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A Note on Quotes in Japanese Clefts*

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1. Introduction

This squib discusses the behavior of ‘adjunct’ quotes in cleft sentences. Instances of adjunct quotes are given in (1a, b) where the phrases in question are underlined:^{1,2}

- (1) a. Yukihiro-wa [kore-de subete umaku iku] to mushi-no ii
Yukinori-TOP this -with all well go COMP insect-GEN good
koto-o tubuyaita.
something-ACC whispered
‘‘With this, everything will go well,’’ Yukinori whispered something selfish.’
(藤田 2000: 96)
- b. Taroo-wa [raibaru-ga jibun-yori(-mo) ii ten-o totta] to
Taroo-TOP rival -NOM self -than(-also) good point-ACC got COMP
[[jibun-no nooto-o miseta]-koto]-o kuyanda.
self -GEN notebook-ACC showed-fact -ACC regretted
‘Taroo regretted that he showed his notebook to his rival, saying that he got better scores than him.’

Notice that these examples contain the ACC-marked complement, which in turn indicates that the underlined quotes headed by *to* do not occupy a typical complement position of *tsubuyaku* ‘whisper’ and *kuyamu* ‘regret’.

In addition, the quote in (1b) is an instance of indirect quotation as the reflexive inside the quote can have a binding relation with the matrix subject. Likewise, (1a) can contain the reflexive within the quote, as shown in (2), to ensure that the quote is an indirect quotation:

- (2) Yukihiro₁-wa [kore-de karejishin₁-no sakusen-ga subete umaku iku] to
Yukinori-TOP this -with himself -GEN tactics -NOM all well go COMP

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¹ Abbreviations used in this squib are as follows:

ACC = accusative, CL = clitic, COMP = complementizer, DAT = dative, GEN = genitive, NEG = negation, NOM = nominative, TOP = topic

² See Saito (2012) for detailed analysis of Japanese complementizers.

mushi-no ii koto-o tubuyaita.
 insect-GEN good something-ACC whispered
 ‘‘With this, every tactics of his₁ will go well,’’ Yukinori₁ whispered something selfish.’

Significantly, this is exactly where the parallelism between Japanese and Spanish breaks down. To the extent that Plann (1982) and Saito (2012) are correct, quotes with *to* and *que* should be selected by verbs of reporting; however, the context exemplified in (1a, b) is exactly where indirect quotes cannot appear in Spanish. The following two sentences, for instance, cannot have a quote with *que*.

(3) a. (*Que) ‘‘Mi amigo va a regresar de Tokyo,’’ se lament Taroo por tener
 QUE my friend goes to return from Tokyo CL regretted Taroo for have
 que regresar a Kyoto.
 that return to Kyoto
 ‘‘My friend is going to return to Tokyo,’’ Taroo regretted for having to return to Kyoto.’

b. (*Que) ‘‘Por qu e hiciste pro una cosa como esa?’’ le critic o Taroo a Jiro.
 QUE why did a thing like that CL criticized Taroo to Jiro
 ‘‘Why did you do such a thing?’’ Taroo criticized Jiro.’
 (R. Etxepare and M. Uribe-Etxebarria, p.c.)

This indicates that (1a, b) are grammatical, despite of the fact that the complementizer *to* is not selected by verbs of reporting.

The focus of this squib is to clarify the nature of quotes in this type of sentence in Japanese. Section 2 shows that quotes of the type under consideration are located within VP, behaving parallel to internal arguments. However, Section 3 illustrates that the quotes in question behave as an adjunct, exhibiting ECP, not mere subjacency, effects in island context. To explain this peculiar property of the quotes under consideration, Section 4 compares the quotes with VP-adjuncts in cleft sentences, and elucidates that the quotes in question cannot occupy the focus position of cleft sentences, in contrast to VP-adjuncts. This section suggests a possible direction to account for the unexpected behavior of quotes in the sentences under consideration, based on the way quotes are licensed in the CP domain. Section 5 concludes this squib.

