

# Japanese as a Topic-Movement Language\*

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In light of the focus particle *dake* 'only' attached to tense, this paper argues that Japanese has topic movement, which moves *wa*-marked topic phrases into CP. Other ordinary phrases—including *ga*-marked subjects—are argued to be located below TP with no movement into CP. It is also argued that Japanese shows no evidence for *wh*-movement, despite Takahashi's claim (1993, 1994) to the contrary. The discussion shows that while English is a *wh*-movement language, where CP is filled with *wh*-phrases, Japanese is a topic-movement language, in which a topic is placed in CP to form a topic-comment structure.

## 1. Introduction

One major issue in the traditional Japanese linguistics (i.e. so-called *Kokugogaku*) concerns the treatment of certain differences between *wa*- and *ga*-marked subjects (or more generally, between *wa*-marked and other nominals). Even a cursory look at the Japanese linguistic literature easily shows that there is an enormous body of work discussing the nature

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of topicalization. (According to Shibatani (1990), the debate dates back to as early as the 18<sup>th</sup> century). It is a general consensus that a topic is located in a structural position separate from the rest of the proposition. One of the most explicit argumentations for the hierarchical organization of the topic is found in Minami (1993). On the basis of co-occurrence restrictions with some sentence-final expressions (*node, noni* (B-class); *kara, keredo* (C-class)), he argues that topic phrases belong to the layer referred to as the ‘C-class’, and nominative subjects, the ‘B-class’.

Paradoxically, however, the discussion of topicalized sentences is mostly limited to their interpretive properties in Japanese generative grammar. This is exemplified by extensive work by Kuroda, who discusses the nature of *wa*- and *ga*-marked subjects in terms of the notion of ‘thetic’ versus ‘categorical’ judgments.<sup>1</sup> In regard to the topic structure, Kuroda (1992) postulates that a *wa*-phrase occupies sentence-initial position external to S(=TP), as represented in (1).

(1) NP-*wa* [S(=TP) ..... ]

Kuroda claims that this is a widely accepted view (see Mihara 1994 for a different view), but as far as I can see, the issue over whether or not the topic phrase should indeed be located above S(=TP) has not been settled yet.

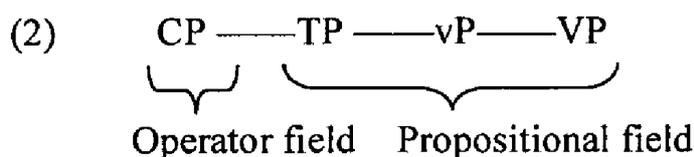
In this paper, I suggest that there is at least one array of data justifying the structural position of *wa*-marked topic phrases. In light of the focusing particle *dake* ‘only’ positioned at the right of tense, I show that a *wa*-marked topic phrase resides in CP, whereas non-*wa*-marked phrases are located within TP. I also argue that Japanese shows no evidence for *wh*-movement, contrary to Takahashi (1993, 1994), who argues that it occurs in some restricted contexts. Given that CP is specifically reserved for topicalization, I propose that Japanese is a topic movement language, in which a topic phrase is moved into CP.

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<sup>1</sup> The former pertains to topicalization (Predication), and the latter, an ordinary subject-predicate relation (Description).

## 2. Association with Focus

In this section and the next, I present empirical evidence indicating that in Japanese, topic phrases come to occupy CP (which I call the ‘operator field’), which is located above TP, constituting the upper limit of what I call the ‘propositional field’.



In English, CP is most typically filled by a *wh*-phrase, and in fact, if a *wh*-phrase is generated within TP, its movement to CP is instantiated. By contrast, in Japanese, a *wa*-marked topic phrase can be shown to fill CP on the basis of the focus particle *dake*.<sup>2</sup>

Let us begin by noting that an adverbial particle like *dake* ‘only’ can be combined with a number of different types of elements, hence can appear in various syntactic positions, as exemplified in (3).

- (3) a. John-**dake**-ga    koko-de    hon-o    yon-da.  
      John-only-NOM here-at    book-ACC read-PAST  
      ‘Only John read books here.’  
      b. John-ga    koko-de-**dake** hon-o    yon-da.  
      John-NOM    here-at-only book-ACC read-PAST  
      ‘John read books only here.’  
      c. John-ga    hon-o    yomi-**dake**(-wa) si-ta.<sup>3</sup>  
      John-NOM book-ACC read-only-TOP    do-PAST  
      ‘John only read books.’

