

博士論文

論文題目 Syntactic Doubling of Predicates in Japanese  
(日本語における述部の統語的反復の研究)

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**Syntactic Doubling of Predicates in Japanese**

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A Thesis Submitted  
to the Graduate School of Humanities and Sociology  
at the University of Tokyo  
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

2019

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## Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to explore the syntactic properties and semantic effects of syntactic doubling of predicates found in Japanese and to explain them based on the theory of generative grammar. Syntactic doubling is a phenomenon observed in various languages. In the case of Japanese predicates, many bound morphemes can be added to the stems of verbs and adjectives. This means that it is easy to tell what elements can be doubled, providing clues that make it possible to understand the principles behind the doubling. In this thesis, three types of syntactic doubling in Japanese as in (1) are examined with a focus on the four questions indicated in (2).

- (1) a. VP-focus specificational pseudocleft construction
  - b. Predicate Cleft Construction (PCC)
  - c. Emphatic Iteration Construction (EIC)
- (2) a. Which forms of a verb can/cannot be iterated in each construction?
  - b. What kind of constraints are imposed on the iteration of bound morphemes or predicates in each construction?
  - c. How can the structure and the derivation be explained in each construction?
  - d. What is the interpretation of each construction?

This thesis consists of five chapters. Chapter 1 provides an overview of previous research and theoretical backgrounds. Chapters 2, 3, and 4 consider VP-focus specificational pseudocleft construction, the PCC, and the EIC respectively and examine the characteristics and mechanism of doubling. Chapter 5 summarizes the findings and concludes the thesis.

In Chapter 1, the overview of previous research indicates that VP-focus specificational pseudocleft sentences and the EIC have not been studied closely in contrast to the PCC. Some assumptions adopted in the thesis are introduced in examining the structures and derivations of these constructions, such as the copy theory of movement and a phrase structure of Japanese

consisting in ascending order of VP, vP, Passive Phrase, Negative Phrase, Tense Phrase, Polarity Phrase, Focus Phrase, Topic Phrase, and Speech Act Phrase, among others.

Chapter 2 examines the structure and derivation of VP-focus specificational pseudocleft sentences like *Taroo-ga si-ta no-wa hon-o yom-u koto da* ‘What Taro did is read a book’ based on Den Dikken et al.’s (2000) analysis of specificational pseudocleft sentences in English and demonstrates that a VP-focus specificational pseudocleft sentence consists of two clauses: a presuppositional clause corresponding to a question and a focus clause corresponding to its answer. In VP-focus specificational pseudocleft sentences, when the passive bound morpheme *-(r)are* appears in a presuppositional clause, the same morpheme must always occur in the focus clause as well. Since this condition is also imposed on question and answer pairs, I argue that the question-answer pair analysis of the VP-focus specificational pseudocleft sentences in Japanese based on Den Dikken et al.’s analysis is valid. Moreover, from the viewpoint of an information structure, I claim that the fact that a presuppositional clause ends with the topic marker *-wa* supports the analysis of the presuppositional clause as a question.

Landau (2007b), who has studied topicalization and focalization with verb doubling in various languages, has made the following three observations: (i) they obey island constraints; (ii) a verb that appears in the lower position occurs with normal inflection, whereas a verb that appears in the higher position takes a default form such as an infinitive or nominalized form; and (iii) verb doubling is obligatory. Chapter 3 first demonstrates that the three aforementioned features hold true in the PCC in Japanese (e.g., *Taroo-wa hon-o kat-ta koto/no/ni-wa kat-ta*. ‘As for Taro’s buying a book, he DID buy one’). In this construction, a predicate of the same form is doubled, but two predicates can sometimes appear in partially different forms; for example, they can occur in different tense forms, as pointed out by Nishiyama and Cho (1998). In addition to tense mismatches, some speakers allow one of the doubled predicates to have a causative, passive, or possibility morpheme attached to its stem. The generalization obtained from this observation is that predicates that occur in the higher position must have the same form as or a form that constitutes a part of the predicates that occur in the lower position. Since elements outside TP are not doubled, I extend Nishiyama and Cho's analysis and propose to derive the PCC by



topicalizing TP or its subparts. In the minimalist theory of generative grammar, when an element moves, a copy of the moved element remains in the original position, and in many cases, it is the element in the derived position that is pronounced, but as Nunes (2004) has argued, there are some phenomena in which the copy left at the original position is pronounced. I argue that doubling of predicates in the PCC in Japanese is due to the pronunciation of a copy left behind by movement in the original position. When two predicates in the PCC occur in different forms, a constituent that constitutes a part of TP is preposed by topicalization, and the stranded tense and other elements are pronounced along with V and other elements within the copy in the original position due to the Stranded Affix Filter, which results in predicate doubling. On the other hand, when a predicate of the same form is doubled, TP is preposed by topicalization, and in the original position, the head of TP is pronounced with the stem of a predicate and other elements. As for semantic interpretation, the PCC is interpreted as involving a verum focus, which asserts that the proposition presented by the Topic Phrase is true, and adversative implicature is induced by the contrastive topic marker *-wa*.

The EIC discussed in Chapter 4 can occur as part of an answer to a yes/no question like *Gohan tabe-ta?* ‘Have you eaten dinner?’ as in *Un, tabe-ta tabe-ta* ‘Yes, I HAVE,’ or it can occur without the preceding contexts. In either case, the entire predicate must be iterated, and partial iterations are not allowed. In addition, while iteration of predicates ending with a tense morpheme is acceptable, there is variability across speakers with regard to the acceptability of the iteration of predicates ending with true modals, complementizers, and sentence-final particles, and the iteration of morphologically complex elements or prosodically heavy elements is less acceptable. Furthermore, while the iteration of a past negative verb is not acceptable in an answer to a positive yes/no question, the iteration of a past negative verb is possible in an answer to a negative yes/no question when it begins with the answer particle *un/hai* ‘yes.’ Based on this observation, what is emphasized in the EIC is not the negation that occurs as part of a predicate but rather the polarity represented by answer particles like *un/hai* ‘yes’ and *uun/iie* ‘no.’ The EIC that occurs in an answer to a yes/no question is derived as follows. Following Holmberg’s (2013a, b, 2016) proposal, a polarity feature occurs in the head of the Polarity Phrase (PolP) above TP

independently of the negation of a predicate, and a verb undergoes head movement to the head of PolP. Furthermore, since the EIC is a main clause phenomenon, it is assumed that in a declarative sentence, an assertion marker, which is phonetically null, occurs in the head of a Speech Act Phrase (SAP) at the right periphery of a matrix clause. I propose that the EIC is derived by head movement of a verb and pronunciation of verbal complexes both in the derived position and in the original position. In the EIC, the head of an SAP with an assertion marker and the head of a PolP each have an emphasis feature and a verbal complex, which has raised to the head of a PolP, moves further up to the head of an SAP driven by the emphasis feature. There the verbal complex optionally undergoes a morphological fusion with the assertion marker. Nunes (2004) has proposed a theory regarding the pronunciation of a copy under which an element in a chain that is morphologically fused becomes invisible to Kayne's (1994) Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA) and is thus pronounced along with an element of the chain that is not morphologically fused. According to this theory, a verbal complex in the head of an SAP, which undergoes morphological fusion, becomes invisible to the LCA, and a copy remaining in the head of the PolP is pronounced as an element representing the chain of movement. Thus, a tensed verb is pronounced in two places in the EIC. The semantic interpretation of the EIC depends on the context and the type of predicate that is iterated. It is demonstrated that in the EIC that occurs in an answer to a yes/no question, polarity is emphasized, whereas in the EIC that occurs by itself, in addition to polarity emphasis, degree of action or extent of state is emphasized with predicates that denote activity or state, and repetition of action is denoted by the iteration of some achievement or accomplishment verbs.

The main findings obtained from the study of the three constructions are summarized below.

The three constructions are generally regarded as marked "constructions"; however, their characteristics are explained by universal principles to a considerable extent, and their properties are clarified by distinguishing the truly marked parts from those that are not. It is claimed that syntactic doubling is ascribable to the interaction between universal principles and the operations and features unique to each construction.

It is also demonstrated that syntactic doubling is not necessarily linked to a specific meaning. In the EIC, the iteration of a predicate denotes the emphasis of polarity or degree or the repetition of action, and in the PCC, the iteration of a predicate indirectly contributes to the interpretation of the verum focus that the whole construction represents, but in VP-focus specificational pseudocleft sentences, the iteration of a passive morpheme does not add a new meaning. The iteration of a passive morpheme, which occurs obligatorily in VP-focus specificational pseudocleft sentences, is due to the condition that requires the subject of a propositional clause and the subject of a focus clause, corresponding to a question and its answer, respectively, to play the same role in the action tier in the sense of Jackendoff's (1990) semantic structure.

A third point made in the thesis is that the acceptability of the three constructions depends on the context in which they occur. For example, information about discourse beyond sentence grammar is necessary to determine whether iteration is possible or not in the EIC since the acceptability of the iteration of a predicate differs depending on the type of question and answer in which the EIC occurs.

This thesis demonstrates that iteration is not only a syntactic or semantic phenomenon but also a phenomenon, like ellipsis, that involves the interaction of various components of grammar such as morphology, phonology, and pragmatics. In this sense, iteration is a phenomenon that contributes to the explication of the language faculty.

## Acknowledgments

First of all, I would like to thank my thesis advisor, Professor Noriko Imanishi, for guiding me through this dissertation project. Had it not been for her encouragement, advice, and guidance, I could not have finished this thesis. She helped me look at data from different angles and clarify vague ideas, and she always reminded me of the importance of cross-linguistic perspectives. When demands in the workplace increased, I felt like giving up, but she encouraged me to continue studying. She was willing to assist me at any time, even when she herself had so many things to take care of. She has been and always will be a good role model I look up to.

I am also indebted to Professor Akira Watanabe, who kindly took over Professor Imanishi's duties as my thesis supervisor after her retirement. I would like to thank him for invaluable comments and suggestions on the earlier versions of this thesis. He shared his ideas with me generously and pointed me in the right direction when I was at a loss. He is a dedicated teacher as well as a great scholar, and I am deeply grateful to him.

In addition, I must express my sincere gratitude to the other members of the thesis committee – Professor Shuji Chiba, Professor Takane Ito, and Professor Ken Hiraiwa – for reading my thesis carefully in the midst of their busy schedules and giving me many pages of detailed comments, suggestions, and difficult questions. Professor Jairo Nunes at the University of Sao Paulo also gave me insightful comments and input on Chapters 3 and 4 of the earlier drafts of this thesis, for which I am truly grateful.

There are so many people to whom I would like to say “thank you” that I cannot list them all here, but I would like to thank Terue Nakato, Akiko Terunuma, Harumasa Miyashita, Sakumi Inokuma, Shunichiro Inada, Chigusa Morita, Junya Nomura, Ayaka Sugawara, the late Yuki Ito, Mioko Miyama, Tomomi Aarii, and Hiromune Oda for taking care of a Rip Van Winkle like me and for making my days at the University of Tokyo very pleasant and enjoyable. In particular, I am indebted to Shunichiro Inada, Chigusa Morita, the late Yuki Ito, Mioko Miyama and Tomomi Aarii for acceptability judgments, and to Mioko Miyama for helping me with the references. I am also thankful to Yoriko Kitagawa, Hideyo Inoue, Kumiko Kiuchi, Akira Nakamura, and Ryo

Unuki for Japanese judgments, and to Duck-Young Lee for Korean judgments.

I wish to express my heartfelt appreciation to Professor Noriko Ue, who first introduced me to the world of linguistics at Kobe College, and to Professor Kinsuke Hasegawa, who guided me through the maze of linguistics at the University of Tokyo. I owe a debt of gratitude to the faculty members of the foreign language section of the Institute for Liberal Arts, Tokyo Institute of Technology, for their understanding during my doctoral studies, and to Mieko Iso and Mika Endo for their enduring friendship.

The research reported in this thesis was supported in part by JSPS KAKENHI 25370544 and 18K00570, for which I am thankful.

Last but not least, I must express my deep gratitude to my family for moral support and data judgments throughout these years. I can never thank them enough. This thesis is dedicated to them.

## List of Abbreviations

ACC	accusative
ADN	adnominal
ASP	aspect
C	complementizer
CL	classifier
CLC	clitic
CON	contrastive particle
CONJ	conjunction
CONT	continuative
COP	copula
DAT	dative
DECL	declarative
EIC	emphatic iteration construction
FIN	finite
FOC	focus
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
GER	gerundive
HON	honorific
IMP	imperative
LCA	Linear Correspondence Axiom
M	mood
NCI	negative concord item
NEG	negation
NOM	nominative
NPST	nonpast

PASS	passive
PCC	predicate cleft construction
PERF	perfective
POL	polarity
POLIT	polite
PRES	present
PROG	progressive
PROH	prohibition
PRT	particle
PST	past
PV	preverbal
Q	question particle
RED	reduplicant
SA	speech act
SAP	speech act phrase
SFP	sentence-final particle
T	tense
TOP	topic





# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### 1.1. General Introduction

When we talk, we do not usually repeat sentences. It is not the case, however, that we cannot do so. We sometimes repeat sentences for discourse reasons, like for emphasis or to draw hearers' attention.

- (1) a. Basu-ga ki-ta-yo. Basu-ga ki-ta-yo. (Japanese)  
bus-NOM come-PST-SFP bus-NOM come-PST-SFP  
'The bus has come! The bus has come!'
- b. Kotti-e oide. Kotti-e oide.  
here-to come.IMP here-to come.IMP  
'Come here. Come here.'

We sometimes repeat an element within a sentence.

- (2) Taroo-wa hon-o yon-da koto-wa yon-da. (Japanese)  
Taro-TOP book-ACC read-PST KOTO-TOP read-PST  
'As for reading a book, Taro DID do so.'

In (2), the past tense form of the verb, *yon-da* 'read-PST,' is iterated, and it has a different meaning from the one without iteration (*Taroo-wa hon-o yon-da* 'Taro read a book').

In addition, some Japanese words are created by reduplication:

- (3) a. yamayama  
'mountains'

- b. madamada  
‘not there yet’

### *1.1.1. Types of Iteration in Languages*

Iteration is not a phenomenon particular to Japanese or to a particular language family. In fact, it is prevalent across languages. It can be divided into two types: morphophonological iteration and syntactic iteration.

#### (4) Types of iteration observed in languages

- a. Morphophonological iteration
  - i. Total reduplication (e.g. (5))
  - ii. Partial reduplication (e.g. (6))
- b. Syntactic iteration
  - i. Clausal repetition (e.g. (7), (8), (9))
  - ii. Syntactic doubling of a word/morpheme in a sentence (e.g. (10), (11), (12))

When iteration occurs within a word, it is referred to as reduplication. It can be total or partial depending on what is iterated. According to Spencer (1991: 150), a target of reduplication can be “a whole word, a whole morpheme, a syllable or sequence of syllables, or simply a string of consonants and vowels which doesn’t form any particular prosodic constituent.”

- (5) a. kurdu ‘child’      kurdukurdu ‘children’      (Warlpiri)  
 (Nash (1980) cited by Marantz (1982: 438))
- b. ren ‘man’      renren ‘everybody’      (Mandarin)  
 (Chao (1968) cited by Moravcsik (1978: 318))

The examples in (5) illustrate total reduplication where a whole word/morpheme is iterated to

form a new word.<sup>1</sup> Here, the reduplication of a noun results in plurality, as is often the case.

(6) dɔdɔama-n ‘jump’    dɔdɔdɔdɔama-n ‘jump a lot’    (Yidinʷ)

(Dixon (1977) cited by Marantz (1982: 454))

(6) illustrates partial reduplication. In (6), the first two syllables of a stem are repeated, and while the base verb denotes an action, the reduplicated verb denotes a repeated action.

Rubino (2013) has reported that out of 368 languages surveyed, 278 languages have total and partial reduplication, 35 languages including Japanese have total reduplication only, and 55 languages have no productive reduplication. According to Rubino’s survey, “reduplication is very common throughout Austronesian (Pacific islands, Philippines, Indonesia, Madagascar), Australia, South Asia, and many parts of Africa, the Caucasus and Amazonia” (<http://wals.info/chapter/27>). Though it is not common in Europe, the majority of languages in the world employ reduplication as a means of word formation.

Just as there are total reduplication and partial reduplication within words, syntactic iteration can be divided into total repetition of a clause and repetition of its subpart within a clause. Following Wierzbicka (1991), I call the former type of syntactic iteration “clausal repetition.” Some examples of clausal repetition are as follows:

(7) Thank you. Thank you.

(8) Ma senta, ma senta...    (Italian)

but listen but listen

‘But listen, do listen ...’

(Wierzbicka (1991: 259))

---

<sup>1</sup> Examples of verbal reduplication are as follows:

(i) -pik ‘touch it lightly’    -pikpik ‘touch it lightly repeatedly’    (Tzeltal)    (Berlin (1963: 214))

(ii) zɔ ‘walk’    zɔzɔ ‘be walking’    (Ewe)    (Ansre (1962) cited by Moravcsik (1978: 319))

- (9) Irassyai-mase. Irassyai-mase. (Japanese)  
 welcome-POLIT welcome-POLIT  
 ‘Thank you for stopping in.’

Clausal repetition has an effect on discourse, and its characteristic property is a pause that occurs at a clausal boundary.

Another type of syntactic iteration is “syntactic doubling,” which occurs within a sentence. Barbiers (2008: 2) has stated that “a constituent (i.e. a morphosyntactic feature, morpheme, word, or phrase) is expressed two or more times” in sentences with syntactic doubling. For example, emphasis can be expressed by syntactic doubling.

- (10) bella bella (Italian)  
 beautiful beautiful  
 ‘very beautiful’ (Wierzbicka (1991: 256))

In (10), the adjective *bella* is iterated to intensify beauty. It looks like clausal repetition on the surface, but crucially, Wierzbicka (1991) has reported that there is no pause between these two adjectives and has argued for distinguishing examples like (10) from those like (8).

Nunes (2004) has reported that some languages such as Afrikaans, German, Romani, Frisian, and English child grammar exhibit *wh*-copying, which is another example of syntactic doubling.

- (11) a. Wen glaubt Hans wen Jakob gesehen hat? (German)  
 whom thinks Hans whom Jakob seen has  
 ‘Who does Hans think Jakob saw?’ (McDaniel (1986) cited by Nunes (2004: 38))  
 b. Who do you think really who’s in the can? (child English)  
 (Thornton (1990) cited by Nunes (2004: 38))

In (11a, b) the *wh*-word occurs both in the sentence-initial position and in the position of the

intermediate trace, though the sentences are interpreted as simple *wh*-questions and not as multiple *wh*-questions.

The doubled constituents are not always identical in form. We also regard such cases as syntactic doubling.

- (12) Leer, Juan ha leído un libro. (Spanish)  
read.INF Juan has read a book  
'As for reading, Juan has read a book.' (Vicente (2009: 159))

In (12), the verb *leer* 'read' is iterated. Here the two verbs take a different form: the sentence-initial V occurs in an infinitive form, whereas the V in the middle of a sentence takes a past participle form.

The effect of syntactic doubling on meaning varies depending on the type of doubling involved. It can affect semantic interpretation in some cases and discourse comprehension in other cases. In still other cases, it has no effect at all.

Examples (1) through (12) demonstrate that linguistic forms are iterated at various levels across languages.<sup>2</sup> Clearly, iteration constitutes an important aspect of human language. In this thesis, I focus on syntactic doubling and investigate its properties. Since the phenomenon occurs cross-linguistically, there must be some universal principles that govern its derivation.

### *1.1.2. Three Constructions Involving Predicate Doubling in Japanese*

Makino (1980) and Noro (2016) have extensively studied iterative constructions in Japanese. Some of the examples Noro has examined are as follows:

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<sup>2</sup> Another type of iteration involves "resumptive *that*," which was brought to my attention by Shuji Chiba (personal communication). See Chiba (1987: 175, note 52).

- (i) I feel very strongly [that [if women are experiencing domestic violence] [that they should tell their GP]]. (Guardian, 22 Dec. 2003, P7, cited by Haegeman (2006: 360))

See Barbiers (2008, 2014) for other kinds of syntactic doubling constructions.

- (13) a. natu rasi natu  
 summer like summer  
 ‘typical summer’ (Noro (2016: 36))
- b. otoko-no naka-no otoko  
 man-GEN in-GEN man  
 ‘a man among men’ (ibid: 62)
- c. kyoo-to iu kyoo  
 today-C say today  
 ‘TODAY’ (ibid: 86)
- d. ase-o huki huki  
 sweat-ACC wipe wipe  
 ‘wiping the sweat away’ (ibid: 125)
- e. naki-ni naku  
 cry-NI cry  
 ‘cry very much’ (ibid: 139)
- f. hatarak-eba hataraku hodo  
 work-if work as.much  
 ‘as much as one works’ (ibid: 163)

In the following subsections, I introduce three constructions with syntactic doubling that I take up in this thesis.

#### *1.1.2.1. Predicate Cleft Construction (PCC)*

V is sometimes doubled when V-preposing takes place. This phenomenon is observed in Hebrew, Yiddish, Russian, Spanish, and Brazilian Portuguese, as demonstrated in (14a–e). Asian languages also exhibit V-doubling as illustrated by a Korean example in (14f). In addition, in some African languages such as Bùlì, Yoruba, Gungbe, and Vata and in Caribbean creoles like

Haitian, V-doubling occurs with the predicate cleft construction, in which a predicate in the sentence-initial position is focused, as in (14g–k).

(14) V-preposing<sup>3</sup>

- a. liknot, hi kanta et ha-praxim. (Hebrew)  
 to.buy she bought ACC the-flowers  
 ‘As for buying, she bought the flowers.’ (Landau (2006: 37))
- b. Essen est Maks fish. (Yiddish)  
 to.eat eats Max fish  
 ‘As for eating, Max eats fish.’ (Cable (2004: 2))
- c. Ĉitat’ (-to) Ivan eë ĉitaet no niĉego ne ponimaet. (Russian)  
 read.INF TO Ivan it.FEM.ACC reads but nothing not understands  
 ‘Ivan does read it, but he doesn’t understand a thing.’ (Abels (2001: 1))
- d. Leer, Juan ha leído un libro. (= (12)) (Spanish)  
 read.INF Juan has read a book  
 ‘As for reading, Juan has read a book.’ (Vicente (2009: 159))

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<sup>3</sup> Other languages that exhibit V-doubling with V-preposing are as follows:

- (i) Ēnekelni, énekelt Mari. (Hungarian)  
 sing.INF sang Mari  
 ‘As far as singing is concerned, Mari did sing yesterday (but she did not play the piano, for example.)’ (Lipták and Vicente (2009: 652))
- (ii) O João comprou o carro, comprou. (European Portuguese)  
 the John bought the car bought  
 ‘John did buy the car.’ (Martins (2007: 81))
- (iii) doc thi no nen doc sach. (Vietnamese)  
 read TOP he should read book  
 ‘As for reading, he should read a book.’ (Trinh (2009: 191))
- (iv) NANCY HATE ICE-CREAM [HATE]<sub>hn</sub> (American Sign Language)  
 ‘Nancy HATES ice-cream.’ (Petronio and Lillo-Martin (1997: 31))
- (v) I LOSE BOOK [LOSE]<sub>hn</sub> (Brazilian Sign Language)  
 ‘I LOST the book.’ (Nunes and Quadros (2008: 182))

*Hn* in the examples (iv) and (v) indicates a non-manual marking of headnod.

- e. Temperar o conzinheiro temperou o peixe (não a carne).  
 season.INF the cook seasoned the fish not the meat  
 ‘As for seasoning something, the cook seasoned the fish (not the meat).’  
 (Brazilian Portuguese) (Bastos-Gee (2009: 162))
- f. ilk-ki-nun Chelswu-ka chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta. (Korean)  
 read-KI-TOP Chelswu-NOM book-ACC read-PST-DECL  
 ‘Read the book, Chelswu did.’ (Hagstrom (1995: 32))<sup>4</sup>
- g. (ká) dē-kā àlī/àtì Àtìm dē mango-kǔ dīēm. (Bùli; Gur)  
 FOC eat-NMNL C Àtìm ate mango-D yesterday  
 (Lit.) ‘It is eating that Àtìm ate the mango yesterday.’ (Hiraiwa (2005: 550))
- h. Rírà ni Ajé ra iwé. (Yoruba; Kwa)  
 buying FOC Ajé buy book  
 ‘Aje BOUGHT a book.’ (Aboh and Dyakonova (2009: 1045))
- i. Đù (%wè) Séná đù bléđi ló. (Gungbe; Kwa)  
 eat FOC Sena eat bread DET  
 ‘Sena ATE the bread.’ (Aboh and Dyakonova (2009: 1044))
- j. Ī à lì sàkà. (Vata; Kru)  
 eat we ate rice  
 ‘We ATE rice.’ (Koopman (1984: 38))
- k. Se kouri Bouki ap kouri. (Haitian)  
 SE run Bouki PROG run  
 ‘Bouki is RUNNING.’ (Harbour (2008: 853))

Among these languages, Hebrew, Yiddish, Russian, Spanish, Brazilian Portuguese, Korean, Bùli, and Yoruba allow VP-preposing with V-doubling as shown in (15a–h), while others do not, as exemplified in (15i–k).

<sup>4</sup> Hagstrom (1995) has suggested that (14f) is derived from the VP-preposing structure shown in (15f) by scrambling.



(15) VP-preposing

- a. [liknot et ha-praxim], hi kanta. (Hebrew)  
to.buy ACC the.flowers she bought  
(Lit.) ‘As for buying the flowers, she bought.’ (Landau (2006: 37))
- b. [Essen fish] est Maks. (Yiddish)  
to.eat fish eats Max  
‘As for eating fish, Max eats fish.’ (Cable (2004:2))
- c. [Dumat’ čto Xomskij genji] on dumaet no [čitat’ ego knigi] ne čitaet.  
think.INF that Chomsky genius he thinks but read.INF his books not reads  
‘He does think that Chomsky is a genius, but he doesn’t read his books.’ (Russian)  
(Abels (2001: 5))
- d. [Leer el libro], Juan lo ha leído. (Spanish)  
read.INF the book Juan CLC has read  
‘As for reading the book, Juan has indeed read it.’ (Vicente (2009: 167))
- e. [Temperar aquele peixe] o cozinheiro temperou (mas ...) (Brazilian Portuguese)  
season.INF that fish the cook seasoned but  
‘As for seasoning that fish, the cook seasoned it (but ...)’ (Bastos-Gee (2009: 162))
- f. [Chelswu-ka chayk-ul ilk-ki-nun] ilk-ess-ta. (Korean)  
Chelswu-NOM book-ACC read-KI-TOP read-PST-DECL  
‘Read the book, Chelswu did.’ (Hagstrom (1995: 38))
- g. [(ká) mango-kũ dē-kā] àlī/àtì Àtìm dè dīēm. (Bùli; Gur)  
FOC mango-D eat-NMNL C Àtìm ate yesterday  
(Lit.) ‘It is eating the mango that Àtìm ate yesterday.’ (Hiraiwa (2005: 550))
- h. [Rirà-wé] ni Ajé ra iwé. (Yoruba; Kwa)  
buying-book FOC Ajé buy book  
‘Ajé BOUGHT a book.’ (Aboh and Dyakonova (2009: 1045))

- i. \*[ Ḑù blédì ló] wè Séná ḑù. (Gungbe; Kwa)  
 eat bread DET FOC Sena eat  
 ‘Sena ATE THE BREAD.’ (Aboh and Dyakonova (2009: 1044))
- j. \*[ lì sàkà] à lì sàkà. (Vata; Kru)  
 eat rice we ate rice  
 ‘We have EATEN rice.’ (Koopman (1984: 38))
- k. \*[ Se manje yon póm] Jan manje (yon póm). (Haitian)  
 SE eat an apple John eat an apple  
 ‘John ATE AN APPLE.’ (Harbour (2008: 856))

Landau (2006) has observed that the fronted V(P) is consistently interpreted as a contrastive focus in African and Creole languages, whereas it allows topic interpretation in languages that employ topicalization such as Hebrew, Yiddish, and Brazilian Portuguese. While the interpretations of the V-doubling constructions vary, Landau (2007b: 507) has made the following three observations that seem to hold cross-linguistically.

- (16) a. The topic/focus V-doubling constructions typically demonstrate island sensitivity.  
 b. The lower verbal copy occurs with normal inflection, whereas the higher verb takes a “default” form: a bare root (Vata, Haitian), a nominalized verb (Yoruba, Korean), or an infinitive (Russian, Hebrew).  
 c. V-doubling is obligatory in the topic/focus V-doubling constructions.

The property in (16a) is illustrated in (17). (17a) demonstrates that the dependency between the higher verb and the lower verb copy in the V-doubling construction in Hebrew is unbounded, whereas (17b) indicates that it obeys the Complex NP Constraint.

- (17) a. la’azor le-Rina, eyn li safek še-Gil hivtiax še-hu ya’azor. (Hebrew)  
 to.help to-Rina there.isn’t to.me doubt that-Gil promised that-he will.help

‘As for helping Rina, I have no doubt that Gil promised he would help.’

(Landau (2006: 42))

b. \*likro et ha-sefer, Gil daxa et ha-te’ana še-hu kvar kara.

to.read ACC the-book Gil rejected ACC the-claim that-he already read

‘As for reading the book, Gil rejected the claim that he had already read it.’

(Landau (2006: 43))

(18) exemplifies the properties given in (16b, c): the higher verb in the construction takes the infinitive form, and the lower verb copy must be present in the construction.

(18) le’hasbir et ha-kišalon, hu lo \*(hisbir). (Hebrew)

to.explain ACC the-failure he not explain

‘As for explaining the failure, he didn’t explain.’

(Landau (2006: 53))

Japanese also has constructions in which V-doubling occurs. (19) illustrates an example, which I will call Predicate Cleft Construction (PCC) in this thesis.

(19) Hanako-wa kuruma-o kat-ta koto/no/ni-wa kat-ta (ga hotondo

Hanako-TOP car-ACC buy-PST KOTO/NO/NI-TOP buy-PST but seldom

nor-anakat-ta).

drive-NEG-PST

‘As for buying a car, Hanako DID buy one, (but she seldom drove it).’

In the PCC, a verb is iterated in a sentence. In (19), the verb *kat-ta* ‘bought’ occurs twice, preceding *koto/no/ni-wa* and at the end of the sentence, and the sentence is interpreted with a focus on the fact that Hanako did buy a car. The occurrence of the topic marker *-wa* following *koto/no/ni* suggests that topicalization of some sort is involved in the construction. The PCC in Japanese looks similar to the V-doubling construction with VP-preposing in (15a–h) in that the

same V occurs in the VP-*koto/no/ni-wa* phrase and in the base VP position. In Chapter 3 I examine whether or not the PCC in Japanese has the properties listed in (16) and whether or not VP-preposing is involved in its derivation as in the topic/focus V-doubling constructions in other languages.

#### 1.1.2.2. *Emphatic Iteration Construction (EIC)*

As demonstrated in (10), words are sometimes iterated in a sentence for emphatic purposes. According to Stolz, Stroh, and Urdze (2011), in Khmer, the intensity of an adjective can be expressed with an intensifier as shown in (20a), but the iteration of an adjective in (20b) denotes a higher degree of intensity as well as the plurality of the entities it describes.<sup>5</sup>

(20) a. krouc nih touc nah (Khmer)

orange this small very

‘This orange is very small.’

b. krouc nih touc touc nah

orange this small small very

‘These oranges are (many and) very small.’

(Huffman (1970) cited by Stolz, Stroh and Urdze (2011: 62))

Ghomeshi et al. (2004) have observed that various lexical categories can also be iterated in English for emphasis.

(21) a. You are sick sick sick! (Ghomeshi et al. (2004: 309))

b. Let’s get out there and win win win!

c. All Sandy thinks about is sex sex sex!

d. Prices just keep going up up up.

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<sup>5</sup> Though the noun *krouc* is not morphologically marked as plural, the iteration of a modifying adjective encodes its plurality in (20b), so it cannot be interpreted as involving a singular noun, unlike (20a).

- e. All you think about is you you you. (b–e: Ghomeshi et al. (2004: 309, Footnote 3))

Italian also employs emphatic iteration.

- (22) a. bella bella (=10) (Italian)  
beautiful beautiful  
'very beautiful'
- b. adagio adagio  
slowly slowly  
'very slowly'
- c. in fretta in fretta  
in hurry in hurry  
'very hurriedly' (a–c: Wierzbicka (1991: 256))

Duck-Young Lee (personal communication) has reported that emphatic iteration is also possible in Korean. He has observed that the sequence *pw-ass-e pw-ass-e* in (23B) behaves as monoclausal in terms of intonation and that there is no pause between the two verbs in normal conversation.

- (23) A: Ce ynghwa pw-ass-e? (Korean)  
that movie see-PST  
'Did you see that movie?'
- B: Ung, pw-ass-e pw-ass-e.  
yes see-PST see-PST  
'Yes, I DID see it.'

Similarly, in Japanese, verbs, adjectives, adjectival nouns, nouns, and pronouns can be iterated for emphasis.

- (24) a. Tabe-ta tabe-ta. Ah, oisikat-ta. (Japanese)  
 eat-PST eat-PST ah good-PST  
 ‘I ate a lot. It was good.’
- b. Samu(-i) samu(-i). Ah, iya-da.  
 cold-NPST cold-NPST ah hate-COP.NPST  
 ‘It’s really cold. Ah, I hate it.’
- c. Hito-mae-de utau-no? Muri(-da) muri(-da).  
 people-front-in sing-Q impossible-COP.NPST impossible-COP.NPST  
 ‘Will I sing in front of people? I really can’t.’
- d. Otto, kasa kasa, wasureru tokoro dat-ta.  
 oh umbrella umbrella forget almost COP-PST  
 ‘Oh, I almost forgot to bring an umbrella.’
- e. Kore kore, hosikat-ta-no.  
 this this want-PST-SFP  
 ‘This is what I wanted.’

I refer to this construction as Emphatic Iteration Construction (EIC), and investigate its properties in Chapter 4, focusing on the iteration of predicates as exemplified in (24a–c).

### 1.1.2.3. VP-Focus Specificational Pseudocleft Construction

In addition to the PCC and EIC, this thesis investigates the VP-focus specificational pseudocleft construction that sometimes exhibits syntactic doubling.

- (25) a. Hanako-ga s-are-ta no wa kuruma-o nusum-are-ru koto  
 Hanako-NOM do-PASS-PST C TOP car-ACC steal-PASS-NPST KOTO

da.

COP.NPST

‘What happened to Hanako is she had her car stolen.’

- b. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni s-ase-ta no wa hon-o  
Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT do-CAUSE-PST C TOP book-ACC  
yom-(ase-r)u koto da.  
read-CAUSE-NPST KOTO COP.NPST

‘What Taro did was make Hanako read the book.’

In Japanese pseudocleft construction that focuses a passive VP, a predicate itself is not iterated, but the passive morpheme *-(r)are* must occur both in the presuppositional clause and the focus phrase, as demonstrated in (25a). The doubling of the causative morpheme *-(s)ase* is optional, as shown in (25b).

I have not been able to find other languages that allow the doubling of a passive morpheme in VP-focus specificational pseudocleft construction. Korean, which allows both PCC and EIC, does not allow doubling in pseudocleft sentences. According to Duck-Young Lee (personal communication), the iteration of a passive morpheme is impossible as illustrated in (26a), because the passive form of *do* cannot be formed using the passive morpheme *-ci*. To express a passive meaning in a presuppositional clause, the active verb *tangha-ta* ‘suffer, adversatively done,’ which has an inherently passive meaning, must be used instead, as shown in (26b).<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Similarly, Duck-Young Lee (personal communication) has reported that it is not possible to make a causative form from *hata* ‘do’ in Korean, as in (ia). Instead, *sikhi*, a lexical verb with an inherently causative meaning, must be used in the presuppositional clause, as (ib) shows.

- (i) a. \*Thalo-ka Hanako-eke hata-hi-n kes-un chayk-ul ilk-hi-nun kes-ita.  
Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT do-make-PST C-TOP book-ACC read-CAUSE-NPST C-COP.NPST  
(Lit.) ‘What Taro made Hanako do was (she) makes someone read books.’  
b. Thalo-ka Hanako-eke sikhi-n kes-un chayk-ul ilk-hi-nun  
Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT make.to.do-PST C-TOP book-ACC read-CAUSE-NPST  
kes-ita.  
C-COP.NPST

Thus, the iteration of a causative morpheme such as *hi* in the presuppositional clause and the focus phrase

- (26) a. \*Thalo-ka Cilo-hanthey haye-ci-n kes-un ttaylye-ci-nun kes-ita. (Korean)  
 Taro-NOM Jiro-by do-PASS-PST C-TOP hit-PASS-NPST C-COP  
 (Lit.) ‘What Taro was done by Jiro is hit by him.’
- b. Thalo-ka Cilo-hanthey tangha-n kes-un elkwul-ul macu-n kes-iessta.  
 Taro-NOM Jiro-by suffer-PAST C-TOP face-ACC be-hit C-PAST  
 ‘What happened to Taro was he was hit on the face by Jiro.’

Given the restrictive use of passives in Korean, syntactic doubling of the passive morpheme, as observed in Japanese, is not available. In English, passives do not occur in presuppositional clauses, as illustrated in (27), with/without doubling.<sup>7</sup>

- (27) \*What was done to John was [punch/he was punched] in the face.

In Chapter 2, I consider why the passive morpheme must double in the Japanese VP-focus specificational pseudocleft construction.

## 1.2. Aims and Scope

This thesis investigates the syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic properties of the constructions that involve iteration of predicative categories in Japanese. The focus is on Japanese because it has three iterative constructions in which a morpheme or a word is syntactically doubled, namely PCC, EIC, and VP-focus pseudocleft construction. Though PCC in Japanese has been studied by Okamoto (1990), Nishiyama and Cho (1998), and Aoyagi (2006a), EIC and VP-focus pseudocleft construction in Japanese have hitherto received little attention in the research literature. The aim

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is not possible.

<sup>7</sup> Doubling of morphemes such as *-ing* is obligatory in the presuppositional clause and the focus phrase in English.

- (i) What I’m doing is [patting/\*pat/\*to pat] the cat.



of this study is to provide an adequate description of these constructions and to consider why some elements are iterated in them.

The reason I focus on the iteration of predicates rather than that of nominals is because Japanese is an agglutinative language in which a root predicate and various affixes join together to form larger predicates.<sup>8</sup> Since each affix is considered to head a projection of its own, it is easy to identify which projection we are dealing with when we see the form of predicates that are iterated. Nominals, on the other hand, do not occur with layers of affixes in Japanese, so it is more difficult to determine their structure when we observe their iteration.

Iteration is a curious phenomenon considering that there is also a seemingly opposite phenomenon, namely ellipsis, in language.

(28) A: Did you see Bill last night?

- B: a. Yes, I ~~saw him last night~~, ma'am.  
b. Yes, I did ~~see him last night~~, ma'am.  
c. Yes, I saw him last night, ma'am.

As claimed by Katz and Postal (1964), Chomsky (1965), Fiengo and Lasnik (1972) and Sag (1976) among others, ellipsis is allowed so long as the content of elided materials is recoverable. For instance, the question in (28A) can be answered by (28Bc) without ellipsis, but it can also be answered by (28Ba) or (28Bb) since the elided materials, indicated by strikethrough, are recoverable from the context.

Ellipsis is an optional operation, but its application is preferable in some cases.

(29) A: Did you see Bill before you went to the movies with Tom?

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<sup>8</sup> Zimmermann (2016) has observed that predicate focus tends to be realized differently from focus-marking on arguments across languages. In Japanese, arguments can be focused by specificational pseudocleft constructions just like predicates, but the PCC is a construction that only focuses predicative categories. Whether or not the iteration of nominal categories can be subsumed under the EIC is a question for future research.

- B:
- a. No, I ~~did not see him before I went to the movies with Tom~~, ma'am.
  - b. No, I did not see him before I went to the movies with Tom, ma'am.
  - c. No, I did not see him ~~before I went to the movies with Tom~~, ma'am.
  - d. No, I did not see him before I went to the movies with Tom, ma'am.

All the examples in (28) and (29) are grammatical, but (29Bd) sounds a little awkward because it is too repetitive. It sounds as if a robot or someone playing a telephone game is talking, and one may wonder why the speaker chose to answer (29A) with (29Bd) rather than with the more concise (29Ba–c). Ellipsis allows the speaker to convey messages in an economical way, and it is natural that it should be preferred over redundant repetitions. In Gricean terms, it can be ascribed to the maxim of manner, which requires the speaker to make his/her utterance as brief as possible *inter alia*.

However, if redundancy is to be avoided in language, why is iteration possible at all? If some element within a sentence is iterated, the sentence becomes longer, which requires more articulatory efforts on the part of the speaker and puts a greater perceptual load on the hearer. Should this not violate the economy principle? Why are some elements iterated at the cost of putting greater loads on the speaker and hearer? These are the questions I address in this thesis.

To make these questions more precise, let us divide sentences with iteration into two types in terms of interpretation.

- (30) a. meaning of '... A ... A ...'  $\neq$  meaning of '... A ...'  
 b. meaning of '... A ... A ...' = meaning of '... A ...'

In the one type, iteration makes some semantic contribution to a sentence, as illustrated in (30a), whereas in the other type, iteration does not affect the interpretation of a sentence, as schematized in (30b). (30a) includes cases in which iteration adds some meaning to a sentence indirectly in some sense. In other words, it may not be the iteration itself that contributes some meaning to the interpretation of the sentence as a whole, but the construction with iteration has an additional

meaning that is unavailable in sentences without it. When iteration has a direct or indirect semantic effect, it comes as no surprise that a language makes use of it. Iteration is necessary as a means of representing a certain meaning that a speaker wants to express.

On the other hand, in (30b) iteration makes no semantic contribution on its own. Are there any such cases that fall into this category in natural languages, and if there are, why does a certain element appear twice in a sentence even though its iteration does not have any semantic effect?

In this regard, we must note that language is in fact redundant. We frequently come across elements with no semantic content in sentences.

- (31) a. John getss up at ten every morning.  
b. less grandss hommes (French)  
the.PL great.PL man.PL  
'the great men'

In (31a), a verb in present tense agrees with a third-person singular subject, and in (31b) a determiner and an adjective agree in number with a plural noun within DP. Agreement markers do not have an inherent meaning, but they are required in sentences for grammatical reasons.<sup>9</sup> In a similar vein, are there cases where iteration of a predicate occurs not for a certain meaning but for some other purpose?

To sum up, the primary research question is the following:

- (32) Why does the iteration of an element occur in the PCC, EIC, and VP-focus pseudocleft construction in Japanese, with/without a semantic effect?

### 1.3. Theoretical Framework

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<sup>9</sup> In (31a), for example, T has uninterpretable  $\phi$  features, which are checked against the interpretable  $\phi$  features of the subject DP. The uninterpretable features are not interpreted in the semantic component.

### 1.3.1. “Constructions” under the Principles-and-Parameters Approach to Syntax

At an early stage of the theoretical development of generative grammar, various transformational rules were proposed that were both construction-specific and language-specific. For instance, Chomsky (1957: 43) proposed a passive transformation in English as follows:

(33) If  $S_1$  is a grammatical sentence of the form

$NP_1 - Aux - V - NP_2,$

then the corresponding string of the form

$NP_2 - Aux - be - en - V - by - NP_1$

is also a grammatical sentence.

Even though this captures the correct word order of passive sentences, the need for a more general approach was soon recognized. Hasegawa (1968: 230), for instance, pointed out that “the so-called passive transformation” could be “decomposed into a few more general operations,” and Chomsky (1970: 203) divided the passive transformation into two steps: agent-postposing and NP-preposing. This allowed him to treat passive sentences and passives within noun phrases in an analogous manner. As conditions on transformations and interpretive rules were explored more intensively, transformations came to take a more general form. For example, Chomsky (1976) reduced passive and subject-to-subject raising to Move NP, and they were later further subsumed under Move  $\alpha$  (Chomsky 1980).

The introduction of the principles-and-parameters approach by Chomsky (1981, 1986a, b) substantially changed the theory of grammar, which had been based on rules. Chomsky (1981: 3–4) introduced “a highly structured theory of UG based on a number of fundamental principles that sharply restrict the class of attainable grammars and narrowly constrain their form, but with parameters that have to be fixed by experience” and recast rules like passive in a new light. According to Chomsky (1995: 170), “[t]he notion of grammatical construction is eliminated, and with it, construction-particular rules. Constructions such as verb phrase, relative clause, and passive remain only as taxonomic artifacts, collections of phenomena explained through the

interaction of the principles of UG, with the values of parameters fixed.”

In this thesis, I use the term “constructions” to refer to certain expressions only for the sake of convenience. Following Chomsky, I regard them as artifacts with no theoretical significance. Iterative “constructions” like PCC and EIC look like grammaticalized expressions that need to be memorized, but just postulating specific constructions is far from explanatory. This thesis investigates iterative constructions to find out why they have the form they do and what kind of principles of UG are at work behind them.

### *1.3.2. Minimalist Program*

Chomsky’s (1995 et seq.) Minimalist Program postulates the Strong Minimalist Thesis as a working hypothesis:

(34) Language is an optimal solution to legibility conditions. (Chomsky (2000: 97))

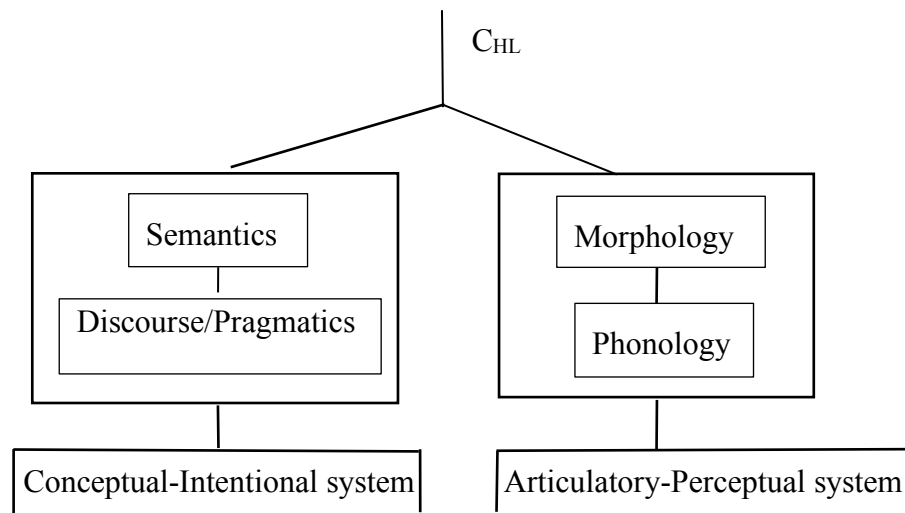
The program is “minimalist” in the sense that it assumes only bare essentials in a theory of grammar, namely those taken from “the domain of virtual conceptual necessity” (Chomsky 1995: 169). Theory-internal levels such as D-structure and S-structure are eliminated because they are not conceptually necessary. The computational system of human language  $C_{HL}$  generates LF representation and PF representation. More specifically, minimal computation proceeds phase by phase, and Spell-Out sends some elements of the structure already formed in the course of derivation to LF, to Morphology and PF. The interface conditions must be satisfied both at LF and PF, meaning that the LF representation must be legible to the conceptual-intensional system and the PF representation must be legible to the articulatory-perceptual system.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Chomsky repeatedly emphasized the role of interface conditions in a linguistic theory:

- (i) “Other systems of the mind/brain have to be able to access expressions generated by states of FL ((I-)languages), to ‘read’ them and use them as ‘instructions’ for thought and action.”  
(Chomsky (2000: 94))
- (ii) “For each language L (a state of FL), the expressions generated by L must be ‘legible’ to systems that access the objects at the interface between FL and external systems—external to FL, internal to the person.”  
(Chomsky (2001: 1))

(35)



This study examines the interface between the computational system and the articulatory-perceptual system, where the pronunciation of syntactic objects is determined, and the interface between the computational system and the conceptual-intentional system, where focus, topic, and emphasis are interpreted.

### 1.3.2.1. The Copy Theory of Movement

In addition to D-structure and S-structure, the *raison d'être* of other grammatical constructs and notions that were proposed in the pre-Minimalist framework came to be questioned under the Minimalist Program. For example, the Inclusiveness Condition disallows the introduction of such elements as indices, bar levels, and traces in the course of computation.<sup>11</sup>

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- (iii) “If language is to be usable at all, its design must satisfy an ‘interface condition’ IC: the information in the expressions generated by L must be accessible to other systems, including the sensorimotor (SM) and conceptual-intentional (C-I) systems that enter into thought and action.”  
(Chomsky (2004: 106))
  - (iv) “[A]ll phenomena of language have a principled account in this thesis, that language is a perfect solution to interface conditions, the conditions it must at least partially satisfy if it is to be usable at all.”  
(Chomsky (2007: 5))
  - (v) “[L]anguage is an optimal solution to interface conditions that FL must satisfy; that is, language is an optimal way to link sound and meaning, where these notions are given a technical sense in terms of the interface systems that enter into the use and interpretation of expressions generated by an I-language.”  
(Chomsky (2008: 135))
  - (vi) “[L]anguage is a perfect solution to [interface] conditions [...]”  
(Chomsky (2013: 38))

<sup>11</sup> The Inclusiveness Condition/Principle is stated as follows:

A trace is not included in a numeration, and its introduction into syntactic structure after the application of movement violates the Inclusiveness Condition. A trace – a theoretical construct with no virtual conceptual necessity – does not meet the minimalist requirement. This led to the introduction of the copy theory of movement, according to which a copy of an element that undergoes movement is left behind in the base position rather than a trace.<sup>12</sup>

Traces are also barred by the No Tampering Condition (NTC).<sup>13</sup> Chomsky (2007: 10) has claimed, “[A]n application of IM [Internal Merge] yields two *copies* of X” if NTC holds for IM. He adds, “There is no rule of formation of copies or remerge, as has sometimes been supposed; just IM applying in the optimal way, satisfying NTC” (ibid: 10). Copies come for free as a result of NTC.<sup>14</sup>

An empirical piece of evidence Chomsky (1995) has given for the copy theory of movement comes from the interpretation of anaphors at LF.

(36) a. John wondered which picture of himself Bill took.

- (i) “[A]ny structure formed by the computation (in particular,  $\pi$  and  $\lambda$ ) is constituted of elements already present in the lexical items selected for N; no new objects are added in the course of computation apart from rearrangements of lexical properties (in particular, no indices, bar levels in the sense of X-bar theory, etc.).” (Chomsky (1995: 228))
- (ii) “No new features are introduced by  $C_{HL}$ .” (Chomsky (2000: 113))
- (iii) It “bars introduction of new elements (features) in the course of computation: indices, traces, syntactic categories or bar levels, and so on.” (Chomsky (2001: 3))

<sup>12</sup> See Hasegawa (2014) for arguments against the copy theory of movement.

<sup>13</sup> The NTC is described as follows:

- (i) “One natural property of efficient computation, with a claim to extralinguistic generality, is that operations forming complex expressions should consist of no more than a rearrangement of the objects to which they apply, not modifying them internally by deletion or insertion of new elements.” (Chomsky (2005: 11))
- (ii) “Suppose X and Y are merged. Evidently, efficient computation will leave X and Y unchanged (the No-Tampering Condition NTC).” (Chomsky (2007: 8))
- (iii) “Merge of X and Y leaves the two [syntactic objects] unchanged.” (Chomsky (2008: 138))
- (iv) “The third factor principle of minimal computation dictates that neither X nor Y is modified by Merge (‘the No Tampering Condition’) ...” (Chomsky (2013: 40))

<sup>14</sup> Chomsky (2015: 4) has stated, “In the best case, phenomena would be explained by interaction of the simplest computational operation—Merge, with its two logically possible subcases, Internal Merge IM (automatically yielding ‘copy theory of movement’) and External Merge EM—interacting with general principles of minimal computation MC. The *Strong Minimalist Thesis SMT* articulates this goal.”

- b. John wondered [which picture of himself] Bill took [~~which picture of himself~~].
- c. John wondered [which ~~picture of himself~~] Bill took [~~which~~ picture of himself].

(adapted from Chomsky (1995: 206))

(36a) can be interpreted with *himself* referring to either *John* or *Bill*. The antecedent of the reflexive pronoun is determined as *John* if the *wh* phrase is interpreted in the derived position as in (36b). On the other hand, if the restriction in the operator position is minimized as in (36c), *Bill* is chosen as an antecedent of *himself* thanks to the copy in the base position. Interestingly, the idiomatic interpretation of ‘take ... picture’ is only possible when the antecedent of *himself* is interpreted as *Bill*. This follows if the idiom ‘take ... picture’ must form a unit at LF for interpretation, because this holds true in (36c) but not in (36b). This is an argument for the existence of a copy at LF. Reconstruction is not necessary if a copy is available in situ.

There is evidence for the copy theory of movement on the PF side as well.

- (37) Wen glaubt Hans wen Jakob gesehen hat? (= (11a)) (German)  
 whom thinks Hans whom Jakob seen has  
 ‘Who does Hans think Jakob saw?’ (McDaniel (1986) cited by Nunes (2004: 38))

As previously mentioned, a *wh*-word can occur both in the sentence-initial position and in the position of the intermediate trace in languages like German. If there is a copy in the intermediate position rather than a trace, as is expected under the copy theory of movement, the occurrence of the *wh*-word in the intermediate position follows naturally.

The immediate question that arises with the introduction of the copy theory of movement is which chain link gets pronounced.<sup>15</sup> Obviously, a copy should not be pronounced in the base position in (36b, c) and (37). As Chomsky (2007: 12) has observed, usually “only the final

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<sup>15</sup> While pronouncing only one chain link allows the least effort on the part of the speaker, it requires some effort on the part of the hearer, who must interpret the chain properly. Chomsky (2005: 13) has argued that language is not “optimized for communicative efficiency” but is “optimized for satisfaction of interface conditions, with minimal computation.”



position of IM is pronounced.” In the pre-Minimalist theory, it was taken for granted that a trace had no phonetic content, but under the copy theory of movement, it is necessary to specify which chain link should be pronounced and which should be left unpronounced<sup>16</sup> (cf. Bobaljik (1995), Pesetsky (1998)). In this thesis, I follow Nunes’ (2004) approach to linearization of chains since he gives a principled account of why the highest chain link is usually pronounced in addition to dealing with cases in which a copy is pronounced. His analysis is helpful in explaining the copy pronunciation of predicates in PCC and EIC, as shown in Chapters 3 and 4, respectively.

### 1.3.2.2. Nunes’ (2004) Analysis of Linearization of Chains

Nunes (2004) has argued that when a chain is formed in the derivation, generally only one of its links can be pronounced, because non-distinct links of a chain fail to be linearized due to Kayne’s (1994) Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA).

(38) [John<sup>i</sup> [was [kissed John<sup>i</sup>]]] (Nunes (2004: 24))

For example, in (38) the upper copy of *John* asymmetrically c-commands the copula, so the order <John<sup>i</sup>, was> should be derived in accordance with the LCA. On the other hand, the lower copy of *John* is asymmetrically c-commanded by the copula, so the order <was, John<sup>i</sup>> is also expected to hold according to the LCA. If so, the copula *was* must both precede and be preceded by *John*. This is contradiction that yields no linear order. In addition, the order <John<sup>i</sup>, John<sup>i</sup>>, which is expected because the higher copy of *John* asymmetrically c-commands the lower copy, violates the irreflexivity condition on linear order, which precludes an element from preceding itself. Nunes’ claim is that a chain link must be deleted so that a linear order can be obtained. He has named this deletion “Chain Reduction.”

As for why Chain Reduction must apply to the tail of a chain rather than to the head of a chain, Nunes has provided an explanation based on economy principles. In (38), if Chain

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<sup>16</sup> The distinction between overt movement and covert movement may be attributable to whether or not Internal Merge precedes Transfer, as proposed by Nissenbaum (2000), but it is still necessary to determine which chain link to pronounce after overt movement takes place.

Reduction deletes the head of the chain, the unchecked Case feature of *John* in the base position must be deleted in addition in order to satisfy the Full Interpretation condition at PF. On the other hand, if Chain Reduction applies to the tail of the chain, no such elimination of features is necessary, because the Case feature on the higher copy of *John* has already been checked, and no unchecked formal feature remains. Since it takes fewer operations to meet the requirement of Full Interpretation, Chain Reduction applies to the tail of a chain. Thus, Nunes has claimed that in general, the deletion of the tail of a chain follows from economy considerations.

However, there are cases in which an additional link is pronounced besides the head of a chain.

(39) a. Wen glaubt Hans wen Jakob gesehen hat? (= (11a), (37)) (German)  
 whom thinks Hans whom Jakob seen has  
 ‘Who does Hans think Jakob saw?’

b. \*Wessen Buch glaubst du wessen Buch Hans liest?  
 whose book think you whose book Hans reads  
 ‘Whose book do you think Hans is reading?’

((a, b): McDaniel (1986) cited by Nunes (2004: 38–39))

c. \*Wen glaubst Hans wen Jakob wen gesehen hat?  
 whom thinks Hans whom Jakob whom seen has  
 ‘Who does Hans think Jakob saw?’ (Nunes (2004: 39))

As previously mentioned, some languages such as German and Romani allow *wh*-elements in the intermediate positions to be pronounced in addition to the head of a chain, as shown in (39a). However, it is not the case that any *wh*-element in any position can be pronounced in these languages. (39b) shows that *wessen Buch* ‘whose book’ in the intermediate position cannot be pronounced. (39c) indicates that the tail of a chain cannot be pronounced in addition to the head of the chain and the intermediate link.

Why is it that both the head of the chain and the intermediate link can be pronounced in

(39a) and yield a good linear order? Nunes has claimed that *wen* ‘whom’ in the intermediate position in (39a) adjoins to the intermediate  $C^0$ , and that the structure [ $C^0$  WH [ $C^0$   $C^0$ ]] undergoes fusion in Morphology. Assuming with Chomsky (1995: 337, 340) that the LCA applies after Morphology, once the morphological fusion takes place and the adjunction structure becomes a single terminal element, *wen* in the intermediate position becomes a part of a word *wen*- $C^0$  and ceases to be visible to the LCA.<sup>17</sup> The application of Chain Reduction is regulated by economy principles, so it only applies when it is necessary to save chain links from violating conditions on linear order. If a fused chain link in the intermediate position is invisible to the LCA, there is no need to delete it, and Chain Reduction does not apply to it. Thus, *wen* in the intermediate position survives the LCA in (39a).

In contrast, the tail of a chain cannot survive the LCA, as demonstrated in (39c), because the head of the chain and the tail of the chain are non-distinct. Morphological fusion cannot apply to the tail of the chain, because the *wh*-word in situ cannot adjoin to  $C^0$ . Therefore, Chain Reduction must delete the tail of the chain.

The fact that *wessen Buch* ‘whose book’ cannot be pronounced in the intermediate position in (39b) supports Nunes’ analysis. Morphological fusion applies to the adjunction structure of heads, but not to the one involving maximal projections.<sup>18</sup>

To summarize Nunes’ analysis, when forms of some links of a chain are morphologically reanalyzed, the elements within these links cease to be visible to the LCA, and Chain Reduction does not apply to them. In such cases, the pronunciation of multiple chain links becomes possible.

### 1.3.3. Phrase Structure of Japanese

Following Rizzi (1997) and Cinque (1999), I take a cartographic approach to phrase

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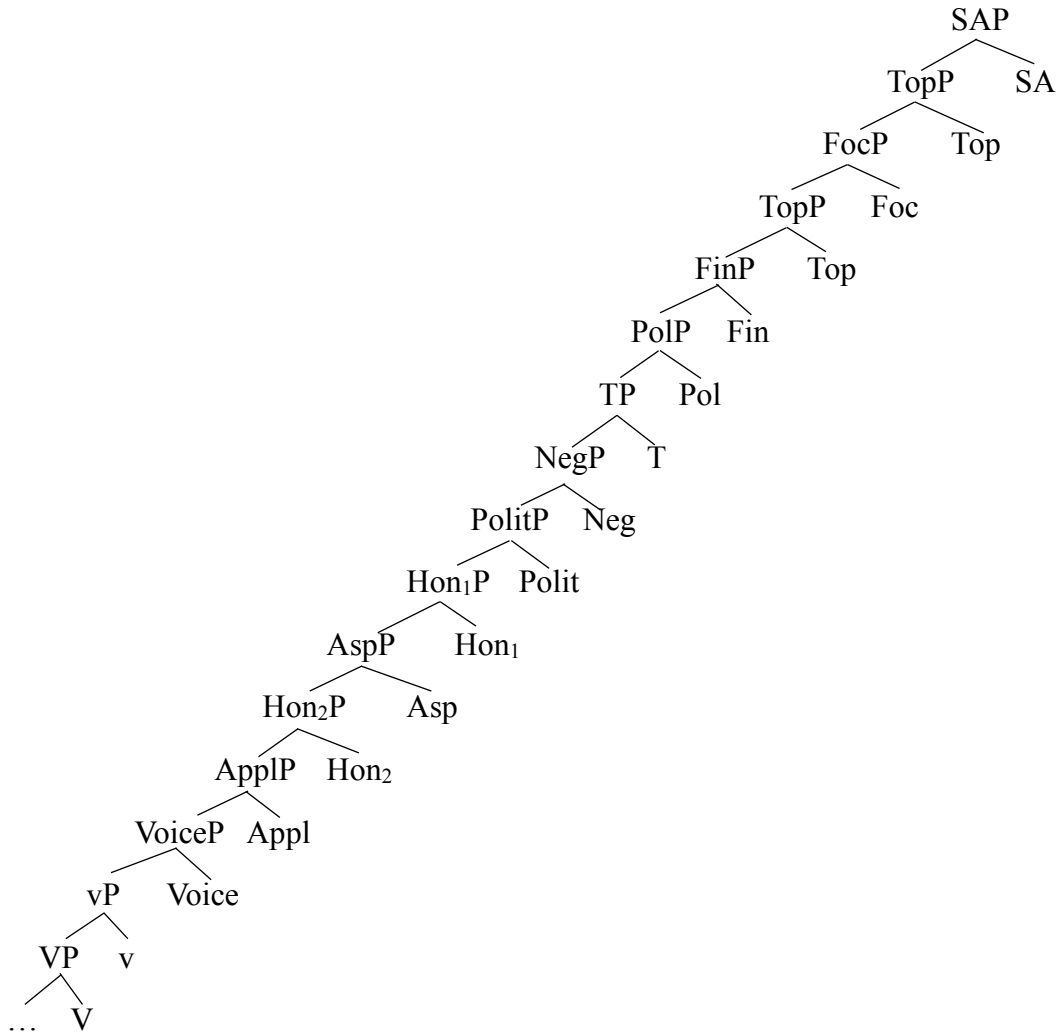
<sup>17</sup> The order between the *wh*-element and other elements in a sentence is determined by the position of  $C^0$ , which contains the *wh*-element.

