

**The Functions and Evolution of Topic and Focus Markers**

by

**Paula Kadose Radetzky**

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**Committee in charge:**

**Professor Richard A. Rhodes, Co-chair**

**Professor Eve E. Sweetser, Co-chair**

**Professor H. Mack Horton**

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**Abstract**

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This dissertation examines the notions of topic and focus from both synchronic and diachronic points of view. Previous works have almost exclusively treated these concepts synchronically, and the historical studies which do exist have not successfully traced and motivated the individual stages of development.

The sections on topic first propose and give cross-linguistic evidence for the following path of grammaticalization:

locative/  
marker > contrastive  
marker > topic  
marker

This overview is followed by two text-based studies, one of the Japanese topic marker *wa* and the other of the Greek particle *dé*. Because of their long written traditions, these two languages allow us to contextually view and motivate the intermediate stages of grammaticalization.

The last part of the dissertation is a discussion of focus. It begins by developing a synchronic theory involving different levels of highlighting, and then it presents case studies of data primarily from Japanese and Korean, examining in detail the mechanisms by which demonstratives and copulas become focus markers in these languages. The analysis

presented also provides an explanation for hitherto unaccounted-for distributional facts about the Japanese and Korean focus markers.

Topic and focus have been seen by linguists as widespread phenomena cross-linguistically, and yet it has proven difficult to define these intuitively important analytic units. A functional and diachronic approach helps both to elucidate their nature and to explain the complexities which have made them hard for analysts to pin down.

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## **Chapter 1**

### **Introduction**

The study of topic and focus marking encompasses two generally disparate areas of inquiry. In the area of diachrony, the evolution of discourse markers is not so well understood that it can be analyzed in the almost mechanical way that sound change can. In the area of synchronic grammatical theory, the very questions of what it means to be a topic or to be focused have not been given widely agreed-upon answers. This dissertation will address both areas, each controversial in its own right, using the tools of cognitive grammar and grammaticalization theory to bring a degree of order to each.

The methods used in historical linguistics have traditionally consisted of comparative and typological studies. Until fairly recently, comparative linguists have tended to concentrate on establishing phonological correspondences and etymologies for lexical items (e.g., Meillet 1937, Gamkrelidze & Ivanov 1984 [1995]). Even in the cases where comparative linguists have examined non-lexical constructions, either their work has had as its main goal to reconstruct proto-languages (e.g., Lehmann 1974) or, when not aimed at reconstruction, has been theory-driven rather than data-driven (e.g., Lightfoot 1979, Hawkins 1983). Neither of these kinds of studies include the newer methodologies of historical discourse and text analysis. This is particularly true of studies of topic and focus. In the rare cases where topic and focus constructions have been treated diachronically, the emphasis has been on word order (e.g., Lehmann 1973, Lehmann 1974, Vennemann 1974, Givón 1979, Heine & Reh 1984)—and, in fact, without the tools that

grammaticalization theory provides, such as the notions of decategorialization, scopal increase, situational ambiguity, bridging contexts, and layering, there is not much beyond word order reconstruction that is possible. Furthermore, the traditional historical linguist's focus on (a) forms extant at a certain point in time and (b) the description of how they arose generally allows for little reference to discourse and pragmatics. The result has often been superficial and not sufficiently explanatory. This is paralleled in the field of historical morphology, where traditional historical linguists have tended to focus on the end result of grammaticalization, that is, fully morphologized items. Not having the tools of modern grammaticalization theory, historical linguists have not conceived of the mechanism a language chooses for expressing a certain idea as being one of a constrained set of several possible constructions, nor have they investigated whether layering had occurred—i.e., whether other isofunctional constructions had ever existed simultaneously in the language. The traditional understanding of the mechanisms of change has, in fact, often included little more than the Neogrammarian maxims of regularity and gradualness. In sum, then, traditional comparative linguistics did not often provide cognitively plausible explanations for the steps involved in semantic change and grammaticalization.

In contrast, grammaticalization theory offers more powerful tools for analyzing the semantics of topic and focus. The notions of topic and focus have proven elusive to modern synchronic linguistics; indeed, few researchers can agree on how to characterize the notions and incorporate them into a theory of grammar (e.g., Chafe 1976, Reinhart 1982, Portner & Yabushita 1988, Lambrecht 1994, Büring 1997, Vallduví 1992). However, we shall see below that synchronic theories concerning topic can be refined and made more precise by looking at how sentence-initial locative phrases can evolve into topics over time. This is because, as grammaticalization theory predicts, remnants of the space-building semantics (Fauconnier 1985, Fauconnier 1997) inherent in the locative stage carry over into the semantics of the topic stage. My position, then, is not that synchrony

must recapitulate diachrony but that often, by examining such notions as topic and focus in conjunction with diachrony, we can more accurately characterize the synchronic state of affairs.

It is worth noting that this application of grammaticalization theory is broader than is understood by many linguists, who conceive of grammaticalization as taking place at the word or morpheme level. The grammaticalization of discourse markers, however, involves constructions far larger than the morphemes themselves. Thus, for example, in the cases discussed in chapter 2, entities that are already grammatical morphemes, namely locative adpositions, grammaticalize to topic markers, which operate at the sentence level or above. It might be better, therefore, to say that the locative *construction* grammaticalizes into a topic *construction*. This constructional approach is especially important when the stages of historical development in question involve scopal changes, as with the increase in scope (cf. Tabor & Traugott 1998) which occurs as Japanese *wa* goes from being a contrastive marker to a topic marker (discussed below in chapter 3), or the decrease in scope involved in my reconstructed transition from sentence-focus to NP-focus of the Japanese and Korean focus markers (treated in chapter 5).

My approach has points in common with the methodology employed by typologists, who look at large numbers of languages in order to find recurring patterns (rather than to reconstruct a common source). This methodology has yielded synchronic snapshots of the characteristics of many languages at a given stage of development and has allowed researchers to propose universal tendencies across unrelated languages. In particular, I am sympathetic to typologically-oriented historical linguistic works, such as Harris & Campbell 1995, which seek to uncover recurring patterns of morphosyntactic change. On the down side, however, typological studies seldom discuss and motivate the step-by-step grammaticalization processes leading up to the synchronic states in question. Historical



text-based study, then, is an ideal complement to typology. By starting where typologists have left off—that is, by taking some of the patterns that typologists have discovered and examining their evolution in detail in just a few languages—modern historical linguists who incorporate discourse- and text-based study into their methodology are able to discover and, more importantly, motivate the changes which create the synchronic state. This is because, as opposed to the traditional methods of typology and historical and comparative linguistics, discourse- and text-based studies offer a more in-depth view of the pragmatic and semantic ambiguities leading up to the typological patterns present in a particular language. For example, an in-depth study of texts from one language across several hundred years affords the linguist the opportunity to see less grammaticalized material becoming more and more grammaticalized. In particular, text-based study allows one to see and motivate the intermediate stages of grammaticalization, including bridging contexts and layering. If one is fortunate, source constructions might still be apparent in the earliest stages, making the origin of the morphology clearer. The text-based studies I provide below will, I hope, allow us to both (a) view some of the pathways and constructions involved in the grammaticalization of topic and focus marking and (b) illustrate how such studies can complement the traditional methods of comparative linguistics and typology in helping us understand the grammaticalization process.

This work has points of contact with a variety of traditions. First, the notions of subject and predicate have been studied extensively in philosophy and grammatical theory since ancient times. More recently, beginning with the Prague School's research on *Functional Sentence Perspective*—namely, how information is coded in utterances—linguists have been investigating the related notions of topic and focus. The area of word order, of course, has been studied heavily by generative grammarians, typologists, and historical linguists. Finally, studies such as Haiman 1978, Traugott 1982, Traugott 1985a, Traugott 1988, Sweetser 1990, Dancygier & Sweetser 1996, and Schwenter 1999 examine

notions related to topichood, such as definiteness and backgrounded protases of conditional constructions. Despite these traditions, however, there has been relatively little research done on the question of where topic and focus *marking* might come from.

This dissertation has been written in order to address such gaps. For the notion of topic, I first hypothesize (in chapter 2) that one common source for topic markers is locative markers, and then I present data from several languages which support this path of development. The subsequent chapter is a text-based study of the evolution of the Japanese topic marker *wa*, while chapter 4 is a similar study of the Greek particle *de*. The chapter on focus first provides a new synchronic theory about highlighting that views focus as orthogonal to topics and then examines some diachronic examples. Throughout, this dissertation is informed by the conviction that a grammaticalization-based historical approach is essential to understanding the synchronic polysemy of topic and focus markers.

## Chapter 2

### From locatives to topics: Cross-linguistic evidence

When one person recounts a story to another, the speaker must be able to signal to the interlocutor the *information status* of the various entities in the story: which ones are important (and thereby deserving of attention), which ones are unimportant, which ones are new, which ones are old, and so on.<sup>1</sup> In English, for example, the definite article, *the*, usually marks old discourse participants, while the indefinite article, *a(n)*, occurs on new ones. Other languages have other systems of *discourse deixis*—systems which indicate the informational status of the various referents in a discourse. For example, languages such as Wolof (Niger-Kordofanian) have a *focus system* where a set of agreement pronouns indicates what part of the sentence is the new, essential information; many languages of Papua New Guinea and the Americas (e.g., Washo) have *switch-reference systems*, where certain prefixes or suffixes placed on the verb signal whether the subject of the next clause is the same as, or different from, the one in the previous clause; yet other languages, such

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<sup>1</sup>The existence of systems for indicating information status is probably motivated by the need, seen in other cognitive domains such as vision, for humans to attend to only the most important available stimuli. In theory, this selective attention is necessary in order to prevent informational overload (see, e.g., Palmer 1999). Such systems are also clearly relatable to object files (cf. Kahneman et al. 1992) and models of memory. Systems of discourse deixis may also ultimately serve to solve a correspondence problem: events are presented to us consecutively through language, and it is up to our processing mechanisms to keep track of the participants of an event (or portion of an event) by binding them to the corresponding participants in other events (or portions of events). It can be said, then, that, when dealing with language, the mind comes up against the same sorts of problems that it does when it is dealing with, say, sensory input from the visual domain. (However, there is a slight twist: language has, by definition, already been pre-processed by another mind, namely that of the speaker's.)

as Chinese and Quechua, have what have been called *topic-comment systems*.<sup>2</sup> It is this last type of system which will be the object of the present chapter.

Topic-comment systems distinguish the *topic* of a sentence (which is a discourse-based notion) from the *subject* of a clause (which is a syntactically defined notion). Thus, Modern Japanese, for example, can have sentences such as the next one, where there is one noun marked overtly as topic and another marked overtly as subject.

- (1) *Berkeley wa daigaku ga ii*  
Berkeley TOP university SBJ good  
'Speaking of Berkeley, the university is good.'

(Languages such as English, which do not have syntactically distinct topics, tend to put highly topical entities in subject position. Thus, the above sentence would have been translated into more natural English as 'Berkeley has a good university' or 'Berkeley's university is good'.)

It is widely recognized that many languages' definite articles are simply adaptations of elements previously used for spatial deixis. For example, the English definite article, *the*, arose from a spatial-deictic demonstrative (late Old English *the, théo, thæt*). This type of historical development fits well with the cognitive-linguistic assumption that abstract linguistic phenomena are grounded in our more concrete, day-to-day physical experience as human beings. In this chapter, I explore the possibility that yet another discourse-deictic system ultimately derives from a domain of spatial expression. More specifically, I will argue that many topic markers found in topic-comment systems arise from the reanalysis of locative markers, usually via an intermediate stage where such elements mark contrastive entities, i.e.,

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<sup>2</sup>Such systems of discourse deixis are not mutually exclusive. Languages have multiple, overlapping ways of indicating the information status of participants.

(2)    locative/  
temporal  
marker                    >                    contrastive  
marker                    >                    topic  
marker

I first examine data from Quechua, Lahu, and some Formosan languages, all of which provide synchronic evidence for the locative > topic marker shift. Tauya, Eastern Kayah Li, and Middle Korean, which I consider next, illustrate the development from locative marker to marker of contrastive entities; however, these languages do not appear to have fully grammaticalized contrastive markers into topic markers. At the end of this chapter, I present some interesting cases, Imonda and Lango, which do not fit neatly into the grammaticalization path shown above. The two chapters following this one offer detailed case studies of topic marking in Japanese and Greek, languages with long recorded histories and attestation of virtually the entire grammaticalization process.

For the present, topic may be defined as the “spatial, temporal, or individual framework within which the main predication holds” (Chafe 1976:50). The close connection between topic so defined and the space-building function of locative expressions will become apparent in the course of chapters 3 and 4, and detailed justification of this choice of definition will be made in chapter 5.

### **Huallaga (Huánuco) Quechua (Quechuan, Peru).**

Before we examine the relationship between locative, contrastive, and topic notions in Huallaga (Huánuco) Quechua, let us first examine how the language expresses spatial relationships using a possessive construction. Huallaga Quechua (Weber 1989) has a possessive construction which can be schematized as:

(3) (possessor-GENITIVE<sup>3</sup>) possessed-POSSESSIVE SUFFIX

where the possessive suffix agrees with the possessor. For example,

- (4) *Hwan-pa*      *uma-n*      (Weber 1989:254)<sup>4</sup>  
Juan-GEN      head-3.POS  
'Juan's head'

In the example above, the possessive suffix *-n* agrees with *Hwan*. The genitive phrase, *Hwan-pa*, is optional, as indicated by the parentheses in the schematization. For example:

- (5) *wasi-n*      (Weber 1989:254)  
house-3.POS  
'his house'

Huallaga Quechua uses a slightly different genitive construction to express spatial relationships such as 'above', 'below', 'the other side of', etc. This construction consists of an optional genitive phrase, a modifier such as 'upper' or 'lower', a morpheme *-qa*, and the possessive suffix (again, agreeing with the possessor). It may be schematized as follows:

(6) (possessor-GENITIVE) spatial modifier-*qa*-POSSESSIVE SUFFIX

If we compare this to the general possessive construction schematized above in (3), we notice that the [spatial modifier-*qa*] constituent of the spatial possessive construction

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<sup>3</sup>Weber states that the genitive is present only when the possessor is animate (256); however, the rules governing the (non-)occurrence and general placement of the genitive seem to be more complicated than this, as indicated by some anomalies in the examples (e.g., (10) and (11)).

<sup>4</sup>Throughout this work, I have added or modified interlinears to conform to my terminology, and in some cases I have segmented the data or shortened the examples in order to better illustrate the point in question.

occupies the [possessed] slot of the general possessive construction. In other words, its distribution indicates that the [spatial modifier-*qa*] constituent is functioning as a possessed NP. Some examples of this second construction are:

- (7) *hana-qa-a* (Weber 1989:38)  
 upper-*qa*-1.POS  
 'above me'
- (8) *ura-qa-yki* (Weber 1989:38)  
 lower-*qa*-2.POS  
 'below you'
- (9) *washa-qa-a* (Weber 1989:38)  
 same.level-*qa*-1.POS  
 'the other side of me'
- (10) *Wasi-ki-pa*      *hana-qa-n-chaw*      *tiya-n*      (Weber 1989:39)  
 house-2.POS-GEN      above-*qa*-3.POS-LOC      live-3  
 'He lives up from your house.'

This morpheme *-qa* looks suspiciously as if it might have come from a noun meaning something like 'place', making a more literal translation of sentence (10) 'He lives at your house's above-place'. (Note that the possessor of the 'above-place' is *wasi* 'house' in the genitive phrase, which is what the possessive suffix is agreeing with.) Weber, in fact, states, "This /qa/ probably derived from an old substantive (probably a spatial pronoun). It no longer occurs freely" (256). Further support for this hypothesis comes from the fact that there are other nouns, such as *chawpi* 'center, middle', *chaki* 'foot', *waqta* 'side', *kantu* 'corner, limit, edge', *qepa* 'back', and *siki* 'buttocks', which *do* occur as full, independent words in the language (Guardia Mayorga 1971) but which can also be used in this genitive construction to express spatial relationships. When these nouns enter into the genitive construction, they occupy the same position as *-qa*. For example:

- (11) *Punta wash-waqta-n-pa ura-y-pa ura-anchi*  
 ridge far-waqta-3.POS-GEN descend-ADV descend-1P.INCL  
 'We descend by way of the far side of the ridge.'  
 More literally, 'We descend by way of the ridge's far-side.' (Weber 1989:257)
- (12) *ishka-n chanka-n chawpi-n-pita* (Weber 1989:257)  
 two-3.POS thigh-3.POS chawpi-3.POS-ABL  
 'from between its two thighs'
- (13) *mama-n-pa qepa-n-ta aywa-ku-sha* (Weber 1989:257)  
 mother-3.POS-GEN qepa-3.POS-OBJ go-REFL-3.PERF  
 'He went along behind his mother.'

In example (13), the possessor of *mama* 'mother' is the boy, and the possessor of *qepa* 'back' is the mother.

Huallaga Quechua also has a homophonous contrastive suffix, *-qa*, which seems to work in much the same way as Japanese contrastive *wa* (cf. chapter 3 below). The next passage describes the various reactions of fathers when they are approached by a representative of a young man who wishes to marry one of their daughters:

- (14) *Chaynaw yaykuptinpis wakin runa-qa fiyu ....*  
 like.that though.he.enter some men-qa bad
- Wakin runa-qa huklaapa qeshipaykun.*  
 other men-qa to.some.other.place they.escape.on.them
- Wakin runakuna-qa alli.*  
 other men-qa good
- Chay kaq-qa hamachin alli parlan.*  
 that which.is-qa they.seat.them good they.converse

'Even though he enters like that (in the proper way), some men are bad.... Other men escape to some other place. Other men are good. Those seat him and speak nicely to him.'  
 (Weber 1989:411)



As can be seen, all of the contrasting entities (the groups of men) are marked with *-qa*.

The suffix *-qa* can also successively pick out previously unmentioned, noncontrastive entities from within an established frame. (This, too, is analogous to Japanese *wa*, as we shall see in chapter 3.) Weber states, "...[R]eference in Quechua to some object 'brings along' its parts and associates" (401). He gives the following example after explaining, "the anti-hero's mother has not been previously mentioned; nevertheless, *mama-n* 'his mother' may receive *-qa* because reference to the anti-hero has 'brought along' his associates" (401):

- (15) *Chawra-qa*      *"Kana-qa-chi*      *kananlla*  
 then-*qa*            now-*qa*-probably      just.now
- mama-n-qa*            *rimamanqa*            *awkin..."*  
 mother-3.POS-*qa*      she.will.criticize.me      old.man

'Then, "Now, just now, his mother will criticize me, old man..."'

(Weber 1989:401)

Marking 'his mother' with *-qa* is extremely similar, as we shall see, to example (78) from Middle Japanese, where *titi Yositomo* 'his father, Yoshitomo' is marked with *ha*.

Quechua *-qa* seems to have gone as far as Modern Japanese *wa* in the grammaticalization process, in that *-qa* can be used to mark discourse topics—old, noncontrastive entities of which something new is predicated:

- (16) *Mayuyaqshi chayaykun. Y mayu-qa chayashashi aywakkuykaanaq*  
 to.the.river he.arrived and river-*qa* full it.was.going  
 '(The fox) arrived at the river. And the river was swollen.' (Weber 1989:406)

Here, the river is not contrasted with anything else; it is simply the topic of the second sentence.

Thus, Huallaga Quechua illustrates all three points along the grammaticalization path posited above: *-qa* appears to originate from a locative noun meaning ‘place’, may be used to mark contrastive elements, and is commonly used as a noncontrastive topic marker.<sup>5</sup>

**Lahu (Sino-Tibetan, Thailand).**

Lahu (Matisoff 1973, Matisoff 1988) has a particle, *ɔ̄*, which serves both as a directional postposition and as a postpositional topic marker. As a locative marker, the particle does not have much semantic content: it can mean ‘in/at’, ‘to/toward/into’, or ‘from/out of/away from’, depending on the semantics of the clause’s main verb:

(17) *ɔ̄-kà?-ɔ̄-nu*    *ɔ̄*    *chê*    *gâ*    *cê*    (Matisoff 1973:163)  
 elsewhere    *ɔ̄*    live.in    want    QUOT  
 ‘He says he wants to live in another place.’

(18) *nɔ̄-hi*    *ve*    *qhâ?*    *ɔ̄*    *qay*    *gâ*    (Matisoff 1973:163)  
 2-PL    NMLZ    village    *ɔ̄*    go.to    want  
 ‘He wants to go to your (plural) village.’

(19) *ô*    *ve*    *yê*    *ɔ̄*    *mûqhô*    *tô?*    *la*    *ve*  
 oh    NMLZ    house    *ɔ̄*    smoke    emerge.from    come    NMLZ  
 ‘Oh, there’s smoke coming out of that house.’    (Matisoff 1973:163)

Matisoff stresses that *ɔ̄* occurs especially frequently after spatial demonstratives and spatial prefixes. For example, among spatial demonstratives, one finds *cô ɔ̄* ‘way over there/all the way to there/from way over there’ (where *cô* means ‘there’), *nô ɔ̄* ‘up there/all the way to up there/from way up there’ (where *nô* means ‘up there’), and *mô ɔ̄* ‘down there/all the

<sup>5</sup>Since Haiman 1978, it has widely been noted that conditional clauses are often treated as topics. Huallaga Quechua is no exception: *-qa* regularly marks conditional clauses.

way to down there/from way down there' (where *mô* means 'down there'). In its use with spatial prefixes, one finds collocations such as *ḥ-na=phḥ ̄* 'on the upper side, etc.' and *qhḥ ̄* 'in the market, etc.'.

The particle *̄* is also frequently used as a topic marker postposed to an NP:

(20) *yḥ ̄ te mâ phê? hê* (Matisoff 1973:175)  
 3S ̄ do NEG be.able DUBITATIVE  
 'He probably can't do it.'

(21) *yḥ qô? ve ̄ àthò?⇒ma le* (Matisoff 1973:423)  
 3S say NMLZ ̄ what INTERROG  
 'What is it that he's saying?' (Lit., 'As for his saying, what is it?')

(22) *pû kə ve ̄ têchi pî? lê gà ò*  
 carry in NMLZ ̄ ten basketful ADV come.to PFT  
 'What I've carried in comes to ten basketsful already.' (Matisoff 1988:222)

The contrastive function of *̄*, however, is not well-attested in Lahu. Matisoff (personal communication) says that it does have slightly contrastive semantics; however, the main way to mark contrastive entities in Lahu is with the particle *qo*.<sup>6</sup> We might speculate, then, that *̄* at one time had a contrastive function but was supplanted by *qo*.

Matisoff, incidentally, believes that the direction of grammaticalization was from topic marker to locative marker (p.c.). In his grammar, he states,

We have so far begged the question as to whether *̄* is to be regarded as a P<sub>n</sub> [noun particle] when it occurs after nouns referring to places, or whether it is always to be considered a topicalizing P<sub>unf</sub> [non-final unrestricted particle]. The fact that the ideas of location, motion, and direction are here conveyed principally (if not entirely) by the preceding noun and the following verb makes

<sup>6</sup>In fact, *qo* (from a word meaning 'place', Matisoff p.c.), in addition to marking contrasts, seems to have grammaticalized as a topic marker. Thus, Lahu may have multiple particles which are similar in their polysemies to Japanese *wa*.

the latter decision simpler and more attractive. However, there is strong evidence that ʒ is being absorbed into the class of noun-particles. (163)

He also says, “The various locative [particles] are quite similar in meaning; ...ʒ in particular retains the generality of its topicalizing nature” (165) and, “As we have seen..., ʒ has acquired a weak locative force of its own when it occurs after nouns referring to places and is to be regarded as a P<sub>n</sub> in that environment” (175). The directionality that Matisoff proposes—from the abstract, discourse-deictic notion of topic marking to the more concrete semantics of locative marking—is, however, the opposite of what we would expect in light of the grammaticalization literature (cf. Traugott 1982, Traugott 1989, Hopper & Traugott 1993:94-129, Traugott 1995).

**Formosan (Taiwan) (Zeitoun 1997).**

Several Formosan languages have a locative marker *i*.

- |                                 |  |                       |                        |                      |                              |                       |   |
|---------------------------------|--|-----------------------|------------------------|----------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|---|
| (23)                            | <i>nəka(c)</i><br>NEG  | <i>nu</i>             | <i>la(ə)ŋaw</i><br>fly | <i>i</i><br><i>i</i> | <i>ta</i><br>OBL             | <i>cəkui</i><br>table | (Paiwan)<br><br>(Zeitoun 1997:339)          |
| ‘There is no fly on the table.’ |  |                       |                        |                      |                              |                       |   |
| (24)                            | <i>mafuti?</i><br>sleep  | <i>kaku</i><br>IS.NOM | <i>i</i><br><i>i</i>   | <i>ci</i><br>OBL     | <i>panay-an</i><br>Panay-OBL |                       | (Amis)<br><br>(Zeitoun 1997:339)            |
| ‘I sleep at Panay’s place.’     |  |                       |                        |                      |                              |                       |   |
| (25)                            | <i>i-va(ɬ)io-lao</i><br><i>i-village-IS.NOM</i><br>‘I am at home.’ |                       |                        |                      |                              |                       | (Mantauran Rukai)<br><br>(Zeitoun 1997:339) |
| (26)                            | <i>yaba(ɬ)iv-aku</i><br><i>i.village-IS.NOM</i><br>‘I am at home.’ |                       |                        |                      |                              |                       | (Budai Rukai)<br><br>(Zeitoun 1997:339)     |

Interestingly, Mantaaran topic pronouns (free pronouns) consist of *i* plus the bound forms of the pronouns, as shown below:

(27) *i-ləə*,      *okanə-ləə*      *vələvələ*      (Zeitoun 1997:325)  
*i*.1S      eat-1S.NOM      banana  
‘As for me, I ate a banana.’

(28) \**okanə*      *i-ləə*      *vələvələ*      (Zeitoun 1997:325)  
eat      *i*.1S      banana

(29) *okanə-ləə*      *vələvələ*      (Zeitoun 1997:325)  
eat-1S.NOM      banana  
‘I ate a banana.’

In Maga (another Rukai dialect), not just free pronouns, but also demonstrative pronouns and full NPs in topic position, are preceded by *i*.<sup>7</sup> These three *i*’s are surely the same etymon.

This *i*, like Lahu ɿ, is not contrastive in the way such markers are in Quechua and Japanese. In the case of Lahu, I speculated that ɿ’s contrastive function may have been taken over by another particle, *qo*. It may be, however, that the contrastive stage can simply be skipped, such that a locative element could acquire a topic-marking function without the intervening contrastive stage.

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<sup>7</sup>These constructions are innovations in Mantaaran and Maga and cannot be reconstructed at the level of Proto-Rukai (Zeitoun p.c.).

**Tauya (Brahman, Papua New Guinea).**

The Tauya language (MacDonald 1990) has a suffix, *-sa*, which marks adessive ('at') and allative ('to, toward') case relations on inherently locative nouns. For example,

(30) *Tauya-sa*      *ʔini-mene-pope-i-ʔa*      (MacDonald 1990:124)  
Tauya-sa      sleep-STAT-HAB-3P-IND  
'They live in Tauya.'

(31) *pate*      *Bundi-sa*      *yate-ame-ʔa*      (MacDonald 1990:124)  
tomorrow      Bundi-sa      go-1P.INCL-IND  
'Tomorrow we (inclusive) will go to Bundi.'

The suffix *-sa* was also used to derive locative noun stems (both geographical and, by metaphorical extension, temporal) from non-locative noun roots and intransitive verbs, as in (32), although this process is no longer productive.

(32) *ʔoʔai-*      v. intr.      'be afternoon'      (MacDonald 1990:125)  
*ʔoʔaisa*      n. loc.      'afternoon'

*eni*      n./quan.      'three'

*enisa*      n. loc.      'three days hence'

The same suffix can be found frozen in nouns denoting geographic location, such as:

(33) *awasa*      n. loc.      'beach'      (MacDonald 1990:90)  
*tetisa*      n. loc.      'highlands'

Now, the suffix *-sa* can also attach to personal pronouns, making them contrastive. This is similar to the switch-reference function that Ancient Greek *de* has, as we will see in chapter 4.

(34) *na-ra mene-a-e! ?e fanu ne-sa yate-?e-?a*  
 2S-TOP stay-2S.FUT-IMP DEM man 3S-sa go-3S.FUT-IND  
 ‘You stay! As for that man, he’ll go.’  
 (MacDonald 1990:125)

(35) *ya?e a?ate-a-te wesawesa-a-te ?e-sami ne-sa yate sepera-ti-a-o*  
 water hit-3S-DS part-3S-DS then 3S-sa go cross-PERF-3S-ELLIP  
 ‘He<sub>i</sub> hit the water and it parted; then, he<sub>j</sub> crossed.’  
 (MacDonald 1990:126)

Note here that the two third singular subject affixes refer to two different people, as indicated by the different subject (DS) marker. In the translation, this is expressed by different subscripts on the English pronouns.

To summarize, Tauya *-sa* appears to be a locative marker which has grammaticalized as a contrastive marker. However, it does not appear to have proceeded to the third stage of the grammaticalization path.

### Eastern Kayah Li (Sino-Tibetan, Thailand).

Eastern Kayah Li (Solnit 1997) has a general locative preposition *dʔ* ‘at’:

(36) *dʔ mi klē* (Solnit 1997:212)  
*dʔ forest inside*  
 ‘in the forest’

(A more literal translation of the above example would be ‘at the forest’s inside’, since its structure is actually *dʔ* + modifying noun + head noun. The noun meaning ‘forest’ and the noun meaning ‘inside’ are in a genitival construction formed by juxtaposition.) Some more examples are:

(37) *dý hi lē* (Solnit 1997:211)  
*dý house underside*  
 'under the house'

(38) *dý pjā kū* (Solnit 1997:209)  
*dý bag inside*  
 'in the bag'

(39) *dý cho khā* (Solnit 1997:210)  
*dý mountain apex*  
 'on top of the mountain'

(40) *ʔa de the dý plò kū dý phrē khu nʌ* (Solnit 1997:317)  
 3 put ascend dý box inside dý shelf top PART  
 'they put it up in a box, on a shelf'

This *dý* element is also used to mark two or more contrasting elements and can be translated as 'as for [noun]' or 'on the one hand...; on the other hand...'. For example,

(41) *dý ʔa mē nʌ rʌ ... dý ʔa phē nʌ ...*  
*dý 3 wife PART PART dý 3 father PART*  
 'The wife, for her part, ....; the father, for his part, ....' (Solnit 1997:214)

Finally, *dý* can be used to mark subordinate temporal clauses:

(42) *dý vē jī bó nʌ vē bá hē chā*  
*dý IS thresh rice PART IS divine go chicken*  
 'When I was threshing, I divined about going [to work]' (Solnit 1997:216)

Its role in marking subordinate temporal clauses is more evidence that *dý* is moving in the direction of becoming a topic marker (if it is not already one): subordinate temporal clauses are just one step away from being conditionals, which, in turn, are widely treated in the same way as topics (Haiman 1978, Traugott 1985a). Solnit observes that such temporal



expressions are often topics, in that they occupy topic (utterance-initial) position. This is consistent with my hypothesis (to be expanded in chapters 3 and 5) that utterance-initial locative and temporal phrases, which have a space-building function and are used to shift attention from one scene or frame to another, can be interpreted as a type of Chafean topic constituent—the “spatial, temporal, or individual framework within which the main predication holds” (1976:50).

In this section, I have demonstrated that Eastern Kayah Li has a general locative preposition, *dʻ*, which has grammaticalized as a preposition marking contrastive elements and which shows certain tendencies toward marking topics.

#### **Middle Korean (15th century).**

Middle Korean (He 1975, Ko 1991) had an allative postposition, *ro(k)*. (It surfaced as *aro(k)* when the word it occurred on ended in a consonant. The postposition (*a*)*ro(k)* survives as (*u*)*ro* in Modern Korean.) For example,

- (43) *cey narah aro ka-l ccekui* (Ko 1997:197)  
 his country *ro(k)* go-SUBJECTV time  
 ‘(at) the time he is/was about to go to his country’  
 or ‘(at) the time he is/was about to leave for his country’

Middle Korean optionally used this postposition in contrastive contexts, too:

- (44) *mom kwa mazam kwa ro taratota* (He 1975:349)  
 body and soul and *ro(k)* different  
 ‘The body is different from the soul.’

