July 28, 2005

Placement of So/Zo

A. Syntactic evidence: adjacency

(1) a. Mi-Yoshino-no Mimiga-no mine-ni toki-naku-so
 hon-Yoshino-gen Mimiga-gen mountain-loc time-without-SO
 yuki-\text{ha} furi-keru. Ma-naku-so ame-\text{ha} furi-keru. ...
snow-top fall-past space-without rain-top fall-past
“Snow fell incessantly on Mt. Mimiga in Yoshino. Rain fell without stopping.”
(Man’youshuu #25)
b. Amazakaru hina-ni-mo tsuki-\text{ha} tere-re-do-mo,
expl.mod rural.place-loc-also moon-top shine-perf-though-even
imo-so tohoku-\text{ha} wakare-ki-ni-keru.
wife-SO far-top part.with-come-perf-past
“Though the moon is shining in this rural place as well, I have come very far,
leaving my wife behind.”
(Man’youshuu #3698)

(2) a. ... Yoshino-no yama-\text{ha} kage-tomo-no ohoki mikado-yu
Yoshino-gen mountain-top shadow-face-gen big gate-through
kumoi-ni-so tohoku ari-keru. ...
cloud-place-loc-SO far be-past
“Mt. Yoshino was far in the clouds beyond the big south gate.”
(Man’youshuu #52)
b. ... Yoshino-no miya-\text{ha} yama taka-mi kumo-so tanabiku.
Yoshino-gen palace-top mountain high-ness cloud-SO hover
“Over the palace at Yoshino, clouds hover beautifully, because
the mountains are high.”
(Man’youshuu #1005)

B. Bulgarian (Lambova 2001)

(3) a. S\text{\&}fât, kazvas\& kakvo koga iska?
boss-the(top) you-are-saying what when want-pres.3.sg
b. *S\text{\&}fât, kakvo kazvas\& koga iska?
“The boss (you’re saying) what does he want when?”

(4) a. Decata na cirk, kazvas\& mama ʃ& vodi utre.
kids-the(top) to circus(top) you-are-saying mom will take tomorrow
b. *Decata kazvas\& na cirk, mama ʃ& vodi utre.

C. Koso

(5) \text{Kinofu-}koso \text{funade-}ha se-shika,
yesterday-KOSO departure-top do-past
isanatori Hijiki-no nada-wo kefu mi-tsuru-ka-mo.
expl.mod Hijiki-gen sea-acc today see-perf-KA-MO
“Though we sailed out to the sea only yeasterday, we have seen the sea of Hijiki
today.”
(Man’youshuu #3893)
D. Multiple *ha*-marked topics

(7) a. *ima-ha* a-*ha* shina-mu yo. ...
   now-top I-top die-will   prt
   “Now I will die.”
   (Man'youshuu #2936)

b. ... ko-*mu* yo-*ni-ha* mushi-ni tori-ni-*mo* ware-*ha* nari-na-mu.
   come-will world-loc-top insect-pred bird-pred-even I-top become-perf-will
   “In the coming world, I will become an insect or even a bird.”
   (Man'youshuu #348)

c. ... Futagi-no *miya-ha* momo-*ki* mori/nashi *yama-ha* ko-dakashi. ...
   Futagi-gen palace-top hundred-tree form mountain-top  tree-high
   “As for the palace of Futagi, the mountain has tall trees, with hundreds of trees.”
   (Man'youshuu #1053)

E. Left dislocation (Grohmann 2003)

(9) Hast du gestern die Anna getroffen?
   “Did you meet Anna yesterday?”

a. *#Nein.* Der Martin, ich habe ihn gestern getroffen. (hanging topic left dislocation)

   “No. I met Martin yesterday.”