

2 Allocutive Agreement and the Root

2.1 Agreement at C: Japanese

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

- (1) Some predicted languages
 - Category I: C_{ϕ}, T_{δ} – Japanese
 - Category II: C_{δ}, T_{ϕ} – English
 - Category III: $C, T_{\phi/\delta}$ – Spanish
 - Category IV: $C_{\phi/\delta}, T$ – Dinka

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

The politeness marking occurs as part of the verbal morphology (or nominal morphology in a different paradigm). The two sentences below both mean ‘I ate pizza’, with the first example having the politeness marker *-mas-*, so that this sentence would be uttered to an addressee who is socially superior to the speaker (Harada 1976). The second example is in the plain form, and would typically be uttered to a friend or a child.

- (2) a. Watasi-wa piza-o tabe-**mas**-u. (formal)
I-TOP pizza-ACC eat-MAS-PRS
‘I will eat pizza.’
- b. Watasi-wa piza-o tabe-ru. (colloquial)
I-TOP pizza-ACC eat-PRS
‘I will eat pizza.’

What I will argue is that this politeness marking parallels what we see in languages such as French in which the agreement varies according to the colloquial/formal nature of the subject pronoun.

- (3) a. Tu dances.
 you dance.2SG
 ‘You dance.’
 b. Vous dansez.
 you dance.2SG/PL.POLITE
 ‘You dance.’

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

- (4) Ootoo-wa ki-mas-u.
 my.kid.brother-TOP come-MAS-PRS
 ‘My kid brother will come.’

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

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

- (5) a. Si tu trouves le livre, appelle-moi.
 if you find-2SG the book, call-me
 ‘If you find the book, call me.’
 b. Je regrette que tu ne sois pas d’accord.
 I regret that you NE be-SBJV not agreed
 ‘I regret that you do not agree.’

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

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

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

- (7) a. Never had I had to borrow money.
 b. Because never had I had to borrow money, I have a lot saved.
 c. John said that never had he had to borrow money.
 d. *The fact that never had he had to borrow money is well-known.

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

- (8) a. Highest S
 Hanako-wa ki-mas-u.
 Hanako-TOP come-MAS-PRS
 ‘Hanako will come.’
 b. S dominated by highest S
 Hanako-ga ki-mas-u kara, ie-ni ite-kudasai.
 Hanako-NOM come-MAS-PRS because home-at be-please
 ‘Because Hanako will come, please be at home.’
 c. Reported S in direct discourse
 Taro-wa Hanako-ga ki-mas-u to itta.
 Taro-TOP Hanako-NOM come-MAS-PRS C said
 ‘Taro said that Hanako will come.’

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

- (9) a. Taro-wa [Hanako-ga kuru/*ki-**mas**-u to] sinzitei-ru.
 Taro-TOP Hanako-NOM come/come-PRS _{C_{NONFACT}} believe-PRS
 ‘Taro believes that Hanako will come.’
 b. Taro-wa [Hanako-ga kita/*ki-**mas**-u koto] -o hitei-sita.
 Taro-TOP Hanako-NOM came/come-MAS-PRS _{C_{FACT}} -ACC deny-PST
 ‘Taro denied that Hanako will come.’

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

I propose that the reason for the differences between French and Japanese politeness marking has to do with Strong Uniformity and the variation it allows. The ϕ -feature starts out at C in both languages, and in French it is inherited by T, where it enters into agreement with the external argument, and this argument is brought up to Spec,TP. In Japanese, the ϕ -feature stays at C. Instead of “looking down” to find the external argument, it finds the representation of the addressee. Where is this representation? As I will argue, to deal with this kind of agreement at C, agreement with a discourse participant, we need to adopt Ross’s performative analysis (1970), a modern version of which I will propose later in the chapter, based on Speas and Tenny (2003) and

a revision of it by Haegeman and Hill (2011). The “speech act phrase,” as linguists call the modern rendition of the performative analysis, contains representations of the speaker and the addressee, and the latter functions as the goal for the ϕ -feature at C, making it possible to provide valuation of 2nd PERSON, COLLOQUIAL/FORMAL, and as we will see below, also NUMBER and GENDER, all familiar to a standard pronominal system. To provide an argument for the politeness system of the type found in Japanese being ϕ -feature agreement at C, I turn to Basque, which offers the clearest case for this approach to politeness marking.

2.2 Allocutive Agreement

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

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

		allocutive agr.	subj. agr.
a. <i>To a male friend</i>	Pettek lan egin dik.	↓	↓
	Peter.ERG work.ABS do.PRF AUX-3SG.ABS- <u>2SG.COLLOQ.M</u> -3SG.ERG		
	‘Peter worked.’		
b. <i>To a female friend</i>	Pettek lan egin din.		
	Peter.ERG work.ABS do.PRF AUX-3SG.ABS- <u>2SG.COLLOQ.F</u> -3SG.ERG		
	‘Peter worked.’		
c. <i>To someone higher in status (formal)</i>	Pettek lan egin dizü.		
	Peter.ERG work.ABS do.PRF AUX-3SG.ABS- <u>2.SG.FORMAL</u> SG.ERG		
	‘Peter worked.’		
d. <i>Plural addressee</i>	Pettek lan egin du.		
	Peter.ERG work.ABS do.PRF AUX-3SG.ABS-3SG.ERG		
	‘Peter worked.’		

All four sentences have the same subject-verb agreement 3rd person, singular, ergative, as expected. What is unusual is that there is another agreement, the so-called allocutive agreement, that varies from sentence to sentence, and this form of agreement marks levels of politeness, very much like the politeness marker *-mas-* in Japanese.¹ In (a), the allocutive agreement is 2nd person,

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

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

- (11) a. (Nik hi) ikusi haut.
 (1SG.ERG 2SG.COLLOQ.ABS) see.PRF AUX-2SG.COLLOQ.ABS-1SG.ERG
 ‘I saw you.’
 b. (Zuek ni) ikusi naizue.
 (2PL.ERG 1SG.ABS) see.PRF AUX-1SG.ABS-2PL.ERG
 ‘You saw me.’

Hence, the 2nd person allocutive agreement is in direct competition with the “argument” 2nd person agreement, indicating that the allocutive agreement belongs to the regular agreement system.

Another property of Basque allocutive agreement, one that links it to the politeness marking in Japanese, is that it is limited to the main clause. In (12b), we can see that placing an allocutive agreement within a relative clause is ungrammatical, and in (13b), complements do not allow allocutive agreement.