One particularly notable property of *dake*, which denotes ‘exclusiveness’,

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<sup>2</sup> Rizzi (1997) explores the possibility that the operator field is divided into several separate projections such as CP, TopP, and FP (with the sequence of CP-TopP-FP). In this paper, I am only concerned with the question of what element can be located above TP, so I maintain, for the sake of simplicity, that the operator field is comprised of CP only.

<sup>3</sup> Not all native speakers allow *dake* to occur in this position, but to my ear at least, the sentence sounds acceptable, in particular, if *wa* follows it.

is that it is allowed to occur to the right of tense, as shown in (4).<sup>4</sup>

- (4) John-ga hon-o yon-da-dake (da).  
John-NOM book-ACC read-PAST-only COP  
'It is only the case that John read books.'

When *dake* occurs in sentence-final position, it takes the whole clause as its scope, hence can focus on virtually any constituent within it.<sup>5</sup> Restricting our attention to focusing on nominal elements, it is worth noting that *dake* can be associated with either the subject or the object in (4).<sup>6</sup> Thus, both (5a) and (5b) are possible focus interpretations for (4).

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<sup>4</sup> The particle *dake* generally cannot be attached to modal expressions, as exemplified in (i).

- (i) \*John-ga hon-o yom-u hazu-dake (da).  
John-NOM book-ACC read-PRES should-only COP  
'It is only the case that John should read the book.'

There are, however, cases in which modal attachment is possible, as in (ii).

- (ii) Ame-ga huri-soona-dake (da).  
rain-NOM fall-likely-only COP  
'It is only likely that it will rain.'

<sup>5</sup> The adverbial particle *dake* can be attached to a complementizer, but in this case, its focus falls over the whole embedded clause, but not a constituent contained within it.

- (i) a. Mary-wa [John-ga ki-ta kadooka dake] tazune-ta.  
Mary-TOP John-NOM come-PAST whether only ask-PAST  
'Mary asked only whether John came.'  
b. Mary-wa [John-ga ki-ta to dake] it-ta.  
Mary-TOP John-NOM come-PAST that only say-PAST  
'Mary said only that John came.'

Note also that there is an asymmetry between the matrix and embedded complementizers in regard to the attachment of *dake*.

- (ii) a. Mary-wa [dare-ga ki-ta no ka dake ] tazune-ta.  
Mary-TOP who-NOM come-PAST NL Q only ask-PAST  
'Mary asked only who came.'  
b. \*Dare-ga ki-ta no ka dake?  
who-NOM come-PAST NL Q only  
'Only who came?'

As shown in (ii), a question marker can appear in either a matrix or an embedded clause, but only the one occurring in an embedded clause allows the attachment of *dake* on its right.

<sup>6</sup> While there is virtually no restriction on the position of phrases receiving focus from *dake* as long as they are located within the clause containing this particle. Some restrictions are imposed on the kind of nominal, however. For instance, as shown in (i), the universal quantifier *zen'in* resists *dake*-focusing.

- (i) ?\*Zen'in-ga ki-ta-dake da.  
all-NOM come-PAST-only COP  
'Only all people came.'

- (5) a. Only [John] read books.  
 b. John read only [books].

In addition, the clause-final *dake* can focus on either a locative adjunct or a time adjunct.

- (6) a. John-ga *tosyokan-de* hon-o yon-da-**dake** da.  
 John-NOM library-in book-ACC read-PAST-only COP  
 ‘It was only the case that John read books in the library.’  
 b. John-ga *kinoo* hon-o yon-da-**dake** da.  
 John-NOM yesterday book-ACC read-PAST-only COP  
 ‘It was only the case that John read books yesterday.’

The two examples in (6) can have the following interpretations.

- (7) a. John read books only [in the library].  
 b. John read books only [yesterday].

Plausibly, time adjuncts are related to TP. Then, the data above suggest that elements residing in TP fall under the scope of *dake*. Needless to say, elements located outside its scope cannot receive focus.

- (8) a. John-ga [Mary-ga sore-o yon-da-**dake** to] it-ta.  
 John-NOM Mary-NOM it-acc read-PAST-only that say-PAST  
 ‘John said that it was only the case that Mary read it.’  
 b. John-ga [hon-o kai-ni-**dake**] it-ta.  
 John-NOM book-ACC buy-for-only go-PAST  
 ‘John went out only for buying books.’

In both sentences in (8), *dake* is located in the subordinate clause, and the matrix subject cannot be taken as focus. Consequently, (8a) cannot have

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The universal quantifier is not consonant with *dake*, so that these elements cannot be directly combined, as illustrated in (ii).

- (ii) \*Zen'in-**dake**-ga ki-ta.  
 all-only-NOM come-PAST  
 ‘Only all people came.’