- (45) *etin kongjang i nyey rok cyekuni* (He 1975:353)  
 good carpenter SBJ past *ro(k)* fewer  
 ‘In the past [as opposed to now], there were fewer good carpenters.’

This contrastive use of *ro(k)* is also illustrated in the following statement by King Sejong, the fifteenth-century monarch of Korea who commissioned a group of scholars to invent the Korean alphabet: “Our language is different from that of China. *It is not congruent with Chinese characters*, so our people have had much difficulty. Because of this, I have made this writing system.” In the original Middle Korean, the italicized portion is:

- (46) *munja wa ro seru samasti aniha-lssai....*  
 Chinese.character and *ro(k)* each.other congruent not-CAUSAL  
 (He 1975:353)  
 ‘Because [the Korean language] and Chinese characters are not congruent with each other....’  
 (*Hwunmin cengum*, 1446)

In these examples, *ro(k)* imparts a nuance of contrastiveness to the preceding NP, similar to the contrastiveness Japanese *wa* provides (cf. chapter 3). To sum up, then, Middle Korean had an allative postposition which had also grammaticalized as a marker of contrastive entities (the second stage of the grammaticalization path discussed above).

### **Imonda (Waris, Papua New Guinea).**

Imonda (Seiler 1985) has a topic marker *-fa*.

- (47) *ōgōt-fa, ah-ia ale-f* (Seiler 1985:206)  
 enemy-*fa* INTERROG-LOC stay-PRS  
 ‘Where is the enemy?’

In addition to marking NPs as topics, it can be used as a marker of the protases of conditionals. (If *-fa* attaches to a bilabial nasal or to a verb, it surfaces as the allomorph *-ba*.)

(48) *po feha-f-ba ka ale-f* (Seiler 1985:204)  
 water fall-IRR-*fa* I stay-PRS  
 'If it rains, I will stay.'

(49) *ka heulō-ta-ba ne-m ka eg-t* (Seiler 1985:205)  
 I hear-IRR-*fa* 2-GOAL I follow-COUNTERFACT  
 'If I had heard (you), I would have followed you.'

(50) *ude ale-ta-ba, ed-fa ne-m ue-ne-t* (Seiler 1985:205)  
 dog stay-IRR-*fa* it-*fa* 2-GOAL CL-eat-COUNTERFACT  
 'If the dog had been here, then it would have eaten you.'

Interestingly, the topic marker can also be used as a marker of relative clauses, a relationship attested elsewhere (e.g., Modern Korean *-(n)un*). Below, we see the use of *-fa* in relative clauses (which I have bracketed off):

(51) [*ka ka-f-na po-ia-fa ale-f-ba*] *abkal pete*  
 I I-EMPH-POS water-LOC-*fa* be-PRS-*fa* small INTENS  
 'The ones that are in our waters are very small.' (Seiler 1985:64)

(52) [*ōm ka nagla-na-ba*] *ednèi uōgō ka f-ia-i*  
 yesterday I see-PST-*fa* that.one drum I CL-get-IMM  
 'I want to get the drum I saw yesterday.' (Seiler 1985:66)

(53) [*nuf sēlana lēg-ai-h-na-ba*] *ednèi abue nis-ai-h-fan*  
 before shorts CL-give-RECIP-PST-*fa* that.one spinach CL-give-RECIP-PFCT  
 'The one I earlier on gave shorts to has given me some spinach.'  
 (Seiler 1985:66)

In such clausal topics, *-fa* can be substituted for in the non-past by the suffix *-ie*.

(conditional)

- (54) *ka nagla-f-ie ka f-ia fe-f* (Seiler 1985:207)  
 I see-PRS-*ie* I CL-get do-PRS  
 'If I see it, I will get it.'

(relative clause)

- (55) [*ed uagl-f-ie ednèi-m ò-f*] (Seiler 1985:207)  
 DISTL go-PRS-*ie* that.one-GOAL say-PRS  
 'I am talking about the one who is walking over there.'

- (56) [*maluō titi-uōl fe-f-ie ednèi bucket-m ka ò-f*]  
 clothes wash-PL do-PRS-*ie* that.one bucket-GOAL I say-PRS  
 'I am talking about the bucket you wash your clothes in.' (Seiler 1985:66)

- (57) [*ednèi anuō-l-m tagla-f-ie*]  
 those.ones often-NMLZ-GOAL go.around-PRS-*ie*  
*ednèi-m hute fe-n-f. mēna-fa*  
 those.ones-GOAL short do-BEN.NONSING-PRS road-*fa*  
 'To those who often take it, it seems short, the road.' (Seiler 1985:66)

Now, Imonda also has a locative marker *-ia*:

- (58) *ièf-ia* (Seiler 1985:71)  
 house-*ia*  
 'at the house'

- (59) *mēna-ia* (Seiler 1985:71)  
 road-*ia*  
 'on the road'

- (60) *maga-ia*                      *kalabus-ia-m*                      *uagl-n*                      (Seiler 1985:71)  
 what-CAUSAL                      prison-ia-GOAL                      go-PST  
 ‘Why did he go to prison?’

(See also examples (47) and (51) above.) This locative marker can mark the protases of conditionals if the verb is nominalized and the topic marker *-fa* is added at the end:

- (61) *ue-ne-l-ia-fa*                      (Seiler 1985:72)  
 CL-eat-NMLZ-ia-fa  
 ‘if you eat’

- (62) *nagla-l-ia-fa*                      *ka*                      *sëfō-f-t*                      (Seiler 1985:72)  
 see-NMLZ-ia-fa                      I                      buy-PRS-COUNTERFACT  
 ‘If I saw it, I would buy it.’

Without a significant amount of comparative linguistic work, it would be impossible to determine whether *-ie* and the locative *-ia* are related. However, at this stage, we can observe first that their phonological shapes are similar; in addition, we have seen that locative markers can become markers of topics and conditionals through grammaticalization. There is nothing in theory, then, which would prevent us from saying that locative *-ia* became the marker *-ie* through grammaticalization and concomitant phonological reduction. The fact that, now, *-ia* looks as if it is becoming a marker of conditional protases suggests that it may have done this once before: as we know, grammaticalization can happen over and over from the same source morphology, resulting in several morphemes varying in their degree of grammaticalization and phonological reduction. All of these factors lend support to the idea that *-ie* derives diachronically from *-ia*.

Since the Imonda morphemes in question (*-fa* and *-ie*) have grammaticalized without leaving incontrovertible evidence of the previous stages of grammaticalization, they cannot

give us evidence for the grammaticalization path *per se*. However, the data serve to show that there is a connection between topic marking and certain kinds of subordination, such as relativization and conditional clauses.

**Lango (Nilotic, Uganda).**

Lango (Noonan 1992) has a topic marker, *-mérê*, which can optionally attach to nouns previously mentioned in the discourse (or ones which are assumed to be sufficiently known to the interlocutor to be treated as such). For example,

- (63) *Òkélò-mérê tê rìṅò* (Noonan 1992:251)  
 Okelo-*mérê* 3S.and then.HAB run.INFIN  
 'Then (the aforementioned) Okelo ran.'

What is interesting about *-mérê* is that it is frequently attached to time expressions:

- (64) *ì díkkó-mérê gín dúcú òbínò rwàṅé*  
 in morning-*mérê* they all 3P.come.PERF meet.MID.INFIN  
 'In the morning, they all came to meet each other.' (Noonan 1992:161)

Although the etymology of this topic marker is unclear, perhaps the fact that it often marks time expressions (which, I might note, are *not* usually translatable as 'the aforementioned [time expression]') is indicative of an earlier stage where *-mérê* was a locative/temporal affix.

## **Conclusion.**

In this chapter, I have demonstrated that there is a clear link between some languages' systems of spatial expression and the mechanisms they employ to mark the information status of participants (discourse deixis). In particular, I have shown a historical connection between locative markers and topic markers in languages which have a topic-comment system of discourse deixis. This demonstration consisted of examples from a number of unrelated languages showing evidence for the grammaticalization path of locative/temporal marker > contrastive marker > topic marker. In the concluding chapter of the dissertation (chapter 6), I will point out some ways in which this theory can be extended or refined.

## Chapter 3

### The evolving role of *wa* in Japanese narrative

Although much has been written about the synchronic aspects of the Japanese particle *wa* (Mikami 1960, Hashimoto 1969, Kuroda 1972, Kuno 1973, Martin 1975, McCawley 1976, Kitagawa 1982, Clancy & Downing 1987, Maynard 1987, Kuroda 1990, Watanabe 1990, Okamoto 1991, Sakahara 1996, Matsumoto 1997, among many others), only a few studies discuss *wa* from a historical perspective (Sansom 1928, Ishigaki 1955, De Wolf 1987, Martin 1987, Ueno 1987, Shibatani 1990, Fujii 1991, Fujii 1992). In addition, even these diachronic treatments of *wa* have not fully characterized or motivated its development over the centuries. The purpose of this chapter is to attempt such an account through the close study of textual material.

Studies in historical discourse analysis informed by grammaticalization theory, such as Bybee & Pagliuca 1985, Bybee & Pagliuca 1987, Bybee 1988, Traugott 1989, Bybee 1990, Kemmer 1993, and Bybee et al. 1994, complement and significantly add to the more established approaches of historical linguistics and typology. Within historical linguistics, investigators have traditionally either focused on reconstruction or on describing, without much reference to discourse and pragmatics, how attested or reconstructed forms have arisen. As mentioned in the introduction, however, this methodology did not result in well-motivated explanations. Typological studies, too, while allowing researchers to see patterns and universal tendencies across unrelated languages, have tended not to treat the discourse contexts and grammaticalization processes which produced the synchronic states



in question. An approach to diachrony that incorporates text-based methods, however, offers the possibility of discovering the discourse contexts for reanalysis, thereby revealing the cognitive motivation of each stage in the evolution. This approach also illuminates synchronic relationships of polysemy and, in addition, may ultimately lead to a more constrained theory of historical change.

After outlining the received scholarly view of Modern Japanese *wa*, I begin my analysis with ninth-century Japanese, where *wa* served solely as a marker of contrast, often spatio-temporal. In subsequent sections, I document and analyze the mechanisms of reinterpretation, such as scopal increase, subjectification, and metonymy, which facilitated the expansion over time of the notion of contrastiveness into one of topicality. The last section of this chapter deals with the distinctive Modern Japanese use of *wa* as part of a system encoding narrator perspective, an area where I believe my approach can add subtlety to previous analyses.

#### **Modern *wa* and *ga*: The received view.**

Kuno 1973:37-61 outlines the treatment of Modern Japanese *wa* representative of many linguists today: *wa* either (a) marks the topic of a sentence (loosely translatable as ‘speaking of X’) or (b) marks contrasts. These uses are exemplified below:

(65) *John wa gakusei desu* (Kuno 1973:37)  
 John wa student COP  
 ‘Speaking of John, he is a student.’

(66) *Ame wa hutte iru kedo kaze wa huite inai*  
 rain wa falling is CONCESS wind wa blowing is.not  
 ‘Although it’s raining, it’s not windy.’ (adapted from Kuno 1973:37, 356)

According to this view, referents which can become topics are those which are anaphoric, in that they have either been mentioned in the discourse previously or are sufficiently present in the frame or discourse context to be anaphorically available (cf. Prince 1981, Fillmore 1986). Certain expressions of unique reference, such as first and second person pronouns and phrases such as *my wife* or *your children*, tend to be marked with *wa* because they are always available referents. As we examine historical texts, we will see that this notion of referent availability, or givenness, has been associated with *wa* in one form or another throughout its history.

*Ga*, according to Kuno, marks subjects when they appear in neutral descriptions of actions or temporary states, as in (67), or in exhaustive lists, as in (68).

(67) *Ame ga hute imasu* (Kuno 1973:38)  
 rain ga falling is  
 'It's raining.'

(68) *John ga gakusei desu* (Kuno 1973:38)  
 John ga student COP  
 '[Of all the people under discussion,] John [and only John] is a student.'  
 'It is John who is a student.'

However, as we will see, this view of *wa* and *ga* will require a great deal of qualification and elaboration to be accurate.

## Classical Japanese.

In ninth-century Japanese, the use of *ha* (> Modern Japanese *wa*)<sup>8</sup> was far more restricted than it is today.<sup>9</sup> Accordingly, tokens of *ha* occur less frequently in texts than they do nowadays. Nonetheless, we will see in the Classical uses the seeds of nearly all later developments.

In Classical Japanese narrative, *ha* was not a topic marker; instead, it was used solely to contrastively shift between elements readily available in the discourse. As such, the particle was frequently used both to shift the discourse from one scene to another and to move between elements contained within a single scene. Especially with the former use of *ha*, the particle appears mainly on clause-initial locative and temporal expressions—adverbials which are available in any discourse context but which are at the same time inherently space-building (Fauconnier 1985, Fauconnier 1997) and thus naturally lend themselves to changes of scene. (*Meanwhile, back at the ranch...* is an example of an English expression which changes the scene—and does so both temporally and locationally.) I proposed in chapter 2 that one common source for contrastive and topic marking is locative marking. Perhaps it is no accident, then, that the earliest uses of *ha* in Japanese tended to occur on scene-shifting locative and temporal expressions; these uses may simply be a reflection of what I believe are *ha*'s origins as a locative marker. In fact, such an etymology for *ha/wa* is quite plausible and has been proposed in Martin 1975:88 (*wa* < *ba* 'place' < *\*pa*), although Martin gives no motivation—semantic, cognitive,

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<sup>8</sup>The Modern Japanese phoneme /h/ is internally reconstructed as *\*p*. The phonological development for *wa*, then, would be as follows: *\*pa* > Classical *\*Φa~ba* (after the object marker *wo*) > Modern *wa*. In other words, what is standardly transliterated as Classical <ha> is a convenient graphemic sequence for [Φa]. (This bilabial fricative is still retained in Modern Japanese when /h/ is followed by /u/.) As there is no consensus as to when [Φa] lost its fricative component and became [wa] (see Martin 1987:11-13 for a full discussion), I will transliterate all of them as *ha* except for those in Modern Japanese texts, where I will use *wa*.

<sup>9</sup>The Modern Japanese nominative particle *ga* is the successor to the Ø-marking of (non-*ha*-marked) subjects in the Classical and Middle periods. However, since so few elements were marked with *ha*, Ø-marked subjects had a more prominent role than *ga*-marked subjects do in the modern language.

grammaticalization-based, or otherwise—for this hypothesized path of development. (*Ba* still means ‘place’ in Modern Japanese. Following a different grammaticalization path, *ba* has also become a marker of conditional protases (cf. Haiman 1978, Traugott 1985a).) With the addition of this etymology, then, Japanese exhibits all of the stages proposed in chapter 2 for the grammaticalization of locatives to topics.

Below, I examine some passages from Classical Japanese narrative, beginning with the earliest recorded folktale (c. 9th cent.). The second group of texts, compiled in the twelfth century, are late Classical.<sup>10</sup> I have used boldface to set off the *ha*-marked constituents in both the original texts and their English translations.<sup>11</sup>

- (69) Anonymous. c. 9th cent. (earliest manuscript from 16th). *Taketori Monogatari* [*The Bamboo Cutter's Tale*].

*Ima ha mukasi, taketori no okina to ihu mono arikeri. Noyama ni mazirite take wo toritutu, yorodu no koto ni tukahikeri. Na wo ba, Sanuki no Miyakko to namu ihikeru. Sono take no naka ni, moto hikaru take namu hito sudi arikeru. Ayasigarite, yorite miru ni, tutu no naka hikaritari. Sore wo mireba, sansyaku bakari naru hito, ito utukusiute witari.*

Now (it) is the past, there was a man called Old Bamboo Cutter. He would enter the fields and mountains and cut bamboo, and he used it for a myriad things. **His name** was Miyakko of Sanuki. In those bamboo, there was one stalk which was shining at the base. Considering it strange, he went closer, and when he looked, the inside of the stalk was shining. When he looked at it, there was a person of about three inches sitting there very prettily.

The first use of *ha* here is in the formulaic ‘now (it) is the past’, which is used to begin traditional Japanese tales. Although the phrase is functionally equivalent to *once upon a time*, it obviously originates as a space-building expression which shifts the scene from the present to a different point in time.

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<sup>10</sup>There is more than once accepted periodization of the Japanese language. I follow that one adopted by Takeuchi 1999:xi-xii.

<sup>11</sup>Translations are my own. I have attempted to be as literal as possible while maintaining comprehensibility. This has occasionally resulted in somewhat awkward English.

The story continues by saying that there was a man called Old Bamboo Cutter and explains why he was called that: he gathered bamboo and used it for many things. The next *ha* (here, *ba*<sup>12</sup>) appears on ‘his name’ when the narrator explains that, although he was called the Old Bamboo Cutter, his real name was actually Miyakko of Sanuki. We see here that *ha* (like Modern *wa*) can mark just one of the contrastive poles: the first clause, which tells us what the old man was *called*, contains no *ha*. We will see later that one of the contrastive propositions may be left completely unexpressed if understood.

- (70) [One day, the old bamboo cutter finds a small girl inside one of the bamboo stalks. He takes her home, and he and his wife raise her. She brings them luck: after they take her in, the old man begins to find gold inside the bamboo he cuts down. Eventually she grows into such a beauty that every man wants her hand in marriage and she is beset by suitors.]

*Hito no mono to mo senu tokoro ni matohi arike domo, nani no sirusi arubeku mo miezu. Ihe no hitodomo ni mono wo dani ihamu tote, ihi kakuredomo, kototo mo sezu. Atari wo hanarenu kindati, yo wo akasi, hi wo kurasu, ohokari. Orokanaru hito ha, “You naki ariki ha, yosi nakarikeri,” tote kozu narinikeri. Sono naka ni, naho ihikeru ha, irogonomi to iharuru kagiri gonin, omohiyamu toki naku, yoru hiru kikeri. Sono na domo, Isitukuri no Miko, Kuramoti no Miko, Udaizin Abe no Miusi, Dainagon Ohotomo no Miyuki, Tyuunagon Iso no Kami no Marotari, kono hitobito narikeri.*

Although [the suitors] milled around [her house], lovesick, in places other people would not have cared to, it did not seem as if there would be any response. They spoke to the servants in hope that she would respond with something, but she ignored them. There were many who spent night and day there without leaving. **The fickle people stopped coming, saying “Useless efforts aren’t good.”** Among these, **the ones who kept insisting** were the five men who were said to like sex; they never stopped thinking about her, and they visited night and day. Their names were Ishitsukuri no Miko, Kuramochi no Miko, Udajin Abe no Miushi, Dainagon Ootomo no Miyuki, and Chuunagon Iso no Kami no Marotari; they were these people.

In the passage above, a *ha* marks *orokanaru hito* ‘the fickle people’, contrasting them with the insistent suitors, who are also marked with *ha*.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup>See note 8 above.

<sup>13</sup>The second *ha* in this passage marks a noun phrase (‘useless efforts’) in direct discourse. In such a short bit of discourse, it is impossible to understand the whole narrative context in which these *ha*’s are uttered, so I disregard them for purposes of this study; only in cases where there is a long enough stretch of direct discourse to judge the narrative context of the *ha*’s will I consider their role.

- (71) [Finally, Princess Kaguya agrees to marry the one suitor who manages to carry out the difficult task she assigns him.]

*Hi kururu hodo, rei no atumarinu. Arui ha hue wo huki, arui ha uta wo utahi, arui ha syauga wo si, arui ha uso wo huki, ahugi wo narasi nado suru ni, okina, idete, ihaku. "Katazikenaku, kitanage naru tokoro ni, nengetu wo hete mono sitamahu koto, kihamaritaru kasikomari," to mausu.... Kaguyahime, Isitukuri no Miko ni ha, "Hotoke no ohon'isi no hati to ihu mono ari. Sore wo torite tamahe," to ihu. Kuramoti no Miko ni ha, "Hingasi no umi ni Hourai to ihu yama aru nari. Sore ni, sirokane wo ne to si, kogane wo kuki to si, siroki tama wo mi to site tateru ki ari. Sore hitoeda worite tamaharamu," to ihu. Ima hitori ni ha, "Morokosi ni aru hinezumi no kahaginu wo tamahe." Ohotomo no Dainagon ni ha, "Tatu no kubi ni gosiki ni hikaru tama ari, sore wo torite tamahe." Iso no Kami no Tyuunagon ni ha, "Tubakurame no motaru koyasu no kahi torite tamahe," to ihu.*

When the sun set, they [the suitors] gathered [before Princess Kaguya's house]. Someone played the flute, another sang a song, another sang a melody, another whistled and kept the beat with his fan; the old man came out and said, "I am humbled that you have visited such a wretched house for so many years." ... To Ishitsukuri no Miko, Kaguyahime said, "There is something called the Stone Begging-Bowl of Buddha. Get that and give it to me." To Kuramochi no Miko, she said, "There is a mountain called Hoorai in the Eastern Sea. On it, there is a tree standing which has roots of silver, a trunk of gold, and pearls as fruit. Pluck a branch and give it to me." To the next one, she said, "Give me a robe made of fur from the Fire Rat in China." To Ootomo no Dainagon, she said, "The dragon has a jewel in his neck which shines with five colors. Get that and give it to me." To Iso no Kami no Chuunagon, she said, "Get the shell-charm the sparrow has for easy childbirth and give it to me."

These uses of *ha* are clearly contrastive: *ha* marks a shift with implicit comparison between different entities contained in one scene. Interestingly, these established contrasts are extended into the five subsequent stories which recount each suitor's quest: the individual stories within stories begins with the particular suitor's name followed by *ha*. One such story is presented below:

- (72) *Kuramoti no Miko ha, kokoro tabakari aru hito nite, ohoyake ni ha, "Tukusi no Kuni ni yuami ni makaramu," to te itoma mausite, Kaguyahime no ihe ni ha, "Tama no eda tori ni namu makaru," to ihasete, kudari tamahu ni, tukau maturu beki hito bito, mina Naniha made ookuri sikeru. Miko, "Ito sinobite," to notamahasete, hito mo amatawite ohasimasazu. Tikau tukau maturu kagiri site idetamahinu. Ookuri no hitobito, mitate maturi okurite kaherinu. "Ohasimasinu," to hito ni ha mie tamahite, mikka bakari arite, kogi kaheri tamahinu....*

**Kuramochi no Miko**, having a crafty heart, said to the court, “I am off to heal myself in the spas of Tsukushi Province,” and excused himself in that way; to Princess Kaguya’s family, he said, “I am going to get the jeweled branch,” and he started off, so all his servants saw him off up to Naniwa. The prince had said, “[I’m going] very secretly,” so he was not taking many servants with him. He set sail with just his closest servants. The people who were accompanying him part of the way saw him off and returned home. It seemed to the people that “He’s left,” but in about three days, he returned to shore.

Again, the first *ha* (*Kuramochi no Miko ha*) contrasts this suitor with the other four, who are also marked with *ha* at the beginning of their own stories. Since each suitor’s narrative runs several hundred words, the contrastive effect of *ha* is required to span a fairly long distance. Here, we see what Ueno 1987 described as “establishing a new framework for a new paragraph, differentiating from a previous framework/theme.” However, it is appearing two centuries earlier than Ueno claims. This potential for long-distance contrastive scope undoubtedly allowed *ha* to be later reanalyzed as a (sometimes contrastive) topic marker with scope over several clauses. The reanalysis was also facilitated by the fact that many of these long stories marked as contrastive (e.g., those of the five suitors) did not display sharply highlighted contrast, making this type of shift more akin to scene-setting.

It is also worth noticing the mismatch between the morphosyntax of *ha* and its scope in the narrative. *Ha* must attach to an adverbial or noun phrase,<sup>14</sup> and this *ha*-marked constituent is almost always clause-initial; however, *ha* can mark a contrast between much larger stretches of discourse.<sup>15</sup> An interesting example of this is the fourth *ha* in the passage above. Here, *ha* attaches to *hito ni* ‘to the people’, the only noun phrase in its clause; semantically, however, the most plausible interpretation is that the full content of the

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<sup>14</sup>I.e., I will consider postposed particles, such as *ni* (dative), *kara* (ablative), and *de* (instrumental/locative), to be case markers rather than the heads of postpositional phrases. Nothing in my analysis, however, hinges on treating these as one or the other.

<sup>15</sup>A comparison with the Greek *mén... dé...* construction, which I discuss in chapter 4, and various Indo-European Wackemagel clitics is tempting.

two clauses is being contrasted: 'Although it *seemed* to the people that he had gone on a quest, in reality, he returned too quickly to have done so.'

The second and third *ha*'s above simply contrast what Kuramochi no Miko said to the court with what he said to the princess's family.

(73) [Kuramochi no Miko fabricates a story for the princess and the bamboo cutter:]

*"Sawototosi no kisaragi no towoka goro ni, Naniha yori hune ni norite, umi no naka ni idete, ikamu kata mo sirazu oboesikado, omohu koto nara de yo no naka ni ikite nani ka semu to omohisikaba, tada, munasiki kaze ni makasete ariku. Inoti sinaba ikaga ha semu, ikite aramu kagiri kaku arikite, Hourai to ihuramu yama ni ahuya to, umi ni kogi tadayohi arikite, wa ga kuni no uti wo hanarete ariki makarisi ni, arutoki ha, nami aretutu umi no soko ni mo irinu beku, aru toki ni ha kaze ni tukete siranu kuni ni huki yoserarete, oni no yau naru mono ide kite, korosamu to siki. Aru toki ni ha, kisi kata yuku suwe mo sirazu, umi ni magiremu to siki. Aru toki ni ha, kate tukite, kusa no ne wo kuhimono to siki. Aru toki ha, ihamu kata naku mukutukege naru mono kite, kuhi kakaramu to siki. Aru toki ni ha, umi no kahi wo torite inoti wo tugu...."*

"Two years ago, around the tenth day of the second month, I took a boat from Naniwa and went out on the sea; I hardly knew which direction to go in, but thinking that I couldn't live in this world without fulfilling my desires, I let myself be blown about by the wind. Thinking, 'If my life perishes, what can I do?—but as long as I am living, I will continue sailing about like this and eventually find the mountain they call Hoorai,' I sailed about the ocean, and as I got farther away from our country, sometimes the waves were so rough that the ship almost sank, and sometimes we were blown, at the wind's mercy, to an unknown country and were set upon by monsters which we had to kill. Sometimes we had no idea where we had come from nor where we were going to and got lost on the sea. Sometimes we ran out of rations and ate plant roots as food. Sometimes unspeakably horrible creatures appeared and tried to eat us. Sometimes we survived by harvesting shellfish from the ocean.

The first instance of *ha* in this passage sets up a contrast between 'If my life perishes, what can I do? [Answer: nothing]' and 'As long as I am living, I will continue sailing...'. As in the example where Kuramochi no Miko pretends to set off on his quest, *ha* must attach to the only adverb in the main clause, resulting in a mismatch between the syntax and the interpretation given to the sentences.



The six occurrences of *ha* on *aru toki (ni)* ‘sometimes’ above can be interpreted as marking various alternatives or smaller scenes which, within the larger context of the boat trip, are being temporally or locationally contrasted and shifted between.

(74) [Continuing his story, Kuramochi no Miko describes finding Mt. Hoorai:]

*“Sono yama, miru ni, sara ni noboru beki yau nasi. Sono yama no sobahira wo megureba, yo no naka ni naki hana no ki domo tateri. Kogane, sirokane, ruri iro no midu, yama yori nagare idetari. Sore ni ha, iroiro no tama no hasi wataseri. Sono atari ni teri kagayaku ki domo tateri. Sono naka ni, kono torite motite maude kitarisi ha ito warokari sikadomo, notamahisi ni tagahamasikaba to kono hana wo worite maude kitarunari. Yama ha kagiri naku omosiroshi. Yo ni tatohubeki ni arazari sikado, kono eda wo worite sikaba, sara ni kokoromoto nakute, hune ni norite, ohikaze hukite, yonhyaku yo niti ni namu, maude kinisi....”*

“That mountain looked impossible to climb. When I circled the foot of that mountain, there stood flowering trees unlike anything in this world. A golden, silver, and azure river flowed down the mountain. **Over** [lit. ‘at’] it, there was a bridge made of many jewels. Around that area were shining trees. Among them, **that which I took and have brought to you** is very bad, but thinking if I didn’t follow your specifications, [I would be rejected/something else bad would happen,] I plucked this branch and have come. **The mountain** was splendid beyond limits. Although it was incomparable to anything in this world, since I had plucked this branch, I felt uneasy, and I returned home again by boat, with a tail wind blowing, in a little over four hundred days.”

It might initially seem arbitrary that ‘over [lit. at] it’—an anaphor for the river—is the only noun phrase in the first four sentences marked with *ha*. However, this usage is another example of marking a shift between elements contained within a single scene. The first noun phrase, ‘mountain’, has already been established in the preceding narrative (as the text-anaphoric *sono* ‘that’ indicates). The next three noun phrases (‘foot of the mountain’, ‘flowering trees’, tri-colored ‘river’) are all situated with reference to the mountain. But ‘at it’ (i.e., ‘at the river’) marks the shift in perspective which is necessary to locate what is truly of interest, the shining trees. One can imagine a film shot which pans the mountainside (taking in the flowering trees and the river) and then zooms in on the river location (i.e., marks it with *ha*) to find the bridge with its surrounding trees. This particular pattern, in which something is mentioned and then zoomed in on by means of *ha*, persists in the structure of *wa* expressions in Modern Japanese: an entity typically must be

mentioned before it can be marked with *wa*. This connection will help us explain the evolution of *wa* into a marker of old information and topicality.

The second *ha* in the passage above is contrastive. The phrase *sono naka ni* ‘among them’ sets up a natural contrast between the ground (the trees in general, which are mostly good) and the figure (the thing that Kuramochi no Miko brought back, which is inferior).

When Kuramochi no Miko tells Princess Kaguya and her father that he plucked the branch and came back, the shift of location to “here,” implicit in the motion verb *kitarunari* ‘come’, is not marked by *ha*. (Although there is no locative noun phrase for *ha* to attach to, one—such as *koko* ‘here’—could have easily been supplied.) In other words, by using the verb ‘come’, Kuramochi no Miko has relinked his story to the reference time and place of the main narrative. *Ha* is absent simply because he has nothing contrastive (or otherwise) to say about the here and now. However, when he shifts back to *yama* ‘mountain’ (which he also describes in superlative terms, implicitly contrasting it with the present location), the movement between scenes requires a *ha*.

(75) *Kakaru hodo ni, wonoko domo rokunin turanete, niwa ni idekitari. Hitori no wonoko, hunbasami ni humi wo hasamite, mausu. “Takumidukasa no takumi, Ayabe no Utimaro mausaku, tama no ki wo tukuri tukaumaturisi koto, gokoku wo tatite, senyo niti ni tikara wo tukusitaru koto, sukunakarazu. Sikaru ni, roku imada tamaharazu. Kore wo tamahite, waroki keko ni tamahasemu,” to ihite, sasagetari. Taketori no okina, “Kono takumira ga mausu koto ha nanigoto zo” to katabukiwori. Miko ha, ware ni mo aranu kesiki nite, kimo kiewitamaheri.*

During this time, six men arrived together in the garden. One man, putting forward a letter on a presentation stick, said, “I, Ayame no Uchimarō, an artisan of the Office of Craftsmen, report that I had the privilege of making for you a jewelled branch and that it is extraordinary that I often gave up food during the more than one thousand days it took. Nevertheless, I have not yet received my pay. I would like to receive it so that I can pay my apprentices”; saying this, he presented the letter. The old man sat there wondering, “What these craftsmen are saying, what in the world is it about?” Kuramochi no Miko looked stunned and sat there, having lost his nerve.

[After they read the letter, Princess Kaguya denounces the suitor with an insulting poem and gives him back his fake branch.]

*Taketori no okina, sabakari katarahituru ga, sasuga ni oboete neburiwori.  
Miko ha, tatu mo hasita, wiru mo hasita nite, witamaheri. Hi no kurenureba,  
suberi idetamahinu.*

The old bamboo cutter, realizing that he had been taken in by talking so much [to Kuramochi no Miko], sat there pretending to be asleep. **Kuramochi no Miko**, embarrassed to stand and embarrassed to sit, sat there. When the sun set, he slipped out.

