Phase to Phase: Complementizer *-to* as a bridge[*]

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This paper examines *-to* in Japanese, claiming that it has a dual status of quoter and complementizer by discussing a number of phenomena overlooked in the previous literature. I attribute this dual status to its feature composition (φ-features) and a context variable on an intermediate C. Also, I propose an Agree mechanism, Intermediate Agree, via which wh-elements and a context variable within the embedded clause can undergo Agree with the matrix C through phase heads, circumventing a PIC violation. I show that complementizers can participate in Intermediate Agree, connecting embedded elements with the matrix C whereas quoters cannot.

1. Introduction

In this paper, I will discuss the status of *-to* in Japanese. Especially, I will show that *-to* has a dual status as a quoter (Fukui 1995) and as a complementizer (Kubo 1992, Uchibori 2001). I will claim that this is deeply related to the edge properties of C, which make a complement clause headed by *-to* transparent and enable it to function as a bridge between phases through Intermediate Agree (Munakata 2006, cf. Pesetsky and Torrego 2004).

The outline of this paper is as follows. To begin with, I will briefly review three main proposals about *-to*: the quoter analysis (Fukui 1995), the complementizer analysis (Kubo 1992, Uchibori 2001) and the inherent case-marker analysis (Motomura 2001). In section 3, I will discuss overlooked phenomena of *-to*, the interpretation of wh-scope, the reference of the embedded subject, the interrelation between these two phenomena and the interrelation between the reference shift of the embedded subject and control element in the control construction, arguing against the unified analysis of *-to*. Instead, I will argue in section 4 that *-to* has a dual status: it can function as a complementizer or a quoter. I will attribute this dual status to its feature composition and a context variable *c* on C, which encodes a set of features like point-of-view. To derive the dual status of *-to* from the feature composition and *c*, I will propose

Intermediate Agree (Munakata 2006, cf. Pesetsky and Torrego 2004). I will show that Intermediate Agree plays an important role in characterizing the dual status of *-to*, through which a wh-feature associated with an embedded wh-element and *c* can be related to the matrix C when *-to* functions as a complementizer, introducing the complement CP. Also, I will claim that due to Intermediate Agree, a complementizer functions as a bridge connecting a phase to the next relevant phase. Section 5 concludes this paper.

2. Three Main Proposals about *-to*

In the literature, there are three main proposals about *-to*: the complementizer analysis (Kubo 1992, Uchibori 2001), the quoter analysis (Fukui 1995) and the inherent case-marker analysis (Motomura 2001).

At first sight, it seems that *-to* behaves as a complementizer like *that* in English, introducing a non-interrogative complement clause in (1), because the complement clause introduced by *-to* expresses what Hideki thought, as the CP clause headed by *that*:[1]

(1)   Hideki-ga   [Kyoko-ga   Norito-to   atta] to omotta.
        H -nom K -nom N -with met C thought
        'Hideki thought that Kyoko met Norito.'

Given this, Kubo (1992) regards *-to* as a complementizer like *that*.

However, it can also be used to introduce interrogative clauses headed by the Q-marker *no*, as in (2); since *itta* 'said' does not select an interrogative clause, Fukui (1995) argues that *-to* is a quoter, rejecting the complementizer analysis:

(2)   Hideki-ga   [Kyoko-ga   Norito-to   atta-no] to itta.
        H -nom K -nom N -with met-Q C said
        'Hideki said, 'Did Kyoko meet Norito?''

Finally, Motomora (2001) argues that *-to* is an inherent case-marker, by raising the following example:[2]

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[1] Uchibori (2001) says that *-to* functions as a subordinator.

[2] Citing Pietroski (2000), she illustrates the difference between Theme and Content as below:

i.   a.   Nora explained [CP that Fido barked].
       b.   Nora explained [DP the fact [CP that Fido barked]].

