

An Argument for Japanese Right Dislocation as a Feature-driven Movement*

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This paper argues that Japanese Right Dislocation involves a feature-driven movement. By using the so-called *sika-nai* construction, it will be shown that Japanese Right Dislocation does not allow reconstruction. Since typical feature-driven movement such as English *wh*-movement and topicalization does not allow reconstruction while scrambling does allow reconstruction, it will be concluded that Japanese Right Dislocation is a feature-driven movement. This conclusion supports the parameter value preservation (PVP) measure proposed in Fukui 1993 which predicts that a rightward movement in a head-final language is costly and must be feature-driven.

***parameter value preservation measure, *Right Dislocation,
*feature-checking, *sika-nai construction, *reconstruction,**

1. Introduction

In order to capture the optionality of Japanese scrambling, Fukui (1993) proposes the parameter value preservation (PVP) measure, trying to correlate the value of the head parameter and the direction of movement.

(1) The parameter value preservation (PVP) measure

A grammatical operation (Move α , in particular) that creates a structure that is inconsistent with the value of a given parameter in a language is costly in the language, whereas one that produces a structure consistent with the parameter value is costless.

(Fukui 1993:400)

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The basic idea is that if a movement is to the opposite direction of the value of the head parameter, that movement is cost-free while if a movement is to the same direction of that value, that movement is costly. Given the Last Resort Condition, a costly movement must be feature-driven.

Under the PVP measure, in a head-initial language like English, movement to the right, such as extraposition or heavy NP shift, is cost-free. On the other hand, movement to the left, such as *wh*-movement and topicalization, is costly, and must be feature-driven. In Japanese, a head-final language, movement to the left, such as scrambling, is cost-free.

As for movement to the right in Japanese, if there is any, the PVP measure predicts that such a movement must be costly, and should be a feature-driven movement.

A typical example of Japanese Right Dislocation is given in (2).¹

- (2) a. John-ga sono hon-o kat-ta-yo.
 John-NOM the book-ACC buy-PAST-SP
 'John bought the book.'
 b. John-ga e_i kat-ta-yo, sono hon-o_i.
 John-NOM buy-PAST-SP the book-ACC

(2a) is a sentence with the order SOV, which is the basic word order for Japanese. In (2b) the object is Right-Dislocated from the preverbal position to the sentence-final position.²

(3)-(5) show that Japanese Right Dislocation is constrained by Subjacency.³

- (3) a. John-ga [Mary-ga sono naihu-de ringo-o kit-ta to]
 John-NOM Mary-NOM the knife-INST apple-ACC cut-PAST COMP
 omot-tei-ru-yo.
 think-ASP-PRES-SP
 'John thinks that Mary cut the apple with the knife.'
 b. John-ga [Mary-ga e_i ringo-o kit-ta to] omot-tei-ru-yo,
 John-NOM Mary-NOM apple-ACC cut-PAST COMP think-ASP-PRES-SP
 sono naihu-de_i.
 the knife-INST

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- (4) a. Mary-ga [John-ni at-ta atode] Susan-ni denwa-si-tei-ta-yo.
 Mary-NOM John-DAT meet-PAST after Susan-DAT phone-do-ASP-PAST-SP
 ‘Mary called Susan after she met John.’
- b. ??Mary-ga [e_i at-ta atode] Susan-ni denwa-si-tei-ta-yo, John-ni.
 Mary-NOM meet-PAST after Susan-DAT phone-do-ASP-PAST-SP John-DAT
- (5) a. John-ga [Mary-ga sono naihū-de kit-ta] ringo-o
 John-NOM Mary-NOM the knife-DAT cut-PAST apple-ACC
 tabe-tagat-tei-ru-yo.
 eat-want-ASP-PRES-SP
 ‘John wanted to eat the apple which Mary cut with the knife.’
- b. ?*John-ga [Mary-ga e_i kit-ta] ringo-o tabe-tagat-tei-ru-yo,
 John-NOM Mary-NOM cut-PAST apple-ACC eat-want-ASP-PRES-SP
 sono naihū-de,
 the knife-DAT

(3b) shows that long-distance Right Dislocation is possible. In (4b) *John-ni* ‘John-DAT’ is extracted out of an adjunct clause. (5b) involves Right Dislocation of *sono naihū-de* ‘the knife-DAT’ out of a relative clause. The unacceptability of (4b) and (5b) suggests that Japanese Right Dislocation is sensitive to islands. Since islands are conditions on movement, Japanese Right Dislocation involves syntactic movement.