*Kano urehe sesi takumi wo ba, Kaguyahime yobisuwete, "Uresiki hito domo nari," to ihite, roku ito ohoku torase tamahu. Takumira imiziku yorokobite, "Omohituru yau ni mo aru kana," to ihite, kaheru. Miti nite, Kuramochi no Miko, ti no nagaruru made tyauzesase tamahu. Roku esi kahi mo naku, mina torisutesase tamahitekereba, nigeusenikeri.*

As for the lamenting craftsmen, Princess Kaguya called them over, said, "I am grateful to you," and gave them big rewards. The craftsmen were very happy, and saying, "We got just what we wanted," they went home. On the way, Kuramochi no Miko beat them up until they were bloody. There was no point in their having earned their pay, because he took it all, threw it away, and escaped.

In the sequences above, there are two events: first, the dramatic disclosure that Kuramochi no Miko is a fraud, and second, the reading of the letter. Immediately after the disclosure, the narrative first describes the reaction of the old man and then shifts, using *ha*, to that of the disgraced suitor. After they read the letter, there is another set of shifts, this time from the bamboo cutter to the suitor and then to the craftsmen. Again, *ha* is used in both shifts: when the narrative moves from the bamboo cutter to the suitor, the suitor is marked with *ha*, and when it goes from the suitor to the craftsmen, the craftsmen are marked with *ha*. In addition, after each character is brought up by contrastive shift, a comment is made about him; for example, Kuramochi no Miko's inner state is described both times he is mentioned. It is this sort of marker of contrastive shift that was reanalyzed (especially if the intervening descriptions were lengthy) as a topic marker.

- (76) [One by one, the suitors fail to meet Princess Kaguya's requests. Eventually, she enters into a platonic relationship with the emperor (which consists of sending poems back and forth to each other). During her twentieth year, however, she starts gazing up at the moon and crying. When her parents press her about what is wrong, she tells them that she is from the moon and that

soon, the moon people will come to get her. When the news reaches the emperor, he sends a servant to the bamboo cutter's house. The bamboo cutter explains the situation to the servant:]

*"Kono zihugo niti ni namu, tuki no miyako yori, Kaguyahime no mukahe ni maude kunaru. Tahutoku tohase tamahu. Kono zihugo niti ha. hitobito tamaharite, tuki no miyako no hito maude koba, torahe sasemu," to mausu.*

"On the fifteenth of this month, I hear they will come from the capital of the moon to fetch Princess Kaguya. It's a good thing that you asked [what's wrong]. **On the fifteenth of this month**, using many people, I intend to capture the moon people when they come," he says.

Although this is a relatively short piece of direct discourse, the use of *ha*-marking seems important and clear enough to include. This use of *ha* is interesting because it leaves unmentioned one "pole" of the comparison. What is implicitly contrasted here is not some stated fact that the moon people are coming but their inferable *expectation* that they will be able to remove the princess with impunity. The flavor of this might be captured in English with something like, "I understand they'll be coming on the fifteenth to get the princess. It's a good thing that you asked, 'cause *come the fifteenth*, I'm gonna get the moon people."

#### Late Classical Japanese.

- (77) Anonymous. Compiled c. 1120. *Konjaku Monogatari* [*Tales of Times Past*], roll 26, number 17.

[Goi is such a lowly samurai in Shogun Toshihito's household that he never even takes a bath. The thing he desires most in the world is to be able to eat his fill of yam gruel, his favorite food. Toshihito overhears him saying so while licking a bowl which had contained somebody else's yam gruel.]

*Sono noti, si go niti bakari arite, kono Gowi ha, tonononon uti ni sauzizumi nite arikere ba, Tosihito kitarite, Gowi ni ihaku, "Iza sasetamahe, taihu dono. Himugasiyama no hotori ni yu wakasite saburahu tokoro ni" to. Gowi "Ito uresiku haberu koto kana. Koyohimi no kayu karite, e neiri haberazarituru ni. Tadasu, norimono koso haberane" to iheba, Tosihito "Koko ni muma ha saburahu" to iheba, Gowi, "Anauresi" to ihite, usuwata no kinu hutatu bakari, awonibi no sasinuki no suso yaburetaru ni, onazi iro no kariginu no kata sukosi otitaru wo kite, sita no hakama mo kizu, hana taka naru mono no, hana no saki ha akaraka nite, ana no meguri itaku nurebamaru ha, "susuhana*

*wo ito mo nogohanu nameri” to mie, kariginu no usiro ha, obi ni hikiyugameraretaru wo, hiki mo tukurowazu ha, yugami nagara areba, wokusikere domo. Gowi wo saki ni tatete, tomo ni muma ni norite, kaharazama ni utiidete yuku. Gowi no tomo ni ha, ayasi no kowaraha dani nasi. Toshihito ga tomo ni mo deudo hitori, toneri wonoko hitori zo arikeru.*

Four of five days later, since **this Goi** had his own room in the mansion, Toshihito came there and said to Goi, “Let’s go, Goi. To a place where water is boiling by Hingashi-yama.” Goi replied, “I’m very happy. Last night, my body itched so much that I couldn’t sleep well. But I don’t have a vehicle.” Toshihito said, “I have a horse here.” Goi said, “I’m very happy”; he had on two thinly wadded undergarments, a pair of blue pantaloons ripped at the hem, a hunting coat of the same color sagging at the shoulders; he didn’t have on any underwear, and although he had a shapely nose, **its end was red, and the fact that it was wet around the nostrils made it look to people, “He must never wipe away his snot”**; **the back of his hunting coat was twisted up because of his sash, but because he did not even try to fix it, it was twisted, and although he looked ridiculous, he [Toshihito] let him lead, and they set out towards the riverbank. As a companion to Goi, there was not even a street urchin. As companions to Toshihito, too, there were only one valet and one footman.**

The first and last *ha*’s<sup>16</sup> in the previous passage represent an important development out of the contrary-to-expectation use we saw from the ninth century. As you will recall, in the Classical Japanese of that period, *ha* was used either (a) to mark a contrast between two or more scenes or (b) to mark a contrastive shift between elements contained *within* a single scene. These uses have in common the fact that they contrast entities which are present within the text, albeit sometimes widely separated (as in the case of the five suitors and their quests). However, these instances of *ha* from the twelfth century are contrasting something present *within* the text with something located *without*: the expectations of the audience. In the first case, perhaps the fact that Goi actually has his own room in his master’s mansion should come as a surprise to us, since we have been given ample evidence of how wretched Goi is—he never takes baths, nor is he allowed his own food but must pick over the leavings of his master. Whether or not this is the real reason why Goi’s living at his master’s house should come to us as a surprise, the contrary-to-

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<sup>16</sup>Although I have generally avoided commenting on *ha*’s contained in short pieces of direct discourse, the meaning of the second *ha* in this passage is clear enough in context: Goi claims he has nothing to ride, which Toshihito contradicts by telling him that a horse is available. This dialogic variety of contrast, involving direct contradiction, is of course unlikely to occur in straight narrative.

expectation effect is strengthened by the addition of *kono* 'this' to *Gowi* ('this Goi'). Furthermore, we know that *ha* here *must* be marking a contrast with something (i.e., we can infer that this is not yet an example of *ha* which has evolved into a topic marker) because it occurs within a subordinate clause, and since subordinate clauses do not have topics (Kuno 1972, Shibatani 1991), any *ha* within one must be interpreted as contrastive. (This remains the case in Modern Japanese.) Here, then, especially in light of the fact that (a) there is no explicit contrast drawn between Goi and another entity in the text and (b) there is a *kono* added to strengthen the notion that we should somehow be surprised, it seems that the contrast is with the audience's expectations, not with anything present in the text. With the last *ha* in the passage, too, the *ha* contrasts what the audience of the time expected (that travelers have attendants) with the truth (that Goi has none). There is further support that this *ha* is marking a contrast between the audience's expectations and what they hear, rather than marking a contrast between two elements present within the text (for which a likely contrastive pair would be Goi, who has no servants, and the shogun, who has two). This is in the last sentence, where the noun phrase *Toshihito ga tomo ni* 'as Toshihito's companion' is followed by *mo* 'too' and the noun phrase *deudo hitori, toneri wonoko hitori* 'one valet and one footman' is marked by *zo* 'only'. Had the pair of sentences meant something like, 'While Goi had no companions, Toshihito, on the other hand, had two', the clause about Toshihito could not have contained 'too' and 'only'; instead, Toshihito would have been marked by *ha* or by nothing. The effect of 'too' and 'only' here is to *include* Toshihito in that which is contrary to expectation, rather than to contrast his situation with Goi's. This differs from the contrary-to-expectation use which we saw in *The Bamboo Cutter's Tale*: here, *ha* marks a contrast with the audience's expectations rather than the expectations of a character within the story. This seems to be an example of what has been called *subjectification*, whereby "[m]eanings tend to become increasingly based in the speaker's subjective belief state/attitude toward the proposition" (Traugott 1989).

With the third *ha*, the fine shape of Goi's nose is contrasted with how red and dirty people noticed it was. However, the other *ha*'s do not seem to mark any obvious contrast; instead, they mark shifts between elements contained within the established scene. But unlike with the zooming-in device employed in *The Bamboo Cutter's Tale*, here, the features of the scene appear marked with *ha* from first mention. This marking seems to be licensed not by their prior mention but by their strong, scene-based metonymic association with Goi's appearance. In later texts, the role of this type of metonymic association in the development of *ha* as a topic marker will become much clearer.

### **Middle Japanese.**

In Middle Japanese (13th to 16th centuries), *ha* expanded well beyond the strongly contrastive meaning it had had originally. This will become apparent as we examine passages from the *Gikeiki*, a story chronicling the life of the historical figure Yoshitsune, also known as Ushiwaka.

(78) Anonymous. 14th century. *Gikeiki* [*Yoshitsune Chronicle*].

*Honteu no mukasi wo tadunuru ni. Tamura, Tosihito, Masakado, Sumitomo, Housyau, Raikwau, Kan no Hankwai, Tinpei, Tyauryau ha, buyou to ihe domo, na wo nomi kikite me ni ha mizu. Ma no atari ni gei wo yo ni hodokosi, banzin no me wo odorokasi tamahisi ha Simotuke no Sama no Kami Yosimoto no suwe no ko. Genkurau Yositone tote, wa ga teu ni narabi naki meisyaugun nite zo ohasikeru.*

If one looks at examples from our country's past, there were heroes like **Tamura, Toshihito, Masakado, Sumitomo, Hooshoo, and Raikoo, China's Hankai and Chinpee, Chooryoo**, but although [they] are heroes, we have only heard their names and have not seen them by eye. For **actually performing feats before one's eyes and amazing everybody**, it was the youngest son of Chief Yoshitomo of the Imperial Stables of the Left of Shimotsuke, Kuroo Yoshitsune; he was a shogun beyond compare in our country.

*Titi Yositomo ha, Heidi gannen zihuni gatu nizihusiti niti ni, Wemon no Kami Hudihara no Nobuyori ni kumi site, kyau no ikusa ni uti make, dyuudai no raudou domo, mina utaresikaba, sono sei sanzihuyoki ni narite, tougoku no kata he zo otikeru. Seizin no kodomo hiki gusi, wosaniki wo ba miyako ni suteokite zo oti yukikeru. Tyakusi Kamakura no Akugenda Yosihira, zinan Tyuuguu no Taihu no Sin Tomonaga zihuroku, sannan Hyauwenosuke Yoritomo zihuni ni naru.*

**His father, Yoshitomo,** suffered a defeat in the capital on the twenty-seventh day of the twelfth month of the first year of Heiji as an ally of Fujiwara Nobuyori, the Commander of the Gate Guards; his hereditary retainers were all killed or wounded, so he fled towards the east with some thirty-odd men. He took his grown sons with him, but **the young ones** he abandoned in the capital and fled. The oldest son was Kamakura Akugenda Yoshihira; the second was sixteen-year-old Tomonaga, Fifth-Rank Secretary in the Empress's Household; the third was twelve-year-old Yoritomo, Assistant Chief of the Military Guards of the Right.

The three *ha*'s in the first paragraph above show the now familiar contrastive sense, but with an interesting new twist. The first *ha*-marked constituent actually consists of *nine* conjoined heroes' names, each of whose fame is meant to be contrasted individually with that of Kuroo Yoshitsune (also marked with *ha*). This sort of collective marking by *ha* may have contributed to contrastive *ha* acquiring noncontrastive uses, since the more elements one compares, the less focused the comparison becomes and the more similar to topic marking it becomes.

The second *ha* in the first paragraph once again exhibits the possible mismatch between *ha*'s morphosyntax and its scope in the narrative. The sense of the contrast here is between having heard of the heroes and having seen them; it is not a contrast between 'seeing them by *eye*' and 'seeing them by [something else]', which would be the required interpretation if the position of *ha* had determined its scope. The redundant *me ni* 'by eye' has been inserted because *ha* must attach to an adverbial or noun phrase.

The opening of the second paragraph is significant for the development of *ha* as a topic marker. We saw earlier in *The Bamboo Cutter's Tale* and the *Goi* story that *ha* could serve to successively single out entities within a scene, entities which had been previously



introduced explicitly in the narrative (e.g., through “panning” in *The Bamboo Cutter*) or entities which were associated metonymically to others within the same scene (the Gōi story). Judging from the passage above, it seems as if this function has been extended to allow *ha* to successively pick out entities within an established *frame*. In Modern Japanese, if ‘X’ is a referent that can be marked with topical *wa*, then noun phrases such as ‘X’s wife’ or ‘X’s child’ can also be available as topics as part of the frame established by topical ‘X’ (cf. Kuno 1973:39). Something similar seems to be occurring here, with the first paragraph ending in a fanfare introduction of Yoshitsune and the second paragraph returning unexpectedly to the subject of *titi Yosimoto* ‘his father, Yoshitomo’. (Although Yoshitomo has already been mentioned in a genitive phrase as the father of Yoshitsune, this construction certainly does not function to draw our attention. Perhaps the fact that Yoshitomo was a famous warrior in his own right facilitated his second, more prominent mention.) However, although Yoshitomo shares the same *frame* as Yoshitsune, the two of them are not in the same scene, nor is Yoshitomo strongly contrastive, despite the fact that his *ha* is licensed by the immediately preceding (contrastive) introduction of his son, Yoshitsune. In the passage, then, first Yoshitsune (X) is introduced contrastively to the other heroes (Y); next, the givenness of Yoshitsune permits his frame-metonym (Yoshitomo) to also be marked with *ha*. However, although X and Y are contrastive, this does not mean that [metonym of X] and Y are. In other words, Yoshitomo is essentially interpretable here as a topic—salient, (metonymically) given, noncontrastive information. This loss of obligatory contrastiveness is a crucial step in explaining how *ha*, while preserving its contrastive use, also acquired its new role as topic marker. And, indeed, throughout the *Yoshitsune Chronicle*, we see *ha* functioning as both a contrastive and a topic marker.

The last *ha* in the passage above is purely contrastive, marking Yoshitomo’s young sons (whom he left behind) in opposition to his grown sons (whom he took with him).

- (79) [Yoshitomo also had three sons by a beautiful lady-in-waiting named Tokiwa. Their names are Imawaka, Otowaka, and Ushiwaka. All four of them are captured by Kiyomori of the enemy clan (the Taira), who promises to spare the children if Tokiwa will give in to him. She finally does so, and her children are spared and raised separately:]

*Imawaka hassai to mausu haru no koro yori, Kuhanzeuzi ni nobose, gakumon sesase, zihuhati no tosi zyukai site, Zenzi no Kimi to zo mausikeru. Ato ni ha Suruga no Kuni Huzi no susono ni ... ohasikeruga, Akuzenzi dono to zo mausikeru.*

Imawaka, in the spring of his eighth year, was sent to Kanjoo Temple to study, and when he was eighteen, he entered holy orders and was called the Honorable Monk. **Later**, after he went to live ... near the foot of Mt. Fuji in Suruga Province, he became known as the Militant Monk.

*Otowaka Hatideu ni ohasikeruga, sou nare domo, hara asiku osorosiki hito nite, Kamo, Kasuga, Inari, Gion no omaturi goto ni, Heike wo nerahi, ato ni ha Ki no Kuni ni arikeru odi Singuu Zihurau Yukiihe, yo wo arisi toki, Toukaidau Sunomatagawa nite utarekeri.*

Otowaka lived in Hachijoo, but although he was a monk, he was an irascible and terrifying person, and every time there was a festival at the Kamo, Kasuga, Inari, or Gion [shrines], he would try to murder Taira clan members; **later**, when he rebelled with his uncle living in Ki Province, Shinguu Juuroo Yukiiye, he was killed at Sunomata River on the Tookai Road.

*Ototo no Ushiwaka ha, yon no sai made haha no moto ni arikeruga, yo no wosanaki mono yori mo, kokorozama, hurumahi mo koetarisikaba, Kiyomori tune ha kokoro ni kakete notamahikeru ha, "Kataki no ko wo hitotutokoro ni okite ha, tui ni ha ikaga arubeki" to ohoserarekereba, kyau yori higasi, Yamasina to ihu tokoro ni, Genzi sauden no mono tonsei site kasukanaru sumawi nite arikeru tokoro ni, nanasai made okite sodatekeri.*

**The brother Ushiwaka** [Yoshitsune] lived with his mother until he was four, but Kiyomori noticed that his nature and his actions were beyond those of his young peers, and **what he always remarked was, "Having an enemy's child living in the same place, one never knows what the result will be"**; he [Ushiwaka] was thus sent east from the capital to a place called Yamashina, to a house where many generations of Genji clan members had secluded themselves from the world, and there he was raised until the age of seven.

In the passage above, we see that the first two brothers are zero-marked, while Ushiwaka is marked with *ha*. This has the effect of lumping together the two older brothers and comparing them—as a unit—to Ushiwaka. Although we know that the fates of the three brothers, like the adventures of the five suitors in *The Bamboo Cutter's Tale*, are not inherently contrastive, this time, the narrator does not even go into equal detail

about the three brothers. In other words, although retaining some of its contrastiveness, *ha* here has become mainly a presentational device that signals which character will be at the center of the remainder of the chronicle. This is an example of what Traugott 1989 calls the shift from meanings based in the external or internal described situation to meanings based in the textual situation.

The first instance of *ha* which marks *ato ni* 'later' is interpretable as contrasting what Imawaka was called at Kanjoo Temple with what he was called in Suruga Province. The second case of *ha* marking *ato ni*, however, cannot be interpreted as marking a contrast between what he did before (he attempted to kill) and what happened to him later (he was killed instead).<sup>17</sup> Although it might seem then to be the usual contrastive shift in scene, this shift is not particularly contrastive, especially since there is no abrupt discontinuity in the natural temporal sequence of events. In fact, *ato ni* 'later' here seems simply to mark a progression to a later point in time by temporally labelling a subsequent event. This appears to be suspiciously like a use of *ha* to mark a kind of Chafean topic—the “spatial, temporal, or individual framework within which the main predication holds” (1976:50) (cf. chapter 5 below). (In Classical Japanese, this sort of noncontrastive progression would probably have been expressed by a phrase such as *noti (ni)* 'later', certainly unmarked by *ha*.)

The *ha* marking *tune ha* 'all the time, on every occasion, always' may be an expression frozen from the time when, as I hypothesized above, *ha* marked locative and temporal phrases. The other *ha*'s in the passage above are in constructions associated with direct discourse.

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<sup>17</sup>This is because the verb preceding it, *nerahi* 'aim at, attempt to kill' is in the continuative form with no concessive conjunction following it. This construction gives rise to the implicature that the progression of events is as expected.

- (80) [When he gets older, Tokiwa sends Ushiwaka to Kurama to study with the Deacon of Tookooboo:]

*...nanasai to mausikeru nigatu no hazime, Kurama he tote zo nobosekeru.*

...at the beginning of the second month of his seventh year, he was sent to Kurama.

*Sono noti ha, hiru ha himemosu ni si no onbau no gozen nite kyau wo yomi, humi wo narahi, hakuzitu nisi ni muki, yoru sinkau ni hukeyukikere domo, hotoke no miakasi no kiezaru wo tomo ni, mono wo yomu. Gokau no ten ni ha nare domo, asa mo yohi mo susumade, gakumon ni kokoro wo nomi zo tukusikeru.*

**Thereafter, during the daytime** he studied the sutras before the deacon all day and read classics; although the sun sank in the west and the night became deep, he continued reading while the candles in front of the altar burned. Even though it became **four or five o'clock**, he continued studying without distinguishing between night and day.

The first two *ha*-marked references to time in this passage again look extremely like the kind of Chafean topic mentioned above: 'thereafter' represents an uninterrupted progression in time from the preceding sentence, while 'during the daytime, by day' serves to narrow the reference time but is not in any way contrastive with what precedes or what follows. The third noun phrase, 'four or five o'clock', appears to be followed by the type of *ha* which is contrary-to-expectation.

### **Modern Japanese.**

By the end of the Middle period, then, *ha* had expanded to essentially its Modern role as a topic marker (while still retaining its contrastive use), and earlier subject marking devices ( $\emptyset$ , increasingly *ga*) had become markers of non-topical subjects.<sup>18</sup> Another way to view this division of labor is the opposition of *categorical* and *thetic* judgments, i.e., those sentences which have a topic-comment discourse structure and those which have no such structure (cf. Kuno 1972, Kuroda 1972, Lambrecht 1987, Lambrecht 1994).

<sup>18</sup>For one perspective on the development of *ga* as a subject marker, see Fujii 1991 and Fujii 1992.

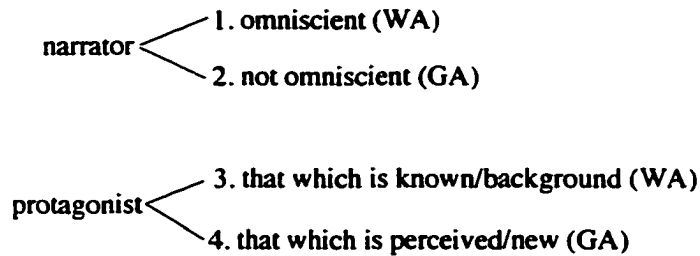
Shibatani 1991 discusses this distinction in terms of statements involving *perceptual judgment* (thetic/*ga*) and those involving *experiential judgment* (categorical/*wa*):

The topic sentence *hi wa noboru* 'the sun rises' and the topicless counterpart *hi ga noboru* 'the sun rises' differ substantially with regard to the context in which each is used appropriately. The topic sentence is a generic statement regarding a general property of the sun. Specifically, this kind of sentence cannot describe an ongoing event just witnessed or a state just discovered. It is the topicless sentences that describe those events and states that have been just witnessed. However, in such a context, topicless sentences are normally uttered with some kind of exclamation, just like the English forms such as *There rises the sun!* or *Look, the sun rises!*...

...A generic statement of the kind that the sentence *hi wa noboru* 'the sun rises' represents involves what can be called "experiential judgment," whereas a topicless sentence depicting a witnessed event or state involves "perceptual judgment." Thus, the topic sentence *hi wa noboru* can be uttered even when the sky is cloudy; the statement is backed up by the speaker's past experience with the sun. On the other hand, the topicless utterance *hi ga noboru* is not possible when the sun is not in fact rising at the moment of the utterance....

...Topicless sentences present witnessed events and states as straightforwardly as they are perceived without analyzing their parts and without reflecting the speaker's experiential judgment regarding the relationship between the analyzed parts. Topic sentences, on the other hand, separate out topics, which are experientially judged in terms of their relationship to the rest of the sentence. Thus, whether a given nominal is a discourse topic or not and whether it is old/given information or not, it will not be made a grammatical topic when an event involving its referent is to be presented in the manner associated with a topicless sentence. For example, when an event is presented in a subordinate clause as subsidiary, background information, no grammatical topic is established. Likewise, when an event is introduced as something that is objectively witnessed, no topic sentence obtains. (99-101)

This grammaticalized perceptual-experiential distinction turns out to play a major role in Modern Japanese narrative. In non-first person narrative (i.e., where the narrator and protagonist are distinct), the distinction can theoretically always be made between (a) what the narrator already knows enough to have analyzed and what is newly presented to him or her and (b) what the protagonist already knows enough to have analyzed and what is newly presented to him or her. That which the writer intends to present as known and analyzed by either the narrator or a character (i.e., Shibatani's experiential) is marked with *wa*; what the writer intends to present as being merely perceived by the narrator or a character (i.e., Shibatani's perceptual) is marked with *ga*. A diagram of this follows:



In terms of the narrator, her knowledge of the situations she is describing can vary between that of somebody with an omniscient, God’s-eye point of view (case 1 in the diagram) and that of a third person bystander who knows relatively little (case 2, such as Ishmael in *Moby Dick*). Narrators can also fall in between the extreme poles and be knowledgeable to varying degrees. The situation in Modern Japanese is such that the percentage of *wa*’s that a narrator uses is proportional to how much that narrator knows. In terms of the protagonist, too, there is a scale of how familiar the hero is with the situation during any point in the narrative. For example, in a detective novel, if the detective knows almost nothing of what is going to happen to him next (case 4 in the diagram), his quoted thoughts will have a high proportion of perceptual *ga*’s. (Osamu Dazai’s *Run, Melos!*, which we will examine below, has a relatively unknowing protagonist.) However, if the same detective is reviewing what he has discovered and already experienced regarding the perpetrator and the crime, then he will be in familiar territory (case 3 in the diagram) and his quoted thoughts will be marked with a higher proportion of experiential *wa*’s. As we will see when examining the texts below, modern Japanese writers exploit this grammaticalized experiential-perceptual dichotomy with interesting results. (Because of the new role *ga* has, I have signalled *ga*-marked noun phrases below with underlining; constituents marked with *wa* are still boldfaced.)

This first passage is an excerpt from Akutagawa Ryunosuke's modern version of the Goi story. (Akutagawa, of course, is famous for experimenting with points of view.)

(81) Akutagawa, Ryunosuke. 1916. *Imogayu* [*Yam Gruel*].<sup>19</sup>

[Seeing Goi lapping up the remains of somebody else's yam gruel, Toshihito offers to take him to where he can have his fill of it. Goi is very happy:]

*Kare wa, tada, ryoute o hiza no ue e oite, miai o suru musume no you ni, ... nanzu made mo kuu ni natta kokusiki no wan o mitumete, tawai mo naku, bisyuu siteiru no de aru.*

He [Goi] just sat there, with both hands on his lap, like a girl who is at a matchmaking ceremony, ... gazing endlessly into the black lacquered bowl, smiling childishly.

*Sorekara, si go niti tatta hi no gozen, Kamogawa no kawara ni sotto. Awataguti e kayou kaidou o, sizuka ni uma wo susumete yuku hutari no otoko ga atta. Hitari wa, koi hanada no kariginu ni onazi iro no hakama o site, utidasi no datou o haita, "higekuroku bingukiyoki" otoko de aru. Mou hitari wa, misuborasii aonibi no suikan ni, usumen no kinu o hutatu bakari kasanete kita, yonzyuu kakkou no samurai de, kore wa, obi no musubikata no darasi no nai yousu to ii, akahana de, sikamo ana no atari ga, hana ni nurete iru yousu to ii, mi no mawari bantan no misuborasii koto obitadasii. Mottomo, uma wa hutari tomo, mae no wa tukige, ato no wa asige no sansaigoma de, miti o yuku monouri ya samurai mo, hurimuute miru hodo no syunsoku de aru. Sono ato kara mata hutari, uma no ayumi ni okuremai to site tuite yuku no wa, ryoudokake to toneri to ni matigai nai....*

Four or five days later, in the morning, there were two figures riding quietly toward Awataguchi down a road along the bank of the Kamo River. One, with his black mustache and handsome side-locks, dressed in a dark azure hunting outfit and armed with a long sword, made a fine picture of a warrior. The other was in a shabby, pale silk robe and two thinly wadded undergarments and was a samurai of about forty years old; as for him, with his sash tied sloppily around his waist and the mucus from his nose covering his upper lip, everything about him was terribly wretched. Of course, the horses, the first a sorrel and the second a roan, were both so gallant that all peddlers and samurai turned to stare. The two figures behind them who were trying to keep pace with the horses could be no other than a valet and a footman.

*Huyu to wa ii nagara, monosizuka ni hareta hi de, siraketa kawara no isi no aida, senkantarū mizu no hotori ni tatikarete iru yomogi no ha o, yusuru hodo no kaze mo nai. Kawa ni nozonda se no hikui yanagi wa, ha no nai eda ni ame no gotoku, nameraka na hi no hikari o ukete, kozue ni iru sekirei no o o ugokasu no sae, azayaka ni sore to, kage o kaidou ni otosite iru. Higasiyama no kurai midori no ue ni, simo ni kogeta biroudo no you na kata o, marumarū to dasite iru no wa, ookata, Hiei no Yama de arou. Hutari*

<sup>19</sup>For both of Akutagawa's texts analyzed here, I have consulted Takashi Kojima's English translations (Akutagawa 1952); however, for the purposes of this study, it has been necessary to render numerous passages more literally, if less artistically, than Kojima's.

*wa, sono naka ni kura no raden o, mabayuku hi ni kiramekasenagara, muti o mo kuwaezu yuuyuu to, Awataguti o sasite yuku no de aru.*

Although it was winter, it was one of those serenely clear mornings, and the air was so calm there was not a breath of wind to sway the dead mugwort growing between the whitish stones along the bank of the slow river. The leafless branches of the low willow trees facing the river were bathed in satin-smooth sunlight, and even the motion of a kingfisher perched on a tree-top cast its distinct shadow on the road. What could be seen showing its whole velvety frost-bitten shoulder over the dark green of Higashiyama was probably Mt. Hiei. The two made their way slowly toward Awataguchi, the mother-of-pearl work of their saddles glittering brilliantly in the golden sunlight.

By referring anaphorically to Gōi by the pronoun *kare* 'he', Akutagawa makes it clear that we have already been introduced to Gōi (he has, in fact, been the main character since the beginning of the story, eight pages before). Marking *kare* with *wa* also indicates that he is being referenced categorically, i.e., that it is possible to predicate something of him. However, in the second paragraph, Akutagawa chooses to reintroduce him and Tōshihito as if they were being perceived from a distance for the first time. He does this by marking the two riding figures by *ga*, giving the effect of its being a still-uninterpreted perception. (This is reinforced by the nonstandard use of the verb *aru* 'be, exist', which is normally reserved for inanimate subjects. The point may be that they are so far off that they seem indistinguishable from inanimate things.) This is comparable to having a participant narrator in English describe seeing a figure, only to later recognize it as somebody she knows. However, the same effect is achieved here without the intermediary of a participant narrator who has limited knowledge.<sup>20</sup>

The second and third uses of *wa* above show that contrastive *wa* is alive and well after a thousand years. The sixth and seventh *wa*'s, marking the two figures on horses, are also contrastive. All of the other *wa*'s are instances of the phenomenon whereby once the two figures in the distance and their surroundings are perceived, the whole scene and the

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<sup>20</sup>English translations of Japanese fiction often miss these point-of-view effects. For example, Kojima's translation (Akutagawa 1952) of the preceding passage simply begins, "Soon both Tōshihito and Gōi were riding toward Awataguchi down a road along the bank of the River Kamo."



elements therein become available for categorical (Shibatani's experiential) judgment. Note that this is permissible, despite the fact that the narrator is not omniscient (e.g., he employs evidential language when mentioning the two stragglers and Mt. Hiei).

In the next two stories, the interplay between *wa*, *ga*, and narrative style create a novel possibility. Since narrators presumably have had the opportunity before telling a story to become acquainted with all the information in it, they are in the position to make categorical statements about it. In other words, nothing is new to narrators, especially omniscient ones. According to the prototypical uses of outlined in the diagram above, then, everything such a narrator describes can be marked by *ha*. However, in modern prose, it is possible for the omniscient narrator to step inside the consciousness of a character (the character's "ga-world") and describe the immediate perceptions of the character as they are being perceived from the character's own point of view and consciousness.<sup>21</sup> In other words, these objects of perception will be marked by *ga*. This is doubly remarkable in that Japanese does not ordinarily permit attributions of inner states to non-first person entities without marking them with evidentials. The absence of the expected evidential marking here is a signal that the character's inner experience is being examined from a God's-eye point of view. For example:

(82) Akutagawa, Ryunosuke. 1915. *Rashomon* [*Rashoo Gate*].

[A former servant is taking shelter from the rain under Rashoomon, a massive gate to the city. He has lost his job because of hard times and does not know where his next meal will come from.]