Relative clause

- (12) a. [Lo egiten duen] gizona Manex dun.
 sleeping AUX.3SG.ERG.COMP man John COP.3SG.ABS.ALLOC.F
 The man [who is sleeping] is John.’
 b. * [Lo egiten dinan] gizona Manex
 sleeping AUX.3SG.ERG.ALLOC.F.COMP man.the John
 dun.
 3SG.ABS.COP.ALLOC.F

Complementation

- (13) a. Ez dinat nahi [gerta dakion].
 NEG AUX.1SG.ERG.ALLOC.F want happen 3SG.ABS.AUX.3SG.DAT.COMP
 ‘I don’t want it to happen to him.’

- b. *Ez dinat nahi [gerta
 NEG AUX.1SG.ERG.ALLOC.F want happen
 diakionan].
 3SG.ABS.AUX.3SG.DAT.**ALLOC.F**.COMP

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

- (14) a. Lan egiten duia hire lagunak?
 work AUX.3SG.ERG.Q your friend.ERG
 'Does your friend work?'
 b. *Lan egiten dina hire lagunak?
 work AUX.3SG.ERG.**ALLOC.F**.Q your friend.ERG

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

As further demonstration of the C nature of the allocutive agreement in Basque, we saw that it does not occur in a question even if it is a main clause. However, it turns out that in another dialect, Batua Basque, allocutive agreement may occur (Zu 2015).

- (15) Batua Basque
 a. Lan egiten **al** di-Ø-k hire lagunak.
 work Q AUX-3SG.ERG-**ALLOC.M** your friend.ERG
 'Does your friend work?' (said to a male friend)
 b. Lan egiten **al** di-Ø-n hire lagunak.
 work Q AUX-3SG.ERG-**ALLOC.F** your friend.ERG
 'Does your friend work?' (said to a female friend)

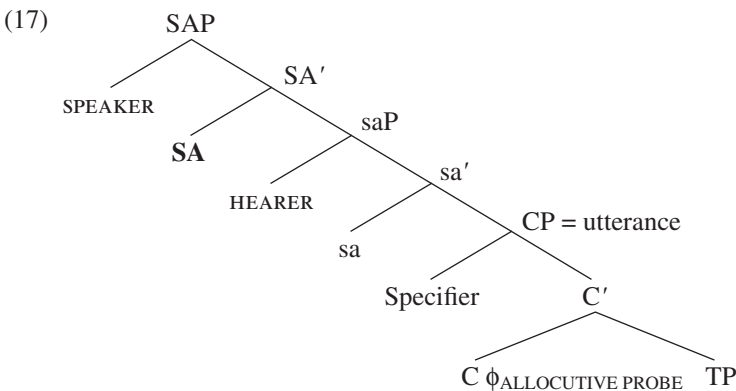
What is the difference between this dialect and Souletin? As Zu notes, in Batua Basque, the question particle *al* occurs away from C.

- (16) a. John ikusi **al** d-u-zu? Batua Basque
 John see Q 3.ABS-AUX-2SG.ERG
 ‘Have you seen John?’
- b. John ikusi d-u-zu-**ia**? Northeastern Basque (Souletin)
 John see 3.ABS-AUX-2SG.ERG-Q
 ‘Have you seen John?’

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

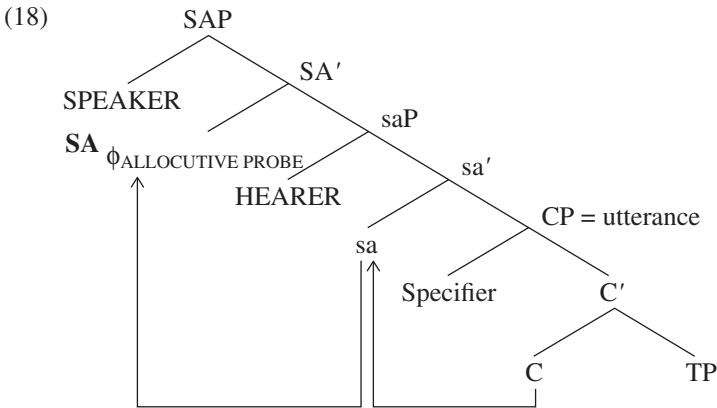
A second point that Oyarçabal (1993) makes is that the Souletin allocutive agreement and its property of being borne by C makes it parallel to the politeness marker in Japanese; Oyarçabal refers to Miyagawa (1987). In that article, I argued that the politeness marker is associated with C. This correlation gives credence to the idea that the politeness marker in Japanese is a 2nd person ϕ -feature agreement borne by C, as predicted by Strong Uniformity. Before giving the evidence that the politeness marker in Japanese is indeed borne by C, I will briefly remark on how the allocutive agreement gets its valuation, given that it is a formal agreement probe that requires a goal for valuation.

In order to receive proper valuation, allocutive agreement requires a 2nd person “goal” (or “target”) in the structure that corresponds to the addressee. This recalls Ross’s (1970) performative analysis, and I adopt a modern version of the performative analysis, proposed by Speas and Tenny (2003). The core claim of Speas and Tenny is that the performative structure is implemented by a head, which they call “speech act” or “sa.” I will use a slightly revised version of the Speas and Tenny structure that was proposed by Haegeman and Hill (2011).



The *sa* head takes the actual utterance, CP, as its complement; the head of this CP, C, has the ϕ -feature that will receive valuation. The *sa* head takes the HEARER in its specifier, and after *sa* raises to the “shell” (marked by “SA”), the specifier of this shell contains the speaker.

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



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

2.2.1 Politeness Marking in Japanese as Allocutive Agreement

What led Oyharçabal (1993) to observe that the Souletin allocutive agreement correlates with politeness marking in Japanese is the fact that the politeness marker *-mas-* (and its nominal counterpart *-des-*) is borne by C. This, plus the fact that the allocutive agreement and *-mas-* have the same politeness function, would naturally identify *-mas-* as itself being an allocutive agreement that bears 2nd person valuation. This, in turn, gives credence to the prediction of Strong Uniformity and feature inheritance—in Category I languages such as Japanese, the ϕ -feature occurs at C. I now turn to the argument that *-mas-* is borne by C.

The core observation in Miyagawa (1987) is that there is a variation in grammaticality for *wh*-questions with and without the politeness marker.

- (19) Dare-ga ki-**mas**-u **ka**? (formal)
 who-NOM come-MAS-PRS Q
 ‘Who will come?’
- (20) *Dare-ga kuru **ka**? (colloquial)
 who-NOM come Q
 ‘Who will come?’

