

# On the Choice of Complementizers in Japanese Wh-Questions and the Structure of the Left Periphery<sup>\*</sup>

KAZUKI KUWABARA

*Kanda University of International Studies*

This paper focuses on the asymmetries between the adjunct wh-phrase *naze* ‘why’ and other wh-phrases regarding the choice of complementizers. I show that the complementizer *no*, which is typically found at the end of questions, is not an instance of an interrogative complementizer, and occupies a position distinct from that occupied by *ka*. Adopting Rizzi’s (2001) analysis of a reason wh-adjunct, the paper proposes that *naze* must be licensed by a special head Int, which explains why a non-interrogative complementizer *no* is needed for *naze*.

## 1. Introduction

This paper discusses the implications of the articulated CP structure proposed by Rizzi (1997, 2001) for the analysis of wh-questions in Japanese, which does not have overt movement to a position dedicated to the expression of some scope-discourse property in the left periphery. I will explore the possibility that two types of complementizers *ka* and *no*, which are found at the right edge of the interrogative clause, are

---

<sup>\*</sup> Part of the material in this work was presented at the *Workshop on Theoretical Linguistics* held at the Tokyo International Forum on October 20, 2007. I would like to thank Yasuo Ishii, Koji Hoshi, and Akira Watanabe for their helpful comments on the earlier versions of this paper. I am also grateful to the audience at the workshop, especially, Jun Abe, Guglielmo Cinque, Yoshio Endo, Daisuke Inagaki, Liliane Haegeman, Nobuko Hasegawa, Kazuko Inoue, Hideki Kishimoto, Shigeru Miyagawa, and Masaki Sano for their comments and suggestions. Needless to say, all the remaining errors and inadequacies are to be solely imputed to me.

manifestations of distinct heads in the C-system. The paper focuses on the asymmetries between a reason wh-adjunct *naze* ‘why’ and other wh-phrases with respect to the choice of complementizers. I will show that the fine CP structure allows us to account for the peculiar interactions between *naze* and complementizers.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 presents the asymmetries between *naze* and other wh-phrases regarding the choice of complementizers. It is shown that *no* and *ka* found in questions are distinct C heads. In section 3, I argue that the puzzling behavior of *naze* can be accounted for by adopting Rizzi’s (2001) idea of positing two types of interrogative complementizers. Section 4 discusses the structural height of *naze*. It is argued that similar to *perché* ‘why’ in Italian, *naze* can also be directly merged into its checking position. Section 5 concludes the paper.

## 2. The Choice of Complementizers in Wh-Questions

Japanese questions are either marked by the question particle *ka* or *no* at the end of sentences, as in (1).<sup>1, 2, 3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> The following abbreviations are used in the glosses in this paper: ACC=Accusative, COP=Copula, GEN=Genitive, Mod=Modality Marker, NL=Nominalizer, NOM=Nominative, POL=Politeness Marker, PRES=Present, Q=Question Particle, and TOP=Topic. Following standard practice, the sentence final *no* is glossed as ‘Q’ until later in this section, where it becomes clear that *no* is a head distinct from *ka*.

<sup>2</sup> For many speakers, matrix wh-questions with *ka* are ungrammatical with the non-polite form of the verb, as in (i). I will use the polite form throughout the paper.

(i) \*Dare-ga      kita   ka?  
       who-NOM   came Q  
       ‘Who came?’

See Miyagawa (1987) for discussion.

<sup>3</sup> Yes-no questions can also end either with *ka* or *no*, as illustrated in (i).

(i) a. Taroo-wa      sono hon-o      yomi-masi-ta      ka?  
       Taroo-TOP    that book-ACC   read-POL-PAST   Q  
       ‘Did Taroo read that book?’  
       b. Taroo-wa      sono hon-o      yonda   no?  
       Taroo-TOP    that book-ACC   read      Q

- (1) a. Taroo-wa nani-o kai-masi-ta ka?  
 Taroo-TOP what-ACC buy-POL-PAST Q  
 ‘What did Taroo buy?’  
 b. Taroo-wa nani-o katta no?  
 Taroo-TOP what-ACC bought Q

These two sentences are synonymous, and therefore the particles *ka* and *no* are commonly analyzed as morphological realizations of the [Q] feature specified for Comp. However, there is one array of data that does not fall into place under the standard analysis. As illustrated in (1)-(2), questions with argument wh-phrases are compatible with either *ka* or *no* at the end.

- (2) a. Ano hon-wa doko-ni oki-masi-ta ka?  
 that book-TOP where-on put-POL-PAST Q  
 ‘Where did you put that book?’  
 b. Ano hon-wa doko-ni oita no?  
 that book-TOP where-on put Q

In contrast, a reason wh-adverbial *naze* ‘why’ behaves differently with respect to the choice of complementizers; for questions with *naze*, the complementizer *no* is required (Noda (1995, 1997)), as indicated by the following contrast.<sup>4</sup>

---

Due to limitation of space, I cannot discuss yes-no questions here. But see Kuwabara (2001, 2005, 2007a, b) for discussion on yes-questions ending with *ka* and *no*.

<sup>4</sup> Other adjuncts such as temporal and locative adjuncts are compatible either with *ka* or *no*, as in (i)-(ii). Thus, the asymmetry is between a reason wh-adjunct and other wh-phrases.