This paper is organized as follows: section 2 briefly reviews some properties of the *sika-nai* construction, which plays a crucial role in the following discussion. In section 3, the data relevant to the discussion will be presented. In section 4, I will provide an analysis which accounts for the data presented in section 3, where it will be claimed that Japanese Right Dislocation is feature-driven. Section 5 concludes the discussion.

2. Background on the *sika-nai* construction

Typical examples of the *sika-nai* construction are given in (6).

- (6) a. John-sika ringo-o tabe-nakat-ta.
 John-SIKA apple-ACC eat-NEG-PAST

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‘No one but John ate an apple.’

b. John-ga ringo-sika tabe-nakat-ta.

John-NOM apple-SIKA eat-NEG-PAST

‘John didn’t eat anything but an apple.’

(6) illustrates that *sika* is a bound morpheme attached to an element and *nai* follows the stem of a verb. The combination of *X-sika* and a negative element stands for “not ... anything but X.”

It is well-known that a *sika*-phrase requires the presence of a negative element. Thus, examples in (7), which have no negative element, are ungrammatical.

(7) a. *John-sika ringo-o tabe-ta.

John-SIKA apple-ACC eat-PAST

b. *John-ga ringo-sika tabe-ta.

John-NOM apple-SIKA eat-PAST

The presence of a negative element is not sufficient to license a *sika*-phrase; the *sika-nai* construction is constrained by the clausemate condition (Muraki 1978, Aoyagi and Ishii 1993, among others).

(8) a. Mary-ga [John-ga ringo-sika tabe-nakat-ta to] it-ta.

Mary-NOM John-NOM apple-SIKA eat-NEG-PAST COMP say-PAST

‘Mary said that no one but John had eaten an apple.’

b. *Mary-ga [John-ga ringo-sika tabe-ta to] iw-anakat-ta.

Mary-NOM John-NOM apple-SIKA eat-PAST COMP say-NEG-PAST

(8a) is grammatical because a *sika*-phrase and a negative element are in the same embedded clause. (8b) is in violation of the clausemate condition, and hence ungrammatical.

The clausemate condition, however, seems to be too strong.

(9) a. Mary-ga [PRO sono hon-sika yom-ana-i to] it-ta.

Mary-NOM the book-SIKA read-NEG-PRES COMP say-PAST

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‘Mary said that she would not read anything but the book.’

- b. Mary-ga [PRO sono hon-sika yom-u to] iwa-nakat-ta.
 Mary -NOM the book-SIKA read-PRES COMP say-NEG-PAST
 ‘Mary didn’t say that she would read anything but the book.’

The acceptability of (9b) is problematic to the clausemate condition. Since a *sika*-phrase is in the embedded clause and a negative element is in the matrix clause, (9b) is clearly in violation of the clausemate condition. As (10) shows, it is not always the case that a *sika*-phrase in an infinitival clause can be licensed across a clausal boundary.

- (10) *Mary-ga [PRO tosyokan-de sono hon-sika yom-u to] iw-anakat-ta.
 Mary -NOM library-LOC the book-SIKA read-PRES COMP say-NEG-PAST
 ‘Mary didn’t say that she would read anything but the book in the library.’

In the following discussion, I assume, following Takahashi 1990 and Hasegawa 1994, that if a *sika*-phrase is phonologically at the left periphery, it can be licensed across a clausal boundary.

Another property of a *sika*-phrase is that it must be c-commanded by a negative element.

- (11) a. Hanako-ga Taro-ni-sika [PRO sono hon-o yom-u yooni] iw-anakat-ta.
 Hanako-NOM Taro-DAT-SIKA the book-ACC read-PRES COMP say-NEG-PAST
 ‘Hanako told no one but Taro to read the book.’
 b. *Hanako-ga Taro-ni-sika [PRO sono hon-o yom-ana-i yooni] it-ta.
 Hanako-NOM Taro-DAT-SIKA the book-ACC read-NEG-PRES COMP say-PAST
 (Hasegawa 1994:3)

Unlike (11a), (11b) is ungrammatical since a *sika*-phrase is not c-commanded by the negative element.

