

The Monster Tells Where You Are

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1. Indexical shifting in Japanese

1.1. Introduction: Reported speech in Japanese

It has been observed that Japanese reported speech does not fit the well-attested dichotomy of direct and indirect speech (e.g. Coulmas 1985, Kuno 1988); i.e. it shows mixed behavior in terms of direct and indirect speech. Regarding this, Kuno (1988) establishes the generalization in (1).

(1) Kuno (1988: 21)

Quasi-Direct Discourse Condition: Quasi-direct discourse representation of reported speech is allowable only in clause-final verb position.

According to (1), elements in the clause-final verb position behave as if they appear in direct report, even when they are in indirect report. For example, consider (2) and (3) (taken from Maier 2009: 139-140). (2) is the original utterance and (3) reports this utterance.

(2) Original utterance: Boss to A

Asatte made-ni sono sigoto-o yar-e!
day.after.tomorrow until-by that work-Acc do-IMP
'Finish that work by the day after tomorrow!'

(3) The speaker (=A) reports the original utterance the next day of (2):

[asita made-ni sono sigoto-o yar-e to] zyoosi-ni iw-are-masi-ta.
tomorrow until-by that work-Acc do-IMP C boss-by say-Pass-Polite-Past
'I was told by the boss that I should finish that work by tomorrow.'

In the given context, the reported speech in (3) cannot be direct quotation because the temporal indexical *asita* 'tomorrow' refers to the next day of (3), not the next day of the boss's saying event. In other words, it is evaluated with respect to the actual context, not the reported context.¹ Still, (3) involves an imperative in the embedded clause, as if the verbal domain involves direct speech. This observation led Kuno (1988) to establish the generalization in (1).

In this paper, I will investigate the mixed behavior of Japanese reported speech, providing novel data, which do not conform to Kuno's (1988) generalization. I will propose an analysis in terms of indexical shifting which pin-points the source of shifting with respect to its syntactic positions. As a consequence of the proposed analysis, I will also investigate the structure of the left periphery in Japanese. The paper is organized as follows. In the next subsection, I will briefly review Sauerland and Yatsushiro's (2014) account of Kuno's generalization and then point out a problem with the account. I will then present new data on non-verbal shiftable indexicals in Japanese, which do not fit the

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¹ Notice that *to* can in principle introduce direct quotes. What is important for us is that even when the indirect quote (true embedding) reading is forced, some indices are shiftable, as we will see below.

generalization in the previous literature. In section 3, I will suggest that the complementizer *to* is responsible for shifting of indexicals. In section 4, I will investigate consequences of the proposal, focusing on the structure of the left periphery of Japanese. Section 5 is the conclusion.

1.2. Sauerland and Yatsushiro (2014)

Sauerland and Yatsushiro (2014) (S&Y) suggest that indexical shifting is necessary to interpret (3) correctly, because while imperatives usually place the addressee under some obligation, the speaker is obligated to finish some work in (3).² Still, the interpretation of the temporal indexical indicates that (3) involves indirect report. Here, the interpretation of the speaker and the addressee needs to shift from the actual context to the reported context when interpreting the embedded imperative, while the temporal indexical item in the embedded clause is interpreted with respect to the actual context. Furthermore, as indicated by Kuno's generalization (1), the verbal domain in general, not just imperatives, behaves as if it were direct quotation even when truly embedded. For example, when perspective verbs (e.g. *kuru* 'come', *iku* 'go') and the politeness marker (expressing the speaker's respect toward the addressee) are embedded, the interpretation of the speaker and the addressee needs to shift (see e.g. Kuno 1988, Oshima 2006, S&Y). Recall, however, that we have also observed that temporal indexicals cannot be interpreted with respect to the reported context when truly embedded. This observation carries over to other non-verbal items in general (but see section 2). For example, pronouns cannot get a shifted interpretation when truly embedded (Kuno 1988).³ In (4), the embedded first person pronoun must refer to the actual speaker, not the reported speaker Taro. Note that the embedded *wh*-phrase 'what time' takes matrix scope in (4), which excludes the possibility of direct quotation.

