

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

Relative clauses in adult Japanese and Korean lack overt complementizers in the position between the modifying clause and the head noun. Patterns with a complementizer-like element occur in early child speech in both languages (Kim 1987, Murasugi 1991), but are ruled out in adult grammar:

(1) [[gohan tabe-teru] **no** butasan] (Nagisa 3;2; Murasugi 1991: 14)  
 rice eating-is NO piggie  
 'the piggie that is eating dinner'

(2) [[Acessi otopai thanun] **ke** soli]<sub>NP</sub> ya. (Polam 2;3; Kim 1987:20)  
 man motorbike ride KES sound is  
 'It's the sound of a man riding a motorbike.'

In fact, however, certain complex NP structures with a functional element between the embedded clause and the head noun are attested throughout the history of Japanese. Until Late Middle Japanese, these occur mostly with the particle *ga*, normally identified as a genitive.

(3) [puku kaze no miye-nu **ga** gotoku] (MYS 15.3625)  
 blow wind NO visible-not GA ilk  
 'As if not seeing the blowing wind'

(4) [wagimokwo ni mise-mu **ga** tame] ni (MYS 19.4222)  
 my.beloved to show-CONJ GA sake COP  
 'in order to show (*pro* = colored leaves) to my beloved'

In modern Japanese, similar examples occur with the particle *no*.

(5) [Ti no tunagatta oya o omou] **no** kookoo] to wa tigatte iru. (Soga & Fujimura 1978: 41)  
 blood GEN linked parent ACC think NO filial.piety with TOP differing be  
 'It differs from the filial piety where one thinks of a parent with whom is linked by blood.'

(6) [[kanarazu katu] **no** sinnen] (Soga & Fujimura 1978: 41)  
 definitely win NO conviction  
 'the conviction that one will definitely win'

The pattern with *no* begins to appear in the second half of LMJ (Kobayashi 1959), coinciding with the period when *no* begins to function as a complementizer (Nishi 2006). We argue that the chronology is not an accident: the patterns in (3-7) are best explained by analyzing *ga* and *no* as complementizers. We provide an explanation for why complementizers are permitted in (3-6), but not in (1-2).

Kitagawa and Ross (1982) compare the role of *no* in (5-6) with the functional element *de* in complex NPs in Mandarin:

(7) a. [nǐ mǎi de shū]  
 you buy DE book 'the book that you bought'  
 b. [zhàngfū yíding huílái de xìnniàn]  
 husband surely return DE conviction 'the conviction that her husband would surely return'

However there is a crucial difference in the distribution of *no* and *de* in complex NPs. *De* surfaces in relative clauses (7a) and gapless CNPs (7b), but *no* is ruled out in gapped relatives, such as the adult

counterparts of (1). This is confirmed by the distribution of overt resumptive pronouns in sentences like (8), actually presented by Kitagawa and Ross as an example of a gapped relative with *no*:

- (8) [sekai o odorokasu **no** enzetu]  
world ACC surprise NO speech  
'the speech that surprised the world' (example and gloss from Kitagawa & Ross 1982)

(9a), with an overt resumptive pronoun, is degraded, reflecting the generally dispreferred status of overt resumptives in Japanese. However the overt resumptive in the corresponding *no*-less relative clause (9b) is totally out. This indicates that different analyses are in order for these structures.

- (9) a. ?[sore<sub>i</sub> ga sekai o odorokasu no enzetu<sub>i</sub>]  
that NOM world ACC surprise NO speech  
'a speech where it surprised the world'
- b. \*[sore<sub>i</sub> ga sekai o odorokasu enzetu<sub>i</sub>]  
that NOM world ACC surprise speech  
'\*a speech which it surprised the world'

We argue that complementizers in prehead complex NPs are licit exactly when extraction has not taken place in a complex NP. This explains why patterns like (3-4) and (5-6) are restricted to non-extracted heads like 'sake' and 'conviction'. The gap in examples like (8) is in fact a null resumptive, explaining why overt resumptives are marginally permitted in *no*-relatives like (9a).

The distribution of complementizers follows in a simple way from the account of prehead complex NPs in Kayne (1994) (cf. Murasugi 2000). Under Kayne's account, prehead relatives are derived in two steps. First, the head is extracted and moved into the CP projection. Next the IP containing the trace of the extracted head is moved around CP into the DP projection. This derivation explains why prehead relatives do not contain complementizers. In contrast, complex NPs with a base-generated head, such as gapless CNPs, can be derived in a single step, simply by moving CP around the head. This view predicts correctly that while prehead gapped relatives do not contain a complementizer, prehead gapless CNPs may.

Modern Korean provides no evidence for the genitive to complementizer reanalysis exemplified by Japanese *no*. But Nam (1999) show that 12<sup>th</sup> century Korean allowed the genitive particle *-oy/uy* to appear after adnominal clauses in complex NPs. As predicted by our analysis, Nam's examples involve gapless noun complement constructions.

### Selected References

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