On the nouniness of direct quotation complements

Adam Gapczyński, Asuka Matsumoto, Jan Wiślicki

Abstract

In this paper we discuss data from direct quotation in Japanese to show two things. First, despite puzzling effects which are typical for nominals, there are strong arguments supporting the claim that direct quotation is not inherently nominal. Second, its potential to function as a nominal is regulated by properties of matrix verbs, which in turn are reflected by the implicational verb's hierarchy recently developed by Wurmbrand & Lohninger (2019) and the related works. The crucial argument comes from the relation between direct quotation complements and content noun arguments, which depends on the position of the matrix verb at hand within the whole hierarchy.

Keywords

Direct quotation, clausal complementation, reported speech, content arguments, nominalisation, Japanese

1 Introduction

The ongoing discussion on the nominal character of clausal complements has been focused almost exclusively on indirect reports, with much attention being paid to phenomena suggesting that they have more nominal properties than previously thought (Moulton 2009 *et seq.*). However, the quotational counterpart of such complements in the form of direct quotation arguments has been omitted in this discussion. This is all the more striking, bearing in mind that, when compared to indirect reports, quotation in English has much more properties suggesting a nominal character. To illustrate, they have no overt complementizer determining their syntactic category as CPs and allow modification in subject position, contrary to *that*-clauses.

(1) a. Peter said [? "This one is good".]
b. Peter said [CP that this one was good.]

(2) a. His short "I'm innocent" shocked everyone.
b. *His short that he was innocent shocked everyone.
c. That he was innocent shocked everyone.

In this paper we scrutinise data from Japanese, which provides at least three important distinctions that are missing in English. First, it clearly marks the syntactic category of direct quotation as CP or NP. Second, it provides restrictions on typically nominal properties of quotation such as modification or quantification. Third, it encodes in a more fine-grained way the relation between direct quotation and content NP arguments, which plays the crucial role in the discussion to follow.

The paper is organised as follows. In Section 2, we discuss various syntactic positions in which quotative arguments can appear in Japanese. Then we propose a formal definition of direct quotation, discussing why is it problematic in the context of the data presented previously, as well as what are its immediate consequences. Next, in Section 3, we discuss data showing when direct quotation as defined in Section 2 can function as a nominal. In particular, we discuss effects such as modification and quantification, which are typical for NPs but blocked for CPs, as well as the connection between nominal direct quotation and classes of matrix verbs. To strengthen our claims, we took most of examples from the BCCWJ corpus of contemporary written Japanese. Finally, in Section 4, we show that restrictions concerning nominal direct quotation and imposed by matrix verbs are subject to generalisation. Crucially, we argue that the possibility of direct quotation to become a true nominal is regulated by the implicational verbs' hierarchy, recently developed in Wurmbrand & Lohninger (2019) and the related works. Section 5 summarises the discussion.

The main contribution of the paper is the claim that data from direct quotation in Japanese do not confirm its inherently nominal character. Rather, its potential to function as a nominal for the sake of effects like modification or quantification follows from properties of matrix verbs. These, in turn, depend on a more general hierarchy of such verbs, which combines their semantic properties and types of clausal complements they take as arguments.

2 Direct quotation as a clausal complement

Leaving aside the so-called pure quotation (Maier 2014b), illustrated in (3), there is a plenty of properties suggesting that direct quotation as in (4) also somehow gets nominalised in the course of syntactic derivation.

(3) a. “Dogs” is a noun.
b. Eigo-no “say”-to Nihongo-no “iu”-ga
English-GEN “say”-and Japanese-GEN “iu”-NOM
onaji imi na-no-wa atarimae da.
same meaning COP-D^0-TOP obvious copula
‘It is obvious that English “say” and Japanese “iu” have the same meaning.’

(4) Peter said, “Cicero is smart”.

In the case of (3), this intuition can be easily confirmed, e.g. by [SG] NUMBER agreement between quotation and *to be* in (3a) despite the plural quoting word or CASE assignment (nominative) in (3b). While neither of these tests applies to (4), there are other peculiar properties of direct quotation that could be quickly explained, had it been assumed to involve some sort of (covert) nominalisation. First, as any other type of quotation, (4) is not compositional. In particular, quotation violates the substitutional version of compositionality by blocking substitution of one word, *Cicero*, with a coreferential one, e.g. *Tully* (Pagin & Westerståhl 2010a,b). Second, direct quotation blocks numerous morphosyntactic relations between expressions appearing within and outside quotes. One of these can be seen in (4), where the sequence-of-tenses dependency between the TENSE feature of matrix verb and embedded verb does not arise. In order to demonstrate it from a different angle, take the following questions appearing in indirect and direct discourse.

(5) a. Peter asked *John was coming↑/ whether John was coming.
b. Peter asked, "John is coming↑?"

While *ask* in indirect reports selects the (syntactically overt) interrogative *wh* feature, direct speech imposes less strict requirements, allowing just the rising intonation marking question (↑). Such effects might be naturally solved, had it been proved that direct quotation involves covert nominalisation which turns it into opaque phrases semantically, as in (4), morphologically, also as in (4), and syntactically, as in (5).

In what follows we use data from Japanese to show that such an automatic and generalised way of seeing direct quotation as nominalised is neither justified, nor completely disallowed. Rather, it appears under certain conditions imposed by structures in which direct quotation appears and is regulated by the characteristics of matrix verbs. First, in subsection 2.2, we use data coming mainly from Japanese to show a variety of morphosyntactic configurations where direct quotation appears. These show that (i) such quotations can, but do not always have to, be nominal and (ii) the problem of defining direct quotation as distinct from pure quotation is far from trivial and an intricate matter. Based on these data, in subsection 2.2 we offer a definition of direct quotation which also captures selected types of its nominalised variants.

2.1 Varieties of clausal direct quotation

Though widely used in the literature, direct quotation has not, to our knowledge, been defined in a rigorous yet flexible way. Cappelen (2019) identifies it with a direct object, Cappelen & Lepore (2007) with an expression mentioning words the quoted person had uttered. This is perhaps sufficient for simple examples

like (4). It filters out, as expected, remarkably different examples, as those given in (6).

(6) a. “Dogs” is a noun.
b. He crossed out “Cicero is smart”.

In both cases quotational expressions, exemplifying the so-called pure quotation, represent linguistic entities (here a word and a sentence), but not results of speech events, encoded either overtly or covertly. However, more complex examples turn out to be more problematic.

First of all, direct quotation cannot be easily defined in terms of syntactic position. While (4) might be considered a direct object (though, as we show below, it is far from clear), its Japanese counterpart is a CP. It provides no proof of nominalisation. Tellingly, it has no accusative case marking and thus cannot be treated as a direct object:

(7) Tarō-wa “Hanako-ga kasikoi”-to itta.
Tarō-TOP “Hanako-NOM smart”-C^0 itta.
‘Tarō said “Hanako is smart”.’

While this might suggest that direct quotation is a CP, with complementizer being overt in Japanese and covert in English, this option also turns out to be ruled out. First of all, direct quotation can appear in an adjoined position, as in (8a) and at the same time remain a result of speech event. Japanese provides an especially clear question-test for both of these properties, that is the adjoined position and the presence of speech event encoded covertly. In general, Japanese provides two ways of asking questions targeting quotation. One, *nan-to* or “what-C^0”, where the subordinate clause is treated as an argument CP. And another, *nan-to itte* or “what C^0 saying”, with the overt “say” (*it-*) predicate and the ending *-te* responsible for providing manner and approximating the PP *by saying*. In such cases the subordinate clause is treated as an adjunct. As shown in (8b), this is the only available option for a question targeting quotation in (8a).

