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Information-Structural Perspectives on Discourse Particles

Edited by
Pierre-Yves Modicom
Olivier Duplâtre

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Information-Structural Perspectives on Discourse Particles

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Volume 213

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Edited by Pierre-Yves Modicom and Olivier Duplâtre

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Introduction

What can information-structural categories tell us about discourse particles?

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1. Discourse particles and information structure: Preliminary definitions

This volume is concerned with the various interactions between Information Structure and the syntax, semantics and pragmatics of those particles that take scope over the whole utterance or even beyond, and mark phenomena such as stance, speech act specification, Common Ground Management or discourse structuration (Fernandez-Vest 1994).¹ For clarity's sake, all these particles will be labelled 'discourse particles'. Several subtypes ought to be distinguished depending on the scope or on the precise function of these particles. Especially, modal particles tend to emerge as a special subgroup within the set of discourse particles or even discourse markers (for discussion, see Waltereit & Detges 2007 and the studies collected in Degand et al. 2013 or Fedriani & Sansò 2017). As we shall see in the course of this volume, information-structural categories might actually be useful tools to assess the relevance of such a distinction. But for now, we shall use 'discourse particles' as cover term for modal particles as they are known from Germanic, sentential particles like Japanese sentence-final particles, and other illocutionary particles that might interact with Information Structure.

Under 'Information Structure', we understand the packaging of information within and between utterances. Following Chafe (1976), Molnár (1998, 2002) and Krifka (2008), we acknowledge three main levels of information-packaging.

1. At this stage, we want to thank all the participants to the workshop on "Discourse Particles and Information Structure" at the 51st meeting of the Societas Linguistica Europaea for their contributions and for the fruitful discussions that made this introduction and the whole volume possible. We would also like to thank the editors and the publisher of this series for giving us the opportunity to publish the result of this project as a volume of the *Studies in Languages Companion Series*.

First, speakers can mark chunks of information as expressing what the utterance is about (“topic”) or what it claims about the topic (“comment”). There are various types of topics: aboutness topics proper, but also framing topics, which point at the set of circumstances about which the comment is asserted. There are also differences of scope, especially between sentence topics and discourse topics (for a language-specific assessment of both, see for instance Spevak 2010: 65–66). Discourse topics are associated with general cohesion and coherence mechanisms at the transphrastic, textual and conversational levels.

(1) Central Pomo:

Mu:l ’=ma t̥íya:k^he ha l’el
that COP=FAC 3PL.POSS language the
‘and their language,’

dú: ló-w-ač^h-in
other talk.PL-PFV-IPFV.PL-SAME.SIM
‘they talk different’

yáq’-č’i-č^h č^hów
know-SML-IPFV.PL not-PFV

‘and we don’t understand them very well.’

(Mithun 2018: 128)

On the other hand, sentence topics, such as Japanese *wa*-topics are identified at the level of the sentence, or even of the clause:

(2) John *wa* tikyuu *wa* marui koto o sitte-iru

John TOP Earth TOP round that know-be

‘John knows that the Earth is round.’

(cit. Kuroda 2005: 19)

Further, information can be marked as discourse-old (or accessible) or discourse-new, a distinction that corresponds to the traditional opposition between “theme” and “rheme” as it is known from the Prague school, and to the opposition between “given” and “new” information in works following the categories established by Chafe (1976). Newer research has shown that we might have to distinguish between discourse- or speaker-new and hearer-new, discourse- or speaker-old and hearer-old, with Squartini (2017) arguing for a three-level distinction between discourse-, speaker- and hearer-new resp. -old in his study on the particle-like behaviour of non-canonical negations in Romance. The distinction between hearer-old and discourse-old goes back to Prince (1992), who states that the old/new opposition that is grammatically marked in English (by the use of the definite vs. indefinite article) is the distinction at the level of the hearer, not the discourse-level distinction. More generally, while the perspective of the Prague school was primarily centered on the level of sentences and on intersentential cohesion

mechanisms, the old (or accessible) vs. new opposition can be extended at a wider level and to the managing of inferences and expectations from previous discourse.

Finally, the information-structural notion of contrast mostly corresponds to the repartition between focus and background; here, too, the management of expectations is a central parameter. Regarding the definition of focus, the notion of “newness” (as opposed to “givenness”) has been defended in quite different frameworks, starting with Halliday’s “information focus” (Halliday 1967: 200). But according to Molnár (2002) and Krifka (2008), there are many cases in which a constituent that refers to something mentioned previously is still subject to focus / contrast. As a consequence of that, it seems more suitable to strictly restrict our notion of focus thanks to the concept of contrast and to define the corresponding information-structural layer independently of the opposition between “new” and “given”.

All three layers can interact. Contrasted constituents often correspond to hearer-new information. Topics are usually accessible (“old”?). Yet, given (discourse-old) topics can be marked differently from new (=newly introduced) topics or resumed topics (i.e., topics that were first introduced, then left aside for a moment before being resumed in a third step). Contrastive topics are often realized by specific means (for a detailed discussion on contrastive topics as focalized topics, see Molnár 1998 and Büring 2003). Mithun (2018) has provided a detailed account of how all layers have to be taken into consideration for the analysis of information-structural strategies in a specific language (in that case, Central Pomo), including specialized particles and enclitics.

Discourse- or hearer-old vs. new; contrasted information vs. non-contrasted information; “what we are talking about” vs. “what we say about it”: from these distinctions, there is but one step to the general realm of Common Ground Management as it is illustrated by researchers defending a more pragmatic approach. Under Common Ground Management, we understand the management of “mutually ostensive knowledge” between speakers, and their opinions as to what information is “mutually ostensive” to each other (for a discussion of Common Ground as “mutually ostensive information”, see Wilson & Sperber 2013). From a linguistic point of view, Common Ground Management is (at least partly) realized by the means of Information Structure. Among the information-structural strategies pertaining at Common Ground Management, we identify: the syntactic and prosodic opposition between hearer-old and hearer-new information; the use of particles and discourse markers to formally mark knowledge gaps between the speaker and the hearer, as well as the management of hearer expectations by the speaker (see Blakemore 1987); morphological, syntactic and prosodic meta-instructions to the hearer regarding the discourse structure (e.g., topic shift).

The interaction between contrast and the syntax and semantics of particles has been extensively studied: many languages resort to special sets of contrast- or focus-sensitive operators to specify the relationships between the contrasted constituent and the set of alternatives to which it is contrasted – operators mostly known as “focus particles” (König 1991). In this volume, our attention is devoted to particles taking wide scope rather than with those particles that merge with a specific constituent. Thus, the studies in this volume are primarily concerned either with other particles than focus particles. When they take focus particles into consideration, they deal with their non-focussing (mostly discourse-structuring) uses.

2. Information-structural aspects of the syntax, semantics and pragmatics of discourse particles

To this date, two languages have played a central role in the scholarly reflexion on how discourse particles help shape Information Structure, or conversely, on how Information Structure determines the use-conditions of discourse particles: German and Japanese. In German, this question has been addressed from the perspective of modal particles. The corresponding research on Japanese has mainly targeted sentence-final particles (Endo 2007, 2012), although this language is also notorious for its case particles (*wa/ga/o*) that mark givenness or topicality in the clause at a grammatical level.

2.1 Givenness and newness in the syntax and semantics of German discourse particles

If we first turn to German, we see that modal particles such as *ja*, *doch* or *schon* are used to indicate whether the content of the utterance is part of the conversational Common Ground and in what way the utterance matches intersubjective expectations (similar particles can be found in Dutch and in Scandinavian languages, but not in English).

- (3) Aber Simone, deine Mutter war **doch** verheiratet!
 But Simone, your mother was **PRT** married!
 ‘But Simone, your mother was married!’ (implied: ‘You should know that!’)
 (quoted from Métrich et al. 1999: 127)

It has been pointed out that the position of MPs in the clause is chiefly determined by the theme-rheme structure of the VP, modal particles being just before the rheme (‘watershed function’ in Grosz 2016, see also Krivonossov 1977; Hentschel 1986; Abraham 1991).

- (4) Ich möchte Ihnen ja wirklich keine Schwierigkeiten machen.
 I would.like formal:DAT PRT really NEG.ART troubles make
 ‘I really don’t want to put you in trouble, you know’
 (quoted from Métrich et al. 2002: 126)
- (5) weil d-ie Priester ja auch Ärzte war-en
 because DEF-PL priests PRT also doctors be:PAST-PL
 ‘Because the priests were also doctors [as you know].’
 (quoted from Métrich et al. 2002: 130)
- (6) Es liegt ja kein Ozean zwischen d-en beid-en
 expletive lie-3SG PRT NEG.ART ocean between DEF-DAT.PL both-DAT.PL
 Länder-n.
 countries-DAT.PL
 ‘There is no ocean between both countries [as you know].’
 (quoted from Métrich et al. 2002: 124)
- (7) Es glaub-t Ihnen ja doch kein Mensch.
 expletive believe-3SG 2:FORMAL:DAT PRT PRT NEG.ART human
 ‘Nobody believes you, anyway.’ (quoted from Métrich et al. 2002: 127)

Further, the very meaning of MPs seems to rely on semantic categories that are typical for Information Structure research, such as “notorious information”, “already known”, “contextually available”, “part of the Common Ground”... For instance, Grosz (2016: 337) describes the meaning of *ja* in the following terms:

ja(p) triggers a presupposition that the contextually given speaker believes that the modified proposition *p* is true; it furthermore presupposes a belief concerning the contextually given addressee, namely that she either knows that *p* is true, or that the truth of *p* is evident in the utterance context.

2.2 Common Ground Management and speech act specification as loci for information-structural strategies

The collective volume edited by Abraham (1991) presents various models of description for German MPs, but shared knowledge appeared to be the most central notion. This tradition has been pursued up to this day, and has led to proposals intertwining the conditions of MP usage and Information Structure or Common Ground Management. For instance, Gast (2006) named MP *doch* the marker of “contradictions in the Common Ground” and MPs in general instruments of “Common Ground updating”. Gutzmann (2015) has modelled the use-conditional semantics of MPs with the help of the opposition between the Context Set and Common Ground (the Context set is the set of alternative propositions that are accessible at a given point in the flow of conversation). Repp (2013) also presents

MPs as exponents of Common Ground Management, whereas Fischer (2007), in a completely different theoretical framework, insists upon MPs helping manage the “Argumentative Common Ground”. Although Relevance Theory rather uses the concept of “mutually ostensive knowledge” than speak of “Common Ground”, König’s (1991 and 1997) relevance-theoretical account of MPs also insists upon particles managing inferences and anticipations by the hearer. By doing this, he draws on proposals by Blakemore (1987) on English discourse markers, thus suggesting that these operations might actually involve other kinds of particles and markers than only modal particles of the German type (for a reassessment of MPs inside the wider realm of discourse markers, see Diewald 2013).

Another important strain of thought in MP research rather insists upon speech act specification, but here, too, information-structural notions are never far. In the aforementioned collective volume (Abraham 1991), Jacobs (1991) presents MP *ja* as a specifier of assertive speech acts, imposing additional restrictions onto the accessible focus alternatives to *p*. Jacob’s account, in turn, has led Egg and Mursell (2016) to claim that MPs interact with a focus constituent in their syntactic domain. Thus, speech act specification by MPs appears to be information-structural specification. More generally, the role of focus, especially Verum focus, has been highlighted by several newer articles on MPs, such as Repp (2013) or Abraham (2017). The latter paper also underlines theticity constraints: as it seems, thetic utterances, i.e. all-rheme utterances, cannot license MP use, due to what Abraham (2017 and this volume) calls the discourse-embedding function of MPs.

2.3 A cross-linguistic view: Equivalence and interactions between particles and information-structural strategies

One important question at this stage is to determine whether these insights are language-specific, or restricted to a small subset of particles sharing the essential properties of German MPs. This is the main point of debate between two contributions of this volume, by Werner Abraham and Richard Waltereit. Waltereit (2006) has proposed a general theory of *Abtönung* (a term coined by Weydt 1969 for the analysis of German MPs), corresponding to the anticipation of hearer’s reactions. He illustrates the functional equivalence between MP *ja* and specific information-structural strategies such as I-topicalisation in several languages, or right dislocation in Italian.

The comparison between Romance and Germanic has yielded new generalization attempts by Schoonjans (2013, 2014), and has also led to the re-examination of Romance markers using theoretical insights from MP research. For instance, Romance double negations are now often described as equivalents of MPs (see Coniglio 2008 for a discussion about Italian *mica* being a modal particle).

Information-structural concepts appear to play a key role in the discussion, as exemplified by Squartini (2017), who examines the variations of use for non-canonical negation *mica* in terms of speaker-old vs speaker-new and hearer-old vs hearer-new information.

Other Indo-European languages also seem to exhibit discourse particles (in the sense given above) whose use conditions are intertwined with Information Structure. In Ancient Greek, several discourse particles seem to have focus-sensitive usages as well: $\delta\acute{\eta}$ ('now, in truth, verily') can be used both as a sentential particle, for instance to mark an unexpected entailment, and in association with a constituent under contrast. $M\acute{\eta}\nu$ ('verily, truly') can also be used at the sentence level and have a contrastive value (Thijs 2017). Similar phenomena can be observed in Slavic: Bonnot and Bottineau (2012) show that the Russian conditional / irrealis particle *by* is sensitive to the focus/background distinction. On the other hand, the Russian particle *to*, even though it seems to be specialized for the marking of topicality, also exhibits modal values (Bonnot 1990, 2015); the particle *že*, which arguably marks the uncontroversiality of a claim (Padučeva 1987), is frequently associated with the marking of sentence-initial thematic information (Bonnot 1986). This matter of fact actually casts doubt upon the distinction made above between contrast- or focus-sensitive and discourse particles, as it seems that at least in Ancient Greek or in Russian, the same items can actually occur in both categories. Thus, the question has to be raised whether Information Structure can play a role in the disambiguation of polyfunctional and polysemic particles.

When it comes to Japanese, a frequent assumption is that sentence-final particles play a role similar to the discourse particles already mentioned for Indo-European languages. Indeed, their use is strongly correlated to the management of presuppositions and expectations, as can be seen in Examples (8) and (9), both quoted from Endo (2012: 408).

- (8) A: Zenzen benkyoosite -nainda
not.at.all studied NEG
'I have not studied at all.'
B: Demo, ukaru yo/?wa
nevertheless pass PRT/?PRT
'But you will pass nevertheless.'
- (9) A: John-wa kyoo-no party-ni ki masen.
John-TOP today-GEN party-to come NEG
'John will not come to today's party.'
B: E, kuru yo / ?wa!
What come PRT/?PRT
'What? He will definitely come!'

But given the fact that Information Structure is also marked by the alternation between *wa*, *ga* and a null case particle (see Endo, this volume), we can expect these two sorts of particles to interact. Are there significant restrictions to the combinations of *wa/ga/0* with certain sentence-final particles?

2.4 Particle placement, polyfunctionality and the role of information structure in the emergence and specialization of discourse particles

Beyond these two extensively studied sets of particles, Japanese also exhibits sentence-internal, so-called “interjectional particles”, some of them identical to sentence-final particles, albeit with arguable meaning differences. For instance, Onodera (2004: 178) glosses the following sentence-internal use of *yo* (see Examples (8) and (9)) as “emphatic”:

- (10) *noo goranze yo kahodo made.*
 see look.at EMP like this
 ‘See, look at it.’

Do these interjectional particles contribute to the information-structural characterization of the utterance? Or is it possible to resort to information-structural categories to help make a clear-cut semantic distinction between sentence-final and interjectional particles of the same source? As we shall see, Japanese is not the single language in which sentential particles appear to be polyfunctional or to have “sibling particles” whose functional status still has to be cleared, included with respect to Information Structure.

This raises the issue of how discourse particles emerge in language history. Leaving aside the question of whether discourse particles are best defined as cases of grammaticalization or pragmaticalization, we want to ask which role information-structural strategies can play in the specialization of discourse particles. Word order and the position of particles should come under special scrutiny in this respect. In many languages, particles occupy specific slots either on the margins of the VP, or in the “Wackernagel position” (after the first stressed constituent of the clause, whereby it should be noted that depending on languages, this can be either the first full phrase, or the first lexeme, see Anderson 1993). Haselow (2015) as well as Hancil et al. (2015) and Panov (2018) have underlined the fact that clause-final, predicate-final or utterance-final positions show a strong affinity with intersubjectivity, expectations and/or illocutionary marking.

Regarding the left and right peripheries, there has been a great amount of publications in the recent years about the role of peripheral positions in the rise and the semantic specialisation of discourse markers and particles (a milestone

publication in this domain is probably the collection of papers by Beeching and Detges 2014). Given the frequent role of clause peripheries in the expression of Information Structure, it is all the more tempting to raise the hypothesis that information-structural factors can partly determine the specialization of particles.

Beeching and Detges (2014: 1) write: “in dialogical conversation, the left margin of the most basic unit, the turn, is the place where the speaker takes the right to speak, whereas at the right margin the floor is handed over to the hearer.” However, their understanding of Information Structure is restricted to speaker-oriented strategies. Thus, for them, the locus of information-structural specialization of particles and discourse markers is the left clause periphery. If markers appear on the right periphery, “they tend to have an interpersonal (i.e. intersubjective) function (cf. Traugott 2010), rather than an information-structuring one. They serve to confirm shared assumptions, check or express understanding, request confirmation, express deference or are used for face-saving.” (Beeching & Detges 2014: 3–4). For us, the “confirmation of shared assumptions” belongs to interactional Common Ground Management strategies that might be expressed by Information Structure. Indeed, this implies different, more intersubjective semantic and pragmatic features than the “subjective” dimensions expressed on the left margin of the turn. Thus, we could expect that the shift from the left to the right might correspond to a rise in intersubjectivity, as proposed by Izutsu and Izutsu (2013) for Japanese, for example (see also Shinzato 2017 for a general discussion on the validity of Beeching & Detges’ 2014 hypothesis for Japanese). Language-specific arguments for this claim are provided by the use-conditional restrictions on initial and medial position for the Hokkaido-Japanese marker *sosite* when it is used as an intersubjective modal particle (Izutsu & Izutsu 2013: 226), as opposed to its core lexical use as an additive connective. In the following examples, *sosite* is a connective in (11a), and a particle in (11b).

- (11) a. Maido simete. (**Sosite**) kore (**sosite**) simatte -kite (**sosite**).
 window close and his and put.aside and.come and
 ‘Close the window. And go and put this aside.’
 (cit. Izutsu & Izutsu 2013: 225)
- b. (informed that a restaurant serves good sausage at reasonable prices:)
 (***Sosite**) zawaakurauto -toka ([?]**sosite**) tuitokuru -wake (**sosite**)?
 *DM sauerkraut etc. [?]DM come.with-FIN DM
 ‘And does it come with sauerkraut as well?’
 (cit. Izutsu & Izutsu 2013: 226)

Another issue is the tendency of many of those particles to appear in second position. An extreme case is Latin *enim*, that has to appear after the first full word of the sentence:

- (12) Adventus **enim** L. Nasidi summa spe et voluntate
 arrival:NOM PRT L Nasidus:GEN extreme:ABL hope:ABL and goodwill:ABL
 civitatem compleverat.
 city:ACC fill:PLPFT
 ‘For the arrival of L. Nasidus had filled the city with utmost hope and goodwill.’
 (Caesar, quoted from Spevak 2010: 16; glossed by the editors)

The Wackernagel position needs not be associated with information-structural parameters, but in languages where the first position is often used as a slot for prosodically-marked constituents with a specific information-structural status, we can wonder if these features help give rise to discourse particles in the Wackernagel position, and if their conditions of use bear traces of this information-structural factors. Spevak (2010: 72) has provided extensive evidence for the fact that the first position of the clause in Latin is determined by Information Structure (see esp. Spevak 2010: 68–72). Adams (1994) has been so far as to reinterpret the Law of Wackernagel for Latin clitics as a tendency to associate with contrasted elements, in order to account with placement regularities outside of the second position. In Ancient Greek, Fraser (2001) has similarly interpreted the tendency of particles to occupy the second position of the clause as the result of semantic value of “emphasis”, which is itself linked to the “informational prominence” of the first constituent.

- (13) Πῶς οὖν; τί δράσω;
 How indeed What do:1SG:FUT
 ‘How? What should I do?’
 κάρτα γὰρ καὶ γὼ θέλω.
 very.much PRT also.me wish:1SG
 ‘For I too very much wish that.’
 (Euripides, cit. from Fraser 2001: 163; glossed by the editors)

3. “Epistemic authority”, “engagement” and “enimitives”: Information-structural approaches in the face of the newest typological research on particle semantics

It must be noted that interpretations of discourse particle semantics in terms of shared knowledge, Common Ground and information-structural notions are not undisputed. Especially, the last few years have seen newer developments in typological research on issues pertaining to the semantics of discourse particles, yet Information Structure hardly seems to play a role in the theoretical backgrounding of these analyses. In this section, we want to address these new insights from typology and to show that the aforementioned concepts from information-structural research are actually quite complementary to them.

3.1 Engagement, epistemic authority, egophoricity

A first strain of research is associated with notions such as “engagement” and “epistemic authority”. Works in this domain actually maintain references to the intersubjective management of knowledge repartition or to the hearer’s expectations, and sometimes even explicitly mention Common Ground Management as a dimension of analysis. Yet, they come up essentially without any reference to the traditional dichotomies of Information Structure. Indeed, notions like “engagement” and the emerging field of research on “egophoricity” rather insist upon the notion of “epistemic authority” and especially on asymmetry between speech act participants regarding this epistemic authority.

The notion of epistemic authority has been proposed by Hargreaves (most recently Hargreaves 2018) to depict the “privileged access” to knowledge that the speaker is supposed to enjoy in first-person declaratives, whereas in second-person interrogatives, epistemic authority lays with the addressee (see also Schultze-Berndt 2017 and most of the studies in Floyd, Norcliffe & San Roque 2018). In other words, “epistemic authority” is very comparable to the kind of deictic, intersubjective epistemic modality that has been proposed to describe the semantics of modal particles in frameworks open to information-structural readings (e.g. Abraham & Leiss 2012; Leiss 2012; Abraham 2012; Abraham & Leiss (eds) 2012). “Engagement”, in the meantime, is defined as the “relative accessibility of an entity or state of affairs to the speaker and addressee” (Evans, Bergqvist & San Roque 2018: 141). In recent work, Bergqvist (2019) has shown that Swedish modal particles *ju* and *väl* behave like markers of epistemic authority, with *ju* being associated with uncontroversial speaker authority and *väl* with the speaker acknowledging the hearer’s superior epistemic authority, hence a higher frequency of *ju* in utterances with first-person subjects and of *väl* in utterances with second-person subjects (i.e. contexts in which the privileged access of the speaker resp. the hearer is hardly disputable).

As can be expected from the definition quoted above research on egophoricity and engagement are widely converging with many insights on the behaviour of discourse or modal particles. Most crucially, they meet analyses of properties that are essentially independent of Information Structure. For instance, in the case of German *wohl*, whose inferential-like semantics tend to lower the commitment of the speaker to the propositional content of assertions, it has often been observed that in questions, this effect actually concerns the hearer’s prospective answer: the speaker anticipates that the addressee, envisaged as a future speaker, might give an answer to which she might not be capable of fully committing herself – hence the affinity of *wohl* with verb-final questions, which never demand a firm answer:

(14) Ob wir das wohl schaffen?

If 1PL this PRT get

‘Will we be able to do that?’ [~ ‘hard to know!'] (cit. from Kwon 2005: 207)

Exactly the same effects have been well noted cross-linguistically by scholars of egophoricity, who acknowledge the existence of an “interrogative flip” of epistemic authority. Indeed, this is a clear case where the semantics and pragmatics of a particle exhibit a feature that is autonomous from any information-structural parameters and should rather be interpreted in terms of epistemic conversation roles (see Zimmermann 2008 for the notion of “epistemic reference point” and Modicom 2012 for a discussion including first insights from “engagement” theory). In this respect, joint work on particles with egophoricity and engagement scholars appears to be promising. In their 2018 paper on the grammar of engagement, Evans, Bergqvist & San Roque (2018: 165) name German modal particles, Japanese sentence-final particles and Italian negative particles (*mica*) as examples of well-known items whose function should now be interpreted and analyzed in the light of recent typological research on the tightly grammaticalized marking of engagement. Conversely, in his monograph on German particles and their functional equivalents, Waltereit (2006) names Goffman’s views on conversational “footing” and the various levels of speaker and hearer alignment as a parameter that should be taken more seriously in particle research. He also calls for a more sustained dialogue between the analysis of conversational roles and the model-theoretic tradition of the multi-level, “polyphonic” analysis of commitment associated with the name of Ducrot. This proposed dialogue with Goffman and with “polyphonic” theories of commitment would probably lead to a more extensive recourse to the notion of asymmetries in epistemic authority and knowledge authority.

The great merit of research on engagement and egophoricity is certainly to recall that “discourse particles” should not be separated from core grammatical categories and that the recourse to more or less vague discourse functions (“reinforcement”, “mitigation”, “emphasis”...) are not sufficient to capture their basic linguistic function. On the other hand, “shared accessibility” and asymmetries in accessibility are very akin to information structural features, and they are even more close to the notions at play in pragmatic accounts such as the theories of Common Ground Management, especially if the Common Ground is defined as “mutually ostensive knowledge” and Common Ground Management as the negotiation of updates to the Common Ground (see above). Our claim is that resorting to information-structural parameters can only be profitable to these analyses. For instance, both topicality and thematicity involve mutual accessibility to the speaker and hearer. Further, in her study of epistemic particles Quechuan, Grzech (2016a and b), who also works within the broad domain of egophoricity and engagement

marking, signals that particles marking different epistemic stance, when they interact with focus, are associated with diverging focus effects, including Verum focus (see for instance Grzech 2016a: 283 ff.). This usage of focus and Verum focus in the treatment of particles within the framework of “engagement” studies confirms that there is much room left for convergence between “engagement” and Information Structure.

Even independently of the language-specific issues that bring particles in connexion with Information Structure (e.g. positional problems), the newer developments in this field are actually a good opportunity to redefine the position of Information Structure within the study of language and explore its interactions with core grammatical notions such as modality and evidentiality, whose precise contours are equally likely to be affected by these new developments in typological theory. Information Structure is a complex realm of multiple language-specific strategies ordered along at least levels. Given the fact that knowledge gaps between speech act participants, the management of diverging opinions in interaction and the accessibility of information are already important issues in Information Structure research, it is not unlikely that at least some information-structural strategies participate in the assessment of epistemic authority or in the management of accessibility hierarchies. Discourse particles, since they manifest strong links with Information Structure and are at the same time markers of “engagement”, are a privileged field to show this complementarity between the two approaches.

3.2 “Enimitives”

A more radical critique of both Information Structure and knowledge-sharing as tools for the description of discourse particles has been proposed very recently by Panov (2019), who coined the term “enimitive” to cross-linguistically examine those markers that are used to flag an assertion as “uncontroversial”. Panov’s claim is that Germanic modal particles, or at least some of them (such as German *ja* and *doch*), the Russian discourse particle *že* (Padučeva 1987) and some Japanese sentence-final particles like *yo* do not mark “shared knowledge”, but the uncontroversiality of a claim, as the particle *enim* did in Latin (see Example (12) above), hence the name *enimitive*.

His proposed typology of enimitives in Eurasia involves markers in many languages, mostly from Central, Northern and Eastern Europe, with a core group in a broad Baltic area (extending to most of the Eastern and Western Slavic languages), where such items are also licit in special *wh*-questions and in impatient commands and requests. Even though Panov intends to go beyond strictly knowledge-based accounts, his claims are actually not incompatible with epistemic or egophoric

approaches. First, since all those items seem to be facultative, their use has to be triggered by contextual conditions. The speaker's claim of "uncontroversiality" has to be grounded in the conversational context, and it is well possible that these (pragmatic) felicity conditions finally boil down to the semantic marking of unequal epistemic authority in the utterance context. In that case, "enimitives" would be a subset of markers for engagement and egophoricity.

If so, the claims made above about the relevance of information-structural research for the study engagement also hold for the enimitives. Especially, if we want to zoom in to the differences between several "enimitives" in one and the same language (e.g. between German *ja* and *doch* or Swedish *ju* and *väl*), or if we want to analyze non-enimitive items belonging to the same formal paradigm as enimitive particles (e.g. German *wohl*, arguably also Swedish *visst*), we will have to insert the "claim for uncontroversiality" inside of a broader set of conversational attitudes pertaining to commitment-in-interaction (be it egophoricity, engagement, or Common Ground). Enimitives are likely to finally re-join the general apparatus of linguistic tools used to manage expectations, speaker-hearer-gaps, and inter-subjective ratification, which directly brings us back to the realm of Information Structure as linguistic marking of such interactional phenomena.

Panov claims that the uncontroversiality of an assertion within the interactional context is a notion that can be fully integrated into the grammatical apparatus of a language; this is actually very reminiscent of the "argumentative" approaches to particles (Ducrot, Fischer). According to these scholars, languages have at their disposal specialized items that prepare the ground for further developments in conversation; they also help position the speaker (or the epistemic instance) to face possible counterarguments. In many respects, "argumentative" theories of discourse markers are but a branch of Common Ground Management theories, so that the study of language-specific strategies pertaining at this domain would inevitably lead to the double question of particles and Information Structure. Marking the strength of the proposition content respectively to possible alternatives has already been proposed as the core semantic function of particles within the broader set of discourse markers (Paillard 2017).

The semantic map of "enimitives" proposed by Panov shows just that, since he distinguishes carefully between "simple" enimitives and "contrastive" enimitives, which maintain the claim for uncontroversiality against a contrary proposition. In our eyes, the notion of contrast and the acknowledgement of the relevance of alternative viewpoints are characteristic for information-structurally determined views of conversation. We can expect alternatives, focus and/or contrastivity to be important notions for the characterization of "enimitives" and their neighbours. Thus, it seems to us that analyses resorting to Information Structure would also be compatible with, or even profitable for, the "enimitive" approach of particles.

4. The contributions in this volume

The contributions collected in this volume aim at addressing these various interactions between discourse particles and Information Structure. They go back to a workshop on “Discourse Particles and Information Structure” held at the 51st meeting of the Societas Linguistica Europaea in Tallinn in September 2018. The papers are grouped into three parts.

The first part is devoted to studies on the contribution of information-structural strategies to the rise of discourse particles. In her paper “Discourse particle position and information structure”, Marianne Mithun addresses this issue drawing on data from Mohawk. She argues that in many cases, the position of particles in Mohawk utterances, especially the second position, can be accounted for if we look at the source constructions of particles. She shows that particles emerged from a grammaticalization process involving marked information-structural constructions, such as topic shifts, antitopics or focus constructions. The following paper, “Information-structural properties of IS THAT clauses” by Eva-Maria Remberger, is devoted to the grammaticalization of *es que* (‘is that’) and *no es que* (‘NEG is that’) as inferential discourse markers in Spanish. Though *es que* should rather not be regarded as a particle in Spanish, the Sicilian equivalent to *no es que*, *neca*, has undergone further grammaticalization and is now a particle comparable to Italian *mica*. Thus, (*no*) *es que* represents an interesting example of intermediate development between a copula clause construction serving information-structural goals and a discourse particle. In her paper, the author examines several possible interpretations for the path that led from a copula clause construction to an inferential marker, and delivers a fine-grained discussion of how clefts and cleft-like constructions can specialize for epistemic meanings. The grammaticalization of a copula construction serving information-structural goals into a particle is also at the heart of Nadezda Christopher’s chapter on “Kazakh particle *ğoj* as an existential operator”. In Kazakh, *ğoj* is used to mark the assumption that (some of) the information provided in the utterance was already shared, or should be treated as such. The author shows that in post-predicative position, *ğoj* is always used with predicates that are either narrowly focused, or part of a focus phrase. Drawing on cross-linguistic comparisons and etymology, she shows that *ğoj* should be treated as an existential operator marking the presence of *p* inside of the Common Ground, and that the particle *ğoj* has probably grammaticalized from an existential copula in a special construction expressing Verum focus. The final paper in this section is by Marco Favaro and shows how an item that has already grammaticalized into an information-structural device can further evolve into an illocutionary modifier (“From focus marking to illocutionary modification: Functional developments of Italian *solo*”). *solo* ‘only’ has evolved into a connective discourse marker, but also

into a discourse particle in directional and assertive speech acts. Illocutionary *solo* contributes to the Common Ground Management: the utterance marked with *solo* “is projected against a proposition present in the Common Ground, contrasting (or correcting) it in an emphatic way”. The study is based on conversational data and shows that illocutionary *solo* has retained several of its quantificational and contrast-inducing features.

The second part is devoted to polysemic or heterosemic particles, for which *solo* is only one example. In their paper “Final or medial: morphosyntactic and functional divergences in discourse particles of the same historical sources”, Mitsuko Narita Izutsu and Katsunobu Izutsu examine three Japanese particles (*yo*, *ne*, and *sa*). These particles have two uses that are easily identified thanks to positional features: they can be used as sentence-final particles fulfilling a function of illocutionary modification, but they also appear sentence-internally, with a completely different interpretation as “interjectional particles” (see above). For instance, whereas sentence-final *-ne* marks that the content of the sentence is actually presupposed, medial *-ne* is used as a priming marker paving the way for new information. The authors show that information-structure and addressee-directedness play a major role not only to distinguish between the two kinds of uses for these three particles, but also to account for their distribution and the restrictions on their mutual compatibility. The second paper of this section (“Types and functions of *wa*-marked DPs and their structural distribution in a Japanese sentence” by Koichiro Nakamura) is also devoted to Japanese, but this time we turn to the ominous topic particle *wa*. The author is concerned with the semantic and distributional opposition between stressed and unstressed uses of the particle. He argues that the differences between both *wa*'s are due to the fact that stressed *WA* expresses both topic and focus. He examines the various kinds of foci at stake to deliver explanations on the different distributional properties of *wa* and *WA*. The final paper in this section is a discussion on French *quand même* by Richard Waltereit (“Is the information-structural contribution of modal particles in the syntax, in discourse structure, or in both?”). When they originally proposed to make a strict distinction between discourse particles and modal particles, Waltereit and Detges (2007) argued that modal particles operate at sentence level and can interact with Information Structure whereas discourse particles operate at discourse level. In his paper, Waltereit discusses the implication of Ozerov's (2015) work on Burmese, where it is suggested that core information-structural features usually analyzed at sentence level might actually have to be interpreted at discourse level. These findings invite to look for contexts where modal particles could operate at discourse level, thus challenging the original distinction proposed by Waltereit and Detges. The author argues that French modal particle *quand même* exhibits such usages at discourse level. Most crucially, he shows that there is a “backward-looking” use of *quand même*, which is still close

to the core lexical meaning of the source lexeme, and a “forward looking” use of *quand même* as a modal particle with strong information-structural properties both at sentence- and at discourse level.

The third and last part addresses discourse particles and especially modal particles for their contribution to the specification of illocutionary types. Here too, information-structural categories prove crucial for the description and analysis of the syntax and semantics of particles. In many cases, the illocutionary modification caused by particles appear to be an information-structural specification: particles give rise to a new, specific information-structural profile. The section is divided into two halves. In the first half, Werner Abraham and Yoshio Endo explain how the syntax of particles can be used as a key for the interpretation of information-structural and illocutionary features of the clause they modify. In the second half, Sergio Monforte as well as Balkiz Öztürk and Didar Akar examine the case of “special questions” and show how the use of particles leads to the information-structural specification of interrogative speech acts.

In his paper (“Discourse particles inthetic judgments, in dependent sentences, and in non-finite phrases”), Abraham explores the information-structural and illocutionary constraints weighing on the use of modal particles in German, with occasional cross-linguistic comparisons. The other aim of his paper is to look for syntactic generalizations that could answer the questions on the comparability of language-specific kinds of particles raised by Waltereit in his own paper. In the following chapter, “Information structure, null case particle and sentence final discourse particle”, Yoshio Endo makes a comparable plea for a syntactic, grammar-inherent view on particles. The author starts with an analysis of Japanese sentence-final particles as grammatical markers of Theory of Mind and empathy. He then turns to the interaction between sentence-final particles and case and topic particles (*wa / ga / 0*) and argues that sentence-final particles trigger the deletion of the case particle *ga*.

The final two chapters are devoted to particles as information-structural specifiers of interrogative utterances. Drawing on work by Bayer & Obenauer (2011) on particles in German “special questions” and by Trotzke & Turco (2015) on “emphasis”, Monforte’s paper (“Modal particles in Basque: Two cases of interaction between *ote* and information structure”) examines how modal particle *ote*, at least in some Eastern Basque dialects, interacts with the Information Structure of questions. Special attention is devoted to the combination between *ote* and *wh*-items, a syntactic pattern also observed in German and seemingly associated with emphasis. Finally, Öztürk and Akar draw our attention to “the discourse marker *hani* in Turkish”, a Common Ground-managing particle which is mostly used in questions. They discuss its syntax, semantics and prosody. The Turkish data is interpreted in the light of previous research on interro-negative utterances and the difference between

their “inner” and “outer” negation reading in English. The availability of evidence or counter-evidence for the expected answer appears to play a crucial role in the triggering of *hani*. The particle shapes specific, yet various information-structural and epistemic profiles in the questions that it modifies.

5. Conclusion

The articles collected in this volume show how the behavior and the interpretation of discourse particles are connected to categories such as ‘old’ / ‘given’ or ‘new’ (Abraham, Izutsu & Izutsu), to the management of presuppositions and expectations (Remberger, Waltereit, Endo, Öztürk & Akar), and to contrast, short: to how discourse particles constantly interact with information-structural parameters. Especially, contrast plays a major role in the description of the semantics of many items dealt with in this volume: verum focus or contrast on the truth of the proposition plays a role in the licensing of particles not only in German (Abraham) but also in Kazakh with the particle *ğoj* (Christopher); contrastive topics lay the ground for the emergence of particles in Mohawk (Mithun), whereas in Japanese, the contrastivity of topics triggers different licensing conditions for *wa* and *WA* at the syntactic level (Nakamura); the two readings of the French particle *quand même* amount to two sorts of contrast, exhaustivity contrast and uncertainty contrast (Waltereit). Further, discourse particles seem to strongly interact with wh-items and questions in order to create “special questions” that rely on specific prerequisites concerning the set of alternatives present either in the Common Ground or in the Context set (Endo, Monforte, Öztürk & Akar). Turning to the diachrony of markers, we also find strong hints at a link between particles and contrast. For instance, Italian *solo* is an instance of focus particle turning to a discourse particle (Favaro), whereas Spanish (*non*) *es que* is a case of a syntactic strategy for the expression of contrast that progressively grammaticalizes into a discourse marker and in some parallel cases (Sicilian) into a discourse particle (Remberger). Yet, other information-structural source constructions are possible. Especially, various kinds of topic marking stand at the origin of some Mohawk particles (Mithun), whereas the Japanese sentence-final particle *wa* seems to originate from the topic-marking particle *wa* (Endo). Both contrast and topicality point at the general “discourse-embedding value” of particles underlined by Abraham in his contribution. The regrammaticalization of topic markers into particles further suggests that clause position and functional value are tightly linked, as manifested by the Japanese data examined by Izutsu and Izutsu as well as Endo, whereby the question of the interaction between particles in different syntactic positions is still open.

This leads us to the question of the relationship between Information Structure and Common Ground Management or, following Krifka (2008), the pair Common Ground Management vs Common Ground Content. Many studies in this volume assume a theoretical approach that is indebted to Common Ground research, a stance that is now quite common in particle research. In this introduction, we have assumed that Common Ground Management is a general pragmatic domain (the management of “mutually ostensive knowledge” as defined by Wilson and Sperber 2013) and that Information Structure designates a complex area of properly linguistic strategies involving three levels (given/old vs new, topic vs comment and contrast/focus). While Common Ground theories are clearly fruitful for strictly pragmatic or semantic research, especially from the formalist side, it seems to us that if the study of particles is to take their syntax into consideration, it has to rely on more fine-grained notions such as those made available by Information Structure research as a key domain of the syntax/semantics interface. In the light of the studies collected in this volume, this might be especially true of the various subtypes of foci and contrasts isolated in the literature, but the same might hold for topics, as well. But this is not “only” a question of favoring one domain of linguistic analysis over the other. Waltereit’s paper on sentence-level vs discourse-level semantics for particles, and Abraham’s discussion of Waltereit’s categorial criteria, show that the articulation between Common Ground Management and Information Structure can have consequences for the very definition not only of Information Structure, but also of particles: if Common Ground Management and Common Ground Content are a set of communicative, pragmatic operations, they are defined at the level of discourse, and if a particle is understood as a Common Ground operator (see Gast 2006, to some extent also König 1997), it is rather susceptible of being what Waltereit and Detges (2007) call a “discourse particle”. For them, “Modal particles” proper, on the other hand, operate at the sentence level, which is also the reason why they can easily interact with Information Structure, at least if the latter is defined as a set of equally semantic and morphosyntactic strategies embedding primarily discursive parameters at the level of the sentence or even of the clause. Waltereit’s new paper show that Information Structure, and thus modal particles, actually retain a higher discourse-level capacity than was thought before, thus opening modal particles to the kind of treatment he and Detges reserved for what they called “discourse particles”. On the other hand, Abraham insists on particles being clause-level discourse-embedding markers. To a wide extent, Abraham’s view can be compared to Endo’s depiction of intersubjective modalities as properly grammatical, clause-internal parameters rather than a vague functional domain. All three authors fight with this complementarity between sentence-level and discourse-level operations. The study of particles needs further fine-grained

research at the interface of sentence and discourse. In this respect, the capacity of Information Structure to address discourse-level matters from within the sentence level might prove more fruitful than the strong bias of Common Ground research for discourse-level semantics and pragmatics. From a methodological point of view, this double nature as sentence- and discourse-level operators might well be the most characteristic common feature of discourse / modal particles and Information Structure. They operate at the same interface, involve the same notions and raise the same questions.

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PART I

The contribution of information structural strategies to the rise of discourse particles

Discourse particle position and information structure

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Discourse markers differ cross-linguistically not only in their functions but also in their positions within the sentence. Some are sentence-initial, some are sentence-final, and some occur in what has been termed the ‘middle-field’. But many appear simply in second position in the sentence. In many cases the positions of the markers can be explained in terms of the source constructions from which they emerged. Here one likely pathway of development is traced in Mohawk, indigenous to North America, illustrated with a pervasive marker of discourse coherence. Patterns in the modern language suggest that it and others emerged from marked information structures, which, over time, evolved into basic clause structures via familiar mechanisms of grammaticalization.

1. The position of discourse markers

The documentation of extensive unscripted speech in ever more languages is revealing the rich variety of discourse markers to be found cross-linguistically. Such markers vary not only in their functions but also in their positions within the sentence. Some are sentence-initial, like English *so*, *well*, and *okay*. Some are sentence-final, like Japanese *-ne*, *-sa*, and *-yo* described by Izutsu & Izutsu (this volume). Some, like German *ja*, *doch*, and *schon*, occupy what is termed the ‘middle field’ in Henschel 1986; Abraham 1991; and Abraham & Leiss 2012, the area from the “left edge of the right middle field, right to the left of vP”. But many discourse markers simply appear in second position in the sentence, often termed the Wackernagel position after the German linguist who described such particles early on in Greek (1892). The variation in position could be dismissed as random and arbitrary. But it can often be explained by (i) distinguishing the functions of the markers, and (ii) considering how they developed, identifying their source constructions.

In the introduction to this volume, Modicom and Duplâtre identify four types of discourse markers with sentential scope: those indicating stance, those

specifying speech acts, those used for common ground management, and those serving to structure discourse. Here a pervasive marker of this last type is described in Mohawk. It signals discourse coherence and occurs in second position in the sentence. There is no philological record sufficiently ancient to document its source, but patterns in the modern language suggest that its position can be traced back to earlier constructions marking particular information structures.

2. Mohawk

Mohawk is a language of the Iroquoian family, indigenous to northeastern North America and now spoken in Quebec, Ontario, and New York State. It is generally considered polysynthetic, with potentially large numbers of morphemes in words, particularly verbs. The language is fully head marking. All verbs obligatorily contain pronominal prefixes identifying the core arguments of the clause, and there is extensive noun incorporation. The language contains a sizeable inventory of discourse particles, many of which regularly follow the first word of the sentence (apart from certain conjunctions meaning ‘and’, ‘because’, etc.). Perhaps the most frequent is one which indicates that ‘what follows is pertinent to the preceding’: *kati*, often shortened to *ki*. Rough English counterparts might be ‘so’, ‘in fact’ or ‘actually’, but the Mohawk particle is much more pervasive and generally much less salient prosodically. It is in fact generally below the level of consciousness for speakers, often not even noticed as we transcribe conversation.

It can occur after words of any lexical or syntactic category. Three lexical categories are distinguished in Mohawk on the basis of their morphological structure: verbs, nouns, and particles. But morphological form is not isomorphic to syntactic function. Morphological verbs can function syntactically as predicates, as would be expected, but also as arguments, adverbials, and more (Mithun 2000).

The particle *ki* can be seen after a morphological verb serving as a predicate in (1). (All examples here come from unscripted conversation. All material was originally in Mohawk, but context is often supplied with just free English translations. The speakers cited here are Francis Ateronhiatá:ko Boots, Charlotte Kaherákwas Bush, Josie Jacobs Day, Grace Ohsontíio Curotte, John Baba Curotte, Joe Awenhráthen Deer, Joe Tiorhakwén:te’ Dove, Josephine Kaieríthon Horne, Annette Kaia’titáhkhe’ Jacobs, Lazarus Jacob, Ida Johnson, Dorris Kawennanó:ron’ Montour, Skawén:nati Montour, Kanerahtenhá:wi Hilda Nicholas, Mary Phillips, Sha’tekenhátie’ Marian Phillips, Watshenni:ne’ Sawyer, Loran Ka’nahseráken Thompson, and Billy Kaientarónkwen Two Rivers. Transcriptions are divided into lines on the basis of prosody: each line represents a separate intonation unit or prosodic phrase, characterized by a single, coherent pitch contour.)

- (1) After verb: C. K. Bush, J. K. Horne, speakers

CKB: 'It got a bit cold in the morning.'

JKH: **Wa'katià:tawi'te' ki' ni' ni:'i,**
I put a sweater on too myself
 'I put on a sweater myself too'
 shiorhón'ke.
 'this morning'

The particle also appears after basic nouns and other nominals. (The term *nominal* is used here for all words functioning as referring expressions.) The speakers in (2) were introducing themselves.

- (2) After nominal: L. K. Thompson, F. A. Boots, speakers

LKT: 'My name is Ka'nahserá:ken.'

I'm of the Bear Clan.'

'I grew up in Ahkwesahsne.'

FAB: 'My name is Ateronhiatá:ko.'

Kawenohkowanèn:ne ki' ní: nón: akatehià:ron.

big island place myself place I grew up

'I grew up on the big island.'

It also appears after morphological particles, words with no internal structure. Particles serve a wide variety of syntactic and discourse functions. Negation is accomplished in Mohawk with a negative particle and a negative prefix on the verb.

- (3) After negative particle: B. K. Two Rivers, speaker

'And I came here once.'

Iáh ki' tesewatia'tarohròn:ne'.

not not had you all bodily gathered

'You didn't have a gathering.'

Interaction with some other particles can be seen in Examples (4) through (8). Some friends were discussing recent golf scores in (4), and the speaker in (5) was looking back on her experiences in boarding school.

- (4) After quantifying particle: A. K. Jacobs, speaker

CKB: 'I had good luck. Fifty.'

DKM: 'No, she really knows how.'

AKJ: **É:so' ki' ní:se' tehsahthénno'ks, wáhe'.**

much you you ball hit TAG

'You play a lot, don't you.'

- (5) After adverbial particle: J. J. Day, speaker
 ‘We were mixed with those that used to pay to live there.’
Skáthne ki’ akwé: ne shà:ka...
together all the same
 ‘We were all the same together...’
- (6) After locative demonstrative particle: L. Jacob, speaker
 ‘We used to call it *Senkihnehkénhen*.’
Thó: ki’ nón:kwe niakwen’terón:tahkwe’.
there place there we used to live
 ‘That’s the place where we used to live.’
- (7) After demonstrative pronoun: A. K. Jacobs, speaker
 ‘Polysynthetic.’
Né: ki’ ratina’tónhkhwa’ ne tsi ní:ioht tsi ioi’ó’té’,
that they call it with the how so it is how it works
 ‘That’s what it’s called, the way it works,’
 tsi tekawennahsonterónnion’.
 how it is word connected variously
 ‘the way our words are put together.’
- (8) After exclamatory particle: A. K. Jacobs, speaker
 AKJ: ‘Be careful!’
 BTR: ‘What should I be careful of?’
 AKJ: **Wáts ki’** tho enhsia’tién:ta’né’.
watch out there you will bodily come to lie
 ‘Watch it, you might fall down.’

In all of these cases, the particle relates the entire sentence to the preceding discourse context.

The particle also occurs in questions, both yes-no questions and content questions.

- (9) Yes-no question: C. K. Bush, speaker
 JKH: ‘She got married.’
 ‘They had only one child, this daughter.’
 It was their daughter that had the one child.’
 ‘And she separated.’
 CKB: **Né: kati’** ken kí:ken tekeníhaton
that Q this second
 ‘Is this then the second time’
 saiakóniake’?
 ‘she got married?’

- (10) Content question: J. K. Horne, speaker
 (Having just finished one topic of conversation)
 Hátskwi,
 ‘OK,’
nahò:ten kati’ ken: nòn:wa, iaonsetiathróia’te’?
what here now you and I will talk about it
 ‘so what shall we talk about now?’
- (11) Content question: A. K. Jacobs, speaker
 CKB: ‘And so they say they want to but they won’t do anything.’
 “‘But I don’t have a car.’”
 “‘But I don’t have time.’”
 AKJ: **Óh kati’** neniá:wen’.
what it will be done
 ‘So what are you gonna do.’
- (12) Content question: J. B. Curotte, speaker
 JBC: ‘So what time are you going to get the cows?’
 GOC: ‘One o’clock.’
 ‘Maybe we’ll be back round two...’
 JBC: **Ka’ kati’** nón: wáhse’ ní:se’ nòn:wa?
which place you go there yourself now
 ‘So where are you going now?’
- (13) Content question: J. T. Dove, speaker
 ‘Those two guys were sitting there (in the bar).’
 ‘The one, Small Dominic, said “Don’t talk Indian.”’
Oh kati’ né’ nontíe:ren?
what that so it would do
 ‘Why?’
 Onwehonwehnéha’ na’akeniia’tò:ten.
 real person style so we two are a kind of
 ‘The two of us are Indian.’

A closer look at the development of modern Mohawk syntax suggests a pathway by which this and other discourse particles may have come to appear in second position within the sentence.

3. Topic shift constructions

Like many languages, Mohawk contains a topicalization construction, which marks a shift in discourse topic. This topic is not usually brand new; it is more often accessible, semi-active in the minds of participants, because of previous mention, a relation to some entity that is part of the discourse or the extra-linguistic context. (Such distinctions pertaining to information flow and consciousness are discussed in detail in Chafe 1974, 1976, 1979, 1987, 1992, and 1994 among others.) The new topic occurs at the beginning of the sentence. A group of speakers were discussing the summer weather and its effects on crops.

- (14) Topic shift: W. Sawyer, speaker
Ki: *kaienthóhséra'*,
 these plant
 'These plants,
aiá:wens, aioiáneren'ne'
 may it happen they would become good
 'I hope they do all right.'

As in many languages, basic sentences, with unmarked information structure, generally show a progressive declination in pitch. They begin with a pitch reset, then the pitch of the stressed syllable in each word is lower than the one before. In Figure 1 each stressed syllable is marked with an arrow on the pitch trace.

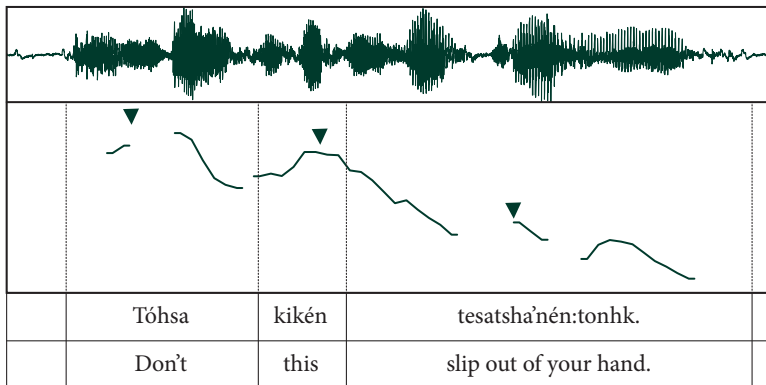


Figure 1. Pitch declination over basic sentence

Topic shift constructions have a distinctive prosodic contour. They begin with a pitch reset on the stressed syllable of the new topic, like other sentences, then are usually though not always) followed by a pause. The remainder of the sentence begins with a new pitch reset. A pitch trace of the sentence in (14) is in Figure 2.

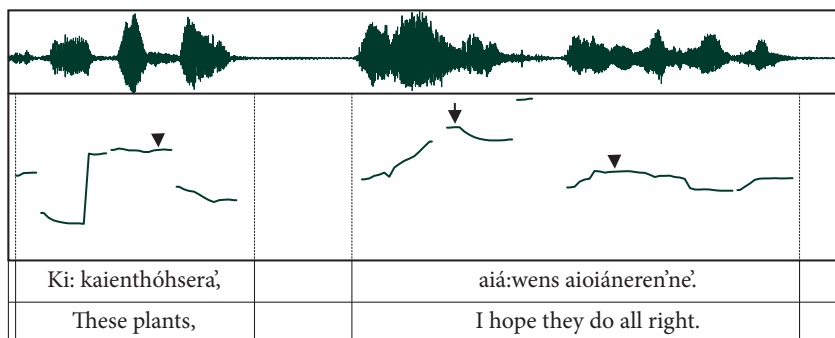


Figure 2. Topic shift construction

This is an extremely frequent Mohawk construction. In fact a large proportion of sentences that contain one or more lexical nominals are not simply basic, pragmatically unmarked clauses. (Neuters are not represented overtly in the pronominal prefix morphology unless they are the only core argument of the clause.) The sentence in (15) might appear to show SVO order, on the basis of the English translation.

- (15) SVO? J. A. Deer, speaker
 S V O
 Kakoráhsera' ronté'niénhtha' kwi' nahò:ten' thé:nen...
 government they try TAG what things
 'The government tries stuff, doesn't it.'

An examination of its pitch contour in Figure 3 shows that it is a topic shift construction. The initial nominal 'the government' was followed by a pause. The remainder of the sentence, 'they try stuff' then began with a pitch reset on the first stressed syllable.

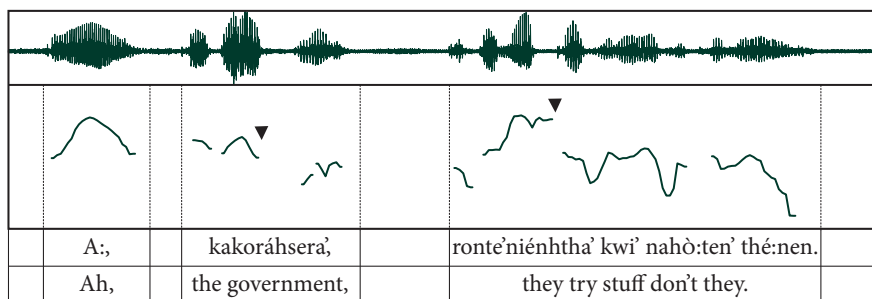


Figure 3. Topic shift

This sentence followed a discussion of a man growing hay as part of a government project, so there was a shift in topic from the farmer to the government. The government was not a brand new idea, but already part of the scene.

The sentence in (16) might appear to show SOV order, on the basis of the English translation.

- (16) SOV? J. T. Dove, speaker
- | | | |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------|
| S | O | V |
| Tanon' ki: | Saksárie o'no:wá' ne' | thaterennótha'. |
| and this Franklin | guitar that | he plays |
| 'And this Franklin played the guitar.' | | |

The pitch trace in Figure 4 shows that this, too, is a topic shift construction. The nominal 'this Franklin' appeared at the beginning of the sentence, before the nuclear clause. It was then followed by a pause and a pitch reset on the stressed syllable of the clause 'he plays the guitar'. (The particle *ki:*, short for *kí:ken* 'this' and ultimately descended from the longer phrase *ken' í:ken* 'here it is', is not clearly related to the discourse particle *ki?*.)

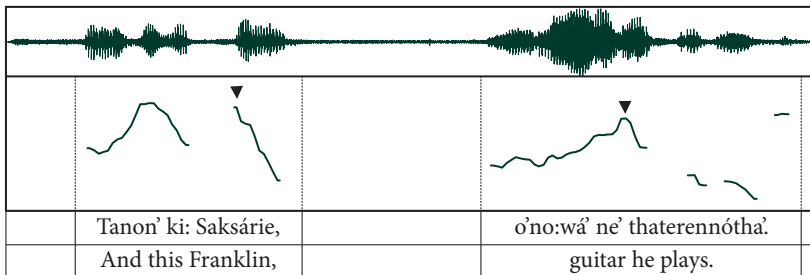


Figure 4. Topic shift

This sentence occurred after the speaker had related that his cousin was visiting A's place. In (16) he shifted the topic from the cousin to Saksárie. He then continued his account with Saksárie as the topic of the following sentence, 'He (Saksárie) taught him (the cousin).'

In topic shift constructions, the shifted topic is detached from the remainder of the sentence, the nuclear clause. This referent is identified again in this nuclear clause, as in all Mohawk clauses, since all verbs contain pronominal prefixes identifying their core arguments. In (14) the verb *aioiáneren'ne'* 'they would become good' contains the neuter pronominal prefix *io-* 'it, they'. In (15) the verb *ronte'niénhtha'* 'they try' contains the pronominal prefix *ron-* 'they'. In (16) the verb *thaterennótha'* 'he plays' (literally 'he song-stands') contains the pronominal prefix *ha-* 'he'.

The structural and prosodic break after the shifted topic provides an opportune position for the insertion of discourse particles, before the resumption of the sentence. The particle *ki'* can be seen in this position in a topic shift construction in (17). Some speakers were discussing Mr. Dove's grandfather. Mrs. Horne mentioned that she had known the grandfather and the woman she assumed was Mr. Dove's grandmother Konwákeri. Mr. Dove corrected her, shifting to Konwákeri as topic with *né*: 'that one'.

- (17) Topic shift with particle: J. T. Dove, speaker
 JKH: 'I really knew him well your grandfather.'
 'And Konwakeri.'
 JTD: **Né: ki'** *né: tekeníhaton thotiniakòn:ne.*
 that that second they had married
 'That was his second wife.'

In (18) the speaker shifted the topic of discussion from the boy Dominic to his name. The discourse particle *ki'* again occurs at the break between the shifted topic and the rest of the sentence.

- (18) Topic shift with particle: D. K. Montour, J. T. Dove, A. K. Jacobs, speakers
 DKM: 'So his mother asked him, "What happened?"'
 "Tontahakwatè:kwahte' Dominic Ken' Nihrà:'a.
 he chased me here small so he is small sized
 "He chased me back here, Little Dominic."
 JTD: **Né: ki'** *ronwana'tónhkhwa'.*
that they called him with it
 'That's what they call him.'
 AKJ: Dominic Ken' Nihrà:'a.
 'Little Dominic.'

It is not surprising that this discourse marker would be inserted at the structural and prosodic break after the shifted topic. But in Mohawk, a large set of discourse markers occur after the initial word of sentences that are not topic shift constructions. We can see how such a situation may have arisen by looking more closely at the development of the modern Mohawk basic sentence structure. We begin with two other constructions that convey marked information structure: focus constructions and antitopic constructions.

4. Focus constructions

Questions and answers are often cited as prototypical focus constructions. The questioned element always occurs sentence initially in Mohawk, as does the element providing the answer. This structure can be seen in (19).

- (19) Basic focus: Question and answer: K. H. Nicholas, S. M. Phillips, speakers
 KHN: **Kèn:** ken Kahnawà:ke sanekerá:ton?
 here Q Rapids Place you were born
 ‘You were born **here**, in Kahnawà:ke?’
 SMP: En,
 ‘Yes,’
 Kahnawà:ke wakenakerá:ton.
 Rapids Place I was born
 ‘I was born **in Kahnawà:ke**.’

Focus constructions look much like topic shift constructions on paper, with the focused element in initial position in the sentence, but they differ prosodically. They typically begin with extra high pitch, then show a steady declination to the end of the sentence, normally without a pause or pitch reset. The pitch contours of the question and answer in (19) can be seen in Figure 5. (There are two contrasting pitch contours on stressed syllables. One, marked orthographically with an acute accent as in *wakenakerá:ton*, is simply high on short vowels and rising on long. The other, marked with a grave accent as in *Kahnawà:ke*, first climbs to an extra high pitch, then falls steeply to below the baseline. This difference can also be seen in the pitch trace. Mohawk yes-no questions do not end with a rise in pitch, unlike their English counterparts.)

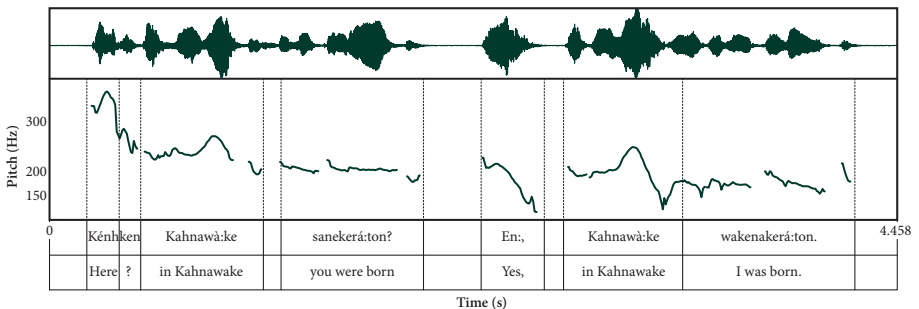


Figure 5. Basic focus construction

The pragmatic and prosodic force of focus constructions varies along a continuum. The degree of pragmatic force is typically mirrored by the prosody. Significant contrast and corrective focus constructions, for example, often begin with particularly high initial pitch.

(20) Focus of contrast: C. K. Bush, speaker

WS: 'Jeannette Robert, Remember? Shakó:, his wife.'

DKM: 'No, that's not the one.'

WS: 'Oh, so it's not the same family?'

CKB: Iah. Né: ki' ken roió'tehkwe',
no that here he used to work

'No. **This one** worked here,

tsi ioterihwaienstákhkwa'.

'at the school.'

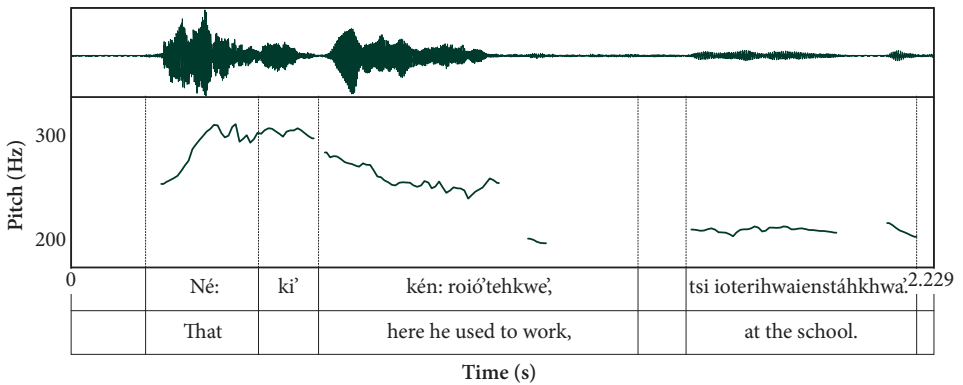


Figure 6. Focus of contrast

5. Antitopic constructions

As described by Chafe (1974, 1976, 1987, 1992, 1994) and many others since, in antitopic constructions, a referring expression occurs after the nuclear clause to reiterate identification of a continuing topic, particularly when other referents intervene. Such a construction can be seen in (21), part of a long discussion about a man named *O'nahsakén:ra*. The last line is an antitopic, 'the aforementioned *O'nahsakén:ra*', which confirmed that the discussion was still about him rather than his son Senki.

- (21) Antitopic construction: S. Montour, speaker
 SM: 'Where did he die?'
 'Did he die here or in Kahnawake?'
 LJ: 'He died in Kanehsatake.'
 'As soon as he arrived where Senki used to live.'
 'That was O'nasakenra's son.'
 SM: Tó: nihowiraién:táhkwe',
 how many so he children had
 'How many children did he have'
 ne O'nahsakén:ra?
 'the aforementioned O'nahsakenra?'

Antitopic constructions also have an identifiable prosodic contour. The preceding nuclear clause typically ends with a final fall, then the antitopic is pronounced with low, flat pitch, and often creakiness and slower rhythm. The pitch trace of (21) can be seen in Figure 7.

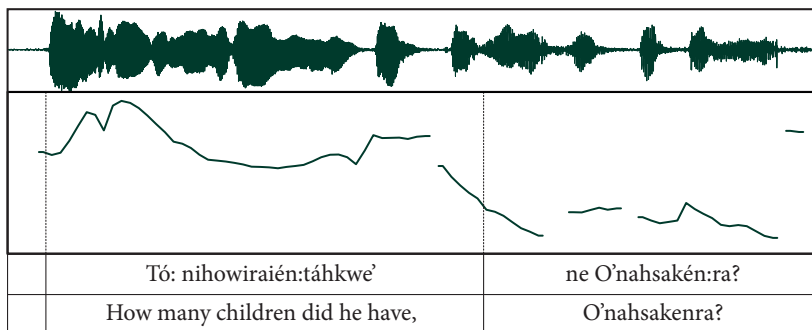


Figure 7. Antitopic construction

6. Grammaticalization

Because of their elaborate morphological structures, verbs can convey a substantial amount of information, as in (21) above: *ni-ho-wir-a-ient-a-hwe'* (PARTITIVE-M. SG.PAT-child-LINKER-have-EPENTHETIC-PAST) 'he had so many children'. All verbs contain pronominal reference to their core arguments (like *-ho-* 'he' here), but free lexical arguments are comparatively rare in Mohawk speech. A 1000-clause sample of conversation contained just 265 lexical arguments, and just six of the clauses contained two. (Dependent clauses were not counted as lexical arguments.) Several factors contribute to this relative rarity.

One is the fact that some concepts described in other languages with combinations of nouns and verbs are simply expressed with verbs in Mohawk. In English the activity of making soup is typically expressed with a verb and noun. The Mohawk counterpart is just a simplex verb stem.

- (22) Verbal expression: W. Sawyer, speaker

V

Sok nne entewatkátston'.
 sok ohni'=né' en-tewa-atkátston-'.
 then also=that FUT-1IN.PL.AGT-make.soup-PFV
 'And then we also **make soup**.'

Another is the pervasiveness of noun incorporation, whereby a noun stem is compounded with a verb stem to form a new verb stem. Many lexicalized verb stems contain incorporated nouns, obviating the need for additional free nouns in the clause. The verb used for 'play golf', for example, is literally 'ball-hit'.

- (23) Noun incorporation for word formation: C. K. Bush, speaker

láh tha'-te-ts-on-hthénn-o'k-s ó:nen.
 not CONTR-DV-REP-FL.SG.AGT-ball-hit-HAB now
 not does she ball-hit anymore now
 'She doesn't play golf anymore.'

Incorporation also provides a resource for managing the flow of information. New referents are often introduced into a discussion with an independent noun or a noun stem incorporated into a light verb in one clause. Once established, they may then be carried along through further discussion by an incorporated noun, even in more specific verbs. A speaker was sharing impressions from a trip upriver the day before. She used an independent noun for the 'corn' at first mention.

- (24) Independent noun: W. Sawyer, speaker

'Yesterday we stopped off at Ahkwesáhsne.'
 Ó:nenhste' ken'k ni-konti-hneni-é:s-on's.
 corn small PRT-Z.PL-height-be.long-ST.DIST
 'The corn is very short.'
 'And the plants all seem to be doing poorly.'
 'I guess food is going to be expensive.'

Her friend picked up the conversation, carrying along mention of the corn with an incorporated noun.

- (25) Noun incorporation to background established referents: J. K. Horne, speaker
 ‘Mmhm.’
 ‘And it will be a long time before’
 i-en-tewa-**nénhst**-ak-e’.
 TRL-FUT-1INCL.PL.AGT-**corn**-eat-PFV
 ‘we will eat **corn**.’

