XV. LINGUISTICS[*]

Prof. R. Jakobson
Prof. A. N. Chomsky
Prof. M. Halle
Prof. J. A. Fodor
Prof. J. J. Katz
Prof. G. H. Matthews
Prof. P. M. Postal
Dr. L. K. Bendall

Dr. M. E. Jones
Dr. Paula Menyuk
Dr. W. Weksel
Dr. K. Wu
T. G. Bever
M. J. Chayen
Barbara C. Hall
Y. Isami

R. P. V. Kiparsky
S.-Y. Kuroda
D. T. Langendoen
T. M. Lightner
P. S. Peters, Jr.
C. B. Qualls
J. J. Viertel
A. M. Zwicky, Jr.

A. ON NP wa NP ga PREDICATE CONSTRUCTIONS IN JAPANESE

1. Basic Sentence Structure

1. $S \rightarrow (PS)$ NP + $\underline{ga}$ $-$ Predicate (Tag)

2. $PS \rightarrow$ Introd $-$ DP

3. $NP \rightarrow$ (Det) N (Def)

4.   Predicate $\rightarrow$ (DP) MV $-$ Aux

5. $MV \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} VP \\ AP \end{array} \right\}$

6. $VP \rightarrow \left(\left\{ \begin{array}{c} NP + \underline{o} \\ Comp \end{array} \right\} \right) - V$

7. $AP \rightarrow$ Pred $-$ $\underline{ar}$

8.   Pred $\rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} NP - \underline{de} \\ A - \underline{ku} \end{array} \right\}$

9. $V \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{lll} Vt & \text{in env/NP } \underline{o} \text{ ---} \\ Vn & \text{in env/Comp ---} \\ Vi & \text{in env/otherwise} \end{array} \right\}$

10. $Vt \rightarrow$ (Comp) Vt_1

11. $Vt_1 \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} Vt_{1c} & \text{/Comp ---} \\ Vt_{1x} & \text{/otherwise} \end{array} \right\}$

12.   Comp $\rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} NP - \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \underline{ni} \\ \underline{to} \end{array} \right\} \\ A - \underline{ku} \end{array} \right\}$

13.   Aux $\rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{perfect} \\ \text{nonperfect} \end{array} \right\}$

14. $DP \longrightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} NP \ (Post) \\ A - \underline{ku} \\ D \end{Bmatrix}$

15. $Post \longrightarrow \underline{ni}, \underline{to}, \underline{e}, \underline{de}, \underline{kara}, \underline{yori}, \underline{made}.$

16. $Tag \longrightarrow Modal + Emotive$

17. $Modal \longrightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} \underline{rasii} \\ \underline{oo} \end{Bmatrix}$

18. $Emotive \longrightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \underline{sa} \\ \underline{ka} \\ \underline{yo} \end{Bmatrix} - \begin{Bmatrix} \underline{nee} \\ \underline{naa} \end{Bmatrix} \\ \underline{ze} \\ \underline{tomo} \end{Bmatrix}$

2. **Wa-Attachment and Thematization**

a. **Wa-Attachment**

R(1)   **Wa-attachment rule:** (optional)

X − Preverb phrase − Y − Verb

$\Longrightarrow 1 - 2 + \underline{wa} - 3 - 4$

where Preverb phrase means $\begin{Bmatrix} NP \ (Post, \ \underline{ga} \ or \ \underline{o}) \\ VP + \underline{te} \\ A + \underline{ku} \end{Bmatrix}$, and Verb means $\begin{Bmatrix} V \\ \underline{ar} \end{Bmatrix} + Aux$

Conditions:

(1) X and Y can be zero.

(2) Preverb phrase must not be part of other phrase, but a complete phrase.

Phonemic rule:

R(2) $\begin{Bmatrix} /\underline{ga}/ \\ /\underline{o}/ \end{Bmatrix} \overset{(ob)}{\longrightarrow} \phi$ in env/NP —— $\underline{wa}$

R(3) $\begin{Bmatrix} /ni/ \\ /e/ \\ /de/ \\ /to/ \end{Bmatrix} \overset{(op)}{\longrightarrow} \phi$ in env/NP __ $\underline{wa}$

We generate sentences (1b), (2b), and (3b) from their sources (1a), (2a), and (3a).

(1)   (a) Watasi ga Kyuushuu ni ikimasita.

(b) Watasi wa Kyuushuu (ni) wa ikimasita.

("I went to Kyushu.")

(2)   (a) Ani ga hon o kuremasita.

(b) Ani wa hon wa kuremasita.

("Brother gave me a book.")

(3) (a) Kyoo watasi ga otukai ni ikimasita.

    (b) Kyoo wa watasi wa otukai (ni) wa ikimasita.