It is therefore necessary to make use of nominals that do not inherently resist focus association in order to provide a confirmation for the present proposal.

the interpretation that “only John said Mary read it”, neither can (8b) have the interpretation that “only John went out for buying books”.

By the same token, the following examples indicate that elements dislocated from the clause which contains a clause-final *dake* fall outside its focus domain.

- (9) a. [John-ga yon-da-**dake**-no] ronbun  
 John-NOM read-PAST-only-GEN paper  
 ‘the paper which only John read’  
 b. [ronbun-o yon-da-**dake**-no] John  
 paper-ACC read-PAST-only-GEN John  
 ‘John, who read only the paper’

In (9), the relative clause head lies outside the scope of *dake*, leading to the impossibility of the interpretations “only the paper which John read” for (9a) and “only John, who read the paper” for (9b). Furthermore, in the pseudo-cleft sentences in (10), the nominal placed in the cleft-focus position cannot be associated with *dake*.

- (10) a. [Hon-o sawat-ta-**dake** na no-wa] sono-kodomo da.  
 book-ACC touch-PAST-only COP that-TOP this-child COP  
 ‘It was this child that only touched the book.’  
 b. [Kodomo-ga sawat-ta-**dake** na no-wa] ano-hon da.  
 child-NOM touch-PAST-only COP that-top that-book COP  
 ‘It was that book that only the child touched.’

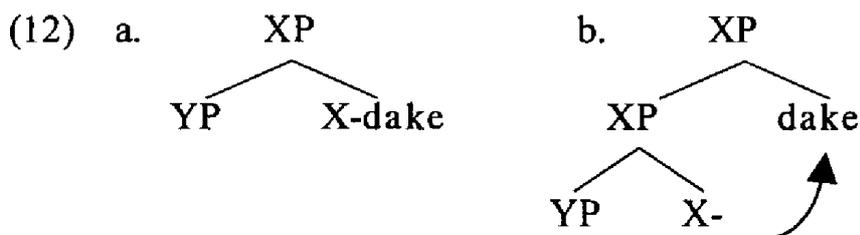
(10a) cannot be interpreted as “it was only this child who touched the book”, nor can (10b) be interpreted as “it was only that book which the child touched”. This does not show, however, that a nominal in cleft-focus position can never be associated with *dake*.

- (11) [Hon-o sawat-ta no-wa] sono-kodomo-**dake** da.  
 book-ACC touch-PAST that-TOP this-child-only COP  
 ‘It was only this child that touched the book.’

Example (11)—in which *dake* is attached to the nominal *sono-kodomo* ‘this child’ in cleft-focus position—can be appropriately interpreted.

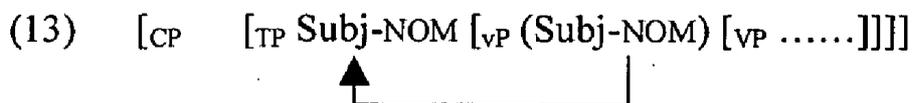
Thus, the impossibility of *dake* focusing on *sono-kodomo* in (10a) must come from the fact that the latter lies outside the scope of the former.

The data suggest that when *dake* is attached to tense, it takes scope over TP, but not beyond. I propose that the scope of *dake*, which defines its focus domain, is created via LF quantifier raising, which adjoins the adverbial head *dake* to the first maximal projection containing it.



Given that scope is defined in terms of c-command, we can state here that when *dake* is attached to tense, its scope extends over TP. Importantly, in this analysis, the fact that (4) can have the interpretation in which *dake* focuses on the subject naturally falls out.<sup>7</sup>

Let us next consider (3c) for the purpose of assessing the position of nominative subjects. In (3c) *dake* cannot have the subject as focus, thereby lacking the interpretation that “only John read the book”. The object, on the other hand, can be focused, so the interpretation “John read only the book” is available. The particle *dake* attached to the verb, which we can assume to be located in the v-head position, takes scope over vP. If so, the subject in (3c) must be located above vP. Furthermore, given the predicate-internal subject hypothesis, this implies that the nominative subject is raised to Spec of TP, motivated by an EPP requirement on T, as in (13).<sup>8</sup>



Notice here that when *dake* is positioned immediately after the verb, its

<sup>7</sup> The term ‘focus’ is often taken to relate to the notion of new information, but as far as adverbial particles are concerned, it must be defined independently of information structure.

<sup>8</sup> In this paper, I will not address the question of where non-nominative subjects are located.

focus may fall on a locative adjunct, but not a temporal adjunct.

