Locality and Clause Size Matter: Semantic Selection of Nominalized Interrogatives

Young-Hoon Kim (Cornell University)

Yale Syntax Reading Group | 26th September 2025 | yk798@cornell.edu

0 Overview

- Today's talk: interrogatives in semantic selection, with a focus on *nominalized* complement clauses (≈ a chapter in my dissertation; also language-specific versions in Kim to appear a; Kim to appear b)
- Case in point – embedded nominalized interrogatives in Korean, Japanese and Turkish, as to:
  - **Where** these clauses encode the interrogative information; and
  - **How local** they are to matrix predicates that require them (*e.g.*, $\sqrt{\text{ASK}}$)

Core claim: locality and clause size in semantic selection

- What seems to be non-local s(emantic)-selection demonstrates that:
  - 'long-distance' s-selection of interrogatives is subject to phase-based locality (*i.e.*, PIC2); and
  - nominalized clauses encode interrogatives in distinct syntactic domains due to size of clauses.
- S-selection of interrogatives is satisfied by a syntactic dependency rather than a lexical constraint ⇒ supports the view that s-selection involves a bi-directional mutual dependency (Safir 2021)
- Finite nominalized clauses vary in their size, with systematic syntactic consequences ⇒ supports size variations in finiteness (*e.g.*, Adger 2007; Wurmbrand and Lohninger 2023)

Roadmap:

§**1** Empirical and theoretical backgrounds on semantic selection and nominalization

§**2** The role of syntactic locality in semantic selection of interrogatives

§**3** Korean and Japanese: interrogatives in the **DP** domain

§**4** Turkish: interrogatives in the ***v*P** domain

§**5** A brief summary and theoretical implications

1 Backgrounds: Semantic Selection and Nominalization

- **Selection** – a matrix predicate requires a particular type of syntactic category ("c(ategory)-selection") and a particular semantic type ("s(emantic)-selection") in its embedded clause.
- The question: how does **s-selection** behave when the embedded clause is ***nominalized***?

1.1 Locality in Semantic Selection

- Properties of s-selection have been considered to be a constraint in the lexicon → information for semantic items is specified pre-syntactically (Grimshaw 1979; Pesetsky 1982; Odijk 1997, *among others*).
- In English, the information of s-selection is encoded in the form of complementizer: both c-selection and s-selection are satisfied **locally**.

(1) a. John **believed** [$_{CP}$ {$^{\checkmark}$**that**/***if**} Mary ate the apple].
b. John **asked** [$_{CP}$ {***that**/$^{\checkmark}$**if**} Mary ate the apple].

⇒ With this, s-selection is assumed to be either i) independently motivated as a lexical constraint, or ii) trivially satisfied by c-selection. However, there are many attested cases of **non-local** s-selection.

- Korean: s-selection of *declaratives* and *interrogatives* is satisfied non-locally.

(2) *Korean: non-local s-selection in CP*
a. Suho-nun [$_{CP}$ Mina-ka sakwa-lul mek-ess-{$^{\checkmark}$**ta**/***nya**}-ko] **mit**-ess-ta.
Suho-TOP [Mina-NOM apple-ACC eat-PAST-{$^{\checkmark}$**DECL**/***Q**}-COMP] **believe**-PAST-DECL
'Suho believed that Mina ate the apple.'
b. Suho-nun [$_{CP}$ Mina-ka sakwa-lul mek-ess-{***ta**/$^{\checkmark}$**nya**}-ko] **mwul**-ess-ta.
Suho-TOP [Mina-NOM apple-ACC eat-PAST-{***DECL**/$^{\checkmark}$**Q**}-COMP] **ask**-PAST-DECL
'Suho asked if Mina ate the apple.'

- C-selection is satisfied locally with CPs headed by the complementizer *ko*.
- S-selection is non-local – the clause-typing morphemes are embedded under *ko* (Pak 2008; An 2024).[1]

- French: s-selection of *indicatives* and *subjunctives* is satisfied non-locally.

(3) *French: non-local s-selection in CP*
a. Jean **pense** [$_{CP}$ *que* Marie **dort**].
Jean **thinks** [COMP Marie sleep.**IND**]
'Jean thinks that Marie sleeps.'
b. Jean **veut** [$_{CP}$ *que* Marie **dorme**].
Jean **wants** [COMP Marie sleep.**SUBJ**]
'Jean wants that Marie sleeps.'

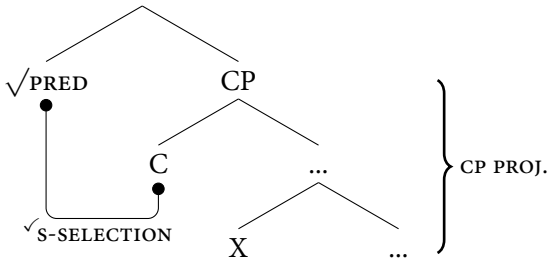
- Both verbs c-select a CP headed by the complementizer *que*, but s-select different semantic moods, which are reflected in the conjugation of embedded verbs → again, s-selection is *non-local*.

[1] If *ta-ko* or *nya-ko* represents a single morpheme, s-selection would be considered local. However, these morphemes may be separated in direct quotation contexts, with the quotation marker *la* intervening:

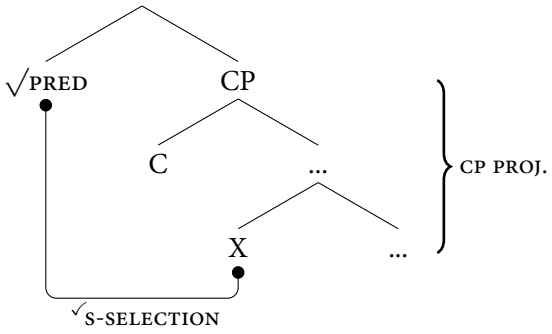
(i) *Korean*
Suho-nun [$_{CP}$ Mina-ka sakwa-lul mek-ess-{$^{\checkmark}$ta/$^{\checkmark}$nya} la-ko] malha-ess-ta.
Suho-TOP [Mina-NOM apple-ACC eat-PAST-{$^{\checkmark}$DECL/$^{\checkmark}$Q} QUOT-COMP] say-PAST-DECL
"Mina ate the apple'/'Did Mina eat the apple?', said Suho.'

- Grimshaw (2000); Shlonsky (2006): s-selection is local if satisfied within a single Extended Projection.
  - Since s-selection is satisfied within the extended projection of CP, it is considered local.
  - The notion of locality is *relaxed* with lexical specification → s-selection can still be a lexical constraint.

(4) *Local s-selection (= English (1))*



(5) *Non-local s-selection (= Korean (2); French (3))*



- Cases of s-selection across two extended projections: nominalized clauses as a testing ground
- Coming up: a contrast between declaratives and interrogatives in nominalized contexts.
  ⇒ A possibility: not all types of s-selection are equal in their status.

1.2 Nominalization of Finite Embedded Clauses

- Propositional finite clauses may be nominalized by a D-related element, which is taken to indicate direct complementation of CP to the D head (*e.g.*, Roussou 1991; Borsley and Kornfilt 2000; Pietraszko 2019).

→ The matrix verb c-selects a DP *with* a CP: **mixed** extended projections (Borsley and Kornfilt 2000).

- Korean: CP-level embedded clauses may be nominalized by the pronominal element *kes* 'thing'.

(6) *Korean: ✓s-selection of nominalized declaratives*
Suho-nun [$_{DP}$ [$_{CP}$ Mina-ka sakwa-lul mek-ess-**ta**-nun] **kes**]-ul **mit**-ess-ta.
Suho-TOP [[Mina-NOM apple-ACC eat-PAST-**DECL**-ADN] **NMZ**]-ACC **believe**-PAST-DECL
'Suho believed that Mina ate the apple.'

