

On the Quotative “Complementizer” *-tte* in Japanese

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Abstract: This paper discusses the ubiquitous property of the Japanese colloquial complementizer *-tte*: it introduces clausal complements, content/relative clauses, matrix clauses, vocative expressions, sentence topics, etc. We argue that its ubiquity is a function of the feature [QUOTE] specified on *-tte* (cf. Suzuki 1998) and its categorial variability. [QUOTE] is a verbal feature that approximates to the semantics of *yuu* ‘say’ and has the illocutionary force of “presentation” (Faller 2002). The presentational force of [QUOTE] takes effect in situ on the “matrix” exponents of *-tte* heading matrix clauses, vocative expressions, and sentence topics, while in its “subordinate” exponents heading clausal complements and content/relative clauses, [QUOTE] undergoes movement into the higher verb, where the presentational illocution manifests itself. In terms of category, *-tte* occurs as a

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Abbreviations used: ACC = accusative, ASP = aspect, CLQ = colloquial, COMP = complementizer, CNJ = conjunction, CND = conditional, COP = copula, DER = derogatory, EMP = emphatic, GEN = genitive, IMP = imperative, LN = light noun, MIM = mimetic, MDL = modal, =, NEG = negation, NOM = nominative, ONM = onomatopoeic, PST = past, PL = plural, POL = polite, PRES = present, PRT = particle, Q = question, TOP = topic, TTL = title, 1, 2, 3 = first, second, third person.

“complementizer” in the verbal, nominal, and adpositional spines in the sense of den Dikken (2010). The verbal and nominal *-tte* complementizers realize most exponents of *-tte*, lending support for the much discussed CP-DP parallelism. By contrast, the distribution of the adpositional *-tte* complementizer is rather limited, in accordance with the emergent status of adpositions (Emonds 1985), which also explains the occurrence of *-tte* heading onomatopoeias, that is, peripheral, but productive expressions characteristic of Japanese.

Keywords: complementizer, quotation, presentation, vocative, topic, category, feature movement

1. Introduction

As is well known in the literature, the morpheme *-to* is used as a finite complementizer in Japanese. What may probably be less known is the fact that Japanese speakers often use *-tte*, instead of *-to*, in their colloquial speech:¹

- (1) a. Taroo-ga daigaku-ni gookaku-sita-*to* kiita.
 T.-NOM university-to passing.exam-did-COMP heard
 ‘I heard that Taro got into a university.’
- b. Taroo-ga daigaku-ni gookaku-sita-*tte* kiita(-yo).
 T.-NOM university-to passing.exam-did-COMP heard-PRT
 ‘I heard that Taro got into a university.’

This, however, does not mean that *-tte* is to be identified as the colloquial counterpart of the complementizer *-to*. In fact, *-to* and *-tte* do not completely overlap in their distribution; there are contexts in which *-to* can occur, while *-tte* cannot. One such context is the mimetic adverbial formation:

¹ The initial [t] of *-tte* drops and *-te* surfaces before [n]. This process seems optional except when *-tte* follows the question word *nani*, the colloquial form of *nani* ‘what’, that is, *nani(*t)te*.

- (2) a. Taroo-wa yukkuri-*to* aruita.
 T.-TOP slow.MIM-COMP walked
 ‘Taro walked slowly.’
- b. *Taroo-wa yukkuri-*tte* aruita.
 T.-TOP slow.MIM-COMP walked

Although *-to* can introduce the mimetic adverbial meaning ‘slowly’, as in (2a), this is impossible with *-tte*, as in (2b).² Conversely, there are contexts in which *-to* cannot occur, but *-tte* can. One such context is that of “description marking” (Suzuki 1998) for nominal expressions:

- (3) a. *Taroo-wa tensai-da-*to* koto-ni nat-teiru.
 T.-TOP genius-COP-COMP thing-to become-ASP.PRES
- b. Taroo-wa tensai-da-*tte* koto-ni nat-teru.
 T.-TOP genius-COP-COMP thing-to become-ASP.PRES.CLQ
 ‘Taro is considered a genius.’

While *-to* fails to give a description to the light noun *koto* ‘thing’, as in (3a), *-tte* serves this purpose and heads the content clause for it as in (3b).

These contexts do not seem sensitive to the degree of formality; it therefore doesn’t seem imperative that mimetics be not colloquial and that the nominal description be colloquial. It is thus concluded that what governs the grammaticality in examples (2) and (3) is not the speech level, but something else — something that fundamentally distinguishes *-tte* from *-to*. In short, we conclude that *-tte* is not simply the colloquial counterpart of *-to* and that it deserves an analysis in its own right.

This paper presents a generative-syntactic analysis of the colloquial complementizer *-tte*, in an attempt to explain its various uses and its ubiquity.³ Section 2 introduces the reader to five major exponents of *-tte* which the present paper discusses along with contingent issues. Section 3 proposes a syntactic definition of *-tte* as a “quotative” complementizer, in the wake of Suzuki (1998) and based on the etymology of *-tte*. Section 4 analyzes each of the five contexts for *-tte* usage in syntactic terms. Along the way, we will reveal new data, introduce auxiliary concepts and

² We claim that the “complementizer” *-to* in (2a) is postpositional. See the discussion in the concluding section, where an account of the ill-formedness of (2b) will also be offered.

³ A fair amount of attention has been paid to *-tte* outside the generative school of thought. See Suzuki (1998) and Itani (1998), among others. Suzuki (1998) offers the most extensive work on *-tte* from a pragmatic point of view in terms of “psychological distance,” as measured by the degree of “incorporation of information.” Itani (1998) is a relevance-theoretic work on *-tte*.

2.2. *-Tte* as a “Description Marker”

The complementizer *-tte* can be used as a marker that introduces a “description” (Suzuki 1998) of the head noun, the description being either the content clause, as in (3) and (5), or the relative clause, as in (6).^{5,6}

- (5) a. Taroo-ga bengosi-da-*tte* hanasi
 T.-NOM lawyer-COP-COMP story
 ‘the story that Taro is a lawyer’
- b. asita yuki-ga huru-*tte* yohoo
 tomorrow snow-NOM fall-COMP forecast
 ‘the forecast that it will snow tomorrow’
- (6) a. Taroo-ga kinoo atta-*tte* hito
 T.-NOM yesterday met-COMP person
 ‘the person that Taro is said to have met’
- b. Taroo-ga kondo kaku-*tte* hon
 T.-NOM next.time write-COMP book
 ‘the book that Taro is said to write next time’

This description maker usage of *-tte* is generally considered the colloquial counterpart of *-toyuu*; the non-colloquial equivalents of (5) and (6) are given in (7) and (8).

