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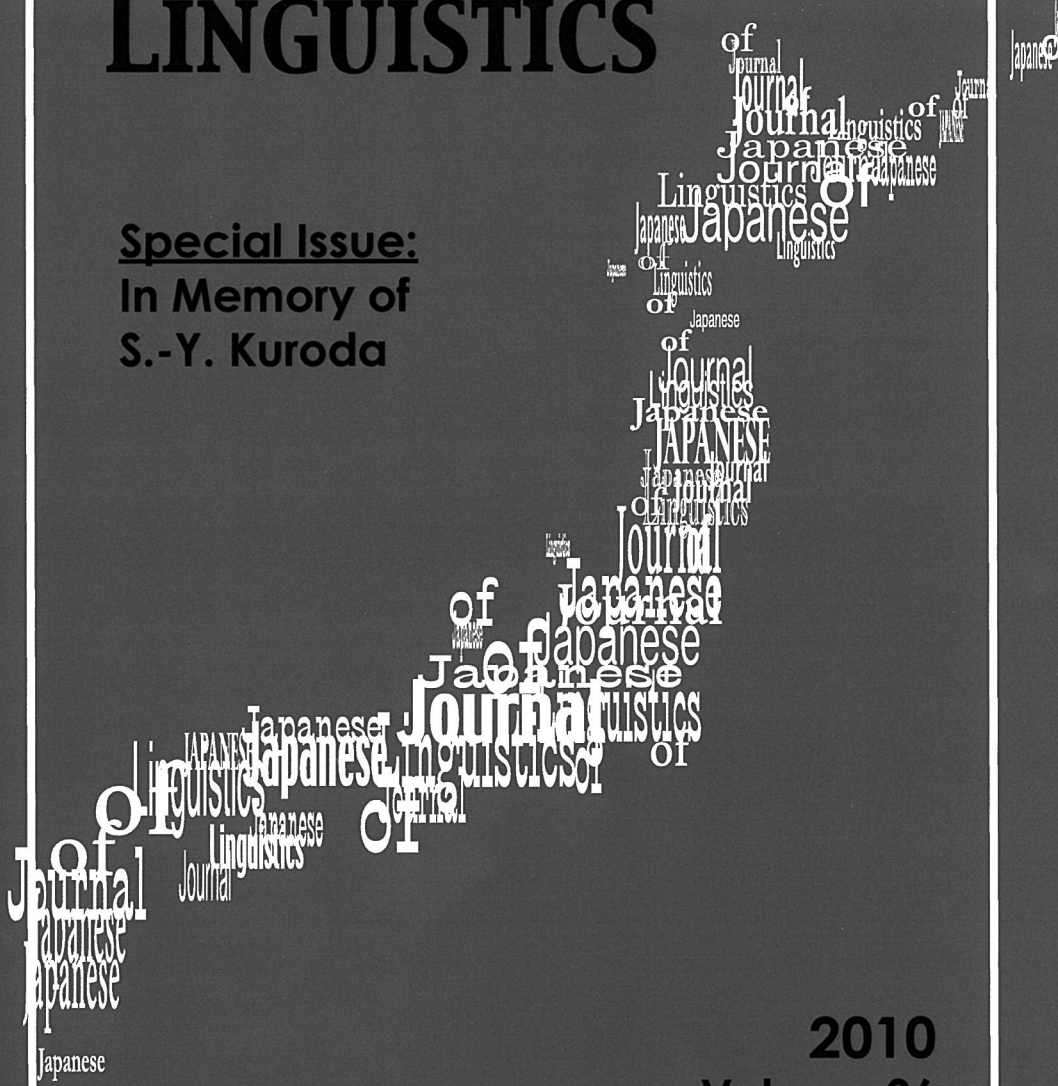
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On the nature of the complementizer *to*[*]

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This paper proposes that the Japanese complementizer *to* is not a comp for propositions as is widely assumed, but is a comp for reports of direct discourse. Plann (1982) argues that *que* in Spanish is ambiguous between a comp for propositions and a comp for reports. I first motivate the proposal by demonstrating the parallelism between *to* and *que*. Then, I show that *to*, unlike *que*, is employed specifically for reports of direct discourse. I argue that there is a division of labor between *to* and another complementizer *no*: the former is for reports and the latter is for propositions. Finally, I discuss the distribution of *to* in wider contexts, for example in adjunct CPs, and present further evidence for the proposal.

Areas of interest: syntax, complementizer, types of embedded clauses, reports of direct discourse

1. Introduction

To is often assumed to be ambiguous between a marker of direct quotation and a complementizer (henceforth, comp) for finite propositions that corresponds to *that* in English. Typical examples of these two cases are shown in (1).

(1)a.   Taroo-ga, "Hanako-wa boku-no uti-ni   i-ru," to it-ta (koto)
        T.-NOM H.-TOP   I-GEN house-at is   *to* said fact
        'Taroo said, "Hanako is at my house."'
   b.   Taroo-ga Hanako-wa boku-no uti-ni   i-ru to it-ta (koto)
        T.-NOM H.-TOP   I-GEN house-at is *to* said fact
        'Taroo said that Hanako was at my house.'

(1a) and (1b) consist of the same string of words, including the first person pronoun *boku* 'I'. In (1a), the pronoun refers to Taroo. Thus, the embedded sentence must be a direct quotation of Taroo's utterance. On the other hand, the same pronoun *boku* refers to the speaker of the matrix clause in (1b). In this case, the embedded sentence must represent indirect discourse.

However, it has been widely known that the distinction between direct quotation and indirect discourse, apparently, is not always clear-cut. For example, Kuno (1988) discusses sentences such as (2):

(2) Taroo-wa zibun-no uti-ni ki-te kure to Ziroo-ni it-ta
     T.-TOP self-GEN home-to come for-me *to* Z.-DAT said
     '*Lit.* Taroo said to Ziroo *that* come to his (Taroo's) house'

The embedded clause is an imperative and expresses a request rather than a proposition. This suggests that it represents a direct discourse. However, if it is a direct quotation of an utterance by Taroo, the first person pronoun *boku* 'I' must appear instead of the reflexive *zibun* 'self'. As *zibun* is bound by the matrix subject, the part that contains it must represent an indirect discourse. Kuno concludes then that Japanese allows "blended discourse", which starts out as indirect and shifts to direct.