- (14) a. John-ga *tosyokan-de* hon-o yomi-**dake**-wa si-ta.  
John-NOM library-in book-ACC read-only-TOP do-PAST  
'John only read books in the library.'
- b. John-ga *kinoo* hon-o yomi-**dake**-wa si-ta.  
John-NOM yesterday book-ACC read-only-TOP do-PAST  
'John only read books yesterday.'

Given the premise that locative adjuncts are located within vP, while temporal adjuncts are adjoined to TP, the focusing facts of adjuncts lend further support to the present proposal that subjects reside in Spec of TP.

Before leaving this section, note that when *dake* is affixed to tense, an adjective like *isogasi-i* 'busy' takes the conclusive form, but a nominal adjective like *sizuka-da* 'quiet' takes the attributive form, as in (15).

- (15) a. Kodomo-ga *isogasi-i-dake* da.  
child-NOM busy-PRES-only COP  
'It is only the case that children are busy.'
- b. Kodomo-ga *sizuka-na-dake*/\**sizuka-da-dake* da.  
child-NOM quiet-only/quiet-only COP  
'It is only the case that children are quiet.'

It is not obvious whether the clause in (15b) contains tense, given the morphological form of the nominal adjective. However, (15b), just like (15a), can have the interpretation in which *dake* takes the subject as focus. This suggests that a nominal adjective clause like (15b) has the 'predicate+tense' sequence syntactically, hence has a syntactic structure consisting of the TP projection.

### 3. The position of topic phrases

In the previous section, it has been shown that non-topicalized phrases (including nominative subjects) lie within TP. In this section, I show that topicalized phrases should be located in the CP domain, and further that topic movement, which moves a topic phrase into CP, can take place in LF as well as in the syntax.

To begin, observe that in Japanese, *wa*-marked topic phrases most naturally occur in sentence-initial position.

- (16) a. John-wa hon-o kat-ta.  
 John-TOP book-ACC buy-PAST  
 ‘John bought a book.’  
 b. Kooen-de-wa kodomo-ga ason-de i-ru.  
 park-in-TOP child-NOM play be-PRES  
 ‘Children are playing in the park.’

Since a non-subject topic in unmarked cases occurs to the left of a nominative subject, we can hypothesize that the topic phrase comes to occupy the left periphery of the clause—i.e. Spec of CP—via topic movement.<sup>9</sup>

- (17) [CP DP/PP-*wa* [TP t<sub>i</sub> ]]]  


If *wa*-marked phrases reside in CP, it is predicted that the adverbial particle *dake* added to tense cannot focus on them. This prediction is in fact correct.

- (18) a. John-wa hon-o kat-ta-**dake** da.  
 John-TOP book-ACC buy-PAST-only COP  
 ‘John only bought a book.’  
 b. Kooen-de-wa kodomo-ga ason-de i-ru-**dake** da.  
 park-in-TOP child-NOM play be-PRES-only COP  
 ‘Children are only playing in the park.’

The examples in (18) do not allow the interpretations where the topic is in focus—i.e. “only John bought a book” and “only in the park are children playing”. This does not mean that *dake* is not compatible with topic phrases semantically, since (19) can be appropriately interpreted.

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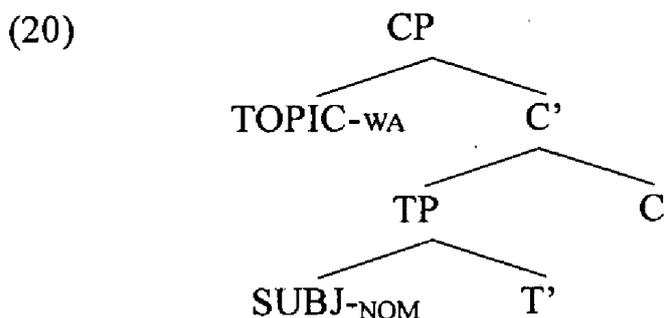
<sup>9</sup> Saito (1985) suggests the possibility that a topic is sometimes base-generated in CP. Even if this is the case, we can state that CP is the field where a topic is accommodated.

- (19) John-**dake**-wa ki-masi-ta.  
 John-only-TOP come-POLITE-PAST  
 'Only John came.'

As shown in (19), a topic phrase can legitimately include *dake* inside. In the face of this fact, it is reasonable to state that the impossibility of *dake* focusing on the topic phrases in (18) must come from the fact that the latter fall outside the scope of the former.