<sup>18</sup> Nunes (2004: 42–43) has noted, “dialectal and idiolectal variation in this regard is due not to syntactic computation proper, but to the degree of permissiveness of a given dialect or idiolect with respect to morphological reanalysis.”

structures for expository purposes. To be concrete, I assume the following clausal structure for Japanese (cf. Minami (1974), Takubo (1987), Speas and Tenny (2003), Holmberg (2013a, b, 2016) and Endo (2014), among others).<sup>19</sup>

(40) a. [SAP [TopP [FocP [TopP [FinP [PolP [TP [NegP [PolitP [Hon1P [AspP [Hon2P [AppIP [VoiceP [vP [VP ... V ...] v] Voice] Appl] Hon2] Asp] Hon1] Polit] Neg] T] Pol] Fin] Top] Foc] Top] SA]

b.



This is a simplified structure with many details abstracted away, but it suffices for our purposes.

To illustrate, let us examine several examples.

<sup>19</sup> In the following chapters, I omit irrelevant details from the phrase structure trees.

- (41) Taroo-ga Hanako-ni hon-o yom-ase-ta.  
 Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT book-ACC read-CAUSE-PST  
 ‘Taro made Hanako read books.’

I follow Harley (1995) and regard the causative *-(s)ase* as in (41) as the realization of v.

Turning to passives, I assume that *-(r)are* is a head of Voice Phrase, which is located above vP, in keeping with Pytkänen (2008) and Harley (2013). This accounts for the acceptability of (42a), in which the passive morpheme follows the causative morpheme in contrast to (42b).

- (42) a. Taroo-ga sensee-ni sakibun-o kak-ase-rare-ta.  
 Taro-NOM teacher-by composition-ACC write-CAUSE-PASS-PST  
 ‘Taro was made to write a composition by his teacher.’  
 b. \*Taroo-ga sensee-ni sakibun-o kak-are-sase-ta.  
 Taro-NOM teacher-by composition-ACC write-PASS-CAUSE-PST  
 ‘Taro was made to write a composition by his teacher.’

I regard benefactive verbs such as *-te yar(u)* ‘do someone a favor’ and *-te moraw(u)* ‘receive benefit’ as applicatives, which follow causatives and passives, as shown in (43).<sup>20</sup>

- (43) a. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni keeki-o tabe-sase-te yat-ta.  
 Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT cake-ACC eat-CAUSE-TE give-PST  
 ‘Taro let Hanako eat a cake.’  
 b. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni keeki-o tabe-sase-te morat-ta.  
 Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT cake-ACC eat-CAUSE-TE receive-PST  
 ‘Taro had Hanako help him eat a cake.’

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<sup>20</sup> As Ken Hiraiwa (personal communication) has pointed out to me, the benefactive verbs and the aspectual auxiliary in (43) and (44) are often analyzed as complex predicates, but I assume the structure in (40) for the sake of simplicity.

- c. Taroo-ga Saburoo-ni nagur-are-te yat-ta.  
 Taro-NOM Saburo-by hit-PASS-TE give-PST  
 ‘Taro let himself be hit by Saburo.’

Aspect is realized by the aspectual auxiliary *-te i(ru)*, which can be interpreted as either perfective or progressive. It occurs in a higher position than causatives, passives, and applicatives.

- (44) a. Hanako-ga imooto-o nak-ase-te i-ta.  
 Hanako-NOM sister-ACC cry-CAUSE-TE ASP-PST  
 ‘Hanako was making her sister cry./Hanako had made her sister cry.’
- b. Hanako-ga Taroo-ni karakaw-are-te i-ta.  
 Hanako-NOM Taro-by tease-PASS-TE ASP-PST  
 ‘Hanako was being teased by Taro./Hanako had been teased by Taro.’
- c. Hanako-ga Taroo-ni hon-o kat-te morat-te i-ta.  
 Hanako-NOM Taro-by book-ACC buy-TE receive-TE ASP-PST  
 ‘Hanako was being bought a book by Taro./Hanako had been bought a book by Taro.’

I divide honorifics into two groups: Hon<sub>1</sub> and Hon<sub>2</sub>. Hon<sub>2</sub> *o- -ni nar(u)* appears closer to V than Hon<sub>1</sub> *-(r)are*. (45a) shows that Hon<sub>2</sub> occurs closer to V than Aspect *-te i(ru)*, but farther from V than Voice *-(r)are*. It can also attach to an applicative verb, as shown in (45b).

- (45) a. Tanaka-sensee-ga Yamada-sensee-ni o-sikar-are-ninat-te  
 Tanaka-professor-NOM Yamada-professor-by HON<sub>2</sub>-scold-PASS-HON<sub>2</sub>-TE  
 i-ta.  
 ASP-PST  
 ‘Prof. Tanaka was being scolded by Prof. Yamada.’

- b. Tanaka-sensee-ga Hanako-ni hon-o kat-te o-yari-ninat-ta.  
 Tanaka-professor-NOM Hanako-for book-ACC buy-TE HON<sub>2</sub>-give-HON<sub>2</sub>-PST  
 ‘Prof. Tanaka bought Hanako a book.’

On the other hand, Hon<sub>1</sub> *-(r)are* occurs higher than Aspect.

- (46) Tanaka-sensee-ga hon-o kai-te o-rare-ta.  
 Tanaka-professor-NOM book-ACC write-TE ASP-HON<sub>1</sub>-PST  
 ‘Prof. Tanaka was writing a book.’

In (46), *-te or(u)*, a variant of *-te i(ru)*, is used as an Aspect marker, and Hon<sub>1</sub> *-rare* occurs higher than Aspect but lower than Tense, as indicated by word order.

The polite form *-mas(u)* occurs above Hon<sub>1</sub>, but below Negation and Tense.

- (47) Tanaka-sensee-wa hon-o kak-are-mas-en-desi-ta.  
 Tanaka-professor-TOP book-ACC write-HON<sub>1</sub>-POLIT-NEG-COP.POLIT-PST  
 ‘Prof. Tanaka didn’t write a book.’

In Chapter 4, I postulate Polarity Phrase (PolP) above TP as the highest functional projection in the IP domain,<sup>21</sup> as argued by Holmberg (2013a, b, 2016). The reason why PolP is necessary in addition to NegP in the phrase structure of Japanese is discussed in relation to EIC.

As for the CP domain, I assume the articulated left periphery, as proposed by Rizzi (1997).

- (48) Taroo-wa tyoosyoku-o tabe-ta daroo ka?  
 Taro-TOP breakfast-ACC eat-PST probably Q  
 ‘I wonder if Taro had his breakfast.’

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<sup>21</sup> In this thesis, the term “IP domain” refers to the syntactic structures that represent propositions, and the term “CP domain” refers to the structures above the IP domain that represent clause types.

In (48), the topic phrase, *Taroo*, occurs in Spec of TopP. The topic marker *-wa* is licensed by Top<sup>0</sup>, but being an affixal particle, it attaches to whatever constituent fills in Spec of TopP. As for the modal *daroo* ‘probably,’ Inoue (2007) and Ueda (2007) have claimed that true modals such as *daroo*, unlike pseudo-modals, are generated in the CP domain, taking TP as a complement. Following Speas and Tenny (2003), in Chapter 4 I postulate Speech Act Phrase, which can be seen as a variant of ForceP, at the top of the CP domain. In (48), Speech Act (SA) is realized by the question marker *ka*.<sup>22</sup>

In addition to the structure shown in (40), I assume that Case valuation is carried out by Agree as proposed by Chomsky (2000, 2001), and that a subject NP moves to Spec of TP when there is an EPP feature on T. As for verbal morphology, I follow Koizumi (1995/1999) among others and assume that V-to-T movement takes place in syntax.

#### 1.3.4. *Alternative Semantics*

Rooth (1985, 1992) has proposed alternative semantics to account for the semantic interpretation of focus. He has posited a focus semantic value in addition to the ordinary semantic value. Rooth (1992: 76) has stated, “Informally, the focus semantic value for a phrase of category S is the set of propositions obtainable from the ordinary semantic value by making a substitution in the position corresponding to the focused phrase.”

(49) a. [Mary]<sub>F</sub> likes Sue.

b.  $[[s \text{ [Mary]}_F \text{ likes Sue}]]^f = \{\text{like}(x, S) \mid x \in E\}$ , where E is the domain of individuals.

(Rooth (1992: 76))

For example, consider (49a) where *Mary* is focused by prosodic prominence. The focus semantic value for (49a) is “the set of propositions of the form ‘x likes Sue’” (Rooth (1992: 76)), including, for example, ‘Mary likes Sue,’ ‘John likes Sue,’ and ‘Jane likes Sue.’ Rooth (1992: 76) has stated,

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<sup>22</sup> It may be possible to treat a question marker as a realization of focus (cf. Rizzi (2004)).



“At an intuitive level, we think of the focus semantic value of a sentence as a set of alternatives from which the ordinary semantic value is drawn, or a set of propositions which potentially contrast with the ordinary semantic value.” Focus evokes alternatives, and we think of them when we interpret sentences with a focus.

In addition to utilizing prosodic prominence, we can represent focus by making use of constructions specialized for focusing certain constituents. For example, cleft and pseudocleft constructions are employed to focus arguments, adjuncts, and predicates.

- (50) a. It is [John] that gave me a book yesterday.  
b. It was [in the library] that I saw John yesterday.
- (51) a. What I ate for lunch today was [ramen].  
b. What John did was [take his daughter to the airport].

In both cleft and pseudocleft sentences, focused constituents occur in the post-copular position. In the cleft sentences (50a, b), the argument *John* and the adjunct *in the library* are focused, respectively. (50a) evokes such propositions as ‘John gave me a book yesterday,’ ‘Bill gave me a book yesterday,’ and ‘Mary gave me a book yesterday,’ and asserts that JOHN, not Bill or Mary, gave me a book yesterday. Likewise, in (50b), such propositions as ‘I saw John at a cafe yesterday’ and ‘I saw John in the classroom yesterday’ are evoked as alternatives to the ordinary semantic value ‘I saw John in the library yesterday,’ and the sentence asserts that I saw John yesterday not at a cafe or in the classroom, but IN THE LIBRARY.

Turning to pseudocleft sentences, in (51a) the argument *ramen* is interpreted as the focus, and the focus semantic value includes such propositions as ‘I ate ramen for lunch today,’ ‘I ate sushi for lunch today,’ and ‘I ate hamburgers for lunch today.’ In (51b), the predicate phrase *take his daughter to the airport* is focused and is contrasted with alternatives like ‘John cooked dinner for his daughter,’ ‘John made a phone call to his daughter,’ and so on.

Another way of expressing foci is to make use of the emphatic *do*.

(52) I DID hand in the assignment.

In (52), the predicate phrase *hand in the assignment* is not focused, because it does not evoke alternatives like ‘I went to school’ or ‘I missed a class.’ The focus semantic value of (52) is {‘I handed in the assignment,’ ‘I did not hand in the assignment.’} Rather than focusing the content of a predicate phrase, the emphatic auxiliary *do* focuses the truth of the proposition *I handed in the assignment*. Höhle (1992) has called this emphasis of the truth of a proposition “verum focus.”

This thesis considers how predicate focus, verum focus, and emphasis are encoded in syntactic forms by examining the VP-focus pseudocleft construction, the PCC, and the EIC in Japanese.

#### 1.4. Questions to Be Addressed

I raised the following research question earlier in this chapter:

(53) Why does the iteration of an element occur in the PCC, EIC, and VP-focus pseudocleft construction in Japanese, with/without a semantic effect? (=32)

To answer this question, I first examine and describe the syntactic properties of these constructions and then consider the mechanism that is responsible for the iteration of a predicate in them. The specific questions that are addressed for each construction are as follows:

- (54) a. Which forms of V can/cannot be iterated in each construction?  
b. Are there any constraints that are imposed on the iteration of morphemes/predicates in each construction?  
c. How can the occurrence of the same morpheme/predicate be explained in each construction?  
d. What is the interpretation of each construction?

As to Question (54a), the data that indicate which constituent can/cannot undergo English VP preposing have been reported by Akmajian et al. (1979) and Janßen (2000).

- (55) a. They all said that John would pass the test, and [pass the test] he did.  
b. They all said that John was leaving the dark room, and [leaving the dark room] John was.  
c. \*They all say that John will be leaving the dark room, and [be leaving the dark room] John will.  
d. \*They all said that John was being obnoxious, and [obnoxious] he was being.  
e. They all said that John was being obnoxious, and [being obnoxious] he was.  
f. They swore that John might have been taking heroin, and [taking heroin] he might have been.  
g. \*... [been taking heroin] he might have.  
h. \*... [have been taking heroin] he might. (Janßen (2000: 224, 232, 233))

While lexical VPs (55a) and Progressive Aspect Phrases (55b, e, f) can be preposed, other projections cannot. This study aims to collect data like these in Japanese based on the fine-grained clausal structure consisting of V and various functional projections above it.

To answer Question (54b), I consider why each predicate in the iterative construction takes the form it does. While the EIC requires the two Vs to be in identical form, the PCC sometimes allows the two Vs to occur in different forms.

Regarding Question (54c), the PCC and the EIC are investigated from the point of view of the copy theory of movement and whether or not they can be treated like V-doubling constructions in other languages. As for the pseudocleft construction, I examine the biclausal analysis proposed by Ross (1972) and Den Dikken et al. (2000), among others, to determine whether or not it can adequately account for the doubling of morphemes.

With respect to Question (54d), while it is obvious that the VP-focus pseudocleft

construction involves predicate focus, the interpretations of the PCC and the EIC are not immediately clear. I examine them, paying attention to the context in which they occur.

### **1.5. Organization and Data**

Before investigating the syntactic and semantic properties of the constructions that involve iteration of Vs, I first examine the VP-focus specificational pseudocleft construction in Chapter 2. It makes a good starting point because it is a bona fide case of VP focus, and it helps us illustrate the hierarchical clausal structure of Japanese. I demonstrate that in some cases the same morpheme must occur in the presuppositional clause and the focus phrase simultaneously.

Chapter 3 examines the properties of the PCC. I demonstrate that some restrictions are imposed on the form of predicates that occur preceding and following the topic marker *-wa*, and I propose an account for the restrictions. The appendix shows some examples of the PCC taken from novels.

Chapter 4 turns to the EIC. I consider whether or not movement and copy spell-out are responsible for the iteration of predicates. The behavior of the EIC that occurs in an answer to a yes/no question is examined in detail regarding polarity emphasis. The appendices provide an overview of some constructions that look similar to the EIC and some examples of the EIC from novels.

Chapter 5 concludes the thesis.

The data in this thesis are based mostly on my own native judgments with occasional verification by my friends and family members. As for the data that show variability in acceptability judgment, five or six native speakers of Japanese (men and women of different ages from different regions) were consulted and asked to rate sentences on a four-scale assessment basis ranging from “completely unacceptable” to “completely acceptable.” With respect to (8) in Chapter 3, 55 speakers were consulted. The % symbol at the beginning of an example sentence indicates variability across speakers. Examples of attested data are provided in appendices to Chapters 3 and 4.

## Chapter 2

### VP-Focus Specificational Pseudocleft Sentences in Japanese

#### 2.1. Introduction

The structure and the derivation of specificational pseudocleft sentences in English have been studied since the early days of generative grammar (e.g. Akmajian (1970), Ross (1972, 2000), Higgins (1973), Chomsky (1977), Bošković (1997), Heycock and Kroch (1999), Den Dikken et al. (2000), Den Dikken (2005), etc.). These are sentences where a presuppositional *wh*-clause occurs in the pre-copular position and the focus constituent occurs in the post-copular position, as exemplified in (1).

- (1) a. What I had is [a book].  
b. What I thought is [that you were a jerk].  
c. What I did is [(to) pat the cat].  
d. What I am is [a pro wrestler/proud of you].  
e. What I did is [I patted the cat]. (Ross (2000: 388–389))

A variety of elements can be focalized in the construction: an argument NP (1a), a complement clause (1b), an infinitival VP (1c), a predicate nominal or AP (1d), and for some speakers, a whole clause (1e).

Similarly, in Japanese, specificational pseudocleft sentences take the form in (2), and various elements occur in the pre-copular focus position.<sup>1, 2</sup>

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\* The earlier versions of the research in this chapter were partially presented at Formal Approach to Japanese Linguistics 8 held at Mie University (Ishihara (2016a)) and Florida Linguistics Yearly Meeting 3 held at Florida International University (Ishihara (2016b)), and appeared in Ishihara (2012a, b, 2016b).

<sup>1</sup> Though the construction under investigation is called “cleft” sentences by Fukaya and Hoji (1999), Koizumi (2000), Kizu (2005), and Hiraiwa and Ishihara (2012), among others, I use the term “pseudocleft” in this chapter following the terminology used for English; VPs in English can be focused in pseudocleft sentences but not in cleft sentences (cf. Akmajian (1970), Higgins (1973)).

<sup>2</sup> The sentence-final copula can be *dat-ta*, the past tense form of the copula, but the nonpast form is used throughout this chapter to avoid complications.

- (2) [presupposition-*no*]- *wa* [focus] *da*.  
 C TOP COP.NPST
- (3) a. Gakkai-ni it-ta no wa [gakusei(-ga) huta-ri] *da*. (subject NP)  
 conference-to go-PST C TOP student-NOM two-CL COP.NPST  
 ‘It is two students that went to the conference.’
- b. Taroo-ga kat-ta no wa [ringo(-o) huta-tu] *da*. (object NP)  
 Taro-NOM buy-PST C TOP apple-ACC two-CL COP.NPST  
 ‘It is two apples that Taro bought.’
- c. Taroo-ga yubiwa-o age-ta no wa [Hanako(-ni)] *da*. (indirect object NP)  
 Taro-Nom ring-ACC give-PST C TOP Hanako-DAT COP.NPST  
 ‘It is to Hanako that Taro gave the ring.’
- d. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni at-ta no wa [Tokyo eki-de] *da*. (locative PP)  
 Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT meet-PST C TOP Tokyo station-at COP.NPST  
 ‘It is at Tokyo station that Taro met Hanako.’
- e. Taroo-ga pan-o kit-ta no wa [naihu-de] *da*. (instrumental PP)  
 Taro-NOM bread-ACC cut-PST C TOP knife-with COP.NPST  
 ‘It is with a knife that Taro cut the bread.’
- f. Taroo-ga gohan-o tabe-ta no wa [yukkurito] *da*. (adverb)  
 Taro-NOM meal-ACC eat-PST C TOP slowly COP.NPST  
 (Lit.) ‘It is slowly that Taro ate his meal.’
- g. Taroo-ga piano-o hii-ta no wa [shopan-no yooni] *da*. (adverbial)  
 Taroo-NOM piano-ACC play-PST C TOP Chopin-GEN like COP.NPST  
 ‘It is like Chopin that Taro played the piano.’
- h. Taroo-ga sit-te i-ru no wa [Hanako-ga iki-te i-ru  
 Taro-NOM know-TE ASP-NPST C TOP Hanako-NOM live-TE ASP-NPST  
 koto(-??o)] *da*. (complement CP)  
 KOTO-ACC COP.NPST

‘What Taro knows is the fact that Hanako is alive.’

- i. Taroo-ga mi-ta no wa [Hanako-ga hon-o nusum-u  
Taro-NOM see-PST C TOP Hanako-NOM book-ACC steal-NPST  
tokoro(-o)] da. (complement CP)  
TOKORO-ACC COP.NPST

‘What Taro saw was Hanako stealing a book.’

- j. Taroo-ga okure-ta no wa [ame-ga hut-ta kara] da. (adjunct CP)  
Taro-NOM delay-PST C TOP rain-NOM fall-PST because COP.NPST

‘It was because of the rain that Taro was late.’

A focused NP, which follows the topic marker *-wa* and precedes the sentence-final copula *da* can be a subject (3a), an object (3b), or an indirect object (3c), and it can occur with/without a case marker. Adjunct PPs and adverbials can also be focalized as shown in (3d, e) and (3f, g). The examples (3h, i) indicate that clauses accompanied by *koto* and *tokoro* occur in the focus position. If *koto* and *tokoro* are complementizers, as is often claimed, complement CPs are focalized in these examples. Adjunct clauses also occur in a focus position, as in (3j).

Moreover, a constituent that looks like VP can occur in the focus position when it is accompanied by *koto*.<sup>3</sup>

- (4) Taroo-ga si-ta no wa [Hanako-no tame-ni kangeekai-o  
Taro-NOM do-PST C TOP Hanako-GEN sake-DAT welcome.party-ACC  
hirak-u koto] da.  
hold-NPST KOTO COP.NPST

‘What Taro did was hold a welcome party for Hanako.’

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<sup>3</sup> The focus phrase consists of VP and the nominalizer *koto*, so it may be a misnomer to call this type of sentence a VP-focus pseudocleft sentence, but I would like to distinguish sentences like (4) that focus on action from those like (3h) that focus on propositions. The status of *koto* in sentences like (4) is discussed in Section 2.3.2.

This chapter investigates the syntactic properties of sentences like (4), a Japanese equivalent to (1c) in which action is focalized.<sup>4</sup> The aim of this chapter is twofold. The first goal is to provide an adequate description of the structural properties of VP-focus in Japanese by examining the hitherto little studied VP-focus specificational pseudocleft construction. The second goal is to study the doubling phenomenon observed in the construction.

I assume the following clausal structure for Japanese, which was presented in Chapter 1.

- (5) [SAP [TopP [FocP [TopP [FinP [PolP [TP [NegP [PolitP [Hon1P [AspP [Hon2P [AppIP [VoiceP [vP [VP ... V ...] v] Voice] Appl] Hon<sub>2</sub>] Asp] Hon<sub>1</sub>] Polit] Neg] T] Pol] Fin] Top] Foc] Top] SA]

At first glance, it seems that VP is focalized in (4), but given the more articulated structure as in (5), it is necessary to look at more data to determine which verbal projections can or cannot be included in the focus position. Where does the dividing line fall between the phrases that can be focalized and those that cannot in the structure in (5)? We often divide a clause into three parts: a thematic domain, a propositional domain, and a discursal domain (cf. Platzack (2001), Grohmann (2003)). Does the dividing line between the phrases that can be focalized and those that cannot coincide with the dividing line between the thematic domain and the propositional domain, or are there discrepancies? Is it the same as in English? I examine the size of a possible VP focus in Japanese in Section 2.

In addition to the structural properties of the VP focus, I investigate the occurrence of the

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<sup>4</sup> In this chapter, I do not deal with sentences like (i) in which *koto* appears in the presuppositional clause as well as in the focus phrase.

- (i) Tyomusukii-ga si-ta koto wa gengo-no mikata-o kae-ta koto  
 Chomsky-NOM do-PST KOTO TOP language-GEN view-ACC change-PST KOTO  
 da.  
 COP.NPST  
 ‘What Chomsky did was change the way we look at languages.’

Sentences like (i) are equative, unlike the specificational pseudocleft sentences we are dealing with. These sentences are less restricted than the specificational pseudocleft sentences. For example, the past-tense form of V is allowed in the focus position in (i), unlike in specificational pseudocleft sentences. See Higgins (1973) and Mikkelsen (2005) among others on the semantics of copular sentences.



same element in the presuppositional clause and the focus phrase. In English, when VP is focalized, it can appear either as a bare infinitive or as a *to*- infinitive, as shown in (1c). However, when a progressive *-ing* form is used in the presuppositional clause, the focus verb has to be in the *-ing* form as well, as shown in (6a), and when a perfective *-en* form is used in the presuppositional clause, the focus verb can optionally be in *-en* form, as in (6b).

- (6) a. What I'm doing is [patting/\*pat/\*to pat] the cat. (=Chapter 1, Footnote 7)  
 b. What I have done is [taken/take/to take] a taxi to school.

Similarly, in Japanese the same morpheme sometimes occurs in the presuppositional clause and the focus phrase. (7) demonstrates that the passive morpheme *-(r)are* occurs in both positions.

- (7) Taroo-ga s-are-ta no wa saihu-o nusum-are-ru koto da.  
 Taro-NOM do-PASS-PST C TOP wallet-ACC steal-PASS-NPST KOTO COP.NPST  
 'What happened to Taro was he had his wallet stolen.'

I examine which morphemes can be doubled in the construction and whether such doubling is obligatory or optional. I consider whether or not the iteration of morphemes has a semantic effect and suggest that a condition on semantic roles is at work in these sentences.

Before investigating the doubling phenomenon observed in the focus phrase and the presuppositional clause in Section 2.4, I first examine what kind of elements can occur in the focus phrase, in the presuppositional clause, and with the sentence-final copula in the Japanese VP-focus specificational pseudocleft construction in Section 2.2, and present a possible analysis in Section 2.3. Section 2.5 summarizes the chapter.

## **2.2. The Structural Properties of the VP-Focus Specificational Pseudocleft Sentences in Japanese**

### *2.2.1. What Can/Cannot Appear in the Focus Position and the Presuppositional Clause*

With the cartographic clausal structure (5) in mind, let us consider what types of predicates can occur in the focus position of the pseudocleft construction. Starting with the most embedded constituent in the clausal structure in (5), namely VP, I conduct an investigation to identify which elements are allowed in the VP focus position and which are not. I then move on to examine less embedded constituents such as vP, VoiceP, ApplP, Hon<sub>2</sub>P, AspP, Hon<sub>1</sub>P, PolitP, NegP, and TP until I reach the CP domain.

### 2.2.1.1. *The Data*

Before we begin, it is worth noting that a verb cannot be repeated in the presuppositional clause and the focus VP.

(8) a. \*Taroo-ga tabe-ta no wa ringo-o tabe-ru koto da.

Taro-NOM eat-PST C TOP apple-ACC eat-NPST KOTO COP.NPST

(Lit.) ‘What Taro ate is eat an apple.’

b. ??Taroo-ga si-ta no wa okure-ta riyuu-nituite setumee-o su-ru

Taro-NOM do-PST C TOP be.late-PST reason-about explanation-ACC do-NPST

koto da.

KOTO COP.NPST

‘What Taro did is explain the reason for being late.’

c. Taroo-ga si-ta no wa okure-ta riyuu-o setumee-su-ru koto

Taro-NOM do-PST C TOP be.late-PST reason-ACC explanation-do-NPST KOTO

da.

COP.NPST

‘What Taro did is explain the reason for being late.’

The verb in the presuppositional clause cannot be the same as the one that occurs in the focus VP, as in (8a). Since the presuppositional clause carries old information, the verb within it does so as well, so it is difficult to construe a VP headed by the same V as a focus. It would be much more

natural to focalize its object, which carries new information, as in the NP-focus pseudocleft sentence *Taroo-ga tabe-ta no wa ringo da* ‘What Taro ate was an apple.’ Since the function of the VP-focus pseudocleft construction is to focalize a VP, the verb appropriate for the presuppositional clause is *su* ‘do,’ which is a default agentive verb. When the focus VP is also headed by *su* as in (8b), the sentence sounds better than (8a) since the verb has little semantic content of its own to contribute to the interpretation of focus. A light verb complex of which *su* constitutes only a part can occur in the focus VP like ordinary verbs, as shown in (8c).

#### 2.2.1.1.1. Agentive Verbs

Now let us begin to examine what types of verbs occur in the focus position.

- (9) a. Taroo-ga si-ta no wa hon-o yom-u koto da.  
 Taro-NOM do-PST C TOP book-ACC read-NPST KOTO COP.NPST  
 ‘What Taro did was read a book.’
- b. Taroo-ga si-ta no wa omoikiri waraw-u koto da.  
 Taro-NOM do-PST C TOP heartily laugh-NPST KOTO COP.NPST  
 ‘What Taro did was laugh heartily.’
- c. ??Sono zisin-ga si-ta no wa muramura-o hakaisu-ru koto  
 the earthquake-NOM do-PST C TOP villages-ACC destroy-NPST KOTO  
 da.  
 COP.NPST  
 (Lit.) ‘What the earthquake did was destroy the villages.’
- d. \*Pen-ga si-ta no wa tukue-kara oti-ru koto da.  
 pen-NOM do-PST C TOP desk-from fall-NPST KOTO COP.NPST  
 (Lit.) ‘What the pen did was fall from the desk.’
- e. \*Taroo-ga su-ru no wa Saburoo-ni ni-ru koto da.  
 Taro-NOM do-NPST C TOP Saburo-DAT resemble-NPST KOTO COP.NPST  
 (Lit.) ‘What Taro does is resemble Saburo.’

The VP-focus pseudocleft construction is acceptable when a focused VP is agentive, as in (9a). (9b) shows that unergative agentive VPs are also permitted. When the subject of a focused VP denotes a natural cause such as an earthquake, which has no will or intention of its own, as in (9c), the sentence sounds awkward. Unacceptable cases involve non-agentive VPs, as exemplified in (9d, e). Thus, an agentivity constraint is imposed on this construction in Japanese just as in English (cf. Jackendoff (1972)).

#### 2.2.1.1.2. Causatives

A predicate in the focus position need not be simple in form. The focus predicate can be of a complex form containing the causative morpheme *-(s)ase*, which occurs in v.

- (10) a. Taroo-ga si-ta no wa Hanako-o waraw-ase-ru koto da.  
 Taro-NOM do-PST C TOP Hanako-ACC laugh-CAUSE-NPST KOTO COP.NPST  
 ‘What Taro did was make Hanako laugh.’
- b. \*Taroo-ga s-ase-ta no wa Hanako-ga/ni waraw-u koto  
 Taro-NOM do-CAUSE-PST C TOP Hanako-NOM/DAT laugh-NPST KOTO  
 da.  
 COP.NPST  
 (Lit.) ‘What Taro made do was make Hanako laugh.’
- c. Taroo-ga s-ase-ta no wa Hanako-o waraw-ase-ru  
 Taro-NOM do-CAUSE-PST C TOP Hanako-ACC laugh-CAUSE-NPST  
 koto da.  
 KOTO COP.NPST  
 ‘What Taro did was make someone make Hanako laugh.’  
 ?\*‘What Taro did was make Hanako laugh.’
- d. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni si-ta no wa waraw-ase-ru koto da.  
 Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT do-PST C TOP laugh-CAUSE-NPST KOTO COP.NPST

‘What Taro did to Hanako was make her laugh.’

- e. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni s-ase-ta no wa waraw-u koto  
Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT do-CAUSE-PST C TOP laugh-NPST KOTO  
da.  
COP.NPST

‘What Taro made Hanako do was laugh.’

- f. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni s-ase-ta no wa waraw-ase-ru  
Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT do-CAUSE-PST C TOP laugh-CAUSE-NPST  
koto da.  
KOTO COP.NPST

‘What Taro made Hanako do was make someone laugh.’

??‘What Taro did was make Hanako laugh.’

- (11) a. Taroo-ga si-ta no wa Hanako-ni hon-o yom-ase-ru  
Taro-NOM do-PST C TOP Hanako-DAT book-ACC read-CAUSE-NPST  
koto da.  
KOTO COP.NPST

‘What Taro did was make Hanako read the book.’

- b. Taroo-ga s-ase-ta no wa Hanako-ni hon-o  
Taro-NOM do-CAUSE-PST C TOP Hanako-DAT book-ACC  
yom-u koto da.  
read-NPST KOTO COP.NPST

‘What Taro did was make someone read a book to Hanako.’

\*‘What Taro did was make Hanako read the book.’

- c. Taroo-ga s-ase-ta no wa Hanako-ni hon-o  
Taro-NOM do-CAUSE-PST C TOP Hanako-DAT book-ACC  
yom-ase-ru koto da.  
read-CAUSE-NPST KOTO COP.NPST

‘What Taro did was make someone make Hanako read a book.’

‘What Taro did was make someone read a book to Hanako.’<sup>5</sup>

?‘What Taro did was make Hanako read the book.’

- d. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni si-ta no wa hon-o  
Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT do-CAUSE-PST C TOP book-ACC  
yom-ase-ru koto da.  
read-CAUSE-NPST KOTO COP.NPST

‘What Taro did to Hanako was make her read the book.’

- e. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni s-ase-ta no wa hon-o yom-u  
Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT do-CAUSE-PST C TOP book-ACC read -NPST  
koto da.  
KOTO COP.NPST

‘What Taro made Hanako do was read the book.’

- f. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni s-ase-ta no wa hon-o  
Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT do-CAUSE-PST C TOP book-ACC  
yom-ase-ru koto da.  
read-CAUSE-NPST KOTO COP.NPST

‘What Taro made Hanako do was make someone read the book.’

‘What Taro made Hanako do was read the book.’

(10) illustrates causatives with an intransitive verb, whereas (11) shows these with a transitive verb. When a V in the presuppositional clause is not accompanied by a causative morpheme, the focus V can be a causative, as shown in (10a, d, 11a, d). When the presuppositional clause contains a V with a causative morpheme, the focus V can occur without a causative morpheme, as in (10e, 11e). (10b) is ruled out because nominative case cannot be licensed within vP, and there is no causative V to license the dative external argument in the focus phrase. In (11b), the dative NP in the focus position is not licensed by the causative V, so it can only be construed as a

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<sup>5</sup> There is a speaker for whom this interpretation is unavailable.

Goal argument of the focused V. In the presuppositional clause, an arbitrary null pronoun is introduced to receive a Causee role. As for the cases in which a causative morpheme occurs both in the presuppositional clause and in the focus phrase, and a Causee argument is not overtly expressed in the presuppositional clause, an arbitrary Causee argument is necessary to interpret the causative in the presuppositional clause, as in (10c). (11c) shows that an embedded dative NP can be marginally construed as a Causee of the presuppositional clause. The presuppositional clause of (11c) can also be interpreted with an arbitrary Causee argument. (10f) requires an arbitrary external argument of *waraw* ‘laugh’ in the focus VP for interpretation. Similarly, (11f) can be interpreted with an arbitrary external argument of *yom* ‘read’ in the focus phrase. What is intriguing about (11f), however, is that it also allows an interpretation like (11e). Under this interpretation, the causative morpheme in the focus VP in (11f) is optional and semantically superfluous.

#### 2.2.1.1.3. Passives

The passive morpheme *-(r)are* is not allowed in the focus position when the presuppositional clause contains *su-ru* ‘do’/*si-ta* ‘did.’

(12) a. \*Taroo-ga si-ta no wa waraitobas-are-ru koto da.

Taro-NOM do-PST C TOP laugh.at-PASS-NPST KOTO COP.NPST

(Lit.) ‘What Taro did was he was laughed at.’

b. \*Taroo-ga si-ta no wa musuko-o izime-are-ru koto da.

Taro-NOM do-PST C TOP son-ACC bully-PASS-NPST KOTO COP.NPST

(Lit.) ‘What Taro did was have his son bullied.’

Interestingly, when the passive morpheme occurs in both the presuppositional clause and the focus phrase, the sentence becomes acceptable.

- (13) a. Taroo-ga s-are-ta no wa [\* waraitobas-u/waraitobas-are-ru]  
 Taro-NOM do-PASS-PST C TOP laugh.at-NPST/laugh.at-PASS-NPST  
 koto da.  
 KOTO COP.NPST  
 ‘What happened to Taro was he was laughed at.’
- b. Taroo-ga s-are-ta no wa musuko-o [\* izime-ru/izime-rare-ru]  
 Taro-NOM do-Pass-PST C TOP son-ACC bully-NPST/bully-PASS-NPST  
 koto da.  
 KOTO COP.NPST  
 ‘What happened to Taro was he had his son bullied.’

The only acceptable pattern involving the passive morpheme is that it appears both in the presuppositional clause and in the focus phrase of the pseudocleft sentences. Its occurrence in only the focus phrase or only the presuppositional clause is not allowed. This is known as the “voice matching” effect (Merchant (2008, 2013)). Since *-(r)are* is allowed in the focus phrase if the same element appears in the presuppositional clause, its occurrence in the focus phrase alone does not seem to be responsible for the unacceptability of (12a, b).

#### 2.2.1.1.4. *Applicative -te yar(u) and -te moraw(u)*

The applicatives *-te yar(u)* ‘give’ and *-te moraw(u)* ‘receive’ occur in the focus position when they have a causative meaning, and they can be doubled in the presuppositional clause and the focus phrase.

- (14) a. Taroo-ga [si-ta/si-te yat-ta] no wa Hanako-ni hana-o  
 Taro-NOM do-PST/do-TE give-PST C TOP Hanako-DAT flower-ACC  
 kat-te yar-u koto da.  
 buy-TE give-NPST KOTO COP.NPST  
 ‘What Taro did was buy flowers for Hanako.’



b. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni si-te yat-ta no wa hana-o [ka-u/  
 Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT do-TE give-PST C TOP flower-ACC buy-NPST  
 kat-te yar-u] koto da.

buy-TE give-NPST KOTO COP.NPST

‘What Taro did for Hanako was buy some flowers.’

(15) a. Taroo-ga [si-ta/si-te morat-ta] no wa titioya-ni syukudai-o  
 Taro-NOM do-PST/do-TE receive-PST C TOP father-DAT homework-ACC  
 tetudat-te moraw-u koto da.

help-TE receive-NPST KOTO COP.NPST

‘What Taro did was have his father help him with his homework.’

b. Taroo-ga titioya-ni si-te morat-ta no wa syukudai-o [tetuda-u/  
 Taro-NOM father-DAT do-TE receive-PST C TOP homework-ACC help-NPST  
 tetudat-te moraw-u] koto da.

help-TE receive-NPST KOTO COP.NPST

‘What Taro had his father do was help him with his homework.’

Masuoka (1991) has observed that a verbal complex with *-te moraw(u)* has a causative meaning, but noted that it can be construed like a passive verb when a subject is nonagentive.<sup>6</sup> *-Te moraw(u)*, when used with a passive meaning, is disallowed in the focus position, when V in the

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<sup>6</sup> For example, the following contrast between (i) the causative *-te moraw(u)* and (ii) the passive *-te moraw(u)* with respect to the ability to make imperatives indicates that (i) is agentive in contrast to (ii).

(i) Otoosan-ni syukudai-o tetudat-te morai-nasai.  
 father-by homework-ACC help-TE receive-IMP  
 ‘Ask your father to help you with your homework.’

(ii) Sensee-ni home-te morai-nasai.  
 teacher-by praise-TE receive-IMP  
 ‘Ask your teacher to praise you.’

*Home-te moraw(u)* can have a causative meaning when it takes an agentive/volitional subject, as in (iii).

(iii) Unto orikooni si-te sensee-ni home-te morai-nasai.  
 very good do-TE teacher-by praise-TE receive-IMP  
 ‘Behave yourself and ask your teacher to praise you.’ (Shuji Chiba (personal communication))

presuppositional clause is the active *su*, like the passive morpheme *-(r)are*.

- (16) ??Taroo-ga si-ta no wa sensee-ni home-te moraw-u koto da.  
 Taro-NOM do-PST C TOP teacher-by praise-TE receive-NPST KOTO COP.NPST  
 ‘What Taro did was have his teacher praise him.’

As previously explained, the passive morpheme must occur in both the focus phrase and the presuppositional clause. Likewise, the doubling of the passive *-te moraw(u)* seems obligatory.<sup>7</sup>

- (17) Taroo-ga sensee-ni si-te morat-ta no wa [?\* home-ru/home-te  
 Taro-NOM teacher-by do-TE receive-PST C TOP praise-NPST/praise-TE  
moraw-u] koto da.  
 receive-NPST KOTO COP.NPST  
 ‘What happened to Taro was he was praised by his teacher.’

#### 2.2.1.1.5. Subject Honorific *o-* *-ninar(u)* (*Hon*<sub>2</sub>)

The subject honorific marker *o-* *-ninar(u)* (*Hon*<sub>2</sub>) can appear in the focus position when honorific *-(r)are* (*Hon*<sub>1</sub>) occurs in the presuppositional clause.<sup>8</sup> Some speakers find the doubling

<sup>7</sup> Some people do not seem to require the doubling of the passive *-te moraw(u)*.

- (i) Taroo-ga sensee-ni si-te morai-tai no wa home-ru koto da.  
 Taro-NOM teacher-by do-TE receive-want C TOP praise-NPST KOTO COP.NPST  
 ‘What Taro wants is to be praised by the teacher.’ (Ken Hiraiwa (personal communication))

<sup>8</sup> *O-* *-ninar(u)* cannot appear in the presuppositional clause because the verb *su(ru)* cannot be affixed by it (*\*o-si-ninaru*). Hence another honorific form involving *-(r)are* is used in (18b). The presuppositional clause of (18b) is ambiguous between the honorific reading and the passive reading. It is not possible to have both the passive *-(r)are* and the honorific *-(r)are* in the presuppositional clause, and correspondingly, it is not possible to have both the passive *-(r)are* and the honorific *o-* *-ninar(u)* in the focus phrase.

- (i) \*Tanaka-sensee-ga s-are-rare-ta no wa gakusee-ni o-izime-rare-ninaru  
 Tanaka-professor-NOM do-PASS-HON-PST C TOP student-by HON-bully-PASS-HON  
 koto da.  
 KOTO COP.NPST  
 (Lit.) ‘What was done to Prof. Tanaka was he was bullied by a student.’

of honorifics to be obligatory, while others consider it optional.

- (18) a. \*Tanaka-sensee-ga si-ta no wa koremadeno kenkyuu-o hon-ni  
 Tanaka-professor-NOM do-PST C TOP thus.far research-ACC book-as  
o-matome-ninar-u koto da.  
 HON-write-HON-NPST KOTO COP.NPST

‘What Prof. Tanaka did was write a book on his previous research.’

- b. Tanaka-sensee-ga s-are-ta no wa koremadeno kenkyuu-o  
 Tanaka-professor-NOM do-HON-PST C TOP thus.far research-ACC  
 hon-ni [o-matome-ninar-u/%matome-ru] koto da.  
 book-as HON-write-HON-NPST/write-NPST KOTO COP.NPST

‘What Prof. Tanaka did was write a book on his previous research.’

#### 2.2.1.1.6. Aspect

The aspectual marker *-te i(ru)* cannot occur in the focus position whether it is interpreted as perfective or progressive.

- (19) \*Taroo-ga su-ru/si-ta no wa hon-o yon-de i-ru koto  
 Taro-NOM do-NPST/do-PST C TOP book-ACC read-TE ASP-NPST KOTO  
 da.  
 COP.NPST

(Lit.) ‘What Taro does is reading a book./What Taro has done is to have read a book.’

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Lexical honorifics such as *nasar(u)* in the presuppositional clause can also support the occurrence of Hon<sub>2</sub> in the focus position.

- (ii) Tanaka-sensee-ga nasat-ta no wa koremadeno kenkyuu-o hon-ni  
 Tanaka-professor-NOM do.HON-PST C TOP thus.far research-ACC book-as  
 o-matome-ninar-u koto da.  
 HON-write-HON-NPST KOTO COP.NPST

‘What Prof. Tanaka did was write a book on his previous research.’

(Takane Ito (personal communication))

Note that doubling of the aspectual marker does not help in this case.

- (20) Taroo-ga si-te i-ru no wa hon-o [\*yon-de i-ru/  
 Taro-NOM do-TE ASP-NPST C TOP book-ACC read-TE ASP-NPST/  
 yom-u] koto da.  
 read-NPST KOTO COP.NPST  
 ‘What Taro is doing is reading a book.’

This is in contrast to the situation in English where the *-ing* form must double in the construction, as we have seen in (6a). When a presuppositional clause contains *-te i(ru)*, V in the focus phrase cannot be marked with *-te i(ru)*. Instead, V-(*ru*) occurs in the focus phrase as in (20), and it can only be interpreted as progressive.

#### 2.2.1.1.7. Subject Honorific -(r)are (*Hon*<sub>1</sub>)

Like the subject honorific marker *o- -ninar(u)* (*Hon*<sub>2</sub>), the behavior of the subject honorific *-(r)are* seems to be subject to considerable idiolectal variation. Some speakers disallow the honorific *-(r)are* to appear in the focus position, even when the same honorific marker appears in the presuppositional clause, but others seem to allow it.

- (21) a. \*Tanaka-sensee-ga si-ta no wa koremadeno kenkyuu-o hon-ni  
 Tanaka-professor-NOM do-PST C TOP thus.far research-ACC book-DAT  
 matome-rare-ru koto da.  
 write-HON-NPST KOTO COP.NPST  
 ‘What Prof. Tanaka did was write a book on his previous research.’
- b. Tanaka-sensee-ga s-are-ta no wa koremadeno kenkyuu-o  
 Tanaka-professor-NOM do-HON-PST C TOP thus.far research-ACC

hon-ni [% matome-rare-ru/% matome-ru] koto da. (cf. (18b))  
 book-DAT write-HON-NPST/write-NPST KOTO COP.NPST  
 ‘What Prof. Tanaka did was write a book on his previous research.’

#### 2.2.1.1.8. Politeness

The politeness marker *-mas(u)* cannot occur in the focus position, as demonstrated in (22a).

- (22) a. \*Taroo-ga si-ta/si-masi-ta no wa hon-o kaki-mas-u  
 Taro-NOM do-PST/do-POLIT-PST C TOP book-ACC write-POLIT-NPST  
 koto da.  
 KOTO COP.NPST  
 ‘What Taro did was write a book.’
- b. \*Taroo-ga si-masi-ta no wa hon-o kak-u koto da.  
 Taro-NOM do-POLIT-PST C TOP book-ACC write-NPST KOTO COP.NPST  
 ‘What Taro did was write a book.’

As indicated by (22b), *-mas(u)* is not usually allowed in the presuppositional clause, but it can occur with *no* in contexts where a speaker presents some item to the audience in a polite manner.<sup>9</sup>

- (23) Kore-kara o-me-ni kake-mas-u no wa taihen kityoona  
 this-from HON-eye-DAT show-POLIT-NPST C TOP very precious  
 e des-u.  
 picture COP.POLIT-NPST  
 ‘What I’m going to show you is a very precious picture.’

The use of *-mas(u)* in the presuppositional clause of a VP-focus pseudocleft sentence is not

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<sup>9</sup> Since the examples in (23) and (24) require presentational contexts, the polite form of the sentence-final copula is used instead of *da*.

impossible in such a context, but it is still disallowed in the focus position.

- (24) Kore-kara zoo-no Hanako-ga si-mas-u no wa hana-de  
 this-from elephant-COP Hanako-NOM do-POLIT-NPST C TOP trunk-with  
 e-o [kak-u/\*kaki-mas-u] koto des-u.  
 picture-ACC draw-NPST/draw-POLIT-NPST KOTO COP.POLIT-NPST  
 ‘What Hanako the elephant is going to do now is to draw a picture with her trunk.’

#### 2.2.1.1.9. Negation

The focus phrase cannot be negative, as demonstrated in (25).<sup>10</sup>

- (25) Taroo-ga si-ta no wa hito-no warukuti-o[?\* iwa-na-i/  
 Taro-NOM do-PST C TOP others-GEN abuse-ACC say-NEG-NPST  
 iwa-nai-yooni su-ru] koto da.  
 Say-NEG-C do-NPST KOTO COP.NPST  
 ‘What Taro did was not to speak ill of others.’

- (26) a. Taroo-ga si-nakat-ta no wa hito-no warukuti-o i-u koto  
 Taro-NOM do-NEG-PST C TOP people-GEN abuse-ACC say-NPST KOTO  
 da.  
 COP.NPST  
 ‘What Taro didn’t do was speak ill of others.’

- b. ??Taroo-ga si-nakat-ta no wa hito-no warukuti-o iw-na-i  
 Taro-NOM do-NEG-PST C TOP people-GEN abuse-ACC say-NEG-NPST

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<sup>10</sup> Ken Hiraiwa (personal communication) has noted that the following example sounds a little better than (25). The effect of past tense on the copula requires further investigation.

- (i) ??Taroo-ga si-ta no wa kinmutyuu-ni sake-o noma-na-i koto dat-ta.  
 Taro-NOM do-PST C TOP work time-at alcohol-ACC drink-NEG-NPST KOTO COP-PST  
 (Lit.) ‘What Taro did was not to drink alcohol during work time.’

koto da.

KOTO COP.NPST

(Lit.) ‘What Taro didn’t do was not to speak ill of others.’

When a presuppositional clause is negative as shown in (26a), the focus phrase can be affirmative under the interpretation in which Taro did not speak ill of others. When a focus phrase is negative with a negative presuppositional clause as in (26b), it does not yield the same interpretation. The only interpretation available is double negation interpretation in which Taro spoke ill of others, though it requires some mental effort to construe the sentence. This situation is in sharp contrast to the one involving passives, honorifics, and causatives in some cases, where the doubling of a morpheme does not change the interpretation of the pseudocleft construction as a whole.

#### 2.2.1.1.10. Tense

The past tense marker *-ta* is disallowed in the focus phrase in contrast to the nonpast tense marker *-(r)u*.

- (27) a. Taroo-ga su-ru no wa hon-o [kaw-u/\*kat-ta] koto da.  
Taro-NOM do-NPST C TOP book-ACC buy-NPST/buy-PST KOTO COP.NPST  
‘What Taro does is buy books.’
- b. Taroo-ga si-ta no wa hon-o [kaw-u/\*kat-ta] koto da.  
Taro-NOM do-PST C TOP book-ACC buy-NPST/buy-PST KOTO COP.NPST  
‘What Taro did was buy books.’

The verb *su* ‘do’ in the presuppositional clause and a verb in the focus phrase do not always match in tense. When *su* is in nonpast tense, the focus verb should also be in nonpast tense as in (27a), but the focus verb must be in nonpast tense even when *si-ta*, the past tense form of *su-ru*, is

used in the presuppositional clause, as shown in (27b).<sup>11</sup> The generalization seems to be as follows: whatever tense *su* occurs in within the presuppositional clause, the focus verb needs to be in nonpast form.

#### 2.2.1.1.11. Modals

The modal of probability, *daroo*, and the modal of improbability, *mai*, cannot occur in the focus position.

- (28) a. \*Taroo-ga su-ru no wa hon-o yom-u-daroo koto da.  
 Taro-NOM do-NPST C TOP book-ACC read-NPST-probably KOTO COP.NPST  
 (Lit.) ‘What Taro does is probably read the book.’
- b. \*Taroo-ga su-ru no wa hon-o yom-u-mai koto  
 Taro-NOM do-NPST C TOP book-ACC read-NPST-unlikely KOTO  
 da.  
 COP.NPST  
 (Lit.) ‘What Taro does is he is unlikely to read the book.’

Note that these modals cannot occur in the presuppositional clause, either.

- (29) a. \*Taroo-ga su-ru-daroo no wa hon-o yom-u(-daroo)  
 Taro-NOM do-NPST-probably C TOP book-ACC read-NPST-probably

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<sup>11</sup> Some speakers find the past tense form of a focus verb acceptable. These speakers probably interpret the specificational pseudocleft sentences as equative copular sentences, treating *no* as *koto* or some other ordinary nouns like *sippai* ‘failure.’ See also Footnote 4.

- (i) Taroo-ga si-ta sippai-wa kagi-o kake-zu-ni ie-o  
 Taro-NOM do-PST failure-TOP key-ACC lock-NEG-NI house-ACC  
 de-ta/de-ru koto da.  
 leave-PST/leave-NPST KOTO COP.NPST  
 ‘The mistake Taro made was that he left his house without locking the door.’



koto da.

KOTO COP.NPST

‘What Taro will probably do is read the book.’

b. \*Taroo-ga su-ru-mai no wa hon-o yom-u(-mai)

Taroo-NOM do-NPST-unlikely C TOP book-ACC read-NPST-unlikely

koto da.

KOTO COP.NPST

‘What Taro will probably not do is read the book.’

### 2.2.1.2. Discussion

We have observed which elements can/cannot occur in the focus position and the presuppositional clause of the specificational pseudocleft sentences. The elements I have examined are far from exhaustive, but I believe that they are more or less representative. The results are summarized as follows:

(30)

Form of V in the presuppositional clause	Form of V in the focus phrase
su-ru	V-ru (agentive)
su-ru	V-sase-ru, V-te yar-u, V-te moraw-u (causative)
su-ru	*V-rare-ru, *V-te moraw-u (passive)
su-ru	*o-V-ninar-u (Hon <sub>2</sub> )
su-ru	*V-te i-ru
su-ru	*V-rare-ru (Hon <sub>1</sub> )
su-ru	*V-mas-u
su-ru	?*V-na-i
su-ru	*V-ta
su-ru	*V-daroo

s-ase-ru	V-sase-ru, V-ru
si-te yar-u	V-te yar-u, V-ru
si-te moraw-u (causative)	V-te moraw-u (causative), V-ru
s-are-ru (passive)	V-rare-ru (passive), *V-ru
si-te moraw-u (passive)	V-te moraw-u (passive), ?*V-ru
s-are-ru (Hon <sub>1</sub> )	o-V-ninar-u (Hon <sub>2</sub> ), %V-rare-ru (Hon <sub>1</sub> ), %V-ru
si-te i-ru	*V-te i-ru, V-ru (progressive)
??si-mas-u	*V-mas-u, V-ru
si-na-i	??V-na-i, V-ru
si-ta	*V-ta, V-ru
*su-ru-daroo	*V-daroo, *V-ru

While V, v, Voice, Applicative, and Honorific<sub>2</sub> can occur in the focus position, Aspect, Politeness, Negation, Past Tense, and Modal cannot. Honorific<sub>1</sub> can appear in the focus phrase for some speakers.

- (31) [SAP [TopP [FocP [TopP [FinP [PolP [TP [NegP [PolitP [Hon1P [AspP [Hon2P [AppIP [VoiceP [vP [VP ... V ...] v] Voice] Appl] Hon<sub>2</sub>] Asp] Hon<sub>1</sub>] Polit] Neg] T] Pol] Fin] Top] Foc] Top] SA]

In (31), the underlined part can be included in a focus phrase, but those outside Hon<sub>2</sub>P cannot.<sup>12</sup> This corresponds to the dividing line between the thematic domain and the propositional domain: while such valence changing elements as causatives, passives, and applicatives are considered to belong to the thematic domain, aspect, politeness, negation, and tense belong to the propositional domain. The data concerning Hon<sub>2</sub> and Hon<sub>1</sub> vary considerably across speakers. Since the honorifics are taught and learned in school and children do not use them in their daily

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<sup>12</sup> Hon<sub>1</sub> is marked with a dotted line to indicate that it can be included in a focus VP for some speakers but not for others.

conversation, it is natural that they would have idiosyncrasies unlike the core part of grammar. Therefore, I set them aside in this chapter. The observations thus far can be summarized as follows:

- (32) Phrases that occur in the thematic domain can be a VP focus in specificational pseudocleft sentences, but no larger phrases can, except for TP headed by nonpast tense.

Harwood (2015) has examined VP ellipsis and VP preposing in English and has demonstrated that progressive aspectual *vP* acts as a phase when it is present. He has proposed the following system for variable phases:

- (33) a. Phases are determined by sub-numerations.  
b. The last item from a sub-numeration to be merged into the workspace projects the phase, irrespective of what that item is. (Harwood (2015: 558))

Following Harwood's analysis, I assume that the last element among VP, *vP*, VoiceP, and ApplicativeP that is merged from a sub-numeration determines the *vP*-level phase in Japanese. We can therefore restate (32) in terms of a phase as follows:

- (34) A *vP* phase can be a VP focus in specificational pseudocleft sentences, but no larger phrases can, except for TP headed by nonpast tense.

It is somewhat odd that a conflict in tense is allowed when the presuppositional clause is in past tense and V in focus position is in nonpast tense, as shown in (27b). Given the fact that bare infinitives or *to* infinitives occur in the focus position in English, it may be possible to analyze what precedes *koto* in the focus position as subjunctive, because there is no contrast in tense in the focus position. If so, the apparent tense mismatch would cease to be a problem because *-(r)u*

would not be a present-tense marker but a subjunctive marker.<sup>13</sup>

This property of *-(r)u* is supported by data involving adverbs.

- (35) a. ??Taroo-ga si-ta no wa kinoo tegami-o kak-u koto da.  
 Taro-NOM do-PST C TOP yesterday letter-ACC write-U KOTO COP.NPST  
 ‘What Taro did was to write a letter yesterday.’
- b. ??Taroo-ga su-ru no wa kyoo tegami-o kak-u koto da.  
 Taro-NOM do-NPST C TOP today letter-ACC write-U KOTO COP.NPST  
 ‘What Taro is going to do is to write a letter today.’
- c. Taroo-ga su-ru no wa mainiti tegami-o kak-u koto da.  
 Taro-NOM do-NPST C TOP everyday letter-ACC write-U KOTO COP.NPST  
 ‘What Taro does is write a letter every day.’

((c): Ken Hiraiwa (personal communication))

Time adverbials like *kinoo* ‘yesterday’ and *kyoo* ‘today’ cannot occur in the focus phrase. On the other hand, adverbs that indicate habituality such as *mainiti* ‘everyday’ can do so. If *-(r)u* does not bear a tense feature, then the contrast between (35a, b) and (35c) can be explained because it can occur in generic sentences but not in episodic sentences.

It is still puzzling, though, if *-(r)u* is an element in T. Why is it that a T element is allowed in the focus position, while no other elements outside the thematic domain are allowed? One possible approach is to regard this *-(r)u* as part of a verbal suffix that can attach to the highest

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<sup>13</sup> Watanabe (1996) has claimed that *koto* that heads nominal complements is a subjunctive complementizer and has proposed accounting for the properties of nominative genitive conversion in Japanese and Stylistic Inversion in French in a similar manner. If *koto* in the specificational pseudocleft sentences is a subjunctive complementizer, it is natural that the verb preceding it should take a subjunctive form. Note, however, that the nominative subject within a focus phrase cannot undergo nominative genitive conversion in (i) (see Footnote 18).

- (i) Taroo-ga si-ta no wa zibunzisin-ga/\*zibunzisin-no rikkooho su-ru koto  
 Taro-NOM do-PST C TOP himself-NOM/himself-ACC run.for.election do-NPST KOTO  
 da.  
 COP.NPST  
 ‘What Taro did was run for election himself.’

verbal element within the vP phase in Harwood’s sense; it can attach to V, *-(s)ase*, *-(r)are*, *-te yar*, or *-te moraw*. I propose that *-(r)u* that precedes *koto* is not a tense marker but a verbal suffix. Under this assumption, we can get rid of the phrase “except for TP headed by nonpast tense” from (34), since T is disallowed in the focus position just like Aspect and Politeness.

(36) A vP phase can be a VP focus in specificational pseudocleft sentences, but no larger phrases can.

From now on, I treat the *-(r)u* ending of V preceding *koto* in the focus position not as a tense marker but as a verbal suffix.<sup>14</sup>

We can extend (36) to focus particle construction. This is illustrated in (37) with the concessive particle *-sae*, but other particles such as *-mo* and the contrastive topic marker *-wa* yield the same result.

- (37) a. Taroo-ga heya-o katazuke-sae si-ta. (V)  
 Taro-NOM room-ACC tidy.up-even do-PST  
 ‘Taro even tidied up the room.’
- b. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni zisyo-o oboe-sase-sae si-ta/  
 Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT dictionary-ACC memorize-CAUSE-even do-PST/  
 oboe-sae s-ase-ta. (causative)  
 memorize-even do-CAUSE-PST  
 ‘Taro even made Hanako memorize a dictionary.’
- c. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni nagur-are-sae si-ta/?\*naguri-sae s-are-ta.<sup>15</sup> (passive)  
 Taro-NOM Hanako-by hit-PASS-even do-PST/hit-even do-PASS-PST  
 ‘Taro was even hit by Hanako.’

<sup>14</sup> In Chapter 3, I argue that the same holds true with *-(r)u* preceding *koto* or *no* in the PCC. From now on, I use (R)U in glosses to indicate that it is not a tense element.

<sup>15</sup> Though *naguri-sae s-are-ta* is not acceptable, *naguri-wa s-are-ta* ‘V-TOP do-PASS-PST,’ with a contrastive topic marker is fine.

- d. Taroo-ga Hanko-ni hon-o kat-te yari-sae si-ta/  
 Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT book-ACC buy-TE give-even do-PST/  
 kai-sae si-te yat-ta. (applicative *-te yar(u)*)  
 buy-even do-TE give-PST  
 ‘Taro even bought a book for Hanako.’
- e. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni hon-o kat-te morai-sae si-ta/  
 Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT book-ACC buy-TE receive-even do-PST/  
 kai-sae si-te morat-ta. (applicative *-te moraw(u)*)  
 buy-even do-TE receive-PST  
 ‘Taro even had Hanako buy a book for him.’
- f. Taroo-ga bentoo-o ?\*tukut-te i-sae si-ta/tukuri-sae si-te  
 Taro-NOM box.lunch-ACC fix-TE ASP-even do-PST/fix-even do-TE  
 i-ta.<sup>16</sup> (progressive)  
 ASP-PST  
 ‘Taro was even fixing a box lunch.’
- g. Taroo-ga hon-o \*yomi-masi-sae si-ta/yomi-sae si-masi-ta.  
 Taro-NOM book-ACC read-POLIT-even do-PST/read-even do-POLIT-PST

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<sup>16</sup> As Akira Watanabe (personal communication) has noted, *tukut-te i-sae si-ta* is acceptable under the perfective interpretation of *-te i(ru)*. The following example also yields only the perfective interpretation.

- (i) Taroo-wa Tanaka-sensee-no subeteno ronbun-o yon-de i-sae si-ta.  
 Taro-TOP Tanaka-professor-GEN all paper-ACC read-TE ASP-even do-PST  
 ‘Taro has even read all the papers by Prof. Tanaka.’/#‘Taro was even reading all the papers by Prof. Tanaka.’

It may be necessary to treat progressive aspect and perfective aspect separately, as done by Harwood (2015) for English.

Some speakers seem to allow *sae* to focus a verbal sequence with the progressive *-te i(ru)*.

- (ii) Koen-mae-ni Taroo-wa kintyoo-suru-dokoroka gakuya-de inemuri-si-te  
 performance-before-at Taro-TOP nervous-do-far.from dressing.room-at doze-do-TE  
 i-sae si-ta.  
 ASP-even do-PST  
 ‘Taro was far from being nervous before the performance. He was even dozing off in a dressing room.’  
 (Ken Hiraiwa (personal communication))

‘Taro even read a book.’ (polite)

- h. Taroo-ga hon-o \*yoma-naku-sae si-ta/yomi-sae si-nakat-ta.  
Taro-NOM book-ACC read-NEG-even do-PST/read-even do-NEG-PST

‘Taro didn’t even read a book.’ (negation)

- i. Taroo-ga heya-o \*katazuke-ta-sae si-ta/katazuke-sae si-ta.<sup>17</sup> (tense)  
Taro-NOM room-ACC tidy.up-PST-even do-PST/tidy.up-even do-PST

‘Taro even tidied up the room.’

- j. Taroo-ga heya-o \*katazuke-ru-daroo-sae si-ta/  
Taro-NOM room-ACC tidy.up-NPST-probably-even do-PST/  
katazuke-sae su-ru daroo. (modal)  
tidy.up-even do-NPST probably

‘Taro will probably even tidy up his room.’

