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A Note on Quotes in Japanese*

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1. Introduction

This squib discusses one of the complementizers in Japanese, which is exemplified in (1):¹

- (1) Taroo-wa [Hanako-ga Ziroo-ni atta] **to** omotteiru.
Taroo-TOP Hanako-NOM Ziroo-DAT met TO think
'Taroo thought that Hanako met Ziroo.'
(Saito 2012: 147)

In this example, the bold-faced, underlined *to* is a complementizer, which appears to be equivalent of English *that*, given that in the most approximate translation of (1) in English, the embedded clause is headed by this element.²

However, (2a, b) immediately cast doubt on the view that *to* is the Japanese counterpart of *that*. Notice that in these examples, the quotes are headed by *to*, but in their English translations, the quotes are not accompanied by *that*:

- (2) a. Taroo-wa [sonna hon-o yomu-na] **to** waratta.
Taroo-TOP such book-ACC read-not TO laughed
'“Don't read such a book,” Taroo laughed.'
b. Taroo-wa [itai-yo] **to** naita.
Taroo-TOP hurt-EP TO cried
'“It hurts,” Taroo cried.'

In the English counterparts of these examples, direct quotes are required.

These examples raise numerous questions, including ones related to direct and indirect discourse. One question concerns the fact that *warau* 'laugh' and *naku* 'cry' are intransitive verbs, highlighting the status of the quotes in these examples. Under the well-attested argument/adjunct dichotomy, the quotes are most naturally considered to be an adjunct since the verbs do not take a complement. However, it is not the case that the quotes in question can co-occur with any type of intransitive

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¹ Abbreviations used in this paper are as follows:

ACC = accusative, DAT = dative, EP = ending particle, GEN = genitive, NEG = negation, NOM = nominative, TOP = topic

² But see Section 2, where Saito (2012) is reviewed.

verbs, as shown in (3):

- (3) *Taroo-wa [itai-yo] **to** aruita.
Taroo-TOP hurt-EP TO walked
'(lit.) Taroo walked, "It hurts."'

The ungrammaticality of this example, in contrast to (2a,b), shows that there must be some condition under which the verbs can "take" a quote headed by *to* with them.

English and Japanese quotes also behave different when it comes to their positions. In Japanese, the quote in (2b), for example, can be situated sentence-initially, as shown in (4):

- (4) [itai-yo] **to** Taroo-wa naita.
hurt-EP TO Taroo-TOP cried
'"It hurts," Taroo cried.'

Yet in English, this type of alternation is not permitted. The English translation of (2b) is repeated in (5):

- (5) "It hurts" John cried.

The sentence-initial position is the only position that the quote in (5) can occupy. Thus, (6) is deemed unacceptable.

- (6) *John cried, "It hurts."

The contrast between (2b) and (6) raises the question of precisely where such quotes are base-generated in the two languages. The contrast between (5) and (6) suggests that the quote is base-generated in the position higher than the subject in English. Given the assumption that English subject is located in TP SPEC, quotes such as the one in (5) may be base-generated in the CP domain. If this conjecture is correct, we now wonder why (2a,b) in addition to (4) are all acceptable in Japanese. Given that Japanese has scrambling operation, it is likely that Japanese quotes are base-generated in the position shown in (2a, b), and (4), for example, results from scrambling of the quote to the sentence-initial position. All such questions drive the overarching and fundamental question of why Japanese quotes, but not their English counterparts, are "licensed" in the VP domain.³

To respond to this question, this squib is organized as follows. Section 2 reviews Saito's (2012)

³ Under the framework incorporating vP, the question in point can be understood as why quotes are generated within the vP-domain. Yet, this reformulation of the question should be accompanied by the auxiliary assumption to be introduced in the footnote 6.

analysis of *to* for paraphrases of quotes, and elucidates the basic properties of quotes in Japanese. His proposal forms the basis for the discussion that follows. The reader will see that Saito’s proposal plays a crucial role in accounting for the behavior of quotes in intransitive sentences. Section 3 presents supporting evidence for the hypothesis that quotes are generated within VP, holding an argument status, in intransitive sentences; surprising given that the verbs involved do not take a complement. Section 4 turns to explain why quotes behave as such in spite of the demonstrable fact that those in question are intransitive. Section 5 concludes this squib.

