

Change of State Head-Internal Relative Clauses in Japanese*

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Japanese exhibits another type of head-internal relative clause (HIRC), which has not been discussed carefully in the literature. I call it the “change of state head-internal relative clause (change-HIRC)” for its semantic character. Even though it is a gapless relative clause like an ordinary-HIRC, it is more like a free relative (FR) because of the following properties; (i) the status of *no* at the right edge of a relative clause (ii) its modifiability by the determiner *sono* (iii) its distribution in the main clause. The differences between ordinary-HIRCs and change-HIRCs probably depend on whether *no* has the real syntactic head status or not. Although the distinction between ordinary-HIRCs and change-HIRCs is syntactically represented, the distinction is semantically determined. Change-HIRCs exhibit property change of the internal head in the proposition expressed in the relative clause but ordinary-HIRCs do not exhibit such a property change.

***relative clause, *head-internal relative clause, *free relative, *no**

1. Introduction

In the literature, three types of relative clauses are recognized in Japanese: ordinary relative clauses (head-external relative clauses, henceforth HERCs) like (1), free relatives (FRs) like (2), and head-internal relative clauses¹ (HIRCs) like (3).

(1) HERC

John-wa [[Mary-ga [e] motte kita] ringo]-o totte tabeta.
 -Top -Nom brought apple -Acc picked up and ate²

‘John picked up and ate the apple that Mary brought.’

(2) FR

Tom-wa [[Jane-ga [e] motte kita] no]-o totte tabeta.
 -Top -Nom brought one-Acc picked up and ate

‘Tom picked up and ate the one that Jane brought.’

言語科学研究第2号(1996年)

(3) HIRC

John-wa [[Mary-ga *ringo-o* motte kita] no]-o totte tabeta.
 -Top -Nom apple-Acc brought -Acc picked up and ate
 'John picked up and ate the apple that Mary brought.'

I will roughly present syntactic differences among them. First, HERCs and FRs have a gap in the relative clause, while HIRCs do not. Second, at the right edge of the relative clause, HERCs do not have *no*, but FRs and HIRCs do.

The primary purpose of this paper is to claim that Japanese exhibits yet another type of HIRC and to provide some important characteristics of this type. The type of HIRC in question is exemplified in (4). ((4a) is due to Keiichiro Okutsu.)

(4) another type of HIRC

- a. [[*Otamazyakusi-ga* kaeru-ni natta] no]-ga niwa -o haneteiru.
 tadpole -Nom frog -Cop became -Nom garden-in is hopping
 'A frog which is the result of changing from a tadpole is hopping in the garden.'
- b. John-wa [[*kurozato* -o tokasita] no]-o dango -ni tukete tabeta.
 -Top brown sugar-Acc melted -Acc dumpling-at put and ate
 'John put on the dumplings some of the black syrup which he had made by melting brown sugar, and ate them.'

The intuitive difference between (4) and (3) is that the internal head in (4) involves some property change. Thus, I call HIRCs of type (4) "change of state head-internal relative clauses" (or just "change-HIRCs") in the following discussion. It will be shown that change-HIRCs are, syntactically, somewhat between ordinary-HIRCs and FRs, and that it constitutes an independent class because of its peculiar semantic properties.

Before the discussion of differences between change-HIRCs and ordinary-HIRCs, I would like to point out differences between ordinary-HIRCs and FRs, in terms of (i) the status of *no*, which appears at the right edge of both ordinary-HIRCs and FRs, (ii) modifiability by the determiner *sono* (iii) distribution of relative clauses in

Change of State Head-Internal Relative Clauses in Japanese*

the main clause. Section 3 will show that change-HIRC are more like FRs than ordinary-HIRC by the criteria just mentioned. In section 4, I will argue that this difference is probably due to whether *no* has the real syntactic head status or not. Then in section 5, I will explore the semantic characteristics which determine whether an HIRC is an ordinary-HIRC or a change-HIRC. Section 6 will be a summary.