In (19), the verb contains the politeness marker *-mas-* and the *wh*-question with the question particle *ka* is fine, but in (20), the same question without the politeness marker is degraded. To ask this question, one must resort to some other form of the question without *ka*, such as rising intonation or the alternative question particle *no*.⁴

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

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

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

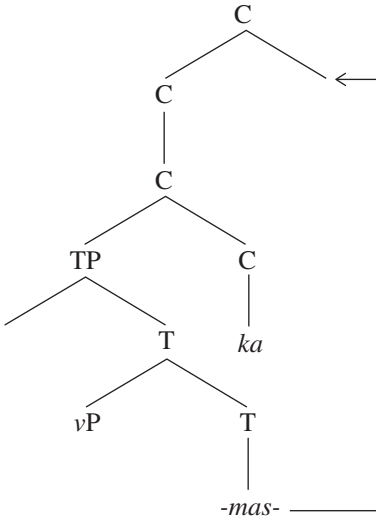
Bridge/nonbridge verbs

- (22) a. Bill-wa [_{CP} dare-ga kuru **ka**] itta.
 Bill-TOP who-NOM come Q said
 ‘Bill said who will come.’
- b. ?*Bill-wa [_{CP} dare-ga kuru **ka**] donatta.
 Bill-TOP who-NOM come Q shouted
 ‘Bill shouted who will come.’

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

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

The politeness suffix begins in the region of T, and raises to CP. This is a form of LF affix raising (cf. Pesetsky 1985, Kitagawa 1986).

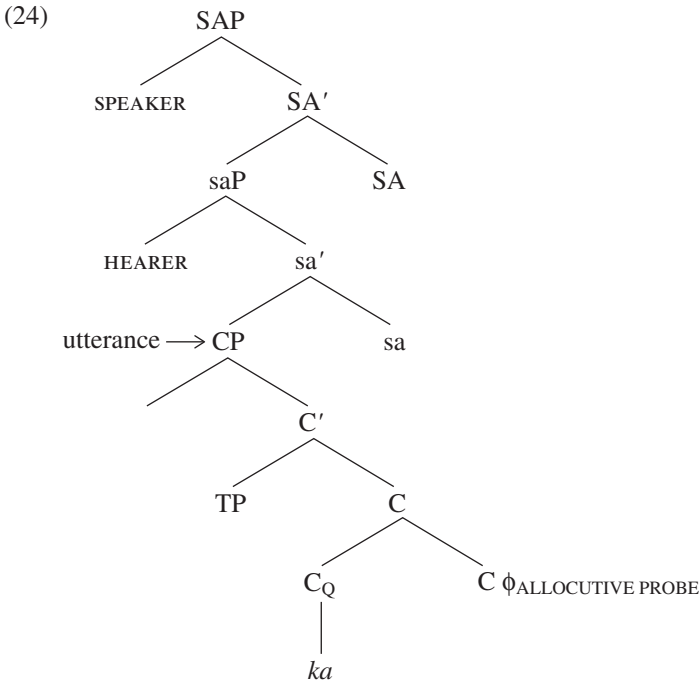


Not only does this account for the grammaticality of (19), it also places the politeness marker in a position in which it has the entire sentence within its domain. This is the correct interpretation because *-mas-* marks the entire sentence as polite.

Recall that in Souletin Basque, allocutive agreement does not occur in questions because the Q particle already occurs on C; this is different from Batua Basque, which allows allocutive agreement on C because the Q particle in this dialect occurs away from C. In Japanese, the C particle *ka* occurs on C, yet the allocutive *-mas-* may occur as well. The reason is that in Japanese, multiple C heads are allowed. Thus, a sequence such as *to-ka* ‘C-Q’ is possible. Such a multiple-C structure is never found in Basque (Arregi, personal communication). The structure in (23) is an instantiation of the multiple-C structure in Japanese.

We can map this analysis of the allocutive agreement to the “performative analysis” using Speas and Tenny’s structure, as revised by Haegeman and Hill, in (17)–(18) for allocutive agreement. In doing so, I am following the hint that Harada (1976) gave when he called *-mas-* (and its nominal counterpart *-des-*) “performative” honorifics. Instead of raising the politeness marker at LF as suggested in Miyagawa (1987), we can assume, along the lines suggested for Basque, that it originates at C as a ϕ -feature probe that raises to the *sa* head,

where it is given the valuation of 2nd person formal. I have made the structure head-final to reflect the Japanese word order.



In Japanese, only the formal form, *-mas-*, is associated with the ϕ -feature probe that forms an allocutive agreement, while in Souletin, both formal and colloquial styles have allocutive agreement.^{6,7}

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

- (25) Bill-wa [_{CP} dare-ga kuru/*ki-**mas**-u **ka**] tazuneta.
 Bill-TOP who-NOM come/come-MAS-PRS Q asked
 ‘Bill asked who will come.’

We see that the indirect-question construction is ungrammatical with *-mas-*. Why is this? On our analysis, the reason is that, in order to give valuation to the allocutive agreement *-mas-*, there must occur a superstructure above the CP that contains the speech act head and all the concomitant structure that it creates (see (24)). As a result, in this example, what the matrix verb ‘ask’ takes is not the interrogative CP with *ka* but the superstructure with *saP*. The

interrogative CP occurs inside this saP, and is inaccessible to the matrix verb because of all the structure created by sa. As a result, the selectional requirement of the matrix verb fails to be met and the sentence is ungrammatical.

2.2.2 Further Evidence for the Speech Act Projection: Jingpo and Newari

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

2.2.2.1 *Jingpo*

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

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

- a. Jongma du hkum ma-s-ai.
 student arrive complete PL-PERF-3:DECL
 ‘The students have all arrived.’ (subject agreement, neutral)
- b. Jongma du hkum sa-ga-ai.
 student arrive complete PERF-1PL-DECL
 ‘The students have all arrived.’ (speaker agreement, bonding)

(26a) has the normal subject agreement, and the sentence has neutral interpretation relative to the speaker. In (26b), the occurrence of the speaker agreement implies a close relation, or “bonding,” between the speaker and the subject of the sentence. As Zu describes it, if a teacher reports to the principal about the students having arrived using (26a), it is simply a statement about the state of affairs. But if the teacher uses (26b), then along with the fact that the students have arrived, the teacher conveys the meaning that the teacher has a close relationship with the students. This expression of bonding is made possible by the agreement linking the speaker in the speech act projection to the proposition. In other languages, a similar effect is obtained by using a diminutive. Just as in Basque, the target of the speaker agreement is covert since the elements of the saP are typically unpronounced.

