

## A corpus-based analysis of adverbial uses of the quotative TO construction: Speech and thought representation without speech or thought predicates

Category: (5) cognitive/functional syntax/semantics, (6) discourse/pragmatics/sociolinguistics

This paper presents a corpus-based analysis of bi-clausal constructions marked by the quotative particle TO in Japanese, paying particular attention to the clause-external (non-complement) adverbial uses of quotative-TO clauses (e.g., (1) (2)) — which express speech and/or thought representation (STR) without the use of speech or thought predicates.

- (1) *netuga deta node inhuruenza no utagai ga atte wa ikenai to*  
fever-NOM turn.out because influenza GEN doubt-NOM have-TOP no-good QUO(tative)  
*kurinikku ni iki inhuruenza kensa o simasita.*  
Clinic DAT go influenza test ACC do-POL-PAST  
Since I got a fever, I went to a clinic and took a test for influenza, [*\*thinking*] that it would be bad if there was a possibility of being having influenza. [*\*'thinking' is not mentioned in Japanese.*]
- (2) *iti ni tubu wa arimasu yaro to danbooru-bako ni tenohira o ireru.*  
one two pieces TOP exist-POL MOD QUO corrugated.carton into palm.of.hand ACC enter  
(He) put (the palm of) his hand into the carton box, [*\*saying*] that there should be one or two pieces. [*\*'saying' is not mentioned in Japanese.*]

Seminal works on the quotative particle TO in Japanese Linguistics (Fujita 1986, 2000; Yamazaki 1993; National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics 1951, etc.) have noted that it has a variety of uses. A TO-marked clause most typically functions as a syntactic complement of the main verb — typically a communication (*yuu* ‘say’, *hanasu* ‘tell’, etc.), cogitation (*omou* ‘think’, etc.), or emotion verb (*yorokobu* ‘feel happy’, etc.). TO-clauses, however, are often not syntactic complements, but are semantically motivated by the main-clause frame-evoking elements, including nouns (Author 2009). As has been widely recognized (Yamazaki 1996, Okamoto 1996, Suzuki 2000, Kato 2008, *inter alia*), TO-clauses are also often used without a main verb, showing the phenomenon of insubordination. This paper examines yet another (intermediate-type) use, illustrated in (1) and (2), where the TO-marked clause appears not as an element of the main but as a clause-external adverbial. Compared to other uses, this last clause-external adverbial use has received little attention (with the exception of Fujita 2000), and has yet to be investigated empirically or subjected to corpus analysis.

The primary purpose of this paper is thus to examine the clause-external adverbial use of the quotative-TO construction, based on a large-scale corpus, and explicate its major semantic and pragmatic characteristics and corresponding syntactic properties. Examining over 180,000 tokens of the quotative TO construction, drawn from the Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese (BCCWJ, National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics, 2008/2009/2010), I manually extracted 604 tokens of non-complement, clause-external adverbial uses. With all 604 tokens, I tested the following two working hypotheses: (i) the speaker/cognizer/experiencer of the quotative-TO clause corresponds to the (semantic) subject of the main clause; (ii) a. the quotative-TO clause conveys the psychological state of the main clause’s semantic subject (or agent) while he/she is participating in the event expressed; b. that psychological state is typically his/her motivation for participating in that action or state.

Hypothesis (i) is supported by 598 of the 604 tokens, in that the quotative-TO clause depicts the voice of the main clause’s syntactic subject. The remaining 6 tokens can be accounted for by considering the (non-subject) agent of the event described in the main clause — typically in passives (e.g., 3). As seen in (4), a TO-marked clause can also depict the thought of the unmentioned giver (non-subject agent) in a receiving-verb construction.

- (3) *Tedai ni ‘ozyoosama oku ni oidenasai masi’ to katteguti ni ture-modosareru.*  
sub-manager by lady (miss) inside DAT come-POL-[request] QUOback.door GOL bring.back-PASSIVE  
(I) am (called back, and) brought to the back entrance by the sub-manager (of the store) [*\*while the sub-manager says*] “Miss, please come inside.”  
[[\* ] is not explicitly expressed in Japanese.]
- (4) *sengyo sentaa de yasukute sendo ga yokatta kara to*  
fresh-fish center at cheap freshness NOM was.good becauseQUO  
*iwasi o hitohako itadaki masi ta (gozyuppi kurai)*  
sardines ACC one box receive POL-PAST 50 approximately  
I received a box of sardines (as a gift) [*\*while the giver telling me that (s)he wants to give the gift*] because the sardines were cheap and fresh at a fish market. (about 50 sardines)

Similarly, hypothesis (ii) is well-supported by corpus evidence, although various types of psychological states can be depicted.

This paper further shows that one of the crucial functions of the clause-external adverbial use is logophoric: the TO quotative clause (or phrase) depicts a perspective distinct from that of the speaker or writer. The above constructional properties ((i) and (ii)) yield this logophoric effect when the subject or agent of the main-clause is different from the speaker/writer, as in (5), (6) and (8) below. As seen in (5-6), adding *kara* ‘because’ makes quotative TO syntactically optional, but with TO it indicates that the feeling/thought/speech expressed in the TO quotative clause is not that of the speaker. Without quotative TO (as shown in 7), the reasoning of the cause/motivation expressed in the *kara* clause must be attributed to the speaker and thus sounds anomalous. The addition of TO to the *kara* clause ensures a logophoric interpretation: the reasoning of the cause/motivation expressed in the clause is **not** the speaker’s perspective but somebody else’s.

(5) *moo dameda to akiramenaide*  
 already no.good COP QUO give.up-NEG-GER  
 ‘Don’t give up, [thinking that] it’s too late.’

(6) *moo dame da kara (to) akiramenai de*  
 already no.goodCOP because QUO give.up-NEG-GER  
 ‘Don’t give up, [thinking that you should] because it’s too late.’

(7) # *moo dame da kara akiramenai de*  
 already no.good COP because give.up-NEG-GER  
 #‘Don’t give up, because it’s too late.’

(8) *eigo de no business lunch*  
 English in GEN business lunch

*kigane naku hanaseru kara to okyaku wa konomu*  
 constraint without speak-POT becauseQUO customers TOP like (it)

My customers love having business lunches in English [feeling that (business lunches in English are great)] because (they) can speak without restraint.

In (8), which was found in an advertisement, the customer, rather than the speaker, is the subject of the main clause and the experiencer of the quoted comment, and the customer is the one who thinks it is possible to speak without restraint at business lunches in English; in fact, the speaker thinks the opposite. This interpretation is ensured by the addition of TO to the *kara* clause.

In sum, my analysis of BCCWJ has shown that a quotative-TO clause can convey the psychological states of the main-clause agent which are felt while being involved in the event, and which are typically but not always his/her motivation for the action or state expressed. The speaker/cognizer/experiencer of the TO-quotative clause corresponds to the subject or agent of the main clause. Note that although this construction *can* often be paraphrased with an explicit verb of saying or thinking by adding *itte* ‘saying (that)’ or *omotte* ‘feeling/thinking (that)’ (e.g., a possible paraphrase of (1) above: *inhuruenza no utagai ga atte wa ikenai to omotte kurinikku ni iki inhuruenza kensa o simasita*), in such cases as (3) and (4) such a paraphrase is impossible. Based upon evidence gathered from examining the tokens such as those above, taken alongside separate analysis of spoken discourse (reported elsewhere), this paper argues that this construction is not mere ellipsis of a speech/thought verb, but rather an adverbial which has grammaticalized the function of speech/thought representation without such predicates.

#### Selected References

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