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The Quotative Complementizer Says "I'm too Baroque for *that*"

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Abstract

We build a composite picture of the quotative complementizer (QC) in Dravidian by examining its role in various left-peripheral phenomena – agreement shift, embedded questions; and its particular manifestation in various constructions like noun complement clauses, manner adverbials, rationale clauses, with naming verbs, small clauses, and non-finite embedding, among others. The QC we conclude is instantiated at the very edge of the clause it subordinates, outside the usual left periphery, comes with its own entourage of projections, and is the light verb say which does not extend its projection. It adjoins to the matrix spine at various heights (at the vP level it gets a θ-role, and thus argument properties) when it does extend its projection, and like a verb selects clauses of various sizes (CP, TP, small clause). We take the Telugu QC *ani* as illustrative, being more transparent in form to function mapping, but draw from the the QC properties of Malayalam, Kannada, Bangla, and Meiteilon too.

1 Introduction

Complementizers –conjunctions that play the role of identifying clauses as complements –are known to have quite varied lexical sources (Bayer 1999). In this paper we examine in detail the polyfunctional quotative complementizer (QC) in Dravidian languages by looking at its particular manifestation in various constructions like noun complement clauses, manner adverbials, rationale clauses, naming/designation clauses, small clauses, non-finite embedding. We also look to two left-peripheral phenomena for explicating the syntax and semantics of the QC –Quasi Subordination, and Monstrous Agreement.

We find that the QC retains a lot of what it inherits from its lexical source, the verb 'say', and can unfurl a vP, an extended projection at F0, without any argument structure projections under it. It can take some rudimentary structure at the IP level, extending its projection to F1. But most importantly, it can also project another C-layer, extending its projection to F2, and therefore can embed its own C-level projections, Force, Evidence, Allocution, etc. It is into the C-domain of this QC structure that the relative complementizers *-a* and *-ee* in Dravidian can be located. We also find that the QC, located outside the usual left periphery of the clause that it subordinates (Jayaseelan 2014), comes with its own set of projections, that it inherits from its ancestor, the verb *say*. It adjoins to the matrix spine at various places –vP, IP, CP. Licensing agreement shift and unfurling of the vP shell both reflect the verbal origins of the QC.

To explain agreement shift with the QC we appeal to perspective centers in Syntax (Sundaresan 2012, Charnavel 2017), that have had good success in accounting for the characteristic distribution and properties of anaphors that are perspectival or exempt —binding by the special pro-form (pro_{LOG}) in the Spec of the Perspectival or Logophoric Phrase (LogP), located inside the Spell-Out domain of the phase makes exempt anaphora 'unexempt' and at the same time explains their dual nature as pronouns from outside the phase and as anaphors from inside the phase. We propose another location for LogPs, at the phase edge (of CP), that binds pronouns and logophors. We find this meets good success in explaining the distribution and properties of pronouns and logophors, that arise as a result of the LogP, in general and Dravidian in particular.

We paint our picture mostly using the Telugu QC *ani*, as it is very illustrative (being more transparent in form to function mapping), but also draw from QC properties of Malayalam, Kannada, Bangla, and Meiteilon.

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2 The QC in various guises

2.1 The QC + Relativizer in Dravidian

We find an intriguing pairing of the QC and the relativizer (REL) in Dravidian (Jayaseelan 2014), in so called Noun Complement Clauses –unlike the Eastern Indo-Aryan group (Bangla, Assamese, Oriya), which have a QC but not a REL:

(1) john wannu enn-a waartta MALAYALAM
John came Qc-REL news
'The news that John came'

(2) rao raaDu ann{-a / -ee} viSayam TELUGU
Rao come-not Qc-REL.PST / -REL.NON.PST matter
'The matter that Rao will not come'

(3) john wannu-oo enn-a coodyam MALAYALAM
John came-Q_{poo} Qc-REL question
'The question whether John came'

The QC is at the leftmost edge of the complement, past even the Q-particle in CP (3) (Jayaseelan 2017). So where does the REL fit in? Where in the left periphery are the question particle, the QC and REL accommodated? These are the questions that we begin with.

