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An Argument for the Movement Analysis of *SHIKA*-NPI Licensing in Japanese

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0. Abstract

In this paper, I would like to consider two puzzling NPI-licensing phenomena in Japanese. One of the notorious phenomena of NPI-licensing in the language is the absence of subject/object asymmetry, which is present in English NPIs. The other case is the apparent lack of "clause-mate condition" in some embedded NPI subject. The NPI of concern here is *SHIKA*-NPI. So as to provide some alternatives to account for the first problematic phenomena, I would like to suggest two candidates: the NON-raising (VP/*v*P-internal) analysis of Aoyagi & Ishii (1994), and the NEG-head raising analysis of Kishimoto (2007, 2008). Though both seem appealing, I would consider the head raising analysis to be more advantageous than the latter due to the scope of quantifiers with regard to negation in Japanese.

Then I would like to consider the second problem with the movement analysis rather than the base-generation analysis. By presenting examples in favor of the derived analysis over the non-derived analysis mainly from Yoon (2007) and Tanaka (2002), I have reached a view that the empirical coverage of the movement analysis on the complement subject NPI is wider than the base-generation approach. At the end of the paper, I have attempted to account for the *SHIKA*-NPI licensing in Japanese derivationally.

1. Brief background of *SHIKA*

In this section, I would like to introduce *SHIKA*-NPI briefly. To start,

let us look at (1).

(1) a. Taroo-ga   ringo-o   tabeta
     Taroo-NOM   apple-ACC   ate
     'Taroo ate apples'

   b. Taroo-ga   ringo-sika   tabe-**na**-katta
     Taroo-NOM   apple-SIKA   eat-NEG-PAST
     'Taroo ate only apples' 'Except for apples, Taroo did not eat anything.'

   c. Taroo-ga   ringo-o   tabe-**na**-katta
     Taroo-NOM   apple-ACC   eat-NEG-PAST
     'Taroo didn't eat apples'

                                 (Takita (to appear: 4) with a few additions on my part)

Firstly, *-SHIKA* is a suffix which can basically attach to any XP, and it is usually equated with English 'only' and exceptive in meaning. Henceforth, I will refer to this type of NPI as *SHIKA*-NPI.

Clearly, *SHIKA*-NPI is different from (1a) in that *SHIKA*-NPI adds additional exceptive information as shown in the above. Truth conditionally, (1b) entails (1a). However, a simple Negative sentence such as (1c) is truth conditionally inconsistent with (1b).

Most importantly, *SHIKA*-NPI requires overt clause mate Negation (morpheme: *Nai*) in order for it to be licensed. In (1), Negation morpheme is represented as an inflected form such as *Na*. *SHIKA*-NPI is considered to be licensed through the Spec-head relation with the Neg-head at LF in the precedent analyses such as Aoyagi & Ishii (1994) or Tanaka (1997). But, before we look at Aoyagi & Ishii's NPI-licensing analysis in Japanese, I would like to refer to the data of English NPI so as to familiarize ourselves to the subject/object asymmetry in English NPI licensing. To begin with, English NPI is required to be in the scope of Negation to be licensed. By looking at (2), it is obvious that *any*-NPI in English is inside of the scope of Negation when it is placed in the object position as in (2a), but it is outside of the scope of Negation when it occupies subject position as in (2b).

  (2) a. John did not read any book.

    b. *Anyone did not read the book.   (Kishimoto (2008: 381))

   Compared to (2), Japanese NPIs are licensed both in the subject and in the object positions, and we cannot observe subject/object asymmetry, which is present in (2). Here in (3), *nani-mo* and –*SHIKA* are NPIs and are licensed by the Negation.

  (3) a. Ken-ga ¦ nani-*mo*-Q /LGB-*SHIKA* hon-o¦ yoma-nakat-ta.

    Ken-NOM anything /LGB-only book-ACC read-NEG-PAST

    'Ken did not read ¦anything/except for LGB¦.'

    b. ¦Dare-*mo* /Ken-*SHIKA* gakusei-ga¦ hon-o   yoma-nakat-ta.

    anyone-Q /Ken-SHIKA student-NOM book-ACC read-NEG-PAST

    '¦No one/only Ken ¦ read the book.'

                  (adapted from Kishimoto (2008: 381))

   Therefore, we should assume that NPIs in Japanese must be inside of the scope of Negation. But how can we capture it structurally? To answer this, I would like to introduce Aoyagi & Ishii (1994) for the non-raising analysis. Then I would like to introduce Neg-head raising analysis of Kishimoto (2008).

2. Aoyagi & Ishii (1994)

   In their analysis, *SHIKA*-NPI is licensed by Spec-head agreement with the Neg Head at LF. Since they do not assume the subject NP to raise into the Spec of TP, the subject *SHIKA*-NPI can be felicitously licensed by the LF-movement of the *SHIKA*-NPI to the Spec of NegP in (5b).

  (4) John-*SHIKA* ringo-o   tabe-na-katta (koto)

    John-*SHIKA* apple-ACC eat-Neg-past (COMP)

    'Only John ate apples.'

  (5) a. S-Structure : [$_{TP}$ [$_{NegP}$ [$_{VP}$ John-*SHIKA*   ringo-o tabe-na-katta]]]

    b. LF :   [$_{TP}$[$_{NegP}$ John-*SHIKA*$_i$ [$_{VP}$ t$_i$ ringo-o tabe-na-katta]]]

                    (Aoyagi & Ishii (1994: 299))

Although they can get around the absence of subject/object asymmetry of NPI-licensing in Japanese with this non-raising analysis, I am not fully convinced by their explanation in their footnote 2. They argue that the reason why English *any*-NPIs undergo movement to Spec TP which is outside of Negation scope is that *any*-NPIs are arguments unlike Japanese *SHIKA*-NPIs. They assume that *SHIKA*-NPIs are adjunct so they do not have to move to Spec TP. However, if this is the only reason why *SHIKA*-NPI subject should stay in the VP, their analysis is dubious at best. Firstly, recent studies such as Takita (to appear) argue that *SHIKA*-NPIs are arguments when they do not show up with the associated NP, and clearly, the *SHIKA*-NPI instance like (4) is included in the argument group. I doubt that the absence of the *SHIKA*-NPI in (4) would derive an informative sentence. Another confusing factor is that Aoyagi & Ishii do not seem to assume Spec to TP movement of the subject NP even when they are non-NPI, as far as I can see from the text.