The modern morphological and syntactic structures of Mohawk are the product of several common diachronic processes. Frequently-recurring sequences of words can come to be routinized, processed as single chunks when none are in special focus. Over time, their individual components can gradually lose their individuality, their pragmatic force, their lexical independence, and their formal substance. In Iroquoian languages, highly frequent noun-verb combinations, like ‘corn-eat’ and ‘child-have’ became fused as single verb stems, and original unstressed pronouns, identifying given referents, have become verb prefixes. The modern transitive pronominal prefixes are often fused forms, but in some combinations, it is still possible to discern the agent and patient elements. In these the agent element precedes the patient element, suggesting that the morphological structure of Iroquoian verbs is descended from an earlier sentence structure with basic SOV word order.

- (26) Mohawk verb: I. Johnson, speaker
 V
 Wahake’wahránonte’.
 wa-**ha-ak**-’wahr-a-nont-e-’
 FACTUAL-**he-me**-meat-LINKER-feed-EP-PFV
 ‘**He** gave **me** meat.’

The fusion of pronouns and incorporated nouns representing given and accessible referents with the verb significantly reduces the number of free nominals in clauses. Other information that might be conveyed in other languages with separate words, such as oblique nominals or adverbials, is also frequently expressed within the verb in Mohawk, in prefixes and suffixes.

Also contributing to the relative paucity of free nominals is a common discourse strategy. Speakers typically present one new idea at a time, in separate intonation units, clauses, or sentences. Often a brand new referent is first introduced into a discussion in one sentence with a low content verb of position or possession, then commented on in the next. This pattern can be seen in (27). Rather than saying ‘You can plant on my land’, the speaker first introduced her land with the low-content verb ‘have’, then brought in planting in the following sentence.

- (27) One new idea at a time: M. Phillips, speaker
 Kénh non kí:ken tewakonhontsá:(ien').
 here place this I land-have
 'I have land here at this place.'
 Thó ia'sewaiéntho
 there you all plant over there
 'There you can plant'
 ta' tesewatonhontsó:ni.
 'if you want.'

The fact that these are two sentences can be seen in the pitch trace in Figure 8, where the second sentence begins with a pitch reset.

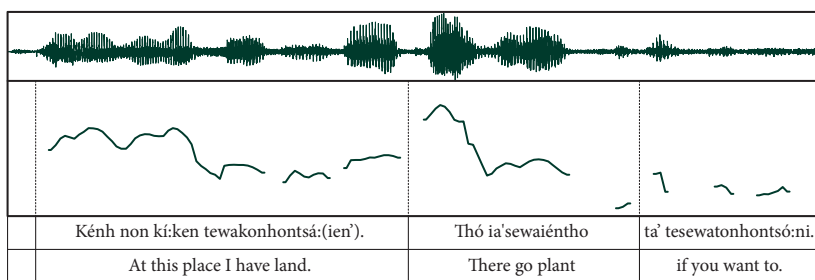


Figure 8. Presentative

(The apparent rise at the end of the first sentence is simply the stressed syllable of the last word.)

Since so many given, accessible, and peripheral ideas are expressed within the verb, the independent words that remain in sentences often serve specific discourse functions. Highly pragmatically marked elements, like contrastive pronouns, shifted topics, focused elements, and antitopics, have maintained their distinctive prosody and independence, as seen in Sections 3, 4, and 5. But those with less pragmatic force have become prosodically reduced over time. The topic shift, focus, and antitopic constructions are the ancestors of modern Mohawk basic clause structure. In modern Mohawk there is now no purely syntactically determined word order: the order of words is fully pragmatically determined: the most newsworthy information is ordered first, followed by successively more predictable and peripheral information.

Consider the two sentences in (28). On the basis of the English translations, the first appears to show Subject-Verb order, and the second Verb-Subject order. But the main point of the first sentence was to introduce Joe Dove. By the time of the second, he was already part of the scene, and the newsworthy information was now his storytelling ability.

- (28) Apparent SV and VS order: J. K. Horne, C. K. Bush, speakers

JKH: S V
 Hé: ó:nen **Joe Duff** tà:re'.
 hey now he is coming
 'Hey, here comes **Joe Dove**.'
 Wáts enhshonkwatía'táhrhahse'.
 'He's going to join us in a minute.'

CKB: V S
 Né: ki' n=ne' rakaraweiénhen, **Joe Duff**.
 that also that he knows how to storytell
 '**Joe Dove**'s a good storyteller too.'

(The shorthand labels S, V, and O are used here for convenience, to relate these structures to discussions of word order in English and other languages. There is actually little evidence of subject or object categories in Mohawk. The label V is used here as in other works for syntactic predicates, though as noted, Mohawk morphological verbs can serve other syntactic functions.)

The sentence in (29) appears to show Object-Verb order.

- (29) Apparent OV order: W. Sawyer, speaker

'She was always dressed up.'
 O V
 Ka'nhesóskon' iakótston.
 pure silk she wore
 'She wore **pure silk**.'

Here the pure silk was the significant information, the main point of the sentence. The wearing was already under discussion. But the sentence in (30) appears to show Verb-Object order.

- (30) Apparent VO order: C. K. Bush, speaker

'He used to be bad, that guy.'
 'Over there at the school, where I used to teach, you know,'
 V O
 tíó:konte shes ahh shakóhsere's ratiksa'okòn:'a.
 always used to he chases them children
 'he was always chasing **the children**.'

At this point in the conversation the children were already part of the school scene, mentioned earlier and also in the preceding intonation unit. The noteworthy information was the chasing.

The sentence in (31) appears to show Object-Verb-Subject order.

- (31) Apparent OVS order?: J. T. Dove, speaker
 O V S
 Áhsen tewen'niáwe' rokarià:kon thi: rakhsótha.
 three hundred he paid that he is grandparent to me
 'My grandfather paid \$ 300.'

(The demonstrative *thi:* 'that' refers to the grandfather here.) The basis for this ordering becomes clearer once context is considered. The gist of the previous conversation, partly cited earlier, is in (32).

- (32) Preceding context.
 JKH: 'I knew your grandfather really well.'
 JTD: 'Mm.'
 JKH: 'And Konwakeri.'
 JTD: 'Yes, that was his second marriage.'
 'My real grandmother was her sister, Waria:nen.'
 'She died, so he married HER.'
 CKB: 'Didn't they use to have a house near the creek?'
 JTD: 'Yes. On this side, where the police station is.'
 CKB: 'I remember. I went there a number of times.'
 JDT: 'My grandfather paid \$ 300 for it.'

At this point Mr. Dove's grandfather was already the established topic of conversation. The house had already been mentioned. The newsworthy element of the sentence in (32) was the \$ 300. This sentence does not show the marked prosodic structure of either focus or antitopic constructions. There is a clearly audible basic continuous declination in pitch, without pauses but with small peaks on stressed syllables *Ah*, *niá*, and *sót*. (The stressed syllable *ià*: in *rokarià:kon* 'he paid' carries the special contour tone that developed from a coda glottal stop, with extra high rise then steep fall. The pitch contour of this word is the same in isolation. The apparent peak on *thi:* 'that' is the aspiration.)

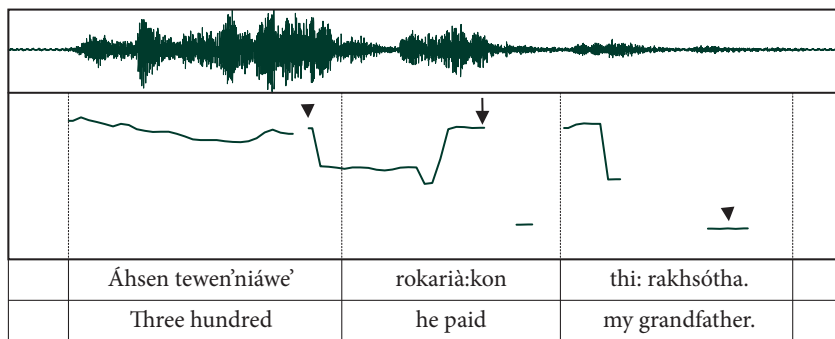


Figure 9. Basic sentence

The overall decline in newsworthiness within the clause matches the natural pitch declination.

Still today, the pragmatic and prosodic prominence of individual constituents varies along a continuum. Topic shifts may be highly significant, expressed with a major pause between the new topic and the remainder of the sentence, and a substantial pitch reset, or they may be less important, still with the new topic in initial position but briefer pause and moderate pitch reset. Focus constructions may similarly be important, with extra high initial pitch on the focused element, or less significant, still with an initial focused element but somewhat lower opening pitch. Antitopic constructions may be set off substantially from the preceding nuclear clause and pronounced with particularly slow speed and creaky voice, or they may still show the order of given information in sentence-final position but less prosodic differentiation. In the modern language, highly pragmatically marked information structures are still conveyed with the robust prosodic structures seen in Sections 3, 4, and 5, but less pragmatically marked ones now show reduced prosodic salience.

In the diachronic descendants of topic shift constructions which are now basic sentences, the discourse particle *kati'*/*ki'* and others still occur after the initial element, even though this element is not followed by a pause or pitch reset. This can be seen in the sentence in (33), cited earlier in (3).

- (33) Basic sentence: A. K. Jacobs, speaker
 É:so' ki' ní:se' tehsahthénno'ks, wáhe'.
 much you you ball hit balls TAG
 'You play a lot, don't you.'

The pitch trace does not show the special prosody of marked information structure; there is a simple declination, with successively lower pitch on the stressed syllable of each word (*é*-, *ní*-, *thén*-, and *wá*-) and no pause after the initial element. The particle *ki'* is unstressed.

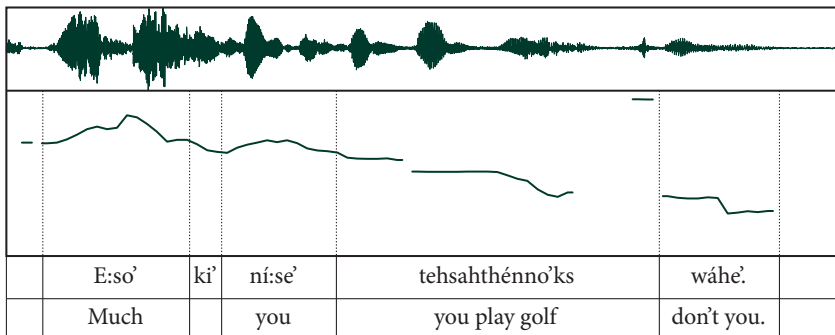


Figure 10. Basic sentence with discourse marker *ki'*

The particle *kati'*/*ki'* also still occurs in second position in questions without marked information structure. The question seen earlier in (10), repeated here in (34), shows a simple declination in pitch without special prosody; there was no pause after the initial element 'what' nor a pitch reset afterward. (It might be noted that the question was split into two intonation units.)

- (34) Content question: J. K. Horne, speaker
 Hátskwi,
 'OK'
 nahò:ten kati' ken: nòn:wa,
 what here now
 'so what then'
 iaonsetiathróia'te?
 you and I will talk about it
 'shall we talk about now?'

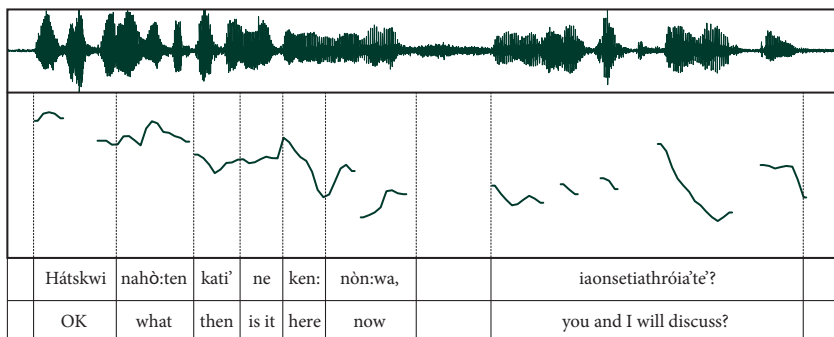


Figure 11. Basic question with discourse marker *kati'*

7. Conclusion

On the surface, the occurrence of so many second-position discourse markers cross-linguistically, like the Mohawk *kati'*/*ki'*, might seem unmotivated. Consideration of the constructions from which the particles apparently developed might provide an explanation. One likely scenario is that they first emerged in marked information structures, particularly topic shift constructions, at the syntactic and prosodic break following the initial shifted topic. Such constructions persist in Mohawk to this day. Over time, the language underwent various grammaticalization processes, whereby earlier SOV syntactic structure became morphological structure. Formerly independent words conveying given information, such as unstressed pronouns, nouns, and various adverbials, became fused within the verb

as prefixes, suffixes, and incorporated nouns. Many of the remaining independent words were parts of marked information structure constructions. But these constructions, like those today, varied in their pragmatic and prosodic force. Over time, those with less force lost their prosodic prominence and developed into modern clause structure, where constituents are ordered according to their newsworthiness. The discourse marker *kati'/'ki'* and others remained in second position, however, occurring after the initial constituent of the sentence, whatever its morphological or syntactic function.

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Information-structural properties of IS THAT clauses

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This article is concerned with what are known as inferential constructions, i.e. clauses where the expressions *it's (just) that* or *it's not that* have gained the function of discourse markers. Similar expressions also exist in Romance. The corresponding construction in Spanish is introduced by *es que* and the content of the following clause is always focal, in the sense that it contains information that relates to a variable inferable from the context (exhaustive information focus). The particular information-structural properties presented by both the *es que*-construction and its negative and interrogative counterparts can only be explained by an analysis of their underlying development. In this respect, these constructions constitute a good illustration of the interplay of discourse and grammaticalization, especially the interface between syntax and pragmatics, where information-structural properties are located.

1. Introduction

This article explores constructions¹ containing the Spanish form corresponding to English *IT'S THAT*, here called *IS THAT*, exemplified in (1) and (2), and the information-structural properties associated with this element:²

- (1) Sp. Fuma mucho (Juan).
smokes a-lot John
'John smokes a lot.'
- (2) Sp. **Es que** fuma mucho (Juan).
IS THAT smokes a-lot John
'It's that John/he smokes a lot.'

-
1. Note that, throughout the paper, I use the term "construction" in a theory-free meaning.
 2. The relevant elements under discussion will be printed in bold throughout the paper.

(1) and (2) contain the same proposition *p*, namely that ‘John smokes a lot’ – in a predicate logic notation *Smokes(john, a_lot)* – but, due to the presence of *es que* ‘is that’ in (2), they display different pragmatic or information-structural properties. The two word element *es que*, originally a 3rd person singular of the verb ‘to be’ and the complementizer (3rd P. Sg. Pres. of BE + THAT = IS THAT), could be called a discourse marker in the broad sense,³ perhaps not yet completely grammaticalized as an entirely cohesive unit (cf. § 4, § 5.3), but at least well on the way to becoming so. With regard to the topic of the present paper, two research questions arise: First, what precise discourse-related function does *es que*/IS THAT have? Second, why is it the case that when IS THAT is present as in (2), the proposition clearly represents the new information, i.e. the information-structural focus of the utterance? This second research question sheds light both on the possible diachronic pathway of development of the construction and on the information-structural properties that are the result of this development.

The construction, which is also present in other languages such as in English (3b), where we have an additional expletive (*it* in *it’s that*), was first called “inferential” by Delahunty and then by others (cf. Delahunty 1990, 1995; Declerck 1992; Delahunty & Gatzkiewicz 2000; Delahunty 2001). Delahunty says that “[T]he form can be viewed as a pragmatic instruction to its audience to infer a relationship between the construction and its context that goes beyond the mere addition of the information denoted by the clause” (Delahunty 1990: 20). However, others observed that this inferential relationship would be better defined as being between the propositional content of the *es que*-clause and former contextually given material.⁴ We will return to this point in Section 4.

- (3) En. a. John smokes a lot.
 b. **It’s that** he smokes a lot

Declerck (1992: 229), in a response to Delahunty, states that “[T]he *that*-clause expresses an explanation or interpretation which is based on inference, and for a correct interpretation of the sentence it is necessary to infer the covert variable.” This “covert variable”, which is retrievable from the context and whose value is

3. I define discourse markers in a broad sense as “functional units, universally present in human language, that deictically relate text fragments, propositions, utterances, and discourse chunks to the context of speech. They manage the interaction of the discourse participants in the speech situation and facilitate successful communication” (cf. Remberger submitted).

4. Thanks to an anonymous reviewer for the observation that Delahunty’s definition, as it is, has some weaknesses.

instantiated by the information given in the clause following *it's that/es que*, will be important for the line of argument followed of this paper, as we will see later.⁵

Other related constructions are examples containing a negated version of IS THAT, a “negated inferential”, as in (4) and (5):

- (4) Sp. **No es que** no quiera: **Es que** no sabe querer.
 NOT IS THAT not want.SUBJ.3SG IS THAT not know.3SG love.INF
 ‘It’s not that he doesn’t want/love. It’s that he is not able to want/love.’
 (Delahunty & Gatzkiewicz 2000)
- (5) En. **It’s not that** I don’t love you, **it’s just that** I want to be free to live my own life.

Negative inferentials induce verbal subjunctive (in Spanish) and are usually immediately followed by their positive counterpart⁶ (Delahunty 1990; Declerck 1992; Delahunty & Gatzkiewicz 2000). Moreover, as Declerck (1992: 216) says: “The sentence [...] rejects not the truth of the *that*-clause inference but its relevance” (cf. also in § 5.1 and § 5.2 where *relevance* will play a particular role). In fact, the question of whether the speaker loves the addressee in (5) or not is completely irrelevant to the ongoing discourse.

Furthermore, the inferential marker IS THAT can also be used in interrogatives:

- (6) Sp. Perdone, llevo más de 35 minutos en la parada.
 (Escandell Vidal 1999: 3972)
 ‘Excuse me, I’ve been waiting at this bus stop more than 35 minutes.’
 ¿**Es que** hoy no circulan los autobuses?
 IS THAT today not run the busses
 ‘Is it that there are no buses today?’ / ‘Are there just no buses today or something?’

The inferential marker here is not a pure interrogative illocutionary marker in any sense, but its pragmatic interpretation is tightly connected to the negative counterpart mentioned above.

5. English has another interesting construction related to the IS THAT marker, namely the “double *is*” constructions, which, for reasons of space, cannot be analysed here, cf. Curzan (2012) and Gaston (2014):

- (i) *The problem is is that you are always late.*
 (ii) *What’s nice is is that it has a sort of other-wordly character.* (Gaston 2014)

This “double *is*” construction is introduced either by noun phrases like *the reason*, *the problem*, *the thing* etc. or free relatives. These are exactly the constituents that will play a role in the analysis of the *es que*-constructions at issue here (cf. § 3 and § 4).

6. Interestingly, the clause following *es que/it’s that* is often, but not always, negated itself.

The aim of this paper is to discuss the following research questions:

1. What are the **pragmatic properties** of the construction with *(it) is (not) that* in synchrony?
2. What are the possible **pathways of development** for *(it) is (not) that* to become a kind of discourse marker?
3. Which **information-structural properties** can be attributed to this development?

In Section 2, the semantic and pragmatic properties of IS THAT constructions are discussed. Possible predecessors of the IS THAT constructions are investigated in Section 3. The information-structural partitions of IS THAT clauses as well as their presuppositional potential are discussed in the central Sections 4, where a tentative analysis is also provided, and 5, where the negative and interrogative contexts are discussed, along with some further morpho-syntactic properties. The conclusion in Section 6 contains a short summary. The linguistic data are mainly taken from Spanish, but I also refer occasionally to English and to some other (Italo-)Romance examples.

2. The semantic and pragmatic properties of IS THAT constructions

IS THAT clauses cannot be uttered out of the blue, cf. (7), where we have a somehow contextually slightly more enriched example:

- (7) Perdona. Es **que** hay un pequeño jaleo estos días, ¿verdad?
 forgive.IMP IS THAT there-is a little fuss these days truth
 Bueno además **es que** te oigo rara ahí. (CREA)
 well moreover IS THAT you.ACC I-hear rare.FSG here
 ‘Sorry. There is a bit of a fuss these days, isn’t there? Well, what’s more I rarely hear you here.’

The interpretational effect of IS THAT here is that the speaker first excuses herself – for what must be inferred from the context – and then gives two reasons for why she does so. Indeed, IS THAT clauses are said to introduce information that serves as an explanation, justification, reinterpretation, and so on for a claim inferable or present in the current discourse (Delahunty & Gatzkiewicz 2000; Delahunty 2001; Romera 2009; Cvijetinović 2016); see the following characterizations for Spanish *es que* given in the research literature:

Inferentials are interpreted (somewhat indeterminately) as explanations, accounts, causes, reasons, justifications, (re)formulations, (re)interpretations, results, conclusions, or consequences of some aspect of the local context. [...] Spanish inferentials also manifest these interpretations [...]. (Delahunty & Gatzkiewicz 2000: 304)

Most analyses agree that utterances introduced by *es que* state the cause, reason, explanation, or justification of a previous utterance [...]. For some other authors, *es que* can also introduce reformulation and reinterpretation [...].

(Romera 2009: 147)

Sometimes they also appear to work as reformulators, or have a function that is connected to the area of politeness in the sense of Brown & Levinson (1987):

It serves to connect, emphasize, or hierarchize information in the text, and to obtain a variety of pragmatic effects, which some authors have situated in the area of ‘politeness’. (Fuentes Rodríguez 1997: 238; transl. ER)⁷

If we examine the position of *es que* within the left periphery and its information-structural properties, we find that it can be preceded by other elements, such as discourse markers (*bueno, hombre*) or connectors (*además, pero*) in (8), partially repeated from (7), (9)–(10), but also by topical material (*las revistas, yo*) in (10)–(11):

(8) Bueno además **es que** te oigo rara ahí.
well moreover IS THAT you.ACC I-hear rare.FSG here
‘Well, what’s more I rarely hear you here.’ (CREA)

(9) es verdad, y dijo: hombre, **es que** me estoy arruinando.
it.is truth and he.said man IS THAT me I.stand ruin.GER
‘it’s true, and he said: hey man, it’s that I’m ruining myself’
(CREA, Cvijetinović 2016)

(10) Pero las revistas **es que** me encantan.
but the journals IS THAT me delight
‘but it’s that the journals delight me.’ (Fuentes Rodríguez 1997: 243)

(11) Yo **es que** soy muy práctica, chica ...
I IS THAT I-am very practical, girl
‘As for me, I am very practical, girl.’ (CREA)

7. “Sirve para la conexión, para la enfatización o jerarquización informativa del texto, y para obtener diversos efectos pragmáticos que los autores han situado en el ámbito de la ‘cortesía.’”

Consequently, if **IS THAT** is only preceded by discourse markers, connectors and topical material (hanging as well as contrastive topics), anything that occurs to the right of **IS THAT** is the information focus of the sentence. **IS THAT** thus works as an element that serves to provide an information-structural partition of the clause, cf. (12):

(12) Topic **IS THAT** Focus

The diachronic development underlying the **IS THAT** construction will be explored in the next section, in order to arrive at an analysis (cf. § 4 and 4) that explains exactly the information-structural properties illustrated above.

3. Predecessors of **IS THAT** constructions

A non-systematic search of CREA shows that the combination of **IS + THAT** often occurs in the context of either a definite noun phrase (13) or a free relative (14):

(13) Bueno, la verdad es que es una chica muy inteligente...
‘Well, the truth is that she is a very clever girl...’ (CREA)

(14) Bien, yo primero lo que tendría que decir es que desgraciadamente cuando hablamos de droga en un medio de comunicación social como éste estamos acostumbrados a hablar de esto.
‘Well, as for me, the first thing I would have to say is that, unfortunately, if we talk about drugs on a social media channel like this one, we’re accustomed to talking about this.’ (CREA)

In these examples – where *es que* is certainly not a discourse marker – definite nominals like *la verdad* ‘the truth’ or free relative clauses introduced by *lo que* appear in the underlined position. Interestingly, this observation can be related to the sentences where *es que* represents an inferential marker. Fernández Leborans (1992), similar to what wrote Declerck (1992: 229) before him, assumes that *es que*-constructions contain a covert variable, about which he says:

- a. The variable is a noun operator, presupposed or implied (‘the cause’, ‘the reason’, etc.), which constitutes the antecedent of the null anaphor [...]. The postcopular clause is a reduced *it-sentence*.
 - b. The variable is an implied *wh-clause*; the sentence can be paraphrased by something like: (‘*Lo que...*’) *es que...*’ The postcopular clause is a reduced *it-cleft*.
- (Fernández Leborans 1992: 236; transl. ER)

This is exactly what we find in the data: The covert variable in *es que*-constructions as in (2), (7), (8)–(11) can manifest overtly⁸ as a definite noun phrase (Type A) as in (13) and as a free relative (Type B) as in (14). More examples of Type A are given in (15)–(18):

- (15) Bueno, la verdad es que es una chica muy inteligente...
‘Well, the truth is that she is a very clever girl...’ (CREA)
- (16) Pues el caso es que ha roto su compromiso con Gracia...
‘Thus the situation is that he has broken his compromise with Gracia...’ (CORDE)
- (17) Consecuencia lógica es que el Tribunal [...] no puede añadirle intereses al valor del mineral...
‘The logical consequence is that the Court cannot add interests to the value of the mineral...’ (CORDE)
- (18) Cierto/obvio/claro/sabido/de presumir/de notar es que ...
‘Sure/obvious/clear/known/to presume/to note is that...’ (CORDE)

In these examples what appears in the underlined position are definite nominals like *la verdad* ‘the truth’, *el hecho* ‘the fact’, *el caso* ‘the case’, *lo importante* ‘the important thing’, *lo malo* ‘the bad thing’, *lo cierto* ‘the certain thing’, but also adjectives like *cierto* ‘certain’, *obvio* ‘obvious’, *claro* ‘clear’, *sabido* ‘known’ etc. All these expressions are modal (epistemic, evidential, inferential) as well as evaluative predicates.

Further examples of free relatives (or preceding pseudo-clefts) introduced by *lo que* (i.e. Type B) constructions, are given in (19)–(20):

- (19) Lo que hay es que no oye lo que le dice.
‘What there is is that he doesn’t hear what he says to him.’ (CORDE)
- (20) Lo que pasa es que aquí hay que priorizar.
‘What’s happening is that it is necessary to prioritize here.’ (CREA)

These free relative clauses introduced by *lo que* usually contain verbs of saying, existential and eventive verbs, among others, but may also contain the copula plus a predicate (*lo que es* + predicate).

Romera (2009) carried out a systematic diachronic study (cf. also Dufter 2008), using data from the *Corpus del Español* (CdE). She investigated the following types of elements preceding *es que*:

8. In the following examples, the “uncovered” variable is underlined.

- (21) Romera's (2009: 152) diachronic study
- i. VERB + *es que*
 - ii. NOUN + *es que*
 - iii. ADJECTIVE + *es que*
 - iv. ADVERB + *es que*
 - v. PRONOUN + *es que*,
 - vi. *que* + *es que*
 - vii. *no* + *es que*
 - viii. *y* + *es que*

She observed an increase in pseudo-clefts involving *es que* from c. 1400 onwards and an increase in unprecedented *es que*-sentences from c. 1500. Although Romera's study is certainly valuable there is one respect in which her analysis is problematic: In her diachronic study, she calls the element preceding *es que* a "subject" and argues that this "subject" decreases in referentiality (i.e. animacy, definiteness, specificity). However, what Romero calls "subject" or "element in subject position" is in fact the predicate of the clause, in the case of nominal elements, or an element specifying the subject, while the subject is the *que*-clause. This will be shown in what follows.

Going back to a purely heuristic synchronic overview, a random superficial google search for the string "es que fuma mucho" 'it's that he smokes a lot' reveals contexts like the following (both Type A and Type B):

- (22)
- | | |
|---|--|
| a. <i>lo que pasa ...</i> | 'what happens' |
| b. <i>lo que menos me gusta (de mi novio) ...</i> | 'what I like less about my
boyfriend' |
| c. <i>otra cosa ...</i> | 'another thing' |
| d. <i>la verdad ...</i> | 'the truth' |
| e. <i>el unico problema ...</i> | 'the only problem' |
| f. <i>lo peor ...</i> | 'the worst' |
| g. <i>lo malo ...</i> | 'the bad thing' |
| h. <i>lo raro ...</i> | 'the strange thing' |
| <i>... es [que fuma mucho]</i> | (www) |

A usual test for predicate-hood (cf. Moro 1993; Fernández Leborans 1999) in Spanish is the substitution of the presumed predicate by the clitic *lo*. Taking an example like (22d) and, for sake of simplicity, using *eso* instead of the more complex clause *que fuma mucho*, the result is the following:

- (23) a. La verdad es eso.
b. Eso es la verdad.
- (24) a. Eso lo es ~~la verdad~~.
b. *La verdad lo es ~~eso~~.

Both (23a) and (23b) are copula clauses containing two noun phrases. The question now is which of the two is the subject and which the nominal predicate. If we substitute one of the noun phrases with the clitic *lo*, it becomes clear that this is only possible with *la verdad* in (23a), see (24a), but not with *eso* in (23b), see (24b). Therefore, (23a) is an inverted copula clause, with *la verdad* the predicate, whereas (23b) is a canonical copula clause. That means that *la verdad* is also the predicate in the more complex structure in (22d), where the subject is represented by a clause:

- (25) *la verdad es* [*que fuma mucho*]
 predicate copula [subject clause]

In the next section, I will show in more detail that the *es que*-construction has one of two origins: Either it developed from an inverse copula construction, i.e. a specificational copula clause (cf. also Declerck 1992 for English), where the subject clause specifies the value of the predicate (the *it-sentence* in the observations made by Fernández Leborans 1992: 236); or it can be traced back to a reduced (pseudo)-cleft (the reduced *it-cleft* in the observations made by Fernández Leborans 1992: 236).

Contrary to what Romera (2009) claims, then, the elements that she calls the “subject” cannot lose referentiality, since these elements in fact turn out to be predicates (which are not usually referential). A further systematic diachronic study, using data from CORDE, CREA and the CdE, is therefore required in order to quantify the syntactic as well as the semantic types and to sketch the diachronic path of the type of *predicate* (and not “subject”) of elements preceding *es que*.

4. Information-structural partitions

The syntactic structures underlying the inferential *es que*-construction seem to be of two types: Inverse copula clauses and clefts, including pseudo-clefts. In this section, the information-structural partitions of both types will be discussed in order to show how the information-structural properties of *es que*-constructions arise.

4.1 Inverse copula construction

Following Moro (1993, 1997) two main types of copula constructions with a nominal predicate can be identified: Canonical copula constructions, with a subject-predicate order; and inverse copula constructions, which are often also called specificational (cf. e.g. Declerck 1992), where the noun phrase in the apparent “subject” position is the predicate, while the second noun phrase represents the subject that specifies the value the predicate refers to. This is represented in Figure 1:

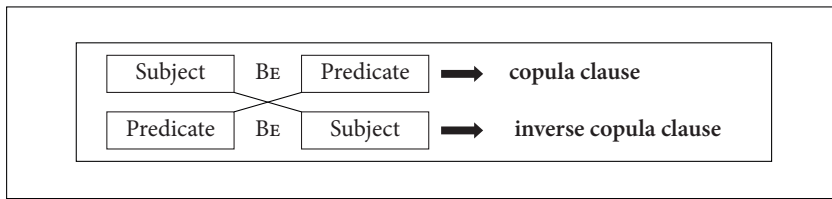


Figure 1. Copula clause and inverse copula clause

There are information-structural reasons that condition the choice between canonical and inverse copula constructions. In (26), the indexical *esta* 'this' is the given, thematic subject of a canonical copula construction, whereas *la razón oficial* 'the official reason' is the rhematic information of the proposition.

- (26) Parece que [esta] es [la razón oficial].
 seems that this be.3SG the reason official
 'This seems to be the official reason.' (CREA)

Note, however, that we find inverse copula constructions in particular when the subject is heavy, e.g. a clause, as in (27). Nevertheless, information-structural properties are at play here too, since in the inverse copula clause in (27) the predicate *la razón* 'the reason' seems to be context-linked (what the reason is being given for must be retrievable from the preceding context), whereas the heavy subject clause introduced by *que* represents the specificational value for the predicate.

- (27) [La razón] es [que la ley Helms-Burton le quita al
 the reason be.3SG that the law H.-B. him.CL takes-away to-the
 presidente la potestad de cambiar drásticamente la política
 president the power to change drastically the politics
 hacia Cuba].
 versus Cuba
 'The reason is that the Helms-Burton law takes away from the president the
 power to drastically change its policy towards Cuba.' (CREA)

So it is the order of an inverse copula construction, as in (27), that corresponds to the information-structural interpretation of a clause preceded by *es que*.

4.2 Clefts and pseudo-clefts

As we have seen in the literature (e.g. Fernández Loporans 1999), cleft sentences are also a possible source for *es que*-constructions. The typology of cleft sentences is manifold and varies from language to language. For Spanish, the types exemplified in (28) were identified:

- (28) Juan fuma puros. ‘John smokes cigars.’
- a. Es Juan el que fuma puros. cleft
 ‘It’s John who smokes cigars.’
- b. El que fuma puros es Juan. pseudo-cleft (*que-/wh*-cleft)
 ‘Who smokes cigars is John.’
- c. Juan es el que fuma puros. inverted pseudo-cleft
 ‘John is the person who smokes cigars.’ (“Tipos de perífrasis de relativo”,
 Moreno Cabrera 1999: 42–51, slightly modified)

Cleft sentences serve to exhaustively focus a constituent, such as the subject of (28), *Juan*, in (28a). The same result is obtained by a pseudo-cleft, also called *que-/wh*-cleft, in (28b). Furthermore, a pseudo-cleft can be inverted, giving rise to the order shown in (28c). Note that in all three constructions it is always the same constituent that is focussed. In what follows, we only need (28a) and (28b), leaving aside the inverted pseudo-clefts.

Since cleft constructions involve a focus position, they, along with other focus constructions, are presuppositional (e.g. Beaver & Geurts 2011). Clefts offer the possibility of partitioning a clause into two parts, one the focus, and the other the presupposition, or topic. This is represented for clefts (like (28a)) and pseudo-clefts (like (28b)) in Figure 2:

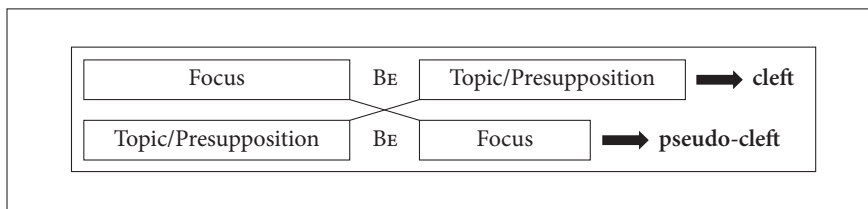


Figure 2. Cleft and pseudo-cleft

Since *es que*-constructions introduce a focus partition, with topical material preceding the marker, at first sight they seem to be very close to the information-structural partition of pseudo-clefts. However, in what follows I show that both pseudo-clefts and clefts correspond to the information-structural partition underlying *es que*-constructions.

4.3 Information-structural parallelism

On the basis of the information-structural properties of copula clauses and clefts, a parallelism emerges that helps us to explain the nature of the multiple origin of *es que*-constructions. This information-structural parallelism between clefts, pseudo-clefts and inverse copula clauses is represented in Figure 3:

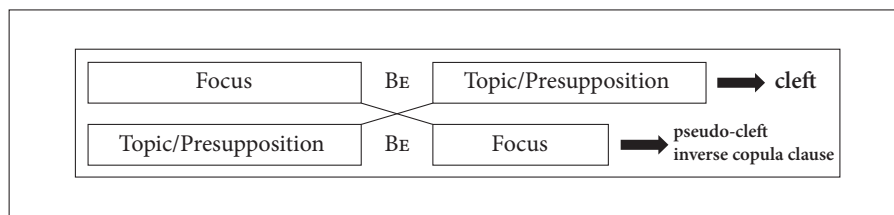


Figure 3. Cleft, pseudo-cleft and inverse copula clause

An inverted copula clause formed from (29) would be (29a), *lo peor es eso* ‘the worst is this’. If the subject is substituted by a clause (introduced by *que*), we get (29b):

- (29) [Eso] es lo peor. predicative copula clause
 a. Lo peor es [eso]. inverse copula clause
 b. Lo peor es [**que** fuma puros]. inverse copula clause (with a clausal subject)
 c. Es **que** fuma puros. reduced inverse copula clause

Now look at (29c): What we can observe here is that the predicate, in this case *lo peor*, can be easily dropped, as it could in the inverted version of (29), (29a) (*es eso*). Now, (29c) is a reduced inverse copula construction that seems identical to our *es que*-construction. Inverse copula clauses are specificational. The specified value is the new information. Thus the given part, the predicate, can be dropped.

For clefts, which are (usually exhaustive) focus constructions, it is helpful to use *wh*-interrogatives as a test, since the answer to the open variable of the *wh*-constituent should contain the information focus. The answer to a *wh*-question like (30) could be a cleft (30a), but it could also be a reduced cleft (30b) since the given information, which is already contained in the question, can be easily dropped. However, the answer to that same *wh*-question in (30) could also be (31a), a pseudo-cleft, or, again, (31b) because the given information can be dropped.

- (30) ¿Qué es lo peor? [‘What’s the worst?’]
 a. Es [**que** Juan fuma puros] lo que es lo peor. cleft
 b. Es [**que** Juan fuma puros]. reduced cleft
 (31) a. [Lo que es lo peor] es [**que** Juan fuma puros]. pseudo-cleft
 b. Es [**que** Juan fuma puros]. reduced pseudo-cleft

Interestingly both the reduced cleft and the reduced pseudo-cleft now look alike and seem to be identical to the *es que*-construction.

4.4 Analysis

In the Sections 4.1–4.3 we have seen that *es que*-constructions can be derived from the following three underlying constructions, provided that the subject of the construction is a clause introduced by *que*:

- (32) Possible underlying constructions for *es que*-constructions:
- reduced clefts
 - reduced pseudo-clefts
 - reduced inverse copula clauses

In these constructions, if the presuppositional or given part, namely the predicate, is dropped, what remains is the focus, cf. Figure 4:

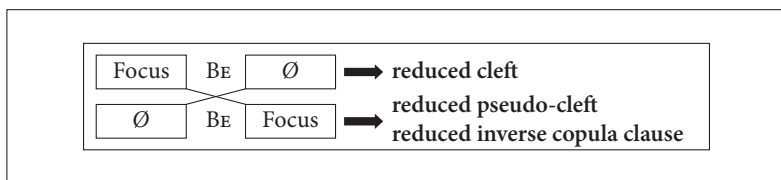


Figure 4. Reduced constructions

If this reduced structure contains a subject clause, as in (29c), (30b) and (31b), we get the same result in all three cases (32a–c), namely an *es que*-construction. For reduced inverse copula clauses (29c) and reduced pseudo-clefts (31b) the structure is as follows:

- (33) \emptyset *es* [*que* Focus]
IS THAT

The pragmatic effects of *es que*-constructions can now be easily explained. It is this empty slot of a former topical predicate (a) or the *lo-que*-(pseudo-)cleft (b) that must be pragmatically filled by the context, in order to interpret the reduced structure. The predicates retrievable from the context are usually predicative values such as ‘the reason’, ‘the truth’, ‘the thing’ etc. Although the presuppositional part is dropped, other topical or discourse-related material can appear, usually before *es que*, as shown above in ((8)–(11); (11) is repeated here as (34)):

- (34) Yo **es que** soy muy práctica, chica ...
I IS THAT I-am very practical, girl
‘As for me, I am very practical, girl ...’ (CREA)

The partition of the clause following *IS THAT* conveys information focus, giving a justification, explanation, reason, or similar, for what was said before. The particular interpretational effect depends on how the empty variable is pragmatically filled by the contextual information.⁹ Additionally, *IS THAT* now signals the border between topical and new information.

(35) Topic *IS THAT* Focus

THAT/que originally was the complementiser introducing a clause that worked as a subject to a now empty topical predicate in an inverse copula construction or the focus part of a (pseudo-)cleft construction (= the cleft clause) where the cleft constituent was deleted. It marks the focal partition of the clause, i.e. *IS + THAT* is followed by new information. Since topics are recursive (cf. Rizzi 1997), other topics, in addition to the pragmatically-filled topic, can precede *IS THAT*. I therefore assume that the syntactic position of *es que* can be represented as shown in Figure 5 (cf. also Remberger 2017):

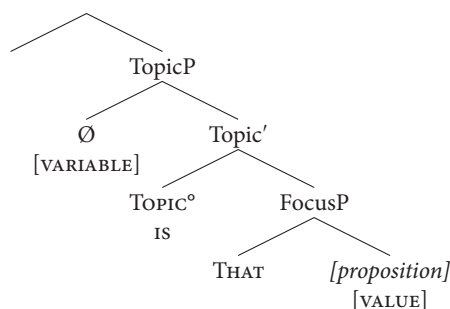


Figure 5. Syntactic position of *IS THAT*

IS is the head of the *TopicP* with the variable to be retrieved from the context in its specifier. *THAT* and the proposition succeeding it belong to the *FocusP*. Note that *es que* in Spanish is not yet a marker that is grammaticalized in the sense of univerbation. *IS/es* and *THAT/que* are hosted in two different positions, since the first is

9. An anonymous reviewer doubts that there is an empty variable at this stage and considers *es que* to simply be a pragmatic device used by the speaker to establish a link between the content of the clause and previously given material. However, I think that the assumption of an empty variable, the former predicate, that must be retrieved from contextually given material, does not contradict the idea that *es que* is a pragmatic device that acts as a link between discourse chunks (see also fn. 3 for the definition of discourse markers). I believe this assumption of an empty variable to be a more appropriate formal semantic approach to the interpretation of *es que*.

the head of a topic phrase,¹⁰ whereas the second is in FocusP. The question now is whether *THAT/que* is a head or if it is instead in the specifier (maybe together with the following proposition that constitutes the value for the variable, i.e. the information focus). Note that the construction has at least one property that shows that both elements are still two separate units (cf. also § 5.3 for further morpho-syntactic observations). There are some elements that can intervene between *IS/es* and *THAT/que*, cf. the following examples:

- (36) **No es que** sea habilidoso, **es solo que** tengo esta costumbre.
 ‘It’s not that I am skilled it’s only that I am used to it.’ (CREA)
- (37) **Pero no es sólo que** no te dejen hacerlo, entiéndeme, **es que** además te incordian
 ...
 ‘But it is not only that they don’t let you do it, it’s that moreover they harass you...’ (CREA)

Interestingly, *es que* does not always require adjacency and, especially in the context of negation, as in (36) and (37), an element can intervene, in this case *solo* ‘just, only’. Other elements can also intervene, such as *quizás* ‘maybe’. Similar intervenors, namely *just*, *simply*, *only*, have also been observed for English (cf. Declerck 1992). These elements have an exhaustive function in the positive *es que*-construction (36), whereas their function becomes additive in their negative counterpart (37). Now, note that if *THAT/que* is a Focus-head, these intervening elements, which are typical focus particles, could be in the specifier of FocusP. The proposition following *THAT/que* could then either be a complement to *THAT/que* or it could be in the specifier of FocusP together with *THAT/que*, provided that there is no focus particle. Perhaps both options are possible: If there is an intervenor, the exhaustiveness of the focus is made explicit by the focus particle sitting in the specifier of FocusP, whereas the proposition is in the complement of *THAT/que*. If there is no such intervenor the construction reaches its exhaustive interpretation by movement of the proposition introduced by *THAT/que* to the Specifier of FocusP. I will not go into further detail on this point here, leaving this discussion aside for future research.

10. Note that also Bosque and Gutiérrez-Rexach (2009: 706) state that in a cleft like *el que vino es Pedro* ‘the copula is the head of the Topic phrase’ (transl. ER: ‘el verbo copulativo es el núcleo del sintagma Tópico’).

5. Presuppositional meaning and relevance

In this section I will examine negated and interrogative *es que*-constructions, in order to investigate how the value of the dropped presuppositional partition is recovered and pragmatically interpreted.

5.1 Negation: *No es que*

As mentioned above, the negated version of the construction under discussion is in most cases accompanied by the positive version, in both Spanish and English, cf. (4) and (5) repeated as (38) and (39) here:

- (38) Sp. **No es que** no quiera: **Es que** no sabe querer.
 NOT IS THAT not want.SUBJ.3SG IS THAT not know.3SG love.INF
 ‘It’s not that he doesn’t want/love. It’s that he is not able to want/love.’
 (Delahunty & Gatzkiewicz 2000)

- (39) En. It’s not that I don’t love you, it’s just that I want to be free to live my own life.

Interestingly, although the positive counterpart is not used in Italian (or not used as in Spanish), negated *IS THAT* clauses are also quite common in Italian and have been studied by Garzonio & Poletto (2015a), among others:

- (40) It. Non è che sia stupido (...).
 NOT IS THAT be.3SG.SUBJ stupid
 ‘It is not that he is stupid (...)’
 (Garzonio & Poletto 2015a: 135)

In Sicilian, the negated *IS THAT* construction has developed still further, since it has undergone univerbation and now represents a single unit presuppositional negation, similar to Italian *mica* (cf. Cruschina 2010, 2015; Garzonio & Poletto 2015b; Ledgeway 2017; for *mica*, cf. Cinque 1991; Pescarini 2005; Penello & Pescarini 2008; Squartini 2017):

- (41) Sic. Neca ci vonsi jiri.
 NOTISTHAT there they.wanted go.INF
 ‘In any case, they didn’t want to go there.’
 (Ledgeway 2017: 107)

With regard to the interpretation of the *no es que/it’s not that* construction in Spanish and English, I would like to return to the notion of *relevance* (cf. Delahunty & Gatzkiewicz 2000: 301). *IS THAT* can be negated, but what is negated is the proposition as a relevant value for the pragmatically-filled slot and thus *NOT IS THAT*

encodes presuppositional negation.¹¹ As Fuentes Rodríguez (1997: 246) puts it: “It’s not the facts that are negated or confirmed, but their validity or appropriateness in the present discourse situation, their argumentative appropriateness to the context [...]” (transl. ER).¹²

The behaviour of the negated construction can be explained by the underlying structure illustrated in Section 4: We have already observed that (pseudo-) clefts, like other focus constructions, are presuppositional (Beaver & Geurts 2011). Presuppositions remain stable under negation, as we can see in the clefts (from English) and their negative counterparts derived from (42):

- (42) John smokes cigars. / John doesn’t smoke cigars.
- a. It’s John who smokes cigars. (cleft)
 - a’. It’s not John who smokes cigars. (negated cleft)
Presupposition: Somebody smokes cigars.
 - b. It’s cigars what John smokes. (cleft)
 - b’. It’s not cigars what John smokes. (negated cleft)
Presupposition: John smokes something.
 - c. What Juan smokes is cigars. (pseudo-cleft)
 - c’. What Juan doesn’t smoke is cigars. (negated pseudo-cleft)
Presupposition: John smokes something.

Both the positive and the negated cleft contain exactly the same presupposition. If we try the same test with *it’s that*-constructions, again for English, cf. (43), we note the following: The presupposition remains the same for both the *it’s that*-construction and the *it’s not that*-construction:

11. An anonymous reviewer writes: “p is negated and should be replaced by an inferred clause of inverse polarity. Therefore, *no es que* is similar to a focus particle, whose function consists in revealing a choice among alternative possibilities. This may be followed by an explanation introduced by *es que* like in (38). In that case, *es que* is also similar to a focus particle: the particle excludes an inferred option (the former p) and leads to the assertion of the explanation.” I do not agree with the reviewer that “p is negated and should be replaced by an inferred clause of inverse polarity.” In (43b), for example, the speaker does not assert the clause with inverse polarity, i.e. s/he doesn’t assert that John doesn’t smoke, but s/he asserts that this is completely irrelevant as a possible value for the inferred variable. However, I agree with the reviewer that the use of *es que* leads to the assertion of p as a valid option, e.g. for an explanation.

12. “No se niegan o afirman los hechos, sino su validez o adecuación a la situación discursiva presente, su adecuación argumentativa al contexto [...]”

- (43) a. It's that John smokes cigars.
 b. It's not that John smokes cigars.

Presupposition: Something (e.g. John's smoking cigars, as in (43a), but maybe something completely different, as in (43b)) is {the reason, the explanation, the justification etc.} for a contextually given situation.

In short: There is a variable to be contextually filled for an extant value.

For both constructions there is a variable (the former predicate) that must be retrieved from the context. The difference between the positive and the negative version of the construction is that in the *it's that*-construction this variable encodes *p* (i.e. John's smoking) as a relevant argument for the predicate, whereas in the *it's not that*-construction *p* is presented as an irrelevant argument to the retrieved predicate. That means that – like Italian *non è che* and Sicilian *neca* (cf. Cruschina 2010, 2015; Garzonio & Poletto 2015b) – the discourse function of *it's not that/no es que* is not to negate a proposition: Note that for (43b), John's smoking cigars could be a fact or not, independent of the negated inferential construction. Whether John smokes or not is simply irrelevant to it. The function of *it's not that/no es que* is to negate an inference, namely the relevance of the argument for an inferred predicate, which can be derived from discourse. The *que/that*-clause is simply not a suitable value for the covert variable.

5.2 Interrogative: ¿es que...?

In interrogative *es que*-clauses we observe something similar, cf. (6), repeated here as (44), as well as (45)–(46):

- (44) Sp. Perdone, llevo más de 35 minutos en la parada.

(Escandell Vidal 1999: 39–72)

'Excuse me, I've been waiting at this bus stop more than 35 minutes.'

¿Es **que** hoy no circulan los autobuses?

IS THAT today not run the busses

'Is it that there are no buses today?' / 'Are there just no buses today or something?'

- (45) Sp. ¿Es **que** me vas a dejar sola?

IS THAT me you.go to let alone

'Is it that you are going to leave me alone?' (Fuentes Rodríguez 1997: 251)

- (46) Sp. ¿Es **que** os habéis vuelto locos?

IS THAT you you.have become mad

'Is it that you've gone mad or what?' (Fernández Leborans 1999: 2407)

Fuentes Rodríguez (1997: 251) states that “with *es que* an element of astonishment is added to the content of the question, because the speaker thought that this fact was not given” (transl. ER).¹³ That is in interrogative IS THAT questions the pragmatically-filled slot can give rise to several additional pragmatic effects, like surprise, disbelief, distance, irony, and so on. Often these interrogatives are rhetorical questions or “inductive questions” (“pregunta inductiva”, Fernández Ramírez 1951), as in (46), because questioning a presuppositional predicate retrievable from the context leads to a bias towards the irrelevance of the propositional argument. Escandell Vidal (1999: 3965ff) states that, for interrogative *es que*, the marker “has lost its inflectional properties and has fossilized as a discourse marker that indicates that the following proposition must be interpreted as an explanation or a justification” (transl. E.R.).¹⁴ Perhaps, then, *es que* is indeed an invariable discourse marker in interrogatives, in contrast to what is found in the *es que*-construction in declaratives.

5.3 Further observations on the morpho-syntactic properties of *es que*

With regard to the status of *es que* as a grammaticalized or lexicalized discourse marker, it has been shown above that at least in declaratives, some focus particles can intervene between the two elements, as shown in (37). This seems to be impossible in interrogatives. Furthermore, contrary to interrogatives, in declaratives, *es que* cannot be said to have completely lost its inflectional properties, cf. (47)–(49):

- (47) Serà **que** estás enamorado.
 BE.3SG.FUT THAT you.stay in love
 ‘(Maybe it’s that) you are in love.’ (Fernández Leborans 1992: 224)
- (48) Pedro me dijo que no podía venir. Sería **que** no
 Peter me said that not could come BE.3SG.COND that not
 tenía tiempo.
 he.had time
 ‘Peter told me that he couldn’t come. (It would be that) he had no time.’
 (Fernandez Soriano & Taboas Baylin 1999: 1770; Cvijetinović 2016)
- (49) Tal vez sea **que** haya decidido no presentarse.
 Maybe be.3SG.SUBJ that have.3SG.SUBJ decided not present-REFL
 ‘(Maybe it’s that) he has decided not to turn up.’
 (Fernández Leborans 1992: 224)

13. “Con *es que* se une a la pregunta el contenido de extrañeza porque el hablante creía que no se daba ese hecho.”

14. “ha perdido sus propiedades flexivas y se ha fosilizado como un marcador de discurso que la oración que sigue debe interpretarse como una explicación o una justificación.”

In (47) the copula appears in the future, which gives rise to an epistemic interpretation. In (48), it is in the conditional in the context of indirect speech, which can thus also be traced back to an epistemic future in the past. Finally, in (49), it appears in the present subjunctive, triggered by the presence of the epistemic modal modifier *tal vez* ‘maybe’. Although these examples show that *es que* is not yet completely fossilized, they demonstrate that the third person singular of the copula can only appear in tenses or moods other than the present indicative if there is a context of epistemic modality, i.e. if the interpretation/evaluation of the proposition following the marker remains temporally anchored to the speech situation.¹⁵

One last observation to be made is that all the examples discussed so far have been instances of *es que* in main clauses. This is to be expected for elements with a close link to the discourse, as discourse markers have. However, some discourse markers have been shown to occur in embedded sentences and, indeed, cases of this sort are also found for *es que*, cf. the following examples from Fuentes Rodríguez (1997):¹⁶

- (50) No viene [porque **es que** se ha puesto enfermo].
 ‘He will not come because it’s that he became ill.’
 (Fuentes Rodríguez 1997: 241)
- (51) el pozo deja de funcionar hasta que no llegan los técnicos [si **es que** llegan].
 ‘The well will not work until the technicians arrive, if it is that they arrive.’
 (CREA)
- (52) **es que** llamé a Iberia para sacar los billetes y resulta [que **es que** no hay billetes].
 ‘it’s that I called Iberia in order to get the tickets and it turns out that it is that there are no tickets’
 (Fuentes Rodríguez 1997: 241)

15. Cf. also Fuentes Rodríguez (1997: 252–253) who claims that *es que* is not lexicalized at this point (“aquí no está lexicalizada aún la expresión *es que*”).

16. Fuentes Rodríguez (1997) provides another example that she claims to be an inferential *es que*-clause in an subordinate context:

- (i) *y no sé, yo desde luego te voy a decir una cosa que es que ... prefiero no hablar mal del Betis ...*
 ‘and I don’t know of course I’m going to tell you something that is that... I prefer not to speak ill of Betis...’
 (Fuentes Rodríguez 1997: 240)

However, this is not an inferential *es que*-construction, but a copula clause with both an overt subject clause (*que ... prefiero no hablar mal del Betis*) and an overt predicate (*la cosa*), cf. the structure in (iia), derivable from (iib):

- (ii) a. *te voy a decir una cosa [que es [que ... prefiero no hablar mal del Betis]]*
 b. *la cosa [que te voy a decir] es [que ... prefiero...]*

The embedded contexts in which *es que* appears are in a causal adverbial clause in (51), a conditional clause in (52), and a complement clause in (53). However, *es que* is always left peripheral, following the complementizers.

6. Conclusion

This paper has aimed to investigate the pragmatic properties of *es que*-/IS THAT-constructions and the possible pathways that led to their development and their information-structural properties. Let us briefly summarize the results.

IS THAT consists of two elements bound to the left periphery. It signals a pragmatically-filled slot or variable that derives from the topical/presuppositional part of an inverted (specificational) copula clause or a (pseudo-)cleft. The proposition introduced is connected to the discourse depending on how the empty slot of the former predicate is pragmatically filled. Therefore, clauses marked by IS THAT cannot be uttered out of the blue.

In terms of its information-structural impact, IS THAT marks the border between topical material and information focus. Interrogative and negated IS THAT-constructions give rise to presuppositional interpretations. It is not the proposition that is negated or questioned, but its relevance as a value for the pragmatically-filled variable.

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Kazakh particle *ğoj* as an existential operator

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This paper is devoted to the Kazakh particle *ğoj*, its syntactic distribution, pragmatic contribution and semantics. Two syntactically distinct types of *ğoj* are distinguished: a post-nominal copula-type *ğoj* and a post-predicative particle *ğoj*. The speaker using either particle in her utterance indicates to her hearer that (some of) the information she provides has been previously shared, or should be treated as such. In post-predicative position, *ğoj* is never obligatory and can follow any type of predicate – verbal or nominal – as long as it is either narrowly focused, or is a part of a wider focus phrase. Both types of *ğoj* contribute similar pragmatic effects of contrastivity and givenness (or pragmatic presupposition). Especially, the proposition *p* followed by post-predicative *ğoj* is assumed to belong to the Common Ground, whether it had been explicitly added there during the preceding exchange or not. Drawing on the comparison with Russian *že* and Tundra Yukaghir particle *mə(r)=*, it is shown that *ğoj* should be treated as an existential operator stating the existence of *p* inside of the Common Ground.

1. Introduction

This paper is dedicated to the little researched Kazakh particle *ğoj* many uses of which are associated with the information-structural notions of contrast and givenness. Indeed, similar particles from other languages have been analysed as having contrastivity or givenness as their core meanings. The objective of this paper is twofold: to provide a systematic, detailed description of *ğoj*; and to present a novel approach to analysing the semantic nature of *ğoj*, and by extension to other similar items from related and unrelated languages.

Moving away from using pragmatic or information-structural labels to explicate the multifunctional nature of particles like *ğoj*, I propose to apply Matic' and Nikolaeva's (2014) analysis of the Tundra Yukaghir particle *mə(r)=* as an existential operator to *ğoj*. The validity of this approach is confirmed in Section 6 where it is demonstrated that the pragmatic effects associated with the presence of *ğoj* in a sentence result from its existential semantics.

This paper proceeds as follows: Section 2 provides a brief introduction of the Kazakh language and the Kazakh data used in this paper, while Section 3 presents previous descriptions of *ğoj*; in Section 4 I discuss the use of *ğoj* in imperative clauses and argue that what has been labelled as the particle *ğoj* is in fact the imperative form of the verb *qoju*, thus excluding the so-called imperative use of *ğoj* from further examination.

Section 5 presents contextualised elicited, natural, and corpus data, which demonstrate the distribution pattern of *ğoj*, while Section 6 focuses on its pragmatic contribution. In Section 7 an analysis of a similar-functioning particle from Russian is presented, as well as the analysis for the Tundra Yukaghir particle *mə(r)=*. It is posited that applying Matic' and Nikolaeva's (2014) analysis for the Tundra Yukaghir particle *mə(r)=* to *ğoj* yields the most comprehensive explanation of the multi-functionality of this particle. Section 8 concludes this paper.

2. The Kazakh language

This section provides a brief introduction to the Kazakh language with Section 2.1 presenting the general socio-economic background of the language, and Section 2.2 covering some general linguistic features; Section 2.3 is dedicated to the Kazakh language data used in this paper.

2.1 Socio-economic background of the Kazakh language

Kazakh is the official state and national language of the Republic of Kazakhstan, and is spoken by around 13 million people, most of whom (around 10 million) reside in Kazakhstan (Smailov 2011), while the rest form Kazakh ethnic minorities in China (around 1.25 million), Uzbekistan (around 1 million), with smaller Kazakh-speaking communities also found in Russia, Turkmenistan, Mongolia, and Kyrgyzstan (Simons & Fenning 2018). Kazakh has been the official state language of Kazakhstan since the declaration of its independence from the USSR in December 1991. Prior to the independence the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic followed the USSR language policy, which, while claiming respectful treatment of all national languages, was unofficially, but explicitly aimed at enforcing Russian as the *lingua franca* of the USSR from around the late 1920s (Isaev 1970). The dominance of the Russian language caused long-lasting damage to the prestige and status of the Kazakh language, which, in turn, led to a steep decline in its use. The first language-related laws of the independent Republic of Kazakhstan in which Russian

had to be recognised as the second official language to be used on equal grounds with Kazakh, reflected the weak position of the Kazakh language.

The writing system of Kazakh is relatively new – it was developed in the early twentieth century by order of the Soviet Russian administration; prior to this Kazakh was an oral language due to the nomadic and seminomadic way of life of the cattle-breeding tribes who spoke it (Demirci 2006). The first alphabet was based on the modified Arabic script until the late 1920s, when all the Turkic languages of the USSR were switched to the Roman alphabet. About a decade later, the modified version of the Cyrillic alphabet was developed for Kazakh.

This modified Cyrillic alphabet is still used in Kazakhstan, although in 2012 plans were announced to change the Kazakh writing system once again to a Roman-based alphabet. Two versions of the new alphabet were released in 2017, with another released in February 2018. It appears that this February 2018 version will be the final, official version of the new alphabet. In this paper I use a transliteration system loosely based on the Turkish alphabet – it is presented in Table 1 below:

Table 1. Transliteration of the Kazakh alphabet

Kazakh alphabet	Transliteration	Kazakh alphabet	Transliteration	Kazakh alphabet	Transliteration
а	a	н	n	ъ	''
ә	ä	ң	ñ	ь	'
б	b	о	o	э	ε
в	v	ө	ö	ю	ju
г	g	п	p	я	ja
ғ	ğ	р	r		
д	d	с	s		
е	e	т	t		
ё	jo	у, ұ	u		
ж	ž	ү	ü		
з	z	ф	f		
и, і	i	х, һ	h		
й	j	ц	ts		
к	k	ч	č		
қ	q	ш	š		
л	l	щ	šč		
м	m	ы	ı		

2.2 General features of Kazakh

Together with Karakalpak, Kyrgyz and Nogai, Kazakh belongs to the Aralo-Caspian sub-group of Western Turkic languages. It is reported to be especially closely related to Karakalpak, which some sources claim to be a dialect of Kazakh (Kirchner 1998). Three main dialects are recognised in Kazakh – North-eastern Kazakh, Southern Kazakh, and Western Kazakh – however, the differences between them are minor and are mainly pertinent to lexicon and phonology. As in other Turkic languages, vowel harmony is a key feature in the phonology of the Kazakh language. In the process of vowel harmony, vowels in the affixes become assimilated to the vowels in the stems according to their [\pm front] and [\pm back] features. Progressive and regressive consonant assimilation processes are also present in Kazakh. These phonological processes result in great variability of suffix allomorphs. Again, like other Turkic languages, Kazakh is predominantly agglutinative in its morphology, meaning that words are formed via affixation. Some analytic features are also observed, however, especially in the verbal realm, where many forms (e.g. progressive or evidential forms) are constructed with the help of auxiliaries.

Grammatical relations between the constituents within phrases of all sizes are expressed by means of case suffixation and postpositions. The canonical constituent order within a clause is SOV, however, this word order is not fixed, and all six possible permutations of it can occur in certain (sometimes very narrow) contexts.

As mentioned previously, Kazakh is under-researched; however, it is relatively well-described with descriptive tomes on its syntax, morphology, and phonology having been published in Kazakh, Russian, Turkish and English.

2.3 Kazakh data

The data presented in this paper consist of elicited data, corpus data, and naturalistic data from observed, film, or cartoon dialogues. This section provides details on these data and the methods whereby they have been collected.

Most of the elicited data used in this paper were collected during a nine-month long field trip to Astana, where I lived from September 2015 until May 2016. The data were mainly collected during elicitation sessions with several native speakers of Kazakh who come from different regions of Kazakhstan, but now reside in Astana. All elicitation sessions were conducted in Russian, since all the language consultants are to a higher or lesser degree proficient in it, and the author is a native speaker of it. All of the unreferenced grammatical and ungrammatical examples (the latter marked by *) come from these elicitation sessions.

Corpus data presented in this paper come from the Almaty Corpus of Kazakh Language (ACKL), available online at: <http://web-corpora.net/KazakhCorpus>. This open access corpus comprises more than 40 million word tokens, and offers a convenient and straightforward search tool. The corpus contains written materials of diverse genres from publicistic to literary and scientific, which provides for a rich source of linguistic data.

Many language examples come from various works on Kazakh, such as Kazakh grammars and PhD theses, which are not numerous, especially in the English language; these are referenced as usual, with the surname of the author and year of publication.

Films, TV series, and cartoons in Kazakh provided another useful source of naturalistic language data. For the examples taken from a film or a cartoon, the following abbreviations are used: *Miñ Bir Tün* ‘One Thousand and One Night’ – MBT; ‘Monsters University’ – MU; ‘Alice Through the Looking Glass’ – ATLG.

3. Previous research on *ğoj*

Little has been written about the particle *ğoj* – realised as *qoj* after voiceless consonants – in the English, Russian or Kazakh linguistic literature. This might be due to this particle being perceived by the native speakers as an item exclusively appearing in spoken language, and, as such, only carrying some sort of emotive or emphatic meaning without interacting with the grammatical structure of language.

This attitude is reflected in Straughn (2011), who refers to *ğoj* as a sentence-final particle which expresses emotivity. He claims that *ğoj* is completely optional and is never a part of the verbal complex, which is why its presence “should not be seen as any sort of formal marking” (2011: 134). Straughn gives the example in (1) to demonstrate that “the addition of *ğoy* merely indicates that the speaker is expressing an emotive attitude toward the content of this utterance” (2011: 135); in his gloss Straughn labels *ğoj* as ‘EXCL’ for ‘exclamative particle’.

- (1) Qıtay-lar-dıñ žaŋa žil-i eken *ğoy*.
 Chinese-PL-GEN new year-POSS.3 EVID EXCL
 ‘It’s (apparently) the Chinese New Year!’ (Straughn 2011: 135)

Straughn concludes that the particle *ğoy* indicates “the speaker’s emotive stance” and is “essentially limitless in distribution”. Thus *ğoy*, along with the Uzbek equivalent which Straughn also considers in his thesis, “should not be seen as primary verbal markers of emotivity, but instead as discourse particles” (2011: 136). In Section 5 it is shown that *ğoj* is not a limitless in distribution exclamative particle,

and that its functions go beyond merely expressing the speaker's emotive attitude towards the content of his utterance.

Muhamedowa (2016) summarises her analysis of meaning of *ğoj* as follows:

It is difficult to find an appropriate translation for this particle in English. *Yoı* is similar to the English *you know*, as it appeals to shared information between the speaker and the hearer. (2016: 163)

Additionally, Muhamedowa states that this particle has a “fixed position in a sentence and must occur after the predicate” (2016: 15). As Section 5 shows, Muhamedowa's description of the placement of *ğoj* after the predicate is more accurate than Straughn's, as the sentence-final position for *ğoj* proposed by Straughn does not cover cases where one of the terms appears after the predicate (as an afterthought, for instance). Muhamedowa also states that “the particle *yoı* attached to the -A converb softens an imperative” (2016: 27), as shown in the example in (3) below; this is discussed in detail in Section 4, where an alternative analysis of such imperative utterances is given.

Abish (2014) presents a more detailed description of *ğoj*. The author refers to *ğoj* as a modal particle and introduces it as follows:

The particle *ıyoı* does not have any lexical meaning. Its basic contribution is to mark some type of epistemic evaluation, an assessment of the propositional content. It can express a commitment to the truth of the proposition, i.e. to its certainty, probability, possibility, etc. The source of the epistemic evaluation can be the opinion of the addresser or some other person. The basic meaning varies according to the communicative functions of different types of usages [...]. (2014: 75)

Abish (2014) identifies two variants of *ğoj* – the accented and the unaccented one. The unaccented variant is viewed by the author as an enclitic, which expresses presumption, while the accented variant is used to express repudiation, emphasise shared knowledge, or to form tag-questions (in which case it is pronounced with rising interrogative intonation), as well as to function together with existentials and the conditional mood.

I did not observe the difference in the accenting of the particle described by Abish, and some of the examples provided by the author were not accepted as grammatical by the Kazakh speakers in Kazakhstan. This may be due to the differences in the use of *ğoj* in the Kazakh language spoken in China and in Kazakhstan. Exploring these differences is outside of the scope of this work, but is an interesting future research subject.

Turning to the descriptions of *ğoj* written in Russian, Balakaev et al. (1962) categorise *ğoj* as an emphatic-limiting and a modal-expressive particle (the authors do not provide criteria or features for either of these particle classes); the description

of functions of *ğoj* is only provided under the former heading. Thus, according to Balakaev et al. (1962: 417), the emphatic-limiting particle *ğoj* is said to express the speaker's confirmation of his own words. It is used when the speaker wants to remind his interlocutor of an event or action already known to her; additionally, *ğoj* is used to 'logically underline' or stress a word.

Bo'lshoj Kazahsko-Russkij Slovar' (henceforth, *The Big Kazakh-Russian Dictionary*) defines *ğoj* as "a particle used to add emphasis or expressivity to the content of an utterance; translated into Russian as *ved'* or *že*", as in (2), or as "a particle used to soften a request or a command" (1998: 366), as in (3):

- (2) Ajt-ti-m *ğoj*!
 say-PST-1SG *ğoj*
 'I did say!/I said, didn't I?'
- (3) Kele *ğoj*!
 come.IMP *ğoj*
 'Come here then!'

