

Head internal/external relative clauses in Japanese:
Contribution from current issues in generative grammar

林 慎将 (nori@nanzan-u.ac.jp)
(南山大学)

Aims of this talk: providing the theoretical explanation for observational facts and generalizations for Japanese head-external relative clause (HERC) and head-internal relative clause (HIRC).

HIRC: deducing the relevancy condition from phase

HERC: deducing the highest clause sensitivity from Form Copy

Prospect of future research: constructing the representational framework of how the interpreting systems interpret the structure

Syntax: forming the structure by Merge and cutting up the accessible domain by phase

Minimal Search for labeling and Form Copy provide the instructions for the interpreting systems.

Interpreting systems: interpreting the configuration according to the structure; such as theta-relation, (part of) agreement, scope, ruling out improper relations...

1 HIRC

1.1 Introduction

- (1) a. 太郎は[花子がりんごを机に置いたの]を食べた
b. 太郎は[花子が机に置いた]りんごを食べた
- (2) a. 午前中は雨が降っていたのが午後になると日がカンカン照り出した (黒田 (1999: 36))
b. 学生たちが先生が二人ドアの後ろに隠れているのに挨拶した (ibid.: 68)
- (3) *No* also serves as adverbial C.
- (4) [_{VP} [[_{CP} ...apparent internal head (IH)...のが/のを/のに] *pro*] V]
- (5) 太郎は花子がりんごをデザートに取っておいたのを {*pro*/それを} こっそり食べてしまった
- ☺ Some idiolects do not allow HIRCs.
(cf. Mihara (1994), Murasugi (1994), Grosu and Hoshi (2016))
- (6) Mary が[John が自分の学生が重要な**仮説**を提案したと]自慢していたの]の欠陥を指摘した (Watanabe (1992: 259))
- (7) 黒田 (1999): long-distance selection
[... [[...**IH**...] *no*] V]
↑

- (8) Hoshi (1995), Shimoyama (1999), Nishigauchi (2004), Kitagawa (2005, 2018), Kubota and Smith (2007), and Grosu and Hoshi (2016), *inter alia*: pronoun
[VP [[CP [CP ...IH...*no*]-case] [e]] V]
- (9) Phase Boundary
Mary が[John が自分の学生が重要な**仮説**を提案したと]自慢していたの]の欠陥を指摘した
(= (6))
- (10) Complex NP Constraint
*[John が[[素晴らしい**論文**を書いた]人]を褒めていたの]が出版された
(Watanabe (1992: 261))
- (11) *Wh* Island
[[Mary がいつ**論文**を仕上げるか] John が Tom に尋ねていたの]の出版がようやく決まった
(cf. Watanabe (1992: 261), 黒田 (1999: 74))
- (12) Adjunct Island
John は[[Mary が**りんご**をテーブルの上に食べかけた]ままで出かけてしまったの]の残りを食べた
(cf. Hoshi (1995: 102))
- ☺ HIRC are insensitive to islands except for the CNPC.

1.2 Relevancy condition

- (13) The Relevancy Condition (Kuroda (1976-7 [1992]: 147))
For a p.i. [pivot-independent=head-internal—NH] relative clause to be acceptable, it is necessary that it be interpreted pragmatically in such a way as to be directly relevant to the pragmatic content of its matrix clause.
- (14) a. 太郎は[花子が**りんご**を皿の上に置いたの]を取って... (Kuroda (1992: 148))
b. #太郎は[花子が**りんご**を昨日皿の上に置いたの]を取って... (*ibid.*)
c. 太郎は[花子が**りんご**を昨日皿の上に置いておいたの]を取って... (*ibid.*: 149))
- (15) 太郎は[花子が昨日皿の上に置いた]りんごを取って....
- ☺ HIRC must form a superordinate event with the matrix clause, but HERCs need not.
- (16) a. 太郎が[花子が**本**を買ってきたの]を取り上げた
b. *太郎が[花子が**本**を買ってきたと]取り上げた
c. *太郎が[花子が**本**を買ってきたこと]を取り上げた
d. 太郎が[皆が[花子が**本**を買ってきたと]信じているの]を取り上げた
e. ?太郎が[皆が[[花子が**本**を買ってきたという]こと]を信じているの]を取り上げた
(The examples are all taken from Hasegawa (2002: 9-10))