The basic properties of the *sika-nai* construction are summarized in (12).

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- (12) a. A *sika*-phrase is a negative polarity item and must be c-commanded by a negative element.
 b. The *sika-nai* construction is normally constrained by the clausemate condition. However, if a *sika*-phrase is phonologically at the left periphery of a clause, it can be licensed across a clause boundary.

3. Right Dislocation

Let us first consider the case where a *sika*-phrase itself undergoes Right Dislocation. (13b) shows that local Right Dislocation of a *sika*-phrase is possible.

- (13) a. Mary-wa ringo-sika tabe-nakat-ta-yo.
 Mary-TOP apple-SIKA eat-NEG-PAST-SP
 ‘Mary didn’t eat anything but an apple.’
 b. Mary-wa t_i tabe-nakat-ta-yo, ringo-sika $_i$.
 Mary-TOP eat-NEG-PAST-SP apple-SIKA

Next, consider the possibility of long-distance Right Dislocation of a *sika*-phrase. (14) and (15) differ in the position where a negative element occurs. In (14), a negative element is in the embedded clause and in (15) it is in the matrix clause.

- (14) a. John-wa [PRO ringo-sika tabe-na-i to] it-ta-yo.
 John-TOP apple-SIKA eat-NEG-PRES COMP say-PAST-SP
 ‘John said that he didn’t have eaten anything but an apple.’
 b. ?John-wa [PRO t_i tabe-na-i to] it-ta-yo, ringo-sika $_i$.
 John-TOP eat-NEG-PRES COMP say-PAST-SP apple-SIKA
- (15) a. John-wa [PRO ringo-sika tabe-ta to] iw-anakat-ta-yo.
 John-TOP apple-SIKA eat-PAST COMP say-NEG-PAST-SP
 ‘John didn’t say that he had eaten anything but an apple.’
 b. ?? John-wa [PRO t_i tabe-ta to] iw-anakat-ta-yo, ringo-sika $_i$.
 John-TOP eat-PAST COMP say-NEG-PAST-SP apple-SIKA

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In (14b) and (15b), the *sika*-phrases are Right-Dislocated out of an embedded clause. Although these sentences are degraded, they are not totally unacceptable. The marginal status of these examples may be attributed to the difficulty in licensing a *sika*-phrase by a negative element preceding it. It is therefore concluded that Right Dislocation of a *sika*-phrase is possible, irrespective of whether Right Dislocation is local or long-distance.

Let us next examine Right Dislocation of a clause that contains a *sika*-phrase. As shown in (16), Right Dislocation of a clause is possible.

- (16) a. John-ga t_i it-ta-yo, [_{CP} Mary-ga ki-ta to]_i.
 John-NOM say-PAST-SP Mary-NOM come-PAST COMP
- b. John-ga t_i omot-teir-u-yo, [_{CP} Mary-ga sono hon-o yon-da to]_i.
 John-NOM think-ASP-PRES-SP Mary-NOM the book-ACC read-PAST COMP

As (17) shows, if a clause contains both a *sika*-phrase and a negative element, that clause can be Right-Dislocated.

- (17) a. John-ga [_{CP} PRO sono hon-sika yom-anakat-ta to] it-ta-yo.
 John-NOM the book-SIKA read-NEG-PAST COMP say-PAST-SP
 'John said that he hadn't have read anything but the book.'
- b. John-ga t_i it-ta-yo, [_{CP} PRO sono hon-sika yom-anakat-ta to]_i.
 John-NOM say-PAST-SP the book-SIKA read-NEG-PAST COMP

On the other hand, if a Right-Dislocated clause contains a *sika*-phrase but does not contain a negative element, the examples are totally unacceptable. This is shown in (18b).

- (18) a. John-ga [_{CP} PRO sono hon-sika yon-da to] iw-anakat-ta-yo.
 John-NOM the book-SIKA read-PAST COMP say-NEG-PAST-SP
 'John didn't say that he had read anything but the book.'
- b. *John-ga t_i iw-anakat-ta-yo, [_{CP} PRO sono hon-sika yon-da to]_i.
 John-NOM say-NEG-PAST-SP the book-SIKA read-PAST COMP

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The contrast in grammaticality between (14b) and (15b) on one hand and (18b) on the other is significant. While (14b) and (15b) is marginally acceptable, (18b) is completely unacceptable.

