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Notes on Relativization in Japanese*

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In this talk, we have argued for the existence of the relative clauses in Japanese that are derived by movement, as well as those derived by non-movement.

The relative clause (1b) lacks the sort of island effect observed in the scrambling case (1a), which is derived by the syntactic movement of the scrambled phrase:

(1) a. *sono-kuruma-o$_i$ [Taroo-ga [e$_i$ yogoshita kodomo]-o
stained kid
shikaritsuketa
scolded
Lit. "That car, Taro scolded the kid who stained."

b. [Taroo-ga [e$_i$ yogoshita kodomo]-o shikaritsuketa]
kuruma $_i$
Lit."the car which Taro scolded the kid who stained "

We attributed the lack of island effect in this relative clause to the availability of an empty resumptive pronoun *pro* in the gap position of the relative clause. We have assumed the following licensing condition on *pro* :

(2) In Japanese, *pro* is licensed by abstract Case-assignment.

However, some sort of movement must be involved in those relative clauses where *pro* is not available in the relevant gap.

Firstly, the following semantic constraint on resumptive pronouns prevents *pro* from appearing in the gap position of the relative clauses that are headed by a quantified NP.

(3) An NP with the feature [+pronominal] cannot have a

quantified NP in A'-position as its antecedent.
(Chao and Sells (1983), Saito (1985))

Hence, a gap in such a relative clause must obligatorily be a trace left by movement. The island effect in the following sentence tells us that this is so. Consider:

(4) *[Hanako-ga [e $_i$ nagutta otoko]-o aishiteiru]dono-onna-mo$_i$
guy ACC love
Jiroo-o nagutta
Lit."Any woman that Hanako loves the guy who hit hit Jiro."

Secondly, the relativization of (i) an adjunct and (ii) a topic phrase also must involve movement because neither a gap in an adjunct position nor the one in a topic position does not meet the licensing condition of *pro* (2). The island effect observed below shows that this is the case:

(5) *[Mary-ga [e $_i$ John-o sashita hito]-o aishiteiru] naifu
person love
Lit."the knife which Mary loves the person who stabbed John with"

(6) a. Reagan-wa [Nancy-ga byooki-da]
TOP NOM be ill
Lit."As for Reagan, Nancy is ill in bed."
b.??[Taroo-ga [[e $_i$ [Nancy-ga byooki-da]]-toyuu uwasa]-o
that rumor
kiita Reagan $_i$
heard
Lit."Reagan, who Taro heard a rumor that Nancy is ill in bed"