S-selection and presupposition in quotational complementation

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No selection? Aims & scope.

- Standard selection of *wh*-features (Chomsky, 2015)

  (1) I asked whether$_{\text{INTERROG}}$ you were coming.

        select [*wh*-]:INTERROG

  (2) *I asked you were coming↑.

No selection? Aims & scope.

- Standard selection of *wh*-features (Chomsky, 2015)
    - (4)   I asked whether_{INTERROG} you were coming.

        select [*wh*-]:INTERROG
    - (5)   *I asked you were coming↑.
- Quotation lies outside the grammar proper?
    - (6)   I asked 'You are coming↑?'

    No: Ginzburg and Cooper, 2014; Partee, 1973!

No selection? Aims & scope.

- Standard selection of *wh*-features (Chomsky, 2015)

  (7) I asked whether$_{\text{INTERROG}}$ you were coming.

  select [*wh*-]:INTERROG

  (8) *I asked you were coming↑.

- Quotation lies outside the grammar proper?

  (9) I asked 'You are coming↑?'

  No: Ginzburg and Cooper, 2014; Partee, 1973!

- Aims:
  i. No standard C-/S-selection.
  ii. S-selection of presupposed properties.
  iii. A verbs' hierarchy reveals the reportative character of quot. compl.

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A more subtle selection: questions

(10)   I asked 'You are coming↑?'

(11) ^{bad}I asked 'You are coming'.   --→ some constraints!

- If not selection, then what?
    ❶ What makes *I asked 'You are coming↑?'* fine?
    ❷ How bad are bad quotations?

    ∗ ungrammatical? --→ *Peter said 'gwlch'*
  ??? not interpretable (type mismatch)? --→ *gwlch* has no type
    # infelicitous? --→ …?

A more subtle selection: questions

(13) I asked 'You are coming↑?'

(14) ^{bad}I asked 'You are coming'. $--→$ some constraints!

- If not selection, then what?
  ❶ What makes *I asked 'You are coming↑?'* fine?
  ❷ How bad are bad quotations?

  ∗ ungrammatical? $--→$ *Peter said 'gwlch'*
  ??? not interpretable (type mismatch)? $--→$ *gwlch* has no type
  # infelicitous? $--→$ …?

- *hey-wait-a-minute* test (Fintel, 2004; Maier, 2014)
  Context: A and B are English speakers studying Japanese.

  (15) A: Tanaka asked 'Suzuki-ga kita'.
        B: Hey, wait a minute, I didn't know that's a question. I
           thought it's a declarative.

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A more subtle selection: presupposition

(16) I asked 'You were coming↑?'
PRESUPPOSITION: *You were coming*↑ represents a question

Expected effects

- ✓ selection of presupposed properties
- • blocking overtly manifested selection of formal features/properties

A more subtle selection: C in Japanese

[Saito, 2012; Saito and Haraguchi, 2012; Shimamura, 2018, 2019]

- Sequences of complemetizers in Japanese:
  - *ka* question C   --→ C_Q
  - *to* reportative C   --→ C_R

- *tazuneru* "ask", indirect reports:

  (17) Ima doko-ni   iru ka tazuneta.
        Now where-LOC to be C_Q asked
        S/he asked where was I.

  (18) Kokuseki-wa   doko ka to tazuneta
        nationality-TOP where C_Q C_R asked
        S/he asked what is your nationality.

  (19) $\varnothing_Q$ C_R tazuneta --→ */marginal

A more subtle selection: C in Japanese

	C_R+ask	'…'+C_R+ask	C_Q+ask	'…'+C_Q+ask	C_Q+C_R+ask	'…'+C_Q+C_R+ask
N	685	107	104	0	214	2

Table: Reported questions in Japanese (`https://chunagon.ninjal.ac.jp`)

A more subtle selection: C in Japanese

	C_R+ask	'...'+C_R+ask	C_Q+ask	'...'+C_Q+ask	C_Q+C_R+ask	'...'+C_Q+C_R+ask
N	685	107	104	0	214	2

Table: Reported questions in Japanese (`https://chunagon.ninjal.ac.jp`)

Observation: Japanese *ask* and question complementizer

  i. indirect discourse   --→ *ask* requires question C over complements

 ii. direct quotation   --→ *ask* blocks question C over quotes

--→ selection of presupposed properties, not manifested overtly

Classes of matrix verbs

Grammatical patterns and quotation

- not just selection moved to pragmatics
- direct quotation is regulated by the type of matrix verb:
  attitude–irrealis–tenseless

