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Root Complementizer *tte* in Japanese*

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1 Introduction

There are several types of complementizers, such as *no*, *ka*, and *to*, in Japanese. Saito (2013a) categorizes *to* as a report complementizer, which introduces a report or paraphrase of direct discourse in a complement of verbs like *i(u)* 'say' and *omow(u)* 'think'.

(1) Taroo-wa Hanako-to kekkonsi-ta-<u>to</u>/<u>tte</u> it-ta.[1]
    Taro-TOP Hanako-and marry-PST-COMP say-PST
    'Taro said that he married Hanako.'

In (1), the report complementizer *to* occurs in a complement of the verb 'say' and marks the complement as a report. In colloquial registers, *to* can be replaced by the informal variant *tte*.

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[1] The abbreviations in glosses are: ACC = accusative, COMP = complementizer, COP = copula, EXCL = exclamative, EXH = exhortative, FI = falling intonation, FIN = finite, GEN = genitive, IMP = imperative, NEG = negation, NOM = nominative, NPST = nonpast, PERF = perfective, PART = partitive clitic, PST = past, Q = question, QUOT = quotative, SG = singular, SFP = sentence final particle, and TOP = topic.

Though complementizers normally occur in complement clauses, the complementizer *tte* can also occur in root clauses.

(2) Taroo-to   Hanako-ga   kekkonsi-ta-<u>tte</u>.
    Taro-and   Hanako-NOM   marry-PST-TTE
    '(I hear that) Taro and Hanako got married.' etc.

In (2) the sentence ends with *tte* without any matrix verb following it. This occurrence of a complementizer in a root clause is not a phenomenon limited to Japanese. It has been observed in Spanish, Catalan, European Portuguese, and Korean, and has been investigated with the aim of elucidating the left/right periphery of clauses (Etxepare 2010; Corr 2016, 2018; Ceong 2019).

(3) a. Spanish
        Oye, <u>que</u> el Barça ha ganado la Champions
        listen that the Barça has won   the Champions League
        'Listen. The Barça has won the Champions League!'
                                                    (Etxepare 2010: 604)
    b. Catalan
        <u>Que</u>   me'n   vaig   de vacances
        QUOT   me=PART=   go.1SG of   holidays
        '(I said) I'm going on holiday.'   (Corr 2018: 87)
    c. European Portuguese
        Uau, <u>que</u> a bebe já   faz   18 anos!
        wow   EXCL the baby   already make.3SG   18 years
        'Wow, the little one's already turning 18!'   (Corr 2018: 75)
    d. Korean
        nayngmyen   mek-ule   ka-ca-<u>ko</u>-↓
        cold.noodles eat-COMP   go-EXH-COMP-FI
        '(I said) let's go and eat cold noodles.'   (Ceong 2019: 127)

This paper examines some of the interpretations associated with the root complementizer *tte* in Japanese (Suzuki 2007) from a cartographic point of view and identifies two syntactically distinct types of *tte*:

(4) a. *tte* that functions as a report complementizer
    b. *tte* that functions as a sentence-final particle

2   Uses of *tte* in root clauses

2.1 Hearsay *tte*

In some instances, *tte* is used to report information learned by hearsay.

(5)　a.　Taroo-to　　Hanako-ga　　kekkonsi-ta-<u>tte</u>.
　　　　　Taro-and　　Hanako-NOM　marry-PST-TTE
　　　　　'(I hear that) / (They say that) Taro and Hanako got married.'
　　　b.　Doosite　gakkoo-o　　　yasun-da-no-ka-<u>tte</u>.
　　　　　why　　　school-ACC　　absent-PST-FIN-Q-TTE
　　　　　'(He asked me) why I was absent from school.'
　　　c.　Kore-ni　kaite　　das-e-<u>tte</u>.
　　　　　this-on　write　　submit-IMP-TTE
　　　　　'(He told me to) fill this out and submit it.'

The sentences in (5) are read with a falling pitch contour, and the presence of a sentence-final *tte* indicates that the source of the reported information is a third person rather than the speaker or the interlocutor. The clause preceding *tte* can take various forms, including declarative (5a), interrogative (5b) and imperative (5c), and the hearer interprets these sentences by supplying an appropriate matrix subject and a predicate that match the sentence type of the *tte* clause based on the context.