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

- (*Ngai) jongma du hkum sa-ga-ai.
 I student arrive complete PERF-1PL-DECL
 ‘The students have all arrived.’ (speaker agreement, covert speaker)

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

(28) Subject agreement with 1st person pronouns in Jingpo (Dai and Xu 1992, 125, 162)

- a. (Anhte) masum lang hti sa-**ga**-ai.
 we three time read PRF-**1PL**-DECL
 ‘We have read (it) three times.’ (subject agreement, optional speaker)
- b. Daina go (anhte) yong datshin sa yu mo nga **ga**-ai.
 tonight TOP we all movie go see plan IMPF **1PL**-DECL
 ‘We all plan to go see a movie tonight.’ (subject agreement, optional speaker)

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

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

(29) The perfective final particles, 1st person subject (Dai and Xu 1992, 280, 287)

Subject	(Indirect) object	Singular	Plural
1	No object	<i>sangai</i>	<i>sagaai</i>
1	1	—	—
1	2	<i>sinde ai</i>	<i>masinde ai</i>
1	3	<i>se ai</i>	<i>mase ai</i>

In cases where both the subject and the object refer to the 1st person, the sentence-final particle only agrees with the subject.

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

- I we-OBJ prepare APPL PERF-1SG-DECL
 ‘I have already prepared for us.’

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

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

- a. Ngai du sa-**ng**-ai.
 I arrive PRF-1SG-DECL
 ‘I have arrived.’
- b. *Ngai du sa-**ga**-ai.
 I arrive PRF-1PL-DECL
 Intended: ‘I have arrived.’

2.2.2.2 Newari

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

(32) Verbal inflection in Newari (Hargreaves 2005)

Verb suffixes	Past	Nonpast
Conjunct	<i>ā</i>	<i>e</i>
Disjunct	<i>a</i>	<i>i</i>

These are illustrated below.

- (33) a. wō: [wa ana wan-**ā** dhakā:] dhāla.
 (s)he.ERG (s)he there go-PST.CONJ that said
 ‘(S)he_i said that (s)he_{i/§j} went there.’ (coindexation)
- b. wō: [wa ana wan-**a** dhakā:] dhāla.
 (s)he.ERG (s)he there go-PST.DISJ that said
 ‘(S)he_i said that (s)he_{i/§j} went there.’ (disjoint reference)

In (33a), the subordinate verb is inflected for conjunct, which indicates coreference between the subordinate subject and the matrix subject. The occurrence of the disjunct inflection in (33b) indicates disjunction between the two subjects.

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

(34) Main declarative clauses in Newari

- a. ji ana wan-**ā**/wan-**e**.
 I there go-PST.CONJ/go-FUT.CONJ
 ‘I went/will go there.’ (Decl.: subject = speaker ... conjunct)

- b. cha ana wan-a/wan-i.
 you there go-PST.DISJ/go-FUT.DISJ
 ‘You went/will go there.’ (Decl.: subject = addressee ... disjunct)
- c. wa ana wan-a/wan-i.
 (s)he there go-PST.DISJ/go-FUT.DISJ
 ‘(S)he went/will go there.’ (Decl.: subject = 3rd ... disjunct)

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

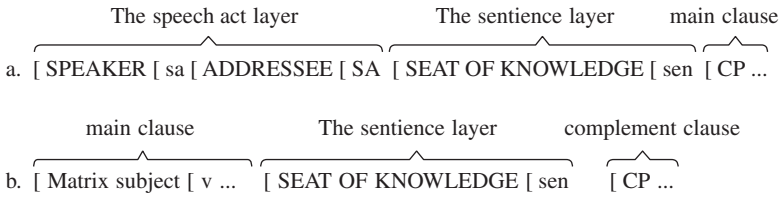
While the conjunct/disjunct inflection provides a clear argument for the existence of the saP, there is one interesting wrinkle in the pattern of agreement. As Zu notes, when the matrix clause is a question, we get the opposite agreement pattern.

(35) Main interrogative clauses in Newari

- a. ji ana wan-a/wan-i lā?
 I there go-PST.DISJ/go-FUT.DISJ Q
 ‘Did/will I go there? (I don’t remember.)’
 (Interr.: subject = speaker ... disjunct)
- b. cha ana wan-ā/wan-e la?
 you there go-PST.CONJ/go-FUT.CONJ Q
 ‘Did/will you go there?’ (Interr.: subject = addressee ... conjunct)
- c. wa ana wan-a/wan-i lā?
 (s)he there go-PST.DISJ/go-FUT.DISJ Q
 ‘Did/will (s)he go there?’ (Interr.: subject = 3rd ... disjunct)

In these yes-no questions, when the subject is 1st person as in (35a), the disjunct inflection shows up, while in (35b), in which the subject is 2nd person, the conjunct inflection appears. (35c), with a 3rd person subject, has the disjunct inflection. Zu suggests that this phenomenon is an indication of an additional projection within saP, which Speas and Tenny (2003) call the “seat of knowledge,” in the “sentience” layer of the structure. This projection indicates who holds the knowledge contained in the sentence. It is the speaker in the case of a declarative, and the hearer in the case of an interrogative.

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



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

(37) Declarative and interrogative sentences and the seat of knowledge

- a. Declarative: SPEAKER_i ... ADDRESSEE ... SEAT OF KNOWLEDGE_i ...
 Subject_i ... V_{CONJ}
- b. Interrogative: SPEAKER ... ADDRESSEE_i ... SEAT OF KNOWLEDGE_i ...
 Subject_i ... V_{CONJ}

2.3 Two Counterexamples

Returning to the analysis of the question particle *ka* in *wh*-questions in Japanese, Yokoyama (2013) presents two counterexamples to the generalization that a *wh*-question in the colloquial style cannot have *ka*, as we saw earlier and repeated below.

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

who-NOM come-MAS-PRS Q
 'Who will come?'

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

who-NOM come Q
 'Who will come?'

Yokoyama notes that the following are fine.

(40) Dare-ga kuru ka naa?

who-NOM come Q PRT
 'I wonder who will come.'

- (41) Dare-ga kuru ka!
 who-NOM come Q
 ‘No one will come!’

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

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

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

- (42) Daremo kuru ka!
 anyone come Q
 ‘No one will come!’

This example is particularly noteworthy because in Japanese NPIs must be licensed by an explicit negative element; they cannot be licensed in other downward entailing environments as in English. The fact that the NPI is licensed in (42) strongly supports Oguro’s contention that the rhetorical *ka* itself contains negation.⁸

Along with the negative connotation, the rhetorical question also strongly asserts the speaker’s conviction about the event or the situation. Oguro suggests that this emotional conviction comes from the modal *mono* (Goto 2012), which is sometimes used in exclamatory sentences. This *mono* can be silent, but it is always there to mark the exclamation.

