Wh-phrases without Quantificational Particles

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1. 序

- 太郎は [[誰がそれを食べた] か] 知っている (1) 'Taroo knows who ate it.'
- (2) [[[誰が書いた]本]も]おもしろい. 'For every x, x a person, the book that x wrote is interesting.'
- Wh-phrases in Japanese are construed as variables. (3) a. (Kuroda 1965, Nishigauchi 1990, Takahashi 2002, Shimoyama 2008, among others)
 - b. Particles determine the quantificational force of the wh-phrases. (Nishigauchi 1990, Saito 2017, among others)
- 太郎は、[[誰がそこにいた] と] は言わなかった. (4) a.
 - 花子は、[[どこに行く]と]は言ったが、[[いつ行く]と]は言わなかった. b.
 - IOCは、明日、2032年のオリンピックを何月にどこで開催すると発表するらしい. c.
 - いつ退職すると申告すれば、手続きは完了です. d.
 - このリストのうち、2つ注文できます。何と何を希望すると書いてください. e.
- 花子は [誰をバカだと] か言わなかった. (岸本 2020) (5)
- Preliminary analysis of the phenomenon (6)
 - a. Focus movement as a possible syntactic analysis
 - Implications for the semantics of indirect questions b.
- (7) a. [Force/Report [Top* [Int [Top* [Foc [Top* [Fin [IP ...]]]]]]]] (for Italian)
 - [Force/Report [Top* [Int [Top* [Fin [_ _ ...]]]]]] (for Japanese) (Rizzi and Bocci 2017, cf. Rizzi 1997, Saito 2012.)
- (8) a. Mary thinks [CP] that [TP] John was in London

b.

- (9) a. *Mary wonders [CP that [TP John was in London]]
 - Mary wonders [CP whether [TP John was in London]] b.

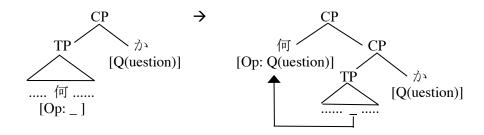
*Mary thinks [CP whether [TP John was in London]]

- (10) a. Mary knows [CP that [TP John was in London]]
 - Mary knows [CP whether [TP John was in London]] b.

- What is the selectional property of verbs like *know*? (See Lahiri 2002 and the references cited there.)
- (11) a. The CP complements of (10) refer to a proposition. (Groenendijk and Stokhof 1982, Berman 1990, among others.)
 - b. *Know* selects for both propositions and questions. (Grimshaw 1979, Lahiri 2002, among others)
- Straightforward evidence for (11b)

2. Wh 焦点文

- (12) A wh-phrase obtains a quantificational force from a quantificational particle in Spec-head configuration. (Saito 2017)
- (13) 太郎は [cr [rr 花子が 何を 買った] か] 知っている.



• How are the wh-phrases in (4) interpreted?

2.1. 疑問文との対比

<On the complementizer to>

- (14) a. 花子が「私が行く」と主張した (こと) direct quotation
 - b. 花子が [cp [TP 彼女自身が行く] と] 主張した (こと) paraphrase of direct quotation in the sense of Plann 1982
- (15) a. 太郎は花子に[cr [cr [rr 彼の妹がそこにいた] か] と] 尋ねた.
 - b. 花子は[cp [ModalP 自分の家で待て] と] 次郎に命じた.
- (16) a. 花子は、[cr [Tr 太郎がそこにいる] と] 思った/言った/感じた/主張した.
 - b. 花子は、[cp[TP そこに行った]の]を後悔した/覚えていた/忘れてしまった.
- (17) a. Only verbs of saying and thinking select *to*.
 - b. A *no*-headed CP expresses an eventuality. (Saito 2012)

<Lahiri (2002) on the Spanish *que*> ... que = to, no

- (18) a. Te preguntan [CP que [CP para qué [TP quieres el préstamo]]. you ask (3pl.) that for what want (2sg.) the loan 'They ask you what you want the loan for.'
 - b. *Juan preguntó [CP que [TP el SIDA se puede curar]].