2.2 Self-quotation *tte*

Sentences ending with *tte* can sometimes be interpreted as quoting the speaker's own previous utterance.

(6)　a. A:　Taroo-to　　Hanako-wa　　kekkonsu-ru-yo.
　　　　　　Taro-and　　Hanako-TOP　marry-NPST-SFP
　　　　　　'Taro and Hanako will get married.'
　　　　B:　Eh,　soo?
　　　　　　oh　really
　　　　　　'Oh, really?'
　　　　A:　Un,　　zettai　　　Taroo-to Hanako-wa　　kekkonsu-ru-<u>tte</u>!
　　　　　　yeah　definitely Taro-and Hanako-TOP　marry-NPST-TTE
　　　　　　'Yeah, Taro and Hanako will definitely get married (as I said).'
　　　b. A:　Nee,　kore　　mi-te.
　　　　　　hey　　this　　look-IMP
　　　　　　'Hey, look at this.'
　　　　B:　(B does not pay attention to A.)
　　　　A:　Kore　mi-te-<u>tte</u>!
　　　　　　this　　look-IMP-TTE

'(I said,) look at this!'

In this use, the sentences are pronounced with a high prominence on the sentence-final predicate complex including *tte*, and the source of the information is the speaker themselves. The sentences express the speaker's insistence on their claim, as in (6a) or the speaker's irritation at having to repeat the same thing, as in (6b). Note that these sentences are not just a repetition of what the speaker has already said but have an additional illocutionary effect.

2.3 Mirative *tte*

Sentences with mirative *tte* express the speaker's surprise at the information they just heard from the interlocutor.

(7) A: Taroo-to   Hanako-ga   kekkonsi-ta-yo.
           Taro-and   Hanako-NOM marry-PST-SFP
           'Taro and Hanako got married.'
      B: a. Eh, Taroo-to   Hanako-ga   kekkonsi-ta-<u>tte</u>?!   Mazi?
           oh Taro-and   Hanako-NOM marry-PST-TTE   serious
           'Really, (did you say that) Taro and Hanako got married?! Are you serious?'
        b. Nan-da-<u>to</u>?! / Nan-da-<u>tte</u>?!²
           what-COP.NPST-TO / what-COP.NPST-TTE
           'What (did you say)?'

In the mirative use, *tte* is pronounced with a high prominence and the sentence as a whole is read with a rising contour. Here the source of information is the interlocutor. As with the self-quotation *tte*, the mirative use of *tte* is affect-loaded and emotive.

   We can regard the idiomatic use of *tte* in exclamative sentences as a grammaticalized example of the mirative *tte*.

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² *Nan-da-tte* and *nan-da-to* can be shortened as (ia, b) respectively, though (ib) sounds old-fashioned.

(i) a. Nani-tte?!
        what-TTE
        'What?!'
     b. Nan-to?!
        what-TO
        'what?!'

(8)   Atui-no   nan-no-<u>tte</u>!
        hot-NO   what-NO-TTE
        '(I'm telling you that) it's so hot!'

The sentence-final *tte* is pronounced with a high prominence and the sentence expresses the speaker's surprise at the intensity or high degree of (an aspect of) the situation surrounding them. This is an idiomatic exclamative construction in which an adjective or a state-denoting *te-iru* verb (e.g. *konderu* [crowded]) is emphasized with the quotative meaning of *tte* mostly bleached out.

2.4 Echo question *tte*

Tte can also occur in echo questions in which the speaker repeats what they heard from the interlocutor to confirm that they heard it correctly or to ask for information they missed.

(9) A: Taroo-to   Hanako-ga   kekkonsi-ta-yo.
            Taro-and   Hanako-NOM marry-PST-SFP
            'Taro and Hanako got married.'
     B: a. Taroo-to   Hanako-ga   kekkonsi-ta-<u>tte</u>/<u>to</u>?
            Taro-and   Hanako-NOM marry-PST-TTE/TO
            '(Did you say that) Taro and Hanako got married?'
       b. Taroo-to   dare-ga   kekkonsi-ta-<u>tte</u>?
            Taro-and   who-NOM   marry-PST-TTE
            'Who did you say Taro married?'

A sentence with the echo question *tte* is pronounced with a rising pitch contour, with the interlocutor as the source of the quote. A part of the quote, which the speaker missed, can be replaced by a *wh*-word, as shown in (9Bb).
    The quote can take various forms.