Incidentally, Kuno (1973) observes that *wa*-marked topic phrases invoke either 'thematic' or 'contrast' interpretations. It should be stressed here that the focusing facts pertaining to the particle *dake* positioned at the end of a clause remain constant irrespective of whether *wa*-marked phrases are interpreted thematically or contrastively.<sup>10</sup>

Now that the focus particle *dake* attached to tense extends its scope (i.e. its focus domain) over TP, it can be concluded that a topic phrase—in opposition to a nominative subject—is located above TP, as in (20).



*Wa*-marked phrases typically reside in CP, but their overt constituent position is not limited to sentence-initial position. As seen in (21), topic phrases can be placed sentence-internally, even though they are stylistically marked.

- (21) John-ga kono-ronbun-wa yon-da.  
 John-NOM this-paper-TOP read-PAST  
 'John read this paper.'

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<sup>10</sup> It is reasonable to assume then that the thematic and contrastive '*wa*' interpretations represent semantic, but not syntactic, facts.

Interestingly, when the particle *dake* is attached to tense, it cannot focus on the marked ‘in-situ’ topic.

- (22) John-ga kono-ronbun-wa yon-da-dake (dat-ta).  
 John-NOM this-paper-TOP read-PAST-only COP-PAST  
 ‘It was only the case that John read this paper.’

Example (22) cannot have the interpretation “John read only this paper”. The absence of this interpretation can be accounted for if it is assumed that the topic phrase located in object position is moved into CP via LF movement, as in (23).

- (23) [<sub>CP</sub> kono-hon-wa<sub>i</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> John-ga t<sub>i</sub> yon-da ]]
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As another possible analysis, however, one might argue that the topic phrase occupies Spec of CP, while the subject is scrambled to the left of it, as represented in (24).

- (24) [<sub>CP</sub> Subject<sub>j</sub> Topic<sub>i</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub> yon-da ]]

The representation in (24) is not plausible, since scrambling generally cannot move subjects, as discussed by Saito (1985). Empirical evidence that the topic phrase in (21) is not displaced from its direct object position in overt syntax can be obtained by looking at quantifier floating. In general, a numeral quantifier launched off a subject can occur immediately after the subject, but cannot be placed to the right of a direct object, as illustrated in (25).

- (25) a. Gakusei-ga san-nin ronbun-o yon-da.  
 student-NOM three-CL paper-ACC read-PAST  
 ‘Three students read the paper.’  
 b. \*Gakusei-ga ronbun-o san-nin yon-da.  
 student-NOM paper-ACC three-CL read-PAST  
 ‘Three students read the paper.’

Exactly the same distribution is observed for a sentence with a clause-internal topic like (26).

- (26) a. Gakusei-ga *san-nin* ronbun-wa yon-da.  
 student-NOM three-CL paper-TOP read-PAST  
 ‘Three students read the paper.’  
 b. \*Gakusei-ga ronbun-wa *san-nin* yon-da.  
 student-NOM paper-TOP three-CL read-PAST  
 ‘Three students read the paper.’

If an object is moved across a subject via either topicalization or scrambling, its copy (or trace) is left in its direct object position. This makes it possible for a numeral quantifier launched off the object to be positioned to the right of the subject, as in (27).

- (27) Ronbun-wa<sub>i</sub>/Ronbun-o<sub>i</sub> gakusei-ga t<sub>i</sub> *san-bon* yon-da.  
 paper-TOP/paper-ACC student-NOM three-CL read-PAST  
 ‘Students read three papers.’

If the *wa*-marked phrase in (21) were overtly moved into CP, its copy would be left within TP, and a numeral quantifier associated with the subject should be able to stand to the right of the direct object. Since the numeral quantifier cannot be construed with the subject in (26b), the fact gives us a good indication that that (21) has the overt constituent structure in (28b), but not the one in (28a).

- (28) a. \*[<sub>CP</sub> Gakusei-ga<sub>i</sub> ronbun-wa<sub>j</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub> yon-da]]  
 b. [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> Gakusei-ga ronbun-wa yon-da]]

Importantly, in (22), the topic phrase still falls outside the scope of *dake*. This suggests that a clause-internal topic is moved into CP via covert topic movement, and further, that the focus interpretation associated with *dake* is determined on the basis of LF structure rather than overt syntactic structure.

As a final point in this section, let us consider the position of the major subjects in (29).

- (29) a. Zoo-ga hana-ga naga-i.  
 elephant-NOM trunk-NOM long-PRES  
 ‘The elephant has a trunk.’

- b. Zoo-wa hana-ga naga-i.  
 elephant-NOM trunk-NOM long-PRES  
 ‘The elephant has a long trunk.’

