

Japanese Adnominal Postposing and an Argument against Movement

A Senior Honors Thesis

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by

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1. Background

Japanese is often described as an SOV language with scrambling of pre-verbal constituents (Shibatani 1990). However, one construction that occurs frequently in conversation shows that even the verb-final requirement can be circumvented. This construction is the postposed sentence (*koutibun*). In such sentences, an element that appears before the verb according to the basic word order is placed after or at the end of the sentence, as in (1):

- (1) ___ Kita yo, Taroo ga.^{1, 2} (Shibatani 1990, p. 259)
 came FP Taro NOM
 “He came, Taro did.”

Postposed phrases like *Taroo ga* in (1) are also frequently called “afterthoughts” because they can be characterized as information “tacked on” at the end of the sentence in order to repeat old information or add extra supplementary information, often to clarify what has already been said (Shibatani 1990, Jordan 1987, Martin 1975). Kaiser (1999) describes the postposing construction as explicitly marking the postposed element as a Tail (as opposed to the Focus, which is the information the speaker most wishes to convey, and the Link, the topic of the sentence). According to Kaiser, a Tail provides background information that is either discourse-old information or discourse-new information that is bridgeable to a preexisting antecedent by “a

1 The abbreviations used in my Japanese examples are as follows:

ACC: accusative	CAUS: causative
COMP: complementizer	COP: copula
CT: counter	DAT: dative
FP: sentence-final particle	GEN: genitive
<i>Na</i> -N: <i>na</i> -nominal	NOM: nominative
PASS: passive	POL: politeness marker
RC: relative clause	TOP: topic

2 The postposed (postverbal) phrase is marked with underlining, and the “___” indicates where the postposed phrase is to be interpreted as being in the corresponding non-postposed sentences in all examples. The underscore is meant merely as an aid to interpretation of the example sentences and is not meant to imply any analysis of the mechanism behind the postposing structure. Similarly, in discussion of examples, the phrasing “X is postposed from Y” is often used, but this is only for convenience in explaining the interpretation of the sentence and should not be taken to imply any theoretical analysis.

plausible backward inference” (Kaiser 1999, p. 122). Kamio and Takami (1998) provide a similar characterization of the effect postposing has on the information status of the postposed phrase. They phrase the “afterthought” nature of postposed elements in terms of a requirement on the information status of the postposed constituent(s):

- (2) Japanese postposed sentences are acceptable only in cases where the postposed element is *not* the most important information (“*mottomo zyuyyoodo no takai zyooahoo*”) in that sentence. (Kamio and Takami 1998)

These characterizations are refinements of previous analyses, such as Kuno (1978), who “claims that [postposed] elements function to repeat originally-omitted recoverable elements for confirmation and clarification services or to provide supplementary information” (Simon 1989, p. 45; Kuno 1978).

In this thesis, I investigate the syntactic restrictions on postposed adnominals like (3).

- (3) ___ Nekutai-o katta yo, huransu-see no.
 necktie ACC bought FP French-made
 “I bought a necktie, a French-made one.”

While the focus of this thesis is on the apparently syntactic restrictions of postposing adnominals, I consider the restrictions such as those identified in (2) important to keep in mind because I must exclude possible interference from information-structure restrictions from my example sentences. Before I discuss past analyses of postposed adnominals, let me first define the terms that I will be using throughout this thesis:

- (4) a. Postposed phrase: the string that appears after the matrix predicate and any sentence-final particles.
- b. Postposed sentence: a sentence where there is a postposed phrase.
- c. Adnominal: any type of phrase that is used to modify nouns. This includes genitive noun phrases, adjective phrases, restrictive and nonrestrictive relative clauses, content clauses, and determiners, although this paper will

mostly focus on postposed genitive NPs, adjectives, and relative clauses.

- d. Host NP: the NP that the postposed adnominal is interpreted as being postposed from.
- e. Modifier: adnominals with a restrictive interpretation. This does not include nonrestrictive relative clauses, determiners, or quantifiers.
- f. Genitive NP: NP + connective *no*

Kamio and Takami (1998) note two interesting corollaries of restriction in (2) regarding postposing adnominals (*meishi-shuushokuku*). First, it is possible to postpose adnominals that modify a neutral-descriptive *ga*-marked phrase, but not an exhaustive-listing *ga*-marked phrase.

Consider (5), from Kamio and Takami (1998, p. 159):

- (5) a. Neutral descriptive *ga*
[_{NP} Nagai kami no zyosi gakusee] ga kinoo
long hair GEN female student NOM yesterday
kenkyuusitu ni tazunete kimasita yo.
office LOC visit came FP
“Yesterday a long-haired female student came visiting my office.”
- a'. __ Zyosi gakusee ga kinoo kenkyuusitu ni tazunete
kimasita yo, nagai kami no.
“Yesterday a female student came visiting my office, (a) long-haired
(one).”
- b. Exhaustive listing *ga*
[_{NP} Aomori no ringo] ga itiban oisii desu yo.
Aomori GEN apple NOM most tasty POL FP
“Aomori apples are the tastiest.”
- b'. * __ Ringo ga itiban oisii desu yo, Aomori no.
*/?? “Apples are the tastiest, Aomori (ones).”

In (5a) the phrase *nagai kami no zyosi gakusee* is marked with *ga* used with a neutral-descriptive interpretation, and it is possible to postpose the phrase *nagai kami no*, as in (5a'). However, in (5b) the phrase *Aomori no ringo* is marked with *ga* used in its exhaustive-listing sense, and as a result it is not possible to postpose the modifier *Aomori no*, which is the most important

information in the sentence. Similarly, it is possible to postpose adnominals modifying a thematic *wa*-marked phrase, but not from a contrastive *wa*-marked phrase. Consider (6), from (Kamio and Takami 1998, p. 160):

- (6) a. Thematic *wa*
 [_{NP} Boku-no kurasumeeto no Tanaka-kun] wa, paatii
 my classmate GEN Tanaka TOP party
 ni konakatta.
 LOC didn't-come
 “My classmate Tanaka didn't come to the party.”
- a'. Tanaka-kun wa, paatii ni konakatta, boku-no kurasumeeto no.
 “Tanaka didn't come to the party—my classmate (Tanaka).”
- b. Contrastive *wa*
 [_{NP} Doitu-no wain] wa, hosyoo dekimasen.
 German wine TOP guarantee can't
 “You can't guarantee German wine.”
- b'. * Wain wa hosyoo dekimasen, doitu-no.
 */?? “You can't guarantee wine, German (wine).”

In (6a), the noun *Tanaka-kun* is marked by *wa* with theme-marking usage, and it is possible to postpose the modifier *boku no kurasumeeto no* as in (6a'). However, in (6b), the noun *wain* is marked with *wa* in contrastive usage, and, as a result, it is not possible to postpose its modifier *doitsu no*, as shown by the unacceptability of (6b). These corollaries are interesting because they show that by investigating the properties of postposed phrases, in particular postposed adnominals, we may reveal properties of other constructions of Japanese. Here, postposing data shows clear distinctions between the neutral-description and exhaustive-listing uses of the nominative case particle *ga* and between the thematic and contrastive uses of the topic particle *wa*.

However, information structure restrictions may not be sufficient to explain all of postposing data, and Simon (1989) notes several additional syntactic restrictions. It would be

beyond the scope of this paper to review them all, but several are worth mentioning. First, Simon notes that postposing obeys the Complex NP Constraint (CNPC henceforth):

- (7) a. *_{[NP [S Ken ga __ hanasite-ta] eega] o mita yo,}
 Ken NOM was-talking movie ACC saw FP
 Mari to. (Simon 1989, p. 121)
 Mari with
 “I saw the movie that Ken was talking about, with Mari.”
- b. _{[NP [S' [S Ken ga __ hanasite-ru] no]] o mita}
 Ken NOM is-talking ACC saw
 yo, Mari to.
 FP Mari with
 “I saw Ken talking, with Mari.”
- c. _{[NP [S' [S Dareka ga __ aketa] koto/no]] wa}
 someone NOM opened COMP TOP
 tasika da yo, kinko o.
 certain COP FP safe ACC
 “It is certain that someone opened it, the safe.”

