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# Agreements that occur mainly in the main clause\*

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Most agreement systems target a grammatical entity within the sentence, typically the subject but in some cases the object or the dative. There is another kind of agreement found in languages such as Souletin, a Basque dialect, that targets the hearer. I will look at this type of so-called allocutive agreement and pursue two main issues. First, although it targets the hearer, the form of the agreement is the same as the regular phi-feature agreement used for subject/object. This means that the allocutive agreement must be part of a probe-goal relation, leading to the question, where is the goal? I argue that something like Ross's Performative Analysis furnishes the second-person goal. Second, the distribution of the allocutive agreement is essentially the same as the politeness marking on the verb in Japanese, which leads to the hypothesis that, despite Japanese being characterized as a typical agreementless language, the politeness marker is, in fact, an implementation of second-person agreement. Moreover, this allocutive agreement in Japanese has a distribution that limits it to the root clause as originally conceived by Emonds (1969).

## 1. Root vs. non-root

Emonds (1969, 1976) noted that while structure-preserving transformations may apply virtually in any type of clause, those that he identified as non-structure preserving transformations are limited to the root clause, which he defined as follows.

- (1) Root (Emonds 1969:6)  
A root will mean either the highest S in a tree, an S immediately dominated by the highest S or the reported S in direct discourse.

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In these contexts, a non-structure preserving transformation such as Negative Constituent Preposing (NCP) may apply, but not in a non-root clause, which requires all transformations to be structure-preserving (see also Emonds 2004, this volume).

- (2) a. Never had I had to borrow money.
- b. John said that never had he had to borrow money.
- c. \*The fact that never had he had to borrow money is well-known.

Hooper and Thompson (1973) criticize Emonds' proposal by pointing out that root transformations apply in a variety of clauses outside of what Emonds called root clauses. One such example is the following:

- (3) I found out that never before had he had to borrow money. (H&T (119))

Why is it that root transformations (RTs) are possible in some subordinate environments but not in others? What Hooper and Thompson point out is that the RTs that Emonds identified all involve some sort of emphasis; the following is a partial list of RTs.

- (4) Root transformations: (Emonds 1969; see also Emonds 2004)  
NCP, VP preposing, topicalization, prepositional phrase substitution,  
subject replacement, direct quote preposing, etc.

For example, NCP is a transformation that places special emphasis on the negative portion of an asserted clause (*Never have I had to ...*), and direct quote preposing moves the quoted material to the left edge in order to highlight it. According to Hooper and Thompson, the correct way to view the root/non-root distinction is to recognize that the so-called RTs that Emonds identified all embody this meaning of emphasis, and because emphasis occurs naturally in asserted environments, “[r]oot transformations are restricted to application in asserted clauses” (H&T: 472). On this view, root transformations are incompatible with presupposed clauses such as the complement in the complex NP headed by *fact* in (2c), which by nature does not involve assertion (see Heycock 2006 for criticism of Hooper & Thompson). But in (3), the predicate *find out* allows its complement to contain the meaning of assertion, something I return to later.<sup>1</sup>

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1. See Emonds (2004) for a revision of Emonds (1969, 1976) that accounts for many of Hooper & Thompson's (1973) counterexamples. I maintain the original conception of Root (Emonds 1969) because, as I will show, it captures precisely the distribution of allocutive agreement in Japanese.

In a series of works, Haegeman (e.g. 2006, 2010) and Haegeman and Ürögdi (2010) argue that the asserted/non-asserted distinction follows from proposals that postulate movement in those structures that block root transformations. For example, temporal adjunct clauses have been argued to involve the movement of an operator such as a *wh*-phrase or a null operator (e.g. Geis 1970; Larson 1987, 1990). Haegeman argues that this movement gives rise to an intervention effect for RTs such as NCP and topicalization, in turn, suggesting, as Hooper and Thompson, that there is no inherent and independent distinction to be made between root and non-root clauses. I support this general approach of using syntactic intervention to account for the absence of RTs in certain environments. At the same time, I show that Emonds was essentially correct to isolate certain clauses as having a special status: unlike the RTs he identified, which can be explained in principle by syntactic intervention, the phenomenon I discuss – agreements that occur mainly in the main clause – requires a super-structure above the utterance that recalls Ross’s *Performative Analysis* (1970). As we will see, this special type of agreement is identical in form to the standard subject (or object) – verb agreement, except that the goal represents the hearer and not the subject. To implement this within the probe-goal system, we need to postulate a super-structure above the utterance that contains a representation of the hearer in a position that constitutes the local search domain for the relevant probe. This super-structure happens to correspond perfectly to Emonds’ original conception of root clause as defined above in (1).

I first discuss allocutive agreement in Basque, and then turn to a similar phenomenon in Japanese, that of politeness marking. I show that the distribution of allocutive agreement matches Emonds’ original root clause. Finally, I turn to topicalization in Japanese, where we will see that its distribution diverges widely from “allocutive agreement,” indicating that, as argued widely since Emonds’ original work, RTs such as topicalization are not RTs as Emonds originally conceived, but rather, they are conditioned by syntactic/semantic factors such as intervention.

## 2. Allocutive agreement in Basque

There is a type of agreement called allocutive agreement, which is found in Souletin, an eastern dialect of Basque (Oyharçabal 1993).<sup>2</sup> For the proposition “Peter worked,” one typically finds two agreements, the subject-verb agreement, which holds constant, and allocutive agreement, which varies in four ways depending on whom the speaker is speaking to.

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2. I am grateful to Karlos Arregi for bringing Oyharçabal (1993) to my attention.

- (5) a. *To a male friend*  
*Pettek lan egin dik.*  
 Peter.ERG work.ABS DO.PRF AUX-3.S.ABS-2.S.C.MSC.ALLOC-3.S.ERG  
 ‘Peter worked.’
- b. *To a female friend*  
*Pettek lan egin din.*  
 Peter.ERG work.ABS DO.PRF AUX-3.S.ABS-2.S.C.FM.ALLOC-3.S.ERG
- c. *To someone higher in status (formal)*  
*Pettek lan egin dizü.*  
 Peter.ERG work.ABS DO.PRF AUX-3.S.ABS-2.S.F.ALLOC-3.S.ERG
- d. *Plural addressee*  
*Pettek lan egin du.*  
 Peter.ERG work.ABS DO.PRF AUX-3.S.ABS-3.S.ERG

All of these sentences mean “Peter worked,” but in (a), the sentence is uttered to a male friend, and (b) to a female friend. The version in (c) is appropriate for a hearer who is older or higher in status. The example in (d) shows that there is no plural allocutive agreement so it does not occur if the addressee is plural.

An important point to note about allocutive agreement is that it is authentic agreement on a par with subject and object agreement. In Basque, there can only be one 2nd person agreement within a clause (also only one 1st person agreement) (thanks to Karlos Arregi for this information). We see that the allocutive agreement, which is always 2nd person, competes with the subject/object 2nd person agreement morpheme. If a sentence contains a 2nd person subject or object, the allocutive agreement cannot occur (Basque is a subject/object agreement language). Consequently, in the following, the allocutive agreement cannot arise.

- (6) a. (*Nik hi*) *ikusi haut.*  
 (1.S.ERG 2.S.C.ABS) see.PRF AUX-2.S.C.ABS-1.S.ERG  
 ‘I saw you.’
- b. (*Zuek ni*) *ikusi naizue.*  
 (2.P.ERG 1.S.ABS) see.PRF AUX-1.S.ABS-2.P.ERG  
 ‘You saw me.’

Allocutive agreement is a Main Clause Phenomenon in a way that is more strict than the typical RTs in English: it only occurs in the main clause, as far as it is reported in Oyharçabal (1993). So, for example, it does not occur in relative clauses:

- (7) a. [*Lo egiten duen*] *gizona Manex dun*  
 sleeping AUX.3E.COMP man.the John COP.3A.ALLO.FEM  
 ‘The man [who is sleeping] is John.’

- b. \**[Lo egiten dinan]* *gizona*  
 sleeping AUX.3E.ALLOFEM.COMP man.the  
*Manex dun*  
 John 3A.COP.ALLOFEM

It also does not occur in complements:

- (8) a. *Ez dinat nahi [gerta dakion]*  
 NEG AUX.1E.ALLOFEM want happen 3A.AUX.3D.COMP  
 'I don't want it to happen to him.'
- b. \**Ez dinat nahi [gerta diakionan]*  
 NEG AUX.1E.ALLOFEM want happen 3A.AUX.3D.ALLOFEM.COMP

Not only is allocutive agreement excluded from subordinate environments, but it is prohibited even in the main clause if the sentence is a question.