Thus, we can restate (36) as (38):

- (38) A vP phase can be a VP focus, but no larger phrases can. (Japanese)

Though (38) seems quite natural, it does not seem to hold cross-linguistically. We have seen that the infinitival marker *to*, which is considered to reside in the propositional domain, can occur in the focus position in English, and some English speakers even allow finite TP/CP in the focus position.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> (i) is impossible because *-ru* in (i) is not preceded by *koto*, unlike the verbal suffix *-ru* introduced in this section.

(i) \*Taroo-ga heya-o katazuke-ru-sae si-ta.  
Taro-NOM room-ACC tidy.up-NPST-even do-PST  
‘Taro even tidied up the room.’

<sup>18</sup> Ken Hiraiwa (personal communication) has pointed out that it is possible to have a nominative subject in the focus position in Japanese, as in (i). In order to maintain (38), it may be necessary to assume that the nominative subject is licensed in a special way in (i). Notice that here, too, the focus verb cannot be accompanied by the past tense morpheme or the progressive aspect marker *-te i(ru)*.

- (39) a. What I did is [(to) pat the cat]. (=1c)  
 b. What I'm doing is [patting/\*pat/\*to pat] the cat. (=6a)  
 c. What I have done is [taken/take/to take] a taxi to school. (=6b)  
 d. What I did is [I patted the cat]. (=1e)

With respect to presuppositional clauses, I have demonstrated that true modals like *daroo* and *mai* cannot occur in them (cf. (29)). Kizu (2005), who studies pseudocleft sentences, has argued that *no* in the presuppositional clause is not a noun but a complementizer based on the facts that it has no referent and that it cannot be modified by adjectives or numeral quantifiers. The data concerning the true modals support her claim; as argued by Inoue (2007) and Ueda (2007), they reside in the CP domain, so they cannot be included in the TP complement of *no*.

### 2.2.2. What Can Occur with the Copula

In the last section I demonstrated that the modals of probability and improbability occur in neither the focus position nor the presuppositional clause. Their appropriate position is at the end of a sentence as shown in (40a, b).<sup>19</sup> This is in contrast to the situation in English in which modal auxiliaries are disallowed with the copula, as in (40c).

- (40) a. Taroo-ga si-ta no wa hon-o yom-u koto daroo/dearoo.  
 Taro-NOM do-PST C TOP book-ACC read-U KOTO probably/probably  
 'Probably what Taro did was read the book.'  
 b. Taroo-ga si-ta no wa hon-o yom-u koto de(-wa)-aru  
 Taro-NOM do-PST C TOP book-ACC read-U KOTO COP(-TOP)-COP

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(i) Watasi-ga si-ta no wa watasi-zisin-ga Hanako-o [suisen-su-ru/\*suisen-si-ta/  
 I-NOM do-PST C TOP I-self-NOM Hanako-ACC recommend-do-RU/recommend-do-PST  
 \*suisen-si-te i-ta] koto desi-ta.  
 recommend-do-TE ASP-PST KOTO COP.POLIT-PST  
 (Lit.) 'What I did was I myself recommended Hanako.'

<sup>19</sup> I follow Nishiyama (1999) and assume that *da* is a fused form of *dearu*.



mai.

unlikely

‘It is unlikely that what Taro did was read the book.’

c. \*What John never is could be angry with any of his friends.

((c): Den Dikken et al. (2000: 65))

In addition, the marker of politeness (41a), tense (41b), negation (41c), and the sequence *noda* (41d) can occur with the copula.

- (41) a. Taroo-ga si-ta no wa hon-o yom-u koto des-u.  
Taro-NOM do-PST C TOP book-ACC read-U KOTO COP.POLIT-NPST  
‘What Taro did was read a book.’
- b. Taroo-ga su-ru/si-ta no wa hon-o yom-u koto  
Taro-NOM do-NPST/do-PST C TOP book-ACC read-U KOTO  
dat-ta/deat-ta.  
COP-PST/COP-PST  
‘What Taro used to do/did was read the book.’
- c. Taroo-ga si-ta no wa hon-o yom-u koto de(-wa)-na-i.  
Taro-NOM do-PST C TOP book-ACC read-U KOTO COP(-TOP)-NEG-NPST  
‘What Taro did was not read the book.’
- d. Taroo-ga si-ta no wa hon-o yom-u koto na no da.  
Taro-NOM do-PST C TOP book-ACC read-U KOTO COP C COP.NPST  
‘What Taro did was indeed buy the book.’

In (41a), *-des(u)* is a fused form of *-deari-mas(u)* ‘be-POLIT.’ In (41b), the past tense of the copula indicates the speaker’s intention to express the proposition, which held true in the past. The presuppositional clause with the nonpast form *su-ru* denotes a habitual event, and the one with the past tense form *si-ta* denotes an episodic event, but they both denote events that the

speaker regarded as having taken place in the past. The example (41d) indicates that stacking of a copula is possible given that *na* preceding *no* is an adnominal form of a copula, as argued by Miyama (2011).

## 2.3. Analysis

### 2.3.1. Question-Answer Pair Analysis

Having examined the syntactic properties of the VP-focus pseudocleft construction, let us consider how they can be explained. Various analyses of specificational pseudocleft sentences have been proposed in the literature, as summarized in (42). In this section, I argue for the question-answer pair analysis proposed by Faraci (1971), Ross (1972, 2000), Den Dikken et al. (2000), and Schlenker (2003), among others.

#### (42) a. Syntactic approach

##### i. Biclausal analysis

1. Question-answer pair analysis (Faraci (1971), Ross (1972, 2000), Den Dikken et al. (2000), Schlenker (2003), etc.)
2. Presuppositional clause as a free relative (Akmajian (1970), Heggie (1988), etc.)

##### ii. Monoclausal analysis (Meinunger (1998), etc.)

#### b. Semantic approach (Heycock and Kroch (1999), Sharvit (1999), etc.)

Akmajian (1970) and Higgins (1973) among many others have pointed out that the specificational pseudocleft sentences exhibit connectivity: binding relation holds between an element within the presuppositional clause and another within the focus phrase, though the former does not seem to c-command the latter. Kizu (2005) and Hiraiwa and Ishihara (2012) have observed the connectivity effect with NP/PP-focus pseudocleft sentences in Japanese. The same phenomenon holds with the VP-focus pseudocleft sentences.

- (43) a. What John<sub>i</sub> did was [kill {himself<sub>i</sub>/\*him<sub>i</sub>/\*John<sub>i</sub>}].
- b. Kinoo Taro<sub>i</sub>-ga si-ta-no-wa [{zibunzisin<sub>i</sub>-o/zibun<sub>i</sub>-o/\*kare<sub>i</sub>-o/  
yesterday Taro-NOM do-PST-C-TOP himself-ACC/self-ACC/him-ACC/  
\*Taro<sub>i</sub>-o} kizutuke-ru koto] da.  
Taro-ACC hurt-RU KOTO COP.NPST  
'What Taro did yesterday was hurt himself.'
- c. [Taroo to Hanako]<sub>i</sub>-ga si-ta no wa otagai<sub>i</sub>-no hahaoya-ni  
Taro and Hanako-NOM do-PST C TOP each.other-GEN mother-DAT  
tegami-o kak-u koto da.  
letter-ACC write-U KOTO COP.NPST  
'What Taro and Hanako did was write a letter to each other's mother.'

In (43a), the reflexive pronoun *himself* is allowed in the focus position unlike the pronoun or R-expression that is coreferential with *John*, even though it is not c-commanded by its antecedent in the presuppositional clause.<sup>20</sup> The same effect is observed in Japanese. As shown in (43b, c), the reflexive pronoun *zibunzisin/zibun* and the reciprocal pronoun *otagai* are allowed in the absence of c-command by their antecedents. It is as though the subject of a presuppositional clause c-commanded the focus VP.

Another example that illustrates the connectivity effect involves the binding of a pronoun by a quantificational nominal.

- (44) a. What no student<sub>i</sub> enjoys is [his<sub>i</sub> finals]. (Sharvit (1999: 300))
- b. Kinoo dono gakusee<sub>i</sub>-mo si-ta-no-wa [zibun<sub>i</sub>-no hahaoya-ni tegami-o  
yesterday every student-also do-PST-C-TOP self-GEN mother-to letter-ACC

<sup>20</sup> While specificational pseudocleft sentences exhibit connectivity, predicational pseudocleft sentences do not.

- (i) a. ?What John<sub>i</sub> is is important to himself<sub>i</sub>. (specificational)  
b. What John<sub>i</sub> is is important to him<sub>i</sub>. (predicational) (Higgins (1973: 8))

kak-u koto] da.  
 write-U KOTO COP.NPST

‘What every student did yesterday was write a letter to his mother.’

In (44a, b), *his finals* and *zibun no hahaoya* ‘self’s mother’ have a bound variable reading even though *no student* and *dono gakusee* ‘every student’ in the presuppositional clauses do not c-command them. Thus, connectivity effects are observed in specificational pseudocleft sentences in Japanese as well as in English.<sup>21</sup>

In order to account for connectivity, Akmajian (1970), Ross (1972), Bošković (1997), Den

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<sup>21</sup> Licensing of Negative Polarity Items (NPIs) also indicates connectivity.

- (i) a. What John bought was [some wine].  
 b. ?What John didn’t buy was [any wine]. (Den Dikken et al. (2000: 44))

According to Den Dikken et al. (2000), the status of (ib) is subject to idiolectal variation, but some people find that the NPI *any wine* is allowed in the focus position even though it is not c-commanded by *not*. Indefinites can also marginally appear in the focus position of pseudocleft sentences in Japanese.

- (ii) a. ?Kinoo Taroo-ga at-ta-no-wa [dare-ka-ni] da.  
 yesterday Taro-NOM meet-PST-C-TOP someone-or-DAT COP.NPST  
 ‘Who Taro met yesterday was someone.’  
 b. ?Kinoo Taroo-ga awa-nakat-ta-no-wa [dono gakusee-ni-mo] da.  
 yesterday Taro-NOM meet-NEG-PST-C-TOP any student-DAT-also COP.NPST  
 ‘Who Taro didn’t meet yesterday was anyone.’

As shown in (iib), the NPI *dono gakusee-ni-mo* ‘any student’ can be licensed, even though NEG within the presuppositional clause does not c-command it.

However, unlike (iib) in which NP is focused, VP focus specificational pseudocleft sentences in Japanese do not allow NPIs in the focus position.

- (iii) Taroo-ga si-nakat-ta-no-wa [dono wain-mo ka-u koto] da.  
 Taro-NOM do-NEG-PST-C-TOP any wine-also buy-U KOTO COP.NPST  
 ?\*‘What Taro didn’t do was buy any wine.’  
 ‘What Taro didn’t do was buy every wine.’

The only reading available for *dono wain* ‘any wine’ in (iii) is a universal reading, and no NPI reading is available. This does not constitute a counterargument against the connectivity effect in specificational pseudocleft sentences. The NPI object needs to be licensed locally by a selecting V with a negative morpheme affixed to it. However, as we have seen in Section 2.2, only vP-phase-level categories are allowed in the focus position from which NEG is excluded. The existence of V in the affirmative form in the focus position blocks licensing of the NPI by NEG in the presuppositional clause, which is not local enough. Therefore, the lack of NPI licensing in (iii) can be attributed to the factor independent of connectivity.

Dikken et al. (2000), Schlenker (2003), Mihara and Hiraiwa (2006), Cho et al. (2008), Hiraiwa and Ishihara (2012), and Zubizarreta (2014) among others have proposed that at one stage of the derivation, the subject of a presuppositional clause and a focus phrase form a single clause of some sort. For instance, a structure like (45) is assumed to underlie (43c) under such a syntactic approach to specificational pseudocleft sentences.

- (45) Taroo to Hanako-ga otagai-no hahaoya-ni tegami-o kai-ta.  
 Taro and Hanako-NOM each.other-GEN mother-DAT letter-ACC write-PST  
 ‘Taro and Hanako wrote a letter to each other’s mother.’

Since this enables us to account for the connectivity effect without complicating the binding theory, a syntactic approach seems plausible.<sup>22</sup>

What is characteristic about the VP-focus pseudocleft sentences is that two verbs occur in them: *su-* ‘do’ and the focused V. This may pose a problem for a monoclausal analysis, which derives specificational pseudocleft sentences from a single clause like (45).<sup>23, 24</sup> On the other

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<sup>22</sup> Some phenomena have been reported to show anti-connectivity effect. For example, Den Dikken et al. (2000) have noted the contrast between (i) and (ii).

- (i) ?What nobody bought was any wine. (Den Dikken et al. 2000: 42))  
 (ii) \*Any wine was what nobody bought. (Den Dikken et al. 2000: 43))

The unacceptability of (ii), which is an example of inverse pseudoclefts, suggests that specificational pseudoclefts and inverse pseudoclefts need to be dealt with separately. See Reeve (2012) for a discussion of this issue with *it*-clefts.

<sup>23</sup> (43c) might be derived from a sentence like (i), in which a focus VP is a nominalized object of *su-*.

- (i) Taroo to Hanako-ga otagai-no hahaoya-ni tegami-o kak-u koto-o  
 Taro and Hanako-NOM each.other-GEN mother-DAT letter-ACC write-U KOTO-ACC  
 si-ta no da.  
 do-PST C COP.NPST  
 ‘Taro and Hanako wrote a letter to each other’s mother.’

I do not pursue this possibility here, since *koto* cannot be Case-marked in (43c) in contrast to (i) (see Footnote 29).

<sup>24</sup> As Akira Watanabe (personal communication) has pointed out to me, it would be difficult to account for the dative case-marking of *Hanako* in the presuppositional clause in (i) under such a monoclausal analysis, because *Hanako* in the base position should be marked as accusative by the causative *-ase*.

hand, this is not problematic if pseudocleft sentences are derived from two clauses put together. Ross (1972, 2000), Den Dikken et al. (2000), Schlenker (2003), Cho et al. (2008), and Zubizarreta (2014) have proposed that specificational pseudocleft sentences are bi-clausal and that ellipsis in the second clause is responsible for a focus phrase that looks smaller than a clause.

As an instantiation of a bi-clausal analysis, Faraci (1971), Ross (1972, 2000), Den Dikken et al. (2000), Den Dikken (2005), and Schlenker (2003) among others have argued that the two clauses represent a question-answer pair based on the parallelism between the specificational pseudocleft sentences and the question-answer pairs. For instance, connectivity holds in question-answer pairs as in (46) just as in (43a–c, 44a, b).

- (46) a. What did John buy? Some wine.  
 b. ?What DIDn't John buy? Any wine. (Den Dikken et al. (2000:45))

When a question is negative as in (46b), the NPI is licensed even though there is no c-command relation between NEG in the question and the NPI as its answer. It is natural to consider that the NPI in the fragment answer is licensed not by NEG in the question but by NEG within the same clause, which can optionally undergo ellipsis along with a subject NP and V, as indicated by parentheses in (47).

- (47) a. What did John buy? (He bought) some wine.  
 b. ?What DIDn't John buy? (He didn't buy) any wine. (Den Dikken et al. (2000: 45))

The proponents of the question-answer pair analysis have claimed that a question and its answer are combined in the pseudocleft construction: the presuppositional clause represents a question, and the TP focus represents its answer. Given the existence of a clausal focus in English for some speakers, this is a reasonable analysis. Under this type of analysis, the connectivity effect is

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- (i) Taroo-ga Hanako-ni si-ta no wa waraw-ase-ru koto da. (=10d)  
 Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT do-PST C TOP laugh-CAUSE-RU KOTO COP.NPST  
 'What Taro did to Hanako was make her laugh.'

explained naturally, since the whole focus clause is available for binding and NPI licensing. Den Dikken et al. (2000) have proposed the structure in (49) for (48b).<sup>25</sup>

- (48) a. What John bought was [~~he bought~~ some wine]  
 b. ?What John didn't buy was [~~he didn't buy~~ any wine] (Den Dikken et al. (2000: 44))
- (49) (?) [<sub>TopP</sub> [What John didn't buy] [<sub>TOP</sub> is/was] [<sub>TP</sub> ~~he didn't buy~~ any wine]]
- |          |        |
|----------|--------|
| Question | Answer |
|----------|--------|

On the other hand, Akmajian (1970), Heggie (1988), and Zubizarreta (2014) among others have considered a presuppositional clause as a free relative. Den Dikken (2005) has surveyed empirical evidence used to argue for/against the question-answer pair analysis and the free relative analysis. For example, PP pied-piping is allowed in specificational pseudocleft sentences in languages like German just as in questions, but not in free relatives.

- (50) a. \*Mit wem Maria gesprochen hatte kam gerade ins Zimmer. (German)  
 with whom Maria spoken had came just into.the room  
 (Lit.) 'With whom Maria spoke had just come into the room.' (free relative)
- b. Mit wem hat Maria gesprochen?  
 with whom has Maria spoken  
 'Who did Maria speak with?' (wh-question)
- c. Mit wem Maria gesprochen hatte, war mit Peter.  
 with whom Maria spoken had was with Peter (specificational pseudocleft)  
 'Who Maria spoke with was with Peter.' (Den Dikken (2005: 370))

In addition, Den Dikken has observed that specificational pseudocleft sentences, unlike free relatives, allow topicalization.

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<sup>25</sup> Den Dikken et al. (2000) have regarded a question-answer pair as an instance of a topic-comment structure. See Kizu (2005) for similarities between topicalization and pseudocleft sentences in Japanese.

- (51) a. \*[To Mary, what he gave] caused a scandal. (free relative)  
 b. \*[What to Mary, he gave] caused a scandal.
- (52) a. ?To Mary, what will he give? (root *wh*-question)  
 b. \*What, to Mary, will he give?  
 c. \*What will, to Mary, he give?
- (53) a. \*He is wondering [to Mary, what he will give]. (embedded *wh*-question)  
 b. ??He is wondering [what to Mary, he will give].
- (54) a. ?[To Mary, what he will never give] is any wine. (specificational pseudocleft)  
 b. ??[What to Mary, he will never give] is any wine. (Den Dikken et al. (2000: 71–72))

Based on data like (51)–(54), Den Dikken has argued that the *wh*-clause of a specificational pseudocleft sentence is a hybrid of a root *wh*-question and an embedded *wh*-question.

On the other hand, *yes/no* questions and their answers cannot occur in specificational pseudocleft sentences, though they should be able to do so under the question-answer pair analysis. In (55), ‘whether John did it (or not),’ the embedded form of *yes/no* questions, is used as a presuppositional clause, but the sentences are unacceptable. Examples like (55) are not problematic for the free relative analysis because free relatives are not formed with *whether*.

- (55) a. \*Whether John did it (or not) was [yes/he did].  
 b. \*Whether John did it (or not) was [no/he didn’t]. (Den Dikken (2005: 374))

As explored above, the nature of a *wh*-clause in specificational pseudocleft sentences still seems to be controversial. I claim that Japanese specificational pseudocleft sentences provide empirical evidence for the question-answer pair analysis. Let us first consider the property of a topic phrase in Japanese from an information-theoretic point of view.



- (56) a. Taroo.  
       ‘Hey, Taro.’
- b. Taroo-ga ...  
       Taro-NOM  
       ‘Taro can do it.’, ‘Taro stood up.’, etc.

As shown in (56a), a proper noun can occur alone and function as a vocative. When it occurs with a nominative case marker as in (56b), it is interpreted as a sentence fragment. The speaker’s utterance is interrupted in the middle, and the addressee tries to fill in the missing part from the context. For instance, it may be the case that someone needs to go to a kitchen to get a corkscrew for a bottle of wine, and the speaker suggests that Taro can do it, or it may be that a baby named Taro stood up on his own for the first time in his life, and his mother was so happy about it that she could not finish her sentence. In any case, the addressee tries to accommodate the subject with some predicate to make sense of it.

The situation is not the same, however, with the topic marker *-wa*.

- (57) Taroo-wa.  
       Taro-TOP  
       ‘Taro ...’ #‘Taro can do it.’, #‘Taro stood up.’, etc.

Unlike (56b), (57) does not seem to invite an addressee to fill in the gap. The addressee just has to wait for the speaker to finish the sentence.<sup>26</sup> This is because there is no topic-comment

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<sup>26</sup> As Ken Hiraiwa (personal communication) has noted, the string NP-*wa* may sometimes invite an addressee to fill in the gap, as in (ia). However, in such cases NP-*wa* is a contrastive topic or is accompanied by a contrastive topic, and is not an ordinary topic.

- (i) Nobita’s mother is looking for the place where Nobita is hiding in the house. She is about to open the door of a closet where he is hiding. Doraemon, who wants to prevent her from opening the door, says:
- a. Ah, soko-ni-wa Nobita-wa ...  
       ah there-at-TOP Nobita-TOP  
       ‘Ah, Nobita is not there, but ...’
- ((a): Ken Hiraiwa (personal communication))

structure at the level of information structure in (57). A topic cannot be a topic without a comment, but in (57), even though *-wa* is employed to represent *Taroo* as a topic morpho-syntactically, there is no comment about him, which does not yield a well-formed information structure. The addressee takes it for granted that the speaker will provide him/her with a comment, because that is what conversation is for, and so the addressee will be left at a loss when the utterance ends abruptly without a comment. The missing VP of the fragment *wa*-phrase cannot be interpreted by making use of some old information available in the context, because new information must be provided for the topic phrase.

On the other hand, if we read the same string with a rising intonation as in (58), we can come up with various contexts in which it makes sense, such as asking about where he is or whether he is coming.

(58) *Taroo-wa?*

*Taro-TOP*

‘Where is Taro?’, ‘Is Taro coming?’, etc.

(58) is fine in terms of information structure because the interrogative sentence as a whole can act as a topic for its answer, which provides a comment for it. The missing VP can be filled in from the context, because it constitutes a part of a topic.

Now let us go back to the specificational pseudocleft sentences in Japanese. In (59a), *hon* ‘a book’ is focused and contrasted with alternatives such as {Taro bought a pen, Taro bought a pencil, Taro bought a notebook etc.}. As Kiss (1998) has observed, the focus phrase of a

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- b. *Soko-(ni)-wa ...*  
     *there-at-TOP*  
     ‘Not there, but ...’
  - c. *#Nobita-wa.*  
     *Nobita-TOP*

In (ia), *Nobita-wa* is accompanied by *soko-ni-wa*, which represents a contrastive topic, contrasting *soko* ‘there’ with other places. Without *soko-ni-wa*, it is difficult for a hearer to fill in the gap from the context, as in (ic).

pseudocleft sentence is interpreted exhaustively, so the embedded clause in (59a) is interpreted as ‘Taro bought a book and nothing else.’

(59) a. [Taroo-ga kat-ta-no-wa hon(-o) da to] Hanako-ga  
 Taro-NOM buy-PST-C-TOP book(-ACC) COP.NPST C Hanako-NOM  
 omotteiru.  
 think.NPST

‘Hanako thinks that what Taro bought is a book. (not a pen, etc.)’

b. [Taroo-ga kat-ta-no-ga hon(-o) da to] Hanako-ga  
 Taro-NOM buy-PST-C-NOM book(-ACC) COP.NPST C Hanako-NOM  
 omotteiru.  
 think.NPST

‘Hanako thinks the book is what Taro bought. (not what Hanako bought, etc.)’

In contrast, in (59b) the topic marker *-wa* in the presuppositional clause is replaced with the nominative case marker *-ga*. This sentence does not have a specificational pseudocleft reading. Here *hon* ‘a book’ is not a focus. What is focused is *Taroo-ga kat-ta-no* ‘What Taro bought,’ which is contrasted with such alternatives as what Taro wrote and what Hanako bought. This minimal pair demonstrates the obligatory presence of the topic marker *-wa* in the presuppositional clause of specificational pseudocleft sentences.

Turning to the VP-focus specificational pseudocleft construction in (60), we see that the presuppositional clause takes the form of a fragment ending with the topic marker *-wa*.

(60) [Taroo-ga si-ta-no-wa] [~~Taroo-ga~~ zibun<sub>i</sub>-no hahaoya-ni hana-o  
 Taro-NOM do-PST-C-TOP Taro-NOM self-GEN mother-DAT flower-ACC  
 oku-ru koto] da.  
 send-RU KOTO COP.NPST

‘What Taro<sub>i</sub> did was send flowers to his<sub>i</sub> mother.’

As I have demonstrated above, the fragment that ends with *-wa* can only be interpreted as a question.

(61) Q: Taroo<sub>i</sub>-ga si-ta-no-wa?

Taro-NOM do-PST-C-TOP

‘What did Taro do?’, #‘Taro bought a book.’, etc.

A: (Taroo<sub>i</sub>-ga) zibun<sub>i</sub>-no hahaoya-ni hana-o oku-ru koto da

Taro-NOM self-GEN mother-DAT flower-ACC send-RU KOTO COP.NPST

(yo).

SFP

‘He sent flowers to his mother.’

The fragment *Taroo-ga si-ta-no-wa* in (61Q) must be interpreted as a question because of the requirement imposed by the topic marker on the information structure. I argue that the same holds true with pseudocleft sentences as in (60). What is remarkable here is that the question in (61Q) and the presuppositional clause of a pseudocleft sentence in (60) have exactly the same form, unlike in English. The fact that a presuppositional clause must be marked by *-wa* indicates that it constitutes a question since a fragment topic must be interpreted as a question. This in turn indicates that the focus phrase represents its answer. Japanese, a language with a topic marker, thus provides a novel support for the question-answer pair analysis of specificational pseudocleft sentences.<sup>27, 28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Ken Hiraiwa (personal communication) has pointed out that the occurrence of fragment questions like (61Q) is a root phenomenon and that they cannot be embedded as a subject or an object. This is problematic for the analysis presented here. It must be stipulated as a specific property of the pseudocleft construction: it is a construction in the sense that it combines a question and its answer in one sentence, and thus embeds a fragment question and a fragment answer in it. Notice that the presuppositional clause of English pseudocleft sentences show the hybrid character of a root question and an embedded question, as indicated in (52–54).

<sup>28</sup> See Cho et al. (2008) for arguments for a bi-clausal analysis of the pseudocleft sentences in Japanese and Korean, based on multiple case-marked constituents.

### 2.3.2. Derivation

Hoji (1990) and Fukaya and Hoji (1999) among others have pointed out that some pseudocleft sentences demonstrate island sensitivity. Let us examine whether or not a subjacency effect obtains with VP focus specificational pseudocleft sentences. As shown in (62), long distance dependency holds in the VP focus pseudocleft construction.

- (62) Taroo-ga Hanako-ga si-ta-to omot-ta no wa katteni  
 Taro-NOM Hanako-NOM do-PST-C think-PST C TOP without.permission  
 gakkoo-o yasum-u koto da.  
 school-ACC skip-U KOTO COP.NPST  
 ‘What Taro thinks Hanako did is skip school without permission.’

This dependency is subject to island constraints.

- (63) a. \*Taroo-ga [[ $e_i$   $e_j$  si-ta] hito<sub>i</sub>-o] hihansi-ta no wa [katteni  
 Taro-NOM do-PST person-ACC criticize-PST C TOP without.permission  
 gakkoo-o yasum-u koto]<sub>j</sub> da.  
 school-ACC skip-U KOTO COP.NPST  
 (Lit.) ‘What Taro criticized a person who did was skip school without permission.’
- b. \*Taroo-ga [Ziroo-ga hon-o ut-te Hanako-ga  $e_i$  su-ru]-to  
 Taro-NOM Jiro-NOM book-ACC sell-TE Hanako-NOM do-NPST-C  
 omot-te i-ru no wa [tabemono-o ka-u koto]<sub>i</sub> da.  
 think-TE Asp-NPST C TOP food-ACC buy -U KOTO COP.NPST  
 (Lit.) ‘What Taro thinks that Jiro will sell his books and that Hanako will do is buy some food.’

The unacceptability of (63a, b) can be attributed to the Complex NP Constraint and the

Coordinate Structure Constraint, respectively.<sup>29</sup> This demonstrates that some sort of movement is involved in the derivation of the VP focus pseudocleft construction. I believe that null operator movement takes place within the presuppositional clause, as proposed by Chomsky (1977) and Kizu (2005) among others. Following Den Dikken et al. (2000), I propose the following structure for VP-focus specificational pseudocleft sentences:

- (64) [TopP [CP Op<sub>i</sub> [TP Taro<sub>o</sub>-ga e<sub>i</sub> si-ta] [C no]]]-wa  
 Taro-NOM do-PST C TOP  
 [FinP [TP [VP [~~TP~~ Taro<sub>o</sub>-ga [~~NegP~~ [~~PolItP~~ [~~AspP~~ [~~AppIP~~ [~~VoiceP~~ [~~vP~~ t<sub>j</sub> [hon-o yom-u] koto  
 book-ACC read-U KOTO  
~~v}Voice}AppI}Asp}Polit}Neg}T} [v da]] T] Fin] TOP]  
 COP  
 ‘What Taro did is read a book.’~~

I regard the presuppositional clause as a question that occupies Spec of TopP. The head of the presuppositional clause is the complementizer *no*, which Kizu (2005) has convincingly demonstrated to be of the same type that occurs in head-internal relative clauses. The topic marker *-wa* is attached to the presuppositional clause because it is an affix that attaches to whatever constituent occupies the Spec of TopP. Null operator movement takes place within the

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<sup>29</sup> Hoji (1990) and Fukaya and Hoji (1999) have distinguished between two types of pseudocleft constructions: those that focalize NPs marked by case particles or postpositions, and those that focalize non-case-marked NPs. They have observed that only the former exhibit the island sensitivity.

- (i) a. \*[Naoya-ga [[e<sub>i</sub> e<sub>j</sub> kai-ta] hito<sub>i</sub>]-o hihansi-ta no]-wa kono  
 Naoya-NOM write-PST person-ACC criticize-PST C TOP this  
 ronbun-o<sub>j</sub> da.  
 paper-ACC COP.NPST  
 (Lit.) ‘It was this paper<sub>j</sub> that Naoya criticized the person who wrote e<sub>j</sub>.’  
 b. [Naoya-ga [[e<sub>i</sub> e<sub>j</sub> kai-ta] hito<sub>i</sub>]-o hihansi-ta no]-wa kono ronbun<sub>j</sub> da.  
 Naoya-NOM write-PST person-ACC criticize-PST C TOP this paper COP.NPST  
 (Lit.) ‘It was this paper<sub>j</sub> that Naoya criticized the person who wrote e<sub>j</sub>.’  
 (Hiraiwa and Ishihara (2012: 147))

However, (63a, b) are unacceptable despite the absence of a case marker on the *koto*-phrase.

presuppositional clause.

Regarding the answer part, it occurs as a FinP complement of TOP, i.e. as a comment in the topic-comment structure. The sentence-final copula within FinP takes TP as a complement.<sup>30</sup> The focus VP, with *-(r)u* as a verbal suffix, is nominalized by *koto*. *Koto* that occurs in pseudocleft sentences nominalizes focus verbal phrases such as VP, vP, VoiceP, and ApplP. In this way, the focus VPs can satisfy the c-selection requirement of the copula *da*, which can only take nominal categories.<sup>31</sup> Ellipsis takes place in the complement clause of the copula, which obeys the maximality condition in (65) proposed by Den Dikken et al. (2000: 59) for specificational pseudocleft sentences in English.

- (65) If A undergoes ellipsis, ellipsis must be maximal (all the way down to, but not into XP)  
[where ‘A’ is the answer/counterweight; and ‘XP’ is the focused constituent in A].

We have observed that VP, vP, VoiceP and ApplP can be a focus VP. The maximality condition leads us to delete everything outside the focus phrase including Aspect, Politeness, Negation, and Tense.

This analysis is somewhat unconventional in applying ellipsis to what looks like nonconstituents in the TP complement of the copula. In order to avoid this, one might propose to move focus VP out of TP and then delete the remnant TP afterwards, following Merchant’s (2004) analysis of fragment answers. However, such an analysis would wrongly predict that sentences like (66a,b) are possible, unless TP ellipsis applies obligatorily.<sup>32</sup>

- (66) a. \*Taroo-ga si-ta no wa [hon-o yom-u koto] Taroo-ga da.  
Taro-NOM do-PST C TOP book-ACC read-U KOTO Taroo-NOM COP.NPST

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<sup>30</sup> I claim that the copula at the end of pseudocleft sentences is a regular V since it can occur with various elements including true modals, tense, negation, politeness marker, and *no da*, as demonstrated in Section 2.2.2.

<sup>31</sup> *Koto* that nominalizes verbal phrases in the VP-focus pseudocleft construction is not a C, unlike one that occurs with CP focus of the pseudocleft construction, as in (3h).

<sup>32</sup> I am thankful to Ken Hiraiwa (personal communication) for pointing this out to me.

‘What Taro did was read a book.’

- b. \*What John did was buy some wine, he did. (Den Dikken et al. (2000: 48))

Following Abe (2016: 241), who has claimed that “a target of deletion is a constituent and yet an actual deletion operation applies to it in the way that a phrase carrying [Focus] evades such an operation” meaning that “the material bearing [Focus] is accented, whereas the other material is deaccented and further deleted as an extreme case,” as first proposed by Tancredi (1992), I consider that the elements that are not included in the focus VP are elided in TP in accordance with the maximality condition.

To summarize, I have argued for the question-answer pair analysis of the VP-focus pseudocleft sentences and proposed their derivation following Den Dikken et al.’s (2000) analysis in English.

## 2.4. Restriction on the Focus Phrase and the Presuppositional Clause

### 2.4.1. Passives

In Section 2.2, we observed that passive *-(r)are* must be doubled in the specificational pseudocleft construction. Why is the repetition of *-(r)are* necessary? Let us begin our discussion with indirect passives.

- (67) a. \*Taroo-ga si-ta no wa gakusee-ni musuko-o izime-rare-ru koto da.  
Taro-NOM do-PST C TOP student-by son-ACC bully-PASS-RU KOTO COP.NPST  
‘What Taro did was have his son bullied by students.’
- b. Taroo-ga s-are-ta no wa gakusee-*\*ni*/*?\*ga* musuko-o izime-ru  
Taro-NOM do-PASS-PST C TOP student-by/NOM son-ACC bully-RU  
koto da.  
KOTO COP.NPST
- c. ?\*Taroo-ga gakusee-ni s-are-ta no wa musuko-o izime-ru koto  
Taro-NOM student-by do-PASS-PST C TOP son-ACC bully-RU KOTO



da.

COP.NPST

- d. Taroo-ga s-are-ta no wa gakusee-ni musuko-o izime-rare-ru  
 Taro-NOM do-PASS-PST C TOP student-by son-ACC bully-PASS-RU  
 koto da.

KOTO COP.NPST

- e. Taroo-ga gakusee-ni s-are-ta no wa musuko-o izime-rare-ru  
 Taro-NOM student-by do-PASS-PST C TOP son-ACC bully-PASS-RU  
 koto da.

KOTO COP.NPST

Based on Kuno (1973), Kuroda (1979), and Hoshi (1999) among others, I assume that the passive morpheme of the *ni* indirect passives is a two-place predicate that takes the Affectee as an external argument and a vP complement, as shown in (68b).<sup>33</sup>

- (68) a. Taroo-ga gakusee-ni musuko-o izime-rare-ta.  
 Taro-NOM student-by son-ACC bully-PASS-PST  
 ‘Taro had his son bullied by students.’

- b. [TP Taroo-ga<sub>i</sub> [VoiceP ~~Taroo~~<sub>i</sub> [vP gakusee-ni [vP musuko-o izime] v] rare] ta].  
 Taro-NOM student-by son-ACC bully PASS PST

When a presuppositional clause contains V in an active voice as in (67a), the focalized V cannot be passive. The example (67b) is ruled out when *gakusee-ni* is used in the focus phrase, because *ni*, which introduces an agent in the passive construction, cannot be licensed by the active V. When *gakusee-ga* is used instead it sounds a little better, but a mismatch in voice between the presuppositional clause and the focus phrase still results in degraded acceptability, just as in

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<sup>33</sup> The structure in (68b) is similar to what Folli and Harley (2007) have proposed for *faire infinitif* of Romance causatives.

(67c).<sup>34</sup> In contrast, the examples (67d, e) indicate that the sentences are acceptable when the passive morpheme appears in both the presuppositional clause and the focus phrase.

Notice that the examples (67d, e) illustrate that the agentivity constraint does not apply when a predicate in the presuppositional clause is *s-are-T*. In Section 2.2.1.1.1, I stated that the agentivity constraint is imposed on the VP focus specificational pseudocleft construction, but the claim is too strong; it only holds true for the construction with *su-ru/si-ta* in the presuppositional clause. If the subject of a presuppositional clause bears a semantic role of Patient, the subject of a focus phrase must do so as well. What seems to be relevant here is Jackendoff's (1990: 126) notion of an action tier, which deals with Actor-Patient relations.<sup>35</sup> The agentivity constraint can be reformulated as follows.

(69) Condition on Semantic Roles

The VP focus specificational pseudocleft construction can be interpreted if the subject of a presuppositional clause receives the same role on the action tier as the one assigned by a focus predicate to its subject within the focus phrase. These NPs need not have the same reference, so long as they bear the same role on the action tier.

In (67d, e) both *Taro* in the presuppositional clause and the null subject of the focus phrase are Patients, and the condition on semantic roles is met. In contrast, the same condition is not satisfied in (67c), because the predicate within the focus phrase assigns the Actor role to its null subject, though the subject of the presuppositional clause is construed as Patient. In (67a) the condition is also violated, because *si-ta* assigns an Actor role to its subject in the presuppositional clause while *izime-rare-ru* assigns a Patient role to its phonetically empty subject in the focus phrase. The passive morpheme has to be doubled in the VP focus specificational pseudocleft construction because of the condition on semantic roles.

The agentivity constraint is just a subcase of this condition. When a predicate in the

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<sup>34</sup> There are speakers who find sentences like (67c) acceptable. See the discussion below.

<sup>35</sup> Jackendoff (1990) has postulated two tiers for conceptual roles: an action tier and a thematic tier. The latter deals with motion and location.

presuppositional clause is *su-ru*, a predicate in the focus phrase has to be agentive as well so that the condition on semantic roles can be satisfied. The agentivity constraint has been regarded as a property of the pseudocleft construction since Jackendoff (1972), but I suspect that this is partly due to the fact that passives are not allowed in English pseudocleft sentences, as demonstrated in (70a).

- (70) a. \*What was done to John was kicked in the stomach/kick him in the stomach.  
 b. What happened to John was he was kicked in the stomach.

In order to focalize action performed on a Patient, sentences like (70b) must be used instead. On the other hand, in Japanese it is possible to use passives in pseudocleft sentences as in (67d, e), which makes it clear that the agentivity constraint is a subcase of the more general condition on semantic roles on the action tier.

The situation is the same with pseudocleft sentences based on direct passives.

- (71) Taroo-ga Hanako-ni waraitobas-are-ta.  
 Taro-NOM Hanako-by laugh.at-PASS-PST  
 ‘Taro was laughed at by Hanako.’

- (72) a. \*Taroo-ga si-ta no wa Hanako-ni waraitobas-are-ru koto da.  
 Taro-NOM do-PST C TOP Hanako-by laugh.at-PASS-RU KOTO COP.NPST  
 (Lit.) ‘What Taro did was he was laughed at by Hanako.’

- b. \*Taroo-ga s-are-ta no wa Hanako-ni/ga waraitobas-u koto  
 Taro-NOM do-PASS-PST C TOP Hanako-by/NOM laugh.at-U KOTO  
 da.  
 COP.NPST  
 (Lit.) ‘What was done to Taro was Hanako laughed at him.’

- c. ?\*Taroo-ga Hanako-ni s-are-ta no wa waraitobas-u koto da  
 Taro-NOM Hanako-by do-PASS-PST C TOP laugh.at-U KOTO COP.NPST

(Lit.) ‘What was done to Taro by Hanako was laugh at him.’

- d. Taroo-ga s-are-ta no wa Hanako-ni waraitobas-are-ru koto  
 Taro-NOM do-PASS-PST C TOP Hanako-by laugh.at-PASS-RU KOTO  
 da.

COP.NPST

‘What happened to Taro was he was laughed at by Hanako.’

- e. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni s-are-ta no wa waraitobas-are-ru koto  
 Taro-NOM Hanako-by do-PASS-PST C TOP laugh.at-PASS-RU KOTO  
 da.

COP.NPST

‘What happened to Taro was he was laughed at by Hanako.’

The acceptable examples (72d, e) satisfy the condition on semantic roles, while the unacceptable ones (72a, b, c) do not, though (72b) with *Hanako-ni* is also ruled out for reasons of Case.<sup>36</sup>

There are some speakers who accept voice mismatches in the presuppositional clause and the focus phrase. Such people find (67c), (72c), and (73) acceptable to a certain degree.

- (73) a. % Taroo-ga s-are-ta no wa kutu-o kakus-u koto da.  
 Taro-NOM do-PASS-PST C TOP shoes-ACC hide-U KOTO COP.NPST

(Lit.) ‘What was done to Taro was hide his shoes.’

<sup>36</sup> The example (72a) is acceptable under a construal in which Taro tried to be laughed at on purpose. This is due to the condition on semantic roles, because under this interpretation the null subject of the focus phrase is an Actor just as the subject of the presuppositional clause. The same holds true for (i).

- (i) Taroo-ga si-ta no wa wazato keesatu-ni taihos-are-ru koto da.  
 Taro-NOM do-PST C TOP deliberately police-by arrest-PASS-RU KOTO COP.NPST  
 (Lit.) ‘What Taro did was to get arrested by the police on purpose.’  
 (Takane Ito (personal communication))

Here the subject of the presuppositional clause is an Actor, and the null subject of the focus phrase, which refers to Taro, is also an Actor, since he purposefully got arrested. Thus, the condition on semantic roles is also satisfied in (i).

b. % Taroo-ga Hanako-ni s-are-ta no wa hikkak-u koto da.  
 Taro-NOM Hanako-by do-PASS-PST C TOP scratch-U KOTO COP.NPST  
 (Lit.) ‘What was done to Taro by Hanako was scratch him.’

c. % Taroo-ga rinzin-ni s-are-ta no wa yodoosi piano-o  
 Taro-NOM neighbor-by do-PASS-PST C TOP all.night pizno-ACC  
 daionryoo-de hik-u koto da. ((c): Takane Ito (personal communication))  
 loudly play-U KOTO COP.NPST  
 (Lit.) ‘What was done to Taro by his neighbor was play the piano loudly all night long.’

(74) Taroo-ga Hanako-ni s-are-ta no wa itazura da.  
 Taro-NOM Hanako-by do-PASS-PST C TOP prank COP.NPST  
 ‘What Hanako did to Taro was a prank.’

First, let us consider the NP-focus pseudocleft sentence in (74). Here the verbal noun *itazura* ‘a prank’ occurs in the focus position. *Taro* is interpreted as the Patient of *itazura* due to the condition on semantic roles, because he is interpreted as Patient in the presuppositional clause. The speakers who accept sentences like (67c), (72c), and (73) probably regard the nominalized VP in the focus phrase as a kind of verbal noun. Notice that it is possible to ask for the content of the focus with *nani* ‘what,’ as in (75), which is typically answered with an NP.<sup>37</sup>

(75) Taroo-wa nani-o s-are-ta no?  
 Taro-TOP what-ACC do-PASS-PST Q  
 ‘What happened to Taro?’

In (67c), (72c), and (73), liberal speakers probably interpret the null element in the focus phrase,

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<sup>37</sup> It is also possible to ask for the content of VP focus using *doo* ‘how.’

(i) Taroo-wa doo s-are-ta no?  
 Taro-TOP how do-PASS-PST Q  
 ‘What happened to Taro?’

which is coreferential with *Taro*, as Patient even in the absence of a passive morpheme in the focus phrase.

Another factor that affects the acceptability of passive pseudocleft sentences is the kind of predicates involved. The *s-are-ru* pseudocleft construction sounds better when a focus predicate denotes controllable action.

(76) a. Taroo-ga s-are-ta no wa musuko-ni nak-are-ru koto da.  
 Taro-NOM do-PASS-PST C TOP son-by cry-PASS-RU KOTO COP.PST  
 ‘What happened to Taro was his son cried on him.’

a’. Taroo-ga musuko-ni s-are-ta no wa nak-are-ru koto  
 Taro-NOM son-by do-PASS-PST C TOP cry-PASS-RU KOTO  
 da.  
 COP.NPST

b. Taroo-ga s-are-ta no wa koibito-ni suter-are-ru koto  
 Taro-NOM do-PASS-PST C TOP girlfriend-by leave-PASS-RU KOTO  
 da.  
 COP.NPST

‘What happened to Taro was his girlfriend left him.’

b’. Taroo-ga koibito-ni s-are-ta no wa suter-are-ru koto  
 Taro-NOM girlfriend-by do-PASS-PST C TOP leave-PASS-RU KOTO  
 da.  
 COP.NPST

c. ??Taroo-ga s-are-ta no wa musuko-ni sin-are-ru koto da.<sup>38</sup>

Taro-NOM do-PASS-PST C TOP son-by die-PASS-RU KOTO COP.NPST

‘What happened to Taro was his son died on him.’

c’.??Taroo-ga musuko-ni s-are-ta no wa sin-are-ru koto da.

Taro-NOM son-by do-PASS-PST C TOP die-PASS-RU KOTO COP.NPST

d. ??Taroo-ga s-are-ta no wa ame-ni hur-are-ru koto da.

Taro-NOM do-PASS-PST C TOP rain-by fall-PASS-RU KOTO COP.NPST

‘What happened to Taro was it rained on him.’

d’.??Taroo-ga ame-ni s-are-ta no wa hur-are-ru koto da.

Taro-NOM rain-by do-PASS-PST C TOP fall-PASS-RU KOTO COP.NPST

The examples (76a, a’, b, b’), which have an agentive predicate embedded within VoiceP in the focus phrase, are more acceptable than (76c, c’, d, d’), which do not. Here the parallelism required between the presuppositional clause and the focus phrase is more than just the occurrence of a passive morpheme or a subject’s role on the action tier. The predicates that take Actor subjects are more acceptable in the passive focus phrases, probably because *su* in the presuppositional clause embedded under a passive morpheme is agentive in an active form.

#### 2.4.2. *Applicative -te moraw-(u) with a Passive Meaning*

Yamashita (2001) has pointed out that the *-te moraw-u* construction is similar to the passive construction because both constructions cause changes in valence.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>38</sup> If Taro’s son died with a malicious intent as in (i), the sentence sounds better, because his death can be interpreted as involving some volitional act.

(i) Taroo-ga s-are-ta no wa musuko-ni zibun-no akugyoo-o intaanetto-ni  
Taro-NOM do-PASS-PST C TOP son-by self-GEN wrongdoing-ACC internet-on  
bakuro-si-ta mama sin-are-ru koto da.  
disclose-do-PST with die-PASS-RU KOTO COP.NPST

‘What happened to Taro was his son died on him with his wrongdoings disclosed on the internet.’

(Shuji Chiba (personal communication))

<sup>39</sup> Yamashita (2001) has used the term ‘adversative passive’ for (77b), but the term is usually used in

- (77) a. Yamada-ga watasi-o kuruma-de gakkoo-made ture-te it-ta. (active)  
 Yamada-NOM I-ACC car-by school-to take-TE go-PST  
 ‘Yamada took me to school by car.’
- b. Watasi-wa Yamada-ni kuruma-de gakkoo-made ture-te ik-are-ta. (passive)  
 I-TOP Yamada-by car-by school-to take-TE go-PASS-PST  
 ‘I was taken to school by car by Yamada (against my will).’
- c. Watasi-wa Yamada-ni kuruma-de gakkoo-made ture-te it-te morat-ta.  
 I-TOP Yamada-by car-by school-to take-TE go-TE receive-PST  
 ‘I was taken to school by car by Yamada (and I’m thankful for that).’ (-te morawu)
- ((a–c): Yamashita (2001: 5))

*Watasi* ‘I’ in (77b) is Patient, receiving a negative effect from Yamada’s action, whereas *watasi* in (77c) is a Beneficiary receiving benefit from the same action. Jackendoff (1990) has used the notation  $AFF^+$  for Beneficiary and  $AFF^-$  for Patient, noting that the former is positively affected, whereas the latter is negatively affected. Since both  $AFF^+$  and  $AFF^-$  can be subsumed under  $AFF$  (affect), the *-te moraw-u* construction can be dealt with in the same way as passives. The beneficiary interpretation arises from the semantic property of *moraw(u)* ‘receive.’<sup>40</sup>

(78) [<sub>TP</sub> Taro-ga; [<sub>AppIP</sub> sensee-ni [<sub>VP</sub> Taro<sub>i</sub> home-te] morat] ta].

Taro-NOM teacher-by praise-TE receive PST

‘Taro was praised by the teacher.’

(79) a. ??Taro-ga si-ta no wa sensee-ni home-te moraw-u koto da.

Taro-NOM do-PST C TOP teacher-by praise-TE receive-U KOTO COP.NPST

‘What happened to Taro was he was praised by the teacher.’

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generative literature to refer to indirect passives with adversative interpretation, which (77b) is not.

<sup>40</sup> In fact, as Akira Watanabe (personal communication) has suggested to me, we can regard *V-te moraw-u* as a passive form of *V-te yar-u/age-ru*, used as a suppletive form for *\*V-te yar-are-ru/age-rare-ru*.



- b. \*Taroo-ga si-te morat-ta no wa sensee-ni/ga home-ru koto  
 Taro-NOM do-TE receive-PST C TOP teacher-by/NOM praise-RU KOTO  
 da.  
 COP.NPST
- c. %Taroo-ga sensee-ni si-te morat-ta no wa home-ru koto da.  
 Taro-NOM teacher-by do-TE receive-PSTC TOP praise-RU KOTO COP.NPST
- d. Taroo-ga si-te morat-ta no wa sensee-ni home-te moraw-u koto  
 Taro-NOM do-TE receive-PST C TOP teacher-by praise-TE receive-U KOTO  
 da.  
 COP.NPST
- e. Taroo-ga sensee-ni si-te morat-ta no wa home-te moraw-u  
 Taro-NOM teacher-by do-TE receive-PST C TOP praise-TE receive-U  
 koto da.  
 KOTO COP.NPST

Again, only the sentences in which the presuppositional clause and the focus phrase have the subject carrying the same role on the action tier are allowed, such as (79d, e), though liberal speakers accept (79c) as well.

### 2.4.3. Causatives

We have seen that the obligatory doubling of the passive *-(r)are* and *-te morawu* can be attributed to the condition on semantic roles imposed on the presuppositional subjects and the focus subjects of the specificational pseudocleft construction. In order to make sure that this is the case, let us take a look at the causative *-(s)ase*, which allows optional doubling.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> *-Te yar(u)* and *-te moraw(u)* with a causative meaning allow optional doubling just like the causative *-(s)ase*, as we have seen in (14a, b, 15a, b).

- (80) a. Taroo-ga si-ta no wa Hanako-ni heya-o katazuke-sase-ru  
 Taro-NOM do-PST C TOP Hanako-DAT room-ACC tidy.up-CAUSE-RU  
 koto da.  
 KOTO COP.NPST  
 ‘What Taro did was make Hanako tidy up the room.’
- b. \*Taroo-ga s-ase-ta no wa Hanako-ga/ni heya-o  
 Taro-NOM do-CAUSE-PST C TOP Hanako-DAT/NOM room-ACC  
katazuke-ru koto da.  
 tidy.up-RU KOTO COP.NPST  
 (Lit.) ‘What Taro made do was for Hanako to tidy up the room.’
- c. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni s-ase-ta no wa heya-o katazuke-ru  
 Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT do-CAUSE-PST C TOP room-ACC tidy.up-RU  
 koto da.  
 KOTO COP.NPST  
 ‘What Taro made Hanako do was tidy up the room.’
- d. Taroo-ga s-ase-ta no wa Hanako-ni heya-o  
 Taro-NOM do-CAUSE-PST C TOP Hanako-DAT room-ACC  
katazuke-sase-ru koto da.  
 tidy.up-CAUSE-RU KOTO COP.NPST  
 ‘What Taro did was make someone make Hanako tidy up the room.’  
 ?‘What Taro did was make Hanako tidy up the room.’
- e. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni s-ase-ta no wa heya-o  
 Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT do-CAUSE-PST C TOP room-ACC  
katazuke-sase-ru koto da.  
 tidy.up-CAUSE-RU KOTO COP.NPST  
 ‘What Taro made Hanako do was tidy up the room.’  
 ‘What Taro made Hanko do was make someone tidy up the room.’

Unlike the cases with passives and *-te moraw(u)* with a passive meaning, the examples (80a) and (80c), in which the causative morpheme is not doubled, are acceptable. The structure for causatives is as follows:

- (81) [TP Taro-ga<sub>i</sub> [~~VP Taro-ga<sub>i</sub>~~ [<sub>VP</sub> Hanako-ni [<sub>VP</sub> heya-o      katazuke] v] sase]      ta]  
           Taro-NOM                      Hanako-DAT    room-ACC    tidy.up            CAUSE    PST

In (80a), vP headed by *-sase* is focused. In the presuppositional clause, *Taro* is an Actor subject. The phonetically null subject of the focus phrase, which is coreferential with *Taro*, is an Instigator of the event, which is also as an Actor. Since the two subjects are both Actors, the condition on semantic roles is satisfied in (80a).

In (80c), the embedded vP [<sub>pro</sub> heya-o katazuke-v] is focused. The subject of the presuppositional clause *Taro* is an Actor as well as an Instigator of the event. The subject of the focus phrase is coreferential with *Hanako*, and it is an Actor of the caused event. Therefore, the two subjects successfully satisfy the condition on semantic roles. This example is important because it indicates that the two subjects need not be identical in reference so long as they satisfy the condition on semantic roles.

The contrast between (80b) and (80d) indicates that the causative morpheme must be present in the focus phrase when the Causee *Hanako* is in the focus phrase. In (80b), *Hanako-ga* is not allowed because T licenses the nominative case on *Taroo*, which is elided within the focus clause afterwards. On the other hand, *Hanako-ni* in (80b) is ruled out because its dative case is not licensed in the absence of a causative morpheme in the focus phrase. In order to license Case on the Causee argument in the focus phrase, *-(s)ase* must be present in the phrase as well, as shown in (80d). Here the presuppositional clause does not specify the Causee of *-(s)ase*, so the referent of the Causee can be interpreted as arbitrary. In that case, the sentence is interpreted as involving double causatives: ‘What Taro made someone do was make Hanako tidy up the room.’<sup>42</sup> When

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<sup>42</sup> According to this reading, the structure of a focus phrase is as in (i).

the Causee of *-(s)ase* is interpreted as Hanako, which is marginally allowed, vP including *-(s)ase* is focused followed by the ellipsis of *Taroo-ga*. Either way, the condition on semantic roles is met because both *Taro* in the presuppositional clause and the coreferential null subject of the focus phrase are interpreted as an Actor as well as an Instigator.

(80e) satisfies the condition in the same way as (80d). Again, *Taro* in the presuppositional clause and the coreferential null subject of the focus phrase bear the same role in the action tier. The difference between (80c) and (80e) is the size of the focus phrase.

- (82) [TP ~~Taroo-ga~~ [vP pro<sub>1</sub> [vP pro<sub>2</sub> [vP heya-o katazuke] v] sase] ~~ta~~]  
 Taro-NOM room-ACC tidy.up CAUSE PST

Whereas the embedded vP [pro<sub>2</sub> heya-o katazuke-v] is focused in (80c), the larger vP [pro<sub>1</sub> pro<sub>2</sub> heya-o katazuke-v-sase] is focused in (80e).<sup>43</sup> Both options are allowed since they obey the condition on semantic roles.

#### 2.4.4. Parallelism between the Pseudocleft Construction and the Question-Answer Pairs

We have seen that pseudocleft sentences are easy to interpret when the subject of the focus phrase has the same role on the action tier as the one assigned to the subject of the presuppositional clause, and the agentivity constraint follows from this condition on semantic roles as well as the doubling of the passive *-(r)are* and *-te moraw(u)* in the two positions of the construction. Where does this restriction come from? In this subsection, I demonstrate that the question-answer pairs also obey the condition on semantic roles.

When the passive morpheme *-(r)are* occurs in the presuppositional clause, it must also occur in the focus position of a pseudocleft sentence as shown in (83). Similarly, a question with the

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- (i) [TP ~~Taroo-ga~~ [vP ~~Taroo-ga~~ [vP pro-ni [vP Hanako-ni [vP heya-o katazuke] v] sase]  
 Taro-NOM pro-DAT Hanako-DAT room-ACC tidy.up CAUSE  
 sase] ~~ta~~]  
 CAUSE PST

<sup>43</sup> (80e) also allows a double causative reading in which Taro made Hanako make an arbitrary person tidy up the room.

passive *-(r)are* also requires *-(r)are* in its answer, as in (84).

(83) Taroo-ga Saburoo-ni s-are-ta-no-wa [\* nagur-u/ nagur-are-ru] koto  
 Taro-NOM Saburo-by do-PASS-PST-C-TOP hit-RU/ hit-PASS-RU KOTO  
 da.  
 COP.NPST  
 ‘What happened to Taro is he was hit by Saburo.’

(84) Q: Taroo-ga Saburoo-ni s-are-ta-no-wa?  
 Taro-NOM Saburo-by do-PASS-PST-C-TOP  
 ‘What happened to Taro?’

A: [?? Nagur-u/ Nagur-are-ru] koto da (yo).  
 hit-NPST/ hit-PASS-NPST KOTO COP.NPST SFP  
 ‘It is hitting/to be hit.’

As shown in (84A), the voice matching effect seems to be weaker with the question-answer pairs. This may be because a fragment answer can be construed as starting with ‘It is ...’ rather than ‘He was ...’ because Japanese allows null subjects.

The applicative *-te moraw(u)* construction with a passive meaning behaves in a similar manner.

(85) Taroo-ga sensee-ni si-te morat-ta no wa [% home-ru/ home-te  
 Taro-NOM teacher-by do-TE receive-PST C TOP praise-RU/praise-TE  
moraw-u] koto da. (= (79c, e))  
 receive-U KOTO COP.NPST  
 ‘What happened to Taro was he was praised by the teacher.’

(86) Q: Taroo-ga sensee-ni si-te morat-ta no wa?  
 Taro-NOM teacher-by do-TE receive-PST C TOP  
 ‘What happened to Taro?’

A: [% Home-ru/ home-te moraw-u] koto da (yo).  
 praise-RU/ praise-TE receive-U KOTO COP.NPST SFP  
 ‘He was praised.’

Causative *-(s)ase* can but does not have to double in the presuppositional clause and the focus phrase, as shown in (87), and the same is true with question-answer pairs as in (88).

(87) a. Taroo-ga kodomo-ni s-ase-ta-no-wa heyao katazuke-ru  
 Taro-NOM child-DAT do-CAUSE-PST-C-TOP room-ACC tidy.up-RU  
 koto da.  
 KOTO COP.NPST

‘What Taro forced his child to do is tidy up his room.’

b. Taroo-ga kodomo-ni s-ase-ta-no-wa heyao katazuke-sase-ru  
 Taro-NOM child-DAT do-CAUSE-PST-C-TOP room-ACC tidy.up-cause-RU  
 koto da.  
 KOTO COP.NPST

‘What Taro forced his child to do is tidy up his room.’

‘What Taro forced his child to do is make someone tidy up his room.’

(88) Q: Taroo-ga kodomo-ni s-ase-ta-no-wa?  
 Taro-NOM child-DAT do-CAUSE-PST-C-TOP  
 ‘What did Taro force his child to do?’

A: a. Heyao katazuke-ru koto da (yo).  
 room-ACC tidy.up-RU KOTO COP.NPST SFP  
 ‘It is to tidy up his room.’

b. Heyao katazuke-sase-ru koto da (yo).  
 room-ACC tidy.up-CAUSE-RU KOTO COP.NPST SFP  
 ‘It is to tidy up his room.’  
 ‘It is to make someone tidy up his room.’

As for the applicative verbs *-te yar(u)* and *-te moraw(u)* with a causative meaning, they can but do not have to double in the presuppositional clause and the focus position, as in (89a, b). These verbs can optionally double in question-answer pairs too, as in (90, 91).

(89) a. Taroo-ga kodomo-ni si-te yat-ta-no-wa hon-o ka(t-te yar)-u  
 Taro-NOM child-DAT do-TE give-PST-C-TOP book-ACC buy(-TE give)-U  
 koto da.  
 KOTO COP.NPST

‘What Taro did for his child is buy him a book.’

b. Taroo-ga titioya-ni si-te morat-ta-no-wa syukudai-o tetuda(t-te  
 Taro-NOM father-by do-TE receive-PST-C-TOP homework-ACC help-TE  
moraw)-u koto da.  
 receive-U KOTO COP.NPST

‘What Taro did was have his father help him with his homework.’

(90) Q: Taroo-ga kodomo-ni si-te yat-ta-no-wa?  
 Taro-NOM child-DAT do-TE give-PST-C-TOP  
 ‘What did Taro do for his child?’

A: Hon-o ka(t-te yar)-u koto da (yo).  
 book-ACC buy(-TE give)-U KOTO COP.NPST SFP  
 ‘It is to buy him a book.’

(91) Q: Taroo-ga titioya-ni si-te morat-ta-no-wa?  
 Taro-NOM father-by do-TE receive-PST-C-TOP  
 ‘What did Taro have his father do for him?’

A: Syukudai-o tetuda(t-te moraw)-u koto da (yo).  
 homework-ACC help-TE receive-U KOTO COP.NPST SFP  
 ‘It is to help him with his homework.’

To summarize, the passive morpheme as well as the applicative *-te moraw(u)* with a passive meaning must double in question-answer pairs as well as in the presuppositional clause and the focus phrase of specificational pseudocleft sentences. The causative morpheme and the applicative morphemes with a causative meaning can optionally double both in pseudocleft sentences and in question-answer pairs. The question-answer pairs seem to be less restrictive than pseudocleft sentences with respect to doubling in some cases, since they allow subject shifts more readily, but otherwise they exhibit the same pattern. If a specificational pseudocleft sentence is formed by combining a question and its answer, as has been argued in this chapter, and if a question-answer pair must obey the condition on semantic roles, then it is natural that the specificational pseudocleft sentences should be subject to the same condition. The doubling phenomenon thus offers another piece of evidence for the question-answer pair analysis of specificational pseudocleft sentences.

## 2.5. Summary

This chapter has examined the syntactic and semantic properties of the VP focus specificational pseudocleft construction in Japanese. The answers to the questions raised in Chapter 1 are as follows:

- (92) Q: Which forms of V can or cannot be focused in specificational pseudocleft sentences?  
 A: The elements that belong to the thematic domain can be included in the focus phrase in contrast to those that belong to the higher propositional domain. To be more precise, while such elements as causative *-(s)ase*, passive *-(r)are*, and applicative verbs *-te yar(u)* and *-te moraw(u)* can occur in the focus position, aspectual *-te ir(u)*, polite *-mas(u)*, negative *-na(i)*, past tense *-ta*, and true modals like *-daroo* and *-mai* cannot.
- (93) Q: Are there any constraints that are imposed on the iteration of morphemes in the specificational pseudocleft sentences?  
 A: The iteration of morphemes in the specificational pseudocleft sentences is subject to the condition on semantic roles: the subject of a focus phrase must have the same role on



an action tier as that of a presuppositional clause.

