

The Theory of Quotative Complementation in Japanese Semanticsyntax

Koji Shimamura, Ph.D.
University of Connecticut, 2018

This dissertation aims at constructing a syntactic and (to a lesser extent) semantic theory of quotative complementation in Japanese mediated by the reporting suffix *to*, Rep for short. Rep has been treated as a complementizer (C) in the literature. However, I will propose that Rep is not C but an instance of an adjunct clitic in the sense of Aoyagi (1998), contrary to the widely accepted view. This captures the wide range of distribution of Rep that has been understudied in the generative literature, and we can provide a uniform analysis of *to* without postulating multiple lexical instances of Rep that happen to be morphologically identical. Semantically, Rep triggers the cartesian product type $\sigma \times t$, where as Potts (2007a) argues for the quote semantics, the attitude dimension σ and the utterance dimension t compose an ordered pair, and this in turn motivates the presence of a covert verb, SAY, and this verb is the very item that introduces a quoted item or an embedded clause to the structure. We will then explore the empirical and theoretical consequences of the proposed system both Japanese-internally and crosslinguistically. Specifically, I will discuss how a clause with Rep is embedded, contending that it is a case of VP-complementation. This explains why it can function only as an internal argument, which state of affairs is paralleled with Sakha (Baker 2011) and leads us to consider Japanese in comparison with other languages that have the ‘say’ verb grammaticalized to embed a clause. We will then reconsider the nature of *pro*-form of clauses with Rep, adjunct-like clauses with Rep and the hearsay construction in Japanese with reference to that in (Iberian) Spanish.

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Koji Shimamura

B.Ec., Doshisha University, 2005

B.A., Doshisha University, 2008

M.A., Osaka University, 2010

M.A., University of Connecticut, 2015

A Dissertation

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

at the

University of Connecticut

2018

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Koji Shimamura

APPROVAL PAGE

Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation

The Theory of Quotative Complementation in Japanese Semanticsyntax

Presented by

Koji Shimamura, B.Ec., B.A., M.A., M.A.

Major Advisor

Jonathan David Bobaljik

Major Advisor

Susanne Wurmbrand

Associate Advisor

Željko Bošković

Associate Advisor

Osamu Sawada

University of Connecticut

2018

To my parents, Fujiko and Hiromichi Shimamura

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Although I'm not completely satisfied with what I've done, I need to stop, at least for this dissertation; otherwise, I would never conclude, and that would make it impossible for me to thank those who have contributed to my study and to what I am today.

First of all, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisors: Jonathan David Bobaljik and Susi Wurmbrand. Jonathan and Susi have been wonderful mentors and teachers. They always supported me, unstintingly, in whatever I chose to do. They gave generously of their time in discussing my work with me. Their observations, queries, and comments were invaluable. Susi has been the most challenging and yet helpful teacher I've ever had. Working with her totally changed my views about linguistics, and, since I came under her tutelage, I've been seriously committed to theoretical syntax. Also, it was a great experience to study *Restructuring* with Susi and to coauthor two papers with her. Jonathan, also, was unfailingly insightful in his observations about my work; more particularly I owe to him what I have learned about better organizing my ideas and papers. Also, I studied ergativity with him. This helped me toward a more cross-linguistic perspective and led me to write a paper on ergativity (at a more or less publishable level). Although I gave up studying ergativity to complete work on my dissertation, I will revisit it sometime. Doubtless I occasionally troubled Jonathan and Susi with my moods and frustrations, for which I here apologize.

I also thank my other committee members: Željko Bošković and Osamu Sawada (Sawada-sensei). Željko was my ex-supervisor, and I learned a lot from him, especially in the first and second year of my academic life at UConn. I'm also grateful to Sawada-sensei for having agreed to join my committee as an outside reader; he taught me much about semantics, especially conventional implicature.

Turning to other teachers at UConn, I especially thank Jon Gajeswki, Magdalena Kaufmann and Stefan Kaufmann. Jon assisted me in getting back to UConn (registration-wise). Magda chaired my semantics generals paper. I may have puzzled her, at times, with the inadequacies of my syntax-biased attitude toward semantics, but she patiently guided me through the enigmatic forests of semantics, brought me safely out, and helped

me finish the paper. I learned many things about semantics from her and Stefan. I will always cherish the experience of working with them. I also learned much from courses I took from Scott AnderBois, Andrea Calabrese, Diane Lillo-Martin, William Snyder, and Harry van der Hulst, to whom I extend my thanks.

Truth be told, the town of Storrs, where UConn locates itself, leaves much to be desired. But my friends in the department made my time there a solid pleasure. First of all, I thank my classmates: Troy Messick, YongSuk Yoo, Vanessa Petroj, and Zheng Shen. Zheng merits a few special words of gratitude here. He is one of the best friends it has ever been my lot to have; he always gave me a helping hand whenever I needed it during my time in Storrs. I really enjoyed hanging out with Zheng, talking about all manner of things, including music; and it was a delight to cook with him. I also thank Akihiko Arano, Marcin Dadan, Paula Fenger, Renato Lacerda, José Riqueros Morante, Emma Nguyen, Jayeon Park, and Jelena Runić, Adrian Stegovec, Abigail Thornton, Lyn Shan Tieu, Neda Todorović, Alexandre Vaxman, Ting Xu, among others. I had many good times and good conversations with them in restaurants and bars.

I would also like to say *Airigato* ‘thank you’ to the following Japanese officemates: Ryosuke Hattori, Hiroaki Saito, Yuta Sakamoto and Yoshiyuki Shibata. First of all, I’m grateful to Yoshiyuki Shibata, who was my first senior student at UConn, my so-called sen’pai in Japanese. Yoshi and his wife Nodoka helped me a lot when I first came to UConn, and afterward. He also taught me many important things about syntax and semantics, and what’s more, he sometimes offered me private lessons on semantics in our ex-archive room in the Arjona Building. Also, he was my favorite smoking-mate at UConn, and we discussed many things, linguistic and non-linguistic alike. It was devastating when I learned that Yoshi passed away several years ago. I cite his papers in my dissertation, all of which are insightful. Thanks, Yoshi, and may you rest in peace. I also thank Yuta Sakamoto and his wife Manami. Yuta has always been kind (and funny, in his way), and I really enjoyed talking, drinking and playing with Yuta and Manami: the memory of those experiences can never be “elided”. Also, Ryosuke Hattori deserves my appreciation. I also enjoyed talking and drinking with Ryosuke; he taught me how hard and yet wonderful it is to be a father, when I found that I myself would become one. Now, I really understand what he said: indeed, it’s hard, but much more wonderful than I expected. Hiroaki was very generous in sharing his research with me, which greatly

contributed to my work, especially when I was finalizing this dissertation.

Back in Japan, now, I also owe deep gratitude to my teachers here: Takao Kamiyama, Masaharu Kato, Chiharu Kikuta, Yoichi Miyamoto, Satoru Nakai, Yukuo Oba, Masao Ochi, and Sadayuki Okada. In particular, I am greatly indebted to Satoru Nakai (Nakai-sensei) for setting me on my way as a linguist and showing me that I could make a career of it. Nakai-sensei was my first syntax teacher, and I learned much from him: how to read papers, find references, deal with data, and construct analyses, etc. Although he is a man of few words, I still remember how talking with him always motivated me to study syntax more seriously, and something tells me he takes a keen interest in my study even today. I also thank other linguists who commented on my research on various occasions.

I have been supported by many linguistics friends in Japan. I thank Takayuki Akimoto, Shin'ya Asano, Shintaro Hayashi, Yusuke Hiramatsu, Eriko Hirasaki, Takahiro Honda, Yasuhiro Iida, Yusuke Imanishi, Satoshi Ito, Mayumi Kabasawa (Yoshimoto), Kazuya Kudo, Hisao Kurokami, Jun'ya Nomura, Shinta Tamaki, Hideharu Tanaka, Yuta Tatsumi, Ayaka Sugawara, Yusuke Yoda, and Yile Yu. I would like especially to thank Hideharu and Yusuke (Yoda-san). Hideharu is a very smart and hardworking linguist, and I discussed many a matter with him while I was writing this dissertation. His comments and thoughts were indeed helpful, and some of them are incorporated into the chapters below. Also, he's just a standup guy, and a kind one. Yoda-san has been my favorite drinking-mate, although things sometimes got a little crazy. I admire Yoda-san, who is always delightful to talk to. He is also a good linguist, and has contributed to my study in many respects. I also thank him for answering my naïve L^AT_EX questions. My thanks also extend to Mark Richardson, Hitomi Sugiura and Atsushi Yuhaku (Yuhaku-sensei). Especially, I thank Yuhaku-sensei and Mark. Yuhaku-sensei gave me a chance to work at Ritsumeikan University, and he generously let me focus on my research and dissertation, taking on, in my stead, a lot of school-related work. For that I am truly grateful. Mark has been a good friend to me, and he supported me when I attended Doshisha University by sharing his musical interests and his expertise (English literature) with me, which made my undergrad life more valuable.

I have also been inspired to commit myself to linguistics by many people who are not in academia. Among them, I thank Masanori Sasao, Masayuki Takemiya, Sho Teshigahara, Makoto Yamada and Kie Yamamoto. Sho and Kie were among my closest friends while

at Doshisha University. We have fewer and fewer chances to meet up these days, but I will never forget our time together. Masanori and Masayuki have been close friends of mine since we were in high school together. Masanori, who is now a Buddhist monk, gave me much insightful advice. Although I am an atheist, his cheering and thoughtful words saved me on more than one occasion. I also owe many things to Masayuki for what I am today. Masayuki and I seem to have a lot in common, e.g. bicycle-riding, the same birthday, whiskey, and selfishness, so talking with him (or simply passing an aimless hour with him) allowed me to compose myself, and thereby contributed to my dissertation writing. As for Makoto, I really thank him and his fabulous bar, Summer Taiyo, where I spent a lot of time chatting away with him and other drinking buddies, listening to music from his record collection while writing this dissertation. For that matter, I thank all the beer, whiskey and wine I consumed during my often-frustrated dissertation writing. I don't think they ever let me down.

My Ph.D. studies in America were partially funded by the Fulbright program (Grant ID#: 15112116); the later stage of my dissertation writing (done in Japan) was funded by Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research, aka *Kakenhi* (Young Research B: 16K16823).

Last but not least, I would like to thank my family, Aoi Shimamura, Eri Shimamura, Fujiko Shimamura, Hiromichi Shimamura, Kazuya Shimamura, Michiko Morinaga, Taketo Morinaga, and my deceased grandparents: Asako and Shiro Yoshimura. I owe so much to my parents, Fujiko and Hiromichi, for both financial and moral support. Also, I could not possibly be more grateful to Asako and Shiro; though they passed away some time ago, they, like my parents, supported me both financially and morally. Indeed, my parents and grandparents made it possible for me to go to university and to graduate school, and to become a linguist. Kazuya has been my cool and friendly brother as well as a great bassist. It's always fun to watch him playing music when his band performs, and his music contributed to my study. Eri has been a wonderful wife and friend. I wholeheartedly thank Eri for her unconditional support and love, in spite of my many shortcomings. Her parents Michiko and Taketo have also supported me in many ways, and I hereby tender my thanks to them. Lastly, many thanks to my daughter Aoi, who has been a big obstacle to my research but a most precious addition to my life.

August, 2018

Kyoto City, Kyoto, Japan

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List of Abbreviations

ACC	Accusative Case
ADN	Adnominal Form (aka. <i>Rentaikei</i>)
ADV	Adverbial Form (aka. <i>Ren'yōkei</i> ¹)
AOR	Aorist
ASP	Aspect
CL	Classifier
COMP	Complemetizer
CONCL	Conclusive Form (aka. <i>Syūsikei</i>)
COP	Copula
CONN	Connective
CVB	Converb
DAT	Dative Case
DECL	Declarative
FN	Formal Noun
FUT	Future
GEN	Genitive Case

¹Maybe, giving *Ren'yōkei* as adverbial form is non-standard. Many books on the pedagogical Japanese grammar (in English) translates it to “continuative form”. In essence, the pertinent conjugation connects to inflectional words like verbs and adjectives.

H(ON)	Honorific
IMP	Imperative
INF	Infinitival
IPF/IMPERF	Imperfective
MIN	Mimetic Expression
MOD	Modal
NEG	Negation
NOM	Nominative Case
NONPAST	Nonpast Tense (= Present or Future)
ONOM	Onomatopoeic Expression
PASS	Passive
PAST	Past Tense
PERF	Perfective
PL	Plural
POL	Polite
PRT	Particle
PROG	Progressive
PROP	Proprietary
Q	Question
QUOT	Quote
RECIP	Reciprocal
RED	Reduplication
REP	Report
S	Subject

SG/s	Singular
SFP	Sentence Final Particle
TE	<i>Te</i> -form as Asp Head
TOP	Topic
1, 2, 3	Person Agreement

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Prologue: Introductory Remarks

This dissertation aims at constructing a syntactic and (to a lesser extent) semantic theory of quotative complementation in Japanese mediated by the reporting suffix *to*, Rep for short. This tiny morpheme has (almost always) been treated as a complementizer (C) in the literature—so much so that it is rather difficult to identify who is responsible for this perspective. However, to my best knowledge, Rep was placed in the COMP position at least in the early 70s and discussed in relation to the distributions of other complementizers (Kuno 1973, Nakau 1971). Given this, Rep may be regarded as functionally equivalent to *that* in English. This parallelism will go through for simple cases like (1).

- (1) a. John said that Mary was cute.
b. Taroo-wa [Hanako-ga kawaii-to] it-ta.
Taro-Top Hanako-NOM cute.COP.NONPAST-REP say-PAST
'Taro said that Hanako was cute.'

However, Rep and *that* differ in a number of respects. One of them is that Rep can embed an imperative as in (2) (Kuno 1988, M. Saito 2010). This is something *that* in English generally cannot do.¹

¹However, even in English, embedding an imperative is possible in a limited setting; see Crnić and Trinh (2009).

- (2) Ototoi, Taroo-wa Ziroo-ni [asu boku-no ie-ni
 day.before.yesterday Taro-Top Jiro-DAT tomorrow I-GEN house-to
 nanzi-ni ik-e-to] it-ta-no.
 what.time-at go-IMP-REP say-PAST-Q
 Lit. ‘The day before yesterday, what time₁ did Taro say to Jiro that go.IMP to my
 house at t_1 tomorrow.’

In this example, the embedded imperative cannot be considered to be directly quoted since indexicals like the first-person pronoun and the time adverb are intended to be interpreted in the context of actual utterance. Also, the embedded imperative has an interrogative phrase which is licensed by the matrix Q-marker. Therefore, they are indirectly embedded. Recently, [M. Saito \(2010\)](#) and his related work propose that Rep sits in the highest projection of the articulated CP structure, which he dubs ReportP, arguing that ReportP can embed an imperative by paraphrasing only the imperative verb in the context of direct discourse. [Sauerland and Yatsushiro \(2014\)](#) also try to explain embedded imperatives in terms of indexical shifting of only the verb complex. However, they face both empirical and theoretical challenges as we will see (Chapter 3).

Another issue is the relevance of the iconicity-signaling of Rep, which is typically illustrated by iconic adverbs as in (3): the adverb in (3a) is mimetic and that in (3b) is onomatopoeic.

- (3) a. Taroo-wa gurut-to kubi-o ugokasi-ta.
 Taro-Top MIM-REP neck-ACC move-PAST
 ‘Taro moved his head round.’
 b. Inu-wa wan-to nak-u.
 dog-Top ONOM-REP bark-NONPAST.
 ‘Dogs bark, “bow-wow.”’

These sort of data have rarely been discussed in the generative literature, but the descriptive Japanese linguistics of so-called *Kokugogaku* has been concerned with them ([Fujita 2000](#), [Kamada 2000](#), [Tamori and Schourup 1999](#)). Since the widely accepted perspective of Rep as C in the generative framework entails the presence of the clausal projections like TP, *v*P and VP etc., (2) has not been able to be dealt with, unless one assumes that iconic adverbs with Rep involve some sort of hidden clausal construction, or we reserve (2) as something to be explained in a different way such as postulating a different lexical

instance of *to* that is not Rep as C but homophonous with it. However, I will challenge this tradition of regarding Rep as C across the board, contending that it is not a complementizer but a particle that adjoins to, and hence is hosted by, various syntactic categories, and I will provide an unified account for the syntactic and semantic properties of Rep that appears in (1b), (2) and what's more (3). What is more, as we will see, the proposed analysis provides a simple account of the syntax and semantics of direct and subclausal quotation in Japanese in derivational terms. That is, what is directly/subclausally quoted is structurally constructed by the reporting speaker but it is derivationally changed into direct/subclausal quotation. This nicely fits the notion of quotation as demonstration given by Clark and Gerigg (1990) and recently discussed by K. Davidson (2015).

1.2 Roadmap

In Chapter 2, I will look into the constructions where Rep does not appear with clauses: (i) mimetic and onomatopoeic (i.e. iconic) adverbs and (ii) Naming Construction (NC). There, I will argue that they involve adjunct structures, introduced by an invisible verb SAY. Given that Rep can appear with non-clausal items, we have to reconsider the status of Rep as C. Of course, we can speculate that Japanese grammar has two discrete items that are morphologically incarnated as *to*, viz. *to* as C and *to* for non-clausal items, but I will not pursue this way of theorizing, and the later chapters show that having one single *to* as Rep is both empirically and theoretically advantageous.

In Chapter 3, we will discuss another topic that is pertinent in considering the nature of Rep, namely, the interpretation of indexicals in the embedded context. There, I will first review previous research that bears on this issue, especially focusing on Kuno's (1988) quasi-direct discourse, which is a mixture of direct and indirect quotation, and the ambiguity of the first-person pronoun discussed by Sudo (2012) among others. For the former, what concerns us in the present discussion is the embedded imperative. This sort of construction is not found too often, but it does exist crosslinguistically (Anand and Nevins 2004, Kaufmann 2012, 2014, Portner 2007, Sauerland and Yatsushiro 2014, Schlenker 2003, Stegovec and Kaufmann 2015 among others). In the literature, there are two theoretical approaches to derive it: indexical shifting via the monster operator or subclausal quotation. The most explicit syntactic analysis of the former approach to the

quasi-direct discourse is given by [Sauerland and Yatsushiro \(2014\)](#), who argue that the locus of the monster operator is *to* as C, and that only the verbal complex that always incorporates into such C undergoes indexical shifting. In contrast, an advocate of the latter approach is [Maier \(2014\)](#). However, I will show that both endeavors face serious empirical and theoretical challenges. For the ambiguity of the first-person pronoun, it is also hard for this to be handled by the previous approaches as we will see. That is, the clausal-internal word order of the first-person pronoun and a *wh*-item feeds into or bleeds its reported-context reading, which has hitherto been unnoticed and is rather surprising if the monster operator that is responsible for such a reading scopes over the embedded clause. Also, I will show that the reported-context reading is difficult unless changes in speech manners characteristic of subclausal quotation are involved. Therefore, it seems that subclausal quotation is a more viable choice. However, it is also problematic if we adopt [Maier's \(2014\)](#) analysis as is.

To explain the data discussed in Chapter 3, I will propose in Chapter 4 that Rep is an adjunct clitic (AC) in the sense of [Aoyagi \(1998\)](#). To be specific, I will argue that Rep is a verbal instance of AC in that it only adjoins to the extended projections of V (e.g. Asp(P), T(P), C(P); cf. [Grimshaw 2005](#)). Although this is a departure from the original idea of [Aoyagi](#) that AC can adjoin to various syntactic categories including nominals, this sort of categorial sensitivity, as we will see, is not unmotivated. Then, I will further contend that what Rep is adjoined to constitutes the domain of quotation termed *Quote Domain of Rep* (QDR), which is construed as subclausal quotation. Although Rep can adjoin to the embedded VP, its surface position is the sentence-final position. To resolve this state of affairs, I will also propose that Rep overtly moves to the edge of CP, from where Rep enters into an Agree relation with SAY. There, we will also discuss some sample applications of the proposed syntax to pronominal ambiguity and embedded imperatives. Crucially, we will have recourse to extraction from QDR, which should be impossible given that direct/subclausal quotation is syntactically opaque (cf. [Crnič and Trinh 2009](#), [Maier 2008](#)). However, I will argue that extraction is possible due to Rep being an AC, so it can be late-inserted (cf. [Shibata 2015a,b](#)). It is also worth noting at this point that this theoretical device implies that the syntactic opacity of Quote Domain of Rep (and quotation domain in general; see Chapter 5) is a derivational, not a representational property.

Chapter 5 will then be concerned with the three-way ambiguity of Rep and the purported verbatim nature of direct/subclausal quotation. For the former, since we have Rep

for direct, indirect and subclausal quotation, one may surmise that it has three distinct grammatical items in the Japanese lexicon. However, I will put forth a negative answer to this, showing that postulating one single Rep suffices to capture the relevant distinction. Concretely, I will propose that it is explained in terms of where Rep adjoins. Namely, if Rep adjoins to the entire CP, that will be direct quotation. Then, if Rep adjoins only to C, that will be indirect quotation, so that no lexical item will be in QDR. For subclausal quotation, as I will propose in Chapter 4, it adjoins to e.g. VP, so that it involves movement to the edge of CP. Turning to the verbatim nature of direct/subclausal quotation, following Clark and Gerigg (1990), K. Davidson (2015), Fujita (2000) and Kamada (2000), I will argue that there is no such thing as verbatim quotation, and considers its relevance to the proposed system, especially in terms of whether it is possible to have a trace of some movement in QDR, which cannot exist in the original utterance.

Chapter 6 will reconsider quotative complementation via Rep in Japanese, which has been regarded as CP-complementation in the literature. However, I will propose that it is a case of VP-complementation, which is similar to the *Restructuring* complement in the sense of Wurmbrand (2001), although as we will see, my proposal is different from hers in several respects. This analysis is motivated by the obligatory syntactic association of Rep with SAY via Agree as well as the semantics to be proposed in Chapter 8. That is, when Rep is used, SAY must be in the structure. Relevant to this, I will discuss a recent argument by H. Saito (2017, 2018a,b), who argues that there is a grammaticalized ‘say’ verb (i.e. our SAY) involved in introducing an embedded clause. I will show that his analysis faces empirical problems, and propose a way to solve them, discussing the relevance of his argument to the presence of SAY even in quotative complementation. If the proposed analysis is on the right track, an embedded clause with Rep is then the complement of SAY, and SAY’s VP is combined with a matrix attitude predicate in the form of VP-complementation. This analysis elucidates why clauses with Rep appear only as the internal argument of predicates, and I will also discuss its crosslinguistic relevance in that there are languages in which clausal embedding involves some form of ‘say’ (Baker 2011, Lord 1993, Güldemann 2008, Klamer 2000, H. Saito 2017, 2018a,b). I will also argue that lexical attitude predicates are unergative verbs, and they do not select a proposition syntactically. However, I will show that this is not problematic under the usual intensional semantics once we assume that there is a semantic pronoun *pro* that denotes some proposition. This dissociation of the content of an embedded clause with

Rep from that of propositional *pro* explains several data that have not been discussed (or at least not properly treated) in the Japanese syntactic literature.

Given the analysis that even clausal complementation involves covert SAY, in Chapter 7, we will consider the syntactic consequences of it. First, we will look into the *pro*-form of embedded clauses with Rep, which is adverbial *soo*. For this, I will argue in line with HH. Tanaka (2014) that it is an adverb that denotes the event description that refers to the contextually salient event kind, hence a VP headed by SAY. Its interpretation is semantically given by the assignment function, so this analysis is an antithesis to Funakoshi (2014) and Sakamoto (2016a,b) in that we do not employ ellipsis (of *v*/VP or CP). There, we will also consider the case where *soo* cooccurs with its associated clause and its word order restriction. Sakamoto reports that the former must linearly follow the latter. However, I will show that this is not always the case, and when a certain condition is met, the opposite order becomes possible. The key is what *soo* refers to. Thus, when the clause referred to by *soo* and *soo per se* have the same referential index, Sakamoto's observation is correct. However, if they have disjoint references, we can have them in the opposite order. I argue that this is a case of *Binding Condition*, and discuss it with reference to its interaction with long-distance *wh*-questions. Then, we will turn to adjunct clauses that are ostensibly introduced by Rep. This sort of adjunct clause has been understudied in the Japanese generative literature, and we only have a couple of descriptive surveys, to my knowledge. But there are two approaches: eliding lexical attitude verbs (Oshima 2013) or no verb (Fujita 2000, Tsujimoto 2014). Then, my analysis presents another possibility, invisible SAY. As we will see, SAY captures the data presented in the previous researches, and this analysis is supported crosslinguistically. Finally, we will consider the hearsay construction in Japanese and (Iberian) Spanish, discussing their similarities and differences. Again, I will argue that this construction also involves invisible SAY, which is compatible with Etxepare's (2010) analysis of Spanish hearsay clauses introduced by *que*.

Chapter 8 is concerned with the semantics of Rep and SAY. Specifically, I will argue that Rep contributes to two-dimensional semantics in the sense of Potts (2007a). Namely, on the one hand, an element that Rep is adjoined to denotes its usual semantic type. Suppose that Rep is adjoined to VP. Then, its semantic type is $\langle s, t \rangle$, a set of events, and this is computed in a usual compositional-semantics way. On the other hand, such a reported VP is a natural language object that is uttered by someone. This utterance relation is also brought about by Rep, so we have two meanings in one sentence. This comes, as Potts

(2007a) proposes, in the form of cartesian product type (Partee et al. 1990, Potts 2007a), which is an ordered pair composed of an element $\alpha \in A$ and an element $\beta \in B$, hence $A \times B$. This semantics for Rep will nicely match the syntactic account of subclausal quotation, and motivates invisible SAY.

Chapter 9 will provide a summary of the dissertation, and discuss two topics for my future research: M. Saito's (2010) CP-recursion and Control in Japanese discussed by Fujii (2006, 2010) among others.

Chapter 2

On the Distribution of the Report Marker in Japanese; *To* for Nonclausal Items

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will undertake a detailed survey of the distribution of the report marker *to* (henceforth, Rep) in Japanese. In the generative literature, Rep has been regarded as C, this view dating back, to my knowledge, at least to the early 70s ([Kuno 1973](#), [Nakau 1971](#)). However, the traditional descriptive Japanese linguistics, so-called *Kokugogaku*, admits other instances of Rep such as introducing onomatopoeic adverbs ([Fujita 2000](#), [Kamada 2000](#), [Tamori and Schourup 1999](#) and references therein).

Given this observation in *Kokugogaku*, we need to pay attention to non-clausal cases with Rep, so that, to pin down the nature of Rep, we will start our scrutiny by considering two cases where Rep clearly does not introduce clauses: (i) mimetic/onomatopoeic adverbs with Rep, and (ii) *Naming Construction* (NC) (cf. see [Matushansky 2005](#), [2006b](#), [2008](#) for English).

This chapter is organized as follows. In Section [2.2](#), we will look into the distribution of Rep with respect to mimetic/onomatopoeic adverbs, discussing what factors regulate the obligatory or optional suffixation of Rep to the relevant adverbs. In Section [2.3](#), we will consider another case where Rep clearly does not take a clausal element, that is, NC in Japanese. For both cases, I will show that Rep clearly does not select a clausal item, and they involve a grammaticalized verb either covertly or overtly, which I will call SAY.

Section 2.4 will conclude this chapter.

2.2 Iconic Adverb and Rep

In this section, we scrutinize the nature of iconic adverbs with Rep. There are only a few previous works such as Fujita (2000) and Tamori and Schourup (1999) from the descriptive literature of Japanese. Tamori and Schourup (1999) especially argue for phonological conditions on when Rep is present or absent in rendering iconic adverbs, and we will discuss their analysis in detail, trying to understand their findings in terms of syntax. Then, I will show that their classification of adverbs that appear with Rep is partly on the wrong track, especially in treating nominal adverbs; I will instead maintain the following:

- (1) a. Iconic (mimetic/onomatopoeic) adverbs must occur with Rep and covert or overt SAY.
- b. Overt SAY obeys the sound-orientation requirement. That is, it is only compatible with onomatopoeic expressions.
- c. However, in the Appositive Quote Construction (AQC), mimetic expressions are also in need of overt SAY due to the adnominal morphology.
- d. When Rep is optional, it is no longer a quotative marker, and SAY is absent.
- e. Optional Rep may have some different function like an informational focus marker (Mine 2007).

Given this, nominal adverbs are not iconic even though they can appear with Rep optionally, and only adverbs that are obligatorily suffixed by Rep are iconic and hence relevant to the quote syntax and semantics. Then, I will propose that such adverbs must go with a hidden grammaticalized verb SAY, which can be overt in certain cases. The presence of SAY lets iconic adverbs modify verbs in a usual event-semantic fashion.

2.2.1 The Optionality of Rep is Not Phonological

Rep typically introduces a clause as in (2), and the tradition of Japanese generative syntax only takes care of Rep like (2) as far as I know (but see some exceptions such as Fukui 1986, Hirose and Nawata 2016, Kawai 2006).

- (2) Taroo-wa [Ziroo-ga ku-ru-to] it-ta.
Taro-TOP Jiro-NOM come-NONPAST-REP say-PAST
'Taro said that Jiro would come.'

In addition to (2), there is a class of manner adverbs that are obligatorily or optionally suffixed by Rep (Fujita 2000, Tamori and Schourup 1999), although this has not been properly analyzed in the generative literature. Let us see some representative examples:

- (3) MIMETIC
- a. Taroo-wa gurut-to kubi-o ugokasi-ta.
Taro-TOP MIM-REP neck-ACC move-PAST
'Taro moved his head round.'
 - b. Taroo-wa guruguru(-to) kubi-o ugokasi-ta.
Taro-TOP MIM.RED-REP neck-ACC move-PAST
'Taro moved his head round and round.'
- (4) ONOMATOPOEIC
- a. Inu-wa wan-to nak-u.
dog-TOP ONOM-REP bark-NONPAST.
'Dogs bark, "bow-wow."'
 - b. Inu-wa wanwan(-to) nak-u.
dog-TOP ONOM.RED-REP bark-NONPAST.
'Dogs bark, "bow-wow."'
- (5) NOMINAL
- a. Taroo-wa yukkuri(-to) arui-ta.
Taro-TOP slowness-REP walk-PAST
'Taro walked slowly.'
 - b. Hanako-wa han'nari(-to) si-tei-ru.
Hanako-TOP grace-REP do-ASP-NONPAST
'Hanako is graceful.'

As in (3) to (5), Rep can suffix to not only mimetic and onomatopoeic items but nominal items that signify some abstract concepts. Let us call the former iconic adverbs, following the spirit of Fujita (2000), and the latter, simply nominal adverbs. Tamori and Schourup (1999) argue that Rep is obligatory for (3a) and (4a) due to the phonological forms of iconic items. They carried out an extensive survey of Japanese iconic items and their

compatibility with Rep, giving the phonological generalizations in (6) regarding when Rep is optionally dropped. Japanese is a mora-based language, hence the minimal syllabic structure is (C)V. However, the geminate stop given as Q, whose realization in the examples is contingent on its following consonant, and the nasal velar ŋ given as N both constitute one mora. Therefore, *yukkuri* is /yuQkuri/, and *han'nari* is /haNnari/, so both constitute four morae.¹

(6) PHONOLOGICAL FORMS OF ICONIC ADVERBS WITH OPTIONAL REP

- a. Reduplicated form of CVCV: *guru* → *guruguru*
- b. Reduplicated form of (C)VN: *wan* → *wanwan*
- c. (C)VNCVri or (C)VQCVri: *han'nari*, *yukkuri*

Phonological forms other than (6) are in need of suffixation of Rep. As in (6), Tamori and Schourup (1999) take nominals into consideration, discussing them in the context of iconic items. This is understandable since *yukkuri* ‘slowness’ is historically mimetic (Iwanami Dictionary of Old Japanese). However, it is now considered to be a usual lexical item, constituting of part of the nominal adjective, *yukkuri-na* (slowness-COP(ULA)).² On the other hand, *han'nari* ‘grace’, which is of Kyoto origin and most typically used in Kyoto, is originally a derived nominal, *hana-nari* ‘being a flower’, stemming from *hana-naru* ‘to be a flower’. Therefore, it is also lexically nominal. I thus contend that nominal adverbs are not iconic but lexical, although some of them are of iconic origin like *yukkuri* ‘slowness’.

As we can see from (6), the relevant phonological forms do not comprise a natural class, but it is simply a list of when Rep can be optionally dropped. This state of affairs is unsatisfactory since we would like to know why Rep is optional at all in the cases summarized in (6). For that matter, since Tamori and Schourup (1999) are mainly concerned with the descriptive aspect, they do not provide any principled account. If its optional presence is purely regulated by the rather accidental phonological forms in (6), then we expect that there should be no syntactic or semantic correlates to the presence or absence of Rep. As Fujita (2000) and Tamori and Schourup (1999) discuss, however, Rep for iconic

¹See Labrune (2012) and references therein for the details of Japanese phonology. Representing the geminate stop as Q seems unorthodox for those who are not familiar with Japanese phonology, but it has been conventionalized in the literature.

²This copula is conjugated in the adnominal form, known as *Rentaikēi*, which is used in relative clauses and nominalized clauses (cf. Hiraiwa 2005, Watanabe 1994, 1996)).

adverbs is a quote marker, so there is still something quotative for the relevant adverbs. Building on this point, I will argue below that the optionality of Rep is not governed by phonology but syntax. More precisely, when Rep is obligatory, there is a hidden verb that contributes to the quote syntax and semantics.

First, note that quotation needs at least four components semantically as [Maier \(2008, 2014, to appear\)](#) and [Potts \(2007a\)](#) propose. Namely, we have to have the utterance relation between the quote source, the phonological representation of the quote, and the semantic and syntactic representation of the quote. Denoting this relation is done by the quotative verb in [Potts's \(2007a\)](#) semantics, and if we look at other languages, [Klamer \(2000\)](#) for instance observes that in Kambera, an Austronesian language, various iconic (ideophonic) items can appear as a manner adverb. However, they involve the quotative verb, *wà* 'say', as in (7). Likewise, [Güldemann \(2008\)](#) notes that, in Ik, a Kuliak language, the quotative verb is used to introduce an iconic/ideophonic manner adverb as in (8).³

- (7) Mbùtu wà-na tuna nú, na-puru nuna nú.
thud say-3S.GEN thus DEI(CTIC) 3S.NOM-descend DEL.3S DEI
'Thud! it did and he climbed down there.' ([Klamer 2000](#), 74, (13))

- (8) ama kut-ie koo odok-e {wiri}
person QV-DEP there gate-DAT {Id:quick.movement}
'the man moving at the gate [the man going like WIRI to the gate]' ([Güldemann 2008](#), 311, (195))

Although Rep in Japanese has no morphological link to *iw-* 'say', we can overtly express it in addition to Rep as shown in (9), where it is conjugated in so-called *te*-form, and this introduces a verbal adjunct or conjunct (see [Hayashi 2015](#), [Nakatani 2004](#), [Yoda 2013](#) and references therein); note that (9b) has a geminate stop Q realized as *t* before Rep. Without it, (9b) would sound bad. I will come back to this point soon. Here, the original meaning of *iw-* is diluted, since what is quoted is not a linguistic expression.⁴ Rather, it is now used as if it is sound-oriented. I thus assume that *iw-* in (9) is grammaticalized due to

³For (8), QV = quotative verb; DEP = dependent clause; Id = ideophone.

⁴This is much like colloquial English 'go', which can be used to not only report quotes as in (i) but introduce sounds as in (ii). I thank Jonathan Bobaljik for pointing this out.

- (i) ... and he goes "I'm OK."
(ii) The stone went thud.

some semantic bleaching process in the sense that it has lost some semantic feature(s) related to linguistic utterances (cf. see [Bybee and Pagliuca 1985](#) for the notion of semantic bleaching). From here, to disambiguate lexical *iw-* from grammaticalized *iw-*, I will gloss the latter as SAY.⁵

(9) ONOMATOPOEIC

- a. Inu-wa wan-to it-te nak-u.
dog-TOP ONOM-REP SAY-TE bark-NONPAST.
'Dogs bark, "bow-wow.''
- b. Inu-wa wanwan*(t)-to it-te nak-u.
dog-TOP ONOM.RED-REP SAY-TE bark-NONPAST.
'Dogs bark, "bow-wow.''
- c. Isi-ga dosun-to it-te oti-ta.
stone-NOM ONOM-REP SAY-TE fall-PAST
'A stone fell with a thud.'

Given the discussion so far, one may conjecture that the obligatory presence of Rep is the sign of this grammaticalized verb, namely, SAY. This SAY can then be overt or covert. However, this is not always the case. SAY cannot be overt for mimetic adverbs and nominal adverbs as in (10) and (11), respectively.

(10) MIMETIC

- a. Taroo-wa gurut-to (*it-te) kubi-o ugokasi-ta.
Taro-TOP MIM-REP SAY-TE neck-ACC move-PAST
'Taro moved his head round.'
- b. Taroo-wa guruguru(-to) (*it-te) kubi-o ugokasi-ta.
Taro-TOP MIM.RED-REP SAY-TE neck-ACC move-PAST
'Taro moved his head round and round.'

(11) NOMINAL

- a. Taroo-wa yukkuri(-to) (*it-te) arui-ta.
Taro-TOP slowness-REP SAY-TE walk-PAST
'Taro walked slowly.'

⁵The grammaticalized status is also supported by the fact that this *iw-* cannot be written with its dedicated Chinese character. Incidentally, note that all the functional items in Japanese are written in hiragana, a mora-based writing system. Thus, grammaticalized *iw-* is more like a functional word.

- b. Hanako-wa han'nari(-to) (*it-te) si-te-i-ru.
 Hanako-TOP grace-REP SAY-TE do-ASP-COP-NONPAST
 'Hanako is graceful.'

The impossibility of overt SAY in (10), or mimetic adverbs in general, will be explained in terms of their manner orientation. That is, the manner adverbs in (10) describe the way of moving-his-head action, hence no sound. Turning to (11), since these nominal adverbs are no longer iconic, irrelevant to quote, they are also incompatible with overt SAY. However, I argue that the incompatibility with overt SAY in (10) and that in (11) are not showing the same syntactic fact. Namely, I contend that SAY is covertly present in (10), but it is absent from (11).⁶

2.2.2 The Appositive Quote Construction and SAY

To see my contention, let us consider the following grammatical schema in (12), where the quoted item explains the content of the head noun, and I term (12) *the Appositive Quote Construction* (AQC). The AQC is a sort of appositive clause that modifies a head noun, and *iw-* as SAY here does not inflect in the usual present or past form (but see H. Saito 2018a). Examples of the AQC based on (3a) and (4a) is given in (13) and (14).

- (12) [_{Quote} . . .]-Rep SAY Noun
- (13) gurut-to iw ookina ugoki
 MIM-REP SAY big motion
 'big motion that is like moving round' [Google Search]
- (14) wan-to iw nakigoe
 ONOM-REP SAY barking.voice
 'bark'

In the AQC, SAY is used, and its grammaticalized status can be confirmed due to the fact that it cannot be written with the Chinese character (see fn. 5). Interestingly, overt SAY is employed in (13), which is mimetic, and in fact its presence is obligatory. However, nominal adverbs are still impossible with SAY even in the AQC as in (15a), in lieu of which

⁶See H. Saito (2018a,b) for the syntactic (and semantic) presence of invisible SAY in Japanese and Kratzer (2016) for English and German.

we have to use (15b) to get the intended meaning.⁷

- (15) a. *yukkuri-to iw arukikata
 slowness-REP SAY walking.manner
 Intended: ‘slow manner of walking’
 b. {yukkuri-na/yukkuri(-to)-si-ta} arukikata
 slowness-COP.ADN/slowness-REP-do-ASP walking.manner
 ‘slow manner of walking’

Therefore, we have two contrasts: one is the contrast between (10) and (13), and the other is that between (13) and (15). The latter simply indicates that SAY is impossible for nominal adverbs in any way, but the former shows that it is still possible for manner-based iconic (i.e. mimetic) adverbs. This being so, I argue that even in (3a) and (4a), there is a hidden SAY that selects the quote adverbs when Rep is obligatory, and that this verb surfaces as *iw-* only in the context of the AQC. Given this, an immediate question is why. As in (10), overt SAY in *te*-form (adjunct) is impossible, which is, I argued, because mimetic adverbs do not fit the sound orientation of overt SAY. Given the fact that SAY can and actually must be overt in the AQC, I maintain that the governing property is not the sound orientation of overt SAY *per se*, and that it is rather due to the verbal conjugation of it in the AQC. To see this, observe (16).

- (16) a. Taroo-wa Hanako-ga suki(-da).
 Taro-Top Hanako-NOM fond-COP.NONPAST
 ‘Taro likes Hanako.’
 b. [_{RC} Taroo-ga suki*(-na)] zyosee
 Taro-NOM fond-COP.ADN woman
 ‘woman who Taro likes’

In colloquial Japanese, a nonpast copula can be omitted as in (16a). In contrast, this option is not available when the copula is conjugated in the adnominal form (*Rentaikei*) *na*. This is not a matter of the copula occupying the (phonological) right border of a sentence, since the relevant copula can be missing, insofar as it is in the conclusive form (*Syuuushikei*) *da* as in (17).

⁷In (15b), we can use the nominal adjective of *yukkuri-na* or the form of relative clause within which the relevant nominal adverb appears. I prefer the latter option, but the former is still possible. The same holds for *han’nari* ‘grace’.

- (17) Taroo-wa [Ziroo-ga Hanako-ga suki(-da)-to] omot-ta.
 Taro-Top Jiro-Nom Hanako-Nom fond-COP.NONPAST-REP think-PAST
 ‘Taro thought that Jiro likes Hanako.’

I thus argue that predicates in the adnominal form cannot be elided. Although modern Japanese has lost the overt morphological distinction between the adnominal form and the conclusive form for all the predicates except the copula, the grammatical distinction in question still plays an important role for *Nominative-Genitive Conversion* (NGC) (Hiraiwa 2005, Watanabe 1994, 1996). Therefore, let us assume that this contrast is visible in syntax and hence morphology. Since the AQC is a nominal modifier, *iw-* as SAY should also be so conjugated.⁸ Then, when *Vocabulary Insertion* applies (Halle and Marantz 1993), zero realization of SAY is not an option. I suggest that this is because of the feature specification of SAY in the AQC. That is, since SAY in the AQC is conjugated in the

⁸Note that nominal modifiers in the adnominal form (i.e. *Rentaikai*) are not limited to the copula and SAY, but the relevant conjugation is employed in the adjectival/verbal conjugational system of modern Japanese. As I said, the morphological distinction has been lost in modern Japanese, but we do see such a morphological contrast for adjectives and certain classes of verbal inflection in classical Japanese, e.g. *ok-u* (conclusive) and *ok-uru* (adnominal), both of which are now *oki-ru* ‘wake up’. However, one of the arguments to postulate the distinction between the adnominal form and the conclusive form even in modern Japanese is concerned with the availability of a genitive subject. For instance, as in (i) from modern Japanese, although we do not see any verbal morphological contrast, only (ib) allows the subject to appear in genitive case, which is licensed only in the setting where the adnominal form is employed. See Hiraiwa (2005), Watanabe (1994, 1996) for the relevance of it to NGC in modern Japanese.

- (i) a. Taroo-{ga/*no} hon-o kat-ta.
 Taro-Nom/GEN book-ACC buy-PAST.CONCL
 ‘Taro bought a book.’
 b. [Taroo-{ga/no} kat-ta] hon
 Taro-Nom/GEN buy-PAST.ADN book
 ‘the book that Taro bought’

Also notable is that even in modern Japanese, some adjectives can optionally show the relevant contrast in some archaic expressions as in (ii).

- (ii) a. Kare-wa kokorozasi-ga taka-{i/*ki}.
 he-Top heart.direction-Nom high-COP.NONPAST.CONCL/COP.ADN
 ‘He is highly motivated.’
 b. Kare-no taka-{i/ki} kokorozasi
 he-GEN high-COP.ADN heart.direction
 ‘his high motivation’

In (iia), the adjective must be in the conclusive form because it is a sentential predicate, while in (iib), it can be inflected as *-ki* optionally, which is the adjectival adnominal inflection in classical Japanese.

adnominal form, it is different from SAY for iconic adverbs, so that irrespective of the sound-orientation requirement, SAY with the [+adnominal] feature will be realized as *iw-* at the morphological component. Then, we have three ways to spell out SAY as in (18), which explains the contrast between (10) and (13).

- (18) a. SAY $\rightarrow \emptyset$ (Onomatopoeic/Mimetic adverbs)
 b. SAY $\rightarrow iw-$ (Onomatopoeic adverbs)
 c. SAY_[+adnominal] $\rightarrow iw-$ (The AQC)

2.2.3 Reduplication and Nominalization of Iconic Expressions

Turning to the reduplicated iconic adverbs in (3b) and (4b) and their optionality of Rep, things are not so simple, for accent patterns affect the acceptability with Rep or without, and as we will see, the different accent patterns of them change their syntactic categories. Specifically, I argue below that the optionality of Rep in (3b) and (4b) is not just about the presence or absence of Rep, but it exemplifies the structural ambiguity: whether they are still an iconic item or nominalized. That is, when Rep becomes optional, a given reduplicated expression is nominalized and no longer iconic, so that SAY is also excluded. Then, Rep is also no longer a quotative marker and assumes a different function, which point we will come back to shortly.

Now, to understand in what sense the pertinent reduplication leads to nominalization, let us consider e.g. *guruguru*, a reduplicated mimetic item expressing some circulating motion. What is important for its nominal or iconic status is its accent pattern.⁹ Consider (19).

(19)

<i>guruguru</i>	with Rep	without Rep
HLLL	✓	✓
LHHH	✓	*

For the HLLL pattern, Rep is optional. If its optionality entails its nominalized status as I claim, *guruguru* in HLLL is not iconic, irrelevant to the quote syntax and semantics,

⁹Note that Japanese employs pitch accent: that is, H = high or L = low on each mora, and differences in pitch accent can give rise to those in lexical items. For instance, *hasi*, which comprises two morae: /ha/ and /si/, can be pronounced as LH or HL in standard Japanese. If the former, it means ‘bridge’ or ‘edge’, and if the latter, it means ‘chopsticks’.

whereas LHHH still remains iconic.¹⁰ In this connection, the LHHH pattern requires the insertion of a geminate stop Q before Rep. Therefore, the actual representation of *guruguru-to* in the iconic accent should be *gurugurut-to* (i.e. LHHHQ-Rep), and this pattern must occur with Rep. Now, the accent pattern in AQC must be LHHHQ, not HLLL, as shown in (20).¹¹

- (20) guruguru*(t)-to iw ookina ugoki
 MIM.RED-REP SAY.ADN big motion
 ‘big motion that is like moving round and round’

Thus, only the accent pattern of HLLL allows genuine optionality. Likewise, *wanwan* ‘bow-wow’ needs to be pronounced with a geminate stop Q in AQC; see (9b). In this connection, Tamori and Schourup (1999) argue that the higher degree of iconicity an expression has, more likely to be quoted it will be, referring to the sound symbolism of Q in Japanese. According to them, Q appearing before Rep evinces a quick and irregular motion (Tamori and Schourup 1999, 73).^{12,13} Thus, the iconicity of LHHHQ is high, and

¹⁰Perhaps, some Japanese speakers may find other ways to pronounce *guruguru*, but what is important here is whether or not we have H on the last mora.

¹¹One may find this possible with HLLL, but I argue that in this case, *guruguru* is nominal, so it does not have to refer to some circulating motion. Suppose that we name some vertical motion *guruguru*; this context renders (17) with HLLL totally acceptable, but not LHHHQ. In this case, the structure is, I suggest, a relative clause, whose predicate is *guruguru* as in (i); I assume the name part is PredP; see §4.3.1 of Chapter 4.

- (i) [_{RC} Op₁ ... t₁ ... [_{VP} [_{PredP} *guruguru*]-Rep SAY] ...] [_{NP} motion]

This relative clause is derived based on Naming Construction we will discuss next. The operator in (i) starts from some subject position. As in (ii), we can use the *Subj-Name-Rep SAY* schema as a usual clause.

- (ii) Boku-wa [kare-no na-ga nan-to iw-ka] sira-nai.
 I-TOP he-GEN name-NOM what-REP SAY.NONPAST know-NEG.COP.NONPAST
 ‘I don’t know what his name is.’

¹²For the notion of sound symbolism, consider for instance *gl-* in English, which sometimes sound-symbolizes brightness, e.g. *glitter*, *gleam*, *glimmer* and so on.

¹³As I noted in fn. 11, the HLLL schema can ostensibly occur in AQC if it is a name like (i).

- (i) wanwan-to iw namae-no inu
 ONOM-REP SAY.ADN name-GEN dog
 ‘dog whose name is “Bow-wow”’

In (i), the quote is however regarded as a nominal predicate. That is, (i) is a relative clause with the head noun is interpreted as the subject of the quote.

this makes it possible for the reduplicated items to be quoted in AQC.

Let us turn to the nominal status of HLLL. Setting aside the optionality of Rep for the moment, we can find support for its nominal status, which is the fact that the process from iconic elements to nominals under reduplication is widely attested in Japanese, especially for mimetics for mind/emotion such as *dokidoki* (heart pounding in excitement) (cf. Occhi 1999). Most frequently, such nominals are used as verbal nouns (VN) as in (21) (Martin 1975). The accent pattern of *dokidoki* must be HLLL without Q.

- (21) Taroo-wa Hanako-ni kokuhaku-s-are-te dokidoki(*s)-si-ta.
 Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT confession-do-PASS-TE MIM.RED-do-PAST
 Lit. 'Taro did *dokidoki* because Hanako confessed her love to him.'

Interestingly, only 1-time reduplication (e.g. *guru* to *guruguru*) can be lexically construed as nominal, and further reduplication renders Rep and hence the insertion of Q obligatory as in (22) and (23).

- (22) Taroo-wa guruguruguru*(t-to) kubi-o ugokasi-ta.
 Taro-TOP MIM.RED-REP neck-ACC move-PAST
 'Taro moved his head round, round and round.'
- (23) Inu-wa wanwanwan*(t-to) nak-u.
 dog-TOP ONOM.RED-REP bark-NONPAST.
 'Dogs bark, "bow-wow-wow."'

This sort of reduplication leads to obligatory Rep due to its high iconicity in the sense that the way to use iconic items is very specific, trying to capture a given observed/heard situation by mimicking it precisely (Tamori and Schourup 1999, 189-196).¹⁴ In contrast, iconic items with 1-time reduplication can change (but not necessarily) into nominal adverbs, patterning with e.g. *yukkuri* 'slowness'. Therefore, 1-time-reduplicated iconic adverbs with the accent pattern of HLLL are nominal and non-quotative, hence not requiring SAY, be it overt or covert.

An important issue at this juncture is why Rep is optional for nominal adverbs in the first place. One may surmise that it may be the vestige of iconicity for some nominal

¹⁴Note that *guruguruguruguru* is fine as nominal, for in this case, what is reduplicated once is the entire unit of *guruguru*. Thus, the recursive 2×2×2... reduplication (i.e. REDUPLICATE(X) = XX) leads to possible nominal adverbs/predicates, although doing it too much is, of course, odd.

adverbs, but this leaves the cases of nominal adverbs that are not of iconic origin such as *han'nari* 'grace', still compatible with Rep. Regarding this puzzle, I suggest that once *to* has lost its quote syntax and semantics so that it is no longer Rep, it will assume other functions. Mine (2007) for instance observes that adverbs with *to* behave like informational focus. Suppose that we answer the question of how dogs bark in Japanese onomatopoeia. Then, (24) without *to* becomes unacceptable. Although my judgment is not as bad as Mine gives, I admit that the adverb without *to* sounds worse.¹⁵

- (24) Inu-wa wanwan*(-to) naki-mas-u.
 dog-Top ONOM-To bark-POL-NONPAST
 'Dogs bark, "bow-wow."' (Mine 2007, 7, (13))

Mine (2007) also gives another diagnostic, based on Takami's (1997) observation that items postposed become afterthoughts and cannot be informational focus. Consider (25), where the nominal adverb is postposed.

- (25) Hatarakisugi-na-n-da-kara onsen-ni-de-mo
 working.too.much-COP.ADN-NMLZ-COP.NONPAST-from hot.spring-in-COP.Te-also
 tukat-ta-hoo-ga ii-des-u-yo, yukkuri(?-to).
 soak-PAST-side-NOM good-COP.POL-NONPAST-SFP slowness-To
 'Because you have been working too much, you'd better soak yourself in a hot spring leisurely.' (Mine 2007, 8, (21))

The presence of *to* does not necessarily lead to unacceptability, but I think that it makes the afterthought sound somewhat deviant. The judgments Mine (2007) reports are not so robust for me, but the fact that there are speakers who construe adverbs with Rep as informational focus is suggestive enough, I speculate, to show the grammatical/semantic shift of Rep to something non-quotative. Regarding this, equally notable is the fact that Rep is morphologically isomorphic to the comitative postposition and nominal coordinator in Japanese. Although I do not consider whether these elements are related to Rep because this is rather orthogonal to my interest and beyond the scope of this dissertation, the instances of *to* as Rep, comitative postposition, and nominal coordinator can all undergo *Particle Stranding Ellipsis* (Sato 2012, Shibata 2014, also see §4.3.2 in Chapter 4), so that

¹⁵The accent pattern here should be HLLL. Here, I gloss *to* as To for nominal adverbs.

there seems to be some connection among them.¹⁶ Taking all these into consideration, I thus conjecture that the optional presence of *to* for nominal adverbs may be motivated by other pragmatic/semantic factors, but crucially, quote-syntax/semantics-wise, *to* will not do anything. Therefore, like other instances of *to* as e.g. the comitative postposition, this does not affect my criticism of the traditional view of Rep as C.

2.2.4 Proposal: The Structure of Iconic Adverb

Given the discussion above, my claims given in (1), repeated in (26), are established.

- (26)
- a. Iconic (mimetic/onomatopoeic) adverbs must occur with Rep and covert or overt SAY.
 - b. Overt SAY obeys the sound-orientation requirement. That is, it is only compatible with onomatopoeic expressions.
 - c. However, in the AQC, mimetic expressions are also in need of overt SAY due

¹⁶However, the comitative/coordinating *to* and the reporting *to* are clearly different. The latter can be replaced by the colloquial version of *(t)te*, but the former cannot.

- (i)
 - a. Taroo-wa gurut-{to/te} kubi-o ugokasi-ta.
Taro-Top MIM-REP neck-Acc move-Past
'Taro moved his head round.'
 - b. Taroo-wa Ziroo-{to/*tte} ki-ta.
Taro-Top Jiro-with come-Past
'Taro came with Jiro.'
 - c. Taroo {to/*tte} Jiroo
Taro and Jiro
'Taro and Jiro'

In this connection, Naming Construction to be discussed next is also possible with *te* as in (ii). Interestingly, *te* cannot be used for nominal adverbs as in (iii), which supports my claim that they are no longer quotative.

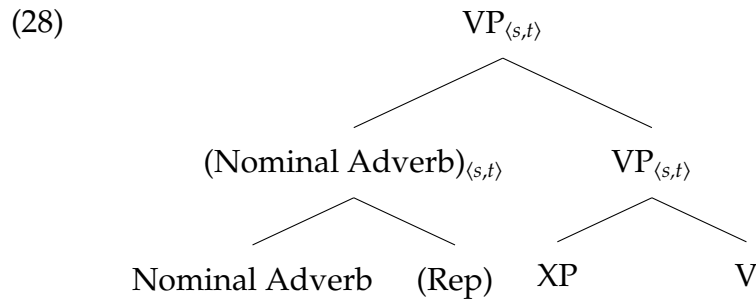
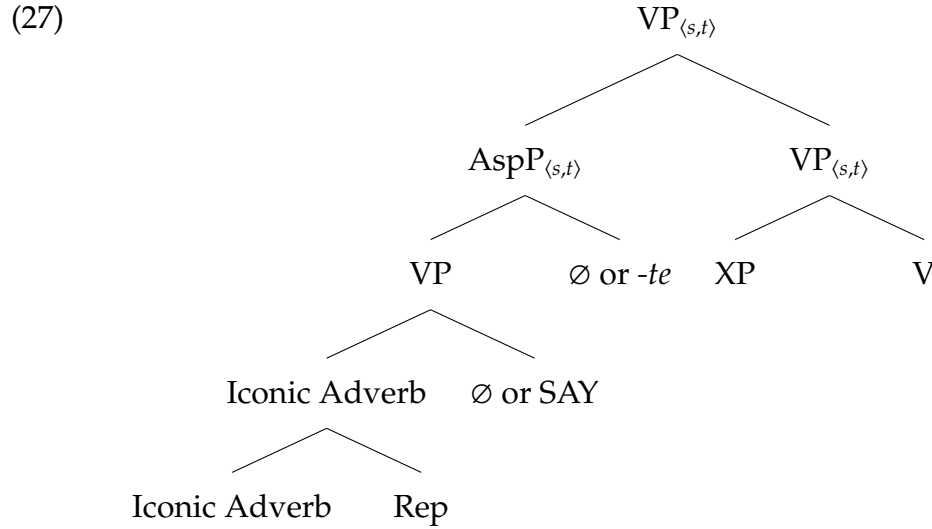
- (ii) Taroo-wa kare-o Ziroo-{to/te} nazuke-ta.
Taro-Top he-Acc Jiro-Rep name-Past
'Taro named him Jiro.'
- (iii) Taroo-wa yukkuri-{to/*tte} arui-ta.
Taro-Top slowness-To walk-Past
'Taro walked slowly.'

Also, reduplicated iconic adverbs are not compatible with *te* unless the LHHHQ pattern is invoked. Again, this shows that *to* for nominal adverbs are not quotative.

to the adnominal morphology.

- d. When Rep is optional, it is no longer a quotative marker, and SAY is absent.
- e. Optional Rep may have some different function like an informational focus marker (Mine 2007).