We propose that this is where we see the baroque QC unfurling its extended projection (Grimshaw 2005) to F2, the CP.

(4) coodyam [$_{CP}$ -a [$_{VP}$ enn [$_{CP}$ -oo [$_{IP}$ John wannu]]]]

The REL *-a* is in the C domain of the clause projected by the QC *ennə*. The Q-particle *-oo* is in the C domain of the object complement of *ennə*, a CP clause. **There are two separate C domains here**.

This nifty trick of the QC is also evident in other C-domain morphemes pairing with the QC, like the –conditional *-Tee*, and the –concessive *-aa*[2]:

(5) rao vaccaaDu an-Tee ... TELUGU
Rao came Qc-COND
'If Rao comes...'

(6) rao vaccaaDu an-naa ... TELUGU
Rao came Qc-CONC
'Even if Rao comes...'

Finally, how the noun and its complement get together is another matter which we won't get into here, except to sketchily say that this starts of as a equative copular structure –[vishayam] [Ravi raaDu ani] – out of which extraction takes place leaving a gap and the relativizer in the left periphery to yield the sentence in (2) *Ravi raaDu ann-a vishayam*. The structure for the the sentence in (1) would thus be:

(7) coodyam [$_{CP}$ -a [$_{VP}$ enn [$_{SC}$ [$_{DP}$ ____] [$_{CP}$ John wannu]]]]

[2]The QC pairing with the conditional *-Tee* and the concessive *-naa* is also found in comparatives:

(1) idi daani-ki an-Tee / an-naa pedda
this that-DAT QC-COND / QC-NAA big
'This is bigger than that.'

2.2 QC in manner adverbials

The QC also shows up in onomatopoeic adverbials:

(8) 'Dhap!' ennə viinu. MALAYALAM
Qc fell
'(It) fell with a thud.'

ennə displays its verbal quotative nature here and takes anything that can be 'said' as its complement, though the verbal root *enr* 'say', of which *ennə* is the perfective form, itself is obsolete in Malayalam (Jayaseelan 2014). The manner adverbial we propose is adjoined to the matrix clause at the level of the VP:

(9) $[_{VP}\ [_{VP}$ viinu...] $[_{VP}$ ennə $[_{quot}$ Dhap!]]]

Telugu data is particularly instructive here, as it can show progressive marking on the manner adverbial QC:

(10) 'grr' an-i aagindi TELUGU
Qc-PERF stopped
'(it) stopped with a 'grr'.'

(11) 'grr' an-Tuu aagindi TELUGU
Qc-PROG stopped
'(it) stopped with a 'grr'.'

This tells us that the QC this time extending its projection to F1, TP (Grimshaw 2005), and the adverbial is attached to the matrix spine again by adjunction:

(12) $[_{VP}\ [_{VP}$ aagindi ...] $[_{IP}$ -Tuu $[_{VP}$ an $[_{quot}$ grr!]]]]

2.3 QC in Naming Constructions

The 'naming' structure is also a noun complement construction, with just a nominal as the complement of the noun:

(13) kaakka enn-a waakkə MALAYALAM
crow Qc-REL word
'The word 'crow".

(14) ravi an-ee vyakti TELUGU
Ravi Qc-REL.NON.PST person
'A person called Ravi'.

We analyze these as starting of as small clauses out of which the noun is extracted leaving a gap for the relativizer to fill:

(15) waakkə $[_{CP}$ a $[_{VP}$ enn $[_{SC}$ ___ kaakka]

In a designation/naming ECM structure, the QC subordinate clause, a small clause (SC) headed by the QC, attaches to the matrix again without unfurling any further, i.e. a VP-level adjunction:

(16) dii(n)-ni Charminar ani pilustaamu TELUGU
this-ACC Charminar Qc call-3PL
We call this 'Charminar'.

The SC embedding interestingly gets translated in some Indian Englishes as *We call this **as** Charminar*, because in English it is *as* that is the small clause complementizer. Moulton (2015) also notes parallel patterns between ECM structures in English and QC clauses in Bangla.