In (i), Pietroski assumes that the verb *explain* assigns Theme and Content. For instance, assuming a discourse where Nora answered a question as to why the cat ran away, he suggests that the DP *the fact that Fido barked* is assigned Theme in (ib) because this constituent refers to what is explained, which is syntactically realized as DP, whereas the embedded clause *that Fido barked* is assigned Content, because it is not the thing which is explained but rather what Nora said in explaining something.

(3)   Norito-ga   [Kyoko-to hanarebanare-ni natta]   to
            N -nom   K -with separated   became C
            kanojo-to-no beturi-o   kookai sita.
            she-with-gen parting-acc regret did
            'Norito regretted the parting from her and that he was separated
            from her.'

According to Motomura, *kookai suru* 'regret' may give two θ-roles Theme and
Content: the former is given to a nominal argument and the latter is given to CP.
Also, she assumes that Content is associated with inherent case, which she
assumes is realized as *-to*: in other words, *-to* is attached to CP as an inherent
case-marker.

3. Problems with the Unified Analyses

In this section, I discuss four linguistic facts about *-to* that have been overlooked
in the previous literature. These facts constitute counter-arguments against the
unified analyses of *-to*.

3.1. Wh-interpretation

In Japanese, a matrix wh-interpretation is possible when a wh-element is located
in the non-interrogative embedded clause as in (4a).[3] However, it becomes
ungrammatical if the exclamatory-marker *-yo* appears in the embedded clause,
as in (4b):

(4)   a.   Hideki-ga [dare-ga   Norito-to   atta] to itta-no?
             H -nom who-nom N   -with met   C said-Q
             'Who did Hideki say *t* met Kyoko?'
             'Did Hideki say, 'Who met Kyoko?''   *ambiguous*

       b. * Hideki-ga   [dare-ga   Norito-to   atta-yo(!)] to itta-no?

In (4b), it seems clear that *-to* introduces a quotative clause due to the existence
of *-yo*, whereas it is uncertain whether *-to* introduces a complement clause or a
quotative clause in (4a).

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[3] There is no Q-morpheme in (4a). However, colloquial Japanese allows a null Q-morpheme (cf.
Yoshida and Yoshida 1996) and the sentence may be interpreted as a question, as in (i):

i.   Hideki-ga   dare-to   atta-Ø?
            H   -nom   who-with   met-Q
            'Who did Hideki met?

Also, it needs to be noted that an intonational break is necessary between *atta* and *-to* to obtain the
quotative reading in (4a).

3.2. Reference of the embedded subject

Second, a first person pronoun *boku* in the embedded clause in (5a) may refer to either the speaker or the matrix subject *Hideki*, whereas it can only refer to *Hideki* if -*yo* or -*no* appears in the embedded clause, as in (5b-c):

(5) a.   Hideki$_j$-ga   [boku$_{i/j}$-ga   Norito-to   atta] to itta.
        H   -nom I   -nom N   -with met C said
        'Hideki said that I met Norito.'   *boku* = speaker
        'Hideki$_j$ said that he$_j$ met Norito.'   *boku* = Hideki

    b.   Hideki$_j$-ga   [boku$_{*i/j}$-ga   Norito-to   atta-(nda-)yo]to itta.
        H   -nom I   -nom N   -with met-(focus-)! C said
        'Hideki$_j$ said that [he$_j$/*I] met Norito.'   *boku* = Hideki

    c.   Hideki$_j$-ga   [boku$_{*i/j}$-ga   dare-to   atta-no] to itta.
        H   -nom I   -nom who-with   met-Q C said
        'Hideki$_j$ said, 'Who did I$_j$ meet?''   *boku* = Hideki

Though it could be said that -*to* introduces either a complement clause or a quotative clause in (5a), it appears that it introduces quotative clauses in (5b-c) because there are an exclamative marker (-*nda*)-*yo* in (5b) and an interrogative marker -*no* in (5c).