- (17) a. ?*[John が[[Mary が素晴らしい論文を書いたという]噂]を聞いた]のが出版された
(Watanabe (1992: 261))
- b. [太郎が[[花子が素晴らしい論文を書いたという]こと]を聞いていたの]が出版された
(黒田 (1999: 73))
- ☺ *Koto* does not induce the CNPC effect (because it is a formal noun).
- (18) [K]*oto* is used for nominalizing a proposition and forming an abstract concept out of the proposition, while *no* is used for representing a concrete event. (Kuno (1973: 221))
- (19) a. 私は John が来る{のを/*ことを}待った (ibid.)
- b. 私は世界に平和が訪れる{のを/ことを}待っています (ibid.)
- ☹ Why does the relevancy condition only apply to HIRCs?

1.3 Proposal

1.3.1 Labeling

- (20) For a syntactic object SO to be interpreted, some information is necessary about it: what kind of object is it? Labeling is the process of providing that information.
(Chomsky (2013: 43))

- (21) $VP \rightarrow V + NP$

- (22) $[_{XP} ZP [_{X'} X, YP]]$

- (23)

	structural hierarchy (compositionality)	projection	linear order
PSG	PSR	PSR	PSR
X'-schema	X'-schema	X'-schema	externalization
labeling theory	(free) Merge	labeling	externalization

- (24) $\text{Merge}(X, Y) = \{X, Y\}$

- (25) labels = “the appropriate ‘instructions’ for the interfaces” (Chomsky (2013: 35))

1.3.2 Theta-assignment

- (26) a. Interpretation by Contain (Hayashi (2022: 35))

The interpretation of an SO [=syntactic object] X is defined by the identification label of the set containing X.

- b. $\{\alpha \dots X \dots\}$
- (27) a. For an SO X and a predicate P, X receives a theta-role from P iff X is contained in the set labeled P. (ibid.: 120)
- b. $\{P \dots X \dots\}$

- (28) Label-Based A-over-A Principle (ibid.: 38)
 Under the following configuration, Y cannot refer to the inner label A.
 $\{Y \dots \{A \dots \{A \dots \} \dots \}$
- (29) a. 太郎は[花子がりんごを机に置いたの]を食べた (=(1a))
 b. $\{\beta \{ \alpha \text{ 花子がりんごを机に置いたの} \} \text{ 食べた} \}$ ($\alpha=\text{の}, \beta=\text{食べた}$)
- (30) a. *[John が[[素晴らしい論文を書いた]人]を褒めていたの]が出版された (=(10))
 b. $\{\delta \{ \gamma \{ \beta \{ \alpha \dots \text{論文} \dots \} \text{人} \} \dots \} \text{の} \} \text{出版され}$ ($\alpha=\text{TP/CP}, \beta=\text{人}, \gamma=\text{の}, \delta=\text{出版され}$)
- (31) a. 警官が [ヤクザがコン泥を追いかけているの]を捕まえた
 b. $\{\epsilon \{ \delta \{ \gamma \text{ ヤクザが } \{ \beta \{ \alpha \text{ コン泥} \dots \text{V} \} \text{T} \} \} \text{の} \} \text{捕まえた}$
($\alpha=\text{追いかけて}, \beta=\gamma=\text{T}, \delta=\text{の}, \epsilon=\text{捕まえた}$)
- (32) 警官が [ヤクザがコン泥を追いかけているの]を二人とも捕まえた
- ☺ split antecedent by Kuroda (1976-7 [1992]): a facilitating expression is necessary
(Kitagawa (2005: 1258))
- (33) 太郎は[飼い猫が野良猫を追いかけっていたの]の体を二匹とも洗ってやった
- (34) *John が太郎を花子を殴った
- (35) a. John と Bill と Mary (と) が笑い、思い、話した
(Fukui (2015: 126), Tanaka et al. (2019: 5))
 b. $\{\{NP_1, NP_2, NP_3\} \{V_1, V_2, V_3\}\}$
- (36) a. John と Bill と Mary (と) がそれぞれ笑い、思い、話した (ibid.)
 b. $\{\{NP_1, NP_2, NP_3\} \{V_1, V_2, V_3\}\}$
- ☺ *Group reading* is predominant in (35a) because it only requires the set Merge generates. *Cross-serial* reading requires more than Merge. Thus, (even if it is possible in principle), *cross-serial* reading is hard to obtain in (35a). However, some interpretive cue allows us to find such reading in (36a).
- ☺ In (33), both *kaineko* and *noraneko* are the candidates of the argument of *karada*. Since one argument is enough to satisfy the theta-criterion, either one is interpreted as the argument without *nihikitomo*. With the facilitating expression, the suppressed (but available) split antecedent reading becomes salient.
- (37) 太郎は肉を魚を手当たり次第に食べていた
- (38) a. ??マサオがハナコを頬をぶった (Saito (2017: 7))
 b. マサオがハナコをぶったのは頬をだ (ibid.)
- (39) a. *マサオがハナコを指を二本折った (ibid.)
 b. *マサオがハナコを折ったのは指を二本をだ (ibid.)
- (40) [A] version of the θ -criterion that is generalized beyond thematic roles may be at work as part of Full Interpretation (ibid.: 16)

