

AGREEMENTS THAT OCCUR MAINLY IN THE MAIN CLAUSE

Shigeru Miyagawa
MIT

1. Root vs. Non-root (Emonds 1969)

- (1) Root sentence: “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)

Proposal: “Highest S” is *higher than previously thought*.

A root-clause transformation: Negative constituent preposing (NCP)

- (2) a. I have never had to borrow money.
b. Never have I had to borrow money. (NCP)

In a non-root environment:

- (3) *The fact that *never has he had to borrow money* makes him very proud.

Exceptions (Hooper and Thompson 1973: 466)

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

2. Asserted clauses (Hopper and Thompson 1973; see Heycock 2006 for comments)

- (5) “Root transformations are restricted to application in asserted clauses” (H&T, p. 472).
-- compatible with emphasis
-- incompatible with presupposed clauses

NCP, VP preposing, topicalization, prepositional phrase substitution, subject replacement, direct quote preposing, etc.: all involve emphasis, thus “assertion” of some sort.

Complement of verbs of saying—“indirect quotes”:

- (6) I exclaimed that *never in my life had I seen such a crowd*. (H&T (44))

Negation test for assertion:

- (7) a. It’s just started to rain, he said. (H&T (55))
b. *It’s just started to rain, he didn’t say. (H&T (56))

RTs not possible in a presupposed clause

- (8) *That *never in his life has he had to borrow money* is true. (H&T (67))

3. Proposal

- (9) A three-way distinction: P(erformative)-Root, Semi-root, Non-root

P-Root (=Root): The assertion clauses are associated with Ross’s (1970) performative structure (“Highest S (=CP)” is: *I say/declare/etc. to you...*).

Semi-root: Non-presupposed clauses of certain size, possibly Force (Haegeman 2003); see also Sawada and Larson 2004.

Non-root: clauses that are presupposed.

Size of the clause:

Root > Non-root (Haegman 2003, Sawada and Larson 2004)

Proposal: P-root > Semi-root > Non-root

4. Allocutive agreement in Basque

- (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.Prft | Aux-3.S.Abs | <u>2.S.C.Msc.Alloc</u> | 3.S.Erg | | |
| ‘Peter worked.’ | | | | | |
| b. <i>To a female friend</i> | | | | | |
| Pettek lan egin din. | | | | | |
| Peter.Erg work.Abs do.Prft | Aux-3.S.Abs | <u>2.S.C.Fm.Alloc</u> | 3.S.Erg | | |
| c. <i>To someone higher in status (formal)</i> | | | | | |
| Pettek lan egin dizü. | | | | | |
| Peter.Erg work.Abs do.Prft | Aux-3.S.Abs | <u>2.S.F.Alloc</u> | 3.S.Erg | | |
| d. <i>Plural addressee</i> | | | | | |
| Pettek lan egin du. | | | | | |
| Peter.Erg work.Abs do.Prft | Aux-3.S.Abs | 3.S.Erg | | | |

The allocutive agreement is authentic agreement; 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.

- (11) a. (Nik **hi**) ikusi **haut**.
 (1.S.Erg **2.S.C.Abs**) see.Prft Aux-**2.S.C.Abs-1.S.Erg**
 'I saw you.'

- b. (**Zuek** ni) ikusi **naizue**.
 (**2.P.Erg** 1.S.Abs) see.Prft Aux-1.S.Abs-**2.P.Erg**
 'You saw me.'

Allocutive agreements are limited to the main clause.

Relative clause

- (12)a. [Lo egiten duen] gizona Manex dun
 sleeping AUX.3E.COMP man John COP.3A.ALLOfem
 'The man [who is sleeping] is John.'

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

Complementation

- (13)a. Ez dinat nahi [gerta dakion]
 NEG AUX.1E.ALLOfem want happen 3A.AUX.3D.COMP
 'I don't want it to happen to him.'

- b. *Ez dinat nahi [gerta diakionan]
 NEG AUX.1E.ALLOfem want happen 3A.AUX.3DALLOfem.COMP

Allocutive agreement is related to C: it is in complementary distribution with other elements that occur at C, such as Q.