- The meaning of *kes* is semantically bleached (*e.g.*, no factivity triggered; Shim and Ihsane 2015).
- The morpheme *kes* spells out the D head (*kes* spells out the highest nominal projection; M-J Kim 2009), with the adnominal marking *-nun* (≈ a linker between verbal and nominal projections).

- Then, can interrogatives be s-selected in the same configuration? Well, not really...

(7) *Korean: *s-selection of nominalized interrogatives*
*Suho-nun [$_{DP}$ [$_{CP}$ Mina-ka sakwa-lul mek-ess-**nya**-nun] **kes**]-ul **mwul**-ess-ta.
Suho-TOP [[Mina-NOM apple-ACC eat-PAST-**Q**-ADN] **NMZ**]-ACC **ask**-PAST-DECL
(intended) 'Suho asked if Mina ate the apple.'

- A surprising contrast: interrogatives cannot be s-selected **across** the DP domain.

→ Two possible scenarios: a lexical ban or **a syntactic constraint** – I argue that this is syntactic!

- First of all, it is **not** the case that interrogatives are entirely banned in nominalized clauses!
- Korean: interrogatives must be expressed by the 'interrogative nominalizer' *ci* 'NMZ.Q'.[2]

(8) *Korean: ✓s-selection of nominalized interrogatives*
Suho-nun [$_{DP}$ Mina-ka sakwa-lul mek-ess-nun **ci**]-lul **mwul**-ess-ta.
Suho-TOP [Mina-NOM apple-ACC eat-PAST-ADN **NMZ.Q**]-ACC **ask**-PAST-DECL
'Suho asked if Mina ate the apple.'

- The portmanteau morpheme *ci* (nominalizer and interrogatives) satisfies s-selection **locally** → §3
- This morpheme is interrogative only: it is incompatible with declarative-taking predicates.

(9) *Korean*
*Suho-nun [$_{DP}$ Mina-ka sakwa-lul mek-ess-nun **ci**]-lul **mit**-ess-ta.
Suho-TOP [Mina-NOM apple-ACC eat-PAST-ADN **NMZ.Q**]-ACC **believe**-PAST-DECL
(intended) 'Suho believed that Mina ate the apple.'

- Turkish: nominalized clauses headed by *DIK* (realized as *diğ* here due to a phonological reason).

(10) *Turkish: ✓s-selection of nominalized declaratives*
Murat [$_{DP}$ Ayla-nın elma-yı ye-**diğ**-in]-i **san**-dı.
Murat [Ayla-GEN apple-ACC eat-**NMZ**-POSS.3SG]-ACC **think**-PAST
'Murat thought that Ayla ate the apple.'

- In interrogative contexts, disjunctive morphology is required in the embedded verb.

(11) *Turkish: ✓s-selection of nominalized interrogatives*
Murat [$_{DP}$ Ayla-nın elma-yı yi-**yip** ye-**me**-diğ-in]-i **sor**-du.
Murat [Ayla-GEN apple-ACC eat-**CONJ** eat-**NEG**-NMZ-POSS.3SG]-ACC **ask**-PAST
'Murat asked if Ayla ate the apple.'

- A-not-A question (*e.g.*, Hagstrom 2006); but this strategy is limited to nominalized contexts.
- With verbal disjunction, s-selection of interrogatives is satisfied **non-locally** → §4

- A quick take on **locality**: different strategies of satisfying s-selection in nominalized interrogatives.

(12) a. *Korean: interrogatives in DP*
[$_{DP}$ ... **D$_{[Q]}$**] $\sqrt{}$**ASK**
S-SELECTION

b. *Turkish: interrogatives in vP*
[$_{DP}$ ... [$_{vP}$ ... ***v*$_{[Q]}$**] ... D] $\sqrt{}$**ASK**
S-SELECTION

[2]Note that I only marked the presence of DP in the example for the sake of simplicity. However, I will demonstrate that *ci*-clauses in Korean do involve CP-level structure in §3.2.

Two outstanding questions:

- Why declaratives and interrogatives exhibit such a discrepancy in nominalized contexts?
  ⇒ S-selection of interrogatives is special in that it requires syntactic dependencies (§2)
- Why do these languages differ this exact way with s-selection in nominalized clauses?
  ⇒ Different size of nominalization is responsible for this pattern, with respect to locality (§3, §4)

2 Semantic Selection of Interrogatives as Syntactic Dependencies

- What is special about interrogatives? In this section, I demonstrate that...
  - **Markedness** of interrogatives plays a crucial role in their s-selection, in contrast with declaratives.
  - S-selection of interrogatives abides by the weak Phase Impenetrability Condition (**PIC2**; Chomsky 2001).

2.1 Markedness of Interrogatives

- Interrogatives exhibit more marked behaviors than declaratives. Like English T-to-C head movement:

(13) a. Mary will go to Ithaca.
b. **Will** Mary __ go to Ithaca?

- Turkish: *polar*-interrogatives require a designated clause-typing particle.

(14) *Turkish: only interrogatives accompany question particle*
a. Murat [$_{CP}$ Ayla elma-yı ye-di diye] **san**-dı.
Murat [Ayla apple-ACC eat-PAST COMP] **think**-PAST
'Murat thought that Ayla ate the apple.'
b. Murat [$_{CP}$ Ayla elma-yı ye-di **mi** diye] **sor**-du.
Murat [Ayla apple-ACC eat-PAST **Q** COMP] **ask**-PAST
'Murat asked if Ayla ate the apple.'

→ Declaratives do not require a syntactic movement or a designated morphology. They are the most unmarked, 'default' clause type (Bosque 2012; Farkas 2024), as opposed to interrogatives.

(15) *Morphosyntactic markedness of interrogatives*
Interrogatives (but not declaratives) require a particular licensing condition.

- Lasnik and Saito (1984): interrogatives are licensed via the COMP-indexing mechanism, which involves a Spec-Head agreement dependency with the [Q]-feature (also see Han and Romero 2004).
- Following the elaborated periphery of the CP domain (*e.g.*, Rizzi 1997; Saito 2012; Satik 2024), I assume the following clause-typing operation **only for interrogatives**:

(16) *Clause-typing for polar-interrogatives* (*à la* COMP-indexing mechanism)
$[_{CP}\ [_{ForceP}\ \textit{operator}_{[iQ:val]}\ [_{TP}\ \ldots\ ]\ \text{Force}_{[uQ:\underline{val}]}\ ]\ C\ ]$
CLAUSE-TYPING

- In Korean, both clauses are overtly marked by the respective morphemes (*i.e.*, *ta* for DECL; *nya* for Q). I assume that the morpheme *ta* spells out the Force head in the absence of relevant clause-typing feature.

(17) *Exponents of clausal periphery in complementizer clause (to be updated)*

	Force	$\text{Force}_{[Q]}$	C
Korean	*ta*	*nya*	*ko*
Turkish	∅	*mI*	*diye*

2.2 Semantic Selection of Interrogatives as Syntactic Dependencies

- Recall: in Korean, nominalized clauses block only s-selection of interrogatives.

(18) *Korean: contrast between declaratives and interrogatives in DP*

a. Suho-nun [$_{DP}$ [$_{CP}$ Mina-ka sakwa-lul mek-ess-**ta**-nun] **kes**]-ul **mit**-ess-ta.
Suho-TOP [[Mina-NOM apple-ACC eat-PAST-**DECL**-ADN] **NMZ**]-ACC **believe**-PAST-DECL
'Suho believed that Mina ate the apple.'

b. *Suho-nun [$_{DP}$ [$_{CP}$ Mina-ka sakwa-lul mek-ess-**nya**-nun] **kes**]-ul **mwul**-ess-ta.
Suho-TOP [[Mina-NOM apple-ACC eat-PAST-**Q**-ADN] **NMZ**]-ACC **ask**-PAST-DECL
(intended) 'Suho asked if Mina ate the apple.'