(7a) shows that it is impossible to postpose *Mari to* from the phrase *Ken ga hanasite-ta eega*.

This violates the CNPC because the PP *Mari to* is being moved out of an S that occurs within an NP. In contrast, it is possible to postpose from complex NPs headed by *no* and *koto*. In (7b), *Mari to* is postposed from what appears to be complex NP *Ken ga hanasite-ru no*, and in (7c) *kinko o* is postposed from what also appears to be a complex NP *Dareka ga aketa koto/no*. And yet, both sentences are acceptable. This is because *koto* and *no* are not ordinary nouns but rather serve a dual purpose as complementizers; that is, they perform the grammatical function of nominalizing clauses so that they are complements to verbs in higher level clauses. Simon accounts for this with the following phrasing of the Complex NP Constraint:

- (8) “Complex NP Constraint:
 No element contained in a sentence dominated by a noun phrase with a lexical head noun may be moved out of that noun phrase by a transformation.”
 (Simon 1989, p. 121)

This case is very interesting because postposing from adnominals is used to demonstrate something about the nature of Japanese as a whole. The data in (7) suggests that NP and S are bounding nodes for Subjacency, but NPs headed by *koto* and *no* have a far different character. Also, this finding might lead us to wonder whether or not there are any additional restrictions on the postposing of adnominals beyond those that have been investigated so far. In Sections 2 and 3 of this thesis I seek to answer this question.

Second, Simon (1989) also notes that postposing obeys what Sells (1999) later terms the Head Restriction:

- (9) “Only a maximal projection can be postposed, not a non-maximal projection (including a head)” (Simon 1989, p. 102).

Simon notes that this restriction applies to all types of constituents in Japanese: NPs, APs, AdvPs, and VPs. Below is an example of the Head Restriction at work in an NP (examples (10a-d) from Simon (1989, p. 96)):

- (10) a. * [NP [AP Mizikai] [NP Huransu-go no] ___] yonda
 short French-lang. GEN read
 no, [N syoosetu] o.
 novel ACC
 “(I) read a short French novel.”
- b. * [NP [NP Huransu-go no] ___] yonda no,
 French-lang. GEN read
 [NP [AP mizikai] [N syoosetu]] o.
 short novel ACC
 “(I) read a French short novel.”
- c. * [NP [AP Mizikai] ___] yonda no,
 short read
 [NP [NP Huransu-go no] [N syoosetu]] o.
 French-lang. GEN novel ACC
 “(I) read a short French novel.”

comes after an NP that modifies another NP, in this case *zyosi gakusee*. However, in (11b'), the adjective *aoi* is also followed by *no* despite the fact that the adjective was putatively 'moved' from the front of the NP it modifies, a context where no *no* is required as shown in (11b). Also, quite stunningly, it is not acceptable for the *no* to be omitted after a postposed adjective, as shown in (11b''). This raises the question: what is the identity of the *no* that appears following postposed adnominals? In Section 4 of this thesis, I argue that this *no* is the pronominal *no* ('one') following postposed *na*-nominals, adjectives, and relative clauses, and the contracted *no* (i.e. the contraction of genitive *no* + pronominal *no*) following postposed genitive NPs.³

When a clause governed by a *tte-yuu* complementizer is postposed as in (11c') and (11c''), the sentence with *no* following the postposed clause is less acceptable than the one without *no*. One might expect that it would be preferable to have *no* similarly to (11b'), but this is clearly not the case. This raises the question that is the subject of Section 5 of this thesis: when does *no* appear following postposed phrases?

Finally, Sells (1999) proposes, counter to Simon's (1989) analysis, that the postposed construction is not the result of movement. Sells argues that there are only three fundamental restrictions on postposing: i) the postposed sentence minus the postposed phrase must be syntactically well-formed; ii) the information structure restrictions such as (2) must be obeyed; and iii) it must be sufficiently easy to interpret how the postposed phrase relates to the content in the rest of sentence. In Section 6, I adopt and extend Sells's position based on the conclusions of Sections 2 through 5.

3 This analysis implies that the postposed phrase is not really an adnominal, which would be a fragment of an NP, but is really an NP. Note that I will use the term 'postposed adnominal' to refer to the postposed phrase minus the final pronominal *no*.

2. Host NP Case and Ease of Modifier Postposing

First, consider the following data where each postposed full NP is of a different case

(examples (12a-d) from Simon (1989)):

- (12) a. Ma, Nihon wa ___ ooi kara, otera ga.
well Japan TOP many because temple NOM
“Well, in Japan there are many (of them), temples.”
- b. Kondo ___ yaroo yo, Scrabble (o).
sometime let's-play FP Scrabble ACC
“Let's play it sometime, Scrabble.”
- c. Watasi sugu ___ ittyau wake, Alex nanzo ni.
I right-away say Alex e.g. DAT
“I say (it) right away, to Alex, for example.”
- d. Watasi ne, ___ Rochester ni, ima mata Rochester
I Rochester to now again Rochester
ni ututta n desu, New Jersey kara.
to moved New Jersey from
“I've moved to Rochester, to Rochester now again, from New Jersey.”
- e. Taroo ga ___ katuo o tabeta yo, naifu to
Taro NOM bonito ACC ate FP knife and
fooku de.
fork INST
“Taro ate bonito, with a knife and fork.”

In (12a), the subject *otera ga* 'temples' is postposed; in (12b), the object *Scrabble (o)* 'Scrabble'; in (12c), the indirect object *Alex nanzo ni* 'to Alex etc.'; in (12d), the locative NP *New Jersey kara* 'from New Jersey'; and in (12e), the instrumental NP *naifu to fooku de* 'with a knife and fork'. All of these sentences are acceptable. Thus, it seems that the case of an NP has no effect on its postposability.

Although it is possible to postpose full NPs regardless of their case, adnominal postposing may be more difficult depending on the case of the host NP. First, consider the

following examples of postposing adnominals from NPs of different cases:

- (13) a. [NP ___ Nekutai ga] takusan aru yo,
 necktie NOM many exist FP
Huransu-see no. (from subject)
 French-made
 “There are many neckties, French-made (ones).”
- b. Taroo ga [NP ___ nekutai o] katta yo,
 Taro NOM necktie ACC bought FP
Huransu-see no. (from object)
 French-made
 “Taro bought a necktie, (a) French-made (one).”
- c. Taroo ga [NP ___ kodomo ni] yatta yo,
 Taro NOM child DAT gave FP
syoogakusee no. (from indirect object)
 elementary-schooler
 “Taro gave (it) to a child, an elementary schooler.”
- d. Taroo ga [NP ___ mise ni] itta yo, Shinjuku no.
 Taro NOM store to went FP Shinjuku
 (from goal)
 “Taro went to (a) store, (one in) Shinjuku.”
- e. Taroo ga [NP ___ depaato de] kaimono-sita yo,
 Taro NOM department-store LOC shopped FP
Shinjuku no. (from locative)
 Shinjuku
 “Taro shopped at (a) department store, (one in) Shinjuku.”
- f. Taroo ga [NP ___ kyanpasu kara] kita yo,
 Taro NOM campus from came FP
Toodai no. (from source)
 Tokyo-Uni.
 “Taro came from campus, Tokyo University's.”
- g. [NP ___ Kuruma de] kita yo, Honda no.
 car INST came FP Honda
 (from instrumental)
 “(I) came by car, (by a) Honda.”

In (13a) the modifier *huransu-see no* 'French made' is postposed from the subject host NP

huransu-see no nekutai ga 'French-made necktie'. In (13b), the same modifier *huransu-see no* is postposed from the direct object host NP *huransu-see no nekutai o* and so on. The sentences in (13) are all acceptable and seem to indicate that adnominal postposing is unaffected by host NP case just like postposing of full NPs.

