

WH-Sentences in Japanese and the Speech Act Structure*

TAKESHI OGURO

Chiba University of Commerce

t2oguro@cuc.ac.jp

Abstract: Miyagawa (2012) argues for the existence of the Speech Act structure, which is dedicated to dealing with discourse related information such as SPEAKER and HEARER. He does it by examining cases involving allocative agreement, namely, HEARER oriented agreement. This paper discusses cases provided by Yokoyama (2013) as counterexamples to Miyagawa's analysis and offers an account for them, which is based on SPEAKER related agreement. This analysis correctly predicts the presence of adjunct WH-questions.

1. Introduction

Recently, as part of the cartographical approach to the structure of the left periphery initiated by Rizzi (1997) and Cinque (1999), there is a research trend which suggests that sentential architecture involves a structural zone above CP, dedicated to dealing with discourse-related information such as the speaker and the addressee. One important work along such lines of inquiry is Speas & Tenny (2003), who propose that CP is dominated by Larsonian shell structures involving a Speech Act Phrase. This work is followed by Tenny (2006), who applies their approach to the analysis of sensation predicates in Japanese. An alternative version is proposed by Hill (2007) and Haegeman & Hill (2013).

Miyagawa (2012) argues that the presence of the Speech Act structure is necessary to account for the rather curious behavior of Japanese WH-questions. He adopts the version of the Speech Act Phrase suggested in Haegeman & Hill (2013) and assumes the structure in (1) for Japanese questions.

(1) $[_{SAP} \text{SPEAKER} [_{SA'} [_{sAP} \text{HEARER} [_{sa'} \text{CP} [sa^0]]]]] [_{SA^0}]$

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In this head-final structure, CP is dominated by the Speech Act structure involving two Speech Act head positions and two specifier positions. Here the discourse role of SPEAKER occupies the specifier position of the higher Speech Act Phrase. HEARER is in Spec of the lower Speech Act Phrase, and CP, that is to say, the utterance content, is in the complement position of the lower Speech Act Phrase.

Miyagawa derives the presence of the Speech Act structure from the interaction between a certain requirement on the interrogative complementizer *ka* and allocutive agreement, which is HEARER oriented agreement.

In this paper, I would like to support his analysis by looking at cases involving SPEAKER oriented agreement. Section 2 sketches Miyagawa's (2012) analysis based on allocutive agreement. Section 3 provides Yokoyama's (2013) observations, which seem to escape Miyagawa's treatment. Section 4 suggests an account based on SPEAKER related agreement. Section 5 extends the suggested account to the case where a WH-clause functions as an adjunct. Section 6 concludes the paper.

2. Miyagawa (2012)

Miyagawa (2012) motivates the existence of the Speech Act structure by considering the effects induced by HEARER oriented agreement. This argument is crucially based on a condition imposed on the complementizer *ka*, which has to do with the paradigm originally observed in Miyagawa (1987), as in (2).

- (2) a. Dare-ga ki-mas-u ka?
 who-NOM come-POL-PRES Q
 'Who will come?'
 b. * Dare-ga kuru ka?
 who-NOM come Q

As this contrast shows, matrix questions must have a politeness marker attached to the predicate. The situation is reversed in the case of embedded questions, as shown in (3).

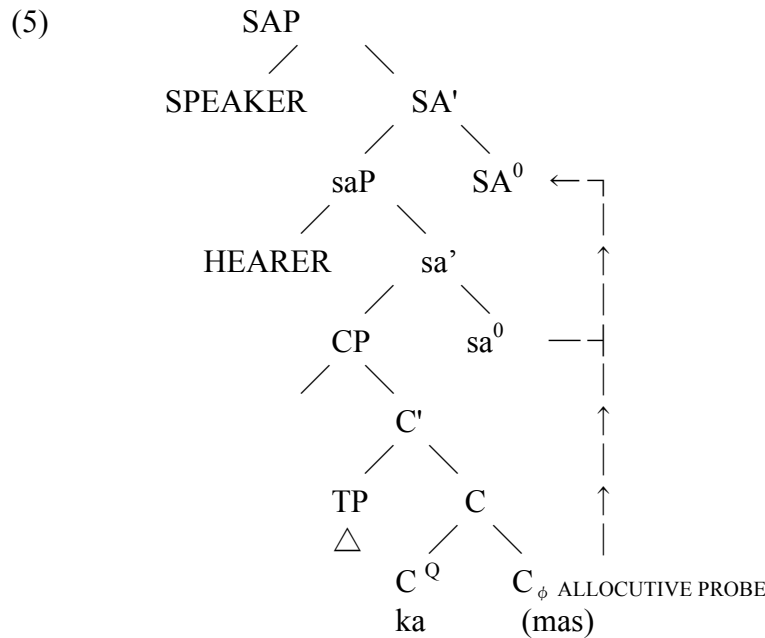
- (3) a. * John-wa [dare-ga ki-mas-u ka] sitte i-mas-u.
 John-TOP who-NOM come-POL-PRES Q know be-POL-PRES
 'John knows who will come.'
 b. John-wa [dare-ga kuru ka] sitte i-mas-u
 John-wa who-NOM come Q know be-POL-PRES