Note that the examples in (2) and (3) are provided without contexts, which makes it difficult to establish the conditions under which these utterances are felicitous; this is especially relevant for the utterance in (2), as it clearly presents the speaker's reaction to another utterance or an event. I discuss the example in (3) in detail in Section 4 and present an alternative analysis of these imperative constructions.

Most Kazakh grammars intended for language learners do not provide a description or explanation of the use of *ğoj*, and those that do, only highlight one aspect of its use. These explanations can be contradictory not only between authors, but also between publications by one and the same author. For example, Romanenko (2011: 72) states that *ğoj* is a particle of "emotional fortification", while Romanenko (2015: 109) asserts that it is a "clarifying" particle, which "confirms the verity of an utterance". Bizakov (2014: 181) refers to *ğoj* as a "veracity particle", and Valjaeva (2018) claims that *ğoj* is a "specifying" particle, which gives an utterance "the meaning of completeness and assertiveness".

Thus, it is clear that there is no consensus on neither the status, nor the meaning of *ğoj*. It has been referred to as a particle, a modal particle, a discourse particle, an emphatic-limiting particle, a modal-expressive particle and a veracity particle. Its distribution has been described as limitless, and as strictly post-predicative. It has been claimed that *ğoj* refers to shared information, adds emotivity, assertion, clarity, veracity, specificity, as well epistemic evaluation to an utterance. All these meanings and functions ascribed to *ğoj* have been illustrated with non-contextualised examples, which do not allow for a full understanding of the contribution the particle makes to a proposition.

4. *Ĝoj* in imperative clauses

As mentioned in the previous section, *ĝoj* has been described as a particle that softens imperatives. In this section I demonstrate that this description is not accurate and propose an alternative approach to analysing imperative sentences with the word-form *ĝoj*. More specifically, it is proposed that the *ĝoj* that appears in the imperative clauses is the imperative form of the polysemous verb *qoju*, rather than the particle *ĝoj*.

Muhamedowa (2016: 27) states that “the particle *yoy* attached to the -A converb softens an imperative”, and provides the following example:

- (4) Kel-e *yoy!*
 Come-CVB PART
 ‘Please come!’

The same example and explanation for this use of *ĝoj* are given by the *Big Kazakh-Russian Dictionary* (1998: 366), as mentioned in Section 3. Notably, however, the -A converbial form does not coincide with the imperative form of verbs in Kazakh, and the use of *ĝoj* with the imperative verb form results in ungrammaticality as shown in (5) below:

- (5) *Kel *ĝoj!*
 come.IMP.2SG *ĝoj*
 ‘Come then! / Come, come!’

It thus appears that the use of the particle *ĝoj* with the imperative form of the verb is ungrammatical, but the use of *ĝoj* with a converbial form results in a ‘soft’ imperative reading. No explanation is provided as to how this combination of a converb – a non-finite verb form (Haspelmath 1995: 3) – and a particle would produce the ‘soft’ imperative effect in this language.

While it is not uncommon for languages of the world to employ non-finite verb forms in non-assertive utterances like imperatives (Nikolaeva 2007, 2012), this has not been observed in the Kazakh language, in which the imperative form coincides with the stem/root of the verb. What follows is an alternative analysis of the sentence in (4) and by extension other sentences of this type which have previously been analysed as ‘soft’ imperatives consisting of an -A converb and the particle *ĝoj*.

Recall that *ĝoj* can also be realised as *qoj* after voiceless consonants, and *qoj* is also the stem and the imperative form of the verb *qoju*. The transitive verb *qoju* has many meanings, such as ‘to place’ or ‘to stand (something)’, ‘to bury’, ‘to hit’, ‘to stop (doing something)’, ‘to allow’, ‘to let something happen’. The examples in (6), (7), and (8) below illustrate some uses of this verb:

- (6) Sen bu-ni üj-ge qoj.
2SG this-ACC house-DAT put.IMP.2SG
'Put this (thing) in the house.'
- (7) Ol kel-u-i-n qoj-dï.
3SG come-INF-POSS.3-ACC stop-PST(3)
'He stopped coming over/visiting.'
- (8) Ölik-ti erteñ qoj-a-dï.
deceased-ACC tomorrow bury-FUT-3
'They will bury the deceased person tomorrow.'

This verb is also widely used as an auxiliary in the compound verb forms, where it can combine with both *-A* and *-Ip* converbial forms. It can add a multitude of meanings, as well as the perfective aspect, to the action described by the main lexical verb in the converbial form. The examples in (9)–(14) show the use of the auxiliary verb *qoju* with *-A* converbs in (9) and (10), and with *-Ip* converbs in (11), (12), (13) and (14):

- (9) Ol anda-sanda kel-e qoj-a-dï.
3SG from.time.to.time come-CVB AUX-PRS-3
'He would just come over (unexpectedly)/show up from time to time.'
- (10) Onıñ söz-i-ne eškim sen-e qoj-ğan žoq.
3SG.GEN word-POSS.3-DAT no.one believe-CVB AUX-PFV NEG
'No one has believed/believed his words.'
- (11) Men et-ti dos-ım-a saqta-p qoj-dï-m.
1SG meat-ACC friend-POSS.1SG-DAT save-CVB AUX-PST-1SG
'I saved the/some meat for my friend.'
- (12) Men onıñ qupija-sı turalı ajt-ıp qoj-dï-m.
1SG 3SG.GEN secret-POSS.3 about say-CVB AUX-PST-1SG
'I've let out his secret (accidentally).'
- (13) Men osı kitap-tı oq-ıp qoj-dï-m.
1SG this book-ACC read-CVB AUX-PST-1SG
'I've already finished reading this book.'
- (14) Mağan mına kitap-tı saqta-p qoj.
1SG.DAT this book-ACC save-CVB AUX.IMP.2SG
'Save this book for me.'

In (9) the use of *qoju* adds the effect of unexpectedness of the action described by the lexical verb in the converbial form. In (10) *qoju* is used to indicate that the action expressed by the lexical verb is accomplished and irrevocable; in (11) *qoju* shows that the completed action was deliberate and premeditated; while in (12),

on the contrary, the auxiliary is used to denote an action that happened unintentionally and unexpectedly, and is irreversible. In (13) *qoju* identifies an action that was completed before the expected completion time; note the use of ‘already’ in the English interpretation of this sentence to indicate the earlier than expected completion of the action. The example in (14) shows the use of the imperative form of the auxiliary *qoju* to intensify the request expressed by the converbial form of the lexical verb.

Returning to the sentence in (4), I propose that this is also a compound verb form, like in the sentences in (9)–(14) above, consisting of a lexical/main verb and the auxiliary *qoju*; the reanalysis of the example in (4) is presented in (15) below, where *qoj* is glossed as the auxiliary verb:

- (15) Kel-e **qoj!**
 come-CVB AUX.IMP.2SG
 ‘Come then! / Do come!’

In speech, the voiceless [q] is realised as [ɣ] in the intervocalic position; intervocalic voicing is a common occurrence in Kazakh, although the domain of its application is yet to be thoroughly researched for this language (cf. Yu Cho (1990) for Korean). Since [q] always appears between vowels in constructions like that in (15), the auxiliary verb *qoju* in its imperative form has been erroneously reanalysed as particle *ğoj*, and the function of ‘softening’ of commands was assigned to the latter. It can be hypothesised that grammaticalisation of *ğoj* into a particle started precisely from these imperative constructions – this is left for further diachronic research.

The examples in (16)–(18) below demonstrate that the combination of a converb and the imperative form of the auxiliary *qoju* can appear in different contexts, but always indicates a command or instruction. More importantly, the examples in (17) and (18) show agreement in person and number of the imperative form of the verb *qoju* with the omitted subject – we would not expect particle *ğoj* to follow this agreement pattern:

- (16) Bar-a **qoj**, men soñinan bar-a-min.
 go-CVB AUX.IMP.2SG 1SG afterwards come-FUT-1SG
 ‘You go then, I’ll come later.’ (ACKL)
- (17) Erteñ sağat bes-te žeñgej-di ert-ip, biz-diñ
 tomorrow hour five-LOC sister.in.law-ACC bring.with-PTCP 1pl-POSS
 üj-ge kel-e **qoj-iñiz.**
 house-DAT come-CVB AUX.IMP-2PL.FRM
 ‘At 5 o’clock tomorrow, please come to our house together with the sister-in-law.’ (ACKL)

- (18) [The wife asked her husband for permission to visit a relative, to which the husband replies:]

Bar-a **qoj-ññiz.**

go-CVB AUX.IMP-2SG.FRM

‘Do go. / Of course, You can go.’

(MBT)

It can also be speculated that the erroneous analysis of the imperative form of the verb *qoju* as the particle *ğoj* might have been the result of the Russian language influence, which dominated in Kazakhstan for several decades. Russian particle *že*, which is very similar to *ğoj* in many of its applications (as I demonstrate in Section 7.1) can indeed be used in the Russian imperative sentences, as shown in (19):

- (19) a. Idi!
 come/go.IMP.2SG
 ‘Come! / Go!’
- b. Idi **že!**
 come/go.IMP.2SG PART
 ‘Come then!/Go then!’

The structure of the Russian sentence (b) above is reminiscent of that in the Kazakh sentence in (15), which might have led to a re-analysis of the Kazakh sentence structure as containing a verb-form and a particle. It has to be noted, however, that in the Russian examples the particle *že* follows the imperative form of the verb, unlike in the Kazakh examples, where the imperative meaning was assumed to originate from a combination of a converb and the particle.

To sum up, this section has demonstrated that the particle *ğoj* that has been claimed to appear in the imperative sentences is in fact *qoj* – the imperative form of the verb *qoju* – which functions as an auxiliary. The combination of the converbial form of the main/lexical verb and the imperative form of *qoju* produces the imperative sentences with the additional meaning of intensity, or permission. In the intervocalic position the initial voiceless uvular plosive of *qoj* [q] is realised as a voiced uvular fricative [ɣ], which appears to be one of the reasons for the erroneous analysis of this imperative construction.

Another reason is the influence of the Russian imperative sentences containing the particle *že*, which is very similar to the Kazakh *ğoj*. Having demonstrated that the *ğoj* that appears in the imperative sentences is not the particle *ğoj* which is my main concern here, I exclude these sentences from further description and analysis of the particle *ğoj*. As briefly mentioned earlier, a diachronic connection between the auxiliary verb *qoju* in imperative sentences and the particle *ğoj* would be of interest for further investigation, which is out of the scope of this paper.

5. Syntactic distribution of *ğoj*

As mentioned previously, the particle *ğoj* is widely used in spoken and informal written Kazakh, and is excluded from formal speech or writing. Having demonstrated in the preceding section that this particle is not used in imperative sentences, in this section I focus on the syntactic distribution patterns of this item, which can be generally distinguished into post-predicative (Section 5.1) and post-nominal (Section 5.2).

5.1 Post-predicative *ğoj*

This particle typically follows predicates, which can be expressed by a lexical or modal verb, an existential or evidential copula, an adjective, or a noun. The examples below show *ğoj* following a finite verbal predicate in (20), a modal word in (21), an existential copula in (22), and an evidential copula in (23). The example in (20) additionally demonstrates that the predicate does not have to be in its canonical clause-final position, thus making the particle not obligatorily sentence-final, contrary to Straughn's (2011) and Muhamedowa's (2016) observations. The context – either situational or linguistic – is given in square brackets:

- (20) [One friend utters to another as they hug after not having seen each other for a long time.]
 Fusun, äbden sağın-dī-q qoj seni.
 Fusun very.much miss-PST-1PL ğoj 2SG.ACC
 'Fusun, we did miss you a lot.' (MBT)
- (21) [After finding out that one of the female employees who is not married has a son, one manager says to another:]
 Äkesi bol-u kerek qoj?!
 father-POSS.3SG be-INF must ğoj
 'There's got to be a father, hasn't there/right?!' (MBT)
- (22) [A colleague is late for a morning meeting and the boss says: 'Do you not have an alarm clock?' She replies:]
 Zoq, bar ğoj.
 no EXST ğoj
 'Yes, of course I do.' (MBT)
- (23) [A man wakes up looking disheveled, puffy, red-eyed and unshaven after a long night of New Year celebrations and says to himself in the mirror:]
 Oj-baj, üšinši mīñzıldıq-tiñ adam-ı, seniñ türiñ osındaj
 oh.dear third millennium-GEN man-POSS your appearance like.this
 eken ğoj.
 EVID(3) ğoj
 'Oh dear, so this is what a man of the third millennium looks like then, it would seem.'

The example in (24) shows *ğoj* used after an adjectival predicate:

- (24) [The opening line of a folk-tale about camels.]
 Tüje qazirdiñ özinde ädemi *ğoj*.
 camel now itself beautiful *ğoj*
 ‘Camels nowadays are beautiful, aren’t they. / As is well known, camels are beautiful at present time. [But a long time ago... (and the tale continues to say that camels used to be more beautiful and how they lost that beauty)].’ (ACKL)

It must be noted that *ğoj* can be removed from the examples in (20)–(24) without affecting their grammaticality. That is to say, the particle does not participate in the syntactic structure of the sentences in which it appears post-predicatively. It does, however, make a pragmatic contribution, which is discussed in detail in Section 6.

Ğoj can successfully appear post-predicatively in yes-no interrogative sentences, as shown in (25), but not in *wh*-questions, as demonstrated by ungrammaticality of (26):

- (25) Sen bügin universitet-ke bar-a-siñ *ğoj*?
 2SG today university-DAT go-FUT/PSR-2SG *ğoj*
 ‘You are going to university today, aren’t you?’
 ‘You are going to university today, right?’
- (26) *Sen bügin qajda bar-a-siñ *ğoj*?
 2SG today where go-FUT/PRS-2SG *ğoj*

The role of *ğoj* in interrogative sentences is discussed in detail in Section 7.

To sum up, the particle *ğoj* can appear in the post-predicative position and can follow predicates expressed by a variety of syntactic categories. In this position it can appear in affirmative and interrogative yes-no questions, but not in *wh*-questions.

5.2 Post-nominal *ğoj*

Let us now consider *ğoj* in the non-post-predicative position, as shown in Speaker B’s utterance in (27):

- (27) Speaker A: Keşe Bolat düken-ge bar-dï.
 yesterday Bolat shop-DAT go-PST(3)
 ‘Bolat went to the shop yesterday.’
- Speaker B: Arman *ğoj* bar-ğan / *bar-dï!
 Arman *ğoj* go-PTCP / *go-PST(3)
 ‘(Of course) it was Arman who went!’

Unlike in previous examples, where *ğoj* follows the predicate, in (27) it appears immediately after the subject expressed by the proper name *Arman*. Notably, the subject is contrastively/correctively focused in this instance, that is to say, it is the constituent that directly rejects the alternative expressed by one of the interlocutors (Gussenhoven 2007). The examples in (28) and (29) demonstrate that the subject must be contrastively focused in order for *ğoj* felicitously to follow it:

(28) Speaker A: Keše kim düken-ge bar-dî?
yesterday who shop-DAT go-PST(3)
'Who went to the shop yesterday?'

Speaker B: #Arman *ğoj* barğan.

(29) A: Arman keše düken-ge bar-dî ma?
Arman yesterday shop-DAT go-PST(3) Q
'Did Arman go to the shop yesterday?'

B: #Arman *ğoj* dükenge barğan.

In (28) *ğoj* follows a non-contrastive new information focus, which makes the sentence infelicitous. However, a small caveat is in order – the response containing *ğoj* is infelicitous here as a first-time response to the question; it may be used by the speaker to signal her annoyance at having already answered the same questions a number of times. It would then be interpreted along the lines of: 'It was Arman who went, wasn't it (I've told you this already)'. In (29), *Arman* is the topic and cannot be felicitously followed by *ğoj*.

Another observation that must be made about Speaker B's utterance in (27) is that only the past participial form of the verb is grammatical in this sentence, while a finite past tense verb form is not. This is true for all sentences where *ğoj* follows the correctively focused element as the examples in (30) and (31) below illustrate:

(30) Speaker A: Arman went to the shop yesterday.

Speaker B: Biz *ğoj* bar-ğan / *bar-ğan-biz / *bar-dî-q.
1PL *ğoj* go-PTCP go-PTCP-1PL go-PST-1PL
'It was us who went.'

(31) [Two friends discussing two brothers called Bolat and Arman. The first speaker claims that Bolat is the one who goes to the library the most. The second speaker objects:]

Qoj-ši, Bolat *qoj* eñ köp bar-atin / *bar-a-dî / *bar-îp žatir.
stop-POL Bolat *ğoj* most a.lot go-PTCP go-PRS-3SG go-CVB AUX(3)
'Oh stop! Of course it is Bolat who goes to the library the most!'

As can be seen from the examples above, the attempts to use either the finite past tense forms, as in (30), or the finite present tense forms, as in (31), instead of the past and present participle forms, result in ungrammaticality. The sentences with

post-nominal *ğoj*, in turn, become ungrammatical if *ğoj* is removed, as the examples in (32) and (33) show:

- (32) *Biz bar-ğan.
 1PL go-PTCP
 Intended: ‘We went.’
- (33) *Arman eñ köp bar-atın.
 Arman most a.lot go-PTCP
 Intended: ‘Arman goes the most.’

The ungrammaticality of a sentence like that in (33) can be easily fixed if a predicate is added, as demonstrated by (34):

- (34) Arman eñ köp bar-atın adam.
 Arman most a.lot go-PTCP man
 Lit: ‘Arman is the most going man.’
 ‘Arman is the one who goes the most.’

The nominal constituent followed by *ğoj* in these types of constructions does not have to be the subject or indeed a term of the sentence – *ğoj* can also follow a contrastively focused direct or indirect object as in (35) and (36) respectively, or an adjunct, as in (37):

- (35) Speaker A: Keşe Bolat mīna kitap-ti satıp al-dī.
 yesterday Bolat this book-ACC buy-PST(3)
 ‘Bolat bought this book yesterday.’
 Speaker B: Zoq, ol mīna žurnaldī *ğoj* satıp al-ğan.
 no 3SG this magazine-ACC *ğoj* buy-PTCP
 ‘No, it was this magazine that he bought.’
- (36) Speaker A: Keşe Bolat düken-ge bar-dī.
 yesterday Bolat shop-DAT go-PST(3)
 ‘Bolat went to the shop yesterday.’
 Speaker B: Zoq, ol kitaphana-ga *ğoj* bar-ğan.
 no 3SG library-DAT *ğoj* go-PTCP
 ‘No, it was the library that he went to.’
- (37) Speaker A: Bolat aldiñģi küni Astana-ğa kel-di.
 Bolat day.before.yesterday Astana-DAT come-PST(3)
 ‘Bolat arrived in Astana the day before yesterday.’
 Speaker B: Žoq, ol keşe *ğoj* kel-gen.
 No 3SG yesterday *ğoj* come-PTCP
 ‘No, it was yesterday that he arrived.’

The syntactic and information-structural observations made so far, together with the interpretations the sentences with the post-nominal *ğoj* receive, point to the possible cleft nature of these clauses.

According to Hartmann and Veenstra (2013), in its canonical form, a cleft is a bi-clausal copular construction that consists of an impersonal pronoun (the cleft pronoun), a copular verb, the informationally prominent phrase (the cleft phrase) and an embedded relative clause (the cleft clause). However, not all languages follow this canonical cleft sentence structure, as many languages would not require a cleft pronoun, which is essentially a dummy subject not needed in pro-drop languages such as Slavic and Turkic, for instance. This means that the minimal cleft sentence structure comprises a cleft phrase, a copula, and a cleft clause, as shown in (38) on the example of a subject cleft from Wolof:

- (38) [Jigéen ji]_i [a]_j [lekk gato bi]_k.
 woman the COP eat cake the
 [Cleft Phrase]_i [Copula]_j [Cleft Clause]_k
 ‘It’s the woman who ate the cake.’ (Torrence 2013: 188)

Clefting is typologically wide-spread as a focus marking device. For instance, Mathew (2013) provides examples of cleft constructions in Malayalam – a Dravidian SOV language from South India. According to Mathew, the cleft construction with the focus marker *a:nu*, whereby any argument, adverb or adjunct can be focused, is widely used. The examples in (39) and (40) demonstrate this:

- (39) karambi-e a:nu Paily kand-aDu
 Karambi-ACC FM Paily saw-3SG
 ‘It is Karambi whom Paily saw.’
 (40) sankadam vann-ittu a:nu avan karanj-aDu
 sorrow came-PFV FM he cried-3SG
 ‘It is because (he) became sad that he cried.’ (Mathew 2013: 258)

Interestingly, Mathew (2013) refers to cases where the focus marker *a:nu* appears post-predicatively as clefting of the entire clause, and provides the following example for this:

- (41) Paily karambi-e kand-aDu a:nu
 Paily Karambi-ACC saw-3SG FM
 ‘Paily did see Karambi.’

Mathew’s (2013) reasons for classifying the sentence in (41) as a cleft sentence are not clear; however, notably, the interpretation for this sentence is very similar to the interpretations of the Kazakh sentences with post-predicative *ğoj* in the examples in (20)–(24).

Having considered cleft constructions from other languages, we can return to the Kazakh sentences with the post-nominal *ğoj*, and observe that they follow the same cleft structure. The example from (27) is repeated in (42) below with some additional details:

- (42) [Arman]_i [ğoj]_i [bar-ğan]_k.
 Arman ğoj go-PTCP
 [Cleft Phrase]_i [Copula]_j [Cleft Clause]_k
 ‘It was Arman who went.’

All the elements of a cleft construction are present: the informationally prominent phrase is the contrastively/correctively focused element appearing clause-initially; *ğoj* performs the function of a copular verb/copula, which is not controversial from the typological perspective; and the embedded relative clause forms the cleft clause.

A brief note on Kazakh relative clauses is in order. Kazakh relative clauses do not contain relative pronouns, are non-finite, and are always headed by participial verb forms, as shown in below:

- (43) [Sen Ø_i kör-gen] adam_i žügirip ket-ti.
 2SG see-PTCP man run.away-PST(3)
 ‘The man whom you saw ran away.’

As expected in a canonically head-final (SOV) language, a relative clause precedes the noun it modifies, and the latter co-refers with a ‘gap’ within the relative clause which can be seen in the example above.

Notably, only a participial verb form must follow a post-nominal/copular *ğoj*, as was demonstrated earlier in (30) and (31), and as can be seen from the ungrammaticality of Speaker B’s utterance in (44) below:

- (44) Speaker A: Arman öte mejirimdi.
 Arman very kind
 ‘Arman is very kind.’
 Speaker B: *Zoq, Bolat ğoj öte mejirimdi.
 No Bolat ğoj very kind
 Intended: ‘No, it is Bolat who is very kind.’

This example shows that an attempt to construct a cleft sentence without a participle fails, since the adjective following *ğoj* cannot form a relative/cleft clause on its own. The situation can be remedied by the addition of a participial verb form, as shown in (45):

- (45) Speaker A: Arman öte mejirimdi bol-di.
 Arman very kind be-PST(3)
 'Arman was very kind.'
- Speaker B: Zoq, Bolat *ğoj* öte mejirimdi bol-ğan.
 No Bolat *ğoj* very kind be-PTCP
 'No, it is Bolat who was very kind.'

The requirement that post-nominal *ğoj* is followed by a participial verb form, and consequently, a relative clause explains ungrammaticality of any other predicate forms in cleft sentences.

To sum up, having considered the syntactic distribution of *ğoj*, it has been observed that it can either appear post-predicatively or post-nominally. In post-predicative position it can follow any type of predicate – verbal or nominal – as long as it is either narrowly focused, or is a part of a wider focus phrase. In this position *ğoj* does not interact with the syntactic structure of the sentence in which it appears, that is, the sentence does not become ungrammatical if *ğoj* is removed. The contribution the post-predicative *ğoj* makes is of pragmatic nature and is discussed in more detail in the following section.

In post-nominal position *ğoj* also follows a focused element – a correctively/contrastively focused one, to be precise. The nominal element can be a correctively focused argument or adjunct expressed by case-marked or unmarked nouns. Unlike post-predicative *ğoj*, post-nominal *ğoj* is involved in the syntactic structure of the sentences in which it appears. The sentences with post-nominal *ğoj* are cleft sentences, which become ungrammatical if *ğoj* is removed. These cleft construction also display restrictions in regards to the form of the verb that must follow *ğoj* – only participial verb forms are permitted since they are the only verb forms capable of heading a relative clause. Such differences in the syntactic behaviour of *ğoj* appearing post-predicatively and post-nominally inevitably lead to questioning whether this is one and the same *ğoj* or two different ones. The post-predicative *ğoj* appears to be a particle, while the post-nominal *ğoj* displays the syntactic behaviour of a copula. As becomes clear in the following section, however, despite the syntactic differences, the pragmatic contribution of both these elements is very similar, which allows us to talk about shared semantics for them.

6. Pragmatic contribution of *ğoj*

This section is concerned with the pragmatic contribution of both the particle and the copula *ğoj*. It is demonstrated that despite significant differences in their syntactic distribution, the pragmatic contributions they make are very similar in that they both add implications of givenness or shared information. That is to say,

they indicate that information carried by propositions in which they appear must be treated as present in the interlocutors' Common Ground (CG) whether it has actually been previously explicitly shared or not. In 6.1 I provide some contextualised examples of use of the particle *ğoj*, and discuss the pragmatic effects it evokes, and in 6.2 the pragmatic effects of the copula *ğoj* are considered.

6.1 Pragmatic contribution of post-predicative *ğoj*

The examples below show *ğoj* used in a variety of contexts. In all examples from (46) to (50) the use of the particle indicates that the information contained by the proposition it follows is either given, or communicatively/pragmatically presupposed. The utterances containing *ğoj* either point out this 'given' status or re-activate the information in the CG shared by the interlocutors:

- (46) [Parents check up on their sleeping child. Mother says to Father:]
 Kőr-di-n be? Ujıqtap žatir dep ajt-ti-m **ğoj**.
 see-PST-2SG Q sleep-CVB AUX(3) COMP say-PST-1SG *ğoj*
 'Did you see? I did tell you he was sleeping.' (MU)
- (47) [On a school trip the teacher finished counting the children as they get off the bus. She counts 19, but there should be 20 students.]
 Sonda, bireu žoq **qoj**.
 then someone NEG *ğoj*
 'Someone is missing, aren't they!' (MU)
- (48) Speaker A: Qajrat keše dūken-ge bar-ğan žoq.
 Kairat yesterday shop-DAT go-PTCP NEG
 'Kairat did not go to the shop yesterday.'
 Speaker B: Ol bar-dī **ğoj!**
 3SG go-PST(3) *ğoj*
 'Of course he went! / He did too!'
- (49) [After asking a question and not receiving an answer from his wife, the man utters with annoyance:]
 Men sura-p tur-dī-m **ğoj!**
 1SG question-CVB AUX-PST-1SG *ğoj*
 'I asked (you) a question, didn't I?' (MBT)
- (50) [After having been told that Alice was on her way and having waited for her to arrive, the man exclaims:]
 Ol kel-me-j-di **ğoj!?**
 3SG come-NEG-FUT-3 *ğoj*
 'She is not coming, is she?' (ATLG)

Let us also consider the additional, narrower meanings, which can be attributed to the presence of *ğoj*, as in the Examples (46)–(50). In (46), the Mother uses *ğoj* after her utterance to re-iterate that she has indeed previously said that the child would be sleeping. In a way, we have double re-iteration here: first, the Mother quotes herself saying that the child is sleeping – *ujüqktap žatir* –, then uses *ğoj* after the predicate of the main clause to re-confirm that the act of producing the quoted utterance did indeed take place earlier on.

In the example in (47) there is an effect of exclamation and surprise at the speaker's own realisation that someone was missing which is re-enforced by the addition of *ğoj*. The modal particle scopes over the proposition *bireu žoq* and marks it as 'given', thus re-confirming it. The situation is described twice: first, the speaker describes the state of affairs in her proposition *bireu žoq*; then, she gives the proposition an epistemic marking with the particle *ğoj* to show that the state of affairs described by the proposition is obvious or given in the situational context. This utterance is of particular interest since it is not aimed at another interlocutor, or does not provide a correction to a proposition produced by someone else, but rather to the expected state of affairs.

In the second utterance in (48) the additional effect of using *ğoj* is the expression of reproach; not only is *ğoj* used to point to the fact that the information provided by Speaker B was accessible to Speaker A, but also to show disappointment or disapproval that this information had not been used. This adversative use of *ğoj* with verum focus is fairly frequent in corrective utterances. The omission of *ğoj* would result in the same utterance semantically, but the pragmatic effect of givenness and reproach would not be conveyed.

In (49) we see *ğoj* being used to create the effect of a rhetorical question, which is uttered to show the speaker's annoyance. Interestingly, in this example the speaker does not refer to the shared knowledge per se, but rather to his own action (asking a question) which happened only a few moments prior; the addition of *ğoj*, which adds the effect of givenness, highlights the fact that the hearer was present when the original question was uttered but chose not to reply to it. The speaker could have simply restated his question, but by uttering (49) he shows his annoyance at how the exchange has unfolded so far.

In (50) we see a tag-question created by the use of *ğoj* in a similar way as was shown earlier in (25). The utterance in (50) is uttered by someone who had been told that Alice was on her way, however, having waited for quite some time, it became obvious that she was not coming at all. By producing (50) the speaker states the obvious – the fact that she was not coming –, and indicates the obviousness of this proposition by using *ğoj*. The tag question effect is created by rising intonation on *ğoj*.¹

1. I do not provide detailed pitch track schemata to support this point due to space limitations. For the purposes of this paper it will suffice to say that the rising intonation on *ğoj* in these sentences is clearly perceivable in speech without recourse to specialist equipment or software.

Although the responses to tag-questions like that in (25) and (50) can be the same as the responses to canonical yes/no questions formed with the help of the question particle *MA*, it has to be noted that the interrogative illocutionary force in questions like in (25) and (50) is contributed by the interrogative prosody (rising intonation contour), and not by the particle *ğoj*. As (51) shows, the same word sequence as in (25) can be used in an affirmative sentence; in this case it is pronounced with a falling intonation on the particle:

- (51) Speaker 1: Why did you say you can't leave the house today?
 Speaker 2: Sen bügin universitetke barasıñ *ğoj*, [and there is no one else to look after the children].
 Speaker 2': #Sen bügin universitet-ke bar-a-siñ ba?
 2SG today university-DAT go-FUT/PRS-2SG Q
 'Are you going to university today?'

Interestingly, the same is observed for the English tag-questions (see, e.g. Rando 1980; Huddleston & Pullum 2002; Reese & Asher 2006), which are the closest approximations for utterances like those in (25), (50) and (51). Abish (2014) refers to this use of *ğoj*, which she identifies as a modal particle, as 'non-modal', although no explanation is provided for this labelling.

The example from (24), repeated in (52) below for convenience shows the use of *ğoj* in the very first sentence of a folk-tale, that is, in a sentence which is not preceded by any context:

- (52) [The opening line of a folk-tale about camels.]
 Tüje qazirdiñ özinde ädemi *ğoj*.
 camel now itself beautiful *ğoj*
 'Camels nowadays are beautiful, aren't they. / As is well known, camels are beautiful at present time. [But a long time ago... (and the tale continues to say that camels used to be more beautiful and how they lost that beauty)].'

The use of *ğoj* in (52) also creates the effect of givenness, even if the proposition has not been previously shared by the author with his readers. The addition of *ğoj* instructs the reader to accept the proposition as 'given' even if she has never received this information before. Another similar usage of *ğoj* is shown in (53) below:

- (53) [Talking about upcoming celebrations of Naurız:]
 Khan Šatır-diñ žanında alañ **bar** *ğoj*, onda erteñ
 Khan Šatyr-GEN near square EXST *ğoj* there tomorrow
 koncert bol-a-dı.
 concert be-FUT-3SG
 'There is this square near Khan Šatyr [shopping centre], right / isn't there, there will be a concert there tomorrow.' / 'You know that square near the Khan Šatyr shopping centre, there will be a concert there tomorrow.'

In this example *ğoj* follows the existential *bar* – a construction widely used in spoken Kazakh² as a referent introducing construction, which establishes the topic of the following utterances. In the example above, the speaker does not use the combination of *bar* and *ğoj* to inform her hearer of the existence of the square near the shopping centre – as would have been the case if the same utterance was produced without *ğoj*.

The addition of *ğoj* indicates the speaker's assumption that the information contained in the proposition preceding *ğoj* is present in the hearer's mind, that it is 'given', even if it has never been previously explicitly shared between these two interlocutors. However, if the information is in fact not present in the hearer's mind, the addition of *ğoj* instructs her to treat it as 'given', as a fact of the world.

Frequent co-occurrence of *bar* and *ğoj* in these type of utterances appears to have led Abish (2014) to analysing *bar ğoj* as a complex particle, in which *ğoj* is accented. She also claims that this complex particle "can follow any constituent of a sentence" (2014: 83). I do not agree with this analysis on a number of points. Firstly, I see no reason to treat *bar ğoj* as one complex particle, as *ğoj* can be omitted from the sentence without causing ungrammaticality, while *bar* cannot be, as the modified examples of (53) given in (54) and (55) demonstrate:

- (54) Khan Šatır-dññ žanında alañ **bar**, onda erteñ
 Khan Shatyr-GEN near square EXST there tomorrow
 koncert bol-a-dī.
 concert be-FUT-3SG

'There is a square near Khan Shatyr, there will be a concert there tomorrow.

- (55) *Khan Šatır-dññ žanında alañ **ğoj**, onda erteñ koncert bol-a-dī.
 Khan Shatyr-GEN near square EXST there tomorrow concert be-FUT-3SG

As (55) shows, omitting *bar* is unacceptable and leads to ungrammaticality, while (54), where *bar* is not followed by *ğoj*, is grammatical. Comparing (53) and (54), in which *ğoj* is present and absent respectively, we can note the change in the interpretation of these sentences: the latter utterance does not assume any previous knowledge or carry an instruction on how the information contained in the proposition should be processed. In fact, when uttering (54) the speaker assumes no previous knowledge of the square, and simply informs the hearer that such a square exists.

2. Interestingly, this construction has been calqued into the variety of Russian spoken in Kazakhstan as *est' že*. Although this widely used Kazak Russian construction is not used in Standard Russian, once native speakers of Standard Russian come across it in conversations, they are able to process it in the intended meaning without difficulty. I would go as far as to propose that this construction might be common in the variety of Russian spoken near the border of Russia and Kazakhstan. Further research on the varieties of the Russian language in the post-Soviet states is sure to reveal many more fascinating observations.

To contextualise these examples even further, we can say that (53) would be inappropriate for a hearer who has just arrived in Astana, and cannot be expected to know even what Khan Shatyr is, let alone the square near it; while (54) would not be uttered in a conversation with someone who lives in Astana, as the knowledge of at least the reference point – Khan Shatyr – can be assumed. In fact, (54) would sound condescending and patronising if uttered to someone who lives in Astana – as if the speaker is trying to imply that the hearer does not know the capital, or perhaps is a newcomer.

Secondly, as mentioned in Section 3, it may be the case that the variety of Kazakh spoken in China differs from Standard Kazakh, however, in Standard Kazakh the particle *ğoj* is not stressed in this construction – the main stress is on the existential *bar*. In fact, from cursory observations on the prosody of *ğoj*, it is not stressed in any of its uses in Standard Kazakh.

Another argument against positing that *bar ğoj* is a complex particle lies in the simple fact that *bar* can easily be replaced by its negative counterpart *žoq*, which can still be successfully followed by *ğoj*, as shown in the example in (56):

- (56) Khan Šatır-dīñ žanında alañ žoq ğoj, sol sebipten erteñ
 Khan Shatyr-GEN near square NEG.EXST ğoj that because tomorrow
 koncert Bäjterek-tiñ žanında bol-a-dī.
 concert Baiterek-GEN near be-FUT-3
 ‘There is no square near Khan Shatyr, right/is there, this is why tomorrow the concert will be near the Baiterek.

If Abish (2014) were to insist on the complex particle analysis, it would need to be modified to reflect the possibility of *ğoj* combining with both the affirmative and negative existential forms.

And lastly, the claim that *bar ğoj* can follow any constituent is also not applicable to Standard Kazakh. As was demonstrated above, *ğoj* can be removed from utterances where it follows *bar* without affecting their grammaticality; the combination of *bar* and *ğoj* can only successfully follow those constituents, that can be successfully followed by *bar* in the first place, and as shown in the examples in (57) and (58):

- (57) Meniñ kölig-im bar / žoq
 1SG.GEN car-POSS EXST / NEG.EXST
 Lit.: ‘My car exists / does not exist.’
 ‘I have/do not have a car.’
- (58) London-da köp universitet bar.
 London-LOC many university EXST
 ‘There are many universities in London.’

Ĝoj can follow sentences like those in (57) and (58) and add the pragmatic effects discussed above, however, unlike *bar* and *žoq*, it plays no role in the syntax of these utterances. Since *bar* and *žoq* must be preceded by certain types of constituents, it cannot be posited that the ‘complex particle’ *bar ĝoj* can follow any constituent. It would also be strange to claim that only the first element of the proposed complex particle participates in the grammar of the sentence in which it appears.

To sum up, then, we have seen so far that the particle *ĝoj* brings the effect of givenness or pragmatic presupposition to the clause in which it appears. By using *ĝoj* the speaker instructs the hearer to either retrieve the information carried by the proposition, or to treat it as given in any case. In other words, the proposition *p* followed by *ĝoj* is assumed to belong to the CG, whether it had been explicitly added there during the preceding exchange or not. The givenness effect introduced by *ĝoj* and its multiple applications and realisations stem from the existential semantics of this particle, which is considered in more detail in Section 7. Let us now move to the pragmatics of the post-nominal, copular *ĝoj*.

6.2 Pragmatic contribution of the post-nominal *ĝoj*

As mentioned earlier, the nominal constituent immediately followed by the predicative particle *ĝoj* must be contrastively focused. Krifka (2007) also notes that such so-called cleft focus constructions “often signal an exhaustive interpretation that in-situ focus lacks” (2007: 7). As Hedberg (2013) further observes for clefts:

...a cleft sentence packages a proposition in such a way that the two principal semantic parts of a cleft – an exhaustive focus and a pragmatic presupposition – are mapped transparently onto two syntactic constituents – a clefted constituent and a cleft clause – and are equated with each other via a copula. (2013: 6)

As can be seen from Hedberg’s description of cleft sentences, their information-structural properties are set by default, which restricts the contexts in which these sentences can be used. As far as the Kazakh *ĝoj*-cleft constructions are concerned, their usage is restricted to the contexts in which a nominal element is correctively/contrastively focused, and the rest of the utterance is presupposed. Let us consider the example from (27) again, repeated in (59) below for convenience:

- (59) Speaker A: Keše Bolat düken-ge bar-dï.
 yesterday Bolat shop-DAT go-PST(3)
 ‘Bolat went to the shop yesterday.’
 Speaker B: Arman ĝoj bar-ĝan!
 Arman ĝoj go-PTCP
 ‘(Of course) it was Arman who went!’

By choosing to use the *ğoj*-cleft construction, Speaker B indicates that: (a) some of the information provided by Speaker A is being corrected, and (b) the correct information provided by Speaker B has previously been shared with or available to Speaker A. This givenness effect rises from the use of *ğoj* in this sentence, as the example of the alternative corrective/contrastive response without *ğoj* in (60) demonstrates:

- (60) Speaker B': Žoq, Bolat emes, Arman bar-di.
 No Bolat NEG Arman go-PST(3)
 'No, Arman went, not Bolat.'

In (60) *Arman* is contrastively/correctively focused, but without the indication that this information has been previously made available, or should somehow have been known to Speaker A.

The same observations apply to the other *ğoj*-cleft sentences, like those presented in (31), (35) and (36). In all those sentences, *ğoj* follows a nominal element and not only creates a cleft construction with an exhaustive, corrective/contrastive, non-verbal focus, but also adds the effect of givenness, the sense that the correct information has been previously shared with or has somehow been available to the hearer. This sometimes results in the additional connotations of reproach, impatience, or reprimand to the interlocutor who had to be corrected due to not using the correct information despite it being available to him (according to the person producing the *ğoj*-cleft utterance).

It has become clear that despite the differences in the syntactic properties of the post-predicative and post-nominal *ğoj*, the pragmatic effects which arise from their use are the same. The speaker using either particle in her utterance indicates to her hearer that (some of) the information she provides has been previously shared, or should be treated as such. The effects under discussion can be said to be pragmatic since we discussed the appropriateness and felicity of utterances with *ğoj* in various contexts, as well as their infelicity in some situations. In the next section, I move to examining the common semantics for both types of *ğoj*.

7. Semantics of *ğoj*

In this section I consider the semantics of both post-nominal and post-verbal *ğoj*. As was shown in the preceding section, the inclusion of *ğoj* into a sentence in either position produces the pragmatic effect of givenness. That is, (at least some of) the information carried by the proposition with *ğoj* is assumed by the speaker to be already present in the CG or the interlocutor's mind. We have also seen that a post-predicative *ğoj* can be used to re-confirm givenness of the state of affairs to

the speaker himself, so that a double verbalisation of sorts takes place: by adding *ğoj* to a self-directed/rhetorical utterance the speaker confirms that the proposition contained in that utterance is indeed given. In other words, the speaker confirms that the situation described in his utterance exists in the real world.

I begin this section by considering the Russian particle *že* which functions very similarly to *ğoj* – Section 7.1. Section 7.2 presents Matić and Nikolaeva’s (2014) analysis of the Tundra Yukaghir particle *mə(r)=* as an existential operator, which is then applied to *ğoj* in 7.3.

7.1 Russian *že*

In this section I focus on Feldman’s (2001) account of the multifunctional Russian particle *že* and the unifying analysis proposed for it. This particle is directly comparable to *ğoj* in many of its uses, and, as mentioned in Section 3 of this paper, the *The Big Kazakh-Russian Dictionary* (1998) states that *že* is one of the particles (the other being *ved’*) that can be used to translate *ğoj* into Russian. To confirm this, let us consider two of the Kazakh examples from the previous sections and their Russian equivalents with *že*:

- (61) a. Kazakh:
 Sen bügin universitet-ke bar-a-siñ *ğoj*?
 2SG today university-DAT go-FUT/PRS-2SG *ğoj*
- b. Russian:
 Ty *že* idjosh segondnja v universitet?
 2SG *že* going today to university
 ‘You are going to university today, aren’t you?’
 ‘You are going to university today, right?’
- (62) a. Kazakh:
 Kör-di-n be? Ujıqta-p žatir dep ayt-ti-m *ğoj*.
 see-PST-2SG Q sleep-CVB AUX(3) COMP say-PST-1SG *ğoj*
- b. Russian:
 Videl? Govorila *že* čto on spit.
 see said.PST.F *že* that he sleeping
 ‘Did you see? I did tell you he was sleeping. I told you he was sleeping, didn’t I?’

In the examples above, the Kazakh (a) sentences with *ğoj* and the Russian (b) sentences with *že* are used in the same contexts and receive the same interpretation.

As Feldman observes, *že* has been commonly considered to occur after the first prosodic word, and treated as a second position clitic – a commonly attested occurrence in almost all Slavic languages, as well as in some other languages; this

is seen in the examples in (61) and (62) above. While it is true for the majority of utterances with *že*, it is not true for all of them, as Feldman's examples given below show:

- (63) My dolžny tam byt' segodnja že večerom.
 we must there be today že evening
 'We have to be there tonight!'
- (64) U menja est' takaja že kniga.
 to me EXST such že book³
 'I have exactly the same book.' (Feldman 2001: 188)

Besides, as Feldman points out, treating *že* as a second position clitic implies that it can appear in any sentence as long as it occupies the second position, which is not supported by the data, as the example below confirms:

- (65) #Ty že podpisывaeš'sja na 'Pravdu' ili 'Jerusalem Post'?
 you že subscribe to Pravda or Jerusalem Post
 'Do you subscribe to 'Pravda' or to 'the Jerusalem Post?' (Feldman 2001: 188)

It is clear, then, that *že* is not a second position clitic, and an alternative analysis is needed.

In the traditional Russian grammars (e.g. Vasilyeva 1972; Rozental & Telenkova 1985), *že* is considered to be a polysemous particle that is used in to indicate emphasis, contrastivity, some sort of justification, and even similarity. Recall, that a very similar situation is described for *ğoj* in Section 3 of this paper.

In the examples in (63) and (64) *že* is used to indicate emphasis and similarity respectively, while the examples in (66) and (67) below demonstrate the so-called 'contrastive' and 'justificational' uses of *že*. Feldman notes that where *že* is used to indicate 'justification' it is comparable with the English *after all*, or Hebrew *harey*; it is also equivalent to the Kazakh *ğoj* here:

- (66) On ostajotsja, ona že uežzaet.
 he stays she že leaves
 'He is staying, but she is leaving.'
- (67) Čto ty stoiš'? Sadiš' v mašinu. Ona že naša.
 what you stand sit in car it že ours
 'What are you waiting for? Get in the car. It's ours, isn't it! / It's ours after all!' (Feldman 2001: 189)

3. Relying on my knowledge of the Russian language as a native speaker I amended Feldman's inaccurate gloss for this example 'I have such *že* book'. Some of the transliteration has also been altered.

Feldman opposes to this polysemous account of *že*, since in many cases the particle can be removed without the loss of the meaning it supposedly contributes; this indeed is true for all the examples containing *že* provided thus far. The removal of *že* from the sentence in (66), for instance, does not result in the loss of contrastivity between the two parts of that sentence, since the contrast is present in their semantics. Interestingly, McCoy (2003) takes the ‘contrastivity’ approach further, and analyses *že* as a ‘kontrastive marker’ or a ‘k-marker’, in Vallduví and Vilkuňa’s (1998) understanding of ‘kontrast’ as the ability of certain linguistic expressions to generate a set of alternatives. While this analysis might work for some of the uses of *že*, it fails to capture all of its uses.

Feldman rejects the ‘second position clitic’ and the contrastive analyses of *že*, and proposes an alternative, Relevance-theoretic account of it. Relevance Theory (Sperber & Wilson 1986) is grounded on the assumption that a hearer’s interpretation of an utterance is directed by relevance considerations, that is to say, hearers inevitably interpret utterances as maximally relevant. Relevance here is considered to be a trade-off between contextual effects – informativity –, and processing costs.

An important distinction between conceptual and procedural elements was introduced into the Relevance Theory framework by Blakemore (2002): the distinction between the conceptual and procedural meanings. Discourse markers, some text-connective markers, and modal particles are some of the examples of linguistic items with procedural meaning whose function is to “guide the inferential comprehension process by imposing procedural constraints on the construction of intended contexts and cognitive effects” (Wilson 2011: 6).

Feldman proposes to treat *že* as a procedural element, namely, as a discourse marker that signals to the hearer that the speaker considers certain information in the utterance to be hearer-old; it also instructs the hearer to perceive the information from the utterance as activated or re-activated information. Feldman follows Prince’s (1981) distinction between ‘discourse-old’ or ‘discourse-new, and ‘hearer-old’ or ‘hearer-new’ types of information, where discourse-old information is that evoked or activated in the current discourse, and hearer-old information is information that the speaker trusts to be present in hearer’s knowledge. It follows from these descriptions that a ‘discourse-new’ piece of information is not necessarily ‘hearer-new’, however, ‘discourse-old’ information is necessarily ‘hearer-old’. Prince’s ‘hearer-old’ information is comparable with Lambrecht’s presupposed information.

Feldman juxtaposes the example from (67) with an identical example bar the presence of *že*, as shown in (68), to demonstrate the differences in their contextual effects:

- (68) Čto ty stoiš? Sadiš' v mašinu. Ona naša.
 What you stand sit in car it ours
 'What are you waiting for? Get into the car. It's ours.' (Feldman 2001: 191)

In (68), the information that the car belongs to the speaker is 'hearer-new' – the speaker is simply informing the hearer of this. It could be uttered in a situation where having bought a new car without letting her husband know, the speaker points to it and informs her husband of the purchase by uttering (68). Adding *že* to the final part of that utterance, like in (67), would be incompatible with this context, since the information about the car ownership is completely 'hearer-new' here. In (67), however, the fact that the car belongs to the speaker and hearer is 'hearer-old' or presupposed, that is, the speaker assumes this information to be in the hearer's store of knowledge. This utterance would be felicitous in the situation where two people have eventually found their car in the parking lot, but one of them does not quite recognise it as theirs. The speaker would be able to utter (67) in this case, since he assumes that the information about the car the couple own is known to the hearer. Feldman notes that *že* might be used in utterances aimed at retrieving information from long-term memory, as well as from linguistic or situational contexts. Feldman demonstrates the application of her analysis in various contexts, where *že* might be used. She adds, that as well as signalling hearer-old information, in some contexts, *že* restricts a given set to a given proper set. Namely, this is claimed to occur in questions, and conditionals, as shown in (69) and (70):

- (69) Čej že den' roždenija segodnja?
 whose že day of.birth today
 'So, whose birthday is it today?' (Feldman 2001: 196)
- (70) Esli že ja vyp'ju sečas kofe, ja ne budu spat' noč'ju.
 if že 1SG drink now coffee 1SG NEG will sleep at.night
 'If I drink coffee now, I will not sleep at night.' (Feldman 2001: 197)

For (69), Feldman posits that by adding *že* the speaker assumes that there is a restricted set of people whose birthday might be being celebrated that day, and that this proper given set is available to the hearer. In the speaker uses *že* to instruct the hearer to infer the existence of a set of conditions, and that the condition mentioned in the utterance is one of the applicable alternatives.

Feldman does not explicitly identify the mechanism whereby the extension of the function of *že* from simply referring to hearer-old information to identifying a proper set happens. She simply states that this is the result of the interaction of the function of *že* with the "regular effect of the wh-question, where the speaker assumes some set of information options to be given" (2001: 196), for (69) and similar

examples; or with the “general function of conditional sentences” (2001: 197), for examples like that in.

The proposed analysis correctly predicts the infelicity of the examples like that in (65), where *že* cannot appear in a true alternative question, where the questioner genuinely does not know which of the alternatives will be chosen by the respondent. According to Feldman, this freedom of choice between the proposed alternatives “blocks the function of *že* as a marker of known/inferable information which should be processed vis-à-vis activated or reactivated information” (2001: 199).

To sum up, Feldman proposes to analyse *že* as a discourse marker functioning as a procedural element (in Relevance Theory terms), which is used to instruct the hearer to process the information from the utterance or the relevant sub-segment as ‘hearer-old’. The author does not clarify how the difference in the scope is achieved. *Že* is also shown to be used in some non-veridical contexts (e.g. questions and conditionals), where it is considered to perform an additional function of restricting a given set of alternatives to a proper set.

While this approach appears to successfully account for many uses of the Russian *že* in affirmative sentences, it does not convincingly deal with its use in interrogatives and conditionals. Feldman (2001) does not provide an explicit explanation for the additional function of a ‘set restrictor’ attributed to *že* in these contexts, and it is not clear how this function arises from the interaction of a discourse marker and a *wh*-word, for example.

7.2 Tundra Yukaghir particle $m\theta(r)=$

In this section I consider Matić and Nikolaeva’s (2014) analysis of the Tundra Yukaghir particle $m\theta(r)=$. Although this particle does not bear as clear a resemblance to *ǰoj* as some of the previously discussed items from Russian and Sanzhi Dargwa, the semantic analysis proposed for it by Matić and Nikolaeva can be successfully applied to *ǰoj*, which is demonstrated in Section 7.3.

In their paper on the realis mood, focus and existential semantics in Tundra Yukaghir (TY), Matić and Nikolaeva examine the realis/irrealis dichotomy in Tundra Yukaghir (isolate, north-eastern Siberia). They argue that “the TY realis is a hybrid category, composed of elements from different domains (information structure, lexical semantics, and quantification), but unified by a higher-level notion of existential closure of events in Davidson’s (1967) sense” (2014: 204). It is demonstrated that realis is not a category of TY grammar, however, it is a relevant notion in this language. According to the authors, a realis clause in TY has the following minimal structure:

- (71) Realis clause: X + V
 where X is: i. a non-verbal focus element, or
 ii. a verb modifier, or
 iii. the verbal particle $m\partial(r)=$ (Matić & Nikolaeva 2014: 206)

At first glance the items in (i)–(iii) in (71) above do not share any features, that is, they do not form a natural class, which could explain their participation in the process of forming a realis clause. I omit the detailed description of the first two classes and concentrate on the particle $m\partial(r)=$, as it is most relevant to the present work. Suffice it to say that the first and second class of items are not compatible with the verbal particle $m\partial(r)=$ as the occurrence of $m\partial(r)=$ in a sentence with a non-verbal focus or a verb modifier results in ungrammaticality; in other words the first two elements and the last element of class X are in complementary distribution.

An example containing $m\partial(r)=$ is presented in (72) below. The particle is glossed as EXST for existential quantifier:

- (72) lawjə moǵ-l-ya mǵ=pugeč
 water hold-1/2-DS EXST=be.warm.N.INTR.3SG
 ‘When I touch the water, it’s warm.’ (Matić & Nikolaeva 2014: 207)

Matić and Nikolaeva note that there is not consensus in the literature on the function of $m\partial(r)=$, and it has been analysed as a positive polarity indicator (Krejnovič 1958), a declarative marker (Fortescue 1996; Kurilov 2006), an affirmative prefix which signals narrow focus on the verb (Maslova 2003), and an indicator that the verb is within the focus domain (Matić & Nikolaeva 2008). Matić and Nikolaeva state that unlike all the previously proposed analyses analysing $m\partial(r)=$ as an existential quantifier exhaustively describes its meaning.

In order to identify the realis clauses, Matić and Nikolaeva make use of the terms Event Time (ET) and Topic Time (TT), the former being the time in which the event specified by the proposition takes place, and the latter – the interval of time “for which the particular utterance makes an assertion” (Matić and Nikolaeva 2014: 222, citing Klein 1994: 37). According to the authors, then, only the propositions that encode events for which ET is contained in TT ($ET \leq TT$) can be considered realis in TY. The role of the particle $m\partial(r)=$, according to this approach, is in existential quantification, that is, “it explicitly marks that the denoted event exists in the actual / preferred world and that the temporal location of the entire event is within the TT” (Matić and Nikolaeva 2014: 223).

Matić and Nikolaeva also explore in detail the connection between the first two elements in class X (as given in (71)), and demonstrate that a sentence containing focus or a verb modifier receives the realis interpretation by default and there is no need for an overt existential modifier $m\partial(r)=$ in these cases. This also leads to

the understanding of the mutual exclusion of the first two categories of class X and $m\bar{\alpha}(r)=$. As all these elements in essence perform the same function – existential bounding of the event variable – once one of these elements is present in a proposition there is no need for another one to be used. Matić and Nikolaeva conclude that “the particle $m\bar{\alpha}(r)=$ is a last resort solution to overtly close the event variable” and that “[I]t is employed in those realis sentences where the alternative means for existentially closing the variable fail” (2014: 226).

Although we might not be dealing with the realis/irrealis distinction as far as the use of *ğoj* in Kazakh is concerned, applying Matić and Nikolaeva’s analysis of $m\bar{\alpha}(r)=$ as an existential operator to *ğoj* opens up a promising avenue of investigation. This is explored further in the following section.

7.3 *Ğoj* as an existential operator

In this section I apply Matić and Nikolaeva’s analysis of $m\bar{\alpha}(r)=$ to *ğoj*, and view both the particle and the copula *ğoj* as carriers of existential semantics. It is demonstrated that this approach provides for a unified analysis of *ğoj* in all its uses, as well as for the pragmatic effects resulting from the use of *ğoj* in different contexts.

Let us first consider the existential operator semantics for the post-predicative use of *ğoj* as a particle. As was shown in Section 5.1, the particle *ğoj* can optionally appear after different types of predicates, and produce a variety of pragmatic effects. The most common pragmatic effect is the effect of ‘givenness’ or ‘shared information’, as shown, for instance, in the example in (24), repeated below in (73):

- (73) [The opening line of a folk-tale about camels.]
 Tüje qazirdiñ özinde ädemi ğoj.
 camel now itself beautiful ğoj
 ‘Camels nowadays are beautiful, aren’t they. / As is well known, camels are beautiful at present time. [But a long time ago... (and the tale continues to say that camels used to be more beautiful and how they lost that beauty)]’. (ACKL)

The particle *ğoj* here follows a predicate expressed by an adjective, and can be removed from the sentence in which it appears without affecting its grammaticality. The addition of *ğoj* instructs the reader to either: (a) re-activate the information expressed in the proposition preceding it; or (b) accept the information expressed in the proposition preceding it as ‘given’. As mentioned in the previous sections, the information does not have to have been physically shared by the interlocutors, it may be a piece of general knowledge accessible, or at least considered to be accessible, to all interlocutors belonging to a certain social or cultural group. The proposed analysis of *ğoj* as an existential operator allows for a simple explanation

of this pragmatic effect. By adding *ğoj* after a proposition *p*, the speaker indicates that *p* exists in the CG. The notion of CG is not restricted to shared information between a particular speaker and a particular hearer; it covers a wider CG, which the speaker or writer considers to be accessible for her hearers or readers. The sentence in (73) can roughly be paraphrased as ‘it exists that camels nowadays are beautiful’ or ‘camels nowadays are beautiful exists’ – *ğoj* scopes over the complete proposition ‘camels nowadays are beautiful’, and confirms its existence. Since the proposition over which it scopes is already a fully-formed grammatical independent clause, *ğoj* does not participate in its syntactic structure and can be easily removed or omitted.

Let us consider how the proposed analysis of *ğoj* works for a sentence like that in (21), repeated below in (74):

- (74) [After finding out that one of the female employees who is not married has a son, one manager says to another:]
 Āke-si bol-u kerek **qoj**?!
 father-POSS.3 be-INF must *ğoj*
 ‘There’s got to be a father, hasn’t there/right?’

In this example *ğoj* appears after a modal word *kerek* ‘need/must/necessity’ in its epistemic function, and creates the effect of intensification of that epistemic modality – what Straughn (2011) refers to as the ‘expressive’ or ‘emotive’ effect. Additionally, as indicated by the question mark, this utterance is pronounced with interrogative intonation, which, in combination with *ğoj* creates the effect of a rhetorical tag question. Notably, it is *ğoj* that is pronounced with a rising intonation, indicating interrogation – the existence of the preceding proposition in the CG is under question. This leads to the interpretation along the lines of: ‘does it exist that there must be a father?’, which translates into the English approximation given in (74).

The same effect is observed in (25), repeated below in (75):

- (75) Sen bügin universitet-ke bar-a-siñ **ğoj**?
 2SG today university-DAT GO-FUT/PRS-2SG *ğoj*
 ‘You are going to university today, aren’t you?’
 ‘You are going to university today, right?’

The proposition *you are going to university* is followed by an interrogatively pronounced *ğoj*, which questions the existence of this proposition in the CG. This questioning of the existence of the proposition in the CG, as opposed to questioning of the content of the proposition, creates the pragmatic effect of ‘previously shared information’ or ‘given information’. How the predicate is expressed in the proposition the existence of which is questioned by the interrogatively pronounced *ğoj* does

not appear to be of importance here, as long as the proposition and the sentence are grammatically complete and independent. Interestingly, a parallel item – *innit* – can be found in the colloquial London English. It is the heavily truncated version of ‘is it not’, used to form tag questions as shown in (76) and (77) below:

(76) This dress looks good, innit?

(77) She will come to the party tonight, innit?

In Standard English, the tag question is formed by using an auxiliary verb (*be*, *do*, or *have*) in the same tense as the predicate of the clause followed by the tag, but in contrasting polarity; if the verb of the main clause displays agreement with the third person singular subject, so does the tag question. We see all these rules violated by the use of the tag *innit* in (76) and (77): in the former, the negated form auxiliary *do* in the third person singular would be used in Standard English, and in the latter, the negated form of *will* would appear. Additionally, the form of the pronoun in the tag question in Standard English depends on its antecedent in the main clause. This, however, is not the case when *innit* is used, as the example in (77) demonstrates – the pronoun *she* would have been used in the Standard English version of the tag question there.

It appears that *innit* is a shortcut of sorts which signals a tag-type question whatever the form of the predicate in the main clause. This is very similar to what we have observed for *ǰoj*, which doesn’t follow any agreement patterns. Interestingly, the proposed existential semantics for *ǰoj* matches the existential semantic of *innit*, which originated from the existential verb *to be*. Instead of forming a canonical tag question, *innit* questions whether the proposition expressed by the main clause applies or ‘exists’. The sentences from (76) and (77) can be roughly paraphrased as ‘is it the case that this dress looks good’ and ‘is it the case that she will come to the party tonight’ respectively. This cursory observation requires further research, which is out of the scope of this work. Returning to the use of the particle *ǰoj*, let us examine one more example where *ǰoj* follows a correctively focused predicate or verum focus, as shown in (48), repeated in (78) below:

(78) Speaker A: Qajrat keše düken-ge bar-ǰan žoq.
Kairat yesterday shop-DAT go-PTCP NEG
‘Kairat did not go to the shop yesterday.’

Speaker B: Ol bar-dī ǰoj!
3SG go-PST(3) ǰoj
‘Of course he went! / He did too!’

As in all the examples considered in this section so far, *ǰoj* follows the predicate of a complete main clause. In this case, the predicate expresses verum focus, that is to

say, its polarity is in opposition with the polarity of the predicate in the preceding sentence. Verum focus is expressed by the main stress falling on the verb itself, and the addition of *ğoj* creates the effects of intensification, correction, and givenness. These effects can be easily explained through the existential semantics of *ğoj*: once again it scopes over the proposition it follows, and confirms that this proposition exists in the CG. In other words, the proposition ‘he DID go’ or ‘he WENT’ followed by *ğoj* results in the reading: ‘it is the case that he DID go’ or ‘that he WENT exists’, which yields the intensification of verum focus.

The proposed analysis is also applicable to the copula *ğoj*, which is not unexpected since copulas often have existential semantics. As was shown in 5.1, copula *ğoj* participates in the cleft construction where it follows a correctively/contrastively focused argument or adjunct, and is followed by a topical present or past participial verb form. The example from (59) illustrating this construction is repeated in (79) below:

- (79) Speaker A: Keše Bolat düken-ge bar-dï.
 yesterday Bolat shop-DAT go-PST(3)
 ‘Bolat went to the shop yesterday.’
 Speaker B: Arman ğoj bar-ğan!
 Arman ğoj go-PTCP
 ‘(Of course) it was Arman who went!’

It seems that the existential nature of *ğoj* in these examples is self-evident and uncontroversial. The interaction of the contrastively/correctively focused element and the existential semantics of *ğoj* result in the perceived intensification of the correction/contrast, which, in turn, is interpreted as emotional or expressive speech. The existential semantics of *ğoj* also yield the pragmatic effect of givenness or shared information, as previously discussed in this paper for the particle *ğoj*.

As has been noted throughout this paper, the pragmatic effects arising from the use of *ğoj* are context-dependent, and vary subtly from one context to the next – this confirms, that ‘givenness’ or ‘shared information’ cannot be the underlying meaning of *ğoj*, since they themselves are highly context-dependent. In proposing an unchanging existential semantic meaning for *ğoj* whose interaction with different contexts produces different pragmatic effects, we overcome the issue of equating the cause and the effect, as appears to have been the case in the analyses of *ğoj* and similar items.

One of the main questions that naturally arises is why *ğoj*, and not another existential element available in Kazakh (e.g. *bar* ‘there is’ or ‘there exists’ and *bol-* ‘be’) is used as a copula in this cleft construction. This question requires an in-depth diachronic and synchronic investigation, which is outside of the scope of this work.

However, as a preliminary hypothesis, I can propose that the answer to this question lies in the typology of copular clauses (see e.g. Higgins (1979), Declerck (1988), Mikkelsen (2005, 2011)).

Following Higgins (1979), four types of copular sentences or constructions have traditionally been identified in the literature: predicational, specificational, identificational, and equative. Den Dikken and O'Neill (2017) observe that the distribution of copular elements in languages with multiple-copula systems is often determined by types of copular construction. This is observed in many languages with multiple copulas, as for example, Geist (2007) reports for Russian, Pustet (2003) for Lakota, Gibson (2012) for Rangi, Michaelis et al. (2013) for Saramaccan, or Hedberg and Schneider-Zioga (2015) report for Kinande. It is therefore not unusual that a different copular element is used in the Kazakh cleft construction, which is distinct from other copular constructions in this language.

8. Conclusions

This paper has achieved two goals: firstly, it provided a detailed description of *ğoj*; and, secondly, it presented an innovative approach to analysing this item's semantic nature which can also be extended to some of the similar-functioning items in related and unrelated languages.

In the sections dedicated to the first detailed description of *ğoj*, its syntactic distribution, pragmatic contribution and semantics have been examined. Contrary to previous representations of *ğoj* in the literature, it has been demonstrated that there are two syntactically distinct types of this item: the post-nominal copula-type *ğoj* and the post-predicative particle *ğoj*. It has also been shown that both types of *ğoj* contribute similar pragmatic effects of contrastivity or givenness to the strings in which they appear.

It has been argued that a pragmatic or an information-structural label cannot be successfully used to explicate all the diverse pragmatic effects that *ğoj* can contribute to a sentence. This paper proposes that both types of *ğoj* have the existential core meaning the interaction of which with various contexts results in the pragmatic effects associated with *ğoj*. Not only does proposed analysis of *ğoj* satisfactorily answer the question of the semantic nature of this item, but also paves the way for its formal semantic and syntactic representations.

Abbreviations

1	first person	IMP	imperative
2	second person	INF	infinitive
3	third person	INTR	intransitive
ACC	accusative	LOC	locative
AUX	auxiliary	N	neuter
COP	copula	NEG	negative
CVB	converb	PART	particle
DAT	dative	PFV	perfective
DS	different subject	PL	plural
EVID	evidential	POL	polite
EXCL	exclamatory	POSS	possessive
EXST	existential	PRS	present
F	feminine	PST	past
FM	focus marker	PTCP	participle
FRM	formal	Q	question
FUT	future	SG	singular
GEN	genitive		

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From focus marking to illocutionary modification

Functional developments of Italian *solo* ‘only’

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This paper investigates the polyfunctionality of the Italian adverb *solo* ‘only’. Beside its prototypical use as an exclusive focus particle, the adverb *solo* has developed some secondary uses which have not yet been investigated: connective uses (uses as a conjunctive adverb and as a discourse marker) and illocutive uses (use as an illocutionary operator tied to specific speech-act types). By analyzing the different contexts of occurrence and possible paths of semantic change, the meaning variation of *solo* is described and a synchronic categorization is laid out. Particular attention has been devoted to its illocutive uses, the meaning of which displays a complex interrelationship between features pertaining to the information structure level (focus marking, common ground management) and features connected to the speech-act domain (marking of the illocutionary force and speech-act specification in an interpersonal perspective).

1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to describe the various uses of the Italian adverb *solo* ‘only’. Beside its prototypical use as an exclusive focus particle, the adverb has developed some secondary uses not yet discussed in the literature: connective uses (uses as a conjunctive adverb and as a discourse marker) and illocutive uses (use as an illocutionary operator tied to specific speech-acts types).¹ Exploring the polyfunctionality of *solo* – that is, the different functions and meanings exhibited by this adverb in different contexts – this paper will highlight the role played by information structure categories in affecting paths of semantic change and in shaping the new functions.

1. With an approach partly similar to that of this paper, Modicom & Duplâtre (2018) investigate the meaning variation of *nur* ‘only’ in German. I wish to take this opportunity to thank them for organizing the workshop on *Discourse particles and information structure* at SLE 2018 in Tallinn.

Since König's (1991) seminal work, focus particles represent a thriving area of study as they are linked to some interesting problems that are debated at different levels of linguistic analysis. At the semantic level, the meaning of focus particles displays a complex interrelationship between semantic and pragmatic values: on the one hand, they have impact on the propositional level, on the other hand, they are responsible for the activation of several discourse inferences. We will see that their semantic contribution crucially depends on their syntactic scope. At the level of information structure, the issue of the exact relationship between the category of focus and the contribution of these adverbs to its identification is a delicate one: these items cannot properly induce focus by themselves, but their semantic contribution should be understood as sensitivity to the focus structure of a sentence (König 1993: 978; De Cesare 2010). Regarding semantic change, focus particles show synchronic and diachronic overlap with other linguistic categories such as conjunctions, conjunctive adverbs, discourse markers, and modal particles (König 1991: 16; 165). A number of contributions on single items (Brinton 1998; Schwenter & Waltereit 2010; Ricca 2017, to cite just a few examples) study how focus particles progressively acquire new functions at the discourse level: in this respect, the uses of *solo* discussed in this paper are also considered functional developments of its use as a focus particle.