However, this is not the case. In longer sentences, adnominals from accusative host NPs are easier to postpose than those from NPs with other cases. Sentences with postposed adnominals are also more acceptable when distance between the host NP and the postposed adnominals is minimized. Consider the following:

- (14) a. * Taroo ga [__ depaato de] huransu-see
 Taro NOM department-store LOC French-made
 no nekutai o katta yo, sinzyuku no.
 GEN necktie ACC bought FP Shinjuku
 *“Taro bought at a department store a French-made necktie, (a) Shinjuku
 (one).”
- b. ? Taroo ga huransu-see no nekutai o
 Taro NOM French-made GEN necktie ACC
 [__ depaato de] katta yo, sinzyuku no.
 department-store LOC bought FP Shinjuku
 “Taro bought a French-made necktie at a department store, (a) Shinjuku
 (one).”
- c. ? Taroo ga [__ nekutai o] sinzyuku no
 Taro NOM necktie ACC Shinjuku GEN
 depaato de katta yo, huransu-see no.
 department-store LOC bought FP French-made
 “Taro bought a necktie from a Shinjuku department store, (a)
 French-made (one).”
- d. Taroo ga sinzyuku no depaato de
 Taro NOM Shinjuku GEN department-store LOC
 [__ nekutai o] katta yo, huransu-see no.
 necktie ACC bought FP French-made
 “Taro bought, at a Shinjuku department store, a necktie, (a) French-made
 (one).”

In (14a), the modifier *sinzyuku no* 'Shinjuku' is postposed from the locative NP *sinzyuku no depaato de* 'at a Shinjuku department store', and the resulting sentence is unacceptable. However, the sentence is made more acceptable, though still awkward, by placing the host NP to the immediate preverbal position as in (14b). In (14c), the modifier *huransu-see no* 'French-made' is postposed from the accusative host NP *huransu-see no nekutai o* 'a French-made necktie', which has a locative NP between it and the verb. The resulting sentence is slightly awkward but not as unacceptable as (14a). This indicates that modifiers are easier to postpose from accusative NPs than oblique NPs when they are away from the predicates. Furthermore, when the accusative host NP of a postposed adnominal is adjacent to the predicate, as in (14d), the result is completely acceptable. The difference in acceptability between (14b) and (14d) supports the conclusion that it is easier to postpose adnominals from accusative host NPs than from oblique host NPs in longer sentences. In addition, the contrast in acceptability between (14a) and (14b) between (14c) and (14d) indicates that distance between the host NP and the postposed adnominal also decreases the acceptability of adnominal postposing.

Now consider the following:

- (15) a. Kanemoti no hen-na yatu ga [__ nekutai o]
 rich GEN strange guy NOM necktie ACC
 katta yo, huransu-see no.
 bought FP French-made
 "A rich weirdo bought a necktie, (a) French-made (one)."
- b. * [__ Hen-na yatu ga] huransu-see no nekutai
 strange guy NOM French-made GEN necktie
 o katta yo, kanemoti no.
 ACC bought FP rich
 ?? "A weirdo bought a French-made necktie, (a) rich (one)."

- c. ?? Huransu-see no nekutai o [__ hen-na yatu
 French-made GEN necktie ACC strange guy
 ga] katta yo, kanemoti no.
 NOM bought FP rich
 ?? “A French-made necktie a weirdo bought, (a) rich (one).”

In (15a), the adnominal *huransu-see no* is postposed from the accusative host NP *huransu-see no nekutai o*, and the result is completely acceptable. In (15b) when the modifier *kanemoti no* 'rich' is postposed from the subject host NP *kanemoti no hen-na yatu* 'a rich weirdo', the resulting sentence is unacceptable. Of course, the subject host NP from (15b) can be placed at the immediately preverbal position to make the sentence more acceptable, as is done in (15c), but the result is still very awkward. The slight decrease in awkwardness from (15b) to (15c) supports one of the conclusions made above: greater distance between the postposed adnominal and its host NP decreases acceptability. Also, the contrast between (15c) and (15a) indicates that it is generally easier to postpose adnominals from accusative host NPs than from host NPs of other cases such as nominative and locative.

In summary, unlike ordinary postposing where case and position seem to have no affect on acceptability, the case and position of the host NP affects the acceptability of postposing adnominals.⁴ It is easiest to postpose adnominals from accusative host NPs, and it is more acceptable to postpose from a host NP in the preverbal position. I speculate that these two conclusions are not unrelated, but rather that the former is to some degree a consequence of the latter. In the canonical word order, the object occurs in the immediately preverbal position. As a result, accusative NPs are naturally less distant from the end of the sentence, and other cases of NPs can only simulate this proximity through scrambling or dropping intervening elements. However, if an NP is scrambled into the preverbal position, the result is a marked word order

4 Note that in (12d), the postposed item has been moved from the non-preverbal position.

where the preverbal constituent is interpreted as being newer or more important information. The postposed phrase, in contrast, is marked for having marginal information status. Thus, when an adnominal is postposed from a host NP that has been scrambled into the preverbal position, there is a conflict in information status between host and postposed phrase, and this conflict is the source of awkwardness in sentences like (14b) and (15c).

3. Postposing Multiple Adnominals

It is possible to postpose multiple elements from a simplex sentence, as shown below.

- (16) ___ Kita yo, Taroo ga ku-zi ni kururma de.
 came FP Taro NOM 9-o'clock at car INST
 “(He) came, Taro, at 9, by car.”

In (16), three separate NPs, *Taroo ga* 'Taro', *ku-zi ni* 'at 9 o'clock', and *kuruma de* 'by car', are postposed. This indicates that there is no restriction on the number of postposed items from a simplex sentence when those items are full NPs.

In contrast, restrictions on postposing multiple adnominals do exist. First, multiple adnominals cannot be postposed, if they are from different host NPs. Consider the following:

- (17) a. ?? Huransu-see no nekutai o [___ kyaku ga]
 French-made GEN necktie ACC customer NOM
 katta yo, kanemoti no.
 bought FP rich
 “A customer bought a French-made necktie, (a) rich (one).”
- b. Kanemoti no kyaku ga [___ nekutai o] katta
 rich GEN customer NOM necktie ACC bought
 yo, huransu-see no.
 FP French-made
 “A rich customer bought a necktie, (a) French-made (one).”

- c. *[__₁ kyaku ga] [__₂ nektai o] katta yo,
customer NOM necktie ACC bought FP,
[kanemoti no] [huransu-see no].
rich French-made

In (17a) the adnominal *kanemoti no* 'rich' was postposed from the subject host NP *kanemoti no kyaku ga* 'a rich customer', and the resulting sentence is not entirely acceptable but nonetheless still possible. In (17b), the adnominal *huransu-see no* 'French-made' was postposed from the accusative host NP *huransu-see no nektai o* 'a French-made necktie', and the result is acceptable. However, in (17c), the same postposed adnominals from (17a) and (17b) are postposed simultaneously, and the result is not acceptable.

Now, consider the following data, which shows that multiple adnominals can be postposed from a single NP.

- (18) a. Toyota no haiburiddo no kuruma o mita yo.
Toyota GEN hybrid GEN car ACC saw FP
'I saw a Toyota hybrid car.'
- b. [Toyota no __ kuruma o] mita yo, haiburiddo no.
- c. [__ Haiburiddo no kuruma o] mita yo, Toyota no.
- d. [__ Kuruma o] mita yo, Toyota no haiburiddo no.

In (18b) and (18c) respectively, the adnominals *haiburiddo no* 'hybrid' and *Toyota no* 'Toyota' are postposed from the host NP *Toyota no haiburiddo no kuruma o* 'a Toyota hybrid car'. Also, both adnominals can be postposed simultaneously, as in (18d), and the result is an acceptable sentence. This, together with data from (17), indicates when postposing multiple adnominals, they must come from the same host NP for the sentence to be acceptable.

