various concrete examples. Naturally this Lesson should be presented to students after they have seen all the basic functions of the two particles appearing in the four basic sentence patterns of Japanese, accompanied by appropriate explanations such as those illustrated in Chapter Three, 3.2. These basic functions have been gleaned from the following three different treatments concerning the particles, "WA" and "GA":

1. Kuno's theory (WA - 'thematic' and 'contrastive'; GA - 'neutral descriptive' and 'exhaustive-listing') ✓
2. Mio's theory (WA - sentences of judgement; GA - sentences of description)
3. The idea of key information (WA - key information is in the Predicate; GA - key information is in the NP)

I consider that it is necessary to introduce students to all three of these theories, because together they can effectively explain the actual usage of the particles, "WA" and "GA", in every context.

I would like to suggest the following points concerning the specific Lesson recommended.

[1] Several points which can be introduced as rules should be given simply as rules. Let us summarize the rules for the use of "WA" and "GA", that are mentioned in the textbooks, or observed by linguists.

1. Question words are followed by "GA", never by "WA".

e.g. (1) Dare ga Amerika - jin desu ka.

who American person COP+POL+NON-PAST INTERROG

'Who is an American?'

The NP in the answer to a WH-question of this kind is also followed by "GA".

e.g. (2) John ga Amerika - jin desu

American person COP+POL+NON-PAST

'John is an American.'

2. When the Predicate involves a question word, the NP is marked by "WA" and not by "GA".

(See Kuno's 'Observation 5' and Chapter Two, 2.1, Q.7)

e.g. (3) John wa nani o benkyooshimashita ka.

what ACC study+POL+PAST INTERROG

'What did John study?'

The three points above can be introduced as rules, with an explanation as to why these particular particles invariably appear in these particular contexts. Kuno's explanations, outlined in Chapter Two, would be most suitable here.

3. Another important point is that it is normal to use "WA" in the negative answer to a question.

- (4) Tsukue no ue ni hon ga arimashita ka.
 desk GEN top LOC book NOM exist+POL INTERROG
 +PAST
 'Was there a book on the desk?'
 ---Iie, hon wa arimasendeshita.
 no book TOP exist+POL+NEG+PAST
 'No, there wasn't a book.'
 ---??Iie, hon ga arimasendeshita.
 no book NOM exist+POL+NEG+PAST

[2] Concerning the more general introduction of "WA" and "GA" marking the NP which is equivalent to the subject in English, I would like to suggest the following 4 points:

1. The linguists mentioned in Chapters One and Two described "WA" and "GA" from slightly different perspectives, each concentrating only on certain aspects of their meaning. It would not be possible to make a single simple generalization that would fully account for every one of these aspects of meaning, in spite of the fact that there is certainly a common thread linking all uses of each particle. For this reason, examples of concrete situations should be presented in which these various aspects of the meaning of "WA" and "GA" can be clearly illustrated.

2. As mentioned in Chapter Three, Section 3.1, "WA" and "GA" should be initially introduced along with the most basic sentence patterns of Japanese. The basic sentence patterns of the Japanese language are:

1. Predicate Nominal Sentence
2. ~~P~~redicate Nominal-Adjectival Sentence ✓
3. Predicate Adjectival Sentence
4. Intransitive and Transitive Sentence

However, Predicate Nominal-Adjectival Sentences have the same pattern as Predicate Nominal Sentences, and so the two can be treated as representatives of a single sentence pattern. On the other hand, sentences which describe the existence of something should be isolated from other Intransitive Sentences and classified as Existential Sentences. The reason why the Existential Sentence Pattern should be classified separately will be mentioned later in this chapter, under the heading 'Suggestion 3'.

3. In explaining the functions of "WA" and "GA", the terms, 'Topic' and 'Subject', should not be employed, at least not until all the basic functions of the two particles have been sufficiently understood. Consequently, "GA" should

not be defined as the subject-marker. The reasons for this are:

1. The NP which is equivalent to the subject in English grammar appears as either 'topic' or 'subject' in Japanese.
2. If "GA" is not defined as the subject-marker, the "GA" used with stative transitive verbals can simply be explained as indicating the object of the verbal.

Instead of using the terms 'Topic' and 'Subject', the NP concerned in each sentence pattern should be explained in the following way:

1. in Predicate Nominal Sentences: the NP is something (animate or inanimate) upon which some comment is made in the predicate.
2. in Predicate Adjectival Sentences: the NP is something (animate or inanimate) which possesses the attribute or state represented by the predicate.
3. in Existential Sentences: the NP is presented as something (animate or inanimate) which exists, usually in a particular location.
4. in Intransitive and Transitive Sentences: (Firstly introducing a sentence with an action verb) the NP is the actor.

It would, of course, be ideal if a single term could be found which, firstly, could be applied to

the NP concerned in every one of these sentence patterns and, secondly, could be clearly understood by students whose native language is English. Unfortunately, however, as no single appropriate term can be found, it is necessary to describe the NP separately for each sentence type.

