『世界の日本語教育』8, 1998年6月

Testing for Theme in Japanese

Elizabeth Anne Thomson*

Key words: **theme, systemic functional linguistics, thematic development, textual metafunction**

Michael Halliday (1994: 37) has described the particle *wa* as the Theme particle in Japanese. This claim has been quite readily accepted as truth among systemic functional linguists—at least, no one has directly challenged this claim. However, before investigating the validity of this claim, it is first necessary to test for the existence of Theme in Japanese as the existence of the functional category of Theme has also been assumed.

This paper will 1) discuss the systemic functional and non-systemic functional realizations of Theme found in the literature; 2) define Theme from a systemic functional point of view, arguing that the category of Theme does indeed exist in Japanese; and 3) report the results of a pilot test designed to prove that the systemic functional category of Theme does operate in Japanese.

Systemic Functional Model of Language

1 Metafunctions

Let me begin by stating that the functional notion of Theme under dicussion here is that notion arising out of systemic functional linguistics. The systemic functional model of language claims that any particular language has resources available to construe meanings. Within the model, meaning is organized into three categories which relate to the purpose of the text. These three categories of meaning or metafunctions are:

i) **Ideational** meanings, that is, language encodes our experience in and of the world. The clause is viewed as a representation of the natural world in which we live.

* エリザベス・アーン・トムソン: Modern Languages Program, Faculty of Arts, Wollongong University, Australia.

ii) **Interpersonal** meanings, that is, language encodes our relationships with and between each other. The clause is viewed as an exchange between interlocutors.

iii) **Textual** meanings, that is, language organizes itself into a coherent message. The clause is viewed as a message carrier. (Halliday 1994: 36).

2 The Textual Meta-function

The notion of Theme relates to the construal of textual meanings within the textual meta-function. The textual meta-function is concerned with the organization of what we say and write. This meta-function employs a range of lexico-grammatical systems that deal with textual meanings, such as cohesive systems of reference, conjunction, ellipsis, and substitution; the organization of information into "new" and "given"; and the organization of information as Theme or Rheme.

3 The Definition of Theme and Rheme

Michael Halliday has defined Theme as ". . . the element which seves as the point of departure of the message; it is that with which the clause is concerned. The remainder of the message, the part in which the Theme is developed is called in Prague school terminology the Rheme" (1994: 37). This definition excludes any conflation between the organization of information into "new" and "given" with the organization of a message into Theme and Rheme. This departs from other schools of thought which do define Theme as given, or as previously introduced.

Theme, as defined by Halliday, is a functional label. In other words, the notion of Theme can be realized by different languages using different realization devices. To understand this distinction, let us look at the realization of Theme in English.

Theme in English

1 Theme: First Position in the Clause

Theme in English is realized by first position in the clause (Halliday 1994: 37). Consider the following examples in Figure 1 below which were used by Halliday to illustrate his claim.

In each example above, Theme is realized not by the grammatical category of

(1) The duke	has given my aunt that teapot.
(2) Very carefully,	she put him back on his feet again.
(3) For want of a nail,	the shoe was lost.
THEME	RHEME

Fig. 1 From Halliday, 1944: 38–39

subject in (1), adverbial phrase in (2), or prepositional phrase in (3) but by the position these elements occur in, that is, first position.

2 Methods of Development

While these examples are at sentence level, Fries has demonstrated that the notion of Theme correlates with the method of development of a text and the nature of the text (Fries 1983: 119). In other words, by following the thematic progression of a text one can see clearly the argument or purpose of that text. Tracking Theme makes explicit the purpose of a text. In the text below the underlined section is the Theme which is derived from the preceding Rheme. The Themes are underlined and the italized element in the Rheme is what is made prominent as Theme in the following clause or clause complex.

1. The process of learning is essential to *our lives.*
2. All higher animals seek it deliberately.
3. They are inquisitive and they *experiment.*
4. An experiment is a sort of harmless trial run of some action which we shall have to make in the real world, and this, whether it is made in the laboratory by *scientists* or by fox cubs outside their earth.
5. The scientist experiments, and the cub plays; both are learning to correct their *errors of judgement in a setting in which errors are not fatal.*
6. Perhaps this is what gives them both their air of happiness and freedom in these activities.

(J. Bronowski, 1959, III in Fries 1983: 23)

By tracking Theme, the development of the text becomes explicit. This text talks about "the process of learning" by "all higher animals" who "experiment." "Scientists" experiment "safely." Fries found this thematic development fitted nicely into one of the patterns of Theme/Rheme progression as found by Daneš. This pattern is illustrated below in Figure 2 and is a representation of how what is Rheme in the preceding clause is picked up as Theme in the following clause. This linear thematic progression patterning has been described as a "zig-zag" pattern by Eggins. "In monologic segments such as narratives, thematic choice is likely to draw on the zig-zag strategy" (Eggins 1994: 305).

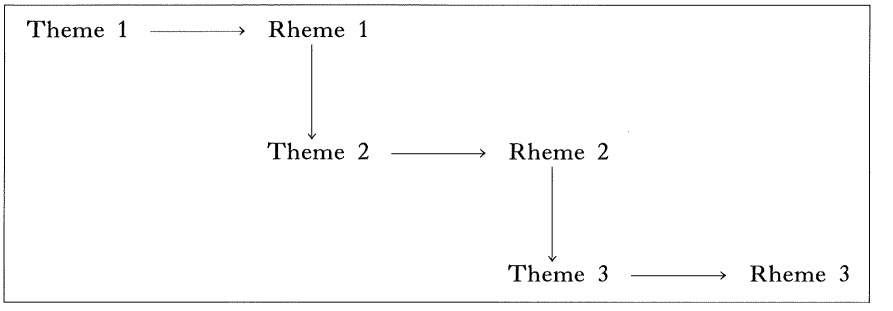

Fig. 2 Linear Thematic Progression. From Daneš, 1974: 118–19

Thematic patterning enables the writer or speaker to create strong cohesive ties between clauses. "Overall, a carefully written text will not "surprise" us with its Thematic choice: what gets to be Theme will come from somewhere in the nearby text" (Eggins 1994: 305).

However, the discussion thus far, has looked at Theme and thematic development in English. Let me now turn to the notion of Theme in Japanese.

Theme in Japanese

Despite the fact that the systemic notion of Theme is widely accepted, little has been done in Japanese to demonstrate whether the category of Theme exists and if so, how it is realized and how it contributes to textual organization. In many cases, assumptions have been made that Theme does exist without it having been tested. Before testing the assumption that Theme exists, allow me firstly to discuss existing and commonly held notions of Theme in Japanese. Outlined below are two commonly accepted notions or what constitutes Theme in Japanese, the non-systemic functional notion and the systemic functional notion of Theme.

1 Non-systemic Functional Notion of Theme in Japanese

Senko Maynard, in her book *An Introduction to Japanese Grammar and Communication Strategies*, talks about the structure of the Japanese sentence as a Topic/Comment dichotomy. The topic is "what is being talked about . . . The topic-comment relation is based on how information is structured in communication. It is an overall umbrella-like system of distinguishing what is being talked about (topic) in actual communication, and what is being introduced as information added (comment) to the topic." (Maynard 1990: 53).