⁵ As the reviewer correctly points out, the complementizer and description marker uses are not two (entirely) distinct exponents of *-tte* in that both involve a V-*tte* complementation, that is, analytically speaking. On the descriptive level, however, it is convenient to distinguish them, since the description marker *-tte* appears to attach directly to the following head noun of a relative/content clause (with the intervening V being null), while the complementizer *-tte* does in fact attach directly to the following head, that is, the selecting verb. Thus, it is in the above analytic sense that the description maker use can surely be subsumed under the complementizer use of *-tte*.

⁶ The content clause is ungrammatical without *-tte* (or *-toyuu*), while the relative clause is fine without it:

- (i) a. *Taroo-ga bengosi-da hanasi
 T.-NOM lawyer-COP story
- b. Taroo-ga kinoo atta hito
 T.-NOM yesterday met person
 ‘the person that Taro met yesterday’

We abstract away from this contrast, only suggesting that either the argument-adjunct distinction or the absence/presence of a (null) operator may be playing a role here. Importantly, (ib) and (6a) (or (8a)) convey different meanings, a point we will discuss later in section 3. Finally, the contrast in (i) reminds us of how the English complementizer *that* is omissible in the relative clause, but not in the content clause.

- (7) a. Taroo-ga bengosi-da-*toyuu* hanasi
 T.-NOM lawyer-COP-COMP story
 ‘the story that Taro is a lawyer’
- b. asita yuki-ga huru-*toyuu* yohoo
 tomorrow snow-NOM fall-COMP forecast
 ‘the forecast that it will snow tomorrow’
- (8) a. Taroo-ga kinoo atta-*toyuu* hito
 T.-NOM yesterday met-COMP person
 ‘the person that Taro is said to have met’
- b. Taroo-ga kondo kaku-*toyuu* hon
 T.-NOM next.time write-COMP book
 ‘the book that Taro is said to write next time’

Morphologically, it is apparent that *-toyuu* is composed of the complementizer *-to* and the verb *-yuu* (< *-iu*) ‘say’. This fact will be taken into serious consideration, first in our characterization of *-tte* (Section 3), and then in our analysis of *-tte* as a description marker (§4.2).

2.3. *-Tte* as a Matrix-Final Particle

What is most surprising about *-tte*, if it were simply the colloquial counterpart of the complementizer *-to*, is how it can head the matrix clause, which *-to* cannot:⁷

- (9) a. Yuki-ni naru-daroo-*tte*.
 snow-to become-MDL-COMP
 ‘I report that it will come to snow.’
- b. *Yuki-ni naru-daroo-*to*.
 snow-to become-MDL-COMP

⁷ In some dialects and perhaps for older generations, *-to* seems to be able to introduce the matrix clause. Therefore, (9b) is a well-formed utterance in such dialects and idiolects. It is beyond our present scope, however, to strive for the proper treatment of such examples of *-to*. Interestingly, adding some discourse particles turns (9b) into a well-formed utterance:

- (i) Yuki-ni naru-daroo-*to-sa/yo*.
 snow-to become-MDL-COMP-PRT/PRT
 ‘They say that it will snow.’

Anticipating the analysis developed in §4.3, one can argue that such discourse particles “activate” the functional head “Pres” which encodes the illocutionary force of “presentation” (Faller 2002).

If *-tte* is a genuine complementizer, (9a) would be ill formed, just like (9b). One may argue that (9a) is simply an outcome of omitting the verb complex of the higher clause in (10a).

- (10) a. Yuki-ni naru-daroo-*tte* it-teru.
 snow-to become-MDL-COMP say-ASP.PRES.CLQ
 ‘They are saying that it will come to snow.’
- b. Yuki-ni naru-daroo-*to* it-teiru.
 snow-to become-MDL-COMP say-ASP.PRES
 ‘They are saying that it will come to snow.’

Then, we will be at a loss to account for the ill-formedness of (9b).

It therefore seems that there must be some special property to *-tte*, missing from *-to*, that enables it to behave like a sentence-final particle to convey the meaning ‘I report’ in the English translation of (9a).

2.4. *-Tte* as a “Second Vocative” Marker

The complementizer *-tte* can also be used to introduce a vocative:

- (11) Oi, *(Taroo!) Taroo-*tte*!
 hey T. T.-COMP
 ‘Hey, (Taro!) Taroooo!’

The vocative expression *Tarootte!* in (11), however, cannot be used when the speaker addresses Taro for the first time; the speaker must have uttered first *Taroo!*. We thus call vocative expressions suffixed with *-tte* like *Tarootte!* above “second vocatives.”

Two questions must be addressed for the proper treatment of *-tte*: (i) what is it that enables *-tte* to mark the second vocative?, and (ii) why does *-tte*, if it is a complementizer at all, merge with a name (e.g., *Taroo*), without incurring a categorial mismatch?⁸

2.5. *-Tte* as a Topic Marker

Finally, the complementizer *-tte* can be found suffixed to the sentence topic, either to a noun phrase or a postpositional phrase:

⁸ This is somewhat reminiscent of the categorially “ambiguous” status of *that* in English: it functions either as a complementizer introducing a finite clause or as a demonstrative heading a noun phrase (e.g., *Do you think that you read that book?*).

- (12) a. Ano zyuutan-*tte*, Taroo-ga Iran-kara
 that.GEN carpet-COMP T.-NOM Iran-from
 okut-te-kita(-n-da-yo).
 send-CNJ-came-LN.CLQ-COP-PRT
 ‘Speaking of that carpet, Taro sent it from Iran (I assure you).’
- b. Iran-kara-*tte*, Taroo-ga ano zyuutan-o
 Iran-from-COMP T.-NOM that.GEN carpet-ACC
 okut-te-kita(-n-da-yo).
 send-CNJ-came-LN.CLQ-COP-PRT
 ‘From Iran, Taro sent that carpet here (I assure you).’

The complementizer *-tte* in (12) can be directly substituted for by *-wa*, as in (13).