- (9) a. *Lan egiten duia hire lagunak?*  
 work AUX.3E.Q your friend.ERG  
 'Does your friend work?'
- b. \**Lan egiten dina hire lagunak?*  
 work AUX.3E.ALLOFEM.Q your friend.ERG

This last point is particularly important because it hints at the source of the allocutive agreement. As Oyarçabal (1993) notes, the distribution of such agreement points to the fact that it can occur only if there is no lexical complementizer. Questions have such a Q complementizer, and embedded structures have other types of lexical complementizer. Based on this, Oyarçabal argues that the allocutive agreement is related to C, despite it being pronounced at T where the subject/object agreement is pronounced.

- (10) Allocutive agreement is borne by C. (see Oyarçabal 1993)

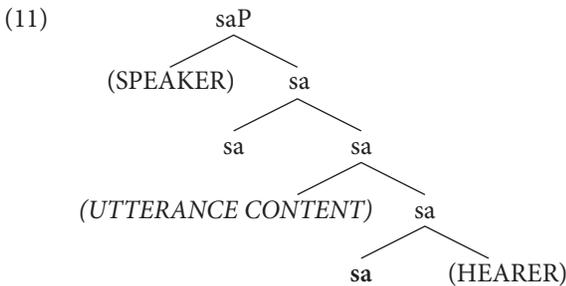
The fact that the allocutive agreement is limited to those clauses that do not have a lexical complementizer recalls the proposal by den Besten (1977/1983) that the root/non-root distinction is a function of whether there is a lexical complementizer (non-root) or not (root). On this analysis, RTs such as the NCP are to C, and they can only apply if some lexical material does not already fill C. This derives the root/non-root distinction strictly from what is on the head (C).<sup>3</sup>

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3. In cartographic approaches (cf. Rizzi 1997) this would not hold. See also Haegeman (2000) who discusses embedded NCP.

However, there must be more to it than just the issue of whether the C already has lexical material. We saw that the allocutive agreement is authentic agreement by virtue of the fact that it competes with the normal subject/object 2nd person agreement. This means that it starts out as an uninterpretable feature (probe), and must find a goal (“you”) with the proper interpretable features in order to undergo valuation. There are at least two questions to answer. First, where is the probe? Second, where is the goal?

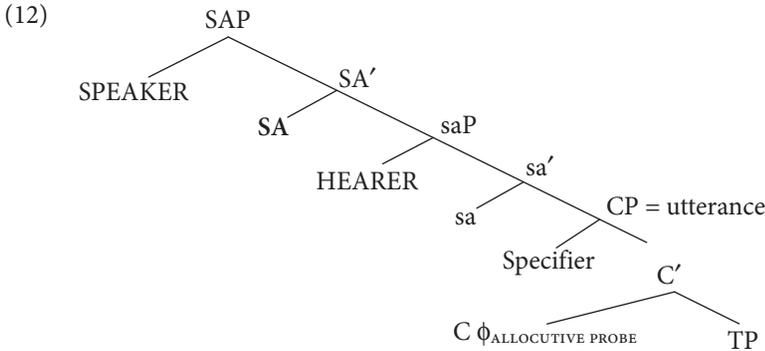
For the first question, we already saw from Oyharçabal (1993) that the allocutive agreement is related to C. This is consistent with the recent idea that the probe for agreement begins at C (or, more precisely, on a phase head) (Chomsky 2005, 2008, etc.) and is typically inherited by T, where it is pronounced. The fact that the allocutive agreement competes with a lexical element associated with C provides clear evidence that it starts out at C. Turning to the second question, in order for the allocutive probe at C to be properly valued, it must find a goal within its local search domain. We saw from the example earlier (“Peter works”) that there is no overt 2nd person noun phrase in the sentence to give value to the allocutive probe. This means that some 2nd person element must be present that is not pronounced. I adopt Speas and Tenny’s (2003) proposal that in the main clause and in some subordinate clauses, there is a superstructure, which they call “Speech Act” headed by “sa” (Speech Act) that furnishes information about the speaker and the hearer and their relationship. Their proposal is the modern version of Ross’s Performative Analysis.



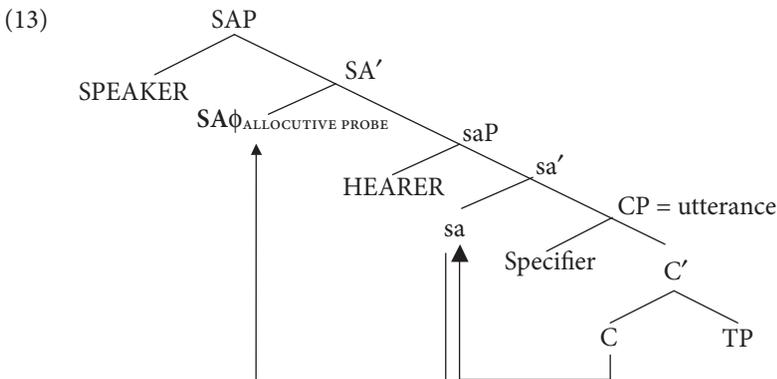
This is a declarative sentence, and the asymmetrical relations holding among the various elements such as the speaker and the hearer are a function of the particular syntactic relation that each holds within the structure. The head of the structure is “sa” (Speech Act), which begins in the lower position, and moves to the head position of the shell (saP). They suggest that the hearer is raised in the case of questions, something that I will not be concerned with in this article. See their article for the details.

How is the allocutive probe given valuation in this structure? Let us look at the structure with the allocutive probe, which is a normal uninterpretable agreement feature at C of the utterance, CP. For reasons that will become clear in a moment,

I adopt Haegeman and Hill's (2011) revision of Speas and Tenny's structure, given below. Following them, I mark the highest projection, the "shell," as SAP, and the lower one of "sa" "saP"



Two points to be noted for this structure are, first, the allocutive probe does not c-command its goal (HEARER) at this point, and second, the allocutive agreement, as a marking of politeness/informality, should have scope over the entire sentence. With these points in mind, let us suppose that the allocutive probe raises to the head "sa," possibly as a result of head-raising of C, and, as with Speas and Tenny's proposal, this "sa" head moves to the head position of the shell (thanks to an anonymous reviewer for suggesting to use Haegeman and Hill's revision of Speas and Tenny's structure).



Now the allocutive probe properly c-commands its goal, HEARER. Moreover, once it is raised to this higher position inside the SAP shell, it has the entire sentence in its scope, which gives it the right interpretation of marking the overall utterance for levels of politeness. The HEARER in Souletin comes with not only the 2nd person feature, but also gender and level of politeness (colloquial, formal). The reason for adopting this structure by Haegeman and Hill over Speas and Tenny's is that in this structure, the allocutive probe (and possibly the C that it occurs on) is able to c-command its

original position after being raised to the higher SA. In Speas and Tenny's structure, the "sa" head fails to c-command the C that initially hosts the allocutive probe.

### 3. Politeness marking in Japanese as a form of allocutive agreement

Politeness marking in Japanese parallels allocutive agreement in Basque both in function and in being associated with C (Miyagawa 1987; Oyharçabal 1993). The politeness marker *-mas-* (its nominal counterpart is *-des-*) occurs on the verbal inflection and indicates that the speaker is intending to be polite to the hearer. In its absence, the speaker is intending to show the informal nature of the speaker-hearer relationship.

- (14) a. *Peter-wa hataraki-mas-i-ta.* (FORMAL)  
 Peter-TOP work-MAS-PAST
- b. *Peter-wa hatarai-ta.* (COLLOQUIAL)  
 Peter-TOP work-PAST  
 'Peter worked.'

Harada (1976:553) aptly calls this polite form "performative honorifics" because its usage is conditioned by "such categories as the speaker, the addressee, the situation in which the sentence is uttered, and so on...". To use the politeness marker, or to decide not to use it, the speaker must minimally be aware of his/her relationship to the hearer; one would use the politeness marker for a hearer who is socially superior or equal (Harada 1976). The fact that it is normally directed to the hearer (see Uchibori 2007, for example) makes it appear as a form of agreement, an idea that I support. I go further and argue that the politeness marker is a form of 2nd person agreement parallel to the Souletin allocutive agreement, which we saw is a standard 2nd person agreement that occurs at C and interpreted in the Speech Act structure to give it the force of politeness-level marking.