4. An Account

The schematic structures of the examples observed so far are given in (19) and (20), where Right Dislocated elements are underlined. (19) involves Right Dislocation of a *sika*-phrase and (20) involves Right Dislocation of a clause containing a *sika*-phrase.⁴

(19) a. [CP [CP ... t_i ... nai ...] sika-phrase_i] (13b)



b. [CP [CP ... [CP ... t_i ... nai ...] ...] sika-phrase_i] (14b)



c. [CP [CP ... [CP ... t_i ...] ... nai ...] sika-phrase_i] (15b)



(20) a. [CP [CP ... t_i ...] [... sika-phrase ... nai ...]_i] (17b)



b. *[CP [CP ... t_i ... nai ...] [... sika-phrase ...]_i] (18b)



For a moment, let us tentatively assume that a Right-Dislocated element is adjoined to CP. In (20a) the *sika*-phrase is c-commanded by the negative element in the Right-Dislocated clause. The *sika*-phrase is licensed in that clause and therefore the sentence is grammatical. In the other structures in (19) and (20), the *sika*-phrases are not c-commanded by a negative element. Since a *sika*-phrase must be c-commanded by a negative element, (19a-c) and (20b) should be ungrammatical.

The grammaticality of (13b), (14b) and (15b) might be accounted for if we assume that Right Dislocation is an instance of scrambling and the Right-Dislocated phrase can undergo reconstruction at LF. Saito (1989) argues that a scrambled phrase can move back to its base position. Leftward scrambling of a *sika*-phrase out of the c-command domain of a negative element is possible, which is shown in (21)-(23).

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(21) Local scrambling

- a. Mary-ga ringo-sika tabe-nakat-ta (koto)
 Mary-NOM apple-SIKA eat-NEG-PAST (the fact that)
 ‘Mary didn’t eat anything but an apple.’
- b. Ringo-sika_i Mary-ga t_i tabe-nakat-ta (koto)
 apple-SIKA Mary-NOM eat-NEG-PAST (the fact that)

(22) Long distance scrambling (Neg in the embedded clause)

- a. John-ga [PRO ringo-sika tabe-na-i to] it-ta (koto)
 John-NOM apple-SIKA eat-NEG-PRES COMP say-PAST (the fact that)
 ‘John said that he would not eat anything but an apple.’
- b. Ringo-sika_i John-ga [PRO t_i tabe-na-i to] it-ta (koto)
 apple-SIKA John-NOM eat-NEG-PRES COMP say-PAST (the fact that)

(23) Long distance scrambling (Neg in the matrix clause)

- a. John-ga [PRO ringo-sika tabe-ta to] iw-anakat-ta (koto)
 John-NOM apple-SIKA eat-PAST COMP say-NEG-PAST (the fact that)
 ‘John didn’t say that he had eaten anything but an apple.’
- b. ?Ringo-sika_i John-ga [PRO t_i tabe-ta to] iw-anakat-ta (koto)
 apple-SIKA John-NOM eat-PAST COMP say-NEG-PAST (the fact that)

If Right Dislocation is an instance of scrambling, we would wrongly predict that (20b) should be grammatical. Leftward scrambling of a clause containing a *sika*-phrase but not containing a negative element is possible, as shown in (24).

- (24) a. ?[Mary-sika ki-ta to]_i John-ga t_i iw-anakat-ta (koto)
 Mary-SIKA come-PAST COMP John-NOM say-NEG-PAST (the fact that)
- b. ? [PRO sono hon-sika yon-da to]_i John-ga t_i
 the book-SIKA read-PAST COMP John-NOM
 iw-anakat-ta (koto)
 say-NEG-PAST (the fact that)

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The grammaticality of (24) is accounted for if we assume that in LF a scrambled clause can move back to its base position, where a *sika*-phrase is c-commanded by a negative element.

If Right Dislocation is an instance of scrambling, there should be nothing wrong with (20b). Therefore, Japanese Right Dislocation cannot be an instance of scrambling to the right.