In this paper, I argue that examples like (2) look puzzling because of the incorrect assumption that *to* is a comp for finite propositions when it is not a marker of direct quotation. I propose instead that *to* is employed to report the *content* of an utterance or what is in the mind of the relevant person (typically the referent of the matrix subject), including an order, a question, a proposal, and an imaginary situation. Plann (1982) examines *que* in Spanish and argues that it is ambiguous between a comp for propositions and a comp for *paraphrases* of direct discourse. What I intend to demonstrate is that *to* is specialized for the latter purpose. This provides support for her proposal to distinguish the two types of *que*s as it shows that the second type has a unique phonetic realization in Japanese.

Plann's initial argument is based on the fact that *que*, in some contexts, can be followed by a question. In the following section, I first discuss parallel facts with *to* as in (3) and show that her analysis is directly applicable to Japanese.

(3) Taroo-wa Ziroo-ni [CP [CP [TP Hanako-ga kare-no ie-ni ku-ru] ka] to] tazune-ta
     T.-TOP Z.-DAT H.-NOM he-GEN house-to come Q *to* asked
     '*Lit.* Taroo asked Ziroo *that if* Hanako is coming to his (Taroo's) house'

Then, I consider Kuno's (1988) examples mentioned above and argue that they too fall into place under Plann's analysis. In section 3, I present evidence that reinforces this analysis of *to*. In particular, I compare the distributions of *to* and another comp *no*, and argue that there is a clear division of labor: while *to* appears when the matrix predicate is a verb of saying or thinking, *no* is employed when the CP expresses an event, state, or action. The section also discusses the distribution of *to* in wider contexts, including adjunct and appositive CPs. Section 4 is the conclusion.

2. *To* as a complementizer for reports of direct discourse

As seen above, *to* can follow questions and imperatives. In this section, I consider these cases in turn. Section 2.1 shows that *to* can follow a question CP in exactly the same context that *que* can take a question CP as a complement, that is, when the matrix predicate is a verb of saying or thinking. Section 2.2 reexamines Kuno's (1988) hypothesis that Japanese allows "blended discourse" and shows that the relevant facts point to another parallelism between *to* and *que*, as *que* also can take an imperative complement as discussed in Rivero (1994).

2.1. The distribution of *to* with interrogative CP complements

Let us start the discussion by examining (3) in a little more detail. The matrix verb, *tazune-ta* 'asked', selects for a question as shown in (4).

(4) Taroo-wa Ziroo-ni [CP [TP Hanako-ga kare-no ie-ni ku-ru] ka/*to] tazune-ta
     T.-TOP Z.-DAT H.-NOM he-GEN house-to come Q/*to* asked
     'Taroo asked Ziroo *if* /**that* Hanako is coming to his (Taroo's) house'

This suggests that there is a selectional relation between the matrix verb and the question comp *ka* in (3), and that *to* is somehow transparent for this relation. However, the situation is not that straightforward. The verb, *siri-tagat-te-i-ru* 'want to know', also selects for a question as in (5a), but (5b) shows that it does not allow the *ka-to* sequence in contrast with *tazune-ta* 'asked'.

(5)a. Taroo-wa [CP [TP Hanako-ga kare-no ie-ni ku-ru] ka] siri-tagat-te-i-ru
       T.-TOP H.-NOM he-GEN house-to come Q want to know
       'Taroo wants to know *if* Hanako is coming to his house'
   b. *Taroo-wa [CP [CP [TP Hanako-ga kare-no ie-ni ku-ru] ka] to] siri-tagat-te-i-ru
       '*Lit.* Taroo wants to know *that if* Hanako is coming to his house'

If *to* is simply an optional comp that is ignored in selectional relations, (5b) is expected to be grammatical. The contrast between (3) and (5b) indicates there is indeed a selectional relation between the matrix predicate and *to*.

Then, what is the source of the contrast between (3) and (5b)? Here, Plann's (1982) discussion of *que* becomes quite relevant.[1] She shows that *que*, which serves as a comp for a propositional complement in (6a), can also be followed by questions as in (6b)-(6c).

(6)a. Sabía que corría
       knew(3sg.) *que* run(3sg.)
       'He knew that he was running'
   b. 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'
   c. Pensó que cuáles serían adecuados
       thought(3sg.) *que* which ones would be appropriate
       'He wondered which ones would be appropriate'

But she notes at the same time that not all question-selecting predicates allow the presence of *que*. Some verbs that do not permit *que* are shown in (7).

(7) Ya supieron/entendieron/recordaron (*qui) por qué lo habías hecho
     already found out(3pl.)/understood(3pl.)/remember(3pl.) *que* why it had(2sg.) done
     'They already found out/understood/remembered why you had done it'

Thus, *que* is observed with an embedded question when the matrix verb is 'ask' or 'think', but not when it is 'find out', 'understand', or 'remember'.

Examining more relevant examples, Plann draws the generalization that *que* can take a question CP complement when the matrix predicate is a verb of saying or thinking, that is, a verb that is compatible with direct quotation. Based on this, she proposes that *que* in this case is a comp that introduces a

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[1]Thanks are due to Kensuke Takita for pointing out the relevance of Plann (1982) in this context.

paraphrase of direct discourse. According to her analysis, there are three types of comp's in Spanish; a null comp for question CPs, *que* for propositions, and *que* for paraphrases of direct discourse. Following Lahiri (1991), I call the last one *que* for reports.

Let us now return with this background to the contrast between (3) and (5b), repeated as (8a) and (8b).