3.3. Interrelation between wh-scope and reference shift

The two phenomena discussed above are interrelated, as in (6): when the matrix wh-reading is available, *boku* only refers to the speaker, while when the indirect wh-reading is available, it only refers to *Hideki*:

(6)   Hideki$_j$-ga   [boku$_{i/j}$-ga   dare-to   atta]   to itta-no?
            H   -nom I   -nom who-with met   C said-Q
            'Who did Hideki say that I met?'   matrix wh */ boku* =speaker
      * 'Who did Hideki$_j$ say that he$_j$ met?'   matrix wh */ boku* = Hideki
            'Did Hideki$_j$ say, 'Who did I$_j$ meet?'' indirect wh */ boku* = Hideki
      * lit. 'Did Hideki say who I met?'   indirect wh */ boku* = speaker

3.4. Control

It is traditionally assumed that PRO is the subject of embedded infinitival clauses selected as complement by certain verbs, as in (7):

(7)   Tom$_i$ decided [PRO$_i$ to resign from his position].

These infinitival clauses are traditionally considered CP (cf. PRO Theorem). Uchibori (2001) suggests that the following Japanese sentence is an instance of control:

(8)[4] Kyoko$_i$-ga [e_i motto kenkyuu-ni utikomeru yoo-ni to]
K   -nom   more research-dat work on   subj-to C
tutometa.
attempted
'Kyoko attempted to work on research more.'

According to Uchibori, a null element *e* is subject to control by the nominative-marked subject *Kyoko* in (8). Also, she notes that -*to* functions as a complementizer, heading the complement embedded clause. Then, if -*to* is a quoter, the embedded clause should be opaque to the matrix context as suggested above (cf. reference shift and wh-interpretation) and, consequently, *e* should not be able to be controlled by *Hideki*. Actually, the co-reference of the matrix subject *Kyoko* and *watasi* 'I' is impossible, as shown below:

(9) Kyoko$_i$-ga   Hideki$_j$-ni [$e_{*i/j}$ mainiti   watasi$_{*i/k}$-nokata-o
K   -nom H   -dat   everyday I-Gen   shoulder-acc
momu   yoo-ni to] meijita.
massage subj-to C ordered
'Kyoko ordered Hideki to massage my shoulder everyday.'
* 'Kyoko$_i$ ordered Hideki to massage her$_i$ shoulder everyday.'

3.5. Problems

The linguistic phenomena discussed in the previous subsections are mysterious under all of the approaches above, necessitating an alternative.

3.5.1. Problems for the complementizer analysis

It is expected under the complementizer analysis that only the matrix wh-interpretation is available (cf. (10) and (12)), that the first person pronoun *boku* unambiguously refers to the speaker (cf. (11-12)), and that control of PRO should be always possible, if necessary conditions are met:[5]

(10) a.   Who did Hideki say that Kyoko met *t*?

b. * Did Hideki say who did Kyoko meet *t*?   matrix scope only

(11)   Hideki said that I met Kyoko.   *I* = speaker / *I* ≠ Hideki

(12) a.   Who did Hideki$_j$ say that I$_{i/*j}$ met *t*?   matrix scope only

b. * Did Hideki say (that) who did I meet *t*?'   *I* = speaker / *I* ≠ Hideki

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[4] Here, *subj* represents subjunctive.

[5] See Uchibori (2001) for the licensing condition of control in detail.

As seen in (4-6) and (9), none of these expectations are borne out

3.5.2. Problems for the quoter analysis

Also, it is predicted under the quoter analysis that the matrix wh-interpretation is unavailable (cf. (14) and (16b)), that the reference of *boku* is restricted to the matrix subject *Hideki* (cf. (15-16)), and that control of PRO should be impossible, even if necessary conditions are met (cf. (17)):

(14) a.   Did Hideki say, 'Who did Kyoko meet *t*?'

  b. * Who did Hideki say, 'Did Kyoko meet *t*?'

  c. * Who did Hideki say, 'Kyoko met *t*?'   no matrix scope

(15)   Hideki$_j$ said, 'I$_{*i/j}$ met Kyoko.' I = Hideki / $I \neq$ speaker

(16) a.   Did Hideki$_j$ say, 'Who did I$_{*i/j}$ meet *t*?'   no matrix scope

  b. * Who Hideki$_j$ say, 'Did I$_j$ meet *t*?' I = Hideki / $I \neq$ speaker

(17)   * Mary asked Tom$_i$, 'PRO$_i$ (to) meet Sue.'