*Ame wa Rasyoumon o tutunde, tooku kara, zaatto yuu oto o atumete kuru. Yuuyami wa sidai ni sora o hikuku site, miageru to, mon no yane ga, naname ni tuki dasita iraka no saki ni, omotaku usugurai kumo o sasaete iru.*

**The rain**, enveloping Rashoo Gate, comes down gathering a thunderous noise from far away. **Darkness** is making the sky lower and lower, and when [he]

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<sup>21</sup>Something of the flavor of this abrupt, point-of-view shift from narrator to character in English might be captured by the following: "Tracy turned around, and suddenly, there was Terrence, not more than ten inches away from her." This sentence can be spoken by the narrator even if the narrator knows that Terrence has been standing behind Tracy unnoticed for a long time. The *suddenly* signals a shift to Tracy's perceptions.

looks up, [he sees that] the roof of the gate, at the edge of the jutting tiles, is supporting a heavy, dark cloud.

Here, we begin with an omniscient narrator describing the scene around Rashoo Gate. We know that the narrator is omniscient because, to a non-omniscient narrator, both the observations *ame wa ... kuru* ‘rain ... comes’ and *yuuyami wa sidai ni sora o hikuku site* ‘darkness is making the sky lower and lower’ would have involved perceptual judgment and so could *only* have been uttered with *ga*. The next noun phrase (‘the roof of the gate’), however, *is* marked with *ga*. Since we know that an omniscient narrator speaking from his own perspective would have used *wa*, we infer that this particular observation about the roof is being made from the perspective of a non-omniscient character, as yet un-introduced, but most likely the same person as the omitted subject of the preceding verb *miageruto* ‘when X looks up’.

Once the narrator has established our entry into the protagonist’s “*ga*-world,” then, even though the character begins thinking thoughts involving experiential or categorical judgment (i.e., thoughts marked with *wa*), we, as readers, realize that the narration is continuing from the character’s perspective. For example, as we saw, the previous paragraph ended with us being inside the protagonist’s consciousness; the next paragraph continues:

- (83) *Dou ni mo naranai koto o, dou ni ka suru tame ni wa, syudan o erande iru itoma wa nai. Erande ireba, tuizi no sita ka, mitibata no tuti no ue de, uezini o suru bakari de aru. Sou site, kono mon no ue e motte kite, inu no you ni suterarete simau bakari de aru. Erabanai to sureba—genin no kangae wa, nando mo onazi miti o teikai sita ageku ni, yatto kono kyokusyo e houryaku sita.*

**To improve [my] situation where there is no improving it, there is no time to be choosing which honest actions [to take]. While [I] choose, [I] would just die of starvation by some wall or in the dirt by some road. Then, they would just bring [me] to this gate and discard [me] like a dead dog. If [I] don’t choose [honest means]—the man’s thoughts, after making the same detour time and again, finally came to the conclusion [that he would have to resort to stealing].**

Here, we know that for a while we are still in the consciousness of the protagonist— notwithstanding the fact that there is only *wa*-marking in the entire passage—since the narrator had previously entered the protagonist’s consciousness and there still has not been anything indicating movement out of it. We receive confirmation of our hunch when we come to *genin no kangae wa* ‘the man’s [lit. servant’s] thoughts’, which tells us that the previous sentences were instances of interior monologue. For this reason, I have inserted first person pronouns into my translation, although there is no explicit pronoun in the Japanese original.

- (84) [He decides to sleep in the rafters of the gate, where all the corpses are, to keep out of the rain. He finds a ladder and climbs up into the rafters. There, he finds an old woman plucking hairs from the heads of the dead people. He attacks her and demands an explanation, which she gives: she wants to get enough hair to make a wig for herself.]

*Genin wa, datou o saya ni osamete, sono datou no tuka o hidari no te de osae nagara, reizen to site, kono hanasi o kiite ita. Motiron, migi no te de wa, akaku hoo ni umi o motta ookina nikibi o ki ni si nagara, kiite iru no de aru. Sikasi, kore o kiite iru naka ni, genin no kokoro ni wa, aru yuuki ga umarete kita. Sore wa, sakki mon no sita de, kono otoko ni wa kakete ita yuuki de aru. Sou site, mata sakki kono mon no ue e agatte, kono rouba o toraeta toki no yuuki to wa, zenzen, hantai na houkou ni ugokou to suru yuuki de aru. Genin wa, uezini o suru ka nusubito ni naru ka ni, mayowanakatta bakari de wa<sup>22</sup> nai. Sono toki no, kono otoko no kokoromoti kara ie ba, uezini nado to yuu koto wa, hotondo, kangaeru koto sae dekinai hodo, isiki no soto ni oidasarete ita.*

He had sheathed his sword and, with his left hand on its hilt, was listening to her meditatively. Of course, **with his right hand**, he is touching the red pimple swollen with pus on his cheek while listening to her. As he listened, **in his heart, a certain courage** was coming into being. It is courage which to **this man** was lacking when he was under the gate a little while ago. And it is a courage different from **the courage which he had when he climbed into the rafters and seized the old woman**, and it is driving him in a completely opposite direction. He not only no longer wondered whether he should starve to death or become a thief. Judging from the present attitude of this man, **starving to death** was the last thing that would have entered his thoughts. so far was the idea driven from them [his thoughts].

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<sup>22</sup>This use of *wa*, i.e., the use of *wa* in conjunction with negation, is most likely an extension of its contrastive function. It is, however, beyond the scope of this study to deal with such issues, and for this reason I have not used boldface for such *wa*'s. For more information on the role of *wa* in negation, see Martin 1975:62-3, McGloin 1987, and references therein.

Here, we are continuing from an omniscient point of view. This, together with the contrastive use of *wa*, accounts for the eight *wa*-marked noun phrases. However, this still leaves the one *ga*-marked noun phrase, *aru yuuki* ‘a certain courage’. This is because *aru* ‘a certain’ (lit. ‘existing’) presents an instance of courage which we and the protagonist are encountering for the first time. It is interesting to note that this is one of only three sentences in the whole paragraph which end with plain verbs. That is, the other sentences end in *de aru*, roughly ‘it is that’ or *de nai*, roughly ‘it is not that’. Although these sentences could just as easily have ended with plain verbs, the *de aru* construction gives the impression that there is an omniscient narrator *explaining* the scene (instead of just presenting it). More specifically, the paragraph proceeds as follows: “He was meditatively listening to her [*kiite ita* ‘was listening’, a plain verb]. *It is that*, of course, he is touching his pimple while listening to her [*kiite iru no de aru*]. In his heart, a certain courage was coming into being [*umarete kita* ‘was coming into being’, a plain verb]. *It is that* it was courage which was lacking in him previously [*kakete ita yuuki de aru*]. *It is that* it is a courage which is driving him in a different direction [*ugokou to suru yuuki de aru*]. *It is not only that* he no longer wondered whether he should starve to death or become a thief [*mayowanakatta bakari de wa nai*]. Judging from the present attitude of this man, starving to death was the last thing that would have entered his thoughts, so far was the idea driven from them [*oidasarete ita* ‘was driven’, a plain verb].” The first sentence presents him listening thoughtfully (a plain verb), and the second sentence (ending with *de aru*) explains and clarifies how he was “listening meditatively”; then the third sentence presents an unfamiliar instance of inner change (courage welling up in him), and then the following sentences clarify and explain it.

- (85) [Made bold by his newfound courage, he attacks the old woman, steals her clothes, and escapes down the ladder.]

***Sibaraku, sinda you ni taorete ita rouba ga, sigai no naka kara, sono hadaka no karada o okositano wa, sorekara mamonaku no koto de aru. Rouba wa, tubuyaku you na, umeku you na koe o tate nagara, mada moete iru hi no hikari o tayori ni, hasigo no kuti made, hatte itta. Sou site, soko***

*kara, mizikai siraga o sakasama ni site, mon no sita o nozokikonda. Soto ni wa, tada, kokutoutou taru yoru ga aru bakari de aru.*

**That the old woman, who had been lying as if dead for a while, picked her naked self up from among the corpses** occurred shortly thereafter. The old woman crawled to the ladder hole by the still flickering torchlight, grumbling and groaning. From there, turning her short white hair upside down, she peered into the space under the gate. **Outside**, there was nothing but dark night.

The 'old woman, who had been lying as if dead for a while' in the first sentence is required to be marked by *ga*, since it is the subject of a subordinate clause and, as mentioned previously, subordinate clauses do not contain topics. However, the whole event of her picking herself up is marked with *wa*, indicating omniscient perspective. (This is also accompanied by the *de aru* 'it is that' construction, which magnifies our perception that it is an omniscient narrator explaining the scene to us.) Then, when she crawls over to the hole left for the ladder, the verb *nozokikonda* 'peered down into' allows for a natural transition into the consciousness of the old woman. And this is just what we get: although Akutagawa could have continued with an omniscient, categorical statement involving experiential judgment, such as, "The night outside was dark" (with concomitant *wa*-marking), he chooses to express the same notion as a yet-unanalyzed perception on the part of the old woman, naturally requiring *ga*-marking. Finally, the *de aru* construction ending the sentence brings us instantly back into the perspective of the omniscient narrator.

In the next text, too, we can observe the *wa/ga* distinction being exploited as a narrative device.

(86) Dazai, Osamu. 1940. *Hashire Merosu* [Run, Melos!].

[The king unfairly sentences Melos to death. Saying he will kill Melos' best friend if Melos does not return to Syracuse by the end of the next day, he allows Melos to return to his native village to give his sister a wedding. Melos sets out for home:]

*Merosu wa sono yoru, issui mo sezu zyuuri no miti o isogi ni isoide, mura e toutyaku sitano wa, akuru hi no gozen. hi wa sude ni takaku nobotte, murabito tati wa no ni dete sigoto o hazimete ita.*

That night, Melos hurried and hurried along the 25-mile road, never pausing to rest. By the time he reached his village, it was the morning of the next day; the sun was already high and the villagers were busy in the fields.

[The wedding is a success. The next morning, Melos must return to Syracuse.]

*Wakai Merosu wa turakatta. Ikudo ka, tatidomarisou ni natta. Ei, ei to oogoe agete zisin o sikari nagara hasitta. Mura o dete, no o yokogiri, mori o kugurinuke, tonarimura ni tuita koro ni wa, ame mo yami, hi wa takaku nobotte, sorosoro atuku natte kita.*

Young Melos was having a hard time. He almost halted several times. But he rebuked himself, crying "Faster! Faster!" He left the village and went past the fields and through the woods, and by the time he arrived at the next village, the rain had stopped, the sun was high in the sky, and it was gradually getting hot.

*Ikki ni touge o kakeorita ga, hirou si, orikara gogo no syakunetu no taiyou ga matomo ni, katto tette kite, Merosu wa ikudo to naku memai o kanzi, kore de wa naranu, to ki o torinaosite wa<sup>23</sup> yoroyoro ni, sanpo aruite, tuini, gakuri to hiza o otta. Tatiagaru koto ga dekinu no da....*

As he ran on, however, he felt exhausted; just then, a molten afternoon sun started beating straight down on him, and Melos felt one bout of dizziness after another: thinking "This cannot be," with each attack he summoned his strength and stumbled ahead a few steps. But finally his knees buckled. Standing is impossible.

[He collapses and falls asleep.]

*Huto mimi ni, sensen, mizu no nagareru oto ga kikoeta. Sotto atama o motage, iki o nonde mimi o sumasita. Sugu asimoto de, mi-u ga nagarete iru rasii. Yoroyoro okiagatte, miruto, iwa no sakeme kara konkon to, nanika tiisaku sasayaki nagara seisui ga wakidete iru no de aru. Sono izumi ni suikomareru you ni Merosu wa mi o kagameta. Mizu o ryoute de sukutte, hitokuti nonda. Hou to nagai tameiki ga dete, yume kara sameta you na ki ga sita. Arukeru. Ikou.*

Suddenly, he heard the sound of trickling water. Holding his breath, he slowly raised his head and listened. The water seemed to be just beyond his outstretched legs. Struggling to his feet, Melos saw clear water bubbling from a rock. Melos bent over the spring as if he were being drawn down into it. Then he scooped a handful of water and swallowed it. A long sigh escaped him, and he had the feeling that he was awaking from a dream. [I] can walk. [I] must be off.

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<sup>23</sup>Since this *wa* is not the same *wa* that is the subject of this study, I do not deal with it here. This *wa* is participating in an iteration construction and followed, I believe, an independent path of grammaticalization from contrastive *wa*. For a study of a similar development in English, see Traugott 1985b.

In the first two paragraphs, we understand that most of the scene is being presented from an omniscient point of view: not only are noun phrases such as ‘sun’ in ‘the sun was high in the sky’ marked with *wa*; Melos’ interior state (‘having a hard time [leaving]’) is not marked with any evidentials, which would have been required if anybody without a God’s-eye view had made the judgment. For the same reason, we know that ‘he felt one bout of dizziness after another’ in the next paragraph is being observed from an omniscient point of view. (The preceding clause, with *ga* marking ‘a molten afternoon sun’, can be taken either (a) as athetic statement used as a presentational device by an omniscient narrator, (b) as describing an event which the (now not-so-omniscient) narrator has just recalled, or (c) as being perceived from Melos’ point of view. This third interpretation is supported by the repetition of *Melos wa* in the next clause, as if effectuating a return to omniscient perspective. Note that the *ga*-marking follows *orikara* ‘suddenly, just then’ (cf. footnote 21); the effect of ‘suddenly’ is compatible with all three interpretations of *ga*-marking.) The omniscient point of view continues up through when Melos falls to his knees. Then, however, Dazai uses *ga*-marking to indicate that the next perceptual judgment is being presented from Melos’ point of view; a less literal translation which would capture this nuance would be, “I can’t stand!” This type of *ga*-presentation continues throughout most of this paragraph, as Melos discovers water and has the sensation of waking from a dream. Since we are still in his *ga*-world, we know that the ‘[I] can walk’ and ‘[I] must be off’ must be part of an interior monologue.

### **Conclusion.**

The principal change in the role of *ha/wa* over the last twelve centuries has been the evolution of noncontrastive uses. Although in the earliest texts, *ha*’s function is almost exclusively contrastive, by Middle Japanese, it has acquired its role as a topic marker. The

factors which allowed for the reanalysis of many contrastive uses of *ha* as noncontrastive, thereby enabling it to become a topic marker, are summarized below:

- The mismatch between the morphosyntax of *ha* and its scope in the narrative: *ha* was (and is) restricted to marking adverbial and noun phrases, but semantically it came to mark contrasts between entire propositions; i.e., *ha* was semantically “pried loose” from its phrasal constituent.
- Long-distance contrast (e.g., the suitors’ quest stories): the more narrative material is contained between two contrastively marked elements, the likelier the audience is to forget the contrast and view the marked elements as topics; this use is an outgrowth of the one above.
- Multiple contrast: the more things one compares, the less focused the comparison becomes and the more similar to topic marking it becomes.
- Contrast with something which is not explicitly mentioned: if only one of the things being contrasted is mentioned, this leaves wide open the possibility of its reanalysis as something other than contrastive.
- “Contrary to audience’s expectations”-type contrast: usually a subtype of the above, but more subjectified (Traugott 1989, Traugott 1995).
- Non-preservation of contrast in metonymy: although X and Y are contrastive, it does not follow that [metonym of X] and Y are; this makes [metonym of X] available for reanalysis as a topic.

In Modern Japanese, *wa*, while still retaining its contrast- and topic-marking functions, has also become a marker of categorical (Shibatani’s experiential) judgment. Because of this, writers can use it as a device to signal that the narrator is speaking with some degree of knowledge. Subject marking, on the other hand, is generally reserved for



thetic (Shibatani's perceptual) judgment and is therefore used by writers as a signal of limited knowledge. The steps leading up to the creation of this division are outlined below.

- Classical Japanese: *ha*-marking meant [GIVEN & CONTRASTIVE]  
Otherwise, subjects were marked with  $\emptyset$
- Middle Japanese: *ha*-marking meant [GIVEN] & sometimes [CONTRASTIVE]  
Otherwise, subjects were marked with  $\emptyset$ , rarely with *ga*
- Modern Japanese: *wa*-marking still means [GIVEN] & sometimes [CONTRASTIVE]  
Otherwise, subjects are marked with *ga*

The one element of meaning which has persisted over the twelve centuries is the notion of givenness. What has changed is what it means to be given: in the earliest texts, only entities previously introduced explicitly or elements within scenes introduced this way could take *ha*. Later on, the notion of givenness was expanded to allow for frame-metonyms of previously introduced material to be *ha*-marked. Finally, in modern times, for the omniscient narrator in fiction, the whole world has become given.

Under this analysis, the thetic (perceptual) use of *ga* appears simply as a category of new, non-given information. However, this leaves unexplained the fact that thetic sentences can occur even with given subjects. For example, even after talking all night about the coming sunrise, it would still be infelicitous to look out the window at the rising sun and exclaim *\*Hi wa nobotteru!* (intended: 'The sun's rising!'); one must still say *Hi ga nobotteru!* This is because it is the whole thetic, unanalyzable perception which is being marked with *ga* to indicate its non-givenness and therefore its lack of topic-comment

discourse structure. Thus, *ga* here, like many cases of *ha/wa*, may be understood as applying to the whole clause rather than to a single noun phrase.

Despite the enormous literature on *wa* and *ga*, there remains further research to be done. One area to research would be how subject and topic marking have been used over time in spoken speech. The plays which were written starting from late Middle Japanese would be an obvious place to start for insight into the earlier situation. Data could be gathered to see how *wa* and *ga* are used in the modern spoken language, as well. Spoken Japanese obviously makes a distinction between *thetic* and *categorical* statements, but does it exploit the division as much as fiction writers do? How do children acquire the *thetic-categorical* distinction? How do *wa* and *ga* interact with *evidentials*? How do they interact with *tense* and constructions such as the *de aru* construction mentioned above? From a comparative perspective, how do topic and subject marking work in other languages, such as Ryukyuan or Korean?

## Chapter 4

### Greek *de* from Mycenae to Byzantium

In his book *Proto-Indo-European Syntax*, Lehmann states the following:

#### 5.9. Topicalization with Reference to Emphasis.

If we analyze sentences as consisting of a known and an unknown or new component, that is, of a theme and a rheme, segments of the theme may be sorted out as forming the more important elements. These may be said to form the topic of the discourse. *They are distinguished by arrangement....* Like emphasis, topicalization is carried out by patterns of arrangement....

Topicalization by arrangement is well known in the study of the early languages.... The *Iliad* begins with the noun *mênin* 'wrath', the *Odyssey* with the noun *ándra* 'man'. These, to be sure, are the only possible nouns in the syntactically simple sentences opening both poems: *mênin áeide* 'Sing of the wrath' and *ándra moi éennepe* 'Tell me of the man'. Yet the very arrangement of *moi* and other enclitics occupying second position in the sentence, in accordance with Wackernagel's law, indicates the use of initial placement among nominal elements for [the purpose of] topicalization. (1974:220-21, emphasis added)

He then goes on to quote from Zeus' first speech in the *Odyssey*. Explaining the passage, Lehmann says, "...these [lines] indicate a shift in topic from the 'gods' to 'men', then to a particular man, Aegisthus, then to Agamemnon..." (221). The relevant lines from the *Odyssey* read as follow:

- (87) *Ô: pópoi, hoïon dé: nu theoùs brotoi aitió:ntai;*  
 alas how indeed now gods mortals they.blame
- eks he:méon gár phasi kák' émmenai, hoi dè<sup>24</sup> kai autoi*  
 from us for they.say evils are they but and themselves
- sphê:isin<sup>25</sup> atasthalie:isin hupèr móron álge' ékhousin,*  
 own stupidities beyond fate woes they.have
- ho:s kai nûn Aígisthos hupèr móron Atreídao*  
 thus and now Aegisthus beyond fate of.son.of.Atreus
- gê:m' álokhon mne:sté:n, tôn d' éktane nosté:santa....*  
 he.married spouse wedded him but he.killed having.returned

*Odyssey I.32-36 (translation and glosses Lehmann's)*

Alas, how the mortals are now blaming the gods.  
 For they say evils come from us, but **they** themselves  
 have woes beyond what is fated by their own stupidities.  
 Thus Aegisthus beyond what was fated has now married  
 the wedded wife of Agamemnon, and killed **him** on his return....

Let us set aside Lehmann's claim that what distinguishes topics is their sentence-initial placement and begin by examining the discourse structure of this passage. The first few words set the stage for the following exclamation of dismay, which should be seen as a highly focused, topicless (i.e., *thetic*) statement, rather than as consisting of a topic, 'gods', of which something is predicated. This seems especially likely when taken in context with the *nu* 'now' which immediately precedes 'gods': the *nu* makes 'gods' seem more part of a here-and-now, *thetic* exclamation. (The translation, which renders it as, 'Alas, how the mortals are now blaming the gods' (emphasis added), supports my interpretation of it as *thetic*. Another translator's version makes it even more likely: 'Look you now, how ready mortals are to blame the gods' (Homer 1919, emphasis added).) The *de* in the second line is clearly contrastive, with the contrast being between (a) we [gods]

<sup>24</sup>Throughout this chapter, I have put in boldface the *de*'s in the original Greek texts. For the English translations, I have followed two conventions. Allative *de* (see below), which has a straightforward English lexical equivalent ('to'), is indicated by putting the entire prepositional phrase in boldface. Other types of *de*, which can vary in syntactic scope, are represented by bolding the smallest constituent to which the *de* may be interpreted as applying.

<sup>25</sup>My transliteration does not distinguish between long vowels with iota subscripts and long vowels followed by an iota. Both are transliterated as *o:i* or *e:i*.

are the sole source of evil and (b) mortals are the source of some of their own woes. As we shall see in the chapter on focus, the referents of ‘us’ (the gods) and ‘they’ (the mortals) are contrastive topics, and short-lived ones at that. This means that *hoi de* is *not* a shift in topic from the gods mentioned explicitly in line 32 but, instead, a short-term contrastive counterpart to the gods implicit in ‘from us’ at the beginning of line 33. A similar kind of analysis can be applied to the *de*<sup>26</sup> in the last line, which encodes a merely local contrast between the fate of Agamemnon and his wife. Again, then, these contrasted entities are not at the same level as the line 32 gods (which, if I am correct about thethetic statement, is not a topic at all), and the shift is not from the gods to men to Aegisthus to Agamemnon, as Lehmann states it is. In other words, *de* tells us more about the discourse structure of this passage than does word order.

Looking beyond Homer, the evolution of the Greek particle *de*<sup>27</sup> can give us insight into how locative, contrastive, and topical notions can be related historically. In addition, a case study of *de* offers an advantage in that we can trace its developmental trajectory over a long period of time. In fact, the particle can be traced back to Indo-European *\*-de/-do* (Pokorny 1959) and has locative or allative cognates in several other Indo-European languages, such as English *to* and Russian *do* ‘to’. In addition, due to the long textual tradition for Greek, we have attestations of *de* spanning two millennia, from the Mycenaean period (c. 1450 B.C.E.) to the beginning of the Byzantine period (6th cent. C.E.). Few languages offer such diachronic depth.

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<sup>26</sup>Realized in the text as *d’* due to the following vowel.

<sup>27</sup>Classical Greek dictionaries, such as Liddell & Scott 1996, have separate entries for the second-position clitic *dé* and the allative suffix *-de*. It should be noted, however, that it was Byzantine scholars who added both word boundaries and accents to Ancient Greek texts (Allen 1987:125). Moreover, despite the acute accent on its citation form, clitic *dé* only bears that accent when it is itself followed by an accentless clitic; in other words, it virtually always appears with a grave accent (*dè*), which, since ancient times, has generally been believed to be phonetically equivalent to no accent (e.g., Smyth 1920:38). Thus, the orthographic accents do not pose a problem for my diachronic picture. Since I will treat the allative suffix and the discourse particle as being ultimately the same etymon, I write both as the neutral *de*.

The position I set forth is that Greek *de*, true to the meaning of its Indo-European ancestor, began as an allative marker and quickly developed the capacity to signal contrastive entities. These combined functions made it appropriate for *de* to cliticize to preposed locative and temporal phrases that served a frame-setting function, effectuating transitions between successive scenes. Because these phrases were at the left edge of the clause, *de* became reinterpreted as a second-position clitic, setting the stage for its reanalysis as a marker of discourse topic.

### **Mycenaean Greek.**

The texts we possess of Mycenaean Greek are in the Linear B script<sup>28</sup> and date from between approximately 1450 and 1200 B.C.E. (Ventris & Chadwick 1973:28). Although Mycenaean is unlikely to have been the direct ancestor of Attic Greek, as the oldest form of Greek attested, it is indispensable here.

Mycenaean Greek formed allatives ('to/toward [a place]') by adding *de* to the accusative form of the place name. For example, in (88) below, the accusative form of Pleuron (*pe-re-u-ro-na*) is suffixed by *de* to mean 'to Pleuron', and in (89), 'to Nedwon' also has the suffix *de*.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>The Linear B syllabary was defective in several respects; for example, it typically did not represent coda consonants, distinctive vowel or consonant length, or aspiration, and it simplified or broke up complex onsets.

<sup>29</sup>In general, I follow the numbering system and conventions found in Ventris & Chadwick 1973:153-4. Words written in small capitals are English glosses of ideograms, while asterisked numbers are unidentified ideograms. Italicized glosses are tentative. Superscripts indicate line numbers. A single bracket (|) means that the end of the line is broken off or otherwise illegible. Letters surrounded by brackets are Ventris & Chadwick's restorations of signs which have been completely lost, and instances of [nn] indicate missing numbers. Where Ventris & Chadwick have refrained from making a restoration, they have indicated the surmised number of missing signs by placing a corresponding number of dots inside brackets; for example, [...] indicates three missing signs. I have departed from their conventions in two ways: I omit the dots they have placed under certain letters to indicate faint or damaged signs, and I omit ideograms, since I cannot reproduce them here. For this reason, some of the translations have measures indicated (such as 'liters' in text 200) which do not occur in my rendering of the Mycenaean original.

(88) 53=An12 [1]

<sup>1</sup> <i>e-re-ta</i>	<i>pe-re-u-ro-na-de</i> / <i>i-jo-te</i>
<sup>2</sup> <i>ro-o-wa</i>	MEN 8
<sup>3</sup> <i>ri-jo</i>	MEN 5
<sup>4</sup> <i>po-ra-pi</i>	MEN 4
<sup>5</sup> <i>te-ta-ra-ne</i>	MEN 6
<sup>6</sup> <i>a-po-ne-we</i>	MEN 7

‘Rowers to go to **Pleuron**: eight from *Ro-o-wa*, five from Rhion, four from *Po-ra-*, six from *Te-ta-ra-ne*, seven from *A-po-ne-we*.’

(89) 60=An661

<sup>9</sup> <i>e-ko-me-na-ta-o</i>	<i>o-ka</i>			
<sup>10</sup> <i>ti-mi-to</i>	<i>a-ke-i</i>	<i>ma-re-u</i>	<i>ro-qa-ta</i>	
<sup>11</sup> <i>a-ke-[.]u</i>	<i>a-ke-wa-to</i>			
<sup>12</sup> <i>a<sub>2</sub>-ka-a<sub>2</sub>-ki-ri-jo</i>	<i>u-ru-pi-ja-jo</i>			
<sup>13</sup> <i>ne-do-wo-ta-de</i>	MEN 30	<i>me-ta-qe</i>	<i>pe-i</i>	<i>e-qe-ta</i>

‘Command of Erkhomenatas at *Ti-mi-to-a-ke-i*: Maleus, *Re-qa-ta*, *A-ke-u*, *Arkewastos*.

Thirty men of A-ka-akron and Olympia to Nedwon:  
(and with them a follower).’

In the next tablet, presumably describing a gift being sent from the palace to a location called Achaea, ‘to Achaea’ is rendered as *a-ka-wi-ja-de*.

(90) 78=C 914 (K lxvii)

<i>a-ka-wi-ja-de</i>	/	<i>pa-ra-ti-jo</i>	RAMS 50
		<i>pa-ro</i>	HE-GOATS 50

‘To Achaea: from Pallantios, fifty rams, fifty he-goats.’

Similarly, in (91) and (92) below, the place names Daidaleion, [ ]-*ri-jo*, and Amnisos are marked by *de*. Note that in both examples, *pa-si-te-o-i* ‘to all the gods’ is marked dative, not accusative plus *de*, since it refers to individuals rather than to a location. (Ventris &

Chadwick note in their introduction that the values they had assigned to numerical symbols must be revised in light of discoveries that were made as their book was going to press. The MA in (92) was an abbreviation used for *marathwon* ‘fennel’, and KO was an abbreviation for *koria(n)dnon* ‘coriander’.)

(91) 200=FpI (A xix)

<sup>1</sup>[?]-*de-u-ki-jo-jo* / *me-no*  
<sup>2</sup>*di-ka-ta-jo* / *di-we* OIL 1  
<sup>3</sup>*da-da-re-jo-de* OIL 2  
<sup>4</sup>*pa-de* OIL 1  
<sup>5</sup>*pa-si-te-o-i* OIL 1

‘In the month of Deukios:  
 To the Diktaian Zeus: 12 liters oil.  
 To Daidaleion: 24 liters oil.  
 To *Pa-de*:- 12 liters oil.  
 To all the gods: 36 liters oil.’

(92) 203=F 953+955 (K lxiii+lx)

<sup>1</sup>*wo-de-[wi]-jo-jo* / *me-[no . .]-ri-jo-de*  
<sup>2</sup>*ko-no* MA <sup>3</sup> *ko-ri-[ja-do-no nn]* ...  
<sup>3</sup> ... *pa-si-te-o-i*<sup>30</sup>  
*a-mi-ni-so-de* MA 2 KO 4

‘In the month of *Wo-de-wi-jo*: To [ *-ri-jo*:  
<sup>3</sup> *ko-no* of fennel, x liters of coriander ...  
 ... To Amnisos, to all the gods: 2 *ko-no* of fennel, 48 liters of coriander.’

The text below is perhaps the most interesting of these allative examples. In it, we see nine destinations in sequence, all marked with *de*.

<sup>30</sup>The form *pa-si-te-o-i* is written above the form *a-mi-ni-so-de* and is apparently an insertion meant to be read after it.



(93) 250=Vn01 [20]

<sup>1</sup>*o-a<sub>2</sub> e-pi-de-da-to*  
<sup>2</sup>*pa-ra-we-wo wo-no*  
<sup>3</sup>*pi-\*82-de 50*  
<sup>4</sup>*me-ta-pa-de 50*  
<sup>5</sup>*pe-to-no-de 100*  
<sup>6</sup>*pa-ki-ja-na-de 35*  
<sup>7</sup>*a-pu<sub>2</sub>?-de 35*  
<sup>8</sup>*a-ke-re-wa-de 30*  
<sup>9</sup>*e-ra-to-de 50*  
<sup>10</sup>*ka-ra-do-ro-de 40*  
<sup>11</sup>*ri-jo-de 20*

‘The the wine of *Pa-ra-we-* has been distributed: 50 to *Pi-\*82*, 50 to *Metapa*, 100 to *Pe-to-no*, 35 to *Pa-ki-ja-ne*, 35 to ? *Aipy*, 30 to *A-ke-re-wa*, 50 to *E-ra-to*, 40 to *Kharadros*, 20 to *Rhion*.’

The above text is reminiscent of two Japanese examples we saw in chapter 3. In the first of the Japanese examples, Kuramochi no Miko, Princess Kaguya’s suitor, lists several scenes from his long boat trip using *aru toki (ni)* ‘sometimes’ and marks all of these instances with *ha*. In the second example (when Kuramochi no Miko describes finding Mt. Hoorai), we are first presented with a panorama, and then *ha* is used to pick out and successively shift between locations within the scene. Like the Japanese passages, this Mycenaean tablet is significant because it is an example of a bridging context in which contrastive semantics could arise from items in a list. Before a locative or temporal phrase can be uttered at the beginning of a sentence, I believe it must be considered by the interlocutors as already accessible in the discourse context. The Mycenaean text here is not long enough to afford us sufficient context to determine the discourse-availability of the nine destinations listed; however, presumably these toponyms were familiar to the intended audience. Once a location or time is available in a given discourse context, it can be used to set up or specify the spatio-temporal backdrop against which an event occurs. Mention of a different time or location is a signal to create a new mental space (Fauconnier 1985, Fauconnier 1997); the adverbial, in other words, forces a background shift from one scene (time, location) to another. Such movement between scenes is always at least implicitly contrastive; often, it

is explicitly so. This means it is no accident that the missing link between mere listing and listing for contrastive purposes involves spatio-temporal phrases: other referents, even when in lists, do not inherently build background spaces as easily as these do.