- (43) Taroo-mo tosi-o totta mono da!
 Taro-also age-ACC took MOD COP
 ‘Taro has aged!’

As Oguro notes, because of this conviction on the part of the speaker, an adverb such as *zettaini* ‘definitely’ is compatible with the rhetorical question, but an adverb that indicates the speaker’s uncertainty, such as *hyottositara* ‘maybe’, is incompatible.

- (44) a. Zettaini daremo kuru (mono) ka!
 definitely anyone come MOD Q
 ‘Definitely no one will come!’
 b. ??Hyottositara daremo kuru (mono) ka!
 maybe anyone come MOD Q
 ‘Maybe no one will come!’

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

- (45) [saP SPEAKER [CP [MOD [TP daremo ku-ru] mono_{POV/SPEAKER}] ka_{+NEGATIVE}] sa⁰]

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

- (46) Dare-ga ki-mas-u ka!
 who-NOM come-MAS-PRS Q
 ‘No one will come!’

Both the standard question particle and the rhetorical *ka* occur within the saP. The standard question particle needs the politeness marking to project the saP, which in turn furnishes the sa head to license *ka*. In the case of the rhetorical question, the modal for exclamation, *mono*, which may be covert, projects the saP, making it unnecessary for the rhetorical question *ka* to have the politeness marking.

2.4 Root Phenomena

In this section, I will look carefully at the distribution of the allocutive agreement *-mas-*. We saw that the allocutive agreement in Souletin is limited to non-interrogative main clauses. The politeness marker *-mas-* in Japanese has a wider distribution, although still within a narrow range of possibilities. The rhetorical *ka* that we just looked at essentially shares the same distribution.

Given that both must be licensed by the occurrence of the speech act projection, the distribution of *-mas-* is an indication of where the speech act projection may occur. As I have noted in an earlier work (Miyagawa 2012a), the speech act projection may appear precisely in those environments that Emonds (1969) originally defined as roots. Below, I will extend my earlier work to include one domain for the root that Emonds did not identify.

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

(47) Root

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

In these contexts, a non-structure-preserving transformation such as Negative Constituent Preposing (NCP) may apply, but not in a non-root clause, which requires all transformations to be structure-preserving (see also Emonds 1976, 2004, 2012).

- (48) a. Never had I had to borrow money.
 b. Because never had I had to borrow money, I have a lot saved.
 c. John said that never had he had to borrow money.
 d. *The fact that never had he had to borrow money is well-known.

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

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

- (49) I found out that never before had he had to borrow money. (Hooper and Thompson 1973, 119)

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

(50) Root transformations (Emonds 1969)

NCP, VP preposing, topicalization, prepositional phrase substitution, subject replacement, direct quote preposing, etc.

For example, NCP is a transformation that places special emphasis on the negative portion of an asserted clause (*Never have I had to ...*), and direct quote preposing moves the quoted material to the left edge in order to highlight it, the same as topicalization. Based on this observation, Hooper and Thompson propose that the so-called root transformations embody this meaning of emphasis, and because emphasis occurs naturally in asserted environments, “[r]oot transformations are restricted to application in asserted clauses” (Hooper and Thompson 1973, 472). Root transformations are incompatible with presupposed clauses, and this is why (48d) above, a complex NP headed by *fact*, does not allow root transformations: the complement of *fact* is naturally presupposed, not asserted.⁹

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

(51) Hooper and Thompson (1973, 473–474)

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

According to Hooper and Thompson, for Class A, it is possible for the complement to comprise the main assertion. For Class B, the main verb does not always have the meaning of assertion, allowing the complement to express the main assertion of the sentence. Class C verbs have the meaning of assertion, and their complement is neither asserted nor presupposed. Class D verbs likewise express assertion, and their complement is presupposed. Finally, Class E verbs are called “semi-factive” and their complement is not always presupposed. Hooper and Thompson show that root transformations are possible in the complement clause for those classes where the complement can express assertion, namely A, B, and E.

(52) I exclaimed that never in my life had I seen such a crowd.

(A) (Hooper and Thompson 1973 (43))

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

(54) I found out that never before had he had to borrow money.

(E) (Hooper and Thompson 1973 (119))

C and D do not allow root transformations in the complement clause.

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

(56) *He was surprised that never in my life had I seen a hippopotamus.

(D) (H&T (103))

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

(57) a. Highest S

Hanako-wa ki-mas-u.

Hanako-TOP come-MAS-PRS

'Hanako will come.'

b. S dominated by highest S

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

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

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

c. Reported S in direct discourse

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

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

'Taro said that Hanako will come.'

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

(58) Complementizers in Japanese (see for example Kuno 1973, McCawley 1978)

to: nonfactive (= not presupposed)

koto/no: factive (= presupposed)

When we compare complementizer selection in Japanese with the five categories in Hooper and Thompson's classification, we find that the five verb classes

in Hooper and Thompson cluster precisely into two groups with respect to complementizer selection: those that allow root transformations and those that do not. As shown below, while A, B, and E, which allow root transformations, may take *to* or *koto*, C and D are limited to *koto*.

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

What we see is that those verb classes whose complements allow root transformations (A, B, E) may take the nonfactive *to*, while those that do not can only take *koto* (C, D). The fact that A, B, and E can also take *koto* simply shows that any verb has the option of taking a presupposed complement with the right construction, as we can see in English with Class A verbs (*I reported on the fact that Mary will miss the meeting*).

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

- (60) Class A (see Harada 1976)
 Taroo-wa Hanako-ga kuru/ki-mas-u to syutyoosita.
 Taro-TOP Hanako-NOM come/come-MAS-PRS _{C_{NONFACT}} exclaimed
 'Taro exclaimed that Hanako will come.'
- (61) Class B
 Taroo-wa [Hanako-ga kuru/*ki-mas-u to] sinzitei-ru.
 Taro-TOP Hanako-NOM come/come-PRS _{C_{NONFACT}} believe-PRS
 'Taro believes that Hanako will come.'
- (62) Class C
 Taroo-wa [Hanako-ga kita/*ki-mas-u koto]-o hitei-sita.
 Taro-TOP Hanako-NOM came/come-MAS-PRS _{C_{FACT}-ACC} deny-PST
 'Taro denied that Hanako will come.'
- (63) Class D
 Taroo-wa [Hanako-ga kita/*ki-mas-i-ta koto]-ni odoroi-ta.
 Taro-TOP Hanako-NOM came/come-MAS-PST _{C_{FACT}-DAT} surprise-PST
 'Taro was surprised that Hanako came.'

