

Wa/mo/ga, and zero

The British Association for Teaching Japanese as a
Foreign Language – BATJ
November 10, 2012

Stephen W. Horn (Oxford University)



Outline

- ▶ Some history
- ▶ Problems that learners face
- ▶ Examples of textbook explanations
- ▶ Problems in the definition of topic and focus
- ▶ Basic possible world theory and the notion of domain
- ▶ Using the notion of domain:
 - W_a = restricts inferences on the domain
 - M_o = presupposes part of the domain in the predicate (simplest case)
 - G_a = adds to the domain or partitions the domain (depending on the context, subject, and predicate)
 - Zero = resets the domain temporarily
- ▶ Leftover problems

は、も、が、∅

Each of these four markings has more than one use, but I present here examples marking noun phrases corresponding to grammatical subjects, in what I suppose are the unmarked functions.

- (1) a. 田中さんは面白い人です。
b. パンダもクマ科だよ。
c. 気温が下がった。
d. あの人∅、誰？

What this talk *is* and is *not* about

I will try to address the uses of these different forms with respect to noun phrases in root contexts.

I won't be talking about the uses of は, も, が, and zero in subordinate clauses.

I won't be talking about は and も attached to non-finite inflecting forms.



はも in Old Japanese

は and も never co-occur in the same NP in Modern Japanese, but they could co-occur in the same NP in Old Japanese:

- (2) 昼波母 歎加比久良志
piru *pa mo* nagekapi-kurasi
夜波母 息豆伎阿可志
yworu *pa mo* iki duki-akasi

「日は溜息を繰り返して暗くなるまで過ごして、夜は喘ぎながら明かし」(MYS.5.897)

Here はも functions to create parallelism (and contrast) in coordinate clauses.

はも functioning as an exclamative marker

- (3) 阿波母與 賣迺斯阿禮婆
a pa mo yo mye ni si areba
那遠岐弓 遠波那志
na wo kite wo pa na-si
「あたしだって、女だから、貴方除いては男は居ない。」(KK.5)
- (4) 橘 本我立 下 枝取
tatibana no moto ni wa wo tate siduye tori
成哉君 問子等
nara-mu ya kimi to twopi-si kwo-ra pa mo
「橘の下に私を立たせ、下枝を取り、「実になるでしょうか、君？」
と聞いたあの子は(どうしているだろう)。(MYS.11.2489)

はしも

はしも could attach to WH words and to indefinite nouns in Old Japanese:

(5) 天下尔 國者思毛
ame no sita *ni* kuni pa *si mo*

澤二雖有

sapa-*ni* aredomo

「天の下に国は多くあるけれども」(MYS.1.36)

(6) 何時 不戀時
itu pa si mo kwopwi-nu toki to pa

雖不有

ara-nedomo

「何時だって恋しく思わない時はないけれど...」(MYS.11.2373)

The function seems to be to give contrast to common nouns when they are in predicates of degree, and to form free-choice words from WH words.

Co-occurrences in OJ; lack of them in NJ

In addition to はも and はしも, in OJ we see をば、をも、もを.

In Modern Japanese, none of は、も、が、~~∅~~ co-occur in the same NP.

If elements share a similar distribution, seem to differ in function at some specific level, and never co-occur, then we might suspect they form a paradigm of some sort.

Modern Japanese

Some linguists write studies about topicalization without ever mentioning \emptyset or zero.

Lately some linguists are documenting the factors at work in determining marking choice in discourse, but they identify many factors to account for the details. It is usually only the people who write descriptive grammars and pedagogical grammars who have tried to treat these forms as part of a system of choices or a paradigm.

My main question today is, what is the right level of abstraction for covering the basic facts?



は

Fujitani Nariakira writes about は in Classical Japanese:

「心得やすき言葉なり。物を引き分けてことわる心なり。さるゆゑに物を問う言葉ともなれり。」

(Nakada and Takeoka
1960:188)

This captures the “topic” function in NJ very well. (But は is not as easy to understand as Nariakira claims.)

格成分+は

As is well known, NPは can correspond to positions for NPs with case assignments of the core grammatical roles. Nominative and accusative case are “absorbed”, while some other cases appear overtly.

- (7) a. 花子は真理子にジョンを紹介した。
b. ジョンは花子が真理子を紹介した。
c. 真理子には花子がジョンを紹介した。

For NPs with non-core roles, the case marking almost always remains.

- (8) a. 駐車場からは市バスに乗るのだ。
b. ここは出なければならない。
c. 彼とはもう話してある。

修飾名詞型

Mikami (1960) suggests that the following sort of sentence is a case where the genitive case marker の has been absorbed by は:

(9) 像は鼻がながい。

(Mikami 1960:9)

(10) 像は**その**鼻がながい(こと)。

(Mikami 1960:12; see also
Kuno 1973:248)

Noda (1996:41) notes that normally the predicate denotes some property of the NP marked with は.

被修飾名詞型

- (11) スーツケースは軽いのがいい。
(*Syudai* 177)

Sentences of this form can be partitive reference if there's definite reference for “NPは”:

- (12) a. あのリンゴは赤いのがおいしい。
b. あのリンゴはその内の赤いのがおいしい。

---although Kuno (1973:251) finds sentences like these less than acceptable:

- (13) ?魚の内で鯛がいい。
(Kuno 1973:251)

But the normal interpretation of (11) is one where the reference is not partitive, but rather “intensional” in the same way that “unicorns” is in “He’s looking for unicorns.”

- (14) 結婚相手は優しい人がいいなあ。

Noda (1996:59) calls these 「選択型」 constructions. The question is whether in this case the reference is to the class (in which case it is definite and familiar), or to something less definite, indeed only “specific” in the sense that it is a set that is restricted to a certain kind of thing.

変則名詞修飾型

Consider sentences of the following form:

(15) カキ料理は広島が本場だ。
(Syudai 2009:187)

One claim is that the topic NP is the modifier of the noun complement of the copula.

(16) 広島がカキ料理の本場(であること)
(Noda 1996 :42)

These are all based on what are called relational nouns. 本場、特徴、原因、主役、etc. are all words that are semantically unsaturated (de Bruin and Scha 1988:26, Noda 1996:48), i.e., they have no denotation unless they are modified. Sentences like () above are all paraphraseable in the following way as well:

(17) カキ料理は広島がその本場だ。

What this means is that a possessor relationship sufficient for “aboutness” to obtain is not restricted to arguments, but can extend to noun complements of the copula.