(8)a.　Taroo-wa　Ziroo-ni　[CP [CP [TP Hanako-ga　kare-no　ie-ni　　ku-ru] ka] to] tazune-ta
　　　　T.-TOP　Z.-DAT　　　　　H.-NOM　he-GEN　house-to come　Q　*to*　asked
　　　　'*Lit*. Taroo asked Ziroo *that if* Hanako is coming to his (Taroo's) house'
　　b.　*Taroo-wa　[CP [CP [TP Hanako-ga　kare-no　ie-ni　　ku-ru] ka] to] siri-tagat-te-i-ru
　　　　T.-TOP　　　　　H.-NOM　he-GEN　house-to come　Q　*to*　want to know
　　　　'*Lit*. Taroo wants to know *that if* Hanako is coming to his house'

Here, the matrix verb in (8a), *tazune-ta* 'asked', is a verb of saying, but that in (8b), *siri-tagat-te-i-ru* 'want to know', is not a verb of saying or thinking. Thus, Plann's generalization seems applicable to Japanese. This is confirmed by further examination of the verbs that allow the *ka-to* sequence. That is, *to* can take a question CP as a complement when the matrix predicate is a verb of saying or thinking, exactly as *que* for reports. Partial lists of the Japanese matrix predicates that allow the *ka-to* sequence and those that do not are given in (9).

(9)a.　<u>matrix predicates that allow *ka-to*</u>:
　　　　kik-u 'ask', *situmon-su-ru* 'question', *yu-u* 'say', *sakeb-u* 'scream', *omo-u* 'think'
　　b.　<u>matrix predicates that do not allow *ka-to*</u>:
　　　　tyoosa-su-ru 'investigate', *hakken-su-ru* 'discover', *rikai-su-ru* 'understand',
　　　　sir-ana-i 'not know'

The verbs in (9a) are compatible with direct quotation and those in (9b) are not, as illustrated in (10).[2]

(10)a.　Taroo-wa, "Hanako-wa nani-o　　si-te-i-ru <u>no</u> daroo ka," <u>to</u> omot-ta
　　　　T.-TOP　　H.-TOP　what-ACC doing　*no* can be Q　*to* thought
　　　　'Taroo thought, "What can it be that Hanako is doing?"'
　　b.　*Taroo-wa, "Hanako-wa nani-o　　si-te-i-ru <u>no</u> daroo ka," <u>to</u> sir-ana-i
　　　　T.-TOP　　H.-TOP　what-ACC doing　*no* can be Q　*to* not know
　　　　'*Lit*. Taroo doesn't know, "What can it be that Hanako is doing?"'

It has been shown that *to* can have a question CP complement in the same context as *que*. I hence conclude that it too can serve as a comp for reports of direct discourse. The following subsection considers Kuno's (1988) "blended discourse" and presents further evidence for this conclusion.

2.2. On Kuno's (1988) blended and quasi-direct discourse
As noted above, Kuno (1988) proposes that a sentence embedded under *to* can be a "blended discourse", starting as indirect and shifting to direct. The relevant example (2) is repeated below as (11b), together with its direct discourse counterpart in (11a).

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[2]Another comp *n(o)* appears in these examples. It is discussed in comparison with *to* in the following section.

(11)a.　Taroo-wa, "Boku-no uti-ni　　ki-te kure," <u>to</u> Ziroo-ni it-ta
　　　　T.-TOP　I-GEN　home-to come for-me *to* Z.-DAT said
　　　　'Taroo said to Ziroo, "Come to my house"'
　　b.　Taroo-wa <u>zibun-no uti-ni</u>　<u>ki-te kure</u>　<u>to</u> Ziroo-ni it-ta
　　　　T.-TOP　self-GEN home-to come for-me *to* Z.-DAT said
　　　　'*Lit*. Taroo said to Ziroo *that* come to self's house'

I first argue that "blended discourse" is really indirect. Then I show that Plann's (1982) analysis predicts examples such as (11b) to be possible and that the parallelism between *que* and *to* holds in this case also.

Kuno assumes that the verb in the embedded clause of (11b) represents some kind of direct discourse as it expresses a request. However, he points out at the same time that it cannot be a direct quotation. Note first that the form of an expression for request varies in accordance with the degree of "politeness," as shown in (12).

(12)a.　#Taroo-wa, "Boku-no uti-ni　　ki-te kure," <u>to</u> Ito-sensei-ni it-ta
　　　　T.-TOP　I-GEN　home-to come for me *to* I.-Prof.-DAT said
　　　　'Taroo said to Prof. Ito, "Come to my house"'
　　b.　Taroo-wa, "Watasi-no uti-ni　　oi-de itadak-e-mas-u ka," <u>to</u> Ito-sensei-ni it-ta
　　　　T.-TOP　I-GEN　home-to come for me (polite) Q　*to* I.-Prof.-DAT said
　　　　'Taroo said to Prof. Ito, "Would you please come to my house?"'

(12a) is inappropriate as an utterance of a student, Taroo, to his teacher, Prof. Ito, because *ki-te kure* 'come for me' is a non-polite, neutral expression. (12b) shows what Taroo would actually say in this context. Kuno points out that the judgments, interestestingly, are reversed when direct discourse is turned into "blended discourse". This is shown in (13).

(13)a.　Taroo-wa <u>zibun-no uti-ni</u>　<u>ki-te kure</u>　<u>to</u> Ito-sensei-ni it-ta
　　　　T.-TOP　self-GEN home-to come for me *to* I.-Prof.-DAT said
　　　　'*Lit*. Taroo said to Prof. Ito that come to self's house'
　　b.　*Taroo-wa zibun-no uti-ni　　oi-de itadak-e-mas-u <u>ka to</u> Ito-sensei-ni it-ta
　　　　T.-TOP　self-GEN home-to come for me (polite) Q　*to* I.-Prof.-DAT said
　　　　'*Lit*. Taroo said to Prof. Ito that would you please come to my house?'

(13a) contains the neutral, non-polite form, *ki-te kure* 'come for me', and is perfectly grammatical. On the other hand, (13b) with the polite expression is not just inappropriate but ungrammatical. Based on this observation, Kuno concludes that the direct part of "blended discourse" is not really direct but only "quasi-direct". According to him, "blended discourse", then, consists of indirect discourse and "quasi-direct" discourse.

Kuno goes on to discuss why polite expressions are not allowed in "blended discourse". His answer is that this is because polite forms do not appear in embedded clauses as shown in (14).