In both examples, the leftmost phrase counts as a major subject licensed with an ‘aboutness’ relation to the thematic subject on its right. A number of researchers (Takezawa 1987, Tada 1992, and others) suggest that nominative Case is assigned (or checked) by tense. If this is the case, there is a sense in which the *ga*-marked major subject in (29a) should be located within TP. On the other hand, when it is *wa*-marked, it is expected to move into CP. The adequacy of this analysis is confirmed by the focusing facts pertaining to (30).

- (30) a. Zoo-ga hana-ga naga-i-**dake** da.  
 elephant-NOM trunk-NOM long-PRES-only COP  
 ‘Only the elephant has a long trunk.’  
 b. Zoo-wa hana-ga naga-i-**dake** da.  
 elephant-TOP trunk-NOM long-PRES-only COP  
 ‘The elephant has only a long trunk.’

In (30a) *dake* can focus on the *ga*-marked major subject, which suggests that it is located within TP. If the major subject is topicalized, as in (30b), *dake* cannot take this subject as focus, indicating that it should reside in CP. The difference in the interpretation between (30a) and (30b) shows that major subjects occupy different positions, depending on whether they are *ga*-marked or *wa*-marked.

#### 4. Non-existence of *Wh*-movement

Japanese is a *wh*-in-situ language where *wh*-phrases stay in place without *wh*-movement. Nonetheless, Takahashi (1993, 1994) argues that some *wh*-phrases can occur at the left periphery of the clause as a consequence of *wh*-movement. In this section, I suggest that the data which motivate Takahashi’s claim for the existence of *wh*-movement indicate instead that *wh*-phrases should not be subject to this grammatical process.

First, let us go over what kind of phrase is moved into Spec of CP by way of *wh*-movement under Takahashi’s analysis. (31) is the relevant

generalization which Takahashi draws from his discussion.

- (31) A'-movement of a *wh*-phrase to the initial position of a clause headed by a [+WH] COMP counts as *wh*-movement in Japanese.

In Takahashi's (1993) analysis, an example like (32), where the *wh*-phrase has been fronted to the clause-initial position, is construed as involving *wh*-movement.

- (32) Donna-ronbun-o<sub>i</sub> John-ga [Mary-ga t<sub>i</sub> kai-ta ka] sit-te  
what-paper-ACC John-NOM Mary-nom write-PAST Q know  
i-ru no?  
be-PRES Q  
'What paper does John know whether Mary wrote?'

Takahashi claims that since (32) is not understood as an embedded question, the *wh*-phrase is moved into Spec of the matrix CP via *wh*-movement.<sup>11</sup>

Takahashi's conclusion is not warranted, however. To see this, first observe the fact that *wh*-phrases in sentence-initial position can be associated with *dake*, as indicated by the translations.

- (33) a. Donna-hito-ga koko-ni ki-ta-**dake** na no?  
what-person-NOM here-in come-PAST-only COP Q  
'Only what person came here?'  
b. Donna-hon-o<sub>i</sub> John-wa t<sub>i</sub> yon-da-**dake** dat-ta no?  
what-book-ACC John-TOP read-PAST-only COP-PAST Q  
'Only what book did John read?'

The possibility of *dake*-focusing remains unchanged irrespective of whether the *wh*-phrases have been scrambled or not. The facts give us a good indication that these *wh*-phrases are located within TP—i.e. the

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<sup>11</sup> For Takahashi, it is crucial that the *wh*-phrase in (32) does not take embedded scope, but there are speakers who find embedded *wh*-scope possible. Note that if, as suggested by Kishimoto (2005), the scope of *wh*-phrase is determined by a Q element in a *wh*-in-situ language, their binding relation—rather than *wh*-movement—plays a key role in *wh*-scope determination.

propositional field—at the LF level.<sup>12</sup> Interestingly, the same distribution is observed for examples like (34), on the basis of which Takahashi argues for the existence of *wh*-movement.

- (34) a. Donna-ronbun-o<sub>i</sub> John-wa [Mary-ga t<sub>i</sub> yon-da-**dake** da  
 what-paper-ACC John-TOP Mary-NOM read-PAST-only COP  
 to] it-ta no?  
 that say-PAST Q  
 ‘Only what paper did John say that Mary read?’
- b. Donna-ronbun-o<sub>i</sub> John-wa [Mary-ga t<sub>i</sub> yon-da-**dake** ka]  
 what-paper-ACC John-TOP Mary-NOM read-PAST-only Q  
 kiki-masi-ta ka?  
 ask-POL-PAST Q  
 ‘Only what paper did John ask whether Mary read?’

In the two examples in (34), the focus particle *dake* in the embedded clause can focus on the *wh*-phrase even if it is scrambled long distance to sentence-initial position. Notably, however, the sentences in (35) lack the interpretation in which *dake* takes the same *wh*-phrase as focus.