2. Quotes being within VP

Miyamoto (2016) examines quotes in intransitive sentences such as (4):

(4) Hanako-ga [kanojyojishin-no takarakuji-ga atatta] to hashirimawatte ita.
 Hanako-NOM herself -GEN lottery -NOM hit COMP be running around
 ‘Hanako was running around, saying that she won her own lottery.’

Based on VP constituency tests, he concludes that quotes like the one in (4) are located within VP. In this squib, I apply the same tests to clarify the position of quotes such as the ones in (1a, b) and (2). First, we consider the VP-preposing test. The well-known observation on VP-preposing is that a complement cannot be left behind, as can be seen in the contrast between (5a) and (5b) (Yatsushiro 1999):

- (5) a. **[hashi-de tabe]-sae Hanako-ga sushi-o shita.*
 chopstick-with eat -even Hanako-NOM sushi-ACC did
 ‘(lit.) Eat with chopsticks Hanako did sushi.’
- b. *[hashi-de sushi-o tabe]-sae Hanako-ga shita.*
 chopstick-with sushi-ACC eat -even Hanako-NOM did
 ‘(lit.) Eat with chopsticks Hanako did sushi.’

The quotes under consideration show the same contrast:

- (6) a. **[mushi-no ii koto-o tubuyaki]-sae Yukihiro₁-wa [kore-de*
 insect-GEN good something-ACC whisper -even Yukinori-TOP this -with
karejishin₁-no sakusen-ga subete umaku iku] to shita.
 himself -GEN tactics -NOM all well go COMP did
 ‘‘With this, every tactics of his₁ will go well,’’ Yukinori₁ whispered something selfish.’
- b. *[kore-de karejishin₁-no sakusen-ga subete umaku iku] to* mushi-no
 this -with himself -GEN tactics -NOM all well go COMP insect-GEN
 ii koto-o tubuyaki]-sae Yukihiro₁-wa shita.
 good something-ACC whisper -even Yukinori-TOP did
 ‘‘With this, every tactics of his₁ will go well,’’ Yukinori₁ whispered something selfish.’

Note that VP-adjuncts do not exhibit this contrast, as exemplified in (7a, b):

- (7) a. *[sushi-o tabe]-sae Hanako-ga isoide shita.*
 sushi-ACC eat -even Hanako-NOM quickly did
 ‘Even eat sushi, Hanako did quickly.’
- b. *[isoide sushi-o tabe]-sae Hanako-ga shita.*
 quickly sushi-ACC eat -even Hanako-NOM did
 ‘Even eat sushi quickly, Hanako did.’

The VP-preposing test thus shows that the quotes in question are like complements within VP.

The *soo-su* ‘do so’ replacement test results in the same conclusion. As shown in the contrast

between (8a) and (8b), a complement to V must be part of the domain to be replaced by *soo-su*.

- (8) a. Taroo-ga ringo-o tabeta.
 Taroo-NOM apple-ACC ate
 ‘Taroo ate apples.’
- b. *Hanako-mo mikan-o soo shita.
 Hanako-also orange-ACC so did
 ‘(lit.) Hanako also did so oranges.’
- c. Hanako-mo soo shita.
 Hanako-also so did
 ‘Hanako also did so.’

With this contrast in mind, let us try with quotes.

- (9) a. Yukihiro₁-wa [kore-de karejishin₁-no sakusen-ga subete umaku
 Yukinori-TOP this -with himself -GEN tactics -NOM all well
iku] to mushi-no ii koto-o tubuyaita.
 go COMP insect-GEN good something-ACC whispered
 ‘‘With this, every tactics of his₁ will go well,’’ Yukinori₁ whispered something selfish.’
- b. *Hanako₁-mo [kore-de kanojyojishin₁-no sakusen-ga subete umaku
 Hanako -also this -with herself -GEN tactics -NOM all well
iku] to soo shita.
 go COMP so did
 ‘‘With this, every tactics of hers₁ will go well,’’ Hanako₁ also did so.’
- c. Hanako₁-mo soo shita
 Hanako -also so did
 ‘Hanako also did so.’