- (i) a. Taroo-wa itsu Tokyo-ni iki-masi-ta ka?  
 Taroo-TOP when Tokyo-to go-POL-PAST Q  
 ‘When did Taroo go to Tokyo?’  
 b. Taroo-wa itsu Tokyo-ni itta no?  
 Taroo-TOP when Tokyo-to went Q  
 (ii) a. Doko-de kagi-o nakusi-masi-ta ka?  
 where-in key-ACC lose-POL-PAST Q  
 ‘Where did you lose the key?’  
 b. Doko-de kagi-o nakusita no?  
 where-in key-ACC lost Q

- (3) a. Taroo-wa naze mada sonna koto-o itteiru no?  
 Taroo-TOP why still such thing-ACC saying-is Q  
 'Why is Taroo still saying such a thing?'  
 b. Hanako-wa naze naiteita no?  
 Hanako-TOP why crying-was Q  
 'Why was Hanako crying?'  
 c. Kimi-wa naze itsumo okurete kuru no?  
 you-TOP why always late come Q  
 'Why do you always come late?'
- (4) a. ??\*Taroo-wa naze mada sonna koto-o  
 Taroo-TOP why still such thing-ACC  
 ittei-mas-u ka?  
 saying-POL-PRES Q  
 'Why is Taroo still saying such a thing?'  
 b. ??\*Hanako-wa naze naitei-masi-ta ka?  
 Hanako-TOP why crying-POL-PAST Q  
 'Why was Hanako crying?'  
 c. ??\*Kimi-wa naze itsumo okurete ki-mas-u ka?  
 you-TOP why always late come-POL-PRES Q  
 'Why do you always come late?'

The asymmetry between *naze* and other wh-phrases as illustrated above is also found with a phonetically null complementizer. In informal speech, the interrogative complementizer need not be overtly realized, as indicated in (5).

- (5) a. Dare-ga ki-masi-ta?  
 who-NOM come-POL-PAST  
 'Who came?'  
 b. Dare-ga kita ?  
 who-NOM came  
 c. Ano hon-wa doko-ni oki-masi-ta?  
 that book-TOP where-on put-POL-PAST  
 'Where did you put that book?'  
 d. Ano hon-wa doko-ni oita?  
 that book-TOP where-on put

*Naze*, on the other hand, is incompatible with a null interrogative complementizer (Noda (1995, 1997), Yoshida and Yoshida (1996)). Thus, the omission of *no* renders the wh-questions in (3) unacceptable.<sup>5</sup>

- (6) a. ??\*Taroo-wa naze mada sonna koto-o itteiru?  
           Taroo-TOP why still such thing-ACC saying-is  
           ‘Why is Taroo still saying such a thing?’  
       b. ??\*Hanako-wa naze naiteita?  
           Hanako-TOP why crying-was  
           ‘Why was Hanako crying?’  
       c. ??\*Kimi-wa naze itsumo okurete kuru?  
           you-TOP why always late come  
           ‘Why do you always come late?’

The asymmetries between *naze* and other wh-phrases point to the possibility that *naze* must be licensed by a C head distinct from the one that licenses other wh-phrases.

On the surface, *no* appears to be a realization of the interrogative C head required for licensing *naze*. However, this conjecture is incorrect. As argued in Kuwabara (2001, 2005), *no* is not an instance of an interrogative complementizer. For one thing, the sentence final *no* can be optionally followed by the copula and *ka*, as in (7).

- (7) a. Taroo-wa nani-o katta no (desu ka)?  
           Taroo-TOP what-ACC bought NL COP Q  
           ‘What did Taroo buy?’  
       b. Ano hon-wa doko-ni oita no (desu ka)?  
           that book-TOP where-on put NL COP Q  
           ‘Where did you put that book?’

---

<sup>5</sup> As Noda (1997: 124) observes, there are some sentences in which *naze* is used without *no*, as illustrated in (i). However, an example like (i) is not a genuine information seeking question; (i) is acceptable only as a rhetorical question.

(i) Hanasite-mo-mi-naide naze wakaru?  
     talk-even-try-not why know  
     ‘How do you know it even if you haven’t tried to talk (to him/her)?’

- (8) a. Taroo-wa naze mada sonna koto-o itteiru no  
 Taroo-TOP why still such thing-ACC saying-is NL  
 (desu ka)?  
 COP Q  
 ‘Why is Taroo still saying such a thing?’
- b. Hanako-wa naze naiteita no (desu ka)?  
 Hanako-TOP why crying-was NL COP Q  
 ‘Why was Hanako crying?’
- c. Kimi-wa naze itsumo okurete kuru no (desu ka)?  
 you-TOP why always late come NL COP Q  
 ‘Why do you always come late?’

These examples indicate that *wh*-questions ending with *no* are in fact covert counterparts of those ending with *ka* preceded by the copulative verb.<sup>6</sup> Thus, it turns out that the sentence final *no* in questions does not indicate the interrogative force.

This conclusion is further corroborated by the fact that *no* alone cannot introduce a subordinate interrogative clause, as illustrated in (9).

- (9) a. Taroo-wa [dare-ga paatii-ni kita no \*(ka)] siranai.  
 Taroo-TOP who-NOM party-to came NL Q know-not  
 ‘Taroo doesn’t know who came to the party.’
- b. Taroo-wa [Hanako-ga naze naiteiru no \*(ka)]  
 Taroo-TOP Hanako-NOM why crying-is NL Q  
 tazuneta.  
 asked  
 ‘Taroo asked why Hanako was crying.’

This is a well-known fact, but it has remained unaccounted for under the standard analysis. Given these considerations, Kuwabara (2001) suggests that the sentence final *no* in questions is the same entity as the nominalizing complementizer found in the copular construction.

---

<sup>6</sup> See Kuwabara (2001, 2005) for relevant discussion.

- (10) [Kagi-o nakusite komatteiru no] desu.  
 key-ACC lost-because have-trouble NL COP  
 ‘(lit). It is that I am having trouble because I lost the key.’

The discussion so far has indicated that *no* is a C head distinct from the one that indicates the interrogative force. This conclusion adds a twist to the question posed by the skewed behavior of *naze* regarding the choice of complementizers. As shown by the unacceptability of (4) and (6), *naze* requires *no*. Thus, a question that needs to be addressed is the following:

- (11) Why is the additional complementizer (realized as *no*) is needed for questions with *naze*, which itself does not indicate the interrogative force?

In the following section, I demonstrate that the fine structure of CP can offer an explanation for this puzzling behavior of *naze*.

### 3. Split CP Structure and the Analysis of Wh-Questions

This section argues that there are two distinct interrogative C heads in Japanese questions. In particular, adopting Rizzi’s (2001) analysis of *perché* ‘why’ in Italian, I show that the requirement for the presence of a non-interrogative C head for *naze* stems from another requirement that a reason wh-adverbial be licensed by a special C head (Int) that lies in a position between *no* and *ka*.