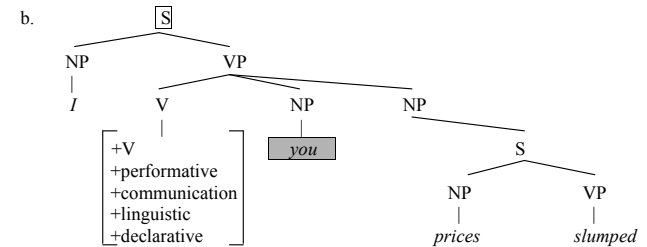
- (14) a. Lan egiten duia hire lagunak?
 work AUX.3E.Q your friend.ERG
 'Does your friend work?'

- b. *Lan egiten dina hire lagunak?
 work AUX.3E.ALLOfem.Q your friend.ERG

As a Main Clause Phenomenon, Oyharçabal's (1993) analysis of allocutive agreement is in the spirit of den Besten (1977, 1983) (also Higgins 1973, Williams 1974, Koster 1973) in linking the root/non-root distinction to the occurrence/non-occurrence of an (overt) complementizer.

Independent of the "C" analysis, allocutive agreement requires a second-person "goal" in the structure that corresponds to the addressee. One way to do this is to impose Ross's performative analysis in some fashion. The structure must be at C, or some very high structure in the cartography system.

- (15)a. Prices slumped.



Clauses that contain the allocutive agreement must be of sufficient size to contain the "performative structure" (whatever that may be).

5. Politeness marking in Japanese as a form of allocutive agreement

Politeness marking in Japanese parallels allocutive agreement in Basque (Oyharçabal 1993).

- (16)a. Watasi-wa piza-o tabe-mas-u. (FORMAL)
 I-TOP pizza-ACC eat-MAS-present
 'I will eat pizza.'

- b. Watasi-wa piza-o tabe-ru. (INFORMAL)
 I-TOP pizza-ACC eat-present
 'I will eat pizza.'

-mas- does not occur in most subordinate environments

- (17) Watasi-wa [Taroo-ga nani-o ka-u/*kai-mas-u ka] sitte-i-mas-u.
 I-TOP Taro-NOM what-ACC buy/buy-MAS Q know-ing-MAS-present
 'I know what Taro will buy.'

- (18) It is borne by C (Miyagawa 1987)

Direct wh-questions with (no) *ka* is ungrammatical if the verb is in the plain form.

- (19) *Dare-ga kuru (no) *ka*? INFORMAL
 who-NOM come(INF) Q
 'Who will come?'

Adding the politeness suffix *-mas-* makes (19) grammatical

- (20) Dare-ga ki-*mas-u* *ka*? FORMAL
 who-NOM come-POLITE.PRS Q
 'Who will come?'

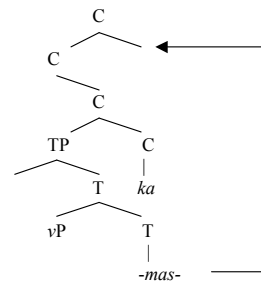
Indirect question does not have *-mas-*

- (21) Taroo-wa [_{CP} dare-ga kuru *ka*] sitteiru.
 Taro-TOP who-NOM come Q know
 'Taro knows who will come.'

- (22) *ka* must be governed. (see Miyagawa 1987 for many arguments)

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

The politeness suffix begins in the region of T, and raises to CP. This is a form of LF affix raising (cf. Pesetsky 1983, Kitagawa 1986).



Alternative (Miyagawa 2010): something corresponding to *-mas-* occurs at C.

(24) TWO QUESTIONS:

- What is the nature of the politeness marking? Why does it correlate with allocutive agreement in Basque when *Japanese is an agreementless language*?
- Does the distribution of the politeness marking *-mas-* (also *-des-*) correlate with what has been identified in the literature for "root" clauses?

5.1. Strong Uniformity

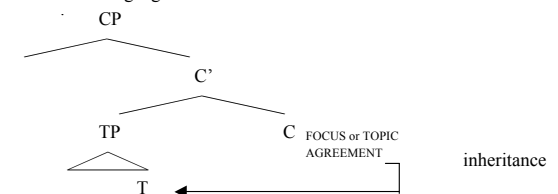
- (25) Strong Uniformity (Miyagawa 2010)

Every language shares the same set of grammatical features, and every language overtly manifests these features in some fashion.

