

A Note on Illocutionary Force and Modal Particles

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There is consensus in the literature that illocutionary force belongs to a theory of mind. Most recently, the relationship between illocutionary force and German modal particles (MPs) is developed by Abraham (2011). Abraham shows that the core properties of German MPs is to make an appeal to the addressee to cooperatively confirm or correct the belief assumptions signaled by the speaker, and that these properties are captured by the derivation in which MPs moves to the head of ForceP to enforce their illocutionary force. Along this line, I would like to discuss movement properties of MPs from the perspectives of comparative syntax.

0. Introduction

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to the positioning of MPs within adverbial clauses. Section 3 concludes the whole discussion.

1. Modal Particles in Japanese

The general pattern one observes with MPs is that MPs involving both a speaker and a hearer (interpersonal MPs, henceforth), such as the MP *ne*, always follow MPs involving only a speaker (speaker-oriented MPs, henceforth).

- (1) a. John-ga kita-wa-yo.
 John-NOM came-MP(speaker)-MP(interpersonal)
 ‘John came’
- b. *John-ga kita-yo-wa.
 John-NOM came-MP(interpersonal)-MP(speaker)
 ‘John came’

This linear order restriction follows from the assumption that MPs move to ForceP in the CP zone (Abraham 2011). To see the point, consider the derivation of sentences suffixed by MPs. Based on the distribution of various mood related elements, Cinque (1999) shows that certain modal elements, namely heads and adverbs, are universally ordered in the IP zone. I have shown elsewhere that MPs are mood elements, which are licensed and hierarchically ordered in their functional heads according to Cinque’s hierarchy in the IP domain (Endo 2007). Note, however, that interpersonal MPs are also characterized by illocutionary force. For instance, the MP *ne* that we saw above expresses the illocutionary force of confirmation. Since Cheng (1991), there is a consensus that illocutionary force is expressed in CP. Then, we find a dual status with interpersonal MPs: one property is characterized in the IP zone involving mood on the one hand and the other property is characterized in the CP zone involving illocutionary force on the other. This duality of the interpersonal MPs can be captured by movement of interpersonal MPs from the IP zone into the CP zone. If interpersonal MPs move to CP, while the speaker-oriented MPs remain in IP, the interpersonal MPs end up in a higher zone (the CP zone) than speaker-oriented MPs, which remain in the IP zone.

(2) ...[CP ... [IP speaker-oriented MP...] interpersonal MP]...¹

2. Movement of Modal Particles and Adverbial Clauses

Coniglio (2008) notes that once an adverbial clause contains a MP in German, it is interpreted outside the scope of negation. Similar effects are attested in Japanese, as illustrated below.

- (3) a. John-wa [ame-ga furu]-kara dekake masen.
(Neg > because)
John-Top [rain-Nom fall]-because go.out not
'John does not go out because it rains'
- b. John-wa [ame-ga furu]-kara-**ne** dekake masen.
(*Neg > because)
John-Top [rain-Nom fall]-because-**MP** go.out not
'John does not go out because it rains'

Japanese and German differ with respect to the positioning of MPs. That is, Japanese adverbial clauses may not contain an interpersonal MP, but rather they must be suffixed by an interpersonal MPs. To see where this difference comes from, let us consider some properties of adverbial clauses that were discovered by traditional descriptive Japanese grammarians (Minami 1974 and Noda 1989). Based on Minami's classifications of adverbial clauses in terms of what kind of functional heads may appear in adverbial clauses, Noda discovered two interesting patterns with respect to the internal and external structures of adverbial clause. The first pattern is that each type of adverbial clauses has what he calls a 'concord' relation with a functional head in the matrix clause. By concord relation, he means that a given adverbial clause may only be