Maynard explains that the topic can be a number of grammatical elements, such as a grammatical subject, object, locative, but in each case the topic is marked by the particle or post-position *wa*. *Wa* is often translated as "As for . . . ."

1. *Koko ni wa kudamono ga arimasu*
   Topic | Comment
   ([lit. As for here, there is fruit.] There is fruit here.)
   (Maynard 1990: 53)
2. *Tanaka-san wa nihon-jin desu.*
   Topic | Comment
   ([lit. As for Mr. Tanaka, he is Japanese.] Mr. Tanaka is Japanese.)
   (Maynard 1990: 54)
3. *Zō wa hana ga nagai desu.*
   Topic | Comment
   ([lit. As for elephants, trunks are long.] Elephants' trunks are long.)
   (Maynard 1990: 57)

Maynard further explains that the choice of *wa* as topic marker depends

on the status of the information it marks as either new or given information. Topics marked by *wa* are "given" information. She suggests a three-step process when a grammatical subject is topic.

1. The new information is introduced as subject [Noun+*ga*].
2. The topic is established [Noun+*wa*].
3. The established topic is deleted [ϕ (zero)]. (Maynard 1990: 54)

Maynard's explanation of sentence structure as Topic-Comment in Japanese is very widely accepted and is used in Japanese as a second/foreign language textbooks.

At sentence level the above explanation is perfectly adequate. However, when looking at texts rather than clauses, problems begin to arise. Among other things, particle *wa* is not always a topic marker and when it is, it is often optional. It can also mark for contrastive meanings. For this reason it is necessary to analyze texts, not just sentences, in order to begin to understand the operation of *wa* and more broadly the process of thematic development in Japanese. But there is another difficulty that must be clearly dealt with, and that is the different definitions of the term, Theme in the literature.

1.1 Defining Topic and Theme

Recently, the term "topic" has been replaced by "theme" (Fujii 1991: 195) in the non-systemic community. In her book, Fujii says, "One of the important functions of *wa* in present-day Japanese is theme-maintenance, to signal paragraph theme/topics." In non-systemic terms, this tendency appears to be a simple terminological replacement without any meaning change. This replacement may have resulted from the translation of the Japanese word *wadai*. *Wadai* is translated as both Topic and Theme.[1] However, this creates problems when the systemic functional notion of Theme is under discussion. Maynard's definition of "topic," in systemic functional, terms implies a conflation of "topic" with "given" information. This is implied in her three-step process for establishing a topic outlined above. This is not a definition of Theme from a systemic functional point of view which clearly separates Given/New information organization with Theme/Rheme organization. Fries explained this distinction in great detail in his paper "On the Status of Theme in English" (1983: 116). The confusion can be traced back to the definition of "theme" or "topic" as first proposed by Vilém Mathesius in 1939. "[The theme] is that which is known or at least obvious in the given situation and from which the speaker proceeds" (translated by Firbas, 1964, in Fries 1983: 116). But in the school of systemic functional linguistics, information structure in a clause, whether or not it is **new or given**, is seen as a separate system within the language. Thus Thematic choice does not depend on what information is to be treated as given or new, rather it depends on how one wishes to

[1] Refer to *Sanseidō New Concise English Japanese Dictionary*. 1985, Tokyo: Sanseidō Company Ltd.

develop the message.

2 Systemic Functional Notion of Theme in Japanese

Halliday, in his discussion of the Theme/Rheme relationship, has described *wa* as the thematic[2] rather than topic particle. ". . . in Japanese for example, there is a special postposition-*wa*, which signifies that whatever immediately precedes it is thematic" (1994: 37). Admittedly, Halliday was using the particle *wa* to illustrate the different ways Theme can be realized while giving a full and detailed description of thematic organization in English. It was useful to illustrate the functional nature of the category Theme. In English, Theme is realized in first position, while in Japanese, it is realized by postposition "element+*wa*." This claim by Halliday has been widely accepted and taught in many an introductory course in systemic functional linguistics. An example of this can be found in Eggin's book, *An Introduction to Systemic Linguistics* (1994: 275). Again, she exemplifies how Theme is realized differently by different grammars. In English it is by first position in the clause while in Japanese it is realized by the "specific" grammatical particle *wa*. As far as I know, the claim that *wa* is thematic is not based on any extensive discourse analysis of Japanese from a systemic functional point of view. On the surface, this claim about the function of *wa* looks very convincing.

One implication of this description of *wa* is that you would expect *wa* to move around within a clause, and interestingly enough, it does precisely that. In English, first position in the clause realizes Theme and one cannot change the position of the element without changing the Theme. But in Japanese, if *wa* marks Theme, then theoretically, the element marked by *wa* can locate anywhere within a clause. In the clause below, the element+*wa* occurs in second position within the clause.

Kono yōki no naka, zen'kokukakuchi no jin'ja ya otera de wa Setsubun-sai no gyōji ga nigiyaka ni okonawareta. (Mizutani and Mizutani 1981: 122)

In this climate, at temples and shrines throughout each district, the annual setsubun, festivals were joyously held. (my translation)

Further, another implication of claiming *wa* as the Theme marker is that *wa* could be expected to mark things other than grammatical subject, which it does.

1. *Koko de wa tabako o suwanaide kudasai.*
   Please don't smoke here.
2. *Bīru wa nomimasu.*
   (I) drink beer.
   (taken from Makino and Tsutsui 1986: 518–19)

In sentence (1) above, *wa* marks a locative, *koko de* (in this place or here), while in sentence (2), *wa* marks the direct object, *bīru* (beer). It thus appears,

[2] The use of the term "thematic" here, is the systemic functional definition of the word, that is to say, it excludes any reference to information organization along the lines of "given" or "new."

that Halliday's claim that *wa* marks Theme is substantiated. However, this claim needs to be investigated at discourse level. At sentence level things look substantive, but this claim does not hold up when analysis is undertaken at discourse level.

Arguing the Case for Theme in Japanese

1 Background

Before Halliday's claim that *wa* marks Theme can be investigated, the question of whether or not the category of Theme, as defined by Halliday exists in Japanese needs to be verified. This has not definitively been established.

Interestingly, there lies justification for the existence of Theme within the grammatical structure of Japanese. The following discussion explains this justification.

1. 1 Japanese Is Like a Train

Japanese sentence structure has been likened to a train (Tsukuba Language Group 191: 14). The verb is always sentence final (the train engine) with the other elements preceding the verb in packages of "element+particle," that is to say, these packages are Participants and Circumstances in the Transitivity structure. These packages are like the train cars. "The engine of the train is pulling a passenger car, a dining car and a freight car. The order of the cars can change, but the engine always comes in rightmost position" (Tsukuba Language Group 1991: 14). The salient point here is that the order of the "cars" can change. Students of Japanese, myself included, are told that the order of the elements does not matter provided the verb is always sentence final. Yet, from a systemic functional point of view this is a weak argument. Halliday has argued that choice in language is never unmotivated. If you have a choice in where to put parts of a sentence, then that choice must be motivated by something. Usually this motivation relates to the creating and organizing of textual meaning. "Systemic theory is a theory of meaning as choice . . ." (Halliday 1994: xiv).