- (41) Each argument bears one and only one θ -role, and each θ -role is assigned to one and only one argument. (Chomsky (1981: 36))
- (42) a. Each argument bears a theta-role. \rightarrow Aboutness topics are licensed without a theta-role. (Saito (1985: 287))
- b. Each argument bears only one theta-role. \rightarrow The IH bears two theta-roles.
- c. Each theta-role is assigned to an argument. \rightarrow the requirement of the argument structure
- d. Each theta-role is assigned to only one argument. \rightarrow It suffices, but the relation does not have to be restricted.
- (43) 魚は鯛が美味しい (Kuno (1973: 62))
- (44) Apparent one-to-one relation between a theta-role and an argument is due to ([phi]) agreement/labeling/semantic type mismatch. (Kuroda (1988), Kitahara (2020), Hayashi (2022: 132))

1.3.3 Phase and the relevancy condition

- (45) Phases limit the computational domain. (cf. Chomsky (2021: 19))
- (46) {spec {PH {...}}} (phase impenetrability condition)
- (47) [E]ither a verb phrase in which all theta-roles are assigned or a full clause including tense and force. Call these objects *propositional*. (Chomsky (2000: 106), emphasis in original)
- (48) A phase (v^*)P or CP must represent one event to construct a consistent proposition. (Hayashi (2022: 124))
- (49) a. $\{\boxed{v^*P} \{VP \{DP \{...IH...V... \} \} V \} v^* \}$ (HIRC)
- b. $\{\boxed{v^*P} \{VP \{DP \{CP \dots \}, EH \} V \} v^* \}$ (HERC)
- ☺ An HERC is incorporated into the matrix clause as a modifier of the matrix argument.
- ☺ An IH serves as the argument for both the matrix and the HIRC events, but the two events do not have any relation. Thus, they must be pragmatically close to form a superordinate event.

1.3.4 Extensions (see also Hayashi (2022))

- (50) a. どの学生_iも[{そいつ_iが/proi}今学期ペーパーを三本書いたの]を今朝提出した (Shimoyama (1999: 156))
- b. [[[...IH...の]を [e]]提出した]
- (51) The relevancy condition can explain the E-type interpretation.
- (52) The Single Event Grouping Condition (Truswell (2011: 157), emphasis in original)
An instance of *wh*-movement is legitimate only if the minimal constituent containing the head and the foot of the chain can be construed as describing a single *event grouping*.

