

# Topic-Focus Articulation in Old Japanese: *So/Zo* and *Koso*\*

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This paper examines the syntactic behavior of the so-called *kakari* particles *so/zo* and *koso* in Old Japanese. Phrases marked with these particles differ from focused phrases in interrogative sentences in being able to appear above a *ha*-marked topic expression. I argue that when a *so/zo*- or *koso*-marked phrase appears above a topic, it also acts as a topic. Investigation of multiple topic constructions leads to the conclusion that multiple topics are hosted by multiple Specs of TopP.

## 1. Introduction

This paper is part of the project which seeks to elucidate the syntax of the left periphery that encodes discourse information in Old Japanese. In interrogative sentences in early Old Japanese, the topic is placed in front of the focus, which in turn precedes the nominative-marked subject. Watanabe (2002) analyzes this word order restriction in terms of Rizzi's (1997) split CP hypothesis, with the modification that bans the appearance of TopP below FocP. This paper takes up the particles *so/zo* and *koso*, which are used primarily in declarative sentences and can appear both above and below the ordinary topic expression marked by *ha*. The descriptive question is whether it is appropriate to analyze the phrase marked with *so/zo* or *koso* as focus and say that TopP can appear below FocP just in case such a phrase occupies Spec of FocP.

At a more theoretical level, I will show that resolution of the descriptive problem sheds new light on the multiple topic construction. Specifically, I will present evidence that multiple topics should not be analyzed in terms of the recursion of TopP as in Rizzi's (1997) original proposal about the left periphery, but in terms of multiple specifiers of TopP.

## 2. Ordering of Topic and Focus in Old Japanese

In this section, I will review Watanabe's (2002) analysis of interrogative sentences first, and then present quantitative data about *so/zo* that define the descriptive problem.

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## 2.1 Interrogative sentences

Nomura (1993) and Sasaki (1992) observed that Old Japanese is subject to a rigid word order restriction concerning the topic and the focus during the seventh and eighth century period. In interrogative sentences, the particle *ka* marks the wh-phrase in wh-questions and a focused phrase in yes-no questions, while the particle *ya* is a focus marker in yes-no questions.<sup>1</sup> The focused phrase marked either by *ka* or by *ya* must appear below the *ha*-marked topic and above the nominative subject. Examples that illustrate the ordering of the nominative subject and the focus are given in (1).

- (1) a. ... izuku-yu-**ka** imo-**ga** iriki-te yime-ni mie-tsuru?  
where-through-KA wife-nom enter-conj dream-loc appear-perf  
“From where did my wife come and appear in my dream?”  
(Man'youshuu #3117)
- b. ... Hatsuse-no kaha-**ha** ura na-mi-**ka** fune-**no**  
Hatsuse-gen river-top shore absent-ness-KA boat-nom  
yori-ko-nu?...  
approach-come-neg  
“Is it because Hatsuse River has no shore that no boat comes  
near?”  
(Man'youshuu #3225)
- c. ... Torikahe-te kire-ba-**ya** kimi-**ga** omo wasure-taru?  
exchange-conj put.on-subord-YA you-nom face forget-perf  
“Is it because you change cloths often that you forget my face?”  
(Man'youshuu #2829)

(1b) in addition has a topic preceding the focus. Further examples that contain a topic and a focus are provided in (2), where the subject is topicalized.

- (2) a. Sasanami-no ohoyamamori-**ha** ta-ga tame-**ka**  
Sasanami-gen big.mountain.guard-top who-gen sake-KA  
yama-ni shime yufu?...  
mountain-loc marker tie  
“For whom does the mountain guard at Sasanami tie the marker  
around the mountain?”  
(Man'youshuu #154)
- b. Momoshiki-no ohomiya-hito-**ha** itoma are-**ya** ume-wo  
expl.mod court-person-top leisure be-YA plum-acc  
kazashi-te koko-ni tsudohe-ru?  
wear.on.the.hair-conj here-loc gather-perf  
“Is it because courtiers have free time that they wear plums on  
the hair and have gathered together here?” (Man'youshuu #1883)

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<sup>1</sup> The particle *ya* can be used to mark what appears to be a topic in predicative sentences when the predicate itself is a wh-phrase. This use is put aside and must be left to future research.

For the quantitative data that substantiate the observation by Nomura and Sasaki, see their papers and also Watanabe (2002).

The word order restriction summarized in (3) is a basic feature of the syntax of interrogative sentences in the seventh and eighth centuries.