- (13) a. Ano zyuutan-wa, Taroo-ga Iran-kara
 that.GEN carpet-TOP T.-NOM Iran-from
 okut-te-kita(-n-da-yo).
 send-CNJ-came-LN.CLQ-COP-PRT
 ‘Speaking of that carpet, Taro sent it from Iran (I assure you).’
- b. Iran-kara-wa, Taroo-ga ano zyuutan-o
 Iran-from-TOP T.-NOM that.GEN carpet-ACC
 okut-te-kita(-n-da-yo).
 send-CNJ-came-LN.CLQ-COP-PRT
 ‘From Iran, Taro sent that carpet here (I assure you).’

The use of the complementizer *-tte* as a topic marker is thus confirmed.⁹

Two questions parallel to the ones addressed in the previous section arise immediately: (i) what enables *-tte* to mark the sentence topic?, and (ii) why does *-tte*, if it is a complementizer at all, merge not only with noun phrases, but with postpositional phrases (e.g., *Irakara* ‘from Iran’), without incurring a categorial mismatch?

⁹ The following is not an instance of the topic marker *-tte*:

- (i) Kono-kurasu-ni Takata-*tte*(-hito) iru?
 this.GEN-class-in T.-COMP-person exist
 ‘Is there a person called Takata in this class?’

The optional occurrence of the head noun *hito* ‘person’, as well as the English translation, suggests that *-tte* in (i) is an instance of the description marker *-tte* (see §2.2).

2.6. Summary

To recapitulate, *-tte* can occur as a:

- (14) a. complementizer (§2.1)
- b. description marker (§2.2)
- c. matrix-final particle (§2.3)
- d. second vocative marker (§2.4)
- e. topic marker (§2.5)

Assuming that these are five different exponents of a single grammatical object (see footnote 8), we will investigate the following: what property does *-tte* have that allows for its five distinct exponents?

With this question in mind, we present our proposal on the nature of *-tte* in the next section.

3. Proposal: *-Tte* as a “Quotative” Complementizer

Suzuki (1998) argues that *-tte* is a quotation marker.¹⁰ In fact, the quote function of *-tte* is evident from the English translations in (6) and (9a), which contain the expressions *is said to* and *I report*. In addition, recall from §2.2 that *-toyuu*, the non-colloquial equivalent of *-tte* used for description marking, may arguably be decomposed into the definite complementizer *-to* and the verb *yuu* (< *iu*) ‘say’; this suggests that *-toyuu* likely carries the semantics of a saying verb. Given that *-toyuu* is commonly considered a possible (historical) source of the colloquial *-tte*, it is not far-fetched to conjecture that *-tte* also carries the semantics congenial to that of the verb *yuu*.¹¹ This, we argue, is not restricted to *-tte* occurring in the description marking context; although it may not be as transparent, *-tte* in the other contexts can also be paraphrased through forms containing *-to* and a conjugation of *yuu* (or *iu*); to exemplify, (15) illustrates the complementizer context (see §2.1), (16) the matrix-final context (see §2.3), while (17) and (18) demonstrate the topic context (see §2.5):

¹⁰ Suzuki (1998) also identifies *-nante* (not addressed in this paper) as another quotation marker and gives it a treatment similar to *-tte*.

¹¹ Another possible origin of the quotative *-tte* recognized in the second edition of *Nihon Kokugo Daijiten* (‘Shogakukan Unabridged Dictionary of the Japanese Language’) is *-toiite*, where *-to* is the “pure” complementizer and *-ii* is a conjugation of *iu* before *-te*, the general-purpose clausal conjunction.

- (15) a. Keeki-ga kaihuku-suru-*toyuu*-huu-ni omoe-masu-ka?
 business-NOM recover-do-COMP-manner-in can.think-POL-Q
 [lit.] ‘Does it strike you in such a way that business will recover?’
- b. Keeki-ga kaihuku-suru-*tte* omoe-masu-ka?
 business-NOM recover-do-COMP can.think-POL-Q
 ‘Does it strike you that business will recover?’
- (16) a. Kono-mori-ni-wa mamono-ga sumu-*toyuu*.
 this.GEN-forest-in-TOP demon-NOM live-COMP
 ‘They say that there is a demon living in this forest.’
- b. Kono-mori-ni-wa mamono-ga sun-deru(-n-da)-*tte*.
 this.GEN-forest-in-TOP demon-NOM live-ASP.PRES.CLQ-LN-COP-COMP
 ‘I report that there is a demon living in this forest.’
- (17) a. Haru-*toyuu*-no-wa doko-kara kuru-no?
 spring-COMP-LN-TOP where-from come-Q
 [lit.] ‘Where does the thing called spring come from?’
- b. Haru-*tte*, doko-kara kuru-no?
 spring-COMP where-from come-Q
 ‘As for spring, where does it come from?’
- (18) a. Taroo-*to-ie*-ba, (aitu) ima doko-ni iru-n-daroo?
 T.-COMP-say-CND 3s.DER now where-in exist-LN.CLQ-MDL
 ‘Speaking of Taro, I wonder where he is now.’
- b. Taroo-*tte*, (*aitu) ima doko-ni iru-n-daroo?
 T.-COMP 3s.DER now where-in exist-LN.CLQ-MDL
 ‘Speaking of Taro, I wonder where he is now.’

The second vocative use of *-tte* phrases (see §2.4) does not seem paraphrasable in a manner similar to the other uses, but the very name “second vocative” is indicative of *-tte*’s quote function in that context.¹² We thus agree with Suzuki (1998) that *-tte*

¹² We will return to this issue in §4.4, where we will also point out that the topic phrase as exemplified by (18a) may be the diachronic source of an alternative, emphatic form of the second vocative.

functions as a quotation marker and that it carries the semantics akin to that of the verb *yuu*.¹³

Now, how can and should such a quotation marker be characterized syntactically? Building on its function and the semantics examined above, we define *-tte* as a finite complementizer with the verbal feature or V-feature [QUOTE] — that is, the featural approximation of *yuu* — specified on it:

(19) *Quotative Complementizer (First Pass)*

-tte =_{def} C_[QUOTE]

On the one hand, the categorial status of *-tte* as C is fairly straightforward, given its occurrence at the clausal right periphery and interchangeability with *-to* or *-toyuu* (see §2.1 and §2.2), which are the morphemes generally taken to realize the category C (see Hiraiwa 2001).¹⁴ On the other, the specification of [QUOTE] on the category C is buttressed by the claim that in Nuuchahnulth, a Wakashan language in Pacific Canada, the quotative mood suffix or “evidential” *-waʔiš* belongs in the CP domain (Waldie 2012).¹⁵ Thus, we have good reason for maintaining that *-tte* is defined as C_[QUOTE].