- (4) Taro-wa [ore-no uti-ni nanzi-ni ko-i to] i-tta (no) ka?
 Taro-Top I-Gen house-to what.time come-IMP C say-Past Q
 a. Shifted: *What time did Taro_i say that (you) should come to his_i house?
 b. Non-shifted: What time did Taro say that (you) should come to my house? (Kuno 1988: 82)

These observations led S&Y to suggest that Japanese reported speech involves indexical shifting and that there is an operator which shifts indexical items (i.e. a monster operator ω , Schlenker 1999, 2003). Following Shklovsky and Sudo's (2014) proposal for Uyghur (see also Anand and Nevins 2004, Anand 2006), S&Y argue that the operator occupies a position in the structure of the clausal complement of verbs of saying. Specifically, they argue for the structure in (5) for example (3).



As shown in (5), S&Y suggest that the verb incorporates into ω ; they assume that ω bears an uninterpretable verb feature that triggers this incorporation. According to S&Y, the scope of ω is determined by c-command relation (Shklovsky and Sudo 2014); the scope corresponds to its c-command domain. They suggest that since the c-command domain of ω consists of only the verb (the imperative verb in (5)), only the verbal domain is predicted to receive a shifted interpretation.

However, their account faces a problem regarding the scope of the monster. Even though S&Y do not specify or label the exact position of ω , ω and *do-IMP* (=the verbal domain) are in a sister relation. This means that if ω does not c-command anything within TP, as S&Y suggest, then the raised verb

² See S&Y for argument against a partial quotation analysis of Japanese reported speech (e.g. Maier 2009 et seq.).

³ Unlike Kuno (1988), Sudo (2012) reports that pronouns can undergo shifting in Japanese. In this paper, I follow Kuno's judgments, which are also consistent with the judgments reported/adopted in S&Y and Shimamura (2015), a.o. I leave potential speaker variation regarding the shiftability of pronouns in Japanese for future research.

(*do-IMP*) does not c-command its own trace either; i.e. verb raising targets a non-commanding position. If, on the other hand, *do-IMP* does c-command its trace, then \bar{c} would c-command TP too, which is undesirable for S&Y; they assume Kuno's generalization in (1) and want temporal indexicals and pronouns to be outside of the scope of \bar{c} . One potential way to maintain S&Y's analysis would be to formulate the scope of \bar{c} in terms of sisterhood, so that \bar{c} can take scope over only *do-IMP* in (5). However, as shown in the following sections, Japanese has non-verbal shiftable items, which do not conform to Kuno's generalization. Consequently, they are also problematic for S&Y's analysis even under this reformulation.

2. Non-verbal, but shiftable

In this section, I will show that Japanese has shiftable indexicals which do not conform to Kuno's (1988) generalization in (1). I will discuss the interpretation of the adverb *yappari* 'as expected' and honorified NPs, which are not in the verbal domain, but, as we will see, their attitude holder in a relevant sense needs to shift.

2.1. The epistemic adverb *yappari*

Japanese has an epistemic adverb *yappari* 'as expected'.⁴

- (6) *Yappari* Mary-wa paatii-ni ku-ru.
 as.expected Mary-Top party-to come-Pres
 'As expected, Mary is coming to the party.'

Yappari is speaker-oriented in that it expresses the speaker's expectation; the speaker believes that an event in question is likely to happen or to have happened; i.e. the attitude holder in the relevant sense is the speaker. Thus, in (6), the speaker expects that Mary is coming to the party. Due to this speaker-orientation, if the speaker negates her attitude toward the event in question, it yields infelicity, as in (7). I refer to this test as *distancing* by the speaker.⁵ Distancing by the speaker yields infelicity.

- (7) #*Yappari* Mary-wa paatii-ni ku-ru. Demo, (watasi-nitotte) sore-wa yosoogai-da.
 as.expected Mary-Top party-to come-Pres but I-for it-Top unexpected-is
 'As expected, Mary is coming to the party. But that is unexpected (for me).'

Importantly, when *yappari* is embedded in a clausal complement of 'say', distancing by the actual speaker becomes possible, while distancing by the reported speaker leads to infelicity, as in (8). Suppose that John's saying event took place yesterday and he was talking about his expectation about tomorrow. In this context, the embedded temporal deictic item 'tomorrow' refers to the next day of (8). This interpretation confirms that (8) does not involve direct quotation. If (8) involves direct quotation, 'tomorrow' would refer to the day when (8) is uttered (= the next day of John's saying event), i.e. today.