(64) Class E

Taroo-wa [sono hikooki-ga tuirakusita/*tuirakusi-mas-i-ta koto]-o
 Taro-TOP that plane-NOM fall/fall-MAS-PST C_{FACT}-ACC
 sira-nakat-ta.
 know-NEG-PST
 ‘Taro didn’t know that the airplane crashed.’ (adapted from Harada’s
 (104b))

We saw above that only Class A subordinate clauses allow *-mas-*. Another of Emonds’s environments for roots is S directly dominated by another S, and we saw earlier, in (48b) and (57b), that the ‘because’ clause is an instance of this root environment. As Harada (1976) has already noted, *-mas-* is possible in this environment (his example is with *-des-*, which is the nominal counterpart to *-mas-*. I add a second example with *-mas-*).

(65) [Hima **des-i-ta** kara] Ginza-ni iki-mas-i-ta.
 free DES-PST because Ginza-to go-MAS-PST
 ‘I went to Ginza because I had nothing to do.’ (Harada’s (137d))

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

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

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

(67) Taroo-wa dare-ga kuru (mono) ka to itta.
 Taro-TOP who-NOM come MOD Q C said
 ‘Taro said no one will come!’

(68) *Boku-wa [_{sap} daremo ku-ru mono ka to] sinzite-iru.
 I-TOP anyone come-PRS MOD Q C believe
 ‘I believe that no one will come.’

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

- (69) *Daremo kuru mono ka da kara tumaranai.
 anyone come MOD Q COP because boring
 ‘Because no one will come, it will be boring.’

I presume that this is due to a constraint on the grammar: the Q particle *ka* and *kara* ‘because’ occur at C, and they cannot both appear at the same time. The same is observed with the complementizer *to*.

- (70) *Hanako-ga kuru to kara, ansinsita.
 Hanako-NOM come C because relieved
 ‘I was relieved because-that Hanako will come.’

2.4.1 Attitudinal and Style Adverbs in English

Is there anything in English that parallels what we observed for the allocutive agreement in Japanese and Basque? There is one phenomenon in English observed by Amano (1999) that precisely matches the allocutive agreement in apparently only being able to occur in Emonds’s original root environments (and the reason clause). Following Greenbaum (1969) and Quirk et al. (1972, 1985), Amano distinguishes between “attitudinal” and “style” adverbs.¹¹

- (71) Attitudinal
apparently, certainly, definitely, evidently, annoyingly, astonishingly ...
 Style
frankly, truthfully, honestly, ...

According to Greenbaum (1969), attitudinal adverbs indicate the speaker’s attitude toward the proposition; in some cases this attitude is about the truth value of the proposition (e.g., *apparently*), while in other cases some other attitude is expressed (e.g., *annoyingly*). Amano’s proposal is that attitudinal adverbs indicate assertions, and, quite strikingly, Amano observes that the attitudinal adverbs occur in all the environments that Hooper and Thompson identified as allowing root transformations.

Attitudinal (Amano 1999, 206)

- (72) a. Carl told me that this book *certainly* has the recipes (Class A)
 in it.
 b. Bill believes that *certainly*, John will lose the (Class B)
 election.
 c. *I doubt Kissinger *certainly* is negotiating for peace. (Class C)

- d. *I regret that I *unfortunately* attended the concert. (Class D)
- e. I know that Santa *certainly* has lost a lot of weight. (Class E)
- f. Sam is going out for dinner, because his wife (reason clause)
certainly is cooking Japanese food.

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

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

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

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

Amano goes on to point out that the style adverb is only compatible with Emonds's original characterization of root clauses. He notes this for indirect questions and indirect requests, given in (a) and (b) below; the rest I have created using his examples from earlier, replacing the attitudinal adverb with a style adverb (see also Jackendoff 1972 and Cinque 1999, 2004).

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

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

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

Very clearly, Amano discovered for English a way to distinguish speech act structures from non-speech act structures that allow root transformations. Why should style adverbs require the speech act structure? In a semantic analysis of adverbs, Bellert (1977, 349), who calls the style adverbs "pragmatic

adverbs,” notes that these adverbs “are the only ones that are strictly speaking speaker-oriented adverbs, for one of the arguments is the speaker.” If this is correct, then the semantic requirement of the speaker would be expressed explicitly in the speech act projection.

2.4.2 The Relative Clause: Another Root

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

- (77) *Watasi-wa mizu-tama-moyoo-no ari-mas-u kami-ga*
 I-TOP polka dots exist-MAS-PRS paper-NOM
hosi-i to omoi-mas-u.
 want C think-MAS-PRS
 ‘I want the paper that has polka dots.’

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

Hooper and Thompson had noticed that certain relative clauses allow root transformations. Keeping to their assumption that asserted clauses are what allow root transformations, they suggest that non-restrictive relative clauses and restrictive relative clauses with an indefinite head can be asserted. The difference between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses with definite head is illustrated below from their work.

- (78) *The car that only rarely did I drive is in excellent condition.
 (79) This car, which only rarely did I drive, is in excellent condition.

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

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

- (80) a. I hired a student who, frankly, no one else would hire.
 b. I'm reviewing a manuscript for a journal that, honestly, should not have been submitted in the first place.

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

(81) Root

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

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

- (82) An unselected clause constitutes a root.

This simple definition has intuitive appeal: after all, the simplest example of the root is the main clause, which by nature is unselected. What we have seen is that there are other environments, similar to a main clause, where a clause is not selected, hence it functions as a root. As roots, these environments allow the speech act projection to occur, which licenses such phenomena as allocutive agreement and certain types of adverbs. Below, I will give further evidence that the occurrence of allocutive agreement in relative clauses is independent of Hooper and Thompson's conception of Main Clause Phenomena (MCP). But first, we need to look closely at the distribution of various types of topicalization in different languages.

2.5 Types of Topicalization

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

- (83) Some predicted languages

Category I: C_ϕ, T_δ – Japanese

Category II: C_δ, T_ϕ – Chinese, English

Category III: $C, T_{\phi/\delta}$ – Spanish

Category IV: $C_{\phi/\delta}, T$ – Dinka

So far, we have focused on the occurrence of ϕ -feature agreement, particularly at C. Let us turn to the distribution of the δ -feature. We will look particularly

at topicalization in various constructions, including the relative clause, where we will see a separation between topicalization and the root phenomenon of allocutive agreement, thus showing that the ability of allocutive agreement to occur in relative clauses is independent of considerations of assertion as Hooper and Thompson suggest.

