

# Japanese Exclamatives as an Addresser-Oriented Evidential Construction\*

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## 1. Introduction

In the literature, it is observed that verbs of direct experience in Japanese restrict their subjects to first person in the declarative (e.g. Tenny (2006)):<sup>1</sup>

- (1)        Watasi / \* anata / \* kare-wa samui-desu.  
               I         / you     /        he-TOP cold-POL  
               ‘I am cold.’ / ‘\*You are cold.’ / ‘\*He is cold.’

(Tenny (2006:247))

The verb of direct experience in (1) *samui* takes as its subject the first person pronoun, but not the second pronoun nor the third person expression. On the basis of Aoki’s (1986) claim that the PRT *no* is an EVID-marker which denotes that the information source is fact or what the addresser takes granted for, Tenny (2006), furthermore, argues that the first person restriction is lifted when predicates of direct experience occur with the EVID-marker *no* (cf. Kuroda (1973) and Kamio (1990)).<sup>2</sup> Look at the following examples:<sup>3</sup>

- (2) a.    Watasi-wa        sabisi-i            n(o)-da.  
               I-TOP            lonely-PRES EVID-COP  
               ‘I am lonely.’  
       b.    Anata-wa        sabisi-i            n(o)-da(-ne).  
               You-TOP        lonely-PRES EVID-COP(-PRT)  
               ‘(I know) You are lonely.’

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<sup>1</sup> The following abbreviations are used in the glosses throughout this paper: ACC = Accusative, COP = Copula, EM = Exclamation Marker, EVID = Evidential Marker, GEN = Genitive, MOD = Modality, NOM = Nominative, POL = Politeness Marker, PRES = Present, PRT = Particle, SAP = Speech Act Phrase, TOP = Topicalization.

<sup>2</sup> Other than the PRT *no*, such evidentials as *yoo-da* and *rasi-i* also have the property of lifting the first person restriction, as will be shown in section 4.2. Due to limitations of space, I leave open the question of whether epistemic modals, as well as evidentials, can lift the first person restriction observed in predicates of direct experience.

<sup>3</sup> (2b) is presented as acceptable here, but one might think (2b) is less acceptable when compared with the other two examples. This is primarily because the occurrence of the PRT *ne* is obligatory in Japanese when both the addresser and the addressee share the same information: hence, the acceptability of (2b) improves if the PRT *ne* appears.

- c. Mearii-wa sabisi-i n(o)-da.  
 Mary-TOP lonely-PRES EVID-COP  
 ‘Mearii is lonely.’ (Kuroda (1973:381), with slight modification)

The data above shows that predicates of direct experience embedded under the EVID-marker *no* does not impose any person restriction: in other words, the EVID-marker *no* has the property of lifting the first person restriction typically found in predicates of direct experience. Interestingly, predicates of direct experience restrict their subjects to the addresser (the speaker) when the E-marker *nante* is attached to them. Look at the following examples:

- (3) a.  $\emptyset$ /?Watasi-wa nante samu-i-n(o)-da.  
 (I)/I-TOP EM cold-PRES-PRT-COP  
 ‘How very cold (I am)!’  
 b. \* Anata-wa nante samu-i-n(o)-da.  
 You-TOP EM cold-PRES-PRT-COP  
 ‘How very cold you are!’  
 c. \* Hanako-wa nante samu-i-n(o)-da.  
 Hanako-TOP EM cold-PRES-PRT-COP  
 ‘How very cold Hanako is!’

The examples in (3) show that in the context of exclamatives, predicates of direct experience coupled with the E-marker *nante* best fit with the null subject denoted by  $\emptyset$  (and, marginally, the first person pronoun): in this case, the null subject in (3a) refers to the addresser of the sentence.<sup>4</sup> What is interesting here is that predicates of direct experience combined with the E-marker *nante* limit their subjects to the addresser even when they occur with the EVID-marker *no*, which has the property of lifting the first person restriction.

In the literature, there is not so much research dedicated to investigating the syntax-semantics/pragmatics of exclamatives from the viewpoint of the addresser/addressee distinction (e.g. Adachi (2002) and Ono (2006)), and the addresser restriction shown in (3) has not been discussed in the literature (cf. Ono (2006)). The goal of this paper is to provide an account of the addresser restriction in (3) on the basis of Tenny’s (2006) Speech Act (hereafter, SA) projection system, in which the addresser/addressee distinction and evidentiality are reflected in syntactic structure. The claim of this paper is twofold:

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<sup>4</sup> Note that the first person pronoun in the grammatical sentence (2a) receives a contrastive topic interpretation (cf. Konno (2012)), while the exclamative in (3a) cannot tolerate the topicalized first person pronoun.

- (4) a. Exclamatives are licensed in the scope of *Speech Act Phrase* (SAP)<sub>[Addresser]</sub>, but not in the scope of SAP<sub>[Addressee]</sub>.  
 b. Exclamatives are an evidential construction which occurs as the complement of SAP<sub>[Addresser]</sub>.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 reviews two previous approaches to the syntax-semantics of exclamatives, and shows neither of them has difficulty in providing an account of the addresser restriction shown in (3). In section 3, following and modifying Tenny's (2006) SA projection system of the addresser/addressee and evidentiality, I propose an analysis of Japanese exclamatives. Section 4 provides evidence for the proposal from the following viewpoints: (i) question/answer pairs and politeness, (ii) evidentials other than *no*, and (iii) person restriction in interrogatives. Section 5 provides a theoretical implication for establishing a syntactic system to capture the addresser/addressee distinction, with reference to Konno (2012). Section 6 draws conclusions.