(8) a. Tarō-wa “Hanako-ga kasikoi”-to (itte) sansei sita.
Tarō-TOP “Hanako- NOM smart”-C^0 (saying) agreed.
‘Tarō agreed (saying) “Hanako is smart”.’
b. Tarō-wa *nan-to/ nan-to itte sansei.sita-no.
Tarō-TOP *what-C^0/ what-C^0 saying agreed-QUEST.
‘What did Tarō say to [show that] he agreed.’

This piece of data might suggest that it is not the syntactic position (CP argument), but the projection (CP) that specifies direct quotation. But this also cannot be the case. As a matter of fact, Japanese allows direct quotation

arguments with the overt accusative case marking of quotation. To illustrate, take a look at the following corpus example:

(9) Kare-wa dare-ni-demo “Ohayō”-o iu.
He-TOP who-DAT-even “Good morning”-ACC say.
‘He says “Hello” to anyone.’ [BCCWJ]

While clearly less frequent than C^0-constructions and semantically not neutral (we get back to this problem in Section 3), such examples are widely attested in the corpus. Accordingly, since case marking unequivocally proves the nominal character of the expression at hand, it follows that direct quotation can be realized as an NP.

To close this part of discussion, we point out yet another problem, namely at-issueness of expressions introducing speech events. In examples discussed above, the *say* predicate could be overt or covert, but in every case it is clearly at-issue. To see this, note that all the sentences in (4), (7), (8a) and (9) can be denied as *that's not true, X didn't say that* (*X* standing for the agent of each speech event), delivering one of the most prototypical tests for at-issueness (Koev 2018). This contrasts with mixed quotation, where, as shown by Maier (2014a) and illustrated in (10), the predicate introducing speech event is not at-issue, blocking the *that's not true* test and passing the *hey wait a minute* test, which is typically used to diagnose not at-issueness.

(10) A: We should just carry on “irregardless”.
B: Hey wait a minute! Who here ever said *irregardless*? [Maier 2014a]
B’: #That's not true, nobody said *irregardless.*

In the case of direct quotation the presence of expressions introducing quotation is flexible. Both covert and overt *say* predicates can be at-issue, as shown above, or not at-issue, as in (11). This can be seen especially clearly by applying a question test targeting only the at-issue content part (Koev 2018).

(11) A: What did he say?
B: #“Cicero is smart”, he said.

But what seems to be even more interesting is that the same type of flexibility can be observed for quotatives. As shown by AnderBois (2019), the Mayan quotative *ki(j)*, is not a *say* predicate, so it cannot be used without quotation, but nevertheless belongs to the not at-issue content part.

(12) a. *Kij-o’ob (ti')
QUOT-B3PL DAT3SG
Intended: They say it (to him)
b. K’abéet bakáan in ts’o’oksik in xook

NECES MIR A1 finish A1 study
–kij teen
QUOT DAT.1SG
'"I need to finish studying"-she told me.'

This clearly contrasts with the Japanese quotative complementizer *-to*, which is not a predicate either, but standardly appears at-issue, as in (7)-(8).

So, to bring this part to conclusion, a closer look into languages providing a wide range of structures interacting with direct quotation shows its interesting flexibility. It can appear in various syntactic positions, i.e. as a CP argument or adjunct, as in (7)-(8). It can appear as various projections, i.e. as a CP or NP illustrated in (7) and (9), respectively. Finally, contrary to mixed quotation, both *say* predicates and quotatives introducing direct quotation can be at-issue as well as not at-issue. This kind of flexibility, while very interesting from the formal point of view, is very challenging when it comes to offering a precise definition of direct quotation. We move to this task in the next subsection.

2.2 Defining direct quotation

If neither a syntactic position, nor projection, nor at-issueness provide sufficiently strict criteria upon which the notion of direct quotation (as well as its more or less similar variants, like *direct discourse* or *direct speech*) can be defined, the question arises what set of properties can distinguish this type of quotation from the clearly different pure quotation. We argue that even a quick look at the data presented above shows two properties that seem to be crucial. These are:

(i) the presence of speech event in the formal structure of a verb introducing direct quotation;
(ii) entailment that direct quotation is the result of quoting a speech event.

Since neither of the two is self-evident, let us now have a closer look at each of them.

First, the obligatory presence of a speech event in the formal structure is what seems to distinguish pure and direct quotation. Recall that the very fact that quotation be nominal does not, as shown in (9), determine pure quotation. And conversely, the direct complement position of quotation does guarantee the presence of speech event, as shown in (6b). A speech event can be introduced covertly, but there are tests for its presence. One of them was shown in (8), where the *wh-* in questions targeting quotation must be followed by the manner adjunct picking out a speech event. Applying the test to the analogous example

in Japanese as in (13) results in an odd sentence, thus distinguishing it from direct quotation:

(13) a. Tarō-wa *nani-o itte/ *nan-to kesita-no.
Tarō-TOP *what-ACC saying/ *what-C^0 crossed out-QUEST
*‘What did Tarō say to cross out.’

There are also more delicate cases, where neither a speech event is carried by the verb, nor is it adjoined to the whole sentence; rather, it is hidden at some deeper level of formal representation. To see this, consider the following corpus example.

(14) Sono “Tōyō”-o “Ajia”-to oki-kae[ta].
This “The East”-ACC “Asia”-C^0 put-chang[ed]
‘[I] replac[ed] this “The East” with “Asia”.’ [BCCWJ]

Clearly, though not introduced straightforwardly, there is some speech event encoded in the whole structure. This can be tested by the fact that continuing (12) by negating the presence of speech event as in (15) is definitely odd.

(15) #…-ga nani-mo kakanakatta.
...-but anything did not write
‘…, but I did not write anything.’

An additional confirmation comes from the observation that (14) has a structurally identical and truth-conditionally equivalent counterpart as in (16), also taken from the corpus.

(16) “O-umare”-o “Syussin-ti” “Furusato”-to
“HON-birth”-ACC “Origin-place” “hometown”-C^0
ii-kae[ta].
say-chang[ed]
‘[I] paraphrased “birthplace” by “place of origin”, “hometown”.’
[BCCWJ]

The crucial difference is that the compound verb[1] in (16) is just like the one in (14) except the fact that it provides the verb of saying *ii-* “say” instead of *oki-* “put”, clearly introduces a speech event. Importantly, the distribution of case remains exactly the same.

1 Verbs in both (14) and (16) exemplify the so-called “lexical compound verbs” i.e. V-V compounds where both verbs are lexical and they form a verbal compound solely on the morphological level, contrary to “syntactic compound verbs” the head verb of which selects a syntactic complement clause in relation with the other verb of the compound. For some overviews, see Kageyama 2016: 277-281 or more extensively Kageyama 1993, 2013: 3-46.

In order not to get off the main track of this paper, we restrain ourselves from going into formal details of this effect. For the time being, we just suggest that a simple solution can be easily formulated by narrowing down the number of possible events denoted by *replace* in (14), e.g. by using dependent types (Bekki & Mineshima 2017, Kinoshita, Mineshima & Bekki 2018). Thanks to this, we can capture the fact that the event is that of SAYing where SAY is treated as a grammaticalised verb denoting the generalized speech action (Grimshaw 2015, Major 2021). Then the simplified denotation of (14) would be as follows:

(17) $\lambda e_{s:\text{SAY}(e)}.[replace(e)$ & $\text{AGENT}(e)=i_{salient}$ & $\text{PATIENT}(e)=$*"The East"* & $Cont(e)=$*"Asia"*$]$

Patient stands for the metalinguistic object being replaced; *Cont*(*e*) is a function from events to objects with a content (Elliott 2020, Maier & Bary 2021). For indirect discourse it provides sets of worlds, for direct discourse—metalinguistic objects of the particular form that are carriers of certain content. The event *e* introduced by the verb is specified as that of speech at the presuppositional level, through a dependent type. This, however, is not at odds with the data; as shown in (11)-(13), both *say* predicates as well as quotatives can be encoded as not at-issue.