- With the notion of locality defined by extended projection (Grimshaw 2000), (18b) would be considered ungrammatical due to the intervening **nominal** extended projection.

(19) *Ban on interrogatives in nominalized contexts* *(if s-selection is a lexical constraint)*
Interrogatives cannot be s-selected across two extended projections.

- However, such a *lexical* assumption is challenged by two questions:
  - First, why declaratives are able to be s-selected across the DP layer?
  - Second, how can the observation with nominalized interrogatives (*i.e.*, *ci*-clause) be accounted for?

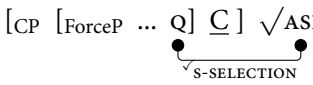
(20) *Korean*
Suho-nun [$_{DP}$ Mina-ka sakwa-lul mek-ess-nun **ci**]-lul **mwul**-ess-ta.
Suho-TOP [Mina-NOM apple-ACC eat-PAST-ADN **NMZ.Q**]-ACC **ask**-PAST-DECL
'Suho asked if Mina ate the apple.'

- My claim: the failure of s-selection is due to the markedness of interrogatives → s-selection of interrogatives (but not declaratives) requires a type of cross-clausal syntactic dependencies.
  - In nominalized clauses, s-selection crosses **two** phase boundaries (CP and DP).

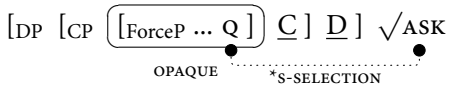
(21) *Ban on interrogatives in nominalized contexts* *(if s-selection is a syntactic constraint)*
Interrogatives cannot be s-selected across two phase boundaries.

- The weak Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC2; Chomsky 2001): the embedded ForceP is spelled out and becomes opaque only when an additional phase boundary (*e.g.*, DP) intervenes → s-selection fails!

(22) a. ✓*S-selecting interrogative CP (=(2b))*



b. **S-selecting interrogative DP (=(18b))*



- Declaratives, on the other hand, are not subject to PIC2: the default clause type with no syntactic dependency!

3 Interrogatives in DP: Korean and Japanese

- Now adding Japanese to the discussion → s-selection of interrogatives is subject to PIC2!

3.1 Failure of Semantic Selection in Nominalized Clauses

- Japanese: with s-selection in CP, interrogatives is non-local; declaratives are default (no overt morphology).

(23) *Japanese: only interrogatives accompany question particle*

a. Haru-wa [$_{CP}$ Aki-ga ringo-wo tabe-ta-to] **sinji**-ta.
Haru-TOP [Aki-NOM apple-ACC eat-PAST-COMP] **believe**-PAST
'Haru believed that Aki ate the apple.'

b. Haru-wa [$_{CP}$ Aki-ga ringo-wo tabe-ta-**ka**-to] **tazune**-ta.
Haru-TOP [Aki-NOM apple-ACC eat-PAST-**Q**-COMP] **ask**-PAST
'Haru asked if Aki ate the apple.'

⇒ The Force$_{[Q]}$ head spells out the question particle *ka*, while the Force head is null (≈ Turkish).

(24) *Exponents of clausal periphery in complementizer clause*

	Force	Force$_{[Q]}$	C
Korean	*ta*	*nya*	*ko*
Japanese	∅	*ka*	*to*
Turkish	∅	*mI*	*diye*

- Also Japanese: nominalization by the pronominal *koto* (the D head). Similar to Korean, interrogatives are special – they cannot be s-selected **across** the DP domain.

(25) *Japanese: contrast between declaratives and interrogatives in DP*

a. Haru-wa [$_{DP}$ [$_{CP}$ Aki-ga ringo-wo tabe-ta] **koto**]-wo **sinji**-ta.
Haru-TOP [[Aki-NOM apple-ACC eat-PAST] **NMZ**]-ACC **believe**-PAST
'Haru believed that Aki ate the apple.'

b. *Haru-wa [$_{DP}$ [$_{CP}$ Aki-ga ringo-wo tabe-ta-**ka**] **koto**]-wo **tazune**-ta.
Haru-TOP [[AKi-NOM apple-ACC eat-PAST-**Q**] **NMZ**]-ACC **ask**-PAST
(intended) 'Haru asked if Aki ate the apple.'

- My claim: s-selection of interrogatives is subject to PIC2, because it requires the operation Agree.

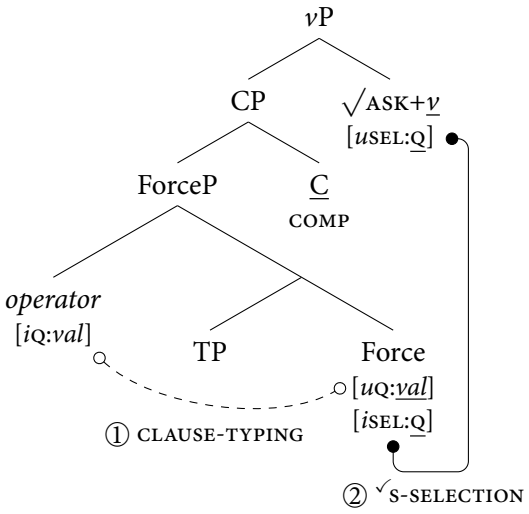
(26) *Valuation of **selection** feature in semantic selection*
Interrogatives are s-selected by valuing the [SEL]-feature in the matrix predicate.

- Two-step requirement for s-selection of interrogatives:

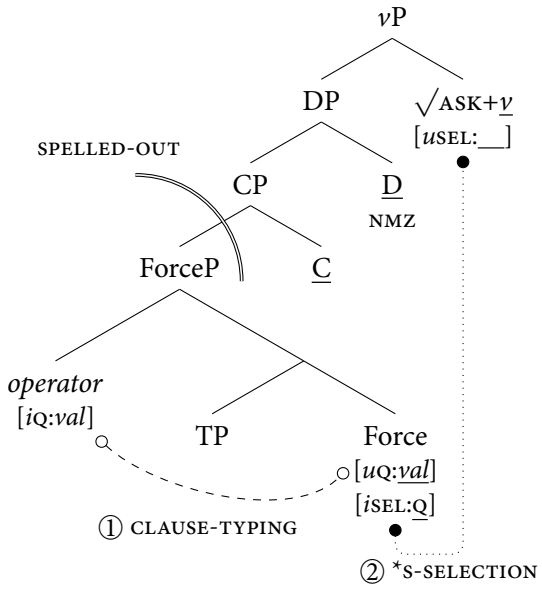
① The clause-typing values the [Q]-feature in the Force head and values the [SEL]-feature as Q.[3]
→ The (clause-typing) [Q]-feature in the Force head comes with a selection feature (*modulo* markedness).
② The now-valued [SEL]-feature agrees with the [SEL]-probe in the matrix predicate, satisfying s-selection.
→ The clause-typing operation for interrogatives **feeds** s-selection, by providing a valued goal for Agree.

- This agreement dependency fails when two phase boundaries intervene with nominalization → **PIC2!**

(27) a. *Selecting interrogative CP (=(22a))*



b. *Selecting interrogative DP → fails (=(22b))*



- Prediction: interrogatives may be embedded under DP in **non-s-selected** positions – borne out in (28a).
→ Korean *nya-kes* sequence is blocked only in s-selection contexts (for Japanese, see Appendix A).