Here lies justification for the existence of Theme in Japanese. Is the motivation behind the choice of positioning elements in a Japanese clause related to Thematic organization? Samuel Martin strongly suggests this in his book *A Reference Grammar of Japanese* when he says, "Japanese is usually said to have a free word order with respect to the adjuncts. This means that so long as you put the predicate (the nuclear sentence) at the end, where it belongs in a well-planned sentence, you are free to present each of the build-up pherases early or late as you see fit. . . . Thematization, for example, will place an adjunct at the beginning of the sentence." (Martin 1988: 35).

1. 2 Typical or Unmarked Clause Structure in Japanese and English

Another justification for the existence of Theme lies in the clause structure.

English is often described as an SVO (Subject, Verb, Object) language. The typical or unmarked word order is Subject^Verb^Object.[3] Japanese also has a typical word order of SOV (Subject, Object, Verb). The grammatical subject, that is the Actor/Agent in the transitivity structure, tends to be in first position. The Actor precedes the Process (the verb) thereby enabling a Theme/Rheme structure expressed by the sequence of the elements in the clause. It follows then that the grammatical subject comes first, unless there is a good reason not to position it so. In both cases, the subject precedes the verb thereby enabling a Theme/Rheme structure expressed by the sequence of the elements in the caluse.

In Halliday's explanation of Theme in his *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, he talks about when and how a language might organize clause constituents as a Theme/Rheme structure. He argues that "if in any given language the message is organized as a Theme-Rheme structure, and if this structure is expressed by the sequence in which the elements occur in the clause, then it seems natural that the position for the Theme should be at the beginning, rather than at the end or at some other specific point" (1994: 38).

Typically speaking, in English the grammatical subject is the unmarked Theme unless there is motivation to make some other element Theme. English and Japanese share the phenomenon of grammatical subject as first element. Is it not possible then that they also share the phenomenon of Theme as first position? Yet, Halliday stated that particle *wa* marks Theme in Japanese. Here we have a clear discrepancy. What constitutes Theme in Japanese, first position in the clause or the element marked by *wa*? This discrepancy needs to be looked at closely. The following section describes a simple experiment designed to test if first position in the clause contributes to the constual of Theme in Japanese.

2 Testing for Theme

When testing for the existence of Theme, it is necessary to keep in mind a series of steps as outlined by Fries and Francis (1992: 56). They have this to say about descriptions of Theme in other languages:

"Two steps are critical in this development of the description of Theme in any language:

1. We must develop explicit descriptions of how Theme is realized in the various structures.
2. We must develop a set of examples, arguments, and descriptions which demonstrate the uses and interpretation of Theme in context. These examples, arguments and descriptions should explicitly link Thematic content to the interpretations of texts."

Bearing in mind Fries and Francis, the following test for Theme involves using authentic Japanese material in context and results in an explicit description of

[3] The symbol (^) represents the phrase ". . . is followed by . . . ."

what constitutes Theme in Japanese. Further, the examples, arguments, and descriptions certainly link thematic content to the interpretation of the texts.

2. 1 *Hypothesis*

Theme, in Japanese, is realized by first position in the clause. If first position is salient for thematic organization of a Japanese text, then changing the first element of the clause should disrupt the Theme thereby making the message in the text difficult to retrieve.

2. 2 *Methodology*

Two newspaper articles were selected. (Both texts are to be found in the Appendices.) These newspaper texts appear in the textbook *An Introduction to Newspaper Japanese* by O. and N. Mizutani (1981). This textbook uses authentic material to teach second language learners of Japanese how to read newspaper articles.

Whith the help of a native speaker of Japanese, both texts were rearranged by changing the first element in each clause. Effectively, the order of the "train cars" changed without changing the logical relationships between them or their grammatical structure. The individual clauses in the "tampered" texts were all grammatical, however, the cohesion between the clauses was, in some cases, dirupted due to the order change.

Text 1, *Samusa Yurunde, Setsubun* is a newspaper report on the *Setsubun* (Bean Throwing) Festival held annually in Japan. It describes what happened at the *Asakusa Sensō* Temple in Tokyo. Text 2, *Ginkō ni Tan'jū Gōtō: San'patsu Hassha, 200 man'en Ubatte Tōsō* is a report on a bank robbery giving details about location and the events involved in the incident.

Thirty native speaker informants were given two versions, the original and a tampered version of the *Setsubun* and *Ginkō* texts. They were asked to read the texts and decide which were easier to read and unferstand. The texts were not identified as either original or tampered to the readers.

2. 3 *Results and Informants' Justifications*

As anticipated, the readers preferred the original texts. The original *Setsubun*

Table 1 Text Preferences

Text 1: *Setsubun* (25 out of 30 informants responded.)

No. of responses	*Preferred original*	*Preferred tampered*
25	19 (76%)	6 (24%)

Text 2: *Ginkō* (22 out of 30 informants responded.)

No. of responses	*Preferred original*	*Preferred tampered*
22	21 (95%)	1 (5%)

text was preferred by 76% of informants, while 95% of the informants preferred the original *Ginkō* text The results are tabulated in Table 1.

2. 4 Informants' Justifications

Even though the informants were not asked to explain their choices, some informants felt obliged to explain why they preferred the original texts. These explanations are summarized below. The informants chose the original over the tampered texts because:

1. the "element+*wa*" was better positioned;
2. the "word linking" method was better;
3. the subject was clearer and straightforward;
4. you get lost in the tampered text;
5. the organization of information in the tampered text was difficult to follow;
6. the SOV structure was clearer in the original texts;
7. the word order is wrong in the tampered text.

2. 5 Test Conclusions

From the pilot test results and justifications above, it appears that first position plays a role in thematic development. The readers found they got lost or else found it difficult to follow the point of the texts when they had their first position element changed. In the original texts, the first position element appears to function as an orienter for the message. Without this orientation, the readers found the point of the information difficult to follow. The "element+*wa*" did not seem sufficient as an orienter for the message. This test was only a pilot and more tests using a larger sample of informants should be undertaken to verify the above results. The question that still remains unanswered relates to whether or not the clauses that lost their cohesive ties as a result of the first position change within the text affected the results. However, in the meantime, it is useful to look at someimplications arising out of the claim that first position realizes Theme in Japanese.

