

Notes on *-teki* Suffixation

Jun Yashima

1 Introduction

It has been observed that the Sino-Japanese suffix *-teki* ‘-like’ displays a variety of properties that are not immediately amenable to rules of word formation. To account for the peculiar selectional properties of this suffix, it has been proposed in the literature that *-teki* selects a quotation as the base for morphological derivation. The aim of this paper is to evaluate this proposal. In particular, I will discuss what the term ‘quotation’ in the quotation analysis is supposed to cover and show that depending on what exactly is meant by ‘quotation,’ the analysis may make the wrong predictions for a variety of phenomena that have not been discussed in the literature on *-teki* suffixation.

2 Morphological Properties of *-teki*

Let us first look at the morphological properties of *-teki*. This suffix is used to derive an adjectival noun, which behaves either as a predicate or as a noun modifier.

- (1) a. Kare-no hatugen-wa tyoohatu-teki-da.
 he-GEN remark-TOP provocation-like-COP
 ‘His remark is provocative.’

b. kare-no tyoohatu-teki-na hatugen
 he-GEN provocation-like-NM¹ remark
 ‘his provocative remark’

Another characteristic of the suffix *-teki* is that it is highly productive; not only can it combine with a Sino-Japanese base, it can also attach to a Western loanword to form an adjectival noun.

(2) a. bungaku-teki
 literature-like
 ‘literary’

b. terebi-teki
 television-like
 ‘TV-like’

The suffix *-teki* can also combine with a native base (e.g., *onna-teki* ‘woman-like’), in which case the resulting word sometimes has an informal or neologistic ring.

It is also possible for *-teki* to attach to a complex word or a compound, as shown below.

(3) a. hosyu-ha-teki
 conservatism-group-like
 ‘conservative-like’

b. barokku-ongaku-teki
 Baroque-music-like
 ‘Baroque-music-like’

In (3a), *-teki* is suffixed to a complex word which is composed of the Sino-Japanese

¹ The copula *da* is realized as *na* in prenominal position. For the purposes of this paper, it is safe to assume that *na* is a noun-modifier marker (glossed as NM).

root *hosyu* ‘conservatism’ and the Sino-Japanese suffix *ha* ‘group.’ In (3b), *-teki* is suffixed to a compound that is a combination of the Western loanword *barokku* ‘Baroque’ and the Sino-Japanese word *ongaku* ‘music.’

In addition to common nouns, *-teki* can attach to a proper name, as exemplified in (4).

- (4) Kare-wa Nikuson-teki-da.
 he-TOP Nixon-like-COP
 ‘He is Nixonian (Nixon-like).’

Furthermore, *-teki* can be suffixed to a pronoun in violation of the Inbound Anaphoric Island Constraint (Postal 1969), as in (5), where *-teki* is attached to the pronoun *boku* ‘I.’

- (5) boku-teki
 I-like
 ‘I for one’

The Inbound Anaphoric Island Constraint is supposed to rule out anaphoric reference out of words. Given this constraint, the fact that examples like (6) are consistently ruled out can be accounted for.

- (6) *McCarthy₁ was glad that him₁ites were in the majority in the room.

In (6), the pronoun *him* occurs inside a word, but since words are islands for anaphoric reference, *him* cannot take *McCarthy* as its antecedent.

More generally, the Inbound Anaphoric Island Constraint explains the fact that pronouns cannot participate in morphological derivation. The constraint is often taken as a manifestation of the *syntactic atomicity* or *lexical integrity* of words; that

is to say, syntactic operations cannot have access to the internal structure of words.² The question that arises, then, is why *-teki* suffixation is exempt from the constraint.

One might argue, following Sproat (1988), that the Inbound Anaphoric Island Constraint is reducible to the ban on phrases occurring as parts of words. According to Sproat, English pronouns such as *I*, *him*, and *you* are maximal projections (XPs) and thus cannot appear internally to words, namely, X⁰s. If we attempt to explain the absence of anaphoric island effects in *-teki*'s suffixation along the lines of Sproat's approach, the reason that *-teki* can be suffixed to a pronoun is attributed to the morphosyntactic category of Japanese pronouns. That is, if Japanese pronouns are nouns rather than NPs (or DPs), it is not surprising that they can participate in morphological derivation.

Such an analysis seems to receive independent support. In fact, it has been claimed in the literature that so-called pronouns in Japanese should be analyzed as common nouns (Kuroda 1965, see also Noguchi 1990). For instance, Kuroda (1965: 105) observes that what we call pronouns in Japanese can be modified by adjectives or relative clauses, unlike English personal pronouns.