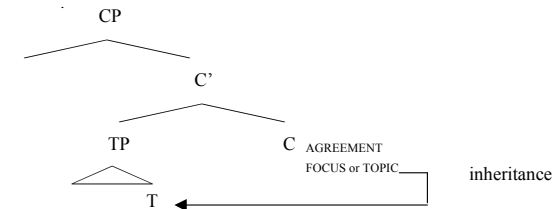
- (26) UG "agreement" is more abstract than phi-feature agreement. Agreement conceived in this way is found in Japanese, and it triggers movement just as phi-feature agreement does in English-type languages.

Miyagawa (2010)

- (27) Agreement-based languages



- (28) Discourse-configurational languages (in the sense of Kiss 1995, etc.)



- (29) **Polite marking (*-mas-/des-*) is person marking at C that agrees with the type of "you" in the performative structure. Its effect is to mark the sentence as polite.**

Topic movement:

Hayashibe (1975) noted that there appears to be a period, sometime up to 5 years old, where children tend to interpret scrambled sentences like (b) as if they were nonscrambled sentences like (a).

- (30) a. SOV: Kamesan-ga ahirusan-o osimasita.
 turtle-NOM duck-ACC pushe
 'A turtle pushed a duck.'

- b. OSV: Ahirusan-o kamesan-ga osimasita.
 duck-ACC turtle-NOM pushed

Hayashibe concludes from this that scrambling is acquired late in language development. However, Otsu (1994) shows that children before or around the age of 3 have no problem with scrambling when they are presented with a discourse context that makes the scrambled sentence sound natural.

- c. Kooen-ni ahirusan-ga imasita.
 park-in duck-NOM was
 Sono ahirusan-o kamesan-ga osimasita.
 the duck-ACC turtle-NOM pushed
 'There was a duck in the park. A turtle pushed the duck.'

Focus movement:

- (31)a. Taroo-mo piza-mo tabeta.
 Taro-ALSO pizza-ALSO ate
 'Taro also ate pizza, too. (Just like Hanako.)'

- b. *Piza-mo Taroo-mo tabeta. (superiority)
 pizza-ALSO Taro-ALSO ate
 'Lit: 'Pizza, Taro also ate, too.'

- (32) Topic/focus and phi-feature agreement are computationally equivalent in narrow syntax. They are two sides of the same coin (Miyagawa 2010).

6. Three-way distinction

Another "root" phenomenon: topic *-wa* (Kuno 1973; see also Sawada and Larson 2004).

- (33) Hanako-*wa* piza-o tabeta.
 Hanako-TOP pizza-ACC ate
 'As for Hanako, she ate pizza.'

- (34) Taroo-ga [Hanako-ga/**wa* tabeta] piza-o eranda.
 Taro-NOM Hanako-NOM/TOP ate pizza-ACC chose
 'Taro chose the pizza that Hanako ate.'

- (35) Hopper and Thompson (1973: 473-4)

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

A, B, E: Root transformations possible in the complement clause

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

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

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

C, D do not allow RTs in the complement clause

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

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

6.1. Comparison to Japanese: allocutive agreement and topic marking

- (41) Complementizers in Japanese (Kuno 1973)

to: non-factive (=not presupposed)

koto: factive (=presupposed)

In subordinate clauses, all root phenomena occur in *to*-complements; some allow *-mas-* as well as the topic *-wa* (P(erformative)-R), while others only allow *-wa* (non-presupposed, Semi-root clauses).

CLASS A:

- (42) a. Taroo-wa [Hanako-ga ki-*mas*-u to] ii-mas-ita.
 Taro-TOP [HanakoNOM come-MAS-PRS C_{NONFACT} say-MAS-PAST
 'Taro said that Hanako will come.'

- b. Taroo-ga [Hanako-*wa* ku-ru to] itta.
 Taro-NOM [Hanako-TOP come- C_{NONFACT} said
 'Taro said that Hanako will come.'

CLASS B:

- (43) a. *Taroo-wa [Hanako-ga ki-*mas*-u to] sinzitei-mas-u
 Taro-TOP [HanakoNOM come-MAS-PRES C_{NONFACT} believe-MAS-PRES
 'Taro believes that Hanako will come.'