(94) Q: How are specificational pseudocleft sentences derived?

A: Within the presuppositional clause, which represents a question, null operator movement takes place, whereas within the focus clause, which represents its answer, the elements not included in the focused phrase are elided.

(95) Q: How is the VP-focus specificational pseudocleft construction interpreted?

A: The action denoted by a vP-level phase is interpreted with focus and is contrasted with other possible actions that the entity denoted by the external argument can perform.



## Chapter 3

### Predicate Cleft Construction in Japanese

#### 3.1. Introduction

Since the introduction of Chomsky's (1995) copy theory of movement, which replaces a trace assumed in the Extended Standard Theory with a copy of a fronted phrase in accordance with the Inclusiveness Condition and the No Tampering Condition, many researchers have investigated principles governing (non)pronunciation of copies. One of the constructions that has been extensively investigated in various languages due to its relevance to the copy theory is predicate doubling (cf. Boadi (1974), Koopman (1984), Davis and Prince (1986), Källgren and Prince (1989), Manfredi (1993), Nishiyama and Cho (1998), Abels (2001), Cable (2004), Nunes (2004), Landau (2006, 2007a, b), Kandybowicz (2007, 2013), Martins (2007, 2013), Vicente (2007, 2009), Harbour (2008), Aboh and Dyakonova (2009), and Trinh (2009), among others). Constructions involving predicate doubling are interesting constructions in which the same predicate occurs twice in a single sentence, and it offers empirical support for the copy theory so long as the occurrence of the second predicate can be reduced to a pronounced copy of the moved predicate. In this chapter, I focus on the PCC in Japanese, which Nishiyama and Cho (1998) first investigated within the minimalist framework.<sup>1</sup>

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\* The earlier version of the research in this chapter was partially presented at the 29th meeting of the English Linguistic Society held at Niigata University (Ishihara (2011)) and appeared in Ishihara (2010, 2013a).

<sup>1</sup> This construction is used in colloquial Japanese but not in written Japanese. As Barbiers (2008) has observed, syntactic doubling is more frequent and common in substandard varieties across languages. Partly due to this, there is considerable variability across speakers regarding acceptability of these sentences. For instance, some speakers do not tolerate the use of *no* in the construction, whereas others find the use of *no* most acceptable and do not tolerate the use of *ni* following a predicate in past tense. Noro (2016) has treated the construction with *koto* differently from the one with *ni*, claiming that the one with *ni* is unnatural when it is used to describe an uncertain future event. However, I find no difference between the two in terms of meaning or usage, so I will use the PCC with *koto*, *no*, and *ni* interchangeably in this thesis. Readers are requested to use whichever particle they are comfortable with when they read example sentences with *koto/no/ni*.

(1) a. Taroo-wa ringo-o mui-ta koto/no/ni-wa mui-ta (ga  
Taro-TOP apple-ACC peel-PST KOTO/NO/NI-TOP peel-PST but  
tabe-nakat-ta).

eat-NEG-PST

‘As for Taro’s peeling the apple, he DID peel it, (but he didn’t eat it).’

b. Isogasi-i koto/no/ni-wa isogasi-i (ga nantoka sima-syoo.)  
busy-NPST KOTO/NO/NI-TOP buy-NPST but whatever do-will

‘As for my schedule, I AM busy, (but I’ll manage).’

In (1a, b) the verb *mui-ta* and adjective *isogasi-i* are repeated.<sup>2</sup> Interestingly, the same predicate sometimes occurs in different inflectional forms preceding and following *koto/no/ni-wa*.

(2) Taroo-wa ringo-o muk-u koto/no/ni-wa mui-ta (ga tabe-nakat-ta).

Taro-TOP apple-ACC peel-u KOTO/NO/NI-TOP peel-PST but eat-NEG-PST

‘As for Taro’s peeling the apple, he DID peel it, (but he didn’t eat it).’

Nishiyama and Cho have proposed to derive sentences like (1a) and (2) by moving the TP *Taro-wa ringo-o mui-ta/muk-u* to the left periphery of a sentence and spelling out its copy as a finite verb at the end of the sentence. Taking their analysis as a starting point, I examine new data involving non-identical verb forms preceding and following *koto/no/ni-wa* and argue that these cases can be successfully explained with some modification to their analysis.

This chapter demonstrates that many properties of the Japanese PCC, which look idiosyncratic and construction-specific at first sight, follow from universal principles governing

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<sup>2</sup> Adjectival nouns can also occur in the PCC, but it cannot be followed by *ni-wa*.

(i) Kono mansyon-wa kiree-na [koto/no/\*ni]-wa kiree da (ga, eki-kara  
this apartment-TOP clean-COP KOTO/NO/NI-TOP clean COP.NPST but station-from  
too-i.)  
far-NPST

‘As far as cleanliness is concerned, this apartment is clean, but it is far from the station.’

linearization and pronunciation of chain links proposed by Nunes (2004) as well as Lasnik's (1981, 2000) Stranded Affix Filter at the syntax-phonology/morphology interface. This chapter also demonstrates that the construction is interpreted with *verum focus*.

This chapter is organized as follows: Section 3.2 summarizes Nishiyama and Cho's analysis. Section 3.3 examines the syntactic and morphological properties of the PCC, especially with respect to sentences with non-identical verb forms preceding and following *koto/no/ni-wa*. In Section 3.4 I present an analysis of the construction involving movement of (a subpart of) TP to Spec of TopP and pronunciation of a lower chain link. In Section 3.5, interpretations of the PCC are examined. Section 3.6 summarizes the chapter and is followed by an appendix listing some examples of the PCC taken from novels.

### 3.2. Previous Analysis

Nishiyama and Cho (1998) have discussed three types of constructions in Japanese. (3a) illustrates the PCC in which *kat-ta* 'bought' is repeated, and (3b) is an example of a VP focus construction where a verb preceding particles such as *wa/mo/sae* is not tense-marked and *suru*-support occurs at the end of the sentence. (3c) is similar to (3a) in allowing a predicate to be iterated but differs from it in using a non-tense-marked form of the first predicate. In addition, (3c) does not permit the use of *-wa* following *ni/mo*.<sup>3</sup>

- (3) a. John-ga konpyuutaa-o kat-ta-koto-wa kat-ta.  
 John-NOM computer-ACC buy-T-KOTO-CON buy-T  
 'Indeed, John bought a computer, (but ...).' (Nishiyama and Cho (1998:463))
- b. John-ga konpyuutaa-o kai-wa/mo/sae si-ta.  
 John-NOM computer-ACC buy-at least/also/even do-T

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<sup>3</sup> In this section, I use the gloss given by Nishiyama and Cho, though I provide different glosses for some words in the following sections. The greatest difference lies in the treatment of the particle *-wa*, which I take as a topic marker following Bastos-Gee (2009). I also use past/nonpast instead of perfective/imperfective as tense values for the sake of consistency with other chapters. In (3), (5) and (7), CON stands for a contrastive particle, T a tense, IMP an imperfective marker, and PERF a perfective marker.

‘John at least/also/even bought a computer.’ (Nishiyama and Cho (1998:475))

c. John-ga beer-o nomi-ni/mo non-da.

John-NOM beer-ACC drink-NI/MO drink-T

‘John drank beer repeatedly.’ (Nishiyama and Cho (1998:476))

Nishiyama and Cho have argued that TP movement is involved in (3a), whereas VP movement is involved in (3b).

- (4) a. [<sub>FocP</sub> [[<sub>TPi</sub> John-ga konpyuutaa-o kat-ta]-koto-wa] t<sub>i</sub>]  
↓  
kāt-ta
- b. [<sub>FocP</sub> [[<sub>VPi</sub> John-ga konpyuutaa-o kai]-wa] t<sub>i</sub>]  
↓  
si-ta

In the PCC, TP is moved to Spec of FocP as in (4a), and its trace is spelled out as *kat-ta*, which consists of *ta*, a spell-out of T, and *kaw*, the verb functioning as a spell-out of VP. Nishiyama and Cho have suggested that the trace of TP has to be spelled out either because Japanese has a (null) mood marker above TP like Korean, which must be supported, or because a predicate is necessary for the purpose of predication. In contrast, in the VP focus construction (4b), VP moves to Spec of FocP, and a dummy verb, *su*, spells out the categorial feature of the head of its copy. As for (3c), they have followed Kageyama (1993) in assuming that it is a case of morphological reduplication.

An interesting property of the PCC noted by Nishiyama and Cho (1998) is that a predicate that precedes *koto/no/ni* (P<sub>1</sub>) and a sentence-final predicate (P<sub>2</sub>) need not match in tense.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> There are some sentences that are structurally ambiguous between the PCC and a construction involving a relative clause.

- (i) Taro-wa su-ru koto wa si-ta.  
Taro-TOP do-u KOTO TOP do-PST  
‘As for Taro’s doing something, he DID do it./Taro did what he should do.’

However, *ni/no* cannot replace *koto* under the second construal involving relativization. The PCC and the relative clauses have totally different structures.

- (5) John-ga konpyuutaa-o ka-u-koto-wa kat-ta.  
 John-NOM computer-ACC buy-IMP-KOTO-CON buy-PERF  
 ‘Indeed, John bought a computer, (but ...).’ (Nishiyama and Cho (1998:476))

Nishiyama and Cho have claimed that P<sub>1</sub> appears with an imperfective marker in (5), even though P<sub>2</sub> is in a perfective form. There is no difference in meaning between (3a) and (5). The PCC is interpreted as a description of a past event regardless of the form of P<sub>1</sub> when P<sub>2</sub> is in the past tense.

Nishiyama and Cho have compared (5) with (6) in which a verb in the first conjunct of VP coordination is not tense-marked and depends on the second conjunct for interpretation of tense,<sup>5</sup> and have claimed that *u* in the first verb in (5) is a (default) dummy tense marker. Though it is possible to have the first verb in default tense and the second verb in past tense, it is impossible to exchange the positions of these verbs as in (7), because according to Nishiyama and Cho’s analysis, only the first verb can rely on the second verb for a tense value in Japanese.

- (6) John-ga NY-ni ik-i/it-te, Bill-to at-ta.  
 John-NOM NY-to go-I/go-TE Bill-with meet-PERF  
 ‘John went to NY and met Bill.’

- (7) \*John-ga konpyuutaa-o kat-ta-koto-wa ka-u.  
 John-NOM computer-ACC buy-PERF-KOTO-CON buy-IMP  
 (Nishiyama and Cho (1998:476))

In Section 3.4, I demonstrate that Nishiyama and Cho’s analysis, which derives the PCC via

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<sup>5</sup> Asymmetrical behavior of verbs in VP coordination is also observed in Dutch.

- (i) Als [[je te laat thuis komt] en [je hebt geen sleute bij je]]  
 when you too late home come-2SG and you have-2SG no key with you  
 ‘When you come home too late and you have no key with you ...’ (Zwart (2001:46))

In the first conjunct, the verb appears in the final position, as is expected in an embedded context, but in the second conjunct the verb occurs in the second position.

TP movement as shown in (4a) is correct, but that movement of a subpart of TP is also necessary to cover more data. I argue that *u* in (5) is not even a tense marker, and that (5) involves vP movement. This in turn leads us to consider that no movement is involved in the VP focus construction (3b). Before presenting my analysis, however, I examine some properties of the PCC.

### 3.3. Syntactic and Morphological Properties of the PCC

#### 3.3.1. Realization of Arguments

A predicate is doubled in the PCC, but acceptability judgments vary considerably regarding the repetition of its object, as noted by Nishiyama and Cho. Among the 55 native speakers of Japanese I consulted with, 27 people found (8) completely acceptable on the four-scale assessment ranging from completely acceptable to completely unacceptable.<sup>6</sup>

- (8) %Taroo-wa hon-o yon-da koto/no/ni-wa hon-o yon-da.  
 Taro-TOP book-ACC read-PST KOTO/NO/NI-TOP book-ACC read-PST  
 ‘As for Taro’s reading the book, he DID read it.’

In contrast, repetition of a whole TP with a subject is not allowed.

- (9) a. ?\*Taroo-ga hon-o yon-da koto/no/ni-wa Taroo-wa/ga  
 Taro-NOM book-ACC read-PST KOTO/NO/NI-TOP Taro-TOP/NOM  
 (hon-o) yon-da (kedo ...).  
 book-ACC read-PST but  
 ‘As for Taro’s reading the book, he DID read it, (but ...).’

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<sup>6</sup> Whether or not idiom chunks behave differently from ordinary arguments in the PCC needs to be investigated in the future.

- (i) % Taroo-wa hara-o tate-ta koto/no/ni-wa hara-o tate-ta (ga ...).  
 Taro-NOM belly-ACC stand-PST KOTO/NO/NI-TOP belly-ACC stand-PST but  
 ‘As for Taro’s getting angry, he DID get angry, (but ...).’



- b. ?\*Taroo-ga hasit-ta koto/no/ni-wa Taroo-wa/ga hasit-ta (kedo ...).  
 Taro-NOM run-PST KOTO/NO/NI-TOP Taro-TOP/NOM run-PST but  
 ‘As for Taro’s running, he DID run, (but ...).’
- c. ?\*Basu-ga ki-ta koto/no/ni-wa basu-wa/ga ki-ta (kedo ...).  
 bus-NOM come-PST KOTO/NO/NI-TOP bus-TOP/NOM come-PST but  
 ‘As for the bus, it DID come, (but ...).’

Thus, in the PCC, what precedes the topic marker *-wa* includes a subject, object(s), a verb, and *koto/no/ni*, and what follows it is a finite verb with the optional occurrence of the repeated object(s).<sup>7</sup>

(10) Subject Objects V koto/no/ni-wa (%Objects) V

### 3.3.2. Identical Verb Form as P<sub>1</sub> and P<sub>2</sub>

What kind of verbal forms can appear preceding and following *koto/no/ni* in the construction? Let us examine the cases in which P<sub>1</sub> and P<sub>2</sub> take the same verb form along the clausal structure in (11), beginning with the most embedded V.

- (11) [SAP [TopP [FocP [TopP [FinP [PolP [TP [NegP [PolitP [Hon1P [AspP [Hon2P [AppIP [VoiceP [vP [VP ... V ...]  
 v] Voice] Appl] Hon2] Asp] Hon1] Polit] Neg] T] Pol] Fin] Top] Foc] Top] SA]

<sup>7</sup> In addition, an adjunct can occur preceding or following *koto/no/ni-wa* in the PCC.

- (i) Issyoni i-ru koto-wa i-mas-u ga, ...  
 together be-RU KOTO-TOP be-POLIT-NPST but  
 ‘We DO live together, but ...’ (Sooseki Natsume (1909) *Sorekara* (And Then) 1:3)
- (ii) Sikasi tabe-ru koto-wa minna tabe-ta.  
 But eat-RU KOTO-TOP all eat-PST  
 ‘But he DID eat everything.’ (Sooseki Natsume (1908) *Sanshiro* 2:6)

A predicate nominal can also occur in the PCC.

- (iii) Taroo-wa isya-ni nat-ta koto/no/ni-wa nat-ta (ga ...).  
 Taro-TOP doctor-DAT become-PST KOTO/NO/NI-TOP become-PST but  
 ‘As for Taro’s becoming a doctor, he DID become one, (but ...).’

- (12) a. Taroo-wa hon-o yom-u koto/no/ni-wa yom-u (ga ...). (V)  
 Taro-TOP books-ACC read-U KOTO/NO/NI-TOP read-NPST but  
 ‘As for reading books, Taro DOES read them, (but ...).’
- b. Taroo-wa Hanako-o asob-ase-ru koto/no/ni-wa  
 Taro-TOP Hanako-ACC play-CAUSE-RU KOTO/NO/NI-TOP  
asob-ase-ru (ga ...). (V-v)  
 play-CAUSE-NPST but  
 ‘As for making Hanako play, Taro DOES do so, (but ...).’
- c. Taroo-wa Hanako-ni sikar-are-ru koto/no/ni-wa sikar-are-ru  
 Taro-TOP Hanako-by scold-PASS-RU KOTO/NO/NI-TOP scold-PASS-NPST  
 (ga ...). (V-Voice)  
 but  
 ‘As for being scolded by Hanako, Taro IS scolded by her, (but ...).’
- d. Taroo-wa Hanako-o home-te yar-u koto/no/ni-wa home-te  
 Taro-TOP Hanako-ACC praise-TE give-U KOTO/NO/NI-TOP praise-TE  
yar-u (ga ...). (V-Applicative)  
 give-NPST but  
 ‘As for praising Hanako, Taro DOES praise her, (but ...).’
- e. Tanaka-sensee-wa hon-o o-kaki-ninar-u koto/no/ni-wa  
 Tanaka-professor-TOP book-ACC HON-write-HON-U KOTO/NO/NI-TOP  
o-kaki-ninar-u (ga ...). (Honorific<sub>2</sub>-V- Honorific<sub>2</sub>)  
 HON-write-HON-NPST but  
 ‘As for writing a book, Prof. Tanaka DOES write one, (but ...).’
- f. Taroo-wa hon-o yon-de i-ru koto/no/ni-wa yon-de  
 Taro-TOP book-ACC read-TE ASP-RU KOTO/NO/NI-TOP read-TE  
i-ru (ga ...). (V-Aspect)  
 ASP-NPST but  
 ‘As for having read the book, Taro HAS read it, (but ...)./As for reading the book,

Taro IS reading it, (but ...).’

- g. Tanaka-sensee-wa hon-o kaka-re-ru koto/no/ni-wa  
Tanaka-professor-TOP book-ACC write-HON-RU KOTO/NO/NI-TOP  
kaka-re-ru (ga ...). (V-Honorific<sub>1</sub>)  
write-HON-NPST but

‘As for writing a book, Prof. Tanaka DOES write one, (but ...).’

- h. ?\*Taroo-wa hon-o yom-imas-u koto/no/ni-wa yom-imas-u  
Taro-TOP book-ACC read-POLIT-U KOTO/NO/NI-TOP read-POLIT-NPST  
(ga ...).<sup>8</sup> (V-Polite)  
but

‘As for reading books, he DOES read them, (but ...).’

- i. Taroo-wa tabako-o suwa-na-i koto/no/ni-wa suwa-na-i  
Taro-TOP cigarette-ACC smoke-NEG-I KOTO/NO/NI-TOP smoke-NEG-NPST  
(ga ...). (V-Negation)  
but

‘As for not smoking cigarettes, Taro does NOT smoke, (but ...).’

- j. Taroo-wa hon-o yon-da koto/no/ni-wa yon-da (ga ...). (V-Past)  
Taro-TOP book-ACC read-PST KOTO/NO/NI-TOP read-PST but

‘As for reading the book, Taro DID read it, (but ...).’

Verb forms consisting of elements within TP can occur in the PCC except for the politeness marker.<sup>9</sup> Taking into account the fact that the politeness marker cannot usually appear in

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<sup>8</sup> There was a speaker who did not find (12h) to be so bad.

(i) Hai hai, wakari-masi-ta. Jaa yomi-mas-u-yo. Yomi-mas-u koto wa  
yes yes understand-POLIT-PST then read-POLIT-NPST-SFP read-POLIT-U KOTO TOP  
yomi-mas-u-ga demo sugu-ni-wa muri-des-u-kara-ne.  
read-POLIT-NPST-but but soon-at-TOP impossible-COP.POLIT-NPST-because-SFP  
‘Yes, yes, I understand. Then I’ll read it. Read it I WILL, but not very soon, OK?’  
(Shuji Chiba (personal communication))

<sup>9</sup> The elements that are allowed preceding *koto/no/ni-wa* are roughly the same as those that occur with Minami’s (1974: 114–138) Class-B particles such as *node* and *tara*, though *masu* is not allowed in the

embedded contexts,<sup>10</sup> the unacceptability of (12h) is not surprising; it can be attributed to the incompatibility of the politeness marker in embedded clauses.

On the other hand, elements that occur outside TP cannot double in the PCC. A TP-selecting modal does not allow doubling of itself with or without a verbal sequence, as shown in (13a, b), though the PCC can occur as its complement, as in (13c).

- (13) a. \*Taroo-wa sikar-are-ta daroo koto/no/ni-wa sikar-are-ta  
 Taro-TOP scold-PASS-PST probably KOTO/NO/NI-TOP scold-PASS-PST  
daroo.  
 probably  
 ‘As for Taro’s being scolded, it was probably the case that he WAS scolded.’
- b. \*Taroo-wa sikar-are-ta daroo koto/no/ni-wa daroo.  
 Taro-TOP scold-PASS-PST probably KOTO/NO/NI-TOP probably  
 ‘Taro was PROBABLY scolded.’
- c. Taroo-wa sikar-are-ta koto/no/ni-wa sikar-are-ta daroo.  
 Taro-TOP scold-PASS-PST KOTO/NO/NI-TOP scold-PASS-PST probably  
 ‘As for Taro’s being scolded, it was probably the case that he WAS scolded.’

Complementizers cannot be doubled with/without their complement, either, as in (14a, b), whereas the PCC can be embedded under C, as in (14c).

- (14) a. \*Taroo-wa raamen-o tabe-ta-to koto/no/ni-wa tabe-ta-to it-ta.  
 Taro-TOP ramen-ACC eat-PST-C KOTO/NO/NI-TOP eat-PST-C say-PST  
 ‘Taro said that he DID eat ramen.’

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PCC.

<sup>10</sup> See Nakau (1988) and Chiba (2003), among others. Also see Miyagawa (2012) for an account that takes politeness marking as a form of allocutive agreement, requiring an allocutive probe in C to be licensed by a Speech Act head. In Chapter 2, (23, 24), I demonstrated that the politeness marker can occur in the presuppositional clause of pseudocleft sentences in a presentational context, but (12h) does not seem to improve even in a presentational context.

- b. \*Taroo-wa raamen-o tabe-ta-to koto/no/ni-wa to it-ta.  
 Taro-TOP ramen-ACC eat-PST-C KOTO/NO/NI-TOP C say-PST  
 ‘Taro said that he DID eat ramen.’
- c. Taroo-wa raamen-o tabe-ta koto/no/ni-wa tabe-ta-to it-ta.  
 Taro-TOP ramen-ACC eat-PST KOTO/NO/NI-TOP eat-PST-C say-PST  
 ‘Taro said that he DID eat ramen.’

However, the ungrammaticality of (14a, b) may be due to an independent reason: *koto/no/ni* cannot take a *-to* complement.<sup>11</sup> In order to avoid this factor, the sentences without *koto/no/ni* are tested below.

- (15) a. \*Taroo-wa raamen-o tabe-ta-to-wa tabe-ta-to it-ta.  
 Taro-TOP ramen-ACC eat-PST-C -TOP eat-PST-C say-PST  
 ‘Taro said that he DID eat ramen.’
- b. \*Taroo-wa raamen-o tabe-ta-to-wa to it-ta.  
 Taro-TOP ramen-ACC eat-PST-C-TOP C say-PST  
 ‘Taro said that he DID eat ramen.’

(15a, b) are unacceptable, which indicates that C cannot be doubled with/without its complement. To sum up, elements within TP can occur in the PCC except for the politeness marker, and elements above TP cannot be doubled in the PCC.

### 3.3.3. Non-Identical Verb Forms in $P_1$ and $P_2$

#### 3.3.3.1. Causatives

As we have seen in (5), Nishiyama and Cho have discussed the case with verbs differing in tense values. Now let us consider sentences in which  $P_2$  is more complex. For some speakers,  $P_1$

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<sup>11</sup> I am indebted to Ken Hiraiwa for pointing this out to me.

and P<sub>2</sub> can differ not only in tense but also in the use of causatives.<sup>12</sup>

- (16) a. Hanako-wa Taroo-ni kusuri-o nom-ase-ta koto/no/ni-wa  
 Hanako-TOP Taro-DAT medicine-ACC take-CAUSE-PST KOTO/NO/NI-TOP  
nom-ase-ta (ga byooin-e ture-te iki-wa si-nakat-ta).  
 take-CAUSE-PST but hospital-to take-TE go-TOP do-NEG-PST  
 ‘As for making Taro take medicine, Hanako DID make him do it (but she didn’t  
 take him to the hospital).’
- b. Hanako-wa Taroo-ni kusuri-o nom-ase-ru koto/no/ni-wa nom-ase-ta (ga ...).  
 take-CAUSE-RU take-CAUSE-PST
- c. % Hanako-wa Taroo-ni kusuri-o nom-u koto/no/ni-wa nom-ase-ta (ga ...).  
 take-U take-CAUSE-PST
- d. \*Hanako-wa Taroo-ni kusuri-o nom-ase-ta koto/no/ni-wa nom-ase-ru  
 take-CAUSE-PST take-CAUSE-NPST  
 (ga ...).
- e. \*Hanako-wa Taroo-ni kusuri-o nom-ase-ta koto/no/ni-wa non-da (ga ...).  
 take-CAUSE-PST take-PST
- f. \*Hanako-wa Taroo-ni kusuri-o non-da koto/no/ni-wa nom-ase-ta (ga ...).  
 take-PST take-CAUSE-PST

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<sup>12</sup> As Potts et al. (2009) have reported, there are conservative speakers who do not allow P<sub>1</sub> and P<sub>2</sub> that are non-identical, as discussed in this chapter. These speakers probably treat both *-ru* and *-ta* as tense morphemes, unlike the speakers considered in the text. Some of these speakers permit non-identical verb forms in tense values as in (5), making use of default tense. In this chapter, we focus on the liberal variety.

- (i) \*Hahaoya-wa musuko-ni sono-hon-o yom-u koto wa yom-ase-ta.  
 mother-TOP son-DAT that-book-ACC read-U KOTO TOP read-CAUSE-PST  
 ‘The mother made her son read that book.’
- (ii) \*Sono-hon-wa kodomotati-ni yoku yom-u koto wa yom-are-ru.  
 that-book-TOP children-by often read-U KOTO TOP read-PASS-NPST  
 ‘That book is often read by children.’
- (iii) \*John-wa tookuni ik-u koto wa iki-sugi-ta.  
 John-TOP far go-U KOTO TOP go-excessive-PST  
 ‘John went too far.’ (Potts et al. (2009: 361–362))

P<sub>1</sub> and P<sub>2</sub> need not be identical in form, though the lexical V has to be the same.<sup>13</sup> P<sub>1</sub> can be in *-(r)u* form, as shown in (16b). It can leave out the causative morpheme if it ends in *-(r)u* for some speakers, as in (16c), but this omission is not allowed if it ends in the past tense *-ta*, as in (16f).<sup>14</sup>

<sup>15</sup> P<sub>1</sub> cannot be more specified than P<sub>2</sub> in terms of tense or causation (16d, e).<sup>16, 17</sup>

### 3.3.3.2. *Passives*

The same pattern that we have seen with a causative morpheme holds with a passive morpheme as well: with P<sub>2</sub> in a passive form in past tense, P<sub>1</sub> can be in either tense with a passive morpheme as in (17a), but for speakers who allow a verb without a passive morpheme as P<sub>1</sub>, it has to be in nonpast tense, as shown in (17b, c). In addition, (17d) indicates that P<sub>2</sub> must be

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<sup>13</sup> The following examples are not acceptable because they involve two different predicates, though they share a common root.

- (i) \*Kabin-wa koware-ru koto/no/ni-wa kowasi-ta.  
vase-TOP break-RU KOTO/NO/NI-TOP break-PST  
'As for the vase breaking, they DID break it.'
- (ii) \*Koori-wa toke-ru koto/no/ni-wa tokasi-ta.  
ice-TOP melt-RU KOTO/NO/NI-TOP melt-PST  
'As for the ice melting, they DID melt it.'

<sup>14</sup> In (16e, f), the past tense morpheme *-ta* is realized as *-da* due to the *onbin* sound change.

<sup>15</sup> Okamoto (1990) has provided an example similar to (16f) and has argued for an analysis in which 'V *koto-wa* V' forms a "construction." However, she has not discussed cases where nonidentical verb forms are allowed as P<sub>1</sub> and P<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>16</sup> I assume that past tense is more specified than nonpast tense in that it has a [+past] feature.

<sup>17</sup> For some speakers, *let* causatives do not allow the doubling of a whole causative complex, as in (ia), though they allow the doubling of non-identical verb forms as in (ib). *Make* causatives, on the other hand, allow the doubling of a whole causative complex, but not a part of it, as in (ii).

- (i) a. ??Kooti-wa Hanako-ni hasir-ase-ta koto/no-wa hasir-ase-ta (ga  
coach-TOP Hanako-DAT run-CAUSE-PST KOTO/NO-TOP run-CAUSE-PST but  
muri-wa s-ase-nakat-ta.)  
strain-TOP do-CAUSE-NEG-PST  
'As for letting Hanako run, the coach DID let her do it, but he didn't let her push herself.'
- b. % Kooti-wa Hanako-ni hasir-u koto/no-wa hasir-ase-ta (ga ...).  
Coach-TOP Hanako-DAT run-U KOTO/NO-TOP run-CAUSE-PST but
- (ii) a. Kooti-wa Hanako-o hasir-ase-ta koto/no-wa hasir-ase-ta (ga ...).  
coach-TOP Hanako-ACC run-CAUSE-PST KOTO/NO-TOP run-CAUSE-PST but  
'As for making Hanako run, the coach DID make her do it.'
- b. ??Kooti-wa Hanako-o hasir-u koto/no-wa hasir-ase-ta (ga ...).  
coach-TOP Hanako-ACC run-U KOTO/NO-TOP run-CAUSE-PST but  
'As for making Hanako run, the coach DID make her do it.'

passivized when P<sub>1</sub> is in a passive form.

- (17) a. Taroo-wa Ziroo-ni nagur-are-ta/nagur-are-ru koto/no/ni-wa  
 Taro-TOP Jiro-by hit-PASS-PST/hit-PASS-RU KOTO/NO/NI-TOP  
nagur-are-ta (ga koros-are-wa si-nakat-ta).  
 hit-PASS-PST but kill-PASS-TOP do-NEG-PST  
 ‘As for being hit by Jiro, Taro WAS hit by him, (but not killed).’
- b. % Taroo-wa Ziroo-ni nagur-u koto/no/ni-wa nagur-are-ta (ga ...)<sup>18</sup>  
 Taro-TOP Jiro-by hit-U KOTO/NO/NI-TOP hit-PASS-PST but
- c. \*Taroo-wa Ziroo-ni nagut-ta koto/no/ni-wa nagur-are-ta (ga ...)  
 Taro-TOP Jiro-by hit-PST KOTO/NO/NI-wa hit-PASS-PST but
- d. \*Taroo-wa Ziroo-ni nagur-are-ta koto/no/ni-wa nagut-ta (ga ...)  
 Taro-TOP Jiro-by hit-PASS-PST KOTO/NO/NI-TOP hit-PST but

### 3.3.3.3. Other Verbal Forms

Thirdly, P<sub>2</sub> can be a verbal complex involving *tai* ‘want,’ *kakeru* ‘start,’ a potential form or an honorific form, with an identical or a less-specified P<sub>1</sub>.

- (18) a. Watasi-wa sono hon-o %yom-u/yomi-ta-i koto/no/ni-wa  
 I-TOP the book-ACC read-U/read-want-I KOTO/NO/NI-TOP  
yomi-ta-i (ga kai-taku-wa na-i).  
 read-want-NPST but buy-want-TOP NEG-NPST  
 ‘As for reading the book, I want to read it, (but I don’t want to buy one).’

<sup>18</sup> Nagata (2018) has reported that the PCC with P<sub>1</sub> in (*r*)*u* form without the passive *-(r)are* and P<sub>2</sub> with the passive *-(r)are* like (17b) is less acceptable than that with P<sub>1</sub> in (*r*)*u* form without the causative *-(s)ase* and P<sub>2</sub> with the causative *-(s)ase* like (16c), and gives \*? to my example (17b). However, he has noted that indirect passives, as in (i), yield more acceptable PCC with non-identical doubling than direct passives do.

- (i) ?Taroo-wa ame-ni hur-u koto-wa hur-are-ta.  
 Taro-TOP rain-by fall-U KOTO-TOP fall-PASS-PST  
 (Lit.) ‘Taro was watered by rain.’ (Nagata (2018: 109))



- b. Taroo-wa sono ringo-o %tabe-ru/\*tabe-ta/tabe-kake-ru/tabe-kake-ta  
 Taro-TOP the apple-ACC eat-RU/eat-PST/eat-begin-RU/eat-begin-PST  
 koto/no/ni-wa tabe-kake-ta (ga tabe-kire-nakat-ta).  
 KOTO/NO/NI-TOP eat-begin-PST but eat-finish-NEG-PST  
 ‘As for eating the apple, Taro DID start eating it, (but he couldn’t finish it).’
- c. Taroo-wa eigo-o %hanas-u/hanas-e-ru koto/no/ni-wa  
 Taro-TOP English-ACC speak-U/speak-can-RU KOTO/NO/NI-TOP  
hanas-e-ru (ga kik-u no-ga nigate da).  
 speak-can-NPST but listen-U NO-NOM poor COP.NPST  
 ‘As for speaking English, Taro can speak it, (but he’s not good at listening).’
- d. Sensee-wa tegami-o %kak-u/\*kai-ta/o-kaki-nina-ru/  
 professor-TOP letter-ACC write-U/write-PST/HON-write-HON-RU/  
o-kaki-ninat-ta koto/no/ni-wa o-kaki-ninat-ta (ga  
 HON-write-HON-PST KOTO/NO/NI-TOP HON-write-HON-PST but  
 o-dasi-ninar-anakat-ta).<sup>19</sup>  
 HON-send-HON-NEG-PST  
 ‘As for writing a letter, the professor DID write one, (but he didn’t send it).’

As in other cases, inversion of the first, less-specified verb form with the second, more-specified verb form is not possible.

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<sup>19</sup> According to Potts et al. (2009: 362), non-identical copying is allowed only when expressive elements such as honorifics and antihonorifics are involved.

- (i) Kyooju-wa yomu koto wa o-yomi-ninat-ta.  
 professor-TOP read KOTO TOP HON-read-HON-PST  
 ‘The professor read. I hold the professor in high regard.’
- (ii) Aitu-wa yomu koto wa yomi-yagat-ta.  
 that.guy-TOP read KOTO TOP read-antihonorific-PST  
 ‘The guy read. It sucks that the guy read. I hold the guy in low regard.’

I speak a liberal variety, and I find no difference in acceptability between Potts et al.’s examples in Footnote 12 and those in this footnote. They all sound acceptable to me.

- (19) a. \*Watasi-wa hon-o yomi-ta-i koto/no/ni-wa yom-u.  
 b. \*Taroo-wa sono ringo-o tabe-kake-ta koto/no/ni-wa tabe-ta.  
 c. \*Taroo-wa eigo-o hanas-e-ru koto/no/ni-wa hanas-u.  
 d. \*Sensee-wa hon-o o-kaki-ninat-ta koto/no/ni-wa kak-u.

### 3.3.3.4. Negation

Finally, consider examples involving negation. When one verb is negated, the other verb must be negated as well, irrespective of their order.<sup>20</sup>

- (20) a. Taroo-wa tabako-o suwa-na-i koto/no/ni-wa  
 Taro-TOP cigarette-ACC smoke-NEG-I KOTO/NO/NI-TOP  
suwa-na-i (ga tabako-ga kiraide-mo na-i).  
 smoke-NEG-NPST but cigarette-NOM dislike-also NEG-NPST  
 ‘As for Taro’s not smoking, he does NOT smoke, (but it is not that he does not like cigarettes).’
- b. (Taroo-wa hon-o ka-u koto/no/ni-wa ka-u ga)  
 Taro-TOP book-ACC buy-U KOTO/NO/NI-TOP buy-NPST but  
 \*yom-u koto/no/ni-wa yoma-na-i.  
 read-U KOTO/NO/NI-TOP read-NEG-NPST  
 ‘(As for buying books, Taro DOES buy them, but) as for reading them, he does NOT read them.’
- c. \*Taroo-wa hon-o yoma-na-i koto/no/ni-wa yom-u.  
 Taro-TOP book-ACC read-NEG-I KOTO/NO/NI-TOP read-NPST  
 ‘As for not reading books, Taro DOES read them.’

(20c) illustrates the same pattern we observed with (7), (16d, e), (17d), and (19a–d), but the

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<sup>20</sup> For a reason unclear to me, some people find (20a) and (21a) better with *koto* rather than with *ni*, though they prefer *ni* in other cases.

unacceptability of (20b) is peculiar to the sentences with negation: P<sub>1</sub> cannot be affirmative when P<sub>2</sub> is negative, even though P<sub>1</sub> constitutes a subpart of P<sub>2</sub>. This is also true when P<sub>2</sub> is more complex, consisting of a verb root, a causative morpheme, a negative morpheme, and a tense morpheme.

- (21) a. ?Hanako-wa Taroo-ni keeki-o tukur-ase-nakat-ta  
 Hanako-TOP Taro-DAT cake-ACC bake-CAUSE-NEG-PST  
 koto/no/ni-wa tukur-ase-nakat-ta.  
 KOTO/NO/NI-TOP bake-CAUSE-NEG-PST  
 ‘As for not making Taro bake a cake, Hanako didn’t make him do so.’
- b. ?Hanako-wa Taroo-ni keeki-o tukur-ase-na-i koto/no/ni-wa  
 Hanako-TOP Taro-DAT cake-ACC bake-CAUSE-NEG-I KOTO/NO/NI-TOP  
tukur-ase-nakat-ta.  
 bake-CAUSE-NEG-PST
- c. \*Hanako-wa Taroo-ni keeki-o tukur-ase-ta koto/no/ni-wa  
 Hanako-TOP Taro-DAT cake-ACC bake-CAUSE-PST KOTO/NO/NI-TOP  
tukur-ase-nakat-ta.  
 bake-CAUSE-NEG-PST
- d. \*Hanako-wa Taroo-ni keeki-o tukur-ase-ru koto/no/ni-wa  
 Hanako-TOP Taro-DAT cake-ACC bake-CAUSE-RU KOTO/NO/NI-TOP  
tukur-ase-nakat-ta.  
 bake-CAUSE-NEG-PST
- e. \*Hanako-wa Taroo-ni keeki-o tukura-nakat-ta koto/no/ni-wa  
 Hanako-TOP Taro-DAT cake-ACC bake-NEG-PST KOTO/NO/NI-TOP  
tukur-ase-nakat-ta.  
 bake-CAUSE-NEG-PST
- f. \*Hanako-wa Taroo-ni keeki-o tukura-na-i koto/no/ni-wa  
 Hanako-TOP Taro-DAT cake-ACC bake-NEG-I KOTO/NO/NI-TOP

tukur-ase-nakat-ta.

bake-CAUSE-NEG-PST

- g. \*Hanako-wa Taroo-ni keeki-o tukut-ta koto/no/ni-wa  
Hanako-TOP Taro-DAT cake-ACC bake-PST KOTO/NO/NI-TOP  
tukur-ase-nakat-ta.

bake-CAUSE-NEG-PST

- h. \*Hanako-wa Taroo-ni keeki-o tukur-u koto/no/ni-wa  
Hanako-TOP Taro-DAT cake-ACC bake-RU KOTO/NO/NI-TOP  
tukur-ase-nakat-ta.

bake-CAUSE-NEG-PST

However, the same verb can sometimes appear twice in a sentence with a different polarity value.<sup>21</sup> For instance, two verbs with opposite polarity values occur in (22a, b).

- (22) a. Nak-u-ni nak-e-na-i sippai-o si-ta.  
cry-NPST-NI cry-can-NEG-NPST mistake-ACC do-PST  
'I made a mistake, which was so terrible that I couldn't even cry over it.'
- b. Yam-u-ni yama-re-n-u kimoti-o doo su-ru koto-mo  
stop-NPST-NI stop-can-NEG-NPST feeling-ACC how do-NPST koto-also  
deki-nakat-ta.  
can-NEG-PST  
'I was not able to do anything about my feelings, which I couldn't stop even if I tried.'
- c. \*Nak-u-ni nak-e-ru sippai-o si-ta.  
cry-NPST-NI cry-can-NPST mistake-ACC do-PST  
'I made a mistake about which I could cry if I tried.'

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<sup>21</sup> I am thankful to Tomoe Arie for bringing this construction to my attention.

This construction takes the fixed pattern V-NI V-can-NEG.<sup>22</sup> The first verb followed by *ni* functions as a concessive for the second verb followed by a marker of potentiality and a negative morpheme. It is not possible to have an affirmative verb in the second position, as shown in (22c). The construction denotes a situation in which some action is not possible despite one's will, and the first V-*ni* in (22a, b) is interpreted as *nak-oo-ni-mo* 'cry-will-NI-MO' and *yame-yoo-ni-mo* 'stop-will-NI-MO,' respectively. Unlike the ordinary PCC, this construction does not focus on the truth of the proposition. Moreover, it is less productive than the ordinary PCC with which we have been concerned. For instance, the verb *rikaisu* 'understand,' which can occur in the PCC, cannot occur easily with the V-NI V-can-NEG construction.

- (23) a. ?\*Sore-wa rikaisu-ru-ni rikai-deki-na-i mondai dat-ta.  
 it-TOP understand-NPST-NI understand-can-NEG-NPST problem COP-PST  
 'It was a problem that I could not understand even if I tried.'
- b. Sono mondai-wa rikaisu-ru koto/no/ni-wa rikaisi-ta (ga ...  
 that problem-TOP understand-RU KOTO/NO/NI-TOP understand-PST but  
 'As for understanding the problem, I DID understand it, but ...'

Therefore, I regard sentences of this type as a fixed "construction," an atomic structure that is directly paired with its specific meaning and has to be memorized as such. As for the PCC, though there are construction-specific properties, I demonstrate below that many of them follow from general principles and thus need not be stipulated. Going back to the occurrence of negation, we have observed that two verbs of different polarity values cannot occur in the PCC, in contrast to (22a, b).

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<sup>22</sup> Another similar construction takes the form 'V-TEMO V-completely-can-NEG.'

- (i) Kuyan-demo kuyami-kir-e-na-i.  
 regret-though regret-completely-can-NEG-NPST  
 'Even if I regret it, I cannot regret it enough.'

### 3.3.3.5. Summary

To sum up this section, we have seen that a variety of morphemes can occur with a root predicate preceding and following *koto/no/ni-wa* in the PCC, and that their occurrences are constrained. The restrictions on the combination patterns of verb forms are summarized as follows:

- (24) a. P<sub>1</sub> can be the same as or in a less specified form than P<sub>2</sub>, but it cannot be more specified than P<sub>2</sub>.  
(e.g. (5) vs. (7), (16c) vs. (16e), (17b) vs. (17d), (18) vs. (19))
- b. The root of P<sub>1</sub> must be followed by subsequent morphemes in the same order as in P<sub>2</sub> without skipping any morphemes, except when P<sub>1</sub> ends with *-(r)u*.  
(e.g. (16a, b, c) vs. (16f), (17a, b) vs. (17c))
- c. An element in C cannot be doubled with or without a verbal sequence.  
(e.g. (13a, b), (15a, b))
- d. P<sub>1</sub> and P<sub>2</sub> must have the same polarity value.  
(e.g. (20), (21))

In the next section, I attempt to account for these restrictions.

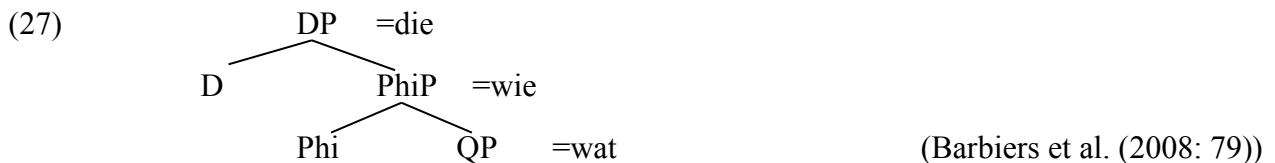
## 3.4. Proposal

### 3.4.1. Movement Analysis

The doubling pattern of non-identical predicate forms we have seen in Section 3.3.3 is not peculiar to the PCC in Japanese. We find similar restrictions on non-identical WH-pronoun doubling in Dutch dialects. Barbiers et al. (2008) have observed that doubling of identical pronouns is possible in Drenthe, as demonstrated in (25). In addition, they have found that doubling of non-identical pronouns is possible in another dialect of Dutch, Overijssel, as shown in (26a). Interestingly, they have reported that the sentence is unacceptable when the order of the non-identical pronouns is reversed, as shown in (26b).

- (25) Wie denk je wie ik gezien heb? (Drenthe)  
 who think you who I seen have  
 ‘Who do you think I have seen?’ (Barbiers et al. (2008: 77))
- (26) a. Wat denk je wie ik gezien heb? (Overijssel)  
 what think you who I seen have  
 ‘Who do you think I have seen?’ (Barbiers et al. (2008: 77))
- b. \*Wie denk je wat ik gezien heb? (Barbiers et al. (2008: 78))

Based on these observations, Barbiers et al. have argued that a higher chain link cannot be more specified than a lower chain link in a movement chain and have proposed to analyze pronouns as spell-outs of different layers of a nominal projection, as shown in (27).<sup>23, 24</sup>



According to Barbiers et al.’s proposal, non-identical doubling results as a consequence of partial copying of a lower chain link and spelling out of both chain links.

What we have seen in Section 3.3.3 with the Japanese PCC is similar to the pronominal doubling in Dutch dialects.

<sup>23</sup> Their analysis is not inconsistent with Kayne’s (1981) analysis of resumptive pronouns as spell-outs of *wh*-traces, or Hornstein’s (2001) and Kayne’s (2002) ideas of reducing binding theory to movement. While these authors are concerned with how some features of a tail of a chain are spelled out, resulting in less-specified forms than the head of the chain, Barbiers et al. have focused on the size of a constituent that undergoes movement, so their claims are orthogonal to the one made by Barbiers et al.

<sup>24</sup> Akira Watanabe (personal communication) has called Barbiers et al.’s analysis of Dutch pronouns into question. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to examine this in detail here, but even if Barbiers et al.’s specific analysis turns out to be incorrect, their idea of partial movement remains valid, and the analysis of the PCC in Japanese proposed in this thesis will not be affected.

- (28)  $P_1$  can be the same as or in a less specified form than  $P_2$ , but it cannot be more specified than  $P_2$ . (=24a)

In fact, since Japanese is an agglutinative language, the structure of a clause-final predicate is represented more clearly than the structure of Dutch pronouns, and a partial copying analysis fits the construction in question perfectly. Thus, I propose that in the PCC in Japanese, TP or its subpart is moved to a sentence-initial position, and both the head and the tail of the movement chain are spelled out.

If movement is involved in deriving the PCC in Japanese, then the PCC will show unbounded dependency and island sensitivity. This prediction seems to be borne out even though the data are not so clear-cut.<sup>25</sup>

- (29) a. % (Taroo-wa sakuya ame-ga hura-nakat-ta-to it-te i-ru-ga,  
 Taroo-TOP last.night rain-NOM fall-NEG-PST-C say-TE ASP-NPST-but  
 [ ame-ga yonaka-ni hut-ta koto/no/ni-wa] [ boku-wa [*t* hut-ta-to]  
 rain-NOM midnight-at fall-PST KOTO/NO/NI-TOP I-TOP fall-PST-C  
 omow-u].  
 think-NPST  
 ‘(Taro says it did not rain last night, but) I think it DID rain at midnight.’

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<sup>25</sup> Of the five people I consulted with, three found (29a, 30a) acceptable, while two found them degraded in acceptability. Nishiyama and Cho (1998: 466) have provided a different judgment on a similar sentence, as in (i). They have argued that TP movement that derives the PCC in Japanese is a clause-bounded movement like QR and not an unbounded movement like *wh*-movement. Either way, we can maintain a movement analysis, though the nature of the movement involved may be different.

- (i) \*[ John-ga konpyuutaa-o kat-ta]<sub>i</sub> koto-wa [ boku-wa [*t*<sub>i</sub> kat-ta-to] omou].  
 John-NOM computer-ACC buy-PST KOTO-TOP I-TOP buy-PST-C think  
 ‘As for John’s buying a computer, I think he bought one.’

Cable (2004) has claimed that in Yiddish, the semantic relationship between a preposed predicate and the associated constituent is clause bounded, even though long-distance movement of a predicate is possible. Bastos-Gee (2009) has observed that in Brazilian Portuguese, VP topicalization is subject to the island constraints when the internal argument of the fronted predicate is specific, but it does not obey subadjacency when the internal argument of the fronted V is generic.



b. (Saikin ame-ga hur-u toti-ga are-ba kai-tai-to omot-te i-te,  
 recently rain-NOM fall-U land-NOM available-if buy-want-C think-TE ASP-TE

\*[ame-ga hur-u koto/no/ni-wa] [boku-wa [t hur-u] toti-o  
 rain-NOM fall-U KOTO/NO/NI-TOP I-TOP fall-NPST land-ACC  
 kat-ta].

buy-PST

‘(I have wanted to buy a land where it rains, and) I have bought a land where it DOES rain.’

c. (Taroo-wa sakuya ame-ga hura-nakat-ta-to it-te i-ru-ga,)  
 Taroo-TOP last.night rain-NOM fall-NEG-PST-C say-TE ASP-NPST-but

\*[ame-ga hur-u koto/no/ni-wa] [boku-wa [t huri, kaze-mo  
 rain-NOM fall-U KOTO/NO/NI-TOP I-TOP fall wind-also  
 hui-ta-to] omow-u].

blow-PST-C think-NPST

‘(Taro says it did not rain last night, but) I think it really rained and the wind also blew.’

d. (Minna ame-ga hur-u-kadooka kinisi-te i-ta-ga,)
 everyone rain-NOM fall-NPST-whether worry-TE ASP-PST-but

\*[ame-ga hur-u koto/no/ni-wa] [boku-wa [t hut-ta] atode gakkoo-e  
 rain-NOM fall-U KOTO/NO/NI-TOP I-TOP fall-PST after school-to  
 it-ta].

go-PST

‘(Everyone was worried whether it would rain or not, but) I went to school after it DID rain.’

(30) a. % (Taroo-wa sakuya ame-ga hura-nakat-ta-to it-te i-ru-ga,)

Taroo-TOP last.night rain-NOM fall-NEG-PST-C say-TE ASP-NPST-but

[hur-u koto/no/ni-wa] [boku-wa [ame-ga t hut-ta-to] omow-u.

fall-U KOTO/NO/NI-TOP I-TOP rain-NOM fall-PST-C think-NPST

‘(Taro says it did not rain last night, but) I think it DID rain.’

- b. (Saikin ame-ga hur-u toti-ga are-ba kai-tai-to omot-te i-te,)  
 recently rain-NOM fall-U land-NOM available-if buy-want-C think-TE ASP-TE  
 \*[hur-u koto/no/ni-wa] [boku-wa [ame-ga *t* hur-u] toti-o kat-ta].  
 fall-UKOTO/NO/NI-TOP I-TOP rain-NOM fall-NPST land-ACC buy-PST  
 ‘(I have wanted to buy a land where it rains, and) I have bought a land where it DOES  
 rain.’
- c. (Taroo-wa sakuya ame-ga hura-nakat-ta-to it-te i-ru-ga,)  
 Taroo-TOP last.night rain-NOM fall-NEG-PST-C say-TE ASP-NPST-but  
 \*[hur-u koto/no/ni-wa] [boku-wa [ame-ga *t* huri, kaze-mo hui-ta-to]  
 fall-U KOTO/NO/NI-TOP I-TOP rain-NOM fall wind-also blow-PST-C  
 omow-u].  
 think-NPST  
 ‘(Taro says it did not rain last night, but) I think it really rained and the wind also blew.’
- d. (Minna ame-ga hur-u-kadooka kinisi-te i-ta-ga,)  
 everyone rain-NOM fall-NPST-whether worry-TE ASP-PST-but  
 \*[hur-u koto/no/ni-wa] [boku-wa [ame-ga *t* hut-ta] atode gakkoo-e  
 fall-U KOTO/NO/NI-TOP I-TOP rain-NOM fall-PST after school-to  
 it-ta].  
 go-PST  
 ‘(Everyone was worried whether it would rain or not, but) I went to school after it DID  
 rain.’

As in (29a), TP in the embedded clause can be topicalized to a matrix clause, but this movement is subject to the Complex NP Constraint (29b), the Coordinate Structure Constraint (29c) and the adjunct condition (29d). Similarly, vP in the embedded clause can move to a matrix clause as shown in (30a), and this movement also obeys the subadjacency condition as demonstrated in (30b–d).

Moreover, the movement analysis can explain why the same predicate appears twice in the

construction.

- (31) \*Taroo-wa ringo-o tabe-ru koto/no/ni-wa kuw-u.  
Taro-TOP apple-ACC eat<sub>1</sub>-RU KOTO/NO/NI-TOP eat<sub>2</sub>-NPST  
'As for Taro's eating apples, he DOES eat them.'

(31) indicates that *tabe(ru)* and *kuw(u)* cannot appear as P<sub>1</sub> and P<sub>2</sub>, respectively, in the same PCC, though they have roughly the same meaning. Those who attempt to account for the PCC without making recourse to movement must justify why sentences like (31) are unacceptable.<sup>26</sup>

### 3.4.1.1. *vP Topicalization*

Now let us illustrate how the PCC with non-identical verb forms is derived. (32) illustrates the derivation of (16c), in which P<sub>1</sub> skips *-ase* and ends with *-(r)u*.

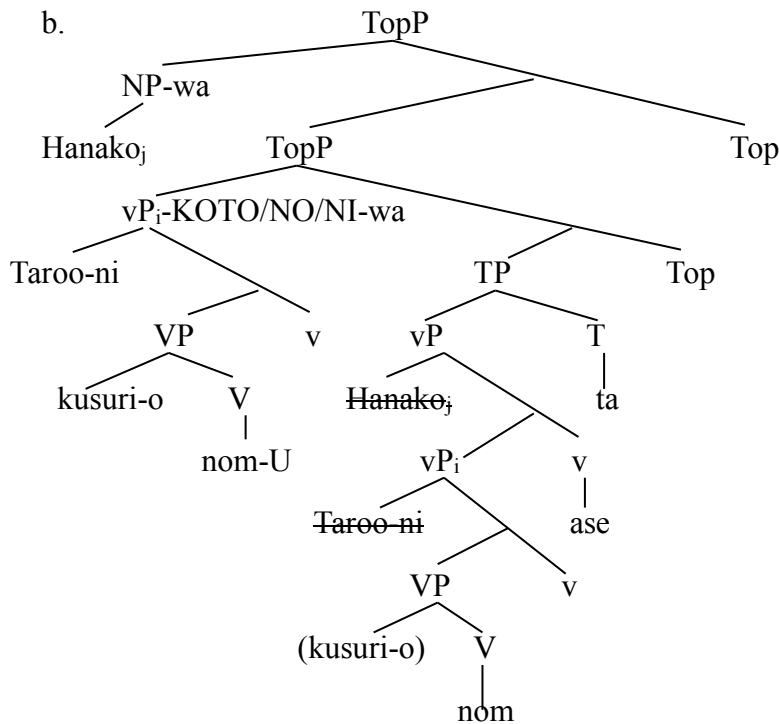
- (32) a. % Hanako-wa Taroo-ni kusuri-o nom-u koto/no/ni-wa  
Hanako-TOP Taro-DAT medicine-ACC take-U KOTO/NO/NI-TOP  
nom-ase-ta (ga ...). (=16c)  
take-CAUSE-PST but  
'As for making Taro take medicine, Hanako DID make him do it, (but ...).'

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<sup>26</sup> Aoyagi (2006a: Footnote 1) has claimed that the same predicate need not appear twice in the PCC, as in (i).

- (i) Chelswu-wa sake-o non-da koto-wa biiru-o 1,2-hai yat-ta (ga ...).  
Chelswu-TOP liquor-ACC drink-PST KOTO-TOP beer-ACC 1 or 2-glass do-PST but  
'As far as drinking goes, Chelswu had a glass of beer or two (but ...).'

I find (i) marginal at best, but if it is acceptable, topicalization is not involved in its derivation. Perhaps the topic phrase is base-generated in the Spec of TopP. Whether a speaker allows a so-called "genus-species effect" or not seems to be highly variable across speakers in other languages as well. While Aoyagi has observed that Korean does not allow the genus-species effect, Cable (2004) has reported that some speakers do. As for Spanish, Vicente (2009) has reported that not all speakers disallow the genus-species cleft construction, but he has suggested that those who permit it derive the construction differently from those who do not (see Section 3.4.2).



Driven by a topic feature, the  $vP_i$  complement of the causative *ase* [*Taro-ni kusuri-o nom v*] moves to Spec of TopP. *Hanako\_j* is topicalized independently to Spec of another TopP. The affixal topic marker *-wa* attaches to whatever occurs in Spec of TopP.<sup>27</sup> The NPs *Hanako*, *Taro*, and *kusuri*, have their Case valued before topicalization and retain their value throughout the derivation, though the case marker may be dropped when the NP occurs in Spec of TopP.

At the base position, *ase-ta* ‘CAUSE-PST’ is left behind. If a copy in the base position was not pronounced, we would end up with a string in (33), which is not acceptable.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> In the phrase structure (32b), PolP and FinP are missing, which should occur between TP and TopP according to (11). I assume that a phrase need not be projected when there is no element that occupies its head or that needs to be licensed in its Spec. Since TopP is necessary to host a topicalized *-wa* phrase in its Spec in (32b), I regard the matrix clause as TopP, even though there is no overt Top head. The same is true with  $vP$ . *Koto*, *no*, and *ni* are addressed in Section 3.4.4.3.

<sup>28</sup> Some people find (33) acceptable, but their judgment is based on a different structure that employs not *-(s)ase*, the causative bound morpheme, but rather *sase(ru)*, the lexical verb. When *ni* is used instead of *koto/no*, which precludes this reading, even those speakers find (33) to be unacceptable.

The same can be said concerning a negative predicate in (i). Notice that (i) and (20a) are totally different in meaning.

- (33) \*Hanako-wa Taroo-ni kusuri-o nom-u koto/no/ni-wa  
 Hanako-TOP Taro-DAT medicine-ACC take-U KOTO/NO/NI-TOP  
 (s)ase-ta.  
 CAUSE-PST  
 ‘As for making Taro take medicine, Hanako DID make him do it.’

In addition to pronouncing the head of a chain as in ordinary sentences involving movement, we need a mechanism to force the pronunciation of a lower copy in the PCC. Abels (2001) has claimed that the second verb in the PCC in Russian occurs to support the inflectional affix in T, since *do*-support is absent in the language. In other words, the trigger for pronouncing a predicate copy is attributed to the Stranded Affix Filter (cf. Lasnik (1981, 2000)), which precludes unattached affixes at the level where pronunciation is determined. Hiraiwa (2005) has extended Abel’s analysis to Bùli, claiming that the PCC in Bùli moves the minimal category  $\#-\sqrt{r}$ , stranding *v*,<sup>29</sup> which must be saved by pronouncing the lower copy of a predicate. We can apply the same analysis to the Japanese PCC. In (32b), *vP* is topicalized. A tense suffix at the base position is attached to a causative suffix, but the causative suffix *-ase* needs a host to attach to. Therefore, a copy of the lexical verb *nom* must be pronounced together with *-ase-ta* to support the stranded affix. In other words, the verbal copy in the base position saves the sentence from being ruled out by the Stranded Affix Filter by rendering itself a host for the stranded affix. There is *v* between the *V nom* and the causative *v -ase*, but *v* without a phonetic content cannot play the role of a host for the affix, so *V* has to be pronounced along with *-ase-ta*.<sup>30</sup> If the copy left behind

- 
- (i) Taroo-wa tabako-o suwa-na-i koto-wa na-i.  
 Taro-TOP cigarette-ACC smoke-NEG-I KOTO-TOP NEG-NPST  
 ‘It is not the case that Taro doesn’t smoke.’

<sup>29</sup> Hiraiwa’s (2005) analysis has been proposed under the Supercategorial Theory of CP/DP Symmetry in which the categorial status of syntactic objects is determined by a phase head.

<sup>30</sup> Jairo Nunes (personal communication) has pointed out that it is not clear why the upper copy of *V (+v)* must be pronounced when the lower copy of *V (+v)* must also be pronounced due to the Stranded Affix Filter since scattered deletion is allowed in some languages. Not pronouncing the upper *V* would result in the string *Hanako-wa Taroo-ni kusuri-wa nom-ase-ta* ‘As for medicine, Hanako made Taro take it,’ which is totally different from the PCC. To make the proposed analysis work, a constraint like (i) may be

by vP movement is just a trace and has no internal structure, it is not possible to pronounce a part of the copy in situ, so the PCC offers empirical support for the copy theory of movement, as has been claimed by Nunes (2004) and Landau (2006), among many others.

Note that it is not possible to pronounce every element of a copy in the base position. As explained in Chapter 1, only the head of a chain is usually pronounced for reasons of economy. However, in the PCC, the doubling of a predicate occurs in order to satisfy the Stranded Affix Filter in the base position. The deletion of other elements in the copy of vP<sub>i</sub> such as *Taro-ni* and *kusuri-o* is due to economy principles.<sup>31</sup>

We have seen in (8) that the deletion of an object is optional for some speakers, whereas the deletion of a subject is required, as in (9). Similar examples and their phrase structure are shown below.

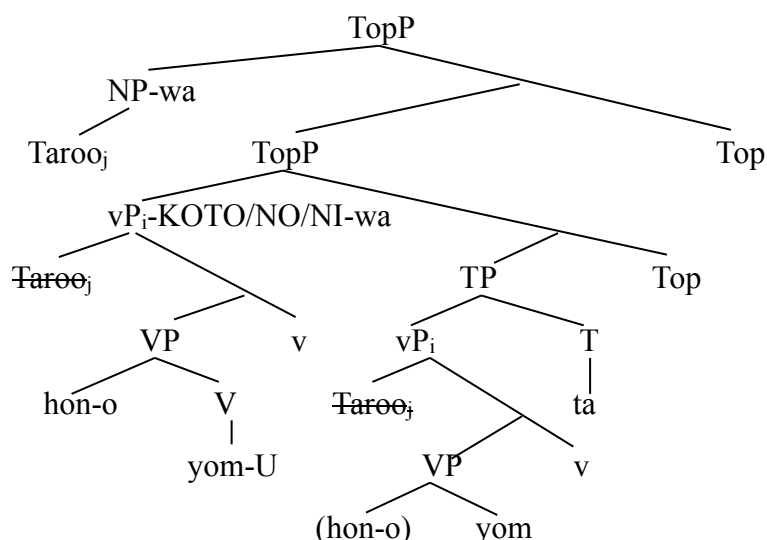
- (34) %Taroo-wa hon-o yom-u koto/no/ni-wa hon-o yon-da.  
 Taro-TOP book-ACC read-U KOTO/NO/NI-TOP book-ACC read-PST  
 ‘As for Taro’s reading the book, he DID read it.’
- (35) \*Taroo-wa hon-o yom-u koto/no/ni-wa Taroo-wa/ga  
 Taro-TOP book-ACC read-U KOTO/NO/NI-TOP Taro-TOP/NOM  
 (hon-o) yon-da (kedo ...).  
 book-ACC read-PST but  
 ‘As for Taro’s reading the book, he DID read it, (but ...).’