Returning to the question addressed at the end of the previous section, the following is our answer put in syntactic terms: it is the V-feature [QUOTE] on *-tte* that makes its five distinct exponents possible.

In the next section, we will go on to analyze each exponent in turn, by means of C_[QUOTE].

4. Analysis

The status of the quotative complementizer *-tte* as C_[QUOTE] implies that it is functionally ambivalent with regard to embedding. On the one hand, the categorial label C represents heading a projection that is to be embedded by a higher predicate. On the

¹³ The claim that a quotation marker is associated with a meaning roughly equivalent to that of a saying verb receives cross-linguistic support. Blain and Déchaine (2007) argue that the (intransitive) verb *itwê-* ‘say thus’ represents the quotative “evidential” (see footnote 15) in Plains Cree, an Algonquian language.

¹⁴ Our discussion of the potential categorial mismatch mentioned in §2.4 and §2.5 will be deferred until Section 4; the issue will be settled then.

¹⁵ The term “evidential” refers to types or markers of “evidentiality,” the grammatical encoding of the information source for the speaker’s utterance. Incidentally, Aoki (1986) identifies the matrix-final occurrence of *-tte* as a hearsay evidential.

nuance of the *-toyuu* manner clause (‘in such a manner as X’), as illustrated by (15), here repeated as (22).

- (22) a. Keeki-ga kaihuku-suru-*toyuu*-huyu-ni omoe-masu-ka?
 business-NOM recover-do-COMP-manner-in can.think-POL-Q
 [lit.] ‘Does it strike you in such a way that business will recover?’
- b. Keeki-ga kaihuku-suru-*tte* omoe-masu-ka?
 business-NOM recover-do-COMP can.think-POL-Q
 ‘Does it strike you that business will recover?’

We take the availability of examples like (22a) to minimally suggest that [QUOTE] can be transplanted onto the higher predicate in the context of *-tte* complementation, as in (22b).

It appears that the feature movement depicted in (21) is empirically motivated. Interestingly, no *-tte* complement clause can be followed by particles such as *-mo* ‘also’ or the topic marker *-wa* (in its contrastive use):

- (23) *Asita yuki-ga huru-*tte-mo/-wa* omou.
 tomorrow snow-NOM fall-COMP-also/-TOP think
 [intended] ‘I also/surely think that it will snow tomorrow.’

On the assumptions that *-mo* and *-wa* are X^0 categories that head their own projections (see Tateishi 1994 for the claim to this effect for *-wa*), rather than adjunct XPs, and that feature movement of [QUOTE] is subsumed under head movement (Chomsky 1995), the ungrammaticality of (23) is straightforwardly explained by the intervention effect, namely a violation of Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1990).¹⁶

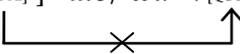
¹⁶ Unlike *-mo* and *-wa*, elements such as *-sura* ‘even’ or *-sae* ‘even’ do not incur a violation of Relativized Minimality, as in (i):

- (i) Asita yuki-ga huru-*tte-sura/-sae* omou.
 tomorrow snow-NOM fall-COMP-even/-even think
 ‘I even think that it will snow tomorrow.’

We tentatively assume the grammaticality of (i) to indicate that *-sura* and *-sae* are XP adverbials adjoined to the embedded CP, not X^0 -particles intervening between CP and the matrix verb.

However, according to Aoyagi (2006), the morphemes in question are all X^0 s, and the crucial distinction between them is rather that *-mo* and *-wa* are purely functional, while *-sura* and *-sae* are semi-lexical, a distinction with some empirical justification. On the assumption that [QUOTE] does not move to the higher V in one swoop, but drops by at intervening heads, movement from *-mo/-wa* to the selecting V may count as an improper movement (i.e., from F-head to L-head), while movement from *-sura/-sae* to the selecting V may count as a proper movement (i.e., from L-head to L-head).

(24) [CP ... *-tte*_[QUOTE]] *-mo/-wa* V_[QUOTE]



For further evidence, compare (23) with (25), a grammatical counterpart where the complementizer is *-to*, rather than *-tte*:

(25) Asita yuki-ga huru-*to-mo/-wa* omou.
 tomorrow snow-NOM fall-COMP-also/-TOP think
 'I also/surely think that it will snow tomorrow.'

Since *-to* is not a quotative complementizer, no [QUOTE] movement is involved here and thus no intervention effect is observed; accordingly, the sentence is well formed.

4.2. Description Marker *-Tte*

The other exponent of the subordinate class is *-tte* as a nominal description marker, which serves to either introduce a content clause or a relative clause. The relevant examples (5a) and (6a) are repeated from §2.2, which are given here as (26a) and (26b), respectively.

(26) a. Taroo-ga bengosi-da-*tte* hanasi CONTENT CLAUSE
 T.-NOM lawyer-COP-COMP story
 'the story that Taro is a lawyer'

 b. Taroo-ga kinoo atta-*tte* hito RELATIVE CLAUSE
 T.-NOM yesterday met-COMP person
 'the person that Taro is said to have met'

In what sense is *-tte* a subordinator in the present context? First, consider the content clause. Whether content clauses are syntactic complements of head nouns has been controversial; we follow the assumption from Higgins (1973), Stowell (1981), and Grimshaw (1990) that it is not (see Moulton 2009 for a comprehensive survey on this issue). As far as relative clauses are concerned, the consensus is that it is a modifier or adjunct, rather than a complement of the head noun. It thus appears that no obvious complementation occurs for noun description, unlike in the previously discussed complementizer context.

However, recall from §2.2 that the examples in (26) have non-colloquial paraphrases by means of *-toyuu*, (7a) and (8a), here repeated as (27a) and (27b), respectively.