Before we go any further, it would be helpful to clarify terminology. Emonds (1969) proposed his definition of roots by presenting numerous operations that he identified as only occurring in the root domain: the so-called root transformations. Hooper and Thompson pointed out that the distribution of those root transformations is not defined by Emonds's original conception of the root, but instead, these operations occur whenever a clause has an assertive meaning. Hooper and Thompson demonstrate that such asserted contexts that allow root transformations are not limited to the environments Emonds specified as roots. What we have seen is that while Hooper and Thompson are correct about the root transformations occurring in clauses with asserted meaning, there is an entirely different set of data—the allocutive agreement in Japanese and stylistic adverbs in English (and presumably elsewhere)—with a root distribution as originally defined by Emonds. I will use “root” for the domains Emonds originally defined, so that allocutive agreement and the stylistic adverb in English are root phenomena. For the operations that are dependent on clauses with asserted meaning, I will introduce the term assertion-dependent phenomena. The key point is that root phenomena and assertion-dependent phenomena are distinct and one is not dependent on the other in any way.

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

(84) Three types of topics

- (a) Aboutness topic: “what the sentence is about” (Reinhart 1981, Lambrecht 1994); in particular a constituent that is “newly introduced, newly changed or newly returned to” (Givón 1983, 8), a constituent which is proposed as “a matter of standing and current interest or concern” (Strawson 1964);
- (b) Contrastive topic: an element that induces alternatives which have no impact on the focus value and creates oppositional pairs with respect to other topics (Kuno 1976, Büring 1999);
- (c) Familiar topic: a given or accessible (cf. Chafe 1987) constituent, which is typically destressed and realized in a pronominal form (Pesetsky 1987); when a familiar topic is textually given and D-linked with a pre-established aboutness topic, it is defined as a continuing topic (cf. Givón 1983).

These three types of topics are not so easily discernible in languages such as English, but in Japanese, these three topics are marked distinctly, so they are easy to distinguish. Aboutness topics are marked with destressed *-wa*, while Contrastive topics are marked with stressed *-wa* (Kuno 1973). Familiar topics are scrambled to the head of the sentence.

(85) a. Aboutness topic

Akai kuruma-wa Taroo-ga aratta.
 red car-TOP Taro-NOM washed
 'As for the red car, Taro washed it.'

b. Contrastive topic

Akai kuruma-WA Taroo-ga aratta.
 red car-CONTR.TOP Taro-NOM washed
 'The red car, Taro washed' (but the blue car, Hanako washed).

c. Familiar topic

Akai kuruma-o Taroo-ga aratta.
 red car-ACC Taro-NOM washed
 'The red car, Taro washed.'

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

(86) Distribution of topics

- (i) Aboutness topics must occur in the C region;
- (ii) The position of Contrastive topics and Familiar topics depends on the type of language.

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

Recall that the environments that Hooper and Thompson identified as allowing assertion-based phenomena are Class A, B, and E predicates, repeated below.

(87) Hooper and Thompson (1973, 473–474)

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

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

Class A:

- (88) a. Mary said that those books, she will read today.
 b. Mary said that those books, she will read, but not these.

Class B:

- (89) a. Mary believes that those books, she could read today.
 b. Mary believes that those books, she could read, but not these.

Class E:

- (90) a. Mary realized that those books, she could read today.
 b. Mary realized that those books, she could read, but not these.

Class C:

- (91) a. ?*Mary denied that those books, she will read today.
 b. *Mary denied that those books, she will read, but not these.

- (92) a. *It is impossible that those books, John will read by the end of the week.
 b. *It is impossible that those books, John read, but not these.

Class D:

- (93) a. *Mary resents that those books, John read while on vacation.
 b. *Mary resents that those books, John read, but not these.
- (94) a. ?*I regret that those books, John read without consulting me.
 b. *I regret that those books, John read, but not these.

While all topics are consistently good or bad for each class in English as we just saw, in Japanese the situation is different because the δ -feature of topic

may lower to T, but this is limited to C- and F-topics. In the examples below, (a) is an A-topic; (b) is a C-topic; and (c) is an F-topic.

Class A:

- (95) a. Hanako-wa [sono hon-wa kodomo-ga yonda to] itta.
Hanako-TOP that book-TOP child-NOM read C said
'Hanako said that as for that book, her child read it.'
- b. Hanako-wa [sono hon-WA kodomo-ga yonda to] itta.
Hanako-TOP that book-CONTR.TOP child-NOM read C said
'Hanako said that that book, her child read (but not this book).'
- c. Hanako-wa [kanozyo-o Taroo-ga suki da to] kizuita.
Hanako-TOP she-ACC Taro-NOM like COP C realized
'Hanako realized that as for her, Taro likes.'

Class B:

- (96) a. Hanako-wa [sono hon-wa kodomo-ga yonda to] sinziteiru.
Hanako-TOP that book-TOP child-NOM read C believe
'Hanako believes that as for that book, her child read it.'
- b. Hanako-wa [sono hon-WA kodomo-ga yonda to] sinziteiru.
Hanako-TOP that book-CONTR.TOP child-NOM read C believe
'Hanako believes that that book, her child read (but not this book).'
- c. Hanako-wa [sono hon-o kodomo-ga yonda to] sinziteiru.
Hanako-TOP that book-ACC child-NOM read C believe
'Hanako believes that as for that book, her child read it.'

Class E:

- (97) a. Hanako-wa [Taroo-wa kanozyo-ga suki da to] kizuita.
Hanako-TOP Taro-TOP she-NOM like COP C realized
'Hanako realized that as for Taro, he likes her.'
- b. Hanako-wa [Taroo-WA kanozyo-ga suki da to] kizuita.
Hanako-TOP Taro-CONTR.TOP she-NOM like COP C realized
'Hanako realized that Taro likes her (but Jiro doesn't).'
- c. Hanako-wa [Taroo-ga kanozyo-ga suki da to] kizuita.
Hanako-TOP Taro-NOM she-NOM like COP C realized
'Hanako realized that Taro likes her.'

Class C:

- (98) a. *Hanako-wa [sono hon-wa kodomo-ga yonda koto] -o
Hanako-TOP that book-TOP child-NOM read C -ACC
hiteisita.
denied
'Hanako denied that as for that book, her child read it.'

- b. Hanako-wa [sono hon-WA kodomo-ga yonda koto] -o
 Hanako-TOP that book-CONTR.TOP child-NOM read C -ACC
 hiteisita.
 denied
 ‘Hanako denied that that book, her child read (but not this book).’
- c. Hanako-wa [sono hon-o kodomo-ga yonda koto] -o hiteisita.
 Hanako-TOP that book-ACC child-NOM read C -ACC denied
 ‘Hanako denied that that book, her child read.’