Interestingly, the example in (14) and, by parity of reasoning, in (16) show yet another difficulty. Note that while the quotational expression being the value of *Cont*(*e*) (*"Asia"/ "the place of origin", "hometown"*) is undoubtedly the result of speech event, the patient argument (*"The East"/ "the birthplace"*) is not. It is a metalinguistic object undergoing replacement and thus it is not a report. Such a metalinguistic object is a typical example of pure quotation, but the problem here is how to distinguish it from direct speech.

A related problem has been raised for various types of quotation in English. To illustrate, take (18) and consider the status of quotation.

(18) Peter said "Hello" in five East-Asian languages.

On the one hand, it is clear that direct quotation in (18) does not stand for what was literally said by Peter. On the other hand, it is no less clear that it somehow indicates five expressions Peter originally uttered, each coming from a different language. This general effect has driven an iconic approach to quotation according to which quotation demonstrates the quoted expression (Davidson 2015, Maier 2018). Thus, the quotational expression *"Hello"* in (18) does not literally copy the quoted expressions but demonstrates them as a kind of iconic sign. The price of such a flexible account is that some margin of tolerance for non-perfect resemblance (or even its apparent lack) between the quoted and the quoting expressions must be tacitly assumed.

This approach sheds much new light on the problem discussed in (14) and (16). Note that it is the value of *Cont*(*e*) (*"Asia"/ "the place of origin"*), and not the patient (*"The East"/ "the birthplace"*), that is said to quote the original expression. Put differently, it is only the value of *Cont*(*e*) that demonstrates the quoted expression, the patient standing for what has been replaced. And this is covered by our second property of direct quotation namely entailment that direct quotation is the result of quoting a speech event.

So, having clarified these two points, i.e. the fact that direct quotation involves a speech event and that it demonstrates the quoted expression, we are now in a position to propose our definition of direct quotation capturing all the problematic effects discussed above.

(19) **Direct quotation.** A quotational expression *"α"* is a direct quotation if and only if the following is true:
- (i) ‖"α"‖, the interpretation of *"α"*, is a value of *Cont*(*x*) involved by the matrix verb, and
- (ii) the matrix verb provides a speech event *e*, and
- (iii) the string ⌜α⌝ representing *"α"* is an element of the equivalence class {⌜α⌝ a *S*: in the context of *e*, ⌜α⌝ demonstrates the quoted expression *Q*}

This approach to direct quotation, to much extent coherent with the one proposed by Pietroski (2000) for clausal complementation, is motivated by the data presented above. The definition is not defined in terms of projection, syntactic position or at-issueness, shown in subsection 2.1 to be largely irrelevant in that limiting direct quotation to direct complements or argument CPs would be too restrictive. On the other hand, it does not overgenerate. One example was shown in (14)-(16), for which the above definition correctly distinguishes pure and direct quotation. More interestingly, it captures a more challenging structure observed for Japanese. To see this, consider another corpus example in (20).

(20)

Saikin	"iu"-o		"yū"-to	kaku
Recently	"iu"-ACC		"yū"-C^0	write
hito-o	yoku	mikakemasu.		
people-ACC	often	see		

'Recently, I often see people writing "iu" as "yū".' [BCCWJ]

Such a structure, widely attested in the corpus for various verbs, poses a challenge for defining direct quotation. The first quotation *"iu"* receives accusative, but it is not direct quotation. Moreover, it is not the case that it is simply a patient replaced by something else, as in (14) or (16). Rather, it is a theme metalinguistic object expressed by a different metalinguistic object, i.e. an expression demonstrated by the form *"yū"*. This is especially interesting,

bearing in mind the fact that accusative quotational arguments can, as shown in (9), stand for direct quotation. Still, this bunch of effects is captured by (19), thanks to points (i) and (iii).

On the other hand, the definition covers instances of quotation the direct quotation status of which might be considered problematic. These are all those cases where quotation lands at a non-canonical (i.e. direct complement or CP) position, as illustrated by the passive cleft construction in (21) and (22), both taken from the corpus.

(21) Seikyō shinbun-ni saisan “heiwa”-ga kakarete iru.
Seikyō newspaper-LOC repeatedly “peace”-nom is written
‘In the newspaper Seikyō [the word] “peace” is written repeatedly.’ [BCCWJ]

(22) Misuta Tyen-ga itta-no-wa, “unten dekibā”
Mister Tyen-NOM said-N^0-TOP “drive if I could”
datta.
COPULA.PAST
‘What Mister Chen said was “If I just could drive!”.’ [BCCWJ]

Since, to our knowledge, direct quotation has never been defined in a precise and flexible way, it remains unclear whether such examples are just non-canonical direct quotations or simply represent a different category. Here we treat them as direct quotation, assuming that they share the crucial properties provided in the definition in (19) and that the non-canonical position of quotation is created in the course of derivation from the canonical one. An additional argument comes from the fact that the case marked quotation in (21) and the unmarked one in (22) can by replaced by truth-conditionally equivalent CPs with an overt C^0. This can be shown in (23a) for passives and in (23b) for clefts.[2]

(23) a. Dōro hyōjiban-ni-wa “Maria sutorīto”-to kakarete iru.
Street plate-LOC-TOP “Maria street”-C^0 is written.
‘“Maria street” is written on the street plate.’ [BCCWJ]
b. Misutā Tyen-ga itta-no-wa “unten dekibā”-to
Mister Tyen-NOM said-N^0-TOP “drive if I could”-C^0
datta
COPULA.PAST

2 As for (23a), this structure is much more widely attested in the corpus than the one with the nominative case particle. As for (23b), the structure XP + *particle* + *copula* is much less attested than the plain XP + *copula* and not accepted by all speakers (Hiraiwa & Ishihara 2012, Saito 2003). Three independently asked native speakers of Japanese took examples with the *quotation* + C^0 + *copula* acceptable yet worse than *quotation* + *copula*. Interestingly, they took their nominal counterparts, i.e. *quotation* + *accusative* + *copula*, as definitely worse or even ungrammatical.

'What Mister Chen said was "If I just could drive!".'

This strengthens our point that there is no grammatically explainable and sufficiently generalised reason for excluding such examples from the category of direct speech.

2.3 Interim conclusion No. 1

In this section we have checked some preliminary data showing some challenges for a principled yet flexible definition of direct quotation. Then we proposed and defended a definition formulated in terms of speech events, content of reports and demonstrability. It has been shown that nominal direct quotation should, for both empirical and theoretical reasons, be covered by such a definition. In the next section we will have a closer look at how the nominal character of direct quotation can be tested and found.

3 Direct quotation as a nominal phrase

In this section we take a look at conditions under which direct quotations emerge as nominals. First, we check some crucial properties of nominal direct quotation and differences between them and the corresponding CPs (see Pafel 2022 for an interesting comparison with argument clauses). Next, we take a closer look at some restrictions imposed by matrix verbs under which nominal direct quotations are possible.

3.1 Properties of nominal direct quotation

Japanese can be regarded as a language suitable for us to test the nominal character of quotation for two reasons. First, it unequivocally marks nominals by means of overt case particles. Second, it very rarely leaves direct quotation unmarked with respect to its categorial feature (Kishimoto 2006; Miyagawa, Wu, Koizumi 2019), introducing in general direct quotation by means of C^0, *-to*, unless a case particle is attached instead. Thanks to this, NP and CP quotations are distinguished morphologically, which in turn provides transparent data for comparing the two projections.

