

CASE-MARKING PARTICLE DELETION IN THE RELATIVE CLAUSE IN JAPANESE

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The points I want to make are to examine the postposition deletion in the prenominal relative clause (=RC) in SOV languages including Japanese and to consider the cause of this phenomenon. This problem is discussed mainly from the viewpoint of preservation of the semantic role without case-marking postposition. In addition to this, the difference between the properties of RC in SVO languages and RC in SOV languages will be discussed: RC in the former keeps the sentence structure, but RC in the latter does not.

Key words: postposition deletion, oblique case, SOV, RRC-Head order, semantic role, information processing, syntactic expectation, semantic expectation, clause final connective

The purpose of this paper is to discuss why the case-marking particles (postpositions or case endings) are deleted in restrictive relative clauses (=RRC's) in Japanese when the oblique cases are relativized, and to compare this phenomenon with that of some other SOV languages, Mongolian and Turkish, from the viewpoint of information processing, case relation and semantic role.

- (1) Il m'a frappé *avec* la canne.
- (2) [la canne [*avec* laquelle il m'a frappé]]
- (3) Er schlug mich *mit* den Stock.
- (4) [der Stock, [*mit* dem (womit) er mich schlug]]
- (5) He hit me *with* the stick.
- (6) [the stick [*with* which he hit me]] ([the stick [he hit me *with*]])

In the examples above, the italicized particles (prepositions) are kept both at the sentence level and at the RRC level. In Japanese, however, (7b) shows that the instrumental case-marking particle *de* (a postposition) is deleted in the RRC level, whereas it is kept in the sentence level in (7a).

(7a) *Kare wa watashi o boo de nagut -ta.*
 Il Top ma Acc canne avec frapper -Past
 (b) [[*kare ga watashi o nagut-ta*] *boo*]
 [[il Nom me Acc Verb-Past] canne]

As the following examples show, most of postpositions (=Postp's) and case-endings in Japanese, except for *kara* (from), *made* (until), and *madeni* (by), are deleted in RRC's when the oblique NP is relativized.

(8a) *Ken wa sono ie ni sunde-iru.* (Ken lives *in* the house.)
 (b) Ken Top the house Postp lives
 (c) [[*Ken ga (no) sunde -iru*] *sono ie*]
 (d) [[*Ken Nom (Gen) live non-Past*] Det house] (the house *in* which John lives)
 (9a) *Ken wa kyookai ni it-ta.* (Ken went *to* church)
 (b) Ken Top church Postp go-Past
 (c) [[*Ken ga (no) it-ta*] *kyookai*]
 (d) [[*Ken Nom (Gen) go-Past*] church] (church *to* which Ken went)

The deletion of a case-marking postposition in RRC's is also observed in Mongolian (10)-(11) and Turkish (12), which have a verbal adjective suffix (=VA) functioning as a clause final connective between the subordinate clause and Head-NP, respectively.

(10a) *bid šin nom-ü ÜN tuxai jár«lts-«dz# su Ü-n.* (We are talking *about* the new book)
 (b) We new book-Gen Postp talk-ing are
 (c) [[*bidn-i jár«lts-«dz#-su Ü-ga Ü*] *šin nom*]
 (d) [[*we-Gen talk-ing are VA*] new book] (the new book *about* which we are talking)
 (11a) *bat surGu Ül ru Ü jab-la Ü.* (bat went *to* school)
 (b) bat school Postp go-Past
 (c) [[*bat-in Jab-saN*] *surGu Ül*]
 (d) [[*bat-Gen go -VA*] school] (school *to* which bat went)
 (12a) *Adam cami -ye git-ti.* (Adam went *to* mosque)
 (b) Adam mosque -Dat ending go-Past
 (c) [[*adam-in git- tig# -i*] *cami*]
 (d) [[*Adam-Gen go -VA -Gen*] mosque] (mosque *to* which Adam went)

It is generally pointed out that there is a strong correlation between the order of RRC and the basic word order, and that postpositional languages have RRC-Head order, whereas prepositional languages show a strong tendency toward Head-RRC order (Mallinson, G. and

B.J. Blake, 1981; Greenberg, J.H. 1978). However, postposition deletion in RRC's in RRC-Head order without a relative pronoun has not been much discussed.

On the basis of the data examined thus far, we have attempted to give the reasons for postposition deletion here. This phenomenon comes from the differences in the information processing between Head-RRC type and RRC-Head type. The speaker of Head-RRC has to give syntactic clues such as case relation, agreement in gender and number to the hearer who has not been informed about them beforehand. This is because the Head-NP precedes the comment about it in the stream of information which is linear from left to right, thus requiring the hearer to have syntactic information in the following clause. This information ordering means that the language users need a relative pronoun, so that the hearer's syntactic expectation is satisfied (Rumelhart, D.E. 1977). On the other hand, in RRC-Head type the comment about the Head-NP is semantically motivated and is given beforehand, so the hearer selects the most relevant noun that could occur from the information given in the preceding subordinate clause. At the same time, this semantic expectation helps the hearer to figure out the syntactic relationship between the syntactic features of the verb in the preceding RRC and the following Head-NP. As a result, the semantic role of the case in question is adequately inferred and maintained without the morphological realization of a postposition. Consequently a genitive ending is often attached to the nominative (agentive) NP in the preceding RRC and a clause final connective is also attached to the RRC to make up for the deletion of a postposition or a case-marking particle. This accounts for the idea that RRC in this type is more adjectival than clausal. But Japanese does not have a clause final connective, which seems unique in this type. The Japanese case system is motivated semantically rather than syntactically.

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