Agreement Beyond Phi

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Chapter 2

Allocutive agreement and the root

1. Agreement at C: Japanese

According to Strong Uniformity, a Category I language such as Japanese should have ϕ-feature agreement borne by C.

(1)   Some predicted languages

Category I: $C\phi, T\delta$ – Japanese

Category II: $C\delta, T\phi$ – English

Category III: $C, T \phi/\delta$ – Spanish

Category IV: $C\phi/\delta, T$ – Dinka

This is in complete opposition to the standard view that Japanese is an agreementless language. I will argue that the politeness marking on the predicate is precisely the ϕ-feature agreement predicted by Strong Uniformity to occur at C in Japanese.

The politeness marking occurs as part of the verbal morphology (or nominal morphology in a different paradigm). The two sentences below both mean 'I ate pizza',

with the first example having the politeness marker –mas-, so that this sentence would be

uttered to an addressee who is socially superior to the speaker (Harada 1976). The second

example is in the plain form, and would typically be uttered to a friend or a child.

(2) a. Watasi-wa   piza-o   tabe-**mas**-u.   (FORMAL)

          I-TOP   pizza-ACC eat-MAS-present

          'I will eat pizza.'

       b. Watasi-wa   piza-o   tabe-ru.   (COLLOQUIAL)

          I- TOP   pizza- ACC eat-present

          'I will eat pizza.'

What I will argue is that this politeness marking parallels what we see in languages such

as French in which the agreement varies according to the colloquial/formal nature of the

subject pronoun.

(3) a. Tu danses.

          you dance.2SG

      b. Vous dansez.

          you dance.2SP.POLITE

Like in French, the politeness marking agrees with a 2nd person entity. Unlike French, the politeness marking in Japanese does not agree with the subject, but rather, with some representation of the addressee.

(4) Otooto-wa   ki-mas-u.

    my.kid.bro-TOP   come-MAS-PRES

    'My kid brother will come.'

The subject of this sentence is "my.kid.brother," someone that you would not normally show politeness to. The fact that *-mas-* is well-formed indicates that the politeness is directed not at the referent of the subject but at the addressee, who likely is someone socially superior to the speaker.

    The Japanese politeness marking differs from French also in its distribution. In French the inflection expressing colloquial/formal distinction may occur in all kinds of embedded constructions.

(5) a. Si   tu trouves   le livre,   appelle-moi.

     if you find-2SG   the book,   call-me

  b. Je   regrette   que tu ne sois   pas   d'accord.

     I   regret   that you *ne* be-SUBJ not   agreed

In contrast, *-mas-* is highly restricted (Harada 1976); as I note in Miyagawa (2012a), its distribution essentially matches the original notion of 'root' by Emonds (1969).

(6)   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 following taken from Emonds (1969) exemplifies the three three root environments where the root transformation of Negative Constituent Preposing may occur; the fourth example shows a non-root environment that does not allow this operation.

(7) a. Never had I had to borrow money.

   b. Because never had I had to borrow money, I have a lot saved.

   c. John said that never had he had to borrow money.

   d. *The fact that never had he had to borrow money is well-known.

The following examples show that the politeness marking -mas- may occur in the three root environments (Miyagawa 2012a).

(8) a. Highest S

   Hanako-wa   ki-mas-u.

   Hanako-TOP   come-MAS-PRES

   'Hanako will come.'

   b. S dominated by highest S

   Hanako-ga   ki-mas-u   kara,   ie-ni   ite-kudasai.

   Hanako-NOM   come-MAS-PRES   because home-at be-please

   'Because Hanako will come, please be at home.'

c. Reported S in direct discourse

    Taroo-wa   Hanako-ga   ki-mas-u   to   itta.

    Taro-TOP   Hanako-NOM   come-MAS-PRES C   said

    'Taro said that Hanako will come.'

Finally, the following two examples demonstrate that *-mas-* `does not occur in non-root environments, such as the complement of 'believe' and 'deny'.`

(9) a. Taroo-wa   [Hanako-ga   kuru/*ki-*mas*-u   to]   sinzitei-ru.

       Taro- TOP   [Hanako- NOM come/come-PRES C_{NONFACT}   believe-PRES

       'Taro believes that Hanako will come.'

   b. Taroo-wa [Hanako-ga   kita/*ki-*mas*-u   koto]-o   hitei-sita.

       Taro- TOP [Hanako- NOM came/come-MAS-PRS   C_{FACT} -ACC   deny-PST

       'Taro denied that Hanako will come.'

Later in the chapter I will give a detailed analysis of the distribution of *-mas-* based on Hooper and Thompson's (1973) predicate categorization.

I propose that the reason for the differences between French and Japanese politeness marking has to do with Strong Uniformity and the variation it allows. The ϕ-feature starts out at C in both languages, and in French it is inherited by T, where it enters into agreement with the external argument and this argument is brought up to Spec,TP. In Japanese, the ϕ-feature stays at C. Instead of "looking down" to find the external

argument, it finds the representation of the addressee. Where is this representation? As I will argue, to deal with this kind of agreement at C that agrees with a discourse participant, we need to adopt Ross's Performative Analysis (1970), a modern version of which I will propose later in the chapter based on Speas and Tenny (2003) and a revision of it by Haegeman and Hill (2011). The "Speech Act Phrase," as the linguists refer to the modern rendition of the Performative Analysis, contains representations of the Speaker and the Addressee, and the latter functions as the goal for the φ-feature at C, making it possible to provide valuation of 2nd PERSON, COLLOQUIAM/FORMAL, and as we will see below, also NUMBER and GENDER, all familiar to a standard pronominal system. To provide argument for the politeness system of the type found in Japanese as φ-feature agreement at C, I turn to Basque, which offers the clearest case for this approach to politeness marking.

2. Allocutive agreement

Souletin, an eastern dialect of Basque, has the so-called allocutive agreement along with the familiar subject/object/indirect object agreement. The following, taken from Oyharçabal (1993), all mean 'Peter worked'.

(10) Four ways to say *Peter worked* in Souletin, an eastern dialect of Basque, depending on **who you're talking to** (Oyharçabal 1993)

                                                              allocutive agr.   subj. agr.
                                                                    ↓   ↓

a. *To a male friend*

   Pettek   lan   egin   di**k**.

   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   di**n**.

   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   di**zü**.

   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 four sentences have the same subject-verb agreement, 3rd person, singular, ergative, as expected. What is unusual is that there is another agreement, the so-called allocutive agreement, that varies from sentence to sentence, and this form of agreement marks levels of politeness, very much like the politeness marker *–mas-* in Japanese.[1] In (a), the allocutive agreement is 2nd person, singular, colloquial, masculine, and the sentence with this agreement would be uttered to a male friend; in (b) it is 2nd person, singular,

colloquial, feminine, and this sentence would be intended for a female friend; (c) is for someone higher in status than the speaker, and the allocutive agreement indicates this — 2nd person, singular, formal; (d) shows that there is no plural allocutive agreement. The allocutive agreement clearly agrees with the type of hearer to whom the sentence is uttered — male/female friend, male/female superior.

The allocutive agreement is authentic agreement, as we can see by the fact that it competes with the normal 2nd person agreement morpheme. If the sentence contains a 2nd person subject, object, etc., the allocutive agreement does not arise (Oyharçabal 1993). In Basque there can only be one 2nd person agreement (also only one 1st person agreement). In the following, no allocutive agreement is allowed because there is already a second person agreement that goes with the object or the subject.[2]

(11) a. (Nik   **hi**)   ikusi   **h**aut.

      (1.S.ERG **2.S.C.ABS**) see.PRF   AUX-**2.S.C.ABS**-1.S.ERG

      'I saw you.'

    b. (**Zuek**   ni)   ikusi   nai**zue**.

      (**2.P.ERG** 1.S.ABS)   see.PRF   AUX-1.S.ABS-**2.P.ERG**

      'You saw me.'

Hence, the 2nd person allocutive agreement is in direct competition with the "argument"

2nd person agreement, indicating that the allocutive agreement belongs to the regular

agreement system.

Another property of the allocutive agreement, one that links it to the politeness

marking in Japanese, is that it is limited to the main clause. In (6b), we can see that

placing an allocutive agreement within a RC is ungrammatical, and in (7b), complements

do not allow allocutive agreement.

Relative clause

(12) a. [Lo egiten duen]   gizona Manex   dun

        sleeping   AUX.3E.COMP man John   COP.3A.ALLOfem

        'The man [who is sleeping] is John.'

   b. *[Lo egiten dinan]   gizona   Manex   dun

        sleeping   AUX.3E.**ALLO**fem.COMP   man.the John   3A.COP.ALLOfem

Complementation

(13) 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**ALLO**fem.COMP

Moreover, the allocutive agreement is not allowed in the main clause if it is a question.

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(14) 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.**ALLO**fem.Q   your friend.ERG

Oyharçabal (1993) makes two observations based on the distribution of allocutive agreement we just observed. First, the allocutive agreement must be borne by C. In all the environments where the allocutive agreement is not allowed, there is a lexical C as, for example, in questions with a question morpheme.[3] This means that the allocutive agreement is in competition with material at C, which identifies the agreement as being borne by C. It is ultimately pronounced at T, as we can see by the fact that it is pronounced internal to the sequence that also contains the ergative agreement with the subject. But its effects are clearly exhibited at C, so that the location of pronunciation is something that occurs at PF. I also assume that allocutive agreement, by virtue of agreeing with an entity that, as we will see, is represented in a super-structure above the uttered sentence, is readily interpreted as being at C.