- (7) a. *tiisai kare*
short he
'he, who is short'
- b. [_{RC} *kinoo Taroo-ga paatii-ni turetekita*] *kanozyo*
yesterday Taro-NOM party-to brought she
'she, who Taro brought to the party yesterday'

In addition, Japanese first- and second-person pronouns come in many varieties

² Simpson (1983) was among the first to advocate the idea that the Anaphoric Island Constraint follows from the lexical integrity principle. She assumes that pronominal coreference involves coindexing, and that coindexing is a syntactic process. While it is controversial whether coreference involves a syntactic process, it is generally agreed that variable binding requires a syntactic procedure. As we will see, *-teki*-derived words can contain a bound variable, which suggests that the internal structure of *-teki*-derived words is visible to syntactic operations.

(Kuroda 1965: 123) and most of them carry certain connotations. This suggests that they are open-class items just like common nouns.

However, even if Japanese pronouns are nouns and as such, smaller in size than English pronouns, the fact that *-teki* fails to obey the Anaphoric Island Constraint cannot be attributed to the size of Japanese pronouns. This is because *-teki* can be suffixed not only to pronouns but also to non-pronominal NPs, as shown below.

- (8) [goruhu-kai-no daiitinsya]-teki zinbutu
 golf-world-GEN leading.person-like person
 ‘a leading-golf-player-like person’ (Kageyama 1993: 326)

What this indicates is that the morphosyntactic makeup of Japanese pronouns is irrelevant to the absence of anaphoric island effects.

We have seen that *-teki* can attach not only to a wide variety of nominals (including proper names and pronouns) but also to noun phrases. It is worth noting here that this suffix can occur with many other types of expressions, as exemplified below (Yamashita 2000 and references therein; see also Kageyama 1993; Takahashi 2005; Nishiyama 2017).

- (9) a. [nikai-kara megusuri]-teki
 second.floor-from eye.drops-like
 ‘useless kind of’ (Takahashi 2005: 4)
 b. [kusai mono-ni huta]-teki
 stinky thing-to lid-like
 ‘sweep-under-the-carpet-like’ (Yamashita 2000: 57)

As noted by Takahashi (2005), examples like (9a-b) above involve lexicalized (idiomatic) expressions, and to that extent, it is reasonable to claim that *nikai-kara megusuri* ‘eye drops from the second floor (meaning ‘useless’)’ in (9a) and *kusai mono-ni huta* ‘place a lid on a stinky thing (meaning ‘sweep under the carpet’)’ in

(9b) constitute unanalyzable units.

However, the lexicalization analysis does not extend automatically to examples of the following sort.

- (10) a. [goruhu-kai-no daiitininsya]-teki zinbutu
golf-world-GEN leading.person-like person
'a leading-golf-player-like person' (Kageyama 1993: 326)
- b. [dare-ga bosu-da]-teki (na) taido
who-NOM boss-COP-like NM attitude
'a who's-the-boss-like attitude' (adapted from Nishiyama 2017: 150)

There is no compelling reason to believe that *goruhu-kai-no daiitininsya* 'a leading person in the golf world' in (10a) and *dare-ga bosu-da* 'who's the boss' in (10b) are lexicalized. This means that the phrases *-teki* can attach to are not restricted to lexicalized or idiomatic items.

Furthermore, *-teki* may also attach to a base that involves an interjection, an ending particle, or a politeness expression (Yamashita 2000).

- (11) a. [aa, zinsei kore-de ii-no-da]-teki
Ah, life this-PRT good-NMLZ-COP-like
'*Ah, life is OK the way it is-like*' (adapted from Yamashita 2000: 60)
- b. [ore-ga yaru-zo]-teki
I-NOM do-EMPH-like
'*I'll do it-like*'
- c. [watasi-ga yari-masu]-teki
I-NOM do-PLT-like
'*I'll do it-like*'

These observations led Yamashita (2000) to propose a quotation analysis, according to which the base *-teki* attaches to is a quoted expression. On this view, words

derived with the suffix *-teki* have a structure like “...”-*teki* where “...” is a quoted item.

The quotation analysis provides a rationale for why *-teki* can be suffixed to a wide variety of categories, including what appear to be whole utterances, as in (11a-c). This is precisely because any linguistic expression (and possibly nonlinguistic sounds, gestures, and the like) can be quoted, which in turn means that any quotable material can serve as the base for *-teki* suffixation.

In what follows, I will discuss what is supposed to be meant by ‘quotation’ under the quotation approach. This is not a trivial matter because, as will be shown, depending on what exactly is meant by ‘quotation,’ the quotation analysis will make completely different empirical predictions.

