

Bjarke Frellesvig
University of Oxford
& University of Oslo
bjarke.frellesvig@orinst.ox.ac.uk

John Whitman
Cornell University
& University of Tokyo
jbw2@cornell.edu

Prenominal Complementizers and the Derivation of Complex NPs in Japanese and Korean

1. Introduction

- (1) [gohan tabe-teru **no** butasan] (Nagisa 3;2, Murasugi 1991: 14)
meal eating-is NO piggie
'the piggie that is eating dinner'
- (2) [Acessi otopai thanun **ke** soli] ya. (Polam 2;3, Kim 1987: 20)
man motorbike ride KES sound is
'It's the sound of a man riding a motorbike'
- (3) [pukukaze no miye-nu **ga** gotoku] (*Man'yōshū* 15.3625)
blow wind NO visible-not GA like
'like not seeing the blowing wind'
- (4) [wagimokwo ni mise-mu **ga** tame] ni (*Man'yōshū* 19.4222)
my.beloved to show-CONJ GA sake COP
'in order to show (*pro* = colored leaves) to my beloved'
- (5) [Ti no tunagatta oya o omou **no** kookoo] to wa tigatte iru.
blood GEN linked parent ACC think NO filial.pietty with TOP differing is
'It differs from the filial pietty where one thinks of a parent with whom is linked by blood.' (Soga & Fujimura 1978: 41)
- (6) [kanarazu katu **no** sinnen]
definitely win NO conviction
'the conviction that one will definitely win'
(Soga & Fujimura 1978: 41)
- (7) Prehead complex NP structures containing a complementizer are permitted only when the prenominal clause does not contain a gap coreferent with the head.

2. The pattern [S Comp NP] in earlier Japanese

EMJ

- (8) [kabakari no yononaka o omowi-sute-mu **no** kokoro]
this COP.ADN world ACC think-discard- CONJ.ADN NO intention
'The intention of abandoning this world' (*Genji monogatari*, c. 1000)

Early LMJ

- (9)[tokoro o omoi-sadame-zaru **ga** yue] ni
place ACC think-decide-NEG.ADN GA reason COP.INF
'Because I hadn't settled on a (permanent) place' (*Hôjôki*, 1212)

Late LMJ

- (10)[kuru o tanomu **no** karinotamadusa]
come ACC ask NO letter
'The letter asking me to come' (*Shingoshûi wakashû*, 1384)

(11)

- a. "yoxi" (*yosi*) 'manner, way', *aida* 'while', "yuye" (*yue*) 'reason', "tocoro" (*tokoro*) 'place'

- b. "xitagô no tocoroni"

[sitagô **no** tokoro ni]

follow.NONPAST NO place COP.INF

'When following' (*Arte da lingoa de Iapam*, 1604-8, p. 506)

- (12)[tatekome-taru tokoro no to]
close-STAT.ADN TOKORO NO door

'The door which had been closed' (*Taketori monogatari*, mid 10th century)

3. S Comp NP in contemporary Japanese

3.1 The data

- (14)[sekai o odorokasu **no** enzetu] (Soga & Fujimura 1978: 45)
world ACC surprise NO speech
'the speech that (reportedly) surprised the world'

- (15)[aisuru **no** amari] (Soga & Fujimura 1978: 41)
love NO excess
'(due to) an excess of loving'

- (16) Sugisi ikuta no kuutyuusen zyuudan unaru sono naka de
passed many GEN dogfight bullets growl that midst in

Kanarazu katu **no** sinnen to sina-ba tomo ni to danketu no
unfailingly win NO conviction and die-if together comp solidarity gen

Kokoro de nigiru soozyuukan
spirit with grip control stick

'Many dogfights gone by, in the midst of whining bullets, the control stick gripped with the conviction that we will unfailingly triumph and a spirit of unity where if we die, we die together'.