As further demonstration of the C-nature of the allocutive agreement, we saw that the agreement does not occur in questions even if it is a main clause. However, it turns out that in another dialect, Batua Basque, allocutive agreement may occur (Zu 2014).

(15) Batua Basque

    a. Lan egiten **al** di-⊘-k   hire lagunak.

work   Q   AUX-3SG.ERG-**ALLOC.M**   your friend.ERG

'Does your friend work?' said to a male friend

   b. Lan egiten **al** di-∅-n   hire lagunak.

    work   Q   AUX-3SG.ERG-**ALLOC.F**   your friend.ERG

   'Does your friend work?' said to a female friend

What is the difference between this dialect and Souletin? As Zu notes, in Batua Basque, the question particle **al** occurs away from C.

(16) a.   John ikusi **al** d-u-zu?   Batua Basque

         John see   Q   3.ABS-AUX-2SG.ERG

         'Have you seen John?'

    b.   John ikusi d-u-zu-**ia**?   Northeastern Basque (Souletin)

         John see   3.ABS-AUX-2SG.ERG-Q

         'Have you seen John?'

In (16a), we can see that the question particle **al** occurs mid-sentence and away from C, which occurs at the end of the sentence. On the other hand, in (16b), which is Souletin, called "Northern Basque" by Zu, the question particle, which is **ia** in this dialect, occurs right on C. This question particle blocks allocutive agreement from occurring in Souletin, but not in Batua Basque.

      Second point that Oyharçabal (1993) makes is that the Souletin allocutive agreement and its property of being borne by C makes it parallel to the politeness marker in Japanese, referring to Miyagawa (1987). In that article, I argued that the politeness

marker is associated with C. This correlation gives credence to the idea that the politeness

marker in Japanese is 2nd person φ-feature agreement borne by C, as predicted by Strong

Uniformity. Before giving the evidence that the politeness marker in Japanese is indeed

borne by C, I will briefly remark on how the allocutive agreement gets its valuation,

given that it is a formal agreement probe that requires a goal for valuation.

    In order to receive proper valuation, allocutive agreement requires a second person

"goal" (or "target") in the structure that corresponds to the addressee. This recalls Ross's

(1969) performative analysis, and I adopt a modern version of the performative analysis

proposed by Speas and Tenny (2003). The core claim of Speas and Tenny is that the

performative structure is implemented by a head, which they call "speech act" or "sa." I

will use a slightly revised version of the Speas and Tenny structure that is proposed by

Haegeman and Hill (2011).

(17)
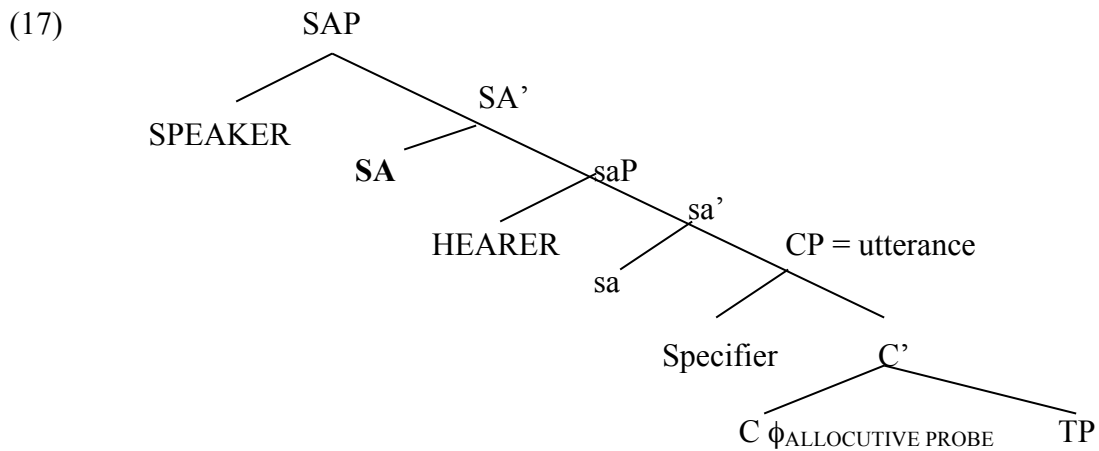
The "sa" head takes the actual utterance, CP, as its complement; the head of this CP, C,

has the φ-feature that will receive valuation. The "sa" head takes the HEARER in its

specifier, and after "sa" raises to the "shell" (marked by "SA"), the specifier of this shell contains the speaker.

The ϕ-feature undergoes raising to the higher SA head, possibly as a result of head raising of C. From this position, the ϕ-feature, a probe, c-commands its goal, HEARER, allowing it to be properly valued (Miyagawa 2012a). It also has the entire sentence in its scope and marks it as colloquial/formal.

(18)
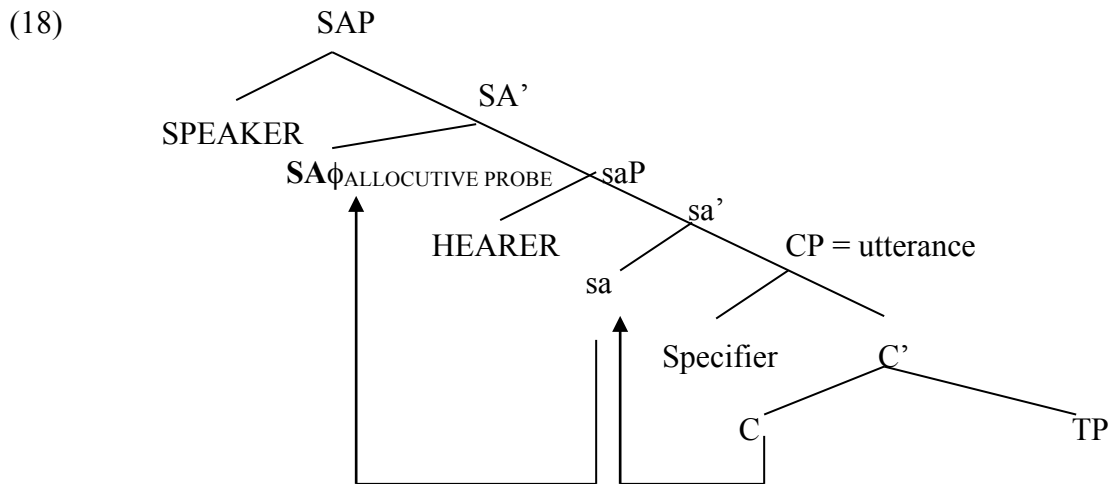
In Souletin, the goal contains information about gender, number, and level of politeness along with it being 2nd person; this is similar to the pronoun system found in Romance (e.g., *tu/vous*). See Miyagawa (2012a) for other arguments that the allocutive agreement occurs at C, and that it requires the kind of "super structure" shown above.

2.1. Politeness marking in Japanese as allocutive agreement

What led Oyharçabal (1993) to observe that the Souletin allocutive agreement correlates with the politeness marking in Japanese is the fact that the politeness marker –*mas*- (and

its nominal counterpart *–des-*) is borne by C. This, plus the fact that the allocutive

agreement and *–mas-* have the same politeness function, would naturally identify *–mas-*

as itself being an allocutive agreement that bears 2nd person valuation. This, in turn, gives

credence to the prediction of Strong Uniformity and feature inheritance — in Category I

languages such as Japanese, the ϕ-feature occurs at C. I now turn to the argument that *–*

mas- is borne by C.

The core observation in Miyagawa (1987) is that there is a variation in

grammaticality for wh-questions with and without the politeness marker.

(19) Dare-ga   ki-*mas*-u   *ka?*   (FORMAL)

    who-NOM   come-MAS-PRES Q

    'Who will come?'

(20) *Dare-ga   kuru   *ka?*   (COLLOQUIAL)

    who- NOM   come   Q

    'Who will come?'

In (19), the verb contains the politeness marker *–mas-* and the wh-question with the

question particle *ka* is fine, but in (20), the same question without the politeness marker is

degraded. To ask this question, one must resort to some other form of the question

without *ka*, such as rising intonation or the alternative question particle *no*.[4]

What is wrong with (20) is that the question particle *ka* is not selected.

(21) *ka* must be selected by a head.

We can see this in the following contrast between bridge and nonbridge matrix verbs.[5]

Bridge/Non-Bridge verbs

(22) a.   Bill-wa   [CP dare-ga   kuru *ka*]   itta.

          Bill- TOP   who-NOM   come Q   said

          'Bill said who will come.'

    b. ?*Bill-wa [CP dare-ga   kuru *ka*]   donatta.
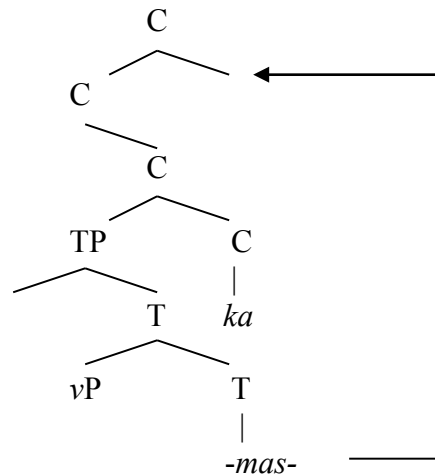
        Bill- TOP   John- NOM come Q   shouted

        'Bill shouted who will come.'