       ("Today I went on errand.")

b. Thematization

In Japanese syntax the notion "theme" (i. e., the main topic of the sentence) is distinct from the notion "topic" (i. e., the subtopic): they are generated by different rules. Wa-attachment produces "topic," but not necessarily "theme." Thematization produces theme, and its operation is restricted to some classes of preverbs.

$$R(4) \quad \text{Thematization: (optional)}$$

$$X - \text{Preverb'} - Y - \text{Verb}$$

$$\Longrightarrow 1 - 2 + \underline{wa} - 3 - 4 \qquad (\text{Rule } R(1))$$

$$\Longrightarrow 2 + \underline{wa} - 1 - 3 - 4 \qquad (\text{Permutation})$$

$$\text{Condition: Preverb'} = \begin{cases} NP \\ NP - \text{Post} \\ NP - \underline{ga}, \underline{o} \end{cases}$$

Notice that the thematization rule does not operate on A + $\underline{ku}$ or on VP + $\underline{te}$; thus, the sentences *(4) and *(5) are ungrammatical.

*(4) Utukusiku wa kono kabin wa arimasen.

*(5) Ik te wa anata wa gakkoo ni ikemasen.

ILLUSTRATION: In each set of the following sentences, (b) is transformed from (a) by thematization.

(6) (a) Ima kara sensei ga Oosaka ni ikare masu.

    (b) Sensei wa ima kara Oosaka ni ikare masu.

(7) (a) Haha ga fukeikai ni ikimasita.

    (b) Fukeikai ni wa haha ga ikimasita.

(8) (a) Titi ga sono hon o kawte kuremasita.

    (b) Sono hon wa titi ga kawte kuremasita.

Notice that the theme dominates the rest of the sentence: $\underline{wa}$ attached to the theme marks the boundary between the theme part and the comment part, and in the comment part more than one sentence can be embedded. Thus

(9) Waga kuni no uma wa (theme)/se mo hikuku, taikaku mo otorte ita ga, kinnen gaikoku kara taneuma o yunyuu sita no de, ooi ni kairyoo sare te iru. (Comment: 4 sentences.)

3. <u>NP wa NP ga Pred Constructions</u>

Observe the following sentences.

(10) <u>Kare wa atama ga yoi.</u>
("he   head   good")

(11) <u>Boku wa hara ga tatta.</u>
("I became angry.") (Literally: "I stomach stood up")

(12) <u>Heya wa kagi ga kake te aru.</u>
("room   key   locked   is")

(13) <u>Watasi wa eiga ga mitai.</u>
("I   movie   want-to-see")

(14) <u>Watasi wa hebi ga kowai.</u>
("I   snake   afraid")

(15) <u>Keioo wa yakyuu ga tuyoi.</u>
("Keioo   baseball   strong")

(16) <u>Soozi wa watasi ga simasita.</u>
("clean-up I   did")

(17) <u>Raishuu wa siken ga aru.</u>
("next week   exam   is")

(18) <u>Kare wa sakana-turi ga shumi da.</u>
("he   fishing   hobby")

They have the same surface structure: NP wa NP ga Predicate. The only difference perceivable by superficial observation is in the predicate: some have "adjective" and others have "verb."

By a little more reflection we could reveal two types of relationships between NP1 and NP2 or NP3.

(i) "Bound" type of relationship: in the sentences (10) and (11) NP2 is bound by NP1 in the sense that any variable for NP2 must belong to the variable for NP1. The "bound" relationship holds between NP1 and NP3 in the sentence (18).

(ii) "Free" type of relationship: in the rest of the sentences no such relation exists: NP2 can be chosen freely.

Deeper analysis would reveal underlying structures of these sentences: five different types of sentences are discovered in these apparently same constructions.

Sentences

(A)	<u>Kare wa atama ga yoi.</u>	(10), (11)
(B)	<u>Watasi wa eiga ga mitai.</u>	(13), (14), (18)
(C)	<u>Keioo wa yakyuu ga tuyoi.</u>	(15)
(D)	<u>Soozi wa watasi ga simasita.</u>	(12), (16)
(E)	<u>Raishuu wa siken ga aru.</u>	(17)

These classes of sentences are generated by five different transformations, as discussed below.

4. Analysis

a. Kare wa atama ga yoi

T(1)   (Generalized transformation)

(Matrix S) NP1 + <u>ni</u> — NP2 + <u>ga</u> — <u>ar</u> + Aux
$\qquad\qquad$ 1 $\qquad\qquad$ 2 $\qquad$ 3

(Const. S) NP2 + ga — Predicate
$\qquad\qquad$ 4 $\qquad\qquad$ 5

$\Rightarrow$ 1 — 4 — 5
(Replace 2-3 by 4-5 in matrix S)

$\Rightarrow$ 1 + wa — 4 — 5
(Thematize 1)

We generate the following sentences by this rule:

(19) <u>Zoo wa hana ga nagai.</u>
("elephant nose   long")

(20) <u>Kare wa kuti ga warui.</u>
("he   mouth bad" — "He has evil tongue.")

(21) <u>Kare wa mimi ga warui.</u>
("he   ear   bad")

(22) <u>Taroo wa haha ga sin-ta.</u>
("Taroo   mother died")

(23) <u>Kare wa ki ga tigaw-ta.</u>
("he   spirit erred")

(24) <u>Ano mise wa to ga simar-te iru.</u>
("that store   door closed   is")

Etc.

b. Watasi wa mizu ga nomitai

T(2)   (Adjectivalization)

NP1 + <u>ga</u> — NP2 + <u>o</u> — Vt + Aux $\Rightarrow$ NP1 + <u>wa</u> — NP2 + <u>ga</u> — AP + Aux

There are three subclasses in this class.