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necessary in Japanese.

(i) All topicalized elements must be pronounced in the topic position.

<sup>31</sup> Nunes (2004:55–57) has proposed that predicate doubling in Japanese involves verb movement to Foc<sup>0</sup> via T and the remnant TP movement to Spec of FocP. Once the verbal complex reaches Foc<sup>0</sup>, it gets reanalyzed with Foc<sup>0</sup> as a single morphological unit and becomes invisible to the LCA. After the remnant movement of TP to Spec of FocP, the PCC is derived. Nunes (2004) has only considered cases in which the two iterated predicates are identical in form, but he (personal communication) has suggested the following possibility for cases like (32a). There are two possible continuations after the verb complex reaches T: (i) T moves to Foc (yielding cases of identical P<sub>1</sub> and P<sub>2</sub>), or (ii) just V (or V+v) moves, an instance of excorporation, which is seen in the PCC in Vata, where the clefted verb cannot bear tense particles. The introduction of *-(r)u* in case (ii) would then follow from a morphological well-formedness requirement. His analysis based on verb movement can capture the facts neatly, but additional explanation would be necessary for cases like (8) where the object NP is iterated along with V.



For those speakers who do not accept the iteration of an object as well as a subject in the PCC, the economy principle is fully at work, which disallows pronunciation of elements in a copy unless required by independent principles. As for the speakers who allow the iteration of an object, they do not seem to adhere to the economy principle strictly in determining how much of a copy should be pronounced, but even they do not allow doubling of a subject. The argument NP that gets pronounced in a copy seems to be the one closest to V in the base position. This may be related to the fact that the interpretation of verum focus is closely related to a verbal phrase, whereas a subject is often interpreted as a topic independently of the preposed vP. Going back to (32b), again an argument closer to V survives in a copy for those who allow the iteration of arguments, as shown in (36). *Taroo-ni* in the copy should not be pronounced along with *kusuri-o nom-ase-ta* for reasons of economy.

- (36) %Hanako-wa Taroo-ni kusuri-o nom-u koto/no/ni-wa  
 Hanako-TOP Taro-DAT medicine-ACC take-U KOTO/NO/NI-TOP  
 (?\* Taroo-ni) (kusuri-o) nom-ase-ta (ga ...).  
 Taro-DAT medicine-ACC take-CAUSE-PST but  
 ‘As for making Taro take medicine, Hanako DID make him do it, (but ...).’

Let us now consider how the movement analysis can explain the restrictions on the forms allowed as P<sub>1</sub> and P<sub>2</sub>, which was summarized in (24). First, consider (24a), repeated here as (37).

- (37) P<sub>1</sub> can be the same as or in a less specified form than P<sub>2</sub>, but it cannot be more specified than P<sub>2</sub>. (= (24a))

When TP is moved, which is discussed in the next section, it results in the PCC with P<sub>1</sub> and P<sub>2</sub> in an identical form. When vP, a subpart of TP, is moved, P<sub>1</sub> results in a less specified form than P<sub>2</sub>, because the topicalized vP contains only a part of the information available in TP. The ill-formed sentences in (38a, b) cannot be derived by vP movement.

- (38) a. \*Hanako-wa Taroo-ni kusuri-o nom-ase-ta  
 Hanako-TOP Taro-DAT medicine-ACC take-CAUSE-PST  
 koto/no/ni-wa non-da (ga ...) (= (16e))  
 KOTO/NO/NI-TOP take-PST but  
 ‘As for making Taro take medicine, Hanako DID make him do it (but ...)’
- b. \*Taroo-wa Ziroo-ni nagur-are-ta koto/no/ni-wa nagut-ta (ga ...) (= (17d))  
 Taro-TOP Jiro-by hit-PASS-PST KOTO/NO/NI-TOP hit-PST but  
 ‘As for being hit by Jiro, Taro WAS hit by him, (but ...).’

Regarding the generalization (24b), repeated here as (39), the first part also follows straightforwardly from the movement analysis.

- (39) The root of P<sub>1</sub> must be followed by subsequent morphemes in the same order as in P<sub>2</sub> without skipping any morphemes, except when P<sub>1</sub> ends with *-(r)u*. (= (24b))

Since only constituents can move, the order of morphemes in the lower chain link is preserved in the higher chain link, and there is no way of deriving P<sub>1</sub> in which some morphemes in between



are left out. For example, (40) cannot be derived because *non-da* ‘take-PST’ is not a subconstituent of *nom-ase-ta* ‘take-CAUSE-PST.’

- (40) \*Hanako-wa Taroo-ni kusuri-o non-da koto/no/ni-wa  
 Hanako-TOP Taro-DAT medicine-ACC take-PST KOTO/NO/NI-TOP  
nom-ase-ta (ga ...). (=16f)  
 take-CAUSE-PST but  
 ‘As for making Taro take medicine, Hanako DID make him do it, (but ...).’

A problematic case for this analysis is the latter half of (39), an exception to the generalization, which seems to resist the movement analysis of a partial structure.

- (41) a. % Hanako-wa Taroo-ni kusuri-o nom-u koto/no/ni-wa  
 Hanako-TOP Taro-DAT medicine-ACC take-U KOTO/NO/NI-TOP  
nom-ase-ta (ga ...). (=16c)  
 take-CAUSE-PST but  
 ‘As for making Taro take medicine, Hanako DID make him do it, (but ...).’
- b. Hanako-wa Taroo-ni kusuri-o nom-ase-ru  
 Hanako-TOP Taro-DAT medicine-ACC take-CAUSE-RU  
 koto/no/ni-wa nom-ase-ta (ga ...). (=16b)  
 KOTO/NO/NI-TOP take-CAUSE-PST but  
 ‘As for making Taro take medicine, Hanako DID make him do it, (but ...).’

In (41a), a causative morpheme is skipped in P<sub>1</sub>, just as in (40). Unlike (40), however, (41a) is allowed for the liberal speakers under consideration. What is it that makes the *-(r)u* ending special? I claim that *-(r)u*, which occurs with verbs, the causative *-(s)ase*, the passive *-(r)are*, the applicative *-te yar*, the honorific *o-* *-ninar* and *-(r)are*, and the aspectual *-te i-* preceding *koto*, *no*, and *ni* in the PCC is not T but is a verbal affix that adjusts the form of a verbal element so that it

can precede *koto*, *no*, or *ni*. The same holds true with *-i* which occurs with an adjective before *koto/no/ni* in the PCC. They make the adnominal form like the one illustrated in (42).<sup>32, 33</sup>

- (42)      nom-u    yooguruto  
              drink-U   yogurt  
              ‘yogurt for drinking’

In contrast, the past *-ta* occurs in T, even when it precedes *koto*, *no*, or *ni* in the PCC. If *-(r)u* preceding *koto/no/ni-wa* is not a tense morpheme, then we will be able to derive (41a) via movement of vP, a partial structure of TP, and maintain the generalization about the combination pattern of morphemes in P<sub>1</sub> without exception. Notice that treating *nom-u* in (41a) as a tensed form would resist a straightforward movement analysis.

This also explains why there is no tense mismatch in (41b). (41b) is derived by moving a substructure of TP, namely vP. *-Ru* in P<sub>1</sub> is not a tense morpheme, so the tense feature carried by P<sub>2</sub> is the only tense feature available in the PCC, which determines the tense of the whole construction.<sup>34</sup>

In this connection, it is worth considering the PCC with adjectival nouns. (43) illustrates the PCC with adjectives. I have proposed above that *i* in the P<sub>1</sub> of (43b) is an adjectival affix, which makes an adnominal ending appropriate for the following *koto/no/ni*.<sup>35</sup> Adjectival nouns can also occur in the PCC, as in (44a, b).<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> This is in accordance with our treatment of *-(r)u* that occurs in the focus position of pseudocleft sentences in Chapter 2. We might be able to say that *-(r)u* is a default element inserted to support a verbal stem.

<sup>33</sup> (42) is different from examples like *yomi-kata* ‘way of reading,’ where the nominalizing suffix *-kata* is involved. *-Kata* is a derivational suffix that attaches to the *renyookei* ‘continuative’ form of V, as discussed by Kishimoto (2006).

<sup>34</sup> The same explanation also applies to (41a).

<sup>35</sup> See Yamakido (2000) and Watanabe (2017) for arguments that prenominal adjectives in Japanese can directly modify nominals without making recourse to the relative clause strategy and so need not have tense.

<sup>36</sup> Watanabe (2017) has argued that adjectival nouns and adjectives belong to the same syntactic category and differ only in terms of morphology.

- (43) a. Hanako-wa kawaikat-ta koto/no/ni-wa kawaikat-ta.  
 Hanako-TOP pretty-PST KOTO/NO/NI-wa pretty-PST  
 ‘As for Hanako’s prettiness, she was indeed pretty.’
- b. Hanako-wa kawai-i koto/no/ni-wa kawai-i/kawaikat-ta.  
 Hanako-TOP pretty-I KOTO/NO/NI-wa pretty-NPST/pretty-PST  
 ‘As for Hanako’s prettiness, she is/was indeed pretty.’
- (44) a. Hanako-wa kirei-dat-ta koto/no-wa kirei-dat-ta.  
 Hanako-TOP beautiful-COP-PST KOTO/NO-TOP beautiful-COP-PST  
 ‘As for Hanako’s beauty, she was indeed beautiful.’
- b. Hanako-wa kirei-na koto/no-wa kirei-da/kirei-dat-ta.  
 Hanako-TOP beautiful-NA KOTO/NO-TOP beautiful-COP.NPST/beautiful-COP-PST  
 ‘As for Hanako’s beauty, she is/was indeed beautiful.’
- c. Hanako-wa kirei-dea-ru koto/no-wa kirei-dea-ru/  
 Hanako-TOP beautiful-COP-RU KOTO/NO-TOP beautiful-COP-NPST/  
 kirei-deat-ta.  
 beautiful-COP-PST  
 ‘As for Hanako’s beauty, she is/was indeed beautiful.’
- d. \*Hanako-wa kirei-da koto/no-wa kirei-da.  
 Hanako-TOP beautiful-COP.NPST KOTO/NO-TOP beautiful-COP.NPST  
 ‘As for Hanako’s beauty, she is indeed beautiful.’

(44a) is the PCC with the doubling of an adjectival noun in past tense, which is derived by TP movement. (44b) indicates that the adnominal form *kirei-na* must occur as P<sub>1</sub> when P<sub>1</sub> is not accompanied by T. Here the adjectival noun phrase headed by *kirei* is topicalized, and *-na*, the adnominal suffix for adjectival nominal stems, is attached to *kirei*, just like *-i* is attached to adjectival stems. This is parallel to (44c), where *kirei-dea-ru*, which is equivalent in meaning to *kirei-da*, can occur as P<sub>1</sub> in the PCC as a result of vP movement with the verbal suffix *-ru* inserted before *koto/no*. Notice that the present tense conclusive form of the adjectival noun *kirei-da*

cannot be repeated, as in (44d). If TP movement is involved in deriving the PCC with identical P<sub>1</sub> and P<sub>2</sub>, (44d) should be possible as a result of topicalizing TP including *kirei-da*.<sup>37</sup> Movement of TP including a tensed adjectival noun is possible regardless of its tense value, just like the movement of TP including a tensed verb or a tensed adjective. The element in T in the preposed TP takes the adnominal form so that it can be followed by *koto/no*. In many cases this is trivial, since the conclusive form and the adnominal form are the same (e.g., *yom-u koto/no-wa yom-u* ‘As for reading, I read’ or *yon-da koto/no-wa yon-da* ‘As for reading, I have read it’). However, adjectival nouns take the adnominal form that is different from the conclusive form. In (44d), *kirei-da* ‘beautiful-COP.NPST’ in the preposed TP must be adjusted post-syntactically to *kirei-na*, the adnominal form, by morphology so that it can be followed by *koto/no*. In other words, TP movement is possible but cannot produce an acceptable surface form without morphological adjustment. Therefore, the PCC with an adjectival noun not accompanied by a past-tense morpheme, as in (44b), is derived either by adjectival noun phrase movement and *na* insertion or by TP movement and the subsequent morphological adjustment.

Going back to the restrictions imposed on P<sub>1</sub> and P<sub>2</sub>, let us consider (24c), repeated here as (45).<sup>38</sup>

(45) An element in C cannot be doubled with or without a verbal sequence. (= (24c))

Our proposal includes TP movement and movement of its subpart, but not the movement of a phrase larger than TP. Hence, C cannot be included in P<sub>1</sub>.

To summarize, I have proposed that the PCC is derived by movement of a subpart of TP and copy spell-out based on the occurrence of non-identical forms of predicates in the topic position and the sentence-final position. This analysis can easily explain how the morphemes should be combined in P<sub>1</sub>. Since only constituents in a lower chain link can move, it follows that the order of morphemes in the lower chain link is kept intact in the higher chain link, and that skipping of

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<sup>37</sup> I am grateful to Takane Ito for pointing this out to me.

<sup>38</sup> I consider the generalization (24d) in Section 3.5.1.

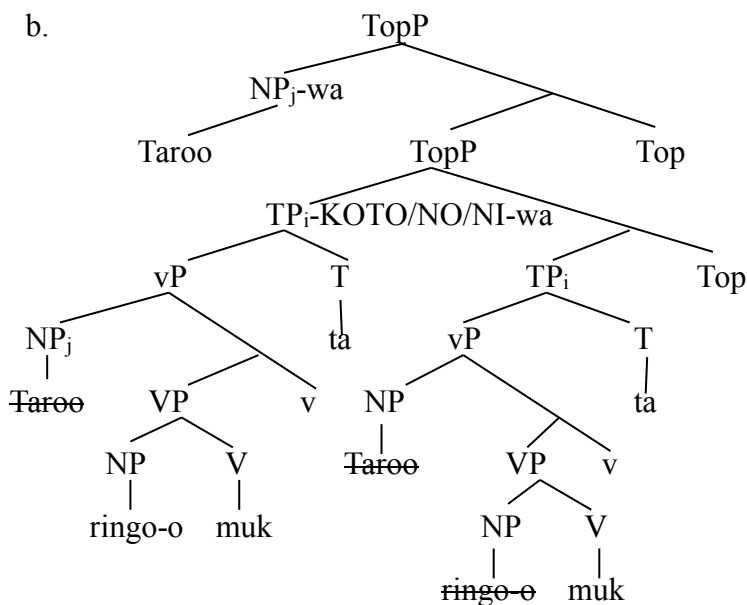
some morphemes in between cannot occur.

### 3.4.1.2. TP Topicalization

The PCC with identical  $P_1$  and  $P_2$  is derived by TP topicalization.

- (46) a. Taroo-wa ringo-o mui-ta koto/no/ni-wa mui-ta (ga  
 Taro-TOP apple-ACC peel-PST KOTO/NO/NI-TOP peel-PST but  
 tabe-nakat-ta). (= (1a))  
 eat-NEG-PST

‘As for peeling an apple, Taro DID peel it, (but he didn’t eat it).’



As shown in (46b),  $TP_i$  moves to Spec of  $TopP$ . *Taroo* in the preposed TP undergoes further topicalization to Spec of a higher  $TopP$ , where it is realized as *Taroo-wa*. If the copy in the base position remained unpronounced, we would get the following ill-formed string.

- (47) \*Taroo-wa ringo-o mui-ta koto/no/ni-wa.  
 Taro-TOP apple-ACC peel-PST KOTO/NO/NI-TOP

Unlike the case in (33), (47) does not have any morpheme stranded by movement except the two topic heads. It is unlikely that null affixes are placed in them that need to be attached to some hosts, because it is possible to delete V preceding Top.

- (48) [ConjP [TopP Taro<sub>o</sub>-wa [TP yama-e ~~iki~~] Top] Conj [TopP Hanako<sub>o</sub>-wa [TP kawa-e  
Taro-TOP mountain-to go Hanako-TOP river-to  
it-ta] TOP]]  
go-PST  
'Taro went to a mountain and Hanako went to a river.'

In (48) V preceding Top in the first conjunct can optionally be elided. Hence, we need a mechanism other than the Stranded Affix Filter to force the doubling of a predicate in (46a).<sup>39</sup>

One of the possibilities Nishiyama and Cho (1998) have suggested as a trigger for copy pronunciation in cases like (46a) is a requirement for predication. Among others, Williams (1980), Rothstein (1983), and Bowers (1993) have noted that predication relation is necessary between subjects and predicates. However, it is not clear if we can identify the preposed constituent preceded by *-wa* as a subject. For example, a direct object and an indirect object can act as a topic, as in (49a, b). Moreover, the PCC can be paraphrased as (50) in which *hon-o yom-u koto* functions as the object of V, *si-ta*. Therefore, the preposed phrase of the PCC may not be a subject. If so, it seems difficult to derive copy spell-out in (46a) from the predication requirement.

- (49) a. Sore<sub>o</sub>-wa moo yon<sub>da</sub>.  
it-TOP already read-PST  
'I've already read it.'

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<sup>39</sup> Nishiyama and Cho (1998) have considered the possibility that Japanese has a null mood marker as in Korean, which needs a host to attach to. It is not clear whether sentences like (48) can be dealt with under such an analysis.

- b. Kare-ni-wa pen-o age-ta.  
 him-DAT-TOP pen-ACC give-PST  
 ‘I gave him a pen.’
- (50) Taroo-wa hon-o yom-u koto-wa si-ta.  
 Taro-TOP book-ACC read-U KOTO-TOP do-PST  
 ‘Taro DID read a book.’

In Chapter 2, I demonstrated that a topic phrase cannot occur alone in a sentence unless it is pronounced with a rising intonation and interpreted as part of a question.

- (51) a. Taroo-wa.  
 Taro-TOP  
 #‘Taro can do it.’, #‘Taro stood up.’, etc.
- b. Taroo-wa?  
 Taro-TOP  
 ‘Where is Taro?/Is Taro coming?’, etc. (=Chapter 2, (57, 58))

A possible analysis is that copy pronunciation in (46a) is necessary in order to make a well-formed information structure, which consists of topic and comment. Though this seems intuitively attractive, it is difficult to implement, because the notion of information structure cannot control what gets pronounced and what does not at PF within the Y-model of grammar. One might suppose that some structure is marked in the syntactic component to be pronounced at PF, along the line of Merchant’s (2001) E-feature, which is introduced in syntax and directs its sister constituent to be elided at PF. For example, we could postulate a feature that requires that TP complement of TOP be pronounced. However, this does not explain why only a part of the TP copy is pronounced in the base position, nor can it explain why (51b) is allowed in contrast with (51a).

A possible approach is to suppose that Top is the head of a prosodic structure, which must

have some overt element in its complement.<sup>40</sup> Since T, the head of a complement TP, is adjacent to Top, it is natural that it should be pronounced. This T in turn forces the pronunciation of V, since it is an affix. Thus, V-v-T must be pronounced in the base position due to the prosodic requirement of Top. As for (51b), we may be able to consider that the rising intonation can satisfy this prosodic requirement.

Another possibility I would like to explore is to focus on the markedness of TP topicalization. In comparison to the movement of CPs, vPs, and DPs, movement of TPs is less common in the languages of the world.<sup>41</sup> While many languages that exhibit the PCC involve vP/VP movement, only Japanese and Korean (and European Portuguese, if Martins' (2013) analysis is correct) seem to involve TP movement in the PCC. It is not implausible, then, that these languages make use of some sort of repair strategy to follow up on the TP movement. I suggest that the pronunciation of the T head of the copy left by TP movement is employed for this purpose. Since a tense morpheme cannot occur by itself due to the Stranded Affix Filter, the whole verbal complex is pronounced at the tail of a chain in the end. Subjects within TP must remain silent to satisfy the economy conditions, though there are speakers who allow the repetition of objects, as we have seen in the previous subsection.

In this subsection, I have suggested two possible accounts of the pronunciation of a verbal copy left behind by TP movement: prosodical requirement of Top, and repair strategy for TP movement. Either way, the pronunciation of the head of the TP complement of Top is forced. I leave these two possibilities open for future research.

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<sup>40</sup> I am thankful to Jairo Nunes for suggesting this possibility to me.

<sup>41</sup> For example, Chomsky (2001), attributing the observation to Rizzi (1982), has noted that a control CP can be a focus of a cleft sentence, but not a raising TP.

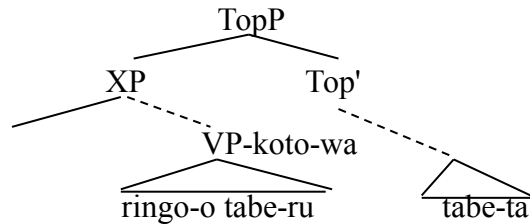
- (i) It is to go home (every evening) that John prefers/\*seems. (Chomsky (2001: note 13))
- (ii) a. E'                    tornare a casa che Gianni vuole.                    (Italian)  
       be.3SG.PRES return to home that Gianni want.3SG.PRES  
       'It is to come back home that Gianni wants.'
- b. \*E'                    tornare a casa che Gianni sembra.  
       be.3SG.PRES return to home that Gianni seem.3SG.PRES  
       'It is to come back home that Gianni seems.' (Rizzi (1982: 442))



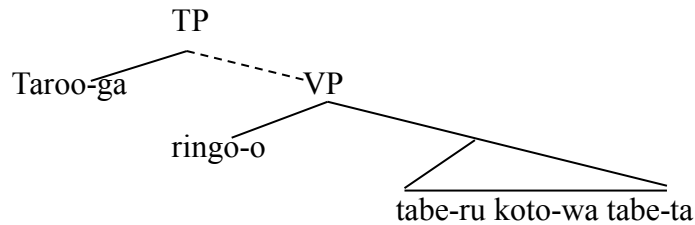
### 3.4.2. Alternatives to the Movement Analysis

The proposed analysis based on movement of TP or its subpart supports the structure schematized in (52a), where the object *ringo-o* ‘apple-ACC’ and the P<sub>1</sub> *tabe* ‘eat’ form a constituent. On the other hand, one could also derive the PCC by moving V to some inner Top(P) position, leaving an object in situ, as shown in (52b).<sup>42</sup>

(52) a.



b.



However, there are two pieces of evidence that support (52a) rather than (52b). Firstly, VP consisting of the first verb and its object can be preposed, leaving behind a subject and the second verb.

(53) Ringo-o tabe-ru koto/no/ni-wa Taroo-wa tabe-ta (ga  
 apple-ACC eat-RU KOTO/NO/NI-TOP Taro-TOP eat-PST but  
 oisi-i to-wa omowa-nakat-ta).  
 delicious-NPSTC-TOP think-NEG-PST

‘As for Taro’s eating an apple, he DID eat one (but did not find it delicious).’

This is expected if the structure is as in (52a) rather than (52b), since the first verb and its object form a constituent in the former but not in the latter.

<sup>42</sup> See Okamoto (1990) for a claim that the sequence ‘V *koto-wa* V’ acts like a word.

In addition, as seen in Section 3.3.1, there are speakers who permit the repetition of an object in the PCC.

- (54) %Taroo-wa hon-o yon-da koto/no/ni-wa hon-o yon-da.  
 Taro-TOP book-ACC read-PST KOTO/NO/NI-TOP book-ACC read-PST  
 ‘As for Taro’s reading the book, he DID read it.’ (=8))

This is accountable under (52a) if VP in the base position contains a copy of the object. On the other hand, it is difficult to account for (54) under the analysis in (52b).

Therefore, (52a) is a more plausible structure for the PCC than (52b), which is in accordance with the proposed analysis based on TP/vP movement.

Another possible analysis of the PCC is one that involves base generation under which a topic phrase is generated in the Spec of TopP from the beginning.<sup>43</sup> As discussed in Chapter 2, Den Dikken et al. (2000) have proposed to derive a type of specificational pseudocleft construction in English by generating a presuppositional clause in Spec of TopP and applying deletion in the TP complement of Top, as in (55).

- (55) [<sub>TopP</sub> [What Mary didn’t buy] [<sub>Top</sub> is/was] [<sub>TP</sub> ~~she didn’t buy~~ any wine]]

Similarly, instead of moving vP/TP to Spec of TopP as I proposed in Sections 3.4.1.1 and 3.4.1.2, it is possible to base-generate the phrase *Taro-ga hon-o yom-u* in Spec of TopP and apply deletion to the arguments of V within the TP complement of Top.

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<sup>43</sup> I am indebted to Akira Watanabe and Kinsuke Hasegawa for suggesting this possibility to me, and to Jairo Nunes for referring me to Bastos-Gee (2009), who has argued that both the base generation and the topicalization of a topic VP are allowed in Brazilian Portuguese.

(56) [<sub>TopP</sub> [ Taroo-ga hon-o yom-u koto/no/ni-wa]  
 Taro-NOM book-ACC read-U KOTO/NO/NI-TOP

[<sub>TP</sub> ~~Taroo-ga~~ ~~hon-o~~ yon-da] Top]

Taro-NOM book-ACC read-PST

‘As for Taro’s reading the book, he DID read it.’

This base generation analysis of the PCC differs from the movement analysis in several respects. Obviously, the first issue is whether or not movement is involved. As I demonstrated in Section 3.4.1, the PCC shows sensitivity to islands, though the data are not clear-cut. To the extent that the subjacency effect is real, the movement analysis is supported, though it is conceivable to add some locality constraints to the base generation analysis as well.

Second, the base generation analysis predicts that the two verbs need not have the same root since VP is generated in Spec of TopP independently of the V in the sentence-final position. Brazilian Portuguese and Yiddish allow the genus-species effect as shown in (57), which is expected under the base generation analysis.

- (57) a. Comer peixe, eu normalmente como samão. (Brazilian Portuguese)  
 eat.INF fish I usually eat salmon  
 ‘As for eating fish, I usually eat salmon.’ (Cable (2004: 11))
- b. ?Essen fish est Maks hekht. (Yiddish)  
 eat.INF fish eats Max pike  
 ‘As for eating fish, Max eats pike.’ (Cable (2004: 9))

In contrast, this is not possible in the Japanese PCC, as we have observed in (31).

Third, the movement analysis fares better with the data involving non-identical verb forms.

(58) [Ziroo-ga Taroo-ni nagur-u] koto/no/ni-wa nagur-are-ta.  
 Jiro-NOM Taro-by hit-u KOTO/NO/NI-TOP hit-pass-PST

‘As for Jiro’s being hit by Taro, he WAS hit by Taro.’

In (58), it is not possible to generate *Ziroo-ga Taroo-ni nagur-u* without referring to the P<sub>2</sub> *nagur-are-ta* since the passive morpheme *-are* is responsible for *-ni* ‘by’-marking of *Taroo*. The movement analysis handles this by valuing Case features of the NPs by Agree in the base position,<sup>44</sup> but in order to account for this under the base generation analysis, some mechanism needs to be added to relate the topic phrase to the TP-internal position.

Therefore, we are led to conclude that the movement analysis is a better-equipped account for the PCC.

### 3.4.3. Predicate Doubling vs. Suru-Support

We have seen that the Stranded Affix Filter as well as a prosodic property of Top or the repair strategy for TP movement are responsible for the spell-out of a part of the copy in the base position in the PCC. Notice that *suru*-support does not help in this construction.<sup>45</sup>

- (59) a. \**Taroo-wa ringo-o tabe-ta koto/no/ni-wa si-ta.*  
Taro-TOP apple-ACC eat-PST KOTO/NO/NI-TOP do-PST  
‘As for eating the apple, Taro DID eat it.’
- b. \**Taroo-wa ringo-o tabe-nakat-ta koto/no/ni-wa si-nakat-ta.*  
Taro-TOP apple-ACC eat-NEG-PST KOTO/NO/NI-TOP do-NEG-PST  
‘As for not eating the apple, Taro did NOT eat it.’

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<sup>44</sup> Instead of moving vP, one may propose to move *nagur-u* to the inner Top position along the structure suggested in (52b) so that the Case relation is more direct between NPs and P<sub>2</sub>, but we have ruled out that possibility in the discussion above.

<sup>45</sup> When a preposed verb is in nonpast tense and is followed by *koto* as in (i), the tensed *su* can occur at the end of a sentence. Since *koto* in (i) cannot be substituted by *no* or *ni*, nor can *tabe-ru* be substituted by the past tensed *tabe-ta*, (i) does not exemplify the construction under discussion.

- (i) *Taroo-wa ringo-o tabe-ru koto-wa si-ta.*  
Taro-TOP apple-ACC eat-RU KOTO-TOP do-PST  
‘As for eating an apple, Taro DID eat one.’

At first glance, since copy spell-out is a matter of pronouncing a material already available in the structure, it seems more economical than *suru*-support, which requires the introduction of an additional element into the structure. It is natural that copy spell-out be chosen over *suru*-support as a means of supporting tense or other affixal elements, but do predicate doubling and *suru*-support carry out the same function in the first place? If not, we cannot attribute the unacceptability of (59) to economy considerations.

Let us examine the environment of *suru*-support more closely. Miyagawa (1998) has observed that *suru*-support applies when a verb is separated from a tense morpheme, a passive morpheme, a negative morpheme, or some other lexical verb such as *-ta(i)* ‘want’ or *hazime(ru)* ‘begin’ by a focus particle, as shown in (60a–d). Hirata (2010) has argued that *suru*-support is also triggered by a phonetically null polarity head, as in (60e).

- (60) a. John-ga keeki-o tabe-mo \*(su)-ru.  
 John-NOM cake-ACC eat-also do-NPST  
 ‘John also eats a cake.’ (Miyagawa (1998:428))
- b. Kono ronbun-wa yomi-mo \*(s)-are-na-i.  
 this paper-TOP read-also do-PASS-NEG-NPST  
 ‘This paper is not also/even read.’ (Miyagawa (1998:429))
- c. Kono hon-o yomi-sae \*(si)-na-i.  
 this book-ACC read-even do-NEG-NPST  
 ‘I won’t even read this book.’ (Miyagawa (1998:429))
- d. [Piano-o narai-mo] \*(si)-ta-i si, ...  
 piano-ACC learn-also do-want-NPST and  
 ‘I also want to learn piano, and ...’ (Miyagawa (1998:430))
- e. Gorira-ga [ringo-o tabe-sae si-∅ & mizu-o nomi-sae  
 gorilla-NOM apple-ACC eat-even do water-ACC drink-even

si-nakat]-ta.

do-NEG-PST

‘The gorilla even ate an apple and didn’t drink water.’

(Hirata (2010: 84))

What characterizes *suru*-support is the presence of a lexical verb that is separated from its extended projection in the sense of Grimshaw (1997) by a focus particle.

(61) A: Taroo-wa gakkoo-e iki-masi-ta-ka?

Taro-TOP school-to go-POLIT-PST-Q

‘Did Taro go to school?’

B:a. Hai, (Taroo-wa) (gakkoo-e) iki-masi-ta.

yes Taro-TOP school-to go-POLIT-PST

‘Yes, he did.’

b. \*Hai, si-masi-ta.

yes do-POLIT-PST

In (61Bb), *suru*-support does not apply because there is no lexical verb that is separated from its extended projection to motivate its application.<sup>46</sup> It is not sufficient to assume that *suru*-support is triggered by a stranded inflectional affix, because if so, (61Bb) should be possible. Following Mihara and Hiraiwa (2006) and Kotani (2010), let us assume that *su(ru)* as a dummy verb is not a V, but is rather a morphological realization of v.<sup>47</sup> It only appears when a focus particle is

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<sup>46</sup> Once *su* is inserted, it can be separated from a lexical verb, for example, by VP-preposing.

(i) Hon-o yomi-sae Taroo-wa si-ta.  
book-ACC read-FOC Taro-TOP do-PST  
‘Even read the book, Taro did.’

<sup>47</sup> Bjorkman (2011), who has examined “*do*-support” in Scandinavian languages, the northern Italian dialect Monnesse, and Breton, has arrived at the same conclusion. She has claimed that *do* is the default realization of a v, which is required to be pronounced in a position separate from its lexical verb complement, and she has treated it differently from *be*, which she has argued is a morphological realization of inflectional features that are stranded.

In Swedish, a finite VP can be topicalized, but *göra*-support rather than the doubling of a tensed verb

adjoined to VP and thus intervenes between a lexical V and its higher projections.<sup>48</sup> It is then possible to derive the fact that *su(ru)* occurs in tandem with a lexical verb, but not in the absence of a lexical verb, as in (61Bb).

As seen in Section 3.2, Nishiyama and Cho (1998) have analyzed *suru*-support as a spell-out of a VP copy left behind by VP movement.

- (62) John-ga konpyuutaa-o kai-wa si-ta.  
 John-TOP computer-ACC buy-TOP do-PST  
 ‘As for buying a computer, John DID buy one.’  
 [<sub>FocP</sub> [[<sub>VPi</sub> John-ga konpyuutaa-o kai]-wa] t<sub>i</sub>] (= (4b))  
 ↓  
 si-ta

However, their analysis cannot be adopted since I have argued that vP movement is involved in the PCC with non-identical P<sub>1</sub> and P<sub>2</sub>, for which pronunciation of a part of a copy is necessary. Rather than differentiating the PCC from the VP-focus construction by the size of a moved constituent as done by Nishiyama and Cho, I follow Kubo (1992), Watanabe (2003), Aoyagi (2006b), and Vermeulen (2009) and assume that no movement is involved in the VP focus

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occurs.

- (i) Läser boken gör han nu.  
 reads book.DEF does he now  
 ‘Reading the book he is now.’ (Källgren and Prince (1989: 47))

Platzack (2012) has argued that it is  $\sqrt{P}$  that undergoes topicalization in (i), and that the presence of tense on the fronted V and the support V is due to agreement with T. Since no TP movement is involved in (i), it does not affect my analysis of the PCC with identical P<sub>1</sub> and P<sub>2</sub> based on TP movement and copy spell-out.

<sup>48</sup> Aoyagi (2006a, b) has observed that focus particles can be adjoined to XPs cross-categorially.

- (i) ringo-sae tabe-ta.  
 apple-even eat-PST  
 ‘I even ate an apple.’  
 (ii) tabe-sase-sae si-ta.  
 eat-CAUSE-even do-PST  
 ‘I even made him eat it.’

In (i), a focus particle is adjoined to NP, and in (ii) it is adjoined to vP headed by the causative *-sase*.

construction with a focus particle or a contrastive topic particle.<sup>49</sup> When a focus/contrastive topic particle intervenes between V and its higher projections, *su* occurs as a realization of *v* to support the affixes of higher projections instead of V.

Going back to the PCC, it does not trigger *suru*-support because *v* is not separated from V in the PCC. V and *v* move together to the topic position and the copy left behind includes an uninterrupted V-*v* sequence. Therefore, copy spell-out is the only possibility in the PCC.

#### 3.4.4. *The Status of Koto, No, and Ni in the PCC*

Thus far I have not addressed the status of *koto/no/ni*. Nishiyama and Cho (1998) have suggested that *koto* in the PCC is a nominalizer that nominalizes TP so that *wa* can attach to it. Based on his research on Yorùbá, Gbè, Ìgbo, Vātà, and Haitian, Manfredi (1993) has argued that when a verb moves overtly to a focus position by itself or with its arguments, it is nominalized. Haddican (2007) has reported that the same applies to Central and Western Basque and Korean and has claimed that “verbal constituents that move to FocP must be [+noun], i.e. be headed by a nominalizing affix” (p. 751). Bùli (Hiraiwa (2005)), Dàgáárè (Hiraiwa and Bodomo (2008)), and Russian (Aboh and Dyakonova (2009)) are also known to have nominalized V(P)s in the moved position. Bastos-Gee (2009) has observed that the topicalized VP in Brazilian Portuguese is fused with an infinitival morpheme, which can be considered a form of nominalization. The use of nominalization in the PCC in Japanese seems quite natural in this respect. However, the categorial status of nominalizers is not very clear. This section investigates some properties of *koto* and *no* in the PCC.

##### 3.4.4.1. *Koto and No in the PCC Are Not Nouns*

Grammaticalization often leads to creation of functional categories out of lexical categories, as demonstrated by Roberts and Roussou (2003). Let us examine if *koto* and *no* in the PCC behave like nouns or not. There are some pieces of evidence that indicate they do not.

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<sup>49</sup> I demonstrate in Section 3.5.1 that the VP-focus construction differs from the PCC in allowing polarity mismatches.



First, *koto* and *no* in the PCC differ from nouns in not allowing case-marking. The occurrence of *-wa* is vital in the construction.<sup>50</sup>

- (63) \*[Taroo-ga ringo-o tabe-ta koto/no]-ga/o/ni tabe-ta.  
 Taro-NOM apple-ACC eat-PST KOTO/NO-NOM/ACC/DAT eat-PST  
 ‘As for Taro’s eating the apple, he DID eat it.’

Second, they cannot be replaced with other nouns like *zizitu* ‘fact’ or *zitai* ‘situation.’

- (64) Taroo-wa ringo-o tabe-ta koto/no/\*zizitu/\*zitai-wa tabe-ta.  
 Taro-TOP apple-ACC eat-PST KOTO/NO/fact/situation-TOP eat-PST  
 ‘As for Taro’s eating the apple, he DID eat it.’

In addition, if *koto* and *no* are nouns, nominalized clauses as a whole should be DPs/NPs, but they resist pronominalization. (65) cannot be interpreted as, for instance, *Taroo-wa ringo-o tabe-ta koto/no-wa tabe-ta*.

- (65) Taroo-wa sore-wa tabe-ta.  
 Taro-TOP it-TOP eat-PST  
 ‘Taro ate it.’

Though these data are consistent with the hypothesis that *koto* and *no* in the PCC are not nouns, they can also be explained if the PCC involves fixed expressions of the form V KOTO/NO-WA V, no part of which can be replaced with something else. To unambiguously determine the syntactic status of *koto* and *no* in the PCC, let us consider examples in which the fixed sequences are kept intact.

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<sup>50</sup> As Ken Hiraiwa (personal communication) has noted, the ungrammaticality of (63) may not be due to the categorial status of *koto/no* but to a case marker being incompatible with the environment.

- (66) a. Kono hito-ga tanin-o kizutuke-zu-ni-wa iki-rare-nai koto-wa  
 this men-NOM others-ACC hurt-NEG-NI-TOP live-can-NEG fact-TOP  
 Taroo-nitotte kutuu dat-ta.  
 Taro-for pain COP-PST  
 ‘The fact that human beings cannot live without hurting others disturbed Taro.’
- b. \*Kono dareka-ga ringo-o tabe-ta koto/no-wa tabe-ta.  
 this someone-NOM apple-ACC eat-PST KOTO/NO-TOP eat-PST  
 ‘Someone DID eat an apple.’

(66a) shows that *kono* ‘this’ can modify the noun *koto* ‘fact,’ even if the sentential modifier *hito-ga tanin-o kizutuke-zu-ni-wa iki-rare-nai* intervenes between them.<sup>51</sup> If *koto* and *no* in the PCC are nouns, *kono* should also be able to modify them. However, it cannot do so, as indicated by (66b).<sup>52, 53</sup> Notice that the sequence V KOTO/NO-WA V is kept intact in (66b), so its unacceptability can be regarded as evidence that *koto* and *no* are not nouns in the PCC.

Finally, nominative genitive conversion is not possible in the PCC, as shown in (67b, c).

- (67) a. Akatyan-ga/no neru heya-wa sizuka-daroo.  
 baby-NOM/GEN sleep room-TOP quiet-probably  
 ‘The room where a baby sleeps is probably quiet.’
- b. Akatyan-ga/\*no neru koto/no-wa neru (ga suguni me-o  
 baby-NOM/GEN sleep KOTO/NO-TOP sleep but soon eye-ACC

<sup>51</sup> This interpretation is facilitated if the sentence is read with a pause following *kono*.

<sup>52</sup> The intended interpretation of (66b) is the one in which *kono* modifies *koto* or *no*, and not the one where *kono* modifies *dareka*. If *koto* ‘fact’ is added at the end of (66b), the sentence becomes acceptable, which again supports the syntactic difference between *koto* and *no* in the PCC and *koto* as a noun.

<sup>53</sup> The unacceptability of (66b) may be due to a semantic reason, as Ken Hiraiwa (personal communication) has noted, but the status of *koto* as an element without much semantic content can be closely linked to its syntactic status.

samas-u).

wake.up-NPST

‘The baby DOES sleep (but he wakes up in a little while).’

c. Taroo-ga/\*no      sizuka-na      koto/no-wa      sizuka-da.

Taro-NOM/GEN    quiet-ADN    KOTO/NO-TOP    quiet-COP.NPST

‘As for quietness, Taro IS quiet.’

If nominative genitive conversion is licensed by nominals as claimed by Miyagawa (1993) and Ochi (2001), its inapplicability in the PCC again indicates the non-nominal status of *koto* and *no*.<sup>54, 55, 56</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> A nominalized clause in the PCC is not an argument of a sentence-final predicate, but that does not invalidate my claim. It is sometimes maintained that nominative genitive conversion does not occur in adjunct clauses (i), but what seems to be at work here is the non-nominal status of *toki*. When it is followed by a postposition as in (ii), a genitive subject is allowed even in an adjunct clause.

(i) Taroo-ga/\*no      denwa-si-ta      toki, kaigi-wa      sudeni      owat-te      i-ta.  
Taro-NOM/GEN    telephone-do-PST    when meeting-TOP    already    end-TE    ASP-PST  
‘When Taro telephoned, the meeting was already over.’

(Lit.) ‘(At) the time Taro telephoned, the meeting had already ended.’ (Fujita (1988: 74))

(ii) Sukai-turii-wa    watasi-ga/no    it-ta      toki-ni-wa      koozityuu      desi-ta.  
Sky-Tree-TOP    I-NOM/GEN    go-PST    time-at-TOP    under.construction    be.POLIT-PST  
‘The Sky Tree was under construction when I went there.’

<sup>55</sup> When I presented the data in (67) to argue for the non-nominal status of *koto* and *no* in Ishihara (2013a), an anonymous reviewer suggested that the unavailability of nominative genitive conversion in the PCC as in (67b, c) follows naturally if the structure of the PCC is as in (52b), because then the subject NP would be an argument of the second verb, which does not modify any nominal element. S/he observed that (i) is much better than (67b) with a genitive subject.

(i) ?Akatyan-no    ne-ru      koto/no-wa      ne-ru      heya  
baby-GEN    sleep-RU    KOTO/NO-TOP    sleep-RU    room  
‘A room in which a baby DOES sleep’

Though I concur with the reviewer’s judgment, I do not think the contrast between (i) and (67b) necessarily indicates that *akatyan-no* is an argument of the second verb. For example, we may be able to regard *akatyan-no* in (i) as a genitive NP modifying *heya* just as in *akatyan-no heya*, providing an antecedent for a phonologically-null subject of the first verb in the PCC. Since the structure in (52a) is empirically motivated but the one in (52b) is not, as I have claimed in Section 3.4.2, I take the failure of nominative genitive conversion in the PCC as an indication of the non-nominal status of *koto/no*.

<sup>56</sup> Hiraiwa (2002: 557) has also observed that grammaticalized structures do not tolerate nominative genitive conversion easily.

In order to examine the syntactic behavior of *koto/no* in the PCC from a wider perspective, it is compared with that in other environments listed in (68) and illustrated in (69).

(68)

	Occurrence with a case marker	Substitution by other N	Pronominalization of a constituent containing <i>koto/no</i>	Modification by <i>kono/sono</i>	Nominative genitive conversion
Modified nominal	OK	OK	OK	OK	NA
Headless relative	OK	OK	OK	OK	OK
Complement clause	OK	OK	OK	OK	OK
Head internal relative	OK	*	OK	OK	OK
Pseudocleft	△ ( <i>ga</i> )	*	OK	*	OK/? <sup>57</sup>
<i>Noda</i>	*	*	*	*	*
PCC	*	*	*	*	*

- 
- (i) John-wa gozentyuu-wa hi-no tetteita no *ga*/?*wo*/\**ni*  
 John-TOP morning-TOP sun-GEN shine-PST-Adn C NOM/ACC/DAT  
 gogo-ni nat-te ame-ga huridasite-kara dete-it-ta.  
 afternoon-DAT become-TE rain-NOM fall-begin-after go-out-PST

‘It was sunny in the morning and/but John went out after it began to rain in the afternoon.’

<sup>57</sup> Murasugi (1991) and Kizu (2005) have given different judgments on the occurrence of genitive subjects in pseudocleft sentences.

- (69) a. Sono ookii-no-o kudasai. (modified nominal)  
 the big-NO-ACC give.IMP.POLIT  
 ‘Please give me the big one.’
- b. Kimi-ga tukut-ta-no-o misete. (headless relative)  
 you-NOM make-PST-NO-ACC show.IMP  
 ‘Show me what you’ve made.’
- c. Boku-wa Taroo-ga hon-o kat-ta-koto/no-o sit-te  
 I-TOP Taro-NOM book-ACC buy-PST-KOTO/NO-ACC know-TE  
 i-ru. (complement clause)  
 ASP-NPST  
 ‘I know that Taro bought a book.’
- d. Hanako-wa sakana-o yai-ta-no-o tabe-ta. (head-internal relative)  
 Hanako-TOP fish-ACC grill-PST-NO-ACC eat-PST  
 ‘Hanako ate the fish that was grilled.’
- e. Taroo-ga hon-o kat-ta-no-wa sono-mise-de da. (pseudocleft)  
 Taro-NOM book-ACC buy-PST-NO-TOP the-shop-at COP.NPST  
 ‘It is at that shop that Taro bought the book.’
- f. Taroo-ga hon-o kat-ta-no-da. (*noda* construction)  
 Taro-NOM book-ACC buy-PST-NO-COP.NPST  
 ‘Taro did indeed buy the book.’

It seems that *no* (and *koto*) in the *noda* construction and the PCC have developed further away from nouns than *no* (and *koto*) in other environments, and this accords with the observation made by Yap, Grunow-Hårsta, and Wrona (2011) that grammaticalization of nominalizers in Asian languages proceeds from referential to non-referential functions. It is not surprising that *koto* and *no* in the PCC have entirely lost their nominal status due to grammaticalization.

#### 3.4.4.2. *Koto and No in the PCC Are Not Always Complementizers or Determiners*

It has been claimed that *koto* and *no* are complementizers in some environments (e.g. Kuno (1973), Kuroda (1976–77), Murasugi (1991), Hoshi (1995), Horie (1997), Kizu (2005), Kinsui (2008)) or (clausal) determiners (e.g. Simpson and Wu (2001), Simpson (2003)). Is it possible to regard *koto* and *no* in the PCC as complementizers (C) or clausal determiners (D)?

Nishiyama and Cho (1998) have observed that Korean and Japanese are similar in having the PCC, and that *ki* in Korean behaves like *koto* in nominalizing a tensed TP so that a contrastive particle can attach to it.

- (70) John-i        computer-lul    sa-ss-ki-nun    sa-ss-ta.        (Korean)  
      John-NOM computer-ACC buy-T-ki-CON buy-T-M  
      ‘Indeed, John bought a computer, (but ...)’        (Nishiyama and Cho (1998: 474))

In (70), TP moves, leaving behind a Mood marker, *ta*. Since *ki* occurs lower than Mood, which in turn occurs lower than C, *ki* cannot be C. In order to treat *koto* and *ki* in a parallel manner, they suggest that *koto* may not be C, either.

We have reason to consider that *koto* and *no* in the PCC are not always C or D if our analysis based on topicalization is on the right track. Under the proposed analysis, in order to account for a mismatch in form of the predicates preceding and following the topic marker, movement of vP is posited. The phrase that undergoes movement cannot be CP or DP, because CP and DP do not occur as a complement of T, *-(s)ase* or *-ta(i)*. One might argue that *koto* or *no* is merged after vP movement takes place and projects CP or DP, but that would amount to introducing a new type of C or D that takes vP as its complement. Hence, to the extent that the analysis involving movement of a subpart of TP is tenable, *koto* and *no* cannot be C or D in this environment. In other words, to maintain the analysis that captures the combination pattern of morphemes in nonidentical P<sub>1</sub> and P<sub>2</sub> in a straightforward manner, *koto* and *no* must be regarded as something

other than C or D.<sup>58</sup>

#### 3.4.4.3. *Koto and No as Nominalizers*

We have seen that *koto* and *no* cannot be N C, or D.<sup>59</sup> Even though they have lost their nominal status, however, they require the preceding element to be in an adnominal form.

- (71) Taroo-ga    sizuka-na/\*sizuka-da    koto/no-wa    sizuka-da.  
Taro-NOM    quiet-ADN/quiet-CONCL    KOTO/NO-TOP    quiet-COP.NPST  
'As for quietness, Taro IS quiet.'

As observed in Section 3.4.1.1, the adnominal form *sizuka-na* must be used before *koto* or *no* in the PCC as in (71). This indicates that *koto* and *no* are nominalizers, which nominalize verbal, adjectival, and adjectival nominal categories. Nominalization is not necessarily required by the topic marker *wa*, so the occurrence of these nominalizers should be regarded as one of the characteristic properties of the PCC. I claim that these nominalizers need not be C, and that they can attach to verbal phrases smaller than TP in the PCC when the PCC is derived by movement of a partial structure of TP. Like the Korean *ki* discussed by Nishiyama and Cho (1998), *koto/no* can nominalize not only TP, but also smaller phrases.

Interestingly, *koto/no* is optional for some speakers.<sup>60</sup>

- (72) a. % Taroo-wa    ringo-o    mui-ta-wa    mui-ta    (ga ...).  
Taro-TOP    apple-ACC    peel-PST-TOP    peel-PST    but  
'As for Taro's peeling the apple, he DID peel it (but ...).'

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<sup>58</sup> *Koto/no* that is inserted after TP movement can be regarded as C.

<sup>59</sup> How different functions of *no* and *koto* emerged and developed in the history of Japanese, and what roles the loss of distinct adnominal inflection of predicates played in it are still under debate (e.g. Shida (1976), Nishi (2006), Yoshimura (2010)). Such issues as how *no* in the PCC is related to the post-predicate pronominal *no* and/or complementizer *no*, and whether *koto* and *no* can be treated in the same way from a historical perspective, are left for future research.

<sup>60</sup> I am thankful to Sakumi Inokuma, Fumikazu Niinuma and Chizuru Nakao for bringing examples like these to my attention.

- b. % Taro-wa ringo-o muk-u-wa muk-u (ga ...).  
 Taro-TOP apple-ACC peel-NPST-TOP peel-NPST but  
 ‘As for Taro’s peeling the apple, he DOES peel it (but ...).’

Here I suspect that the role of *koto/no* as a nominalizer is played by a phonologically-null nominalizer  $\emptyset$ , which was common in classical Japanese and is still in use today as observed by Shida (1976) and Horie (1997), among others, and as illustrated in (73).<sup>61</sup>

- (73) a. Ima-no hito-no moto-ni hiruma-ni irikitaru- $\emptyset$ -o mi-te ...  
 present-GEN person-GEN place-to daytime-in enter.come-NML-ACC see-TE  
 ‘Having seen (the man) come into his new wife’s residence during the daytime, ...’  
 (*Tutumi Tyuunagon Monogatari*, 11th century, Akiyama et al. (1988: 70),  
 translation from Horie (1997: 881))

- b. Makeru- $\emptyset$ -ga kati-da.  
 lose-NML-NOM victory-COP.NPST  
 ‘To lose is to win.’

The stem of an adjectival noun can also occur as P<sub>1</sub> without an overt nominalizer for some speakers.

- (74) % Hanako-wa kirei-(\*da/\*na)-wa kirei-da (ga ...).  
 Hanako-TOP beautiful-COP.NPST-TOP beautiful-COP.NPST but  
 ‘As far as Hanako’s beauty is concerned, she IS beautiful (but ...).’

(Takane Ito (personal communication))

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<sup>61</sup> Aoki (2014) has claimed that the adnominal form in the sentence-final position lost its nominal status because the position is mainly for predicates. Since the conclusive form was regarded as old-fashioned, the adnominal form took over the conclusive form in the sentence-final position in the middle of the Kamakura period.



As discussed in Section 3.4.1.1, *na* must be inserted following the topicalization of an adjectival nominal phrase so that it can be followed by *koto/no*. However, when *koto/no* is absent, there is no need to adjust the form of an adjectival noun. Since the stem of the adjectival noun *kirei* behaves like a nominal,<sup>62</sup> there is no need to nominalize it by a  $\emptyset$  nominalizer. Thus, for speakers who allow *koto/no* to drop, using the stem by itself is a viable option.

So far, we have not considered the status of *ni* in the PCC.

- (75) Taroo-wa ringo-o muk-u ni-wa mui-ta (ga tabe-nakat-ta).  
 Taro-TOP apple-ACC peel-U NI-TOP peel-PST but eat-NEG-PST  
 ‘As for Taro’s peeling the apple, he DID peel it (but he didn’t eat it).’

I assume that *ni* is the same kind of a particle that occurs in the following examples.

- (76) a. Azuma otoko-ni Kyoo onna. ((a): “ni,” *Koozien* (1998))  
 Edo man-NI Kyoto woman  
 ‘The best combination is a man from Edo and a woman from Kyoto.’
- b. Kantoo kinken-wa iu-ni oyoba-zu Kansai-kara-mo gakusei-ga  
 Kanto prefectures.nearby-TOP say-NI reach-NEG Kansai-from-also student-NOM  
 atumat-ta.  
 gather-PST  
 ‘Students gathered not only from around Kanto but also from Kansai.’
- c. Sore-wa miru-ni tae-nai kookee dat-ta.  
 It-TOP see-NI bear-NEG scene COP-PST

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<sup>62</sup> Adjectival nouns differ from nouns in taking the *na* ending rather than *no* before a noun.

- (i) kirei-na/\*no hana  
 beautiful-NA/NO flower  
 ‘a beautiful flower’
- (ii) isya-no/\*na musume  
 doctor-NO/NA daughter  
 ‘my daughter, who is a doctor’

‘It was a scene unbearable to see.’

According to the *Koozien* dictionary (1998), *ni* can attach to nouns or predicates in adnominal form and marks the standard of comparison, contrast, combination, or rate. In (75), the topic – the peeling of the apple – is introduced by *wa*, and with the help of *ni*, it acts as the standard of comparison. The sentence as a whole asserts that Taro did indeed peel the apple. We can assume that the  $\emptyset$  nominalizer nominalizes vP/TP, to which the case particle *ni* attaches in the PCC.

To sum up, I have demonstrated that the PCC has undergone grammaticalization to a stage in which *koto* and *no* have bleached out their semantic content as well as their syntactic features as nouns, and I have proposed that they are nominalizers that can nominalize various phrases smaller than TP as well as TP.

### 3.5. Interpretations of the PCC

#### 3.5.1. *Verum Focus*

The discourse function of the PCC is to indicate verum focus, i.e. to emphasize the truth of its proposition. The verum focus in English is expressed by focus pitch on *do* or other auxiliaries, or negation.

(77) A: Peter claims Kimiko went to the Himalayas.

B: She DID go to the Himalayas. (Romero and Han (2004: 630))

(78) A: Joe believes/doesn't believe the kids will finish on time.

B: They will NOT finish on time. (Romero and Han (2004: 630))

Samko (2014) has argued that VP preposing in English also expresses verum focus.

(79) “This is good. I can lay down to talk.” And talk she does. (Samko (2014:1))

In (79), the sentence-final auxiliary *does* carries a nuclear accent, which coincides with the focus

and affirms the proposition that she talks.

Ward (1990: 748) has observed that VP preposing involves “the affirmation of an explicitly evoked proposition.”

- (80) a. Tchaikovsky was one of the most tormented men in musical history. In fact, one wonders how he managed to produce any music at all. But produce music he did.  
[WFLN Radio, Philadelphia]
- b. Tchaikovsky was one of the most tormented men in musical history. #But produce music he did.
- c. Tchaikovsky was one of the most tormented men in musical history. But he did produce music. (Ward (1990: 748))

Ward has claimed that the infelicity of (80b) in contrast to (80a) is due to the lack of an explicitly evoked proposition in the discourse. Note that there is nothing wrong with (80c), in which the emphatic *do* is employed instead of VP preposing.

The PCC in Japanese behaves differently in this respect. It can be preceded by an explicitly evoked proposition in the discourse, as shown in (81), but it does not need to. (82) can be uttered without a linguistic antecedent if a pragmatically appropriate context is provided, such as while the speaker and the hearer are eating a cake.<sup>63, 64</sup>

- (81) A: Kono okasi oisi-i ne.  
this cake tasty-NPST SFP  
‘This cake is tasty, isn’t it?’

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<sup>63</sup> This contrasts with the PCC in Brazilian Portuguese, which requires a linguistic antecedent and disallows a pragmatic antecedent, as reported by Bastos-Gee (2009).

<sup>64</sup> Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007) have claimed that topics in Italian and German are divided into three types prosodically as well as syntactically: a shifting topic that is newly introduced, a contrastive topic, and a familiar topic that is given in the context. According to their analysis, it can be said that VP preposing in English involves a familiar topic, whereas the PCC in Japanese does not. It is argued in Section 3.5.2 that the PCC in Japanese involves a contrastive topic.

B: Un, oisi-i koto-wa oisi-i kedo, takai yo.  
 yes tasty-I KOTO-TOP tasty-NPST but expensive SFP

‘Yes, it’s true that (it)’s tasty, but (it)’s expensive.’ (Okamoto (1990: 254))

(82) Kono okasi oisi-i koto/no/ni-wa oisi-i-ne.  
 this cake tasty-I KOTO-TOP tasty-NPST-SFP

‘As for the taste of this cake, it IS tasty.’

In fact, we may be able to say that the evocation of a proposition and its affirmation are carried out within the same sentence in the PCC. The topicalized part of the PCC presents or evokes a proposition to be affirmed, and the sentence-final P<sub>2</sub> affirms its truth. This is especially clear when P<sub>1</sub> includes a tensed V, as in (83).<sup>65</sup>

(83) Taro-wa ringo-o mui-ta koto/no/ni-wa mui-ta (ga  
 Taro-TOP apple-ACC peel-PST KOTO/NO/NI-TOP peel-PST but  
 tabe-nakat-ta).  
 eat-NEG-PST

‘As for Taro’s peeling the apple, he DID peel it, (but he didn’t eat it).’

In (83), the content of the evoked proposition, namely that Taro peeled the apple, is confirmed by the speaker to be true. In terms of Rooth’s (1985, 1992) alternative semantics, the set of alternatives against which verum focus is interpreted is {Taro peeled the apple, Taro did not peel the apple}. The PCC evaluates the presented proposition and affirms it.

I have shown in Section 3.3.3.4 that the two predicates in the PCC must have the same polarity value.

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<sup>65</sup> As far as semantic interpretation is concerned, the preposed constituent of the PCC is interpreted as a proposition whether it is tensed or not. It may be the case that the PCC with a tensed V<sub>1</sub> is more basic and unmarked than the PCC with an untensed V<sub>1</sub>, and the latter is thus interpreted in the same way as the former.

- (84) a. Taro-wa tabako-o suwa-na-i koto/no/ni-wa  
 Taro-TOP cigarette-ACC smoke-NEG-I KOTO/NO/NI-TOP  
suwa-na-i (ga tabako-ga kiraide-mo na-i). (=20a)  
 smoke-NEG-NPST but cigarette-NOM dislike-also NEG-NPST  
 ‘As for Taro’s not smoking, he does not smoke, (but it is not that he does not like  
 cigarettes).’
- b. \*Taro-wa hon-o ka-u koto/no/ni-wa ka-u ga yom-u  
 Taro-TOP book-ACC buy-U KOTO/NO/NI-TOP buy-NPST but read-U  
 koto/no/ni-wa yoma-na-i. (=20b)  
 KOTO/NO/NI-TOP read-NEG-NPST  
 ‘(As for buying books, Taro DOES buy them, but) as for reading them, he does not  
 read them.’
- c. \*Taro-wa hon-o yoma-na-i koto/no/ni-wa yom-u. (=20c)  
 Taro-TOP book-ACC read-NEG-I KOTO/NO/NI-TOP read-NPST  
 ‘As for not reading books, Taro DOES read them.’

(84c) is ruled out by the movement analysis because the preposed predicate is not the same as or a proper subpart of the second predicate. On the other hand, one might consider that (84b) should be a syntactically well-formed sentence, because it is generally possible to prepose VP out of a negative sentence, as seen in English (85a) and Italian (85b).

- (85) a. I wanted to finish the paper by the end of March, but finish the paper, I couldn’t.  
 b. Andato a casa, Gianni non è. (Italian)  
 gone to home Gianni not has (Lit. is) (Cinque (1990: 85))  
 ‘Go home, Gianni didn’t.’

Similarly, the VP focus construction allows a sentence-final verb to be in a negative form in contrast to the PCC.

- (86) Taroo-wa hon-o yomi-wa su-ru/si-na-i.  
 Taro-TOP book-ACC read-TOP do-NPST/do-NEG-NPST  
 ‘Taro DOES/does not read books.’

Why does the PCC require matching of a polarity value between P<sub>1</sub> and P<sub>2</sub>? Consider (87).

- (87) \*Taroo-wa hon-o yon-da koto/no/ni-wa yom-anakat-ta.  
 Taro-TOP book-ACC read-PST KOTO/NO/NI-TOP read-NEG-PST  
 (Lit.) ‘As for having read the book, he did not read it.’

We have ruled out sentences like (87) syntactically by claiming that the P<sub>1</sub> V-PST does not form a constituent in the P<sub>2</sub> V-NEG-PST and thus cannot undergo movement. However, (87) can also be ruled out semantically: it represents a total contradiction. While the topic phrase introduces the proposition that Taro read the book, P<sub>2</sub> negates it. In the PCC with identical P<sub>1</sub> and P<sub>2</sub>, TP is topicalized, which can include information on polarity as well as tense. It will be contradictory if the information in the topic phrase does not match that in the matrix clause. When they match, the sentence is acceptable, as in (88).

- (88) Taroo-wa hon-o yoma-nakat-ta koto/no/ni-wa yoma-nakat-ta.  
 Taro-TOP book-ACC read-NEG-PST KOTO/NO/NI-TOP read-NEG-PST  
 ‘As for not reading the book, Taro did not read it.’

The PCC bears the function of confirming the proposition presented or evoked by a topic phrase: when P<sub>1</sub> is affirmative, P<sub>2</sub> must be affirmative, and when P<sub>1</sub> is negative, P<sub>2</sub> must be negative. With the VP preposing and VP focus construction, no such restriction holds, because the VP that undergoes preposing or focalization does not include polarity or tense.