(10) A: Taroo-to   Hanako-wa   kekkonsi-ta-no?
           Taro-and   Hanako-TOP   marry-PST-Q
           'Taro and Hanako got married?'
     B: Taroo-to   Hanako-ga   kekkonsi-ta-ka-<u>tte</u>?
           Taro-and   Hanako-NOM marry-PST-Q-TTE
           'Did you ask me whether Taro and Hanako got married?'
(11) A: Taroo-wa   dare-to   kekkonsi-ta-no?
           Taro-TOP   who-and marry-PST-Q
           'Who did Taro marry?'

B: Taroo-wa   dare-to   kekkonsi-ta-ka-<u>tte</u>?
       Taro-TOP   who-and   marry-PST-Q-TTE
       'Did you ask me who Taro married?'

(12) A: Riyuu-wa   kika-naide-kudasai.
        reason-TOP   ask-NEG-IMP.POLITE
        'Please do not ask me why.'

B: Riyuu-wa   kiku-na-<u>tte</u>/<u>to</u>?
       reason-TOP   ask-NEG.IMP-TTE/TO
       '(Are you telling me) not to ask you why?'

In (10) a yes/no question is quoted, whereas in (11) a *wh*-question is quoted. (12) shows that an imperative can also be quoted.

3   Properties of uses of *tte*

3.1 Embeddability

One of the principal functions of a complementizer is to mark an embedded complement clause. This section examines whether or not sentences with various uses of *tte* can be embedded.

(13)   hearsay *tte*
       [Taroo-to   Hanako-ga   kekkonsi-ta-tte] { kii-ta-yo/
       Taro-and   Hanako-NOM marry-PST-TTE   hear-PST-SFP
       dareka-ga   it-teta-yo}.
       someone-NOM   say-PERF-SFP/
       '{I heard / Someone said} that Taro and Hanako got married.'

A clause headed by hearsay *tte* can easily be embedded in the same way as a clause headed by an ordinary complementizer *to*.[3] The hearsay *tte* is neu-

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[3] As Tohru Ishii pointed out (personal communication), hearsay *tte* is not compatible with non-bridge verbs such as *donaru* 'shout' and *satoru* 'realize', and in that sense the distribution of hearsay *tte* is more restricted than that of report complementizer *to*. Predicates that are semantically compatible with hearsay *tte* must be used.

(i) Taroo-to   Hanako-ga   kekkonsi-ta-tte   uwasa-da-yo
   Taro-and   Hanako-NOM marry-PST-TTE   rumor-COP.NPST-SFP
   'There is a rumor that Taro and Hanako got married.'

In (i), *uwasa*, a noun that takes a content clause, can be used with a hearsay *tte*, which is a contracted form of *to iu*, the complementizer *to* followed by the verb 'say'.

tral regarding illocutionary force; therefore, embedding does not affect its function.

Clauses headed by other types of *tte* behave differently with respect to embedding.

(14)   self-quotation *tte*
        [Taroo-wa Hanako-to   kekkonsi-ta-tte] i-tteru-desyo.
        Taro-TOP   Hanako-and   marry-PST-TTE   say-PERF-right
        'I've been telling you that Taro married Hanako.'

Initially, (14) seems to suggest that a clause headed by self-quotation *tte* can be embedded; however, the illocutionary force felt with the sentence-final self-quotation *tte* is absent in (14). Instead, the matrix predicate *it-teru-desyo* expresses the irritation of the speaker at having to repeat the same thing, and *tte* functions as an ordinary report complementizer.

Similarly, embedding removes the illocutionary force of mirative *tte*.

(15)   mirative *tte*
        a. [Taroo-to   Hanako-ga   kekkonsi-ta-tte] { it-ta-no/
            Taro-and   Hanako-NOM marry-PST-TTE   say-PST-Q
           hontoona-no}?
           true-Q
           '{Did you say/ Is it true} that Taro and Hanako got married?'
        b. [Nan-(da)-tte]   it-ta-no?
           what-COP.NPST-TTE   say-PST-Q
           'What did you say?'

Though (15a, b) are acceptable, *tte* used in the complement does not have the same illocutionary force of expressing surprise as in the utterance-final position. It is used as an ordinary report complementizer, in the same way as *to* in the following example, which marks a direct quotation.