Next, although it is possible to postpose conjuncts from some coordinate structures, but not others; it is impossible to postpose from a conjoined nominal construction, but it is possible

to postpose a predicate conjunct, as below ((19-18) from Simon (1989, pp. 10, 135)):

- (19) * *Watasi*, [_{__} *mootsaruto ga*] *suki*, *vivarudi to*.⁵
 I Mozart NOM like Vivaldi and
 (intended) “I like Mozart, and Vivaldi.”
- (20) a. _{__} [_{s2} *Okusan ga kaisya de hataraiteru no yo*],
 wife NOM office LOC working-is FP
 [_{s1} *Ken ga uti ni i*]-*te*.
 Ken NOM home at stay-and
 “His wife works in an office, ... and Ken stays at home.”
- b. _{__} [_{s2} *Kaze ga tuyo-katta no*], [_{s1} *ame ga*
 wind NOM strong-was rain NOM
hutta] *si*.
 fell and
 “The wind was strong, ... and it rained.”
- c. _{__} [_{s2} *Kon-syuu wa isogasi-i desu*],
 this-week TOP busy-is POL
 [_{s1} *sen-syuu wa hima desita*] *ga*.
 last-week TOP free was-POL but
 “This week I am busy, ... but last week I was free.”

In (19), the NP + conjunction *vivarudi to* 'Vivaldi and' is postposed, and in (20) clauses are postposed along with their coordinating suffixes or particles. Whereas (19) is unacceptable, all the sentences in (20) are, and this indicates that some kinds of postposing may not be subject to the Coordinate Structure Constraint (henceforth CSC).

However, adnominal postposing does obey the CSC; when two adnominals are conjoined, it is not possible to postpose only one of the conjoined adnominals. Consider the following data:

5 Simon (1989) finds sentences like (19) acceptable and uses it as evidence for a binary analysis of NP + *to* + NP construction. She also argues that the Coordinate Structure Constraint does not apply to postposing based on data like (19-20).

- (21) a. Haiburiddo de ootomatikku no kuruma o
 hybrid COP-and automatic GEN car ACC
 katta yo.
 bought FP
 "I bought a hybrid and automatic-shift car."
- b. * [__ Ootomatikku no kuruma o] katta yo,
haiburiddo de.
- c. * [Haiburiddo de __ kuruma o] bought yo,
ootomatikku no.
- d. [__ Kuruma o] katta yo, haiburiddo de
ootomatikku no.

In (21b), the first conjunct *haiburiddo de* 'hybrid and' is postposed from the coordinated adnominal phrase *haiburiddo de ootomatikku no* 'hybrid and automatic', and the resulting sentence is unacceptable. Similarly, in (21c), the second conjunct *ootomatikku no* 'automatic' is postposed, and the resulting sentence is also unacceptable. However, when both conjuncts are postposed together, as in (21d), the result is acceptable. This indicates that there is an extra restriction on adnominal postposing in addition to the ones above: if a two adnominals are conjoined, it is not possible to postpose anything less than all conjuncts.

In summary, though it is possible to postpose multiple nonadnominal sentence elements, there are extra restrictions on the postposing of multiple adnominals. Postposed adnominals must come from a single host NP, and adnominals may not be postposed from a coordinating construction without postposing all conjoined adnominals.

4. The Identity of *No* and the Structure of the Postposed Adnominal Phrase

No always appears when following postposed genitive noun phrases, and often appears

following other types of postposed adnominals.⁶ This raises the question: what type of *no* is this? It is because of this question that I thus far have avoided individual glossing of *no* at the end of postposed phrases in example sentences.

Japanese has several types of *no* as shown in (22) (Jorden 1987):⁷

- (22) a. The connective *no*: *Tanaka-san no kuruma* ('Mr. Tanaka's car')
 b. The pronominal *no*: *Hurui no o mimasita yo.* ('I saw an old one.'
 c. The contracted *no*, which is a combination of the connective *no* and the pronominal *no*.⁸
 Guree no o mimasita yo. ('I saw a grey one.'
 Tanaka-san no o mimasita yo. ('I saw Mr. Tanaka's'.')

In this section, I argue that *no* following postposed adjectives and relative clauses is the pronominal *no*. An examination of the properties of *no* following postposed adjectives and relative clauses in the following section shows that the pronominal *no* is the only one of the three above that fits its distribution. Analogously, I argue that the *no* following postposed genitive NPs should be the contracted *no*, a specific kind of pronominal.

4.1 Properties of the Pronominal *No* from Kuroda (1976) and Kamio (1983)

Kuroda (1976) offers some properties of the pronominal *no* that we can test for in the case of postposed adnominals phrases. The first is the honorable human referent constraint. Put

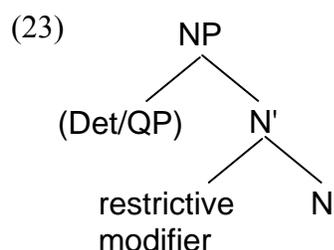
6 Cases where *no* does not appear are discussed in Section 5.

7 Japanese has at least two more types of *no* not mentioned here. They are the extended predicate (EP) *no*, which is an alternative extended way of predicating a clause in order to offer an explanation, and the complementizer *no*. The EP *no* is unlikely because it would result in a different interpretation of the postposed phrase, though sometimes the EP interpretation may interfere with the postposed interpretation. The complementizer/nominalizer *no* is regularly followed by a particle (e.g., *John ga aruku no ga kikoeru* 'I can hear John walking.'), and it is an unlikely candidate because I avoid discussing cases where the head of the host NP is anything other than a regular noun.

8 The contraction analysis is synchronic. A combination **no no* (genitive *no* + pronominal *no*) is not historically attested. Presumably, the genitive *no* came first, and the contracted *no* was used by analogy with referential *rentaikei* ('noun-modifying form') predicates. This usage is first attested in *Manyoushuu* (ca. 759): *Ina to ihedo sihuru sihi no ga sihi katari*. After the *rentaikei* replaced the *shuushikei* ('terminating form'), *no* began to be used as a pronominal (Charles Quinn, personal communication).

simply, “the pronominal *no* ... may not be used with an honorable human referent” (Kuroda 1976, p. 159). A second property is antecedent replaceability. Kuroda explains, “the pronominal *no* is generally replaceable by its explicit antecedent or implicit antecedent-equivalent even though the result of such replacement might be wordy and not quite felicitous” (Kuroda 1976, p. 159).

In addition, there are some properties of *no* to test for from Kamio's (1983) model for the internal structure of a noun phrase. Kamio (1983) proposes the following internal structure of NPs:



Kamio argues that all restrictive modification is ad-N or ad-N' modification (i.e. they are adjoined to Ns or N's), determiners are adjoined to N's to form an NP, and all nonrestrictive adnominals are ad-NPs (i.e. they are adjoined to NPs). Ordinary nouns may form an N' without a restrictive modifier, but the pronominal *no* requires a restrictive modifier. Thus, we have a third property of the pronominal *no* to test for: the pronominal *no* requires a modifier and cannot occur alone with non-modifiers (e.g. determiners and nonrestrictive relative clauses).

4.2 *No* and Non-Gentive NP Adnominals

In this section, I will show that the *no* following non-gentive NP adnominals (e.g. adjectives, relative clauses, and *na*-nominals) is the pronominal *no* by testing for the properties

discussed above.