In order to consider how the articulated CP structure is related to the question stated in (11), let us first describe the aspects of Rizzi’s (1997, 2001) split CP system that are minimally necessary for the discussion in this section. Based on the adjacency and the anti-adjacency effects involving elements like a topic and complementizers, Rizzi proposes the following structure for CP.

- (12) Force (Top) Int (Top) Foc (Top) Fin IP...

Force and Fin(iteness) are two distinct heads closing off the complementizer system upward and downward, respectively. The need for these two C heads is in part based on the contrast between the

positions of topics in finite and non-finite clauses in Italian. As illustrated in (13) and (14), a topic follows the finite complementizer *che* ‘that’, whereas a non-finite complementizer *di* ‘of’ precedes it.

(13) *che* [+fin] > topic

- a. Credo      *che*              *il tuo libro, loro lo*  
 I-believe that [+fin] the your book them it  
 apprezzerrebbero molto.  
 will-appreciate much  
 ‘I believe that your book, they would appreciate it a lot.’

- b. \*Credo,    *il tuo libro, che*              *loro lo*  
 I-believe the your book that [+fin] them it  
 apprezzerrebbero molto.  
 will-appreciate much  
 ‘I believe, your book, that they would appreciate it a lot.’

(Rizzi 1997: 288)

(14) topic > *di* [-fin]

- a. \*Credo      *di*              *il tuo libro, apprezzarlo molto.*  
 I-believe that [-fin] the your book appreciate-it much  
 ‘I believe that your book, they would appreciate it a lot.’

- b. Credo,    *il tuo libro, di*              *apprezzarlo molto.*  
 I-believe the your book that [-fin] appreciate-it much  
 ‘I believe, your book, that they would appreciate it a lot.’

(Rizzi 1997: 288)

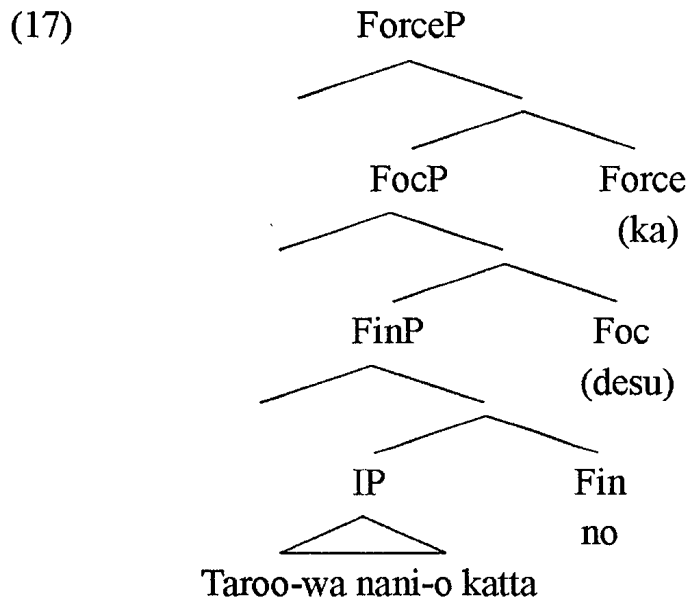
Given this and other analogous types of evidence, Rizzi (1997) concludes that *che* occupies the highest C position, Force, whereas *di* occupies the lowest C position, Fin. Rizzi (2001) further argues for the postulation of a special C head labeled as Int(errogative) that licenses *perché*. Rizzi (2001: 290, 294) draws attention to the contrast between *perché* and argument wh-phrases with respect to the co-occurrence effect with a focus. As illustrated in (15), most wh-phrases in Italian cannot occur with a focalized expression. In contrast, *perché* can co-occur with a focalized constituent but must precede it, as illustrated in (16).



- (15) a. \*A chi QUESTO hanno ditto (non qualcos'altro)?  
to whom this have said (not something else)  
'To whom THIS they said (not something else)?'
- b. \*QUESTO a chi hanno ditto (non qualcos'altro)?  
THIS to whom have said (not something else)  
'THIS to whom they said (not something else)?'
- (16) a. Perché QUESTO avremmo dovuto dirgli, non  
why this had should say.him not  
qualcos'altro?  
something else  
'Why THIS we should have said to him, not something else?'
- b. \*QUESTO perché avremmo dovuto dirgli, non  
this why had should say.him not  
qualcos'altro?  
something else  
'THIS why we should have said to him, not something else?'

The contrast indicates that the position, in which *perché* is licensed, is located above FinP and below ForceP, and other wh-phrases move to the Spec of Foc.

With these points in mind, let us now discuss how the articulated CP structure can shed light on the question stated in (11). I propose that *no* is in Fin head, whereas *ka* is in the Force head. According to this, the copula sandwiched between *no* and *ka*, would be located in the Foc(us) head. Under this analysis, the structure of examples like (7a) would look something like (17).



In (17), *no* is in the Fin head, which captures the observation made in the preceding section that *no* is not an interrogative complementizer.

I would also like to suggest that when *no* is present as the Fin head, the Foc head realized as the copula is also present. This assumption may look stipulative, but it is motivated by the simple observation that when the copula is to be added, *no* must be used at the same time. Thus, examples like (7) and (8) become ungrammatical if we drop *no*, as in (18) and (19).<sup>7</sup>

- (18) a. Taroo-wa    nani-o    katta    \*(no) desu ka?  
          Taroo-TOP   what-ACC   bought    NL COP Q  
          ‘What did Taroo buy?’
- b. Ano hon-wa    doko-ni    oita    \*(no) desu ka?  
          that book-TOP   where-on   put    NL   COP Q  
          ‘Where did you put that book?’

<sup>7</sup> The same is also true of yes-no questions, as illustrated in (i).

(i) Kimi-wa    sono hito-o    sitteiru    \*(no) desu ka?  
     you-TOP    that person-ACC   know    NL COP Q  
     ‘Do you know that person?’

