Particle Stranding in Japanese: Focus, Speech Acts, and the CP-Phase
(Category: formal syntax)

This paper deals with a less studied colloquial construction in Japanese exemplified by (1B) where an utterance begins with a particle that is not attached to an overt NP.

(1) A: John-wa   (Tokyo zyanakute) OSAKA$_i$-ni itta   no? ⸺ B: ø$_i$-NI itta   n   da   yo.
       -Top   rather.than   -to went Q   -to went Comp Cop Prt
       'Did John go to OSAKA (rather than to Tokyo)?'   'To (OSAKA), he went.'

This pattern (call it *particle stranding*) is used in a question-answer context. The stranded particle bears a heavy pitch accent, which is commonly placed on a contrastively focused element. The gap before the particle refers back to the focused NP in the preceding question.

This construction, though noted in as early as the late 1940's by Hattori (1949), came into frequent use quite recently. Existing analyses (Hayashi 2001, Yoshida 2004, Arita 2005, Sato and Ginsburg 2007) commonly characterize it as occurring "in the sentence-initial position." This paper, on the other hand, proposes that the relevant position is not the sentence-initial position in the strict sense. That is, it is not the leftmost periphery of the highest projection of sentence structure. As far as a focus-type particle stranding is concerned, the so-called "initial" position corresponds to Spec-FocP in the split CP structure (Rizzi 1997 et seq.). Another claim to be defended is that particle stranding occurs only in the CP domain. This restriction is derived from a requirement that the stranded particle be licensed via Agree within the CP domain with a functional head encoding interpersonal communicative functions of an utterance.

Being a focus-bearing constituent, the stranded particle in (1B) can alternate with an overt focus phrase. They cannot be left unpronounced, which is a common feature of focused elements.

(2) {OSAKA-ni / ø-NI / *ø} itta   n   da   yo.   'To OSAKA, he went.' (intended as a reply to (1A))
         -to   -to   went Comp Cop Prt

Their similarity in this respect suggests that the stranded particle occupies Spec-FocP, a position for a focused constituent in the articulated CP domain. In fact, particle stranding is inapplicable in a sentence lacking FocP. Kuwabara (2008) observes that Japanese has two kinds of interrogative sentence: One is the so-called *no da* focus type which contains FocP and the other is a non-focus type. While the former may contain a focused constituent, the latter cannot (see (3)). The same pattern emerges in declarative sentences. Being a *no da* focus sentence, (2) tolerates both an overt focus and particle stranding. By contrast, (4), which is not a *no da* sentence, cannot be a perfect reply to (1A). This also lends support to treating the stranded particle on a par with an overt focus element.

(3) Tokyo zyanakute OSAKA-ni {itta   n   desu ka / *iki-masi-ta   ka}?
            rather.than   -to {went Comp Cop Q   /   go-Polite-Past   Q}
     'Did you go to OSAKA rather than Tokyo?'

(4) {??OSAKA-ni / ??ø-NI} iki-masi-ta.
          -to   -to go-Polite-Past

Nevertheless, particle stranding is subject to restrictions that are not imposed on an overt focus phrase. First, it occurs only in the CP-domain. As illustrated by (5Bb), while an overt focus phrase can appear inside TP, particle stranding does not take place in this part of phrase structure.

(5) A: John-ga   (Bill zyanakute) MARY-ni hanasikaketa no?   'Did John speak to MARY?'
          -Nom   rather.than   -to spoke   Q
    Ba: Hai, {MARY-ni / ø-NI} [$_{TP}$ John-ga   sitasigeni hanasikaketa] n   desu.
         yes   -to   -to [$_{TP}$ -Nom friendlily   spoke   ] Comp Cop
         'Yes, to MARY, John spoke friendlily.'
    Bb: Hai, [$_{TP}$ John-ga   sitasigeni {MARY-ni / *ø-NI} hanasikaketa] n   desu.
         yes [$_{TP}$ -Nom   friendlily   -to   -to spoke   ] Comp Cop
         'Yes, John friendlily spoke to MARY.'

Second, particle stranding takes place only in a root clause. Similarly to a sentence-final particle, which is a typical root phenomenon, it is excluded from an embedded context.

(6) Yoogisya-wa (Tokyo dewanaku) OSAKA-ni iru noka to   nandomo   kikarete,
     suspect-Top   rather.than   -in is Q   Comp   again.and.again   being.asked

soosa.tookyoku-wa		tuini	[{OSAKA-ni /*ø-NI}	iru	(*yo)	to-no	]
investigating.authorities-Top		finally	-in	-in	is	Prt	Comp-Gen
mikata-o	simesita.						
view-Acc	suggested						

'Being asked again and again whether the suspect was in Osaka (rather than in Tokyo), the investigating authorities finally suggested the view that he/she was there.'