- (53) a. *What did John drive Mary crazy [fixing ~~what~~]? (Truswell (2007: 1358))
 b. What did John drive Mary crazy [trying to fix ~~what~~]? (*ibid.*)
- (54) a. *Here's the whisky which I went to the store and Mike bought ~~the whisky~~.
 (Ross (1967: 168))
 b. Here's the whisky which I went to the store and bought ~~the whisky~~. (*ibid.*)

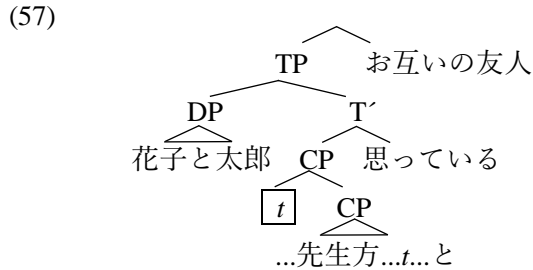
1.4 Summary for HIRC

- (55) a. Label-based long-distance selection analysis captures the insensitivity to islands and ambiguity of the IH.
 b. The relevancy condition is not a specific condition to HIRCs. It is an instance of the general interpretive condition on the phase.

2. HERC

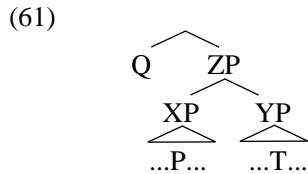
2.1 Introduction

- (56) The Highest Clause Sensitivity
 a. [花子と太郎_iが_e会った]お互い_iの友人 (Kizu (2005: 151))
 b. [花子と太郎_iが[先生方_jが_e会ったと]思っている]お互い_{i*j}の友人 (*ibid.*)



- (58) the picture of himself_{ij} that John_i thinks that Bill_j likes best
 (59) a. [_{e_i} [そいつ_iが批判した女]を殴った]男_i (Ishii (1991: 41))
 b. ?*[[そいつ_iが批判した女]が_{e_i}殴った]男_i (*ibid.*)

- (60) Weak Crossover (Lasnik and Stowell (1991: 690))
 In a configuration where a quantifier Q locally binds a pronoun P and a trace Y, P may not be contained in an argument phrase XP that c-commands T.



- (62) a. [[そいつ_iが批判した女]が[[e_i教えた]学生]を殴った]男_i (Ishii (1991: 42))
 b. [警察が[e_i そこ_iの子会社を調査したと]信じている]二つの大企業_i

(Miyamoto (2017: 619))

- c. [警察が[そこ_iの子会社が e_i調査したと]信じている]二つの大企業_i (ibid.)

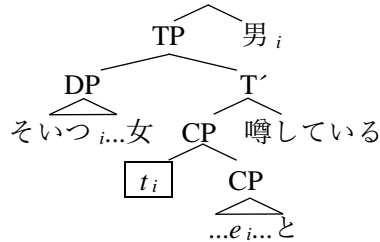
(63) The head of a Japanese HERC reconstructs at most the highest clause.

- (64) a. short relativization: movement
 b. long relativization: *pro*

(cf. Ishii (1991), Kizu (2005), Miyamoto (2017))

- (65) a. [[そいつ_iが批判した女]が[[e_i学生を殴った]と噂している]]男_i
 b. [[そいつ_iが批判した女]が[[学生が e_i殴った]と噂している]]男_i

(66)



- (67) In the copy theory of movement, a possible reconstruction site must involve a copy.
 (68) a. Why can't (59b) be derived with *pro*?
 b. Why can't (56b) be derived by movement?

2.2 Proposal

2.2.1 Form Copy

- (69) Strictly-Markovian property (Chomsky (2021: 20))
 [T]he history [of the derivation] is not preserved in the current state(...)

- (70) a. John is killed.
 b. John is killed ~~John~~

(71) The two inscriptions of *John* in (70) are interpreted as copies not because the relation is made by movement but because the copy relation is assigned between the two.

- (72) Form Copy (Chomsky (2021: 17), emphasis in original)
 [...] FORMCOPY (FC) assigning the relation *Copy* to certain identical inscriptions.