Note that there is always exhaustive focus on the subject. This indicates that relational nouns function like covert questions. Noda (1996:45) indicates this with the following (18a). Because the sentence is “identificational,” the positions of the nouns can be inverted and the subject changed to nominative case as in (18b):

(18) a. カキ料理の本場は広島だ。
b. 広島がカキ料理の本場だ。

破格成分 + は

These are sometimes referred to as “gapless” topic/comment constructions:

(19) この匂いはガスが漏れているよ。

(Noda 1996:75)

(20) 物理学は就職が大変だ。

(Kuno 1973:253)

Compare with:

(21) a. チューリップはオランダが綺麗だ。

b. チューリップはオランダが(それが)綺麗。

分裂文

(22) 「坊ちゃん」を書いたのは夏目漱石だ。

(Syudai 2009:186)

Noda (1996:64) claims that the only difference between these and other は constructions is the fact that a clause forms the topic. That this is not the case can be seen by the following:

(23) a. 教えてもらいたいのは具体的なプランだよ。

b. 教えてもらいたいのは当然でしょう。

But Noda goes on to note that pseudocleft sentences such as in (a) contain focus elements.

Now the question is whether the “presupposed” part fits the description of a “topic”. It is not definite or familiar or identifiable.

ウナギ文

My personal take on this question is that there is a presupposed “topic” which can’t be added after NPは without becoming contrastive, so it is omitted. This “topic” actually always has the form of a covert question.

- (24) a. 春は___曙。
b. 春なら、(歌の題材に使うべきのは)曙だ。
- (25) a. 僕は___鰻だ。
b. 僕なら、(注文したのは)鰻だ。
- (26) a. 第三問は___「○」です。
b. 第三問なら、(答えは)「○」です。

Translations for は

- ▶ “Speaking of..., talking about...” (Kuno 1973:38)
- ▶ “...at least, ...for one” (Jordan and Noda:1987:88)
- ▶ “As for...” (Storm 1996:13)
- ▶ 「...について言えば」 (三上1960:8)

Three uses of wa (Martin 1975)

- 1) You are asking -- or answering -- a question about some other part of the sentence: あの人は誰が呼んだ？あの人は誰を呼んだ？ (...) a fragmentary sentence N wa... will usually be interpreted as an ellipsis of an interrogative adjunct along with the predicate; thus O-namae wa... 'Your name?' is short for something like 'O-namae wa nan desu ka'.
- 2) You are denying something about some other part of the sentence. Thus タバコはない negatively answers the question タバコがあるか？
- 3) You are supplying information about the points of contrast between grammatically parallel adjuncts in two sentences, e.g. between two subjects or two objects. (...) これは大きい、これは小さい。

Topics (or themes) are marked primarily by position

“The theme, if there is a theme, comes first in a sentence...” (Martin 1975: 225).

If more than one NP(± appears in root position, the first is most likely to be interpreted as a subject, while the others are more likely to be interpreted as contrastive.

Explanations of は

“The combination /nominal X + wa establishes X as a familiar, recognizable item regarding which something is about to be said. What follow applies specifically to X and to no more than X, as far as this particular utterance goes”
(Jordan and Noda, pg. 88)

Identifiability

「知らない人」のように指示対象が聞き手には特定できない名詞は、「は」で表される主題になれない。

*知らない人は3時ごろに来た。」

(Syudai 2009: 184)

Kuno (1973:41) also claims that the NP must be anaphoric, where “anaphoric” means “the listeners know what the speaker is talking about” (1973: 39).

But this is not a good generalization. Covert indirect questions can appear with 「は」 as long as there is a focus element in what follows.

Kuno's "registry"

“It seems that only objects and concepts that have been entered in the registry of the present discourse can become themes of sentences”

(Kuno 1973:39).

- ▶ I will use the term “domain” in place of “registry”.

But the NP in “NPは P” is not necessarily “identifiable”

If NP in “NPは P” is a covert question, then P carries focus somewhere. But the value for “NP” is not an entity in the domain; At the point when it is uttered, the listener can't identify the denotation of NPは as an entity in the domain. It is rather a set of possible answers, together with a presupposition that at least one of them is right.

(27) 勝者は紅組だ。

This is an important point when it comes to pseudocleft sentences (分裂文).

(28) 勝ったのは紅組だ。

The presupposed part of a pseudocleft sentence carries the following presuppositions: The answer set is not empty (29a), and the focus can exhaustively identify it (29b).

- (29) a. *勝ったのは誰でもない。
b. *勝ったのはジョンがその一人だ。

NPは is not always familiar

So far we've seen two cases where sentence-initial NPは has a reference that is non-specific:

被修飾名詞型

(14) **結婚相手は**優しい人がいいなあ。

分裂文

(23) a. **教えてもらいたいのは**具体的なプランだよ。

Contrast and non-specificity

Under contrast, the familiarity constraint for NPは disappears:

- (30) a. *大勢の人はパーティに来ました。
b. 大勢の人はパーティに来ましたが、面白い人は一人もいませんでした。

(Kuno 1973: 47)

Without intonation to indicate the difference, familiar NPは can be ambiguous between topic and contrast, and ambiguous NPは stays ambiguous:

- (31) 私が知っている人はパーティに来ませんでした。
a. 'Speaking of the persons I know, they did not come to the party'
b. '(People came to the party, but) there was none whom I knew.'

(Kuno 1973: 48)

Intonation is just one of the things that disambiguate between topic and contrast.

は and quantification

Some universally quantified NPは can also sound strange (32a) unless it is either contrastive (32b) or generic (32c):

- (32) a. ?すべての人はメンバーだ。
b. 子供の半分ぐらいはまだ加入していないが、すべての大人はメンバーだ。
c. すべての人間は平等です。
(Kuno 1973:46)

I don't have an explanation for this.

Syudai (2009:176) claims that adverbial elements don't get topicalised, but Martin 1975: 65 gives 「母親が月に一度は神戸へ様子を見に行くことになっていますが」。This is not contrast. It means “at least once” (compare the translation of は as “at least” in Jordan and Noda).

NPは as a *kakarimusubi* particle

「Xハ」そのものは、文末(活用語尾、またそれに文末助詞などを加えたもの)まで係ります。題目と述語とは呼応し、張り合って一文を完成するのです。」(Mikami 1960: 105)

NPは jumps over commas

(33) 人は生まれて、苦しんで、そして死ぬ。

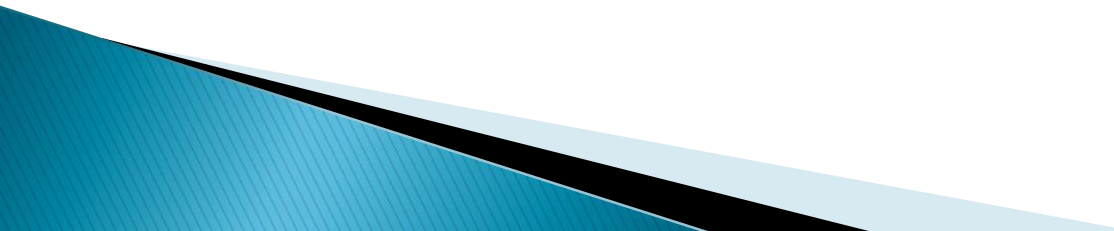
(Mikami 1960: 130)

NPは jumps over periods

(34) 吾輩は猫である。名前はまだない。どこで生まれたか頓と見当がつかぬ。(…)

(Soseki, as cited in Mikami

1960:118)



NP + は and Conditional clauses

Mikami likens NPは in sentences like the following to conditional clauses.