 Juan ask (3sing.) that the AIDS refl. can (3sing.) cured

 'Lit. Juan asked that AIDS can be cured.'
 - c. *Juan preguntó, "El SIDA se puede curar."'Lit. Juan asked, "AIDS can be cured."
- (19) Principle R: If a predicate V selects categories $X_1, ..., X_n$, as well as reports, and nothing else, then the report complements of V must be reports of categories restricted to $X_1, ..., X_n$. No such restriction applies to predicates that selects reports only. (p.89)
- (20) a. 太郎は、[cr [TP 花子が来てくれる] の] を期待した.
 - b. 太郎は、[cp [TP 花子が来てくれる] と] 期待した.
 - c. *太郎は、[cp [TP 花子が来てくれる] か] 期待した.
- (21) *太郎は、[cr[cr[Tr 花子が来てくれる]か]と]期待した.
- (22) a. *花子は、[cp [TP 自分自身がそこに行く] と] 尋ねた. b. 花子は、[cp [TP 誰がその会議に出席する] か] 尋ねた.
- (23) 花子は、[cr [cr [rr 誰がその会議に出席する] か] と] 尋ねた.
- (24) a. 太郎は、[cr [TP 自分自身がそこに行く] と] 主張した.b. *太郎は、[cr [TP 誰がその会議に出席する] か] 主張した.
- (25) 太郎は、[cp [cp [TP 誰がその会議に出席する] か] と] 主張した.
 ... But the *ka*-headed CP can only be interpreted as a rhetorical question.
- (26) a. Both syutyoosu 'insist' and tazune 'inquire' select to. (The latter selects ka in addition.)
 - b. At the same time, the clause embedded under *to* must be interpretively compatible with the matrix verb. The content of an inquiry must be a question. On the other hand, what is insisted on cannot be a question.
- (27) a. 太郎は、裁判で、[cp [Tp 誰かを助けた] と] 主張したが、[cp [Tp 誰を助けた] と] は 主張しなかった.
 - b. *太郎は、裁判で、[cp [TP 誰かを助けた] と] 主張したが、[cp [cr [TP 誰を助けた] か] と] は主張しなかった.

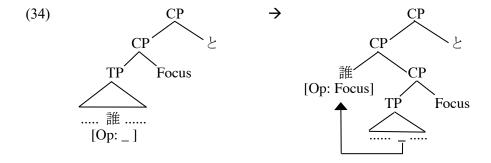
- What to embeds in the second sentence of (27a) is not a question.
- (28) a. 花子は、[cr [Tr 何かを盗んだ] と] 自白したが、[cr [Tr 何を盗んだ] と] は自白しなかった.
 - b. *花子は、[cr [Tr 何かを盗んだ] と] 自白したが、[cr [cr [Tr 何を盗んだ] か] と] は自白 しなかった.
 - cf. 花子は、[cr [TP 何を盗んだ] か] 自白しなかった.
- (29) a. 花子は太郎に [cp [cp [rp いつ自分の家に来たい] か] と] 尋ねた.
 - b. *花子は太郎に [cr [Tr いつ自分の家に来たい] と] 尋ねた.

2.2. 焦点としての Wh 句

- (30) Rooth (1992) ... John saw MARY.
 - a. John saw Mary. ... ordinary semantic value
 - b. {Bill, Susan, Mary, ...} ... set of alternatives for Mary
 - c. {John saw Bill, John saw Susan, John saw Mary, ...} ... focus semantic value Intuitively, 'John saw MARY' picks 'John saw Mary' from the focus semantic value.
- (31) terminology:

focus semantic value → set of alternatives (代替集合)
ordinary semantic value → focus value for the set of alternatives (焦点值)

- (32) a. 明日、大学が (卒業式で) 誰が講演すると発表する.
 - b. {A が講演する, B が講演する, C が講演する, ...} ... set of alternatives
 - c. The university will announce the focus value for this set of alternatives tomorrow.
- (33) a. 太郎は、(卒業式で)誰が講演するか尋ねた.
 - b. {A が講演する, B が講演する, C が講演する, ...} ... set of alternatives
 - Taroo asked about the focus value for this set of alternatives.
 Taroo asked what the focus value is for this set of alternatives.