Moreover, with the scope fact of quantifier and negation I think at least to my ear subject NP must undergo movement to Spec TP in order to get wider scope with regard to Negation. Here, *zenin* is equivalent to 'all' and used to count the number of humans in that context. If the subject NP stays in VP, the scope reading *All*>NEG should not be allowed, but in reality it is allowed. Therefore, I would like to claim that their analysis is problematic.

(6) ***zenin*-**ga   hon-o   yoma-**na**-katta
    All-NOM   book-ACC   read-NEG-PAST
    'All of them did not read books.' All>NEG

3. Kishimoto (2008)

Unlike Aoyagi & Ishii (1994), Kishimoto (2008) does not seem to assume Spec-Head agreement operation for NPI-licensing. Kishimoto claims that the negation head undergoes head movement to T. Then at LF, the Neg-head is excorporated from T and moves up to the higher

NegP for scope reasons.[1)]

According to Kishimoto, higher Neg head position is null before LF and the scope of the Negation is decided through the quantificational [+Neg] feature by the presence of Negation Head in the NegP. The LF Neg Raising is motivated by the [+N] feature present at the unfilled head position of the higher NegP, which needs to be deleted against the [+Neg] feature. Therefore when the Neg raising does not occur as in (7b), due to the [+N] feature, the sentence is bound to be ungrammatical. The sentential negation is felicitous by the Negation head scoping over the subject in (7a) at LF.

(7) a. [$_{NegP}$ [$_{TP}$ [$_{NegP}$ ~~Neg~~] ~~Neg~~ T] $_{Neg}$ - ϕ]
                                              [+Neg][~~+N~~]

b. *[$_{NegP}$ [$_{TP}$ [$_{NegP}$ ~~Neg~~] $_{Neg}$ T] ϕ]
                                    [+Neg] [+N]   (Kishimoto (2008: 397))

Kishimoto mentions in his footnote that [+N] is somehow deriving an effect similar to EPP feature. Although LF raising of Neg head to another higher NegP is unusual, and there is something mysterious about the nature of [+N], his analysis can capture the absence of subject/object asymmetry in Japanese correctly. So to the very least the NEG raising analysis is more competent than non-raising analysis.[2)] Next, we would like to observe a problematic case of the clause-mate condition.

4. How to get around the counter example to the clause-mate condition: *derived or non-derived Major Object Analysis?*

It is well-known that *SHIKA*-NPI in Japanese generally observes the clause-mate condition. As is obvious in (8), the clause-mate condition requires that the NPI and Negation must be placed in the same clause. *SHIKA*-NPI is located in the embedded clause and NEG is placed in the matrix clause in (8a). However, when *SHIKA*-NPI is scrambled to the matrix clause as in (8b), the sentence becomes grammatical. Thus the NPI-licensing is clause- bounded. In the same fashion, the ungrammaticality in (9a) is predictable from the clause-mate condition. But if we think that

Mary-*SHIKA* resides in the embedded clause, we have to say that this NPI violates the clause-mate condition as well. Besides, the clause-mate condition predicts ungrammatical status of (9b), which is contrary to the fact.

(8) a. *Hanako-ga [Taroo-ga   ringo-sika   tabeta to] iw-**ana**-katta
        Hanako-NOM Taroo-NOM apple-SIKA   ate   C   say-NEG-PAST
        'Hanako said [that Taroo ate only apples]'

    b. Ringo-sika$_i$ Hanako-ga [Taroo-ga t_i tabeta to] iw-**ana**-katta
        apple-SIKA   Hanako-NOM Taroo-NOM   ate   C   say-NEG-PAST
        '(lit.) Only apples$_i$, Hanako said [that Taroo ate t_i]'

                                                (Takita (to appear: 6))

(9) a. ??John-wa [Mary-ga   ringo-sika   tabe-ru to] omow-**ana**-katta
        John-TOP Mary-NOM apple-SIKA   eat   C   think-NEG-PAST
        'John thought [that Mary ate only apples]'

    b. John-wa [Mary-sika   ringo-o   tabe-ru to] omow-**ana**-katta
        John-TOP Mary-SIKA apple-ACC   eat   C   think-NEG-PAST
        'John did not think that anyone but Mary eat apples.'

                                                (Aoyagi & Ishii (1994: 30))

    Do we have to say the NPI-subject of the complement clause can avoid the clause-mate condition? This is not a good move. In order to avoid an exceptional treatment of the subject NPI of the complement clause as in (9b), Aoyagi & Ishii adopt the base generated Major Object analysis into *SHIKA*-NPI. By regarding the *SHIKA*-NPI as occupying the matrix clause position we do not have to make an exception for the complement *SHIKA*-NPI subject, since *SHIKA*-NPI is generated in the matrix clause in the first place for their Major Object analysis.

    But this may not be the only solution for getting around the apparent counter example to the clause-mate condition on the *SHIKA*-NPI in (9b). I agree that NPI-*SHIKA* occupies the slot of matrix clause in the sentences like (9b), but I do not agree with Aoyagi &Ishii in that NPI-*SHIKA* is base-generated. It is argued in Tanaka (2002) and Yoon (2007) that the major object position which is occupied by the *SHIKA*-NPI can be

considered as the Raising to Object. That is, the Major Object position is a derived position. Long-distance movement which seems problematic to the movement approach does not seem to be a serious problem if we take Tanaka's idea into consideration. According to Tanaka (2002), Raising to Object can be done across CP[3)]

Moreover, there seems to be strong evidence that the raised object is base-generated in the lower clause and raised to the higher clause. First, complement subject shows some sensitivity with Case realization whether it is in the matrix clause or embedded clause. One of the most conspicuous examples is on the possibility of pronominal co-reference.