Unlike the allocutive agreement in Souletin, the politeness marker in Japanese can occur in certain complement clauses as well as in the main clause. Complement clauses in Japanese typically have one of two types of complementizers, *to* for non-factive or quoted clauses and *koto/no* for factive clauses, and "[t]he few complement constructions that do permit [the politeness marker] to occur are interpretable, without exception, as 'direct discourses'", and as such, they are all instances of *to* complement constructions (Harada 1976:544). As we will see, there are a handful of exceptions that Harada himself noted, which we return to later. What the politeness marker in Japanese has in common with the Souletin allocutive agreement is that it is borne by C. I begin with the argument for this point.

In Miyagawa (1987), I argued that the politeness marker is borne by C despite the fact that it is pronounced at T. In that work, I assumed that the politeness marker begins at T, and at LF, it raises by excorporation to the C region. However, given the

recent assumptions about agreement as starting out at C, and the fact that this view is consistent with the Basque allocutive agreement, I assume that the politeness marker is a form of allocutive agreement that begins at C. Below, I briefly summarize the relevant portion of the analysis in Miyagawa (1987).

One way to ask a wh-question in Japanese, a wh-in-situ language, is to use the question particle *ka*, which comes at the end of the sentence.

- (15) *Dare-ga ki-mas-u ka?*  
 who-NOM come-MAS-PRES Q  
 ‘Who will come?’

Note that this question has the politeness marker *-mas-* on the verb; without the politeness marker, the *ka* question is illicit (Miyagawa 1987).<sup>4</sup>

- (16) *\*Dare-ga kuru ka?*  
 who-NOM come Q  
 ‘Who will come?’

To ask (16) appropriately, one must use another particle, *no*, or simply rising intonation. I will focus on *ka*. What is the difference between the grammatical wh-question in (15), which has the politeness marker, and the ungrammatical one in (16) that lacks the politeness marker? The relevant condition, although not so apparent from these examples, is that the question particle *ka* must be selected by a head.

- (17) *Ka* must be selected by a head.

We can see this below, in which *ka* is fine with a bridge verb but is degraded with a non-bridge verb (see Miyagawa 1987 for other arguments to support (17)) (some speakers find a sharper contrast if these sentences are turned into yes-no questions).

- (18) *Bill-wa* [<sub>CP</sub> *dare-ga kuru ka*] *kiita*.  
 Bill-TOP who-NOM come Q asked  
 ‘Bill asked who will come.’
- (19) *?\*Bill-wa* [<sub>CP</sub> *dare-ga kuru ka*] *donatta*.  
 Bill-TOP John-NOM come Q shouted  
 ‘Bill shouted who will come.’

A bridge verb selects its complement, so *ka* is fine, but a non-bridge verb such as “shout” does not, and *ka* is not allowed in its complement clause. Note that in (18), which contains a bridge verb, the verb in the subordinate clause is in the colloquial form, not in the polite form. This means that the selecting head – the matrix verb

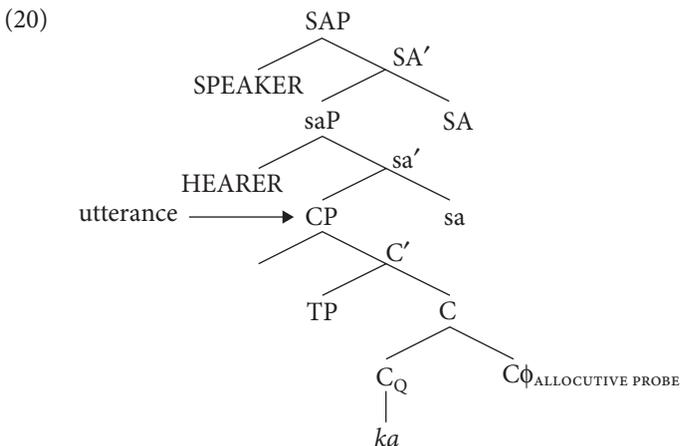
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4. As noted in Miyagawa (1987), adding a sentential particle such as *-na* ‘I wonder...’ after *ka* makes (16) acceptable. I give the analysis for why such a head as a sentential particle can license *ka* in the absence of the politeness marker.

“ask” – is playing the same function as the politeness marker in the matrix clause question in (15) above.

A reasonable way to think about what we just observed is that the politeness marker is associated with a head that is capable of selecting the matrix clause and the *ka* contained in it. If it is to parallel indirect questions such as in (18), which are selected by a verbal head, the head associated with politeness marking should be some kind of a predicate head. A good candidate for this is the Speech Act structure proposed by Speas and Tenny (2003) (with revision by Haegeman & Hill 2011), who suggest that there is a structure above the pronounced portion of a sentence that contains discourse information about the participants – speaker, hearer, and the relationship between the two. There are two points essential to our discussion. First, as we saw earlier, the Speech Act structure furnishes the representation of the hearer, which is a second person entity. This is needed to give valuation to the allocutive agreement. Second, the head of the Speech Act structure, “speech act,” according to Speas and Tenny, parallels small *v* in being a predicate of some sort. They suggest, in fact, that the Speech Act structure, headed by the Speech Act head (“sa”), is equivalent to the predicate structure found in the *v*P domain as proposed by Hale and Keyser (1998, 1999). That “sa” is a predicate head finds support in the analysis of verb-based sentential particles in Romanian and West Flemish by Haegeman and Hill (2011), in which these verb-based particles occur as “sa” heads. As we will see, the analysis of politeness marking provides further support for the predicate nature of “sa.”

Following is the structure for allocutive agreement with the CP being the question that is uttered. I have given a head-final structure now that we are discussing Japanese. One point on which Japanese differs from Souletin is that the politeness marker – what I assume to be allocutive agreement – may occur in questions, as we saw. This is not surprising since Japanese allows C recursion, as in *to-ka* ‘C-Q’. In (20), C recursion allows  $C_Q$  that takes *ka* to occur with C that initially hosts the  $\phi$  allocutive probe.



In Japanese,  $C_Q$  is the head that hosts the question particle *ka*, and, as shown in (20), this  $C_Q$  is appropriately selected by “sa,” a predicate element according to Speas and Tenny. “sa” occurs because there is politeness marker *-mas-* in the structure. The fact that “sa” can license *ka* in the same way that a verb can in indirect questions is further evidence for the verbal nature of “sa”. The other C head hosts the allocutive probe; like in Souletin, I assume that this probe raises to the “sa” head, and this “sa” head raises to the position of SA, where it c-commands its goal (HEARER) and it has the entire utterance in its scope as the politeness marker.

The analysis of politeness marking in Japanese as allocutive agreement makes the prediction that the politeness marker should not occur in indirect questions, a prediction that is borne out in the following example.

- (21) *Hanako-wa [dare-ga kuru/\*ki-mas-u ka] sitte i-mas-u.*  
 Hanako-TOP who-NOM come/come-MAS-PRES Q know MAS-PRES  
 ‘Hanako knows who is coming.’

In its use as a verb of indirect question, the matrix verb “know” must select an indirect question with *ka*. This is fine with the informal form of the verb. However, if the politeness marker appears, what the matrix verb is selecting for is not an indirect question because the CP with *ka* is embedded in the larger Speech Act structure, and “know” has inappropriately selected this Speech Act structure. As a result, inclusion of the politeness marker leads to a violation of the selectional requirement for the matrix verb “know.” This further shows that in the absence of the politeness marker, the Speech Act structure is not projected, which differentiates it from Souletin, where colloquial as well as formal forms apparently project the Speech Act structure.

### 3.1 Strong uniformity

At this point, we might ask, why does agreement occur in Japanese, when Japanese is typically an agreementless language? If a proposal I made in Miyagawa (2010) is on track, we in fact predict that Japanese should have  $\phi$ -feature agreement of some sort.

- (22) Strong Uniformity (Miyagawa 2010)  
 Every language shares the same set of grammatical features, and every language overtly manifests these features in some fashion.

This is an instantiation of the Uniformity Principle (Chomsky 2001):

- (23) Uniformity Principle  
 In the absence of compelling evidence to the contrary, assume languages to be uniform, with variety restricted to easily detectable properties of utterances.

