The Speaker, the Subject and Different Types of Embedded Clauses in Japanese

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0. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to show the syntactic relevance of the speaker and the attitude bearer in determining the properties of embedded clauses. A certain type of embedded clause in Japanese shows some properties usually associated only with main clauses. In particular, among the embedded clauses headed by the complementizer *to*, those in the complement of a speech act verb have dual characteristics of being an embedded clause and of being a quasi-main clause with an utterance modal. Extending the proposal on the representation and the interpretation of embedded tense by Giorgi and Pianesi (2001) and Giorgi (2010), the paper will propose that when the superordinate event is that of a speech act, the feature of an utterance modal in Force is identified by one of the features representing the coordinates of the superordinate 'speaker subject, which are represented in spec ForceP. The occurrence of an utterance modal is rued out in the embedded clause of non-speech act verbs since they do not impart the speaker role to their subjects and the features of these subjects cannot identify that of the utterance modal. The paper argues against Saito s (2010) proposal in which *to* is analyzed as the complementizer for a report of direct discourse in contrast to the complementizer *no*, which is for a proposition. It will be demonstrated that not all instances of *to*-clauses are reports of utterances and *to*-clauses are

not uniform. The paper also shows that the distinctions among the features associated with different kinds of speakers and those of the attitude bearer are syntactically relevant leading to the difference between the main clause and quotative embedded clauses and the one between *to*-clauses and *no*-clauses.

The paper is organized as follows: Section 1 illustrates the facts and problems concerning embedded clauses with utterance modals, whose distribution is generally considered as one of the main clause properties. Section 2 discusses the analysis proposed in Saito（2010）to account for the main clause like properties of these embedded clauses, and points out the problems for this analysis. Section 3 presents a new analysis in which the occurrence of Utterance modals in certain *to*-clauses is attributed to the property of the features of the subject of speech act verbs. The structural differences between *to*-clauses *no*-clauses will also be discussed with reference to a functional category associated with the judgment of the attitude bearer. Section 4 discusses the feature composition of Force. It will be argued that the feature associated with U-modals and those associated with other 'main clause' properties such as polite verbal expressions and sentence final particles are identified by different features in FoceP and because of this difference only some of these properties are found in embedded contexts. Section 5 summarizes and concludes the paper.

1. *To*-clauses and Utterance modals

The clauses headed by the complementizer *to* can sometimes show a property that is generally observed only in main clauses, i.e., the occurrence of speech act related modals.（cf. Kuno 1988; Saito 2010）This section looks into the properties of these *to*-clauses along with the distribution of speech act related modals.

1.1 Main clause vs. embedded clause—the Distribution of Utterance modals

Ueda (2007, 2011) proposes that the two types of modals in Japanese, epistemic modals (E-modals) and utterance modals (U-modals), are manifested in syntactically distinct heads in the C-system. Prototypical U-modals and E-modals are listed in (1).

(1)   U-modals

-ro, -mae   (imperative)
-na   (prohibition)
-masyoo   (hortative)
-yoo   (intention)
-mai   (intention)

E-modals
-daroo (presumptive)
-mai (negative presumptive)
-syoo (presumptive)

U-modals are related to speech act of the utterance, and unlike E-modals, they are excluded from the embedded contexts. To illustrate this point, Nitta (1991) shows that these U-modals cannot appear in the paradoxical *ga* adjunct clause.

(2) a.   *[Hayaku jyunbisi-ro ga], wasuremono o suru-na.
          fast get-ready-IMPERATIVE CONJ$_{paradox}$, foget-thing acc do PROHIBITION

    b.   *[Hadena huku o kiru-na ga], misuborasii hukusoo wa yokunai.
          garish clothes acc wear-PROHIBITION CONJ $_{paradox}$, shabby clothes top no-good

    c.   *[Eiga ni iki-mas-yoo ga,] tiketto ga itimai tarinai.
          movie to go-HORTATIVE CONJ$_{paradox}$, ticket nom one lack

The non-occurrence of a U-modal in the paradoxical *ga* clause contrasts sharply with the grammatical sentences in the following whose paradoxical *ga* clause includes an epistemic modal, such as *daroo* and *mai*.

(3) a. Taro wa syuusyoku suru-daroo ga, boku wa daigakuin de benkyoo suru.

T top get-job do-PRESUMTIVE, I top graduate school in study do

'Though Taro is going to get a job, I will study in the graduate school.

b. Ken wa Mary o kesite yurusu-mai ga, kanojyo o nikunde wa inai.

K top M acc never forgibe-NEG.PRESUMPTIVE, her acc hate focus not

'Though Ken will never forgive Mary, he does not hate her.

Ueda observes that U-modals and E-modals also show distributional contrasts in complement clauses headed by *koto*.

(4) a. *[Watasi ga tegami o okuru-mai koto] wa, taisetu da.

I nom letter acc send-INTENTION *koto* top important be

b. *[Watasi ga tegami o okuttemimas-yoo koto] wa taisetu da.

I nom letter acc send-try-INTENTION *koto* top important be

c. [Anata ga tegami o okuru-daroo koto] wa minna ga sitte iru.

you nom letter acc send-PRESUMPTIVE *koto* top everyone nom know prog

'That you will send the letter, everyone knows.

d. [Anata ga tegami o okuru-mai koto] wa minna ga sitte iru.

you nom letter acc send-NEG.PRESUMPTIVE *koto* top everyone nom know prog

'That you won t send the letter, everyone knows it.

(Ueda 2007: 278)

The contrasts observed in (2)-(4) above support the claim that the U-modals and the E-modals are syntactically distinct and the syntactic head related to the former occurs in the main clause, but not in the subordinate clause. Ueda (2007) proposes the structure in (5) to capture the contrast.

(5)   [U-modP   [E-modP   [TP]]]

U-modals and E-modals syntactically manifest as a distinct head above TP, and U-modP is in an outer layer in the C-system than E-modP. Since U-modals are related to the speech act of an utterance, it may be assumed that they have a speech act feature that must be identified by the feature associated with the speaker of the utterance. Then, it follows from this assumption that U-modP projects only in the main clause, not in embedded clauses since the feature associated with the speaker of the utterance is not found within the lower CP phase. But this is not the complete picture describing the distribution of U-modals as will be discussed below.

1.2 U-modals in embedded clauses in 'blended discourse

We have seen above that the distribution of U-modal is restricted to main clauses where the U-modals are identified by the feature of the speaker of the utterance. There are, however, cases in which U-modals appear in embedded clauses. Kuno (1988) observes that in Japanese *to*-clauses a mixture of direct and indirect discourse elements are allowed. Consider the following examples from Kuno (1988).

(6) a.   Taro wa [yatu no uti ni nanzi ni koi to] itta ka[1] (=

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1)   The third person pronoun *yatu* used in the example is a form used in a vulgar register. The first and second person pronouns also have vulgar forms. Japanese

Kuno s 3.2)

T top him (vulg.) gen house to what-time come-
IMPERATIVE *to* said Q

'What time did Taro say that (lit.) "Come to his house?

b.　Taro wa [yatu no uti ni sugu koi to] denwa de itta.

T top him (vulg.) gen house to immediately come-
IMPERATIVE *to* phone on said

'Taro said to me on the phone that (lit.) "Come right
now to his house.

The *to*-clauses in (6) express commands with the imperative
modal affixed to the verb, whose occurrence is restricted to main
clauses. If these clauses were truly in direct discourse mode, the
occurrence of a speech act related modal is not surprising since
direct quotations can be assumed to constitute an independent
speech act from the rest of the sentence. However, although
statements represented in these *to*-clauses are made by Taro,
they could not be direct quotations or verbatim reports of what
Taro actually said.[2] For one thing, in the *to*-clauses in (6), the
subject referring to the speaker of the *to*-complement clause is
represented as the third person, which is impossible if the
complement clauses were in direct discourse mode. For these
contradictory characteristics, Kuno refers to the clauses of this
kind as 'blended discourse. Unlike in a direct discourse clause,
the first person pronoun in 'blended discourse does not refer to
the subject of the embedding sentence. Consider the following

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uses different forms of personal pronouns for different registers.