(14)a.　*Watasi-wa [NP [kinoo　　kai-masi-ta]　hon]-o　　yomi-masi-ta
　　　　I-TOP　　yesterday bought (polite) book-ACC read (polite)
　　　　'I read the book I bought yesterday'
　　b.　Watasi-wa [NP [kinoo　　kat-ta]　　hon]-o　　yomi-masi-ta
　　　　I-TOP　　yesterday bought (neutral) book-ACC read (polite)

The sentences in (14) are polite expressions as the matrix verb is in the polite form. Yet, the verb embedded in the relative clause must assume the neutral form. Kuno's analysis is that (13) allows only the neutral form of the expression of request for the same reason.

This account is convincing, but it implies that "blended discourse" counts as an embedded clause, and hence, that it is after all indirect. This is so because direct discourse by definition has matrix properties. Then, the remaining question is why *to* can embed a sentence expressing a request while *that* in English, for example, cannot, as illustrated in (15).

(15)   *John said to Mary that (please) come to his house

The answer is straightforward given the discussion in the preceding subsection. *To*, unlike *that*, is a comp for reports of direct discourse. The direct discourse that is reported can be a request as well as a question. Hence, an expression of request or an imperative can appear as the complement of *to* just like a question can.

Given the hypothesis that *to* is exactly like *que* in Spanish, it is predicted that *que* can also take an imperative complement. And interestingly enough, relevant examples are presented in Rivero (1994) as supporting evidence for Plann's analysis of *que*. (16a) is one of her examples.

(16)a. Dijo   que a no molestarle
       said (3sg.) that to not bother-him
       'He said not to bother him'
   b. Dijo,   "A no molestarme!"
       said (3sg.) to not bother-me
       'He said, "Don't bother me!"'

(16a) clearly contains an embedded imperative, but it is indirect discourse as it contains a third person clitic unlike the direct quotation in (16b). Thus, the comparison of Kuno (1988) and Rivero (1994) points to another similarity between *to* and *que*.[3]

The analysis of *to* as a comp for reports of direct discourse predicts that there are more sentence types, aside from questions and imperatives, that can be embedded under *to*. This prediction is discussed in Matsumoto (2010), where she points out that exclamatives and expressions employed in invitation for joint action can be followed by *to*. (17a) and (17b) illustrate these cases.

(17)a. Taroo-ga [CP kare-no musuko-wa nante kasiko-i n daroo to] omot-ta koto
       T.-NOM   he-GEN son-TOP   how smart   no can be to thought fact
       '*Lit.* the fact that Taroo thought that how smart can his (Taroo's) son be'
   b. Hanako-wa Taroo-o [CP kanozyo-no ie-ni   ik-oo   to] sasot-ta
       H.-TOP   T.-ACC   she-GEN   house-to let's go to invited
       '*Lit.* Hanako invited Taroo that let's go to her (Hanako's) house'

These examples provide further evidence for the analysis presented here.

3. Report as the unique function of *to*

It was argued in the preceding section that *to*, like *que*, functions as a comp for reports of direct discourse. As noted there, *que* is ambiguous between a comp for reports and a comp for propositions. Then, it may be questioned whether *to* is ambiguous in the same way. As *to* has often been assumed to correspond to *that* in English, the answer appears to be positive. However, I argue in this section that it is not. In section 3.1, I argue that there is a division of labor between *to* and another comp *no*, and that the former is for reports of direct discourse while the latter is employed for propositions. Section 3.2 presents further suggestive evidence that *to* is specialized for the purpose of reports.

3.1. The division of labor between *to* and *no*

To is widely assumed to be the comp that corresponds to *that* in English because it appears with typical bridge verbs like *omo-u* 'think' and *yu-u* 'say' as shown in (18).

(18)   Taroo-wa [CP Hanako-ga zibun-no kagi-o   mot-te-i-ru to] omot-ta/it-ta
        T.-TOP   H.-NOM   self-GEN key-ACC have   to thought/said
        'Taroo thought/said that Hanako has his keys'

This suggests that *to* performs dual functions as a comp for propositions as well as reports. There is another comp *no*, which appears in the CP complements of verbs such as *sit-te-i-ru* 'know', as in (19).[4]

(19)   Taroo-wa [CP Hanako-ga soko-ni i-ru no]-o   sit-te-i-ta
        T.-TOP   H.-NOM   there-in is *no*-ACC knew
        'Taroo knew *that* Hanako was there'

As *no* is assumed to have a limited distribution as discussed below, it may seem irrelevant for the consideration here. But I argue in this subsection that the distribution of *no* is much wider than has been assumed and that it is the comp for propositions. The conclusion of this section is that *no* is the regular comp for propositions and *to* is employed specifically for reports of direct discourse.

Kuno (1973) provides a detailed comparison of *to* and *no*, and suggests that a CP headed by *no* carries a factive presupposition.[5] Although he acknowledges that this generalization has some obvious exceptions, it is motivated by examples such as (18) and (20).

(20)   Taroo-wa zibun-no hahaoya-ni at-ta no-o /*to   kookai-si-ta
        T.-TOP   self-GEN mother-DAT met *no*-ACC/*to* regretted
        'Taroo regretted that he met his mother'

The matrix verb, *kookai-si-ta* 'regretted', in (20) is factive and the CP complement must be headed by *no*. On the other hand, *to* is required in (18), where the matrix verb is clearly non-factive. The example is totally ungrammatical with *no*.

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[3]A brief survey of the literature suggests that a comp for reports is quite widespread. See, for example, Jayaseelan (2008) for Malayalam, and Grewendorf and Poletto (2009) for Cimbrian, a German dialect spoken in northeastern Italy.

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[4]The comp *no* is nominal in nature and requires a Case marker when it heads a CP in argument position. It is often called a 'nominalizer' in part for this reason. Although its categorial status is not important for the discussion here, it should be noted that there are cases where it clearly heads a CP rather than an NP, for example, in cleft sentences briefly discussed in section 3.2. See Murasugi (1991) for detailed discussion on this point.
[5]He also considers *koto*, which has a similar but not identical distribution as *no*. I do not discuss it here because it is fairly clear that it is a noun and as far as I can tell, the examination of its distribution does not lead to further insights on the nature of *to*.

However, the distribution of *no* is actually much wider than Kuno's rough generalization suggests. (21) provides partial lists of the predicates that take CP complements headed *to* and those that appear with CPs headed by *no*.

