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A Note on the NP/PP Asymmetry in Extraction out of KP in Japanese*

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1. Introduction

This squib discusses Takahashi and Funakoshi's (2013: T&F hereafter) finding that PPs, but not NPs, can be extracted out of a nominal domain in Japanese. The contrast in point is illustrated in (1b) and (2b):

- (1) a. Taroo-ga [dare-no tegami]-o sute-ta-no.
Taro -NOM who-GEN letter -ACC discard-PST-Q
'(lit.) Taro discarded [whose letter].'
- b. *Dare-no₁ Taroo-ga [t₁ tegami]-o sute-ta-no.
who -GEN Taro -NOM letter -ACC discard-PST-Q
'(lit.) Whose₁ Taro discarded [t₁ letter]?'
- (2) a. Taroo-ga [dare-kara-no tegami]-o sute-ta-no.
Taro -NOM who-from-GEN letter -ACC discard-PST-Q
'(lit.) Taro discarded [a letter from who].'
- b. Dare-kara-no₁ Taroo-ga [t₁ tegami]-o sute-ta-no.
who-from-GEN Taro -NOM letter -ACC discard-PST-Q
'(lit.) From who₁ Taro discarded [a letter t₁]?'

Of significance is the fact that this contrast is different from the ones we find elsewhere. Consider the following scrambling paradigm from Saito (1985).

- (3) a. John-ga [[Pekin-ni itta koto-ga aru] hito]-o sagasite-iru.
John-NOM Beijing-to went fact-NOM have person-ACC looking for
'John is looking for a person who has been to Beijing.'

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- b. ?Pekin₁-wa John-ga [[e₁ itta koto-ga aru] hito]-o
 Beijing-TOP John-NOM went fact-NOM have person-ACC
 sagasite-iru.
 looking for
 ‘Beijing, John is looking for a person who went.’
- c. *Pekin₁-ni-wa John-ga [[e₁ itta koto-ga aru] hito]-o
 Beijing-to-TOP John-NOM went fact-NOM have person-ACC
 sagasite-iru.
 looking for
 ‘To Beijing, John is looking for a person who went.’

According to Saito, the NP *Pekin(-wa)* is base-generated in the sentence-initial position in (3b), and thus, no Subjacency violation results. On the other hand, the PP *Pekin-ni(-wa)* must have moved from within the relative clause, which necessarily yields a Subjacency violation. This is a typical NP/PP asymmetry we observe in Japanese.

T&F argue that the contrast between (1b) and (2b) follows from the interaction of anti-locality and Case-based phase determination, to be clarified in Section 2. In this paper, however, we point out that anti-locality is not a factor crucial for the ungrammaticality of (1b).

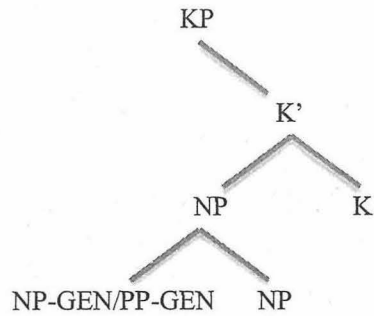
For this purpose, this squib is organized as follows. Following this introduction, we introduce T&F’s proposal in Section 2. In Section 3, basing ourselves on Takahashi’s (2011) proposal on NP-ellipsis, in which T&F’s proposal is framed, we point out that NPs and PPs can be base-generated in the KP domain. If this is correct, we need to raise the question of why an NP, but not a PP, base-generated in the KP domain cannot be extracted out of the nominal domain. Notice that anti-locality is not relevant in this case. We conclude this squib in Section 4, providing a possible direction to pursue for this question, but leaving its details for another occasion due to the space limitation.

2. Takahashi and Funakoshi (2013)

T&F’s proposal is based on the interaction of anti-locality of movement and Takahashi’s (2011) Case-based phase determination.

T&F assume the following nominal structure.

(3)



The KP, whose head is occupied by the Case particle, takes an NP as its complement. Genitive Case-marked NPs and PPs are all assumed to be NP-modifiers. Accordingly, *dare-no* in (1a) and *dare-kara-no* in (2a) are base-generated in this position.

As the first step towards the proposal, T&F show that (2b) involves movement. Notice that long-distance dependency is possible with the PP in question.

