THE DISTRIBUTION OF PARTICLES IN JAPANESE AND THE STRUCTURE OF CP

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1. Introduction

1.1 Particle Stranding

(1) A: Keetai-wa   dono   kisyu-ga   hayatteru no?
        mobile-Top   which   machine-Nom   popular   Q
        'Speaking of mobiles, which machines are popular?'

    Ba: **Keetai-wa**   Sony -no   kisyu-ga   hayattemasu.   (overt topic)
        mobile-Top   -Gen   machine-Nom   popular
        'Speaking of mobiles, Sony's machines are popular.'

    Bb: **ø**   Sony -no   kisyu-ga   hayattemasu.   (covert topic)
                          -Gen   machine-Nom   popular

    Bc: **ø -wa**   Sony -no   kisyu-ga   hayattemasu.   (particle stranding)
        -Top   -Gen   machine-Nom   popular

(2) A: Osyuutomesan-te   ikutu?
        mother.in.law-Top   how.old
        'How old is your mother-in-law?'

    B: **Wa**, 52-sai   desu.
        Top   52-years.old   Cop
        'Speaking of my mother-in-law, she is 52 years old.'   (TV show; 22.02.2007)

1.2 Ellipsis before the Particle

(3) *Ellipsis of antecedent NP* (Hayashi (2001), Yoshida (2004), Sato and Ginsburg (2007))

    A: Keetai-wa   dono   kisyu-ga   hayatteru no?
        mobile-Top   which   machine-Nom   popular   Q
        'Speaking of mobiles, which machines are popular?'

    B: ~~Keetai~~-**wa**   Sony -no   kisyu-ga   hayattemasu.
        mobile-Top   -Gen   machine-Nom   popular
        'Speaking of mobiles, Sony's machines are popular.'

(4)   *Ellipsis of a larger constituent*
    A: Donna   uta   utatte-haru   n   desu ka?
         what   song   sing-Polite   Comp   Cop   Q
         'What song do you sing?'
    B: **ø -wa**   R&B   desu.
         -Top   Cop
         'It's R&B (that I sing).'   (TV show; 15.11.2009)

(5)   **[$_{CP}$ Watasi -ga   utatteru   no]   -wa**   R&B   desu.
       I   -Nom   sing   Comp   -Top   Cop
    'It's R&B that I sing.' / 'What I sing is R&B.'

(6)   *Ellipsis of a pronoun referring to an event*
    A: John -ga   okotte-iru   yo.   Doo   sita   no?
         -Nom   angry-is   Prt   What   did   Q
         'John is angry. What happened?'
    B: **ø -wa**   Bill-ga   John -no   gitaa-o   kowasita   n   desu.
         -Top   -Nom   -Gen   guitar-Acc   destroyed   Comp   Cop
         'It is that Bill destroyed John's guitar.'

(7)   **Sore-wa**   Bill-ga   John -no   gitaa-o   kowasita   n   desu.
    it   -Top   -Nom   -Gen   guitar-Acc   destroyed   Comp   Cop

1.3   Proposals

(8)   a.   *Difference between topicalization and particle stranding (section 2)*
       Topicalization is a 'weak' main clause phenomenon in the sense that it takes place in some subordinate clauses.   On the other hand, particle stranding is a 'strong' main clause phenomenon: it takes place only in the main clause.

    b.   *Positions for overt topics and stranded particles (section 3)*
       An overt topic phrase is placed in Spec-TopP, whereas a stranded particle starts out from Spec-TopP and moves to the specifier position of a higher functional projection FP.

    c.   *Characteristics of FP (section 4)*
       FP is a layer that (i) is unique to the main clause, (ii) is located above ForceP, and (iii) hosts items (such as sentence final particles) that govern pragmatic functions of a sentence.

2.   Main Clause Phenomena in Japanese

2.1   Clause Types and Embedded Main Clause Phenomena

(9)   *Some diagnostic main clause phenomena*

    a.   *Topicalization*

        John -wa   kono   hon -o   yonda.

             -Top   this   book -Acc   read

        'Speaking of John, he read this book.'

    b.   *Interjection*

        A!   Saihu-o   nakusita.

        oh   wallet-Acc   lost

        'Oh, I lost my wallet.'

    c.   *Sentence-Final Particle*

        John -ga   Mary-to   aruite-iru   **yo**.

             -Nom   -with   walking-is   Prt.

        'John is walking with Mary.'

(10)   *Classes of subordinate clause* (cf. Minami (1974), Masuoka (1991), Noda (1995), Maki et al. (1999), etc.)

	topicalization	interjection	final particle
Class 1	no	no	no
Class 2	yes	no	no
Class 3	yes	yes	yes

    Class 1   adverbial clauses subordinated by *-toki* 'when', *-ba* 'if', *-nagara* 'while', etc.

           relative clauses

           factive complement clauses

    Class 2   adverbial clauses subordinated by *-kedo* 'though', *-kara* 'because', etc.

           reported clause in indirect speech

    Class 3   quoted clause in direct speech

2.2   Data

2.2.1   Class 1: Clauses Resisting Main Clause Phenomena

(11) a. *Temporal clause*

[(***A!**)   John {-ga / *-**wa**}   Mary-no   gitaa-o   kowasita (***yo**)] -toki,

(*oh!)   {-Nom / *-Top}   -Gen   guitar-Acc   destroyed (*Prt) -when

Bill -wa   mite-minu-huri   -o   sita.

-Top   see-not.see-pretense-Acc did

'When (*oh!) (*speaking of John,) he destroyed Mary's guitar, Bill turned a blind eye to it.'

b. *Conditional clause*

[(***A!**)   John {-ga / *-**wa**}   kure   (***yo**)] -ba, Mary -ga   yorokobu

(*oh!)   {-Nom / *-Top}   come (*Prt) -if   -Nom   be.delighted

daroo.

will

'If (*oh!) (*speaking of John,) he comes, Mary will be delighted.'

