

Finnish Pragmatic Enclitics, Sentence Final Particles in Second Position?

Maxime Tulling, New York University, mat646@nyu.edu

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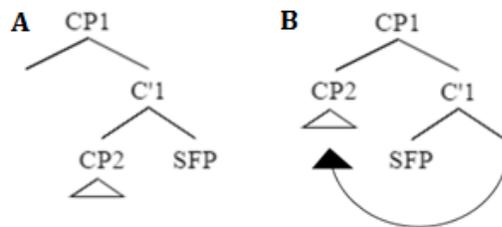
1.0 Introduction

Sentence final particles (SFPs) are generally assumed to head their own projection in the CP-domain. For languages where CP is normally considered to be head initial, this leads to an interesting puzzle, in which the C heads are both realized in initial and final position:

- (1). $[_{CP1} [_{CP2} \text{Je weet } [_{CP3} \text{ dat Bill liegt}]] \text{ h\`e}]?$ DUTCH
 you know that Bill lies SFP
 ‘You know that Bill’s lying, right?’ [CONFIRMATION-SEEKING]

Some have proposed that this surface order is obtained by movement of the first CP¹ into the Spec position of the second CP (e.g. Haegeman, 2014; Huang, 2007; Hsieh & Sybesma, 2011; Munaro & Poletto, 2003; Simpson & Wu, 2002).

- (2). SFP Head-final view SFP Head-initial view



Motivation for this movement is provided in terms of antisymmetry, using the LCA² (Kayne, 1994) and symmetry-breaking movement³ (Moro, 2000). You could also imagine movement motivated by an EPP feature in CP, requiring something in its specifier. If the analysis in (2b) is on the right track, we might also expect that there are languages that move smaller chunks to the specifier, and that there could be material following the head-initial final particle. Finnish might be such a language:

- (3). Isä=**hän** pesi pyykit. (Palomäki, 2016, p. 33, 9)
 Isä=HAN wahs.3SG.PST laundry
 ‘Isa did the laundry.’ [REMINDING]

Here I explore the possibility of unifying second-position discourse enclitics and sentence final discourse particles under the same syntactic category and derivation. Specifically I:

- Review properties of sentence final discourse particles
- Review properties of Finnish second-position discourse clitics
- Propose that they can be unified under the same derivation
- Support, predictions and more puzzles

¹ To be more precise, Simpson & Wu (2002) argued that IP moved to the Spec of CP, and Huang (2007) uses split-CP (Rizzi, 1997) to argue that actually FinP moves to the Spec position.

² According to the LCA (Linear Correspondence Axiom), only elements which are in a hierarchical relation which is asymmetric qua c-command can be linearized.

³ Moro (2000) argues that movement is driven by the search for antisymmetry.

1.1 Sentence Final Particles

- (4) a. eiga-wa hachi-ji kara da **yo** JAPANESE
 movie-top 8-o'clock from be SFP
 'The movie starts at eight.' [GUIDE TO ACTION/CORRECTIVE] (Davis, 2011, p.16, 8)
- b. keoi heoi zo syuguk **gwaa3** CANTONESE
 s/he go ASP bookshop SFP
 'S/he probably went to the bookshop.' [CERTAINTY] (Law, 2004, 4)
- c. Het is lekker weer **hè?** DUTCH
 It is nice weather SFP
 'It's nice weather, right?' [AGREEMENT-SEEKING]
- d. You have a new dog, **eh?** [CONFIRMATION] CANADIAN ENGLISH (Wiltschko, 2016)

Sentence Final Particles → discourse markers that occur clause finally

- Found in many unrelated languages (though no clear 1-1 correspondence)
- Play important role in every-day spoken communication
- Express intention, modality, epistemic information, emotion and pragmatic nuances
- Difficult to define precise meaning, often dependent on context and intonation

Though: **Interesting cross-linguistic similarities**

- i. Ordering restrictions: if final discourse particles combine, they often occur in a particular order (attested for example in: CANTONESE: Law, 2004; JAPANESE: Davis, 2011; MANDARIN: Li, 2006; FLEMISH: Haegeman, 2014)
- o Taken to reflect syntactic or semantic requirement on hierarchical ordering
 - o Higher particles more 'subjective' information, related to speaker/addressee e.g.:

- (5). Keoi zung heoi zo Balaai **tim1 gwaa3** CANTONESE
 *Keoi zung heoi zo Balaai **gwaa3 tim1**
 s/he also go ASP Paris SFP SFP (Law, 2004, 10/15)