¹ The movement property with interpersonal MPs and non-movement property of the speaker oriented MP might also be reflected by a rich person features carried by interpersonal MPs. Chomsky (2001) claims that among phi-features, the person feature is a prerequisite for an element to undergo movement. Note that interpersonal MPs such as *ne* 'isn't it?' carry double person feature specifications for the discourse level: a speaker and a hearer. Under the natural assumption that the first person specification is assigned by default to an element by a licensing mood related functional head, it is plausible that only the second person specification carried by interpersonal MPs is positively specified. This positive specification of the second person feature carried by interpersonal MPs would meet the prerequisite for interpersonal MPs to undergo movement.

associated with a specific type of functional head. Thus, the aspectual adverbial clause headed by *nagara* ‘with/while’ may be associated with a progressive aspect, but not with an inceptive aspect in the matrix clause, as illustrated below:

- (4) John-wa [TV-o mi **nagara**] gohan-o tabe-**teiru**/***hajimeru**.
 John-Top [TV-Acc watch **while/with**] rice-Acc eat-**Progressive**/***inceptive**
 ‘John is eating rice while watching TV/* John started eating rice while watching TV’

Still another pattern that Noda discovered may be expressed by the following chart:

(5)

	FH	Voice (rare)	<	Asp (tei)	<	Neg (na)	<	T (ta)	<	Spk'r's M (daroo)	<	Inter M (ne)
G												
Group A: <i>nagara</i> 'while'		yes		no		no		no		no		no
Group B: <i>zuni</i> 'without'		yes		yes		no		no		no		no
Group C: <i>ba</i> 'if'		yes		yes		yes		no		no		no
Group D: <i>node</i> 'because'		yes		yes		yes		yes		no		no
Group E: <i>ga</i> 'though'		yes		yes		yes		yes		yes		no

(Noda 2002: 15-16)

This chart reads as follows. The intersection of the hierarchically ordered functional heads at the top of the horizontal line and the adverbial clause head listed at the far left of the vertical line is yes or no. If yes, the functional element may appear in an adverbial clause headed by the head; if no, such a functional head may not appear in the adverbial clause. For instance, the intersection of *nagara* ‘while’ (at the far left line) and Voice (at the top line) is ‘yes’, meaning that the functional head Voice may appear in the adverbial clause headed by *nagara* ‘while’; in contrast, the intersection of *nagara* ‘while’ and the higher functional element, Neg is ‘no’, meaning that the functional head Aspect may not appear in the adverbial clause headed by *nagara* ‘while’.

This pattern can be derived by refining Haegeman’s (2006, 2010) ideas of adverbial clauses. Haegeman (2006) discusses the nature of two types of adverbial clauses. The one type is what she calls central adverbial clauses, which may not contain speech-act adverbs and disallow topicalized arguments within them as illustrated in (6). In contrast, peripheral adverbial clauses may contain these elements, as illustrated in (7):

- (6) a. *I didn’t drop the class because frankly I didn’t like it, I dropped it because it was too expensive.
 b. *If these exams you don't pass you won't get the degree.
- (7) a. ‘[A referendum on a united Ireland]...will be a ‘good thing, because frankly they need to be taken down a peg and come down to earth and be a little bit more sober in their approach to things.’ (*Guardian*, 22.7.2, page 4, col 4)
 b. His face not many admired, while his character still fewer felt they could praise. (Quirk et al 1985: 1378)

Following Rizzi (1997), Haegeman (2006) assumes hierarchically ordered functional heads in both types of adverbial clauses, and claims that in central adverbial clauses a high portion of functional heads are truncated, as shown below, where Top is a licenser of a topicalized argument expression and Force is a licenser of elements involving illocutionary force like speech-act adverbs:

- (8) peripheral adverbial clauses: Sub Top Focus Force Mod* Fin
 central adverbial clause: Sub ~~Top~~ ~~Focus~~ ~~Force~~ Mod* Fin

Haegeman (2010) tries to derive the truncation pattern by movement within adverbial clauses. For instance, based on the fact that conditional adverbial clauses may not host high adverbs as illustrated in (9), Haegeman claims that conditional clauses involve operator movement from Cinque's (1999) functional head of Mood (irrealis) into the clause initial position that is headed by *if*, as shown in (10):