(3) Topic Focus SubjectNom

Watanabe (2002) proposes to analyze this word order restriction in terms of the phrase structural analysis in (4).

(4) [TopP Spec [FocP Spec [TP Subj VP T ] Foc ] Top]

The topic occupies Spec of TopP, and the focus Spec of FocP. Apart from the placement of the heads and the possibility of other functional heads in between, this is essentially the same analysis that Puskás (2000) proposes for Hungarian.

## 2.2 The problem of *so/zo*

Different particles are used in declarative clauses. Here, I concentrate on *so/zo*, leaving the treatment of *koso* to section 5.

Like the particles *ka* and *ya*, *so/zo* must appear above the nominative subject. (5) reproduces the statistics about *Man'youshuu* provided by Nomura (2002).

(5) i. *so/zo* — nominative order: 49 examples  
 ii. nominative — *so/zo* order: 1 example

In all the cases except one, the particle *so/zo* precedes the nominative subject, as in (6).

(6) ... Ikoma-no yama-wo koe-te-**so** a-**ga** kuru.  
 Ikoma-gen mountain-acc go.beyond-conj-SO I-nom come  
 “I’ve come home from behind Mt. Ikoma.”  
 (Man'youshuu #3590)

When we turn to the relative order of *so/zo* and the topic marker *ha*, the result is mixed. (7) gives my own counting of the relevant examples in *Man'youshuu*.

(7) i. *so/zo* — *ha* order: 30 examples  
 ii. *ha* — *so/zo* order: 31 examples

Almost all the examples that belong to the category in (7i) are given in Sasaki (1992). (8) illustrates each of these two cases.

(8) a. Mi-Yoshino-no Mimiga-no mine-ni toki-naku-**so**  
 hon-Yoshino-gen Mimiga-gen mountain-loc time-without-SO  
 yuki-**ha** furi-keru. ...  
 snow-top fall-past

“Snow fell incessantly on Mt. Mimiga in Yoshino.”  
(Man'youshuu #25)

- b. ... imo-**so** tohoku-**ha** wakare-ki-ni-keru.  
wife-SO far-top part.with-come-perf-past  
“I have come very far, leaving my wife behind.”  
(Man'youshuu #3698)
- c. Ima-**ha** a-**ha** wabi-**so** shi-ni-keru. ...  
now-top I-top sorrow-SO do-perf-past  
“Now I'm in deep sorrow.”  
(Man'youshuu #644)
- d. ... Yoshino-no miya-**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)

Two possibilities come to mind as an account of the syntax of *so/zo*-marked phrases. One is to say that *so/zo* is a focus marker and that TopP can appear below FocP in declarative clauses, unlike in interrogative clauses. The other is to maintain the structure in (3) for declarative clauses as well and say that *so/zo*-marked phrases can act as topics. Under this second possibility, (8a, b) are instances of multiple topics.

In the rest of the paper, I argue that the second possibility is on the right track. First, in the next section, I present direct evidence that *so/zo*-marked phrases can act as topics, in particular, as contrastive topics. In section 4, I turn to the analysis of multiple topics. I show that careful comparison of (7i) and (7ii) leads to the conclusion that the *so/zo*-marked phrase in cases like (8d) cannot be an instance of a topic, so that it must be a focus. I will then provide a unified analysis of the topic use and the focus use of *so/zo*. Section 5 turns to *koso* and presents evidence that the topic analysis alone is sufficient for *koso*. Section 6 concludes the discussion.

### 3. Contrastive Topicalization

Every language probably has a construction which necessarily features contrastive topicalization. (9a) is an example in English. If we translate it into Modern Japanese, we get (9b).

- (9) a. John voted for Clinton, but Mary voted for Dole.
- b. John-wa Clinton-ni touhyoushi-ta-ga, Mary-wa Dole-ni  
John-top Clinton-dat vote.for-past-but Mary-top Dole-dat  
touhyoushi-ta.  
vote.for-past

In these examples, *John* and *Mary* are contrasted. Note that the subject of each conjunct is marked by *wa*, the topic marker in Modern Japanese. Old Japanese

also has a construction of this sort that strongly favors contrastive topicalization. In (10) below, the mountain road is contrasted with the streets in Nara, where both are marked by *ha*.