2.4 QC in 'embedded' clauses

The QC can, of course, take a finite clause as its complement, normal 'embedding':

(17) joby suzi wannu ennə paRaññu MALAYALAM
Joby Suzy came Qc said
'Joby said that Suzi came'.

(18) rao uma vaccindi ani naaku ceppeeDu TELUGU
Rao Uma came Qc I-DAT tell
'Rao told me that Uma came'.

The QC is not in the C-domain of its complement clause, but outside it. Here the QC stays a VP, and doesn't unfurl or project any extended projections. It then attaches to the matrix spine as VP adjunction. Clausal embedding with the QC is thus adjunction to the matrix verb.

The nominal QUOTE hosted in the SPEC of QUOTEP under V_{ani}P, (19), is what we propose receives the object θ-role from the matrix verb:

(19) ...[$_{QuotP}$ [QUOTE [± DIRECT] [...

The QC stays a VP or projects a vP. It then attaches to the matrix spine as vP or VP adjunction. It if attaches as VP adjunction, wh-phrases in the QC embedded clause take narrow scope, and if it attaches to the vP, they take wide scope (Kidwai 2014). In Telugu and Bangla, they take wide scope, suggesting they are vP adjoined. In Kannada they can take narrow or wide scope (Amritavalli 2013) indicating VP and vP adjunctions respectively. In both cases it is the nominal QUOTE hosted in the SPEC of QUOTEP under V_{ani}P that receives the object θ-role from the matrix verb

2.5 QC and non-finite complement clauses

Besides a full CP, the QC can also embed non-finite clauses, infinitives and small clauses:

(20) rao-ni cadava(m)-ani ceppeenu TELUGU
Rao-ACC read.INF-Qc told
'(I) told Rao to read.'

(21) rao katti ani telusu TELUGU
Rao knife Qc know
'(I) know that Rao is sharp.'

2.6 The QC and its ancestor

The QC *ani* in Telugu can be dropped under the verb it originates from, *anu* 'say'. It is the only verb (along with *anu-koo* 'think' & *ani-pinc* 'feel', both from *anu*) that allows *ani*-drop:

(22) rao uma vaccindi (ani) ann-aaDu TELUGU
Rao Uma came Qc said-3MS
'Rao said that Uma came'.

(23) rao uma vaccindi (ani) anu-kun-(n)aaDu TELUGU
Rao Uma came Qc said-REFLX-3MS
'Rao thought that Uma came'.

(24) rao-ki uma vaccindi (ani) ani-(p)inc-indi TELUGU
Rao-DAT Uma came Qc said–CAUS-3s
'Rao felt that Uma came'.

This we attribute to the verb *anu* having the same features as *ani*, being its 'precursor', and thus can fully take over its role.

2.7 The QC and the Evidential

The QC, the very bleached reportative (without argument structure), takes a nominalizer *-Ta* and forms the reportative evidential (EVID) in Telugu:

(25) tinnaa-Du an-Ta TELUGU
ate-3MSG say-NMLZ
'Apparently, he ate.'

The EVID can co-occur with the QC:

(26) Tea taagutaaDu ani anTa TELUGU
tea drink-will Qc EVID
'(He) says that he will drink tea.'

This pattern is common in Meiteilon too (Kidwai 2014):

(27) ma ca thək-kəni háynə háybə ni MEITEILON
he tea drink QC_1 QC_2 BE
'He says that he would drink tea'

We analyze these as adjunctions of the QC high-up in the left periphery of the matrix clause.

2.8 The QC and Topic Marker

The QC, the SAY-shell, also takes the conditional *-Tee*, and the reflexive middle *-kun*, at F2 and F1 respectively, to form topic markers:

(28) rao anu-koo/an-Tee eemii tinaDu TELUGU
Rao Qc-RFLX/Qc-COND what eat-not
'As for Rao, he doesn't eat anything.'