(21)a. <u>verbs that take CP complements headed by *to*</u>:
 omo-u 'think', *kangae-ru* 'consider', *sinzi-ru* 'believe', *i-u* 'say', *sakeb-u* 'scream',
 syutyoo-su-ru 'claim, insist', *tazune-ru* 'inquire', *kitai-su-ru* 'expect', *kanzi-ru* 'feel'
 b. (i) <u>verbs that take CP complements headed by *no*</u>:
 wasure-ru 'forget', *kookai-su-ru* 'regret', *mi-ru* 'see', *mat-u* 'wait', *tamera-u* 'hesitate',
 kyohi-su-ru 'refuse', *ukeire-ru* 'accept', *kitai-su-ru* 'expect', *kanzi-ru* 'feel'
 (ii) <u>predicates that take CP subjects headed by *no*</u>:
 akiraka-da 'is clear', *kanoo-da* 'is possible', *kantan-da* 'is easy', *muzukasi-i* 'is difficult',
 taihen-da 'is a big deal'

It is true that *no* occurs with typical factive verbs such as *wasure-ru* 'forget' and *kookai-su-ru* 'regret'. But factive verbs clearly constitute a minority group among those predicates that appear with *no*-headed CPs.

The status of Kuno's generalization is unclear even with *wasure-ru* 'forget'. Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1970) distinguishes the two instances of *forget* in (22).

(22)a. John forgot (the fact) that Mary was in Tokyo
 b. John forgot to do the homework

In (22a), it takes a finite complement and the truth of the embedded sentence is presupposed. Kiparsky and Kiparsky propose that the sentence is derived by deletion of *the fact* in this case. On the other hand, *forget* takes an infinitival complement in (22b) and there is no presupposition associated with the embedded clause. And interestingly, the Japanese counterparts of (22a) and (22b) both have *no*, as shown in (23).

(23)a. Taroo-wa [CP [TP Hanako-ga Tookyoo-ni i-ru] no]-o   wasure-te-i-ta
 T.-TOP   H.-NOM   Tokyo-in   is   *no*-ACC had forgotten
 'Taroo had forgotten that Hanako was in Tokyo'
 b. Taroo-wa [CP [TP syukudai-o   su-ru] no]-o   wasure-ta
 T.-TOP   homework-ACC do   *no*-ACC forgot
 'Taroo forgot to do the homework'

This indicates that presupposition has nothing to do with the selection of *no* by *wasure-ru* 'forget'.

Kuno provides other data that suggest that a CP headed by *no* carries a factive presupposition. Among them is the ungrammaticality of (24a).

(24)a. *[CP [TP Taroo-ga soko-ni it-ta] no]-wa uso-da
 T.-NOM   there-to went *no*-TOP lie-is
 'It is a lie that Taroo went there'
 b. [CP [TP Taroo-ga soko-ni it-ta] toyuuno]-wa uso-da
 T.-NOM   there-to went *toyuuno*-TOP lie-is
 'It is a lie to say that Taroo went there'

According to Kuno, (24a) presupposes that Taroo went there. Hence, the sentence does not make sense as it asserts that it is a lie. He points out that *toyuuno*, which he considers to be another comp, must be used in this context as in (24b).

However, this account seems dubious because examples such as (25) make perfect sense.

(25)   [CP [TP Taroo-ga soko-ni it-ta] no]-wa   zizitu/akiraka-da
 T.-NOM   there-to went *no*-TOP fact/clear-is
 'It is a fact/clear that Taroo went there'

If this sentence presupposes that Taroo went there, what it asserts must be a tautology or at least be trivial. But the sentence expresses a meaningful assertion. Then, why is (24a) ungrammatical? Here, note that *toyuuno* in (24b) can be decomposed into the comp *to*, the verb *yu-u* 'say', and the comp *no*. So, first, as *no* occurs as the last element, the comp after all seems compatible with the predicate *uso-da* 'lie-is'. Secondly, with the decomposition, the sentence literally means 'It is a lie to say that Taroo went there'. This is consistent with the meaning of *uso*, that is, to say something that is false. Then, it can be conjectured that (24a) is deviant because it asserts that the sentence 'Taroo went there' is a lie. This sentence expresses a proposition and can be true or false, but cannot be a lie, strictly speaking. One can only lie by uttering a false sentence.

Having seen that *no* is not necessarily associated with a factive presupposition, let us consider again the lists of predicates in (21), repeated below in (26).

(26)a. <u>verbs that take CP complements headed by *to*</u>:
 omo-u 'think', *kangae-ru* 'consider', *sinzi-ru* 'believe', *i-u* 'say', *sakeb-u* 'scream',
 syutyoo-su-ru 'claim, insist', *tazune-ru* 'inquire', *kitai-su-ru* 'expect', *kanzi-ru* 'feel'
 b. (i) <u>verbs that take CP complements headed by *no*</u>:
 wasure-ru 'forget', *kookai-su-ru* 'regret', *mi-ru* 'see', *mat-u* 'wait', *tamera-u* 'hesitate',
 kyohi-su-ru 'refuse', *ukeire-ru* 'accept', *kitai-su-ru* 'expect', *kanzi-ru* 'feel'
 (ii) <u>predicates that take CP subjects headed by *no*</u>:
 akiraka-da 'is clear', *kanoo-da* 'is possible', *kantan-da* 'is easy', *muzukasi-i* 'is difficult',
 taihen-da 'is a big deal'

The verbs in (26b-i) cover a wide range, and their CP complements represent events, states, or actions. For example, one regrets that an event happened, sees/feels an event happen or a state obtain, waits/expects for an event to happen or a state to obtain, and hesitates to perform an action. The same can be said of the CP subjects of the predicates in (26b-ii). What can be clear is the existence (or non-existence) of an event or a state in the past, present, or future. What can be easy/difficult is to perform an action. Thus, CPs headed by *no* represent propositions.[6]

Those verbs listed in (26a), on the other hand, are all compatible with direct quotation. A couple of examples are given in (27).