2) The *to*-clauses of this kind indeed show characteristics of subordinate clauses. In
a main clause, the exhaustive listing interpretation is obligatory for *ga*-marked
NPs (i). The fact that the exhaustive listing interpretation is not necessary for
the *ga*-marked NP in (ii) suggests that the *to*-clause is an embedded clause.

(i) Taro no imooto ga dokusin da.

'Taro' s sister (but not the others) is single.'

(ii) Taro wa yatu no imooto ga dokusin da to itta. T top

'Taro said that his sister was single.'

example.

(7)   Taro wa seito ni [boku ni tuite-ik-e to] itta.
        T top student dat me dat follow-go-IMPERATIVE *to* said
        'Taro told the student to follow me

In interpreting (7), the first person pronoun *boku* must refer to the speaker of the utterance, not the matrix subject Taro. If *boku* referred to Taro, the speaker of the embedded clause, *ike* (⟨*iku* 'go) cannot be used to refer to the action of the speaker of the clause due to conflicting directions in viewpoint; *koi* (＜*ku* 'come) must be used instead as in the example in direct discourse mode (8a). In a direct quotation, the first person pronoun always refers to the subject of the superordinate clause, not the speaker of the entire utterance. In (8b) Taro addresses to the speaker represented by the first person pronoun *watasi* in the matrix clause. In the *to*-clause in this sentence, the speaker is represented as the second person because she is the addressee with respect to Taro, who is the speaker of the quoted clause.

(8) a. Taro wa seito ni [boku ni tuite-ko-i to] itta.
         T top student dat me dat follow-come-IMPERATIVE *to* said
         'Taro said to the student, 'Follow me .
    b.   Taro wa watasi ni [omae wa damatte-ir-o to] itta.
         T top me dat you top quiet-stay-IMPERATIVE *to* said
         'Taro said to me, 'You shut up .

Thus, the *to*-clauses in the sentences in (6) and (7) are distinct from those representing direct quotations in (8) with respect to the pronominal reference and the choice of predicates related to the direction of viewpoint. At the same time, however, with an imperative verb form, these *to*-clauses show a property of being in direct discourse.[3)]
        The imperative modal is not the only U-modal that occurs

in the 'blended discourse. The other U-modals can also appear in *to*-clauses as shown in (9a-d). (9e) is an example with *no*-clause given for comparison.

(9) a.   Taro wa Hanako ni [watasi ni tuite-iku-na to] itta.
      T   top H dat me dat follow-go-PROHIBITION to said
      'Taro told Hanako not to follow me.

    b.   Taro wa Hanako ni [kanojyo no huku o kaini-ik-oo to] teiansita.
      T top   H   dat her gen clothes acc buy-go-HORTATIVE to proposed
      'Taro proposed to Hanako to go and get her clothes.

    c.   Taro wa [boku ni toohyoosite-yar-oo to] itta.
      T   top me dat vote-give-INTENTION *to* said
      'Taro said that he would vote for me.

    d.   Taro wa [boku no ie ni wa zettaini iku-mai to] dangensita.
      T   top me gen house dat top never go-INTENTION to declared

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3)   To illustrate the structural difference between clauses in direct discourse and those in 'blended' discourse, consider the following examples from Kuno (1988). (n.b. Kuno meant to use these examples to make a different point.)

   (i) Taro$_i$ wa ore$_i$ no uti ni nanzi ni koreru ka to itta. (Kuno 1988: 82 (3.1.a)) direct discourse

   (ii) *Taro$_i$ wa ore$_i$ no uti ni nanzi ni koi to itta (no) ka. (Kuno (3.1.b)) direct discourse

   (iii) Taro$_i$ wa yatu$_i$ no uti ni nanzi ni koi to itta ka. (Kuno 1988: 83 (3.2)) indirect discourse

  In (i) the *wh*-element *nanzi* 'what time' and Q are clause mates in the embedded clause. In (ii) the *wh*-element is in the embedded clause, while Q is in the main clause. The unacceptable status of (ii) seems to suggest that the extraction of a *wh*-phrase is not possible out of a direct discourse clause. In contrast, the acceptable status of (iii) seems to suggest that the *wh*-element can be extracted out of the embedded clause to be identified by Q. The structural relation between an embedded clause in direct discourse and the matrix clause is different from that between an embedded clause in indirect discourse and the matrix clause.

'Taro declared that he would never go to my house.

e.   *Taro wa Goro ni [kare ni toohyoo si-yoo   no] o yakusokusita

T top G   dat him dat vote do-INTENTION *no* acc promised

The *to*-clauses in (9a) (9c) and (9d) cannot be direct quotations of Taro s utterances for the following reasons: With the verb *iku* 'go used in the compound verb *tuiteiku, watasi* in (9a) must refer to the speaker of the entire utterance, not the matrix subject Taro. Similarly, the verb *iku* 'go in (9d) forces *boku* to be interpreted as referring to the speaker of the whole utterance, not Taro. The use *yar(u)* in the compound verb in (9c) requires that the beneficiary argument *boku* is not identical with the subject Taro. Regarding (9b), when *kanozyo*, a third person pronoun, refers to Hanako, the *to*-clause cannot be the direct quote of what Taro said to Hanako, for the third person pronoun cannot be used to refer to the addressee Hanako in direct discourse. Thus, the above examples also show that U-modals are allowed in embedded *to*-clauses even when they are not representing a direct discourse. The questions to be addressed here are: (A) What property of these *to*-clauses allows U-modals, which are generally precluded from occurring in embedded clauses? (B) Should this property be reduced to that of the complementizer *to*, so that all *to*-clauses are the same in this respect? By investigating whether 'blended discourse is a property that *to*-clauses can generally accommodate, we may be able to narrow down possible answers to Question (A). We will begin our probe by reviewing an analysis proposed by Saito (2010).

2.   The structure of *to*-clauses

Saito (2010) argues that *to*-clauses are reports of direct discourse and therefore they can include U-modals. In his analysis, *to* is unambiguously a quotative complementizer and is

complementary to a propositional complementizer *no*. It will be shown below, however, that not all *to*-clauses fall in one semantic category of report. It will be argued that the *to*-clauses in 'blended discourse tolerate U-modals because they are headed by a functional category in which U-modals manifest, and they are structurally distinct from the rest of the *to*-clauses, which are also structurally distinguished from *no*-clauses.

2. 1   Saito （2010）

　　　Drawing on the analysis of the Spanish complementizer *que* proposed in Plann （1982） and Rivero （1994）, Saito （2010） argues that *to* functions unambiguously as the complementizer for reports of direct discourse. Plann argues that when *que* precedes the interrogative complement, a recursive CP structure is created, and that this recursive structure is possible only if the embedding verb can be followed by a corresponding direct discourse quotation as in （10） cited from Rivero （1994）.

（10） a.　Dijo que qué querian.
　　　　　said+3s that what wanted+3p
　　　　　'He inquired what they wanted.
　　　b.　Dijo: "Qué quién?
　　　　　said+3s what want+3p
　　　　　'He said, "What do they want

Verbs that can embed an interrogative clause but cannot be followed by a question in direct discourse do not allow *que* to precede the interrogative, as shown in （11） with the examples of *saber* 'know .