2. The Complementizer System in Japanese

Saito (2012) examines the complementizer system in Japanese, and clarifies the distribution of the three complementizers, *to*, *ka*, and *no*. The types of examples he discusses are given in (7):

- (7) a. Taroo-wa [Hanako-ga Ziroo-ni atta] **to** omotteiru. (=1)
 Taroo-TOP Hanako-NOM Ziroo-DAT met TO think
 ‘Taroo said that Hanako met Ziroo.’
- b. Taroo-wa [Hanako-ga dare-ni atta] **ka** tazuneta.
 Taroo-TOP Hanako-NOM who-DAT met KA inquired
 ‘Taroo asked who Hanako met.’
- c. Taroo-wa [[Ziroo-ni atta] **no**]-o omotteiru.
 Taroo-TOP Ziroo-DAT met NO-ACC think
 ‘Taroo regrets that he met Ziroo.’ (Saito 2012: 147)

Due to space limitations, this section only reviews the type in (7a), and for the remaining two complementizers, readers are referred to Saito (2012). Saito claims that *to* is not a complementizer for embedded propositions; rather, it is for paraphrases of quotes, parallel to Spanish *que* (Plann 1982).

First of all, *to* is attached to a quote, no matter whether it is with direct or indirect discourse. For instance, the examples in (8) mean the same, yet the former is an instance of direct discourse whereas the latter represents indirect discourse.

- (8) a. Hanako-ga “Watashi-wa genki da,” **to** itta/omotta (koto)
 Hanako-NOM I -TOP healthy is TO said/thought fact
 ‘(the fact that) Hanako said/thought, “I am healthy.”’
- b. Hanako-ga [zibun-ga genki da] **to** itta/omotta (koto)
 Hanako-NOM self -NOM healthy is TO said/thought fact
 ‘(the fact that) Hanako said/thought that she is healthy.’

The difference between these two examples stems from the fact that the former employs *watashi* ‘I’

as the embedded subject whereas the latter has *zibun* ‘self’. (8a) merely conveys Hanako utterance. Yet in (8b), *watashi* is replaced by *zibun*. Crucially, *zibun* needs a syntactic antecedent within the sentence. On such basis, the quote in this example headed by *to* must be with indirect discourse so that *zibun* can successfully find its antecedent. The fact that both (8a,b) are acceptable in describing the same situation shows that *to* is not the Japanese counterpart of *that*.

Second, embedded questions can also be headed by *to*, as shown in (9):

- (9) Taroo-wa Ziroo-ni [[[Hanako-ga kare-no ie-ni kuru] **ka** **to**] tazuneta.
 Taroo-TOP Ziroo-DAT Hanako-NOM he-GEN house-to come KA TO inquired
 ‘(lit.) Taroo asked Ziroo that if Hanako is coming to his house.’ (Saito 2012: 4)

However, English *that* cannot precede embedded questions, as is obvious from the English translation of this example. Notably, as shown in (10), Spanish *que* can also precede embedded questions.

- (10) 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.’

Observing these two and others, Saito (2012) concludes that parallel to Spanish *que*, *to* is for paraphrases of quotes.

Plann (1982) claims that verbs taking a CP headed by *que* as the complement are classified as “verbs of reporting”. Saito also proposes that a CP that is accompanied by *to* is “selected” by “verbs of reporting” in Japanese.

3. Intransitives and Quotes

While the verbs of reporting introduced in the previous section are all transitive, the current section turns our attention to sentences with an intransitive verb and a quote, examples of which were given in (2a,b). (2b) is repeated here as (11):

- (11) Taroo-ga [itai-yo] to naita.
 Taroo-NOM hurt-EP TO cried
 ‘‘It hurts,’’ Taroo cried’

This example is in contrast to (3), repeated here as (12)

- (12) *Taroo-wa [itai-yo] to aruita.
 Taroo-TOP hurt-EP TO walked
 ‘(lit.) ‘‘It hurts,’’ Taroo walked.’

