

# AGAINST THE NULL COMPLEMENTIZER ANALYSIS OF JAPANESE RELATIVE CLAUSES\*

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## 1. Introduction

In this paper, I argue against the claim that relative clauses in Japanese are CPs headed by a null complementizer (cf. Watanabe 1994, 1996, Hiraiwa 2000, 2002), and argue in favor of Murasugi's (1991) claim that they are IPs. First, I discuss embedded topicalization. Specifically, I give an overview of Maki *et al.* (1999), who argue that embedded topicalization in Japanese is licensed by the LF I-to-C adjunction, and its inability to apply inside relative clauses is due to the lack of C. I provide further data showing that the applicability of embedded topicalization crucially hinges on the presence of C, and conclude that whenever a relative clause has a complementizer, it must be overt in Japanese. Then, I discuss the PF-adjacency requirement for licensing null complementizers; namely, they must be licensed by an adjacent verb or noun (cf. Bošković and Lasnik 2003). I conclude that relative clauses in Japanese do not have a null complementizer, based on the observation that they need not be adjacent to the head noun (i.e., their "null complementizer", if any, does not have to be licensed by the adjacent noun). Given the conclusion above, I suggest that the C-based analysis of Nominative Genitive Conversion be reconsidered (cf. Watanabe 1994, 1996, Hiraiwa 2000, 2002). Specifically, I claim that a nominal element D is responsible for NGC (cf. Harada 1971, 1976, Miyagawa 1993, among others), and that NGC is a result of Agree between the embedded subject and D, which is blocked by the CP projection.

## 2. Embedded Topicalization

It has been noted that embedded topicalization is possible only when the complementizer is overtly realized as *that* in English (cf. Authier 1992, Kayne 1994, etc.), as shown in (1):

(1) John believes \*(that) this book, Mary read.

Bošković (1997) assumes that embedded topicalization is adjunction to IP. According to him, embedded topicalization is inapplicable in the *that*-less counterpart in (1) because the

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embedded clause is an IP and the complement of the matrix verb. The inapplicability of embedded topicalization in this case follows from the ban on adjunction to a complement clause (cf. Chomsky 1986).

Maki *et al.* (1999), pointing out some similarities between English and Japanese with respect to embedded topicalization, claim that embedded topicalization in Japanese, which derives (2)b from (2)a, is also licensed by LF I-to-C adjunction. Based on Murasugi's (1991) claim that relative clauses in Japanese are IPs, Maki *et al.* (1999) claim that the inapplicability of topicalization in (3)b is due to the absence of the CP projection.<sup>1</sup>

- (2) a. Taroo-wa Hanako-ga yuusyuu da to omou.  
 Taroo-top Hanako-nom excellent C think

'Taroo believes that Hanako is excellent.'

- b. Taroo-wa Hanako-wa yuusyuu da to omou.  
 Taroo-top Hanako-top excellent C think

(lit.) 'Taroo believes that Hanako, is excellent.'

- (3) a. Taroo-wa [ kono hon-o yonda ] hito-ni atta.  
 Taroo-top this book-acc read person-dat met

'Taroo met the person [ read this book ].'

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<sup>1</sup> Tomohiro Fujii (p.c.) pointed out to me that embedded topicalization might be blocked by the adnominal form of a predicate, given that the embedded clause in (i) contains a complementizer *koto* but disallows embedded topicalization (note that I have slightly modified his example, and that the adnominal and the ending forms are identical in the case of verbs):

- (i) \*Taroo-wa [ asu-wa tookyoo-e iku koto ]-o kessinsita.  
 Taroo-top tomorrow-top Tokyo-to go C -acc decided

(lit.) 'Taroo decided [ that tomorrow, he would go to Tokyo ].'

However, (ii) below shows that embedded topicalization is allowed even though a predicate appears in the adnominal form (note that the ending form of *yuusyuu na* is *yuusyuu da*, and that *no* is glossed as NO because I have not made clear which syntactic category it belongs to at this point):

- (ii) Taroo-wa [ Hanako-wa hontooni yuusyuu na no ka ] tazuneta.  
 Taroo-top Hanako-top really excellent NO C asked

(lit.) 'Taroo asked [ whether Hanako, is excellent ].'