<非顕在的移動と wh 島の制約>

- (35) a. 太郎は[crみんなが[cr花子がどこにいると] 思っているか] はっきり言わなかった.
 - b. ??太郎は [cpみんなが [cp花子がどこにいるかどうか] 知りたがっているか] はっきり 言わなかった. (Nishigauchi 1990, Watanabe 1992)
- (36) a. 太郎は [crみんなが [cr花子がなぜ首になったと] 思っているか] はっきり言わなかった.
 - b. *太郎は [crみんなが [cr花子がなぜ首になったかどうか] 知りたがっているか] はっきり言わなかった. (Huang 1982, Lasnik and Saito 1984, Richards 2001)
- (37) a. 太郎は [crみんなが [cr花子がどこにいると] 思っていると] はっきり言わなかった.
 - b. ??太郎は [crみんなが [cr花子がどこにいるかどうか] 知りたがっていると] はっきり 言わなかった.
- (38) a. 太郎は [crみんなが [cr花子がなぜ首になったと] 思っていると] はっきり言わなかった.
 - b. *太郎は [crみんなが [cr花子がなぜ首になったかどうか] 知りたがっていると] はっきり言わなかった.
- (39) a. ??新聞は [cr 検察が [cr 容疑者が何を盗んだかどうか] 調べているか] 明確に報じなかった.
 - b. ??新聞は [cp 検察が [cp 容疑者が何を盗んだかどうか] 調べていると] 明確に報じなかった.
- (40) a. *新聞は [cr 検察が [cr 容疑者がなぜそこにいたかどうか] 調べているか] 明確に報じなかった.
 - b. *新聞は[cr 検察が[cr 容疑者がなぜそこにいたかどうか]調べていると]明確に報じなかった.

3. 日本語のカートグラフィー

- (41) 太郎は $[c_{\Gamma}]$ (c_{Γ}) ($c_$
- (42) Rizzi and Bocci 2017
 - a. Italian

[Force/Report [Int [Fin
$$[_{\mathrm{IP}} \dots] \dots] \dots]$$
 ...] ...] che se di

b. Japanese

(See Hiraiwa and Ishihara 2002, Saito 2012.)

- c. [Force [Top* [Int [Top* [Foc [Top* [Mod [Top* [Q_{emb} [Fin [_{IP} ...]]]]]]]]]]
- (43) [Force [$\underline{\text{Top}}^*$ [Int [$\underline{\text{Top}}^*$ [$\underline{\text{Foc}}$ [$\underline{\text{Top}}^*$ [Fin [$\underline{\text{IP}}$...]]]]]]]

<Hiraiwa and Ishihara 2002 on clefts>

- (44) 花子が出発したのは、成田からだ.
- (45) a. 花子が成田から出発したのだ.

FinP FocP FocP FocP FocP Fin Foc

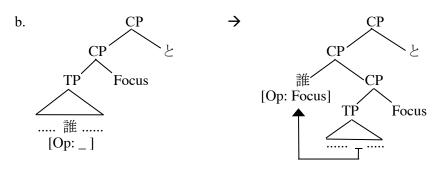
• The analysis is beautiful, but difficult to maintain. (Takita 2010, Tsuyoshi Sawada p.c.)

花子が成田から出発した

- (46) a. 花子が出発したのは、成田からだった.
 - b. 太郎は、花子が出発したのが、成田からだったと思っていた.
- (47) a. 太郎は、やつれた/やさしい/バカだ+わ.
 - b. *太郎は、受かるだろう/受かるまい+わ.
- (48) a. 花子が出発したのが、成田からだったんですか?
 - b. いや、次郎が出発したのが、成田からだったんですよ.
- (49) 太郎は、花子が出発したのが成田からだったのを忘れていた.

