Some Aspects of *Koto* and *No*
as Complement Clauses and Their Implications

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1.   Introduction

In Japanese, there are a lexical noun *koto* 'fact' and an indefinite pronoun *no* 'one.'   When *koto* and *no* are preceded by clausal complements, it has been said that they are referred to as complementizers.   See the following example :[1,2]

(1) Watasi-wa   ［ano hito-ga   uso-o   tuiteiru］   koto/no-o
     I-TOP   that person-NOM   a lie-ACC   telling   COMP-ACC
     sittei-ta.
     know-PAST
     'I knew that that person was telling a lie.'

A great number of attempts have been made by scholars to show the difference between *koto* and *no* (e. g. Hashimoto 1990, Horie 1997, Kuno 1973, Shinzato 1996, Suzuki 1994, 2000, Wrona 2005).   What seems to be lacking, however, is that those scholars do not pay attention to the difference within *koto* and *no* themselves.   This paper shows that there are different types of those two complementizers.

The organization of this paper is as follows.   Section 2 first takes a brief look at the different distribution between *koto* and *no*.   Then, we will point out that

there are different types of *koto* and *no*, respectively.　In order to account for the empirical data observed in section 2, basic assumptions will be discussed in section 3.　Section 4 will argue how these data shown in section 2 should be treated and present a new descriptive generalization.　In addition, we will provide a tentative analysis in terms of the recent minimalist framework.　Section 5 summarizes our discussions.

2 .　Empirical Arguments

2.1.　*Koto* and *No* are Different

　　Over the last few decades, many researchers have attempted to identify *koto* and *no* in terms of semantic notions such as abstract/concrete and direct/indirect. For instance, *koto* and *no* clauses are differently interpreted, according to how the events of those complements of the complementizers are interpreted.　In order to see the distinction, consider the following examples :

（2）a. Karera-wa　　[zikken-ga　　　　seikōsi-ta]　　　no-o

　　　　they-TOP　　　experiment-NOM　succeed-PAST　COMP-ACC

　　　　yorokon-da.

　　　　be. pleased-PAST

　　　　'They were pleased that the experiment went well.'

　　b. Musume-ga　　　[siawase-dearu]　koto-o　　　　yorokobu.

　　　　daughter-NOM　happy-COP　　　COMP-ACC　be-pleased

　　　　'I am pleased that my daughter is happy.'

Example （2a） can be interpreted as follows : They saw that the experiment was undergone successfully and they were pleased with it.　This is because what

represents *no* is a concrete event, that is, a directly perceived event (cf. Kuno 1973). In this way, *no* is often used as complements of perception verbs such as *miru* 'see,' *kiku* 'hear' and *kanziru* 'feel.'   The complements of (2b), on the other hand, do not have to be a concrete event, but an abstract concept.   For instance, (2b) can be interpreted as follows : As long as my daughter is happy, I am pleased.   The complement of (2b) doesn't have to be directly perceived.

There are additional data that are important for understanding the difference between *koto* and *no*.   Consider the following examples :

(3) a. Kantoku-wa   sensyutati-ni   rensyū-o   itijikan   entyōsuru
       coach-TOP   players-to   practice-ACC   one hour   extend

       koto/*no-o   tutae-ta.
       COMP-ACC   tell-PAST

       'The coach told the players to extend a workout session by one hour.'

                                                (Nihongo kizyutu bunpō kenkyūkai 2008 : 19)

     b. Watasi-wa   rainen   doitu-ni   ryūgakusuru   koto/*no-o
       I-TOP   next year   Germany   study abroad   COMP-ACC

       ketuisi-ta.
       decide-PAST

       'I have decided to study in Germany next year.'

                                                (Nihongo kizyutu bunpō kenkyūkai 2008 : 19)

     c. Korerano dēta-wa   keiki-ga   kaihukusitutuaru
       these data-TOP   economic conditions-NOM   getting better

       koto/?no-o   simesiteiru.
       COMP-ACC   show

       'These data shows that the economic conditions are getting better.'