Then, I propose that iconic adverbs and nominal adverbs are structured as in (27) and (28), respectively. Since the modification relation between an adverb and a verb is intersection of two eventuality (i.e. event and state) sets (cf. D. Davidson 1967, Parsons 1990), I assume adverbs and modified verbs denote the set of eventualities $\langle s, t \rangle$; s is of eventuality type.



In (27), I assume that *-te* resides in Asp, since *-te* is also used for progressive and perfective aspects as in (29).

- (29) a. Taroo-wa ima hasit-**te**-i-ru.
Taro-TOP now run-TE-COP-NONPAST

‘Taro is running now.’

- b. Taroo-wa moo tui-**te**-i-ru.
 Taro-Top already arrive-TE-COP-NONPAST
 ‘Taro has already arrived.’

Since *-te* here is to the left of the tense marker, it should be syntactically lower than T.¹⁷ Even if the sequence of SAY-*te* is covert, it is syntactically present. In contrast, Rep is optional and there is no VP headed by SAY in (28), so that I assume that nominal adverbs themselves denote $\langle s, t \rangle$.¹⁸

¹⁷See Hayashi (2015), Kusumoto (2001), Nakatani (2004), Yoda (2013) among others for various perspectives and analyses of the *te*-form.

¹⁸A fundamental question one may ask at this point is whether it is possible to have AspP function as an adjunct. Semantically, to the extent that AspP denotes a set of events and the modified VP are also of type $\langle s, t \rangle$, they can be combined. Syntactically, there are cases where functional items behave like an adjunct. For instance, according to Haddad (2017), circumstantial adjunct clauses come in two guises in Lebanese Arabic: one is CP, and the other is C-less clauses. Observe (i).

- (i) a. l-tle:mi:z d^ʕaharo: min l-ʕimtiha:n [ʕham-byid^ʕhako:].
 the.students come.out.PERF.3.PL from the.exam PROG-laugh.IMPERF.3.PL
 ‘The students came out of the exam laughing.’ (Haddad 2017, 208, (3b))
 b. l-tle:mi:z d^ʕaharo: min l-ʕimtiha:n [w-hinne ʕham-byid^ʕhako:].
 the.students come.out.PERF.3.PL from the.exam C-they PROG-laugh.IMPERF.3.PL
 ‘The students came out of the exam laughing.’ (Haddad 2017, 209, (4b))

(ia) and (ib) are different in several ways. For instance, (ib) allows two overt subjects in the matrix and adjunct clauses that can be referentially disjointed whereas the referent of the matrix subject is obligatorily the same as that of the covert subject in (ia). What is relevant to the current discussion is however the syntactic status of the adjunct in (ia). Haddad argues that it is IP or defective TP that contains (progressive) AspP. One of the pieces of evidence he gives is that IP-level adverbs like *probably* can appear inside the adjunct clause as in (ii).

- (ii) l-tle:mi:z yaḥ yid^ʕaharo: min l-ʕimtiha:n l-ʔarzaḥ ʕam-byid^ʕḥbyibko:.
 the.students FUT come.out.IMPERF.3.PL from the.exam probably PROG-cry.IMPERF.3.PL
 ‘The students came out of the exam probably crying.’ (Haddad 2017, 213, (14))

Japanese does not seem to be readily compatible with such an adverb as in (iii). Here, *kakuzituni* ‘certainly’ and *osoraku* ‘probably’ are intended to modify *deteku*- ‘come out’ and *nak*- ‘cry’, respectively.

- (iii) ?*Kakuzituni, Taroo-wa osoraku nai-te siken-kaizyoo-kara deteku-ru.
 certainly Taro-Top probably cry-TE exam-classroom-from come.out-NONPAST
 Intended ‘Certainly, Taro will come out of the exam classroom, probably crying.’

This shows that the adjunct in question is not as big as IP or defective TP. However, that IP/TP can function as an adverb in Lebanese Arabic is suggestive enough that functional projections smaller than CP can be an adverb. I thus assume that having AspP as an adjunct is not problematic insofar as the semantic type is

To recap, we have investigated the nature of adverbs with Rep, which is optional or obligatory. I have argued that the condition on optional Rep is not phonological. That is, when Rep appears, SAY is perforce in the structure either overtly or covertly. All the optional adverbs [Tamori and Schourup \(1999\)](#) list are nominal adverbs, which are lexical and hence non-iconic. Since quote is iconic ([Fujita 2000](#)), such adverbs are not endowed with the quote syntax and semantics.

2.3 Naming Construction

Another case where Rep takes non-clausal elements is *Naming Construction* (NC). NC in Japanese has not been analyzed in the generative framework, as far as I know, but for English, [Matushansky \(2005, 2006b, 2008\)](#) argues that the name and the DP that is named constitute a Small Clause (SC). We can see that CP and (infinitival) TP complements to *name* including *Exceptional Case Marking* (ECM) complements, are ruled out as in (30).¹⁹

- (30) a. John named him Bill.
 b. *John named that he is Bill.
 c. *John named him to be Bill.

The impossibility of (30b) and (30c) may be explained in terms of the mismatch between the verb, *name*, and the propositional complement, for *name* is not an intensional predicate and hence cannot be proposition-taking. This thus leads [Matushansky \(2005, 2006b, 2008\)](#) to propose that the embedded clause is an SC with a special semantics such that the name *Bill* is the item that takes the namee object and the verb as its arguments in the fashion

appropriate for modification.

¹⁹In passing, the name part of NC in English also behaves like quotation as in (i).

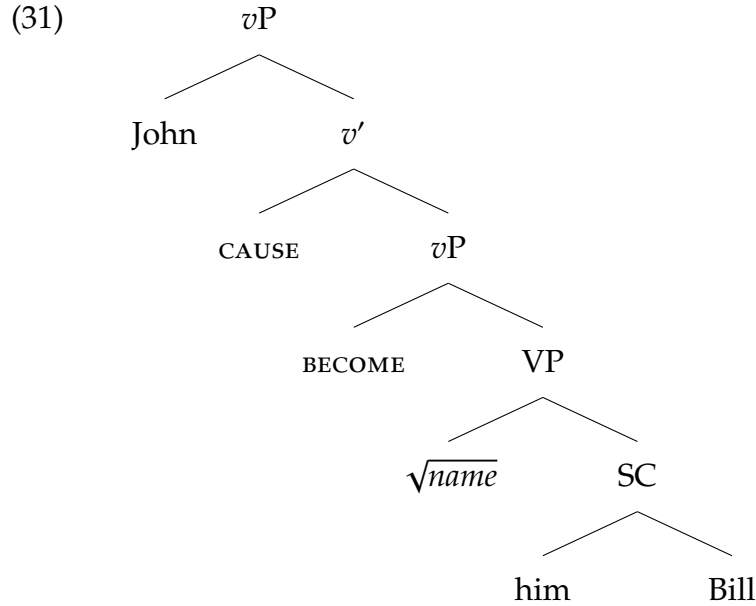
- (i) She named her son “Bill.” (Jonathan Bobaljik, p.c.)

Also even in English, the ‘name’ part may behave as an adjunct as follows:

- (ii) She named him {(as) her heir/as the prime suspect}. (Jonathan Bobaljik, p.c.)

The meaning is different from the usual verb *name*, and (ii) is not quotative and does not give any names to the object argument, but this is worth mentioning at this juncture. In passing, (30c) is fine in this sense: i.e. *name* = *choose* or *designate*. For example, (30c) is acceptable if John is the casting director for a movie, choosing *him* to play the role of *Bill*.

of (32), so that (30a) is structurally analyzed as in (31) under her analysis. The resulting object of (32) will be a state of *him being Bill*, which is the argument of BECOME located in the lower *v*. Then, this BECOME *v*P will be selected by the CAUSE *v*, which captures naming itself is an action, not a state.



Matushansky (cf. 2005, 8, (27))

(32) $\llbracket \text{Bill} \rrbracket = \lambda x. \lambda R. x$ is a referent of [bil] by virtue of the naming convention R

I will not dwell on the semantics of NC in English, and the readers can refer to her works and evidences for Matushansky's analysis, but I point out that the fact in (30) is also observed in Japanese as in (33) (cf. Fujita 2000, Shimamura 2016).

- (33)
- a. Taroo-wa kare-o Ziroo-to nazuke-ta.
Taro-Top he-Acc Jiro-Rep name-Past
'Taro named him Jiro.'
 - b. *Taroo-wa kare-{ga/o} Ziroo-da-to nazuke-ta.
Taro-Top he-Nom/Acc Jiro-Cop.NONPAST-Rep name-Past
Intended: 'Taro named him Jiro.'
 - c. *Taroo-wa kare-o Ziroo-ni nazuke-ta.
Taro-Top he-Acc Jiro-Cop.INF name-Past
Intended: 'Taro named him Jiro.'

(33b) shows that nominative (and accusative) case and an overt copula are excluded, which then indicates that there is no C-T in NC since the (finite) C-T domain is assumed to be responsible for assigning nominative case (Chomsky 2008). Also, as in (33c), an infinitival copula is not possible either, so that the ECM complementation is also not an option, so the name in (33a) should not have a full-fledged clause.²⁰

Then, we have to consider whether (33a) has an SC structure like (31), which Matshansky (2005, 2006b, 2008) proposes for English. Note however that Rep there cannot be omitted as in (34a), and overt SAY is marginally possible as in (34b). Since the *te*-form in general is an adjunct or a conjunct (Hayashi 2015, Nakatani 2004, Yoda 2013), the one in (34b) is best interpreted as an adjunct.^{21,22}

- (34) a. Taroo-wa kare-o Zi-roo*(-to) nazuke-ta.
 Taro-Top he-Acc Jiro-Rep name-Past
 ‘Taro named him Jiro.’
 b. ?Taroo-wa kare-o Zi-roo-to it-te nazuke-ta.
 Taro-Top he-Acc Jiro-Rep SAY-Te name-Past
 ‘Taro named him Jiro, saying “Jiro.”’

For the reasons why I argue for treating the name with Rep as an adjunct, first of all, we have to note that the verb, *nazuke*- ‘name’, is already complex. That is, this verb is composed of verbal *tuke*- ‘attach’ and nominal *na* ‘name’, which is the short form of nominal *namae* ‘name’, so that I assume that *nazuke*- is derived via incorporating *na* into *tuke*-. Therefore, (33) with *nazuke*- can be paraphrased as in (35), where the verb *tuke*- is ditransitive, and we can optionally add the name to the sentence as in (35a) with overt

²⁰As I contend in Chapter 4, the internal structure of the name in NC is complex, involving a predicate structure.

²¹The marginality of (34b) is due to the requirement that this overt SAY involve an actual utterance because of its sound orientation. So it is like Taro, when naming the person to be named, declared the name he has chosen. The same holds for (35b), which is odd unless some appropriate context is introduced. Thus, I assume that the default option is phonologically invisible SAY.

²²English allows *name* to be used as a monotransitive verb, meaning ‘give a name to’. Witness (i), whose context is such that the maternal grandmother Mary names a couple’s firstborn child; Japanese also allows this as in (ii). This then also excludes the SC analysis for NC in Japanese, whether or not it includes SAY.

- (i) Mary named her son. (Jonathan Bobaljik, p.c.)
 (ii) Hanako-wa kare-o nazuke-ta.
 Hanako-Top he-Acc name-Past
 ‘Hanako named him.’

SAY as in (35b). Note that the omission of Rep leads to ungrammaticality as in (35c) just like (34a). Also, nominative case and an overt copula as well as ECM are impossible as in (36) *vis à vis* (33b) and (33c).

- (35) a. Taroo-wa kare-ni na(mae)-o (Ziroo-to) take-ta.
 Taro-TOP he-DAT name-ACC Jiro-REP attach-PAST
 Lit. 'Taro attached a name to him (, saying "Jiro").'
- b. Taroo-wa kare-ni na(mae)-o Ziroo-to (?it-te) take-ta.
 Taro-TOP he-DAT name-ACC Jiro-REP SAY-TE attach-PAST
 Lit. 'Taro attached a name to him (, saying) "Jiro."'
- c. Taroo-wa kare-ni na(mae)-o Ziroo*(-to) take-ta.
 Taro-TOP he-DAT name-ACC Jiro-REP attach-PAST
 Lit. 'Taro attached a name to him, "Jiro."'
- (36) a. *Taroo-wa kare-ni na(mae)-{ga/o} Ziroo-da-to nazuke-ta.
 Taro-TOP he-DAT name-NOM/ACC Jiro-COP.NONPAST-REP name-PAST
 Intended: 'Taro named him Jiro.'
- b. *Taroo-wa kare-ni na(mae)-o Ziroo-ni nazuke-ta.
 Taro-TOP kare-DAT name-ACC Jiro-COP-INF name-PAST
 Intended: 'Taro named him Jiro.'

The structural configuration between the dative argument and the accusative argument is the dative argument c-commanding the accusative argument (Hoji 1985). This is confirmed by binding a variable pronoun like (37).

- (37) a. Taroo-wa [san-nin-izyoo-no tomodati]₁-ni soitu₁-ni aw
 Taro-TOP 3-CL-more.than-GEN friend -DAT he-DAT fit.NONPAST
 nikkuneemu-o take-ta.
 nickname-ACC attach-PAST
 Lit 'Taro attached the nickname which suits them₁ to more than three friends₁.'
- b. Taroo-wa sore_{*1}-no aw tomodati-ni [mittu-izyoo-no
 Taro-TOP it-GEN fit.NONPAST friend-DAT 3-CL-more.than-GEN
 nikkuneemu]₁-o take-ta.
 nickname -ACC attach-PAST
 Intended: 'Taro attached more than 3 nicknames₁ to the friends who is suitable for them₁.'

In (37a), the dative argument binds the variable pronoun inside the accusative argument,

and the opposite is impossible as in (37b). To get the intended binding relation, we have to A-scramble the accusative argument over the dative argument as in (38) (Hoji 1985).

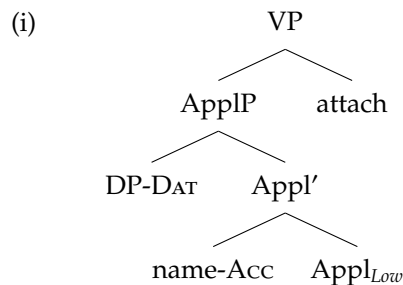
- (38) Taroo-wa [mittu-izyoo-no nikkuneemu]₁-o₂ sore₁-no aw
 Taro-Top 3-CL-more.than-GEN nickname -ACC it-GEN fit.NONPAST
 tomodati-ni *t*₂ take-ta.
 friend-DAT attach-PAST
 Lit. 'Taro attached more than 3 nicknames₁ to the friends who is suitable for them₁.'

Here, I assume that *tuke-* has the structure of low applicative in the sense of Pylkkänen (2002, 2008) as in (39), namely, the possession relation between two individuals.²³ In (39), I assume in line with Pylkkänen that Appl is a higher order predicate, so it takes a verb as its argument in addition to two DPs.²⁴ To derive (38), the accusative DP moves to c-command the dative DP.

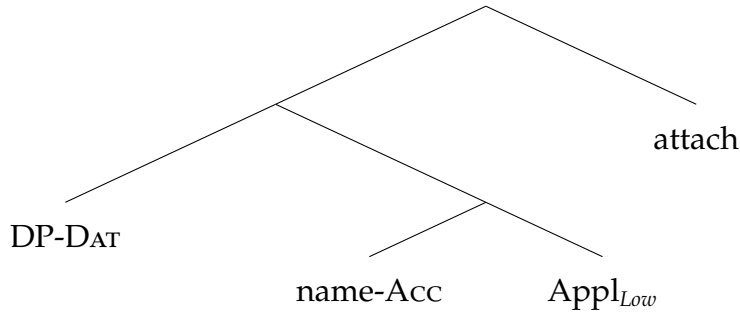
²³*tuke-* cannot denote the relation between an individual and an eventuality, which is an instance of high applicative (Pylkkänen 2002, 2008). A typical example of *tuke-* is something like (i).

- (i) Taroo-wa teeburu-ni kizu-o take-ta.
 Taro-Top table-DAT scratch-ACC attach-PAST
 'Taro scratched the surface of the table.'

²⁴Pylkkänen does not give syntactic labeling. However, we can come up with a layered verbal structure (cf. Larson 1988). For instance, it can be like (i), where *attach* takes ApplP as its complement. However, semantically, Appl_{Low} takes *attach* as its argument. This sort of mismatch should not be regarded as problematic given how generalized quantifiers are interpreted, as pointed out by Pylkkänen. Therefore, I assume the structure in (i) for my syntactic analysis of Japanese NC in (40) below.



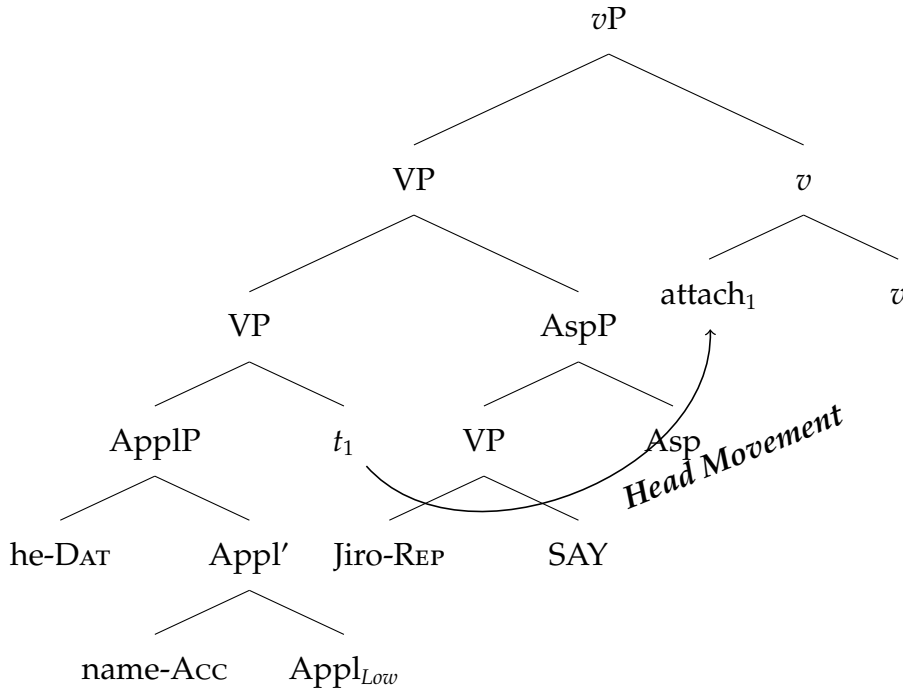
(39)



$\llbracket \mathbf{Appl}_{Low} \rrbracket = \lambda x. \lambda y. \lambda f_{\langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle}. \lambda s. f(s, x) \& \text{THEME}(s, x) \& \text{TO-THE-POSSESSION}(x, y)$
 (based on Pylkkänen 2002, 22, (25))

Then, given the ditransitive structure of the namee in dative case and *na(mae)* ‘name’ in accusative case plus the adjunct structure of the name suffixed by Rep, we have (40) for the structure of e.g. (35a).

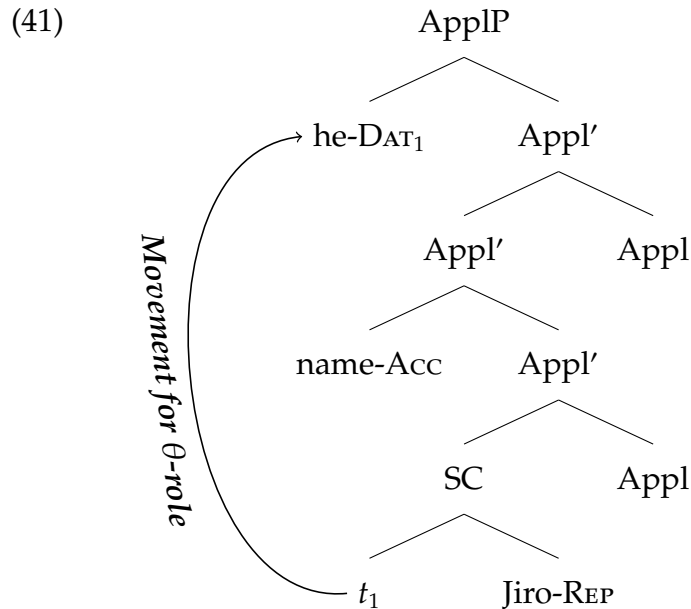
(40)



In (40), AspP is adjoined to the entire VP via modification under the set of eventualities.²⁵ Then, once *v* is merged, the verb moves there, deriving the right word order. If we derive

²⁵Recall that the adjunct structure involves AspP for *-te* both overtly and covertly.

nazuke- ‘name’, the direct object incorporates into the verb (Baker 1988), and the indirect object will get accusative case. Therefore, I argue that the dative argument and the name with Rep do not constitute an SC in Japanese. This is because if we assume that the dative argument starts out as the subject of such an SC as in (41), this forces us to assume that the name is the functor that takes the verb as its argument like Matushansky (2005, 2006b, 2008), due to the semantics of the verb *name* being non-propositional. This is fine, insofar as her analysis of NC is correct. But in Japanese, we have to add the applicative semantics to it. *Tuke*- ‘attach’ is a low applicative, so it is hard to think that the lower argument as an SC, a proposition, feeds into such semantics, and this semantic consideration also renders it highly doubtful that the dative argument starts out as the subject of the SC. This is because we have to assume at least two things: (i) the SC is somehow introduced by the applicative syntax in addition to the accusative argument and the dative argument, and (ii) the dative argument will receive the recipient θ -role derivationally (cf. Boeckx et al. 2010, Fujii 2006, Funakoshi 2009, Hornstein 1999, among many others). The second half is probably fine, if this is independently motivated, and many researchers are pursuing this possibility, but the first half is hard to establish as illustrated in (41). To make (41) go through, we have to assume some layered ApplP, and revise the semantics of ApplP to incorporate the semantics of SC, or the reverse, which is cumbersome and technically needs a lot of unmotivated assumptions.



One remaining task is to consider how to establish the predication relation between the dative argument and the name in (40) (to the extent that the relevant predication is syntactic, not of a matter of conventional knowledge, e.g. some pragmatic procedure). In English, this was achieved by the SC structure under the analysis by Matushansky (2005, 2006b, 2008), but this is impossible for us since the name is an adjunct. I thus assume that the dative argument moves out of ApplP into Spec-*v*P, from which it can c-command the name, so I assume that the name is a secondary predicate in the sense of Koizumi (1994), who argues that the subject must c-command the secondary predicate. Notice at this point that SAY is motivated given that the quoted name is an adjunct to ApplP. That is, we have to do modification under the set of eventualities, but it is not so clear how we can achieve it without SAY. Of course, as Matushansky argues, the name itself is predicative, and this is motivated given the fact that in Greek, where proper names are always accompanied by overt determiners, predicative proper names in NC lack them. Even if so, the name should denote some eventuality of state type. But naming itself is eventive as Matushansky's analysis suggests; see (31). Under her analysis, this is obtained by *v* BECOME plus CAUSE, and for us, by the proposed SAY.

To summarize, we have shown another construction where Rep attaches to a non-clausal item, NC, and it also involves an adjunct structure like iconic adverbs discussed in §2.2. These two cases strongly show that Rep is not C.

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have investigated two cases where Rep does not select structures that cannot be considered to be clausal: iconic adverbs and NC. In so doing, I proposed that they involve a grammaticalized functional verb, SAY, which can be overt if what is quoted satisfies sound orientation (and must be overt for AQC). The relation between Rep and SAY will become more important as the current discussion unfolds: they must go together in all quotative constructions since as I will propose in Chapter 4, Rep and SAY enter into a grammatical dependency via Agree for the [Quote]-feature, and as I will argue in 8, the semantic type rendered by Rep necessitates SAY for the semantic compositionality.

Chapter 3

Indexical Shifting in Japanese? Monster Operator vs. Subclausal Quotation

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we will study another important issue concerning the property of Rep: viz., clauses embedded via Rep allow indexicals to be interpreted relative to the reported context. This state of affairs has been discussed in terms of embedded imperatives and pronominal ambiguity. For the former, [Kuno \(1988\)](#) argues that Japanese has a third kind of discourse in addition to more familiar direct and indirect discourses, namely *blended* or *quasi-direct discourse*, which is such that only the verb position can be construed as if it is directly quoted with the other parts indirectly quoted; see [\(4\)](#) and [\(5\)](#) below. Recently, [Sauerland and Yatsushiro \(2014\)](#) formulate it with recourse to the monster operator ([Anand and Nevins 2004](#), [Schlenker 2003](#), [Sudo 2012](#) among many others). Also, they argue that other indexicals such as pronouns cannot be shifted by the monster operator in Japanese (cf. [H. Saito 2018c](#)). However, other researchers report the shifted reading of the first-person pronoun ([Coulmas 1985](#), [Maier 2014](#), [Sudo 2012](#)), so we first need to consider the pertinent data carefully, and then I will show that even those who do not like the shifted reading of pronouns become to allow such interpretations if the data are modified so as to be subclausally quoted. This may be a welcome result for those who advocate subclausal (or mixed) quotation like [Maier \(2014\)](#). However, subclausal quotation as in the form he argues for has empirical problems. Thus, in Chapter [4](#), I will propose a new way to

implement subclausal quotation, overcoming the challenges pointed out by Sauerland and Yatsushiro (2014) and Sudo (2012).

This chapter is organized as follows. In Section 3.2, we will review Kuno's (1988) quasi-direct discourse in terms of embedded imperatives. There, I will show that both indexical shifting and subclausal quotation as Maier (2014) argues for both have serious empirical and theoretical challenges. Then, in Section 3.3, I will give a set of facts that has hitherto been unnoticed, which shows that the purported shifted reading of indexicals is sensitive to the word order relative to *wh*-items, arguing that this state of affairs is hard for indexical shifting to deal with. Section 3.4 will conclude, followed by Appendix 3.A.

3.2 Embedded Imperative and Kuno's (1988) Quasi-direct Discourse: The Puzzle

Whether a given language can embed an imperative has attracted much attention in the literature (Crnič and Trinh 2009, Kaufmann 2012, 2014, Maier 2014, Oshima 2006, Portner 2007, Schlenker 2003, Stegovec and Kaufmann 2015 among others). Although English cannot embed an imperative as in (1), Japanese can as in (2).¹

- (1) *John told Bill that do his homework. (Intended: 'John told Bill to do his homework.')
- (2) Taroo-wa Ziroo-ni [sono heya-o soozi-si-ro-to] it-ta.
Taro-Top Jiro-DAT that room-ACC cleaning-do-IMP-REP say-PAST
Lit. 'Taro said to Jiro that clean.IMP(ERATIVE) that room.'

Crucially, we can render a long-distance question via the matrix Q-marker as shown in (3). Thus, the embedded clause in its entirety is not directly quoted since what is directly quoted is opaque to syntactic operations from the outside.

- (3) Taroo-wa Ziroo-ni [dono heya-o soozi-si-ro-to] it-ta-no.
Taro-Top Jiro-DAT which room-ACC cleaning-do-IMP-REP say-PAST-Q
Lit. 'Which room did Taro say to Jiro that clean.IMP?'

Regarding how to derive embedded imperatives, we have at least two theoretical tech-

¹However, for very limited cases in English, such embedding is possible as pointed out by Crnič and Trinh (2009).

niques in the literature. One is to resort to the monster operator (Anand and Nevins 2004, Sauerland and Yatsushiro 2014, Schlenker 2003, Sudo 2012, *inter alia*), whereby the person parameter of the imperative semantics will be shifted in accordance with the reported context. The other strategy is to employ subclausal quotation as discussed by Maier (2014) for Japanese.

Setting aside the monster operator vs. subclausal option for the moment, what Kuno (1988) puts forward by observing embedded imperatives is that when embedded with Rep, a clause is construed in what he refers to as the quasi-direct discourse given in (4), and schematically, we have (5) so that only the imperative verb is in the domain of quasi-direct quotation and the rest of the embedded clause is indirectly quoted. Then, his assumption is that imperatives cannot be indirectly quoted, but the entire embedded clause cannot be directly quoted; otherwise, the long-distance (LD) *wh*-dependency would be precluded in (3).

- (4) Quasi-direct discourse representation of reported speech is allowable only in clausal-final verb position. (Kuno 1988, 21)
- (5) ... [Embedded Clause { ... }_{Indirect} {V-IMPERATIVE}_{Quasi-direct-Rep}] ...

The term, quasi-direct, is intended to mean that the imperative verb does not have to be verbatim. To see this, witness the contrast between (6) and (7), whose context is such that Taro was in his house when he uttered (6), ordering Jiro to come to his house. As a matrix imperative, only *ko-* 'come' is felicitous in the relevant context. In contrast, when embedded, *come-go* alternating verbs can both be used felicitously even in the same context (for the *come-go* alternation in Japanese, see Oshima 2006).²

- (6) Watasi-no ie-ni {ko-i/#ik-e}.
I-GEN house-DAT come-IMP/go-IMP
' {Come/#Go} to my house.'
- (7) Taroo-wa Ziroo-ni [kare-no ie-ni {ko-i/ik-e}-to] it-ta.
Taro-TOP Jiro-DAT he-GEN house-DAT come-IMP/go-IMP-REP say-PAST
Lit. 'Taro said to Jiro that {come/go}.IMP to his house.'

Therefore, the choice of *ik-* 'go' in (7) cannot be in the original utterance, whence it is

²However, there are cases where this optionality does not hold as we will see in §3.3.2.

not verbatim. Nevertheless, Kuno's (1988) assumption is that imperatives cannot be embedded unless they are directly quoted, hence the "quasi-direct" quotation.

Although many of the data points Kuno (1988) discusses involve imperatives, the same point can be made by another pair of verbs that exhibits the same perspective dependency, namely, 'give' in Japanese: *kure*- 'giving to the speaker' and *yar*- 'giving from the speaker' (Oshima 2006); witness (8), where the verb form is declarative.

- (8) a. Boku-wa Taroo-ni presento-o {yar/#kure}-(r)u.
I-Top Taro-DAT present-ACC give-NONPAST
'I will give Taro a gift.'
- b. Taroo-wa boku-ni presento-o {#yar/kure}-(r)u.
Taro-Top I-DAT present-ACC give-NONPAST
'Taro will give me a gift.'

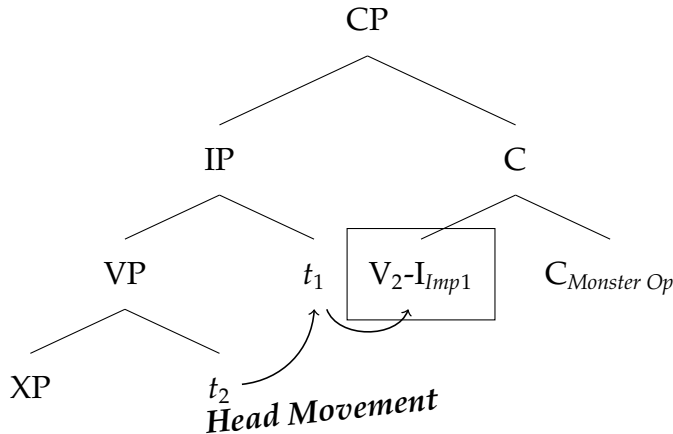
(Oshima 2006, 29, (10))

This contrast is lost in the embedded report context as shown in (9) (also, see Oshima 2006, 16). Since the embedded object is an interrogative, which is syntactically dependent on the matrix Q-marker, the embedded clause cannot be directly quoted.

- (9) a. Taroo-wa [boku-ga kare-ni nani-o {yar/kure}-(r)u-to] it-ta-no.
Taro-Top I-NOM he-DAT what-ACC give-NONPAST-REP say-PAST-Q
'What did Taro say that I would give him?'
- b. Taroo-wa [kare-ga boku-ni nani-o {yar/kure}-(r)u-to] it-ta-no.
Taro-Top he-NOM I-DAT what-ACC give-NONPAST-REP say-PAST-Q
'What did Taro say that he would give me?'

The question is what derives the generalization in (4) at all, for it is just a mere observation. Recently, Sauerland and Yatsushiro (2014) propose an analysis to derive (4), according to which the domain of quasi-direct speech involves incorporation into Rep. Adopting the monster operator (Schlenker 2003), Sauerland and Yatsushiro argue that the verbal complex incorporated into C undergoes indexical-shifting as shown in (10), where Rep is C for Sauerland and Yatsushiro (2014), and the monster operator is located in C (cf. H. Saito 2018c). Therefore, Sauerland and Yatsushiro's analysis states that the domain of indexical-shifting is limited to C. This derives (4), and to the extent that head movement to C occurs in all the clauses in Japanese (Koizumi 2000), the clause-final verb in Rep is always context-shifted.

(10)



(cf. Sauerland and Yatsushiro 2014, 199, (19))

Notice however that (10) is too strong since it always context-shifts the verbal complex. As we have seen, the alternating pairs of verbs such as *ku-ik-* ‘come/go’ are both usable when embedded via Rep (Oshima 2006). That being so, Sauerland and Yatsushiro (2014) cast doubt on the data Oshima (2006) reports, suggesting that the fact that both options can be used in the embedded clause is due to the general increase of processing difficulty in the embedded clause. Although this may be right, this does not become convincing until some experimental study confirms this, and there are many speakers who are comfortable with data like (7) and (9). Then, what we have to assume to maintain (10) is that indexical shifting via the purported monster operator is optional. However, there is another question, which is why the monster operator cannot context-shift everything inside CP, only affecting the element incorporated into C (i.e. the boxed item in (10)) even if C syntactically scopes over the entire IP (to the extent that scope is defined by c-command, a standard assumption).³ However, for Sauerland and Yatsushiro (2014), it is taken for granted that indexicals such as pronouns and deictic temporal adverbs cannot be context-shifted. Also, even if (10) is correct, it is not clear how it works semantically. That is, the verb cluster just moved will be semantically integrated to C somehow, but Sauerland and Yatsushiro (2014) do not give a precise semantic computation. Although (10) seems correct syntactically, it is rather an arduous task to make it work semantically. Simply put, we want the monster operator to take the moved verb as its argument in addition to IP itself without affecting the context of IP, and the verb to be interpreted in

³But see H. Saito (2018c) and 3.A.

the base position due to semantic compositionality.⁴

In addition to the theoretical issues just mentioned, Sauerland and Yatsushiro (2014) are empirically incorrect; Sudo (2012) among others gives the following data.

- (11) a. Mary-wa [dare-ga watasi-o suki-da-to] it-ta-no.
 Mary-TOP who-NOM I-ACC fond-COP.NONPAST-REP say-PAST-Q
 'Who did Mary say likes {me, her}?'
 b. Mary-wa [dare-mo watasi-o suki-da-to] iwa-nak-at-ta.
 Mary-TOP who-also I-ACC fond-COP.NONPAST-REP say-NEG-COP-PAST
 'Mary didn't say anybody likes {me, her}?'
 (Sudo 2012, 237, (694), (695); gloss is mine)

According to Sudo, the first-person pronoun can optionally refer to the reported speaker, Mary. Note that (11) cannot have the entire embedded clauses directly quoted; otherwise, the long-distance *wh*-dependency in (11a) and NPI licensing in (11b) would not be successful. To explain this fact, Sudo argues that the relevant interpretations are derived by the monster operator. However, he maintains that we cannot identify Rep as the monster operator *per se*, since otherwise, Rep must always context-shift, and the first-person pronoun must refer to Mary, which is not the case. Therefore, he assumes that when embedded via Rep, the monster operator is optionally licensed, in whatever way we may encode this optionality.

However, some comments on the alleged ambiguity in (11) are in order. Note first that the pertinent "shifted" reading is not readily available for all Japanese speakers including me. For instance, some of my language consultants and I myself see a certain extent of difficulty in getting the *her* reading without any intonational change in the embedded clause.⁵ However, I do get the *her* reading when I put a pause before the first person pronoun, and mimic the way Mary talks. For instance, in lieu of *watasi*, which is gender-neutral, a male reporter who reports Mary's utterance can use *atasi*, which is typically used

⁴In Shimamura (2015), I actually proposed such semantics, but I gave up my previous idea, since I left Rep's semantics itself as sort of "blackbox" there, and it does not work for the empirical facts to be discussed below.

⁵Regarding the judgment of my data hereafter, I consulted with Japanese speakers including 8 Japanese linguists at Mie University, Ritsumeikan University, and Toyo Gakuen University in Japan. Also, I presented some portion of this dissertation at the 154th Meeting of Linguistic Society of Japan, and there seemed to be no objection to my judgment, insofar as my instruction for e.g. intonation to judge the sentences was obeyed. Incidentally, with this modification in the (non)linguistic manner, the colloquial version of Rep *te* is preferred; the same holds for the examples below.

by female speakers; with this much in mind, observe (12).⁶ From this example and below, I give the word chunk that assumes mimicked gestures in italics. This small modification facilitates (and forces, if the reporting speaker is male) the *her* reading in (12).

- (12) Mary-wa [dare-ga |*Pause* *atasi-o suki-da-to*] it-ta-no.
 Mary-TOP who-NOM I-ACC fond-COP.NONPAST-REP say-PAST-Q
 'Who did Mary say likes {me, her}?'

Then, changes in (non)linguistic gestures observed here suggest that the pronominal ambiguity is not ascribed to indexical shifting but to direct quotation of the subparts of the embedded clause, namely, *subclausal quotation*.⁷

In fact, subclausal quotation in Japanese is proposed by Maier (2014), who argues that it involves quotation marks that are invisible on the surface, so that the embedded clause with the shifted pronominal reading in (11) and (12) can be analyzed as (13).⁸

- (13) ... [*Embedded Clause* who "me fond-is"-Rep] ...

However, Sudo (2012) rejects this analysis because subclausal quotation should be available for the matrix clause too. For instance, a typical illustration of subclausal quotation in English is (14).

- (14) When in Amherst, Peter orders "[æ]pricots" at the local market. (Potts 2007a, 405, (1b))

If subclausal quotation is usable in the form Maier argues it to be, we expect that the relevant pronominal ambiguity is also observed in the matrix context. However, this will never happen in Japanese, and the *her* reading (with its concomitant quote intonation)

⁶The *me* choice in (12) would sound odd when the actual speaker is male, although this is not impossible if he speaks in a womanly way. The same holds for the matrix context:

- (i) Dare-ga atasi-o suki-na-no.
 who-NOM me-ACC like-COP.ADN-Q
 'Who likes me_{female/#male}?'

⁷The actual-speaker in (12) must be read without italics. That is, no mimicking tones/gestures is added to the embedded clause. This holds for the examples that illustrate the relevant pronominal ambiguity below.

⁸In the actual speech, Japanese do not do air quotes, a gesture where two fingers of each hand draw quotation marks in the air, and we instead mimic e.g. the tones or facial expressions of the original utterance (cf. Clark and Gerigg 1990).

is limited to the context where Rep is used, whence other clausal embeddings such as a nominalized complement in (15) do not allow it (Sudo 2012).

- (15) Mary-wa [dare-ga watasi-o suki-na-koto]-ni kizui-ta-no.
 Mary-Top who-NOM I-Acc fond-COP.ADN-FN -DAT realize-PAST-Q
 ‘Who did Mary realize likes {me, *her}?’ (Sudo 2012, 238, (698b))

Thus, subclausal quotation does not work, although at least (12) strongly suggests that it is the most viable choice.

To sum up, it seems that both Sauerland and Yatsushiro’s (2014) indexical shifting and Maier’s (2014) subclausal quotation are not empirically satisfactory. For indexical shifting, it cannot explain why the first-person pronoun can refer to the reported speaker, and what’s more why such shifted reading strongly prefers changes in (non)linguistic gestures like tones etc., which is a property of direct quotation (cf. Kamada 2000).⁹ For subclausal quotation, it cannot explain why it is limited to embedded clauses with Rep. Next, I will provide another set of data that is hard to explain for both approaches.

3.3 Word Order and Pronominal Ambiguity

3.3.1 Monster Fails

Another important factor that has hitherto been unnoticed and should constitute a big challenge for those who advocate indexical shifting is that word order matters for the availability of the shifted reading as shown in (16), where the first-person pronoun is scrambled in front of the interrogative subject. This permutation renders the *her* reading impossible. If the monster operator is located in some place that scopes over the entire embedded clause, then the shifted reading should be available, contrary to fact.¹⁰

- (16) Mary-wa [[watasi-o]₁ dare-ga *t*₁ suki-da-to] it-ta-no.
 Mary-Top I-Acc who-NOM fond-COP.NONPAST-REP say-PAST-Q

⁹Schlenker (2017a,b) analyzes this sort of action report in sign language as indexical shifting in terms of his “super monster”. However, see K. Davidson (2015) for her criticism of e.g. the *wh*-extraction diagnostic Schlenker uses. As we will see for Japanese, the relevant shifted reading of the first-person pronoun interacts with the (im)possibility of *wh*-dependency.

¹⁰Even if we change gender-neutral *watasi* to female *atasi*, my language informants found it impossible to get the *her* reading.

‘Who did Mary say likes {me, *her}?’

In this connection, one may say that (16) is reminiscent of what Shklovsky and Sudo (2014) observe regarding the interaction between the case morphology and indexical shifting in Uyghur. To see this, witness first the fact that the embedded finite clause allows its nominative subject to appear in accusative case as shown in (17a). This case alternation is impossible in the matrix setting as in (17b).¹¹

- (17) a. Ahmet [profesor- $\{\emptyset/\text{ni}\}$ ket-ti] di-di.
 Ahmet professor-Nom/Acc leave-PAST.3 say-PAST.3
 ‘Ahmet said that the professor left.’
 b. Profesor- $\{\emptyset/*\text{ni}\}$ ket-ti.
 professor-Nom/Acc leave-PAST.3
 ‘The professor left.’

(Shklovsky and Sudo 2014, 387, (11))

Then, the pronominal subject in the embedded clause must be shifted to refer to the reported speaker in nominative case whereas it cannot be so shifted in accusative case, referring to the actual/reporting speaker as (18) shows.

- (18) a. Ahmet [men ket-tim] di-di.
 Ahmet 1.SG.NOM leave-PAST.1 say-PAST.3
 ‘Ahmet said that {he/*I} left.’
 b. Ahmet [meni ket-ti] di-di.
 Ahmet 1.SG.ACC leave-PAST.3 say-PAST.3
 ‘Ahmet said that {*he/I} left.’

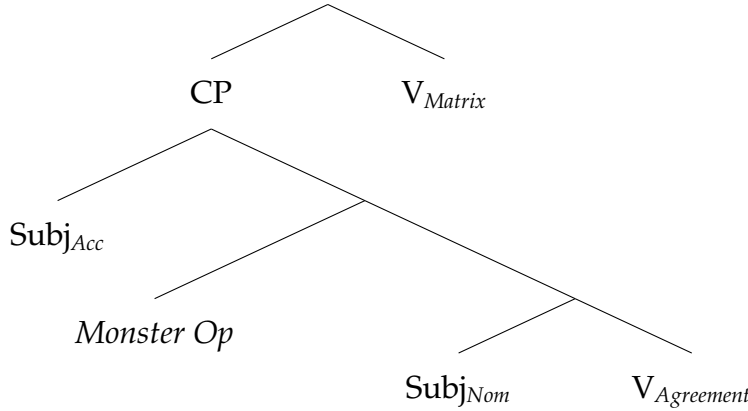
(Shklovsky and Sudo 2014, 388, (12))

To explain this fact, Shklovsky and Sudo (2014) propose that the accusative subject is structurally higher than the nominative subject as shown in (19), where the monster operator is generated in the domain of CP, independently of the matrix attitude verb,

¹¹This sort of case-alternating phenomenon, sometimes dubbed *Exceptional Case Marking* or *Raising to Object*, has been discussed by many researchers for various languages, e.g. Japanese (Hiraiwa 2005, Kuno 1976, HK. Tanaka 2002, Takahashi 2011), Korean (Yoon 2007), Passamaquoddy (Bruening 2001), Sakha (Baker 2015), Turkish (Şener 2008). Although these authors do not agree on what kind of movement, if any, is involved, the consensus for them is that the embedded clause is a finite CP, which may lead us to wonder if case assignment across CP is possible; also see Wurmbrand (2018) for a recent crosslinguistic discussion on cross-clausal A dependencies. I will not concern myself with this issue at this point.

contra [Schlenker \(2003\)](#). And the accusative subject is higher than the monster operator, deriving the impossibility of the shifted construal in (18b).

(19)



([Shklovsky and Sudo 2014](#), 393, (33))

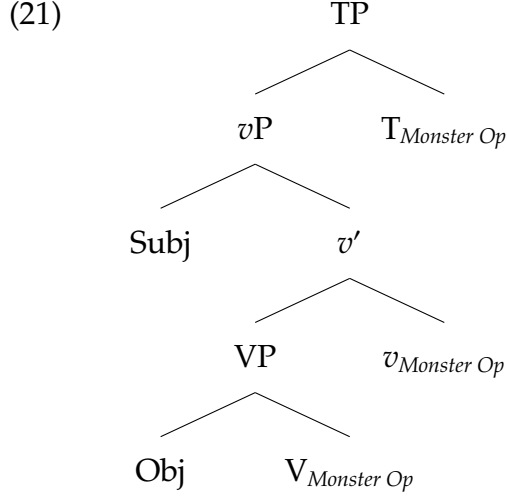
Then, one may wonder whether the same analysis can apply to (16). For instance, if scrambling targets some position in the CP domain unlike, say, adjunction to TP/IP ([Lasnik and Saito 1992](#)), the first-person pronoun will be placed higher than the purported monster operator. However, (20a), where the subject is pronominal whereas the object is interrogative, shows that word order between the *wh*-phrase and the pronoun matters. What is interesting in (20b) is that if we scramble the interrogative object in front of the subject, the pertinent ambiguity is resurrected. Therefore, it is not the case that the subject cannot refer to the reported speaker.¹²

- (20) a. Hanako-wa [watasi-ga dare-ni at-ta-to] it-ta-no.
 Hanako-TOP I-NOM who-DAT see-PAST-REP say-PAST-Q
 ‘Who did Hanako say that {I, *she} met?’
- b. Hanako-wa [[dare-ni]₁ |_{Pause} (w)atasi-ga t₁ at-ta-to] it-ta-no.
 Hanako-TOP who-DAT I-NOM see-PAST-REP say-PAST-Q
 ‘Who did Hanako say that {I, she} met?’

To complete our discussion, consider then the possibility that the monster operator is

¹²In (20a), there is no possible subpart in the embedded clause to implement the relevant subclausal-quotation-like modification. If we directly quote the entire embedded clause, the shifted reading becomes possible, but this rules out the long-distance interrogative construal, only allowing the polar construal, and the embedded verb must assume a rising intonation to license the interrogative phrase within the embedded clause.

generated somewhere low, say, at T, *v* or V as follows:



If V is the locus of the monster, only the object is in the scope of it and hence undergoes indexical shifting, and if *v* is the correct option, items inside VP will be shiftable. Insofar as Sudo's (2012) data are concerned, either of them will work, for he only sees the internal argument, but crucially, they will not account for the shifted reading in (20b). If, however, T is the one to choose, the data presented in this paper can also be handled, to the extent that there is always an EPP movement to Spec-TP for the subject, and clause-internal scrambling also targets Spec-TP (or above) (Miyagawa 2009). That is, we have (22) for the examples in (20); the shifting domain is underlined.

- (22) a. $[_{TP} I_1 [_{T'} \underline{[_{vP} t_1 [_{v'} [_{VP} \text{who see}] v]}] T_{Monster Op}]]$
b. $[_{TP} \text{who}_1 [_{T'} \underline{[_{vP} I [_{v'} [_{VP} t_1 \text{see}]] v]}] T_{Monster Op}]]$

Though the syntactic representations in (22) are compatible with the fact in (20), there is another issue. Namely, even for VP-internal (or maybe, *vP*-internal) scrambling, the word order of the pronoun and the *wh*-phrase matters as shown in (23). For my language consultants and me, there is a clear contrast between (23a) and (23b) for the availability of the *her* reading.

- (23) a. Hanako-wa [Taroo-ga kossori dare-ni |_{pause} (w)atasi-no himitu-o
Hanako-TOP Taro-NOM secretly who-DAT I-GEN secret-ACC

hanasi-ta-to] *it-ta-no*.

tell-PAST-REP say-PAST-Q

'To whom did Hanako say that Taro secretly told {my, her} secret?

- b. Hanako-wa [Taroo-ga kossori [watasi-no himitu-o]₁ dare-ni *t*₁
 Hanako-TOP Taro-NOM secretly I-GEN secret-ACC who-DAT
hanasi-ta-to] *it-ta-no*.
 tell-PAST-REP say-PAST-Q
 'To whom did Hanako say that Taro secretly told {my, *her} secret?

Then, even if the word-order shift in (23) is derived by VP-internal scrambling (Hoji 1985), or base-generating the DAT-ACC order or ACC-DAT order (Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2004), both arguments are c-commanded by T, where the monster operator is assumed to reside.¹³ Then, the impossibility of the *her* reading inside the verbal projection indicates that T as the monster is also implausible. Maybe, one can assume that the monster operator is placed in various places, so for whatever reason one would come up with, it is generated at V or *v* in (23) and at T in (20). Theoretically, since Shklovsky and Sudo (2014) dissociate the monster operator from the matrix attitude verb, it is conceivable to have a monster operator in various positions in a clause, which however makes a given analysis untestable, unless some other factor(s) is (or are) taken into consideration (e.g. when some other factor is involved, the monster must be generated at T). This state of affairs should not be tolerated unless plausible testing grounds are secured. I thus reject (21), arguing that indexical shifting is not the right option to analyze the pronominal ambiguity in Japanese.

3.3.2 Perspective-verb Alternation Revisited

As we have seen in (7), repeated in (24), in the embedded context, *ku-* 'come' and *ik-* 'go' can both be used even if in the matrix context, only the former is possible as in (6). However, let us observe (25), where the first-person pronoun is interpreted as referring to the matrix subject. Here, the matrix subject is supposed to be in his house in ordering Jiro to come to his house. In (25) with the intended reading, *ik-* 'go' is not an option. Therefore, it must be in the reported context.

¹³The presence of a manner adverb also shows the left edge of the verbal domain, to the extent that this sort of adverb diagnostic is reliable.

- (24) Taroo-wa Ziroo-ni [kare-no ie-ni {ko-i/ik-e}-to] it-ta.
 Taro-TOP Jiro-DAT he-GEN house-DAT come-IMP/go-IMP-REP say-PAST
 Lit. ‘Taro said to Jiro that {come/go}.IMP to his house.’
- (25) Taroo-wa Ziroo-ni [sugu dare-to |_{pause} ore-no ie-ni
 Taro-TOP Jiro-DAT immediately who-with I-GEN house-DAT
 {ko-i/#ik-e}-to] it-ta-no.
 come-IMP/go-IMP-REP say-PAST-Q
 Lit. ‘With whom did Taro say to Jiro that come.IMP to his house soon?’

If the goal argument is scrambled over the interrogative, only the actual speaker reading is available, and the verb alternation is possible as in (26), where the *come* option represents my perspective if I am in my house when uttering (26), whereas the *go* option signifies Taro’s perspective wherever he would be (except my house). Likewise, if the pronoun in (25) refers to me, the actual speaker, who is in my house, then the *go* option becomes available, and it is in Taro’s perspective.

- (26) Taroo-wa Ziroo-ni [sugu [ore-no ie-ni]₁ dare-to t₁
 Taro-TOP Jiro-DAT immediately I-GEN house-DAT who-with
 {ko-i/ik-e}-to] it-ta-no.
 come-IMP/go-IMP-REP say-RAST-Q
 Lit. ‘With whom did Taro say to Jiro that come.IMP to {my, *his} house soon?’

Also, let us see what happens to other indexicals such as *koko* ‘here’. The pertinent example is given in (27). According to Kuno (1988), *koko* ‘here’ only refers to the place of the actual utterance, not that of Hanako. However, this observation simply does not suffice, since we do not know where Hanako was when she uttered (27), and by what kind of quotation the imperative clause is embedded. That is, in order to judge (27), we need to consider the context. Suppose that the embedded clause is directly quoted. This then allows us to interpret *koko* as referring to Hanako’s place in tandem with the obligatory choice of *ko-* ‘come’, wherever she would be.

- (27) Hanako-ga [koko-ni sugu ko-i-to] denwa-o kakete
 Hanako-NOM here-DAT immediately come-IMP-REP phone-ACC placing
 ki-ta.
 come-PAST
 ‘Hanako called me up and said “Come right now” to this place.’

However, let us insert an interrogative phrase between *koko* and the verb, and assume that Hanako was not in the place where the reporting speaker is. Then, *koko* must refer to the place of the actual utterance, and both *ik-* ‘go’ and *ko-* ‘come’ are usable as in (28).¹⁴

- (28) Hanako-ga [*koko-ni sugu dare-to {ko-i/ik-e}-to*]
 Hanako-Nom here-DAT immediately who-with come-IMP/go-IMP-REP
denwa-o kakete ki-ta-no.
 phone-ACC placing come-PAST-Q
 Lit. ‘[With whom]₁ did Hanako call me up and said that {come/go}.IMP right now to this place *t*₁.’

However, if the interrogative precedes *koko* and *koko* refers to the place where Hanako (but not the reporting speaker) was, then *ko-* ‘come’ must be selected as in (29).

- (29) Hanako-ga [*sugu dare-to |_{pause} koko-ni {ko-i/#ik-e}-to*]
 Hanako-Nom immediately who-with here-DAT come-IMP/go-IMP-REP
denwa-o kakete ki-ta-no.
 phone-ACC placing come-PAST-Q
 Lit. ‘[With whom]₁ did Hanako call me up and said that {come/#go}.IMP right now to the place where she was *t*₁.’

Therefore, we have the same observation for the first-person pronoun and *koko* ‘here’.

Last but not least, *kure-* and *yar-* ‘give’ shows the same fact. In (30), we have two instances of the first-person pronoun, each of which has a different referent: *boku* is the actual speaker and *ore* is Taro.

- (30) Taroo-wa [*Boku-ga asu nani-o |_{pause} ore-ni {kure-ru/#yar-u}-to*]
 Taroo-Top I-Nom tomorrow what-ACC I-DAT give-NONPAST-REP
it-ta-no.
 say-PAST-Q
 ‘What did Taro say that I will give him?’

Note at this point that for all the examples of embedded imperatives, the imperative semantics must reside in the reported context, for we need to have its addressee parameter relativized to the matrix subject. We can schematize this state of affairs as follows (the items in the reported context are underlined):

¹⁴I assume with Sauerland and Yatsushiro (2014) that *sugu* ‘immediately’ is not an indexical.

- (31) a. ... [*Embedded Clause* [*his_{Actual}* house] *come_{Reported-IMP(ERATIVE)-Rep}*] ...
 b. ... [*Embedded Clause* [*his_{Actual}* house] *go_{Actual-IMP-Rep}*] ...
 c. ... [*Embedded Clause* [with whom] [*my_{Reported}* house] *come_{Reported-IMP-Rep}*] ...
 d. *... [*Embedded Clause* [with whom] [*my_{Reported}* house] *go_{IMP-Rep}*] ...
 e. ... [*Embedded Clause* [*my_{Actual}* house] [with whom] *come_{Actual-IMP-Rep}*] ...
 f. ... [*Embedded Clause* [*my_{Actual}* house] [with whom] *go_{Reported-IMP-Rep}*] ...

(31a) and (31b) show the verb alternation in (24), and (31c) and (31d) show the impossible verb alternation with the shifted pronominal interpretation in (25). Lastly, (31e) and (31f) illustrate the verb alternation in (26). The verb choice and the obligatory “actual place” reading of *koko* in (28) are accommodated by the contrast between (31e) and (31f), and (29) is basically the same as (31c). Now, among the structures in (31), the impossibility of (31d) is instructive, since coupled with the data discussed in Section 3.3.1, where we saw that a *wh*-phrase cannot appear to the right of the pronoun to be shifted, it shows that the domain of the reported context cannot be discontinuous.^{15,16} This then leads us to hypothesize that what is important is syntactic constituency.

To recapitulate, even if the perspective-dependent verbs like ‘come/go’ verbs can freely alternate under Rep, if other indexicals before such verbs are interpreted to refer to items in the reported context, such alternation becomes impossible, and they must also be in the reported context.

¹⁵(31d) is bad to the extent the reported speaker/matrix subject is in his/her house, and if s/he is outside it, it is possible, and the structure will be:

(i) ... [*Embedded Clause* [with whom] [*my_{Reported}* house] *go_{Reported-IMP-Rep}*] ...

Note that this *go* option is not the same as (31f), which represents the reported speaker’s perspective toward the actual speaker’s house, where the actual speaker is. In contrast, (i) does not care where the actual speaker is, but crucially, the reported speaker cannot be in his/her house.

¹⁶One may say that the impossibility of the reported context being discontinuous is reminiscent of the *Shift Together* constraint proposed by Anand and Nevins (2004), under which all indexical items under a given speech context must be interpreted relative to the same context. However, the cases under discussion here is not like those considered under *Shift Together* since the latter is not subjected to the locus of an interrogative pronoun affecting the starting point of a reported context in the embedded clause.

3.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have considered whether indexical shifting via the monster operator is a viable option to analyze embedded imperatives and the ambiguity of indexicals such as the first-person pronoun. It has been found out that it faces a lot of problems in explaining the pertinent data, and mimicking the original (non)linguistic gestures for the quoted parts strongly suggests that the most promising choice is subclausal quotation (Maier 2014). However, as Sudo (2012) points out, it is also problematic since it is limited to the environment where Rep is employed for clausal embedding, but subclausal quotation in general is usable in any grammatical setting. Thus, we need to find some way to go in between indexical shifting and subclausal quotation, so keeping the insight from indexical-shifting advocates that shift to the reported context is limited to Rep, I will propose in Chapter 4 that the apparent shifted construal is obtained via subclausal quotation.

Appendix

3.A Yet Another Argument for Indexical Shifting in Japanese?