- o Often explained in terms of cartography, using a split-CP (Rizzi (1997)

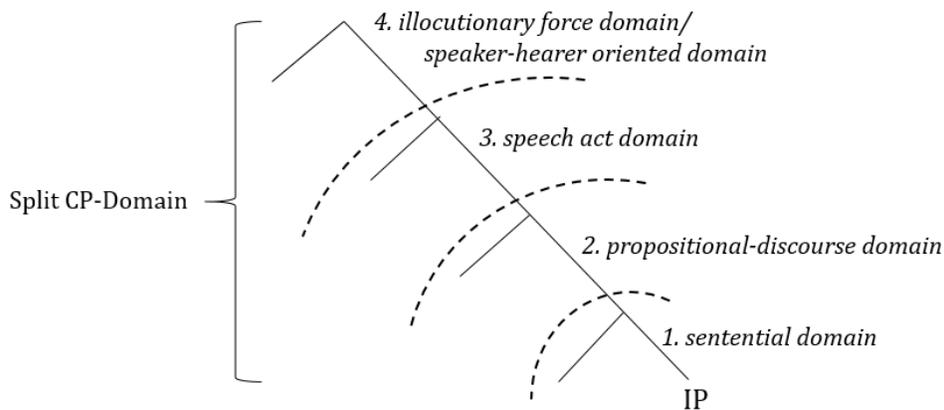


Figure 1. An abstract representation of the hierarchy of the left periphery. (Based on Sybesma & Li, 2007, 52)

- ii. Add-ons: The pragmatic SFPs do not change the propositional truth value of the utterance
 → Instead affects discourse conditions and pragmatic felicity, correlates with speech act (Davis, 2011, p.16; Haegeman, 2014, p.120)
- iii. Pragmatic SFPs interact with Force/select for certain force. Interesting quirk where several highest epistemic/speaker-oriented particles cannot occur in canonical questions (genuinely asked with the expectation of an answer), but **are** allowed in non-canonical questions such as rhetorical questions, question for agreement, questions-to-self, what-the-hell questions etc.)
- (6) a. Wie houdt er niet van taart, **hè?** DUTCH
 who loves DUM not of cake SFP
 'After all, who doesn't like cake? [RQ/*OQ] (Tulling, 2015, 4)
- b. dare-ga sonna mon ku-eru ka **yo** JAPANESE
 who-NOM that.kind.of thing eat-can Q SFP
 'Who can eat that sort of thing?' [RQ/*OQ] (Davis, 2011, 164b)
- c. Aaman heoi-zobin le **ho?** CANTONESE
 Aaman go-ASP where Q SFP
 'Where is Aaman? Do you wonder the same thing?' (Bhadra et al., 2017, 2)
- iv. In general, the majority of sentence final discourse particles are reported to be restricted to the main clause, and not allowed in embedded contexts (Davis, 2011, p.16; Haegeman, 2014, p.123; Law, 2002, p385; Munaro & Poletto, 2003, p.128).
 ○ Though Endo (2007, p.175) notes that sentence-final particles can also marginally appear in the embedded clause of some bridge verbs, especially verbs of saying.

1.2. Finnish Second Position Clitics

- (7) a. Iso sisko-ni-**han** osti koira-n FINNISH
 big sister-1POSS-HAN buy.3SG.PST dog-GEN
 'My big sister bought a dog.' (Palomäki, 2016, 12a, p.103)
- b. Koira-n-**han** iso sisko-ni osti. FINNISH
 dog.GEN-HAN big sister-1POSS buy.3SG.PST
 'It was a DOG that my sister bought.' (Palomäki, 2016, 12b, p.103)
- c. Mitä-**hän**⁴ iso sisko-ni osti? FINNISH
 what-HAN big sister-1POSS buy.3SG.PST
 'What did my big sister buy?' (Palomäki, 2016, 14a, p.105)
- d. Ei-**hän** iso sisko-ni ostanut koira-a. FINNISH
 NEG.3SG-HAN big sister.1POSS buy.PTCP dog.PART
 'My big sister DIDN'T buy a dog.' (Palomäki, 2016, 13a, p.104)

⁴ There is an allomorph *-hän* due to vowel harmony.