The Uniformity Principle, or something like it, is needed because we can no longer depend on the kind of parametric variation statements of the GB era, where variations were defined over the application of universal principles. Unfortunately, these principles turned out to be descriptions of the problems they were intended to solve. In MP, effort is made to rid elements from the theory that are not independently motivated, and the many – maybe all – principles, such as subjacency and the ECP, are examples that do not find independent motivation. We must therefore find a new way to state the uniform nature of human language, and where they can vary. Strong Uniformity states that languages all share exactly the same set of formal features, which are used for structure building and other operations, and that we do not expect to find variation of the sort whereby some languages have some of these features while other languages have some other subset of the universal set of features. All languages share all formal features, and all languages manifest these features in some fashion. The politeness marker in Japanese is person agreement that utilizes the same  $\phi$ -feature agreement as the typical agreement-based languages. As an allocutive agreement, it finds its goal not in the domain of  $\nu$ P (subject, for example), but in the Speech Act structure, where it is valued by the second-person element corresponding to the hearer, “you.”

Strong uniformity is, in appearance and probably in content, in opposition to the cartographic approach (e.g. Rizzi 1997), which postulates “topic,” “focus,” and other functions as fixed positions in a structure. In contrast, Strong Uniformity states that notions like topic and focus are featural in nature, and they may occur on various heads, most notably, C and T. On the other hand, the two approaches share the assumption that such notions are universally represented in syntactic structure.

#### 4. Politeness marking and the main clause phenomenon

Speas and Tenny (2003) propose the Speech Act structure with the idea that certain discourse-related phenomena are best viewed as being part of the syntactic structure of a sentence. What we have seen is that the SA structure occurs in a root domain where allocutive agreement may occur (and also discourse particles in Romanian and West Flemish – see Haegeman & Hill 2011). A question naturally arises, is the SA structure the domain for all root transformations? The SA structure is the only type of clause that allows the allocutive agreement, which is only natural because this structure furnishes the second person element needed as the goal for the allocutive agreement. But the type of root transformations originally identified by Emonds are allowed in asserted clauses, which occur independent of the SA structure. No root operation is allowed in presupposed clauses, as noted by Hooper and Thompson (1973). There

are, then, two types of main clause phenomenal, agreements that occur mainly in the main clause, which are the allocutive agreements we saw that are licensed within the SA structure, and the RTs such as the NCP that Emonds originally identified and was shown by Hooper and Thompson to apply in asserted clauses. Below, I show that these two types of main clause phenomena are indeed distinct, and that the latter – the RTs identified by Emonds and others – are ruled out on independent, syntactic grounds on a par with Haegeman and others, leaving only the allocutive agreement and other, related phenomena such as sentential particles in Romanian and West Flemish that depend on the occurrence of the SA structure to remain as a genuine MCP in the original spirit of Emonds.

#### 4.1 Politeness marking in subordinate clauses

As Harada (1976) pointed out, the politeness marker may occur in limited types of subordinate clauses. Presumably, these are clauses that, despite being embedded, allow the SA structure, which led Harada to say that these are interpretable as “direct discourses,” all accompanied by the non-factive “quotative” complementizer *to*. In order to investigate the types of complements that allow the politeness marker, and those that do not, I turn to the classification of complement types Hooper and Thompson (1973) used for MCP possibilities in English subordinate clauses.

Hooper and Thompson (H&T) test for root transformations in five environments, A–E below.

(24) Hooper and Thompson (1973: 473–4)

Nonfactive:			Factive:	
A	B	C	D	E
say	suppose	be (un)likely	resent	realize
report	believe	be (im)possible	regret	learn
exclaim	think	deny	be surprised	know
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

According to H&T, for Class A, it is possible for the complement to comprise the main assertion. For Class B, the main verb does not always have the meaning of assertion, allowing the complement to express the main assertion of the sentence. Class C verbs have the meaning of assertion, and they take a complement that is neither asserted nor presupposed. Class D verbs likewise express assertion, and their complement is presupposed. Finally, Class E verbs are called “semifactive” and their complement is not always presupposed. H&T show that RTs are possible in the complement clause in those classes where the complement can express assertion, namely, A, B, and E.

(25) I exclaimed that never in my life had I seen such a crowd. (A) (H&T: (43))

- (26) I think that this book, he read thoroughly. (B)  
 (27) I found out that never before had he had to borrow money. (E)  
 (H&T: (119))

C and D do not allow RTs in the complement clause.

- (28) \*It's likely that seldom did he drive that car. (C) (H&T: (96))  
 (29) \*He was surprised that never in my life had I seen a hippopotamus. (D)  
 (H&T: (103))

#### 4.2 Comparison to Japanese: Allocutive agreement and complementizer type

In Japanese, asserted and presupposed clauses are often, though by no means always, distinguished by the type of complementizer heading the clause.

- (30) Complementizers in Japanese (see Kuno 1973; McCawley 1978, etc.)  
*to*: non-factive (=not presupposed)  
*koto/no*: factive (=presupposed)

When we look at complementizer selection in Japanese, we find that the five verb classes in H&T cluster precisely into two groups, those in English that allow RTs and those that do not. As shown below, while A, B, and E may take *to* or *koto*, C and D are limited to *koto*.

- (31) A: *to, koto*  
 B: *to, koto*  
 C: *koto*  
 D: *koto*  
 E: *to, koto*

We see that those verb classes whose complements allow RTs as identified by H&T (A, B, E) may take the non-factive *to*, while those that do not can only take *koto* (C, D). The fact that A, B, and E can also take *koto* simply shows that any verb has the option of taking a presupposed complement with the right construction, as we can see in English with Class A verbs (*I reported the fact that Mary will miss the meeting*). In English, factive/non-factive difference is not lexically encoded on the complementizer.

Let us now look at the distribution of the politeness marker in these classes, paying attention to the complementizer type. As we can see below in an example taken from Harada (1976), Class A verbs allow the politeness marker in their complement clause:

- (32) *Taroo-wa* [*Hanako-ga ki-mas-i-ta to*] *it-ta*.<sup>5</sup>  
 Taro-TOP [Hanako-NOM come-MAS-PAST C<sub>NONFACT</sub> say-PAST  
 ‘Taro said that Hanako came.’ (Harada’s (102b))

If a Class A verb takes the *koto* complement instead of *to*, the politeness marker is not possible (I have changed the verb to ‘report’, which more readily allows the *koto* complement).

- (33) *Taroo-wa* [*Hanako-ga kita/\*ki-mas-i-ta koto*]-*o*  
 Taro-TOP [Hanako-NOM came/come-MAS-PAST C<sub>FACT</sub>-ACC  
*hookokusi-ta*.  
 report-PAST  
 ‘Taro reported the fact that Hanako came.’

Before looking at Class B, let us look at C and D. We predict that Classes C and D, which only allow *koto*, do not allow the politeness marker.

CLASS C:

- (34) *Taroo-wa* [*Hanako-ga kita/\*ki-mas-u koto*]-*o*  
 Taro-TOP [Hanako-NOM came/come-MAS-PRS C<sub>FACT</sub>-ACC  
*hitei-sita*.  
 deny-PAST  
 ‘Taro denied that Hanako will come.’

CLASS D:

- (35) *Taroo-wa* [*Hanako-ga kita/\*ki-mas-i-ta koto*]-*ni*  
 Taro-TOP [Hanako-NOM came/come-MAS-PAST C<sub>FACT</sub>-DAT  
*odoroi-ta*.  
 surprise-PAST  
 ‘Taro was surprised that Hanako came.’

We can conclude from the examples above that:

- (36) *to* nonfactive complementizer may occur with the SA projection;  
*koto* (and *no*) factive complementizer does not occur with the SA projection.

5. Following Harada’s original example in (32) (his (102b)), the matrix verb is given in the informal form. As his example shows, the verb in the complement clause of Class A may take the politeness marker without causing a stylistic conflict with the informal matrix verb. Later, I discuss other examples by Harada where the matrix verb must also be in the polite form and suggest, following Uchibori (2008), that this is a distinct phenomenon from allocutive agreement. Also, it has been pointed out to me that the politeness marker becomes possible even with *koto* if the complement verb with *-mas-* is in the honorific style, something I also discuss later in conjunction with the examples.

Let us now turn to Classes B (*believe*-type) and E (*know*-type), which allow RTs in English and, in Japanese, they can take either the *to* or the *koto* complement just as with Class A verbs. With *koto*, predictably the politeness marker is ungrammatical, just as we saw for Class A.