Although I reject the indexical shifting analysis of the shifted reading of indexicals like the first-person pronoun and Kuno's (1988) quasi-direct discourse, there seem to be cases where the monster operator is at work: H. Saito (2018c) argues that an epistemic adverb *yappari* 'as expected' and honorified nominals, both of which are speaker-oriented, undergo indexical shifting.

Let us first see *yappari*, which expresses the speaker's expectation of something to happen or having happened. Consider (32). Here, the speaker is the attitude holder of expectation for the relevant event to happen. Therefore, s/he cannot negate it, which leads to infelicity.

- (32) #Yappari Mary-wa paatii-ni ku-ru. Demo (watasi-nitotte) sore-wa
as.expected Mary-TOP party-DAT come-NONPAST but I-for it-TOP
yosoogai-da.
unexpected-COP.NONPAST
'As expected, Mary is coming to the party. But that is unexpected (for me).'
- (H. Saito 2018c, 343, (7); gloss is mine)

However, when embedded via Rep under the attitude context, the attitude holder of *yappari* shifts to the matrix subject as in (33).

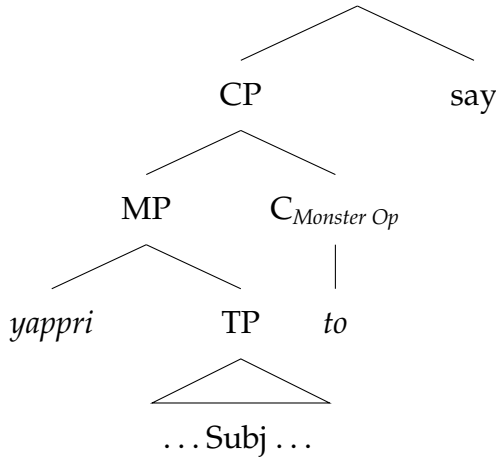
- (33) Kinoo John-wa [yappari Mary-wa paatii-ni ku-ru-to]
yesterday John-TOP as.expected Mary-TOP party-DAT come-NONPAST-REP
it-ta.
say-PAST
'Yesterday, John said that as expected Mary would go to the party tomorrow.'

- a. Demo sore-wa watasi-nitotte yosoogai-{da/dat-ta}.
 but it-Top I-for unexpected-COP.NONPAST/COP-PAST
 'But that (Mary's coming to the party) is/was unexpected for me.'
- b. #Demo sore-wa John-nitotte yosoogai-dat-ta.
 but it-Top John-for unexpected-COP-PAST
 'But that was unexpected for John.'

(H. Saito 2018c, 343-344, (8); gloss is mine)

H. Saito (2018c) assumes that *yappari* adjoins to M(odal)P, which is above TP (Koizumi and Tamaoka 2010). Then, he proposes that the shifted reading of *yappari* is derived by the monster operator located in Rep, which he argues to be C.

(34)



(H. Saito 2018c, 345, (13))

Turning to honorification, he discusses *-gata*, an honorified plural marker. If the speaker attaches it to some nominal, this means that s/he respects the referent of it. Consider:

- (35) #Sensei-gata-ga bangohan-o mesiatat-ta. Watasi-wa karera-o
 teacher-PL(H)-NOM dinner-Acc eat.HON-PAST I-Top they-Acc
 keebetuu-si-tei-ru.
 contempt-do-ASP-NONPAST
 'The teachers had dinner. I despise them.' (H. Saito 2018c, 344, (10); gloss is mine)

This infelicity illustrates the same state of affairs as (32). Then, if we embed *-gata*, the honorific attitude is shifted to the matrix subject from the actual speaker as in (36). This is

also derived via the monster operator in Rep as C as [H. Saito \(2018c\)](#) proposes.

- (36) Kinoo John-wa [asita sensei-gata-ga sono ryoori-o
yesterday John-Top tomorrow teacher-PL(H)-Nom that dinner-Acc
mesiaga-ru-to] it-ta.
eat.HON-NONPAST-REP say-PAST
‘Yesterday, John said that the teachers would have the delicious dish tomorrow.’
- a. Watasi-wa karera-o keebetu-si-tei-ru.
I-Top they-Acc contempt-do-ASP-NONPAST
‘I despise them.’
- b. #John-wa karera-o keebetu-si-tei-ru.
John-Top they-Acc contempt-do-ASP-NONPAST
‘John despises them.’

([H. Saito 2018c](#), 344-345, (11); gloss is mine)

Interestingly, [H. Saito \(2018c\)](#) does not admit the shifted reading of pronouns and temporal deictics, suggesting “lexical entries for pronouns and temporal deictic items in Japanese are specified in a way that they must refer to the actual context even when they are in the scope of [a monster operator, KS]” ([H. Saito 2018c](#), 346). In a sense, this is a correct observation, since as we have seen, the relevant shifted reading is hard to obtain or almost impossible for some speakers unless (non)linguistic gestures typical to subclausal quotation are invoked. Therefore, we may have two different mechanisms for indexicals interpreted under the reported context: the monster operator for *yappari* and *-gata*, and subclausal quotation for other indexicals. The former is a true instance of indexical shifting and the latter is not. In this connection, another instance of the perspective shifting is discussed by [Sawada \(2016\)](#), who concerns himself with expressive items like *motto* ‘more’. Anyway, I am not sure whether this division of labor is on the right track, but as far as my data are concerned, they are not derived by the monster operator, hence not indexical shifting.^{17,18}

¹⁷[Hayashi et al. \(2016\)](#) also discuss indexical shifting in the non-reported context: nominalized clauses. Therefore, indexical shifting in Japanese may not be limited to the reported context.

¹⁸After providing my proposal in the next chapter, in Appendix 4.B, I will suggest a way to capture the contrast between [H. Saito’s \(2018c\)](#) two cases and the ambiguity of indexical in question in terms of inserting a monster operator as a last resort since as I will speculate, Rep cannot be used for [H. Saito’s](#) data.

Chapter 4

Solving the Puzzle: Rep as Adjunct Clitic

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will propose that Rep is an adjunct clitic in the sense of [Aoyagi \(1998\)](#), contrary to the widely accepted view of Rep as C. To be specific, I will argue: (i) Rep is an adjunct clitic that adjoins to the clausal/verbal extended projections, (ii) Rep must enter into an Agree relation with SAY, so if there is a phase between Rep and SAY, Rep must move to the edge of the phase (cf. [Chomsky 2000](#)), and (iii) the item that Rep is adjoined to is construed as subclausally quoted. The mechanism to be proposed in this chapter provides an answer to why subclausal quotation is limited to constructions where Rep appears.

This chapter is organized as follows. In Section [4.2](#), we will review the basic properties of adjunct clitics, showing how they are different from inflectional suffixes. Then, we will review [Aoyagi's \(1998\)](#) analysis of adjunct clitics to understand their general properties, especially for their movement. Then, in [4.3](#), I will propose a syntactic analysis of Rep, where I will argue that it is an adjunct clitic that adjoins to only the verbal projections, and that what Rep is adjoined to is construed as subclausal quotation. After discussing the embedded imperative briefly in Section [4.4](#), I will derive the set of data we discussed in Chapter [3](#), showing in Section [4.5](#) that the proposed analysis elucidates them in a principled and simple fashion. There, I will also argue that since Rep is an adjunct clitic, it can be late-inserted, which allows extraction from the subclausally quoted domain. Then, I will conclude this chapter.

4.2 Aoyagi's (1998): Adjunct Clitic

In this section, we overview Aoyagi's (1998) syntactic analysis of particles in Japanese. This provides a general picture of particles in Japanese, and backgrounds for my analysis of Rep in Section 4.3

4.2.1 Introducing Adjunct Clitic

In Japanese, there are various particles, all of which are basically functional. In the traditional Japanese grammar, they are called *joshi* 'particles' (Hashimoto 1969, Matsushita 1930, Yamada 1936 among others). Particles are classified into several categories, three representatives of which are given in (1) to (3).

- (1) KAKU-JOSHI
 - a. *-ga*: NOMINATIVE
 - b. *-o*: ACCUSATIVE
 - c. *-kara*: ABLATIVE
- (2) FUKU-JOSHI
 - a. *-dake*: 'only'
 - b. *-made*: 'even, until'
 - c. *-bakari*: 'just, only'
- (3) KAKARI-JOSHI
 - a. *-mo*: 'also'
 - b. *-wa*: TOPIC

Kaku-joshi particles have been treated as case markers, especially nominative, accusative and dative case. However, in the traditional perspective, they fall under the class of (1) together with other postpositions such as ablative and comitative etc. Their hosts are in principle nominal, and they signify the semantic or thematic relations between their host nominals and predicates or other nominals. *Fuku-joshi* (F) particles in (2) are etymologically nominal content words. For instance, *-dake* comes from *take*, which means 'length' and 'height', and *-bakari* stems from *hakari* 'measure', which is the nominalized form of the verb *hakaru*- 'to measure' (Aoyagi 1998, 62-63). The semantic function of F

particles is to add some meaning such as focus to its host. *Kakari-joshi* (K) particles in (3) now comprise only a few particles in modern Japanese, namely, topic *-wa* and additive *-mo* plus *-sae* 'even' (Aoyagi 1998; cf. Yamada 1936).¹ They contribute to the focus and topic interpretations of their hosts.

Focusing on F and K particles, we have (4) for their distributions in regard to their host categories. As we see here, the host of F and K particles is crosscategorical.

- (4) a. John-ga [_{DP} susi]-{dake/mo/sae} tabe-ta.
 John-Top sushi -only/also/even eat-PAST
 'John ate {only/also/even} sushi.'
- b. Daihyoosya-ga [_{PP} New York-kara]-{dake/mo/sae} ki-ta.
 representatives-Top New York-from -only/also/even come-PAST
 'Representatives came {only/also/even} from New York.'
- c. Mary-ga [_{VP} hon-o yomi]-{dake/mo/sae} si-ta.
 Mary-Nom book-Acc read -only/also/even do-PAST
 'Mary {only/also/even} read books.'
- d. Bill-ga [_{AP} buka-o isogasi-ku]-{dake/mo/sae} si-ta.
 Bill-Nom his.men-Acc busy-Cop.ADV -only/also/even make-PAST
 'Bill {only/also/even} made his men busy.'
- e. John-wa [_{CP} Mary-ga sin-da-to]-{dake/mo/sae} it-ta.
 John-Top Mary-Nom die-PAST-REP -only/also/even say-PAST
 'John {only/also/even} said that Mary died.'

(Aoyagi 1998, 8, (1); gloss and transcription are mine)

This is in stark contrast to the past inflectional suffix in Japanese; observe (5), where the past marker cannot suffix to categories except the verb.

- (5) a. [_{VP} tabe]-ta
 eat -PAST
 'ate'
- b. * [_{DP} gakusee]-ta
 student -PAST
- c. * [_{AP} taka-ku]-ta
 high-Cop.ADV -PAST

¹In the pedagogical Japanese grammar, the distinction between *kakari-joshi* and *fuku-joshi* is blurred and sometimes disregarded, both falling under the terminology of *toritate-joshi*, meaning "picking-up" particles, roughly speaking.

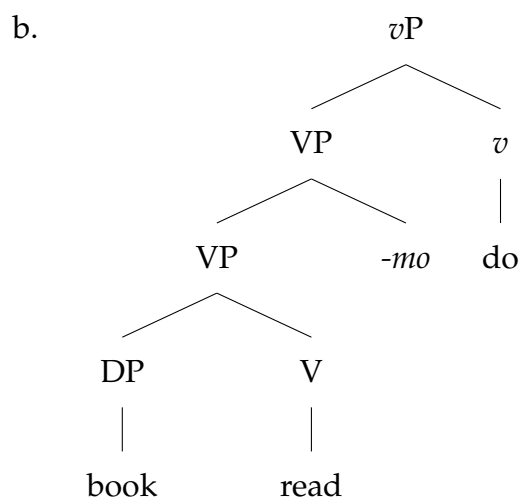
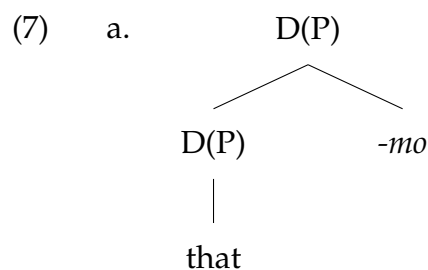
- d. *_{[PP} LA-kara]-ta
LA-from -PAST

(adapted from Aoyagi 1998, 26, (33); gloss and transcription are mine)

Given the contrast between (4) and (5), F/K particles and inflectional suffixes like the past marker are different. Building on this (among other facts), Aoyagi (1998) proposes that F/K particles are adjunct clitics (AC) with the following properties in (6).²

- (6) a. Due to its X^{MIN} and X^{MAX} status, an AC can adjoin to X^0 and XP.
b. An AC adjoins to its host, whose category will thus not be changed.
c. With no selectional relation, an AC can be hosted by various categories.

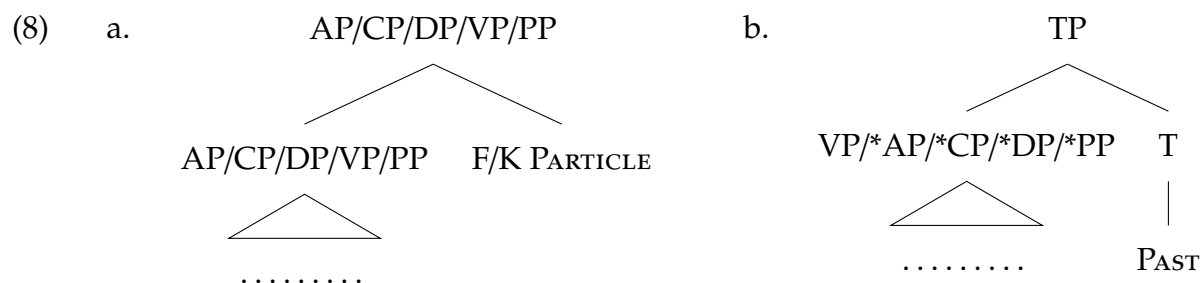
Let us start from (6a). Unlike the \bar{X} schema, where the minimal head entails its intermediate and maximal projections, *Bare Phrase Structure* (BPS) proposed by Chomsky (1994, 1995) renders such schema superfluous, and whether a given head projects or not is defined in relational terms. Given BPS, particles in Japanese are X^0 and XP simultaneously. Therefore, we can attach an AC to the X^0 and XP level (I still use the \bar{X} notation for expository purpose). For instance, a K particle *-mo* 'also' can adjoin to a demonstrative pronoun *sore* 'that' as in (7a).³ It can also adjoin to VP that is composed of V and DP as in (7b), which corresponds to (4c).



²Crucially, case particles are not AC. Aoyagi argues that case particles are located in D (cf. Kishimoto 2005b). Here, I will not discuss his analysis of case particles.

³I assume *sore* heads D (Noguchi 1995).

Then, (6b) and (6c) explain why we have the contrast between (4) and (5). That is, since F/K particles just adjoin to their host, there is no selectional relation between them, which results in the wide variety of host items in (8a). In contrast, the past marker heads T, which by assumption selects verbal projections such as VP etc, hence (8b).



4.2.2 Movement of Adjunct Clitic

Another important property of AC is, as Aoyagi (1998) proposes, that F/K particles move covertly to get their semantic interpretation right. To see this, consider the continuation from (9a) to (9b) and from (9a) to (9c), where an additive focus marker *-mo*, which is a K particle, is employed. The relevant focus targets the entire VP since what Taro did was not only drink sake but also eat sushi. The continuation from (9a) to (9b) is straightforward in this respect, for the focus-trigger particle *-mo* presumably attaches to VP. What is interesting is the one from (9a) to (9c), where the pertinent particle only attaches to the object, but it is totally felicitous under the intended interpretation: scoping over VP.⁴

- (9) a. Taroo-wa sake-o non-da-dake-de-naku, ...
Taro-Top rice.wine-Acc drink-PAST-only-COP.Adv-NEG.Adv
'Taro not only drank sake, but ...'
- b. susi-o tabe-mo si-ta.
sushi-Acc eat-also do-PAST
'He also ate sushi.'
- c. susi-mo tabe-ta.
sushi-also eat-PAST
'He also ate sushi.'

⁴The wide scope reading in question also holds for other F/K particles such as *-bakari* 'only', *-sae* 'even' and *-wa*; see Aoyagi (1998) for the relevant data.

To explain this, Kuroda (1965) proposes that particles such as *-mo* start out as a sentence-final particle as in (10), and they can attach to any constituent in the structure via transformation (copy and delete).⁵ Then, since the semantic interpretation was solely determined by D-structure in the generative framework of Kuroda's era (Chomsky 1965), (10a) is the source of the wide focus reading observed in (9c).

- (10) a. [... [_{vP} ... [_{VP} DP V] *v*] ...]-*mo* (D-structure)
 b. [... [_{vP} ... [_{VP} DP V]-*mo v*] ...] (9b) (S-structure)
 c. [... [_{vP} ... [_{VP} DP-*mo* V] *v*] ...] (9c) (S-structure)

Then, by updating Kuroda's (1965) analysis under the minimalist tenet, Aoyagi (1998) proposes that *-mo* that starts from somewhere inside *vP*/*VP* raises to T at LF, from which it is associated with a targeted focus via focus propagation (Zubizarreta 1994).⁶ More concretely, the pertinent process goes as follows: first, the focus particle *-mo* with a [+focus]-feature copies its feature onto its host: the object DP in the case of (11). Then, the copied [+focus]-feature propagates/percolates up along the tree. The LF-moved particle *-mo* which also has its own [+focus]-feature is associated with any constituent with the [+focus]-feature under c-command, and in the case of (11), *vP* is focus-associated with *-mo*, whence *vP* is the focused constituent; for (9c), *VP* or *v'* is the right choice. Therefore, *DP_{Obj}*, *VP*, *v'* and *vP* can be focused.

⁵To be specific, Kuroda (1965) proposes the following transformational rules:

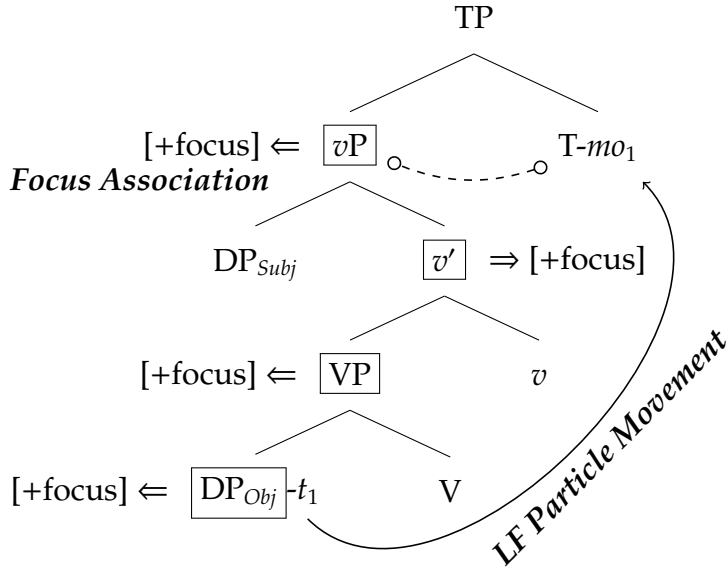
- (i) *Mo*-ATTACHMENT
 (X - NP -Y) - *mo* → (X - NP+*mo* -Y) - *mo* (Kuroda 1965, 80, (17))
 (ii) *Mo*-DELETION
 (X - NP+*mo* -Y) - *mo* → (X - NP+*mo* -Y) (Kuroda 1965, 80, (18))

Then, when *-mo* attaches to V(P), it does not involve these two transformational rules, but *-mo* remains a sentence-final particle and is incorporated into the verb stem with the auxiliary support *si* (or *su*) 'do':

- (iii) *Si*-INSERTION
 V - Aux -Y - *mo* → V - *mo* - *si* - Aux (based on Kuroda 1965, 63, (121))

⁶The term "focus propagation" may be better phrased as "focus projection". But I will keep the original terminology of Zubizarreta.

(11)



Given this analysis, it is predicted that V alone cannot be focused in (11), which is indeed the case. As in (12), the continuation from (12a) to (12b) is possible, but that from (12a) to (12c) is infelicitous. That is, we cannot focus only the verb to the exclusion of the rest of the structure: Mary SLAPPED John as well as made fun of him. This shows that the focus cannot shift to the adjacent constituent, i.e. from the object to the verb, which is explained by (11).

- (12) a. Kinoo Mary-wa John-o karakat-ta si, ...
 yesterday Mary-Top John-Acc make.fun.of-PAST and
 'Yesterday, Mary made fun of John, and ...'
- b. Kanozyo-wa kare-o buti-mo si-ta.
 she-Top he-Acc slap-also do-PAST
 'She also slapped him.'
- c. #Kanozyo-wa kare-mo but-ta.
 she-Top he-also slap-PAST
 Intended 'She also slapped him.'

(Aoyagi 1998, 169-170, (31))

Aoyagi's (1998) analysis also explains the case where the entire vP is focused as in (13) even when $-mo$ starts from the subject position as in (13d), for $-mo$ that attaches to the

subject, and from the subject position, the [+focus]-feature propagates up unto vP , so that any continuation from (13a) to either (13b), (13c) or (13d) is fine.

- (13) a. Kinoo paatii-de-wa Mary-ga odot-ta-dake-de-naku, ...
 yesterday party-at-TOP Mary-NOM dance-PAST-only-COP.ADV-NEG.ADV
 'At yesterday's party, it was not only that Mary danced, but ...'
 b. John-ga piano-o hiki-mo si-ta.
 John-NOM piano-ACC play-also do-PAST
 'It was also that John played the piano.'
 c. John-ga piano-mo hii-ta.
 John-NOM piano-also play-PAST
 'It was also that John played the piano.'
 d. John-mo piano-o hii-ta.
 John-also piano-ACC play-PAST
 'It was also that John played the piano.'

(Aoyagi 1998, 168-169, (30))

Note at this point that focus propagation in principle goes beyond vP , but we need focus association with LF-moved *-mo* at T under c-command, wherefore such propagation is ignored (Aoyagi 1998).⁷

One consequence of this movement analysis of particles is that the relevant movement obeys island constraints.⁸ Observe:

- (14) a. Paatii-de Taro-wa [_{RC} piza-o tabe-ta] hito-o nagut-ta.
 party-at Taro-TOP pizza-ACC eat-PAST person-ACC strike-PAST
 'At a party, Taro struck a person who ate a pizza.'

⁷Aoyagi (1998) also argues that F particles move, however, to v , not to T. This is because the scope of such particles cannot propagate focus from the subject position to the entire vP ; see Aoyagi (1998, 151-168). Setting aside the details of focal interpretations of F particles, one of the general properties of F and K particles is movement to a functional projection, v and T, respectively. For the choice of the licensing head for each particle, Aoyagi suggests that F particles are both lexical and functional since they stem from nominal content words, and now they are treated as functional particles. Being lexical and functional, they move to v , which he assumes is also both lexical and functional. In contrast, K particles are purely functional, so that they move to T, which is by assumption functional.

⁸See also Sano (2000) for particle movement and its island effects. Note that long-distance particle movement out of tensed/finite clause is argued to be impossible, according to Aoyagi (1998), so the island diagnostic makes sense to the extent that the relative clause is not a full-fledged CP, e.g. TP as Murasugi (1991) argues. I will not assume that the relative clause in Japanese is not that small, but I just present (14) to complete the discussion for those who prefer the relative clause to be TP.

- b. Kare-wa [_{RC} wain-o non-da] hito-mo ket-ta.
 he-Top wine-Acc drink-PAST person-also kick-PAST
 'He also kicked a person who drank wine.'
- c. Kare-wa [_{RC} wain-o non-da] hito-o keri-mo si-ta.
 he-Top wine-Acc drink-PAST person-Acc kick-also do-PAST
 'He also kicked a person who drank wine.'
- d. #Kare-wa [_{RC} wain-mo non-da] hito-o ket-ta.
 he-Top wine-also drink-PAST person-Acc kick-PAST
 Intended 'He also kicked a person who drank wine.'

Here, continuation from (14a) to (14b) or (14c) is fine, but crucially, (14d) results in infelicity. This shows that *-mo* cannot scope out of the relative clause. Note that as in (15), having *-mo* inside the relative clause itself is possible.

- (15) Paatii-de Taroo-wa [_{RC} piza-mo tabe-ta] hito-ni at-ta.
 party-at Taro-Top pizza-also eat-PAST person-DAT strike-PAST
 'At a party, Taro met a person, who also ate a pizza (plus (doing) something).'

To conclude this section, we will discuss one more important fact regarding the particle movement. Namely, we have an argument-adjunct asymmetry in the availability of wide focus association as in (16). As the continuation from (16a) to (16b) and that from (16a) to (16c) show, *-mo* attaching to VP and the object DP allows the entire VP to be focused. However, it does not allow the VP focus reading when it attaches to the frequency adverb in (16d), where *-mo* is interpreted as 'as often as'.⁹

⁹(16d) itself is not infelicitous, but it cannot mean what he did was take medicine three times a day in addition to taking a shot every morning. The following example also illustrates the same point.

- (i) a. Taroo-wa depaato-de kaimono-o si-ta-dake-de-naku, ...
 Taro-Top department.store-at shopping-Acc do-PAST-only-COP.ADV-NEG.ADV
 'Taro went shopping at a department store, but ...'
- b. tosyokan-de hon-o kari-mo si-ta.
 library-at book-Acc lend-also do-PAST
 Lit. '(he)' also lent a book at a library.'
- c. tosyokan-de hon-mo kari-ta.
 library-at book-also lend-PAST
 Lit. '(he)' also lent a book at a library.'
- d. #tosyokan-de-mo hon-o kari-ta.
 library-at book-Acc lend-PAST
 Lit. '(he)' lent a book at a library (in addition to a different place).'

- (16) a. John-wa mai-asa tyuusya-o ut-ta-dake-de-naku, ...
 John-Top every-morning shot-Acc take-PAST-only-COP.ADV-NEG.ADV
 'John not only took a shot every morning, but ...'
- b. iti-niti san-kai kusuri-o nomi-mo si-ta.
 one-day tree-times medicine-Acc take-also do-PAST
 Lit. '(he) also took medicine three times a day.'
- c. iti-niti san-kai kusuri-mo non-da.
 one-day tree-times medicine-also take-PAST
 Lit. '(he) also took medicine three times a day.'
- d. iti-niti san-kai-mo kusuri-o non-da.
 one-day tree-times-also medicine-Acc take-PAST
 Lit. '(he) took medicine as often as three times a day.'
- (Aoyagi 1998, 175, (38))

Aoyagi (1998) puts forth some possibilities to explain the impossibility of the VP focus reading in (16d). First, he suggests that this is due to Baker's (1988) *Head Movement Constraint* (HMC), according to which X^0 can move from complements but not from adjuncts.¹⁰ Alternatively, he also surmises that Huang's (1982) *Condition on Extraction Domain* (CED) may prohibit such movement.¹¹ In any case, it is important to note that there is an adjunct-argument asymmetry for the movement of particles as AC.

4.2.3 Interim Summary

In this section, we have overviewed the analysis of particles by Aoyagi (1998), especially for F/K particles. They are AC in the sense that the mode of their attachment to some item is *adjunction*, which allows AC to enjoy a wide variety of host items with no selectional relation. Also, due to adjunction, AC does not change the syntactic category of the host item. Then, we have seen that AC moves covertly to get appropriate semantic construal. For example, the case we have discussed is a K particle *-mo*, which moves to T for the focus interpretation. This movement analysis provides an answer to why certain cases

In (id), the additive meaning of *-mo* is only for the locative adverb, so that the continuation from (ia) to (id) sounds infelicitous, whereas that from (ia) to (ib) or (ic) is felicitous.

¹⁰Note that under BPS, *-mo* may count as XP in the base position like adjoining to VP, but it will be regarded as X^0 in the moved site since it adjoins to T under Aoyagi's analysis.

¹¹Since the particle movement is covert and covert movement is feature movement in the minimalist program for Aoyagi's era, he admits that it is not so clear whether feature movement obeys CED (and for that matter, HMC).

like (14) and (16) do not allow focus to propagate up in the sense of Zubizarreta (1994).

4.3 Proposal: Rep as Adjunct Clitic

In this section, I propose that Rep is also an instance of AC, and that the item that Rep is adjoined to and everything that it dominates are interpreted as subclausally quoted. Given Rep as AC, Rep is expected to behave like F/K particles for its syntactic distribution. That is, it can adjoin to *mélange* of categories, which is however not the case; it only appears in the sentence-final position of embedded clauses and a few cases like iconic adverbs and NC as we have seen in Chapter 2. Notwithstanding this, I defend the idea of Rep being an AC, showing its advantage in deriving the facts observed in Chapter 3.

4.3.1 The Idea

To derive subclausal quotation via Rep, I propose that Rep has the following syntactic properties:

- (17) a. Rep is verbal in the sense that it only adjoins to the extended projections of V, hence (the projections of) *v*, V, T, C etc. (cf. Grimshaw 2005).
 b. Rep moves *overtly*, not *covertly* for F/K particles, to enter into a grammatical relation with SAY via Agree.

Although (17a) is a departure from Aoyagi's (1998) original conception of AC, I do not think that it is problematic given that even adjunction is category-sensitive.¹² For instance, attributive adjectives adjoin to NP, which is considered to result in Predicate Modification under the set of a certain semantic type (cf. Heim and Kratzer 1998), and they cannot be adverbial as in (18).

- (18) John's slow(*ly) walk
 (Cf. John walks slowly.)

¹²Note that this does not make Rep an inflectional suffix like the past tense marker discussed above, for the latter is T, which necessarily selects *v*/VP (or AspP). In contrast, since Rep is an AC, it can adjoin directly to C(P); see Chapter 5.

Note that the semantic type should be the same for *slow* and *slowly*, which is of type $\langle s, t \rangle$ (s is the event type). Deverbal nominals like *walk* in (18) also denote a set of events, and the event argument is closed by the ι -operator, which makes them referential (Moltmann to appear, cf. Higginbotham 1985: 561). Therefore, we may come up with (19) for the semantics of (18).

$$(19) \quad \llbracket \text{John's slow walk} \rrbracket = \iota s[\text{walk}(s, \text{John}) \wedge \text{slow}(s)]$$

Thus, I assume that the impossibility of *-ly* in (18) is purely syntactic-categorial. The same holds for Japanese as in (20).

- (20) Taroo-no subaya-{i/*ku} ugoki
 Taro-GEN quick-COP.ADN/COP.ADV move
 'Taro's quick move'

Although there is no intrinsic selectional relation between the adjective and the modified noun, the categorial distinction is important. Therefore, Rep is an instance of AC, but this is category-sensitive in the sense of (17a).¹³

This category sensitivity however brings us another question regarding iconic adverbs and Naming Construction (NC) discussed in Chapter 2. That is, we have not yet discussed the syntactic category of iconic expressions, and for NC, Rep apparently adjoins directly to the name as we saw in (40) in Chapter 2. As for iconic adverbs, one may think that their adverbial status makes them sort of verbal. But their adverbial status is due to the presence of SAY, not iconic expressions *per se*, and we do not know what they are both syntactically and semantically. This is fine for us, especially once we introduce the semantics of Rep and SAY in Chapter 8, where I argue that Rep can semantically take any host item that is considered to be an utterance type u (Potts 2007a). Therefore, it is syntax that narrows down the list of host items. Assume that iconic expressions are unspecified for the syntactic category and their categorial status is determined by the syntactic environment they appear. Therefore, they can behave like a predicate. This is what Fujita (2000) claims. For instance, he discusses the following case:

¹³Of course, adjectives and adverbs can be semantically different. For instance, *slow* in *John's slow car* does not seem to denote a set of events. Then, my assumption here should be understood in such a way that even where it seems plausible that the semantic type of *slow* and that of *slowly* are the same, the syntactic distinction matters.

- (21) a. Karasu-ga kaa.
 crow-NOM ONOM
 ‘A crow caws.’ (Fujita 2000, 64, (1a))
- b. Hige-no otoko-ga, “oi kora.”
 beard-GEN man-NOM hey.you
 ‘A man with a beard says, “Hey you!”’ (Fujita 2000, 66, (5a))

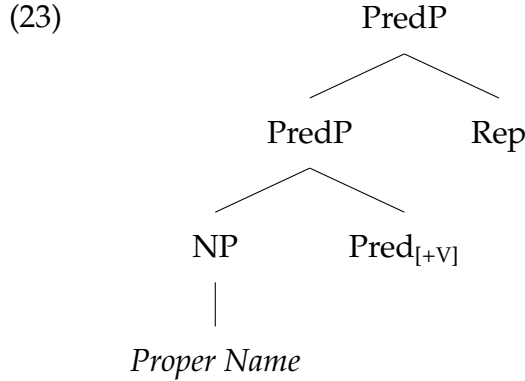
Onomatopoeic *kaa* ‘caw’ and the quoted utterance behave as a predicate in (21). Although the use of iconic expressions as such is limited to a certain context, the fact that they can be regarded as predicative and hence maybe verbal is compatible with (17a).¹⁴ Concerning NC, it is also predicative, and in fact in some languages, we see an overt predicative marker as Matushansky (2008) shows: in Korean (22a), a copula is used for the name, and in Welsh (22b), the predicative particle *yn* appears before the name.

- (22) a. Ku-nun caki-uy ttal-lul Miran-i-la-ko pnull-ess-ta.
 he-TOP self-GEN daughter-ACC Miran-COP-ASSERTIVE-QUOT call-PAST-DECL
 ‘He called his daughter Miran.’ (Matushansky 2008, 582, (24a))
- b. Enwyd ef yn Siôn arôl ei dad.
 name-PASS he PRT Siôn after his father
 ‘He is named Siôn after his father.’ (Matushansky 2008, 582, (26))

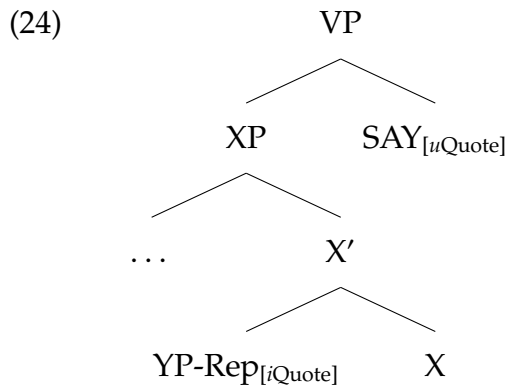
As we have observed in Chapter 2, an overt copula is excluded in NC in Japanese. But crosslinguistic evidence indicates that the proper name in NC is not simply nominal. Therefore, I assume that NC in Japanese also involves a covert predicate that is verbal. Given this, the internal structure of the name in NC is (23).¹⁵ Therefore, NC is also compatible with (17a).

¹⁴Note that they cannot be derived by eliding the verb part; for instance, they can be used without any antecedent verbs, and they cannot support tense markers and temporal adverbs, so that they must be used in an instant situation; see Fujita (2000).

¹⁵An immediate question is of course why Pred cannot be overt. According to Nishiyama (1999), in a usual clausal context, Pred is further selected by a dummy copula, and the former and the latter are spelled out as *de-* and *ar-*, respectively. Then, he argues that if these two are contracted, it will become *da*, a copula (Nishiyama 1999 and references therein). Given this, I assume that lack of *ar-* excludes the morphological realization of *da*. However, I have no plausible answer to why spelling out Pred alone as *de-* is impossible in NC, so I leave this issue unsettled and presume that crosslinguistic facts given in (22) still allow us to assume (23).



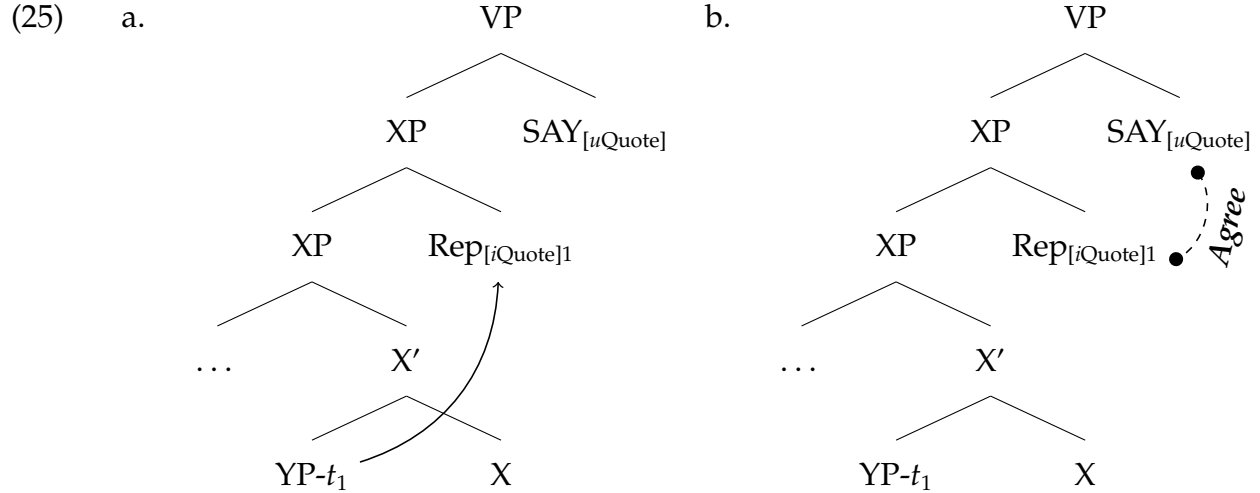
Turning to (17b), I argue that Rep must be probed by SAY via Agree (Chomsky 2000). Specifically, I assume that Rep and SAY share the [Quote]-feature that contributes to the quote semantics. Following Potts (2007a), I will argue in Chapter 8 that Rep renders the cartesian product type (cf. Partee et al. 1990), and that such a semantic type is selected by SAY in the Japanese quote semantics. Therefore, I assume that the [Quote]-feature signals this semantic connection between Rep and SAY. Specifically, I assume that Rep’s [Quote]-feature is interpretable whereas SAY’s is uninterpretable.¹⁶ Under Chomsky’s (2000) system, uninterpretable features function as a probe, so SAY must c-command the goal, viz. Rep. This much said, let us consider (24), where Rep adjoins to YP, which should be verbal.



Now, suppose that XP is a phase. Then, due to *the Phase Impenetrability Condition* (PIC),

¹⁶This choice is due to the semantics to be proposed in Chapter 8, where I claim that Rep is the one that takes the quote type and turns it into the cartesian product type. Thus, semantically, Rep does everything for the quote-shifting semantics in the sense of Potts (2007a), whereas SAY is just the item that introduces the quoted item.

Rep must move to the edge of XP presumably via EPP; otherwise, the derivation will crash (Chomsky 2000). Therefore, we reach the following derivation:



Rep moves, entering into an Agree relation with SAY. The movement of AC is also exploited by Aoyagi (1998), but a fundamental question at this juncture is why F/K particles move covertly at LF whereas Rep moves overtly. I have no definitive answer, and one may resort to the (obsolete) strong/weak distinction of uninterpretable features, or alternatively, it could be that Rep's movement is motivated by some uninterpretable feature that is just like Case-features for Chomsky's (2000) *Activity Condition*, while F/K particles are not (cf. see Bošković 2007 for a detailed discussion on this condition). Recall that the [focus]-feature Aoyagi (1998) employs does not mention the interpretability, and the syntactic catalyst of the relevant movement is unclear. In any case, although I refrain from any further speculation, I would like to submit that Rep moves overtly because of [uQuote] on SAY and hence Agree.¹⁷

¹⁷Another way to implement the proposed movement of Rep is to take advantage of a well established operation in Japanese, namely, scrambling. Since Rep counts as either XP or X⁰, its final landing site can be a phrasal or head position. Then, insofar as it is an XP-movement, the Rep-movement would be regarded as a case of scrambling. Then, it will simply be optional as is the case for other instances of scrambling, and failing to "scramble" Rep to a phase edge will lead to a derivational crash at the interfaces due to the presence of the [uQuote]-feature. Put differently, the pertinent crash due to the presence of that feature is not derivational but representational at the interfaces. This would enable us to dispense with the above discussion in terms of the *Activity Condition*.

4.3.2 The Particle Stranding Ellipsis

Although Rep is different in many respects from other particles including F/K particles [Aoyagi \(1998\)](#) discusses, there is still a good reason to believe that Rep is a particle, which is *Particle Stranding Ellipsis* (PSE) ([Sato 2012](#), [Shibata 2014](#)). Witness (26), (27) and (28), where Case, F, and K particles are given, respectively. Note that they are all *joshi* particles as discussed above (see also [Aoyagi 1998](#)).

- (26) a. Taroo-ga ki-ta-no.
Taro-NOM come-PAST-Q
'Did Taro come?'
- b. {Kare-ga/Ø-ga} ki-ta-yo.
he-NOM/Ø-NOM come-PAST-SFP
'He came.'
- (27) a. Taroo-made ki-ta-no.
Taro-even come-PAST-Q
'Did even Taro come?'
- b. {Kare-made/Ø-made} ki-ta-yo.
he-even/Ø-even come-PAST-SFP
'Even he came.'
- (28) a. Taroo-wa ki-ta-no.
Taro-TOP come-PAST-Q
'As for Taro, did he come?'
- b. {Kare-wa/Ø-wa} ki-ta-yo.
he-TOP/Ø-TOP come-PAST-SFP
'As for him, he came.'

In PSE, the phonological hosts of each particle are elided, stranding the particle part. This is, however, constrained in some ways. First of all, PSE must be clause-initial. [Sato \(2012\)](#) argues that syntactic movement to Spec-TopP in the root clause derives PSE. However, [Shibata \(2014\)](#) shows data like (29), where PSE applies to the embedded subject, proposing a phonological account of it. Under his analysis, the strictly clause-initial requirement of PSE is defined in terms of the left-most phonological phrase, linearly speaking. In passing, (29) cannot be derived by scrambling the embedded subject to the matrix clause and then deleting the the particle host, since such scrambling is, as [Shibata \(2014\)](#) argues, string-vacuous, and string-vacuous scrambling is ruled out in general ([Hoji 1985](#)). For licensing

PSE, Shibata argues that the particle must assume focus prosody, which changes the phonological phrasing of the entire sentence, sanctioning PSE.

- (29) a. Taroo-ga sigoto-o yame-ru-no.
Taro-NOM job-ACC quit-NONPAST-Q
'Will Taro quit his job?'

{Kare-ga/Ø-ga} sigoto-o yame-ru-kadooka-wa sira-nai-kedo ...
he-NOM/Ø-NOM job-ACC quit-NONPAST-whether-TOP know-NEG.NONPAST-but
'Although I don't know whether he will quit, ...' (Shibata 2014, 2, (7))

Crucially, inflectional suffixes like the past tense marker *-ta* and the clausal-nominalization suffix *-no* cannot be stranded by PSE as shown in (30) and (31), respectively.

- (30) a. Taroo-wa ki-ta-no.
Taro-TOP come-PAST-Q
'As for Taro, did he come?'
- b. {Ki-/*Ø}-ta-yo.
come/Ø-PAST-SFP
'He came.'
- (31) a. [Taroo-ga ku-ru]-no-o mi-ta-no.
Taro-NOM come-NONPAST -NMLZ-ACC see-PAST-Q
'Did you see Taro coming?'
- b. [{Kare-ga ku-ru/*Ø}]-no-o mi-nak-at-ta-yo.
he-NOM come-NONPAST/Ø -NMLZ-ACC see-NEG-COP-PAST-SFP
'I didn't see him coming.'

In contrast, Rep can undergo PSE, so Rep patterns with other particles.¹⁸

¹⁸In this connection, the interrogative marker, *-ka*, is compatible with PSE as in (i). This makes sense if *-ka* also belongs to the particle system in Japanese. Here, I adopt Q-particle movement for deriving *wh*-in-situ questions (see Cable 2010, Hagstrom 1998 and Kishimoto 2005a for the details of Q-particle movement). Thus, *-ka* is not C by itself, but it moves into C derivationally. Namely, the interrogative pronouns are originally indeterminate pronouns with the Q-particle *-ka* suffixed such that *dare-ka* 'someone' becomes *dare* 'who' by uncoupling *-ka* from *dare*, so that *-ka* is also not C, but it is moved to the position of C. Interestingly, *-ka* of indeterminate pronouns itself can undergo PSE as in (ii) (for the polar question, I assume that *-ka* directly adjoins to C).

- (i) a. [Dare-ga ku-ru]-ka sit-tei-mas-u-ka.
who-NOM come-NONPAST -Q know-ASP-POL-NONPAST-Q
'Do you know who will come?'

- (32) a. Taroo-wa ki-ta-no.
Taro-Top come-PAST-Q
'As for Taro, did he come?'
- b. [{Kare-wa ki-ta/Ø}]-to omow-yo.
he-Top come-PAST/Ø -REP think.NONPAST-SFP
'I think that he came.'

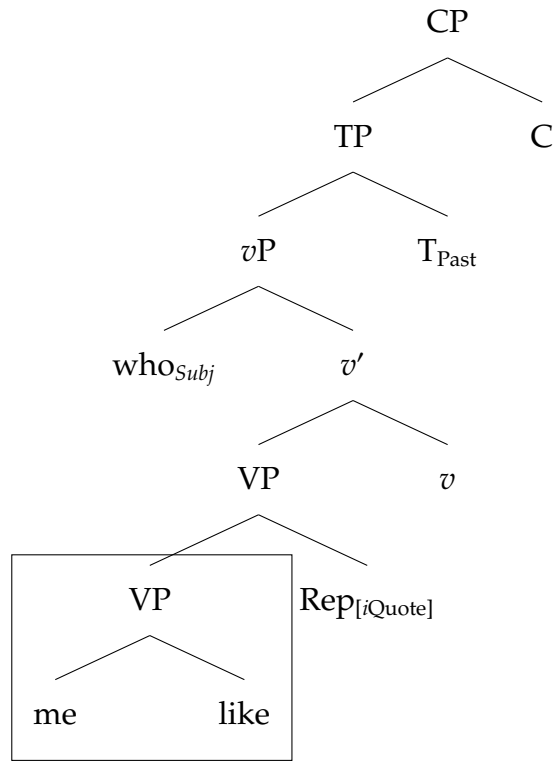
4.3.3 Deriving Subclausal Quotation in Japanese: A Sample Case

Let us see how the proposed mechanism derives the apparent shifted reading of the first-person pronoun observed in Chapter 3. In this section, I will consider Sudo's (2012) example as a sample case, which is (11a) in Chapter 3 and repeated here in (33). Recall that when *watasi* in the embedded clause refers to the reported speaker, mimicking the manner of the original utterance is preferred, viz. subclausal quotation. This point was made lucid with the example like (34), where there is a pause before the subclausal part starts, and we need some mimicked (non)linguistic gestures to get the *her* reading of *watasi*. In (34), it is easy to get the *her* reading, and in fact, referring to the actual speaker is almost impossible if the reporter is male; recall that *atasi* 'I' is typically used by women. Then, I contend that the *her* reading in (33) and (34) is derived by subclausally quoting the embedded VP. Given the idea in 4.3.1, the derivation goes as in (35).

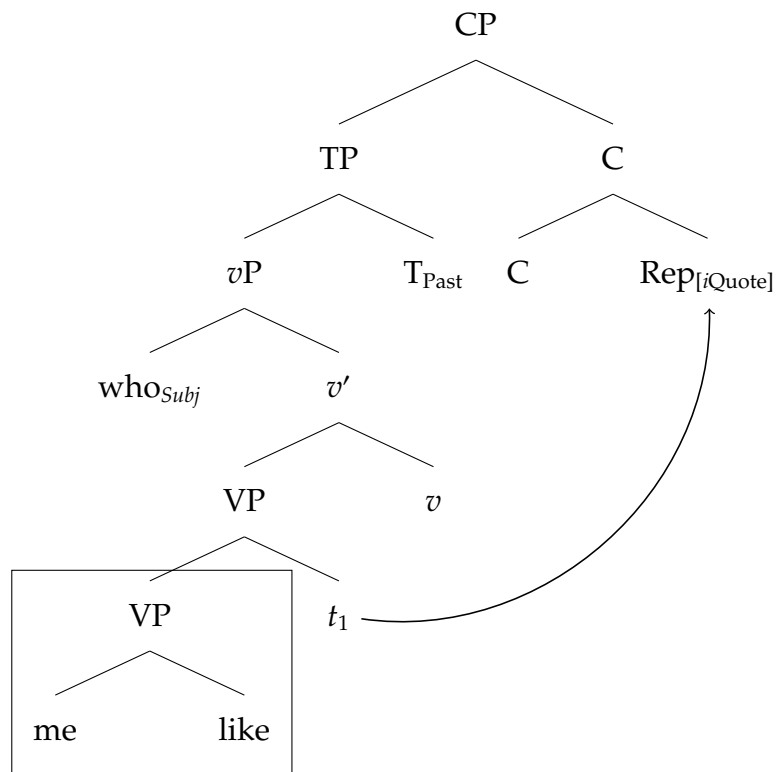
- (33) Mary-wa [dare-ga watasi-o suki-da-to] it-ta-no.
Mary-Top who-Nom I-Acc fond-COP.NONPAST-REP say-PAST-Q
'Who did Mary say likes {me, her}?' (Sudo 2012, 237, (694); gloss is mine)
- (34) Mary-wa [dare-ga |_{pause} atasi-o suki-da-to] it-ta-no.
Mary-Top who-Nom I-Acc fond-COP.NONPAST-REP say-PAST-Q
'Who did Mary say likes {me, her}?' ((12) in Chapter 3)

-
- b. [{Dare-ga ku-ru/Ø}]-ka-wa siri-mase-n-ne. Sono hito-ga
who-Nom come-NONPAST/Ø -Q-Top know-POL-NEG.NONPAST-SFP that person-Nom
nanzi-ni ku-ru-ka-wa sit-tei-mas-u-ga ...
what.time-at come-NONPAST-Q-Top know-ASP-POL-NONPAST-but
'I don't know who will come, though I know when that person will come ...'
- (ii) a. Dare-ka ki-ta-no.
who-Q come-PAST-Q
'Did anyone come?'
- b. {Dare/Ø}-ka ki-ta-yo.
who/Ø-Q come-PAST-SFP
'Someone came.'

(35) a.



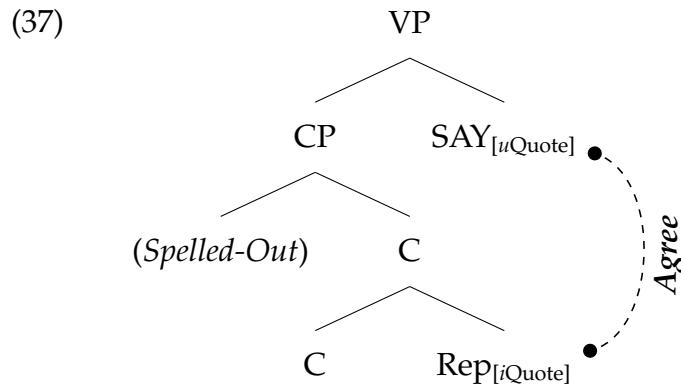
b.



In (35a), Rep adjoins to VP, and this makes VP the subclausally quoted domain (given in the box), which is defined as (36). Then, to Agree with SAY that is yet to be merged, Rep moves to the edge of CP, which I assume is adjunction to C.¹⁹ After SAY is merged, Agree applies, and the derivation goes through as shown in (37).

(36) THE QUOTE DOMAIN OF REP

The Quote Domain of Rep (QDR) is the node α that Rep is adjoined to and everything that α dominates.



As we have seen in Chapter 3, subclausal quotation in Japanese is contingent on syntactic constituency. The proposed mechanism derives this, since adjunction targets syntactic constituents. VP that Rep is adjoined to will be interpreted as subclausally quoted at the semantic component and it will assume various characteristics of subclausal (and direct) quotation such as mimicking tones, facial expressions, body gestures etc. (Clark and Gerigg 1990, Kamada 2000).²⁰

Also, as is expected from the movement analysis of Rep, subclausal quotation via Rep cannot be implemented inside the relative clause (cf. (14)). Observe:

- (38) Taroo-wa [kare-ga [dare-ga boku-ni kat-ta] hon-o yon-da-to]
 Taro-Top he-Nom who-Nom I-DAT buy-PAST book-Acc read-PAST-REP
 it-ta-no.
 say-PAST-Q

¹⁹Of course, adjunction to CP is also possible given that Rep's status is both X^0 and XP .

²⁰One may well ask whether Rep subclausally quotes something in the moved position. For this, I assume that quote semantics is interpreted at the semantic component, and since Rep is of higher semantic type as I will propose in Chapter 8, it semantically reconstructs automatically. Therefore, semantically, Rep moves back to its base position.

Lit. ‘Who is the person x such that Taro say that he read the book that x bought to {me, *him}?’

In (38), LD *wh*-dependency is possible even from inside the relative clause if the interrogative is an argument (Watanabe 2003 and references therein). But the Rep-movement is impossible as the first-person pronoun cannot refer to the reported speaker. That is, since the interrogative subject is located inside the relative clause, Rep must start out from the inside of it, but it cannot. This should be an example of the argument-adjunct asymmetry. Note that indexical shifting via the monster operator will have difficulty in explaining this since the first-person pronoun is in the scope of the monster operator insofar as Rep as C scopes over the entire embedded clause. However, under the proposed analysis, that the shifted reading in (38) is impossible is easily understood in terms of an island effect.²¹

4.3.4 Interim Summary

In this section, I have proposed that Rep is an AC, which adjoins to the clausal spine, the extended projections of V in the sense of Grimshaw (2005). Then, it can adjoin to V, VP, *v*, *v*P, T, TP etc. As we have just seen, when Rep adjoins to VP, only VP is construed in the domain of quotation, namely QDR. Then, this amounts to saying that there is no pronominal ambiguity, and only the *her* reading is possible in (34) since VP is in QDR. Given this, for the actual-speaker reading, we have indirect quotation. However, the question is how to derive it under the proposed mechanism, for whenever we have Rep, we have subclausal/direct quotation. I will come back to this issue in the next chapter. To anticipate, I will argue that Rep directly adjoins to C without movement.

Regarding the fact that Rep only appears in the sentence-final position, I have proposed that Rep moves overtly to the edge of CP phase for Agree with SAY, which yields the impression of Rep as C, a widely accepted view.

In the next section, we will investigate embedded imperatives under the proposed analysis, and I will argue that embedded imperatives with no lexical item subclausally quoted have Rep adjoined to the imperative head only, which derives Kuno’s (1988) quasi-direct discourse.

²¹Also, it is impossible to add some nonlinguistic gestures to items inside the relative clause.

4.4 Deriving Embedded Imperatives via Subclausal Quotation

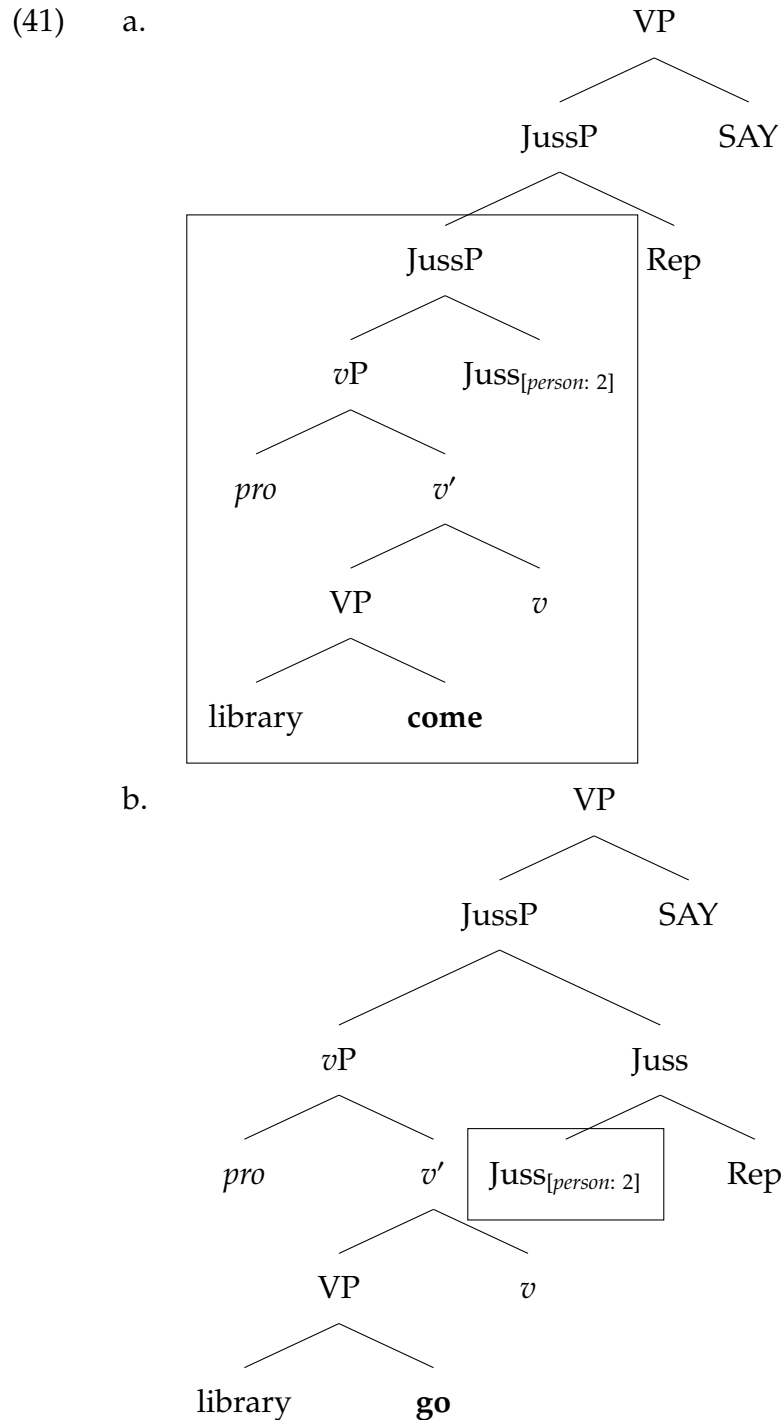
To make our discussion simple here, we will not consider the apparent shifted reading of indexicals like the first-person pronoun *here*. Therefore, let us focus on the perspective verb alternation; consider the scenario where Taro is in a library, calling Jiro and ordering him to go there. Then, for the matrix imperative, only *ko-* ‘come’ is felicitous as in (39) because of Taro’s perspective. However, as we have seen in Chapter 3, when embedded with Rep, both verbs are usable as (40) shows.

