

Predicate Doubling and Speaker-Addressee Interaction in Japanese

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1. Introduction

Syntactic approaches to the roles of a speaker and an addressee have been observed in the history of generative grammar. An early example is Ross' (1970) seminal study of performatives. More recently, Speas and Tenny (2003), Haegeman and Hill (2014), Ishihara (2019), and Miyagawa (2022), among others, have argued for the syntacticization of discourse.

Ishihara (2019) examined predicate doubling in Japanese and proposed a structure in which a Speech Act Phrase (SAP) is posited at the top. It also proposed that the predicate doubling construction (PDC) is derived by the movement of a predicate triggered by an emphasis feature in the head of an SAP and copy spell-out. This analysis can explain many properties of the PDC in Japanese but fails to recognize and deal with another type of interpretation of the PDC—namely, an addressee-oriented interpretation.

Miyagawa (2022) postulated a more elaborate three-layered structure dedicated to discourse above CPs based on the examination of politeness-marking, sentence final particles (SFPs), topicalization, and questions. This study demonstrates that Miyagawa's (2022) analysis of SFPs can explain the addressee-oriented interpretation of the PDC.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows. Section 2 summarizes various interpretations of PDC in Japanese, as observed by Ishihara (2019). Section 3 illustrates the addressee-oriented interpretation of the PDC. An overview of Ishihara's (2019) analysis of PDC is also provided. Section 4

proposes a modification to Ishihara's (2019) analysis by adopting Miyagawa's (2022) three-layered structure. Finally, section 5 concludes the paper.

2. PDC and its interpretations

A tensed predicate can be iterated in colloquial speech with semantic effects. Ishihara (2019) noted that the PDC can be interpreted in several ways, depending on the aspectual types of the predicate involved and the context in which it occurs. For instance, when a stative predicate is doubled, the degree or extent of the state it denotes is emphasized. In the following examples, predicate doubling is underlined for clarity.

- (1) a. Ah, atu-i atu-i.¹
ah hot-NPST hot-NPST
'Ah, it's so hot.'
- b. Wah, kirei kirei.
wow pretty pretty
'Wow, it's so pretty.'
- c. Densya-ga kon-deru kon-deru.
train-NOM crowded-STAT crowded-STAT
'The train is so crowded.'

In (1a), the adjective *atu-i* 'hot' is iterated, and the degree of hotness is emphasized. (1b) is an example of doubling of the stem form of the adjectival noun *kireida*, 'pretty,' which is interpreted as 'so pretty.'² When the contracted form of the stative verb *konde-iru* 'crowded' is doubled, as illustrated in (1c), the degree of crowdedness is emphasized.³

The iteration of an activity predicate emphasizes the continuation of the activity it denotes.

- (2) a. Taroo-ga hasi-ru hasi-ru.
 Taro-NOM run-NPST run-NPST
 ‘Taro keeps/kept running for a long time/for a long distance.’⁴
- b. Taroo-ga sake-o non-da non-da.
 Taro-NOM alcohol-ACC drink-PST drink-PST
 ‘Taro drank alcohol so much.’

In (2a), the activity verb *hasiru* ‘run’ is doubled, and the activity of running is interpreted as continuing for a long time. (2b), in which the past tense form of the activity verb *nomu* ‘drink’ is iterated, expresses that Taro continued drinking for a long time and thus consumed a large amount of alcohol.

The doubling of some achievement and accomplishment verbs can denote the repetition of an action.

- (3) a. Taroo-ga matigai-o mituke-ru mituke-ru.
 Taro-NOM mistake-ACC find-NPST find-NPST
 ‘Taro finds/found many errors.’
- b. Taroo-ga seetaa-o an-da an-da.
 Taro-NOM sweater-ACC knit-PST knit-PST
 ‘Taro knit many sweaters.’