CLASS B:

- (37) *Taroo-wa* [*Hanako-ga kuru/\*ki-mas-u koto*]-*o* *sinzitei-ru.*  
 Taro-TOP [Hanako-NOM come/come-MAS-PRES C<sub>FACT</sub>-ACC believe-PRES  
 ‘Taro believes that Hanako will come.’

CLASS E:

- (38) *Taroo-wa* [*sono hikooki-ga tuirakusita/\*tuirakusi-mas-i-ta*  
 Taro-TOP that plane-NOM fall/fall-MAS-PAST  
*koto*]-*o* *sira-nakat-ta.*  
 C<sub>FACT</sub>-ACC know-NEG-PAST  
 ‘Taro didn’t know that the airplane fell down.’ (adapted from Harada’s  
 (104b))

It is surprising that even with the non-factive *to*, the politeness marker is not possible with these two classes of verbs.<sup>6</sup>

- (39) *Taroo-wa* [*Hanako-ga kuru/\*ki-mas-u to*] *sinzitei-ru.*  
 Taro-TOP [Hanako-NOM come/come-PRES C<sub>NONFACT</sub> believe-PRES  
 ‘Taro believes that Hanako will come.’

6. Harada gives the following (his (103b)) using the Type B example “believe”. The example uses the nominal politeness marker *-des-*, which is why I did not use the example in the main text, although it makes the same point.

- (i) \**Taroo-wa* [*zibun-no tuma-ga CIA-no supai des-u*  
 Taro-TOP self-GEN wife-NOM CIA-GEN spy DES-PRES  
*to*] *sinzite i-mas-u.*  
 C believe-MAS-PRES  
 ‘Taro believes that his wife is a CIA spy.’

In (40) below, I have also changed the Class E verb to “realize,” which more readily takes the *to* complement (thanks to Hiroki Maezawa for noting that Class E verbs can take *to*).

Uchibori (2008) notes the following Class B example as ungrammatical (her (14b)).

- (ii) \**Isya-wa* [*oosama-ga sono kusuri-o nomi-mas-i-ta*  
 doctor-TOP king-NOM that medicine-ACC take-MAS-PAST  
*to*] *omotta.*  
 C<sub>NONFAC</sub> thought  
 ‘The doctor thought that the king took that medicine.’

- (40) *Taroo-wa* [*sono hikooki-ga tuirakusita/\*tuirakusi-mas-i-ta*  
 Taro-TOP that plane-NOM fell/fall-MAS-PAST  
*to*] *satot-ta.*  
 C<sub>NONFACT</sub> realize-PAST  
 ‘Taro didn’t know that the airplane fell down.’

In English, complements of Class B and E verbs allow RTs, hence, the complements may be assertions under H&T’s analysis. So, why isn’t the politeness marker possible in Japanese in the same context? Is the complement of these verbs in Japanese simply different, and presupposed, in contrast to English? Minimally, what we can say about complements of Class B and E verbs is that they lack the SA structure because they do not allow the politeness marker in their complement, regardless of whether the complementizer is *koto* or *to*. Thus, so far, only root clauses and complement of Class A verbs, which is “reported S in direct discourse” (Emonds 1969), allow the allocutive politeness marker. Below, I will return to these classes of verbs and show that, just as in English, Japanese does allow a “root” operation distinct from allocutive agreement.

### 4.3 Reason clause

So far, we have identified the distribution of the politeness marker as being in two of the three environments identified by Emonds (1969).

- (41) Root  
 A root will mean either the highest S in a tree, an S immediately dominated by the highest S or the reported S in direct discourse. (Emonds 1969:6)

The politeness marker occurs in the “highest S in a tree” and “the reported S in direct discourse,” the latter being the complement of Class A verbs in H&T’s classification. What about the third environment, that of “an S immediately dominated by the highest S”? If we can show that the politeness marker occurs in such an environment as well, Emonds’ original conception of Root turns out to have identified those structures that allow the Speech Act projection, and showing that his notion of Root therefore has nothing to do with RTs, which must be derived by some other means.

One type of sentence that H&T noted as a counterexample to Emonds (1969) is the reason adverbial clause, which allows RTs.

- (42) Robert was quite nervous, *because never before had he had to borrow money.*

However, one way to look at this is that the reason clause itself occurs high in the structure, possibly directly hanging from the matrix TP (highest S in Emonds’ words),

which would make it the third environment that Emonds identified as root.<sup>7</sup> That this is the case is shown by the fact that the politeness marker occurs in reason clauses, a fact already noted by Harada (1976) (*-des-* is the politeness marker that attaches to a nominal; see the subsequent example for a sentence with *-mas-*):

- (43) *Hima des-i-ta kara Ginza-ni iki-mas-i-ta.*  
 free DES-PAST because Ginza-to go-MAS-PAST  
 ‘I went over to the Ginza Street because I had nothing to do.’  
 (Harada’s (137d))

The same is observed with the verbal politeness marker *-mas-*, cf. (44).

- (44) *Hanako-ga ki-mas-u kara, uti-ni ite-kudasai.*  
 Hanako-NOM come-MAS-PRES because home-at be-please  
 ‘Because Hanako will come, please be at home.’

Based on the distribution of the politeness marker in Japanese, which I consider to be a form of allocutive agreement, we can state unequivocally that the original proposal for the Root by Emonds (1969) is a proposal about clauses that allow the Speech Act projection. His proposal is not about distinguishing environments that allow RTs of the type he noted (see also Emonds 2004, this volume). For the RTs and their environments, we need a very different approach to identify when they may apply, something I turn to in the remainder of the article.

## 5. Topic *wa*

A root phenomenon commonly mentioned in the literature is topic *wa*, which may occur in a limited type of subordinate clauses (e.g. Heycock 2008; Kuno 1973; Kuroda 2005; Maki et al 1999; Sato-Zhu & Larson 1992; Tomioka 2007, 2010; Ueyama 1994; Whitman 1989, etc.). Kuroda (2005:19–20) specifically points out that the topic *wa* can only occur in “statement-making contexts,” which we can interpret to mean something like ‘root’ contexts (see Heycock 2008 for further comment on this point as well as an extensive discussion of the literature). Thus, it is possible for this topic to occur in the complement of Class A verbs.

- (45) *Hanako-wa [pizza-wa Taro-ga tabeta to] itta.*  
 Hanako-TOP pizza-TOP Taro-NOM ate C<sub>NONFACT</sub> said  
 ‘Hanako said that pizza, Taro ate.’

7. I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer for pointing out this possibility for reason clauses.

Class A verbs such as ‘say’ above may take the non-factive *to* complement. We saw earlier that this class of verbs may also take the factive *koto* complement; with this complement, topicalization turns out to be ungrammatical (I have changed the main verb to “report,” which readily takes the *koto* complement).

- (46) \**Hanako-wa* [*piza-wa Taroo-ga tabeta koto*]-*o hookokusita.*  
 Hanako-TOP pizza-TOP Taro-NOM ate C<sub>FACT</sub>-ACC reported  
 ‘Hanako said that pizza, Taro ate.’

As topic, the phrase with *wa* is destressed (Kuno 1973; Nakanishi 2004); if it is stressed, it is not topic *wa* but contrastive *wa*, which has a wider distribution and is not a root phenomenon (e.g. Kuno 1973).<sup>8</sup>

We saw earlier that while Class A verbs with the *to* complement allow the politeness marker, Class B and E, which in English allow RTs, do not allow the politeness marker. I concluded that B and E do not allow their complement to project the SA structure, only leaving the complement of Class A verbs to do so. However, when we look at topicalization, we see a different pattern: topicalization is possible, as shown for Class B below.

- (47) *Taroo-ga* [*Hanako-wa kuru to*] *sinzitei-ru.*  
 Taro-NOM [Hanako-TOP come-PRES C<sub>NONFACT</sub> believe-PRES  
 ‘Taro believes that Hanako will come.’ (Class B)

Just as we saw for Class A verbs, topicalization with Class B and E verbs is possible only with the *to* complement; with the *koto* complement, topicalization is ungrammatical.