2. Differences between ordinary-HIRC and FRs

This section will summarize the differences between ordinary-HIRC and FRs, and the discussion of change-HIRC will start in section 3.

2.1. The status of *no* in relative clauses

No in ordinary-HIRC has been claimed to be a complementizer, rather than a pronominal,³ while *no* in the FRs is a pronominal. Kuroda (1992)⁴ and Tubomoto (1981) provide three diagnostic tests to clarify this distinction.

- A: It can be replaced by *yatu*, ‘thing’. (Kuroda⁵)
- B: It can refer to an honorable human referent. (Kuroda)
- C: It can have a pronominal modifier. (Tubomoto)

	A	B	C	status
pronominal <i>no</i>	yes (5)	no (6)	yes (7)	pronominal
<i>no</i> in ordinary-HIRC	no (8)	yes (9)	no (10)	complementizer
<i>no</i> in FR	yes (11)	no (12)	yes (13)	pronominal

Pronominal *no*

- (5) a. Akai ringo-wa oisii ga, aoi no -wa oisiku nai.
red apple -Top delicious but green one-Top not-delicious
‘Red apples are delicious but green ones are not.’
- b. Akai ringo-wa oisii ga, aoi *yatu*-wa oisiku nai.

言語科学研究第2号(1996年)

(6a) does not include honorification but (6b) does.

- (6) a. Watasi-wa ookii kodomo mo tiisai *no* mo kooen-e tureteitta.
 I -Top elder children also young one also park -to brought
 'I brought both elder and younger children to the park.'
- b. *Go-nenpai-no sensei -wa kesseki-nasatta ga, o-wakai
 aged(hon.) -Gen teachers-Top be-absent(hon.) but young(hon.)
no -wa irassyatta.
 one-Top came (hon.)
 'Elder teachers were absent but younger ones came here.'

In (7), *akai* 'red' is a prenominal modifier.

- (7) Kono ringo-wa oisikunai ga, *akai* no -wa oisii.
 this apple -Top not-delicious but red one-Top delicious
 'This apple is not delicious but the red one is delicious.'

Ordinary-HIRCs

- (8) a. John-wa [[ringo-ga sara-no ue-ni aru] *no*]-o totta.
 -Top apple -Nom plate-Gen on exist -Acc picked up
 b. *John-wa [[ringo-ga sara-no ue-ni aru] *yatu*]-o totta.
 'John picked up the apple which is on a plate.'
- (9) John-wa [[sensee-ga heya-kara dete-irassyatta] *no*]-ni butukatta.
 -Top teacher -Nom room-from leave(hon.) -Dat hit'
 'John hit the teacher who left from the room.'
- (10) *John-wa [[Mary-ga ringo-o tukue-no ue-ni oita] *akai* no]-o totta.
 -Top -Nom apple -Acc desk -Gen on put red -Acc took
 'John picked up the red apple which Mary put on the desk.'

Change of State Head-Internal Relative Clauses in Japanese*

FRs

(11) a. Mary -wa John_i-ni [[kare_i-ga [e] hosigatteita] *no*]-o ageta.
 -Top -Dat he -Nom wanted -Acc gave
 ‘Mary gave John the one which he wanted.’

b. Mary-wa John_i-ni [[kare_i-ga [e] hosigatteita] *yatu*]-o ageta.

(12) *Watasi-wa [[[e] kaigi -ni irassyatta] *no*]-ni o-ai-sita.
 -Top meeting-to came(hon.) -Dat met(humble)
 ‘I met the one who came to the meeting.’

(13) Mary-wa John_i-ni [[kare_i-ga [e] hosigatteita] *akai no*]-o ageta.
 -Top -Dat he -Nom wanted red -Acc gave
 ‘Mary gave to John the red one which he wanted.’

The *no* of FRs is a pronominal, while that of ordinary-HIRC is not. Following Kuroda (1992), it is a complementizer.