Thus, I continue to assume with Maki *et al.* (1999) that embedded topicalization is not allowed in (3)b because the CP projection is missing. See Taguchi (in press) for the data showing that some complementizers in Japanese allow embedded topicalization but others do not.

b.\*Taroo-wa [ kono hon-wa yonda ] hito-ni atta.  
 Taroo-top this book-top read person-dat met

(lit.) ‘Taroo met the person [ this book, read ].’

I provide (4) and (5), examples of prenominal gapless clause, to support their claim; namely, (4)b does not allow embedded topicalization because there is no C that licenses the embedded topicalization. (5)b does, however, because *toiu*, the head of an optional CP projection, licenses it.<sup>2</sup>

(4) a. [ kono hon-ga omosiroi ∅ ] kanoosee/syooko  
 this book-nom interesting possibility/evidence

(lit.) ‘the possibility/evidence [ this book is interesting ]’

b.\*[ kono hon-wa omosiroi ∅ ] kanoosee/syooko  
 this book-top interesting possibility/evidence

(lit.) ‘the possibility/evidence [ this book, is interesting ]’

(5) a. [ kono hon-ga omosiroi toiu ] kanoosee/syooko  
 this book-nom interesting C possibility/evidence

‘the possibility/evidence [ that this book is interesting ]’

b. [ kono hon-wa omosiroi toiu ] kanoosee/syooko  
 this book-top interesting C possibility/evidence

(lit.) ‘the possibility/evidence [ that this book, is interesting ]’

In sum, relative clauses in Japanese are basically IPs, as Murasugi (1991) claims, and whenever they have an optional CP, the complementizer must be overt.

### 3. PF-Adjacency Requirement

In Section 2, on the basis of the observation that relative clauses in Japanese do not allow embedded topicalization, I argued in favor of the claim that they lack a null complementizer; namely, they are IPs. However, there are at least two more possibilities that account for the observation: one is that null complementizers in Japanese simply do not license embedded topicalization, and the other is that relative clauses in Japanese are in fact headed by a null complementizer, and an topic NP and an empty operator compete for the

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<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, I do not find an example of relative clauses that shows the same effect. See Ochi (2001), however, for an independent argument that relative clauses and prenominal gapless clauses have the same categorial status. See also Hooper and Thompson (1973) for the argument that topicalization inside relative clauses is restricted by semantic factors (I thank Željko Bošković for drawing this work to my attention).

SpecCP position (Duk-Ho Ann p.c.; cf. Kuroda 1987, Tonoike 1989, Rizzi 1997, Taguchi in press, etc.).<sup>3</sup> In this section, I first introduce Bošković and Lasnik's (2003) claim that embedded clauses headed by a null complementizer in English are subject to the PF-adjacency requirement. Then, I demonstrate that complement clauses in Kansai dialects of Japanese must also satisfy the PF-adjacency requirement, but this is not the case for relative clause in Japanese. Hence, I conclude that relative clause in Japanese are bare IPs that are not headed by a null complementizer.

Saito (1987) reports that some of Kansai (i.e. western) dialects of Japanese allow the deletion of the complementizer *to* (*te* in Saito's original examples), as shown in (6).

- (6) Taroo-wa [ Hanako-ga aho ya (to) ] omooteru.  
 Taroo-top Hanako-nom fool is C is thinking  
 (lit.) 'Taroo is thinking that Hanako is a fool.'

Maki *et al.* (1999) claim that (6) involves a null complementizer. Specifically, given their proposal that embedded topicalization is licensed by the LF I-to-C adjunction, the fact that *to*-less counterpart in (6) allows embedded topicalization, as shown in (7), follows if it involves a null complementizer.

- (7) Taroo-wa [ Hanako-wa aho ya (to) ] omooteru.  
 Taroo-top Hanako-top fool is C is thinking  
 (lit.) 'Taroo is thinking that Hanako is a fool.'

I would like to discuss whether relative clauses in Japanese pattern in the same way as the *to*-less complement clauses. Before doing this, let us consider a similar case in English. Bošković and Lasnik (2003), modifying Pesetsky's (1992) proposal, claim that the null complementizer of complement clauses in English is a PF affix which must be hosted by the matrix verb adjacent to it in PF. Thus, (8) is well-formed only when the null complementizer and the matrix verb are adjacent.

- (8) John believed (\*at that time) [<sub>CP</sub> C Mary read this book ].