4.2.1 Honorable Human Referent Test

Postposing a *na*-nominal, adjective, or relative clause that modifies an honorable human referent results in an unacceptable utterance, suggesting that the *no* after the postposed adnominal is the pronominal *no*. The following contrastive pair will illustrate:

- (24) a. Taroo ga [__ gakusee o] yonda yo,
Taro NOM student ACC called FP
{_{na-N} baka-na / _{AP} wakai / _{RC} atarasiku kita} no.
dumb young newly came
“Taro called the student, the dumb/young/newly arrived one.”
- b. * Taroo ga [__ sensee o] oyobi-sita yo,
teacher called-POL
{_{na-N} go-rippa-na / _{AP} o-wakai / _{RC} atarasiku
POL-great POL-young newly
irassyatta} no.
came-POL
“Taro called the teacher, the great/young/newly arrived one.”

In (24a), the referent of the host NP is an unhonored human, and it is acceptable to postpone the *na*-nominal *baka-na*, the adjective *wakai*, or the relative clause *atarasiku kita* 'newly came' from it. In contrast, the host NP in (24b) is an honorable referent, *sensei* 'teacher', that is also the target of object honorification by the verb *oyobi-sita* 'called', and the postposed phrase includes subject honorification by the polite prefixing of in *na*-nominal *go-rippa-na* 'great', by polite-prefixing in the adjective *o-wakai* 'young', and by the relative clause *atarasiku irassyatta* 'newly come'. In (24b), the results of postposing a *na*-nominal, adjective, or relative clause followed by *no* are unacceptable. Thus, the *no* following postposed *na*-nominals, adjectives, and relative clauses observes the honorable human referent constraint.

4.2.2 Antecedent Replacement Test

The *no* following postposed *na*-nominals, adjectives, and relative clauses can be replaced by the head of the host NP. Consider the following:

- (25) a. Taroo ga [__ nekutai o] katta yo,
Taro NOM necktie ACC bought FP
{_{na-N} kiree-na / _{AP} aoi / _{RC} huransu de
pretty blue France LOC
tukurareta} no.
made-PASS
“Taro bought a necktie, a pretty / blue / made-in-France one.”
- b. Taroo ga [__ nekutai o] katta yo, {_{na-N} kiree-na /
_{AP} aoi / _{RC} huransu de tukurareta} nekutai.
“Taro bought a necktie, a pretty / blue / made-in-France necktie.”

In (25a) the *na*-nominal *kiree-na* 'pretty', the adjective *aoi*, and the relative clause *huransu de tukurareta* 'made in France' are postposed and followed by what is presumably the pronominal *no*. In (25b), the *no* following those postposed adnominals is replaced with *nekutai*, the head of the host NP in (25a). This shows that the *no* following postposed *na*-nominals, adjectives, and relative clauses is replaceable by its antecedent as we would expect with the pronominal *no*.

4.2.3 Kamio's Syntactic Restriction on the Pronominal *No*

Tests based on Kamio's analysis support the claim that the *no* following postposed adnominals is the pronominal *no*. First, determiners cannot be postposed in the same manner as adjectives and relative clauses; they cannot appear in the postposed phrase followed by *no*.

Consider the following:

- (26) a. * /?? [__ Syoosetu o] yonda no yo, ano no.
 novel ACC read FP that
 (intended) “(What I did was) I read a novel, that one.”
- b. * Kinoo [__ kuruma o] katta yo, aru
 yesterday car ACC bought FP some-certain
no.
 (intended) “I bought a car yesterday, some one.”

In (26a) the determiner *ano* 'that' is postposed from the accusative host NP *ano syoosetu o* 'that novel' and followed by *no*, and the resulting sentence is unacceptable. Similarly, in (26b), the determiner *aru* 'a/some certain' is postposed from the accusative host NP *aru kuruma o* 'a certain car', and the resulting sentence is also unacceptable. This shows that the *no* following a postposed adnominal cannot be immediately preceded by a determiner.

However, if we postpose a modifier along with the determiner or quantifier, the result is an acceptable utterance. Consider the following:

- (27) a. [__ Nekutai o] katta yo, ano {kiree-na/aoi} no.
 necktie ACC bought FP that pretty blue
 “I bought a necktie, that pretty/blue one.”
- b. [__ Kyaku o] mita yo, ano sugoku
 customer ACC saw FP that very
keti-na no.
 stingy
 “I saw a customer, that very stingy one.”

In (27a), the determiner *ano* 'that' is postposed along with the *na*-nominal *kiree-na* 'pretty' or the adjective *aoi* 'blue', the postposed phrase is followed by *no*, and the resulting sentence is acceptable. Similarly, in (27b), where *ano* is postposed along with *sugoku keti-na* 'very stingy', the entire postposed sequence is followed by *no*, and the sentence is acceptable. Thus, in adnominal postposing, the *no* in the postposed phrase must have an intervening restrictive modifier between it and any postposed determiner. This is consistent with Kamio's analysis of

the pronominal *no*.

Finally, postposing nonrestrictive adjectives or relative clauses results in the loss of the non-restrictive interpretation. Consider the following:

- (28) a. Atama-no-warui Yamada-san o yonda yo.
dumb Yamada Mr. ACC called FP
“I called Mr. Yamada, who is dumb.” (nonrestrictive)
“I called Mr. Yamada, the dumb one.” (restrictive)
- b. [__ Yamada-san o] yonda yo, atama-no-warui no.
Mr. Yamada ACC called FP dumb
* “I called Mr. Yamada, who is dumb.” (nonrestrictive)
“I called Mr. Yamada, the dumb one.” (restrictive)

In (28a), *Yamada-san* 'Mr. Yamada' is described by the adnominal *atama no warui* 'dumb' (lit. 'bad in the head'). Because *Yamada-san* can easily be interpreted as an already identified individual, the adnominal *atama-no-warui* can be interpreted as a non-restrictive relative clause, or it can be interpreted as restricting the possible referents who all have the name Yamada by the quality of dumbness. However, when the adnominal *atama no warui* is postposed and *no* appears as part of the postposed phrase, the first nonrestrictive interpretation disappears. Here, too, we see that the *no* following postposed adnominals requires a restrictive modifier. The appearance of *no* after a postposed adnominal that would have a nonrestrictive interpretation in the corresponding nonpostposed sentence results in the loss of the nonrestrictive interpretation, exactly as Kamio predicts for the pronominal *no*.

In summary, the *no* that appears following postposed *na*-nominals, adjectives, and relative clauses is the pronominal *no*. This *no* shows all the properties of the pronominal *no* outlined above, namely the honorable human referent restriction, antecedent replaceability, and the requirement of a restrictive modifier. This shows that while adnominal postposition appears

to express at the end of the sentence part of the host NP, the postposed phrase is actually a full NP. Because the *no* is the pronominal *no*, the postposed phrase is in fact a coreferential noun phrase in which the head noun is replaced by the nominal *no*. When postposing adnominals, it seems that there is a tendency to avoid postposing fragments of NPs, and this is avoided by using the pronominal *no* after adjectives, *na*-nominals, and relative clauses.

4.3 Status of *No* in Postposed Genitive NPs

In this section, I will show that the *no* following postposed genitive NPs is the contracted *no*. First, I argue for this analysis by analogy with other types of adnominals. In the previous section it was observed that other types of adnominals avoid postposing a fragment of an NP by having a pronominal *no*. In other words, the postposed items are full NPs where modifiers are combined with the pronominal *no*. If we assume that postposed genitive NPs obey this same tendency, the *no* that follows postposed genitive NPs should not be the connective *no* because that would mean a fragment of an NP is being postposed.

Second, the tests applied to the *no* following postposed genitive NPs have mixed results, but they can be consistently interpreted if we treat the *no* as the contracted *no*. Thus, I propose that the *no* following postposed genitive NPs is the contracted *no*. Because the contracted *no* contains within it both the connective *no* and the pronominal *no*, my analysis allows us to maintain the tendency for postposing a non-fragment of an NP while also capturing some of the properties of the pronominal *no*. To support the claim that the *no* in question is the contracted *no*, I will apply the same tests used in section 4.2 to postposed genitive NPs.