❶ scope of negation
❷ quotation split
❸ content argument
❹ semantic verb-report relation

Classes of matrix verbs

1 Negation: attitude vs irrealis vs tenseless

    (20)   Peter did not say/claim/. . . 'Alfred is not smart'.
           ⤳ no situation of uttering *Alfred is not smart*

    (21)   Peter did not agree/decide 'I need more time'
           ⤳ there is a situation of uttering *I need more time*

    (22)   Peter did not finish 'Hello'.
           ⤳ there is a situation of uttering *Hello* (not completed)

   ⇢ complementation vs adjunction (Griffiths, 2015) vs
      predicate-argument ($\approx$ verb-noun)

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Classes of matrix verbs

2 Quotation split: attitude vs irrealis

    (23)   'Alfred' he said 'is a smart guy'.

    (24)   *'Alfred' he did not say 'is a smart guy'.

    (25)   ✓'Alfred' he did not agree (smile,...) 'is a smart guy'.

  --→ irrealis verbs (like non-reportative) are blind for splitting

Classes of matrix verbs

3a Content argument: attitude vs irrealis verbs

    (26)   He announced the following idea 'The Earth is flat'.

    (27)   He uttered $^\checkmark$ a string/$^\#$ a word 'gwlch'.

    (28)   *He agreed the idea 'The Earth is flat'.

   ⇢ irrealis verbs block classification of complements by content
       arguments (Kratzer, 2006, 2016)

Classes of matrix verbs

3b Content argument: attitude vs tenseless verbs

    (29)   He announced the following idea 'The Earth is flat'.

    (30)   He finished/began 'I promise'.

        ⤳ He finished [his talk,. . .] [by saying,. . .] 'I promise'.
        ⤳ adjunction (≈ irrealis)

        ⤳ He finished [writing,. . . [the string, sentence,. . .] 'I. . . '].
        ⤳ nominalized event argument

    ⤳ tenseless verbs provide nominalization of reportative events
        (Lohninger and Wurmbrand, to appear)

Classes of matrix verbs

4 Verb-report relation: attitude vs irrealis vs tenseless:

    (31)   I asked '√You are coming ↑'/'#You are coming'.

presup.: QUEST ([+wh], intonation,. . .)

    (32)   I agreed '√The green one'/'#Are you coming?'

    presup.: expressing agreement

    (33)   I finished '√I like you'/'√The'/'√Are you coming?'

S-select: reportative event argument

Summary

❶ More delicate formal relations:
  (a) no overtly manifested C-/S-selection (Japanese)
  (b) selection of presupposed properties (*ask*)

Summary

❶ More delicate formal relations:
- (a) no overtly manifested C-/S-selection (Japanese)
- (b) selection of presupposed properties (*ask*)

❷ Patterns for familiar categories of matrix verbs:
- (a) attitude verbs (*say*, *claim*, *announce*,...)
  - i. complementation (presupposition, negation, quotation split)
  - ii. content arguments classifying the complement
- (b) irrealis verbs (*agree*, *decide*,...)
  - i. adjunction (negation, quotation split)
  - ii. no content arguments classifying the complement
- (c) tenseless verbs (*finish*, *begin*, *avoid*,...)
  - i. predicate–argument (nominalized reportive events)
  - ii. the effect of complements treated as bare strings of symbols

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Hierarchy of matrix verbs: indirect complements

- Wurmbrand and Lohninger, 2019:

attitude	$\succ$	irrealis	$\succ$	tenseless
least integrated		$\dots \succ_{\text{tense, subject,}\dots} \dots$		most integrated
most clausal		$\dots \succ_{\text{tense, subject,}\dots} \dots$		least independent

