EVIDENTIAL MARKER IN THE NOMINAL RIGHT PERIPHERY: THE JAPANESE HEARSAY MARKER *TTE*[*]

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1 Introduction

Evidential markers express the means by which the speaker acquired the information she or he is conveying like personal experience, direct evidence, indirect evidence, and hearsay. They represent 'source of information' relevant to evaluating an utterance, which is pragmatic in nature. Aoki (1986) observes that Japanese has overt evidential markers like hearsay *sooda* 'I'm told' and indirect evidence *yooda/rasii* 'seem' as shown in (1):

(1) a. Ame-ga   hutteiru **sooda**
        rain-Nom fall   **Evid(ential)**
        'It is raining (I'm told).'
    b. Ame-ga   huru **yooda/rasii**
        rain-Nom fall   **Evid**
        'It seems that it is going to rain.'

These evidential markers appear in the clausal right periphery. This paper proposes that Japanese also has an overt hearsay evidential marker *tte*, which appears in the nominal right periphery, as exemplified by (2):

(2) a: Enniti-e   ikuto,   okane-o   tukaun desu
        temple-fair-to when-go money-Acc use   Cop(ula)

'When I go to the temple fair, I spend my money.'
    b: Enniti-**tte**   doko desu ka?
           temple-fair-**tte** where Cop Q
           Lit. 'The temple fair, where is *it*?'   (Martin 1975: 940)

I will show that the present analysis accounts for hitherto unnoticed puzzling restrictions on the distribution of *tte*-phrases and gains further support from successive cyclic movement, island constraints, and embedded contexts. I will argue that the distribution of *tte*-phrases is constrained by syntactic principles, which presents further evidence for the view that there are pragmatically relevant features that are subject to the syntactic computation (Cinque 1999; Speas 2004). The existence of an evidential head in the nominal right periphery reinforces the parallel between a clause and a nominal.

    The organization of this paper is as follows. Section 2 investigates previous analyses of *tte*, where it is analyzed as a topic marker. I will present evidence to show that *tte* is not a topic marker. Section 3 shows that there are hitherto unnoticed puzzling restrictions on the distribution of *tte*-phrases. I will argue that *tte* is an overt hearsay evidential marker that appears in the nominal right periphery. It is shown that the present hearsay evidential marker analysis accounts for the distribution of *tte*-phrases in terms of a licensing condition on *tte*-phrases and Match-driven movement. Section 4 presents further evidence for the hearsay evidential marker analysis. Section 5 makes concluding remarks.

2 Previous Analyses: *Tte* as a Topic Marker

Among a variety of uses of *tte* in Japanese, *tte* in (2) has been analyzed as a topic marker (Niwa 1994; Akaso 2007). Since *tte* in (2) can be replaced by the topic phrase *to-wa* 'Comp-Top' or *toyuu-no/*Noun-*wa* 'Comp-Nominalizer/Noun-Top' as shown in (3), it has been analyzed as a colloquial variant of the topic phrase *to-wa* 'Comp-Top' or *toyuu-no/*Noun-*wa* 'Comp-Nominalizer/Noun-Top':

  (3) a: Enniti-e   ikuto,   okane-o   tukaun desu
           temple-fair-to when-go money-Acc use   Cop
           'When I go to the temple fair, I spend my money.
      b: Enniti-**tte/to-wa/toyuu-no-wa**   doko desu ka?
           temple-fair-**tte/C-Top/C-Nominalizer-Top** where Cop Q
           Lit. 'The temple fair, where is *it*?'   (Martin 1975: 940)

    There are, however, differences between *tte* and the topic phrase *to-wa* 'Comp-Top' *or toyuu-no/*Noun-*wa* 'Comp-Nominalizer/Noun-Top', which indicates that *tte* is not a topic marker. First, just like the thematic topic marker *wa*, *to-wa* 'Comp-Top' and *toyuu-no/*Noun-*wa* 'Comp-Nominalizer/Noun-Top' cannot be attached to indeterminate pronouns. *Tte*, on the other hand, can be attached to an indeterminate pronoun. In (4), for example, when *wa* 'Top', *to-wa* 'Comp-Top' or *toyuu-no-wa* 'Comp-Nominalizer/Noun-Top' is attached to the indeterminate pronoun *dare* 'who', the result is deviant. When *tte* is attached to the indeterminate pronoun *dare* 'who', the result is acceptable. This indicates that *tte* is not a topic marker:

(4)   a: John-ga   kooen-de atteita onnano hito-wa dare   na   no ka sitteru?
           John-Nom park-at   met   woman-Top   who Cop N Q   know
           'Do you know who the woman John met at the park is?'
      b: **Dare-tte/*wa/*to-wa/*toyuu-no-wa** Mary-no   hanasidato dare-mo siranai
           who-tte/*Top/*C-Top/C-N-Top   Mary-Gen speech   anyone   not-know
           rasii   yo
           seem Part
           Lit. 'Who, according to Mary, nobody knows *who* she is.'

Second, *to-wa* 'Comp-Top' and *toyuu-no-wa* 'Comp-Nominalizer/Noun-Top' cannot appear more than once within a clause as shown in (5b). It should be noted that (5b) is deviant under the intended interpretation that the two topic phrases both receive a thematic (not contrastive) topic interpretation. A *tte*-phrase, on the other hand, can appear more than once within a clause as shown in (5a). In (5a), the two *tte*-phrases *kodomo-tte* 'children-tte' and *omaturi-tte* 'festival-tte' appear within the same clause. This fact also indicates that *tte* is not a topic marker:

(5)   a.   **Kodomo-tte   omaturi-tte** suki   da   yone
           children-tte   festival-tte   love Cop Part
           Lit. 'Children, festivals, it seems that *they* love *them*.'
      b.   ***Kodomo-wa/to-wa/toyuu-no-wa   omaturi-wa/to-wa/toyuu-no-wa** suki da   yone
           children-Top/C-Topic/C-N-Top   festival-Top/C-Top/C-N-Top   love Cop Part
           Lit. 'Children, festivals, it seems that *they* love *them*.'

3 A Proposal

This section proposes that *tte* is a hearsay evidential marker that is an overt realization of the evidential head in the nominal right periphery. Assuming that *tte* is syntactically valued as [-author], I argue that the distribution of *tte*-phrases can be captured by a licensing condition on *tte*-phrases and Match-driven movement. It is shown that the present hearsay evidential marker analysis accounts for hitherto unnoticed puzzling restrictions on the distribution of *tte*-phrases.

3.1 *Tte* as an Evidential Marker

I argue that *tte* in (3-5) is a hearsay evidential marker in the nominal right periphery. This is based on the insight that *tte* in (3-5) should be connected to the use of *tte* as a hearsay evidential marker in the clausal right periphery (6):

(6)   John-ga   Suzy-to   kekkon suru **tte**
       John-Nom Suzy-with marry   **Evid (hearsay)**
       'John is going to marry Suzy (I'm told).'

Following Cinque (1999), Rooryck (2001), Speas (2004), Speas and Tenny (2003), and Tenny (2006), I assume that there exists an evidential head in the clausal periphery. In Japanese, which is a head-final language, I claim that an evidential head appears in the clausal right periphery as

represented in (7). *Tte* in (6) is an overt realization of the evidential head in the clausal right periphery:

(7)   Evidential Head in the Clausal Right Periphery
       [EvidP [Evid' [Clause ...] *tte* (=Evid)]]

I also claim that we have an option of projecting an evidential head within a nominal structure, which appears in the right periphery of the Japanese nominal structure. *Tte* in (3-5) is an overt realization of the evidential head in the nominal right periphery as represented in (8):

(8)   Evidential Head in the Nominal Right Periphery
       [EvidP [Evid' [Nominal ...] *tte* (=Evid)]]

3.2 Syntactic Feature Composition of *Tte*

As argued by Rooryck (2001) and Speas (2004), although there are many possible pragmatic categories of 'source of information', only its restricted class is syntactically represented in the evidential system of a language, and languages vary as to which 'source of information' features are syntactically represented. I claim that the Japanese evidential system syntactically marks whether 'source of information' involves the speaker (1st person) or not. I assume the binary decomposition of person into [+/- author] and [+/- participant] as advocated by Noyer (1992) and Halle (1997):