（11）　　（=Riverro 1994: （4））
　　　a.　Sbía con quién podía ir.
　　　　　knew+3s with whom could+3s go
　　　　　'He knew who he could go with.

    b. *Sbía: "Con quién puedo ir?
       *'He knew, "Who could I go with?
    c. *Sbía que con quién podía ir.

Rivero (1994) provides additional support for Planns analysis showing that P+infinitive commands in Spanish, in which P is a constituent indicating force and occupies the CP level, can follow *que*.

(12)   (=Rivero 1994: (14))
    a. Murmuró que sin empujar.
       murmured+3s that without push+INF
       'He said with a murmur not to push.
    b. Murmuró: "Sin empujar!
       'He murmured, "Do not push!

Just as in the case of an interrogative complement following *que* in (11) above, P+infinitive command following *que* in (12) has a recursive CP structure shown in (13).

(13)   Murmuró [$_{CP}$ que [$_{CP}$ sin [$_{IP}$ empujar]]]

Notice that the cases of *que* preceding P+infinitive command as in (12) is quite similar to the cases in Japanese where *to* precedes an imperative clause.

    Rivero reports Lahiris (1991: 75–97) proposal based on semantic selection in which *que* is analyzed as a quotative marker indicating the semantic category of report, or the object of a speech act as opposed to that of question or proposition. Saitos analysis of the Japanese complementizer *to* parallels to Planns, Lahiris and Riveros analyses of quotative *que* in Spanish. Saito claims further that the complementizers *to* and *no* are complementary in their functions: the former is a unique quotative complementizer, whereas the latter is a complementizer for propositions. He sates that unlike Spanish *que*, which is

ambiguous in allowing either a report or a proposition complement, *to* in Japanese is followed exclusively by a report. According to Saito, an imperative form can occur in the complement of *to* simply because a direct discourse utterance of a request is something that can be reported. I will argue, however, that the *to* does not fall in one homogeneous class as a quotative complementizer, and that the complementizers *to* and *no* need more fine-grained distinction than the distinction Saito (2010) draws.

2. 2   Two types of *to*-clauses

As Saito (2010) illustrates the quotative property of *to* by contrasting it with another complementizer *no*, let us also start our discussion by comparing the distribution of these complementizers. The complementizer *to* is typically selected by verbs of saying (e.g., *tutaeru* 'to inform, *iu* 'to say, *kotaeru* 'to answer, *syutyoosuru* 'to claim, *tazuneru* 'to inquire), and verbs of expressing mental process (e.g., *omou* 'to think, *kangaeru* 'to think, *sinziru* 'to believe, *suisokusuru* 'to speculate, *handansuru* 'to judge). Verbs that select *no*-complements include factive verbs like *kookaisuru* 'to regret, *wasureru* 'to forget, and verbs taking an irrealis complement like t*amerau* 'to hesitate, *kyohisuru* 'to refuse.

Most of the verbs selecting *to*-clauses do not overlap those selecting *no*-clauses although their distributions are not, pace Saito, perfectly complementary. Some verbs do seem to allow either a *to*-complement or *no*-complement. Consider the following examples with *siru* 'to know and *yosoku suru* 'to predict.

(14) a.   Taro wa furansugo no siken ga enkini natta to kesa sitta.
      b.   Taro wa furansugo no siken ga enkini natta no o kesa sitta.
           T top French gen exam nom postpone became {*to/no* acc} this morning found out

'Taro found out this morning that the French examination was postponed.

(15) a. Toosika no ooku wa endaka ga sarani susumu to yosoku siteiru.

    b. Toosika no ooku wa endaka ga sarani susumu no o yosoku siteiru.

      investor gen many top yen-appreciation nom further progress {*to/no* acc} predict doing

      'Many investors predict that the value of the yen will be increased more.

The verbs *siru, yosokusuru* used in (14) and (15) are examples of those that can take either *to*- or *no*-clause. There may be a subtle semantic difference between (a) and (b) in each pair of sentences, but whatever is the nature of the difference, it cannot be due to a difference between a report of direct discourse and proposition.

      Plann (1982) and Rivero (1994) show that the quotative *que* is possible in Spanish if the substitution of the embedded clause by a corresponding structure in direct discourse mode is possible.[4] Thus, the occurrence of the quotative *que* is restricted to the complement of speech act verbs. In contrast, in Japanese non-speech act verbs also allow *to*-complement clauses. For example, non-speech act verbs such as *siru* 'know/find out, *syooemi suru* 'prove cannot be used with a direct quote as in (16a), (17a), (18a).

(16) a. *Taro$_i$ wa [Hanako wa boku$_i$ no koto ga sukida to] sitta.

      T   top   H   top me gen thing nom like *to* found

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4) Although in Spanish the quotative *que* seems to occur only before interrogative, exclamative and imperative complements, an assertion can also occur in Japanese *to*-clauses in direct discourse mode.

          out

    b. Taro$_i$ wa [Hanako wa zibun$_i$ no koto ga sukida to] sitta.
        T   top   H   top self gen thing nom like *to* found
        out
        'Taro found out that Hanako liked him.

(17) a. *Taro$_i$ wa [boku$_i$ wa muzituda to] syoomei sita.
        T   top I   top innocent *to* prove did

    b. Taro$_i$ wa [kare$_i$ wa muzituda to] syoomei sita.
        T   top him top innocent *to* prove did
        'Taro proved that he was innocent.

(18) a. *Taro$_i$ wa [boku$_i$ wa siken ni otita to] gokai sita.
        T   top   I   top exam dat flunked *to* misunderstanding
        did

    b. Taro$_i$ wa [zibun$_i$ wa siken ni otita to] gokai sita.
        T top self top exam dat flunked *t*o misunderstanding did
        'Taro misunderstood that he flunked the exam

The use of the first person pronoun *boku* in (a) sentences to refer to the matrix subject *Taro* indicates that the *to*-clauses there are in direct discourse mode. These verbs, however, can have *to*-clause as their complement as shown in (16b), (17b), (18b). In *to*-clauses in (16b), (17b), (18b) the third person pronoun *kare* or reflexive *zibun* is used to refer to the matrix subject, showing that these clauses are not in direct discourse. If *to* is unambiguously a quotative marker, the occurrence of *to*-clauses in the complement of non-speech act verbs is rather puzzling. If *to*-clauses in (16b), (17b) and (18b) were the reports of direct discourse, the ungrammaticality of sentence (a) with the *to*-clauses in direct discourse also seems an inconsistent fact. Furthermore, if *to* is unambiguously a quotative complementizer for reports of direct discourse, what occurs in the complement of *to* should represent an utterance such as an imperative, an assertion that is appropriate for the selectional property of the superordinate predicate. Then, *to*-clauses in

(16b), (17b), (18.b) would be described as representing (assertive) utterances by Taro, which is apparently not the case. These observations suggest that the complementizer *to* in sentences like (16b), (17b), (18.b) should be distinguished from the one used for a 'blended discourse complement with U-modals. Although the current analysis distinguishing the two varieties of complementizer *to* contradicts Saito s, it will be shown below that his proposal on the distinction drawn between the complementizer *to* and *no* can partly be maintained.

    Consider the following examples with the verb *kitaisuru* in which the verb takes a complement clause headed by either *to* or *no* with only a subtle semantic difference.

(19) a. Taro wa zibun no hon ga ureru to kitaisiteiru.
     b. Taro wa zibun no hon ga ureru no o kitaisiteiru.
         T   top self gen book nom sell {*to/no* acc} expect/hope
         'Taro hopes that his book sells well.

Interestingly, however, of the two types of complement clauses of *kitaisuru*, only the *to*-clause can include an adverb expressing the judgment by the subject of the embedding clause.