These two VP-constituency tests show that the quotes under consideration are located within VP, behaving like an internal argument.

3. Quotes as Adjuncts

This section demonstrates that the quotes under consideration are adjuncts for island effects, although they behave parallel to a complement for the VP-constituency tests. Crucially, the quotes under consideration exhibit strong deviance when extracted out of an island. First, the examples in

(10) show that the quotes under consideration can undergo long-distance movement:

- (10) a. [kore-de karejishin₁-no sakusen-ga subete umaku iku]_i to
 this -with himself -GEN tactics -NOM all well go COMP
 Hanako-wa [Yukihiro₁-ga t_i mushi-no ii koto-o tubuyaita]
 Hanako-TOP Yukinori -NOM insect-GEN good something-ACC whispered
 to omotta.
 COMP thought
 ‘‘With this, every tactics of his₁ will go well,’’ Hanako thought that Yukinori₁
 whispered something selfish.’
- b. mushi-no ii koto-o_i Hanako-wa [Yukihiro₁-ga [kore-de
 insect-GEN good something-ACC Hanako-TOP Yukinori -NOM this -with
karejishin₁-no sakusen-ga subete umaku iku] to t_i tubuyaita] to
 himself -GEN tactics -NOM all well go COMP whispered TO
 omotta.
 thought

However, if an island intervenes, the quotes in question and the complement behave differently. Observe the grammatical contrast between the quotes and the ACC-marked complement in the context of a complex NP island.

- (11) a. *[kore-de karejishin₁-no sakusen-ga subete umaku iku]_i to
 this -with himself -GEN tactics -NOM all well go COMP
 Hanako-wa [Yukihiro₁-ga t_i mushi-no ii koto-o tubuyaita]
 Hanako-TOP Yukinori -NOM insect-GEN good something-ACC whispered
 toyuu uwasa-o kiita.
 that rumor-ACC heard
 ‘‘With this, every tactics of his₁ will go well,’’ Hanako heard the rumor that Yukinori₁
 whispered something selfish.’
- b. ??mushi-no ii koto-o_i Hanako-wa [Yukihiro₁-ga [kore-de
 insect-GEN good something-ACC Hanako-TOP Yukinori -NOM this -with
karejishin₁-no sakusen-ga subete umaku iku] to t_i tubuyaita] toyuu
 himself -GEN tactics -NOM all well go COMP whispered that
 uwasa-o kiita.
 rumor-ACC heard

The strong deviance of (11a), in contrast to (11b), shows that movement of a quote out of an island yields not merely “subjacency”, but “ECP” effects. This is naturally expected if quotes in sentences of the type in (1) are adjuncts. Given that they are in VP, as shown in Section 2, we are led to conclude that quotes in the sentences under consideration are VP-adjuncts.

4. Quotes as Not Typical VP-adjuncts

Given the conclusion in Section 3, we expect quotes of the type under consideration to behave parallel to VP-adjuncts. To test this prediction, we compare the quotes and typical VP-adjuncts in cleft sentences.

Japanese cleft sentences have been studied extensively in the literature (Koizumi 1999, 2000; Takano 2002, among others). The focus of the present squib is in what context quotes of the type in (1a, b) and (2) can/cannot appear in the focus position of cleft sentences. Let us first confirm how VP-adjuncts behave in cleft sentences. It is widely observed that they can appear in the focus position by themselves, as shown in (12):

- (12) [Taroo-ga jitensya-o naoshita]-no-wa koogu-de desu/da.
 Taroo-NOM bicycle -ACC fixed -COMP-TOP tool-with is
 ‘It is with tools that Taroo fixed the bicycle.’

They can also share the focus position with the internal argument, as illustrated in (13):

- (13) [Taroo-ga naoshita]-no-wa koogu-de jitensya-o desu/da.
 Taroo-NOM fixed -COMP-TOP tool -with bicycle -ACC is
 ‘(lit.) It is with (the) tools the bicycle that Taroo fixed.’

