

[Research Note]

Ambiguous Labeling and Non-Agreeing Subjects*

MATSUYAMA Tetsuya

1. Introduction

Chomsky (2013) proposes that syntactic objects (SOs) built by Merge must be labeled by the Labeling Algorithm (LA) for externalization and interpretation at the Conceptual-Intentional (CI) interface. Taking the LA to be a special case of minimal search, Chomsky (2013: 43) assumes that the LA selects the closest head H as the label within its search domain (cf. Rizzi 2015). In this approach, a label ambiguity in the {XP, YP} structure is resolved by raising XP or YP out of {XP, YP} or by sharing a feature between the heads of XP and YP (i.e., X and Y). In this paper, I examine the behavior of non-agreeing subjects from a labeling perspective. My empirical focus is on subject-*because* construction and predicational *wh*-pseudocleft,¹ exemplified in (1).

- (1) a. Just because I'm here now doesn't mean that I didn't go.
b. What you have bought are fake jewels. (Declerck 1988: 80)

The subject-*because* in (1a) and the *wh*-clause in (1b) behave as subjects in the external distribution, but they do not display agreement with the (auxiliary)

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