The very criterion of identifying nominal quotations is rather trivial; such an identification can be done by checking case particles or the possibility of replacing discourse-related particles with those marking case. In general, there are ten case particles in Japanese (Nakamura 2018),[3] five of which, i.e.

3 These are *ga* nominative, *o* accusative, *ni* dative, *no* genitive, *e* allative, *de* instrumental, *yori* ablative, *kara* ablative, *made* terminative, *to* comitative.

nominative, accusative, dative, genitive and instrumental, can be attested as appearing with direct quotation observing the definition given in (19). But case-marked direct quotation expressions are definitely non-canonical in two ways. First, the structure with C^0 is overwhelmingly better attested in corpora. Second, unless restricted by other grammatical conditions, all case particles attached to direct quotation can be replaced by the same C^0, which gives rise to truth-conditionally equivalent constructions, as can be checked by rewriting examples (9) and (14), commuting *-o* in (9) and *-to* in (14) by other case markers.

(24) Kare-wa dare-ni-demo “Ohayō”-o/ -to iu.
He-TOP who-DAT-even “Good morning”-ACC/ -C^0 say.
‘He says “Hello” to anyone.’

(25) Sono “Tōyō”-o “Ajia”-to/ -ni/ -de oki-kaeta.
This “The East”-ACC “Asia”-C^0/ -DAT / -INSTR put-chang[ed]
‘[I] replac[ed] this “The East” with “Asia”.’

Nevertheless, this does not mean that nominal direct quotation is simply limited to the frequential margin of direct quotation in Japanese. Rather, the nominal character is introduced to enable structures and the related effects blocked for CPs. In what follows we quickly discuss the most typical and widely attested ones.

First of all, only nominal direct quotations allow modification. Though much more restricted than in Indo-European languages, such structures can be attested in the corpus:

(26) [O-kyakusama-o reji-made go-annai-suru toki-no]
HON-client-ACC checkout-TERM HON-guidance-do when-GEN
“kochira desu”-o/ *-to eigo-de iu toki [...]
“Here it is”-ACC/ *-C^0 English-INSTR say when
‘When you say in English “Kochira desu” [used] when you guide a client to the checkout [...]’ [BCCWJ]

Some readers might raise a question whether quotation in accusative as used here exemplifies direct quotation as defined in (19). Indeed, the result of speech act is not the quoted Japanese phrase but its English counterpart. In this regard it might be treated as a theme, on a par with the accusative argument in (20). However, it is worth pointing out that had the modifying structure, as is shown in (26) by brackets, been missing, the accusative marker *-o* could be replaced by C^0. This shows that it can be interpreted at the position standardly occupied by CP. The only grammatical reason for blocking C^0 is the presence of modification. Interestingly, a reverse structure where direct quotation is a nominal modifier in genitive is also attested in the corpus:

(27) “Keizihikokunin-o suisen suru-na”-no iken-ga

“the accused-ACC recommend-NEG.IMP”-GEN opinion-NOM
de-tari […] shite
appear-and do
‘There appeared an opinion “Don't recommend the accused!”.’
[BCCWJ]

The existence of such examples is interesting due to the fact that Japanese not only allows but prefers in such cases structures introduced via C^0 with genitive, i.e. *-to-no iken* (“...”-C^0-GEN *opinion*). This shows that direct quotation can become nominal is in two ways. First, it can be treated straightforwardly as a nominal when it has a case marker attached directly to it, as shown in (26). Second, it can be treated as a nominalised CP, when a case marker is attached not to bare quotation as in (27), but to its optional CP construction, *-to-no*, with the genitive case marking assigned in the course of derivation.

Secondly, although strictly restricted as well, only nominal direct quotation allows counting and quantification. As for the former, quotation must be combined with a numeral through the genitive case as in (28a), contrary to standard structures exemplified in (29b, c):

(28) a. Tarō-wa “inu”-to “neko”-no ni-go-o/ *-to
Tarō-TOP “dog”-CONJ “cat”-GEN two-CLASS-ACC/ *-C^0
itta.
said
‘Tarō said two words: “dog” and “cat”.’

b.*Tarō-wa nigo-no “inu”-to “neko”-o /-to itta.
Tarō-TOP two-CLASS-GEN “dog”-CONJ “cat”-ACC /-C^0 said

(29) a.*Tarō-wa kami-no ni-mai-o katta.
Tarō-TOP paper-GEN two-CLASS-ACC bought

b. Tarō-wa ni-mai-no kami-o katta.
Tarō-TOP two-CLASS-GEN paper-ACC bought
‘Tarō bought two sheets of paper.’

c. Tarō-wa kami-o ni-mai katta.
Tarō-TOP paper-ACC two-CLASS bought
‘Tarō bought two sheets of paper.’

So, the standard structure of counted nouns require NPs such as Num.-CLASS-*no* N, marked in accusative (see 29b), whereas in the case of direct quotation, the head of NP cannot be the quoted element (see 28b) in neither accusative nor quotative, but its classifier, as is shown in (28a), which is absolutely impossible in general (see 29a). In addition, (29c) is another option to express counted nouns by way of Num.-CLASS with no case marker, which is placed after the noun and functions adverbially.

In the light of these two types of constructions for counting, the latter is attested in the corpus for quantifiers, even though only marginally.

(30) a. Takusan-no "Arigatō"-o/*-to iu koto.
a lot- GEN "Thank you"-ACC/*-C^0 say fact
'To say a lot of "Thank you"'
b. […] "Arigatō"-o/to takusan iu koto [...].
[…] "Thank you"-ACC/-C^0 a lot-GEN say fact [...]
'To say "Thank you" a lot.' [BCCWJ]

What is additionally worth pointing out in the context of (28a) is that here C^0 is blocked for yet another reason, i.e. the presence of conjunction *-to*. This conjunction, homophonous to the complementizer and the comitative case marker, is restricted to nominals. Therefore, even had the numeral phrase been missing in (28a), the presence of C^0 would be blocked. Instead, the two coordinated direct quotation expressions would require the accusative case marking, i.e. ...*"inu"-to "neko"-o itta* ("dog"-CONJ "cat"-ACC said), and it becomes more natural by adding the expression such as *huransugo de* (in French) :

(28') a. Tarō-wa huransugo-de "inu"-to "neko"-o itta.
Tarō-TOP French-INSTR "dog"-CONJ "cat"-ACC said
'Tarō said "dog" and "cat" in French.'

More interestingly, in the same context, if one quotes both expressions including the conjunction, in other words, *"inu-to neko"* as a whole, the case marking by *-o* makes the sentence less natural and it is ambiguous in relation with (28' a), but it becomes more natural with *-to* :

(31) Tarō-wa huransugo-de "inu-to neko"?-o/ -to itta.
Tarō-TOP French-INST "dog-CONJ cat"-ACC/-C^0 said
'Tarō said "dog and cat" in French.'

This goes in hand with the observations made in Section 2.

The third piece of data comes from projection. Though Japanese direct quotation allows demonstratives, quotation itself must be a nominal.

(32) Konna "hai"-o/ *-to ieru hito-ga iru.
Such "yes"-ACC/ *-C^0 can say people-NOM exist
'There are people who can say such a "yes".'

Thus, for the sake of constructing a DP, with a demonstrative serving as D^0, quotation must be a nominal; without the demonstrative, C^0 would be perfectly acceptable as in (31).

Once it becomes clear that, for a variety of reasons as mentioned above, direct quotation must be able to take part at the final stage of computation as a nominal, the question that arises is what are the syntactic positions occupied by such nominals. In particular, it should be clarified whether nominal direct quotations occupy the same structural positions as CPs or rather they are inserted in different positions, the one occupied by CPs remaining empty. We argue that the data presented above support two following claims.