- (8) Kinoo John-wa [asita *yappari* Mary-ga paatii-ni ku-ru] to i-tta.
 yesterday John-Top tomorrow as.expected Mary-Nom party-to come-Pres C say-Past
 'Yesterday, John said that as expected Mary would go to the party tomorrow.'
 a. Demo, sore-wa watasi-nitotte yosoogai-da/datta.
 but it-Top I-for unexpected-is/was
 'But that (Mary's coming to the party) is/was unexpected for me.'

⁴ Note that *yappari* is a polysemic word; apart from the interpretation discussed in the text, it means e.g. 'on (my) second thought' or 'after all'. I focus on the 'as expected' reading of *yappari*. Whether this polysemy can be semantically unified is beyond the scope of this paper.

⁵ The term *distancing* is borrowed from Stegovec and Kaufmann (2015), who use distancing to show an aspect of speaker orientation of imperatives. For the distancing diagnostic in imperatives, see Stegovec and Kaufmann (2012) and references cited therein.

- b. #Demo, sore-wa John-nitotte yosoogai-datta.
 but it-Top John-for unexpected-was
 ‘But that was unexpected for John.’

This shows that the attitude holder of *yappari* is shiftable from the actual speaker to the reported speaker even when truly embedded. What is important for us is that *yappari* is not in the verbal domain and it is an adverb which is located in a high position in the syntax. Following Koizumi and Tamaoka (2010), I here assume that *yappari* adjoins to some phrase above TP (M[odal]P in Koizumi and Tamaoka 2010). The shiftability of the attitude holder of *yappari* poses a problem with S&Y’s analysis; it should be outside of the scope of the monster under their analysis.

2.2. Honorified NP

Japanese, which has a rich honorification system, has honorified nouns, as exemplified in (9). The morpheme *gata* on the subject *sensei* in (9) is an honorified plural marker, which expresses the speaker’s respect toward the teachers.

- (9) Sensei-gata-ga irassya-tta/ki-ta.
 teacher-PL(H) come.Hon-Past/come-Past
 ‘The teachers came.’

Similarly to what we have seen above in the case of *yappari* ‘as expected’, once the speaker uses an honorified NP, she cannot express her conflicting attitude toward the relevant NP, as in (10). This can be seen as distancing with honorification. Like *yappari*, honorified NPs are speaker-oriented in terms of their attitude holder in that they express the speaker’s attitude, namely her respect, toward the person/people referred to by the NP.

- (10) #Sensei-gata_i-ga bangohan-o mesiaga-tta. Watasi-wa karera_i-o keibetusitei-ru.
 teacher-PL(H)-Nom dinner-Acc eat.Hon-Past I-Top they-Acc despise-Pres
 ‘The teachers_i had dinner. I despise them_i.’

When an honorified NP is embedded, its attitude holder of respect is shifted. This is indicated by the fact that distancing by the reported speaker leads to infelicity, while distancing by the actual speaker does not, as in (11).⁶ Suppose that *asita* ‘tomorrow’ refers to the next day of (11), not the next day of John’s saying event, in order to exclude the direct quotation reading of the first sentence. In this context, *asita* is evaluated with respect to the actual context, not with respect to the reported context.

- (11) Kinoo John-ga [asita sensei-gata_i-ga sono ryoori-o mesiaga-ru to] i-tta.
 yesterday John-Nom tomorrow teacher-PL(H)-Nom that dish-Acc eat.Hon-Pres C say-Past
 ‘Yesterday, John said that the teachers_i would have the delicious dish tomorrow.’
 a. Watasi-wa karera_i-o keibetusitei-ru.
 I-Top they-Acc despise-Pres
 ‘I despise them_i.’