See Kuwabara (2007a, b) for further discussion.

- (19) a. Taroo-wa naze mada sonna koto-o itteiru \*(no)  
 Taroo-TOP why still such thing-ACC saying-is NL  
 desu ka?  
 COP Q  
 ‘Why is Taroo still saying such a thing?’
- b. Hanako-wa naze naiteita \*(no) desu ka?  
 Hanako-TOP why crying-was NL COP Q  
 ‘Why was Hanako crying?’
- c. Kimi-wa naze itsumo okurete kuru \*(no) desu ka?  
 you-TOP why always late come NL COP Q  
 ‘Why do you always come late?’

The split CP system can explain why the availability of the Foc head hinges on the presence of the complementizer *no*. According to Rizzi (1997, 2001), heads involving a topic and focus constituent are accessory components that are activated when needed (i.e., when there is a topic or focus constituent to be accommodated in the left periphery of the clause). Since these accessory projections are above FinP, their availability is contingent upon the presence of FinP. Thus, *no*, which is a head of FinP, is required if the copula is to be added.

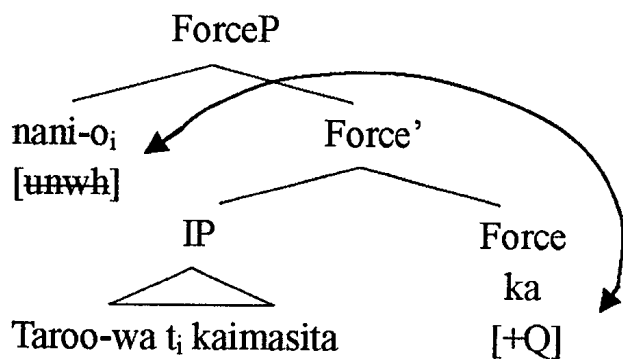
The same account can be extended to the asymmetries between *naze* and other wh-phrases regarding the choice of complementizers. In particular, I propose that while other wh-phrases are licensed by feature-checking by the Force head, *naze* must be licensed by Int, which is located above FinP and below ForceP. For the sake of clarity, I assume, following Chomsky (1995), that wh-phrases bear an uninterpretable wh-feature to be checked off by the interpretable [Q] feature on the relevant C heads. In particular, I assume that wh-phrases in situ undergo covert movement to the Spec of the relevant C heads.<sup>8</sup> (20a) illustrates the structure of (1a) containing an argument wh-phrase,

---

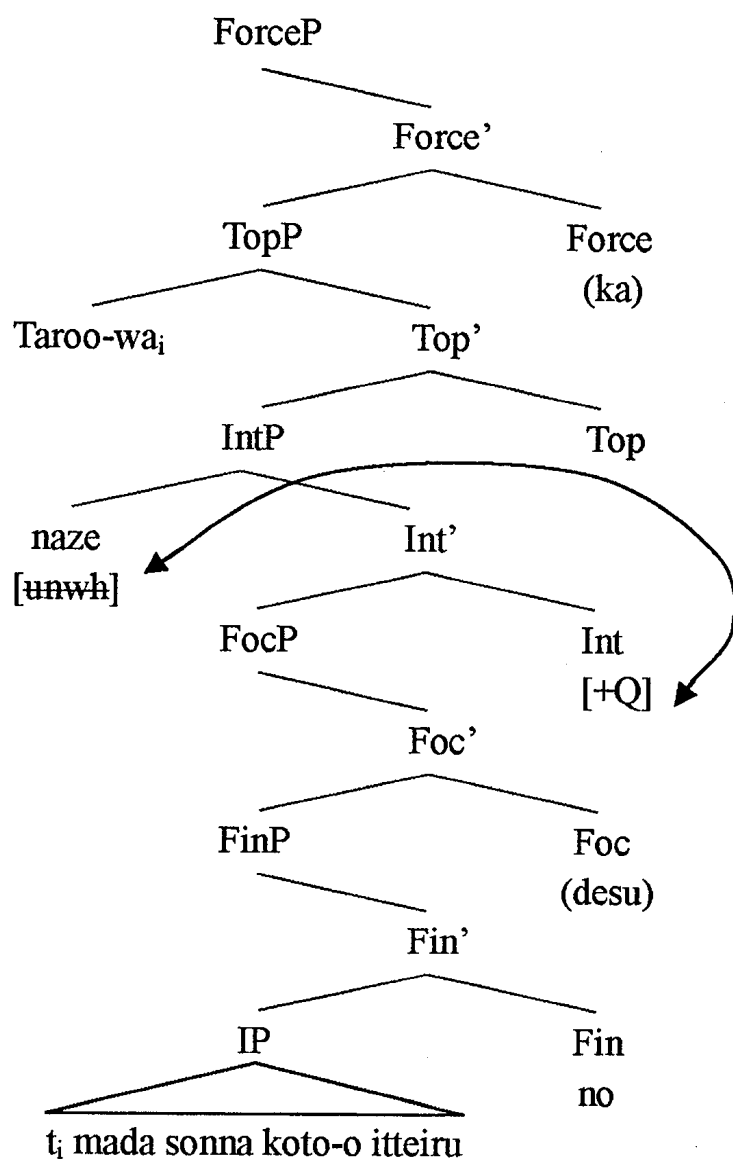
<sup>8</sup> In Chomsky (2000), the feature-checking component is dissociated from movement operation in favor of Agree operation. Thus, it might be possible that wh-phrases in situ do not undergo movement. However, see Kuwabara (2005) for the argument that both Agree and covert movement are needed.

whereas (20b) is the structure of (8a) containing *naze*.<sup>9</sup>

(20) a.



b.



<sup>9</sup> Here it is assumed that in examples like (8a), *naze* in the clause with *no* can be directly merged with Int, and the topic phrase preceding *naze* has moved to the Spec of TopP. See section 4 for the argument that *naze* can be directly merged into the Spec of Int.