- (35) a. 詳しいことは、広報第三号を見てください。
b. 新聞を読みたい人は、ここにいます。
(Mikami 1960:81–82)

The function of a conditional clause **P** in “If **P** then **Q**” is to restrict the domain of interpretation for **Q** to only those worlds where **P** is true and check for the truth of **Q**. Does は do this in general?

Summing up は

は exhibits some complicated behaviour. In neutral sentence initial environments は marks entities that are “in the register” or are “familiar” or are at least “specific”.

When NPは follows another topic, or is stressed, or appears with another NPは in a comparable grammatical or semantic context, that NPは is likely to be interpreted as contrastive.

When the NP in NPは is a covert question, and there is a focus element in what follows (such as in a pseudocleft sentence), the NP doesn't denote an entity, familiar or otherwise: it denotes a set of possible answers.

NP + も

Martin (1975:70) notes that what follows も is usually old information. も itself frequently marks new information. Accordingly he says that は marking subdues a theme, and も marking highlights a theme.

But this is only a part of what も does.

「累加を表す「も」は、文中のある要素をとりたてて、同類の他のものにその累加を加えるという意味を表す。」

(Toritake 2009:20)

も regularly “absorbs” nominative case marking.

NP + が

Subject NPが in root context does two basic things. Depending on the predicate and the subject and the context, NPが can either mark the subject of a “neutral description” (accompanied by existential assertion)

(36) 隣の部屋で妙な音がしている。

or take “exhaustive listing focus” (排他的な取り立て):

(37) この人が夫です。

In the latter case the subject has to be specific and the predicate is usually a property ascription (not an existential assertion).

Neutral description with NPが

The reference of the subject can be specific:

(38) 佐藤さんが来た。

or non-specific:

(39) 森から鹿が六匹現れた。

The predication has to assert existence,

(40) ここに蠅がやたら多い。

or change,

(41) 株式市場が下落した。

or temporary state:

(42) 信号がアオになっている。

If a neutral description reading is impossible for NPが

Exhaustive listing focus is the result if a neutral description reading is impossible for NPが. When the predicate is a nominal predicate, Noda (1996) calls the noun complement of the copula an “implied topic” (暗示的主題).

(43) 応募作の中でこの作品が一番いい。
(Syudai:196)

(44) 君が主役だ。
(Noda 1996: 96)

If the predicate does not assert existence or change, and the reference for the subject NP is specific, then in order to form a neutral description, NPは must be used:

(45) 田中さんは優しい。

Exhaustive listing with NPが

The predicate ascribes a property to the subject NP

(46) ノイローゼにならない方がむしろ変だよ。

The subject has to be at least specific, if not definite.

- (47) a. この中のある特定の一人が常連客だ。
b. *男二人以上が常連客だ。

Exhaustive listing requires context for focus

Kuno (1973:52) notes that the exhaustive listing sentences such as those below are awkward without some kind of discourse context in which they may be read as answers or specifications:

(48) サルが人間の先祖です。
(Kuno 1973:52)

But (48) is natural as an answer to the question 「人間の先祖は何ですか？」.

This is also clear by the acceptability of NP + が when the nominal predicate is a “covert question”:

(49) コレが山道での事故の原因である。

Weakly quantified NPs with が

Kuno (1973: 57) claims that a weakly quantified NPが can appear as the subject of a property-ascribing predicate and nonetheless form a neutral description:

- (50) 三人が金持ちです。
- a. ‘The three (that we have been talking about) and only they are rich.’
 - b. ‘There are three who are rich.’
- (Kuno 1973: 57)

- (51) 大勢の人が学生です。
- (Kuno 1973: 51)

But normally these can only be interpreted as partitive references: “Three of them are rich”; “Many of the people are students”. If the superset functions as the domain, the predication partitions that domain. That is, these too are exhaustive listing.

NP+Ø: some explanations

“About omission”

Elements that are obvious to the listener are often omitted, as seen from the examples below:

このかさ<は>いくらですか。 (omit は)”

(Situational Functional Japanese,
Vol. 2, pg. 206,)

Actually, in some circumstances, adding は would be impossible, and not because the identity is obvious, but precisely because the item denoted has to be called to the attention of the addressee at the beginning of an exchange. The example above is good but the explanation is insufficient.

NP+∅: more explanations

“If I assume you do not actually know anything about *Star Wars*, I might introduce the new topic in a more explicit way. (Here particle は is replaced by a pause.)

スターウォーズっていう映画、もう見た？”

(McClure :188)

The interesting point here is the expression “new topic” and the point that this is not familiar to the listener.

“An empty topic marker is most common in informal speech, although there are highly ritualized situations like introductions where no particle is best: こちら、東京大学の田中さんです。”

(McClure :193)

NP+∅: even more explanations

「無助詞は、「は」が持つ対比的な意味を避けるために用いられる。

私、来月日本へ帰ります。」

(Syudai 2009:227)

This is not the whole story. Syudai (2009:227) goes on to note that if a referent is familiar to the listener but not immediately present in the hearer's consciousness, then the speaker will use ∅.

NP+∅: and yet more explanations

Another account about NP∅ is that 1) if the referent of a topic NP is present in the speech situation, ∅ is preferred so as to avoid an inference of contrast (52); 2) If there is a “discovery” regarding a familiar object, が and は are both indicated, so ∅ is preferred by default (53) (Iori et. al., 2001:324), and 3) at the beginning of an exchange, は is counter-indicated, but if the referent is familiar, が is also counter-indicated, so again, so ∅ is preferred by default (54) (Iori et. al., 2001:324).

(52) この時計∅、止まっている。

(Iori et. al., 2001:323)

(53) あっ、さっき探していた本、あんなところにある！

(54) お帰り。例のお客さん∅、来ているよ。

∅ and adjuncts

Adjuncts of time and place (and 場合) typically show up zero-marked. They can also drop the locative marker when they are topicalized (Martin 1975: 227; Mikami:1960, 48–50).

(55) a. ウマクイッタ場合、数千円になる。

(Mikami:1960, 49)

If they are wa-marked it can often imply contrast. What does this tell us?

(56) 明日、暇かなあ。

Adjuncts of time and place and condition typically denote the boundaries of whole domains. They aren't marked when they reset the boundaries of the domain of discourse.

