

# **Selection and size of clausal complements**

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# Overview

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- There has been a controversy regarding whether syntactic selection and semantic selection are independent, or one of the two can be derived from the other (e.g. Pesetsky 1982; Pollard and Sag 1987; Chomsky and Lasnik 1993, see also Odijk 1997).
- In this presentation, I will suggest:
  - Syntactic selection is independent from/cannot be derived from semantic selection

based on:

- Clausal complements of evidential markers (and other adjectival elements) in Japanese

# Overview

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Section 1: Introduction (*mitai* vs. *yoo*)

Section 2: Clausal complements of *mitai* and *yoo*

Section 3: Analysis

Section 4: *teki* vs. *ppoi*

Section 5: Conclusion



# 1. Introduction

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*mitai* and *teki* in Japanese

## 1. Introduction

- The morphemes *mitai* and *yoo* in Japanese mark inferential evidentiality.

(1) John-ga ki-ta-**{mitai/yoo}**-da.  
John-Nom come-Past-MITAI/YOO-Cop  
'It seems that John came.'

- These elements can also occur in prenominal positions (in relative clauses).

(2) [[ okaasan-ga tuku-tta]-**{mitai/yoo}**-na] karee  
mother-Nom cook-Past-MITAI/YOO-Cop curry  
'curry like (the) one the mother cooked

- *Mitai* and *yoo* have the same, or at least very similar, meaning.
- In fact, Narrog (2009) notes that they are “stylistic variant[s]”.



## 2. Clausal complements of *mitai* and *yoo*

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## 2. mitai vs. yoo

- *Mitai* and *yoo* are semantically the same (or very similar) (Section 1), and their clausal complements look the same.
  - However, there are syntactic differences in their clausal complements. They behave differently regarding the availability of:
    - A) Imperatives
    - B) Volitionals
    - C) The politeness marker
    - D) Nominative-genitive conversion
- *Mitai* and *yoo* have different syntactic selectional properties.

## 2. mitai vs. yoo

- The tense morphemes can appear in the “clausal” complement of *mitai* and *yoo*. They are really clausal, involving at least a TP-layer.

(2) [[ okaasan-ga   tuku-tta]-{**mitai**/**yoo**}-na]   karee  
      mother-Nom   cook-Past-MITAI/YOO-Cop   curry  
      ‘curry like (the) one the mother cooked



## 2. mitai vs. yoo

### (A) Imperatives

- The imperative marker can appear in the clausal complement of *mitai*, not in that of *yoo*.

(3) [asita        a-e]-{**mitai**/\***yoo**}-na        hito  
tomorrow    meet-Imp-MITAI/YOO-Cop    person  
'(a) person like (the) one who you should meet tomorrow'

## 2. mitai vs. yoo

### (B) Volitionals

- The volitional marker, just like imperatives, can occur in the clausal complement of *mitai*, not in that of *yoo*.

(4) [asita        a-oo]-{**mitai**/\***yoo**}-na        hito  
tomorrow    meet-Vol-MITAI/YOO-Cop    person  
'(a) person like (the) one who I will meet tomorrow'

## 2. mitai vs. yoo

### (C) The politeness marker

- The same holds for the politeness marker; it can appear in the clausal complement of *mitai*, not in that of *yoo*.

(5) [asita        ai-masu]-{**mitai**/\***yoo**}-na    hito  
tomorrow    meet-Pol-MITAI/YOO-Cop    person  
'(a) person like (the) one who I will meet<sub>POLITE</sub> tomorrow'

## 2. mitai vs. yoo

### (D) Nominative-genitive conversion

- It is well known that the subject in prenominal clauses (relative clauses) can be optionally marked by genitive case, instead of nominative case (Nominative-genitive conversion, NGC henceforth; see e.g. Harada 1971, Watanabe 1996, Hiraiwa 2000, 2005, Maki & Uchibori 2008, Miyagawa 2011).

(6) [okaasan-{ga/**no**}   tuku-ru]   karee  
mother-Nom/Gen   cook-Pres   curry  
'curry the mother cooks'

## 2. mitai vs. yoo

(D) Nominative-genitive conversion

- NGC is impossible in the clausal complement of *mitai*.

(7) [hudan okaasan-{ga/\*no} tuku-ru]-**mitai**-na karee  
usually mother-Nom/Gen cook-Pres-MITAI-Cop curry  
'curry like (the) one the mother usually cooks'

- In contrast, NGC is allowed in the clausal complement of *yoo*.

(8) [hudan okaasan-{ga/no} tuku-ru]-**yoo**-na karee  
usually mother-Nom/Gen cook-Pres-YOO-Cop curry  
'curry like (the) one the mother usually cooks'

## 2. mitai vs. yoo

- To sum up:

	Clausal complement of:	
	<i>mitai</i>	<i>yoo</i>
Imperatives can appear	YES	NO
Volitionals can appear	YES	NO
The politeness marker can appear	YES	NO
NGC is possible	NO	YES

- While *mitai* and *yoo* are semantically the same, their clausal complements show syntactic differences.

