

On *Kakari-musubi* and Focus in Interrogative Sentences in Old Japanese

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This paper explores the construction of *kakari-musubi*, examining interrogative sentences in Old Japanese. I first present the distributional facts about *kakari* particles, *ka*, *zo* and *ya* in particular, and their functions. I then discuss their *musubi* predicates in the adnominal form.

*Kakari* particles, *ka*, *zo* and *ya*, are all used in Old Japanese interrogatives; they occur in *kakari-musubi* construction, and also sentence-finally. Whereas constituents marked by *ka* and *zo* are considered as focus in a broad sense, those marked by *ya* are not always focus; they can be either focus or the presupposition: *ya* occurs “freely” in this sense. The use of the adnominal form triggered by these three *kakari* particles makes it possible to identify which predicate is focused or presupposed.

上代日本語の疑問文の係り結びと焦点について

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係り結びの構造について、上代日本語の疑問文を例にとって考察する。係り結びを、係助詞 (*kakari* particle) の生起 occurrence およびその機能と、文末が連体形 adnominal form で終わることの二つの要素に分けて考えることとする。上代日本語の疑問文には、係助詞「か」「ぞ」「や」が用いられ、それぞれ係り結び用法と文末用法を持つ。「か」「ぞ」の付加される成分は、広い意味で「焦点」focus と考えることができるが、「や」が付加される成分は焦点とは言えず、焦点か前提かという意味では「自由」であると言える。文末が連体形で結ばれるのは、連体形によって作られる節とそれ以外の部分で焦点部と前提部を区分するためである。