

1. Introduction

- Set Merge:** when α and β are merged, either α or β may supply the label, Chomsky (2008).
 - Example (1a) is ambiguous.
- (1) a. what you wrote (Chomsky 2008:145)
b. read _{[DP]D} what_{[CP]D} [you wrote what] (free relative)
c. wonder _{[CP]D} what_{[CP]D} [you wrote what] (interrogative)
- Relabeling:** when a single head raises from within a clause and then labels the clause.
 - e.g. *what* in (1b), relabels and nominalizes a clause.
 - Cecchetto & Donati (2015), hereafter C&D, develop a comprehensive theory of relativization based on relabeling.
 - The *wh*-relative example in (2a) is derived using *man* to relabel the underlying clause *John saw which man* as shown in (2b):
- (2) a. the man which John saw
b. _{[DP] the _{[N] man _{[CP] _{[DP] which man} [John saw _{[DP] which man}]]]}}}
- In this theory, relabeling is necessary for relativization.
 - (3a) cannot be interpreted as an (*in-situ*) free relative, and only heads are permitted to relabel (from C&D).
 - (3b) only has available a clausal reading (cf. (1a)):
- (3) a. you read what
b. _{[CP] _{[what book] you read what book}}
- We extend C&D's relabeling analysis to account for basic Japanese relative clauses.
 - Japanese has internally headed relative clauses and externally headed relative clauses.
 - (4a) is an internally-headed relative (IHR) clause with a nominalizing (NM) morpheme *-no* (cf. Kuroda 1992).
 - (4b) is an externally-headed relative (EHR) clause with the external head *keeki* 'cake'.
- (4) a. Yoko-wa [[Taro-ga sara-no ue-ni keeki-o oita]-no]-o tabeta
Yoko-Top Taro-Nom plate-Gen on-Loc cake-Acc put-NM-Acc ate
b. Yoko-wa [[Taro-ga sara-no ue-ni oita] keeki]-o tabeta
Yoko-Top Taro-Nom plate-Gen on-Loc put cake-Acc ate
'Yoko ate the cake that Taro put on the plate' (Shimoyama 1999:147)
- Shimoyama argues against an invisible LF-raising account of IHRs based on scope facts.
 - (5a-b) exhibit a scope contrast with respect to *hotondo* 'most'.
 - In (5a) most of the cookies were in the fridge. If *kukkii* 'cookie' were to undergo LF raising together with *hotondo*, then *hotondo* should be able to get higher scope with *kukkii*-o *hotondo* in the relative clause head position (cf. Shimoyama 1999).
 - In (5b) most of the cookies were brought to the party.
- (5) a. Taro-wa [[Yoko-ga reezooko-ni kukkii-o hotondo irete-oita]-no]-o paatii-ni motte-itta
Taro-Top Yoko-Nom fridge-Loc cookie-Acc most put-Aux-NM-Acc party-Dat brought
'Yoko put most cookies in the fridge and Taro brought them to the party'
b. Taro-wa [[Yoko-ga reezooko-ni irete-oita] k kukkii-o hotondo] paatii-ni motte-itta
Taro-Top Yoko-Nom fridge-Loc put-Aux cookie-Acc most party-Dat brought
'Taro brought most cookies that Yoko put in the fridge to the party' (Shimoyama 1999:149-150)
- Question:** How does relabeling work in Japanese relative clauses, if there is no raising in IHRs?

2. Proposals

- The nominalizer *-no* is the relabeler that precipitates relativization.
- The nominalizer *-no* blocks extraction – causes an island effect.
 - There is no raising and relabeling in an IHR such as (5a).
- In (5a) assume that the phrase *kukkii-o hotondo* 'most cookies' is formed *in-situ* and does not raise.
- The nominalizer *no* Agrees with (binds) *kukkii* to obtain an interpretation.

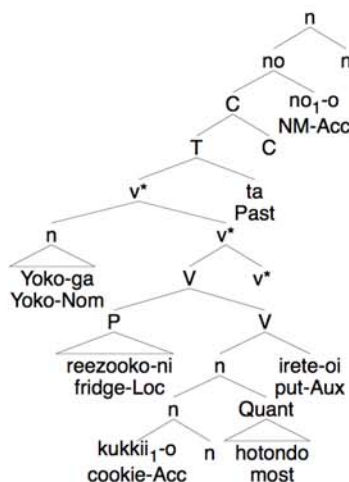


Figure 1: Structure of internally-headed relative clause (5a)

- In the EHR (5b), there is relabeling.
 - kukkii* raises and Merges with the CP, and *kukkii* labels.
 - categorizer *n* is Merged.
 - hotondo* 'most' adjoins to nP.