                                                (Nihongo kizyutu bunpō kenkyūkai 2008 : 20)

What the sentences in （3） indicate is that *no* cannot occur in the complements of speaking verbs such as *tutaeru* 'tell,' *hanasu* 'speak' and *meziru* 'order' （3a）, thinking verbs such as *ketuisuru* 'decide,' *omou* 'think' and *kangaeru* 'consider' （3 b） and relating verbs such as *simesu* 'show, indicate' and *imisuru* 'mean' （3c）[3]

　　Next, see the following examples :

（4）　a. Husinna otoko-ga　　　ginkō-ni　haitteiku　　*koto/no-o　　mi-ta.

　　　　 suspicious man-NOM　　bank-to　　go into　　　 COMP-ACC　 see-PAST

　　　　 'I saw a suspicious man going into the bank.'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　（Nihongo kizyutu bunpō kenkyūkai 2008 : 21）

　　　 b. Ane to watasi-wa　　　　maisyokugo　　haha-ga　　　syokki-o

　　　　 older sisiter and I-TOP　　after every meal　mother-NOM　dishes-ACC

　　　　 arau　　*koto/no-o　　　tetudaimasu.

　　　　 wash　　COMP-ACC　　help

　　　　 'My older sister and I help my mother do the dishes after every meal.'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　（Nihongo kizyutu bunpō kenkyūkai 2008 : 21）

　　　 c. Kogarana rōhuzin-ga　　ōkina inu-o　　sanpo　　saseteiru　　*koto/no-ni

　　　　 small old lady-NOM　　big dog-ACC　　walk　　make　　　　COMP-DAT

　　　　 deat-ta.

　　　　 meet-PAST

　　　　 'I found a small old lady walking a big dog.'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　（Nihongo kizyutu bunpō kenkyūkai 2008 : 21）

　　Contrary to （3）, *koto* cannot appear in the complements of perception verbs like *miru* 'see' and *mokugekisuru* 'witness'（4a）, helping and making verbs like *tetudau* 'help' and *samatageru* 'prevent'（4b）[4] and motion verbs like *deau* 'meet' and *butukaru* 'bump into'（4c）.

    The difference is also taken into consideration in terms of the co-occurrence restriction with modal verbs (cf. Nihongo kizyutu bunpō kenkyūkai 2008 and Sasaki 2011) :[5]

(5) Zissaini   kore-wa   sahodo   yakudata-nai   darō   koto/*no-o
     in fact   this-TOP   that   useful not   might   COMP-ACC
     sōzōsuru.
     imagine
     'In fact, I imagine that this might not be that useful.'

As shown in (5), certain epistemic modal verbs do not appear in *no*-complements.

2. 2. *Koto* and *No* are Similar

    As shown above, many linguists have discussed the difference between *koto* and *no*. It is not our main concern here to scrutinize their works. Rather, more attention will be paid to the difference within those complementizers themselves. The clausal complements of *koto* and *no* are often called nominal clauses. It is likely that a topic cannot appear in the nominal clauses, as illustrated below :

(6) a. Satō-wa,   [Suzuki-ga/*wa   tikazuite-kuru]   no-o
        Sato-TOP   Suzuki-NOM/TOP   close-come   COMP-ACC
        mite,   te-o   hut-ta.
        see   hand-ACC   wave-PAST
     'Seeing Suzuki coming close, Sato waved at him.'

                                    (Nihongo kizyutu bunpō kenkyūkai 2008 : 16)

     b. Tanaka-wa   [Satō-ga/*wa   koibito-o   uragitta]
        Tanaka-TOP   Sato-NOM/TOP   girlfriend   betrayed

koto-ni　　　　　odoroi-ta.

COMP-DAT　　　surprise-PAST

'Tanaka was surprised that Sato betrayed his girlfriend.'

（Nihongo kizyutu bunpō kenkyūkai 2009 : 216）

c. Minna-wa　　　［watasi-ga/*wa　　sakunen　　betonamu-ni　　it-ta］

everyone　　　　I-NOM/TOP　　　last year　　Vietnam-to　　go-PAST

koto-o　　　　　wasureteiru.

COMP-ACC　　　forget

'Everyone forgets that I went to Vietnam last year.'

（Hasegawa 2007 : 352）

Note, however, that *wa*-marked phrases can occur within the nominal complements under certain circumstances, as shown in （7） from Nihongo kizyutu bunpō kenkyūkai （2009 : 216）:

（7） a. Zissaini　　kurasitemite,　　［Kyōto-no　　　natu-ga/wa

actually　　living　　　　　　Kyoto-GEN　　summer-NOM/TOP

musiatui］　　no-o　　　　　zikkansi-ta.

humid　　　COMP-ACC　　realize-PAST

'After I actually lived in Kyoto, I realized that the summer is humid there.'

b. Musuko-wa　　［kōmori-ga/wa　　honyūrui　　dearu］　　koto-o

son-TOP　　　　bats-NOM/TOP　　mammals　　COP　　　COMP-ACC

sira-nakat-ta.

know-not-PAST

'My son didn't know that bats are mammals.'