4.3.1 Antecedent Replacement Test⁹

The Antecedent Replacement test indicates that the *no* following postposed genitive NPs is either the connective *no* or the contracted *no*, but not the pronominal *no*. Consider the following:

- (29) a. Taroo ga [__ CD o] katta yo, Mootsaruto no.
Taro NOM CD ACC bought FP Mozart
“Taro bought a CD, one of Mozart.”
- b. * Taroo ga CD o katta yo, Mootsaruto CD.
- c. Taroo ga CD o katta yo, Mootsaruto no CD.

In (29a), the genitive NP *Mootsaruto no* 'Mozart' is postposed from the host NP *Mootsaruto no CD o* 'a Mozart CD'. In (29b), the *no* is replaced with the head of host NP, and in (29c) with the connective *no* followed by the head of the host NP. The resulting sentence in (29b) is unacceptable, whereas (29c) is acceptable. The unacceptability of (29b) shows that *no* cannot simply be replaced with the head of the host NP, which is strong evidence that the *no* following postposed genitive NPs is not just the pronominal *no*.

However, the pattern shown in (29) is what we would expect for either connective *no* or contracted *no*. If the *no* at the end of the postposed phrase is the connective *no*, it would require the head of the host NP to simply be placed after it. On the other hand, if the *no* in the postposed phrase is the contracted *no*, then it would first have to be expanded back into the connective *no*

9 The result of the honorable human referent test is not clear, as shown in (i).

(i) a Taroo ga Toodai {no sensee / *no} o oyobi-sita yo.
Taro NOM Tokyo-Uni. GEN teacher ACC called-POL FP
“I called the professor from Tokyo University.”

b ?/OK Taroo ga [__ sensee o] oyobi-sita yo, Toodai no.

This seems to indicate the *no* following postposed genitive NPs is the connective *no* rather than the contracted *no*. However, I explain in section 5.1 that this is a case where postposed phrases can occur without pronominal *no*. In the case that the modifier is a genitive NP, this exception would dictate that the *no* in the postposed phrase would be the connective *no* rather than the contracted *no*.

and the pronominal *no* before the pronominal component could be replaced.¹⁰ Thus, as there is no surface distinction between these two possibilities, another test is needed to show whether the *no* following postposed genitive NPs is the connective or the contracted *no*.

4.3.2 Testing Kamio's Properties of Pronominal *No*

Using Kamio's analysis, it is possible to show properties of pronominal *no* in the *no* that appears as part of a postposed genitive NP. First, Kamio notes that it is not possible for a quantifier phrase to appear with the contracted *no* without a modifier, as shown below (original sentences and judgements from (Kamio 1983, pp. 88, 90)):

- (30) a. San-nin no gakusee ga yukue-humee ni natta.
three-CT GEN student NOM missing DAT became
“Three students went missing.”
- b. * San-nin no ga yukue-humee ni natta.
- (31) a. Ni-hon no bin o katta.
two-CT GEN bottle ACC bought
“I bought two bottles.” or “I bought bottles in twos.”
- b. Ni-hon no o kudasai.
two-CT GEN-one ACC give-POL
only “Please give me the one that comes in twos.”

In (30), when the head noun of the noun phrase *san-nin no gakusee* 'three students' is replaced with a pronominal *no*, which combines with the connective *no* to form the contracted *no*, the result is unacceptable. According to Kamio, this is because the pronominal *no* is directly preceded by a quantifier phrase without an intervening modifier. In (31a), it is possible to interpret the noun phrase *ni-hon no bin* in two ways: as two bottles or as bottles that are sold in

¹⁰ I should emphasize that the contraction analysis is synchronic and that the string genitive *no* + pronominal *no* is not attested.

pairs (as opposed to individually or in six-packs). The former interpretation is the result of interpreting *ni-hon no* as a quantifier phrase whereas the latter interpretation is the result of interpreting it as a modifier. When the head noun of *ni-hon no bin* is replaced with the pronominal *no*, as in (31b), the result is still grammatical, but the quantifier phrase interpretation is lost. This is again due to the requirement that the pronominal *no* must be preceded by a modifier, which the contracted *no*, a contraction of the connective *no* and pronominal *no*, also obeys.

If we consider the postposition of quantifier phrases, we get similar results, as shown below:

- (32) * Sono ten'in wa [__ 2000cc no kuruma o] utta yo,
 that clerk TOP 2000-c.c. GEN car ACC sold FP
san-dai no.
 three-CT
 (intended) "That clerk sold 2000cc cars, three (of them)."
- (33) a. Rop-pon no biiru o katte kita yo.
 six-CT GEN beer ACC bought came FP
 "I went and bought six bottles of beer."
 or "I went and bought beer that came in packs of six."
- b. [__ Biiru o] katte kita yo, rop-pon no.
 only "I went and bought beer that came in packs of six."

In (32), the quantifier phrase *san-dai no* 'three' is postposed and the result is unacceptable, similar to what was seen in (30). In (33a), the phrase *rop-pon no* 'six' can either be interpreted as a quantifier specifying the number of beers purchased or as modifier telling what kind of beer was purchased, in this case one that comes in a six-pack. When *rop-pon no* is postposed in (33b), the quantifier phrase interpretation is lost similar to what was seen in (31). The similarity in behavior between postposing quantifier phrases and replacing the head noun with *no* indicates

- (35) [__ Nekutai o] katta yo, ano kiree-na/aoi no/*∅.
 necktie ACC bought FP that pretty blue one
 “I bought a necktie, that pretty/blue one.”

In (35), when the postposed phrase includes a postposed determiner (*ano*) and a postposed modifier (*kiree-na* or *aoi*), the result is acceptable only if the postposed phrase is terminated by a pronominal *no*. I have argued that this was because the postposed phrase was not a fragment of a host NP but a full NP (with the pronominal *no*).

Now, let us return to the postposition of a genitive NP. In the case of genitive NPs, we get results similar to (35) when pronominal *no* is present. Consider the following acceptable sentence:

- (36) [__ Nekutai o] katta yo, ano huransu-see no.
 necktie ACC bought FP that French-made
 “I bought a necktie, that French-made one.”

In (36), the determiner *ano* 'that' and modifier *huransu-see no* 'French-made' are postposed from the host, accusative NP *ano huransu-see no nekutai o* 'that French-made necktie'. Let us assume that the *no* at the end of the (36) is the connective *no*. If this were the case, then the postposed phrase in (36) would be a determiner plus a modifier, a fragment of an NP. However, this contradicts the pattern observed above for other types of modifiers where it was not acceptable to postpose only a determiner and a modifier without *no*. Thus, the *no* in the postposed phrase in (36) must be the contracted *no*. This analysis obeys the pattern observed when postposing other types of adnominals by creating a full NP at the end of the sentence.

In summary, the *no* following postposed genitive NPs is the contracted *no*. The antecedent-replacement test rules out the pure pronominal *no*, but this *no* exhibits some of Kamio's properties of pronominal *no*. It is not possible to postpose quantifier phrases that have

the same surface form as genitive NP modifiers, and postposing nonrestrictive genitive NPs results in the weakening of the nonrestrictive interpretation. Just as with adjectives, *na*-nominals, and relative clauses, postposing genitive NPs avoids postposing a fragment of an NP by including the pronominal *no* in the postposed phrase. However, in this case, the pronominal *no* manifests as a portmanteau of that includes the connective *no* as well.

5 Postposed Modifiers Without *No*

Simon (1989) offers some examples of postposed sentences without *no*:

- (37) * [__ Eega] mita yo, sugoku omosiroi.
 movie saw FP amazingly interesting
 “I saw a movie, an interesting one.”
- (38) ? Ano hito wa [__ gakusee] yo, kono-aida Nihon
 that person TOP student FP the-other-day Japan
kara kita.
 from came
 “That person is the student, the one who came from Japan the other day.”
- (39) [__ Kookoku] mita yo, seeru ga aru tte-yuu.
 advertisement saw FP sale NOM exists COMP
 “I saw an advertisement that there will be a sale.”