In addition to being used as an allative marker, Mycenaean *de* could be used in contexts which were not allative but which had clearly contrastive semantics. This is shown in the following texts:

(94) Religious text (version A)

135=Ep704

<sup>5</sup>*e-ri-ta i-je-re-ja e-ke e-u-ke-to-qe e-to-ni-jo e-ke-e te-o /*  
*da-mo-de-mi pa-si ko-to-na-o*  
<sup>6</sup>*ke-ke-me-na-o o-na-to e-ke-e to-so pe-mo WHEAT 3 9*  
<sup>7</sup>*ka-pa-ti-ja ka-ra-wi-po-ro e-ke ke-ke-me-no o-pe-ro-sa du-wo-u-*  
*pi wo-ze-e o-u-wo-ze [[to]]*  
<sup>8</sup>*to-[so pe-mo WHEAT nn]*

‘Eritha the priestess holds (this), and she claims that (her) god holds the *freehold*; but **the village** says that *s/he* (merely?) holds the *lease* of *communal* plots: so much seed: 468 liters wheat.

Karpathia the key-bearer (f.) holds two (?) *communal* (plots); although under an obligation to *perform* with the two, she does not *perform*: so much seed: x liters wheat.’

Here, we see a contrast being made between what Eritha claims (i.e., that her god holds the freehold) and what the village believes (i.e., that *s/he* holds the lease of communal plots); the second member of the contrast, *da-mo* (i.e., *demos* ‘village’), is marked by *de*. (The *mi* is *min*, an enclitic third person pronoun, in this case the subject of the indirect statement in ‘says that *s/he*...’.) In a slightly different version of the religious text, we find what Eritha says contrasted with what the actual plot-owner claims. As we might expect, ‘plot owner’ is marked by *de*: *koto-no-o-ko-de*.

(95) Religious text (version B)

140=Eb35 [297]

<sup>1</sup>*i-je-re-ja e-ke-qe e-u-ke-to-qe e-to-ni-jo e-ke-e te-o*  
<sup>2</sup>*koto-no-o-ko-de ko-to-na-o ke-ke-me-na-o o-na-ta e-ke-e*  
<sup>3</sup>WHEAT 3 9 3

‘The priestess, *and* she holds (this), and she claims the (her) god holds the *freehold*, but the **plot-owner** (claims) that s/he holds the *leases* of *communal* plots: 474 liters wheat.’

(96) 141=Eb20 [338]

<sup>1</sup>*ka-pa-ti-ja ka-ra-wi-po-[ro pa-ki]-ja-pi e-ke-qe / to-so-de pe-mo*  
<sup>2</sup>*ke-ke-me-no ko-to-[no] wo-wo o-pe-ro-sa-de wo-zo-e o-wo-ze WHEAT [nn]*

‘Karpathia, the key-bearer (f.) at *Pa-ki-ja-*, *and* she holds the *confines* of two (?) *communal* plots; but though **under an obligation to perform**, she does not *perform*: so much seed: x liters wheat.’

The second part of this version B religious text is worth mentioning because *de* seems to attach to the first member of the contrast and not the second: ‘Although she *should* (*o-pe-ro-sa*) perform, she does not.’ Version A of the text does not include this *de*.

The suffix *de* was also used in more weakly contrastive situations, such as when enumerating, or shifting between, items making up pairs. Below, we see several instances of *de* attached to the second member of a ‘mother and father’ pair or a ‘father and mother’ pair. The first instance conjoins ‘their father a slave and their mother among the Kytherans’ (*do-e-ro pa-te ma-te-de ku-te-re-u-pi*, lit. ‘slave father, mother-*de* among the Kytherans’). The second, in line 5, conjoins ‘their father a slave and their mother a slave of Diwia’ (*do-e-ro pa-te ma-te-de di-wi-ja do-e-ra*, lit. ‘slave father, mother-*de* of Diwia slave’). The last two both conjoin ‘mother a slave and father a smith’: *do-e-ra ma-te pa-te-de ka-ke-u* (lit. ‘slave mother, father-*de* smith’). (The ideograms are evidently to be read in conjunction with the preceding line.)

(97) 28=An42 [607]

<sup>1</sup> <i>me-ta-pa</i>	<i>ke-ri-mi-ja</i>	<i>do-qe-ja</i>	<i>ki-ri-te-wi-ja</i>		
<sup>2</sup> <i>do-qe-ja</i>	<i>do-e-ro</i>	<i>pa-te</i>	<i>ma-te-de</i>	<i>ku-te-re-u-pi</i>	
<sup>3</sup> WOMEN 6	<i>do-qe-ja</i>	<i>do-e-ra</i>	<i>e-qe-ta-i</i>	<i>e-e-to</i>	
<sup>4</sup> <i>te-re-te-we</i>	WOMEN [[6]]	'13'			
<sup>5</sup> <i>do-qe-ja</i>	<i>do-e-ro</i>	<i>pa-te</i>	<i>ma-te-de</i>	<i>di-wi-ja</i>	<i>do-e-ra</i>
<sup>6</sup> WOMEN 3	<i>do-qe-ja</i>	<i>do-e-ra</i>	<i>ma-te</i>	<i>pa-te-de</i>	<i>ka-ke-u</i>
<sup>7</sup> WOMEN 1	<i>do-qe-ja</i>	<i>do-e-ra</i>	<i>ma-te</i>	<i>pa-te-de</i>	<i>ka-ke-u</i>
<sup>8</sup> WOMEN 3					

'At Metapa: \_\_\_\_\_ women *barley-reapers*. Six women *reapers*, their father a slave and **their mother among the Kytherans**; thirteen women *reapers*, \_\_\_\_\_; three women *reapers*, their father a slave and **their mother a slave of Diwia**; one woman *reaper*, her mother a slave and **her father a smith**; three women *reapers*, their mother a slave and **their father a smith**.'

The first *de* below is strongly contrastive, in that it opposes those smiths having an allocation, on the one hand, and those smiths not having one, on the other (*to-so-de a-ta-ra-si-jo ka-ke-we*); the *de*'s also happen to be enumerating items in a list, as seen by the second *de* used in conjunction with 'slaves'.

(98) 253=Jn01 [310]

<sup>1</sup> <i>a-ke-re-wa</i>	<i>ka-ke-we</i>	<i>ta-ra-si-ja</i>	<i>e-ko-te</i>		
<sup>2</sup> <i>ti-pa<sub>2</sub>-jo</i>	BRONZE	1	2	<i>qe-ta-wo</i>	BRONZE 1 2
<sup>3</sup> <i>ai-so-ni-jo</i>	BRONZE	1	2	<i>ta-mi-je-u</i>	BRONZE 1 2
<sup>4</sup> <i>e-u-ru-wo-ta</i>	BRONZE	1	2	<i>e-u-do-no</i>	BRONZE 1 2
<sup>5</sup> PO-RO-U-TE-U	BRONZE	1	2	<i>wi-du-wa-ko</i>	BRONZE 1 2
	blank line				
<sup>7</sup> <i>to-so-de</i>	<i>a-ta-ra-si-jo</i>	<i>ka-ke-we</i>			
<sup>8</sup> PA-QO-SI-JO	KE-WE-TO	<i>wa-[di?]-re-u</i>			
<sup>9</sup> <i>pe-ta-ro</i>					
	blank line				
<sup>11</sup> <i>to-so-de</i>	<i>do-e-ro</i>	<i>ke-we-to-jo</i>	<i>i-wa-ka-o</i>		
<sup>12</sup> <i>pa-qo-si-jo-jo</i>	<i>po-ro-u-te-wo</i>				
	blank line				
<sup>14</sup> <i>po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo</i>	<i>ka-ke-we</i>	<i>ta-ra-si-ja</i>	<i>e-ko-te</i>		

<sup>15</sup>*i-ma-di-jo* BRONZE 2 *tu-ke-ne-u* BRONZE 3  
<sup>16</sup>[ ] BRONZE 3 I-WA-KA BRONZE 3  
<sup>17</sup>[ *a*]-*ta-ra-si-jo* *pu*<sub>2</sub>?-[.]*ja-ko*

\*Smiths at *A-ke-re-wa* having an allocation:

Thisbaios: 1.5 kg. bronze; Q<sup>u</sup>hestāwōn: 1.5 kg. bronze; etc.

And so many smiths without an allocation:

Pang<sup>u</sup>ōsios, *Ke-we-to*, Wādileus, Petalos.'

And so many slaves: (those) of *Ke-we-to*, Iwakhās, Pang<sup>u</sup>ōsios, Plouteus.

Smiths of *the mistress* (at *A-ke-re-wa*) having an allocation:  
etc.'

It is evident from the examples discussed above that Mycenaean Greek used *de* in (a) the allative construction, (b) in strongly contrastive situations (e.g., in *a/not a*-type pairs), and (c) to shift between individual members of pairs or lists. Some scholars have argued that Mycenaean *de* had other uses which we will find also in Classical Greek. However, I find their arguments unpersuasive, for reasons that will be set forth after the discussion of Classical Greek.

### Homeric Greek.

In Homeric Greek, as in Mycenaean, *de* was used in allative constructions (Smyth 1920:99).

(99)	<i>hálade</i>	'to, toward the sea'
	<i>pólinde</i>	'to, toward the city'
	<i>pedíonde</i>	'to, toward the plain'
	<i>Haidósde</i>	'to, toward (the house of) Hades'

The contrastive use of *de* is also well-attested. As seen in the examples below, *de* was often paired with the particle *mén* in a *mén... de...* construction for contrasting two or more entities. The particles usually appeared immediately after the nouns they contrasted (or, if

there was a definite article, between it and the noun) and are loosely translatable as ‘on the one hand...; on the other hand...’. In the first example below, we see this construction being used to contrast the four horses that Anchises raised for himself with the two he gave to Aeneas. (My boldfacing conventions for *mén* follow the same principles as those for *de*.)

(100) [In the course of describing the pedigree of Aeneas’ horses, Diomedes says:]

*tê:s geneê:s êklepsen ânaks andrô:n Ankhîse:s,  
lâthre:i Laomédontos huposkhò:n thé:leas híppous.  
tô:n hoi hêks egénonto enì megároisi genéthle:.  
toús mèn téssaras autòs êkho:n atítall’ epì phátne:i,  
tò: dê dú’ Aineía:i dô:ken, mé:sto:re phóboio.  
ei touíto: ke láboimen, aroímethá ke kléos esthlón.* (Iliad V.268-73)

Of this stock the king of men Anchises stole a breed,  
putting his mares to them while Laomedon knew naught thereof.  
And from these a stock of six was born him in his palace;  
**four** he kept himself and reared at the stall,  
and **the other two** he gave to Aeneas, devisers of rout.  
Could we but take these twain, we should win us goodly renown.

The next examples are from the *Odyssey*. In the first scene, Calypso has just finished tempting Odysseus with immortality in an effort to have him remain with her. Odysseus responds,

(101) *Pótna theá, mé: moi tóde khó:eo: oída kai autòs  
pánta mál’, hoúneka seío períphro:n Pe:nelópeia  
eídos akidnotére: mégethós t’ eisánta idésthai;  
he: mèn gàr brotós esti, sù d’ athánatos kai agé:ro:s.  
allà kai hò:s ethélo: kai eéldomai é:meta pánta  
oíkadé t’ elthémenai kai nóstimon é:mar idésthai.* (Odyssey V.215-20)

Mighty goddess, be not wroth with me for this.  
I know full well of myself that wise Penelope  
is meaner to look upon than thou in comeliness and in stature,  
for **she** is a mortal, while **thou** art immortal and ageless.  
But even so I wish and long day by day  
to reach my home, and to see the day of my return.

Above, the *mén... de...* construction is used to contrast Odysseus' wife, Penelope, whom he admits is mortal (*he: mèn gàr brotós esti*), with his interlocutor, Calypso, who is immortal and ageless (*sù d' athánatos kai agé:ro:s*).

The particle *de* can contrast two or more entities without an accompanying *mén*, as seen in the next example:

(102) [Hermes is sent on a mission to Calypso by Zeus. He takes his wand.]

*tê:i t' andrô:n ómnata thélgei,  
hō:n ethélei, toùs d' aûte kai hupnó:ontas egeírei.  
tê:n metà khersin êkho:n péteto kratùs argeiphónte:s.* (Odyssey V.47-49)

wherewith he lulls to sleep the eyes  
of whom he will, while **others** again he awakens even out of slumber.  
With this in his hand the strong Argeiphontes flew.

Finally, Homeric *de* could be used in lists, as in the following example.

(103) [In a description of some of the events of the Phaeacian games:]

*hálmati d' Amphíalos pánto:n propheréstatos ê:en:  
dísko:i d' aû pánto:n polù phértatos ê:en Elatreús.  
pùks d' aû Laodámas, agathòs páis Alkinóoio.* (Odyssey VIII.128-30)

And **in leaping** Amphialus was best of all,  
and **with the discus** again far the best of all was Elatreus,  
and **in boxing** Laodamas, the good son of Alcinous.

We have seen above that *de*'s function in such enumerative lists becomes ambiguous as to whether it is strongly contrasting the entities or whether it is simply being used to shift between topics. The items which are marked with *de* in the preceding example are the leaping contest, the discus throw, and the boxing match. A plausible way of contrasting these would be to say, for example, that a leaping contest uses no equipment, a discus throw uses a discus, and a boxing match uses gloves, or that a leaping contest measures leg

strength, a discus throw measures upper body strength, and a boxing match measures punching strength and agility. However, we do not find this in the passage above. What we find, instead, is roughly equivalent to, ‘In leaping, Amphialus came in first; in discus, Elatreus came in first; and in boxing, Laodamas came in first.’ If we can call this contrast, it is certainly not strong. In fact, this use of *de* seems suspiciously like topic-marking.

### Classical Greek.

By Classical Greek, the formation of allatives using the suffix *de* had become nonproductive and only existed in certain frozen forms (Smyth 1920:99-100):

- (104) *oikade* or *oikónde* ‘homeward, toward home’  
*Athe:nasde* ‘to, toward Athens’  
*Olumpiasde* ‘to, toward Olympia’

The contrastive function of *de*, on the other hand, was still robust. For example, as in Homeric Greek, *de* was paired with the particle *mén* in a construction contrasting two or more entities:

- (105) *he:*    *mèn*    *psukhè:*    *polukhróniôn*    *esti.*  
the    *mén*    soul    long-lasting    is
- tò*    *dè*    *sô:ma*    *asthenésteron*    *kai*    *oligokhroniô:teron*  
the    *de*    body    weaker    and    shorter-lasting

‘The soul (on the one hand) lasts for a long time; the body (on the other hand) is weaker and lasts for a shorter time.’ (Plato, *Phaedo* 87d)

There are other characteristics of the *mén... de...* construction which make it look as if *de* was on its way to becoming a topic marker. First of all, *mén* and *de* are only weakly contrastive, and translating them as ‘on the one hand...; on the other hand...’ is often too



strong. Indeed, it seems as if the most common function of the construction is to present one topic and then shift to another. Second, there are often more than two entities which are contrasted. We saw in the chapter on Japanese that, when this happens, the contrastiveness of the multiple entities becomes weaker and leaves the entities open to reinterpretation as simple topics. It is important to note that when there *are* more than two entities mentioned, the first one can be marked by *mén*, but all of the subsequent entities must be marked with *de*. In addition, the first one does not have to be marked with *mén*—in other words, the *de* particles can appear on their own—but it was rare for a *mén*—appear on its own without an accompanying *de*, so rare that classicists have a name for it: *mén solitarium*. Finally, as in Japanese, there was often mismatch between the syntactic position of *mén* and *de* and their scope in the narrative. For example, the particles could be used to contrast entire clauses (or even fairly long passages) and not just single words. As we saw above with Japanese, when such particles are semantically “pried loose” from the words they attach to, and especially when there is a significant amount of narrative material separating the two or more contrasting elements (long-distance contrast, as in the suitors’ quest stories in Classical Japanese), the contrastive particles are easily reinterpreted as topic markers.

To my knowledge, no one has proposed and then satisfactorily demonstrated that any of these three *de*’s (allative, contrastive, topic-shifting or topic-marking) are related. In fact, until fairly recently, the third kind of *de* had not even been identified. Regarding allative and contrastive *de*, Hofmann 1950 simply equates the two but gives no justification for doing so, as pointed out in Gonda 1957. Gonda himself tries to connect the two: he says that *de* was originally an “emphatic” particle which conveyed a sense of exactness (as in ‘the very [noun]’) and that the allative sense was acquired later on, when *de* was used in conjunction with motion verbs. In other words, Gonda implies that something meaning ‘He went exactly home’ or ‘He went to the very home’ came to mean ‘He went towards

home'. This would mean that the semantic shift of *de* was "emphatic" (as in *mén... de...*, presumably) > allative. This is reminiscent of what Matisoff said about Lahu (cf. chapter 2 above). Again, however, this shift from a discourse-functional element to a more meaningful spatial postposition violates the directionality of semantic change posited in modern grammaticalization studies (cf. Traugott 1982, Traugott 1989, Hopper & Traugott 1993:94-129, Traugott 1995) and seems counterintuitive. In addition, it is not clear to me that the *de* in *mén... de... does* mean 'exactly' or 'the very [noun]'; the consensus among classicists is that it is a weak contrastive particle meaning 'on the other hand'. Finally, it seems strange to say that the allative sense of *de* is the newer meaning, since it was no longer a productive process in Classical Greek, while the discourse particle *de* is widely attested.

Hooker 1965 refutes Gonda's claim that the two are related. He believes that it would be strange for a particle which emphasized the notion of 'exactly on the spot, here' to be used only in conjunction with the accusative case and never with, say, the locative. In addition, he cites Mycenaean data comparable to what we examined above which clearly show that *de* was used in the allative sense well before the Homeric period and therefore was not a recent development from the emphatic particle, as Gonda suggests. In other words, Hooker successfully refutes the notion that the allative suffix is an outgrowth of the emphatic particle.

There is nothing in Hooker's argumentation that I have found, however, which might go against the development being in the *other* direction (from allative to discourse-deictic), which is the view I am putting forth. In fact, the data he cites support my hypothesis. He states that in Mycenaean, there is no single certain instance where the accusative by itself expresses motion towards a goal; accusative toponyms are consistently followed by *de*. This is not so in Homer, however: we find many accusative nouns with *de* alternating with

the same nouns in the accusative alone, both expressing motion toward a goal. The construction [noun.ACCUSATIVE-*de*], then, looks to me as if it was a productive construction in Mycenaean times, was starting to be replaced by [noun.ACCUSATIVE] in the Homeric period, and was used only in frozen expressions in Attic Greek. Since allative *de* is reconstructible back to Proto-Indo-European (as I mentioned, English *to* is a cognate), we know that it is fairly old. The contrastive *de* of *mén... de...*, on the other hand, does not have a certain etymology (Chantraine 1983 gives it as “incertaine”), and there have been no cognates established. This might be taken as evidence that the contrastive particle is a newer, Greek-internal development. Grammaticalization from the allative suffix is a good hypothesis, especially given (a) the cross-linguistic data I presented in chapter 2 attesting to the possibility of such a development, (b) the fact that the Greek morphemes are homophonous, and (c) evidence from many languages showing that there is a more general, natural progression from spatial deixis to discourse deixis.

#### **Bakker on contrastive and topical *de* in Classical Greek.**

To recapitulate, then, in the classical period, in addition to the contrastive use of *de*, there emerged topical uses that bear startling resemblance to some of the patterns we have seen in Japanese. My further treatment of *de* for this period will follow that of Bakker 1993, who provides a useful synchronic inventory of the Classical uses.<sup>31</sup> As we will see, however, his analysis is limited by (a) his entirely synchronic perspective and (b) his insistence on deriving everything he has to say about *de* from what he believes is its function as a boundary marker.

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<sup>31</sup>In the examples quoted from Bakker, for the most part I preserve his translations, line breaks, and conventions for indicating *de*'s in the English translations.

According to Bakker, *de*'s essence was that of a boundary marker (293). In Homeric Greek, it marked what he calls cognitive boundaries (i.e., boundaries that “occur as a consequence of the production of oral text, as a reflex of the cognitive processes of the speaker” (276)), which, in oral poetry, typically correspond to intonational chunks. As such, Homeric *de* effected transitions between various scenes in an episode:

- (106) *Hékto:r d' eks okhéo:n*  
*sùn teúkhesin álto khamásde,*  
*páillo:n d' oksée doûre*  
*katà stratòn ó:ikheto pánte:i,*  
*otrúno:n makhésasthai,*  
*égeire dè phúlopin ainé:n.*  
*hoi d' elelkhthe:san kai enantíoi éstan Akhaiô:n.*  
*Argeíoi d' hetéro:then*  
*ekartúnanto phálangas.*  
*artúnthe: dè mákhe:.*  
*stàn d' antíoi;*  
*en d' Agamémno:n prô:tos órous',*  
*éthelen dè poliú promákhesthai hapánto:n.* (Iliad XI.211-17)

And (*dé*) Hector from his chariot,  
with all his armour on he jumped;  
and (*dé*) brandishing his sharp spears,  
he went all over the army,  
exhorting his men to fight;  
and (*dé*) he roused fierce battle;  
and (*dé*) they rallied and (*kai*) faced the Greeks;  
and (*dé*) the Greeks on their part,  
they strengthened their rows;  
and (*dé*) battle was prepared;  
and (*dé*) they stood opposite each other;  
and (*dé*) Agamemnon was the first to rush forward;  
and (*dé*) he wanted to fight ahead of everyone else.

As this example demonstrates, Homeric *de* had wider scope than the typical allative and contrastive uses we have seen in Mycenaean; however, it is reminiscent of, for example, the Mycenaean lists we saw previously, in that it serves to pick out or shift our attention between elements within a larger whole. (Of course, since the Mycenaean corpus contains very little comparable to Homeric narrative, it is difficult to know how closely these functions are related.)

Before discussing topicality *per se*, Bakker identifies three types of “discontinuities” (281) in the classical period for which *de* serves as a boundary marker: (a) local, or “referential,” topic-switch, (b) text-organizing boundaries related to the presentation of events and participants in discourse, and (c) perspectival boundaries related to the point of view from which the narrative is presented. I discuss each of these below.

What Bakker calls local (or referential) topic-switching *de* is essentially a switch-reference device, indicating that the pronominal *de*-marked subject of a clause is not co-referential with the subject of the immediately preceding clause. This can be viewed as a device used to restore a previous discourse topic, since the entity referred to by the *de*-marked pronoun must be an available anaphor from the preceding discourse. (Using *de* in this way is reminiscent of the way Modern Japanese uses *wa* to switch topics, as we saw in chapter 3.) Bakker characterizes this use of *de* as producing a “local and temporary switch to another ... participant in a given scene...” (282).

An interesting fact in connection with this use of *de* involves the evolution of Greek *ho* (masculine), *he*: (feminine), and *tó* (neuter). In Homeric Greek, the accented forms of these were demonstrative pronouns, but by classical times, they had become definite articles and had completely lost their independent pronominal status except when followed by *de*. For example, Mastronarde 1993:87 states, “[combined] with *dé*.... the pronominal article usually makes a change of grammatical subject from the previous sentence and may be translated by *he, she, it, they*.” The motivation for this development is apparent. If the subject of a clause is co-referential with that of the preceding one, then the default pronoun is null. In other words, a subject will be overtly instantiated as a pronoun only if it is *not* co-referential with that of the preceding clause—i.e., only if it is at least potentially contrastive. As a result, contrastive *de* became associated with this use of the pronouns.

and this pairing of form and meaning (i.e., the construction consisting of demonstrative pronoun plus *de*) survived into Classical Greek, even though all other uses of *ho*, *he:*, and *tó* as pronouns had been lost by this time.

Bakker's second type of Classical *de* is used to create text-organizing boundaries related to the "discontinuity of participants and events" in discourse (284). Bakker is referring to the *de* which is associated with clause-initial adverbials—time, space, and circumstantial phrases which serve as frame-setters for (and frame-shifters to) the following discourse. For example:

- (107) [Two thieves know a secret entrance to the treasure house of the king, but the latter has set some traps:]

*tô:n dè pho:rô:n hó:sper en tô:i prò tou khróno:i elthónto:n kai esdúntos tou hetérou autô:n, epei pròs tò ángos prosê:lthe, ithéo:s tê:i páge:i enékhesthai. hó:s dè gnô:nai autòn en hoío:i kakô:i ê:n, ithéo:s kaléein tòn adelpheòn kai de:loûn autô:i tà pareónta, kai keleúein tèn takhíste:n esdúnta apotameîn autoû tèn kephalê:n hóko:s mè: autòs ophtheis kai gno:ristheis hòs eíe: prosapolése:i kakeínon. tô:i dè dóksai eû légein, kai poiê:saí min peisthénta taúta, kai katarmósanta tòn líthon apiénai ep' oíkou, phéronta tèn kephalê:n tou adelpheou.*

*hô:s dè he:mére: egéneto, eselthónta tòn basiléa es tò oíke:ma ekpeplê:kthai horô:nta tò sô:ma tou pho:ròs en tê:i páge:i áneu tê:s kephalê:s eón. tò dè oíke:ma asinês....*

(Herodotus, *Histories* 2.121)

The thieves came as usual, and one of them made his way into the chamber. But as soon as he reached the money-jars, he got caught in one of the traps. Realizing the danger, he called his brother and begged him to come in as quickly as he could and cut off his head to prevent the recognition of his dead body and the ruin of both. The brother, seeing the sense of this request, did as he was told. He fitted the stone back in its place and went home, taking the head with him.

When day broke (*hô:s dè he:mére: egéneto*), the king entered his treasure house. And how great was his astonishment when he saw the headless body of the thief in the trap, without any sign of damage....

The *de*'s in this excerpt and the following one can be profitably compared with the scene-shifting and scene-labeling *ha*'s we saw in the Japanese texts quoted in chapter 3.

(108) [The Persian king Xerxes is marching against Greece with a large army:]

*Epei d' egéneto en Abúdo:i mése:i, e:théle:se Ksérkse:s idésthai pánta tòn stratón; kai proepepoie:to gar epi kolo:noû epíte:des autô:i taúte:i proeksédre: líthou lekoû, epoie:san dè Abude:noi enteilaménou próteron basiléos, enthaûta hô:s hísdeto, katorô:n epi tê:s e:iónos ethe:eíto kai tòn pesdòn kai tàs néas, the:eúmenos dè himérthe: tō:n neō:n hámillan ginoméne:n idésthai. epei dè egénetó te kai eníko:n Phoínikes Sidó:nioi, hé:sthe: te tê:i hamílle:i kai tê:i stratiê:i.*

*Hô:s dè hó:ra pánta mèn tòn Hellé:sponton hupò tō:n neō:n apoekrumménon, pásas dè tàs aktàs kai tà Abude:nō:n pedía epíplea anthró:po:n, enthaûta ho Ksérkse:s heo:utòn emakárise, metà dè touito edákruse. Mathò:n dé min Artábanos ... eíreto táde....*

(Herodotus, *Histories* 7.44-46)

When they had arrived in Abydus [at the Hellespont], Xerxes wanted to see the display of his army. He sat down on a throne of white marble that had already been built for him by the people of Abydus. From there, he was able to see the whole of his army at a single glance. Watching them, he suddenly wished to see a rowing match. The match took place and was won by the Phoenicians of Sydon, and Xerxes was delighted both with the match and with the army.

When he saw (*hō:s dè hó:ra*) the whole of the Hellespont hidden by ships and all the coast and plains of Abydus filled with men, he blessed himself, and a moment later he wept. Seeing him, Artabanus ... said to him the following....

Note that the adverbials in these two excerpts create the frame or context for the following discourse in slightly different ways: in the first example, 'when day broke' is a new event; in the second example, the adverbial recapitulates and encapsulates the immediately preceding event, which serves as the starting point for the following actions.

This use of *de* is further evidence for the cognitive link between preposed adverbials and devices for shifting between episodes or frames. It is also possible to see this as a fairly direct development from the allative suffix *de*, via contrastive *de*. Significantly, however, Bakker never makes the connection between allative *de* and the Classical uses he inventories. No doubt this is because he accepts a different etymological derivation: "Diachronically, *dé* can be considered a semantically and phonetically bleached form of the

particle ... [*dé:*] (with long vowel), an evidentiality marker occurring in statements in which a speaker presents something as evident, obvious, both to him/herself and the addressee” (306). Although this alternative etymology is oft-repeated (e.g., Kühner 1904:261 and references therein, Ruijgh 1971:646), it appears to be accepted more on the basis of authority rather than argument. In fact, the semantic connection between *dé:* (usually glossed ‘in truth’, ‘indeed’, ‘surely’, or ‘really’) and *de* is a bit far-fetched, and no reconstruction of the intervening stages has been documented. In addition, the phonology of this vowel shortening may be suspect.

It is worth discussing for a moment a further difference between my approach and Bakker’s. Since Bakker takes as his starting point the “fact that the central function of *dé* is boundary marking” (293), he treats its second-position clitic status as given. In this position, according to Bakker, *de* can become stereotypically associated with a variety of left-dislocated constituents with frame-setting force: “*Dé*, being the grammatical marker of boundaries, is used *by default* whenever a preposed adverbial is used to set a frame...” (293, emphasis added). In other words, Bakker sees *de*’s topic- and contrast-marking functions as developing almost accidentally from its function as a discourse boundary marker. (He states, “*dé* as a boundary-marking element has a natural affinity with ... [topical] elements in Greek discourse grammar, which leads to repeated, routinized co-occurrence, and eventually to grammaticalization” (293).) I believe, however, that the directionality of development was the other way around. Originally, *de* was appended to locations and destinations. Because of the inherent potential of such constituents for frame-setting, such adverbials tended to be preposed, resulting in the association of *de* with the (already established) syntactic second position.

Bakker’s implicit diachronic picture is that Greek began with the abstract, syntactic notion of a boundary marker, out of which evolved a variety of more concrete, less



grammatical, and less text-internal (i.e., more “real-world”) uses, such as marking contrast and moving from episode to episode. As I pointed out above regarding Matisoff and Gonda’s comments, this is the opposite direction from what we would expect in light of modern grammaticalization theory (cf. Traugott 1982, Traugott 1989, Hopper & Traugott 1993:94-129, Traugott 1995). Under my theory, however, the process begins with a more concrete, spatial concept (the allative marker) and later evolves contrastive and topic-marking uses, which are more abstract and text-internal—a process that Traugott 1989 and Traugott 1995 have described as *subjectification*. In addition, in my analysis, it is from the narrator’s act of shifting topics that discourse boundaries naturally emerge.

Bakker offers the following passage as an example of his third type of Classical *de*, used for marking perspectival boundaries.

(109) Lysias I.15 (Speech I, The killing of Eratosthenes)

*metà dè taúta, ô: ándres, khrónou metaksù diagenoménu kai emoû polù apoleleimménou tô:n emautoû kakô:n, prosérkhetai moi tis presbûtis ánthro:pos, hupò guanikòs hupopemphtheísa hèn ekeínos emoíkheuen, ho:s egò: hústeron é:kouon; haúte: dè orgisdoméne: kai adikeísthai nomísdousa, hóti oukéti homoío:s ephoíta par’ auté:n, ephúlatten héo:s ekse:úren hó ti eíe: tò aítion. proselthoúsa oún moi engùs he: ánthro:pos tê:s oikías tê:s emê:s epite:rousa, ... éphe:....*

Thereafter, men of Athens, when some time had passed and I was completely ignorant of the domestic evil around me, an old woman approached me. She was sent in secret by a woman whom this guy was having an affair with, as I learnt later. This woman (*haúte: dé*) was indignant and felt she had been wronged, since he did not visit her as frequently as he had done before. She had followed him in order to find out the reason. So this old woman came to me, after she had watched my house from nearby for some time and said....

As Bakker notes, the function of *de* here seems to be to signal a change in perspective. In particular, *haúte: dé* (‘she’-*de*) flags the proposition (namely, that the old woman was indignant, etc.) as containing supplemental information which became available to the defendant (who is the narrator here) only after the events had occurred; that is, *de* marks the information as *not* having been available to the narrator at the time the events were actually

taking place. In other words, *de* here is being used, just as we saw with Japanese *wa* in chapter 3, to mark omniscient perspective.