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[6]It should be noted here that the verbs that take *no*-headed CP complements roughly correspond to those English verbs that take gerunds. (See Rosenbaum (1970) for detailed discussion on the latter.) This must be related to the nominal nature of those CPs alluded to in Footnote 4. Also relevant in this context is the analysis of perception verb complements in Higginbotham (1983). He considers their nominal property and proposes to capture it by assigning an interpretation that involves quantification over events as illustrated roughly in (i).
(i)a.   John saw Mary walk
 b.   There is an event e such that e is walking and e is by Mary and John saw e

(27)a. Taroo-wa, "Boku-no uti-ni   atumat-te kure," <u>to</u> saken-da
       T.-TOP   I-GEN   house-at gather   for me *to* screamed
       'Taroo screamed, "Gather at my house!"'
   b. Hanako-wa, "Watasi-ga Taroo-ni a-u," <u>to</u> syutyoo-si-ta
       H.-TOP   I-NOM   T.-DAT   meet *to* insisted
       'Hanako insisted, "I will go see Taroo."'

Hence, all instances of CPs headed by *to* can be analyzed as representing reports of direct discourse. I conclude then that *no* is the comp for propositions and *to* is employed specifically as the comp for reports.

     Before I conclude this subsection, I would like to briefly return to the *ka-to* sequence discussed in the preceding section and make a remark on the selectional relation between the matrix verb and the comp. It was shown that *ka-to* sequence is allowed when the matrix predicate is a verb of saying or thinking as in (3), repeated below as (28).

(28)   Taroo-wa Ziroo-ni [_{CP} [_{CP} [_{TP} Hanako-ga kare-no ie-ni   ku-ru] <u>ka</u>] <u>to</u>] tazune-ta
       T.-TOP   Z.-DAT   H.-NOM   he-GEN house-to come   Q   *to*   asked
       '*Lit.* Taroo asked Ziroo *that if* Hanako is coming to his (Taroo's) house'

Further, it was suggested that the selectional relation holds between the matrix verb and *to* in this case: *tazune-ru* 'ask' selects for a report and hence, takes a CP complement headed by *to*. This predicts that all the verbs that select for reports allow the *ka-to* sequence regardless of whether they also select for questions. This is so because the question comp *ka* in a *ka-to* sequence does to participate in selectional relation with the matrix verb.

     The prediction is borne out in an interesting way by the verb *omo-u* 'think'. (29) shows that this verb cannot take a question CP as a complement.

(29)a. Taroo-wa [_{CP} [_{TP} Hanako-ga soko-ni ik-u] <u>to</u>] omot-te-i-ru
       T.-TOP   H.-NOM   there-to go   *to*   think
       'Taroo thinks that Hanako will go there'
   b. *Taroo-wa [_{CP} [_{TP} dare-ga   soko-ni ik-u] <u>ka</u>] omot-te-i-ru
       T.-TOP   who-NOM there-to go   Q   think
       '*Lit.* Taroo thinks who will go there'

Yet, it allows the *ka-to* sequence as in (30).

(30)   Taroo-wa [_{CP} [_{CP} [_{TP} dare-ga   soko-ni ik-u] <u>ka</u>] <u>to</u>] omot-te-i-ru
       T.-TOP   who-NOM there-to go   Q   *to*   think
       '*Lit.* Taroo thinks that who will go there' (Taroo thinks that no one will go there)

The question CP in (30) is construed as a rhetorical question implying that no one will go there. Nevertheless, the grammaticality of (30) indicates that there is no selectional relation between the matrix verb and the question comp *ka*. This is so because the verb *omo-u* 'think' does not allow a question complement, whether it is interpreted as a genuine question or as a rhetorical question, as (29b) shows. The selectional relation is between the verb and the comp *to*, which is legitimate. The question CP must be construed as a rhetorical question only because the meaning of the matrix verb implies that what Taroo has in mind is a thought and not a question in this case.

3.2. Further evidence for the analysis of *to* as a Comp for report

In this subsection, I present three pieces of suggestive evidence for the analysis of *to* presented above. The first concerns the interpretation of examples in which CPs headed by *to* and by *no* co-occur. The second has to do with the distribution of *to*-headed CPs within noun phrases. The third is children's overgeneration of *no* in relative clauses, discussed in detail in Murasugi (1991). I argue that the relevant facts are consistent with the analysis of *to* as a comp for reports.

     First, when a sentence has a verb that selects a *no*-headed CP, it can have a *to*-headed CP in addition as an adjunct. (31) illustrates this with the verbs *mat-u* 'wait' and *kookai-su-ru* 'regret'.

(31)a. Taroo-wa [_{CP} Hanako-ga zibun-o   tasuke-te kure-ru <u>to</u>] (it-te/omot-te)
       T.-TOP   H.-NOM   self-ACC help   for him *to*   saying/thinking
       [_{CP} kanozyo-ga ku-ru <u>no</u>]-o   mat-ta
         she-NOM   come *no*-ACC waited
       'Taroo waited for Hanako to come, saying/thinking that she would help him'
   b. Taroo-wa [_{CP} zibun-ga   keisotu   dat-ta <u>to</u>] (omot-te)
       T.-TOP   self-NOM thoughtless was   *to*   thinking
       [_{CP} kawa-ni tobikon-da <u>no</u>]-o   kookai-si-ta
         river-in   jumped-into *no*-ACC regretted
       'Taroo regretted that he jumped into the river, thinking that he was thoughtless'

In (31a), what Taroo waited for is the event of Hanako coming and the CP headed by *no* is the complement of the verb. The *to*-headed CP expresses what Taroo said or had in mind as an adjunct. Similarly, in (31b), what Taroo regretted is his past action of jumping into the river, and the *to*-headed CP expresses his thought that led to this regret. These examples show that CPs headed by *to* can even be employed as adjuncts to report what the matrix subject says/said or has/had in mind. It seems that this is possible because *to* has a unique function, that is, to introduce a report of direct discourse.

     The same observation can be made with verbs that allow their CP complements to be headed either by *to* or by *no*. *Kitai-su-ru* 'expect' is one such verb, as shown in (32).