As in (3), contrary to matrix questions, embedded questions cannot have a politeness marker.

In order to capture this asymmetry, Miyagawa proposes the following system.

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- (4)
- The complementizer *ka* must be selected by a head.
 - Politeness markers bear an allocutive feature originating in C (Oyharçabal 1993).
 - An interrogative clause can be dominated by the Speech Act structure.
 - The allocutive probe in C finds its goal HEARER, after undergoing head movement to a head in Speech Act Phrase, thereby c-commanding HEARER.



In (5) the allocutive probe undergoes head movement through the lower Speech Act head to the higher Speech Act head, where it c-commands its goal HEARER, establishing the probe-goal relation (Chomsky 2008). The movement into the Speech Act structure makes the politeness marker have the utterance content, that is to say, CP, in its scope, which makes it a polite sentence. In this structure, *ka* is selected by the lower Speech Act head, meeting the condition in (4a).

It is important to note that the presence of a politeness marker indicates the presence of the Speech Act structure. Then, the contrast in (3) follows naturally, as shown in (3').

- (3')
- * John-wa [_{SAP} dare-ga ki-mas-u ka] sitte i-mas-u.
 John-TOP who-NOM come-POL-PRES Q know be-POL-PRES
 'John knows who will come.'
 - John-wa [_{CP} dare-ga kuru ka] sitte i-mas-u
 John-wa who-NOM come Q know be-POL-PRES

The embedded question in (3'a) involves a politeness marker, which means that the embedded clause is not of the CP category but it projects up to the Speech Act structure. Verbs like 'know' select CP, as shown in (3'b), but not Speech Act Phrase, in which case deviance results.

Having seen Miyagawa's analysis, let us take a look in the next section at Yokoyama's (2013) observations, which seem, at first sight, to be problematic to Miyagawa.

3. Apparent Counterexamples

Yokoyama (2013) shows that some matrix WH-sentences are fine without the presence of a politeness marker. Here I provide representative cases.

(6) Conjectural Question

Dare-ga kuru no daroo ka?¹
 Who-NOM come FIN MOD Q
'I wonder who will come.'

(7) Exclamative

John-wa nanto kasikoi no daroo ka!
 John-TOP how smart FIN MOD Q
'How smart John is!'

(8) Rhetorical Question

Dare-ga kuru ka!
 who-NOM come Q
'No one will come!'

As shown in (6) and (7), conjectural questions and exclamatives are allowed, even though they do not involve politeness markers. The question in (8) indicates that (2b) is acceptable as a rhetorical question, not as an information seeking question.

Yokoyama proposes that there are two types of the complementizer *ka*: one is the kind that needs to be selected by a head, that is to say, the kind employed in information seeking questions, which is examined by Miyagawa (2012). Yokoyama assumes that this type has the [-assertive] feature. The other kind of *ka* is the type which does not need to be selected. This type of *ka* is used in conjectural questions, exclamatives, and rhetorical questions. Yokoyama claims that the complementizer *ka* used in these WH-sentences has the [+assertive] feature.

Yokoyama's observation is important and his idea of dividing *ka* into two types is interesting, but the notion of assertiveness, which is the key in his analysis, does not seem to be so clear, since the asker of a conjectural question does not assert anything. In the next section, I would like to offer an alternative account.

¹ Here I assume with Ono (2006), Hiraiwa & Ishirawa (2012), Saito & Haraguchi (2012), and Kuwabara (2013) that *no* is the Finite head (Rizzi 1997).

4. An Account

In this section, I would like to offer an account for the observations made in the previous section. I would like to begin with conjectural questions and WH-exclamatives, which share a common element, *daroo* and then deal with rhetorical questions.