As shown, only bridge verbs allow *ka*, which suggests that *ka* must be selected by a head. Returning to the contrast in (19/20), given that *ka* must be selected, and the occurrence of the politeness marker in (19) makes that possible, I argued that this must be due to the fact that the politeness marker selectes *ka*. In Miyagawa (1987), I suggested that –*mas*- excorporates at LF and raises to a position above *ka*.

(23) *-mas-* (Miyagawa 1987)

The politeness suffix begins in the region of T, and raises to CP. This is a form of

LF affix raising (cf. Pesetsky 1983, Kitagawa 1986).

```
              C
           ／    ＼
         C          ＜────────┐
          ＼                   │
            C                  │
          ／  ＼               │
       TP       C             │
     ／  ＼      │             │
           T    ka            │
         ／ ＼                 │
       vP     T               │
              │               │
            -mas- ────────────┘
```

Not only does this account for the grammaticality of (19), it also places the politeness

marker in the position in which it has the entire sentence within its domain. This is the

correct interpretation because *–mas-* marks the entire sentence as polite.

Recall that in Souletin Basque, the allocutive agreement does not occur in questions

because the Q particle already occurs on C; this is different from Batua Basque that

allows the allocutive agreement on C because the Q particle in this dialect occurs away

from C. In Japanese, the C particle *ka* occurs on C, yet the allocutive *-mas-* may occur as

well. The reason is that in Japanese, multiple C heads are allowed. Thus, a sequence such

as *to-ka* 'C-Q' is possible. Such a multiple C structure is never found in Basque (Arregi,

personal communication). The structure in (15) is an instantiation of the multiple C

structure in Japanese.

We can map this analysis of the allocutive agreement to the "performative analysis" using Speas and Tenny's structure, revised by Haegeman and Hill, in (17/18) for allocutive agreement. In doing so, I am following the hint that Harada (1976) gave when he called -*mas*- (and its nominal counterpart -*des*-) "performative" honorific. Instead of raising the politeness marker at LF as suggested in Miyagawa (1987), we can assume, along the lines suggested for Basque, that it originates at C as a ϕ-feature probe that raises to the "sa" head, where it is given the valuation of 2nd person formal. I have made the structure head-final to reflect the Japanese word order.

(24)
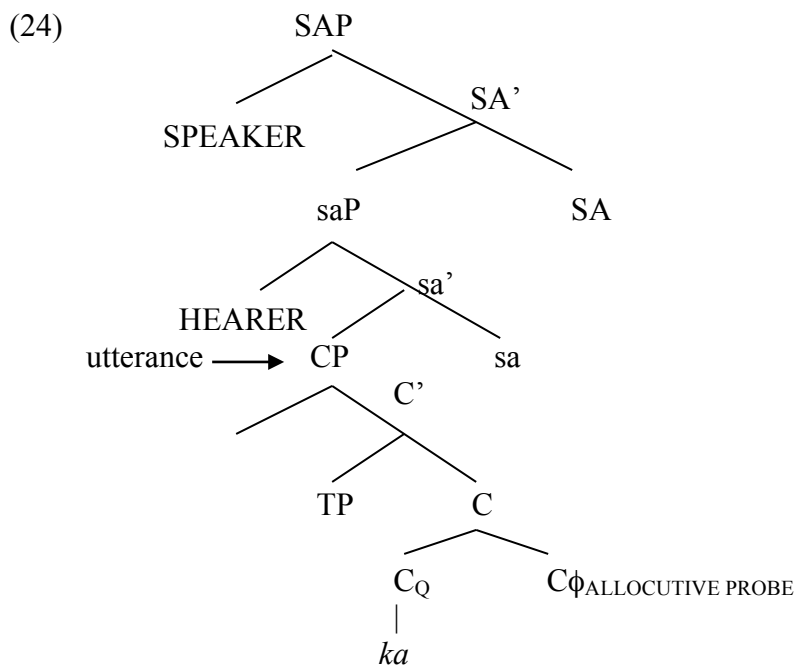
In Japanese, only the formal form, –*mas*-, is associated with the ϕ-feature probe that forms an allocutive agreement, while in Souletin, both formal and colloquial styles have allocutive agreement.[6,7]

Finally, if *-mas-* is indeed a φ-feature probe like allocutive agreement in Souletin, it requires the "super structure" created by the "sa" head, as shown above. This makes the prediction that *–mas-* cannot occur in embedded contexts where *ka* must be selected by a matrix verb. This prediction is borne out.

(25) Bill-wa   [CP dare-ga   kuru/*ki-*mas*-u   *ka*]   tazuneta.

  Bill-TOP   who-NOM   come/come-MAS-PRES Q   asked

  'Bill said who will come.'

We see that the indirect-question construction is ungrammatical with *–mas-*. Why is this? On our analysis, the reason is that, in order to give valuation to the allocutive-agreement -*mas-*, there must occur a super structure above the CP that contains the speech act head and all the concomitant structure that it creates (see (24)). As a result, in this example, what the matrix verb 'ask' takes is not the interrogative CP with *ka*, but the super structure with saP. The interrogative CP occurs inside this saP, and is inaccessible to the matrix verb because of all the structure created by "sa." As a result, selectional requirement of the matrix verb fails to be met and the sentence is ungrammatical.

2.2. Further evidence for the speech act projection: Jingpo and Newari

  Zu (forthcoming) presents evidence beyond Basque for the existence of the speech act projection (saP). The data comes from two Tibeto-Burman languages, Jingpo, spoken in Myanmar, and Newari, spoken in Nepal.

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2.2.1. Jingpo

Jingpo has agreement that goes with the subject and, under the right circumstance, also with the object. In addition, this language has "speaker" agreement that has the form of the 1st person plural agreement. This agreement, which apparently can only appear in the root clause (Vera Zu, personal communication), is optional, and when it appears, the subject agreement may not occur. All agreements occur on a sentence final particle.

(26) Subject vs. speaker agreement in Jingpo (Dai 2010:5)

   a. Jongma du   hkum   ma-s-ai

      student arrive   complete PL-PERF-3:DECL

     'The students have all arrived.'   (subject agreement, neutral)

   b. Jongma du   hkum   sa-**ga**-ai

      student arrive complete PERF-**1PL**-DECL

     'The students have all arrived.'   (speaker agreement, bonding)

(26a) has the normal subject agreement, and the sentence has neutral interpretation relative to the speaker. In (26b), the occurrence of the speaker agreement implies a close relation, or "bonding," between the speaker and the subject of the sentence, students. As Zu describes it, if a teacher reports to the principle about the students having arrived using (26a), it is simply a statement about the state of affairs. But if the teacher uses (26b), along with the fact that the students have arrived, the teacher conveys the meaning that the teacher has a close relationship with the students. This expression of bonding is made possible by the agreement linking the speaker in the speech act projection to the

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proposition. In other languages, a similar effect may obtain by using a diminutive. Just as in Basque, the target of the speaker agreement is covert since the elements of the saP are typically unpronounced.

(27) The target of speaker agreement must be covert in Jingpo

    (*Ngai) jongma du   hkum   sa-**ga**-ai

    I   student arrive   complete   PERF-**1PL**-DECL

    'The students have all arrived.'   (speaker agreement, covert speaker)

Zu gives two arguments that the speaker agreement is true agreement, just as we saw for the allocutive agreement in Basque. First, the speaker agreement has the same morphological form, *ga*, as the normal 1st person plural agreement. Following are examples of plural subject agreement showing this *ga* agreement.

(28) Subject agreement with first person pronouns in Jingpo (Dai and Xu 1992:125,162)

   a. (Anhte) masum lang hti   sa-**ga**-ai

     we   three   time read PERF-**1PL**.DECL

     'We have read (it) three times.' (subject agreement, optional speaker)

   b. Daina go (anhte) yong datshin sa yu mo nga **ga**-ai.

     tonight TOP we   all   movie go see plan IMPF **1PL**.DECL

     'We all plan to go see a movie tonight.' (subject agreement, optional speaker)

We might ask, why is the speaker agreement plural instead of singular? It may be to allow for an inclusive interpretation, something akin to the use of *we* in English in a sentence such as *How are we doing?* to ask how the addressee is doing.

Second argument given by Zu that the speaker agreement is part of the regular agreement system in Jingpo has to do with a phenomenon similar to what we saw in Basque. In Jingpo, there are forms for agreement that go with 1st person subject and non-1st person (indirect) object. If the object is also a 1st person, there is no agreement form that targets both the 1st person subject and the 1st person object.

(29) The perfective-final particles, first person subject (Dai and Xu 1992: 280, 287)

Subject	(Indirect) object	Singular	Plural
1	No object	*sangai*	*sagaai*
1	1	—	—
1	2	*sinde ai*	*masinde ai*
1	3	*se ai*	*mase ai*

In cases where both the subject and the object refer to the first person, the sentence-final particle only agrees with the subject.

(30) Ngai anhte-hpe   hkyen ton   ya   sa-**ng**-ai.

   I   we-OBJ   prepare   APPL   PERF-1SG-DECL

   'I have already prepared for us.'

As evidence that the speaker agreement is part of the regular agreement system, Zu points out that the speaker agreement and 1st person subject agreement are mutually exclusive. Below, there is 1st person subject, only the subject agreement may occur.