(9)   Binary Decomposition of Person into [+/- Author] and [+/- Participant]
       (Noyer 1992; Halle 1997)
       a.   1st person = [+author, +participant]
       b.   2nd person= [-author, +participant]
       c.   3rd person = [-author, -participant]

I claim that the Japanese evidential head is syntactically valued as either [+author] (1st person) or [-author] (non-1st-person). Since the evidential marker *tte* is of the hearsay evidential type, its 'source of information' does not involve the speaker. Under this feature system, *tte* is syntactically valued as [-author]:

(10)   *Tte*, a hearsay evidential marker, is syntactically valued as [-author].

3.3 Licensing Condition on *Tte*-Phrases and Match-Driven Movement

An evidential head in the clausal right periphery has the whole clause as its scope. It is then reasonable to assume that when a *tte*-phrase appears, its 'source of information' feature, *i.e.* [-author], should match the syntactic 'source of information' feature value of a clausal evidential head in order to be properly interpreted at LF. Hence, I propose the licensing condition on *tte*-phrases (11), where the definition of Match is defined as in (12):
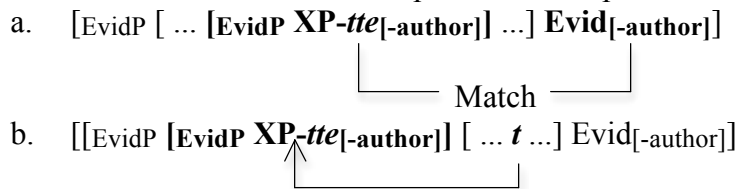
(11) Licensing Condition on *Tte*-phrases
     A *tte*-phrase is licensed when its syntactic 'source of information' feature value, *i.e.* [-author], matches the syntactic 'source of information' feature value of a clausal evidential head.

(12) Match
     Match is a relation holding of two items sharing a feature value.

When matching takes place between a clausal evidential head and a *tte*-phrase with respect to their [-author] features, the *tte*-phrase moves to the Spec of the clausal evidential head as represented in (13):

(13) Match-driven Movement of *Tte*-phrase to the Spec of Evid
     a.   [$_{EvidP}$ [... **[$_{EvidP}$ XP-*tte*$_{[-author]}$]** ...] **Evid$_{[-author]}$**]

                              |——— Match ———|

     b.   [[$_{EvidP}$ **[$_{EvidP}$ XP-*tte*$_{[-author]}$]** [... *t* ...] Evid$_{[-author]}$]]

I adopt the view of Kitahara (2002) and Boeckx (2003) that Move need not be triggered by Agree; 'pure Match' (Match without Agree) is enough for triggering movement. They argue that there are two types of movement; Agree-driven movement and Match-driven movement. I argue that *tte*-phrase movement is an instance of Match-driven movement. In (14), for example, the *tte*-phrase *reizooko-ni atta suika-tte* 'the water melons in the fridge-*tte*' must appear in the clause-initial position before the topic phrase, which I assume is adjoined to TP (Saito 1985), since it undergoes Match-driven movement to the Spec of the clausal evidential head:

(14) a.   **Reizooko-ni atta   suika-tte**   kimi-wa moo   tabeta   no?
          fridge-in   be.Past watermelon-tte you-Top already have.eaten Q
          Lit. 'The watermelons in the fridge, have you already eaten *them*?'
     b. ??Kimi-wa **reizooko-ni atta   suika-tte**   moo   tabeta   no?
          you-Top **fridge-in   be.Past watermelon-tte** already have.eaten Q

3.4 Restrictions on the Distribution of *Tte*-Phrases

The hearsay evidential marker analysis accounts for hitherto unnoticed puzzling restrictions on the distribution of *tte*-phrases. Sentences with *tte*-phrases must be interrogatives as shown in (15a) or generics as shown in (15b), or they must contain an individual-level predicate as shown in (15c). When a *tte*-phrase appears in a declarative non-generic sentence with a stage-level predicate, however, the result is deviant as shown in (16). It should be noted that (16) becomes acceptable when it is interpreted as an interrogative, *i.e.* a yes/no question, with rising intonation:

(15) a. **Reizooko-ni atta   suika-tte**   moo   tabeta   no?
      fridge-in   be.Past watermelon-tte already have.eaten Q
      Lit. 'The watermelons in the fridge, have you already eaten *them*?
                                                                                    (Akaso 2007: 122)
   b. **John-tte** kaigi-no   maeni itumo tabako-o   suu
      John-tte meeting-Gen before always cigarette-Acc smoke
      Lit. 'John, *he* always smokes before a meeting.'
   c. **John-tte** atama-ga   ii
      John-tte brain-Nom good
      Lit. 'John, *he* is clever.'

(16)?***John-tte** kinoo   ringo-o   tabeta
      John-tte yesterday apples-Acc ate
      Lit. 'John, *he* ate apples yesterday.'

Under the present analysis, the derivations of (15a-c) proceed as in (17-19):

(17) Derivation of (15a)
   a. [EvidP [[EvidP **Reizooko-ni atta   suika-tte[-author]**] moo   tabeta   no]
                       fridge-in   be-Past water melon-tte   already have-eaten Q
      Evid[-author]]
      Lit. 'The water melons in the fridge, have you already eaten *them*?'
   b. [EvidP **[EvidP Reizooko-ni atta suika-tte[-author]**] [[*t* moo tabeta no] Evid[-author]]]

(18) Derivation of (15b)
   a. [EvidP [[EvidP **John-tte[-author]**] kaigi-no   maeni itumo tabako-o suu]
                       John-tte   meeting-Gen before always smoke
      Evid[-author]]
      Lit. 'John, *he* always smokes before a meeting.'
   b. [EvidP **[EvidP John-tte[-author]**] [[*t* itumo kaigi-no maeni tabako-o suu]

      Evid[-author]]]
(19) Derivation of (15c)
   a. [EvidP [[EvidP **John-tte[-author]**] atama-ga   ii] **Evid[-author]**]
                       John-tte   brain-Nom good
      Lit. 'John, *he* is clever.'
   b. [EvidP **[EvidP John-tte[-author]**] [[*t* atama-ga ii] Evid[-author]]]

Let us first consider (15b). Generic sentences like (15b) express generally shared cultural knowledge. Since a speaker conveys common knowledge, the 'source of information' does not involve the speaker. It is then reasonable to claim that the clausal evidential head of a generic sentence is valued as [-author] as represented in (17a). Let us next consider (15c). Chierchia (1995) argues that individual-level predicates are inherently generics, since they express

properties of individuals that are permanent. If we adopt Chierchia's view, it then follows that the clausal evidential head in (15c) is also valued as [-author] as represented in (18a). Finally, in interrogatives like (15a), it is the hearer (2nd person) who is the 'source of information' relevant to evaluating an utterance, as argued by Speas and Tenny (2003). The 'source of information' does not involve the speaker; the clausal evidential head in (15a) is valued as [-author] as represented in (19a). In (17-19a), the clausal evidential head and *tte*-phrase match in their syntactic 'source of information' feature value [-author]. This satisfies the licensing condition on *tte*-phrase (11). Because of this matching, the *tte*-phrase moves to the Spec of the clausal evidential head by Match-driven movement as represented in (17-19b). Hence, we can derive (15a-c).

In declarative non-generic sentences with stage-level predicates like (16), however, the 'source of information' is the speaker; the clausal evidential head is valued as [+author] as represented in (20):

(20) Derivation of (16)
[EvidP [[EvidP **John-tte[-author]**] kinoo   ringo-o   tabeta] **Evid[+author]**]
              John-tte   yesterday apples-Acc ate
     Lit. 'John, *he* ate apples yesterday.'

(20) violates the licensing condition on *tte*-phrases (11); (16) is deviant. Hence, the hearsay evidential analysis can account for the puzzling contrast between (15) and (16).