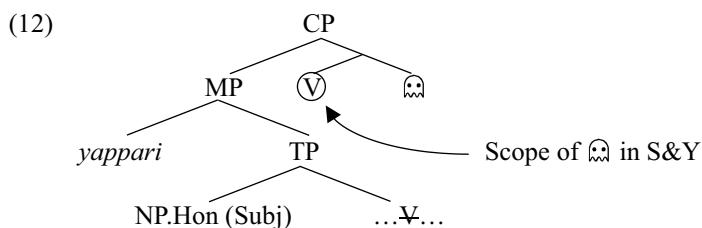
⁶ It should be noted that (11a) and (11b) involve different tense; distancing by the actual speaker involves present tense and distancing by the reported speaker (John) involves past tense. This is for the following reason. If the attitude holder of the honorification is the reported speaker (John), the actual speaker reports John’s attitude at John’s speech time, which is located in the past. If the attitude holder is the actual speaker, she should respect the teachers at the utterance time because she is using honorification in uttering (11). (Note that even when distancing by the actual speaker involves past tense as in (i), the sentence is still felicitous. See also (8).)

- (i) Following (11): Watasi-wa karera_i-o keibetusitei-ta.
 I-Top they-Acc despise-Past
 ‘I despised them_i.’

- b. #John-wa karera_i-o keibetusitei-ta.
 John-Top they-Acc despise-Past
 ‘John despised them_i.’

The shiftability of the attitude holder of (subject) honorified NPs is again problematic for S&Y’s proposal, according to which the scope of ☹ is only the verbal domain. If we assume that the subject position is Spec-TP (or even Spec-vP), it is located outside of the scope of ☹ under S&Y’s analysis.

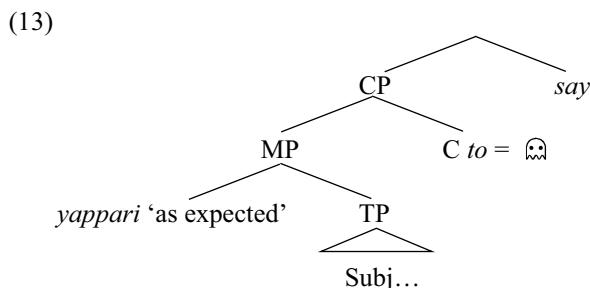
To sum up this section, I have shown that there are non-verbal shiftable indexicals in terms of the attitude holder in Japanese; *yappari* ‘as expected’ and honorified NPs. Their shiftability is problematic for S&Y’s analysis, according to which the scope of the monster operator consists of only the verbal domain. This is schematically illustrated in (12). In the next section, I will offer an alternative analysis of Japanese reported speech.



3. Looking at the Monster: Where the Monster dwells

In the previous section, we have observed that the shiftability of indexicals is not limited to verbal domains in Japanese. The observations made in the previous section are problematic for S&Y because the scope of the monster should consist of only the verbal domain under their analysis. In this section, I will argue that a particular complementizer is in fact a monstrous operator in Japanese.

Given that the attitude holder of the epistemic adverb *yappari* ‘as expected’ and honorified NPs is shiftable, I suggest that these elements are in fact in the scope of the monstrous operator ☹ , which shifts indexicals. Following Schlenker (2003), Anand and Nevins (2004), Anand (2006), Sudo (2012), Shklovsky and Sudo (2014), and S&Y, I argue for the presence of ☹ in a specific syntactic position. However, departing from them, given that shifting is possible only in CPs headed by the complementizer *to* (see Sudo 2012), I argue that the complementizer *to*, which introduces declarative clauses, is in fact the monster (cf. S&Y, see also Shimamura 2015, Messick 2016 for relevant discussion). Specifically, I suggest the structure in (13).



Adopting Shklovsky and Sudo (2014) and S&Y, I argue that the scope of ☹ is determined by its c-command domain. This means that syntactic positions affect shifting possibilities. In (13), ☹ scopes over MP. Hence, since *yappari* and honorified subjects are in the scope of ☹ , the attitude holder of these expressions is shiftable. It should also be noted that this analysis captures Saito’s (2009, et seq.) idea that *to* is the highest head in the CP domain which embeds (a paraphrase of) a report of discourse.