4.1. Conjectural Questions and WH-Exclamatives

As shown in (6) and (7), conjectural questions and WH-exclamatives are acceptable, though they lack a politeness marker. Instead, they both involve *daroo*, which is a modal, showing the speaker's judgment or attitude toward the described situation (Nitta 1991, Ono 2006, and Inoue 2007 among others). It must be then that the presence of this modal is responsible for the fine status of (6) and (7).

How can we structurally guarantee that this modal reflects the viewpoint of the speaker? This is where the Speech Act structure comes in. Specifically, I propose (9).

- (9) The modal *daroo* has a point-of-view (POV) feature, which agrees with SPEAKER.

Schematically, (6) and (7) have the structure like (10).

- (10) [SAP SPEAKER [SA' [CP [MOD [FIN [TP ...] no] daroo_[POV]] ka] SA⁰]]

In this structure, the discourse role of HEARER is omitted, since sentences like (6) and (7) are typically uttered without the presence of HEARER. The POV feature in the modal projection agrees with SPEAKER, so that the modal expresses SPEAKER's psychological state.² It is important to note that in this structure, the complementizer *ka* is selected by the Speech Act head, satisfying the condition in (4a).

Recall that (3a) is degraded due to the size of the complement clause. The same thing is observed here. The largest projection in (10) is Speech Act Phrase. It is then expected that conjectural questions and WH-exclamatives also fail to be selected by predicates, since they project up to Speech Act Phrase, rather than CP. This expectation is borne out, as shown in (11).

- (11) a. * Boku-wa [SAP dare-ga kuru no daroo ka] wakaranai.
 I-TOP who-NOM come FIN MOD Q know.not
 'I don't know who will come.'
- b. * Boku-wa [SAP John-ga nanto kasikoi no daroo ka] odoita.
 I-TOP John-NOM how smart FIN MOD Q was.surprised
 'I was surprised how smart John is.'

² In contrast to *daroo*, *rasii* 'seem' requires the politeness marker in matrix questions and can appear in embedded questions. Inoue (2007) suggests that *daroo* is genuine modal and *rasii* is a quasi modal.

Predicates generally select CP rather than Speech Act Phrase, so the deviance in (11) comes as no surprise.

4.2. Rhetorical Questions

As we have seen, rhetorical questions, which do not need a politeness marker, are acceptable on a par with conjectural questions and WH-exclamatives. What is interesting is that (8) lacks a modal element, in contrast to (6) and (7). There is, however, reason to believe that it involves a modal element. As indicated by the exclamation point, the speaker of (8) expresses some strong emotion about the content of the utterance. In fact, there is a case which involves a modal element, as in (12).

- (12) Dare-ga kuru mono ka!
 who-NOM come MOD Q
 'No one will come!'

This example has a modal element *mono*. Given that both (8) and (12) only have the rhetorical interpretation, I assume that (8) has the same structure as in (12), except that (8) involves a phonetically null instance of *mono*.³

Before examining the properties of the modal *mono*, it would be in order to consider the properties of *mono ka* rhetorical questions. First, they allow negative polarity items like *daremo* 'anyone' (McGloin 1976, Horn 1989).

- (13) a. Daremo kuru (mono) ka!
 anyone come MOD Q
 'No one will come!'
 b. * Daremo ki-mas-u ka?
 anyone come-POL-PRES Q

This contrast is sharp. As shown in (13b), ordinary questions do not license negative polarity items. It is possible to interpret ordinary questions like (2a) as rhetorical questions when they involve falling intonation, but even in such cases, negative polarity items are disallowed.

Second, *mono ka* rhetorical questions cannot drop the complementizer *ka*, unlike ordinary questions.⁴

³ See Anno (2003) and Goto (2012) for the pragmatic aspects of *mono ka* rhetorical questions. They discuss semantic differences between the rhetorical questions with *mono* and the ones without, which I put aside.

⁴ (13) and (14) indicate that *mono ka* rhetorical questions are exceptions to Caponigro and Sprouse's (2007) analysis of rhetorical questions as semantically and syntactically ordinary questions, differing only in pragmatics.

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- (14) a. Daremo kuru (mono) *(ka)!
 Anyone come MOD Q
 'No one will come!'
 b. Dare-ga ki-mas-u(ka)?
 'Who will come?'

Third, *mono ka* rhetorical questions convey that the speaker categorically denies the proposition in the sentence. Thus, the contrast in (15) is obtained.

