

The syntax-semantics of internally headed relatives in Japanese/Korean

ABSTRACT

The I(nternally) H(eaded) R(elative) constructions of Japanese and Korean have drawn the attention of a number of semanticists, largely due to the following two properties: (i) they have necessarily definite force (unlike, e.g., those of Lakhota, which admit existential force), and (ii) they are subject to pragmatic restrictions subsumed under the general term 'Relevancy Condition' (Kuroda 1976-77), which seem to be absent from the necessarily definite IHRs of other languages (e.g., Cuzco Quechua). Hoshi (1985), Shimoyama (1999, 2001), and Kim (2007) have proposed to handle (i) by assuming an E-type anaphoric relation between IH and a (null or overt) relative-external pronoun, which, however, is subject to a number of constraints not found in discourse. The most recent and ambitious of these studies (Kim 2007) proposes to capture both the constraints on the (presumed) anaphoric relation and a particular ingredient of the Relevancy Condition (a temporal intersection effect that concerns eventualities) by means of a unifying semantic analysis.

This talk will examine the merits of Kim's analysis in relation to a set of data broader than the one she considered. It will argue that her analysis is unable to deal with the extended set of data, and that the appeal to the E-type strategy, as well as the idea of unifying (i) and (ii), are moves in the wrong direction, both empirically and conceptually. An alternative analysis that overcomes these difficulties will be presented and argued for at the talk (details are suppressed here, to preserve a modicum of curiosity!).

References

- Hoshi, K. (1995) *Structural and interpretive aspects of head-internal and head-external relative clauses*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Rochester.
- Kim, M.-J. (2007) Formal Linking in Internally Headed Relatives. *Natural Language Semantics*, 15, 279-315.
- Kuroda, S.-Y. (1976-77) Pivot-independent relativization in Japanese III: Types of Japanese relatives. *Papers in Japanese Linguistics*, 5, 157-179.
- Shimoyama, J. (1999) Internally headed relative clauses in Japanese and E-type anaphora. *Journal of East Asian Languages*, 8, 147 – 182.
- Shimoyama, J. (2001) *Wh-constructions in Japanese*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Massachusetts at Amherst.