(31) Speaker agreement and 1st person subject agreement are mutually exclusive

   a. Ngai du   sa-**ng**-ai.

     I   arrive   PERF-1SG-DECL

     'I have arrived.'

   b. *Ngai   du   sa-**ga**-ai.

     I   arrive   PERF-1PL-DECL

     (Int.) 'I have arrived.'

2.2.2. Newari

Newari verb suffixes encode both tense and the so-called conjunct-disjunct distinction (Hale 1980, DeLancey 1992, Hargreaves 2005).

(32) Verbal inflection in Newari (Hargreaves 2005)

Verb suffixes	Past	Nonpast
Conjunct	ā	e
Disjunct	a	i

These are illustrated below.

(33) a. wõ: [wa   ana wan-**ã**   dhakã:] dhãla

(s)he.ERG (s)he there go-PST.CONJ   that   said

'(S)he$_i$ said that (s)he$_{i/*j}$ went there.'   (co-indexation)

b. wõ: [wa   ana wan-**a**   dhakã:] dhãla

(s)he. ERG (s)he there go-PST.DISJ that   said

'(S)he$_i$ said that (s)he$_{*i/j}$ went there.'   (disjoint reference)

In (33a), the subordinate verb is inflected for conjunct, which indicates coreference

between the subordinate subject and the matrix subject. The occurrence of the disjunct

inflection in (33b) indicates disjunction between the two subjects.

Evidence for the saP comes from observing the verbal inflection in matrix clauses.

(34) Main declarative clauses in Newari

a. ji ana wan- **ã**   /   wan-**e**

I there go-PST.CONJ / go-FUT.CONJ

'I went/will go there.'   (Decl: subject = speaker ... conjunct)

b. cha ana   wan-**a**   /   wan-**i**

you there go-PST.DISJ / go-FUT.DISJ

'You went/will go there.'   (Decl: subject = addressee ... disjunct)

c. wa   ana   wan-**a**   /   wan-**i**

(s)he there   go-PST.DISJ / go-FUT.DISJ

'(S)he went/will go there.'   (Decl: subject = 3rd ... disjunct)

In (34a), the matrix subject is 1st person, and the verbal inflection encodes conjunct, which indicates the existence of a 1st person item higher in the structure. This would be the SPEAKER in the saP. In (34b, c), the subject is 2nd person and 3rd person respectively, and as expected, the verb carries the disjunct inflection.

While the conjunct/disjunct inflection provides clear argument for the existence of the saP, there is one interesting wrinkle to the pattern of agreement. As Zu notes, when the matrix clause is a question, we get the opposite agreement pattern.

(35) Main interrogative clauses in Newari

    a. ji ana   wan-**a**   /   wan-**i**   lã

       I there go-PST.DISJ / go-FUT.DISJ   Q

       'Did/Will I go there? (I don't remember.)'

       (Intr: subject = speaker ... disjunct)

    b. cha ana wan-**ã̱**   /   wan-**e**   lā

       you there go-PST.CONJ / go-FUT.CONJ Q

       'Did/Will you go there?' (Intr: subject = addressee ... conjunct)

    c. wa ana   wan-**a**   / wan-**i**   lã

       (s)he there go-PST.DISJ / go-FUT.DISJ   Q

       'Did/Will (s)he go there?'   (Intr: subject = 3rd ... disjunct)

In these yes-no questions, when the subject is 1st person ((35a)), the disjunct inflection shows up, while in (35b) in which the subject is 2nd person, the conjunct inflection appears. (35c), with 3rd person subject, has the disjunct inflection. Zu suggests that what is going on here is an indication of an additional projection within saP, which Speas and

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Tenny (2003) call the "seat of knowledge" in the sentient layer of the projection. This projection indicates who holds the knowledge contained in the sentence. It is the speaker in the case of a declarative, and the hearer in the case of an interrogative.

(36) The sentient layer (Speas and Tenny 2003)

a. [SPEAKER [sa [ADDRESSEE [SA [SEAT OF KNOWLEDGE [sen [CP ...

    The Speech Act layer   The Sentience layer   main clause

b. [Matrix subject [v ... [SEAT OF KNOWLEDGE [sen [CP ...

    main clause   The Sentience layer   complement clause
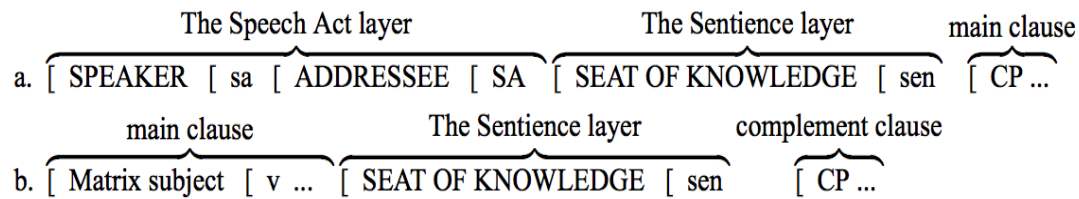
In the matrix clause, the sentient layer occurs right above the main clause, while in the embedded structure, the same layer may occur as part of the subordinate structure. Zu suggests that the pattern of agreement we see in Newari is indication that the conjunct/disjunct agreement is sensitive to what the seat of knowledge is coindexed with, the speaker in the indicative and the hearer in the interrogative.

(37) Declarative and interrogative sentences and the seat of knowledge
a. Declarative: Speaker$_i$ ... Addressee ... Seat of knowledge$_i$ ... Subject$_i$ ... V$_{conj}$
b. Interrogative: Speaker ... Addressee$_i$ ... Seat of knowledge$_i$ ... Subject$_i$ ... V$_{conj}$

3. Two counterexamples

Returning to the analysis of the question particle -*ka* in wh-questions in Japanese,

Yokoyama (2013) presents two counterexamples to the observation that a wh-question in

the colloquial style cannot have *ka*, as we saw earlier and repeated below.

(38) Dare-ga   ki-*mas*-u   *ka*? (FORMAL)

     who-NOM   come-MAS-PRES Q

     'Who will come?'

(39) *Dare-ga   kuru   *ka*?   (COLLOQUIAL)

     who-NOM   come   Q

     'Who will come?'

Yokoyama notes that the following are fine.

(40) Dare-ga   kuru   ka   naa?

     who- NOM come   Q   PRT

     'I wonder who will come.'

(41) Dare-ga   kuru   ka!

     who- NOM come   Q

     'No one will come!'

In (40), the particle *naa* makes the sentence into a conjectural question. (41) is a rhetorical question that asserts a statement although the sentence is interrogative in form. Yokoyama proposes that the Q-particle in these examples has a function that is fundamentally different from a standard question marker because, according to him, in both of the examples above, *ka* makes an assertion as opposed to marking a standard, information-seeking question. Yokoyama suggests that the condition that *ka* must be selected (Miyagawa 1987) only applies to the non-assertive *ka*.

Contrary to Yokoyama's observation, the conjectural question seems to be more of a question than an assertion. We can easily account for the grammatical nature of the conjectural question by presuming that the particle *naa* is a head that licenses *ka* without the need for the politeness marker. In this way, *naa* is functioning like a matrix verb such as *sitteiru* 'know' that selects the *ka* head. The more interesting case is the rhetorical question. No doubt Yokoyama is correct that the rhetorical question has a function of assertion and *ka* here is part of the construction that marks such assertion. Very clearly, the rhetorical *-ka* has a function different from the standard question particle *-ka*. Let us look at its properties.

Note that the rhetorical question has a negative connotation (no one will come) despite the fact that there is no overt negation in the sentence. Oguro (2015) accounts for this negative connotation by proposing that the rhetorical *ka* contains a negative feature. Striking support for this comes from the fact that *ka* licenses NPIs.

(42) Daremo   kuru   ka!

     anyone   come   Q

     'No one will come!'

This example is particularly noteworthy because in Japanese, NPIs must be licensed by

an explicit negative element; it cannot be licensed in other downward entailing

environments as in English. The fact that the NPI is licensed in (42) strongly supports

Oguro's contention that the rhetorical *ka* itself contains negation.[8]

     Along with the negative connotation, the rhetorical question also strongly asserts

the speaker's conviction about the event or the situation. Oguro suggests that this

emotional conviction comes from the modal *mono* (Goto 2012), which is sometimes used

in exclamatory sentences. This *mono* can be silent, but it is always there to mark the

exclamation.

(43) Taroo-mo   tosi-o   totta   mono   da!

     Taro-also   age-ACC   took   MOD   COP

     'Taro has aged!'

As Oguro notes, because of this conviction on the part of the speaker, an adverb such as

zettaini 'definitely' is compatible with the rhetorical question, but an adverb that

indicates the speaker's uncertainty, such as *hyottositara* 'maybe', is incompatible.

(44) a. Zettaini   daremo   kuru   (mono)   ka!

definitely anyone come MOD Q

'Definitely no one will come!'

b. ??Hyottositara daremo kuru (mono) ka!

maybe anyone come MOD Q

'Maybe no one will come!'

Oguro suggests that *mono*, which contributes the exclamatory meaning, has the POV feature (Chou 2012) that is valued by the discourse role of SPEAKER as represented in the Speech Act structure.