(20) a. Taro wa zibun no hon ga zettaini/kitto ureru to kitaisiteiru.
         T   top self gen book nom surely sell *to* expect/hope
         'Taro expects that his book will surely sell well.
     b. Taro wa zibun no hon ga tabun ureru to kitaisiteiru.
         T   top self gen book nom probably sell *to* expect/hope
         'Taro expects that his book will probably sell well.
     c. Taro wa zibun no hon ga (*zettaini/*kitto/*tabun) ureru no o kitaisiteiru.

The adverbs *zettaini, kitto* 'surely, *tabun* 'probably, which express the probability judgment by the bearer of the attitude

expressed by the matrix subject, are allowed only in *to*-clauses as shown in (20a,b). The contrast observed in (20) leads us to suggest that *to*-clauses are distinguished from *no*-clauses in that only the former have a functional category that is responsible for licensing the adverbs of judgment.

A support for the hypothesis that *to*-clauses have more elaborated structure than *no*-clauses is provided by the fact concerning the difference in the time construal between the two types of complements of certain verbs. To take an example, the verb *kanzi(ru)* 'feel produces sentences with different interpretations depending on the choice between *to*- and *no*-complementizer, but the difference again cannot be reduced to 'report and 'non-report.

(21) a. Taro wa dareka ga doa o nokku suru no o kanzita.
         T   top someone nom door acc knock do *no* acc feel-past
         'Taro felt someone knock on the door.
     b. Taro wa dareka ga doa o nokku suru to kanzita.
         T top someone nom door acc knock do *to* feel-past
         'Taro felt/thought that someone was going to knock on the door.

When followed by *no*-complement as in (21a), *kanzi(ru)* is interpreted as a perception verb, and the time denoted by the matrix VP event and that denoted by the embedded VP event are construed as being contemporaneous. With *to*-complement as in (21b), *kanzi(ru)* cannot be interpreted as a verb of perception; it is interpreted as a verb of thinking, and the temporal relation between the matrix VP event and the embedded VP event is not that of contemporaneity as in the case of the perception construction. In (21b) the time of the embedded VP event must follow that of the main event. The contrast between (21a) and (21b) cannot be reduced to the difference between 'report and 'proposition since both (21a) and (21b) may in a sense be

regarded as a 'report of Taro s perception or his thought, respectively. The data discussed above seem to suggest that the complementizer *to* is rather like Spanish *que*, as argued in Plann (1982), being ambiguous between a complementizer for propositions and a complementizer for the object of speech acts, not an unambiguous quotative complemetnzier. As will be elaborated in section 4, I will propose that *to*-clauses in the 'blended discourse and the rest of *to*-clauses are different in the features of Force and the way a certain Force feature is identified. The former are only those embedded by a speech act verb and the superordinate speech act event represented in [spec, ForceP] as the features representing the temporal and spatial coordinates of the subject of the superordinate clause identifies the speech act feature of a U-modal in Force. Since the verbs embedding a non-quotative *to*-clause are not speech act verbs, their subjects lack features to identify that of U-modals, ruling out the quotes of utterances. In what follows, I will present support for the argument that *to*-clauses that are not selected by a speech act verb are structurally different from *no*-clauses in that only the former include functional projections that indicate the speaker s judgment toward a proposition. More specifically, I will propose different structures for these clauses as illustrated in (22) where *no*-clauses are FiniteP while *to*-clauses include the functional projection ModP, which is responsible for the speaker s judgment.

(22)   [ForceP   [ModP   [FiniteP [TP]]]
        to-clause with/witout U-modal   *no*-clause

3.   More on the differences between *to*- and *no*-clauses

The hypothesis that *to*-clauses involve a functional head related to the speaker s judgment also finds support in the distribution of the verb of giving *kureru*[5] and the interpretation

of the resulting sentences. When *kureru* is present, either as the main predicate or as a component of a complex predicate, the empathy of the speaker must be on the object of the predicate, not on the subject. Therefore, in main clauses, the beneficiary argument of *kureru* (the past tense form; *kureta*) is canonically identified with the first person nominal referring to the speaker as in (23a). (23b) is possible only if the speaker benefits from the fact that Taro gave flowers to Hanako. As (23c) shows, the first person cannot be the subject of *kureru*, or it would contradict the empathy condition.

(23) a. Taro wa watasi ni hana o okutte kureta.
         T   top   me dat flower acc sending-gift-gave
         'Taro gave me flowers

    b. Taro wa Hanako ni hana o okutte kureta.
        T   top   H   dat flower acc sending-gift-gave
        'Taro gave flowers to Hanako (for me).

    c. *Watasi wa Hanako ni hana o okutte kureta.[6]
        I   top   H   dat flower acc sending-gift-gave

Hasegawa (2007) accounts for the observed speaker-orientation of *kureru* by requiring the feature identification between *kureru* and Mod. In the main clause, the Mod feature is identified by the feature associated with the speaker.

Concerning the facts related to *kureru* in embedded clauses, Hasegawa points out that there are certain differences between *to*-clauses and *koto*-clauses. From the difference in the distribution of *wa*-marked topic phrase, Hasegawa infers that

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5) In addition to the use as a component of a compound verb as in the examples in the text, *kureru* can be used independently as a verb of giving. In either case the empathy condition applies basically in the same way.

6) Another empathy-inducing verb of giving, *yaru*, has a function of empathizing with the subject of giving, and thus, by substituting *kurera* in (c) with yatta (give-past), the resulting sentence is grammatical.
    (i) Watasi wa Hanako ni hana o okutte yatta.

while in *to*-clauses the CP-system including TopP and ModP is projected, such elaborated CP-system is absent in *koto*-clauses. This structural difference accounts for the contrasts shown in the examples in (24).

(24) a.　Mitiko wa [Taro ga watasi o tasuketa/tasukete kureta koto] ni kangekisita.

　　　　M　top　T nomi me acc rescued/rescue-gave　　*koto* dat moved.

　　　　'Mitiko was moved by the fact that Taro recued me. (Hasegawa s (21a))

　　b.　Taro$_i$ wa [kare$_i$ ga watasi ni sore o tutaeta/tutaete kureta] koto o sukkari wasureteiru.

　　　　T　top he nom　me　dat it　acc informed/inform-gave *koto* acc completely forget

　　　　'Taro has completely forgotten that he told me that. (Hasegawa s (21b))

　　c.　Taro$_i$ wa [kare$_i$ ga watasi ni sore o tutaeta/*tutaete kureta] to omotteiru.

　　　　T　top　he nom me　dat it acc inform/*inform-gave

　　　　　to think

　　　　'Taro thinks that he told me that. (Hasegawa s (22a))

　　d.　Jiro　wa [Mitiko　ga　sono　paatii　ni　watasi　o syootaisita/?syootaisite kureta to] kantigaisiteiru.[7]

　　　　J　top M nom that party to me acc invite/?invite-gave *to* misunderstand

　　　　'Jiro misunderstands that Mitiko invited me to that party. (Hasegawa s (22b))

(24a,b) show that in *koto*-clauses the presence of *kureru* is

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7)　Although in Hasegawa' s judgment when *kureru* occurs in *to*-clause in (24d), the sentence is degraded, I do not find such deference in acceptability and the sentence is equally acceptable with or without *kureru*. Nothing in the discussions in the paper hinges on this rather minor difference in judgment.

optional. In (24a) either the matrix subject or the speaker can be the beneficiary, but in (24b) the speaker is the only possible beneficiary, for the agent of the action is coreferential with the matrix subject. In contrast, Hasegawa shows that *kureru* can (marginally) occur in *to*-clauses only when the matrix and embedded subjects are not coreferential (24c,d), and that the first person object cannot be the beneficiary argument; the role must always be associated with the matrix subject. The gist of Hasegawa s analysis on the identification of the feature of *kureru* is as follows: When *kureru* occurs in *to*-clause, its [+bearer of attitude] feature is identified by [+bearer of attitude] feature of Mod in the lower CP domain, which is identified by the subject of the matrix clause.[8] Eventually, *kureru* is identified by the matrix subject, which, therefore, is always interpreted as the beneficiary argument of *kureru*. In contrast, in *koto*-clauses [+bearer of attitude] feature of *kureru* is not identified via Mod. There it is either identified by the matrix subject, or is bound by [+bearer of attitude] feature of the matrix Mod. Due to this latter option, the first person object in spec of *kureru* can be identified as the beneficiary argument.