It should be noted that if we add a hearsay evidential marker such as *sooda*/*tte* or an indirect evidential marker such as *rasii* to (16) as shown in (21a-c), the clausal evidential head is valued as [-author]. The clausal evidential head and *tte*-phrase match in their syntactic 'source of information' feature value [-author]; this satisfies the licensing condition on *tte*-phrases (11). The *tte*-phrase moves to the Spec of the clausal evidential head by Match-driven movement. Hence, we can correctly predict that (21a-c) are acceptable:

(21) a. **John-tte** (Mary-no   hanasidato) kinoo   ringo-o   tabeta **sooda**
         John-tte (Mary-Gen speech)   yesterday apple-Acc ate   **Evid (hearsay)**
         Lit. 'John, (according to Mary,) *he* ate apples yesterday (I'm told).
     b. **John-tte** (Mary-no   hanasidato) kinoo   ringo-o   tabetanda **tte**
         John-tte (Mary-Gen speech)   yesterday apple-Acc ate   **Evid (hearsay)**
     c. **John-tte** kinoo   ringo-o   tabeta **rasii**
         John-tte yesterday apple-Acc ate   **Evid (indirect evidence)**
         Lit. 'John, *he* ate apples yesterday, it seems.'

4 Further Evidence

The previous section has first shown that *tte* is a hearsay evidential marker and syntactically valued as [-author]. I have then proposed that a *tte*-phrase is licensed by a clausal evidential head with [-author] and then undergoes Match-driven movement to the Spec of the clausal evidential head. This section presents further evidence for the present hearsay evidential marker analysis of *tte*, especially for the claim that *tte*-phrases undergo Match-driven movement to the Spec of a clausal evidential head.

4.1 Successive Cyclic Movement

First, there is evidence to show that *tte*-phrases undergo successive cyclic movement through intermediate Spec of a clausal evidential head. All the clauses that the *tte*-phrase has passed must have a clausal evidential head whose 'source of information' feature is valued as [-author]. For example, as a response to (22), while (23a) is acceptable, (23b, c) are not:

(22) Sengetu   Puuketto-ni ittan da
      last month Phuket-to   went Cop
      'I went to Phuket last month.'

(23) a.   [EvidP **Puuketto-tte** [John-ga   [EvidP ***t'*** [***t*** totemo kirei   da to]]
                    Phuket-tte   John-Nom   very   beautiful be C
            itumo   hanasiteiru]]
            always say
            Lit. 'Phuket, John always says that *it* is very beautiful.'
      b.?? [EvidP **Puuketto-tte** [John-ga [EvidP ***t'*** [***t*** totemo kirei   da to]]
                    Phuket-tte   John-Nom   very   beautiful be C
            kinoo   Mary-ni   hanasita]]
            yesterday Mary-Dat said
            Lit. 'Phuket, John said to Mary yesterday that *it* is very beautiful.'
      c.?? [EvidP **Puuketto-tte** [watasi-ga [EvidP ***t'*** [***t*** totemo kirei   da to]]
                    Phuket-tte   I-Nom   very   beautiful be C
            itumo   hanasiteiru]]
            always say
            Lit. 'Phuket, I always say that *it* is very beautiful.'

In (23a), since the matrix clause is generic, its clausal evidential head is valued as [-author]. Rooryck (2001) argues that the person feature in the embedded clausal evidential head is anaphoric and therefore takes the matrix subject as its 'source of information'. The embedded clausal evidential head takes the matrix subject *John* as its 'source of information'; its 'source of information' does not involve the speaker. The embedded clausal evidential head is also valued as [-author]. Hence, (23a) is acceptable. In (23b), however, the matrix clause is a declarative with a stage-level predicate; its 'source of information' involves the speaker. The matrix clausal evidential head is valued as [+author]. Hence, (23b) is deviant. In (23c), the embedded evidential head takes the matrix subject *watasi* 'I', *i.e.* the speaker, as its 'source of information'; it is valued as [+author]. Hence, (23c) is deviant.