2.2. Modifiability by the determiner *sono*

Ohara (1994) observes that ordinary HIRC cannot be modified by the determiner *sono*, as shown in (14), but FRs can, as shown in (15).

(14) *John-wa *sono*, [[Mary-ga ringo-o tukue-no ue-ni oita] *no*]-o totta.
 -Top that -Nom apple -Acc desk -Gen on put C -Acc took
 ‘John picked up that apple which Mary put on the desk.’

(15) Mary-wa *sono*, [[John-ga [e] hosigatteita] *no*]-o ageta.
 -Top that -Nom wanted one -Acc gave
 ‘Mary gave that one which John wanted.’

2.3. Distribution of relative clauses in the main clause

Ordinary-HIRC have a limited distribution. It can basically occur in some argument positions, not in adjunct positions. This observation is first presented by Hoshi (1995). The HIRC in (16)-(19) is an argument in the main clause, and they are ac-

言語科学研究第2号(1996年)

ceptable. It is an adjunct in (20) and (21), and they are not acceptable.

(16) Subject of a transitive verb (with *ga*)

[[*Zyunsa* -*ga* *guuzen toori kakatta*] *no*]-*ga* *hannin-o* *tsukamaeta*.
 police man-Nom by chance passed by C -Nom criminal-Acc arrested

'The police man who happened to pass by arrested that criminal.'

(17) Direct object of a transitive verb (with *o*)

Mary-wa [*ookami-ga* *osoikakatte kita*] *no*]-*o* *utikorosita*.
 -Top wolf -Nom attacked C -Acc shot to death

'Mary shot the wolf which attacked her dead.'

(18) Direct object of a transitive verb (with *ni*)

John-wa [[*ki-ga* *taoreteita*] *no*]-*ni* *tumazuita*.
 -Top tree-Nom lay C -Dat tripped

'John tripped on the tree which was lying on the ground.'

(19) Genitive phrase (with *no*)

John-wa [[*otoko-ga* *ie -ni osiitekita*] *no*]-*no* *buki -o* *toriageta*.
 -Top man -Nom house-into broke C -Gen weapon-Acc took away

'John took away the weapon of the man which broke into the house.'

(20) Instrument phrase (with *de*)

**Mary-wa* [[*John-ga* *naihu-o* *kattekita*] *no*]-*de* *ringo-o* *kitta*.
 -Top -Nom knife -Acc bought C -with apple -Acc cut

'Mary cut an apple with the knife which John bought.'

(21) Source phrase (with *kara*)

**Watasi-wa* [[*Mary-ga* *ringo-o* *kattekita*] *no*]-*kara* *pai-o* *tukutta*.
 I -Top -Nom apple -Acc bought C -from pie -Acc made

'I made a pie from the apples which Mary bought.'

Change of State Head-Internal Relative Clauses in Japanese*

However, it is not difficult to find counterexamples as illustrated in (23)–(28). In order to explain them, I would like to propose the following generalization.

- (22) The Internal head of an ordinary-HIRC is semantically affected or affect another argument in the main clause.

See the following examples. The HIRCs in (23)–(25) are all arguments in the main clause, but they are not acceptable.

(23) Subject of a transitive verb

?*[[*Keisatu-ga yoogisya-o taihosita*] no]-*ga* tumi-o mitometa.
 police -Nom suspect -Acc arrested C -Nom guilty-Acc admitted
 ‘The suspect who was arrested by police admitted his guilty.’

(24) Subject of an intransitive verb

?*[[*Hannin-ga nigedasita*] no]-*ga* koronde simatta.
 criminal -Nom ran away C -Nom tumbled over
 ‘The criminal who ran away had tumbled over.’

(25) Subject of an adjective phrase

?*[[*Mary-ga ringo-o motte kita*] no]-*ga* oisii.
 -Nom apple -Acc brought C -Nom delicious
 ‘Apples which Mary brought are delicious.’