- (35) a. Donna-ronbun-o<sub>i</sub> John-wa [Mary-ga t<sub>i</sub> yon-da to]  
 what-paper-ACC John-TOP Mary-NOM read-PAST that  
 it-ta-**dake** na no?  
 say-PAST-only COP Q  
 ‘What paper did John only said that Mary read?’
- b. Donna-ronbun-o<sub>i</sub> John-wa [Mary-ga t<sub>i</sub> yon-da ka]  
 what-paper-ACC John-TOP Mary-NOM read-PAST Q  
 kii-ta-**dake** desu ka?  
 ask-PAST-only COP Q  
 ‘What paper did John only ask whether Mary read?’

The same holds true for (36).

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<sup>12</sup> When scrambling is involved, there are a number of different possibilities as to why the *wh*-phrase can be focused by *dake*. One possibility is that it is reconstructed into its base-generated position. Another is that the site to which it is scrambled lies within the matrix TP.

- (36) John-wa [Mary-ga donna-ronbun-o yon-da to]  
 John-TOP Mary-NOM what-paper-ACC read-PAST that  
 it-ta-dake na no?  
 say-PAST-only COP Q

In (36), the particle *dake* in the matrix clause cannot focus on an embedded constituent, showing that a focused constituent must be construed as a clause mate with *dake*. Importantly, in the examples in (35), just like (36), the *wh*-phrases cannot be the focus of *dake*, so they must be interpreted within the embedded clause.

Takano (2002) proposes that radical reconstruction is required of long distance scrambling (cf. Saito 1989). This requirement does not apply to *wh*-movement, however. Since the data in (34) and (35) show that the *wh*-phrase in (32) is reconstructed into the embedded clause (at the LF level), it can be concluded that (32) involves long distance scrambling rather than *wh*-movement.

Another argument which Takahashi (1993, 1994) provides in support of his claim that a *wh*-phrase can be moved into Spec of CP via *wh*-movement can be adduced from an example like (37).

- (37) Dare-ka-ga koko-ni ki-ta-rasi-i-ga, John-ni-wa  
 someone-NOM here-in come-PAST-seem-PRES-but John-DAT-TOP  
[dare-ga ka] wakara-nakat-ta.  
 who-NOM Q understand-NEG-PAST  
 ‘Someone seems to have come here, but John did not know who.’

Takahashi argues that (37) involves ‘sluicing’, akin to the English example in (38a).

- (38) a. Someone bought these books, but I do not know who.  
 b. Someone bought these books, but I do not know [<sub>CP</sub> who [<sub>TP</sub> ]].

In (38a), TP material is eliminated, while the *wh*-phrase residing in Spec of CP remains undeleted, as represented in (38b). Takahashi suggests that the same grammatical process applies to (37). In his analysis, (39a) is posited for the underlined clause in (37).

- (39) a. [CP donna hito-ga [TP           ] Q ]  
 b. [CP [TP donna hito-ga  $\phi_{\text{verb}}-\phi_{\text{tense}}-\mathbf{dake}$ ] Q ]

Nevertheless, I argue that the relevant clause does not involve sluicing, but has a null verbal complex, and that the *wh*-phrase is located within TP, as illustrated in (39b). Empirical evidence in support of this view can be adduced from the following sentence, where the focus particle *dake* is placed at the end of the gapped clause.

- (40) Sono-toki-wa, tokutei-no hito-ga nyuusitu-o  
 that-time-TOP specific-GEN person-NOM entrance-ACC  
 yurus-are-ta-dake rasi-i-ga, John-wa [donna-hito-ga dake  
 permit-PASS-past-only seem-PRES John-TOP what-person-NOM only  
 (na no) ka] siri-tagat-te i-ru.  
 COP NL Q know-want be-PRES  
 ‘At that time, only some specific persons were allowed to enter the  
 room, but John wants to know only what person.’

The particle *dake* in the gapped clause occurs inside the Q element, so it must be attached to phonologically null tense, located in TP.<sup>13</sup> Note that the nominative subject cannot host *dake* located outside its case marker.

- (41) John-dake-ga/\*John-ga-dake yurus-are-te i-ru no?  
 John-only-NOM/John-NOM-only permit-PASS be-PRES Q  
 ‘Is only John permitted?’

This shows that *dake* occurring in the gapped clause in (40) is not directly attached to the subject.<sup>14</sup> Still, the *wh*-phrase at issue can be the focus of *dake*, indicating that it remains within TP without undergoing *wh*-movement into CP, as represented in (39b).