4. In each of these different sentence patterns, the use of one or the other of the two particles, "WA" or "GA" will result in a neutral expression. The pattern should initially be introduced with this particle and, only later, should the meaning of the other particle in that particular sentence pattern be taught. In the thousands of examples involving the subject-marking "WA" or "GA" which appeared in the textbooks, I tried to test whether the particle used could be replaced by its counterpart without affecting the grammaticality of the sentence, and to see how the meaning of the sentence changed. In only one example sentence was it impossible to change the relevant particle. (This kind of example is discussed in Section (2.B.i).) In all other cases the meanings of the sentences were changed from 'neutral' to 'contrastive' or to 'exhaustive-listing', and vice versa, according to the sentence pattern concerned. Thus, it is suggested that each one of the four sentence patterns be divided into two types, in

one of which the NP is marked by "WA", and in the other, by "GA". For example, Predicate Nominal Sentences would be presented as exhibiting the two patterns:

- a. NP₁ WA NP₂ desu.
- b. NP₁ GA NP₂ desu.

The notion 'neutral expression' is to be applied to one of the two types of sentences above. Kuno employed the term 'neutral description' only for "GA". However, in this method, the concept of 'neutral expression' can be applied to a sentence in which the NP is marked by "WA" as well. The reason for this is that a sentence which involves the 'thematic' "WA" of Kuno's theory can receive the 'neutral' interpretation in a certain environment. Strictly speaking, "WA" does always single out an NP from others of its kind. However, when these others do not appear in that context, the strong sense of contrast is lost and the expression is relatively neutral. For an absolutely neutral reading, with no hint of contrast whatever, the NP concerned would be deleted. (See Intro. P.11). An expression which involves neither the 'contrastive' nor 'exhaustive-listing' connotation is defined as a 'neutral expression', the term 'expression' here covering both 'descriptions' and 'statements'. Concerning each

sentence pattern, the one which conveys a 'neutral expression' should be introduced to the student first. After mastering that form of the pattern, the student should be taught to change the particle to give the expression the 'contrastive' or 'exhaustive-listing' connotation.

The usual connotations of the two particles in each of the basic sentence patterns is outlined below. The native intuitions of the author in this regard have been checked and confirmed by several other native speakers.

1. Predicate Nominal Sentences (as a general rule).

In most cases, Predicate Nominal Sentences represent the definition of something and so the predicate normally represents the stable state of the NP. Thus, if the NP is marked with "GA", the sentence usually receives the 'exhaustive-listing' interpretation.

(5) NP₁ WA NP₂ desu. (Neutral expression)

(5') NP₁ GA NP₂ desu. (Exhaustive listing)

e.g. (5) Kore wa sakura desu. (Neut.)

this cherry COP+POL+NON-PAST

'These are cherry blossoms.'

(5') Kore ga sakura desu. (Exh.)

'It is these that are cherry blossoms.'

(Henceforth all examples with "GA" will be numbered with an index, as above.

However, when the NP₂ slot is filled by the kind of noun that represents a natural phenomenon or an event, that is, a temporary state, such as 'kaji' (fire), 'yuuyake' (sunset glow), 'kyuugyoo' (suspension) and 'koshoo' (trouble), the opposite is true.

- e.g. (6') a. Tonari ga kaji da. (Neutral expression)
 neighbour fire COP+NON-PAST
 'The (place) next door is on fire!'
- b. Nishi no sora ga yuuyake da.
 west GEN sky sunset glow COP+NON-PAST
 'The western sky is aglow.'
- c. Ara, Mitsukoshi ga kyugyoo
 oh (name of a dept. store) suspension
 da.
 COP+NON-PAST
 'Oh, Mitsukoshi is closed.'
- d. Oya, denwa ga koshoo da.
 oh telephone trouble
 'Oh, the telephone is out of order.'

In these examples, if the "GA" marking the NP is changed into "WA", the expression is given the 'contrastive' interpretation. However, with "GA", the interpretation is always neutral. This type of neutral expression, with predicate nouns representing natural phenomena or events, is very common indeed in Japanese. Unfortunately, as mentioned above, most Japanese textbooks seem to completely ignore examples

of this kind, and those that do give a few examples fail to explain the use and interpretation of "GA" with this particular class of predicate. More examples of this kind of noun are: hoosaku (rich crop), sotsugyoo (graduation), hikkoshi (removal), shussan (childbirth), byooki (illness), sutoraiki (strike), oosawagi (uproar), kaisan (dissolution), jisshi (enforcement), man'in (fulness), uragaeshi (being inside out), hadaka (nakedness), yukuefumei (being lost), ryuukoo (fashion), shuppatsu (departure), toochaku (arrival).

The following examples illustrate the pervasiveness of this pattern in everyday Japanese.