Crucially, this holds for complement clauses headed by a null complementizer in Kansai dialect. The examples in (9) show that null complementizers in Kansai dialects cannot appear unless they are adjacent to the matrix verb which licenses them in PF. For instance, the null

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<sup>3</sup> See Mihara (1994) for an ECP-based account against the claim that relative clauses in Japanese involve an empty operator. I assume that Mihara is correct for an independent reason. I have shown by (4) and (5) that prenominal gapless clauses allow embedded topicalization only when they are headed by an overt complementizer. If prenominal gapless clauses and relative clauses have the same categorial status, as claimed by Ochi (2001), and if they are CPs that can be headed by a null complementizer, then it is hard to account for the contrast between (4) and (5); namely, it is expected that embedded topicalization should always be impossible, because an empty operator should occupy SpecCP regardless of whether the complementizer is null or not.

complementizer and the verb are not adjacent because of CP-scrambling in (9)a, an intervening adverb in (9)b, CP-topicalization in (9)c, and inversion in (9)d, respectively.

- (9) a. [ Hanako-ga aho ya \*(to) ] Taroo-ga omooteru.  
           Hanako-nom fool is C Taroo-nom is thinking  
       (lit.) ‘Taroo is thinking that Hanako is a fool.’
- b. Taroo-wa [ Hanako-ga aho ya \*(to) ] hakkiri omooteru.  
       Taroo-top Hanako-nom fool is C clearly is thinking  
       (lit.) ‘Taroo is clearly thinking that Hanako is a fool.’
- c. [ Hanako-ga aho ya \*(to) ]-wa Taroo-wa omootehen.  
       Hanako-nom fool is C -top Taroo-top is not thinking  
       (lit.) ‘That Hanako is a fool, Taroo is not thinking.’
- d. Taroo-wa omooteru, [ Hanako-ga aho ya \*(to) ].  
       Taroo-top is thinking Hanako-nom fool is C  
       (lit.) ‘That Hanako is a fool ... Taroo is thinking.’

The question is how to account for (10), an example of Right-Node Raising (cf. Saito 1987). Namely, it is unclear why the second complementizer must be realized overtly even though it appears to be adjacent to the matrix verb.

- (10) Taroo-wa Hanako-ga aho ya \*(to), honde  
       Taroo-top Hanako-nom fool is C and  
       Ziroo-wa Naoko-ga aho ya \*(to), omooteru.  
       Ziroo-top Naoko-nom fool is C is thinking  
       (lit.) ‘Taroo is thinking that Hanako is a fool, and Ziroo is thinking that Naoko is a fool.’

However, a closer examination of the example reveals that the null complementizer is not strictly adjacent to the matrix verb in (10), either. More precisely, the pause left behind after the null complementizer shows that the matrix verb has been raised from this position, which is adjacent to the null complementizer. Thus, (10) is ruled out as a violation of the PF-adjacency requirement, just like (8) and (9) are.

Now, let us turn to the case of relative clauses in Japanese. If Japanese relative clauses are indeed headed by a null complementizer just like (6), it is predicted that they also must be licensed by an adjacent matrix verb. (3)a (repeated as (11)) shows that the prediction is incorrect; namely, the head noun intervenes between the relative clause and the matrix verb, but the example is still well-formed without an overt complementizer.

- (11) Taroo-wa [ kono hon-o yonda ] hito-ni atta.  
 Taroo-top this book-acc read person-dat met  
 ‘Taroo met the person [ read this book ].’

One may argue, however, that the null complementizer in Japanese relative clauses must be licensed by an adjacent head noun rather than by an adjacent matrix verb. In fact, Bošković and Lasnik (2003) argue that the null complementizer in English relative clauses must be adjacent to the head noun in PF, as exemplified by the contrast between (12)a and (12)b.

- (12) a. The child [<sub>CP</sub> C Alexis was waiting for ] was lost.  
 b. \*The child was lost [<sub>CP</sub> C Alexis was waiting for ].

However, this argument does not extend to the case in Japanese. (13) shows that relative clauses and the head noun can be separated by an adjunct in Japanese.

- (13) Taroo-wa [ kono hon-o yonda ] erai hito-ni atta.  
 Taroo-top this book-acc read great person-dat met  
 (lit.) ‘Taroo met the great person [ read this book ].’

In short, the “null complementizer” in Japanese relative clauses, if any, do not have to be licensed by anything. If Bošković and Lasnik’s (2003) argument extends to null complementizers in Japanese (cf. (9) and (10)), the data given above support the claim that relative clauses in Japanese are not CPs but IPs.