- (39) Tsyokan-ni {ko-i/#ik-e}.
 library-to come-IMP/go-IMP
 ‘Come to the library.’
- (40) Taroo-wa Ziroom-ni [tsyokan-ni {ko-i/ik-e}-to] it-ta.
 Taro-TOP Jiro-DAT library-to come-IMP/go-IMP-REP say-PAST
 Lit. ‘Taro said to Jiro that {come/go}.IMP to the library.’

The choice of *ko-* ‘come’ retains Taro’s perspective whereas that of *ik-* ‘go’ is the actual/reporting speaker’s if s/he is not in the library where Taro was. Assuming that the imperative syntax and semantics are located in Juss(ive) in the sense of Zanuttini et al. (2012), I argue that the verb choice reflects the locus of Rep’s adjunction site.²² Consider (41). Since at least the imperative semantics must be in the reported context: namely, the person-feature must be in the reported context, we have (41a) for the *ko-* choice and (41b) for the *ik-* choice. In (41a), the entire JussP is in QDR, so that the embedded imperative as a whole is interpreted as subclausally quoted, or this is equivalent to the direct quotation of the embedded imperative. Since there is no phase between Rep and SAY (CP and *v*P are phasal by assumption), Rep does not have to move to Agree with SAY. In contrast, Rep only adjoins to the Juss head in (41b). Therefore, everything but Juss is evaluated in the actual context, so the verb choice is determined by the actual speaker’s perspective, hence *ik-* ‘go’.²³ With no phase between Rep and SAY, no movement is needed.

²²I also assume with Zanuttini et al. (2012) that Jussive as imperative takes *v*P as its complement, where Spec-*v*P has *pro* as the subject of the imperative clause.

²³Even if V head-moves to Juss, it will be semantically reconstructed, and the quote semantics is evaluated at the semantic component; see §8.4.2 in Chapter 8. I will also discuss how other materials within *v*P interact with the loci of Rep, especially *pro*; see §8.3.2 in Chapter 8.



In this way, the proposed analysis derives the embedded imperative as subclausal quotation just like [Maier \(2014\)](#), and unlike indexical shifting utilized by [Sauerland and Yat-](#)

sushiro (2014), we allow both *ko-* and *ik-* to appear in accordance with the place of Rep's adjunction site. However, what differentiates us from Maier (2014) is that subclausal quotation is limited to the environments where Rep is used.

In the next section, I will investigate the pronominal ambiguity in relation to the loci of interrogative items and the perspective verb choice we discussed in Chapter 3, showing that the proposed system elucidates the pertinent data in a principled way.

4.5 Word Order and Indexicals in the Reported Context: A Subclausal-quotation Account

In this section, applying the mechanism just proposed, I will explain the set of data we discussed in Chapter 3, namely, the interaction of the availability of the reported-context reading of indexicals with interrogative items. The key factor is syntactic constituency as we discussed, and it is directly connected to the loci of Rep's adjunction site.

Also, I will argue that extraction from QDR is possible in Japanese although such extraction from direct/subclausal quotation is generally prohibited crosslinguistically. I propose that this is due to Rep being an adjunct, which is able to be late-inserted (Lebeaux 1988, Fox and Nissenbaum 1999, Shibata 2015a,b, Stepanov 2001). As we will see, Rep as AC provides a simple account for the paradigm we discussed in a principled way.

4.5.1 Extraction from QDR and Late-insertion of Rep

As we have discussed in Chapter 3, word order relative to an interrogative item affects the availability of indexicals like the first-person pronoun being interpreted in the reported context. For example, (20a) in Chapter 3, repeated here in (42), does not allow the *she* reading, and the pronoun must refer to the actual speaker.

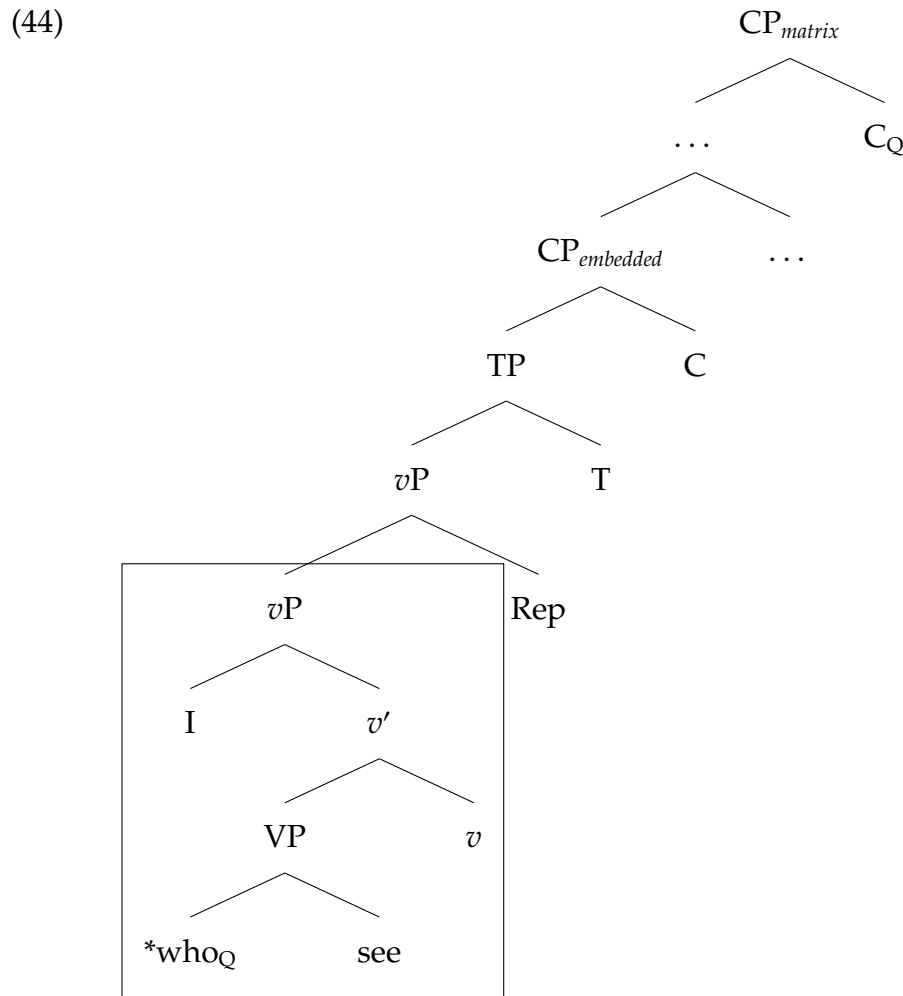
- (42) Hanako-wa [watasi-ga dare-ni at-ta-to] it-ta-no.
 Hanako-TOP I-NOM who-DAT see-PAST-REP say-PAST-Q
 'Who did Hanako say that {I, *she} met?'

Note first that subclausal quotation does not allow an item that is subclausally quoted (for us, in the domain of QDR) to enter into a grammatical operation such as extraction to the

domain of non-quoted parts as shown in (43).

(43) * $[\text{What kind of feature}]_1$ did Quine say quotation “has t_1 ”? (Maier 2008, 189, (10b))

Therefore, the interrogative object in (42) must be outside QDR. Given this, (42) can be easily explained by the current analysis. That is, if Rep adjoins somewhere to contain the subject first-person pronoun, the choice should be some XP that contains it. Suppose that the subject remains in Spec- v P. Then, we need to have at least v P in QDR, so we have (44), which is the structure before Rep’s movement.

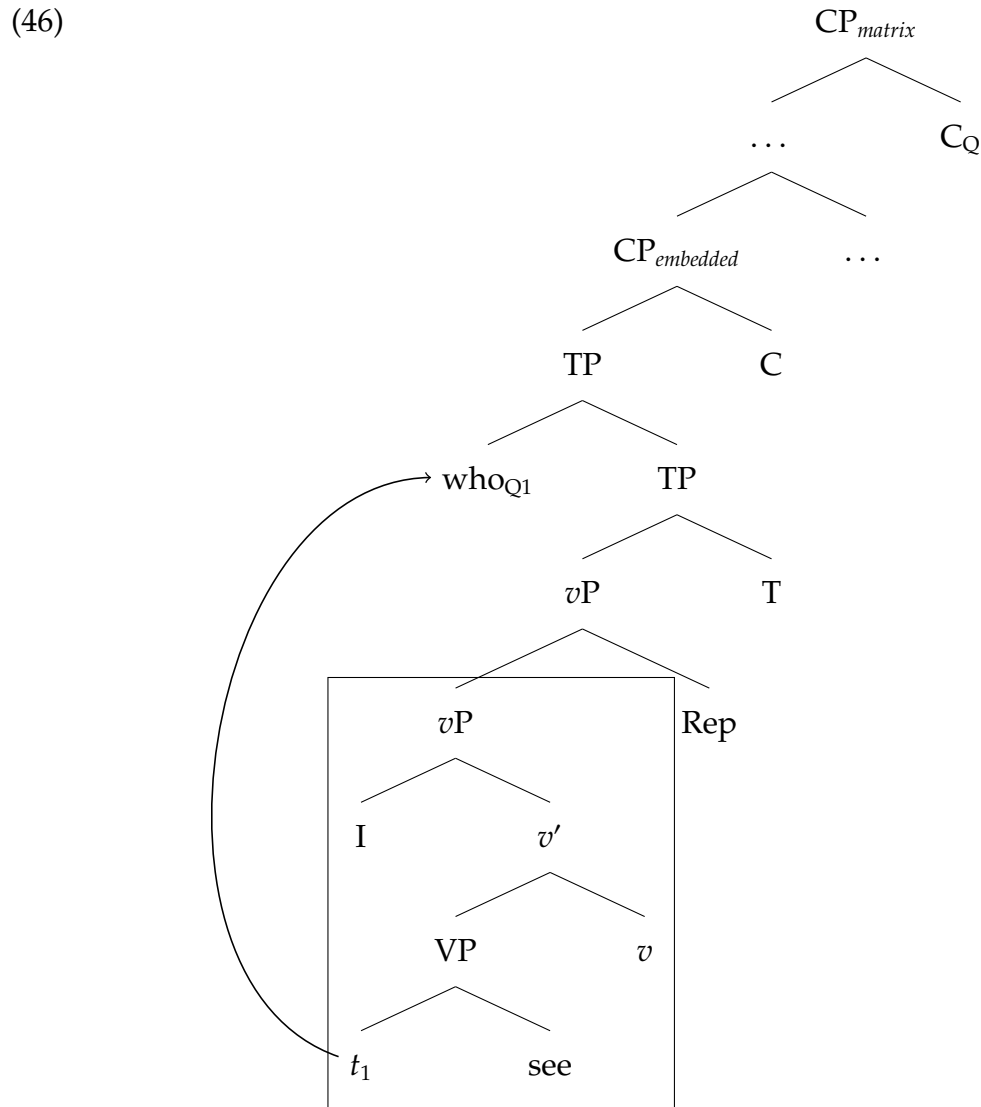


In (44), the interrogative object is in QDR, so that it cannot be grammatically dependent on the matrix Q-marker. Since there is no node that contains the first-person subject to

the exclusion of the object in the embedded clause, it is impossible to subclausally quote the embedded subject *watasi* ‘I’. Note that Rep cannot adjoin to the subject DP only, for as I proposed in §4.3.1, Rep only adjoins to the extended projections of V.

Then, as we discussed in Chapter 3, moving the interrogative object to the front of the first-person subject resurrects the *she* reading with acute changes in (non)linguistic gestures. The relevant example is (45), and its structure is (46) (before Rep’s movement).

- (45) Hanako-wa [[dare-ni]₁ |_{pause} (*w*)*atasi-ga* *t*₁ *at-ta-to*] *it-ta-no*.
 Hanako-TOP who-DAT I-NOM see-PAST-REP say-PAST-Q
 ‘Who did Hanako say that {I, she} met?’



As in (45), the *wh*-object is scrambled, and I assume that it is adjunction to TP (cf. Lasnik and Saito 1992). Since the *wh*-object is located outside QDR, it is not interpreted as subclausally quoted; *v*P vacated by the *wh*-object that Rep is adjoined to, so that the entire *v*P is in QDR, which then leads to the *she* reading of the first-person pronoun.

Notice however that the pertinent scrambling is launched from the domain of sub-clausal quotation (QDR), and this sort of syntactic maneuver is impossible in general; see (43) in English. Therefore, this needs careful consideration.

Note however that under the current analysis, Rep is an AC, a kind of adjunct. In this connection, there are analyses in the literature that utilize late-insertion of adjuncts (Lebeaux 1988, Fox and Nissenbaum 1999, Shibata 2015a,b, Stepanov 2001), whereby adjuncts can be introduced to the structure counter-cyclically. For instance, Shibata (2015a,b) discusses late-insertion of focus triggers like *only* in English and *dake* ‘only’, *-mo* ‘also’ and *-sae* ‘even’ in Japanese, based on the fact that nominals that these items are adjoined to cannot allow a reconstructed reading under negation while usual quantifier phrases (QP) like *every* can reconstruct under negation. For instance, we have the following contrast:

- (47) a. Every boy didn't come. (Subj > ¬/¬ > Subj)
 b. Only that boy didn't come. (Subj > ¬/*¬ > Subj)
- (adapted from Shibata 2015b, 68, (46), (47))

Shibata assumes with Rooth (1985) that *only* adjoins to DP, arguing that in (47b), it adjoins to the subject DP in a counter-cyclic fashion after it moves to Spec-TP. This is because of its semantics. Specifically, he assumes Fox's (2003) *Trace Conversion* (TC), by which the tail/lower copy of DP under movement is converted to a definite description in the form of *the* [Pred $\lambda y(y = x)$], serving as a variable. So TC yields (48) from (47a). In contrast, since *only* adjoins to DP, it is outside the target of TC, so if *only* adjoins to the subject DP in the base position, (47b) leads to (49).

- (48) a. [every boy] didn't [every boy] come
b. [every boy] λx didn't [the boy = x] come (via TC)
- (49) a. [only [that boy]] didn't [only [that boy]] come
b. [only [that boy]] λx didn't [only [the boy = x]] come (via TC)

semantically. Therefore, Shibata argues that *only* adjoins to the subject DP acyclically after it moves to Spec-TP, which derives the obligatory wide-scope reading in (47b). Given this, we have (50), where *only* appears in the higher copy of the moved subject, and the same analysis applies for Japanese focus markers according to Shibata. That is, if focus markers are AC as Aoyagi (1998) claims, they can also be late-inserted.²⁴

- (50) a. [**only** [that boy]] didn't [that boy] come
b. [**only** [that boy]] λx didn't [the boy = x] come (via TC)

Turning back to Rep, I also argue that due to its adjunct status, it can be late-inserted after extraction is done. Therefore, in (46), we can scramble the *wh*-object, and then late-insert Rep by adjoining it to *v*P. After Rep's late-insertion, *v*P in QDR becomes syntactically opaque.²⁵

For the semantic interpretation of *wh*-chain, I submit that it is not problematic to have a variable inside QDR, since the operator-variable pair is interpreted at the semantic component, so the opacity of QDR does not affect this, for it is only syntactic. Another concern is whether it is possible to have a *wh*-trace inside QDR. This question arises

²⁴Note that this fact is not so simple, since *both* in (i) allows the reconstructed reading.

- (i) Both (the) boys didn't come. (*both* > \neg/\neg > *both*) (Jonathan Bobaljik, p.c.)

Although (i) has the same syntax as *only* has, that is, *both* being outside the determiner, the \neg > *both* option is possible. In contrast, not all "usual" quantifiers reconstruct under negation: weak quantifiers do not:

- (ii) {Few/Many} boys didn't come. (*few/many* > \neg/\neg > *few/many*) (Jonathan Bobaljik, p.c.)

In passing, *both* in Japanese does not have an AC structure, so it may be irrelevant to this point. Although I am not sure whether the English data here will threaten Shibata's analysis of AC in Japanese, I will assume that late-insertion of Rep is possible because it is a sort of adjunct.

Note however that as I will discuss in ??, it may be possible for us to dispense with late-insertion of Rep. If so, the issues raised here can be circumvented.

²⁵It is noteworthy that the proposed analysis of extraction from QDR predicts that only overt movement is possible since Rep's adjunction is overt. I have no interesting testable ground regarding this prediction. However, I suggest that *wh*-items being unable to appear in QDR is one such case. Although Japanese is a *wh*-in-situ language, it has sometimes been claimed that this language has covert *wh*-movement due to island diagnostics (see Bayer and Cheng 2017, Hayashi et al. 2016, Watanabe 2003 and references therein). Under the minimalist perspective, it can be updated as covert feature movement (Chomsky 1995) or Q-particle movement à la Cable (2010) among others, but if the latter, we can move the Q-particle *-ka* before Rep is late-inserted to the structure, so that the interrogative pronouns should still be able to appear in QDR, contrary to the fact. Therefore, I assume that we still need to have some covert movement from *wh*-pronouns even if there is Q-particle movement.

because QDR is the domain of (subclausal) quotation, and it is considered to be verbatim very often. For instance, [Leech \(1974\)](#) explicitly states, “the reporter commits himself to repeating the actual words spoken” ([Leech 1974](#), 353). So if the original utterance does not have a *wh*-trace yet the reporting speaker of it has some unknown part and renders a *wh*-question for it, then it should be problematic. We will discuss this issue in the next chapter in detail, but for the moment, let us assume that it is possible to implement syntactic extraction from QDR.

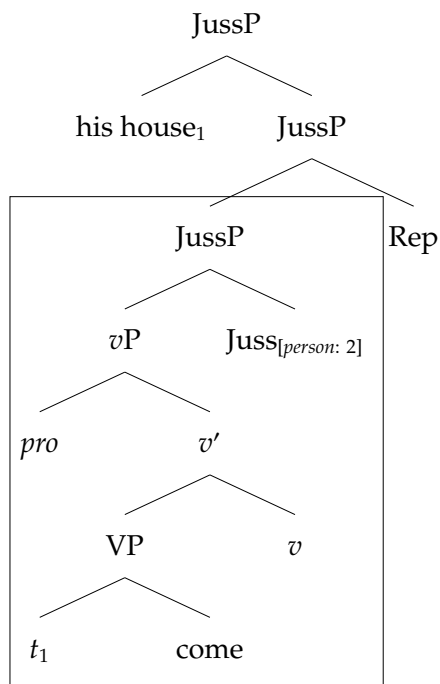
4.5.2 Perspective-verb Alternation and Embedded Imperative

As we have observed in §3.3.2, subclausal quotation is constituent-dependent and the pronominal interpretation in the actual or reported context interacts with the choice of perspective-verb alternation. Here, we consider the following four cases from §3.3.2.

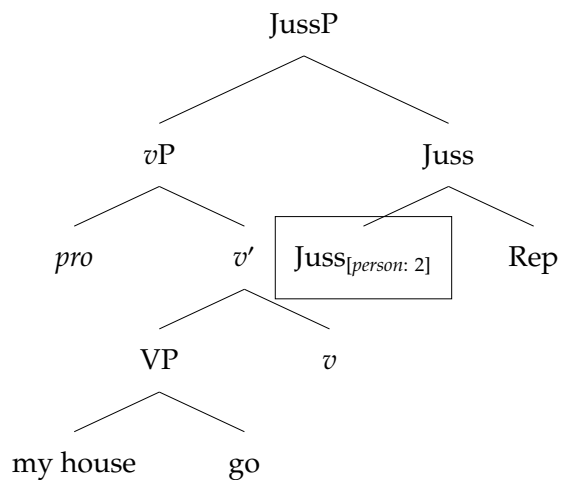
- (51) a. ... [*Embedded Clause* [*his_{Actual}* house] *come_{Reported}-IMP-Rep*] ...
 b. ... [*Embedded Clause* [*his_{Actual}* house] *go_{Actual}-IMP-Rep*] ...
 c. ... [*Embedded Clause* [with whom] [*my_{Reported}* house] *come_{Reported}-IMP-Rep*] ...
 d. *... [*Embedded Clause* [with whom] [*my_{Reported}* house] *go-IMP-Rep*] ...

As I proposed in §4.4, embedded imperatives are derived by subclausal quotation via Rep. Since the imperative semantics is located in Juss(ive) ([Zanuttini et al. 2012](#)), the host of Rep must contain Juss. Given this, (51a) is derived as in (52); I ignore the matrix structure. In (52), the embedded goal argument is scrambled out of QDR, so this is done before Rep’s late-insertion. Since it has the third-person pronoun, its referent is evaluated in the actual context. The verb is however in the reported context. Therefore, its morphological manifestation is *ku-* ‘come’. For (51b), the structure is just like the one in (41b) in §4.4. That is, we have (53), and the first-person pronoun must refer to the actual speaker. Then, what is interesting is (51c), for the verb must be *ko-* ‘come’ in tandem with the reported-context reading of the first-person pronoun. This is easily elucidated under the proposed analysis because QDR contains both the verb and the pronoun in it as shown in (54). Also, since it has an interrogative comitative phrase, it must evacuate from QDR before Rep is late-inserted. Then, the impossibility of (51d) is also easily explained. Namely, there is no node that contains Juss and the first-person pronoun to the exclusion of the verb as shown in (55); split quotation is impossible (cf. [Sauerland and Yatsushiro 2014](#), §2.2).

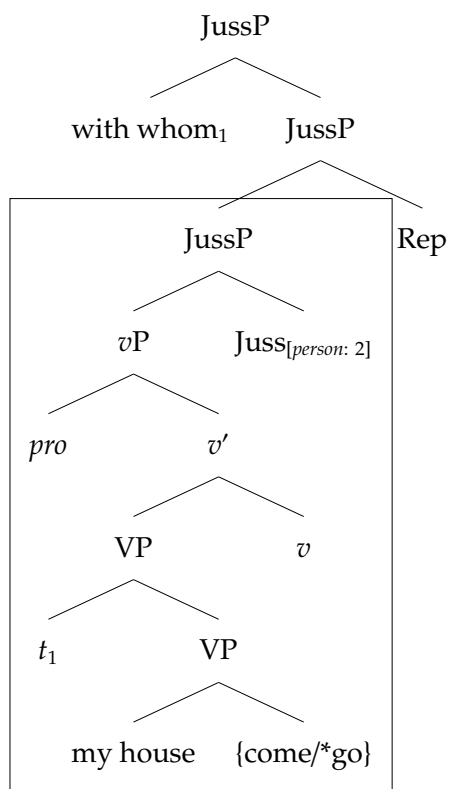
(52) (51a)



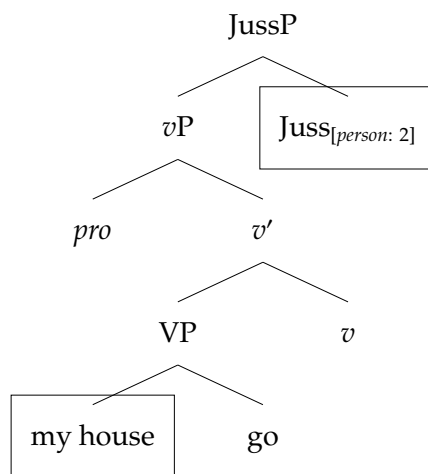
(53) (51b)



(54) (51c)



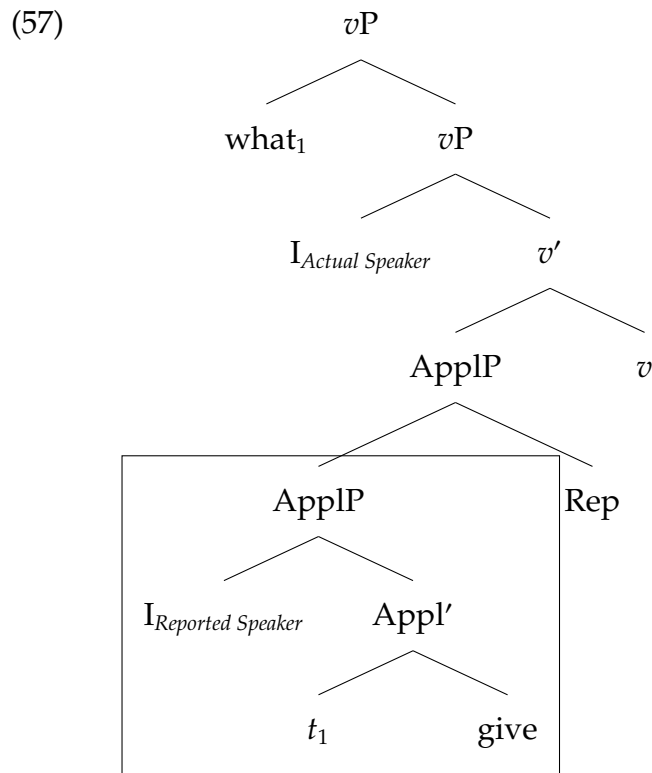
(55) (51d): Impossible Split Subclausal Quotation



The *ku-/yar-* ‘give’ alternation is also accounted for in terms of the locus of Rep’s adjunction. The pertinent example is (30) in Chapter 3, repeated here:

- (56) Taroo-wa [Boku-ga asu nani-o |_{Pause} ore-ni {kure-ru/#yar-u}-to]
 Taroo-Top I-NOM tomorrow what-Acc I-DAT give-Nonpast-Rep
 it-ta-no.
 say-Past-Q
 ‘What did Taro say that I will give him?’

In this example, only *ku-* is possible, and this verb signifies giving to the speaker. Since the embedded subject is the actual speaker, *ore* here must refer to the reported speaker, Taro. The interrogative direct object is outside QDR, so it moves out of it before Rep’s adjunction. Given this much, we have (57) for the embedded *vP*, where Rep is yet to be moved; the subject in Spec-*vP* will be moved to Spec-TP later.



The other examples in Chapter 3 will be handled in terms of the interaction between Rep’s late adjunction, extraction out of QDR and the loci of interrogatives relative to

indexicals that are inside or outside QDR. As we have seen, these intricate factors are easily accommodated under the proposed analysis, which thus overcomes the problems of indexical shifting and delimit the domain of subclausal quotation to where Rep is employed.

4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, it has been argued that Rep is an AC in the sense of Aoyagi (1998), and Rep can adjoin to various categories insofar as they are the extended projections of the verbal/clausal spine. Although Aoyagi does not mention the categorial status of the host item, it is not implausible to assume that adjunction is sensitive to syntactic categories as we discussed above. Then, the domain of (subclausal) quotation in Japanese is defined by the adjunction site of Rep, which derives the *prima facie* shifted reading of the first-person pronoun and the embedded imperative together with Kuno's (1988) quasi-direct discourse.

As we have seen, the proposed analysis provides a simple account for the relevant paradigm where the pronominal interpretation, the perspective-verb choice and the loci of *wh*-items interact with each other. The crucial notion is syntactic constituency for Rep's adjunction. However, the proposed analysis has raised at least the following two questions about the nature of quotation/reported speech. First, it is not so clear how Rep as AC can account for the distinction between direct quotation, subclausal quotation and indirect quotation. Especially, as for indirect quotation, it seems that there is no need for Rep since there is nothing in the reported context there. Second, as I noted above, it needs to be considered why we can have a *wh*-trace/variable in QDR that is not present in the original utterance. We will discuss these issues next.

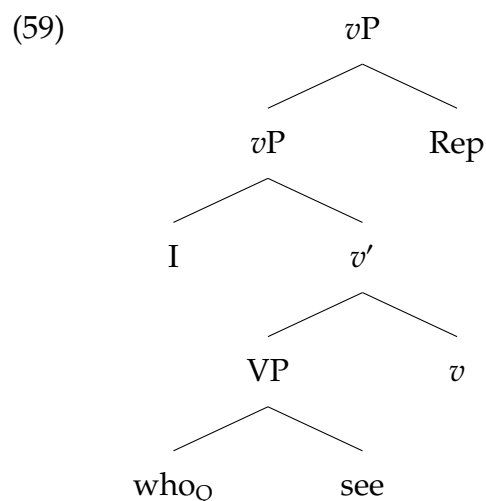
Appendix

4.A An Alternative to Late-insertion of Rep

In this appendix, I will discuss one possible alternative that dispenses with late-insertion of Rep yet allows extraction from QDR.²⁶ To do so, we consider (45), repeated here in (58).

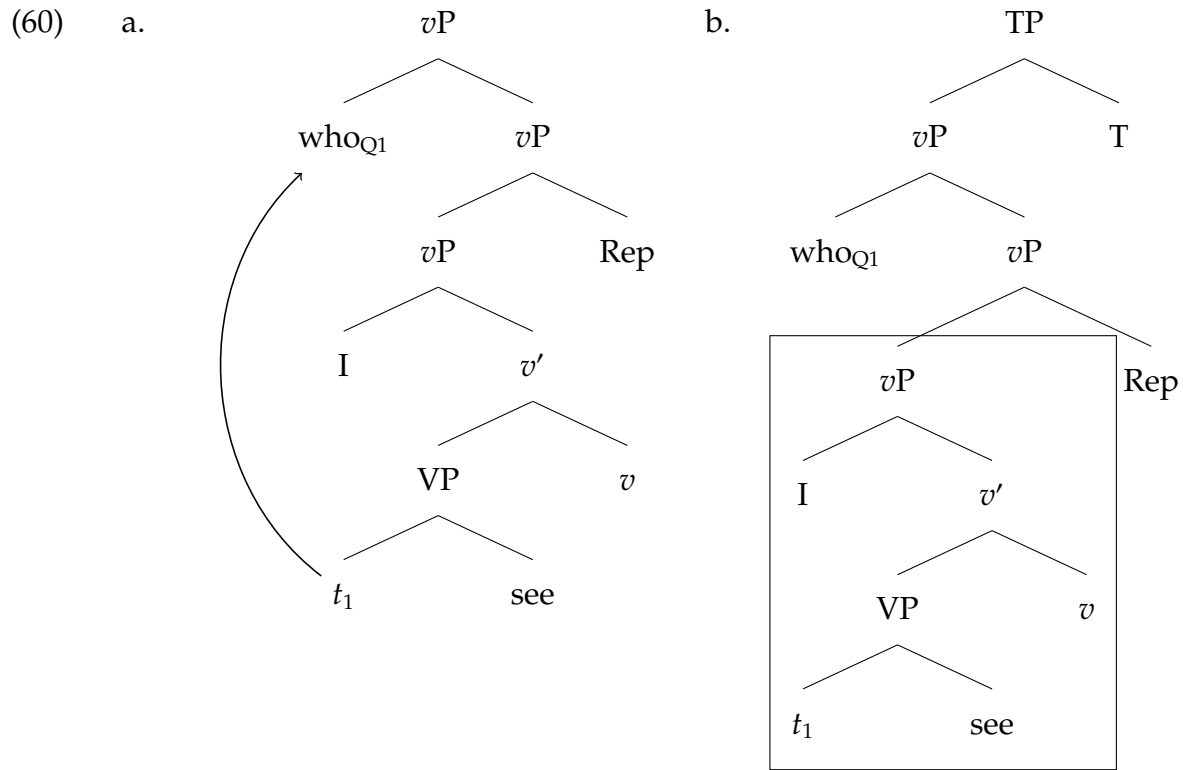
- (58) Hanako-wa [[dare-ni]₁ |_{Pause} (*w*)*atasi-ga* *t*₁ *at-ta-to*] it-ta-no.
 Hanako-TOP who-DAT I-NOM see-PAST-REP say-PAST-Q
 ‘Who did Hanako say that {I, she} met?’

Here, we need to move the interrogative out of QDR. Then, instead of late-inserting Rep, we adjoin it to *v*P as soon as the derivation has constructed *v*P, observing cyclicity, so that we have:



²⁶I'm indebted to Susi Wurmbrand for the discussion in this appendix.

Then, suppose that only when the phase is completed does QDR become syntactically frozen. Specifically, let us assume that when T is merged, the vP phase is completed. Given this, until T gets merged, the internal structure of vP is accessible. Therefore, we can move the object interrogative to the edge of vP in (60a), and the lowest vP node is syntactically frozen after T is merged. In this way, the *wh*-object successfully evacuates from the syntactic freezing effect of QDR.



One possible concern here is that since this alternative is phase-based, the embedded imperative complement must also constitute a phase. Under our analysis, it is JussP in the sense of [Zanuttini et al. \(2012\)](#), so it is rather unclear whether it would be phasal. Maybe, we can assume a dynamic approach to phasehood ([Wurmbrand 2013, 2017](#) and references therein). Given this, JussP is also phasal since it defines the cycle of an embedded clause. I reserve any further discussion on this phase-based approach to QDR for my future research, and I will keep using late-insertion of Rep below. But the reader should bear in mind that late-inserting Rep may be dispensable.

4.B Inserting a Monster Operator via Last Resort

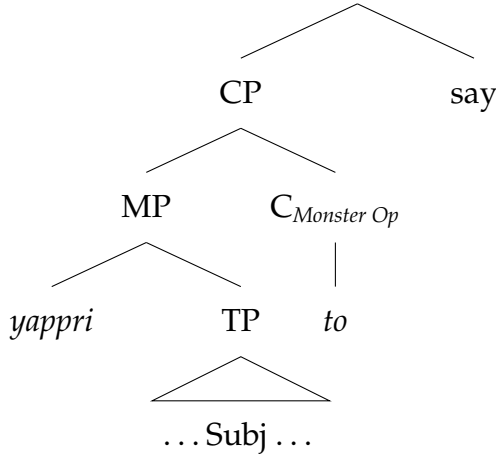
Recall that we observed in 3.A that there are two cases where a monster operator can be considered to be involved, that is, the cases discussed by [H. Saito \(2018c\)](#). The relevant examples are repeated below:

- (61) Kinoo John-wa [yappari Mary-wa paatii-ni ku-ru-to]
 yesterday John-Top as.expected Mary-Top party-DAT come-NONPAST-REP
 it-ta.
 say-PAST
 ‘Yesterday, John said that as expected Mary would go to the party tomorrow.’
- a. Demo sore-wa watasi-nitotte yosoogai-{da/dat-ta}.
 but it-Top I-for unexpected-COP.NONPAST/COP-PAST
 ‘But that (Mary’s coming to the party) is/was unexpected for me.’
- b. #Demo sore-wa John-nitotte yosoogai-dat-ta.
 but it-Top John-for unexpected-COP-PAST
 ‘But that was unexpected for John.’
- ([H. Saito 2018c](#), 343-344, (8); gloss is mine)
- (62) Kinoo John-wa [asita sensei-gata-ga sono ryoori-o
 yesterday John-Top tomorrow teacher-PL(H)-NOM that dinner-Acc
 mesiaga-ru-to] it-ta.
 eat.HON-NONPAST-REP say-PAST
 ‘Yesterday, John said that the teachers would have the delicious dish tomorrow.’
- a. Watasi-wa karera-o keebetu-si-tei-ru.
 I-Top they-Acc contempt-do-ASP-NONPAST
 ‘I despise them.’
- b. #John-wa karera-o keebetu-si-tei-ru.
 John-Top they-Acc contempt-do-ASP-NONPAST
 ‘John despises them.’
- ([H. Saito 2018c](#), 344-345, (11); gloss is mine)

In (61), the perspective of *yappari*, which expresses the speaker’s expectation that something will happen or has happened, is shifted to that of the reported speaker, and the plural honorific marker *-gata* in (62), which expresses the speaker’s respectful attitude to the individual attached by *-gata*, is also interpreted relative to the reported speaker under the attitude context. [H. Saito \(2018c\)](#) then argues that this state of affairs can be captured

by a monster operator located in C. Specifically, for *yappari*, he proposes the structure given in (63). Note again that *to* is C under his analysis.

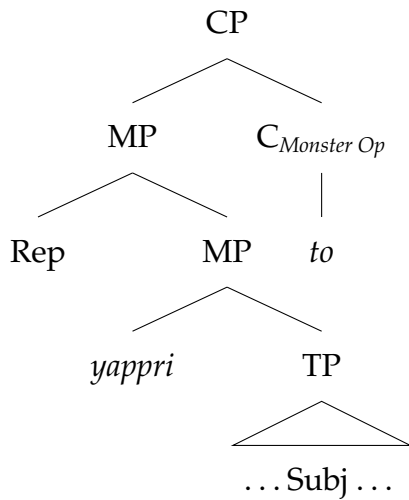
(63)



(H. Saito 2018c, 345, (13))

Now, suppose that Rep, not a monster operator, licenses such a shifted reading. Then, the question is where we should insert Rep in (63). Due to its verbal nature, Rep only adjoins to extended projections of a verb (or some head that is equivalent to a verb) (see Section 4.3.1). Therefore, we cannot directly adjoin Rep to *yappari*. Also, movement of ACs in general is excluded from adjuncts as discussed above (Aoyagi 1998). Therefore, the only projection that contains *yappari* is MP, so Rep gets adjoined to MP as in (64).

(64)



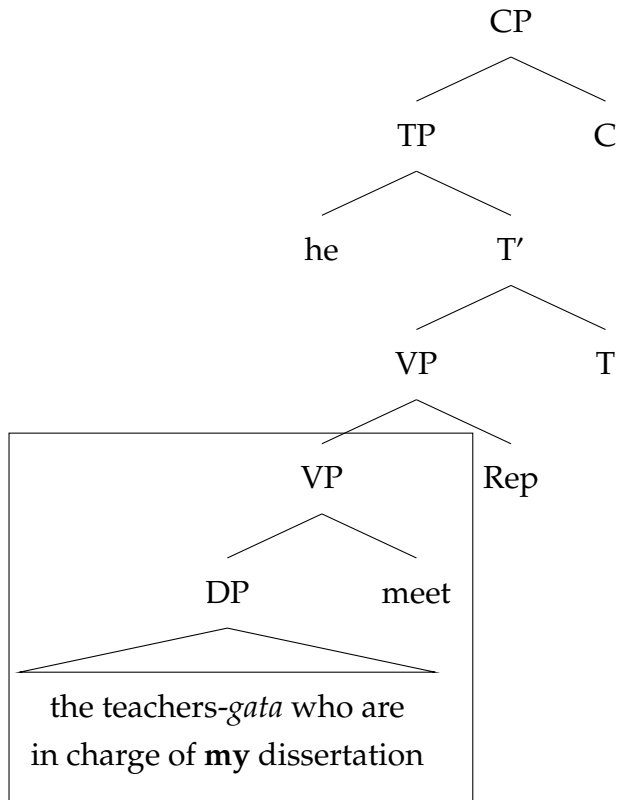
Then, Rep needs to be moved to the edge of CP. However, this is impossible under *Anti-locality* defined by Bošković (2012) and his related works, according to whom movement must cross at least one full category. Thus, to the extent that (64) is on the right track, Rep cannot be used. Then, I speculate that a monster operator is inserted to a given embedded structure in Japanese when Rep cannot be used, conforming to H. Saito's (2018c) analysis. In this sense, inserting a monster is a case of last resort.

The same speculation can carry over to *-gata*. First, we cannot adjoin Rep to a nominal attached by *-gata* since Rep's host must be verbal. Also, suppose that the embedded subject DP with *-gata* in (62) resides in Spec-TP. Then, Anti-locality excludes the adjunction of Rep to TP. However, things are not so simple. Consider:

- (65) Kinoo Taroo-wa [asita kare-ga [[_{RC} boku-no hakuron-o
 yesterday Taro-NOM tomorrow he-NOM I-GEN dissertation-ACC
 tantoo-si-tei-ru] sensei-gata-ni]
 in.charge.of-do-ASP-NONPAST teacher-PL(H)-DAT
 o-ai-su-ru-to] it-ta.
 HON-meeting-doNONPAST-REP say-PAST
 'Yesterday, Taro said that he will see the teachers tomorrow, who are in charge of
 my dissertation.'
- a. Boku-wa karera-o keebetui-si-tei-ru.
 I-Top they-ACC contempt-do-ASP-NONPAST
 'I despise them.'
- b. #Taroo-wa karera-o keebetui-si-tei-ru.
 Taro-Top they-ACC contempt-do-ASP-NONPAST
 'Taro despises them.'

Here, the intended interpretation is such that the embedded first-person pronoun inside the relative clause refers to the actual speaker, and the respectful attitude is ascribed to the matrix subject. Crucially, *-gata* attaches to the embedded object modified by the relative clause. Suppose that we adjoin Rep to VP as in (66). This then forces the first-person pronoun to be interpreted in the reported context, namely, Taro's perspective. This is not the intended interpretation, so (66) is not a viable option.

(66)



Since (65b) is infelicitous anyway, the perspective of *-gata* is shifted. Therefore, we need a monster operator to make the intended construal in (65) possible, which I speculate licenses the insertion of a monster operator.²⁷

Although the suggested way to explain the contrast between H. Saito's data and mine is speculative and calls for a further and more detailed scrutiny, I would like to submit that the analyses are not incompatible with each other.

²⁷This is a case of interpretation-oriented last resort. Hence, a look-ahead issue is lurking; however, see Reinhart (2006) for some related discussion.

Chapter 5

Three-way Distinction of Report in Japanese and Nature of Verbatim Quote

5.1 Introduction

In this short chapter, we discuss the two questions just posed in the previous chapter: namely, (i) how to derive indirect quotation under our analysis, and (ii) what is the nature of verbatim quotation. For the former, I argue in Section 5.2 that Rep adjoins to C after TP is Spelled-Out. This is, as I contend, due to the interaction between Rep and SAY both syntactically and semantically. Since Rep adjoins to C, which is functional and hence not indexical, it does not affect the context of the embedded clause, and everything inside it is evaluated in the reporting speaker's context. For the second question, following Clark and Gerigg (1990), Fujita (2000) and Kamada (2000), I argue in Section 5.3 that even in the case of direct/subclausal quotation, wording in such quotation is of the reporting speaker's own making, so there is no quotation that is truly verbatim. This then allows us to have a *wh*-trace inside QDR, conforming to the analysis discussed above.

5.2 Three-way Ambiguity of Rep

When Rep introduces a clause as in (1), it is ambiguous between *indirect quotation* (IQ) and *direct quotation* (DQ), for the embedded clause has no indexical item. Therefore, putting the first-person pronoun in the embedded clause disambiguates this state of affairs as (2)

shows.

- (1) Taroo-wa [Hanako-ga kasikoi-to] it-ta.
 Taro-TOP Hanako-NOM intelligent.COP.NONPAST-REP say-PAST
 IQ: ‘Taro said that Hanako {is/was} intelligent.’
 DQ: ‘Taro said, “Hanako is intelligent.”’
- (2) Taroo-wa [watasi-no musume-ga kasikoi-to] it-ta.
 Taro-TOP I-GEN daughter-NOM intelligent.COP.NONPAST-REP say-PAST
 IQ: ‘Taro said that his daughter {is/was} intelligent.’
 DQ: ‘Taro said, “My daughter is intelligent.”’

Given this, direct quotation in Japanese is in stark contrast to that in English, since the latter will never have *that*, so (3) with an overt C is ungrammatical.

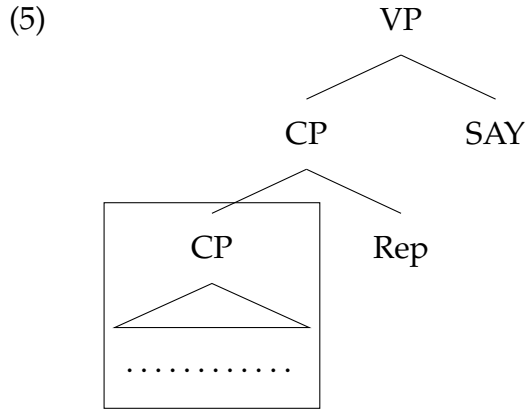
- (3) John said (*that), “My daughter is intelligent.”

An immediate question concerning Japanese is then why Rep is needed for direct quotation as well as indirect quotation. One can conjecture that Rep in Japanese is in fact lexically ambiguous, so the Japanese lexicon has two instances of Rep: Rep_{IQ} and Rep_{DQ}. However, as we have discussed, Rep is also used in the context of Kuno’s (1988) quasi-direct discourse, and this is now a case of our subclausal quotation.

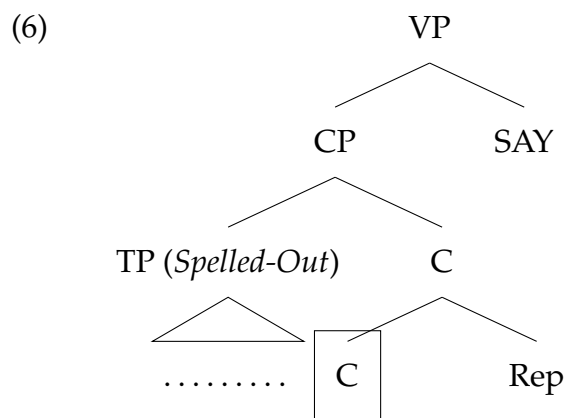
Then, we have a three-way distinction for clausal embedding with Rep: *direct*, *indirect*, and *subclausal*. These three all involve Rep, and we need to consider whether we should postulate three independent lexical items that are morphologically identical, namely, *to*. Notice however that Rep as an instance of AC dispenses with three discrete instances of Rep. The simplest case is direct quotation since everything in the embedded clause is quoted and hence in QDR. This means that Rep adjoins to CP under the definition of (36) in Chapter 4, repeated in (4).

- (4) THE QUOTE DOMAIN OF REP (QDR)
 The QDR is the node α that Rep is adjoined to and everything that α dominates.

Therefore, Rep does not have to move to Agree with SAY, for it is already in the edge of CP as shown in (5).



Next, let us consider why we need to have Rep when nothing is regarded as directly or subclausally quoted, namely indirect quotation. To derive it, I argue that Rep adjoins to C after TP is sent to the interfaces via Spell-Out, which is illustrated in (6). To anticipate, I will propose in Chapter 6 that attitude verbs in Japanese embed a clause with Rep via VP-complementation, so we need SAY anyway; attitude verbs cannot introduce an embedded clause on their own, even for indirect quotation. This makes a dilemma: it does not necessitate Rep because every lexical item in it is to be evaluated as the reporting speaker's context, whereas when SAY kicks into the structure, it needs to have its [*uQuote*]-feature deleted/checked via Agree, and semantically, SAY can only select the cartesian product type Rep yields as we will see in Chapter 8. Therefore, I assume that Rep goes to the most harmless position that can be proved by SAY, namely C that determines the force of a clause (Rizzi 1997), and that this is done in the last-resort fashion. Although C is in QDR, it is a functional item and not indexical; interrogatives are for instance interrogatives in any context (ignoring intricate factors such as rhetorical questions). Presumably, this sort of global computation is licensed by *the Reference-set Computation* advocated by Reinhart (2006). I refrain from any further speculation, but notice at this point that this obligatory adjunction of Rep to C yields the widely accepted view of Rep as C. Again, like (5), Rep does not have to move to Agree with SAY. In contrast, unlike direct quotation and indirect quotation, subclausal quotation needs movement if there is a phase between Rep and SAY. Given the current analysis, we do not have to assume three distinct instances of Rep, and only one single Rep just suffices for the quote syntax and semantics in Japanese. The three-way distinction is schematized as in (7) (QDR underlined).



- (7)
- a. *Indirect Quotation*
 $\dots [CP [TP \dots [VP \dots] \dots] \underline{C}\text{-Rep}] \dots$
 - b. *Direct Quotation*
 $\dots [\underline{CP [TP \dots [VP \dots] \dots] C}] \text{-Rep} \dots$
 - c. *Subclausal Quotation (pre-movement)*
 $\dots [CP [TP \dots [\underline{VP \dots}] \text{-Rep} \dots] C] \dots$

To recap, we have considered how Rep captures the three types of quotation in Japanese. Although Rep is an instance of AC and it is not C by itself, this does not have to exclude the possibility that Rep appears at C via adjunction or movement. Since we need $\text{Agree}(\text{Rep}, \text{SAY})$, Rep must in fact appear at or move to the edge of C(P) if it involves full-fledged clausal complementation. Given this, I argue that this yields an impression that Rep is C as widely accepted in the literature.

5.3 Direct/Subclausal Quotation is Not Verbatim

Although direct/subclausal quotation may well be considered to be a verbatim reproduction of the original utterance (Leech 1974), this is not empirically correct, which has sometimes been pointed out by descriptive linguists such as Clark and Gerigg (1990) for English, and Fujita (2000) and Kamada (2000) for Japanese, and recently, K. Davidson (2015) also investigates this property of direct quotation under her formal-semantic analysis.

Then, the question is what direct/subclausal quotation is. To answer this, let us consider

the situation where your pet cat Tom friendlily meows at you when you are eating a grilled fish. Then, you take this meow as if he is asking you to give him some. Then, we can report this with direct quotation as in (8), which K. Davidson (2015) also points out.

- (8) Tom said to me, “Give me some.”

This shows that we are translating from cat communication into English, but since cats cannot speak human languages, the directly quoted sentence cannot be verbatim. This state of affairs also holds in Japanese as in (9), which is for the same situation.

- (9) Tomu-ga boku-ni [boku-ni-mo sukosi ku-re-yo-to] it-ta.
 Tom-NOM I-DAT I-DAT-also little give-IMP-SFP-REP say-PAST
 ‘Tom said to me, “Give me some.”’

In (9), we can add to the quoted sentence some (non)linguistic gestures such as mimicking (imaginary) cat-like intonation/moves. This is a characteristic property of direct quotation (Kamada 2000). Also, consider the interlocution in (10) (based on Fujita 2000, 154, (8)), where the context is such that Jiro misheard Taro because Jiro focused on his own business, so Hanako, who was nearby, told him Taro’s command.

- (10) a. Oi, Ziroo, ore-no heya-no denki-o kesite-ku-re.
 hey Jiro I-GEN room-GEN light turn.off-give-IMP
 ‘Hey, Jiro, turn off the light of my room.’ *Taro to Jiro*
 b. Taro-ga [ore-no heya-no raito-o kes-e-to]
 Taro-NOM I-GEN room-GEN light-ACC turn.off-IMP-REP
 it-tei-ru-yo.
 say-ASP-NONPAST-SFP
 ‘Taro is saying, “Turn off the light of my room.”’ *Hanako to Jiro*

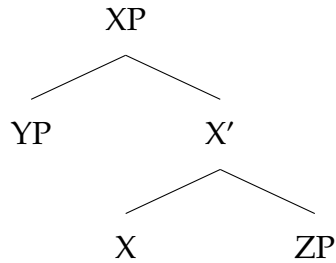
As in (10a), the original utterance by Taro has *denki* ‘light’, whereas (10b) has an English loan word, *raito*. (10b) has the first-person pronoun *ore*, which refers to Taro, and this pronoun is most typically used by male speakers. However, the reporting speaker of (10b) is Hanako, a woman. Thus, the embedded clause is considered to be directly quoted, although we have two different items to refer to the same light.

The above data, I contend, convincingly show that even direct quotation does not have to be verbatim. I thus argue that whether a quote is regarded as such or not hinges on

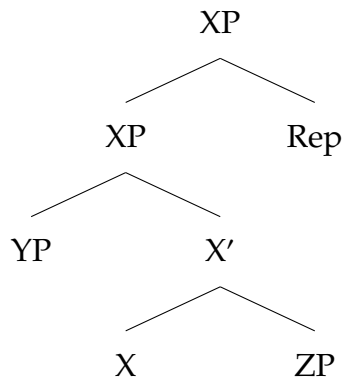
how much faithfully to the original form of utterance the reporter tries to report a given message in his/her wording, and whether the addressee can tolerate any departure from the original utterance of a given quote. In this sense, one can metalinguistically negate Hanako's way to put *raito* 'light' in (10b), meticulously pointing out that Taro originally used *denki*. However, another can ignore such deviancy to accept (10b) as a case of direct quotation, wherefore there is some granularity in the judgment. Kamada (2000) puts this state of affairs in what he terms *In'yooku Soozoo Kasetsu* (the hypothesis of quotation as the reporting speaker's creation). Taking direct quotation as of the reporting speaker's origin is almost like evaluating someone's attempt to mimic Micheal Jackson's way to dance, e.g. moonwalk. Since that person is not Michael himself, all s/he can do is just demonstrate it by mimicking it. Therefore, there should be some moves deviant from Michael's original moonwalk. Nevertheless, we understand that s/he is doing his/her best in impersonating Micheal Jackson as precisely as possible, and the same holds for direct quotation, hence direct quotation as *demonstration* as discussed by Clark and Gerigg (1990), who argue that direct quotation has nothing to do with what they term *the Verbatim Assumption* of direct quotation, and this assumption is explicitly stated by Leech's (1974) quote in the previous chapter. However, this assumption has several drawbacks, among which as Clark and Gerigg (1990) argue, it cannot explain the selective nature of direct quotation. That is, if one reports someone else's utterance, such speech event is characterized by the following three aspects: *delivery manner* (voice pitch, emotional state, etc.), *language* (English, Japanese, imaginary cat language, etc.), *linguistic act* (illocutionary act such as question, promise, etc.), and among these choices, we select essential parts to depict a given expression as a case of direct quotation. Thus, for example, in (10), the difference between *denki* and *raito* is just trivial enough to be ignored.

Given the discussion here, wording in quotation, be it as direct/subclausal quotation or as indirect quotation, is always of the reporting speaker's origin. Therefore, in what follows, I will assume that whether a given quote is direct/subclausal quotation or indirect quotation is determined by the referents/forms of indexicals and the absence or presence of linguistic or nonlinguistic gestures typical to direct/subclausal quotation (e.g. intonations, facial expressions, body gestures). Then, that direct/subclausal quotation is not verbatim should also be elucidated if one tries to understand its syntax and semantics. In fact, this is easily answered under the proposed analysis. The pertinent procedure goes from (11a) to (11c), where the reporting speaker is responsible for all the wording in QDR.

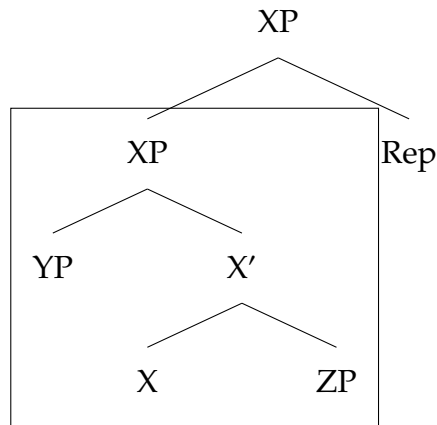
- (11) a. SYNTACTIC COMPONENT: CONSTRUCTING A STRUCTURE



- b. SYNTACTIC COMPONENT: INSERTING REP VIA (LATE) ADJUNCTION



- c. SEMANTIC COMPONENT: INTERPRETING QDR IN THE REPORTED SPEAKER'S CONTEXT



At this point, we are now ready to answer the questions posed in the previous chapter: namely, whether it is possible to have movement traces in QDR. This is totally fine, for QDR is originally of the reporting speaker's own making. A specific example is the following from Chapter 4:

- (12) Hanako-wa [[dare-ni]₁ |_{Pause} (*w*)*atasi-ga* *t*₁ *at-ta-to*] it-ta-no.
 Hanako-TOP who-DAT I-NOM see-PAST-REP say-PAST-Q
 ‘Who did Hanako say that {I, she} met?’

In (12), the object trace resides in QDR (italicized). Although QDR is syntactically opaque, traces/variables will be interpreted semantically. I surmise that the difference between English and Japanese regarding extractability from subclausal quotation is thus ascribed to the availability of late-inserting Rep although both English and Japanese allow the quote to be of the reporting speaker’s own making. For English, I suggest that inserting quotation marks “...” is strictly cyclic, whence once quotation marks are inserted, it will never allow syntactic extraction. In contrast, in Japanese, due to the general properties of Rep being an AC, we can extract something from QDR before Rep gets inserted.

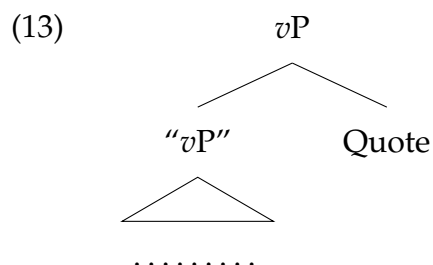
This direction leaves a number of open questions, especially regarding the treatment of English. For example, as I suggested in 4.A, If the phase-based account of extraction from QDR is possible, we predict that extraction from what is inside quotation marks should be possible in English too, to the extent that quotation marks are also introduced by some syntactic item. Suppose that they are introduced by Quote as in (13).¹

¹We may not have to assume Quote in (13) if *vP* in English itself has the feature that makes it interpreted as quoted, namely the [*iQuote*]-feature. Then, the contrast between English and Japanese is explained in terms of the locus of this feature as in (i); (ia) is English subclausal quotation whereas (ib) is Japanese subclausal quotation.



Then, the possibility of extraction from what is quoted is contingent on the availability of (late-inserting) Rep. Since the pertinent feature is introduced by Rep in Japanese, subclausal quotation is derivational, so as proposed above, it is possible to carry out extraction from QDR. In contrast, since the [*iQuote*]-feature is on what is quoted, there is no timing where such extraction is sanctioned. This argument however goes through to the extent that extraction is impossible across the board in English, contrary to what I am going to discuss below here.