Before going any further, a clarification is needed: although this paper aims to contribute to an overview of the different uses of *solo*, its main goal is to provide an in-depth description of the illocutive uses of *solo*, given that this volume focuses on discourse particles and information structure. The paper will illustrate how illocutive *solo* functions as a marker of common ground management, a category directly linked to information structure (see Section 2). In contrast, connective *solo* functions as a marker of discourse structure. A contribution of information structure categories cannot be completely excluded in these cases but the primary function of this use of *solo* is to connect utterances (or discourse chunks) to ensure discourse coherence and the adverb does not directly operate on the packaging of the information conveyed in the utterance. The choice of including the description of *solo* as connective is justified by the lack of attention it has received so far and – for the sake of completeness – by the intention to give a broader picture of the polyfunctionality of *solo*. This appears particularly interesting in the light of the debate surrounding the relationship between different kinds of discourse-pragmatic functions which are often expressed by the same linguistic item (see for instance Degand, Cornillie & Pietrandrea 2013 on the relationship between discourse markers and modal particles; see also Detges & Gévaudan 2017).

This article is organized as follows: in Section 2 – as a background – it sets out the categories pertaining to information structure that are involved in the description of the different uses of *solo*. In Section 3, the article presents a brief description

of the main features of the prototypical use of *solo* as a focus particle. Sections 4 and 5 discuss some details of the functional developments of *solo*, which are grouped in two classes: connective uses and illocutive uses.² In Section 6 the conclusions are presented.

2. Basic notions of information structure

Speakers generate sentences appropriate for their communicative needs: in different communicative circumstances and according to the way speakers dynamize information, the same propositional content is expressed by different prosodic and morphosyntactic structures. Utterances that are equivalent in terms of their propositional content but not in terms of how information is integrated into the ongoing discourse nor how information is packaged according to the communicative situation display a different *information structure*. Following Chafe (1976, 1987) and Lambrecht (1994), information structure will be defined here as a discursive dimension expressing the degree of activation that the propositional content of an utterance acquires in the informational flow that builds up discourse. A brief but useful introduction to this subject is offered by Krifka (2008). Taking up Chafe's (1976) suggestion, Krifka (2008: 243) defines information structure as a "phenomenon of information packaging that responds to the immediate communicative needs of interlocutors". Information structure (henceforth IS) motivates the different ways in which linguistic information can be presented by interlocutors according to different communicative situations. Two major IS categories have been recognized in literature: (i) those involving the mental representations of discourse referents – cognitive categories such as activation and identifiability; and (ii) those indicating pragmatic relations between propositions and their elements – pragmatic categories such as topic and focus (Lambrecht 1994: 36).

More broadly, IS is linked to the notion of *common ground*, defined by Krifka (2008: 245) as "information that is mutually known to be shared and continuously modified in communication". The concept of common ground (henceforth CG) refers to a universe of discourse where the speaker and the addressee share the knowledge of some propositions and formulate assumptions about each other's states of mind. Through this model it is possible to distinguish presuppositions as requirements for the input CG and assertions as the proposed change in the output CG. This distinction is also presented by Lambrecht (1994: 36) as relevant for

2. These uses present an uneven distribution in contemporary Italian due to diaphasic and diatopic variations. In particular, the illocutive uses seem to occur only in some regional varieties of Italian (see Section 5), but more research is needed on these sociolinguistic issues.

information structure, since information must be moulded depending on whether it is presented by the speaker as already available to the addressee's knowledge (presupposition) or as newly introduced by their utterance (assertion). Finally, Krifka (2008: 246) separates CG content – that is, the truth-conditional information in the CG – from the CG management – that is, information about the manifest communicative interests and goals of the participants. As a consequence, it is possible to associate those aspects of IS that have truth-conditional impact with CG content, and those which relate to the pragmatic use of expressions with CG management. The identification of the dimension of CG management – understood as the conversational push given by one of the interlocutors so that CG content develops in an intended or desired direction – is fundamental for the purposes of this article: what we observe in the semantic change of *solo* from focus particle to illocutionary operator is a progressive development of CG management functions.

Among the IS notions mentioned so far, the one that is directly involved in the description of focus particles is focus. There are two major ways of defining focus. Lambrecht (1994: 213) considers focus “the semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition”. If, in an utterance, a presuppositional structure is identified that divides the information in presupposed information (the set of propositions that the speaker thinks the interlocutor already knows or could take for granted) and asserted information (the proposition carrying new information that the addressee will share with the speaker once they have heard the utterance), it is possible to define focus as the pragmatic relation that associates an asserted component to an open variable in a presupposed proposition. On the other hand, in the definition given by Krifka (2008: 247), “focus indicates the presence of alternatives that are relevant for the interpretation of linguistic expressions”³ The view of focus as a mechanism of selection among a set of possible alternatives will be explained further in Section 3, in the description of the semantics of focus particles.

3. In fact, these two definitions appear to be largely compatible: by associating an asserted component with a variable in an open presupposed proposition (as in Lambrecht's definition), the focus relation automatically excludes all other possible alternatives. As a consequence of selecting some pieces of information and excluding others, focus can be intended more generally as the formal marking of salient information: it is a means of highlighting a part of the utterance whilst leaving other parts of the utterance in the background.

3. *Solo* as a focus particle

Before moving to the description of the functional developments of *solo*, a brief introduction to its prototypical use as a focus particle is necessary. Focus particles are a subclass of adverbs:⁴ since König (1991) – still the reference work in this field of research – a basic distinction has always been drawn in their domain between additive and exclusive focus particles, prototypically identified by items such as the English *also* (additive) and *only* (exclusive). The most important contributions on Italian focus particles are Ricca (1999) and Andorno (1999, 2000); the recent article by De Cesare (2015) describes the main features of the class through the interlinguistic comparison of focus particles in Italian, French, English and German.

3.1 Focus particles and information structure

One of the distinctive properties of focus particles is their interaction with the focus structure of an utterance: it is the information structure that determines the semantic contribution of focus particles to the utterance and variations in the information structure correspond to variations in their semantic contribution. Closely related to this, one of the most striking syntactic properties of such particles is their positional variability, meaning that they may occur in several positions in a sentence:

- (1) Giorgio ha comprato **solo** DELLE MELE.^{focus}
Giorgio have:3SG bought only apples
'Giorgio only bought apples'
- (2) **Solo** GIORGIO^{focus} ha comprato delle mele.
only Giorgio have:3SG bought apples
'Only Giorgio bought apples'

In these examples, different positions of *solo* correlate with different positions of the sentence stress (which signals the focus of the sentence, here shown by the words in small caps) and with different interpretations of the relevant sentence. Depending on their position, focus particles operate on different sentence constituents: in (1), the domain of association (on this term, see Andorno & De Cesare 2017: 159–161) is *delle mele* and the remaining part of the sentence is backgrounded; in (2), the domain of association is *Giorgio* and the remaining part is backgrounded. The part of the sentence that the focus particle operates on corresponds then to the part of the

4. See König (1991: 10). In the Italian grammatical tradition – where the concept of 'particle' only applies to other items – focus particles are usually referred to as *focalizzatori* 'focalizers' (Ricca 1999) or *avverbi focalizzanti* 'focusing adverbs' (Andorno 1999).

sentence in focus: changing the focus also changes the domain of association of the focus particle. However, the interaction between focus particles and information structure manifests itself not only passively (whereby their scope is determined by the extension of the focus of a sentence), but also actively: as pointed out by Andorno (2000: 46), focus particles are actual formal signals of the focus structure of the sentence and they contribute to the exact identification or delimitation of the focus. The meaning of exclusive focus particles will be now addressed.

3.2 The meaning of *solo*

Besides the functional value of operators on the focus of a sentence, focus particles also have a lexical meaning: they do not only signal a pragmatic relation, but they enrich it with specific semantic values. According to the description proposed by König (1991: 94–119) for exclusive focus particles, there are two parameters that play a crucial role in the semantic analysis of these expressions. The first one is the parameter of quantification: through the quantification effect, the value of the focused expression is related to a set of alternatives. Consider Example (3):

- (3) a. Giorgio ha comprato **solo** delle mele.
 Giorgio have:3SG bought only apples
 ‘Giorgio only bought apples’
- b. Giorgio ha comprato delle mele.
 ‘Giorgio bought apples’ [presupposition]
- c. Giorgio non ha comprato nient’altro.
 ‘Giorgio didn’t buy anything else’ [assertion]

A sentence like (3a) can be described as the sum of two propositions, represented here by sentences (3b) and (3c). The sentence *Giorgio only bought apples* builds on the presupposition that *Giorgio bought apples* (which is outside of the scope of the negation, cf. *It is not true that Giorgio bought only apples*, activating the same presupposition) and contains the assertion that *Giorgio didn’t buy anything else*, thus suggesting that *apples* are part of a larger set of elements (depending on the context) and that none of the possible alternatives satisfies the relevant open sentence. Focus particles contribute quantificational force to the meaning of a sentence: they quantify over the set of possible alternatives to the value of the focused expression. The meaning contribution of *solo* is to exclude these alternatives as possible values for the open sentence in its scope.

In addition to the selection of alternatives, some focus particles may induce a ranking into the set of possible alternatives, which means that they induce scalar structures in the domain of quantification. In this case, the alternatives and the focus value are part of a set that is hierarchically arranged. Some particles can, by

themselves, induce a scalar ordering (for example Eng. *even*), others (like It. *solo* and Eng. *only*) are compatible with a scalar reading when this is suggested by the context:

- (4) È solo un bambino!
 be:3SG only INDEF.ART child
 'He is only a child!' [not a boy / not an adult man / not an old man]
- (5) Is only a B grade required? [not higher grades] (König 1991: 96)

In (4) and (5) the sets of possible alternatives to the focus value (respectively, age groups and academic grades) are *per se* ordered sets. In contexts like these, scalar focus particles often activate an evaluation inference connected to the scalar ordering – that is, the value of the focus is characterized as ranking “high” or “low” on the scale. As a part of its conventionalized meaning – when used in a scalar way – *solo* activates the inference that the excluded alternative values rank higher on the scale than the value in focus. In this way, whenever *solo* is associated with an order, the value of its focus is evaluated as minimal.

So far, the article has described the main features of *solo* in its focus particle use. The rest of the paper claims that some uses of *solo* cannot be described as focus particles. Concerning their scope, they do not operate on sentence constituents (like NPs or VPs) but on other units. Concerning their meaning, they do not have a normal effect of quantification: no set of alternative referents is opposed to a focused one. However, there is a clear connection between the use of *solo* as a focus particle and the other uses and they will be seen as functional developments of the focus particle. We will set out the connective uses of *solo* before discussing the illocutive uses in more detail.

4. Functional developments of *solo*: Connective uses

A first set of functional developments of *solo* are functional expansions towards the domains of discourse coherence and conversational structure, broadly connected to IS. These are represented by the uses of the adverb as a *conjunctive adverb* and as a *discourse marker*. The term *conjunctive adverb* will be used to refer to adverbs that operate as sentence connectives: “syntactically they belong to a given sentence, but functionally they do not actually modify it. Rather, they operate on the textual level, giving textual coherence to a sequence of sentences; thus they are functionally very close to conjunctions” (Ramat & Ricca 1994: 308).⁵ The term *discourse marker* will

5. For an overview of the layered representation of sentence adverbs, as well as for the differences between conjunctive adverb and other kind of sentences adverbs, see Ramat & Ricca (1998: 190–196).

be used to refer to items operating on discourse chunks with functions of conversational management, the defining features of which – as well as the differences with other subclasses such as modal particles – are described, for example, by Waltereit (2012) and Diewald (2013). Similar uses of exclusive focus particles have been described for other languages, too: König (1991: 106–107; 2017: 34–38) gives a brief description of the English *only* and German *nur* as conjunctive adverbs, Brinton (1998) considers the diachronic evolution of *only* as a conjunctive adverb. With regard to German, Modicom & Duplâtre (2018: 78–81) investigate the use of *nur* ‘only’ as a connective and Auer & Günthner (2005: 337–338) account for the use of *bloß* ‘only’ as a discourse marker. We give one example of each use, taken from the LIP corpus of spoken Italian.

As a conjunctive adverb, *solo* occurs in the first position of a sentence and it scopes on the whole sentence. It has no quantificational force, it marks rather a contrast relation between sentences and it is partially synonym of other contrast connectives like *ma* and *però* in Italian or *but* in English:⁶

- (6) ^A Si trova nelle erboristerie # | ^B solo nelle erboristerie costa
 IMPERS find in-ART herbalist shops only in-ART herbalist shops cost:3SG
 ‘You can find it in herbalist shops, only in herbalist shops
 relativamente tanto | perché un # da mezzo chilo costa
 relatively a lot because INDEF.ART from half kilo cost:3SG
 it’s pretty expensive because half a kilo costs
 seimila lire | invece Anna ne ha comprato in quantità
 six thousand lire instead Anna PART have:3SG bought in quantity
 six thousand lire, Anna instead bought a huge quantity
 industriale | e tremila lire al chilo lo ha pagato.
 industrial and three thousand lire per kilo it have:3SG paid
 and paid three thousand a kilo for it.’ [LIP – Roma]

Separating the single sentences in (6), it is evident that *solo* connects sentence B with sentence A, acting like a textual connective, in the same way as other items in the example do (*perché* ‘because’, *invece* ‘instead’, *e* ‘and’).⁷ The contrast relation

6. In Example (6), the hash tags appear in the original transcription and represent a short pause. I have added the vertical bars separating the single sentences to better highlight the role of textual connectives.

7. The distinction between focalizing uses and connective uses can indeed be understood – at least for Italian – in terms of a *continuum* rather than as a clear-cut separation (Ricca 1999: 154). Other languages offer precise structural conditions that permit to identify conjunctive adverbs. In German, *nur* ‘only’ is classified as a conjunctive adverb when it occurs in the first position of a sentence.

expressed by *solo* as a conjunctive adverb often marks a special involvement of the speaker: the contrast between two occurring states-of-affairs is not presented as independent by their own point of view. It explicitly involves the speaker's opinion and its meaning is thus *subjective* in the sense of Traugott (2010).⁸

As a discourse marker, *solo* occurs in isolated position, not integrated in the sentence and it scopes on discourse chunks. Example (7) is a dialogue between three speakers, A, B and C. Speaker C starts the conversation with a proposal and speaker A seems to agree with him. At this point, speaker C interrupts him by asking *si può provare?* ('can we try?'). Then the two turns overlap⁹ and speaker A regains the turn by introducing it with *solo*, followed by a chain of discourse markers:

- (7) C: dico_ perché non facciamo una
 say:1SG why not do:1PL INDEF.ART
 'I mean, why don't we do a
 trasmissione radiofonica su_ sulla Wharton?
 radio broadcast about.ART Wharton
 radio broadcast about Wharton?'
 A: questa poi si può provare anche
 this then IMPERS can:3SG try:INF as well
 'this, well, we can try it as well'
 C: si può provare?
 IMPERS can:3SG try:INF
 'can we try?'
 A: solo poi va beh poi c'è XX
 only then go:3SG well then there.be:3SG XX
 'only, then, well, then there is XX
 ci_ che ci introduce nella RAI
 us REL us introduce:3SG in.ART RAI
 who introduces us into the RAI'
 B: con letture dicevi?
 with readings say:PAST:2SG
 'with readings, did you mean?' [LIP – Roma]

8. In 15 out of 23 examples from our corpus, the sentence introduced by conjunctive *solo* is at the first person singular. More importantly, even when speaker and syntactic subject are not the same, the sentence expresses the speaker's point of view and this is good evidence to assume a subjectified meaning.

9. According to the transcribing conventions used in the LIP corpus, the overlapping turns are represented by the graphic alignment of the actual words that overlap (not reproduced by the graphic layout here). In this case, speaker A starts her utterance with *solo* when Speaker C is still pronouncing *può provare* ('can try').

In (7) the semantics of the focus particle is completely absent, and *solo* can be analyzed as a turn-taking device,¹⁰ a functional marker in the management of conversation dynamics.

Summarizing what has been discussed so far, *solo* used as a conjunctive adverb marks a contrast relation between sentences.¹¹ Used as a discourse marker, *solo* has the functional value of bracketing discourse sequences and it marks changes in the conversation flow. In Favaro (2017) a diachronic analysis of the development of the new uses of *solo* was proposed, conceiving its use as a discourse marker as a further development of its use as a conjunctive adverb. The emergence of the connective uses of *solo* can thus be described through the paths of development of adverbial constituents proposed by Traugott & Dasher (2002: 187):

- (8) a. scope-within-proposition › scope-over-proposition › scope-over-discourse
 b. content meaning › content/procedural meaning › procedural meaning

It results from the sum of two kinds of change: on the syntactic level, there is a progressive scope expansion from sentence constituents to whole sentences to discourse chunks. On the semantic level, we see a “bleaching” (Sweetser 1988) of the lexical meaning (disappearance of the quantification effect of the focus particle) and the emergence of a procedural one (connective function with a vague adversative meaning and discourse-marking function in conversational dynamics).

5. Functional developments of *solo*: Illocutive uses

The second set of functional developments of *solo* is represented by its illocutive uses – functional expansions towards the domain of speech-act specification and common-ground management, closely linked to IS. These uses are less common than the connective uses, as they are unevenly distributed in Italian. This fact is probably due to some kind of sociolinguistic markedness (like regional and diaphasic variation) and they are almost absent in digital corpora of spoken Italian. A previous study used a questionnaire survey to collect some real-life examples for the analysis and to test them with acceptability judgments and possible paraphrases (Favaro 2017).¹²

10. An anonymous reviewer suggests that in this case the function of *solo* could be better analysed in terms of a change in the speaker “locutive program”.

11. See König (1991: 106–107) for an explanation of the semantic connection between exclusive focus particles and adversative conjunctions.

12. Other examples have been collected from every-day conversations or extracted from the web. We will not deal here with any sociolinguistic issue, since they would require a separate and

The findings of the questionnaire identified two contexts of occurrence for these uses, which correspond to different kinds of speech acts, directive speech acts and assertive speech acts. In (9) an example of *solo* in a directive is provided:

- (9) [Silvia's brother has broken his sister's bike which he had borrowed without asking and keeps apologizing to her profusely. Silvia to her brother:]
 Guarda, sparisci solo!
 look:IMP:2SG beat.it:IMP:2SG only
 Look, just beat it!

We will now provide a first characterization of this use of *solo*. From a syntactic point of view, *solo* is positioned immediately after the finite verb form and it scopes on the whole utterance: these features are common to all illocutive uses of *solo*. Concerning the scope, it is problematic to identify an overt sentence constituent in the scope of *solo*: the adverb seems to be associated with a verbal focus, but the alternatives in question are not denotations of other verbs (cf. König 2017: 37). Related to this, from a semantic point of view, the quantificational effect with exclusive meaning is expressed in a different way: the adverb does not evoke alternative referents opposed to a focused one, but other propositions activated in the CG. In this way, the presence of *solo* in the directive seems to require different CG structures compared to the same utterance without it (*Guarda, sparisci!*). In Example (9), the presence of *solo* explicitly points to a set of propositions present in the CG (for instance, the ideas of the interlocutor about the appropriateness of continued apologies), which – in the speaker's perspective – are not valid in this specific context. In the case of the directive without *solo*, this connection with the CG is not explicitly established and the speech act is not projected against a background of other propositions. For these reasons, it is unsatisfactory to define *solo* an exclusive focus particle in this kind of constructions: at first sight, it rather emphasizes the speech act and – as a marker of common-ground management – it gives to it a salient position in the conversational exchange.¹³ We use the term *illocutionary operator* for the illocutive uses of *solo*, borrowing it from Hengeveld & Mackenzie (2008: 83), where it is used as a label for grammatical items that

in-depth discussion. However, it is important to point out that some of the examples discussed in what follows do not represent standard Italian but regional varieties of Italian or 'Italian dialects' according to Maiden & Parry's (1997: 2) terminology. Here we are concerned with examples of Piedmontese Italian, the variety of Italian spoken in Piedmont, a region in the North West of Italy (cf. Cerruti 2009).

13. The illocutive uses of *solo* partially remind some functions of *just* in English (König 1991: 116–119). See Beeching (2017) for a comparative discussion on pragmatic uses of English *just* and French *juste*.

emphasize or mitigate a specific illocutionary act.¹⁴ These constructions will be now analyzed in more depth, separating the two different illocutive contexts.

5.1 Directive speech acts

In the first kind of context, *solo* occurs in directive speech acts such as orders, exhortations and instructions. Another example is the brief exchange in (10), where someone is talking about the volleyball team of Bra, a town in northern Italy. In the answer, *solo* operates on the imperative verb form:

- (10) – Io dico BRA campione d'Italia U16 venendo da due anni di
 I say:1SG BRA champion of Italy U16 coming from two years of
 dominio U14. Altre previsioni?
 domination U14 other predictions
 'I say BRA Italian champion U16 after two years of domination in the U14.
 Other predictions?'
 – Stai solo zitto ke porti ancora sfiga!!!
 stay:IMP.2SG only quiet COMPL bring:2SG still bad luck
 'Shut up, you're gonna jinx it!!!' [from the internet]

We may say that the meaning of *solo* in this kind of directive constructions is three-fold. First, it contributes to the CG management, marking a contrast between the speech act and a belief attributed to the addressee. In Example (10), the speaker attributes a proposition to the addressee's mind (it could be "you can say your predictions as well"): in this sense, the illocutionary use of *solo* is *polyphonous* (Ducrot 1984; Detges & Gévaudan 2017: 307), since it targets not only the speaker's viewpoint but also that of the addressee. The speaker contrasts this proposition with the directive, presenting it as the obvious action the addressee should undertake. Second, by highlighting this contrast, *solo* operates on the illocutionary force, giving emphasis to the directive. Finally, as a conversational side effect, it has a closing effect on the conversation and the interlocutor is "discouraged" from continuing the discussion on that topic. Another case is (11):

14. The functions of illocutionary operators admittedly remember those of language-specific grammatical elements like the modal particles found for example in German and Dutch. Waltereit (2012) and Detges and Waltereit (2016) define modal particles as elements that scope over speech acts and serve the function of fine-tuning illocutions. In this way, they could be broadly compared to illocutionary operators as defined by Hengeveld & Mackenzie (2008: 83). Indeed, their Example (153) of the Dutch particle *maar* seems to be a prototypical example of modal particle.

- (11) [Roberta asks to Anna about her commitments the following day]
 – Hai tanto da fare domani?
 have:2SG a lot to do:INF tomorrow
 ‘Are you very busy tomorrow?’
 – Lascia solo stare, sono piena tutto il giorno!
 let:IMP:2SG only stay:INF be:1SG full all ART day
 ‘Don’t even ask, I’m busy all day.’ [questionnaire data]

In this example, again, the speaker attributes a belief to the addressee’s mind (“we could arrange something together”) and contrasts it with an emphatic directive. As a tool of CG management, *solo* points to the information ascribed to the addressee and specifies the role of the speech act towards it. Integrating speech acts in the CG is the typical function of forms used for *speech-act specification*, of which the most commonly studied are the German modal particles.¹⁵ Waltereit (2001, 2006) analyzes these forms as linguistic items operating at the speech act level: they signal a speech situation where the preparatory conditions of a speech act are not (completely) fulfilled, specifying how the “defective” speech act should be correctly interpreted in that speech situation. Following these suggestions, we can analyze the meaning of illocutionary *solo* in terms of specification of the preparatory conditions of the speech act, in order to integrate the new directive in the assumed CG. According to the preparatory conditions of directives, it is not obvious to both the speaker and the addressee that – in the normal course of events – the addressee should do what is expressed by the directive (Searle 1969: 66; Waltereit 2001: 1403). In contrast to this, *solo* overtly marks an obvious directive, pointing to (and excluding) a set of propositions activated in the CG, and highlighting the only one – the directive – that the speaker considers to be valid in the speech situation. In the speaker’s perspective, in examples like (10) and (11), *solo* signals this friction marking emphasis on a taken-for-granted directive.

5.2 Assertive speech acts

In the second kind of context, *solo* occurs in assertions conveying evaluations (which partially overlap with expressive speech acts, as they express some psychic state). A first example is (12), where someone is talking about the possibility that Belotti, a player of the Turin Football Club, might be sold by the club. Here *solo* gives a declarative sentence the character of an exclamation:

15. In the German tradition, this function is often defined as *Abtönung*, meaning ‘shading’.

- (12) [blog discussion about the football transfer market]
 Per me se parte Belotti a certe cifre va solo bene:
 to me if leave:3SG Belotti at such numbers go:3SG only well
 ‘In my opinion if Belotti leaves for good money it’s fine:
 coi suoi soldi si rifarebbe la squadra,
 with.ART his money IMPERS do.again:COND.3SG ART team
 with his money they could remake the team,
 modulo offensivo ma con difensori di livello!
 formation offensive but with defenders of level
 attack formation but with high-level defenders!’ [from the internet]

In a similar fashion as its use with directives, *solo* fulfills three functions at once in this kind of assertions. It contributes to the CG management, by signaling a discrepancy between the presented information and some general knowledge that is assumed to be present in the common ground (and thus also entertained by the addressee). Second, it strengthens the illocutionary force, giving emphasis to the assertion. Moreover, on the conversational side, the emphatic assertion has a closing potential on the conversation, as if it could express the last word on the current discussion. In the context of (12), the speaker considers a proposition like “someone thinks that selling Belotti is (**not**) a good idea” as active in the CG. It is important to note that in this case – as in the next one – both the affirmative and the negative proposition could be at issue, depending on the context. In fact, what the speaker wants to contrast is the possibility that her assertion could be challenged or questioned, and not necessarily one of the two versions (that largely depend on the communicative situation). Another case in point is (13):

- (13) [Giorgio, annoyed by a long discussion with friends]
 In effetti, prima di parlare informati,
 actually before to talk:INF inform_yourself:IMP:2SG
 ‘Actually, before you talk inform yourself,
 ha solo ragione Ceci a dire che ti inventi
 have:3SG only reason Ceci to say:INF COMP REFL make_up:2SG
 certe cose!
 some things
 Ceci is absolutely right saying that you make up things!’ [questionnaire data]

In the context of (13), a proposition like “someone thinks that Ceci is (**not**) right” is active in the CG. As in the previous example, the speaker corrects this proposition with his emphatic assertion, presenting it as the obvious proposition one should take into account. In terms of speech-act specification, presenting an assertion as it should be obvious to the addressee is contrary to the preparatory conditions of

assertions (Searle 1969: 66). This is the result of excluding the alternative propositions in the CG as non-valid: in this way, the *challengeability* (Kroon 1995) of the proposition conveyed by the assertion is cancelled – according to which the speaker recognizes that some opinion can be negotiated with the addressee – and no room is left for possible disagreement. The emphatic assertion marked by *solo* is then the only one that is valid and, in this sense, it should be obvious to the addressee: in the speaker’s perspective, in examples like (12) and (13), *solo* marks emphasis on a non-challengeable assertion.

5.3 A possible bridging context for *solo* in assertive speech acts

In many cases, the proposition in the CG contrasted by the speaker corresponds to a common belief so that the emphatic assertion involves some degree of counter-expectation. These features provide a clue as to the explanation of how and in what kind of conversational contexts this use of *solo* can emerge. Following the above line of reasoning, Example (14) illustrates a possible bridging context from the focus particle use *solo* to its use as an illocutionary operator:

- (14) – Non ci credo, questo freddo a maggio!
 not to.it believe:1SG this cold at May
 ‘I can’t believe it, such a cold weather in May!’
 – Mah, i tedeschi sono solo contenti se anche a maggio ci sono
 Well, Germans are.3PL only happy if also at May there.be:3PL
 ‘Well, actually Germans are just happy if even in May it is
 sei gradi, così possono usare ancora un po’ le loro giacche colorate
 six degrees so can:3PL use:INF still a bit ART their jackets colourful
 six degrees, so that they can still use their colourful jackets
 e i termos all’ università.
 and ART thermos at.ART university
 and their thermos at university. [informal conversation]

In (14) it is difficult to ascertain whether *solo* is an exclusive focus particle. The crucial parameter is again the scope extension, since it is not clear if its scope extends over the predicate or on the whole utterance. The problems of defining the semantics of *solo* in these contexts and the problem of its scope relate to each other: the vagueness of the scope extension (predicate or utterance) corresponds to a vague semantics, “oscillating” between its value as a focus particle and as an illocutionary operator. This meaning vagueness is the consequence of several factors that combine in similar sentences – the starting point being an assertive speech act where an evaluation expressed by the speaker triggers the scalar reading of *solo*. In this

evaluative context, there is a mismatch between the conventional meaning associated with the scalar use of *solo* (which – excluding values higher on some scale – it is usually associated with low values; see the discussion in Section 3) and the kind of predicate, that ranks high on a possible scale.¹⁶ This fact contrasts with the normal interpretation of *solo* as an exclusive focus particle. Furthermore, (14) constitutes a counter-expectation context since it is assumed that people are not happy for the weather to be six degrees in May. In utterances like (14) there is a clash between two contextual factors (the evaluative context and counter-expectation context) and two semantic factors (the conventional meaning of *solo* and a high-ranking predicate). This sum of factors constitutes a fixed *argumentative move* (Detges & Waltereit 2016) through which speakers take advantage of a slightly deviating use of *solo* to index CG information and to correct it with their emphatic assertion. The progressive routinization of this construction is accompanied by the contextual syntactic reanalysis of *solo* from focus particle at the sentence level to emphatic operator targeting the illocution of the utterance, pragmatically used for argumentative purposes.

5.4 Illocutive uses of *solo*: Summary

The analysis of the examples in Section 5 allows us to come to a number of conclusions. First, it is now possible to sum up the main features identified for the use of *solo* as an illocutionary operator. From the syntactic point of view, it is positioned immediately after the finite verb form and it scopes on the whole utterance. From the semantic point of view, it targets the speech act marking emphasis on the illocutionary force. Furthermore, it contributes to the CG management: the utterance it scopes on is projected against a proposition present in the CG, contrasting (or correcting) it in an emphatic way. A second point is the relation between the use of *solo* as a focus particle and as an illocutionary operator. Due to their connections with information structure, focus particles are on the one hand linked to the propositional content of the utterance; on the other hand, however, they tend to develop new uses where the marking of information status is exploited interactionally (by inserting focused information into argumentative moves) and are thus linked to the illocutionary domain of the speech act (directives and assertions as illocutionary types in general). Although operating on different linguistic levels (propositional

16. This fact is reminiscent of the phenomenon of scale inversion, which may be displayed by scalar exclusive focus particles when the context expresses a sufficient condition (cf. König 1991: 101; Modicom & Duplâtre 2018: 81–84). However, neither the examples given for *solo* in directives nor the examples for assertive speech acts are cases of contexts expressing sufficient condition and the emergence of the illocutive uses of *solo* must be explained otherwise.

content and illocution) these two uses of *solo* display some common features: in particular, we might speculate how the new uses of *solo* keep features from the use as a focus particle. For this purpose, we can recall the definition of exclusive focus particles given by König: “A sentence with *only* presupposes the relevant sentence without particle and entails that none of the alternatives under consideration satisfies the open sentence obtained by substituting a variable for the focus expression” (König 1991: 94). Crucially, in its new use as an illocutionary operator there are no alternative referents explicitly excluded since focus is a pragmatic relation at the sentence level. But the property of *solo* of presupposing the validity of some kind of linguistic unit and excluding others is transferred to the illocution layer and its function as an illocutionary operator could be paraphrased in this way: “taken into account the CG, my speech act is the only one possible in this context”. What results is (also) the emphatic marking of the illocutionary force, a “residue” of the marking of focus as salient information.

6. Conclusions

This paper has discussed the main features of the functional developments of the Italian focus particle *solo*, classifying them in two groups: connective uses and illocutive uses. Despite the fact that they have developed from the same source, their functions are relatively distant. As a tool of discourse-structure management, connective *solo* ensures discourse coherence, marking a contrast relation between sentences (conjunctive adverb) or a turning point in the conversational dynamics when it scopes on discourse chunks (discourse marker). As a tool of common-ground management, illocutionary *solo* evokes a different viewpoint from that of the speaker which is not valid in the context of interaction, emphasizing instead (the validity of) the speech act it scopes on. This separation seems to confirm the claim of Detges & Waltereit (2016) in reference to the existence of different kinds of diachronic processes at the origin of discourse markers and modal particles: discourse markers go back to argumentative routines concerning the next move in discourse building, while modal particles are the outcome of negotiations concerning the common ground. Future research on the functional developments of *solo* will have to investigate the specific features of each path of development further.

With regard to the illocutive uses of *solo*, future research must focus on the sociolinguistic characterization of these uses in Italian (observing possible differences between the two illocutive contexts) and – at the same time – it must include a broader Romance perspective, contributing to the study of discourse-pragmatic functions of Romance adverbs proposed in works such as Hansen (2008) and

Squartini (2013, 2017).¹⁷ Systematizing the analysis of It. *mica* and It. *già* / Fr. *déjà* as Romance modal particles, Squartini (2017: 222–225) underlines the necessity of understanding (and disentangling) the interplay between two discourse-pragmatic dimensions to properly describe these items. On the one hand, we find information state intended as management of the information flow with respect to what has been explicitly mentioned in the discourse but also considering what can be indirectly inferred from previous discourse elements. On the other hand, we find illocutionary modification understood as fine-tuning of speech acts that “repairs” problems arising from the violation of some preparatory condition (Waltereit 2001; Detges & Waltereit 2009), and the interpretation of the speech acts in an interpersonal perspective. In this way, the illocutive uses of *solo* couple discourse functions (CG management) with the expression of the speaker’s reactions to information flow (speech-act specification). The specific linguistic context where this pairing takes place is the interactional dimension between interlocutors which involves reference to both the speaker’s perspective and the addressee’s sphere, and their integration in the conversational common ground. This theoretical perspective must be further developed, investigating the possibility of merging these two dimensions in a common pragmatic account (see for instance Reich 2018).

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17. For example, Hansen (1998: 42) cites the use (archaic or regional) of Fr. *seulement* (a cognate form of *solo*) as a modal particle.

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Corpora

- LIP = De Mauro, Tullio, Mancini, Federico, Vedovelli, Massimo & Voghera, Miriam. 1993. *Lessico di frequenza dell'italiano parlato*. Milano: ETAS Libri. <<http://badip.uni-graz.at/it/>>

PART II

**Information structure as a factor
in the interpretation of polysemic
and polyfunctional particles**

Final or medial

Morphosyntactic and functional divergences in discourse particles of the same historical sources

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Some Japanese final particles find their origins in the same historical sources as interjectional (or medial) particles, with the former occurring in sentence-final position while the latter in sentence-medial position. The two types of particles, though identical in form, are less likely to be used in the same sentence. This study demonstrates that they developed along different pathways and acquired respectively unique discourse-pragmatic functions, mediated by the traits of the positions they occupy in sentences. Our research highlights three discourse-pragmatic functions: information status, addressee-directedness, and speaker gender. We argue that the final and interjectional particles of the same form do not co-occur in a single sentence when they show contrastive features in one of these functions.

1. Introduction

In many languages, discourse particles including modal and final particles trace their origins back to linguistic items from other categories. For example, modal particles in German have the same origin as lexemes of different grammatical categories: connectives (e.g., *aber* 'but', *denn* 'then'), focus particles (e.g., *nur* 'only', *auch* 'also'), adjectives (e.g., *eigentlich* 'real', *eben* 'flat'), adverbs (e.g., *vielleicht* 'perhaps', *wohl* 'well'), response particles (e.g., *ja* 'yes') (Thurmair 1989: 21; Abraham 1991: 332; Diewald 2006: 403). It has often been pointed out that the distinction between modal particles and their heterosemes are fuzzy. The scope of the discussion surrounding the question of fuzziness is large enough to justify a whole volume as shown by Degand et al. (2013: 1), who explicitly address a question: "whether or not it is possible to draw a line between these two types of linguistic expressions."¹

1. Degand et al. (2013) focus on modal particles of discourse-marker origins. In their volume, we deal with Japanese final particles of discourse-marker origins (*sosite* 'and' in the Hokkaido

As German has modal particles, Japanese has final particles (*shuu-joshi*), non-referential particles with a fixed grammatical position, which communicate “affective, attitudinal, opinionating, illocutionary meanings” (Degand et al. 2013: 7). Some Japanese final particles (FP) (*-yo*, *-ne*, and *-sa*) find their roots in the same historical sources as interjectional (or medial) particles (IP) (*kantoo-joshi*).² These two types of particles, which typically appear in spoken discourse, are found in different sentential positions: final particles occur in sentence-final position, while interjectional particles are used in sentence-medial positions. An identical form can fulfill the roles of these two particles. For example, *-ne* in (1a) serves as a final particle, but the same form can also be employed as an interjectional particle, which can be repeatedly used in a sentence as shown in (1b).

- (1) a. Ano inu ookii-**ne**.
 that dog big-FP
 ‘That dog is big, isn’t it?’
 b. Kyoo-**ne** ookii inu-ni-**ne** oikake-rare-ta-n-da.
 today-IP big dog-DAT-IP chase-PASS-PAST-FN-COP
 ‘I was chased by a big dog today.’

We argue that the two types of particles, their distinction not being fuzzy, developed mutually inconsistent or contradictory discourse-pragmatic functions, and hence are less likely to co-occur in a single sentence, as illustrated in (2).

- (2) a. ^{??}Taroo-ga-**ne** Ziroo-ni-**ne** hon-o-**ne** yoma-se-ta-**ne**.
 Taro-NOM-IP Jiro-DAT-IP book-ACC-IP read-CAUS-PAST-FP
 ‘Taro made Jiro read a book, didn’t he?’
 b. Taroo-ga-**ne** Ziroo-ni-**ne** hon-o-**ne** yoma-se-ta-**yo**.
 Taro-NOM-IP Jiro-DAT-IP book-ACC-IP read-CAUS-PAST-FP
 ‘Taro made Jiro read a book, I tell you.’ (cf. Oe 2015: 187, 190)

(2a), where *-ne* is used both as an interjectional particle and a final particle, sounds awkward. However, the same sentence becomes acceptable if the final *-ne* is replaced with a different final particle *-yo* as in (2b).

In Japanese, *-ne*, *-sa*, and *-yo* represent heterosemous particles used for both interjectional and final particles. (3a) shows their final-particle use, and (3b)

dialect, *hoide(e)* ‘and’ in the Hiroshima dialect, and *sikasi* ‘but’ in the Osaka dialect) in terms of the functions they develop in a particular syntactic position (Izutsu & Izutsu 2013a). In fact, this group of final particles is restricted to regional dialects and thus not so common as the particles discussed in this paper.

2. Interjectional (or medial) particles (IP) are also referred to as “insertion particles” (Maynard 1993; Onodera 2004), and “sentence-internal particles” (Cook 2006).

illustrates their interjectional-particle use with each particle having a different discourse-pragmatic meaning, as will be explained in Section 4.

- (3) a. Minna sitteru-**ne**/**sa**/**yo**.
 everybody know-FP
 ‘Everybody knows.’
- b. Ano-**ne**/**sa**/**yo**, zituwa-**ne**/**sa**/**yo**, ore hanasi-tyatta-kara-**ne**/**sa**/**yo**,
 that-IP in:fact-IP I tell-PERF-because-IP
 minna sitteru-n-da.
 everybody know-FN-COP
 ‘Well, in fact, because I told (them about it), everybody knows (it).’

The present study investigates the final and interjectional particles of the same form in terms of three functional features: information status, addressee-directedness, and speaker gender. The analysis is based on introspection data and also data from the BTS (Basic Transcription System) corpus of Japanese natural conversation (Usami 2005). We will see that the interjectional and final uses of each form are respectively multi-functional. For example, final *-ne* in (3a) signals that the sentence represents information which the speaker believes to be shared by the addressee, that the speaker is expecting the addressee’s reaction, and also that the speaker’s gender is unspecified. Our study demonstrates that the final and interjectional particles of the same form are not used together in the same sentence when they show contrastive or incompatible features in one of these functions.

2. A brief historical sketch of Japanese interjectional and final particles

The Japanese final particles *-yo*, *-ne*, and *-sa* have the same historical sources as the interjectional particles of the same forms.³ Their early appearances of the interjectional and final uses were attested in historical records.⁴ The particle *-yo* is the oldest, its first recorded use dating back to the early 8th century in *Nihon Kokugo Daijiten* (*NKD*) both for the interjectional- and final-particle uses.⁵ The particles *-ne* and *-sa*

3. The final and interjectional particles *-yo* can be traced back to a phonological variant of *ya*, originally the sound of calling out (Ono et al. 1990: 1506–1507). The final and interjectional *-ne* find their origin in the “*na*-group interjections” (Onodera 2004: 157). The two types of *-sa* may be historically related to the *sa*-type demonstrative (Konoshima 1966: 412).

4. A literature survey of the development of the interjectional and final particles does not tell us which use occurred first, though the interjectional use of *-yo* is assumed to have appeared earlier than the final one (see n. 5 below).

5. The earliest examples of the two uses in *NKD* are both from *Kojiki* in 712 (*NKD* s.v. *-yo* interj. I (1) and (2)), but Uchio (1973: 102) mentions that the final particle *-yo* developed from its interjectional-particle use (also see Konoshima 1966: 429–432).

are relatively new, their early examples documented in the *Edo* period (1603–1867) (Konoshima 1966: 411, 417, *NKD* s.v. *-ne* interj. and s.v. *-sa* interj. II (1) and (1)). They were used as both types of particles in their early occurrences. The first example of final *-sa* in *NKD* was attested in 1693 and that of interjectional *-sa* in 1711 (*NKD* s.v. *-sa* interj. II (1) and (2)). The earliest uses of interjectional and final *-ne* are documented in *NKD* from the late 18th to the early 19th century: 1778 for final *-ne* and c.1809 for interjectional *-ne* (Konoshima 1966: 417, *NKD* s.v. *-ne* interj.).⁶

On the other hand, since both interjectional and final particles are some final elements (the former being phrase- or clause-final while the latter sentence-final), some researchers treat them altogether under a single category: *kandoo-wo arafasu joshi* ‘particles expressing exclamation’ (Tokieda 1954), and more recently *interactional particles* (Morita 2005) and *interactive markers* (Ogi 2017).⁷ From the “interaction-and-grammar” perspective (Ochs, Schegloff & Thompson 1996), Morita (2005: 91) claims that “categories such as ‘sentence-final particles’ and ‘interjectional particles’ are both misleading and inadequate” for their actual use in talk-in-interaction, because “the position where these particles ultimately occur is always the result of situated multi-party interactional contingencies.” She further says that a particle itself “does not have any inherent meaning” (2005: 79, underline original) and “is not marking something *as* final or non-final” (2005: 91, italics original) and “[o]nly retrospective analysis makes it possible to understand whether the particle is one that terminates – or one that is interjectional to – the completed turn” (2005: 91). In other words, “it is wrong to think that the Japanese speakers have categorically different particles, final and interjectional” (Morita 2005: 91).

When starting an utterance, the speaker generally has an intention to verbalize a certain state of affairs; the end of the verbalization is realized with an intonation “contour which signals finality” (Ford & Thompson 1996: 147). The speaker wants to indicate the completion or incompleteness of an utterance with certain prosodic and/or grammatical means. The frequent uses of final particles/tags or fillers clearly point to the speaker’s sensitivity to the finality or non-finality of an utterance.

6. Of course, the meanings or functions of these particles have been changing over time. For example, it is interesting to note that the functions of final *-yo* and *-sa* became “reversed” when used as copulas following nominals (Nagasaki 2012: 176). The copular use of final *-sa* was predominant in the *Edo* period and could be employed in polite discourse and female speech (Nagasaki 2012: 200). This polite female use of final *-sa* has disappeared in present-day Japanese, partly replaced by the copular use of final *-yo*, which used to appear in casual or rough conversation in the *Edo* period (Nagasaki 2012: 193–195).

7. Some other researchers do not recognize interjectional particles as an independent category but classify them into a subcategory of final particles, referring to them as *kantoosei shuujoshi* ‘interjectional final particles’ (Nitta 1982: 152) or *shuujoshi-no kantoo yoohoo* ‘interjectional use of final particles’ (Masuoka 1991: 103; Masuoka & Takubo 1992: 53).

The fact that a particle can be used in medial position, but the same form cannot continue to be used in final position is a reflection of such positional sensitivity. This very fact suggests that the interjectional and final particles of the same form serve contrastive discourse-pragmatic functions in a sentence, which boils down to saying that the boundaries between the two categories are neither “fuzzy” (Degand et al. 2013) nor “misleading and inadequate” (Morita 2005: 91).

However, if there are no “inherent” meanings or functions of “interactional” particles or if such particles are employed with no regard to the (non)finality of utterances, why do speakers tend to avoid using the interjectional and final particles of the same form in a sentence as seen in (2)? Also, if it is “wrong” to postulate the two types of particles, why do they exhibit position-specific features of morpho-syntax as will be discussed in Section 3?

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3. Morpho-syntactic differences between interjectional and final particles

The distinctive developments of interjectional and final particles are illustrated by their morpho-syntactic differences. One of the important differences is that as with modal particles (Abraham 1991: 333; Diewald 2013: 31), final particles have scope over propositions as in (3’a), occupying the end of sentences. However, interjectional particles are attached to the end of constituents within a sentence. They appear relatively freely in a sentence, attached to a dependent clause, a phrase, or even to a discourse marker, as indicated by the square brackets in (3’b).

- (3’) a. Minna sitteru-*ne/sa/yo*.
 ‘[Everybody knows]-*ne/sa/yo*.’
- b. Ano-*ne/sa/yo*, zituwa-*ne/sa/yo*, ore hanasi-tyatta-kara-*ne/sa/yo*, minna sitteru-n-da.
 ‘[Well]-*ne/sa/yo*, [in fact]-*ne/sa/yo*, [because I told (them about it)]-*ne/sa/yo*, everybody knows (it).’

Another difference is that final particles allow their sequencing or serialization, but interjectional particles do not. As shown in (4), the final particle *-ne* can occur in combination with another final particle as in *-yo-ne*, which maintains a rigid ordering. Hence, the sequence *-ne-yo* is unacceptable. However, no such combination is possible for interjectional particles, which is obvious from the comparison of (4a) and (4b).

- (4) a. Sorede-**yo-ne*/**ne-yo* sensei-ga-**yo-ne*/**ne-yo* totuzen
 then-IP-IP teacher-NOM-IP-IP suddenly
 okot-ta-n-da-*yo-ne*/**ne-yo*.
 get:angry-PAST-FN-COP-FP-FP
- b. Sorede-*ne* sensei-ga-*ne* totuzen okot-ta-n-da-*yo-ne*.
 ‘Then the teacher suddenly got angry.’

Furthermore, like modal particles (Abraham 1991: 333; Diewald 2013: 31), Japanese final particles are sensitive to sentence type, but interjectional particles are in principle not. The final particles *-ne* and *-sa* cannot be attached to imperative and prohibitive sentences as in (5a) and (6a) (Masuoka 1991: 99), whereas the final particle *-yo* can be used instead.⁸ However, the interjectional particles *-ne*, *-sa*, and *-yo* are possible in imperative sentences as in (5b) and prohibitive sentences as in (6b).

- (5) a. Koko-o tooru-toki-wa kuruma-ni kiotukero-*yo*/**ne*/**sa*.
 here-ACC pass-when-TOP car-DAT be:careful.IMP-FP
- b. Koko-o-*ne/sa*/*yo* tooru-toki-wa-*ne/sa*/*yo* kuruma-ni kiotukero.
 here-ACC-IP pass-when-TOP-IP car-DAT be:careful.IMP
 ‘When you walk across here, be careful of cars.’
- (6) a. Sonna iziwaru-nanka kinisuru-na-*yo*/**ne*/**sa*.
 such bullying-like worry-PROH-FP
- b. Sonna-*ne/sa*/*yo* iziwaru-nanka-*ne/sa*/*yo* kinisuru-na.
 such-IP bullying-like-IP worry-PROH
 ‘Don’t worry about such bullying.’

8. Note that another imperative form *-nasai* can be followed by *-ne*, but not *-sa*: *Kuruma-ni kiotuke-nasai-ne*/**sa* ‘Be careful of cars.’ Since *-nasai* is “the imperative form of the honorific verb *-nasaru* ‘do’” (Hasegawa 2015: 248), its directive force is weaker and hence it sounds “softer” (Hasegawa 2015: 248) or less harsh than the imperative forms of other verbs as in (5). This weaker, less unilateral directive force is compatible with the negotiatory sense of the final particle *-ne*. A similar explanation applies to the compatibility of final *-ne* with the request form *-kudasai*: *Kuruma-ni kiotuke-te-kudasai-ne*/**sa*, which Masuoka (1991: 100) explains in terms of the lack of coercive force of request sentences.

Similarly, the final particle *-sa* can neither occur in hortative sentences as in (7a) nor in polar (yes/no) questions as in (8a).⁹ Instead, the final particle *-ne* or *-yo* should be used in these sentence types. On the other hand, the interjectional particles *-ne*, *-sa*, and *-yo* are compatible with both sentence types, as in (7b) and (8b).

- (7) a. Kondo zikan aru-toki-ni, mata aoo-**ne/yo/*sa**.
 next:time time have-when-at again meet.VOL-FP
- b. Kondo-**ne/sa/yo**, zikan aru-toki-ni-**ne/sa/yo**, mata aoo.
 next:time-IP time have-when-at-IP again meet.VOL
 ‘Let’s meet again when we (you) have time.’
- (8) a. Zyunbi-wa si-ta-kedo, hontoni asita
 preparation-TOP do-PAST-though really tomorrow
 hareru-no-ka-**ne/yo/*sa**?
 be:fine-FN-Q-FP
- b. Zyunbi-wa si-ta-kedo-**ne/sa/yo**, hontoni asita hareru-no-ka?
 preparation-TOP do-PAST-though-IP really tomorrow be:fine-FN-Q
 ‘We’ve prepared enough, but will it be fine tomorrow?’

4. Discourse-pragmatic differences between interjectional and final particles

The morpho-syntactic differences between interjectional and final particles of the same form suggest that these particles perform distinct discourse-pragmatic functions in sentences. This section illustrates that the two types of particles reveal such distinctiveness at least in terms of one of three functions they perform in sentences (information status, addressee-directedness, and speaker gender).

4.1 Information status

Interjectional and final *-ne* are contrastive in their information-status marking. The term “information status” used here requires some clarification. In our study, what is referred to as old and new information is basically in line with the relational

9. The sequence *-ka-sa* is possible in the following kind of sentence:

- (i) *Mondai-wa itu yaru-ka-sa*.
 question-TOP when do-Q-FP
 ‘The question is when we should do that.’

Here, *-sa* has a copular function, attached to the indirect question used as a noun phrase *itu yaru-ka* ‘when we should do that,’ not to an independent, direct question ‘When should we do that?’

(or non-segmentational) view of information (cf. Polinsky 1999: 567) proposed by Lambrecht, who “reject[s] the segmentation view of information” (1994: 49). Advocates of the “segmentation view of information” (Chafe 1976; Prince 1981; Birner & Ward 1998) divide a sentence into given and new parts.¹⁰ Lambrecht (1994: 50), on the other hand, argues that “[b]oth old and new information correspond to propositions and cannot be equated with the lexical or phrasal elements out of which propositions are formed.” He asserts that “new information is made up of a combination of old and new elements” and therefore “information arises by RELATING something new to something that can already be taken for granted” (Lambrecht 1994: 51, emphasis original). Consider, for example, (9). The segmentation view would claim that (*to*) *the movies* represent new information in the second sentence. However, Lambrecht argues that it is the relation established between the movies and the speaker’s going somewhere that constitutes the new information of the sentence.

(9) Q: Where did you go last night?

A: I went to the movies.

(Lambrecht 1994: 47)

Similarly, B’s utterance in (10) below contains two pieces of old information: ‘I did it’ and ‘you’re my friend,’ but this sentence as a whole expresses new information by making explicit the relation between the two presupposed propositions.

(10) A: Why did you do that?

B: I did it because you’re my friend.

(Lambrecht 1994: 58)

On the basis of this relational view of information, final *-ne* is analyzed as a particle used for concluding a chunk of old information. According to some previous studies, final *-ne* “in principle presupposes the coincidence of information/judgement between the speaker and the hearer” (Ohso 1986: 93, translated by Lee 2007: 370, also see Masuoka 1991: 96)” or “it is basically used to communicate information known to the addressee” (Iori et al. 2000: 164). In other words, when attached to the end of a sentence, *-ne* indicates that the sentence it follows represents old information (in Lambrecht’s terms), or more precisely, information the speaker believes to be accessible to the addressee.

Since the weather condition is generally obvious to both the speaker and addressee in face-to-face conversation, the weather talk such as (11) is one of the typical cases where final *-ne* occurs. The speaker believes that the proposition that it is a fine weather on the day of talking is known to the addressee. Also, a comment on the addressee’s attributes or belongings represents another common example of final *-ne* as in (12). The use of *-ne* in this kind of example may be strategically

10. This view is also referred to as the “local view of givenness and newness” (Chafe 1994: 71).

exploited – possibly for politeness purposes – to indicate the speaker’s positive appraisal of the addressee’s taste in fashion.¹¹

(11) Kyoo-wa ii tenki-desu-**ne**.
 today-TOP good weather-COP.POL-FP
 ‘It’s a fine day, isn’t it?’ (Ohso 1986: 91)

(12) Sutekina burausu-desu-**ne**.
 nice blouse-COP.POL-FP
 ‘That’s a nice blouse, isn’t it?’ (Masuoka 1991: 95)

These examples show that final *-ne* basically serves as *an old information concluding marker*, typically used to show agreement or to express a request for confirmation.

Since final *-ne* basically presupposes old or shared proposition, it cannot be used when the speaker communicates information which s/he assumes not to be shared by the addressee, like a speaker’s mental or physiological state as in (13), or a speaker’s personal information as in (14). Each speaker produces an utterance with an intention to communicate something s/he believes to be unknown to the addressee. Therefore, the zero form or the final particle *-yo* should be used in this kind of sentence.

(13) Atama-ga itai-n-desu-**yo**/ø/***ne**.
 head-NOM hurt-FN-COP.POL-FP
 ‘I have a headache.’ (Iori et al. 2001: 274–275)

(14) A: Onamae-wa?
 name-TOP
 ‘What’s your name?’
 B: Tanaka Hanako-desu-***ne**.
 Tanaka Hanako-COP.POL-FP
 ‘My name is Hanako Tanaka.’ (Lee 2007: 377)

The interjectional particle *-ne*, on the other hand, serves as *a new information priming marker* in conversation. It is basically used when the speaker is delivering a

11. Lambrecht identifies old and new information with presupposition and assertion, respectively. He advances his argument based on “speaker-hearer presupposition” rather than “hearer presupposition” (Lambrecht 1994: 59). Lambrecht would regard sentences like (12) as assertion (hence, new information), because this sentence asserts that the speaker and the addressee have now shared “common ground” (1994: 59). The use of Japanese *-ne*, however, does not require such “speaker-hearer presupposition”; only the speaker’s assumptions about the addressee’s knowledge state suffice for its appropriate use. We thus analyze sentences like (12) as representing old information, i.e., information which the speaker believes to be shared by the addressee. Lambrecht’s view of “speaker-hearer presupposition” receives criticism, for example, by Abbott, who would explain that the speaker of (12) uses final *-ne* to “acknowledge explicitly” (2000: 1432) what is assumed to be known to the addressee.

proposition which s/he considers worth communicating to the addressee. Previous studies have pointed out that interjectional particles are “attention-getting devices” (Izuhara 2008: 71) or have the function of “an appeal to listen” (Yamada 2004: 161). These accounts all suggest that a speaker inserts interjectional particles at some junctures in an utterance to draw the addressee’s attention to what is being talked about. In (15), the speaker employs interjectional *-ne* three times to keep the addressee’s attention to her story.

- (15) *Ano-ne*, *kinoo-ne*, *eigakan-it-te-ne*, *Star Wars mi-ta-n-da*.
 that-IP yesterday-IP theater-go-CP-IP *Star:Wars* watch-PAST-FN-COP
 ‘Guess what, yesterday I went to the theater and watched *Star Wars*.’

As this example shows, interjectional particles often occur with the attention-getting discourse marker *ano*, forming a common colloquial expression *ano-ne* ‘guess what’ or ‘you know what.’ Notice that such an attention-getting effort is necessary especially when the speaker wants to convey something new or unfamiliar to the addressee. In other words, interjectional *-ne*, which can be repeatedly used at the end of phrases or clauses in a sentence, serves to prime the addressee for new information (i.e., a proposition which the speaker believes to be new or unfamiliar to the addressee) to be introduced in the sentence.

Example (16), taken from the BTS corpus (Usami 2005), instantiates the use of interjectional *-ne* as a new information priming marker. The first speaker (JF11) uses interjectional *-ne* to report being stuck or delayed due to an accident her train met with yesterday. The second speaker (JF12) concludes her utterance with the final particle *-ne*, because she assumes that the first speaker would be feeling like a victim of timing and bad luck.

- (16) JF11: *Kinoo-ne*, *mata zinsinziko-ni at-ta-no* [...].
 yesterday-IP again train:accident-DAT meet:with-PAST-FP
 ‘Yesterday my train met with an accident again.’
 JF12: *Hahaha*, *tuite-nai-ne*, *anta*.
 ha:ha:ha be:lucky-NEG-FP you
 ‘Ha ha ha, what bad luck you had!’ (BTS-1)

Notice that if the second speaker replies by simply repeating the first speaker’s utterance as in (16’), the use of an interjectional particle sounds strange as a reply. The particle should be removed to make the utterance felicitous.

- (16’) JF11: *Kinoo-ne*, *mata zinsinziko-ni at-ta-no* [...].
 ‘Yesterday my train met with an accident again.’
 JF12: *Kinoo(-^{??}ne)*, *mata zinsinziko-ni at-ta-no*?
 yesterday-IP again train:accident-DAT meet:with-PAST-FP
 ‘Yesterday your train met with an accident again?’

Similarly, in (17) the first speaker (JF15) informs the addressee of a drinking party to be held on the 31st, using interjectional *-ne*. Here, interjectional *ne* is compatible with the final particle *-yo*, which is generally used to indicate new information. The second speaker (JF16) then talks about her schedule on the day.

- (17) JF15: 31niti-**ne**, nomikai aru-rasii-**yo**. [...]
 31st-IP drinking:party have-AUX-FP
 ‘I’ve heard we have a drinking party on the 31st.’
 JF16: 31niti nanka hait-te-ta.
 31st-IP something enter-PERF-PAST
 ‘(I think) I have something to do on the 31st.’ (BTS-1)

However, if we change the second utterance so that the speaker will ask back simply repeating the first utterance, the use of interjectional *-ne* is again awkward as in (17’), because the interjectional particle signals that new information is coming but the sentence communicates information already given in the preceding utterance.

- (17’) JF15: 31niti-**ne**, nomikai aru-rasii-**yo**. [...]
 ‘I’ve heard we have a drinking party on the 31st.’
 JF16: 31niti(-^{??}**ne**), nomikai aru-no?
 31st-IP drinking:party have-FP
 ‘We have a drinking party on the 31st?’

These kinds of examples show that interjectional *-ne* is less likely to occur in a sentence conveying information which the speaker assumes to be shared by the addressee.

Also, the interjectional particle *-ne* cannot be used when both the speaker and the addressee share a physical context and talk about the information accessible to both of them. In (18), for example, two students are looking at a bulletin board and find that their class is cancelled.

- (18) [Two students are looking at a bulletin board which shows that their class is cancelled on that day.]
 A: A kyoo-no zemi(-^{??}**ne**), kyookoo-na-n-da.
 oh today-GEN seminar-IP cancelation-COP-FP-COP
 ‘Oh, our seminar is cancelled today.’
 B: Soo-mitai-da-**ne**.
 so-appear-COP-FP
 ‘It appears so.’

Interjectional *-ne* in the first utterance is inappropriate because it describes mutually manifest information. The removal of the particle results in an acceptable sentence. On the other hand, the second speaker can use the final particle *-ne* at the end of his/her utterance to express agreement with the addressee.

As seen above, the final and interjectional particles *-ne* indicate different information statuses at a *propositional* level: final *-ne* indicates that the sentence it follows represents a proposition which the speaker believes to be given in the addressee's mind, while interjectional *-ne* signals that the speaker is introducing a proposition which contains information assumed to be new or unfamiliar to the addressee. Recall that the final and interjectional particles *-ne* cannot co-occur in sentences such as (2a). This is because the two types of *-ne* mark different information statuses and therefore are not compatible with each other. Note that instead of final *-ne*, the particle *-yo* is perfectly acceptable in final position because it serves as a new information priming marker, as given in (2b).¹²

Furthermore, the following set of examples illustrates an interesting contrast. When talking about a situation experienced both by the speaker and the addressee, a sentence without interjectional particles is more natural as in (19a); the use of interjectional particles lowers the acceptability of the sentence as in (19b). On the other hand, interjectional particles fit much better in a sentence where the speaker reports a situation which s/he believes not to be shared by the addressee, as designated by a sentence ending with the final particle *-yo* in (19c). Notice that since the sentence followed by final *-ne* represents information shared with the addressee, the adverbial *issyoni* 'together' invokes the addressee as one of the participants in the relevant habitual situation, hence yielding an inclusive ('together' with the addressee) interpretation. On the other hand, the use of final *-yo* along with that of interjectional *-ne* suggests that the propositional content of the sentence is assumed to be inaccessible to the addressee, therefore the sentence having an exclusive ('together' with someone else) interpretation.

- (19) a. Mukasi, yoku issyoni eiga mi-ni it-ta-ne.
 old:days often together movie watch-to GO-PAST-FP
 '(We [inclusive]) would often go to the movies together, wouldn't we?'
 b. [?]Mukasi-ne, yoku issyoni-ne eiga mi-ni it-ta-ne.
 IP IP FP
 c. Mukasi-ne, yoku issyoni-ne eiga mi-ni it-ta-yo.
 IP IP FP
 '(We [exclusive]) would often go to the movies together.'

12. Olivier Duplâtre (personal communication) attracted our attention to an insightful point that the final particle sequence *-yone* appears to consist of the final particles indicating opposite information statuses (*-yo* and *-ne*). Although an in-depth diachronic survey is necessary to provide a precise account of this observation, we consider that the sequence *-yone* comes from a speaker's discourse-pragmatic need to combine the information-presenting function of *-yo* and the confirmation-seeking function of *-ne*, which are closely associated with new and old information, respectively. It is interesting that the information-presenting marking should be followed by the confirmation-seeking one, not vice versa (*-*neyo*), as shown in (4a).

A preliminary analysis of data from the BTS corpus (Usami 2005) also supports our analysis.¹³

Table 1. IP *-ne* and sentence-ending types

	No FPs	FPs of different forms	FP <i>-ne</i> attached to in subordinate clauses	Total
IP <i>-ne</i>	72 [63%]	36 [32%]	6 [5%]	114

As shown in Table 1, approximately 95 percent of the utterances containing interjectional *-ne* ($n = 114$) were not concluded by final *-ne* as exemplified in (20) (72 examples with no final particles and 36 examples concluded by final particles of different forms), and the remaining five percent (six examples) represent cases of “in subordination” (Evans 2007) as in (21), where the *-ne* in utterance-final position can still be regarded as an interjectional particle because it is viewed as being attached to a subordinate clause with the connective particle *-kara*.

- (20) Tada-**ne**, moo sugoku nekki munmun-na-**no**.
 but-IP already terribly heat stuffy-COP-FP
 ‘But (it’s) very stuffy from the heat.’ (BTS 1, JF13)
- (21) Maa-**ne** zenryoosei-da-kara-**ne**.
 yeah-IP boarding:system-COP-because-IP(?)
 ‘Yeah, because (he goes to) boarding school ...’ (BTS 1, JF14)

Before proceeding to the next section, two apparent exceptions to our explanation are worth noting. First, the final particle *-ne* can indicate new information in volitional sentences, as in (22a) and (22b).

- (22) a. Ore asita isogasio-kara yasumu-**ne**.
 I tomorrow be:busy-because be:absent-FP
 ‘I’m not coming because I’m busy tomorrow.’
- b. Kyoo tosyokan-de benkyoosi-te-kara kaeru-**ne**.
 today library-at study-CP-after come:home-FP
 ‘Today I’m going to study at the library before coming home.’

Remember that “the use of ‘ne’ in principle presupposes the coincidence of information/judgement between the speaker and the hearer” (Ohso 1986: 93, translated by Lee 2007: 370). In the case of sentences describing a speaker’s future action, final *-ne* indicates the speaker’s intention to achieve the *consequent* coincidence or

13. The corpus data was taken from Part 6 in Japanese Conversation 1 (Usami 2005), which comprises five conversations between two Japanese female friends (approx. 78.5 minutes). This part was chosen for our analysis because the conversations were all conducted by speakers of common colloquial Japanese living around Tokyo.

concurrence of information/judgement. Unlike information about a past or present situation, the speaker's future action does not, in essence, constitute shared knowledge if not uttered. The final *-ne* in sentences like (22) prompts information sharing between the speaker and the addressee, which the speaker believes to be realized only as a result of producing the utterance.

Since final *-ne* in volitional sentences encodes some new information, it is functionally compatible with interjectional *-ne*. Therefore, it is possible to use both types of particles in a single, volitional sentence, as shown in (22').

- (22') a. Ore-**ne** asita-**ne** isogasai-kara-**ne** yasumu-**ne**.
 I-IP tomorrow-IP be:busy-because-IP be:absent-FP
 'I'm not coming because I'm busy tomorrow.'
- b. Kyoo-**ne** tosyokan-de-**ne** benkyoosi-te-kara kaeru-**ne**.
 today-IP library-at-IP study-CP-after come:home-FP
 'Today I'm going to study at the library before coming home.'

This fact suggests that it is not the simple co-occurrence of the two types of *-ne* but their functional divergence that makes it problematic to use them in the same sentence.

A second controversial example pertains to a pragmatically exploited use of the final particle *-ne*, which is illustrated in the following example:¹⁴

- (23) A: Are doo omou?
 that how think
 'What do you think about that?'
- B: Are-**ne**, ii-**ne**.
 that-IP good-FP
 'That is good.'

The final *-ne* in B's utterance is less acceptable than the final particle *-yo* (*Are-ne ii-yo*). However, the fact that B's utterance is not impossible reflects a speaker's strong intention to show his/her *kyoo-ooteiki taido* 'co-responding attitude' (Kamio 1990: 71) toward the addressee. Kamio (1990: 65) explains that the final particle *-ne* in this kind of example is optional; the speaker can exploit it to express camaraderie or solidarity by pretending as if the information were shared with the addressee. If final *-yo* were used instead (*Are-ne ii-yo*), it might highlight the speaker as an information-giver, which could, though not always, give a condescending or patronizing impression.

14. We owe this example to one of the anonymous reviewers.

A similar, strategic use is also found in (24).

(24) A: Okosan-no nenrei-wa?

child-GEN age-TOP

‘How old is your child?’

B: Eetto moosugu-nee, zyuuni-desu-ne.

well soon-IP twelve-COP-PP

‘(S/he) will be twelve soon.’

(cf. Kinsui 1993: 119)

B’s utterance presents new information to the addressee, hence the felicity of interjectional *-ne(e)*. The final particle *-ne* is also possible because it indicates that the speaker acts like extracting the relevant information from his/her knowledge, i.e., “searching” and/or “self-confirming” (Kinsui 1993: 119; Takubo & Kinsui 1997: 755) the exact age of his/her own child. The particle therefore serves to express the speaker’s *kyoo-ooteiki taido* ‘co-responding attitude’ toward the addressee by ostensibly signaling that they have achieved the coincidence of information at the end of the utterance. Here again, the use of the final particle *-yo* is of course possible, but it may emphasize information asymmetry between the participants and therefore sound blunt and brusque or sometimes impolite.¹⁵

4.2 Addressee-directedness

The information status of a proposition is not the only determinant factor for the uses of interjectional and final particles. The form *-sa* also exhibits the functional divergence of the interjectional and final uses, but their difference is mainly attributed to another kind of discourse-pragmatic meaning, i.e., addressee-directedness. The final particle *-sa* is used when a speaker “states curtly, as a matter of course or a self-evident truth,” therefore “having an indifferent or offhand nuance, generally with a masculine tone” (NINJAL 1951: 53, also Matsumura 1969: 673). It serves as “an emotive particle of a distancing or indifferent attitude, which is used in rough talk” (Nagasaki 2012: 66). Since the particle implies “the obviousness of the matter expressed” (Uyeno 1971: 97), it “does not presuppose the speaker’s particular commitment to make the hearer understand what is stated” (Ogi 2017: 146) and “does ‘not show special consideration’ to the hearer” (Ogi 2017: 146). Therefore, it is characterized as “a ‘speaker-centred’ expression” (Ogi 2017: 146), which is otherwise described as a particle of low addressee-directedness.