## 2. Previous Analyses

### 2.1. Compositional Approach

In the literature, two approaches are proposed concerning the syntax and semantics/pragmatics of exclamatives: the compositional approach (Zanuttini and Portner (2000, 2003)) and the cartographic approach (Ono (2006) and Yamato (2010)).<sup>5</sup> This section begins with a review of the compositional approach, and shows that it needs an extra mechanism to capture the addresser restriction pattern observed in (3), repeated below as (5):

- (5) a.  $\emptyset$ /??Watasi-wa nante samu-i-n(o)-da.  
 (I)/I-TOP EM cold-PRES-EVID-COP  
 'How very cold (I am)!'

 b. \* Anata-wa nante samu-i-n(o)-da.  
 You-TOP EM cold-PRES-EVID-COP  
 'How very cold you are!'

 c. \* Hanako-wa nante samu-i-n(o)-da.  
 Hanako-TOP EM cold-PRES-EVID-COP  
 'How very cold Hanako is!'

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<sup>5</sup> Other than the two approaches to be reviewed, another syntactic approach is proposed in the literature (Pesetsky and Torrego (2001) and Ono and Fujii (2006)). Putting the details aside, they claim that a given syntactic structure receives an exclamative interpretation if it includes two syntactic elements in the CP domain. This approach can be seen as a kind of compositional approach similar to the one proposed by Zanuttini and Portner (2003).

Zanuttini and Portner (2000, 2003) propose that English exclamatives are composed of two semantic components: factivity and scalar implicature.<sup>6</sup> Take for example an exclamative sentence like *How many books Mary read yesterday!*. Roughly speaking, on the factivity meaning side, it is presupposed that Mary read so many books yesterday; on the scalar implicature meaning side, it is implied that the number of the books that Mary read was larger than what the addresser expected. In order to capture the two semantic properties, they claim that English exclamatives have two syntactic components: the factive operator in the CP domain and the operator-variable configuration. For example, the exclamative in (6a) has the structure in (6b):<sup>7</sup>

- (6) a. What a beautiful girl Mary is!  
 b. [<sub>CP2</sub> What a beautiful girl<sub>i</sub> [<sub>CP1</sub> FACT [<sub>TP</sub> Mary is t<sub>i</sub> ]]]

The structure in (6b) structurally realizes factivity as the factive operator and scalar implicature as the operator-variable configuration. If we extend their approach to Japanese exclamatives (cf. Yamato (2010) and Ono and Fujii (2006)), the Japanese exclamative in (7a) has the structure in (7b):<sup>8</sup>

- (7) a. Hanako-wa nante kawai-i n(o)-da/n(o)-daroo.  
 Hanako-TOP EM cute-PRES EVID-COP/EVID-MOD  
 ‘How cute Hanako is!’  
 b. [<sub>CP2</sub> [<sub>CP1</sub> FACT [<sub>TP</sub> Hanako-wa nante kawai-i n(o)-da/n(o)-daroo]]]

In (7b), the factive operator syntactically realizes factivity in the CP domain, and the *wh*-operator (E-marker) *nante* remains in situ (cf. Oda (2006)). Here, it should be noted that the structure in (7b) is basically irrelevant to the grammatical encoding of evidentiality by the PRT *no*. If the syntax of exclamatives does not concern the grammatical encoding of evidentiality, the compositional approach needs to account

<sup>6</sup> According to Zanuttini and Portner (2000, 2003), there are three diagnostics to identify the exclamative clause type among the other clause types: factivity, scalar implicature, and question/answer pairs. I do not review the details of these three tests here because the aim of this section is to show that the addresser restriction shown in (3) does not easily follow from their proposal. Interested readers are referred to Zanuttini and Portner (2000, 2003). The usefulness of the three tests is discussed in several languages (e.g. Villalba (2003) for Catalan, Zanuttini and Portner (2000, 2003) for Italian and Paduan, and Yamato (2010) for Japanese). In section 4.1, I discuss that the proposal made in this paper is supported by question/answer pairs (cf. Yamato (2010)).

<sup>7</sup> Here, I ignore what kind of reconstruction process is involved in (6b) (cf. Oda (2006)).

<sup>8</sup> Following Zanuttini and Portner (2003), Yamato (2010) shows that Japanese exclamatives, as well as English exclamatives, have the factivity and scalar implicature meaning components, although he claims that Japanese exclamatives have the declarative syntax.

for the person restriction patterns in (2) and (3) without recourse to evidentiality. In this sense, the compositional approach needs an additional syntactic/semantic mechanism to capture the fact that predicates of direct experience with the E-marker restrict their subjects to the addresser in the exclamative.

This section briefly reviewed Zanuttini and Portner's (2003) analysis of exclamatives, and showed that they need an additional device to capture the addresser restriction observed in (3). What is suggestive for the present study in their proposal is that exclamatives are factive in nature. In section 3.2, I propose that the factivity meaning of Japanese exclamatives follows from the grammatical encoding of evidentiality by the PRT *no*.

## 2.2. Cartographic Approach

This section reviews the cartographic approach to Japanese exclamatives (Ono (2006) and Yamato (2010)), and shows that the cartographic approach, as well as the compositional approach, cannot directly provide an account of the addresser restriction observed in (3).