(45) [$_{saP}$ SPEAKER [$_{CP}$ [$_{MOD}$ [$_{TP}$ daremo ku-ru] mono$_{[POV/SPEAKER]}$] ka$_{[+negative]}$] sa^0]

While *mono*, overt or covert, is licensed by the SPEAKER in the speech act projection, I argued that –*mas*- is licensed by the HEARER. These are not mutually incompatible, as we see in the example below that contains both.

(46) Dare-ga ki-mas-u ka!

who-NOM come-MAS-PRES Q

'No one will come!'

Both the standard question particle and the rhetorical -*ka* occur within the saP. While the standard question particle needs the politeness marking to project the saP, which in turn furnishes the sa head to license -*ka,* in the case of the rhetorical question, the modal for

exclamation, *mono*, which may be covert, projects the saP, making it unnecessary for the rhetorical question *-ka* to have the politeness marking.

4. Root phenomena

In this section, I will look carefully at the distribution of the allocutive agreement *–mas-*. We saw that the allocutive agreement in Souletin is limited to non-interrogative main clauses. The politeness marker *–mas-* in Japanese has a wider distribution, although still within a narrow range of possibilities. The rhetorical *ka* that we just looked at essentially shares the same distribution. Given that both must be licensed by the occurrence of the speech act projection, the distribution of *–mas-* is an indication of where the speech act projection may occur. As I have noted in an earlier work (Miyagawa 2012a), the speech act projection may appear precisely in those environments that Emonds (1969) originally defined as root. Below, I will extend my earlier work to include one domain for root that Emonds did not identify.

Emonds (1969) 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.

(47)   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)

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 1976, 2004, 2012).

(48) a. Never had I had to borrow money.

b. Because never had I had to borrow money, I have a lot saved.

c. John said that never had he had to borrow money.

d. *The fact that never had he had to borrow money is well-known.

The first example is the "highest S"; the second example with *because* is S immediately dominated by the highest S"; and the third example is S in direct discourse. The final example does not fit any of the environments for root, hence a root transformation cannot apply.

Contrary to Emonds, Hooper and Thompson (1973) argue that there is no need to distinguish between the two types of domains, root and non-root; they show that much of what Emonds noted follow from semantic/pragmatic factors. Hooper and Thompson (1973) point out that root transformations apply in a wider variety of clauses than what Emonds called root clauses. The following shows that NCP may apply in the subordinate clause of *find out*, an environment that does not fit any of Emonds's environments for root.

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

Hooper and Thompson propose an alternative based on the observation that the root transformations that Emonds identified all involve some sort of emphasis.

(50) Root transformations (Emonds 1969)

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, the same as topicalization. Based on this observation, Hooper and Thompson propose that the so-called root transformations 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, p. 472). Root transformations are incompatible with presupposed clauses, and this is why (48d) above, a complex NP headed by *fact*, does not allow root transformations because the complement of *fact* is naturally presupposed, not asserted.[9]

To demonstrate their point that it is the notion of assertion that is operative in allowing root transformations, Hooper and Thompson (H&T) test for root transformations in five environments, A-E below.

(51) 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 their complement is neither asserted nor presupposed. Class D verbs likewise express assertion, and their complement is presupposed. Finally, Class E verbs are called "semi-factive" and their complement is not always presupposed. They show that root transformations (RTs) are possible in the complement clause in those classes where the complement can express assertion, namely, A, B, and E.

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

(53)   I think that this book, he read thoroughly. (B)

(54)   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.

(55) *It's likely that seldom did he drive that car. (C) (H&T (96))

(56) *He was surprised that never in my life had I seen a hippopotamus. (D) (H&T (103))

In Miyagawa (2012a), I argued that while Hooper and Thompson are essentially correct in their critique of Emonds's work, it turns out that there is a completely different set of data that provides support for Emonds's original conception of root. This data involves speech act projection, and in particular, the politeness marker –*mas*- that the speech act projection makes possible. As we can see below, the distribution of the politeness marker –*mas*- fits exactly Emonds's characterization of root. Much of this has already been noted by Harada (1976), though he does not relate –*mas*- to Emonds's root phenomena.

(57) a. Highest S

Hanako-wa   ki-mas-u.

Hanako-TOP   come-MAS-PRES

'Hanako will come.'

   b. S dominated by highest S

Hanako-ga   ki-mas-u   kara,   ie-ni   ite-kudasai.

Hanako-NOM   come-MAS-PRES   because   home-at   be-please

'Because Hanako will come, please be at home.'

   c. Reported S in direct discourse

Taroo-wa   Hanako-ga   ki-mas-u   to   itta.

Taro-TOP   Hanako-NOM   come-MAS-PRES C   said

'Taro said that Hanako will come.'

No other environment tolerates –*mas*-, save one, which I will take up later. Before presenting the data, one thing we must note about Japanese is that asserted and presupposed clauses are often distinguished, though by no means always, by the type of complementizer that heads the clause.

(58)   Complementizers in Japanese (see Kuno 1973, McCawley 1978, etc.)

   to: non-factive (=not presupposed)

   koto/no: factive (=presupposed)

When we compare complementizer selection in Japanese with the five categories in Hooper and Thompson's classification, we find that the five verb classes in H&T cluster precisely into two groups, those that allow RTs and those that do not. As shown below, while A, B, and E, which allow RTs, may take *to* or *koto*, C and D are limited to *koto*.

(59) A: *to, koto*

   B: *to, koto*

   C: *koto*

   D: *koto*

   E: *to, koto*

What we see is that those verb classes whose complements allow RTs (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 on the fact that Mary will miss the meeting*).

The following, taken from Miyagawa (2012a), are based on Hooper and Thompson's classification of verbs. Only Class A, which contains verbs whose subordinate clause is equivalent to direct discourse, allows –*mas*-. Harada (1976) already noted that –*mas*- may occur in subordinate clauses although its distribution is highly limited, essentially noting what we see below.

(60)   Class A (see Harada 1976)

Taroo-wa   Hanako-ga   kuru/ki-mas-u   to   syutyoosita.

Taro-TOP   Hanako-NOM   come/come-MAS-PRES   C$_{NONFACT}$ exclaimed

'Taro exclaimed that Hanako will come.

(61)   Class B

Taroo-wa   [Hanako-ga   kuru/*ki-*mas*-u   to]   sinzitei-ru.

Taro- TOP [Hanako- NOM   come/come-PRES   C$_{NONFACT}$ believe-PRES

'Taro believes that Hanako will come.'

(62)   Class C

Taroo-wa   [Hanako-ga   kita/*ki-*mas*-u   koto]-o   hitei-sita.

Taro- TOP   [Hanako- NOM come/come-MAS-PRS   C$_{FACT}$ -ACC   deny-PAST

'Taro denied that Hanako will come.'

(63) Class D

Taroo-wa   [Hanako-ga   kita/*ki-*mas*-i-ta   koto]-ni   odoroi-ta.

Taro-TOP   [Hanako-NOM came/come-MAS-PAST C_FACT-DAT surprise-PAST

'Taro was surprised that Hanako came.'

(64) CLASS E

Taroo-wa [sono hikooki-ga tuirakusita/*tuirakusi-mas-i-ta koto]-o

Taro-TOP   that plane-NOM fall/fall-MAS-PAST   C_FACT-ACC

sira-nakat-ta.

know-NEG- PAST

'Taro didn't know that the airplane fell down.' (adapted from Harada's (104b))

We saw above that only Class A subordinate clauses allow –*mas*-. Another of Emonds's environments for roots is S directly dominated by another S, and we saw earlier that that the *because* clause is an instance of this root environment. As Harada (1976) has already noted, -*mas*- is possible in this environment (his example is with –*des*-, which is the nominal counterpart to –*mas*-. I add a second example with –*mas*-).

(65) <u>Hima *des-i-ta* kara</u>   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)

(66) <u>Hanako-g*a*   ki-*mas*-u   kara</u>,   uti-ni   ite-kudasai.

Hanako-NOM come-MAS-PRES because home-at   be-please

'Because Hanako will come, please be at home.'

Emonds's original conception of root was effectively countered by Hooper and Thompson (1973), who showed that root transformations apply in environments that can be interpreted as an assertion, and asserted environments are possible in a wider variety of constructions than what Emonds envisioned.[10] However, what we just observed is that the allocutive agreement –*mas*- fits precisely Emonds's original conception. This is an indication that what Emonds proposed in 1969 is a statement about the distribution of the speech act projection. Taken as such, Emonds's original conception is verified as capturing an important generalization.

As Oguro (2015) points out, the rhetorical *ka* that we looked at earlier is also limited to roots. It cannot be embedded except as a quote in direct discourse.

(67) Taroo-wa   dare-ga   kuru   (mono) ka   to   itta.

      Taro-TOP   who-NOM   come   MOD   Q   C   said

      'Taro said no one will come!'

(68) *Boku-wa [$_{saP}$ daremo ku-ru   mono ka to] sinzite-iru

       I-TOP   anyone come-PRS MOD Q   C believe

      'I believe that no one will come.'

Just as with the politeness marker –*mas-*, the rhetorical *mono-ka* depends on the speech act projection, hence it is limited to occurring in root environments. The one exception is that the rhetorical question does not occur in the *because* clause.

(69) *Daremo   kuru mono   ka da   kara   tumaranai.

    anyone   come MOD   Q COP   because boring

    'Because no one will come, it will be boring.'

I presume that this is due simply to a constraint on the grammar: *ka* and *kara* 'because'

occur at C, and they cannot both appear at the same time. The same is observed with the

complementizer *to*.