- (27) a. Taroo-ga bengosi-da-**toyuu** hanasi
 T.-NOM lawyer-COP-COMP story
 ‘the story that Taro is a lawyer’
- b. Taroo-ga kinoo **atta-toyuu** hito
 T.-NOM yesterday met-COMP person
 ‘the person that Taro is said to have met’

As discussed, *-toyuu* is morphologically complex and can decompose into the complementizer *-to* and the verb *yuu* (< *iu*) ‘say’. The decomposition in question may be not only morphologically, but also syntactically true.¹⁷ If so, the description clause headed by *-toyuu* may have the following schematic structure (cf. Endo 2014:192):

- (28) [NP [VP [CP ... *-to*] *-yuu*] N]

We assume that *yuu* is used as an unaccusative verb here because it lacks agentivity and semantically resembles predicates such as *rasii* ‘seem’ or *mitai* ‘appear’.¹⁸

Now, if the *-toyuu* clause has the VP structure in (28), it can be argued that the *-tte* clause, the colloquial version thereof, undergoes a parallel structural analysis. We argue that this is indeed the case, and propose the following base-generated structure for *-tte* as a description marker:

- (29) [NP [VP [CP ... **-tte**_[QUOTE]] \emptyset_V] N]

¹⁷ The syntactic decomposition in question is indirectly evidenced, as far as the content clause is concerned, by how *yuu* in (27a), for example, can be substituted for by the “linking” genitive *-no*, as (ia) shows:

- (i) a. Taroo-ga bengosi-da-**to-no** hanasi
 T.-NOM lawyer-COP-COMP-GEN story
 ‘the story that Taro is a lawyer’
- b. *Taroo-ga kinoo **atta-to-no** hito
 T.-NOM yesterday met-COMP-GEN person

By contrast, this substitution is impossible with the relative clause, as in (ib) (cf. (27b)). We leave the potentially linking nature of *yuu* unresolved (maybe, only of *-toyuu* heading the content clause) and do not discuss the grammaticality contrast in (i).

¹⁸ The category of *-yuu* of *-toyuu* is considered verbal, as suggested by its replaceability with *-itta*, the past form of *iu* (> *yuu*):

- (i) Taroo-ga bengosi-da-**to-itta** hanasi
 T.-NOM lawyer-COP-COMP-said story
 ‘a story such that Taro is a lawyer’

There is a discernible semantic difference between (i) and (27a) that may arguably reflect the tense difference between present *yuu* and past *itta*.

The V-feature [QUOTE] on *-tte* is to be taken as a relic of *-yuu* of *-toyuu* (see footnote 19): it is a morphologically and syntactically bleached “verbum dicendi” (cf. Bayer 1999). Conceivably, phonation of [QUOTE] as *-yuu* subsequent to its C-to-V movement is a linguistic atavism.

Again, [QUOTE] semantically corresponds to a verb of saying, thus making it not implausible for the phonation of $\emptyset_{V[QUOTE]}$ to be *-yuu*, which is the saying verb in Japanese.

4.3. Matrix-Final Particle *-Tte*

We now turn to the “matrix” uses of *-tte*, where the semantics of [QUOTE] reveals itself. The V-feature [QUOTE] is “matrix” in nature as it serves to do the embedding, and as Faller (2002) argues for Quechua reportative evidential *-si*, the evidentiality of quotation or report is associated with the illocutionary force of “presentation”; it functions to “present” a third party’s speech act to the hearer.

The first matrix case to be examined is *-tte* as a matrix-final particle. The representative example (9a) is repeated here as (33), with relevant analytic information added.

- (33) [CP Yuki-ni naru-daroo-*tte*_[QUOTE]].
 snow-to become-MDL-COMP
 ‘I report that it will come to snow.’

Residing on the topmost category C of the clausal spine, [QUOTE] enables *-tte* to project a matrix CP with the presentational force, such that the sentence is translated here by means of ‘I report’.

The presentational force inherent to [QUOTE] may be optionally expressed through a functional category atop of the *-tte* CP. In this regard, consider the following example:

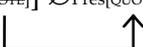
- (34) Taroo-ga yuki-ni naru-daroo-*tte*.
 T.-NOM snow-to become-MDL-COMP
 ‘According to Taro, it’s going to snow tomorrow.’

This example minimally differs from (33) in the occurrence of the nominative “subject” *Taroo-ga*, interpreted here as the source of information (i.e., ‘according to Taro’).²⁰ Where

²⁰ The goal, as well as the source argument of information, can be overtly expressed:

- (i) Taroo-ga kimi-ni hayaku koi-*tte*.
 T.-NOM 2.CLQ-to quickly come.IMP-COMP
 ‘I’m telling you on Taro’s behalf to come quickly.’

does this “extra” argument come from? On the one hand, the occurrence of the information source DP is attributable to [QUOTE], which conversely suggests the verbal nature or V-feature status of [QUOTE]. On the other hand, regarding how such a DP is introduced into the structure, Spec,CP is not suitable for introducing an argument; rather, the DP in question is licensed in the specifier of a functional category on top of CP when [QUOTE] moves into it:

$$(35) \quad [\text{PresP Taroo-ga} [\text{CP yuki-ni} \dots \text{-tte}_{[\text{QUOTE}]}] \emptyset_{\text{Pres}[\text{QUOTE}]}]$$


This argument-introducing functional category is dubbed “Pres,” standing for the illocutionary force of presentation. We also stipulate — quite naturally, so it seems — that PresP is available only in the matrix context.²¹

4.4. Second Vocative/“Second Matrix” Marker *-Tte*

Another matrix use of *-tte* to be handled is the vocative expressions illustrated in (11), here repeated as (36).

- (36) Oi, *(Taroo!) Taroo-*tte*!
 hey T. T.-COMP
 ‘Hey, (Taro!) Tarooo!’

As mentioned in §2.4, the vocative expression with *-tte* cannot be used when the speaker addresses the hearer for the first time, thus the name “second vocative.” This property, we argue, reflects the function of [QUOTE] on *-tte* plainly; the speaker “quotes” the vocative expression already uttered in the discourse. In this particular case, when uttering *Tarootte!*, the speaker “self-quotes” to present the immediately preceding vocative expression *Taroo!*. We thus answer the first of the two questions addressed in §2.4: What enables *-tte* to mark the second vocative?

The interpretation involved suggests the existence of another functional category dedicated to the imperative illocutionary force.

²¹ The presentational functional category Pres should not be identified with the null V postulated for the description marker *-tte* in §4.2. This is partly because no phonation of [QUOTE] is possible for the matrix-final exponent of *-tte*, unless the sentence ends with a final particle, as shown in (i) (cf. (16) and (31)).

- (i) Kono-mori-ni-wa mamono-ga sun-deru(-n-da)-*tte*-yuu*(-yo).
 this-forest-in-TOP demon-NOM live-ASP.PRES.CLQ-LN-COP-COMP-say-PRT
 ‘**They say that** there is a demon living in this forest.’

Importantly, (i) sounds less “presentational” than (16b); this difference is reflected in the respective English translations: ‘I report’ in (16b) and ‘They say’ in (i) and (16a).