2. 6 Thematic Development in the Newspaper Texts

The two original texts were analyzed to see if a pattern of orientation was evident by tracking the first position element in each clause complex and simplex. As a comparison and cross check to the results above, "element+*wa*" was also analyzed to determine if any message orientation was evident there. The issue at stake here is whether or not *wa* is contributing to thematic development. According to Matthiessen (1995: 575), "methods of development include organizations that are temporal, spatial, lists, general to specific, object to attributes, object to parts, and compare and contrast." If thematic development does not depend on the existence of "element+*wa*" then doubt will be cast on *wa's* assumed role as Theme marker. In Tables 2 and 3, the first position element in each clause of *Setsubun* and *Ginkō* are listed respectively. If an element+

Table 2 First Position Elements in *Setsubun*

Clause	First position element	Transitivity Role
1	***Mikka wa***	Participant: Identified (Token)
2a	*Hobo zen'kokuteki ni*	Circumstantial Adjunct: Location
b	*samusa*	Participant: Actor
c	***tsūkin'kyaku no naka ni wa***	Circumstantial Adjunct: Location
3	*Kono yōki na naka*	Circumstantial Adjunct: Contingency
4	***Tokyo Asakusa no Sen'sōji de wa***	Circumstantial Adjunct: Location
5	***En'jifuku no ue ni kamishimo o kikonda en'ji 570nin wa***	Participant: Actor
6a	(*...en'ji 570nin wa*)	Paritcipant: Actor
b	(*...en'ji 570nin wa*)	Participant: Actor
c	(*...en'ji 570nin wa*)	Participant: Actor
d	*iyoiyo*	Circumstantial adjunct: manner
7a	*"uō uō" to iu oni no koe no haitta tēpu ga*	Participant: actor
b	*shokuin ga fun'shita aka-oni, ao-oni ga*	Participant: Actor
8	*Issei ni*	Circumstantial adjunct: manner
9a	***Chikara ippai nageta mame wa***	Participant: Actor
b	***oni wa***	Participant: Actor
c	(*oni wa*)	Participant: Actor
10	*Yōi shita 78 kiro no mame mo*	Participant: Actor

wa is also evident in each clause in first position, it is boldened. A bracketed element indicates co-referential ellipsis.[4] Each first position element is further identified by its Transitivity role.[5]

In the *Setsubun* text, there are ten sentences, six of them clause simplexes (only one process) and four of them clauses complexes (more than one process per sentence). Each simplex and each clause in the clause complex has its own Theme. There are a total of 18 Themes that break down as shown in Table 4.

In the *Ginkō* text, there are nine sentences, four of them clause simplexes and the other five, clauses complexes. Again, each simplex and each clause in the clause complex has its own Theme. There are a total of 22 Themes that

[4] Co-referential ellipsis of the Actor/Agent, is a feature of Japanese. Once the Actor/Agent has been established, then provided it remains the focus of the following clauses, it need not be repeated. This pattern of ellipsis, is illustrated in *Setsubun* in sentences 5 and 6. Sentence 5 introduces *enji* (children) in first position. *Enji* is the Actor and is marked by *wa*. The rest of the sentence gives information about the children, namely, *gozen juuji ni Kaminarimon mae ni seizoroi* (they gathered at 10 A.M. in front of Kaminari Gate). Sentence 6 continues to provide information about the childrens' activities and so the Actor, *enji* is ellipsed. This ellipsis continues until the Participant is changed. This occurs in clause 6d, the Participant now being, *mamemaki* (bean throwing).

[5] For a detailed description of the transitivity roles, refer to Martin, Matthiessen, and Painter, 1997, pp. 100–130.

Table 3 First Position Elements in *Gin'kò*

Clause	First position element	Transitivity role
1 a	*Tsuitachi gozen kuji gojūgo-fun goro, Fukui-shi Kasuga-chō 238-1, Fukui Ginkō Kasuga Shiten=Katō Tomomasa Shiten-chō (44)=ni,*	Circumstantial adjunct: temporal and spatial
b	*(...otoko)*	Participant: actor
c	*(...otoko)*	Participant: actor
d	*(...otoko)*	Participant: actor
2 a	*Yoshino-san ga*	Participant: actor
b	*(...otoko)*	Participant: actor
c	***uchi ippatsu wa***	Participant: actor
3	***Hoka no nihatsu wa***	Participant: actor
4 a	*Yoshida-san ga*	Participant: actor
b	***otoko wa***	Participant: actor
c	*(Yoshida-san ga)*	Participant: actor
d	***otoko wa***	Participant: actor
e	*(otoko wa)*	Participant: actor
f	*(otoko wa)*	Participant: actor
5	***Dōshiten wa***	Circumstantial adjunct: spatial
6	*Uchi josei*	Participant: existent
7 a	***Han'kō shiten nai ni wa***	Circumstantial adjunct: spatial
b	***keganin wa***	Participant: existent
8	*Han'nin ga shin'nyū shite tōsō suru made (no jikan)*	Participant: identified
9 a	***Fukui-ken kei no shirabe de wa***	Circumstantial adjunct: angle
b	*(han'nin wa)*	Participant: actor
c	*(han'nin wa)*	Participant: actor

Table 4 Breakdown on Theme Types in *Setsubun*

1. Participants as Theme	66.6%
2. Circumstantial Adjuncts as Theme	33.3%

Table 5 Breakdown on Theme Types in *Ginkō*

1. Participants as Theme	82%
2. Circumstantial Adjuncts as Theme	18%

break down as shown in Table 5.

Halliday has labeled grammatical subjects as unmarked Themes. This is because the grammatical subject typically comes first in a clause (Halliday 1994: 43) and the grammatical subject is most typically a nuclear partici-

pant.[6] However, Themes other than participants are also possible as illustrated above. These Themes, circumstantial adjuncts, etc., are labeled as marked Themes because they have greater textual prominence (Martin, Matthiessen, Painter 1997: 24). The distinction between marked and unmarked Theme as described by Halliday applies equally in Japanese because the grammatical subject typically occurs in first position as explained in the section on typical or unmarked clause structure above. Thus the unmarked Theme in Japanese is a grammatical subject functioning as participant. The marked Theme is a circumstantial adjunct which will "specify the spatial or temporal location of the process, its extent in space or time, its cause, the manner of its occurrence and so on (Matthiessen 1995: 198).

In each text, unmarked participant Themes are more frequent than the marked, circumstantial Themes. This clearly establishes that the texts develop through the participants, with *Ginkō* having more participant Themes than *Setsubun*. However, each text does have circumstantial Themes which are strategically located at the beginning of each text to foreground both time and location, that is to say, each of these newspaper articles set the time and place in which people act out some event, either the *Setsubun* festival or a bank robbery. This scene setting is achieved through using circumstantial adjuncts in first position. This circumstantial thematic foregrounding occurs very early in each text in order to estabish a condition in which the action, brought about by the participants within the text, occurs and is therefore described. In *Setsubun*, the marked Themes appear in sentences 2, 3 and 4, while in *Ginkō*, a marked Theme occurs in sentence 1.

In *Setsubun*, the writer sets the time and scene for the reader and then "zooms-in" to the participants. The Themes in this text start broad and zoom into detail. We have the date, location, and weather conditions as a broad opening and then the text moves down into the detail of the people and things involved, namely, the children and the beans. This is rather like a funnel and brings the reader down into the detail of the festival. This method of orientation is most certainly motivated and the resource within the language for this orientation is placing elements in first position.