3 Analysis

3.1 Two Types of Quotation

Before we proceed, let us remind ourselves that quotation comes in (at least) two varieties. As is well known, direct quotation is not the only way of quoting someone else’s words. Another common way of quoting is by indirect (or reported) speech.³ The two types of quotation are exemplified below.

- (12) a. John said, “Bill should win.”
 b. John said that Bill should win.

The direct-quotation sentence in (12a) indicates that the words “Bill should win” were actually uttered by John. The indirect-quotation sentence in (12b) likewise reports what John said, but it is possible that John did not actually utter any of those words.

It has been claimed in the literature (Kageyama 1993: 328; Wiese 1996;

³ Other types of quotation include so-called pure and mixed quotation. See Cappelen and Lepore (2007) for details.

Yamashita 2000; Ackema and Neeleman 2003: 99) that quotations participate in word formation, but such a claim has often been made without taking into account the distinction between direct and indirect quotation. The word ‘quotation’ is normally used to refer to direct quotation unless otherwise stated, but as we will see shortly, the direct vs. indirect distinction is crucial in the analysis of *-teki* suffixation because the two types of quotation behave rather differently in some relevant respects, and the quotation analysis may make completely different empirical predictions depending on what is meant by ‘quotation.’ With this much in mind, let us investigate how we can adequately account for the full range of properties of *-teki* while retaining the core idea of the quotation analysis.

3.2 Binding

Recall that words derived with *-teki* fail to show inbound anaphoric island effects.

- (13) Sono-kotae-wa totemo kanozyo-teki-da.
 that-answer-TOP very she-like-COP
 ‘That answer is quite typical of her.’

It is worth noting here that violations of the Inbound Anaphoric Island Constraint are not restricted to instances of coreference (as opposed to variable binding); anaphoric island effects fail to show up even when a pronoun embedded in a *-teki*-derived word functions as a bound variable.

- (14) Taroo-wa [zibun-ga bosu-da]-teki-na taido-o totta.
 Taro-TOP self-NOM boss-COP-like-NM attitude-ACC took
 ‘Taro took an *I’m the boss*-like attitude.’

The reflexive pronoun *zibun* does not have reference and can only be interpreted as a bound variable, which means that the anaphoric relation between *Taroo* and *zibun* in (14) is that of binding and not of coreference. Nevertheless, the sentence is well

formed.

If we assume that *-teki* selects a direct quotation as the base for derivation, it must be claimed that the pronoun is bound by an antecedent outside of the quotation. However, this runs counter to the widely accepted view that unlike indirect speech, direct quotation creates a domain opaque to anaphoric binding. Consider the following pair of sentences.

- (15) a. Every woman said, “Her husband should win.”
 b. Every woman said that her husband should win.

In (15a), the pronoun *her*, which resides in the direct quotation, cannot be bound by the matrix subject *every woman* so that the sentence cannot mean that for every *x*, *x* a woman, *x* said *x*'s husband should win. The only possible interpretation for the pronoun *her* in (15a) is such that it refers to some female individual whose reference is understood in the context. This contrasts sharply with the indirect-speech sentence in (15b), where *her* can be interpreted as a variable bound by *every woman*. This means that depending on which type of quotation is assumed, we will be led to opposite predictions about anaphoric island effects. Thus, for the quotation analysis to be tenable, it must be claimed that the base to which *-teki* attaches can be an indirect quotation; otherwise, sentences like (14) would be ruled out as ungrammatical, contrary to fact.

3.3 Movement

The importance of the distinction between direct and indirect quotation in the analysis of *-teki* suffixation is also manifested by the fact that it is possible to move a constituent out of what is treated as a quotation in the analysis under discussion. Consider the following pair of sentences.

- (16) a. Taroo-wa [isya-ni nari-tai]-teki na hatugen-o sita.
 Taro-TOP doctor-PRT become-want.to-like NM remark-ACC did
 ‘Taro made an *I want to become a doctor*-like remark.’
- b. Isya-ni_i Taroo-wa [_i nari-tai]-teki na hatugen-o sita.
 doctor-PRTTaroo-TOP become-want.to-like NM remark-ACC did
 (Lit.) ‘*A doctor*, Taro made an *I want to become*-like remark.’