As illustrated in (20a), wh-phrases other than *naze* are licensed by the Force head, and hence an additional syntactic layer realized as *no* is not required.<sup>10</sup> This is because the Force head is in the highest position in the C-system. On the other hand, if *naze*, just like *perché*, must be licensed by Int, the need for the presence of *no* can be naturally accounted for. The special head Int occurs in a space above FinP and below ForceP, and therefore its presence is contingent upon the presence of the Fin head.

This analysis can also explain why questions with *naze* are incompatible with a null interrogative C if it is assumed that only the highest C head (Force head) can be covertly inserted. Specifically, I propose that in wh-questions ending with a tensed verb like (5a) repeated here as (21), the complementizer is absent in overt syntax. However, the [unwh] on the wh-phrase is checked off in LF because the covert insertion of the Force head is possible, as suggested by Bošković (2000). Accordingly, (21) has the S-structure and LF representations in (22a) and (22b), respectively.

- (21) Dare-ga ki-masi-ta?  
 who-NOM come-POL-PAST  
 ‘Who came?’

- (22) a. [<sub>IP</sub> dare-ga ki-masi-ta] (S-structure)  
 b. [<sub>ForceP</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> dare-ga ki-masi-ta][<sub>Force</sub> Q]] (LF)  
           [unwh]

By parity of reasoning with what I said about the availability of the projections above FinP and below ForceP, the unacceptability of examples like (6a) (reproduced here as (23)) can be taken as an indication that a covert insertion of Fin is unavailable.

- (23) ??\*Taroo-wa naze mada sonna koto-o itteiru?  
 Taroo-TOP why still such thing-ACC saying-is  
 ‘Why is Taroo still saying such a thing?’

<sup>10</sup> In section 2, we saw that the presence of *no* is optional in questions with wh-phrases other than *naze*. Then, the issue arises as to why the Economy of Representation does not render the

Therefore, the absence of *no* implies the absence of Int, leading to the failure to check off the [unwh] on *naze*.

The discussion so far demonstrated that at the relevant level of abstraction, the asymmetries between *naze* and other wh-phrases regarding the choice of complementizers are the reflections of the same configurational properties that give rise to the asymmetries between *perché* and other wh-phrases regarding the restrictions on the co-occurrence with a focalized constituent in Italian.

Before we leave this section, let us consider some of the predictions our analysis makes. Since *no* is the Fin head under our proposal, we should expect to find it in clauses other than the interrogative clause. This is confirmed by the following examples, in which *no* occurs in the declarative as well as the exclamatory clauses.

- (24) a. Yuki-ga futta kara okureta no (desu).  
           snow-NOM fell because late-was NL COP  
           ‘I was late because it snowed.’  
       b. Ima isogasii no (desu).  
           now busy-is NL COP  
           ‘I am busy now.’
- (25) a. Ano kodomo-wa nante kasikoi no (da/da-roo).  
           that child-TOP wh bright NL COP/COP-MOD  
           ‘How bright that child is!’  
       b. Kore-wa nante oisii wain na no (da/da-roo).  
           this-TOP wh good wine COP NL COP/COP-MOD  
           ‘What a good wine this is!’

The sentences in (24) ending with *no* can be interpreted as declarative sentences if they are read with falling intonation. It is worth noting that examples like (24) can also be yes-no questions. However, yes-no questions ending with *no* require rising intonation, whereas those ending with *ka* do not. This observation is consonant with the approach adopted here. Since *no* does not indicate the interrogative force, the

---

additional projections superfluous in questions with wh-phrases other than *naze*. I leave this for future investigation.

rising intonation is required if the sentences in (24) are to be interpreted as yes-no questions.

Furthermore, as described by Elliot (1974), exclamatory sentences exhibit properties similar to declarative sentences. According to our proposal, *no* does not indicate a clause type. Therefore, the fact that *no* can be used in different clause types falls into place under our proposal here.<sup>11</sup>

In section 2, we described that wh-questions can end either with *no* or *ka*. However, this is a root phenomenon. As we saw earlier with the examples in (9), reproduced here as (26), subordinate interrogative clauses ending with *no* are never possible.

- (26) a. Taroo-wa [dare-ga paatii-ni kita no \*(ka)] siranai.  
 Taroo-TOP who-NOM party-to came NL Q know-not  
 ‘Taroo doesn’t know who came to the party.’  
 b. Taroo-wa [Hanako-ga naze naiteiru no \*(ka)] tazuneta.  
 Taroo-TOP Hanako-NOM why crying-is NL Q asked  
 ‘Taroo asked why Hanako was crying.’

Given Bošković’s (2000) hypothesis about the covert insertion of C, this root and non-root asymmetry is naturally expected under our analysis. As I have described above, when *ka* is absent, the Force head above *no* is also absent in overt syntax. According to this, questions can end with a non-interrogative complementizer *no* in a root clause because the covert insertion of the Force head (with [+Q] feature) is possible in a root clause. Since the covert insertion of the Force head can only take place in a root

---

<sup>11</sup> Interestingly, it seems that exclamatory sentences also require the presence of *no*. Thus, to my ears, exclamatory sentences ending with a verb sound unacceptable.

- (i) a. Anata-wa nante sutekina ie-ni sundeiru ??\*(no).  
 you-TOP wh nice house-in live NL  
 ‘What a nice house you live in!’  
 b. Nante hidoi koto-o sita ??\*(no).  
 wh terrible thing-ACC did NL  
 ‘What a terrible thing you did!’

This observation, if correct, points to the possibility that exclamatory sentences involve the projections above FinP, possibly FocP, as indicated by the presence of the copula. I will leave the investigation of exclamatory sentences for future research.

clause, the clause type of the subordinate clauses ending with *no* fails to be indicated, leading to the ungrammaticality of the sentences in (26).<sup>12</sup>

#### 4. The Base Position of *Naze*

In section 3, I have shown that *naze* is similar to *perché* in Italian in that it must be licensed by a special head (Int) which lies between FinP and ForceP. This section discusses another point made by Rizzi (2001) about the position of *perché*. Rizzi argues that *perché* can be externally merged into its checking position [Spec, Int]. I argue that *naze* can also be externally merged with Int, based on the intervention effect (Ko (2005)).