(70) *Hanako-ga   kuru   to   kara,   ansinsita.

     Hanako-NOM   come   C   because relieved

    'I was relieved because-that Hanako will come.'

4.1. Attitudinal and style adverbs in English

Is there anything in English that parallels what we observed for the allocutive agreement

in Japanese and Basque? There is one phenomenon in English observed by Amano

(1999) that precisely matches the allocutive agreement in apparently only being able to

occur in Emonds's original root environments (and the reason-clause). Following

Greenbaum (1969) and Quirk et al (1972, 1985), Amano distinguishes between

"attitudinal" and "style" adverbs.[11]

(71) *attitudinal*

    apparently, certainly, definitely, evidently, annoyingly, astonishingly…

    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., (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.

Attitudinal (Amano 1999: 206)

(72) 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's original characterization, plus the reason-clause. First, style adverbs are compatible with all types of main clauses (Amano 1999: 210).

(73) 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.

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

Amano goes on to point out that the style adverb is only compatible with Emonds's 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 (see also Jackendoff 1972 and Cinque 1999, 2004).

(75) 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).

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

Very clearly, Amano discovered for English a way to distinguish speech act structures from non-SA structures that allow RTs. Why should style adverbs require the speech act 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 requirement of the speaker would be expressed explicitly in the speech act projection.

4.2. Relative clause: another root

As we have seen, Harada (1976) identified the distribution of –*mas*- that fits Emonds's original conception of root. Along with the three environments, Harada notes the following example (I changed the English translation slightly to reflect the fact that this is a relative clause).

(77) Watasi-wa mizu-tama-moyoo-no ari-*mas*-u   kami-ga   hosi-i   to

      I-TOP   polka dots   exist-MAS-PRES   paper-NOM want   C

      omoi-mas-u.

      think-MAS-PRES

      'I want the paper that has polka dots.'

The relative clause thus appears to be another environment that qualifies as a root.

Hooper & Thompson had noticed that certain relative clauses allow root transformations. Keeping to their assumption that asserted clauses allow root transformations, they suggest that non-restrictive relative clauses and relative clauses with an indefinite head, but not a definite one, can be asserted. The difference between restrictive and non-restive relative clauses, both with a definite head, are illustrated below from their work.

(78) *The car that only rarely did I drive is in excellent condition.

(79)   This car, which only rarely did I drive, is in excellent condition.

If we look again at Harada's example in (77) above, it is semantically a restrictive relative clause, and as indicated by the translation, "the paper that has polka dots," the head can be definite, although it can just as well be interpreted as indefinite. In other words, the occurrence of –*mas*- inside the relative clause appears to be independent of the requirement of "assertion" that Hooper and Thompson found for such transformations as topicalization and NCP. This is what we predict based on the idea that the allocutive agreement is licensed by SA, not assertion.

As it turns out, stylistic adverbs in English, which we saw above can only occur in the original environments noted by Emonds, may also occur in a relative clause.

(80)   a. I hired a student who, frankly, no one else would hire.

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b. I'm reviewing a manuscript for a journal that, honestly, should not have been submitted in the first place.

If we consider the original environments that Emonds noted, repeated below, there is a simple way in which the relative clause can comprise a natural member of this set.

(81) 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)

What all of these have in common is that they are all unselected. A *because* clause is not selected by a head, nor is a direct quote. A relative clause, with its modification function, is by nature an adjunct, thus unselected. We thus have the following definition for root.

(82) An unselected clause constitutes a root.

This simple definition has intuitive appeal: after all, the simplest example of the root is the main clause, which, by nature, is unselected. What we have seen is that there are other environments similar to a main clause where a clause is not selected, hence it functions as a root. As a root, these environments allow the speech act projection to occur, which licenses such phenomena as allocutive agreement and certain types of adverbs. Below, I will give further evidence that the occurrence of the allocutive agreement in relative

clauses is independent of H&T's conception of MCP. But first, we need to look closely at the distribution of various types of topicalization in different languages.

5. Types of topicalization

Recall that that following are some languages predicted by Strong Uniformity.

(83) Some predicted languages

Category I: $C\phi, T\delta$ – Japanese

Category II: $C\delta, T\phi$ – Chinese, English

Category III: $C, T\phi/\delta$ – Spanish

Category IV: $C\phi/\delta, T$ – Dinka

So far, we have focused on the occurrence of ϕ-feature agreement particularly at C. Let us turn to the distribution of the δ-feature. We will look particularly at topicalization in various constructions including the relative clause, where we will see a separation between topicalization and the root phenomenon of allocutive agreement, thus showing that the ability of the allocutive agreement to occur in relative clauses is independent of considerations of assertion as H&T suggest.

Before we go any further, it would be helpful to clarify terminology. Emonds (1969) proposed his definition of root by presenting numerous operations that he identified as only occurring in the root domain, the so-called root transformations. H&T

pointed out that the distribution of those root transformations are not defined by Emonds's original conception of the root, but instead, these operations occur whenever a clause has an assertive meaning. H&T demonstrate that such asserted contexts that allow RTs are not limited to the environments Emonds specified as root. What we have seen is that while H&T is correct about the root transformations as occurring in clauses with asserted meaning, there is an entirely different set of data, the allocutive agreement in Japanese and stylistic adverbs in English (and presumably others) that have a root distribution as originally defined by Emonds. I will use "root" for the domains Emonds originally defined, so that the allocutive agreement and the stylistic adverb in English are root phenomena. For the operations that are dependent on clauses with asserted meaning, I will introduce the term assertion-dependent phenomena (ADP). The key point is that root phenomena and assertion-dependent phenomena are distinct and one is not dependent on the other in any way.

Recent work on topicalization has shown that it isn't a uniform phenomenon, but rather, there are three types of topicalization (Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl 2007: 87-88).

(84) Three types of topics

    (a) Aboutness topic: "what the sentence is about" (Reinhart, 1981; Lambrecht, 1994); in particular a constituent that is "newly introduced, newly changed or newly returned to" (Givón, 1983:8), a constituent which is proposed as "a matter of standing and current interest or concern" (Strawson, 1964);

    (b) Contrastive topic: an element that induces alternatives which have no impact on the focus value and creates oppositional pairs with respect to other topics (Kuno, 1976; Büring, 1999);

    (c) Familiar topic: a given or accessible (cf. Chafe, 1987) constituent, which is typically destressed and realized in a pronominal form (Pesetsky, 1987); when a familiar topic is textually given and d-linked with a pre-established aboutness topic, it is defined as a continuing topic (cf. Givón, 1983).

These three types of topics are not so easily discernible, but in Japanese, these three topics are marked distinctly, so they are easy to distinguish. Aboutness topics are marked with destressed –*wa*, while contrastive topics are marked with stressed –*wa* (Kuno 1973). Familiar topic is scrambling to the head of the sentence.

(85) a. Aboutness topic

      Akai kuruma-wa   Taroo-ga   aratta.

      red   car-TOP   Taro-NOM   washed

      'As for the red car, Taro washed it.'

   b. Contrastive topic

      Akai kuruma-WA   Taroo-ga   aratta.

      red   car-CONTR.TOP   Taro-NOM   washed

      'The red car, Taro washed (but the blue car, Hanako washed).'

   c. Akai kuruma-o   Taroo-ga   aratta.

      red   car-ACC   Taro-NOM   washed

      'The red car, Taro washed.'

How does this typology of topics relate to the typology of languages under Strong Uniformity? For Type I (Japanese), if we ignore the typology of topics, we would say that the δ-feature of topic lowers to T. But that turns out to be only partially right. Bianchi and Frascarelli (2010:82) propose that Aboutness topics are a root phenomenon, or what we are calling assertion-dependent phenomenon (ADP). Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa (2014) extend this proposal with the following statement, which I have revised in view of the new root/assertion-based terminology (A: aboutness; C: contrastive; G: given/familiar).

(86)   Distribution of topics

　　(i)　Aboutness topics must occur in the C region;

　　(ii)　The position of Contrastive topics and Familiar topics depends on the type

　　　of language.

What this says is that Aboutness (A) topics are not subject to the typological variation under Strong Uniformity; they always occur in what H&T call root contexts; for us this means that A-topics universally occur in the C region. The typological variation due to inheritance of the δ-feature relates only to Contrastive (C) and Familiar (F) topics. Let us see the distribution of topics in the I and II Category languages; we begin with II (English).

Recall that the environments that H&T identified as allowing assertion-based phenomena are A, B, and E, repeated below.

(87) 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.

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For Category II (English), in which the δ-feature stays at C, we predict that topicalization, regardless of its type, cannot occur in subordinate clauses of C and D predicates. This is shown below (Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa 2014).[12] We can see that while Class A, B, and E predicates allow all forms of topicalization, Classes C and D do not allow any topicalization. The (a) examples are A- or F- topics, while the (b) examples are C-topics.

Class A:

(88) a. Mary said that those books, she will read today.

      b. Mary said that those books, she will read, but not these.

Class B:

(89) a. Mary believes that those books, she could read today.

      b. Mary believes that those books, she could read, but not these.

Class E:

(90) a. Mary realized that those books, she could read today.

      b. Mary realized that those books, she could read, but not these.

Class C:

(91) a. ?*Mary denied that those books, she will read today.

      b. *Mary denied that those books, she will read, but not these.