(28) *Korean*

a. [$_{DP}$ [$_{CP}$ Mina-ka sakwa-lul mek-ess-**nya**-nun] **kes**]-i cwungyoha-ta.
[[Mina-NOM apple-ACC eat-PAST-**Q**-ADN] **NMZ**]-NOM important-DECL
'Whether Mina ate the apple or not is important.'

b. *Suho-nun [$_{DP}$ [$_{CP}$ Mina-ka sakwa-lul mek-ess-**nya**-nun] **kes**]-ul **mwul**-ess-ta.
Suho-TOP [[Mina-NOM apple-ACC eat-PAST-**Q**-ADN] **NMZ**]-ACC **ask**-PAST-DECL
(intended) 'Suho asked if Mina ate the apple.'

[3] This assumption comes with the definition of features in Pesetsky and Torrego (2007): interpretable features may enter syntactic derivation *unvalued*, which function as a goal when they get *valued*. I take the interpretable [SEL]-feature to instantiate such a case.

3.2 Interrogative Nominalizer as Repair Strategy by Syntactic Bundling

- Recall: in Korean, what I call 'interrogative nominalizer' *ci* satisfies s-selection *locally*.

(29) *Korean*
Suho-nun [$_{DP}$ Mina-ka sakwa-lul mek-ess-nun **ci**]-lul **mwul**-ess-ta.
Suho-TOP [Mina-NOM apple-ACC eat-PAST-ADN **NMZ.Q**]-ACC **ask**-PAST-DECL
'Suho asked if Mina ate the apple.'

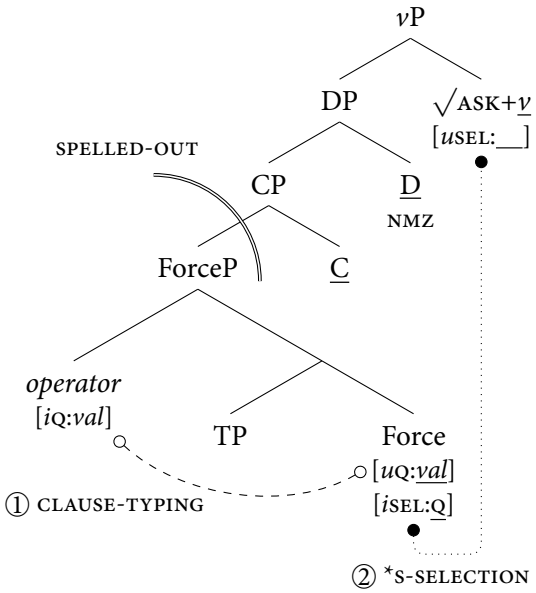
- A similar observation in Japanese, with the morpheme *ka* 'NMZ.Q' (more on this 'syncretic' pattern soon).

(30) *Japanese*
Haru-wa [$_{DP}$ Aki-ga ringo-wo tabe-ta-**ka**]-wo **tazune**-ta.
Haru-TOP [Aki-NOM apple-ACC eat-PAST-**NMZ.Q**]-ACC **ask**-PAST
'Haru asked if Aki ate the apple.'

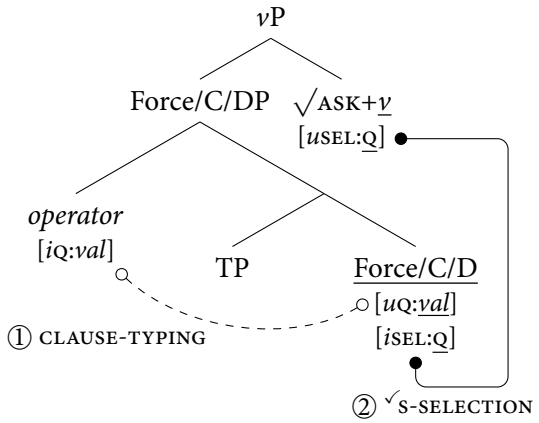
- I argue that such an 'interrogative nominalizer' emerges as a reflex of **syntactic bundling**.
  - When s-selection of interrogatives is to fail due to the locality reason, ForceP/CP/DP are bundled together as a **repair strategy** to salvage the derivation → bundling collapses two phase boundaries.

→ The bundled Force/C/D head spells out the *portmanteau* morpheme NMZ.Q and **locally** satisfies s-selection.

(31) a. *Selecting interrogative DP → fails*



b. *Repair strategy by bundling (=(29); (30))*



↪ syntactic outcome: **locality is met**
↪ morphological outcome: **NMZ.Q**

- This bundling takes place in syntax (*à la* Hsu 2021) but not in the lexicon (*pace* Giorgi and Pianesi 1996):

(32) *Bundling only in nominalized and interrogative context → **it is syntactically triggered!***

	CP	DP (nominalized)
declaratives	✓no dependency required	✓no dependency required
interrogatives	✓locality met for [SEL]	locality *not* met → ***bundling***

- Back to Japanese: the Force$_{[Q]}$ head and the bundled Force$_{[Q]}$/C/D head are syncretic – *ka*.
  - Saito (2012): the Force$_{[Q]}$ head is nominal if it is the most peripheral (also Yoshida 2019; Tomioka 2020).
  - Me: the Force$_{[Q]}$ head is nominal if it is bundled with the D head due to the locality reason.
  - A support: in Korean, these two types of heads are spelled out by distinct morphemes, *nya* and *ci*.
- The contrast in Korean and Japanese → a case of **the morphological blocking effect**.
  - Korean: the presence of a more specific form (*ci*) blocks the default form (*nya*).
  - Japanese: the default form (*ka*) is retained due to the absence of a more specific form.

(33) *Korean*
  a. Force$_{[Q]}$/C/D ⇔ *ci* (**nya*)
  b. Force$_{[Q]}$ ⇔ *nya*

(34) *Japanese*
  a. Force$_{[Q]}$/C/D ⇔ *ka*
  b. Force$_{[Q]}$ ⇔ *ka*

4 Interrogatives in *v*P: Turkish

- Recall: in Turkish *DIK*-clauses, verbal disjunction is required for s-selection of interrogatives.

(35) *Turkish: non-local s-selection of interrogatives in DP*
  a. Murat [$_{DP}$ Ayla-nın elma-yı ye-**diğ**-in]-i **san**-dı.
  Murat [Ayla-GEN apple-ACC eat-**NMZ**-POSS.3SG]-ACC **think**-PAST
  'Murat thought that Ayla ate the apple.'
  b. Murat [$_{DP}$ Ayla-nın elma-yı yi-**yip** ye-**me**-diğ-in]-i **sor**-du.
  Murat [Ayla-GEN apple-ACC eat-**CONJ** eat-**NEG**-NMZ-POSS.3SG]-ACC **ask**-PAST
  'Murat asked if Ayla ate the apple.'

- In this section, I demonstrate that:
  - Turkish *DIK*-clauses represent TP-level nominalization → different size of clause (TP + D).
  - Verbal disjunction in nominalized clauses reflects the **absence** of CP-level structure.

4.1 TP-level Nominalization in Turkish

(i) The presence of *DIK* requires nominal properties → *DIK*-clauses ≈ possessive DPs.

(36) *Turkish*
  Murat [$_{DP}$ Ayla-**nın** kitab-**ın**]-**ı** oku-du.
  Murat [Ayla-**GEN** book-**POSS.3SG**]-**ACC** read-PAST
  'Murat read Ayla's book.'

  - The D head is present: genitive subject; posssessive φ-agreement; and case-marking.

(ii) *DIK*-clauses refers to a non-future event: for the future tense, the nominalizer *AcAK* is used.