- (15) a. * Tabun daremo kuru (mono) ka!
 maybe anyone come MOD Q
 'Maybe no one will come!'
 b. Zettaini daremo kuru (mono) ka!
 definitely anyone come MOD Q
 'Definitely no one will come!'
 c. Tabun/Zettaini daremo ko-nai.
 maybe/definitely anyone come-not
 'Maybe/definitely no one will come.'

As shown in (15), the speaker of a *mono ka* rhetorical question must have a strong attitude in negating the content of the proposition.

The first two points indicate that the complementizer in *mono ka* rhetorical questions is the licenser of negative polarity items. I assume that the complementizer *ka* that introduces *mono ka* rhetorical questions, which I refer to as *ka*(rhetorical), is distinct from the *ka* that introduces ordinary questions, which I call *ka*(ordinary). I propose the following.

- (16) a. While *ka*(ordinary) does not have the negative feature, *ka*(rhetorical) does.⁵
 b. The negative feature needs to be phonetically detectible.

(16b) is responsible for the obligatory presence of the complementizer in *mono ka* rhetorical questions.

Let us now turn to the modal element *mono*. The paradigm in (15) shows that in uttering (12), the speaker has a strong belief that there is no chance of anyone coming. So, *mono* in (12) needs to reflect the speaker's view and its meaning must be closely related to the notion of

⁵ Another property that distinguishes *mono ka* rhetorical questions from ordinary questions is that they only allow WH-expressions such as *dare* 'who' or *nani* 'what', but not *dore* 'which' or ones accompanied by *ittai* 'on earth'. This is similar to WH-exclamatives, which allow the WH-expression *nante*, which is not employed in ordinary questions (Ono 2006). One more peculiarity with (*mono ka*) rhetorical questions is that the WH-expression must be matrix subject, though negative polarity items can be matrix object as well as matrix subject.

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chance or possibility. *Mono* has a variety of uses (Teramura 1984), but here I provide examples which seem to be relevant.

(17) Hayaoki sureba, suguni nemuku naru mono da.
 getting.up.early do.if soon sleepy become MOD COP
'Generally, if people wake up early, they will soon be sleepy.'

(18) John-motosi-o totta mono da!
 John-also age-ACC took MOD COP
'John got old, too!'

(19) Mukasi koko-ni ki-ga atta mono da.
 in.the.old.days here-in tree-NOM was MOD COP
'There used to be a tree here.'

In (17), the speaker suggests a general tendency for people to get sleepy soon if they wake up early. In other words, he suggests a possibility, which does not necessarily have to come from his own experience. The sentence in (18) expresses the speaker's surprise about John having gotten old, and in (19) the speaker has a nostalgic feeling about old days. Both examples are based on the speaker's own point of view, which comes from his own experience.

Evidence for treating *mono* in (18) and (19) as a modal which reflects SPEAKER's point of view is found in (20) and (21).

(20) * Boku-ga umareru mae koko-ni ki-ga atta mono da.
 I-NOM born before here-in tree-NOM was MOD COP
'Before I was born, there used to be a tree here.'

(21) a. * John-motosi-o totta mono desu ka?
 John-also age-ACC took MOD COP Q
'Did John get old?'
 b. ?? Mukasi koko-ni ki-ga atta mono desu ka?
 In.the.old.days here-in tree-NOM was MOD COP Q
'Did there used to be a tree here?'

Deviance found in (20) indicates that in a sentence involving this type of *mono*, the speaker must experience the depicted situation. In other words, (20) is degraded because the speaker cannot experience the state in the days when he was not born yet. In each of the questions in (21), the speaker asks his own point of view, while at the same time he expresses it by using *mono*.

Note that this kind of deviance is not detected when (17) becomes a question.

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- (22) Hayaoki sureba, suguni nemuku naru mono desu ka?
 getting.up.early do.if soon sleepy become MOD COP.POL Q
'Generally, if people wake up early, will they be sleepy soon?'

This shows that this *mono*, which has to do with possibility, does not involve the speaker's point of view.

I would like to suggest that the kind of *mono* found in *mono ka* rhetorical questions is the combination of the possibility related *mono* and the *mono* which reflects the speaker's point of view. Given this, the structure of (12) would be like (23).