In order to account for the ungrammaticality of (20b), I suggest that Right Dislocation involves a movement triggered by some feature. More specifically, I claim that there is a functional category FP above the whole clause structure and it projects a specifier to the right, as in (25).⁵

(25) * $[_{FP} [_{CP} [_{IP} \dots t_i \dots \text{nai} \dots]]] F^0 [_{CP} \dots \text{sika-phrase} \dots]_i]$

Movement triggered by a feature does not allow reconstruction. Riemsdijk and Williams (1981) observe examples such as (26). (26a) is grammatical while (26b) is marginal, which may be due to violation of Subjacency.

(26) *wh*-movement

- a. Who_i t_i knows [which picture of whom]_j Bill bought t_j ?
(*whom*: ok.matrix scope, ok.embedded scope)
- b. ??[Which picture of whom]_j do you wonder who_i t_i
bought t_j ?
(*whom*: ok.matrix scope, *embedded scope)

(Riemsdijk and Williams 1981)

The point relevant to the present discussion is that *whom* in (26a) can take either the matrix or the embedded scope, while *whom* in (26b) can take only the matrix scope. In (26a), *whom* can be licensed either by the matrix or the embedded [+WH] complementizer while in (26b) it can only be licensed by the matrix [+WH] complementizer. To prevent the *wh*-phrase in (26b) from being licensed by the embedded [+WH] complementizer, it must be assumed that a phrase containing a *wh*-phrase must not move back to its original position. Otherwise, we will wrongly predict that there is no con-

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trast in (26).

Saito (1989) observes a similar contrast for topicalization, which is another instance of feature-driven movement.

(27) topicalization

- a. ??Who_i t_i said that [the man that bought what]_j, John knows whether Mary likes t_j.
- b. *Mary thinks that [the man that bought what]_j, John knows who_i t_i Mary likes t_j.

(Saito 1989:188)

Both (27a) and (27b) are in violation of Subjacency and this may be the reason why (27a) is marginal. (27a) can be interpreted as multiple *wh*-question while (27b) cannot. If a clause containing a *wh*-phrase can move back to its base position, (27b) should be grammatical, contrary to fact. (27b) shows that this is not the case. It is therefore concluded that unlike scrambling, *wh*-movement and topicalization, both of which are movement triggered by feature-checking, do not allow reconstruction.

Let us now return to the discussion of Japanese Right Dislocation. The examples in (18) are repeated here as (29).

(28) *_{[FP [CP ... t_i ... nai ...] F⁰ [... sika-phrase ...]_i]}



- (29) a. John-ga [PRO sono hon-sika yon-da to] iw-anaka-ta-yo.
 John-NOM the book-SIKA read-PAST COMP say-NEG-PAST-SP
 ‘John didn’t say that he had read anything but the book.’
- b. *John-ga t_i iw-anaka-ta-yo, [PRO sono hon-sika yon-da to]_i.
 John-NOM say-NEG-PAST-SP the book-SIKA read-PAST COMP

If Right Dislocation is a movement triggered by some feature, the clause containing a *sika*-phrase in (29b) cannot move back to its base position. Since the *sika*-phrase is not c-commanded by a negative element, it will not be licensed. Therefore, (29b) is ungrammatical.⁶

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Let us next consider the case where a *sika*-phrase is Right-Dislocated. The relevant structures are given in (30).

(30) a. [FP [CP ... t_i ... nai ...] F⁰ sika-phrase_i] (13b)



b. [FP [CP ... [CP ... t_i ... nai ...] ...] F⁰ sika-phrase_i] (14b)



c. [FP [CP ... [CP ... t_i ...] ... nai ...] F⁰ sika-phrase_i] (15b)



If Right Dislocation involves movement triggered by some feature, these examples should be ungrammatical. This is so because the moved *sika*-phrases in (30) cannot be undone in LF. Since the *sika*-phrase in the specifier of FP is not c-commanded by a negative element, the examples should be ungrammatical. However, this prediction is not borne out.