As shown in (4a), (5a), (6) and (8-9), all expectations are not met.

3.5.3. Problems for the inherent case-marker analysis

Finally, the examples in (4-9) present a problem for the inherent case-marker analysis, too. Especially, this analysis has difficulty in explaining why both of the wh-readings are possible for the embedded wh-element, as in (4) and (6). In addition, it is predicted that, regardless of whether the embedded clause with *-to* is syntactically/semantically a complement or a direct quote, reference of *boku* is unambiguously fixed, which is not the case, as shown in (5-6). [6]
        To summarize, the embedded clauses headed by *-to* behave as complement clauses when (i) the first person pronouns *boku/watasi* 'I' refer to a speaker, (ii) the matrix wh-scope is available and (iii) control is possible, whereas they behave as quotative clauses when *boku/watasi* refer to the matrix subject, the matrix wh-scope is unavailable and control is impossible.

4. Dual Status of *-to*: Complementizer and Quoter

Given the linguistic phenomena and the discussions in the previous section, I propose that *-to* has a dual status as a complementizer and a quoter.

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[6] An interaction between anaphor binding and scrambling and the raising-to-object construction raise similar problems for these unified analyses of *-to*.

Descriptively, *-to* functions as a quoter when force markers such as *-no* or *-yo* (or, perhaps, null force markers) appear, in which case only the indirect wh-reading is possible and reference of *boku* is fixed to the matrix subject. If force markers are absent, *-to* may function as a complementizer as well as a quoter, in which case the matrix wh-reading is also available and *boku* may refer to the speaker. Furthermore, *-to* functions as a complementizer when the matrix subject or object controls an empty element within the embedded clause, in which case only the matrix wh-reading is possible and reference of *boku* is fixed to the speaker. This analysis of *-to* precisely explains the matrix wh-interpretation, the reference ambiguity of *boku/watasi* and the interrelation between the reference ambiguity of these pronouns and the control construction.[7]

4.1 Intermediate Agree and Complementizer/Quoter

I attribute the dual-status of *-to* to its feature composition and a context variable *c* contained in C, which encodes a set of features like point-of-view.[8] Especially, I assume that complementizers possess a full set of φ-features, whereas quoters are equipped with a defective set of φ-features (cf. Chomsky 2001). Also, I suggest that the context variable *c* is generated on an intermediate C and needs to be bound by the speech-time context or the event-time context. I suppose that the speech-time context is encoded by the matrix C, whereas the event-time context is encoded by the matrix V. Furthermore, I will assume that the binding of *c* is subject to the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC) of Chomsky (2000):

(18)　Phase　Impenetrability　Condition
　　　　Only the edge of phase-head (*v** and C) is accessible to syntactic
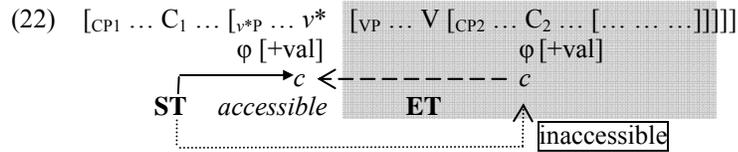　　　　operations outside the phase (i.e. *v**P and CP).

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[7] Another fact that indicates the complementizer status of *-to* is complementizer deletion in Kansai Japanese. According to Ogawa (2001), *-te*, a variant of *-to* can be deleted in Kansai Japanese, as shown in (ia). However, interestingly, when force particles such as the exclamative particle *-yo* or the interrogative marker *-ka* appear, *-te* cannot be deleted, as shown in (ib):

(i)　　a.　　anta-ga　　[Hideki-ga　kaette　kuru　(te)]　yuuta.
　　　　　　　you-nom　H　　-nom　return　come　C　　said
　　　　　　　'You said that Hideki would return.'

　　　　b.　　anta-ga　　[Hideki-ga　kaette　ku-ru　yo/ka　*(te)]　yuuta.