- (48) \**Taroo-ga* [*Hanako-wa ku-ru koto*]-*o sinzitei-ru.*  
 Taro-NOM [Hanako-TOP come-PRES C<sub>FACT</sub>-ACC believe-PRES  
 ‘Taro believes that Hanako will come.’ (Class B)

The fact that Class A, B, and E verbs allow the root transformation of topicalization to apply in the complement clause, but only Class A allows the politeness marker, shows that RTs such as topicalization do not depend on the notion of Root as proposed by Emonds. From our perspective, Emonds’ RTs do not depend on the occurrence of the SA structure.

8. I am assuming the topic/contrastive *wa* bifurcation of Kuno (1973). For a different approach to *wa* and also the nominative *ga*, see Kuroda 2005 and references therein.

Class C and D verbs only allow the *koto* complement, so that topicalization is not possible, a point demonstrated in the following example from Maki et al. (1999).<sup>9</sup>

- (49) *John-wa* [*kono hon-\*wa/o*      *zibun-no-kodomo-ga yonda*  
 John-TOP this book-TOP/ACC self's-child-NOM read  
*koto*]-*o*      *kookaisita*.  
 C<sub>FACT</sub>-ACC regret  
 'John regrets that this book, his child read.' (Class D)      (Maki et al.'s (12b))

One interesting point that this example by Maki et al demonstrates is that while topicalization to the left edge of the Class D verb complement is ungrammatical, scrambling, indicated by the accusative case marking, is fine. I return to this distinction below.

What precisely is the difference between *to* (non-factive) and *koto* (factive complementizer) that gives rise to the pattern of grammaticality we have observed? In a series of works, Haegeman (e.g. 2006, 2009, 2010) (see also Haegeman & Ürögdi 2010) argues that the prohibition against RTs is a syntactic phenomenon in which an occurrence of movement, such as operator movement, intervenes to block RTs.

Munsat (1986) argues that factive clauses contain an operator that moves to C (see also Melvold 1991; Hiraiwa 2010; Watanabe 1993, 1996, among many others). Using a proposal in Haegeman (2007), Haegeman and Ürögdi (2010) argue that this operator movement is what causes an intervention effect in factive clauses (they call them "referential clauses"), leading to blocking of root operations such as topicalization.

- (50) Adapted from Haegeman (2007):  
 $[_{CP} OP_i C \dots [_{FP} t_i [_{TP} \dots ]]]$

This operator movement to Spec,CP blocks anything else from moving to this position. Recall from Maki et al (1999) that while topicalization to the left edge of the complement clause of a Class D verb leads to ungrammaticality, scrambling is perfectly acceptable. This distinction between topicalization and scrambling would find the same explanation based on intervention if we assume that, while scrambling may be to TP (e.g. Saito 1985), topicalization is to Spec,CP. The latter assumption is not standard, with Kuno (1973) arguing that topicalization, as opposed to contrastive *wa*, need not involve movement (see also Hoji 1985, Saito 1985). If we accept certain assumptions in Maki et al (1999) and hypothesize that topicalization in Japanese relates to C, and it involves movement, the intervention analysis would account for

9. Maki et al. (1999) use the complementizer *no* instead of *koto*. Although Maki et al mark *wa* as "\*" in (40), those I consulted feel that it is not as severely degraded, and judgment of "??" is more appropriate; see also Hiraiwa (2010). I comment on this later. I also changed the embedded subject so that the possessor inside it can be coreferential with the matrix subject, something that some speakers require with the verb 'regret'.

the pattern of grammaticality we have observed between *to* and *koto* complementizer clauses. It is possible that when *-wa* is interpreted as contrastive, which means that the *-wa* phrase receives emphatic focus stress, it moves to TP, as Saito (1985) argued (see also Hoji 1985). This would make the movement fine because it does not compete with the operator movement. But as topic movement, which is characterized by a lack of emphatic stress, the movement is to Spec,CP and competes with the operator movement.<sup>10</sup> The fact that there is a range of judgments reported (for example, Hiraiwa 2010, p. 193, Footnote 4) suggests that the two types of movement of the *-wa* phrase are not always being distinguished.

The operator that arises with the *koto* complementizer does not occur with the non-factive *to* complementizer, so that for Classes A, B and E, which allow both *to* and *koto*, the complement with *to* allows topicalization, as we saw above. The fact that Class B and E verbs allow topicalization with the *to* complement but not the politeness marker, as we saw earlier, indicates that the complement of these two classes of verbs cannot occur with the SA structure. Independent of the SA structure, a root operation such as topicalization is predicted to be impossible if there is a competing A'-movement in the structure already, but such an operation is fine if there is no competing A'-movement to begin with. This shows that root/non-root distinction finds justification only relative to whether the structure allows the SA projection, and does not find justification by whether the structure allows RTs. All the RTs identified in English are such that they can, in principle, be dealt with by the syntactic intervention approach. This leads to the question, is there a genuine root phenomenon in English? Later, I will introduce the study by Amano (1999), who draws the same distinction between MCP that are only allowed in what I am calling SA structures and other MCP that are allowed in non-SA constructions.<sup>11</sup>

## 6. Adverbial clauses and indirect questions

We saw earlier that the politeness marker is possible in the reason-clause.

- (51) *Hanako-ga ki-mas-u kara, uti-ni ite-kudasai.*  
 Hanako-NOM come-MAS-PRES because home-at be-please  
 'Because Hanako will come, please be at home.'

We can see below that the reason-clause also allows topicalization.

10. The analysis in Miyagawa (2010) should in principle make it possible for topicalization to take place within the TP projection instead of the CP projection, although movement to the CP region is not excluded. I leave this issue open.

11. Amano (1999) was brought to my attention in the last stages of writing this article by Hiroki Maezawa.

- (52) *Hanako-wa kuru kara, uti-ni ite-kudasai.*  
 Hanako-TOP come because home-at be-please  
 ‘Because Hanako will come, please be at home.’

There is one issue about the reason-clause that makes a distinction between politeness marking and topicalization.

The reason-clause is often ambiguous between presupposed reason and asserted reason, and it is only in the asserted meaning that RTs such as topicalization are allowed (Hooper & Thompson 1973; Sawada & Larson 2004, this volume; Haegeman 2006). As Koizumi (1993), Sawada (2011), and others note, we see a parallel in Japanese. In fact, we can use this structure to ask a question we have not been able to address before: is the SA structure compatible with presupposed clauses (or, on the intervention story, with clauses that contain movement), or is it limited to occurring with asserted clauses (or clauses without movement)? There is, in principle, no reason why the SA structure cannot occur with presupposed clauses, and this is what we will see in the reason-clause.

In the example below, the reason-clause is ambiguous between being presupposed and being asserted.

- (53) *Hanako-ga kuru kara, uti-ni ite-kudasai.*  
 Hanako-NOM come because home-at be-please  
 ‘Because Hanako will come, please be at home (assertion)/Please be at home because Hanako will come (presupposed).’

We see in the following example that topicalization disambiguates the reason-clause, forcing it to solely take on the assertion interpretation.

- (54) *Hanako-wa kuru kara, uti-ni ite-kudasai.*  
 Hanako-TOP come because home-at be-please  
 ‘Because Hanako will come, please be at home.’

This shows that, just as in English, presupposed clauses are incompatible with RTs. An interesting point about this example is that, if the intervention story is on the right track, the reason-clause apparently has an operator if it is presupposed despite the fact that the clause does not have a complementizer that marks the clause as factive (like *koto* in sentential complementation), and this operator blocks topicalization from occurring, which leaves only the asserted reason-clause as the environment where this RT can take place.

Let us now look at the reason-clause with the politeness marker.

- (55) *Hanako-ga ki-mas-u kara, uti-ni ite-kudasai.*  
 Hanako-NOM come-MAS-PRES because home-at be-please  
 ‘Because Hanako will come, please be at home/Please be at home because Hanako will come.’

As indicated by the English translation, this reason-clause is ambiguous between presupposed and asserted interpretations. This indicates that the SA structure is independent of whether the CP within it contains presupposed or asserted clause (or movement or no movement). This further separates Root (SA structure) from the notion of asserted/non-asserted clauses, leaving the latter to be analyzed by such approaches as syntactic intervention.

### 6.1 Temporal clause

Let us turn to temporal adverbial clauses. This construction does not allow the politeness marker, showing that a temporal clause does not contain the SA structure.

- (56) \**Taroo-ga* [*Hanako-ga ki-mas-ita toki*],  
 Taro-NOM Hanako-NOM come-MAS-PAST when  
*uti-ni i-mas-en-desita.*  
 home-at be-MAS-NEG-PAST  
 ‘When Hanako came, Taro wasn’t home.’