#### 4. Nominative Genitive Conversion in Japanese

In this section, I discuss one of the consequences of my claim that relative clauses in Japanese are IPs. More specifically, I argue that the C-based analysis of Nominative Genitive Conversion (NGC) needs to be reconsidered (cf. Watanabe 1994, 1996, Hiraiwa 2000, 2002). First I introduce the basic data and characteristics of NGC, and briefly summarize the traditional treatment of it. Then, I summarize the C-based analysis of NGC, and point out some problems. Finally, I propose my own analysis of NGC, maintaining that relative clauses in Japanese are IPs.

##### 4.1. Preliminaries

NGC is an alternation between nominative and genitive case particles on NPs inside a clausal prenominal modifier, as shown in (14):

- (14) a. boku-ga yonda hon  
 I-nom read book  
 ‘the book I read’

- b. boku-no yonda hon  
 I-gen read book  
 ‘the book I read’

It has been traditionally assumed that NGC is only licensed by a noun or D (e.g. Harada 1971, 1976, Saito 1982, Miyagawa 1993, Ochi 2001, and Maki, Kobayashi, and Dunton 2003, among others), as summarized by Hiraiwa (2002: 547) as (15):

- (15) NGC is restricted to only relative clauses and nominal complements (i.e. structure with an external D-head).

Let us call (15) the D-based analysis. Miyagawa (1993) and Ochi (2001), among others, further assume that NGC involves the raising of the genitive NP in order to license its Case. Specifically, Miyagawa (1993) suggests that the genitive NP undergoes LF movement to SpecDP (for Ochi 2001, the relevant movement is Move F). One reason for this assumption is that (16)b is ambiguous with respect to the scope interpretation; namely, the genitive subject may take scope over and under the head noun, but (16)a with the nominative subject only takes scope under the head noun. Consider the following examples:

- (16) a. [ Taroo-ka Hanako-ga kita ] riyuu  
 Taroo-or Hanako-nom came reason  
 reason >> Taroo or Hanako; \*Taroo or Hanako >> reason  
 (lit.) ‘the reason [ Taroo or Hanako came yesterday ]’
- b. [ Taroo-ka Hanako-no kita ] riyuu  
 Taroo-or Hanako-gen came reason  
 reason >> Taroo or Hanako; Taroo or Hanako >> reason  
 (lit.) ‘the reason [ Taroo or Hanako came yesterday ]’

On the basis of the difference in the scope interaction between the nominative and the genitive NPs, Miyagawa concludes that SpecDP is either A- or A'-position. More specifically, if the subject undergoes A-movement, it is interpreted only in SpecDP (i.e. Taroo or Hanako >> reason), while if the subject undergoes A'-movement to SpecDP followed by reconstruction (cf. Chomsky 1995, Lasnik 1999), it is interpreted only in the position lower than the head noun (i.e. reason >> Taroo or Hanako).<sup>4</sup>

The other reason for assuming that the genitive NP undergoes movement to SpecDP is that sentential modifiers like *kinoo* ‘yesterday’ can precede the genitive NP (cf. Nakai 1980),

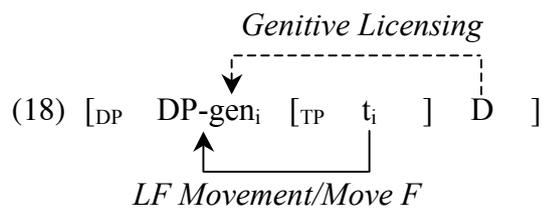
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<sup>4</sup> I do not go into the issue of the scope interpretation in this paper, and simply follow Hiraiwa (2000) in assuming that the genitive NP taking scope over the head noun is directly merged in SpecDP and is coindexed with *pro* inside the embedded TP. See Ochi (2001) for further discussion and restrictions on this configuration.

preventing it from overtly raising to SpecDP, as in (17). According to Miyagawa, (17) is unambiguous with respect to the scope interpretation, and allows only the reading where the head noun takes higher scope than the genitive subject. Miyagawa attributes the lack of ambiguity in (17) to blocking of A-movement by the sentential modifier *kinoo* ‘yesterday’.