15. As this example shows, B’s utterance becomes more acceptable when used with expressions signaling the speaker’s recollecting or recalling behavior such as *etto* ‘well.’ The lengthened interjectional particle *-nee* often connotes a similar function.

This lack of addressee-directedness is illustrated in the following examples provided by Ogi (2017).

- (25) A: *Sonna kakko si-te samuku-nai-no?*
 such fashion do-CP feel:cold-NEG-FP
 ‘Aren’t you cold with such clothes on?’
 B: *Samui-sa.*
 feel:cold-FP
 ‘I’m cold.’ (Ogi 2017: 149)
- (26) [To a person who is about to go out lightly dressed]
Soto samui-yo/?sa.
 outside feel:cold-FP
 ‘It’s cold outside (so you should wear a coat).’ (Ogi 2017: 149)

In (25), speaker A asks B whether s/he does not feel cold with such clothes on. B’s reply “*Samui-sa*” has a nuance of ‘I (of course) feel cold, so what?’, which implicates a detached or rejecting attitude toward A’s show of concern. Example (26) illustrates the inappropriateness of final *-sa* to express an indirect speech act of directive. In English as well as Japanese, we often say “it’s cold outside” to make an indirect suggestion for wearing a coat. Such a directive force cannot be communicated with final *-sa*. If one wants to use a final particle, *-yo* is more felicitous in this situation. Since final *-sa* does not designate explicit addressee orientation, it cannot be used to get the addressee to do something. This incompatibility of final *-sa* and directives also explains the impossibility of the particle to be used in imperative, prohibitive and hortative sentences as seen in (5a), (6a), and (7a) above, all of which convey an explicit directive force to the addressee (also see Ogi 2017: 146).¹⁶

On the other hand, the interjectional particle *-sa* does not convey a distancing or indifferent attitude on the part of the speaker (Nagasaki 2012: 213), but it rather communicates a higher degree of addressee-directedness (Izuhara 2011: 9–11). As with interjectional *-ne*, the interjectional use of *-sa* is used to signal “keep pay attention to the following” (Suzuki 1990: 317). Suzuki (1990) describes the interjectional use of *-sa* as an attention-getting device, as shown in the following example:

16. The lack of addressee-directedness is more strongly perceived when final *-sa* is attached to *yoogen*, verbal elements (verbs, auxiliary verbs, and adjectives). When attached to *taigen*, nominal elements, i.e., when used as a copula, a distancing or indifferent sense of final *-sa* may be slightly weakened and therefore the sequential use of interjectional and final *-sa* can occasionally be permitted, as in (i). This may probably be related to the non-impolite or uncoarse nuance of final *-sa* in the copular use, which was predominant in the Edo period (Nagasaki 2012: 65–90, 200).

- (i) *Ore-wa-sa, yappari-sa, aitu-no-koto-ga-sa sukina-no-sa.*
 I.MASC-TOP-IP still-IP that:guY-GEN-thing-NOM-IP like-FN-FP
 ‘I still love that girl.’

- (27) Soo iu rihuzinna te-o tukau-tte iu-no-wa-sa, (attention -sa)
 ‘(The husband) used such an unreasonable means,’
 datte sonoo gakkoo-o toosite-saa, (attention -sa)
 ‘I mean, through the school (administration),’
 koo aturyoku-o kakeru-tte iu-no-wa-sa, (attention -sa)
 ‘putting pressure (on Takao),’
 sonnano zyuubun me-ni mieru-zyanai.
 ‘it is self-evident that such a thing could happen.’ (Suzuki 1990: 316–317)¹⁷

The speaker repeatedly inserts *-sa* at the end of phrases or clauses to check the addressee’s reaction or understanding, sending messages like ‘keep listening to my story’ or ‘are you following my talk?’

These observations again point to the functional divergence of interjectional and final uses: interjectional *-sa* expresses a higher degree of addressee-directedness, but final *-sa* encodes a lower degree of addressee-directedness. It is again this functional divergence that often prevents the co-occurrence of the two types of *-sa* in a sentence. In (28a) and (28b), interjectional *-sa* communicates the speaker’s constant effort to draw the addressee’s attention, but final *-sa* suggests the speaker’s more distancing or indifferent attitude toward the addressee, implying that the message is too obvious to deserve attention. Other final particles such as *-yo* and *-no* are more compatible with interjectional *-sa*.¹⁸

- (28) a. Ano-sa kono tokei-sa ugoka-nai-yo/no/ ??sa.
 hey-IP this clock-IP move-NEG-FP
 ‘Hey, this clock isn’t working.’
 b. Kyoo-sa eki-de-sa Hanako-ni at-ta-yo/no/ ??sa.
 today-IP station-at-IP Hanako-DAT meet-PAST-FP
 ‘I met Hanako at the station today.’

17. The particle *-sa* is sometimes lengthened like *-saa* as in the second line. The translation and romanization in (27) are partly modified from the original.

18. Interestingly, the sequential use of interjectional and final *-sa* is perfectly natural in the Hokkaido dialect of Japanese, because the use of final *-sa* in this dialect is different from that of common colloquial Japanese (Izutsu & Izutsu 2013b). Final *-sa* in the Hokkaido dialect indicates the speaker’s intention to draw attention to his/her story like interjectional *-sa*, hence generally used as a new information marker. Since there is no functional divergence between the interjectional and final uses of *-sa* in this particular dialect, they can be used together in the same sentence.

- (i) *Kyoo-sa eki-de-sa Hanako-ni at-ta-sa.*
 today-IP station-at-IP Hanako-to meet-PAST-FP
 ‘I met Hanako at the station today.’ (Hokkaido dialect)

Again, our corpus analysis (the BTS corpus, Usami 2005) shows a similar result to that found with the particle *-ne*, as given in Table 2.

Table 2. IP *-sa* and sentence-ending types

	No FPs	FPs of different forms	FP <i>-sa</i> attached to in subordinate clauses	Total
IP <i>-sa</i>	30 [59%]	19 [37%]	2 [4%]	51

About 96 percent of the utterances containing interjectional *-sa* ($n = 51$) were not concluded by final *-sa* as exemplified in (29) (30 examples with no final particles and 19 examples concluded by final particles of different forms). As with the particle *-ne*, the remaining four percent (two examples) are cases of “insubordination” (Evans 2007) as in (30), where the *-sa* in utterance-final position may be interpreted as an interjectional particle in terms of the unit it follows (e.g., a clause with the connective particle *-si*).

- (29) Kensyuu-tte-sa, sibaraku aru-yone
 job:training-TOP-IP for:a:while exist-FP
 ‘The job training continues for a while, doesn’t it?’ (BTS 1, JF13)
- (30) Sikamo sengo-de yaru-kara-sa, [...] sonna edozidai-no
 and postwar-with do-because-IP such Edo:period-GEN
 hanasisi-temo syooganai-si-sa.
 talk:about-CP be:useless-CP-IP(?)
 ‘And because we’re focusing on the postwar period, [...] it’s useless to talk about the Edo period and...’ (BTS 1, JF11)

4.3 Speaker gender

The final particle *-yo* “presupposes a difference of information/judgement between the participants” (Ohso 1986, translated by Lee 2007: 370), hence basically used for marking new information, as seen in (2b), (13), and (17). On the other hand, like the other interjectional particles, interjectional *-yo* serves as an attention-getting device, again signaling that something newsworthy is being introduced in a current utterance, as with other interjectional particles. Therefore, final *-yo* is mostly compatible with interjectional particles including interjectional *-yo*:

- (31) Zannennagara-ne/sa/yo, sonna tyansu-wa-ne/sa/yo, moo nidoto
 unfortunately-IP such chance-TOP-IP any:longer again
 ko-nai-n-da-yo.
 come-NEG-FN-COP-FP
 ‘Unfortunately, such a chance will no longer come again.’

However, the interjectional and final uses of *-yo* differ markedly in the gender of the speaker who uses the particles. When attached to verbal elements, final *-yo* is gender-neutral, used both by male and female speakers. On the other hand, interjectional *-yo* is basically used in “the most blunt and casual male conversation between social equals” (Maynard 1993: 184), hence strongly associated with male speech.

Thus, sentence (32a) is perfectly acceptable, because the masculine tone suggested by interjectional *-yo* is not in conflict with the gender-neutral final particle *-yo*. Interjectional *-yo* is also compatible with the first person pronoun *ore*, which generally indicates a male speaker, as in (32a); it is not congruent with the female first-person pronoun *atasi*, as in (32b). Without interjectional *-yo*, the pronoun *atasi* is felicitous with final *-yo*, which is gender-neutral, as in (32c). Furthermore, as given in (32d), interjectional *-yo* does not occur with the final particle *-wa(yo)* or *-no(yo)*, which is generally used by female speakers and is thus consistent with the use of *atasi* as in (32e):

- (32) a. Sonna koto-**yo** iwa-re-tatte-**yo** ore-datte wakan-nai-**yo**.
 such thing-IP say-PASS-even:if-IP I.MASC-even know-NEG-FP
- b. Sonna koto-**yo** iwa-re-tatte-**yo** ??**atasi**-datte wakan-nai-**yo**.
 I.FEM-even
- c. Sonna koto iwa-re-tatte **atasi**-datte wakan-nai-**yo**.
- d. Sonna koto-**yo** iwa-re-tatte-**yo** wakan-nai -^{??}**wa(yo)**/^{??}**no(yo)**.
 FP.FEM
- e. Sonna koto iwa-re-tatte **atasi**-datte wakan-nai-**wa(yo)**/**no(yo)**.
 ‘Even if you said such a thing, I don’t know either.’

It is interesting to note that final *-yo* communicates a feminine tone when attached to nominals as in (33a) and therefore is infelicitous with interjectional *-yo* with a masculine tone as in (33b) but is compatible with the female first-person pronoun *atasi* as in (33c).

- (33) a. Asokoni mieru-no-wa gakkoo-**yo**.
 there see-FN-TOP school-FP
- b. Asokoni-**yo** mieru-no-wa-**yo** gakkoo-^{??}**yo**.
 IP IP
- c. Asokoni mieru-no-wa **atasi**-no gakkoo-**yo**.
 I.FEM-GEN
- ‘What you can see over there is my school.’

5. Contrastive features of interjectional and final particles

The interjectional and final particles of the same form often exhibit contrastive features with respect to at least one of the three discourse-pragmatic functions as summarized in Table 3.

Table 3. Discourse-pragmatic functions of the IP and FP of the three forms

	<i>-ne</i>		<i>-sa</i>		<i>-yo</i>		<i>atasi</i> ‘I’
	FP	IP	FP	IP	FP	IP	FP <i>-wa(yo)</i> <i>-no(yo)</i>
Information status	old ⁺	new	old/new	new	new	new	
Addressee-directedness	high	high	low *	high	high	high	
Speaker gender	neutral	neutral	male**	neutral	neutral**	male	female
					female ***		

+ New information in volitional sentences

* More strongly perceived when attached to verbal elements

** Perceived when attached to verbal elements

*** Perceived when attached to nominal elements

We have demonstrated that this functional divergence prevents the co-occurrences of the two types of particles of the same form in a single sentence. The form *-ne* manifests a contrastive feature with respect to information status: final *-ne* indicates that the sentence it follows encodes the information the speaker assumes to be old or familiar to the addressee, while interjectional *-ne* is used to keep signaling that something new to the addressee is to be introduced in the sentence. The interjectional and final uses of *-sa* differ markedly in addressee-directedness, with interjectional *-sa* signaling a higher degree of addressee-directedness than the rather dismissive final *-sa*. It is due to these functional discrepancies that the interjectional and final uses of each form are not used in the same sentence. The form *-yo* also shows contrastive features with respect to speaker gender. Since final *-yo* is gender-neutral when attached to verbal elements, interjectional and final *-yo* can be used together in the same sentence. On the other hand, when following nominals, final *-yo* invokes a female speaker and therefore is incompatible with interjectional *-yo*, which has a strong association with a male speaker. Also, this masculine tone of interjectional *-yo* rules out its occurrence with expressions related to female speakers, such as the first person pronoun *atasi* and the final particle *-wa(yo)* or *-no(yo)*, but the non-copular use of final *-yo* (i.e., *-yo* attached to verbal elements) is gender-neutral and thus is not subject to gender constraints.¹⁹

19. Yoshio Endo (personal communication) points out that interjectional particles cannot be inserted inthetic sentences like *Ame(-[?]ne) hut-teru* ‘It’s raining.’ Thetic sentences represent ‘the

6. Conclusion

Some Japanese final particles have the same historical sources as interjectional (medial) particles, and the discreteness of the two categories has been a long-held issue since earlier attempts at the classification of Japanese parts of speech. This study raised a question: Despite the common origin, why are the interjectional and final particles of the same form less likely to be used together in the same sentence?

We have shown that the two particles of the same form now display discourse-pragmatic as well as morpho-syntactic differences. They developed along respectively different pathways and are often incongruent with each other in a sentence because of the distinct discourse-pragmatic functions they acquired throughout their development. Such incongruence can be seen as reflecting a basic sentence-structuring tendency for speakers to avoid identical forms for coding inconsistent or contradictory functions in the same sentence. A growing body of research has been interested in the relationship between the functions of pragmatic particles and their sentential positions (e.g., “the LP/RP functional asymmetry hypothesis” in Beeching & Detges 2014: 11). The discourse-pragmatic and morpho-syntactic differences between the interjectional and final particles of the same form reveal that each form can undergo unique developments, significantly mediated by the traits of the positions they occupy in sentences (i.e., post-phrasal positions vs. sentence-final positions).

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simple recognition of an event” (Kuroda 1972: 164) and none of the event participants has “any particularly distinguished role” (Kuroda 1972: 164) in the entire judgment of the sentence. We consider that this wholeness of theticity renders it unnatural to segment a sentence by inserting interjectional particles (also see Izuhara 2008).

Keys to abbreviations

ACC	accusative	MASC	masculine
AUX	auxiliary verb	NEG	negation
CAUS	causative	NOM	nominative
COP	copula	PASS	passive
CP	connective particle	PAST	past tense
DAT	dative	PERF	perfect
FEM	feminine	POL	polite
FN	formal noun	PROH	prohibitive
FP	final particle	TOP	topic
GEN	genitive	Q	question
IMP	imperative	VOL	volitional
IP	interjectional particle (medial particle)		

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Types and functions of *wa*-marked DPs and their structural distribution in a Japanese sentence

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This paper is devoted to the Japanese particle *wa*. We argue that a Japanese sentence has a CP peripheral structure, in which multiple *wa*-marked phrases can sit. The left peripheral structure in CP territory includes Topic Phrases (TopP) that host Thematic Topics (TT) in sentence-initial positions or Contrastive Topics (CT) elsewhere. These topics correspond to DPs marked with the particle *wa*. We argue that a Japanese sentence can involve multiple *wa*-marked phrases. In addition, the left peripheral structure also involves one Focus Phrase (FocP), the locus for Exhaustive Identificational-Focus (EI-Focus) elements. This FocP is the slot for focally-stressed *WA*-marked DPs. Our crucial point is that, unlike *wa*-marked phrases, a Japanese sentence has only one *WA*-marked phrase.

1. Introduction

It is well known since Kuroda (1965) and Kuno (1973) that a Japanese sentence can have multiple *wa*-marked DPs. It is also known that *wa*-marked DPs denote topics: Thematic Topic (TT) or Contrastive Topic (CT). After defining types of topics, this paper argues that in a sentence with multiple *wa*-marked DPs, *wa*-DPs hosted in sentence-initial positions mostly specify TT, while the *wa*-DPs realized elsewhere are best characterized as CT. Moreover, we demonstrate that DPs marked with focally stressed *wa*, shown here as *WA*, specify Exhaustive Identificational Focus (EI-Focus). In addition, we demonstrate that we can only have one *WA*-marked focus in a sentence, opposed to multiple *wa*-marked phrases. The organization of the paper is as follows: First, in Section 2, we make clear the definitions of topic. In Section 3, we briefly overview Nakamura's (2017) analyses on the particle *wa*. We provide Chinese and Japanese data from Paul & Whitman (2017) and others in Section 4. We move on to relevant Japanese data in Section 5. Furthermore, we

present the elaborated Japanese left peripheral structure in Section 6. Section 7 presents some theoretical implications of this paper, and Section 8 concludes the paper and presents some future issues.

2. The definition of topics

Before we begin the discussion, let us briefly clarify our definition of the term topic, based on Lambrecht (1994), Paul & Whitman (2017), and Tomioka (2016), among many others. Tomioka (2016: 761) distinguishes between the following three types of topics:

- (1) Types of topic:
 - a. *aboutness*: The entity denoted by a *wa*-phrase is what the sentence is about;
 - b. *frame-setting*: A *wa*-phrase can function as a frame-setter;
 - c. *givenness*: A *wa*-phrase corresponds to given information;

Lambrecht (1994: 50) defines that given information is the sum of knowledge evoked in a sentence which a speaker assumes to be already available in the hearer's mind at the time of utterance. This is the description that will be followed in this chapter. (2a), cited from Paul & Whitman (2015: 2), constitutes a typical example of aboutness topic. In contrast, (2b), cited from Tomioka (2016: 762), is a typical case for framesetting. On the other hand, in (2c), *sono-hon* (=that book), the definite DP plays the role of givenness topic:

- (2) a. Sono-kazi-wa saiwai syoobootai-ga hayaku kita
that-fire-TOP fortunate fire-brigade NOM quickly came
'That fire, fortunately the fire brigade came quickly.'
- b. Sono-ken-ni kansite-wa, Mari-ni makaseru-beki-desu
that-matter-DAT concern-wa Mary-DAT entrust-should-be
'About that matter, we should let Mary take care of it.'
- c. Sono-hon-wa Murakami Haruki-ga kai-ta
that-book-TOP Haruki Murakami-NOM write-PAST
'As for that book, Haruki Murakami wrote it.'

As two anonymous reviewers notice, we have to make a distinction between aboutness and frame-setting. Tomioka (2016: 762) mentions that (2b) constitutes a characteristic example of frame-setter. This is because in (2b), *wa* is attached to the gerondive form of the verb *kans*-(=to concern.) This suggests that the topic here cannot be an aboutness topic, because aboutness topics are usually nominal or quasi-nominal categories. Besides, a temporal or a locative phrase are generally categorized as frame-setters. As Tomioka (2016: 763) mentions, these can occur multiply, as shown below:

- (3) Sono-ken-ni kansite-wa boku-no iken-de-wa, Mari-wa
 that-matter-DAT concern-wa I-GEN opinion-LOC-wa Mary-wa
 kanzen-ni muzitu-desu.
 certainly-DAT innocent-be
 ‘About that matter, in my opinion, Mary is totally innocent.’

The first two *wa*-phrases are frame-setters, while the third one is an aboutness topic. One may also wonder how aboutness topic and givenness topic are different. All examples in (2a–c) contain the phrases with definite marker *sono*. But *sono-kaji* is not the argument of the sentence, while *sono hon* in (2c) is. At this point, the following distinction will suffice to illustrate my point. In (2a) *sono-kaji-wa*, which constitutes the aboutness topic, is the whole theme of the sentence. The sentence that follows describes what happened to the fire. In contrast, in (2c), *sono-hon-wa*, which assumes to constitute given topic, is already in the hearer’s mind, and the speaker explains who wrote the book. Putting these differences of functions aside, here, following Kuroda (1965), Kuno (1973) and Tomioka (2016) among many others, we put all of these into the same category: thematic topic (TT). This is to make the discussion go forward in this paper and to make clearer the distinction between TT and the other function of *wa*-marked phrase: Contrastive Topic (CT). As is also well known, *wa*-marked phrases also can signify CT. Typical examples are shown below, cited from Tomioka (2016: 765):

- (4) Context: Tell me who sang what at the concert.
 Mari-wa aru hareta hi-ni-o, Akira-wa kiyoki aiida-o utat-ta
 Mari-wa some one day-on-ACC Akira-wa pure Aida-DATACC sing-PAST
 ‘Mari sang *Un bel di*, and Akira sang *Celeste Aida*.’
- (5) Context: Who passed the exam?
 Mari-wa ukari-mashita
 Mari-wa pass-PAST
 ‘At least Mari passed.’

The English translation below (4) is given by Tomioka. The sentence actually means that ‘As for Mari, she sang *Un bel di*, and as for Akira, he sang *Celeste Aida*.’ The particle *wa* denotes CT. Tomioka argues that contrastive *wa* typically displays the focus prosody, but it is not always the case. For example, consider the case of (5) and (6). When we ask the question (6a), we can answer it by both (6b) or (6c). But as indicated by the gloss, the connotation is different:

- (6) a. Among Taro, Ken, Hanako and Mari, who passed?
 b. Mari-wa ukari-mashita
 Mari-wa pass-PAST
 ‘At least Mari passed.’

- c. Mari-WA ukari-mashita
 Mari-wa pass-PAST
 ‘Mari, but not others, passed.’

We can safely say that contrative *wa* and contrastive *WA* are different. Namely, our points are that (6b) indicates that the speaker knows only that *Mari* passed; the speaker does not know anything about the other three people. On the other hand, (6c) dictates that it is only *Mari* who passed. In this sense, *wa* signifies CT, while *WA* denotes Exhaustive Identificational Focus (EI-Focus).

3. Overview of Nakamura (2017)

In this section, let us briefly overview Nakamura (2017), who claims that *WA*-marked phrase denotes EI-Focus. Let us begin by giving one set of data:

- (7) a. Boku-wa doitsu-wa iki-tai.
 I-TT Germany-CT go-want to
 ‘As for me, I want to go to (at least) Germany (among many countries).’
 b. Doitsu-WA boku-wa iki-tai.
 Germany-EI.FOCUS I-CT go-want to
 ‘It is only Germany I want to go to.’
 c. Doitsu-wa boku-wa iki-tai.
 Germany-TT I-CT go-want to
 ‘As for Germany, I want to go there.’
 d. Demo boku-wa igirisu-ni-mo iki-tai.
 But I-CT England-DAT-also go-want to
 ‘But as for me, I want to go to England, too.’

In (7a), *Doitsu-wa* denotes CT. There may still be other countries I want to visit. In contrast, in (7b), *doitsu-WA* signifies EI-Focus. *Doitsu* (=Germany) is the only country I want to go to. This is confirmed by the fact that we can add (7d) to (7c), while we cannot add (7d) to (7b). This fact clearly indicates the EI-Focus effect denoted by sentence initial *WA*-marked phrases. The *WA*-marked phrase does show exhaustivity only when it occurs in the sentence initial position. In contrast, *doitsu-wa* in (7c) shows TT. This set of paradigm manifests the correlation of *wa*-marked phrases, structural positions and semantic interpretations. At this stage, we can summarize the interpretative correlates of *wa*-marked phrases and their structural positions as follows:

- i. Sentence initial *wa*-marked phrases denote Thematic Topic (TT).
- ii. *wa*-marked phrases not in sentence initial positions denote Contrastive Topic (CT).

- iii. Focally stressed *WA*-marked phrases indicate Exhaustive Identificational Focus (EI-Focus).

Another set of paradigm is shown below:

- (8) a. *Gakusei-tachi-wa* (riidingu-risuto-no) hon yon-satu-wa
 student-PL-TT (reading list-GEN) book-four-CL-CT
 yomi-oe-ta
 read-finish-PAST
 ‘As for the students, they finished reading (at least) four books from the reading list.’
- b. *Gakusei-tachi-wa* (riidingu -risuto-no) hon yon-satu-*WA*
 student-PL-TT (reading list-GEN) Book-four-CL-EI.FOCUS
 yomi-oe-ta
 read-finish-PAST
 ‘It is *four books* (not four papers, for example) that the students finished reading from the reading list.’
- c. (Riidingu -risuto-no) hon yon-satu-*wa* *gakusei-tachi-wa*
 (Reading list-GEN) book-four-CL-TT students-PL-CT
 yomi-oe-ta
 read-finish-PAST
 ‘As for the four books from the reading list, the students finished reading.’
- d. (Riidingu -risuto-no) hon yon-satu-*WA* *gakusei-tachi-wa*
 (Reading list-GEN) Book-four-CL-EI.FOCUS students-PL-CT
 yomi-oe-ta
 read-finish-PAST
 ‘There are four books (from the reading list) such that the students finished reading them.’

In (8a–c), the sentence-initial *wa*-marked phrases act as TT. In contrast, the *WA*-marked phrase in (8d) denotes EI-Focus. *hon yon-satu* are the only things the students read. *Hon yon-satu-wa* in (8a) and *gakusei-tachi-wa* in (8c&d) signal CT. Conversely, the *WA*-marked phrase in (8b) signifies EI-Focus. Still another set of paradigm is presented below:

- (9) a. *Sakka-de-wa* boku-*wa* Murakami Haruki-o yoku yomu
 writer-Among-TT I-CT Haruki Murakami-ACC often read
 ‘Among the writers, I often read Haruki Murakami’s novels.’
- b. *Sakka-de-wa* Murakami Haruki-*WA* boku-*wa* yoku yomu
 writer-among-TT Haruki Murakami-EI.FOCUS I-CT often read
 ‘Among the writers, it is Haruki Murakami’s novels that I often read.’
- c. ??*Sakka-de-wa* Murakami Haruki-*wa* boku-*WA* yoku yomu
 writer-among-TT Haruki Murakami-CT I-EI.FOCUS often read

- d. Sakka-de-wa Murakami Haruki-O boku-wa yoku yomu
 writer-among-TT Haruki Murakami-CF I-CT often read
 ‘Among the writers, it is Haruki Murakami’s novels that I often read.’

In (9b), the *WA*-marked phrase denotes EI-Focus effect. *Haruki Murakami’s novels* are the only ones I often read. The TT-EI-Focus-CT order manifested in (9b) is acceptable. On the other hand, (9c) is somewhat degraded because of the structural order of TT-CT-EI-Focus. Conversely, (9d) is grammatical. This is due to the EI-Focus effect given rise to by the object DP scrambling with a focal stress on the particle. For discussion, refer to Nakamura (2015a). Let us move on to the next set of data:

- (10) a. Yooroppa-de boku-wa doitsu-wa iki-tai
 Europe-Among I-TT Germany-CT go to-want to
 ‘In Europe, I want to go to (at least) Germany.’
 b. Yooroppa-de doitsu-WA boku-wa iki-tai
 Europe-Among Germany-EL.FOCUS I-CT go to – want to
 ‘In Europe, it is only Germany that I want to go to.’
 c. Demo boku-wa furansu-ni-mo iki-tai
 but I-TT France-LOC-also go to-want to
 ‘But I want to go to France, too.’

(10a) does not constitute the complete set of the countries I want go to. We can easily continue (10c) from (10a). However, the *WA*-marked phrase in (10b) denotes exhaustivity. *Doitsu* is the only country I want to go to. Next, still another set of examples is provided as follows:

- (11) a. Kono daigaku-de-wa gengo- gakka-no -gakusei-wa
 this university-among-TT linguistics department-GEN -student-CT
 yuushuu-da
 excellent-COP
 ‘In this university, (at least) linguistics students are excellent.’
 b. Kono daigaku-de-wa gengo-gakka-no
 this university-among-TT linguistics department-GEN
 -gakusei -WA yuushuu-da
 student-EL.FOCUS excellent-COP
 ‘In this university, linguistics students (as opposed to other departments’ students) are excellent.’

In (11a), the speaker may know only about linguistics students, whereas in (11b), *WA*-marked phrase obviously provokes EI-focus effect. Similar examples are already provided in Kuno (1973). In this section, we have provided paradigms to detect the TT effect sentence initial *wa*-marked phrases signify. We have also investigated the examples to observe the EI-Focus effect denoted by sentence initial

WA-marked phrases. *Wa*-marked phrases anywhere denote CT. What is not discussed in Nakamura (2017) is the fine distribution of *wa*-marked and *WA*-marked phrases. That is the point we make clear in this paper. Before moving on, however, we have to touch upon Chinese and Japanese paradigms as investigated by Paul & Whitman (2017).

4. Paul and Whitman (2017) on Chinese and Japanese topic constructions

Let us begin with the following example from Paul and Whitman (2017: 12,14):

- (12) a. Zhongguo, da chengshi, Shanghai, jiaotong Bijiao luan.
 China big city Shanghai traffic relatively chaotic
 ‘As for China, as for big cities, Shanghai, the traffic is rather chaotic.’
- b. [_{even-FocP} Lian bingqilin [_{TP} ta dou/ye bu xihuan]]
 even ice-cream 3SG all/also neg like
 ‘Even ice-cream he doesn’t like.’

As indicated in (12a), a Chinese sentence can have multiple topic elements, even without the topic marker *ne*. (12b) reveals that focus elements can be accompanied by the focus marker *lian*. In addition, let us take a look at examples below:

- (13) a. [_{TopP} Qimo kaoshi [_{FocP} lian liushi fen [_{TP} ta dou
 term.end exam even 60 point 3SG all
 mei nadao]]]
 NEG obtain
 ‘In the final exam, he didn’t even get sixty points.’
- b. * [_{FocP} Lian liushi fen [_{TopP} Qimo kaoshi [_{TP} ta dou
 even 60 point term.end exam 3SG all
 mei nadao]]]
 NEG obtain

(Paul & Whitman (2017: 14, adapted from Lu Peng 2003: 223)

(13a&b) indicate that Chinese has an order restriction between topic and focus elements.

In view of the facts indicated above, Paul and Whitman (2017: 13) suggest the following left periphery structure for Chinese in (14). This indicates that focus elements must follow topic elements:

- (14) Chinese left periphery
 Comp [topic field Top*] ‘even’ Focus (Fin)> T v VP

Moreover, Paul and Whitman (2017: 8–12) display a Japanese example in (15a) and provide the left periphery for Japanese in (15b):

- (15) a. Tyuugoku-wa daitokai-wa Syanhai-wa koutuu-ga midarete iru
 China TOP big city TOP Shanghai TOP traffic NOM disordered is
 ‘As for China, as for big towns, as for Shanghai, the traffic is chaotic.’
- b. Japanese Left Periphery (Paul & Whitman (2017: 8–12))
 Comp Top Foc/Fin T v V
wa Ga ga

Paul and Whitman (2017) claim that in Japanese, multiple *wa*-marked DPs appear in the Topic field, shown in (15b). However, they haven’t investigated the kinds of sentences with the focally marked *WA*. This is what we emphasize in the following section.

5. Japanese data with multiple *wa*-marked phrases

Let us start by the following paradigms.

- (16) a. Tyuugoku-wa daitokai- wa Syanhai-WA koutuu-ga midarete iru
 China TOP big city TOP Shanghai EI.FOCUS traffic NOM disordered is
 ‘As for China, as for big cities, it is in Shanghai where the traffic is chaotic.’
- b. Tyuugoku-wa daitokai- wa Syanhai-wa koutuu- WA midarete iru
 China TOP big city TOP Shanghai TT traffic EI.FOCUS disordered is
 ‘As for China, as for big cities, and as for Shanghai, it is the traffic (opposed to security) that is chaotic.’
- c. ??Tyuugoku-WA daitokai- wa Syanhai-wa kootuu-ga midarete iru
 China-EI.FOCUS big city - TT Shanghai CT traffic NOM disordered is
- d. ?Tyuugoku-wa daitokai-WA Synhai-wa kootuu-ga midarete iru
 China-TT big city-EI.FOCUS Shanghai-CT traffic-NOM disordered is
 ‘As for China, it is in big cities such as Shanghai, (opposed to Beijing), where the traffic is chaotic.’
- e. ??Tyuugoku-wa daitokai-WA Synhai-WA kootuu-ga
 China-TT big city-EI.FOCUS Shanghai-EI.FOCUS traffic-NOM
 midarete iru
 disordered is
- f. ??Tyuugoku-wa daitokai-wa Synhai-WA kootuu-WA
 China-TT big city-TT Shanghai-EI.FOCUS traffic-EI.FOCUS
 midarete iru
 disordered is

In (16a&b), *WA*-marked DPs signal EI-Focus. In contrast, (16c) is degraded because *WA*-marked phrase appears sentence initially, followed by *wa*-marked phrases. On the other hand, though (16d) is somewhat degraded, it still is acceptable. Moreover, (16e&f) are severely degraded because two *WA*-marked phrases occur:

- (17) a. *Ajia-wa Tyuugoku-wa daitokai-wa Syanhai-WA koutuu-wa*
Asia-TT China TT big city TT Shanghai-EI.FOCUS traffic CT
midarete iru
 disordered is
 ‘As for Asia, as for China, and as for big cities, it is Shanghai where the traffic is chaotic.’
- b. ^{??}*Ajia-WA Tyuugoku-wa daitokai-wa Syanhai-wa koutuu-ga*
Asia EI.FOCUS China TT big city TT Shanghai-TT traffic NOM
midarete iru
 disordered is

In (17a), *Syanhai-WA* indicates EI-Focus, whereas *koutuu-wa* signals CT. Besides, (17b) is degraded because three *wa*-marked phrases follow *WA*-marked DP. As has been investigated in Horikawa (2012: 71–90), among many others after Kuno (1973), the particle *ga* can also mark topic. This is shown below, which exhibits multiple subject constructions:

- (18) a. *Bunmeikoku-ga dansei-ga heikinzyumyoo-ga mizikai*
civilized country-TT male-NOM average life span-NOM short
 ‘The average life-span of males of civilized countries is short.’
 (Kuno (1973: 34))
- b. *Bunmeikoku-wa dansei-WA heikinzyumyoo-ga mizikai*
civilized country-TT male-EI.FOCUS average life span-NOM short
 ‘As for civilized countries, it is males whose life span is short.’
- c. *Bunmeikoku-wa dansei-GA heikinzyumyoo-ga mizikai*
civilized country TT male-EI.FOCUS average life span-NOM short
 ‘As for civilized countries, it is males whose life span is short.’
- d. *Bunmeikoku-wa dansei-WA heikinzyumyoo-wa mizikai*
civilized country TT male-EI.FOCUS average life span-CT short
 ‘As for civilized countries, it is males whose average life-span is short, but I don’t know anything else.’
- e. ^{??}*Bunmeikoku-WA dansei-WA heikinzyumyoo-ga*
civilized country EI.FOCUS male-EI.FOCUS average life span-NOM
mizikai
 short
- f. ^{??}*Bunmeikoku-wa dansei-WA heikinzyumyoo-WA mizikai*
civilized country TT male-EI.FOCUS average life span- EI.FOCUS short

Bumeikoku-ga in (18a) is a TT, while *dansei-WA* in (18b) and *dansei-GA* in (18c) act as EF-Focus. In addition, (18d) is OK because *dansei-WA* acts as EI-Focus and *heikinzyumyoo-wa* plays a part of CT. In contrast, (18e&f) are degraded because two *WA*-marked phrases appear.¹ Up to now, we have focused on TTs that denote frame-setters or aboutness. As is known, Japanese locative expressions or time expressions can be marked by the particle *wa* and can also signal TT:

- (19) a. Nihon(-de)-wa saikin-wa-mata bukka-wa takaku-natte-iru
Japan(-Loc)-TT these days-TT-also prices-CT high-become-PRESENT
'In Japan, these days, prices have been high.'
- b. Nihon(-de)-wa kyonen-wa yasai-no ne-wa takakat-ta
Japan(-Loc)-TT last year-TT vegetable-GEN price-CT high-PAST
'In Japan, last year, vegetable prices were high (compared to others).'
- c. Nihon(-de)-wa kyonen-wa yasai-no ne-WA takakat-ta
Japan(-Loc)-TT last year-TT vegetable-GEN price-EI.FOCUS high-PAST
'In Japan, last year, only the vegetable prices were high.'

In (19a&b), too, *wa*-marked phrases in sentence-initial or in near-sentence-initial positions indicate TTs. On the other hand, *wa*-marked phrases before predicates usually signal CTs. When it is given a focal stress, as given in (19c), it marks EI-Focus. Our next task is to take a look at examples involving multiple CTs. Let us begin with the following paradigms:

- (20) a. Yooroppa-de-wa Taro-no-otooto-wa furansu-de-wa wain-wa
Europe-LOC-TT T-GEN-younger brother-TT France-LOC-CT wine-CT
nomi-tai
drink-want to
'In Europe, and as for Taro's younger brother, at least in France, he wants to drink at least wine.'
- b. Daigakuin-de-wa insei-tachi-wa ronbun-wa-100-pon
grad school-LOC-TT grad student-PL-TT paper-CT
toshu-wa 150-satsu yomu-beki-da
book-CT 150-CL read-should-COP
'In grad school, as for grad students, they should read at least 100 papers and 150 books.'

In (20a), *furansu-de-wa* and *wain-wa* can co-occur, and they both denote CT. Likewise, in (20b), *ronbun-wa* and *toshu-wa* both indicate CT. We can put a focal stress on the particle *wa* and make it signal EI-Focus, as presented in (21a&b):

1. On the investigation of the behavior of focally marked *ga*, refer to Nakamura (2015b).

- (21) a. Yooroppa-de-wa Taro-no-otooto-wa furansu-de-WA
 Europe-LOC-TT T-GEN-younger brother-TT France-LOC-EI.FOCUS
 wain-wa nomi-tai
 wine-CT drink-want to
 ‘In Europe, and as for Taro’s younger brother, in France (not in Italy), he
 wants to drink at least wine.’
- b. Yooroppa-de-wa Taro-no-otooto-wa furansu-de-wa
 Europe-LOC-TT T-GEN-younger brother-TT France-LOC-CT
 wain-WA nomi-tai
 wine- EI.FOCUS drink-want to
 ‘In Europe, and as for Taro’s younger brother, at least in France, he wants
 to drink wine (not beer).’
- c. ^{??}Yooroppa-de-wa Taro-no-otooto-wa furansu-de-WA
 Europe-LOC-TT T-GEN-younger brother-TT France-LOC-EI.FOCUS
 wain-WA nomi-tai
 Wine-EI.FOCUS drink-want to

Both *furansu-de-WA* in (21a) and *wain-WA* in (21b) denote EI-Focus. Besides, if both *furansu-de* and *wain* are marked by *WA*, as shown in (21c), the sentence is degraded.

Summing up, in this section we have offered data to demonstrate that one Japanese sentence can have multiple *wa*-marked phrases. Our crucial point has been that *wa*-marked phrases in sentence-initial positions denote TT, while the ones elsewhere signify CT. In addition, the focally stressed *WA*-marked phrases indicate EI-Focus.

6. Japanese left peripheral structure

Based on the investigation above, we are in a position to propose the left peripheral structure of *wa*-marked DPs, as presented in (22):

- (22) [_{TopP} DP-wa [_{FocP*} DP-WA [_{TopP} DP-wa [_{FocP*} DP-WA [_{TopP} DP-wa [_{FocP*}
 DP-WA [_{TopP} DP-wa [_{FocP*} DP-WA [_{TopP} DP-wa [TP [_{vP} [VP]]]]]]]]]]]]]

(22) dictates that one Japanese sentence can have multiple *wa*-marked DPs, while *FocP** indicates that only one *WA*-marked phrase appear in a sentence. This is in line with what Rizzi (1997) argued about Italian and other languages, where one sentence can have only one focus element. We assume that *TopP*s above *FocP* designate mainly TT, while the one below *FocP* is the locus for CT. Besides, it indicates that *WA*-marked phrases cannot occur below the lowest *TopP*. By using this structure, we can schematize the structures discussed throughout the paper. (23a&b) are the structures for (16a&b). Besides, (23c) is the one for (17a):

- (23) a. [_{TopP} Tyuugoku- wa [_{TopP} daitokai- wa [_{FocP} Syanhai- WA [_{TP} kootuu-ga midarete iru]]]]
 b. [_{TopP} Tyuugoku- wa [_{TopP} daitokai- wa [_{TopP} Syanhai- wa [_{FocP} kootuu- WA [_{TP} midarete iru]]]]]
 c. [_{TopP} Ajia-wa [_{TopP} Tyuugoku-wa [_{TopP} daitokai-wa [_{FocP} Syanhai-WA [_{TopP} kootuu-wa [_{TP} midarete iru]]]]]]]

In addition, (24a–c) are the structures for (18a–c):

- (24) a. [_{TopP} Bummeikoku-wa [_{FocP} dansei-WA [_{TP} heikinzyumyoo-ga mizikai]]]
 b. [_{TopP} Bunmeikoku-wa [_{FocP} dansei-GA [_{TP} heikinzyumyoo-ga mizikai]]]
 c. [_{TopP} Bunmeikoku-wa [_{FocP} dansei-WA [_{TopP} heikinzyumyoo-wa [_{TP} mizikai]]]]]

Moreover, (25a&b) are the structures for (21a&b):

- (25) a. [_{TopP} Yooroppa-de-wa [_{TopP} Taro-no-otooto-wa [_{FocP} furansu-de-WA [_{TopP} wain-wa [_{TP} nomi-tai]]]]]
 b. [_{TopP} Yooroppa-de-wa [_{TopP} Taro-no-otooto-wa [_{TopP} furansu-de-wa [_{FocP} wain-WA [_{TP} nomi-tai]]]]]]]

Up to now, we have argued that *wa*-marked DPs occur in TopP positions, while *WA*-marked DPs occur in FocP slots.

7. Theoretical implications this paper suggests

Throughout the paper, we have just assumed that *wa* marked DPs sit in TopP, while FocP is the slot for *WA*-marked DPs. Both are assumed to sit in CP territory. One may wonder what happens in embedded clauses and *vP* territory. As is intensively discussed in Kuroda (2005) and Endo (2007), among many others, in an embedded clause, *wa*-marked DP cannot easily appear. This is shown in (26a), which is cited from Endo (2007: 54):

- (26) a. John ^{??}*wa/ga* syooziki-na koto
 John TOP/NOM honest-COP fact
 ‘The fact that John is honest.’
 b. John *WA* syooziki-na koto
 John EI.FOCUS/CF honest-COP fact
 ‘the fact that John (as opposed to Mark) is honest.’

Endo (2007) takes this fact as indicating that there is no TopP to license a topic element in embedded clauses. However, as Endo himself suggests, if *wa* is given a focal stress, as given in (26b), the sentence makes sense. This is in line with Nakamura

(to appear), who claims that there are topic and focus slots in *vP* territory. (27a&b) are both from Nakamura (to appear):

- (27) a. Majimeni Taro-*wa* hon-4-satu-*wa* yon-da
 seriously Taro-TT book-4-CL-CT read-PAST
 ‘Taro seriously read the four books, but I don’t know whether he read anything more.’
 b. Majimeni Taro-*wa* hon-4-satu-*WA* yon-da
 seriously Taro-TT book-4-CL-CF read-PAST
 ‘Taro seriously read the four books (opposed to four papers)’

We take these sentences for an indication that there is left periphery in *vP* domain. This is because all the sentences are below *majimeni*, the VP adverb. However, we have to scrutinize more on the behavior of *wa*-marked phrases in *vP* zone. In addition, we have to take into account the types of predicates. Namely, we have to investigate more of the thematic/categorial judgment described by Kuroda (2005). Moreover, as is well known since Heycock (2008: 61–63) and others, the stage-level/individual level distinction also affects the choice of the particles *wa* or *ga*.

Next, one may wonder whether the particles *wa* and *WA* actually sit in the head positions of TopP and FocP, respectively. That is in line with the claim Takezawa and Whitman (1998), citing Kayne (1994), make. They argue that the particle *ga* sits in the IP head. They also allude to the possibility of placing the particle *wa* at the CP head. Paul and Whitman (2017) also suggest this possibility. As anonymous reviewers suggest, we can make use of the coordination test to prove that the particles *wa* and *ga* are in the head positions:

- (28) a. John-(**wa*) to Mary-*wa*
 John-(TOP) and Mary-TOP
 ‘As for John and Mary’
 b. John-(**ga*) to Mary-*ga*
 John-(NOM) and Mary-NOM
 ‘John and Mary’

As shown in (28a&b), the particles *wa* and *ga* cannot appear twice since they are in the head positions. Moreover, as Aboh (2016: 151) discusses, in Gungbe, the structure for (29a) is shown as in (29b):

- (29) a. Nàwè lɔ̀ yà gbákún étɔ̀n wɛ́ é dɛ̀
 woman DET TOP hat her FOC she remove
 ‘As for the woman, she took off HER HAT.’
 b. [_{TopP} Nàwè lɔ̀ [_{Top} yà [_{FocP} gbákún étɔ̀n [_{Foc} wɛ́ [_{FinP} é dɛ̀ gbákún étɔ̀n]]]]

Their views seem very much plausible, but it is beyond the scope of this paper to formally support and advocate their approach.

8. Conclusion and future issues

Summarizing, in this paper, we have claimed that in a Japanese sentence, multiple *wa*-marked DPs can occur, which act as TT or CT and sit in TopP. In contrast, we have also confirmed that only one *WA*-marked phrase appears in Focus Phrase (FocP) in a Japanese sentence. Finally, we have also made sure the validity of Rizzi's (1997) claim that we can have multiple topics but one focus in a sentence. Let us finally touch upon some of our future issues. Firstly, we have to inquire more of the usages of *WA*-marked phrases. In this paper, we have assumed that *WA*-marked phrases consistently denote EI-Focus, but the fact is, of course, not that simple. These sentences show diverse sorts of behavior and they can act as contrastive focus (CF) in some environments, such as in *v*P domain. Refer to Nakamura (2014 and to appear) for more intensive discussion. Next, we have to scrutinize more of the possibility of placing the particles *wa* and *ga* in the head positions. In view of the facts detected in languages such as Chinese and Gungbe, we will have to propose a more sophisticated theory of those Japanese particles. Finally, we have to scrutinize more of the interactions among structural positions, phonological elements such as focal stress, and semantic interpretations of *wa*-marked phrases. This is because, as Vermeulen (2012) states, sentence-initial *wa*-marked phrase may be interpreted as CT.

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Is the information-structural contribution of modal particles in the syntax, in discourse structure, or in both?

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Traditionally, information structure belongs to sentence structure, whereas discourse particles operate at the level of discourse structure (Hansen 1998a). Modal particles, by contrast, belong to sentence structure, too. They are also widely recognized as making a significant contribution to information structure. At the same time, a distinction between modal particles and discourse particles on semantic or otherwise functional grounds is notoriously difficult and controversial (Hansen 1998a; Waltereit & Detges 2007). Recently, Ozerov (2015) has suggested that at least some of what is traditionally thought of as information structure need not, in fact, be encoded at the level of sentence grammar, but may be more appropriately regarded as reflecting discourse-structuring techniques. A re-examination of modal particles would seem to be well-suited to make a contribution to this debate, since it has long been recognized that modal particles are sensitive to syntactic constraints (such as position and sentence type) while having a discourse-related function. In this paper, I will look at the French modal particle *quand même* (Waltereit 2004). This particle, originally a concessive adverb meaning, roughly, ‘nevertheless’, has come to develop, from the end of the 19th century, two modal particle uses which can perhaps be approximately described by the meaning ‘anyway’ with a forward-looking and a backward-looking nuance, respectively, alongside further discourse-level differences. This shows that modal particles may encode, alongside sentence-level information structure, also discourse-level information structure.

1. Introduction

Modal particles are widely assumed to make a contribution to information structure. Information structure, in that line of thought, is the order and packaging of information *in the sentence* according to criteria like [+/- NEW], [+/- FOCUS]. The starting point of this paper is Ozerov (2015), who has challenged the notion of

information structure as being located solely at sentence-level structure. He has suggested, on the basis of data from Burmese, that grammatical means may just as well be deployed for narrative structuring at *discourse* level. In other words, there would be a discourse level, but grammatically encoded, information structure. Since the meaning of modal particles has long been seen as sensitive to discourse context as well as to sentence-level information structure, it would seem natural to try to apply this idea to them. In this paper, I will do this for the French modal particle *quand même*. This particle, originally a concessive adverb meaning, roughly, ‘nevertheless’, has come to develop, from the end of the 19th century, two modal particle uses which can perhaps be approximately described with the meaning ‘anyway’. We will see that this particle makes a contribution to information structure at a syntactic as well as at discourse-structure level.

The article is structured as follows. In Section 2, I will distinguish modal particles from discourse particles. Section 3 will be a brief recapitulation of research on modal particles and information structure. Section 4 will introduce Ozerov’s model of discourse-level information structure, which I suggest is crucial for understanding the functioning of *quand même*. Section 5 will be a brief overview of the history of *quand même*. Section 6 will introduce and present in detail two variants of the particle *quand même* and show their historical development. They differ mainly in that one of them is forward-looking, whereas the other one is backward-looking. These are discourse-structural, not syntactic, properties. This will show the importance of distinguishing between the discourse-structural and the syntactic properties of modal particles.

2. Modal particles vs. discourse particles

For this article, the distinction between discourse particles and modal particles is crucial. Since French is not often mentioned as a language with modal particles (see however Hansen 1998b; Waltereit 2004; Waltereit 2006; Schoonjans 2014), but is usually regarded as a language with discourse particles, it may be useful to delineate the distinction between modal particles and discourse particles applied here. I follow Waltereit & Detges 2007 and Detges & Waltereit 2009. Let me first give an example of a discourse particle and a modal particle, respectively:

- (1) <S1> El derecho a que todo ciudadano [...], por muy grave que fuera el hecho, tiene derecho a esa legítima defensa.
 ‘The right which every citizen, however serious the deed may have been, he has a right to this self-defense.’

- <S2> **Bien.** Eh... creo que hubo un tema que no quedó demasiado claro y me gustaría... repetirlo antes de la próxima consulta.
 ‘Well, eh... I think there was an issue which was not too clear, and I would like ... to repeat it before the next consultation.’
 (CorpusOral 1992)

In this example, speaker 2, taking over from speaker 1, changes topic quite abruptly, using the discourse marker *bien* ‘well’. While S1 was talking about the right to self-defense, S2 changes over to a different topic, *bien* being the only linguistic material used to acknowledge the change of topic.

Bien has as its non-discourse marker counterpart the adverb *bien* ‘well’. However, speaker S2 does not approve of anything with it, as opposed to what would be the usual function of that adverb when used holophrastically. Rather, S2 uses *bien* to close the topic of S1’s preceding utterance, and to begin a new topic. This is what characterizes discourse markers: their function is at a discourse-structural level (in this case, to change the current topics) rather than at a truth-functional one. Also, their position is variable, as is their scope. They mark the relationship of a stretch of discourse to a wider stretch of discourse, of which they are part (Fraser 1999). How long that stretch is is not enshrined in the particle’s grammatical properties; rather, it is as short or as long as the speaker chooses it to be according to their discourse-structural requirements (Hansen 1998a). To summarize, discourse particles are variable in scope, they apply to discourse structure, and they are variable in their position within or outside the clause.

By contrast, still according to Waltereit & Detges (2007), modal particles work very differently:

- (2) Vous avez **bien** reçu mon message?
 you have MP received my message
 ‘You did receive my message, didn’t you?’

This question is asked to obtain confirmation from the previous speaker about its propositional content. The French modal particle *bien*, similarly to what happened with its Spanish cognate *bien* is (a historical development from the adverb *bien* ‘well’), and turns the question asked to obtain information into an overt confirmation question. Its function is thus best described as being on the speech act level. As a consequence, the scope of the modal particle is the sentence. The modal particle *bien* also has a syntactically fixed position. It can only be placed directly after the finite verb. It thus reminds very much of German modal particles, which likewise have a syntactically fixed position and cannot be stressed:

- (3) Das stimmt **doch** nicht.
 that is-correct MP not
 ‘But that’s not right!’

A further difference is that discourse particles are cross-linguistically pervasive, whereas modal particles exist only in a comparatively small number of languages. Continental Germanic languages are most often cited as languages with modal particles. There is copious work on Germanic, and more particularly German, modal particles (cf. Fedriani & Sansò 2017 for a recent overview). But it has been argued that Romance languages have modal particles, too (Hansen 1998b; Waltereit & Detges 2007).

To summarize, discourse particles and modal particles differ synchronically in the following way:

Table 1. Discourse particles vs. modal particles

Discourse particles	Modal particles
Cross-linguistically very wide-spread	Restricted to certain languages
Variable in scope	Grammatically defined scope
Apply to discourse structure	Apply to speech act
Variable position	Grammatically defined position

Turning to the historical genesis of discourse particles and modal particles, Waltereit and Detges (2007) argue that their current differences can be explained by their respective historical pathways. Discourse markers are ultimately grounded in the coordination of human action. Based on the observation that the Spanish adverb *bien*, just as English *well*, can be used to approve of something in dialogue, Waltereit and Detges (2007: 69–71) argue that a series of metonymic steps led to the contemporary discourse marker use:

Stage 1. Adverb as sentence-word for positive evaluation

- (4) **Bien**, yo se lo dire.
 ‘Good, I shall tell her so.’ (Rueda, Pasos, 1545, CORDE)

Stage 2. Adverb *bien* in concessive argumentation

- (5) **Bien**, cierto; pero ¿qué tengo yo que ver con esto?
 ‘Good, certainly; but what have I got to do with this?’
 (Larra, Mostrador, 1831, CORDE)

Stage 3. *Bien está* as a marker of positive evaluation

- (6) [...] aquellos niños que mueren, si mueren bautizados, **bien está** [...]
 ‘those children who die, if they die baptized, it’s good.’
 (San Vicente Ferrer, Serm., 1411, CORDE)

Stage 4. *Bien está* as a marker of completion

- (7) Basta; **bien está**.
 ‘Enough, it’s good.’ (Anonymous, Relación, c. 1541, CORDE)

Stage 5. *Bien está* for concealing disagreement or announcing change of activity

- (8)
- Bien está*
- as a rhetorical device for concealed disagreement

Bien está, non habléys más de esso ya

‘It’s good [i.e. it’s enough], please don’t talk about this anymore.’

(Cristobál de Castillejo, *Diálogo de mujeres*, 1500, DAVIES)

- (9)
- Bien está*
- announcing change of activity

Ora **bien está**. Átenle al brocal de aquel pozo [...]

‘It’s good [i.e. that’s enough] now. Tie him to this well [...].’

(Rueda, *Pasos*, 1535, CORDE)

The key argument made by Waltereit and Detges (2007) is that *bien* replicates the development of *bien está* from ‘expression of approval’ to ‘change of activity’, but with the decisive difference that while *bien está* applies to the joint coordination of *action*, *bien* applies to the joint construction of *discourse*. This is how *bien* has ended up as a discourse marker.

Turning to the history of modal particles in particular, they, too, have been the subject of much recent research. They share important features with the diachrony of discourse markers that are missing from grammaticalization, for example: lack of fusion; lack of obligatorification; increase in scope (see Fedriani & Sansò 2017: 13–16 for a summary). They derive, still according to Waltereit & Detges (2007), not from the joint coordination of action as discourse markers do, but from the negotiation of the common ground. They do not originate in any transfer from the non-linguistic to the linguistic, but in the negotiation over knowledge and assumed knowledge that speaker and hearer have about the background of the current speech act. A possible bridging context for the reinterpretation of French *bien* as a modal particle is the following, from Waltereit & Detges (2007: 75):

- (10) Et mesires Pierres respondi: “Ba! “, fist il, “de n’avés vous oï comment Troies le grant fu destruite ne par quel tor? – Ba ouil !”, fisent li Blak et li Commain, “nous l’avons
- bien**
- oï dire.”

‘And Mylord Pierre answered: ‘Ba’, he said, ‘haven’t you heard about how Troy the great was destroyed and in which way this happened?’ ‘Of course’, said Blak and Commain, ‘we heard *clearly* / *well* about it.’

(Robert de Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, CVI, 31, BFM)

In this example, *bien* can be understood either as a degree adverb (‘we heard well about it’, ‘we heard a lot about it’), or as a modal particle in the modern sense (‘we DID hear about it’). *Bien* is used to counter an implied denial (‘you have not heard about Troy the great was destroyed and how this happened’). The two readings (adverb and modal particle) are linked by scalar argumentation: the stronger claim “we heard a lot about it” entails the weaker claim “we have heard about it”. The

modal particle meaning can be seen as a weakened version of the adverb meaning. This shows how the negotiation of assumptions about the background of the speech act works.

In this section we have seen that modal particles display very different behaviour from discourse particles. In particular, the former are sensitive to sentence grammar and to sentence-level information structure, whereas the latter refer to discourse-level information packaging. We now briefly review the relation of modal particles and information structure.

3. Modal particles and information structure

Already Krivonosov (1965: 502) claimed that German modal particles are placed before new information in the clause, thus noting their sensitivity to sentence-level information structure. Hentschel (1986) similarly confirmed the status of German modal particles as an information-structural boundary, but claimed that they are placed before the focal element(s), the rheme. Thurmair (1989), however, noted that there are exceptions to that. In particular, when subject (11) or verb (12) are the focus of the sentence, they can very well precede the modal particle:

- (11) A: Wer hat sich ein Fahrrad gekauft?
 Who has REFL DET bicycle bought
 'Who bought a bicycle?'
 B: PETER hat sich **doch** ein Fahrrad gekauft
 Peter.FOC has REFL MP DET bicycle bought
 'PETER bought a bicycle' (don't you remember?)
- (12) A: Da gibts doch jetzt diese BMX-Räder. Und Ruth möchte unbedingt so eins haben. Jetzt hat sie ein gebrauchtes an der Hand, das allerdings immer noch ziemlich teuer ist.
 'You know these BMX bikes. Ruth absolutely wants to have one. Now she's looking at a used one that is still quite expensive though.'
 B: Und was macht ihre Mutter?
 'And what is her mother doing?'
 A: Naja, du kennst sie **doch**. Sie KAUFT **eben** dieses Fahrrad.
 Well, you know her MP She buys.FOC MP this bike
 'Well you know her, don't you? She just buys this bike.' (both examples from Thurmair 1989: 31)

While Thurmair's point is convincing, it is interesting to note that the examples adduced require some wider discourse context to be properly appreciated. This confirms our suspicion that modal particles make an information-structural

contribution not only at sentence level but also, and perhaps more importantly, at discourse level. It almost looks as if the earlier generalizations made by Krivonosow and Hentschel implied a default monological narrative progression, whereas Thurmair's examples reflected a more dialogical and, on a clause-by-clause basis, less homogeneous structure. It is as if the information-structural contribution made by modal particles is best understood in a wider context that better reflects discourse structure. Also other works (e.g. Moroni 2010; Altmann 2010) have noted the intricate link between modal particles and sentence-level information structure. This takes us to a more general discussion of the relation between sentence-level and discourse-level information structure. In the next section, I will look at an item that is typologically wholly unrelated to modal particles; its discussion, however, illustrates the point that items whose information-structural contribution has traditionally been analyzed as relevant to the sentence level may be better understood as relating to discourse structure.

4. Ozerov's model of discourse-level information structure

Ozerov (2015) offers a reinterpretation of a Burmese marker that previously had been analysed as reflecting sentence-level information structure as a discourse-level structure marker. He notes that in information structure research, there is a wide-spread assumption for information-structural categories like topic and focus to stand in a form-function relationship with grammatical categories. He suggests that that may be a fallacious assumption in the same way as, say, semantic roles like agent or theme are not in a direct form-function relationship with syntactic functions like subject and object, or time with tense. He then studies the Burmese differential object marker (DOM) *ko*. See example (13), taken from Ozerov (2015: 389). Glosses and translations are Ozerov's.

- (13) A-ká B-ko jaiʔ-te
 A-SUBJ B-OBJ hit
 'A hits B.'

In (13), *ko* marks a patient-like argument. However, this kind of marking is not obligatory, as in (14), likewise from Ozerov's paper (2015: 390):

- (14) A: *What about your friends now?*
 B: *I don't know where they went to get drunk...*
 tɛŋŋ ɕa-tɔ=ɛ mə-twé-p^hù
 I look.for-E.NML = add NEG-find-NEG₂
 'I looked for them but did not find them.'

As Ozerov explains, previous research has tried to analyse the contrast between zero and *ko* in information-structural and referential terms, but results have been inconclusive, with no reliable coupling between it and information-structural categories like topic and focus, or referential categories like animate, specific, or generic. In his own proposal, he abandons all these distinctions that linguistic research has marshalled in the past to characterize the contrast underlying differential object marking. Rather, he suggests that the contrast between zero and *ko* in Burmese is a matter of discourse-structuring, where information comes in “packages”. These are final and non-final packages, respectively, with the final one zero-marked and the non-final one *ko*-marked. Ozerov suggests that in Burmese, the contrast between *ko* and zero is a morphosyntactic equivalent of what many other languages express as prosodic partitioning. There is no direct semantic, pragmatic or informational counterpart to *ko*-partitioning, although there can be sentence-level information-structural interpretive effects to it. However, these seem to be derivative of the wider, abstract function of marking a piece of information as either final or non-final.

In a similar way, as noted by Ozerov, cleft clauses in European languages have traditionally been analysed as focus-marking devices (cf. e.g. Kiss 1998). However, in a study of the translation of speeches given in the European Parliament (EUROPARL corpus), Dufter (2009) found that their function is often better described as discourse-based. Compare the following translations from a Dutch original, from Dufter’s (2009) paper:

- (15) a. It is not by chance that the powerful Serbian police apparatus operates mainly at local level
- b. Ger Nicht ohne Grund operiert der mächtige serbische
not without reason operate-PRS.3SG the powerful Serbian
Polizeiapparat jetzt insbesondere auf lokaler Ebene.
police-apparatus now particularly on local level
- c. Fr Ce n’est pas sans raison que le puissant
it NEG1 be-PRS.3SG NEG2 without reason that the powerful
appareil policier opère essentiellement au niveau local
apparatus serbe operate-PRS.3SG essentially at-the level local
- d. It Non senza motivo, il potente apparato di polizia serbo
not without motive the powerful apparatus of police Serbian
interviene in particolare sul piano locale
intervene-PRS.3SG in particular on-the level local
- e. Sp No sin motivo opera el poderoso aparato
not without motive operate-PRS.3SG the powerful apparatus
político de Serbia especialmente en el nivel local
police of Serbia especially in the level local

- f. Pt Não é por acaso que o poderoso aparelho policial
 not be-PRS.3SG for chance that the powerful apparatus police
 sérvio actua agora especialmente a nível local
 Serbian operate-PRS.3SG now especially at level local

Only in three languages (English, French, Portuguese), a cleft construction is being used, whereas in the other three (German, Italian, Spanish) we find a fronted prepositional phrase. This suggests that where clefts are used in discourse, it is not necessarily for their focusing function.

The goal of this section was to review some recent research which suggests that constructions that traditionally have been seen as information-structurally relevant at sentence-level, in particular in terms of “topic” and “focus”, can be more fruitfully analyzed as relevant at discourse level. I am suggesting that the same can be done for modal particles. This leads to a discussion of the French modal particle *quand même*.

5. Overview of the history of the French particle *quand même*

This brief section is based on Waltereit (2004) and Beeching (2005). The phrase *quand même* was first used in a relatively compositional sense, where the two items *quand* ‘when, if’ and *même* ‘even’ combined to form a concessive conjunction ‘even though’:

- (16) **Quand même** je pourrais disposer de mon âme, pourriez-vous accepter une si prompte flamme ?
 ‘Even if I could dispose of my soul, could you accept such a flame?’
 (Corneille, 1638)

A later step was an elliptical use, where the conjunction was used without its complement, like a sentence adverbial:

- (17) Vive le roi **quand même**!
 ‘Long live the king, no matter what!’
 (Slogan from early 19th century royalist anti-revolutionary insurgency)

Later during the 19th century, *quand même* began to be used as an adverb:

- (18) Quant aux farces, nous sommes un peu vieux, mais nous en ferons **quand même**.
 ‘Regarding pranks, we are a little old, but we do them anyway.’
 (George Sand, 1839)

It is since the end of the 19th century that modal particle uses are being attested in diachronic corpora. Here is an example from late 19th century author Joris-Karl Huysmans:

- (19) Demain, je coucherai dans une cellule; c'est **quand même** étonnant, lorsqu'on y songe!
 'Tomorrow I will be sleeping in a cell; that's astounding, when you think about it!'
 (Joris-Karl Huysmans, 1895)

Waltereit (2004) analyzed this use a modal particle on the basis of its fixed syntactic position, the polysemy with the adverbial use like in (18), its lack of stress and its speech-act related meaning. Beeching (2005) took it as a "relational hedging particle" which she claims has its origins in politeness considerations. Although Beeching does not use the term "modal particle", she explicitly follows Waltereit (2001) in acknowledging that *quand même* may have a function similar to modal particles.

In the remainder of this paper, I will focus the historical development of the modal particle *quand même* in more detail. In particular, we will see that it develops an intricate information-structural relationship that is more significant at discourse level than at sentence level.

6. Current study on *quand même*

6.1 Corpus and methodology

In this study, I am trying to shed more light on the evolution of the modal particle *quand même* and how it functions in discourse information-structurally. I have used the standard French diachronic corpus FRANTEXT. It contains currently ca. 251 million words from French, from the Middle Ages to the 21st century, from a wide variety of genres (fictional and non-fictional). I searched for present tense forms of *être* 'to be' and *avoir* 'to have', followed by *quand même*. The idea was that *quand même* as modal particle should be immediately adjacent to the finite verb. The reason for choosing *être* and *avoir* is that these are compound past auxiliaries. While this technique would certainly miss many occurrences of *quand même* as modal particle, in particular with non-compound tenses, its great advantage is that it does return very few false positives, i.e., almost all results returned are actually modal particles. 2299 results were returned. Of these, I analyzed every tenth (i.e., the first, the tenth, the twentieth etc.). The vast majority of occurrences found were from the 20th and 21st centuries; the first occurrence found was from 1842, by George Sand.

Two types of the modal particle *quand même* were found. To properly appreciate the difference, I need to introduce the distinction between two types of contrast in discourse, following Mayol (2010). Mayol calls the two *types exhaustive contrast* and *uncertainty contrast*. The first type establishes a contrast between two particular discourse referents, as in (20):

- (20) *Exhaustive contrast*
 Lui, il gagne 40.000, moi c'est 30.000.
 'His salary is 40,000, while mine is 30,000.'

Here there is an explicit contrast between two referents, *lui* (he) and *moi* (me). This kind of construction, according to Mayol, is relevantly different from the second type, namely uncertainty contrast like in (21):

- (21) *Uncertainty contrast*
 Moi je ne ferais jamais un truc de ce genre.
 I would never do anything like this.'

Uncertainty contrast is not between two discourse referents, but between one discourse referent (in this case *moi*) and implied alternatives that however are not discourse referents. The implication of (21) is "there may be people who do that, but I am not one of them".

We will now turn to the two types of modal functions found with respect to *quand même*.

6.2 The modal particle *quand même*, type 1: Backward-looking exhaustive contrast with a scalar expression

Firstly, look at the following example:

- (22) Il pouvait me faire tous les discours qu'il voulait, je ne l'écoutais pas. Mais je l'ai **quand même** entendu.
 'He could talk to me whichever way he wanted, I didn't listen. But I heard him.'
 (Remo Forlani, 1989)

In (22), *quand même* is backward-looking in the sense that it builds on a contrast with previous discourse (*il pouvait me faire tous les discours qu'il voulait, je ne l'écoutais pas*). This is exhaustive contrast in that there are two contrasting propositions, namely *il pouvait me faire tous les discours qu'il voulait, je ne l'écoutais pas* and *mais je l'ai quand même entendu*. Thus, the two contrasting items are explicitly mentioned in the text.

In addition, there is a scalar component to the contrast. The conjunction *mais*, as discussed above, presents its proposition as the stronger argument. On a presumed scale of acoustic perception and processing, listening is naturally stronger than hearing, which is in turn stronger than not hearing. The particle *quand même* suggests that while its host clause is below the top of the scale, it is above the bottom of that scale:

- (23) listening
quand même hearing
 not hearing

Example (24) likewise shows backward-looking *quand même*:

- (24) Elle a beau m'avoir averti hier de son goût pour le contact humain, je suis **quand même** étonné de la rapidité avec laquelle elle établit entre elle et nos visiteurs un tel courant de sympathie.
 'However much she told me yesterday about her sense for the human touch, I'm astonished at how quickly she creates this buzz of familiarity between her and our guests.'
 (Françoise Dorin, 1984)

Quand même manifestly establishes exhaustive contrast between the two propositions *elle a beau m'avertir de son goût pour le contact humain* et *je suis étonné de la rapidité avec laquelle elle établit entre elle et nos visiteurs un tel courant de sympathie*. The scale at play here is one of "degrees of astonishment", where the speaker would have been even more astonished had he not been "forewarned", and less so for other possible reasons, for example that he knew the person in question personally and had been more familiar with her social skills.