- (9) a. ??*If frankly he's unable to cope, we'll have to replace him.
 (Speech act)
 b. *If they luckily /fortunately arrived on time, we will be saved.
 (Evaluative)
 c. *If George unfortunately/oddly comes, the party will be a disaster. (Evaluative) (Ernst 2008: 16, his (55c))
 d. *If George probably comes, the party will be a disaster.
 (Epistemic)
 e. *If the students apparently can't follow the discussion in the third chapter, we'll do the second chapter. (Evidential)



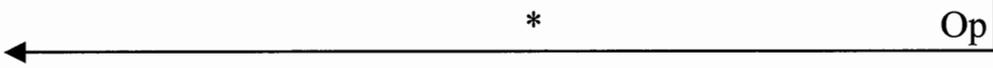
Here, the empty operator violates relativized minimality (RM) because movement of a mood type operator skips adverbs of the same mood type. This approach, as Haegeman suggests, opens up the possibility of eliminating the truncation strategy, which is arbitrary in that it is not clear which type of adverbial clauses allows truncation of which functional heads and why this is so.

At this point, one may wonder if in the Japanese adverbial clause cases the same empty operator movement strategy can be taken, coupled with RM. My answer is partly yes and partly no. The answer is yes in that a movement strategy can be used in Japanese adverbial clauses to capture the selective distribution of functional heads, but the answer is no in that what moves in the adverbial clause is not an empty

operator. To prove the point, let us look at the relevant hierarchical structure of functional elements in Japanese, which is represented below.

(11) Voice < Aspect < Negation/Polarity < Tense < Speaker's Mood < Interpersonal Mood (=MP)

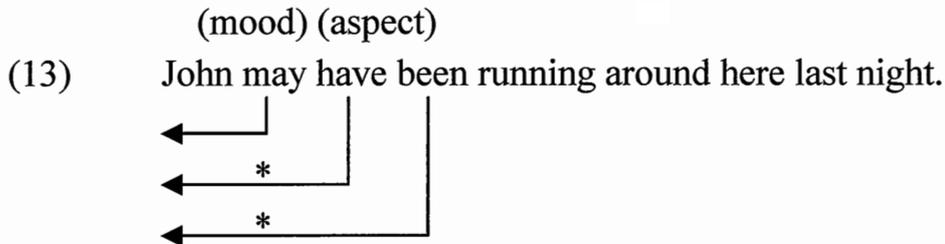
If we apply Haegeman's empty operator movement approach to adverbial clauses, we might think the selectional feature of the matrix functional head to its specifier is the instruction to move an empty operator from the selectional feature position within the associated adverbial clauses. That is to say, in the case of aspect-related adverbial clauses, the functional head Aspect in the matrix clause has the selectional feature [Aspect] for the associated aspect-related adverbial clause, and the selectional feature [Aspect] might be taken as an instruction to move an empty operator from the functional head of Aspect into the clause initial position, as illustrated below. (Here, I have reversed the linear order of functional heads to highlight the idea that the empty operator moves to the left.)

(12) ~~Interpersonal Mood > Speaker's Mood > Tense > Negation/Polarity > Aspect > Voice~~
* Op


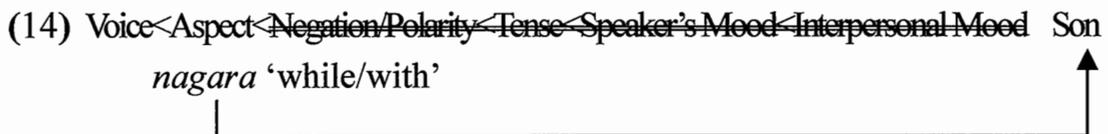
Apparently, we seem to be successful in capturing the fact that the functional head Aspect in the matrix clause may host Voice in the associated adverbial clause, and may not contain higher functional heads like Tense, because the empty operator movement skips other higher hierarchically ordered functional heads in violation of RM.