This is CP adjunction of the QC phrase, at TOPP into the matrix spine. It can also compose with a distal determiner *aTlu*:

(29) uma pustakam cadivindi-ann-aTLu rao ceppeeDu TELUGU
Uma book read-Qc-DIST.DET Rao said
'Uma read the book, says Rao.'

Similar patterns occur in Meiteilon (Kidwai 2014):

(30) Sita-nə lairik-tu pa-re-háybədu Ram-nə hay MEITEILON
Sita-AGN book-DEF read-PERF-DIST.DET Ram say
'He says that he would drink tea'

3 The QC in Quasi-Subordination

Dayal & Grimshaw (2009) define Quasi-Subordination (QS) as conditions where a subordinate clause participates dynamically in discourse, like a main clause. A case of QS is seen in embedded clauses in both Kannada (Amritavalli 2013) & Telugu, when a question particle, *-aa*, normally only seen in matrix clauses, surfaces in non-quotative contexts (no indexical shift), with a re-performance of the speech act kind of intonation:

(31) rao neenu tinnaan-oo aDigeeDu TELUGU
Rao I ate-Q$_{poo}$ asked
'Rao asked if I ate.'

(32) rao neenu tinnaan-aa ani aDigeeDu TELUGU
Rao I ate-Q$_{paa}$ Qc asked
'Rao asked if I ate.'

Another case is the 'wondering' interpretation of the question particle *-oo* usually reserved for its matrix appearences that is possible in embedded clauses, again with a quasi-quotational intonation, with the QC:

(33) evaru vacceer-oo TELUGU
who came-Q$_{poo}$
'I wonder who came.'

(34) evaru vacceer-oo aDigeenu TELUGU
who came-Q$_{poo}$ asked
'I asked who came.'

(35) evaru vacceer-oo ani aDigeenu TELUGU
who came-Q$_{poo}$ Qc asked
'I wondered who came.'

These phenomena, we propose, diagnose an embedded Speech Act Phrase (SAP). It is the SA operators and phrases in the embedded clause (in line with Krifka 2012), that play an active role in interpreting and licensing of the question particles in these contexts, and are responsible for Dayal & Grimshaw's QS effects. The interpretation differs depending on the QC's presence or absence. We propose that the QC selects the SAP in the left-periphery, and the presence of a SAP in an embedded clause is tied to the QC.

4 The QC in Monstrous Agreement

Some South Asian languages like Telugu, Tamil, and Assamese (Rajkhowa, this volume), exhibit a phenomenon dubbed 'shifty agreement' or 'monstrous agreement', because a 3rd person context is triggering 1st person agreement:

(36) Ravi vaaDu ettu unnaa-**nu** anukunnaa-Du TELUGU
Ravi he height be-**1s** thought-3MS
'Ravi$_{dese}$ thought that he$_{dese}$ is tall.'

(37) Ravi taan jey-pp-**een**-nnu sonn-aan TAMIL
Ravi SE-NOM win-FUT-**1s**-that said-3MS (Sundaresan 2012)
'Ravi$_{dese}$ said that he$_{dese}$ will win.'

In all the three sentences above, the ascription must be read unambiguously *de se*. Why can't we analyze them as quotation (full or partial/mixed)? Because grammatical dependencies cannot cross quotation marks, whereas in monstrous agreement they do. Negation in matrix clause can license NPI in embedded clause with monstrous agreement:

(38) a. *What$_i$ did Ravi say "I ate t$_i$"?
b. *Ravi didn't say "I ate anything."

(39) Ravi eem-ii tinnaa-nu ani ana-leedu TELUGU
Ravi what-VV ate-**1S** that said-NEG
'Ravi didn't say that he ate anything.'

Wh-word moves from embedded clause with monstrous agreement to take matrix scope:

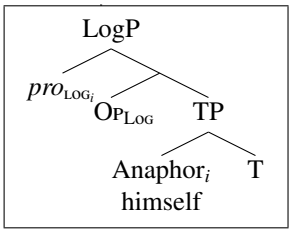
(40) Ravi eemi tinnaa-nu annaa-Du? TELUGU
Ravi what ate-**1S** said-3MS
'What did Ravi$_{dese}$ say that he$_{dese}$ ate?'