(i) The structural position of direct quotation expressions does not depend on projection or case marking as such.
(ii) More often than not, quotative expressions are not specified with respect to the syntactic category at the level of the operation of enquotation; rather, labelling is introduced independently, in accordance with the requirement imposed by the sentence structure regulated by the matrix verb.

Let us discuss these points one-by-one. First, while quotational expressions in accusative can appear together with CP-quotations, the former do not fall under the definition in (19). Rather, as discussed in the context of (20), they represent a theme, not a final product (content) of speech event. Confronting this with examples like (24) shows that accusative quotative expressions can appear in two positions, i.e. one representing the theme, another the content of speech event. This can be proved by an interesting kind of ambiguity in sentences involving an adverbial modification, as in (33).

(33) “Morau”-o teinei-ni iu [...]
“Receive”-ACC politely say [...]
‘To say “morau” politely [...]’ [BCCWJ]

The adverbial modifier together with quotation in accusative give rise to two possible readings resembling the effect of intersective and privative interpretation of adjectives (Partee 2010, Del Pinal 2015). First, the adverb can be interpreted just as a modifier of speech event in which the word *morau* is uttered, e.g. stating that the way of saying this word is polite. Then quotation stands for the content of speech event and the adverb yields an effect comparable to the intersective reading observed for adjectives. Second, the adverb can be interpreted as modifying the content of speech event giving rise to the privative reading. Then, (33) states that the content of speech event is not the word *morau* itself but a different lexical entry such as *itadaku* being a polite and

deferential counterpart of *morau* in the verbal honorific system of Japanese.[4] In this reading, quotation occupies the position of theme argument.

Contrary to accusative, which allows two positions of quotative expressions giving rise to different readings, quotations with dative or instrumental do not involve that kind of ambiguity. Not only they cannot appear together with CP-quotations, but also can be replaced by the corresponding CPs, giving rise to truth-conditionally equivalent sentences. This clearly suggests that they occupy the same structural position, and the proof comes from modification. Contrary to accusatives, they do not give rise to the kind of ambiguity observed in (33). To see this, consider (34).

(34) "Ageru"-o teinei-ni "morau"-ni/ -de/ -to okikaeta.
"Give"-ACC politely "receive"-DAT/-INSTR / -C^0 replaced.
'I politely replaced "ageru" by "morau".'

The sentence in (34) cannot be interpreted as meaning that the subject replaced the words *ageru* by the polite counterpart of *morau,* i.e. *itadaku*. The only possible reading is the intersective one, according to which the replacement of *ageru* by *morau* is judged polite.

These two factors, i.e. the fact that case markers can be interchangeable with C^0 and that different syntactic positions can be checked as giving rise to different interpretations, validate the claim made in point (i). Let us now move to point (ii) stating that the operation of enquotation as such does not determine the syntactic category of direct quotation. First of all, it is worth pointing out that structures with double marking containing both C^0 and CASE are almost absent in Japanese, the only exception observed for genitive, as discussed in the context of (27). Moreover, unless required by the surrounding structure, e.g. the modification in (26) and (27), nominal and CP direct quotations are truth-conditionally equivalent. This supports the view that the operation of enquotation as such does not involve labelling, the marker of quotation occupying an adjoined rather than projecting position.

4 Two comments are in order at this point. First, note that this relation cannot be covered by demonstration as introduced to the definition in (19) after Davidson (2015). These are two different lexical entries whose quotational names cannot demonstrate each other, contrary to the corresponding translations of lexemes taken from two different languages, e.g. *dog* and its Japanese translation *inu*. Second, the fact that the accusative quotative argument as in (20) and (33) does not demonstrate the quoted expression shows that contrary to what can be directly inferred from English, the relation of representing the quoted expression by the quotative argument is partially regulated by grammar, in particular the distribution of theta roles. Tellingly, the very semantics based on demonstration does not, independently of the syntactic position of quotation, secure the fact that the argument at hand represents the quoted expression.

3.2 The possibility of nominal direct quotation

In the previous subsection, it has been shown that, apart from pure quotation occupying the theme position as in (20), direct quotation can be a nominal while still occupying the position and interpretation of report, i.e. the content of speech event. However, we mostly limited the discussion to two verbs, *iu* "say" and *okikaeru* "replace", without saying a word about the relation between such verbs and the nouniness of direct quotation. In this section, we show that properties of matrix verbs are of a crucial significance for the possibility of the emergence of nominal direct quotation. We address this issue by discussing two problems that can be illustrated by two sets of seemingly analogous structures.

First, contrary to typically reportative verbs like *iu* "say" or *kaku* "write", for verbs introducing reports together with an additional content case-marked quotation cannot be interpreted as direct quotation. To see this, consider the following examples:

(35) a. Tarō-wa "Arigatō"-to/ -o itta/ kaita.
Tarō-TOP "Thank you"- C^0/ -ACC said/ wrote
'Tarō said/ wrote "Thank you".'

b. Tarō-wa "Kore-ga ii"-to setumei sita/ mitometa.
Tarō-TOP "This-nom fine"- C^0 explained/ admitted
'Tarō explained/ admitted "This one is fine".'

c. Tarō-wa "Kondo yasumimasu"-to iu no-o
Tarō-TOP "This time be absent"-C^0 SAY D^0-acc
setumei sita/ mitometa
explained/ accepted
'Tarō explained/ accepted [the words] "This time I will be absent".'

A short comment is in order at this point. In (35c) the accusative case marker is not attached directly to quotation, but to the nominalising structure with C^0, the grammaticalised verb SAY and D^0. This structure deserves a separate discussion and we are not going into it here. It is sufficient to say that it is added here due to stylistic, rather than purely grammatical reasons and affect affects neither its truth-conditional content part, nor the crucial problem of present discussion, i.e. the relation between quotation in the accusative and the matrix verb.

In (35a) both CP and accusative quotation pick out the content of speech event introduced by the matrix verb. By contrast, (35b, c) show that the projection is more important than in the case of not strictly reportative verbs. In such cases the source of quotation is not the same as the agent of speech event; quotation as such becomes its theme, automatically blocking the direct quotation reading.

The second problem can be observed for complex verb clusters. Just as in the case of (35b, c), such clusters involve different readings of CP and case-marked quotative expressions. And whether or not such quotative expressions

meet the definition in (19) depends on the matrix verb. To see this, consider the examples in (36).

(36) a. Tarō-wa "Arigatō"-to kaki-kaeta/ kaki-hajimeta.
Tarō-TOP "Thank you"-C^0 write-changed/ write-began
i. 'Having said "Thank you", Tarō rewrite/ began writing [his text, his speech, etc.].'
ii. 'Tarō replaced [some word] by "Thank you"/ began writing [the word] "Thank you" .'
b. Tarō-wa "Arigatō"-o kaki-kaeta/ kaki-hajimeta.
Tarō-TOP "Thank you"-ACC write-changed/ write-began
'Tarō replaced [the word] "Thank you"/ began writing [the word] "Thank you".'

Here CP-quotations are ambiguous. In the first reading, Tarō rewrote his text/ began his text/ speech after saying *Thank you*. Importantly, neither the form of the rewritten text nor the text/ speech he began contains the word "Thank you", but the quotation functions as an adjunct. It modifies the matrix event (that of rewriting a text/ beginning the action of writing) by adding an independent speech event providing words he uttered when performing the action expressed by the matrix.