(12) *Relative clause*

John -ga   [[(***a!**)   Bill {-ga / *-**wa**}   kaita   (***yo**)] hon]-o   yonda.

-Nom   (*oh!)   {-Nom / *-Top} wrote (*Prt) book-Acc   read

'John read the book which (*oh!) (*speaking of Bill,) Bill had written.'

(13) *Factive complement clause*

John -wa [(***a!**) sono hon {-o /*-**wa**}   Mary -ga   nakusita   (***yo**) no]-o

-Top   (*oh!) the   book {-Acc /*-Top}   -Nom lost   (*Prt) Comp-Acc

kuyandeiru.

regret

'John regrets that (*oh!) (*speaking of that book,) Mary lost the book.'

2.2.2   Class 2: Clauses Partially Tolerating Main Clause Phenomena

(14) *Concessional clause (*kedo-*clause)*

[(***A!**)   John {-ga / -**wa**}   hantaisuru   daroo (***yo**)] -kedo,   kinisuru-na.

(*oh!)   {-Nom / -Top} disagree   may   (*Prt) -though mind-Neg

'Though (*oh!) (speaking of John,) he may disagree, don't mind it.'

(15) *Indirect speech*

Iroirona iiwake -o siteiru ga, John_i -wa yoosuruni
various excuse -Acc is.making though -Top in.summary
[(***a!**) sono syorui {-o / **-wa**} {**kareno_i** /***bokuno_i**} buka-ga nakusita (***yo**)
 (*oh) the document {-Acc / -Top} {his /*my} staff-Nom lost (*Prt)
to] itteiru no da.
Comp is.saying Comp Cop
'Though making various excuses, John is saying in summary that (*oh!) (speaking of the document) his staff lost it.'

2.2.3 Class 3: Clauses Tolerating Main Clause Phenomena

(16) *Direct speech*

John_i -ga [(**a!**) syorui {-o / **-wa**} {***kareno_i** / **bokuno_i**} kuruma-nonakani
 -Nom (oh!) document {-Acc / -Top} {*his / my} car -inside
oite-kityatta (**yo**) to] itta.
leave-came (Prt) Comp said
'John said, "(Oh!)(speaking of the document,) I left it in my car."'

(17) A quoted clause in direct speech has the same status as a main clause.
While a quoted clause can be used as an independent sentence, a reported clause cannot.

(18) When her boss asked who had filled out the document, …
 a. … Mary_i said, "I_i filled it out."
 b. … Mary_i said that she_i had filled it out.

(19) Boss: Who filled out the document?
Mary: i. I filled it out.
 ii. *She had filled it out.

(20) Zyoosi-ga dare-ga sono syorui -o kaita ka tazuneta toki, …
boss -Nom who-Nom the document-Acc filled.out Q asked when
 a. … Mary_i-wa watasi_i-ga kaki-masi-ta to itta.
 -Top I -Nom fill.out-Polite-Past Comp said
 b. … Mary_i-wa kanozyo_i -ga kai-ta to itta.
 -Top she -Nom fill.out-Past Comp said

(21) Boss: Dare-ga   sono syorui -o   kaita   no?
               who-Nom   the   document-Acc filled.out   Q

      Mary: i.   Watasi-ga   kaki-masi-ta.
                  I   -Nom   fill.out-Polite-Past

             ii. *Kanozyo-ga   kai-ta.
                  she   -Nom fill.out-Past

2.3   Particle Stranding

(22) *Class 1 clause: particle stranding is impossible*
     a. *Temporal clause*
        A: John -o   oboetemasu   ka?
                     -Acc   remember   Q
            'Do you remember John?'
        B: [{*ø-**wa** / Kare-ga}   kono   mati -ni   sundeita]-toki,   watasi -wa tikakuni
           {*ø-Top / he-Nom}   this   town -in   lived   -when   I   -Top nearby
           sundeimasita. Dakara, yoku   oboeteimasu.
           lived   so   well   remember
           'When (*speaking of John,) he lived in this town, I lived nearby.   So I remember him well.'

     b. *Relative clause*
        A: Sono yuiba-wa   doo   natta   no?
           the   ring -Top   what   happened Q
           'What happened to the ring?'
        B: Keesatu -ga   [[(*ø-**wa**)   nusunda] otoko]-o   taihosita   soodesu.
           police   -Nom   (*ø-Top)   stole   man-Acc   arrested   I.heard
           'I heard that the police arrested the man who had stolen it.'

     c. *Factive complement clause*
        A: John -ga   Mary-ni   ageta yubiwa-wa takakatta   no?
                  -Nom   -to   gave   ring   -Top was.expensive Q
           'Was the ring John gave to Mary expensive?'
        B: Un. Dakara John -wa [(*ø-**wa**) Mary -ga   nakusita   no]   -o
           yes   so   -Top   (*ø-Top)   -Nom lost   Comp-Acc
           kuyandeiru soodesu.
           regret   I.heard
           'Yes, so I heard that John regrets that Mary lost it.'

(23) *Class 2 clause: mixed result*

   a. kedo-*clause*

     A: Kimi-ga ryuugakusi-tai   tte   itta-ra, John -wa   doo   suru

         you-Nom to.study.abroad-want Comp say-if   -Top   what do

         kana?

         Q

         'What will John do if you say you want to study abroad?'

☞ B: **ø-wa**   tabun   hantaisuru daroo (***yo**) -kedo, settokusuru tumori.

         ø-Top   probably disagree   may   (*Prt) -though persuade   intention

         'Though he may probably disagree, I will persuade him.'

   b. *Indirect speech*

     A: Sono syorui   -wa   John -ga   nakusita n   desyo?

         the   document -Top   -Nom lost   Comp Cop

         'Speaking of the document, John lost it, didn't he?'