Let us first consider the position of *perché*. Rizzi (2001) argues that if *perché* is directly merged into the Spec of Int, it does not undergo movement. On the other hand, if *perché* is not merged into the Spec of Int, it must undergo movement for feature-checking. *Perché* in (27) allows both embedded and matrix reading. In the case of the embedded reading, the position of *perché* must be the result of movement.

- (27) *Perché* ha detto che si dimetterà?  
       why has he said that he will resign  
       ‘Why did he say that he will resign?’

(Rizzi 2001: 295)

In (28), *perché* precedes the focused expression, and retains only the matrix reading.

- (28) *Perché* A GIANNI ha detto che si dimetterà (non a Piero)?  
       why to Gianni he said that he will resign (not to Piero)  
       ‘Why did he say to Gianni, (not Piero) that he will resign?’

(Rizzi 2001: 295)

According to Rizzi (2001), the long-distance construal *perché* behaves as

<sup>12</sup> More has to be said about examples like (26b) that contains *naze*. Since *no* is present in (26b), Int should also be present, which licenses *naze*. This raises a question as to why the Force head has to be spelled out even when Int is present. I have no ready explanation for this problem. I assume here that only Force head can close off the C-system, and hence without it the clause type fails to be indicated.



any other wh-elements (targeting the Spec of Foc), and therefore competes with the focused expression for the same position in (28), which renders the embedded reading unavailable. This shows that *perché*, which is not the result of movement, fills a position higher than the position of ordinary wh-phrases, namely, [Spec, Int].

Let us now turn to Japanese. Since overt wh-movement does not take place in this language, the evidence, if any, indicating the position of *naze* has to be of a different sort. I would like to suggest that the asymmetry between *naze* and other wh-phrases regarding the intervention effect constitutes evidence for the possibility that *naze* can also be externally merged into the Spec of Int.

It is well known that wh-phrases cannot be c-commanded by a scope-bearing element at S-structure (See Hoji (1985), Takahashi (1990), Beck and Kim (1997), among others). The examples in (29) contain a negative polarity item (NPI) that c-commands a wh-phrase.

- (29) a. \*Taroo-sika nani-o yoma-naka-tta no (desu ka)?  
           Taroo-only what-ACC read-not-PAST NL COP Q  
           ‘What did only Taro read?’  
       b. ??\*Daremo nani-o yoma-naka-tta no (desu ka)?  
           anyone what-ACC read-not-PAST NL COP Q  
           ‘What did no one read?’

These sentences become acceptable when wh-phrases are scrambled over the c-commanding NPI, as illustrated below:

- (30) a. Nani-o<sub>i</sub> Taroo-sika t<sub>i</sub> yoma-naka-tta no (desu ka)?  
           what-ACC Taroo-only read-not-PAST NL COP Q  
           ‘What did only Taro read?’  
       b. Nani-o<sub>i</sub> daremo t<sub>i</sub> yoma-naka-tta no (desu ka)?  
           what-ACC anyone read-not-PAST NL COP Q  
           ‘What did no one read?’

The contrast has been interpreted by various authors (Beck (1996), Beck and Kim (1997)) to mean that the quantifier intervening between the interrogative C and the wh-in-situ blocks the LF wh-movement. In (29),

the offending intervener blocks wh-movement, while in (30), wh-movement can take place from the scrambled position without crossing the quantifier. Using the intervention effect as a diagnostic for LF wh-movement, we can test the position of *naze*. Unlike other wh-phrases, *naze* does not show the intervention effect (Miyagawa (1997), Kuwabara (1998), Watanabe (2000)), as in (31).

- (31) a. Taroo-sika    *naze*    sono hon-o        yoma-naka-tta    no  
          Taroo-only    why    that book-ACC    read-not-PAST    NL  
          (desu ka)?

COP Q

‘Why did only Taroo read that book?’

- b. *Naze*    Taroo-sika    sono hon-o        yoma-naka-tta    no  
          why    Taroo-only    that book-ACC    read-not-PAST    NL  
          (desu ka)?

COP Q

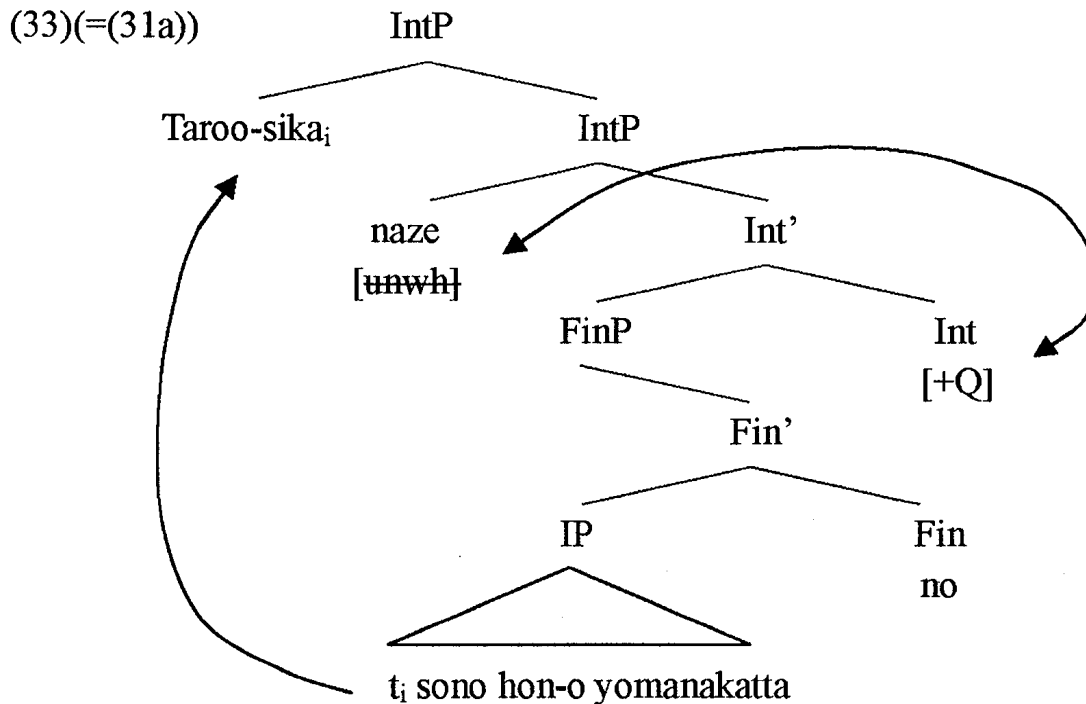
- (32) a. Daremo    *naze*    ko-nai        no    (desu ka)?  
          anyone    why    come-not    NL    COP Q

‘Why does no one come?’