Here, a question arises regarding the observation made in the previous sections that certain elements are not shiftable; why are pronouns and temporal indexicals not shiftable? We have a somewhat

contradictory situation here. On one hand, subject honorified NPs can get a shifted reading regarding its attitude holder. On the other hand, pronouns in the subject position cannot get a shifted interpretation. Hence, given that these two are in the same subject position, whether an element is shiftable depends on a specific lexical item, as suggested by Schlenker (2003). Hence, I suggest that lexical entries for pronouns and temporal deictic items in Japanese are specified in a way that they must refer to the actual context even when they are in the scope of ク (cf. Kaplan 1977). However, the proposed analysis differs from Schlenker (2003) in one important point. For Schlenker, speech verbs themselves are monstrous. This is not the case under the current analysis. As shown in the next section, there is a position in embedded clauses which escapes shifting, which is expected under the current analysis.⁷

To sum up, I have argued that the complementizer *to* is monstrous in Japanese. Since it is a C head, the adverb *yappari* ‘as expected’ and (subject) honorified NPs, as well as the verbal domain, are in its scope.

4. Looking through the Monster: The left periphery in Japanese

In the previous section, I have suggested that the monster lives in a specific syntactic position ($\text{ク} = \text{C } to$). In this section, I will investigate consequences of the proposed analysis. We will see that the shiftable of indexicals can be used as a diagnostic for the structure of the left periphery in Japanese.

Shklovsky and Sudo (2014) observe that there is a correlation between indexical shifting and syntactic positions in Uyghur, where pronouns are shiftable in principle. Specifically, they observe that when embedded in the clausal complement of ‘say’, accusative-marked subject pronouns cannot get a shifted interpretation while nominative-marked ones do. This observation carries over to Japanese; EMed subjects are not shiftable. In (14), the accusative-marked subject is honorified. As shown by the contrast by (14a) and (14b), the attitude holder of the honorification must be the actual speaker, not the reported speaker John. Notice that (14) does not involve direct quotation because the subject is marked with accusative, which indicates a dependency between the embedded subject and the matrix verb.

- (14) John-ga sono sensei-gatai-o kirei-da to i-tta.
 John-Nom that teacher-PL(H)-Acc beautiful-is C say-Past
 ‘John said that the teachers_i are beautiful.’
 a. #*I despise them_i*. b. *John despised them_i*.

However, it should be noted that, the syntactic position of the EMed subject in (14) is not completely clear; Kuno (1976) and Tanaka (2002), among others, argue that EMed subjects (can) move to the matrix clause. If this type of analysis is on the right track, the unshiftable of the attitude holder of EMed subjects is expected under the current analysis. Since they are in the matrix clause, they are outside of the scope of the monster. Hence, they are not shiftable.

What is more striking to us is cases where an EMed subject is claimed to stay in the embedded clause. Bruening (2001) argues that (covert) raising of the EMed subject does not cross the embedded clause boundary in (15), which involves an embedded topic. Crucially, even the EMed subject in such constructions cannot get a shifted interpretation, as in (15). As distancing by the actual and reported speaker shows in (15a) and (15b), respectively, the attitude holder of the honorified NP ‘the teachers’ is the actual speaker.

⁷ It should be noted that shifting of the attitude holder of *yappari* ‘as expected’ and honorified NPs differs from “point of view phenomena” in Speas and Tenny’s (2003) sense, because interrogatives do not induce a shift from the speaker to the addressee regarding the attitude holder of these items. For example, as in (i), the attitude holder of the honorified NP is still the speaker, not the addressee, as distancing by the speaker yields infelicity.

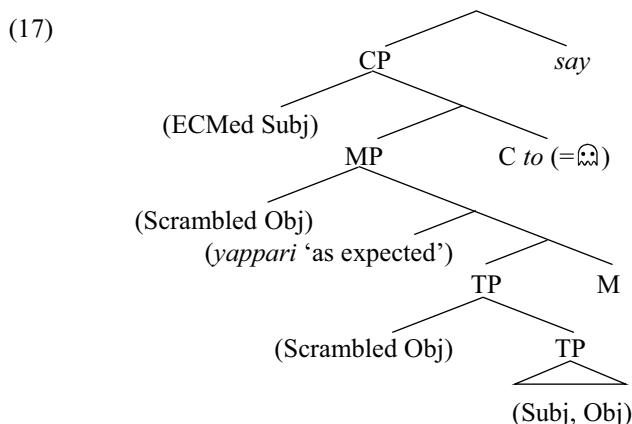
- (i) Sensei-gatai-ga paatii-ni irassya-tta-no?
 teacher-PL(H)-Nom party-to come.H-Past-Q
 ‘Did the teachers_i come to the party?’
 a. #*I despise them_i*. b. *You despise them_i*.