     B: Iroirona iiwake -o   siteiru   ga,   John$_i$ -wa   yoosuruni

         various excuse -Acc making   though   -Top   in.summary

         [(***ø-wa**) (***a!**) **kareno**$_i$ buka-ga   nakusita (***yo**) to]

          (*ø-Top) (*oh!) his   staff-Nom   lost   (*Prt) Comp

         itteiru   n   da.

         is.saying   Comp Cop

         'Though making various excuses, John is saying in summary that his staff lost it.'

(24) *Class 3 Direct speech: particle stranding possible*

     Dare-ga sono syorui-o   nakusita ka   kik-are-ta   toki,   John$_i$ -wa

     who-Nom the   document-Acc lost   Q   ask-Pass-Past when   -Top

     [**ø-wa** (**a!**) **bokuno**$_i$ buka-ga   nakusita n   desu (**yo**) to]   itta.

      ø-Top (oh!) my   staff-Nom   lost   Comp Cop   (Prt) Comp   said

     'When he was asked who had lost the document, John said, "Speaking of the document, oh! my staff lost it."'

(25) *Summary*

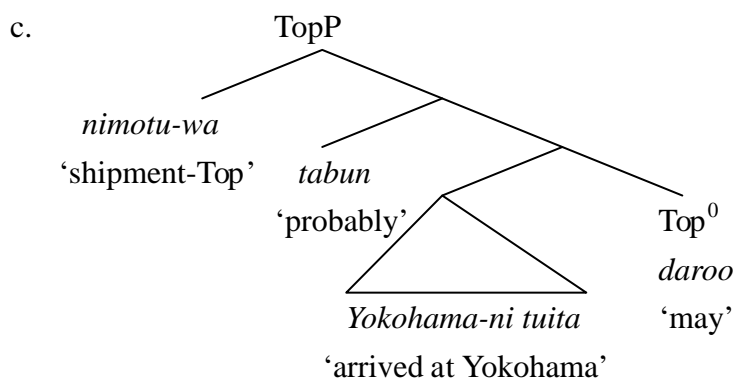|	topicalization	interjection	final particle	particle stranding
Class 1	no	no	no	no
Class 2	yes	no	no	yes/no ?
Class 3	yes	yes	yes	yes

3. Topicalization vs. Particle Stranding

3.1 Clause Types and Topicalization

(26) a. A topic phrase and an epistemic modal occur in the same layer.

(Minami (1974), Masuoka (1991) and Noda (1995))

b. Nimotu -wa   tabun   Yokohama -ni tuita   daroo.
   shipment-Top   probably   -at   arrived   may
   'The shipment may probably have arrived at Yokohama.'

c.

(27) *Clause Types and Subordinators*

a. *An adverbial clause resisting topicalization does not tolerate an epistemic adverb and an epistemic modal either.*

[TP John { -ga / *-wa}   (*tabun) Mary-no   gitaa -o   kowasita   (*daroo)]
        { -Nom / *-Top}(*probably)   -Gen   guitar-Acc   destroyed   (*may)
   -toki   Bill -wa   mite-minu-huri   -o   sita.
   -when   -Top   see-not.see-pretense-Acc did
   'When (*speaking of John,) he (*may probably have) destroyed Mary's guitar, Bill turned a blind eye to it.'

b. *An adverbial clause tolerating topicalization tolerates an epistemic adverb and an epistemic modal as well.*

[TopP Ryoosin **-wa   tabun**   hantaisuru **daroo**] -kedo,
        parents -Top probably disagree   may   -though
   boku -wa   ryuugakusi   -tai.
   I   -Top   to.study.abroad-want
   'Though my parents may probably disagree, I want to study abroad.'

3.2 Particle Stranding and Class 2 Adverbial Clauses

(28) *Order between an epistemic adverb and a stranded particle*

    A: Kimi-ga   ryuugakusi-tai   tte   itta-ra,   John -wa   doo   suru kana?

          you-Nom to.study.abroad-want Comp say-if   -Top   what do Q

          'What will John do if you say you want to study abroad?'

    Ba: <u>Tabun</u>   {**John -wa** / **ø-wa*}   hantaisuru   daroo -kedo, settokusuru tumori.

          probably {   -Top / *ø-Top} disagree   may -though persuade   intention

          'Though, speaking of John, he may probably disagree, I will persuade him.'

    Bb: {**John -wa** / **ø-wa**} <u>tabun</u>   hantaisuru   daroo -kedo, …

          {   -Top / ø -Top} probably disagree   may -though

(29) *Two Possible Structures*

    a. **ø-wa** [tabun   hantaisuru   daroo-kedo]

        ø-Top   probably disagree   may -though

    b. [**ø-wa** tabun   hantaisuru daroo-kedo]

          ø-Top probably disagree   may -though

3.3 Identifying the Position of the Stranded Particle

(30) *Diagnostics: right-dislocation*

    a. [Kyaku -ga   kita -kedo] sono tenin-wa   terebi-o mi-tuzuketeta   yo.

          customer-Nom came -though the   clerk -Top TV-Acc watching-kept Prt

          'Though a customer came, the clerk kept watching TV.'

    b. ___ᵢ Sono tennin-wa   terebi-o mi-tuzuketeta   yo, [kyaku   -ga   kita

          the   clerk -Top TV-Acc watching-kept Prt   customer-Nom came

          -kedo]ᵢ

          -though

(31) *Island-sensitivity → Right-dislocation involves moment*

    a. [NP [CP [Kyaku -ga   kita   -kedo] terebi-o   mi-tuzuketeta] tenin]-ga

                    customer-Nom came -though TV-Acc   watching-kept clerk-Nom

        kaikos-are-ta   sooda   yo.

        lay.off-Pass-Past I.heard Prt

        'I heard that the clerk who kept watching TV though a customer came was laid off.'

    b. *[NP [CP ___ᵢ Terebi-o   mi-tuzuketeta] tenin]-ga   kaikos-are-ta   sooda   yo,

                   TV-Acc   watching-kept clerk-Nom lay.off-Pass-Past I.heard Prt

        [kyaku   -ga   kita   -kedo]ᵢ.

          customer-Nom came -though

(32) *Constituent structure*

A: John -wa   kimi-ga   ryuugakusuru   koto-ni   hantaisuru   nzyanai   no?
      -Top   you-Nom   study.abroad   Nmz-about   disagree   isn't.likely   Q
  'Isn't it likely that John will disagree about you studying abroad?'