(10) ?John-ga$_i$ [kare-ga$_i$ baka-da-to]   omot-teiru.
       John-NOM$_i$ [he-NOM$_i$ fool-COP-COMP]   think-PROG
       'Johni thinks that hei is a fool.'

(11) *John-ga$_i$ kare-o$_i$ [t$_i$ baka-da-to]   omot-teiru.
       John-NOM$_i$ he-ACC$_i$ [t$_i$ fool-COP-COMP]   think-PROG
       'Johni thinks of himi as a fool.'   (Tanaka (2002: 649))

The matrix subject *John* and *–ga* marked complement subject can be co-indexed. Due to the non-raising of the complement subject, we do not see the violation of a Condition B violation, which is reflected in the relatively high grammaticality of (10). When the complement subject is marked with-*o*, co-reference between *John* and *kare-o* becomes impossible. Therefore, Tanaka concludes that the ACC-marked complement subject necessarily undergoes movement to the matrix clause due to the ACC/NOM asymmetry shown above.

Another strong argument for the movement analysis of the complement subject is expounded in Yoon (2007). Yoon argues that proleptic (base-generation) analysis of the complement subject cannot account for the phenomena, in which the complement subject is non-DP/NP as shown in (12).

(12)a. *[e$_i$ nay   ttang-ila-ko]$_j$ **yeki-pwuthe-lul**$_i$ na-nun   e$_j$ mitnunta.
         my   *land*-COP-COMP   *here-from-ACC*   *I-TOP*   *believe*

I believe my land begins from here.

cf.

b. Na-nun **yeki-pwuthe-lul**ᵢ [eᵢ nay ttang-ila-ko]　　mitnunta.

　I-TOP　*here-from-ACC*　　*my*　*land-COP-COMP*　*believe*

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Yoon (2007: 647))

　　　Since the ACC-marked complement subject is PP and is inanimate, **yeki-pwuthe-lul** is unable to be regarded as a proleptic object. Hence, with the absence of proleptic object, PBC effect is said to be particularly salient in cases like (12a). Incidentally, the source of the strong PBC effect in (12a) can be attributable to the unbounded trace created by the movement from the embedded clause to the matrix clause. Therefore, proleptic analysis does not predict any strong PBC effect.

　　　Notably, it is pointed out in Yoon (2007) that there is interpretive difference between raised and non-raised complement subject. Raised nominal is said to be associated with the specific reading, and non-raised counterpart is said to be interpreted as non-specific.

　　　Above all, the most convincing argument for the movement analysis in Yoon (2007) is his 'persistence of low properties' which are observed in some complement subject environment. He maintains that certain raised nominal can keep the original Case, which has obtained in the embedded clause as in (13). This Case stacking is reported to occur when the raised nominal is marked with inherent or non-nominative Case. The point Yoon made by this type of examples is that the source of the inherent Case in (13) is restricted to the embedded clause. Therefore, base generated Major Object analysis does not have chance to obtain this inherent Case, since it has never been placed in the lower clause. Notably, Yoon assumes that the base position of this movement is the Major Subject position in the lower clause.

(13)a. Na-nun Cheliᵢ**hanthey**ᵢ**-(man)-ul** [tᵢ(MS) [mwuncey-ka issta-ko]]　mitnunta.

　　I-TOP　*C-DAT -(only)-ACC*　　　　*problem-*NOM *exist-*COMP *think*

　　I think that only Cheli has problems.

b. Cheli-**hanthey-(man)-**ᵣ(MS) mwuncey-ka　issta.

        C-DAT -*(only)*-NOM   *problem*-NOM   *exist*

        Only Chel$_i$ has problems.

  c. Na-nun yeki-**pwuthe**$_i$-**lul** [t_i(MS) [nay ttang-ila-ko]]   sayngkakhanta.

      I-TOP   *here-from*-ACC   *my*   *land*-COP-COMP *think*

        I consider from about here to be my property.

  d. Yeki-**pwuthe-ka**(MS)   nay   ttang-ita.

        here-from-NOM   *my*   *land*-COP

        From about here is my property.   (Yoon (2007: 647))

Although the exact Japanese counterpart of (13a-b) seems impossible in that we cannot retain the original Dative Case, Japanese equivalent of (13c-d) seems felicitous at least to my ear. The relevant Japanese example is (14).

  (14)a. watashi-wa koko-kara$_i$-o [t$_i$ [watashi-no tochi-da-to]]   omou.

     I-TOP   *here-from*-ACC   *my*   *land*-COP-COMP   *think*

   b. [koko-kara-ga   watashi-no tochi-da-to]   omou

     here-from-NOM *my*   *land*-COP-COMP *think*

As long as (14a-b) are in keeping with the Korean data like Yoon (2007), this supporting evidence for the movement analysis of the complement subject seems substantial to Japanese as well.