Which verbs allow monstrous agreement? Sundaresan (2012) notes that monstrous agreement, like Indexical Shift, shows an implicational hierarchy of which verbs it can embed under. In Tamil it is fully grammatical under 'say', less so under 'think', least so under 'discover'. In Telugu it is fully grammatical under 'say', 'think'; less so under 'discover', 'know'. Both Monstrous Agreement and Indexical Shift languages exhibit the implicational hierarchy of selectional variation:

(41) SPEECH ≪ THOUGHT ≪ KNOWLEDGE

We analyze monstrous agreement as logophoric agreement, via a logophoric operator in the left-periphery. We expand the LogP mechanism of Charnavel (2017) for this and tie this LogP system to Logophoric agreement that shows up as [1P] agreement –first person logophoricity (Culy 1994, Curnow 2002). Perspectival or Logophoric phrases (LogP) active in syntactic trees account for anaphors that are perspectival or exempt (Sundaresan 2012, Charnavel 2017). Binding by the special pro-form (pro_{LOG}) in the SPEC of LogP, located in the spell-out domain makes exempt anaphora 'unexempt' and also explains their dual nature as pronouns from outside the phase and as anaphors from inside the phase. We propose another location where LogPs are instantiated, **at the phase edge (of CP)**, that binds pronouns and logophors:

(42)



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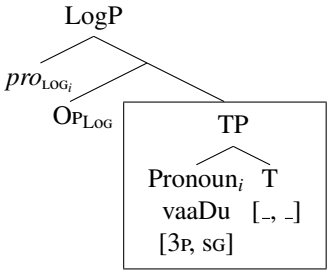
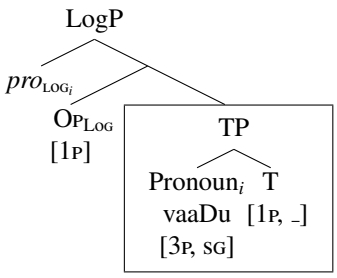
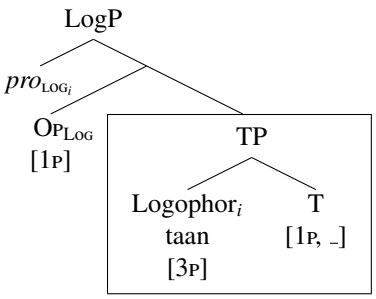


The OP head of the LogP outside the spell-out domain of CP has a [1P] feature that it transfers to T via C-to-T transfer. When C-to-T transfer happens, the AGENT θ-role gets transferred from T to OP_{LOG}, which then assigns it to pro_{LOG}. So only agent pronouns can co-refer with pro_{LOG}, non-agents cannot. The pronoun in SPEC of TP when it co-refers with the pro_{LOG} in the SPEC of LogP triggers the C-to-T transfer of [1P] that shows up as verbal agreement, monstrous agreement:

(44) Telugu:



(45) Tamil:



This [1P] is not on any indexical, thus not interpreted as AUTHOR. Any [1P] indexical is interpreted unshifted. The clause gets presented from the first-personal perspective of whoever binds pro_{LOG} and activates OP_{LOG} (as in Charnavel 2017, Sundaresan 2017):

(46) $[\![\text{OP}_{\text{LOG}}\ \alpha]\!]^{c,i,g} = \lambda$x: α is presented from x's first-personal perspective.α

This will be the subject of the clause, because of the AGENT restriction, and pro_{LOG} and the subject pronoun co-refer. This works with both pronouns and logophors as shown in the above two trees, one for Telugu and the other for the Tamil logophor *taan*.