- (17) a. [hooninsu beki **no** kyooguu] to [kansyoosu beki **no** kyooguu]
 leave.alone should NO circumstances and interfere should NO circumstances
 ‘circumstances where one should leave things alone and circumstances where one should interfere’
- b. [tikyuumen ni seigi o taturu **no** mokuteki] o motte
 earth face on justice ACC establish NO purpose ACC holding
 ‘with the purpose of establishing justice on the face of the earth’
- c. [kono huzitu husin no kokumin ni taisuru **no** miti]
 this disloyal untrustworthy COP people toward NO way
 ‘the approach toward this disloyal and untrustworthy people’
- d. [tekketu o motte seigi o motomuru **no** miti]
 iron+blood ACC holding justice seek NO way
 ‘the way of seeking justice with blood and steel’
- e. [hito no seigi o akiraka ni suru **no** riyuu]
 people GEN righteousness ACC clear COP make NO reason
 ‘the reason that people make righteousness clear’
- f. Ima wa [Nihon ga sekai ni tukusu **no** toki] nari.
 Now TOP Japan NOM world for serve NO time is
 ‘Now is the time for Japan to put itself in the service of the world.’
- g. mosi [gaizin o azamuku **no** Sinazin no henheki no mottomo itizirusiki rei] o
 If foreigner ACC deceive NO Chinese GEN vice COP most prominent example ACC
 min to hose-ba
 see COMP want-if
 ‘if one wants to see the most conspicuous example of the Chinese proclivity for deceiving foreigners.’
- (18) a. ...[bunpoo to kagaku ni made uttaete ronkyuusuru **no** kati] ga aru ka.
 grammar and science to appeal examine NO value
 ‘Is there value in examining [these matters] by appealing to grammar and science?’
 (*Kuristo wa ikanaru imi ni oite banbutsu no tukurinusui naru ka (Seisho to kagaku Johane den 1.3 ‘In what sense is Christ the creator of all things?’ (The Bible and Science: John 1.3), 1909/07)*)
- b. Kare ni [inori o kiku **no** mimi] ga aru. [Megumi o hodokosu **no** te] ga aru.
 Him to prayer ACC hear NO ear NOM are blessings ACC bestow NO hand NOM are
 ‘He has ears to hear prayers. (He has) hands to bestow blessings with.’
Yujin tosite no kami ‘God as a friend’ (1906, published in Seisho no kenkyu 1909)
- c. [Yo ni koosai o motomuru **no** hituyoo] wa hitotu mo nai.
 World with intercourse ACC seek NO need TOP one even not.exist
 ‘There is no need at all to seek interaction with the world.’
Dokusin no shosan ‘In praise of solitude’ (published in Seisho no kenkyu 1909)

(19) a. ...seisan nooka ga sitekisita '[ume santi ga hattensuru **no** tame] no kadai'
producer farmer NOM brought.up plum orchard NOM develop NO sake GEN topic
'... "topics for the sake of the development of plum-producing areas" brought up by
producer farmers.'

http://www.pref.wakayama.lg.jp/prefg/070109/news/001/news100_5.html

b. Tookikan wa, [syokken ni yori tooki o zikoosuru **no** koto] ga
registrar.of.deeds TOP license based.onregistration ACC carry.out NO fact NOM

dekiru koto ni natte imasu ga...'
can.do fact COP becoming is but

'It is the case that registrars of deed are enabled on the basis of their professional
licenses to carry out registration, but...'

www.chosashi.or.jp/docs/whats.html

c. Watasitati wa kuraianto to no komyunikeesyon o toosite, [panhuretto o
we TOP client with GEN communication through pamphlet ACC

seisakusuru **no** mokuteki] o horisage, sono kinoo o saidaigen hakki
produce NO objective ACC dig.out that function ACC utmost bring.out

dekiru dezain o tukuriagemasu.

can design ACC create

'Through our communication with the client, we clarify the objectives for
producing the pamphlet, and create a design that optimally brings out its function'

www.evolution-design.jp

d. Hazimemasite, Baramama-san. FP zimusyo maneesumisu no Yosino desu.
Pleased.to.meet.you, Rosemama-Ms. FP office moneysmith COP Yoshino is

Mazu me o hiku no wa, Baramama-san no siboo hoken desu. Moo itido,
first eye ACC draw GEN TOP Rosemama-Ms. GEN death insurance is again once