According to Boskovic and Lasnik (2003), the deletion of complementizers is licensed under the environment where null (= deleted) C is adjacent to a matrix V and can undergo head-movement into this V. If so, it might be said that *-te* cannot be deleted because the complementizer occupying C cannot appear due to the existence of force markers and C-V movement is impossible.

[8] One may wonder why it is necessary to posit a context variable on C and say that it is simple to attribute the phenomena discussed here to the lexical ambiguity of *-to*: if it is a complementizer, nothing special happens, whereas some restrictions apply when it is a quoter. Yet, this is a mere description not an explanation. Especially, the lexical ambiguity approach cannot capture the correlation between wh-interpretation and reference shift, which is dealt with by the availability of Intermediate Agree in this paper.

Given the PIC, *c* needs to be copied onto the matrix *v** or other higher functional heads within the matrix CP to be bound by the speech-time context at LF.

In addition, I posit the Agree mechanism in (19):

(19) Agree is a valuation operation with the form of feature sharing,
which makes features visible to Multiple Transfer, and every
feature participating in Agree is shared by the probe and the goal.
(Munakata 2006, cf. Pesetsky and Torrego 2004)

According to (19), if a feature on some syntactic element is unvalued, this element must undergo Agree to value its unvalued feature before it is subject to Multiple Transfer so that this feature becomes visible to Multiple Transfer. If it remains unvalued, it is not transferred, violating Full Interpretation Principle.

Also, it should be noted that given this Agree mechanism, the features of a goal participating in Agree are shared by a probe and transmitted to the head bearing this probe. This means that if the probe is located in a phase-head, these shared features are accessible to and may undergo further Agree with a probe in the next phase head without violating PIC. I call this kind of Agree, schematized below, *Intermediate Agree*:

(20)   *H & X: phase heads*
    i. $[_{HP}$ … H $\{F(-val)\}$ $[_{YP}$ … Y ZP $\{F(+val)$ $]]]$
                                    $\wedge$ - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - !
                                                    valuation via Intermediate Agree

    ii.   *YP transferred*
         $[_{XP}$ X $\{F(-val)$ … $[_{HP}$ … H$\{F(+val)\}$ $[_{YP}$ … Y ZP $\{F(+Val)]]]]$
                └──────────────┘ ^{ok} **accessible** $\wedge$ *no violation of PIC*
                inaccessible   *violation of PIC*

Moreover, I argue that feature interpretability is determined by (21):

(21) Feature Interpretability (cf. Oka 2004)
Features are interpretable in relevant interface components, when
they are associated with an appropriate head; otherwise, they
should be deleted in Multiple Transfer.

I suppose that complementizers occupy C with a full set of φ-features. When *-to* occupies C bearing φ-features, it undergoes Agree with a matrix *v**, deleting unvalued φ-features on *v**. Due to Intermediate Agree, *c* on the intermediate C is copied onto *v** as a reflex of Agree of φ-features between *-to* and the matrix *v**. Because it is located within *v**, it is accessible to the matrix C and bound by the speech-time context on C without violating PIC, as desired. As a result, it changes its value of point-of-view from the matrix subject (i.e. the event time context) into the speaker, shifting the reference of pronouns within

the embedded clause like *boku*. I schematize this series of instances of Agree below:[9]

(22) $[_{CP1} \dots C_1 \dots [_{v^*P} \dots v^* \quad [_{VP} \dots V [_{CP2} \dots C_2 \dots [\dots \dots \dots]]]]]$
          φ [+val] φ [+val]
                    $\rightarrow c \Leftarrow - - - - - - - c$
          ST   *accessible*   **ET**
                                                   $\boxed{\text{inaccessible}}$

In short, complementizers with a full set of φ-features are able to participate in Intermediate Agree, transmitting *c*, which is originally located in the next lower phase, to *v** via the intermediate C and having it bound by the speech time context on the matrix C within the upper phase. In this sense, a complementizer functions as a bridge connecting a lower phase with the next higher phase with the help of Intermediate Agree and φ-features.