- e. Osti-**han** iso sisko-ni koira-n. FINNISH
 buy.3SG.PST big sister-1POSS dog-GEN
 'My big sister DID buy a dog.' (Palomäki, 2016, 13b, p.104)

Finnish enclitic particles → always appear in second position after the first constituent

- Finnish has 6 discourse clitics: *-kin* 'emphasis', *-kaan* 'emphasis' (like *kin* in negative sentences), *-ko* 'Y/N-question', *-pa* 'emphasis', *han* 'speaker-oriented' and *-s*⁵ 'informativity', of which the latter 4 only appears after the first constituent. The clitics can stack-up.
 - o E.g. *Lissa-ko-han* 'Lissa-Q-HAN' or *minä-pä-hän* 'I-emph-HAN'
- The meaning of the particle clitics are vague (Nevis, 1986). Especially *-han* focus of much literature, meaning is diverse and debated. *-han* has been said to function as 'amelioration', 'contradiction', 'new discovery', 'reminder', 'marking new information' and 'relevance marker'.
- Claimed to be **not** a focus marker (Kartunnen, 1975, Palomaki, 2016).
 - o Clitic sometimes alone, and sometimes stacked upon other clitics on the constituent (how do you explain intervening clitics)
 - o Finnish free word order, often preposed constituents. No correlation focus and clitic
 - o Both preposing/focus possible always also possible without clitics.
 - o Cliticized first constituent not necessarily focused/stressed constituent.

- (8) a. Jussi osti UUDEN auton. FINNISH
 John bought new car
- b. Jussi-**han** osti UUDEN auton
 John-HAN bought new car
- c. *Jussi osti UUDEN-**han** auton.
 John bought new-HAN car (Kartunnen, 1975, 6)

Eerie **coincidence**? Shared properties with SFPs:

- i. Ordering restrictions: Finnish clitics combine following a combinatory grid (Väliima-Blum, 1987; Nevis, 1986; Palomäki, 2016):

a. <i>-kin</i>	b. <i>-ko</i>	c. <i>-han</i>
<i>-kaan</i>	<i>-pa</i>	<i>-s</i>

e.g. *-ko-han* but not **han-ko*; *-pa-han* but not **han-pa* etc.
- ii. Nevis (1986): "they [particle clitics] do not interact with the truth-conditions of the sentence in which they appear. Instead, they give some additional meaning, such as that of a conventional implication."
 Specifically on *-han*: *-han* does not affect the truth-conditions of the sentence (Väliima-Blum, 1987; Palomäki, 2016).

⁵ Though Nevis (1986) argued that *-s* is actually not a clitic, because of its limited combinatory potential and 'affixal behavior'.

iii. The speaker-oriented clitic *-han* interacts/selects for the force of the sentence. When used in a question, the interpretation can no longer be that of an ordinary question:

(9). Mitä-**hän** tuolla tehdään? FINNISH
 what-HAN there does-PASS
 'What's being done there, I wonder.' (Palomäki, 2016, 40a)

- *"-han shifts the interpretation towards what the speaker means by his or her question and away from an expectation of an answer to that question."* (p.50)
- Shifting the addressee's attention to a mutual point of reference⁶.

(10). Sataa-ko-**han** ulkona. FINNISH
 rain-Q-HAN outside
 'I wonder if it is raining outside.' (Väliiaa-Blum, 1987, 5b)

- *"HAN may change the illocutionary force, usually associated with the clause type ... so we do not have questions but statements."* (p.472)
- Karttunen (1975) adds to the translation of *-han* in questions: Not really a question.

iv. Essentially a main clause phenomenon, appearance in embedded clauses considerably constrained (Karttunen, 1975; Väliiima-Blum, 1987; Nevis, 1986; Palomäki, 2016):

- Only allowed in verbs of saying

(11). Hän sanoi että siellä-**hän** sataa. FINNISH
 he said that there-HAN rains
 'He said that it is raining out there!' (Väliiima-Blum, 1987, 3b)

- Or semi-factive verbs such as 'notice' and 'discover'

(12). Huomasimme juuri, että siellä-**hän** sataa. FINNISH
 noticed just that there rains
 'We just noticed that it's raining out there!' (Väliiima-Blum, 1987, 3a)

- But not under verbs like 'know', 'believe', 'conceal', 'fear' and 'hesitate to say' (Karttunen, 1975, p.45)