Simon claims that in all of these cases adnominal postposing is acceptable. This could indicate that the extent to which the pronominal *no* is required varies among speakers. Nevertheless, the difference in acceptability of (37-39) raises an even more interesting question: what pattern if any does the appearance and nonappearance of *no* in postposed adnominal phrases follow?

5.1 Honorable Human Referents

In cases where the host NP has an honorable human referent, the *no* at the end of the

postposed phrase is omissable, as in the following:

- (40) Kinoo Taroo ga [__ sensee ni] o-ai-sita yo, ano
 yesterday Taro NOM teacher DAT met-POL FP that
{rippa-na / wakai / atarasiku kita} (*no).
 great young newly came
 “Yesterday Taro met the teacher, that {great / young / newly arrived} (one).”

In (40), the determiner + *na*-nominal sequence *ano rippa-na* 'that great', the determiner + adjective sequence *ano wakai* 'that young', and the relative clause *atarasiku kita* 'newly came' are postposed from a host NP with an honorable human referent. In each case, the sentence is acceptable so long as *no* is *not* present.

If the referent of the host NP is a human, but not an honored one, or if the referent is inanimate, then *no* is required, as in the following.

- (41) Unhonored Human Referent
- a. Kinoo, kenkyuusitu ni [__ TA ga] kita yo,
 Yesterday office DAT NOM came FP
baka-na { * Ø / no }.
 stupid
 “Yesterday, a TA came to my office, a dumb one.”
- b. Kinoo, kenkyuusitu ni [__ TA ga] kita yo,
 Yesterday office DAT NOM came FP
atarasii { * Ø / no }.
 new
 “Yesterday, a TA came to my office, a new one.”
- c. Kinoo, [__ gakusee o] yamesaseta yo, gomibako
 Yesterday student ACC quit-CAUS FP trash-can
ni hi o tuketa { */?? Ø / no }.
 DAT fire ACC lit
 “Yesterday, I made the student quit, the one who set fire to the trash can.”
- (42) Inanimate Referent
- a. Kinoo, [__ eega] mita yo, hen-na { * Ø / no }.
 yesterday movie saw FP strange
 “Yesterday, I saw a movie, a strange one.”

- b. Kinoo, [__ eega] mita yo, hurui { * Ø / no }.¹¹
 yesterday movie saw FP old
 “Yesterday, I saw a movie, an old one.”
- c. Kinoo, [__ eega] mita yo, syuwa-tyan
 yesterday movie saw FP Arnold-Schwarzenegger
ga deru { * Ø / no }.
 NOM appear
 “Yesterday I saw a movie, one starring Arnold Schwarzenegger.”

In (41a), (41b), and (41c), a *na*-nominal, an adjective, and a relative clause, respectively, are postposed from host NPs with unhonored human referents. In each case, it is either unacceptable or highly awkward for *no* to be omitted. Similarly, in (42a), (42b), and (42c), a *na*-nominal, an adjective, and a relative clause, respectively, are postposed from a host NP with an inanimate referent, and in each case, the sentence is unacceptable without *no*.

Thus, whereas postposing from host NPs with inanimate or unhonored human referents requires the pronominal *no*, postposing from host NPs with honorable human referents requires *no* be omitted. This may best be explained as an effect of the honorable human referent constraint, which states that it is not possible to use the pronominal *no* to refer to an honored human.. When postposing from host NPs with honorable human referents, the honorable human referent constraint overrides the normal preference for the appearance of pronominal *no*.

5.2 *Tte yuu* Complement clauses

I also found that *no* is also not necessary when postposing *tte yuu* complement clauses

¹¹ It may be possible to postpose some APs with inanimate host NP referents, as below.

- (i) ? Kinoo [__ eega] mita yo, sugoku omosiroi.
 yesterday movie saw FP amazingly interesting
 “Yesterday, I saw a movie, a very interesting one.”

Nevertheless, I believe that the relative acceptability of (i) is due to interference from an interpretation of the postposed phrase as a separate sentence. It is possible for APs to act as full sentences, and, in the case of (i), *sugoku omosiroi* ‘amazingly interesting’ may represent the speaker interjecting his or her thoughts on the movie rather than postposing a modifier of the movie.

(i.e. clauses headed with the complementizer *tte-yuu* 'say that' that give the content of the head noun). Consider the following:

- (43) a. [__ Kookoku] mita yo, omosiroi
 advertisement saw FP interesting
 {no / */? ∅}.
 “I saw an advertisement, an interesting one.”
- b. [__ Kookoku] mita yo, rakugaki
 advertisement saw FP graffiti
 sareta {no / ? ∅}.
 was-done one
 “I saw an advertisement, one that was graffitied.”
- c. [__ Kookoku] mita yo, seeru ga aru
 advertisement saw FP sale NOM exists
 tte-yuu {? no / ∅}.
 COMP one
 “I saw an advertisement that there will be a sale.”

In (43a), an adjective is postposed, and there is a strong preference for *no* to appear after the postposed adnominal. In (43b), a relative clause is postposed, and there is a slight preference for *no* to appear after the postposed adnominal, though not as strong as in (43a). In contrast, in (43c), a complement clause with the complementizer *tte-yuu* is postposed, and there is a preference against *no* appearing after the postposed phrase. Thus, it seems there is a continuum of preference for the presence of *no* in accordance with the type of adnominal postposed, adjectives appear near the pole where *no* is required, complement clauses appear near the opposite pole where *no* is dispreferred, and relative clauses appear somewhere in the middle. This continuum can be schematized graphically as follows:

(44)

Type of postposed
adnominal:

Appearance of *no*:



The reason for this phenomenon is probably related to the differing degrees of independence among these adnominals. Masuoka (1994) describes how clauses may be divided into two levels, a propositional level and a modality level. Relative clauses are at only the propositional level but not the modality level: they cannot occur with the epistemic modal auxiliary *daroo* or the adverb *osoraku* 'most likely', as shown below:

- (45) a. * [Osoraku rakugaki sareru] kookoku
most-likely graffiti do-PASS advertisement
mita yo.
saw FP
(intended) "I saw an advertisement that will most likely be graffitied."
- b. ?? [Rakugaki sareru daroo] kookoku mita
graffiti do-PASS probably advertisement saw
yo.
FP
(intended) "I saw an advertisement that will probably be graffitied."

On the other hand, *tte-yuu* complement clauses can take such modal auxiliaries and occupy the both the propositional level and the modality level, as in the following example:

- (46) a. [Osoraku isuraeru ga tetta-suru tte-yuu]
most-likely Israel NOM retreat COMP
kizi mita yo.
article saw FP
"I saw an article saying that Israel will most likely withdraw."

- b. [Isuraeru ga tetta-suru daroo tte-yuu]
 Israel NOM retreat probably COMP
 kizi mita yo.
 article saw FP
 “I saw an article saying that Israel will probably withdraw.”

Thus, *tte-yuu* complement clauses are like main sentences and are more independent than relative clauses.

The fact that *tte-yuu* complement clauses are more like main sentences means that they are more likely to be moved around and appear on their own like independent clauses. Thus, *tte-yuu* complement clauses would be less likely to take *no* when postposed.

6 Against a Movement Analysis

Sells (1999) argues that postposing is not actually movement. First, Sells suggests that the Head Restriction is not in fact a restriction on postposing, but instead it is a result of the strict requirement that the sentence be well-formed with the postposed element omitted. However, the conclusions reached in Sections 4 and 5 indicate that there is a tendency for the postposed element to be well-formed as well. In the case of adnominal postposing, the postposed element is not well formed if it is just an adnominal fragment of an NP, and the tendency for a well-formed postposed element forces the appearance of pronominal *no* that is coreferential with the head of the host NP. In the case that the host NP has an honored human referent, the tendency toward a well-formed postposed element cannot be satisfied by adding *no* due to the honorable human referent constraint, and the appearance of *no* is blocked, as was observed in Section 5.1. In the case the postposed adnominal is a *tte-yuu* complement clause, the postposed element is already sufficiently well-formed as a sentence, and the pronominal *no* is unnecessary. The requirement

of well-formed hosts and the tendency for well-formed postposed elements also accounts for the CSC effects noticed in Section 3.

