

## What Does Clause-final Finger Pointing Refer to in JSL?

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In this paper, we deal with finger pointing (hereafter, PT) that optionally appears in clause-final positions in Japanese Sign Language (hereafter, JSL), and examine which elements of the clause it can refer to. The data mainly discussed in this paper indicate that the clause-final PT in JSL can refer to the subject in the clause-initial position, regardless of whether it is topicalized or not, and also to a topicalized argument other than the subject that appears in the clause-initial position. These basically confirm Hara & Kurosaka's (2013) (H&K) observations.

As previous researches have reported (Torigoe 1991, Ichida 2005, Matsuoka 2015, Oka and Akahori 2011 (O&A), etc.), the clause-final PT in JSL can refer to the subject of the clause, as shown in (1) below.

- (1) PT<sub>1</sub> PT<sub>3</sub> SUKI PT<sub>1</sub>  
PT<sub>1</sub> PT<sub>3</sub> LIKE PT<sub>1</sub>  
'I like him.'

The clause-final PT referring to the subject is found also in other sign languages. In American Sign Language, for example, Padden (1983) calls it 'Subject Pronoun Copy.' Matsuoka (2015) calls JSL clause-final PT referring to the subject '*Bunmatsu Koppii* [Clause-final Copy].' Interestingly, O&A claim that it can also refer to the theme argument of a transitive verb that appears in the canonical object position in JSL, based on the example in (2) below.

- (2) (transcript of the video data corresponding to O&A 2011:73 (4), <https://www.youtube.com/embed/lZm1yS2mLRg?rel=0&showinfo=0>)

\_\_\_\_\_ TOPIC  
OTOKO ONNA SUKI PT<sub>3</sub>(ONNA)  
MAN WOMAN LIKE PT<sub>3</sub>(WOMAN)  
'She is liked by him.' (translated from O&A's Japanese translation)

In this example, the experiencer subject of the transitive verb in the clause-initial position, *OTOKO* 'man,' is accompanied with the NMM for topicalization in JSL, which is typically described as a head nod, raised eyebrow, eyes opened wide, and a brief pause after the topic. O&A assume that the example in (2) is a passive sentence, as the English translation indicates.

H&K, on the other hand, deny the possibility that the clause-final PT refers to the

object in its canonical position in a clause where no element is topicalized. The example in (3) below shows the point.

- (3) \*ANI ANE MATSU PT<sub>(ANE)</sub>  
'ELDER BROTHER' 'ELDER SISTER' WAIT PT<sub>(ANE)</sub>  
'My elder brother is waiting for my elder sister.'

H&K point out that the clause-final PT in JSL can refer to the object of the clause if it is topicalized and appears in the clause-initial position, as shown in (4) below. The clause-final PT referring to topics is found also in other sign languages, such as Sign Language of the Netherlands (Crasborn et al. 2009).

- (4) \_\_\_\_<sub>TOPIC</sub> (translated and slightly modified from H&K (2013: (5c))  
HON PT<sub>1</sub> TANAKA AGETA PT<sub>3(HON)</sub>  
BOOK PT<sub>1</sub> TANAKA GAVE PT<sub>3(BOOK)</sub>  
'That book, I gave to Tanaka.'

H&K also reports that the theme object and the goal object of a ditransitive verb in their canonical positions cannot be referred to by the clause-final PT even in a clause with a topic.

- (5) \_\_\_\_<sub>TOPIC</sub> (translated and slightly modified from H&K (2013: (5b))  
\*HON PT<sub>1</sub> TANAKA AGETA PT<sub>3(TANAKA)</sub>  
BOOK PT<sub>1</sub> TANAKA GAVE PT<sub>3(TANAKA)</sub>  
'That book, I gave to Tanaka.'

- (6) \_\_\_\_\_<sub>TOPIC</sub> (translated and slightly modified from H&K (2013: (4c))  
\*TANAKA PT<sub>1</sub> HON AGETA PT<sub>3(HON)</sub>  
TANAKA PT<sub>1</sub> BOOK GAVE PT<sub>3(BOOK)</sub>  
'Tanaka, I gave that book.'

In this paper, we will look at more relevant data, and examine which element the clause-final PT in JSL is actually allowed to refer to in a clause where some argument of the clause is topicalized. Furthermore, we will touch upon a question as to whether an example in (2) is regarded as passive, which O&A originally assume. In this regard, we will test a clause where both a covert agentive argument and a topicalized theme argument appear with respect to whether the clause-final PT can refer to the implicit agent, following Yusuke Imanishi's (p.c.) suggestion on the process of passivation found in spoken languages based on Bruening (2013).

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