- b. *Naze*    daremo    ko-nai        no    (desu ka)?  
          why    anyone    come-not    NL    COP Q

Ko (2005) argues that *naze* as well as its counterpart in Korean, being a sentential adverb, is externally merged into the Spec CP. Assuming that the quantifier preceding *naze* in (31)-(32) is due to scrambling, the high base position of *naze* predicts the disappearance of the intervention effect. Ko’s (2005) analysis can be made compatible with the analysis proposed in this paper. For us, the lack of the intervention effect with *naze* is precisely because *naze* can be externally merged into its checking position [Spec, Int]. According to our analysis, the S-structure representation of (31a) would look something like (33), where the NPI is scrambled over *naze*.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> For simplicity’s sake, I omitted *ForceP* and *ForceP*, whose heads can be realized as *desu* and *ka*, respectively. This will not affect our argument here.



This analysis immediately predicts that if *naze* occurs in a clause without *no*, the intervention effect shows up, since it needs to undergo movement. As demonstrated by Ko (2005), the following contrast shows that this expectation is fulfilled.<sup>14</sup>

- (34) a. Hanako-ga [Taroo-ga naze kuru to]  
 Hanako-NOM Taroo-NOM why come COMP  
 iwa-naka-tta no?  
 say-not-PAST NL  
 ‘Why didn’t Hanako say that Taroo comes?’
- b. \*Hanako-sika [Taroo-ga naze kuru to]  
 Hanako-only Taroo-NOM why come COMP  
 iwa-naka-tta no?  
 say-not-PAST NL  
 ‘Why did only Hanako say that Taroo comes?’

In (34a), there is no offending intervener. On the other hand, in (34b), the NPI intervenes in a position between the landing site of *naze* (Spec, Int) and its surface position, blocking the covert wh-movement of *naze*. Thus, the contrast between (29) and (a)-sentences in (31)-(32) on the one

<sup>14</sup> Ko (2005) attributes the observation to Miyagawa (1999).

hand, and the contrast between (31a) and (34b) on the other lends support to the proposal that (i) *naze* needs a special head Int for licensing, and (ii) *naze* can be externally merged into [Spec, Int].<sup>15</sup>

## 5. Conclusion

This paper explored the hypothesis that the sentence final particles *no* and *ka* found in questions are manifestations of distinct C heads. I argued that *no* is a realization of Fin, whereas *ka* (or its phonetically empty counterpart) is in Force. The discussion in this paper focused on the asymmetries between *naze* and other wh-phrases regarding the choice of complementizers, which are otherwise unaccounted for under the traditional single layer approach to the C-system. I argued that Rizzi's (2001) proposal of positing two types of C heads for 'why' and other wh-phrases can offer an explanation for the asymmetries.

The implications of the split CP structure for a language like Japanese have never been seriously investigated in part due to the lack of

---

<sup>15</sup> As described by Kura Fuji (1996), there is another reason wh-adjunct, which is marked with an accusative case marker *-o*.

- (i) a. Kare-wa nani-o awateteiru no (desu ka)?  
       he-TOP what-ACC panicking-is NL COP Q  
       'Why is he panicking?'  
       b. Kimi-wa nani-o sonnani Mary bakari semeteiru no (desu ka)?  
       you-TOP what-ACC so-much Mary only blaming-is NL COP Q  
       'Why are you blaming only Mary so much?'

Interestingly, the accusative wh-adjunct also requires *no*. Thus, as illustrated in (ii), questions with the accusative wh-adjunct cannot end with a verb or *ka* immediately preceded by the verb.

- (ii) a. ??\*Kare-wa nani-o awateteiru?  
       he-TOP what-ACC panicking-is  
       'Why is he panicking?'  
       b. ??\*Kimi-wa nani-o awatetei-mas-u ka?  
       you-TOP what-ACC panicking-POL-PRES Q  
       c. ??\*Kimi-wa nani-o sonnani Mary bakari semeteiru?  
       you-TOP what-ACC so-much Mary only blaming-is  
       'Why are you blaming only Mary so much?'  
       d. ??\*Kimi-wa nani-o sonnani Mary bakari semetei-mas-u ka?  
       you-TOP what-ACC so-much Mary only blaming-POL-PRES Q

It might be possible that the accusative wh-adjunct is also licensed by Int. It remains to be seen whether the accusative wh-adjunct patterns with *naze*, for example, with respect to the intervention effect. Due to limitations of space, I have to leave the investigation of this problem for future research.

overt wh-movement in this language.<sup>16</sup> To the extent that the forgoing discussion is on the right track, the split CP hypothesis can also pave the way for discovering the principles regulating the choice of sentence final particles in languages without audible movement to the left periphery of the clause.