　　　Hasegawa (2007) limits the discussion on *to*- and *koto*-clauses, but *no*-clauses seem to show the pattern parallel to *koto*-clauses.

(25) a. Taro$_i$ wa [kare$_i$ ga watasi ni sore o tutaeta/tutaete kureta] no o sukkari wasureteiru.
　　　　T　　top　he nom　me dat　it acc　informed/inform-gave

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8)　The relevant feature of *kureru* and the feature of Mod that identifies it are actually referred to as [+speaker] feature by Hasegawa. In order to avoid an unnecessary confusion of these features with the speaker feature of the subject of a speech act verb, in this paper the feature of Mod and *kureru* are referred to as [+bearer of attitude] feature. In the main clause, the bearer of the attitude is necessarily the speaker, and the bearer of the attitude for the embedded clause is the subject of the superordinate clause, but as discussed in the previous section, this is not necessarily the 'speaker' in the sense of the 'utterer.'

no acc completely forget
'Taro has completely forgotten that he told me that.
b. Taro wa [Jiro ga watasi ni sore o tutaeta/tutaete
kureta] no o sukkari wasureteiru.
T   top J nom   me dat   it acc informed/inform-gave
no acc completely forget
'Taro has completely forgotten that Jiro told me that.

In (25a) since the matrix subject, Taro, is coreferential with the agent argument of the predicate attached with *kureta*, Taro cannot be interpreted as the beneficiary, but the first person object is interpreted as such. In (25b) either the matrix subject or the embedded first person object can be the beneficiary. These facts follow from Hasegawa analysis if *no*-clauases are parallel to *koto*-clauses in the sense that they both lack ModP.[9]

When the subject is the first person in clauses with *kureru*, *to*- and *no*-clauses contrast strikingly and the proposed structural difference seems to be further supported. Consider the examples of *to*-clauses first.

(26) a. Taro wa [watasi ga Hanako o nagusamete kureta to]
omotteiru.
T   top I   nom H   acc console-gave   *to* think
'Taro thinks that I I consoled Hanako (for him)
b. Hanako$_i$ wa [boku ga kanozyo$_i$ ni sore o tutaete kureta
to] itteiru.
H   top I   nom her   dat   it acc inform-gave *to* say
'Hanako says that I told her that.

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9) *No* and *koto* are quite similar in their distribution but not identical. *Koto*-clauses are not discussed in this paper as *koto* may be better characterized as a noun, whose close equivalent in English might be 'fact', since unlike *to* or *no* it can be preceded by a demonstrative.
(i) Taro wa Jiro ga Hanako o tasukete kureta ano koto o oboeteiru.
T top J nom H acc rescue-gave that koto acc remember
'Taro remembers the fact that Jiro rescured Hanako.

As we have seen above, in main clauses the empathy associated with *kureru* should be on the speaker, which is thus interpreted as the beneficiary. For this reason, the first person cannot be the agent of the action, and *kureru* does not tolerate the first person subject. However, as predicted by Hasegawa's analysis, *kureru* in *to*-clauses finds the subject of the matrix clause as the beneficiary (Taro in (26a), Hanako in (26b)); therefore, unlike the situation in main clauses, (26a) and (26b) are grammatical sentences despite the first person pronoun being the subject of *kureru*.[10] In contrast, the following examples show that the first person subject is not allowed in *no*- (and also *koto*-) clauses with *kureru*.[11]

(27) a. *Taro wa [watasi ga Hanako o nagusamete kureta no] o oboeteiru.

 T   top I   nom H   acc console-gave *no* acc remember

 (intended) 'Taro remembers that I consoled Hanako

 b. *Hanako$_i$ wa [boku ga kanozyo$_{i/j}$ ni sore o tutaete kureta no] o oboeteiru.

 H   top I   nom her   dat it acc inform-gave *no* acc remember

 (intended) 'Hanako remembers that I told her that.

Assuming that *no*-clauses do not have Mod, nothing intervenes the binding between the speaker feature of the matrix Mod and the first person pronoun *watasi* or *boku* in the embedded [spec

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10) Since Hasegawa (2007) discusses the constructions involving *kureru* in relation to the speaker-related features that license the null first person object, sentences like (26–27) with the first person subject would be beyond the scope of her paper and are not discussed.

11) *Taro wa [watasi ga Hanako o nagusamete kureta koto] o oboete iru.
  *Hanako wa [boku ga kanozyo ni sore o tutaete kureta koto] o oboete iru

vP]. Then, the [+bearer of attitude] feature of *kureru* in v is identified by the speaker feature of the first person pronoun in its spec, which makes the first person subject interpreted as the beneficiary of *kureru*. Since the beneficiary argument of *kureru* cannot be identical with the agent of the action, the sentences in (27) are correctly ruled out.

Notice that without assuming the structural difference between *to-* and *no*-clauses, the contrast observed in (26) and (27) is hard to explain. Since *to*-clauses have more complex structure with Mod, whose feature is required to be indentified by that of the superordinate attitude bearer, it is explained why the intervention of the first person subject does not affect the grammaticality in *to*-clauses.

An additional support for the analysis can be found in similar phenomena involving another empathy-inducing verb of giving *yaru*. With *yaru*, the focus is on the agent of an action, not the beneficiary. Therefore, in main clauses the empathy of the speaker must be on the subject, i.e., the viewpoint of the speaker is closer to the subject rather than to the object, as opposed to what is observed in clauses with *kureru*. In (28b) the object, not the subject, is the first person, contradicting this requirement.

(28) a.   Watasi wa Hanako ni sore o tutaete yatta.
            I top H dat it acc inform-gave
            'I told that to Hanako.
      b.   *Hanako wa watasi ni sore o tutaete yatta.
            H top me dat it acc inform-gave

Now we will consider the *no*-clauses containing *yaru*. The sentences in (29) contrast sharply with those in (27) with *kureru*.

(29) a.   Taro wa [watasi ga Hanako o nagusamete yatta no] o
            oboeteiru.

T   top I   nom H acc console-gave *no* acc remember

'Taro remembers that I consoled Hanako.

b. Hanako$_i$ wa [boku ga kanozyo$_{i/j}$ ni sore o tutaete yatta no] o oboeteiru.

H   top   I nom her dat it acc inform-gave *no* acc remember

'Hanako$_i$ remembers that I told her$_{i/j}$ that.

c. Taro$_i$ wa [zibun$_i$ ga Hanako o nagusamete yatta no] o oboeteiru.

T   top   self nom H acc console-gave *no* acc remember

'Taro$_i$ remembers that he$_i$ consoled her.

d. Hanako$_i$ wa [Goro ga kanozyo$^{*}_{i/j}$ ni sore o tutaete yatta no] o oboeteiru.

H   top G nom her dat it acc inform-gave *no* acc remember

'Hanako$_i$ remembers that Goro told her$^{*}_{i/j}$ that.