Ba: {**John -wa** / **ø-wa**}   ___ᵢ settokusuru tumori   desu, [tabun   hantaisuru
    {   -Top / ø-Top }   persuade   intention Cop   probably disagree
  daroo-kedo]ᵢ.
  may -though
  'Speaking of John, I will persuade him, though he may probably disagree.'
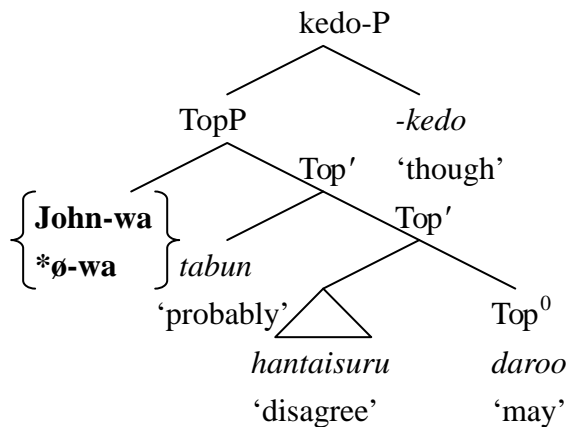
Bb: ___ᵢ settokusuru tumori   desu, [{**John -wa** / ***ø-wa**}   tabun   hantaisuru
      persuade   intention Cop   {   -Top / *ø-Top}   probably disagree
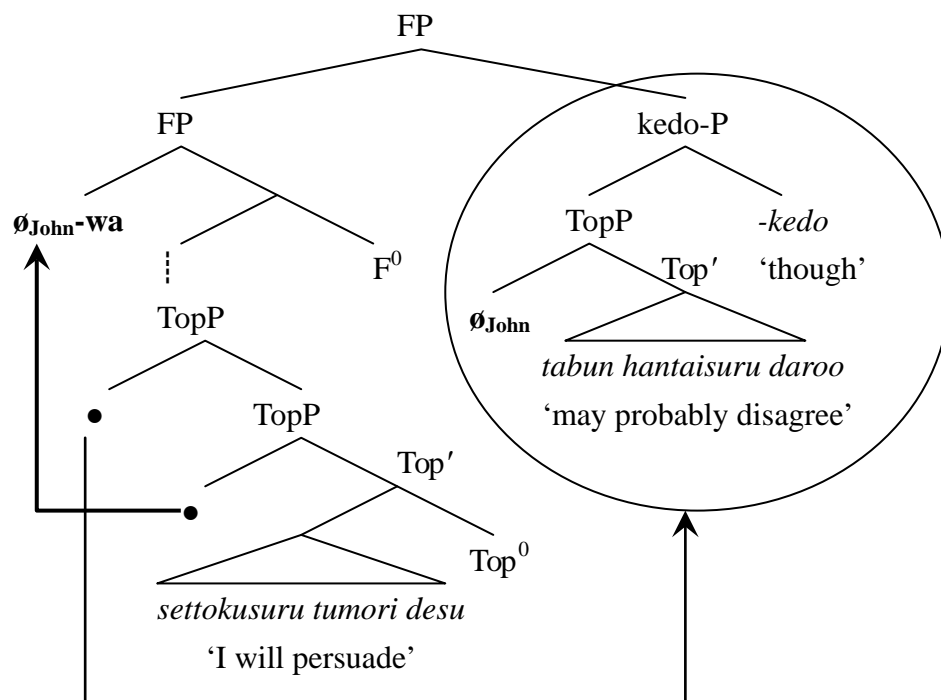 daroo-kedo]ᵢ.
  may -though

(33) The stranded particle 'ø-wa' does not form a constituent with the *kedo*-phrase (see (32Bb)).
  → The *kedo*-phrase does not have a position for the stranded particle, whereas it has a position for an overt topic.

The structure of the kedo-*phrase in (32Bb):*

kedo-P
TopP   -kedo 'though'
Top′
  {John-wa / *ø-wa} tabun 'probably'   Top′
  Top⁰
  hantaisuru 'disagree'   daroo 'may'