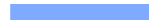
## 2. *mitai* vs. *yoo*

	Clausal complement of:	
	<i>mitai</i>	<i>yoo</i>
Imperatives can appear	YES	NO
Volitionals can appear	YES	NO
The politeness marker can appear	YES	NO
NGC is possible	NO	YES

- In the next section, I will suggest that *mitai* and *yoo* select a sentential complement of different sizes; *mitai* takes a larger complement than *yoo*.



## 3. Analysis





### 3. Analysis

	Clausal complement of:	
	<i>mitai</i>	<i>yoo</i>
Imperatives can appear	YES	NO
Volitionals can appear	YES	NO
The politeness marker can appear	YES	NO
NGC is possible	NO	YES

#### Claim:

- The contrast between the clausal complements of *mitai* and *yoo* is due to the syntactic selectional differences between *mitai* and *yoo*.
- *Mitai* takes a larger sentential complement than *yoo*.

### 3. Analysis

- Imperatives, volitionals, and politeness marking can appear in the clausal complement of *mitai*, not in that of *yoo*.
- The clausal complement of *mitai* involves richer structure (see e.g. Wurmbrand 2001).
- Imperatives, volitionals, and politeness marking have been claimed to involve the CP-domain (or some projection above TP, e.g. Rizzi 1997, Han 1998, Cinque 1999, see also Ueda 2008, Miyagawa 2012 for Japanese).
  - Assuming that the imperative/volitional/politeness markers are located in a C-head in Japanese, I argue that *mitai* takes CP as its complement.

(9) [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> ...]]-*mitai*

### 3. Analysis

(9) [CP [TP ...]]-*mitai*

- The presence of the C-layer, which is the locus of the imperative, volitional, and politeness morphemes, ensures the availability of these elements in the clausal complement of *mitai*.

### 3. Analysis

- I further suggest that *yoo* takes a smaller clausal complement than CP.
- Recall that tense markers can appear in the clausal complement of *yoo*.

(10) [[ okaasan-ga   tuku-ru/tta]-yoo-na]       karee    (see (2))  
      mother-Nom  cook-Pres/Past-YOO-Cop  curry  
      ‘curry like (the) one the mother cooked

- Given this, I suggest that *yoo* takes a TP complement.

(11) [TP ...]-*yoo*

### 3. Analysis

(11) [TP ...]-*yoo*

- Tense markers can occur in the clausal complement of *yoo* since there is a T-layer present.
- The imperative, volitional, and politeness markers, however, cannot appear due to the lack of the C-domain, which is necessary to host these elements; there is no syntactic position for them.

### 3. Analysis

- The (un)availability of NGC in the clausal complements of *mitai* and *yoo* is also due to their size difference.
- I assume that:
  - Genitive case in Japanese is licensed by an N (or D) head through some kind of syntactic dependency (e.g. Bedell 1972, Miyagawa 1993, Miyagawa 2011).
  - To be more specific, I assume that N licenses genitive case through Agree relation (Miyagawa 2011).
  - Relative clauses are TP in Japanese, following Murasugi (1991), Taguchi (2008), and Park et al. (2017) (see also Saito 1985).
  - The C head (if present), being a phasal head (Chomsky 2001), intervenes in the Agree relation in question (see also Murasugi 1991).

(12) [NP [TP (relative clause) Subject ...] N]

### 3. Analysis

- The availability of NGC in the clausal complement of *yoo*: the N head licenses the genitive subject in the clausal complement of *yoo*, like the standard case of NGC.

(13) [NP [[<sub>TP</sub> Subject ... ]-*yoo*] N]

- It should be noted that (13) is slightly different from the standard case of NGC in an unmarked relative clause like (12) because *yoo* appears between the prenominal clause and the head noun.
- Assuming that C and v are phasal heads (Chomsky 2001), I suggest that *yoo* (or *mitai*), being an adjectival (or nominal) head, does not block the Agree relation between the embedded subject and the head noun.

### 3. Analysis

- The unavailability of NGC in the clausal complement of *mitai*: NGC is disallowed in the clausal complement of *mitai* due to the extra layer, namely the C-domain.

(14) [NP [[CP [TP Subject ... ]]-*mitai*] N]



- Since CP is a phase, C prevents the N head from licensing genitive case (see also Miyagawa 2011, Park et al. 2017).



### 3. Analysis

- To sum up: *mitai* takes a CP complement while *yoo* takes TP.

- [CP [TP ...]]-*mitai*

The presence of the C-layer

imperative/volitional/politeness marking possible  
blocks genitive case licensing

- [TP ...]-*yoo*

no position for imperative/volitional/politeness marking possible  
(tense marking possible)  
does not block NGC

### 3. Analysis

- Syntactic selection and semantic selection
  - While *mitai* and *yoo* are semantically the same (or at least very similar), there is a number of differences regarding syntactic properties of their clausal complements (which I have argued is due to the size difference).
  - If selection of clausal complements of *mitai* and *yoo* were solely semantically determined, their contrast we have observed would be difficult to capture, as the lexical semantics of *mitai* and *yoo* are (almost) the same.
- Thus, the contrast between the type of clausal complements of *mitai* and *yoo* shows the independence of syntactic selection from semantic selection (syntactic selection cannot solely derived from semantic selection), as argued by Pollard and Sag (1987) among others (contra e.g. Pesetsky 1982).