Notice that topics can appear in complements of *koto* and *no*.

In addition to （6）and （7）, certain *ga*-marked phrases tend not to appear in the *no*-complements.   See the following contrast :

（8）a. Watasi-wa   kinō   [zibun$_i$-no   kodomo-ga   Yamada$_i$-san-no

     I-TOP   yesterday   self-GEN   child-NOM   Yamada-Mr.-GEN

     hokori-dat-ta]   koto/??no-o   yorokon-da.

     proud-COP-PAST   COMP-ACC   be. pleased-COP

     'Yesterday, I was pleased that Mr. Yamada was proud of his own child.'

    b. Watasi-wa   kinō   [zibun$_i$-no   kodomo-ga   Yamada$_i$-san-no

     I-TOP   yesterday   self-GEN   child-NOM   Yamada-Mr.-GEN

     hokori-dat-ta]   koto/??no-o   tasikame-ta.

     proud-COP-PAST   COMP-ACC   confirm-PAST

     'Yesterday, I confirmed that Mr. Yamada was proud of his own child.'

    c. Watasi-wa   kinō   [zibun$_i$-no   kodomo-ga   Yamada$_i$-san-no

     I-TOP   yesterday   self-GEN   child-NOM   Yamada-Mr.-GEN

     hokori-dat-ta]   koto/??no-ni   kizui-ta.

     proud-COP-PAST   COMP-DAT   realize-PAST

     'Yesterday, I realized that Mr. Yamada was proud of his own child.'

As shown above, *ga*-marked phrases do not appear in *no*-complements.[6]

One might point out that the ungrammaticality of *no*-complements of （8a-c) is due to the fact that the main verbs cannot take *no*-complements.   However, that is not the case here :

（9）a. Karera-wa   zikken-ga   seikōsita   koto/no-o

     they-TOP   experiment-NOM   succeeded   COMP-ACC

     yorokon-da.

be. pleased-PAST

'They were pleased that the experiment went well.'

b. Watasi-wa　　mawarini　　hito-ga　　　　inai　　koto/no-o

I-TOP　　　　around　　　people-NOM　　no　　　COMP-ACC

tasikame-ta.

see-PAST

'I saw that there were no people around.'

c. Watasi-wa　　ie-e　　　kaette　　saihu-ga　　　nai　　koto/no-ni

I-TOP　　　　home-to　　went　　wallet-COMP　　lose　　COMP-DAT

kizui-ta.

notice-PAST

'When I got home, I noticed that I had lost my wallet.'

We are, then, led to conclude that the non-occurrence of *no* in （8a-c）is not due to the selectional restriction of main verbs, but the relationship between the embedded sentences and the complementizers.

At first sight, looking at complementizers only in （8）might lead one to conclude that *koto* is different from *no* in the same line as discussed in （3）‐（5）. Those in （6）and （7）, however, show that *koto* and *no* are similar in a sense. What is, then, the difference between （8）on the one hand and （6）and （7）on the other? Thus far, the difference between *koto* and *no* seems to have been paid attention to. In this paper, much attention is paid to the difference within the complementizers themselves. That is, we must distinguish at least two types of *koto* and *no*, respectively. Before proceeding to the analysis, some basic assumptions will be discussed in the next section.

3. Basic Assumptions

It is well known that the distribution of *koto* is different from that of *no* (e. g. Inoue 1976, Kuno 1973, Suzuki 2000 and Watanabe 2009). It is not, however, clear whether or not there are different kinds of *koto* on the one hand and *no* on the other. In order to substantiate this remark, I restrict myself at this point to introducing Kuroda (2005), which argues the contrast between *wa*, a topic marker, and *ga*, a subject marker, and Endo (2007), which considers topicality in backward binding.