- 10 -

(34) *The Structure of (32Ba):*

- There is a projection FP in the main clause that hosts a stranded particle.
- The stranded particle moves from Spec-TopP to Spec-FP.
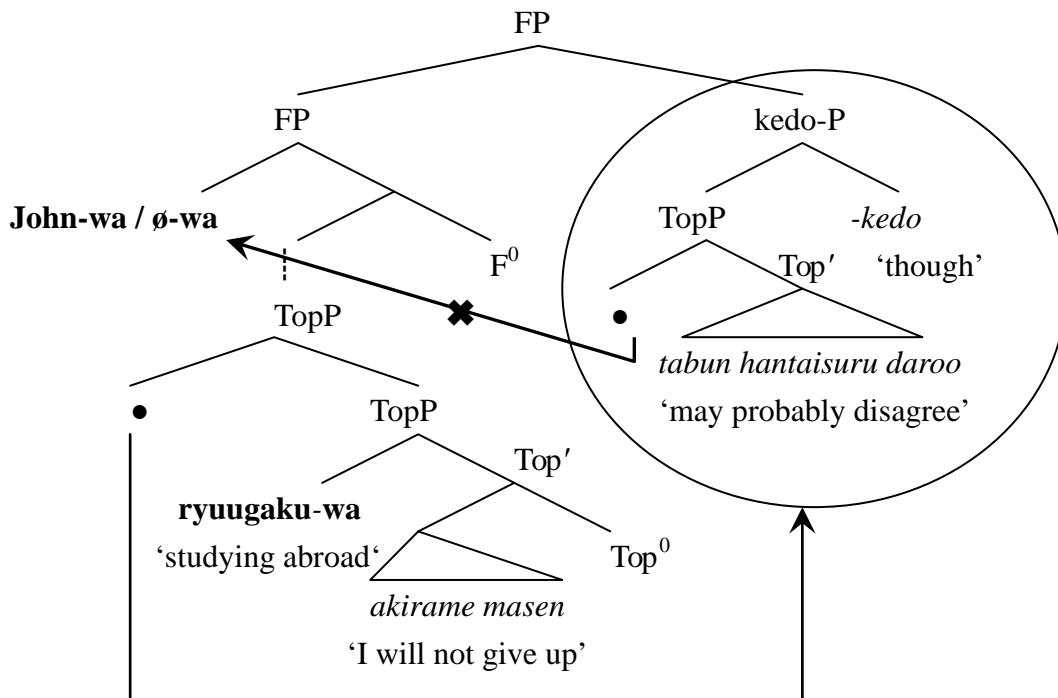- In (32Ba), the main clause and the adverbial clause share the same topic 'John'.

(35) *What if the main clause and the adverbial clause have **different topics**?*

   A: John -wa   kimi-ga   ryuugakusuru   koto-ni   hantaisuru   nzyanai   no?
          -Top   you-Nom study.abroad   Nmz-about disagree   isn't.likely Q
     'Isn't it likely that John will disagree about you studying abroad?'

   B: {**John -wa** / **ø-wa**}   tabun   hantaisuru   daroo -kedo,
      {   -Top/ ø-Top} probably disagree   may   -though
      ryuugaku   -wa   akirame-masen.
      studying.abroad -Top   give.up-Neg
      'Though, speaking of John, he may probably disagree, speaking of studying abroad, I will not give it up.'

(36) *Right-dislocation*

Ba: {***John -wa** / ***ø-wa**} ___ᵢ **ryuugaku** **-wa** akirame-masen,
{ -Top/ ø-Top } studying.abroad -Top give.up-Neg
[tabun hantaisuru daroo -kedo]ᵢ.
probably disagree may -though

Bb: ___ᵢ **ryuugaku** **-wa** akirame-masen, [{**John -wa** / ***ø-wa**} tabun
studying.abroad -Top give.up-Neg { -Top/ ø-Top } probably
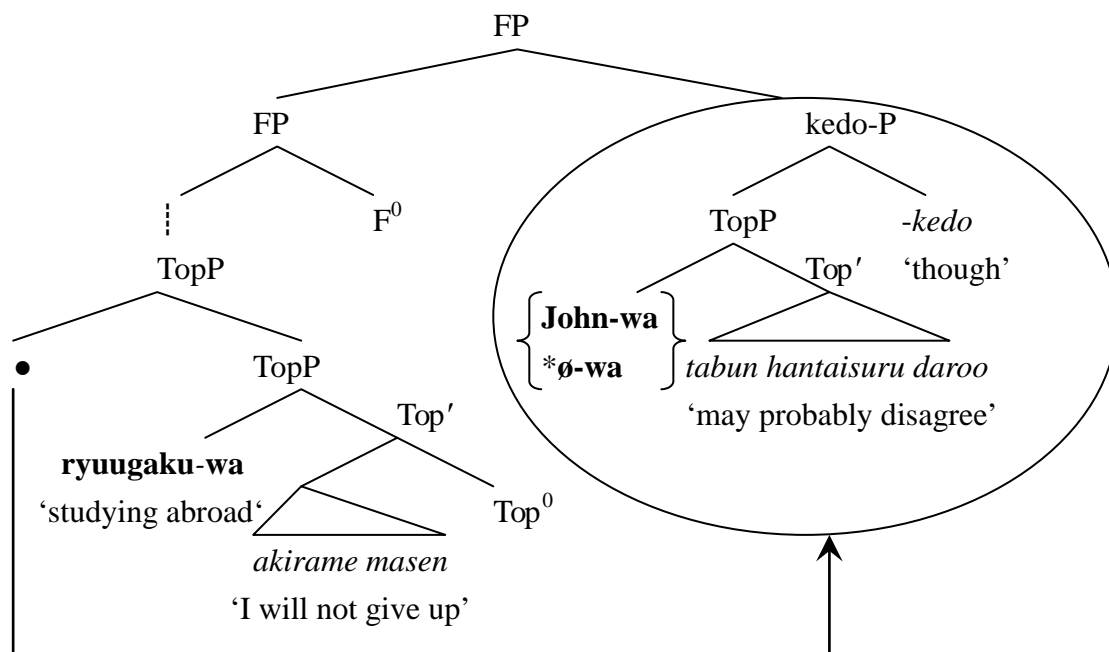hantaisuru daroo -kedo]ᵢ.
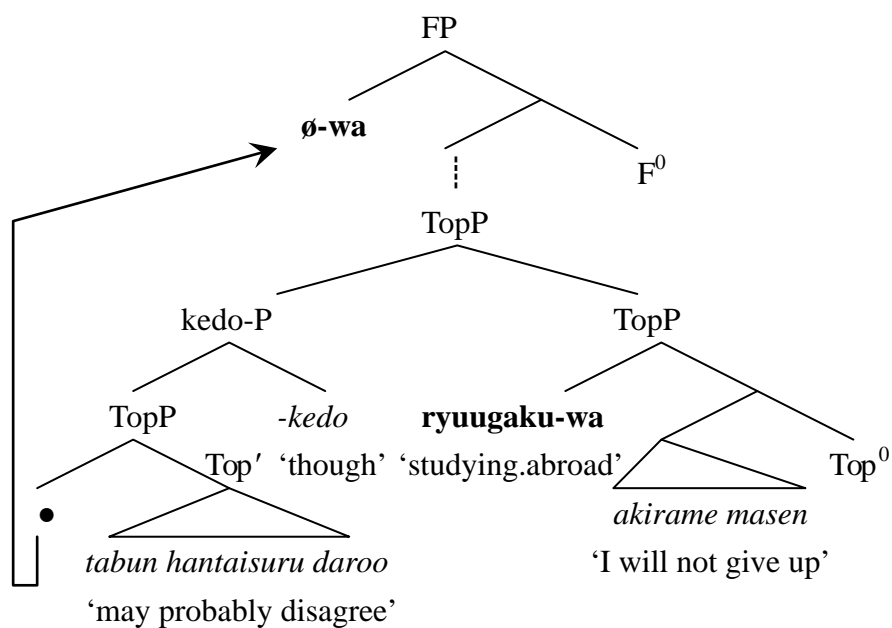disagree may -though

