

Japanese relative clauses

Head External Relative

- (1) a Mary-ga [**John-ga t kat-ta**] **table-o** migai-ta
M-Nom J-Nom buy-Pst table-Acc polish-Pst
'John polished **the table that John bought**'
(polishing and buying freely ordered; independent tense construal possible)
- b Mary-ga [**John-ga esa-o yat-ta**] **inu-o** tsukamae-ta
M-Nom J-Nom food-Acc give-Pst dog-Acc catch-Pst
'Mary caught **the dog that John fed**'
(catching and feeding freely ordered; independent tense construal possible)
- c Taroo-wa **waratte i-ru otoko-o** mi-ta.
Taro-Top laughing be-NonPst man-Acc see-Pst
'Taro saw **a man who was/is laughing.**'
(laughing may be simultaneous with (a) seeing alone, or (b) UT alone, or (c) both (DA))

Head Internal Relative

- (2) a Mary-ga [**John-ga tsukue-o kat-ta**] **no-o** migai-ta
M-Nom J-Nom table-Acc buy-Pst -N-Acc polish-past
'Mary polished **the table that John bought**'
(buying must precede polishing; only Past-shifted reading possible)
- b Mary-ga [**John-ga inu-ni esa-o yat-ta**] **no-o** tsukamae-ta
M-Nom J-Nom dog-Dat food-Acc give-Pst N-Acc catch-Past
'Mary caught **the dog that John fed**'
(feeding must precede catching; only Past-shifted reading possible)
- c. Head-internal relative clause with Non-past (present) tense: (*example not guaranteed*)
(*Taroo-wa otoko-ga waratte i-ru no-o mi-ta.*)
(*T-Top man-Nom laughing be-NonPst N-Acc saw*)
(*Taro saw a man who was laughing*)
The relative clause eventuality-time must be simultaneous with main-clause eventuality-time; thus, a dependent/simultaneous reading is possible, but an independent reading (simultaneous with utterance time alone) is not. It is impossible to determine whether a DA reading is also allowed, since it corresponds truth functionally to a subcase of the other two readings, one of which (dependent/simultaneous) is possible.

Embeddings under Intensional verbs: Head External Relative

- (3) a Taro-ga [Mary-ga [**John-ga t kat-ta**] **table-o** migai-ta]to it-ta .
T-Nom M-Nom J-Nom buy-Pst table-Acc polish-Pst Comp say-past
'Taro said that Mary polished **the table that John bought.**'
complement clause: polishing is before saying; past-shifted
relative clause: buying and polishing are freely ordered;
if buying before saying: de dicto OK; if buying after saying, de re required.
- b Taro-ga [Mary-ga [**John-ga esa-o yat-ta**] **inu-o** tsukamae-ta] to it-ta.
T-Nom M-Nom J-Nom food-Acc give-Pst dog-Acc catch-Pst Comp say-Pst
'Taro said that Mary caught **the dog that John fed.**' (same as 3a)
- c Mary-ga [Taro-ga **waratte i-ru otoko-o** mi-ta] to it-ta
M-Nom Taro-Nom laughing be-NonPst man-Acc see-Pst Comp say-Pst
'Mary said that Taro saw **a man who was/is laughing.**'
Complement clause: seeing is before saying; Past-shifted.
Relative clause: laughing may coincide with seeing-time, saying-time, or UT, or with combinations thereof; of these, the only 'pure' de re reading is the one where laughing coincides only with the UT.

Head Internal Relative

- (4) a Taro-ga [Mary-ga [**John-ga tsukue-o kat-ta**] **no-o** migai-ta] to it-ta.
T-Nom M-Nom J-Nom table-Acc buy-Pst -N-Acc polish-past Comp say-Pst
'Taro said that Mary polished **the table that John bought.**'
complement clause: polishing is before saying, as above.
relative clause: buying is before polishing, de dicto reading required.
- b Taro-ga [Mary-ga [**John-ga inu-ni esa-o yat-ta**] **no-o** tsukamae-ta] to it-ta.
T-Nom M-Nom J-Nom dog-Dat food-Acc give-Pst N-Acc catch-Past Comp said
'Taro said that Mary caught **the dog that John fed.**' (same as 4a)
- c (*Mary-ga Taro-ga otoko-ga waratte i-ru no-o mi-ta to it-ta.*)
(*M-Nom T-Nom man-Nom laughing be-NonPst N-Acc saw Comp said*)
(*Mary said that Taro saw a man who was laughing*)
Complement clause: past-shifted with respect to saying-time, as in 3 and 4 above;
Relative clause: laughing-time must coincide with seeing time.