- b. Taro-ga [Hanako-wa ku-ru to] sinziteiru (rasii).
Taro-NOM [Hanako-TOP come- C_{NONFACT} believe apparently
'Taro (apparently) believes that Hanako will come.'

CLASS C:

- (44) a. *Taro-ga [Hanako-ga ki-mas-u koto]-o hitei-si-MAS-ita.
Taro-TOP [HanakoNOM come-MAS-PRS C_{FACT}-ACC deny-MAS-PAST
'Taro denied that Hanako will come.'

- b. *Taro-ga [Hanako-wa ku-ru koto]-o hitei-sita.
Taro-NOM [Hanako-TOP come- C_{FACT} -ACC denied
'Taro denied that Hanako will come.'

CLASS D:

- (45) a. *Taro-ga [Hanako-ga ki-mas-u koto]-ni odoroki-mas-ita.
Taro-TOP [HanakoNOM come-MAS-PRS C_{FACT}-DAT surprise-MAS-PAST
'Taro was surprised that Hanako will come.'

- b. *Taro-ga [Hanako-wa ku-ru koto]-ni odoroi-ta.
Taro-NOM [Hanako-TOP come- C_{FACT} -DAT surprised
'Taro was surprised that Hanako will come.'

CLASS E:

- (46) a. *Taro-ga [Hanako-ga ki-mas-u koto]-o sitte-i-mas-u.
Taro-TOP [Hanako-NOM come-MAS-PRS C_{FACT} -ACC know-MAS-PRES
'Taro knows that Hanako will come.'

- b. *Taro-ga [Hanako-wa ku-ru koto]-o sir-ana-i.
Taro-NOM [Hanako-TOP come- C_{FACT}-ACC know-NEG-PRES
'Taro doesn't know that Hanako will come.'

ADVERBIAL CLAUSE: *because*

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

- b. Hanako-wa kuru kara, uti-ni ite-kudasai.
Hanako-TOP come because home-at be-please
'Because Hanako will come, please be at home.'

ADVERBIAL CLAUSE: *when*

- (48) a. *Hanako-ga ki-mas-ita toki, uti-ni i-mas-en-desita.
Hanako-NOM come-MAS-Past when home-at be-MAS-NEG-PAST
'When Hanako came, I wasn't home.'

- b. *Hanako-wa kita toki, uti-ni i-nakat-ta.
Hanako-TOP came when home-at be-NEG-PAST
'When Hanako came, I wasn't home.'

(49) Roots, Semi-roots, non-roots

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

Concerning Type B:

Compared to the complement of Type A, complement of Type B is smaller. Type A allows discourse-related sentential particles that appear very high in the cartographic structure (Endo 2007), while Type B does not.

- (50) Watasi-wa [Hanako-ga kuru yo to] itta. TYPE A
I-TOP Hanako-NOM come SP C_{NONFACT} said
'I said, Hanako will come!'

- (51) *Watasi-wa [Hanako-ga kuru yo to] sinziteiru. TYPE B
I-TOP Hanako-NOM come SP C_{NONFACT} believe
'I believe, Hanako will come!'

(52) Discrepancy: complement of Type B
-mas is not allowed, because there is no performative structure;
-wa is allowed because it is not presupposed, and it is of appropriate size.

Type B complement: Semi-root, not P-Root

Type E in English: "Semifactive" (Karttunen 1971) — can lose factivity in questions and conditionals (noted in Hopper and Thompson 1973, p. 480)

- (53) If I discover later that I have not told the truth, I will confess it to everyone. (H&T (112))

In Japanese, Type E verbs take the "factive" *-koto* complement, so factivity cannot be suspended

- (54) [Sinzitu-o iw-anakat-ta koto]-o hakken-si-tara, minna-ni tutaemasu.
truth-ACC say-NEG-PST C_{FACT}-ACC discovered-if everyone-DAT tell
'If I discover that I didn't tell the truth, I will let everyone know.'

Even with **Type B**, which allows *-wa* (but not *-mas*), if the complement takes the factive *koto* instead of the nonfactive *to*, *-wa* becomes impossible.