Note also that having different loci of the [*iQuote*]-feature is not a stipulation given the contrast between English and Japanese regarding *wh*-movement. As Cable (2010), Hagstrom (1998) and Kishimoto (2005a) propose, the interrogative feature is introduced by the Q-marker *-ka*, which is generated with (but as a separate element) an indeterminate pronoun, hence e.g. *dare-ka* ‘someone’. Then, *-ka* is uncoupled from the pronoun part, moved to an interrogative C, which in turn yields *dare ... -ka* ‘Who ... Q’. In contrast, English has the interrogative feature on *wh*-pronouns themselves from the beginning, so that *what* is for instance



Here, Quote adjoins to vP just like Rep, and its host is interpreted as directly/subclausally quoted, encapsulated in quotation marks "...". However, unlike Rep, it does not have to move since English does not have SAY (by assumption). This may explain why subclausal quotation in English is possible in the matrix context. Then, (13) predicts that extraction from inside the host of Quote (i.e. vP) is possible insofar as the interior structure of the vP phase is accessible. As we saw, it is however impossible:²

(14) * $[$ What kind of feature $]$ ₁ did Quine say quotation "has t_1 "? (Maier 2008, 189, (10b))

But Maier (to appear) gives an apparent possible example where such extraction is possible, as shown in (15). Following Shan (2007, 2011), he suggests that it is a case of *unquotation*, a typical case of which is overtly marked with square brackets [...] as in (16).

(15) Who did Mary say that she would "never underestimate ever again"?
 \leadsto Who₁ did Mary say that she would "never underestimate [t_1] ever again"?
 (Maier to appear, 23, (48b))

(16) The politician admitted that she had "lied [her] way into [her job]". (Shan 2007, 200, (4))

what throughout the derivation, and *what* moves to an interrogative C. In general, other features in Japanese that contribute to topicality and focushood are also borne by their dedicated particles (e.g. *-wa* and *-dake*), hence not by the topicalized and focalized phrases themselves. I thank Željko Bošković for the discussion in this footnote.

²One may find this acceptable if only the verb *has* is subclausally quoted. Maier however gives (i), from which (14) is derived.

(i) Quine said that quotation "has a certain anomalous feature." (Maier 2008, 189, (9))

Thus, (14) should be understood as having the base position of the interrogative phrase is also inside the quotation marks.

Although cases like (16) are not so often observed, [Shan \(2011\)](#) discusses cases where unquotation can be covertly used. If so, it may be that extraction from subclausal quotation is possible even in English, but it should be that such extraction goes preferably with overt unquotation marks. However, this needs a more careful treatment, so I leave it for my future research.

5.4 Conclusion

As we have discussed, the proposed analysis successfully captures the three-way distinction of speech report in Japanese. Given that Rep must enter into an Agree relation with SAY and clausal complementation under attitude verbs is in need of SAY, Rep must be in the edge of the embedded CP to check SAY's [*uQuote*]-feature. Therefore, Rep adjoins to C in the last-resort fashion even when it is not necessary when nothing is directly/subclausally quoted, which yields an apparent indirect quotation in the sense that only C is subclausally quoted. Insofar as C is functional and non-indexical, only subclausally quoting C does not bear on anything relevant to indirect and direct quotation of lexical and indexical items. I speculated that the mode of adjoining Rep to C is licensed by the Reference-set Computation proposed by [Reinhart \(2006\)](#), but I would like to leave fleshing out the details for my future work.

Turning to the presence of a *wh*-traces in QDR, we have seen that even direct quotation is not verbatim, and given that direct quotation is demonstration in the sense of [Clark and Gerigg \(1990\)](#), we have no issue in having such a trace in QDR, and what's more, quotation is always of the reporting speaker's origin.

Next, I will consider the nature of clausal complementation in Japanese. Especially, since I have proposed that even usual clausal complementation via Rep in Japanese involves SAY and attitude predicates cannot take their complement clauses by themselves, we need to consider how they take complement clauses and such complementation fits usual intensional semantics.

Chapter 6

Syntax of Quotative Complementation in Japanese

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we discuss how the quotative embedded clause is complemented to attitude predicates like *omow-* ‘think’ and *iw-* ‘say’. Since Rep must Agree with SAY under the proposed analysis, even such usual clausal complementation must perforce involve SAY. Also, as I will propose in Chapter 8, SAY is needed due to the semantic compositionality. That is, since Rep yields a cartesian product type $\sigma \times t$, the quoted clause with Rep cannot be semantically composed with the matrix attitude predicate. Given this, we need to assume that SAY is employed even in the context of clausal complementation. In this connection, there are languages crosslinguistically where *verbum dicendi* is grammaticalized so as to introduce an embedded clause. Thus, I will first consider their relevance to Japanese. Then, I will discuss a recent proposal by [H. Saito \(2017, 2018a,b\)](#), who argues that Japanese also involves SAY in clausal complementation via Rep, and it sometimes ostensibly morphologically comes in zero. That is, he argues that when *tte*, the colloquial version of Rep, is used, it is derived by having Rep and SAY phonologically contracted. However, as we will see, his analysis has some empirical shortcomings, so I will provide a different analysis although I will incorporate his insight into my analysis. Then, I will propose that quotative complementation is derived by VP-complementation, reminiscent of the *Restructuring* complement in the sense of [Wurmbrand \(2001\)](#). To be

specific, I will contend that VP headed by SAY is a complement to a lexical attitude verb under c-selection. This immediately explains why clauses with Rep can only appear as an internal argument just like in Sakha (Baker 2011). I will also show that attitude verbs like *omow-* ‘think’ take a Small Clause in addition to a clause with Rep, and that postulating null SAY explains why a clause with Rep sometimes conducts itself as an adjunct clause.

This chapter is organized as follows: in Section 6.2, we will discuss crosslinguistic facts about embedded clauses that involve grammaticalized ‘say’ verbs. In Section 6.3, we will review H. Saito’s analysis of the grammaticalized verb SAY in Japanese, raising some empirical challenges, and I will propose an alternative analysis to overcome these challenges. Then, I argue that embedded clauses with Rep are not selected by the matrix attitude verbs *per se*, but they are selected by SAY, which is then combined with the matrix attitude verbs via VP-complementation. Then, in Section 6.4, we will consider how the proposed analysis matches up with the usual conception of the attitude report: viz., how we can render the proposed analysis implementable under intensional semantics, as well as how syntactic complementation via VP-complementation is rendered. Also, we will discuss why the relevant complex predicate does not have SAY overtly. This is understood as a case of the *Distinctness Condition* of Richards (2010), and there is no way to rescue the pertinent configuration unless we unpronounce SAY. Section 6.5 concludes.

6.2 Invisible SAY and Speech Report Crosslinguistically

In English, sentential complementation is mediated by a complementizer *that*, which is morphologically the same as a demonstrative pronoun *that*. This pattern is observed in other Germanic languages such as Faroese *tadh* and German *daß* (Chappell 2008). However, there are various languages in the world where embedded clauses are introduced by an element synchronically or diachronically derived from the ‘say’ verb.¹ For instance, we have (1) to name a few cases; see Lord (1993) for Niger-Congo languages, and Klammer (2000) for Austronesian languages. In Mandarin Chinese, *shuo* ‘say’ functions like *that* in English as shown in (1a); *fen* in Buru, which is supposed to be related to *bene* ‘be true’ in the Proto-Malayo Polynesian form (Klammer 2000: 75), is used as ‘think’, ‘say’ and ‘affirm’ in this language (Grimes 1991, 134), and it is used to introduce an indirect speech as in

¹See Kratzer (2016) for hidden ‘say’ in German and English.

(1b), according to [Klamer \(2000\)](#). Also in Sakha, *dien* in (1c) is historically derived from verbal *die* ‘say’, and it is a converb (i.e. nonfinite), according to [Baker \(2011\)](#).

- (1) a. Wo ting [shuo ta haoxiang yao qu du dianying le].
I hear say he seem want go study films PRT
‘I heard that he seemed to go to study films.’ ([Wang et al. 2003](#), 458, (2))
- b. Da prepa [fen sira rua kaduk].
3SG say FEN 3PL two arrive
‘She said that the two of them came.’ ([Klamer 2000](#), 76, (15b), cited from [Grimes 1991](#))
- c. Sardaana [büün Aisen kel-er dien] ihit-te.
Sardaana today Aisen come-AOR.3SG.s that hear-PAST.3SG.S
‘Sardaana heard that Aisen is coming today.’ ([Baker 2011](#), 1169, (7a))

Relevant to the current discussion, there are complementizers in Korean that historically involved a ‘say’ verb in them. According to [Rhee \(2009\)](#), *ha-* ‘say’ and the connective marker *-ko* together started to be employed as the report marker in 17th and 18th centuries.² Then, this quotative marker *hako* was later fused with the sentential ending of the direct speech (*-ta* or its allomorph *-la* (declarative), *-nya* (interrogative), *-la* (imperative), and *-ca* (hortative)), losing *ha*. This process is illustrated in (2).

- (2) -ta/nya/la/ca + ha + ko → -ta/nya/la/ca-ko
Sentential Ending say Connective Complementizer

([Rhee 2009](#), 203, (4))

The loss of *ha* is “presumably because of the low phonetic salience of [h] and the overlapping of [a] with the preceding vowel” ([Rhee 2009](#), 203-204). The usage of complementizers in the early stage before and after the morphological fusion is shown in (3) and (4).

- (3) a. Ku-ka ka-n-ta-ha-ko malha-yss-ta.
he-NOM go-PRES-DECL-say-CONN say-PAST-DECL
Lit. ‘He said “(I) am going” and said.’
‘He said that he was going(leaving).’
- b. Ku-ka ka-nya-ha-ko mwul-ess-ta.
he-NOM go-INT-say-CONN ask-PAST-DECL

²According to [Rhee \(2009\)](#), the verb *ha* is polysemous with ‘say’ and ‘do’, and the latter is dominant now.

Lit. ‘He said “(are you) going?” and asked.’
 ‘He asked if (I) was going.’

(Rhee 2009, 203, (5))

- (4) a. Ku-ka ka-n-tako malha-yss-ta.
 he-NOM go-PRES-COMP say-PAST-DECL
 Lit. ‘He said “(I) am going” and said.’
 ‘He said that he was going(leaving).’
 b. Ku-ka ka-nyako mwul-ess-ta.
 he-NOM go-COMP ask-PAST-DECL
 Lit. ‘He said “(are you) going?” and asked.’
 ‘He asked if (I) was going.’

(Rhee 2009, 203, (6))

To the extent that the complementizers in (3) and (4) are derived as in (2), they do not have to be regarded intrinsically as complementizers. Although morphemes such as *tako* and *nyako* have been grammaticalized to be complementizers in the present-day Korean (Rhee 2009), this diachronic path shows that the ‘say’ verb was involved in Korean too.³

Turning to Japanese, clausal embedding with Rep for attitude predicates like *iw-* ‘say’ and *omow-* ‘think’ does not involve such a grammaticalized verb (at least overtly) as in (5).

- (5) Taroo-wa [Hanako-ga kawaii-to] it-ta.
 Taro-TOP Hanako-NOM cute.COP.NONAPST-REP say-PAST
 ‘Taro said that Hanako was cute.’

However, under the proposed mechanism, Rep syntactically Agrees with SAY and the quotative semantics to be introduced in Chapter 8 also requires SAY due to semantic compositionality, so we need to assume that SAY is covertly present even in (5). In fact, H. Saito (2018a) also argues that there are cases where a grammaticalized speech verb is covertly involved in quotative embedding (cf. H. Saito 2017, 2018b). In the next section,

³Also, it is noteworthy that Akita (2013) provides (i) in modern Korean, where the iconic adverb is suffixed by *hako*.

- (i) Pyengali-ka ppiyakppiyak-hako wul-ess-ta.
 chick-NOM ONOM-QUOT cry-PAST-DECL
 ‘A chick cried *cheep-cheep*.’ (Akita 2013, 22, (1b))

we will thus go over his analysis, pointing out several empirical challenges it would face. Then, I will propose an alternative analysis to resolve them.

6.3 Invisible SAY in Japanese: H. Saito (2018a)

The starting point of H. Saito's (2018a) discussion is a specific case of complex NP that has SAY overtly, which is similar to what I termed Appositive Quote Construction (AQC) in Chapter 2. That is, he studies constructions like (6)

- (6) [John-ga UConn-ni ku-ru-to iw] uwasa
 John-NOM UConn-to come-NONPAST-REP SAY.NONPAST rumor
 'the rumor that John will come to UConn' (H. Saito 2018a, 7, (7); transcription and gloss are mine)

H. Saito argues that *toiw* is internally complex, composed of Rep and the verb *iw*, contra Kuno (1973), who argues that it is a single lexical item. To support this claim, he mentions the fact that in Kansai Japanese (KJ), *te*, which is the KJ counterpart of *to*, can be omitted (M. Saito 1986). Observe:⁴

- (7) Taroo-wa [Hanako-ga kawaii(-te)] yuu-ta.
 Taro-Top Hanako-NOM cute.COP.NONPAST-REP say-PAST
 'Taro said that Hanako was cute.'

Now, witness what happens to the pertinent complex NP in KJ with respect to the dropability of *te* in *te yuu* (i.e. *to iw* in Standard Japanese).

- (8) [John-ga UConn-ni ku-ru(-te) yuu] uwasa
 John-NOM UConn-to come-NONPAST-REP SAY.NONPAST rumor
 'the rumor that John will come to UConn' (H. Saito 2018a, 8, (9); transcription and gloss are mine)

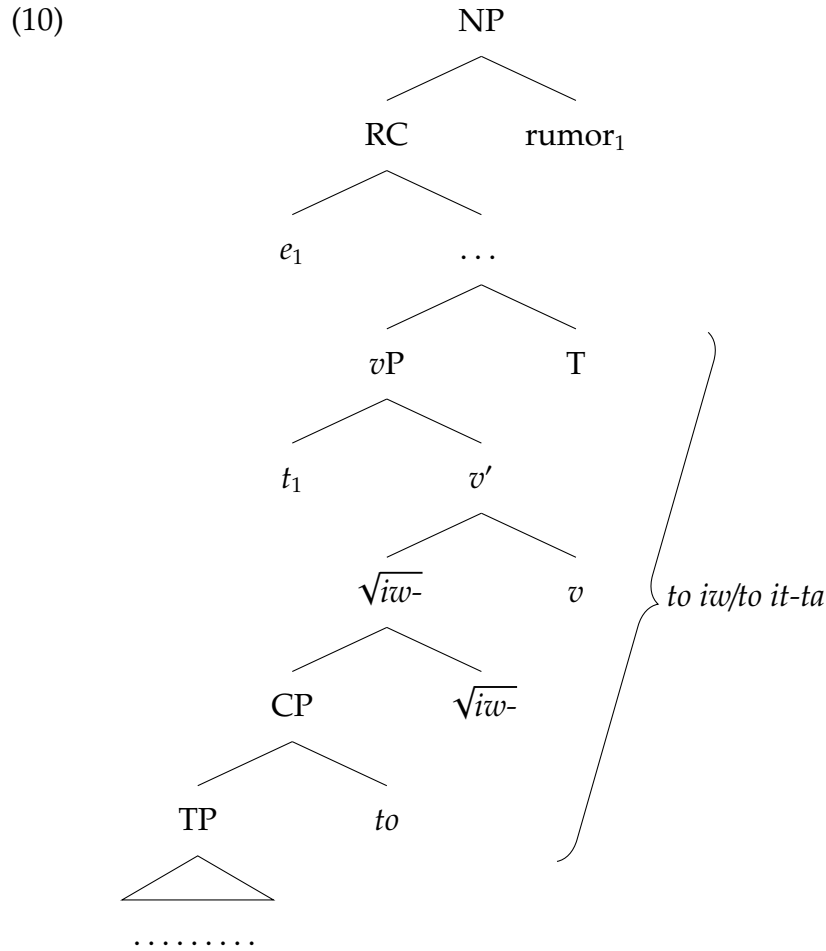
As in (8), *te* can be omitted, so the parallelism between (7) and (8) shows that *te* by itself, not *te yuu* as a whole, is an independent syntactic item.

Furthermore, H. Saito observes that like other usual verbs, SAY in complex NP can be

⁴In passing, *yuu* is the KJ version of *iw*.

inflected as past as in (9). Given this, H. Saito proposes the structure in (10).

- (9) [John-ga UConn-ni ku-ru-to-it-ta] uwasa
 John-NOM UConn-to come-NONPAST-REP-SAY-PAST rumor
 ‘the rumor such that John will come to UConn’ (H. Saito 2018a, 9, (10); transcription, gloss and translation are mine)



(based on H. Saito 2018a, 10, (11))

In (10), *to iw/to it-ta* spells out C $\sqrt{iw-}(v)$ -T.⁵ He argues that *iw-* in this structure is grammaticalized (hence SAY), so that it is not like its lexical counterpart of *iw-* ‘say’.⁶ Also, as is

⁵Under H. Saito’s analysis, *to* is C.

⁶This point is reinforced by the Japanese orthography, for as we saw for AQC in Chapter 2, the grammaticalized verb cannot be written with the Chinese character, so that we need to write it only with the mora-based *hiragana* writing.

obvious from (10), H. Saito assumes that SAY takes an external argument. This argument is moved to render a relative clause. Then, he shows that the grammaticalized status of SAY in complex NP is supported since *iw-* as ‘say’ cannot be used with a [–human] argument in the matrix context (unless *uwasa* ‘rumor’ is personified); observe:

- (11) #Sono uwasa-ga [John-ga UConn-ni ku-ru-to] iw.
 that rumor-NOM John-NOM UConn-to come-NONPAST-REP say.NONPAST
 Intended ‘The rumor says that John will come to UConn.’ (H. Saito 2018a, 13, (19);
 transcription, gloss and translation are mine)

Given that *iw-* in complex NP is compatible with a nonhuman subject unlike (11), it does not have a lexical meaning whence it is grammaticalized, as H. Saito argues.

So far so good. However, let us reconsider the structure in (10) carefully, and for that matter H. Saito’s treatment of the grammaticalized status of SAY in complex NP. Since he argues for the relative clause analysis of it, we need some place that serves as an variable (irrespective of a moved trace or *pro*), and he argues that it resides in Spec-*v*P. He justifies the relative clause analysis by using an island diagnostic; see H. Saito (2018a, 10-13). I think that he is correct for this diagnostic, but I am not sure whether he is on the right track in assuming Spec-*v*P. This is because SAY is grammaticalized, so that it is semantically bleached (cf. Bybee and Pagliuca 1985). In fact, in addition to the apparent external argument, SAY does not allow a dative argument.

- (12) [(*Hanako-ni) Taro-ga Kyoto-ni ku-ru-to iw] uwasa
 Hanako-DAT Taro-NOM Kyoto-to come-NONPAST-REP SAY.NONPAST rumor
 Lit. ‘the rumor saying (*to Hanako) that Taro will come to Kyoto’

For H. Saito, *v* is needed to categorize the root. This should be right to the extent that the root cannot be used unless it is categorized by the merger of *v*, *n* and *a*: Embick and Marantz’s (2008) *Categorization Assumption*. However, the presence of *v* does not entail Spec-*v*P like unaccusative verbs. Relevant to this, Klammer (2000) proposes that the grammaticalization process from verbal ‘say’ to functional items like C that introduce an embedded clause/quote crucially involves loss of argument structure, a case of semantic bleaching. However, as H. Saito shows, SAY in Japanese is not completely grammaticalized since it retains verbal morphology like the past tense marker and it can take a quote with Rep as its complement. Given the grammaticalization path discussed by Klammer

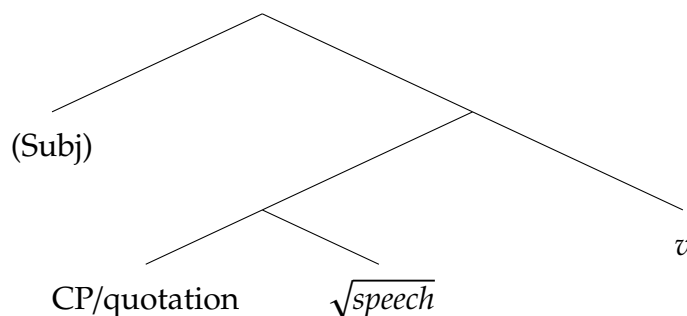
(2000, 90-93), ‘say’ first loses its argument structure, and becomes acategorial, so it also loses verbal inflection. Then, it will be reanalyzed as e.g. C among others. If this is correct, we can say that SAY in Japanese is not even halfway through this process. That is, it has lost argument structure except the quote argument and it is still verbal. In fact, we can maintain the relative clause structure without postulating the agent (Spec-*v*P). In (13), whose interpretation is a kind of hearsay, an adjunct PP *uwasa-de* ‘according to the rumor’ is used in a matrix environment, and if it is also usable in (10), what λ -abstracts the relative clause is this PP, complying with H. Saito’s island diagnostic.

- (13) Uwasa-de(-wa) [Taroo-ga Kyooto-ni ku-ru-to] iw.
 rumor-by-Top Taro-NOM Kyoto-to come-NONPAST-REP SAY.NONPAST
 ‘[I heard the rumor that/According to the rumor,] Taro {will/would} come to Kyoto.’

Given the discussion so far, we establish two syntactic properties for SAY: (i) SAY only takes the quote argument, and (ii) it is still verbal.

With this much background above, we are now ready to consider what H. Saito (2018a) discusses for invisible SAY. Since he assumes the root-and-category theory, according to which functional heads like *v*, *n* and *a* determine acategorial $\sqrt{\text{root}}$, SAY also consists of the root part and *v*. Then, he proposes that the relevant grammaticalization involves detachment of *v*, namely, what he calls *Decategorization*. To see this contention, let us consider (14a). Here, the speech root is selected by *v*, so it yields a regular speech verb, which is e.g. *kong* ‘say’ in Taiwanese as shown in (15).

- (14) a.

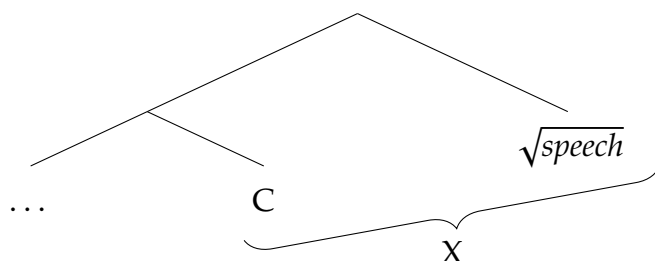


(H. Saito 2018a, 18, (25a))

- (15) Ahui kong Asin m lai.
 Ahui say Asin NEG come
 ‘Ahui said Asin is not coming.’ (based on Simpson and Wu 2002, 75, (29))

However, if *v* is detached, the root is acategorial and hence disallowed under Embick and Marantz's (2008) Categorization Assumption. Therefore, H. Saito argues that the structural reanalysis must occur to make (16) legitimate, suggesting that C and $\sqrt{\text{speech}}$ are reanalyzed to be one element under adjacency. Therefore, $\sqrt{\text{speech}}$ is now a part of the (functional) C-domain, yielding *kong* as C in (17).⁷

(16)



(H. Saito 2018a, 18, (25b))

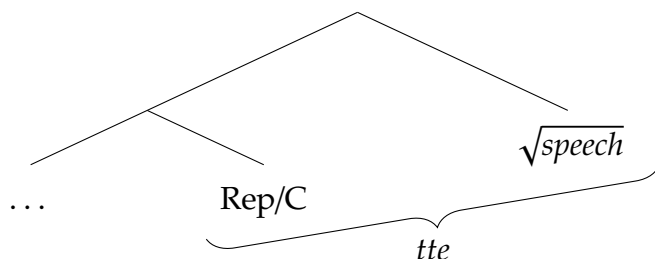
- (17) Ahui siong kong Asin m lai.
 Ahui think KONG Asin NEG come
 'Ahui thought that Asin was not coming.' (based on Simpson and Wu 2002, 77, (36))

Then, H. Saito goes on to claim that Japanese also has a case of (16), which is the colloquial version of Rep, i.e. *tte*. According to H. Saito and references therein, *tte* is a phonologically contracted form of Rep (*to*) and SAY (*iw-*) (i.e. $\sqrt{\text{speech}}$). Now, witness (18), where *tte* can be used in a usual complementation: *to* and *tte* are interchangeable. Under his analysis, *tte* is derived as in (19).

- (18) Taroo-wa [Hanako-ga kawaii-{to/tte}] it-ta.
 Taro-Top Hanako-NOM cute.COP.NONAPST-REP say-PAST
 'Taro said that Hanako was cute.'

⁷This structure may be problematic if $\sqrt{\text{root}}$ cannot take a complement directly. That is, internal arguments are severed from $\sqrt{\text{root}}$ (see Alexiadou 2014, Lohndal 2014 and references therein).

(19)



Given this, the option of *tte* indicates the covert presence of SAY. However, I disagree with H. Saito in the following two respects: (i) *tte* is not a contraction of Rep and SAY, and (ii) (hidden) SAY is not reanalyzed with Rep, but it is still independently verbal.

First, let us see another case where *tte* is employed: complex NP/AQC. As Hirose and Nawata (2016) show, *tte* can be used without *iw*- whereas *to* cannot.

- (20) a. [Taroo-ga Kyooto-ni ku-ru-to *({iw/it-ta})]
 Taro-NOM Kyoto-to come-NONPAST-REP SAY.NONPAST/SAY-PAST
 uwasa
 rumor
 'the rumor that Taro will come to Kyoto'
- b. [Taroo-ga Kyooto-ni ku-ru-tte ({iw/it-ta})] uwasa
 Taro-NOM Kyoto-to come-NONPAST-REP SAY.NONPAST//SAY-PAST rumor
 'the rumor that Taro will come to Kyoto'

If *tte* morphologically realizes Rep and SAY as one syntactic element, SAY cannot be overt on its own, contrary to (20b), so this shows that each of them is still an independent syntactic unit. Also notable is that SAY can be in the past form, which indicates that it is verbal. Therefore, I suggest that whether SAY is overt or not in complex NP/AQC is conditioned by the morphological form of Rep. Specifically, I assume:

- (21) a. SAY → *iw* / [Quote *to* _____]_{Nominal}
 b. (i) SAY → *iw* / [Quote *tte* _____]_{Nominal}
 (ii) SAY → ∅ / [Quote *tte* _____]_{Nominal}

Then, the option of *tte* indicates the covert presence of SAY as H. Saito (2018a) argues, but SAY is an independent syntactic unit.⁸

⁸As we will discuss in §7.4 in Chapter 7, *tte* can introduce a hearsay construction in Japanese. Therefore, *tte* does not need overt SAY even in a non-nominal environment.

Another piece of support to my second claim is concerned with whether clauses with *tte* can function as an adverb. In fact, H. Saito (2018a) observes that it is impossible.

- (22) *John-wa [Mary-ga paatii-ni ki-ta-{tte/to}] odoroi-ta.
 John-TOP Mary-NOM party-to come-PAST-REP be.surprise-PAST
 Intended ‘John was surprised that Mary came to the party.’ (based on H. Saito 2018a, 24, (i)/(ii); transcription and gloss are mine)

However, I do not see (22) as ungrammatical if an appropriate context is set up. For instance, since John was surprised, the event of Mary having come to the party must have been something unexpected for him; if we add *totuzen* ‘suddenly’, (22) becomes fine as in (23). We can also find a number of similar examples in the Internet as in (24).⁹

- (23) John-wa [Mary-ga totuzen paatii-ni ki-ta-{tte/to}] odoroi-ta.
 John-TOP Mary-NOM suddenly party-to come-PAST-REP be.surprise-PAST
 ‘John was surprised that Mary suddenly came to the party.’
- (24) a. [E, kon’na mono-made ure-ta-to] odoroi-ta keeken-wa
 really like.this thing-even sell-PAST-REP be.surprise-PAST experience-TOP
 ari-masu-ka.
 exist-POL.NONPAST-Q
 Lit. ‘Have you ever been surprised like “Really, have I sold things like this?”’
- b. [Tokyoo-no oote-no rekoodogaisya-no dyirekutaa-san-kara denwa-ga
 Tokyo-GEN big-GEN record.company-GEN director-POL-from call-NOM
 ki-ta-tte] odoroi-ta-no-o oboe-tei-masu.
 come-PAST-REP be.surprise-PAST-FN-ACC remeber-ASP-POL.NONPAST
 ‘I remember that I was surprised to have a call from a director of a big record company.’

H. Saito needs to exclude these examples because *tte* results from (19) under his analysis, which lacks *v*, and he assumes that event information is encoded on *v*. Therefore, (19) (hence *tte*) loses an event interpretation. However, since *tte* can introduce an adverbial clause (for a detailed discussion, see Chapter §7.3 in 7), it is somehow verbal.¹⁰ Then, if we

⁹(24a): <https://www.mercari.com/jp/box/qce4adddd8260693c/> accessed on June 4, 2018; (24b): <https://natalie.mu/music/pp/joseijouibanzai> accessed on June 4, 2018

¹⁰H. Saito (2018b) however provides another possibility that *tte* involves the same structure as *to iw* or *to it-ta* in (10). This makes adverbial modification possible, but he still assumes that the speech root is a part of spelling out *tte*. Again, this cannot explain (20b).

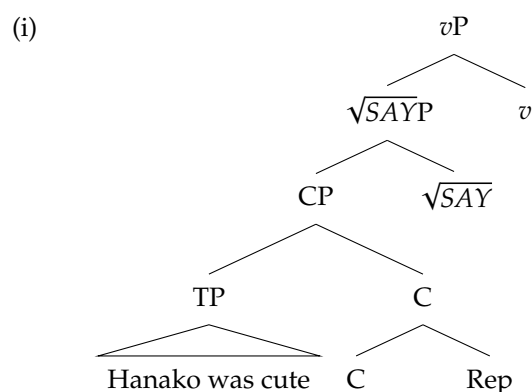
assume that it has SAY as a verb covertly, this adverbial modification is straightforwardly explained like iconic adverbs discussed in Chapter 2.

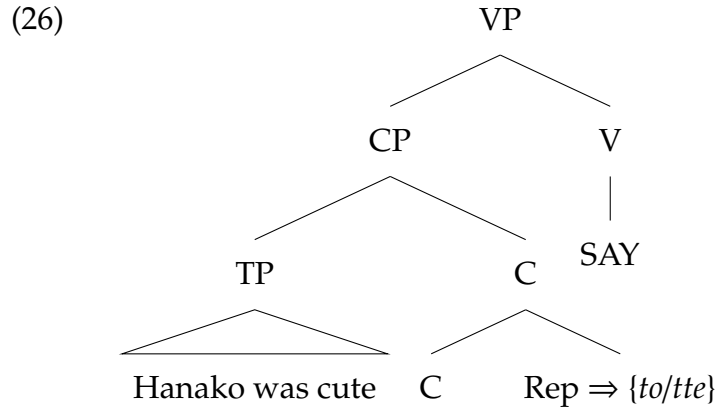
Given the discussion above, I conclude, unlike H. Saito's (2018a) analysis, that covert SAY is not a part of C (although Rep is not C for us), but, like his analysis, that the availability of *tte* is a sign of covert SAY. In this connection, as mentioned in fn. 16 in Chapter 2, nominal adverbs that optionally appear with Rep are not compatible with *tte* as in (25); recall that optional Rep is no longer quotative and hence excludes SAY.

- (25) Taroo-wa yukkuri-{to/*tte} arui-ta.
 Taro-Top slowness-REP walk-PAST
 'Taro walked slowly.'

This also indirectly shows that there is a tight connection between the *tte* option and SAY, be it covert or overt. Then, we assume (26) for the structure of quotative complementation.¹¹ Here, I assume that Rep adjoins to C. Then, in addition to the stipulated Agree relation between Rep and SAY in tandem with the semantics to be proposed in Chapter 8, SAY is motivated syntactically due to the option of *tte* and its adverbial use. Note also that acategorial SAY cannot be used by assumption unless it is reanalyzed with Rep as H. Saito (2018a) claims, and we saw that SAY and Rep are syntactically independent of each other. This again leads us to assume (26). In the next section, we will consider how (26) and attitude verbs are syntactically and semantically combined.

¹¹If we assume the category-and-root theory, (26) will be like (i) (setting aside whether \sqrt{root} can directly take a complement).

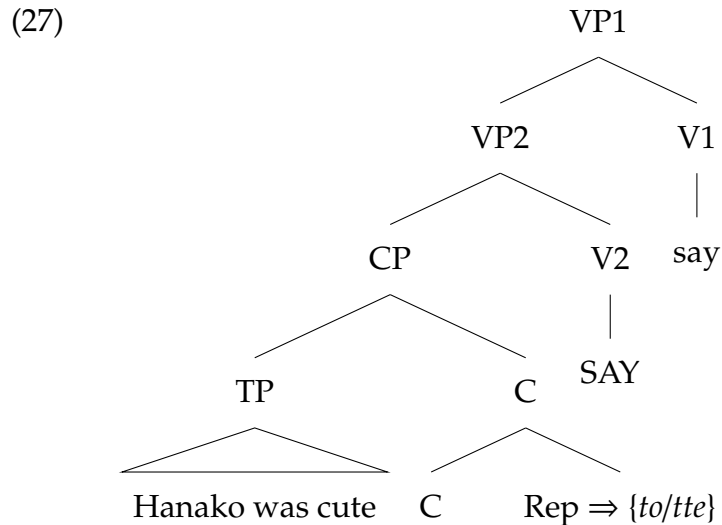




6.4 Quotative Complementation as VP-complementation

6.4.1 Syntax of VP-complementation

Given that quotative complementation involves the structure in (26), I propose that the matrix predicate and VP headed by SAY are syntactically combined as in (27).



Here, the matrix lexical verb takes SAY's VP as its complement. This is thus similar, though also different in several ways, to *Restructuring* in the sense of Wurmbrand (2001). Furthermore, I do not assume that VP-complementation in (27) involves θ -role assignment between VP2 and V1. Specifically, I argue that matrix attitude predicates in Japanese are

intransitive/unergative in the sense that they do not directly select the embedded clause; see De Roeck (1994), Klammer (2000) and Munro (1982) for crosslinguistic observations about such intransitive/unergative ‘say’ verbs. The intransitive status of attitude predicates is supported by the following contrast between English and Japanese. As in (28), the interrogative item that asks for the embedded clause is nominal or adverbial in English, but it must be adverbial in Japanese.¹² Likewise, (29) shows that the item that refers to the embedded clause is nominal *the following* but adverbial *koo* in Japanese.

- (28) a. {What/How} does John think about Mary?
 b. Taroo-wa Hanako-nituite {doo/*nani-o} omot-tei-ru-no.
 Taro-Top Hanako-about how/what think-ASP-NONPAST-Q
 Lit. ‘How do you think about Hanako.’
- (29) a. John said the following, “I’m leaving.”
 b. Taroo-wa “boku-wa kae-ru”-to koo it-ta.
 Taro-Top I-Top go.home-NONPAST-REP like.this say-PAST
 ‘Taro said like this, “I will go home.”

That the interrogative item and the expression referring to the embedded clause must be adverbial provides a piece of evidence that attitude predicates in Japanese are intransitive.

Semantically, I assume that the matrix V1 and the embedded VP2 are combined by *Predicate Modification* (PM) under the set of events, so this is a departure from the usual conception that complementation is semantically *Function Application* (FA), although Chung and Ladusaw (2004) present a couple of possibilities to implement semantic composition by saturating an argument slot of a predicate via *Existential Closure* (EC) or with *Restrict* which allows a predicate to be combined with another without its argument saturated. Given this, I assume that syntactic complementation does not have to semantically be FA.

¹²Note that the choice of *how* itself is acceptable or may be more natural especially for *John thinks as follows*: ... or more old-fashioned *John thinks as follows*: This indicates that *think* in English can be used both transitively or intransitively, and of importance here is that the nominal option is excluded in Japanese in this context. Note however that the meaning of *omow-* is ambiguous, construed as either ‘think/have a thought that ...’ or ‘consider/think of’, and the latter case has an accusative object as in (i).

- (i) Taroo-wa Hanako-no-koto-o omot-tei-ru.
 Taro-Top Hanako-GEN-FN-ACC think-ASP-NONPAST
 ‘Taro is thinking of Hanako.’

But this is irrelevant to the current discussion, and (i) is limited for its use and needs an appropriate context.

For a support to the current argument that SAY is involved even in clausal complementation in Japanese, I first mention that Baker (2011) shows that in Sakha, clauses introduced by *dien*, which stems from a ‘say’ verb as discussed above, can be the object of a verb and the argument of an unaccusative predicate as in (30a) and (30d), respectively, so that they can function as the internal argument of a predicate, but they cannot be the subject of a transitive clause (30b) or the argument of a postposition (30c). Quotative clauses in Japanese follow these patterns as in (31).

- (30) a. *Sardaana [büün Aisen kel-er dien] ihit-te.*
Sardaana today Aisen come-AOR.3SG.S that hear-PAST.3SG.S
‘Sardaana heard that Aisen is coming today.’
- b. **[Saaska Baaska-ny üöx-te dien] bihigi-ni sohup-put-a.*
Saaska Baaska-ACC scold-PAST.3SG.S that us-ACC surprise-PTPL-3SG.S
Intended ‘That Saaska scolded Baaska surprised us.’
- c. **Masha [Misha bar-da dien] kytta djie-ni xomuj-da.*
Masha Misha leave-PAST.3SG.S that with house-ACC clean-PAST.3SG.S
Intended ‘Masha cleaned the house with (immediately after) Misha left.’
- d. *[Masha ehiil Moskva-qa bar-ya dien]*
Masha next.year Moscow-DAT go-FUT.3SG.S that
cuolkajdan-na.
become.certain-PAST.3SG.S
‘It became clear that Masha will go to Moscow next year.’
(Baker 2011, 1169, (7))
- (31) a. *Taroo-wa [asita Ziroo-ga ku-ru-to] kii-ta.*
Taro-Top tomorrow Jiro-NOM come-NONPAST-REP hear-PAST
‘Taro heard that Jiro will come tomorrow’
- b. **[Taroo-ga Ziroo-o sikat-ta-to] watasi-o odorok-ase-ta.*
Taro-NOM Jiro-ACC scold-PAST-REP I-ACC surprise-CAUS-PAST
Intended ‘That Taro scolded Jiro surprised me.’
- c. **Taroo-wa [Ziroo-ga kaet-ta-to]-kara heya-o soozisi-ta.*
Taro-Top Jiro-NOM leave-PAST-REP -from room-ACC clean-PAST
Intended ‘Taro cleaned the room because Jiro left.’
- d. *[Taroo-ga ku-ru-to] omow-are-ru.*
Taro-NOM come-NONPAST-REP think-PASS-NONPAST
‘It seems that Taro will come.’

If we assume that (30) and (31) show the same syntactic fact, the parallelism between

Japanese and Sakha indicates that the former also involves covert SAY in clausal complementation.

However, (27) gives rise to at least the following three questions on the nature of quotative complementation in Japanese. First, how does it fit intensional semantics of attitude predicates? That is, attitude predicates semantically select a proposition, which is a set of worlds. This yields a *mélange* of phenomena regarding intensional semantics of attitude predicates (e.g. the referential opacity of nominal items under the attitude context). However, this seems to be impossible with (27) because V1 does not select the embedded clause directly. Note also that SAY is grammaticalized, and I assume that it is no longer an attitude predicate due to this grammaticalization. As we will see in Chapter 8, its semantic function is to introduce a quote that does not have to be propositional. The second question is how VP2 in (27) is syntactically interpreted as a complement if there is no θ -role assignment. That is, if we do not use θ -role assignment, what determines whether VP2 is syntactically a complement to V1? Lastly, as shown in (32), SAY cannot be overt even if its sound-orientation requirement is satisfied. Therefore, we need to consider why SAY cannot appear overtly to make a serial verb with lexical ‘say’.

- (32) Taroo-wa [Hanako-ga kawaii-to] (*ii-)it-ta.
Taro-TOP Hanako-NOM cute.COP.NONPAST-REP SAY-say-PAST
‘Taro said that Hanako was cute.’

In the remainder of the present chapter, I will address these issues.

6.4.2 Semantic Composition of Quotative Complementation and Its Syntax

As we saw, matrix attitude predicates are syntactically intransitive. However, to maintain usual intensional semantics, I still assume the usual conception that attitude predicates take a proposition. Specifically, following [Hacquard \(2006\)](#), I assume that attitude predicates like *think* and *say* denote a belief state or event, whose content is an attitude holder’s belief, denoted via propositions. Thus, *iw-* ‘say’ is defined as (33).¹³

¹³We do not have an agent or experiencer in this denotation, which will be introduced by *v* or Voice ([Kratzer 1996](#)).

- (33) $\llbracket iw- \rrbracket = \lambda p_{\langle w, t \rangle} . \lambda s [s \text{ in } w^* \wedge \text{say}(s) \wedge \forall w \in \text{CON}(s) : p(w)]$
 where $\text{CON}(s) = \cap \wp = \{p \mid p \text{ is a belief of the agent/experiencer of } s \text{ at } \tau(s)\}$

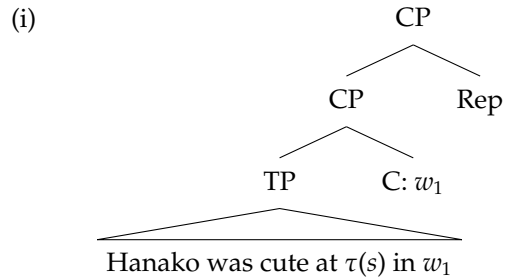
In (33), w is the world type, and given this, contrary to what I have just proposed, we cannot apply PM between V1 and VP2 in (27). There should be some ways to avoid this state of affairs; we can assume that the proposition argument is closed by EC, in which case an attitude verb will be unergative. However, I contend that we can saturate the proposition with an invisible pronoun that is only visible in the semantic component and has no syntactic and phonological correlate just like von Fintel and Heim's (2007) world pronouns. Then, its referent proposition is given by an assignment function (Heim and Kratzer 1998). Again, an attitude predicate in this case functions like an unergative verb although it is semantically originally a usual proposition-taking operator with its propositional argument saturated with *pro*. As I said above, crosslinguistically, there are many languages that have attitude verbs like *say* as syntactically intransitive (De Roeck 1994, Klammer 2000, Munro 1982), and I argue that Japanese is also a language where the attitude predicates that involve Rep are syntactically intransitive/unergative; in (34), we have the cartesian product type for *THEME* of *SAY*, which is given by Rep (Chapter 8).

- (34) a. $\llbracket \mathbf{V} (iw-) \rrbracket = \lambda s [s \text{ in } w^* \wedge \text{say}(s) \wedge \forall w \in \text{CON}(s) : \text{pro}_1(w)]$
 where $g(1) = \lambda w [\text{Hanako was cute at } \tau(s) \text{ in } w]$
 b. $\llbracket \mathbf{VP} (\text{SAY}) \rrbracket = \lambda s [\text{SAY}(s) \wedge \text{THEME}(s) = \langle \dots, \dots \rangle]$
 where $\langle \dots, \dots \rangle$ is the denotation of the product type.

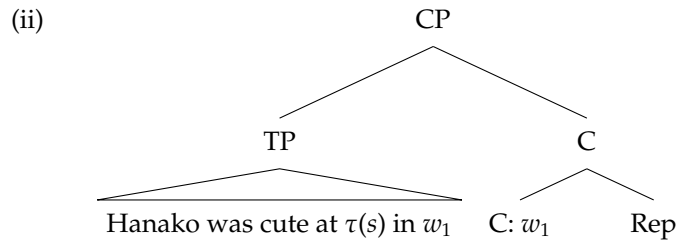
In a default case, the semantic representation of the product type (i.e. σ of $\sigma \times t$; see Chapter 8) will be identified with the semantically pronominal proposition via an assignment function.¹⁴ But this is not always the case, and there is a good reason to dissociate the former from the latter. Witness (35); the scenario is such that Taro was watching some

¹⁴A question arises with respect to the quoted clause. Since it is independent from *pro*, one may say that the proposition of *Hanako was cute* in (34a) is entailed, which is obviously not the case. That is, *Taro said that Hanako was cute* does not entail *Hanako was cute*. However, given that the denotation of *SAY* to be introduced in Chapter 8 is not an intensional operator, we need to make use of some other strategy to circumvent this problem. To consider it, we have to make sure where Rep is located in the embedded clause. Suppose that it adjoins to the entire CP. Then, this corresponds to a case of direct quotation, so everything including a w -binder is in the reported context. Since it is equivalent to the root clause, the topmost w -binder, which I assume is located in C, is replaced by the reported speaker's utterance world (w_1) as illustrated in (i) (cf. Sudo 2012, 200). This prevents the quoted clause from being an entailment of the entire sentence.

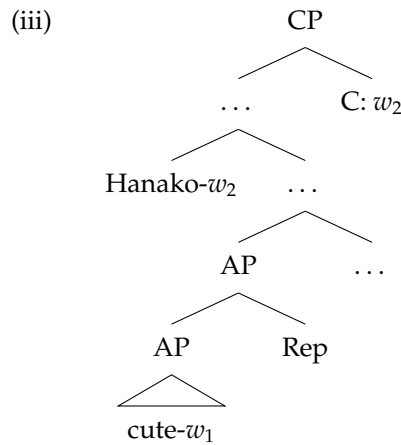
weird situation which made him feel sick.



Another possibility is that Rep adjoins to C, which yields indirect quotation as discussed in Chapter 5. In this case, the w -binder is also in the reported context, wherefore the world variable in the embedded clause is bound by it. Therefore, replacing it with w_1 gives rise to the same interpretation as (i). Consider:



A more tricky case is subclausal quotation. Suppose that Rep starts out from AP inside the embedded clause. This splits up the context domain inside the embedded clause below and above AP. To be specific, if lexical items have a covert world pronoun (w_i) (von Fintel and Heim 2007), *Hanako*, which is world-independent, is evaluated in the actual utterance world (w_2) whereas *cute* is evaluated in the reported one as in (iii), where Rep is yet to be moved and the irrelevant parts of the structure are ignored.



Given this, the embedded clause would be construed as: Hanako was what the reported speaker (i.e. Taro) termed “cute” in his utterance world. Therefore, *Hanako was cute* is not entailed.

- (35) Taroo-wa oet-to {it/omot}-ta.
Taro-Top yuck-REP say/think-PAST
‘Taro said/thought, “Yuck!”’

In (35), Rep introduces a nonpropositional item, which expresses Taro’s detesting a given situation. Also, in addition to this quoted item, *omow*- ‘think’ can take a propositional complement in the infinitival (or tenseless) form as shown in (36).

- (36) Taroo-wa oet-to [sono zyookyoo-o kimotiwaru-ku]
Taro-Top yuck-REP that situation-Acc uncomfortable-COP.INF
{*it/omot}-ta.
say/think-PAST
Lit. ‘Taro thought, “Yuck!” and considered the situation uncomfortable.’

I take this example as showing that *omow*- ‘think’ is not always unergative, and there are cases where it can take a complement clause. However, it appears without Rep, hence no need for SAY. In contrast, *iw*- ‘say’ does not allow this sort of infinitival clause. Although I have no plausible answer to why this disparity is observed, the complement clause with a copula inflected as *-ku* is argued to constitute a Small Clause (SC) (Kikuchi and Takahashi 1991, Takahashi 2017, Takezawa 1987, and references therein). If so, *iw*- ‘say’ is simply incompatible with an SC complement whereas *omow*- ‘think’ can select it just like *John thinks/considers Bill a fool* vs. **John says Bill a fool* in English. What is crucial here is then that in (36), the quoted item and the proposition are different from each other, and the former cannot be directly selected by the matrix attitude verb. Given this, (36) will be structured as in (37), where SAY’s VP2 adjoins to the matrix verb’s VP1.

- (37)
-
- ```

graph TD
 VP1_1[VP1] --- VP2[VP2]
 VP1_1 --- VP1_2[VP1]
 VP2 --- Quote-Rep[Quote-Rep]
 VP2 --- SAY[SAY]
 VP1_2 --- Clause[ClauseInfinitival]
 VP1_2 --- think[think]

```

Then, a fundamental question is why VP2 headed by SAY is a complement to an attitude predicate in (27). For this, I contend that it is because the matrix attitude verb c(ategory)-

selects VP2. Given this, the incompatibility between *iw-* ‘say’ and the SC complement is understood in terms of c-selection. That is, *iw-* does not c-select such a complement. Since c-selection is independent of s(ematic)-selection (i.e.  $\theta$ -role assignment), the idea that VP-complementation in (27) involves no  $\theta$ -role assignment is maintained, and s-selection is satisfied by the propositional *pro*, which is only visible in semantics; see (34). Crucially, however, this c-selection is optional, since as in (38), insofar as the content of such a propositional *pro* is contextually retrievable, the attitude predicate does not have to take the VP headed by SAY that introduces the embedded clause. As I will argue in Chapter 7, the second conjunct in (38) can be analyzed without ellipsis.

- (38) Taroo-wa [ ima isogasii-to ] it-ta-si, Ziroo-mo it-ta.  
 Taro-TOP now busy.COP.NONPAST-REP say-PAST-and Jiro-also say-PAST  
 ‘Taro said that he was busy, and Jiro also said so.’

If (38) does not involve any elliptical structure, the matrix attitude verbs do not obligatorily select SAY’s VP. However, this should not be regarded as problematic since c-selection allows multiple options, so they simply have a choice of c-selecting nothing.<sup>15</sup>

Turning to the complement-adjunct asymmetry, as shown in (39a), *naze* ‘why’, which is sensitive to islands (Watanabe 2003), cannot be associated with the matrix Q-marker, whereas (39b) without *naze* is grammatical. If we have only a clause with Rep, it becomes a complement, so that *naze* is licensed as in (40).

<sup>15</sup>For instance, adjectives like *proud* in English c-selects PP, not NP, hence *John is proud \*(of) his son*. However, *proud* can be used without a PP complement: *John is proud*. The meaning of *proud* is different with or without PP, so *John is proud* means that John is self-respecting, but this is irrelevant to syntax, and the same holds for Japanese. For instance, as (i) shows, *omow-* ‘think’ can take a nominal complement in a certain context, but its meaning is no longer propositional.

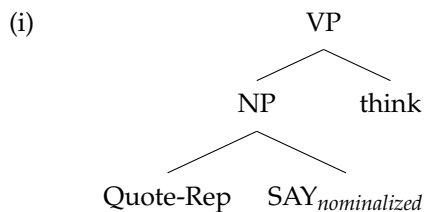
- (i) Taroo-wa Hanako-no-koto-o omot-tei-ru.  
 Taro-TOP Hanako-GEN-FN-ACC think-ASP-NONPAST  
 ‘Taro {likes/takes care of} Hanako.’

Given that syntactic objects are the inputs to the semantic component, the polysemy of *omow-* ‘think’ can be considered to result from the syntactic structure, unless we assume that there are multiple lexical instances of the relevant verb, and for that matter, *proud* in English. Relevant to this, one of the questions to be raised here is whether c-selection under the proposed analysis can be reduced to some independent syntactic mechanism. Since c-selection is a matter of syntax, one may come up with some syntactic feature that is responsible for it. Then, it is conceivable that Agree/feature-checking determines the interpretation at the semantic component and what can be c-selected, but I will leave these issues for my future research because they need a detailed discussion, which takes us far afield from the current purpose of this dissertation.

- (39) a. \*Taroo-wa [ Hanako-ga naze tasuketekure-ta-to ] [ kanozyo-no kooi-o  
 Taro-Top Hanako-Nom why help.give-PAST-REP she-GEN act-ACC  
 arigata-ku ] omot-ta-no.  
 appreciated-Cor.INF think-PAST-Q  
 Intended ‘What is the reason<sub>1</sub> such that since he had a thought that Hanako  
 helped him for it<sub>1</sub>, Taro thought that what she did was appreciated?’
- b. Taroo-wa [ Hanako-ga tasuketekure-ta-to ] [ kanozyo-no kooi-o  
 Taro-Top Hanako-Nom help.give-PAST-REP she-GEN act-ACC  
 arigata-ku ] omot-ta.  
 appreciated-Cor.INF think-PAST  
 Lit. ‘Since he had a thought that Hanako helped him, Taro thought that what  
 she did was appreciated.’
- (40) Taroo-wa [ Hanako-ga naze tasuketekure-ta-to ] omot-ta-no.  
 Taro-Top Hanako-Nom why help.give-PAST-REP think-PAST-Q  
 ‘Why does Taro think Hanako helped him?’

To recapitulate, I have proposed that the syntactic mode of quotative complementation is VP-complementation under c-selection. Although the way to combine an lexical attitude verb and the VP that is headed by SAY that introduces an embedded clause is syntactically complementation, it is semantically a conjunction of two events via PM.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup>Another direction that is worth mentioning is a recent proposal that what brings the intensional component is not the attitude verb but the complementizer (Kratzer 2016, Moulton 2009 among others). Under this rendition of clausal complementation, *that* in English takes two arguments: a proposition (i.e. a set of worlds) and a covert contentful individual equivalent to e.g. *fact*, which defines what the relevant abstract individuals like *speaker*, *addressee*, *time* and *location* are. In a default case, they are determined by the actual world, so that the content individual will be the fact relevant to the speaker, the addressee, the time and the place in the actual world. Given this, the denotation of *that* includes the accessibility relation between the content of what holds in the actual world and the possible worlds given by the embedded clause. The attitude predicate (such as *say*) then selects the content individual/noun as its internal argument. This leads us to the possibility that Japanese also employs the same strategy. For instance, suppose that SAY in clausal complementation is nominalized, and the embedded clause semantically takes it as the content noun. Given this, the structure would be like:



### 6.4.3 Deriving Obligatory Null SAY

To conclude this chapter, let us consider why SAY cannot be overt in the proposed VP-complementation structure in (32), repeated here in (41), even if the lexical verb satisfies sound orientation. For this issue, I contend that this is because of the *Distinctness Condition* in (42) proposed by Richards (2010), according to whom a Spell-Out domain defined by phases cannot have items too similar to each other for linearization.<sup>17</sup>

- (41) Taroo-wa [ Hanako-ga kawaii-to ] (\*ii-)it-ta.  
 Taro-TOP Hanako-NOM cute.COP.NONPAST-REP SAY-say-PAST  
 ‘Taro said that Hanako was cute.’

- (42) DISTINCTNESS  
 If a linearization statement  $\langle \alpha, \alpha \rangle$  is generated, the derivation crashes. (Richards 2010, 5)

Although Richards (2010) puts forth (42) for functional items, Keine and Bhatt (2016) argue to extend the application of it to cover lexical items. Since (42) is a condition imposed on a final representation for linearization at PF, even if  $\langle \alpha, \alpha \rangle$  is constructed in syntax, moving one of the two members obviates its violation. One strategy will be to move the VP that SAY heads. However, moving the complemented VP is impossible for complex predicates in Japanese as shown in (43b). Note that even if we have K particles like *-mo*

In (i), the embedded clause is the complement of the content noun, SAY, which is then taken by the matrix verb *think*. Although interesting, this needs a careful consideration due to the following reasons. First, we need to postulate something that is functionally equivalent to *that* in English. Since Rep is not C under my analysis, it cannot be the right option. Second, clausal complementation is not always a full-fledged CP structure. As we have seen, imperatives can be embedded, and they are not CP, to the extent that Zanuttini et al. (2012) are on the right track. Finally, as we will see in Chapter 7, the *pro*-form of the embedded clause is adverbial. Therefore, if SAY is nominal, we need to explain why its *pro*-form cannot be nominal but adverbial. Thus, I will not pursue the possibility of (i) here.

<sup>17</sup>Since adjuncts constitute their own Spell-Out domain (Uriagereka 1999), adjuncts that are mediated by SAY do not violate (42), so it is possible to have SAY overtly as in (i).

- (i) Taroo-wa [ Hanako-ga kawaii-to ] (it-te) [ kanozyo-o suki-da-to ]  
 Taro-TOP Hanako-NOM cute.COP.NONPAST-REP SAY-TE she-ACC fond-COP.NONPAST-REP  
 it-ta.  
 say-PAST  
 ‘Taro said that he likes Hanako, saying that she is cute.’



or *-wa* suffixed to the fronted VP, the ungrammaticality remains.<sup>18</sup>

- (43) a. Taroo-wa ringo-o tabe-wasure-ta.  
 Taro-TOP apple-ACC eat-forget-PAST  
 'Taro forgot to eat an apple.'
- b. \*[<sub>VP</sub> Ringo-o tabe ]<sub>1</sub>(-mo/wa) Taroo-wa *t*<sub>1</sub> wasure-ta.  
 apple-ACC eat -also/TOP Taro-TOP forget-PAST  
 Intended 'To eat an apple, Taro forgot.'

Therefore, insofar as (43b) is bad, this movement option is not available for (41) either.

Another conceivable strategy is to resort to head movement of SAY to the lexical verb as proposed by Keine and Bhatt (2016). This resolution is motivated by the *Condition on Head Uniqueness* in (44), which then excludes the configuration in (45), forces the lower V to incorporate into the higher V, yielding a single complex verbal head, which then avoids the violation of (44).

- (44) CONDITION ON HEAD UNIQUENESS

No Spell-Out domain may contain more than one maximal head of the same type.

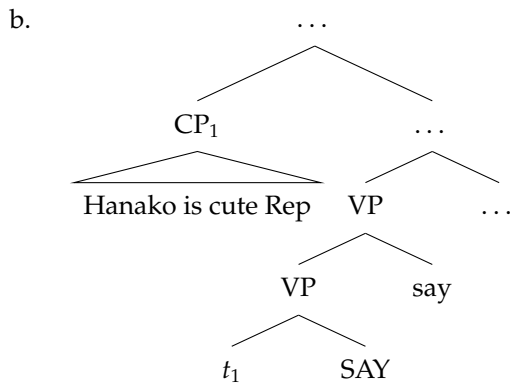
(Keine and Bhatt 2016, 1476, (43))

- (45) [<sub>vp</sub> *v* [<sub>VP</sub> V [<sub>VP</sub> DP [V] ] ] ]  $\rightsquigarrow$  *verb incorporation forced*

(Keine and Bhatt 2016, 1476, (44b(i)))

<sup>18</sup>Since the embedded clause can be scrambled as in (ia), what is moving is the embedded CP that is the complement of SAY as in (ib).