- e.g. e. Kome ga hoosaku da.
 rice rich crop COP+NON-PAST
 'We have had a rich crop of rice.'
- f. Chichi ga byooki datta.
 father illness COP+PAST
 'My father was ill.'
- g. Kokutetsu ga storaiki da.
 national railway strike COP+NON-PAST
 'The national railways are on strike.'
- h. Densha ga man'in datta.
 train fullness COP+PAST
 'The train was full.'

- i. Shatsu ga uragaeshi desu
 shirt being inside out COP+POL+NON-PAST
 yo.
 SFP
 'Your shirt is inside out!'

- (6) Densha wa man'in datta.
 train fullness COP+PAST
 'The train was full (but the bus was
 less crowded).'

2. Predicate Adjectival Sentences.

Based on Kuno's theory about "GA" for neutral description (Chapter One, 1.2.1(c), P.27), there are two main types of Predicate Adjectival Sentence.

- (1) Cases in which the predicate describes the stable state or attribute of the NP.

(7) NP WA Adj. (desu). (Neutral expression)

(7') NP GA Adj. (desu). (Exhaustive-listing)

- e.g. (7) Zoo wa ookii (desu). (Neut.)
 elephant big COP+POL+NON-PAST
 'Elephants are big.'

- (7') Zoo ga ookii (desu). (Exh.)
 'Elephants (and only elephants) are big.'

- (2) Cases in which the predicate describes the current temporary state of the NP.

(8') NP GA Adj. (desu). (Neutral expression)

(8) NP WA Adj. (desu). (Contrastive)

- e.g. (8') Gozenchuu kaze ga tsumetakatta. (Neut.)
 in the morning wind (be) cold+PAST
 'The wind was cold in the morning.'
- (8) Kaze wa tsumetai.
 wind (be) cold+NON-PAST
 Demo hizashi wa akarui. (Cont.)
 but sunshine (be) bright+NON-PAST
 'The wind is cold, but the sunshine is bright.'

3. Existential Sentences.

- (9') NP₁ ni NP₂ GA arimasu/imasu (Neutral expression)
- (9) NP₁ ni NP₂ WA arimasu/imasu (Contrastive)
- e.g. (9') Koko ni hon ga arimasu. (Neut.)
 this place LOC book exist+POL+NON-PAST
 'There is a book here.'
- (9) Koko ni hon wa (Contrastive)
 this place LOC book
 arimasu.
 exist+POL+NON-PAST
 'There is a book here (but not your glasses.)'

An objective observation about the existence of something usually represents new information and so "GA" is used here for a 'neutral expression'. If "WA" is used, the interpretation is 'contrastive'.

However, recall Kuno's observation that the speaker cannot objectively report as new information anything about himself, as discussed under Q5 (Chapter Two, P.42). Therefore, in this sentence pattern the first person subject must be thematized by using "WA" and placed at the front of the sentence as shown below, if the sentence is to be interpreted as a 'neutral expression'. The result is actually a locative, rather than an existential sentence. If the first person is followed by "GA", the sentence is given the 'exhaustive-listing interpretation.

(10) Watashi wa koko ni imasu. (Neut.)

I this place LOC exist+POL+NON-PAST

'I am here.'

(11) Koko ni watashi ga imasu. (Exh.)

this place LOC I exist+POL+NON-PAST

'It is I who am here.'

The same can be said of the second person, because the second person is not described objectively in normal communication, as mentioned in Chapter Four, [D], Nitta (1977).

Note that the verbs 'kuru' (come), 'arawareru' (appear) and the adjectives 'nai' (not-exist), 'ooi' (to be many, much) and 'sukunai' (to be few, little) behave in the same way as existential verbs. (See P.27 and Kuno's 'Observation 2' (P.36).)

4. Intransitive and Transitive Sentences.

For the purpose of introducing the basic distinction between the uses of "WA" and "GA" in this kind of sentence, it seems adequate to present the generalization shown below, based on Kuno's theory concerning the 'neutral descriptive' "GA" with action verbs (See Chapter One, 1.2.1 (A), P.26). The reason why only action verbs are included in this generalization is that there are so few stative verbs in Japanese. For example, even verbs such as 'know', 'have' and 'live' in English are translated by achievement verbs (Vendler, 1967) in Japanese - 'shiru' (come to know), 'motsu' (pick up), 'sumu' (move to a new location). The most important intransitive stative verbs, the existential verbs aru and iru, are introduced separately and likewise the stative transitive verbs, like iru (need), dekiru (can do), should be introduced as a specific group. Thus, a practical distinction might be introduced at this stage for sentences with action verbs only, which constitute the majority of Intransitive and Transitive Sentences. Before going onto this point, however, it is necessary to point out that several conditions are required over and above the two basic generalizations given below, in order to help students learn to use the two particles, "WA" and "GA" correctly in these Intransitive and Transitive Sentences. The conditions are as follows.

- (1) Concerning cases where the NP concerned is in the first person, Kuno's 'Observations 3 and 4' are relevant. Recall Kuno's claim that the speaker cannot objectively report, as a new event, something he has done voluntarily; and almost all [first person]-GA sentences have the exhaustive-listing connotation, and cannot be understood as representing a neutral description.