In (3a), the achievement verb *mitukeru* ‘find’ is iterated. The sentence can be interpreted as involving the iteration of the act of finding an error, which leads to the interpretation of Taro finding many errors. (3b) is an example of the doubling of the past tense form of the accomplishment verb *amu* ‘knit.’ The sentence can be interpreted as Taro having knit many sweaters as the result of the repeated act of knitting a sweater.⁵

In addition to these interpretations, predicate doubling can emphasize the truth of a proposition, which Höhle (1992) calls “verum focus.” The PDC can

denote a verum focus when the truth of a proposition is at issue, such as when answering a polar question.

- (4) A: Nee, Gozira-no eiga mi-ta?
hey Godzilla-GEN movie see-PST
'Hey, did you see the Godzilla movie?'
B: Un, mi-ta mi-ta. Omosirok-atta-yo.
yes see-PST see-PST fun-PST-SFP
'Yes, I DID see it. It was fun.'

In (4), Speaker B employs predicate doubling *mi-ta mi-ta* 'saw saw' in answer to a polar question raised by Speaker A to emphasize that their answer is affirmative. More specifically, Speaker A asked whether it was true that Speaker B saw the Godzilla movie, and they answered in the affirmative with an emphasis on the truth of the proposition at issue, that is, they saw it. In other words, the PDC is interpreted as a verum focus in (4B).

- (5) A: Nee, kinoo gakko-ni ik-anak-atta-no?
hey yesterday school-to go-NEG-PST-Q
'Hey, didn't you go to school yesterday?'
B: Uun, it-ta it-ta.
no go-PST go-PST
'Yes, I DID go.'

Example (5B) shows a verum focus that occurs in response to a negative question. Speaker B corrects Speaker A's expectation by iterating the positive form of the verb, *it-ta* 'went.'

- (6) A: Hannin-o mite-inai-noda-na?
 criminal-ACC see-NEG-ASSERT-SFP
 ‘Are you sure you didn’t see the criminal?’
- B: Hai, mite-mas-en mite-mas-en.
 yes see-POLIT-NEG see-POLIT-NEG
 ‘No, I DID NOT see him.’

Example (6) is another example of a PDC that occurs in response to a negative question. In this case, Speaker B agrees with the proposition at issue and emphasizes its truth by iterating the negative form of the predicate.⁶

Finally, predicate doubling can emphasize the force of utterance in imperatives and interrogatives.

- (7) a. Ik-e ik-e.
 go-IMP go-IMP
 ‘Go, go.’
- b. Nee, mi-ta mi-ta?
 hey see-PST see-PST
 ‘Hey, did you see that?’

In (7a) and (7b), the force of a command and a question is emphasized.

Having reviewed Ishihara’s (2019) observation, we highlight yet another type of interpretation of the PDC that emphasizes speaker-addressee interactions.

3. Addressee-oriented interpretation of the PDC

The previous section showed that the PDC that occurs in answer to a polar question can be interpreted as a verum focus. However, there are some cases of PDC in the context in which the truth of a proposition at issue does not seem to

be emphasized.

(8) A: Nee, wakat-ta?

hey understand-PST

‘Hey, did you understand?’

B: Hai hai, wakat-ta wakat-ta.

yes yes understand-PST understand-PST

‘Yes, yes, I got it. I got it.’

(9) A: Nee, kii-teru-no?

hey listen-PROG-Q

‘Hey, are you listening to me?’

B: Un, kii-teru kii-teru.

yes listen-PROG listen-PROG

‘Yes, I’m listening. I’m listening.’

In (8B) and (9B), although predicate doubling occurs in answer to polar questions, the ‘dominant’ reading does not emphasize the truth of the proposition. Speaker B does not seem to emphasize that they DID understand something or that they ARE listening to Speaker A. Instead, they use iterations to indicate the successful act of receiving Speaker A’s message. This interpretation is addressee-oriented because it focuses on the fact that the message conveyed by the addressee—Speaker A—was understood or received rather than emphasizing the truth of the content of the message. Here, the fact that playing catch between the two interlocutors was successful is emphasized. In other words, emphasis is not placed on the speaker alone but on the interaction between the speaker and the addressee.

