JAPANESE TOPICALIZATION:
A LEXICALIST DEPENDENCY ANALYSIS1

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I. INTRODUCTION

This paper presents an analysis of a range of Japanese constructions which include constituents marked with the postposition "wa". The constructions have been studied previously independent of linguistic theories by Mikami (1960), Onoe (1981) and Teramura (1991) among others. These studies present valuable data for more theory-dependent analyses. The theory dependent studies are of two groups: multistratal multi-bar analyses and monostratal one-bar analyses. The former type of analyses, represented by Kuno (1973), Kuroda (1965, 1987), and Saito (1985, 1987) among others, capture topicalization in terms of two operations: wa-attachment and the movement of the item to which the postposition "wa" has been attached. Consequently, the two adjunction sites: the locus of wa-attachment and the destination of the movement became the major issue. The issue remains yet unresolved. These studies offer us an insight on the notion of gaps and its relevance to syntactic analysis.

The monostratal one-bar analyses as represented by Kitagawa (1982) captures the relation between a topic and a lexical gap and attempts to formalize the insights obtained by way of a pragmatic topic binding coupled with his evaluation process applied in the propositional argument structure. Drawing on his basic insight on the relation between a topic and a lexical gap, I will present an alternative analysis. The analysis offered is syntactically anchored, more constrained, and more explicit in formalism. It is based on a case-marking system formulated within a monostratal one-bar dependency grammar of Japanese sentences. It formalizes for the first time linking rules for postposition-marked topicalization.

II. TOPICALIZED SENTENCES IN JAPANESE
    In each of the following sentences, the word(s)
preceeding the postposition "wa" is a topic:
(1) Meizin wa sikirini   tokei o   mita.
    Master Tpc constantly watch Acc looked
    'The master looked at the watch constantly.'
(2) Tokyo kara wa isya   ga yobareta.
        from Tpc doctor Nom summoned
    'From Tokyo, the physician was summoned.'
(3) Kyoo wa   zuibun susumimasita.
    today Tpc fairly progressed
    'Today, (You) made good progress.'
(4) Kinoo   wa Taroo ga hirumesi o   tukutta.
    yesterday Tpc   Nom lunch   Acc made
    'Yesterday, Taroo made lunch.'
    (From: Kitagawa 1982: 192 (38a))
(5) Zoo   wa   hana ga   nagai.
    elephant Tpc trunk Nom long
    'Elephants have long trunks; An elephant is such
    that its trunk is long.'
(6) Sakana wa   tai   ga ii.
    Fish   Tpc red snapper Nom good-is
    'Speaking of fish, red snapper is the best.'
    (From: Kuno 1973: 250 (18)a)
(7) Meizin wa   Komine ga wakazinisita.
    Master Tpc   Nom died prematurely
    'The master had Komine die prematurely on him.'
(8) Taroo wa Hanako ga iedesita.
             Tpc   Nom ran-away-from-home
    'Taro had Hanoko ran away from home on him.'
    (From: Kitagawa 1982: 175 (3) 'As for Taroo, Hanako
    ran away from home.')
    Among these sentences, (1)-(4) each include a
syntactic gap which corresponds to the topicalized
word(s):
1'. Meizin wa GAP sikirini tokei o mita.
2'. Tokyo kara wa isya ga GAP yobareta.
3'. Kyoo wa GAP zuibun susumimasita.
4'. Kinoo wa GAP Taroo ga hirumesi o tukutta.
Sentences (5) through (8), on the other hand, do not
include such a gap. What follows after the
postposition wa in (5) through (8) is a complete
sentence. The distinction between these two types of
topicalized sentences is observed by Kitagawa in terms
of two types of targets for his topic binding:
anaphoric versus non-anaphoric items (Kitagawa 1982:
186-187). We will take Kitagawa's lexicalist analysis
on topic constructions as a point of departure.
III. KITAGAWA'S ANALYSIS
    Kitagawa (1982 : 184) assumed that Japanese is not
a configurational language, and studied topic