(37) *The structure of (36Ba) --- cf. (34)*

(38) *Extraction out of a right-dislocated phrase is forbidden*

a. John -wa [Mary-ga yubiwa-o nakusita -kedo] okora-naka-tta.
-Top -Nom ring-Acc lost -though get.angry-Neg-Past
'Though Mary lost the ring, John didn't get angry.'

b. Yubiwa-oᵢ John -wa [Mary-ga *t*ᵢ nakusita -kedo] okora-naka-tta.
ring-Acc -Top -Nom lost -though get.angry-Neg-Past

c. *Yubiwa-oⱼ John -wa ___ᵢ okora-naka-tta, [Mary-ga *t*ⱼ nakusita -kedo]ᵢ.
ring-Acc -Top get.angry-Neg-Past -Nom lost -though

(39) *The structure of (36Bb) --- cf. (33)*

(40) *The Structure of (35B)*

(41) = (38b) *Some adjunct clauses do not exhibit island effects (Mihara (1994))*

Yubiwa-o$_i$ John -wa [Mary-ga t_i nakusita -kedo] okora-naka-tta.

ring-Acc   -Top   -Nom   lost   -though get.angry-Neg-Past

'Though Mary lost the ring, John didn't get angry.'

(42) *Still, movement is involved*

    a. *No pro-form of PP → The gap must be a trace*

        Hasami-de$_i$ John -wa [Mary-ga ___$_i$ tiizu-o   kitta -kedo]

        scissors-with   -Top   -Nom   cheese-Acc cut -though

        okora-naka-tta.

        get.angry-Neg-Past

        'Though Mary cut the cheese with scissors, John didn't get angry.'

    b. *A gap resulting from movement cannot be filled with a resumptive pronoun (Saito (1985))*

        *Yubiwa-o$_i$ John -wa [Mary-ga   **sore-o**$_i$ nakusita -kedo] okora-naka-tta.

         ring-Acc   -Top   -Nom it-Acc   lost   -though get.angry-Neg-Past

        'Though the ring, Mary lost it, John didn't get angry.'

    c. *Connectivity*

        Zibunzisin-o$_i$ John -wa [Mary-ga$_i$ t_i hihansita -kedo]   odoroka-naka-tta.

        self-Acc   -Top   -Nom   criticized-though surprised-Neg-Past

        'Though Mary criticized herself, John was not surprised.'

(43) *Resumptive pronoun*

    A: John -wa   kimi-ga   ryuugakusuru   koto-ni   hantaisuru   nzyanai   no?

            -Top   you-Nom study.abroad   Nmz-about disagree   isn't.likely Q

        'Isn't it likely that John will disagree about you studying abroad?'

    B: ø-wa   (?***kare-wa***) tabun   (?***kare-wa***) hantaisuru   daroo -kedo,

        ø-Top (?*he-Top)   probably (?*he-Top)   disagree   may   -though

        ryuugaku   -wa   akirame-masen.

        studying.abroad -Top   give.up-Neg

        'Though, speaking of John, he may probably disagree, speaking of studying abroad, I will not give it up.'

3.4 Summary

(44) The stranded particle ('ø-wa') must move from Spec-TopP to Spec-FP.   (i.e., It must be licensed not only by Top^0 but also by F^0.)   On the other hand, an overt topic ('NP-wa') may stay in Spec-TopP.

(45) *Further evidence: embedding the* kedo-*clause within a reported clause*

Ryuugaku　　-nituite　John -ga　　doo　　omotteiru ka kik-are-ta　　toki,
studying.abroad -about　　　　-Nom　what　think　　Q　ask-Pass-Past　when

Mary -wa　　yoosuruni　[REPORTED-CLAUSE　[KEDO-CLAUSE　{**John-wa** / *ø-wa**}　tabun
　　-Top　　in.summary　　　　　　　　　　　　{　　-Top / *ø-Top}　probably

hantaisuru　daroo　-kedo]　　kanozyono　ketui　-wa　　kawara-nai　to]
disagree　　may　-though　her　　　　　decision-Top　change-Neg　Comp

ii-takatta　　no　　da.
say-wanted　Comp　Cop

'When she was asked what John thought of her studying abroad, Mary wanted to say in summary that though he might probably disagree, her decision would not be changed.'

- As seen in section 2.3, a reported clause in indirect speech does not have a position for a stranded particle.　The ungrammaticality of (45) with particle stranding indicates that the *kedo*-clause also lacks the relevant position.

(46) *Revision of the Table (25)*

	topicalization	interjection	final particle	particle stranding
Class 1	no	no	no	no
Class 2	yes	no	no	no
Class 3	yes	yes	yes	yes

i.　Particle stranding as well as interjections and final particles is possible only in a quoted clause in direct speech (Class 3 clause), which is effectively a main clause (see section 2.2.3).　→　They are genuine main clause phenomena.

ii.　These phenomena take place in FP located above TopP.

iii.　<u>Questions</u>: Where is FP?