(22) explains the acceptability of the above examples. The internal heads in (23)–(25) are not affected and do not affect any other argument in the main clause. The following examples are acceptable, though they are adjuncts in the main clause.

(26) Starting point phrase (with *kara*)

John-wa [[*tiizu -ga oozara -ni notteiru*] no]-*kara* tabehazimeta.
 -Top cheese-Nom large plate-at on C -from began to eat
 ‘John began to eat from some cheese which were on a large plate.’

言語科学研究第2号(1996年)

(27) Source phrase (with *kara*)

Doroboo-wa [[Mary-ga tukue-ni *kaban*-o oita] no]-*kara* saihu-o
 thief -Top -Nom desk -on bag -Acc put C -from wallet -Acc
 nukitotta.
 stole

'A thief stole the wallet from the bag which Mary put on the desk.'

(28) Target phrase (with *ni*)

John-wa [[*takusii*-ga koosaten -de tomatta] no]-*ni* norikonda.
 -Top taxi -Nom intersection-at stopped C -to got into

'John got into the taxi which stopped at the intersection.'

(22) can explain the acceptability of (26)–(28). The internal heads of (26)–(28) are affected by another argument in the main clause.⁶

Next, we will consider distribution of FRs. First, FRs can occur in both argument and non-argument positions, as shown in (29)–(32).

(29) Subject of transitive verb

[[Kooen-de [e] urotuite ita] no]-*ga* Mary-ni kamituita.
 park -in was prowling around one -Nom -Det bit

'The one which was prowling around in the park bit Mary.'

(30) Object of transitive verb

Mary-wa [[[pro] depaato -de [e] katta] no]-*o* motte_kita.
 -Top department store-at bought one -Acc brought

'Mary brought the one which she bought at a department store.'

(31) Instrument phrase (with *de*)

Mary-wa [[John-ga [e] kattekita] no]-*de* ringo-o kitta.
 -Top -Nom bought one -with apple -Acc made

'Mary cut an apple with the knife which John bought.'

Change of State Head-Internal Relative Clauses in Japanese*

(32) Source phrase (with *kara*)

Mary-wa [John-ga [e] kureta] no]-*kara* pai-o tukutta.
 -Top -Nom gave one -from pie -Acc made

‘Mary made a pie from the ones which John gave to her.’

Second, (22) does not apply to FRs.

(33) Subject of intransitive verb

[[John-ga [e] baken -o katta] no]-*ga* tentoosite simatta.
 -Top betting-ticket -Acc bought one -Nom tumbled over

‘The horse whose betting ticket John bought tumbled over.’

(34) Subject of adjective sentence

[[Mary-ga [e] depaato -de katta] no]-*ga* kireida.
 -Top department store-at bought one -Nom beautiful

‘The one which Mary bought at a department store is beautiful.’

FRs in (33)(34) are not in an affected relation, but they are acceptable.

2.4. Differences between ordinary-HIRC and FRs: A summary

No in ordinary-HIRC is a complementizer, while *no* of FRs is a pronominal. Ordinary-HIRC cannot be modified by the determiner *sono*, while FRs can. The former basically occur only at an argument position in the main clause, while the latter occur in both argument and adjunct positions. The former must be semantically affected or affect another argument in the main clause.

3. Syntactic characteristics of change-HIRC

This section will investigate the syntactic characteristics of change-HIRC, as shown in (4). They are gapless relative clauses just like ordinary-HIRC, but they are more like FRs than ordinary-HIRC with respect to the criteria examined in section 2.

言語科学研究第2号(1996年)

3.1. The status of *no* in change-HIRCs

No in change-HIRCs is a pronominal. Again we use the following diagnostic test.

A: It can be replaced by *yatu*, ‘thing’.

B: It can refer to an honorable human referent.

(Somehow this test cannot be used for change-HIRC.?)

C: It can have a prenominal modifier.