[hoken ni kanyuusuru **no** mokuteki] o kangaemasyoo
insurance in join NO objective ACC lets.consider

'Pleased to meet you, Ms. Rosemama. This is Yoshino, moneysmith from the FP
office. What draws my attention first of all is your casualty insurance. Let's think
once more about your objective in taking out the insurance policy.'

www.profile.allabout.co.jp/ask/qa_detail.php/14589

e. ...[okyakusan no nayami ni saizensen de mukiai kaiketu suru **no** miti] o mezasu
customer GEN worries to front.line on address solve NO way ACC aim
'...(we) aim for an approach that addresses and solves customers' worries on the
front line'

www.job.mynavi.jp/10/pc/search/corp80026/employment.html

- f. [Toriwake ‘sizen sozai’ o kyootyoosuru **no** riyuu] wa koko ni arimasu.
 in.particular natural materials ACC insist.on NO reason TOP here in exists
 ‘In particular, here is the reason why we insist on “natural materials”.’
www.kenchiku-support.jp/reform.html

- (20) [‘zettai itibansuki na hito to kekkonsuru!’ **no** sengen]
 absolutelymost like COP person to marry NOdeclaration
 ‘the declaration that ‘I’ll marry the person I like best!’
www.blog.kekkon-j.com/kawaii/page/2006/10/post_8.html

3.2 The gapless complex NP restriction and the derivation of relative clauses

- (21) a. [sekai o odorokasu enzetu] (Soga & Fujimura 1978)
 world acc surprise speech
 ‘a/the speech that surprised the world’
- b. [sekai o odorokasu no enzetu] (Soga & Fujimura 1978) = (14)
 world acc surprise NO speech
 ‘the speech that (reportedly) surprised the world’
- (22) a. *[sore_i ga sekai o odorokasu enzetu_i]
 that NOM world ACC surprise speech
 ‘a/the speech that surprised the world’
- b. ??[sore_i ga sekai o odorokasu no enzetu_i]
 that NOM world ACC surprise NO speech
 ‘the speech that (reportedly) surprised the world’
- c. [sore_i ga sekai o odorokasu no enzetu_i]
 that NOM world ACC surprise NO speech
 ‘the speech where that surprised the world’
- d. [sono gensetu ga sekai o odorokasu no enzetu]
 that statement NOM world ACC surprise NO speech
 ‘the speech where that statement surprised the world’

- (25) Prehead complex NP structures containing a complementizer are permitted only when the prenominal clause does not contain a trace of the head.

- (26) [DP [CP [IP enzetu sekai o odorokasu]]] ->
 speech world ACC surprise

[DP [CP enzetu [IP t_{enzetu} sekai o odorokasu]]] ->
 speech world ACC surprise

[DP [IP t_{enzetu} sekai o odorokasu] [CP enzetu t_{IP}]]
 world ACC surprise speech

(27) [DP enzetu [CP [IP sore ga sekai o odorokasu] no]] ->
 speech that NOM world ACC surprise COMP

[DP [CP [IP sore ga sekai o odorokasu] no] enzetu]
 that NOM world ACC surprise COMP speech

4. Cross-linguistic Perspectives

4.1 [S particle NP] in earlier Korean

(28) 等 妙 音声
 [KWUKILA [TUNG=?ko]taho-n oy MYWO UMSENG]
 cuckoo resemble-ADN GEN strange voice
 ‘a strange voice of a sort that resembles the cuckoo’ (*Hwaôm-gyông* 18, 4-7; reading and translation based on Nam 2007: 2)

4.2 Chinese

(29) [nǐ mǎi de shū]
 you buy DE book
 ‘the book that you bought’

(30) [nǐ de shū]
 you DE book
 ‘your book’

(31) [DP de [CP [IP nǐ mǎi shū]]] ->
 DE you buy book

[DP de [CP shū [IP nǐ mǎi t_{shu}]]] ->
 DE book you buy

[DP [IP nǐ mǎi t_{shu}] de [CP shū t_{IP}]]
 you buy DE book

5. Conclusion

We have argued that complementizers in prehead complex NPs are licit exactly when the head has not been extracted from the modifying clause. This explains why patterns like (3-4) and (5-6) are restricted to gapless complex NPs. The apparent gap in examples like (14) is in fact a null resumptive, explaining why overt resumptives are marginally permitted in *no*-relatives like (22b).