(92) a. *It is impossible that those books, John will read by the end of the week.

      b. *It is impossible that those books, John read, but not these.

Class D:

(93) a. *Mary resents that those books, John read while on vacation.

b. *Mary resents that those books, John read, but not these.

(94) a. ?*I regret that those books, John read without consulting me.

b. *I regret that those books, John read, but not these.

While all topics are consistently good or bad for each class in English as we just saw, in Japanese the situation is different because the δ-feature of topic may lower to T, but this is limited to C- and F-topics. In the examples below, (a) is A-topic; (b) is C-topic; and (c) and F-topic.

Class A:

(95) a. Hanako-wa   [sono hon-wa   kodomo-ga   yonda   to] itta.

Hanako-TOP   that book-TOP child-NOM   read   C said

'Hanako said that as for that book, her child read it.'

b. Hanako-wa   [sono hon-WA   kodomo-ga   yonda   to] itta.

Hanako-TOP   that book-CONTR.TOP   child-NOM   read   C said

'Hanako said that that book, her child read (but not this book).'

c. Hanako-wa   [sono hon-o   kodomo-ga   yonda   to] itta.

Hanako-TOP   that book-ACC   child-NOM   read   C said

'Hanako said that as for that book, her child read.'

Class B:

(96) a. Hanako-wa   [sono hon-wa   kodomo-ga   yonda   to] sinziteiru.

Hanako-TOP   that book-TOP   child-NOM   read   C believe

'Hanako believes that as for that book, her child read it.'

b. Hanako-wa   [sono hon-WA   kodomo-ga   yonda   to] sinziteiru.

Hanako-TOP   that book-CONTR.TOP   child- NOM   read   C believe

'Hanako believes that that book, her child read (but not this book).'

c. Hanako-wa   [sono hon-o   kodomo-ga   yonda   to] sinziteiru.

Hanako-TOP   that book-ACC   child-NOM   read   C believe

'Hanako believes that as for that book, her child read.'

Class E:

(97) a. Hanako-wa   [Taroo-wa   kanozyo-ga   suki   da   to] kizuita.

Hanako-TOP   Taro-TOP   she- NOM   like   COP   C realized

'Hanako realized that as for Taro, he likes her.'

b. Hanako-wa   [Taroo-WA   kanozyo-ga   suki   da   to] kizuita.

Hanako-TOP   Taro-CONTR.TOP   she-NOM   like   COP C realized

'Hanako realized that Taro likes her (but not Jiro).'

c. Hanako-wa   [Taroo-ga   kanozyo-ga   suki   da   to] kizuita.

Hanako-TOP   Taro-NOM   she-NOM   like   COP C realized

'Hanako realized that Taro likes her.'

Class C:

(98) a. *Hanako-wa   [sono hon-wa   kodomo-ga   yonda   koto]-o hiteisita.

Hanako-TOP   that book-TOP   child-NOM   read   C -ACC denied

'Hanako denied that as for that book, her child read it.'

b. Hanako-wa   [sono hon-WA   kodomo-ga   yonda   koto]-o hiteisita.

Hanako-TOP   that book-CONTR.TOP   child-NOM   read   C   -ACC denied

'Hanako denied that that book, her child read, (but not this book).'

c. Hanako-wa   [sono hon-o   kodomo-ga yonda   koto]-o hiteisita.

Hanako-TOP   that book-ACC   child-NOM read   C -ACC denied

'Hanako denied that that book, her child read.'

Class D:

(99) a. *Hanako-wa   [sono hon-wa   kodomo-ga   yonda   koto]-o kookaisita.

Hanako-TOP   that book-TOP   child-NOM   read   C -ACC regretted

'Hanako regretted that as for that book, her child read it.'

b. Hanako-wa   [sono hon-WA   kodomo-ga yonda   koto]-o kookaisita.

Hanako-TOP   that book-CONTR.TOP   child-NOM   read   C -ACC regretted

'Hanako regretted that that book, her child read, (but not this book).'

c. Hanako-wa   [sono hon-o   kodomo-ga yonda   koto]-o kookaisita.

Hanako-TOP   that book-ACC   child-NOM read   C -ACC regretted

'Hanako regretted that that book, her child read.'

As we saw above, all three types of topicalization in English are assertion-

dependent phenomena, being limited to the "assertion" environments of the subordinate

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clauses of A, B, and E predicates. In Japanese, only the A-topic marked by –*wa* has this distribution, while C- and F-topics freely occur in all environments, A-E. Clearly, H&P's semantic/pragmatic approach is insufficient for capturing the distinction between the two languages, since the semantic/pragmatic environments are presumably uniform across both languages. To capture the differences we just observed, Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa (2014) turn to a proposal by Haegeman (2006, 2010), who offers a syntactic version of H&T's observation. Looking at the syntactic constructions that H&T noted as prohibiting assertion-dependent operations, Haegeman notes that there is a separate, operator movement that the construction contains, and this separate operation is blocking the assertion-dependent operation from occurring. An illustration of this comes from temporal adverbial clauses, which H&T point out as an environment that does not allow an assertion-dependent operation such as topicalization.

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

Haegeman (2010) argues that the impossibility of the assertion-dependent operation within temporal adjuncts is not due to the fact that this clause is non-assertive, as H&T suggest. Rather, there is a separate operation of wh-movement of the temporal wh-phrase, and this movement intervenes to block such operations as topicalization. Evidence for the wh-movement comes from the ambiguity of scope of the *when* operator.

(101) John left when Sheila said he should leave.

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Larson (1987, 1990) proposes the following wh-movement representations for high (94a) and low (94b) construal (see also Geis 1970 and Johnson 1988, among others, for relevant discussion).


(102) a. John left [$_{CP}$ when$_i$ [$_{IP}$ Sheila said [$_{CP}$[$_{IP}$ he should leave]] t_i]]

b. John left [$_{CP}$ when$_i$ [$_{IP}$ Sheila said [$_{CP}$ [$_{IP}$ he should leave t_i]]]] (Larson 1987)

The wh-operator in the C region blocks MCP operations such as topicalization to the same region.

Returning to the asserted/presupposed distinction that H&T draw, in their proposal, a clause containing a presupposed proposition does not allow an assertion-dependent operation because such an operation requires the clause to be assertive. Haegeman (e.g., 2006) notes that presupposed environments are factive in nature, and a number of linguists have proposed that factives involve operator movement (Melvold 1991; Hiraiwa 2010; Watanabe 1993, 1996; among many others; see Munsat 1986 for relevant discussion). This operator, which begins above the TP (F(unctional)P below), raises to Spec,CP. The idea is that, because an MCP operation such as topicalization or NCP targets C, such an operation is blocked by the occurrence of the factive operator in Spec,CP, just as we saw for the temporal adverbial clause above.

(103) [$_{CP}$ OP$_i$ C$_{event+\delta}$ . . . [$_{FP}$ t_i [$_{TP}$ T [$_{vP}$ DP v+V DP]]]]
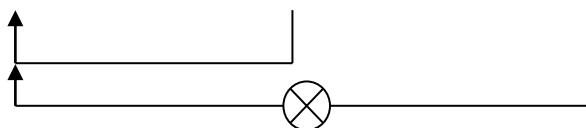
For English, all manners of topicalization would be blocked in this way.[13]

What about Japanese? Being a discourse-configurational language, the δ-feature may lower to T, but for topic, this is true only for C- and F-topics because A-topics are universally located at C. While the A-topic competes with the factive operator at C, C- and F-topics do not because they operate in the TP region. We can see the same in Spanish, which is a language that allows the δ-feature to lower to T.

Before looking at the lack of intervention effect in Spanish, let us see how the H&T's verb classes fare in this language. As shown below, the classes match up straight up in terms of indicative/subjunctive: A, B, and E, which allow RTs, take only indicative complement clauses, while C and D, which do not allow RTs, only take a subjunctive complement clauses.[14]

(104) Class A: say, report, exclaim (only indicative)

    Él nos   informó   que   rechazaron/*rechazaran   el artículo.

    he us   informed   that   rejected-3PL.IND/rejected.3PL.SUBJ   the paper

    'He told us that they rejected the paper'

(105) Class B: suppose, believe, think (only indicative)

    Él creyó   que   rechazaron/*rechazaran   el artículo.

    he believed that   rejected-3PL.IND/rejected.3PL.SUBJ   the paper

    'He thought that they rejected the paper'

(106) Class C: be (un)likely, be (im)possible, deny (only subjunctive)

Es probable que   *rechazaron/rechazaran   el artículo.

is likely   that   rejected-3PL.IND/rejected.3PL.SUBJ the paper

'It is likely that they rejected the paper'

(107) Class D: resent, regret, be surprised (only subjunctive)

Él siente   que   *rechazaron/rechazaran   el artículo.

he regrets   that   rejected-3PL.IND/rejected.3PL.SUBJ the paper

'He regrets that they rejected the paper'

(108) Class E: realize, learn, know(only indicative)

Hemos   sabido   que los vuelos a Chicago han/*hayan   sido cancelados

have-pres.1PL learned   that the flights to Chicago have-pres.3PL been cancelled

'I have learned that the flights to Chicago have been cancelled.'

The fact that only the subjunctive complement is allowed for C and D indicates that the H&T's verb classification is valid for Japanese. Thus, while the indicative (A, B, E) may be used for assertion, the subjunctive cannot be so used (e.g., Giorgi 2010).