    (i) <u>Watasi wa mizu ga nomitai.</u>

    (ii) <u>Watasi wa sigoto ga turai.</u>

    (iii) <u>Watasi wa sakanaturi ga shumi desu.</u>

T(2a)   NP1 + <u>ga</u> — NP + <u>o</u> — Vt + Aux ⟹ NP1 + <u>wa</u> — NP2 + <u>ga</u> — Vt

    + <u>itaku</u> + <u>ar</u> + Aux — (Tag)

Condition: if NP1 is other than first P. sg., tag is added.

ILLUSTRATION:

(25)   <u>Watasi ga eiga o miru.</u> ⟹ <u>Watasi wa eiga ga mitai.</u>

                        ("I   movie   see-wish")

(26)   <u>Kare ga sake o nomu.</u> ⟹ <u>Kare wa sake ga nomitai no da.</u>

                        ("he   wine   drink-wish surely")

T(2b)   NP1 + <u>ga</u> — NP2 + <u>o</u> — A + <u>gar</u> — Aux ⟹ NP1 + <u>wa</u> — NP2 + <u>ga</u> —

    A + <u>ku</u> + <u>ar</u> + Aux — (Tag)

Condition: same as (2a)

ILLUSTRATION:

(27)   <u>Watasi ga hebi o kowa-gar-u.</u> ⟹ <u>Watasi wa hebi ga kowa-i.</u>

(28)   <u>Kare ga sigoto o tura-gar-u.</u> ⟹ <u>Kare wa sigoto ga tura-i yoo da.</u>

                        ("he   work   hard   seems")

T(2c)   NP1 + <u>ga</u> — NP2 + <u>o</u> — NP3 + <u>to-su</u> + Aux ⟹ NP1 + <u>wa</u> — NP2 + <u>ga</u>

    — NP3 + <u>de</u> + <u>ar</u> + Aux

(29)   <u>Kare ga ongaku o shumi to suru.</u> ⟹ <u>Kare wa ongaku ga shumi de aru.</u>

                        ("he   music   taste")

(30)   <u>Tanaka ga kane o meate to suru.</u> ⟹ <u>Tanaka wa kane ga meate de aru.</u>

                        ("Tanaka   money   aim   is")

c. <u>Keioo wa yakyuu ga tuyoi</u>

T(3)   NP1 + <u>ga</u> — NP2 + <u>ni</u> — AP + Aux ⟹ NP1 + <u>wa</u> — NP2 + <u>ga</u> — AP + Aux

(31)   <u>Keioo ga yakyuu ni tuyoi.</u> ⟹ <u>Keioo wa yakyuu ga tuyoi.</u>

(32)   <u>Higai ga yoru ni ooi.</u> ⟹ <u>Higai wa yoru ga ooi.</u>

                      ("damage night   many")

(33)   <u>Ryokoo ga kaeri ni turai.</u> ⟹ <u>Ryokoo wa kaeri ga turai.</u>

                      ("travel   return   hard")

d. Soozi wa watasi ga simasita

$$T(4) \quad NP1 + \underline{ga} - NP2 + \begin{Bmatrix} o \\ Post \end{Bmatrix} - \begin{Bmatrix} V \\ AP \end{Bmatrix} + Aux$$
$$\quad\quad\quad\quad 1 \quad\quad\quad\quad 2 \quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad 3$$

Apply R(4) (Thematization) to 2 ⟹ 2 + <u>wa</u> − 1 − 3

(34) Watasi ga soozi o sita. ⟹ Soozi wa watasi ga sita.

(35) Watasi ga Oosaka e ikimasyoo. ⟹ Oosaka (e) wa watasi ga ikimasyoo.

(36) Titi ga shachoo to aimasita. ⟹ Shachoo (to) wa titi ga aimasita.
                                          ("president (with) father met")

(37) Suri ga Asakusa ni ooi. ⟹ Asakusa (ni) wa suri ga ooi.
                                       ("Asakusa (at) pick-pocket many")

e. Raishuu wa siken ga aru

T(5) (PS Thematization)

NP1 + (Post) − NP2 + <u>ga</u> − Predicate
  1   2   3

Apply R(4) to 1 ⟹ 1 + <u>wa</u> − 2 − 3

(38) Kinoo ame ga furta. ⟹ Kinoo wa ame ga furta.
                               ("Yesterday rain fell.")

(39) Raishuu siken ga aru. ⟹ Raishuu wa siken ga aru.

(40) Kyoo kyaku ga kita. ⟹ Kyoo wa kyaku ga kita.
                               ("Today guest came.")

(41) Saikin kazi ga ooi. ⟹ Saikin wa kazi ga ooi.
                               ("recently fire many")

(42) Tookyoo ni hito ga oosugiru. ⟹ Tookyoo (ni) wa hito ga oosugiru.
                               ("Tokyo (in) population too many")

<div align="right">Y. Isami</div>