In the second reading, quotation is not an independent speech event modifying the matrix event. Here, Tarō rewrote a part of his original text, so that its current form is *Thank you*/ began the action of writing the word *Thank you*. By contrast, such an ambiguity is not observed in the case of nominal quotation, which allows only the second reading. For *kaki-hajimeru* "write-begin", the interpretation remains the same, i.e. Tarō began writing the word *Thank* you, which is thus interpreted as direct quotation with the matrix verb *begin* picking out the initial stage of speech event. However, in the case of *kaki-kaeru* "write-change", Tarō replaced the word *Thank you* by some other phrase; thus the accusative quotational argument is a theme of the speech event, not a direct quotative expression itself.

So, these observations show that, apart from the fact that some structures require a nominal direct quotation, the possibility of the emergence of this effect is not uniform across various types of matrix verbs. Rather, there are certain properties of such verbs that regulate the grammatical category of direct quotation. In what follows, we provide formal explanations of the effects observed in (35)-(36), which in turn paves the way to a generalisation discussed in Section 4.

Let us start from (35), i.e. the fact that quotation in accusative can be interpreted as direct quotation only for verbs like *say* or *write*; in other cases (*explain*, *admit*/*accept*) it necessarily becomes a theme of the matrix verb event. This observation is all the more interesting, bearing in mind that both types of verbs involve a seemingly identical argument structure, illustrated in (37).

(37) a. Tarō-wa "Kore-ga ii"-to iken-o itta.
Tarō-TOP "This-NOM fine"-C^0 opinion-ACC said
'Tarō said an opinion "This is fine".'
b. Tarō-wa "Kore-ga ii"-to iken-o
Tarō-TOP "This- NOM fine"-C^0 opinion-ACC
setumei.shita.
explained
'Tarō explained an opinion, [by saying] "This is fine".'

Notwithstanding the purely syntactic resemblance, there is a deeper difference between the two examples. First, in (37a) the agent of the matrix verb event is the speaker (source) of both CP-quotation and theme argument. Moreover, it follows that the theme has the form provided by quotation. Put more precisely, direct quotation modifies the theme argument by specifying its form; thus it follows from (37a) that the content of the opinion stated by Tarō was what he means by uttering *This one is fine*. This is exactly the converse of what can be observed in (37b). Here Tarō, the agent of speech event, by saying *This one is fine* explains an opinion given in another event, by someone else or by Tarō himself. Accordingly, quotation does not provide the form of opinion (i.e. there is no relation of modification), but the form of explanation of this opinion. Put more generally, while in the first case the relation of modification between direct quotation and a theme argument is necessarily involved, in the second case it is necessarily blocked.

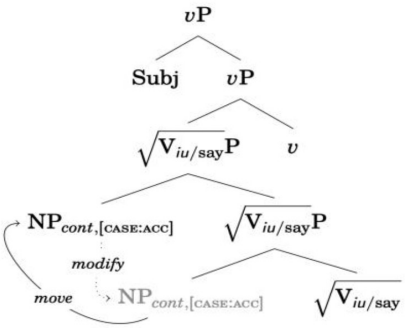
The relation of modification between a CP and a content NP is not, of course, new in the literature. Shown first as significant for the formal semantic approach to CPs by Kratzer (2006, 2016), this relation has been formalised and developed, among others, by Moulton (2015) and Elliott (2020) who demonstrate that (at least some) CPs can be conceived of as individuals with content (see also Bondarenko 2021 for some relevant comparisons of various accounts). In this general approach, it is assumed that if x is a variable ranging over individuals with a content, then the set of situations picked out by the CP is an element of the image of *Content*(x), cf. Elliott (2020). In this paper, we slightly modify this approach for two reasons, First, it deals primarily with cases where the relation at hand is manifested overtly, as in (38), but it hardly captures cases like the one discussed in (36a) with two interpretations.

(38) Mary believes the rumour/ story/... that Peter is innocent.

Second, it does not take into consideration cases as in (36b) where this relation in the plain CP + NP + V structure is blocked. Accordingly, we let this condition be stated more straightforwardly, i.e. as *Content*(x) = [[CP]] for *say*-type of verbs and *Content*(x) ≠ [[CP]] for *explain*-type of verbs, where x is a variable ranging over individuals with content, introduced by the content NP.

In order not to go too far afield, let us now move back to the problem discussed in the context of (35), i.e. why nominal quotation can be interpreted as direct quotation in the case of *say*-type of matrix verbs, but not other. To explain this, we first assume that in structures exemplified in (35), the accusative argument moves from the position of accusative content NP to that of CP. This is motivated by three independent factors. First, it trivially follows from the argument structure and the general pattern of case assignment, i.e. the fact that the matrix verbs assigns accusative to the NP standardly occupying the position of content argument. Second, NP landing at the position standardly occupied by CP explains why it receives the interpretation of the content, and not theme, of speech event. Third, if direct quotation assigned accusative is the result of movement from the lower position, the structure cannot generate a double accusative structure, as expected. Note that had the accusative direct quotation been generated independently from the content argument, a structure with double accusative could hardly be blocked. So, bearing in mind this assumption as well as the relation of modification involved by *say*-type of matrix verbs, the lowest part of derivation looks as follows (irrelevant details omitted).

(39)



In this structure quotation becomes a complement of V as a nominal. Assuming that it gets nominalised at the level of word-formation (cf. Wiślicki 2021), we let it be a one place function (Pafel 2011). Thus, the NP-quotation in (35a) is interpreted as follows:

(40) [[“Arigatō”]] = λx_u.[*“Arigatō”*(x)=1iff x has the form represented by the form *Arigatō*]

The variable x is of type u (*utterance*; cf. Potts 2007), for which it can be safely assumed that it is an individual with a content. Next, the NP moves from [compl, VP] to [spec, VP]. The result is a special kind of modification. In accordance with the condition discussed in the context of (38), the interpretation of the higher copy of NP modifies the lower copy. This means that its

interpretation is the value of *Content*(*x*). And this condition is obviously met. The quotative expression *"Arigatō"* is necessarily a content of *x*, where *x* has the form represented by the form *Arigatō;* hence the effect in (35a).

Let us now see how this works in the case of *explain*-type verbs as in (35c). The syntactic structure shown in (37) is the same. Thus, the part of derivation proposed for *iu* "say" remains the same, with the proviso that the expression occupying [spec, VP] does not enter the relation of modification with the content argument, i.e. [[NP]] ≠ *Content*(*x*). This condition, however, cannot be met because the quotative expression *"Arigatō"* is a content of *x*, if *x* has the form represented by the form *Arigatō*. Thus had NP moved as in (39), it would violate the empirically supported condition concerning modification. Accordingly, the NP cannot move and must be interpreted at the initial position of the theme of speech event. This, in turn, explains the effect in (35c). Given this, the first problem, i.e. the possibility of nominal direct quotation observed only for strictly reportative verbs, can be explained and accounted for in a principled way in terms of modification and movement from the complement to the specifier position.

Let us now move to the second problem, illustrated in (36). Here the structure is more complex due to the matrix verb manipulating the embedded verb event. While various verbs involve different semantic relations, in the case of Japanese there are two general classes, both illustrated in (36). They are defined in terms of their syntactic behaviour (cf. Kageyama 2016). Let us discuss them one-by-one.

The first class concerns the verbal compounding where two verbs form a head-head structure (the so-called lexical V-V compound verbs), as exemplified by *kaki-kaeru* "write-change" in (36). Then the whole verbal structure is a complex head. This explains the effect in (36b). The case-assigning verb is the second one, i.e. *kaeru* "change". This can be checked e.g. in (34), where the possible case assignment would not be allowed by the first verb *oku* "put". Unlike *iu* "say", *kaeru* "change" does not allow two interpretations of accusative arguments, always treating them as patients. This explains why such arguments cannot be interpreted as direct quotation. By contrast, in (36a) the CP-quotative argument can be interpreted in two ways, always meeting the conditions of direct quotation given in (19). First, it can be interpreted at the standard CP position opened up by verbs of saying, here *kaku* "write".[5] Then quotation picks out the result of rewriting the text. Second, it can be interpreted at an adjoined position, as a manner adjunct. This is a more general effect observed for direct quotation complements appearing with a variety of verbs other than plain, strictly reportative one like *say* or *write*, as illustrated in (41).