<Saito 2010 on Top in Japanese>

- (50) 'XP-wa' receives thematic or contrastive interpretation. It can receive thematic interpretation only at the initial position of the matrix clause. (Kuno 1973)
- (51) a. 太郎はその本を読んだ. (theme, contrast)
 - b. 太郎がその本は読んだ. (contrast)
 - c. その本は太郎が読んだ. (theme, contrast)
- (52) 太郎が [NP[TP 花子は好きな] 本] を買った(こと) (contrast)
- (53) Credo che a Gianni, QUESTO, domani, gli dovremmo dire. (Rizzi 1997) I believe that to Gianni this tomorrow we should say 'I believe that we should say this to Gianni tomorrow'
- (54) a. 太郎が [CP[TP花子は自分の家に来る] と] 信じていること (theme, contrast)
 b. 太郎が [CP[TP花子は自分の家にいた] と] 言ったこと (theme, contrast)
 (Kuno 1973, Heycock 2008)
- (55) [... [$_{TopicP}$ theme [$_{TopicP}$ [$_{TP}$...] Topic]] Report (to)]
- (56) a. 太郎が [cP[TP花子は自分の家に来る]の]を忘れていたこと (contrast)b. 太郎が [cP[TP花子は自分の家に入る]の]を見たこと (contrast)
- (57) a. 太郎が [cp[TP花子は自分の本を買った]か] 尋ねたこと (theme, contrast)
 b. 太郎が [cp[cp[TP花子は自分の家に来る]の]か]知りたがっていること (theme, contrast)
- (58) $[CP \dots CP \dots CP \dots CP]$ theme $[C' CP CP CP \dots CP]$ Finite (no) Topic] Force (ka) Report (to)
- (59) a. 花子は(去年)テルアビブへは行った. (theme. contrast + contrast)b. テルアビブへは花子は(去年)行った. (theme. contrast + theme. contrast)(Kuroda 1988)
- (60) a. [Force/Report [Top* [Int [Top* [Foc [Top* [Fin [$_{\rm IP}$...]]]]]]]] (= (43) for Italian)
 - b. [Force/Report [Top* [Int [Top* [Fin [_{IP} ...]]]]]] (for Japanese)
- (61) a. 明日、大学が(卒業式で)誰が講演すると発表する. (= (32a))



4. 補文としての Wh 疑問文の解釈

- (62) a. Mary knows who John saw.
 - b. Mary knows that John saw Bill.
- (63) a. Mary asked who John saw.
 - b. *Mary asked that John saw Bill.
- (64) a. Mary knows who John saw.
 - b. [Suppose] John saw Bill.
 - c. [Then] Mary knows that John saw Bill.
- (65) a. Mary asked who John saw.
 - b. [Suppose] John saw Bill.
 - c.
- (66) a. The CP complement of (62a) refers to a proposition.(Groenendijk and Stokhof 1982, Berman 1990, among others.)
 - b. *Know* selects for both propositions and questions. (Grimshaw 1979, Lahiri 1992, among others)

<Berman 1990>

- (67) a. Mary knows who John saw.
 - b. $(\forall x)$ [John saw x] [Mary knows that John saw x] (Hintikka 1976)
- (68) a. Sue mostly remembers what she got for her birthday.
 - b. For the most part, Bill knows what they serve for breakfast at Tiffany's. (quantificational variability)
- (69) (Most x) [they serve x for breakfast at Tiffany's] [Bill knows that they serve x for breakfast at Tiffany's] (cf. Heim 1982)
- (70) a. *Know*-class predicates s-select propositions. Their interrogative complements translate as open sentences, the wh-phrases being variables.
 - b. The interrogative complements of wonder-type predicates, on the other hand, contain a Q-morpheme in the COMP, and denote questions.
- (71) a. Mary knows [CP who [CP C [TP John saw who]]]
 - b. Mary asked [CP] who [CP] [TP] John saw who]]]

<Lahiri's 2002 critique>

(72) a. John asked, and Bill knew, what went on at the party.