	A	B	C	status
pronominal <i>no</i>	yes	no	yes	pronominal
<i>no</i> in change-HIRC	yes (35)	—	yes (36)	pronominal

(35) a. [[Otamazakusi-ga kaeru-ni natta] *no*]-ga niwa -o haneteiru.
 tadpole -Nom frog -Cop became -Nom garden-in is hopping
 ‘The frog which is the result of changing from a tadpole is hopping in the garden.’

b. [[Otamazakusi-ga kaeruni natta] *yatu*]-ga niwa-o haneteiru.

(36) a. John-wa [[kurozato -o tokasita] *no*]-o dango -ni tuketa.
 -Top brown sugar-Acc melted -Acc dumpling-Det put
 ‘John put black syrup which is made by melting brown sugar on the dumplings.’

b. John-wa [[kurozato-o tokasita] *torottosita no*]-o dango-ni tuketa.
 ‘John put the *sticky* black syrup which is made by melting brown sugar on the dumplings.’

3.2. Modifiability by the determiner *sono*

Change-HIRC can be modified by the determiner *sono*, as in (37).

(37) a. John-wa [[aturyokunabe-de toriniku-o musita] *no*]-ga sukida.
 -Top pressure cooker-in chicken -Acc steamed one -Nom liked
 ‘John liked chickens steamed in a pressure cooker.’

Change of State Head-Internal Relative Clauses in Japanese*

- b. John-wa *sono*, [[*aturyokunabe-de toriniku-o musita*] no]-ga sukida.
 'John liked *those* chickens steamed in a pressure cooker.'

3.3. Distribution of change-HIRC in the main clause

Change-HIRC can occur in both argument and non-argument positions. The change-HIRC of (38) (39) are arguments and those of (40) (41) are adjuncts in the main clauses.

(38) Subject of intransitive verb

[[*Otamazyakusi-ga kaeru-ni natta*] no]-ga niwa -o haneteiru.
 tadpole -Nom frog -Cop became one -Nom garden-in is hopping

The frog which had changed from a tadpole is hopping in the garden.'

(39) Object of transitive verb

John-wa [[*koori-ga toketa*] no]-o mata kooraseta.
 -Top ice -Nom melted one -Acc again froze

'John froze the ice which melted.'

(40) Instrument phrase (with *de*)

[[*Garasu-ga konagonani waret*] no]-de yubi -o kitte simatta.
 glass -Nom to pieces broke one -with finger -Acc has cut

'I cut my finger with glasses which were broken.'

(41) Source phrase (with *kara*)

Kare-wa [[*budoo-o yoku hakkoo saseta*] no]-kara yoi wain -o tukutta.
 he -Top grape -Acc well ferment made one -from good wine -Acc made

'He made good wine from well fermented grapes.'

Change-HIRC can be the subject of adjectives, as shown in (42).

言語科学研究第2号(1996年)

(42) Subject of adjective sentence

[[John-ga toriniku-o yaita] no]-ga oisii.
 -Nom chicken -Acc grilled one -Nom delicious

‘The chickens which John grilled are delicious.’

The internal heads of (40)–(42) are not affected and they do not affect any other argument in the main clause. Thus the generalization (22) does not explain the acceptability of chaneg-HIRC, though it can explain that of ordinary-HIRC.

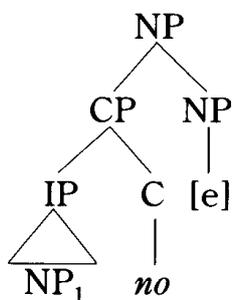
3.4. Syntactic characteristics of change-HIRC: A summary

Change-HIRC are, as is clear from the above discussion, different from ordinary-HIRC but similar to FRs.

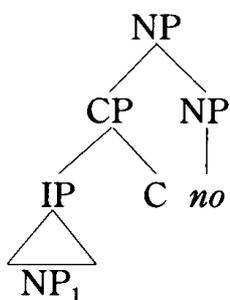
4. The structures of relative clauses

I propose the following structures for the four kinds of relative clauses.