(41) He closed the door, "I need more time".

5 We consider *kaku* "write" as a verb of saying in a broader sense, covering the written discourse, on a par with other modes of expression, e.g. gestures in sign languages.

In this position speech event is introduced independently, either overtly or covertly (cf. Shimamura 2018).

Let us now move to the second class of V_1-V_2 compounding, illustrated in (36) by *kaki-hajimeru* "write-begin". This type involves the true embedding, which means that the second verb c-commands the whole verbal domain of the first verb. This, in turn, naturally explains the effects shown in (36). First, CP-quotation is ambiguous; this effect resembles to much extent the one discussed for *kaki-kaeru* "write-change". The difference lies in nominal quotation exemplified in (36b). Since the verbal compound structure involves c-command, not the head-head structure, nominal quotation is a complement of *iu* "say", not *hajimeru* "begin". Thus, it gives rise to the interpretation discussed in subsections 2.2 and 3.1. Still, being an accusative nominal argument of *iu* "say", it must be interpreted within a VP domain and cannot be attached higher as a manner adjunct, contrary to CP. This explains why (36b) does not involve the ambiguity observed in (36a). Accordingly, both problems raised at the beginning of this subsection are solved.

3.3 Interim conclusion No. 2

In this section, we examined claims made in Section 2 by showing conditions under which direct quotation arguments must be nominal, and then checking how the emergence of such expressions depends on matrix verbs. There are two observations that are especially important. First, there are structures, like the ones involving modification or quantification, that force direct quotation to be nominal. This shows that CP-quotation does not have nominal properties *per* se, but on the other hand it is more flexible than argument clauses (cf. Pafel 2022). Second, the NP direct quotation effect is allowed only by certain types of verbs. These are typically reportative verbs like *say* or *write* or syntactic compound verbs including one of such reportative verbs as V_1, where the higher verb, V_2, manipulates the embedded speech event. We proposed solutions, showing that these effects follow from certain formal properties. In the next final section, we show that these properties can be generalised in terms of matrix verbs' hierarchy.

4 Nominal direct quotation and the hierarchy of matrix verbs

In this last section, we discuss two more general problems, taking a wider look at the data and the analyses presented above. First, how the possibility of NP direct quotation is regulated by the properties of matrix verbs. Second, if the possibility of NP direct quotation is limited, is their presence regulated by more general rules.

Let us begin from the first question and take a look at an observation dating back at least to Pietroski (2000) and lying at the heart of what became known as the Kratzer (2006, 2013, 2016)/Moulton (2009, 2015) framework. While it focuses on indirect reports, it also holds for direct quotation to the extent that is relevant for the present discussion.

(42) a. John believed/ explained an opinion that Peter is smart.
b. John said/ expressed an opinion that Peter is a spy.

The observed effect is that in each case the CP modifies the accusative NP. This gave rise to the proposal, supported by Hacquard's (2006 *et seq.*) observation that modal bases are determined by various elements within the syntactic structure, according to which the meaning of CP is the content of individual picked out by the NP. Thus, [[Peter is smart]] is the content of the opinion John believed/explained or said/expressed.

However, this effect is not universal across languages, and Japanese provides a novel and important piece of data. The crucial point is that to get the same reading as in (42), Japanese requires the verb SAY, *iu*, as a modification marker; this grammaticalised verb must be added to the structure in the case of the class of verbs like *believe*/ *explain*, but not obligatorily in the case of *say*/ *express*. To see this, take a look at the examples below.

(43) a. Tarō-wa Akiko-ga supai da -to iken-o
Tarō-TOP Akiko-NOM spy cop"-C^0 opinion-ACC
setumei sita/ sinzita
explained/ believed
'Tarō explained/ believed an opinion [by saying] that Akiko was a spy.'
b. Tarō-wa Akiko-ga supai da -to iu
Tarō-TOP Akiko-NOM spy cop"-C^0 SAY
iken-o setumei sita/ sinzita
opinion-ACC explained/ believed
'Tarō explained/ believed an opinion (*lit.* saying) that Akiko was a spy.'

(44) Tarō-wa Akiko-ga supai da-to (iu)
Tarō-TOP Akiko-NOM spy COP-C^0 (SAY)
iken-o itta/ nobeta
opinion-ACC said/ expressed
'Tarō said/ expressed an opinion that Akiko is a spy.'

For the *explain*/*believe* class of verbs, the relation of modification between CP and the content NP does not arise until it is overtly introduced, here by the grammaticalised verb SAY. If it is not, there is no direct formal connection between the NP and the CP; thus, the latter cannot be cashed out as the content

of individual denoted by the NP. By contrast, in the case of *say*/*express* class of verbs, the relation at hand holds regardless of the presence of its overt marker. Moreover, there is no ambiguity arising in the case of such content NPs, so that even if there is no overt marker of modification (mostly *i u* SAY), an interpretation as in (43a) is not possible.

These observations open up a very interesting path for investigating properties of reports as dependent on those of matrix verbs. Note that since structures involved by examples in (42a,b) as well as (43), (44) are pairwise identical, it follows that it is the properties of matrix verbs that impose the relation between the CP and the content NP. Moreover, this does not seem to be just a matter of accidental relation observed for *say/express* on the one hand and *believe/explain* on the other. In a series of recent works, Wurmbrand & Lohninger (2019), Wurmbrand et al. (2020) and Lohninger & Wurmbrand (2020) develop an idea dating back to the eighties and showing that there is a hierarchy of matrix verbs that reflects properties of clausal embedding. In this hierarchy, verbs as in (42b) and (44) fall under the category labelled *weak epistemic attitude verbs* (exemplified by *say*, *tell*); these occupy the bottom of the hierarchy. The next class is labelled *strong epistemic attitude verbs*; it is exemplified by verbs like *believe*, *suspect*. Verbs for which the effect shown in (44) holds are typical verbs of saying, representing the first class; they provide reports but do not clearly encode any attitude of the reporting speaker towards the reported content/expression (this is why they are weak attitude verbs). This class is further exemplified by such verbs as *kaku* "write", *sasayaku* "whisper" o r *tsugeru* "announce". For all such verbs, the individual denoted by the accusative content NP is necessarily modified by the CP. By contrast, this relation does not hold for strong attitude verbs like *sinziru* "believe" or *utagau* "suspect". Just to the contrary, for such verbs the bare [CP [NP V]] structure blocks modification of NP by CP.

We can now move back to the initial problem of why is the possibility of nominal direct quotation regulated by the type of matrix verb, as illustrated in (37b) and, for indirect reports, in (43a). The answer follows straightforwardly from the property of matrix verbs discussed above. Verbs like *setumei suru* "explain", *mitomeru* "admit" or *sinziru* "believe" belong to the class of strong attitude verbs. Leaving aside the subject argument, these verbs can open up two argument positions, one for an accusative NP and one for CP, as illustrated in (37b) and (43a). Still, they block the relation of modification between the two arguments. For this relation to hold, CP introduced by *-to* must be followed by the grammaticalised verb *iu*, SAY. However, in such case it is no longer the [CP [NP V]] structure, but rather [[CP NP] V], where CP modifies the following NP, as in (43b). Since the accusative NP in the bare [CP [NP V]] structure does not pick out an individual modified by the CP, it cannot represent the content of speech event (it is a theme of explanation, belief, etc.). This, in turn, means that it is not a direct quotation, as discussed right after the definition in (19). By contrast, in the case of typically reportative verbs like *iu* "say" or *kaku* "write",

the relation of modification necessarily holds between CP and the accusative NP. Put more precisely, the individual denoted by the NP is modified by the CP. Thus, the NP movement to the CP position at which the role of content is assigned (cf. the structure in (35), as well as Pietroski 2000, Elliott 2020) does not give rise to inconsistency of any sort. And this can be clearly seen in (43a) and (44). In (43a), the NP is the theme of explanation; it denotes the explanandum, not the explanans represented by the CP. By contrast, in (44) the NP denotes the opinion expressed by the reported speaker and specified by the CP.[6] Accordingly, the interpretation of the content NP argument depends on the type of matrix verbs.