- (10) Awoniyoshi Nara-no ohochi-**ha** yuki-yoke-do,  
 expl.mod Nara-gen big.street-top go-good-though  
 kono yama-michi-**ha** yuki-ashik-ari-keri.  
 this mountain-road-top go-bad-be-past  
 “Though the big streets in Nara are comfortable to walk on, this  
 mountain road was really bad.” (Man'youshuu #3728)

Note that the first clause takes the *izen-kei* (perfect) form and acts as a subordinate clause.

Now, interestingly, this construction sometimes matches up *ha* with *so*, as in (11).<sup>2</sup>

- (11) ... Nifu-no kaha koto-**ha** kayohe-do, fune-**so** kayoha-nu.  
 Nifu-gen river word-top go.along-though boat-SO go.along-neg  
 “Though rumors go along the river of Nifu, boats don't.”  
 (Man'youshuu #1173)

I have found 9 examples of this kind in *Man'youshuu*, including (11). On the other hand, there are 20 examples like (10).<sup>3</sup> In addition, there are cases like (12), where two independent sentences are juxtaposed to highlight contrast.

- (12) Wa-ga hori-shi Noshima-**ha** mise-tsu.  
 I-nom want-past Noshima-top show-perf  
 Soko fukaki Agone-no-ura-no tama-**so** hiriha-nu.  
 bottom deep Agone-gen-bay-gen stone-SO pick.up-neg  
 “You have shown me Noshima, which I wanted to see. I haven't  
 picked up precious stones at the bay of Agone whose bottom is  
 very deep.” (Man'youshuu #12)

Note again that the *ha*-marked topic is paired with a *so*-marked phrase.

Thus, there is solid evidence that the particle *so/zo* can be used as a marker of the contrastive topic. If so, one is led to analyze the *so/zo*-marked phrase in front of the *ha*-marked topic in cases like (8a, b) as an instance of a contrastive topic. In other words, there is no need to say that declarative clauses differ from interrogative clauses in allowing TopP below FocP. In fact, (8b) is preceded by a subordinate clause of the type exemplified by (10) and (11). (13) gives the entire sentence.

<sup>2</sup> Ohno (1993:207-209) misses the significance of this example. The interpretation of *so* in this example which he gives there is completely mistaken, too.

<sup>3</sup> Of course, there are more examples of both kinds where the contrast does not seem to be perfect. These are excluded from the counting.

- (13) Amazakaru hina-ni-mo tsuki-**ha** tere-re-do-mo,  
 expl.mod rural.place-loc-also moon-top shine-perf-though-even  
 imo-**so** tohoku-**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)

Here, the two clauses contrast the moon in the sky with the absence of the wife. Since *Man'youshuu* mostly consists of very short verse texts, it is not always possible to point to evidence of this kind in the 30 examples of category (7i). But as long as there is no strong evidence to the contrary, it is reasonable to maintain that TopP is always higher than FocP.

#### 4. Multiple Topics

The discussion in the previous section leads to the conclusion that *so/zo* can be used as a contrastive topic marker, so that examples of type (7i) are analyzed as having multiple topics. Now we need to ask whether it always marks a contrastive topic. I will show that the answer is no.

##### 4.1 The focus use of *so/zo*

First of all, note that *so/zo* can be attached to a wh-phrase, though this is a minority pattern.<sup>4</sup> Funaki (1968) observes that there are (at least) 9 examples of this type in *Man'youshuu*. My own counting has turned up 13 such examples.

- (14) ... idure-no imo-**so** sokoba kohi-taru?  
 which-gen woman-SO that.degree love-perf  
 “Which woman is so much in love?” (Man'youshuu #706)

In addition, there are 8 examples of a grammaticalized wh-phrase *nazo* “why” listed in the *Man'youshuu* concordance. To the extent that a wh-phrase cannot be a topic, this type of *so/zo* must be analyzed as a focus marker.

A more interesting syntactic phenomenon also points to the conclusion that the *so/zo*-phrase in at least some of the 31 examples of type (7ii) cannot be a topic. Out of the 30 examples that belong to type (7i), the *so/zo*-phrase is adjacent to the *ha*-marked topic in 29 cases. (8b) is repeated here as (15).

- (15) ... imo-**so** tohoku-**ha** wakare-ki-ni-keru.  
 wife-SO far-top part.with-come-perf-past  
 “I have come very far, leaving my wife behind.”  
 (Man'youshuu #3698)

The only exception is (16), which, unfortunately, is a very famous piece.