When there is no LOGP in the edge of the clause, there is no agreement shift, and normal pronominal agreement ensues. We tie the presence of LOGP to the QC by proposing that the entourage of projections that the QC (like its ancestor *ani*) comes with are the following:

(47) $[_{VP}\ ani[_{QuotP}[_{SAP}[_{\text{LOGP}}\ldots[_{CP}\ldots$

Monstrous agreement in rationale/causal clauses tells us that the QC brings a LOGP with it here too, and that it is not just attitude verbal contexts that show this pattern of agreement (cf. Messick 2016):

(48) rao paDDaa-nu ani raaleedu — TELUGU
Rao fell -1MSG that came-not
'Rao$_i$ didn't come since he$_{dese}$ fell.'

(49) rao paDDaa-Du ani raaleedu — TELUGU
Rao fell -3MSG that came-not
'Rao$_i$ didn't come since he$_{i/j}$ fell.'

In rationale clauses, the QC projects a CP, like in NCC. This then adjoins to the matrix CP. Since our LOGP mechanism is not tied to attitude verbs but to the left periphery of the QC, we are able to account for the monstrous agreement here too. Similarly we can account for monstrous agreement in contexts where the embedding verb is not attitudinal, since there is a QC that embeds a LOGP under it:

(50) Ravi vaaDu paDDaa-nu ani raasee-Du — TELUGU
Ravi he fell-**1s** that wrote-3MS
'Ravi$_{dese}$ wrote that he$_{dese}$ fell'

The implicational hierarchy of selectional variation, SPEECH ≪ THOUGHT ≪ KNOWLEDGE arises depending on where in the left periphery of a given language LOGP is merged —the lower it is merged the more predicates that can embed it. Independently we know that speech verbs have a larger left periphery than thought verbs which in turn embed a larger clause periphery than knowledge verbs.

Telugu pronouns nicely diagnose locations where LOGP is occurring outside the spellout domain —when the Telugu pronoun is anaphorised (the intuition behind Amritavalli 1984), i.e. it is obligatorily bound to the subject or perspectival antecedent, we know that there is a LOGP doing the binding, and that this LOGP is outside the spellout domain, because the pro-form being a pronoun, respects Principle-B.

4.1 The typology of *de se*

Our modifications now allow us to expand the scope of LOGP to handle other versions of *de se* —Indexical shift and Logophors. We propose the following three versions of the OP_{LOG} in LOGP: a) with [1P] or [LOG] features on it, that undergo C-to-T transfer when it is activated; b) with the AUTHOR context shifting monster, 🕵; and c) with neither. The first two can only be outside the spell-out domain of CP and the third within it. This gives rise to the typology of *de se* shown in the table in (56), with the syntactic structures for the Ewe sentence with the logophor (51), as opposed to the sentence with the pronoun (52), illustrated in (54). The structure for the indexical shift for the Amharic sentence in (53) is illustrated in (55) with the context shifting

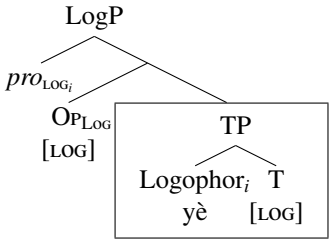
monster in LogP. But there is a caveat here: non-AUTHOR Indexical Shft is another system. Deal (2017) arrives at the generalisation that AUTHOR Indexical Shft is special in being always *de se*, based on a comprehensive survey of Indexical Shifting languages. Our implementation captures this, because it is a 👻 that always comes with the Op_{LOG} of LogP.

(51) Kofi be yè dzo — EWE logophoric pronoun *yè* — Pearson (2015)
Kofi say LOG leave
'Kofi$_i$ said that he$_{i/*j}$ left.'

(52) Kofi be e dzo — EWE plain pronoun *e*
Kofi say 3s leave
'Kofi$_i$ said that he$_{i/j}$ left.'

(53) John dzägna nä-ññ yil-all — AMHARIC — Schlenker (2003)
John hero Cop.Pres-**1s** says-3sm
'John$_i$ said that he$_i$ is a hero.'