Thus, the generalization for sentences with a first person NP is shown below. The same applies when this NP is in the second person.

[First person]	
	WA action Verb. (Neutral expression)
[Second person]	

[First person]	
	GA action Verb. (Exhaustive-listing)
[Second person]	

(12) Watashi (anata) wa ashita Tookyoo e
 I (you) tomorrow Tokyo ALLAT
 ikimasu. (Neutral expression)
 go+POL+NON-PAST

'I (you) am (are) going to Tokyo tomorrow.'

(13) Watashi (anata) ga ashita Tookyoo e
 I tomorrow Tokyo ALLAT
 ikimasu. (Exhaustive-listing)
 go+POL+NON-PAST

'It is I (you) who am (are) going to Tokyo tomorrow.'

(NOTE: The first or second person pronouns actually behave in the same way as all other anaphoric NPs. See below.)

(2) In cases where the NP is neither in the first nor the second person, the concepts of 'anaphoric', 'generic', 'non-anaphoric' and 'non-generic' must be introduced (whether those technical terms are actually used or not), along with the basic generalization. There are actually two generalizations to be made, as shown below:

(A) General Rule

i) NP = non-anaphoric

(14) NP WA action Verb (Contrastive)

(14') NP GA action Verb (Neutral expression)

e.g. (14') Kinoo uchi de inu no ko ga
 yesterday house LOC dog GEN baby
 umaremashita.
 be born+POL+PAST
 'Yesterday some puppies were born at my house.'

(14) Kinoo uchi de inu no ko wa
 yesterday house LOC dog GEN baby
 umaremashita ga neko no ko wa
 be born+POL+PAST but cat GEN baby
 umaremasendeshita.
 be born+POL+NEG+PAST
 'Yesterday some puppies were born at my house, but no kittens were born.'

However, it should be noted that Example (14) is a reasonably unusual kind of example. Normally we would not place two non-anaphoric or non-generic referents in contrast. Rather, it is usually anaphoric or generic NPs which are contrasted:

- (15) Kodomo-tachi wa yakyuu o shita ga,
 child PL baseball ACC do+PAST but
 hahaoya-tachi wa tenisu o shita.
 mother PL tennis ACC do+PAST
 'The children played baseball but the
 mothers played tennis.'

Note that in this sentence type, involving an anaphoric NP and an action verb, WA usually gives a neutral interpretation (see below). However, all instances of this "neutral WA" will receive the contrastive interpretation in any context where an overt contrast is presented, as in the example above.

ii) NP = anaphoric or generic

(16) NP WA action Verb (Neutral expression)

(16') NP GA action Verb (Exhaustive-listing)

e.g. (16) a. John wa Nihongo o benkyoo-shimasu.

 Japanese ACC study+POL+NON-PAST

 (anaphoric NP)

 'John studies Japanese.'

 b. Inu wa oyogimasu.

 dog swim+POL+NON-PAST (generic NP)

 'Dogs swim.'

(16') a. John ga Nihongo o benkyoo-shimasu.

Japanese ACC study+POL+NON-PAST

(anaphoric NP)

'It is John who studies Japanese.'

b. Inu ga oyogimasu.

dog swim+POL+NON-PAST (generic NP)

'It is dogs that swim.'

In sentences of intention or command, however, the meaning of "WA" marking an anaphoric or generic NP is different. It invariably receives the contrastive interpretation in these sentence types.

(17) a. A: Kono shigoto o hikiukeru

this work ACC take on+NON-PAST

tsumori desu ka.

intention COP+POL+NON-PAST INTERROG

'Do you intend to take this work on?'

B: Watashi wa yaranai tsumori

I do+NEG+NON-PAST intention

desu. (sentence of intention,

COP+POL+NON-PAST Contrast)

'I don't plan to take it on (but I suppose somebody will).'

b. A: Osara o araimashoo ka.

dish ACC wash+VOL INTERROG

'Shall I wash the dishes?'

B: Iie, anata wa benkyooshinasai.

no you study+POL+IMP

Watashi ga araimasu.

I wash+POL+NON-PAST

(sentence of command, Contrast)

'No. You study. I'll wash (the dishes).'

- (17') a. A: Dareka kono shigoto o yatte
 anyone this work ACC do+CONT
 kuremasen ka.
 won't-for me INTERROG

'Can anybody do this work for me?'

B: Watashi ga yarimashoo.

I do+POL+VOL

(sentence of intention, Exhaustive-
 listing) ✓

'I will do it.' (I'll be the one to do it.)

- b. A: Anata no kawari ni John ga kaigi
 you GEN behalf DAT meeting
 ni shussekishimasu.
 DAT attend+POL+NON-PAST

'John is going to attend the meeting on your behalf.'