### **Ruijgh's and Morpurgo Davies' theories.**

Scholars such as Ruijgh (1967, 1971) and Morpurgo Davies (1997) have argued that Mycenaean *de* already had all of the uses that are attested in Classical Greek, i.e., contrastive and what they call connective. (Neither Ruijgh nor Morpurgo Davies discusses allative *de*, since they, like Bakker, subscribe to the theory that non-allative *de* is derived from the "evidential/modal" particle *dé*.) The only two forms that Ruijgh and Morpurgo Davies have as evidence for their claim are *o-da-a<sub>2</sub>* (vs. *o-a<sub>2</sub>*, under their theory corresponding to Attic *hō:(s)de* 'in this manner', 'thus', 'so very', 'so exceedingly', 'hither', 'here', etc. vs. *hō:(s)*, 'thus', 'so', etc.) and *to-so-de* (vs. *to-so*; presumably Attic *tosósde* 'so many', 'so much', 'so great', 'so long', etc. vs. *tósos*, also 'so great', 'so large', etc.). However, there are several problems with their analyses.

First of all, it is far from certain that *o-da-a<sub>2</sub>* is an adverb corresponding to Attic *hō:(s)de*. Assuming that Ruijgh is correct in equating the Mycenaean form with Attic *hō:(s)de*, there is still the unaccounted-for *-a<sub>2</sub>*, which was presumably *-ha*, from an older *\*-sa*. Ruijgh admits that he cannot identify *-a<sub>2</sub>* lexically (i.e., he does not know what it means, nor what its function is); just as problematic is the fact that his analysis relies on a process of anticipatory vowel harmony (i.e., the lowering of *de* to *da* under the influence of the following *-ha* or *\*-sa*), which is not documented elsewhere in the language.

There is no dispute that the form *to-so-de* corresponds both phonologically and semantically to (some form of) Attic *tosósde*. However, Ruijgh's position that the *de* of

*to-so-de* is connective requires him to find different distributions for *to-so* versus *to-so-de*. His claim, therefore, is that *to-so-de*, being connective, never appears at the beginning of lists (but appears with the second or later element). In the case of tablets which *do* begin with *to-so-de*, Ruijgh surmises that the tablet is either defective or is a member of a series of tablets, making *to-so-de* non-initial. This reasoning would have had some force had Ruijgh been able to offer independent criteria for identifying certain tablets as non-initial parts of a series.

Conversely, Ruijgh's theory about the distribution of *to-so* versus *to-so-de* would predict that there would be no texts with *to-so* after the initial element. Again, however, since such texts do exist, Ruijgh retreats to an *ad hoc* asyndeton of austerity, stating that *de* was purposely omitted either to economize stylistically or to save writing materials. In short, the evidence for connective (or what some classicists have termed "transitive") *de* in Mycenaean is not persuasive.

An alternative solution, however, is to treat the *de* on these forms as a vestige of, or as a frozen form containing, allative *de*. It is not a great semantic leap between allativity and notions of distance traversed, extent, amount, and numerosity. In its purest sense, allativity denotes movement towards a goal. However, when one is moving toward a destination, one is at the same time traversing a path that marks out an extent of space (distance): in other words, these are all components of the frame semantics of allativity. Distances can, in turn, be metaphorically identified with extents of time and, crucially, amounts (cf. the AMOUNT IS LENGTH metaphor, Berkeley Metaphor Group:14). It is perhaps no accident, then, that in English we have collocations such as *the extent to which*. Under this hypothesis, then, Mycenaean *to-so-de* and Attic *tosónde* would morphologically

consist of the accusative form<sup>32</sup> of *tosos* ‘thus much’ plus the allative *de*.<sup>33</sup> The other case forms of *tosónde* would simply have been back-formations created after, in all but a few frozen forms in Classical Greek, *de* lost its allative sense and the *de* on *tosónde* became reinterpreted as the “connective” particle for marking contrastive entities and topics.<sup>34</sup>

One might ask, if *tósos* was sometimes suffixed by allative *de*, why its corresponding interrogative form *pósos* ‘how much’, ‘how many’, ‘how far’ is never found with it. In fact, this may be an artifact of Byzantine scholars, who were accustomed to seeing *wh*-words followed by second-position *de* and thus consistently interpreted the *de* as a separate component of the interrogative question, rather than as what maybe should have been written *posónde*.

In fact, there is evidence that other languages and language families have the same polysemy and diachronic development. Aside from the English example (*the extent to which*) mentioned above, there is the case of Proto-Algonquian. The verbal complex in Pre-Proto-Algonquian can be schematized as:

(110)            [[Noun]<sup>35</sup> [Postposition]]    [Verb]

<sup>32</sup>Since the Linear B script does not represent coda consonants, *to-so-de* could have been *tososde* (nominative) or *tosonde* (accusative).

<sup>33</sup>It is difficult at this point to say what the difference was between the forms with and without *de*. As evident from the preceding discussion, Classical Greek dictionaries have almost identical definitions for the two entries. They may simply have been variants of each other, or perhaps one is historically an older form—although, since they both appear in Mycenaean, it may be hard to determine which is older. More likely, there was originally some semantic difference between the two forms: perhaps the form with *de* was used when the narrator was somehow, within the allative frame, fixating on the notion of extent, rather than the notion of movement toward a goal (cf. English *He ran all the way to the store* vs. *He ran to the store*). However, neither this nor any other semantic difference has been identified; perhaps it was lost by the period we have significant amounts of textual data from. Nevertheless, it might be a fruitful enterprise to examine the distribution of these two forms in Classical Greek.

<sup>34</sup>The word in Classical Greek can be inflected for any of the four cases. Once the *de* on the end of the word has lost its allative meaning and has been reinterpreted as being connective or contrastive, there is no motivation for restricting the case inflection to accusative.

<sup>35</sup>Adverbs and numbers, as well.

However, by the Proto-Algonquian period, the above construction had been reanalyzed as:

(111) [Noun] [[Relative root]<sup>36</sup> [Verb]]

Now, Proto-Algonquian had a locative ‘at’ postposition, *\*taθi*, and a postposition for marking numbers, *\*tahθwi*. These postpositions derived from the prefixes *\*taθ-* and *\*tahθ-*, which look as if they could be related.<sup>37</sup> In addition to their phonological similarities, these postpositions shared in an Algonquian morphosyntactic process called *initial change*. In Proto-Algonquian, in certain syntactic contexts, the first vowel of the verb stem ablated. However, in the case of three morphemes only (*\*taθ-*, *\*tahθ-*, and *\*tā* ‘exist’), instead of ablauting, *\*ēn-* was prefixed to the morpheme. For example, one could get forms such as *\*ēn-ta....* While nobody has previously tried to connect the two affixes etymologically, it is suggestive that they share phonological similarities and that they both trigger an unusual variant of initial change.

Returning to *de*, there is an additional problem with the idea that Mycenaean Greek already had connective *de*. Cypriot has no *de* whatsoever (i.e., it does not have contrastive *de* nor connective (“transitive”) *de*—although I do not know if Cypriot also lacked allative *de*, since Morpurgo Davies does not link these two *de*’s and therefore does not make mention of the allative one). Arcadian Greek has *only* contrastive *de* until the fourth century, after which it has both contrastive and connective *de*. Since Morpurgo Davies believes that the older Mycenaean Greek had both contrastive and connective *de*, she must explain, on the one hand, why Cypriot lost both kinds of *de*, and on the other hand, why Arcadian *de* must have first lost its connective use and then regained it at a later point in time. Morpurgo Davies’ speculations about how this might have happened (e.g., that

<sup>36</sup>A *relative root* consists of the incorporated postpositions and other morphemes which have been recruited into this construction.

<sup>37</sup>Their phonological similarities may be given more weight by the fact that *\*θ* in Proto-Algonquian was a marked segment.

society got more sophisticated and started construing texts in terms of larger chunks) are far from convincing. Instead, I would argue that Arcadian is conservative in that it had only contrastive *de* for a long period before later developing connective *de*. The fact that only contrastive *de* is attested in Arcadian works in favor of my hypothesized path of grammaticalization.

### Hellenistic Greek.

Egyptian papyri from Oxyrhynchus and elsewhere (Hunt & Edgar 1932) date from approximately the 3rd century B.C.E. to the 7th century C.E., although the majority of them date from between the 3rd century B.C.E. and the 3rd century C.E. They are a good source of data for a study of the sort I am conducting for several reasons. First of all, since they are less literary and archaicizing, they give us a better idea of what was actually happening in spoken Greek. In terms of transmission errors and emendations, too, they are better than traditional literary texts, since the papyri have been less (or not at all) tampered with. Finally, since the genres are the same (e.g., marriage agreements, receipts, wills, etc.) but cut across several hundred years, if there is diachronic change, one can focus on it while more or less controlling for content. This is not true of literary genres, where content varies widely from text to text and from period to period. Let us examine the use of *de* in some marriage contracts.

(112) P. Eleph. I.1-18. (311 B.C.E.)

*<sup>1</sup>Aleksándrou toû Aleksándrou basileúontos étei hebdómo:i. Ptolemaíou satrapeúontos étei tesare-<sup>2</sup>skaidekáto:i, me:nòs Díou. sungraphè: sunoikisías He:rakleídou kai De:me:trías. lambánei He:rakleíde:s <sup>3</sup>De:me:trían Kó:ian gunaíka gne:sían parà toû patròs Leptínou Kó:iou kai tê:s me:tròs Philo:tídos eleútheros <sup>4</sup>eleuthéran prosperoméne:n heimatismòn kai kósmon (drakmò:n) (khilío:n). parekhéto: dè He:rakleíde:s De:me:tríai <sup>5</sup>hósa prosé:kei gunaiki eleuthérai pánta. eínai dè he:màs katà tautò hó pou àn dokê:i áriston eínai bouleuoménois koinê:i <sup>6</sup>boulê:i Leptíne:i kai He:rakleíde:i. eían dé ti*

*kakotekhnoûsa halíske:tai epì aiskhúne:i toû andròs He:rakleídou De:me:tría, <sup>7</sup>sterésthò: hò:m prose:nénkato pánto:n, epideíksáto: dè He:rakleíde:s hó ti àn enkalê:i De:me:tríai enantíon andrô:n triô:n, <sup>8</sup>hoûs àn dokimásdo:sin amphóteroi. mè: eksésto: dè He:rakleíde:i gunaîka álle:n epeiságesthai eph' húbrei De:me:trías me:dè <sup>9</sup>teknopoieísthai eks álle:s gunaikòs me:dè kakotekhneîn me:dèn pareurései me:demiâi He:rakleíde:n eis De:me:trían; <sup>10</sup>eiàn dé ti poô:n toúto:n halíske:tai He:rakleíde:s kai epideíkse:i De:me:tría enantíon andrô:n triô:n, hoûs àn dokimásdo:sin <sup>11</sup>amphóteroi, apodóto: He:rakleíde:s De:me:tríai tè:m phernè:n hèn prose:nénkato (drakhmàs) (khilías) kai prosapoteisáto: argurí-<sup>12</sup>ou Aleksandreíou (drakhmàs) (khilías). he: dè prâksis ésto: katháper eg díke:s katà nómon télos ekhouse:s De:me:tríai kai tois metà <sup>13</sup>De:me:trías prássousin ék te autoû He:rakleídou kai tō:n He:rakleídou pánto:n kai engaío:n kai nautikō:n. he: dè sungraphè: <sup>14</sup>hē:de kuría ésto: pánte:i pánto:s ho:s ekeî toû sunallágmatos gegene:ménou, hó pou àn epeghère:i He:rakleíde:s katà <sup>15</sup>De:me:trías è: De:me:tría te kai toî metà De:me:trías prássontes epeghéro:sin katà He:rakleídou. kúrioi dè ésto:san He:rakleí-<sup>16</sup>de:s kai De:me:tría kai tàs sungraphàs autoî tàs hautō:n phulássontes kai epeghérontes kat' allé:lo:n. mártures <sup>17</sup>Kléo:n Gelō:ios, Antikráte:s Te:mníte:s, Lísis Te:mníte:s, Dionúsios Te:mníte:s, Aristómakhos Kure:naíos, Aristódikos <sup>18</sup>Kō:ios.*

In the 7th year of the reign of Alexander son of Alexander, the 14th year of the satrapship of Ptolemy, in the month of Dios. Marriage contract of Heraclides and Demetria. Heraclides takes as his lawful wife Demetria, Coan, both being freeborn, from her father Leptines, Coan, and her mother Philotis, bringing clothing and ornaments to the value of 1000 drachmae, and Heraclides **shall supply** to Demetria all that is proper for a freeborn wife, and we **shall live** together wherever it seems best to Leptines and Heraclides consulting in common. **If** Demetria is discovered doing any evil to the shame of her husband Heraclides, she shall be deprived of all that she brought, but Heraclides **shall prove** whatever he alleges against Demetria before three men whom they both accept. **It shall not be lawful** for Heraclides to bring home another wife in insult of Demetria **nor** to have children by another woman **nor** to do any evil against Demetria on any pretext. **If** Heraclides is discovered doing any of these things and Demetria proves it before three men whom they both accept, Heraclides shall give back to Demetria the dowry of 1000 drachmae which she brought and shall moreover forfeit 1000 drachmae of the silver coinage of Alexander. Demetria and those aiding Demetria to exact payment shall have **the right of execution**, as if derived from a legally decided action, upon the person of Heraclides and upon all the property of Heraclides both on land and on water. **This contract** shall be valid in every respect, wherever Heraclides may produce it against Demetria, or Demetria and those aiding Demetria to exact payment may produce it against Heraclides, as if the agreement had been made in that place. Heraclides and Demetria shall be **entitled** to keep the contracts severally in their own custody and to produce them against each other. Witnesses: Cleon, Gelan; Anticrates, Temnian; Lysis, Temnian; Dionysius, Temnian; Aristomachus, Cyrenaean; Aristodicus, Coan.

As can be seen from this passage, the use of *de* in Hellenistic Greek was quite different from its use in Classical Greek. Most noticeably, the shifting function associated

with *de* seems to have weakened, so that *de* could be appear without a concomitant subject or topic change. (At this point, then, the closest translation of this function would be as the weak conjunction ‘and’.) In other words, as we saw above with Japanese *wa*, the contrastive and shifting use of *de* still survives but seems to have moved off center stage. For example, the first *de* in the passage above, marking *parekhéto*: ‘takes’, can be interpreted as contrastive (as in ‘Heraclides *takes*... but *provides*...’); however, viewed in context with the second *de* (on *eínai*), it is better interpreted as functioning as a simple conjunction: ‘Heraclides takes as his lawful wife Demetria..., *and* he shall provide clothing and ornaments..., *and* we [Heraclides and Demetria] shall live wherever it seems best to Leptines and Heraclides...’.

Perhaps not coincidentally, by Hellenistic times, *de*’s use in space-building constructions seems to be limited to frozen expressions. For example, almost all protases appear with *de*, following the same pattern noted by linguists beginning with Haiman 1978. This is the case with the *de*’s in lines 6 and 10. Another place where *de* seems to be frozen is in commands and prohibition constructions (e.g., the three instances of *mè*: or *me*: followed by *dè* in lines 8 and 9) and performatives (line 12, *he: dè práksis ésto*: ‘let the right of execution be’ and line 15, *kúrioi dè ésto: san* ‘let [Heraclides and Demetria] be entitled’). Even the relatively rare topic constructions, such as the one found straddling lines 13 and 14 (*he: dè sungraphè: hé: de kuría ésto*: ‘this contract, it shall be valid’), seem to be mostly stock legal expressions. Clearly, then, *de* is on its way out.

(113) P. Tebt. 104.5-34. (92 B.C.E.)

<sup>5</sup>*Basileúontos Ptolemaíou toû [kai Aleks]án[drou theoû Phi]lomé:toros étous deutérou* <sup>6</sup>*kai eikostoû, eph’ [hie]r[éo:s Aleksándrou ka]i tô:[n] áll[o:]n tô:n [gr]japhoméno:n en* <sup>7</sup>*Aleksandreíai, me:nòs Ksandik[o]û hendekáte:i M[ekhei]r hendekáte:i,* <sup>8</sup>*en Kerkeosírei tê:s Polémo:nos merídos toû Ar[sinoí]tou nomoû. homologeí* <sup>9</sup>*Philískos Apollo:niou P[érs]je:s tê:s epigonê:s Apollo:niái tê:i* <sup>10</sup>*kai Kellaúthei He:rakle[í]dou Persíne:i metà kfuri]jou toû heautê:s* <sup>11</sup>*<a>dalphoû Apollo:niou é[khei]n par’ [a]jutê:s eis khalkoû nomís-* <sup>12</sup>*matos lógon tálanta dúo kai drakhmàs tetrakiskhilía[s] tè:n dio:-* <sup>13</sup>*mologe:méne:n autô:i phernè:n hupèr*



autê:s Apollo:nias. [é]sto: dè <sup>14</sup>Apollo:niai p[a]rà Philísko:i peitharkhoûsa a[u]toû ho:s prosê:[kó]n estin <sup>15</sup>gunaïka andrós, kur<i>euóusan met' autoû koinê:i tô:n huparkhónto:n autoîs. <sup>16</sup>tà dè [d]éonta p[á]nta kai tôn [hi]matismon kai tâlla hósá prosé:kei gunaiki <sup>17</sup>gametê:i parekhéstho: Philískos Apollo:nían ende:mô:n kai apode:mô:n <sup>18</sup>katà dúnamin tô:n huparkhónto:n autoîs, kai mè: eksésto: Philísko:i <sup>19</sup>gunaïka álle:n ep[a]g[a]gésthai allà Apollo:nían me:dè pallakè:n me:dè <sup>20</sup>p[aid]ikòn ékhein me:d[è] tekno]poieîsthai eks álle:s gunaikòs sdó:s[e]:s <sup>21</sup>Ap[o]llo:nias me:d' álle:n [oikía]n oikeîn hê:s ou kurieúsei Apollo:niai <sup>22</sup>me:d' egbálllein me:dè hub[rísd]e[i]n me:dè kakoukheîn autè:n me:dè tô:n hupar-<sup>23</sup>khónto:n me:thèn eksallot[r]iôun ep' adikiái tê:i Apollo:niai. eàn dé ti <sup>24</sup>toúto:n epideikhthê:i poiô:n è: tà déonta è: tôn himatismòn è: tâlla <sup>25</sup>mè: parékhe:i autê:i kathà gégraptai, apoteisáto:i Philískos Apollo:niai <sup>26</sup>parakhrê:ma tèn phernè:n tà dúo tálanta kai tà[s] tetrakiskhilias drakhmàs <sup>27</sup>toû khalkoû. katà tà autà dè me:dè Apollo:niai eksésto: apókoiton me:[dè] <sup>28</sup>aphé:meron gínesthai apò tê:s Philískou oikías áneu tê:s Philískou gnó:[m]e:s me:d' állo:[i] <sup>29</sup>andr[i] suneînai me:dè phthe[í]rein tôn koinòn oíkon me:dè aiskhúnesthai <sup>30</sup>Philískon hósá phérei andri aiskhúnein. eàn dè Apollo:nía hekoûsa boule:[tai] <sup>31</sup>apallássesthai apò Philískou, apodóto: autê:i Philískos tèn phernè:n haplè:n <sup>32</sup>e[n] he:mérais déka aph' hê:s eá[n ap]aite:thê:i. eàn dè mè: ap[o]dô:i kathà gégrap[tai], <sup>33</sup>ap]o[t]jeisáto: autê:i parakhrê:ma hèn eile:phen he:mi[ól]jion tè:[n] phernè:n. <sup>34</sup>mártures Dionúsios Pátro:nos, Dionúsios Hermaískou, Théo:n Ptolemaíou, ....

In the 22nd year of the reign of Ptolemy also called Alexander, the god Philometor, the priest of Alexander and the other priests being as written in Alexandria, the 11th of the month Xandicus, which is the 11th of Mecheir, at Kerkeosiris in the division of Polemon of the Arsinoite nome. Philiscus son of Apollonius, Persian of the Epigone, acknowledges to Apollonia, also called Kellauthis, daughter of Heraclides, Persian, having with her as guardian her brother Apollonius, that he has received from her in copper money 2 talents 4000 drachmae, the dowry for herself, Apollonia, agreed upon with him. Apollonia shall live with Philiscus, obeying him as a wife should her husband, owning their property in common with him. All necessities and clothing and whatever else is proper for a wedded wife Philiscus shall supply to Apollonia, whether he is at home or abroad, in proportion to their means. It shall not be lawful for Philiscus to bring in another wife besides Apollonia, nor to keep a concubine, nor a boy, nor to have children by another woman while Apollonia lives, nor to inhabit another house over which Apollonia is not mistress, nor to eject or insult or ill-treat her, nor to alienate any of their property to the detriment of Apollonia. If he is proved to be doing any of these things or fails to supply her with necessities or clothing or other things as stated, Philiscus shall forthwith forfeit to Apollonia the dowry of 2 talents 4000 drachmae of copper. In like manner it shall not be lawful for Apollonia to spend the night or day away from the house of Philiscus without Philiscus's consent or to consort with another man or to dishonour the common home or to cause Philiscus to be shamed by any act that brings shame upon a husband. If Apollonia chooses of her own will to separate from Philiscus, Philiscus shall repay her the bare dowry within ten days from the date of the demand. If he does not repay as stated, he shall forthwith forfeit to her one and a half times the amount of the dowry which he has received. Witnesses: Dionysius son of Patron, Dionysius son of Hermaiscus, Theon son of Ptolemaeus, ....

As with the previous text, most of these *de*'s are in protases, prohibitions, commands, and performatives; only one (*tà dè [d]éonta p[á]nta* 'all necessities') seems to mark a topic shift. This number rises to two if one counts *katà tà autà dè* 'in like manner' in line 27; again, however, this is most likely a frozen legal expression.

(114) P. Ryl. 154.1-36. (66 C.E.)

<sup>1</sup>[An]tígraphon [sungraphê:]s. (étous) *εγ Νέρο:νος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αυτοκράτορο(ς)*, <sup>2</sup>[me:]nòs Apella[íou κβ Phaô:]phi κβ. *en Bakkh[i]ádi tē:[s He:r]akleídou merí[do]s tou Arsinoítou n[o]mou. [hom]ologeí* <sup>3</sup>[Khai]ré:mo:n Apol[lo:níou P]érse:s tē:s epigonē:[s] ho:s (etō:n) *λδ oulè:i rhini m[é]se:i Sisóiti Peteé:s[i]os [ho:s] (etō:n) οα* <sup>4</sup>[oul]è:i ophrúí ariste[rái ékhein] par' autoú epí tē:[i au]toú thugatrí prooúse:[i] k[ai] sunoúse:i tou Kha[iré:monos] gunaiki <sup>5</sup>[Thaí]sarío:i phernē:s [argu]rí[o]u episé:mou drakhmās [hekatō]n kai paraphérno:n en[o:t]ío:n khrusō:n sde[úgos teta]rtō:n <sup>6</sup>[tess]járo:n kai me:[nisko]n [khru]soûn tetartō:n [triō:]n kai daktúlia kh[rusā] dúo tetartō:n [d]ú[o kai] psel[í]o:n <sup>7</sup>[arg]jurō:n sdeúgos ho[lkē:s] asé:mou drakhmō:n tess[ar]ákonta tessáro:n kai k[l]ál[i]a dúo holkē:s as[é:]m[ou dra]khmō:n <sup>8</sup>[de]kaèks kai hima[tí]o:n s[t]olà[s] dúo, leukè:i mia [nar]k[i]ssíne: mia, kai páll[i]a pénte kai khalkó:m[at]a kai <sup>9</sup>[ek]loutrídion, e[pi t]ò autò mnō:n tessáro:n, [k]a[fi] áneu stathmoú edrus a[fi] khalkai dúo kai kassistéro]u mnaí <sup>10</sup>[pén]te, kai áneu dí[ate]imé:s[e]o:s eis karpían k[a]fi en pr[os]ph[orá]i ap[ò] tou enestō:tos *εγ (étous) [N]épo:n[os Kl]aυdíου <sup>11</sup>Kaί[sar]os Sebas[to]ύ Γερμανικοῦ Αυτοκράτορος τὸν ὑπαρkhonta autō:i Sis[ó]i]ti perí Bakkhíada k[lē:]ron <sup>12</sup>[kat]oikikòn aro]u]rō:n déka he:mísous tetártou en dusí sphrageísi, aph' hō:n en tō:i legomén[o:i] Sáde:i [kl]é:r[o]u <sup>13</sup>[áro]urai heptà hé:mis[ut]ét[ar]ton, hō:n geítōnes touí[o:]n nótu próte[r]on He:ra[kleí]dou tou Sdo:í[lo]u klē:r[os], borrhā <sup>14</sup>Apol]lo:níou tou Stráto:nos klē:ros, libòs diō:ruks legoméne:i Arkheíou di' hoú apokheí[e]tai ho klē:r[os], ap[e:-<sup>15</sup>lió:]tou Petheúto[s] tou Ptóllidos klē:ros, anà méson óntos koinoú hudragó:gou di' hoú potísdetai [ho] klē:r[os], <sup>16</sup>tē:]s dē deutéras sph[r]ageídos tō:n loipō:n arourō:n triō:n en tō:i legoméno:i Piene:ouíōs, ge[í]tone[s] <sup>17</sup>dē kai touíto:n nó[tou] Bakkhí[o]nos tou Ammo:níou klē:ros, b[orr]hā Pa[....]eútos t[ou...].in[..... <sup>18</sup>kl]ē:ros, libòs diō:ruks eis hōn eiskheíta[i] ho klē:r[os], ape:lío:tos P[is]istrá[to]u klē:rou. sum[b]iouto:[san o]ún <sup>19</sup>[hea]utois allé:lo[is] ho]i g[a]moúntes hé: te Thaisáron kai ho Kha[iré:mo:n anempsimoiré:to:s kathóti p[rót]eron <sup>20</sup>[su]nbeíoun, tou Kha[iré:monos ágontos tà kat' é]to]s geo:rgikà erga pánta tō:n tē:s prosphorás klē:r[ou] <sup>21</sup>[aro]jurō:n déka he:mís[o]us tetártou kai kataspeírontas kai apophérontas tà periesómen[a] ek t[ou-<sup>22</sup>to:]n kat' étos gené:mata kai epigené:mata ap[ò] tou autoú enestō:[tos] étous kai e[is]sphér[on]tos <sup>23</sup>[eis] tòn koinòn tē:s [s]jumbió:seo:s oíkon ka]fi t]eloúntas tà hupèr touíto:n kat' é]to]s de:mósia [pá]nta <sup>24</sup>[si]tiká te kai arguri[k]à apò tou autoú enestō:tos étous. eàn dē diaphorás autois genaméne:s <sup>25</sup>[kh]o:rísdontai ap' allé:lo:n, é:toi tou Khaíre:monos apopémontos t[è:]n Thaisáron è: kai*

*autê:s hekousío:[s <sup>26</sup>a]pallassomén[e:]s [a]p' autoû, ésto:i tou tē:[s] Tha[ī]sar[ī]ou patrōs Sisōitos, eà[n] dē [ho]lutos mè: periē:i, au[tē:s] Th[a]īsar[ī]ou <sup>27</sup>ho] se:mainómeno[s klē:r]os tō:n arourō:n d[é]ka] he:mísous tetártou kathō:[s] prókeitai; éti dē kai prof[sal]po-<sup>28</sup>dó:sin autē:i ho Kh[air]é:mo:n kai tē:n prog[egra]mméne:n phernē:n kai tà parápherna hoia eàn ek tē:s trí-<sup>29</sup>pseo:s egbē:i, ep[ī] mèn] tē:s apopompē:s pa[rakhré:]ma, epì dē {tou} tē:s hekous[io]u apallagē:s en he:méra[fi]s triá-<sup>30</sup>[ko]nta aph' hē:s eà[n apai]te:thē:i. en hò:i d' [à]n éti [tà katà] tòn ap' all[é:]lo:n tō:n [ga]móunto:[n kh]o:r[ī]smò[n] gé[ne:-<sup>31</sup>t]ai, ap[o]meristh[é:]setai] tà ekphória tou klē:r[ō]u [eis] tē:n do:de[ká]me:n[o]n tē:n tou tē:s [a]poplokē:s é[tous <sup>32</sup>ka]jì hékse[i] ho mèn Kha[ir]é:mo:n katà tò anà lógon t[ō:n m]e:nō:n hò:n eàn ē:i he: Thais[á]rio[n memene:kuia en tō:[i k]oinō:i <sup>33</sup>oiko:]jì, ho dē Sisōis tò epíloipon, pr[ó]steron antanairēth[é]nto:n tō:n tou klē:rou de:mosío:n kai spermá[to:]n. gei-<sup>34</sup>[no]méne:s tē:s práks[e]o:s tō:n katà tē:n sungraphē:n tō:i Sisōiti é:, mè: perión[to]s, tē:i Thaisar[ī]o:i] kai tois [par' a]jutē:s <sup>35</sup>ek] tou Khairé:m[ono]s kai ek tō:n huparkhónto:n autois pánto:n katháper eg díke:s. hupographeús tou S[ī]sōitos <sup>36</sup>[....]n Hermátos ho:s (etō:n) ma oul(ē:) metó:po:i eg deksiō:n, tou Khairé:monos eidótos g[rá]mmata.*

Copy of contract. The 13th year of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, the 22nd of the month Apellaeus or 22nd of Phaophi, at Bacchias in the division of Heraclides in the Arsinoite nome. Chaeremon son of Apollonius, Persian of the Epigone, aged about 34 years, with a scar on the middle of the nose, acknowledges to Sisois son of Peteesis, aged about 71 years, with a scar on the left eyebrow, that he has received from him as a dowry on his daughter Thaisarion, who has previously been living with Chaeremon as his wife, a hundred drachmae of coined silver and as *parapherna* a pair of gold earrings weighing four quarters, a gold crescent of three quarters, two gold rings of two quarters, a pair of silver armlets weighing 44 drachmae of uncoined metal, two bracelets weighing 16 drachmae of uncoined metal; clothing consisting of two robes, one white and one narcissus, and five mantles; copper vessels and a basin, weighing in all four minae, two copper ... unweighed, and five minae of tin; and without valuation in usufruct and as a gift from the current 13th year of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator the catoecic holding of 10 3/4 arurae owned by Sisois in the area of Bacchias in two plots, one of them consisting of 7 3/4 arurae of a holding in the place called Sade, the boundaries of which are, on the south the holding formerly belonging to Heraclides son of Zoilus, on the north the holding of Apollonius son of Straton, on the west the canal called that of Archias by which the holding is drained, on the east the holding of Petheus son of Ptolis, separated by a common water-channel by which the holding is irrigated, and **the second plot** comprising the remaining three arurae in the place called after Pieneouis, **the boundaries** of which are, on the south the holding of Baccion son of Ammonius, on the north the holding of ... son of ..., on the west the canal into which the holding drains, on the east the holding of Pisistratus. Wherefore let the parties to the marriage, Thaisarion and Chaeremon, live together blamelessly as they have previously been doing, Chaeremon conducting all the agricultural work of each year on the 10 3/4 arurae of the holding which forms the gift, sowing and harvesting the yearly crops and after-crops grown thereon from the said current year and carrying them to the common home of their wedded life, and paying thereon all the yearly public dues both in corn and in money from the said current year. **If** on a difference arising between them they separate from each other, whether Chaeremon sends

Thaisarion away or she voluntarily leaves him, the above-mentioned holding of 10 3/4 arurae shall belong to Thaisarion's father Sisois or, if he be no longer alive, to Thaisarion herself; **and moreover** Chaeremon shall return to her the aforesaid dowry and the *parapherna* in whatever state they may eventually be through wear, in the case of dismissal immediately, and **in the case of her voluntary departure** within thirty days from the date of the demand. In whatever year the separation of the parties to the marriage takes place, the proceeds of the holding for the twelve months of the year of the divorce shall be divided, and Chaeremon shall receive a share proportionate to the number of months during which Thaisarion shall have remained in the common home and Sisois the remainder, the public dues on the holding and loans of seed having first been deducted. To enforce the terms of the contract Sisois or, if he is no longer alive, Thaisarion and her assigns shall have the right of execution upon Chaeremon and all his prope[r]ty as if by legal decision. The signatory for Sisois is ... son of Hermas, aged about 41 years, with a scar on the right side of the forehead, Chaeremon being literate.

