

## An alternative analysis for the repetitive coordinator *to* as postposition

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This paper examines the nature of the repetitive coordinator *to* (RC-*to*) in Japanese, which has been considered, in some studies, as the duplicated form of the morphologically identical element *to* in the directly preceding coordinate phrase [A-*to* B]. Based on Zhang's (2008) claim that cross-linguistically RCs are focus-related elements, Asada (2014) analyzes that RC-*to* also serves as a focus particle, which is similar to *dake* (only). Asada claims that this property makes RC-*to* incompatible with Ga/No-conversion (GNC) as in (1), and the predicate position of predicational copula sentences as in (2), since they denote properties, not entities or individuals as *dake* does.

I argue that RC-*to* is actually postposition against the claim that it is a focus particle. First, I show that the nature of RC-*to* is different from RCs in other languages (Kasai and Takahashi 2001) and it is not focus-related. While quantifiers and focus particles including *dake* show LF intervention effects (Hoji 1985, Tomioka 2009), RC-*to* obviously lacks these effects as in (3). Next, I point out that RC-*to* also can't occur in specificational copula sentences, even though they are compatible with *dake* as in (4). Then, I propose an alternative analysis that RC-*to* is actually comitative postposition *to*, which makes the coordinate phrase PP. The non-occurrence of RC-*to* in the predicate position of copula sentences is then explained from the semantic mismatch between NP and PP linked by copula: RC-*to* can occur in the predicate position only in elliptical contexts such as (5) unlike ordinary copula sentences. The inapplicability of GNC is accounted for given Ochi's (2004) observation that PP is incompatible with GNC in (6).

From these observations, I conclude that RC-*to* is actually comitative postposition *to*, taking coordinated nominal elements as its complement. This is compatible with Fukui and Sakai's (2003) analysis that conjuncts in non-constituent coordination are nominal.

- (1) Taroo *to* Ziroo *to* -ga/\*?-no nonda wain  
Taroo CONJ Ziroo -RC-*to* -NOM/-GEN drank wine  
'the wine that Taroo and Ziroo drank' (Asada 2014:99)
- (2)\*Taroo *to* Ziroo *to* Hanako -wa satuzinhan *to* sono itimi -*to* datta  
Taroo CONJ Ziroo CONJ Hanako-TOP murderer CONJ its clan -RC-*to* COP-past  
'Taro, Ziroo and Hanako were a murderer and its clan.' (Asada 2014:99)
- (3) Ken *to* Hanako -*to*/\*?-dake -ga nani-o yonda -no?  
Ken CONJ Hanako -RC-*to*/-only -NOM what-ACC read-past-Q  
'What did (only) Ken and Hanako read?' (modified from Tomioka 2009:254)
- (4) Sono supiiichi kontesuto-no nyuushosya-wa Taroo *to* Ziroo /\*?-*to*/-dake datta  
the oratorical contest-GEN winners -TOP Taroo CONJ Ziroo-RC-*to*/-only COP-past  
'The winners of the oratorical contest were only Taroo and Ziroo.'
- (5) Kon'ya-no teidan -wa Taroo *to* Hanako *to* da.  
tonight-GEN three-way conversation-TOP Taroo CONJ Hanako -RC-*to* COP  
'(I will have) three-way conversation tonight (together) with Taroo and Hanako.'
- (6) [<sub>PP</sub> Yokohama eki kara] -ga/\*?-no totemo chikai kooen  
Yokohama Station from -NOM/-GEN very close park  
'the park that it is Yokohama Station that is very close from (it).' (Ochi 2004:68)

**Selected References:** [1] Asada, Y. (2014). On the Nature of the Repetitive Coordination *To* in Japanese. *Gengo Kenkyu*, 145. [2] Tomioka, S. (2009). Why questions, presuppositions, and intervention effects. *JEAL*, 18(4).