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<sup>4</sup> A wh-phrase is usually accompanied by the particle *ka*. See Watanabe (2002, 2005b).

- (16) Tago-no ura-yu uchi-ide-te mire-ba mashiro-ni-**so**  
 Tago-gen bay-through set-out-conj look-subord white-pred-SO  
 Fudzi-no takane-ni yuki-**ha** furi-keru  
 Fuji-gen high.top-loc snow-top fall-past  
 “When I sailed out through the bay of Tago and looked back,  
 snow already fell on top of Mt. Fuji, rendering it white.”  
 (Man'youshuu #318)

Out of the 31 examples of type (7ii), on the other hand, something intervenes between the *ha*-marked topic and the *so/zo*-phrase in 13 examples.<sup>5</sup> That is the case in (8d), repeated as (17).

- (17) ... Yoshino-no miya-**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)

The bracketed part is the intervening phrase.

Thus, there seems to be a significant syntactic difference between the cases where the *so/zo*-phrase precedes the *ha*-marked topic and those where it follows the *ha*-marked topic. Note also that in interrogative sentences, the focus phrase marked by *ka* or *ya* does not have to be adjacent to the higher topic, as illustrated by (18).

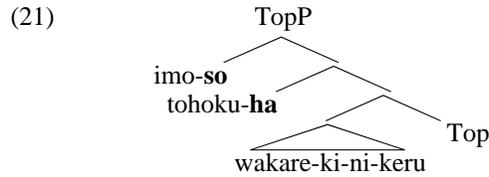
- (18) a. ... kimi-**ha** [tori-ga naku aduma-no saka-wo]  
 you-top rooster-nom crow Eastern.country-gen slope-acc  
 kefu-**ka** koyu-ramu.  
 today-KA go.over-aux  
 “Are you going over a slope in the Eastern country where roosters  
 crow today?” (Man'youshuu #3194)
- b. ... kimi-wo-**ba** [asu-yu] yoso-ni-**ka**-mo mi-mu.  
 you-acc-top tomorrow-from other.place-loc.KA-MO see-will  
 “Am I going to see you somewhere else from tomorrow  
 onwards?” (Man'youshuu #423)

Out of the approximately 50 examples in which the topicalized subject precedes a *ka*-marked focus, there are six cases in which there is an intervening phrase as in (18a). There are also at least three cases in which a non-subject topic is separated from the following *ka*-marked focus, as in (18b).<sup>6</sup> It is therefore very plausible to assimilate cases like (17) to (18) and say that at least some instances of *so/zo* are placed in Spec of FocP when there is a preceding *ha*-marked topic. It should also be mentioned that in none of the cases where the *so/zo*-marked phrase is separated from the preceding *ha*-marked topic is the *so/zo*-marked

<sup>5</sup> These are: Nos. 52, 193, 736, 926, 1005, 1050, 1628, 2921, 3106, 3286, 3288, 3768, and 3894.

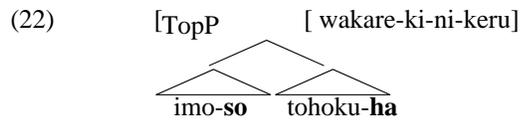
<sup>6</sup> There are also 17 examples in which some phrase precedes a *ka*-marked focus, out of the approximately 90 cases in which a nominative subject follows the *ka*-marked focus.





Since everything hosted in a specifier of TopP should receive a topic interpretation, no irrelevant phrase can come in between. As a consequence, the *so/zo*-phrase and the following *ha*-marked topic must be adjacent.

Another possibility is to say, following Lambova's (2001) analysis of Bulgarian, that multiple topics form a cluster in a single specifier, as in:



Lambova acknowledges in note 17 that the multiple Spec analysis will do, too. I will opt for the multiple Spec analysis, since there are problems about the theoretical mechanism that forms a cluster of the sort in (22).

Interestingly, the motivation for Lambova's analysis comes from the observation that in Bulgarian, an adverbial cannot break up a sequence of topics whereas it can intervene between a topic and the following focus. Furthermore, topics must precede a focus in Bulgarian. The same pattern seems to be replicated in Old Japanese. The *so/zo*-phrase that follows the *ha*-marked topic can be a focus, in which case it does not have to be adjacent to the *ha*-marked topic. When it precedes the *ha*-marked topic, it can only be a topic and therefore it must occupy an external Spec next to it.