- (55) Taroo-ga [Hanako-wa ku-ru to/*koto-o] sinziteiru (rasii).
Taro-NOM [Hanako-TOP come-_{C_{NONFACT}/C_{NFACT}} believe apparently
'Taro (apparently) believes that Hanako will come.'

Indirect question: Root

- (56) a. Hanako-ga [_{CP} Taroo-ga nani-o katta ka] sitte-i-mas-u.
Hanako-NOM Taro-NOM what-ACC bought Q know-MAS-PRES
'Hanako knows what Taro bought.'
b. *Hanako-ga [_{CP} Taroo-ga nani-o kai-mas-ita ka] sitte-i-mas-u.
Hanako-NOM Taro-NOM what-ACC buy-MAS-PST Q know-MAS-PRES
'Hanako knows what Taro bought.'
c. Hanako-ga [_{CP} Taroo-wa nani-o katta ka] sitte-i-mas-u.
Hanako-NOM Taro-TOP what-ACC bought Q know-MAS-PRES
'Hanako knows what Taro bought.'

7. More on Strong Uniformity: NP ellipsis across languages

- (57) Strong Uniformity (Miyagawa 2010)
Every language shares the same set of grammatical features, and every language overtly manifests these features in some fashion.
(58) Prediction:
All languages have phi-feature agreement.
Unless otherwise indicated, the phi-feature agreement probe lowers to T.

7.1. Pro-Drop, Agreement, and Strong uniformity (Miyagawa 2010)

Pro-drop: rich agreement

- (59) ____ baila bien. (Spanish, Jaeggli 1982)
dance-3SG well
'She dances well.'
(60) ____ verrà. (Italian, Rizzi 1982)
comes-3SG-FUT
'He will come.'

Pro-drop without agreement: Chinese (Huang 1984)

- (61) Zhangsan shuo [*e* bu renshi Lisi].
Zhangsan say *e* not know Lisi
'Zhangsan said that [he] did not know Lisi.'

- (62) Zhangsan shuo [Lisi bu renshi *e*].
Zhangsan say Lisi not know *e*
'Zhangsan said that Lisi did not know [him]'

7.2. NP Ellipsis: Not all "pro" drop are the same (Huang 1991, Otani and Whitman 1991)

- (63) a. Taroo-wa zibun-no hahaoya-o aisiteiru.
Taro-NOM self-GEN mother-ACC love
'lit. Taro loves self's mother.'
b. Hanako-wa *e* nikundeiru.
Hanako-TOP *e* hates
'lit. Hanako hates *e*.'
(64) a. Hanako hates his (= Taro's) mother. (strict)
b. Hanako hates her own mother. (sloppy)
(65) a. Taroo-wa zibun-no hahaoya-o aisiteiru
Taro-NOM self-GEN mother-ACC love
'lit. Taro loves self's mother'
b. Hanako-wa ~~zibun-no hahaoya-o~~ nikundeiru.
Hanako-TOP ~~self-GEN mother-ACC~~ hate
'lit. Hanako hates self's mother'

Oku (1998): not VP ellipsis

- (66) a. Taro washed the car carefully.
b. Hanako did, too.
(67) a. Bill-wa kuruma-o teineini aratta.
Bill-TOP car-ACC carefully washed
'Bill washed a car carefully.'
b. John-wa *e* arawanakatta.
John-TOP not.washed
'lit. John didn't wash *e*.'
= John did not wash a car.
≠ John did not wash a car carefully.

Sloppy reading possible in the subject position:

(68) a. Taro-wa [zibun-no kodomo-ga eigo-o sitteiru to] itta.
Taro-TOP self-GEN child-NOM English-ACC know that said
'lit. Taro said that self's child knew English.'

b. Hanako-wa [e furansugo-o sitteiru to] itta.
Hanako-TOP French-ACC know that said
'lit. Hanako said that *e* knew French.'

Spanish: does not allow sloppy reading (Oku 1998)

(69) a. María cree que su propuesta será aceptada.
Maria believes that her proposal will-be accepted
'Maria believes that her proposal will be accepted.'

b. Juan también cree que *e* será aceptada.
Juan also believes that it will-be accepted
'Juan also believes that it will be accepted.'
= Juan believes that Maria's proposal will be accepted.
≠ Juan believes that Juan's proposal will be accepted.