Syudai (2009:178) claims that adjuncts with は are interpreted as contrastive except for time adjuncts and purpose adjuncts:

(57) 留学するには、語学力だけでなくお金も必要だ。

(Syudai 2009, 178)

Summing up ∅

- 1) Bringing something present in the speech situation to someone else's attention, for example, discovering something familiar in a new place
- 2) Initiating a new "script" with a definite, but "unactivated" topic (e.g., a formal introduction, or a sales encounter)
- 3) Avoiding contrast with entities already "activated" in the discourse
- 4) Marking words that specify "time" or "place" or "case"

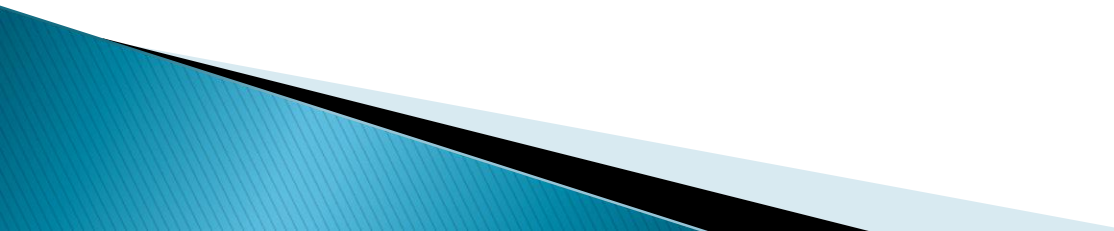
The common element in all of these characteristics seems to be starting something new or drawing new boundaries around the speech situation or context.



Taking stock of the system

So the problem (with $\text{I}\ddot{\text{x}}$ in particular) is that linguists are tempted to describe these marking options as relations between the thing marked and the rest of the utterance, or as relations between a sentence of that form and other sentences.

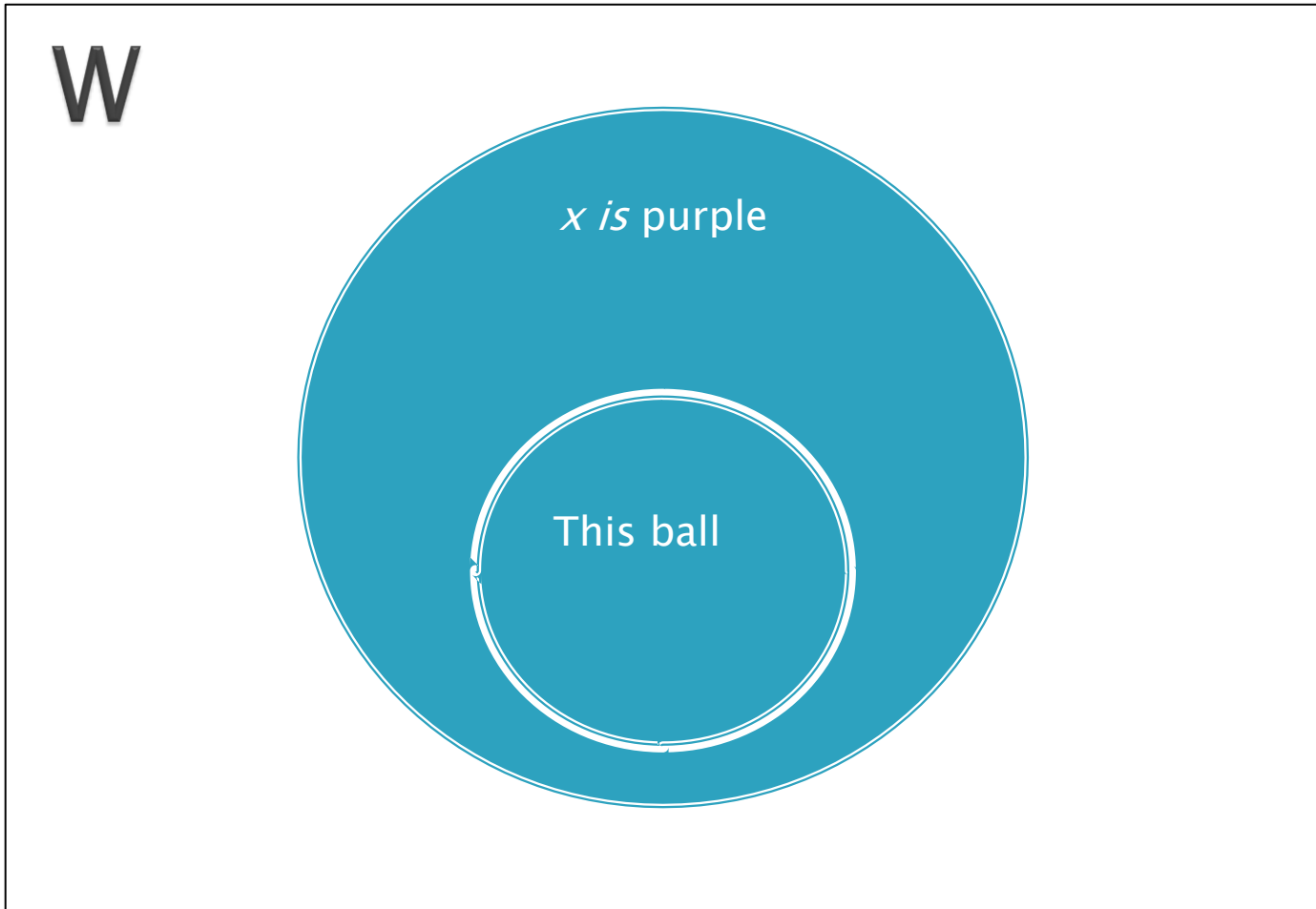
My claim: The level of abstraction should be at the relation between the information in the utterance, and the context of interpretation, that is, the domain of discourse.



Possible world semantics

- ▶ Propositions are true or false evaluated w.r.t. a world.
- ▶ A world is the set of true propositions.
- ▶ Every world has a domain (the set of entities that exist in that world).
- ▶ Predicates are sets of entities. “Purple” is the set of entities that are purple. “Eight” is the set of all sets with eight entities as members.
- ▶ “This ball is purple” is true in world X if “this ball” belongs to the set of purple entities in world X.

“This ball is purple” is true in W



One funny consequence:

If all the pink things in the world happened to be, say, propellers, ...

...and if all the propellers in the world happened to be pink, ...

...then “pink” and “propeller” would mean the same thing: like “big” and “large”; like 「友人」 and 「友達」. But in a restricted domain, such as child’s drawing, you might be able to say,

(59) It is propellers that are pink.

And it would be true in that domain.