This fact solves, and thus is supported by, yet another puzzle observed by Elliott (2020: 189), namely why (45) is odd.

(45) *Nathan said the rumour that Henning is upset.

Given the clearly fine sentence in (42b), the problem that arises is why *say* accepts the NP *opinion* but not *rumour*. This is clear in light of the discussion above. The individual denoted by the content NP is necessarily modified by the CP. Moreover, the agent of speech event is Nathan. From these two facts it follows that Nathan is the source (roughly corresponding to the attitude holder in attitude semantics) of both NP and CP. But the lexical meaning of *rumour* presupposes just the opposite, namely that its source is a set of speakers. Thus, what is entailed by the properties of *say* is at odds with the presupposition carried by *rumour*.

Let us now move to the second question mentioned at the beginning of this section, namely is the presence of nominal direct quotation justified as necessary by any grammatical phenomenon. The answer almost straightforwardly follows from the above discussion and the proposal in (39). The analysis of data, deepened by the generalisation delivered by the hierarchy of matrix verbs (cf. Wurmbrand & Lohninger 2019 and the related works) show that the content NP necessarily denotes an individual modified by the CP. This, in turn, means that the NP must be able to freely move to the CP position, provided it is not already occupied. The line of reasoning is as follows. Given the free merge approach (Chomsky 2004 *et seq.*), for such a possibility to be blocked, there must be a formal reason. Such a reason clearly exists in the case of strong attitude verbs like *explain* or *believe*. These verbs impose the restriction that the argument standardly occupied by a CP does not modify an individual denoted by an NP. However, as discussed above in (39) and (40), if an accusative NP moves to the position standardly occupied by a CP, the higher

6 This observation is coherent with yet another fact. Recall the example in (20) where the accusative NP stands for the theme of speech event, not the content argument. Note however, that this interpretation requires a different structure. While the one involving modification of the content argument by the CP is [CP [NP V]], NP providing the theme of speech event requires the [NP [CP V]] structure.

copy modifies the individual denoted by the lower copy. Since it is assumed that this relation is blocked, it follows that the NP cannot move. Still, this contrasts with the *say*-class of verbs in which the opposite restriction holds. For these verbs, it is assumed that the individual denoted by the NP is modified by the argument appearing in the CP position. Given this, the restriction blocking movement for the *explain*/*believe* type of verbs does not hold. Accordingly, there is no reason to block the NP movement to the position of direct quotation. Thus, it must remain an option when required, e.g., for the sake of quantification or modification standardly allowed for NPs.

Viewed from that angle, nominalisation of direct quotation CPs is not just a marginal option, independent from the very phenomenon of reporting. Rather, it is a possibility regulated by the hierarchy of matrix verbs, necessarily left open by strictly reportative ones and blocked for other.

5 Conclusion and future prospects

There are two effects that have played the crucial role in the recent discussion on the nominal character of clausal complements. One is that *that*-clauses can appear in the subject position, another is that such complements can modify content NPs, as illustrated in (46).

(46) a. That Peter is a spy is a well-known fact.
b. John explained the rumour that Peter is a spy.

Data from Japanese confirms neither of the two. First, CPs can appear in the subject position only as DPs:

(47)

Tarō-ga		supai	da-to	*(iu-no-wa)	yoku	sirarete-
Tarō-NOM		spy	COP-C^0	*(SAY-D^0-TOP)	well	known
iru	zizitu	da.				
Asp	fact	cop				

'That Tarō is a spy is a well-known fact.'

Second, as shown in (43a), that kind of modification of NP by bare CP is not possible.

While this might suggest that Japanese is not the best language for investigating clausal complementation, throughout the paper we have been at pains to show that exactly the opposite is true. To do this, we focused on a so-far much less discussed type of clausal complementation, namely direct quotation. A closer look into the data proved that Japanese delivers sufficient data that are not only independent from those widely discussed and given in (46), (47), but also more informative with respect to the nominal character of such complements.

First, thanks to the obligatory markers of syntactic categories (the complemetizer *-to* and case markers such as *-o*, accusative), Japanese leaves no room for deliberation whether the complement at hand is a nominal or not. In this regard it has been shown that nominal direct quotation with the accusative case marker *-o* is less frequent, yet possible. Becoming nominal, it enables constructions with modification or quantification, which are blocked for direct quotation CPs with *-to* as a complementizer.

Second, relations between nominal quotative arguments and other items such as CP quotative arguments or adverbs, sometimes reflected by word-order, show that Japanese provides means for distinguishing arguments standing for the content of report, as in (43b) and (44), from those standing for its theme, as in (43a). Otherwise, in the case where the NP argument is not a content word, it can only function as a theme of speech event, such as (20), (36b) as well as (33) under the second reading. Bearing in mind that it is the theme position that is typical for nominal arguments, including quotative ones, this distinction is especially important as its lack blurs the difference between the nominal character of direct quotation and their themes.

Third and most importantly, the data from Japanese show very clearly that all these effects are regulated by the properties of matrix verbs. Only typically reportative verbs, e.g. *iu* "say" or *kaku* "write" require that the quotative argument modifies the individual introduced by the content NP. This property, as we have shown, is the relevant factor regulating the possibility of direct quotation functioning as a nominal. Crucially, this relation depends not just on the conventional content carried by the verb. Rather, it is reflected by the much more general and far-reaching implicational hierarchy of matrix verbs, recently developed in Wurmbrand & Lohninger (2019) and related works. The emerging picture can be summarised in three points:

(i) direct quotation arguments are typically not nominal; the nominal argument is typically occupied by the theme of speech event;
(ii) such NPs can move to the CP position, thus denoting the content of speech events;
(iii) such a movement is allowed only for weak attitude verbs within the implicational verbs hierarchy.

These observations open up at least two paths for future research. First, does the implicational verbs' hierarchy regulate in an analogous way the properties of indirect reports, and thus to what extent can direct and indirect reports be captured within a unified account? Second, is the hierarchy in a position to account for further formal properties of reporting, such as the relation between the reporting subject and the content of report, as recently discussed (Cremers, Roelofsen & Uegaki 2019; Uegaki 2021; Djärv 2021)? In this perspective, the implicational verbs' hierarchy might be conceived of as predicting formal properties of reported speech in both indirect and direct discourse.

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Tokyo Adam Gapczyński

Sophia University, Graduate School of Global Environmental Studies, Yotsuya Campus 7-1 Kioi-cho, Chioyoda-ku, Tokyo, 102-8554, Japan; a.gapczynski@student.uw.edu.pl

Warsaw Asuka Matsumoto

University of Warsaw, Institute of Applied Linguistics, ul. Dobra 55, 00-312 Warsaw, Poland; a.matsumoto@uw.edu.pl

Warsaw Jan Wiślicki

University of Warsaw, Faculty of Modern Languages, ul. Dobra 55, 00-312 Warsaw, Poland; j.wislicki@uw.edu.pl