Ross (1970) argues that verbs such as *say*, *declare*, *assert*, *shout*, *whisper*, *tell*, *explain*, and *write* occur with their subject, *I*, at the root of declarative sentences in the underlying structure and distinguishes this class of verbs from

others by their features [+communication, +linguistic, +declarative]. All these are speaker-oriented verbs that focus on the function of saying. In examples like (8B) and (9B), what is crucial is the class of verbs that acknowledges the receipt of a message in response to the addressee's utterance, such as *hear*, *understand*, and *get*, which might be characterized as [+communication, +linguistic, +receptive] in these contexts.

Predicate doubling in (8B) and (9B) can lead to pragmatic effects in certain contexts. For example, if Speaker A is too persistent, Speaker B's response with the PDC can evoke a sense of annoyance, in addition to acknowledging the receipt of the message, as Speaker B implies that they do not want to pursue the matter further.

Another example of an addressee-oriented interpretation of PDC is presented in (10B).

(10) A: Hontooni gomen-ne.

really sorry-SFP

'I'm really sorry.'

B: I-i-kara i-i-kara.⁷

OK-NPST-SFP OK-NPST-SFP

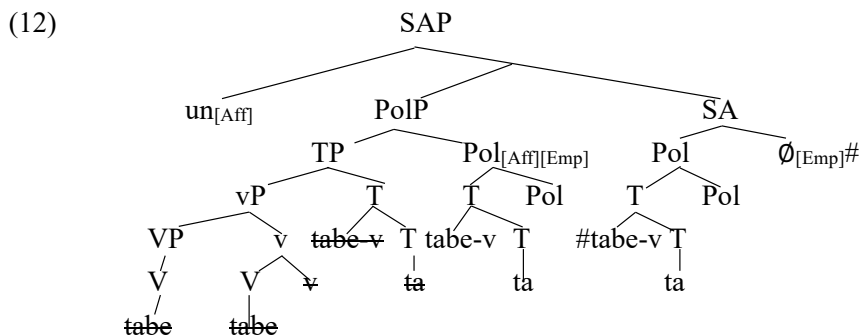
'It's OK. It's OK.'

Although a verum-focus reading is available, the dominant reading is addressee-oriented, and Speaker B uses iteration to indicate the successful receipt of Speaker A's apology.

Ishihara (2019) proposed the syntactic structure in (12) for the verum-focus PDC in (11B).

(11) A: Moo gohan tabe-ta?
 yet meal eat-PST
 ‘Have you eaten your meal yet?’

B: Un, tabe-ta tabe-ta.
 yes eat-PST eat-PST
 ‘Yes, I HAVE eaten.’



(Ishihara (2019:216))

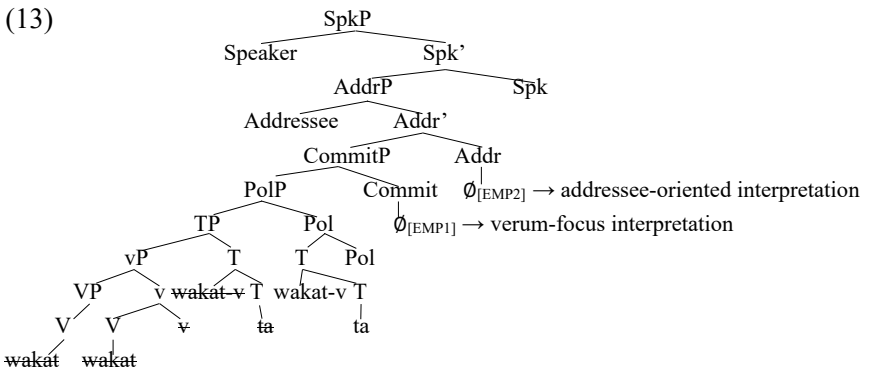
To briefly review Ishihara’s (2019) analysis, a Polarity Phrase (PolP) is posited above TP, following Holmberg’s (2013a, 2013b, 2016) analysis of polar questions and their answers. Since predicate doubling is a root phenomenon, it postulates above PolP an SAP, which occurs mainly in root clauses. Following Koizumi (1995/1999) and Funakoshi (2012), among others, who argue for the syntactic head movement of a predicate in Japanese, a predicate is assumed to raise to Pol via v and T in syntax in ordinary declarative sentences. For the PDC, it is proposed that an emphasis feature resides in a phonetically null Speech Act head and that this emphasis feature triggers the head movement of a predicate complex from Pol to SA. Furthermore, following Nunes (2004) and Martins (2007), morphological fusion is assumed to take place in SA, which renders elements in SA invisible to Kayne’s (1994) Linear Correspondence

