Topic -*wa* vs. subject -*ga*: Sentence-final particles and their sensitivities

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In this presentation, I report preliminary findings regarding an understudied co-occurrence restriction in Japanese found between the discourse morphology, known as sentence-final particles, and the morphological marking of the subject argument. It is widely known that in Japanese, the subject of a clause can be realized as either a Topic, which is marked by a Topic marker -*wa* (1a), or as a case-marked nominal, in which case it is marked by the nominative marker -*ga* (1b).

(1)   a. John-**wa** gakusei desu.   b. John-**ga** gakusei desu.
           J.-TOP   student COP   J.-NOM student COP
           'John is a student'   'John is a student'   (Kuno 1973, Heycock 2008)

Not only is the syntactic marking of the 'subject' argument *John* different between the two examples in (1), the two types of subjects also give rise to distinctive interpretations (*inter alia.,* Kuroda 1965, Kuno 1973, Heycock 2008, Fiengo & McClure 2002). In simplified terms, (1a) receives a topic interpretation (e.g., Speaking of John...), whereas (1b) receives an exhaustive interpretation such that among all people referred to in a given dialogue, only John is a student. Therefore, it would be pragmatically infelicitous to state (1b) in a context where multiple students exist in the group under discussion.

The novel pattern that will be introduced in this presentation is that in addition to the aforementioned contextual sensitivity, the distribution of the two markers appear also to be restricted by the presence of sentence-final particles (henceforth 'SFPs') in an utterance. SFPs are discourse markers that convey purely pragmatic information such as Call on Addressee (see Izuhara 2003 for details). Their presence does not alter the truth condition of the utterance (McCready 2005); *yo* is used when the speaker intends to change the addressee's cognition, whereas *ne* in general is used to seek or show agreement (Izuhara 2003). As shown in (2), however, acceptability of utterances with these particles is sensitive to two properties of the sentential subject: (i) the *wa*/*ga* marking and (ii) person.

(2)   a. [watashi / anata / ano hito]-**wa**   yoku ie-de   gohan-o taberu *yo.*
           I   / you   / that person-TOP often home-LOC meal-ACC eat   SFP

        b. [?watashi / ?anata / ano hito]-**ga**   yoku ie-de   gohan-o taberu *yo.*
           I   / you   / that person-NOM often home-LOC meal-ACC eat   SFP

        c. [watashi / anata / ano hito]-**wa**   yoku ie-de   gohan-o taberu *ne.*
           I   / you   / that person-TOP often home-LOC meal-ACC eat   SFP

        d. [?watashi / ?anata / ano hito]-**ga**   yoku ie-de   gohan-o taberu *ne.*
           I   / you   / that person-NOM often home-LOC meal-ACC eat   SFP

        'I/You/That person often have/has meals at home.'

In the presence of an SFP, any person subject is compatible with the Topic marking *wa*, while the subject is restricted to the 3rd person when found with the *ga* marking. In contrast, the same restriction never arises in the absence of the SFP. This suggests that, even though the role of SFPs is pragmatic in nature, they cannot be freely added to utterances to fulfil their pragmatic function: they are sensitive to the way the discourse participants (i.e., speaker and addressee) are morphologically expressed in utterances. The patterns described in this study therefore contribute to the ongoing discussion of how syntax incorporates

pragmatic information (*inter alia,* Speas & Tenny 2003, Thoma 2016, Wiltschko & Heim 2016).

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