   Although it is not clear how to integrate the notion of phase into the cartography of syntactic structure, I present a way of accommodating the successive cyclic movement effects in (23) under the phase theory. Let us consider the so-called "CP domain." The cartographic view claims that C dissolves into Force, Topic, Focus, and Finite. Evidential head has also been assumed to belong to the CP domain. A question arises as to which one of these heads functions as a phase head. I adopt the insight of the relativized phase system suggested by Bošković (2002) and Chomsky (2004), claiming that within a CP domain, Force functions as a phase head for

force-related operations, Topic functions as a phase head for topic-related operations, and so on. Under the relativized phase system, it is reasonable to claim that Evidential head functions as a phase head for evidentiality-related operations. Then, the derivation of (23a) proceeds as represented in (24):

(24) a.   Matching and Licensing in the Embedded Clause
[EvidP [**Puuketto-tte[-author]** totemo kirei   da to] **Evid[-author]**]]
        Phuket-tte   very   beautiful be C

   b.   Match-driven Movement to the Spec of the Embedded Evid
[EvidP **Puuketto-tte[-author]** [[**Puuketto-tte[-author]** totemo kirei   da to]
        Phuket-tte   **Phuket-tte**   very   beautiful be C
Evid[-author]]]

   c.   Transfer
[EvidP Puuketto-tte[-author] [[$\mathbb{Puuketto\text{-}tte}$[-author] $\mathbb{totemo\ kirei}$ $\mathbb{da\ to}$]
        Phuket-tte   Phuket-tte   very   beautiful be C
Evid[-author]]]

   d.   Matching in the Matrix clause
[EvidP [John-ga [EvidP **Puuketto-tte[-author]** [[$\mathbb{Puuketto\text{-}tte}$[-author]
        John-Nom   **Phuket-tte**   Phuket-tte
$\mathbb{totemo\ kirei}$ $\mathbb{da\ to}$] Evid[-author]]] itumo   hanasiteiru] **Evid[-author]**]
very   beautiful be C   always   say

   e.   Match-driven Movement to the Spec of the Matrix Evid
[EvidP **Puuketto-tte** [[John-ga [EvidP **Puuketto-tte[-author]** [$\mathbb{Puuketto\text{-}tte}$[-author]
        Phuket-tte   John-Nom   **Phuket-tte**   Phuket-tte
$\mathbb{totemo\ kirei}$ $\mathbb{da\ to}$] Evid[-author]]] itumo   hanasiteiru] Evid[-author]]]
very   beautiful be C   always   say

In (24a), matching takes place between the [-author] value of the *tte*-phrase *puuketto-tte* 'phuket-tte' and that of the embedded clausal evidential head. This satisfies the licensing condition on *tte*-phrases (11). The *tte*-phrase *puuketto-tte* 'phuket-tte' moves to the Spec of the embedded clausal evidential head by Match-driven movement as represented in (24b). The complement of the embedded clausal evidential head, which is assumed to be a phase head, undergoes Transfer as shown in (24c). It is worth noting that matching between the *tte*-phrase *puuketto-tte* 'phuket-tte' and the embedded clausal evidential head must take place at stage (24a); otherwise the *tte*-phrase within the transferred domain would not be licensed and crash at LF. We then come to stage (24d), where the matrix clausal evidential head is introduced into the derivation. If we assume that Matching applies freely, Matching may take place between the [-author] value of the *tte*-phrase *puuketto-tte* 'phuket-tte' and that of the matrix clausal evidential head. It should be noted that since the *tte*-phrase has already been licensed within the embedded clause, Matching is not required to take place here. In other words, matching is optional at this stage. In (24d), we take the option of applying Match. The *tte*-phrase *puuketto-tte* 'phuket-tte' then undergoes Match-driven movement to the Spec of the matrix clausal evidential head. Hence, we can derive (23a).