<sup>13</sup> Here, it is reasonable to assume that the predicate and tense exist in the syntax, despite the fact that they are not visible. See Kishimoto (in press) for evidence that *dake* can be associated with null elements.

<sup>14</sup> Note, however, that *dake* can be placed either before or after the accusative case marker *-o*.

- (i) Anata-wa John-dake-o/John-o-dake yurusi-te i-ru no?  
 you-TOP John-only-ACC/John-ACC-only permit be-PRES Q  
 ‘Do you permit only John?’

Takahashi suggests that the unacceptability of the examples in (42) involving *kadooka* ‘whether’ and *to* ‘that’, which stands in contrast to the acceptability of (37), lends empirical support to his claim, since English does not allow sluicing in these contexts (see Lobeck 1990).

- (42) a. \*Minna-wa [John-ga ki-ta to] it-ta-ga,  
 all-TOP John-NOM come-PAST that say-PAST-but  
 boku-ni-wa [ kadooka] wakara-nakat-ta.  
 I-DAT-TOP whether know-NEG-PAST  
 ‘All people said that John came, but I did not know whether.’
- b. ?\*Minna-wa [John-ga ku-ru to] it-ta-ga,  
 all-TOP John-NOM come-PRES that say-PAST-but  
 boku-wa [ to] omowa-naka-ta.  
 but I-TOP that think-NEG-PAST  
 ‘All people said that John would come, but I did not think that.’

The examples in (43) show, however, that (37) is not governed by the same constraint that conditions sluicing in English.

- (43) a. ....boku-ni-wa [kare-ga kadooka] wakara-nakat-ta.  
 I-DAT-TOP he-NOM whether know-NEG-PAST  
 ‘...I did not know whether he did.’
- b. ....boku-wa [kare-ga to] omowa-nakat-ta.  
 I-TOP he-NOM that think-NEG-PAST  
 ‘...I did not know that he would.’

When some arguments are added to the gapped clauses in (42), as in (43), the examples become fairly acceptable. In addition, (37) becomes unacceptable if the subject is removed.

- (44) .... \*John-ni-wa [ ka] wakara-nakat-ta.  
 John-DAT-TOP Q know-NEG-PAST  
 ‘ ....John did not know Q.’

These facts suggest that the Japanese missing predicate construction is licensed when arguments are provided, showing that this construction does not parallel sluicing in English. This leads us to the conclusion that

(37) cannot involve sluicing.<sup>15</sup> The focusing facts of *dake* show that in (37) the *wh*-phrase is not moved into CP, despite Takahashi's claim to the contrary.

The overall picture that has emerged from the discussion is that in Japanese, when a topic phrase (i.e. the *wa*-marked phrase) is generated within TP, it is moved into the CP area, and that CP is reserved for a *wa*-marked topic.

(45) Japanese: [CP TOPIC<sub>i</sub> [TP ..... t<sub>i</sub> .... ]



Plausibly, the topic carries old information, whereas the rest of the proposition, new information (i.e. comment). Given that Japanese makes use of the CP area for locating a topic, it is easy to see that topic movement is used to form a topic-comment structure. This stands in contrast with English, where *wh*-phrases are moved into CP.

(46) English: [CP WH<sub>i</sub> [TP ..... t<sub>i</sub> .... ]



In English, a different type of information structure is formed, in that CP is most typically used for *wh*-phrases which carry new information, and the rest, old information (or presupposition). Note that topicalization is possible in English, but it does not have to exploit the CP area, since topic could be specified either phonologically or pragmatically.

In light of these considerations, it is reasonable to conclude that English is a *wh*-movement language, which moves a *wh*-phrase into the CP field, but Japanese is a topic-movement language, where movement of a *wa*-marked phrase into the CP field takes place in order to bifurcate a clause into topic and comment.

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<sup>15</sup> For space reasons, I cannot discuss alternatives to Takahashi's analysis available in the Japanese linguistic literature. From the discussion, we can say at least that Takahashi's argument for the existence of *wh*-movement in Japanese does not hold.

## 5. Conclusion

In this article, I have argued, in light of the focusing facts of the particle *dake* ‘only’ positioned at the right of tense, a *wa*-marked topic phrase moves into CP, whereas non-*wa*-marked phrases are located within TP. It has also been shown that Japanese has no evidence for *wh*-movement, contrary to the claim made by Takahashi (1993, 1994). The discussion reveals that the CP area is reserved for topicalization in Japanese. This suggests that Japanese is a topic movement language, in which a topic phrase is moved into CP, whereas English is a *wh*-movement language, in which CP accommodates a *wh*-phrase.

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