Another example for the backward-looking particle *quand même*:

- (25) D'ailleurs, les débuts ne sont-ils pas toujours exceptionnels ? Il est vrai qu'entre elle et moi l'exceptionnel a **quand même** duré trois ans [...].
 'By the way, aren't beginnings always exceptional? True, with her and me, the exceptional lasted three years...'
 (Hélène de Monferrand, 1990)

Here, the exhaustive contrast is between the propositions *les débuts sont toujours exceptionnels* and *entre elle et moi l'exceptionnel a duré trois ans*. The scale at play is constituted by the varying length of "beginnings", where *three years* is construed as relatively long, but not excessively so.

To summarize this section, we have seen that *quand même* as a modal particle can have a "backward-looking function", where the host clause of the particle presents an exhaustive contrast with a preceding clause along a pragmatic scale.

6.3 The modal particle *quand même*, type 2: Forward-looking uncertainty contrast

There seems to be a second type of modal particle *quand même*, with a forward-looking uncertainty contrast, but still involving a pragmatic scale.

Consider the following example:

- (26) Il ne comprenait pas lui-même ce qui lui arrivait, il me disait : “On a **quand même** dansé avec eux, on s’est soulés avec eux, mais quand je les revois, c’est comme si tout cela n’avait jamais eu lieu, ils me sont étrangers.”
‘He didn’t understand himself what was going on; he told me: “We did dance together, we got pissed together, but when I see them now it’s like none of this ever happened, they are strangers to me.”’ (Hervé Guibert, 1989)

The proposition *on a quand même dansé avec eux* ‘we did dance together’ invokes a contrast, but it is not immediately obvious with what it contrasts. This is Mayol’s (2010) uncertainty contrast. However, the *mais* in the following clause suggests that the contrast is between the *quand même*-clause and the *mais*-clause; this makes *quand même* forward-looking.

There is a scale involved here, too: Note the various social activities mentioned: It is as if the social activities (dancing, drinking) were indicative of a relatively familiar, if not very close, relationship. This is opposed to a non-existing relationship (i.e., being strangers). In other words, in (26), *quand même* evokes a scale of familiarity and intimacy, where being complete strangers is at the bottom, sharing some social activities occupies an intermediary position, and a close relationship would be nearer to the top. Again, *quand même* is placed at the middle stage of the scale (sharing a certain amount of social activities).

A further example for forward-looking *quand même* is (27):

- (27) On n’est pas militants, on n’est pas politisés, certains ne votent même pas: c’est **quand même** étrange ! Pourquoi on ne fait rien ? On ne peut même pas dire qu’on est désabusés, parce qu’on est bien placés pour savoir qu’en alliant les forces on fait bouger les choses. [...]
‘We aren’t activists, we aren’t politicized, some don’t even vote: that’s bizarre! Why don’t we do anything? You can’t even say we’re disillusioned, because we do know very well that it’s by joining forces that you make a big difference. [...].’ (Virginie Linhart, 2008)

In (27), the speaker is complaining about a perceived lack of political activism in their group. The *quand même*-clause is setting up an uncertainty contrast between, on the one hand, the speaker’s group which is presented as politically inert, and, on the other hand, other potential groups that may be more politically aware and

active. It is forward-looking in that it leads to an elaboration of the perceived lack of activism. The bottom point of that scale could be characterized as being politically inert and indifferent; the top point as being politically highly active; and the mid-point, marked by *quand même*, as inactivity as a result of frustration, rather than lack of interest per se.

Since the contrast involved with *quand même* type 2 is an uncertainty contrast, it is not necessarily assigned to a particular stretch of discourse and hence not necessarily preceding or following the particle *quand même*.

Further examples for type 2 are (28) and (29):

- (28) [...] je lui ai craché au visage. Le professeur [...] bégayait : -ça, c'est **quand même** trop fort, beaucoup trop fort ! Au visage! C'est une chose extraordinaire, une chose qui ne me serait jamais venue à l'esprit. Vous, un garçon si calme et surtout si bien élevé. Diable !

'I spat him in the face. The professor stuttered: that's too much, way too much! In the face! That's extraordinary; that would never have crossed my mind. You're such a quiet young man who has had such a good education. Bloody hell!'

(Georges Duhamel, 1939)

- (29) Il ne croit pas à la guerre. Il affirme : "Les Allemands ne sont **quand même** pas si bêtes." Il a toujours admiré beaucoup les Allemands.

'He doesn't believe that there will be a war. He says: "The Germans aren't that stupid." He has always greatly admired the Germans.'

(Georges Duhamel, 1939)

In both cases, there is uncertainty contrast: in (28), with other unspecified points on a scale of vileness; in (29), with other unspecified points on a scale of stupidity. Both examples for the type 2-use of *quand même* share a forward-looking profile in that the ensuing discourse elaborates on the *quand même*-statement. Importantly, while in both cases the stretch of discourse elaborates on the *quand même*-statement, the comment on it "fizzles out" and doesn't have precise boundaries.

7. Conclusion

In this paper, I have found that the modal particle *quand même*, first described in Waltereit (2004), really splits into two types. There is a backward-looking, exhaustive-contrast variant (type 1), which is, in some instances, still relatively close to the adverb. It is "backward-looking" in that it builds on an exhaustive contrast between its host clause and the preceding clause. It is possible to refer to this arrangement as discourse-structuring in that it works across clauses while not necessarily being a complex sentence.

The other type (type 2) is a forward-looking MP, carrying uncertainty contrast. This second type is most interesting for the question of whether MPs can make an information-structural contribution at discourse level. Forward-looking *quand même* has a strong information-structuring profile in that the particle accompanies a proposition whose content is then elaborated upon in the ensuing discourse. This elaboration is not limited to a clause, or other grammatical units. It has variable scope, as can be seen in (28) and (29).

In sum, modal particles do have important information-structural properties at discourse level, in addition to other such properties at sentence level. In other words, modal particles have more discourse-level properties than previously thought. Further research should tackle questions such as the relative frequency of type 1 and type 2 of the modal particle *quand même* and whether one developed out of the other.

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PART III

**The contribution of discourse particles
to the information-structural characterization
of illocutionary acts**

Discourse particles inthetic judgments, in dependent sentences, and in non-finite phrases

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I survey the discourse effects and conditions of selection of the German modal (discourse) particles on the basis of different questions that have always been in the focus of analytical descriptions (cf. Whitt 2015), which, however, can be formulated more clearly today. Special attention will be paid to the dimension of the Common Ground that mediates between the prior context and the current utterance or speaker and addressee and, depending on the individual modal particle morpheme, allows for negotiation of the question under discussion. Special focus is laid on the restrictions under which modal particles appear in dependent sentences.

1. Introduction: Waltereit’s objection

“How come that we have to measure discourse particles across languages by aligning and valuing them with the properties under which the German modal discourse particles are selected?”, asked Richard Waltereit at the SLE Conference in Tallinn 2018, at the workshop which has led to the present volume.¹ Compare French *quand même* and *bien*. [discourse particles or what are thought to be candidates thereof in bold print]

- (1) a. Tu n’imagines **quand même** pas que ...
‘Don’t tell me that you think (lit. ‘imagine’) that ...’
- b. Je peux **quand même** pas tout savoir!
‘Keep in mind, I cannot have knowledge of everything.’

1. I profited from the discussions during the workshop on ‘Discourse particles’ at the SLE Conference 2018 at Tallinn, Estonia, Aug. 29 – Sept 1. 2018. I am particularly indebted to P-Y-Modicom for his expert advice on French illustrations. Thanks go to two reviewers who have scrutinously looked through and commented on this paper.

Notice that what is perhaps the closest to the German modal particle *wohl*, (2b, c), yields ungrammatical structures such as *J'ai bien réfléchi bien* (intended with the German modal particle *wohl*, 'Ich habe *wohl gut* darüber nachgedacht'), which is not correct as *bien* has to be placed before the past participle.

- (2) a. Il a **bien** réfléchi à ...
 'He surely has reflected about ...' OR 'He has thought thoroughly about ...'
 b. *Il a réfléchi **bien** à ...
 intended: 'He surely has reflected about ...'
 c. *Il a **bien** réfléchi **bien**
 intended: 'He surely has reflected thoroughly...'

One does not get a discourse particle reading unless one has a second clause introduced by *mais*:

- (2) d. Il a **bien** essayé de réfléchir à cette question, mais il n'a pas trouvé de réponse.
 'Indeed, he has tried thinking about this issue, but he didn't find any answer.'
 e. *Il a essayé bien de réfléchir.
 f. Il a essayé de bien réfléchir.
 (OK, but not particle reading: only "to think well about it")
 g. Il a **bien** essayé de bien réfléchir, mais il n'a pas trouvé.
 'Indeed, he has tried thinking thoroughly about it, but he didn't find an answer.'

A minimal pair may be (3) vs. (4) with different foci (capital letters) separating the two meanings (P.-Y. Modicom, p.c.):

- (3) Ce problème est difficile: j'y ai **bien** /**DEJA** réfléchi quelques JOURS\, mais rien n'y fait:
 'The problem is tricky. For sure, I may have thought already several days about it, but I have come to no result.'
 (4) Ce problème est difficile: j'y ai **déjà** /**BIEN** réfléchi quelques jours\, mais il va falloir que j'en fasse encore plus.
 'The problem is tricky: I've been thinking about it intensely for several days, but I need to do more.'

What then are the common properties of modal discourse particles, and primarily those that characterize those of German? Note that, at least, it seems foolhardy to only go by lexical translations. What we are looking for are clear points of formal aplomb. Let us pick out a main typological characteristic that German and Dutch MPs apply: the OV condition. This also applies to the Japanese sentence-final particles.

Are their functions in line with those of German? Japanese sentence final particles/SFP can only be selected in main clauses (both of the *ga*- and the *wa* status):

- (5) *ame-da-yo* – German ‘*Es regnet doch*’ - ‘It is raining after all.’
- (6) *ka*: question – *etwa* ‘perhaps’
ne: confirming – *ja* ‘yes’
yo: declarative – *eben* ‘after all’
zo: like *yo*, but less friendly, rarely used by women
ze: like *zo* ‘yet, still’, but less friendly, never used by women
sa: down toning, ‘I believe’ – *aber* ‘but, however’
na: considering, like *ne*, – *ja* ‘yes, as is well known’
ga: *aber* ‘but, however’
no: explaining, questioning – *eben* ‘after all’, *ja* ‘yes, as is well known’
wa: indignant; female talk
kashira: female talk – *vielleicht* ‘perhaps’
yo: *doch* ‘though’

First to the syntactic scenario. Following Tanaka (2017), the Japanese SFPs are excluded in the subordinate clause. When nevertheless selected in a subordinate clause suspicious of semantic dependence (e.g. with a complement sentence with *-to* ‘that’), the respective sentence is understood as direct speech, i.e. a direct reproduction as in (7b):

- (7) a. *Udo-wa kuru-to i-tta.*
Udo-wa come-that say-PRET
 ‘Udo says he is coming.’
 b. *Udo-wa kuru-yo-to i-tta.*
Udo-wa come-SFP-that say-PRET
 ‘Udo said: ‘I am coming nevertheless.’

In Japanese, the boundary between direct and indirect speech is ambiguous, but by using SFPs or pleasantries it can be fixed yielding either direct or indirect speech. SFPs may occur also in GA-main clauses.

- (7) c. *Udo-ga kuru-yo.* ‘Udo will come all the same.’
Udo-ga kommen-SFP or ‘*Es kommt doch Udo.*’²

In a case like (7c) it is not *Udo* of whom something is predicated, but it is the entire state of affairs, ‘There is Udo who is coming’, that is confirmed or questioned. From

2. This German equivalent leaves unconsidered the fact that German MPs cannot be selected inthetic sentences. The presentative-thetic and the categorical readings cannot be told apart on the German surface form. See Brentano (1874/1924) and Blühdorn (2013).

this, the following difference between German and Japanese discourse particles derives. Japanese SFPs are selected both in categorical sentences (with the particle *-wa*) andthetic sentences (with *-ga*). By contrast, German MPs are excluded inthetic sentences (to the extent thatthetic status can be decided).

In regard of the semantics of (4): The comparison between Japanese and German yields a mixed picture insofar as the Japanese SFPs clearly meet the function of honorifics in addition to attitudinal significance. Thus, the function of Japanese SFPs does not tally with that of German MPs. We draw the conclusion that OV (i.e. left-directed valence) is not a sufficient indicator of the German MPs. Despite the fact that SFPs and MPs are projected under the same OV-structural condition, German adverbials are merged in the right half of the right middle field (Frey & Pittner 1998), to the right of the structural position of the German MPs (Abraham 1995/2005). One may say that MPs are adverbials with very specific applications of use: they are grammatical (zero projections) and, as such, completely immobile. See (8).

- (8) [_{CP} Im Garten zweimal den Rasenmäher sorgfältig zerlegt [_{leMF} e [_C hat [_{riMF} ja/aber/ doch/eben meines Wissens *[ja/aber/doch/eben] gestern *[ja/aber/ doch/eben] ein Kollege *[ja/aber/doch/eben] mit einem Schraubenzieher.
in the garden-twice-the lawn mower-carefully-dismounted-has-MP-to my knowledge-*MP-yesterday-*MP-a colleague-*MP-with a screw driver
‘To my knowledge a colleague of mine dismantled the lawn mower twice with a screw driver.’

Table 1. Structure of the German sentence ($e_{1,2,3}$ = *empty* after movement to the forefield (prefield)/FF; MF = middle field (between Comp and VP), VB = verbal bracket (Comp), le = left, ri = right, 2nd verbal bracket = V (in OV)

FF	1st VB	leMF	le-riMF	ri-riMF	2nd VB
Im Garten zweimal den Rasen-mäher ₁ sorgfältig ₂ zerlegt ₃	hat	e ₁	ja/aber/ doch/eben	meines Wissens gestern ein Kollege mit einem Schraubenzieher e ₂	e ₃

The question is, of course, what is offered by a sentential OV structure, in contrast to VO structures, in terms of MP-like effects. What is needed more than V2 and OV to warrant the functional projection of MPs? Is there in other languages a structural anaphoric dimension next to that of the equally topic-related MP? Why is this middle between the two verbal clamps, i.e. Comp and Vfinal, required for attitudinal effects triggered by MPs?

In (9a-f) it is listed what is established knowledge about the selective constraints of MPs in German.

- (9) MPs cannot be scrambled and are selected by:
- a. main clause status (root status)
 - b. speech-act autonomous subordinate sentences ('logical' adverbial sentence, nonfactive complement sentence, nonrestrictive (i.e. appositive) relative clause)
 - c. nonrestrictive attributes in DP (definite, under any quantification)
 - d. autonomous infinitival phrase
 - e. *wh*-adjunction (only target of movement)
 - f. part of (9c): *dass/wh*-autonomy yields an exclamative speech act even under subordinate form as in desiderative *Dass er bloß kommt!* (that-he-only-comes)

By contrast, MPs are not selected:

- (10) a. in sentences starting texts and
 b. in sentences with explanatory status such as definitions and in mathematics ($1 + 1 = *MP\ 2$, unless the equation is used in dialogue: *Aber eins und eins ist doch zwei* 'But one plus one is two after all').
 c. in sentences' starting jokes and fairy tales (with presentative function as *Once upon a time, there was...*).

There does not seem to be a relation to Carlson's (Carlson 1977) Essential predications (Individual level predicates/ILP) and Event predications (Stage level predicates/SLP). MPs do not seem to be licit in the following sentence types:

- (10) in presentative function in so-called "Existential clauses" (*There is a monster at the door step* or *There are bisons in the garden*).
- (11) inthetic (\neq categorical) judgments, i.e.: in sentences with subject inversion with in VP-incorporation; with *non-nominative* ('quirky') subjects and with impersonal passives such as:
- a. Mir geht es schlecht
 me.DAT is it sick
 'I am sick'
 - b. Ihn schwindelt
 him.ACC is.dizzy
 'He feels dizzy'
 - c. Es wird heftig getanzt
 it AUX.PASS vehemently danced
 'There is vehement dancing'.

Why is it that the absence of a precontext is such a strong criterion for sentences in their own form (Japanese *-ga*) and function (German *MP)? The following sections

discuss the phenomena and criteria in (9a–g) and (10)–(12) more closely. One aim will be to determine what phenomena candidates of other languages share with German MPs and which structural conditions must be lying at the bottom of these phenomena. Towards the end, we shall return to “Waltereit’s objection” and draw conclusions. Before that, however, we have to take an important intermediate step between the MP requirements in (9) and functional conditions (10).

Both epistemic modal verbs (EMVs) and MPs serve the epistemic evaluation of propositions describing events or states. However, what is the perspective unfolded by EMV? It is an intransitive relation because speaker & viewer as a source of evidence are located within a single person (speaker = viewer).³ The contrary holds for MP. With regard to the source of the evidence, MPs form a transitive relation to the extent that the location of the speaker (CG as knowledge background of the speaker) and of the addressee (CG as knowledge background of the addressee/listener) is no longer identical. The very fact that a CG between speaker and addressee is built up as the bottom upon which to negotiate the state of opinions and to bring to a current conclusion presupposes a transitive epistemic relation on *p*. EMV and MP-epistemics are different: the epistemic operator for EMV is monovalent, whereas for MP it is bivalent (Abraham 2016a). This can be well traced in the following section.

2. Modal particles in subordinate clauses

Modal particles as operators on attitudinality and on speech acts have a direct link to FORCE. On a somewhat weaker conclusion, they are linked to finiteness. Only then, we claim, the relevant criteria for epistemic valuation (assertiveness, truth condition, speech act status) are met. However, clausal subordination is non-assertive (Cristofaro 2003, 2008, 2013, 2014). From this it would follow that MPs are ungrammatical in subordinate sentences. Yet, it shows that, in contrast to the general condition of non-assertiveness, there are subordinate sentences admitting MPs. [MC=main clause, PV=performative verb, SC=subordinate clause]

- (12) a. Er kann ja wohl schreiben ... MP in MC
 he can MP MP write
 ‘He is very well capable of writing.’
- (13) b. Er sagt, dass er ja wohl schreiben kann ... MP in SC1
 he says that he MP MP write can
- c. Er sagt, er kann ja wohl schreiben ...MP in (bridge) SC2
 he says he can MP MP write

3. See *That must be a UFO* (epistemic reviewer of the appearance of the UFO = speaker).

- (14) a. Er leugnet, dass er *ja *wohl schreiben kann ... *MP in SC 3
 he denies that he MP MP write can
- b. Er schaut zu, während/derweil sie *ja wohl/ *eben schreibt
 he is watching while she MP MP MP is writing
 ... *MP in SC4
- (15) a. Er schaut zu, wogegen sie ja/eben schreibt ... MP in SC5
 is watching whereas she MP MP MP is writing
- b. Dass sie mir das ja nicht/eben NICHT abschreibt! ... MP in SC6
 that she me this MP not/MP NOT copies
- c. Eintritt *ja/*eben/*leider/^{OK}da/^{OK}polternd/^{OK}plötzlich Lady Macbeth
 enters MP/MP/to my regret there/rantingly/suddenly Lady Macbeth
 ... *MP in MC7

What is it that rules out MPs in certain other subordinate clauses? Let us analyze the SCs more closely.

- (16) a. SC1 = Complement sentence after non-factive performative verb (PV) → MP
 b. SC2 = Complement sentence without subjunction after nonfactive PV → MP
 c. SC3 = Complement sentence after factive PV → *MP
 d. SC4 = temporal adverbial SC → *MP
 e. SC5 = logical-adversative adverbial SC → *MP
 f. SC6 = speech act autonomous SC by form → MP
 g. MC7 = text initial (thetic) MC → *MP

The (subordinate) sentence types invite the following basic questions under the criterion of MP selection. See (17)–(18).

- (17) What is it that makes an SC3 (non-factive bridge complement) different from other sample sentences?
 Bridge sentences are like MCs, i.e. like direct speech after a verb of saying (performative verb). Under this premise, MPs are licensed. The sentence has the full support of FORCE and, thus, attitudinally autonomous (dialogue autonomous).
- (18) What is it that makes the subordinate clauses 3 + 4 different from sentence 7 under the criterion of MP-selection?
- a. SC3 is factive. The MC-predicate, i.e. *leugnen* ‘deny’ in our case, governs the complement-SC with assertive status. Whatever holds in terms of truth valuation, the state of affairs, i.e. event *p* described by the SC, has really taken place. In other words, the complement-SC is attitudinally non-autonomous and, therefore, cannot select MPs.
- b. SC4 is a temporal adverbial SC. The subjunctions *während/derweil* produce dependence of the SC-event from the MC. This, in turn, renders the SC attitudinally non-autonomous making MP-selections illicit.

- c. In contrast to SC4, SC5 is a logical-adversative adverbial sentence. From this derives the premise that logical subordinations (signaled by subjunctions as *wogegen* ‘whereas’, *weil* ‘since, because’, etc.) have independent attitudinal autonomy, whereas eventive subordinates live under MC-autonomy. Logically linked sentences have their own attitudinal autonomy, while eventively linked subordinates do not. The assumption is that this lexically motivated difference is generally in dependence-theoretical (valence theoretical) terms. Let us sum this up in the concordance of sentence type and MP-autonomy as in the following section.

3. MP in specific subordinate sentences

MPs can be selected in specific subordinate sentences, but not in others. They are rejected when it comes to event linking (19) but accepted in cases of logical linking (20):

- (19) a. Er schrieb, als sie *ja/*eben kochte ... * temporal Adv-clause
 he wrote while she *MP was cooking
 b. Nur jene Männer, die *ja Voyeure sind,
 only those men who *MP voyeurs are
 ... *restrictive relative clause
- (20) a. ER/*Er schrieb, wogegen SIE/*sie ja/eben kochte⁴
 He was writing whereas she MP was cooking
 ... logical Adv-clause
 b. Männer, die ^{OK}ja alle Voyeure sind, ... appositive relative clause
 men who MP all voyeurs are

In the subjective causal clauses marked by *weil* + Verb second, it is possible to observe the combination of MPs and focus accent (21).⁵ Similar, but not identical, phenomena can be observed in ‘in subordinate’ sentences, i.e. full utterances exhibiting the form of a complementizer clause (22):

- (21) a. ER schrieb, weil ^{OK}SIE <hatte>⁶ ja keine Zeit <hatte>
 he wrote because she <had> MP no time <had>
 ... focus accent
 b. Er schrieb, weil *#sie <hatte> ja keine Zeit <hatte> ... no focus accent

4. Contrastive stress is mandatory in both sentences.

5. Notice that normatively subordinating *weil* takes main clause word order in this colloquial case. It takes the interpretation of coordinating subjectively causal *denn* in this case. See Abraham 2016d.

6. *Weil* selecting root V2 is colloquial substandard, but is gaining in acceptance. Since V2 is a strong root feature, MP-selection comes as a natural consequence.

- (22) a. Er bat, dass er ihm *ja/^{OK}JA nicht böse sein möge complement-SC
 he asked that he him MPnot mad be may
- b. Er bat, er möge ihm *ja/^{OK}JA nicht böse sein ... bridge-complement SC
- c. Dass er mir *ja/^{OK}JA nicht böse ist! ... SC-form
 (speech act: autonomous imperative)
- d. ..., dass er mir *ja/^{OK}#JA nicht böse ist! ... SC by form & content
 ... that he (to) me MP not mad be
- e. ≠ Weil [] er ist mir ^{OK}ja/*JA nicht böse ... V2-SC
 (subjective logic:⁷ because he is (to) me MP not mad)
- (see Catasso 2017; Freywald 2018)

The MP-selection criterion opens a totally new scenario of sentential (or phrasal) autonomy. Given the syntactic semantic point of view and judging from ‘structure-in-the-structure’, subordinate clauses can either have presuppositional status (e.g. non-factive verbs) or assertive status (e.g. factive verbs). As MPs lend attitudinal and discourse embedding status, the difference of SC-form and SC-content receives new importance. Despite its SC-form regardless the MC-predicate, (22c) has complete attitudinal autonomy. This is what matters for MP selection: MPs need sentential autonomy and presuppose this property as licensers of (speech act) content. MPs require illocutionary potential – and, consequently, a (discourse and dialogue oriented) CG base. We will discuss all of this – syntax status against illocutionary status – once again on the basis of factive predication.

- (23) Factivity of a transitive predicate means that the illocutionary operator is transferred to the complement sentence. This means that the factive predicate contains not only a performance component, but also a speech act component:
 XP denies that YP = XP asserts that it is not the case that YP.

7. The term of “subjective logic” (Abraham 2016a, b, c) is based on the observation that causal sentences with *weil/because* + V2, i.e. subordinates sentences with verb second position (instead of the usual sequence characterizing subordinate clauses with Vfinal), the causal relationship is not motivated by the state of affairs (events), but by on a purely speaker subjective basis. More concretely, this is the case when (i) *Sie freut sich, weil er früh nach Hause kommt* ‘She is happy because he comes home early’ has an intentionality different from (ii) *Sie freut sich, weil er kommt früh nach Hause* with the SC-preivate located in second position (Comp), which is regular only for MCs. To satisfy (i) the question would have to be ‘When/Under which circumstances is she happy?’, in contrast to (ii), which would have to be ‘What does she say when she is happy?’. Like the causal coordinator *denn* ‘since’, V2 under the subjunction *weil* ‘because’ unfolds a subjective justification, in a clearly less motivating event-related sense, i.e. something like ‘She is pleased, because – as she says: he will come home early’. The motivating perspectives are different and allowing the viewer two different conclusions. Neither Freywald (2018) nor Catasso (2017) project this perspectival difference between subordinate Vfinal and V2 and propose an explanation of subordinate V2.

- b. Otto bereut nicht, dass er *ja alles Bier ausgetrunken hat.
 Otto regrets not that he MP all beer finished has
 (same conclusion as above)

In both cases, the selection of MP is uninterpretable.

Nonfactive: *beweisen* ‘prove’ etc.

- c. Kopernikus hat bewiesen, dass die Erde kugelförmig ja ist.
 K. has proved that the earth spherical MP is
 (conclusion: *the earth is a globe* is asserted)
- d. Kopernikus hat nicht bewiesen, dass die Erde ja kugelförmig ist.
 K. has not proved that the earth MP spherical is
 (the conclusion above is dropped, as the complement sentence is not
 asserted, but only presupposed)

In both cases, (26c) and (26d), the selection of MP is idiomatic and well interpretable.

What this shows is that the MP-selection criterion works against a background which is quite different from the distinction of assertive vs. nonassertive (presupposed) SCs. Assertedness is linked to the FORCE-potential of the FIN-node (relating to truth valuation). The felicity of MP-selection is determined and made independent of FIN on the strength of speaker deixis (Common ground), speech act status, and modality as a subcategory of FORCE.

4. Prosody as MP-selector

This section is directly concerned with Information Structural notions (theticity, prosody, and the semantics of subject inversion). Thetic sentences are not discourse embedded, but are solitary in context. Thetic sentences (in contrast to categorical sentences) deselect MPs. This, in turn, is subject to regularities of sentential prosody.

- (26) KÜHE stehen (*ja) im Garten
 cows stand (MP) in the garden

The subject in the sentential prefield is by default without accent. Accent makes it a thetic exclamation. Focused *KÜHE* may also signal a contrastive reading (*cows* in contrast to other objects in the garden). The same effect is yielded by hat prosody (signaled by rising and falling accent, /... \)

- (27) Richtig /AUF regt mich ^{OK}ja GAR NICHTS\
 very much excites me MP/Adv-perhaps nothing

The last sentence, (27), has two interpretations: the one with contrastive accent *AUF* in the sentential prefield (as, for example, in contrast to *AB(regt)* ‘calms

down'; and another presentative-thetic interpretation with hat prosody creating a sentential whole as expressed by (27'). The presence of an MP is compatible only with the non-stage direction, i.e. a categorical reading. Only this reading exhibits discourse-embedding. In contrast to (27'), a thetic reading for (27) seems difficult to get.

- (27') [_{CP}Es regt [_{MF} mich [_{MF} [_{VP} GAR NICHTSauf]]] (Presentative thetics)
 it excites me nothing at all (with default prosody)

Thetic sentences are independent of discourse or dialogue influences. In Japanese such sentences are marked with the case particle *-ga* (in contrast to *-wa*) (Kuroda 1972). German does not have such morphological means for the identification of thetics. It uses mainly presentative sentences with subject inversion in discourse initiating function ([_{CP} it once was [_{VP} a King...]). Hat prosody is another identifier of thetics. To do this, thetics exclude contrastive readings as they are unembedded in discourse (thetic, as it were). See the following (27)–(31). The verb particle *AUF*-‘up’ in the sentential prefield (SpecCP), the default position of the subject, ousts the subject into a rhematizing position in the MF, thus creating more narrative tension (‘excitement’ in the terms of Behaghel 1932). Sentential thetics is also linked to Verum focus. Compare (29) and (28):

- (28) Richtig/ AUF regt mich ^{OK}ja_{MP}/*vielleicht_{MP/ADV} GAR NICHTS\
 very much excites me MP / *perhaps nothing
 (declarative with hat prosody)⁸
- (28') AUFtritt da (*ja) der HOMO NOVUS. (quote from F. Raddatz)
 up steps there (*MP) the homo novus (scene initiating)
- (29) Das IST ja_{MP}/vielleicht_{MP} aufregend! (Verum focus exclamative)
 this is MP / MP exciting!
- (30) Dass das *ja_{MP}/*vielleicht SPANNEND ist! (declarative exclamative)
- (31) Dass das *bloß/*ja/ /BLOß(/JA) SPANNEND\
 that this *unstressed MP / stressed MP exciting becomes.
 (adhortative exclamative)
- (32)≠(29) Das ist ja VIELLEICHT_{ADV} AUFREGEND_{DEFAULT ACCENT}
 this is MP perhaps exciting (nonthetic (categorical) declarative)

8. Despite its exclamative potential, the sentence is not a proper thetic sentence. The selection of MP *ja* confirms this. Note that a decision alone on the basis of contrastive stress does not lead to a decision between categorical discourse embedding vs a discourse-initiating function. Both share this prosodic characteristic.

Notice above all the accent alternants on the MP combinations. We deduce from this a principled difference regarding syntactic licensing and speech act felicity. We assume that the stress positions in (28) are either contrastive (*AUF-* vs. *AB-* or *NICHT AUF-*) or broad prosodic (typically stress in the prefield (SpecCP), which is normally unstressed for subject lexicals). Moreover, we note individual MP-selections: such as between the MP *vielleicht* and *ja* (presumably motivated by the semantic clash between the strong exclamative character and epistemic weakening by *vielleicht*. Verum focus and hat prosody create individual conditions for MP-selection. See (27) and (31). MPs in the complement SC are excluded as in (30), while they are idiomatically selected in the exclamative hortative speech act (31). (28) is not a properthetic sentence since MP *ja* can be selected. Note, however, that the hat prosody is not incompatible with a discourse-initiating function. Consider (28'), which is undoubtedlythetic, while (28) is categorical. It is difficult to determine what the different qualities are of (28) and (28') that allow us to adduce different speech act and judgment status. Maybe this is so because (28') is shorter thereby more adequate as athetic exclamative.

Identifiers of sentential thetics are characterized by: sentences with an empty sentential prefield/SpecCP and subject inversion (VP-internal subject), sentences with hat prosody, sentences with Verum focus, and, as will be discussed in more detail, sentences with focused subject in the prefield. Exclamatives, it seems, are generallythetic. Yet, each of these forms may also have a nonthetic interpretation. German does not provide a syntactic or morphological form that unambiguously identifies a sentence inthetic function.⁹

5. MP-immobility

MPs cannot be scrambled. Their position in the right middle field of the German sentence, left of all adverbials, is fixed (with one exception that will be taken up in Section 8). Despite this immobility, MP-selection in DPs is subject to interpretive alternation in dependence of referential constraints. Taking the adjectival meaning of attributes to be shared by the host N or not be shared MP-selection can take place or it cannot. Referential features with respect to DP can be divided into *event*

9. One reviewer offers the position that there are selective restrictions for MP usage inthetic sentences and that these restrictions can be suspended in sentences with a contrastive stress. This would imply a previous context with salient alternatives such that the discourse-embedding value of MPs becomes felicitous. Among prosodic focus strategies, Verum Focus is the one that facilitates the easiest the use of MPs as the contextually salient alternatives pertaining to the truth value of *p*. This captures exactly the domain for the intervention of MPs.

inner [+divisible, +additive] and *event outer* [–divisible, –additive] properties. Inner features apply when the view on the event is taken from inside of the event itself, while on the outer view a separate perspective is adopted. This is akin to the distinction of imperfective and perfective aspect. Thus, referential all quantification in *alle Münzen sind aus Gold* ‘all coins are made of gold’ is related to aspectual imperfectivity, while referential restriction as in *nur Münzen, die aus Gold sind* ‘only coins that are of gold’ relates to aspectual perfectivity. See (33) vs. (34) signaling the difference by different focus accents:

- (33) Die/Solche **ja/doch** goldenen MÜNZEN = Münzen, die ja/doch
 the/such MP golden coins coins which MP
 golden sind (DP-imperfectivity)
 golden are (nr/appositive RS)
- (34) Die/Solche ***ja/*doch** GOLDENEN Münzen = (JENE) Münzen, die
 the/such MP golden coins those coins which
 *ja/*doch golden sind (DP-perfectivity)
 MP golden are (restrictive RS)

(33) counts for coins in general, since they are all golden in the first place. (34), in contrast, holds only for coins that are made of gold. MP-selection is possible only for DP-imperfectivity with the event-state characteristic in terms of [+divisible, +additive, +inner], i.e. for appositive (nonrestrictive) relative sentences (nrRS). However, MP-selection is excluded for DP-perfectivity and restrictive relative clauses as for eventualities of the feature characteristic [–divisible, –additive, +outer]. This division, however, is not sufficient to separate the grammatical from the non-grammatical. Nonrestrictive (appositive) attributivity and the basic relative clause have to be of scalar maximality/Gr to select an MP. See (35a, b) in contrast to (34c):

- (35) a. Sie trägt ihre Schuhe, die **ja** umwerfend sind. ... nrRS+Gr
 she wears her shoes that MP smashing are
 b. Sie trägt ihre Schuhe, die **ja** völlig abgetragen sind. ... nrRS+Gr
 she wears her shoes that MP totally worn down are
 c. Sie trägt ihre Schuhe, die ***ja** braun sind. ... nrRS-Gr
 she wears her shoes that MP brown are

The color *brown*, which does not allow scalar differentiation, deselects MP. Compare (36c) with (36a, b):¹⁰

10. One might think of comparables of *braun* ‘brown’, i.e. *bräuner* ‘brownier/more brown’ or *weniger braun* ‘less brown’. Consider the ideological-political meaning of *braun*.

Formal attribute representations:

- (36) a. * $[_{DP} \text{ihre}]_{CP} [_{AP} \text{ja}]_i C^o [_{IP} [_{DP} \text{Schuhe}] \dots _t_i]] \dots$ no attributive restriction
 b. $[_{DP} \text{ihre}]_{CP} [_{G} \text{umwerfenden}]_i C^o [_{IP} [_{DP} \text{Schuhe}] \dots t_i]] \dots$ **nrRS+GR**
 c. $[_{DP} \text{ihre}]_{CP} [_{AP} [_{G} \text{ja völlig abgetragenen}]]_i C^o [_{IP} [_{DP} \text{Schuhe}] \dots t_i]]$
 ... only for **rRS+GR**

The only shift of position that MPs can undergo out of the sentential middle field is to a *wh*-word in the prefield. This MP-adjunction to *wh* may yield mirative effects.

- (37) a. Was LACHT er **denn** so?
 what laughs he MP so
 b. WAS **denn** / Was=**n** LACHT er so! (signaling lack of appreciation)
- (38) a. Was macht das (**denn**) **schon/bloß** AUS?
 what makes this MP MP MP out
 ‘What difference does it make?’
 b. WAS **schon/ bloß** macht das (**denn**) AUS! (negative reaction)

It is to be assumed that the mirative effect in the two (b)-versions is due to FORCE involved in the adjunction of MP to the *wh*-word. The modal component of MPs is generally carried by Speaker deixis in FORCE (Abraham 2016a, b, c, 2019). Consider that fronting often yields modal effects.

6. MP in nonfinite constructions: Clause syntax or speech act felicity?

MPs are selected in infinitival and participial phrases, see (39a, b. c) (cf. Gärtner 2017), i.e. in Bech’s (Bech 1955) first and third status government, not, however, in the second status. See (39b). [**##** signals constrained usage since, in our case of a direction on a ski slope, uninterpretable]

- (39) a. Brettfahrer **##(eben/doch/DOCH)** der linken Spur folgen_{INF}!
 boarders MP the left track follow
 (imperative)
- b. Dann **doch/DOCH** abgeschnallt_{PART} (, auf jeden Fall doch)!
 then MP buckled off in any case MP
 (imperative)
- c. (Ach,) Wie (**denn/DENN**) (die) Probleme (**denn/ DENN**)
 Ah how MP the problems MP
 an(*zu)gehen_{INF}? ... rhetorical question
 (*to) approach

Infinitival phrases do not have syntactic CP-status as the tense node (and with it FORCE for truth valuation) remains unused. Yet, infinitival phrases select MPs albeit not in the function of sentential operators but as speech act operators. This is due to the fact that bare infinitives and past participles can be used with imperative and interrogative functions:

- (40) a. **Bloß** da abbleiben/abgeblieben von! (imperative)
 MP there stay/stayed away from
- b. Wen **denn schon** fragen?! (rhetorical *wh*-question)
 whom MP MP ask
- c. *Mutter **denn schon** fragen?! (*yes-no* question)
 mother MP MP ask

We assume that the specific speech act autonomy is due to the idiomacy of (40a, b) independent from clause and finiteness status. Given specific contexts, infinitives and past participles are able to execute directive and interrogative acts.

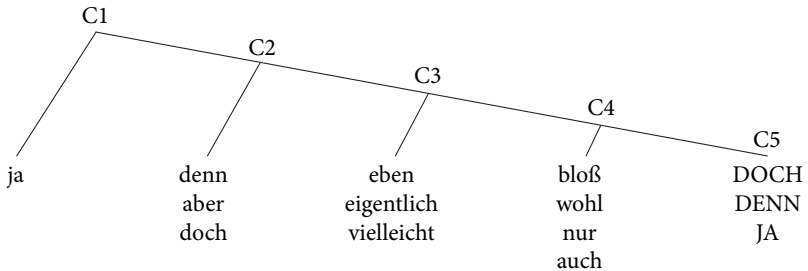
7. MP and scene-setting

Since MPs are discourse- or dialogue-embedded they create specific CGs. As such they are not selected inthetic (text and dialogue introducing, i.e. contextless) sentences:

- (41) a. Es war ***eben**/***ja** einmal ein König zu Thule.
 it was MP once upon a time a king at Thule
 (legend introduction)
- b. Trat da ***eben**/***ja** ein stämmiger Matrose in die
 entered there MP a stocky sailor into the
 Hafenkneipe. (joke introduction)
 harbor pub
- c. Trafen sich ***eben**/***ja** Hase und Igel am Ackerrand.
 met REFL MP rabbit and hedgehog on the edge of the field
 (fable introduction)
- d. Willst Du mir (**denn WIRKLICH**) helfen? (dialogue introduction)
 will you me MP help

The modal phrase *denn WIRKLICH* in (41d) signals that a dialogue is being continued and that a specific CG has been created already which is subject to further negotiation. Without *denn WIRKLICH*, (41d) may serve as a discourse

- (45) C1-INTERJECTION > C2-COORD > C3-ADV > C4-FP > C5-CONTR
 [C = zero = grammatical projection (there is no SpecMP). C stands here for ‘category’, not for the usual ‘Comp’]



- (46) a. Wie **denn** **bloß** soll ich leben?
 how MP2 MP4 shall I live
 ‘How, by all means, am I to live?’
 b. *Wie **bloß** **denn** soll ich leben?

Notice that the stressed variants in (45), *DOCH*, *NUR*, *DENN*, and *JA*, do not share the status of MPs in the narrow sense as they can be selected in the sentential prefield. They have the status of adverbs. Dutch, one of the few V2/OV-languages, shares the relative order of MP-combinations.

- (47) a. [_Cdat [_{leMF} of ik het hem [_{riMF} **dan toch weer eens** [_{v/VP} [_{ADV}
 that whether I it him MP
 een keer [_v uitgelegd heb]]]]]]
 once explained have
 b. *dat ik het **dan toch weer eens** [_{leMF} hem een keer uitgelegd heb.
 c. dat ik dan toch **weer eens** [_{VP} een boek heb gelezen.
 „dass ich dann doch wieder einmal ein Buch gelesen habe.“
 d. *dat ik [_{VP} een boek **dan toch weer eens** gelezen heb]
 e. Doe dat **dan nu toch maar weer eens even** [_{VP} over.
 do that MP again

The constraint on MP combinations implies that MPs cannot scramble freely either.

8. Generalizations

Let us draw first conclusions.

- (48) Syntax: MPs occupy a position in its own right, the structural Topic-about position in the sentence. It seems that this position has formed and consolidated in the history of German (Abraham 1990, 1991; van Gelderen 1992). Typologically, this may mean that a language without a Topic- about structure cannot project MPs (a discourse particle of the German, narrow definition as discussed in the present paper). See (49a) as opposed to (49b). [e=(lexically) empty, leMF=left middle field, riMF=right middle field, ScS=scene setter]
- (49) a. $[_{CP} DP_{Subject} / Adv_{ScS} [_C V [_{leMF} \dots [_{riMF} [_{About-Topic} MP [_{VP} \dots]]]]] \dots \text{categorical}$
 b. $[_{CP} e [*MP [_{VP} Subject \dots]]] \dots \text{thetic/presentative}$

The syntactic representation in (49b) is shared by all constructions with subject inversion (VP-integration), among which constructions with *non-nominative* subjects (see Abraham & Leiss 2006 and Abraham 2019b).

- (50) Aboutness-topic implies the existence of a ground/CG. MPs are not only discourse or dialogue involved, but they are also CG manipulators. In other words, MPs create dialogue embedding with Speaker's-Addressee's negotiation of the CG (as in *Der ist ja blöd* <he-is-MP-stupid> with the MP 'yes' indicating expected approval by the Addressee).
- (51) MPs are licensed ultimately by force of their speech act status. This confirmed by MP selection in purely infinitival structures and attributes to DPs.
- (52) MPs have the potential for signaling mirativity (when adjoined to *wh*-expressions in the sentential prefield; when deviating from default accent; under Verum focus; when aligning seemingly incompatible coordination (Abraham 2017).
- (53) MP combinations exhibit category-motivated serialization motivated by their individual lexical sources, from which the MPs have formed through grammaticalization.
- (54) We noticed that MP-selection is possible in nonrestrictive (appositive) adjectival attributes (and the underlying relative clauses), but not in restrictive attributes (relative clauses). Of course, it does not follow that only nonrestrictive relative clauses allow for dialogue embedding. Compare 'inner' DP reference (with MP-selection) is not equivalent to 'outer' DP reference (without this selection, i.e. *MP). Anyway: What explains what inner DP reference has to do with MP-selection?

- (55) It is maintained that *Wh*-adjunction of the otherwise immobile MP results in special mirative effects.
- a. WAS=**n**/ **denn** LACHT er so!
 what=MP laughs he in this way
 (content of p not appreciated or even not understood)
 - b. WAS **schon**/**bloß** macht das (denn) AUS!
 (content of p not appreciated as argued for)

We concluded from this that the MP in this SpecCP-attachment in the tree enters the structural space of speech act function as an illocutionary (attitudinality) subcategory of FORCE. This confirms the special illocutionary status of the structural Topic-about node.

We detect one main aporia before the background of all these relations. Given that dialogue and discourse embedding is the main criterion for MP selection, how can the occurrence of MP in appositive (but not restrictive relative clauses), and logical (but not event-based) subordinate clauses brought under this criterion? What do *nreRS* and *logSC* have to do with discourse course embedding more so than *reRS* and *eventSC*? How if MP selection just presupposes CG batching such that the very existence of CG in the sense of (42)–(43) entails all other prerequisites such as discourse and dialogue integration, illocution and, thus, FORCE?

9. Discourse particle or modal particle?

Do discourse particles in languages other than German and Dutch not have the same discourse and dialogue quality because they do not meet the specific MP criteria? Recall “Waltereit’s objection”: « Must we measure all discourse particles on the properties of German ». See (56), one of Waltereit’s French illustrations. Note that gloss and discursive meaning are held separate. The translation means to be as idiomatic as possible.

- (56) a. Tu n’imagines **quand même** pas que
 you not imagine ^{‘MP} that ...
 ‘Don’t tell me that you think that...’
- b. Je peux **quand même** pas tout savoir!
 ‘I can’t know everything, you know!’

What is to be maintained is this. To evaluate and translate German discourse particles on nothing but lexical meaning is foolhardy and would be far off a translation resolution. Compare the claims posited by Harald Weydt (1989):

The best would be that the translator forgets that German has MP-lexicals. Instead, he should strive at getting to the heart of the intention of the German text [...] and translate in accordance with the means provided by the French language such that a French reader collects that impression that gets the closest to that of a German Reader.¹²

See the presence of *quand même* in the quote from the French translation of Goethe's *Faust* in the structural representation in (58): *quand même* is clearly a main clause connector, not an MP. See (57) as well as (58).

- (57) Den Teufel spürt das Völkchen nie, / **Und wenn** er sie beim Kragen hätte.
'Small people never feel the devil, even if he holds them by the neck.'
- (58) [_{CP1} Les pauvres gens ne soupçonnent jamais le diable], [_{CONN} **quand même** [_{CP2} il les tiendrait à la gorge]].

Quand même would nowadays be replaced by *quand bien même* or *même si* (p.c. Pierre-Yves Modicom).

CONN	CP2	MF	[_{VP} V	ADV]
<i>quand même</i>	<i>il</i>	<i>les</i>	<i>tiendrait</i>	<i>à la gorge</i>
even if	he	them	would get	at their throat

See the literal German (58), and its structure in (59):

- (59) [_{COORD} Und [_{CP-VORFELD} [_C **wenn** [_{leMF} er sie [_{riMF} (**dennoch/trotzdem/**
?doch/?ja) [_{VP} beim Kragen [_V hätte]]]]]]]

_{CP} prefield	Comp	leMF-anaphors	riMF-MP	riMF-Adv	Verb bracket
<i>Und</i>	<i>wenn</i>	<i>er sie</i>	dennoch/ trotzdem (?ja/?doch)	<i>beim Kragen</i>	<i>hätte</i>

Notice that coordinators spell out contrariness in an apodosis, while subjunctives relate to a protasis: *quand même/dennoch/und doch/trotzdem/nevertheless*_{APODOSIS} CONTRARINESSGE ≠ *obwohl/wenngleich*_{PROTASIS CONTRARINESS}

12. „Die Frage, um die es hier wirklich geht, ist vielmehr: „Wie würde ein alter Mann, der im Deutschen so spricht wie Borcherts alter Mann, in analoger Situation auf Französisch sprechen?“ Am besten würde der Übersetzer also ganz vergessen, daß es im Deutschen Partikeln und dieser Sprache spezifische Ausdrucksmittel gibt. Er sollte sich statt dessen bemühen, die durch den deutschen Text erfaßte Intention [...], gemäß den Mitteln, die die französische Sprache bereitstellt, in einer Weise teilzuerfassen, daß ein französischer Leser einen Gesamteindruck erschließen kann, der dem eines deutschen Lesers möglichst nahekommt.“ p. 338, transl. WA)

- (60) [_{CP-PREFIELD} Und [_{C'} wenn [_{leMF-er} sie [_{riMF} **trotzdem/*doch/*ja/DOCH** am Kragenl [_{VP} hätte]]]]]]

[_{CP} prefield	Comp/V-bracket	leMF-anaphors	riMF-MP	riMF-Adv	Verb bracket
<i>Und</i>	<i>wenn</i>	<i>Er sie</i>	<i>trotzdem/*ja/ *doch/DOCH</i>	<i>am Kragen</i>	<i>hätte</i>

In (58)–(61) it is shown, by using meaning equivalents as well as structural analyses, *quand même* is not a discourse particle in the narrow sense (MP).

- (61) a. [[_{CP1-subjunction} **Quand bien même** [_{CP2} il pleuvrait]], [_{CP3} je serais present]]].
 ‘**Even if** it should rain, I would be there.’
 b. Tu m’a blessé mais [_{CP} je [_{VP} t’aime [_{MF-coordinator} **quand même**]]]]
 ‘You hurt me, but I love you **in spite of everything**’
 c. [[_{CP} **Quand bien même** tu m’a blessé,_i je t’ai aimé t_i]
 ‘**Even though** you hurt me, I loved you.’

Note that (61c) is clearly not an MP, but a connector. Yet, this does not hold for (56a) and (56b). We maintain: MP-epistemics captures a shift of perspective to the extent that the addressee, upon invitation by the speaker, might be prepared to negotiate further the CG-content. In other words, the selection of MPs will have to meet the following conditions:

- (62) a. subjective propositional value with respect to the speaker
 b. interaction **between speaker and addressee**
 c. perspectival shift (displacement):
 Sp displaces himself from himself, i.e. speaker acts also as reviewer (Sp=viewer)
 Sp is displaced from Addr, i.e. Sp≠(viewer=Addressee)

The following section takes the difference onto an even clearer level of analysis.

10. MP as CG-manipulators

The basis of the discussion (Common ground/CG, see also the notion of *question under discussion* (*Qud*) or German/Latin *quaestio*) requires linking to discourse and dialogue. It takes into the complex of the negotiation between the speaker and the addressee what is commonly assumed and what can motivate step-by-step (CG1 > CG2 > ...) advances in the ongoing discourse or dialogue (signaling positive results of the negotiation as well showing where the negotiation failed to yield positive results or holding on and returning to previous steps of CG).

- (63) *DOCH wird er sie ...*]_{APODOSIS}: *DOCH* presupposes (adds to CG) the implication (conversational implicature) that protasis and *p* are in contradiction with one another, i.e. (protasis, *p*).

CG (CP1=not suspect (Arme ‘poor’, Teufel ‘devil’) [CP2 gets them by the collar (devil, the poor)])

Read: From the protasis, CP1 (*sie verachten den Teufel nicht*) it is expected that the devil will do no harm to the poor (CP2). From this follows via the *DOCH* link that the devil will indeed do harm to the poor (*sie an der Gurgel kriegen wird*).

- (64) *Er wird sie doch nicht an der Gurgel kriegen*]_{APODOSIS}: *doch* presupposes (adds to CG) the implication that there is no contradiction to *p*.
CG(CP1=not suspect (poor, devil)) [CP2 gets them by the collar (devil, the poor)].¹³

Read: From the protasis, CP1 (*sie verachten den Teufel nicht*) it is expected that the devil will do no harm to the poor (CP2). From this and the link via *doch*, it follows the contradiction does not keep the devil from harming the poor (*sie an der Gurgel kriegen wird*).

- (65) *Er wird sie ja nicht ...*: *ja* presupposes (adds to CG) the implication that *p*.

From the protasis, CP1 (*sie verachten den Teufel nicht*) it is expected that the devil will do no harm to the poor (CP2). The *ja*-link confirms the expectation that the devil will do no harm to the poor (*sie nicht am Kragen hätte*).¹⁴

In her investigation of the Middle English ‘pragmatic markers’ *gan*, *anon*, *gelamp*, *bifel*, *hwæt*, and *I gesse*, all meaning something like ‘I guess’, Brinton (1996: 6) lists the following distinct functions on the level of text:

- (66) On the propositional and textual level:
- a. to mark various kinds of boundaries (to initiate or end a discourse or to effect a shift of the topic);
 - b. to assist in turn-taking in oral discourse or ‘chunking’ (marking of episode or paragraph) in written discourse;
- and at the interpersonal level:

13. Actually, *quand même* here is comparable to „Il ne va quand même pas leur sauter à la gorge!” (p.c. P.-Y. Modicom).

14. One reviewer emphasizes that the argumentation here should heed the fact that the contradiction in the original quote is built the other way round, with doing harm to the poor as “postponed protasis”.

- c. subjectively, to express speaker attitude;
- d. interactively, to achieve between speaker and addressee (appealing to addressee or expressing shared or common knowledge).

(66d) corresponds to the concept of Common Ground for *p*-negotiation (unmentioned by Brinton as a term).

11. CG and speech act requirements for individual MPs

CG and speech act requirements are specific for each individual MP morpheme. Rhetorical effects derive from formal deviations like tension between sentence type and speech act. See (67) see also Müller 2014):

- (67) a. Du willst **doch** kommen!? ‘You will come, won’t you.’
CG: Speaker’s doubt, expectation, and warning towards Addressee
- b. Du willst **ja auch** kommen. ‘You will come anyway, won’t you?’
CG: Speaker’s invitation to Addressee to confirm Speaker’s claim
- c. Er wird **eben auch** kommen. ‘He WILL come, as was argued before.’
CG: Speaker’s rearguing, Speaker’s argumental step towards Addressee in a dialogical exchange
- d. Der IST_{MP}/*ist_{ADV} **vielleicht** _{MP}/*_{ADV} ein Gauner! ‘Oh, what a real rogue he is.’
Speaker pronouncedly reconfirms an earlier claim

As an adverb, *VIELLEICHT* has to bear strong accent. As an MP (in functional zero-projection) it cannot bear strong accent. In particular, MPs cannot be verum focused.

12. About-topic

What is it that the About-topic structure in the right middle field achieves?

- (68) Topic-about links to:
- a. Dialogue/discourse/precontext (≠ anaphoric)
 - b. Speaker deixis (in FORCE/modal/CG-operator)

The structural position « Topic-about- » in the German middle field projects the CG domain. This requires a category field to be opened between V2 and Vfinal (the ‘middle field’). We have argued on a typological criterion: « Where no about topology, there is no MP in the narrow CG structure and illocution-creating sense ». We show this once again in terms of the variation of definiteness and word order in the midfield (a text passage from W. Borchert’s book title ‘Nachts schlafen die Ratten doch’):

- (69) a. Nachts schlafen [_{leMF} die Ratten (**gerne) **doch** [_{riMF} (gerne, merkwürdigerweise, in allen Ländern, an allen Stellen)]]
 ‘At night sleep the rats preferably MP preferably, strangely, in all countries, at all places.’
- b. Nachts verzehren [_{leMF} die Ratten [_{riMF} (**gerne) [_{riMF} **doch** (gerne) (***doch**) [_{VP} ihre Beute]]]]
 ‘At night devour the rats preferably MP preferably MP their prey’
- c. Nachts schlafen [_{riMF} **doch** [_{postfield} die Ratten]]
 ‘At night sleep MP the rats’
- d. Nachts schlafen [_{leMF} sie [_{riMF} **doch**, [_{extraposition} die Ratten]]]]
- e. ??Nachts schlafen ja [_{VP} die RATTEN_{contrast accent}]
- f. Nachts schlafen [_{leMF} die Ratten [_{riMF} ja **doch**]]

The structural sentence field of German is strictly divided according to position and definiteness. Where movement occurs in line with text conditions, this will be indicated by contrastive accent. With the exception of the sentential default accent position on the lowest head of the VP, other accents are laid on arguments and adjuncts displaced from their base positions. The external subject argument in the prefield (SpecCP) is the only constituent bearing no accent. All other phrases bear contrastive accent in SpecCP. Note that contrastive stress creates conditions for MP selection as it creates context, i.e. the prime and necessary condition for MP-selection.

13. Conclusion: Do you speak an epistemic or an MP-language?

According to Abraham and Leiss (2014), MVs project **intransitive** modality.

- (70) a. Er **muss**_{MV} gerne in Danzig sein._{imperfective} ... EMV
 ‘He must love to be in Gdansk’
- (71) b. Er **muss**_{MV} in Danzig begraben werden._{perfective} ... DMV
 ‘He must be buried in Gdansk’

Generally, it holds that MV+perfective (*muss sterben* ‘must die’) yields deontic readings, whereas MV+imperfective (*muss in Danzig sein* ‘must be in Gdansk’) reads as an EMV. The concept of modal intransitivity substantiates that speaker and observer (viewer) converge thus yielding an ‘inner (‘intransitive’ – speaker=viewer) perspective’, **Sp=Addr**. The addressee stays outside and does not adopt a perspective of his own. By contrast, **transitive** epistemicity holds for MPs.

- (72) Er muss [**ja auch/eben/schon**]_{Spr≠Adr} in Danzig begraben werden.
 he must MP in Gdansk buried be

The speaker negotiates a new CG with the addressee, the viewer-from-outside: Speaker \neq Addressee – what holds is the outer ('transitive' speaker \neq viewer) perspective. In other words, the modal categories MV and MP are distinguished by their valence: MV(Spr/Addr) \neq MP(Spr, Addr). CG status is implied only by the two-place relation, (Spr, Addr). Speaker invites the addressee by means of MP to negotiate a CG and come to terms on it. The individual MP-lexemes signal each different **speaker hypotheses** about the most recent CG-stance (*ja \neq eben \neq schon*). There is no CG for (Sp/Addr). We can posit the following question as a reaction to Waltereit's complaint: Does your, i.e. the reader's, native language exhibit a speaker-listener-deictic *intransitive* or *transitive* grammar? Your individual response is also the answer to the question whether your language possesses discourse particles of the narrow (MP) or wide sense (no MP). Needless to say, however, the much more interesting question is what is behind such a typological difference. Is the answer developed in the present discussion the last word on that?

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Information structure, null case particle and sentence final discourse particle

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This paper discusses the nature of sentence final particles (SFPs) in Japanese from the perspective of the Theory of Mind (ToM). After presenting some properties of SFPs in Japanese by making reference to familiar languages like German, I will discuss a syntactic mechanism of creating non-standard questions with SFPs by making use of Abraham's (2012) idea of moving MPs in German into ForceP to fix illocutionary force. I will next show that SFPs trigger the deletion of Case particles in Japanese to create a new discourse-related semantic effect of eliminating focus. Some implications of my approach are also touched upon, where a new functional head is suggested to explain some interesting behaviors of *how come* questions involving the semantic interpretation of surprise and curiosity.

1. Introduction

In this paper,¹ I will discuss the nature of sentence final particles (SFPs) in Japanese from the perspective of the Theory of Mind (ToM). Among several approaches to ToM, I will focus on the theoretical linguistic approach pursued by Abraham and Leiss (2008, 2009) and Leiss (2012) (see Papafragou 2002 and Papafragou et al. 2007 for a psychological approach, Davidson 2001 and Popper 1959 for a philosophical approach). There is a controversy about the locus of modality in ToM. As opposed to the popular view by Nuyts (2000) that modality is a non-linguistic

1. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the workshop "Discourse particles and information structure" of the 51st Annual Meeting of the Societas Linguistica Europaea 2018, held at Tallinn University, Estonia. I am grateful to the participants of the workshop and anonymous reviewers for invaluable questions and comments on an earlier version of this paper. Special thanks go to Andrew Radford, Luigi Rizzi and Ur Shlonsky for helpful discussion of an earlier version of this paper. This research is funded by a Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (C) and (A) of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (Project 16K02639 and 19H00532).

category that exists in our minds independently of the linguistic means to express it, Leiss (2012) makes the strong claim that the human ability to have a ToM is language-driven, based on a discussion of modal particles (MPs) in German. In this paper, I support the latter view by showing that SFPs in Japanese play an active role in syntactic and semantic/pragmatic computations in the framework of the cartography of syntactic structures (see Cinque 1999 and Rizzi 1997 among others). This paper is organized as follows. I will first introduce some basic ideas on the cartography of syntactic structures. I will next present some properties of SFPs in Japanese by making reference to familiar languages like German, where I will discuss a syntactic mechanism of creating non-standard questions with SFPs by making use of Abraham's (2012) idea of moving MPs in German into ForceP to fix illocutionary force. With this background in mind, I will go on to show that SFPs trigger the deletion of Case particles in Japanese to create a new discourse-related semantic effect of eliminating focus. I will further note some implications of my approach by looking at two types of *how come* questions in English, where a new functional head is proposed to explain some interesting behaviors of *how come* questions involving the semantic interpretation of surprise and curiosity. I will end by summarizing the whole discussion.

2. Background

2.1 The cartography of syntactic structures

Let me start by introducing some basic ideas about the cartography of syntactic structures that are used in the rest of the paper. Based on the idea that the CP zone is characterized by scope/discourse properties (cf. Chomsky 2001), Rizzi (1997, 2004) claims that there are various functional heads in the CP zone for questions, topic, focus, relatives, and so forth, as shown in (1), and that scope/discourse interpretations are determined by a family of principles, the Criteria, which require a scope- or discourse-related element to enter into a Spec-head agreement relation with respect to features of the relevant class: Q, Top, Foc, R, Mod and so forth for questions, topic, focus, relatives, modifier, for example.

- (1) Force Top* Int Top* Focus Mod* Top* Fin IP (Rizzi 2004)

Because Japanese is a head final language, the linear order of functional heads is the mirror image of that in (1), where various functional heads appear in the right-periphery and the specifier of the associated functional heads appear in the left periphery. Thus, consider the following:

- (2) [_{FORCEP} [_{FIN} [_{TOPP} Asita-wa [_{IP} ame-ga furu] no] ka]²
 tomorrow-TOP rain-NOM fall Fin Force_Q
 ‘Will it rain tomorrow?’

Here, the heads of interrogative force (=Force_Q) and Fin head are pronounced as *ka* and *no* respectively in the right periphery and the specifier of TopP *asita-wa* ‘tomorrow-Top’ appears in the left periphery. The SFPs that concern us here appear to the right of Force elements as shown below, where a new functional head above ForceP, i.e. Speech-actP, is postulated to host SFPs, based on the fact that SFPs express speech-act, following Haegeman & Hill (2014).

- (3) [_{SPEECH-ACTP} [_{FORCEP} [_{FIN} [_{TOPP} Asita-wa [_{IP} ame-ga furu] no] ka] ne]
 tomorrow-TOP rain-NOM fall Fin Force_Q SFP
 ‘Will it rain tomorrow?’

2.2 Some properties of SFPs and MPs

With the background presented in the previous section in mind, let us next consider some basic properties of SFPs in Japanese by making reference to German MPs. Japanese is well known for its abundance of SFPs that express modality (Tokieda 1951 and Sato 2000), where modality means the speaker’s mental attitude to the proposition. Like German MPs, Japanese SFPs have no effect on the truth conditions of a sentence (Davis 2009), but they have a diverse range of usages according to context and interpersonal relationships (Tanaka 2000). Although Japanese SFPs differ in their syntax, and perhaps also in their semantic/pragmatic functions, from German MPs in several respects (Coniglio & Zegrean 2012: 241, fn1), there are at least some aspects of Japanese SFPs that do not differ in their semantic/pragmatic functions from German MPs. To illustrate the point, let us consider the fact, originally pointed out by Jacobs (1986, 1991), that MPs modify illocutionary force, as exemplified by the following German sentences expressing directives in the sense of Searle (1985) with various MPs, as shown in (4), which are borrowed from Coniglio & Zegrean (2012: 233, see also Coniglio 2014 for the discussion of MPs in German):

2. As an anonymous reviewer points out, the particle *ka* may signal information other than questioning, such as discouragement or regret with a falling intonation, surprise with an emphatic pronunciation, etc. Multi-functional though it may be, the particle *ka* is represented as a Q-particle in the rest of this paper, because we are only concerned with the use of *ka* in questions. See Section 3 for the treatment of multi-functional element in the framework of the cartography of syntactic structures.

- (4) Ruf die Polizei!
 call the police
 ‘Call the police!’
- a. Ruf **halt** die Polizei!
 - b. Ruf **mal** die Polizei!
 - c. Ruf **doch** die Polizei!
 - d. Ruf **JA** die Polizei!
 bloss, nur, etc.

Here, the clause type is imperative in all cases, but the pragmatic strength of the order is modified and ordered according to the meaning of MPs. In parallel to this, illocutionary force in Japanese (modified by SFPs) and pragmatic strength are ordered as in the German case above, as shown below:

- (5) Keisatu-o yobi-nasai.
 police-ACC call-IMP
 ‘Call police!’
- a. Keisatu-o yobi-nasai **na**.
 police-ACC call-IMP-SFP
 - b. Keisatu-o yobi-nasai **ne**.
 police-ACC call-IMP-SFP
 - c. Keisatu-o yobi-nasai **yo**.
 police-ACC call-IMP-SFP
 - d. Keisatu-o yobi-nasai **tteba**
 police-ACC call-IMP-SFP

In the following section, I would like to support Leiss’s (2012) claim that the human ability to have a ToM is language-driven by showing that SFPs in Japanese play an active role in syntactic computations.

2.3 Some instance of SFPs

Bearing in mind the points made in the previous section, let us examine some instance of SFPs. SFPs in Japanese encompass a complicated and diverse range of usages, from typical to atypical, according to context and interpersonal relationships. In fact, Tanaka (2000) states that SFPs have chameleon-like qualities. Among the wide range of properties expressed by SFPs, special attention is paid here to the feature [+empathy], which has not drawn much attention in the previous literature on SFPs in the syntax-pragmatic interface that we are interested in. The most frequently used SFP in Japanese is *yo*, which indicates the speaker’s attitude that the stated proposition before the SFP is under the control of the speaker (Takiura 2008).

Accordingly, it is typical to use the SFP *yo* to elicit a sense of insistence (e.g. Kamio 1994 and Davis 2009), as can be shown by the following example from the comic *Peanuts* borrowed from Schultz (2008), where Charlie Brown speaks to Snoopy and his utterance in Japanese is suffixed by the SFP *yo*:³

- (6) a. I'm home!
 a'. Kaette.kita yo!
 home.came SFP

Here, the subject *I* is not pronounced in the Japanese translation, which typically happens when the subject DP is topic (see the Appendix for the topic nature of deictic pronouns in Japanese).

The second most frequently used SFP in Japanese is *ne*, which indicates the speaker's attitude that the stated proposition before the SFP is under the control of the addressee, not the speaker, and can be used to issue confirmation.⁴ Due to this property, the SFP *ne* is sometimes translated into tag-questions in English, but this is not always the case because the SFP *ne* can be used to make the addressee feel comfortable as if the speaker and the addressee would share similar interests or information, as we see in (7):

- (7) Customer: Kono oniku ikura desu ka?
 this meat how.much is.polite Q
 'How much is this meat?'
 Clerk: Eeto, sore-wa 250yen desu ne
 Well that-Top 250yen is.polite SFP
 'Well, it costs 250 yen' (Kamio 2002: 73)

Here the clerk reveals the price of a product to his/her customer by using a sentence suffixed with the SFP *ne* in order to make his/her customer feel comfortable to show that (s)he claims similar interests with his/her customer, which I suggest is characterized by the feature [+empathy]. The use of the SFP *ne* is seen in the following example, again from the comic *Peanuts*, where Patty looks at Charlie with empathy and her utterance in Japanese is suffixed by the SFP *ne*:

3. The Japanese translation is made by Syunzi Tanigawa.

4. To determine the frequency of the use of the SFPs *ne* and *yo*, I checked the comic book *Sazae-san* (volume 1) and found that there are 54 sentences suffixed by the SFP *yo* and 47 sentences suffixed by the SFP *ne*. I found that the SFP *yo* is more frequently used than the SFP *ne* in other comic books that I will mention below.

- (8) Patty: That's cute... I like it...⁵
 Kawaii wa...i namae **ne**.
 cute SFP nice name SFP
 Charlie: Maybe, I'll just jump into the lake right here.
 Kono mizuumi-ni minage siyoo ka **na**
 this lake-into jump do.might Q SFP

Note that Charlie's sentence is suffixed by the SFP *na*, which signals weak confirmation by the speaker about the proposition. Here, the SFP *na* is combined with the immediately preceding Q-particle *ka* to create what Bayer and Obenauer (2011) and Obenauer (2004, 2006) call "I-can't-find-the-value questions", where the speaker is more interested in expressing his/her emotion than seeking information from the addressee. See Hirayama (2015) for the sequence *ka-na*. As an anonymous reviewer points out, this type of question has recently been discussed under the term "common ground" or "question under discussion", where the speaker aims at a common evaluation with the hearer regarding some action/state of affairs. See Trotzke (2017) on this point. Note also that Patty's utterance is suffixed by the SFP *wa*, which I will discuss in the Appendix.

