

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-**ha** furi-keru. Ma-naku-**so** ame-**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'youshū #25)
- b. 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'youshū #3698)
- (2) a. ... Yoshino-no yama-**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'youshū #52)
- b. ... 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'youshū #1005)

B. Bulgarian (Lambova 2001)

- (3) a. S&f&t, kazvas& kakvo koga iska?
boss-the(top) you-are-saying what when want-pres.3.sg
b. *S&f&t, kakvo kazvas& koga iska?
“The boss (you’re saying) what does he want when?”
- (4) a. Decata na cirk, kazvas& mama ~~ste~~ vodi utre.
kids-the(top) to circus(top) you-are-saying mom will take tomorrow
b. *Decata kazvas& na cirk, mama ~~ste~~ vodi utre.

C. Koso

- (5) Kinofu-**koso** 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'youshū #3893)

- (6) a. Kinofu-**koso** toshi-**ha** hate-shika,
 yesterday-KOSO year-top end-past
 haru-gasumi Kasuga-no yama-ni haya tachi-ni-keri.
 spring-haze Kasuga-gen mountain-loc already appear-perf-past
 “Though yesterday was the end of the year, a spring haze already has appeared
 over Mt. Kasuga (today).” (Man'youshuu #1843)
- b. ... fune-no yufu-shiho-wo matsu-ramu yori-**ha** ware-**koso** masare.
 boat-nom evening-tide-acc wait-would than-top I-KOSO exceed
 “I wait for you more strongly than the boat would be waiting for the evening tide.”
 (Man'youshuu #2831)

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)
- (8) 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
 “Your dear husband met me, very depressed.”
 (Man'youshuu #3303)

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)
- b. Nein. Den Martin, den habe ich gestern getroffen. (contrastive left dislocation)
 “No. I met Martin yesterday.”