Hierarchy of matrix verbs: direct quotation

	attitude	irrealis	tenseless
quotation compl.	✓	✓/✗	✗ > ✓
verb-quoted content	✓	weak	✗
content argument	✓	✗	embedded

say, ask $\succ_{reportative}$ agree, decide $\succ_{reportative}$ finish, avoid
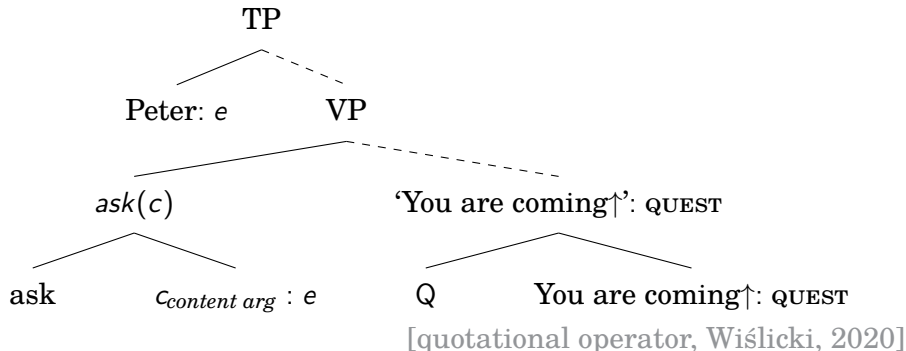
Hierarchy of matrix verbs: direct quotation

	attitude	irrealis	tenseless
quotation compl.	✓	✓/×	× > ✓
verb-quoted content	✓	weak	×
content argument	✓	×	embedded

say, ask $\succ_{reportative}$ agree, decide $\succ_{reportative}$ finish, avoid

- attitude: complementation + S-selection of presup. properties
- irrealis: adjunction + covert *say* (Grimshaw, 2015, a.o.)
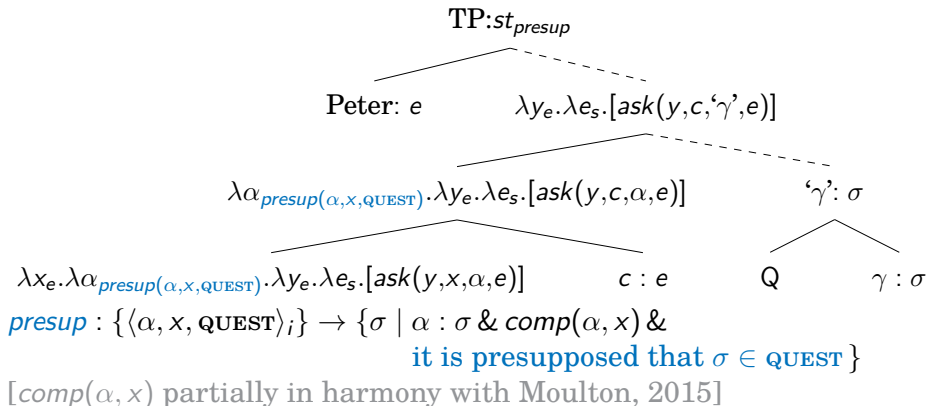- tenseless: predicate-argument (verb-noun) with covert *say*

Attitude verbs

(34) Peter asked 'You are coming↑'.

TP

Peter: *e* VP

ask(*c*) 'You are coming↑': QUEST

ask *c*$_{content\ arg}$: *e* Q You are coming↑: QUEST

[quotational operator, Wiślicki, 2020]

Attitude verbs

- S-selection of presupposed properties (dependent type)

$$\text{TP:}st_{presup}$$

Peter: e $\lambda y_e.\lambda e_s.[ask(y,c,`\gamma',e)]$

$\lambda\alpha_{presup(\alpha,x,\text{QUEST})}.\lambda y_e.\lambda e_s.[ask(y,c,\alpha,e)]$ `γ': σ

$\lambda x_e.\lambda\alpha_{presup(\alpha,x,\text{QUEST})}.\lambda y_e.\lambda e_s.[ask(y,x,\alpha,e)]$ $c:e$ Q $\gamma:\sigma$

$presup : \{\langle\alpha,x,\text{QUEST}\rangle_i\} \to \{\sigma \mid \alpha:\sigma \ \& \ comp(\alpha,x) \ \&$
$\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\text{it is presupposed that } \sigma \in \text{QUEST} \}$

[$comp(\alpha,x)$ partially in harmony with Moulton, 2015]

Attitude verbs: consequences

❶ No standard C-/S-selection
  - ✓ *He said 'gwlch'.*
  - ✓ *He asked 'You are coming↑'/'You↑'.*

