Continuations for Head-Internal Relative Clauses in Japanese

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Overview

Reanalyze the E-type pronoun account of Japanese IHRs (Shimoyama 1999) with continuations (Barber and Shan 2008; 2014)

- Continuation-based analyses not yet proposed for IHRs
- Assign -no a complex type which allows embedded QP to bind pronoun
- Capture optional high scope of matrix QPs without QR, LF, or contextual variable assignment

Continuations and Type-Shifting Operations

Barber and Shan (2008; 2014): Scope analysis via LIFTed semantic types

E-Type Anaphora with Continuations

- Analysed quantificationally (Barber and Shan, 2008; 2014)
- Binding interpreted via linear precedence and lifted types, not C-Command

Proposed Semantics for -no

Lexically-specified to match embedded DP with e

- Locally combines two clauses (via implication)
- Left-to-right composition forces matrix QP to take wide scope via ordered LIFT operations
- Captures quantifier restriction in (2)
- No need for contextual variable assignment

Partial Derivation

[Taro every homework gave] -no [most students e turned in]

References