What are the properties common to genuine main clause phenomena such as particle stranding and sentence final particles?

4.　Particle Stranding and Sentence Final Particles

4.1　Illocutionary Force

- Particle stranding and sentence final particles do not make a contribution to determining sentence types.　By contrast, illocutionary force markers are obligatory and participating in determining sentence types.

(47) *Sentence final particle*

    a. Sugini   ik*(-**u**)   (**ne**).   'I'm going soon.'
       soon   go-Decl   Prt

    b. Sugini   iki*(-**nasai**) (**ne**)!   'Go soon!'
                go-Imp

    c. Suguni iko*(-**o**)   (**ne**).   'Let's go soon.'
               go-Exh

    d. Sugini   iku *(**ka**)   (**ne**)?   'Are you going soon?'
                 Q

(48) *Particle stranding*

    a. A: Sono   yubiwa-wa   dare-ga   mituketa no?
            the   ring -Top   who-Nom found   Q
            'Speaking of that ring, who found it?'

        B: (**ø-wa**)   watasi-ga   mituke*(-**masita**).
            (ø-Top)   I   -Nom find-Past(Decl)
            'Speaking of the ring, I found it.'

    b. A: Kono hon-wa   dare-ni kaese-ba ii   no?
            this   book-Top who-to return-if   good Q
            'Who should I return this book to?'

        B: (**ø-wa**)   John -ni   kaesi*(-**nasai**).
            (ø-Top)   -to   return-Imp
            'Speaking of this book, return it to John.'

    c. A: Rensyuu-wa   itu   hazimeru no?
            practice-Top   when   start   Q
            'When do we start a practice?'

        B: (**ø-wa**)   imasugu   hazime*(-**yoo**).
            (ø-Top) right.now   start-Exh
            'Speaking of a practice, let's start it right now.'

    d. *One exception! – interrogative sentence*

        A: John -wa sugoku okotteta   yo.
                -Top very   was.angry   Prt
            'John was very angry'

        B: (***ø-wa**)   nande sonnani okotteta   **no**?
            (*ø-Top) why   so   was.angry   Q
            'Speaking of John, why was he so angry?'

4.2 Distribution

- Particle stranding and final particles occur at the outermost edge of a sentence.

(49) *Final particles at the rightmost edge*

a. [_{ForceP} Sugini   ik-   (*__ne__)   **-u**]   (**ne**).   'I'm going soon.'
                soon   go-   (*Prt)   -Pres(Decl)   Prt

b. [_{ForceP} Sugini   iki-   (*__ne__)   **-nasai**]   (**ne**)!   'Go soon!'
                                 -Imp

c. [_{ForceP} Suguni   iko-   (*__ne__)   **-o**]   (**ne**).   'Let's go soon.'
                                 -Exh

d. [_{ForceP} Sugini   iku   (*__ne__)   **ka**]   (**ne**)?   'Are you going soon?'
                                 Q

(50) *Particle stranding at the leftmost edge*

a. *Cooccurrence with* saa

    Saa   rensyuu-o   hazime   {**-yoo** / **-nasai** / *__-ru__ / *__-runo__?}.
    now   practice-Acc   start   {-Exh / -Imp / *-Decl / *Q}
    'Now, let's start a practice.' / 'Now, start a practice!' / *'Now, we start a practice.' /
    *'Now, do you start a practice?'

b. A: Rensyuu-wa   itu   hazimeru   no?
          practice-Top   when   start   Q
          'When do we start a practice?'

   Ba: **ø-wa**   [_{ForceP} **saa**   imasugu   hazime-yoo].
          ø-Top   now   right.now   start-Exh
          'Speaking of a practice, now, let's start it right now.'

   Bb: *[_{ForceP} **saa**   **ø-wa**   imasugu   hazime-yoo].
              now   ø-Top   right.now   start-Exh

4.3 Interpersonal Interaction

- Particle stranding and sentence final particles occur in dialogic contexts.
- The speaker/writer has (a) particular (i.e. not anonymous) addressee(s) in mind.

(51) *Narrative (i.e. non-dialogic) contexts*

a. *novel*

    Naoko -wa   […]   nakanaka   kaette-ko-naka-tta   (*__yo__). (*__ø-wa__)   Teruo-ga
         -Top   for.long.   back-come-Neg-Past (*Prt) (*ø-Top)   -Nom
    kitakusite-kara-mo   mada   modora-naka-tta.
    came.home-when-even   still   return-Neg-Past
    'Naoko […] was out for a long time. Even when Teruo came home, she still hadn't
    returned.'   --- Yasutaka Tsutsui, *Shiba wa Midori* (The Grass is Greener)