3. 1. *Wa* and *Ga* : A New Perspective

Kuroda (2005) makes several important statements on *wa* and *ga* in Japanese, claiming that *wa* is not a topic marker and *ga* is not a focus marker. First, what is crucial for Kuroda's argument is that "a topic *wa*-phrase can occupy a focus position" (Kuroda 2005 : 6). It has been argued that a topic cannot appear at a focus position since the former conveys old information, while the latter new information. Therefore, Kuroda's claim seems to be contradictory. See the following examples, in which *wa*-phrases can function as responses to *wh*-questions :

(10) a. Dare-ga   Nihon iti-no   sakka   desu   ka ?
         who-NOM   Japan one-GEN   writer   be   Q
         'Who is the greatest writer of Japan ?'   (Kuroda 2005 : 8)

      b. Natume Sōseki-wa   Nihon iti-no   sakka   desu.
         Natsume Soseki-TOP   Japan one-GEN   writer   be
         'Natsume Soseki is the greatest writer of Japan.'   (Kuroda 2005 : 9)

The fact that a *wa*-phrase can be used in （10b） illustrates that the *wa*-phrase can stay at a focus position, where a focused *ga*-phrase can occur.[7] Furthermore, it should be noted that *Natume Sōseki* in （10b） is a focus, since it is considered to be an answer to （10a）.　This means, then, that there are two functions of topic *wa*.

　　Second, let us consider *ga*-phrases.　The important point to note is that a *ga*-marked phrase comes to be a topic, as shown in （11）, which is taken from Kuroda （2005：12）：

（11）　a. Ano hito-wa　　　　dare　　desu　　ka ?
　　　　　that person-TOP　　who　　be　　　Q
　　　　　'Who is that person ?'

　　　b. Ano hito-wa/ga　　　　ano yūmeina　　Microsoft-no　　　syatyō-no
　　　　　that person-WA/GA　　that famous　　Microsoft-GEN　　president-GEN
　　　　　Gates-san　　desu　　yo.
　　　　　Gates-Mr.　　be　　　PRT
　　　　　'He is that famous president of Microsoft, Mr. Gates.'

In （11b）, *ano hito* 'that person' is a topic, while *ano yūmeina Microsoft-no syatyō-no Gates-san* 'that famous president of Microsoft, Mr. Gates' is a focus.　Note that a *wa*-phrase in （11b） cannot be focused, like in （10b）.

　　It has been said that *wa* is a topic and *ga* has an exhaustive reading, which is a focus.　This notion, however, is objected by Kuroda（2005）.　Examples （10） and （11） show that there are a focused *wa* （10b） and a topic *ga* （11b）.

3. 2.　On Backward Binding

　　As many researchers argue, anaphors can be bound in a backward way under certain circumstances :

(12) Pictures of each other$_i$ annoy them$_i$.   (Reuland and Everaert 2001 : 642)

Anaphors like *each other* have to be c-commanded by their antecedents in a local domain. Although *each other* in (12) is not c-commanded by *them*, (12) is grammatical. The binding in (12) is called backward binding.

Endo(2007) discusses backward binding sentences in Japanese concerning the anaphor *zibun* 'self.' See the following example :

(13) Zibun$_i$-no   kodomo-ga   Yamada$_i$-san-no   hokori   da.
       self-GEN   child-NOM   Yamada-Mr.-GEN   pride   COP
       Lit.   'Child of himself is Mr. Yamada's pride.'
       'Mr. Yamada is proud of his son.'   (Endo 2007 : 69)

It is likely that the anaphor *zibun* in (13) is not c-commanded by its antecedent. Sentence (13) contrasts with the following :

(14) *Zibun$_i$-no   kodomo-wa   Yamada$_i$-san-no   hokori-da.
       self-GEN   child-TOP   Yamada-Mr.-GEN   pride-COP
       Lit.   'As for self's child, he is Mr. Yamada's pride.'
       'Mr. Yamada is proud of his son.'   (Endo 2007 : 75)

Notice that (14) is minimally different from (13). What is intriguing is that once the subject is marked by *wa*, the sentence turns out to be deviant.[8] According to Endo(2007), *ga* in (13) is a focus, while *wa* in (14) is a topic. With (13) and (14) as background, we have the following descriptive generalization :

(15) Backward binding is not possible in a construction involving a topic.

In this section, we have seen that *wa* and *ga* can be treated differently from what has been considered.　Bearing the assumptions provided in this section in mind, the next section discusses the consequences and their implications.