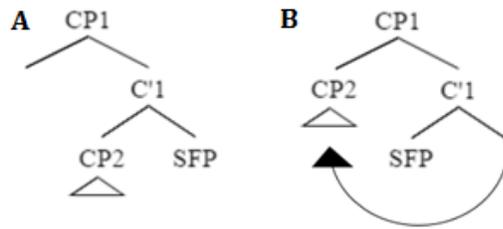
2.0 Proposal: A unified approach

Most⁷ literature on sentence final particles (SFPs) agree that SFPs head their own projection in the CP-domain (i.e. Endo, 2007; Haegeman, 2014; Hill, 2007; Hsieh & Sybesma, 2011; Law, 2002; Munaro & Poletto, 2003; Wiltschko, 2016). Either sentence initial (13b) or final (13a):

⁶ My consultant notes that this question could also be interpreted as a what-the-hell question. What-the-hell questions are a subtype of non-canonical questions that have received special attention in the literature, and are argued to have a deviant underlying structure from regular questions in Mandarin and English (Chou, 2012).

⁷ Though see Law (1991), Chan (2013) and Tang (2015) arguing that SFPs are not heads.

(13). SFP Head-final view SFP Head-initial view (=2))



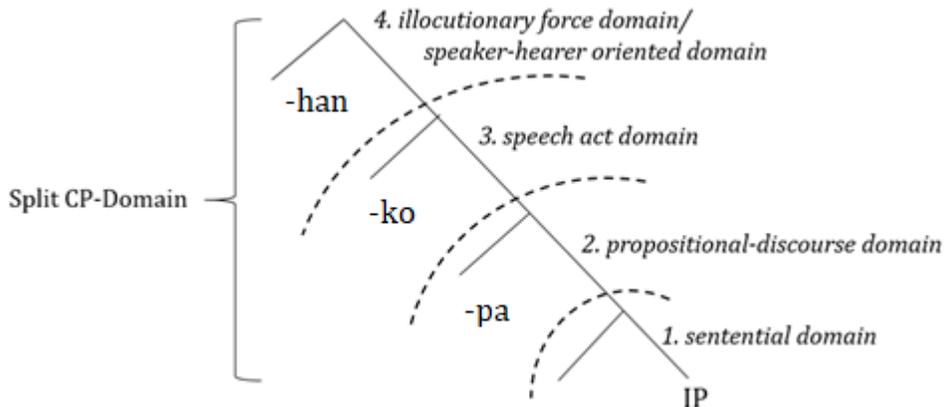
Movement in B argued to be motivated by:

- symmetry breaking
- EPP requirements

Similarly, Palomäki proposed that Finnish discourse clitic *-han* is head of a functional projection in the left-periphery

- Realized in ForceP, attracting some XP to its specifier
- Motivation speculated to be feature related to discourse pragmatics

→ Such approach can be extended to other clitic particles, heading their own projection in LP



e.g.

Figure 2. An abstract representation of the possible⁸ hierarchy of Finnish left periphery.

2.1 Proposal: Finnish discourse enclitics and sentence final discourse particles are elements of the same category, base-generated in the same syntactic position and inducing similar derivations requiring something in its specifier. They only differ in the size of *what* they require: SFP-languages take the whole CP⁹ Finnish second position particles the closest XP.

- **Closest XP:** I assume constituents are preposed for information-structural reasons such as Focus, Topic, Kontrast (Karttunen, 1975; Palomäki, 2016), and we could thus move up to positions in the propositional-discourse domain of CP (Figure 2).

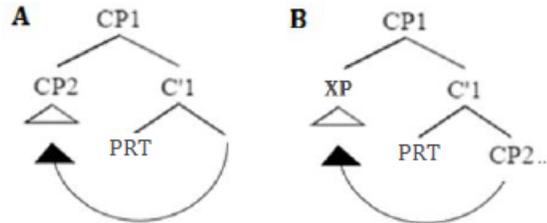
⁸ Solely based on where particles with comparable semantics are placed in other languages (e.g. Sybesma & Li, 2006), needs further investigation.

⁹ Haegeman (2014), Huang (2007), Hsieh & Sybesma (2011), Munaro & Poletto (2003), and Simpson & Wu (2002) vary in what part of the propositional phrase (CP/IP/FinP) they exactly think moves up to the specifier. For the sake of simplicity, I just use CP, but I do not have a clear stance on this matter yet.

Also I assume that in case of (7d) and (7e), the entire VP¹⁰ (possibly with scrambled-out object) and NegP is preposed.