In *Ginkō*, the first Theme in the text locates the entire message in both time and place. It is acting like an umbrella under which the rest of the text occurs. In other words, the incident described in the following clauses occurred in "the Kasuga branch bank on the 1st at 9: 55 A.M." and nowhere else. The subsequent Themes are mostly the participants, namely, *otoko*, the robber and Yoshino-san, the bank employee. Toward the end of the text, a few circumstantial Themes are introduced for spatial location, that is, *dōshiten* and *han'kō shiten nai ni wa*, both referring to the bank.

Most interestingly, particle *wa* does not appear to contribute to the thematic

[6] "Participants" are "inherent in the process; they bring about its occurrence or mediate this occurrence" (Matthiessen 1995: 198).

development of these two texts. Were it functioning as Theme marker, then you would expect it to be evident and operating in each simplex and complex in each text. This is not the case. Sentence 1 in the *Ginkō* text does not contain an element+*wa*. Yet, this clause clearly sets the scene, as it were, orienting the reader to the time and location of the robbery. This circumstantial Theme in clause 1a is not marked by *wa*. In *Ginkō*, *wa* is also absent in clauses 1b, 1c, 1d, 2a, 2b, 4a, 4c, 4e, 4f, 6, 9b, 9c, that is to say, 12 out of 22 clauses (55%) have an absence of element+*wa*. In *Setsubun*, *wa* is absent in clauses 2a, 2b, 6a, 6b, 6c, 6d, 7a, 7b, 8. Again, 9 out of 18 (50%) of the clauses are without element *wa*. My point is that, given the absence of *wa*, it seems a misnomer to describe it as the Theme marker. It does not play a substantial role in thematic development. Rather, thematic development is occurring in first position, and different types of thematic progression are evident. The question of how the particle *wa* function(s) still remains. This will be briefly addressed in the section below.

As previously mentioned, Daneš and Fries have described different kinds of thematic progression. One example is the linear thematic progression type where a new Theme is picked from the previous Rheme, as illustrated in Figure 2. Another is the continuous thematic progression type that "enters into a relation with a number of different Rhemes" (Fries 1995: 320) which is illustrated below in Figure 3.

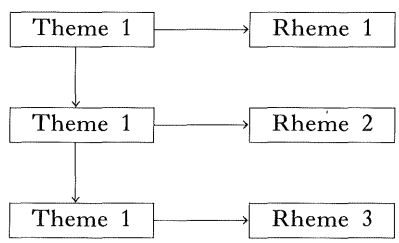

Fig. 3 Continuous Thematic Progression

Both types of thematic progression are evident in the two newspaper articles. Sentences 4, 5, and 6 in *Setsubun* illustrate linear and continuous progression in Figure 4 below. The same patterning is evident in Sentence 9 in *Ginkō* in Figure 5.

In each example, the second Theme is picked up from the preceding Rheme, *en'ji* (children) in Figure 4 and *han'nin* (criminal) in Figure 5. This is an example of linear progression after which these established themes, *en'ji* and *han'nin* then participate in a continuous thematic pattern within a clause chain.[7] Consequently the participants, *en'ji* and *han'nin*, are co-referentially ellipsed.

[7] A clause chain as described by Matthiessen (1995: 177) is when "clause complexes are built up of dependent, non-final clauses with verbs in 'medial' form, culminating in an independent final clause with the verb in 'final' form. The full specification of mood and tense/aspect is delayed along the chain until the culminating clause with the final verb."

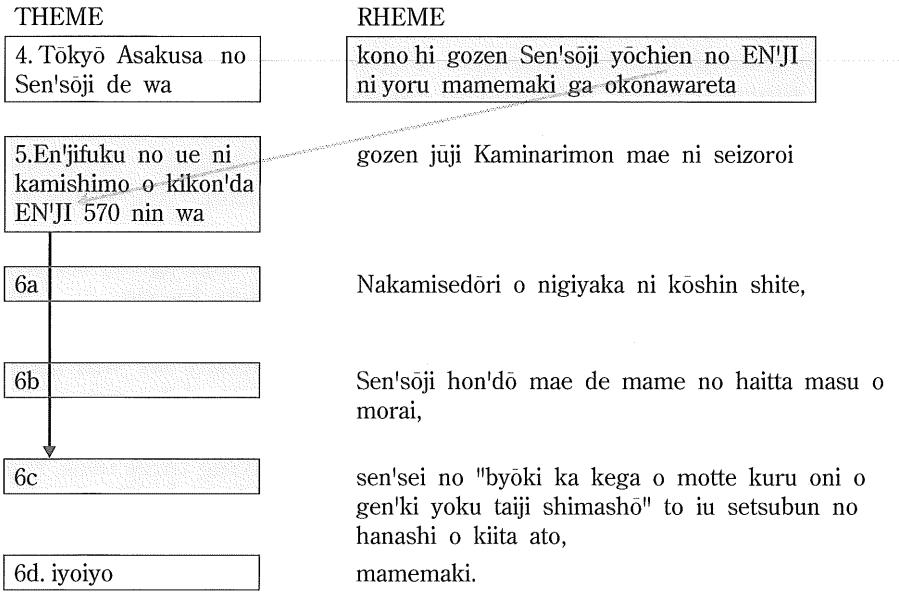

Fig. 4 Thematic Progression in *Setsubun*

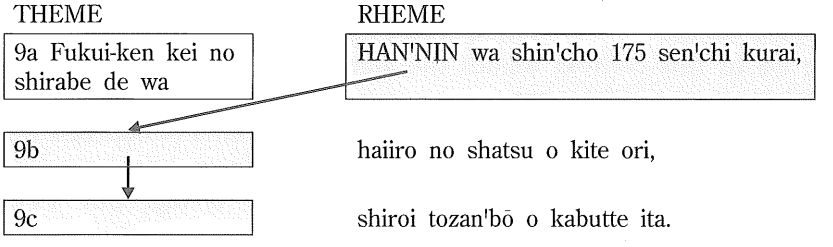

Fig. 5 Thematic Progression in *Ginkō*

Martin (1988: 59) confirms this description when he states that grammatical subjects tend to be ellipsed in Japanese. However, despite the fact that they are co-referentially ellipsed, Theme is still operational, the element in first position being an unmarked Theme.

The Function(s) of *"Wa"*

The discussion so far has described the operation of Theme in the two newspaper articles without reference to element+*wa* or its function(s). However, from the above analysis, it is clear that element+*wa* does appear in first position and can therefore function as Theme. Can it then be labeled as the Theme marker? No. As suggested above, for *wa* to be labeled as the Theme marker, it would seem reasonable to expect it to mark every Theme. This is

not the case.

It seeems the question of the function(s) of particle *wa* remains to be described in systemic functional terms. Further, a systemic functional description of the function of *wa* will need to address the more established views of linguists, such as Samuel Martin. Samuel Martin writes in detail about particle *wa*, and his description of the uses of *wa* is very helpful. As a first start in the description of *wa*, let us consider his description. He states that *wa* contributes to the focus of attention in a clause.