7.3. Occurrence of agreement blocks NP ellipsis

Turkish (Şener and Takahashi, to appear)

(70) *e e* at-tı-m
throw-PAST-1SG
'lit. '(I) threw *e*.'

Object: NPE possible (sloppy)

(71) a. Can [*pro* anne-si]-ni eleştir-di.
John his mother-3SG-ACC criticize-PAST
'John criticized his mother.'

b. Filiz-se *e* öv-dü.
Phylis-however praise-PAST
'lit. Phylis, however, praised *e*.'
= Phylis praised John's mother.
= **Phylis praised Phylis's mother.**

Subject: Pro only (only strict)

(72) a. Can [[*pro* oğl-u] İngilizce öğren-iyor diye] bil-iyor.
John his son-3SG English learn-PRES COMP know-PRES
'John knows that his son learns English.'

b. Filiz-se [*e* Fransızca öğren-iyor diye] bil-iyor.
Phylis-however French learn-PRES COMP know-PRES
'lit. Phylis, however, knows that *e* learns French.'
= Phylis, however, knows that John's son learns English.
≠ Phylis, however, knows that her (Phylis's) son learns French.

Ondarru Basque (thanks to Karlos Arregis, personal communication)

Subject position:

(73) Jonek beran semi inglesa ikasten dala
Jon.erg his son.abs English.abs learn.impf be.prs.3sg.abs.that
esan dau,
say.prf aux.prs.3sg.erg/3sg.ab
eta Pedrok *e* frantzesia ikasten
and Pedro.erg French.abs learn.impf
dala esan dau.
be.prs.3sg.abs.that say.prf aux.prs.3sg.erg/3sg.abs
'Jon has said that his son is learning English, and Pedro has said that (he) is learning French.'

Strict reading strongly preferred.

Object position:

(74) Jonek beran ama maitxe dau,
Jon.erg his mother.abs love aux.prs.3sg.erg/3sg.abs
baiñe Pedrok *e* es dau maitxe.
but Pedro.erg not aux.prs.3sg.erg/3sg.abs love
'Jon loves his mother, but Pedro doesn't love (her).'

Strict reading strongly preferred.

There is a clear difference with constructions we know are elliptical.

(75) Jonek beran ama maitxe dau, baiñe Pedrok es.
Jon.erg his mother.abs love aux.prs.3sg.erg/3sg.abs but Pedro.erg not
'Jon loves his mother, but Pedro doesn't.'

Sloppy is fine. Strict is ok too, but not the first reading that comes to mind.

Chinese (see Audrey Li's work; also Takahashi's work):

Object:

- (76) Zhangsan hen xihuan ziji de mama, Lisi bu xihuan *e*.
 Zhangsan very like self de mother Lisi not like
 'Zhangsan likes self's mother, Lisi does not like *e* (=self's mother)'

Subject:

- (77) Zhangsan yiwei [ziji de haizi xihuan Yingwen]; Lisi yiwei [*e* xihuan fawen]
 Zhangsan think self de child like English Lisi think like French
 'Zhangsan thought that self's child liked English; Lisi thought *e* liked French.'
e ≠ self's child

Chinese has person agreement at T (Miyagawa 2010).

Blocking Effect

- (78) Zhangsan_i zhidao Lisi_j dui ziji_{i/j} mei xinxin.
 Zhangsan know Lisi to self not confidence
 'Zhangsan knows that Lisi has no confidence in him/himself.'

Both the matrix and the subordinate subjects are third person. But, if the potential antecedent in the next higher clause does not match in the person feature with the lower antecedent, the long-distance construal of *ziji* is blocked (e.g., Pan 2000).

- (79) a. Wo_i juede ni_j dui ziji_{i/j} mei xinxin.
 I think you to self not confidence
 'I think you have no confidence in yourself/*me.'
 b. Ni_i juede wo_j dui ziji_{i/j} mei xinxin ma?
 you think I to self not confidence Q
 'Do you think I have no confidence in myself/*you?'
 c. Zhangsan_i juede wo/ni_j dui ziji_{i/j} mei xinxin.
 Zhangsan think I/you to self not confidence
 'Zhangsan thinks I/you have no confidence in myself/yourself/*him.'