Axiom (LCA); consequently, both the elements in SA and those in Pol are pronounced. For example, in (12), the verb *tabe* moves up to Pol via v and T, as in an ordinary declarative sentence. Next, attracted by the emphasis feature in SA, the verbal complex in Pol, *tabe-v-ta*-Pol, moves further up to the SA. Within the SA, the verbal complex *tabe-v-ta*-Pol- \emptyset undergoes morphological reanalysis, and its internal structure becomes invisible to LCA. Then, the verbal complex in Pol is pronounced as a link in a chain in addition to the reanalyzed complex in SA, and thus predicate doubling is obtained.

Ishihara's (2019) analysis holds true for the PDC with verum-focus interpretation, but how addressee-oriented interpretation can be handled remains unclear. Following Saito (2013a, 2013b), SFPs were treated as SAs without any structural distinctions among them.

4. Modification of Ishihara's (2019) analysis

To accommodate both addressee-oriented and verum-focus interpretations, we propose modifying Ishihara's (2019) analysis, following Miyagawa (2022), who posits Speaker Phrase (SpkP), Addressee Phrase (AddrP) and Commitment Phrase (CommitP) above CP, namely, replacing SAP in (12) with CommitP, AddrP, and SpkP, as indicated in (13).

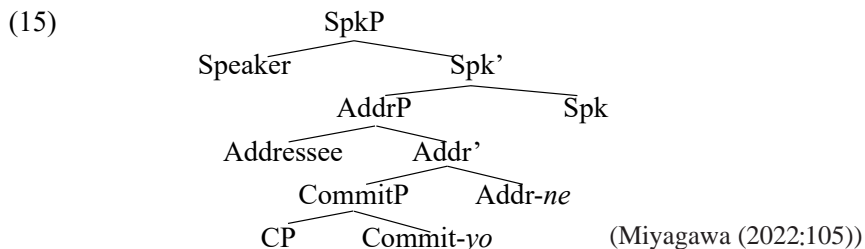


Having a more elaborate structure above PolP enables us to distinguish between addressee-oriented interpretations and verum-focus interpretations. Specifically, this paper claims that an emphasis feature can occur either in the Commitment or Addressee head and that the position of the emphasis feature determines the interpretation of the PDC.

(14) Interpretation at the syntax-semantics interface

- a. When an emphasis feature is present in a Commitment head, commitment to a proposition is amplified, which leads to a verum-focus interpretation.
- b. When an emphasis feature is present in the Addressee head, an addressee-oriented interpretation is obtained.

Evidence supporting this analysis comes from the co-occurrence restrictions of SFPs. Miyagawa (2022:105) contends that *yo*, an SFP amplifying commitment to the proposition, is merged onto the Commitment head, whereas *ne*, an SFP that directs expression to the addressee to ascertain the truthfulness of the proposition, is merged onto the Addressee head, as illustrated in (15).



If an emphasis feature in the Commitment head triggers the head movement of a predicate and blocks the base generation of other elements within the head, a verum-focus interpretation should not be available with *yo*.

This prediction is borne out.