> "The particles *wa* and *mo* signal opposite focus: *mo* highlights, *wa* subdues. Attention is concentrated by *mo*, it is shifted elsewhere by *wa* . . . . We can speak of the function of *wa* as backgrounding or "out-focusing" and that of *mo* as foregrounding or "in-focusing." But generally we will speak of a phrase marked by *wa* as SUBDUED, and one marked by *mo* as HIGHLIGHTED." (Martin 1988: 52)

Further on in his discussion, Martin talks about *wa* having three uses, that is to say, there are three situations that will lead to the choice of backgrounding using particle *wa*. The three situations are:

1. when you are asking or answering a question about some other part of the sentence:
   Ano hito wa dare ga yon'da? "Who called him?"
   Ano hito wa dare o yon'da? "Whom did he call?"
2. when you are denying something about some other part of the sentence
   Tabako wa nai. "There aren't any cigarettes."
   using *wa* in this context denies the statement contained in the nucleus (existence vs. non-existence).
3. when you are supplying information about the points of contrast between grammatically parallel adjuncts in two sentences.
   Kore wa ōkī ga, sore wa chīsai "THIS is big, but THAT is little."
   Ryōri wa ore ga suru ga, kaimono wa otōto ga suru "The cooking is done by ME and the shopping by my little BROTHER" (Martin 1988: 60–64).

Martin then states that these three situations all involve a meaning of contrast: "contrast with a grammatically parallel counterpart in a paired sentence, contrast with an interrogated adjunct within a single sentence, and contrast with a negativized nucleus of a single sentence" (Martin 1988: 64). He then groups situations 1 and 2 above as types of UNCONFIRMED information and stituation 3 as a type of CONFIRMED information. In other words, Martin has, in a round-about way, described *wa* as playing a role in the information system of the language, that is to say, he has described *wa* as functioning to ascribe a certain information status to the element it marks. As mentioned at the beginning of this paper, the organization of information is treated as a part of the grammar that realizes textual meaning. In other words, *wa* does contribute to the organization of language into a coherent message, it is part

of the grammar of the textual meta-function, but it does not operate in the Theme/Rheme structure. Rather, it operates in the information structure of the clause.

To investigate and illustrate how *wa* functions in the information system of Japanese is beyond the scope of this paper. It is, however, very important that this possibility be investigated and previous work by other linguists (Kuno 1972, 1976; Ono 1973; Chafe 1976 and Inoue 1980) be scrutinized. In so doing, it will be necessary to look at how *wa* operates in the different types of transitivity processes at clause level, that is to say, *wa* may have a distinctive role in the grammar of identifying and attributive relational processes, and in the existential process. Also, the question of why *wa* appears a Theme needs to be addressed. This will relate in part to the fact that Themes, once they have been introduced into a thematically well wormed text, will naturally construe "given" and "contrastive" information thematically.

Closing Remarks

In conclusion, I wish to reiterate the purpose of this paper. Firstly, I discussed the notion of Theme in order to determine whether or not Theme, as defined by Halliday exists in Japanese. In order to test for the existence of the Hallidayan notion of Theme, I argued that the particle *wa* should not be described as the Theme marker in Japanese, as suggested by Halliday, because other features of the grammar suggest that first position in the clause construes Theme—these features being 1) the typical unmarked order of the elements in a Japanese clause (S^O^V) and 2) the moveability of the elements within the clause. I then hypothesized that first position is salient for thematic organization of a Japanese clause and tested this by moving the first position elements in two newspaper texts and testing readers' reactions. Overwhelmingly, the tampered texts were perceived by the readers as difficult to read and understand. I have interpreted this difficulty to be the result of a lack of thematic organization brought about by changing the first position element in each text. Having claimed that first position realizes Theme in Japanese, I then looked at the thematic development evident in the two newspaper articles, illustrating examples of linear and continuous thematic progression. This pattern of progression displays a method of development centering around the participants with strategically placed circumstantial adjuncts of time and location. In other words, I have shown how the texts develop thematically without relying solely on element+*wa*. Particle *wa* does not appear to play a direct role in Thematic organization as claimed by Halliday and accepted by his following.

However, this claim that first position in a Japanese clause realizes Theme raises interesting questions about the function of *wa*. This particle needs further investigation from a systemic functional point of view. Only with more thorough analysis of texts will light be shed on the nature of this particle. Further, care should be taken to separate the system of Theme/Rheme from

Information organization which functions to assign "given," "new," and maybe even "contrastive" status to elements within a text. This separation of systems, I believe, is necessary in order to clearly describe the function(s) of *wa*. Theme must be viewed as separate from "given" and "new." To date this has not been the case and may be the reason why particle *wa* continues to be an enigmatic feature of Japanese.

BILIOGRAPHY

Bloor, M. and Bloor, T. 1992. Given and new information in the tehematic organization of text: An Application to the Teaching of Academic Writing, *Ocassional Papers in Systemic Linguistics*, no. 6, University of Nottingham, pp. 33–43.

Chafe, W. 1976. Givenness, contrastiveness, definiteness, subjects, topics and point of view. In *Subject and Topic*, ed. Charles Li. New York: Academic Press.

Daneš, František. 1974. Functional sentence perspective and the organization of the text *Papers on functional sentence perspective*, ed. F. Daneš. The Hague: Mouton, pp. 106–28.

Eggins, S. 1994. *An introduction to systemic functional grammar.* London: Pinter Publishers.

Fries, P. 1983. On the status of theme in English: Arguments from discourse. In *Micro and macro connexity of text*, ed. János S. Petöfi and Emei Sözer. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag: 116–52.

———. 1995. Themes, methods of development, and texts. In *On subject and theme: A discourse functional perspective, current issues in linguistics theory*, 118, eds. Ruqaiya Hasan and P. Fries. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co.

Fries, Peter and Francis, Gill. 1992. Exploring theme: Problems for research, *Ocassional Papers in Systemic Linguistics*, no. 6, University of Nottingham, pp. 45–59.

Fujii, N. 1991. *Historical discourse analysis: Grammatical subject in Japanese.* New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Halliday, M.A.K. 1994. *An introduction to functional grammar*, 2nd ed. London: Edward Arnold Press.

Inoue, K. 1980. *Furui joohoo, atarashii joohoo.* Gengo, Oct., pp. 22–34.

Kitagawa, C. 1982. Topic constructions in Japanese, *Lingua* 57: 175–214.

Kuno, S. 1972. Functional sentence perspectives: a case study from Japanese and English. *Linguistic Theory* 3: 269–320.

———. 1976. Subject, theme, and the speaker's empathy—A Reexamination of Relativization Phenomena. In *Subject and Topic*, ed. Charles Li. New York: Academic Press.

McClain, Y. 1981. *Handbook of modern Japanese grammar.* Tokyo: Hokuseido Press.

Makino, S and Tsutsui, M. 1986. *A dictionary of basic Japanese grammar.* Tokyo: The Japan Times.

Martin, J. Matthiessen, C. and Painter, C. 1997. *Working with functional grammar.* London: Arnold.

Martin, S. 1980. *A reference grammar of Japanese.* Tokyo: Tuttle.