(54)



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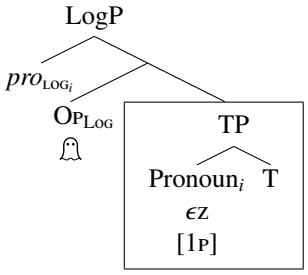


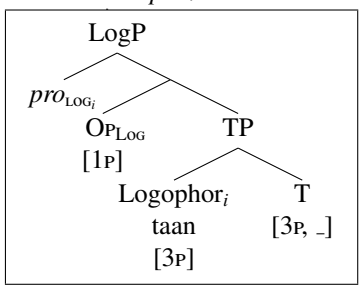
(56) *de se* typology based on where LogP is w.r.t spell-out domain, and type of Op

Language(s)	LogP	Op	Subject	Agreement	Indexical
(1) Telugu, Tamil *nii*	Outside	[1P]	Pronoun	Shifted	Unshifted
(2) Tamil *taan —de se*	Outside	[1P]	Logophor	Shifted	Unshifted
(3) Ewe, Abe *—de se*	Outside	[LOG]	Logophor	Logophoric	Unshifted
(4) Amharic, Zazaki	Outside	👻	Pronoun	Unshifted	Shifted
(5) English, Icelandic	Inside		Anaphor	Unshifted	Unshifted
(6) Tamil *taan —de re*	Inside	[1P]	Logophor	Unshifted	Unshifted
(7) Ewe, Abe *—de re*	Inside	[LOG]	Logophor	Logophoric	Unshifted

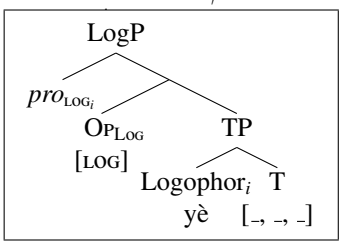
4.2 LogP inside Spell-out domain

The LogP inside the Spell-out domain can host an Op_{LOG} with [1P], or [LOG] features on it, as illustrated in (57) and (58) respectively. When it hosts the [1P] feature however, there can be no C-to-T transfer and the pronoun does not get an AGENT theta-role. Similarly, when it hosts the [LOG] feature, it cannot valuate the phi-features on T:

(57) No C-to-T & *pro*≠ AGENT

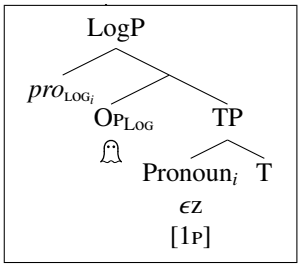


(58) NO VALUATION OF T'S ϕ



But the LOGP inside the spell-out domain cannot host the AUTHOR context shifting monster, 👻, because this would lead to a violation of Principle B, as the pronoun is not free within its binding domain:

(59) Violates PRINCIPLE B :



4.3 Monstrous agreement vs. Indexical Shift

There are no 👻s in the Telugu, Assamese, or Tamil left-periphery. Indexicals never shift. Indexical Shift only happens, and must happen, when there is a 👻 in Op_{Log}:

(60) Ravi neenu eemi tinnaa-nu annaa-Du? TELUGU
Ravi **I** what ate-**1s** said-3MS
'What did Ravi say that I ate?'

(61) Hesen va ke ez dewletia ZAZAKI Anand & Nevins (2004)
Hesen.OBL said that I rich.Be-PRES
'Hesen$_j$ said that he$_j$ is rich.'

The LOGP can be situated anywhere, even in higher clauses, for Indexical Shift. But in monstrous agreement, there has to be locality for the transfer of [1P] features (or [LOG] features in general) from LOGP onto T. The blocking effects of Malayalam *taan* are telling here, because what counts is not c-command between blocker and logophor but intervening TP with non-matching features (Jayaseelan 1998), thus providing additional evidence for a C-to-T transfer from LOGP-head to TP-head. Thus C-to-T transfer is the right way to think about it, than agreement. Logophoric Complementizer agreement (Baker 2008) is another clue in the direction that $Op_{[LOG]}$ comes with person features that it transfers down the C-spine to the T-head, when activated.