Let us assume that like *kureru*, *yaru* has [+bearer of attitude] feature to be identified by that of the speaker/the attitude bearer. But unlike *kureru*, *yaru* s lexical specification requires that the empathy of the argument that licenses the feature of *yaru* be on the agent of the action. Our analysis predicts the grammatical status of the sentences in (29) above. In (29a.b) the speaker feature of the first person subject in the embedded clause identifies the feature of *yaru*. In (29c.d) since no speaker feature is available in the embedded clause, the feature of *yaru* must be identified by the feature of the matrix clause. In these sentences the empathy of the attitude bearer, i.e., the matrix subject, is on the agent of the action described in the embedded clause. Therefore, the third person feminine object pronoun and the matrix subject Hanako in (29d) must refer to a different individual from Hanako, otherwise the empathy condition is violated.

     Our analysis also makes correct predictions about the

following sentences in which the first person subject occurs with *yaru* in to-clauses.

(30) a. Taro wa [watasi ga Hanako o nagusamete yatta to] omotteiru.
    T top I nom H acc console-gave *to* think
    'Taro thinks that I consoled Hanako.

  b. Taro wa [watasi ga kanozyo ni okane o kasite yatta to] iihurasiteiru.
    T top I nom her dat money acc lend-gave *to* circulating
    'Taro is telling everyone that I lent money to Hanako.

  c. Taro$_i$ wa [watasi ga kare$^*_{i/j}$ ni okane o kasite yatta to] iihurasiteiru.
    T top I nom him dat money acc lend-gave *to* circulating
    'Taro$_i$ is telling everyone that I lent him$^*_{i/j}$ money.

Since we are assuming that Mod is always present in *to*-clauses, the feature of *yaru* in (30) moves to the embedded Mod and is identified by its feature associated with the attitude bearer, the matrix subject, and the embedded first person subject has no intervening effect. Due to the lexical property of *yaru*, the empathy or the viewpoint of the attitude bearer, Taro, is on the agent of the action, which happens to be the speaker, *watasi*, in these sentences. As is the case in (29d) above, in (30c) the third person object pronoun must refer to an individual other than the attitude bearer Taro, since Taro s viewpoint must be on the agent of the action not the recipient.

It has been shown that the proposed structural difference between *to*- and *no*-clauses can account for the difference in the distribution of *kureru* and *yaru* and in the assignment of beneficiary role in these clauses. The proposal is also consistent with the difference in the distribution of adverbs of judgment in these clauses as pointed out in section 2, since Mod, which can be associated with the source of judgment, i.e., the bearer of attitude,

is present only in *to*-clauses. In the next section, we will return to the discussion on quotative *to*-clauses and present an analysis for their 'blended characteristics.
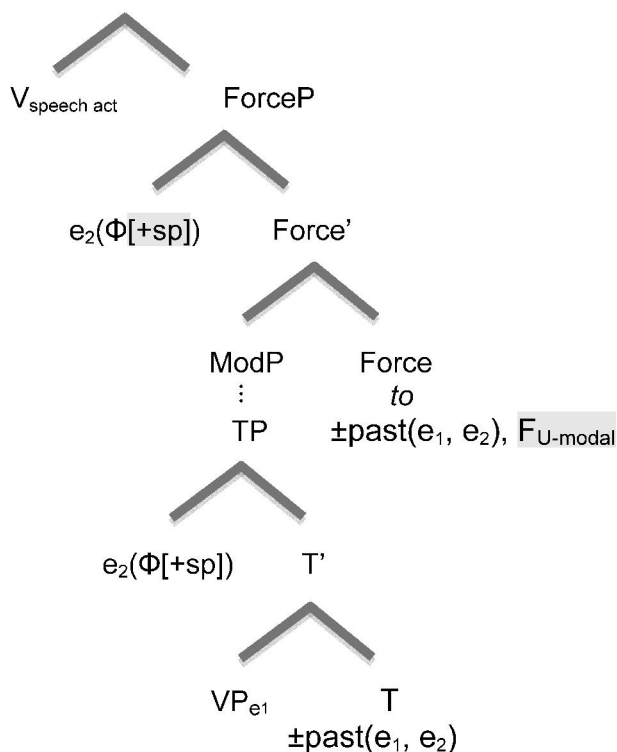
4. The main clause vs. the quotative *to*-clause

As in the main clause, a U-modal in a quotative *to*-clause is identified by the speaker feature. The association with a 'speaker makes these two types of clauses similar in some respect, but the difference in the nature of the 'speakers they are associated with also makes them different. The focus of this section will be how the proposed analysis can derive the differences between the quotative *to*-clause and the main clause. In order to avoid confusion between the different kinds of 'speaker involved, henceforth, the speaker of the utterance will be referred to as the External Speaker, for the speaker of the utterance does not have to be overtly represented unless the subject of the matrix clause refers to him/her. The speaker of an embedded quotative *to*-clause, i.e., the subject of a speech act verb, will be referred to as the speaker with the lower case *s*.

4.1 The quotative *to*-clause and the speaker

I will now illustrate the hypothesis outlined in section 2 about the difference between quotative *to*-clauses, or *to*-clauses in 'blended discourse, and the rest of embedded *to*-clauses. Following Giorgi and Pianesi (2001) and Giorgi (2010), I assume that as a general property of UG, an event complement of an attitude predicate must be anchored to the superordinate event. Giorgi (2010) proposes that the anchoring is implemented through the representation in the T-layer of the feature Φ corresponding to the main attitude, which represents the temporal and spatial coordinate of the subject of the superordinate clause. Assuming that T must agree with C (cf. Pesetsky and Torrego 2001, 2004), the coordinate feature of the

superordinate subject is represented in the Force-layer as well. It is plausible that the feature Φ representing the superordinate event is actually a set of features and includes a feature that discriminates a speech act event from more typical events of expressing propositional attitudes. So I propose that the coordinate features of the subject of superordinate speech act verb represented in [spec, ForceP] include the feature [+sp], which indicates that the subject in this case is not only the attitude bearer but also the speaker. (31) shows the proposed feature alignment.

(31)

$V_{\text{speech act}}$ ForceP

$e_2(\Phi[+sp])$ Force'

ModP   Force
⋮   *to*
TP $\pm past(e_1, e_2)$, $F_{\text{U-modal}}$

$e_2(\Phi[+sp])$ T'

VP_{e1} T
$\pm past(e_1, e_2)$

The feature [+sp] can identify that of a U-modal internally merged into Force. The relation between these features is also shown in (31) above. Since the features that represent non-speech act events do not include [+sp] feature, U-modals are not allowed with their features remain unidentified.

4.2 The interpretation of deictic time expressions

It was shown above that the subject of a speech act verb is represented as a speaker, which makes it possible for a U-modal to occur in its complement clause. But quotative *to*-clauses are still different from the main clause or direct discourse quotations. We will first consider the time reference in these clauses. The time reference in quotative *to*-clauses appears to be determined with respect to the time of the speech act.

(32) a. Watasi no ofisu ni ki-nasai.
          me gen office to come-IMPERATIVE
          'Come to my office.
      b. Taro wa Hanko ni watasi ni okane o kasite yare to itta.
          (Suruto Hanako wa hontoo ni okane o kasite kureta.)
          T top H dat me dat money lend-give-IMPERATIVE *to* said
          (then H top actually money acc lend-gave)
          'Taro said to Hanako to lend me some money. ('Then, Hanako actually did so.)

The event described in (32a), a matrix imperative, refers to the time subsequent to the utterance time (UT). In contrast, in (32b) with the imperative modal in the quotative *to*-clause, the event time referred in the complement imperative is subsequent to the event time of the matrix clause, which is in the past of the UT. Since in (32b) the embedded event time does not necessarily refer to the future with respect to the UT, the sentence can be followed by another sentence in the parentheses expressing that the event has completed in the past without

contradiction.