Let us now see if temporal clauses in Japanese allow topicalization. First of all, it is well known that English temporal clauses do not allow RTs such as topicalization (e.g. Hooper & Thompson 1973; Haegeman 2010).

- (57) \*When her regular column she began to write again, I thought she would be OK.

Haegeman (2010) argues that the impossibility of this sort of operation within temporal clauses is not due to the fact that this clause is non-assertive. Rather, she points out that there is a separate operation of movement of the temporal *wh*-phrase, and this movement intervenes to block such operations as topicalization. The evidence for movement of the *wh*-phrase is found in Larson (1987, 1990), who proposes the following representations for high (58a) and low (58b) construal (see also Geis 1970 and Johnson 1988, among others, for relevant discussion).

- (58) a. John left [<sub>CP</sub> when<sub>i</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> Sheila said [<sub>CP</sub>[<sub>IP</sub> he should leave ] ] t<sub>i</sub> ] ]  
 b. John left [<sub>CP</sub> when<sub>i</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> Sheila said [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> he should leave t<sub>i</sub> ] ] ] ]  
 (Larson 1987)

Likewise in Japanese, the RT, topic *wa*, is not possible.

- (58) \**Taroo-ga* [*Hanako-wa kita toki*], *uti-ni i-nakat-ta.*  
 Taro-NOM Hanako-TOP came when home-at be-NEG-PAST  
 ‘When Hanako came, Taro wasn’t home.’

At first blush, it is puzzling why we find intervention in Japanese, because the sort of ambiguity for temporal adjuncts that we observed for English above does not appear to hold in Japanese, suggesting that there is no operator movement.

- (59) *John-wa [Sheila-ga [kare-ga dekakeru beki da to] itta] toki, dekaketa.*  
 John-TOP Sheila-NOM he-NOM leave should COP C  
 said when left  
 ‘John left when Sheila said that he should leave.’

This sentence only has the high reading of when Sheila’s utterance took place, and not when he should leave. This suggests that there is no operator movement. However, as it turns out, with a slight change in the example, we are able to obtain the same ambiguity as in English (thanks to Hiroki Maezawa for this example).

- (60) *John-wa [Sheila-ga [kare-ga dekakeru beki da to] itta] toki-ni, dekaketa.*  
 John-TOP Sheila-NOM he-NOM leave should COP C  
 said when-at left  
 ‘John left when Sheila said that he should leave.’

In this example, the postposition *-ni* appears with the *toki* ‘when’ phrase, and although the high reading is more natural, it is also possible to obtain the lower reading. This suggests that Japanese also has operator movement within temporal clauses, and, for some reason, the movement of this operator is blocked from the lower clause in the absence of the postposition *-ni* (see Endo in this volume for some preliminary remarks). I leave this problem open.

## 6.2 Indirect question

We saw earlier that an indirect question does not allow the politeness marker. The example is repeated below.

- (61) *Hanako-wa [dare-ga ku-ru/\*ki-mas-u ka] sitte-i-ru.*  
 Hanako-TOP who-NOM come-PRES/come-MAS-PRES Q know-PRES  
 ‘Hanako knows who is coming.’

However, the following shows that topicalization is possible (Maki et al. 1999).

- (62) *Hanako-ga [<sub>CP</sub> Taro-wa nani-o katta ka] sitte-i-ru.*  
 Hanako-NOM Taro-TOP what-ACC bought Q know-PRES  
 ‘Hanako knows what Taro bought.’

This is different from English, where RTs are not possible in indirect questions presumably due to intervention. What is the difference? There are analyses of *wh*-construction in Japanese that would be compatible with the absence of intervention. For example, Hagstrom (1998) argues that in Japanese, the *Q*-particle (*ka* in above) is merged with the *wh*-phrase, and moves by head movement to *C*. In Miyagawa (2001), I gave this as

the reason why the *wh*-phrase does not have to move in Japanese, drawing a parallel with head-movement of pronominal agreement to T that makes it unnecessary for a DP to move to Spec, TP in Romance (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998). On this account, the movement that occurs is head movement, and it is not surprising that such a movement does not intervene in topicalization, which is XP movement.

## 7. SA structure and the MCP in Japanese and English

The following summarizes the data we have looked at in this paper.

### (63) MCP in English and Japanese

	Type A (say)	Type B (believe)	Type C (deny)	Type D (be surprised)	Type E (know)	<i>because</i>	<i>when</i>	Indirect question
English	√	√	*	*	√	√	*	*
Japanese								
<i>-mas-</i>	√	*	*	*	*	√	*	*
<i>-wa</i>	√	√	*	*	√	√	*	√

In the cases where there is a difference between the politeness marker and *-wa* (Classes B and E, and indirect question), this difference arises because these are clauses that do not allow the SA structure but at the same time, these clauses do not have an independent operator movement to intervene in topicalization. For Classes B and E, topicalization is allowed only in clauses that are associated with the non-assertive *to* *because*, by assumption, these clauses do not contain a factive operator. Type A and reason-clause allow the politeness marking, indicating that these are environments where the SA structure may emerge along with the matrix clause.

There is a question as to whether in English, the SA structure also occurs, something that cannot be checked with allocutive agreement because English does not have such agreement nor does it have sentential particles found in Romanian and West Flemish, which are also MCP in the SA structure. As it turns out, there is one phenomenon in English observed by Amano (1999) that precisely matches the allocutive agreement and sentential particles in apparently only being able to occur in Emonds' original root environments (and the reason-clause). Following Greenbaum (1969) and Quirk et al (1972, 1985), Amano distinguishes between "attitudinal" and "style" adverbs.

- (64) a. *attitudinal*  
apparently, certainly, definitely, evidently, annoyingly, astonishingly, ...
- b. *style*  
frankly, truthfully, honestly, ...

According to Greenbaum (1969), attitudinal adverbs indicate the speaker's attitude toward the proposition, in some cases this attitude is about the truth value of the proposition (e.g. *apparently*), while in other cases some other attitude is expressed (e.g. *annoyingly*). Amano's proposal is that attitudinal adverbs indicate assertions, and, quite strikingly, Amano observes that the attitudinal adverbs occur in all the environments that H&T identified as allowing RTs (Amano 1999: 206).

- (65) a. Carl told me that this book *certainly* has the recipes in it. (Class A)  
 b. Bill believes that *certainly*, John will lose the election. (Class B)  
 c. \*I doubt Kissinger *certainly* is negotiating for peace. (Class C)  
 d. \*I regret that I *unfortunately* attended the concert. (Class D)  
 e. I know that Santa *certainly* has lost a lot of weight. (Class E)  
 f. Sam is going out for dinner, because his wife *certainly* is cooking Japanese food. (reason-clause)

According to Greenbaum (1969), style adverbs indicate the speaker's manner of expression (e.g. *frankly*), and Amano proposes that this type of adverb need not modify an assertion, and importantly, its occurrence is limited to Emonds' original characterization, plus the reason-clause. First, style adverbs are compatible with all types of main clauses (Amano 1999: 210).

- (66) a. *Frankly*, did you like the article? (question)  
 b. *Truthfully*, who broke the window? (question)  
 c. *Honestly*, don't tell him about it. (order)

However, style adverbs in embedded contexts are only compatible with Class A verbs.

- (67) She said, "Honestly, I do not know anything about their plans." (Class A)

Amano points out that the style adverb is only compatible with Emonds' original characterization of root clauses. He notes this for indirect questions and indirect requests, given in (a) and (b) below; the rest I have created using his examples from earlier, replacing the attitudinal adverb with a style adverb.

- (68) a. \*She asked me whether *honestly* I would stay. (ind. question)  
 b. \*He requested that, *frankly*, the papers be turned in next Monday. (ind. request)  
 c. \*Bill believes that *honestly*, John will lose the election. (Class B)  
 d. \*I doubt Kissinger *frankly* is negotiating for peace. (Class C)  
 e. \*I regret that I *frankly* attended the concert. (Class D)  
 f. \*I know that Santa *honestly* has lost a lot of weight. (Class E)

Finally, Amano notes that style adverbs are compatible with reason-clauses ("?" is based on native speakers he consulted).