(32)a. Taroo-wa [_{CP} Hanako-ga zibun-o   tasuke-te kure-ru <u>to</u>] kitai-si-ta
       T.-TOP   H.-NOM   self-ACC help   for him *to*   expected
       'Taroo expected Hanako to help him'
   b. Taroo-wa [_{CP} kanozyo-ga ku-ru <u>no</u>]-o   kitai-si-ta
       T.-TOP   she-NOM   come *no*-ACC expected
       'Taroo expected her to come'
   c. Taroo-wa [_{CP} Hanako-ga zibun-o   tasuke-te kure-ru <u>to</u>] (omot-te)
       T.-TOP   H.-NOM   self-ACC help   for him *to*   thinking
       [_{CP} kanozyo-ga ku-ru <u>no</u>]-o   kitai-si-ta
         she-NOM   come *no*-ACC expected
       'Taroo expected Hanako to come, thinking that she would help him'

Kitai-su-ru 'expect' can take a *to*-headed CP as a complement as in (32a). But when it co-occurs with a *no*-headed CP as in (32c), the latter serves as the complement and the CP headed by *to* becomes an adjunct reporting what the matrix subject has/had in mind.

     The discussion above suggests that *to*-headed CPs are employed extensively as adjuncts. So let me briefly comment and speculate on the complement status of the *to*-headed CP in (32a) before moving on to

the second set of data. Intuitively speaking, the CP serves as a complement in this example because what Taroo expected and what he had in mind coincide. That is, the CP is headed by *to* because it reports what Taroo had in mind and it is the complement because it expresses what he expected to happen. But there is another fact that seems quite relevant for the complement status of *to*-headed CPs. That is, those verbs that take *to*-headed CP complements can often have accusative NP objects instead, and when both are present, the *to*-headed CP is typically in appositive relation with the object NP. A relevant example is shown in (33).

(33)a. Taroo-wa [CP Hanako-ga erab-are-ru   beki-da <u>to</u>] syutyoo-si-ta
     T.-TOP   H.-NOM   select-Passive should *to* insisted
     'Taroo insisted that Hanako should be selected'
  b. Taroo-wa zibun-no iken-o   syutyoo-si-ta
     T.-TOP   self-GEN opinion-ACC insisted
     'Taroo pushed his own opinion'
  c. Taroo-wa [CP Hanako-ga erab-are-ru   beki-da <u>to</u>] zibun-no iken-o   syutyoo-si-ta
     T.-TOP   H.-NOM   select-Passive should *to* self-GEN opinion-ACC insisted
     'Taroo pushed his own opinion that Hanako should be selected'

The verb *syutyoo-su-ru* 'insist', which takes a *to*-headed CP complement, can have an NP object instead, as shown in (33a) and (33b). When they co-occur as in (33c), the CP is in appositive relation to the object NP. This is consistent with the analysis of *to* entertained here. The CP expresses the content of Taroo's opinion, and hence, reports what he insisted on.

    Similar but more interesting for the purpose here are the examples in (34a)-(34c), where the matrix verb is *su-ru* 'do'.

(34)a. Taroo-wa [CP Hanako-ga erab-are-ru   beki-da <u>to</u>] <u>syutyoo-o   si-ta</u> (= syutyoo-si-ta)
     T.-TOP   H.-NOM   select-Passive should *to* claim-ACC did   insisted
     'Taroo insisted that Hanako should be selected'
  b. Taroo-wa [CP ookami-ga ku-ru <u>to</u>] <u>keikoku-o   si-ta</u> (= keikoku-si-ta)
     T.-TOP   wolf-NOM come *to* warning-ACC did   warned
     'Taroo warned that wolves were coming'
  c. Taroo-wa [CP sore-wa doko-ni ar-u <u>ka</u> <u>to</u>] <u>situmon-o   si-ta</u> (= situmon-si-ta)
     T.-TOP   it-TOP where-at is *ka to* question-ACC did   questioned
     'Taroo asked where it is'

These are examples of the so called "light verb constructions", discussed in detail in Grimshaw and Mester (1988), and Saito and Hoshi (2000), among others. In (34b), for example, the object and the verb, *keikoku-o si-ta* 'warning-ACC did', express the same meaning as the single verb, *keikoku-si-ta* 'warned'. Saito ad Hoshi propose an analysis in which the accusative noun covertly incorporates into the light verb *su-ru* 'do', and form a predicate just like the corresponding single verb. But independently of the specific analysis, what is of interest here is the fact that the *to*-headed CP is in an appositive relation with the accusative noun. In (34b), the CP reports the content of the warning Taroo made.
    This leads to a speculation on the status of the *to*-headed CP complements. Let us take (34b) again as the example to consider. The verb, *keikoku-su-ru* 'warn', takes a *to*-headed CP complement. As it contains the morpheme, *keikoku* 'warning', then it seems possible that the CP assumes the complement

status by virtue of being in appositive relation with this noun. This speculation applies to all cases where the matrix verb has the form noun+*su-ru* 'noun+do', including (32a), repeated below as (35).

(35) Taroo-wa [CP Hanako-ga zibun-o   tasuke-te kure-ru <u>to</u>] kitai-si-ta
     T.-TOP   H.-NOM   self-ACC help   for him *to* expected
     'Taroo expected Hanako to help him'

In this example, the matrix verb contains the morpheme *kitai* 'expectation', and the complement CP is in appositive relation with the noun. Further, the speculation can be extended abstractly to mono-morphemic verbs as well. Most, if not all, of those verbs can be "decomposed" into a noun and a verb, as indicated in (36).