B: Sore wa dame desu.

that no good COP+POL+NON-PAST

Anata ga shussekishitekudasai.

you attend+POL+REQUEST

(sentence of request, Exhaustive-
listing)

'That's no good. Will you please be the
one to attend.'

Examples (17) and (17') are sentences of intention and of command (or request). In a sentence of intention, the NP concerned is invariably in the first person, and in a sentence of command (or request), the NP is invariably in the second person. Thus, the NP is a kind of anaphoric noun. In these two kinds of sentence, as clearly shown in the CHART below (P.156), the 'neutral expression' does not appear with the use of either "WA" or "GA". If the speaker utters these kinds of sentence in an absolutely neutral tone, namely with no hint of the 'contrast' or 'exhaustive-listing' connotation, the NP is deleted as seen in Example sentence ((17)b,A) above. (See Shibatani's claim, P.10).

(B) Specific cases

These cases are equivalent to the ones which were discussed in Chapter Three, 3.2, [J], namely the case in which it is impossible for the anaphoric

NP to be topicalized, and the case in which the speaker intentionally does not topicalize the NP.

i) Cases in which the NP cannot be topicalized:

(18') NP GA action Verb (Neutral expression)

e.g. (18') a. A: Kore wa zuibun ookina ringo

this very big apple

desu ne.

COP+POL+NON-PAST SFP

'This is a very big apple, isn't it?'

B: Ee, sore wa Aomori

yes that one name of prefecture

kara okutte kita n

from send+CONT come+PAST EXP

desu.

COP+POL+NON-PAST

'Yes, it came from Aomori.'

A: Soo desu ka. Kore

so COP+POL+NON-PAST INTERROG this

ga 'Mutsu' to yuu

name of kind of apples as call

no ka na.

NOMINAL INTERROG SFP

'Did it? I wonder if it is the kind

they call 'Mutsu'.

B: A, ringo ga ochimasu yo.

oh apple fall+POL+NON-PAST SFP

'Oh, the apple is falling off the table.'

b. Hora, taiyoo ga higashi no sora ni
 look sun east GEN sky DAT
 noboru yo.
 rise SFP

'Look! The sun is just rising in the
 eastern sky.'

ii) Cases in which the speaker intentionally does
 not topicalize the anaphoric NP:

(19') NP GA action Verb (the NP is emphasized
 but not exhaustive-listing)

e.g. (19') Tanaka: Komarimasu ne. Ruin san wa ✓
 trouble SFP Lwin title
 itsumo teepu o kikimasen ✓
 usually tape ACC listen+POL+NEG+NON-PAST
 ne.
 SFP

'It's no good, is it? Mr. Lwin hardly
 ever listens to tapes, does he?'

Alice: Iie, Tanaka -sensei, kinoo Ruin san ✓ ✓
 no teacher yesterday Lwin title
ga teepu o kikimashita. Mezurashii
 tape ACC listen+POL+PAST rare
 desu ne.
 COP+POL+NON-PAST SFP

'No, Mr. Tanaka, Mr. Lwin did actually
 listen to a tape yesterday. That was
 quite unusual, wasn't it?'

Suggestion 2. Charts showing WA and GA in Basic

Sentence Patterns

On the basis of the generalizations advanced above, I suggest that the following charts concerning the use of "WA" and "GA" be presented to students, to assist them in clearly understanding the behaviour of these particles in different sentence patterns.

These charts represent how the 'neutral expression' usage of "WA" and "GA" appears in each one of the basic sentence patterns of Japanese. In other words, the charts give a guideline that tells which one of the two particles, "WA" or "GA", should be used to mark the NP when the speaker wants to give a simple 'neutral' description.

The numbers in each column of the charts correspond to the numbers of the example sentences which are presented under the heading 'Suggestion 1' above (Section 2 Part 4. P.140-154 ff.)

CHART 1

Predicate Nominal (or Predicate Nominal-Adjectival)
Sentences
and Predicate Adjectival Sentences

particle predicate	NP 1 WA NP ₂ Adj. (desu) desu	NP 1 GA NP ₂ Adj. (desu) desu
The predicate represents the stable state of the NP.	(5)(7) neutral expression	(5')(7') exhaustive-listing
The predicate represents a temporary state of the NP.	(6)(8) contrastive	(6')(8') neutral expression

CHART 2

Existential Sentences

Particle NP ₂	NP ₁ ni NP ₂ WA arimasu imasu	NP ₁ ni NP ₂ GA arimasu imasu
NP ₂ = the third person	(9) contrastive	(9') neutral expression

CHART 3

Intransitive and Transitive Sentences

	Particle NP	NP <u>WA</u> action V.	NP <u>GA</u> action V.
(A) General Rule	NP <i>non-anaphoric</i>	(14) contrastive	(14') neutral expression
	NP <i>anaphoric or generic</i>	(16) neutral expression (statements) ----- (17) contrastive (sentences of intention or command)	(16') (17') exhaustive- listing
(B) Specific Case	anaphoric NP	the NP cannot be thematized	(18') neutral expression
		the NP is not thematized intentionally	(19') NP is emphasized (not exhaustive- listing)

Suggestion 3. The order of introducing the uses of "WA" and "GA", and the kind of sentence patterns in which the two particles should be initially introduced.