The difference between the SFPs *ne* and *yo* can be seen in the following two sentences uttered by Lucy from the comic *Peanuts*:

- (9) a. (looking at Charlie Brown): If anyone hits a ball to right field, let me know.
 a'. Dareka-ga right-ni utta-ra osiete **ne**
 anyone-NOM right-to hit-if tell.me SFP
- (10) a. (looking angrily at Snoopy and raising a finger): You'd better watch what you write in that autobiography!⁶
 a'. Jizyoden-ni kaku kotoni-wa kiotuketa hoogai wa **yo**.
 autobiography-to write what.you.write watch had.better SFP SFP

In (9), Lucy is asking a favor of Charlie Brown, where she seems to have mind reading with Charlie. In the Japanese translation in (9a'), the sentence is suffixed by the SFP *ne* carrying the feature [+empathy]. In contrast, in (10) Lucy gives Snoopy an angry warning, where she does not seem to have empathy towards Snoopy because when a speaker gives a warning to an addressee, s(he) would be more concerned with expressing his/her emotion than worrying about how the addressee would feel as a result of his/her warning and anger. The corresponding Japanese sentence

5. Here, the pronoun *it* refers to *name* in the previous context, which Syunzi Tanigawa translates as *namae* 'name' in Japanese.

6. An anonymous reviewer asks whether the SFP *wa* is related to the topic particle *wa*. See Appendix on this point.

is suffixed by the SFP *yo* without the feature [+empathy] (see Izuhara (2003) and Kinsui & Takubo (1998) for discussion of the SFPs *yo* and *ne*). The relationship between the SFP *ne* and the feature [+empathy] can be seen in developmental disorders as well. Watamaki (1997) reports that children with autism do not use the SFP *ne* at all, or even if they do, use it very infrequently. Watamaki attributes this to the fact that children with autism do not have the ability to share information with others, in contrast to normally developing children, who typically start using the SFP *ne* between 18 and 24 months. Watamaki also reports that children with autism do use the SFP *yo* like normally developing children. This is attributed to the fact that children with autism do not have to share information with others when using the SFP *yo*.⁷

2.4 Non-standard questions

When combined with a Q-particle, sentences suffixed by SFPs may express what Bayer and Obenauer (2011) and Obenauer (2004, 2006) call non-standard questions, which is a part of the emphasis that brings to the fore emotive readings under the control of grammar or corresponds to what Trotzke (2017) call emphasis for intensity (see Abraham 2018 for discussion). In this paper, I will use the general term “non-standard question”, which includes rhetorical questions. Thus, consider the following German rhetorical question formed by the MP *schon* in (11a), which is translated into Japanese (11a') with the Q-particle *ka* and the SFP *yo*. Here, the sentence does not sound like information-seeking, i.e. it does not sound like a sentence where the speaker expects response from the addressee:

- (11) a. Wer zahlt *schon* gerne Steuern?
 who pays SCHON gladly taxes
 ‘Who gladly pays taxes’ (Bayer & Obenauer 2011: 46)

In contrast to Japanese SFPs, MPs in German appear in the clause-medial position. As an anonymous reviewer points out, the particle *schon*, for instance, occupies the general position of modal particles in German.

- a'. Dare-ga suki.konon.de zeikin nanke harau ka *yo*.
 who-NOM gladly tax epithet pay Q SFP

7. There are many papers dealing with the connection between autism and SFPs. See Satake & Kobayashi (1987) for the communication pattern between mother and children with autism with special attention to SFPs, Arai and Nakamura (2016) for verbal and visual training of children with autism using various SFPs, Yamamoto & Asano (2012) for evidence-based training of children with autism with SFPs, Takiyoshi and Tanaka (2011) for general issues of autism and SFPs, among many others.

The combination of the Q-particle *ka* and SFPs gives rise to an interpretation in which the speaker's emotion is expressed, which is sometimes characterized by traditional Japanese linguists as "expressive" style (see Hashimoto 1993). As an anonymous reviewer points out, we should distinguish expressive particles from common ground-triggering modal particles in German. See Trotzke (2017) for discussion on this point.

When the SFP *ne* combines with a Q-particle, the sentences suffixed by these particles express non-standard questions again, where the sentence is more interested in expressing the speaker's worry or anger. Thus, consider the following sentence in (12a) uttered by Linus in *Peanuts*, where he expresses his worry or anger by scolding the addressee Snoopy. Here, the Japanese translation in (12a') is suffixed by the particle pair *ka-ne*:

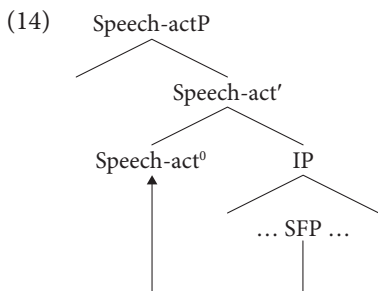
- (12) a. Why can't you dogs help people instead of being such a nuisance?
 a'. Kimitati inu-wa jamasuru kawarini hito-o tasuke rarenai
 you dog-TOP nuisance instead.of people-ACC help can't
 mon **ka-ne**?
 Fin Q-SFP

As noted above, the particle *ka* does not always denote a question. That is, although the particle *ka* is interpreted as expressing a question when it is pronounced with rising intonation, the same particle is interpreted as expressing regret when it is pronounced with falling intonation. In the framework of the cartography of syntactic structures, which I am working in, different functional heads are postulated for these cases, where a morpheme conveys distinct instructions to the semantic component and the sound component, as noted by Rizzi (2014). Thus the particle *ka* can appear in two different functional heads, one of which is for questioning and the other of which is for regret. I will discuss this point later. An anonymous reviewer notes that the sentence suffixed by the SFP *ne* by Linus does not make any attempt at sharing information, which does not correspond to the description given above of the particle *ne*. Ur Shlonsky (personal communication) pointed out to me that there are two types of *ne*, one of which expresses the speaker's attempt at sharing information, and the other one of which is expressive *ne* preceded by the Q-particle *ka*, which expresses the speaker's emotion and does not share information. See Endo (2019) on this point.

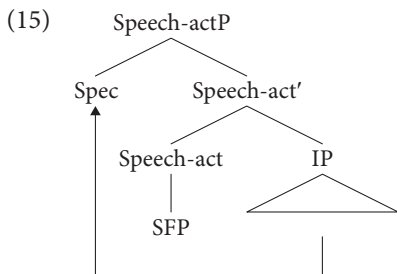
Bayer and Obenauer (2011) propose a mechanism of creating non-standard questions in German by postulating the feature [QForce] for MPs. Here, [QForce] is an unvalued uninterpretable feature and is valued by the interpretable iQForce through the operation Agree, as shown below. As a result, the interrogative force of the utterance is fine-tuned to create non-standard questions of various types depending on the meaning of the type of MPs.

(13) [_{ForceP/FinP} Wh Force/Fin_{[itQ, iQForce[4]]} [... [_{PrtP} Prt_{[uQForce[4]]} [...]]]]

Non-standard questions in Japanese can be created in the same way. Recall that SFPs in Japanese are modal elements. Following Cinque’s (1999) hypothesis that various modal elements are hierarchically organized in the IP zone, SFPs originate and are ordered according to Cinque’s hierarchy (cf. Endo 2012) in the IP zone, where SFPs can be licensed in the same way as MPs in German to create non-standard questions. One of the differences between German and Japanese is that SFPs end up in the clause final position in Japanese. Following Abraham’s (2012) idea that MPs move into the head position of ForceP to fix illocutionary force, Endo (2012) assumes that SFPs conveying the same property also move into ForceP, and then the remnant IP is moved above it (see Endo 2012 for the motivation for movement of SFPs to satisfy the subject criterion). Here, I slightly depart from this idea to assume that the landing site of SFPs is the head position of Speech-actP partly because SFPs express speech-act and partly because the head of ForceP is already occupied by the Q-particle *ka*.



Because Japanese is a strictly head-final language, the remnant IP moves into the Spec of Speech-actP, as shown below:



Note that sentences suffixed by SFPs exhibit main clause phenomena, where the sentences can only function as main clauses, not as embedded clauses like relative clauses. Thus, when a SFP like *yo* is found in a relative clause as in (16) below, the relative clause is ungrammatical:

- (16) Sentaku-o si teiru (*yo) John-ga
 washing-ACC do PROG (*SFP) John-NOM
 ‘John, who is doing the washing’⁸

This property of being main clause phenomena can be captured by the fact that the sentences suffixed by SFPs are found in the projection of Speech-actP as in (15). In (16), the SFP *yo* is not licensed because the relative clause that contains the SFP *yo* is not a main clause and does not project Speech-actP.

To summarize so far, we have seen that SFPs play a crucial syntactic role in creating non-standard questions by combining the Q-particle and SFPs. Incidentally, the syntactic nature of SFPs would be reinforced by the fact that the syntactic operation Agree is sensitive to a locality constraint as well. Thus, when a focus element *mo* intervenes between the Q-particle and the SFP *ne*, the sense of question disappears, as shown below (I will discuss the nature of the particle *mo* later; see Endo (2019) for a more detailed description of non-standard questions and the mechanism to create them, and Trotzke (2017) on locality effects in non-standard questions in German):

- (17) a. Ame-ga fu-ru ka-ne.
 rain-NOM fall-PRESENT Q-SFP
 ‘Will it rain?’
 b. Ame-ga fu-ru ka-mo-ne.
 rain-NOM fall-PRESENT Q-MOOD-SFP
 ‘It might rain’

8. An anonymous reviewer points out that in German, non-restrictive relative clauses are MP-autonomous, while restrictive relative clauses are not. The same holds for Japanese. More research is required in this area.

- (i) Sentaku-o suru (wa) to no hatugen
 washing-Acc do (SFP) REPORT GEN remark
 ‘remarks that I will do the washing’

3. Null Case particle

In this section, we will adduce another argument that SFPs in Japanese play an active role in syntactic computations by showing that SFPs in Japanese trigger null Case particle deletion and create a new semantic effect of eliminating focus.

Incorporating Susumu Kuno's (personal communication) suggestion that a SFP in Japanese focalizes the verb, Masunaga (1988) makes the following claim:

- (18) Case particle drop is only possible when the theme is de-emphasized or not focused.

Thus, in the sentence in (19), the SFP *yo* emphasizes the preceding verb and concomitantly de-emphasizes the subject, which makes it possible for its nominative Case particle *ga* to drop:

- (19) Burond-no otokonoko-(ga) Taroo-o nagutta yo
 blond-GEN boy-(NOM) TarO-ACC hit SFP
 'A blond boy hit Taro'

When the Case particle *ga* suffixed to the subject DP is dropped as in (19), the subject DP typically serves a scene-setting function, which is similar to a hanging topic in Italian. Thus, in order for this interpretation to obtain, the Case particle *ga* must drop. Thus, SFPs in Japanese play an active role in syntactic computations to license a null Case suffixing to the subject DP and create a new discourse-related meaning. These facts show that SFPs play an active role in syntactic and semantic computations and support the view by Leiss (2012) that the human ability to have a ToM is language-driven.⁹ A note of caution is in order here. Although SFPs trigger the deletion of the Case particle *ga*, the deletion of the Case particle may be attested in other environments without SFPs as well. Thus, the Case particle *ga* may drop when the sentence is not suffixed by SFP, where it ends with a tense morpheme like *ru* 'non-past' or *ta* 'past', as we see below:

- (20) Burond-no otokonoko-(ga) Taroo-o nagut-ta?
 blond-GEN boy-(NOM) TarO-ACC hit-PAST
 'A blond boy hit Taro?'
- (21) Burond-no otokonoko-(ga) Taroo-o nagut-ta!
 blond-GEN boy-(NOM) TarO-ACC hit-PAST
 'A blond boy hit Taro!'

9. An anonymous reviewer asks an important question whether Case particle deletion is triggered by any types of SFPs or only by ToM-related SFPs. I will discuss this point in Appendix.

Here, the sentence is interpreted as an interrogative with rising intonation in (20) and as an exclamatory with lengthening of the sentence final vowel *a* in (21), as signaled by the symbols ? and !. In both of these cases, the Case particle *ga* must drop in order for DP not to acquire the focalized interpretation. Here, the deletion of a Case particle has a semantic effect: in the presence of a Case particle, the DP suffixed by the particle is interpreted as contrastive focus, while in the absence of a Case particle, the DP is interpreted as non-focus. This seems to stem from the fact that Case particles originally serve as a focusing element. I will discuss this point later. Why is it possible for a Case particle to drop without any SFPs suffixed to a clause? Following Rizzi (2014), I adopt the view that a functional head gives instructions to the sound component and the meaning component. This idea enables us to postulate functional heads occupied by the symbols ? and !, instead of a morpheme. These functional heads also give an instruction to the meaning component to interpret the sentence as conveying a question and surprise/discouragement, respectively. On the assumption that SFPs are broadly interpreted to include those functional elements symbolized by ! and ?, we can state that SFPs may trigger deletion of a null Case particle.¹⁰ At this point, one may wonder why SFPs eliminate a focus interpretation, not, for instance, a topic interpretation. To answer this question, we need to look at Old Japanese, where we find no Case particle at all; instead, the Case particle *ga* in Modern Japanese was used as a focus particle. In the course of diachronic change, the focus interpretation carried by the particle *ga* became fossilized and only survived in some very restricted environments. Kuno (1973) notes that although the subject DP of individual-level predicates like *syooziki* ‘honest’ is typically suffixed by the topic particle *wa*, it can also be suffixed by the nominative Case particle *ga* as well:

- (22) John-wa/ga syooziki da.
 John-TOP/NOM honest COP
 ‘John is honest’

Here, the DP suffixed by the nominative Case particle *ga* necessarily receives a contrastive focus interpretation. In this special environment, the nominative Case particle *ga* cannot drop.

Thus, when we do not want to have a focus interpretation for the subject DP, we can use the strategy of deleting the Case particle *ga* by using SFPs (see Miyagawa 1989 for the discussion of the diachronic development of Case particles in Japanese).

10. I am grateful to Marcel den Dikken (personal communication) for discussing this point. An anonymous reviewer asks where the speech-act operator sits in relation to SFPs. As I noted in 2.3., a SFP, which is represented as ! or ? in (20) and (21), originates in the IP zone to be valued by a Force element, which is a silent default declarative type here. More research on the exact mechanism is required. See Endo (2019) for the discussion on this point.

Now that we have seen that SFPs and null Case particles are correlated in Japanese, let us next ask how we can derive this correlation. My proposal is the following:

- (23) a. Mood property: SFPs are base-generated in IP according to Cinque's hierarchy. (Cinque 1999)
 b. Speech-act property: SFP moves to Speech-actP to fix its speech-act type. (cf. Abraham 2012)

As we saw earlier, SFPs are used by the speaker to characterize modal properties, which are expressed in the IP zone (Cinque 1999). For instance, the SFP *na* can convey evidential mood, as is illustrated by the following sentence, where the speaker stays alone in his room and assumes that fire has broken out based on the evidence of hearing the fire siren (cf. Endo 2007):

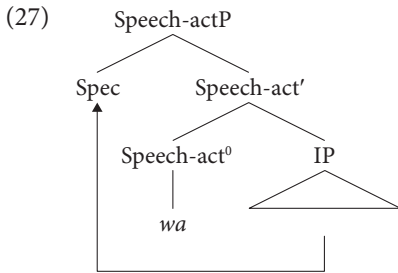
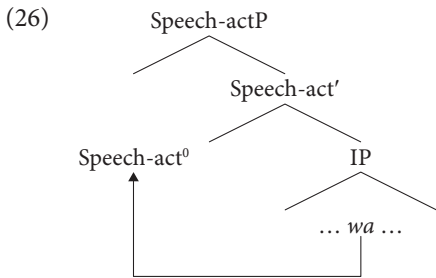
- (24) Kazi da na
 fire COP SFP
 'There is a fire'

Turning to the property in (23b), sentences suffixed by SFPs are interpreted as expressing some type of speech-act. To see how, consider the following sentence:

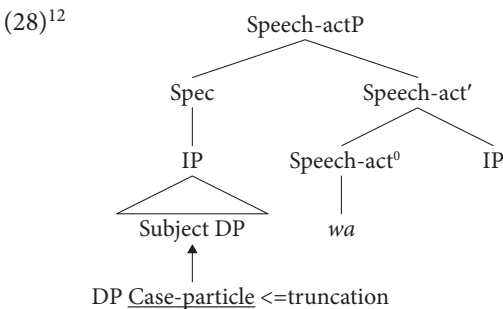
- (25) John-ga sentaku-o si teiru wa
 John-NOM washing-ACC do PROG SFP
 'John is doing the washing'

Here, John is the subject of the predicate *sentaku-o si* 'do the washing.' The sentence above can be represented as 'I mildly insist that John should do the washing.' This suggests that SFPs can be considered as performative verbs or operators expressed in the CP zone in the sense of Generative Semantics. To capture this intuition, I basically follow Abraham's idea (2012) that MPs move to the ForceP zone to fix illocutionary force. As I noted above, I slightly depart from his idea to assume that the landing site of SFPs such as *wa* in (25) is the head position of Speech-actP as in (26) partly because SFPs express speech-act and partly because the head of ForceP is already occupied by the Q-particle *ka*. After the SFP *wa* moves up to the head position of Speech-actP (see Haegeman and Hill 2014), the remnant IP is moved above it as in (27).¹¹

11. An anonymous reviewer asks whether or not there are any SFPs that are not characterized by speech-act. The answer would depend on how we define SFPs. That is, if we define a SFP as an element that follows a tense element, a Fin element like *no* would count as a SFP, which has no clear speech-act property, because it may appear freely in an embedded clause. If this is the case, the label "speech-act" to host SFP above would be misleading. Here, I concentrate on those SFPs that show main clause phenomena.

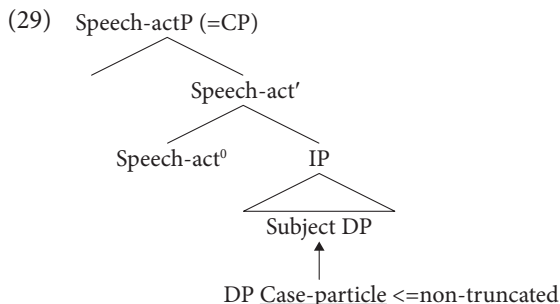


With the configuration in (27) in mind, let us next ask why the subject DP allows for the deletion of the Case particle. Luigi Rizzi (personal communication) points out that the configuration in (27) contrasts sharply with the case that contains no SFP. That is, when a SFP is found, the IP is found in the highest position in the left periphery and thus the top-most Case layer in the left periphery may undergo truncation, as shown below:



12. An anonymous reviewer asks if there are any SFPs that cannot be aligned with specific speech acts like German MPs. If the answer is in the affirmative, the label “speech-act” would be inappropriate, as the same reviewer points out. In fact, the answer to this question would depend on how to define SFPs. Here, I continue to use the label “speech-actP” for SFPs because I am concentrating on the case where a SFP has a speech-act function and triggers deletion of a Case particle.

In the absence of SFPs, the subject DP is not found in the left periphery in the sense that it is embedded within CP and thus the Case layer cannot undergo truncation. For this reason, the Case particle is not deleted when we have no SFP.



To summarize, we have seen that SFPs in Japanese play an active role in syntactic computations in triggering Case particle deletion to support Leiss's view.

4. Implications: *how come* questions

In the previous section, we have seen some cases where non-standard questions are created by combining SFPs with the Q-particle *ka*. There are other domains where SFPs are relevant in interrogative sentences, i.e. *how come* questions in English. To illustrate the point, consider the following sentence noted by Tsai (2008):

- (30) How come the sky is blue?
i.e. Why is the sky blue?

Attributing the observation to Andrew Simpson (personal communication), Tsai (2008: 89) mentions the difference in meaning between *how come* and *why* questions: *why* involves no special expectation about whether or not a given state of affairs should hold, whereas *how come* expresses surprise that a particular state of affairs should hold, as in (30). However, Andrew Radford (personal communication) notes that it is not the case that *how come* always expresses surprise that a particular state of affairs should hold. For instance, there is no surprise in what B says in (31), just curiosity and *how come* sounds less invasive than *why* in this context:

- (31) A: I've gotta go to the doctor this afternoon.
B: How come?
A: Oh, the cut on my finger has got infected.

Where does this difference come from? To answer this question, it would be helpful to consider the following sentences from Schultz (2008):

- (32) a. L: How come you never send me flowers?
 S: Because I don't love you. (Schultz 2008)
- b. L: Doo-site watasi-ni itido.mo hana-o okutte kurenai no?
 how.come me-to never flower-ACC send benefit Q
 S: Kimi-ga kirai dakara
 you-NOM dislike because

Here, the direct object *kimi* 'you' is suffixed by the nominative Case particle *ga*. This is because stative predicates like *kirai* 'dislike' in Japanese may license the nominative Case particle *ga* for the direct object.

- (33) a. S: How come you never bring me milkshake?
 L: When he is through, you can lick the straw. (Schultz 2008)
- b. S: Doosite boku-ni milkshake-o mottekitekure nai no sa
 how.come me-to milkshake-ACC bring.benefit NEG FIN SFP

In (32), Lucy addresses a *how come* question to Linus and receives a response with the sentence prefixed by *because*. Here, the corresponding Japanese *how come* question sounds like a standard question suffixed by *no* SFP, where mild curiosity is felt by Lucy. In contrast, in (33), although Linus uses a *how come* question with Lucy, he does not receive a response prefixed by *because*, but only a comment from her. The corresponding Japanese *how come* question sounds like a non-standard question or a rhetorical question with strong irritation expressed by the speaker. In that case, the sentence is suffixed by the SFP *sa*. In the comic, Linus's face and gesture show stronger emotion in (33) than we see on Lucy's face in (32). Based on the fact the difference between curiosity and surprise in *how come* questions is marked by SFP *sa* in Japanese, I suggest that the two meanings of *how come* questions in English arise by activating covert functional heads headed by the element *sa* in Japanese, which is responsible for the meaning of surprise. In the absence of the SFP *sa*, a *how come* question expresses a mild curiosity through use of the Fin element *no*.

What is the SFP *sa*, then? The SFP *sa* is used to report the speaker's familiarity with the proposition, implying that the sentence suffixed by this SFP should be taken as a matter of course. According to Uyeno (1971), the meaning of the particle *sa* is contrasted with the meaning of the particles *yoo* 'appear,' *rasii* 'seem,' and *soo* 'hear,' which are used when the speaker's judgment is made based on appearance. The SFP *sa*, in contrast, is used when the speaker's judgment is already made based on his own supposition or inner feeling. Because the speaker's judgment is already made in uttering the SFP *sa*, the speaker's supposition is taken to be discourse-familiar, and thus, we cannot start a discourse with a sentence with the SFP *sa*, as illustrated by the following contrast (see also Hasunuma 2015):

- (34) a. Kore nani? / ^{??}Kore nani sa?
 this what this what SFP
 ‘What is this?’
 b. *Doo suru sa?
 how do SFP
 ‘How are you going to do?’

An anonymous reviewer asks if it is possible to start a discourse with an assertion containing *sa* referring to a former context. The answer is generally in the negative, except for a case like (35') below. To see the point, consider the nature of the subject DP in Japanese, where the discourse initial subject *oziiisan* ‘an old man’ in (35) is suffixed by the nominative Case particle *ga* while the discourse familiar subject in the second sentence of (35) is suffixed by the topic particle *wa*:

- (35) Mukasi aru mura-ni oziisan-ga sundeita. Aruhi
 once.upon.a.time a village-in old.man-NOM lived one.day
 oziisan-wa yama-ni itta.
 old.man-TOP mountain-to went
 ‘Once upon a time, there was an old man who lived in a village. One day, the old man went to a mountain’

Interestingly, the discourse initial sentence above can be suffixed by the element *to-sa* as shown in (35'), where *to* is a reportive-style particle and *sa* is the SFP we are interested in:

- (35') Mukasi aru mura-ni oziisan-ga sundeita to sa.
 once.upon.a.time a village-in old.man-NOM lived REPORT SFP
 ‘It is said that once upon a time there lived an old man’

Here, the appearance of the SFP *sa* in the discourse-initial context might be attributed to the fact that the content of the story is assumed to be already familiar to the story-teller. More study is required in this area.

Based on this fact, I suggest that the SFP *sa* is related to old information or discourse-familiarity assumed by the speaker. This type of old information might be expressed by auxiliary verbs in English. Attributing the observation to Robin Lakoff (personal communication), Uyeno (1971) notes a similar effect with English modals like *be going to*, as opposed to *will*:

- (36) a. I'll buy some roses.
 b. I am going to buy some roses.

Suppose a person goes to the florist to buy some flowers. After taking a look around the store, he might say the sentence in (36a) to the clerk. On the other hand, if he had the idea of buying some roses ahead of time, he would be more likely to say the sentence in (36b).

In case the speaker find a gap between his/her expectation that is already familiar in the previous discourse and the real situation he/she faces, the emotion of surprise would be evoked. Based on the work by Fitzpatrick (2005), Radford (2018) emphasizes that *how come* questions are factive in nature and proposes that the complementizer *that* following *how come* in English is the head of a FactP. I suggest that the SFP *sa* might be an overt realization of Radford's FactP. When this functional head is activated in English, it seems to give rise to the meaning of surprise, while when it is not activated, only an interpretation of mild curiosity would arise. More research is required in this area. An important point to notice here is the fact that *how come* questions are almost always translated into Japanese sentences suffixed by the Fin element *no*. Makihara (1995) observes that the element *no* always appears in asking for reasons in Japanese when there is a gap felt between the speaker's supposition or expectation and the real situation that he/she faces.¹³

An anonymous reviewer suggests that there are two *how come*-questions, one of which refers to a previous sentence, and the other of which is uttered out of the blue. This point might be related to the issue raised by Rizzi (2004) about the characterization of relativized minimality (RM), which bars an element from moving across another element of the same feature class: (i) argumental class, (ii) quantificational class, (iii) modifier class, and (iv) topic class. For instance, an adverb belongs to a modifier class and may not move across another adverb because they belong to the same feature class of modifiers. However, Rizzi claims that when an adverb is focalized, it may move across another adverb by belonging to the quantificational class as well. Similarly, he mentions a case where an adverb may skip

13. Thus, the element *no* appears in a sentence like (i) in Japanese because there is a gap felt between the speaker's supposition that the addressee would not go to a dangerous place and the real situation that the addressee did go to a dangerous place.

- (i) *Kimiha doosite sonna abunai tokoro-ni itta no?*
'why did you go to such a dangerous place?'

In contrast, in a sentence like (ii) the element *no* does not appear especially in a job interview, because the interviewer may expect an answer like "Because I am interested in your product".

- (ii) *Anata-wa doosite wagasya-o siboosimasita-ka?*
'Why did you apply for our position?'

Alternatively, as an anonymous reviewer suggested to me, the interviewer may have to hide his expectation.

another adverb which belongs to a topic class by virtue of being mentioned in the previous sentence:

- (37) SEHR OFT hat Karl Marie wahrscheinlich gesehen.
 very often has Karl Marie probably seen
 ‘VERY OFTEN has Karl Marie probably seen.’

An anonymous reviewer notes that the sentence in (37) is ungrammatical. *wahrscheinlich* ‘probably’ must precede *oft* ‘often’, where the circumstantial indication is transformed into an aspectual indication. More research on the linear order of adverbs is required. See Endo (2007) for the linear order of adverbs in Japanese.

- (38) Tutti speravano che il primo problema si potesse risolvere rapidamente, ma...
 Everybody hoped that the first problem would be solved rapidly but...
 Rapidamente, probabilmente non si può risolvere.
 rapidly probably not one can solve
 ‘Rapidly, probably one cannot solve it.’ (Rizzi 2004: 244)

An anonymous reviewer notes that in (38) *rapidamente* ‘rapidly’ is focused, where the pause marked by the comma should even suggest that *rapidamente* ‘rapidly’ is a sentence. In Japanese, some adverbs, such as *syooziki-ni yu-u to* ‘honestly’, can also be analyzed as an independent sentence because the element *u* is a present tense particle. In Endo (2007), this adverb is analyzed as a high adverb and thus cannot follow a low adverb like *mazimeni* ‘diligently’. More research is required on how to identify the sentence-hood of adverbs.

Because Rizzi only uses German and Italian cases, it is not clear whether this strategy can be used in English as well, but a possible candidate might be the fact below that a *wh*-element like *how* cannot skip a negative island as in (39a) because they belong to the same quantificational class, which is in contrast with Starke’s observation (2001) that when a *wh*-element becomes what he calls a specific quantifier or a discourse familiar element, it may skip a negative island as in (39b). In Rizzi’s exposition, this is made possible by a *wh*-element also belonging to a different topic class.

- (39) a. ?How didn’t Geraldine fix her bike? (Shlonsky and Soare 2011: 656)
 b. How didn’t he want to eat the dish; with a fork or with Chinese sticks?
 (Starke 2001: 93)

If the strategy of adding a feature to escape the RM effect in English is always available, we can make a prediction about *how come* questions. If one type of *how come* question is always discourse familiar or a specific quantifier like the example we saw above, it is predicted that this type of *how come* may skip a negative island. See Endo (2015) for the nature of *how come* questions.

5. Conclusion

To conclude the whole discussion, after introducing some basic properties of SFPs in Japanese by comparing it with familiar languages like German, I supported the view by Leiss (2012) that the human ability to have a ToM is language-driven, by showing that SFPs play an active role in syntactic and discourse-related computations. In particular, we have seen that SFPs in Japanese trigger the deletion of Case particles and create a new discourse-related semantic effect of eliminating focus carried by the subject DP. I have also touched upon some implications of the SFP analysis for *how come* questions in English. An anonymous reviewer raises an important issue about whether all of the SFPs correspond to ToM, which involves the speaker and the addressee. One of the possible SFPs that do not involve the addressee is *wa*. See the Appendix on this point.

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Appendix. The SFP *wa*

An anonymous reviewer asks whether there is a connection between the topic particle *wa* and the SFP *wa*. In fact, the SFP *wa* is historically derived from the topic particle *wa*, through the use of a subordinator in conditional adverbial clauses of the gerundive type as in *baka-de-wa* ‘if one is a fool’, as noted in *Nihongo Daiziten* (volume 3, p. 1370).¹⁴ I propose to capture the missing link connecting (i) the topic particle use of *wa*, (ii) the subordinator use of *wa* in adverbial clauses of the gerund type and (iii) the SFP use of *wa* by postulating a unitary underlying structure in the framework of the cartography of syntactic structures as follows:

I. Topic particle use of *wa*:

The topic particle *wa* originates in the head position of TopP, as in (1):

- (1) [speech-actP [speech-act [TopP [Top *wa* ...

II. SFP use of *wa*:

The element *wa* moves from the head position of TopP to the head-position of Speech-actP, which is accompanied by the movement of FinP with the feature [+finite] into [Spec, Speech-actP] in the use of *wa* as an affective SFP, as depicted in (2):¹⁵

- (2)
-
- [Speech-actP [Speech-act [TopP [Top *wa* [FinP [+finite]...]

III. Subordinator use in adverbial clauses of gerund type:

The topic particle *wa* moves from the head position of TopP to the head of Modifier Phrase (=ModP, see Endo & Haegeman (2019) for the property of ModP in adverbial clauses), which is followed by remnant movement of FinP[−finite], as shown in (3):

- (3)
-
- [ModP [Mod [TopP [Top *wa*... [FinP [-finite]...]

Incidentally, the topic particle *wa* can acquire the semantic interpretation [+affective] when it is suffixed by the SFP *ne*. Belletti (2019) notes that a topic element prefixed by the preposition *a* in Southern Italian also expresses affective interpretations: Belletti (forthcoming) notes that Standard Italian is known not to mark lexical direct objects through use of the preposition *a*. This is in contrast with southern varieties, in which lexical direct objects are typically introduced by the preposition *a*, as an instance of the Differential Object Marking/DOM phenomenon, found in several languages. This suggests that *a*-topic elements in Italian and the SFP *ne* in Japanese might have similar derivations, where an *a*-topic element might carry a silent SFP *ne* in Japanese. An anonymous reviewer asks why the functional head *sa* is silent in English. This is an important

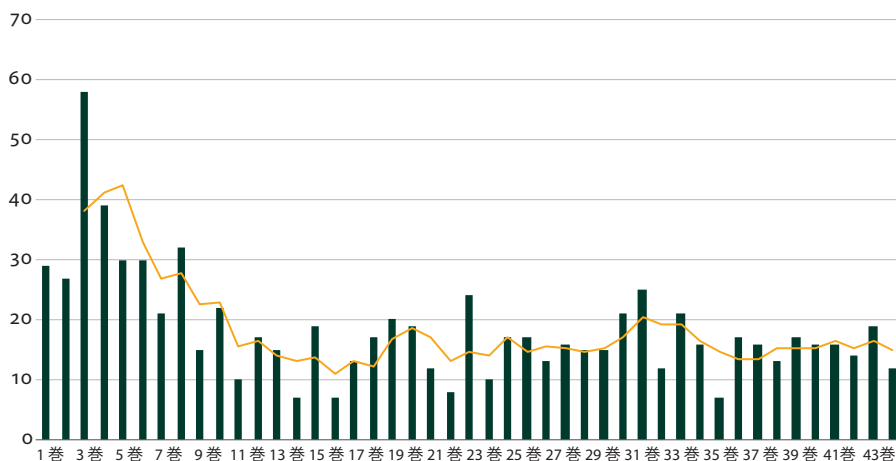
14. I am grateful to Hisashi Noda (personal communication) for reminding me of this point. See Fujitani (1977) and Nakata and Takeoka (1960) for the discussion of the particle *wa* in gerundive type adverbs. See also Sweetser (1990) for the general discussion on the connection between conditionals and topics.

15. Andrew Radford (personal communication) points out that a topic particle might be frozen in place in the topic projection by Criterial Freezing. I suggest that a topic element can avoid being frozen in place when it loses the criterial feature [+topic]. More study is required on this point.

question. As noted in the discussion of *how come* questions, non-standard questions are expressed by using SFPs in Japanese while no clear morphological markers are used in English. It is important to capture this general distinction. More research is required on this point.

Based on the fact that ToM is interpersonal in nature, i.e. it involves both the speaker and the addressee, the same reviewer also asks whether there are any SFPs that do not carry the feature [+addressee] and trigger Case particle deletion. This is an important question because the SFP *wa* is usually characterized as speaker-oriented in that it may be used in a monologue. The question is whether the SFP *wa* may trigger Case particle deletion. To determine this, I checked the comic book *Sazae-san*, which was first published in 1946 and continued to be published until 1974, for the following reason. Through a careful survey of the SFP *wa* from various types of literature, Suzuki (1998) found that the SFP *wa* was most frequently used around the early Showa Period, which overlaps with the publication of the comic *Sazae-san*. We found that the use of the SFP *wa* decreased even by the same author Machiko Hasegawa, the author of *Sazae-san*, as shown below. Here, the bar graph indicates the number of sentences suffixed by the SFP *wa* from volume 1 to volume 43 and the line graph indicates the moving average of every one of the three volumes:

終助詞「わ」(区間\$)



Thus, when we investigate the meaning of the SFP *wa*, the comic *Sazae-san* seems to be suitable because it contains a lot of uses of this SFP. With this background on the SFP *wa* in mind, I checked the comic *Sazae-san* to find that the SFP *wa* may trigger Case particle deletion, which seems to run counter to my hypothesis that only ToM-related SFPs involving both the speaker and the addressee trigger Case particle deletion. However, a closer examination of the relevant counter-example sentences reveals that this does not seem to be the case. To see the point, let us examine the apparent counter-examples from *Sazae-san* (volume 1) after looking at a typical case where the SFP *wa* does not trigger Case particle deletion:¹⁶

16. I borrowed the sentences from Hasegawa (1994).

No Case particle deletion

- (4) Uti-ni haikyuuono **ga** ari masu **wa**.
 home-at supply NOM there.is polite SFP
 ‘We have supplies’

Here, the sentence uttered by the main character *Sazae-san* is suffixed by the SFP *wa* and the subject DP *haikyuuono* ‘supply’ remains suffixed by the Case particle *ga* without being deleted. With this typical pattern in mind, let us next examine the cases where the SFP *wa* triggers Case particle deletion.

Type 1. *Desu-wa*

- (5) Kore \varnothing omake desu **wa**
 this extra.gift polite SFP
 ‘This is a gift for you’

Here, the subject *kore* ‘this’ appears with no Case particle ($=\varnothing$) and the sentence is suffixed by the SFP *wa*, which is crucially preceded by the politeness particle *desu*. Because politeness particles are always used in conversational style involving both the speaker and the addressee, the complex element *desu+wa* here seems to be ToM-related.

Type 2. Vocative

- (6) Katuo \varnothing otya iretekita **wa**
 Katuo tea made SFP
 ‘Katuo, I made tea for you’

Here, the proper name *Katuo* appears with no Case particle in the sentence suffixed by the SFP *wa*. Notice, however, that this proper name is not the subject of the sentence because it is not *Katuo* but *Sazae-san* who made the tea. Thus, this case does not count as an instance of Case particle deletion but is a vacate expression.

Type 3. *Wa-ne*

- (7) a. Ara kireina hana \varnothing motteru **wa ne**
 Oh beautiful flower have SFP SFP
 ‘Oh, you have a beautiful flower’
 b. Jaa ano fuda \varnothing moo iranai **wa ne**
 then that signboard any.more need.not SFP SFP
 ‘Then, you do not need that signboard any more’

Here, the direct object appears with no Case particle in the sentence suffixed by the SFP *wa*, which is followed by the addressee-oriented SFP *ne* that we analyzed as involving the feature [+empathy]. An anonymous reviewer asks whether the empathy-related particles *wa-ne* triggers the nominative Case-particle deletion. The answer is “yes”, as illustrated by the fact in (8) below, where the SFP *yo* is replaced by the SFP *wa-ne*:

- (8) Burond-no otokonoko-(**ga**) Taroo-o nagutta **wa-ne**.
 blond-GEN boy-(**NOM**) Taro-ACC hit PRT
 ‘A blond boy hit Taro’

I suggest that the complex form *wa-ne* is empathy-related due to the empathy-related SFP *ne* and counts as a ToM element involving both the speaker and the addressee.

Type 4. Deictic element

- (9) a. *Kore* \emptyset *gezai da wa*
 this laxative is SFP
 ‘This is laxative’

Here, the clause-initial subject *kore* ‘this’ appears with no Case particle in the sentence suffixed by the SFP *wa*. What is remarkable about this case is the fact that the clause-initial subject is a deictic expression. Besides, in another volume of the same comic book, I found a case in which the clause-initial subject is a deictic expression like *watasi* ‘I’, which is not suffixed by a Case particle. Based on the fact that a deictic subject is typically suffixed by the topic particle *wa*, I suggest that the deictic pronoun used without a suffixed Case particle is not an instance of Case particle deletion but is a zero topic, which binds a null pronominal subject *pro*. More research is required in this area.

Incidentally, the SFP *wa* had gender-orientation, i.e. it was only used by female speakers with rising intonation in the Tokyo dialect. It is this type of female-oriented SFP *wa* that has been decreasing. In my survey among college students, they report that they understand the female usage of the SFP *wa* but they do not use it at all. Instead, they use the gender-neutral SFP *wa* with falling intonation. The female-oriented SFP *wa* is now only attested in the utterances by specific characters in comics, which Kinsui (2014) characterizes as *yakuwarigo* or role language.

To confirm the gender-free use of the SFP *wa* by young speakers, I checked the recent comic book *Kimi-ni todoke*, where all of the characters are high school students and speak the Tokyo dialect.¹⁷ The result is that all of the sentences suffixed by the SFP *wa* are equally uttered by male and female characters. For instance, I was able to find several examples in Shiina (2006). Where does this gender-free SFP *wa* with falling intonation come from? In the study of language acquisition and linguistic change, Lightfoot (2018) develops the view that E-language triggers the modification of I-languages. What is noteworthy is the fact that the western dialect, especially Kansai dialect, also has the homophonous SFP *wa*, which has a similar flavor to the Tokyo dialect *wa* and is pronounced with falling intonation by female speakers as well as male speakers. To confirm the gender-free nature of the SFP *wa* in the western dialect, I checked the comic book *Love Com* (or *Love Complex*) by Nakahara (2004), where all of the characters speak the western dialect. The result is that there are four sentences suffixed by the SFP *wa* uttered by male characters and there are also four sentences suffixed by the same SFP *wa* spoken by female characters. To be more exact, I found four tokens of the particle *wa* by female characters in the comic book and three tokens of the particle *wa* and one token of the complex form of SFP *wa-yo* in the same book.¹⁸

From this fact, we can safely say that the particle *wa* of the western dialect is equally used by male and female speakers. With this background in mind, I suggest that the disappearance of the particle *wa* from the Tokyo dialect came about through the E-language of the SFP *wa* of

17. I am grateful to Yuri Fukushi (personal communication) for directing my attention to this comic book.

18. I am grateful to Nanami Nishizyo (personal communication) for bringing this comic book to my attention.

the western dialect, especially through TV programs. Although the register of TV programs is mainly based on the Tokyo dialect, the register of the western dialect is equally attested in TV programs, especially in comedy programs, which are very influential. Thus, when the speakers of the Tokyo dialect face the E-language of the western style SFP *wa* without gender restriction, the I-language of the Tokyo dialect speakers comes to have two types of *wa*-particle at the same time, one of which has a gender orientation and the other of which has no gender orientation. Why has the gender-free particle *wa* of the western dialect survived in the I-language of the Tokyo dialect speakers and the other gender-restricted particle *wa* of the Tokyo been lost? In view of the fact that the gender-restricted particle *wa* is a proper subset of the gender-free particle *wa*, I suggest that there might be a principle to the effect that the super-set survives while the proper subset is lost in the diachronic change of language. More research is required in this area.

The discourse marker *hani* in Turkish

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This study is dedicated to the Turkish discourse marker *hani*, which exhibits three kinds of use. It appears in interrogative sentences with a wh-question intonation. In these cases, the use of *hani* indicates that the context provides counter evidence for the belief /expectations of the speaker and the speaker demands an account for it from the hearer. *Hani* also appears at the beginning of clauses ending with the particle *ya*. Those utterances are questions demanding an answer from the hearer and reminding the speaker's belief or expectation, which the hearer is expected to corroborate. Finally, *hani* can appear in declarative clauses expressing the same value of reminding the hearer of a belief of the speaker. The common core of all three uses is the notion of shared knowledge: *hani* is used for the sake of Common Ground management. Drawing on previous research on negative polar questions as well as inner negation and outer negation in questions, we show that utterances including *hani* with wh-question intonation involve a negation and a question operator and show an "inner negation" reading. *Hani... ya* utterances are compatible with the outer negation reading of negative polar questions and demand neutral contexts or positive evidence. Declarative *hani* is incompatible with contexts that provide negative evidence, but felicitous in neutral and positive contexts.

1. Introduction

In this study, we will discuss the Turkish discourse marker *hani* and its three different usages involving epistemic modal qualities. Discourse particles in Turkish are understudied from a semantic perspective. However, discourse particles in languages like German have received considerable attention in the literature especially in terms of how they refer to the common ground in their semantics (Abraham 1991; König 1997; Zeevat 2004; Karagjosova 2004; Egg 2010, 2012; Zimmermann 2011). Common ground can be defined as the set of publicly shared mutual beliefs about the world (Stalnaker 2002). The belief is taken to be the set of propositions true in all possible worlds compatible with the believers' beliefs. The main semantic

function which discourse particles are associated with is taken to be common ground management (Krifka 2008) in discourse. As we will describe in detail below, *hani* displays intriguing connections with negation and polar questions while at the same time being conversationally consequential in the sense that it creates a commitment space (Krifka 2017) for the speaker and the hearer as a common ground management tool. Previous studies on *hani* describe it as a discourse particle in Turkish which acts as a modal adverb. Erguvanlı Taylan (2000) describes it as a modal particle.¹ It appears in a number of constructions which have been investigated from different perspectives in the literature (Erguvanlı Taylan 2000; Göksel, Keleşir & Üntak 2009; Özge, Marinis & Zeyrek 2010). In this study, we will mainly focus on three types of *hani* constructions as illustrated below:

i. *Hani* constructions with wh-intonation:

- (1) [Ali is supposed to buy a book for the speaker. The speaker assumes the hearer also knows this.]

Speaker: **Hani** Ali bana kitap al-acak-tı?

hani Ali me book buy-FUT-PST

‘Wasn’t it the case that Ali would buy me a book?’ (Implied: ‘Ali did not buy me a book.’)

Hearer: Ismarla-dı ama daha kitap gel-me-di.

order-PST but yet book come-NEG-PST

‘He ordered it but it hasn’t come yet.’

ii. *hani ... ya* constructions:

- (2) **Hani** köşe-de bir hastane var ya. Orada buluş-uyor-uz.

Hani corner-LOC a hospital exist ya there meet-IMPF-1PL

‘Do you remember the hospital in the corner? We are meeting there.’

iii. *hani* constructions with declarative intonation:

- (3) **Hani** köşe-de bir hastane var. Orada buluş-uyor-uz.

Hani corner-LOC a hospital exist there meet-IMPF-1PL

‘Remember/you know the hospital in the corner. We are meeting there.’

In (1), the use of *hani* indicates that the context provides counter evidence for the belief/expectations of the speaker and the speaker demands an account for it from the hearer. In (2) and (3), on the other hand, *hani* is used to seek confirmation regarding the truth of the speaker’s belief/expectation by reminding it to the hearer.

1. Although Erguvanlı Taylan (2000) uses the term ‘modal particle’, we refer to this particle as ‘discourse particle’.

The difference between (2) and (3), is the use of the particle *ya* at the end of (2), which poses the utterance as a question to be answered by the hearer.²

With the above patterns, *hani* constructions semantically behave highly similar to the negated polar questions with the inner and outer negation readings (Ladd 1981; Büring & Gunlogson 2000). In the following we will propose that such *hani* constructions as in (1) are, semantically, in parallel to the ‘inner negation’ reading of negative polar questions, hence involve both a covert negation and a question operator. Pragmatically, they differ from negative polar questions as they are used for triggering an account from the hearer, rather than a simple confirmation or rejection. *hani... ya* constructions, on the other hand, behave in parallel to negative polar questions with outer negation readings and, finally, *hani* constructions with declarative intonation are tools for creating commitment states (Krifka 2017) and they are only compatible with neutral contexts and positive evidence.

2. Previous research on *hani*

Erguvanlı Taylan (2000) defines *hani* as a modal particle³ operating in the realm of epistemic modality along with other modals such as *meğer* ‘it turns out that’ and *sanki* ‘as if’, ‘like’. In syntactic terms, *hani* selects a semantically compatible mood marking on the main predicate, which is the clitic *-(y)DI*, simultaneously denoting past tense and factivity.⁴ The lack of this enclitic simply leads to ungrammaticality as observed in the contrast between (4) and (5):

(4) a. **Hani** bugün ev-e erken gel-iyor-du-n?
 Hani today home-DAT early come-IMPF-COP.PST-2SG
 ‘I thought you were coming home early today.’

b. **Hani** sen Galatasaraylı-ydı-n?
 hani you a.supporter.of.Galatasaray-COP.PST-2SG
 ‘I thought you were a supporter of Galatasaray.’

(Erguvanlı Taylan 2000: 135)

(5) a. ***Hani** bugün ev-e erken gel-iyor-muş-sun?
 Hani today home-DAT early come-IMPF-COP.EVID-2SG

2. Although *ya* introduces a polar question, we should note that it is not a question particle, but a multi-functional discourse particle.

3. Fraser (2009) does not include modal particles in the category of discourse markers as they do not represent a semantic relationship between adjacent illocutionary act segments. However, we will argue that through negation, *hani* does set up a semantic relationship.

4. This clitic is in fact bimorphemic consisting of the copula *-I* and past tense marker *-DI*.

- b. ***Hani** sen Galatasaraylı-sın? (Erguvanlı Taylan 2000: 136)
 hani you a.supporter.of.Galatasaray-2SG

As seen above, the sentences in (5) do not contain this clitic and they are ungrammatical. Erguvanlı-Taylan (2000) explains the coexistence of *hani* with *-(y)DI* in terms of the factivity inherent in the past tense. The use of the enclitic *-(y)DI* signals that the content of the proposition is factual and is assumed to be part of the speaker's knowledge deriving from some past experience. One can only challenge the truth of events or states that one is certain of. Thus the modal particle *hani* appears to challenge the factivity status of the proposition expressed by the definite past *-(y)DI*.

In a later study, Göksel, Keleşir and Üntak (2009) discuss the interaction of *hani* constructions with prosody. They observe that sentences with *hani* as in (1) pattern with wh-questions in Turkish. As seen in (6) and (7), *hani* clauses exhibit the same intonational patterns as wh-questions.⁵ As we will discuss below, such *hani* sentences at the interactional level also pose a question to the addressee:

Wh-question

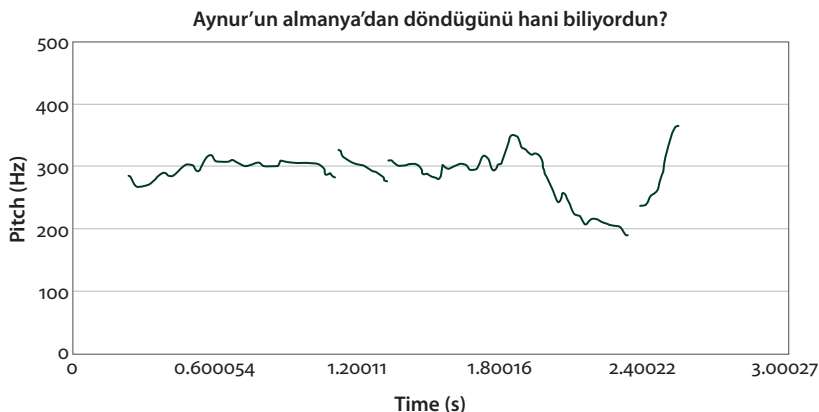
- (6) Aynur-un Almanya-dan dön-düğ-ün-ü nasıl bil-iyor-du-n
 Aynur-GEN Germany-ABL return-COMP-2SG-ACC how know-IMPV-PST-2SG
 'How did you know that Aynur had returned from Germany?'



Hani-clause

- (7) Aynur-un Almanya-dan dön-düğ-ün-ü **hani** bil-iyor-du-n
 Aynur-GEN Germany-ABL return-TCOMP-2SG-ACC hani know-IMPV-PST-2SG
 'I thought you knew that Aynur had returned from Germany!?'
 (Göksel, Keleşir & Üntak 2009: 259–260)

5. As pointed out by a reviewer, in wh-questions it is typically the wh-word which bears the primary stress, this is not necessarily the case for *hani* constructions.



- (8) a. *Kim-in-le sinema-ya gid-ecek mi-ydi-k?
 who-GEN-with movie-DAT go-FUT Q-PST-1PL
 ‘Whom were we going to the movies with?’
 b. ***Hani** Ali-yle sinema-ya gid-ecek mi-ydi-k?
 Hani Ali-with movie-DAT go-FUT Q-PST-1PL
 ‘Wasn’t it the case that we would go to the movies with Ali?’

As seen in (8), both *wh*-words and *hani* are incompatible with the question clitic *-mI* in Turkish, which is the marker used for polarity questions in Turkish, but not for *wh*-questions. As observed by both Erguvanlı Taylan (2000) and Göksel et al. (2009) *hani* can occur in different syntactic positions as shown in (9):⁶

- (9) a. **Hani** Ayla biz-e kek yap-acak-tı?
 Hani Ayla we-DAT cake yap-FUT-PST-3SG
 ‘Wasn’t it the case that Ayla would make us a cake?’
 b. Ayla **hani** biz-e kek yap-acak-tı?
 c. Ayla biz-e **hani** kek yap-acak-tı?
 d. Ayla biz-e kek yap-acak-tı **hani**?

It can also be embedded in complement clauses as in (10b). But regardless of its position in such structures, it always takes the whole sentence into its scope:

6. Even though syntactically *hani* exhibits a relatively free distribution, it is still subject to certain restrictions. For example, when there is a focus introducing adverb such as *sadece*, *hani* has to precede this adverb. If it comes after the adverb, it leads to ungrammaticality.

- (i) a. Ali **hani sadece** sinema-ya gid-ecek-ti?
 Ali hani only movie-DAT go-FUT-PST
 ‘Wasn’t it the case that Ali would go only to the movies?’
 b. *Ali *sadece hani* sinema-ya gid-ecek-ti?
 Ali only movie-DAT hani go-FUT-PST

- (10) a. **Hani** Ayşe Ali-nin Ankara-yat aşın-dığ-ın-ı
 hani Ayşe Ali-GEN Ankara-DAT move-NOMIN-3POSS-ACC
 duy-ma-mış-tı?
 hear-NEG-ASP-PST
 ‘Wasn’t it the case that Ayşe did not hear that Ali moved to Ankara?’
- b. Ayşe Ali-nin **hani** Ankara-ya taşın-dığ-ın-ı duy-ma-mış-tı?

Historically, *hani* is believed to derive from now obsolete question word *kam*, meaning ‘where’ (Clauson 1972), hence, the intonation pattern and the semantic operator status that we observe above are not unexpected. In Modern Turkish, *hani* can still be used as a question word denoting ‘where’ in addition to the regular wh-word *nerede* ‘where’. *Hani* as a question word requires a specific context in which the speaker has an expectation and assumes that it is shared by the hearer as well. However, this expectation has not been realized as in (11a), but it cannot be used in the absence of such an expectation/belief as in (11b), hence it is a strictly D(iscourse)-linked question word:

- (11) a. [A grandmother who expects to see her grandchildren might say upon seeing her son alone at the door:]
 Çocuk-lar **hani**/nerede?
 Child-PL where
 ‘Where are the children?’
- b. [A grandmother who does not expect to see her grandchildren might say:]
 Çocuk-lar ***hani**/nerede?
 Child-PL where
 ‘Where are the children?’

Following the discussion of grammatical features of *hani* constructions based on previous studies, we now move on to the discussion of negative polar questions which raise interesting issues regarding their contextual interpretations.

3. Negated polar questions

Focusing on the ambiguous nature of negative polar questions in English, Ladd (1981) argues for two different types of negation, namely *inner* and *outer* negation to account for the ambiguity in (12):

- (12) Isn’t there a vegetarian restaurant here?

The ambiguity of (12) involves the following two interpretations:

- a. The speaker asks for a confirmation of the proposition “there is a vegetarian restaurant here.”
- b. The speaker asks for a confirmation of the proposition “there is no vegetarian restaurant here.”

These two interpretations conceivably require two different contexts.⁷ Context 1 below triggers what Ladd (1981) calls the outer negation reading of (12a). In this case, the speaker asks for confirmation from the addressee regarding the truth of the proposition “There is a vegetarian restaurant here.”:

(13) *Context 1:*

(Situation: Kathleen and Jeff have just come from Chicago on the Greyhound bus to visit Bob in Ithaca)

Bob: You guys must be starving. You want to go get something to eat?

Kathleen: Yeah, isn't there a vegetarian restaurant around here-Moosewood, or something like that?

Bob: Gee, you've heard of Moosewood all the way out in Chicago, huh?
OK, let's go there. (Ladd 1981: 164)

Kathleen, in this example, having heard of the Moosewood restaurant, believes that there is a vegetarian restaurant in Ithaca and wants confirmation for her belief. Context 2, on the other hand, triggers the inner negation reading. In the case of inner negation, the speaker, based on compelling counter evidence, infers that the proposition “there is a vegetarian restaurant here” is not true.

(14) *Context 2:*

(Situation: Bob is visiting Kathleen and Jeff in Chicago while attending CLS.)

Bob: I'd like to take you guys out to dinner while I'm here – we'd have time to go somewhere around here before the evening session tonight, don't you think?

Kathleen: I guess, but there's not really any place to go in Hyde Park.

Bob: Oh, really, isn't there a vegetarian restaurant around here?

Kathleen: No, about all we can get is hamburgers and souvlaki.

(Ladd 1981: 164)

7. Note that English allows for two different positions for negation, which AnderBois (2019) calls low and high negation as shown in (ia) and (ib), respectively:

- (i) a. Is John not cooking a Mexican dish? LoNegQ (AnderBois 2019)
- b. Isn't John cooking a Mexican dish? HiNegQ

Ladd (1981) only focuses on the ambiguity in (ib) and defines inner and outer negation based on such high negation questions. For a discussion of the semantic and pragmatic contexts of low negation questions see AnderBois (2019) and also Romero & Han (2004).

In (14) the speaker Bob asks to check the truth of this new inference based on Kathleen's comment by using inner negation.

Ladd (1981) argues that the ambiguity in (12) cannot be purely pragmatic resulting from the different pragmatic inferences drawn by the hearer on the basis of knowledge about the speaker's eating habits, unlike the position taken by Hudson (1975) for such negative polar questions. Ladd argues that the ambiguity indeed have syntactic/semantic basis, which stems from the difference in scope of negation. In contexts like in (13), where the speaker believes a proposition p to be true and simply wants confirmation, negation is taken to be outside the proposition. In such contexts, what is being questioned is not the truth value of the proposition p , but the speaker's belief of p .⁸ This is the outer negation reading, which Ladd calls 'outside NEG'. In contexts like (14), on the other hand, the speaker infers $\neg p$ based on compelling counter evidence and questions the new inference $\neg p$. In such contexts, Ladd takes the negation to be inside the proposition under question, hence he calls this 'inside NEG'. Following the work by Ladd (1981), Büring and Gunlogson (2000) focus on both positive and negative polar questions and put forth the contextual evidence each question requires.⁹ They show that positive polarity questions are not totally neutral and can be used only when there is no compelling evidence against the proposition p in the given context:

- (15) Scenario: S(peaker) and A(ddressee) are talking long-distance on the phone (neutral context)
- a. S: What is the weather like out there? Is it raining?
 - b. S: What is the weather like out there? Is it sunny?
- (Büring and Gunlogson 2000: 6)

8. Even though Ladd (1981) describes cases of outer negation as above, as pointed out by one of our reviewers, such questions do not only question the belief of the hearer but also the truth value of the proposition itself. In other words, both first and second order representations are questioned.

9. Note that in English, the type of polar questions which can be answered with *yes* or *no* is not restricted to the positive and negative polarity question patterns which Ladd (1981) and Büring and Gunlogson (2000) discuss, as shown by Hedberg (2004) and as illustrated (i) below. See Hedberg (2004) for a corpus-based analysis of the contextual distribution of each type of question and the role of intonation in establishing their meaning.

- (i) Question forms in English
- | | | |
|------------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| a. Does he have a BMW? | Positive Interrogative | (Hedberg 2004: 1) |
| b. Doesn't he have a BMW? | Negative Interrogative | |
| c. He has a BMW, doesn't he? | Positive Tag | |
| d. He has a BMW? | Positive Declarative | |
| e. He has a BMW, does he? | Double Positive Tag | |
| f. He doesn't have a BMW, does he? | Negative Tag | |
| g. He doesn't have a BMW? | Negative Declarative | |

As seen in (15), in a neutral context the positive polarity question does not favor either *p* or not *p*. However, we see that such questions are not always neutral, when there is compelling evidence against *p*, as illustrated in (16):

- (16) Scenario: A enters S's windowless computer room wearing a dripping wet raincoat. (contextual evidence for *p*='It is raining.')
- a. S: What is the weather like out there? Is it raining?
 - b. #S: What is the weather like out there? Is it sunny?
- (Büring & Gunlogson 2000: 7)

Büring and Gunlogson (2000) define the evidence condition for positive polarity questions and the contextual evidence as the following:

- (17) a. Evidence condition on Positive Polarity Questions:
There is no compelling contextual evidence against *p* (i.e. there is either no evidence or evidence for *p*.)
- b. Contextual Evidence:
Evidence that has just become mutually available to the participants in the current discourse situation.
- (18) Compelling:
- a. Evidence for *p* is compelling if, considered in isolation, it would allow the participants to assume *p* (i.e. the evidence could reasonably be considered to justify the inference that *p*),
 - b. Evidence against *p* is compelling if it is compelling evidence for the opposite of *p*, *W-p*.
- (Büring & Gunlogson 2000: 7)

They show that negative polar questions are also sensitive to contextual evidence. The outer negation reading of negative polar questions, like positive polar questions, is compatible with neutral contexts, as seen in (19), but unlike them, it does not tolerate evidence for *p*, as in (20):

- (19) [A and S want to go out for dinner. S has been to Moosewood a couple of years back.]
- A: Where do you want to go for dinner? (neutral with respect to *p*)
- S: Isn't there some vegetarian restaurant around here?
- (20) [A and S want to go out for dinner. S has been to Moosewood a couple of years back.]
- A: I bet we can find any type of restaurant you can think of in this city. Make your choice! (Evidence for *p*)
- #S: Isn't there some vegetarian restaurant around here?

Büring and Gonlogson (2000) show that though they are infelicitous in the context of evidence for *p*, negative polar questions with outer negation reading are compatible with contexts which provide evidence against *p*:

- (21) A and S want to go out for dinner. S has been to Moosewood a couple of years back.
 A: Since you guys are vegetarians, we can't go out in this town, where it is all meat and potatoes. (evidence against *p*)
 S: Isn't there some vegetarian restaurant around here?

Hence Büring and Gonlogson (2000) define the evidence condition for negative polar questions with outer negation reading as:

- (22) Evidence Condition on NPQs with outer negation:
 There is no compelling contextual evidence for *p* (i.e. there is either no evidence or there is evidence against *p*)

The inner negation reading of negative polar questions, on the other hand, surfaces only when the context provides compelling evidence against *p* as in (23). They are simply incompatible with a neutral context as shown in (24), or a context which provides evidence for *p* as in (25).

- (23) [Context: A and S want to go out for dinner.]
 A: Since you guys are vegetarians, we can't go out in this town, where it is all meat and potatoes. (Compelling contextual evidence against *p*)
 S: Is there no vegetarian restaurant around here?
- (24) [Context: A and S want to go out for dinner.]
 A: Where do you want to go for dinner? (neutral with respect to *p*)
 #S: Is there no vegetarian restaurant around here?
- (25) [Context: A and S want to go out for dinner.]
 A: I bet we can find any type of restaurant you can think of in this city. Make your choice! (Compelling contextual evidence for *p*)
 #S: Is there no vegetarian restaurant around here?

Hence, Büring and Gonlogson define the evidence condition for such questions as:

- (26) Evidence Condition on negative polar questions with inner negation:
 There is compelling contextual evidence against *p*.

Building on Büring and Gunlogson's observation regarding contextual evidence, Sudo (2013) proposes that polar questions bear two types of bias, namely, the epistemic bias and the evidential bias. While an epistemic bias is about the speaker's private belief/expectation, an evidential bias has to do with the evidence available

in the current conversational context and with a belief that could in principle be shared among the discourse participants. (Sudo 2013: 4). “The main difference between evidential and epistemic bias lies in how the inference arises: Evidential bias is about contextual information available to all conversational participants, and hence is inherently public, while epistemic bias is rooted in the speaker’s private beliefs, and need not be shared by other conversational participants.” (Sudo 2013: 8)

Thus, outer negation readings of negative polar questions necessarily implies a positive expectation on the speaker’s part that *p* holds. This differs them from positive polarity questions which lack such a bias. For example, when the context implies that the speaker’s epistemic state is neutral, negative polar questions with an outer negation reading are infelicitous as shown in (27b), while positive polarity questions are fine, as in (27a):

- (27) [Context: You told me that you went to the party yesterday. I have absolutely no idea who else did]
- a. Did John go to the party too? Positive Polarity Question
 - b. #Didn’t John go to the party too? Negative Polarity Question
- (Sudo 2013: 10)

Sudo (2013) shows that the inner negation readings of negative polar questions are obligatorily associated with a positive epistemic bias, too. As seen in (28), the speaker on some grounds has the expectation that John is left-handed. Thus, the question ‘Isn’t *p*?’ expresses a conflict between the speaker’s expectation that *p*, and contextual evidence suggesting that $\neg p$.

- (28) [Context: Bill is right-handed and Mary is left-handed. We’re wondering who else is lefty. John is using a pen with his right hand in front of us.]
- a. #Isn’t John right-handed either?
 - b. Isn’t John left-handed either?
- (Sudo 2013: 10)

In addition to Buring & Gunglogson (2000) and Sudo (2013), a third account for these phenomena is provided by Krifka (2017), who proposes a solution to the inner and outer negation questions based on the speech act theory. In this account, negative polar questions are interpreted as transitions between commitment spaces (Cohen & Krifka 2011). Krifka claims that outer negation reading of (12) is basically denegation of the speech act ‘assertion’. In “denegation of speech act”, the speaker refrains from performing the speech act. For example “I don’t promise to come” does not necessarily mean that I will not come but I refrain from making a promise. Similarly, in outer negation reading of “Isn’t there a vegetarian restaurant here”, the speaker asks “whether the addressee would refrain from making the assertion that there is a vegetarian restaurant around here” (Krifka 2017: 360).

Krifka (2017) defines speech acts normatively as creating commitments by the interlocutors or more specifically enacting changes of commitment. Assertions, for example, involve two commitments: one by the speaker to the truth of the proposition and second the speaker calls on the hearer to also commit to the truth of the proposition and thus add the proposition to the common ground. Krifka's account is helpful for our purposes here too as it points out to the conversational significance and consequences of negative polar questions and *hani* constructions. In the following section, we will first provide some background on the negative polar questions on Turkish and then by comparing *hani* constructions to negative polar questions we will discuss how it functions as a modal adverb interacting with epistemic and evidential biases.

4. Negative polar questions and *hani* constructions

Polar questions in Turkish are formed with the question enclitic *-mI*, which obligatorily shifts the stress on the preceding syllable:

- (29) a. Ali kitab-ı al-dı.
 Ali book-ACC take-PST
 'Ali took the book.'
- b. Ali kitab-ı al-dı mı?
 Ali book-ACC take-PST Q
 'Did Ali take the book?'

Negative polar questions formed with *-mI* are also similarly ambiguous in terms of inner and outer negation readings and are loaded with certain evidential and epistemic biases.

When we consider the neutral context 1 in (30), we see that Speaker B asks for confirmation for his or her belief that p "there is a vegetarian restaurant here" is true. This is the outer negation reading and it is compatible with the neutral context. The same question cannot be interpreted with the inner negation reading which is, like in English, incompatible with the neutral context:

- (30) *Context 1:*
- A: Bu akşam ne yemek iste-r-sin?
 This evening what eat want-AOR-2SG
 'What do you want to eat tonight?'
- B: Burada vejeteryan bir lokanta yok mu?
 Here vegetarian a restaurant not Q
 'Isn't there a vegetarian restaurant here?' (Outer Neg, # Inner Neg)

Context 2, on the other hand, provides a context with positive evidence for *p*, which is incompatible both with outer and inner negation readings:

(31) *Context 2:*

- A: Bu akşam ne yemek iste-r-sin? Burada her tür
 This evening what eat want-AOR-2SG here every kind
 restaurant var.
 restaurant exist
 ‘What do you want to eat tonight? Here we have all kinds of restaurants.’
- B: #Burada vejeteryan bir lokanta yok mu/mu-ydu?
 Here vegetarian a restaurant not Q
 ‘Isn’t there a vegetarian restaurant here?’ (# Outer Neg, # Inner Neg)

Context 3, on the other hand, provides a context with negative evidence for *p*. This is a context which is compatible only with the inner negation reading in Turkish.

(32) *Context 3: Inner negation*

- A: Dışarda yemek yi-ye-me-yiz çünkü burada vejeteryan
 Outside food eat-ABIL-NEG-1PL because here vegetarian
 lokanta bul-a-ma-yız.
 restaurant find-ABIL-NOT-1PL
 ‘We can’t eat out, because we can’t find a vegetarian restaurant here.’
- B: Burada vejeteryan bir lokanta yok mu / mu-ydu?
 Here vegetarian a restaurant not Q-PST
 ‘Isn’t there a vegetarian restaurant here?’ (# Outer Neg, Inner Neg)

In terms of epistemic bias, similar to English, outer negation readings of negative polarity questions are also incompatible with neutral context in Turkish as seen in (33b) since such questions require a positively biased epistemic context:

- (33) [*Context 4: You told me that you went to the party yesterday. I have absolutely no idea who else did.*]
- a. Ali de parti-ye git-ti mi? (Positive Polarity Question)
 Ali too party-DAT go-PST Q
 ‘Did Ali go to the party too?’
- b. #Ali de parti-ye git-me-di mi? (Negative Polarity Question)
 Ali too party-DAT go-NEG-PST Q
 ‘Didn’t Ali go to the party too?’

Inner negation readings of negative polar questions are also obligatorily associated with a positive epistemic bias. The context provides evidence against *p* ‘Ahmet is right-handed’, but the speaker believes *p* to be true, which creates a conflict between the speaker’s belief/expectation and the context:

- (34) [Context 5: Ali is right-handed and Ayşe is left-handed. We're wondering who else is lefty. Ahmet is using a pen with his right hand in front of us.]
- a. #Ahmet de mi sağlak değil?
Ahmet either Q right-handed NEG
'Isn't Ahmet right-handed either?'
- b. Ahmet de mi solak değil?
Ahmet either Q left-handed NEG
'Isn't Ahmet left-handed either?'