In the cartographic approach to the syntax-semantics/pragmatics of Japanese exclamatives (Ono (2006) and Yamato (2010)), it is proposed that the sentence-final aggregate *nodaroo* splits into multiple functional projections. Putting aside details, the following structure is proposed regarding Japanese exclamatives:

- (8) a. Hanako-wa nante kawai-i no-da/no-daroo.  
 Hanako-TOP EM cute-PRES PRT-COP/PRT-MOD  
 'How cute Hanako is!'
- b. [MoodP [FocusP [FiniteP [TP ... *wh* ... ] no]-da]-roo]

As shown in (8b), the sentence-final aggregate *nodaroo* splits into several functional projections (cf. Rizzi (1997) and Cinque (1999)): [MoodP [FocusP [FiniteP [TP ...] *no*] -*da*] -*roo*]. In this structure, the PRT *no* is seen as a finite marker which marks the sentence as finite, and the COP *da* as a focus marker. Following Hara (2006), Ono (2006), furthermore, assumes the element *-roo* to be an evidential mood.<sup>9</sup>

The crucial point relevant to the present study in the cartographic approach is that the evidential meaning component of exclamatives is encoded by the mood element *-roo*, but not by the PRT *no*. Given that the PRT *no* is proposed to be a finite marker, the cartographic approach needs an additional mechanism or

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<sup>9</sup> See Hara (2006) for the evidential meaning of the element *-roo*. Ono (2006:24) also states that the Mood element *-roo* "indicates the judgement of the speaker toward the proposition to which the morpheme attaches." The fundamental problem discussed here concerns the idea that the PRT *no* is regarded as a finite marker.

assumption to capture the facts in (2), repeated as (9) below:

- (9) a. Watasi-wa sabisi-i n(o)-da.  
 I-TOP lonely-PRES EVID-COP  
 ‘I am lonely.’
- b. Anata-wa sabisi-i n(o)-da(-ne).  
 You-TOP lonely-PRES EVID-COP(-PRT)  
 ‘(I know) You are lonely.’
- c. Mearii-wa sabisi-i n(o)-da.  
 Mary-TOP lonely-PRES EVID-COP  
 ‘Mary is lonely.’ (Kuroda (1973:381), with slight modification)

As briefly mentioned in section 1, evidential elements like the PRT *no* lift the first person restriction observed in predicates of direct experience (Tenny (2006)). The cartographic approach, however, cannot straightforwardly capture this property because the PRT *no* serves to mark the sentence as finite. Thus, the cartographic approach, like the compositional approach, needs an extra mechanism/assumption to account for the facts in (9) without recourse to evidentiality. One alternative is to assume that the PRT *no* is an EVID-marker, which occurs as the finite head. This analysis, however, needs an additional device to account for the addresser restriction imposed on the subjects of predicates of direct experience in the context of exclamatives.

In this section, I briefly reviewed and discussed that neither of the compositional approach nor the cartographic approach directly provides an account of the addresser restriction imposed on the subjects of predicates of direct experience in the context of exclamatives. The next section proposes an analysis of Japanese exclamatives on the basis of Tenny’s (2006) SA projection system which incorporates the addresser/address and evidentiality into syntactic structure.

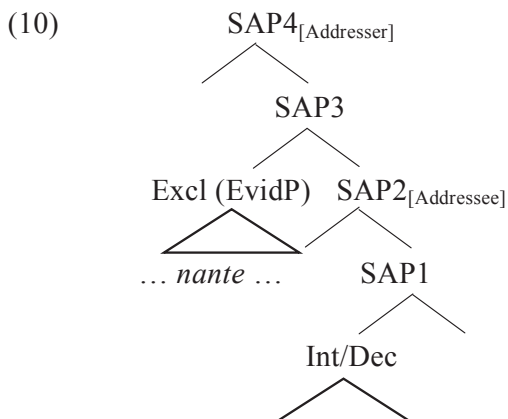
### 3. Proposal

#### 3.1. *The Syntax of Japanese Exclamatives*

In this paper, modifying Tenny’s (2006) SA projection system of the addresser/addressee and evidentiality, I assume the following structure for Japanese exclamatives:<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> In Tenny’s (2006) original proposal, the set of discourse-relevant features (morphosyntactic features encoding sentence) plays an important role in her feature checking system. Interested readers are referred to Tenny (2006). The main purpose of this paper is to establish a fundamental system which deals with the addresser/addressee interpretation distinction, but not the details of the system.



Furthermore, I propose (i) that Japanese exclamatives are an evidential construction, and (ii) that they are licensed at the complement of SAP3. In what follows, I first outline the two proposals made here, and explain more details in the following subsections.

The structure in (10) basically follows Tenny's (2006) core idea that the addresser, the addressee and the utterance content are all thematic arguments realized in the Speech Act projection. In this structure, the addresser appears as the highest argument at [Spec, SAP4], and the addresser occupies [Spec, SAP2]. Then, the utterance content occurs either as the complement of SAP3 or that of SAP1. Here, I assume that the two complement positions allow different interpretations from the perspective of the addresser/addressee distinction (cf. Hirose (1995)):<sup>11</sup>

- (11) a. The complement of SAP 3 obligatorily receives an addresser-oriented interpretation in which the addresser utters the propositional content without assuming the addressee.
- b. The complement of SAP1 optionally receives either an addresser-oriented interpretation or an addressee-oriented interpretation in which the addresser intends to communicate information with the addressee.