(32) Prehead complex NP structures containing a complementizer are permitted only when the prenominal clause does not contain a trace of the head. (= 25)

The typological consequences of this conclusion are given in (32):

- (33) a. ‘Linker’-like morphemes between prehead clausal modifiers and the nominal head can be complementizers only when the head has not been extracted from the clause.
- b. Extraction (movement) occurs in prehead relatives, but only when the prehead modifying clause is smaller than CP.

References

- Aldridge, Edith. 2008. Old Chinese determiner *Zhe* as a determiner. To appear in *Historical Syntax and Linguistic Theory*, Paola Crisma, Giuseppe Longobardi, eds. Oxford University Press.
- den Dikken, Marcel and Pornsiri Singhapreecha. 2004. Complex noun phrases and linkers. *Syntax* 7: 1-54.
- Fukui, Naoki, and Takano. 1997.
- Kang, Myung-yoon. 1987. Korea University MA thesis.
- Kaplan, Tamar, and John Whitman. 1995. The category of relative clauses in Japanese, with reference to Korean. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 4, 29-58.
- Kayne, Richard. *The Antisymmetry of Syntax*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Kim, Young-Joo. 1987. *The Acquisition of Relative Clauses in English and Korean: Development in Spontaneous Production*. Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University.
- Kitagawa, Chisato. 2005. Typological variations of head-internal relatives in Japanese. *Lingua* 115.9: 1243-1276.
- Kitagawa, Chisato, and Claudia Ross. 1982. Prenominal modification in Chinese and Japanese. *Linguistic Analysis* 9.1: 19-53.
- Kobayashi, Yoshinori. 1959. ‘Hana o miru no ki’ no iikata no seiritsukō. *Bungaku ronsō* 14: 58-69.
- Matsumoto, Yoshiko. 1997. Noun-Modifying Constructions in Japanese, A Frame-Semantic Approach. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Murasugi, Keiko. 1991. *Noun phrases in Japanese and English: A study in syntax, learnability, and acquisition*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Connecticut, Storrs.
- Murasugi, K., 2000a. An antisymmetry analysis of Japanese relative clauses. In Alexiadou, A., et al. (eds.), *The Syntax of Relative Clauses*. John Benjamins, Philadelphia, pp. 231–263.
- Murasugi, Keiko. 2000b. Japanese Complex Noun Phrases and the Antisymmetry Theory. In Roger Martin et al (eds.) *Step by Step: Essays in Honor of Howard Lasnik*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Nam, Pung-hyun. 1999. *Kugyōl yōngu*. Seoul: T’aehak-sa.
- Nam, Pung-hyun. 2007. Kugyōl ui munpōp. Paper presented at Cornell University, April 2007.
- Nishi, Yumiko. 2006. The emergence of the complementizer *no* in Japanese revisited. In Timothy Vance (ed.), *Japanese/Korean Linguistics* 14. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- Paul, Waltraud. 2007. The in subordinate subordinator *de* in Mandarin Chinese. Ms, CRLAO, Paris.
- Perlmutter, David. 1972. Evidence for shadow pronouns in French relativization. In Paul M. Peranteau, Judith N. Levi and Gloria C. Phares (eds.) *The Chicago Which Hunt, Papers from the Relative Clause Festival*. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Saito, Mamoru. 1985.

- Simpson, Andrew, and Zoe Wu. 2002. Agreement, shells and focus. *Language*, 78: 287-313.
- Soga, Matsuo & Taiji Fujimura. 1978. A note on noun modification in Japanese. *Journal of the Association of Teachers of Japanese* 13.1: 41-51.
- Vergnaud, Jean Roger 1974. French Relative clauses. Ph.D. dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Wrona, Janick forthcoming. The early history of *no* as a nominaliser.