(16)   Mari-wa   "Taroo-to   Hanako-ga   kekkonsi-ta." to
        Mari-TOP   Taro-and   Hanako-NOM marry-PST   COMP
        it-ta.
        say-PST
        'Mari said "Taro and Hanako got married."'

Note that the idiomatic exclamative *tte*, which has lost its quotative meaning, cannot be embedded without the help of the complementizer *to*.

(17) Taroo-wa   [atui-no nan-no-tte]   *(to) it-ta.
      Taro-TOP   hot-NO what-NO-TTE   COMP say-PST
      'Taro said that it was really hot.'

Finally, echo question *tte* in embedded clauses does not have the illocutionary force it does in the utterance-final position, whether it is an echo of a declarative, as in (18a), or a question, as in (18b).

(18) echo question *tte*
      a. [Taroo-to   Hanako-ga   kekkonsi-ta-tte] it-ta-no?
         Taro-and   Hanako-NOM   marry-PST-TTE   say-PST-Q
         'Did you say that Taro and Hanako got married?'
      b. [Taroo-to   Hanako-ga   kekkonsi-ta-ka-tte]   kii-ta-no?
         Taro-and   Hanako-NOM   marry-PST-Q-TTE   ask-PST-Q
         'Did you ask me whether Taro and Hanako got married?'

To sum up, with the exception of idiomatic exclamatives, sentences ending with *tte* initially appear to be embeddable. However, a closer look at these sentences reveals that the hearsay *tte* behaves differently from other uses of *tte*. While the hearsay *tte* can be used in embedded clauses in the same way as a regular report complementizer, the self-quotation *tte*, mirative *tte* and echo question *tte* cannot.

3.2 Co-occurrence with sentence-final particles

Another property that distinguishes hearsay *tte* from other uses of *tte* is its ability to co-occur with a sentence-final particle (SFP).

(19) Taroo-to Hanako-ga   kekkonsi-ta-tte-{yo/ne/na/sa}.
      Taro-and Hanako-NOM   marry-PST-TTE-SFP
      OK'(I hear that) Taro and Hanako got married.'
       *'(I've been telling you that) Taro and Hanako got married.'
       *'(Did you really say that) Taro and Hanako got married?!'
       *'(Did you say that) Taro and Hanako got married?'

While the hearsay *tte* is compatible with SFPs such as *yo*, *ne*, *na* and *sa*, other varieties of *tte* are not. The *tte* with an illocutionary force cannot occur with an SFP, which also carries an illocutionary force of its own.

3.3 Summary

The properties of the various uses of *tte* observed in sections 3.1 and 3.2 are summarized below.[4]

	hearsay	self-quotation	mirative	echo question
embeddability	✔	*	*	*
co-occurrence with SFP	✔	*	*	*

Table 1. Embeddability and co-occurrence with SFP for each type of *tte*

4   Analysis

Corr (2016, 2018) investigates the behavior of 'que' in root clauses in Ibero-Romance languages and proposes the following distinction:

(20) a.   Quotative QUE: $Evid^0$ (CP domain)
   b.   Exclamative QUE: $SALow^0$ (Utterance Phrase domain)
   c.   Conjunctive QUE: $SAHigh^0$ (Utterance Phrase domain)

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[4] Ishii (2015) argues that *tte* in root clauses is an evidential head, and that it has a nominal counterpart, as in (i).

(i) John-tte   (Mary-no   hanasidato) kinoo   ringo-o   tabe-tanda-tte.
   John-TTE   Mary-GEN speech   yesterday apple-ACC eat-PST-TTE
   Lit. 'John, (according to Mary,) he ate apples yesterday (I'm told.)'   (Ishii 2015: 21b)

According to his analysis, the *tte* phrase 'John-tte' matches the clause-final evidential head *tte* in its syntactic 'source of information' feature [-author] and satisfies its licensing condition. In contrast, other types of *tte* do not seem to have a nominal counterpart. (iiB) is not possible with the interpretation of self-quotation *tte*, mirative *tte* or echo question *tte*.