The assumption in (11a) states that the complement of SAP 3 is the locus for an utterance content to be interpreted as an addresser-oriented interpretation: in other words, the addresser utters the propositional content to express her/his thought without intending to communicate with the addresser. As proposed above, exclamatives are licensed in the complement of SAP 3, wherein they receives an

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<sup>11</sup> In Hirose's (1995) term, the addresser/addressee distinction corresponds to the private/public distinction.

addresser-oriented interpretation: in this case, the addresser expresses her/his amazement at a given unexpected situation. On the other hand, interrogatives (Int) and declaratives (Dec) receive either an addresser-oriented interpretation or an addressee-oriented interpretation at the complement of SAP1. Take for example the case of interrogatives. When an interrogative receives an addresser-oriented interpretation, it results in a rhetorical question. On the other hand, when an interrogative receives an addressee-oriented interpretation, it is used as a question. In the case of declaratives, they allow an addresser-oriented interpretation in which the addresser use them as an answer to the question or an addressee-oriented interpretation in which the addresser utters them as soliloquy. To recapitulate, the utterance contents appearing in the complement of SAP3 exclusively express the speaker's thought, while those appearing in the complement of SAP1 are neutral in the sense that they may optionally receive either an addresser-oriented interpretation or an addressee-oriented interpretation.

Syntactically, the semantic difference between (11a) and (11b) is derived in the following way (cf. Miyagawa (2012)). I first assume that the head of SAP4 is endowed with the addresser feature which allows an addresser-oriented interpretation; unlike the head of SAP4, the head of SAP2 possesses the addressee feature which allows an addressee-oriented interpretation. Then, I assume that these two features are inherited to phrases in their c-commanding domain (scope). For concreteness, the head of SAP4<sub>[addresser]</sub> c-commands both the complement of SAP 3 and that of SAP1, and this c-commanding relationship enables the head of SAP4 to assign the addresser feature to the complement of SAP 3 and that of SAP1. The head of SAP2<sub>[addressee]</sub> c-commands only the complement of SAP1 (but not that of SAP3), and assigns the addressee feature to the complement of SAP1. As a result of this process, the complement of SAP3 obligatorily receives only an addresser-oriented interpretation, while the complement of the SAP1 receives either an addresser-oriented interpretation or an addressee-oriented interpretation.

In what follows, I will make explicit the syntactic/semantic roles of the EVID-marker *no* and the E-marker *nante* in exclamatives, with reference to the structure shown in (10).

### 3.2. EVID-Marker No

In this section, I make clear the first proposal that Japanese exclamatives are an evidential construction in which evidentiality is encoded by the PRT *no*. As I briefly mentioned in section 1, Aoki (1986) claims that the PRT *no* is a fact marker indicating evidentiality (cf. Simpson (1998)). Following Aoki (1986), this paper defines the PRT *no* as an EVID-marker which indicates that the information source



is fact or what the speaker takes granted for (cf. Aikhenvald (2004)).

The idea that the EVID-marker *no* gets access to fact seems to be compatible with the factive nature of exclamatives. Many previous studies on exclamatives in various languages indicate that they are factive in nature (Grimshaw (1979) for English, Zanuttini and Portner (2000, 2003) for English, Paduan and Italian, Villalba (2003) for Catalan, and Yamato (2010) for Japanese exclamatives). Take for example the following Japanese exclamative sentence:

- (12) Hanako-wa nante takusan ringo-o tabe-ta n(o)-da.  
 Hanako-TOP EM many apple-ACC eat-PAST PRT-COP  
 ‘How many apples Hanako ate!’

The exclamative in (12) implies that the addresser presupposes or takes granted for the propositional content: in this case, it is presupposed that Hanako ate more apples than the addresser expected. In our proposal, the factivity meaning component of exclamatives will be captured by proposing that the PRT *no* is an EVID-marker which shows that the source of information is what the addresser takes as a fact.

Having discussed what evidential meaning the PRT *no* conveys, let us turn to the syntax of the sentence-final aggregate *nodaroo* in Japanese exclamatives. Following and modifying Tenny (2006), I assume the following structure for the sentence-final aggregate in Japanese exclamatives:

- (13) [ModP [CopP [EvidP [TP ... EM (nante) ...] no ] -da] -daroo]

In (13), the PRT *no* occurs as the head of EvidP, followed either by the COP *-da* or the MOD *-daroo*. Contrary to Hara (2006) and Ono (2006), this paper assumes that the sentence-final element *-daroo* is an epistemic modality but not an EVID-marker, following the narrow definition of evidentiality by Willet (1988), according to which evidentiality simply denotes information source, but not epistemic modality.

One might wonder whether the proposal made above contradicts with the case in which exclamatives end up with the COP or the MOD element. However, I render them as an evidential construction in the sense that the PRT *no* obligatorily encodes evidentiality in exclamatives. Consider the following examples:

- (14) a. Hanako-wa nante kawai-i no(-da/no-daroo).  
 Hanako-TOP EM cute-PRES EVID-(COP/PRT-MOD)  
 ‘How cute Hanako is!’

- b. \* Hanako-wa nante kawai-i (no-da/no-daroo).  
 Hanako-TOP EM cute-PRES (EVID-COP/PRT-MOD)  
 ‘How cute Hanako is!’
- c. \* Hanako-wa nante kawai-i (no)-daroo.  
 Hanako-TOP EM cute-PRES (EVID)-MOD  
 ‘How cute Hanako is!’

The examples in (14) show that the EVID-marker is not omissible while the COP or the MOD can be omitted optionally. In (14a), the exclamative ends up with the EVID-marker, but the sentence is grammatical. In contrast, (14b) and (14c) show that the EVID-marker cannot be omitted. This property accords with Kamio’s (1990) claim that Japanese is endowed with the property of grammatically encoding evidentiality. The facts above will naturally follow from the proposal that exclamatives are an evidential construction in which evidentiality must be encoded by the PRT *no*.