(37) *Turkish*
  Murat [$_{DP}$ Ayla-nın elma-yı yi-**yeceğ**-in]-i san-dı.
  Murat [Ayla-GEN apple-ACC eat-**NMZ.FUT**-POSS.3SG]-ACC think-PAST
  'Murat thought that Ayla would eat the apple.'

- The T head is present, but **defective** with nominalization: only the bipartite tense distinction.
- The T head cannot assign nominative case and the genitive case is assigned by the D head (Kornfilt 2007).
- *DIK*-clauses cannot include any suffixal TAM morpheme (Kelepir 2021). Hence the contrast in (38):

(38) *Turkish*

a. *Murat [$_{DP}$ Ayla-nın elma-yı y-**iyor**-duğ-un]-u san-dı.
Murat [Ayla-GEN apple-ACC eat-**PROG**-NMZ-POSS.3SG]-ACC think-PAST
(intended) 'Murat thought that Ayla was eating the apple.'

b. Murat [$_{CP}$ Ayla elma-yı y-**iyor-du** diye] san-dı.
Murat [Ayla apple-ACC eat-**PROG-PAST** COMP] think-PAST
'Murat thought that Ayla was eating the apple.'

- With all this said, *DIK*-clauses are still finite (they are selected by proposition-taking predicates), and are able to encode their own tense specification (although somewhat limited).

→ Nominalized finite clauses in Turkish represent TP (Özsoy 1988; Kornfilt and Whitman 2011).

- I assume that the morpheme *DIK* (or *AcAK*) spells out the **defective** T head **in the context of D**.

(39) *Turkish*

a. $T_{[NON\text{-}FUT]} \Leftrightarrow$ *DIK* / __ D b. $T_{[FUT]} \Leftrightarrow$ *AcAK* / __ D

- *DIK*-clauses cannot encode CP-level morphemes (*e.g.*, no evidential past *mIş*; Korotkova 2021).
- The morpheme *DIK* is in complementary distribution with TP-level morphemes (*e.g.*, Kelepir 2021).[4]

- Compare: different size of nominalization in Korean/Japanese and in Turkish:

(40) *Exponents of clausal periphery in nominalized clauses*

	$T_{[PAST]}$	Force	$Force_{[Q]}$	C	D	$Force_{[Q]}$/C/D
Korean	*ess*	*ta*	*nya*	∅	*kes*	*ci*
Japanese	*ta*	∅	*ka*	∅	*koto*	*ka*
Turkish	*DIK*				∅	

- Recall: with CP-level *diye*-clauses, the question particle *mI* is required for s-selection of interrogatives.

→ The presence of the question particle ≈ the $Force_{[Q]}$ head.

(41) *Turkish*

Murat [$_{CP}$ Ayla elma-yı ye-di **mi** diye] **sor**-du.
Murat [Ayla apple-ACC eat-PAST **Q** COMP] **ask**-PAST
'Murat asked if Ayla ate the apple.'

[4] For example, *DIK*-clauses are incompatible with copular negation and existential predicates, both of which are argued to be a TP-level suffixation (for more discussion on these morphemes, see Göksel 2001; Kelepir 2021; Jeretič 2023; Kim 2024).

4.2 Disjunction as Repair Strategy for Semantic Selection

- The absence of CP in Turkish finite nominalized clauses has two syntactic consequences:
  - First, Turkish *DIK*-clauses are known to be transparent for cross-clausal dependencies (*e.g.*, Aygen 2002).
  - Second, being a *finite* clause implies a possiblity to encode interrogatives (and to be selected by $\sqrt{}$ASK).
- The [Q]-feature for 'clause-typing' must be located somewhere in the clausal spine → **in *v*P!**

→ The disjunctive morphology is a morphological reflex of clause-typing in the absence of CP/ForceP.

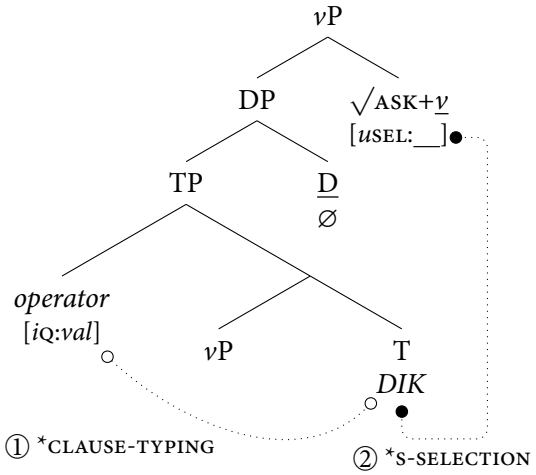
(42) a. $\text{Force}_{[u\text{Q}:\_\_]} \xrightarrow{\text{CLAUSE-TYPING}} \text{Force}_{[u\text{Q}:\underline{val}]} \Leftrightarrow mI$ (CP-level clause)

b. $v_{[u\text{Q}:\_\_]} \xrightarrow{\text{CLAUSE-TYPING}} v_{[u\text{Q}:\underline{val}]} \Leftrightarrow$ V-CONJ V-NEG (TP-level nominalized clause)

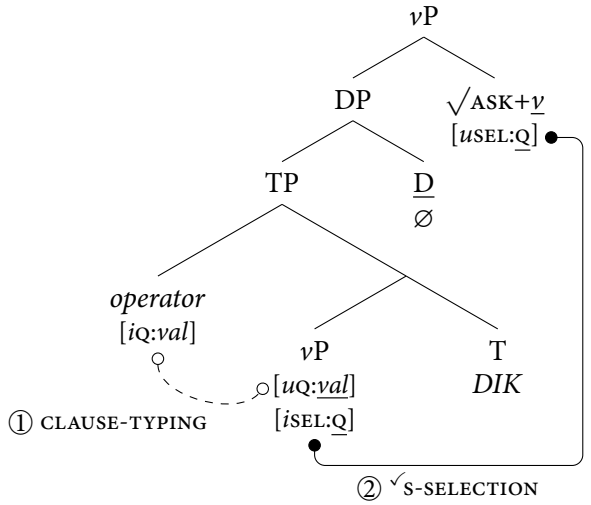
- (42a): when ForceP is present, s-selection is satisfied by the clause-typing in ForceP.
- (42b): when ForceP is absent, s-selection is satisfied by verbal disjunction in *v*P.

- The disjunction strategy in *v*P is a **repair strategy** to satisfy s-selection **in TP-level clauses**.
  - The *polar*-operator merges in the highest *verbal* projection (Spec,TP), but the clause-typing is not possible by the Spec-Head agreement dependency, and thus s-selection is to fail as in (43a).
  - Clause-typing in *v*P-level: this operator values the [Q]-feature and the [SEL]-feature in the *v* head. (*i.e.*, *v*P is the only and the closest syntactic domain that is equipped with the 'disjunction' strategy)
  - The *v* head agrees with the [SEL]-probe in the matrix domain and satisfies s-selection in (43b).

(43) a. *No ForceP → s-selection fails*



b. *Repair strategy by verbal disjunction (=(35b))*



- Crucial point: verbal disjunction is **not** a lexical specification → it is **not** attested in CP-level clauses.

(44) *Disjunction only in nominalized and interrogative context →* ***it is syntactically triggered!***

	CP	DP (nominalized)
declaratives	✓no dependency required	✓no dependency required
interrogatives	✓ForceP present	ForceP absent → **disjunction**

⇒ Strategies in **nominalized interrogatives** stem from syntactic desiderata:

- Korean/Japanese: *bundling* is syntactically triggered in the periphery to derive the required locality.
- Turkish: *disjunction* is syntactically triggered in *v*P to take over the role of ForceP.