    Yoon presented still other compelling instance of 'persistence of low property' in terms of the interpretive distinction. According to Yoon, the raised instance of the complement subject, which is marked with ACC, can be interpreted as both *de-re* and *de dicto*, though *de-re* reading is strongly preferred over the other. Yet, non-raised subject, which is NOM marked, cannot derive *de-re* reading at all. Yoon attributes *de-re* reading to be the realization of the movement out of the embedded clause. Under *de-re* reading, 'mistaken identity' reading is possible. The reading described in Yoon is as follows. As for (15c), John incorrectly thinks that the person named *Cheli* is *Tongswu* probably because of the blurred vision. This reading is *de-re* reading and is only possible with the raised ACC-marked nominal in (15c). The other reading is *de dicto* reading in (15d). Under the

de dicto reading, John has to believe that the person whose name is *Cheli* has another name, *Tongswn*. He explains that the *de-re* reading of (15a) can depict a situation described as in Yoon (2007: 620), "···John wakes up at night upon hearing a noise and thinks that an intruder has broken in, but does not realize that it is his wife." The other reading is the *de se/ de dicto* reading, which is prevalent in (15b). In the *de dicto/de se* sense, Yoon mentions that (15b) implies that John is aware that the person who is making a noise is his wife. In p.c. with Yoon, he comments that the *de se* sense can be equated with the *de dicto* sense in such a context. So it is associated with the low clause property.

(15) a. John-un caki anay-**lul** totwuk-ila-ko sayngkakhayssta. ➔*de re > de dicto*
     J-TOP   *self wife*-ACC *thief*-COP-COMP *thought*
     John thought his wife was a thief.

   b. John-un caki anay-**ka** totwuk-ila-ko sayngkakhayssta.➔*de dicto, *de re*
     J-TOP   *self wife*-NOM *thief*-COP-COMP *thought*

   c. John-un Cheli-**lul** Tongswu-la-ko sayngkakhayssta. ➔*de re > de dicto*
     J-TOP   *C*-ACC   *T*-COP-COMP   *thought*
     John thought Cheli was Tongswu.

   d. John-un Cheli-**ka** Tongswu-la-ko sayngkakhayssta . ➔*de dicto, *de re*
     J-TOP   *C*-NOM   *T*-COP-COMP   *thought*   (Yoon (2007: 650))

If I consider *de re/de dicto* equivalents in Japanese, my intuition says that what Yoon describes is generally valid in Japanese examples too. I will show Japanese counterparts here. I would like to omit appropriate contexts to Japanese cases which I have presented here, because Yoon's appropriate contexts to derive *de re* and *de dicto* reading are directly applicable to Japanese.

(16) a. John-wa zibun-no okusan-o doroboo-da-to omotta. ➔*de re > de dicto*
     J-TOP   *self*-GEN   *wife*-ACC *thief*-COP-COMP *thought*

   b. John-wa zibun-no okusan-ga doroboo-da-to omotta. ➔*de dicto, *de re*
     J-TOP   *self*-GEN   *wife*-NOM *thief*-COP-COMP *thought*

   c. John-wa Chie-o   Toshiko-da-to omotta. ➔*de re > de dicto*

J-TOP	*C*-ACC	*T*-COP-COMP	*thought*

d. John-wa Chie-ga   Toshiko-da-to   omotta. →*de dicto, *de re*

J-TOP	*C*-NOM	*T*-COP-COMP	*thought*

With the presence of the embedded clause property, which is retained in the raised nominal, we are convinced that the complement subject position is a derived position which involves movement out of the embedded clause. Therefore, both embedded and matrix properties are observed in the raised nominal. Just as Yoon's claim, it is quite natural to discard non-derived Major Object analysis in interpreting the raised nominal, for non-derived analysis is inconsistent with such dual properties which are actually seen in the raised nominal.

Now that we have looked at Yoon and Tanaka's strong arguments for the movement analysis of the complement subject, we are in the hope of recapturing the NPI complement subject with movement analysis. For the affixation of *SHIKA* requires the deletion of the original structural Case-marking of Nominal whether it is marked with NOM/ACC, we cannot tell where *SHIKA-NPI* is located by merely looking at the morphology of the *SHIKA*-NPI.[4)] As to the consolidation of our view in favor of the derived analysis of the complement subject, I would like to mention a good telling example from Takita (to appear).

(17) [Zibun$_{i/j}$-no   ringo-sika]$_k$ Hanako$_i$-ga [Taroo$_j$-ga t_k tabeta to] iw-**ana**-katta
   self-GEN   apple-SIKA Hanako-NOM Taroo-NOM   ate   C   say-NEG-PAST
   '(lit.) Only self's applesi, Hanako said [that Taroo ate ti]'

(18) *Hanako$_i$-ga [Zibun$_{i/*j}$-no   ringo-sika]$_k$ [Taroo$_j$-ga t_k tabe**ta** to] iw-**ana**-katta
   Hanako-NOM self-GEN   apple-SIKA Taroo-NOM   ate   C   say-NEG-PAST

(19) $^?$Hanako$_i$-ga [Zibun$_{i/*j}$-no   ringo-sika]$_k$ [Taroo$_j$-ga t_k tabe**ru** to] iw-**ana**-katta
   Hanako-NOM self-GEN   apple-SIKA Taroo-NOM   eat   C   say-NEG-PAST

(20) Hanako$_i$-ga [Zibun$_{i/j}$-no ringo-sika]$_k$ [Taroo$_j$-ga t_k tabe**ru** to] think-NEG-PAST
   Hanako-NOM self-GEN   apple-SIKA Taroo-NOM eat   C   omow-**ana**-katta
      ((20) is Takita's example from FN12, and the alternations are mine.)