In this section, I proposed that exclamatives are an evidential construction whose structural head is EVID. As shown in (10), exclamatives occur in the complement of SAP3 as an evidential sentence. The next section deals with how the E-marker *nante* is licensed in (10).

### 3.3. E-Marker Nante

This section provides a licensing condition of the E-marker *nante*. As briefly proposed in section 3.1, exclamatives occur in the complement position of SAP3. Here, I assume that the structural (c-commanding) requirement derives the licensing condition on the E-marker:

#### (15) Licensing Condition on the E-Marker *nante*:

The E-marker is licensed within the c-commanding domain (scope) of the head of SAP4<sub>[addresser]</sub>, and must be free from the c-commanding domain (scope) of the head of SAP2<sub>[addressee]</sub>.

The licensing condition above roughly states that the E-marker is not only a polarity item licensed in the scope of SAP4<sub>[addresser]</sub>, but also an anti-polarity item licensed in the scope of SAP2<sub>[addressee]</sub>. I assume that this licensing condition is imposed on the complement position of SAP3 as an interface condition at LF.

If the licensing condition is correct, it follows that the E-marker cannot be licensed in the scope of SAP2, which allows an addressee-oriented interpretation. This is because the E-marker *nante* cannot be used to specify a value for the variable

in a question. The following examples show that this is the case:

- (16) a. Zyon-wa dore-dake ookina tukue-o kat-ta n(o)?  
 John-TOP which-much big desk-ACC buy-PAST EVID.  
 ‘How big desk did John buy?’
- b. \* Zyon-wa nante ookina tukue-o kat-ta n(o)?  
 John-TOP EM big desk-ACC buy-PAST EVID  
 ‘What a big desk did John buy?’
- c. \* Hanako-wa nante kawai-i n(o)-da?  
 Hanako-TOP EM cute-PRES EVID-COP  
 [Intended] ‘How very cute is Hanako?’

(16a) is a *wh*-interrogative sentence with the EVID-marker, and in my proposal, it occurs as the complement of SAP1, wherein the sentence receives an addresser-oriented interpretation: in this case, the addresser performs a communicative act to elicit a response from the addressee. In such a context, the E-marker is forced to occur in the complement of SAP1, and the licensing condition in (15) is violated: hence the ungrammaticality of (16b) and (16c).

In this section, I proposed that the E-marker is a polarity item licensed in the scope of SAP4 and an anti-polarity item not c-commanded by the head of SAP2. In the next section, on the basis of the proposals made so far, I provide an account of the addresser restriction in predicates of direct experience in the exclamative.

#### 3.4. *Analysis of the Addresser Restriction*

In this section, I provide an account of the addresser restriction observed in (3) on the basis of the proposals made above. Before proceeding, let us consider the declarative case in which the first person restriction is lifted. In my proposal, declaratives including a predicate of direct experience occur in the complement of SAP1, wherein the first person restriction is lifted by the EVID-marker *no*. Hence, the examples in (2), repeated below, are all grammatical, and none of them show any person restriction:

- (17)a. Watasi-wa sabisi-i n(o)-da.  
 I-TOP lonely-PRES EVID-COP  
 ‘I am lonely.’
- b. Anata-wa sabisi-i n(o)-da(-ne).  
 Mary-TOP lonely-PRES EVID-COP(-PRT)  
 ‘(I know) You are lonely.’

- c. Mearii-wa sabisi-i n(o)-da.  
 Mary-TOP lonely-PRES EVID-COP  
 ‘Mary is lonely.’ (Kuroda (1973:381), with slight modification)

In contrast, exclamatives occur in the complement of SAP3, wherein they exclusively express the addresser’s thought. To put it differently, the complement of SAP3 is a locus for a sentence to express the addresser’s thought, but not the other persons’ thoughts. For this reason, predicates of direct experience limit their subjects to the addresser restriction in exclamatives even if the EVID-marker *no* lifts the first person restriction, as shown in (3), repeated below as (18):

- (18)a. Ø/??Watasi-wa nante samu-i-n(o)-da.  
 (I)/I-TOP EM cold-PRES-EVID-COP  
 ‘How very cold (I am)!’
- b. \* Anata-wa nante samu-i-n(o)-da.  
 You-TOP EM cold-PRES-EVID-COP  
 ‘How very cold you are!’
- c. \* Hanako-wa nante samu-i-n(o)-da.  
 Hanako-TOP EM cold-PRES-EVID-COP  
 ‘How very cold Hanako is!’

To summarize, the addresser restriction in (3) is attributed to the interface condition imposed on the complement of SAP3 at LF. In the next section, I will provide evidence for my proposal from the following three perspectives: soliloquy, evidentiality, and person restriction in interrogatives.

## 4. Supportive Evidence

### 4.1. Soliloquy

The first piece of evidence for the proposed analysis comes from Zanuttini and Portner’s (2000, 2003) observation that English exclamatives cannot be used as a question nor an answer.<sup>12</sup> In my proposal, this amounts to saying that exclamatives do not participate in communication with the addresser because they behave as an addresser-oriented expression or soliloquy. In what follows, I show

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<sup>12</sup> Zanuttini and Portner (2003) argue that English exclamatives cannot be used as a question nor an answer because they are factive in nature (cf. Grimshaw (1979)). One might wonder whether their analysis of English exclamatives can be applied to Japanese exclamatives. However, their analysis cannot capture the evidential property of Japanese exclamatives, as I mentioned in section 2.1. For this reason, the proposed analysis in this paper will be sustainable to the extent that there is no evidence for assuming the presence of the factive operator in Japanese exclamatives.

that this is the case in Japanese exclamatives.