- (17) [ *kinoo*      *Taroo-ka Hanako-no*    *kita* ]    *riyuu*  
       yesterday *Taroo-ka Hanako-gen*    came      reason  
       ‘the reason [ *Taroo* or *Hanako* came yesterday ]’

The mechanism of the genitive licensing under the D-based analysis is schematized as (18):



#### 4.2. The C-based Analysis: Hiraiwa (2000, 2002)

Hiraiwa (2000, 2002), on the other hand, argues against the D-based analysis, providing counterexamples like (19) below:

- (19) *Taroo-wa* [ *ame-ga/no yamu (toki) made* ] *kyoositu-ni ita.*  
       *Taroo-top*    *rain-nom/gen* *stop*    (time) *until*      *classroom-at*    *was*  
       ‘*Taroo* was at the classroom [ *until* (the time) the rain stopped ].’

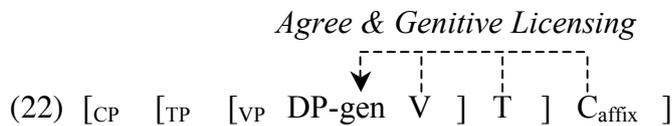
According to Hiraiwa, the embedded clause in (19) does not have to contain any head noun; it can be headed by the postposition *made* ‘until’ alone, but still NGC is possible.<sup>5</sup> Hiraiwa argues that a head noun is irrelevant for NGC, based on a great number of data analogous to (19). Given counterexamples like (19), Hiraiwa (2000: 82-84) proposes the descriptive generalization (20) and the hypothesis (21) for NGC in Japanese:

- (20) NGC in Japanese is only licensed by the special verbal inflection predicate adnominal form (the P-A form).<sup>6</sup>
- (21) The syntactic C-T-V head amalgamate formed via AGREE corresponds to the special verbal inflection predicate adnominal form (the P-A form).

<sup>5</sup> Hiroshi Aoyagi (p.c.) pointed out to me that *made* ‘until’ itself has properties of a noun. Given this, the applicability of NGC in (19) is also explained by the D-based analysis.

<sup>6</sup> For expository reasons, I adopt the term “adnominal form” and “ending form” instead of “P-A/attributive form” and “conclusive form”, respectively. It does not seem to affect the main discussion in this paper.

Simply put, according to (20) and (21), (19) has  $C_{\text{affix}}$  (i.e. an empty complementizer) as well as T and V. These heads form an amalgamation, which is phonologically spelled out as the adnominal form of the predicate and licenses either nominative or genitive.<sup>7</sup> Crucially, (20) and (21) entail that the genitive licensing does not depend on a noun or D, as illustrated in the simplified structure (22) below.<sup>8</sup> Let us call (22) the C-based analysis.



Moreover, Hiraiwa classifies complementizers in Japanese into three types: a null complementizer  $C_{\text{affix}}$  which does not have any phonological realization (cf. (14) and (19)), an overt complementizer *toiu* (cf. (23)b), and a null complementizer  $C_{\text{affix}}$  which is phonologically spelled out as *no* as a result of Agree (cf. (24)).<sup>9</sup>

- (23) a. [ syoorai daizisin-ga/no okiru  $\emptyset$  ] kanoosee  
in the future great earthquake-nom/gen occur possibility  
(lit.) ‘the possibility [ a great earthquake will occur in the future ]’

- b. [ syoorai daizisin-ga/\*no okiru toiu ] kanoosee  
in the future great earthquake-nom/gen occur C possibility  
‘the possibility [ that a great earthquake will occur in the future ]’

- (24) Taroo-wa [ kinoo Hanako-ga/no kita no ]-o siranakatta.  
Taroo-top yesterday Hanako-nom/gen came NO-acc didn’t know  
‘Taroo didn’t know that Hanako came yesterday.’

Hiraiwa claims that only  $C_{\text{affix}}$  licenses NGC, and explains the distribution of NGC as follows: the overt complementizer *toiu* in (23)b is free from the Agree relation illustrated in (22), and thus NGC is not applicable. In (23)a, however, C is realized as  $C_{\text{affix}}$  rather than *toiu*. Thus, the Agree relation (22) is established and NGC is applicable. Likewise, in (14) and (24),

<sup>7</sup> See Kikuta (2002) for the proposal that the adnominal form itself functions as a noun.