The domain of discourse

The domain of discourse is the set of propositions that the speaker and hearer each assume the other believes and is attending to as part of the Question Under Discussion (QUD) (Roberts 1998, *inter alia*).

The QUD is constantly shifting and changing, so the domain of discourse also expands, contracts, and shifts with every utterance (and even within utterances).

So if I said “All the gazelles gave birth this year,” it would be false in an unrestricted domain, but true if the QUD were restricted to, say, “What’s new at the local zoo?”

x は P

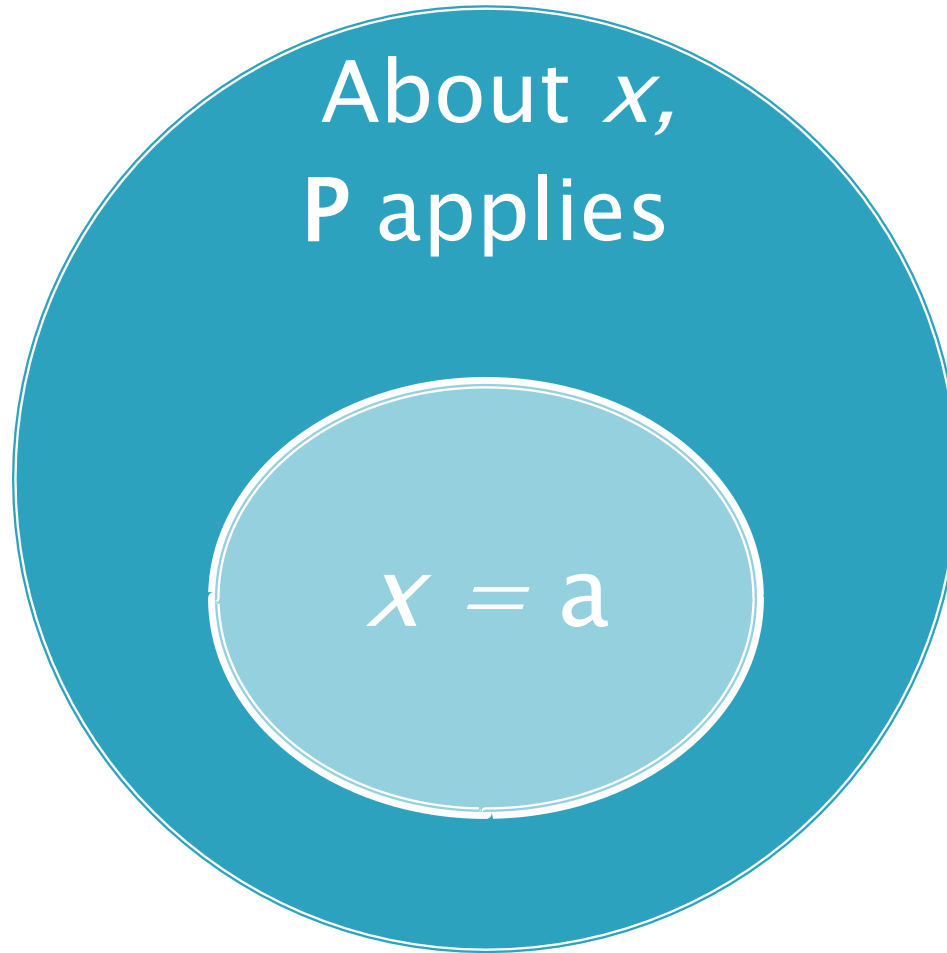
x は P =

“About x , P applies”

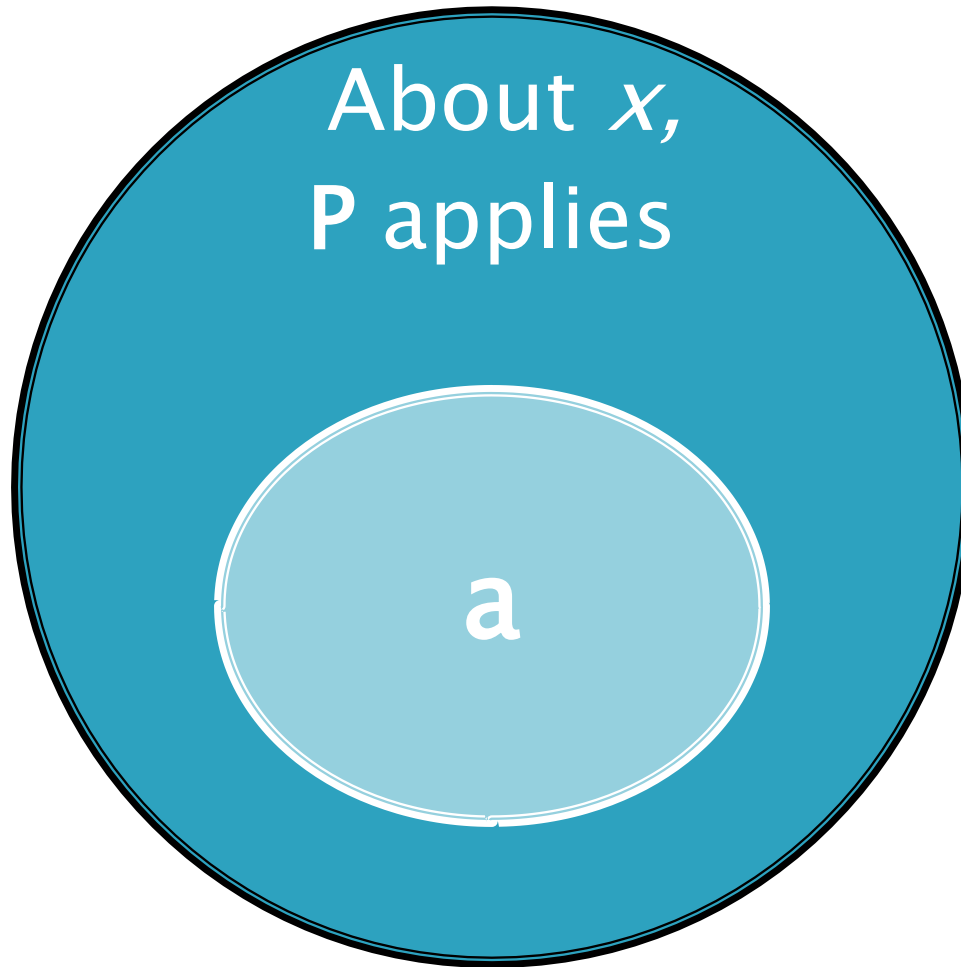
plus an instruction about how to add this back into the domain of the question under discussion:

- 1) topic: Don't make inferences mapping the aboutness relation to other entities in the domain (物を引き分けてことわる心なり).
- 2) contrast: Presuppose or accommodate that there is some prominent entity, y ($y \neq x$) to which $\neg P$ applies.
- 3) identification: If the NP in NPは is a covert indirect question, and if there is a focus element in P (that is, if some element in P answers the covert indirect question), then draw a partition through the domain of discourse (物を問う言葉ともなれり).