4 .　Analyzing Distribution of *Koto* and *No*
as Complementizer Agreement

4. 1.　Some Consequences

　　Our main concern here is how we should deal with different types of *koto* and *no*, respectively.　Then, the question is, in what way do the consequences that we have seen in section 3 implicate *koto* and *no* ?　To answer this question, I will proceed along the following path : the occurrence of *koto* and *no* is dependent upon the functions of *ga* and *wa*.　Consider（6）repeated here as（16）:

（16）a. Satō-wa,　　［Suzuki-ga/*wa　　　tikazuite-kuru］　　no-o

　　　　　Sato-TOP　　Suzuki-NOM/TOP　close-come　　　　COMP-ACC

　　　　　mite,　te-o　　　　　　hutta.

　　　　　see　　hand-ACC　　waved

　　　　　'Seeing Suzuki coming close, Sato waved at him.'

　　　b. Tanaka-wa　　［Satō-ga/*wa　　　koibito-o　　uragit-ta］

　　　　　Tanaka-TOP　　Sato-NOM/TOP　girlfriend　betray-PAST

　　　　　koto-ni　　　　　odoroi-ta.

　　　　　COMP-ACC　　surprise-PAST

　　　　　'Tanaka was surprised that Sato betrayed his girlfriend.'

　　　c. Minna-wa　　watasi-ga/*wa　　sakunen　　betonamu-ni　　it-ta

　　　　　everyone　　I-NOM/TOP　　last year　　Vietnam-to　　go-PAST

koto-o   wasureteiru.

COMP-ACC   forget

'Everyone forgets that I went to Vietnam last year.'

Notice that *ga*-marked phrases can appear in (16a-c), while *wa*-marked phrases cannot.   What function, then, does *ga* in (16) have? I suggest that the one in (16) is descriptive, as argued in Kuno(1973).

To be brief, descriptive *ga* represents actions or temporary states(Kuno 1973 : 38).   To show this point, the following example is relevant :

(17)　a. Ame-ga   hutte   imasu.

　　　　rain-NOM   falling   is

　　　　'It is raining.'

　　　b. *Ame-wa   hutte   imasu.

　　　　rain-TOP   falling   is

　　　　'It is raining.'

How is (17) related to (16)?   As the deviancy in (17b) shows, *wa*, which is counted as a topic, cannot appear.   With this in mind, let us consider (16).   In (16a-c), *wa*-marked phrases, which are counted as topics, do not occur.   It should be noted here that *ga* in (16a-c) is regarded as descriptive.   From the grammatical contrast found in (16), therefore, it is adequate to say that descriptive *ga* can co-occur with *koto* and *no*.   In this paper, I will call those complementizers descriptive *koto* and *no*, respectively.

Next, let us proceed to (7) repeated as (18) below :

（18） a. Zissai　　　kurasitemite,　[Kyōto-no　　　natu-ga/wa

　　　　　actually　　living　　　　　Kyoto-GEN　　summer-NOM/TOP

　　　　　musiatui]　　no-o　　　　　zikkansi-ta.

　　　　　humid　　　COMP-ACC　　realize-PAS

　　　　　'After I lived in Kyoto, I realized that the summer there is humid.'

　　　b. Musuko-wa　　[kōmori-ga/wa　　honyūrui　　dearu]　　koto-o

　　　　　son-TOP　　　　bats-NOM/TOP　　mammals　　COP　　　COMP-ACC

　　　　　siranakat-ta.

　　　　　not-know-PAST

　　　　　'My son didn't know that bats are mammals.'

In （18）, both *ga* and *wa* are possible.　At first sight, （18） is contradictory since *ga* and *wa* occur, the former of which is not supposed to have a topic reading. However, we have seen above that certain kinds of *ga* can be considered a topic. Kuroda（2005） points out that once an embedded sentence with a topic *ga* comes to be an independent sentence, the sentence becomes unnatural, as illustrated below :

（19） a. John-wa　　tikyū-ga　　marui　　to　　omotte-iru.

　　　　　John-TOP　　earth-NOM　　round　　that　　think-is

　　　　　'John believes that the earth is round.'　　　　　　　　（Kuroda 2005 : 19）

　　　b. Tikyū-ga　　marui.

　　　　　earth-NOM　　round

　　　　　'The earth is round.'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　（Kuroda 2005 : 20）

In （19a）, *tikyū-ga* 'earth-NOM' does not have an exhaustive listing reading.　On the other hand, unless *tikyū-ga* in （19b） is regarded as having an exhaustive reading, the sentence turns out to be unnatural.