It is argued in Takita (to appear) that *SHIKA*-NPI is clearly

generated at the lower CP since the *zibun* can be bound both by *Taroo* and *Hanako*. If *Zibun* can be bound both in (17) consistently, this matrix clause-positioned-NPI can be moved from the lower clause. But to my ear (18) is ungrammatical with *Taroo* as a binder probably because of the presence of the tensed embedded clause. As for (19) the same reading, which *Taroo* binds *zibun* is slightly better than the tensed embedded clause. Finally, if I change the matrix predicate to *omou* 'think' as in (20), as far as I am concerned, both embedded subject and the matrix subject can bind *zibun*.[5] Since the NPI-*SHIKA* is not in the lower clause in any time of the derivation under the base-generated Major Object analysis, *Taroo* being a proper binder for *zibun* in the matrix clause is unpredictable for the non-derived Major Object analysis. If this is the case, perhaps, introducing movement analysis to complement subject *SHIKA*-NPI is indeed rational.
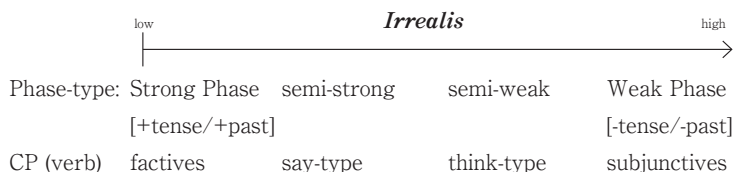
5. My Interim Analysis

Last, but not least, hereby I would like to show my analysis. First, I adopt the notion of Phases from Chomsky (2001) just as Maeda (2002) and Yamashita (2003). This version of Phases is particularly important in that we evaluate each strong phase only when the next strong phase head is introduced to the derivation. Unlike other researchers who try to derive the effect of Clause-mate condition of NPI-licensing solely by using Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC) based AGREE operation, such as Yamashita (2003) and Maeda (2002), I would like to assume that NPI licensing in Japanese should have two options: Spec-Head licensing and AGREE. I assume that Spec-Head based licensing operation is allowed if not otherwise banned by some inevitable requirements such as binding or semantic interpretation. When Spec-Head based licensing cannot be held, AGREE operation comes in to rescue. But this AGREE operation meets the licensing requirement only when NEG has not undergone Raising. By virtue of the property of the head to which NEG is raising, such as T or C, AGREE alone cannot license the NPI. They must satisfy the EPP-feature or the Focus feature with the overt phrasal movements. Regarding the problem of super-raising, I would like to assume that the embedded CP

can be transparent when some conditions are met. Here I adopt the notion of Weak Phase by Kanno (2005). In his observation, Strong Phase is not concurrent with the edge or (EPP-feature) but with tense and Agree-morpheme. So, if one of the two elements is lacking, for instance the tense feature of C head is [-past], I predict that the CP is not a pure Strong Phase anymore. So, having the edge position does not imply the head of concern to be a strong C, which involves Spell-Out of the complement of the previous phase. Thus, if it does not have Tense or [+past], then the CP of concern is more or less Weaker type of Phase and the argument crossing out of CP should be sanctioned.

Another factor which makes a CP a Weak Phase is the property of the selecting matrix Verb. It is said in Uchibori (2000) and other researchers as well that factive predicates do not allow super-raising. What seems special to factive verbs is that they presuppose what is denoted in the complement clause to exist or hold in reality. On the contrary, the verbs like "think" or " believe" do not necessarily mean that the contents of the complement clause to be completed in reality. It is perfectly possible what one thinks is not congruous to reality. Moreover, according to Uchibori (2000), subjunctive complement CPs allow super-raising. Furthermore, subjunctive clauses refer to something which has not been realized or happened yet, that is 'irrealis.' I think that subjunctive is located at the highest extent of this non-reality scale. As to which point of the scale where the verb types in between to be placed is not definitive, i.e., it may be varied across individuals. Having said that, what I would like to underline is that the likelihood of the raising out of the embedded CP is closely related to how high the non-reality property the selected complement may possess.

(21) **Non-reality scale (my assumption)**

	low	*Irrealis*		high
Phase-type:	Strong Phase [+tense/+past]	semi-strong	semi-weak	Weak Phase [-tense/-past]
CP (verb)	factives	say-type	think-type	subjunctives

Thus, I argue that what makes super-raising possible or at least minimize the damage to the grammaticality when crossing the CP is dependent on the property of the CP which is selected by the embedding Verb. Also, the degradation to the grammaticality in super-raising is subject to the degree of the non-reality scale. If the CP is tending toward the subjunctive type, which is high in non-reality scale, the movement out of CP should be easier. On the contrary, if the property of the CP is closer to the factive-type complement, then the extraction out of CP becomes difficult. At this stage, so long as the CP complement is non-factive, the extraction out of the complement clause should be sanctioned with the degree of the difference in acceptability. Moreover, since the complement CP is the complement of the matrix verb, I would like to assume that the Spec of CP, which is accessible to the next phase to bear A property. I have to mention Tanaka (2002) argues that the verb which allows Raising to object from the complement clause has a Spec of A-property. Yet, he does not seem to include the verb types of 'saying' and 'reporting' such as *iu* 'say' and *tsutaeru* 'tell' as having the A-type Spec of CP. Importantly, Tanaka (2002) only deals with [-past] /tense-less type of verbs for the embedded predicate, which is also compatible with the notion of the Weak Phase.

Incidentally, Yoon (2007) claims that the element which undergoes raising out of the complement CP is generated in the Major Subject position which is higher than normal Spec-TP position. This position may well be taken as something more to do with Topic or elements of CP, since Yoon states that the requirement for the raising to take place is whether the predicate of the embedded clause describes the property of the element which is to be extracted from the clause, i.e., Major Subject. Moreover, he maintains that the predicate of the embedded clause, irrespective of its being a stage-level predicate or an individual level predicate, has to denote the characteristic property of the raised nominal. Also, he assumes this Major subject position to bear A-property.

Instead of positing Major Subject position in the embedded clause, I would simply assume that the complement CP has the Spec of A-property,

and this position is to be used as an intermediate landing site of the super-raising. The reason why I am suggesting the further movement out of CP is three folds. Firstly, we do not make any improper movement in continuing the A-movement. (But I have to mention that this raising up until the Spec NegP is not obligatory, since NPI has already been checked via AGREE. Unless NPI is A'-scrambled to the matrix CP or the Matrix subject is NPI, I do not assume that NPI requires to be checked by Spec-head.) Secondly, NPI-raising elements can form a more local binding relationship with the matrix subject antecedent. Thirdly, we will be able to obtain a room for accommodating the scope-related interpretation between the raising argument and the matrix embedding verb. Although I have not tested NPI-cases sufficiently, if *de-re* and de *dicto* distinction are to be formed from the syntactic structure, we need the one which raising argument is scoping over the matrix verb. If the raising element must stay in the complement CP-Spec, we will not be able to get those distinct interpretations at all.

