Japanese Internally Headed Relatives.
Phantom gaps, role choice, and how to stay away from scope.

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Abstract

Japanese internally headed relatives are clausal structures that occur in argument position; have a definite interpretation which derives from a constituent inside the clause (the internal head) which is not marked grammatically; and contain no visible gap or resumptive pronoun to show that they are indeed relative clauses.

Indeed Hoshi 1995 and Shimoyama 1999 analyze these structures not as relatives, but as normal full clauses which constrain a null discourse anaphor in the matrix. Against this, Grosu 2010 and Grosu and Landman 2012 argue that the structures in question are true relatives in that they contain a syntactic and semantic operator-variable structure, which is sensitive in the familiar way to island constraints.

In the present talk I will present a version of the analysis proposed in Grosu and Landman in which a phantom gap, a null-prepositional phrase, is adjoined locally to the internal head. The phantom gap consists of a null choose-role preposition and a gap which is bound by a relativization operator. I will give a new semantics for the choose-role preposition, a semantics that is more explicit than the one given in Grosu and Landman 2012, and that is as constrained as I think the data allow. I will show that some putative further constraints are untenable, because they rely on misconceptions about the internal head, like:
-that it is a noun phrase constituent of the relative;
-that it is what corresponds semantically to the external head in externally headed relatives;
-that it is interpreted as constraining a participant of the event type interpretation of the internally headed relative. Instead, the new analysis tries to incorparate just the restrictions that we know constrain internally headed relatives, i.e. Kuroda's Relevancy Condition, which says that the internally headed relative must be directly relevant to the content of its matrix clause.

For internal head π and event type α (the interpretation of the structure that the phantom gap adjoins to) the choose role preposition chooses an an appropriate role in an event type $\mathbf{k}(\alpha)$, which is related to α by a contextually salient Kuroda function $\mathbf{k}$, a function mapping events onto Kuroda-related events. I will show the working of this mechanism by discussing a few examples, and briefly discuss its relation to analyses based on discourse anaphora.

In the second part of this talk I discuss, following a suggestion by Grosu and Landman, a Scope Constraint to the effect that the scope mechanism cannot cross over the choose role phantom gap. I discuss welcome consequences of this constraint:
-the fact that the internal head cannot occur in the scope of negation;
-the fact that internal heads in the scope of quantifiers do not show the readings that would be derived via the scope mechanism.
I discuss problematic cases:
-verbal arguments taking scope over negation;
-the readings that internal heads in the scope of quantifiers do show.

I argue that any analysis of internally headed relatives in terms of event types must be embedded in a more general theory of scope and event types, a theory of events, scope and scopelessness, which involve what we can call internal scope mechanisms (see e.g. Scha 1981, Schein 1986, Sher 1990, Moltmann 1992, Schein 1993, Landman 1998, Krifka 1999, Landman 2000 for the earlier literature).

Using the theory of Landman 2000, I show that these cases can be succesfully analyzed using the internal scope mechanisms proposed there. In this way, Japanese internally headed relatives can be seen as providing support for analyses using internal scope mechanisms.