With this much as background, consider （18） again.   In （11b） repeated here as （20）, both *ga* and *wa* can occur :

（20） Ano hito-wa/ga   ano yūmeina   Microsoft-no   syatyō-no
　　　 that person-WA/GA   that famous   Microsoft-GEN   president-GEN

　　　 Gates-san   desu   yo.
　　　 Gates-Mr.   be   PRT

　　　 'He is that famous president of Microsoft, Mr. Gates.'

Notice that *ano hito* 'that person' is a topic, and *ga* is attached to the phrase.   If this is on the right track, （11b）, （18a, b） and （19a） can be treated in a parallel way.   This is borne out by the following example, in which the embedded clauses in （18 a, b） are independent clauses :

（21） a. Kyōto-no   natu-ga   musiatui.
　　　 Kyoto-GEN   summer-NOM   humid
　　　 'The summer in Kyoto is humid.'
　　　 b. Kōmori-ga   honyūrui   dearu
　　　 bats-NOM   mammals   COP
　　　 'Bats are mammals.'

Notice that as long as the *ga*-marked phases in （21） have an exhaustive listing implication, （21a, b） sound natural.   That is way （11b）, （18a, b） and （19a） can be dealt with in the same manner, and *ga* as well as *wa* can be taken to be a topic. Then, I will call those complementizers in （18a, b） topic *koto* and *no*, respectively.
　　　 Thirdly, let us consider （8） repeated here as （22） :

(22)　a. Watasi-wa 　　 kinō 　　　　[zibun$_i$-no 　　 kodomo-ga 　　 Yamada$_i$-san-no

　　　　　I-TOP 　　　　 yesterday 　　 self-GEN 　　 child-NOM 　　 Yamada-Mr.-GEN

　　　　　hokori-dat-ta] 　　　 koto/??no-o 　　 yorokon-da.

　　　　　proud-COP-PAST 　　 COMP-ACC 　　 be. pleased-COP

　　　　　'Yesterday, I was pleased that Mr. Yamada was proud of his own child.'

　　　b. Watasi-wa 　　 kinō 　　　　[zibun$_i$-no 　　 kodomo-ga 　　 Yamada$_i$-san-no

　　　　　I-TOP 　　　　 yesterday 　　 self-GEN 　　 child-NOM 　　 Yamada-Mr.-GEN

　　　　　hokori-dat-ta] 　　　 koto/??no-o 　　 tasikame-ta.

　　　　　proud-COP-PAST 　　 COMP-ACC 　　 confirm-PAST

　　　　　'Yesterday, I confirmed that Mr. Yamada was proud of his own child.'

　　　c. Watasi-wa 　　 kinō 　　　　[zibun$_i$-no 　　 kodomo-ga 　　 Yamada$_i$-san-no

　　　　　I-TOP 　　　　 yesterday 　　 self-GEN 　　 child-NOM 　　 Yamada-Mr.-GEN

　　　　　hokori-dat-ta] 　　　 koto/??no-ni 　　 kizui-ta.

　　　　　proud-COP-PAST 　　 COMP-DAT 　　 realize-PAST

　　　　　'Yesterday, I realized that Mr. Yamada was proud of his own child.'

It should be noted that the embedded complements in (22a-c) involve backward binding. In 3.2, we have seen that backward binding is not possible in a construction with a topic. In other words, backward binding is possible as long as a given sentence does not have a *wa*-marked phrase. Consider (13), which is repeated below as (23), again :

(23)　Zibuni-no 　　 kodomo-ga 　　 Yamada$_i$-san-no 　　　 hokori-da.

　　　 self-GEN 　　　 child-NOM 　　 Yamada-Mr.-GEN 　　　 pride-COP

　　　 Lit. 　 'Child of himself is Mr. Yamada's pride.'

　　　 'Mr. Yamada is proud of his son.' (Endo 2007 : 69)

Compare (23) with the following sentence :

(24) 10-nen mae-(wa)   zibun$_i$-no   kodomo-WA   Yamada$_i$-san-no

    10 years ago-(TOP)   self-GEN   child-WA   Yamada-Mr.-GEN

    hokori   dat-ta.

    pride   COP-PAST

    '10 years ago, Mr. Yamada was proud of his son, not others.'

(Endo 2007 : 87)

The *wa*-marked element in (24) is not a topic, but a contrastively focalized element. This means that if *wa* is a contrastive, that is, focused, a given sentence turns out to be grammatical.