On the other hand, because it is widely assumed that C determines the sentential force of the embedded clause (cf. Rizzi 1997), C is occupied by the force markers (cf. the Q-marker *-no* or possibly a null force marker) in the quote. If so, it seems natural to think that quoters are located in a higher functional projection. Because C is occupied by force markers in the quotatvie clause, there is no φ feature available, due to which Intermediate Agree is impossible. Thus *c* is not positioned within the matrix *v**, preventing it from being bound by the speech-time context. Instead, it is bound by the event-time context, restricting reference of *boku* to the matrix subject.

If the current proposal is correct, it is predicted that the reference of a first person pronoun is fixed to the speaker when complementizers are obligatorily equipped with φ-features. It is normally assumed that nominal elements always possess a full set of φ-features. Also, it is said in the literature that *-koto* 'fact' is a nominal complementizer in Japanese (Uchibori 2001, cf. Motomura 2001). This prediction is borne out, which supports my proposal:

(23)   Hideki$_j$-wa Norito-ga   boku$_{i/*j}$-o nagutta   koto-o tugeguti sita.
           H   -top N   -nom I-acc   punched   C-acc snitch   did
           'Hideki$_j$ snitched the fact that Norito punched me/*him$_{j.}$'
                                                                    boku = speaker

Next, I turn to the analysis of the interpretation of wh-scope. Adopting Watanabe's (2006) claim, I suppose that a wh-element is licensed by a relevant Q-marker via Agree and the scope of wh-elements in Japanese is determined by agreement with the c-commanding Q-morpheme (probe). Here, I posit the following three assumptions for the feature interpretability of wh-features and Q-features. First, wh-features are interpretable only when they are associated with wh-elements or Q-morpheme (i.e. C^0 equipped with a Q-feature). Second, Q-features are interpretable only if it is associated with C^0. Third, to be interpreted as wh-question and determine the scope of a wh-element, C^0 (cf. Q-morpheme) must contain an occurrence of wh-feature in addition to a Q-feature. These assumptions entail that the scope of a wh-element is determined by which

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[9] ST represents the speech time context, whereas ET represents the event-time context.

Q-feature (located in C^0) an occurrence of its wh-feature is associated with. Now, we can derive Watanabe's claim, as in (24):

(24)   An instance of a wh-feature associated with a certain wh-element must be combined with the Q-feature via Agree, determining the scope of a wh-element associated with this wh-feature.

However, given the PIC in (18), it should be impossible for the wh-element to be licensed by the matrix Q-marker via Agree and obtain a matrix scope, because it is inaccessible to the matrix Q-marker.

To solve this problem, I propose that through Intermediate Agree, an embedded in-situ element undergoes Agree with the matrix Q-marker via an intermediate C and the matrix v^*. Supposing that the φ-features of an intermediate C are unvalued, the intermediate C needs to value its unvalued φ-features via Agree with embedded syntactic elements.[10] Then, a wh-feature on the embedded wh-element *dare* is transmitted to *-to* as a reflex of Intermediate Agree of φ-features between *dare* and *-to*, which values unvalued φ-features on *-to*, as in (25i-ii). Similarly, this transmitted feature is further sent to the matrix v^* by Intermediate Agree in φ-features between *-to* and this v^*, as shown in (25iii). Finally, the transmitted wh-feature on the matrix v^* undergoes Agree with a Q-feature on the matrix Q-marker without violating PIC, as a result of which *dare* is licensed by the matrix Q-marker and obtains a matrix wh-scope, as illustrated in (25iv):