- (15) John-ga [ano gakkai-de-wa sono sensei-gata_i-o kirei-da to] i-tta.
 John-Nom that conference-at-Top that teacher-PL(H)-Acc beautiful-is C say-Past
 ‘John said that at that conference the teachers_i are beautiful.’
 a. #*I despise them_i*. b. *John despised them_i*.

This means that ECMed subjects cannot shift even when they stay in the embedded clause. This pattern contrasts with clause-internally scrambled objects. As illustrated in (16), even when such objects are in the left edge of the embedded clause, they get a shifted interpretation. In other words, the attitude holder of the scrambled object ‘teachers’ is the reported speaker John, not the actual speaker.

- (16) Kinoo John-ga [sensei-gata_i-o asita tazune-ru to] i-tta.
 yesterday John-Nom teacher-PL(H)-Acc tomorrow visit-Pres C say-Past
 ‘Yesterday, John said that he would visit the teachers_i tomorrow.’
 a. *I despise them_i*. b. #*John despised them_i*.

If the scope of the monster, which determines the shiftability of (shiftable) indexicals, is determined by its c-command domain, as argued in the previous section, the contrast between (15) and (16) shows that the structural height of ECMed subjects and clause-internally scrambled objects is different; the former are located in a higher position than the latter. Under the current analysis, there is a position in the embedded clause which escapes shifting; Spec-CP. Together with the observations from the previous sections, I suggest the following structure for the embedded clause of *iu* ‘say’, which takes a CP headed by *to*.



If the proposed analysis is on the right track, we expect that objects base-generated in an embedded clause should not get a shifted interpretation if they undergo long-distance scrambling to the matrix clause, because $\hat{\omega}$ does not take scope over the matrix clause. This is in fact the case. Consider (18) and (19). Suppose that *ototoi* in the embedded clause in (18) refers to the day before yesterday of (18) to exclude the direct quotation reading. As in (18), when the object honorified NP stays in the embedded clause, the attitude holder of the honorification is the reported speaker John. In contrast to (18), when the object ‘the teachers’ is scrambled out of the embedded clause, it is the actual speaker who respects the teacher (i.e. the attitude holder of the honorification is the actual speaker). Notice that (19) cannot involve direct quotation because of the long distance scrambling.

- (18) Kinoo John-wa [ototoi Mary-ga sensei-gata_i-o mikake-ta to] i-tta.
 yesterday John-Top day.before.yesterday Mary-Nom teacher-PL(H)-Acc see-Past C say-Past
 ‘Yesterday, John said that Mary saw the teachers_i the day before yesterday.’
 a. *I despise them_i*. b. #*John despised them_i*.
- (19) Sensei-gata_i-o John-wa [Mary-ga mikake-ta to] i-tta.
 teacher-PL(H)-Acc John-Top Mary-Nom see-Past C say-Past
 ‘John said that Mary saw the teachers_i.’
 a. #*I despise them_i*. b. *John despised them_i*.

As evidenced by distancing, when the honorified object in the embedded clause undergoes long-distance scrambling, the attitude holder must be the actual speaker. This is predicted under the current analysis, because *to* (と) does not take scope over the matrix clause.

In this section, I have discussed consequences of the proposed structural analysis of indexical shifting. We have seen that the shiftability of indexical elements enables us to investigate the left periphery of Japanese. In contrast to the right periphery (e.g. Saito 2009 et seq.), the left periphery of Japanese has not been studied in detail because of the head-finality of the language and the possibility of scrambling.

5. Conclusion

I have argued that Japanese has indexical elements which do not conform to Kuno's (1988) generalization. I have shown that there are non-verbal shiftable indexicals, focusing on the interpretation of *yappari* 'as expected' and honorified NPs. I have then proposed an analysis of the mixed behavior of Japanese reported speech in terms of direct and indirect speech, arguing that a particular complementizer *to* is monstrous, where indexicals in its c-command domain are shiftable. Finally I have investigated consequences of the proposed analysis for the left periphery of Japanese.

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