- (69) ?John fired his secretary, because, *frankly*, she was incompetent. (reason)

Very clearly, Amano discovered a way for English to distinguish SA-structures from non-SA structures that allow RTs. Why should style adverbs require the SA-structure? In a semantic analysis of adverbs, Bellert (1977: 349), who calls the style adverbs “pragmatic adverbs,” notes that these adverbs “are the only ones that are strictly speaking speaker-oriented adverbs, for one of the arguments is the speaker.” If this is correct, then the semantic representation of the speaker would be expressed explicitly in the SA structure. Finally, the fact that attitudinal adverbs only occur with assertion is a challenge to the intervention approach to RTs. While the typical RT involves movement, hence amenable to an intervention approach if blocked, adverbs presumably do not involve movement, so that with these adverbs, we will need to revert to H&T’s notion of assertion vs. non-assertion (see also Sawada & Larson 2004, this volume, for relevant discussion of the semantics of assertion and clause size). See Haegeman (2011) for a possible account of how the distribution of these adverbs can be derived on an intervention account.

### 8. Some problems

Before concluding the paper, I will note some remaining problems, all drawn from Harada (1976). Harada (1976: 559) lists the following subordinate environments as allowing the politeness marker:

- i. direct discourse complement
- ii. factive complement
- iii. nonrestrictive relative clause
- iv. conjunct clause
- v. adverbial subordinate clause

We have already seen (i) and (v) as those that allow the SA structure; (iv) is also not a problem given that what is conjoined are two or more SA-structure clauses. Following is an example given by Harada (his (137b)).

- (71) *Kesa Ueno Doobusuen-ni iki-mas-i-te, sukosi*  
 this.morning Ueno zoo-to go-MAS-CONJ bit  
*sanpo-o si-te mairi-mas-i-ta.*  
 walk take went-MAS-PAST  
 ‘This morning I went to the Ueno Zoo and took a short walk.’

This is presumably a conjunction of two main clauses, so the occurrence of the politeness marker is not at all surprising. While these can be readily handled, the remaining two are not so easily accounted for, and I will simply give the data and some thoughts on them.

One example that Harada gives for (ii), factive complement, is the following (his 131b).

- (72) *Yamada-kun-ga kono tabi Nooberu-syoo-o zyuyo-sare-*  
 Yamada-NOM lately Nobel Prize-ACC was.given-  
*mas-i-ta koto-wa mina-sama go-zonzi to omoi-mas-u.*  
 MAS-PAST fact-TOP you all know C think-MAS-PRES

'I think you all know that Mr. Yamada was given the Nobel Prize lately.'

One point that Harada notes is that the occurrence of the honorific *sare* on the predicate 'was given' appears to make the politeness marker sound more felicitous (the other example Harada gives in this category also has such an honorific form). This may suggest that the honorific form has the ability to project the SA structure independent of the type of complement that it occurs in. Uchbori (2008) also notes that for the politeness marker to be grammatical in certain embedded contexts, it must be accompanied by the honorific form.

Finally, the example for non-restrictive RC is the following.

- (73) *Watasi-wa mizu-tama-moyoo-no ari-mas-u kami-*  
 I-TOP polka.dots exist-MAS-PRES paper-  
*ga hosi-i to omoi-mas-u.*  
 NOM want C think-MAS-PRES

'I want the paper with polka dots.'

Harada points out that the referent of the head noun 'kami' is unambiguous in referring to a specific entity and this fact led him to the conclusion that when the politeness marker occurs, the RC is non-restrictive. As he notes, if we take off the politeness marker, as in the example below, the head noun becomes ambiguous between being specific and nonspecific.

- (74) *Watasi-wa mizu-tama-moyoo-no aru kami-ga hosi-i*  
 I-TOP polka.dots exist paper-NOM want  
*to omoi-mas-u.*  
 C think-MAS-PRES

'I want (the) paper with polka dots.'

There is one point about the non-restrictive RC in (73) that is worth mentioning. Note that the politeness marker occurs both within the RC and on the matrix verb 'think'. Without the politeness marker on the matrix verb, the entire sentence sounds decidedly odd. This is not always the case, as we saw in Harada's example of Class A verb earlier, repeated below.

- (75) *Taroo-wa [Hanako-ga ki-mas-i-ta to] it-ta.*  
 Taro-TOP Hanako-NOM come-MAS-PAST C<sub>NONFACT</sub> say-MAS-PAST  
 'Taro said that Hanako came.' (Harada's (102b))

In this example, while the complement verb has the politeness marker, the matrix verb ‘said’ does not, and the sentence sounds perfectly natural. What is the difference between this and the non-restrictive RC example? Uchibori (2008) observes precisely the phenomenon we just looked at. She notes that not all instances of the embedded politeness marker require the matrix verb to be in the polite form as well. Where there is such a requirement, and apparently the non-restrictive RC is one, Uchibori suggests that it is a form of long-distance licensing by a modal head that reaches into the embedded environment in certain contexts to allow the politeness marker to occur. On this view, it is not an instance of the allocutive agreement because the politeness marker is licensed by some head outside of its clause instead of by the SA structure. It is also interesting to note that Harada (1976) calls the honorific form in the non-restrictive RC “hyper-polite”, which he somehow distinguishes from the normal use of the politeness marker. This special form of politeness marker may reflect Uchibori’s long-distance licensed politeness marker instead of one made possible by the SA structure.<sup>12</sup>

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12. Uchibori (2007: 309) observes that the politeness marker may also occur in what she calls “subjunctive” clauses.

- (i) *Ame-ga huri-mas-u yooni.* (Uchibori: (28))  
 rain-NOM fall-MAS-PRES C<sub>SUBJUNC</sub>

This is an expression of hope or, in other contexts, ordering, and may be embedded under a verb like “pray” or “order.” An interesting point about this subjunctive clause is that when embedded under a verb such as “pray,” there are two options for the politeness marking to appear, as noted by Uchibori (2007; see also 2008). If the complementizer *yooni* occurs, the main verb must also have the politeness marker.

- (ii) *Hitobito-wa [ame-ga huri-mas-u yooni] negai-mas-i-ta/ ?\*negatta.*  
 people-TOP rain-NOM fall-MAS-PRES C pray-MAS-PAST/ prayed  
 ‘People prayed that it will rain.’

On the other hand, if the complementizer is accompanied by the quotative particle *to*, the main verb need not be in the polite form.

- (iii) *Hitobito-wa [ame-ga huri-mas-u yooni to] negai-mas-i- ta/negatta.*  
 people-TOP rain-NOM fall-MAS-PRES C pray-MAS- PAST/PRAYED  
 ‘People prayed that it will rain.’

This pattern of grammaticality suggests that when *to* occurs, it is a quote, allowing the politeness marker to occur independent of the form that the matrix verb takes, but without it, it is embedding that behaves similarly to other verbs that do not allow the politeness marker in the complement.

## 9. Conclusion

Emonds' (1969) seminal work opened the door to a large body of literature on the MCP. We have learned from these efforts that much of what Emonds observed as having a special status as root transformations finds explanation on independent grounds, either a semantic one in terms of assertion/non-assertion or a syntactic one in terms of intervention, which does not require us to postulate a special "root" structure. However, his original conception of the root clause as being the matrix clause, clause directly dominated by the highest S, and the complement of verbs of direct discourse finds support in the phenomenon of allocutive agreement, which is genuine agreement that occurs mainly in the main clause and agrees with the hearer in the discourse. The allocutive agreement requires a super-structure above the uttered expression that introduces a representation of the hearer, much like Ross's original Performative Analysis. I used the modern version of the Performative Analysis by Speas and Tenny, which they call Speech Act projection, with revision by Haegeman and Hill, to argue that, indeed, Emonds' original conception of Root refers to clauses that project the SA structure that supports allocutive agreement. Finally, given that the research on the MCP began with discussion of English, a natural question to ask is, are there indications of the SA structure in English? While the work of Ross on the Performative Analysis naturally comes to mind, some of the most interesting evidence he marshals for it is based on the occurrence of reflexives that do not have an antecedent in the utterance, but instead refer to the speaker, for example. It is possible that such use of the reflexive points to the existence of the super-structure, but we must tread carefully, given that since his study we have come to understand that certain uses of the anaphor are logophoric, and although logophoricity itself may be evidence for the super-structure, we will need to see if his work provides genuine evidence for the discourse-related layer of syntactic structure that he argued for. We saw that a different test suggested by Amano (1999) using attitudinal and style adverbs may hold promise of identifying SA and non-SA structures even in English.

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