- More on locality: disjunction seems to exhibit a Last Resort nature. Then, the *closest* syntactic domain is expected to appear in disjunction (≈ clause-typing and s-selection as local as possible).
- Case in point: certain TAM morphology may appear in *DIK*-clauses with the auxiliary verb *ol* (see Göksel 2001; Sağ 2013; Fenger 2020; Kim 2024 for discussion on auxiliary verb periphrasis in Turkish).

(45) *Turkish*
Murat [$_{DP}$ Ayla-nın Ankara-ya gid-**iyor** **ol**-duğ-un]-u san-dı.
Murat [Ayla-GEN Ankara-DAT go-**PROG** **AUX**-NMZ-POSS.3SG]-ACC think-PAST
(roughly) 'Murat thought that Ayla was going to Ankara.'

- Prediction: in interrogative contexts, verbal disjunction must appear in the *higher* auxiliary verb, but never in the *lower* lexical verb – borne out by the contrast in (46).

(46) *Turkish*
a. Murat [$_{DP}$ Ayla-nın gid-iyor ol-**up** ol-**ma**-dığ-ın]-ı **sor**-du.
Murat [Ayla-GEN go-PROG AUX-**CONJ** AUX-**NEG**-NMZ-POSS.3SG]-ACC **ask**-PAST
'Murat asked if Ayla was going.'
b. *Murat [$_{DP}$ Ayla-nın gid-**ip** git-**m**-iyor ol-duğ-un]-u **sor**-du.
Murat [Ayla-GEN go-**CONJ** go-**NEG**-PROG AUX-NMZ-POSS.3SG]-ACC **ask**-PAST
(intended) 'Murat asked if Ayla was going.'

5 Summary and Implications

In this talk, I argued that:

- S-selection of interrogatives involves an agreement dependency → it is subject to PIC2.
- Differences in size of nominalized clauses result in different strategies of satisfying s-selection.
  - CP-level nominalization: bundling of peripheral heads collapses the phase boundaries → NMZ.Q
  - TP-level nominalization: the *v* head satisfies s-selection as a Last Resort → verbal disjunction

⇒ **Locality** and **clause size** systematically interact with properties of s-selection!

- Two theoretical implications:

(i) With respect to **locality**, certain types of s-selection may as well be motivated in syntax.
(ii) With respect to **clause size**, my claim updates the typology of variations in finiteness.

5.1 Locality and Semantic Selection Revisited

- The status of s-selection: a lexical constraint as a uni-directional requirement by matrix predicates. But:
  - It is strictly clause-bound (s-selection never skips an intermediate clause).
  - Its locality was relaxed based on the notion of extended projection (Grimshaw 2000; Shlonsky 2006).

⇒ Observations from nominalized clauses illustrated that...

  - Not every s-selection is equal: the contrasting observation between declaratives and interrogatives.
  - Syntactic locality plays a role: s-selection is blocked across two phase boundaries (*à la* PIC2).

- More recently...
  - Grimshaw (2018): s-selection requires **compatibility** between matrix predicates and embedded Force.
  - Safir (2021): s-selection of actual clauses in Lubukusu is (semantically) **bi-directional**.
  - They both suggest that s-selection needs to be more elaborated as a 'mutual' type of dependencies.

- My claim nicely captures their insight with locality of s-selection: the operation Agree.

(47) *Local s-selection*

$[_{XP}\ [_{YP}\ \ldots\ Y\ ]\ \ldots\ X_{[i\text{SEL:}a]}]\ \sqrt{}\text{PRED}_{[u\text{SEL:}\underline{a}]}$

S-SELECTION

(48) *Non-local s-selection*

$[_{XP}\ [_{YP}\ \ldots\ Y_{[i\text{SEL:}a]}\ ]\ \ldots\ X]\ \sqrt{}\text{PRED}_{[u\text{SEL:}\underline{a}]}$

S-SELECTION

  - Different locality in s-selection depends on **which syntactic head** encodes relevant semantic information, which is subject to cross-linguistic variations (*e.g.*, the C head in English; the *v* head in French).
  - At the same time, s-selection must not be **too non-local** → Agree accounts for i) its clause-bound nature; and more precisely, ii) its failure across two phase boundaries.

- S-selection may require a mutual dependency between a matrix predicate and the embedded clause.
  ⇒ Certain types of s-selection is best understood as syntactic dependencies!

5.2 Variations of Finiteness in Nominalized Clauses

- Traditionally, finiteness was tied to the property of CP: *e.g.*, finite CP *vs.* non-finite TP in English.
- Adger (2007); Wurmbrand and Lohninger (2023): **finiteness** comes in a variety of size, *e.g.*, CP; TP; and *v*P (also see Todorović and Wurmbrand 2020; Despić to appear for similar claims with a focus on Slavic).

- Nominalized clauses in Korean, Japanese and Turkish show a parallel variation regarding finiteness.
  - Finite nominalized clauses vary in their relative size (Kornfilt and Whitman 2011).
  - Domain of nominalization differs, with distinct strategies (Alexiadou 2020; Iordăchioaia 2020).

- In particular, such differences in size of nominalization had **syntactic** consequences, with two caveats:
  - Phase-based locality interacts with differences in size.
    (*e.g.*, Korean and Japanese opt for syntactic bundling to derive a local configuration)
  - The locus of encoding semantic type of clauses varies.
    (*e.g.*, Turkish must encode interrogatives in *v*P due to the absence of CP/ForceP)

⇒ My claim updates the typology of finiteness, incorporating observations from nominalized clauses.

References

Adger, David. 2007. Three domains of finiteness: A minimalist perspective. In *Finiteness: Theoretical and empirical foundations*, ed. Irina Nikolaeva, 23–58. Oxford University Press.

Alexiadou, Artemis. 2020. D vs. *n* nominalizations within and across languages. In *Nominalization: 50 years on from chomsky's remarks*, ed. Artemis Alexiadou and Hagit Borer, 87–109. Oxford University Press.

An, Duk-Ho. 2024. Clause types, intonation and stranded embedded clauses. *Journal of Linguistics* 60:51–74.

Aygen, Nigar Gülşat. 2002. Finiteness, case and clausal architecture. Doctoral Dissertation, Harvard University.

Bondarenko, Tatiana. 2022. Anatomy of an attitude. Doctoral Dissertation, MIT.

Borsley, Robert D., and Jaklin Kornfilt. 2000. Mixed extended projections. In *The nature and function of syntactic categories*, ed. Robert D. Borsley, 101–131. Brill.

Bosque, Ignacio. 2012. Mood: Indicative *vs.* subjunctive. In *The handbook of hispanic linguistics*, ed. José Ignacio Hualde, Antxon Olarrea, and Erin O'Rourke, 373–394. Wiley Online Library.

Chomsky, Noam. 2001. Derivation by phase. In *Ken hale: A life in language*, ed. Michael Kenstowicz, 1–52. The MIT Press.

Despić, Miloje. to appear. Negation and finiteness in BCMS. *to appear in Journal of Slavic Linguistics* .

Farkas, Donka F. 2024. Canonical and non-canonical questions in discourse. In *The oxford handbook of non-canonical questions*, ed. Regine Eckardt, George Walkden, and Nicole Dehé. Oxford University Press.

Fenger, Paula. 2020. Words within words: The internal syntax of verbs. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Connecticut.

Giorgi, Alessandra, and Fabio Pianesi. 1996. Verb movement in Italian and syncretic categories. *Probus* 8:137–160.

Göksel, Aslı. 2001. The auxiliary verb *ol* at the morphology–syntax interface. In *The verb in turkish*, ed. Eser Erguvanlı Taylan, 151–181. John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Grimshaw, Jane. 1979. Complement selection and the lexicon. *Linguistic inquiry* 10:279–326.