## References

- Beck, Sigrid (1996) "Quantified Structure as Barriers for LF Movement," *Natural Language Semantics* 4, 1-56.
- Beck, Sigrid and Shin-Sook Kim (1997) "On Wh- and Operator Scope in Korean," *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 6, 339-384.
- Bošković, Željko (2000) "Sometimes in [Spec, CP], Sometimes in Situ," *Step by Step: Essays on Minimalist Syntax in Honor of Howard Lasnik*, ed. by Roger Martin, David Michaels, and Juan Uriagereka, 53-87, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Chomsky, Noam (1995) *The Minimalist Program*, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Chomsky, Noam (2000) "Minimalist Inquiries: The Framework" *Step by Step: Essays on Minimalist Syntax in Honor of Howard Lasnik*, ed. by Roger Martin, David Michaels, and Juan Uriagereka, 89-155, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Chomsky, Noam (2001) "Derivation by Phase," *Ken Hale: A Life in Language*, ed. by Michael Kenstowicz, 1-52, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Elliot, Dale E (1974) "Toward a Grammar of Exclamations," *Foundations of Language* 11, 231-246.
- Endo, Yoshio (2007) *Locality and Information Structure: A Cartographic Approach to Japanese*, John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam.
- Hoji, Hajime (1985) *Logical Form Constraints and Configurational Structures in Japanese*, Doctoral dissertation, University of

---

<sup>16</sup> Endo (2007) is an exception.

Washington, Seattle.

- Ko, Heejeong (2005) "Syntax of Why-in-Situ: Merging into [Spec, CP] in the Overt Syntax," *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 23, 867-916.
- Ko, Heejeong (2006) "On the Structural Height of Reason Wh-Adverbials: Acquisition and Consequences," *Wh-Movement: Moving On*, ed. by Lisa Lai-Shen Cheng and Norbert Corver, 319-349, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Kuno, Susumu (1980) "The Scope of the Question and Negation in Some Verb-Final Languages," *CLS* 16, 155-169.
- Kurafuji, Takeo (1996) "Unambiguous Checking," *Formal Approaches to Japanese Linguistics* 2, *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics* 29, 81-96, MIT, Cambridge, MA.
- Kuwabara, Kazuki (1998) "Overt Wh-Movement and Scope Fixing Scrambling: A Preliminary Study," *Grant-in-Aid for COE Research Report (2): Researching and Verifying an Advanced Theory of Human Language*, ed. by Kazuko Inoue, 115-127, Kanda University of International Studies, Chiba.
- Kuwabara, Kazuki (2000) "A Note on Some Aspects of Copular Sentences and Cleft Sentences in Japanese: A Preliminary Study," *Grant-in-Aid for COE Research Report (4): Researching and Verifying an Advanced Theory of Human Language*, ed. by Kazuko Inoue, 113-130, Kanda University of International Studies, Chiba.
- Kuwabara, Kazuki (2001) "The Focus of the Question and (Null) Copular Constructions," *Grant-in-Aid for COE Research Report (5): Researching and Verifying an Advanced Theory of Human Language*, ed. by Kazuko Inoue, 83-96, Kanda University of International Studies, Chiba.
- Kuwabara, Kazuki (2005) "Two Types of Interrogatives in Japanese," *The World of Linguistic Research: A Festschrift for Kinsuke Hasegawa on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. by Noriko Imanishi, Kaitakusha, 136-149, Tokyo.
- Kuwabara, Kazuki (2007a) "Peripheral Effects in Japanese and the Fine Structure of CP," ms., Kanda University of International Studies, Chiba.

- Kuwabara, Kazuki (2007b) "On the Clausal Periphery: Some Aspects of Questions in Japanese," ms., Kanda University of International Studies, Chiba.
- Miyagawa, Shigeru (1987) "LF Affix Raising in Japanese," *Linguistic Inquiry* 18, 362-367.
- Miyagawa, Shigeru (1997) "On the Nature of Wh-Scope," ms., MIT, Cambridge, MA.
- Miyagawa, Shigeru (1999) "Reconstruction and "ECP" effects," ms., MIT, Cambridge, MA.
- Noda, Harumi (1995) "...Noka?, ...No?, ...Ka?, ...ø?: Sitsumonbun no Bunmatsu no Katachi (...Noka?, ...No?, ...Ka?, ...ø?: the Sentence Final Forms of Questions)," *Nihongo Ruigihyooogen no Bunpoo (Jo) Tanbun Hen* (Grammar of Synonymous Expressions in Japanese (Volume 1): Simple Sentences), ed. by Tatsuo Miyajima and Yoshio Nitta, 210-219, Kurosio, Tokyo.
- Noda, Harumi (1997) '*No (da)*' *no Kinou* (The Functions of 'No (da)'), Kurosio, Tokyo.
- Rizzi, Luigi (1997) "The Fine Structure of the Left Periphery," *Elements of Grammar: Handbook of Generative Syntax*, ed. by Liliane Haegeman, 281-337, Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht.
- Rizzi, Luigi (2001) "On the Position "Int(errogative)" in the Left Periphery of the Clause," *Current Studies in Italian Syntax: Essays Offered to Lorenzo Renzi*, ed. by Guglielmo Cinque and Giampaolo Salvi, 287-296, Elsevier, Amsterdam.
- Rizzi, Luigi (2004) "Locality and Left Periphery," *Structure and Beyond: The Cartography of Syntactic Structures*, ed. by Adriana Belletti, 223-251, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Saito, Mamoru (1985) *Some Asymmetries in Japanese and Their Theoretical Implications*, Doctoral dissertation, MIT Cambridge, MA.
- Takahashi, Daiko (1990) "Negative Polarity, Phrase Structure, and the ECP," *English Linguistics* 7, 129-146.
- Watanabe, Akira (2000) "Absorption: Interpretability and Feature Strength," *Grant-in-Aid for COE Research Report (4): Researching and Verifying an Advanced Theory of Human Language*, ed. by

Kazuko Inoue, 253-296, Kanda University of International Studies,  
Chiba.

Watanabe, Shin (1995) *Aspects of Questions in Japanese and Their  
Theoretical Implications*, Doctoral dissertation, University of  
Southern California, Los Angeles.

Yoshida, Keiko and Tomoyuki Yoshida (1996) "Question Marker Drop in  
Japanese," *ICU Language Research Bulletin* 11, 37-54.

Department of English  
Kanda University of International Studies  
1-4-1 Wakaba, Mihama-ku  
Chiba-shi, Chiba-ken  
261-0014, JAPAN  
*kuwabara@kanda.kuis.ac.jp*