Matthiessen, C. 1992. Interpreting the textual metafunction. In *Advances in systemic*

linguistics: recent theory and practice, ed. Louise Ravelli and Martin Davies. London: Pinter Publishers.

———. 1995. *Lexicogrammatical cartography.* Tokyo: International Language Sciences Publishers.

Maynard, S. 1990. *An introduction to Japanese grammar and communication strategies.* Tokyo: The Japan Times.

Mizutani, O. and Mizutani, N. 1981. *An introduction to newspaper Japanese.* Tokyo: The Japan Times.

Ono, H. 1973. *Japanese grammar.* Tokyo: The Hokuseido Press.

Tsukuba Language Group. 1991. *Situational functional Japanese*, vol. 1, *Notes.* Tokyo: Bonjinsha.

Appendix 1: The Original Texts

The notation "||" marks the Theme/Rheme boundaries in each clause. The Grammatical Subject is in bold type. The Japanese is in italics, the English in plain text. The Theme in Japanese is translated as the Theme in English. Each sentence is numbered. If the sentence contains more than one clause then the clauses are labeled alphabetically.

1. *Samusa Yurunde Setsubun*

The Cold Eases and (It's) Setsubun

1. ***Mikka*** *wa* || *setsubun.*
   The third || was the Setsubun Festival.
2. a) *Hobo zen'kokuteki ni* || ***aozora*** *ga hirogari,*
   Throughout the whole country || **blue skies** have opened up,
   b) ***samusa*** *mo* || *yurun'de,*
   the cold too || has eased and
   c) *tsūkin'kyaku no naka ni wa* || ***kōto o nuide te ni motsu hito mo.***
   within the commuting public || **people who have removed their coats and are holding them too** [exist].
3. *Kono yōki no naka* ||, *zen'kokukakuchi no jin'ja ya otera de wa* ***setsubun-sai*** *no gyōji ga nigiyaka ni okonawareta.*
   In this climate, || at temples and shrines throughout each district, **the annual setsubun festivals** were joyously held.
4. *Tokyo Asakusa no Sen'sōji de wa* || *kono hi gozen, Sen'sōji yōchien no en'ji ni yoru* ***mamemaki*** *ga okonawareta.*
   At Tokyo's Asakusa Sensoo Temple this morning, || **bean throwing** by the temple's kindergarten children was held.
5. ***En'jifuku no ue ni kamishimo o kikon'da en'ji gohyakunanajūnin*** *wa* || *gozen jūji ni Kaminarimon mae ni seizoroi.*
   570 children wearing the kamishimo over their uniforms || gathered at 10 A.M. in front of Kaminari Gate.
6. a) *(ellipsed Theme)* || *Nakamisedōri o nigiyaka ni kōshin shite*
   (The children) || marched noisily along Nakamise Street and,
   b) *(ellipsed Theme)* || *Sen'sōji hon'dō mae de mame no haitta masu o morai,*
   (They) || received a container-ful of beans in front of the main Sensoo Temple building and,
   c) *(ellipsed Theme)* || *sen'sei no "byōki ka kega o motte kuru oni o gen'ki yoku taiji shimashō" to iu setsubun no hanashi o kiita ato*
   (They) || listened to the teacher's Setsubun chant, "Let's exterminate totally the devil that brings illness and injury," after which,
   d) *iyoiyo* || ***mamemaki.***
   eventually || **bean-throwing** [began].
7. a) *"uō uō" to iu oni no koe no haitta teepu ga* || *nagareru to,*
   A tape which contained the voice of the devil saying, "Oo Oo" || was heard when,

b) ***shokuin ga fun'shita aka-oni, ao-oni*** *ga* || *hariko no kanabō o motte tōjō.*
red and blue devils who were staff disguised, || appeared carrying papier mâché rods.

8. *Issei ni* || *en'ji kara* ***"oni wa soto, fuku wa uchi" no koe*** *ga agatta.*
Altogether || from the children, **voices saying, "Out with the Devil, in with Good Fortune,"** rose up.

9. a) ***Chikara ippai nageta mame*** *wa* || *pachipachi to kokimi yoku oni ni atari,*
The beans which (they) threw vigorously || hit the devils point blank and,
b) ***oni*** *wa* || *uōsaō shita ageku,*
the devils, || running here and there, after which
c) *(ellipsed Theme)* || *kōsan.*
(They) || surrendered.

10. ***Yōi shita nanajūhachi kiro no mame*** *mo* || *sugu ni naku natta.*
The 78 kgs of prepared beans also || quickly disappeared.

2. *Ginkō ni Tan'jū Gōtō: San'patsu Hassha, 200 man'en Ubatte Tōsō.*
Armed Bank Robbery: 3 shots fired, (Robbers) stole 2 million yen and fled.

1. a) *Tsuittachi gozen kuji gojūgo-fun goro, Fukui-shi Kasuga-chō 238–1, Fukui Ginkō Kasuga Shiten=Katō Tomomasa Shiten-chō (44)=ni,* || ***san'jussai kurai no kuroi san'gurasu no otoko*** *ga kyaku o yosootsute hairikomi,*
On the 1st around 9:55 A.M. at the Kasuga Branch of the Fukui Bank 238–1 Kasuga-chō managed by Katō Tomomasa (44) || **a man about 30 years old wearing black sunglasses** in disguise entered the bank,
b) *(ellipsed Theme)* || *raiten'chū no dōshi Itagaki-chō Shimonawate, shufu, Sugawara Kimiyo-san (30) o ushiro kara ikinari ha ga ijime ni shita ue,*
(The man) || suddenly grabbed from behind Mrs. Kimiyo Sugawara, a housewife from Fukui city Itagaki-cho Shimonawate who was visiting the bank at the time. In addition to this,
c) *(ellipsed Theme)* || *kauntā chūō ni ita suitō gakari no Yoshino Toshiyuki-san (29) ni pisutoru o muke,*
(the man) || pointed a gun at Mr. Yoshino Toshiyuki (29) a bank clerk standing behind the counter, and
d) *(ellipsed Theme)* || *"Okane o dase, hayaku dase" to odoshita.*
(the man) || demanded, "Take out the money quickly!"

2. a) *Yoshino-san ga* || *odoroite tachiagatta to tan,*
Mr. Yoshino || stood up in surprise, at that moment,
b) *(ellipsed Theme)* || *pisutoru o san'patsu hatsusha,*
(the man) || shot the gun 3 times.
c) ***uchi ippatsu*** *wa* || *yaku 5 mētoru hanareta Yoshino-san no tsukue no ue no gen'kin ukezara ni meichū.*
The first shot || hit the cash tray on Mr. Yoshino's desk which was about 5 m away.

3. ***Hoka no nihatsu*** *wa* || *kabe ni atatta.*
The other two shots || hit the wall.