The other question is yet to be answered, which is namely why *-tte* can merge with nominal expressions like *Taroo* without being ill-formed, especially if it represents the category of C (i.e., categorial mismatch). The best answer is that there is no categorial mismatch taking place in (36). We argue that this is indeed the case and that *-tte* is $D_{[QUOTE]}$ when taking a name and other similar nominal expressions.²² Accordingly, *Taroo^{-tte}!* in (36) is a DP:

(37) [DP *Taroo-tte*_[QUOTE]]!

Further, the quotative complementizer *-tte* is redefined as (38), where F stands for “functional head”:

(38) *Quotative Complementizer (Second Pass)*
-tte =_{def} $F_{[QUOTE]}$, where $F \in \{C, D\}$

In fact, this is the predicted state of affairs, given the structural parallelism between the clausal and nominal spines advanced and acknowledged in the literature, i.e., the CP-DP parallelism (Abney 1987; Szabolcsi 1994; Li 1998; den Dikken 2010; among many others; cf. Jackendoff 1977). Given (38), the issue of categorial mismatch ceases to exist.

The CP-DP parallelism also anticipates a phenomenon akin to the second vocative to be observed on the CP side; vocatives are analogues of matrix clauses (Szabolcsi 1994, 2010). This expectation is met, we argue, as seen in the following example:

(39) Oi, *(hayku koi!) Hayaku koi-*tte*!
 hey quickly come.IMP quickly come.IMP-COMP
 ‘Hey, (come quickly!) COME QUICKLY!’

²² The merge pair of *-tte* in the second vocative is nominal, not sentential (or verbal), as is evident from examples like (i), where the polite title-denoting suffix *-san* or the plural suffix *-tati* (or both) can occur between a name and *-tte*:

(i) Oi, *(*Taroo-san-tati*!) *Taroo-san-tati-tte*!
 hey T.-TTL-PL T.-TTL-PL-COMP
 ‘Hey, (Taro ‘n’ Company!) Taroo ‘n’ Company!’

Such morphemes only target a nominal stem, not a verbal one. Incidentally, the description marker *-tte* also targets nominal expressions:

(ii) *Taroo-tte hito*
 T.-COMP person
 ‘a person called Taro’

This shows that the description marker *-tte* can also be a $D_{[QUOTE]}$.

The *-tte* imperative form in (39) is most felicitously uttered when it is preceded by the *-tte*-less form (which may be left out, inasmuch as it is implicitly understood). We call the matrix utterance with *-tte* in question a “second matrix.”²³ To further strengthen the CP-DP parallelism being examined, both the second vocative and the second matrix have a more emphatic form with *-ba* suffixed to them (for the sake of simplicity, the first occurrences of the vocative and imperative expressions are omitted in the following examples):

- (40) a. Taroo-*tte-ba*! DP
 T.-COMP-EMP
 ‘TAROOO!’
- b. Hayaku koi-*tte-ba*! CP
 quickly come.IMP-COMP-EMP
 ‘DO COME QUICKLY!’

However, we do not attempt to identify the categorial status of this emphatic *-ba* here.²⁴

A word is in order with respect to PresP (see §4.3), which is a functional projection encoding the illocutionary force of presentation and hosts the information source argument in its specifier along with the [QUOTE] movement into its head. We argue that PresP is impossible in second vocatives and matrixes contexts, since they are self-quotations, as exemplified below:

- (41) *Taroo-ga hayaku koi-*tte*!
 T.-NOM quickly come.IMP-COMP

The information source of self-quotations is always the first person (including “exclusive” *we*); it can never be a third person, let alone the second person. Consequently, no PresP is needed, and thus it is not projected.

The upshot of the preceding discussion is that a CP-DP parallelism in the domain of quotations is present, with the “second matrix” on the CP and the “second vocative” on the DP.

²³ A second matrix need not be an imperative sentence:

- (i) *(Yuki-ga huru.) Yuki-ga huru(-n-da)-*tte*!
 snow-NOM fall snow-NOM fall-LN.CLQ-COP-COMP
 ‘(It will snow.) IT WILL SNOW!’

²⁴ Diachronically, this emphatic use of *-ba* must have originated from the conditional complementizer *-ba* (cf. (18a)). We conjecture that upon losing the conditional meaning, *-ba* got to be “recycled” as a marker of emphasis. See the next footnote.

4.5. Topic Marker *-Tte*

The final matrix exponent of *-tte* is its realization as a topic marker. Relevant examples are (12), here repeated as (42).

- (42) a. Ano zyuutan-*tte*, Taroo-ga Iran-kara
 that.GEN carpet-COMP T.-NOM Iran-from
 okut-te-kita(-n-da-yo).
 send-CNJ-came-LN.CLQ-COP-PRT
 ‘Speaking of that carpet, Taro sent it from Iran (I assure you).’
- b. Iran-kara-*tte*, Taroo-ga ano zyuutan-o
 Iran-from-COMP T.-NOM that.GEN carpet-ACC
 okut-te-kita(-n-da-yo).
 send-CNJ-came-LN.CLQ-COP-PRT
 ‘From Iran, Taro sent that carpet here (I assure you).’

The topic marker usage of *-tte* somewhat resembles its second vocative use (another matrix exponent), in that the emphatic *-ba* can suffix to a certain class of topic *-tte* phrases, as shown in (43) (cf. (40)).

- (43) a. Ano zyuutan-*tte-ba*, Taroo-ga Iran-kara
 that.GEN carpet-COMP-EMP T.-NOM Iran-from
 okut-te-kita(-n-da-yo).
 send-CNJ-came-LN.CLQ-COP-PRT
 ‘Speaking of that carpet, Taro sent it from Iran (I assure you).’
- b. ??Iran-kara-*tte-ba*, Taroo-ga ano zyuutan-o
 Iran-from-COMP-EMP T.-NOM that.GEN carpet-ACC
 okut-te-kita(-n-da-yo).
 send-CNJ-came-LN.CLQ-COP-PRT
 ‘From Iran, Taro sent that carpet here (I assure you).’

The awkwardness of (43b) aside, examples like (43a) lend empirical support for treating the topic use of *-tte* as an instance of matrix exponent.²⁵

²⁵ It is generally considered that the topic use and the second vocative/second matrix use of *-tte* share a historical origin and came from *-toieba* (i.e., *-to-ie-ba* -COMP-say-CND) through the contracted *-tteba* form. Synchronically, however, *-tte* and *-toieba* topics seem to behave differently, as far as the availability of the (resumptive) pronoun is concerned (see (18)). More generally, semantic/pragmatic similarities between vocatives and topics have been pointed out and examined in the literature (see Lambrecht 1996; Portner 2004; among others).