- Supported by fact that verb modified by *-han* is always interpreted as contrastively focused (Palomäki, 2016).

(14). SFP-Language Second-position clitic language



- **Why move?** Something needs to be in the specifier of the phrase headed by the particle. I have no strong opinion about the motivation of this move yet.
 - could be symmetry breaking movement (Moro, 2000)
 - relies on assumption moved CP is chunk (after spell-out phase)
 - would have to say something about why CP is not a chunk in Finnish
 - could be for EPP reasons, specifier wants to be filled
 - need to postulate EPP features that select for different constituent sizes (Koopman, 2014)
- **Why are languages different?**
 - ?

3.0 Support, Predictions and Puzzles

3.1 Support: Same category and position

- Sentence final discourse particles (SFPs) and Finnish second position clitics (SPC) both modify/scope over the entire sentence.
 - They interact with the (illocutionary) force of the sentence (iii)
 - They add information onto the proposition, without modifying the truth value (i)
 - No evidence that SPC modifies XP in any way
 - Not picky about host
 - Shown not to be compatible with Focus/Topic marker
- SFP & SPC show similar syntactic properties
 - Combinatory restrictions with other particles which seem to correlate with proposed cartographic structures of the left periphery.
 - Generally restricted to main clause
 - ➔ Note that more main clause phenomena have exceptions, e.g. embedded V2 in German, so seems a separate issue

¹⁰ On an alternative approach the V moves to the head of something like Contrast, but then we have to assume an additional rule for why the verb appears in front of the particle *-han* (which we still argue to be in the highest layers of split-CP). Palomäki (2016) gave such an account, counting on a phonological inversion rule to take care of the verb-*han* order. Here I do not assume this, but the XP hypothesis has to be looked at in more detail (and find for example evidence for a remnant-VP movement, and scrambling of the object).

3.1 Support: Same derivation

If (14) is on the right track, we might expect languages that allow for both derivations, allowing discourse particles both in second position and final position. Such an analysis is supported by data from Russian, in which the second position discourse particle *že* (also dubbed sentential *že*¹¹) can appear either after the first constituent, or at the end of the sentence as displayed in (15).

- (16). Ona (**že**) uže ubita (**že**). RUSSIAN
it ZE already killed.PTC ZE
'But it is already killed.' [CORRECTION] (McCoy, 2003, 16)

Russian sentential *že*:

- Modifies the entire proposition (McCoy, 2003, p.127)
- When used in *wh*-questions: rhetorical/what-the-hell

- (17). [Father puts away his son's library books and tells him that mother took them back to the library (which she did not do). The boy asks mother if she indeed took them back. She says 'no'. He then says (in the presence of both parents):]

- U kogo **že** mne togda sprosit? RUSSIAN
'Who (ze) (in the world/the hell ...) should I ask then?' (McCoy, 2003, 10)

Prediction: More languages with discourse particles in second or final position will pattern alike with the properties discussed in handout.

3.2 Open Puzzles

- (18). Missä-**hän** maassa me oleme nyt? FINNISH
what-HAN land we are now
'In what land are we now, I wonder?'
*? Missä maassa-**han** me olemme nyt? (Nevis, 1986, 56)
- (19). Vanha mies-**hän**, joka saapui eilen... FINNISH
old man-HAN who arrived yesterday...
'The old man, who arrived yesterday' (Nevis, 1986, 55)

4.0 Discussion

Davis (2011) p. 14: "*The lesson seems to be this: individual particles must be studied in some detail before a general theory of discourse particles" is to be proposed, and any attempt at such a general theory might in fact be misguided.*"

- ➔ No denying that discourse particles are complex creatures, and language-specific properties and nuances.
- ➔ But researching them from a general theory should not be discouraged.

¹¹ Parott (1997) classified *že* into three types (thematic, phrasal and sentential), based on differences in scope, prosody and pragmatic effect.

- Detailed small-scaled literature very specific audience
- Rediscovering the wheel (a lot of similar things are phrased/explained in different terminologies (making direct comparison sometimes difficult)
- Many (unexpected) similarities! Just coincidence?

If we research discourse particles (sentence final, second position, sentence initial?) with certain expectations and hypotheses in mind we can build towards a discourse particle theory that can tell us more about language in general.

- ➔ No doubt we'll face more complications on the way that maybe requires us to alter our hypotheses and expectations.

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