### 4.3 Multiple *ha*-marked topics

At this point, a question immediately arises what happens when there are two or more *ha*-marked topic expressions. In most of the cases, they are adjacent to each other, but non-adjacent cases are found, too, as summarized in (23).

- (23) Multiple *ha*-marked topics<sup>7</sup>
- i. adjacent: 55 examples
  - ii. non-adjacent: 17 examples

Examples are given in (23).

- (24) a. Ima-**ha** a-**ha** shina-mu yo. ...  
 now-top I-top die-will prt  
 "Now I will die." (Man'youshuu #2936)

<sup>7</sup> If we exclude examples by Yamanoue-no Okura, who was probably not a native speaker of Old Japanese, (22i) has 53 examples, and (22ii) 14 examples.

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

(24a) is the expected type. The two *ha*-marked phrases each occupy a Spec of TopP. On the other hand, cases like (24b) are unexpected. What is going on?

I would like to suggest that the *ha*-marked phrase can be left-dislocated to a position higher than the ordinary topic placed in Spec of TopP. (24) illustrates hanging topic left dislocation in English.

- (25) John, I met him before.

See Grohmann (2003), Prince (1998), and Zwart (1998) for discussion of various properties of this construction. What is significant for our purposes is that the left-dislocated element is resumed by a pronoun, which can either stay in its original position or be raised. The latter possibility is exemplified by German, which has two kinds of hanging topics, as illustrated in (26).

- (26) a. Dieser Mann, ich habe ihn noch nie gesehen.  
 this-nom man I have him yet never seen
- b. Dieser Mann, ihn habe ich noch nie gesehen.  
 this-nom man him have I yet never seen  
 “This man, I have never seen him before.”

In (26a), the pronoun occurs in the clause-internal position for pronouns. In (26b), it is raised to the position next to the hanging topic. Note also that one significant property of the hanging topic is that it does not have to agree in case with the resumptive pronoun. In both (26a, b), the hanging topic appears in the nominative form.

Hanging topic left dislocation should be distinguished from so-called contrastive left dislocation, illustrated in (27).

- (27) Diesen Mann, den habe ich noch nie gesehen.  
 this-acc man RP-acc have I yet never seen  
 “This man, I have never seen him before.”

There are several differences between hanging topic left dislocation and contrastive left dislocation, of which three are relevant here. First, case agreement is obligatory in contrastive left dislocation. Note the accusative marking on the topic in (27). Second, the *d*-pronoun, glossed as RP in (27), must be used for resumption in contrastive left dislocation. Third, the contrastive topic reading is excluded for the hanging topic. In the context that

gives rise to contrast, contrastive left dislocation is felicitous, but hanging topic left dislocation is not, as shown in (28).<sup>8</sup>

- (28) Hast du gestern die Anna getroffen?  
 “Did you meet Anna yesterday?”
- a. # Nein. Der Martin, ich habe ihn gestern getroffen.  
 (hanging topic left dislocation)
- b. Nein. Den Martin, den habe ich gestern getroffen.  
 (contrastive left dislocation)  
 “No. I met Martin yesterday.”

One more point to note about hanging topic left dislocation is that according to Grohmann (2003), topic left dislocation and contrastive left dislocation can cooccur, as in (29), where the nominative hanging topic precedes the accusative XP and the fronted agreeing *d*-pronoun.

- (29) Der Alex, den Wagen, den hat seine Mutter  
 the-nom Alex the-acc car RP-acc has his mother  
 ihm gestern geschenkt.  
 him yesterday given  
 “Alex, the car, his mother gave to him yesterday.”

We are, therefore, led to assume that the hanging topic is placed in a position higher than the ordinary topic.<sup>9</sup>

The situation in Old Japanese is very similar. Two clear examples of hanging topic left dislocation are given in (30).<sup>10</sup>

- (30) a. ... kimi-**ha** ... shira-tama motomu-to-so kimi-**ga**  
 husband-top white-stone seek.for-C-SO husband-nom  
 ki-masa-nu. ...  
 come-hon-neg  
 “The husband will not come back, since he is looking for  
 white stones.” (Man'youshuu #3318)
- b. .... utsukushi dzuma-**ha** ... urabure-te tsuma-**ha** ahi-ki ...  
 dear husband-top depressed-conj husband-top meet-past

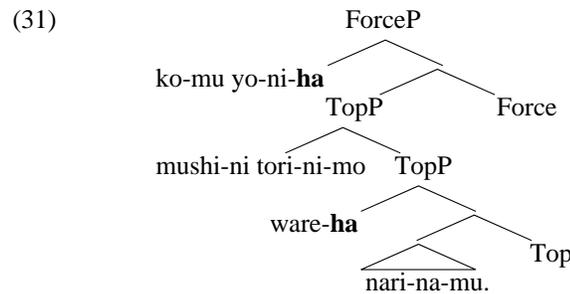
<sup>8</sup> It is an open question whether contrastive left dislocation always requires contrast. See Grohmann (2003), on which the above discussion is based, and the references cited there.