Although I cannot present my data which I have consulted with my informants fully, due to the page limitation, I would like to present a core idea of my analysis briefly. I have omitted the extreme ends of two types of CPs such as real-subjunctive CP and factive subjunctive CP for testing, because their behavior is evidently clear to us. So I have tested the embedding verbs which are located somewhere in the middle of the non-reality scale in (21): a verb of 'saying' and a verb of 'thinking'. Based on the reflexive binding data, I have come to conclude that there are wide personal variations regarding which factor should play a pivotal role in deriving their acceptability judgment in allowing the NPI-argument raising out of the CP. Yet, each individual seems to show systematic judgment. Just to enumerate some instances, unlike our prediction, one-type of individual does not seem to be sensitive to the [-past] requirement. Other type disliked '*saying*'-verbs completely, but still other did not seem to be discriminating the 'saying' verb from the 'think'-verb. Therefore, what I am presenting below is one type of generalization and has room for adjustment. But in general, the '*think*' type verb received higher acceptability and allowed binding from both matrix and embedded subject

in the case like (23). In the same sense, the 'saying' type verb did not scored well compared to the '*think*' type verb cases and tends to derive only the binding relation with the matrix subject antecedent, which will be shown in a short time. The caveat is that there seems to be an inviolable requirement which is present on the personal variation level. For now, we will look at my analysis and its consequence by referring to an example from Maeda (2002).

Maeda's example

(22)?Taro-ga [nani-mo Ken-ga   t katta- to]   iwa-nakat-ta.
     Taro-NOM   NPI-mo Ken-NOM   t bought- COMP- say-NEG-PAST

     'Taro did not say that Ken bought anything.'

                               (The example is from Maeda (2002: 95 (37c)))

(23)T.-ga [$_{NegP}$[$_{vP}$ [$_{VP}$ [$_{CP}$ ***NPI*** [$_{TP}$ K-ga   t ⋯] to] iwa]]-*nakat*-NEG]-ta

The example (22) is from Maeda (2002). In (22), she used other type of NPI, *nani-mo*, but its behavior which is relevant to us is considered to be the same as that of NPI-*SHIKA*. Her structural assumption is (23). That is, the NPI is licensed by AGREE with NEG from the Spec of the embedded CP of A'-property.

    If Maeda is right and the NPI should stay in the Spec CP with A'-property as in (23), then we predict that the NPI reflexive which is placed in the same slot as (23) be infelicitous or unlicensed. Yet, this prediction was not borne out, which will be revealed shortly. Based on my informant's judgment it is safe to claim that the NPI reflexive can be bound by the matrix subject antecedent. Therefore, Maeda, and Yamashita's claim cannot accommodate this fact. If we would push their analysis, at the very least, this embedded CP-Spec must allow A-property so as to fulfill the binding relationship, for binding can only be done between the elements located at the A-positions. In other words, when the embedded CP spec is an A'-position, we automatically deny A-movement out of the embedded CP, since it inevitably causes improper movement. If the Spec CP is allowed to be an A-position, we no longer have any special reason to exclude NPI-raising argument from undergoing further

movement to the matrix clause. So, I do not restrict this reflexive NPI from moving to the Spec of vP where it would be more locally bound by the matrix subject antecedent. I would not deny the further movement of NPI to the Spec of NegP either, because there would be no harm done. Nevertheless, the movement to the matrix Spec vP becomes crucial when there is some semantic interpretive requirement, such as *de-re/de-dicto* distinction which requires raising arguments to take scope over the matrix embedding verb. Hereafter, I will describe my testing examples.

My testing examples
'think'verb (NPI-reflexive=˅Taro$_i$, ˅Ken$_j$)

(24) Taroo-ga   [zibunno hon *SHIKA*   Ken-ga   t yomu-to]   omowa-nakat-ta.

Taro-NOM   self-GEN-books *SHIKA*   Ken-NOM t read-COMP-think-NEG-PAST

'(lit.) Only self's books$_{i/j}$, Taroo$_i$ thought [that Ken$_j$ read t$_i$]'

(NPI-reflexive=˅Taro$_i$, ˅Ken$_j$)

Low reading (Binding relation between *Ken* and NPI reflexive is satisfied at the introduction of Neg.)

(25) T$_{.i}$-ga [$_{NegP}$[$_{vP}$ t$_{T.i}$ [$_{v'}$ [$_{VP}$ [$_{CP}$ self's books ***SHIKA***$_{i/j}$ [$_{TP}$ K$_{.j}$-ga[$_{vP}$ t$_{\;self's\;books\;SHIKA\text{-}i/j}$

[$_{v'P}$ (t$_K$-ga) [$_{VP}$ t$_{\;self's\;books\;SHIKA i/j}$ yomu]]] to]omowa]]-*nakat*NEG]-ta

High reading

(26) T$_{.i}$-ga[$_{NegP}$ (self's books ***SHIKA***$_{i/j}$) [$_{vP}$ t$_{\underline{Ti\text{-}ga}}$ [$_{v'}$ <u>self's books ***SHIKA***$_{i/j}$</u> [$_{VP}$[$_{CP}$ t$_{self's}$

$_{books\;SHIKA i/j}$ [$_{TP}$···] to] omowa]]]nakatNEG] ta

(Reflexive binding is done in the inner Spec of matrix vP.) (NPI Reflexive is licensed by AGREE already in the Spec of vP but it is not disallowed to undergo its movement to the Spec of NegP).