The contrast between (11) and (12) shows that the verb *naku* ‘cry’ must have “licensed” the quote in (11). In addition, since *itai-yo* ‘It hurts’ is accompanied by *to*, *naku* ‘cry’ must be classified as a verb of reporting. However, unlike the examples in the previous section, *naku* is intransitive. Such evidence raises the question of how the quote can be licensed by this intransitive verb.

As the first step towards answering this question, this section presents evidence that quotes are generated within VP, as if they were like an internal argument of “intransitive verbs of reporting”; for example, the structure of (11) is as in (13) in which the quote headed by *to* is like a complement of the intransitive verb *naku*.⁴

(13) [TP Taroo-ga [VP [CP [itai-yo] to] nai]-ta]

First, if (13) is correct, since the quote and the verb form a constituent, when the VP is displaced, the quote should also be able to be displaced. Given the assumption that only maximal projections can be subject to displacement operation, the grammaticality of (14b) is correctly expected:

- (14) a. Taroo-ga [itai-yo] to naki-sae sita.
 Taroo-NOM hurt-EP TO cry-even did
 ‘(lit.) Taroo even cried, “It hurts.”’
- b. [[itai-yo] to naki]-sae Taroo-ga sita.
 hurt-EP TO cry -even Taroo-NOM did
 ‘(lit.) Even cry, “It hurts,” Taroo did.’
- c. *[naki]-sae Taroo-ga [itai-yo] to sita.
 cry -even Taroo-NOM hurt-EP TO did
 ‘(lit.) Even cry, Taroo did, “Its hurts.”’

Additionally, the ungrammaticality of (14c) shows that the quote behaves more like an argument; the grammaticality of (15c) shows that adjuncts can be left behind when VP is displaced.

- (15) a. Taroo-ga oogoe-de naki-sae sita.
 Taroo-NOM big voice-with cry-even did
 ‘Taroo even cried with big voice.’
- b. [oogoe-de naki]-sae Taroo-ga sita.
 big voice-with cry -even Taroo-NOM did
 ‘Even cry with big voice, Taroo did.’

⁴ The precise position of the subject *Taroo-ga* is not relevant for the present purpose.

- c. naki-sae Taroo-ga oogoe-de sita.
 cry -even Taroo-NOM big voice-with did
 ‘Even cry, Taroo did with big voice.’

On the other hand, as shown in (16c), the object cannot remain in-situ.

- (16) a. Taroo-ga ringo-o tabe-sae sita.
 Taroo-NOM apple-ACC eat-even did
 ‘Taroo even ate apples.’
- b. [ringo-o tabe]-sae Taroo-ga sita.
 apple-ACC eat -even Taroo-NOM did
 ‘Even eat apples, Taroo did.’
- c. *tabe-sae Taroo-ga ringo-o sita.
 eat -even Taroo-NOM apple-ACC did
 ‘Even eat, Taroo did apples.’

The contrast between (14c) and (15c), as well as the parallelism between (14c) and (16c), then shows that the quote behaves like an argument.

Second, the *soo su-* ‘do so’ replacement (Nakau 1973) also indicates that the bold-faced quote in (13) is located within VP. As a continuation to (17a), (17b) can mean that Hanako also cried, uttering, “It hurts.” This means that the quote can be part of VP. Alternatively, *soo su-* cannot replace only the verb *naku*, and thus, (17c) is ungrammatical.

- (17) a. Taroo-ga [itai-yo] to naita.
 Taroo-NOM hurt-EP TO cried
 ‘(lit.) Taroo cried, “It hurts.”’
- b. Hanako-mo soo sita.
 Hanako-also so did
 ‘Hanako also did so.’
- c. *Hanako-mo [aru-ke-nai-yo] to soo sita.
 Hanako-also walk-can-NEG-EP TO so did
 ‘(lit.) Hanako also did so, “I can’t walk.”’