<sup>8</sup> Hiraiwa’s analysis is an extension of Watanabe’s (1994, 1996). Watanabe argues that the adnominal form of a predicate optionally functions as the indicator of the special inflectional system that makes SpecTP and SpecAgrSP unavailable. He further claims that the genitive NP is Case-marked as such in overt syntax independently of DP. The genitive NP stays in VP in overt syntax because SpecTP and SpecAgrSP are unavailable. However, it raises to SpecAgrSP in LF in order to have its Case checked. The Case-checking of the genitive NP is carried out through what Watanabe calls *wh*-agreement, which is made possible by raising T and AgrS to C.

<sup>9</sup> I claim below that there are at least two types of *no*, but simply gloss both types of *no* as NO until I make clear which syntactic category each belongs to.

C is realized as  $C_{\text{affix}}$ , which induces Agree relevant for the NGC licensing, and thus nothing prevents NGC from applying in these examples.

### 4.3. Problems

While the C-based analysis is intriguing in itself, it is faced with some problems. First, Maki *et al.* (2003) and Maki and Uchibori (2005) claim that NGC does require a noun, on the grounds that each of Hiraiwa's examples has the counterpart where a noun is overtly expressed. In other words, they claim that the noun required for NGC is merely omitted in (19).

Second, there are examples whose clausal prenominal modifier contains the adnominal form of a predicate, while the genitive NP fails to be licensed. Consider (25):

- (25) Anata-ga/\*no hutuuina dake da.  
 you-nom/gen careless only is

'It's just that you're careless.'

If the presence of the adnominal form of a predicate is a sufficient condition for NGC, it is predicted that the genitive NP should be successfully licensed in (25), contrary to fact. However, the failure of NGC in (25) is straightforwardly accounted for by the D-based analysis, which assume that a noun or D is necessary for licensing NGC.

Third, the argument-adjunct asymmetry regarding NGC pointed out by Fujita (1988) cannot be accounted for (cf. Miyagawa 1989, Takahashi 1994, and Maki *et al.* 1999, etc.). As exemplified in (26)a, NGC is possible when *toki* heading a clause is an argument, but is impossible when it is an adjunct, as shown in (26)b.<sup>10</sup>

- (26) a. [ Oogoe-de Hanako-ga/no waratta toki ]-o oboeteiru.  
 loudly Hanako-nom/gen laughed TOKI-acc remember

'I remember the time when Hanako laughed loudly.'

- b. [ Oogoe-de Hanako-ga/\*no waratta toki ] Taroo-ga naiteita.  
 loudly Hanako-nom/gen laughed TOKI Taroo-nom was crying

'Taroo was crying when Hanako laughed loudly'

Since the C-based analysis assumes that genitive is licensed independently of an element outside the clause, whether or not *toki* is an argument should not matter, and it predicts that NGC should be well-formed in both (26)a and (26)b, contrary to fact.

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<sup>10</sup> As in the case of *no*, I claim below that there are at least two types of *toki*, but simply gloss both types of *toki* as TOKI until I make clear which syntactic category each belongs to. Note, however, that *toki* should be taken as 'time' in (26)a and 'when' in (26)b, as the translations show.

Fourth, it is hard to explain why the complementizer of a relative clause cannot always be realized as *no*, as shown in (27):

- (27) boku-no yonda (\*no) hon  
 I-gen read (\*NO) book  
 ‘the book which I read’

Given Hiraiwa’s classification of complementizers in Japanese, it is predicted that the spell-out of  $C_{\text{affix}}$  as *no* should be possible whenever NGC is applicable. (27) shows that this prediction is incorrect. Thus, it seems plausible that *no*, the NGC licenser in (24), is something other than a complementizer, which competes for the nominal head position of relative clauses, as shown by (27).

#### 4.4. Proposals

Now, I would like to propose my own analysis of NGC that overcomes the problems for the D-based and the C-based analyses. First, I propose that NGC is licensed by Agree between the subject and a nominal element D, which may not be overtly expressed as a noun, as in (19), repeated below as (28) (cf. Maki *et al.* 2003, Maki and Uchibori 2005):