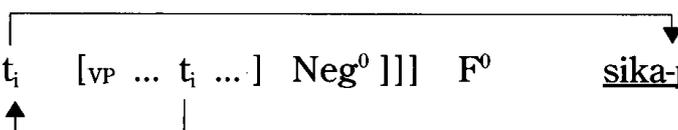
Following Takahashi (1990) and Hasegawa (1994), I assume that there is a projection of negation (NegP) between VP and TP, and a *sika*-phrase has a weak feature which must be checked by the feature in the Neg head. In order to check off these features, a *sika*-phrase must move into Spec of NegP, which is schematically shown in (31).

(31) [CP [TP [NegP sika-phrase_i [VP ... t_i ...] Neg⁰]]] [Neg] [Neg]



Recall that I proposed that Right Dislocation involves a movement triggered by the feature [F] in the head of FP. The feature [F] must be strong because it attracts a phrase with phonological features. The derivation of a Right Dislocation of a *sika*-phrase is schematized in (32).⁷

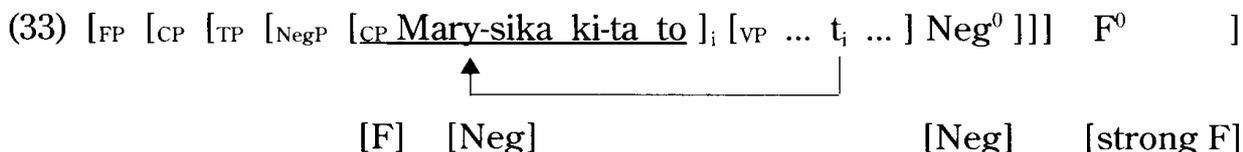
(32) [FP [CP [TP [NegP t_i [VP ... t_i ...] Neg⁰]]] F⁰ sika-phrase_i]



[Neg] [Neg] [strong-F] [F]

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I here assume that an element which is attracted by a strong feature can check its weak feature on its way to the target. If so, the *sika*-phrase can move through Spec of NegP on its way to Spec of FP. In (32), all the relevant features are checked off, and therefore the derivation is legitimate. Note that this option is unavailable in the case of clausal Right Dislocation. Although the Right-Dislocated clause itself has a feature which triggers Right Dislocation, the head of the clause does not have a Neg-feature. The clause, therefore, cannot move through Spec of NegP on its way to Spec of FP. Since the Neg-features are not checked, the derivation crashes. This derivation is illustrated in (33).



In (33) the clause containing a *sika*-phrase is in a Spec-head relation with the head of the NegP, but the *sika*-phrase itself is not in a Spec-head relation with the head of NegP. The *sika*-phrase in (33) is not in a head-to-head relation with the Neg head, either. Given that checking is done through either the Spec-head or the head-to-head relation (Chomsky 1993, 1995), there is no way for the feature on the *sika*-phrase to be checked, which renders (29b) ungrammatical.

Finally, let us consider the case where both a *sika*-phrase and a negative element are in the Right-Dislocated clause. The examples in (17) are repeated as (34).

- (34) a. John-ga [PRO sono hon-sika yom-anakat-ta to] it-ta-yo.
 John-NOM the book-SIKA read-NEG-PAST COMP say-PAST-SP
 'John said that he read only the book.'
- b. John-ga t_i it-ta-yo, [PRO sono hon-sika yom-anakat-ta to]_i.
 John-NOM say-PAST-SP the book-SIKA read-NEG-PAST COMP

The analysis proposed here can accommodate examples like (34). (34) is grammatical because a *sika*-phrase can move to the specifier of NegP in the Right-Dislocated clause. Since the Neg-features are checked, the derivation converges.

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5. Conclusion

By using the *sika-nai* construction, I showed that scrambling allows reconstruction while Right Dislocation does not. Based on this contrast, I argued that Japanese Right Dislocation is a feature-driven movement. This conclusion supports the parameter value preservation measure proposed in Fukui 1993. I also argued that a *sika*-phrase can move through Spec of NegP on its way to Spec of FP.

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Notes

* I would like to thank Jun Abe, Carlo Cecchetto, Noam Chomsky, Nobuko Hasegawa, Kazuko Inoue, Yasuo Ishii, Enoch Iwamoto, Hisatsugu Kitahara, Kazuki Kuwabara, Roger Martin, Masatake Muraki, Norvin Richards, Uli Sauerland and Akira Watanabe for their suggestions and comments. Special thanks go to Carlo Cecchetto for providing me interesting Italian data. I am also grateful to Shosuke Haraguchi for kindly sending me his paper. I would also like to thank Kazuma Fujimaki, Yukio Furukawa, Kazuhiro Ichikawa, Takako Iseda, Hironobu Kasai, Kasei Kondo, Mizuki Nishida, Shoichi Takahashi, Sumiko Tonosaki, Yukiko Ueda and Masashi Yamada for their comments, encouragement and help. Needless to say, I am solely responsible for any remaining errors.