(25)   i.
$[_{TP}$ ***dare-ga*** *… … …* $]$ $[_{C2}$ *to*$]$
q[φ(+val),wh]   φ(-val)
⌊_____⌋ ***Intermediate Agree***

ii.
$[_{TP}$ ***dare-ga*** *… … …* $][_{C2}$ *to*$]$
[φ(+val)   φ(+val)
wh ⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯→ *wh*   *transmission of **wh** to C_2*

iii.
$[_{VP}$ …$[_{CP2}$… $[_{TP}$ ***dare-ga*** *… … …* $][_{C2}$ *to*$]$ $]$ V$]$ $v^*]$
{φ(+val),*wh*}   {φ(+val).*wh*} φ(-val)
Intermediate Agree   ⌊_____⌋

iv. $[_{TP}$ $[_{v^*P}$ $[_{VP}$ $[_{CP2}$ … $[_{TP}$ ***dare-ga*** *…* … …$]$ $[_{C2}$ to$]$ $]$ V$]$ $v^*]$ … $[_{C1}$ **no**$]]$
wh   ⎯ ⎯ ⎯ ⎯ ⎯ ~~*wh*~~ ~~wh~~→   Q
accessible ↑⌊_____⌋

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[10] When there is no wh-element, it seems necessary that φ-features on the intermediate C are valued by some other embedded syntactic element (probably the embedded subject, given minimality). In fact, this may not be such a strange idea given that it has been observed that in West Germanic languages complementizers bear an agreement relation with the embedded subject (cf. Takahashi and Gracanin 2005). Possibly, under the present approach, this complementizer agreement relation may be thought of as an instance of Intermediate Agree. Also, it is possible to think that φ-features on an intermediate C are valued when unnecessary and, consequently, this C does not need to undergo Agree with an embedded syntactic element to value its φ-features.

In a word, Intermediate Agree and φ-features enable complementizers to transmit an instance of a wh-feature associated with the embedded wh-element to an upper phase-head and assign the matrix wh-scope to it, functioning as a bridge between a lower and an upper phase.[11,12]

On the other hand, quoters are not equipped with full sets of φ-features, due to which Intermediate Agree is impossible and there is no transmission of wh-feature on the embedded wh-element. Thus, the matrix wh-reading is unavailable when *-to* is a quoter.

5. Conclusion

In this way, with the help of Intermediate Agree, a complementizer with a full set of φ-features not only lets the speech-time context on the matrix C bind the context variable c but helps the embedded wh-element take the matrix wh-scope.[13] Whereas quoters, lacking a full set of φ-features, cannot participate in Intermediate Agree, preventing c and the embedded wh-element from relating to elements on the matrix C. In short, Intermediate Agree, which requires that a participating syntactic element possess a full set of ϕ-features, is the key in distinguishing a complementizer from a quoter, explaining the linguistic facts observed in section 3. If the approach advocated here is correct, it can be said that Intermediate Agree gives complementizers a special status within the phase theory: namely, they can serve as bridge linking a phase to the next higher phase.

References

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[11] I assume that when the embedded wh-element is located in the object position, some kind of maximizing effect works, due to which the complementizer *-to* undergoes Agree with this wh-element not the embedded subject which is assumed to be located within TP-Spec, because this Agree results in not only the valuation of uninterpretable φ-features of *-to* but the transmission of a wh-feature associated with it to the phase-head, *-to*.

[12] Here, I posit a possible (though speculative) analysis of the control using Intermediate Agree. According to Legate (2002), the control construction in Warlpiri involves the switch reference system (cf. Martin 1996). Because switch reference (cf. Watanabe 2000) is deeply related to φ-features (especially, person feature) and the control construction involves switch reference system in Warlpiri, it might be speculated that control involves Intermediate Agree in φ-features (cf. Landau 2006). If so, it might be said that control is blocked when *-to* functions as a quoter in Japanese, introducing quotative clauses because it lacks φ-features and cannot make use of switch reference system (and Intermediate Agree), whereas it is not the case when *-to* is complementizer because it can utilize Intermediate Agree.

[13] I have no strong evidence arguing for the combination of φ-agreement and wh-agreement, though Takahashi and Gracanin (2005) posit a similar approach, where they make use of complementizer agreement (see note 10).

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