The contrast between (17b) and (17c) is again a typical dichotomy between arguments and adjuncts in the *soo su-* replacement, as illustrated in (18) and (19). The crucial contrast is between (18c) and (19c). The parallelism between (17c) and (19c), but not (18c), then further supports the view that the quote behaves like an argument.

- (18) a. Taroo-ga oogoe-de naita.
 Taroo-NOM big voice-with cried
 ‘Taroo cried with big voice.’
- b. Hanako-mo soo sita.
 Hanako-also so did
 ‘Hanako also did so.’
- c. Hanako-mo kogoe-de soo sita.
 Hanako-also small voice-with so did
 ‘Hanako also did so with small voice.’
- (19) a. Taroo-ga ringo-o tabeta.
 Taroo-NOM apple-ACC ate
 ‘Taroo ate apples.’
- b. Hanako-mo soo sita.
 Hanako-also so did
 ‘Hanako also did so.’
- c. *Hanako-mo mikan-o soo sita.
 Hanako-also orange-ACC so did
 ‘(lit.) Hanako also did so oranges.’

Now, given that the discussion so far is valid, we predict that extraction out of a quote be possible. In other words, no CED effects (Huang 1982) should be observed. Typical adjunct cases like (20b) exhibit deviance.

- (20) a. Taroo-ga [zibun-no tomodati-ga dai-kara otita]-node naita (koto)
 Taroo-NOM self -GEN friend -NOM stool-from fell -because cried fact
 ‘(lit.) Taroo cried, “his friend fell from the stool.”’
- b. ??dai-kara₁ Taroo-ga [zibun-no tomodati-ga t₁ otita]-node naita (koto)
 stool-from Taroo-NOM self -GEN friend -NOM fell -because cried fact
 ‘(lit.) Taroo cried, “his friend fell from the stool.”’

Extraction of the PP *dai-kara* ‘from the stool’ out of the quote, on the other hand, does not result in any anomaly, as shown in (21b):

- (21) a. Taroo-ga [zibun-no tomodati-ga dai-kara otita] to naita (koto)
 Taroo-NOM self -GEN friend -NOM stool-from fell TO cried fact
 ‘(lit.) Taroo cried, “his friend fell from the stool.”’

- b. dai-kara₁ Taroo-ga [zibun-no tomodati-ga t₁ otita] to naita (koto)
 stool-from Taroo-NOM self -GEN friend -NOM fell TO cried fact
 ‘(lit.) Taroo cried, “his friend fell from the stool.”’

To my ear, there is a contrast between (20b) and (21b).⁵ This grammatical difference thus further supports the view that the quote accompanied by *to* behaves like an argument, in spite of the fact that *naku* is an intransitive verb.⁶

In Section 4, we propose that the three properties in point can be accounted for in a principled manner under the hypothesis that the verb *naku* is a verb of reporting, guaranteeing that a quote is generated within VP, behaving as if it were an internal argument.

4. Checking [Quote] features

Miyamoto (2012) argues that the absence of CED effects is not directly related to the presence of θ -relation. This claim is based on the fact that extraction of the *yor*i-clause out of the F(loating) Q(uantifier) complex, which exhibits adjunct behavior by itself, does not result in obvious marginality, as shown in (22):

- (22) [[Yamada-sensei-ga sinsatu-sita]-yori-mo]₁ Tanaka-sensei-ga kanzya-o
 Yamada-teacher-NOM examination-did-than-also Tanaka-teacher-NOM patient-ACC
 [FQ t₁ oozei] sinsatu-sita.
 many examination-did
 ‘Dr. Tanaka examined more patients than Dr. Yamada examined.’ (Miyamoto 2012: 344)

Miyamoto (2012: 365) argues that “what makes some object-oriented secondary predicates (= FQs) transparent for extraction is the fact that object-oriented FQs can enter into an Agree relationship with Asp via the NP they modify during the course of the derivation.”