In (16a), *-teki* attaches to the phrase *isya-ni nari-tai* ‘(I) want to become a doctor,’ which has so far been referred to simply as a quotation. In (16b), on the other hand, *isya-ni* ‘a doctor’ has been scrambled out of the quotation, and the sentence is perfectly grammatical. Notice that the well-formedness of (16b) is unexpected if what is meant by ‘quotation’ in the quotation account is direct quotation; for it is empirically well established that direct quotations are not only opaque to anaphoric binding but also constitute islands for movement. Thus, in order to accommodate sentences like (16b) under the quotation approach, it is necessary to argue that *-teki* can attach to an indirect quotation.

3.4 Wh-Dependency

Finally, let us observe that it is possible to form a wh-dependency between a *wh*-phrase inside the quotation and a question particle outside of it. Consider the following pair of sentences.

- (17) a. Taroo-wa [Hanako-ga sore-o yatta]-teki na kao-o sita.
 Taro-TOP Hanako-NOM it-ACC did-like NM face-ACC did
 ‘Taro gave a *Hanako did it*-like look.’
- b. Taroo-wa [Hanako-ga nani-o yatta]-teki na kao-o sita-no?
 Taro-TOP Hanako-NOM what-ACC did-like NM face-ACC did-Q
 (Lit.) ‘What did Taro give a *Hanako did*-like look?’

In (17a), *-teki* attaches to the full clause *Hanako-ga sore-o yatta*, which is analyzed

as a quotation in the quotation account. The sentence in (17b) shows that a wh-phrase embedded within the quotation can be licensed by the matrix question particle *no* so that the whole sentence is interpreted as a question asking about the thing that was done by Hanako. Given that *-teki* selects a quotation as the base for morphological derivation and given that it is impossible to form a wh-dependency across the boundary of direct quotation, it follows that the base for *-teki* suffixation in (17b) is an indirect quotation.

It is important to note that this is not to deny the possibility of *-teki* attaching to a direct quotation. Indeed, there are cases where *-teki* combines with a directly quoted expression, as exemplified below. (The shared index on *Taroo* and *ore* indicates that they have the same referent.)

- (18) Taroo_i-wa [ore_i-ga sore-o yatta]-teki na kao-o sita.
 Taro-TOP I-NOM it-ACC did-like NM face-ACC did
 ‘Taro gave an *I did it*-like look.’

In (18), the first-person pronoun *ore* ‘I’ can be interpreted as referring to Taro. This suggests that *-teki* can attach to a direct quotation; for if the pronoun *ore* in (18) is part of an indirect quotation, it should refer to the speaker of the utterance. What is important here is that when *-teki* attaches to a direct quotation, it becomes impossible for a wh-phrase inside the quotation to be licensed by a question particle across the boundary of the quotation.

- (19) Taroo_i-wa [ore_i-ga nani-o yatta]-teki na kao-o sita-no?
 Taro-TOP I-NOM what-ACC did-like NM face-ACC did-Q

The sentence in (19) is acceptable as a yes-no question that involves a directly quoted wh-question with the suffix *-teki* (meaning ‘Did Taro give a *What did I do?*-like look?’), but crucially, the whole sentence cannot be interpreted as a wh-question asking about the thing that was done by Taro as long as the first-person

pronoun *ore* is interpreted as referring to Taro.

The observations so far suggest that the suffix *-teki* can attach to either a direct or an indirect quotation. If this analysis is on the right track, it is predicted that if the first-person pronoun *ore* in (19) is interpreted as referring to the speaker of the utterance rather than Taro, the whole sentence can be interpreted as a wh-question. This prediction is in fact borne out. (Notice that *Taroo* and *ore* do not refer to the same person here.)

- (20) Taroo-wa [ore-ga nani-o yatta]-teki na kao-o sita-no?
Taro-TOP I-NOM what-ACC did-like NM face-ACC did-Q
(Lit.) ‘What did Taro give an *I did*-like look?’

The sentence in (20) is acceptable as a wh-question asking about the thing that was done by the speaker of the utterance. The availability of this interpretation cannot be predicted in the quotation analysis without assuming that *-teki* can select not only a direct quotation but also an indirect quotation as the base for derivation.

4 Concluding Remarks

This paper evaluated the proposal that the Sino-Japanese suffix *-teki* selects a quotation as the base for morphological derivation. The quotation analysis can correctly capture the fact that *-teki* can be suffixed to virtually any kind of expression. However, I have shown that if the term ‘quotation’ here is used in its most commonly understood sense (that is, if it is used to refer to direct quotation), the analysis makes the wrong predictions for a number of phenomena that have not been discussed in the literature on *-teki* suffixation. In order for the quotation analysis to fully explain the properties of *-teki*, it is therefore important to note that *-teki* can attach to either a direct or an indirect quotation.

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