(36) *omo-u* 'think' = have a thought   *kanzi-ru* 'feel' = have a feeling
     yu-u 'say' = make a statement   *tanom-u* 'request' = make a request
     tazune-ru 'inquire' = make an inquiry

If *to*-headed CPs represent reports of direct discourse, then it is not surprising that they are employed extensively as appositives to specify the contents of thoughts, feelings, statements, requests, inquiries, and the like. The speculation offered here is that this is the case even when *to*-headed CPs are complements.
    Let us now turn to the second suggestive evidence for the analysis of *to* as a comp for reports, which is actually related to the speculation made above. When a *to*-headed CP occurs in a nominal projection, it is in appositive relation with the head noun.[7]

(37)a. [CP soko-ni iki-ta-i   <u>to</u>]-no kiboo
       there-to go-want *to*   hope
     'the wish to go there'
  b. [CP daigaku-ni ik-u beki da <u>to</u>]-no Hanako-no settoku
       college-to go should *to*   H.-GEN   persuasion
     'the persuasion of Hanako that she should go to college'
  c. [CP ookami-ga ku-ru <u>to</u>]-no keikoku
       wolf-NOM come *to*   warning
     'the warning that wolves were coming'

The CP in (37a), for example, reports the content of the head noun *kiboo* 'hope', and again this is consistent with the analysis that *to* is a comp for reports.
    Further, the following contrasts suggest that a *to*-headed CP can only have this function:

(38)a. [CP [CP sore-ga doko-ni ar-u <u>ka</u> *(<u>to</u>)]-no situmon
         it-NOM where-at is   *ka to*   question
     'the question where it is'
  b. [CP [CP sore-ga doko-ni ar-u <u>ka</u>] (*<u>to</u>)]-no mondai
         it-NOM where-at is   *ka   to*   problem
     'the problem of where it is'

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[7] The morpheme *no* that follows the CP is either a genitive marker or a 'linker' in the sense of Watanabe (2010). See Saito, Lin and Murasugi (2008), Watanabe (2010), and the references cited there.

(39)a. [CP [CP sore-ga doko-de ka-e-ru <u>ka</u>] *(<u>to</u>)]-no hatugen
　　　　 it-NOM where-at buy-can *ka*　 *to*　　　 utterance
　　 'an utterance asking where one can buy it'
　b. [CP [CP sore-ga doko-de ka-e-ru <u>ka</u>] (*<u>to</u>)]-no zyoohoo
　　　　 it-NOM where-at buy-can *ka*　 *to*　　　 information
　　 'information about where one can buy it'

The inner CP in (38) is a question headed by *ka*. When the head noun is *situmon* 'question', *to* obligatorily follows this CP as in (38a). On the other hand, *to* cannot occur when the head noun is *mondai* 'problem', as shown in (38b). This contrast is expected, given that *to* is a comp for reports. In (38a), the CP is in appositive relation with the head noun and reports the content of the question. In (38b), this relation does not hold as a problem is not a question. Similarly, the contrast in (39) obtains because a question CP can report the content of an utterance but not the content of information.

　　The final piece of suggestive evidence for the analysis of *to* as a comp for reports comes from child language data. As discussed extensively in the literature, the overgeneration of *no* in relative clauses is widely observed with 2-4 year olds. The following examples are from Murasugi (1991).

(40)a. [ohana mot-te-ru *<u>no</u>] wanwa (2;6)
　　　 flower have　　*no* doggie
　　 'the doggie that is holding flowers'
　b. [buta-san tatai-te-ru *<u>no</u>] taiko (2;11)
　　　 Mr. pig is hitting　 *no* drum
　　 'the drum that the pig is playing'

These examples are ungrammatical with *no* in adult Japanese. Murasugi examines the properties of the overgenerated *no* in detail, and argues that it is a comp. According to her analysis, relative clauses are TPs in adult Japanese. However, children at one point hypothesize that they are CPs, just like English relative clauses, and hence, place *no* in their head positions. They only later discover that there is no position for comp in Japanese relatives and cease to overgenerate *no*.

　　One question that arises with this analysis is why *no*, and not *to*, is overgenerated in the head positions of the CP relatives. Murasugi (2009) addresses this question, referring to Schachter's (1973) cross-linguistics observation that the same comp is employed in relative clauses and clefts. *No* appears in Japanese clefts as shown in (41).

(41)　[CP Nimotu-ga　　 todoi-ta <u>no</u>]-wa Nagoya-kara-da
　　　　 package-NOM arrived　*no*-TOP Nagoya-from-is
　　　 'It is from Nagoya that a package arrived'

Then, given Schachter's generalization, it is not surprising that children overgenerate *no*. But one may ask further why it is that *no*, and not *to*, is employed in clefts and children's relative clauses. And for this, the analysis of *to* as a comp for reports provides a clear answer. The subject CP in clefts expresses a proposition and is not a report of direct discourse. Hence, *no* must be employed. There is simply no way for *to* to appear in this context. Similarly, a relative clause does not paraphrase or report a direct discourse. Then, children could not overgenerate *to* in relative clauses. This account holds if *to* is never a comp for propositions and is employed exclusively as a comp for reports as argued in this paper.

4. Conclusion

I argued in this paper that *to* in Japanese is not a comp for finite propositions as is widely assumed but is a comp for reports of direct discourse. As noted at the outset, Plann (1982) proposes that *que* in Spanish is ambiguous between a comp for propositions and a comp for reports. I showed in section 2 that *to* is exactly like *que* in taking question and imperative complements. In section 3, I argued that *to*, unlike *que*, is employed only as a comp for reports. The proposal is that there is a division of labor between *to* and *no* in Japanese: the former is for reports and the latter is for propositions. This provides indirect but strong support for Plann's analysis of *que*. According to her analysis, the Spanish comp system is as in (42).

(42)　 the Spanish complementizer system
　　a. *que*: propositions
　　b. null C: wh-questions
　　c. *que*: reports of direct discourse

That is, there are three distinct kinds of comps but there is only one phonetically realized form, namely *que*. On the other hand, the Japanese comp system is more transparent, as shown in (43).

(43)　 the Japanse complementizer system
　　a. *no*: propositions
　　b. *ka*: (wh-)questions
　　c. *to*: reports of direct discourse

As the three kinds of comps that Plann proposes have distinct phonetic realizations in Japanese, the language provides explicit evidence for the proposal.

　　The second half of section 3 exploited this unique feature of Japanese, and presented further data that shed light on the nature of comp for reports. I showed that *to* is employed in a variety of contexts where a CP reports the content of an utterance, a thought, a claim, a question, a request, and the like. One case concerned adjunct CPs headed by *to* and another had to do with those CPs in appositive relation with nouns like 'claim', 'hope', 'warning', and 'question'. The final remark was on children's overgeneration of *no* in relative clauses. I argued that the analysis of the Japanese comp system proposed here explains why they overgenerate *no* and never *to* in the comp position.

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