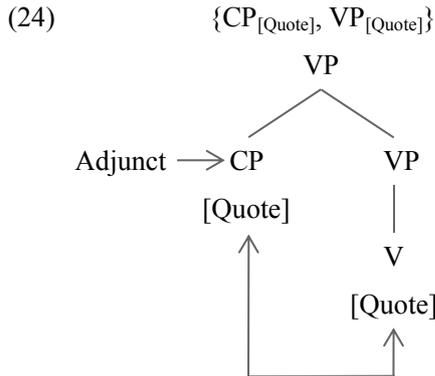
Cross-linguistically, this is not peculiar to Japanese. Borgonovo and Neeleman (2000: 199-200) show that extraction out of a depictive secondary predicate is acceptable (in some cases) in English. It is important to highlight that the contrast between (23a) and (23b), for example, cannot receive a principled explanation under an approach based on the inherent barrierhood of adjuncts:

- (23) a. *What did John dance [dressed as t₁]?
 b. What₁ did John arrive [whistling t₁]?

⁵ The presence of the anaphor *zibun* guarantees that the embedded CP is the indirect quote.

⁶ In (21a,b), the subject of the embedded clause contains the anaphor *zibun* ‘self’, which guarantees that the embedded clause is an instance of indirect quotes. This is important since direct quotes do not permit extraction from within.

In the spirit of Miyamoto’s proposal, I suggest that the quote in question has “[Quote]-relation”, but not θ -relation, with the verb *naku*. Let us suppose that *to* has [Quote] feature (see Gyoda (1999) for relevant discussion on English quotes) to enter into an Agree relationship with the [Quote] feature of a verb of reporting. Under Frampton and Gutmann’s (2000) hypothesis that Agree is feature sharing, we understand that when the quote is adjoined to VP, the sharing of [Quote] features occurs, as informally illustrated in (24).⁷



According to Oseki (2015), this adjunction plus feature sharing creates one-peaked structure, not two-peaked structure in the sense of Epstein, Kitahara and Seely (2012). If so, in (24), the derivation continues, targeting the higher VP, resulting in one-peaked VP structure. Consequently, the quote and the verb of reporting create a configuration, basically the same as the one-peaked structure formed by a transitive verb with its internal argument. Thus, the three properties discussed in Section 3 follow in a straightforward manner.⁸ It may be worth emphasizing here that under the current analysis, we capture the extraction fact, in spite of the fact that *naku* ‘cry’ is an intransitive verb.

5. Concluding Remarks

This squib discussed where a quote is generated in intransitive sentences with a verb of reporting in Japanese. We provided evidence for the quote being generated within VP, which I suggest is forced by the presence of [Quote] features shared by verbs of reporting and the complementizer *to*. To the extent that the present analysis is correct, this squib provides additional support for Saito’s (2012) proposal on the properties of *to*, and Miyamoto’s (2012) claim that CED effects are tied to the absence of Agree (or feature sharing).

The present proposal leaves numerous questions unanswered, such as the contrast between (5) and (6), repeated here as (25a,b), an issue in need of further exploration.

⁷ Under the framework incorporating vP (Chomsky 1995), we can understand that the feature sharing illustrated in (24) takes place in vP , in tandem with the assumption that a verb is raised to v in overt syntax (Fukui and Sakai 2003).

⁸ See Miyamoto (in prep.) for exact analyses of the three properties discussed in Section 3.

- (25) a. “It hurts” John cried.
 b. *John cried, “It hurts.”

One obvious difference between Japanese and English, which may be relevant here, is that the complementizer relevant for paraphrases of quotes is not available in the latter language. In addition, the English *that* is only used for indirect quotes, which needs to be selected by an upper verb. Since the verb *cry* is intransitive, the option of indirect quotes is thus unavailable in (25). Accordingly, the direct quote “*It hurts*” must be licensed in a manner distinct from the way quotes in Japanese are permitted. The contrast in (25) may suggest that the quote in (25a) is base-generated above the subject, as mentioned from the outset, still maintaining its connection to the verb of reporting, possibly through Op-movement. This may be the only choice available in English because it lacks an element which corresponds to *to* in this language, detailed examination of which remains for future research.⁹

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⁹ But see Hirota (in prep.) for discussion on intransitive sentences with a quote in English.