- (i) a. [ Hanako-ga kawaii-to ]<sub>1</sub>, Taroo-wa *t*<sub>1</sub> it-ta.  
 Hanako-NOM cute-COP.NONPAST-REP Taro-TOP say-PAST  
 Tthat Hanako was cute, Taro said.'



However, we also have to exclude this option since overt SAY is impossible anyway. Then, the question is how. In this connection, [Keine and Bhatt \(2016\)](#) argue that the relevant head movement semantically results in *Function Composition* (FC). Therefore, if  $f : A \rightarrow B$  and  $g : B \rightarrow C$  are composed, we get  $f \circ g : A \rightarrow C$ . For instance, usual complex predicate formation like (43a) will be composed as in (46).

- (46) a.  $\llbracket \text{tabe-} \rrbracket = \lambda x. \lambda s [\text{eat}(s) \wedge \text{THEME}(s) = x]$   
 b.  $\llbracket \text{wasure-} \rrbracket = \lambda P_{\langle s, t \rangle}. \lambda s [\text{forget}(s) \wedge \text{THEME}(s) = P]$   
 c.  $\llbracket \text{tabe-} \rrbracket \circ \llbracket \text{wasure-} \rrbracket = \lambda x. \lambda s [\text{forget}(s) \wedge \text{THEME}(s) = \lambda s' [\text{eat}(s') \wedge \text{THEME}(s') = x]]$

However, under the current analysis, the semantic relation between the lexical attitude verb and SAY's VP is mediated by PM, so there is no argument DP that is to be taken by the two verbs as one amalgamated serial verb. Given that FC involves head movement, the impossibility of it means that we do not need such semantics.<sup>19,20</sup> Also, it is noteworthy that

<sup>19</sup>FC explains the *Anti-reconstruction Effect*; see [Bobaljik and Wurmbrand \(2005, 2007\)](#), [Shimamura and Wurmbrand \(2014\)](#), [Wurmbrand \(2001\)](#) for Japanese. Since head movement leaves a trace of higher type, the moved verb that is now composed with the matrix verb will be semantically pulled back into the original position of the moved verb, scoping under any quantificational item in the embedded clause ([Keine and Bhatt 2016](#)).

<sup>20</sup>Relevant to this V-V sequence, no item cannot intervene the two combined verbs in cases like (43a). For instance, high aspectual verbs in the sense of [Fukuda \(2012\)](#) like *hazime* 'start' and *tuzuke* 'continue' can have their complement verbs honorified with the circumfix *o- ... -ni* as in (ia) (when *o- ... -ni* circumfixes the entire complex predicate, it has a different aspectual meaning and hence a different structure); (ib) is (ia) without honorification.

- (i) a. Sensee-wa o-nemuri-ni nari-{hazime/tsuzuke}-ta.  
 teacher-NOM HON-sleep-HON become-begin/continue-Past  
 'The teacher {began/continued} sleeping.' ([Fukuda 2012](#), 996, (70b), (71b))  
 b. Sensee-wa nemuri-{hazime/tsuzuke}-ta.  
 teacher-NOM sleep-begin/continue-Past  
 'The teacher {began/continued} sleeping.'

However, *wasure-* 'forget' does not allow it, and the entire verbal complex is circumfixed as in (ii).

- (ii) a. \*Sensee-wa ringo-o o-tabe-ni nari-wasure-ta.  
 Taro-TOP apple-ACC HON-eat-HON become-forget-PAST  
 Intended 'The teacher forgot to eat an apple.'  
 b. Sensee-wa ringo-o o-tabe-wasure-ni nat-ta.  
 Taro-TOP apple-ACC HON-eat-forget-HON become-PAST  
 Intended 'The teacher forgot to eat an apple.'

given the nature of attitude predicates, it is hard to imagine that ‘say’ semantically selects SAY like (46). If ‘say’ selects SAY, the former is a function from a set of events to another:  $\langle\langle s, t \rangle, \langle s, t \rangle\rangle$ . However, this is counterintuitive because it should take a proposition (a set of worlds) due to intensional semantics. Of course, we can assume that ‘say’ can select a set of events in addition to a set of worlds, but I do not see any motivation or payoffs in doing so. Therefore, I conclude that FC and its concomitant via head movement is excluded in the proposed quotative complementation as VP-complementation.

Given the discussion above, both head movement and VP movement strategies cannot be used for (41) to avoid (42). Therefore, I argue that the only way to salvage its violation for linearization at PF is to have SAY unpronounced. This derives the obligatory zero realization of SAY in the quotative VP-complementation, still maintaining the proposed analysis that the matrix lexical verbs do not take the embedded clause directly.

## 6.5 Conclusion

This chapter argued that clausal complementation via Rep in Japanese has a VP complementation structure, similar to Restructuring (Wurmbrand 2001). This explains the distribution of such embedded clauses, and having SAY lets Japanese be discussed in terms of the crosslinguistic setting (Güldemann 2008, Klammer 2000, Lord 1993, H. Saito 2018a among others). Also, since lexical attitude verbs are syntactically unergative under my analysis, I proposed that there is a null pronoun (*pro*) that they take, and it corresponds to a proposition and is only visible for the semantic component. This analysis then allows the semantic complement clause (i.e. proposition) and the syntactic complement (not necessarily a clause/proposition) to be different from each other. In addition, although lexical attitude predicates are unergative, verbs like *omow-* ‘think’ can take an SC complement without Rep.

# Chapter 7

## Syntactic Consequences of SAY

### 7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we will discuss three consequences of having SAY in quotative complementation in Japanese. First, we will look into the *pro*-form of embedded clauses with Rep, which is adverbial *soo*. For this, I will argue in line with [HH. Tanaka \(2014\)](#) that it is an adverb that denotes the event description that refers to the contextually salient event kind, hence VP headed by SAY. Its interpretation is semantically given by the assignment function, so this analysis is an antithesis to [Funakoshi \(2014\)](#) and [Sakamoto \(2016a,b\)](#) in that we do not employ ellipsis (of *v*/VP or CP). There, we will also consider the case where *soo* cooccurs with its associated clause and its word order restriction. As reported by [Sakamoto](#), *soo* must linearly follow its associated clause. However, I will show that this is not always the case, and when a certain condition is met, the opposite order becomes possible. The key is what *soo* refers to. Specifically, when the clause referred to by *soo* and *soo* itself have the same referential index, [Sakamoto](#)'s observation is correct. However, if they have disjoint references, we can have them in the opposite order. I will contend that this is a case of *Binding Condition*, and discuss it with reference to its interaction with long-distance *wh*-questions. Then, we will turn to adjunct clauses that are ostensibly introduced by Rep. This sort of adjunct clauses has been understudied in the Japanese generative literature, and we only have a couple of descriptive surveys, to my knowledge. But we have two directions that have been pursued: eliding lexical attitude verbs ([Oshima 2013](#)) or no verb ([Fujita 2000](#), [Tsujimoto 2014](#)). My analysis presents another

possibility, invisible SAY. As we will see, SAY captures the data presented in the previous researches, and this analysis is supported crosslinguistically. Finally, we will consider the hearsay construction in Japanese and (Iberian) Spanish, discussing their similarities and differences. Again, I will argue that this construction also involves invisible SAY, which is compatible with [Etxepare's \(2010\)](#) analysis of Spanish hearsay clause introduced by *que*.

This chapter goes as follows. In Section 7.2, after introducing the core idea of [HH. Tanaka \(2014\)](#), we will go over the details of [Funakoshi \(2014\)](#) and [Sakamoto \(2016a,b\)](#), showing that they are empirically and theoretically identifying some empirical and theoretical shortcomings. Then, I will give my explanation to the data presented by them, which captures the new data that are hard for them to explain. Then, Section 7.3 deals with adjunct clauses with Rep, proposing that there is nothing elided and invisible SAY introduces such adjunct clauses. The grammaticalized status of SAY explains the data [Fujita \(2000\)](#) and [Tsujimoto \(2014\)](#) give as challenges to the analysis that postulates an invisible/deleted lexical verb. Lastly, in Section 7.4, we will discuss the hearsay construction in Spanish and Japanese. Concerning this, [M. Saito \(2010\)](#) argues for the parallelism between Rep and *que* in Spanish as quotative C. However, this claim is not empirically correct in that *que* of quotation is syntactically different from that of proposition in that the former triggers number agreement while the latter does not. [Etxepare \(2010\)](#) proposes that this is derived by the nominalized Small Clause structure whose predicate is invisible 'say'. Following this, I will contend that the hearsay construction in Japanese also involves invisible SAY, which then supports the proposed obligatory linking between Rep and SAY. Section 7.5 concludes.

## 7.2 Consequence #1: *Pro*-form of Quotative Complementa- tion

In this section, we investigate the nature of the *pro*-form of clausal embedding mediated by Rep, namely, adverbial *soo*. Since the proposed analysis derives such clausal embedding as a case of VP-complementation, this state of affairs is straightforwardly accounted for if it refers to an antecedent VP that is headed by SAY. However, there are analyses that have recourse to the elliptic structure. For instance, [Funakoshi \(2014\)](#) argues for (headless) *v*/VP-ellipsis, according to which what is actually elided is not the embedded CP but *v*/VP

that complements it. Also, [Sakamoto \(2016a,b\)](#) proposes that *soo* heads its own projection *sooP* that has the embedded CP as its complement. Then, he contends that such CP undergoes ellipsis. Even though these analyses are attractive at face value, I show that they have empirical problems, and propose an analysis that does not hinge on ellipsis, arguing in line with [HH. Tanaka \(2014\)](#) that *soo* is a *bona fide* adverb that refers to SAY's VP. Then, we discuss its empirical consequences that are hard to obtain under [Funakoshi](#) and [Sakamoto](#)'s analyses.

### 7.2.1 HH. Tanaka (2014): *Soo* Referring to VP

Clausal embedding via Rep has its *pro*-form as adverbial *soo* 'so' while the nominalized clause is referred to by pronominal *sore* 'it' as in (1a) and (1b), respectively.

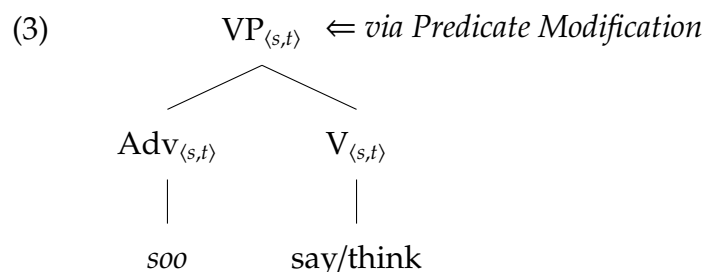
- (1) a. Taroo-wa [ Hanako-ga kawaii-to ] {it/omot}-ta. Ziroo-mo  
 Taro-Top Hanako-NOM cute.COP.NONPAST-REP say/think-PAST Jiro-also  
 {soo/\*sore-o} {it/omot}-ta.  
 so/it-Acc say/think-PAST  
 'Taro said/thought that Hanako was cute. Jiro also said/thought so.'
- b. Taroo-wa [ Hanako-ga ku-ru-no ]-o sit-tei-ta.  
 Taro-Top Hanako-NOM come-NONPAST-NMLZ -Acc know-ASP-PAST  
 Ziroo-mo {sore-o/\*soo} sit-tei-ta.  
 Jiro-also it-Acc/soo know-ASP-PAST  
 'Taro knew that Hanako would come. Jiro also knew it.'

This contrast is easily understood since (1a) involves covert SAY as we discussed in the previous chapter. To be specific, I follow [HH. Tanaka \(2014\)](#), who proposes that *soo* is an adverb that denotes an event description attributing an anaphoric property  $P_i$  to its event argument as in (2), and  $P_i$  is determined by a contextually provided antecedent. Given this, *soo* can be considered to be an adverb modifying *iw*- 'say' or *omow*- 'think', referring back to the kind of SAY's VP event.

- (2)  $\llbracket \text{soo} \rrbracket = \lambda s[P_i(s)]$  (based on [HH. Tanaka 2014](#), 274, (22a))

Crucially, I argue that *soo*, whose construal is adverbial though, syntactically stands as a complement to the matrix attitude verb as in (3). Although there is no  $\theta$ -role assignment, this should be possible given c-selection as discussed in the previous chapter. So the

semantic mode of its complementation is Predicate Modification (PM) under two sets of events.<sup>1</sup>



There are however authors who argue that (1a) involves some sort of ellipsis (Funakoshi 2014, Sakamoto 2016a,b, HK. Tanaka 2008). Therefore, in the next section, I discuss them, showing that these analyses are empirically inadequate.

## 7.2.2 Ellipsis in *Soo* Complement and Its Challenges

### 7.2.2.1 Funakoshi (2014)

In fact, *soo* in (1a) is not obligatory as in (4), and it has been widely argued that this is derived by CP-ellipsis (M. Saito 2007, Shinohara 2006, HK. Tanaka 2008). Funakoshi (2014) however argues that CP-ellipsis is impossible in Japanese, and (4) without *soo* is best analyzed as the deletion of *v*P/VP that is vacated by the head *v*/V. Namely, the apparent

<sup>1</sup>Pertinent to this, in analyzing the *soo-su* ‘do so’ anaphora, HH. Tanaka (2014) contends that *soo* is syntactically a complement of V that signifies activity, hence an unergative verb. In this context, omitting *soo* leads to ungrammaticality. Observe:

- (i) Taroo-wa piano-o hii-ta-node, Ziroo-mo \*(soo) si-ta.  
 Taro-Top piano-Acc play-PAST-because Jiro-also so do-PAST  
 ‘Because Taro played the piano, Jiro did so, too.’ (based on HH. Tanaka 2014, 265, (1))

Based on this fact, HH. Tanaka argues that it is syntactically a complement. Although the current analysis does not hinge on this diagnostic, I assume with HH. Tanaka that *soo* in (2) is also a complement to the matrix attitude verb, though it is semantically an adverb via PM. In contrast, *soo* referring to the embedded clause can be omitted as in (ii).

- (ii) Taroo-wa [ Hanako-ga kawaii-to ] {it/omot}-ta. Ziroo-mo (soo) {it/omot}-ta.  
 Taro-Top Hanako-NOM cute.COP.NONPAST-REP say/think-PAST Jiro-also so say/think-PAST  
 ‘Taro said/thought that Hanako was cute. Jiro also said/though so.’

We will come back to this contrast below.

CP-ellipsis is derived as in (5). He also claims that the *soo* anaphor for attitude predicates is also derived via *v*/VP-ellipsis as in (6), where *soo* is an adverb that modifies the entire *v*/VP, contrary to the current analysis.

- (4) Taroo-wa [ Hanako-ga kawaii-to ] {it/omot}-ta. Ziroo-mo (soo)  
Taro-Top Hanako-NOM cute.COP.NONPAST-REP say/think-PAST Jiro-also so  
{it/omot}-ta.  
say/think-PAST  
‘Taro said/thought that Hanako was cute. Jiro also said/though so.’
- (5) Subj [ $\bar{v}$ /VP...[CP...] $t_{\bar{v}/V}$ ] *v*/V (Funakoshi 2014, 334, (81b))
- (6) ... *soo* [ $\bar{v}$ /VP...[CP...] $t_{\bar{v}/V}$ ] *v*/V (Funakoshi 2014, 336, (86))

To understand Funakoshi’s analysis, let us start discussing it by considering (7), where both strict and sloppy readings of *zibun* ‘self’ are available for the ellipsis clause, irrespective of the presence/absence of *soo*.

- (7) Taroo<sub>1</sub>-wa [ zibun<sub>1</sub>-ga itiban-da-to ] omot-tei-ru-kedo,  
Taro-Top self-NOM the.best-COP.NONPAST-REP think-ASP-NONPAST-but  
Hanako-wa (soo) omot-tei-nai.  
Hanako-Top so think-ASP-NEG.COP.NONPAST  
‘Taro thinks that he is the best, but Hanako does not think so.’ (adapted from  
Funakoshi 2014, 336/333, (80a)/(84a))  
(✓Strict/✓Sloppy)

Also, the antecedent clause and the ellipsis clause must share the same verb as in (8), so having *kangae*- ‘think’ on the latter, which is identical to *omow*- for its meaning, leads to degraded grammaticality:

- (8) \*Taroo<sub>1</sub>-wa [ zibun<sub>1</sub>-ga itiban-da-to ] omot-tei-ru-kedo,  
Taro-Top self-NOM the.best-COP.NONPAST-REP think-ASP-NONPAST-but  
Hanako-wa kangae-tei-nai.  
Hanako-Top think-ASP-NEG.COP.NONPAST  
‘Taro thinks that he is the best, but Hanako does not think so.’ (Funakoshi 2014,  
334, (82a))

If the second sentence has an overt clause, having different verbs is possible as in (9).



- (9) Taroo<sub>1</sub>-wa [ zibun<sub>1</sub>-ga itiban-da-to ] omot-tei-ru-kedo,  
 Taro-TOP self-NOM the.best-COP.NONPAST-REP think-ASP-NONPAST-but  
 Hanako<sub>2</sub>-wa [ zibun<sub>2</sub>-ga itiban-da-to ] kangae-tei-nai.  
 Hanako-TOP self-NOM the.best-COP.NONPAST-REP think-ASP-NEG.COP.NONPAST  
 'Taro thinks that he is the best, but Hanako does not think that she is the best.'  
 (Funakoshi 2014, 334, (82a))

Funakoshi assumes with Chung (2006) that the relevant verb identity is lexical, not the semantic identity contra Merchant (2001) (see Funakoshi 2014: §6.3.4 for his detailed discussion on the verb identity requirement and when it can be violated). Then, since he assumes that *v/V* moves out of the ellipsis site (traces count for the identity under the copy theory of movement), (8) is immediately explained by (5).

However, there is a potential problem, and it is exactly from the data Funakoshi presents. Witness:

- (10) Taroo<sub>1</sub>-wa [ zibun<sub>1</sub>-ga itiban-da-to ] **omot**-tei-ru-kedo,  
 Taro-TOP self-NOM the.best-COP.NONPAST-REP think-ASP-NONPAST-but  
 Hanako-wa soo **kangae**-tei-nai.  
 Hanako-TOP so think-ASP-NEG.COP.NONPAST  
 'Taro thinks that he is the best, but Hanako does not think so.' (Funakoshi 2014, 337, (87a))  
 (✓Strict/\*Sloppy)

In this example, we have two different verbs with *soo*, and this example itself is acceptable while the sloppy reading is impossible. Therefore, Funakoshi argues that it does not involve *v/VP*-ellipsis, and *soo* is a *pro*-form that he assumes does not allow the relevant sloppy reading. More concretely, for the status of *soo* in (7) and that in (10), he contends in line with HK. Tanaka (2008) that *soo* in (7) is not a clausal substitution (i.e. the *pro*-form of the embedded clause) but an adverb modifying *v/VP* as I just said above, hence (6). In contrast, *soo* in (10) is a genuine *pro*-form, and this excludes the sloppy reading. The adverb analysis of *soo* in (7) can be motivated by the fact that we can actually have both the embedded clause and *soo* simultaneously as in (11).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup>For readers who are not a native speaker of Japanese, I mention *likewise* in English, which can also refer back to the missing clause as in (ia) and can cooccur with the overt clause as in (ib) and (ic). All of them allow both strict and sloppy readings, although the sloppy option is preferred with the overt clause.

- (11) Taroo<sub>1</sub>-wa [ zibun<sub>1</sub>-ga itiban-da-to ] omot-tei-ru-kedo,  
Taro-Top self-NOM the.best-COP.NONPAST-REP think-ASP-NONPAST-but  
Hanako-wa [ zibun<sub>2</sub>-ga itiban-da-to ] soo  
Hanako-Top self-NOM the.best-COP.NONPAST-REP so  
omot-tei-nai.  
think-ASP-NEG.COP.NONPAST  
Lit. ‘Taro thinks that he is the best, but Hanako does not think so (she is the best.)’  
(adapted from [Funakoshi 2014](#), 336, (85a), translation is mine)

However, his analysis already has one empirical problem at this point. That is, as [Sakamoto \(2016a,b\)](#) points out, *soo* cannot appear in front of the embedded clause (but see my data below):

- (12) \*Hanako-wa soo [ zibun<sub>2</sub>-ga itiban-da-to ]  
Hanako-Top so self-NOM the.best-COP.NONPAST-REP  
omot-tei-nai.  
think-ASP-NEG.COP.NONPAST  
Intended. ‘Hanako does not think so: she is the best.’

If we apply the structure in (6) to (11) as it is, we must reach (12), so in order to maintain [Funakoshi](#)’s analysis, we need to assume that *soo* must right-adjoin to *v*/VP, or the embedded clause must be scrambled to the front of *soo* whatever the motivation of it would be.

Then, since his analysis is crucially contingent on *v*/V-movement, if we find a case that clearly excludes such movement with two identical verbs and still allows the sloppy reading, his analysis faces a serious problem. Such a case in fact comes from [Hayashi \(2015\)](#), who argues that *v*/V-movement applies for native Japanese verbs (NJV) but not for verbal nouns (VN), based on the null adjunct reading. To see the contrast, let us observe (13) *vis-à-vis* (14). In the former, the continuation from the a-example to the b-example is

- 
- (i) Mary thinks that she is the best student in the class,  
a. and Sue thinks likewise.  
b. and Sue thinks (likewise) that she is the best student in the class  
c. and Sue (likewise) thinks that she is the best student in the class  
d. \*and Sue likewise thinks  
e. \*and Sue thinks.

I thank Jonathan Bobaljik for providing these data for me.

not contradictory, so the null adjunct reading is possible, whereas such an interpretation is impossible in (14), hence contradiction.

(13) NATIVE JAPANESE Verb

- a. Taroo-wa L.A.-keeyude Nihon-e ki-ta kedo, Ziroo-wa [*Obj e*]  
Taro-Top L.A.-via Japan-to come-PAST but Jiro-Top  
ko-nakat-ta.  
come-NEG-PAST  
‘Taro came to Japan via L.A., but Jiro didn’t come to Japan.’
- b. Sonokawari, Ziroo-wa Siatoru-keeyude Nihon-e ki-ta.  
instead Jiro-Top Seattle-via Japan-to come-PAST  
‘Instead, Jiro came to Japan via Seattle.’

(Hayashi 2015, 76, (26), (27))

(14) VERBAL NOUN: AKA. SINO JAPANESE

- a. Taroo-wa L.A.-keeyude Nihon-e kikoku si-ta kedo, Ziroo-wa [*Obj e*]  
Taro-Top L.A.-via Japan-to returning do-PAST but Jiro-Top  
kikoku si-nakat-ta.  
returning do-NEG-PAST  
‘Taro went back Japan via L.A., but Jiro didn’t go back to Japan.’
- b. #Sonokawari, Ziroo-wa Siatoru-keeyude Nihon-e kikoku si-ta.  
instead Jiro-Top Seattle-via Japan-to returning do-PAST  
‘Instead, Jiro came to Japan via Seattle.’

(Hayashi 2015, 77-78, (29), (30))

To get the null adjunct reading in (14), we need to delete the VN part as well, so the continuation from the a-example to the b-example in (15) is fine.

- (15) a. Taroo-wa L.A.-keeyude Nihon-e kikoku si-ta kedo, Ziroo-wa [*Obj e*]  
Taro-Top L.A.-via Japan-to returning do-PAST but Jiro-Top  
[*VN e*] si-nakat-ta.  
do-NEG-PAST  
‘Taro went back Japan via L.A., but Jiro didn’t.’
- b. Sonokawari, Ziroo-wa Siatoru-keeyude Nihon-e kikoku si-ta.  
instead Jiro-Top Seattle-via Japan-to returning do-PAST  
‘Instead, Jiro came to Japan via Seattle.’

(Hayashi 2015, 77-78, (29), (30))

This disparity between NJV and VN is observed, according to Hayashi (2015), because NJV moves but VN does not. Assuming that the null adjunct reading is derived via *v*P-ellipsis, Hayashi gives (16), explaining obligatory absence of the VN part to get the null adjunct reading.<sup>3</sup>

- (16) a. ... [<sub>NegP</sub> [<sub>*v*P</sub> *t*<sub>Subj</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> ~~Obj~~ *t*<sub>NJV</sub> ] *t*<sub>v</sub> ] NJV-*v*-Neg ] ...  
b. ... [<sub>NegP</sub> [<sub>*v*P</sub> *t*<sub>Subj</sub> [<sub>VNP</sub> ~~Obj~~ VN ] *t*<sub>v</sub> ] *v* (do)-Neg ] ...  
(based on Hayashi 2015, 84, (38))

Now, having established that VN stays in situ, consider (17), where the matrix verb is a VN yet the two verbs for each conjunct are identical. According to my language consultants, the sloppy reading is possible. In this connection, some of my language consultants observed the strict construal is still dominant in (17), but if we have an appropriate context like adding adjectival *kenkyo-na* 'humble' to *Hanako*, then the sloppy reading becomes readily available for them.

- (17) Taroo<sub>1</sub>-wa [ zibun<sub>1</sub>-ga itiban-da-to ] syutyooo  
Taro-Top self-NOM the.best-COP.NONPAST-REP claim  
si-tei-ru-kedo, (kenkyo-na) Hanako-wa soo syutyoo  
do-ASP-NONPAST-but humble-COP.ADN Hanako-Top so claim  
si-tei-nai.  
do-ASP-NEG.COP.NONPAST  
'Taro claims that he is the best, but Hanako(, who is humble,) does not claim so.'  
(✓Strict/✓Sloppy)

If the possibility of the strict/sloppy reading in (17) is all about syntax, the sloppy reading here must be impossible, contrary to the fact. Since *v*P-ellipsis is not an option here, the only way for Funakoshi to derive (17) is to have *soo* as a genuine *pro*-form, which disallows the sloppy reading according to him. Also notable is that even (10) allows it if we have the relevant adjective.

- (18) Taroo<sub>1</sub>-wa [ zibun<sub>1</sub>-ga itiban-da-to ] omot-tei-ru-kedo,  
Taro-Top self-NOM the.best-COP.NONPAST-REP think-ASP-NONPAST-but  
kenkyo-na Hanako-wa soo kangae-tei-nai.  
humble-COP.ADN Hanako-Top so think-ASP-NEG.COP.NONPAST

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<sup>3</sup>Hayashi (2015) assumes that *su-* 'do' is in *v*.

‘Taro thinks that he is the best, but Hanako, who is humble, does not think so.’  
(✓Strict/✓Sloppy)

Therefore, I argue that having two different verbs does not provide a satisfactory testing ground to diagnose whether *v*/VP-ellipsis derives the sloppy reading. To the extent that the analysis given by Funakoshi (2014) is on the right track, we need to accept that both *v*/VP-ellipsis and the genuine *pro*-form both allow the sloppy reading, whatever may explain the unavailability/difficulty of the sloppy construal in (10).

Coming back to the optionality of *soo* in (4), when *soo* is absent, it may be derived by CP-ellipsis, or to the extent that the verb identity is a must-satisfy condition as Funakoshi (2014) observes in (8), it is derived by *v*/VP-ellipsis. The following example however shows that CP-ellipsis may be on the right track:

- (19) Taroo<sub>1</sub>-wa [ zibun<sub>1</sub>-ga yuusen-s-are-ru-beki-da-to ]  
 Taro-Top self-Nom priority-do-PASS-NONPAST-should-COP.NONPAST-REP  
 syutyooo si-tei-ru-kedo, (kenkyo-na) Hanako-wa syutyoo  
 claim do-ASP-NONPAST-but humble-COP.ADN Hanako-Top claim  
 si-tei-nai.  
 do-ASP-NEG.COP.NONPAST  
 ‘Taro claims that he should be given priority, but Hanako(, who is humble,) does not claim so.’  
 (✓Strict/✓Sloppy)

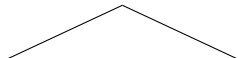
In (19) where the sloppy reading is possible, the verb is a VN, and if it stays in situ, then *v*/VP-ellipsis cannot work.<sup>4</sup> Anyway, the sloppy identity is notorious as a diagnostic for ellipsis (see Tomioka 2003, 2014), and an alternative analysis I suggest here is that when *soo* is absent, there is no complement clause in the first place.<sup>5</sup> This way of reasoning is

<sup>4</sup>As expected from Hayashi’s (2015) analysis, deleting the VN part is compatible with the sloppy reading as in (i).

- (i) Taroo<sub>1</sub>-wa [ zibun<sub>1</sub>-ga yuusen-s-are-ru-bekida-to ] syutyooo si-tei-ru-kedo,  
 Taro-Top self-Nom priority-do-PASS-NONPAST-should-REP claim do-ASP-NONPAST-but  
 (kenkyo-na) Hanako-wa [VN e] si-tei-nai.  
 humble-COP.ADN Hanako-Top do-ASP-NEG.COP.NONPAST  
 ‘Taro claims that he should be given priority, but Hanako(, who is humble,) does not claim so.’  
 (✓Strict/✓Sloppy)

<sup>5</sup>Merchant (2016) also states that sloppy identity is not a good diagnostic for ellipsis. The *do so* anaphor

possible since attitude verbs, be it NJV or VN, are unergative under my analysis, and we can utilize *pro* that is only visible at the semantic component and corresponds to some proposition (see §6.3 in Chapter 6). Then, the assignment function yields a free variable  $x$  that is unselectively bound by *Hanako* in (19), giving the sloppy reading (cf. Kasai 2014). For instance, we can come up with the analysis given in (20). This sort of technique is also exploited by Tomioka (2003) for the sloppy reading of null arguments.

- (20) a. 
- b.  $\llbracket \text{pro}_1 \rrbracket^{g[1 \rightarrow \llbracket [\text{CP} \dots \text{self}_2 \dots] \rrbracket^{g[2 \rightarrow x]}]}$

in English also allows the sloppy reading as in (i).

- (i) Taro washed his car on Saturday, but Jiro didn't do so until Sunday. [Jonathan Bobaljik, p.c.]

The same for Japanese *soo-su* 'do so'.

- (ii) Taroo-wa zibun-no kuruma-o arat-ta-kedo, Ziroo-wa soo si-nak-at-ta.  
Taro-TOP self-GEN car-ACC wash-PAST-but Jiro-TOP so do-NEG-COP-PAST  
'Taro washed his car, but Jiro didn't so (= washed Taro's or his car).' (✓Strict/✓Sloppy)

However, having overt VP referred back to by *soo* in addition to *soo* itself is impossible as in (iiic); note that we need to have *-wa* attaching to VP to sanction the *su* 'do' support.

- (iii) a. Taroo-wa zibun-no kuruma-o arat-ta-kedo, Ziroo-wa soo-wa si-nak-at-ta.  
Taro-TOP self-GEN car-ACC wash-PAST-but Jiro-TOP so-TOP do-NEG-COP-PAST  
'Taro washed his car, but Jiro didn't so (= washed Taro's or his car).' (✓Strict/✓Sloppy)
- b. Taroo-wa zibun-no kuruma-o arat-ta-kedo, Ziroo-wa [<sub>VP</sub> zibun-no kuruma-o arai ]-wa  
Taro-TOP self-GEN car-ACC wash-PAST-but Jiro-TOP self-GEN car-ACC wash -TOP  
si-nak-at-ta.  
do-NEG-COP-PAST  
'Taro washed his car, but Jiro didn't wash his car.'
- c. \*Taroo-wa zibun-no kuruma-o arat-ta-kedo, Ziroo-wa [<sub>VP</sub> zibun-no kuruma-o arai ]-wa  
Taro-TOP self-GEN car-ACC wash-PAST-but Jiro-TOP self-GEN car-ACC wash -TOP  
soo si-nak-at-ta.  
so do-NEG-COP-PAST  
Intended 'Taro washed his car, but Jiro didn't so: washed his car.'

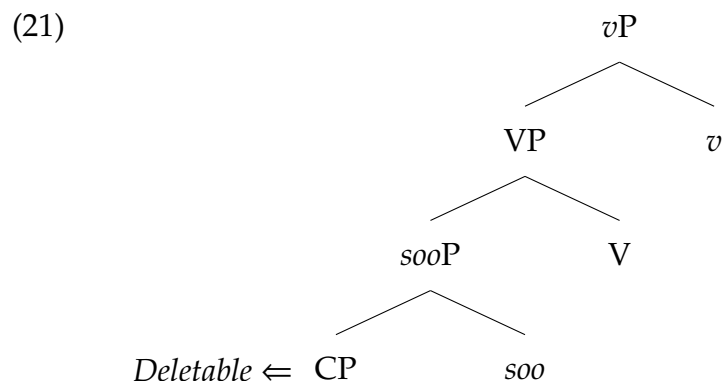
Thus, *soo* in (ii) and (iiia) cannot be derived as in (iv).

- (iv) ... [<sub>VP</sub> his car wash ] *soo* do ...

In (20a), *pro* is visible only for semantics, so syntactically it is just the head V.<sup>6</sup> Then, Funakoshi's (2014) (5) and (6) can be reanalyzed so that they do not involve ellipsis, setting aside the issue of whether *v*/V-movement exists in Japanese.

### 7.2.2.2 Sakamoto (2016a,b)

Sakamoto (2016a,b) however gives some arguments that *soo* for cases like (7) involves an elided CP structure. He observes that overt A-extraction (Raising to Object, RTO) and covert  $\bar{A}$ -extraction (Op-movement/quantifier raising (QR)) are possible from *soo* in the absence of the quoted clause, while overt  $\bar{A}$ -extraction such as long-distance scrambling is not. Specifically, he proposes (21) to explain the extraction patterns to be discussed below as well as the word order restriction in (12).



(based on Sakamoto 2016a, 46, (82))

Maybe, to the extent that the extraction patterns in question are valid syntactic observations, his analysis could be maintained. However, I will cast some doubt on his treatment of the relevant data.

Regarding RTO, Sakamoto provides (22); in (22a), the embedded subject is assumed to be moved from the complement clause to the matrix clause, getting the accusative case from the matrix verb. There are numerous works on RTO, and as RTO has the

<sup>6</sup>A fundamental question that immediately arises here is how to license such a semantic pronoun. As I argued in Chapter 6, this semantic *pro* can be dispensed with when a given attitude verb can select an SC complement. Since syntax precedes semantics by assumption, when an actual syntactic structure for the attitude content is present in the form of SC, the pertinent *pro* is unnecessary for the semantic compositionality. Therefore, without any further discussion, I speculate that the semantic *pro* is inserted at the semantic component/LF when necessary.

nomenclature of *Raising* in it, it is assumed that it is a case of movement. Given this, the grammaticality of (22b) indicates that the raised subject *Kanako-o* has been moved from the internal structure associated with *soo*.

- (22) a. Taroo-wa Ayaka-o<sub>1</sub> orokamino [ *t*<sub>1</sub> tensai-da-to ]  
 Taro-Top Ayaka-Acc stupidly genius-COP.NONPAST  
 omo-tei-ru.  
 think-ASP-NONPAST  
 Lit. 'Taro, Ayaka<sub>1</sub>, stupidly thinks that *t*<sub>1</sub> is a genius.'
- b. Jiroo-wa Kanako-o orokamino soo omo-tei-ru.  
 Jiro-Top Kanako-Acc stupidly so think-ASP-NONPAST  
 Lit. 'Jiro, Kanako, stupidly thinks so.'
- (based on Sakamoto 2016b, 112, (11), gloss is mine)

In the literature, RTO has been treated as A-movement across CP, which is a case of *Improper Movement* (Chomsky 1973). There has been a lot of discussion on whether such movement is allowed in syntax, but at least in Japanese, many authors advocate the implementability of the pertinent movement (Hiraiwa 2005, Shimamura 2013, Takahashi 2011, HK. Tanaka 2002, among many others). However, RTO's status as raising is far from settled, and there are various approaches without such an operation (Hoji 1991, Oka 1988, Takano 2003, among others). For instance, Takano (2003) gives the following structure:

- (23) NP-Top NP<sub>*i*</sub>-Acc [ *CP* ... *pro*<sub>*i*</sub> ... ] V (Takano 2003, 781, (7))

In (23), the accusative DP is not raised but base-generated in the matrix clause, and it is then coindexed with *pro*. Takano (2003) countenances having this structure due to the anti-reconstruction of the accusative DP; observe the (un)availability of the scope interaction with and the bound variable construal licensed by the embedded quantified item in (24) and (25), respectively.

- (24) a. Mary-wa sannin-no gakusee-ga subete-no sensei-ni  
 Mary-Top three-GEN student-NOM all-GEN teacher-DAT  
 syookai-s-are-ru-bekida-to omot-tei-ru.  
 introduce-do-PASS-NONPAST-should-REP think-ASP-NONPAST  
 'Mary thinks that three students should be introduced to every teacher.'  
 (three > every/every > three)



- b. Mary-wa sannin-no gakusee-o subete-no sensei-ni  
 Mary-TOP three-GEN student-ACC all-GEN teacher-DAT  
 syookai-s-are-ru-bekida-to omot-tei-ru.  
 introduce-do-PASS-NONPAST-should-REP think-ASP-NONPAST  
 ‘Mary thinks that three students should be introduced to every teacher.’  
 (three > every/\*every > three)  
 (Takano 2003, 807, (51), gloss is mine)
- (25) a. ?John-wa soitui-no<sub>1</sub> hahaoya-no syasin-ga subete-no gakusee<sub>1</sub>-ni  
 John-TOP the.person-GEN mother-GEN picture-NOM all-GEN student-DAT  
 miser-are-ru-bekida-to omot-tei-ru.  
 show-PASS-NONPAST-should-REP think-ASP-NONPAST  
 ‘John thinks that [his or her]<sub>1</sub> mother’s picture should be shown to [every student]<sub>1</sub>.’
- b. \*John-wa soitui-no<sub>1</sub> hahaoya-no syasin-o subete-no gakusee<sub>1</sub>-ni  
 John-TOP the.person-GEN mother-GEN picture-ACC all-GEN student-DAT  
 miser-are-ru-bekida-to omot-tei-ru.  
 show-PASS-NONPAST-should-REP think-ASP-NONPAST  
 Intended ‘John thinks that [his or her]<sub>1</sub> mother’s picture should be shown to [every student]<sub>1</sub>.’  
 (based on Takano 2003, 807-808, (52), gloss is mine)

In these examples, the accusative DP does not allow the reconstructed interpretation that is otherwise licensed by the nominative DP, and to the extent that A-movement reconstructs (Hornstein 1995), the unavailability of such construal supports the base-generation analysis of RTO. Anyway, the decision on which of the base-generation or movement analysis of the accusative DP is more promising cannot be made here, and it is far beyond the scope of this dissertation because there are a lot of semantic/pragmatic factors that both approaches cannot simply explain as they are (see Horn 2008 for his detailed documentation of RTO in Japanese for its semantic/pragmatic constraints). In any case, given the discussion here, Sakamoto’s argument based on RTO is still inconclusive.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>I admit that there are cases where RTO should be regarded as involving movement, which is concerned with the transparency or opaqueness of the referent of the accusative DP. To wit, the accusative DP can be interpreted in the scope of the belief of the matrix subject, i.e. the *de dicto* reading. Takano (2003) observes that only the *de re* interpretation is possible for the accusative DP whereas when an appropriate context is provided, the *de dicto* reading becomes possible as pointed by Horn (2008). However, I am not sure whether such reconstructed construal entails syntactic movement. Suppose in line with Landau (2011) that  $\lambda$ -abstraction creates a predicate from a clause via merging an operator to the left-periphery of the clause as

Turning to Op-movement, it may be that at the semantic component, *soo* will be replaced by the semantic representation of VP's event description. Then, the denotation of *soo* in (26) contains the trace of the moved operator, which is turned into a free variable via the assignment function as shown in (27). Then, the operator will bind this variable unselectively.<sup>8</sup>

- (26)  $[_{PP} \text{Op}_1 \{ [ \text{Taroo-ga } t_1 \text{ yon-da-to } ] / \text{soo} \} \text{Kanako-ni iw-are-tei-ru}$   
           Taro-NOM read-PAST-REP /so Kanako-by say-PASS-ASP-NONPAST  
           yori(mo) ] Hanako-wa takusan ronbun-o yon-dei-ru.  
           than Hanako-Top many paper-Acc read-ASP-NONPAST  
           Lit. 'Hanako read more papers than [OP<sub>1</sub> it is said by Kanako {[that Taro read

in (i). Then, the accusative DP, if it is type of *e*, can be semantically reconstructed.

- (i) DP-Acc  $[_{CP} \text{Op } \lambda x_e [ \dots x \dots ] ]$

Interestingly, Horn (2008) observes that existential assertion of the accusative DP is impossible inside the embedded clause and must be outside the belief operator of the matrix attitude predicates, which I take to mean that existential quantifiers cannot be reconstructed. This can be derived by (i), since the type of the variable triggered by merging the operator and that of the existential quantifier do not match to trigger the semantic reconstruction; that is, (ii).

- (ii)  $\exists\text{-QP}_{\langle\langle e,t \rangle t \rangle} \text{-Acc } [_{CP} \text{Op } \lambda x_e [ \dots x \dots ] ]$

I refrain from any further discussion on this issue since it takes us far afield of the current purpose of this dissertation, but the semantics and pragmatics of RTO are extremely complex as Horn (2008) points out, and only simply assuming that RTO is a case of syntactic A-movement is not sufficient for the validity of what Sakamoto (2016a,b) tries to establish.

In passing, I am aware that some analyses argue that RTO does not have to involve the “raising” part of its derivation. For instance, Hiraiwa (2001) gives (iii) to show that the accusative subject of RTO may stay in situ.

- (iii) John-ga [ mada Mary-{ga/o} kodomo-da-to ] omot-ta.  
       John-NOM still Mary-NOM/ACC child-COP.NONPAST-REP think-PAST  
       'John thought that Mary was still a child.' (Hiraiwa 2001, 72, (11), gloss and transcription are mine)

The embedded adverb *mada* ‘still’ can precede the accusative subject, which according to Hiraiwa (2001), shows that the latter remains in situ. Although HK. Tanaka (2002) questions the grammaticality of (iii), insofar as it is good, we need to consider the validity of the base-generation analysis of RTO. Note however that under our analysis, the RTO complement does not have to be CP since Rep is not C. Thus, if the RTO complement is smaller than CP as Kawai (2006) proposes, (iii) is not problematic for the current analysis. This is because the assignment of an accusative case to the embedded subject itself is possible since there is no CP boundary between the matrix verb and the embedded subject. However, this also needs to be considered carefully with reference to the semantic/pragmatic factors of RTO discussed by Horn (2008).

<sup>8</sup>Note that what I am arguing for is not the LF replacement of an ellipsis site that is syntactically occupied by *pro*, but the interpretation of *soo* itself.

- $t_1$ ]/so }].’ (based on [Sakamoto 2016b](#), 118, (27), gloss is mine)
- (27)  $[[\text{soo}_1]]^{g[1 \rightarrow [[\text{VP} [\text{CP} \dots t_2 \dots] \text{SAY}]]^{g[2 \rightarrow x]}}$

Given this, we do not need syntactic Op-movement.

Finally, concerning QR, although Japanese is a scope rigid language, [Sakamoto \(2016a,b\)](#), building on [Aoyagi \(1994\)](#), gives the following data in (28) based on [Abe \(2012, 70, \(16\)\)](#), where the focused element and the negation seem to interact with each other. According to [Sakamoto](#), the focused DP in (28a) can take the embedded scope or the matrix scope, giving rise to the ambiguity in (29), and this also holds for (28b).

- (28) a. John-wa [ Mary-ga oisii ringo-sae tabe-ta-to ]  
 John-Top Mary-NOM tasty apple-even eat-PAST-REP  
 omot-tei-nai.  
 think-ASP-NEG.COP.NONPAST  
 ‘John does not think that Mary ate even a tasty apple.’
- b. Bill-mo soo omot-tei-nai.  
 Bill-also so think-ASP-NEG.COP.NONPAST  
 ‘Bill also does not think so.’ ([Sakamoto 2016b](#), 114, (15), (16), gloss is mine)
- (29) a. EMBEDDED CONSTRUAL: John does not think that Mary ate a tasty apple in addition to some other things.
- b. MATRIX CONSTRUAL: Even for a tasty apple, John does not have an idea that Mary ate it, in addition to some other ideas about some other things.  
 ([Sakamoto 2016b](#), 114)

Although the judgment may be correct, I am not sure whether the relevant scope ambiguity results from the application of covert QR, which is considered to be absent from the Japanese grammar.<sup>9</sup> In fact, the pertinent matrix construal can be obtained without postulating covert QR. To see this, consider the following English:<sup>10</sup>

- (30) a. POSITIVE CONTEXT  
 John read even Book A.

<sup>9</sup>Scope rigidity in Japanese is discussed by [Hoji \(1985\)](#) and [Kuroda \(1965\)](#) among others. However, under [Bobaljik and Wurmbrand’s \(2012\)](#) formulation of QR, it is still possible to implement covert QR of the embedded object over negation since there is no corresponding overt QR (scrambling) due to negation being right-peripheral and its position being fixed.

<sup>10</sup>The examples and discussion are based on [Nakanishi \(2006\)](#).

- (i)  $\exists x[x \neq \text{Book A} \wedge C(x) \wedge \text{read}(\text{John}, x)]$  and,
  - (ii)  $\forall x[x \neq \text{Book A} \rightarrow \text{likelihood}(\text{John read } x) > \text{likelihood}(\text{John read Book A})]$
- b. NEGATIVE CONTEXT
- John didn't read even Book A.
- (i)  $\exists x[x \neq \text{Book A} \wedge C(x) \wedge \neg(\text{read}(\text{John}, x))]$  and,
  - (ii)  $\forall x[x \neq \text{Book A} \rightarrow \text{likelihood}(\text{John read Book A}) > \text{likelihood}(\text{John read } x)]$

As in (30), the presupposition (or conventional implicature) invoked by *even* is such that there is a set of alternatives  $x$  to the *even* phrase that the given context (C) makes salient, which is then ranked in accordance with the likelihood scale (Karttunen and Peters 1979). Then, *even* picks out the least or near-least likely choice among the set of alternatives in the positive environment as shown in (30a). This presupposition does not survive for the negative context, which is rather surprising given the nature of presupposition. In the negative context (30b), we have to consider the set of alternatives that John did not read, and Book A is the most likely or near-most likely candidate he would have read, but actually he did not. Therefore, the scalar presupposition that is triggered by *even* is reversed under negation.

There are at least two ways to achieve this reversed scalar presupposition. One is that for some reason, *even* scopes over negation (or downward-entailing operators in general) via covert movement. Then, after this movement, *even*'s prejacent clause can be given as (31). Then, the C(ontext) restrictor yields the set of alternative propositions including negation by replacing *Book A* with entities of the same type, hence (32), where we choose the (near-)least likely choice of them just like the positive environment, namely *John didn't read Book A*, and this is virtually equivalent to the (near-)most likely choice of *John read Book A*. In this way, we can get the reversed scalar presupposition.

(31) [ *even* C [ not [John read [Book A]<sub>F</sub> ] ] ] (at LF) (Nakanishi 2006, 289, (3))

(32) { John didn't read Book A, John didn't read Book B, John didn't read Book C, John didn't read Book D, ... }

The other strategy is to adopt the idea that *even* is lexically ambiguous so that it has its

NPI counterpart as argued by Rooth (1985).<sup>11</sup> The NPI *even* then yields the (near-)most likely candidate scale, so that John read Book A is (near-)most likely.

Applying this NPI story to Sakamoto's case, we have the following presupposition in (33).

- (33) John doesn't think that Mary ate even a tasty apple.
- a.  $\exists x[x \neq \text{a tasty apple} \wedge C(x) \wedge \neg(\text{think}(\text{John}, (\text{eat}(\text{Mary}, x)))]$  and,
  - b.  $\forall x[x \neq \text{a tasty apple} \rightarrow \text{likelihood}(\text{John thinks that Mary ate a tasty apple}) > \text{likelihood}(\text{John thinks that Mary ate } x)]$   
(Cf. [ even C [ not [ John thinks that Mary ate [a tasty apple]<sub>F</sub> ] ] ] *à la* covert movement)

Suppose that this presupposition is yielded by the NPI *-sae* but crucially not by covert movement/QR.<sup>12</sup> This will provide for an alternative account of Sakamoto's example without QR, thus giving no evidence for elided structure. Given this analysis, the lower construal will be achieved by using a usual (i.e. non-NPI) *-sae* if we assume that *-sae* can be a non-NPI incarnation even under negation, although it is a little odd to have a tasty apple in the lowest or near-lowest ranking of the likelihood scale of Mary's eating alternatives (unless she does not like apples).<sup>13,14</sup>

<sup>11</sup>I thank Hiroshi Aoyagi for the discussion here.

<sup>12</sup>This rendition of covert movement as QR may not be what Sakamoto intends since it does not involve pied-piping of *a tasty apple*, so we may have:

- (i) [ [ even [a tasty apple]<sub>F</sub> ] C [ not [ John thinks that Mary ate [ even [a tasty apple]<sub>F</sub> ] ] ] ]

This leads to a situation similar to the semantic problem Shibata (2015a,b) is concerned with: we have two distinct copies of the focus trigger *even*; see §4.5.1. Note that overt late-insertion is impossible because movement of *a tasty apple* itself is covert, and if it is covert, we do not know why *even* phonologically appears inside the embedded clause. One possible way to go is to keep (i) and assume that we must selectively delete the higher *a tasty apple* and the lower *even* at LF as in (ii) (cf. *wh*-chain discussed by Chomsky 1993).

- (ii) [ [ even ~~[a tasty apple]<sub>F</sub>~~ ] C [ not [ John thinks that Mary ate [ ~~even~~ [a tasty apple]<sub>F</sub> ] ] ] ]

I do not know how this assumption can be motivated to keep Sakamoto's QR approach. However, the NPI analysis is free from it.

<sup>13</sup>As Hiroshi Aoyagi (p.c.) points out, Abe (2012) uses the adjective *oisii* 'tasty' in lieu of *sinabita* 'wilted' used in the original example of Aoyagi (1994), presumably in order to facilitate the (purported) higher scope reading.

<sup>14</sup>The assumption may however be dispensed with, if we assume that the NPI *-sae* is chosen when it has

In fact, we only see the alleged wide scope relation for negation, and if we look at the focus-propagating property of e.g. *-mo* ‘also’ without negation, it cannot go beyond a (tensed/finite) clause as shown by Aoyagi (1998); consider the continuation from (34) to (35a) and that from (34) to (35b).

- (34) John-wa [ Mary-ga sake-o nom-e-ru-to ]  
 John-TOP Mary-NOM alcohol-ACC drink-POT-NONPAST-REP  
 omot-tei-ru-dake-de-naku, ...  
 think-ASP-NONPAST-only-COP.ADV-NEG.ADV  
 ‘John not only thinks that Mary can drink, but ...’ (Aoyagi 1998, 185, (45))
- (35) a. [ Nancy-ga sasimi-o tabe-rare-ru-to ]-mo  
 Nancy-NOM raw.fish-ACC eat-POT-NONPAST-REP -also  
 sinzi-tei-ru.  
 believe-ASP-NONPAST  
 ‘He also believes that Nancy can eat raw fish.’  
 b. #[ Nancy-ga sasimi-mo tabe-rare-ru-to ] sinzi-tei-ru.  
 Nancy-NOM raw.fish-also eat-POT-NONPAST-REP believe-ASP-NONPAST  
 Intended ‘He also believes that Nancy can eat raw fish.’  
 (Aoyagi 1998, 185-186, (45), translation and judgment are mine)

Aoyagi (1998) observes that *-mo* cannot take scope over the matrix predicate in (35b), and argues that some constraint similar to the one that prohibits the long movement of

a clausemate negation, and that (28a) results from the application from Neg-raising. As in (i), another NPI *nami-mo* ‘anything’, which requires a clausemate negation, is licensed by the matrix negation with *omow-* ‘think’, but this licensing is difficult for *iw-* ‘say’, so *omow-* is a Neg-raising verb.

- (i) John-wa [ Mary-ga nani-mo nusun-da-to ]  
 John-TOP Mary-NOM what-also (=anything) steal-PAST-REP  
 {omot-tei-nai/??iwa-nak-at-ta}.  
 thinkASP-NEG.COP-NONPAST/say-NEG-COP-PAST  
 Lit. ‘John {doesn’t think/??didn’t say} that Mary stole anything.’ (Hiroshi Aoyagi p.c.)

Yet Hiroshi Aoyagi (p.c.) still observes the relevant ambiguity with *iw-* as in (ii).

- (ii) John-wa [ Mary-ga {itiban mazui/oisii} ringo-sae tabe-ta-to ]  
 John-TOP Mary-NOM No.1 bad/tasty apple-even eat-PAST-REP  
 {omot-tei-nai/iwa-nak-at-ta}.  
 thinkASP-NEG.COP-NONPAST/say-NEG-COP-PAST  
 ‘John {doesn’t think/didn’t say} that Mary ate even {the apple that tastes worst/ a tasty apple}.’

So we still assume that *-sae* can be an NPI or a non-NPI under negation.

clitics across finite clauses in Romance languages like Italian is at work here; whatever mechanism hinders it, the impossibility of the wide scope reading is also confirmed by (36), where as in (36b), *-mo* cannot take scope over the matrix dative argument.

- (36) a. Boku-wa Taro-ni [ Hanako-ga piano-o hii-ta-to ] it-ta-si,  
 I-NOM Taro-DAT Hanako-NOM piano-ACC play-PAST-REP say-PAST-and  
 Ziroo-ni [ Hiroko-ga uta-o ut-ta-to ]-**mo** it-ta.  
 Jiro-DAT Hiroko-NOM song-ACC sing-PAST-REP -also say-PAST  
 'I told Taro that Hanako played the piano, and I also told Jiro that Hiroko sang a song.'
- b. #Boku-wa Taro-ni [ Hanako-ga piano-o hii-ta-to ] it-ta-si,  
 I-NOM Taro-DAT Hanako-NOM piano-ACC play-PAST-REP say-PAST-and  
 Ziroo-ni [ Hiroko-ga uta-**mo** ut-ta-to ] it-ta.  
 Jiro-DAT Hiroko-NOM song-also sing-PAST-REP say-PAST  
 Intended 'I told Taro that Hanako played the piano, and I also told Jiro that Hiroko sang a song.'

Given (35) and (36), the alleged covert QR is available only for negation, which is a rather strange state of affairs. Also, for Aoyagi (1998), the way to get the wide scope interpretation of K particles like *-mo* and *-sae* is not covert QR, but covert movement of particles to T at LF. Therefore, it seems rather unmotivated to see the wide scope reading in (29), if real, as a result of covert QR.

The above discussion then allows us to dispense with any syntactic structure from which extraction is launched.

### 7.2.3 Order Restriction Revisited; Binding and Extraction

Now, let us consider why *soo* can appear together with its associated clause as we have seen in (11). As we have seen, *soo* cannot appear in front of the embedded clause, but the former must follow the latter; Sakamoto (2016a,b) gives the following example:

- (37) a. Ziroo-mo [ Hanako-ga uti-ni kaet-ta-to ] soo omot-tei-ru.  
 Jiro-also Hanako-NOM home-to return-PAST-REP so think-ASP-NONPAST  
 Lit. 'Jiro also thinks so, that Hanako returned home.'
- b. \*Ziroo-mo soo [ Hanako-ga uti-ni kaet-ta-to ] omot-tei-ru.  
 Jiro-also so Hanako-NOM home-to return-PAST-REP think-ASP-NONPAST



Intended ‘Jiro also thinks so, that Hanako returned home.’

(Sakamoto 2016a, 36, (67), (68), gloss is mine)

Exploiting this fact, Sakamoto (2016a,b) proposes (21), under which *soo* must appear to the right of the embedded clause due to the head-final property of Japanese syntax.

However, this order restriction is not always the case, contrary to what Sakamoto predicts. Related to this, the adverbial *soo* is the event description of SAY’s VP under our analysis, so that it refers to some context-salient antecedent VP. Without any contexts, *soo* in (37a) refers to the embedded VP as in (38).

(38) [ ... [VP [CP Hanako returned home Rep ] SAY ]<sub>1</sub> *soo*<sub>1</sub> ... ]

So let us see what happens if SAY’s VP and *soo* have different indexes with the *soo*-clause order. Namely, we consider:

(39) [ ... *soo*<sub>2</sub> [VP [CP Hanako returned home Rep ] SAY ]<sub>1</sub> ... ]

To test (39), recall first that an item with Rep can be introduced as an adjunct due to the presence of SAY (also, see Chapter 6). This is illustrated by the following example.<sup>15</sup>

(40) Taroo<sub>1</sub>-wa [S<sub>2</sub> zibun<sub>1</sub>-ga waruk-at-ta-to ] [S<sub>1</sub> *pro* motto doryoku  
Taro-Top self-NOM wrong-COP-PAST-REP more effort  
su-beki-dat-ta-to ] omot-tei-ru.  
do-should-COP-PAST-REP think-ASP-NONPAST  
Lit. ‘Taro<sub>1</sub> thinks that he should have worked harder, with the thought that self<sub>1</sub>  
was wrong.’

In (40), S<sub>1</sub> is the complement clause of *omow*- ‘think’ and S<sub>2</sub> is an adjunct to (the VP headed by) *omow*-. This is evidenced by the island diagnostic with *wh*-adverbs like *naze* ‘why’ or *wh*-pronouns with *ittai* ‘the hell’ (Pesetsky 1987, Watanabe 2003); observe (41). Given this, the structure of (40) will be (42), where VP<sub>2</sub> is the VP complement whereas VP<sub>3</sub> is the adjunct, which involves covert *-te* in Asp (see §2.2.4 in Chapter 2).