- (73) IM-Configuration
- a. IM-copy: related by internal Merge (IM)
- [X [...X...]]
- IM
- b. M(arkovian)-gap: introduced independently by external Merge (EM)
- [X [...X...]]
- EM EM
- (74) a. John₁ seems [John₂ to win]
- b. John₁ tried [John₂ to win]
- c. John₁ saw John₂
- (75) Duality of semantics (Chomsky (2021: 18))
- EM is associated with θ -roles and IM with discourse/information-related functions.
- (76) θ -Theory (*ibid.*: 21)
- An θ -assigner assigns no more than a single θ -role to an SO and a θ -position cannot receive more than one θ -role.
- (77) A theta-assigner cannot assign multiple theta-roles to a single SO.
- (78) a. one interpreter each seems [t to have been assigned t to the visiting diplomats]
- IM-copy IM-copy (Chomsky (1981: 61))
- b. *one interpreter each tried [PRO to be assigned t to the visiting diplomats] (*ibid.*)
- M-gap IM-copy
- (79) Reconstructions needs movement.

2.2.2 Reconstruction

- (80) The interpreting systems can only trace the same kind of operation.
- (81) a. which books about himself₁ did John file t_1 before Mary read pg_1 ? (Chomsky (1986: 60))
- b. *which books about herself₁ did John file t_1 before Mary read pg_1 ? (*ibid.*)
- M-gap
- c. {_{CP} WH ... {_{vP} {_{vP} John file WH} {_{ADJ} WH before Mary read WH} } }
- IM-copy IM-copy

2.2.3 Derivation of HERC

- (82) a. Japanese HERCs are derived by FC.
- b. FC applies at the phase level. (Chomsky (2021: 17))
- c. After the completion of a phase, the next lower phase becomes inaccessible.
- (Chomsky (2001), Saito (2017, 2021))
- d. After the phase head is introduced, only the phrase-level SOs can merge.

- (83) a. $\{\boxed{C} \{_{TP} XP \{ \boxed{T} \{ \dots \} \} \} \}$ (English)
 b. $\{\boxed{C} \{_{TP} T \{_{v^*P} XP \{ \boxed{v^*} \{ \dots \} \} \} \} \}$ (Japanese)
- (84) a. $\{\boxed{C} \dots \{_{v^*} OBJ \{_{v^*} \boxed{v^*} \{_V V, OBJ \} \} \} \}$
 IM-copy
 b. $\{\boxed{C} \dots \{_{v^*} \boxed{v^*} \{_V V, OBJ \} \} \}$
- (85) a. [花子と太郎_iが_e会った]お互い_iの友人 (=56a)
 b. $\{_{DP} \{_{TP/CP} \text{花子と太郎が} \{_{v^*P} \text{お互いの友人に} \boxed{\text{会っ}} \} \boxed{\text{た (T/C)}} \} \text{お互いの友人} \}$
 M-gap
- (86) a. [花子と太郎_iが[先生方_jが_e会ったと]思っている]お互い_{i*j}の友人 (=56b)
 b. $\{_{DP} \{_{CP} \{_{TP} \text{花子と太郎が} \{_{CP} \{_{CP} \text{先生方が} \{_{v^*P} \text{お互いの友人に} \boxed{\text{会っ}} \} \boxed{\text{た (T/C)}} \} \text{お互いの友人} \} \text{思っている} \} \dots \boxed{C} \} \text{お互いの友人} \}$
 M-gap IM-copy
- (87) a. ?*[[そいつ_iが批判した女]が_e殴った]男_i (=59b)
 b. $\{_{DP} \{_{TP/CP} \{_{DP} \text{そいつが批判した女が} \} \{_{vP} \text{男を} \boxed{\text{殴っ}} \} \boxed{\text{た (T/C)}} \} \text{男} \}$
 FC
- (88) a. [[そいつ_iが批判した女]が[[_e学生を殴った]と噂している]]男_i (=65a)
 b. [[そいつ_iが批判した女]が[[学生が_e殴った]と噂している]]男_i (=65b)
 c. $\{_{DP} \{_{TP/CP} \{_{DP} \text{そいつ} \dots \text{女} \} \{_{vP} \{_{CP} \{_{CP} \{_{vP} \dots \text{男} \dots \boxed{\text{殴った}} \} \dots \text{と} \} \} \text{男} \} \text{噂している} \} \dots \boxed{T/C} \} \}$
 IM-copy illicit? M-gap
- (89) The weak crossover effect is not operative if the theta-position is not visible for reconstruction.
- (90) a. *?This is the man_i I interviewed t_i before reading the book you gave to pg_i .
 (Chomsky (1986: 55))
 M-gap
 b. $\{_{DP} \text{the man} \{_{CP} I \{_{v^*P} \{_{v^*P} \text{interviewed the man} \} \} \{_{ADJ} \text{the man before reading} \{_{DP} \text{the book} \{_{CP} \text{you gave to the man} \} \} \} \} \}$
 IM-copy illicit IM-copy
- ☺ The parasitic element must move in the adjunct clause so as to escape the domain of the phase impenetrability condition (it must be visible when the FC applies at the matrix clause).
- (91) Who_i did you stay with t_i [before [his_i wife] had spoken to pg_i]
 (Lasnik and Stowell (1991: 691))
- ☺ Why FC? FC requires external Merge.
- (92) 魚は鯛が美味しい (=43)
- (93) In Japanese, NP externally merged with a sentence receives a topic-comment interpretation (possibly, a kind of semantic role).