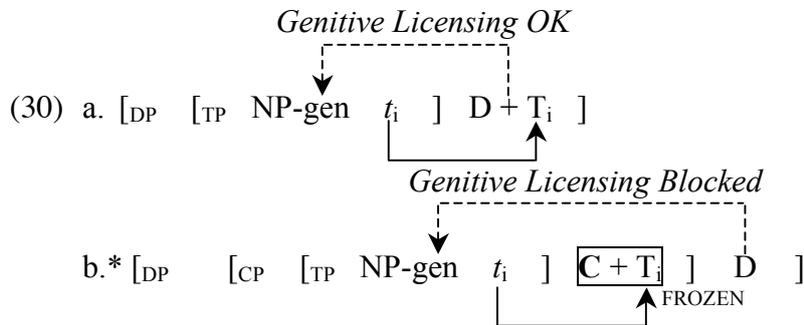
- (28) Taroo-wa [ ame-ga/no yamu (toki) made ] kyoositu-ni ita.  
 Taroo-top rain-nom/gen stop (time) until classroom-at was  
 ‘Taroo was at the classroom [ until (the time) the rain stopped ].’

Moreover, I claim that the CP projection in Japanese generally blocks the Agree relation required for the NGC licensing (cf. Inoue 1976, Ochi 2001), in contrast to Hiraiwa’s and Watanabe’s assumption that the CP projection is necessary for licensing NGC. The mechanism I am proposing is schematically summarized as (29):

- Genitive Licensing OK*
- (29) a. [DP [TP DP-gen T ] D ]
- Genitive Licensing Blocked*
- b. \* [DP [CP [TP DP-gen T ] C ] D ]

There are two questions that arise regarding the proposed analysis. One is why the CP projection blocks Agree between the subject and a nominal element. More specifically, why the Agree relation is blocked, if Agree is free from Chomsky’s (2000, 2001) Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC), which states that only the edge of a phase (Spec and head) is accessible from outside of the phase, as Bošković (in press) claims. The other is why NGC is optional. More precisely, why NGC is even possible, given that T is the closest functional head that licenses Case in (29)a, in accordance with Agree Closest. In order to answer these two questions, I proposed in Taguchi (2007) that NGC is a result of the optional head

movement of T to D, which is blocked by C intervening between them. More specifically, in order for T to move to D, it must move to C first. However, once T moves to C, the C + T complex is frozen in place, as shown in (30)b. As a result, T is still closer to the subject than D, and Agree between the subject and D is blocked in accordance with Agree Closest.



Furthermore, I proposed in Taguchi (2007) that the contrast between (26)a and (26)b is straightforwardly accounted for by assuming that there are at least two types of *toki* in Japanese; namely, nominal *toki* and complementizer *toki*. According to my analysis summarized in (30), *toki* in (26)a is a noun translated as ‘time’, and hence it is D that licenses NGC, while *toki* in (26)b is a complementizer translated as ‘when’, and thus it is C that blocks NGC. In the same fashion, the contrast between (31)/(32) and (33) is explained by assuming that there are at least two types of *no* in Japanese; namely, nominal *no* and complementizer *no*. In (31) and (32), *no* is a nominal element that can be replaced by another noun, and thus it is D that licenses NGC, while in (33), *no* is a complementizer that cannot be, and thus it is C that blocks NGC.

- (31) Taroo-wa [ kinoo Hanako-ga/no kita no/koto ]-o siranakatta.  
 Taroo-top yesterday Hanako-nom/gen came D/fact-acc didn’t know

‘Taroo didn’t know that Hanako came yesterday.’

- (32) Taroo-ga/no katta no/hon-wa minimarisuto puroguramu da.  
 Taroo-nom/gen bought D/book-top *The Minimalist Program* is

‘It is *The Minimalist Program* that Taroo bought.’

- (33) Tenki-ga/\*no warui no/\*koto-de, ...  
 weather-nom/gen bad D/fact-because

‘Because the weather is bad, ...’

## 5. Summary

In this paper, I argued that relative clauses in Japanese are IPs, contrary to the proposal that they are CPs headed by a null complementizer. I assumed that the lack of CP is responsible for the inapplicability of embedded topicalization in relative clauses and clausal adnominal modifiers in Japanese, and concluded that whenever they have a complementizer,

it must be overt. I also showed that null complementizers must be licensed by an adjacent verb or noun, and demonstrated that relative clauses in Japanese do not have a null complementizer, based on the observation that they need not be adjacent to the head noun. Hence, I proposed that NGC is a result of Agree between a nominal element D and the embedded subject. Also, in order to answer the question why NGC is possible under Agree Closest and why it is blocked when a complementizer appears overtly, I referred to an analysis where the optional T-to-D head movement plays an important role. Under this analysis, the head movement feeds the Agree relation, but it is blocked when C is intervening between T and D.

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