Following Zanuttini and Portner (2003), Yamato (2010) shows that Japanese exclamatives, as well as English exclamatives, cannot serve as a question nor an answer. Consider the following sets of examples:

(19) A: Zyon-wa dore-dake ookina kuruma-o kat-ta no?  
 John-TOP which-much big car-ACC buy-PAST EVID  
 ‘How big car did John buy?’

B: 4-ton torakku.  
 4-ton truck  
 ‘4-ton truck.’

(Yamato (2010:59))

(20) A: Zyon-wa nante ookina kuruma-o kat-ta no-daroo!  
 John-TOP EM big car-ACC buy-PAST EVID-MOD  
 ‘What a big car John bought!’

B: \* 4-ton torakku.  
 4-ton truck  
 ‘4-ton truck.’

(Yamato (2010:59))

In contrast with the *wh*-interrogative case in (19), in (20), Person B cannot use the exclamative with the communicative intention to answer the question. Japanese exclamatives, furthermore, cannot be used as an answer. Look at the following example:

(21) A: Zyon-wa dore-dake ookina kuruma-o kat-ta no?  
 John-TOP which-much big car-ACC buy-PAST EVID  
 ‘How big car did John buy?’

B: \* Kare-wa nante ookina kuruma-o kat-ta no-daroo!  
 He-TOP EM big car-ACC buy-PAST EVID-MOD  
 ‘What a big car he bought!’

(Yamato (2010:59))

In (21), Person B tries to answer the question by using the exclamative, but the use of an exclamative is infelicitous in such a context.

Other than question/answer pairs, politeness can be also seen as providing evidence for my proposal. In the literature, it is argued that politeness forms like *desu* imply the presence of the addressee (e.g. Hirose (1995) and Miyagawa (2012)).

For concreteness, consider the following examples:

- (22) a. Zyon-wa kasiko-i.  
 John-TOP intelligent-PRES  
 ‘John is intelligent.’
- b. Zyon-wa kasiko-i n(o)-desu.  
 John-TOP intelligent-PRES EVID-POL  
 ‘John is intelligent.’

The declarative with no politeness form in (22a) optionally allows an addresser-oriented (soliloquy-like) interpretation or an addressee-oriented interpretation in which the addresser intends to provide the addressee with the information in the context of interrogatives. On the other hand, sentences like (22b) are used to perform a communicative act to convey some information while assuming the presence of the addressee. In our proposal, this property means that the POL-marker *desu* forces the sentence to occur in the complement of SAP2, wherein the sentence receives the addresser-oriented interpretation. Contrary to declaratives with the POL-marker *desu*, exclamatives are licensed at the complement of SAP3. Given that the use of the POL-marker forces a sentence to be licensed at the complement of SAP1, it is predicted that the exclamative licensed at the complement of SAP3 is incompatible with the POL-marker *desu* licensed at that of SAP1, while the interrogative co-occurs with the POL-marker because both of them are licensed at the complement of SAP1. The following contrast confirms that the prediction is borne out.<sup>13</sup>

- (23) a. Zyon-wa doredake kasiko-i n(o)-desu?  
 John-TOP which-much intelligent-PRES EVID-POL  
 ‘How intelligent is John?’
- b. \* Zyon-wa nante kasiko-i n(o)-desu.  
 John-TOP EM intelligent-PRES EVID-POL  
 ‘How very intelligent John is!’ (Ono (2006:6))

The *wh*-interrogative in (23a) is compatible with the POL-marker *desu* because both of them are licensed at the complement of SAP1: hence, the grammaticality of (23a). On the other hand, the ungrammaticality of (23b) is accounted for as follows. In our proposal, the exclamative in (23b) must be licensed at the complement of SAP3,

<sup>13</sup> Some readers may feel (23a) as a relatively marginal sentence. Noda (1997) argues that some cases similar to (23a) are basically grammatical.

but at the same time, it is also forced to occur in the complement of SAP1 because the POL-marker *desu* must be licensed at that position. Here, the exclamative cannot meet the two contradicting requirements, and hence the sentence is ungrammatical.<sup>14</sup>

In this section, I showed that question/answer pairs and politeness provide evidence for my proposal.

#### 4.2. Evidentiality

In section 2.2, I proposed that the PRT *no* in the context of exclamatives is an EVID-marker which shows that the source of information is fact or what the addresser takes granted for (cf. Aoki (1986), Kuroda (1973), and Simpson (1998)). If this proposal is correct, it is expected that the EVID-marker *no* cannot be substituted by other evidentials which do not get access to fact, since Japanese exclamatives has the factivity meaning component.

In this connection, let us first consider the following two evidentials for comparison: *yoo-da* and *rasi-i*. In section 1, I mentioned that evidentiality lifts the first person restriction imposed on the subjects of predicates of direct experience. In this respect, the two evidentials, like the EVID-marker *no*, also serve to lift the first person restriction, as shown below (cf. Tenny (2006)):

- (24) a. \* *Watasi-wa sabisi-i yoo-da/rasi-i.*  
 I-TOP lonely-PRES EVID-COP/EVID-PRES  
 ‘I am lonely.’
- b. *Anata-wa sabisi-i yoo-da(-ne)/rasi-i(-ne).*  
 You-TOP lonely(-PRES) EVID-COP(-PRT)/EVID-PRES(-PRT)  
 ‘You are lonely.’

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<sup>14</sup> Some readers might wonder whether the expression *-desyoo*, which might be seen as a politeness form of the MOD *-roo*, constitutes a counterexample to my proposal because it occurs in exclamatives:

- (i) *Zyon-wa nante kasiko-i n(o)-desyoo.*  
 John-TOP EM intelligent-PRES EVID-MOD.POL  
 ‘How very intelligent John is!’