<sup>9</sup> Grohmann assumes for various theory-internal reasons that the *d*-pronoun occupies Spec of TopP in contrastive left dislocation. I side with Rizzi (1997) in assuming that the *d*-pronoun occupies Spec of FinP below TopP and FocP.

<sup>10</sup> No. 543 shows the same pattern as no. 3303, except that the topic marker of the resumptive subject is not given in the original text. No. 2920 exemplifies a case where the topic marker is absent from the dislocated element. The examples of hanging topic left dislocation are not included in the statistics concerning word order provided in the text discussion.

“Your dear husband met me, very depressed.”  
 (Man'youshuu #3303)

In (30a), *kimi* is repeated, and in (30b), *tsuma*. Note that the dislocated subject is marked by *ha*. (30b) is particularly important, since it clearly shows that the dislocated element is higher than the ordinary topic, which resumes it. My claim is that cases like (24b) should receive the same dislocation analysis, with a zero pronoun resuming the dislocated hanging topic. The intervening phrase is adjoined to the TopP. Tentatively assuming that the hanging topic is placed in Spec of ForceP in the clause structure proposed by Rizzi (1997), (24b) should be analyzed as follows:<sup>11</sup>



Significantly, *so/zo*-marked phrases cannot be dislocated in this way. There are no such examples in *Man'youshuu*. This fact is explained if Old Japanese is similar to German in ruling out the contrastive reading of the hanging topic. Recall that *so/zo*-marked phrases are contrastive topics when they function as topics. It then follows that when a *so/zo*-marked phrase precedes a *ha*-marked topic, it must occupy the immediately higher Spec of TopP.<sup>12</sup> This completes my analysis of the adjacency phenomenon.

#### 4.4 Unifying the topic use and the focus use of *so/zo*

The remaining task is to provide a unified analysis of *so/zo*, which can mark either a contrastive topic and a focus.

Vallduví and Vilkuna's (1998) notion of *kontrast* is useful in this connection. They propose that if an expression **a** is *kontrastive*, a membership set  $M = \{ \dots, \mathbf{a}, \dots \}$  is generated and becomes available to semantic computation. Rooth's (1992) alternative semantics makes use of a set of alternatives for the focused constituent as a crucial notion in focus semantics, and thus can be accommodated quite easily under the notion of *kontrast*. Vallduví and Vilkuna also provide the following semantics for (identificational) focus and contrastive topicalization:

<sup>11</sup> One potential problem is that the “dislocated” phrase is a PP in (24b). If the hanging topic cannot be a PP, this suggested analysis is problematic. Out of the 17 cases in (23ii), the higher *ha*-marked topic is a PP only in this one and in no. 3198.

<sup>12</sup> Thanks are due to Jun Abe for discussion on this point.

- (32) a. Identificational kontrast: if  $M = \{a,b,c\}$  and  $P(x \in M)$ , then  $P(a)$ .  
 b. Thematic kontrast: if  $M = \{a,b,c\}$  and  $P(a)$ , then  $P' ((y \in M) \wedge \neg a)$ .

(32a) should be straightforward. The idea behind the formulation in (32b) is that if property  $P$  holds of a member  $a$  of the set  $M$  generated by kontrast, then other properties  $P'$  hold of the other members of  $M$ . See Büring (2003) and Hendriks (2004) for similar proposals about contrastive topicalization.

## 5. *Koso*

Let us turn to the analysis of the particle *koso*. Ishida (1939) characterized it as a contrastive topic marker. This analysis is endorsed by Ohno (1993). If this analysis is on the right track, it makes clear predictions, given the analysis of contrastive topicalization proposed above.

*Koso* participates in one of the so-called *kakarimusubi* constructions and triggers the *izen-kei* form. According to Ishida, the original use of the *izen-kei* form is a subordination marker in clause chaining that can feature contrastive topicalization. Recall from section 3 that Old Japanese has a construction that strongly favors contrastive topicalization and that makes use of the *izen-kei* form in the subordinate clause. (10) is such an example. Another example is given in (33).