[1] The introduction of "WA"

In line with the majority of the native Japanese authors, I think it proper to introduce "WA" first in Predicate Nominal Sentences: "NP₁ wa NP₂ desu."

Although this thesis concentrates only on "WA" and "GA", elementary Japanese textbooks must be written with a view to introducing all the rules of the Japanese language systematically. Therefore, these two particles, like any other aspect of the grammar, must begin with that sentence pattern which is most appropriate from the point of view of the course as a whole. From this standpoint, there seems to be the following advantages in initially introducing Predicate Nominal Sentences in which the NP is marked by "WA":

1. This sentence has the simplest constitution. It requires the minimum number of nominal constituents necessary (i.e. units of 'noun + particle') to convey meaningful information, at least when no particular context is provided. The sentence "Watashi wa ikimasu" (I go), for example, with a

verbal predicate, does not express sufficient information to stand as a meaningful utterance, unless a goal, such as "Tookyoo e" (to Tokyo), and a time expression, such as "maishuu" (every week), are also supplied. The predicate nominal sentence pattern, on the other hand, almost always produces a neutral expression, requiring no special context for its interpretation. (It is true that both Predicate Adjectival and Predicate Nominal-Adjectival sentences involving "WA" also meet this criterion. However, these sentence patterns do not meet several of the other criteria described below, most notably (7) and (8).)

2. The basic explanation of the meaning of "WA" - to single out the thing which the speaker wants to talk about or ask about - is easy to understand, and can be introduced to students from the very first lesson. When "WA" is explained in this way, predicate nominal sentences such as those below will be easily understood:

Tookyoo wa nan-ji desu ka.

what time COP+POL+NON-PAST INTERROG

'What time is it in Tokyo?'

Tookyoo wa ichi-ji desu.

one o'clock COP+POL+NON-PAST

'It is one o'clock in Tokyo.'

3. It is very important to have students realize from the very beginning that the topic set up by "WA" is not always the subject of the sentence, and the predicate nominal sentence pattern provides copious natural examples.
4. In the case of Predicate Nominal Sentences, a natural interrogative sentence can be produced simply by attaching the particle "ka" to the end of a declarative sentence. (On the other hand, the interrogative sentence "John ga kimashita ka" (Did John come?), for example, sounds unnatural if it appears as the opening sentence of a discourse. See Chapter Two Q6).
5. A natural negative sentence can be produced by changing the copula "desu" into "dewa-arimasen (or ja-arimasen)". (In contrast, the sentence "John ga Tookyoo e ikimasen" (John does not go to Tokyo), for example, is awkward as a sentence in isolation.)
6. In sentences of this pattern, the NP₂ slot can be filled by an interrogative pronoun such as 'nani' (what), 'dare' (who), 'dore' (which), 'doko' (where), and 'itsu' (when). By using this pattern, one can introduce the meanings of the interrogatives without providing detailed information about the case particles used, at this stage. This early knowledge of interrogative

pronouns can be used as a basis in future study.
This sentence pattern is also convenient for
simply introducing the meanings of various nouns.

7. The predicate nominal sentence pattern is also convenient for introducing the Japanese names for various concrete nouns in the classroom - 'This is a pen', 'That's a book'. The concept involved is extremely easy to understand and can even be introduced by the directed ~~method~~ method very clearly in the course. ✓
8. By using this sentence pattern, students can perform simple but important functions such as giving their name, nationality and occupation, introducing their relatives, and asking for directions. Therefore, this sentence pattern is especially useful for students who have recently arrived in Japan.

[2] The introduction of "GA"

I think it proper to initially introduce "GA" in Existential Sentences for the following reasons:

1. In Existential Sentences "GA" receives the 'neutral descriptive' interpretation. Therefore, a natural sentence is produced, requiring no particular context. (Only when the NP marked by "GA" is in the first person, is an Existential Sentence unnatural in isolation. This is because

a speaker would not usually describe his own existence objectively, so these sentences would not normally occur, even in the classroom.)

If on the other hand, the NP (as the subject) is marked by "GA" in a Nominal Sentence, a Sentence with a Verbal Predicate, or in a Sentence with an Adjectival Predicate, the NP could receive the 'exhaustive-listing' interpretation (See Chapter One, 1.2.1, 1.2.2 and Chapter Three). Thus there is the possibility that an unnatural sentence would be produced, with these sentence types.

2. If the rule that interrogative pronouns are marked by "GA" and not by "WA" is introduced in Existential Sentences, then both the interrogative and the declarative sentences introduced at this stage of the course, will be seen to have the same pattern. In other words, natural sentences can be produced in both the interrogative and declarative moods, without changing the particle into "WA".