If the grammaticality of the exclamative in (i) suggests that it is licensed at the complement of SAP1, the proposed system does not prevent it from being used as a question or an answer. Note, however, that the exclamative in (i) cannot be used as a question nor an answer in contexts like (20) and (21). For this reason, exclamatives like (i) cannot be seen as a counterexample to my proposal. Furthermore, the element *-desyoo* may be taken as a form of stereotypical speech.

- c. Mearii-wa sabisi-i yoo-da/rasi-i.  
 Mary-TOP lonely-PRES EVID-COP/EVID-PRES  
 ‘Mary is lonely.’

As shown in (24), predicates of direct experience restrict their subjects to second or third person when they co-occur with *yoo-da* or *rasi-i*. In this case, the first person pronoun does not occur because, in general, it is odd that the addresser makes inference about her/his own psychological state. My point here is that the two evidentials *yoo-da* and *rasi-i* and the EVID-marker *no* lift the first person restriction observed in predicates of direct experience, except that *yoo-da* and *rasi-i*, unlike *no*, exclude the first person pronoun because of their semantic properties.

Supposing that *no*, *yoo-da* and *rasi-i* all belong to the class of evidentiality, let us consider whether they can be substituted by the EVID-marker *no* in exclamatives. Aoki (1986) describes the evidential meanings of the two evidentials as follows:

- (25) a. “*yoo-da*” is used when the speaker has some “visible, tangible, or audible evidence collected through his own senses to make an inference (Aoki (1986:231))”.
- b. “*rasi-i*” is used when “the evidence is circumstantial or gathered through sources other than one’s own senses to make an inference (Aoki (1986:232))”.

The important point here is that neither of the two evidentials *yoo-da* and *rasi-i* refers to the addresser’s fact or what s/he is convinced to believe in (cf. Aoki (1986)). If exclamatives are closely tied to factivity, as shown in section 2.1, it is expected that the EVID-marker *no* cannot be substituted by *yoo-da* or *rasi-i* because they are semantically nothing to do with factivity. This prediction is supported by the following examples:

- (26) a. Hanako-wa nante kawai-i no-da/no-daroo.  
 Hanako-TOP EM cute-PRES EVID-COP/EVID-MOD  
 ‘How cute Hanako is!’
- b. \* Hanako-wa nante kawai-i yoo-da/rasi-i.  
 Hanako-TOP EM cute-PRES EVID-COP/EVID-PRES  
 [Intended] ‘How cute Hanako is!’
- c. Hanako-wa kawai-i yoo-da/ rasi-i.  
 Hanako-TOP cute-PRES EVID-COP/EVID-PRES  
 ‘Hanako is cute.’



The contrast in (26a) and (26b) shows that the EVID-marker *no* cannot be substituted by *yoo-da* or *rasi-i*, as expected. Note that (26c) makes sure that the declarative counterpart to (26b) is grammatical, which means that the ungrammaticality of (26b) comes from the semantic incompatibility between the factivity meaning of exclamatives and the two evidentials *yoo-da* and *rasi-i*.

In this section, comparing the PRT *no* with the other two evidentials *yoo-da* and *rasi-i*, I first showed that *yoo-da* and *rasi-i*, as well as *no*, lift the first person restriction in predicates of direct experience, except that they do not occur with first person. Then, it was discussed that the PRT *no* in exclamatives cannot be substituted by *yoo-da* and *rasi-i* because the two evidentials do not refer to what the addresser believes in as a fact (cf. Aoki (1986)).<sup>15</sup> The discussions above indicate that the factivity of exclamatives is sensitive to the semantics of evidentiality.

#### 4.3. Person Restriction in Interrogatives

In this section, I show that person restriction in interrogatives provide evidence for the proposal that the complement of SAP1 receives either an addresser-oriented interpretation in which the addresser has no intention to communicate information with the addresser or an addresser-oriented interpretation in which the addresser intends to communicate information with the addressee. In section 3, I proposed that exclamatives occur in the complement of SAP3, and the addresser restriction is imposed on that position as an interface condition at LF. This proposal implies that the complement of SAP1 is free from such a condition. In what follows, I show that the interrogative with the EVID-marker *no*, which is proposed to occur in the complement of SAP1, is free from the addressee restriction.

Look at the following examples:

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<sup>15</sup> Other than the elements *no*, *yoo-da* and *rasi-i* considered in this section, the element *koto* is also argued to be an EVID-marker (Tenny (2006)). When Tenny's (2006) argument is taken together with Kuno's (1973) claim that *koto* introduces a presupposed proposition, nothing prevents exclamatives from occurring with *koto*. This prediction might be supported by "koto-exclamatives", termed by Adachi (2002):

- (i) Hanako-no nante kawai-i koto.  
 Hanako-GEN EM cute-PRES fact  
 'How cute Hanako is!'

The exclamative in (i) ends up with the element *koto*, and the sentence is grammatical. If Tenny (2006) and Kuno (1973) are correct, the element *koto*, as well as the EVID-marker *no*, is an EVID-marker which also serves to show that the information source is fact or what the addresser takes granted for, although their precise evidential meanings are different. I leave cases like (i) for future research, but I believe that the proposal in this paper opens a possibility to capture the nature of "koto-exclamatives" from the perspective of evidentiality.