- (16) A: Kono suugaku-no mondai-no kotae wakat-ta?
this math-GEN problem-GEN solution understand-PST
'Did you understand the solution to this math problem?'
B: Un, wakat-ta-(yo/*ne).
yes understand-PST-SFP/SFP
'Yes, I DID get it.'
- B': Un, wakat-ta-(??yo/*ne) wakat-ta-(??yo/*ne).
yes understand-PST-SFP/SFP understand-PST-SFP/SFP
'Yes, I DID get it.'
- (17) A: Karada-no tyoosi i-i-no?
body-GEN condition good-NPST-Q
'Are you in good physical condition?'
B: Un, i-i-(yo/*ne).⁸
yes good-NPST-SFP/SFP
'Yes, I AM.'
- B': Un, i-i-(??yo/*ne) i-i-(??yo/*ne).
yes good-NPST-SFP/SFP good-NPST-SFP/SFP
'Yes, I AM.'

Examples (16B, B') and (17B, B') illustrate answers to a polar question, which is an environment for verum-focus interpretation. In (16B) and (17B), in which no predicate doubling occurs, *yo* is acceptable. However, (16B') and (17B') demonstrate that *yo* cannot be iterated along with a predicate easily under verum-focus reading. This supports the present analysis of the PDC with verum-focus interpretation because the emphasis feature in the Commitment head, indicated as EMP₁ in (13), precludes the occurrence of *yo* in the same position. Here, a word of caution is in order. If (16B') and (17B') are read with

a comma intonation between the doubled predicates, then *yo* can be doubled with a predicate under verum-focus interpretation without difficulty; however, this involves two conjoined sentences, which is not the construction we are dealing with as the PDC in this paper. Note also that the SFP *ne* is not allowed in answer to a question, with or without predicate doubling, because Speaker B is expected to answer a question rather than inviting Speaker A to agree to their answer.

By contrast, the SFP *yo* can be iterated under an addressee-oriented interpretation.

(18) A: Nee, waka-tta?

hey understand-PST

‘Hey, did you understand?’

B: Hai hai, waka-tta-*{yo/*ne}* waka-tta-*{yo/*ne}*.

yes yes understand-PST-SFP/SFP understand-PST-SFP/SFP

‘Yes, yes, I got it. I got it.’

(19) A: Hontooni gomen-ne.

really sorry-SFP

‘I’m really sorry.’

B: I-i-*{kara/yo/*ne}* i-i-*{kara/yo/*ne}*.

OK-NPST-SFP/SFP/SFP OK-NPST-SFP/SFP/SFP

‘It’s OK. It’s OK.’

An emphasis feature that induces addressee-oriented interpretation, indicated as EMP₂ in (13), is located higher than *yo* in the structure; thus, a predicate complex, which has been raised to Pol, can pick up *yo* in the Commitment head on the way to its attracting head, the Addressee. Note that the doubling of *ne* is not available under the addressee-oriented interpretation because *ne* is not appropriate in answer to a question in the first place, and also because it

occupies the same position as EMP₂.

Furthermore, *hai hai* ‘yes yes’ in (18B) can be considered a lexical word. Only a handful of words behave like *hai hai*, such as *un un* ‘yes, yes,’ *ie ie* ‘no, no,’ and *iya iya* ‘no, no,’ and the unavailability of **iie iie* ‘no, no’ or **uun uun* ‘no, no’ indicates their unproductivity, which suggests their lexical status. Furthermore, if one is to derive *hai hai* syntactically by head movement and copy spell-out just like *wakat-ta wakat-ta* ‘understood, understood,’ two AddrPs must be posited, each hosting an emphasis feature, which would be considerably redundant. Hence, *hai hai* is assumed to occupy the Specifier position of AddrP, thus agreeing with EMP₂ in the Addressee head. This accounts for why it does not seem to emphasize the meaning of ‘yes’ but is used to signal the speaker’s active engagement in the discourse.

To summarize, based on the data involving predicate doubling and SFPs, we posited an emphasis feature in the Commitment head for verum-focus reading and an emphasis feature in the Addressee head for addressee-oriented reading.