(cf. Murasugi (2020: 167-169), Chomsky (2019: 165, note 5))

- ☹ Why aboutness topic?—Contrastive topic/focus require variable interpretation.
- (94) Similarity to topicalization (Kuno (1973)): the derivation of aboutness topics also involves external Merge
- ☹ Remaining question: why are Japanese HERCs derived only by FC, not by movement or *pro*?

- (95) a. *How sick_i did John look *t_i* without actually feeling *p_{gi}*? (Postal (1993: 736))

- ☹ Why only nominals?

- ☹ How about (37) and (38)?

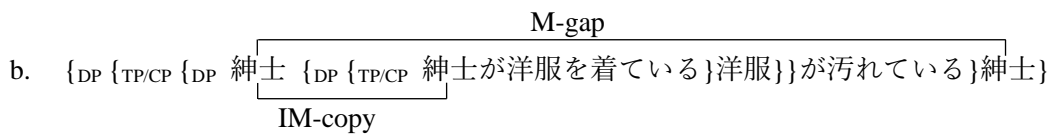
- (100) a. In (98) and (99), EM introduces only one theta-assigner.
b. In (98) and (99), the other argument (external argument) must be the same. In (95), on the other hand, the identity of the external arguments is only accidental.

(All the examples are from Postal (1994: 84))

- (103) Only NP can be extracted from islands.
- a. Anna, che me ne sono andato via senza neanche salutare,...
 ‘A. who I went away without even saying goodbye to’ (Cinque (1990: 103))
- b. *Anna, con la quale me ne sono andato via senza neanche parlare,...
 ‘A., with whom I went away without even speaking’ (ibid.)
- (104) Cinque: referentiality is crucial for extraction from islands.

2.2.5 Problem

- (105) a. 着ている洋服が汚れている紳士 (Kuno (1973: 239))



- (106) 太郎が花子に[[[着ている洋服]が汚れていると]伝え]た紳士

⊗ These examples are kinds of gapless HERCs.

- (107) a. ドアが閉まる音
 b. 魚が焼けるにおい

- (108) $\{DP \{CP \dots\} EH\}$

2.3 Summary for HERC

- (109) a. short RC: movement
 long-distance RC: *pro*
 RC from island: *pro*
 ↓
 b. short RC: FC
 long-distance RC: FC
 RC from island: no gap
- (110) The highest clause sensitivity is deduced from i) HERCs are derived by FC, ii) FC applies at the phase level, and iii) Reconstruction occurs up to the uniform operation.

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