The problem is that RM does not block the empty operator movement from Voice over other higher functional heads, since whatever classification is made about what type of element counts as an intervener for a moved element, the elements skipped here are of different types from the empty operator of Aspect. Rather, movement is simply blocked by whatever types of functional heads are moved over by an empty operator. For instance, Aspect does not seem to form the same class as Tense and Mood, etc. This unselective strong blocking

effect seen in movement remind us of Travis's (1984) Head Movement Constraint (HMC), which is ultimately incorporated as a case of RM (Rizzi (1990)). Head movement prevents a head from skipping another head of any kind, like mood and aspect, as illustrated below:



Along this line, we may capture the selective patterns of functional heads in the following way. Assume that a given functional head in the matrix clause (for instance, Aspect) gives the instruction to move the head of a subordinator like *nagara* 'while/with' from the designated functional head position (Aspect head, in this case) to the clause final position. The point is shown below, where the higher functional heads of whatever kind prevent the head *nagara* 'while/with' in the head of Aspect from moving from Aspect into the clause final subordination (Son) head position. RM blocks movement of the Aspect head of *nagara* 'while/with' across any type of higher functional heads unselectively.

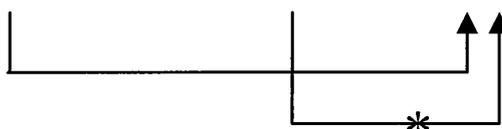


The head movement approach to adverbial clauses is supported by the fact that the selectivity of functional heads in adverbial clauses disappears in the embedded clauses within the adverbial clauses, as Mamoru Saito (personal communication) correctly points out. That is, any functional head may appear in the embedded clause selected by the least deeply embedded verb in the adverbial clause, as illustrated below:

- (15) ... [[Hon-ga narabe-rare-tei-na-i ne]-to
 [[book-Nom arrange-Passive-Aspect-Negation-Tense-MP]-that
 ii-nagara] ...
 say-while]
 ‘while saying that the book has not been arranged yet, right?’

The no selectivity of functional heads of embedded clauses in adverbial clauses follows from the clause-bound nature of head movement. Since head movement of the adverbial clause head takes place within a single clause without crossing a clausal boundary, it must take place within the least deeply embedded clause, and correlatively the RM effects are expected to be attested in the least deeply embedded clause, as shown below:

- (16) ...[Adverbial clause S V [embedded clause] ... Son] ...



Returning to the different positioning of Japanese MPs and German MPs in adverbial clauses, recall that Japanese MPs may not appear inside, but must be suffixed to, an adverbial clause. According to our approach, this fact is derived in the following way: a head of adverbial clause moves inside an adverbial clause to the highest SON head, but the movement necessarily skips a MP just below SON head. Thus, interpersonal MP not appear within an adverbial clause, but rather must be suffixed to the whole adverbial clauses.

- (17) Voice < Aspect < Negation/Polarity < Tense < Speaker's Mood < MP Son
nagara ‘while/with’
-

Recall that once an adverbial clause is suffixed by an interpersonal MP in Japanese, it is always interpreted outside the scope of negation:

- (18) a. John-wa [ame-ga furu]-kara dekake masen.
 (Neg > because)
 John-Top [rain-Nom fall]-because go.out not
 ‘John does not go out because it rains’
- b. John-wa [ame-ga furu]-kara-ne dekake masen.
 (*Neg > because)
 John-Top [rain-Nom fall]-because-MP go.out not
 ‘John does not go out because it rains’

This fact follows from the movement derivation of MPs in the following way. When an adverbial clause is suffixed by an interpersonal MP, it moves along with the MP into ForceP due to the requirement that MPs should end up in the position dedicated to illocutionary force in the CP zone; then, the adverbial clause ends up in a position higher than and is outside the scope of the matrix negation.

- (19) [Matrix clause ForceP ... Neg... [Adverbial clause]-MP ...]


3. Concluding Remarks

In this note, we have discussed Abraham’s (2011) idea that German MPs raises to the head of ForceP to enforce their illocutionary force. We have suggested that the difference between Japanese and German with respect to the positioning of MPs within adverbial clauses may be attributed to RM.

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