Let us next consider (23b). In (23b), matching cannot take place between the *tte*-phrase *puuketto-tte* 'phuket-tte', which has [-author] value, and the matrix clausal evidential head, which has [+author] value. There is no way of moving the *tte*-phrase *puuketto-tte* 'phuket-tte' to

the Spec of the matrix clausal evidential head in terms of Match-driven movement as shown in
(25); (23b) is deviant:

(25) No Match-driven Movement to the Spec of the Matrix Evid
      [EvidP **Puuketto-tte** [[John-ga [EvidP **Puuketto-tte[-author]** [[Puuketto-tte[-author]
             Phuket-tte   John-Nom   **Phuket-tte**   Phuket-tte
      totemo kirei   da to] Evid[-author]]] kinoo   Mary-ni   hanasita] Evid[+author]]]
      very   beautiful be C   yesterday Mary-Dat said

In (23c), the embedded clausal evidential head is valued as [+author]. This does not satisfy the
licensing condition on *tte*-phrases (11); the *tte*-phrase *puuketto-tte* 'phuket-tte' is not licensed in
the embedded clause. When the complement of the embedded clausal evidential head is
transferred, the derivation crashes at LF as represented in (26); (23c) is deviant:

(33) No matching or licensing in the embedded Clause
      [EvidP [Puuketto-tte[-author] totemo kirei   da to] Evid[+ author]]
             Phuket-tte   very   beautiful be C

Hence, we can account for the contrast between (23a), on the one hand, and (23b, c), on the other,
in terms of the notion of phase.

4.2 Island Constraints

Second, *tte*-phrases are subject to the island constraint. In (27), the *tte*-phrase *sono supai-tte* 'that
spy-tte' is extracted out of the complex NP. In (28) the *tte* phrase *John-tte* 'John-tte' is extracted
out of the adjunct clause. Both (27) and (28) are deviant, which shows that the *tte*-phrase
undergoes movement:

(27)?***Sono supai-tte** keisatu-ga [Complex NP itumo *t* renraku-o   totteiru nakama]-o
        that spy-tte   police-Nom   always   contact-Acc get   accomplice-Acc
        sagasiteiru rasii
        look.for seem
        Lit. 'That spy, the police are looking for the accomplice who always gets in touch with
        him, it seems.'

(28)?***John-tte** Suzy-ga [Adjunct *t* otokorasiku nai node]   tigau   hito-to   kekkonsita
        John-tte Suzy-Nom   manly   not because different person-with married
        rasii
        seem
        Lit. 'John, Suzy married a different person because *he* is not manly, it seems.'

4.3 Embedded Contexts

Third, Miyagawa (2012) argues that the Japanese politeness verbal affix *-masu* only occurs when there is a speech act phrase (saP). The distribution of *-masu* in an embedded context can be accounted for by his claim that the nonfactive complementizer *to* occurs with saP whereas the factive complementizer *koto*/*no* does not, and that the complements of Hooper and Thompson's (1973) Class B and E verbs lack saP regardless of whether the complementizer is *koto/no* or *to*. The distribution of *tte*-phrases in an embedded context (29, 30) is the same as that of *-masu*. This straightforwardly follows if we assume that saP and EvidP, being 'periphery pragmatic projections', occur together in clauses:

(29) a.　Mary-wa [**John-tte** atama-ga　ii　to] itta　　　　　　　　　(Class A)
　　　　　Mary-Top **John-tte** brain-Nom good C said
　　　　　Lit. 'Mary said that John, *he* is clever.
　　b. * Mary-wa [**John-tte** atama-ga　ii　koto]-o　hookokusita (Class A)
　　　　　Mary-Top **John-tte** brain-Nom good fact-Acc reported
　　　　　Lit. 'Mary reported the fact that John, *he* is clever.

(30)?*Mary-wa [**John-tte** atama-ga　ii　to] sinziteiru/satotta　　　(Class B and Class E)
　　　　Mary-Top **John-tte** brain-Nom good C believe/realized
　　　　Lit. 'Mary believes/realized that John, *he* is clever.'

5 Conclusion

This paper has argued that *tte*, a hearsay evidential marker, is an overt realization of the evidential head in the nominal right periphery. It was shown that the hearsay evidential marker analysis accounts for the puzzling restrictions on the distribution of *tte*-phrases and gains further support from successive cyclic movement, island constraints, and embedded contexts. I have shown that the distribution of *tte*-phrases is constrained by syntactic principles, which presents further evidence for the view that there are pragmatically relevant features that are subject to the syntactic computation. The existence of an evidential head in the nominal right periphery reinforces the parallel between a clause and a nominal.

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