Examples:

(20) Tsukue no ue ni hon ga arimasu

desk GEN top LOC book exist+POL+NON-PAST

ka

INTERROG

'Are there books on the desk?'

Hai (hon ga) arimasu.

Yes, book exist+POL+NON-PAST

'Yes, there are (books).'

(21) Tsukue no ue ni nani ga arimasu
 desk GEN top LOC what exist+POL+NON-PAST
 ka.

INTERROG

'What are there on the desk?'

Hon ga arimasu.

book exist+POL+NON-PAST

On the other hand, in the case of Predicate Nominal Sentences, Predicate Verbal Sentences or Predicate Adjectival Sentences, interrogative constructions such as the following are generally unnatural (See Chapter Two, 2.1, Q2).

(22)*? John ga gakusei desu ka ; ✓
 student COP+POL+NON-PAST INTERROG

'Is John a student?'

(23)*? John ga yoku benkyooshimasu ka . ✓
 hard study+POL+NON-PAST INTERROG

'Does John study hard?'

(24)*? Zoo ga ookii desu ka . ✓
 elephant big COP+POL+NON-PAST

'Are elephants big?'

Suggestion 4. The order of introducing the four basic functions of "WA" and "GA" and the kind of sentence patterns in which the functions should be introduced

On the basis of the previous suggestions I present my recommendations concerning the order in which "WA" and "GA" should be introduced in the four basic sentence patterns of Japanese. In formulating these recommendations I have been influenced by two further considerations over and above those already discussed. The first of these considerations is that ideally both the functions of "WA", that is, the neutral expression and the contrastive function, and the functions of "GA", the neutral expression and exhaustive listing function, should all be taught early in the course. No one function should be completely ignored when these particles are initially presented. The second of these additional considerations is that the Predicate Verbal Sentence Pattern should be introduced as the last of the four basic patterns, because the occurrence of the two particles in this sentence type is by far the most complex, as can be seen in the Charts above. The order of presentation I recommend is as follows:

Sentence Type	Aspect of "WA" or "GA" Introduced or Reviewed
1. PRED. NOM. and ADJ. SENTENCES (where the pred. represents a stable state)	
NP ₁ WA NP ₂ desu (ka) Adj.	<u>NEUTRAL EXPRESSION "WA"</u> (introduced)
a) declarative sentences	
b) simple interrogative sentences	
c) positive answers	
d) negative answers	<u>CONTRASTIVE "WA"</u> (intro.) Rule 4 - "WA" is used in ans. to neg. qs.
2. EXISTENTIAL SENTENCES	
NP ₁ ni NP ₂ GA arimasu (ka) imasu	<u>NEUTRAL EXPRESSION "GA"</u> (intro.)
a) declarative sentences	
b) simple interrogative sentences	
c) positive answer	
d) negative answer	
e) WH-questions	CONTRASTIVE "WA", Rule 4 (reviewed)
NP ni WH-Q GA arimasu ka l imasu	<u>EXHAUSTIVE LISTING "GA"</u> (intro.) Rule 1 - question words are followed by "GA", not "WA". The answers are also marked by "GA".
f) answers to WH-questions	
3. WH-Questions with PRED. NOM. and PRED. ADJ. SENTENCES	EXHAUSTIVE LISTING "GA" (reviewed)
4. PRED. VERBAL SENTENCES	
Anaphoric NP WA action V	NEUTRAL EXPRESSION "WA" (reviewed)
Non-anaphoric NP GA actn V	NEUTRAL EXPRESSION "GA" (reviewed)

From this point onwards I have no particular recommendations as to the order in which the remaining uses of "WA" and "GA" should be introduced, as all the basic functions have now been satisfactorily dealt with.

CONCLUSIONS

It has been said that the distinction between the uses of the two particles, "WA" and "GA", is one of the most difficult issues for students of Japanese to master. In general the explanation of particles in Japanese textbooks are oversimplified. This, I feel, is wrong. They need to be explained in great detail to give the student confidence in their correct use. On the basis of Alfonso's language teaching approach, I have advanced the suggestion that university students and adult students in general should be introduced to the particles not only through particular examples in conversations and drills, but also in an abstract and logical way.

The major points in my suggestion are as follows:

1. It would not be appropriate to try to explain all the uses of these two particles by simply saying that "WA" indicates the TOPIC and "GA" indicates the SUBJECT of a sentence. It should be clearly explained why "WA" or "GA" is used in a particular situation or context, on the basis of the basic functions of the two particles.
2. To explain each and every use of "WA" and "GA" appearing in the numerous examples usually given in an elementary textbook, it is not sufficient

to rely entirely on one single theory concerning these two particles. Several theories concerning "WA" and "GA" should be introduced as illustrated in Chapter Three, 3.2, in order to lead students to an understanding of the basic functions of the two particles.