No obvious deviance is observed even if the order between the two focused elements is reversed:

- (14) [Taroo-ga naoshita]-no-wa jitensya-o koogu-de desu/da.
 Taroo-NOM fixed -COMP-TOP bicycle -ACC tool -with is
 ‘(lit.) It is the bicycle with (the) tools that Taroo fixed.’

Given this baseline, let us move to quotes. Let us try with (1b), repeated here as (15):

- (15) Taroo-wa [[raibaru-ga jibun-yori(-mo) ii ten-o totta] to]
 Taroo-TOP rival -NOM self -than(-also) good point-ACC got COMP
 [[jibun-no nooto-o miseta]-koto]-o kuyanda.
 self -GEN notebook-ACC showed-fact-ACC regretted
 ‘Taroo regretted that he showed his notebook to his rival, saying that he got better scores than him.’

First, it is not immediately obvious whether the quote can stand by itself in the focus position, to begin with. To my ears, (16a) is worse than (16b):

- (16) a. ???[[Taroo-ga [[jibun-no nooto-o miseta]-koto]-o kuyanda]-no-wa
 Taroo-NOM self -GEN notebook-ACC showed-fact-ACC regretted-COMP-TOP
 [[raibaru-ga jibun-yori(-mo) ii ten-o totta] to] da.
 rival -NOM self -than(-also) good point-ACC got COMP is
 ‘Taroo regretted that he showed his notebook to his rival, saying that he got better scores than him.’
- b. [[Taroo-ga [[raibaru-ga jibun-yori(-mo) ii ten-o totta] to]
 Taroo-NOM rival -NOM self -than(-also) good point-ACC got COMP
 kuyanda]-no-wa [[jibun-no nooto-o miseta]-koto]-o da.
 regretted-COMP-TOP self -GEN notebook-ACC showed-fact-ACC is
 ‘Taroo regretted that he showed his notebook to his rival, saying that he got better scores than him.’

Not surprisingly, no matter which order the quote and the internal argument are placed, strong deviance results, as illustrated in (17a, b).

- (17) a. ?*[[Taroo-ga kuyanda]-no-wa [[raibaru-ga jibun-yori(-mo) ii
 Taroo-NOM regretted-COMP-TOP rival -NOM self -than(-also) good
 ten-o totta]-to] [[jibun-no nooto-o miseta]-koto]-o da.
 point-ACC got -COMP self -GEN notebook-ACC showed-fact -ACC is
 ‘Taroo regretted that he showed his notebook to his rival, saying that he got better scores than him.’
- b. ?*[[Taroo-ga kuyanda]-no-wa [[jibun-no nooto-o miseta]
 Taroo-NOM regretted-COMP-TOP self -GEN notebook-ACC showed
 -koto]-o [[raibaru-ga jibun-yori(-mo) ii ten-o totta] to] da.
 -fact -ACC rival -NOM self -than(-also) good point-ACC got COMP is
 ‘Taroo regretted that he showed his notebook to his rival, saying that he got better scores than him.’

There is a clear contrast between (17a, b) and (18a, b) below, where the indirect and the direct object DPs share the focus position:

- (18) a. [[Taroo-ga ageta]-no-wa [Hanako-ni hon-o] da.
 Taroo-NOM gave -COMP-TOP Hanako-DAT book-ACC is
 ‘(lit.) It is Hanako a book that Taroo gave.’
- b. [[Taroo-ga ageta]-no-wa [hon-o Hanako-ni] da.
 Taroo-NOM gave -COMP-TOP book-ACC Hanako-DAT is
 ‘(lit.) It is a book Hanako that Taroo gave.’

The generalization to be reached from the grammatical status of these examples seems to be that the quotes in question cannot occupy the focus position, unlike typical VP-adjuncts. This in turn may suggest that an additional operation involved with quotes prohibits them from appearing in the focus position.