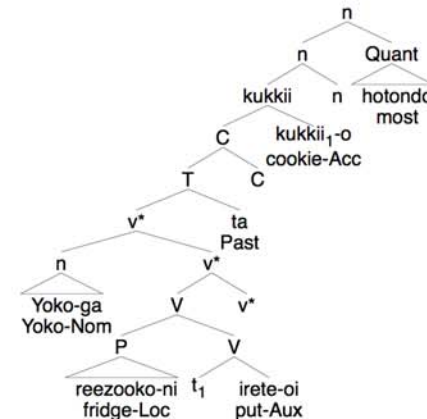


Figure 2: Structure of externally headed relative clause (5b)

- In (5b), why can't the relative head (most salient argument) raise?
 - no* creates an island effect
 - no* selects for a CP

3. Further Evidence

- In (5b), *kukkii* raises to become the head of the relative clause, which then merges with *hotondo* at the matrix clause level, thereby deriving the attested scope facts.
 - (6) has the same truth conditions as (5b), indicating that *hotondo* merges with the relative clause headed by *no*:
- (6) Taro-wa [[Yoko-ga reezooko-ni kukkii-o irete-oita]-no]-o hotondo paatii-ni motte-itta
Taro-Top Yoko-Nom fridge-Loc cookie-Acc put-Aux-NM-Acc most party-Dat brought
'Taro brought most cookies that Yoko put in the fridge to the party'
- Shimoyama (1999) observes that, under scrambling, an expected scope difference with a quantificational IHR fails to materialize.
 - (7a-b) have the same interpretation.
 - The expected scope difference is observed when EHRs are substituted for the IHRs in (7a-b).
- (7) a. Hotondo-no gakusei-ga [[Taro-ga dono syukudai-mo sikenmae-ni dasita] -no]-o teisyutusita
most-Gen student-Nom Taro-Nom every homework before exam-at assigned-NM-Acc turned in
b. [[Taro-ga dono syukudai-mo sikenmae-ni dasita]-no]-o hotondo-no gakusei-ga t1
Taro-Nom every homework before exam-at assigned-NM-Acc most-Gen student-Nom teisyutusita turned in
'Most students turned in every homework that Taro assigned before the exam' (Shimoyama 1999:153)

4. Conclusions and Further Issues

- In a Japanese EHR, the root of the relative head freely re-Merges and relabels the CP, followed by obligatory Merge of an external *n* (as all roots must be categorized) (cf. Fig. 2).
 - In a Japanese IHR, since Merge is free, the available option of no re-Merge by the internal relative root is taken; a nominalizer *no* is externally Merged to nominalize the CP (cf. Fig. 1).
 - Relabeling and nominalizer *no* are in complementary distribution.
 - Nominalizer *no* identifies with a salient argument in the RC.
 - Note that extra-syntactic head identification is also required in gapless relatives, as in (8).
- (8) [meizin-ga ryoori-sita] azi
expert-Nom cooked flavor
'the flavor that results when an expert cooks' (Tsujiyama 2007:305, per Kitagawa 1982:201).
- Questions arise regarding which arguments *no* can identify with (bind).
 - In the IHR (9a/4a) the object *keeki* 'cake' can be relativized.
 - In (9b), the subject *Taro* cannot be relativized.
- (9) a. Yoko-wa [[Taro-ga sara-no ue-ni keeki-o oita]-no]-o tabeta
Yoko-Top Taro-Nom plate-Gen on-Loc cake-Acc put-NM-Acc ate
'Yoko ate the cake that Taro put on the plate' (Shimoyama 1999:147)
b. *Yoko-wa [[Taro-ga yuka-no ue-ni keeki-o otoshita]-no]-o nagusameta
Yoko-Top Taro-Nom floor-Gen on-Loc cake-Acc dropped-NM-Acc comforted
Yoko comforted Taro who dropped his cake on the floor.

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