The relation between the embedded event time and the matrix event time in (32b) seems parallel to the temporal relation between a direct discourse quotation and the matrix clause. In (33) the use of the directional verb *ku* 'come and the verb *kureru* (the imperative form: *kure*) forces the first person (masculine) pronoun *boku* to be interpreted as referring to the subject of the matrix clause, which indicates that in this case the *to*-clause is a direct discourse representation of what Taro said to Hanako.

(33)   Taro$_i$ wa Hanako ni [atode syorui o boku$_i$ no heya ni mottekite kure] to tanonda.
         T top H dat later document acc me gen room to bring-come-give-IMPERATIVE *to* asked
         (Jyuugohun go Hanako wa Taro no heya ni syorui o motteitta.)
         (15 minute after H top T gen room to document acc bring-went)
         Taro asked Hanako, 'Bring the documents to my room later . (After 15 minutes Hanako bring the documents to Taro s room.)

The time referred to in the direct discourse clause in (33) is interpreted with respect to the matrix clause event time, not the UT of the entire sentence. Since *to*-clauses in direct discourse constitute an independent speech act from the rest of the sentence, it may be assumed that they are anchored to an independent UT. On the basis of this assumption, the time of the superordinate speech act must be construed as its UT for a direct discourse clause. This temporal construal along with the fact that in *to*-clauses in direct discourse, the pronominal reference is construed on the basis of the perspective of the matrix subject suggest that the matrix subject has a function

analogous to the External Speaker for the main clause. Since the matrix tense in (33) is the past, the time of the speaker of the quote, which functions as the UT for the quoted clause, is shifted to the past of main clause UT.

It was proposed above that in quotative *to*-clauses the speaker feature of Force is identified by [+sp] feature of the coordinates of the subject of the superordinate speech act verb. I will now argue that since the subject of the speech act verb is not directly accessible to the coordinates of the External Speaker, but it is only related to it though T of its clause, ForceP containing a quotative *to*-clauses has different properties from main clause utterances. The argument is partly based on the fact that, as we have already seen, in quotative *to*-clauses, unlike in direct discourse clauses, pronominal reference is not construed on the basis of the perspective of the subject of the superordinate speech act verb, but it must be interpreted with respect to the perspective of the External Speaker. In addition to this fact, despite the apparent similarity observed above, the temporal interpretation in quotative *to*-clauses are not exactly like what happens in direct quotation clauses. More specifically, it will be shown that unlike in direct quotation clauses, in quotative *to*-clauses, the time of the superordinate speech act cannot be the anchoring point independent from the time of the External Speaker. The following examples with a deictic time expression will illustrate the point at issue.

(34) a. $Taro_i$ wa issyuukan mae Goro ni [asu $boku_i$ no ofisu ni kite kure] to tanonda
T   top one week before G da tomorrow me gen office to come-give-IMPERATIVE *to* asked
'A week ago, Taro asked Goro, "Come to my office tomorrow.
b. $Taro_i$ wa issyuukan mae Goro ni [asu $kare_i$/$zibun_i$ no ofisu ni kite kure to] tanonda.

T top one week ago G dat tomorrow him/self gen office
to come-give-IMPERATIVE *to* asked
'A week ago Taro asked Goro to come to his office
tomorrow.

The fact that the first person pronoun *boku* refers to the matrix
subject *Taro* suggests that the *to*-clause in (34) is a direct
quotation. In this sentence the deictic time expression *asu*
'tomorrow refers to the day after the day referred in the main
clause, which is the 7th day prior to the UT, not the day after the
UT. To contrast, in (34b), where the *to*-clause is in 'blended
discourse, *asu* cannot refer to the day after the day referred to in
the matrix clause; it can only refer to the day after the UT. The
construal of the deictic time expression observed in (34b)
parallels what is observed in other embedded clauses like (35).

(35)   Taro wa issyuukan mae Goro ga asu Hanako to kekkon
        suru no o sitta.
        T   top one week ago G nom tomorrow H with marry do
        no acc found out
        'A week ago Taro found out that Goro was marrying
        Hanako tomorrow.

The fact observed in (34a) is consistent with the idea suggested
above that for a *to*-clause of direct quotation, the superordinate
subject functions just like the External Speaker, and the quoted
clause is interpreted with respect to the coordinates of the
subject of the matrix speech act verb, independently of the
coordinates of the External Speaker. Since the time of the speech
by the superordinate subject is construed as the UT for a direct
quotation clause, deictic time expressions are construed with
respect to the coordinates of the superordinate subject, not by
the External Speaker. This temporal construal is not available for
embedded clauses including quotative *to*-clauses, and deictic time

expressions must be interpreted with respect to the time of utterance by the External Speaker. Although it was argued above that the coordinates of the superordinate subject plays a crucial role in deriving the properties of quotative *to*-clauses, the facts related to deictic time expressions suggest that their properties are not totally determined by the subject of the superordinate speech act verb. Some of their 'blended characteristics need be attributed to the syntactic dependence on the External Speaker.

4.3 'Blended discourse *to*-clauses, other main clause properties and the External Subject

As already seen above, the pronominal reference in the embedded 'blended discourse clause is not determined on the basis of the perspective of the speaker of the embedded speech act. It is determined on the basis of the External Speaker. This point can be further elaborated by observing the fact concerning the person restriction on the subject due to U-modals.

Ueda (2007) claims that U-modals trigger the person restriction on the subject. Consider the example in (36) from Ueda (2007; 270).

(36)   *Boku/Kimi/*Kare ga hayaku kotti e koi.   imperative
        *Boku/Kimi/*Taro wa sonna koto kinisuru na.

                                                    prohibition
        Boku/Kimi/Watasitati/*Kare mo iki masy oo.   hortative
        Boku/*Kimi/*Kare ga suguni ik oo.   intention
        Boku/*Kimi/*Kare wa, kessite iku mai.   intention

As indicated by the examples in (36), the modals of imperative and prohibition exclude the first person and third person subject. The hortative modal is restricted to the first or second person subject. The intention modal $(y)oo$ and *mai* are restricted to the first person subject. In short, the subject of the matrix predicated

attached by a U-modal is restricted to either the first person (i.e., the External Speaker) and/or the second person (i.e., the adressee), and the third person subject is never possible. Within *to*-clause in direct discourse, the person restriction holds in the same way. For example in (37), the covert subject of the imperative predicate *turete koi* 'bring-come-IMPERATIVE must be the second person as indicated by the second person pronoun *kimi* referring to it.

(37)   Taro wa Goro$_i$ ni "pro$_i$ kimi$_i$/*kare$_i$ no imooto o turete koi to yookyuusita.
        T top G dat you/*him gen little sister acc bring-come-IMPERATIVE *to* demanded
        'Taro demanded Goro, "Bring your little sister.'

        In contrast, in a quotative *to*-clause, the third person subject is added to the possible list of subject persons.

(38) a. Taro wa Goro$_i$ ni pro$_i$ kare$_i$ no imooto o turete koi to tanonda.
         T top G dat him gen little sisiter acc bring-come-IMPERATIVE *to* asked
         'Taro asked Goro to bring his little sister.'
     b. Ken wa Hanako$_i$ ni pro$_j$ kanojyo$_i$ no ie no koto wa sinpaisuru na to itta.
         K top H dat her gen house gen thing top worry-PROHIBITION *to* said
         'Ken said to Hanako that she should not worry about her home.'
     c. Taro$_i$ wa nakama$_j$ ni pro$_{i+j}$ kare$_i$ no uti ni ikoo to itta.
         T top friend dat him gen house to go-HORTATIVE *to* said
         'Taro invited his friend to come to his house with him.'
     d. Ken$_i$ wa kare$_i$ ga suguni ikoo to itta.