5. Conclusion

This paper has demonstrated the availability of the addressee-oriented interpretation of syntactic doubling and its interaction with SFPs and claimed that verum-focus and addressee-oriented interpretations can be handled by positing an emphasis feature in the Commitment head for the former and in the Addressee head for the latter. The analysis presented in this paper supports Miyagawa’s articulated syntactic structure of the expressive component, particularly his analysis of SFPs. Further investigation of the behavior of predicate doubling with respect to other SFPs may reveal more information regarding the syntactic structure of the CP domain. This study indicates that syntactic analysis should consider the roles of addressees as well as those of speakers. The division of labor between syntax and pragmatics has been a long-

standing problem in the theory of grammar. However, we hope that this study has demonstrated that a syntactic approach to discourse is worth pursuing to uncover the intricate interaction between a speaker and an addressee.

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Notes

- 1 The following abbreviations are used in this paper: ACC, accusative; Addr, addressee; ASSERT, assertive; Commit, commitment; EMP, emphasis; GEN, genitive; IMP, imperative; NEG, negation; NOM, nominative; NPST, non-past; POL, polarity; POLIT, polite; PROG, progressive; PST, past; Q, question; SA, speech act; SFP, sentence final particle; Spk, speaker; and STAT, stative. The past/nonpast distinction in glosses is based on the form of the predicate.
- 2 When an adjectival noun is iterated, the word-final *da* is often omitted, perhaps because a shortened form suits the colloquial register better, and it is easier to pronounce the doubling of such a form. However, the root of an adjective cannot be doubled without an inflectional ending, which may be related to the existence of lexical compounds such as *atuatu* ‘very hot’ and *hirobiro* ‘very spacious.’
- 3 *Konde-ru* is a contracted form of *konde-iru*. The shorter form is preferred in the PDC for the same reasons suggested in Note 2.

- 4 This example can be interpreted as involving the narrative present tense, which is often the case with PDC. The same holds true for (3a).
- 5 Considering interpretations of reduplications in other languages, predicate emphasis is quite natural.

- (i) a. Intensity: *dopdolu* ‘quite full,’ *dolu* ‘full’ (Turkish)
- b. Repeated or continued occurrence of an event:
- zɔ zɔ* ‘be walking,’ *zɔ* ‘walk’ (Ewe)
- roarroarroar* ‘continue to shudder,’ *roar* ‘shudder’ (Mokilese)
- guguyon* ‘jest repeatedly,’ *guyon* ‘jest’ (Sundanese)

(a, b: Moravcsik (1992: 323))

The doubling of stative predicates in Japanese in (1a-c) is similar to the reduplication of such predicates in Turkish in (ia). In addition, that of the activity predicates in (2a, b) is similar to the reduplication of similar predicates in Ewe and Mokilese in (ib), and the iteration of achievement and accomplishment verbs in (3a, b) is similar to the Sundanese example in (ib).

- 6 Verum focus is expressed by predicate doubling in other languages. Example (i) is similar to (4) in Korean, and (ii) presents an example of a verum focus in a correction context in Galician.

- (i) A: Ce ynghwa pw-asse? (Korean)
 that movie see-PST
 ‘Did you see that movie?’
 B: Ung, pw-ass-e pw-ass-e.
 yes see-PST see-PST
 ‘Yes, I DID see it.’ (Ishihara (2019:13))
- (ii) A: Anibal non sabe destes assuntos. (Galician)
 Anibal not knows of-these matters
 ‘Anibal doesn’t know of such matters.’

- B: Anibal sabe destes assuntos sabe.
 Anibal knows of-these matters knows
 ‘Anibal DOES know of such matters.’ (Martins (2013:115))
- 7 Kara in (10B) can be regarded as an SFP, as in the following example.
- (i) Zettai ik-u-kara.
 definitely go-NPST-SFP
 ‘I will definitely go.’
- 8 The example is acceptable if *ne* is understood as an SFP that softens a statement but is not acceptable under the interpretation at issue; that is, requesting the addressee to confirm the truthfulness of the proposition.

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