- (4) a. Hanako-ga [Taroo-ga [dare-kara-no tegami]-o sute-ta]-to
Hanako-NOM Taro -NOM who -from-GEN letter -ACC discard-PST-that
omottei-ru-no.
think-PRS-Q
'(lit.) Hanako thinks [Taro discarded [a letter from who]].'
- b. Dare-kara-no₁ Hanako-ga Taroo-ga [t₁ tegami]-o
who -from-GEN Hanako-NOM Taro -NOM letter -ACC
sute-ta]-to omottei-ru-no.
discard-PST-that think-PRS-Q
'(lit.) From who₁ Taro discarded [a letter t₁].'

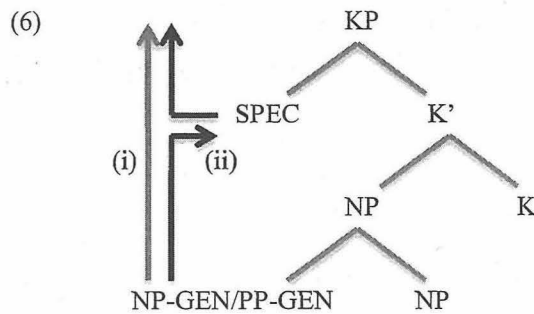
However, if an inland intervenes, the intended long-distance dependency becomes unavailable.

- (5) a. Hanako-ga [[Taroo-ga [dare-kara-no tegami]-o sute-ta]
Hanako-NOM Taro -NOM who -from-GEN letter -ACC discard-PST
hito]-o sagashitei-ru-no.
person-ACC be.looking for-PRS-Q
'(lit.) Hanako is looking for [a person [Taro discarded [a letter from who]]].'

- b. *Dare-kara-no₁ Hanako-ga [[Taroo-ga [t₁ tegami]-o sute-ta]
 who -from-GEN Hanako-NOM Taro -NOM letter -ACC discard-PST
 hito]-o sagashitei-ru-no.
 person-ACC be.looking for-PRS-Q
 '(lit.) From who₁ Hanako is looking for [a person [Taro discarded [a letter t₁]].'

Observing typical island effects, T&F conclude that in (2b), the PP *dare-kara-no* is raised to the sentence-initial position. An obvious question is why NPs, but not PPs, cannot undergo the intended raising to the sentence-initial position. Saito's paradigm in (3) also raises another question: What prohibits the resumptive *pro* strategy in (1b)?

The essence of T&F's proposal is that KPs with an NP-modifier are phases whereas KPs with a PP-modifier are not. If the genitive Case-marked NPs and PPs are raised out of the KP domain, two possibilities, illustrated in (6) must be considered.



The point is whether (i) the phrases in question directly move out of the KP or (ii) they are extracted out of the KP via its SPEC. Given that the KP with an NP-modifier constitutes a phase, the first possibility is excluded for NP-modifiers. In contrast, the PP extraction is correctly allowed. The remaining question is why (ii) is prohibited. T&F's answer is anti-locality of movement, as defined as (7).

- (7) Each chain link must be at least of length 1, where a chain link from A to B is of length n if there are n XPs that dominate B, but not A.

(Bošković 2005: 16)

Basically, KP SPEC is "too close" for NP-ad adjuncts and PP-ad adjuncts to be raised to. Thus, the first movement illustrated in the option (ii) is excluded for both types of modifiers. As a result, only PP-modifiers can choose the option (i), and thus, the contrast between (1b) and (2b) follows.

Attractive though their proposal may be, we raise a question on the way T&F prohibits the option

(ii). The question to be raised here is whether NP-modifiers and PP-modifiers can be base-generated in the KP domain to begin with. We will see in the next section that there is in fact evidence that these modifiers can be base-generated in the domain in question.

3. Potential Problem

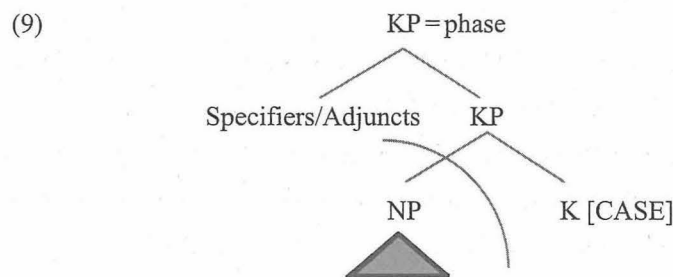
T&F's proposal is formulated within the framework of Takahashi (2011) for Case-based determination of phases. What is of interest for us here is the way Takahashi permits NP-ellipsis in his framework.