4. a) *Yoshino-san ga* || *soba ni atta ichiman'en no satsutaba futatsu (kei 200 man'en, obifūtsuki) o kauntā ni oku to,*

Mr. Yoshino || put the two piles of cash (totalling 2 million yen) which were close to him on the counter, when,
b) ***otoko*** *wa* || *"kochira ni hore" to kaimono-bukuro o nagekomi,*
the man || threw him the shopping bag saying, "Throw it here."
c) *(ellipsed Theme)* || *satsutaba o irete nagekaeshita to tan,*
(Mr. Yoshino) || put the money in the bag & returned it when no sooner than,
d) ***otoko*** *wa* || *fukuro o washizukami ni shite,*
the man || snatched it and
e) *(ellipsed Theme)* || *omote ni tobidashi,*
(the man) || ran quickly to the shop entrance and,
f) *(ellipsed Theme)* || *dōshiten nishigawa ni tomete atta jōyōsha de tōsō shita.*
(the man) || escaped by a car parked on the western side of the bank.

5. *dōshiten wa* || *Katō Shiten-chōra* ***kōin*** *hachinin.*
In the bank || there were 8 **people** including the manager.
6. *Uchi* || ***josei*** *san'nin.*
Of these || three were **women.**
7. a) *Han'kō tōji shiten nai ni wa* || ***san'nin no kyaku*** *ga ita ga,*
In the bank at the time of the robbery, || there were **three customers** but
b) ***kega nin*** *wa* || *nakatta.*
injured people || there weren't.
8. ***Han'nin ga shin'nyū shite tōsō suru made*** *(ellipsed subject)* || *yaku 5 fun kan datsuta.*
(The time) it took for the man to enter and escape || *was within about 5 mins.*
9. a) *Fukui-ken kei no shirabe de wa* || ***han'nin*** *wa shin'chō 175 sen'chi kurai,*
According to the Fukui-ken police investigation || **the suspect** is 175 cm tall, and
b) *(ellipsed Theme)* || *haiiro no shatsu o kite ori,*
(the suspect) || is wearing a grey shirt and
c) *(ellipsed Theme)* || *shiroi tozan'bō o kabutte ita.*
(the suspect) || is wearing a white mountain-climbing hat.

Appendix 2

Below are the two newspaper texts as they were used in the Theme test. Each article had an original and a tampered version. The numbering of the texts was random.

Text 1: *Setsubun*

Text 1 (1) 寒さ緩んで節分

三日は節分．ほぼ全国的に青空が広がり寒さも緩んで，通勤客の中にはコートを脱いで手に持つ人も．この陽気の中，全国各地の神社やお寺では節分祭の行事がにぎやかに行われた．

東京浅草の浅草寺ではこの日午前，浅草寺幼稚園の園児による豆まきが行われた．園児服の上に裃(かみしも)を着こんだ園児五百七十人は午前十時に雷門前に勢ぞろい．仲見世通りをにぎやかに行進して浅草寺本堂前で豆のはいったマスをもらい．先生の「病気やケガを持ってくる鬼を元気よく退治しましょう」という節分の話しを聞いたあといよいよ豆まき．「ウオー，ウオー」という鬼の声の入ったテープが流れると，職員がふんした赤鬼，青鬼がはりこの金棒を持って登場．一斉に園児から「鬼は一外，福は一内」の声が上がった．力いっぱい投げた豆はパチパチと小気味よく鬼に当たり，鬼は右往左往したあげく，降参．用意した七十八キロの豆もすぐになくなった．

Text 1 (2) 寒さ緩んで節分

節分は三日．青空が広がり，ほぼ全国的に寒さも緩んで，コートを脱いで手に持つ人も通勤客の中にいた．節分祭の行事がこの陽気の中，全国各地の神社やお寺ではにぎやかに行われた．

浅草寺幼稚園の園児による豆まきが東京浅草の浅く寺ではこの日午前，行われた．午前十時に園児服の上に裃(かみしも)を着こんだ園児五百七十人は雷門前に勢ぞろい．にぎやかに仲見世通りを行進して豆のはいったマスを浅草寺本堂前でもらい，先生の「病気やケガを持ってくる鬼を元気よく退治しましょう」という節分の話しを聞いたあといよいよ豆まき．「ウオー，ウオー」という鬼の声の入ったテープが流れると，はりこの金棒を持って職員がふんした赤鬼，青鬼が登場．「鬼は一外，福は一内」の声が一斉に園児から上がった．鬼に力いっぱい投げた豆はパチパチと小気味よく当たり，鬼は右往左往したあげく，降参．すぐになくなった，用意した七十八キロの豆も．

Text 2: *Ginkō*

Text 2 (1) 銀行に短銃強盗—3 発発射 200 万円奪って逃走

三十歳くらいの黒いサングラスの男が一日午前九時五十五分ごろ，福井市春日町二三八の一，福井銀行春日支店＝加藤智正支店長(四四)＝に，客を装って入り込み，来店中の同市板垣町下縄手，主婦，菅原貴実代さん(三〇)を後ろからいきなり羽がい締めにしたうえ，カウンター中央にいた出納係の吉野俊幸さん(二九)にピストルを向け，「金を出せ，早く出せ」と脅した．

驚いて吉野さんが立ち上がったとたん，ピストルを三発発射，約五メートル離れた吉野さんの机の上の現金受けざらにうち一発は命中．壁に他の二発は当たった．そばにあった一万円の札束二つ(計二百万円，帯封付き)を吉野さんがカウンターに置くと，「こちらにほうれ」と男は買い物袋を投げ込み，札束を入れて投げ返したとたん，袋を男はわしづかみにして表に飛び出し，同支店西側に止めてあった乗用車で逃走した．

加藤支店長ら同支店は行員八人．うち女性三人．三人の客が犯行当時支店内にはいたが，けが人はなかった．約五分間だった，犯人が侵入して逃走するまで．

犯人は福井県警の調べでは身長一七五センチくらい，灰色のシャツを着ており，白い登山帽をかぶっていた．

Text 2 (2) 銀行に短銃強盗—3 発発射 200 万円奪って逃走

一日午前九時五十五分ごろ，福井市春日町二三八の一，福井銀行春日支店＝加藤智正支店長(四四)＝に，三十歳くらいの黒いサングラスの男が客を装って入り込み，来店中の同市板垣町下縄手，主婦，菅原貴実代さん(三〇)を後ろからいきなり羽がい締めにしたうえ，カウンター中央にいた出納係の吉野俊幸さん(二九)にピストルを向け，「金を出せ，早く出せ」と脅した．

吉野さんが驚いて立ち上がったとたん，ピストルを三発発射，うち一発は約五メートル離れた吉野さんの机の上の現金受けざらに命中．他の二発は壁に当たった．吉野さんがそばにあった一万円の札束二つ(計二百万円，帯封付き)をカウンターに置くと，男は「こちらにほうれ」と買い物袋を投げ込み，札束を入れて投げ返したとたん，男は袋をわしづかみにして，表に飛び出し，同支店西側に止めてあった乗用車で逃走した．

同支店は加藤支店長ら行員八人．うち女性三人．犯行当時支店内には三人の客がいたが，けが人はなかった．犯人が侵入して逃走するまで約五分間だった．

福井県警の調べでは犯人は身長一七五センチくらい，灰色のシャツを着ており，白い登山帽をかぶっていた．