Now, recall from §2.5 the two questions raised for the topic marker *-tte*. The first concerns the reason for why *-tte* can head the sentence topic, which is something that the rest of the sentence is about, as it consists of old or given information. Something that is quoted must contain previously mentioned information from the discourse. That is why *-tte*, with its [QUOTE], is used to present a topic for the sentence to start with (cf. Niwa 1994; Suzuki 1998). The first question is thus answered. The second question concerns the now-familiar categorial mismatch: how can *-tte*, if it is a true “complementizer,” merge with what appears to be a noun phrase or a postpositional phrase, as in (42a) and (42b), respectively? In the wake of the second vocative case, we argue that there is no categorial mismatch attested here, either; *-tte* instead represents $D_{[QUOTE]}$ in (42a) and $P_{[QUOTE]}$ in (42b). Accordingly, the topic phrases in question are a DP and a PP:

- (44) a. [DP Ano zyuutan-*tte*_[QUOTE]], ...
 b. [PP Iran-kara-*tte*_[QUOTE]], ...

Once again, the definition of the quotative complementizer *-tte* is modified:

- (45) *Quotative Complementizer (Final Version)*
-tte =_{def} $F_{[QUOTE]}$, where $F \in \{C, D, P\}$

This three-way categorial ambiguity of *-tte* is reminiscent of the three-way parallelism between the extended projections of V, N, and P advanced by den Dikken (2010). We will return to this issue in Conclusion.

Some may argue that alleged PP-*tte* topics such as *Irankaratte* in (42b) represent the “metalinguistic use” (Takubo 1989), in which the complement of *-tte* is a direct quotation. This is not so, however. Our argument is twofold. For one thing, not all postpositional phrases can make grammatical *-tte* topics (their acceptability is subject to speaker variation):²⁶

- (46) ?*Iran-ni-*tte*, Taroo-ga manga-o okutta(n-da-yo).
 Iran-to-COMP T.-NOM comic-ACC sent-LN.CLQ-COP-PRT
 [intended] ‘To Iran, Taro sent comics.’

²⁶ Our current conjecture is that the more etymologically “nouny” a postposition is, the better the resulting *-tte* topic phrase (cf. Saito 1985).

For the other, this variability in acceptability is not detectable when they are used in a genuinely metalinguistic way:

- (47) a. He? Iran-kara-*tte*, (sore) doo-yuu-koto?
 huh Iran-from-COMP it how-say-thing
 ‘Huh? What do you mean by *from Iran*?’
- b. He? Iran-ni-*tte*, (sore) doo-yuu-koto?
 huh Iran-to-COMP it how-say-thing
 ‘Huh? What do you mean by *to Iran*?’

The optional occurrence of the pronoun *sore* ‘it’, referring to the postpositional quote, implies that *-tte* in the metalinguistic use is most likely $D_{[QUOTE]}$, not $P_{[QUOTE]}$ (cf. Collins 1997).

Returning to the definition (45), one may argue that all things being equal, there should be clausal *-tte* topics, as well. At first blush, the one in (48a) seems to exemplify a case in point:

- (48) a. Zibun-ga tensai-da-*tte*, Taroo-ga omot-teru-no?
 self-NOM genius-COP-COMP T.-NOM think-ASP.PRES.CLQ-Q
 ‘Does Taro think that he is a genius?’
- b. Taroo-ga zibun-ga tensai-da-*tte* omot-teru-no?
 T.-NOM self-NOM genius-COP-COMP think-ASP.PRES.CLQ-Q
 ‘Does Taro think that he is a genius?’

The fronted *-tte* clause here is not used metalinguistically, given the occurrence of the reflexive *zibun* ‘self’ in it (see Saito and Haraguchi 2012).²⁷ However, *-tte* in (48a) must be an instance of C , not $C_{[QUOTE]}$, as the V-feature $[QUOTE]$ must already have been moved to the selecting verb *omou* (> *omot*), when base-generated in the thematic

²⁷ The following example represents the “metalinguistic use” of clausal *-tte* topics:

- (i) Hayaku koi-*tte*, (sore) doo-yuu-koto?
 quickly come.IMP-COMP it how-say-thing
 ‘What is *Come quickly* supposed to mean?’

The alleged clause *hayaku koi* is a direct quote, as indicated by the English translation and by the optional pronoun *sore*. We assume that the *-tte* heading such topics is $D_{[QUOTE]}$, not $C_{[QUOTE]}$. See Collins 1997 for a similar proposal.

Incidentally, inasmuch as it is anaphoric, not logophoric, the reflexive *zibun* requires reconstruction of the *-tte* clause into the thematic position (see Aoun and Li 2003).

position, as in (48b) (see §4.1). We speculate that the following grammatical contrast is sensitive to the absence or presence of [QUOTE] on *-tte*:

- (49) a. *Ano zyuutan-*tte-sura*, Taroo-ga Iran-kara
 that.GEN carpet-COMP-even T.-NOM Iran-from
 okut-te-kita(-n-da-yo).
 send-CNJ-came-LN.CLQ-COP-PRT
- b. *Iran-kara-*tte-sura*, Taroo-ga ano zyuutan-o
 Iran-from-COMP-even T.-NOM that.GEN carpet-ACC
 okut-te-kita(-n-da-yo).
 send-CNJ-came-LN.CLQ-COP-PRT
- c. Zibun-ga tensai-da-*tte-sura*, Taroo-ga omot-teru-no?
 self-NOM genius-COP-COMP-even T.-NOM think-ASP.PRES.CLQ-Q
 ‘Does Taro even think that he is a genius?’

While *-sura* fails to attach to DP-*tte* or PP-*tte* topics, as in (49a) and (49b), it can follow a clausal “topic,” as in (49c). There is thus no CP-*tte* topic with [QUOTE] on *-tte*; all things are not equal.²⁸

What about the external syntax of *-tte* topics headed by D_[QUOTE] and P_[QUOTE]? Although we cannot go into much detail due to the limitation of space, we summarize in (50) what we believe to be a correct description of the syntactic apparatus needed (cf. Saito 1985).

- (50) a. DP-*tte* topics are base-generated clause-initially and null-operator movement may optionally apply.
- b. PP-*tte* topics are base-generated clause-initially and null-operator movement applies.