- (33) ... tori-**ha** sudake-do,  
 bird-top gather.and.make.noise-though  
 kimi-**ha** oto-mo se-zu.  
 you-top sound-MO do-neg  
 “Though birds gather and make noise, I don't hear from you.”  
 (Man'youshuu #1176)

Ishida observes that *koso* is also matched up with the topic marker *ha* in the same construction, as in (34).

- (34) a. Mukashi-**koso** Naniha winaka-to iha-re-keme,  
 past-KOSO Naniha rural.place-as say-pass-would  
 ima-**ha** miyako hiki miyako-bi-ni-keri.  
 now-top capital draw capital-like-perf-past  
 “Though Naniha would be said to be rural in the past, it is now  
 very fashionable, the capital having been moved there.”  
 (Man'youshuu #312)
- b. ... hito-**koso** shira-ne, matsu-**ha** shiru-ramu.  
 person-KOSO know-neg pine.tree-top know-would  
 “Though people don't know, pine trees would.”  
 (Man'youshuu #145)

There are 14 cases of this type of matching.

If *koso* is a contrastive topic marker, it is predicted that it can appear both above and below a *ha*-marked topic in the multiple topic structure. This prediction is borne out. The statistical data is shown below.

- (35) i. *koso* — *ha* order: 12 examples  
 ii. *ha* — *koso* order: 11 examples

Representative examples of each order are given in (36).

- (36) a. Kinofu-**koso** toshi-**ha** hate-shika, ...  
 yesterday-KOSO year-top end-past  
 “Though the previous year just ended yesterday, ...”  
 (Man'youshuu #1843)
- b. ... fune-no yufu-shiho-wo matsu-ramu yori-**ha**  
 boat-nom evening-tide-acc wait-would than-top  
 ware-**koso** masare.  
 I-KOSO exceed  
 “I long for you more strongly than the boat would be waiting for  
 the evening tide.” (Man'youshuu #2831)

Another prediction is that these multiple topics are always adjacent. This prediction is basically borne out, since there is only one example in which there is an intervening phrase. It is the very first piece in *Man'youshuu*.

- (37) ... Yamato-no kuni-**ha** oshinabe-te ware-**koso** wore.  
 Yamato-gen country-top rule-conj I-KOSO stay  
 “I'm here to rule the country of Yamato.”  
 (Man'youshuu #1)

Since the overall number of relevant examples is smaller than in the case of *so/zo*, the statistical significance may be questioned, but the data is consistent with the idea that *koso* is a contrastive topic marker.

One more prediction is that the *koso*-marked phrase should appear above the nominative subject. There is only one relevant example, as noted by Sasaki (1992). There, the *koso*-marked phrase does indeed appear above the nominative subject, as in (38).

- (38) .. masura wonoko-no kofure-**koso** wa-ga yufu kami-**no**  
 brave man-nom yearn-KOSO I-nom do-up hair-nom  
 hichi-te nure-kere.  
 be.soaked-conj loosen-past  
 “My hair I did up has got loose soakingly, because my brave man  
 is yearning for me.” (Man'youshuu #118)

Thus, the analysis which regards *koso* as a contrastive topic marker is amply supported. Of course, the above discussion does not rule out the possibility that *koso* can also function as a focus marker, like *so/zo*. This possibility still remains for the 11 cases in (35ii), where the *koso*-marked phrase

follows the *ha*-marked topic. I leave it to future research to determine whether the focus use of *koso* should also be recognized.

## 6. Conclusion

This paper has provided the analysis of the behavior of the particles *so/zo* and *koso* in the seventh and eighth century Old Japanese. It leads to various theoretical conclusions about the left periphery. First, the idea that TopP is always higher than FocP is supported. Rizzi's (1997) original proposal allows TopP to appear below FocP in Italian, but that is not motivated in Old Japanese. Benincà (2001) also questions the appearance of TopP below FocP in Italian. My results point in the same direction. Second, multiple topicalization must be analyzed as involving multiple Specs, contrary to Rizzi's original proposal. Third, the contrastive topic is placed in the same syntactic position as the non-contrastive topic in Old Japanese, that is, in Spec of TopP. This is an interesting result, because the contrastive topic and the non-contrastive topic have not been considered to behave in the same way in Modern Japanese (Watanabe 2003).

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