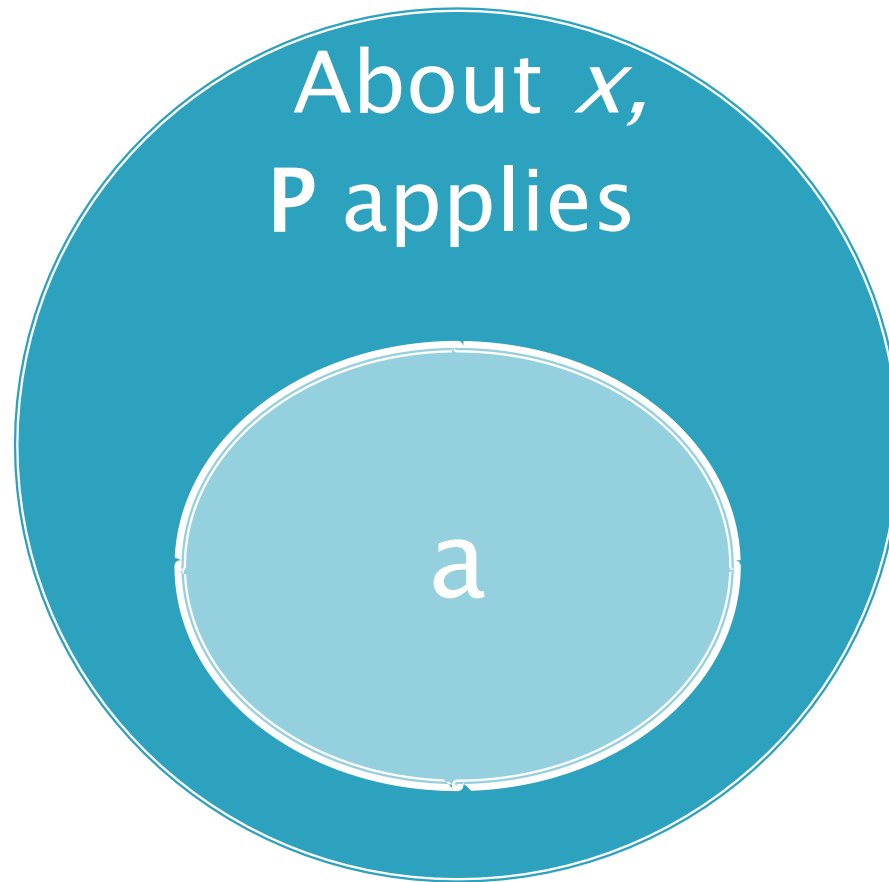
Give the value for x in P .



Interpret the sentence without making any inferences w.r.t. aboutness outside the immediate domain



Now the information has been added back into the domain for the QUD.



Contrastive は

Diagram illustrating the contrastive particle 'wa' (は). It consists of a large light blue circle containing a smaller, darker blue circle with a white border. The text 'About x, P applies' is centered in the large circle, and 'a = x' is centered in the small circle.

About x , P
applies

$$a = x$$

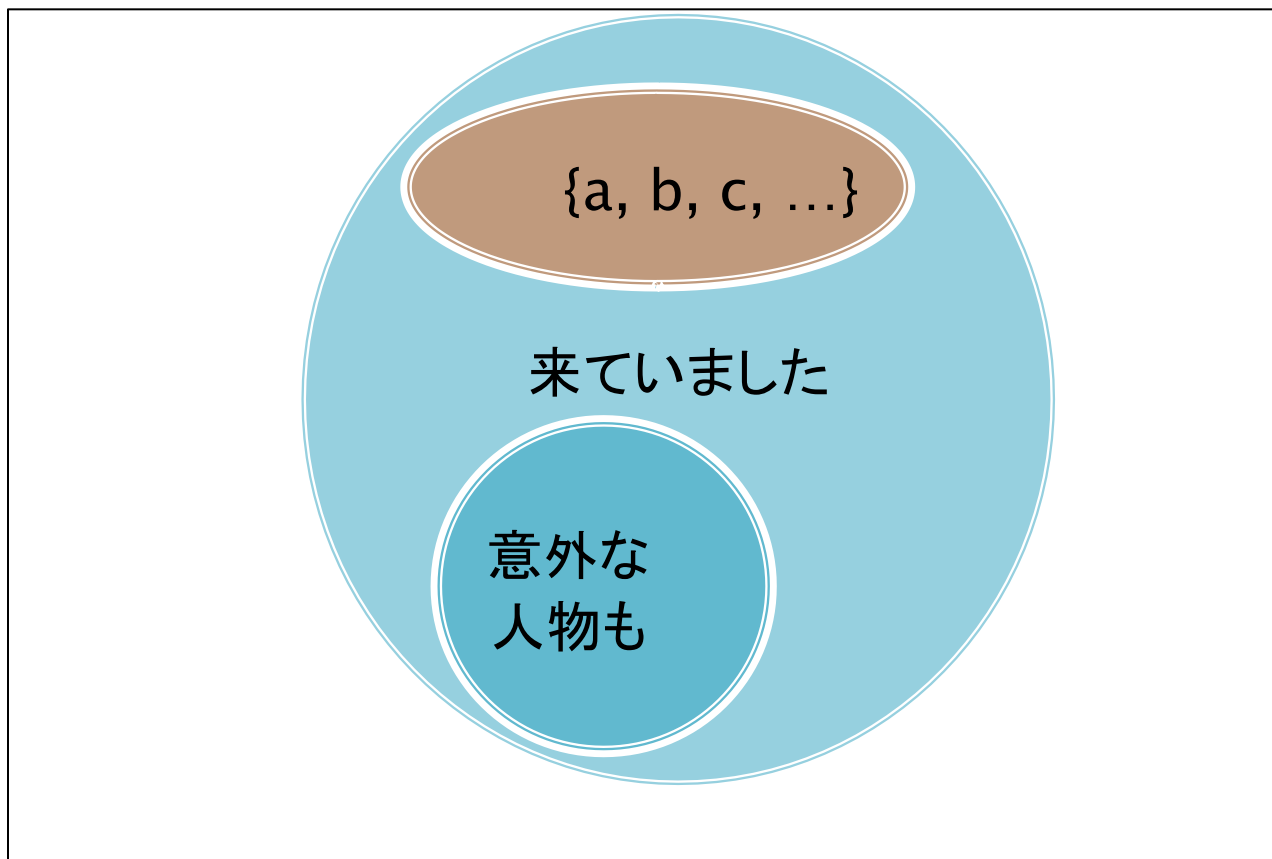
Diagram illustrating the existential particle 'wa' (は). It consists of a single large orange circle. The text '∃y, about y, P applies' is centered in the circle.