This is reminiscent of Saito and Hoshi’s (2000) proposal on Japanese light verb construction. Of importance is their analysis of the contrast between (19a) and (19b):


- (19) a. [Op₁[Honda-ga Amerika-de t₁ seisan-o shite-iru]-no-wa
 Honda-NOM America-in production-ACC doing-is -COMP-TOP
 Akoodo-o da.
 Accord-ACC is
 ‘It is Accords that Honda is producing in the U.S.’
- b. *[Op₁[Honda-ga Amerika-de Akoodo-o t₁ shite-iru]-no-wa
 Honda-NOM America-in Accord-ACC doing-is-COMP-TOP
 seisan-o da.
 production-ACC is
 ‘(lit.) It is production that Honda is doing Accords in the U.S.’

Saito and Hoshi first highlight that one of the ACC-marked NPs is displaced, the double-o constraint effect disappears, as in (19a). Given this, the ungrammaticality of (19b) cannot be an instance of the double-o constraint violation. Based on the LF-incorporation of the theta-role assigning noun to the light verb *suru*, because *seisan-o* is in the CP domain in overt syntax, the intended LF-incorporation will be necessarily lowering, which is generally prohibited in grammar.


Leaving aside detailed analysis for future research, let us assume that the additional operation involved in (15a) and (16a, b) is to move the quotes to a position which licenses quotes, indicated as \triangle in (20a, b), in LF. Then, the ungrammaticality of these examples naturally follows.³ The following shows what I have in mind:

³ See Gyoda (1999) for English quotes being licensed in CP. See also Hirota (2017) regarding this issue.

(20) a. (= (16a))

[Op₁ [XP \triangle [Taroo-ga t₁ [[jibun-no nooto-o miseta]-koto]-o kuyanda]

 Taroo-NOM self -GEN notebook-ACC showed-fact -ACC regretted
 -no]]-wa [[raibaru-ga jibun-yori(-mo) ii ten-o totta] to] da.
 -COMP-TOP rival -NOM self -than(-also) good point-ACC got COMP is
 ‘Taroo regretted that he showed his notebook to his rival, saying that he got better scores
 than him.’

b. (= (16b))

[Op₁ [XP \triangle [Taroo-ga [VP [[raibaru-ga jibun-yori(-mo) ii ten-o

 Taroo-NOM rival -NOM self -than(-also) good point-ACC
**totta] to] t₁ kuyanda]]-no]]-wa [[jibun-no nooto-o miseta]
 got COMP regretted -COMP-TOP self -GEN notebook-ACC showed
 -koto]-o da.
 -fact-ACC is
 ‘Taroo regretted that he showed his notebook to his rival, saying that he got better scores
 than him.’**

In (20a), the Op (or the quote itself, depending on the analysis of cleft sentences) must move into the position indicated as \triangle to be licensed as a quote in LF.⁴ Since \triangle c-commands neither the Op nor the quote, the intended movement must be lowering. (20b), on the other hand, does not involve lowering. Recall from Section 2 that the quote in question is base-generated in VP, and thus, the movement involved in this example must be raising.

I suggest that the licensing in point is also responsible for the argument-like behavior of adjunct quotes for the VP-preposing and the *soo-su* replacement tests, as discussed in Section 2. Suppose that the contrast between internal arguments and VP-adjuncts concerning these two operations results from the latter creating two-peaked structure (Epstein, Kitahara and Seely 2012) because no licensing is required. Consequently, adjunct quotes, being licensed in the CP domain, might be grouped together with internal arguments, forming one-peak structure.⁵ Accordingly, they behave parallel to internal arguments for the operations in question.

5. Concluding Remarks

This squib provides evidence for the adjunct quote being generated within VP, which I propose is

⁴ At this point, I do not decide the Op or the quote, which needs to occupy \triangle in LF.

⁵ See also Hornstein (2009) for relevant discussion.

licensed as a quote in LF by a feature in the CP domain, indicated as \triangle . As for the precise nature of the feature in question, we need to wait for future research, but we may be able to pinpoint where that is under Rizzi's (1997) cartographic CP structure.⁶

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⁶ See Noguchi (2017) for relevant discussion.