Bearing this in mind, let us consider (23). What function does the *ga*-marked phrase have ? I assume that the *ga*-marked element has an exhaustive listing implication, which is regarded as focused. Thus, it can be concluded that backward binding is possible with a focused subject. It is, then, possible to say that the embedded complements in (22a-c) are involved with focus positions. What is intriguing in (22a-c) is that *no* cannot appear. I will call the complementizer in (22a-c) focus *koto*.

Finally, from what we have seen so far, the following can be provided :

(25)

	Descriptive	Topic	Focus
koto	○	○	○
no	○	○	*

What (25) shows is that there are three types of *koto*, while there are two types of *no*.
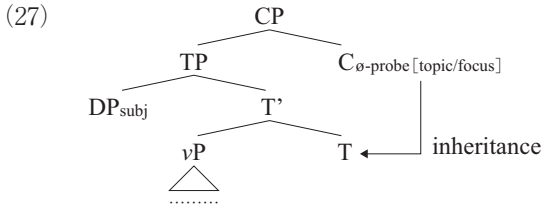
4. 2.　A Tentative Analysis

　　In the previous section, the premise was posited that there are different types of *koto* and *no*, respectively, according to functions of *ga* and *wa*. How is this implicated in syntax ? In order to show this, let us consider the relationship between C and T within the recent minimalist framework.

　　C as well as T is involved with the nominative Case valuation (e. g. Chomsky 2004, 2007, 2008, Mihara and Hiraiwa 2006, Miyagawa 2010 and Watanabe 1996 among others). Consider the following structure from Mihara and Hiraiwa (2006 : 325) :[9]

(26)
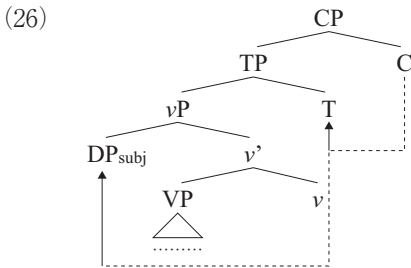
Notice here that an amalgam of C and T values the Case feature of DP in SPEC-*v*. In other words, C plays a significant role for the nominative Case valuation. If this is on the right track, it can be concluded that the complementizer choice of *koto* and *no* observed in the previous section is attributed to the feature valuation from C. With regard to this feature valuation, Miyagawa (2010) is suggestive.

　　Our main concern here is the relationship between C and a subject. Miyagawa (2010 : 18) maintains that in discourse-configurational languages like Japanese, "topic/focus, which occurs on C, ultimately shows up on lower node such as T, triggering A-movement to this lower node." Thus, we have the following :

(27)

```
                    CP
         TP                C_ø-probe[topic/focus]
  DP_subj        T'
            vP         T  ←——┐ inheritance
           △
          ┈┈┈
```

Bearing (26) and (27) in mind, let us assume that $C_{\text{ø-probe}}$ can have Topic, Focus and Descriptive features. If so, I provide the following structure for the complementizer choice :

(28)

```
                    CP
         TP                C_ø-probe[descriptive/topic/focus]
  DP_subj        T'
            VP         T  ←——┐ inheritance
           △
          ┈┈┈
        └┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┘
              AGREE
```
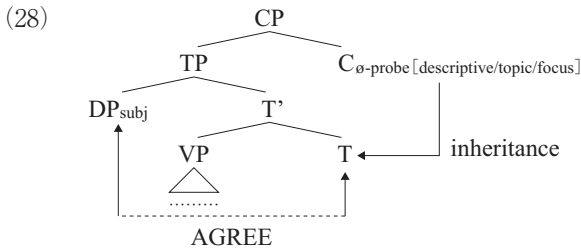
　　Therefore, the complementizer choice that we have seen in the previous section can be reduced to the feature valuation between C-T and DP. In other words, the complementizer choice is due to AGREE between C and DP_{subj}.

　　It is interesting to point out that the complementizer choice in this paper is similar to the complementizer agreement in West Flemish argued in Haegeman (1992). In West Flemish, the complementizer *dat* 'that' agrees with the subject DP in an embedded clause. See the following examples from Haegeman (1992 : 49) :

（29） a. Kpeinzen　dan-k　（ik）　morgen　　goan.

　　　　 I-think　　　that-I　　I　　　tomorrow　　go

　　　　 'I think that I'll go tomorrow.'

　　　 b. Kpeinzen　dan-j　　　（gie）　morgen　　　goan.