$\exists y$, about y , P
applies

$x + \text{も } P$

- ▶ Simplest case: For arguments, presuppose (or accommodate the presupposition) that the denotation of P has at least one prominent member other than the value of x .
- ▶ (There are other cases not covered by this, such as that in 「雨は降っている。風も吹いている。」)

「意外な人物も来ていました」



X+が P

- ▶ Particle が attaching to subjects in root contexts signals one of two things (depending on the subject, the predicate and the context):
 - ▶ 1) Neutral description: the predication adds to the domain, or
 - ▶ 2) Exhaustive listing: the predication partitions the domain (i.e., the denotation of the predicate and the denotation of the subject overlap perfectly within the restricted domain). **Infer the complement.**

Predications allowing neutral description for NPが

- 1) action verbs 「雨が降っている」、
- 2) existential verbs (or adjectives) 「ああ、あそこに田中さんがいる」
- 3) adjectives/nominal adjectives that represent changing states 「手が冷たい」
(Kuno 1973:49–50)

The subjects of neutral descriptions can be either specific or non-specific.

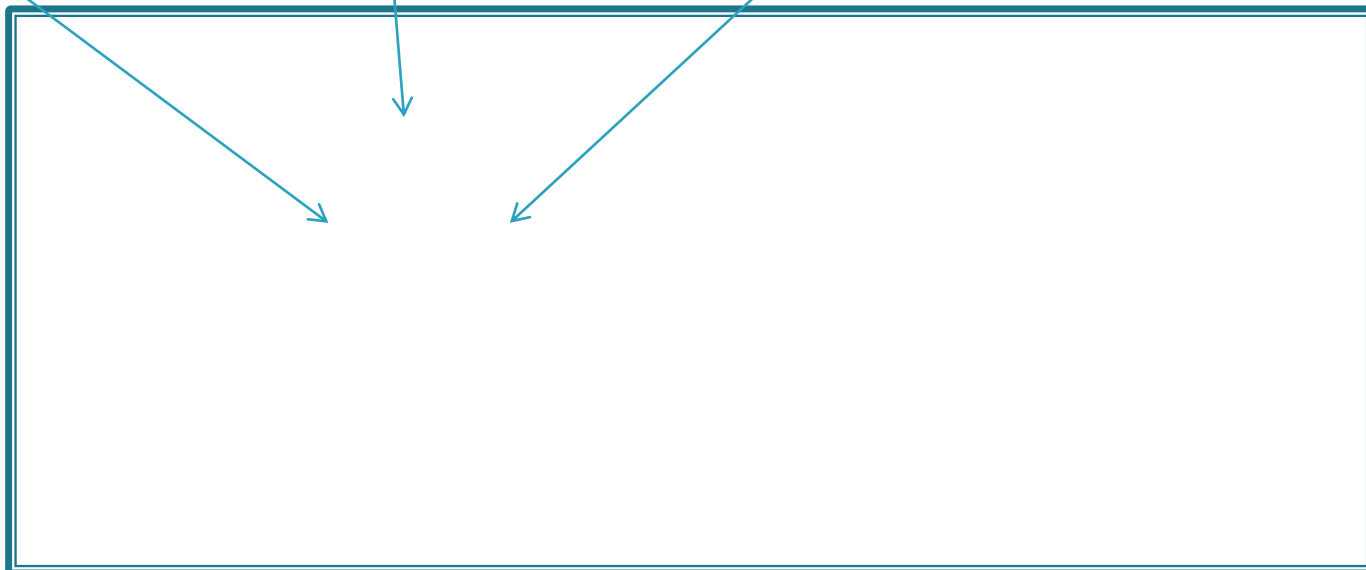
- 4) neutral descriptions are also possible with stative predicates in “utterances of discovery” : 「ああ、魚がおいしい！」

「ウサギが居た。」

うさぎ

場所

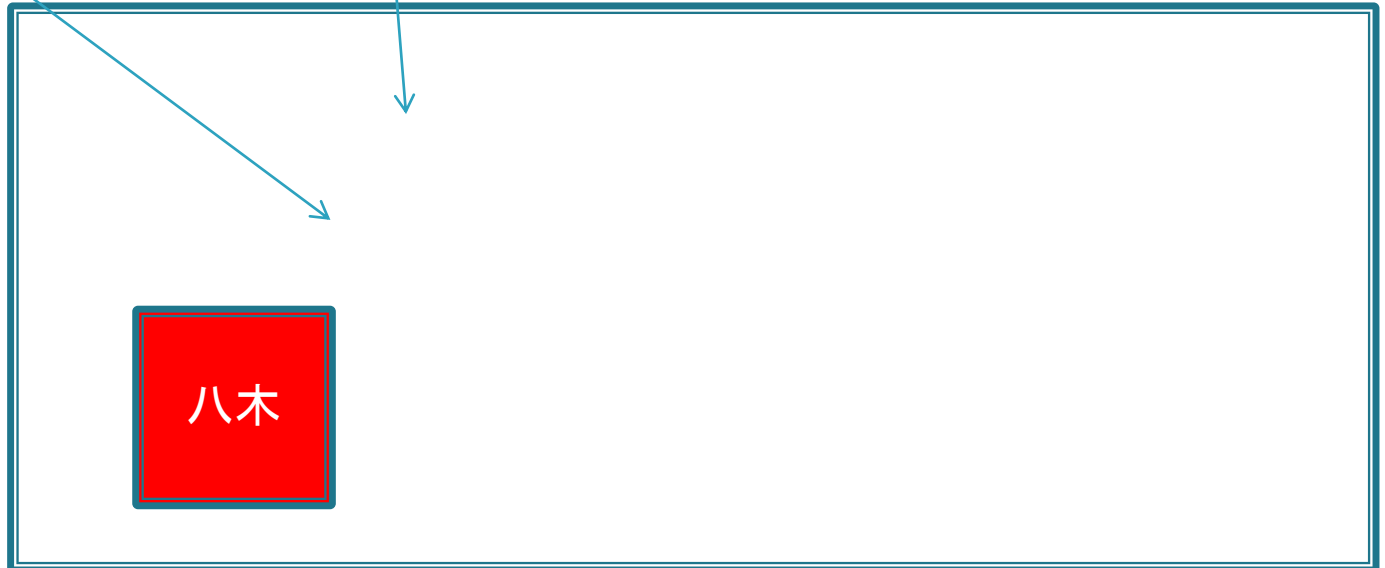
時間



「八木がホームランを打った。」

ホーム
ラン

事象



Exhaustive $x + \text{が} P$

Draw a partition through the domain with the value for x (say, a) on one side. That is also the extension of P . Make the following inference: Everything on the other side is both “not a ” and “not P ” (i.e., the logical complement).