(ii) A: John-ga   kinoo   ano ringo-o   tabe-ta-yo.
          John-NOM yesterday that apple-ACC   eat-PST-SFP
          'John ate that apple yesterday.'
     B: * Eh, John-tte   ano ringo-o   tabe-ta-tte?
          oh   John-TTE that apple-ACC eat-PST-TTE
          'Oh, John, did he really eat that apple?'

This supports the distinction between the hearsay *tte* and self-quotation *tte*, mirative *tte* and echo question *tte*.

She argues that quotative QUE is an evidential head that resides in the CP domain, whereas exclamative QUE and conjunctive QUE represent a speech act head located in the utterance phrase domain.

The present paper argues a similar distinction between hearsay *tte* and other uses of *tte* in Japanese.[5]

(21)   Hearsay *tte*
        [... -[$_C$ *tte*]] Øsub Øpred

The hearsay *tte* is a subordinating report complementizer. When used in a root clause, the clause is interpreted as hearsay with a covert subject and predicate that are compatible with the context.[6]

On the other hand, this paper proposes that the self-quotation *tte*, mirative *tte* and echo question *tte* are SFPs like *yo*, *ne*, *na* and *sa*.

(22)   Self-quotation *tte*, mirative *tte* and echo question *tte*
        [... -[$_{SFP}$ *tte*]]

Saito (2013b) argues that SFPs act as heads of a speech act phrase that is located higher than the CP. Following his analysis of SFPs, this paper analyzes this type of *tte* as a speech act head. This explains why sentences involving this type of *tte* represent some form of speech act made in response to the interlocutor's utterances.

This paper proposes the following structure for these two types of *tte*:

(23)   [$_{SAP}$ [$_{CP}$ [$_{CP}$ [$_{CP}$ [$_{TP}$ ...] no] ka] [$_{REPORT}$ to/tte$_1$]] [$_{SA}$ tte$_2$]]

The hearsay *tte*, indicated as *tte$_1$* in (23), is a report complementizer, whereas the self-quotation *tte*, mirative *tte* and echo question *tte*, indicated as *tte$_2$* in (23), are speech act heads located above the CP. This structure explains why self-quotation *tte*, mirative *tte* and echo question *tte* cannot be embedded with their illocutionary force intact, in contrast to hearsay *tte*, on the assumption that a speech act phrase is available only in a root clause. It also

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[5] According to Suzuki (2007), *tte* began to be used in the 1800s. Although instances of utterance-final *tte* are found in early uses of quotative *tte*, *tte* with conventionalized speech act meanings came into use in the middle of the 1900s.

[6] Martin (2004: 1017) states that "Sentence-final *tte* sometimes marks a fragment with the quoting nucleus omitted."

explains why hearsay *tte* can be followed by an SFP, a speech act head, in contrast to self-quotation *tte*, mirative *tte* or echo question *tte*.[7,8]

5 Conclusion

This paper looked into colloquial uses of complementizer *tte* in root clauses, and demonstrated that they should be distinguished structurally. The hearsay *tte* retains its report complementizer status and occurs in the CP, whereas self-quotation *tte,* mirative *tte* and echo question *tte* occur in a higher position dedicated to speech acts. Whether self-quotation *tte*, mirative *tte*, and echo question *tte* should be distinguished structurally within the speech act domain awaits further research.

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[7] SFPs can be stacked; however, this is subject to pragmatic selection (Saito 2015), and *tte* with an illocutionary force is not pragmatically compatible with other SFPs.

[8] Ishihara (2019) argues that the Emphatic Iteration Construction in Japanese, the doubling of an inflected predicate with no pause in between, is derived by the raising of a predicate to a speech act head. If so, it is predicted that emphatic iteration cannot be followed by *tte*, which is either a complementizer (tte_1) or a speech act head (tte_2). The prediction seems to be borne out.

(i) A: Kore, tabe-ru?
         this   eat-NPST
         'Do you want to eat this?'
    B: a. Un,   tabe-ru.   Tabe-ru-tte.
          yeah eat-NPST   eat-NPST-TTE
          'Yeah, (I've been telling you that) I want to eat it.'
       b. Un,   tabe-ru   tabe-ru-(*tte).
          yeah eat-NPST   eat-NPST-TTE
          'Yeah. I DO want to eat it.'

(ib) indicates that *tte* cannot follow the iterated predicates. (ia) does not exemplify the emphatic iteration construction, since a pause intervenes between the two occurrences of *tabe-ru*.

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