¹ The abbreviations used in the glosses are listed below:

NOM: nominative	GEN: genitive	ASP: aspect
ACC: accusative	TOP: topic	COMP: complementizer
DAT: dative	PRES: present tense	SP: sentence particle
INST: instrumental	PAST: past tense	NEG: negation
LOC: locative	SIKA: <i>sika</i> -phrase (see section 2)	

² For previous analyses of Japanese Right Dislocation, see Abe 1998a, b, Endo 1996, Haraguchi 1973, Inoue 1978, Kuno 1978, Rosen 1996, Simon 1989, Takami 1995, Whitman 1994 and the references cited therein.

³ Abe (1998b) observes that the sentences are still unacceptable even if we put resumptive pronouns in the base positions. The following examples are taken from Abe 1998b with some modifications.

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- (i) Watasi-wa [John-ga kanozyo-ni_i sono hon-o kure-ta to]
 I-TOP John-NOM her-DAT the book-ACC give-PAST COMP
 it-ta-yo, watasi-no musume-ni_i.
 say-PAST-SP my-GEN daughter-DAT
 'I said that John gave the book to her_i, my daughter_i.
- (ii) *Watasi-wa [John-ga kanozyo-ni_i kure-ta] hon-ga
 I-TOP John-NOM her-DAT give-PAST book-NOM
 suki-desu, watasi-no musume-ni_i.
 like I-GEN daughter-DAT
 'I like the book John gave to her_i, my daughter_i.
- (iii) *Watasi-wa [John-ga kanozyo-o_i nagut-ta node] kare-no
 I-TOP John-NOM her-ACC hit-PAST because his-GEN
 hahaoya-o sikarituke-ta, watasi-no musume-o_i.
 mother-ACC scold-PAST I-GEN daughter-ACC
 'I scolded his mother because John hit her_i, my daughter_i.

On the surface, it seems that no movement is involved in (i)-(iii). However, (ii) and (iii) show that these examples are constrained by Subjacency. I agree with Abe 1998b that (ii) and (iii) are unacceptable. I speculate that one possible solution is to assume that movement of a phonologically null element is involved in (ii) and (iii). See Watanabe 1992 for arguments for the claim that null operator movement is involved in Japanese *wh*-question. If so, (ii) and (iii) are in violation of Subjacency, and hence ungrammatical.

- 4 Given the proposed analysis, Italian is interesting because it has both negative quantifiers and negative polarity items. Both of them must be licensed by the presence of a negative element, and can be licensed across a clausal boundary. However, only the former is constrained by island conditions. It is therefore assumed that negative quantifiers involve movement while negative polarity items are licensed through binding by a negative element (with no movement).

If we Right-Dislocate a clause containing a negative quantifier (*niente*), the sentence is unacceptable. All the Italian examples given below are provided by Carlo Cecchetto (personal communication).

- (i) *Non lo_i credo, [che possa fare niente di male]_i
 (I) NEG it believe that (he) could do nothing of bad
 'I believe that he was not able to do anything bad.'

If we Right-Dislocate a clause containing a negative polarity item (*alcunche*), the sentence is acceptable, as shown in (ii).

- (ii) Non lo_i credo, [che possa fare alcunche' di male]_i
 (I)NEG it believe that (he) could do anything of bad
 'I believe that he was not able to do anything bad.'

Let us suppose that Right Dislocation in Italian is also feature-driven and a Right-Dislocated clause moves to Spec of FP above CP in the matrix clause. The contrast between (i) and (ii)

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will be accounted for if a negative quantifier is licensed by moving into Spec of NegP. (i) is not grammatical because a negative quantifier *niente* cannot move into Spec of NegP in the matrix clause. Since a clause containing *niente* is moved by feature-driven movement, it cannot be reconstructed to its base position. If *niente* is moved from within the Right-Dislocated clause, it violates the Proper Binding Condition or some condition prohibiting lowering in general. (ii) is predicted to be grammatical if we assume that the negative polarity item in the Right-Dislocated clause can be licensed in some other way such as chain-binding.