The distributional parallelism between a stranded particle and a sentence-final particle is interrelated with pragmatic properties they have in common. They both fulfill interpersonal communicative functions and are closely related to particular speech acts. The sentence-final particle *yo*, for instance, signals that an utterance is directed to a particular addressee the speaker has in mind (Kuroda 1973, Endo 2007). The stranded particle serves as a response marker, whereby the speaker signals to the hearer that s/he is performing an act of reply (Arita 2005).

In order to account for the restrictions on particle stranding in (5Bb, 6) while capturing its pragmatic similarity to sentence-final particles, I propose the following structure.

(7) $[_{SAP} [_{ForceP} \ldots [_{FocP} \underline{\text{ø-NI}}_i [_{FinP} [_{TP} t_i \text{ itta }] \text{Fin}^0\text{-n }] \text{Foc}^0\text{-desu }] \ldots] \underline{\text{SA}}^0\text{-yo }]$ (= 1B)
⎣_____⎦ Agree

The functional projection SAP (Speech Act Phrase) above ForceP constitutes the outermost periphery of CP and hosts elements that encode speaker-hearer interactions. Its head position can be occupied by a sentence-final particle. On the other hand, the stranded particle, which originates in an argument position in TP, moves into Spec-FocP due to focalization, but does not undergo further movement into SAP. Nevertheless, it is also able to encode interpersonal communicative functions. I propose that this is made possible via Agree with the SA head.

In the proposed analysis, the inapplicability of particle stranding in (6) is attributable to the absence of SAP within the embedded clause. On the other hand, its inapplicability in (5Bb) is derived from general machinery of phase-based spell-out. Suppose that in the split CP structure only Fin^0 and SA^0 are qualified as CP-phase heads, whereas other heads are not. Then (5Ba) and (5Bb) are derived as follows. (Linear order is irrelevant; Phase heads are italicized)

(8) a. $[_{SAP} \underline{\textit{SA}^0} [_{ForceP} \ldots [_{FocP} \underline{\text{ø-NI}}_i \text{Foc}^0 [_{FinP} \textit{Fin}^0 [_{TP} \text{John-ga sitasigeni } \quad t_i \quad \text{hanasikaketa} \ldots]$ (= 5Ba)
⎣_____⎦ Agree
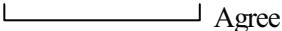
b. $[_{SAP} \underline{\textit{SA}^0} [_{ForceP} \ldots [_{FocP} \text{Foc}^0 [_{FinP} \textit{Fin}^0 [_{TP} \text{John-ga sitasigeni } \quad \underline{\text{ø-NI}} \quad \text{hanasikaketa} \ldots]$ (= 5Bb)
⎣_____⊘_____⎦ Agree blocked

As soon as the phase head SA^0 is merged with ForceP, the domain of the lower phase head Fin^0 (i.e., the shaded TP) is spelled out (Chomsky 2001). In (8a), the stranded particle in Spec-FocP successfully enters into Agree with SA^0. By contrast, Agree is blocked in (8b) because the stranded particle staying in situ is spelled out and becomes inaccessible on the merger of SA^0.

This paper makes descriptive and theoretical contributions to the study of Japanese. First, it provides a finer description of particle stranding, uncovering previously unnoted properties. Second, it serves to elucidate the syntax-pragmatics interface. The main observation is that (some) pragmatic factors such as speaker-hearer interactions are grammaticized and represented as a part of phrase structure. Third, it makes a novel proposal as to the theory of phrase structure and syntactic derivation. The proposed analysis derives limited distribution of particle stranding from general machinery of phase-based spell-out.

REFERENCES Arita, S. 2005. Taiwa niokeru buntoo no wa no kinoo nituite. *Proceedings of the Pragmatic Society of Japan* 1. / **Chomsky, N.** 2001. Derivation by phase. *Ken Hale: A Life in Language*. MIT Press. / **Endo, Y.** 2007. *Locality and Information Structure*. John Benjamins. / **Hattori, S.** 1949. Gutaiteki gengo tan'i to tyuusyooteki gengo tan'i. *Kotoba* 2. / **Hayashi, M.** 2001. Postposition-initiated utterances in Japanese conversation: an interactional account of a grammatical practice. *Studies in Interactional Linguistics*. John Benjamins. / **Kuroda, S.-Y.** 1973. Where epistemology, style, and grammar meet: a case study from Japanese. *Festschrift for Morris Halle*. Holt, Rinehart and Winston. / **Kuwabara, K.** 2008. On the choice of complementizers in Japanese wh-questions and the structure of the left periphery. *Scientific Approaches to Language* 7. / **Rizzi, L.** 1997. The fine structure of the left periphery. *Elements of Grammar*. Kluwer. / **Sato, Y. & J. Ginsburg.** 2007. A new type of nominal ellipsis in Japanese. *Proceedings of FAJL 4*. / **Yoshida, T.** 2004. Syudai no syooryaku gensyoo: hikaku toogoronteki koosatu. *Nihongo Kyooikugaku no Siten*. Tokyodo Shuppan.