The base-generation of *-tte* topics may be the very function of [QUOTE] on *-tte* — after all, the topic exponent of *-tte* is of the matrix class — and this is indirectly evidenced, we contend, by the contrast in (49); the [QUOTE]-less *-tte* clause has most probably undergone movement to the sentence-initial position. That null-operator movement must be involved in the PP-*tte* topic construction can be demonstrated by the subjacency effect (i.e., the Complex NP Constraint) in (51b).

²⁸ There remains a question as to why there is no clausal *-tte* topics available in the first place. Matrix clauses cannot become *-tte* topics for an obvious reason: if they do, there will be no comment. What we call “second matrixes,” however, may diachronically be considered such comment-less *-tte* topics.

- (51) a. ?Ano zyuutan-*tte*₂, Taroo-ga [[e₁ Iran-kara e₂
 that.GEN carpet-COMP T.-NOM Iran-from
 okut-te-kita]-hito₁]-ni atta-no?
 send-CNJ-came-person-to met-Q
 ‘As for that carpet, did Taro meet a person who sent it here from Iran?’
- b. *Iran-kara-*tte*₂, Taroo-ga [[e₁ e₂ ano zyuutan-o
 Iran-from-COMP T.-NOM that.GEN carpet-ACC
 okut-te-kita]-hito₁]-ni atta-no?
 send-CNJ-came-person-to met-Q

The well-formed status of (51a), we believe, is attributable to the availability of (resumptive) *pro* for DPs.²⁹ In the DP-*tte* topic construction, null-operator movement must be optional, if it applies at all, because D_[QUOTE] can head *-tte* topics that are licensed via the “aboutness relation” (Kuno 1973), for example, “metalinguistic” topics (see (47)).

Though somewhat inconclusive, the following is our structural analysis of the two *-tte* topic constructions, schematically:

- (52) a. [DP ... -*tte*_[QUOTE]]_i [(Op_i [... t_i ...])]
 b. [PP ... -*tte*_[QUOTE]]_i [Op_i [... t_i ...]]

We do not commit ourselves to delineating the precise position that *-tte* topics occupy (e.g., whether they occupy Spec,TopP), as it is orthogonal to our main concerns in this paper.

5. Conclusion: The Quotative “Complmentizers”

The quotative complementizer *-tte* is an evidential morpheme that conveys an illocutionary act of “presentation” (Faller 2002). If our proposal is on the right track, *-tte* is a functional category that occurs in three varieties, namely C_[QUOTE], D_[QUOTE], and P_[QUOTE]. The three functional heads behave differently depending on the contexts in which they occur, but the illocutionary force of presentation, which is ascribed to [QUOTE], the V-feature commonly specified on these heads, always manifests itself in one way or another.

²⁹ If Cinque (1990) is correct, *pro* is nominal by definition (see also Aoun and Li 2003).

The term “complementizer” may sound like a misnomer for describing *-tte*, given its nominal and postpositional manifestations. However, this is not the case in den Dikken’s (2010:100) parallel extended projections for verbal, nominal, and adpositional spines:

- (53) a. [CP C^[FORCE] [D_{xP} Deixis^[TENSE] [AspP Asp^[EVENT] [VP V ...]]]]
 b. [CP C^[DEF] [D_{xP} Deixis^[PERSON] [AspP Asp^[NUM] [NP N ...]]]]
 c. [CP C^[SPACE] [D_{xP} Deixis^[SPACE] [AspP Asp^[SPACE] [PP P ...]]]]

The term “complementizer” thus refers to our claim that *-tte* belongs in the outermost functional domain of CP in each spine, presumably as one of the highest CP members in terms of “syntactic cartography” (Rizzi 1997; Cinque 1999), for example, ForceP.³⁰ In that regard, we agree with the reviewer and consider the issue of how to analyze the quotative complementizer *-tte* in terms of the ramified ForceP (e.g., Saito 2012, 2015; Endo 2014 for Japanese) to be an important one; however, we leave it for another occasion to address that issue in detail.³¹

Finally, the category P and the “complementizer” P_[QUOTE] should be discussed. P has been recognized as an “emergent” category (Emonds 1985) or as the “elsewhere” category (Déchaine 2005); in other words, it is something that is neither V (or A) nor N. Given this characteristic, it seems natural that P or P_[QUOTE] is adopted in order to incorporate mimetic and onomatopoeic expressions — arguably on the productive “periphery” of the system — into the grammatical structure. This is indeed the case, as evidenced below:

- (54) a. Taroo-wa (motto) yukkuri-*to* aruita. MIMETIC
 T.-TOP more slow.MIM-COMP walked
 ‘Taro walked (more) slowly.’
 b. Taroo-wa (motto) pyoon(t)-*to* tonda. ONOMATOPOEIC
 T.-TOP more airy.ONM-COMP jumped
 ‘Taro jumped in a (more) airy manner.’
- (55) a. *Taroo-wa (motto) yukkuri-*tte* aruita. MIMETIC
 T.-TOP more slow.MIM-COMP walked

³⁰ Blain and Déchaine (2007) argue that Plains Cree quotative evidential *-itwê* is external to CP.

³¹ See Hirose and Nawata (2016) for a preliminary attempt to do justice to the issue, regarding *-tte* in the C and D domains.

- b. Taroo-wa (motto) pyoon(t)-(t)te tonda. ONOMATOPOEIC
 T.-TOP more airy.ONM-COMP jumped
 ‘Taro jumped in a (more) airy manner.’

Mimetics are manner- and not sound-oriented. The reverse is true with onomatopoeias. On the one hand, the contrast between (54a) and (55a) (i.e., between (2a) and (2b)) reaffirms that *-tte* is not simply the colloquial equivalent of *-to*. On the other hand, the lack of contrast between (54a) and (54b) means that *-to* is a “pure” complementizer in the P-spine. The contrast between (55a) and (55b) once again confirms the quotative nature of *-tte*. In other words, one can only quote things that are sound-oriented, be they structured utterances or onomatopoeias.³²

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³² What are the categories of mimetics and onomatopoeias? The former may arguably be nominal, as it can be followed by a case particle:

- (i) Aruku-no-wa yukkuri-ga-ii.
 walk-LN-TOP slow.MIM-NOM-good
 ‘If you walk, it’s good to do so slowly.’

By contrast, the latter seems category-free (i.e., like root morphemes), in which case, P_[QUOTE] *-tte* does the categorizing, as well as the quoting.

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