Again, most of these *de*'s are either in frozen space-building expressions or function as very weakly contrastive conjunctions (e.g., marking 'the second plot' in line 16) or noncontrastive conjunctions, e.g., *éti dè kai* 'and moreover'. It is important to note that there are two places where several entities are mentioned in a list-like, topic-comment fashion: lines 13-16, 'on the south the holding formerly belonging to Heraclides son of Zoilus, on the north the holding of Apollonius son of Straton, on the west the canal called that of Archias by which the holding is drained, on the east the holding of Petheus son of Ptollis' and an analogous statement following it. These are examples of just the sort of situation that, in earlier varieties of Greek, would have called for *de*-marking; here, however, there are absolutely no *de*'s.

The foregoing sequence of Hellenistic Greek texts gives evidence for the decline of *de*: its use to mark shifts in strongly contrastive situations has been greatly reduced, and, aside from a few uses which might be termed weakly conjunctive, what overwhelmingly predominates are *de*'s occurrences in frozen forms and constructions.

## **Byzantine and Modern Greek.**

By Byzantine times, *de* was completely gone from the spoken language, and its occurrence in literary Byzantine Greek is archaicizing (Gary Holland p.c.). It disappeared completely before the modern era and, instead, Modern Greek has developed constructions that indicate topichood by word order (Holton et al. 1997:430-7).

The histories of Greek *de* and Japanese *wa* presented in this and the preceding chapter overlap to a considerable degree but are also complementary: Japanese *wa* is alive and well, allowing for subtle grammaticality judgments of a sort that would be impossible in Greek, which lost its topic marker more than a millennium ago. On the other hand, our rich comparative knowledge of Indo-European languages justifies reconstructing a purely locative predecessor for *de*, something that cannot confidently be done with Japanese, which is essentially an isolate. These issues of documentation aside, the stories of the two morphemes are startlingly similar. The common set of attested intermediate stages between locative and topic, such as contrast, locational shift, scene shift, and scene setting, suggest that this is a natural grammaticalization path that has no doubt been repeated elsewhere in languages whose histories are not so well understood. Chapter 2 provided purely synchronic evidence of this widespread pattern from several such languages. The next chapter will examine the very different historical evolution of focus marking. Doing so, however, will first require a reevaluation of the traditional conceptions of both topic and focus.

## Chapter 5

### Aspects of focus marking

The previous chapters of this dissertation examined various synchronic and diachronic accounts of topichood; in this chapter, I do the same for focus. I begin by discussing some previous definitions of focus and then develop my own views regarding the issue. Next, I examine the development and evolution of focus morphology in Japanese and Korean. The chapter closes with comments on focus and focus-like phenomena in some other languages.

#### **Topic vs. focus.**

In this section, I describe what I see as the important distinctions between topic and focus. I take Lambrecht 1994 as a starting point, since his approach is representative of the views many researchers take in the field (cf. Büring 1997, Vallduví 1992 for overviews of these), and his exposition is recent and particularly detailed with regard to these concepts.

Lambrecht 1994 defines *topic* and *focus* as follow:

**TOPIC:** A referent is interpreted as the topic of a proposition if in a given situation the proposition is construed as being about this referent, i.e. as expressing information which is relevant to and which increases the addressee's knowledge of this referent. (131)

**FOCUS: The semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition. (213)**

Lambrecht's treatment is representative of researchers who characterize topic and focus as two sides of the same coin, distinguishing between such concepts as old vs. new information, background vs. foreground, presupposition vs. assertion, and theme vs. rheme. However, there are several problems with Lambrecht's definition of topic. First of all, his definition says nothing about discourse continuity. In any given discourse context, interlocutors determine what the topic is (i.e., which referent a given proposition is about) not simply by looking at each sentence out of context but also based on considerations of the structure of the preceding context, coherence, and discourse continuity. In any definition of topic, it would seem important to explicitly include these factors which underlie the otherwise unanalyzed concept of aboutness.

There are some other problems associated with setting the defining criterion of topichood at aboutness. First of all, it seems to me that aboutness is a gradient notion, and one clause can be about several referents at once (to varying degrees). For example, in the sentence

(115) *Sam gave Claire a bike.*

one might say that the sentence is about Sam, but it is also about Claire and about a bike, and it is also about an event of giving. A hearer of this sentence will obtain information which is relevant to and which increases his or her knowledge of all of these entities to some extent. The degree to which the sentence is about each of these might vary, but it is nevertheless impossible to say that the sentence is *exclusively* about Sam. This would still be the case were we to pronominalize one or more of the arguments.

Let us take a Chinese example adapted from Chafe 1976.

(116) *nèi-xiē shùmù shù-shēn dà* (Chafe 1976:50)  
those tree tree-trunk big

This is perhaps best rendered into English as ‘Those trees have big trunks’, but what is the sentence about? Is it about ‘those trees’? Is it about their trunks? Could it even be about the entire state of affairs of the trunks being big? These are difficult questions to answer (although Chafe says that ‘tree-trunk’ is what the sentence is about, since bigness is predicated of the tree trunks and not of the trees in general—more on this immediately below).

Conversely, there are cases where a constituent, due to its syntactic position or its morphological marking, has traditionally been analyzed as the topic but is not what the sentence is mainly about. Let us look again at Chafe’s Mandarin example. The constituent *nèi-xiē shùmù* ‘those trees’ has traditionally been analyzed as the topic, and Chafe agrees with this. As I mentioned above, however, Chafe points out that the sentence is more about the subject, ‘tree trunks’, than ‘those trees’.<sup>38</sup> What is the function of the topic *nèi-xiē shùmù*, then? Chafe states,

What ... topics appear to do is to limit the applicability of the main predication to a certain restricted domain. The bigness of the trunks applies within the domain of those trees.... Typically, it would seem, the topic sets *a spatial, temporal, or individual framework within which the main predication holds.* (50, emphasis added)

He then goes on to point out that English can do this sort of thing, but only with temporal adverbs (e.g., *Tuesday I went to the dentist*) and locative phrases (e.g., *In Dwinelle Hall people are always getting lost*; the difference with Chinese here is that Chinese would not require *in*). He concludes by saying, “In brief, ‘real’ topics (in topic-prominent languages)

<sup>38</sup>In Chafe 1976, what the sentence is about is called the subject.



are not so much ‘what the sentence is about’ as ‘the frame within which the sentence holds’” (51). *Contra* Lambrecht, then, there are constituents which should be analyzed as topics but which are not what the sentence is mainly about. Defining topicness in terms of aboutness, in other words, is problematic here, too.

In this dissertation, I adopt Chafe’s characterization of topic—that it sets the “spatial, temporal, or individual framework within which the main predication holds” (50). Chafe’s analysis has several advantages. First of all, his definition is broader than that of many researchers’ (including Lambrecht’s), in that it characterizes topics as performing two functions: (a) that of maintaining discourse continuity (by setting the individual framework) and (b) that of scene-setting (by setting the spatial or temporal framework). The first component is important because, as we know, one of the main functions of topics is to maintain discourse continuity. A topic functions by looking back to the previous discourse, latching onto something present there or inferable from it (hence its traditional characterization as *old information*), and designating that as the individual framework in light of which information presented subsequently should be interpreted. (This other information usually takes the form of a proposition and has often been called the *comment*.) In a way, then, topics in the traditional sense form the backdrop against which later information is interpreted; they are not necessarily what the sentences are mainly about. As mentioned above, most researchers have considered this first function as integral to the notion of topic, although they unfortunately discuss it at the level of aboutness. Thus, to the extent that Chafe analyzes topic as providing the individual framework for the main predication, he is consistent with these traditional characterizations of topic as dependent upon aboutness.

The second function that Chafe attributes to topics, that of scene-setting, has often been ignored by researchers. However, as we have seen above and in previous chapters,

there are many constituents which are analyzable as topics for morphological or syntactic reasons but which are not what the sentence is mainly about. These are the cases such as *Tuesday* or *in Dwinelle Hall*. In these instances, the topics function to set the temporal or locational backdrop against which the rest of the sentence should be interpreted. In *Tuesday I went to the dentist*, Tuesday is more likely to be a scene-setter than what the sentence is primarily about. With the second example, *In Dwinelle Hall people are always getting lost*, it is true that the sentence is arguably about Dwinelle Hall. Why is this so? It is most likely due to the fact that the human mind sees locations as having more substance, dimensionality, and attributes to them than periods of time, therefore facilitating their becoming topics of discussion or objects of predication. However, let us examine what would happen if we were to continue the discourse.

(117) *In Dwinelle Hall people are always getting lost. They can't figure out the room numbers because the building has two wings.*

*In Dwinelle Hall people are always getting lost. It has two wings, so students can't find their way around easily.*

Between the two choices above, the first choice seems more natural, where *people* of the first utterance is pronominalized and made into the topic of conversation, rather than the second choice, which pronominalizes *Dwinelle Hall* and makes that into the topic.<sup>39</sup> In other words, *Dwinelle Hall* might arguably be what the sentence *In Dwinelle Hall people are always getting lost* is about, but it is certainly not the strongest candidate for aboutness.

Chafe's statement that some topics perform a scene-setting function has another advantage for my analysis. This is the fact that it meshes well with the account I have presented thus far, where locative phrases and topic constituents are associated with each other diachronically, inasmuch as locative morphemes can evolve into topic markers. If we

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<sup>39</sup>To sound natural and be able to continue the discourse with *It has two wings, so students can't find their way around easily*, a better first sentence would have *Dwinelle Hall* as the subject: *Dwinelle Hall is really confusing*.

take the locative-temporal meaning of the morphology to be the semantic source of later developments, then we can account for the fact that “the frame within which the sentence holds” is *not* necessarily “what the sentence is about,” yet is often marked with the same morphology. When a locative or temporal phrase is used clause-initially, it is not only scene-setting, it is also scene-shifting. (If change or shift between times and locations were not being effected, I seriously doubt that a speaker would utter such a clause-initial phrase at all.) Shifting between two entities is most often used in contrastive contexts, and when the various cognitive and pragmatic mechanisms we saw in the chapters on Japanese and Greek weaken the contrastive link between entities, contrastiveness can be lost, yielding noncontrastive topics. This results in the synchronic state of affairs in many languages where the same topic morphology is used to mark both “the frame within which the sentence holds” and “what the sentence is about.” (It is, however, rare to find one of each kind of morphological topic—one scene-setting and one discourse—appearing together in a single sentence. This is probably what has led to most linguists missing the scene-setting function and subsuming everything under the single rubric of “topic.”)

### **Focus redefined.**

Now that I have explained my stance on the notion of topic, let us examine focus. As discussed above, many researchers see topic and focus as complementary notions: the topic provides the old information, the presupposition, or the theme, while the focus presents the new information, the assertion, or the comment. It seems to me, however, that these views mischaracterize focus. I believe that topic and focus are *not* two sides of the same coin; in fact, they are orthogonal notions. Topics, on the one hand, are used to structure discourse by setting scenes or maintaining discourse continuity. In the context of discourse, a speaker continuously attempts (consciously or subconsciously) to determine the state of

affairs in his or her interlocutor's mind (e.g., what entities have been remembered from the previous discourse, what their activation states are, what presuppositions are held, etc.). This is a preliminary step that is shared by both the processes which yield topics and the processes which result in focused constituents. Based on a combination of this evaluation and the speaker's intentions, certain entities will emerge as topics, the structural units which will guide the flow of discourse by providing a backdrop against which utterances can be interpreted. Given their essential role of creating the structure around which discourse continuity and textual coherence are maintained, topics seem best characterized as structural units or constituents at the discourse level (cf. Longacre 1976). In other words, topics are (to coin a term) *discoursemes*—that is, *emic* at the discourse level.

Focus, on the other hand, seems qualitatively a different sort of phenomenon. First of all, it is not a discourseme, in that it is not a unit that provides the discourse with structure by setting the scene or by creating discourse continuity. To repeat Lambrecht's definition, focus is "[t]he semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition" (213). In other words, when a speaker assumes that the interlocutor holds a certain presupposition and asserts something differing from it, that part which differs from the presupposition is the focal element. This element is also the unpredictable or pragmatically non-recoverable element in an utterance (207). This characterization of focus, which I agree with, seems to put it in a different domain from topic. Focus is an attention-getting mechanism and is therefore *dependent upon* discourse structure but does not *make up* part of the structure itself. As with the case of topic, in the context of discourse, a speaker constantly assesses the state of affairs in the interlocutor's mind (including what presuppositions are held). Based on a combination of this evaluation and the speaker's intentions, the speaker chooses to attract the interlocutor's attention to one or another part of the utterance (by, for example, using stress or intonation); this results in a focused constituent. Crucially, however, it does not result in

structure which guides the flow of discourse. In other words, focus is in the domain of psychology and attention-getting, while topics are in the domain of discourse structure. In fact, it seems to me more accurate to speak of the phenomenon as *focusing* rather than “focus,” or to speak of a constituent as being *focused* rather than of it being “the focus,” which gives the impression of it being a unit (a discourseme).

The terminology I have just introduced might hint at the fact that I view focusing as more of a process or a “supraconstitutive” feature (similar to an autosegmental feature in phonology) rather than as a discourseme. In fact, at least three observations can be cited in support of this analogy. First of all, focus is usually indicated by heightened prominence or accent (i.e., a language-specific combination of amplitude, pitch, duration, etc.). This iconic relationship—the more phonological prominence, the more the constituent is highlighted—reveals the close, natural connection between intonation and focus phenomena. Insofar as intonation is indisputably supraconstitutive, this suggests that focus is, too. Second, focusing can vary in scope, making it akin to an autosegmental feature capable of spreading. For example, Lambrecht describes three kinds of focus: predicate focus, argument focus, and sentence focus. When the predicate is focused, the utterance has what has traditionally been called topic-comment structure. In the second kind, an argument is identified for a given proposition and is focused, as in *Sophie did it*. In sentence focus, used for presentational and event-reporting purposes, the whole utterance is focal. The final, and perhaps most important, piece of evidence which can be cited in support of the analogy of focus as a supraconstitutive feature is that topics themselves can be focused—in other words, it is possible to have contrastive *topics* (cf. Büring 1997:56) and identificational *topics*.

### Contrast vs. identification.

This third piece of evidence leads us to ask what exactly contrastive and identificational topics are. First of all, since they are topics, they must go back to something mentioned in (or inferable from) the previous discourse context (again, the characterization of them being old information); however, contrastive and identificational topics, in addition to being topics, are focused. In other words, they are topics with the supraconstitutive feature “focus” added—the contrastive topic, a topic that is “in the spotlight” because it is being contrasted with another topic (which reciprocally becomes a contrastive topic in counterpart to the first contrastive topic), and the identificational topic, a topic that is “in the spotlight” because its referent is being identified as satisfying a certain frame-semantic role (cf. Sakahara 1996). Schematically,

(118) contrastive/identificational topic = focused topic = topic<sub>[+focused]</sub>  
regular topic = nonfocused topic = topic<sub>[-focused]</sub>

Unfortunately, the contrastive topic, which is a kind of topic, has been given various names, including some containing the word “focus,” such as *focus of contrast* (e.g., Chafe 1976), *multiple focus* (e.g., Dik et al. 1981), *parallel focus* (e.g., Dik 1989:394), and *contrastive focus* (e.g., Szabolcsi 1981, Rochemont 1986, Herring 1990, Rochemont & Culicover 1990, Choi 1997, Asher 1999, Gundel 1999). In order to avoid possibly mischaracterizing what are in essence topics, I have chosen to call them contrastive *topics*.

To clarify matters, let us examine some concrete examples. As we discussed above, focus is not a discourse entity; unlike topic, it is not emic at the discourse level. It is more akin to a suprasegmental feature than to a discourse constituent in that it can float, it can vary in scope, and it can apply to any sentential or discourse-level constituent. It can apply

to topics and make them focused, “under the spotlight”-type topics. For example, in the responses to the following questions, *Liz* is a focused topic:

(119) *Mike and Liz got divorced?! Who got the yacht?—Liz (did).*

(120) *Who was the one who got the yacht, Liz or Mike?—Liz (was the one).*

One can also say,

(121) *Mike and Liz got divorced?! Who got the yacht?—She did.*

In this last case, *Liz* is pronominalized as *she* in the response but still receives focus. Since pronominalization signals that the referent has already been mentioned, is inferable, or is somehow accessible in the discourse context, this lends further support to my calling these entities *topics*: they are more old than new.

As mentioned, there are two kinds of focused topics, contrastive and identificational. With contrastive topics, the *main intention* of the speaker must be to contrast two or more entities. For this reason, contrastive topics always come at least in pairs. For example, in

(122) *Alice ordered a pizza, and Rick ordered a steak.*

the main intention of the speaker is to contrast what Alice did with what Rick did. The second entity may be left unmentioned, but only if the speaker feels the second part is sufficiently obvious to the interlocutor. For example, if one is in a school lunchroom and all the children except Sam have left their spinach uneaten, one might say,

(123) *Sam likes spinach.*

(where *Sam* is the contrastive topic) and leave implicit the fact that all the other children seem not to like spinach. However, the main intention of the speaker must still be to contrast two or more entities (as in Sam with all the other schoolchildren), and the speaker must believe that the interlocutor will be able to identify the unmentioned contrastive entity.

Not all focused topics are contrastive, however. A speaker can focus a constituent without the intent to contrast but, instead, with intent to *identify*. For example, in

(124) *Who bought the painting? – Mary (did).*

the focused elements (*who* and *Mary*, which I would call an identificational topic<sup>40</sup>) are not being contrasted with anything else. (They are contrastive only to the extent that uttering *anything* contrasts it with everything else in the world that could have been uttered. This, however, does not seem to be a useful notion in natural language.) Even in a sentence such as

(125) *Who was the one who bought the painting, Mary or John? – Mary (was the one).*

the purpose of this exchange is not to contrast what Mary did (i.e., buy the painting) with what John did (i.e., not buy the painting); instead, the main purpose of this exchange is to determine who the buyer of the painting is.<sup>41</sup> In other words, the main purpose here is to link the role of buyer to the referent. Thus, even where there is a delimited set of buyers (here, John and Mary), I do not believe it is useful to talk in terms of contrastive entities.

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<sup>40</sup>I believe that the *wh*-question context defines the class of entities that are potential answers. This makes them topical. I realize, of course, that this goes beyond what many linguists call topic.

<sup>41</sup>Thus, the answers to the questions in (119), (120), and (121) are also instances of identificational topics.



when the prime purpose of the exchange is not contrastive but identificational—to link the role of buyer to the referent, Mary.

Finally, let us examine the putative notion of contrastive *focus*. Would something called contrastive focus exist in my analysis? The answer is no. First of all, it would normally be redundant for the focus of a sentence to be contrastively focused, i.e., focus<sub>{+focused}</sub>. More importantly, since constituents can *become* focused but are not in and of themselves “the focus,” “focus” is not a constituent, rendering focus<sub>{+focused}</sub> impossible. (Focus<sub>{-focused}</sub>, in addition to being impossible, has the further defect of being self-contradictory.) In sum:

(126)	noncontrastive topic	=	nonfocused topic	=	topic <sub>{-focused}</sub>	→ regular topic
	contrastive topic	=	focused topic	=	topic <sub>{+focused}</sub>	
	identificational topic	=	focused topic	=	topic <sub>{+focused}</sub>	
	noncontrastive focus	=	nonfocused focus	=	focus <sub>{-focused}</sub>	→ nonexistent
	contrastive focus	=	focused focus	=	focus <sub>{+focused}</sub>	→ nonexistent

The nonexistence of the last two types follows from my view that there is no constituent called “the focus”: rather, there is a focal *feature* which can be imposed on other constituents.

To reiterate, when the difference between the attributes of two (or more) discourse continuity topics is *intentionally* foregrounded or highlighted by the speaker, or when attention is directed to the referent that picks out the answer to a *wh*-question, I call these contrastive or identificational topic, respectively. Such topics are focused. Focus is a supraconstitutive feature used to attract and direct attention, and I believe that the focus that is assigned to (or inherent in, or that emerges from) contrastive topics and the focus that is assigned to (or inherent in, or that emerges from) noncontrastive elements related to identification (such as *wh*-words or the answers to *wh*-questions) are the same in essence.

Let us examine another sentence, one which exemplifies what Dik et al. 1981 and Dik 1989:394 have called *parallel* or *multiple focus*.

(127) *Who bought which painting?—Lisa bought the Goya, and Ken bought the Manet.*

Here again, the main purpose of the exchange is to identificationally link the role to the referent; i.e., even though the structure seems similar to that of contrastive topic in that there are two entities being ‘listed’—a structure which might lend itself to a contrastive interpretation—the *main purpose* of the speaker is to link the role to the referent, not contrast Lisa’s attributes with Ken’s, or the Goya’s attributes with those of the Manet. Thus, I would not call *Lisa* and *Ken* contrastive topics but identificational topics. The main purpose of this sentence is identificational and, therefore, *Lisa* and *Ken* are highly focused constituents. It is instructive to compare the following two sentences in Japanese:

(128) *Lisa wa Goya no e o katta*  
 Lisa wa Goya GEN picture OBJ buy  
*Ken wa Manet no e o katta*  
 Ken wa Manet GEN picture OBJ bought  
 ‘Lisa bought a Goya, and Ken bought a Manet.’

(129) *Lisa ga Goya no e o katta*  
 Lisa ga Goya GEN picture OBJ buy  
*Ken ga Manet no e o katta*  
 Ken ga Manet GEN picture OBJ bought  
 ‘Lisa bought the Goya, and Ken bought the Manet.’

The first sentence is contrastive and has contrastive topics (marked with *wa*); the main intention of the speaker is to contrast what Lisa did with what Ken did. The second

sentence is identificational, and therefore *Lisa* and *Ken* are highly focused (and marked with *ga*); the purpose of this sentence is to identify Lisa as the buyer of the Goya and Ken as the buyer of the Manet. Even though a contrast may emerge between what Lisa did and what Ken did, or between who bought the Goya and who bought the Manet, this is not the main purpose of this sentence. In addition, it is important to note that the two clauses in the first sentence can be conjoined in Japanese with *kedo* 'but', whereas the second one cannot. This is evidence that the first sentence is primarily contrastive, while the second sentence is not. (In English, too, conjoining the first example with *but* is natural-sounding, but it is not clear what the force of *but* would be in an identificational reading of the second sentence.)

#### **Focus levels.**

These last two examples naturally lead us to a discussion of *focus levels*. In addition to focus being a supraconstitutive feature, I believe that it is a gradient feature. (In other words, the [ $\pm$ focus] in my schematization above was a convenient notational device but not entirely accurate.) For the moment, I am inclined to think that there are three levels: no focus (level 0), focused (level 1), and highly focused (level 2). Prototypical focus, that is, the focus assigned to *wh*-words and their answers, is level 2 (highly focused). In other words, certain constituents of identificational sentences and of sentences which question identity are at focus level 2. Thetic utterances (cf. chapter 3 above; Lambrecht's sentence focus) are also at level 2. Entities such as nonidentificational topics and backgrounded information, insofar as they are overtly mentioned, are at focus level 1. Pronouns most likely differ in focus level between languages that allow pro-drop (such as Japanese) and languages that do not, such as English: in languages that allow pro-drop, the focus level of an overt pronoun should probably be analyzed as level 1 (level 2 if it is stressed, as in a

highly focused, identificational context), while the focus level of unstressed pronouns in languages that do not allow pro-drop might be analyzable as being level 1 in some discourse contexts and level 0 in others (cf. examples (130) and (131) below). Phonologically null pronouns (zero anaphors) are at level 0.

Let us examine some specific examples. (The focus levels indicated here are general guidelines; given an unusual discourse context, these values may change.)

(130)  $\underset{1}{I}$   $\underset{1}{\text{went to the store}}$  and  $\underset{0}{\emptyset}$   $\underset{1}{\text{bought some food.}}$

(131)  $\underset{1}{\text{First.}}$   $\underset{1}{I}$   $\underset{1}{\text{got up.}}$   $\underset{1}{\text{Then}}$   $\underset{0}{I}$   $\underset{1}{\text{went to the store}}$  and  $\underset{0}{\emptyset}$   $\underset{1}{\text{bought some food.}}$

In these examples, the first mention of the first person pronoun is marked at level 1, as are all the predicates. The subjects of the second clause in example (130) and the third clause in example (131) are not instantiated, and they are assigned level 0 in terms of focus. The second sentence of example (131) begins with an overt first person pronoun; however, it is also assigned focus level 0, since the overt pronoun is there not to effect focus but due to a grammatical rule in English that requires sentences to have an overt subject, irrespective of the discourse status of the entity represented. I have assigned focus level 1 to the clause-initial *first* and *then* because they are topics in the sense of Chafe 1976: they are scene-setting or scene-shifting elements which set the temporal backdrop against which the main predicates should be interpreted.

(132)  $\underset{1}{\text{Every day.}}$   $\underset{1}{\text{Sam}}$   $\underset{1}{\text{gets up}}$   $\underset{2}{\text{at seven}}$  and  $\underset{0}{\emptyset}$   $\underset{1}{\text{comes in to campus}}$   $\underset{2}{\text{by nine.}}$   
 $\underset{1}{\text{Today,}}$   $\underset{0}{\text{though.}}$   $\underset{0}{\text{she}}$   $\underset{1}{\text{came in}}$   $\underset{2}{\text{at ten}}$  because  $\underset{2}{\text{she missed the bus.}}$

In example (132), as with example (131), I have assigned focus level 1 to the clause-initial temporal phrases *every day* and *today*. However, the reader will note that I have assigned level 2 to temporal clauses which do not appear clause-initially. As de Swart 1999 notes, adverbials differ with regard to their presuppositional or assertive (focal) nature depending on where they occur in the sentence, following the general principle that presuppositional material occurs toward the beginning of the utterance (e.g., Faarlund 1990:58, Birner 1994). Readers will also notice that *she missed the bus* is also given focus level 2. Non-initial clauses introduced by *because* are highly focused for two reasons: (a) they are naturally identificational (here, the clause identifies the reason Sam was late) and (b) the fact that they are introduced by an explanatory *because*-clause invokes the frame of the *wh*-question, “*Why?*”. In other words, uttering a *because*-clause creates an implicature that compels the preceding discourse to be interpreted as containing a *why*-question, making the principal focus of the sentence the reason identified in the *because*-clause.

(133) *Here comes the bus!*  
2

(134) *Shut up!* *Sam's coming!*  
2 2

(135) *Sizukani siro!* *Sam ga kita!*  
2 2  
shut up Sam ga came

(Sentence (135) is a Japanese version of (134).) All of these examples are cases ofthetic statements with sentence focus. For this reason, they have been assigned focus level 2.

(136)  $\frac{\textit{Who's}}{2}$   $\frac{\textit{coming to my party?}}{1}$  –  $\frac{\textit{Isaac}}{2}$   $\frac{\textit{(is)}}{(0)}$ .

$\frac{\textit{Anyone else?}}{2}$  –  $\frac{\textit{Liuba}}{2}$ .

(137)  $\frac{\textit{Who's}}{2}$   $\frac{\textit{coming to my party?}}{1}$  – Well,  $\frac{\textit{Isaac}}{1/2}$   $\frac{\textit{is}}{1}$ , but  $\frac{\textit{Joe}}{1/2}$   $\frac{\textit{has a meeting}}{1/2}$ .

(138)  $\frac{\textit{Who's}}{2}$   $\frac{\textit{coming to my party?}}{1}$  – Well,  $\frac{\textit{Isaac}}{1/2}$   $\frac{\textit{is}}{1}$ , but  $\frac{\textit{I'm not sure about}}{1}$   $\frac{\textit{Joe}}{1/2}$ .

In the process of determining the focus levels of *Isaac* and *Joe*, it is worthwhile examining how they are marked morphologically in Japanese. Interestingly, in (137), *ga...ga* is not possible, casting doubt on the idea that (137) and the similar (138) are purely identificational. There are several reasons for this. First of all, the default reading of identificational is ‘exhaustively identificational’. If, however, one knows that Isaac is coming but does not know whether other people are or not, the answer as a whole has the possibility of not being exhaustively identificational—leaving room for contrastiveness to creep into the interpretation. Another reason why contrastiveness increases is because what is predicated of Joe is not actually identificational. (In fact, in (138), it is a good question whether *anything* is predicated of Joe.) In addition, it is likely that at some deep level, both of the second clauses (*Joe has a meeting* and *I’m not sure about Joe*) are contrastive. *Joe has a meeting* is contrastive because the implicature is that he cannot attend, and *I’m not sure about Joe* also admits of the possibility (or, even better, the probability) that he will not come. Finally, the likelihood of a contrastive reading is increased if Isaac and Joe are already activated for the discourse participants as members of a set of “party-goers,” that is, if they are familiar to both interlocutors as likely candidates for coming to the party; in this case, they would be contrastive topics. This prediction is borne out in Japanese, where it is possible to have *wa...wa* in both sentences. What is most interesting of all, however, is

that *ga...wa* is also possible. What discourse context would allow for this? First of all, the initial *ga* is possible when the first member is not taken from a set of party-goers—for example, if Isaac is someone unfamiliar to the interlocutor (*somebody named Isaac* or *a friend of mine* are clearer examples which would definitely necessitate the use of *ga*). *Joe* remains *wa*-marked for the reasons given above.

Unlike in (137), all four of the combinations are possible with (138): (a) *wa...wa*, (b) *ga...wa*, (c) *ga...ga*, and (d) *wa...ga*. (Both (a) and (b) are possible with (137) and have been dealt with in the preceding paragraph.) The Japanese ‘I’m not sure about Joe’ in (138) should literally be translated as ‘I don’t know whether or not Joe will come’—in other words, as an indirect *yes-no* question. Since *yes-no* questions are highly focused, they tend to be marked with focus morphology. (As we will see later, it is actually the focus markers that develop out of (*yes-no*) question morphology. Complementizers that introduce indirect *yes-no* questions, too, develop out of direct *yes-no* question morphology, as we will see briefly in the case of Russian.) If the entire clause *I’m not sure about Joe* is highly focused in Japanese, this may explain why *Joe* may be marked by *ga* in the indirectly phrased *yes-no* question but not in *Joe has a meeting*. In this way, all of the possibilities are accounted for: *wa...wa* and *ga...wa* are possible for the same reasons as in example (137), and *ga...ga* and *wa...ga*, which were not possible above, are made possible here by the indirect *yes-no* question construction.

(139)  $\frac{\textit{Who else}}{2} \quad \frac{\textit{is coming?} - \textit{Liuba}}{1} \quad \frac{\textit{is.}}{2} \quad \frac{\textit{is.}}{0}$

(140)  $\frac{\textit{Liuba ga}}{2} \quad \frac{\textit{kimasu.}}{0}$   
 Liuba *ga*      come





of Japanese, *wa*-marked entities were simultaneously anaphoric and contrastive, and when the contrastiveness was lost, anaphoricity was left behind, resulting in a topic marker. We also saw that Kuno 1973:49-57 characterizes *ga* as marking subjects when they appear in (a) neutral descriptions of actions or temporary states or (b) in exhaustive lists. I examine these notions more closely below.

Kuno 1973 characterizes *neutral description ga* as occurring on the subject of action verbs, existential verbs, and adjectives that represent changing states; he also notes that such sentences present an objectively observable action, existence, or temporary state as a new event. If we think about it, this characterization corresponds exactly to situations involving what Kuroda 1972 terms *thetic judgments*, or to situations involving what Shibatani 1990:267, following Uchida 1989, calls *perceptual judgments*. That is, the speaker presents an observable action, existence, or temporary state *as a new event*—that is, as if had just entered into the speaker’s awareness and was therefore a still-unanalyzed whole lacking in subject-predicate structure. (Kuno’s name for this use of *ga* is somewhat unfortunate—there is little that is “neutral” in sentences involving thetic or perceptual judgment; rather, they are more exclamatory, as Kuno’s own example shows: *Oya, ame ga hutte iru* ‘Oh, look! It is raining.’ (1972:296).) On the other hand, if the situation or event being described is presented by the speaker as being stable, familiar, or known enough to warrant using a predicate denoting a habitual action, a generic action, or a state conceptualized as persisting through time, then the speaker is also presenting the situation as already analyzed and therefore cannot express it as a new event just entering into his or her awareness. For this reason, such predicates cannot be the basis for a neutral descriptive (thetic, perceptual) reading and, in Kuno’s view, must be treated as instances of exhaustive listing if they are marked by *ga*.