Class D:

- (99) a. *Hanako-wa [sono hon-wa kodomo-ga yonda koto] -o
 Hanako-TOP that book-TOP child-NOM read C -ACC
 kookaisita.
 regretted
 ‘Hanako regretted that as for that book, her child read it.’
- b. Hanako-wa [sono hon-WA kodomo-ga yonda koto] -o
 Hanako-TOP that book-CONTR.TOP child-NOM read C -ACC
 kookaisita.
 regretted
 ‘Hanako regretted that that book, her child read (but not this book).’
- c. Hanako-wa [sono hon-o kodomo-ga yonda koto] -o
 Hanako-TOP that book-ACC child-NOM read C -ACC
 kookaisita.
 regretted
 ‘Hanako regretted that that book, her child read.’

As we saw above, in English all three types of topicalization are assertion-dependent phenomena, being limited to the “assertion” environments of the subordinate clauses of A, B, and E predicates. In Japanese, only the A-topic marked by *wa* has this distribution, while C- and F-topics freely occur in all environments A–E. Clearly, Hooper and Thompson’s semantic/pragmatic approach is insufficient for capturing the distinction between the two languages, since the semantic/pragmatic environments are presumably uniform across both languages. To capture the differences we just observed, Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa (2014) turn to a proposal by Haegeman (2006, 2010), who offers a syntactic version of H&T’s observation. Looking at the syntactic constructions that Hooper and Thompson noted as prohibiting assertion-dependent operations, Haegeman notes that there is a separate operator movement that these constructions contain, and this separate operation is blocking the assertion-dependent operation from occurring. An illustration of

this comes from temporal adverbial clauses, which Hooper and Thompson point out as an environment that does not allow an assertion-dependent operation such as topicalization.

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

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

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

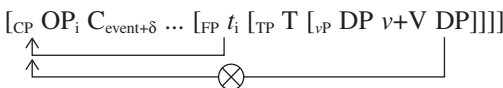
Larson (1987, 1990) proposes the following *wh*-movement representations for high (102a) and low (102b) construal (see also Geis 1970 and Johnson 1988, among others, for relevant discussion).

- (102) a. John left [_{CP} when_i [_{IP} Sheila said [_{CP} [_{IP} he should leave]] t_i]]
 b. John left [_{CP} when_i [_{IP} Sheila said [_{CP} [_{IP} he should leave t_i]]]]] (Larson 1987)

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

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

- (103) [_{CP} OP_i C_{event+δ} ... [_{FP} t_i [_{TP} T [_{vP} DP v+V DP]]]]]]



For English, all forms of topicalization would be blocked in this way.¹³

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

Before looking at the lack of an intervention effect in Spanish, let us see how Hooper and Thompson's verb classes fare in this language. As shown below, the classes match up perfectly with the indicative/subjunctive alternation: A, B, and E, which allow root transformations, take only indicative complement clauses, while C and D, which do not allow root transformations, only take subjunctive complement clauses.¹⁴

- (104) Class A: say, report, exclaim (only indicative)
 Él nos informó que rechazaron/*rechazarán el artículo.
 he us informed that rejected.3PL.IND/rejected.3PL.SUBJ the paper
 'He told us that they rejected the paper.'
- (105) Class B: suppose, believe, think (only indicative)
 Él creyó que rechazaron/*rechazarán el artículo.
 he believed that rejected.3PL.IND/rejected.3PL.SUBJ the paper
 'He thought that they rejected the paper.'
- (106) Class C: be (un)likely, be (im)possible, deny (only subjunctive)
 Es probable que *rechazarán/rechazarán el artículo.
 is likely that rejected.3PL.IND/rejected.3PL.SUBJ the paper
 'It is likely that they rejected the paper.'
- (107) Class D: resent, regret, be surprised (only subjunctive)
 Él siente que *rechazarán/rechazarán el artículo.
 he regrets that rejected.3PL.IND/rejected.3PL.SUBJ the paper
 'He regrets that they rejected the paper.'
- (108) Class E: realize, learn, know (only indicative)
 Hemos sabido que los vuelos a Chicago han/*hayan
 have.PRS.1PL learned that the flights to Chicago have.PRS.3PL
 sido cancelados.
 been cancelled
 'We have learned that the flights to Chicago have been cancelled.'

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

Now that we know that Hooper and Thompson's classification applies to Spanish, if Spanish were a Category II language such as English, we would expect topicalization to be blocked in classes C and D. However, the following, taken from Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa (2014), show that CLLD is possible in subordinate clauses that are subjunctive complements of C and D predicates.

- (109) a. Es probable que el CD-ROM nunca lo haya
 be.PRS.3SG probable that the CD-ROM never CL have.PRS.3SG
 visto antes.
 seen before
 'It's probable that I have never seen the CD-ROM before.'
 (Class C)
- b. Ángela estaba sorprendida de que los
 Angela be.PST.3SG surprised of that the
 regalos los
 presents CL
 hubieran dejado los Reyes Magos debajo del árbol.
 have.PST.3PL left the Kings Magicians under of.the tree
 'Angela was surprised that the three Wise Men had left the
 presents under the Christmas tree.' (Class D)

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

2.6 Topicalization and Relative Clauses

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

- (110) Watasi-wa mizu-tama-moyoo-no ari-mas-u kami-ga hosi-i to
 I-TOP polka dots exist-MAS-PRS paper-NOM want C
 omoi-mas-u.
 think-MAS-PRS
 ‘I want the paper that has polka dots.’ (Harada 1976)
- (111) a. I hired a student who, frankly, no one else would hire.
 b. I’m reviewing a manuscript for a journal that, honestly, should not
 have been submitted in the first place.

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

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

- (112) a. A-topic
 *Taroo-ga [sono hon-wa Hanako-ga katta] mise-o sitteiru.
 Taro-NOM that book-TOP Hanako-NOM bought store-ACC know
 ‘Taro knows the store where [as for that book, Hanako bought it].’
- b. C-topic
 Taroo-ga [sono hon-WA Hanako-ga katta] mise-o
 Taro-NOM that book-CONTR.TOP Hanako-NOM bought store-ACC
 sitteiru.
 know
 ‘Taro knows the store where [that book, Hanako bought (but not this book)].’
- c. F-topic
 Taroo-ga [sono hon-o Hanako-ga katta] mise-o sitteiru.
 Taro-NOM that book-ACC Hanako-NOM bought store-ACC know
 ‘Taro knows the store where [that book, Hanako bought].’

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

2.7 Conclusion

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

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