(41) a. \*Taroo<sub>1</sub>-wa [S<sub>2</sub> zibun<sub>1</sub>-ga naze waruk-at-ta-to ] [S<sub>1</sub> *pro* motto doryoku  
Taro-Top self-NOM why wrong-COP-PAST-REP more effort

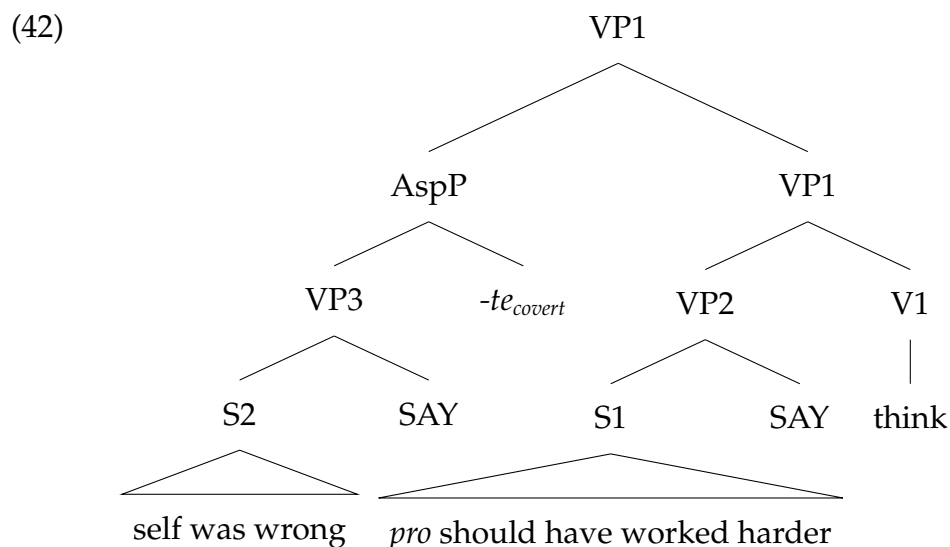
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<sup>15</sup>It is preferable to have a pause after S<sub>2</sub>.



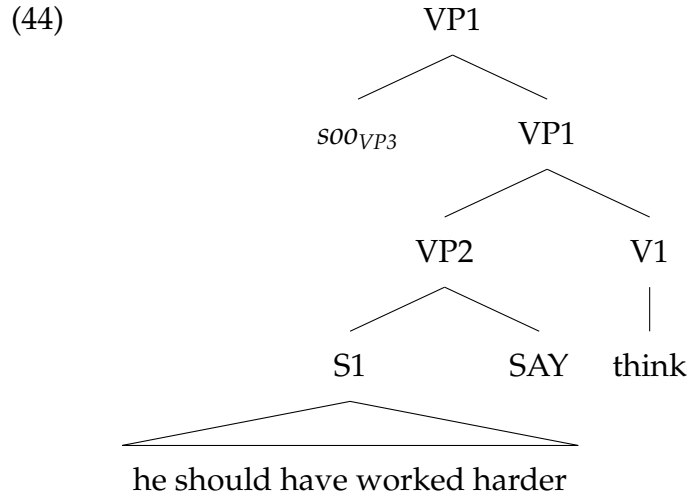
su-beki-dat-ta-to                   ] omot-tei-ru-no.  
do-should-COP-PAST-REP   think-ASP-NONPAST-Q  
Intended ‘What is the reason<sub>2</sub> such that Taro<sub>1</sub> thinks that he should have worked harder, with the thought that self<sub>1</sub> was wrong for it<sub>2</sub>?’

- b. Taroo<sub>1</sub>-wa [<sub>S2</sub> zibun<sub>1</sub>-ga waruk-at-ta-to                   ] [<sub>S1</sub> *pro* ittai    nani-o  
Taro-Top       self-NOM   wrong-COP-PAST-REP                   the.hell what-Acc  
motto doryoku su-beki-dat-ta-to                   ] omot-tei-ru-no.  
more effort   do-should-COP-PAST-REP   think-ASP-NONPAST-Q  
‘What in the hell does Taro<sub>1</sub> think that he should have worked harder for,  
with the thought that self<sub>1</sub> was wrong for it<sub>2</sub>?’

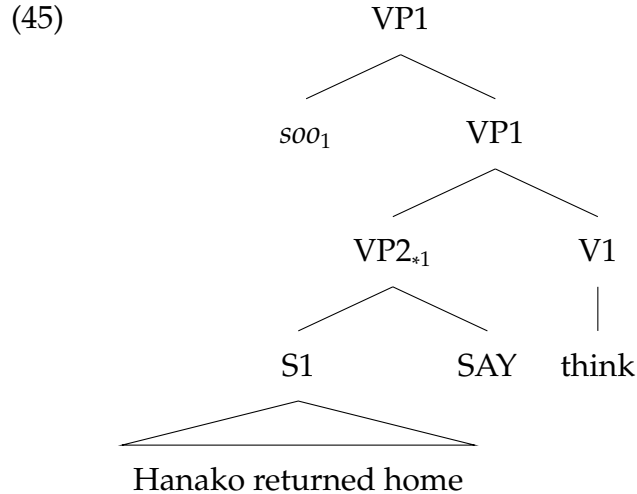


Then, let us consider (43), where *soo* is intended to refer to S2. Given that *soo* refers back to the set of events, the antecedent event (kind) is VP3 in (42). (43) is totally fine with the intended reading, and the structure is (44).

- (43) Ziroo-mo soo<sub>VP3</sub> [<sub>S1</sub> *pro* motto doryoku su-beki-dat-ta-to                   ]  
Jiro-Top so                   more effort   do-should-COP-PAST-REP  
omot-tei-ru.  
think-ASP-NONPAST  
Lit. ‘Jiro<sub>1</sub> also thinks that he should have worked harder (, with the thought that self<sub>1</sub> was wrong).’



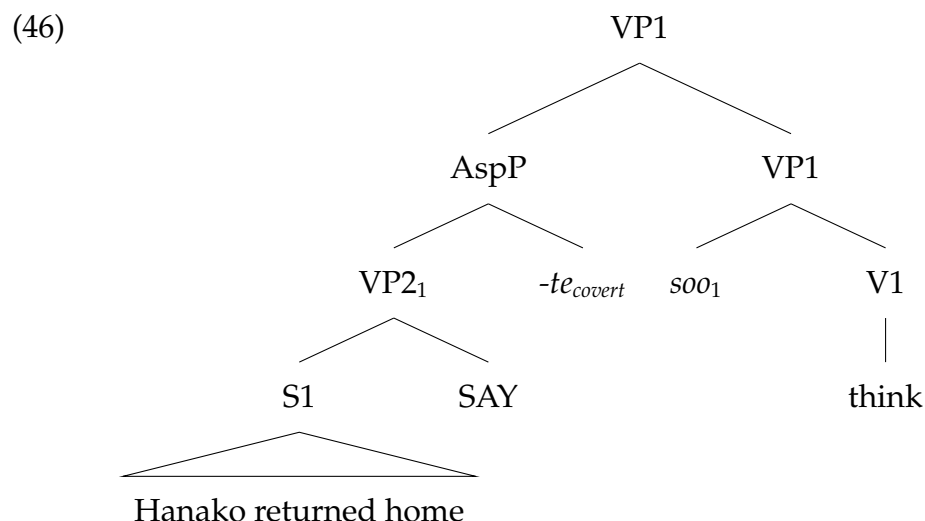
Thus, what is wrong for [Sakamoto](#)'s example is that *s00* refers to the following clause, or more precisely, the VP that introduces that clause. Thus, I suggest that this is a case of Condition C violation like *\*He<sub>1</sub> likes John<sub>1</sub>*, hence:<sup>16</sup>



Then, the possible word order in (37a) indicates that the pertinent coindexation is possible,

<sup>16</sup>One may well ask whether it is plausible to extend the Binding Theory to items other than nominal expressions. I speculate that it is fine to the extent that it is not about the indexing process and the c-command relation that are originally exploited by the Binding Theory but a pragmatic principle as discussed by [Schlenker](#) (2005). This of course needs a detailed discussion on the relevance of [Schlenker](#)'s Binding Theory to the case under question here, and I will leave this issue aside for my future research. Note however that I pretend to assume that the usual c-command relation is of importance to define Condition C simply for the expository sake.

so let us consider (46), where there is no c-command relation between *soo* and VP2, so that this is possible. In this structure, *soo* is the complement to the matrix verb as we have discussed above, and the preceding clause is syntactically an adjunct.



The adjunct status of VP2 in (46) is evidenced by the fact that *naze* is not licensed by the matrix Q-marker as in (47).

- (47) \*Taroo-wa [ Hanako-ga naze uti-ni kaet-ta-to ] soo  
 Taro-Top Hanako-Nom why home-to return-PAST-REP so  
 omot-tei-ru-no.  
 think-ASP-NONPAST-Q  
 Intended ‘What is the reason<sub>1</sub> such that Taro thinks so: Hanako returned home for it<sub>1</sub>?’

However, this fact is not so simple as it seems. Since the island effect in Japanese exhibits the argument-adjunct asymmetry, a usual adjunct island allows a *wh*-argument to be grammatically dependent on the matrix Q-marker. Witness:

- (48) a. Taroo-wa [ Hanako-ga nani-o su-ru ]-mae-ni dekake-ta-no.  
 Taro-Top Hanako-Nom what-Acc do-NONPAST -before-DAT go.out-PAST-Q  
 Lit. ‘What<sub>1</sub> did Taro go out before Hanako did t<sub>1</sub>?’  
 b. \*Taroo-wa [ Hanako-ga naze sore-o su-ru ]-mae-ni  
 Taro-Top Hanako-Nom why it-Acc do-NONPAST -before-DAT

dekake-ta-no.  
 go.out-PAST-Q  
 Intended ‘Why<sub>1</sub> did Taro go out before Hanako did it  $t_1$ ?’

However, the clause followed by *soo* does not allow even an argument to be *wh*-questioned as shown by Sakamoto (2016a); observe (50).

- (49) \*Ziroo-wa [ Hanako-ga nani-o tabe-ta-to ] soo omot-tei-ru-no.  
 Jiro-TOP Hanako-NOM what-ACC eat-PAST-REP so think-ASP-NONPAST-Q  
 Intended ‘What<sub>1</sub> does Jiro think so: Hanako ate  $t_1$ ?’ (based on Sakamoto 2016a, 63, (111))

This ungrammaticality is somewhat surprising given that Japanese allows a *wh*-argument not to obey the adjunct island effect. If, however, *soo* has a different referent, the usual argument-adjunct asymmetry is resurrected.

- (50) a. Taroo-wa [ nani-o nomi-sugi-ta-to ] [ kinoo-no zibun-ga  
 Taro-TOP what-ACC drink-exceed-PAST-REP yesterday-GEN self-NOM  
 baka-dat-ta-to ] omot-tei-ru-no.  
 stupid-COP-PAST-REP think-ASP-NONPAST-Q  
 Lit. ‘What<sub>1</sub> does Taro think that yesterday’s self was stupid, with the thought that he drank  $t_1$  too much?’  
 b. Ziroo-mo [ nani-o nomi-sugi-ta-to ] soo omot-tei-ru-no.  
 Jiro-TOP what-ACC drink-exceed-PAST-REP so think-ASP-NONPAST-Q  
 Lit. ‘What<sub>1</sub> does Jiro also think so, with the thought that he drank  $t_1$  too much?’

However, *naze* ‘why’ is not possible anyway as shown in (51).

- (51) a. \*Taroo-wa [ wain-o naze nomi-sugi-ta-to ] [ kinoo-no  
 Taro-TOP wine-ACC why drink-exceed-PAST-REP yesterday-GEN  
 zibun-ga baka-dat-ta-to ] omot-tei-ru-no.  
 self-NOM stupid-COP-PAST-REP think-ASP-NONPAST-Q  
 Intended ‘What is the reason<sub>1</sub> such that Taro thinks that yesterday’s self was stupid, with the thought that he drank wine for it<sub>1</sub> too much?’  
 b. \*Ziroo-mo [ wain-o naze nomi-sugi-ta-to ] soo  
 Jiro-TOP wine-ACC naze drink-exceed-PAST-REP so

omot-tei-ru-no.

think-ASP-NONPAST-Q

Intended ‘What is the reason<sub>1</sub> such that Jiro also thinks so, with the thought that he drank wine for it<sub>1</sub> too much?’

I thus conjecture that the badness of (49) is due to some other factor in addition to the usual adjunct island effect. Although I have no conclusive answer to this issue, I suggest that the answer lies in semantics. Note that in (49), (the VP that covertly introduces) the clause functions as the antecedent for *soo*. In this sense, it should be regarded as informationally given/old. Thus, it can be said that it is semantically subordinate in the sense of [Erteschik-Shir \(1973\)](#), who argues that extraction is possible only from the semantically dominant domain (roughly speaking, the asserted domain, hence neither presupposed nor referential in a given discourse). Therefore, if such a constraint is lifted as in (50b), long-distance *wh*-dependency becomes possible to the extent that the relevant argument-adjunct asymmetry in Japanese is observed.

#### 7.2.4 Interim Summary

In this section, I proposed that the *pro*-form of *soo* for quotative complementation is actually an adverb that modifies the matrix attitude verb, and *soo*’s interpretation is determined by the antecedent event kind of VP that is headed by SAY. Therefore, contra [Funakoshi \(2014\)](#) and [Sakamoto \(2016a,b\)](#), there is no elliptic structure involved. I showed that the extraction data [Sakamoto](#) gives are also able to be coped with even if we have no actual syntactic extraction. Also, the order restriction between the embedded clause and *soo* is not absolute, and the reversed order becomes possible when suitable interpretations are provided.

### 7.3 Consequence #2: On the Nature of Adjunct Clause via SAY

As we have seen, clauses with Rep can behave like an adjunct. The current analysis easily accommodates this fact, for we have covert SAY that heads VP, and it adjoins to the main VP in tandem with the covert or overt *te*-form.

- In (52), the clause with Rep modifies the manner Mr./Ms. Sato rushed out of home. More precisely, the event of Mr./Ms. Sato's rushing out of home expresses the situation where s/he might be late. We can also have a lexical attitude verb as in (53).

- Given this, one may conjecture that (52) is derived by having an invisible verb. Fujita (2000) and Tsujimoto (2014) however explicitly argue against this analysis, mainly based on descriptive grounds, whereas Oshima (2013) argues, like us, that there is an invisible verb involved even in the cases like (52), and he assumes that the relevant verb is lexical and deleted by ellipsis. However, note that what they debate about is whether (52) is derived via ellipsis of *lexical* verbs like *iw-* ‘say’ or *omow-* ‘think’.

Given that embedded clauses with Rep introduced as the VP-complementation structure, we can postulate two possible structures: that is, one with only covert SAY (54a) and the other with both covert SAY plus a deleted lexical verb (54b). Both involves a silent *te*-form in Asp. Crucially, the adjunct AspP in (54a) does not constitute a VP-complementation configuration, and nothing has to be elided, still deriving (52).

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In claiming that the relevant adjunct clause cannot be derived by eliding verbs, Fujita (2000) observes that predicate ellipsis is possible only when there is an appropriate antecedent expression e.g. as in (55), where we have clausal coordination with the same verb in each conjunct.

- (55) a. Taroo-wa hon-o \*({yomi/yon-de}), Ziroo-wa yuuhan-o tabe-ta.  
Taro-Top book-Acc read.ADV/read-TE Jiro-Top dinner-Acc eat-PAST  
'Taro read a book, and Jiro ate dinner.'
- b. Taroo-wa hon-o ({yomi/yon-de}), Ziroo-wa manga-o yon-da.  
Taro-Top book-Acc read.ADV/read-TE Jiro-Top comic-Acc read-PAST  
'Taro read a book, and Jiro read a comic.'

Based on the contrast like (55), Fujita (2000) observes that constructions like (52) are productive whereas cases such as (55) are subjected to the identity requirement of predicates in each conjunct. Thus, the former cannot be derived by eliding the verb. However, this argument is valid insofar as (54b) is concerned, so this does not exclude (54a).

Another argument against invisible/deleted verbs is concerned with the valency. The nominative subject in (56a) and the dative object in (56b) are intended to be the arguments of the (invisible) verb, but such arguments are not allowed unless we have the lexical verb overtly (Fujita 2000, Oshima 2013, Tsujimoto 2014).

- (56) a. Syuzin-ga omatidoosama-to \*(it-te), soba-ga ok-are-ta.  
manager-NOM here.you.are-REP say-TE soba-NOM serve-PASS-PAST  
'A bowl of soba noodle was served, with the restaurant manager saying,  
"Here you are."
- b. *pro* kyoo-wa atui-ne-to boku-ni \*(it-te),  
today-Top hot.COP.NONPAST-SFP-REP I-DAT say-TE  
reeboo-o kake-ta.  
air.conditioner-Acc turn.on-PAST  
'He turned on the air conditioner, saying to me, "It is hot today."'
- (Tsujimoto 2014, (54)183, (31a), (32))

In discussing (56), Tsujimoto (2014) assumes that the verb, when invisible, is deleted via ellipsis just like Fujita (2000). Thus, he presupposes that it is lexical, since he gives it with the relevant Chinese character. Then, he goes on to argue that the impossibility of the nominative subject and the dative indirect object is problematic if there is a hidden verb.

I admit that (56) sounds ungrammatical with the verb covert, but I also point out that our grammaticalized SAY, even if it is overt, is ungrammatical with e.g. a dative indirect object as shown in (57).<sup>17</sup>

- (57) Ishi-ga dosun-to (\*boku-ni) it-te oti-ta.  
 stone-NOM ONOM-REP I-DAT SAY-REP fall-PAST  
 ‘A stone fell with a thud.’

If suppression of the argument structure is a case of semantic bleaching, which is one of the hallmarks of grammaticalization (Bybee and Pagliuca 1985 among others), then we can understand the impossibility of the dative argument in (57) in terms of that of addition of the applicative head to the grammaticalized verb.

Then, since covert SAY does not presuppose sound-orientation, (58) is felicitous even in the context where there is no utterance corresponding to “Go to the left,” and the speaker of (58) is just describing the manner of a security guard waving his hand to the left.<sup>18</sup>

- (58) Keebiin-ga hidari-e ik-e-to te-o fut-ta.  
 guard-NOM left-to go-IMP-REP hand-ACC wave-PAST  
 ‘A security guard waved us to the left.’

Notice that (58) cannot be derived by eliding lexical *iw*- ‘say’, for there is no linguistic utterance. On the other hand, SAY provides a simple explanation to it.

Also relevant to the current discussion is the crosslinguistic tendency that those language that have the non-canonical use of ‘say’ as the quote marker/complementizer also have adjuncts introduced by such a verb. For instance, we see this state of affairs in Turkic languages like Sakha and North Mongolian as shown in (59a) and (59b), respectively.

- (59) a. Masha ehigi kel-iex-xit dien djie-ni xomuj-da.  
 Masha you come-FUT-2sS that house-ACC tidy-PAST.3sS

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<sup>17</sup>Also, see §6.3 in Chapter 6.

<sup>18</sup>As expected, SAY becomes overt in AQC, even though there is no linguistic utterance.

- (i) hidari-ni ik-e-to-iw zyesutyaa  
 left-to go-IMP-REP-SAY.ADN gesture  
 ‘gesture that means “Go to the left”



‘Masha tidied up the house (thinking) that you would come.’ (Baker 2011, 1170, (8b))

- b. Xosuu ixē džargal naer bol-dž,                      nojon-to      bol-dž  
 Xosuu big joy      feast become-PAST.3 master-PROP become-PAST.3  
 ge-dž.  
 say-IPF.CVB  
 ‘It was a big joyous feast of Xosuu, because they have got a master.’ (Matić and Pakendorf 2013, 376, (22))

To recap, postulating SAY for adjunct clauses in Japanese is not problematic for the data Fujita (2000) and Tsujimoto (2014) present, and makes the adverbial modification straightforward by combining two sets of events under the event semantics.

## 7.4 Consequence #3: Hearsay in Spanish and Japanese

In discussing the quote construction in Japanese, M. Saito (2010) argues for the parallelism between (Iberian) Spanish and Japanese regarding the ability to embed interrogative and imperative sentences, crediting his observation to Plann (1982) and Rivero (1994).

- (60) a. Te preguntan que para qué quieres el préstamo.  
 you ask.3PL QUE for what want.2SG the loan  
 ‘They ask you what you want the loan for.’ (M. Saito 2010, 5, (14a))
- b. Dijo que a no molestarle.  
 said.3SG QUE to not bother.him  
 ‘He said not to bother him.’ (M. Saito 2010, 8, (23a))

Given (60), *que* in Spanish seems like Rep in Japanese, and M. Saito (2010) claims that Rep and *que* are both the reporting C. Although this seems plausible at face value, I do not share his appraisal of the situation.

First of all, for M. Saito (2010), *que* is ambiguous between a propositional and reporting C. However, there is one clear difference between these two. Etxepare (2010) argues that finite clauses headed by *que* are specified negatively for number information. Therefore, even if they are coordinated, they only trigger singular agreement as in (61a). In contrast, when the “saying” event reading is involved, which is obvious due to the meaning of the matrix predicate ‘resound’, it must trigger plural agreement as in (61b).

- (61) a. Que la lasaña estaba buena y que los tortellinis estaban  
that the lasagne was good and that the tortellinis were  
extraordinarios {era/\*eran} evidente(\*s).  
extraordinary was/were evident(PL)  
‘That the lasagne was good and that the tortellinis were extraordinary was/  
\*were evident.’
- b. Que la lasaña estaba buena y que los postre estaba extraordinario  
that the lasagne was good and that the dessert was extraordinary  
resonaron en todo el restaurante.  
resounded.PL in all the restaurant  
‘The saying that the lasagne was good and that the dessert was extraordinary  
resounded in the whole restaurant.’

(Etxepare 2010, 620, (58), (59))

In this connection, *que* that embeds imperatives (or subjunctives, more precisely) also triggers plural agreement as in (62).

- (62) Que no le molestaran y que hicieran su propio trabajo resonaron en  
that not him bother and that do your own task resounded.PL in  
todo el oficina.  
all the office  
Lit. ‘The saying that don’t bother.IMP him and that do.IMP your own task re-  
sounded in the whole restaurant.’

Therefore, what M. Saito (2010) argues to be ambiguous to be a quotative or propositional C is syntactically different. Of course, we can assume that *que* for quotation and *que* for proposition occupy syntactically different loci, say, Rep for the former and Force in the split CP system (Rizzi 1997). This follows from M. Saito’s (2010) analysis since he also advocates the articulated CP structure in Japanese. However, for him, *que* belongs to the CP system anyway. Therefore, we have to explain why Rep and Force behave differently for number agreement even if they constitute part of the CP system.

Pertinent to the current discussion, Etxepare (2010), following the insights from Lahiri (2002), proposes that quotative *que* is in fact a clausal determiner, taking a Small Clause (SC) as shown in (63), where the SC is headed by Relator in the sense of den Dikken (2006).

- (63) [<sub>DP</sub> *que* [<sub>RelP=SC</sub> ForceP [<sub>Rel'</sub> Rel(ator) [ Quotative Predicate ] ] ]

(Etxepare 2010, 619, (54))

In (63), the quoted clause (i.e. Force Phrase) resides in Spec-RelP, constituting a predication relation with what Etxepare calls Quotative Predicate in the form of SC. Roughly speaking, Quotative Predicate means "being an utterance", and the function of the Relator head is to take two arguments (ForceP and the Quotative Predicate), giving rise to the interpretation that ForceP is an utterance. Therefore, in this SC schema, ForceP is the subject. The function of *que* is then to restrict the utterance contextually and make the relevant saying event anaphoric. This derives the fact that the quotative *que* is always definite, which requires the utterance to be contextually given, or the speech evidentiality to be traceable (Etxepare 2010, 613). Also, notice that the DP structure in (63) can now account for the agreement fact above. That is, since clauses introduced by *que* in (61b) and (62) are endowed with the DP structure, it triggers the number agreement. Given (63), even in Spanish, there is a hidden quotative predicate.

Then, what is relevant for our discussion on the report syntax in Japanese is that even in Spanish, there is a hidden quotative predicate. The analysis Etxepare (2010) gives is not completely compatible with ours for Japanese, for we do not utilize the DP structure. Nevertheless, there is one construction where Japanese and Spanish seem similar to each other; That is, both *que* and the colloquial version of *to*, i.e. *tte*, can be used in the matrix context as the hearsay marker as shown in (64a) and (64b), respectively.<sup>19</sup>

- (64) a. Oye, que el Barça ha ganado la Champions.  
listen that the Barça has won the Champions.League  
'Listen, (as I was told) Barça won the Champions League.' (Etxepare 2010, 604, (1b), translation is mine)
- b. Asita Taroo-ga ku-ru-{tte/\*to}.  
tomorrow Taro-NOM come-NONPAST-REP  
'(As I was told,) Taro will come tomorrow.'

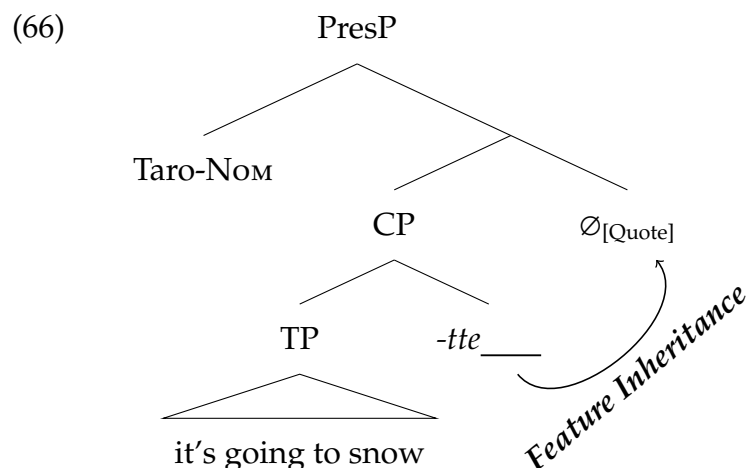
If *que* and *tte* are both elements that introduces embedded clauses, (64) constitutes a puzzling fact. However, Hirose and Nawata (2016) propose that the quoted clause is

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<sup>19</sup>To be fair, Etxepare (2010) does not argue that (64a) is a case of hearsay evidentiality, since it shows a number of properties that typical hearsay sentences does not exhibit crosslinguistically, which is due to his DP structure. However, this point is irrelevant to the current discussion on Japanese, so I abstract away from his argument on it, simply assuming that (64a) constitutes a case of hearsay evidentiality.

selected by a functional head (Rres) that is responsible for the illocutionary force of presentation, projecting RresP, and this is responsible for the hearsay construal. Also, *tte* has a verbal feature that Hirose and Nawata (2016) term [QUOTE], and this feature is inherited by Pres, which thus becomes verbal. After this feature inheritance, *tte* becomes a “pure” C since it is deprived of the relevant feature. This much said, they propose that (65) is structured as in (66).

- (65) Taroo-ga yuki-ni nar-u-daroo-tte.  
 Taro-NOM snow-DAT become-NONPAST-MOD-REP  
 ‘According to Taro, it’s going to snow.’ (Hirose and Nawata 2016, 17, (34), gloss is mine)



(based on Hirose and Nawata 2016, 18, (35))

The status of *tte* being verbal is supported by the contrast in (67). As discussed in §6.3 in Chapter 6, Appositive Quote Construction (AQC)/complex NP must have SAY overlying as in (67a) while SAY becomes optional with *tte* as in (67b).

- (67) a. Taroo-ga bengosi-da-to                    \*(iw)    hanasi  
 Taro-NOM lawyer-COP.NONPAST-REP    say.ADN story  
 ‘the story that Taro is a lawyer’  
 b. Taroo-ga bengosi-da-tte                    (iw)    hanasi  
 Taro-NOM lawyer-COP.NONPAST-REP    say.ADN story  
 ‘the story that Taro is a lawyer’

This means that in addition to being colloquial, *tte* is also different from *to* in terms of the

grammar. Hirose and Nawata (2016) thus argue that *tte*, unlike *to*, has a verbal feature, [QUOTE].<sup>20</sup> According to them, this feature contributes to C-selection, by which the matrix attitude predicate embeds a quoted clause, so it is inherited by the matrix predicate. I do not share this perspective with them, but the idea that *tte* is verbal is compatible with my assumption given in §6.3 in Chapter 6. Namely, Rep can be spelled out as *tte* only when Rep appears with SAY, whether it may be overt or covert. Also, I assume that SAY in the adnominal form becomes optional with this verbal *tte*.

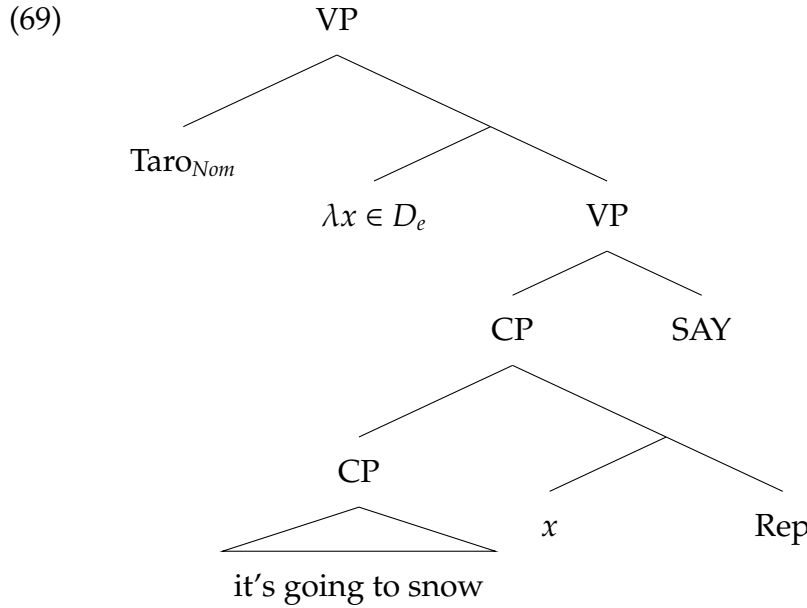
Then, what is interesting about (65) is that it can take the nominative subject *Taroo-ga*, and Hirose and Nawata (2016) claim that it is introduced by PresP. Under our analysis, the invisible verb is not Pres but covert SAY. However, SAY, being grammaticalized, cannot take an argument as discussed in §7.3. Thus, the nominative subject cannot be introduced by SAY. Therefore, the syntactic status of the nominative subject in (65) cannot be the same as that in (68), where the matrix verb is lexical *iw-* ‘say’, so this verb introduces an external argument.

- (68) Taroo-ga [ yuki-ni nar-u-daroo-tte ] it-ta.  
 Taro-Nom snow-DAT become-NONPAST-MOD-REP say-PAST  
 ‘Taro said that it was going to snow.’

Given this, I suggest that as in (69), the nominative subject adjoins to VP headed by SAY, binding the  $\lambda$ -abstracted variable of the utterance source argument that Rep takes.<sup>21</sup> This derives the “according to” interpretation observed by Hirose and Nawata (2016).

<sup>20</sup>This [QUOTE]-feature has nothing to do with the [*i/u*QUOTE]-feature I have recourse to in order to apply Agree(SAY,Rep).

<sup>21</sup>In Chapter 8, I propose that Rep is a quote-shifting functor in the sense of Potts (2007a), and it is a function from an utterance *u* to an utterance source argument *e* to the cartesian product type of  $\sigma \times t$ . The pertinent utterance source argument is only for semantics with no syntactic or phonological correlate.



I will not concern myself with the rest of the structure above (69); it will have not only TP but also CP that encodes what Hirose and Nawata (2016) call the presentational illocutionary force. Then, it is nothing wrong for the nominative subject to adjoin to TP or be base-generated in some specifier in the CP system. For instance, the pertinent hearsay construction is compatible with speech-act particles such as *-yo*, which by and large means “I’m telling you” (Tenny 2006, 248). If such particles are generated inside the speech-act projection as Tenny (2006) proposes, which is higher than TP and CP, then (70) entails the presence of TP and CP. Since SAY is covert, its tense marker, if any, is also covert; otherwise the tense marker would be stranded, or it should suffix to Rep, which is however impossible.

- (70) Taroo-ga gakkoo-ni iki-taku-nai-tte-yo.  
 Taro-NOM school-to go-want.ADV-NEG.COP.NONPAST-REP-SFP  
 ‘I’m telling you that Taro does not want to go to school.’

Then, one support for the current analysis of the hearsay construction in Japanese is that we can have event-modifying PP adverbs as shown in (71a), which parallels with quotative *que* in (71b).

- (71) a. Naa, NHK-de Toranpu-ga Abe-ni aw-tte.  
 hey NHK-in Trump-NOM Abe-DAT see.NONPAST-REP  
 ‘Hey, in the NHK, there’s this saying that President Trump will see Prime Minister Abe.’
- b. Oye, en la CNN que Bush va a atacar Irán.  
 hey in the CNN that Bush goes to attack Iran  
 ‘Hey, in the CNN, there’s this saying that Bush is going to attack Iran.’ (Etxepare 2010, 620, (57))

Etxepare (2010) argues that the PP in (71b) can only be construed as modifying the underlying saying event. Then, Japanese is the same in this respect: the PP in (71a) modifies SAY.

To recap, Rep in Japanese and quotative *que* are similar, but not in M. Saito’s (2010) sense. They rather constitute another support to the current analysis that Rep is obligatorily associated with SAY. Although the Spanish report construction is structurally different from that of Japanese in that the former employs the SC schema (insofar as Etxepare 2010 is on the right track), both languages involve an invisible quotative predicate.<sup>22</sup> Then, to capture the fact that *que* and Rep as *tte* can be used in the matrix context, M. Saito (2010) also needs to assume some null verb.

## 7.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have discussed three consequences of the proposed analysis in terms of invisible SAY. By having SAY in the quote syntax in Japanese, we can explain why its *pro*-

<sup>22</sup>One can imagine that SAY in Japanese is nominalized, and cases like (64b) have Etxepare’s (2010) DP structure. Even if so, the overall analysis presented here will not be affected, but if it is nominalized, (65) may be expected to allow the nominative DP to optionally bear a genitive case, which is however not the case.

- (i) Taroo-{ga/\*no} yuki-ni nar-u-daroo-tte.  
 Taro-NOM/GEN snow-DAT become-NONPAST-MOD-REP  
 ‘According to Taro, it’s going to snow.’

Note that the nominal context is necessary but it is not a sufficient condition for Nominative-Genitive Conversion (see Hiraiwa 2005). However, there is no strong motivation for me to assume the DP structure for Japanese at this point, so I will not try to apply (63) to Japanese, although I believe that Etxepare’s DP analysis can be carried over to the relevant Japanese data here.

form is adverbial *soo*, together with its related issues like *soo*'s cooccurrence with an overt embedded clause. The proposed analysis not only explains the data [Funakoshi \(2014\)](#) and [Sakamoto \(2016a,b\)](#) discuss but also overcomes empirical/theoretical challenges their analyses may suffer. Then, we studied adjunct clauses suffixed by Rep. I argued that they also involve covert SAY, which patterns with other languages where 'say' is used as C. Though Japanese's SAY is not C, that the quote construction has invisible SAY is not an outlandish idea given this crosslinguistic trend. Lastly, we investigated the hearsay construction in Japanese in comparison with that in Spanish, and I argued following [Etxepare \(2010\)](#) that it also has invisible SAY.



# Chapter 8

## Semantics of Rep and SAY

### 8.1 Introduction

For the last topic of this dissertation, this chapter will investigate the semantic properties of Rep and SAY. In Chapter 4, we saw that Rep is syntactically best analyzed as an Adjunct Clitic (AC) that adjoins to any category of clausal spine. Since Rep enjoys this wide range of distribution, its semantics should also be flexible enough to accommodate it. Specifically, since Rep introduces subclausal quotation (Maier 2008, 2014, to appear, Potts 2007a), its input should be any semantic type that will syntactically fit into a given position in the structure.

To achieve an appropriate semantics for Rep, I will argue that it contributes to two-dimensional semantics in the sense of Potts (2007a). Namely, on one hand, an element that Rep is adjoined to denotes its usual semantic type. Suppose that Rep is adjoined to VP. Then, its semantic type is  $\langle s, t \rangle$ , a set of events, and this is computed in a usual compositional-semantics way. On the other hand, such reported VP is a natural language object that is uttered by someone. This utterance relation is also brought about by Rep, so we have two meanings in one sentence (Bach 1999, Potts 2007a). This comes, as Potts (2007a) proposes, in the form of (cartesian) product type (Partee et al. 1990, Potts 2007a), which is an ordered pair composed of an element  $\alpha \in A$  and an element  $\beta \in B$ , hence  $A \times B$ . This semantics of Rep will nicely match the syntactic account of subclausal quotation, and motivates invisible SAY.

This chapter is organized as follows. In Section 8.2, I will explain the ingredients of

Potts's (2007a) quote semantics that are necessary for Rep in Japanese. In Section 8.3, I will then argue that Rep is Potts's quote-shifting functor, giving its application in the context of embedded imperatives. I will also show that SAY is also semantically motivated due to the semantic composition between SAY and an item with Rep. Then, in Section 8.4, we will discuss two relevant issues of the proposed semantics of Rep and SAY: (i) the nature of conventional implicature and the semantics of SAY, and (ii) the semantics of head movement and QDR. There, I will show that the two-dimensional semantics of Rep becomes one-dimensional because of the semantics of SAY, and that head movement never feeds into QDR. Section 8.5 concludes.

## 8.2 Potts (2007a): Semantics of Subclausal Quotation

In sentences with subclausal quotation like (1), the quoted expressions not only refer to the linguistic objects encapsulated in "... " but also contribute to usual quotation-free semantics. However, since the phrasing of "[eɪ]pricots" and that of "[æ]pricots" are endowed with two contrasting entailments, the issue must be semantic as Potts (2007a) argues. For example, for (1a), we have dual semantics, intuitively speaking, and it is put in something like (2).

- (1) a. When in Santa Cruz, Peter orders "[eɪ]pricots" at the local market.  
b. When in Amherst, Peter orders "[æ]pricots" at the local market.  
(Potts 2007a, 405, (1))
- (2) a. *Regular meaning*: Peter orders apricots at the local market when in Santa Cruz.  
b. *Speech-report meaning*: Peter utters "[eɪ]pricots" while in Santa Cruz.  
(Potts 2007a, 406, (2))

The speech-report meaning in (2b) is the contrastive feature against (1b). According to Potts (2007a), (2b) is formalized in terms of the utterance relation that connects a quoted expression and its source, that is, the utterer. This then adds a new type, *utterance type*: *u*, to our model-theoretic interpretations of the quote semantics. But before we talk about the utterance relation, we need to clarify what is the utterance.

Since we are dealing with natural language (linguistic) objects, we first need to define what they are like. Here, I simply follow Potts (2007a), assuming that they are tuples of

phonological ( $\Pi$ ), syntactic ( $\Sigma$ ) and semantic representations ( $\alpha : \sigma$ ) in the form of  $\langle \Pi ; \Sigma ; \alpha : \sigma \rangle$ . Given this, *Taro* and *aruk*- ‘walk’ will have the representations in (3a) and (3b) under the categorial grammar conception, (3b) being with the subscript slash by Jacobson (1999, 2000). Then, the grammar combines these two as in (4).

- (3) a.  $\langle [\text{taro}] ; \text{NP} ; \mathbf{taro} : e \rangle$   
 b.  $\langle [\text{aruk}] ; \text{S}/_L\text{NP} ; \mathbf{walk} : \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$
- (4)  $\langle [\text{taro aruk}] ; \text{S} ; \mathbf{walk}(\mathbf{taro}) : t \rangle$
- 

Given this notion of linguistic objects, we can formalize the utterance as in (5).<sup>1</sup>

- (5) If  $P = \langle \Pi ; \Sigma ; \alpha : \sigma \rangle$  is well-formed, then  $\langle \Pi ; \Sigma ; [\langle \Pi ; \Sigma ; \alpha : \sigma \rangle] : u \rangle$  is well-formed.

(Potts 2007a, 408, v)

Potts (2007a) states that (5) can be considered to be a semantic quotation function, which takes any well-formed expression generated by the grammar and turns it into type of  $u$ . This definition itself only cares about well-formed expressions. Although purely direct quotation can quote nonsense/gibberish expressions, subclausal quotation must have quoted expressions syntactically well-formed (Maier to appear). I thus take it for granted that (5) is satisfactory for our purpose.

Then, since  $u$  is now in the stock of our semantics in addition to  $e$ ,  $\langle e, t \rangle$ ,  $\langle \langle e, t \rangle, t \rangle$  and so forth, we can make an ordered pair whose members are the utterance itself  $u$  and the utterer  $e$ . The utterance relation is thus defined as in (6), where it is the collection of all such ordered pairs of  $u$  and  $e$  in a world  $w$ .  $S$  in (6) refers to some quoted linguistic object. As is obvious from (6), the utterance relation is proportional, which corresponds to the intuition given in (2b).

<sup>1</sup>In what follows, I will use [...] as (semantic) quotation marks following Maier (2008, 2014, to appear) and Potts (2007a).

- (6) a. **utter** :  $\langle u, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$   
b.  $\llbracket \text{utter}(\llbracket S \rrbracket)(\mathbf{b}) \rrbracket$  = the set of worlds where  $\llbracket \mathbf{b} \rrbracket$  utters  $\llbracket S \rrbracket$   
(Potts 2007a, 411, (14))

To see how (6) works, before going into the details of subclausal-quote semantics, let us consider a bit simpler case of quotation, i.e. direct quote cases like (7). Again, (7a) has two semantic contributions: one is of speech-report meaning, and the other is of the content of the quote, which is quote-free *Lisa said Homer is bald*. Consider first the speech-report contribution given in (7b).

- (7) a. Lisa said, “Homer is bald.”  
b.  $w \in \llbracket \text{utter} \rrbracket (\llbracket \llbracket \langle [\text{h} \text{O} \text{M} \text{E} \text{R} \text{ I} \text{Z} \text{ b} \text{A} \text{I} \text{D}] ; S ; \text{bald}(\text{homer}) : t \rangle \rrbracket \rrbracket) (\llbracket \text{Lisa} \rrbracket)$

The interpretation function  $\llbracket . \rrbracket$  acts on the quote of type  $u$ , simply giving the utterance tuple of  $\llbracket \langle [\text{h} \text{O} \text{M} \text{E} \text{R} \text{ I} \text{Z} \text{ b} \text{A} \text{I} \text{D}] ; S ; \text{bald}(\text{homer}) : t \rangle \rrbracket$ . In what follows, I will use  $\llbracket \text{Homer is bald} \rrbracket$  as the abbreviation to represent this utterance tuple for brevity’s sake (Potts 2007a, 410). Concomitantly,  $\llbracket \text{Lisa} \rrbracket$  = Lisa, so we reach (8).<sup>2</sup>

- (8) a.  $w \in \llbracket \text{utter} \rrbracket (\llbracket \text{Homer is bald} \rrbracket)(\text{Lisa})$   
b.  $\llbracket (7a) \rrbracket$  = the set of worlds where Lisa uttered “Homer is bald”

Turning to the content of the quote which Potts (2007a) calls *the attitude dimension*, this is obtained with a standard semantic tool for the propositional attitude verb *say*.

- (9) a. **say** :  $\langle t, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$   
b.  $\llbracket \text{say}(\mathbf{p})(\mathbf{b}) \rrbracket$  = the set of worlds  $w$  in which every utterance world  $w'$  for  $\llbracket \mathbf{b} \rrbracket$  in  $w$  is such that  $w' \in \llbracket \mathbf{p} \rrbracket$   
(Potts 2007a, 414, (20))

To make (9) go through, however, we need to access the semantic representations of the utterance tuple in (7b) to get the right input to (9b). Potts (2007a) proposes that this is done by a functor termed *SEM*, which takes the utterance type  $u$ , giving back its semantic representations as in (10). Then, applying the interpretation function to the output of *SEM*, we get (11). With the two steps in (10) and (11) wrapped in one step, we get (12).

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<sup>2</sup>I ignore the semantics of tense, assuming that it is already given in the semantic denotations.

- (10)  $SEM \llbracket \text{Homer is bald} \rrbracket = \mathbf{bald}(\mathbf{homer})$
- (11)  $\llbracket \mathbf{bald}(\mathbf{homer}) \rrbracket =$  the set of worlds in which Homer is bald (Potts 2007a, 414, (22b))
- (12)  $SEM \llbracket \text{Homer is bald} \rrbracket =$  the set of worlds in which Homer is bald  
(Potts 2007a, 414, (22c))

The output of (12) feeds into (9b), so that we eventually reach the attitude dimension given in (13).

- (13)  $\llbracket \mathbf{say}(\llbracket (12) \rrbracket)(\llbracket \mathbf{Lisa} \rrbracket) \rrbracket =$  the set of worlds  $w$  in which every utterance world  $w'$  for Lisa in  $w$  is such that Homer is bald in  $w'$

Therefore, we now have the formal language to talk about the two-dimensional semantics, that is, (7b) for the speech-report contribution, and (13) for the regular semantic contribution.

Then, Potts (2007a) proposes that the quote-taking verbs like *say* in (7a), represented as  $\mathbf{say}_q$ , are specified as in (14), so it is distinguished from the propositional attitude operator  $\mathbf{say}$  in (9).<sup>3</sup>

$$(14) \quad \llbracket \mathbf{say}_q(\llbracket \text{S} \rrbracket)(\llbracket \mathbf{b} \rrbracket) \rrbracket = \left\langle \begin{array}{c} \llbracket \mathbf{say}_q(\llbracket SEM(\llbracket \text{S} \rrbracket) \rrbracket)(\llbracket \mathbf{b} \rrbracket) \rrbracket \\ \llbracket \mathbf{utter}(\text{S})(\mathbf{b}) \rrbracket \end{array} \right\rangle \quad (\text{Potts 2007a, 415, (23)})$$

This definition of the quote-taking verb yields an ordered pair of two propositions:  $t \times t$ , which is *the (cartesian) product type* (Partee et al. 1990). Its constructor is  $\times$ , and its syntax and domains are defined in (15).

- (15) a. If  $\sigma$  and  $\tau$  are types, then  $\sigma \times \tau$  is a type.  
b. The domain of  $\sigma \times \tau$  is  $D_{\sigma \times \tau} = D_\sigma \times D_\tau$ , the cartesian product of  $D_\sigma$  and  $D_\tau$ .  
(Potts 2007a, 415, (24))

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<sup>3</sup>Potts (2007a) notes that since  $\mathbf{say}_q$  can take various quoted complements such as interrogative clauses or imperatives, it must be lexically flexible,  $\mathbf{say}_q$  may be interpreted as **ask**, **command** and so on for the regular-meaning dimension

With the notion of two-dimensional semantics discussed so far, we can capture the intuition in (2) in terms of the standard compositional semantics.

Then, let us consider a more complicated case of subclausal-quote semantics. Note first that the quote semantics Potts (2007a) presents for direct quotation in (7) is implementable with the special function of the quote-taking verb, **say<sub>q</sub>**, whose output contributes to the two dimensions of propositions. However, there is no such verb in (1), repeated here in (16).

- (16) a. When in Santa Cruz, Peter orders “[eɪ]pricots” at the local market.  
b. When in Amherst, Peter orders “[æ]pricots” at the local market.  
(Potts 2007a, 405, (1))

For the first step to the semantics of subclausal quotation, we need to have the linguistic representation of the quoted item. For instance, we will have “[æ]pricots” in the form of (17).

- (17)  $\left[ \left\langle [\text{æprɪkɔts}] ; \text{NP} ; \text{apricots} : e \right\rangle \right] \approx \left[ [\text{æ}] \text{pricots} \right]$  for shorthand

Since (17) is in the quotation mark, we need to access its semantic representation. This is, as we just saw above, obtained via *SEM*. However, this is not enough. Since the quoted element must be evaluated relative to its source, and this is not something we ascribe to someone’s belief worlds, e.g. Peter’s belief worlds. Rather, the relation between the quoted item and its source is anaphoric in the sense that we need to find some individual in the discourse to whom/which we attribute the quoted item, according to Potts (2007a). Therefore, we have to identify the contextually salient entity  $d \in D_e$  in our context world. This is done by the following fashion.

- (18)  $w \in \llbracket \text{utter} \rrbracket (\llbracket [\text{æ}] \text{pricots} \rrbracket)(d)$

The relevant entity is in general tied to a specific entity in the discourse. Then, the two-dimensional semantics of subclausal quotation is the product of any semantic representation accessed by the functor *SEM* and the proposition of (18). Therefore, we have (19) for “[æ]pricots” in (1b)/(16b).

$$(19) \quad \llbracket [\text{æ}] \text{pricots} \rrbracket = \left\langle \begin{array}{c} \text{the } X \text{ such that } \text{say}(\llbracket X \rrbracket = \llbracket \text{SEM}(\llbracket [\text{æ}] \text{pricots} \rrbracket) \rrbracket)(\llbracket \text{peter} \rrbracket) \\ , \\ \llbracket \text{utter} \rrbracket(\llbracket [\text{æ}] \text{pricots} \rrbracket)(\llbracket \text{peter} \rrbracket) \end{array} \right\rangle$$

In this ordered pair, the first member  $X$  is a plural entity **apricots** and the second member is the propositional utterance relation. The semantic type of (19) is thus  $e \times t$ . Since there is no  $\text{say}_q$  in subclausal quotation, Potts (2007a) proposes that the **quote-shift** functor in (20) is at work for the interpretation of it;  $P \in D_u$  and  $d \in D_e$ .

$$(20) \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{a. } \mathbf{quote-shift} : \langle u, \langle e, \sigma \times t \rangle \rangle \\ \text{b. } \llbracket \mathbf{quote-shift} \rrbracket(P)(d) = \left\langle \begin{array}{c} \text{the } X \text{ such that } \text{say}(\llbracket X \rrbracket = \llbracket \text{SEM}(\llbracket P \rrbracket) \rrbracket)(\llbracket d \rrbracket) \\ , \\ \llbracket \text{utter} \rrbracket(\llbracket P \rrbracket)(\llbracket d \rrbracket) \end{array} \right\rangle \\ \text{for any } P \in D_u \text{ and } d \in D_e \end{array}$$

(Potts 2007a, 422, (39))

In (19) and (20), the regular meaning is some semantic representation that is relativized to the entity argument  $d$ , so that we can use  $X$  to pick up or describe some entity, e.g. **apricot** in (19), even if the way to say it is not in our utterance worlds. This is clearly Peter's.

(20a) is combined with the quoted phrases such as “[æ]pricots” in (1b)/(16b), and the latter must also be combined with  $\llbracket \text{orders} \rrbracket$ , which is of type  $\langle e, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$ . However, the type of the object is now  $e \times t$ , so that it is not a suitable input to the transitive verb. For this, Potts (2007a) argues that we need the projection function of Karttunen and Peters (1979) to inherit the utterance proposition upward in the semantic parsetree. This is because the utterance relation is a *conventional implicature* (CI), according to Potts (2007a) (for the nature of CI, see Grice 1975, McCready 2010, Potts 2005, 2007b,a, Sawada 2010, 2016 and discussion below). Then, the functor **project** defined in (21) is introduced.

$$(21) \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{a. } \mathbf{project} : \langle \sigma, \langle \tau \times t, \rho \times t \rangle \rangle \\ \text{b. } \llbracket \mathbf{project} \rrbracket(\alpha)(\beta \bullet \mathbf{p}) = \left\langle \llbracket \alpha(\beta) \rrbracket, \llbracket \mathbf{p} \rrbracket \right\rangle \text{ or } \left\langle \llbracket \beta(\alpha) \rrbracket, \llbracket \mathbf{p} \rrbracket \right\rangle \text{ whichever is well-formed} \end{array}$$

(Potts 2007a, 422, (38))

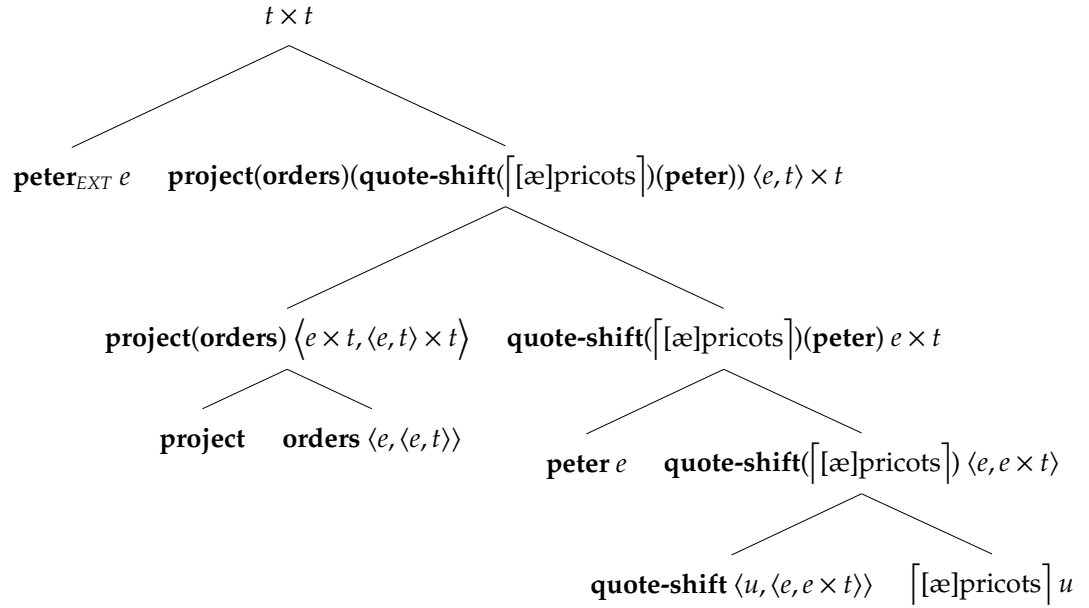
The function of **project** is such that it takes an expression  $\alpha$  as its first argument and

the product type  $\beta \bullet \mathbf{p}$  as its second argument, and applies the first argument to the first member of the product type, or the reverse, contingent on whether  $\alpha$  or  $\beta$  is the functor.<sup>4</sup>

To see how this much works, let us compute (22).

(22) a. Peter orders “[æ]pricots.”

b.



Although Potts (2007a) does not calculate until the introduction of the external argument  $\text{peter}_{EXT}$ , I put it here to make the tree complete. Then, we need two assumptions. One is that we have to assume that there is a hidden argument that goes into the entity slot of **quote-shift**, i.e. the quote source **peter**, and this has no syntactic or phonological correlate as Potts (2007a) assumes. Also, the external argument is not the argument of **project** itself, a cartesian product, but the argument of the first member of it. The resulting ordered pair is thus (23).

<sup>4</sup>The type of (21a) is complex, but I think that an easier way to see it is that it just adds the type of the utterance proposition to the first argument slot and then takes the product-type argument, applying the former to the latter, or the other way round. For instance, if  $\sigma$  is complex such as  $\langle e, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$  in (22), **project** takes it as the first argument, yielding  $\langle e, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle \times t$ . Then, we can apply (arithmetic) expansion, hence  $\langle e \times t, \langle e, t \rangle \times t \rangle$ . Then, **project** takes the second argument, which is  $e \times t$ . Since the first argument is the functor, it takes  $e \times t$  as its argument, yielding  $\langle e, t \rangle \times t$ . Then,  $\langle e, t \rangle \times t = \langle e \times t, t \times t \rangle$ . Finally, **project** takes the external argument, adding the utterance proposition again, hence  $e \times t$ . This argument will then be plugged into  $\langle e \times t, t \times t \rangle$ , resulting in  $t \times t$ .



$$(23) \quad \llbracket (22) \rrbracket = \left\langle \begin{array}{c} \llbracket \text{orders} \rrbracket (\text{the } X \text{ such that } \text{say}(\llbracket X \rrbracket = \llbracket SEM(\llbracket [\text{æ}] \text{pricots} \rrbracket) \rrbracket)(\llbracket \text{peter} \rrbracket)(\llbracket \text{peter}_{EXT} \rrbracket)) \\ \llbracket \text{utter} \rrbracket ([\text{æ}] \text{pricots})(\llbracket \text{peter}_{EXT} \rrbracket) \end{array} \right\rangle$$

In (23), the first member is the regular meaning that Peter orders the entity  $X$  that is “[æ]pricots” in Peter’s utterance worlds, and the second member is the speech-report meaning that Peter utters “[æ]pricots.”

The CI status of the utterance dimension can be diagnosed by the propositional negation test (Potts 2005). As in (24), the utterance dimension cannot be propositionally negated by *that’s not true*.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup>Japanese also has a way to subclausally quote without Rep, which is to utilize the Japanese counterpart of “...”, that is, 「...」; observe (i), where it is supposed that Taro ordered apricots and uttered “[æ]pricots” with the relevant English accent when he ordered them.

- (i) Taroo-wa 「[æ]pricots」-o tyuumon-si-ta.  
Taro-Nom apricots-Acc order-do-PAST  
‘Taro ordered “[æ]pricots.”’

Then, the propositional negation in (ii) cannot negate the utterance dimension as CI either (cf. McCready 2010).

- (ii) Sore-wa hontoo-zyanai.  
that-TOP truth-NEG.COP.NONPAST  
⇒ No, Taro didn’t order apricots.  
⇒ No, Taro didn’t utter “[æ]pricots.”

Thus, using Potts’s (2007a) two-dimensional semantics of subclausal quotation itself is motivated in Japanese.

However, there is a crucial difference between cases like (i) and subclausal quotation via Rep discussed in this dissertation. That is, the former in Japanese only has the quoted expression as an utterance nominal, whereas the latter allows the content of the quoted expression to be semantically as it is. Therefore, we need a different semantics that is not like (20a). Here, I assume that such a nominal comes as an entity in the form of *what  $x$  refers to as “...”* (cf. Maier to appear). Then, observe (iii), whose context is such that Taro asked whether the actual speaker had met his girlfriend. (iiia) with no quotation is totally fine, whereas if the embedded clause is quoted without Rep, this sounds bad as shown in (iiib). This is because nobody asks about the utterance *per se* but the content of it; the embedded clause in (iiib), being an utterance nominal, is not compatible with the semantics of the matrix interrogative verb, presumably because the interrogative meaning of the referred clause is “trapped” (so to speak) inside the utterance nominal. In contrast, if quotation involves Rep as in (iiic), the sentence becomes grammatical, for the syntactic/semantic category of the quoted sentence remains intact, which state of affairs is derivable from Rep being an adjunct clitic. Note that for both (iiib) and (iiic) we need to pause before the quotation starts and mimic the original

- (24) a. Peter ordered “[æ]pricots.”  
b. No, that’s not true.  
⇒ No, Peter didn’t order apricots.  
⇒ No, Peter didn’t utter “[æ]pricots.”