Note that a *sika*-phrase in Japanese behaves like a negative quantifier rather than a negative polarity item. Though *sika*-phrases have been traditionally called negative polarity items, it may be appropriate to call *sika*-phrases negative quantifiers, as pointed out by Carlo Cecchetto (personal communication).

The negative quantifier *niente*, however, resists Right Dislocation, as shown in (iii).

- (iii) *Non lo_i ha fatto, [Niente di male]_i.
 (He) NEG it has done anything of bad
 'He did not do anything wrong.'

Since a negative quantifier move through Spec of NegP on its way to Spec of FP, it can be licensed. Hence, (iii) should be grammatical, contrary to fact.

As shown in (iv), the negative polarity item *alcunche*' also resists Right Dislocation.

- (iv) *Non lo_i ha fatto, [alcunche' di male]_i.
 (He) NEG it has done anything of bad
 'He did not do anything wrong.'

Nobuko Hasegawa (personal communication) and Jun Abe (personal communication) pointed out to me that the ungrammaticality of (iii) and (iv) is due to the fact that a (definite) clitic cannot take a negative quantifier or a negative polarity item as its antecedent.

⁵ Japanese Right Dislocation is acceptable if a sentence is marked with a sentence particle (e.g., *yo*) or some special intonation. As pointed out by Enoch Iwamoto (personal communication), this might be related to the presence of a functional category FP.

⁶ Yasuo Ishii (personal communication) pointed out to me that if a *sika*-phrase is further Right-Dislocated, the sentence becomes more acceptable than (19b).

- (i) ?John-ga t_i iw-anakat-ta-yo, [PRO t_j yon-da to_j] [sono hon-sika]_j.
 John-NOM say-NEG-PAST-SP read-PAST COMP the book-SIKA

Since the two elements are attracted by the feature in the head of FP, I assume that the head of FP can license multiple specifiers. As shown in (ii), multiple Right Dislocation is possible.

- (ii) a. [t_i t_j present-o age-ta-yo] John-ga_i Mary-ni_j.
 present-ACC give-PAST-SP John-NOM Mary-DAT
 'John gave a present to Mary.'
 b. [t_i t_j present-o age-ta-yo] Mary-ni_j John-ga_i.
 present-ACC give-PAST-SP Mary-DAT John-NOM

Under the proposed analysis, (i) can be derived in the following way. *Sono hon-sika* first moves to Spec of NegP. Next, the remaining clause is attracted and moved to Spec of FP.

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Since the head of FP can license multiple specifiers, the *sika*-phrase in Spec of NegP can be attracted and moved into the outer Spec of FP. The present analysis therefore correctly predicts the acceptability of (i). At some point of the derivation, we will have the following representation.

(iii) [FP [F' [CP ... [NEGP ... t_i ...] ...] F⁰ [CP ... t_j ...]_i] [sika-phrase]_j]

If the *sika*-phrase in (i) could move into the inner specifier of FP, we will have (iv). The sequence of words in (iv) is the same as the one in (18b).

(iv) *_{FP} [_{F'} [_{CP} John-ga t_i iw-anakat-ta-yo] F⁰ [sono hon-sika]_j]
 John-NOM say-NEG-PAST-SP the book-SIKA
 [PRO t_j yon-da to]_i].
 read-PAST COMP

As Jun Abe (personal communication), Nobuko Hasegawa (personal communication), and Kazuki Kuwabara (personal communication) pointed out to me, (iv) is ruled out by the Proper Binding Condition. In (iv), *sono hon-sika* 'the book-SIKA' does not bind its trace, and hence in violation of the Proper Binding Condition. See Abe 1998a for more discussion on this point.

⁷ As Kazuki Kuwabara (personal communication) and Sumiko Tonosaki (personal communication) pointed out to me, the derivation involved in (32) naturally fits with the idea that the strong-weak distinction of features is correlated to the position where a category is pronounced, rather than to the level where movement takes place. For details of this idea, see Richards 1997 and the references cited therein.