8. Haegeman (2001): An intervention approach

Topicalization and adverbial clause

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

- (81) John left [_{CP} when_i [_{TP} Sheila said [_{CP} [_{TP} he should leave (t_i)] (t_i)] (Larson 1987)

Japanese scrambling – A or A'

- (82) Piza-o_i Taroo-ga t_i tabeta.
 pizza-ACC Taro-NOM ate
 'Pizza, Taro ate.'

- (83) Piza-o Taroo-ga tabeta *toki* watasi-mo tabe-takatta..
 pizza-ACC Taro-MOM ate when I-also eat-wato.eat
 'When Taro ate pizza, I wanted to eat it, too.'

- (84) Zibun-zisin-o Taroo-ga hihansita *toki* minna odoroi.ta.
 self-self-ACC Taro-NOM criticize when everyone surprised
 'When Taro criticized himself, everyone was surprised.'

- (85) John-wa [_{CP} Shiela-ga [_{CP} kare-ga kaeru bekida to] itta *toki* kaetta.
 John-TOP Shiela-NOM he-NOM return must C said when returned
 'John left when Shiela said that he should leave.'
 NO AMBIGUITY

Selected References

- Emonds, Joseph. 1969. *Root and structure-preserving transformations*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.
- Endo, Yoshio. 2007. *Locality and Information Structure: A Cartographic Approach to Japanese*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam.
- Haegeman, Liliane. 2003. Notes on long adverbial fronting in English and the left periphery. *Linguistic Inquiry* 34, 640-649.
- Haegeman, Liliane. 2010. The internal syntax of adverbial clauses. *Lingua* 120: 628-648.
- Haegeman, Liliane and Marjo van Koppen. 2009. The non-existence of a phi-feature dependency between C° and T°. NELS 40.
- Heycock, Caroline. 2006. Embedded root phenomena. In: Van Riemsdijk, H., Everaert, M. (Eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Syntax: Vol II*. Blackwell, Oxford, pp. 174-209.
- Hooper, J. B. and Thompson, S.A. 1973. On the Applicability of Root Transformations. *Linguistic Inquiry* 4: 465-497.
- Huang, C.-T. James. 1984. On the distribution and reference of empty pronouns. *Linguistic Inquiry* 15:531-574.
- Kuno, Susumu. 1973. *The Structure of the Japanese Language*. MIT Press.
- Larson, Richard. 1987. 'Missing prepositions' and the analysis of English free relative clauses. *Linguistic Inquiry* 18, 239-266.
- Miyagawa, Shigeru. 1987. LF affix raising in Japanese. *Linguistic Inquiry* 18, 362-367.
- Miyagawa, Shigeru. 2010. *Why Agree? Why Move? Unifying Agreement-based and Discourse Configurational Languages*. LI Monograph 54. MIT Press.
- Oku, Satoshi. 1998. A theory of selection and reconstruction in the minimalist perspective. Doctoral dissertation, University of Connecticut.
- Otani, Kazuyo and John Whitman. 1991. V-raising and VP-ellipsis. *Linguistic Inquiry* 22:345-358.

- Oyharçabal, Beñat. 1993. Verb agreement with non arguments: On Allocutive Agreement. In: José Ignacio Hualde and Jon Ortiz de Urbina (eds.), *Generative Studies in Basque Linguistics*, 89-114. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Pan, Haihua. 2000. Why the Blocking Effect? In Peter Cole, James Huang, and Gabriella Hermon, eds., *Long-Distance Reflexives* (Syntax and Semantics 33), 279–316. New York: Academic Press.
- Ross, Robert Ross. 1970. On declarative sentences. In: R. A. Jacobs and P. S. Rosenbaum (Eds.), *Readings in English Transformational Grammar*. Waltham, pp. 222-272.
- Sawada, M., and R.K. Larson. 2004. Presupposition & root transforms in adjunct clauses. In M. Wolf and K. Moulton (eds.) *Proceedings of NELS 34*. (pp. 517-528) UMASS: GLSA.
- Şener, Serkan and Daiko Takahashi. To appear. Argument ellipsis in Japanese and Turkish. *Proceedings of the 6th Workshop in Altaic Formal Linguistics*).