Otherwise, both monstrous agreement and Indexical Shift languages have a LOGP in the left periphery, and thus exhibit the implicational hierarchy of selectional variation, SPEECH ≪ THOUGHT ≪ KNOWLEDGE depending on where in the left periphery of a given language LOGP is merged —the lower it is merged the more predicates that can embed it.

4.4 Monstrous agreement with pronouns vs. logophors

For the Telugu pronouns and Tamil *nii*, when there is LogP in the left periphery, monstrous agreement appears, and a *de se* reading, triggered by [1P]-OP_{LOG}. Otherwise, there is normal pronominal agreement, when there is no LogP. But Tamil *taan* is a [3P] logophor, marked [+LOG]. It always requires binding by the pro_{LOG} in LogP. So how can it not trigger [1P] agreement and a *de se* interpretation in a sentence like (62)?

(62) Raman taan tann-ae paar-tt-aan-nnu nenae-cc-aan TAMIL Sundaresan (2017)
Raman ANAP ANAP-Acc see-PST-3MSG-COMP think-PST-3MSG
'Raman$_i$ thought that he$_{i/*j}$ saw himself$_{i/*j}$.'

Pure logophors, like Tamil *taan*, and those of Ewe & Abe, don't have a Principle A/B component to them (unlike those Anaphors and Pronouns which can be [+LOG]). LogP can be merged within the spell-out domain of C and license them. But now [1P]-OP_{LOG} cannot do C-to-T transfer of [1P]. Thus agreement is with the [3P] on *taan* itself, no monstrous agreement. Nor does pro_{LOG} get the AGENT θ role. So this position also licenses all non-agentive *taan*, like the object position in (62). Any size of clausal embedding can embed this position, so it is good with all matrix predicates.

5 Grammaticalization path of QCs

The retraction of the extended projection from F2 to F1 to F0 is the route of the grammaticalization (Chappell 2008) of the *verbum decendi* into a QC. The 1^{st} stage is as a CP adjunct, F2, like the English *John wrote, saying, he is busy.* The 2^{nd} stage is as a serial verb, where the QC adjoins to the TP, F1. The 3^{rd} is subordinating, as F0 VP adjunction, under speech & thought verbs, which call for a SAP. The 4^{th} and final stage is embedding under a larger set of matrix verbs.

Bangla does not still allow the QC *bole* to subordinate strong factives (Kidwai 2014), whereas the Dravidian QC does. This means strong factives are lexically marked in Bangla to not embed a SAP, a clause that has an illocutionary force. This fits in with the implicational hierarchy of verb classes (Chappell 2008) taking the QC, SPEECH $\prec$ COGNITION $\prec$ PSYCH $\prec$ FACTIVES. This hierarchy reflects the amenability of the verb classes based on their semantics to illocutionary force and the SAP. When the lexicon allows more verb classes to take SAPs, QCs can too. Thus the route of grammaticalization of the QC is from quotative to serial verb to embedding under some attitude verbs to embedding under more attitude verbs.

6 Conclusion

The QC never stopped being a verb: The QC is instantiated outside the usual left periphery of the clause that it subordinates (Jayaseelan 2014). It comes with its own entourage of projections, and is the light verb SAY which does not extend its projection (Kidwai 2014). It adjoins to the matrix spine at various places –vP, IP, CP. When it does extend its projection, it accommodates IP and CP level affixes. To equate the QC with the complementizer *that* is akin to equating the queen on the chessboard to a pawn. It is the REL *-a* in Dravidian that is parallel to the complementizer *that* in English. It too, like *that*, is derived from the demonstrative *-aa*, (Jayaseelan 2014). Finally, to account for monstrous agreement we propose a perspectival system not tied to attitude verbs, and can work with pronouns, that is tied to the QC (and its lexical antecedents). We then extend the LogP account of (Charnavel 2017) for exempt anaphors in several crucial ways, which then not only accounts for monstrous agreement in Telugu and Tamil but also brings other *de se* expressing devices like indexical shift, logophors, and exempt anaphors, under one umbrella.

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