What Kuno 1973 calls *exhaustive listing ga* matches a role to a referent; i.e., this *ga* marks what I have called identificational topics. Let us look at one of Kuno's example sentences.

- (146) *John ga gakusei desu* (Kuno 1973:38)  
John ga student COP  
'[Of all the people under discussion,] John [and only John] is a student.'  
'It is John who is a student.'

For this utterance to be felicitous, the preceding discourse context must have somehow introduced the question of who it is who is a student. Then sentence (146) provides the answer by picking out John and matching him to the role of student. For a speaker to be able to perform such an identification, he or she must have first analyzed the situation. Such sentences, then, by virtue of their identificational nature, do not present an event as if it were entering into the awareness of the speaker as a yet-unanalyzed whole. This is more evidence for my decision above to call these identificational *topics*. In other words, although Kuroda and Shibatani are silent about this, I believe that exhaustive listing *ga* involves categorical (experiential) judgment. Any type of predicate (habitual, stative, active, etc.) can be used identificationally, so any type of predicate is compatible with the exhaustive listing reading.

To sidetrack for a while, why, if these *ga*-marked constituents are simply identificational, has this kind of *ga* been called *exhaustive listing ga*? I believe this is the result of a misanalysis. Japanese *does* seem to have grammaticalized the distinction between exhaustive and non-exhaustive listing, but it shows up as the distinction between the particles *to* (exhaustive 'and') and *ya* (non-exhaustive 'and'). For example, to the question,

(147) *dare ga miseya ni ikimasita ka*  
who *ga* store to went Q  
'Who went to the store?'

one can answer,

(148) *Nathan to Sarah ga ikimasita*  
Nathan to Sarah *ga* went  
'Nathan and Sarah went.'

or

(149) *Nathan ya Sarah ga ikimasita*  
Nathan ya Sarah *ga* went  
'Nathan and Sarah [among others] went.'

As can be seen in (148) and (149), there *is* a distinction between exhaustive and non-exhaustive listing, but this distinction shows up in the use of *to* vs. *ya* and *not* in the use of *ga*. In fact, *ga* is required after the final conjoined NP in *both* (148) and (149). This use of *ga*, then, seems to me to simply be the sign of a focused subject and not the sign of exhaustive listing. This is made especially clear in (149), which is absolutely incompatible with an exhaustive interpretation; it would be inappropriate to follow it up with, say, "No one else went to the store."

There are two other factors which can be used to show that *ga* marks focus and not exhaustive listing. First of all, if *ga* were a marker of exhaustive listing, it would be strange for it to mark only exhaustively-listed subjects; it should be possible to use it for NPs with other grammatical functions, as well. However, when, for example, objects are listed, the choice is between NP *to* NP *o* (exhaustive) and NP *ya* NP *o* (non-exhaustive); *ga* is never used to mark these objects, even though they are listed exhaustively. Secondly,

if *ga* were an exhaustive listing marker, then a question such as the one in (147) should actually be glossed as ‘Who [exhaustively] went to the store?’ (since the *wh*-word is marked by *ga*), and the person replying would presumably be forced to answer exhaustively. However, this is not the case; as mentioned above, both (148) and (149) are perfectly good answers to (147).

To reiterate then, why has *ga* been analyzed in the literature as having an exhaustive listing function? First of all, most (if not all) linguists have been exemplifying “exhaustive listing” *ga* with sentences containing only one NP, so they have not seen that both exhaustive *and* non-exhaustive sentences containing conjoined NPs require *ga* after the last NP. Secondly, there is a pragmatic implicature which arises in answers to questions, and linguists have incorrectly attributed this implicature to the semantics of *ga*. For example, the answer, “*Nathan*,” to the question, “*Who went to the store?*” would be deceptive even in English if one knew, in fact, that Sarah had also gone. In other words, if one is engaged in cooperative conversation, without evidence to the contrary, an implicature arises that says all answers to *wh*-questions are exhaustive. This is true in Japanese, which happens to mark *Nathan* with *ga*, as well as in English, which has no subject particle to be misanalyzed as a marker for exhaustive listing. In other words, I believe that the exhaustive-listing reading of *ga* arises from the conversational implicature that answers to questions are exhaustive. And, although I noted above that Japanese *does* show the distinction between exhaustive and non-exhaustive listing in the particles *to* and *ya*, I believe it would be more accurate to say that it is only *ya* that is marked as being non-exhaustive; *to*, I would claim, is just the unmarked ‘and’, which is interpreted as being exhaustive because of the same conversational implicature. (One can negate the implicature with *to* by saying something like, “Oh, yeah, I forgot—Maya went with them, too.”) One might object by saying that this conversational implicature does not arise in Kuno’s *John ga gakusei desu* ‘John is a student’ because, presented the way it is out of context, it might not

be an answer to a question. In fact, however, *John ga gakusei desu* can only be uttered felicitously in a question-answer situation.

Chafe 1976 makes the following statement:

The sometimes confusing overlap between the expression of given vs. new and the expression of contrastiveness is evidently found in the use of the Japanese particles *wa* and *ga* as well. Besides its use to signal givenness, *wa* evidently appears with a focus of contrast meaning, as in *Ame wa hutte imasu ga, yuki wa hutte imasen* "Rain is falling, but snow is not falling" (Kuno 1972:271). On the other hand, according to Kuno, *ga* may also express contrastiveness in those cases where the focus of contrast is an "exhaustive listing": *John ga baka desu* "(Among the people under discussion) John and only John is stupid. It is John who is stupid." This use of *ga* for "exhaustive focus of contrast" may be a special resource of Japanese not available in English. (38)

In the first sentence of the passage above, Chafe seems to imply that the Japanese language has confused the given-new distinction with contrastiveness. However, as we have seen, it turns out that the special Japanese resource of using *ga* to mark "exhaustive focus of contrast" is just the result of a conversational implicature present even in English.

Let us return to the synchronic account of Japanese. As we saw in chapter 3 above, another way of characterizing the situation with *wa*- and *ga*-marking is in terms of judgment types involved. On the one hand, those situations or events which are conceived of as being familiar, known, or stable enough to be analyzed into a subject-predicate structure involve what Kuroda 1972 has termed *categorical judgment* or what Shibatani 1990:267 has called *experiential judgment*, again following Uchida 1989. There are two constructions for expressing this kind of judgment using *wa* and *ga*. The first is what I call the *Nonidentificational Topic Construction*: *wa*-marking plus any kind of predicate (active, stative, adjectival, etc.). This Nonidentificational Topic Construction subsumes contrastive topics (Kuno's contrastive *wa*), backgrounded discourse topics (Kuno's thematic *wa*), and scene-setting topics (cf. Chafe 1976). The second construction is what I term the

**Identificational Topic Construction: *ga*-marking (Kuno's exhaustive listing *ga*) plus, again, any sort of predicate used identificationally.**

On the other hand, as mentioned above, those events which are *not* conceived of as being familiar, known, or stable enough to be analyzed into a subject-predicate structure—i.e., those events which the speaker wants to present as just having entered his or her awareness as a still-unanalyzed whole—involve Kuroda 1972'sthetic judgment (Uchida 1989, Shibatani 1990:267's perceptual judgment). There is one construction for expressing this kind of judgment using *ga*, which I call the *Thetic/Presentational Construction: ga*-marking (Kuno's neutral description *ga*) plus a predicate expressing a nonhabitual or nongeneric action, a changing state, or existence. In other words, if a sentence has a *ga*-marked subject and has a predicate that represents a nonhabitual, nongeneric action, a changing state, or existence, then the sentence may involve eitherthetic judgment (the Thetic/Presentational Construction: Kuno's neutral description reading) or categorical judgment (the Identificational Topic Construction: Kuno's exhaustive listing reading). If the predicate is of any other sort, then only categorical judgment can be involved (the Identificational Topic Construction: Kuno's exhaustive listing reading) (cf. Kuno 1972, Kuno 1973:53-4). To summarize,

	Thetic	Categorical
action	<i>ga</i> (Thetic/Presentational Construction)	<i>wa</i> (Nonidentificational Topic Construction) <i>ga</i> (Identificational Topic Construction)
state		<i>wa</i> (Nonidentificational Topic Construction) <i>ga</i> (Identificational Topic Construction)

Table 1. Judgment and predicate types.

The lower left quadrant in this chart is an impossible combination: as long as a speaker chooses to conceptualize a situation as a habitual, generic, known, familiar, or persisting through time, the speaker must also encode it as having been analyzed, that is, as involving categorical judgment. (In Table 1, I use “state” as a shorthand for these predicate types and “action” for predicates expressing nonhabitual or nongeneric actions, changing states, or existence.)

There is another way to conceptualize the facts represented in this table, which relates to the ideas about focus levels presented above. That is, if we think of *ga*-marking as associated with the supraconstitutive focus feature used to attract attention, then we can factor it out of our consideration. This leaves us with a considerably simpler picture: *wa* is used in conjunction with utterances involving categorical judgment, and *ga* is applied in focused situations, whether they be categorical orthetic, and phonologically overrides any *wa*.

### The diachrony of Japanese *ga*.

Let us examine the following two sentences from Modern Japanese.

(150) *sasimi wa oisii*  
 sashimi wa tasty  
 ‘Sashimi is tasty.’

(151) *sasimi ga oisii*  
 sashimi ga tasty  
 ‘[Of the things under discussion,] it’s sashimi that’s tasty.’

As reflected in the translation, and as the foregoing discussion has made clear, *sasimi ga* is identificational and therefore highly focused (level 2). What is the origin of this focusing morphology, however? In the next section, I give evidence that Japanese *ga* evolved from a demonstrative, *ka*, following the path of development shown below:

(152) demonstrative > copular function > sentence focus > argument focus > subject focus

Classical Japanese had a distal demonstrative, *ka* 'yon' (Martin 1975:1068, Martin 1987:20, Quinn 1997). Some examples of its use as a pronoun and as an adjective follow:

(153) *ka no X* (Quinn 1997:64)  
*ka GEN X*  
 'that X over there/already known'

(154) *kanata* (Quinn 1997:64)  
 'yonder'

(155) *kare* (Quinn 1997:64)  
 'that one over there'  
 'that one already known'

In addition, there was a homophonous particle *ka*, which appeared sentence-finally on questions and exclamations. The following examples are from the *Man'yooshuu* (MYS), a poetry collection completed in the 8th century.

(156) *kaminaduki sigure no tune ka* MYS 19.4259  
 tenth.month drizzle GEN custom ka  
 'The tenth month: Is it a constant of rain?' (Quinn 1997:71)

(157) *watatumi ha kususiki mono ka* MYS 15.3587  
 sea.deity ha inscrutable one ka  
 'The Sea, is he an inscrutable one!' (Quinn 1997:70)





He observes that *Ima ka?* is a *yes-no* question that

seeks to *identify* some assumed referent with the category expressed as *ima* 'now'. It is this function of seeking an identification that a question like *Ima ka* 'Is it now?' shares with a content interrogative like *Ta so* 'Who is it?'. Both seek the identification of a referent, the existence of which is presupposed in the act of asking such a question. The difference is that while one proposes a particular identification (*ima* 'now'), the other goes no further than to propose a category within which an identification is to be made (*ta* 'who' for people...). A fact that is very relevant to this discussion is that questions that seek an identification presuppose a referent. The referent presupposed in the asking is routinely expressed in English with the pronoun 'it' ('Is it now?', 'Who is it?'). It is this referent for which an identification is sought. (62-63)

Although I do not agree with Quinn that *yes-no* questions and *wh*-questions are identificational in the same sense, his hypothesis that *ka* was first a demonstrative and then developed into a sentential-focus marker is quite plausible; indeed, the same path of grammaticalization (often via a copular stage) has been found in many languages across the world (cf. Heine & Reh 1984, Harris & Campbell 1995:151-68, Katz 1996, Diessel 1997, Luo 1997, Diessel 1999:148-49). Instead of using the notion of an afterthought or a loose, paratactic structure that becomes syntactically tighter over time (Givón 1979:208), however, I prefer an alternative characterization in which demonstrative *ka* came to appear sentence-finally as part of a sentence-focus cleft construction (cf. Harris & Campbell 1995:161-2; cf. also Quinn 1997's 'copular function' of *ka*). Schematically, then, the Japanese cleft construction would have consisted of a nominalized clause plus *ka*:

(161) [S    O    V<sub>nominalized</sub>] *ka*

The fact that the clause was nominalized lends support to the interpretation that this was indeed a cleft construction; we know that the clause was in fact nominalized because of the particular verb form used. Some examples of this construction taken from the *Man'yooshuu* follow:

- (162) *kokobaku mo mi no sayakeki ka* MYS 17.3991  
 this.much IF view GEN refreshing.NMLZ ka  
 'Such a refreshing sight it is.' (Quinn 1997:71, 72)
- (163) *ihebito no ihahi-mata-ne ka* MYS 15.3688  
 family GEN keep.pure-wait-NEG.NMLZ ka  
 'Is it the failure of those at home to wait in ritual purity?' (Quinn 1997:73)

We have now seen how *ka*, a distal demonstrative, could come to appear sentence-finally through its participation in a sentence-focus cleft construction. Due to its very nature as a marker of an *it*-cleft construction, *ka* as a focus marker could have initially appeared only at the end of a clause. Under this analysis, in examples such as *Ima ka?* 'Is it now?', *ka* only *seems* to attach directly to the time expression; it is more accurate, however, to see *ka* as being next to an empty copula position. At the earliest stage, then, *ka* took as its complement an entire clause, and in a sentence like *Ima ka?*, it attaches at an upper level of structure which has as its daughters *ima* and the absent copula. Due to the surface structure, however, such sentences with missing copulas could readily be reinterpreted syntactically as being [NP-*ka*]. In fact, this did happen, resulting in the Classical Japanese construction called *kakari-musubi*, a focus or cleft construction which consisted of a noun phrase plus one of several possible focus markers (including *ka*) and then the usually nominalized predicate.

In the rest of his article, Quinn concerns himself with *ka*'s involvement in this *kakari-musubi* construction. (He does not, however, distinguish the step which is necessary for sentential-focus *ka* to be reanalyzed as a morpheme which can attach to individual arguments of the clause. In fact, he simply says, that the particle *ka* functions both in sentence-final position and medially, after focused words or phrases, and that "the latter use ... appears to have been based on the former" (62).) I fully agree that the *ka* in the Classical Japanese *kakari-musubi* construction developed out of the sentential focus marker

*ka*. This *kakari-musubi* construction no longer exists in Modern Japanese. Nevertheless, I believe there is a remnant of this use of *ka* in Modern Japanese: the use of *ga* to mark focused subjects. As far as I am aware, neither Quinn nor any other scholar has offered a full (i.e., phonological, syntactic, and semantic-pragmatic) account of how the Modern Japanese subject marker, *ga*, developed from *ka*.<sup>42</sup> In order for me to take the stance that *ga* is tied to *ka* diachronically, I need to consider two questions: (a) why *ka* became voiced to *ga* and, more importantly, (b) how *ga* went from being used to focus any kind of sentential argument to focusing only the subject.

The first question, how *ka* became voiced to *ga*, is fairly simple to answer. It is reasonably well-established that a phonemic voicing distinction did not exist in the prehistory of Japanese; in fact, most researchers believe that the voicing distinction arose because of the influx of Chinese loanwords (Martin 1987:29). Voicing, then, seems to have previously been a morphophonemic process that could apply intervocally at the level of the phonological word or in compounds (especially those conjoined with *no* 'GENITIVE', under the influence of the nasal). In its use as a sentence-level focus particle, then, *ka* would not undergo this sort of voicing; however, when it started attaching to NPs and forming phonological words with them, *ka* became voiced to *ga*. (I refer to this NP-level morphology henceforth as *ka/ga*.)

The second question, how *ka/ga* went from marking any kind of focused NP argument to marking only focused subjects, is slightly more complicated. First of all, Classical Japanese had a genitive morpheme *ga* (not to be confused with *ka/ga*), as shown in the following example.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>For one account linking the two, see Martin 1991.

<sup>43</sup>For an account deriving subject *ga* from what is believed to be the disjunctive nature of genitive *ga*, see Takeuchi 1999:158-60 and references therein.

- (164) *wa ga ko*  
 I ga child  
 'my child, one's own child'

When a clause is nominalized (as in the English *Kay's singing*, where Kay is marked with the possessive -'s), the genitive morpheme ends up marking the notional subject of the clause:

- (165) *kono takumira ga mausu koto ha nanigoto zo*  
 DEM craftsment ga say thing ha what.in.world Q  
 'What in the world is this that the craftsmen are saying?'  
 (*The Bamboo Cutter's Tale*: example taken from (75))

When Japanese reinterpreted nominalized clauses as finite and concurrently lost all morphological distinction between nominalized and finite verbs, genitive *ga* ended up in the position of marking subjects of finite clauses. This, combined with the focusing semantics of similar-sounding (or identical-sounding) *ka/ga*, is, I believe, what gave rise to *ga* (i.e., merged *ga* and *ka/ga*) as a focused subject marker in Modern Japanese. When the *kakari-musubi* construction fell into disuse, all non-sentence-final kinds of focusing *ka/ga* were lost—except, crucially, the type which marked subjects, due to its having fallen together with genitive *ga*, which had already been marking notional subjects. Of course, the step which caused genitive *ga* to become a subject marker could have occurred on its own when nominalized clauses were reinterpreted as finite. That is to say, in order to account for the morphological *ga*-marking of subjects, we do not have to posit that sentence-focus *ka/ga*, applied to individual NP arguments, fell together with genitive *ga*. However, although this latter scenario accounts for the morphology of subject marker *ga*, it cannot account for the fact that it is *semantically* focused.





In other words, the demonstrative was reanalyzed as a copula, and at the same time what was in essence an extracausal argument in apposition to the demonstrative was reinterpreted as an argument of the copula. The example wording under the second schematic representation is taken from an attested reanalysis in Modern Hebrew, where *hu* (both the third singular masculine pronoun and the masculine singular demonstrative) has become a copula (Berman & Grosu 1976, Li & Thompson 1977, Glinert 1989, Luo 1997, Diessel 1997):

- (173) *ha-sha'on hu matana* (Glinert 1989:189)  
 the-clock COP/DEM present  
 'The clock is a present.'

(We know that *ha-sha'on hu* does not form a constituent; this would require definiteness agreement, as in [*ha-sha'on ha-hu*] 'that clock'.) Another Hebrew example, where the feminine singular demonstrative *zot* has been reanalyzed as a copula, is given below:

- (174) *ha-bayit shelHa zot dugma tova* (Glinert 1989:189)  
 the-house your COP/DEM example good  
 'Your house is a good example.'

The Chinese copula, *shì*, also comes from a demonstrative (Graham 1967, Luo 1997):

- (175) *zhī zhī wéi zhī zhī,*  
 know DEM as know DEM  
*bù zhī wéi bù zhī,*  
 not know as not know  
*shì zhī yě*  
 COP/DEM know PART (Luo 1997:277)

'To show that you know when you know and to show that you don't know when you don't, this is true knowledge.' (*Analects* 2.17, 5th c. BCE)



We have seen, then, that demonstratives can participate in topic-comment constructions and become reanalyzed as copulas, as in Modern Hebrew and Chinese. Demonstratives and copulas can also participate in cleft constructions and be reanalyzed as focus markers, as we saw above with the Japanese demonstrative *ka*, and as we see below with the Mandarin copula (Luo 1997):

- (176) *shì wǒ zuótiān zài jiē-shàng kànjiàn tā de*  
 COP/FOC I yesterday LOC street-on see he NMLZ  
 'It is I who saw him on the street yesterday.'  
 (Luo 1997:273)

This reanalysis occurs when a copula participating in a focusing cleft construction is reinterpreted as being the marker of focus by itself (Heine & Reh 1984). For example, in the Chinese sentence above (or its English translation, for that matter), the copula attaches to the focused element (here, 'I'), while the presupposed information is in a subordinate clause ('who saw him on the street yesterday'). When the copula is reinterpreted as the marker of focus, then the reanalysis is complete. Schematically, then,

- (177)
- $$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{PP} \end{array} \right\} \text{copula - subordinate clause}$$

becomes

- (178)
- $$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{PP} \end{array} \right\} \text{focus marker - main clause}$$

(The relative order of the copula and the focused constituent does not matter; however, presumably they must be adjacent.)

Now, Korean *i* appears sentence-finally on questions (Martin 1992:160):

- (179) *i kes i mues i-n ya* (Martin 1992:549)  
*i* [DEM] *kes* thing *i* [SBJ] *mues* what *i-n* [COP]-MOD *ya* [Q].INTIMATE  
'What is this?'

(Here, *i* plus the sentence-final intimate particle *a* contract to *ya*.)

From the discussion above, it becomes evident that the path Korean *i* took to become a sentence-final marker was

- (180) demonstrative *i* > (copula *i* >) sentential focus marker

This became extended, as in Japanese, to a focused subject marker:

- (181) *inkan i cwuke yo* (Sohn 1999:329)  
human *i* die PART  
'It is man that is mortal.'

Above, I have analyzed a possible diachronic scenario whereby the Korean demonstrative or copula *i* could have developed into a focused subject marker. Another important question remains, however: the question of the *i-ka* allomorphy. As Martin 1992 notes, the Korean subject particle was *i* in all phonological environments until fairly recently; indeed, in some dialects, *i* is still the only marker used (594-5). Instances of *ka* started appearing in texts between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, however, and it is now the Standard Korean allomorph of *i* when the morpheme attaches to vowels. Below, I will attempt to explain both the evolution of *ka* and how it came to be the suppletive allomorph of *i*.

In what is by now a familiar pattern, we see *ka* appearing at the end of sentences as a question particle or an exclamatory particle:

(182) *nay ka poko isstun sinmun i eti kass-sup-ni-kka*<sup>45</sup>  
 I i read being newspaper i where went-FORMAL-INDIC-*ka*  
 'Where has that newspaper gone that I was reading?' (Martin 1992:280-1)

(183) *Kim-sensayngnim kkeyse cinci capswu-sy-ess-sup-ni-kka*  
 Kim-professor NOM.HON meal eat-HON-PST-FORMAL-INDIC-*ka*  
 'Has Professor Kim eaten?' (Sohn 1999:268)

(184) *nay ka hakkyo ey nle ka-key man toy-myen elmana cohul-kka*  
 I i school LOC enter go-ADV only become-COND how good-*ka*  
 'How nice it would be if only I could get to go to school!' (Martin 1992:862)

(185) *alci anhnun ka* (Martin 1992:336)  
 know not *ka*  
 '(You) don't know (him)!?'

This *ka* may derive from an earlier stage, where *ka* served a copular or a combined interrogative-copular use. This is suggested by some Middle Korean and dialect data (e.g., from the Phyengan dialect), in which the usual copula (*i-ta*) is omissible when *ka* is used to form a question (Martin 1992:593 and sources cited therein).

(186) *teki poinun key ne ney hakkyo ka* (Martin 1992:593)  
 yonder visible thing TOP your school *ka*  
 'Is what can be seen over there your school?'

Modern Korean *ka* also serves as a focus marker for nominal constituents (not just subjects):

<sup>45</sup>The somewhat complicated distributional facts of the plain (*ka*) and tensed (*kka*) versions of this etymon are not relevant here.

- (187) *eti ey ka kulen key issnun ya* (Martin 1992:499)  
 where LOC *ka* such thing exist *i* [Q].INTIMATE  
 ‘Where is there any such thing?!’

Historically, this *ka* most likely could have been added to a subject (which was then always *i*-marked), as well as any other nominal constituent, in order to focus it. There is evidence in Korean dialects for such a stage: as Martin 1992:196 notes, “There are cases, especially in the north, of pleonastic ... *i ka* (but no \*... *ka ka* or \*... *ka i*) which suggest that the *ka* may have been added [to subjects] for emphasis....”

Meanwhile, the *i* which marked subjects was undergoing partial phonological attrition through crasis. There was no problem when *i* attached to consonant-final stems; however, with vowel-final stems, the two vowels tended to coalesce. We see remnants of this coalesced *i* in certain alternations found in the Modern Korean pronoun paradigm and also in some noun variants.<sup>46</sup> For example,

- (188) *na* ‘I’ but *nae-ka-nai-ka* ‘I-ka’  
*ne* ‘I.HUMBLE’ but *ney-ka-nei-ka* ‘I.HUMBLE-ka’

- (189) *nai* < *nai-i* ‘age’ (Seoul dialect) (Martin 1992:553)  
*wi* < *wuy* < *wu[h]-i* ‘top, place above’ (Seoul dialect)  
*kamay* < *kama* ‘kiln’ (Cheju dialect)  
*cwokhay* < *cwokha* ‘nephew’ (Cheju dialect)

In other words, at this stage, *i* would have theoretically alternated with zero, depending on whether the constituent it attached to ended in a consonant or a vowel.

<sup>46</sup>In fact, *V-i* is still common in many dialects (Martin 1992:551).

As mentioned above, *ka* was being used to focus nominal constituents (not just subjects) within the clause. In its role as focus marker, it could naturally attach to any nominal constituent; however, it is likely that much of the time it appeared on subjects. In addition, because the subject marker *i* had undergone coalescence after vowels, zero sometimes had the function of “marking” subjects, so to speak. In the third place, although this may be a minor point, Korean speakers had a model for phonologically motivated allomorphy, but not for a zero allomorph, in their other particles. Since having a zero allomorph is less than ideal, and since *ka* was already marking subjects much of the time, I believe that *ka* was adopted as the new, more phonologically robust allomorph for *i*. Using Heath 1998’s imagery, the subject marking function residing in the zero allomorph would have been a *hermit crab* with absolutely no phonological shell. Migrating out, it would have readily found *ka* to serve as its new home. Despite its rather *ad hoc* appearance, Heath demonstrates the process in a number of languages.

The chart below summarizes the developments internal to Korean subject marking.

(190)	originally	V- <i>i</i>	C- <i>i</i>	
	coalescence	V	C- <i>i</i>	
	hermit crab	V- <i>ka</i>	C- <i>i</i>	1800’s

Once the subject marking function for certain phonological environments had migrated to *ka*, the stage was set for it to become an obligatory part of the case paradigm. This is exactly what happened in Standard Korean. In turn, this obligatory nature of *ka* is perhaps what led to a weakening of its focus semantics: as discussed in Choi 1997, *ka* is not as strongly focusing as, for example, the Japanese focus marker *ga*.

## Conclusion.

This chapter has examined possible paths of development for the Japanese and Korean focus markers. In closing, it is worth mentioning some other languages where focus markers and complementizers may be related. For example, Aissen analyzes Mayan interrogative markers as complementizers, although it is not clear whether she would generalize this to other languages. In other words, in Mayan, a question is underlyingly a CP that begins with the question particle, and then the *wh*-word (which is naturally focused) would move to specifier of I' (1992:73). Linearly, then, we would have the focused *wh*-word, then the question marker, and then the rest of the CP. It seems to me simple enough for, say,

(191) [focus] [(question) particle + CP]

to be reanalyzed as

(192) [focus + (focus) particle] [CP].

Coatlán-Loxicha Zapotec, too, has a particle *kaʔ*, which Beam de Azcona 1999 analyzes as being a focus particle but which I see as having the dual functions of focus marker and complementizer. In addition, Russian *li*, which cliticizes to a fronted focal element, is also an interrogative complementizer (King 1995:138-9). Finally, we can tentatively add two examples from Romance. First of all, Spanish *si*, in addition to having many highly focused, independent uses, has another function—as a marker of indirect *yes-no* questions (Schwenter 1999:236-7). Second, French *que* has the multiple roles of (a) a generic complementizer, (b) a relativizer, (c) a marker of exclamations (i.e., sentence focus), and (d) a specialized focus marker in the *ne...que* construction, as in:

(193) *Dans les tablettes o-ka ... , on ne trouve*  
 in the tablets *o-ka* one NEG find  
*qu' un seul exemple de to-so-de ....*  
*que a single example of to-so-de*

'In the *o-ka* tablets...., one finds only a single example of *to-so-de*....'

(Ruijgh 1967:349)

All of this makes it rather clear that the links between complementizers, (*yes-no*) interrogative markers, and focus particles merits a great deal of further research.





markers. These analyses also provided an explanation for hitherto unaccounted-for distributional facts about the Japanese and Korean focus markers.

Research into topic, focus, and related notions should not stop here. In fact, there remain several significant areas for further research. First of all, the present dissertation suggests that locative morphology is an important source for topic markers. However, the language sample is relatively small and relies heavily on data from two languages, Japanese and Greek. In fact, there are languages that appear to have a different source for topic morphology: for example, Kanuri (Nilo-Saharan, Nigeria; Hutchison 1981) has a topic marker which seems to be related to the language's associative postposition. If it could be demonstrated that the topic marker in this language did develop from a postposition with associative semantics, it might compel us to propose other grammaticalization paths in addition to those originating from locative phrases. On the other hand, it would not be unexpected that a locative marker could itself come to have some other oblique meaning (e.g., comitative), thus obscuring the original semantics of the source morphology for the topic marker.

More problematic is the question of what happens in "rheme-theme" languages, such as those in the Algonquian language family (Tomlin & Rhodes 1992). These languages have sentence-final topics, unmarked except for word order, but their spatio-temporal space-builders come at the beginning of the sentence (Rhodes p.c.). Since the languages' discourse topics and their space-building phrases do not occupy the same position in the utterance, we could not expect languages like Ojibwe to follow the proposed path of grammaticalization. In this case, would they ever develop topic-marking morphology at all? Where would such marking come from? In sum, then, a broader typological survey will be necessary to determine just how universal the proposed path of grammaticalization is.

There are still other areas fertile for inquiry, such as the role of locative- and topic-marking in other space-building constructions, including conditional protases and relative clauses. Since Haiman 1978, it has been noted that there is a tendency for languages which overtly mark topics to mark conditional clauses with the same morphology. I have noted a number of such cases in the languages considered in chapter 2 above. However, at this stage, it is unclear just what relevance this conditional-topic homophony has for the posited grammaticalization path. It might be that there is some stage (a) between locative marking and contrastive marking, (b) between contrastive marking and topic marking, or (c) subsequent to topic marking in which the morphology comes to be used for indicating the status of a clause as a conditional. It is also possible that the morphology used in conditional clauses often has the same source morphology as topics but takes on this function independently of the developments discussed in this dissertation. Surely cognitive-linguistic research on the nature of conditionals (e.g., Traugott 1985a, Sweetser 1990, Dancygier & Sweetser 1996) will be able to shed light on the matter, but whatever the case, this will have to be the subject of future investigation. There is also the case of Imonda (and Modern Korean, which I mentioned in passing) in which the morphemes used in topic marking seem somehow related to those used in relativization. As in the case of conditional clause marking, the relevance of this data must be addressed by future research. Since we have analyzed topic marking as arising out of the space-building aspect of locatives, however, it should come as no surprise if the same marking shows up on these other constructions, which all have space-building semantics. The grammaticalization analysis in each such case will be different in detail but should also have a common underlying cognitive basis. Similarly, the deep cognitive and iconic relationship between focusing and deixis (or, at a more primitive level, pointing) deserves more exploration.

One final area that I will mention as deserving examination is those languages which have taken a detour in the course of the locative-to-topic path and have evolved different subject (*switch-reference*) morphology. For instance, Cavineña (Takanan, Bolivia) uses the locative case to mark different subject (Guillaume 1999), and the many Australian languages identified in Austin 1981 use either locative or allative marking for this purpose. In Yokuts (Penutian, central California), the different subject morpheme (Newman 1944:239) is clearly derived from a nominalized verb form with the locative suffix attached. In a similar vein, the absolute constructions of early Indo-European languages, such as the Sanskrit locative absolute and the Latin ablative absolute, are essentially switch-reference phenomena that might profitably be examined in light of the ideas put forth here. In particular, intermediate stages in my analysis (e.g., contrastiveness and scene-shifting) might be possible branching points for alternative grammaticalization paths leading to disjoint subject reference.

This has primarily been a study in historical linguistics, but it has synchronic implications. While it is not my position that every synchronic puzzle will benefit from diachronic analysis, I maintain that the concepts of topic and focus, where various stages in the path of grammaticalization often co-exist, can only be fully understood with the addition of this perspective. The relative absence of a principled historical approach in past studies is, I maintain, one reason that the nature of these concepts has remained so elusive.

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