constructions following a model proposed earlier by
Hale (1980) and Farmer (1980). Kitagawa defines the
topic syntactically as a sister to V. This is
indicated in his definition of topic (14a) and (14b),
repeated here as (9a) and (9b):
(9a) 'Topic' in Japanese is X'-wa, where X' is [_V];
(9b) Wa indicates that the immediately preceding X' is
outside of the domain of 'evaluation' in terms of the
PAS of the nucleus V.
    The category PAS is taken from Farmer's
'propositional argument structure'. The PAS "supplies
the information regarding the argument requirements of
a given verb", with each argument position
corresponding "to a thematic relation" (Farmer 1980:
88, quoted in Kitagawa 1982: 183). Kitagawa further
assumes that the parsing strategy for topic structure
assignment is called for at the pragmatic level,
following Dik's suggestion that assignment of topic
function operates on the output of the assignment of
syntactic and semantic function (Kitagawa 1982: 184).
Based on these assumptions, Kitagawa proposes that the
structure of a topic construction is in accordance with
the schema (10), with the accompanying well-formedness
condition (11):
(10) [$_{Top}$ X'-wa] [$_{Pred}$ X'* V] (=Kitagawa's (15))
(11) Topic Binding
    The Topic X' must be bound pragmatically to an X'
which is in the domain of Predication (Pred)
(=Kitagawa's (16))
    Kitagawa's formulation of the Predication or Pred
in (10) follows Hale's formulation for the Japanese
instantiation of endocentric X-bar schema, X' --> X'*
X. Hale's schema asserts that each phrasal category has
a single level of structure and that each is nucleus-
final. Therefore, in (10) Kitagawa assumes that the
nucleus, or head, which is represented as V may be
preceded by any number of complements (including none).
Hale interpret the symbol X in the schema as a node-
marker, devoid of categorial content but associated
with an exponent indicating the level of structure
(zero for the terminal, or lexical, level and one bar
for the phrasal level) (Hale 1980 : 185). Categorial
content is given to the terminal and phrasal nodes by
lexical insertion. The categorial features associated
with lexical items (inserted at the terminal nodes, (X)
are projected to the phrasal level (X'), so that after
lexical insertion, V is dominated by V', N by N', P by
P', and so on (Hale 1980: 186).
    Topic Binding (11) as a process of pragmatic
evaluation is achieved in terms of co-indexing at the
level of topic structure assignment (9a). According to

Kitagawa, this evaluation then insures that the topic
X' is linked to an X' that is semantically anchored in
the PAS of the nucleus V. This framework of analysis
will enable each specific analysis of topic
constructions to be presented as a triplet composed of:
(1) the surface string of overt arguments with semantic
evaluation completed in terms of the PAS; (ii) the PAS
with evaluation completed; and (iii) the topic
structure assignment with pragmatic evaluation
completed by means of Topic Binding.
　　　Let us examine Kitagawa's 'topic binding' using
his analysis of example (17), repeated here as (12). In
the following I have constructed trees for his (18a)
and (18c) under (12a) and (12c). His (18b) is repeated
here as (12b).
(12) Naomi-wa　udon-o　　tabe-ta.
　　　　　top noodle-acc eat-past
　　'Naomi ate udon noodles.' (=Kitagawa (17))
(12a)

$[_{V'}[_{N'}[_{N}Naomi]]-wa [_{N'}[_{N}udon]]-o_m [_{V}tabe-ta]]$
　　(=Kitagawa (18a))
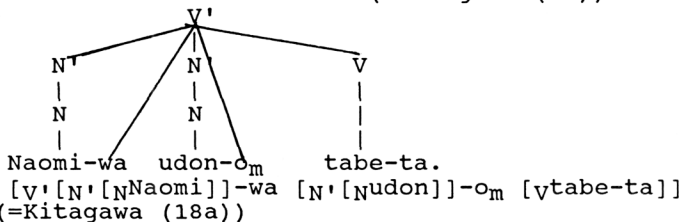
The subscript 'm' attached to the accusative marker 'o'
in (12c) shows that O argument in the propostional
argument structure, (12b), is evaluated by the overt NP
'udon-o', or 'noodle-acc'.
(12b) PAS: (GA O_m tabe-) (=Kitagawa (18b))
The subscript 'm' attached to O-argument in
propositional argument structure (12b) indicates that
the semantic evaluation was completed for this
argument. The GA-argument in the same propositional
argument structure remains unevaluated, since 'wa' in
'Naomi-wa' indicates that Naomi is outside of the
domain of semantic evaluation, as specified in the
definition of the topic as a sister to V by Kitagawa in
(10).
(12c)
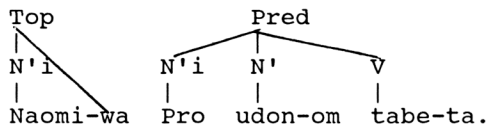
$[_{Top}[_{N'i}Naomi]-wa] [_{Pred}[_{N'i}Pro] [_{N'}udon]-o [_{V}tabe-ta]]$
　　(=Kitagawa (18c))

The pairing (12a) and (12b) show that the O argument
position in the PAS is evaluated by the overt NP udon-o
'noodle-acc', while the GA argument position remains