Takahashi accounts for the availability of NP-ellipsis in Japanese, based on three assumptions:

- (8) a. A head with a Case-feature is a phase head.
- b. Only complements of phase heads can undergo ellipsis.
- c. Phase heads require edges when phase head complements undergo ellipsis.

(Takahashi 2011: 158)

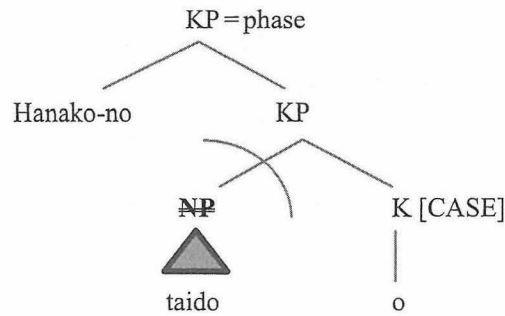
How Takahashi's proposal works is illustrated in (9):



First, Takahashi assumes that KP comes with a Case feature, [CASE], which needs to be valued. Second, some element must be adjoined to KP when NP-ellipsis is intended. If these two conditions are met, the NP complement can be elided. For instance, in (10a), the word sequence *Hanako-no taido-o* is assumed to have the structure given in (10b):

- (10) a. Jiroo-wa [Taroo-no [taido]]-o hihanshita ga, Yoshio-wa
 Jiro -TOP Taro -GEN attitude-ACC criticized though Yoshio-TOP
 [Hanako-no [NP ~~taido~~]]-o hihanshita.
 Hanako-GEN ~~attitude~~-ACC criticized
 ‘Jiro criticized Taro’s attitude, but Yoshio criticized Hanako’s.’

b.



In (10b), the ACC Case marker projects KP with [CASE], and *Hanako-no* is adjoined to KP. As a result, the NP *taido* can be elided.¹ Notice that (10a) already shows that an element can be base-generated in KP.

Takahashi also proposes that not only arguments but also adjuncts can act as a KP-adjoined element that licenses NP-ellipsis, and therefore, relative clauses, for example, should also license NP-ellipsis.²

Given Takahashi's proposal on NP-ellipsis, no matter whether the NP *dare-no* and the PP *dare-kara-no* are arguments or adjuncts, it is of no surprise that they should be able to be adjoined to KP. Notice that if this option is taken, no movement is necessary for an element to be located in KP, and thus, anti-locality of movement is not relevant for the contrast between (1b) and (2b).

One may propose that this KP-adjunction is available only when NP-ellipsis takes place. Then, a question immediately arises as to why such a condition holds in the grammar. One imaginable answer is to relate the KP-adjunction in question to the presence of a particular feature in K responsible for NP-ellipsis, the E-feature in Merchant's (2004) sense. We may suppose that this E-feature calls for an element in KP. Under this view, it is reasonable that one element in KP is sufficient to license this E-feature. Bearing this point in mind, consider (11).

- (11) [Hanako-no A-san-no hihan]-wa ii ga, [Taroo-no ~~A-san-no~~
 Hanako-GEN Mr. A-GEN criticism-TOP good though Taro -GEN ~~Mr. A-GEN~~
~~hihan~~]-wa yoku-na-i.
~~criticism~~-TOP not good
 'Hanako's criticisms of Mr. A is good, but Taro's criticisms of Mr. A is not.'

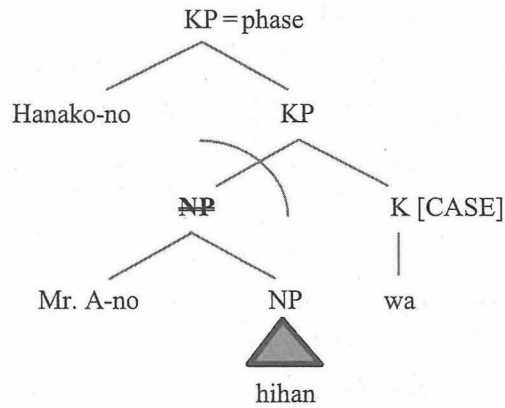
(Takahashi 2011: 161)

¹ Takahashi (2011) also provides an alternative account for the availability of NP-ellipsis under the assumption that genitive Case is structural. Although this alternative may have important implications for the framework he assumes, this revision is not crucial for the purpose of this paper.