### 3. Analysis

- One may wonder here if the contrast and the suggested size difference between the clausal complements of *mitai* and *yoo* are only found with these two specific elements.
- Next section: The contrast in question is in fact found with other particles (*teki* and *ppoi*), indicating that the size difference I have suggested in this section is not idiosyncratic to *mitai* and *yoo*.

## ***4. teki vs. ppoi***

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#### 4. *teki* vs. *ppoi*

- So far, we have observed that there is a contrast between the clausal complements of *mitai* and *yoo*.
- I have argued that the contrast is due to their syntactic size difference (CP vs. TP)
- In this section, I will show that the same contrast is found with another pair of morphemes; the adjectival particles *teki* and *ppoi*.

#### 4. teki vs. ppoi

- The morphemes *teki* 'like, -ish' and *ppoi* 'like, -ish' usually take a nominal complement, forming AP (e.g. Kaiser et al. 2001).

(15) a. seizi  
    politics  
    'politic'

b. seizi-{teki/ppoi}  
    politics-TEKI/PPOI  
    'political/politics-ish'

#### 4. *teki* vs. *ppoi*

- The distribution of *teki* and *ppoi* is not limited to the use found in (15).
- They can also be attached to a sentential complement (see e.g. Kojima 2003, Yamada 2014 for *ppoi*, Yamashita 2000, Saito 2017 for *teki*).

(16) [okaasan-ga tuku-tta]-{teki-na/ppoi} karee  
mother-Nom cook-Past-TEKI-Cop/PPOI curry  
'curry like (the) one the mother cooks'  
(Lit. [the mother cooked]-ish curry)

- The clausal complements of *teki* and *ppoi* show the same contrast as the one between those of *mitai* and *yoo*.

#### 4. teki vs. ppoi

- Imperatives, volitionals, and the politeness marker can appear in the clausal complement of *teki*, not in that of *ppoi*.

- (17) a. [asita        a-e]-{teki-na/\*ppoi}        hito  
tomorrow    meet-Imp-TEKI-Cop/PPOI    person  
'(a) person like (the) one who you should meet tomorrow'
- b. [asita        a-oo]-{teki-na/\*ppoi}        hito  
tomorrow    meet-Vol-TEKI-Cop/PPOI    person  
'(a) person like (the) one who I will meet tomorrow'
- c. [asita        ai-masu ]-{teki-na/\*ppoi}        hito  
tomorrow        meet-Pol-TEKI-Cop/PPOI    person  
'(a) person like (the) one who I will meet.POLITE tomorrow'



#### 4. teki vs. ppoi

- NGC is disallowed in the clausal complement of *teki*, while it is allowed in the clausal complement of *ppoi*.

(18) \* [hudan okaasan-**no** tuku-ru]-**teki**-na karee  
usually mother-Gen cook-Pres-TEKI-Cop curry  
'curry like (the) one the mother usually cooks'

(19) [hudan okaasan-**no** tuku-ru]-**ppoi** karee  
usually mother-Gen cook-Pres-TEKI-Cop curry  
'curry like (the) one the mother usually cooks'

#### 4. teki vs. ppoi

	Clausal complement of:	
	<i>teki</i>	<i>ppoi</i>
Imperatives can appear	YES	NO
Volitionals can appear	YES	NO
The politeness marker can appear	YES	NO
NGC is possible	NO	YES

#### 4. teki vs. ppoi

- Suggestion: *teki* selects a larger sentential complement than *ppoi*. To be more specific, *teki* and *ppoi* select a CP and a TP complement, respectively, just like *mitai* and *yoo*.

(20) a. [CP [TP ...]]-teki  
b. [TP ...]-ppoi

- The presence of the C-layer in the clausal complement of *teki*
  - Syntactic position for imperatives, volitionals and the politeness marker
  - Blocks NGC

(21) [NP [[CP [TP Subject ... ]]-teki] N]

#### 4. *teki* vs. *ppoi*

- In this section, we have seen that the clausal complements of *teki* and *ppoi* behave in the same way as those of *mitai* and *yoo*, respectively, regarding the availability of imperatives, volitionals, politeness marking, and NGC.
- I have suggested that the contrast between *teki* and *ppoi* is due to the size difference between their sentential complements.
- The contrast and the size difference in question are not idiosyncratic to *mitai* and *yoo*.



## 5. Conclusion

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## 5. Conclusion

- In this presentation, I have investigated clausal complements of two evidential particles in Japanese, *mitai* and *yoo*.
  - While they are semantically the same (or very similar), their clausal complements syntactically behave differently (imperatives, volitionals, politeness marking, NGC)
  - Claim: *mitai* and *yoo* select a clausal complement of different sizes (CP and TP, respectively)
  - Independence of syntactic selection from semantic selection
  - The same contrast found with *teki* and *ppoi*

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**Thank you for listening!**