As to (24), for the CP which is selected by the 'think' type verb is a weaker type of Phase, the trace of the NPI-reflexive and its antecedent are visible at the introduction of NEG to the derivation. I would emphasize that it is only at this point where the binding relation in the embedded clause can be met. At the same time, the NPI-reflexive moves to the Spec CP of the embedded clause. Since this position can be an A-position, NEG Agrees with the NPI-reflexive. Notably, it is possible to be bound from the matrix subject antecedent as well, though there may be a better

place for this, such as the Spec of vP. The relevant derivation for the reflexive binding of (24) is given in (25) and (26) by <u>underlining</u> the relevant parts. The matrix clause binding relation (high reading) is given as in (26), and the embedded clause binding relation (low reading) is provided as in (25). We can access to the antecedent and the NPI-reflexive in the embedded TP, which is the complement of the Weak Phase, thereby the low reading of (25) is obtainable. Ideally, the matrix binding relation (high-reading) is confirmed at the matrix Spec of vP, since I consider the Spec of vP as an A-position as well. I do not deny the further movement of the NPI-reflexive to the Spec of NegP, by the already mentioned reasons, which is shown in (parentheses) in (26). Therefore, both theoretically and empirically, my analysis can give an account for the felicitous binding relations of the NPI-reflexive: matrix subject and the embedded subject.

Now, let us move onto the 'saying' type verb which is leaning toward the opposite end of the non-reality scale of mine in (21).

'saying' verb (NPI-reflexive=$^{\checkmark}$Taro$_i$,*Ken$_j$)

(27) Taroo-ga [zibunno hon   *SHIKA*   Ken-ga   t yomu-to]   iwa-nakat-ta.

　　　Taro-NOM self-GEN-books *SHIKA*   Ken-NOM t read-COMP say-NEG-PAST

　　　'(lit.) Only self's books$_{i/*j}$, Taroo$_i$ said [that Ken$_{*j}$ read t$_i$]'

(NPI-reflexive=$^{\checkmark}$Taro$_i$,* Ken$_j$)

High reading only

(28) [$_{vP}$ T$_{*i}$-ga [$_{VP}$ [$_{CP}$ self's books ***SHIKA***$_{i/j}$ [$_{TP}$ ~~K$_j$-ga ···· t$_{self's books SHIKAi/*j}$ ···~~] to] iwa] $_n$]

(29) T$_{*i}$-ga[$_{NegP}$ (self's books ***SHIKA***$_{i/*j}$)   [$_{vP}$ t$_{Ti-ga}$ [$_{v'}$ <u>self's books ***SHIKA***$_{i/*j}$</u>   [$_{VP}$ [$_{CP}$ t$_{self's books SHIKAi/*j}$ [$_{TP}$ ~~K$_j$·· t$_{self's books SHIKAi/*j}$~~] to) iwa]]]nakat$_{NEG}$] ta

Concerning the 'saying' type verb, because it is considered a rather Strong Phase, the complement CP has to be involved in the valuation of the Spell-Out. Therefore, at the time of NEG introduction, the embedded TP becomes inaccessible as shown as ~~strikeout~~ in its derivation such as (28). That is why it is difficult to get the binding relation between the NPI-reflexive and the embedded subject antecedent as shown in (29). In other words, low reading which was obtainable from the 'think' type verb is unobtainable, due to the Spelling-Out of the embedded TP. Furthermore,

though Spec CP can be utilized as an escape hatch with A-property, it takes its toll in doing so, because this time the NPI-reflexive is moving out of a rather less transparent Strong Phase. Moreover, the cost is reflected on the relatively low acceptability of the 'saying' type verb cases like (27), unlike the fully grammatical example in (24). Thus, I only provided high reading for (27) in two steps; namely, the time of the Spell-Out in (28) and the time of the binding relation formation (29). Since the complement of the Strong Phase is to be sent out, the NPI-reflexive must be moved to the Spec CP at the time of the introduction of the strong v head as in (28),whereby the NPI-licensing is fulfilled by AGREE, when the Neg head is introduced to the structure. In the same fashion as the 'think' type verb, I would like to assume that the high reading is achieved in the Spec vP of the matrix clause. Further movement of the NPI-reflexive is not prohibited and shown in a round bracketed form as in (29).

Theoretically, matrix binding relation and the NPI-licensing can be fulfilled at the Spec CP. Remember that the *de-re, de dicto* distinction must use this option. Following movement up to the matrix vP or NegP should be possible. The difference between the 'think' type instance and the 'saying' type instance is the portion of the Phase complement to be sent to PF. The former only sends the embedded VP, but the latter sends the embedded TP at the introduction of the strong matrix Phase head v. Because they are located somewhere in the middle of the non-reality scale (21), they can still move out of the Spec of CP. That is they are not purely Weak or not purely Strong Phase selecting verbs. This way, by assuming the derivational analysis with the Spec CP of A-property I was able to give some explanation to the problematic examples to Maeda and Yamashita and to contribute to further the empirical coverage of movement analysis of NPIs in Japanese.

6. Conclusions

The aim of this paper is to examine two problems on the NPI licensing in Japanese and identify an account which has wider empirical coverage. By comparing the precedent analyses on *SHIKA*-NPI licensing, I have come to conclude that the NEG-to-T movement is necessary for

licensing NPIs both in subject and object positions. Whether Kishimoto's extra NEG raising at LF is upheld or not is undetermined. In regard to the complement subject NPI, unlike Aoyagi & Ishii (1994), I endorse a movement analysis for the complement subject NPI. Then in the last section, I considered a derivational NPI-licensing analysis by partially adopting the sense of Yamashita (2003), Maeda (2002), and Kanno (2005). At the very least, I was able to show a mechanism which has wider coverage than precedent analyses.