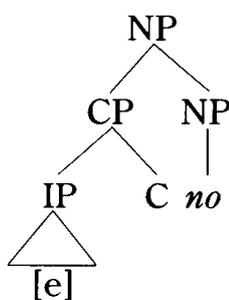
(43) ordinary-HIRC



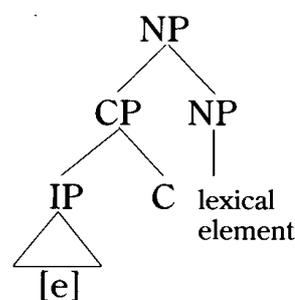
(44) change-HIRC



(45) FR



(46) HERC



(NP₁ is the internal head of HIRC)

The differences between (43) and (44) (45) are the status of *no* and whether it can be the syntactic head of relative clause or not. *No* in ordinary-HIRC is not a pronominal but a complementizer, and the null pronoun [e] is required as the syntactic head as illustrated in (43). *No* in change-HIRC and FRs is a pronominal. It is the head of the NP as in (44) (45). HERCs can also be modified by the determiner *sono* and have the same distribution as change-HIRC and FRs, though I do not give ex-

言語科学研究第2号(1996年)

- (48) a. Mary-wa [[John-ga *mineraru wootaa-o* kattekita] no]-o nonda.
 -Top -Nom mineral water -Acc bought C -Acc drank
 'Mary drank mineral water which John bought.'
- b. *Mary-wa [[John-ga *mineraru wootaa-o* kattekita] *yatu*]-o nonda.
- c. *Mary-wa *sono*, [[John-ga *mineraru wootaa-o* kattekita] no]-o nonda.
 'Mary drank *that* mineral water which John bought.'
- d. *Mary-wa [[John-ga *mineraru wootaa-o* kattekita] no]-*de* *koohii-o* ireta.
 'Mary made coffee with mineral water which John bought.'

Whether an internal head of a HIRC undergoes a property change or not determines whether it is an ordinary-HIRC or a change-HIRC. The following examples also support this generalization. (49b) (50b) show replaceability by *yatu*. (49c) (50c) show modifiability by the determiner *sono*. (49bc) are not acceptable, but (50bc) are acceptable.

- (49) a. [[John-ga *ronbun-o* kaita] no]-ga LI-ni notta. (Watanabe 1992:67)
 -Nom paper -Acc wrote C -Nom -Loc appeared
 'The paper that John wrote appeared in LI.'
- b. *[[John-ga *ronbun-o* kaita] *yatu*]-ga LI-ni notta.
- c. **Sono*, [[John-ga *ronbun-o* kaita] no]-ga LI-ni notta.
- (50) a. [[John-ga *ronbun-o* *kaki-naosita*] no]-ga LI-ni notta.
 -Nom paper -Acc write-correct -Nom -Loc appeared
 'The paper that John revised appeared in LI.'
- b. [[John-ga *ronbun-o* *kakinaosita*] *yatu*]-ga LI-ni notta.
- c. *Sono*, [[John-ga *ronbun-o* *kakinaosita*] no]-ga LI-ni notta.

The only difference between (49abc) and (50abc) has to do with their embedded predicates. *Kaita* 'wrote' of (49abc) does not change the properties of the internal head *ronbun* 'paper', while *kakinaosita* lit. 'write-correct' or 'revised' of (50abc) changes the properties of the internal head *ronbun* 'paper'. (49a) is an ordinary-HIRC and (50a) is a change-HIRC.

Change of State Head-Internal Relative Clauses in Japanese*

6. Summary

Japanese has two types of HIRCs: ordinary-HIRCs and change-HIRCs. Three syntactic tests show that change-HIRCs are different from ordinary-HIRCs but they are more like FRs. The differences between change-HIRCs and ordinary-HIRCs are probably due to whether *no* of the relative clause has the real syntactic head status or not. With respect to the semantic property, whether a HIRC behaves as an ordinary-HIRC or a change-HIRC depends on whether the internal head of the HIRC undergoes a property change or not. That is, the distinction between ordinary-HIRCs and change-HIRCs is semantically predictable.