Grimshaw, Jane. 2000. Locality and extended projection. In *Lexical specification and insertion*, ed. Peter Coopmans, Martin B.H. Everaert, and Jane Grimshaw, 115–133. John Benjamins Amsterdam.

Grimshaw, Jane. 2018. Force compatibility explains "selection" patterns exhibited by SAY-verbs. *Handout for the Talk at SelectionFest ZAS* .

Hagstrom, Paul. 2006. A-not-A questions. In *The blackwell companion to syntax*, ed. Martin Everaert and Henk van Riemsdijk, 173–213. Wiley Online Library.

Han, Chung-Hye, and Maribel Romero. 2004. The syntax of whether/q... or questions: Ellipsis combined with movement. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 22:527–564.

Hartman, Jeremy. 2012. Varieties of clausal complementation. Doctoral Dissertation, MIT.

Hsu, Brian. 2021. Coalescence: A unification of bundling operations in syntax. *Linguistic Inquiry* 52:39–87.

Iordăchioaia, Gianina. 2020. D and N are different nominalizers. *Glossa: a journal of general linguistics* 5:1–25.

Jeretič, Paloma. 2023. Exceptionally optional negative concord with Turkish *neither ... nor*. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 41:1147–1200.

Kelepir, Meltem. 2021. Matters of size and deficient functional categories in three Turkic languages: Turkish, Turkmen, and Noghay. In *The size of things I: Structure building*, ed. Sabine Laszakovits and Zheng Shen, 25–44. Berlin: Language Science Press.

Kim, Min-Joo. 2009. E-type anaphora and three types of *kes*-construction in Korean. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 27:345–377.

Kim, Young-Hoon. 2024. On morphological requirements for auxiliary verb periphrasis in Turkish. *Glossa: a journal of general linguistics* 9:1–44.

Kim, Young-Hoon. to appear a. Semantic selection of interrogatives as syntactic dependencies. *Proceedings of Generative Linguistics in the Old World (GLOW) 47* .

Kim, Young-Hoon. to appear b. Semantic selection of interrogatives in Turkish nominalized clauses. *Proceedings of Workshop on Turkic and Languages in Contact with Turkic (Tu+) 10* .

Kornfilt, Jaklin. 2007. Verbal and nominalized finite clauses in Turkish. In *Finiteness: Theoretical and empirical foundations*, ed. Irina Nikolaeva, 305–332. Oxford University Press New York.

Kornfilt, Jaklin, and John Whitman. 2011. Afterword: nominalizations in syntactic theory. *Lingua* 121:1297–1313.

Korotkova, Natasha. 2021. The embedding puzzle: Constraints on evidentials in complement clauses. *Linguistic Inquiry* 52:210–226.

Lasnik, Howard, and Mamoru Saito. 1984. On the nature of proper government. *Linguistic Inquiry* 15:235–289.

Moulton, Keir. 2015. CPs: Copies and compositionality. *Linguistic Inquiry* 46:305–342.

Nasu, Norio, Takayuki Akimoto, Koji Shimamura, and Yusuke Yoda. 2024. Clausal nominalization and embedded questions in Japanese. *Glossa: a journal of general linguistics* 9:1–38.

Odijk, Jan. 1997. C-selection and s-selection. *Linguistic Inquiry* 28:365–371.

Özsoy, A Sumru. 1988. On complementation in Turkish: Possessed impersonal infinitives. In *Proceedings of the 4th International Conference on Turkish Linguistics*, ed. Sabri Koç, 299–311.

Pak, Miok D. 2008. Types of clauses and sentence end particles in Korean. *Korean Linguistics* 14:113–156.

Panagiotidis, Phoevos. 2015. *Categorial features*. Cambridge University Press.

Pesetsky, David. 1982. Paths and categories. Doctoral Dissertation, MIT.

Pesetsky, David, and Esther Torrego. 2007. The syntax of valuation and the interpretability of features. In *Phrasal and clausal architecture*, ed. Simin Karimi, Vida Samiian, and Wendy K. Wilkins, 262–294. John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Pietraszko, Asia. 2019. Obligatory CP nominalization in Ndebele. *Syntax* 22:66–111.

Rizzi, Luigi. 1997. The fine structure of the left periphery. In *Elements of grammar: Handbook of generative syntax*, ed. Liliane Haegeman, 281–337.

Roussou, Anna. 1991. Nominalized clauses in the syntax of Modern Greek. *UCL working papers in linguistics* 3:77–100.

Safir, Ken. 2021. Clausal complementation as a compatibility relation. In *Proceedings of TripleA 6*, ed. Neil Banerjee and Verena Hehl, 109–126. MIT Working Papers in Linguistics #91.

Sağ, Yağmur. 2013. Copula in Turkish. In *Proceedings of the 8th Workshop on Altaic Formal Linguistics (WAFL 8)*, ed. Umut Özge, 293–298. MIT Working Papers in Linguistics #67.

Saito, Mamoru. 2012. Sentence types and the Japanese right periphery. In *Discourse and grammar: From sentence types to lexical categories*, 147–175. De Gruyter Mouton Berlin & Boston.

Satik, Deniz A. 2024. Clausal deficiency. Doctoral Dissertation, Harvard University.

Shim, Ji Young, and Tabea Ihsane. 2015. Facts: The interplay between the matrix predicate and its clausal complement. In *The Second Asian and European Linguistic Conference Proceedings*, volume 21, 130–144.

Shlonsky, Ur. 2006. Extended projection and CP cartography. *Nouveaux cahiers de linguistique française* 27:83–93.

Todorović, Neda, and Susi Wurmbrand. 2020. Finiteness across domain. In *Current developments in slavic linguistics: Twenty years after*, ed. Teodora Radeva-Bork and Peter Kosta, 47–66. Peter Lang.

Tomioka, Satoshi. 2020. Japanese embedded questions are nominal: Evidence from quantificational variability effect. *Journal of Japanese Linguistics* 36:121–156.

Wood, Jim. 2023. *Icelandic nominalizations and allosemy*. Oxford University Press.

Wurmbrand, Susi, and Magdalena Lohninger. 2023. An implicational universal in complementation: Theoretical insights and empirical progress. In *Propositional arguments in cross-linguistic research: Theoretical and empirical issues*, ed. Jutta M. Hartmann and Angelika öllstein, 183–229. Mouton de Gruyter Berlin.

Yoshida, Tomoyuki. 2019. Complement selection and *wh*-scope in Japanese. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 28:1–27.

Appendix A: More on Nominalized Periphery

- Korean: the interrogative particle *nya* may be embedded under the D head *kes* in non-s-selected positions.
  → I attributed the contrast between (49a) and (49b) to s-selection (as agreement dependencies).

(49) *Korean*

a. [$_{DP}$ [$_{CP}$ Mina-ka sakwa-lul mek-ess-**nya**-nun] **kes**]-i cwungyoha-ta.
[[Mina-NOM apple-ACC eat-PAST-**Q**-ADN] **NMZ**]-NOM important-DECL
'Whether Mina ate the apple or not is important.'

b. *Suho-nun [$_{DP}$ [$_{CP}$ Mina-ka sakwa-lul mek-ess-**nya**-nun] **kes**]-ul **mwul**-ess-ta.
Suho-TOP [[Mina-NOM apple-ACC eat-PAST-**Q**-ADN] **NMZ**]-ACC **ask**-PAST-DECL
(intended) 'Suho asked if Mina ate the apple.'

- Japanese: the interrogative particle *ka* **cannot** be embedded under the D head *koto* regardless of s-selection.