To summarize, Potts’s (2007a) semantics nicely captures the intuition that the quote semantics contributes to two dimensions of meaning. This is achieved by postulating the product type defined in (15) above. Armed with this two-dimensional semantics, we will consider the semantics of Rep in Japanese in the next section.

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manner of utterance for the bracketed chunk.

- (iii) a. Taroo-wa [ boku-ga kare-no kanozyo-ni at-ta-no-ka ](-o) tazune-ta.  
Taro-TOP I-NOM he-GEN girlfriend-DAT see-PAST-FN-Q -ACC ask-PAST  
‘Taro asked whether I had met his girlfriend.’  
b. \*Taroo-wa |<sub>Pause</sub> [ ⟨omoe-ga ore-no kanozyo-ni at-ta-n-ka⟩ ]-o tazune-ta.  
Taro-TOP you-NOM I-GEN girlfriend-DAT see-PAST-FN-Q -ACC ask-PAST  
Lit. ‘Taro asked what he refers to as “Did you see my girlfriend?”’  
Intended ‘Taro asked, “Did you see my girlfriend?”’  
c. Taroo-wa |<sub>Pause</sub> [ ⟨omoe-ga ore-no kanozyo-ni at-ta-n-ka⟩ ]-to tazune-ta.  
Taro-TOP you-NOM I-GEN girlfriend-DAT see-PAST-FN-Q -REP ask-PAST  
‘Taro asked, “Did you see my girlfriend?”’

The utterance nominal status of the embedded clause in (iiib) is confirmed as in (iv), where (iva) sounds bad since the interrogative subject is not compatible with the predicate *kowai*- ‘be scary’, but the utterance nominal is compatible with the predicate; the content of the subject is interpreted independently from the entire sentence.

- (iv) a. \*[ Boku-ga kare-no kanozyo-ni at-ta-no-ka ]-ga kowakat-ta.  
I-NOM he-GEN girlfriend-DAT see-PAST-FN-Q -NOM scary-COP.PAST  
Intended ‘(That I was asked by Taro) whether I had met his girlfriend was scary.’  
b. [ ⟨Omae-ga ore-no kanozyo-ni at-ta-n-ka⟩ ]-ga kowakat-ta.  
you-NOM I-GEN girlfriend-DAT see-PAST-FN-Q -NOM scary-COP.PAST  
‘What Taro refers to “Did you see my girlfriend?” was scary.’

Then, (i) can be paraphrased as: Taro ordered what he referred to as “[æ]pricots”, so this is rather orthogonal to the current discussion. Although subclausal quotation via quotation marks in Japanese deserves an independent scrutiny, I reserve it for my future research.

## 8.3 Quote-shifting Rep and the Semantic Raison D'être of SAY

### 8.3.1 Rep as Quote-shifter

Since Rep defines the Quote Domain by Rep (QDR) as proposed in Chapter 5, I argue that it also constitutes the quote-shifting functor in the sense of Potts (2007a). Given this, the first member of its output as a product type is the semantic representation derived by the functor *SEM*. Then, the semantic denotation of Rep in (25) is exactly the same as (20). It takes QDR as type of *u* and an entity to which QDR is attributed, yielding a product type.

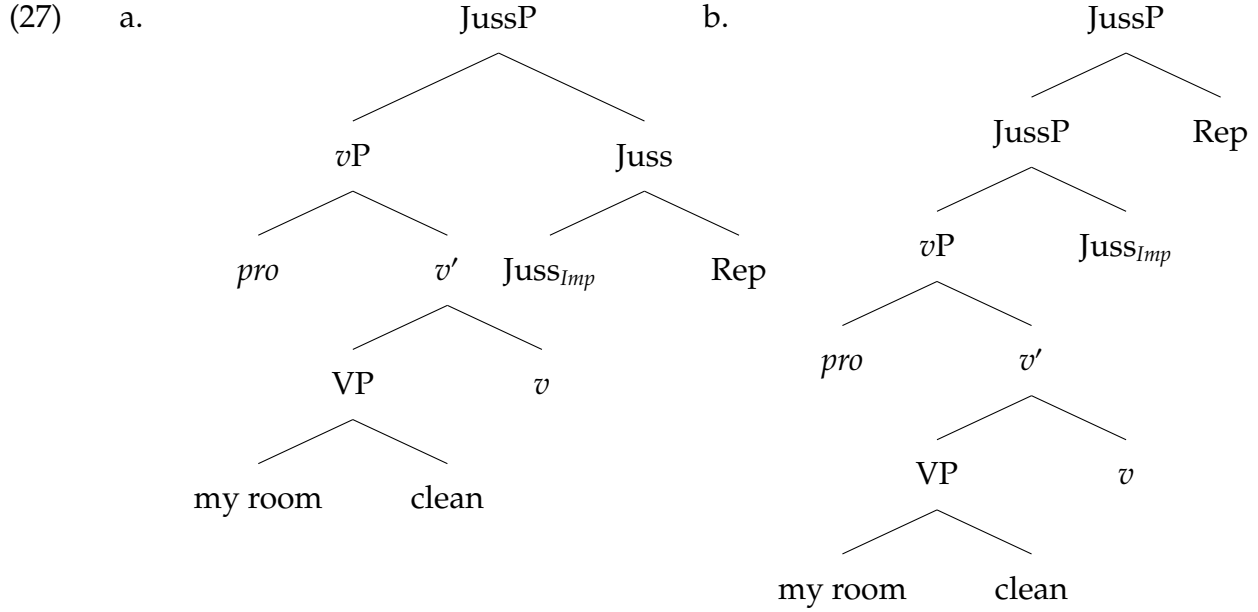
$$(25) \quad \begin{array}{ll} \text{a. } \mathbf{Rep} : \langle u, \langle e, \sigma \times t \rangle \rangle & \\ \text{b. } \llbracket \mathbf{Rep} \rrbracket(P)(d) = \left\langle \begin{array}{l} \text{the } X \text{ such that } \mathbf{say}(\llbracket X \rrbracket = \llbracket SEM(\llbracket P \rrbracket) \rrbracket)(\llbracket d \rrbracket) \\ , \\ \llbracket \mathbf{utter} \rrbracket(\llbracket P \rrbracket)(\llbracket d \rrbracket) \end{array} \right\rangle & \end{array}$$

### 8.3.2 Case Study: Embedded Imperative as Quoted Imperative

With (25), let us see how the proposed analysis derives the embedded imperatives in Japanese like (26).

- (26) Taroo-wa [ boku-no heya-o    soozi-si-ro-to            ] it-ta.  
 Taro-TOP I-GEN room-ACC cleaning-do-IMP-REP say-PAST  
 Lit. 'Taro said that clean.IMP {my, his} room.'

As we discussed, (26) is ambiguous in that the first-person pronoun can be “my” or “his”, and this signalizes the different loci of Rep’s adjunction. Since we need to adjoin Rep at least to (the projection that contains) *Juss<sub>Imp</sub>*, which is the locus of imperative semantics, the structure of (26) can be (27a) or (27b); *Juss<sub>Imp</sub>* is morphologically spelled out as *-ro* in (27).



In (27a), QDR is only the imperative head, i.e.  $Juss_{Imp}$ , and the rest of the structure is dependent on the speaker's utterance context. Therefore, Rep is adjoined to only the perspective of the imperative, and hence the latter is subclausally quoted. On the other hand, in (27b), Rep is adjoined to the entire JussP.<sup>6</sup> Given this, the dual semantics that Rep triggers for (27a) and (27b) goes as in (28a) and (28b), respectively.

(28) a.  $\llbracket \mathbf{Rep} \rrbracket(\llbracket [-ro] \rrbracket)(\llbracket \mathbf{taro} \rrbracket) =$   

$$\left\langle \begin{array}{c} \text{the } X \text{ such that } \mathbf{say}(\llbracket X \rrbracket = \llbracket SEM(\llbracket [-ro] \rrbracket) \rrbracket)(\llbracket \mathbf{taro} \rrbracket) \\ , \\ \llbracket \mathbf{utter} \rrbracket(\llbracket [Juss] \rrbracket)(\llbracket \mathbf{taro} \rrbracket) \end{array} \right\rangle$$

b.  $\llbracket \mathbf{Rep} \rrbracket(\llbracket [JussP] \rrbracket)(\llbracket \mathbf{taro} \rrbracket) =$   

$$\left\langle \begin{array}{c} \text{the } X \text{ such that } \mathbf{say}(\llbracket X \rrbracket = \llbracket SEM(\llbracket [JussP] \rrbracket) \rrbracket)(\llbracket \mathbf{taro} \rrbracket) \\ , \\ \llbracket \mathbf{utter} \rrbracket(\llbracket [JussP] \rrbracket)(\llbracket \mathbf{taro} \rrbracket) \end{array} \right\rangle$$

<sup>6</sup>Concomitantly, the referent of *pro* in each structure is different: in (27a), it is the first person, and in (27b), it is the second person. These *pros* can be overt if we exhaustively focus them as we will see shortly. Otherwise, overt subjects in the imperative sound unnatural.

The functor *SEM* will give the semantic representation of the quote in (29), where I assume, following Portner (2007) and Zanuttini et al. (2012), that imperative JussP denotes a property with the presupposition that the entity argument slot is the second person as in the form of (30), and this  $\phi$ -feature Agrees with *pro* in Spec-*vP* (cf. Kratzer 2009), so that it will be transmitted to this *pro* subject.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, the X referred to by the quote in (28a) is (31a), and that in (28b) is (31b).

- (29) a.  $[-ro] = \left[ \left\langle [ro] ; \text{Juss} ; \text{IMP(ERATIVE)} : \langle t, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle \right\rangle \right]$   
 b.  $[\text{JussP}] = \left[ \left\langle [\text{bokuuno hejao soozi}i\text{iro}] ; \text{JussP} ; \text{IMP(clean(my room)(pro))} : \langle e, t \rangle \right\rangle \right]$
- (30)  $[\lambda x : x = \text{addressee}(c).[\lambda w.vP(x)(w)]]$  (Zanuttini et al. 2012, 1264, (43b))
- (31) a.  $\left\| \text{SEM}(\llbracket [-ro] \rrbracket) \right\| = \text{IMP}$   
 b.  $\left\| \text{SEM}(\llbracket [\text{JussP}] \rrbracket) \right\| = \text{IMP(clean(my room)(pro))}$

Then, the product type starts from the upper segment of Juss in (27a) and JussP in (27b) as in (32a) and (32b), respectively.

- (32) a. **Juss** :  $\langle t, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$   
 b. **JussP** :  $\langle e, t \rangle$

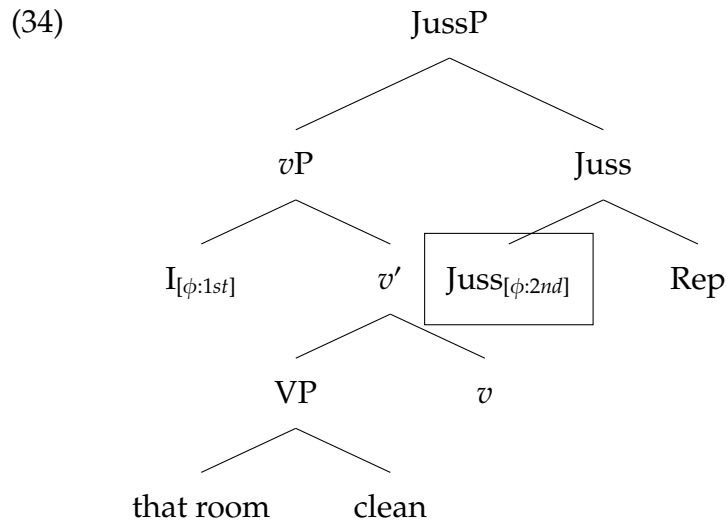
Under this analysis, the imperative is endowed with the second-person feature due to its lexical property (Zanuttini et al. 2012), and it is subclausally quoted both in (27a) and in (27b). Thus, it is evaluated with Taro's utterance world, that is, the addressee in the Taro's utterance context. In contrast, the first-person pronoun in the object position can be inside or outside QDR, invoking the ambiguity in (26). As we have seen in Chapter 3, the presence of *wh*-phrases will interact with the loci of Rep, so if the object in the base position is a *wh*-phrase, (27a) must be selected.

At this point, one may wonder what happens to *pro* in (27). As I mentioned in footnote

<sup>7</sup>Therefore, the imperative is a property to be pragmatically added to the *To-do List* of an addressee in a given context, most typically the actual context in the root clause. Since my concern in this dissertation is not for the semantics of imperative, I will simply assume Portner's semantics for the expository purpose. See Portner (2007) and his related works for the details of imperative semantics.

6, this can be overt with the exhaustive focus reading forced. If the entire JussP is QDR, this reading triggers alternative semantics in the sense of Rooth (1985, 1992) inside QDR since the entire JussP is subclausally quoted as the reported speaker's utterance. In contrast, if only the Juss head is in QDR, the relevant alternative semantics is evaluated relative to the entire structure. What we are concerned with for the quote syntax/semantics is however not the alternative semantics but the way to get the overt pronoun. Observe (33), where the embedded subject is overt, and (33b) is ambiguous in that *kimi* 'you' can be the reported addressee of Taro or the actual addressee (i.e. 'you'). Since I assume with Zanuttini et al. (2012) that the subject pronoun goes into an Agree relation with the imperative Juss head, *boku* 'I' in (33a) and the non-quoted *kimi* 'you' in (33b) will be contradictory to the presupposition encoded on Juss. Notice however that in both cases, only Juss is in QDR, so that it is syntactically inert and opaque. Therefore, the  $\phi$ -probe on Juss cannot reach out of QDR to the relevant pronouns. For instance, for the structure of (33a) with *boku* referring to the actual speaker, we have (34).

- (33) a. Taroo-wa [ boku-ga sono heya-o soozi-si-ro-to ] it-ta.  
Taro-Top I-Nom that room-Acc cleaning-do-IMP-REP say-PAST  
Lit. 'Taro said that I clean.IMP that room.'
- b. Taroo-wa [ kimi-ga sono heya-o soozi-si-ro-to ] it-ta.  
Taro-Top you-Nom that room-Acc cleaning-do-IMP-REP say-PAST  
Lit. 'Taro said that {I, you} clean.IMP that room.'



Thus, Agree in (34) fails, hence no input to the presupposed feature on Juss. Although Zanuttini et al. (2012) assume that the person feature on the subject is uninterpretable whereas that on Juss is interpretable, I assume that both are interpretable, and the relevant Agree is just to see whether these match, satisfying the presupposition on Juss.<sup>8</sup> If Agree is not applied, Juss will simply not be fed with a contradicting feature, so the derivation will go through. The second-person on Juss will be evaluated with Taro's utterance world with a special interpretation to be discussed shortly, whereas the first-person feature on the subject pronoun will be interpreted relative to the actual utterance world of the speaker. The same explanation will hold for (33b) with 'you' = the actual addressee.

Recall however that I proposed in Chapter 4 that Rep can be late-inserted into the structure. Therefore, one may conjecture that Rep in (34) can also be late-inserted after Agree applies. For this possibility, I argue that Agree for  $\phi$ -features applies but fails, but this does not lead to a derivational crash (Preminger 2012, 2014), yielding an interpretation different from a usual imperative construal.<sup>9</sup> In fact, the proposed analysis of the embedded imperative predicts an interesting state of affairs. Since the presupposed second-person feature does not Agree and hence bind the subject pronoun of *vP*, the requirement that the addressee be an agent of *vP* is now lifted. In (33b), for instance, the 'you' reading is the third-person reading for Taro. This is also possible for the *bona fide* third-person subject as in (35), where only Juss is quoted since the object contains a *wh*-phrase and the adverb indicates the left boarder of *vP/VP*.

- (35) Hanako-wa boku-ni [ Taroo-ga teineini dono heya-o  
 Hanako-NOM I-DAT Taroo-NOM carefully which room-Acc  
 soozi-si-ro-to ] it-ta-no.  
 cleaning-do-IMP-REP say-PAST-Q  
 Lit. 'Which room did Hanako say to me that Taro clean.IMP carefully?'

But then, what happens to the second-person feature on Juss in the first place since it is still semantically presupposed? For this, I assume that the obligation of adding to the To-do List of Taro targets the addressee, namely, the actual speaker of (35). This is because if I am told (35) by Hanako, it sounds as if I need to tell Taro to clean some room. Therefore, I am

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<sup>8</sup>As Zanuttini et al. (2012, 1245) note, their overall analysis will not be affected by the interpretability of the subject's person feature, even if both features are interpretable.

<sup>9</sup>I assume that failure of Agree is not tolerated for the [Quote]-feature.

in charge of updating Taro's To-do List. Interestingly, it is possible for the root imperative to do the same as in (36).

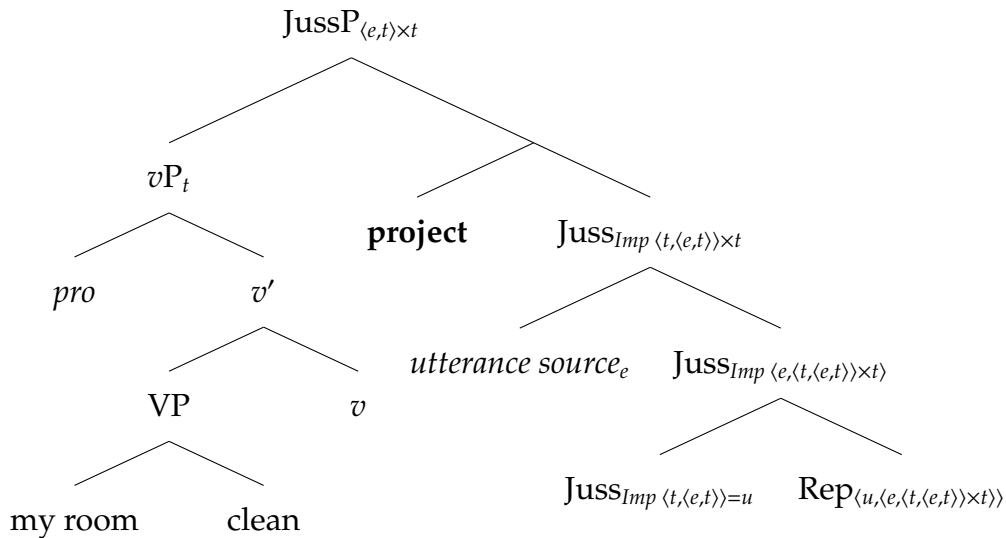
- (36) Taroo-ga sono heya-o soozi-si-ro.  
Taroo-NOM that room-ACC cleaning-do-IMP  
Lit. 'Taro clean.IMP that room.'

Given this, the Agree relation between the presupposed second-person feature and the agent of  $vP$  is not always obligatory, supporting the argument that Agree can fail. The remaining issue is then how to ensure the updating-To-do-List relation between the addressee and the agent. I have no plausible answer to this issue, and investigating it seriously takes us far afield from the main purpose of this dissertation, so I leave this for my future research. However, one thing to note is that there is no causative relation between them, for Taro does not have to obey the order in (35) and (36).

### 8.3.3 Introducing SAY

Although Rep as an instance of AC explains how imperatives can be subclausally quoted in Japanese, one question at this point is how it is exactly embedded. For instance, if we have (27), the semantic type of it is  $\langle e, t \rangle \times t$ . This is because Rep yields the product type, so the semantic composition of  $\text{Juss}_{\text{Imp}}$  that Rep is adjoined to and  $vP$  is mediated by **project**:

- (37) When Rep adjoins only to Juss ...



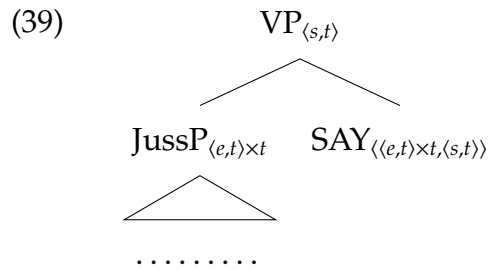


In (37), Rep semantically takes  $\text{Juss}_{\text{Imp}}$  as its first argument because the latter is regarded as an utterance.  $\text{Juss}_{\text{Imp}}$ 's semantics is accessed by SEM as we discussed above, so that we have the product type as  $\langle t, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle \times t$ . Then, we have a semantic quote-source argument that is the reported speaker in a given context. Note that it has no syntactic/phonological correlate as Potts (2007a) assumes.

Then, (37) is embedded by a matrix verb. Recall that I proposed in Chapter 6 that quotative complementation involves covert SAY, so this verb is the very item that semantically embeds the product type. Specifically, I propose the semantics of SAY as in (38).

- (38) a.  $\text{SAY} : \langle \sigma \times t, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle$   
b.  $\llbracket \text{SAY} \rrbracket (\alpha \bullet \mathbf{p})(s)$

Given this, the embedded imperative is derived as shown in (39). Since SAY does not care about the first member of the product type, it can be any semantic type; it is  $\langle e, t \rangle$  here. (39) is then combined with a matrix predicate via VP-complementation.



### 8.3.4 Interim Summary

In this section, I proposed that Rep is semantically a quote-shifting functor in the sense of Potts (2007a), which in turn motivates SAY. This is because the product type Rep gives rise to cannot be embedded as it is. Therefore, SAY semantically selects it. In fact, this is exactly what Potts alludes to: “Presumably, [the utterance proposition] must be passed along, either *to become the argument to a higher predicate* or to be interpreted at the root level” (Potts 2007a, 421; emphasis mine). Although there seems no case like the former case Potts himself discusses, I assume, following his suggestion, that SAY is semantically possible.

## 8.4 Two Issues in Semantics of Rep and SAY

### 8.4.1 From Two-dimensional to One-dimensional

As I proposed, SAY takes the product type yielded by Rep, so the CI utterance proposition is now incorporated into the attitude dimension in the sense of Potts (2007a). This leads to an interesting prediction given the nature of CI. To see it, let us quickly discuss the CI's nature that it cannot be scoped over by any logical operators (see Potts 2005 for the details of CI). For illustration, consider (40); in Japanese, 'police' can be *keesatu* or *pori*, and the latter bears a conventionally implied meaning that makes the speaker sound like a gangster.

- (40) Ore-wa "pori"-o yon-da.  
 I-Top police-Acc call-PAST  
 'I called police.'  
 ⇒ (Conventionally Implied): I uttered "*pori*."

Then, we use the propositional negation for our diagnostic of the CI-hood. For instance, "no, that's not true" in English cannot negate the CI invoked by expressions like *fucking* and *damn* as in (41).

- (41) a. Most fucking neighborhood dogs crap on my damn lawn.  
 b. No, that's not true.  
 ⇒ No, the neighborhood dogs don't crap on your lawn.  
 ⇒ No, there's nothing wrong with dogs and/or their crapping on your lawn.  
 (Giorgolo and Asudeh 2012, 265, (1))

Turning to Japanese, McCready (2010) observes that *sorewa hontoo zyanai* 'that's not true' only negates what is asserted, not CI. As expected, it cannot negate the CI meaning of (40). Observe:

- (42) a. Ore-wa "pori"-o yon-da.  
 I-Top police-Acc call-PAST  
 'I called *pori*.'  
 b. Sore-wa hontoo-zyanai.  
 that-Top truth-NEG.COP.NONPAST

- ‘No, that is not true.’  
 ⇒ No, you didn’t call police.  
 ⇒ No, you didn’t utter “*pori*.”

Now, let us see what happens to CI if embedded with the quote syntax. To be specific, we have an adjunct structure in (43), where we quote an expression containing *pori* ‘police’.

- (43) a. Taro<sub>TOP</sub>-wa “pori-da”-to (it-te) nige-dasi-ta.  
           Taro-TOP police-COP.NONPAST-REP SAY-TE escape-get.out-PAST  
           ‘Taro ran away from police officers, saying “It’s *pori*!”’  
       b. Sore-wa hontoo-zyanai.  
           that-TOP truth-NEG.COP.NONPAST  
           ⇒ No, Taro didn’t run away from police officers.  
           ⇒ No, Taro didn’t utter “*pori*”, although he ran away from police officers.

As (43b) shows, we can negate the CI meaning of the relevant lexical item with propositional negation irrespective of the overt presence or absence of SAY. This means that the it shifts to a usual/asserted meaning. This sort of shift is also discussed by Sawada (2016) in regard to the comparative expressive *motto* ‘more’ in Japanese. He argues that its non-at-issue semantics can shift to at-issue semantics when embedded under an attitude predicate. However, we do not have such an attitude predicate in (43), and SAY is no longer an attitude predicate under our analysis. Given this, SAY semantically selects the propositional meaning and the CI meaning of the quoted item, not shifting the former to the latter.

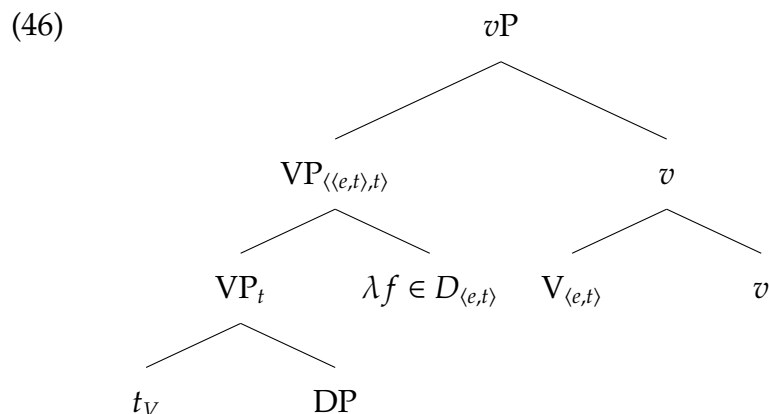
#### 8.4.2 Head Movement and Kuno’s (1988) Quasi-direct Discourse

As we saw in Chapter 3, the perspective-dependent verbs like the pair of *ik-* ‘go’ and *ku-* ‘come’ show no contrast in the embedded context as in (45) in contrast to (44).

- (44) Watasi-no ie-ni {ko-i/#ik-e}.  
       I-GEN house-DAT come-IMP/go-IMP  
       ‘{Come/#Go} to my house.’

- (45) Taroo-wa Ziroo-ni [ kare-no ie-ni {ko-i/ik-e}-to ] it-ta.  
 Taro-TOP Jiro-DAT he-GEN house-DAT come-IMP/go-IMP-REP say-PAST  
 Lit. ‘Taro said to Jiro that {come/go}.IMP to his house.’

The possibility of both verbs in (45) is explained in terms of the loci of Rep’s adjunction (see §4.4 in Chapter 4). Namely, when *ik-* ‘go’ is selected, Rep is adjoined to only Juss. Therefore, the perspective of all the overt wording in the embedded imperative is determined by the actual speaker. One possible question is what happens if head movement to Juss applies. If there is syntactic head movement in Japanese (Funakoshi 2014, Hayashi 2015, Koizumi 2000), one may predict that the moved verb is also construed as part of QDR. However, this will never happen. This is because the moved V will reconstruct. Specifically, I assume following Matushansky (2006a, 103) (cf. Keine and Bhatt 2016) that head movement leaves traces of higher types such as  $\langle e, t \rangle$  (ignoring the event semantics for simplicity), so it will be semantically reconstructed as illustrated in (46). Therefore, at the semantic component, the utterance dimension invoked by Rep will contain V. Crucial to my analysis is that the relevant reconstruction is semantic, and the moved V will never be able to evacuate the QDR at least semantically.<sup>10</sup>



Therefore, the proposed analysis semantically derives the non-verbatim nature of Kuno’s

<sup>10</sup> Assuming the *Distributed Morphology* (DM) framework (Halle and Marantz 1993), the morphological/phonological forms will be bestowed on the verbs in accordance with their relevant features, among which some perspective feature that determines the choice of *ik-* ‘go’ or *ku-* ‘come’ is included; let’s say  $[\pm \text{Author}]$ , so  $[+\text{Author}]$  leads to *ku-*, and  $[-\text{Author}]$  leads to *ik-*, so that the verb choice corresponds to the choice of this feature. Then, the semantic component will see whether the pertinent feature matches the reported/actual speaker’s perspective.

(1988) quasi-direct discourse.

## 8.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have argued that Rep contributes to two-dimensional semantics in the sense of Potts (2007a). This two-dimensionality is encoded in the form of the cartesian product type  $\sigma \times t$ . Then, as I proposed, the product type is embedded by SAY, and this verb is the only item in Japanese lexical that can select such a semantic type. Thus, whenever the two-dimensional semantics is triggered by Rep, it must go together with SAY. This in turn supports the idea that lexical attitude predicates do not embed a clause with Rep directly, but they are combined with SAY via Predicate Modification.

# Chapter 9

## Conclusion

### 9.1 What We Have Got for the Quote Syntax and Semantics in Japanese

As it has been argued throughout this dissertation, Rep is not a complementizer (C) but an instance of adjunct clitic (AC) in the sense of [Aoyagi \(1998\)](#). However, its AC status is verbal since it only adjoins to the extended projections of V. The proposed analysis covers various facts concerning the distribution of Rep without postulating multiple lexical items that happen to be morphologically identical (i.e. *to*) in the Japanese lexicon. That is, Rep is one and only one item for adjunct-like clauses, clausal complementation, iconic adverbs, and Naming Construction.

Semantically, Rep yields the (cartesian) product type of  $\sigma \times t$  due to Rep being a quote-shifting functor in the sense of [Potts \(2007a\)](#). To select such a semantic type, we have recourse to a grammaticalized verb SAY, which can or must be overt in certain settings. Since SAY is the only item in the Japanese lexicon that can select  $\sigma \times t$ , even usual clausal complementation with Rep needs SAY. Specifically, I argued that this is done in the form of VP-complementation. This has several empirical and theoretical consequences as we saw in Chapter 7.

Now, since Rep is no longer analyzed as C, there are many potential empirical/theoretical reverberations to other syntactic phenomena in Japanese that have been assumed to involve Rep as C, so to conclude this dissertation, I will briefly discuss two of them.

## 9.2 Outlook

### 9.2.1 CP-recursion?

M. Saito (2010) observes that items that introduce embedded clauses can be stacked. For instance, the question particle and Rep can cooccur as shown in (1), where I use his literal translation and articulation of the embedded structure.

- (1) Taroo-wa Ziroo-ni [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> Hanako-ga kare-no ie-ni ku-ru ]-ka  
 Taro-Top Jiro-DAT Hanako-NOM he-GEN house-to come-NONPAST -Q  
 ]-to ] tazune-ta.  
 -REP ask-PAST  
 Lit. 'Taro asked Jiro that if Hanako is coming to his house.' (M. Saito 2010, 4, (12a))

Note that the matrix predicate is *tanuze-* 'ask', which selects an interrogative clause. Therefore, one can assume that Rep is transparent for this selection. However, this is not so simple. As M. Saito points out, not all verbs that select an interrogative clause can select the *ka-to* sequence. For instance, *sir-* 'know' that usually selects an interrogative clause cannot select it as in (2) *vis à-vis* (3) without Rep.

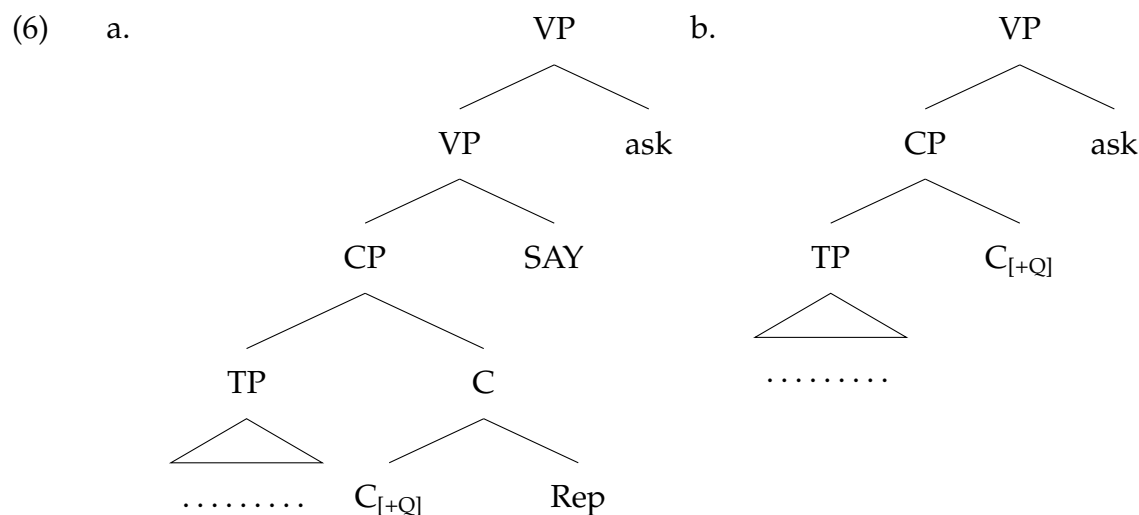
- (2) \*Taroo-wa [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> Hanako-ga kare-no ie-ni ku-ru ]-ka ]-to ]  
 Taro-Top Hanako-NOM he-GEN house-to come-NONPAST -Q -REP  
 siritagat-tei-ru.  
 want.to.know-ASP-NONPAST  
 Lit. 'Taro wants to know that if Hanako is coming to his house' (M. Saito 2010, 5, (13a))
- (3) Taroo-wa [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> Hanako-ga kare-no ie-ni ku-ru ]-ka ]  
 Taro-Top Hanako-NOM he-GEN house-to come-NONPAST -Q  
 siritagat-tei-ru.  
 want.to.know-ASP-NONPAST  
 'Taro wants to know if Hanako is coming to his house'

Given this contrast, M. Saito argues in line with Plann (1982) that the *ka-to* clause can be selected only by verbs of saying and thinking. In this connection, *omow-* 'think', which is not compatible with an interrogative clause as in (5), can select the *ka-to* clause as in (4).

- (4) Taroo-wa [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> dare-ga kare-no ie-ni ku-ru-no-daroo ]-ka  
 Taro-Top who-NOM he-GEN house-to come-NONPAST-FN-MOD -Q  
 ]-to ] omot-tei-ru.  
 -REP think-ASP-NONPAST  
 Lit. 'Taro thinks who will come to his house'
- (5) \*Taroo-wa [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> dare-ga kare-no ie-ni ku-ru-no-daroo ]-ka ]  
 Taro-Top who-NOM he-GEN house-to come-NONPAST-FN-MOD -Q  
 omot-tei-ru.  
 think-ASP-NONPAST  
 Intended 'Taro wonders who will come to his house'

Since Rep is C under M. Saito's analysis which paraphrases direct discourse, only verbs that can introduce direct quotation are compatible with the *ka-to* clause.

However, Rep is not C for our analysis, and Rep adjoins to the interrogative C, whether the former is moved, or directly adjoins, to the latter.<sup>1</sup> In this sense, the *ka-to* sequence does not instantiate CP-recursion. As the proposed mechanism has SAY obligatorily when Rep is used, (1) has (6a), and in contrast, if Rep is not used, SAY is perforce absent as in (6b).



As is obvious, *tazune*- 'ask' in (6a) does not select the embedded question directly, so in this sense, it is unergative, whereas it is transitive in (6b), for it directly selects the embedded question. Recall that I proposed in Chapter 6 that the attitude predicates

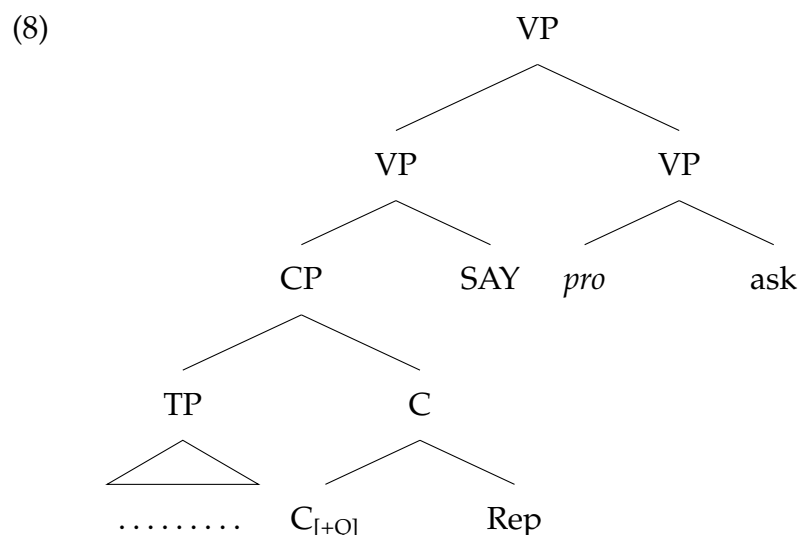
<sup>1</sup>*ka* is also a particle that moves to C<sub>[+Q]</sub> if Cable (2010), Hagstrom (1998) and Kishimoto (2005a) among others are on the right track.



like *iw-* ‘say’ and *omow-* ‘think’ are syntactically unergative with semantic *pro* for some proposition. Then, the question is whether the same analysis can be carried over to (6a). For this, I suggest that the pertinent *pro* is syntactic, not semantic. Observe that it can be readily overt in the nominal form as in (7).

- (7) Taro<sub>wa</sub> Jiro<sub>ni</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> Hanako<sub>ga</sub> kare<sub>no</sub> ie<sub>ni</sub> ku<sub>ru</sub> ]-ka-to ]  
 Taro-<sub>TOP</sub> Jiro-<sub>DAT</sub> Hanako-<sub>NOM</sub> he-<sub>GEN</sub> house-to come-<sub>NONPAST</sub> -Q-<sub>REP</sub>  
 kanozyo-no yotee-o tazune-ta.  
 she-<sub>GEN</sub> plan-<sub>ACC</sub> ask-<sub>PAST</sub>  
 Lit. ‘Taro asked Jiro Hanako’s plan: whether Hanako is coming to his house.’

Then, we have (8), where the matrix verb selects *pro* that corresponds to *kanozyo-no yotee* ‘her plan’ in (7). Given this, (the VP that introduces) the embedded question is an adjunct to the matrix VP. Note that the presence of SAY explains the contrast between (4) and (5), since in the former, *omow-* ‘think’ does not select the embedded question.



(8) yields an interesting prediction. That is, the embedded question constitutes an island for Aoyagi’s (1998) particle movement. Recall that K particles like *-mo* cannot be moved from an adjunct (see §4.2 of Chapter 4). Since *-mo* covertly moves to T under Aoyagi’s analysis, if *-mo* adjoins to the embedded question, it cannot be moved when it cooccurs with Rep; consider (9). In this example, we have two different verbs, so the covert movement of *-mo* must result in *-mo* scoping over the second *v*/VP. What is noteworthy is

that although the *ka-to-mo* sequence *per se* is not ungrammatical, having Rep is infelicitous for the intended reading. This is explained if *-mo* attaching to Rep cannot be moved, which shows that the adjunct status of the embedded question in (1).<sup>2</sup>

- (9) Taroo-wa eki-no an'nai-de Kyooto-no tizu-o  
 Taro-TOP station-GEN information.desk-at Kyoto-GEN map-Acc  
 morat-ta-dake-de-naku, dono densya-ni  
 get-PAST-only-COP.ADV-NEG.ADV which train  
 nor-u-beki-ka(#-to)-mo tazune-ta.  
 ride-NONPAST-should-Q-REP-also ask-PAST  
 'At an information desk, Taro not only got a map of Kyoto, but also asked which train he should take.'

Now, with this analysis, we can save (2) by adding an overt noun.

- (10) Taroo-wa [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> Hanako-ga kare-no ie-ni ku-ru ]-ka-to ]  
 Taro-TOP Hanako-NOM he-GEN house-to come-NONPAST -Q-REP  
 kanozyo-no yotee-o siritagat-tei-ru.  
 she-GEN plan-Acc want.to.know-ASP-NONPAST  
 Lit. 'Taro wants to know Hanako's plan: whether she is coming to his house'.

Then, if we interpret (2) as involving (syntactic) *pro*, it is in fact not ungrammatical; for instance, in (11), we can omit the object in the second conjunct.

- (11) Taroo-wa Ziroo-no yotee-o kii-ta-dake-de-naku, [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>TP</sub>  
 Taro-TOP Jiro-GEN plan-Acc ask-PAST-only-COP.ADV-NEG.ADV  
 Hanako-ga kare-no ie-ni ku-ru ]-ka-to ] (kanozyo-no yotee-o)  
 Hanako-NOM he-GEN house-to come-NONPAST -Q-REP she-GEN plan-Acc  
 siritagari-mo-si-tei-ru.  
 want.to.know-also-do-ASP-NONPAST  
 Lit. 'Taro not only asked Jiro's plan but also wants to know Hanako's plan:

<sup>2</sup>As is expected, if only the embedded question invokes the alternatives, the *ka-to-mo* sequence is fine:

- (i) Taroo-wa eki-no an'nai-de Kyooto-no tizu-ga ar-u-ka-to  
 Taro-TOP station-GEN information.desk-at Kyoto-GEN map-NOM Cop-NONPAST-Q-REP  
 tazune-ta-dake-de-naku, dono densya-ni nor-u-beki-ka-to-mo tazune-ta.  
 ask--PAST-only-COP.ADV-NEG.ADV which train ride-NONPAST-should-Q-REP-also ask-PAST  
 'At an information desk, Taro not only asked if they had a map of Kyoto, but also asked which train he should take.'

whether she is coming to his house.’

Also, *-mo* cannot attach to the embedded question for the intended meaning, which replicates the same point (9) makes.

- (12) #Taroo-wa Ziroo-no yotee-o kii-ta-dake-de-naku, [CP [TP  
 Taro-TOP Jiro-GEN plan-ACC ask-PAST-only-COP.ADV-NEG.ADV  
 Hanako-ga kare-no ie-ni ku-ru ]-ka-to ]-mo (kanozyo-no  
 Hanako-NOM he-GEN house-to come-NONPAST -Q-REP -also she-GEN  
 yotee-o) siritagat-tei-ru.  
 plan-ACC want.to.know-ASP-NONPAST  
 Intended ‘Taro not only asked Jiro’s plan but also wants to know Hanako’s plan:  
 whether she is coming to his house.’

Therefore, the alleged CP-recursion is not so simple as [M. Saito \(2010\)](#) argues it to be, and we do not need to assume the *ka-to* sequence is a case of the recursive CP structure. Rep simply adjoins to C directly or via movement. Although more consideration is needed to evaluate his entire argument on CP-recursion in Japanese because he also discusses another sequence of C-like items: namely, the nominalizing *no* and the interrogative *ka* hence *no-ka*, the proposed analysis provides a good starting point to reconsider his argument.

### 9.2.2 Control in Japanese?

In [Shimamura \(2015\)](#), I investigated another case of clausal embedding that involves Rep, where the volitional modal *-yoo* whose attitude holder is the actual speaker is embedded. A representative example is (13), which has sometimes been analyzed as Obligatory Subject Control (OSC) ([Fujii 2006, 2010](#), [Fukuda 2006](#), [Nemoto 1991](#) among others). What is interesting about it is that the attitude holder is shifted to the matrix subject, so it is no longer the actual speaker of (13).

- (13) Taroo-wa [ keeki-o tabe-yoo-to ] omot-ta.  
 Taro-TOP cake-ACC eat-MOD-REP think-PAST  
 ‘Taro thought of eating a cake.’

However, [Shimamura \(2015\)](#) shows that (13) does not exemplify a case of OSC. First, *-yoo*

can be used without embedding, and it has several interpretational possibilities as in (14). (14a) illustrates a simplest case where the attitude holder of *-yoo* and the agent of *vP* are the same individual: the actual speaker. However, the former and the latter do not have to be the same. Suppose that the speaker of (14b) is a teacher of semantics and asking Taro to come over to the chalkboard to do some semantic calculations. Then, the agent is the addressee Taro, but the attitude holder is the speaker. The same point is made by (14c), whose context is that the addressee are invited to the speaker's house, and the speaker will ask his wife to make tea for the addressee, saying (14c) to the addressee. Then, the attitude holder is the speaker while the agent is a third-person subject.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup>This sort of separation of the attitude holder from the agent is also pointed out by Moriyama (1990) and Narrog (2009). However, both of them observe that its usage is limited. Especially, Moriyama states that the agent must include the speaker, suggesting that even cases like (14b) have the speaker behave as a part of the agent by shifting his/her perspective to the addressee's even though the speaker does not carry out the event *vP* denotes. In this sense, it is a case of cohortative with the inclusive first-person plural (Narrog 2009, 156). However, we need to explain in what mechanism this specific construal is invoked in addition to the usual plural agent reading that we discuss shortly. Therefore, I suggest that what is at stake is not the plural agent but the authoritative status of the attitude holder. In Shimamura (2015), I argued that *-yoo* for (14b) and (14c) are a performative modal rather than a descriptive one since it has no access to the truth value. For instance, we cannot negate the command of *-yoo* as in (i), where the speaker A makes a command to the addressee, but someone B who heard A's command says 'that's not true'. This results in infelicity. The same observation applies to performative modal verbs like *must* or *may* in English as in (ii).

- (i) A: Kimi-wa kaer-oo.  
       you-Top return-Mod  
       'You should go home.'  
       B: #Iya, Sore-wa hontoo-zyanai.  
       no, that-Top truth-NEG.COP.NONPAST  
       'No, that's not true.'
- (ii) a. A: You must empty out your trash!  
       B: #No, that's not true.  
       b. A: You may take a cookie now.  
       B: #No, that's not true.

(Kaufmann 2012, 58, (32))

Then, following Kaufmann (2012), I assume that *-yoo* in making a command is a performative modal, and insofar as the agent of *vP* presupposes that the attitude holder is in a privileged position, s/he takes for granted and hence accept as true whatever the attitude holder commands (cf. Kaufmann 2012). Therefore, insofar as the presupposed authority of the attitude holder of *-yoo* holds, the proposition that a clause suffixed by *-yoo* denotes cannot be denied, explaining the infelicity of (i). Put differently, the common ground between the attitude holder and the addressee/third-person agent takes it for granted that what is presupposed must always be true. Therefore, (14b) and (14c) are genuine cases of singular agent.

## (14) SINGULAR AGENT

- a. (Boku-ga/wa) ie-ni kaer-oo.  
I-NOM/TOP house-DAT return-MOD  
As a soliloquy: 'I will go home.' (Shimamura 2015, 3, (1b))
- b. Zyaa, kondo-wa kimi-ga keisan-o yar-oo.  
well this.time-TOP you-NOM calculation-Acc do-MOD  
As a command to Taro: 'Well, this time, you shall do some calculations.'  
(Shimamura 2015, 3, (2))
- c. Ima tuma-ga otya-o ire-mas-yoo.  
now wife-NOM tea-Acc put-POL-MOD  
'My wife will make tea (for you) soon.' (Shimamura 2015, 3, (3b))

Also, the agent can be plural. In (15a), the attitude holder is the speaker, and the agent is a plural first-person pronoun including the speaker and the addressee. However, we do not have to have the addressee when we use a hortative *-yoo* since it can be a soliloquy as in (15b). For (15c), the relevant context is such that a teacher asking one student, Taro (the leader of his class), to let the other students know that they should clean the classroom tomorrow. Then, this is a plural version of (14b). Then, the plural version of (14c) is (15d), whose context goes like: the speaker (male) is offering a help to the addressee (female) by making his assistants carry her baggage.

## (15) PLURAL AGENT

- a. (Watasi-tati-wa) (issyoni) syukudai-o si-yoo.  
I-PL-TOP together homework-Acc do-MOD  
As a cohortative: 'Let's do homework together.'
  - b. Boku to Eri-ga asita kaimono-ni ik-oo.  
I and Eri-NOM tomorrow shopping-DAT go-MOD  
As a soliloquy 'I and Eri will go shopping tomorrow.'
  - c. Asita, kimi-tati-wa kyoositu-o soozisi-mas-yoo.  
tomorrow you-PL-TOP classroom-Acc clean-POL-MOD  
As a command to Taro: 'You (and the other students) shall clean the classroom tomorrow.'
  - d. Zyaa, watasi-no buka-tati-ga anata-no nimotu-o hakobi-mas-yoo.  
well I-GEN assistant-PL-NOM you-GEN baggage-Acc carr-POL-MOD  
'My assistants shall carry your baggage (for you).'
- (Shimamura 2015, 4-5, (6)-(8))

In all the examples in (14) and (15), the attitude holder or the authority of command is the speaker, but the agent can enjoy a wide range of interpretational possibilities due to the dissociation of the former from the latter.

Now, let us see what happens when this state of affairs is embedded. If (13) is a case of OSC, PRO must be exhaustively controlled by the matrix subject. Or if it is a case of Split Control (SpC), it must be that PRO is exhaustively controlled by the matrix subject and object (Fujii 2006, 2010). In fact, contrary to Fujii's observation, Shimamura (2015) shows that if an appropriate context is provided, the same kind of interpretational variety as we have seen in the matrix setting also holds. Consider:

- (16) a. Taro<sub>01</sub>-wa [ *e*<sub>1+</sub> asita-wa otagai-o home-aw-oo-to ]  
 Taro-Top tomorrow-Top each.other-Acc praise-RECIP-MOD-REP  
 omot-ta/kime-ta.  
 think-PAST/decide-PAST  
 As a soliloquy: 'Taro {thought of *e*<sub>1+</sub> praising/decided *e*<sub>1+</sub> to praise} each other.'
- b. Sensei-wa seeto<sub>1</sub>-ni [ *e*<sub>1</sub> syukudai-o si-yoo-to ] it-ta.  
 teacher-Top student-DAT homework-Acc do-MOD-REP say-PAST  
 'A teacher told the students to do homework.'
- c. Taro<sub>1</sub>-wa Hanako<sub>2</sub>-ni [ *e*<sub>1+2+</sub> Kyooto-ni ik-oo-to ] it-ta.  
 Taro-Top Hanako-DAT Kyoto-to go-MOD-REP say-PAST  
 Lit. 'Taro<sub>1</sub> proposed to Hanako<sub>2</sub> *e*<sub>1+2+</sub> to go to Kyoto.'
- d. Sensei-wa Taro<sub>01</sub>-ni [ *e*<sub>1+</sub> asita kyoositu-o soozisi-yoo-to ]  
 teacher-Top Taro-DAT tomorrow classroom-Acc clean-MOD-REP  
 it-ta.  
 say-PAST  
 Lit. 'The teacher said to Taro<sub>1</sub> *e*<sub>1+</sub> to clean the classroom.'

(based on Shimamura 2015, 7, (11), (12), (14), (15))

In (16a), the embedded verb has a reciprocal suffix *-aw*, and this requires a plural subject (Fujii 2006). Therefore, the embedded null subject must be plural like a case of Partial Control (PC). (16b) is a case of Object Control (OC), which should be impossible for Fujii's analysis. (16c) is a case of SpC, but it can have some agent in addition to Taro and Hanako, so it is like Partial SpC. Lastly, (16d) instantiates Partial OC, for the embedded null subject refers to some plural entity including Taro.

Also, the obligatory *de se* interpretation characteristic of OSC does not have to hold

as in (17) contrary to what Fujii (2006) observes; the relevant context is: Shinzo is a chauvinistic right-wing politician, who argues for the revision of the Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution. One day, he was completely drunken and watching someone else also claiming to revise the Article 9 on TV. Shinzo sympathized with the person on TV, yelling out “Do (your) best for the revision.” Unbeknownst to him, the person on TV was in fact Shinzo himself.<sup>4</sup>

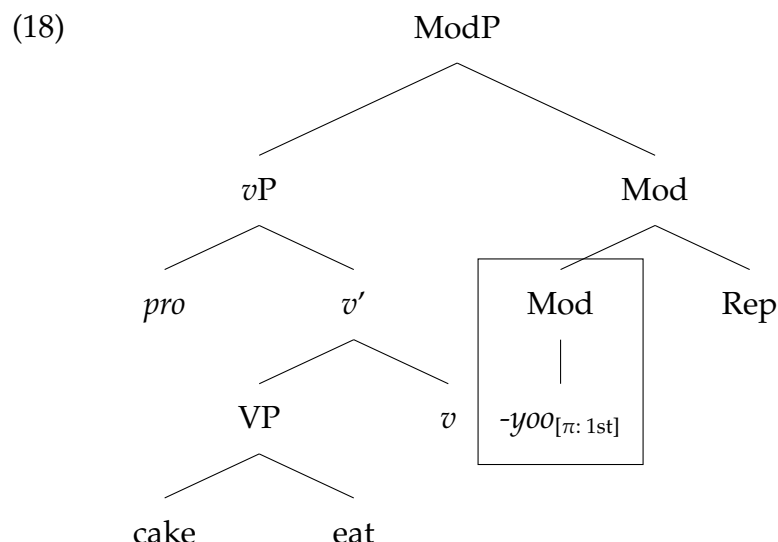
- (17) (Zibun-da-to-wa kizuk-azu) Sinzoo<sub>1</sub>-wa [<sub>*e*<sub>1</sub></sub> kyuuzyoo  
 self-COP.NONPAST-REP-TOP notice-NEG.ADV Shinzo-Top Article.9  
 kaisei-o ganbar-oo-to ] it-ta.  
 revision-ACC do.one’s.best-MOD-REP say-PAST  
 Lit. ‘Without knowing that the person on TV is Shinzo himself, he<sub>1</sub> said *e*<sub>1</sub> to do  
 his best to revise the Article 9.’ (based on Shimamura 2015, 31, (83))

Therefore, it is reasonable to consider that the embedded clause with *-yoo* is not a Control complement, and that its null subject is *pro*. Anyway, since we can use *-yoo* in the matrix context, we do not know why embedding it involves Control complements. It seems that Fujii only cares about the data where the attitude holder of *-yoo* is identical to the agent of *vP* or exhaustively constitutes the agent of *vP* with the addressee: OSC and SpC. However, to the extent that the former can be different from the latter, his argument is simply unsatisfactory.<sup>5</sup>

Establishing that having *pro* is just sufficient for cases like (13), I propose that it is derived by subclausally quoting *-yoo*, so that its restriction on the attitude holder limited to the speaker can be in the reported context. Specifically, such information is encoded as [ $\pi$ : 1st] (i.e. the first-person feature) on a modal head, Mod. Therefore, the embedded clause of (13) will be (18), where the modal head is in the Quote Domain by Rep (QDR), so its person parameter is in the reported context.

<sup>4</sup>See Shimamura (2015) for the non-*de te* interpretation of OC-like examples.

<sup>5</sup>This leads us to reconsider the finiteness in Japanese in relation to the conception of Control/PRO. Since this language has no overt distinction between finiteness and nonfiniteness for the constructions that have been argued to be Control complements, it can be that Japanese lacks PRO entirely, which is compatible with Kissock’s (2014) discussion on Telugu.



(18) is a departure from my original analysis in Shimamura (2015) because in that paper, I contended in line with Sauerland and Yatsushiro (2014) that *-yoo* undergoes indexical shifting. However, I no longer maintain that that is the correct analysis. This is because of (19), where we have a SpC-like interpretation, and as we saw in Chapter 3, the word order between the first-person pronoun and the interrogative is important for the former to refer to the reported speaker/matrix subject. That is, as in (19a), if the first-person pronoun follows the interrogative and is grouped together with the other embedded items on its right to assume (non)linguistic gestures typical of subclausal quotation, then we have the *his* reading of the first-person pronoun. In contrast, if the first-person pronoun precedes the interrogative, it is not available as in (19b).

- (19) a. Taroo<sub>1</sub>-wa Hanako<sub>2</sub>-ni [*pro*<sub>1+2</sub> nanzi-ni |<sub>pause</sub> boku-no ie-ni  
 Taro-TOP Hanako-DAT what.time-at I-GEN house-to  
*ik-oo-to* ] it-ta-no.  
 go-MOD-REP say-PAST-Q  
 Lit. 'What time did Taro<sub>1</sub> said to Hanako<sub>2</sub> that *pro*<sub>1+2</sub> would go his house?'
- b. Taroo<sub>1</sub>-wa Hanako<sub>2</sub>-ni [*pro*<sub>1+2</sub> [ boku-no ie-ni ]<sub>1</sub> nanzi-ni *t*<sub>1</sub>  
 Taro-TOP Hanako-DAT I-GEN house-to what.time-at  
*ik-oo-to* ] it-ta-no.  
 go-MOD-REP say-PAST-Q  
 Lit. 'What time did Taro<sub>1</sub> said to Hanako<sub>2</sub> that *pro*<sub>1+2</sub> would go {my, \*his} house?'



Of course, we have to consider other cases of *-yoo* complementation and its relevance to other syntactic/semantic components [Shimamura \(2015\)](#) discusses, but I believe that the proposal of this dissertation provides good empirical/theoretical grounds on which we will reconsider Control-like constructions in Japanese.

## 9.3 Epilogue

Throughout this dissertation, I have investigated the nature of the quote syntax and semantics in Japanese and considered its empirical and theoretical consequences. The starting point was the reconsideration of Rep as C, which has been a widely accepted assumption in the literature. As we have seen, the treatment of dropping this assumption paves a new way to a better understanding of Japanese quote syntax and semantics and the crosslinguistic relevance of Japanese in terms of clausal embedding. Also, it provides a new way to understand the derivation of direct and subclausal quotation, which argues that they are syntactically derived, so that it is the reporting speaker that constructs a given structure that is to be interpreted as the reported speaker's utterance, which then explains why there is no such thing as verbatim quotation, as [Clark and Gerigg \(1990\)](#) contend. Therefore, the current analysis contributes to the syntax of quotation in general. Finally, the proposed analysis can cover the data that have in fact been pointed out by descriptive linguists, which in turn enables us to have a bigger picture for and beyond the quote syntax and semantics in Japanese.

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