- (27) a. \* Watasi-wa doredake sabisi-i -n(o)-desu-ka?  
 I-TOP which-much lonely-PRES -EVID-POL-PRT  
 ‘How lonely am I?’
- b. Anata-wa doredake sabisi-i -n(o)-desu-ka?  
 You-TOP which-much lonely-PRES -EVID-POL-PRT  
 ‘How lonely are you?’
- c. Hanako-wa doredake sabisi-i -n(o)-desu-ka?  
 Hanako-TOP which-much lonely-PRES -EVID-POL-PRT  
 ‘How lonely is Hanako?’

The examples in (27) show that predicates of direct experience restrict their subjects to second and third person in the interrogative when they occur with the EVID-marker *no*. Recall that in the context of exclamatives, predicates of direct experience exclude third person, as well as second person:

- (28) a.  $\emptyset$ /??Watasi-wa nante samu-i-n(o)-da.  
 (I)/I-TOP EM cold-PRES-EVID-COP  
 ‘How very cold (I am)!’
- b. \* Anata-wa nante samu-i-n(o)-da.  
 You-TOP EM cold-PRES-EVID-COP  
 ‘How very cold you are!’
- c. \* Hanako-wa nante samu-i-n(o)-da.  
 Hanako-TOP EM cold-PRES-EVID-COP  
 ‘How very cold Hanako is!’

The unavailability of the first person pronoun in (27a) follows from the semantic/pragmatic property that the addresser cannot objectively ask the addressee a question about the addresser’s physical state which the addressee cannot directly experience. The pattern in (27) is captured by my proposal because the complement of SAP1 is the locus for an interrogative to receive an addressee-oriented interpretation in which the addresser tries to obtain information from the addressee. To put it differently, the complement of SAP1 is free from the addresser restriction, and hence the pattern in (27) results.

In this section, I showed that person restriction patterns in the interrogative with a predicate of direct experience support my proposal that the addresser restriction is not imposed on the complement of SAP1.

## 5. Theoretical Implication

In this paper, I proposed that the addresser-oriented nature of Japanese exclamatives follows from the SA projection system developed in section 3. The core of the system is that the complement of SAP3 allows an addresser-oriented interpretation in which the addresser has no intention to communicate with the addressee, and simply expresses her/his own psychological/physical state. This system naturally captures the soliloquy-like characteristic of exclamatives in that they are used to express the addresser's amazement at an unexpected situation.

In Japanese, there are several linguistic phenomena relevant to the notion of addresser-orientedness. Konno's (2012) study on the Japanese Adjectival Conjugational Ending Drop (hereafter, ACED) construction can be seen as one of the few studies dedicated to addresser-oriented linguistic phenomena:<sup>16</sup>

- (29) Samu?!  
Cold  
'Cold!'

Konno (2012) argues that the ACED construction shown above functions to express the addresser's immediate reaction to a situation in which s/he is involved at the time of utterance and to perform a "private expression act" in Hirose's (1995) term: in the present study, this amounts to saying that the ACED construction receives an addresser-oriented interpretation in which the addresser has no intention to communicate with the addressee. Thus, the addresser-oriented nature of the ACED construction can be captured in my proposal by assuming that it occurs in the complement of SAP3, wherein an addresser-oriented interpretation is licensed.<sup>17</sup>

The SA projection system built on Tenny (2006) needs to be more sophisticated in future research, but it will have the potential to provide a basis for establishing a syntactic system to capture the semantic/pragmatic characteristics of linguistic phenomena from the perspective of the addresser and addressee distinction.

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<sup>16</sup> Following Konno (2012), I use the following symbol "ʔ" to represent a glottal stop here.

<sup>17</sup> Konno (2012), furthermore, argues that the ACED construction is an example of "root small clause" in Progovac's (2006) sense. If it is supposed that exclamatives and the ACED construction share an addresser-oriented interpretation, both of them will be licensed at the complement of SAP3. However, exclamatives, unlike the ACED construction, may appear as a tensed-clause, and hence, it is implied that different types of clausal expressions occur in the complement of SAP3. I tentatively ignore this point here because the discussion here focuses on how the addresser-oriented interpretation is licensed in my proposal.

## 6. Conclusions

In this paper, I first pointed out that predicates of direct experience impose the addresser restriction on their subjects in Japanese exclamatives. Reviewing the compositional approach (Zannutini and Portner (2003)) and the cartographic approach (Ono (2006) and Yamato (2012)), I discussed that the addresser restriction cannot be easily dealt with in both approaches. Then, on the basis of Tenny's (2006) SA projection system, I proposed (i) that exclamatives are an evidential construction in which the EVID-marker *no* shows that the information source is fact or what the addresser takes granted for, and (ii) that they occur as the complement of SAP3, wherein they receive an addresser-oriented interpretation in which the addresser expresses her/his psychological state without intending to communicate with the addressee. I, furthermore, provided three pieces of evidence for the proposals: first, they cannot be used as a question nor an answer, and are incompatible with the politeness form *desu*; second, the EVID-marker *no* cannot be substituted by other evidentials like *yoo-da* and *rasi-i* which do not get access to what the addresser takes granted for; third, predicates of direct experience limit their subjects to second or third person in interrogatives, as expected by the SA projection system proposed in section 3. Section 5 provided a theoretical implication toward establishing a syntactic system of the addresser-/addressee-orientedness, with reference to Konno's (2012) work on the ACED construction.

This study will be seen as a piece of work which attempted to contribute to the research on the syntax-semantics/pragmatics of exclamatives from the viewpoints of soliloquy (i.e. addresser-orientedness) and evidentiality (cf. Ono (2006) and Yamato (2010)). By exploring exclamatives in various languages from these two perspectives in future, our understandings of their syntactic and semantic/pragmatic properties will be deepened.

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