The cases involving *-(r)u*, as in (84b), are ruled out on the same ground. Though the

preposed vP does not include a polarity projection, the vP in the topic phrase along with the subject still evokes a proposition to be evaluated. The lack of negation in P<sub>1</sub> is enough to evoke an affirmative proposition, which is affirmed by P<sub>2</sub> with the same polarity value. Thus, the polarity mismatch cannot be tolerated in the PCC.<sup>66</sup>

### 3.5.2. Contrastive Topicalization

The PCC embodies verum focus, or more specifically, affirmation of the proposition at issue. In sentences with verum focus, the truth of a proposition is emphasized. Since a proposition is either P or ¬P, verum focus can be seen as a polarity focus.<sup>67</sup> Moreover, as observed by Aboh and Dyakonova (2009), the PCC implicates a contrast with another set of alternatives, which is often indicated by a ‘but’ clause following the PCC.<sup>68</sup>

- (89) Taroo-wa ringo-o mui-ta koto/no/ni-wa mui-ta (ga ...).  
 Taro-TOP apple-ACC peel-PST KOTO/NO/NI-TOP peel-PST but  
 ‘As for Taro’s peeling the apple, he DID peel it, (but ...).’

For example, (89), in addition to emphasizing the truth of the proposition that Taro peeled the apple, implicates that other plausible propositions (e.g., that he ate the apple) do not hold.

There are PCCs with verum focus in other languages, and the examples cited below have been reported to take ‘but’ clauses as well.

- (90) a. Comprar, Juan ha comprado un libro, pero no lo ha leído. (Spanish)  
 buy.INF Juan has bought a book but not CLC has read

<sup>66</sup> Nagata (2018) has claimed that *(r)u* is misanalyzed as an affirmative morpheme, which leads to the conflict in values of the polarity feature in sentences like (84b).

<sup>67</sup> Whether verum focus should be treated as focus or not is still an issue. In this thesis, I follow Wilder (2013), Samko (2014, 2016), and Goodhue (2018), and regard verum focus as polarity focus, contra Romero and Han (2004) among others, who have argued for a verum operator. See also Lohnstein (2016).

<sup>68</sup> Repp (2016: 277) has stated that “*but* signals that the two conjuncts make opposing contributions to the current question under discussion.”

‘As for buying, it is true that Juan has bought a book, but he never read it afterwards.’ (Vicente (2007:64))

- b. Temperar aquele peixe o cozinheiro temperou (mas ...). (Brazilian Portuguese)  
 season.INF that fish the cook seasoned but

‘As for seasoning that fish, the cook seasoned it, (but ...).’ (Bastos-Gee (2009: 162))

- c. Kifizetni, kifizette Péter a jegyét (de...) (Hungarian)  
 PV.pay.INF PV.paid.3sg Péter the ticket.ACC but

‘As for paying, Péter DID pay for his ticket (but, in the end, he might not have taken it.)’ (Vicente (2007:170))

- d. Videt’(-to) ja ee davno ne videla, ... (Russian)  
 see.INF(-PRT) I.NOM her.ACC long NEG see.PST.fem.s

‘As for seeing her, it’s been a long time since I saw her, ...’

(Aboh and Dyakonova (2009:1039))

According to Vicente (2007: 63), the adversative clause “may be dropped, but the adversative implicature remains present nonetheless.” On the other hand, Aboh and Dyakonova (2009: 1040) have reported that the predicate fronting in Russian “always requires some continuation.” In Japanese, six out of eleven examples of the PCC that were collected from novels are followed by a clause starting with ‘but,’ an example of which is shown in (91).<sup>69</sup> Three are followed only by ‘but,’ leaving the readers with a feeling of suspension, as in (92). The other two are not followed by the conjunction ‘but,’ as shown in (93) and (94).

- (91) Hiru-kara-wa, kaisya-no hoo-ni i-ru koto-wa i-ru ga, sukosi  
 noon-from-TOP office-GEN place-at be-RU KOTO-TOP be-NPST but a little  
 soodan-ga a-ru-kara, ki-te-mo yukkuri  
 conference-NOM be-NPST-because come-TE-even.if without.hurry

<sup>69</sup> See the appendix to this chapter.



hanasi-tya i-rare-na-i.  
speak-TE-TOP ASP-can-NEG-NPST

‘From noon, I’ll be at the office, but there will be a conference, so even if you came, I wouldn’t be able to stay for long.’

(Sooseki Natsume (1909) *Sorekara* (And Then) 5:4; translated by Norma Moore Field (2011: 36))

(92) “Datte, taihen isogasi-soodat-ta-kara.”

but very busy-seem-PST-because

“Ee, isogasi-i koto-wa isogasi-i-n-des-u-keredomo- I-i-ja  
yes busy-I KOTO-TOP busy-NPST-NO-COP.POLIT-NPST-but OK-NPST-TOP  
ari-mas-en-ka. Irasitat-te.”

be-POLIT.NPST-NEG-Q stay.POLIT-TE

“‘But he seemed to be terribly busy ...’ ‘Well, he is busy as far as that goes – but it would have been all right. Even if you’d stayed.’”

(Sooseki Natsume (1909) *Sorekara* (And Then) 4:4; translated by Norma Moore Field (2011: 40))

(93) Nonomiya-kun-no hanasi-dewa Hongoo-de itiban umai ie

Nonomiya-Mr.-GEN story-according.to Hongoo-in best good restaurant

da-sooda. Keredomo Sansiroo-ni-wa tada seeyoo-ryoori-no azi-ga

COP.NPST-I.hear but Sanshiro-for-TOP only Western-dish-GEN taste-NOM

suru-dake-deat-ta. Sikasi tabe-ru koto-wa minna tabe-ta.

do-only-COP-PST but eat-RU KOTO-TOP all eat-PST

‘This restaurant had the best food in Hongo, Nonomiya said, but Sanshiro knew only that it tasted like Western cooking. Still, he ate everything he was served.’

(Sooseki Natsume (1908) *Sanshiro* 2:6; translated by Jay Rubin (2009: 27))

(94) Netu-ga hutuu-no kaze-yorimo yohodo takakat-ta-node hazime-wa

fever-NOM normal-GEN flu-than rather high-PST-because beginning-TOP

Oyone-mo odoroi-ta-ga sore-wa itizi-no koto-de sugu hii-ta  
 Oyone-also surprised-PST-but it-TOP one.time-GEN thing-COP quickly fall-PST  
ni-wa hii-ta-kara kore-de moo zenkai-to omo-u-to  
 NI-TOP fall-PST-because this-with already full.recovery-C think-NPST-as  
 itu-made tat-te-mo hakkirisi-nakat-ta.  
 when-until pass-TE-though clarify-NEG-PST

‘He alarmed Oyone by running a fever a good deal higher than those brought on by an ordinary flu. Before long, however, his temperature went down. He seemed to be coming out of it, but his symptoms lingered and he was never able to make a full recovery.’

(Sooseki, Natsume (1910) *Mon* (The Gate) 14:9; translated by William F. Sibley (2013:147))

In (91), the speaker says that he will be at the office but adds that he will not be able to meet the expectation of taking time to talk with the addressee for a long time. In the ‘but’ clause, the speaker contrasts his availability with the possibility of taking time to talk, and he affirms the former and negates the latter. In (92), the speaker does not mention a contrasted alternative, but the presence of *keredomo* ‘but’ indicates that things can be dealt with somehow, even though he is busy. As for (93), though a ‘but’ clause does not follow, the preceding context helps us to understand that *tabe-ru koto-wa minna tabe-ta* ‘As for eating, he ate everything he was served’ implicates that he did not find the food good. In (94), *netu-ga hii-ta ni-wa hii-ta* ‘As for his temperature’s going down, it did go down’ is not followed directly by a ‘but’ clause, but the following context leads us to see that it implies that he did not make a full recovery immediately. Though the occurrence of a ‘but’ clause is optional, the adversative implicature is present even in its absence.

Notice that clauses not related to alternatives do not seem to make good continuation to the PCC.

- (95) Ringo-o mui-ta (#koto/no/ni-wa mui-ta) node tabe-mas-yoo.  
 apple-ACC peel-PST KOTO/NO/NI-TOP peel-PST so eat-POLIT-let's  
 'As for peeling the apple, I DID peel it, so let's eat it.'

Where does this 'but' effect come from? Since a predicate is contrasted with other alternatives, one might consider that a predicate is focused and regard the focus on a predicate as an essential property of the PCC, which induces the 'but' effect. One might even go a step further and attribute the copy pronunciation of a predicate in the base position to focus: P<sub>2</sub> must be pronounced because it must bear a focus feature.<sup>70</sup> However, I do not pursue this possibility in this thesis, because the PCC does not induce exhaustive interpretation, which characterizes focus.

- (96) Taroo-wa ringo-o mui-ta koto/no/ni-wa mui-ta (ga  
 Taro-TOP apple-ACC peel-PST KOTO/NO/NI-TOP peel-PST but  
 tabe-ta-kadooka-wa sira-na-i).  
 eat-PST-whether-TOP know-NEG-NPST  
 'As for Taro's peeling the apple, he DID peel it, but I do not know whether he ate it or not.'

The speaker of (96) does not claim that all Taro did was peel the apple and nothing else. (S)he can utter the sentence without knowledge of whether Taro did anything else, which gives rise to the sense of incompleteness or uncertainty. Moreover, as Cable (2004: 6) has noted, such an analysis would raise the question of why doubling occurs when VP is topicalized but not when NP is topicalized. When NP is topicalized, its copy cannot be pronounced even when it carries a focus feature and receives prosodic prominence.

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<sup>70</sup> I am thankful to Akira Watanabe for raising this possibility.

- (97) \*Ringo-wa Taroo-ga RINGO-O/WA mui-ta.  
 apple-TOP Taro-NOM apple-ACC/TOP peel-PST  
 (Lit.) ‘Apples, Taro peeled APPLES.’

Rather than taking predicate focus as a basic property of the PCC and reducing predicate doubling to a focus feature on P<sub>2</sub>, I claim that the ‘but’ effect should be attributed to the presence of the contrastive topic marker *wa*, since NP topicalization with a contrastive topic reading also requires a ‘but’ clause to some extent.

- (98) Ringo-wa Taroo-ga mui-ta (ga, nasi-wa muka-nakat-ta.)  
 apples-TOP Taro-NOM peel-PST but pears-TOP peel-NEG-PST  
 ‘As for apples, Taro peeled them, (but pears he did not).’

Hara (2008) has argued that sentences with a contrastive topic must have a scalar alternative stronger than the assertion.<sup>71</sup>

- (99) A: Who came to the party?

B: JOHN-wa ki-ta.

John-Top come-PST

‘As for John, he came.’ (Implicature: I don’t know about others.) (Hara (2008: 246))

Hara has claimed that a sentence with a contrastive topic “includes the speaker’s indication that the asserted proposition is the most informative answer that he or she can give” (p. 246). In (99), Speaker B considers the names of people who might have come to the party, and gives John as an answer. The use of a contrastive topic marker *-wa* indicates that the speaker chose John as an appropriate answer out of possible alternatives, with the implicature that s/he does not know

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<sup>71</sup> See Tomioka (2010a, b), who has argued that contrastive topics elicit a set of alternative speech acts rather than a set of alternative propositions.

about others.

The same holds true with the PCC. Consider the following example:

- (100) a. Taroo-ga ringo-o mui-ta.  
Taro-NOM apple-ACC peel-PST  
'Taro peeled the apple.'
- b. Taroo-wa ringo-o mui-ta koto/no/ni-wa mui-ta (ga ...). (=89)  
Taro-TOP apple-ACC peel-PST KOTO/NO/NI-TOP peel-PST but  
'As for Taro's peeling the apple, he DID peel it, (but ...).'

Suppose that Taro likes apples and peels and eats an apple every day. (100a) simply states the fact that Taro peeled the apple, and it does not induce any implicatures. The speaker's choice to utter (100b) instead of (100a) indicates that s/he thinks there are things Taro could have done besides peeling the apple, but all s/he knows is that he peeled the apple. There are many kinds of actions that can be performed on the apple such as picking, buying, selling, washing, peeling, eating, and so on. If the speaker is certain that Taro ate the apple, s/he is likely to say so if s/he is a cooperative speaker and tries to be informative in the sense of Grice (1975), as argued by Vicente (2007). Since s/he chooses not to talk about Taro's eating of the apple and to confirm only Taro's peeling of it, it leaves some sense of incompleteness. This leads him/her to add a 'but' clause, stating, for instance, that he did not eat it.

Alternatives can vary according to contexts. In a scenario in which Taro is a pastry chef and bakes apple pies at a restaurant, (100b) could implicate that he has only finished peeling apples and has not baked apple pies yet.

Based on the observation of the similar construction in Spanish and Brazilian Portuguese, Vicente (2007) has claimed that the 'but' effect should be regarded as a product of conversational implicature rather than a part of the semantic meaning of the PCC, because it is cancelled when there is a focused element in the construction. This also seems to hold true in Japanese, as shown in (101).

- (101) Taroo-wa RINGO-WA mui-ta koto/no/ni-wa mui-ta (#ga tabe-nakat-ta).  
 Taro-TOP apple-TOP peel-PST KOTO/NO/NI-TOP peel-PST but eat-NEG-PST  
 ‘As for Taro’s peeling the APPLE, he DID peel it, but he did not eat it.’

Here the contrast that is foregrounded is the one introduced by *ringo* ‘apple’ with a focus accent, and the set of alternatives can be something like {Taro peeled the apple, Taro peeled the pear, Taro peeled the orange, ...}. In this context, the continuation by a ‘but’ clause in (101), which is the adversative implicature of the PCC expected in an ordinary context, is infelicitous. It is more natural to continue the PCC with the sentence *ga nasi-wa muka-nakat-ta* ‘but he did not peel the pear.’ The adversative implicature brought about by the PCC is cancelled because there is a focused element that needs to be prioritized in semantic interpretation.<sup>72</sup>

To summarize, the discourse function of the PCC is to pick up a certain action and claim that the subject really does/did it. In addition, the use of the contrastive topic marker in the PCC induces the sense of incompleteness, which gives rise to the adversative implicature.

### 3.6. Summary

This chapter has examined the syntactic and discourse properties of the PCC in Japanese. The answers to the questions postulated in Chapter 1 are as follows:

- (102) Q: How does the PCC in Japanese behave with respect to Landau’s (2007b) observations concerning V-doubling in other languages (Chapter 1, (16))?

A: (i) The PCC in Japanese exhibits island sensitivity just like the topic/focus V-doubling constructions in other languages.

(ii) In the Japanese PCC, the lower verbal copy occurs with normal inflection, whereas the higher verb takes an adnominal form followed by a nominalizer. This is in

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<sup>72</sup> See Tomioka (2010b), who has argued extensively that focus is preferred to contrastive topic when the two strategies are available.

parallel to V-doubling in other languages in which the lower verbal copy occurs with normal inflection, and the higher verb takes a “default” form: a bare root (Vata, Haitian), a nominalized verb (Yoruba, Korean), or an infinitive (Russian, Hebrew).

(iii) V-doubling is obligatory in the Japanese PCC as in topic/focus V-doubling constructions in other languages.

(103) Q: Which forms of V can/cannot double in the PCC?

A: Elements within TP can double in the P<sub>1</sub> and P<sub>2</sub> position of the PCC except for the politeness marker, but a predicate cannot be doubled along with an element above TP.

(104) Q: Are there any constraints that are imposed on the forms of V in the topic phrase and in the sentence-final position?

A: (i) P<sub>1</sub> can be the same as or in a less specified form than P<sub>2</sub>, but it cannot be more specified than P<sub>2</sub>.

(ii) The root of P<sub>1</sub> must be followed by subsequent morphemes in the same order as in P<sub>2</sub> without skipping any morphemes, except when P<sub>1</sub> ends with *-(r)u*.

(iii) Both P<sub>1</sub> and P<sub>2</sub> must have the same polarity value.

(105) Q: How can the occurrence of the same V in the two positions be explained?

A: Topicalization of a partial structure of TP coupled with the Stranded Affix Filter can account for the nonidentical forms of Vs in the PCC. On the other hand, it is demonstrated that the doubling of a tensed predicate follows from TP movement and its repair strategy or the prosodic property of Top. The partial pronunciation of a copy left behind by topicalization plays a crucial role in accounting for the doubling of a predicate in the PCC.

(106) Q: What are the interpretations of the PCC?

A: The PCC affirms the truth of the proposition presented or evoked by a topic phrase. It also has an adversative implicature, which is induced by the contrastive topic marker.

## Appendix: Examples of the PCC

### I. PCC followed by a “but” clause

- (1) “Yoku-na-i-yoo-des-u-tte, kimi, issyoni  
well-NEG-NPST-seem-COP.POLIT-NPST-C you together  
iru-n-zya-nai-des-u-ka?”  
be-NO-COP-NEG-COP.POLIT-NPST-Q

“Issyoni i-ru koto-wa i-mas-u ga, tui mendoo-dakara  
together be-RU KOTO-TOP be-POLIT-NPST but unintentionally troublesome-for  
kii-ta koto-mo ari-mas-en.”  
ask-PST experience-MO ASP-POLIT-NEG.NPST

“Don’t *seem* to be going well? But don’t you live in the same house?” “Well, yes, we live together, but I’ve never really bothered to ask how she’s doing.”

(Sooseki Natsume (1909) *Sorekara* (And Then) 1:3; translated by Norma Moore Field (2011: 5))

- (2) Daisuke-no hoo-kara Zinbootyoo-no yado-o tazune-ta koto-ga  
Daisuke-GEN side-from Jinbocho-GEN inn-ACC visit-PST experience-NOM  
nihen a-ru-ga, itido-wa rusu-deat-ta. Itido-wa ot-ta ni-wa  
twice be-NPST-but once-TOP absent-COP-PST Once-TOP be-PST NI-TOP  
ot-ta. Ga, yoohuku-o ki-ta-mama, heya-no sikii-no ue-ni  
be-PST but clothes-ACC wear-PST-while room-GEN threshold-GEN on-at  
tat-te, nanika sewasii tyoosi-de, saikun-o kimetuke-te i-ta.  
stand-TE somewhat hurried tone-with wife-ACC scold-TE ASP-PST

‘He had gone twice himself to their inn in Jimbōchō. The first time Hiraoka had been out; the second time he was in, but he was standing on the threshold of the room, still in his Western clothes, scolding his wife hurriedly.’

(Sooseki Natsume (1909) *Sorekara* (And Then) 4:2; translated by Norma Moore Field



(2011: 36))

- (3) Hiru-kara-wa, kaisya-no hoo-ni i-ru koto-wa i-ru ga, sukosi  
noon-from-TOP office-GEN place-at be-RU KOTO-TOP be-NPST but a little  
soodan-ga a-ru-kara, ki-te-mo yukkuri  
conference-NOM be-NPST-because come-TE-even.if without.hurry  
hanasi-tya i-rare-na-i.  
speak-TE-TOP ASP-can-NEG-NPST  
‘From noon, I’ll be at the office, but there will be a conference, so even if you came, I  
wouldn’t be able to stay for long.’

(Sooseki Natsume (1909) *Sorekara* (And Then) 5:4; translated by Norma Moore Field  
(2011: 36))

- (4) Rititekini mono-o utagau hoo-no huan-wa, gakkoo-zidai-ni  
intellectually things-ACC doubt kind-GEN anxiety-TOP school-days-in  
at-ta ni-wa at-ta ga, aru-tokoro-made sinkoosi-te, pitarito tomat-te,  
be-PST NI-TOP be-PST but certain-point-till develop-TE abruptly stop-TE  
sorekara gyakumodori-o si-te simat-ta.  
and.then reverse-ACC do-TE ASP-PST

‘In his school days, Daisuke had indeed had some experience with the kind of anxiety that  
follows upon intellectual doubt. But after developing to a certain point, this anxiety had  
come to an abrupt halt and then had begun to reverse itself.’

(Sooseki Natsume (1909) *Sorekara* (And Then) 6:2; translated by Norma Moore Field  
(2011: 55))

- (5) “Soo si-te oi-te, sewa-ni nar-u koto-wa motoyori sewa-ni nar-u  
so do-TE ASP-TE help-NI get-U KOTO-TOP of.course help-NI get-NPST

ga, tosi-o tot-te itininmae-ni nat-ta-kara, i-u koto-wa  
 but age-ACC take-TE adult-DAT become-PST-for say-NPST things-TOP  
 moto-no toori-ni-wa kik-are-na-it-te ibat-tat-te  
 before-GEN way-DAT-TOP listen-can-NEG-NPST-C boast-SUBJ-C  
 tuuyoosi-nai-zya ari-mas-en-ka.”  
 acceptable-NEG-COP.TOP be-POLIT-NEG-Q

‘You’re willing to take his help just as before, but now that you’re grown up, you’re not willing to listen to him—how can you expect anyone to accept that?’

(Sooseki Natsume (1909) *Sorekara* (And Then) 14:4; translated by Norma Moore Field (2011:170))

- (6) Tegami-o syahu-ni mot-ase-te taku-e yobi-ni yar-eba,  
 letter-ACC ricksha.driver-DAT take-CAUSE-TE house-to fetch-to APPL-COND  
ku-ru koto-wa ku-ru-daroo ga, sudeni kyoo aniyome-to-no  
 come-RUKOTO-TOP come-NPST-maybe but already today sister.in.law-with-GEN  
 kaidan-ga sun-da izyoo-wa, asu-ni-mo ani-ka  
 meeting-NOM finish-PST now.that-TOP tomorrow-on-MO brother-or  
 aniyome-no tame-ni, mukoo-kara osow-are-nai-to-mo kagira-na-i.  
 sister.in.law-GEN due-to they-from visit-PASS-NEG-C-MO limit-NEG-NPST

‘If he sent a letter by a ricksha driver to fetch her, she would probably come, but given the discussion he had just had with his siter-in-law, there was no guarantee that he would not be visited even the next day by his brother or sister-in-law.’

(Sooseki Natsume (1909) *Sorekara* (And Then) 14:6; translated by Norma Moore Field (2011:174))

## II. PPC followed only by “but”

- (7) “Datte, taihen isogasi-soodat-ta-kara.”  
 but very busy-seem-PST-because

“Ee, isogasi-i koto-wa isogasi-i-n-des-u-keredomo— I-i-ja  
 yes busy-I KOTO-TOP busy-NPST-NO-COP.POLIT-NPST-but OK-NPST-TOP  
 ari-mas-en-ka. Irasitat-te.”

be-POLIT.NPST-NEG-Q stay.POLIT-TE

“But he seemed to be terribly busy...” “Well, he is busy as far as that goes — but it would have been all right. Even if you’d stayed.”

(Sooseki Natsume (1909) *Sorekara* (And Then) 4:4; translated by Norma Moore Field (2011: 40))

(8) “Dakara watasi kangae-ru-to iyani-nar-u-no-yo. Watasi-mo  
 so I think-NPST-when miserable-become-NPST-NO-SFP I-also  
 byooki-o si-ta-node, waru-i-ni-wa waru-i-keredomo.”

sickness-ACC do-PST-because responsible-I-NI-TOP responsible-NPST-but

“It makes me miserable to think about it. Of course, I got sick, too, so you can say it was my fault, but...”

(Sooseki Natsume (1909) *Sorekara* (And Then) 4:5; translated by Norma Moore Field (2011: 42))

(9) “Tyokoreeto-nanzo.”  
 chocolate-how.about

“Noma-na-i-kai?”

drink-NEG-NPST-Q

“Nom-u koto-wa nom-u keredomo.”

drink-U KOTO-TOP drink-NPST but

“Hot chocolate?” “You won’t drink it?” “Oh, I’ll drink it all right, but...”

(Sooseki Natsume (1909) *Sorekara* (And Then) 6:3; translated by Norma Moore Field (2011: 57))

### III. PCC in other contexts

- (10) Nonomiya-kun-no hanasi-dewa Hongoo-de itiban umai ie  
Nonomiya-Mr.-GEN story-according.to Hongoo-in most good restaurant  
da-sooda. Keredomo Sansiroo-ni-wa tada seeyoo-ryoori-no azi-ga  
COP.NPST-I.hear but Sanshiro-for-TOP only Western-dish-GEN taste-NOM  
suru-dake-deat-ta. Sikasi tabe-ru koto-wa minna tabe-ta.  
do-only-COP-PST but eat-RU KOTO-TOP all eat-PST  
‘This restaurant had the best food in Hongo, Nonomiya said, but Sanshiro knew only that  
it tasted like Western cooking. Still, he ate everything he was served.’

(Sooseki Natsume (1908) *Sanshiro* 2:6; translated by Jay Rubin (2009: 27))

- (11) Netu-ga hutuu-no kaze-yorimo yohodo takakat-ta-node hazime-wa  
fever-NOM normal-GEN cold-than rather high-PST-because beginning-TOP  
Oyone-mo odoroi-ta-ga sore-wa itizi-no koto-de sugu hii-ta  
Oyone-also surprised-PST-but it-TOP one.time-GEN thing-COP quickly fall-PST  
ni-wa hii-ta-kara kore-de moo zenkai-to omo-u-to  
NI-TOP fall-PST-because this-with already all.well-C think-NPST-when  
itu-made tat-te-mo hakkirisi-nakat-ta.  
when-until pass-TE-though clarify-NEG-PST  
‘He alarmed Oyone by running a fever a good deal higher than those brought on by an  
ordinary flu. Before long, however, his temperature went down. He seemed to be coming  
out of it, but his symptoms lingered and he was never able to make a full recovery.’

(Sooseki, Natsume (1910) *Mon* (The Gate) 14:9; translated by William F. Sibley  
(2013:147))

## Chapter 4

### Emphatic Iteration Construction in Japanese

#### 4.1. Introduction

In Japanese it is usually the case that a single predicate occurs at the end of a simple sentence, but in colloquial Japanese, we sometimes come across utterances in which the same inflected predicate occurs twice.<sup>1</sup> I call this construction EIC.

(1) a. A: Kyoo-no asa-dora mi-ta?

today-GEN morning-drama see-PST

‘Did you watch this morning’s drama?’

B: Un, mi-ta mi-ta. Omosirokat-ta-yo-ne.

yes see-PST see-PST funny-PST-SFP-SFP

‘Yes, I DID. It was funny, wasn’t it?’

B’: Un, mi-ta-yo. Omosirokat-ta-yo-ne.

yes see-PST-SFP funny-PST-SFP-SFP

‘Yes, I DID. It was funny, wasn’t it?’

b. A: Atarasii raamen-ya oisikat-ta?

new ramen-restaurant good-PST

‘Was the ramen at the new ramen restaurant good?’

B: Un, oisikat-ta oisikat-ta. Men-to suupu-no baransu-ga yokat-ta-yo.

yes good-PST good-PST noodles-and soup-GEN balance-NOM good-PST-SFP

‘Yes, it was really good. The balance between the noodles and the soup was good.’

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\* The earlier version of the research in this chapter was partially presented at the 88th annual meeting of the Linguistic Society of America held at Minneapolis (Ishihara (2014a)), and at the 149th meeting of the Linguistic Society of Japan held at Ehime University (Ishihara (2014b)), and appeared in Ishihara (2013b, 2015).

<sup>1</sup> As far as I know, this construction seems to be used more often in Kansai ‘western’ Japanese than in Standard Japanese. Interestingly, people in Kansai also like to use onomatopoeia in their speech, which is often formed by reduplication.

- b. B': Un, oisikat-ta-yo. Men-to suupu-no baransu-ga yokat-ta-yo.  
 yes good-PST-SFP noodles-and soup-GEN balance-NOM good-PST-SFP  
 'Yes, it was really good. The balance between the noodles and the soup was good.'

In (1aB'), a single inflected verb, *mi-ta*, occurs followed by *yo*, which is a sentence final particle (SFP) indicating a speaker's emphasis of his/her assertion.<sup>2</sup> A similar meaning can be expressed by repeating the inflected verb as in (1aB). As shown in (1bB), adjectives can also be iterated.

The occurrence of the EIC is not limited to the answers to polar questions.<sup>3</sup> (2a–c) exemplify the EIC that occurs independent of polar questions. It can emphasize the degree of action or state denoted by a predicate, or it can express the repetition of action, which is discussed in Section 4.4. Notice that the EIC that occurs by itself can also be paraphrased by a sentence with an SFP, as in (2a'–2c').

- (2) a. Tabe-ta tabe-ta. Moo kore izyoo tabe-rare-na-i.  
 eat-PST eat-PST more this more.than eat-can-NEG-NPST  
 'I've eaten so much. I cannot eat any more.'
- a'. Tab
- e-ta-naa. Moo kore izyoo tabe-rare-na-i.
- 
- eat-PST-SFP more this more.than eat-can-NEG-NPST
- 
- 'I've eaten so much. I cannot eat any more.'

<sup>2</sup> The use of EIC is optional in (1aB), (1bB), and (2a–c). Likewise, the occurrence of SFP in (1aB'), (1bB'), and (2a'–2c') is optional, though the addition of SFP makes the utterance sound more natural in a conversation.

<sup>3</sup> The EIC in a correction context behaves in the same way as that in an answer to a polar question.

- (i) A: Taroo-wa kinoo-no kaigi-ni ko-nakat-ta.  
 Taro-TOP yesterday-GEN meeting-to come-NEG-PST  
 'Taro did not come to the meeting yesterday.'
- B: Uun, ki-ta ki-ta.  
 no come-PST come-PST  
 (Lit.) 'No, he DID come.'
- B': Uun, ki-ta-yo.  
 no come-PST-SFP  
 (Lit.) 'No, he DID come.'

- b.      Atu-i      atu-i.      Atu-sugi-ru.  
hot-NPST   hot-NPST   hot-too-NPST  
‘It’s really hot. It’s too hot.’
- b’.     Atu-i-wa.      Atu-sugi-ru.  
hot-NPST-SFP   hot-too-NPST  
‘It’s really hot. It’s too hot.’
- c.      Sono eiga   mi-ta   mi-ta.   Moo   10-kai   izyoo      mi-ta-yo.  
the   movie   see-PST   see-PST   already10-times   more.than   see-PST-SFP  
‘I’ve seen that movie repeatedly. I’ve already seen it more than ten times.’
- c’.     Sono eiga   mi-ta-yo.      Moo   10-kai   izyoo      mi-ta-yo.  
the   movie   see-PST-SFP   already 10-times   more.than   see-PST-SFP  
‘I’ve seen that movie. I’ve already seen it more than ten times.’

As for other languages, Korean and Galician employ verb iteration to express emphatic assertion, though the iterated Vs do not occur adjacent to each other in the latter.<sup>4, 5</sup>

- (3) A:   Ce   yngwa   pw-asse?  
that movie   see-PST  
‘Did you see that movie?’  
(Korean)(=Chapter 1, (23))

<sup>4</sup> The iterated Vs in Galician sometimes occur adjacent to each other, such as in cases involving the iteration of an intransitive V.

<sup>5</sup> Ken Hiraiwa (personal communication) has noted that though Haitian Creole and Nupe make use of verb iteration for emphasis, as in (i) and (ii), they may differ from the Japanese EIC since the latter is limited to colloquial root contexts.

- (i) Yo   touye Janmari Vensan poudan ri,   miltè ak atache   touye touye Janmari Vensan.  
they kill Janmari Vensan for teeth grin soldiers and militia.men kill   kill Janmari Vensan  
‘They killed Janmari Vensan for no reason whatsoever. The soldiers and militia men really killed  
Janmari Vensan.’(Haitian)(Harbour (2008: 858))
- (ii) Musa gí kinkere gí.  
Musa eat scorpion eat  
‘(Apparently) Musa DID eat the scorpion.’(Kandybowicz (2013: 52))

B: Ung, pw-ass-e pw-ass-e.

yes see-PST see-PST

‘Yes, I DID see it.’

(4) A: Anibal non sabe destes assuntos. (Galician)

Anibal not knows of-these matters

‘Anibal doesn’t know of such matters.’

B: Anibal sabe destes assuntos sabe.

Anibal knows of-these matters knows

‘Anibal DOES know of such matters.’ (Martins (2013: 115))

European Portuguese allows both types of emphatic iteration. The doubled Vs can be separated from each other as in (5Ba), or they can occur side by side as in (5Bb).

(5) A: Ele não comprou o carro, pois não?

he not bought the car POIS [= CONFIRMATIVE WORD] NEG

‘He didn’t buy the car, did he?’

B: a. Ele comprou o carro comprou.

he bought the car bought

‘He DID buy the car.’

b. Comprou comprou.

bought bought

‘Yes, he DID.’ (Martins (2013: 101))

Martins (2013) has dealt with cases where the construction occurs as an answer to a negative question, but in Japanese, the EIC occurs not only in answers to negative questions but also in answers to positive questions. It also occurs independent of questions. Since the EIC in Japanese has hitherto received little attention in the literature, I first investigate and describe its properties in detail, focusing mainly on the cases used as an answer to a polar question. I then consider how



it should be analyzed and why it is interpreted like SFPs.

The EIC occurs only in colloquial speech, and it is a main clause phenomenon. In order to account for these properties, I assume that some discourse functions of sentences are encoded syntactically. Specifically, I follow Speas and Tenny (2003) and postulate a Speech Act Phrase (SAP) in the CP domain. I also assume the copy theory of movement proposed by Chomsky (1995). As Nunes (2004) and Bošković and Nunes (2007) have demonstrated, a copy may be phonetically realized under certain conditions. I examine whether some kind of movement is responsible for deriving the EIC and whether one of the two occurrences of the inflected predicate in the EIC can be regarded as a copy spell-out. I also draw on Holmberg's (2013a, 2013b, 2016) analysis of polar questions and their answers in analyzing polarity focus.

In Section 4.2, the prosodic and syntactic properties of the EIC are examined. In Section 4.3, I propose the syntactic structure and the derivation of the EIC with polarity focus, and Section 4.4 considers the EIC that occurs independent of polar questions. After dealing with further issues in Section 4.5, I conclude the chapter in Section 4.6. Appendix 1 overviews some constructions that look similar to the EIC followed by Appendix 2, which provides some examples of the EIC from novels.

## **4.2. Verbal Forms Iterated in the EIC**

This section examines which forms of verbs can be iterated in the EIC and what kinds of constraints are imposed on them.

### *4.2.1. Tensed Verbs*

Various types of verbs can be iterated in the EIC. For instance, unergative verbs (6a), unaccusative verbs (6b), and transitive verbs (6c) can all be targets of iteration.

- (6) a. A: Kinoo    ippai    hasit-ta?  
          yesterday    much    run-PST  
          'Did you run a lot yesterday?'

- B: Un, hasit-ta hasit-ta.  
 yes run-PST run-PST  
 ‘Yes, I DID.’
- b. A: Moo imagoro Kobe-ni tui-ta-ka-na?  
 yet by.now Kobe-to arrive-PST-Q-SFP  
 ‘I wonder if they have arrived in Kobe yet.’
- B: Un, tui-ta tui-ta.  
 yes arrive-PST arrive-PST  
 ‘Yes, they HAVE.’
- c. A: Kono hon yon-da?  
 this book read-PST  
 ‘Have you read this book?’
- B: Un, yon-da yon-da.  
 yes read-PST read-PST  
 ‘Yes, I HAVE.’

In terms of aspect, stative verbs (7a) as well as activity verbs (7b), achievement verbs (7c), and accomplishment verbs (7d) can occur in the EIC.

- (7) a. A: Biiru ar-u?  
 beer be-NPST  
 ‘Is there beer left?’
- B: Un, ar-u ar-u.  
 yes be-NPST be-NPST  
 ‘Yes, there IS.’
- b. A: Biiru non-da-no?  
 beer drink-PST-Q  
 ‘Did you drink beer?’

- B: Un, non-da      non-da.  
 yes drink-PST    drink-PST  
 ‘Yes, I DID.’
- c. A: Denki kie-ta-no?  
 light go.off-PST-Q  
 ‘Has the light gone off?’
- B: Un, kie-ta      kie-ta.  
 yes go.off-PST go.off-PST  
 ‘Yes, it HAS gone off.’
- d. A: Ie      tate-ta-no?  
 house build-PST-Q  
 ‘Did you build a house?’
- B: Un, tate-ta      tate-ta.  
 yes build-PST build-PST  
 ‘Yes, I DID.’

As for tense, both a nonpast tense form and a past tense form of a verb can be iterated in the EIC, as shown in (8Ba, 9Ba), but a verbal stem or tense morpheme alone cannot, as demonstrated in (8Bb, 8Bc, 9Bb, 9Bc).<sup>6, 7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> *Miti-miti-ru* ‘become.full-become.full-NPST’ is possible, but it is not an example of the EIC. It is a lexicalized verb.

<sup>7</sup> As for adjectives, it is possible to iterate only a stem, as in (ib). A stem of an adjectival noun can be iterated as well, as in (iib). This is probably because they can occur independently in sentences, as in *Ah, samu!* ‘Ah, it’s very cold’ and *Waa, sizuka!* ‘Wow, it’s very quiet’ with the modality of surprise. See Nishiyama (2005: Footnote 6).

- (i) a. Ah, samu-i      samu-i.  
 ah cold-NPST cold-NPST  
 ‘Ah, it is very cold.’
- b. Ah, samu samu.  
 ah cold cold  
 ‘Ah, it is very cold.’
- (ii) a.?? Waa sizuka-da      sizuka-da.  
 wow quiet-COP.NPST quiet-COP.NPST

- (8) A: Gohan tabe-ru?  
 meal eat-NPST  
 ‘Will you have a meal?’
- B:a. Un, tabe-ru tabe-ru.  
 yes eat-NPST eat-NPST  
 ‘Yes, I will, indeed.’
- b. \*Un, tabe-tabe-ru.  
 yes eat-eat-NPST  
 ‘Yes, I will, indeed.’
- c. \*Un, tabe-ru-ru.  
 yes eat-NPST-NPST  
 ‘Yes, I will, indeed.’
- (9) A: Gohan tabe-ta?  
 meal eat-PST  
 ‘Have you had a meal?’
- B:a. Un, tabe-ta tabe-ta.  
 yes eat-PST eat-PST  
 ‘Yes, I HAVE.’
- b. \*Un, tabe-tabe-ta.  
 yes eat-eat-PST  
 ‘Yes, I HAVE.’
- c. \*Un, tabe-ta-ta.  
 yes eat-PST-PST  
 ‘Yes, I HAVE.’

- 
- b. Waa sizuka sizuka.  
 wow quiet quiet  
 ‘Wow, it’s very quiet.’

It is not the case that any morpheme can be iterated. What is repeated in the EIC is the inflected verbal complex as a whole.

Moreover, the target of iteration should not be too long prosodically.

(10) a. A: Nee, Miyazaki Hayao-no sinsaku moo mi-ta?  
hey Miyazaki Hayao-GEN new.work already see-PST  
'Hey. Have you seen Miyazaki Hayao's new movie yet?'

B: Un, mi-ta mi-ta.  
yes see-PST see-PST  
'Yes, I HAVE.'

b. A: Moo gohan tabe-ta-no?  
already meal eat-PST-Q  
'Have you finished your meal yet?'

B: Un, tabe-ta tabe-ta.  
yes eat-PST eat-PST  
'Yes, I HAVE.'

c. A: Tukare-ta?  
get.tired-PST  
'Are you tired?'

B: Un, tukare-ta tukare-ta.  
yes get.tired-PST get.tired-PST  
'Yes, I AM tired.'

d. A: Keesan matigae-ta-no?  
calculation mistake-PST-Q  
'Did you make a mistake in calculation?'

B: Un, matigae-ta matigae-ta.  
yes mistake-PST mistake-PST

‘Yes, I made a mistake indeed.’

e. A: Kare puropoozu-no toki hizamazui-ta-no?  
he proposal-GEN time kneel.down-PST-Q  
‘Did he kneel down when he proposed to you?’

B: ?Un, hizamazui-ta hizamazui-ta.  
yes kneel.down-PST kneel.down-PST  
‘Yes, he DID kneel down.’

f. A: Booto hikkurikaet-ta-no?  
boat overturn-PST-Q  
‘Was the boat overturned?’

B: ??Un, hikkurikaet-ta hikkurikaet-ta.  
yes overturn-PST overturn-PST  
‘Yes, it really was overturned.’

The examples in (10a–d) are perfectly natural, but (10f), with a target of iteration consisting of eight morae, sounds less natural to many speakers.<sup>8</sup> (10e), in which the iterated predicate consists of six morae, falls between (10a–d) and (10f) in acceptability. The longer the iterated element, the less acceptable the resultant EIC is.

Compound verbs do not occur easily in the EIC, as shown in (11a–c), but this may be attributable to a prosodic factor rather than to their morphological status since short compound verbs can undergo iteration, as in (12a, b).<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> There seems to be a considerable variation among speakers with respect to the permissible sequences of iteration. There are some speakers who do not find (10f) awkward at all. Interestingly, Ghomeshi et al. (2004: 335) have observed that a similar tendency is seen with contrastive reduplication for many English speakers, stating that ‘BEACON-STREET-Beacon-Street’ is more acceptable than ‘COMMONWEALTH-AVENUE-Commonwealth-Avenue.’

<sup>9</sup> As for English contrastive reduplication, Ghomeshi et al. (2004) have observed that compounds can be reduplicated, providing such examples as ‘BOYFRIEND-boyfriend’ and ‘FIREPLACE-fireplace.’

- (11) a. A: Keesan yarinaosi-ta-no?  
 calculation do.again-PST-Q  
 ‘Did you do calculations again?’
- B: ?Un, yarinaosi-ta yarinaosi-ta.  
 yes do.again-PST do.again-PST  
 ‘Yes, I really did.’
- b. A: Kirin-no akatyan moo tatiagat-ta-no?  
 giraff-GEN baby already stand.up-PST-Q  
 ‘Has the giraff calf stood up yet?’
- B: ?Un, tatiagat-ta tatiagat-ta.  
 yes stand.up-PST stand.up-PST  
 ‘Yes, it really has.’
- c. A: Gokiburi-o tatakitubusi-ta-no?  
 cockroach-ACC smash-PST-Q  
 ‘Did you smash a cockroach?’
- B: ??Un, tatakitubusi-ta tatakitubusi-ta.  
 yes smash-PST smash-PST  
 ‘Yes, I really did.’
- (12) a. A: Sono niku nagai zikan nikon-da-no?  
 the meat long time simmer-PST-Q  
 ‘Did you simmer the meat for a long time?’
- B: Un, nikon-da nikon-da.  
 yes simmer-PST simmer-PST  
 ‘Yes, I DID simmer the meat.’
- b. A: Moo dasi nitat-ta?  
 already broth boil-PST  
 ‘Has the broth boiled yet?’

B: Un, nitat-ta nitat-ta.  
 yes boil-PST boil-PST  
 ‘Yes, it has already boiled.’

Note that a subpart of compounds cannot be iterated.

- (13) a. \*Ni-ni-kon-da.  
 simmer-simmer-do.thoroughly-PST  
 ‘I DID simmer it.’
- b. \*Ni-kon-kon-da.  
 simmer-do.thoroughly-do.thoroughly-PST
- c. \*Ni-kon-da kon-da.  
 simmer-do.thoroughly-PST do.thoroughly-PST

It is not possible to iterate the first V (13a) or the second V (13b) of the VV compounds, and the iteration of the second V along with a tense morpheme (13c) is also unacceptable.

With regard to complex verbs involving the light verb *su* ‘do,’ the iteration of a tensed light verb alone is preferred over that of a whole light verb complex.

- (14) A: Keesatu-wa moo Taroo-o taiho-si-ta-no?  
 police-TOP yet Taro-ACC arrest-do-PST-Q  
 ‘Have the police arrested Taro yet?’
- B:a. Un, si-ta si-ta.  
 yes do-PST do-PST  
 ‘Yes, they HAVE.’
- b. ??Un, taiho-si-ta taiho-si-ta.  
 yes arrest-do-PST arrest-do-PST  
 ‘Yes, they HAVE.’



- c. \*Un, taiho-si-ta      si-ta.  
 yes arrest-do-PST do-PST  
 ‘Yes, they HAVE.’

As shown in (14Bb), the iteration of a whole light verb complex sounds unnatural compared to (14Ba), in which only the light verb is iterated. Since it is possible to answer (14A) with the light verb as in *Un, si-ta(-yo)* ‘Yes, they have,’ its iteration is also allowed. Notice that (14Bc), where the light verb complex *taiho-si-ta* is followed by *si-ta*, is ruled out. The iteration of *taiho-si-ta* has to produce (14Bb), and it is not possible to delete a part of the word, *taiho*, from the second occurrence of *taiho-si-ta* in (14Bb) due to the Principle of Lexical Integrity.<sup>10</sup>

To sum up, simple verbs as well as compound verbs can be iterated with a tense suffix in the EIC, but complex verbs involving the light verb *su* are more difficult to iterate. I have also demonstrated that it is impossible to iterate only the verbal root, the inflectional affix, or the subpart of a compound verb. This leads us to conclude that the target of iteration is the inflected verbal complex as a whole. It has also been noted that the inflected predicates consisting of a smaller number of morae yield more acceptable EIC than those consisting of a larger number of morae.

#### 4.2.2. Elements That Occur Between V and T

In this subsection, I demonstrate that elements that occur between V and T can be iterated along with V and T in the EIC.

- (15) [SAP [TopP [FocP [TopP [FinP [PolP [TP [NegP [PolitP [Hon1P [AspP [Hon2P [AppIP [VoiceP [vP [VP ... V ...]  
 v] Voice] Appl] Hon2] Asp] Hon1] Polit] Neg] T] Pol] Fin] Top] Foc] Top] SA]

<sup>10</sup> The same string as (14Bc) is allowed if parsed as the iteration of the tensed verb *su-ru* following the object *taiho*, as in (i).

- (i) Un, taiho si-ta si-ta  
 yes arrest do-PST do-PST  
 ‘Yes, they HAVE arrested him.’

First, the iteration of causative verbs and passive verbs is permitted in the EIC, as indicated by (16) and (17), respectively.

(16) A: Taroo-ni dokusyokansoobun kak-ase-ta-no?

Taro-DAT book.report write-CAUSE-PST-Q

‘Have you made Taro write up a book report?’

B: Un, kak-ase-ta kak-ase-ta. Ii-no-ga deki-ta-yo.

yes write-CAUSE-PST write-CAUSE-PST good-thing-NOM make-PST-SFP

‘Yes, I DID make him write it up. He wrote a good one.’

(17) A: Kinoo Tanaka-wa ut-are-ta-no?

yesterday Tanaka-TOP hit-PASS-PST-Q

‘Did Tanaka give up many hits yesterday?’

B: Un, ut-are-ta ut-are-ta. 5-ten ire-rare-ta-yo.

yes hit-PASS-PST hit-PASS-PST 5-point score-PASS-PST-SFP

‘Yes, he DID. He lost five points.’

In (18), the causative morpheme and the passive morpheme undergo iteration along with V and tense, though it sounds a little unnatural due to its length.

(18) A: Repooto ippai kak-ase-rare-ta-no?

report a.lot write-CAUSE-PASS-PST-Q

‘Were you made to write many reports?’

B: ?Un, kak-ase-rare-ta kak-ase-rare-ta.

yes write-CAUSE-PASS-PST write-CAUSE-PASS-PST

‘Yes, I was indeed made to write many reports.’

Applicatives like *V-te yar-u* and *V-te moraw-u* can be iterated in the EIC as well, though

they sound a little unnatural for reasons of prosody.

(19) A: Taroo-wa Hanako-ni hon-o kat-te yat-ta-no?  
Taro-TOP Hanako-DAT book-ACC buy-TE give-PST-Q  
'Did Taro buy Hanako a book?'

B: ?Un, kat-te yat-ta kat-te yat-ta.  
yes buy-TE give-PST buy-TE give-PST  
'Yes, he really did.'

(20) A: Taroo-wa Hanako-ni hon-o kat-te morat-ta-no?  
Taro-TOP Hanako-DAT book-ACC buy-TE receive-PST-Q  
'Did Taro have Hanako buy a book for him?'

B: ?Un, kat-te morat-ta kat-te morat-ta.  
yes buy-TE receive-PST buy-TE receive-PST  
'Yes, he really did.'

Honorific<sub>1</sub> *o-V-ninaru* forms are a little difficult to iterate because of their length, but they can be iterated just like honorific<sub>2</sub> *-(r)are*-forms.

(21) A: Tanaka-sensee-wa hon-o o-dasi-ninat-ta-no?  
Tanaka-prof.-TOP book-ACC HON-publish-HON-PST-Q  
'Did Prof. Tanaka publish a book?'

B: ??Un, o-dasi-ninat-ta o-dasi-ninat-ta.  
yes HON-publish-HON-PST HON-publish-HON-PST  
'Yes, he DID.'

(22) A: Tanaka-sensee-wa hon-o kak-are-ta-no?  
Tanaka-prof.-TOP book-ACC write-HON-PST-Q  
'Did Prof. Tanaka write a book?'

B: Un, kak-are-ta        kak-are-ta.  
 yes write-HON-PST write-HON-PST  
 ‘Yes, he DID.’

In addition, the aspectual auxiliary *-te i(ru)* can be iterated in the EIC.

(23) A: Hanako omedeta da-tte sit-te-ru?  
 Hanako expecting COP.NPST-C know-TE-NPST  
 ‘Do you know that Hanako is expecting a baby?’

B: a. Un, sit-te-ru        sit-te-ru.  
 yes know-TE-NPST know-TE-NPST  
 ‘Yes, I DO know that.’

b. ?Un, sit-te    i-ru        sit-te    i-ru.  
 yes know-TE ASP-NPST know-TE ASP-NPST  
 ‘Yes, I DO know that.’

(24) A: Ne-te-ta?  
 sleep-TE-PST  
 ‘Were you asleep?’

B: a. Un, ne-te-ta        ne-te-ta.  
 yes sleep-TE-PST sleep-TE-PST  
 ‘Yes, I WAS sleeping.’

b. ?Un, ne-te    i-ta        ne-te    i-ta.  
 yes sleep-TE ASP-PST sleep-TE ASP-PST  
 ‘Yes, I WAS sleeping.’

The contracted forms as in (23Ba, 24Ba) yield a better EIC than the non-contracted forms as in (23Bb, 24Bb), because the EIC occurs in colloquial speech in which *i* is usually dropped. (23Ba, 24Ba) are also preferred from the point of view of prosody.

Moreover, the target of iteration can include polite forms.

- (25) A: Syukudai su-ru-no?  
homework do-NPST-Q  
'Are you going to do your homework?'
- B: Si-mas-u si-mas-u.  
do-POLIT-NPST do-POLIT-NPST  
'I AM going to do it.'

As for negative forms, negation in nonpast tense is possible in the EIC. A contracted form as in (26Ba) sounds better than a non-contracted form as in (26Bb), because it fits the colloquial register better.<sup>11</sup>

- (26) A: Nee, sit-te-ru? Hanako-ga omedeta-dat-te.  
hey know-TE-NPST Hanako-NOM expect.a.baby-COP.NPST-C  
'Hey, do you know that Hanako is expecting a baby?'
- B: a. Uun, sira-n sira-n.  
no know-NEG know-NEG  
'I really don't know.'
- b. ?Uun, sira-na-i sira-na-i.  
no know-NEG-NPST know-NEG-NPST  
'I really don't know.'

Note in passing that the modal of likelihood, *sooda*, which is a pseudo-modal, occurs in the EIC, as in (27B).<sup>12</sup> Again, the shortened form, *soo*, is preferred, which occurs more often in casual speech than the full form and consists of fewer morae.

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<sup>11</sup> I consider negation in past tense in detail in Section 4.3.1.

<sup>12</sup> This is a pseudo-modal because it has a past tense form, *soodat-ta*, and a negative form, *soo-dewanai* (see Inoue (2007)).

- (27) A: Nee, ame huri-soo?  
 hey rain fall-likely  
 ‘Hey, is it likely to rain?’
- B: Un, huri-soo(??da) huri-soo(??da).  
 yes fall-likely fall-likely  
 ‘Yes, it IS likely to rain.’

To summarize, tensed verbal complexes iterated in the EIC can contain various elements that occur between V and T such as causatives, passives, applicatives, honorifics, aspectuals, polite forms, and negation as well as pseudo-modals like *sooda*.

#### 4.2.3. Elements above TP in Assertive Sentences

In the previous section, we observed that a pseudo-modal can occur in the EIC. In contrast, true modals cannot occur in the EIC. For example, it is not easy to iterate surmise modals such as *daroo* and *desyoo* or hearsay modals like *sooda* in the EIC.<sup>13, 14, 15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> The examples in (28) become better if a pause is inserted between the two verbal complexes. However, I do not regard such cases as instances of the EIC; they represent clausal repetition.

Kawahara and Shinya (2008) have claimed that a prosodic boundary aligned with the edge of a VP is a Major Phrase, whereas the one aligned with the edge of a clause is an Intonational Phrase, and they have demonstrated that a pause is obligatory at the end of each Intonational Phrase, but it is not obligatory at the end of a Major Phrase. If two predicates belong to different Intonational Phrases (i.e., different clauses), a pause is expected to occur between them. On the other hand, if two predicates belong to the same clause, as I argue is the case with the doubled predicates of the EIC, a pause is not required between them. In addition, Kawahara and Shinya have claimed that an Intonational Phrase and a Major Phrase differ in allowing/disallowing final lowering and final creaky vowels, and that the initial rise and pitch reset are larger in the former than the latter. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to conduct an experiment and analyze the phonetic features of the EIC, but if my proposed analysis is on the right track, I do not expect to find phonetic properties characteristic of the boundary of an Intonational Phrase between the two predicates of the EIC.

<sup>14</sup> (28Ba, b) do not improve, even if the shortened forms *hur-u-daro* and *hur-u-desyo* are used instead. It is not possible to shorten the hearsay *sooda* in (28Bc) to *soo*, unlike *sooda* of likelihood in (27B).

<sup>15</sup> There are speakers who accept (i) in contrast to (28Bb).

- (i) % Soo-desyoo soo-desyoo.  
 So-may so-may  
 ‘It may be so.’

(Ken Hiraiwa (personal communication))

(28) A: Asita ame hur-u-ka-na?  
 tomorrow rain fall-NPST-Q-SFP  
 ‘Will it rain tomorrow?’

B: a. ?\*Hur-u-daroo hur-u-daroo.  
 fall-NPST-may fall-NPST-may  
 ‘It may rain indeed.’

b. ?\*Hur-u-desyoo hur-u-desyoo.  
 fall-NPST-may fall-NPST- may  
 ‘It may rain indeed.’

c. ?\*Hur-u-sooda hur-u-sooda.  
 fall-NPST-I.hear fall-NPST-I.hear  
 ‘I hear it’s going to rain indeed.’

The iterated sequences in (28Ba–c) are admittedly long, but they sound much worse than (10d), for example, which is of the same length in terms of the number of morae, so prosody is not the whole story behind the unacceptability of (28Ba–c).

As shown in (29), the EIC is not permitted in embedded clauses.<sup>16, 17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Adjectives can be iterated in nominal modifiers, unlike verbs.

(i) Ohana-ga nagai nagai zoo  
 trunk-Nom long long elephant  
 ‘an elephant with a very long trunk’

<sup>17</sup> Shuji Chiba (personal communication) has suggested the following examples.

(i) Ik-oo ik-oo to-no sasoi-no koe  
 go-let’s go-let’s C-GEN invitation-GEN voice  
 ‘invitation to go together’

(ii) Osu-na osu-na no seikyoo  
 push-NEG.IMP push-NEG.IMP GEN success  
 ‘success with so many gathered people saying “Don’t push.”’

In these cases, the EIC represents a quotation. The same holds true with (iii). See Saito (2012).

- (29) a. \*Hanako-ga kat-ta kat-ta hon  
 Hanako-NOM buy-PST buy-PST book  
 ‘the book that Hanako did buy’
- b. \*Hanako-ga si-ta no-wa hon-o yom-u yom-u  
 Hanako-NOM do-PST NO-TOP book-ACC read-NPST read-NPST  
 koto da.  
 KOTO COP.NPST  
 ‘What Hanako did was read a book indeed.’

The EIC does not occur in relative clauses as in (29a) or pseudocleft sentences as in (29b). It is also impossible to iterate a verbal sequence including the complementizers *no*, *ka*, or *to* in an embedded clause.<sup>18</sup>

- (30) a. \*Taroo-wa Hanako-ga hon-o ka-u-no-(o) ka-u-no-o  
 Taro-TOP Hanako-NOM book-ACC buy-NPST-C-ACC buy-NPST-C-ACC  
 mi-ta.  
 see-PST  
 ‘Taro saw Hanako really buy a book.’
- b. \*Taroo-ni hannin-o mi-ta-(no)-ka mi-ta-(no)-ka tazune-ta.  
 Taro-DAT criminal-ACC see-PST-C-C see-PST-C-C ask-PST  
 ‘I asked Taro if he had really seen the criminal.’

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(iii) Taroo-wa hon-o yom-u yom-u-to i-u-ga mettani yom-ana-i..  
 Taro-TOP book-ACC read-NPST read-NPST-C say-NPST-but seldom read-NEG-NPST  
 ‘Taro says he will read the books, but he seldom reads them.’

<sup>18</sup> See Saito (2012) for distinction among *no*, *ka*, and *to* from a cartographic point of view.



- c. \*Taroo-wa hon-o yon-da-to yon-da-to it-ta.<sup>19</sup>  
 Taro-TOP book-ACC read-PST-C read-PST-C say-PST  
 ‘Taro said that he did read the book.’

Finally, let us consider SFPs. The acceptability of the occurrence of the SFPs within the EIC is subject to idiolectal variation. Some people can iterate verbal sequences ending with SFPs with no difficulty, while others consider a pause in between to be necessary.<sup>20</sup>

- (31) a. A: Taro-wa ki-ta-no?  
 Taro-TOP come-PST-Q  
 ‘Did Taro come?’  
 B: %Un, ki-ta-yo ki-ta-yo.  
 yes come-PST-SFP come-PST-SFP  
 ‘Yes, he DID come.’  
 b. A: Asita zettai ki-te-ne.  
 tomorrow without.fail come-TE-SFP  
 ‘Please come without fail tomorrow.’

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<sup>19</sup> In contrast to (30c), (i) sounds acceptable.

- (i) Tabē-ta-tte, tabē-ta-tte.  
 eat-PST-C eat-PST-C  
 ‘I’m saying that I DID eat it.’

Even though C is repeated in (i), a pause is necessary between the two predicates, which leads us to question if it really exemplifies the EIC under consideration. Note also that this example involves ellipsis of a matrix tensed predicate.

<sup>20</sup> SFPs can occur in (i) and (ii), but a pause is necessary between *mi-ta-yo* and the iterated *mi-ta*, so it is possible to regard this as two separate sentences put together.

- (i) Mi-ta-yo, mi-ta mi-ta.  
 see-PST-SFP see-PST see-PST  
 ‘I’ve seen it. I really have.’  
 (ii) Mi-ta mi-ta, mi-ta-yo.  
 see-PST see-PST see-PST-SFP

B: % Ik-u-wa      ik-u-wa./      % Ik-u-zo      ik-u-zo./      %ik-u-tomo  
 go-NPST-SFP   go-NPST-SFP   go-NPST-SFP   go-NPST-SFP   go-NPST-SFP  
 ik-u-tomo.<sup>21</sup>

go-NPST-SFP

‘I WILL go.’

c. A: Kono natu-no      atusa-wa      izyoo-da-ne.  
 this   summer-GEN   hotness-TOP   abnormal-COP.NPST-SFP

‘It is abnormally hot this summer.’

B: % (Soo)-da-yo-ne      (soo)-da-yo-ne.  
 so-COP.NPST-SFP-SFP   so-COP.NPST-SFP-SFP

‘Yes, it really is.’

In brief, we have seen that predicate sequences ending with true modals cannot be iterated, but those ending with SFPs can be for some speakers.

#### 4.2.4. Questions, Imperatives, and Hortatives

So far I have focused on assertive sentences. For the sake of completeness, let us see what other forms are allowed in the EIC.

First, the question particle *ka* does not seem to be tolerated in the EIC, though some people

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<sup>21</sup> *Wa* in (31bB) is an SFP typically used in women’s speech, while *zo* and *tomo* are used in men’s speech. However, there is another type of expression involving *wa* that is used by men and women alike.

(i) Situmon-ga      de-ru-wa      \*(de-ru-wa).      Taihendat-ta      yo.  
 question-NOM   occur-NPST-SFP   occur-NPST-SFP   disastrous-PST   SFP  
 ‘So many questions were raised that it was disastrous.’

This differs from (31bB) in that iteration is obligatory and it does not emphasize polarity. Rather, it emphasizes the degree of action expressed by the verb (see Section 4.4). Since there is no idiolectal variation, this may be a fixed expression of the form *V-wa V-wa*. Some people accept the use of past tense in it, while others do not.

(ii) % Situmon-ga      de-ta-wa      de-ta-wa.  
 questions-NOM   occur-PST-SFP   occur-PST-SFP  
 ‘So many questions were asked.’

find the occurrence of *no* and *ka-na* acceptable when the iterated predicate is short enough.<sup>22, 23</sup>

- (32) a. ?\*Motto nom-u-ka nom-u-ka?  
 more drink-NPST-Q drink-NPST-Q  
 ‘Do you want to drink more?’
- b. % Kaimono ik-u-no ik-u-no?  
 shopping go-NPST-Q go-NPST-Q  
 ‘Are you going shopping?’
- c. ?\*Taroo ko-nakat-ta-no ko-nakat-ta-no?  
 Taro come-NEG-PST-Q come-NEG-PST-Q  
 ‘Didn’t Taro come?’
- d. % Asita ame hur-u-ka-na hur-u-ka-na?  
 tomorrow rain fall-NPST-Q-SFP fall-NPST-Q-SFP  
 ‘Will it rain tomorrow?’ ((d): Takane Ito (personal communication))
- e. ?\*Kinoo ame hut-ta-(no)-ka-na hut-ta-(no)-ka-na?  
 yesterday rain fall-PST-C-Q-SFP fall-PST-C-Q-SFP  
 ‘Did it rain yesterday?’

Second, imperative forms ending with *-e* or *-ro* undergo iteration.

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<sup>22</sup> While it is impossible to iterate a verbal complex with the question particle *ka* in the EIC, it is possible to form iterative polar questions without any question particles, using rising intonation as in (ia, b).

- (i) a. Ima-no mi-ta mi-ta?  
 now-GEN see-PST see-PST  
 ‘Did you see what had just happened?’
- b. Nee sit-te-ru sit-te-ru? Hanako-ga omedeta-dat-te.  
 hey know-TE-NPST know-TE-NPST Hanako-NOM expect.a.baby-COP.NPST-C  
 ‘Hey, do you know that Hanako is expecting a baby?’

<sup>23</sup> The iteration of a longer form is degraded due to prosody, so we can tell this is a case of EIC. Clausal repetition should not be affected by the length of a target of iteration.