Now that we know that H&T' classification applies to Spanish, if Spanish were a Category II language such as English, we would expect topicalization to be blocked in classes C and D. However, the following, taken from Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa (2014), show that CLLD is possible in subordinate clauses of the subjunctive complements of C and D predicates.

(109) a. Es   probable que sólo alguna vez haya

       be-PRES.3SG   probable that only some   time have-PRES.3SG

       conducido   Juan ese coche.

        driven Juan that car

       'It's probable that Juan has only rarely driven that car.' (Class C)

   b. Ángela estaba   sorprendida de que los regalos   lo

       Angela be-PAST.3SG surprised   of that the presents CL

       hubieran   dejado   los Reyes Magos debajo del   árbol.

       have-PAST.3PL left   the Kings Magic under   of.the tree

       'Angela was surprised that the three Wise Men had left the present under the

       Christmas tree.' (Class D)

This reinforces the analysis that in Spanish, the δ-feature in Spanish lowers to T, making it possible for topicalization to take place within TP and avoiding the intervention effect that would be imposed at C as in English. Spanish is thus a Category III language. In Chapter 5, we will see that the picture is slightly more complicated. It is true that Spanish is a Category III language relative to the topic feature, which lowers to T, but we will see that focus stays at C. This is not in any way exceptional. Kiss (1995) originally noted a variety in discourse-configurational languages — in some languages topic is operative as the discourse configurational feature, in others focus, and in the remainder, both topic and focus.

6. Topicalization and relative clause

We saw earlier that relative clauses exhibit root phenomena of the allocutive agreement in Japanese and stylistic adverb in English. The examples are repeated below.

(110) Watasi-wa mizu-tama-moyoo-no ari-*mas*-u   kami-ga   hosi-i   to

    I-TOP   polka dots   exist-MAS-PRES paper-NOM want   C

    omoi-mas-u.

    think-MAS-PRES

    'I want the paper that has polka dots.' (Harada 1976)

(111) a. I hired a student who, frankly, no one else would hire.

   b. I'm reviewing a manuscript for a journal that, honestly, should not have been
        submitted in the first place.

H&T also identified certain relative clauses as exhibiting MCP (what we are calling assertion-dependent phenomena) – non-restrictive and indefinite restrictive relative clauses. The question is, does the ability of relative clauses to host the allocutive agreement in Japanese and the stylistic adverb in English demonstrate that the relative clause is H&T-style assertion domain, or Emonds-style root domain? The answer comes from the topic construction.

    A-topics cannot occur in a relative clause, but C-topics can (Kuno 1973). I add an example of a F-topic, which is also possible in a relative clause.

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(112) a. A-topic

    *Taroo-ga   [sono-hon-wa   Hanako-ga   katta]   mise-o   sitteiru.

    Taro-NOM   that book-TOP   Hanako-NOM bought   store-ACC know

    'Taro knows the store where [as for that book, Hanako bought].

    b. C-topic

    Taroo-ga [sono-hon-WA   Hanako-ga   katta]   mise-o   sitteiru.

    Taro-NOM that book-CONTR.TOP   Hanako-NOM bought   store-ACC   know

    'Taro knows the store where [that book, Hanako bought (but not this book)].

    c. F-topic

    Taroo-ga   [sono-hon-o   Hanako-ga   katta]   mise-o   sitteiru.

    Taro-NOM   that book-ACC   Hanako-NOM bought   store-ACC   know

    'Taro knows the store that [that book, Hanako bought].

The fact that the A-topic is ungrammatical, while C- and F-topics are grammatical, indicates that this is not an environment that allows assertion-dependent phenomena to occur. This is further indication that the ADP and the root environments are fundamentally different: ADP is dependent on whether the clause has assertive meaning, or, relatedly, whether it has a factive operator, but a root is a clause that is not selected by a head, which in turn allows the speech act projection to occur above the CP.

7. Conclusion

In this chapter we looked at the typology of languages defined by Strong Uniformity. We looked particularly at languages that are predicted to have the ϕ-feature agreement at C,

which are Category I and Category IV languages. Focusing on Category I, which includes Japanese, I argued that the politeness marking of –*des-/-mas-* is 2nd person agreement at C. This is given support by allocutive agreement in some dialects of Basque that is actually a 2nd person agreement form that agrees with the type of addressee in the conversation. Because allocutive agreement works like the normal agreement, it must have a goal (target) within the syntactic structure, and I proposed that a super structure reminiscent of Ross's performative analysis, which I call speech act projection following Speas and Tenny (2003), is responsible for furnishing the goal of HEARER for allocutive agreement. We investigated the distribution of the speech act projection, and it turns out to have precisely the distribution that Emonds defined as root. Although Emonds's root/non-root distinction has come to be questioned since the work of Hooper and Thompson, we saw that an entirely different set of data based on the allocutive agreement in Japanese and stylistic adverb in English give credence to Emonds's original conception of root as capturing an important generalization.

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[1]In most dialects of Basque that have the allocutive agreement, the agreement is limited to 2nd person singular colloquial masculine and feminine. This is similar to Japanese, where the allocutive (-*des-/-mas-*) is limited to just one register of speech, in Japanese, only the formal. For detail treatment of agreement in Basque, see, for example, Arregi and Nevins 2012 and Laka 1993.

[2]In the appropriate contexts, the allocutive agreement is obligatory, another sign that it is a true form of agreement.

[3]An anonymous reviewer raises the issue of why the allocutive probe at C isn't blocked by the occurrence of the other grammatical feature, the δ-feature at C. Apparently the

restriction against the allocutive probe to occur at C has to do with overt occurrence of some element, such as a complementizer or a question particle.

[4]The pattern of grammaticality in (19/20) holds only for wh-questions. For yes-no questions, which may also have the question particle *ka*, the *ka* can appear with or without *–mas-*.

(i) Kimi-wa   asita   soko-ni   iku   ka?
   you-TOP   tomorrow   there-to   go   Q
   'Are you going there tomorrow?'

If we turn this into a wh-question, the question without *–mas-* is degraded.

(ii) *Kimi-wa asita   doko-ni iku   ka?
   you- TOP tomorrow   there-to go   Q
   'Where are you going tomorrow?'

[5] For some speakers, the contrast is clearer if the sentences are turned into yes-no questions.

(i)   Bill-wa   [CP dare-ga   kuru *ka*]   itta   no?
   Bill-TOP   who-NOM   come Q   said   Q
   'Did Bill say who will come?'

(ii) ?*Bill-wa [CP dare-ga   kuru *ka*]   donatta no?
   Bill- TOP   John- NOM come Q   shouted Q
   'Did Bill shout who will come?'

[6]In Souletin, the allocutive agreement occurs with both colloquial and formal forms, but in Japanese, the allocutive agreement only occurs with the formal (polite) form. I presume that this is simply a difference in the types of agreement, like the variety of ϕ-feature agreements found across languages.

[7]The "sa" head is analyzed by Speas and Tenny (2003) as equivalent to a predicate head. This, then, parallels the bridge verb construction that takes *ka*. In both cases, a predicate, or a predicate-like head, licenses *ka*. Thanks to a reviewer for raising this issue about the parallel between bridge verbs and *–mas-*.

[8]One issue that remains is that while the rhetorical *ka* can license an indefinite NPI as we saw, it cannot license other negative sensitive items. The following shows that exceptive *–sika* and minimizer *rokuna* 'decent' cannot be licensed by this *ka*.

(i)   *Hanako-sika   kuru   ka!
   Hanako-only   come   Q

'Only Hanako will come!'

(ii) *Rokuna-mono-o   taberu   ka!
       Decent-thing-ACC   eat   Q
       'I don't eat anything decent!'

This suggest that the nature of the negation in rhetorical questions is not the full-fledged negation we get with the negative morpheme –*nai*. It is possible that that rhetorical *ka* in conjunction with the question environment is licensing the indefinite NPI. I leave this problem open.

[9]See Heycock 2006 for criticism of Hooper and Thompson; see Sawada and Larson 2004 for a formal-semantic characterization of assertion in reason-clauses. In a series of works, Hageman (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. Temporal adjunct clauses, for example, have been argued to involved the movement of the wh-phrase (*when*, etc.) (e.g., Larson 1987, 1990). Haegeman argues that this movement invokes an intervention effect for root transformations 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 will support this general approach of using syntactic intervention to account for the absence of root transformations in certain environments. Also see Kastner (2015) for an approach to H&T's categorization of verbs and complements based on categorial distinctions among the complements (DP vs. CP).

[10]See Emonds (2004, 2012) for an extension of his earlier work that addresses Hooper and Thompson (1973). He draws data from English and German, which are in many ways similar. These languages do not show the kind of limited distribution we see with allocutive agreement in Japanese and also in Basque.

[11]See also Jackendoff, Cinque (1999, 2004), and Giorgi (2010) among others for studies related to these adverbs.

[12] See Bianchi and Frascarelli (2010:82) for a different view of the distribution of the various topics in English.

[13]The notion of competition at the level is C recalls den Besten's (1977) proposal for root transformations in Germanic. In a later work, Haegeman (2012:107) suggests that intervention effects are computed on feature sets, where an entity with a richer feature set can cross one that has an impoverished feature set. I will continue to adopt the more simple notion of intervention in her earlier work.

[14]Thanks to Ángel Jiménez-Fernández and Carlos Muñoz Pérez for providing the Spanish data.