² See Takahashi (2011) and Miyamoto (2013) for relevant discussion.

Takahashi proposes that when two or more elements that can be adjoined to KP are present, the lower one can be adjoined to NP. For instance, in (11), *A-san-no* ‘Mr. A’s’ must be located within NP, as shown in (12), so that it can be deleted with the rest of the material in NP.

(12)

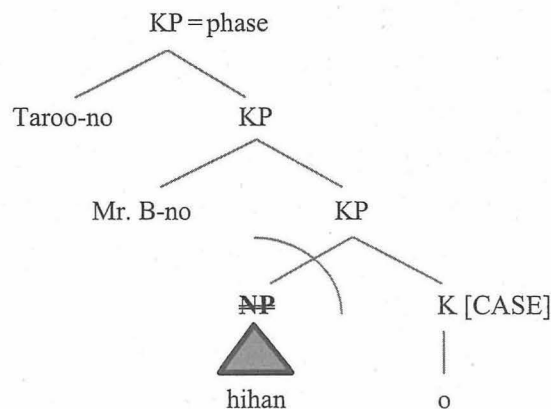


Now, consider (13).

- (13) [Hanako-no A-san-no hihan]-wa ii ga, [Taroo-no B-san-no
 Hanako-GEN Mr. A-GEN criticism-TOP good though Taro -GEN Mr. B-GEN
~~[hihan]~~]-wa yoku-na-i.
~~criticism~~-TOP not good
 ‘Hanako’s criticisms of Mr. A is good, but Taro’s criticisms of Mr. B is not.’

This time, the two KPs are not in the target of the intended NP-ellipsis. This example should have the structure in (14).

(14)



Under Takahashi’s proposal, one of the phrases in KP must have licensed NP-ellipsis, but presumably

not the both. (13) then shows that independent of the presence of E-feature in K, elements can be generated in KP without violating anti-locality of movement. If this is the case then, NP-modifiers and PP-modifiers should be freely base-generated in KP without any movement involved. If they are generated in KP, they, being located in the phase edge, should be able to be extracted out of the KP and reach the sentence-initial position, contrary to fact.

To the extent that NP-modifiers and PP-modifiers can be base-generated in KP, T&F's analysis based on anti-locality and phasehood cannot be maintained as it is, which in turn calls for a modification to their proposal.

4. Concluding Remarks

This squib presents a potential problem for T&F's account of the contrast between NPs and PPs concerning the extraction out of the KP domain. We showed that both NP-modifiers and PP-modifiers can be base-generated in KP. If this option is taken, not only PPs but also NPs should be free to move from there, contrary to fact. We suspect that T&F's contrast between NPs and PP results from the interaction between the nature of *no*'s attached to these two categories and their ultimate landing site.

Here is a direction to pursue. We independently know that GEN-marked DPs in English cannot be a hanging topic, as shown in (15).

(15) *Mary's₁, John said that Susan borrowed her₁ book.

The ungrammaticality of this example leads us to the generalization that GEN-marked nominals cannot be in the CP domain for a reason to be clarified in future research.³ Given this restriction, it seems quite plausible that the GEN-marked NP in (1b) is also excluded for the same reason. Suppose further that the *no* attached to PP-modifiers such as the one in (2b) is not the GEN marker, but it is the linker in Watanabe's (2010) sense. Then, the restriction in point may be lifted in such a case. If this is correct, PP-modifiers, in contrast to NP-modifiers, can be extracted out of the KP domain. Accordingly, the contrast between (1b) and (2b) follows. In essence, an element to be raised out of the nominal domain is free to be base-generated in KP, but it faces a problem if it is GEN-marked, once it enters the CP domain. It also follows under the present approach that the resumptive *pro* strategy cannot save NP-modifier cases such as (1b) since the problem NP-modifiers face is related to their final landing site, not the way they get there.

³ Due to the space limitation, we leave aside the question of why GEN-marked NPs cannot appear in the CP domain under the current minimalist framework for another occasion.

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