- (33) a. Nom-e nom-e. Dondon nom-e.  
 drink-IMP drink-IMP more.and.more drink-IMP  
 ‘Drink. Drink more sake.’
- b. Yame-ro yame-ro. Kega-o su-ru-zo.  
 stop-IMP stop-IMP injury-ACC do-NPST-SFP  
 ‘Stop that! You’ll get hurt.’

The *-te* imperative, which is probably a shortened form of *V-te kudasai* ‘please V,’ is also a target of iteration.

- (34) Mi-te mi-te. Akatyan-ga arui-ta-yo.  
 look-TE look-TE baby-NOM walk-PST-SFP  
 ‘Look at that! The baby has walked.’

Interestingly, some cases of the EIC are interpreted as imperatives rather than statements, even though they involve a regular conclusive form.

- (35) a. Kat-ta kat-ta.  
 buy-PST buy-PST  
 ‘I DID buy it.’/‘Buy this!’
- b. Saa/hora, kat-ta.  
 come.on/hey buy-PST  
 ‘Come on, buy this!’

Simple past tense verbs are difficult to interpret as perfective imperatives except when they are preceded by expressions like *saa* ‘come on’ or *hora* ‘hey’ as in (35b), which force the utterance to be interpreted as directed toward hearers. The EIC sometimes exhibits the same effect as *saa* or *hora*, as in (35a). Some sort of speech act seems to be involved in the EIC.

In addition, the imperative modal *nasai* can be iterated along with V, though (36b) is a little degraded in acceptability for reasons of prosody.<sup>24</sup>

- (36) a. Ne-nasai ne-nasai.  
 sleep-IMP sleep-IMP  
 ‘DO go to bed.’ ((a): Ken Hiraiwa (personal communication))
- b. ?Tabenasai tabenasai.  
 eat-IMP eat-IMP  
 ‘Go ahead and eat.’

The negative imperative form with *na* also occurs in the EIC. Note that *osu* in (37) is not a

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<sup>24</sup> *Nasai* can be deleted in Kansai dialect, as in (ia–b).

- (i) a. Ne\*(e) ne\*(e).  
 sleep sleep  
 ‘DO go to bed.’  
 a’. Ne\*(e).  
 sleep  
 ‘Go to bed.’  
 b. Taben taben.  
 eat eat  
 ‘Help yourself.’

In (ia) the one-mora word *ne* must be lengthened just as when it occurs alone, as in (ia’). We have observed that the EIC of a word consisting of a few morae sounds better, but we must add another prosodic restriction: iteration of a word consisting only of one mora is not permitted. The same holds true with *renyookei* reduplication, illustrated in (iia), which is discussed in Appendix 1. In (iib), the *renyookei* form of *mi* ‘see’ must be lengthened in Kansai dialect. Without lengthening, it is unacceptable.

- (ii) a. Taroo-wa mise-o sagasi sagasi sanpo-si-ta.  
 Taro-TOP shop-ACC look.for look.for walk-do-PST  
 ‘Taro took a walk, looking for a shop on the way.’  
 b. Taroo-wa mise-o mi\*(i) mi\*(i) sanpo-si-ta.  
 Taro-TOP shop-ACC see see walk-do-PST  
 ‘Taro took a walk, looking at shops here and there.’

It is sometimes possible to omit *nasai* outside the Kansai area.

- (iii) Saa, oagari oagari.  
 hey eat eat  
 ‘Hey, go ahead and eat.’ (Shuji Chiba (personal communication))

tensed form, but a subjunctive form.<sup>25</sup>

- (37) Osu-na                    osu-na.  
push-NEG.IMP    push-NEG.IMP  
'Don't push me.'

Finally, hortatives can be iterated.

- (38) a. Toranpu si-yo(?o)    si-yo(?o).  
cards    play-let's    play-let's  
'Let's play cards!'
- b. Soozi?    Si-masyo(?o)    si-masyo(?o).  
cleaning do-let's            do-let's  
'Cleaning? Let's do it.'

Here again, *si-yo* and *si-masyo*, the shortened forms of *si-yoo* and *si-masyoo*, are more acceptable in the EIC than the non-contracted forms.

This subsection has demonstrated that questions do not undergo iteration, though some find the iteration of questions ending with *no* and *ka-na* acceptable. In contrast, imperatives and hortatives can be iterated.

#### 4.2.5. Summary: Restrictions on the Form of Iterated Verbs

The data we have observed so far can be summarized as follows:

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<sup>25</sup> Optatives, on the other hand, do not occur in the EIC, even though *yooni* takes a subjunctive clause like *na*.

- (i) ?\*Asita            hare-masu-yooni                    hare-masu-yooni.  
tomorrow    be.sunny-POLIT-Optative    be.sunny-POLIT-Optative  
'May it be sunny tomorrow.'

- (39) a. V + T
- b. V + (s)ase + T [causative]
- c. V + (r)are + T [passive]
- d. V + (s)ase + rare + T [causative + passive]
- e. o + V + nina(r) + T [honorific]
- f. V + (r)are + T [honorific]
- g. V + te + (i) + T [aspect]
- h. V + mas + T [polite]
- i. V + (te) + na + T [negation]
- j. V + soo(??da) [likelihood]
- k. ?\*V + T + daroo/desyoo/sooda [surmise, hearsay]
- l. \*V + T + no/ka/to [embedded clauses]
- m. %V + T + yo/wa/zo/tomo/yo-ne [SFP]
- n. ?\*V + T + ka [question particle in matrix clauses]
- o. %V + T + no/ka-na [question particle in matrix clauses]
- p. V + ro/e/te/nasai/na [imperative]
- q. V + yo(?o)/masyo(?o) [hortative]

What can/cannot be iterated in the EIC? First, a verbal sequence ending with T undergoes iteration, as seen in (39a–j). When a verbal sequence including T is followed by a true modal as in (39k), iteration is not allowed. The EIC is a root phenomenon, so complementizers cannot be iterated, as in (39l). Iteration of verbal sequences ending with SFPs (39m) is also not allowed, though some find it possible. The question particle *ka* cannot be iterated (39n), though *no* and *ka-na* can be iterated with short predicates for some speakers (39o). When V is not marked for tense as in imperatives and hortatives (39p, q), the sequence can be iterated. Why is it that this pattern holds with the EIC? Any account of the EIC must address this question.

Another property I must explain concerning the EIC is that iteration must apply to a whole verbal complex. In onomatopoeia in Japanese, partial reduplication is possible.

- (40) a. tyotyoi  
 ‘easy’  
 b. kururun  
 ‘round’

(Nasu (2010: 279))

In (40a), *tyo* is reduplicated within a word, and *ru*, a part of *kurun*, is reduplicated in (40b). In contrast, partial iteration is not permitted in the EIC.

- (41) a. \*Un, tabe-tabe-ru. (= (8Bb))  
 yes eat-eat-NPST  
 ‘Yes, I will, indeed.’  
 b. \*Un, tabe-ru-ru. (= (8Bc))  
 yes eat-NPST-NPST  
 ‘Yes, I will, indeed.’  
 c. \*Tabe-tabe-sase-ta.  
 eat-eat-CAUSE-PST  
 ‘I DID make him eat it.’  
 d. \*Tabe-sase-tabe-sase-ta.  
 eat-CAUSE-eat-CAUSE-PST  
 ‘I DID make him eat it.’  
 e. \*Tabe-sase-sase-ta.  
 eat-CAUSE-CAUSE-PST  
 ‘I DID make him eat it.’  
 f. \*Tabe-sase-ta-sase-ta.  
 eat-CAUSE-PST-CAUSE-PST  
 ‘I DID make him eat it.’



As demonstrated in (41), such sequences as V-V-T, V-T-T, V-V-CAUSE-T, V-CAUSE-V-CAUSE-T, V-CAUSE-CAUSE-T, and V-CAUSE-T-CAUSE-T are all ruled out. Iteration must target the entire verbal complex.

In order to account for these properties, I propose an analysis of the EIC based on movement and copy spell-out. Before presenting my analysis, however, I examine some differences between the doubling in the EIC and lexical reduplication.

#### 4.2.6. *Lexical Reduplication and the EIC*

There are words in Japanese that are formed by reduplication of verbs.

- (42) a. osoru ‘fear’ + osoru → osoruosoru ‘timidly’; ozu ‘fear’ + ozu → ozuozu ‘timidly’;  
 naku ‘cry’ + naku → nakunaku ‘tearfully’; kawaru ‘take somebody’s place’ +  
 kawaru → kawarugawaru ‘by turns’; kaesu ‘repeat’ + kaesu → kaesugaesu(mo)  
 ‘indeed’; masu ‘increase’ + masu → masumasu ‘increasingly’
- b. kasane ‘repeat’ + kasane → kasanegasane ‘repeatedly, over and over again’; hanare  
 ‘separate’ + hanare → hanarebanare(ni) ‘separated’; tiri ‘scatter’ + tiri → tiriziri(ni)  
 ‘scattered’; omoi ‘think’ + omoi → omoiomoi ‘each in his own way’
- c. hore ‘fall in love’ + hore → horebore-suru(yoona) ‘charming’; aki ‘get tired’ + aki  
 → akiaki-suru ‘get tired’; uki ‘be merry’ + uki → ukiuki-suru(yoona) ‘cheerful’

A verb in a nonpast-tense conclusive form can be reduplicated to make an adverb, as in (42a). The reduplication of a continuative (*renyookei*) verb also forms an adverb as shown in (42b). The reduplicated continuative verbs sometimes combine with a light verb *su* to form verbs, as in (42c).<sup>26</sup>

Historically, the reduplication of a conclusive verb form is older than *renyookei* reduplication. According to Aoki (2009), the conclusive reduplication, but not the *renyookei*

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<sup>26</sup> *Sirazusirazu* ‘unknowingly’ is formed by reduplicating the imperfective (*mizenkei*) form of V and negation.

reduplication, existed in Old Japanese.

- (43) Okure-i-te koitutu-arazu-wa Tagonoura-no ama  
 remain-be-CONT long.for-be-NEG-TOP Tagonoura-GEN diver  
 nara-masi-o tamamo kar-u kar-u.  
 become-may-ACC algae reap-NPST reap-NPST  
 ‘I would rather be a diver at Tagonoura and reap algae than wait for your return, yearning  
 for you.’ (Manyoosyuu 12:3205, cited by Aoki (2009); translation mine)

In Old Japanese, the conclusive reduplication retained its verbal properties, though it gradually began to occur in embedded clauses and acquired adverbial properties as well. What we see in (42a) are the lexicalized relics of conclusive reduplication used as adverbials. *Renyookei* reduplication, on the other hand, appeared in Early Middle Japanese. It was used as adverbials from the beginning, and it came to be used more often than conclusive reduplication in Late Middle Japanese.

The verbal iteration found in the EIC differs from lexical reduplication in several respects. First, the past-tense verbs can be iterated in the EIC, but there are no such words as *\*naitanaita* (‘cry-PST-cry-PST’ intended to mean ‘tearfully’). Second, the iterated verbs in the EIC behave as verbs just like uniterated ones, whereas lexical reduplication of verbs often forms adverbs. Third, *rendaku* sometimes occurs in lexical reduplication as in *kawarugawaru* ‘by turns’ and *kaesugaesu(mo)* ‘indeed,’ but it does not in the EIC.

- (44) a. Singoo kawar-u kawar-u/\*gawar-u. Hayaku ik-oo.  
 traffic.light change-NPST change-NPST/change-NPST quickly go-let’s  
 ‘The traffic light is changing. Let’s go quickly.’  
 b. Okane kaes-u kaes-u/\*gaes-u.  
 money pay.back-NPST pay.back-NPST/pay.back-NPST  
 ‘I will definitely pay you back.’

As shown in (44a, b), examples of the EIC such as *kawar-u kawar-u* and *kaes-u kaes-u* do not trigger *rendaku*. Fourth, lexical reduplication and V-doubling in the EIC have a different pitch accent. For example, in *kawarugawaru*, a high pitch accent falls on the initial mora of the second V, whereas in *kawar-u kawar-u*, both Vs are pronounced in the same manner. Finally, lexical reduplication of verbs is not productive. We cannot just repeat any verb – say, *warau* ‘laugh’ – to make up a new adverb like *\*warauwarau* (intended to mean ‘laughingly’). The words in (42) are lexical in the sense that they are listed in the lexicon and have to be memorized one by one, because they have undergone a syntactic/semantic shift.

The situation is similar with adjectives.

- (45) a. *naga(-i)* ‘long’ + *naga(-i)* → *naganaga(-to)* ‘long, endless’; *aka(-i)* ‘red’ + *aka(-i)* → *akaaka(-to)* ‘clearly, brilliantly’; *hoso(-i)* ‘thin’ + *hoso(-i)* → *hosoboso(-to)* ‘barely’; *hisashi(-i)* + *hisashi(-i)* → *hisabisa(-ni)* ‘in a long while’
- b. *ita(-i)* ‘painful’ + *ita(-i)* → *itaita-sii* ‘painful to look at’; *waka(-i)* ‘young’ + *waka(-i)* → *wakawaka-sii* ‘looks young’; *karu(-i)* ‘light’ + *karu(-i)* → *karugaru-sii* ‘thoughtless’

The reduplication of stems of adjectives<sup>27</sup> gives rise to adverbs as in (45a),<sup>27</sup> or to adjectives ending with *-sii* as in (45b). Unlike the iteration seen in EIC, the repeated part within these words does not include a tense morpheme. In addition, they allow *rendaku* as in *hosoboso*, *hisabisa*, and *karugarusii*, and have an accent pattern different from A-doubling in the EIC. Furthermore, the number of words formed by adjectival reduplication is limited.

These examples clearly demonstrate that the iteration in the EIC is not lexical. Rather, its productivity suggests its syntactic nature. In the next section, I investigate the EIC that occurs in an answer to a polar question and determine what is emphasized in it. I then propose its derivation, relying on the copy theory of movement.

<sup>27</sup> In the case of *hisabisa*, the first two morae of the stem are reduplicated.

### 4.3. The EIC with Polarity Focus

#### 4.3.1. Negation in the EIC

In order to see what is emphasized in the EIC that occurs in an answer to a polar question, let us examine how negative elements behave with respect to the EIC. In an answer to a polar question beginning with *uun* ‘no’ or *iie* ‘no,’ the iteration of a predicate ending with negation in nonpast tense, *na-i*, is more acceptable than that of a predicate ending with *nakat-ta*, the past form of *na-i*.<sup>28</sup>

(46) A: Nee, kinoo kono hon yon-da-no?  
hey yesterday this book read-PST-Q  
‘Hey, did you read this book yesterday?’

B: a. Uun, yon-de-(i)-na-i yon-de-(i)-na-i.  
no read-TE-ASP-NEG-NPST read-TE-ASP-NEG-NPST  
‘No, I really haven’t read it.’

b. ??Uun, yom-anakat-ta yom-anakat-ta.  
no read-NEG-PST read-NEG-PST  
‘No, I did NOT read it.’

c. Uun, yom-anakat-ta.  
no read-NEG-PST  
‘No, I didn’t.’

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<sup>28</sup> In European Portuguese, the EIC with negation is not possible.

(i) \*O João não ganhou a lotaria ganhou.  
the João not won the lottery won  
‘John did NOT win the lottery.’

(ii) \* O João não ganhou a lotaria não ganhou.  
the João not won the lottery not won  
‘John did NOT win the lottery.’

(Martins (2013: 104))

- (47) A: Kinoo gakkō-no kaeri-ni raamen-ya-e yor-imasi-ta-ka?  
 yesterday school-GEN way.back-at ramen-restaurant-to drop.by-POLIT-PST-Q  
 ‘Did you drop by a ramen restaurant on the way home from school?’
- B: a. Iie, yot-te-(i)-mas-en yot-te-(i)-mas-en.  
 no drop.by-TE-ASP-POLIT-NEG drop.by-TE-ASP-POLIT-NEG  
 ‘No, I did NOT.’
- b. ?? Iie, yor-imas-en-des-ita yor-imas-en-des-ita.  
 no drop.by-POLIT-NEG-COP.POLIT-PST drop.by-POLIT-NEG-COP.POLIT-PST  
 ‘No, I did NOT.’
- c. Iie, yor-imas-en-des-ita.  
 no drop.by-POLIT-NEG-COP.POLIT-PST  
 ‘No, I didn’t.’
- (48) A: Obake-yasiki kowak-atta-desyo?  
 haunted-house scared-PST-perhaps  
 ‘You were scared at the haunted house, weren’t you?’
- B: a. Uun, kowaku-na-i kowaku-na-i. Heiki-dat-ta-yo.  
 no scared-NEG-NPST scared-NEG-NPST OK-COP-PST-SFP  
 ‘No, I was NOT scared at all. I was OK with it.’
- b. ?? Uun, kowaku-nakat-ta kowaku-nakat-ta. Heiki-dat-ta-yo.  
 no scared-NEG-PST scared-NEG-PST OK-COP-PST-SFP  
 ‘No, I was NOT scared at all. I was OK with it.’
- c. Uun, kowaku-nakat-ta-yo.  
 no scared-NEG-PST-SFP  
 ‘No, I wasn’t.’

As shown in (46Ba, b), the iteration of *yon-de-na-i*, the perfective negative form, sounds better than that of the past negative form, *yom-anakat-ta*, though *yom-anakat-ta* is perfectly fine if it occurs by itself as in (46Bc). Similar contrasts involving polite verb forms and adjectives are

illustrated in (47) and (48), respectively. It seems that negative predicates marked with past tense are difficult to repeat in the EIC.

We might be able to attribute this to prosody, saying that it is difficult to iterate a past negative form because it consists of more morae than a nonpast negative form.

Alternatively, it may be possible to claim that the contrast results from a “here and now” property of the EIC. It seems natural that the EIC should be optimized for describing a situation or an event that is taking place in front of a speaker’s eyes, and thus to describe the event that took place in the past, nonpast perfective forms are used to bring about a vivid narrative effect. Such an analysis seems all the more plausible since the EIC is often found in descriptions of war scenes in earlier literature, as discussed by Aoki (2009). Under this kind of an analysis, the iteration of past-tense affirmative verbs like *tabe-ta tabe-ta* ‘ate ate’ would be analyzed as that of perfective verbs.

However, there are data that resist such explanations. It is possible to repeat past tense negative predicates if an answer to a polar question begins with *un/hai* ‘yes.’<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> An answer to a negative question beginning with *un/hai* ‘yes’ can be followed by a negative or affirmative predicate, depending on the context.

- (i) Q: Kimi tukarete nai (no)?  
 you tired NEG PRT  
 ‘Are you not tired?’  
 A: Un, tukarete nai.  
 yes tired NEG  
 (Lit.) ‘Yes, I’m not tired.’
- (ii) Q: Kore oisiku nai (\*no)?  
 this delicious NEG PRT  
 ‘Isn’t this delicious?’  
 A: Un, oisii.  
 yes delicious  
 ‘Yes, it is.’

((i), (ii): Holmberg (2016: 198))

Holmberg (2016) claims that (iiQ) involves high negation in contrast to (iQ). In addition to the difference of intonation between (iQ) and (iiQ), he observes that *no* can occur only with (iQ). On the role of intonation on answer particles to negative questions in English, see Goodhue and Wagner (2018).

- (49) A: Kinoo kono hon yom-anakat-ta-no?  
 yesterday this book read-NEG-PST-Q  
 ‘Didn’t you read this book yesterday?’
- B: a. Un, yom-anakat-ta yom-anakat-ta.  
 yes read-NEG-PST read-NEG-PST  
 (Lit.) ‘Yes, I really didn’t read it.’
- b. Uun, yon-da yon-da.  
 no read-PST read-PST  
 (Lit.) ‘No, I DID read it.’
- (50) A: Obake-yasiki kowaku-nakat-ta-desyo?  
 haunted-house scared-NEG-PST-perhaps  
 ‘You weren’t scared at the haunted house, were you?’
- B: a. Un, kowaku-nakat-ta kowaku-nakat-ta.  
 yes scared-NEG-PST scared-NEG-PST  
 (Lit.) ‘Yes, I really wasn’t scared.’
- b. Uun, kowakat-ta kowakat-ta.  
 no scared-PST scared-PST  
 (Lit.) ‘No, I was really scared.’

Compare (49Ba) with (46Bb). We have seen that a past tense negative verb cannot be repeated in (46Bb), but the same predicate, *yom-anakat-ta*, can be repeated in the EIC if it occurs in an answer to a negative polar question beginning with *un* ‘yes.’ Similarly, a past tense negative adjective can occur in the EIC in an answer beginning with an affirmative answer particle as in (50Ba) in contrast to (48Bb). This means that in order to determine whether or not a certain predicate yields a good EIC, it is not enough to just examine its form. We need to consider the context in which the EIC occurs, particularly whether or not a sentence represents an affirmative answer to a polar question.

In (49Ba) and (50Ba), a negative predicate is iterated, but Speaker B does not intend to

emphasize negation. The contrast between (49Ba) and (46Bb) and that between (50Ba) and (48Bb) suggest that *un* ‘yes’ preceding the EIC is responsible for the acceptability of (49Ba) and (50Ba). What is emphasized here is Speaker B’s agreement with a proposition included in Speaker A’s question (i.e., Speaker B did not read this book yesterday, and Speaker B was not scared at the haunted house, respectively). In fact, when we utter sentences like (49Ba) and (50Ba), we often nod to show our strong agreement with the speaker who has asked the question. The negative predicate is repeated only because it is included in the proposition presented to Speaker B by Speaker A. Thus, the iteration of a past tense negative predicate is permitted if the EIC occurs as an answer to a polar question and the speaker agrees strongly with the proposition included in the question.

Neither the prosody nor the “here and now” property of the EIC can account for the acceptability of (49Ba) and (50Ba), because the forms of predicates that are targeted for iteration are the same in (49Ba) and (46Bb) and in (50Ba) and (48Bb). These examples demonstrate that the proper treatment of the EIC with polarity emphasis cannot ignore contextual factors such as what question the interlocutor raises and whether or not the speaker agrees with the proposition included in the question.

To conclude this subsection, I have pointed out that negation is allowed in the EIC in an answer to a polar question if a speaker agrees strongly with a proposition included in the polar question or if the predicate ends with *na-i*.

#### 4.3.2. *Holmberg’s (2013a, b, 2016) Account of Polar Questions and Their Answers*

The previous subsection demonstrated that answer particles play an important role in licensing the EIC. This subsection discusses Holmberg’s (2013a, b, 2016) analysis of polar questions and their answers, which is modified and integrated into my analysis of the EIC in Section 4.3.3.

Holmberg (2013a) posits a Pol(arity) P(hrase) in the highest position of an IP domain of a



clause.<sup>30</sup> According to his analysis, in a polar question like (51a), an open polarity feature in Pol is probed by Foc(us) head and moved to Spec of FocP by a “semantically motivated” *wh*-movement. When combined with an illocutionary force feature in Q, the sentence is interpreted as “Tell me the value of the focused variable, [uPol], such that the proposition P is true” (p. 36). As for an answer to a polar question, PolP is copied from a question and merged with Foc. The answer particle, *yes* or *no*, occurs in Spec of FocP, and acting as an operator, it assigns a value [Aff(irmative)] or [Neg(ative)] to the sentence-internal unvalued polarity feature in Pol, as in (52).

- (51) a. Is he coming?  
 b. [ Q [<sub>FocP</sub> is+[uPol] [<sub>Foc'</sub> Foc [<sub>PolP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> he] [<sub>Pol'</sub> is+[uPol] [<sub>TP</sub> is he coming]]]]]]  
 (52) a. Yes.  
 b. [<sub>FocP</sub> yes [<sub>Foc'</sub> Foc [<sub>PolP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> he] [<sub>Pol'</sub> [Aff] [<sub>TP</sub> is he coming]]]]]]



((51, 52): Holmberg (2013a: 36–37))

The answer particles express focus since they provide affirmative or negative answers to polar questions, and this is captured by positing the answer particle in Spec of FocP.

Holmberg has proposed that negation occurs in three different positions in English negative polar questions: highest negation, which is interpreted outside TP (53a), middle negation, which is interpreted within TP but with a sentential scope (53b), and low negation, which takes vP as its scope (53c).

- (53) a. Highest negation  
 Q: Isn't John coming (too)? (positive bias)  
 A: Yes. ('John is coming.')
- No. ('John is not coming.')

<sup>30</sup> A polarity head was first proposed by Laka (1990), who called it  $\Sigma$ .

b. Middle negation

Q: i. Isn't John coming (either)? (negative bias; unacceptable for some speakers)

ii. Is John not coming?

A: #Yes. (indeterminate/uninterpretable in this context)

No. ('John is not coming.') ((a, b): Holmberg (2013a: 48))

c. Low negation (vP-scope)

Q: Does John sometimes not show up for work?

A: Yes. ('John sometimes does not show up for work.')

?No. ('John does not sometimes not show up for work.' i.e., 'John always shows up for work.')

(Holmberg (2013a: 39–40))

In (53b), middle negation occurs in Pol, and it can be raised to Spec of FocP as in (53bQi), or it can stay in Pol as in (53bQii). The subject DP raises to Spec of PolP. In contrast, in (53c), to ensure that negation is in a low position, *not* is placed below a frequency adverb. Interestingly, in this case, a *yes* answer to a polar question is interpreted with a negative predicate.

(54) a. Does John sometimes not show up for work?

b. [ Q [<sub>FocP</sub> does+[uPol] [<sub>Foc'</sub> Foc [<sub>PolP</sub> John [<sub>Pol'</sub> [<sub>vP</sub> sometimes [<sub>vP</sub> not show up for work]]]]]]]]

(55) a. Yes.

b. [<sub>FocP</sub> yes [<sub>Foc'</sub> Foc [<sub>PolP</sub> John [<sub>Pol'</sub> [Aff] [<sub>TP</sub> T [<sub>vP</sub> sometimes [<sub>vP</sub> not show up for

work]]]]]]]]

((54, 55): Holmberg (2013a: 40–41))

In (55b), while *yes* in Spec of FocP assigns an affirmative value to a polarity feature in Pol, *not* occurs within vP. Because low negation occurs independent of Pol, *yes* can co-occur with a

negative vP.<sup>31</sup>

Holmberg (2013b) has claimed that cross-linguistic variation in answers to polar questions can be attributed to the position of negation. According to his proposal, languages with a polarity-based answering system only have middle or high negation, whereas languages with a truth-based answering system such as Japanese only have low negation. English, which has high, middle, and low negation, has a mixed answering system.

If negation is low in Japanese, just as in (55), Pol, which is located above T, is assigned a value by *un/hai* ‘yes’ or *uun/iie* ‘no’ in Spec of FocP, independent of the form of a predicate. This is the reason why *un/hai* and a negative predicate can co-occur in Japanese.

In the following sections, I basically assume Holmberg’s analysis of polar questions and their answers.

#### 4.3.3. *The Structure of the EIC with Polarity Emphasis*

I claim that the EIC is syntactically derived. Specifically, I argue that it is derived by movement of a tensed verb to the right periphery and that its iteration is a result of pronouncing both of its chain links.

In Section 4.2.3, we saw that the EIC occurs only in matrix clauses and not in embedded clauses. One way of dealing with this restrictive distribution of the EIC is to postulate an extra projection in matrix clauses, which does not exist in embedded clauses. What kind of projection can this be? Recall that the EIC occurs only in colloquial speech and that it is used to emphasize assertion. It is then not unreasonable to relate this projection to speech acts. Speas and Tenny (2003) have proposed to postulate a Speech Act Phrase (SAP) in the left periphery of clauses, which could be viewed as a modernized version of Ross’ (1970) performative analysis.<sup>32</sup>

Let us suppose that SAP is available only in the left/right periphery of matrix clauses. In

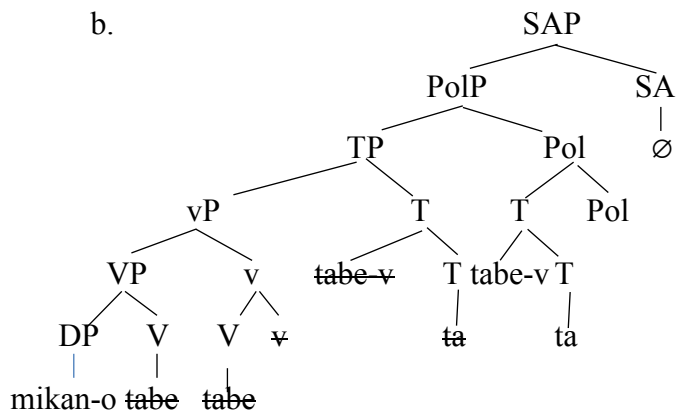
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<sup>31</sup> Roelofsen and Farkas (2015: Footnote 25) have observed that *yeah* is more natural than *yes* in this type of answer for some speakers and that the combination of answer particles, *yeah no*, is also allowed.

<sup>32</sup> Ross’ analysis has been criticized because it posits a Deep Structure with specific predicates such as “I tell you,” “I ask you,” and “I request.” Speas and Tenny’s analysis circumvents this problem by not positing such predicates. See Krifka (2001), Miyagawa (2012), Saito (2013a, b) and Haegeman and Hill (2013) among others for arguments for SAPs.

Japanese, an SA head occurs at the right periphery of clauses because it is a head-final language.

- (56) a. Mikan-o tabe-ta.  
orange-ACC eat-PST  
'I ate an orange.'



In (56b), the SAP is located above the PolP. Mihara (2011, 2012) has argued that V raises up to Force in the CP domain to be realized as a conclusive form. However, let us propose instead that V in ordinary declarative sentences only raises up to Pol, and that declarative sentences ending with a conclusive verb contain a phonetically null element  $\emptyset$  in SA, which selects the PolP. This element marks that the sentence is assertive.

Following Lechner (2006, 2009), Vicente (2009), Roberts (2010), and Hartman (2011), I believe that head movement can be syntactic.<sup>33</sup> Whether verb raising exists in Japanese is still at issue. Following Otani and Whitman (1991), Koizumi (1995/1999), Miyagawa (2001), Hatakeyama, Honda, and Tanaka (2008), Mihara (2011, 2012) and Funakoshi (2012, 2016) among others, but contra Fukui and Takano (1998), Fukui and Sakai (2003), Fukushima (2003), and Aoyagi (2006b), I assume that V raises to higher functional projections in syntax in Japanese. In (56b), V raises up to Pol via v and T by head movement and the head of the chain created by

<sup>33</sup> The status of head movement as a syntactic movement has been questioned by Chomsky (2001), Koopman and Szabolsci (2000), Mahajan (2003), and Harley (2004), among others.

this movement is pronounced at Pol.<sup>34</sup>

Polar questions can be answered by a verbal complex as in (57Ba), a verbal complex followed by an SFP as in (57Bb), or by the EIC as in (57Bc).

(57) A: Moo gohan tabe-ta?  
yet meal eat-PST  
'Have you finished your meal yet?'

B: a. Un, tabe-ta.  
yes eat-PST  
'Yes, I have.'

b. Un, tabe-ta-yo.  
yes eat-PST-SFP  
'Yes, I HAVE.'

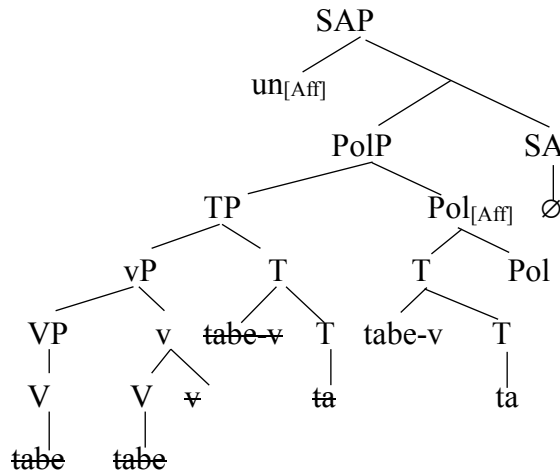
c. Un, tabe-ta tabe-ta.  
yes eat-PST eat-PST  
'Yes, I HAVE.'

The structure I postulate for (57Ba) is as follows.

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<sup>34</sup> I do not go into how head movement is triggered in Japanese in this thesis.

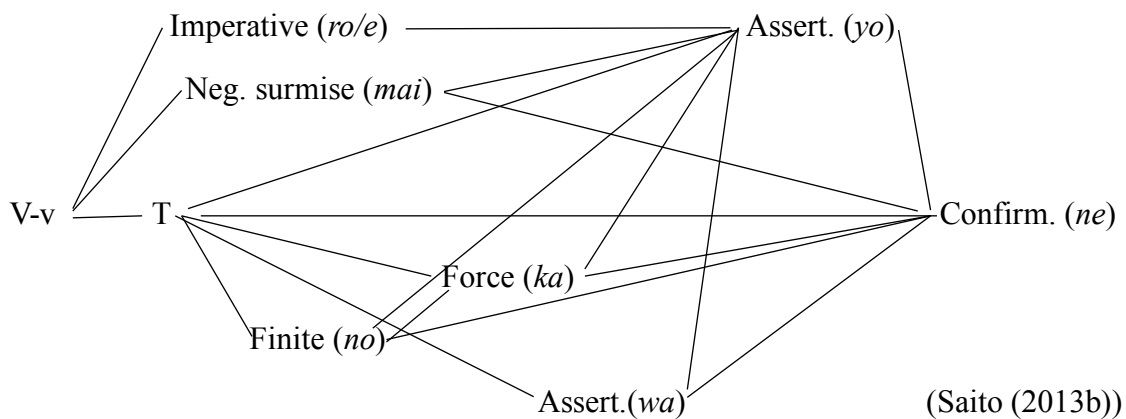
(58)



I depart from Holmberg (2013a, b, 2016) in not postulating FocP. The affirmative answer particle *un* occurs in Spec of SAP. Pol, which needs to have its value determined, is assigned an affirmative value by *un*. V moves up to Pol as in ordinary declarative clauses, and a null assertion marker resides in SA.

As for SFPs, I follow Saito (2013a, b) in identifying them as SAs. Saito has discussed the distribution of SFPs and has claimed that the position of SAs is not fixed but is determined by pragmatic considerations.

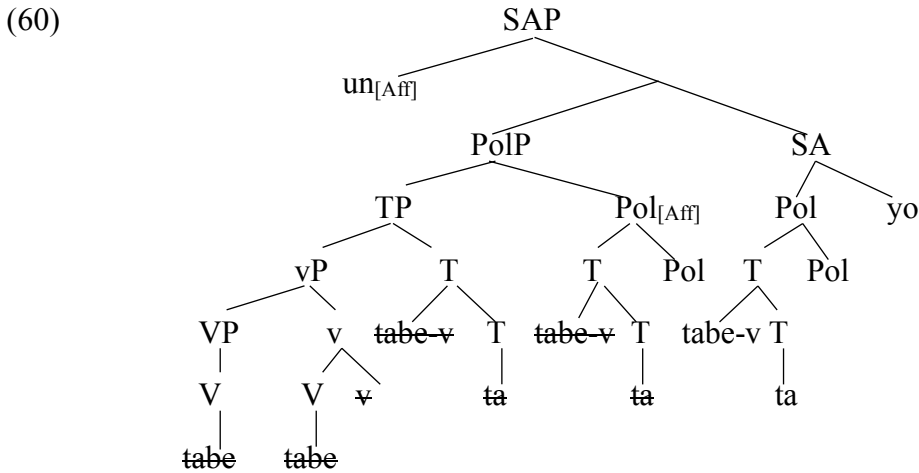
(59)



(Saito (2013b))

As indicated in (59), the SAs *yo* and *ne* do not impose any selection restrictions. They can occur with TP, ModalP, FinP, or SAP, and their occurrence is regulated by pragmatic needs. On the other hand, *wa* selects only TPs. Note that SFPs can be stacked.

Under these assumptions, (57Bb) with the SFP *yo* has the following structure.



*Yo* occurs in SA and head movement takes V to Pol via v and T as in ordinary declarative sentences. Furthermore, *yo*, being an affix, triggers movement of a verbal complex in Pol to it, and the whole verbal complex ends up in SA, unlike in (58). Notice that V can move up to a position higher than Pol when there is a trigger for further movement.

In Section 4.1, we observed that the EIC and the verbal complex ending with an SFP express a similar meaning.<sup>35</sup>

(61) A: Kyoo-no asa-dora mi-ta? (=1a)

today-GEN morning-drama see-PST

‘Did you watch this morning’s drama?’

B: a. Un, mi-ta mi-ta. Omosirokat-ta-yo-ne.

yes see-PST see-PST funny-PST-SFP-SFP

‘Yes, I DID. It was funny, wasn’t it?’

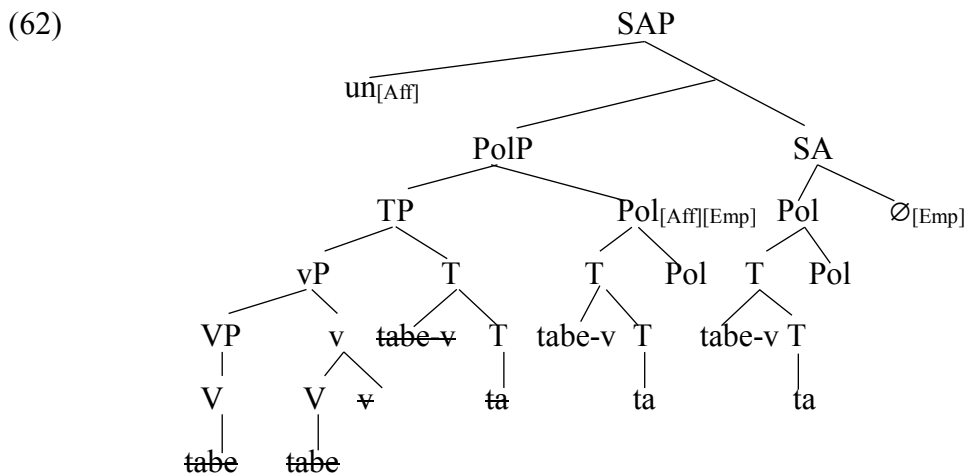
b. Un, mi-ta-yo. Omosirokat-ta-yo-ne.

yes see-PST-SFP funny-PST-SFP-SFP

<sup>35</sup> Kandybowicz (2013) and Martins (2013) have observed that Nupe and European Portuguese express emphatic affirmation either by employing a clause-final discourse particle or by verb reduplication just like in Japanese.

‘Yes, I DID. It was funny, wasn’t it?’

Based on this parallelism, I propose the structure and the derivation of the EIC in (57Bc) as follows:



(62) is similar to the structure in (60), but *yo* in SA is replaced by a phonetically null assertion marker  $\emptyset$ . I propose that the assertion marker of the EIC, unlike that of an ordinary declarative sentence, has an uninterpretable emphasis feature that probes an interpretable emphasis feature and triggers movement,<sup>36</sup> and I also propose that Pol has an interpretable emphasis feature in the EIC. Here I postulate an emphasis feature rather than a focus feature because in addition to polarity focus under discussion, the EIC can sometimes express degree emphasis as is discussed in Section 4.4, and an emphasis feature can cover both of these cases in a unified manner.<sup>37</sup>

As we observed in Section 4.3.1, the EIC that occurs in an answer to a polar question emphasizes a speaker’s confirmation of the proposition contained in a question; in other words, the EIC that answers a polar question, as in (57Bc), expresses verum focus in contrast to (57Ba). In (62), the unvalued polarity feature of Pol is assigned an affirmative value by the affirmative answer particle in Spec of SAP. With the emphasis feature on Pol, affirmation is emphasized and

<sup>36</sup> It may be possible that some SFPs including *yo* also carry an emphasis feature.

<sup>37</sup> See Frey (2010), Kandybowicz (2013), and Bayer and Dasgupta (2016) among others who claim that emphasis cannot be reduced to focus.



yields verum (polarity) focus reading, just like the emphatic *do* in (63a).<sup>38</sup>

- (63) a. He DID come.  
b. He did NOT do it.

An emphasis feature on Pol is often manifested as a stress. In (63a), the emphasis feature on affirmative Pol is realized as *DID*, and the one on negative Pol is realized as *NOT*.<sup>39</sup> The EIC in Japanese can be regarded as an instance of phonetically realizing an emphasis feature by iteration. The emphasis feature on Pol is probed by the uninterpretable emphasis feature on  $\emptyset$ , and the verbal complex in Pol, V-v-T-Pol, is raised to  $\emptyset$ .

Placing  $\emptyset_{[Emp]}$  in SA accounts for the fact that the EIC and the SFP do not co-occur in a sentence, as in (64).

- (64) \*Un, tabe-ta tabe-ta yo.  
yes eat-PST eat-PST SFP  
'Yes, I DID eat.'

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<sup>38</sup> I have argued in Chapter 3 that the PCC in Japanese expresses verum focus and induces adversative implicature.

- (i) A: Nee, kinoo kono hon yon-da-no?  
hey yesterday this book read-PST-Q  
'Hey, did you read this book yesterday?'  
B: a. Yom-u koto/no/ni-wa yon-da kedo ...  
read-U KOTO/NO/NI-TOP read-PST but  
'As for reading it, I DID read it.'  
b. Un, yon-da yon-da.  
yes read-PST read-PST  
'Yes, I DID read it.'

While the PCC in (iBa) has verum focus and also induces adversative implicature, the EIC in (iBb) does not have such implicature. It does not contrast a proposition expressed by the EIC with such alternatives as 'I enjoyed it' and 'I sold it.' It only emphasizes polarity or the truth of the proposition in this context. This difference can be attributed to the use of the contrastive topic marker *-wa* in the PCC as argued in Chapter 3.

<sup>39</sup> Holmberg (2013a) has assumed that the affirmative *do/does/did* and the negative *don't/doesn't/didn't* occur in Pol rather than T.

When SFP is present in SA,  $\emptyset_{[\text{Emp}]}$  cannot occupy the same position, so the EIC cannot be followed by a sentence-final SFP.

#### 4.3.4. Movement and Copy Spell-Out

Following Nunes (2004), I claim that both the head of the chain of emphasis movement to SA, *tabe-v-ta-Pol- $\emptyset$* , and the tail of the chain in Pol, *tabe-v-ta-Pol*, are pronounced because of the morphological fusion of *tabe-v-ta-Pol- $\emptyset$*  in SA into a single terminal element.

Nunes (2004) has argued that deletion of copies takes place so that terminals can be linearized. Specifically, no linear order can be determined for structures containing chains because the head of a chain asymmetrically c-commands whatever occurs between the two chain links, which in turn asymmetrically c-commands the tail of the chain. This would lead to the violation of Kayne's (1994) LCA, since the intervening material would be expected to both precede and follow the same element (i.e. a member of the chain), so links of a chain other than the head get deleted. However, Nunes has claimed that when a structure undergoes morphological fusion and becomes a single terminal element, the elements within it become invisible to the LCA because the LCA does not apply word-internally.

In (62), if we assume that morphological reanalysis can apply to *tabe-v-ta-Pol- $\emptyset$*  and turn it into a single unit, *#tabe-v-ta-Pol- $\emptyset$ #*, this will cause the elements inside it to be disregarded by the LCA.<sup>40, 41</sup> The only visible chain link of the movement triggered by the emphasis feature is the copy left in Pol, *tabe-v-ta-Pol*, so it must not be deleted. The linear order of the reanalyzed *#tabe-v-ta-Pol- $\emptyset$ #* is determined by the position of SA. As a result, both the lower chain link in Pol, *tabe-v-ta-Pol*, and the morphologically reanalyzed higher chain link in SA,

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<sup>40</sup> The symbol # is used for two different purposes in this thesis. At the beginning of a sentence, it indicates that the sentence is pragmatically inappropriate, but the same symbol is used to indicate a word boundary when attached to a string of morphemes, as in *#tabe-v-ta-Pol- $\emptyset$ #*.

<sup>41</sup> A verbal complex in Pol cannot undergo morphological fusion. If it does, verb doubling will be overgenerated, since I assume V raises to Pol in ordinary declarative sentences. It must be stipulated as an idiosyncratic property of the EIC that a verbal sequence ending with  $\emptyset$  with an emphatic feature can be morphologically reanalyzed. Other verbal sequences cannot undergo morphological reanalysis.

#*tabe-v-ta-Pol-Ø*#, are pronounced. Note that the emphasis feature must be realized overtly in one form or another. If morphological fusion does not apply in (62), we will have a run-of-the-mill head movement chain, so deletion of the lower chain link will take place and only the higher chain link in SA will be pronounced. In such a case, the emphatic feature will be realized as a prosodic prominence.

The typical examples of the EIC that occur as an answer to a polar question take a form of iterated verbal complexes following the answer particle *un* ‘yes.’<sup>42</sup> It is not natural to repeat the argument of a verb used in a question as in (65B), because old information should be left unsaid in Japanese, which is a discourse-oriented language.

- (65) A: Nee, basu ki-ta?  
 hey bus come-PST  
 ‘Has the bus come?’
- B: Un, (?\*basu) ki-ta ki-ta.  
 yes bus come-PST come-PST  
 ‘Yes, the bus HAS come.’

When a sentence consists of only an answer particle and iterated verbal complexes, ellipsis applies to the remnant structure, namely TP complement of *Pol*, as proposed for European Portuguese by Martins (2013).

Nunes’ account of syntactic doubling crucially depends on morphological fusion, so let us look at some examples he has provided in which the effect of morphological fusion is visible. In

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<sup>42</sup> An argument can sometimes occur in the EIC with *verum-focus* when it takes a different form from that in a question.

- (i) A: Kono mise it-ta koto ar-u?  
 this shop go-PST experience be-NPST  
 ‘Have you ever been to this shop?’
- B: Koko it-ta it-ta.  
 here go-PST go-PST  
 ‘I HAVE been here.’
- (Ken Hiraiwa (personal communication))

Spanish, the object clitic precedes a finite V, as in (66a), and follows a nonfinite V, as in (66b).

- (66) a. Nos vamos acostumbrando a este país poco a poco. (Spanish)  
us<sub>CLC</sub> go-1.PL getting.accustomed to this country little by little  
‘We are getting accustomed to this country little by little.’
- b. Vamos acostumbrándonos a este país poco a poco.  
go-1.PL getting.accustomed/us<sub>CLC</sub> to this country little by little

(Nunes (2004: 43))

Nunes has observed that in one dialect of Argentinean Spanish, clitic duplication is possible, but only when the higher copy is enclitic, as in (67a). Proclitics cannot be repeated, as in (67b).

- (67) a. Vámonos acostumbrándonos a este país poco a poco.  
go-1.PL/us<sub>CLC</sub> getting.accustomed/us<sub>CLC</sub> to this country little by little
- b. \*Nos vamos acostumbrándonos a este país poco a poco.  
us<sub>CLC</sub> go-1.PL getting.accustomed/us<sub>CLC</sub> to this country little by little

(Argentinean Spanish (Dialect I)) (Nunes (2004: 43))

Subjunctives in this language generally take proclitics, but Nunes has noted that even when the higher verb is in the subjunctive mood, the same pattern holds, as in (68): enclitics can be duplicated, but not proclitics.

- (68) a. para que vayámonos acostumbrándonos a este país  
for that go-SUBJ-1.PL/us<sub>CLC</sub> getting.accustomed/us<sub>CLC</sub> to this country  
‘in order for us to get accustomed to this country’
- b. \*para que nos vayamos acostumbrándonos a este país  
for that us<sub>CLC</sub> go-SUBJ-1.PL getting.accustomed/us<sub>CLC</sub> to this country

(Argentinean Spanish (Dialect I)) (Nunes (2004: 44))

Assuming that clitic climbing proceeds by adjoining a clitic (CLC) to a functional category (F), which has been adjoined by a finite V as in [<sub>F</sub> CLC [<sub>F</sub> V [<sub>F</sub> F ]]], Nunes has argued that Chain Reduction applies and deletes one of its copies so that the structure can be linearized. He has claimed that in Argentinean Spanish Dialect I, there is an option to morphologically reanalyze the higher copy [<sub>F</sub> CLC [<sub>F</sub> V [<sub>F</sub> F ]]] as a single terminal element, which makes the CLC in the higher copy invisible to the LCA. Then the lower copy is the only chain link visible to the LCA and thus must not be deleted by Chain Reduction, as in (67a, 68a). If enclisis is a reflex of morphological fusion in this dialect, the correlation between enclisis and clitic duplication indicates that morphological fusion plays a key role in copy pronunciation.

Other evidence Nunes (2004) has given for morphological reanalysis comes from the difficulty of doubling with complex constituents. He has suggested that “the more complex a constituent, the smaller the likelihood that it will undergo morphological reanalysis and become invisible to the LCA” (p. 43).

(69) a. Yo lo iba a hacerlo. (Argentinean Spanish (Dialect II))

I it<sub>CLC</sub> went to do.it<sub>CLC</sub>

‘I was going to do it.’

b. Yo se lo iba a decir.

I him<sub>CLC</sub> it<sub>CLC</sub> was.going to say

‘I was going to say it to him.’

c. Yo iba a decirselo.

I was.going to say.him<sub>CLC</sub>.it<sub>CLC</sub>

‘I was going to say it to him.’

d. \*Yo se lo iba a decirselo.

I him<sub>CLC</sub> it<sub>CLC</sub> was.going to say.him<sub>CLC</sub>.it<sub>CLC</sub>

‘I was going to say it to him.’

(Nunes (2004: 45))

In another dialect of Argentinean Spanish, clitic doubling occurs as in (69a), and clitic clusters are possible as in (69b, c). However, (69d) is not acceptable. Nunes has argued that this is because the cluster *se lo* is morphologically too heavy to undergo fusion, so all the links of the clitic cluster are visible to the LCA. Hence, the lack of deletion of the lower link prevents the structure from being linearized.

Similarly, in Brazilian Sign Language, which is a head-initial language, a verb occurs sentence-finally when it is emphatically focused as in (70a), and it can be doubled as in (70b). However, when a verb bears subject and object agreement morphology, as annotated by indices in (70c), it cannot be iterated, as shown in (70d).

- (70) a. I BOOK [LOSE]<sub>hn</sub> (Brazilian Sign Language)  
 ‘I LOST the book.’
- b. I LOSE BOOK [LOSE]<sub>hn</sub>  
 ‘I LOST the book.’
- c. JOHN MARY [<sub>a</sub>LOOK<sub>b</sub>]<sub>hn</sub>  
 ‘John LOOKED at Mary.’
- d. \*JOHN <sub>a</sub>LOOK<sub>b</sub> MARY [<sub>a</sub>LOOK<sub>b</sub>]<sub>hn</sub>  
 ‘John LOOKED at Mary.’ (Nunes and Quadros (2008: 182))

Again, this contrast is attributed to the morphological complexity of [<sub>a</sub>LOOK<sub>b</sub>]<sub>hn</sub> by Nunes and Quadros (2008), who have argued that linearization is impossible in (70d) because the sentence-final verb fails to undergo fusion with the E(mphatic)-Focus head.

Martins (2013: 106) has observed that iteration of morphologically complex verbal forms in European Portuguese, such as compound verbs (e.g. *fotocopiar* ‘photocopy’) and verbs with stressed prefixes (e.g. *contra-atacar* ‘counterattack’) is marginal. Similarly, in Japanese, we have observed in Section 4.2.1 that complex verbs involving the light verb *su* ‘do’ do not allow emphatic iteration.

(71) A: Keesatu-wa moo Taroo-o taiho-si-ta-no? (= (14Ba, b))

police-TOP yet Taro-ACC arrest-do-PST-Q

‘Have the police arrested Taro yet?’

B:a. Un, si-ta si-ta.

yes do-PST do-PST

‘Yes, they HAVE.’

b. ??Un, taiho-si-ta taiho-si-ta.

yes arrest-do-PST arrest-do-PST

‘Yes, they HAVE.’

We can attribute this to the failure of morphological fusion of a verbal noun and *su* with T, Pol, and  $\emptyset$  due to their morphological complexity. Moreover, our observation that the EIC is difficult with predicates consisting of many morae may be reinterpretable from a point of view of applicability of morphological fusion: when a target of iteration is too heavy and cannot fuse with  $\emptyset$ , doubling does not occur.

The proposed analysis accounts for the fact we have seen in Section 4.2.5 that a whole verbal complex must be iterated in the EIC since the verbal complex in Pol as a whole moves to SA and adjoins to  $\emptyset$ .<sup>43</sup> The nonoccurrence of the EIC in embedded clauses is attributed to the property of  $\emptyset$ , which occurs only in matrix clauses. The question marker, *ka*, cannot appear in the EIC because it is not selected by the assertion marker  $\emptyset$ .<sup>44, 45</sup> The nonoccurrence of true modals

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<sup>43</sup> I do not consider excorporation as a viable option in this situation.

<sup>44</sup> People who allow the iteration of the question particle *no* probably regard it as a kind of SFP. In fact, *no* can be used as an SFP in declarative sentences.

(i) Kinoo hon-o yon-da no.  
yesterday book-ACC read-PST SFP  
‘I read a book yesterday.’

See Kuwabara (2010) and Saito (2012) for proposals that *no* occupies Fin while *ka* occupies Force. Similarly, people who accept the EIC with a verbal complex ending with *ka-na* may regard it as a kind of SFP and allow it to be selected by  $\emptyset$ .

<sup>45</sup> Since the imperatives and hortatives can occur in the EIC, it seems that another phonologically-null speech act element, which is responsible for causing others to do something, can occur in SA when the

like *daroo/desyoo/sooda* in the EIC also follows from the selectional property of  $\emptyset$ , which is incompatible with ModalPs. As for the speakers who allow the iteration of sequences ending with SFPs, they allow  $\emptyset$  to take SAPs and they have the option of reanalyzing V-v-T-Pol-SFP- $\emptyset$  as a word. There is variability across speakers as to how much morphological complexity is allowed in the EIC, so it is not surprising that some liberal speakers should allow morphological reanalysis more readily than others.<sup>46</sup>

There are some pieces of evidence that support my analysis. The proposed structure of the EIC in (62) consists of a single clause as in (72Ba), and it is not two clauses put together as in clausal repetition, which is shown in (72Bb).

- (72) A: Moo gohan tabe-ta?  
yet meal eat-PST  
‘Have you eaten your meal yet?’
- B: a. [<sub>SAP</sub> Un, tabe-ta tabe-ta]  
yes eat-PST eat-PST  
‘Yes, I DID.’
- b. [<sub>SAP</sub> Un, tabe-ta] [<sub>SAP</sub> tabe -ta]  
yes eat-PST eat-PST  
‘Yes, I DID.’

If two clauses are combined in the EIC, it is not clear how the identity of the two verbs is licensed. In (73B), a humble form of ‘eat’ is followed by a regular form with a politeness suffix.

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assertion marker  $\emptyset$  is not present. When it carries an emphasis feature, it triggers head movement of a verbal complex to it just like  $\emptyset$ .

<sup>46</sup> This does not mean that they allow reanalysis of any verbal complexes. As Nunes (personal communication) has noted, even those liberal speakers do not allow iteration of coordinated Vs like *\*non-de tabe-ta non-de tabe-ta* ‘drink and eat-PST drink and eat-PST,’ so some sort of complexity restriction should also be at work for liberal speakers.



(73) A: Moo gohan tabe-masi-ta-ka?  
 yet meal eat-POLIT-PST-Q  
 ‘Have you eaten your meal yet?’

B: \*<sub>[SAP]</sub> Hai, itadaki-masi-ta]      [<sub>[SAP]</sub> tabe-masi-ta]  
 yes eat.humble-POLIT-PST eat-POLIT-PST  
 ‘Yes, I DID.’

This should be possible as an answer to (73A) under the double-clausal analysis if no extra assumption is added to the effect that two identical clauses should be merged first. On the other hand, the ungrammaticality of (73B) can be explained in a straightforward manner under the proposed analysis. The identity of the two verbs follows from head movement and copy spell-out, which are both available in UG.

Second, no material can intervene between the iterated verbs in the EIC.<sup>47</sup>

(74) A: Gohan tabe-ta?  
 meal eat-PST  
 ‘Have you finished your meal?’

B: Un, tabe-ta (\*ippai) tabe-ta.  
 yes eat-PST much eat-PST  
 ‘Yes, I have had a big meal.’

The inadmissibility of any material between the two verbs in the EIC can be explained by the proposed analysis. Head movement cannot bring an adjunct, a phrasal projection, along with V to SA. Hence, there is no way to derive V-T AdvP V-T, as demonstrated in (74B).

In addition, the EIC is characterized by the lack of *rendaku* between the iterated predicates and the accent pattern different from lexical reduplication, as discussed in Section 4.2.6. These

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<sup>47</sup> (74B) is acceptable if a pause occurs after the first V, though some people say that they do not require a pause in between.

properties follow from the proposed analysis, because the two iterated predicates occur in different positions and they do not form a word.

Our analysis predicts that more than two predicates should not be able to occur in the EIC. This prediction seems to be borne out. Recall that there is no pause between the iterated predicates in the EIC.

(75) A: Gohan tabe-ta?

meal eat-PST

‘Have you finished your meal?’

B: a. ??Un, tabe-ta tabe-ta tabe-ta.

yes eat-PST eat-PST eat-PST

‘Yes, I HAVE.’

b. Un, tabe-ta tabe-ta. Tabe-ta-yo.

yes eat-PST eat-PST eat-PST-SFP

‘Yes, I HAVE.’

Kandybowicz (2007) has also reported that three or more verbal copies cannot occur in Nupe.

(76) a. Musa è gi bise gi.

Musa PRES eat hen eat

‘Musa IS eating the hen.’

(Kandybowicz (2007: 120))

b. \*Musa è gi bise gi gi.

Musa PRES eat hen eat eat

‘Musa IS eating the hen.’

(ibid.: 128)

(77) a. Elúgi à fu fu.

bird FUT fly fly

‘The bird WILL fly.’

(ibid.: 127)

- b. \*Elúgi à fu fu fu.  
bird FUT fly fly fly

‘The bird WILL fly.’

(ibid.: 128)

Harbour (2008) has reported the existence of multiplied verbal reduplication in Haitian but has claimed that “multiplication is a merely phonological phenomenon,” noting that it “occurs almost exclusively with monosyllables” (p. 864).

- (78) Bouki ap bwè bwè bwè bwè...  
Bouki PROG drink drink drink drink

‘Bouki is really drinking *or* drinking to excess.’

(Harbour (2008: 864))

The examples of the EIC in English we saw in Chapter 1 are also monosyllabic, which suggests the validity of Harbour’s analysis.

- (79) a. You are sick sick sick! (=Chapter 1, (21)) (Ghameshi et al. (2004: 309))  
b. Let’s get out there and win win win! (Ghameshi et al. (2004: 309, Footnote 3))

It is true that we sometimes hear a series of three verbs.<sup>48</sup>

- (80) Mi-ta mi-ta mi-ta!  
see-PST see-PST see-PST  
‘I really saw it!’

However, the interpretation of (80) does not seem to be different from that of *mi-ta mi-ta* ‘I really saw it.’ A sequence consisting of three verbs is no more emphatic than one consisting of two

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<sup>48</sup> I am indebted to Ken Hiraiwa for pointing this out to me.

verbs.<sup>49</sup> In cases like this, a verb is repeated more than twice for a phonological effect. Notice that the juxtaposition of verbs as in *Ki-ta, mi-ta, kat-ta*, the Japanese translation of Caesar's words in Latin, *Veni, vidi, vici*, creates a rhythm pleasant to the ear.

To recapitulate, I have proposed an analysis of the EIC based on the copy theory of movement. I have argued that the emphasis feature on  $\emptyset$  triggers both the movement of a verbal complex to  $\emptyset$  and the morphological reanalysis of the verbal complex with  $\emptyset$ .<sup>50</sup> Elements in the head of the verbal chain in SA become exempt from the LCA, and as a result both links of the chain created by head movement get pronounced.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Further investigation is necessary regarding the context that allows sentences like (80) and their interpretation.

<sup>50</sup> Taisuke Nishigauchi (personal communication) has suggested to me that the following contrast between (i) and (ii) can be explained if movement to SA is assumed.

- (i) a. (Boku-wa) samu-i-yo.  
I-TOP cold-NPST-SFP  
'I am cold.'
- b. (Boku-wa) samu-i samu-i.  
I-TOP cold-NPST cold-NPST  
'I'm very cold.'
- (ii) a. \*Taroo-wa samu-i-yo.  
Taro-TOP cold-NPST-SFP  
'Taro is cold.'
- b. \*(Taroo-wa) samu-i samu-i.  
Taro-TOP cold-NPST cold-NPST  
'Taro is very cold.'
- (iii) [[[ Epistemic ] Evidential ] Speech Act ]

If a predicate with a first-person subject does not require an evidential projection, but one with a third-person subject does, and if every predicate has to move to SA, movement of the latter to SA is ruled out by the minimality condition unless it stops at an evidential head. When it does, it is realized as *samu-gatte-iru* 'Taro is feeling cold.' This provides a nice piece of evidence for verb movement to SA.

<sup>51</sup> If the proposed analysis is on the right track, it shows that Trinh's (2009) analysis of predicate doubling is not the whole story. Comparing Dutch, German, Hebrew, Norwegian, Swedish, and Vietnamese, he has proposed a Constraint on Copy Deletion: "A chain ( $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ) is deletable only if  $\beta$  ends an XP" (p. 184). This explains why some languages such as Hebrew and Vietnamese employ predicate doubling as in (ia), whereas others do not as in (ib).

- (i) a. liknot Dan kiva \*(liknot) et ha-sefer (Hebrew)  
buy.INF Dan hoped \*(buy.INF) ACC the-book  
'As for buying, Dan hoped to buy the book.'
- b. lesen wird er ein Buch (\*lesen) (German)  
buy.INF will he a book (\*buy.INF)  
'He will read a book.'
- (Trinh (2009: 184, 185))

#### 4.3.5. Negation in the EIC Revisited

The data in Section 4.3.1 indicating that the EIC with a past tense negative predicate is possible when preceded by *un/hai* ‘yes,’ have led us to conclude that what is emphasized in the EIC in an answer to a polar question is Pol, and not negation expressed by a predicate. I have also demonstrated in Section 4.3.2 that Holmberg’s (2013a, b, 2016) analysis employing PolP that is independent of low negation can be utilized in accounting for the co-occurrence of a positive answer particle and a negative predicate in Japanese. In Sections 4.3.3 and 4.3.4, I have proposed to analyze the EIC by assuming that Pol in the EIC has an emphasis feature. Let us now determine how the proposed analysis can handle the behavior of negation in the EIC.