This means the extension of the predicate is the same as that of the value of x . They “mean” the same thing (within the domain of discourse).

Recall: If all things pink are propellers, and all propellers are pink, then “pink” and “propellers” mean the same thing. This is not true in the real world, but it could be true in a restricted domain.

「あの人が山田さんですよ」

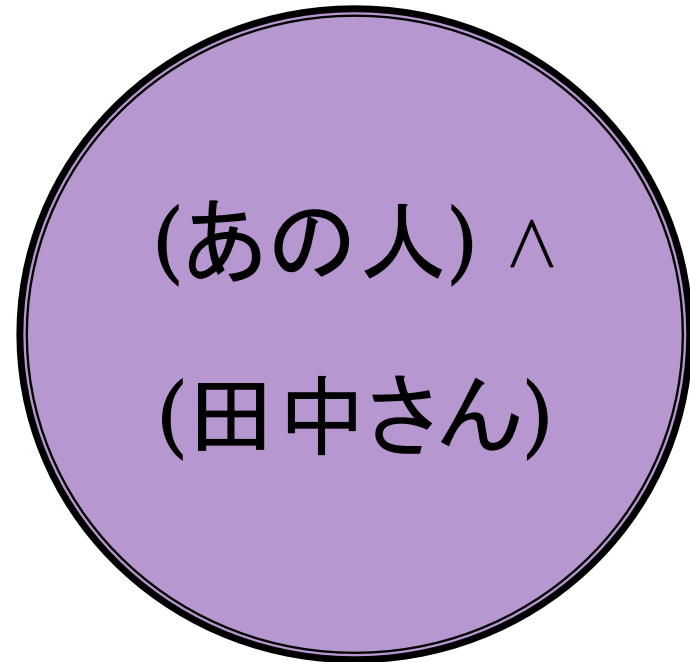


=



The predication partitions the domain. Infer the complement.

$\neg(\text{あの人}) \wedge \neg(\text{田中さん})$



Partitioning alone does not imply focus

Here is a demonstration that some kind of rule for operations on the domain might be necessary.

(60) ロペスさんはクラスで一番背が高いです。

The predicate partitions the domain, but the sentence doesn't identify Lopez-san. Why not?

1) The form “NPは P” tells us not to make inferences about the rest of the domain (other things being equal).

2) “Lopez-san” is not a covert question. “Lopez-san” is a proper noun, and as such it is already identified. If the NPは were a covert question, the nominal predicate would have focus:

(61) お願いしたいのはクラスで一番背が高い人です。

Here you have partitioning and you must draw an inference, because the NP in NPは is a covert question.

NP \emptyset

An utterance with NP \emptyset is interpreted in a new domain of discourse. This removes the possibility of contrastive reference, even if the entity that NP refers to is in the speech situation. It accounts for the use of NP \emptyset to begin new speech acts (requests, exclamations of discovery, questions, invitations, etc.). The operation on the domain of discourse is as follows:

Discard the current domain. Use a new domain, according to the new QUD.

「あの人〇、誰？」



あの人〇、誰？

Problems remaining

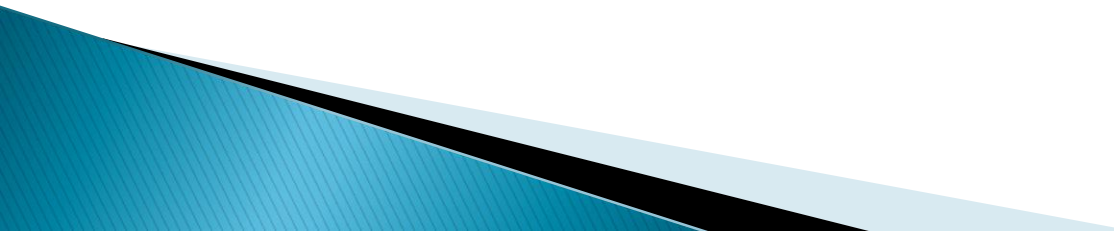
A fuller account of contrastive は and は in pseudocleft sentences and negations

The use of も in inferences from analogies based in semantics,

The use of も for “exceeded expectations”, etc.

A discussion of the contexts where は alternates freely with zero

Etc., etc.



References, resources

- ▶ 三上,章. 1969. 象は鼻が長い:日本文法入門. くろしお出版.
- ▶ 野田尚史. 1996. 「は」と「が」. くろしお出版.
- ▶ 日本語記述文法研究会、新田義雄(代表). 2009. とりたて、主題. (現代日本語文法5、第9部、第10部), くろしお出版.
- ▶ 寺村秀夫(編)、野田尚史(著). 1989. はとが. (日本語文法セルフ・マスターシリーズ1)、東京:くろしお出版.
- ▶ 中田祝夫、竹岡正夫. 1960. あゆひ抄新注. 風間書房.
- ▶ 益岡隆志、野田尚史、沼田喜子(編). 日本語の主題と取り立て. 1995. くろしお出版.
- ▶ Hinds, John and Senko K. Maynard, Shoichi Iwasaki (eds.). 1987. Perspectives on Topicalization: The case of Japanese 'wa'. (Typological Studies in Language 14) John Benjamins Publishing.
- ▶ Lambrecht, Knud. 1994. Information Structure and Sentence Form: Topic, Focus, and the Mental Representation of Discourse Referents. Cambridge, UK. Cambridge University Press.
- ▶ Storm, Hiroko. 1996. Ultimate Japanese: Basic—Intermediate. Living Language.

- ▶ De Bruin, Jos and Scha, Remko. 1988. "The interpretation of relational nouns." *ACL '88 Proceedings of the 26th annual meeting on Association for Computational Linguistics*. Association for Computational Linguistics Stroudsburg, PA, USA.
- ▶ Roberts , Craige. 1996. "Information structure in discourse: Towards an integrated formal theory of pragmatics." *Working Papers in Linguistics*. Ohio State University.
- ▶ Jorden, Eleanor Harz with Noda, Mari. 1987. *Japanese: the spoken language. Part 1*. Yale University Press.
- ▶ Kuno, Susumu. 1973. *The Structure of the Japanese Language*. M.I.T. Press.
- ▶ Martin, Samuel E. 1975. *A Reference Grammar of Japanese*. Charles E. Tuttle Company.
- ▶ FRELLESVIG, Bjarke; Stephen Wright HORN; Kerri L RUSSELL; and Peter SELLS. 2012. *The Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese*.
<http://vsarpj.orinst.ox.ac.uk/corpus/corpus.html> (accessed Oct. 30, 2012).