Notes

1) Kishimoto provided his structural assumption on Neg-raising. But he does not seem to use this structure nor provides any specific examples elsewhere in Kishimoto (2008). So, what follows is my understanding of Kishimoto's structure. Therefore, all errors in misinterpretation of his analysis if any are mine. I have omitted [+N] feature here. (i) and (ii) are more abstract structures of Overt Syntax level and LF-level movement. According to Kishimoto, higher NegP movement only occurs at LF for the sake of NEG's requirement to scope over the subject NPI.

(i) $[_{NegP}[_{TP}$ SUBJ-NPI $[_{NegP} [_{VP}$ OBJ v] t_{NEG}] NEG $-_T]_{\phi}$]

(i') $[_{NegP}[_{TP}$ Dare-$_{MO}$ $[_{NegP} [_{VP}$ hon-o yoma]- t_{NEG}] na-katta]$_{\phi}$]

(ii) $[_{NegP}[_{TP}$ SUBJ-NPI $[_{NegP}$ $[_{VPOBJV}$] t_{NEG}] t_{NEG} $-_T]$ $_{NEG}]$

(ii') $[_{NegP}[_{TP}$ Dare-$_{MO}$ $[_{NegP}$ $[_{VP}$ hon-o yoma]-t_{NEG}] t_{NEG} -katta] na]

　　　No one-$_{NPI}$　　　book-$_{ACC}$ read-　　　PAST$^-$NEG

'No one read books.'

2) Whether we need extra NEG raising at LF needs further consideration. The point I would like to uphold is that NEG has to undergo raising up to T in Narrow Syntax. We could do away with extra NegP for the interpretation of *SHIKA*-NPI if NPI is licensed through the SPEC-Head Agreement relation as many researchers propose.

Alternatively, if we posit further NEG raising, we might be able to raise it to CP area such as Topic P, or Focus P. This is not totally unrealistic, because Yamashita (2008) argues that NEG and *SHIKA*-NPI forms a Focus Intonation

Phrase, which can be equated with FIP of wh-questions in Japanese. Moreover, Yoon (2007) assumes that Raising Object is base-generated as a Major subject in the lower clause. If the *SHIKA*-NPI can be seen as this raising Object, the topicality which emits from *SHIKA*-NPI can be accounted for.

Considering the fact that *SHIKA* is often regarded as exceptive, it is possible to accommodate this exceptive sense of *SHIKA* to a sense of contrast in relation to the rest of the Domain of concern. Then if *SHIKA* has contrastive/topic property, it is legitimate to be licensed in CP area at any rate.

3) Tanaka (2002) assumes that the Spec of the embedded CP is A-position so as to avoid improper movement. Alternatively, if the trace of the embedded Spec CP is the problematic one, it might also be possible to assume that the Embedded Spec of CP can be skipped if this CP is defective/non-phase. I would leave this option for the future study.

(i) John-ga [$_{vP}$ Bill-o$_i$ [$_{CP}$t$_{2i}$ [$_{TP}$ t$_i$ baka-da] -to]   omot-teiru].

John-NOM [$_{vP}$ Bill-ACC$_i$ [$_{CP}$t$_{2i}$ [$_{TP}$ t$_i$ fool - COP] -COMP] think-PROG]

'John thinks of Bill as a fool.'

(adapled from (Tanaka (2002: 6511))

4) The morphology such as *ga-SHIKA* and *o-SHIKA* are ungrammatical in Japanese.

(i) John-(*ga)-*SHIKA*   sono-hon-o   kawa-nai.

John-(*NOM)-but   the book-ACC   buy-NEG

'Nobody but John buys the book.'

(ii) John-ga   hon-(*o)-*SHIKA*   kawa-nai.

John-NOM   book-(*ACC)-but   buy-NEG

'John does not buy anything but books.'

(Tanaka 2002: 644)

5) Though *iu* does not necessarily sound ill-formed to my ear, *omou* sounds quite better in acceptability. Indeed, Tanaka (2002) provides several verbs which can participate in the Raising to Object Construction, namely, "*dantei-suru* 'determine',*suitei-suru* 'guess', *kangaeru* 'consider', and *sinziru*

'believe'." Also, he notes that those verbs are not limited to the instances he enumerates. Yet, notably, according to (Tanaka (2002: 637)), "Verbs like *iu* 'say', *tutaeru* 'report', *siteki-suru* 'point out', and *noberu* 'state' cannot participate in this construction."

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SUMMARY

An Argument for the Movement Analysis of *SHIKA*-NPI Licensing in Japanese

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In this paper, I would like to discuss two puzzling NPI-licensing phenomena in Japanese. One of the high-profile phenomena of NPI-licensing in the language is the absence of subject/object asymmetry, which is necessarily present in English NPIs. The other problematic case is the apparent lack of "clause-mate condition" in some embedded NPI subject. The NPI I will be dealing with is *SHIKA*-NPI.

This paper is organized as follows: In the section one, I intend to provide general background for *SHIKA*-NPI analysis. Then in the next section, I will present a non-head movement analysis of the NPI-licensing proposed by Aoyagi & Ishii (1994). Then in the section three we will look at the other type of NPI-licensing which involves Neg-raising maintained by Kishimoto (2008). After I have clarified my position as to which one of the two types of NPI-licensing is competent, I move on to the second problem in the section four. In the section four, I have examined two opposing analyses under the aim of giving an account for the puzzling behavior of the complement subject nominal in the "lack of clause-mate condition phenomena". I have observed two groups of analyses. One is base-generated Major Object analysis by Aoyagi & Ishii (1994) and the other is the movement analysis of the complement subject upheld by Tanaka (2002), and Yoon (2007). Consequently, I have reached a conclusion that I should go with the movement approach over the non-derived one. The section five is my interim derivational analysis on NPI-licensing in Japanese. The section six is the conclusions.