

Long Distance Relativisation and Phasal Transfer of KP

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Overview This paper argues that Japanese involves bare NP-movement to Spec, KP to form Relative Clauses (RCs) and that absence of Complex NP Constraint (CNPC) is accounted for by applying Hiraiwa's (2010) theory of transfer to the KP-phase.

Introduction Japanese RCs sometimes flout CNPC. I call these RCs *Double Relativisations* (DRs).

(1)[$e_i e_j$ ki-te-iru] huku_j-ga yogore-te-iru sin_i wa onkou-da
 $e_i e_j$ wear-State-Pres clothes_j-Nom dirty-State-Pres gentleman_i Top calm-Cop
Lit 'The gentleman who clothes that [he] is wearing are dirty is calm.' (Kuno 1973)

However, some DRs are disallowed as in (2), which leads to the generalisation (3).

(2)*[$e_i e_j$ ki-te-iru] sin_i-ga koron-da huku_j wa ana-ga ai-ta.
 $e_i e_j$ wear-State-Pres gentleman_i-Nom fell-Past clothes_j Top hole-Nom make-Past
Lit 'The clothes that the gentleman who is wearing [them] fell got a hole.' (Ishizuka 2009)

(3)Inoue-Hasegawa's generalisation: DRs are allowed, if (i) the outer RC head is relativised from the inner RC subject position, and (ii) the inner RC head serves as the outer RC subject.

Recent analyses claim that CNPC holds in Japanese, but structures which meet (3) can form a Multiple Nominative Construction (MNC) and the apparent long relativisation is actually a short relativisation of the outer RC from the major subject position. The Inner RC subject is *pro*.

(4)a. [_{inner RC} $pro e_j$ V] Obj_j (Relativisation of an object)
b. Subj_i-ga [_{inner RC} $pro_i e_j$ V] Obj_j-ga V (MNC)
c. [_{outer RC} e_i [[_{inner RC} $pro_j e_j$ V] Obj_j]-ga V] Subj_i (Relativisation of a major matrix subject)

Though previous studies focus on DRs, N's clausal complements (NCs) also flout CNPC as in (5).

(5)[[ieyasu-ga e_i kakusi-ta toiu] uwasa]-ga hiroma-tte-iru zaihou_i
ieyasu-Nom e_i hide-Past that rumor-Nom spread-Prog-Pres treasure
Lit 'the treasure that the rumour that Ieyasu hid [it] is spreading'

If (5) is derived in parallel with (4), it predicts that the MNC in (6) must be allowed. However, the ungrammaticality of (6) indicates that NCs cannot be derived in parallel with DRs.

(6)*zaihou-ga [[ieyasu-ga pro_i/e_i kakusi-ta toiu] uwasa]-ga hiroma-tte-iru. (MNC)
Treasure-Nom [ieyasu-Nom pro_i/e_i hide-Past that rumor-Nom spread-Prog-Pres
Lit 'Treasure, the rumour that Ieyasu hid [it] is spreading.'

We propose that (i) a bare NP moves to Spec, KP in Japanese RCs, and that (ii) K triggers transfer of its complement immediately after NP moves to the KP edge. So, only one element can be extracted per phase. Thus, NCs are fine, whereas DRs are disallowed unless they exploit MNC.

Analysis DRs, but not NCs, exploit MNC in the course of derivation. NCs do not follow (3).

(7)Shige-ga [[ieyasu-ga e_i kakusi-ta toiu] uwasa]-o sinji-te-iru zaihou_i
Shige-Nom Ieyasu-Nom e_i hide-Past that rumor-Acc believe-Prog-Pres treasure_i
Lit 'the treasure that Shige believes the rumour that the Ieyasu hid [it]'

Also, the overt pronominal element cannot replace the gap within the inner RC.

(8)NHK-ga [[Yujiro-ga { e_i / *soitu_i-o / *kanojo_i-o} aisi-ta toiu] jijitu]-o houji-ta joyuu_i
NHK-Nom Yujiro-Nom { e_i /that_guy_i-Acc/she_i-Acc} love-Past that fact-Acc report-Past actress_i
Lit 'the actress that NHK reported the fact that Yujiro loved [her]'

If the relevant gap is *pro*, substituting overt pronominal elements should be fine. On the other hand, overt elements are allowed in a DR whose inner RC contains an adjunctive *te*-clause as in (9).

(9)[[{{ e_i /sore_i-o} motome-te] kaigai-kara otozurer-u] kyaku-ga tae-na-i] raamen_i

{ e_i /that $_i$ -Acc} seek-Conj abroad-from visit-Pres customer-Nom cease-Neg-Pres ramen $_i$
 Lit ‘ramen that customers unceasingly come from overseas, seeking [it]’

This suggests that A’-movement is involved in relativisation and the overt pronominal element ‘sore’ (that) is resumptive. If relativisation in Japanese NCs involves A’-movement, the RC head should licence an anaphor in its base-position. This prediction is borne out.