3. In cases where both "WA" and "GA" can be used, from the point of view of grammaticality at least, it should be explained how the nuance of the sentence differs according to which of the two particles is employed.
4. It is suggested that a special lesson be included in any elementary Japanese textbook for reinforcing the student's understanding of these particles, "WA" and "GA".
5. It is suggested that the CHART representing the occurrences of the 'neutral expression' usage of the particles in each of the four basic sentence patterns should be presented to students so that they will be equipped from the early stages of their course to both comprehend and construct simple, unmarked sentences in Japanese.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alfonso, Anthony. 1982. Teacher's Manual for 'Alfonso, Japanese, Book 1'. Canberra: Curriculum Development Centre.
- Alfonso, Anthony/Niimi, Kazuaki. 1977. Japanese, A Basic Course. Canberra: Department of Japanese, The Australian National University/Tokyo: L.L. Center of Applied Linguistics, Sophia University.
- Chafe, Wallace L. 1976. "Givenness, Contrastiveness, Definiteness, Subjects, Topics, and Point of View" in Subject and Topic, ed. by Charles N. Li. New York: Academic Press, Inc.
- Jorden, Eleanor H. 1962. Beginning Japanese, Part I and II. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.
- Keenan, Edward L. 1976. "Towards a Universal Definition of 'Subject'" in Subject and Topic, ed. by Charles N. Li. New York: Academic Press, Inc.
- Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyuujo. 1979. Nihongo no Bunpoo (Joo). Tokyo: Ookura-shoo Insatsu-kyoku.
1984. Hookoku 78, Nihongo Kyooiku no tame no Kihon Goi Choosa. Tokyo: Shuuei Publ. Co.
- Kokusai Kooryuu Kikin. 1980. Bunpoo I - Joshi no Syomondai. Tokyo: Bonjin Co., Ltd.
- Kuno, Susumu. 1972. "Functional Sentence Perspective: A Case Study from Japanese and English" in Linguistic Inquiry, vol.3, No.3, 269-320. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.
1973a. The Structure of the Japanese Language. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.
1973b. Nihon Bunpoo Kenkyuu. Tokyo: Taishukan Publ. Co.
1976. "Subject, Theme, and the Speaker's Empathy -- A Reexamination of Relativization Phenomena" in Subject and Topic, ed. by Charles N. Li. New York: Academic Press, Inc.
1978. Danwa no Bunpoo. Tokyo: Taishukan Publ. Co.
- ^uKuroda, Shigeyuki. 1964. Generative Grammatical Studies in the Japanese Language, Ph.D. Thesis. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Massachusetts Institute of Technology. ✓
1981. "Bun-koozoo no Hikaku" in Nichi-Ei-go Hikaku Kooza, vol. 2, Bunpoo. Tokyo: Taishukan Publ. Co.

- Martin, Samuel E. 1962. Essential Japanese - An Introduction to the Standard Colloquial Language. Rutland Vt., and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co.
- Matsushita, Daizaburoo. 1977. Hyoojun Nihon Koogohoo, Revised ed. Tokyo: Bensei-sha.
- Mikami, Akira. 1963. Nihongo no Ronri. Tokyo: Kurosio syuppan.
1969. Zoo wa Hana ga Nagai. Tokyo: Kurosio Syuppan.
1972. Gendai Gohoo Josetsu. Tokyo: Kurosio Syuppan.
- Mio, Isago. 1948. "Kokugo-hoo Bunshoo-ron" in Nihon no Gengo-gaku, vol.3, Bunpoo I, ed. by Shiroo Hattori and others, 1978, Tokyo: Taishukan Publ. Co.
- Nagano, Masaru. 1970. Nihongo Bunpoo no Kenkyuu. Tokyo: Tookyoo-doo Publ. Co.
- Nitta, Yoshio. 1979 "Nihongo-bun no Hyoogen Ruikai" in Prof. Eiichi Hayashi Kanreki-kinen Ronbun-shuu. Tokyo: Kurosio Syuppan.
- Shibatani, Masayoshi. (ed.) 1976. Japanese Generative Grammar. New York: Academic Press.
1978. Nihongo no Bunseki. Tokyo: Taishukan Publ. Co.
(forthcoming). "Japanese", (mimeograph), Prepared for The World's Major Languages. ed. by Bernard Comrie. London: Croom Helm.
- Staff of the Inter-University Center. 1975. Basic Japanese - A Review Text. Tokyo: Inter-University Center for Japanese Language Studies in Tokyo.
- Sugimoto, Kazuyuki. 1983. "WA to GA - Hanashi-te (Watashi), Kiki-te (Anata) no Baai" in Nihongo Kyoiku, No.52, February, 1984. Tokyo: Nihongo Kyoiku Gakkai.
- Taishukan Publ. Co. 1973. Gekkan, GENGO. March, 1973. Tokyo: Taishukan Publ. Co.
1977. Gekkan, GENGO. June, 1977. Tokyo: Taishukan Publ. Co.
- Vendler, Zeno. 1967. "Verbs and Times" in Linguistics in Philosophy. ed. by Z. Vendler. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.