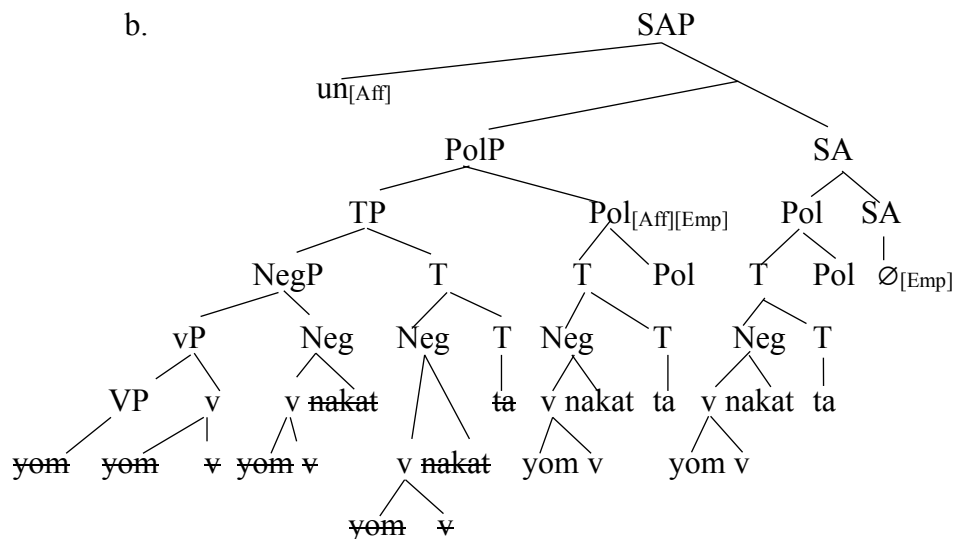
The EIC preceded by *un* ‘yes’ can host a negative predicate, as we observed in Section 4.3.1.<sup>52</sup>

- (81) A: Kinoo kono hon yom-anakat-ta-no? (=49a)  
yesterday this book read-NEG-PST-Q  
‘Didn’t you read this book yesterday?’
- B: a. Un, yom-anakat-ta yom-anakat-ta.  
yes read-NEG-PST read-NEG-PST  
(Lit.) ‘Yes, I really didn’t read it.’

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Trinh’s Constraint on Copy Deletion incorrectly predicts that the EIC is impossible in Japanese, because the lower verbal copy ends PolP in the language. This is because he has relied on the assumption that V-topicalization involves movement to Spec of CP in the clause-initial position and has not considered movement to sentence-final C as a viable option as proposed in this thesis.

<sup>52</sup> Jairo Nunes (personal communication) has noted that if the PCC also involves morphological reanalysis, as in Nunes’ (2004) analysis, there are two pieces of evidence that suggest that negation does not block fusion in Japanese in contrast to European Portuguese. I do not employ fusion in my analysis of the PCC, but the fact that both the EIC and the PCC allow the iteration of a negative predicate is worth noting and could be attributed to the occurrence of negation in the low position.



As in (62), in (81Bb) the assertion marker  $\emptyset$  with an emphasis feature sits in SA. Pol with an emphasis feature is assigned an affirmative value by *un* ‘yes.’ The emphasis feature on  $\emptyset$  triggers movement of Pol, along with a verbal complex including negation, to SA. In SA, the verbal sequence *yom-v-nakat-ta-Pol- $\emptyset$*  undergoes morphological fusion and becomes invisible to the LCA. As a result, both copies created by head movement, which is triggered by an emphasis feature, are pronounced. Since Pol has an emphasis feature, what is emphasized is the affirmative feature on Pol and not the negation expressed by *nakat* ‘not’ in the predicate. It is the speaker’s confirmation of the proposition contained within the polar question that is emphasized.

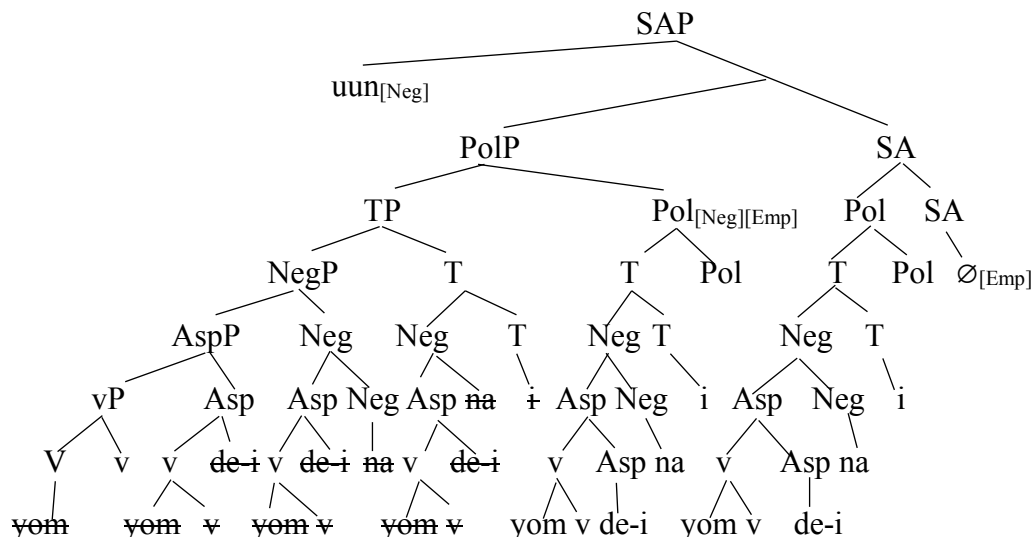
What is crucial here is that Neg is located below T in Japanese, independent of Pol above T. In English, middle *not* is located in Pol. On the other hand, in Japanese, Neg, which occurs below T, does not affect the value of Pol.<sup>53</sup> The value of Pol in Japanese is determined by answer particles independent of the negation within TP.

As for the EIC preceded by *uun* ‘no,’ the polarity feature of Pol is assigned a negative value by the negative answer particle, which negates the PolP copied from the question. Other than this, derivation proceeds in the same way, as shown in (82).

<sup>53</sup> This is in accord with Kuno (1980, 1983), who has claimed that only the verbal element that immediately precedes the negative morpheme falls under the scope of negation.

(82) A: Nee, kinoo kono hon yon-da-no?  
 hey yesterday this book read-PST-Q  
 ‘Hey, did you read this book yesterday?’

B: Uun, yon-de-(i)-na-i yon-de-(i)-na-i. (=46Ba)  
 no read-TE-ASP-NEG-NPST read-TE-ASP-NEG-NPST  
 ‘No, I really haven’t read it.’



Recall that (83) is degraded as an answer to (82A), as noted in Section 4.3.1.

(83) ??Uun, yom-anakat-ta yom-anakat-ta. (=46Bb)  
 no read-NEG-PST read-NEG-PST  
 ‘No, I did NOT read it.’

I suspect this may be due to the morphological form *V-nakat-ta*. Let us suppose that a predicate must end with a negative element in order to express negative focus in the EIC. (82B) satisfies this condition since the verbal complex ends with *na-i* ‘NEG-NPST.’ On the other hand, in *V-nakat-ta*, the sequence of a negative morpheme followed by a past tense morpheme, *nakat-ta*, might be incorrectly reanalyzed as *nak-at-ta*, consisting of a continuative form of negation, *na*, and *at-ta*, the past tense form of a verb of existence, *ar*. In other words, it could be misanalyzed

as a sequence ending with an affirmative verb. This leads the string *yomanakatta* to be interpreted as something like ‘was in the state of not reading it.’ If so, the iteration of *V-nakatta* would not be compatible with the semantic requirement on negative focus in the EIC. Similarly, the sequence *ik-imas-en-des-ita* ‘go-POLIT-NEG-COP.POLIT-PST’ in (84Bb) could be misanalyzed as affirmative, ending with *desi-ta* ‘COP.POLIT-PST.’ The iteration of the misanalyzed predicate would not satisfy the semantic condition on negative focus in the EIC, leading to the degraded status in acceptability.

- (84) A: Kinoo gakkō-no kaeri-ni raamen-ya-e yor-imasi-ta-ka?  
 yesterday school-GEN way.back-at ramen-restaurant-to drop.by-POLIT-PST-Q  
 ‘Did you drop by a ramen restaurant on the way home from school?’
- B: a. Iie, yot-te-(i)-mas-en yot-te-(i)-mas-en.  
 no drop.by-TE-ASP-POLIT-NEG drop.by-TE-ASP-POLIT-NEG  
 ‘No, I did NOT.’
- b. ?? Iie, yor-imas-en-des-ita yor-imas-en-des-ita. (= (47a, b))  
 no drop.by-POLIT-NEG-COP.POLIT-PST drop.by-POLIT-NEG-COP.POLIT-PST  
 ‘No, I did NOT.’

Finally, let us examine the effect of a negative answer particle that reverses negative predicates into affirmative predicates.

- (85) A: Kinoo kono hon yom-anakat-ta-no?  
 yesterday this book read-NEG-PST-Q  
 ‘Didn’t you read this book yesterday?’
- B: Uun, yon-da yon-da. (= (49Bb))  
 no read-PST read-PST  
 (Lit.) ‘No, I DID read it.’



The proposition contained in the question (85A) is *hon-o yom-anakat-ta* ‘the addressee did not read the book.’ The polarity feature of Pol in (85B) is assigned a negative value by *uun*, which negates the predicate containing negation just as in the English example we have seen involving low negation, repeated here as (86).

- (86) Q: Does John sometimes not show up for work? (=53c)  
 A: Yes. (‘John sometimes does not show up for work.’)  
 ?No. (‘John does not sometimes not show up for work.’ i.e., ‘John always shows up for work.’) (Holmberg (2013a: 39–40))

The iteration of *yom-anaku-nakat-ta* ‘read-NEG-NEG-PST’ is difficult because the verbal sequence involving double negation sounds awkward in the first place, and it is too complex for morphological reanalysis to apply, which is a prerequisite for the doubling of a predicate in the EIC. Therefore, the addressee chooses to answer the question by repeating the affirmative form *yon-da* ‘read-PST,’ which is equivalent in meaning to the doubly negated *yom-anaku-nakat-ta*.

I have demonstrated how the proposed analysis works with the EIC preceded by answer particles such as *un/hai* ‘yes’ and *uun/iee* ‘no.’ When there is no overt answer particle in an answer to a polarity question, I assume that it contains a phonetically-null answer particle with an affirmative/negative polarity feature in Spec of SAP and that valuation of the polarity feature in Pol is carried out just as in the examples with overt answer particles provided above. If a null answer particle occurs with a polarity feature incompatible with the context as in (87Bb), it cannot be interpreted properly at the conceptual-intentional interface and is ruled out accordingly.

- (87) A: Hon-o yon-da-no?  
 book-ACC read-PST-Q  
 ‘Did you read the book?’  
 B: a.  $\emptyset_{[Aff]}$ , yon-da yon-da.  
 read-PST read-PST

‘Yes, I really read it.’

- b. # $\emptyset$ <sub>[Neg]</sub>, yon-da yon-da.  
read-PST read-PST

(Lit.) ‘No, I really read it.’

#### 4.4. The EIC That Does Not Express Polarity Focus

I have given an account of the EIC that expresses polarity focus in an answer to a polar question in the previous section, but the EIC does not always bear a polarity focus. In this section, I briefly discuss the EIC that occurs independent of polar questions.

The EIC that does not occur in an answer to a polar question or in a correction context can be interpreted with emphasis on the truth of the proposition – that is, verum-focus interpretation – but it allows additional interpretations. These interpretations vary in accordance with the aspectual types of predicates that undergo iteration.<sup>54</sup>

When an adjective is iterated, as in (88a), the degree or extent of the state it expresses is emphasized. The iteration of the stative *te-iru* form of a verb also emphasizes the degree or extent of state, as in (88b). When state itself is not gradable and thus is not amenable to degree emphasis, as in the case with the stative verb *ar-u* in (88c), it emphasizes the likelihood of the realization of the state.

- (88) a. Ita-i ita-i.  
painful-NPST painful-NPST

‘It is very painful.’

- b. Taro-wa otoosan-ni ni-te-ru ni-te-ru.  
Taro-TOP father-DAT resemble-ASP-NPST resemble-ASP-NPST

‘Taro resembles his father very much.’

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<sup>54</sup> In this section, I do not describe the verum focus interpretation in the translation of examples unless this is the only reading available.

- c. Sore ar-u            ar-u.  
 it    be-NPST    be-NPST  
 ‘Things like that occur very often.’

When used with an activity verb as in (89a), the EIC emphasizes the degree of action expressed by the verb.<sup>55</sup> In (89b), the iterated verb can describe the past event in a vivid manner in narrative present. In this case, degree-emphasis reading appears to be the only interpretation available. This is natural since the use of narrative present is motivated by a narrator’s desire to emphasize the degree or extent of the event/situation that took place. Since s/he has no doubt that the event occurred, s/he feels no need to emphasize the truth of the proposition. The verum-focus

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<sup>55</sup> The EIC in contexts that require verum focus sometimes yields degree emphasis interpretation simultaneously.

- (i) A: Osake non-da?  
 alcohol drink-PST  
 ‘Have you drunk?’  
 B: Un, non-da    non-da.  
 yes drink-PST drink-PST  
 ‘Yes, I DID drink a lot.’
- (ii) A: Biiru-o ippon non-da?  
 beer-Acc one.CL drink-PST  
 ‘Have you drunk a bottle of beer?’  
 B: Un, non-da    non-da.  
 yes drink-PST drink-PST  
 ‘Yes, I DID drink it.’

In (i), the degree of action is emphasized along with verum focus. In contrast, in (ii), where the degree of action is predetermined by the context, only the verum focus interpretation is available. (iii) also illustrates a case in which degree emphasis and verum focus co-occur.

- (iii) Tabe-ru-no tabe-na-i-no-tte tabe-ru    tabe-ru.  
 Eat-NPST-C eat-NEG-NPST-C-C eat-NPST eat-NPST  
 ‘As to whether he eats or not, he DOES eat a lot.’

Note the similar effect is observed with VP preposing in English. The following example expresses verum focus as well as degree emphasis.

- (iv) Kenny Rogers had asked his fans to bring cans to his concerts to feed the hungry in the area.  
 And bring cans they did. (Ward (1990: 752))

According to Ward, (iv) affirms the proposition with or without an additional scalar interpretation that “Kenny Rogers’ fans brought an extraordinarily large number of cans to the concert”(p. 752).

reading is possible only when *tabe-ru* is interpreted in present tense.

(89) a. Taro-ga sake-o non-da non-da.

Taro-Nom sake-Acc drink-PST drink-PST

‘Taro drank so much sake.’

b. Hanako-ga raamen-o tabe-ru tabe-ru.

Hanako-NOM rahmen-ACC eat-NPST eat-NPST

‘Hanako ate so many bowls of rahmen./Hanako eats so many bowls of rahmen.’

When the EIC hosts the iteration of an achievement verb that does not allow iterative interpretation, as in (90a), it only has a default interpretation in which the truth of the proposition is emphasized. On the other hand, when an achievement verb that permits iterative interpretation is iterated as in (90b), it can also be interpreted as repetition of action or change. As demonstrated in (89b), (90c), when interpreted as a past event, has only the iterated-event-reading, and the verum-focus reading is available only in present tense.

(90) a. Taro-ga eki-ni tui-ta tui-ta.

light-NOM station-to arrive-PST arrive-PST

‘Taro DID arrive at the station.’

b. Hanako-ga matigai-o mituke-ta mituke-ta.

Hanako-NOM mistake-ACC find-PST find-PST

‘Hanako found many errors.’

c. Hanako-ga matigai-o mituke-ru mituke-ru.

Hanako-NOM mistake-ACC find-NPST find-NPST

‘Hanako found many errors./Hanako finds many errors.’

Finally, accomplishment verbs behave just like achievement verbs in this respect. When iterative interpretation is not available, it only has the verum-focus reading as in (91a). When

iterative interpretation is possible, the sentence can be interpreted as involving the repetition of events, as in (91b). When (91c) is interpreted as a past event described in narrative present, only the iterative-event reading is possible. In contrast, when it is interpreted in present tense, it can be interpreted either as involving iterative actions or verum focus.

- (91) a. Hanako-ga seetaa-o iti-mai an-da an-da.  
 Hanako-NOM sweater-Acc one-CL knit-PST knit-PST  
 ‘Hanako DID knit a sweater.’
- b. Hanako-ga seetaa-o an-da an-da.  
 Hanako-NOM sweater-Acc knit-PST knit-PST  
 ‘Hanako knit many sweaters.’
- c. Hanako-ga seetaa-o am-u am-u.  
 Hanako-NOM sweater-Acc knit-NPST knit-NPST  
 ‘Hanako knit many sweaters./Hanako knits many sweaters.’

The following table summarizes possible interpretations of the EIC according to the aspectual types of predicates.

(92)

Predicate	Stative	Activity	Achievement	Accomplishment
Emphasis	Degree	Degree	Iteration	Iteration
	Verum	Verum	Verum	Verum

Stative and activity predicates denote atelic situations/events, so the emphasis falls on the degree of the state/activity they denote. In contrast, achievement and accomplishment predicates denote telic events. When these events allow an iterative interpretation, the repetition of a predicate expresses iterative events, which is another way to emphasize VPs. The verum-focus reading is available across predicates, which can be attributed to the fact that the emphasis feature is placed

on Pol, which occurs higher than VPs regardless of the type of predicates within.

Explication of a mechanism that licenses these interpretations for each type of predicates requires the analysis of Lexical Conceptual Structure, which would take us too far afield, but I would like to point out that these interpretations are found in other languages as well. Moravcsik (1992) has observed that the range of meanings represented by reduplication shows considerable cross-linguistic consistency and has enumerated the recurrent meanings of reduplication as follows:

- (93) a. Plurality: Samoan – *mamate* ‘they die,’ *mate* ‘die’; Agta – *taktakki* ‘legs,’ *takki* ‘leg’  
b. ‘Every X’: Pacoh – *damo damo* ‘everyone,’ *damo* ‘whichever’  
c. Distributive plural: Twi – *dú dú* ‘ten each,’ *dú* ‘ten’  
d. Indefinite pronoun: Sundanese – *sahasaha* ‘whoever,’ *saha* ‘who?’  
e. Repeated or continued occurrence of an event: Sundanese – *guguyon* ‘jest repeatedly,’ *guyon* ‘jest’; Ewe – *zɔ zɔ* ‘be walking,’ *zɔ* ‘walk’; Mokilese – *roarroar* ‘continue to shudder,’ *roar* ‘shudder’; Sirino – *erasirasi* ‘continue to be sick,’ *erasi* ‘be sick’  
f. Reciprocity: Yami – *mipalupalu* ‘strike each other,’ *palu* ‘strike’  
g. Intensity: Turkish – *dopdolu* ‘quite full,’ *dolu* ‘full’  
h. Attenuation: Swahili – *maji-maji* ‘somewhat wet,’ *maji* ‘wet’  
i. Derivation: Tagalog – *ta:ta:wa* ‘one who will laugh,’ *ta:wa* ‘a laugh’

(Moravcsik (1992: 323))

The degree emphasis observed above can be categorized with (93g), and the iterative reading falls under (93e).<sup>56</sup>

Even though the interpretations differ, the EIC that occurs in an answer to a polar question and the EIC that occurs independent of a question share many properties. Like the former, the latter can be paraphrased with expressions involving an SFP as in (94a), is a main clause

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<sup>56</sup> The verum/polarity focus interpretation is not considered by Moravcsik.

phenomenon as shown in (94b, c), and its target of iteration obeys the same restriction as the one in the polarity-focus EIC as in (94d, e). Moreover, they are both productive, and they both occur in colloquial speech.

- (94) a. Sore a-ru-naa. (cf. (88c))  
 it be-NPST-SFP  
 ‘Things like that occur very often.’
- b. \*Taro-ga yon-da yon-da hon  
 Taro-NOM read-PST read-PST book  
 ‘the book that Taro read many times’
- c. \*Taro-ni ringo-o tabe-ta-(no)-ka tabe-ta-(no)-ka tazune-ta.  
 Taro-DAT apple-ACC eat-PST-C-C eat-PST-C-C ask-PST  
 ‘I asked Taro if he had eaten so many apples.’
- d. Ah, tabe-ta tabe-ta/\*tabe-tabe-ta/\*tabe-ta-ta.  
 ah eat-PST eat-PST/eat-eat-PST/eat-PST-PST  
 ‘Ah, I ate a lot.’
- e. ?\*Kitto ame-ga hur-u-daroo hur-u-daroo.  
 surely rain-NOM fall-NPST-may fall-NPST-may  
 ‘It will surely rain very hard.’

This leads us to expect that both the EIC in polarity-focus contexts and the EIC in other contexts are derived syntactically by the emphasis feature on a phonologically-null assertion marker in SA. The difference in interpretation is due to where the interpretive emphasis feature occurs. In the polarity-focus EIC it occurs in Pol, whereas in the degree-emphasis EIC and the iterative-event-emphasis EIC it occurs somewhere in the VP domain.<sup>57</sup>

To summarize, this section has demonstrated that the EIC that occurs independent of a

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<sup>57</sup> Another possibility is to regard the emphatic VP interpretation as a sort of conversational implicature, which seems to work well with the fact that the emphatic VP interpretation and the verum-focus interpretation can co-occur.

polar question can emphasize action/state denoted by VP as well as the truth of a proposition, and has suggested that non-polarity-focus EIC should be derived in a similar way to the polarity-focus EIC.

#### 4.5. Further Issues

##### 4.5.1. Unacceptability of Wh-Phrases and Negative Concord Items in the EIC

*Wh*-questions are incompatible with the EIC.

- (95) a. \*Nani(-o) tabe-ta tabe-ta?  
 what-ACC eat-PST eat-PST  
 ‘What did you really eat?/What did you eat a lot?’
- b. \*Dare(-ga) ki-ta ki-ta?  
 who-NOM come-PST come-PST  
 ‘Who really came?’

With or without a case marker, (95a, b) are not acceptable. This is because while a *wh*-word defocuses every element in a sentence except itself, polarity/truth or activity/state/event denoted by VP must be emphasized in the EIC. The examples in (95) are ruled out due to a conflict between the two elements in information structure.

In a similar vein, we can account for the unacceptability of the EIC with Negative Concord Items (NCIs).<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> I am thankful to Ken Hiraiwa (personal communication) for noting that (ia, b) represent clausal repetition since the NCIs are licensed in them.

- (i) a. Nani-mo kawa-na-i, nani-mo kawa-na-i.  
 anything-MO buy-NEG-NPST anything-MO buy-NEG-NPST  
 ‘I don’t buy anything. I don’t buy anything.’
- b. Dare-mo ik-ana-i, dare-mo ik-ana-i.  
 anybody-MO go-NEG-NPST anybody-MO go-NEG-NPST  
 ‘Nobody will go. Nobody will go.’



- (96) A: Nani-ka kaw-u-no?  
 anything-KA buy-NPST-Q  
 ‘Are you buying anything?’
- B: Uun, (??nani-mo) kaw-ana-i kaw-ana-i.  
 no anything-MO buy-NEG-NPST buy-NEG-NPST  
 ‘No, I’m not buying anything.’
- (97) A: Nani-mo kaw-anai-no?  
 anything-MO buy-NEG-Q  
 ‘Aren’t you buying anything?’
- B: Un, (??nani-mo) kaw-ana-i kaw-ana-i.  
 yes anything-MO buy-NEG-NPST buy-NEG-NPST  
 (Lit.) ‘Yes, I’m not buying anything.’
- (98) A: Dare-ka konsinkai-ni ik-u-no?  
 anybody-KA party-to go-NPST-Q  
 ‘Is anybody going to the party?’
- B: Uun, (??dare-mo) ik-ana-i ik-ana-i.  
 no anybody-MO go-NEG-NPST go-NEG-NPST  
 ‘No, nobody’s going.’
- (99) A: Dare-mo konsinkai-ni ik-anai-no?  
 anybody-MO party-to go-NEG-Q  
 ‘Isn’t anybody going to the party?’
- B: Un, (??dare-mo) ik-ana-i ik-ana-i.  
 yes anybody-MO go-NEG-NPST go-NEG-NPST  
 (Lit.) ‘Yes, nobody’s going.’

As discussed in Section 4.3.4, repeating the argument(s) included in a question in its answer is usually avoided for reasons of economy. However, even when we replace Speaker A’s questions in (96, 97) with (100a) and those in (98, 99) with (100b) so that Speaker B’s utterance of

*nani/dare* ‘anything/anybody’ occurs for the first time in discourse, the answer sentences do not seem to improve in acceptability.

(100) a. Hon kaw-u-no/kaw-anai-no?

book buy-NPST-Q/buy-NEG-Q

‘Are(n’t) you buying a book?’

b. Kono hoteru-ni tomat-te i-ru hito konsinkai-ni ik-u-no/ik-anai-no?

this hotel-at stay-TE ASP-NPST people party-to go-NPST-Q/go-NEG-Q

‘Those who are staying at this hotel, are(n’t) they going to the party?’

Before we explain why the NCIs are not permitted in the EIC, we need to examine what licenses NCIs in an answer to a polar question.

(101) A: Nani-ka non-da-no?

anything-KA drink-PST-Q

‘Did you drink anything?’

B: Uun, nani-mo (nom-anakat-ta-yo).

no anything-MO drink-NEG-PST-SFP

(Lit.) ‘No, (I didn’t drink) anything.’

In (101) it is not clear whether the NCI *nani-mo* is licensed by an answer particle *uun* ‘no’ or by (an elided) negative predicate *nom-anakat-ta-yo*. If we look at an answer to a negative question, however, we can determine which element is responsible for the licensing of NCIs.

(102) A: Nani-mo nom-anakat-ta-no?

anything-MO drink-NEG-PST-Q

‘Didn’t you drink anything?’

- B: Un, nani-mo (nom-anakat-ta-yo).  
 yes anything-MO drink-NEG-PST-SFP  
 (Lit.) ‘Yes, (I didn’t drink) anything.’
- (103) A: Dare-mo ko-nakat-ta-no?  
 anybody-MO come-NEG-PST-Q  
 ‘Didn’t anybody come?’
- B: Un, dare-mo (ko-nakat-ta-yo).  
 yes anybody-MO come-NEG-PST-SFP  
 (Lit.) ‘Yes, nobody (came).’

The affirmative answer particle *un* ‘yes’ should not be able to license NCIs, so it is the negative morpheme within the (elided) verbal complex that licenses them.

We have argued that Pol is emphasized in the polarity-focus EIC. If the presence of NCI focalizes Neg, which is its licenser, but not Pol, a conflict occurs in the information structure. Since the EIC occurring in an answer to a polar question emphasizes the polarity of a sentence, it cannot host an NCI, which would require the emphasis on the negation of a predicate.<sup>59, 60, 61</sup>

#### 4.5.2. Other Types of Iteration

I have examined question-answer pairs that involve the same predicate. In addition to these cases, there are answers that involve metalinguistic predicates such as *soo-des-u* ‘so’ and *tigai-mas-u* ‘not so.’

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<sup>59</sup> Some sentences can have multiple foci, but emphasizing Pol and Neg in the same sentence is quite a different matter. Here, emphasis of one excludes that of the other.

<sup>60</sup> Ken Hiraiwa (personal communication) has pointed out that this analysis would predict that the implicit direct object cannot be the NCI when *nani-mo* is missing from (96B). I assume that remnant TP ellipsis applies to the verum-focus EIC when there is no overt argument as discussed in Section 4.3.4, so there would be no implicit direct object when *nani-mo* is missing from (96B), though it is difficult to verify.

<sup>61</sup> As Akira Watanabe (personal communication) has pointed out to me, we can also attribute the unacceptability of the EIC with an NCI to the difficulty of moving NCIs out of TPs before the application of remnant TP ellipsis.

(104) A: Ano hito-ga hankoogenba-ni i-ta hito des-u-ka?  
that person-NOM crime.scene-at be-PST person COP.POLIT-NPST-Q  
'Is that the person who was at the crime scene?'

B: Hai, soo-des-u soo-des-u.  
yes so-COP.POLIT-NPST so-COP.POLIT-NPST  
'Yes, that is so indeed.'

(105) A: Kabin-o wat-ta-no-wa anata-des-u-ka?  
vase-ACC break-PST-C-TOP you-COP.POLIT-NPST-Q  
'Is it you who broke the vase?'

B: Iie, tigai-mas-u tigai-mas-u.  
no not.so-POLIT-NPST not.so-POLIT-NPST  
'No, it is not so at all.'

These are somewhat fixed expressions dedicated to expressing agreement or disagreement to the proposition included in questions, and *soo-des-u* and *tigai-mas-u* go together with *hai/un* 'yes' and *iee/uun* 'no' respectively. *Tigau* 'not so' includes negation in its lexical meaning, so it is natural that it should occur with a negative answer particle. When it is not used as a metalinguistic disagreement predicate, as in (106), it can co-occur with *hai/un* 'yes' just like in the ordinary cases we have been dealing with.

(106) A: Kore tigai-mas-u-ka?  
this not.so-POLIT-NPST-Q  
'Is this not so?'

B: Hai, tigai-mas-u tigai-mas-u.  
yes not.so-POLIT-NPST not.so-POLIT-NPST  
(Lit.) 'Yes, it is not so at all.'

Another type of iterative construction we have not touched on thus far involves iteration of

answer particles.

(107) A: Kore deki-mas-u-ka?  
this can.do-POLIT-NPST-Q  
'Can you do this?'

B: a. Hai hai, deki-mas-u deki-mas-u.  
yes yes can.do-POLIT-NPST can.do-POLIT-NPST  
'Yes, yes, I really can do this.'

b. Ie ie, deki-mas-en deki-mas-en.  
no no can.do-POLIT-NEG can.do-POLIT-NEG  
'No, no, I really can't do this.'

I have proposed to derive predicate iteration by raising a predicate to SA in a sentence-final position. However, as for the iteration of answer particles, I suggest that they are derived by lexical reduplication. The number of such items is very limited, and they have idiosyncratic properties characteristic of lexical items: the iteration of a contracted form like *ie ie* 'no no' is allowed as in (107Bb) in contrast to that of a non-contracted *\*ie ie*, or a more informal *\*uun uun*.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Kazumi Matsuoka (personal communication) has pointed out to me that *hai hai* 'yes, yes' can have a scornful implication that *hai* alone does not, as in (i), which can also be taken as an indication of its lexicalized nature.

(i) Daughter: (Unwillingly) Hai hai.  
yes yes  
'Yes, yes.'  
Mother: Hai-wa itido-de ii-no.  
yes-TOP once-DE enough-SFP  
'One "yes" is enough.' (Shuji Chiba (personal communication))

*Hai hai* can also indicate politeness or willingness, as observed by Shuji Chiba.

(ii) Hai hai, tadaima mairi-mas-u.  
yes yes right.now come-POLIT-NPST  
'Yes, yes, I'm coming right now.' (Shuji Chiba (personal communication))

Various kinds of repetition of words are observed besides the iteration of predicates.

- (108) a. saihu saihu. (noun)  
Oh purse purse  
'Oh, (I shouldn't forget) my purse.'
- b. Sore sore. (pronoun)  
it it  
'That's it.'
- c. Doko doko? (*wh*-word)  
where where  
'Where is it?'
- d. Motto motto (adverb)  
more more  
'Go on. I want more of this.'
- e. Nee nee. (interjection/address)  
hey hey  
'Hey!'
- f. Doomo doomo. (greeting)  
thanks thanks  
'Thank you very much.'

Additionally, there is a construction that includes an affirmative and a negative predicate and has an emphatic interpretation.

- (109) Ooki-i-no ookiku-na-i-no-tte (ooki-i ooki-i.)  
big-NPST-NO big-NEG-NPST-NO-TE big-NPST big-NPST

---

Ken Hiraiwa (personal communication) has suggested other examples of lexical reduplication such as *demodemo* 'but' and *dattedatte* 'but.'

‘As to whether it’s big or not, (it IS big.)’

Questions as to how these examples should be dealt with await future research.

#### 4.5.3. *Alternative Analysis*

Lidz (2001) has examined echo reduplication in Kannada and has argued that words and their subparts can be reduplicated, as can syntactic phrases. The process “repeats an element, replacing the first CV with *gi-* or *gi:-* (depending on the length of the input vowel), and yields a meaning of ‘and related stuff’” (p. 377).

- (110) a. ooda (Kannada)  
run  
‘run’
- b. ooda-giida beeDa  
run- RED PROH  
‘Don’t run or do related activities.’
- (111) a. baagil-annu much-gich-id-e anta heeLa-beeDa  
door-ACC close-RED-PST-1S that say-PROH  
‘Don’t say that I closed the door or did related activities.’
- b. baagil-annu much-id-e-gichide anta heeLa-beeDa  
door-ACC close-PST-1S-RED that say-PROH  
‘Don’t say that I closed the door or did related activities.’
- (112) nannu baagil-annu much-id-e giigilannu muchide anta heeLa-beeDa  
I-NOM door-ACC close-PST-1S RED that say-PROH  
‘Don’t say that I closed the door or did related activities.’ (Lidz (2001: 378–379))

In (110b), a verb is reduplicated. (111a) shows that echo reduplication occurs inside of inflectional elements, whereas (111b) indicates that it can also apply to constituents including

inflectional elements. In (112), VP as a whole is reduplicated. Since echo reduplication causes a change in the first CV in Kannada, the data above clearly indicate that reduplication applies word-internally as well as in syntax.

It is conceivable that the same operation is at work in the Japanese EIC.<sup>63</sup> Since reduplication is available in Japanese, why not use it in syntax as well? The EIC can be successfully derived either by reduplication in syntax or by movement and copy spell-out, and in this respect both analyses fare well. They are both available options in UG, which Japanese employs. While Shibatani and Kageyama (1988) have argued that compounding, another morphological process, can take place postsyntactically in Japanese, I argued in Chapter 3 that the PCC in Japanese is derived by movement and copy spell-out.

However, the movement-based analysis proposed in this chapter seems superior to a syntactic reduplication analysis, because it enables us to answer such questions as why the EIC has a meaning similar to sentences ending with an SFP, why it only occurs in main clauses, why it allows iteration of certain verbal sequences but not others, why it behaves differently when preceded by *un* ‘yes’ and *uun* ‘no,’ why it differs from lexical reduplication regarding *rendaku* and prosody, and so on. On the other hand, an analysis based on syntactic reduplication would overgenerate without additional assumptions; for instance, the EIC would be generated in embedded clauses as well as in matrix clauses under such an analysis. Hence, the proposed movement-based analysis is better equipped empirically than the syntactic reduplication analysis as of now. With respect to the examples in Kannada in (110–112), their counterparts in Japanese are unacceptable except for (111b), which is similar in form to the EIC in Japanese. Lexical reduplication of V in Japanese results in a categorial change, so the counterparts to (110, 111a) are not available, and the proposal that the EIC is derived by head movement but not by VP movement accounts for the unavailability of sentences like (112) in Japanese.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> I am thankful to Akira Watanabe (personal communication) for raising this possibility.

<sup>64</sup> The repetition of a whole VP sounds unnatural in Japanese without a pause between the iterated elements.

(i) ?\* Taroo-wa hon-o yon-da hon-o yon-da.  
 Taro-TOP book-ACC read-PST book-ACC read-PST



Martins (2007, 2013) has proposed movement-based analysis for the polarity focus EIC for European Portuguese.

- (113) A: Ele não comprou o carro, pois não? (=5)  
 he not bought the car POIS [= CONFIRMATIVE WORD] NEG  
 ‘He didn’t buy the car, did he?’
- B: a. Ele comprou o carro comprou.  
 he bought the car bought  
 ‘He DID buy the car.’
- b. Comprou comprou.  
 bought bought  
 ‘Yes, he DID.’ (Martins (2013: 101))

Martins has proposed that in (113Ba) *V comprou* moves to *C* via  $\Sigma$ , and that it undergoes morphological reanalysis with *C*. Furthermore,  $\Sigma P$  *ele comprou o carro* is topicalized to Spec of TopP. Since the elements in the reanalyzed *C* are invisible to the LCA, the *V* in  $\Sigma P$  is pronounced. As for (113Bb), VP ellipsis applies within  $\Sigma P$  after movement of *V* to  $\Sigma$ . Since *V* is the only element that is pronounced in the topicalized  $\Sigma P$ , the *VV* sequence is derived as a result. The head-final nature of Japanese makes a *VV* sequence available by just moving *V* to the sentence-final SA, but head-initial languages do not yield a *VV* sequence unless ellipsis of arguments takes place. In a sense, Japanese is more amenable to a movement analysis because of its word order.

#### 4.6. Summary

In this chapter, I have examined the EIC in Japanese. The answers to the questions raised in Chapter 1 are as follows:

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‘Taro really read the book.’

(114) Q: Which forms of V can or cannot be emphasized in the EIC?

A: Verbal sequences ending with T can be iterated in the EIC, but those ending with modals, complementizers or SFPs cannot, though some speakers allow the iteration of a sequence ending with SFPs or the question particle *no/ka-na*.

(115) Q: Are there any constraints that are imposed on the iteration of predicates in the EIC?

A: Iteration must apply to an entire verbal complex.

(116) Q: How can the occurrence of the same predicate in the EIC be explained?

A: The EIC is derived by movement, and two links of the movement chain are pronounced. Specifically, the EIC is derived by moving Pol along with a verbal complex to a phonologically-null  $\emptyset$  in SA. Our claim is that  $\emptyset$  occurs in declarative sentences as an assertion marker and that in the EIC a polarity emphasis feature on  $\emptyset$  triggers movement of Pol with an interpretable emphasis feature to it. The polarity emphasis feature on  $\emptyset$  can optionally cause morphological reanalysis of the structure that occurs in SA, which renders the elements in the higher chain link invisible to the LCA. Hence, the copy left behind by movement in Pol is pronounced in addition to the reanalyzed string in SA.

(117) Q: What are the interpretations of the EIC?

A: In an answer to a polar question, polarity, the value of which is determined by the answer particle, is emphasized. In a declarative clause that occurs by itself, degree of state/activity is emphasized by the iteration of a stative/activity predicate, and iterative interpretation is available with some achievement/accomplishment predicates. The verum focus interpretation is available with any kind of predicate.

## Appendix 1: Constructions That Look Similar to the EIC

This appendix reviews constructions that include the iteration of a predicate and look like the EIC. I will show that the EIC differs from the other constructions with regard to distribution and types of predicates allowed in the construction. One of the most salient properties of the EIC is that it can represent verum focus, which none of the following constructions do. Hence the following constructions cannot be analyzed in the same way as the EIC.

### I. *Renyookei* Reduplication

*Renyookei* ‘continuative form’ reduplication differs from the EIC in reduplicating the *renyookei* form of verbs rather than the conclusive form.

(1) Taroo-wa yasumi yasumi arui-ta.

Taro-TOP rest rest walk-PST

‘Taro walked, taking a break on the way.’

By definition tense cannot appear in *renyookei* reduplication, so we cannot replace *yasumi yasumi* in (1) with *yasun-da yasun-da* (rest-PST rest-PST). This leads to the distributional difference between the *renyookei* reduplication and the EIC: since *renyookei* form lacks tense, it has to occur as an adverbial and it cannot occur at the end of a clause. Moreover, though it is productive, it cannot occur with verbs that do not allow iterative interpretation. Hence stative verbs (e.g. *\*ari ari* ‘be be’) and some achievement verbs (e.g. *\*kie kie* ‘go.off go.off’) are not compatible with *renyookei* reduplication.

(2) Taroo-wa nagaku nagaku hanasi-ta.

Taro-TOP long long talk-PST

‘Taro talked for a very long time.’

When adjectives undergo *renyookei* reduplication, they function as adverbials and emphasize the degree of the state/situation, but unlike the EIC they do not emphasize polarity or truth.<sup>1</sup>

## II. V/A-*te* Reduplication

-*Te* form can be reduplicated as in (3), but like *renyookei* reduplication, it only functions as adverbials.

(3) a. Taroo-ga nai-te nai-te komat-ta-yo.

Taro-NOM cry-TE cry-TE troubled-PST-SFP

‘I didn’t know what to do because Taro cried so much.’

b. Akari-ga mabusiku-te mabusiku-te ne-rare-nakat-ta-yo.

lighting-NOM bright-TE bright-TE sleep-can-NEG-PST-SFP

‘The lighting was so bright that I had a hard time sleeping.’

V/A-*te* reduplication emphasizes the action represented by V or degree of state represented by A, but it does not emphasize polarity or truth. Note that V-*te* V T and A-*te* A T are not allowed (e.g. \**nai-te* *nai-ta* (cry-TE cry-PST), \**mabusiku-te* *mabusikat-ta* (bright-TE bright-PST)), so they can only occur as adverbials.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This is similar to the repetition of degree words like *totemo* ‘very’.

(i) Taroo-no hanasi-wa totemo totemo naga-i.  
Taro-GEN talk-TOP very very long-NPST

‘Taro’s talk is very very long.’

<sup>2</sup> V/A-*te* reduplication and *renyookei* reduplication can be combined.

(i) Taroo-wa tegami-o kai-te-wa yaburi kaite-wa yaburi si-ta.  
Taro-TOP letter-ACC write-TE-TOP tear write-TE-TOP tear do-PST  
‘Taro wrote a letter and tore it up repeatedly.’

While the final verb cannot occur with T as in (ii), *yabut-ta* is acceptable preceding a noun as in (iii).

(ii) \*Taroo-wa tegami-o kai-te-wa yaburi kaite-wa yabut-ta.  
Taro-TOP letter-ACC write-TE-TOP tear write-TE-TOP tear-PST  
‘Taro wrote a letter and tore it up repeatedly.’

### III. V-*ni*-V Construction

Kageyama (1993) discusses the V-*ni*-V construction and claims that it is derived by the rule in (5).

- (4) Taroo-wa sake-o nomi-ni non-da.  
Taro-TOP sake-ACC drink-NI drink-PST  
'Taro drank so much sake.'

- (5)  $[\mu]_v \rightarrow [\mu\text{-}ni \mu]_v : \mu \text{ (morae)} \geq 2$  (Kageyama (1993: 89))

As he observes, the construction is interpreted as repetition or continuation of action represented by V, and the verum focus interpretation is not available. Stative verbs (6a), achievement verbs (6b) and accomplishment verbs (6c) that do not allow iterative interpretation do not occur in the construction. Adjectives do not represent action, and thus are disallowed as well.

- (6) a. \*Kane-ga ari-ni ar-u.  
money-NOM be-NI be-NPST  
'There is so much money.'
- b. \*Sensoo-de hito-ga sini-ni sin-da.  
war-in people-NOM die-NI die-PST  
'So many people died in the war.'
- c. \*Santyo-ni nobori-ni nobot-ta.  
top.of.a.mountain-to climb-NI climb-PST  
'I climbed to the top of a mountain.'

(Kageyama (1993: 90))

- 
- (iii) kai-te-wa yaburi kaite-wa yabut-ta tegami-no kazukazu  
write-TE-TOP tear write-TE-TOP tear-PST letter-GEN many  
'many letters that he wrote and tore up'

This seems to support what I claimed about the difference between adnominal form and the conclusive form in Chapters 2 and 3.

## Appendix 2: Examples of the EIC

- (1) Watasi-ga boosi-o tot-te “Ima okaeri?” to tazune-ru-to,  
 I-NOM hat-ACC take.off-TE now going.home C ask-NPST-and  
 mukoo-de-wa moo byooki-wa naot-ta-no-ka-to husigi-sooni  
 addressee-at-TOP already disease-TOP recover-PST-C-Q-C in.wonder-look  
 kik-u-no-des-u. Watasi-wa “Ee naori-masi-ta,  
 ask-NPST-NO-COP.POLIT-NPST I-TOP yes recover-POLIT-PST  
naori-masi-ta” to kotae-te, zunzun Suidoobasi-no hoo-e magat-te  
 recover-POLIT-PST C reply-TE fast Suidoobashi-GEN direction-to turn-TE  
 simai-masi-ta.

ASP-POLIT-PST

‘I took off my cap, and said, “So you are back.” She said in a puzzled tone, “You have recovered?” “Oh yes,” I said, “I am quite well now, quite well.” I walked away hurriedly to Suidobashi.’

(Sosseki Natsume (1914) *Kokoro, Part 3: Sensei and His Testament*, 99; translated by Edwin McClellan (2006: 173))

- (2) Kono toki Hirota-sensee-wa “Sit-te-ru, sit-te-ru” to 2-hen  
 this time Hirota-professor-TOP know-TE-NPST know-TE-NPST C 2-times  
 kurikaesi-te it-ta-node, Yojiroo-wa myoona kao-o si-te i-ru.  
 repeat-TE say-PST-because Yojiro-TOP odd face-ACC do-TE ASP-NPST  
 “‘Never mind, we know each other,” Professor Hirota said. This brought an odd look from Yojiro.’ (Sooseki Natsume (1908) *Sanshiro* 4:2; translated by Jay Rubin (2009: 56))

- (3) “Ikan, ikan, geretu-no kiwami-da.” to sensee-ga tatimati nigai  
 no no contemptible utmost-COP.NPST C professor-NOM immediately bitter

kao-o si-ta.

face-ACC do-PST

“Terrible! Terrible!” the professor cried, scowling. “It’s the cheapest thing I’ve ever heard!” (Sooseki Natsume (1908) *Sanshiro* 4:16; translated by Jay Rubin (2009: 80))

- (4) Kuruma-o garagarato monzen-made norituke-te, koko-da koko-da  
car-ACC casually gate.front-up.to ride-TE here-COP.NPST here-COP.NPST  
to kaziboo-o oro-sasi-ta koe-wa tasikani 3-nen-zen wakare-ta  
C shaft-ACC lower-CAUSE-PST voice-TOP for.sure 3-year-before part-PST  
toki sokkuride-a-ru.  
time alike-be-NPST

‘He casually rode the ricksha right up to the gate. The voice that cried “Here it is, here it is,” ordering the driver to lower the shaft, had not changed in the three years since the two had parted.’

(Sooseki Natsume (1909) *Sorekara* (And Then) 2:1; translated by Norma Moore Field (2011: 9))

- (5) “Kimi-wa sakki-kara hatarak-ana-i hatarak-ana-i to it-te, daibun boku-o  
you-TOP just.then-since work-NEG-NPST work-NEG-NPST C say-TE a.lot me-ACC  
koogeki-si-ta-ga boku-wa damat-te i-ta.”  
attack-do-PST-but I-TOP keep.silent-TE ASP-PST

“You’ve been attacking me quite a bit for not working, and I haven’t said anything.”

(Sooseki Natsume (1909) *Sorekara* (And Then) 6:7; translated by Norma Moore Field (2011: 64))

- (6) Suruto totuzen migigawa-no kugurido-o gararito ake-te, kodomo-o dai-ta  
then suddenly right-GEN side.door-ACC burst open-TE child-ACC carry-PST

hito-ri-no otoko-ga zisin-da zisin-da, ookina  
 one-CL-GEN man-NOM earthquake-COP.NPST earthquake-COP.NPST big  
 zisin-da to it-te de-te ki-ta.

earthquake-COP.NPST C say-TE get.out-TE come-PST

‘Just then, a small side door burst open and a man came out carrying a child, shouting, it’s an earthquake, it’s an earthquake, it’s a huge earthquake!’

(Sooseki Natsume (1909) *Sorekara* (And Then) 8:1; translated by Norma Moore Field (2011: 81))

- (7) Kadono-wa ree-no gotoku zyuuyaku ya daigisi-no  
 Kadono-TOP usual-GEN like executive and politician-GEN  
 kooin-s-are-ru-no-o tuukaida tuukaida to hyoosi-te i-ta-ga,  
 custody-do-PASS-NPST-NOML-ACC thrilling thrilling C say-TE be-PST-but  
 Daisuke-ni-wa sorehodo tuukai-nimo omoe-nakat-ta.  
 Daisuke-for-TOP as.much thrilling-as seem-NEG-PST

‘Kadono, as usual, found it “thrilling” that business executives and politicians were being taken into custody, but Daisuke could not find it at all thrilling.’

(Sooseki Natsume (1909) *Sorekara* (And Then) 8:1; translated by Norma Moore Field (2011: 82))

- (8) Terao-wa a-u tanbi-ni motto ka-ke ka-ke to susume-ru.  
 Terao-TOP meet-NPST time-DAT more write-IMP write-IMP C advise-NPST

‘Every time he saw Daisuke, Terao urged him to write again, ...’

(Sooseki Natsume (1909) *Sorekara* (And Then) 8:2; translated by Norma Moore Field (2011: 83))

- (9) Atarasii mugiwara-boo-o kabut-te, kanseena usui haori-o ki-te, atu-i atu-i  
 new straw.hat-ACC wear-TE modest thin cloak wear-TE hot-NPST hot-NPST



to it-te akai kao-o hui-ta.

C say-TE red face-ACC rub-PST

‘He was wearing a new straw hat and a modest summer cloak and complained repeatedly about the heat as he rubbed his red face.’

(Sooseki Natsume (1909) *Sorekara* (And Then) 11:3; translated by Norma Moore Field (2011: 117))

- (10) Noo-no kagen-ga waru-i-no-daroo-to omot-te, yos-i  
brain-GEN condition-NOM bad-NPST-NO-probably-C think-TE good-NPST  
yos-i to kiyasume-o it-te nagusame-te i-ta.  
good-NPST C consolation-ACC say-TE comfort-TE ASP-PST

‘Thinking that her heart was giving her trouble, he had said yes, yes, just to put her mind at rest.’

(Sooseki Natsume (1909) *Sorekara* (And Then) 16:7; translated by Norma Moore Field (2011: 211))

- (11) Migi-no te-de Hiraoka-no sebiro-no kata-o osae-te,  
right-GEN hand-with Hiraoka-GEN suit-GEN shoulder-ACC grab-TE  
zengoni yusuri-nagara, “Hido-i, hido-i,” to it-ta.  
back.and.forth shake-while terrible-NPST terrible-NPST C say-PST

‘With his right hand he grabbed Hiraoka’s suit collar and shook him back and forth, saying, “That’s terrible, that’s terrible.”’

(Sooseki Natsume (1909) *Sorekara* (And Then) 16:10; translated by Norma Moore Field (2011: 216))

- (12) Kare-wa zirizirito koge-ru kokoromoti-ga si-ta. “Koge-ru koge-ru”  
he-TOP slowly scorch-RU feeling-NOM do-PST burn-NPST burn-NPST

to aruki-nagara kuti-no utide it-ta.

C walk-while mouth-GEN inside say-PST

‘He felt as if he were being scorched. As he walked, he repeated to himself, “I’m burning, I’m burning.”’

(Sooseki Natsume (1909) *Sorekara* (And Then) 17:3; translated by Norma Moore Field (2011: 224))

- (13) “Too-kara anata-ni utiake-te ayamar-oo ayamaroo to omot-te  
long.time-from you-to confide-TE apologize-will apologize-will C think-TE  
i-ta-n-des-u-ga tui iinikukat-ta mondakara,  
be-PST-NO-COP.POLIT-NPST-but unintentionally cannot.say-PST because  
sorenarini si-te oi-ta-no-des-u ” to togiretogireni it-ta.  
as.it.is do-TE put-PST-NO-COP.POLIT-NPST C haltingly say-PST  
“For a long time I’ve been wanting to say how sorry I am, from the bottom of my heart,”  
she said haltingly, “but it’s been hard for me to put into words...and so I’ve just let it go  
up to now.” (Sooseki Natsume (1910) *Mon* (The Gate) 13:4; translated by William F.  
Sibley (2013:123))

- (14) “Nigawa-de ori-te Kabutoyama-no koosu-nara 2-zikan-kurai-rasii-kara  
Nigawa-at get.off-TE Kabutoyama-GEN course-as.to 2-hours-about-I.hear-because  
kyoo-wa soko-kara sitami-ni it-te miru? Nigawa-no  
today-TOP there-from preliminary.inspection-to go-TE see Nigawa-GEN  
kasenziki aruku-dake-demo nobiru ya yukinosita-kurai  
dry.riverbed walk-only-by wild.rocambale and saxifrage-like  
mitukaru-kamosirenai-si.”  
find-possible-and  
“Un, ik-u ik-u!”  
yes go-NPST go-NPST

“If we get off a train at Nigawa and take a Kabutoyama route, I hear it takes about two hours, so shall we go for a preliminary inspection from there? We may be able to find things like wild rocamboles and saxifrages just by walking along the dry riverbed of Nigawa.”

“Yes, I WILL go!” (Hiro Arimura (2008) *Hankyuu Densha* (Hankyu Line), 201-202)

(15) “Anata-koso — doosite ippon osoi densya-ni nat-te-ru-no? A, masaka  
 you-very why one-CL late train-to become-TE-NPST-Q ah no.way  
 sakki-no obasan-to hitomontyaku toka...”  
 a.while.ago-GEN woman-with trouble etc.

“A, tyai-mas-u tyai-mas-u.” Ansin-sase-ru-yooni  
 ah diffent-POLIT-NPST different-POLIT-NPST reassure-CAUSE-SUBJ-as.if  
 zyoisidaisee-wa kao-no mae-de kokizamini te-o hut-ta.  
 female.college.student-TOP face-GEN front-at little.by.little hand-ACC waive-PST

“Why are YOU on the next train? Oh, don’t tell me you had trouble with the woman we saw a while ago.” “Oh, it’s nothing like that.” The female college student waived her hand hurriedly to put her at her ease.’

(Hiro Arimura (2008) *Hankyuu Densha* (Hankyu Line), 217-218)



## Chapter 5

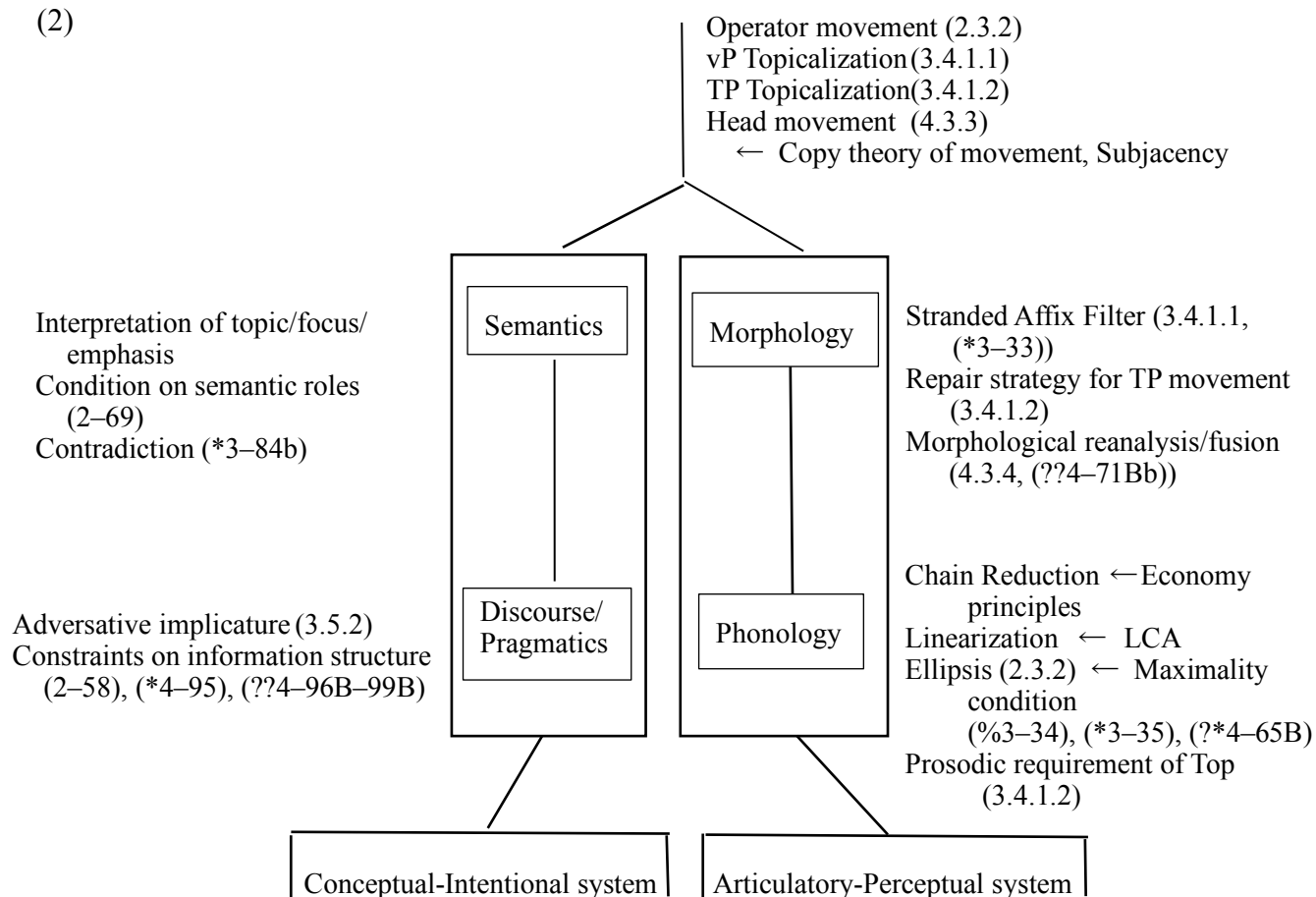
### Concluding Remarks

This thesis has examined three constructions in Japanese that involve syntactic doubling of predicates or their subparts: VP-focus specificational pseudocleft sentences, the PCC, and the EIC. The main research question is stated as follows:

- (1) Why does the iteration of an element occur in the VP-focus specificational pseudocleft construction, PCC, and EIC in Japanese with/without a semantic effect?

In order to answer this question, this thesis has considered the structure and derivation of each construction as well as its interpretation. The following figure in (2) is a schematic summary of the basic assumptions and the components of grammar in which the operations and constraints apply for the derivation and interpretation of the three constructions, as well as the data crucial to the analyses of the three constructions. The numbers in parentheses with periods stand for the chapter, section, and subsection in which the operations and constraints are discussed or proposed, and those with a hyphen and an acceptability marker stand for the chapter and the number given to examples referred to for the argument.

(2)



The following are the conclusions reached with respect to syntactic doubling in each construction and the theoretical implications for further research.

In the VP-focus specificational pseudocleft construction, when *su(ru)* ‘do’ in the presuppositional clause occurs in a passive form, a predicate in the focus position must also be in a passive form. This doubling does not add a new meaning to the construction, but the sentence is unacceptable unless the passive morpheme is doubled. The thesis has argued that such doubling can be accounted for by the bi-clausal analysis under which the presuppositional part and the focus part are generated as clauses representing a question-answer pair, because the same type of doubling that takes place in the pseudocleft sentences also occurs in question-answer pairs.

In the PCC, doubling of a predicate must occur in the topic phrase and the sentence-final position. The iteration of a predicate has an indirect semantic effect in the sense that it constitutes a part of the PCC, which as a whole has the function of expressing verum focus. Unlike the EIC,

the PCC induces an adversative implicature that can be attributed to the contrastive topic marker *-wa*. Concerning the forms of a predicate in two positions, the one preceding *-wa* (P<sub>1</sub>) can be the same as or in a less specified form than that in the sentence-final position (P<sub>2</sub>). It is claimed that TP topicalization and vP topicalization are responsible for cases with P<sub>1</sub> being identical in form to P<sub>2</sub> and cases with P<sub>1</sub> not being identical in form to P<sub>2</sub>, respectively. Partial copy spell-out accounts for the doubling of the predicates.

As for the EIC, the iteration of a tensed predicate is optional; if doubling occurs, it results in the EIC, and if not, it is an ordinary sentence. In the EIC that occurs in polarity-sensitive contexts such as an answer to a polar question, polarity/verum is focused, whereas in the EIC that occurs in other contexts, in addition to polarity focus, the degree of an action or extent of state is emphasized with predicates that denote activity or state, and iteration of action is denoted by the iteration of some achievement and accomplishment verbs. Unlike the VP-focus pseudocleft construction in which doubling of a passive morpheme has no semantic effect, the relationship between form and meaning is straightforward in the EIC: the iteration of a predicate results in emphasis. Noting that the EIC is restricted to matrix clauses and that no partial iteration is allowed, this thesis proposes to derive the construction by head movement of a predicate to SA, which is triggered by an emphasis feature on  $\emptyset$  in SA. A morphological reanalysis of the predicate complex in SA enables it to be pronounced along with the copy in Pol.

The proposed account of doubling in the VP-focus specificational pseudocleft construction makes use of its bi-clausal structure, whereas that of the PCC and the EIC relies on the copy theory of movement. To the extent that these analyses are successful, it shows that there is more than one way to derive syntactic doubling in Japanese. It is hoped that further research from a comparative perspective will reveal factors that determine what kind of syntactic doubling is available in which language.

As for the phrase structure of Japanese, PolP and SAP are postulated above TP. The target of emphasis in the EIC in answers to polar questions is not a negative morpheme in the predicate but a polarity feature in Pol. Postulation of PolP above TP, which is independent of NegP, and that of SAP in a root clause, which hosts an assertion marker with an emphasis feature and an answer

particle in its Spec, explain the distribution of the EIC and its interpretation. If the proposed analysis is on the right track, it will provide novel evidence for syntactic verb raising in Japanese, the availability of which is still under debate.

Concerning the *-(r)u* ending that attaches to V, the causative *-(s)ase*, passive *-(r)are*, and applicative *-te yar* or *-te moraw* preceding *koto* in the focus position of the VP-focus specificational pseudocleft sentences and that preceding *koto/no* in the topic phrase of the PCC, it indicates no contrast in tense and thus is argued to be a verbal suffix rather than a present tense morpheme. Further research is necessary regarding the use of this suffix in other types of sentences.

The thesis has demonstrated that the properties of the PCC and EIC are explained by universal principles to a considerable degree once the truly idiosyncratic and marked portions of the properties are recognized and distinguished from the rest of the properties. With respect to the PCC, the specific properties that need to be stipulated are the application of TP movement and the use of *koto* and *no*, which have lost their nominal feature. What can or cannot occur in P<sub>1</sub> and P<sub>2</sub> in the PCC is explained by topicalization of TP or its subpart and copy spell-out. As for the EIC, the occurrence of an uninterpretable emphasis feature on the assertion marker  $\emptyset$  and the morphological reanalysis of a verbal complex with the emphatic  $\emptyset$  are the properties proposed specifically for this construction. The EIC is derived by head movement of a verbal complex to SA, and thanks to the morphological reanalysis, both the verbal complex in SA and the tail of the movement chain in Pol are pronounced. Thus, with the help of a limited number of assumptions, the peculiar behavior of the PCC and the EIC are explained by the copy theory of movement, the Stranded Affix Filter, and Nunes' theory of copy pronunciation. This is a welcome result given that the marked "constructions," though peripheral, constitute a part of human language.

This thesis has also demonstrated that syntactic doubling is a phenomenon that needs to be handled in various components of grammar. For example, it is pointed out that contexts affect the interpretation of the EIC. The acceptability of the EIC in an answer to a polar question cannot be determined just by looking at the form of predicates that undergo iteration. Rather, it is necessary to take into account the preceding question and the answer particle with which it occurs. Like



sentences with ellipsis, sentential grammar alone cannot account for the properties of the EIC. Moreover, morphological fusion plays a crucial role in the proposed analysis of the EIC, which accounts for the degraded acceptability of the iteration of a verbal sequence that is morphologically complex or prosodically heavy. This study has revealed the intertwined nature of syntax, semantics, pragmatics, morphology, and phonology, and division of labor between them is an important issue that requires further investigation. Research on syntactic doubling thus contributes to an understanding of the faculty of language.

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