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NOTES

1. For some discussion on head-internal relative clauses in Japanese, see Kuroda (1974-77), Ito (1986), Ishii (1988), Watanabe (1992), Uchibori (1992), Mihara (1994), Murasugi (1994) and Hoshi (1995).
2. In this paper, I use the following abbreviations.
Nom=Nominative; Acc=Accusative; Dat=Dative; Gen=Genitive; Loc=Locative; C=Complementizer; Top=topic; Cop=Copula; hon.=honorific
3. Since Kuroda's work (1974), (1975-76), and (1976-77), there have been many discussions on the status of *no* in HIRCs. It is not a pronominal, but there is no strong evidence that it is a complementizer, either. Murasugi (1994) argues that *no* in HIRCs is neither a genitive nor a pronominal but a nominalizing complementizer because Japanese has three types of *no*, that is, pronominal, complementizer, and genitive. In this paper I do not examine whether the *no* in question is a genitive or whether it is the result of *no*-insertion (see Kitagawa and Ross (1982)) because [\pm pronominal] is a distinctive feature for *no* between ordinary HIRCs and Change-HIRCs. In this paper I will assume that the *no* which is not a pronominal is a complementizer, following Kuroda.
4. Kuroda (1992) is a revised and unified version of Kuroda (1974), (1975-76), and (1976-77).
5. To be exact, Kuroda (1992) does not use *yatu* for the test. He says, "the pronominal *no* is generally replacable by its explicit antecedent or an implicit antecedent-equivalent..." (p.159)." I use *yatu* for the test as "implicit antecedent-equivalent" in this paper.
6. There are exceptions to (22). The following are acceptable though the HIRCs are not af-

言語科学研究第2号(1996年)

fected, nor do they affect another arguments.

- (i) [[Mary-ga ringo-o katteoita] no]-ga teeburu-no ue-ni aru.
 -Nom apple -Acc bought C -Nom table -Gen on exist

'The apple which Mary bought to use later is on the table.'

- (ii) [[Keisatu-ga yatto yoogisya-o taihosite ryuutizyo-ni ireta] no]-ga
 police -Nom finally suspect -Acc arrested jail -in lock up C -Nom
 sono ban-no utini nigete simatta. ((ii) is due to Masatake Muraki)
 that night -Gen during had escaped

'The suspect whom the police arrested finally and locked up in jail had escaped during that night.'

Thus, the introduction of "affectedness" does not make a perfect generalization on the acceptability of ordinary HIRCS. I will leave this problem for future study. Note, however, that the following discussion still holds, in spite of the exceptions to (22).

7. The method that uses honorification has some problems. If *no* in (ia) is pronominal, it cannot be used with honorification, however, it is acceptable. In (ib), *no* is replaced by *kata*. If the *no* in question is pronominal, it should be acceptable, but it is not. I owe the following sentences to Nobuko Hasegawa (p.c.).

- (i) a. [[Nakimusi kozoo-ga seizika-ni o-nari-ninatta] no]-ga toosensita.
 crybaby -Nom politician -Cop became(hon.) one -Nom was elected

Lit: 'The crybaby became a politician, who was elected.'

'The man who was a crybaby when he was young became a politician and was elected.'

- b. *[[Nakimusi kozoo-ga seizika-ni natta kata]-ga toosensita.

8. Abe (1992) investigates the relative clauses whose embedded verbs denote property change. Along his line, the syntactic head of a relative clause whose embedded verb denotes property change is different from that of other relative clause. Therefore we predict that whether *no* in a HIRC has a real syntactic head status or not depends on whether the relative clause involves property change or not. For lack of space, I do not discuss this idea in this paper.

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Change of State Head-Internal Relative Clauses in Japanese*

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