Next, Sells (1999) argues that postposing cannot be movement on the grounds that “it is completely unmotivated in Japanese—if not in all languages—to allow movement at all for elements such as determiners, degree adverbs, conjuncts, or genitive phrases” (Sells 1999, p. 4), elements that Simon (1989) claims are all postposable. However, this thesis shows even more cases where a movement analysis is untenable. First, it is possible to postpose non-constituents, as shown in (40), reproduced below as (47),

- (47) Kinoo Taroo ga [__ sensee ni] o-ai-sita yo, ano
yesterday Taro NOM teacher DAT met-POL FP that
{rippa-na / wakai / atarasiku kita}.
great young newly came
“Yesterday Taro met the teacher, that {great / young / newly arrived} (one).”

In (47), the non-constituents *ano rippa-na*, a determiner and *na*-nominal, *ano wakai*, a determiner and adjective, and *ano atarasiku kita*, a determiner and relative clause, are postposed. However, movement only applies to constituents so sentences like (47) are strong evidence that postposing is not movement.

Even more evidence can be found in the conclusion reached in Section 4, that postposed adnominals are actually part of full postverbal NPs. This again, is problem for a movement analysis. Movement does not duplicate items, so there is no way for a movement analysis to explain the appearance of a pronominal *no* coreferential with the head of the host NP. This can be clearly seen by attempting to put the entirety of the postposed element back into the host NP when the postposed element is something other than a genitive NP, as below:

- (48) a. [_A Aoi] nekutai o katta yo
 blue necktie ACC bought FP
 “I bought a blue necktie.”
- b. ___ Nekutai o katta yo, aoi {no / */?? ∅}.
- c. * Aoi no nekutai o katta yo.

In (48), when the adjective *aoi* is postposed from the host NP *aoi nekutai*, the pronominal *no* is required to follow the postposed adjective, as shown in (48b). However, (48c) shows that it is impossible for the postposed element to be from the host NP. Even more problematic are cases where a postposed adnominal is followed by both pronominal *no* and a case particle, as below:

- (49) Gakkoo ga [___ gakusee o] yamesasetta yo, [_S gomibako
 school NOM student ACC made-quit FP trash-can
 ni hi o tuketa] no o.
 DAT fire ACC set one ACC
 “The school made the student quit, the one who set fire to the trashcan.”

In (49), the postposed element, coreferential with the host NP *gakusee o*, ends with the accusative particle *o*. This makes that the position that the relative clause *gomibako ni hi o tuketa* is moved from the host NP untenable. It is even more unlikely that the entire postposed phrase is moved from anywhere in the sentence given that Japanese can never take more than one direct object in a sentence.

Third, Sells (1999) argues that, other than the information structure restrictions on the postposed element and the requirement for a syntactically well-formed sentence without the postposed element, the only remaining restriction on the postposed element is that its relationship to the rest of the sentence be sufficiently easy to interpret. Sells argues that interpretive dependencies, not movement and Subjacency, are the source of island effects in postposing. One way Sells demonstrates this is by showing that the insertion of a deictic auxiliary makes it more acceptable to postpose from a relative clause:

- (50) a. ?* [_{NP} [_S Ken ga __ katta] doresu o] mita no,
 Ken NOM bought dress ACC saw
 okusan ni. (Simon 1989, p. 111)
 wife DAT
 “I saw the dress Ken bought, for his wife.”
- b. ? [_{NP} [_S Ken ga __ katte-agetu] doresu o]
 Ken NOM bought-for-someone dress ACC
 mita no, okusan ni. (Sells 1999, p. 14)
 saw wife DAT
 “I saw the dress Ken bought, for his wife.”

In (50), the postposing of the dative NP *okusan ni* from a relative clause in a complex NP is made more acceptable by the insertion of *agetu*, which indicates that the action is taken for someone's benefit. This deictic helps overcome the interpretational difficulty of postposing from a complex NP.

Also, recall (7a, b), reproduced as (51a, b) below:

- (51) a. *[_{NP} [_S Ken ga __ hanasite-ta] eega] o mita yo,
 Ken NOM was-talking movie ACC saw FP
 Mari to. (Simon 1989, p. 121)
 Mari with
 “I saw the movie that Ken was talking about, with Mari.”
- b. [_{NP} [_{S'} [_S Ken ga __ hanasite-ru] no]] o mita yo,
 Ken NOM is-talking ACC saw FP
 Mari to.
 Mari with
 “I saw Ken talking, with Mari.”

Simon explains this difference in acceptability by building in an exception to the CNPC, namely, that it only applies to NPs with lexical heads. However, it is possible to explain this as a result of interpretive constraints without resorting to an exception to the Subjacency rule. In (51a), the utterance is fundamentally stating the fact that the speaker saw a movie, and the relative clause modifying *eega* is lower level information than the whole NP or the head of the NP, and it is

harder to interpret the postposed phrase as relating to this semantically lower-level constituent. However, in (51b), the utterance is fundamentally stating that Ken was talking and that the speaker saw it. Here, the relative clause is top level information; the head *no* is purely grammatical and represents no lexical information at all. Because the head's information status is null, it is possible to interpret the relation between the postposed phrase and the gap in the complex NP in (51b).

Some of the patterns of adnominal postposing observed in this paper are also best explained as the result of interpretive dependencies. In Section 2 it was observed that distance between the host NP and the postposed adnominal inhibits postposing. This is easily explained as a tendency to associate postposed adnominals with the nearest possible referent. If there is more lexical content or other possible host NPs between the intended host NP and the postposed adnominal, the difficulty of arriving at the desired interpretation increases. In Section 3 it was observed that it is possible to postpose multiple adnominals so long as they come from the same host NP. This, too, is easily explained as the result of interpretational dependencies; it is easy to interpret two postposed adnominals as belonging to a single host NP, and it is extremely difficult to associate them with separate host NPs.

Finally, it should be noted that the existence of island effects does not imply movement. Consider the following English example:¹²

- (52) a. John saw Mary talking to [_{NP} a __ guy] at the party last night—big.
b. * I got the phone number from [_{NP} the girl [_S who saw Mary talking to [_{NP} a __ guy] at the party last night]]—big.

In (52), we observe complex NP island effects, but no one claims that the structure in (52) that

¹² These examples are provided by Robert Levine (personal communication).

puts *big* at the end of the sentence involves movement. Similarly, just because we observe island effects in postposing in Japanese does not mean we can conclude it is the product of movement. In fact, the inconsistency of island effects, as shown in (51), should indicate that sentences with postposing are *not* the product of movement.

7 Summary

In this paper I have noted several restrictions on the postposing of adnominals, most notably that postposing adnominals actually results in the appearance of a postverbal NP. This is due to a tendency for the postposed phrase to be well-formed, and in the case of postposed adnominals, it is preferred to have a full NP coreferential with the host NP rather than having a fragment of an NP postposed.

This appearance of postverbal NPs when postposing adnominals is evidence that postposing does not actually involve movement. The island effects Simon (1989) notes are probably not the effects of Subjacency, but rather of interpretational dependencies that Sells (1999) proposes. We can explain the acceptability or unacceptability of sentences with postposing by seeing whether (i) the postposed element is capable of occupying the information structure role associated with that position (Kuno 1978; Kamio and Takami 1998; Kaiser 1999), (ii) the sentence is well-formed with the postposed element omitted (Sells 1999), (iii) the postposed element is sufficiently well-formed, as shown in this thesis, and (iv) the interpretational relationship of the postposed element to the rest of the sentence is sufficiently easy to identify (Sells 1999).

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