❷ Selection of presupposed properties (dependent types)
  - ✓ *He asked 'You are coming↑'.*
  - # *He asked 'You are coming'.*   [not simply ungrammatical]
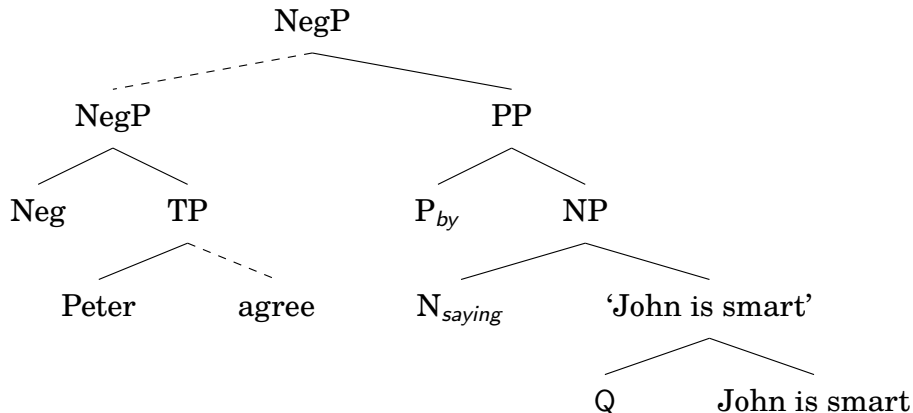
❸ content argument
  - *Peter asked the question/#the idea '...'*   [partial constraint]

❹ complementation
  - *Peter didn't announce 'I'm coming'*   [did not utter '...']
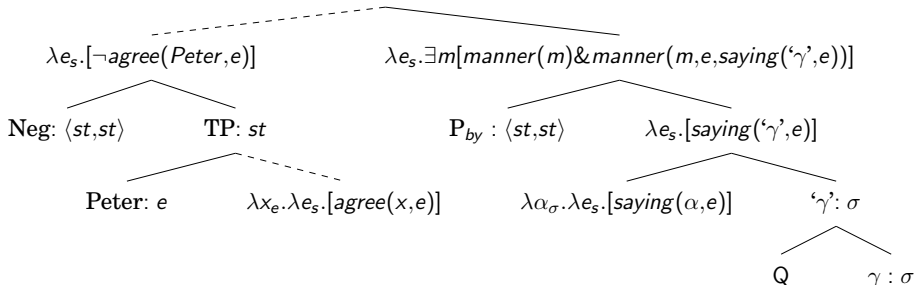
Irrealis verbs

(35) Peter did not agree 'John is smart'.

NegP
- NegP
  - Neg
  - TP
    - Peter
    - agree
- PP
  - P*by*
  - NP
    - N*saying*
    - 'John is smart'
      - Q
      - John is smart

Irrealis verbs

- adjoined PP describing means/manner (Alexeyenko, 2015)

$\lambda e_s.[\neg agree(Peter,e)\&\exists m[manner(m)\&manner(m,e,saying('\gamma',e))]]$

$\lambda e_s.[\neg agree(Peter,e)]$ $\lambda e_s.\exists m[manner(m)\&manner(m,e,saying('\gamma',e))]$

Neg: $\langle st,st\rangle$ TP: st $P_{by} : \langle st,st\rangle$ $\lambda e_s.[saying('\gamma',e)]$

Peter: e $\lambda x_e.\lambda e_s.[agree(x,e)]$ $\lambda\alpha_\sigma.\lambda e_s.[saying(\alpha,e)]$ 'γ': σ

Q $\gamma : \sigma$

Irrealis verbs: consequences

❶ No standard C-/S-selection
  - ✓ *Peter agreed 'You'.*
  - ✓ *Peter agreed 'John is smart'.*

❷ Adequacy regulated by an existentially closed *manner*
  - # *Peter agreed 'Are you coming?'*
  - ✓ *Peter agreed 'John is smart'.*

❸ Weaker constraints
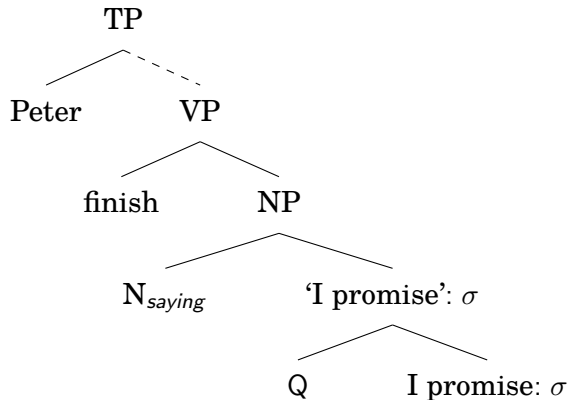 - # *Peter claimed 'You'.*
  - ✓ *Peter agreed 'You'.*

❹ Adjunction
  - ✓ *'John' he did not agree 'is smart'.*   [blocked for attitude verbs]
  - ✓ *He did not agree 'John is smart'.*   [did utter '...']