K   top he nom soon go-INTENTION *to* said
'Ken said that he would go at once.

In these examples, even when the embedded subject is covert, as the coindexation with the overt pronoun in each sentence shows, the subject must be the third person. The observed shift in the person restriction of subject is predicted if the reference of the personal pronoun in quotative *to*-clauses is determined from the perspective of the External Speaker, not from that of the subject of the speech act verb. In (38a), for example, from the perspective of the External Speaker, Goro is not the addressee, and therefore, the subject of the embedded imperative sentence must be referred to as the third person. To contrast, the pronominal reference in direct discourse clauses is determined by the speaker of that clause. In (37) Goro is the addressee with respect to the speaker Taro, and therefore, Goro is referred to as the second person.

The preceding discussions on the temporal and pronominal references show that although quotative *to*-clauses are associated with the speaker feature of the superordinate speech act verb, they must eventually be anchored to the features of the External Subject. This is quite natural since by the matrix T the main speech act event is interpreted with respect to the coordinates of the External Speaker, which is represented in the matrix [spec, ForceP], the subject s coordinates of the superordinate speech act verb must be located with respect to those of the External Speaker. The dual nature of quotative *to*-clauses is then attributed to their dual dependency on the two speakers: one for specifying the type of speech act, and the other for temporal and spatial coordinates. What is alluded to in this analysis is that the features of Force, which at least include the morphosyntactic feature associated with U-modals or a speech act type, and the features associated with the temporal and spatial coordinates of the clause, may not be identified across the board by a single

speaker feature and there may be different kinds of speakers involved. This split in the Force features and their identification by different kinds of speakers are supported by some other typical 'main clause properties' including the polite verbal forms and sentence final particles (SFPs), which, unlike U-modals, do not occur in quotative *to*-clauses.

As discussed in Kuno (1988), *to*-clauses in 'blended discourse' do not tolerate polite verb expressions even when such expressions are required in the corresponding utterance in direct discourse. Assuming that Taro is a student of Prof. Ito, Taro's utterance quoted in (39a) is quite inappropriate; a polite form of the verb must be used as in the quotation in (39b).

(39) a.　#Taro-wa, "Boku no uti ni kite kure," to Ito-sensei ni itta.
　　　　　T　top　me gen home　to come-give-IMPERATIVE *to* Ito-prof dat said.

　　 b.　Taro-wa "Boku no uti ni oide itadak-e-masu ka," to Ito-sensei ni itta.
　　　　　T top　me gen home　come (polite)　　Q　*to*　Ito-prof dat said.
　　　　　'Taro said to Prof. Ito, "Would you come to my house?'

The judgments are reversed when the sentences in direct discourse are turned into those in indirect discourse.

(40) a.　Taro wa zibun no uti ni ki-te kure to Ito-sensei ni itta.
　　　　　T top self gen　　home to come-IMPERATIVE *to* Ito-prof. dat said
　　　　　'Taro said to Prof. Ito to come to his house.'

　　 b.　*Taro wa zibun no uti ni oide itadak-e-masu ka to Ito-sensei ni itta.
　　　　　T top self gen house to come (polite) Q *to* Ito-prof. dat said

Kuno attributes the contrasts between (39) and (40) to a general rule in Japanese that precludes the appearance of polite forms in embedded clauses. For example, in the contrast between (41a) and (41b) polite verb forms are excluded from complement clauses headed by the complementizer *no*. However, it is still not clear why in embedded contexts U-modals are allowed while polite verb forms are not.

(41) a. *Hanako wa [Tanaka seisei ga sensyuu zubun ni hon o kasite-kure-masita no] o oboete-imasu.
     H top Tanaka-prof nom last week self dat book acc lend-give-polite-past *no* acc remember

   b. Hanako wa [Tanaka sensei ga sensyuu zibun ni hon o kasite-kurata no] o oboete-imasu.
     H top Tanaka-prof nom last week self dat book acc lend-gave *no* acc remember-polite
     'Hanako remembers that last week Prof. Tanaka lent her a book.

   The distribution of sentence final particles (SFP) is also restricted to main clauses. Their function is to express the speaker s attitudes such as familiarity, insistence, etc., toward the addressee.

(42) a. Taro wa rainen daigaku o sotugyoo suru yo.
     T   top next year college acc graduate do SFP
     '(You know,) Taro will graduate from college next year.

   b. Watasi no mane o site ne.
     me gen mimicry acc do-IMPERATIVE SFP
     'Do as I do (, will you).

   c. *Goro wa [Taro ga rainen daigaku o sotugyoo suru yo no o] sitteiru.
     G   top T nom next year college acc graduate do SFP *no* acc know

    d. *[Goro ga kaita yo] hon
       G nom wrote SFP book
       (intended) the book Goro wrote

Like polite verb forms but unlike U-modals, sentence final particles are ruled out in quotative *to*-clauses.

(43) a. *Hanako$_i$ wa seitotati ni [zibun$_i$ no mane o site ne/yo to] itta.
      H top student (pl.) dat self gen mimicry acc do-IMPERATIVE SFP *to* said
    b. *Goro$_i$ wa Taro ni [yatu$_i$ no uti ni moo kuru na yo to] itta.
      G top T dat him-gen house to again come-PROHIBITION SFP *to* said

The proposed analysis accounts for these facts as the feature mismatch between the speaker feature of polite verbal forms and SFPs, and that of the subject of the superordinate speech act verb. Polite verbal forms and SFPs can be viewed as the speaker s expression of his/her attitude to the utterance toward the external world/the context of the utterance. Since under this assumption the speaker must be the interface between the utterance and the external world, these expressions can only be licensed by the External Speaker. They are not allowed in quotative *to*-clauses because another attitude bearer, the subject of the superordinate speech act verb intervenes. The coodinates of the intervening subject are not directly accessible to the interface to the external world, which makes them unable to license these expressions.
      The feature of U-modals in Force can be identified by the speaker feature of the subject of a speech act verb. But the same feature cannot identify the features of polite verbal forms and SFPs. The distribution of polite verbal expressions and SFPs

confirms that the Force features include the feature that determines the type of speech act and those that must be anchored to the features of the External Speaker, and the speaker feature of the subject of a speech act verb can license only the first of these on its own, leading to the 'blended characteristics of quotative *to*-clauses.

5. Summary and conclusion

I have argued that not all *to*-clauses are reports of direct discourse showing that the occurrence of U-modals is restricted to the complement of speech act verbs, and that the *to*-complement clause of a non-speech act verb cannot be characterized as a report of an utterance, unlike that of speech act verbs. The subject of the superordinate speech act verb is represented not only as the bearer of attitude but also as the speaker of the speech act event, which leads to the identification of the speaker feature of U-modal in Force. In the proposed analysis the difference between *to*-clauses and *no*-clauses cannot be characterized by the dichotomy between reports and propositions as Saito (2010) proposes, but rather the difference lies in whether ModP is projected in their C-system. Based on the distribution and interpretation of empathy inducing verb *kureru* and *yaru*, and adverbs of judgment, I have shown that *no*-clauses do not project ModP, resulting in a structural difference between *to*-clauses and *no*-clauses: ForceP for the former, FinP for the latter. Regarding the property of the subject of speech act verbs, I have shown that this is not special enough for the embedded clause to totally depend on. The 'blended characteristics of quotative *to*-clauses are attributed to their association with the speaker of the speech act event and the External Speaker, and the difference between these 'speakers manifests syntactically in the distribution of polite verbal expressions and sentence final particles. The analysis presented in this paper shows that in

Japanese difference in the type of complement clauses is at least in part determined by the nature of speaker-related features, and that among Force feature the one that determines the type of speech act can be independent from other coordinate features associated with subject/speaker s.

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