(50) *Japanese*

a. *[$_{DP}$ [$_{CP}$ Aki-ga ringo-wo tabe-ta-**ka**] **koto**]-ga zyuuyoo-da.
[[Aki-NOM apple-ACC eat-PAST-**Q**] **NMZ**]-NOM important-COP
(intended) 'Whether Aki ate the apple or not is important.'

b. *Haru-wa [$_{DP}$ [$_{CP}$ Aki-ga ringo-wo tabe-ta-**ka**] **koto**]-wo **tazune**-ta.
Haru-TOP [[AKi-NOM apple-ACC eat-PAST-**Q**] **NMZ**]-ACC **ask**-PAST
(intended) 'Haru asked if Aki ate the apple.'

⇒ I demonstrate that the ungrammaticality of (50a) stems from an additional factor in Japanese nominalization, while (50b) is subsumed under the failure of s-selection (*via* PIC2).

- Back to nominalization: there are various strategies of nominalizing a XP-level constituent.
  - XP + D: XP directly combines with the D head to nominalize a propositional argument.
    (**complementation approach**: Roussou 1991; Borsley and Kornfilt 2000; Pietraszko 2019)
  - XP + *n*: XP first combines with a nominalizer *n*, which in turn may accompany the D head.
    (**categorization approach**: Hartman 2012; Panagiotidis 2015)
- Nasu et al. (2024): Japanese nominalized clauses accompany the *n* head, whose semantic content varies.
  → Nominalized interrogatives in Japanese (*ka*-clauses) instantiates a CP + *n* +D structure.
  - semantically **vacuous** *n*: purely nominalizing a clausal complement; requires the D head.
  - semantically **contentful** *n*: bearing a covert content noun; does not require the D head.
  - Crucially, they assume that **s-selected** interrogative nominalized clauses appears with the **vacuous** *n* head + DP (*via* contextual allosemy of *n* in Wood 2023; *c.f.*, contentful nominalization in Moulton 2015)
- Their supporting argument for the presence of *n* head: patterns of modification.
  - If Japanese nominalized clauses involve the intervening *n* head, how about Korean?
  - The two languages exhibit distinct modification patterns, which suggest that Korean **lacks** the *n* head.

(51) *Japanese*
[$_{DP}$ [$_{nP}$ [$_{CP}$ ... C] *n*] D]

(52) *Korean*
[$_{DP}$ [$_{CP}$ ... C] D]

- First, adjectival modification of interrogative nominalized clauses is possible **only in Japanese**.

(53) *Japanese: adjectival modification possible with ka-clause* (modified from Nasu et al. 2024)
kaigi-de **ano** zyuuyoo-**na** [dooyatte kakaku-wo osaeru ka]-ga hanasiaw-are-ta.
meeting-in **that** important-**ADJ** [how price-ACC control Q]-NOM discuss-PASS-PAST
'In the meeting, that important, 'how to control the price', was discussed.'

(54) *Korean: adjectival modification **not** possible with ci-clause*
*hoyuy-eysey **ku** cwungyoha-**n** [ettehkey kakyek-ul eknurul ci]-ka nonuy-toy-ess-ta.
meeting-in **that** important-**ADJ** [how price-ACC control Q]-NOM discuss-PASS-PAST-DECL
(intended) 'In the meeting, that important, 'how to control the price', was discussed.'

- Nasu et al. (2024) attribute the possibility of adjectival modification in Japanese to the presence of *n*P.
- If so, the contrast between (53) and (54) suggests that *ci*-clauses in Korean **lack the *n*P projection**.

- Second, with non-verbal predicates, the adjectival marking is retained in NMZ.Q-clauses **only in Korean**.

(55) *Japanese: adjectival marking in RC is replaced with copular in ka-clauses* (Nasu et al. 2024)
a. [$_{RC}$ seiseki-ga yuusyuu-{✓**na**/*da}] gakusei
[grade-NOM excellent-{✓**ADJ**/*COP}] student
'Students with excellent grades'
b. Haru-wa [$_{DP}$ dare-ga yuusyuu-{*na/✓**da**} ka]-wo sit-te.iru.
Haru-TOP [who-NOM excellent-{*ADJ/✓**COP**} Q]-ACC know-IMPFV
'Haru knows who is excellent.'

- As nominalized clauses include the *n* head (but not relative clauses), this contrast is expected by structural differences (*i.e.*, ADJ-marking cannot be present with the *n* head).
- As the *n* head is absent, the contrast between RCs and nominalized clauses does not hold in Korean.

(56) *Korean: adjectival marking in RC is retained in ci-clauses*
a. [$_{RC}$ sengcek-i usuha-{✓**n**/*ta}] haksayng
[grade-NOM excellent-{✓**ADJ**/*COP}] student
'Students with excellent grades'
b. Suho-nun [$_{DP}$ nwu-ka usuha-{✓**n**/*ta} ci]-lul al-ko.iss-ta.
Suho-TOP [who-NOM excellent-{✓**ADJ**/*COP} Q]-ACC know-IMPFV-DECL
'Suho knows who is excellent.'

- These contrasts are expected if only Japanese projects *n*P in nominalization.
- Support: in Korean, an adnominal marking must be present in nominalized clauses, which Japanese lacks.
  - I attribute this contrast to the *n* head: without the *n* head, CP and D must be mitigated by the adnominal marking due to language-specific properties (possibly agglutinativeness).
  - My claim aligns with the view that adnominal markings occupy the C head in Korean (Bondarenko 2022).

- Also, given that the D head has the phasal status in both cases, the claim regarding s-selection and syntactic bundling remains intact: s-selection is blocked only when DP and ForceP are **separate** projections.

(57) *Japanese*

a. *No bundling: s-selection fails*
[$_{DP}$ [$_{nP}$ [$_{CP}$ [$_{ForceP}$ ... Force] C] *n*] D] $\sqrt{}$ASK

b. *Bundling: s-selection succeeds*
[$_{Force/C/n/DP}$ ... Force/C/*n*/D] $\sqrt{}$ASK

(58) *Korean*

a. *No bundling: s-selection fails*
[$_{DP}$ [$_{CP}$ [$_{ForceP}$ ... Force] C] D] $\sqrt{}$ASK

b. *Bundling: s-selection succeeds*
[$_{Force/C/D}$ ... Force/C/D] $\sqrt{}$ASK

- Upshot: the adnominal marking *-nun* appears **before** *ci* in Korean: mitigating T and Force/C/D.

(59) *Korean*
Suho-nun [$_{DP}$ Mina-ka sakwa-lul mek-ess-**nun** ci]-lul mwul-ess-ta.
Suho-TOP [Mina-NOM apple-ACC eat-PAST-**ADN** NMZ.Q]-ACC ask-PAST-DECL
'Suho asked if Mina ate the apple.'

- Going back the ungrammaticality of *ka-koto* sequence in Japanese: Nasu et al. (2024) assume a semantically contentful *n* in non-s-selected positions (with covert lexical items such as $\sqrt{}$ISSUE). Two possibilities:

(i) A contentful *n* head, by definition, does not require the D head, hence the ungrammaticality of *koto*.

(ii) Since the *n* head already bears some lexical information, it is not compatible with interrogatives.

- Again, this is perks of interrogatives: both languages allow nominalized declaratives as a sentential subject.

(60) *Korean*
[$_{DP}$ [$_{CP}$ Mina-ka ka-ass-**ta**-nun] **kes**]-i cwungyoha-ta.
[[Mina-NOM go-PAST-**DECL**-ADN] **NMZ**]-NOM important-COP
'It is important that Mina went.'

(61) *Japanese*
[$_{DP}$ [$_{CP}$ Aki-ga it-ta] **koto**]-ga zyuuyoo-da.
[[Aki-NOM go-PAST] **NMZ**]-NOM important-COP
'It is important that Aki went.'