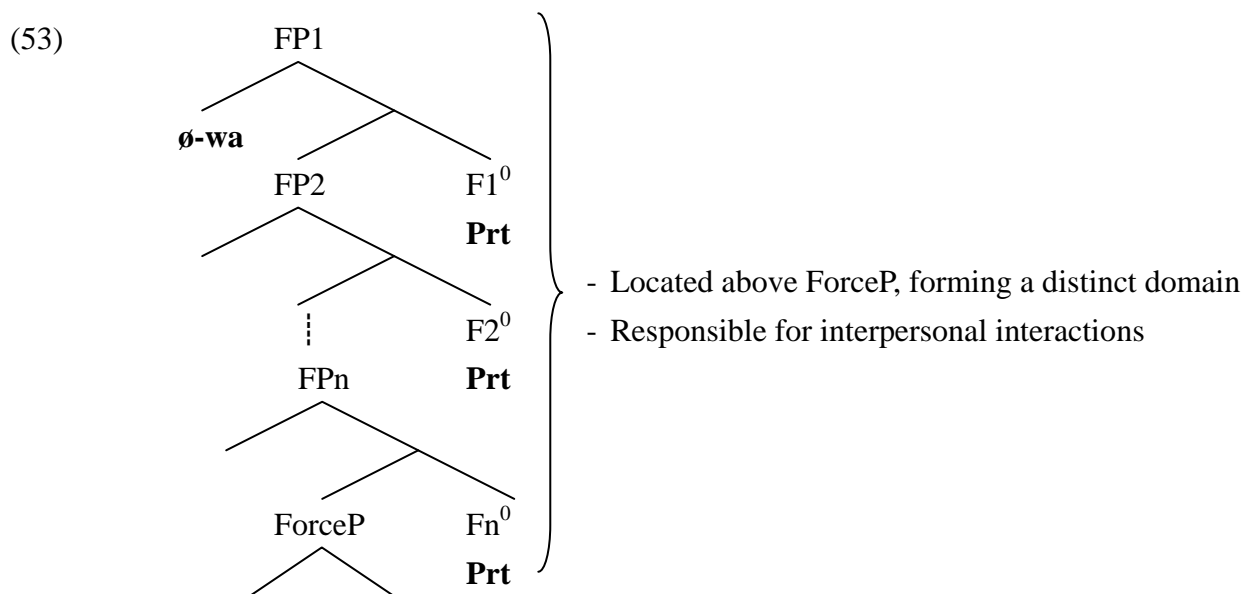b. *newspaper article*

Nippon-Indo ryoo-koku   seehu   -wa   kinoo   ni-koku-kan-no
Japan-India both-country government-Top yesterday two-country-between-Gen
keezai-renkee-kyootee   -o   teeketusuru koto-de   oosuzi
economic-partnership-agreement-Acc conclude   Nmz-with generally
gooisita   (*yo).
agreed   Prt

'Japanese and Indian governments came to a general agreement yesterday to conclude the Economic Partnership Agreement between them.'   --- *Nikkei Shimbun*, 10.09.10

(52) *Speaker-addressee interaction (Tateishi (1991), Endo (2007), etc.)*
   a. *Yo*: The speaker provides information that s/he assumes is accessible to him/her but inaccessible to the addressee.
      i. [A man walking ahead of the speaker dropped his wallet, but he didn't notice it]
         Mosimosi, saihu -o   otosi-masi-ta   *(**yo**).
         excuse.me wallet-Acc drop-Polite-Past   *(Prt)
         'Excuse me, but you've dropped your wallet.'
      ii. [The speaker got out of the bed in a very cold morning, speaking to himself/herself]
         Aa! samui   (*yo).
         Oh cold   (*Prt)
         'Oh, it's cold!'
   b. *Ne*: The speaker asks for the addressee's acknowledgement of the content of his/her speech.
      i. [The speaker and the addressee have been standing in an overcrowded train for more than half an hour.]
         Kono densya-wa   sugoku kondemasu *(**ne**).
         this train -Top   very   crowded   *(Prt)
         'This train is very crowded, isn't it?'
      ii. [The speaker got out of the bed in a very cold morning, speaking to himself/herself]
         Aa! samui   (*ne).
         Oh cold   (*Prt)
         'Oh, it's cold!'

4.4 The Layers Hosting Initial and Final Particles

(53)

```
                    FP1
                   /    \
          ø-wa    /      \
              FP2        F1⁰
             /    \      Prt
            /      \
          ⋮        F2⁰
         /          Prt
       FPn
      /    \
     /      \
   ForceP   Fn⁰
    /\       Prt
   /__\
```

- Located above ForceP, forming a distinct domain
- Responsible for interpersonal interactions

(54) *Particle stacking*

Kimi-wa   kinoo   Tokyo-ni   ita   {**yo ne** /***ne yo**}.
you-Top   yesterday   -in   was   {YO NE /*NE YO}
'You were in Tokyo yesterday, weren't you?'

4.5 Restrictions on Particle Stranding

(55) *Exclusion from an interrogative sentence*

A: John -wa sugoku okotteta   yo.
         -Top   very   was.angry   Prt
     'John was very angry'

B: {***ø-wa** / **John-wa** } nande sonnani okotteta   no?
     {*ø-Top /   -Top} why   so   was.angry   Q
     'Speaking of John, why was he so angry?'

(56) *The preceding utterance must be interrogative.*

A: John -wa   kyoo   gakkoo-ni   ko-naka-tta   rasii   yo.
         -Top   today   school -to come-Neg-Past   I.heard   Prt
     'I heard that John didn't come to school today.'

B: {***ø-wa** / **John-wa**} kaze-demo   hiitan   daroo.
     {*ø-Top /   -Top} cold-or.something   caught   may
     'He may have caught a cold or something.'

(57) A: John -wa   kyoo   gakkoo-ni   ko-naka-tta   {**no** / **ne**}?

           -Top   today   school -to   come-Neg-Past   {Q / Prt}

           'Did't John come to school today?' / 'John didn't come to school today, did he?'

     B: **ø-wa**   (sooieba)   kite-masen   desita.

          ø-Top   (now.I.remember)   come-Neg   was

          'Speaking of John, (now I remember) he was absent.'

(58) **Response and Supply** --- two pragmatic functions of particle stranding

The speaker signals to the addressee that ***in response to*** the addressee's demand, s/he is ready to ***supply*** required information.

   - (55): The speaker does NOT SUPPLY information. On the contrary, s/he DEMANDS it.

   - (56): NO DEMAND for information from the addressee → NO target for RESPONSE

5.   Conclusion

   - topicalization: a 'weak' main clause phenomenon; a topic appears in Spec-TopP

   - particle stranding: a 'strong' / genuine main clause phenomenon, occurring in Spec-FP

   - FP: a domain above ForceP, responsible for encoding speaker-addressee interactions

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