- (23) [SAP SPEAKER [CP [MOD [TP ...] mono[POV]] ka_(rhetorical)] SA⁰]

In (23), HEARER is omitted. The complementizer *ka*, having the negative feature, negates the possibility of people coming, where the possibility related reading is shown by *mono*. The point-of-view feature in *mono* agrees with SPEAKER located in Speech Act Phrase. In this structure, *ka* is selected by the Speech Act head, meeting the condition in (4a). Thus, the absence of a politeness marker is not a problem here.

The presence of Speech Act Phrase leads us to expect that *mono ka* rhetorical questions cannot be selected by a predicate, which is confirmed in (24).⁶

- (24) * Boku-wa [daremo kuru mono ka] siri-tai/sira-nai/sitteiru.
 I-TOP anyone come MOD Q know-want/know-not/knowing
'I want to know/don't know/know that no one will come.'

In this section, we dealt with the sentences which appear to be counterexamples to Miyagawa's analysis and showed that their behavior can be correctly captured by utilizing the discourse role of SPEAKER, thus supporting Miyagawa.

5. Adjunct WH-Clauses

One of Miyagawa's key assumptions is that *ka* must be selected by a head. This is motivated by the following contrast (Miyagawa 1987).

- (25) a. Bill-wa [dare-ga kuru ka] itta.
 Bill-TOP who-NOM come Q said
'Bill said who will come.'
 b. * Bill-wa [dare-ga kuru ka] donatta/sasayaita/tubuyaita.
 Bill-TOP who-NOM come Q shouted/whispered/murmured
'Bill shouted/whispered/murmured who will come.'

⁶ Caponigro and Sprouse (2007) observe that rhetorical questions can be complements to bridge verbs. As shown in the text, *mono ka* rhetorical questions behave differently in this respect as well.

(25a) is fine, since the WH-clause is the complement of a bridge verb. In (25b) all the verbs are non-bridge verbs, which do not take clausal complements. Thus the WH-clause is not selected, hence deviance.

The discussion in Section 4 raises a question. A WH-sentence does not have to be selected by a bridge verb, as long as it is selected by the Speech Act head. The logical question here is whether a WH-clause can be an adjunct when it is selected by the Speech Act head rather than a verb. We have seen that the Speech Act structure is motivated when the WH-clause contains the modal *daroo*. The presence of the modal *daroo* is expected to save the WH-clause in an adjunct position. This expectation is correct, as shown in (26).⁷

- (26) Dare-ga oita *(nodaroo) ka, tukue-no ue-ni hon-ga aru.
 who-NOM put C MOD Q desk-GENtop-in book-NOM be
 ‘There is a book on the desk, (but I don’t know) who put it there.’

This indicates that the WH-clause adjunct is allowed by the presence of the modal. Since it is an adjunct, it is not selected in the matrix clause. The complementizer *ka* is selected by the Speech Act head in the adjunct, which is motivated by the modal.

The idea that adverbial clauses may involve the discourse related projection is already explored by Haegeman (2006), who deals with English adverbial clauses, where the highest projection is termed Sub(ordinate), which is possibly present in (26). Miyagawa (2012) also shows that certain adverbial clauses in Japanese contain the Speech Act structure. His argument is motivated by HEARER oriented agreement. The example in (26) thus provides support for Miyagawa’s analysis in a way that has to do with SPEAKER oriented agreement.

6. Concluding Remarks

In this paper, I extended Miyagawa’s (2012) analysis of WH-questions in Japanese to the cases which he did not discuss. He examined HEARER oriented agreement phenomenon found in ordinary questions. I supported his approach by examining conjectural questions, WH-exclamatives, and *mono ka* rhetorical questions, which involve SPEAKER oriented agreement. I also showed that Miyagawa’s analysis can correctly capture adjunct WH-clauses, which lends further support for his analysis. Some of the future task would be to see to what extent the suggested analysis can cover other kinds of WH-sentences and to figure out why the condition in (4a) holds.

⁷ Actually, in (26) *daroo* can be omitted, with the string of *no ka* surviving. Questions ending with *no ka* can be selected by verbs like ‘ask’ and ‘know’, which suggests that they lack the Speech Act structure when they are selected by a verb. To capture this duality of *no ka* questions, I assume that *no ka* can be a shortened version for either *no daroo ka* or *no da ka*. *No da ka* questions are widely observed to be allowed in the embedded clause but not in the matrix clause. Ishii (2008) claims that *daroo* cannot appear in such constructions, but I find (26) perfectly acceptable. In fact, similar examples can be found on the Internet.

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