- b. John knew, but nevertheless asked Bill, why he was sad. (right-node raising)
- (73) a. Bill asked me what the time was, but I didn't know.
 - b. If you don't know what to do, ask. (null complement anaphora)

<Wh-focus sentences>

- (74) a. 花子は [cr [rr 太郎が誰に会った] か] 知っている.
 - b. 花子は [cr [Tr 太郎が次郎に会った] の] を知っている.
- (75) a. 花子は [cp [TP 太郎が誰に会った] か] 尋ねた.
 - b. *花子は[cr[TP 太郎が誰に会った]の]を尋ねた.
- (76) a. 花子は [cr [Tr 太郎が誰に会った] か] 知っている.
 - b. [Suppose] 太郎が次郎に会った.
 - c. [Then] 花子は [cp [TP 太郎が次郎に会った] の] を知っている.
- (77) a. 花子は [cr [Tr 太郎が誰に会った] か] 尋ねた.
 - b. [Suppose] 太郎が次郎に会った.
 - c.
- (78) a. 花子は [cr [TP 太郎が部屋で何をしている] か] わかった.
 - b. 花子はいつも [cp [TP 太郎が部屋で何をしている] か] わかった.
 - c. $(\forall x)$ [Taroo did x in his room] [Hanako could sense that Taroo did x in his room]
- Ka must be ambiguous between Q and -Q. But (27) shows that ka is always interpreted as Q.
- (27) a. 太郎は、裁判で、[cp [TP 誰かを助けた] と] 主張したが、[cp [TP 誰を助けた] と] は 主張しなかった.
 - b. *太郎は、裁判で、[cp [TP 誰かを助けた] と] 主張したが、[cp [cp [TP 誰を助けた] か] と] は主張しなかった.
- This contrast supports the Grimshaw-Lahiri analysis. The inference in (76) and quantificational variability in (78) do not constitute evidence for the interpretation of the "interrogative complements" as propositions, and in particular, as open sentences.
- (79) a. 大学は(卒業式で)誰が講演すると発表した.
 - b. [Suppose] (卒業式で) フランシスコ教皇が講演する.
 - c. [Then] 大学は(卒業式で)フランシスコ教皇が講演すると発表した.
- (80) a. 政府は [cp [TP 首相がどこにいる] と] 公表した.
 - b. 政府はいつも [cp [TP 首相がどこにいる] と] 公表した.
 - c. $(\forall x)$ [the PM is at x] [the government announced that the PM is at x]

- These facts are consistent with the hypothesis that the wh-phrases in these examples are focus operators.
- Then, what is the source of the contrast between (64) and (65)?

 "..., the relevant difference between the two classes of predicates resides in the predicates themselves rather than in the interrogative complements they take." (Lahiri 2002, p.292)
- (81) a. 花子は、[cr [Tr 鉛筆を盗んだ] と] 告白した.
 - b. 花子は、[cp [TP 何を盗んだ] か] 告白した.
- (82) a. 花子は、[cr [Tr 何かを盗んだ] と] 告白したが、[cr [Tr 何を盗んだ] と] は告白しなかった.
 - b. *花子は、[cp [TP 何かを盗んだ] と] 告白したが、[cp [cp [TP 何を盗んだ] か] と] は告白しなかった.

(=(28))

- (83) a. 花子は、[cp [TP 何を盗んだ] か] 告白した.
 - b. [Suppose] 花子は鉛筆を盗んだ.
 - c. [Then] 花子は、[cr [Tr 鉛筆を盗んだ] と] 告白した.
- (84) *Kokuhakusuru* 'confess' selects a report or a question. A report complement reports the content of the confession. When it takes a question as its complement, *kokuhakusuru* means "confess the answer to."

5. 結論

- (85) a. 太郎は、[[誰がそこにいた] と] は言わなかった.
 - b. いつ退職すると申告すれば、手続きは完了です.
- (86) a. These sentences with a wh-phrase and without a quantificational particle are not questions.
 - b. The wh-phrases in these sentences are arguably focus operators.
 - c. If so, the Italian left periphery and the Japanese right periphery are virtually identical.
 - d. The interrogative complements of *know*-class verbs are questions, as argued by Lahiri 2002.
 - e. When they take an interrogative complement, they exhibit interesting interpretive properties. Those properties should be attributed to the semantics of those predicates, not to the interpretation of the interrogative complement, again, as argued by Lahiri 2002.

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