(10) Inkai-ga [[e_i jibun $_i$ -no-kodomo-o nagu-tta]-toiu uwasa]-o utaga-tta sensei $_i$
 Committee-Nom e_i self-Gen-child-Acc beat-Past that rumour-Acc doubt-Past teacher $_i$
 Lit ‘the teacher that the committee doubted the rumour that [he] beats self’s child.’

We propose that Japanese has bare NP-movement to Spec, KP, where K is a phase head that is related to realisation of the case: (i) an argument of RC is a bare NP, (ii) K merges with the RC, (iii) bare NP is raised to Spec, KP and (iv) the RC is transferred. We adopt Hiraiwa’s (2010) theory: *Edge-Extension Operation* (EEO) immediately triggers transfer of phasal complement.

(11) Edge-Extension Operation (EEO): a syntactic operation that Merges β with a constituent consisting of a phase head H_P and its complement α . (Hiraiwa 2003, 2010)

So, $\{NP_i \{K, \{RC \dots NP_i \dots\}\}\} \rightarrow \{K, NP_i\}$ (Narita 2014 and Lohndal 2014 for the process $\{H\} \rightarrow H$). This predicts that only a single element can be extracted from a phase, but the element can successive cyclically move to higher domains. This distinguishes DRs from NCs: DRs are disallowed unless the outer RC head is base-generated outside the inner RC so that there is no extraction of multiple elements from a single phase. Hence, DRs exploit MNC and (3) holds for DRs. However, NCs are fine because they just extract a single element from a phase. Hence, NCs do not exploit MNC and (3) does not hold for NCs.

Evidence First, cases of RC heads are determined externally to the RC, even if they seem to get a preposition or a marked case within the RC. We should want to avoid positing that Japanese exploits a powerful case-rewriting/stacking, which is cross-linguistically odd. However, if RC heads are bare NPs within the RC, such a system is unnecessary.

Second, absence of scope reconstruction, a famous argument against A’-movement within Japanese RCs, does not apply to our proposal. As bare NPs are scopeless (Carlson 1977, Chierchia 1998), reconstruction of a bare NP never renders scope ambiguity. It also predicts a bare NP takes scope only when it is associated with external K. This is confirmed by (12), an instance of split QP.

(12)a. [[e_i dare-mo-o aisi-te-iru] $sinsi_i$ -ga yasasi-i
 e_i Indet-MO-Acc love-Prog-Pres gentleman $_i$ -Nom kind-Pres
 ‘A gentleman who loves everyone is kind.’ ($\exists \gg \forall, * \forall \gg \exists$)
 b. [[e_i dare-o aisi-te-iru] $sinsi_i$ -mo yasasi-i
 e_i Indet-Acc love-Prog-Pres gentleman $_i$ -MO kind-Pres
 ‘Every gentleman who loves someone is kind.’ ($* \exists \gg \forall, \forall \gg \exists$)

Lastly, the proposal naturally accounts for *Multiple Headed Relatives (MHRs)* (Takeda 1999) in (13). This looks like an extraction of multiple RC heads, but actually is an extraction of a single RC head. In (13), DO and IO form a constituent, as nothing can intervene them.

(13) [Mary-ga saikin $e_i e_j$ oku-tta] [ronbun $_i$ -to (*suguni) syuppansya $_j$]-o (suguni) osie-te.
 [Mary-Nom recently $e_i e_j$ send-Past] [article $_i$ -and (*soon) publisher $_j$]-Acc (soon) tell-please
 Lit ‘Please tell me about articles and publishers which Mary sent in these two months, soon.’

In our proposal, there is only a single edge per phase. However, if ‘ronbun-to syuppansya’ (articles and publishers) forms a constituent, our proposal predicts that it can move out of the RC. If so, then, MHRs are predicted to be insensitive to CNPC. This prediction is borne out: Takeda (1999) reports that they are insensitive to CNPC. Also, the bare NP analysis naturally accounts for the lack of the case in ‘ronbun’ (paper) and the lack of Dat in ‘syuppansya’ (publisher), which are otherwise problematic. This discussion is in parallel with Hiraiwa’s (2010) treatment of *Boeckx-Sugisaki Observation* (BSO): in multiple *Long Distance Scrambling (LDS)*, elements undergoing LDS cannot be split by an element in the higher clause. He attributes it to EEO. Thus, MHRs provide evidence for EEO and the bare NP analysis of RC heads in Japanese.