Given the above patterns for negative polar questions in Turkish, we will now compare the three patterns of *hani* constructions with negative polar questions in terms of the evidential and epistemic biases they have. We will show that while *hani* constructions with *wh*-question intonation pattern with negative polar questions with inner negation, *hani* constructions with *ya* is highly similar to negative polar questions with outer negation. We will also argue that the third pattern of *hani*, namely the declarative *hani*, is a non-interrogative construction.

4.1 *Hani* constructions with *wh*-intonation

Hani constructions with *wh*-intonation share some properties with negative polar questions, patterning in parallel to negative polar questions denoting inner negation:

- (35) [Context 1: Inner negation]
- A: Maalesef burada vejeteryan yemek yi-yebil-eceğ-imiz bir
Unfortunately here vegetarian food eat-ABIL-FUT-1PL a
yer yok.
place not
'Unfortunately there is no place where we can have vegetarian food here.'
- B: **Hani** kampüs civarında vejeteryan bir lokanta var-dı? ne
Hani campus around vegetarian a restaurant exist-PST what
ol-du? Kapan-dı mı?
happen-PST close.down-PST Q
'Wasn't there a vegetarian restaurant around the campus? What happened?
Did it close down?'

As seen in (35), *hani* with *wh*-intonation can easily be used to paraphrase the negative polar question denoting inner negation in Turkish "Wasn't there a vegetarian restaurant around the campus?". In this specific context, given the compelling counter evidence provided by Speaker A, Speaker B questions his or her previous assumption that there is a vegetarian restaurant here.

Similar to negative polar questions with inner negation, *hani* constructions with *wh*-intonation are incompatible with neutral context as in (36) and with the contexts with positive evidence as in (37):

(36) *Context 2:*

A: Bu akşam ne yemek iste-r-sin?
This evening what eat want-AOR-2SG
'What do you want to eat tonight?'

B: #**Hani** burada vejeteryan bir restaurant var-dı?
Hani here vegetarian a restaurant exist-PST
'Wasn't there a vegetarian restaurant here?'

(37) *Context 3:*

A: Bu akşam ne yemek iste-r-sin? Burada her tür
This evening what eat want-AOR-2SG here every kind
restaurant var.
restaurant exist
'What do you want to eat tonight? Here we have all kinds of restaurants.'

B: #**Hani** burada vejeteryan bir restaurant var-dı?
Hani here vegetarian a restaurant exist-PST
'Wasn't there a vegetarian restaurant here?'

Epistemically, such *hani* constructions have a positive bias which indicates that the speaker strongly believes *p* to be true, therefore, the compelling negative evidence creates a conflict between the contextual evidence and the speaker's belief:

(38) [*Context 4: Ali is right-handed and Ayşe is left-handed. We're wondering who else is lefty. Ahmet is using a pen with his right hand in front of us.*]

a. #**Hani** Ahmet de sağlak-tı?
Hani Ahmet too right-handed-PST
'Wasn't Ahmet right-handed either?'

b. **Hani** Ahmet de solak-tı?
Hani Ahmet too left-handed-PST
'Wasn't Ahmet left-handed either?'

The fact that such *hani* constructions can be used in the same sense of negative polar questions with inner negation implies that they have parallel semantics. When we compare *hani* constructions as in (39a) with negative polar questions as in (39b), we observe that in negative polar questions there is overt negation morphology on the predicate, as well as the question particle *-mI* on the predicate complex. In the case of *hani* constructions, on the other hand, both of these morphological components contributing to the semantics are missing. Note that *hani* constructions differ from negative polar questions also in terms of the obligatory presence

of the enclitic *-(y)DI*, which is not obligatory in negative polar questions. Through the past tense marker, *hani* constructions make reference to a previous context where the proposition was assumed to be true. The enclitic *-(y)DI* in Turkish not only refers to past tense but also contributes to the certainty of the proposition. It enhances and highlights the speaker's epistemic stance for the certainty/activity of the proposition *p* (cf. Erguvanlı Taylan 2000, among others):

- (39) [Context 5: Both the speaker and the hearer are going to a party with friends. Ayşe and Pelin show up and then Speaker A utters that noone else is going to come and they are ready to depart for the party, but Speaker B thought that Ali, who has not showed up yet, was also going to join them and he utters:]
- a. **Hani** Ali gel-iyor-du?
 Hani Ali come-IMPF-PST
 'Wasn't Ali coming? (I assumed he was coming.)'
 - b. Ali gel-mi-yor mu-ydu?
 Ali come-NEG-IMPF Q-PST
 'Wasn't Ali coming? (I assumed he was coming.)' (Inner Neg)

If *hani* is taken out from the clause in (39a), what we get is a regular declarative clause as in (40) which includes neither the semantics of a question nor negation. Based on this, we argue that these pieces of meaning are associated with the particle *hani*:

- (40) Ali gel-iyor-du.
 Ali come-IMPF-PST
 Ali was coming.

As a semantically complex element, *hani* introduces both question semantics and negation. Given that both diachronically and synchronically *hani* have been used as a *wh*-word, it is not surprising that it brings in the question interpretation, where the speaker poses a question to the addressee regarding the new inference based on counter evidence, thus, also managing the common ground. The intonational patterns in such *hani* constructions also provide further evidence for the question semantics. What is surprising is that it also brings in negation interpretation, which simply negates the truth of the proposition.

Even though *hani* introduces covert negation (cf. Zeijlstra 2008), this negation is only operative over the truth value of the whole proposition. It cannot interact with scopally relevant elements within the structure. As seen in (41a), in the absence of *hani* we could get narrow scope for the quantifier *bütün* 'all' with respect to negation. (41a) states that Ali did not read all the books, but he read only some of them. When *hani* is introduced as in (41b), we do not observe any alternation in the scope relations between *all* and negation. However, thanks to *hani* the proposition simply gets fully negated, implying that Ali read all the books. In other words,

the negation in *hani* cancels out the negation already available in the proposition as shown in (41b):

- (41) Ali bütün kitap-lar-1 oku-ma-mış.
 Ali all book-PL-ACC read-NEG-PST.EVID
 ‘Ali did not read all the books’ (not_{-mA} >all, *all >not_{-mA}; implied: He read some of the books).
Hani Ali bütün kitap-lar-1 oku-ma-mış-tı?
 hani Ali all book-PL-ACC read-NEG-PERF-PST
 ‘Wasn’t it the case that Ali did not read all the books?’ (*not_{-mA} >all, *all >not_{-mA}^{10, 11})
 (implied: He read all the books: not_{hani} > not_{-mA} >all -> all)

We observe a similar pattern in the case of negative polarity items, which require overt negation to be licensed in a clause as shown in (42):¹²

- (42) a. Ali kimse-yi gör-me-di.
 Ali anyone-ACC see-NEG-PST
 Ali did not see anyone.
 b. *Ali kimse-yi gör-dü.
 Ali anyone-ACC see-PST

As seen in (43a), in the absence of any overt negative element in the structure, *hani* constructions fail to license NPIs, but overt negation is required as in (43b). As seen in the translation of (43b), the covert negation *hani* provides operates over the whole proposition, but cannot interact with clause internal elements, such as licensing negative polarity items, hence the ungrammaticality of (43a):

- (43) a. ***Hani** Ali kimse-yi gör-müş-tü?¹³
 Hani Ali anybody-ACC see-PERF-PST
 ‘Wasn’t it the case that Ali saw someone?’

10. Note that we have differentiated two types of negation in these examples. One is associated with the verbal negation *-mA*, the other is associated with the covert negation provided in *hani* constructions.

11. In these examples, we do not intend to imply that *hani* is a quantifier. It is only associated with covert negation.

12. See Keleşir (2001) for different licensing patterns for negative polarity items in Turkish.

13. Note that for some native speakers of Turkish, this sentence is grammatical on the indefinite reading of the word *kimse* in the sense of *bir kimse* ‘somebody’. However, this is different from the negative polarity item reading of *kimse*, i.e. *hiçkimse* ‘nobody’. Therefore, this does not challenge the observation that the covert negation *hani* introduces cannot interact with clause internal elements.

- b. **Hani** Ali kimse-yi gör-me-miş-ti?
 hani Ali anyone-ACC see-NEG-PERF-PST
 ‘It is not the case Ali did not see anyone.’ (Implied: Ali saw some people)

The representation in (44) depicts the structure we assume for the *hani* construction in (40a). *Hani* as an epistemic modal starts from the Spec of ModP and moves to NegP, PolP and finally to SpeechActP. It not only brings in proposition level negation but as a question word also the polarity. That is why it moves through these projections checking the relevant features. Note that we introduce the Epistemic ModP lower than TP. The obligatory past tense enclitic *-(y)DI* is in the head position of TP scoping over a lower epistemic modal (cf. von Stechow & Gillies 2008; Rullman & Matthewson 2012) indicating that the belief/expectation holds in the past. Through the past tense, we are referring to the relevant epistemic state of the speaker at a past time.

- (44) [SpeechActP *Hani*_i [PolP *t*_i [NegP *t*_i [TP *-(y)DI* [ModP_{Epis} *t*_i [AspP *-iyor* [vP Ali gel]]]]]]¹⁴

As seen in (44), we also associate *hani* with the SpeechAct projection. In this use, with *hani* the speaker intends to remind the hearer a shared piece of information available in an earlier discourse which s/he believes that the hearer also believes to be true. Thus, it functions to create a commitment space including both the speaker and the addressee à la Krifka (2012).

In this section, we described the usage of *hani* constructions with wh-intonation and demonstrated its similarity to negative polar questions. In the following section, we will focus on a different type of *hani* construction, namely those constructions with the cooccurrence of *hani... ya*.

4.2 *Hani* constructions with the particle *ya*

Another pattern of *hani* is illustrated in (45), which is identified by Erguvanlı Taylan (2000) as the reminder function. In (45) with the use of *hani*, the speaker intends “to remind the hearer of an earlier state of affairs that they both know of, but which s/he believes that the hearer may not have in her/his consciousness at the moment of speech” (Erguvanlı Taylan 2000: 36).¹⁵ In (45), *hani* co-occurs with the particle *ya*:

14. This representation also applies to *hani* constructions with nonverbal predicates as in (11) since such structures are also associated with modality and tense.

15. Erguvanlı Taylan argues that *hani* constructions with the reminder function also obligatorily take the enclitic *-(y)DI*. However, our judgements differ from hers. We accept the sentences with the reminder *hani* even in the absence of the enclitic as in (45).

- (45) **Hani** köşe-de bir hastane var ya? Orada buluş-uyor-uz.
 Hani corner-LOC a hospital exist ya there meet-IMP-F-1PL
 ‘Do you remember the hospital in the corner? We are meeting there.’

Unlike the *hani* constructions with wh-intonation, these constructions bear a polar question intonation. *Ya* as an enclitic puts focus on the preceding syllable as in (46a), just like the question particle *-mİ* does in Turkish, as shown in (46b). *Hani* does not carry wh-intonation in (46a), unlike its counterpart with wh-intonation:

- (46) a. **Hani** köşe-de bir hastane VAR ya?
 Hani corner-LOC a hospital exist ya
 ‘Do you remember the hospital in the corner?’
 b. Köşe-de bir hastane VAR mı?
 corner-LOC a hospital exist Q
 ‘Is there an hospital in the corner?’

Unlike the *hani* constructions with wh-intonation, reminder *hani* can be used in the outer negation contexts without really introducing covert negation. Given the neutral context in (47), the negative polar question acquires an outer negation reading, where the speaker only asks for confirmation from the hearer regarding his assumption that there is a vegetarian restaurant here. In (48), we have the same context and in this case, by using the reminder *hani... ya* construction, the speaker simply makes reference to a piece of information available in the common ground which s/he assumes that the hearer also shares. S/he poses a question to the hearer to confirm that p is true:

- (47) *Context 1: Outer negation*
 A: Bu akşam ne yemek iste-r-sin?
 This evening what eat want-AOR-2SG
 ‘What do you want to eat tonight?’
 B: Burada vejeteryan bir lokanta yok mu? Orada yi-ye-lim.
 Here vegetarian a restaurant not Q there eat-OPT-1PL
 ‘Isn’t there a vegetarian restaurant here? Let us eat there.’
- (48) *Context 1: Outer negation*
 A: Bu akşam ne yemek iste-r-sin?
 This evening what eat want-AOR-2SG
 ‘What do you want to eat tonight?’
 B: **Hani** burada vejeteryan bir lokanta var-(dı) ya?
 Hani here vegetarian a restaurant exist-PST ya
 Orada yi-ye-lim.
 there eat-OPT-1PL
 ‘Remember there was a vegetarian restaurant here. Let us eat there.’

Similar to negative polar questions with outer negation, *hani ... ya* constructions are also compatible with neutral context as in (48) and with the contexts with positive evidence as in (49). However, unlike negative polar questions with outer negation, a shared knowledge presupposition is obligatory, otherwise the use of *hani... ya* is infelicitous:

(49) *Context 2:*

A: Bu akşam ne yemek iste-r-sin? Burada her tür
This evening what eat want-AOR-2SG here every kind
restaurant var.
restaurant exist

‘What do you want to eat tonight? Here we have all kinds of restaurants.’

B: **Hani** burada vejeteryan bir restaurant var ya? Orada yi-ye-lim.

Hani here vegetarian a restaurant exist ya there eat-OPT-1PL

‘Do you remember that there is a vegetarian restaurant here? Let’s eat there.’

In contrast, *hani ... ya* constructions are strictly infelicitous with the contexts which provide negative evidence for p:

(50) *Context 3:*

A: Maalesef burada vejeteryan yemek yi-yebil-eceğ-imiz bir
Unfortunately here vegetarian food eat-ABIL-FUT-1PL a
yer yok.
place not

‘Unfortunately there is no place where we can have vegetarian food here.’

B: **#Hani** kampüs civarında vejeteryan bir lokanta var ya?

Hani campus around vegetarian a restaurant exist ya

Orada yi-ye-lim.

there eat-OPT-1PL

‘Do you remember that there is a vegetarian restaurant around the campus?’

Let’s eat there.’

In terms of epistemic bias, similar to negative polar questions with outer negation, *hani ya* constructions are incompatible with epistemically neutral contexts which indicate that the speaker does not have a belief or expectation for the truth of p. This shows that these constructions are charged with a positive epistemic bias as illustrated in (51):

(51) [*Context 4: You told me that you went to the party yesterday. I have absolutely no idea who else did.*]

#Hani Ali de parti-ye git-ti ya?

Hani Ali too party-DAT go-PST ya

Do you remember that Ali went to the party too?

We take the particle *ya* to be the source of this positive epistemic bias. *Ya* can also be used in constructions without *hani* and it is used to confirm the proposition as shown in (52) and in (53) reminding the first speaker that the proposition is supposedly shared information and thus belongs to CG:

- (52) Speaker A: Kitab-ım-ı ver-ir mi-sin?
 Book-1POSS-ACC give-AOR Q-2SG
 ‘Could you give me my book?’
 Speaker B: Ver-Dİ-M ya.
 Give-PST-1SG ya
 ‘I DID give it (to you).’
- (53) Speaker A: Kitab-ım-ı ver-ir mi-sin?
 Book-1POSS-ACC give-AOR Q-2SG
 Could you give me my book?
 Speaker B: getir-me-Dİ-M ya.
 bring-NEG-PST-1SG ya
 ‘I did not bring it (don’t you remember?).’

Hence, in *hani ... ya* constructions, we argue that it is the enclitic *ya* which brings in the positive epistemic bias regarding the assumptions about what is shared information between the speaker and the hearer. In (53), Speaker B assumes that Speaker A knows that s/he has not brought the book with her and with the use of *ya*, asks B to recall that information. Note that the preferred response to Speaker B’s utterances in both (52) and (53) would be a positive response indicating that Speaker A does recall the proposition. We take that *ya* starts from the head position of Epistemic ModP and then moves into the head of PolP, also introducing the question. However, given that the speaker B expects a positive response, this leads to a positively biased rhetorical question.

- (54) [SpeechActP *hani* [PolP *Ya*_i [ModP_{Epis} *t*_i [TP [AspP [vP Ali gel]]]]]

Hani in such constructions neither contributes to the question semantics nor brings in negation unlike the *hani* constructions with *wh*-intonation. It purely fulfills its common ground managing function at the Spec position of SpeechActP, reminding the hearer the shared common ground knowledge.

4.3 *Hani* constructions with declarative intonation

Unlike *hani* with *wh*-intonation and *hani ... ya* constructions with polar question intonation, the third use of *hani* requires a declarative intonation and does not pose a question to the hearer as shown by Göksel, Keleşir and Üntak (2009). Declarative *hani* constructions are compatible both with neutral contexts as in (55)

and also with contexts which provide positive evidence for *p* as in (56). As in *hani* constructions with *wh*-intonation and the one with the enclitic *ya*, again, a shared knowledge presupposition is obligatory, otherwise the use of *hani* is infelicitous:

(55) *Context 1:*

A: Bu akşam ne yemek iste-r-sin?

This evening what eat want-AOR-2SG

‘What do you want to eat tonight?’

B: **Hani** burada vejeteryan bir restaurant var. Orada yi-ye-lim.

Hani here vegetarian a restaurant exist there eat-OPT-1PL

‘Remember that there is a vegetarian restaurant here. Let’s eat there.’

(56) *Context 2:*

A: Bu akşam ne yemek iste-r-sin? Burada her tür

This evening what eat want-AOR-2SG here every kind

restaurant var.

restaurant exist

‘What do you want to eat tonight? Here we have all kinds of restaurants.’

B: **Hani** burada vejeteryan bir restaurant var. Orada yi-ye-lim.

Hani here vegetarian a restaurant exist there eat-OPT-1PL

‘Remember that there is a vegetarian restaurant here. Let’s eat there.’

Declarative *hani* constructions are strictly infelicitous with the contexts which provide negative evidence for *p*.

(57) *Context 3:*

A: Maalesef burada vejeteryan yemek yi-yebil-eceğ-imiz bir yer yok.

Unfortunately, here vegetarian food eat-ABIL-FUT-1PL a place not

‘Unfortunately there is no place where we can have vegetarian food here.’

B: **#Hani** burada vejeteryan bir restaurant var. Orada yi-ye-lim.

Hani here vegetarian a restaurant exist there eat-OPT-1PL

Remember that there is a vegetarian restaurant here. Let’s eat there.

In terms of epistemic bias, declarative *hani* constructions are incompatible with neutral contexts where the speaker does not have a belief or expectation for the truth of *p*. This shows that these constructions are also highly charged with a positive epistemic bias as illustrated in (58):

(58) *Context 3:* You told me that you went to the party yesterday. I have absolutely no idea who else did.

#Hani Ali de parti-ye git-ti.

Hani Ali too party-DAT go-PST

‘Remember that Ali went to the party.’

With the use of the declarative *hani*, the speaker aims to remind the hearer the shared knowledge they have, which s/he believes to be true.

(59) [SpeechActP *hani* [ModP_{Epis} t_i [TP [AspP [vP Ali gel]]]]]

Thus, we assume the above structure for declarative *hani* constructions. *Hani* starts out from the Spec of Epistemic ModP and moves into Spec of SpeechActP fulfilling its common ground management function.

5. The difference between *hani* constructions and negative polar questions

As the above discussion shows, *hani* constructions and negative polar questions are highly similar in terms of their semantics. Given that both constructions are available in Turkish, a natural question arises as to whether there are any differences between the two. We argue that the difference resides in the domain of pragmatics. Compare the negative polar question with inner negation in (60) with the *hani* construction with wh-intonation in (61):

(60) A: Bu akşam san-a gel-e-mi-yor-um.
This evening you-DAT come-ABL-NEG-IMPF-1SG
'I cannot come to your place tonight.'

B: Ban-a yardım et-me-yecek mi-sin o zaman?
I-DAT help do-NEG-FUT Q-2SG then
'Aren't you going to help me then?'

A: Hayır, ed-e-mi-yeceğ-im.
No do-ABIL-NEG-FUT-1SG
'No, I can't.'

(61) A: Bu akşam san-a gel-e-mi-yorum.
This evening you-DAT come-ABIL-NEG-PROG-1PS
'I cannot come to your place tonight.'

B: **Hani** ban-a yardım ed-ecek-ti-n?
Hani I-DAT help do-FUT-PST-2SG
'Weren't you going to help me? (I thought you were going to help me)'

A: Ed-ecek-ti-m ama anneanne-m hastalan-dı. On-a
do-FUT-PST-1SG but grandmother-1POSS get.sick-PST She-DAT
bak-ma-m gerek-iyor.
look.after-NOMIN-1SG need-IMPF

'I was going to, but my grandmother got sick. I need to look after her.'

(A: #Hayır, ed-e-mi-yeceğ-im.)
No do-ABIL-NEG-FUT-1PS
'No, I can't.'

In (60), the negative polar question can be answered with a response token such as *yes* or *no*, however, in the same context as in (61), the use of *hani* construction requires an account from the addressee (i.e. the speaker A) regarding the change in his or her expected behavior. By using *hani* Speaker B confronts and challenges Speaker A for this change and asks for an explanation in return. Answering only with a response token as in the case of negative polar questions would result in infelicity as shown in (61). This is because utterances with *hani* constructions with *wh*-intonation are interactionally consequential in the sense that they require an account from the addressee in the next turn. Thus, even though *hani* constructions can also be used in inner negation contexts on a par with negative polar questions, there is a clear pragmatic reason behind its choice over polar questions.¹⁶ *Hani* constructions and negative polar questions are semantically similar, but pragmatically they clearly pattern differently.

The other two usages of *hani* are also very likely to elicit an acknowledgement token from the addressee. These conversational or communicative features of *hani* constructions are probably the motivation behind their use as an alternative to negative polar questions, which are also simultaneously available in Turkish.

6. Concluding remarks

In this study, we have demonstrated the semantic parallelisms between negative polar questions and *hani* constructions by investigating the type of contexts they can be used in. In the case of *hani* with *wh*-question intonation, we argue that they involve a negation and a question operator just like negative polar questions. Furthermore, they are compatible with the inner negation reading. The *hani... ya* constructions, on the other hand, seem to be compatible with the outer negation reading of negative polar questions as they require neutral contexts or positive evidence. The third category of *hani* constructions, i.e. *hani* with declarative intonation is incompatible with contexts that provide negative evidence, but felicitous in neutral and positive contexts. As we mentioned throughout the discussion, the common point in all three usages seems to be the fact that *hani* refers to shared knowledge. In other words, it manages the common ground.

16. As pointed out by one of our reviewers, the fact that *hani* is historically a *wh*-word might be contributing to this pragmatic difference between NPQs and *hani* constructions. *hani* as a *wh*-word asks for a supplement of information.

List of abbreviations

1	first person	EVID	evidential
2	second person	FUT	future
3	third person	GEN	genitive
ACC	accusative	IMPF	imperfect
ABIL	ability	NEG	negation
ABL	ablative	OPT	optative
ASP	aspect	PERF	perfect
AOR	aorist	SG	singular
COMP	complementizer	PL	plural
COP	copula	Q	question
DAT	dative		

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Modal particles in Basque

Two cases of interaction between *ote* and information structure

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The interaction between modal particles and information structure has received no attention within Basque linguistics. Although the standard behaviour of modal particles in Basque shows, no connection with information structure, in this article I present two dialectal uses only found in Eastern Basque where the discourse particle *ote* interacts with focus: on the one hand, *ote*, which can behave as a weak adverb in these varieties, is only licensed when there is narrow focus occupying the Focus Phrase. On the other hand, the particle can attach *wh*-words creating a configuration also found in languages such as German or Japanese as will be discussed throughout the article; this combination seems to attract emphasis for intensity cross-linguistically.

1. Introduction

The cross-linguistic analysis of modal particles (also known as *discourse particles*)¹ has tried to present some properties which may help identifying words considered as such (Coniglio 2007; Bayer 2009; Bayer & Obenauer 2011; Biberauer & Sheehan 2011; Cardinaletti 2011; Struckmeier 2014).² The category of modal particles is

1. I consider that both terms can be used indistinctly in this paper. However, I favour modal particle since it is the term traditionally used in the literature on the Basque language.

2. I am grateful to the audiences of the workshop on Discourse particles and information structure organised within the 51st annual meeting of the Societas Linguistica Europaea held at Tallinn University, as well as of the weekly workshop held at the research center IKER-UMR 5478 in Bayonne, for their comments. I am also thankful to Prof. Artiagoitia and two anonymous reviewers, who helped me to greatly improve it. Special thanks to M. Duhalde and all those anonymous native speakers I consulted for their help with Lapurdian-Navarrese and Zuberoan data. This study has been made possible thanks to the research project PGC2018-100686-B-I00 from the Spanish Ministry of Science, Innovation and Universities. All errors are mine.

controversial and yet not well defined for many linguists. Recent publications on the category modal particles belong to, such as Degand, Cornillie & Pietrandrea (2013) or Bayer & Struckmeier (2017), demonstrate that there is still an active debate as to whether modal particles belong to the adverbial category or whether they own a proper category distinct from discourse markers. I will use the term “modal particles”, following the Germanic tradition, i.e. referring to those syntactically impoverished elements related to illocutionary force, whether they are syntactic heads or phrases (also labeled as maximal projections in terms of Coniglio (2007, 2008) or weak adverbs following Cardinaletti’s (2011) terminology). Among those properties we find one which is repeated in the literature about modal particles: they are related to the Illocutionary Force, they modify it. There are further properties not relevant for this article which are more focused on, clarifying their syntactic status based on phonological and morphosyntactic features. However, very little has been said about their interaction with Information Structure (henceforth IS) in those works mentioned above. Abraham (1991) represents an early exception to this: he does not only examine modal particles and their counterparts, but also the relation of modal particles to the structural rhematic and thematic positions. Additionally, some works on German modal particles have recently described their function as marking the boundary between theme and rheme (Coniglio 2007) or distinct kinds of foci (Bayer & Obenauer 2011; Egg & Zimmermann 2012). In this respect, modal particles, which modify the illocutionary force, seem to have no interaction with IS, considering the attention this topic has received in the literature on modal particles. Only recent works (Bayer & Obenauer 2011; Bayer & Trotzke 2015; Egg & Mursell 2017) have deeply looked into the interaction between modal particles and the IS.³ Let us briefly exemplify this by using the following relevant works on that topic. On the one hand, Egg and Mursell (2017) claim that some modal particles are not focus particles proper, but focus sensitive particles; these authors base their analysis on the particle *wohl* and state that this particle interacts with focus in a way that its contribution is limited to the focal constituent (Egg & Mursell 2017):

- (1) (dass) [*PETER*]_F *wohl* den Wein trinkt.
 that Peter P the wine drinks
 ‘(that) someone is drinking the wine, and I think it’s Peter.’
 (Egg & Mursell 2017: 39)
- (2) (dass) Peter *wohl* [*den Wein*]_F trinkt.
 ‘(that) Peter is drinking something, and I think it’s the wine.’ (ibidem)

3. Other hypotheses which have examined particles from the point of view of Information Structure have usually aimed at the identification of those as focus (marker) particles or topic (marker) particles (Göksel & Özsoy 2003; Kuwabara 2013; Badan & Del Gobbo 2015).

- (3) (dass) Peter wohl [*den Wein trinkt*]_P
 (that) Peter is doing something, and I think it's drinking the wine.' (ibidem)

On the other hand, Bayer and Obenauer (2011) and Bayer and Trotzke (2015) present a novel analysis of a structure combining *wh*-words and modal particles:

- (4) [Wie **nur**] habe ich den Schlüssel verlieren können?
 how P have I the key lose could
 'How on earth could I lose the key?' (Bayer & Trotzke 2015: 14)
- (5) [Warum **denn nur**] hätte er das sagen sollen?
 why P P had he that say should
 'Why on earth should he have said that (I am wondering)?'
 (Bayer & Obenauer 2011: 415)

Trotzke and Turco (2015) examine the configuration in (4)–(5) in terms of mirativity and conclude that it causes an extra emphatic effect, i.e. “emphasis for intensity” following their terminology. They claim that this kind of emphasis differs from information structure emphasis since it conveys an evaluation of the proposition by the speaker, as shown in the following examples:

- (6) Was hast du heute Nacht gemacht?
 what have you today night done
 'What did you do last night?'
 a. Ich habe geSCHLAFen.
 I have slept
 b. GESCHLAFEN hab ich! (Frey apud Trotzke & Turco 2015: 41)
 slept have I

The use of emphasis for intensity in (6b) aims at marking that the answer to that question is too obvious since to sleep at night is common practice. Hence, emphasis for intensity, unlike information structure emphasis, expresses the speaker's attitude towards the proposition, rather than contrasting a constituent with the corresponding one of another sentence. Furthermore, whereas IS emphasis can be cancelled (7b), the effect created by emphasis for intensity is not cancellable (7a):

- (7) a. FLEISCH hat Otto heute gekauft, und 3 Pfund BaNAnen.
 meat has Otto today bought and 3 pounds of.bananas
 'Today, Otto bought meat, and 3 pounds of bananas.'
 (# Aber dass er Fleisch gekauft hat, ist ja nicht weiter erwähnenswert.)
 'However, the fact that he bought meat is not worth further mentioning.'
 (Frey apud Trotzke & Turco 2015: 40)
- b. Otto hat heute FLEISCH gekauft, und 3 Pfund BaNAnen. (ibidem)

Based on this usage and its singular pragmatic properties which make it different from information structure emphasis, they propose that the landing site of this structure is on Emphatic Phrase, located above FocP but below ForceP.

All in all, modal particles play a role in the IS as two patterns have been identified, i.e. by interacting with the focal element and by arising a reading related to emphasis for intensity in *wh*-questions. Along these lines, I will examine some dialectal uses of the Basque modal particle *ote* and their interaction with IS by providing empirical data which, to the best of my knowledge, has not been discussed before in the literature. These data manifest that the distinctive behaviour *ote* displays in those varieties has a connection to the IS unlike *ote* in its canonical use. The aim of this article is to describe those syntactic patterns and account for their interaction with the IS considering the hypotheses presented above. Nevertheless, first I need to introduce some basic concepts dealing with this particle in order to understand the specific usages found in some varieties of Eastern dialects. I will proceed as follows: in Section 2, I will describe the common behaviour of modal particles in Basque focusing on the particle *ote* and conclude that they behave as clitic-heads attached to finite verbs and that they have no interaction with focal constituents in spite of their adjacency. I will use the term ‘common *ote*’ to distinguish the syntactic and pragmatic use found in all dialects and standard Basque from those typical usages from Eastern dialects. Section 3 will be dedicated to a concrete usage of the modal particle *ote* found in some varieties of Eastern dialects; in this usage, *ote* does not function as a head but as a phrasal element conditioned to the presence of a lexicalised Focus Phrase, i.e. if no constituent triggers movement to FocP, this instance of *ote* cannot arise; in Section 4, I will provide evidence for configuration ‘*wh*-word *ote*’, recently found in Eastern Basque, precisely, in North-Eastern dialects, which will be analysed as a combination of *wh*-word and the particle *ote*; in the terms of Bayer & Trotzke (2015), *ote* receives emphasis for intensity; the final section will present the conclusions.

2. Modal particles in Basque: A brief analysis of common *ote*

As it is generally acknowledged, Basque has SOV order in out-of-the-blue or neutral contexts. Let us consider the next example:

- (8) Xabierrek Erandion ogia erosten du.
 Xabier.ERG Erandio.IN bread.ABS buy.IPFV AUX
 ‘Xabier buys bread in Erandio.’

We see that the subject, marked by the ergative case, and the object, marked by the absolutive case, precede the verb in this neutral clause. Other orders are also

allowed; however, these cannot be considered neutral since they are related to specific IS strategies such as focalisation:

- (9) [XABIERREK]_i_F erosten du_j t_i Erandion ogia t_j.
 Xabier.ERG buy.IPFV AUX Erandio.IN bread.ABS
 ‘Xabier is the one who buys the bread in Erandio.’

As can be observed, when a constituent is focalised it is fronted and triggers movement of the verbal complex to the left periphery, so that both are adjacent (Ortiz de Urbina 1999a; cf. Etxepare 1997; Arantzazu Elordieta 2001). It can be also noticed in the glosses that verbs in Basque are mainly⁴ analytic, i.e. they are formed by a lexical verb carrying aspectual markers (Example (10a)), and an auxiliary verb providing information about the arguments of the predicate by agreement with them, mode and tense (10b):

- (10) a. Eros(i)-ten
 buy. IPFV
 b. du
 AUX.3SG.ABS.3SG.ERG.IND.PRS.⁵

Modal particles appear attached to the auxiliary or finite verb:⁶

- (11) Xabierrek Erandion ogia erosten omen du.
 Xabier.ERG Erandio.IN bread.ABS buy.IPFV P AUX
 ‘Xabier is said to buy the bread in Erandio.’

Example (11) highlights the position of modal particles relative to both kind of verbs. Modal particles precede the finite verb and, therefore, occur between the lexical and finite verbs. Modal particles are claimed to behave as clitics affixed to finite verbs since they move along together when the verb is, for instance, fronted in negative matrix clauses:

4. This is true for the vast majority of verbs and in most of the tenses/ aspects, with the exception of a dozen verbs which have synthetic forms amalgamating V and T but only when the aspect is punctual.

5. For the sake of simplicity I will gloss inflected verbs by using *AUX* without providing a deep analysis of their composition.

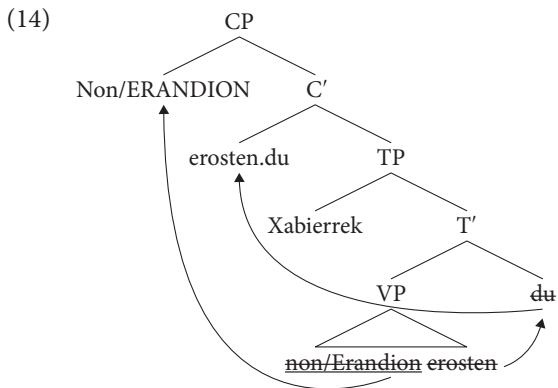
6. I will refer to auxiliary verbs as finite verbs to include also those few verbs which can function as synthetic and shows similar syntactic behaviour and restriction as auxiliary verbs. On the other hand, the term ‘verbal complex’ will be employed referring to the combination of lexical and auxiliary verbs.

- (12) Ez **omen** du Xabierrek Erandion ogia erosten.
 not P AUX Xabier.ERG Erandio.IN bread.ABS buy.IPFV
 ‘Xabier is said not to buy the bread in Erandio.’

Based on this and further data, modal particles have been considered to function as clitic-heads occupying a position in the TP-domain (Gorka Elordieta 1997; Arantzazu Elordieta 2001). Concerning the modal particle *ote* (also written *othe* in North-Eastern varieties), it is mainly used in questions. Root questions in Basque, whether they contain modal/question particles or not, are marked in syntactic terms by movement of the verbal complex to the CP-domain and, if there is a focal constituent such as a *wh*-word, those are also fronted to the CP-domain:

- (13) a. Non_i [erosten du]_j Xabierrek \bar{t}_i ogia \bar{t}_j ?
 where buy.IPFV AUX Xabier.ERG bread.ABS
 ‘Where does Xabier buy the bread?’
 b. ERANDION_i [erosten du]_j Xabierrek \bar{t}_i ogia \bar{t}_j ?
 Erandio.IN buy.IPFV AUX Xabier.ERG bread.ABS
 ‘Is it Erandio where Xabier buys the bread?’

Let us also exemplify this by using the following diagram:



The presence of a modal particle, even of a question particle, does not alter the word order arrangement in questions, i.e. the organization of the information structure in questions seems not to be altered by the use of *ote*:

- (15) a. Non_i [erosten **ote** du]_j Xabierrek \bar{t}_i ogia \bar{t}_j ?
 where buy.IPFV P AUX Xabier.ERG bread.ABS
 ‘Where does Xabier buy the bread? (I’m wondering)’
 b. ERANDION_i [erosten **ote** du]_j Xabierrek \bar{t}_i ogia \bar{t}_j ?
 Erandio.IN buy.IPFV P AUX Xabier.ERG bread.ABS
 ‘Is it Erandio where Xabier buys the bread? (I’m wondering)’

The statement that the particle *ote* does not affect IS can be extended to the rest of modal particles; for instance, the evidential particle *omen* ‘I heard that, it has been said’ appears adjacent to the focal constituent after the verb has moved to the FocP; however, we find the same pattern in a clause with no modal particle, that is, the verb and the focal element are adjacent. Therefore, the occurrence of modal particles does not modify the way focus or topic are marked in Basque. In fact, although the particle can be found in the head of FocP after the verb has moved to such phrase, the scope of the particle does not vary, it still has the whole clause in its scope, not only the focal constituent (Egg & Mursell 2017; cf. Biezma, Butt & Jabeen 2018). As can be noted in the glosses of (15), the use of *ote* does have an impact in the interpretation of the clause. Although the contribution of this particle is still on debate, this topic is beyond the scope of this paper.⁷ For the sake of brevity, I accept the hypothesis that *ote* marks the so-called ‘I wonder’ effect in root questions, at least, pragmatically.⁸ Coming back to the syntactic analysis of questions, embedded questions show a different pattern: whereas embedded *wh*-questions behave as root ones (16a), i.e. the *wh*-word and verb are fronted in the CP-domain, in embedded polar questions the verbs stay *in situ* (16b), i.e. at the end of the clause, unless there is a focal constituent (16c); in that case, the focal constituent and the verb move along to FocP in the CP-domain (for a more detailed analysis of questions see Ortiz de Urbina 1999b). Concerning the position of the complementizer, *-(e)n*, it appears

7. I address the interested reader to general grammars (De Rijk 2008; Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003) and previous and on-going works on this particle (Garmendia 2014; Alcázar 2017; Monforte 2019).

8. Note that *ote* can also occur in non-interrogative contexts such as embedded under the verb ‘to seem to sb’:

- (i) Begitandu zait urlia ote den.
 seem AUX John-Doe P is.C
 ‘It seems to me that he might be John Doe.’ (Ormaetxea 2005)

The interpretation of *ote* as ‘I wonder’ does not fit in such contexts; following the Royal Academy of the Basque Language (1987) *ote* may indicate that the speaker has gone through an evaluation of the proposition concluding that they are not fully committed to the proposition. That it turns an information seeking question into a conjectural one is not surprising considering that this phenomenon is also found in languages such as Salish (Littell, Matthewson & Peterson 2010), Vietnamese (Nguyen 2018) and Quechua (Faller 2002) by using an evidential/ epistemic particle:

- (ii) y’e-mín-s=**nke** e=Meagan e=ti
 good-REL-3.SUB=INFER DET=Meagan DET=tea
 ‘Meagan must like the tea. / Apparently, Meagan likes tea.’
- (iii) ké?=**ws=nke** k=s-y’e-mín-s e=Meagan e=ti
 whether=SBJN=INFER IRL=NOM-good-REL-3.SUB=INFER DET=Meagan DET=tea
 ‘I wonder whether Meagan likes the tea.’ (Littell, Matthewson & Peterson 2010)

attached to the finite verb at the end of the clause (Ortiz de Urbina 1999b); accordingly, if the finite verb is fronted, the complementizer also triggers movement, as can be observed in the following examples:

- (16) a. Non_i [erosten duen]_j Xabierrek t_i ogia t_j galdetu dut.
 where buy.IPFV AUX.C Xabier.ERG bread.ABS ask AUX
 ‘I asked where Xabier buys the bread.’
- b. Xabierrek han ogia erosten duen galdetu dut.
 Xabier.ERG there bread.ABS buy.IPFV AUX.C ask AUX
 ‘I asked whether Xabier buys the bread there.’
- c. XABIERREK erosten duen han ogia galdetu dut.
 Xabier.ERG buy.IPFV AUX.C there bread.ABS ask AUX
 ‘I asked whether Xabier is who buys the bread there.’

The modal particle *ote* is not excluded from embedded contexts,⁹ for instance:

- (17) a. Non erosten *ote* duen ogia galdetu dut.
 where buy.IPFV P AUX.C bread.ABS ask AUX
 ‘I wondered where s\he buys the bread.’
- b. Erandion ogia erosten *ote* duen galdetu dut.
 Erandio.IN bread.ABS buy.IPFV P AUX.C ask AUX
 ‘I wondered whether s\he buys the bread in Erandio.’

As in root questions, the particle *ote* adds the already mentioned ‘I wonder’ effect to the proposition containing it in embedded clauses. Also, it can be observed in (17b) that the verb is not fronted in spite of the occurrence of *ote*; therefore, the idea that *ote* may have some [foc] feature must be discarded. One may wonder whether *ote* may have any relation to broad focus; as stated in Section 2, the particle always modifies the whole proposition, even in contexts where FocP is lexicalised and the particles is in Foc₀. Therefore, the scope of the particle does not change, although the scope of focus does.

So far, I have described the main properties of modal particles in Basque using *ote* as a model and some aspects and analyses of the grammar of the Basque language dealt with in this article that I will develop below. To sum up, these are the relevant properties to bear in mind:

9. In fact, the modal particle *ote* can occur not only in indirect questions but also in semi-questions (Suñer 1993); also, it can appear in other non-interrogative contexts such as Noun Complement Clauses. Following De Cuba (2017), the latter lacks illocutionary force. Therefore, the presence of *ote* in such contexts goes against the idea that modal particles only occur in sentences containing illocutionary force.

- Although Basque is an SOV language, the activation of information structure activates other orders as a result of (focused and topicalised) constituents moving to the CP-domain;
- Modal particles have no impact on the configuration of those focal and topical structures. This suggests that modal particles are not related to IS;
- Modal particles are clitics attached to the finite verb and their scope is always the whole proposition;
- *Ote* appears mainly in both root and embedded questions.

In the following section I will present data from Eastern dialects where *ote* shows a distinct behaviour compared to the common one: on the one hand, it functions as a weak adverb and, on the other hand, it combines with *wh*-words. Both usages provide evidence for an interaction between the particles and the information structure.

3. MP *ote*'s dependency on FocP in Eastern dialects

Basque dialects are known in Basque linguistics for their rich syntactic variation. Proof of that comes from widespread current research on Basque dialects, such as works on case marking (Aldai 2010), or on the evidential particle (Etxepare & Uriá 2016), or on datives, differential object marking and argument incorporation (Fernández & Etxepare 2013; Rezac & Fernández 2013), or on *wh*-question's configuration (Duguine & Irurtzun 2014), or on different kinds of complementizers (Artiagoitia & Elordieta 2016; Elordieta & Haddican 2018). Henceforth I will focus on providing evidence on the non-canonical behaviour concerning the modal particle *ote*; only when the data follow the general behaviour of modal particles will be signalled.

The piece of data I am dealing with in this article is well found in literary works, but also in the spoken language as dialectological corpora shows (Camino 2009; Camino 2013; Camino 2017), especially in Low Navarre, Salazar and Roncal valleys¹⁰ and Soule.¹¹ However, it has not drawn much attention in academic discourse. This will be a first approach to those new data found in Eastern Basque in which I focus exclusively on the syntactic analysis; considering that the category of modal particles is mostly defined based on their bleached interpretation, it would seem

10. The Roncales variety disappeared at the end of the XXth century, therefore, the data used for this work deals mainly with written sources from the XIXth century.

11. In addition to the data from written and oral sources, I have collected further information, especially dealing with grammatical judgments, by conducting interviews with native speakers from Labourd and Low Navarre during 2017–2018. I am grateful to all of them for their help and patience.

reasonable to look into their semantic-pragmatics too. Nevertheless, an attempt to exhaustively examine this topic is out of the scope of this article and implies further research. All in all, a first glance suggests that the three uses of *ote* presented in this article do not show significant differences concerning their interpretation.¹² The syntactic properties of this usage of the modal particle *ote* are as follows: (1) it does not occur before the finite verb, unlike the common *ote*:

- (18) Nola deitzen da ote kori?
 how call.IPFV AUX P that
 ‘What’s the name of that OTE?’¹³

Although it may seem that *ote* is still attached to the finite verb, as a suffix instead of as a prefix, other constituents such as the interrogative marker *-a* or the complementizer *-(e)n(ez)* can intervene between the finite verb and *ote*:

- (19) Egiazko apeza dea ote hori?
 real priest.ABS is.P P that
 ‘Is that person a real priest OTE?’ (Salaberry 1978)
- (20) Eztakit ardi orrek bildotxa ukhain dienez othe. gaur.
 not.know sheep that.ERG lamb.ABS have.FUT AUX:C P today
 ‘I don’t know whether that sheep will give birth today OTE.’ (Camino 2009)

Moreover, the discourse marker *ba(da)* can appear between the verbal complex and the particle *ote*. Unlike modal particles, *ba(da)* is not a clitic but an independent word (see Lizardi-Ituarte (in press) for an analysis of *ba(da)* in neoperformative terms). Therefore, *ote* cannot be considered to function as a clitic attached to the verb as it does in its common behavior:

- (21) Nor deitzen du bada ote Peiok egun guziz?
 who call.IPFV AUX DP P Peio.ERG day all.INS
 ‘Who does Peter call every day OTE?’

Also, it shows a change in the intonational contour,¹⁴ which is not surprising since *ote* in this usage does not behave as a clitic; therefore, it forms an independent

12. Since this use of *ote* is underinvestigated, I will not mark its interpretation as ‘I’m wondering’ but simply as ‘OTE’, avoiding generalisation of its contribution.

13. Prof. Camino (p.c.) informed me that this use was apparently common in Salazar Valley too. I thank him for that piece of information and for providing me with an example.

14. Although this is a topic that needs further research, some distinctions can be perceived at first sight: unlike the common *ote*, which can receive stress in the first or second syllable depending on the length of the finite verb (i)–(ii), *ote* here always displays the same prosodic pattern:

prosodic unit (cf. Cardinaletti 2011). Furthermore, it cannot occupy separate positions in the clause, i.e. *ote* always occurs in a specific syntactic position and remains immobile (cf. Bayer 2009) even when other constituents, either the verbal complex or phrases occupying specifier positions, move towards the Left Periphery:

- (22) Nor deitzen du (**ote**) Peiok (***ote**) egun guziz (***ote**)?
 who call.IPFV AUX P Peio.ERG P day all.INS P

Finally, *ote* can take some case markings as partitive; note that some adverbs in Basque can function similar to nouns in some contexts such as *atzto* ‘yesterday’ or *bihar* ‘tomorrow’. Hence, they can also receive case marking, for instance:

- (23) Negar egingo zenuke (...) biharrik ez balego.
 cry do.FUT AUX tomorrow.PART not if. AUX
 ‘You would cry if there were no tomorrow.’ (Oñederra 1999)

- (24) Ez, eta **otherik** gabe oraino.
 not and P.PART without still
 Zu hunen irakurtzen ari ziren bezen segur.
 you this.GEN read.IPFV PROG AUX:C SO sure
 ‘No, and even with no doubt. As sure as you’re reading this.’
 (Hiriart-Urruty 1972)

Furthermore, the inessive case mark *-an* can be identified in the word *otean* attached to the particle *ote* (Peillen 1979). This is only found in Eastern varieties and conveys the speaker’s surprise, astonishment or admiration (Lhande 1926; Mitxelena & Sarasola 2017); in comparison to modal particles, *otean* does not display syntactic restrictions as it can occur in sentential first position and not adjacent to the verb:

- (i) Ni **othe**’ niz, Jau’na?
 I.ABS P be sir.ABS
 ‘Is it me, Lord?’ (Inchauspe 1856)
- (ii) Bil **o’the** dai’te elhorrie’tan maha’xic e’do phico’ric naharre’tan?
 gather P can hawthorn.IN.PL grape.PART OR fig.PART blackberry.IN PL
 ‘Can we gather grapes from hawthorns or figs from blackberries?’ (ibidem)

Moreover, although it could be considered that *ote* behaves as a clitic too in this use and, unlike the common behavior, it is incorporated after the verb, this does not seem an option since it does not show any change in its intonational contour depending on the length of the verb. In addition to this, *ote* as a weak adverb cannot suffer apheresis, unlike the common *ote* which can be reduced in specific environments.

- (25) Eztüta nik **othian** egün bonür handia?
 I.ERG P.IN today happiness big.ABS not.AUX.P
 ‘Don’t I have perhaps today great joy?’ (Oihenarte 1971[1848])

Therefore, it can be considered an adverb which can be separated into the non-canonical *ote*, bearing in mind its geographical extension, and the inessive case mark *-an*.¹⁵ I conclude that the patterns described above can hardly be explained if *ote* behaved as a clitic-head; therefore, based on this data and the analysis Cardinaletti (2011) applies to similar particles in Italian (cf. Munaro & Poletto 2002), I propose that *ote* in Eastern dialects has also a phrasal nature and can function as a weak adverb.

Concerning its syntactic position, *ote* always appears after the fronted finite verb and before the subject, as can be observed in (19)–(21). A verb occurring in first position is what could be expected in these contexts since we are dealing with questions and, as explained above, verbs are always fronted in root questions. Therefore, its position must be the specifier position of a phrase located below Focus Phrase but above the TP-domain:

- (26) FocP > [XP *ote* [X' [X]]] > TP

As described also in Section 2, *wh*-questions and polar questions show separate derivations in embedded contexts: constituent questions are formed by fronting both the *wh*-word and the verbal complex, whereas yes-no questions usually have the verb *in situ*, i.e. at the end of the clause, unless there is a focal constituent fronted in the CP-domain. If we observe now the data presented above, we see that the verb is fronted in all examples of this kind of *ote*, even in embedded polar questions:¹⁶

- (27) Kala_i [izanen denez]_j **ote** artan t_i t_j eztakid.
 that.way be.FUT AUX.C P that.IN not.know
 ‘I don’t know whether it will be like that there OTE.’ (Irigoyen 1957)
- (28) Eztakit [ardi horrek]_k bildotxa_i [ukhain dienez]_j **othe** gaur t_j t_i t_k
 not.know sheep that.ERG lamb.ABS have.FUT AUX.C P today
 ‘I don’t know whether that sheep will give birth today OTE.’
 (Camino 2009, 153–218)

15. We note similar constructions regarding other adverbs such as *aspaldian* (‘long ago, lately’) formed by the adverb *aspaldi* (‘long ago’) and the inessive *-an*.

16. As stated in Section 2, embedded polar questions have the canonical order SOV; however, if any constituent of the embedded clause receives focus, then the verb is fronted in order to be adjacent to the focal constituent which triggers movement to FocP. This behaviour is independent of the presence of *ote*; therefore, both distributions can occur in clauses with and without *ote*.

- (29) Guiazale itsuac (..) beldurrac_i dagonez_j hote mussquito bat t_j t_i
 guide blind.ABS fear.ABS be.C P mosquito one
 ‘Blind guides (...) feared whether there’s a mosquito OTE.’ (Pagola 2004)

In fact, some of them contain the complementizer *-(e)nez*,¹⁷ typical of Eastern Basque. The fact that our corpus lack examples of embedded yes-no questions without fronting brings up the question whether the particle can appear at the beginning of an embedded question containing no focus such as:

- (30) Ez dakit (*ote) ardi horrek bildotxa ukain (ote) duen.
 not know P sheep that.ERG lamb.ABS have.FUT P AUX.C
 ‘I don’t know whether that sheep will give birth today.’

Native speakers I consulted¹⁸ do not accept this first sentential position for *ote*; however, its use is felicitous if *ote* precedes the finite verb, following the canonical behaviour of Basque modal particles. Rather, in examples as (31), the only interpretation possible is the one which relates *ote* to the main clause, that is, the one in which *ote* occupies a position after the finite verb:

- (31) Badakia ote nungoa den mutil hori?
 CL.know.P P where.GEN.ABS AUX.C boy that
 Does s/h know where that boy is from OTE?’

Finally, I would like to point out that speakers do not reject clauses as (30) because the context does not make felicitous the use of *ote*; on the contrary, examples as those are accepted if the particle occurs either affixed to the finite verb or as in (28), i.e. after the fronted finite verb. Therefore, there seems to be a connection between the position of the verb and the occurrence of the weak adverb *ote*. This behaviour reminds of Munaro and Poletto (2002), who claim that modal particles need the CP-domain to be activated, or Bayer and Obenauer (2011) and Egg and Mursell (2017), who relate the use of some modal particles (*doch*, *wohl*) to the information structure. Both hypotheses aim at explaining why modal particles are restricted in some embedded contexts and how modal particles interact with the illocutionary

17. Rebuschi (2013) decomposes that complementizer as the general complementizer *-(e)n* and the head of FocP *-(e)z*.

18. The data found in *Basyque*, the Basque syntactic database, also confirm this judgement. In this project interviews were conducted to collect syntactic data from North-Eastern dialects and some of the questions were related to the position of modal particles. One of those positions was at the beginning of the clause in a *wh*-question. It was rejected by the vast majority of consultants, only two speakers seemed to accept it, actually from areas where they do not even use *ote* as a weak adverb; therefore, these two judgements seem to be compromised and I have decided not to take them into consideration.

force in order to integrate their contribution in the proposition. However, in the case of the modal particle *ote* I have discarded the idea that *ote* modifies the illocutionary force¹⁹ since it can occur in contexts where illocutionary force is claimed not to exist (De Cuba 2017), such as Noun Complement Clauses:

- (32) Egia **ote** dakien kezkak beldurtzen nau.
 truth.ABS P know.C worry.ERG scare AUX
 ‘The concern that s/he may know the truth scares me.’

Therefore, the presence of *ote* does not need ForceP in the CP-domain to be activated. Nevertheless, *ote* seems to be dependent on the activation of FocP, since, if this is not lexicalised, the weak adverb cannot occur. This approach is similar to the analysis of Bayer & Obenauer (2011) or Egg & Mursell (2017) on German modal particles interacting with contrastive and information focus (Bayer & Obenauer 2011) or bound and free focus (Egg & Mursell 2017); it also shares properties with the analysis of the particle *kya* in Hindi/Urdu (Biezma, Butt & Jabeen 2018) since as these authors claim, *kya* is a focus sensitive operator and interacts with the focal constituent in a way such as the particle is always adjacent to the focused material.

Following Arantzazu Elordieta (2001), focus in Basque can appear in a preverbal position, usually located in the specifier position of CP, or it can stay in situ; both kinds of foci are information focus and neutral, that is, the constituents carrying focus must be considered as new information; nevertheless, those in the CP-domain can also be contrastive in some contexts. In addition to this, she also checks if these separate mechanisms to mark focus correspond to exhaustivity, as claimed for Hungarian (Szabolcsi apud Arantzazu Elordieta 2001), concluding that they are not related to exhaustivity. However, she says that there is a difference between focus in situ or in the CP-domain: whereas the former may be wide focus, the latter can only be narrow focus, that is, only the constituent located preverbally can be interpreted as focus:

- (33) Gaur umeek abesti berri bi abestu dituzte.
 today children.ERG song new two sing AUX
 I. *‘Today the children sang two new songs’*²⁰
 II. ‘Today the children sang two new songs’
 III. ‘Today the children sang two new songs’ (Arantzazu Elordieta 2001: 131)

19. In Zubeldia (2013) the modal particle *omen* is examined in terms of semantics-pragmatics and she concludes that this particle does not contribute the illocutionary force.

20. The constituents marked in italics correspond to the intended focus.

- (34) Mikelek [goxoki batzuk]_i umeei t_i ekarri dizkie.
 Mikel.ERG sweet some children.PL.DAT bring AUX
 ‘Mikel brought some sweets to the children.’
 *‘Mikel brought some sweets to the children.’ (op.cit.: 139)

Nevertheless, I would not propose that *ote* can be used to distinguish such kinds of foci (wide and narrow foci), since syntax already does it. However, it is true that *ote* requires FocP in the information structure activated to its left. So there seems to be some kind of sensitivity to the different foci.

Let us set aside this topic for a moment and observe the syntactic position and properties of *ote*. It is easily noted that it shares some properties with those adverbs which occupy Mod(ifier) Phrase in Rizzi (2004); these are the characteristics listed by Rizzi for those adverbs: (a) their intonational contour resembles that of topics, causing them to be perceived as prominent; however, they have no connection to the background, unlike topics; (b) they are neither focus or topic (although in special contextual circumstances they can move to FocP or TopP); (c) in conclusion, Rizzi (2004) proposes a third Phrase between ForceP and FinP, i.e. Mod(ifier) Phrase. Furthermore, Rizzi assumes that the adverb occupying this position modifies the structure the adverb is related to. This definition reminds how modal particles are claimed to contribute to the interpretation of the proposition. The difference between both the modal particle *ote* and preposed adverbs (following Rizzi’s (2004) terminology) is that the former cannot occupy topic or focal positions, no matter the context is; however, this property is also shared by modal particles in other languages such as German (Struckmeier 2014). The fact that they cannot move along in the syntactic structure is a reason not to consider them as full adverbs.

Based on all these facts, I propose that *ote* occupies a Mod(ifier) Phrase located between FocP and FinP; moreover, I suggest that this ModP is sensitive to the presence of FocP i.e. ModP occurs if the FocP is activated by the movement of a focal constituent to that phrase, namely to the FocP. This analysis also explains the following piece of data:

- (35) a. Non **ote**?
 where P
 ‘Where OTE?’
 b. Célinek **ote**?
 Céline.ERG P
 ‘Céline OTE?’
 c. Bai **ote**?
 yes P
 ‘Really OTE?’

As can be observed in these examples, *ote* occurs next to *wh*-words, focalised constituents and the polarity particles (yes/no), once the rest of the proposition is elided. I analyse these clauses as follows: the *wh*-words, constituents receiving focus and polarity particles trigger movement to FocP; this movement activates FocP and, therefore, it licenses the occurrence of *ote* next to them in ModP; finally, TP and phrases below it are omitted.

In this configuration there must be a movement to the Left Periphery to provide a questioned constituent. It must be pointed out that the occurrence of any kind of focus is not enough for *ote* to occur; in fact, the lexicalization of FocP is mandatory, since this usage of *ote* is not found when *in situ* focus occurs in the clause. It must be information structure focus which is activated and precedes the particle, as can be noticed in the agrammaticality of the following examples:

- (36) a. ***Ote** non?
 P where
 b. ***Ote** Beñati?
 P Beñat.DAT

These examples confirm the hypothesis that *ote* must follow the information structure focus containing the constituent in question. Also, as shown in previous examples such as (19) and (21), the interrogative marker *-a* and the discourse marker *ba(da)* can intervene between *ote* and the constituent moved to FocP in these constructions. This proves that *ote* cannot occupy the head of FocP:

- (37) a. **Baia ote?**
 yes.P P
 ‘Really OTE?’
 b. **Zergatik bada ote?**
 why P P
 ‘Why BADA OTE?’

In conclusion, although the topic deserves a deeper analysis, *ote* in some varieties of Eastern Basque can also behave as a weak adverb located in the specifier of Modifier Phrase (following Rizzi’s (2004) terminology), which is somehow related to the information structure focus (cf. Bayer & Obenauer 2011; Egg & Mursell 2017), since it can only appear in contexts containing a lexicalised FocP. Evidence reinforcing this hypothesis is found in clauses where only the focal constituent and *ote* occur. Indeed, this kind of configuration has given rise to the construction under examination in the next section, i.e. ‘*wh*-word *ote*’.

4. Microvariations on the MP *ote* in North-Eastern dialects: ‘*wh*-word *ote*’

Eastern varieties, namely North-Eastern dialects of Basque, also show a usage of modal particles not so common cross-linguistically. The modal particle *ote* forms a single constituent with a *wh*-word; for instance:²¹

- (38) Nork **ote** jan züan?
 who.ERG P eat AUX
 ‘Who ate it OTE?’ (Casenave-Harigile 1997)
- (39) Nor **ote** deitzen du Peiok egun guziz?
 who P call.IPFV AUX Peio.ERG day all.INS
 ‘Who does Peter call every day OTE?’

As suggested in the previous section, this construction seems to be the reanalysis of constructions. If both usages are compared, we note that they do not behave similarly in contexts where the verb is not elided: whereas *ote* appears always after the finite verb in the use dealt with in the previous section, here *ote* is always attached to the *wh*-word. Proof of this adjacency can be found in ‘why’ questions and embedded questions. In the former ones the *wh*-word is claimed to trigger no movement to the Left Periphery because that is where *why* is base generated (Rizzi 2001; Cecchetto & Donati 2012); therefore, in this case the adjacency between the *wh*-word and the finite verb is optional, unlike other *wh*-words (as explained above):

- (40) a. Zergatik **ote** Peiok hori erran data?
 why P Peio.ERG that.ABS say AUX
 ‘Why did Peter ask me that OTE?’
 b. Zergatik **ote** erran data Peiok hori?
 why P say AUX Peio.ERG that.ABS
 c. *Zergatik Peiok hori **ote** erran data?²²
 why Peio.ERG that.ABS P say AUX

21. See Trotzke & Monforte (2019) for a detailed account of this construction.

22. The particle can also occur in its common or standard position in this context:

- (i) a. Zergatik Peiok hori erran **ote** data?
 why Peio.ERG that.ABS say P AUX
 ‘Why did Peter ask me that OTE?’
 b. Zergatik erran **ote** data Peiok hori?
 why say P AUX Peio.ERG that.ABS

Finally, North-Eastern Basque allows the verb to remain *in situ* in embedded *wh*-questions, unlike the rest of dialects and standard Basque:

- (41) a. Ez dakit non ote kazeta utzi dudan.
 not know where P newspaper.ABS leave AUX.C
 ‘I don’t know where I left the newspaper OTE.’
 b. *Ez dakit non kazeta ote utzi dudan.²³
 not know where newspaper.ABS P leave AUX.C

Based on these data, I propose that *ote* forms a single constituent by merging with a *wh*-word, since nothing can intervene between the *wh*-word (except for ‘why’) and the finite verb (Trotzke & Monforte 2019). *Wh*-words combine with not only the particle *ote*, but also the discourse marker *ba(da)*:

- (42) Nondik bada zetozen eskatu zien.
 where P come.C ask AUX
 ‘S/he asked them where they were coming then from.’ (Borda 2005)
 (43) Zergatik bada erraten dizkiodan (...) oro.
 why. P say.IPFV AUX all
 (...) why I didn’t tell him all (...). (Landart 1999)

This kind of structure is also found in other languages such as German (Abraham 1991; Bayer & Obenauer 2011; Trotzke & Turco 2015), Italian (Munaro & Poletto 2002; Coniglio 2007), Dolomitic Ladin (Hack 2014) and Japanese (Endo 2018):

- (44) Von wem schon kann man das sagen?
 of who P can one that say
 ‘Who can one say that about? About nobody!/ Hardly about nobody!’
 (45) Cosa mai avrebbe Gianni potuto fare in quel frangente?
 what P would.have Gianni could do in that occasion
 ‘What could Gianni do on that occasion?’
 (46) Nani-yo John-tara kidotteru wa
 what- P John-TOP vain mood
 ‘John is so vain/ John acts cocky’

23. Also, in this case *ote* can appear to the left of the finite verb following the common behaviour of modal particles:

- (ii) a. Ez dakit non utzi ote dudan kazeta.
 not know where leave P AUX.C newspaper.ABS
 ‘I don’t know where I left the newspaper OTE.’
 b. Ez dakit non kazeta utzi ote dudan.
 not know where newspaper.ABS leave P AUX.C

A characteristic shared by Basque and German is that this construction receives more emphasis in its intonation than the regular prosody of *wh*-words in similar contexts in both languages. In fact, Trotzke and Turco (2015) claim that the prosodic effect found in these configurations should be considered as ‘emphasis for intensity’. They make a syntactic distinction between two notions of emphasis: information structure emphasis and emphasis for intensity; the latter is related to the speaker’s attitude and evaluation of the proposition. Based on the separate behaviour those kinds of emphasis display, Trotzke and Turco (2015) say that the differences in pragmatics should be reflected on the syntax and, therefore, they propose that the non-information-structural focus should occupy the Emphasis Phrase located above FocP. As for the Basque language, this distinction in focus has also been proposed by Etxepare (1997) and Irurtzun (2016). The latter adopts the analysis of Etxepare (1997), who differentiates two foci: contrastive focus and emphatic focus, which differ not only in semantic terms but also in some syntactic properties such as the adjacency of the verb or their syntactic position. Later Irurtzun (2016) claims that contrastive focus can be termed as “mirative focus” following the terminology used in cross-linguistic literature; let us observe the following examples:

- (47) [Jonek]_F ekarri du ardoa. [Standard focus]
 Jon.ERG bring AUX wine.ABS
 ‘[Jon]F brought the wine’
- (48) [Jonek]_F ardoa ekarri du. [Mirative focus]
 Jon.ERG wine.ABS bring AUX
 ‘[Jon]F brought the wine’

As can be noticed, the mirative construction recalls those in (41) since the focal constituent does not need to be preverbal; nevertheless, ‘*wh*-word *ote*’ configuration can pattern either as in the mirative focus or as in the standard focus. Therefore, it does not seem that we are dealing with the same phenomenon. Indeed, as pointed out by Irurtzun (2016), mirativity has not been deeply examined in Basque and further research is necessary. To sum up, these instances of foci have been identified in the literature not only in Basque, but also in languages such as German.

Coming back to the ‘*wh*-word *ote*’ construction in Basque, speakers, in fact, offer judgments in favour of an analysis considering these constructions as emphasized: on the one hand, questions such as (38) displaying ‘*wh*-word *ote*’ uttered with the regular prosody of standard *wh*-questions are judged as wrong; only when the ‘*wh*-word *ote*’ receives an emphatic stress, the use of *ote* attached to *wh*-words is felicitous. On the other hand, speakers agree that this kind of construction amplifies the meaning of the *wh*-word; in fact, whereas in standard interrogatives the question covers the whole proposition, i.e. the whole proposition is prominent in that question, this seems to be limited to the *wh*-word in the configuration presented

in this section or, at least, the *wh*-word seems to be more prominently questioned. Although this interpretation makes sense considering the prosodic emphasis those configurations receive, the fact that *ote* merged with a *wh*-word only allows the extra emphatic intonation and extra prominent interpretation of the *wh*-word.

I conclude that, although *wh*-words always move to FocP in *wh*-questions and, therefore, *wh*-words occupy the position of the information focus, the use of the modal particle *ote* attached to *wh*-words attracts prosodic and pragmatic emphasis for intensity. Interestingly this pattern is also found in German (Trotzke & Turco 2015); this may suggest that this is a cross-linguistic property of this kind of construction which turns an information structure emphasis into an emphasis for intensity.

5. Conclusions

Along this article I have looked into the modal particle *ote*, which displays high microvariations in Eastern Basque, and its relation to the information structure. After having described how modal particles behave in general in all dialects and standard Basque, I have turned to examine data from various Eastern varieties and concluded that the modal particle *ote* displays the two syntactic statuses assigned to modal particles in the literature, i.e. the head status and the phrasal one. Nevertheless, the latter is only found in Eastern varieties, whereas the former is the general behaviour of modal particles in all dialects. In addition to those differences in the syntactic status, those distinctive uses also occupy separate syntactic positions: modal particles which have a canonical behaviour occur in the TP-domain, while *ote* functioning similar to a weak adverb occupies a position in the CP-domain, namely the Modifier Phrase between FocP and FinP. Also *ote* can be combined with *wh*-words forming the construction *wh*-word *ote*, this co-constituency is also found in other languages such as German or Japanese.

Concerning the relation of the particle to IS, I have noted that, although the modal particle *ote* cannot be considered a focus particle, it is intrinsically related to the focus in two usages found in Eastern Basque. On the one hand, *ote* behaving as a weak adverb, is sensitive to the lexicalization of FocP, i.e. if there is no constituent as information focus in the specifier of FocP, *ote* cannot occur as can be observed in embedded polar questions. Therefore, *ote* is dependent on the realisation of FocP. On the other hand, *ote* attached to the *wh*-word in configurations as ‘*wh*-word particle’ displays what has been denominated ‘emphasis for intensity’ (Trotzke & Turco 2015), provoking a higher prominence of the *wh*-word.

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The articles collected in this volume offer new perspectives into the relevance of notions such as topic, antitopic, contrastive topic, focus, verum focus and theticity for the analysis of the syntax and semantics of modal particles, sentence-final particles and other medial, sentential and illocutive particles. This book addresses three great questions in a variety of languages ranging from Japanese to Mohawk, including Basque, French, German, Italian, Kazakh, Spanish and Turkish, with some insights from English and Russian. The first question is the role played by information-structural strategies such as left dislocations, clefts or the morphological marking of focus in the rise of discourse particles. In the second part, papers are concerned with the relevance of information structure for the study of polysemic and polyfunctional discourse particles. Finally, the contribution of particles to the determination of the information-structural profile of the clause is examined, as well as their role in the information-structural specification of illocutionary types. Language-specific papers alternate with comparative approaches in order to show how newer insights on information structure can help resolve some of the classical issues of the linguistic research on particles.

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