Tenseless verbs

(36) Peter finished/avoids 'I promise'.

Tenseless verbs

- a nominalized say-event

$\lambda e_s.[\mathit{finish}(\mathit{Peter},\mathit{saying}('\gamma',e),e)]$

Peter: e $\lambda x_e.\lambda e_s.[\mathit{finish}(x,\mathit{saying}('\gamma',e),e)]$

$\lambda y_{\langle st\rangle}.\lambda x_e.\lambda e_s.[\mathit{finish}(x,y(e),e)]$ $\lambda e_s.[\mathit{saying}('\gamma',e)]$

$\lambda\alpha_\sigma.\lambda e_s.[\mathit{saying}(\alpha,e)]$ 'γ': σ

Q   'γ': σ
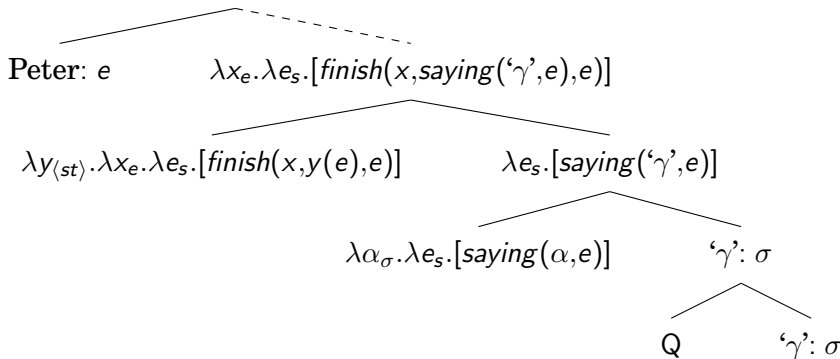
Tenseless verbs: consequences

❶ No content-related selection
  - ✓ Peter finished 'I hope'.
  - ✓ Peter finished 'the'.
❷ String-like treatment of quoted expression (*say*-event argument)
  - ✓ Peter finished 'gwlch'.
❸ Predicate-argument effect
  - He didn't finish 'I hope'. ≈ He didn't finish his breakfast.

Conclusion

❶ Direct quotation complementation is subject to the hierarchy of matrix verbs proposed by Wurmbrand and Lohninger, (2019)

❷ The hierarchy reveals the reportative character of complements

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❷ The hierarchy reveals the reportative character of complements

- attitude ⇢ full reports
  - verb S-selects presupposed properties
  - content argument
  - complementation

Conclusion

❶ Direct quotation complementation is subject to the hierarchy of matrix verbs proposed by Wurmbrand and Lohninger, (2019)

❷ The hierarchy reveals the reportative character of complements
- attitude --→ full reports
  - verb S-selects presupposed properties
  - content argument
  - complementation
- irrealis --→ reportative description of means/manner
  - verb-manner adequacy relation
  - covert *say*-event
  - adjunction

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Conclusion

❶ Direct quotation complementation is subject to the hierarchy of matrix verbs proposed by Wurmbrand and Lohninger, (2019)

❷ The hierarchy reveals the reportative character of complements
  - attitude --→ full reports
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  - irrealis --→ reportative description of means/manner
    - verb-manner adequacy relation
    - covert *say*-event
    - adjunction
  - tenseless --→ nominalized reportative events
    - string-like treatment of report
    - covert *say*-event
    - predicate-argument relation

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- Conclusion
  1. Quotation is subject to grammatical relations (Ginzburg and Cooper, 2014).
  2. Hierarchy of matrix verbs shows that quotation is coherent with standard complementation
  3. The hierarchy is rigid even if it is imposed by various relations and reveals different properties.

- Conclusion
  1. Quotation is subject to grammatical relations (Ginzburg and Cooper, 2014).
  2. Hierarchy of matrix verbs shows that quotation is coherent with standard complementation
  3. The hierarchy is rigid even if it is imposed by various relations and reveals different properties.

- Future prospects: the category of reported speech
  1. Integrating direct and indirect reports (Maier, 2020; Wiślicki, 2020).
  2. Does the hierarchy reveal gradations of more subtle properties (reportative character for reported speech)?

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