　　　　 I-think　　　that-you（sg）　you　　tomorrow　　go

　　　　 'I think that you'll go tomorrow.'

　　　 c. Kpeinzen　dan-se　（zie）　morgen　　goan.

　　　　 I-think　　　that-she　she　　tomorrow　　go

　　　　 'I think that she'll go tomorrow.'

　　　 d. Kpeinzen　dan-me　（wunder）　morgen　　goan.

　　　　 I-think　　　that-we　　we　　　tomorrow　　go

　　　　 'I think that we'll go tomorrow.'

Given that person feature, which is inherited by T, occurs on C, the ø-probe, C agrees with the subjects. According to Miyagawa（2010）, West Flemish is a subject-verb agreement language, while Japanese is a discourse-configurational language. It is, then, adequate to say that Japanese and West Flemish can be treated in the same way in terms of the complementizer choice, and that the complementizer choice of （16）, （18） and （22） is taken to be complementizer agreement.

5．Summary

　　Under the assumption that when *koto* and *no* are preceded by clausal complements, they are taken as complementizers, section 2 discussed the distribution of these complementizers. Different from what has been said, those complementizers behave in the same way under certain circumstances. In order to

account for the distribution, section 3 introduced basic assumptions, in which we have seen *ga* and *wa* as well as backward binding constructions. With the assumptions introduced in section 3, the next section considered what is implicated in empirical data observed in section 2, and provided a descriptive generalization : there are three types of *koto* and two types of *no*. Furthermore, we provided a tentative analysis for the distribution of *koto* and *no* in terms of the recent minimalist program, proposing that the distribution is similar to the complementizer agreement in West Flemish.

However, there are issues that we have left unanswered. For example, in addition to *koto* and *no*, Japanese has at least one more complementizer : *tokoro* 'V -ing.' Thus, a finer distinction among those complementizers needs elaboration. Moreover, this paper considers only complement clauses, although those complementizers are also used in subject position. I leave these for future research.

Acknowledgements

Notes

1) In this paper, abbreviations are used in the gloss as follows : ACC(usative), COMP (lementizer), COP(ula), DAT(ive), FOC(us), GEN(itive), GER(undive), LOC(ative), NOM(inative), PAST(past tense), PRT(particle), Q(uestion), QUOT(ation) and TOP(ic).

2) Examples without citation are extracted briefly from Google.

3) According to Dixon (1991), relating verbs are *indicate*, *show*, *demonstrate* and *suggest*.

4) Verbs like *prevent* and *stop* are making verbs.　These verbs have an independent role, the causer, "who does something to bring about an event or state, referred to by a complement clause."(Dixon 1991 : 193)

5) Other epistemic modal verbs like *kamosirenai* 'may, might' cannot occur with *no*, either.　On the other hand, *rasii* 'seem' can appear with both *koto* and *no*(Sasaki 2011 : 198). Furthermore, modal verbs themselves do not appear in complements of verbs like *meijiru* 'order' and *tanomu* 'ask,' and *ketuisuru* 'decide' and *kessinsuru* 'make up one's mind.'

6) In (8), it is also possible that *watasi* 'I' and *zibun* 'self' can be co-indexed.

7) As pointed out by Kuroda himself, (10b) might sound odd. He further provides the following example as a response to (10a) :

(ⅰ) Natume Sōseki-wa　　　dare-ga　　　nan-to　　　itte-mo
　　 Natsume Soseki-TOP　　who-NOM　　what-QUOT　　say-though
　　 Nihon iti-no　　　sakka desu.
　　 Japan one-GEN　　writer be
　　 'Natsume Soseki, whoever says what, is the greatest writer of Japan.'

(Kuroda 2005 : 9)

The above example sounds natural as an answer to (10a).

8) In my judgment, (14) becomes grammatical if the *wa*-marked phrase is counted as contrastive :

(ⅰ) Murata-san-no　　　musuko　　denaku,　　zibun-no　　musuko-wa
　　 Murata-Mr.-GEN　　son　　　　not　　　　self-GEN　　son-TOP
　　 Yamada-san-no　　　hokori　　desu.
　　 Yamada-Mr.-GEN　　pride　　COP
　　 'Mr. Yamada is proud of his own son, not of Mr. Murata's.'

9) In the system of Mihara and Hiraiwa (2006), C in (26) is, in fact, C_2, which is Fin of Rizzi (1997).　They make use of the cartographic structure advocated in Rizzi (1997).

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