Some Evidence for a Non-Movement Approach
to Japanese Case Licensing*

Yukiko Ueda

This paper provides some evidence for the non-movement hypothesis that Japanese nominals are licensed in situ and do not undergo movement for Case-feature checking (Fukui 1986, Takano 1996, Ikawa 1997, and Fukui and Takano 1998). We focus on three scopal contrasts between English and Japanese: (i) scope rigidity in Japanese, (ii) distribution of Negative Polarity Items (henceforth NPIs) and Positive Polarity Items (henceforth PPIs) in negative sentences, and (iii) lack of scope ambiguity between an *o*-marked Accusative object and a Postpositional phrase in Japanese. Those facts are simultaneously accounted for by the assumption that Japanese nominals undergo no movement from a theta-position to a Case-checking position. This leads one to conclude that Japanese has no Agr projection.

*Case-licensing　*non-movement hypothesis　*scope

*Negative Polarity Items　*theta-position

1. Introduction

This paper argues that Japanese involves no movement for Case-checking, and no Agr projections. We will call this "a non-movement approach." "AgrP" is a position in which Case features are structurally checked. Even though Chomsky (1995) has eliminated AgrP as an independent projection, this term will be used throughout this paper in order to develop our arguments in connection with past works.

We will discuss the following contrasts between English and Japanese:

(i) Scope rigidity in Japanese

(ii) Distribution of Negative Polarity Items (NPIs) / Positive
Polarity Items (PPIs) in negative sentences in English and Japanese

(iii) Lack of scope ambiguity between the Accusative object and a
Postpositional phrase in Japanese.

These contrasts are simultaneously predictable if we assume that Japanese has no movement for Case-checking. We will focus our discussion on the scopal interaction

between NEG and quantificational expressions including Polarity Items in order to see what positions they should occupy for an appropriate interpretation.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 shows some contrasts between English and Japanese, which have been traditionally, but independently observed. In section 3, we review Hornstein's A-movement analysis and argue that his analysis does not account for the Japanese facts. After discussing the argumenthood of NPIs which we are concerned with, we argue that the contrasts are predictable and accounted for if we assume that Japanese has no movement to Agr Phrases for Case-feature checking. Then, we provide further evidence for the non-movement hypothesis for Accusative-Case checking. Section 4 is the conclusion.

Our discussion empirically supports the claim by Fukui (1986), Takano (1996), Ikawa (1997), and Fukui and Takano (1998) that Japanese Cases are checked within the nominals. In other words, Japanese nominals are morphologically licensed by their particles.

2. Data

There are some contrasts between English and Japanese with respect to scope phenomena which have been independently observed.

The first contrast concerns scope rigidity in Japanese. As shown in (1), the English sentence in (1a) is ambiguous with respect to the relative scope between the two quantifiers. On the other hand, the Japanese sentence in (1b) is unambiguous. This is traditionally called "scope regidity."

(1) Scope Rigidity in Japanese
    a. Someone loves everyone.   (some > every, every > some)
    b. Dareka -ga   daremo -o   aisiteiru. (some > every, *every > some)
        someone -NOM everyone -ACC loves
        '(lit.) Someone loves everyone.'

The second contrast concerns the distribution of polarity items in subject position in negative sentences. As shown by examples in (2), NPIs cannot occur in the subject position in English, whereas they can in Japanese. NPI subject *daRE NO UWASA MO*

Some Evidence for a Non-Movement Approach to Japanese Case Licensing

'anyone's rumor' in (2b) is perfectly acceptable[1].　On the other hand, in the case of PPI subjects, the facts are reversed.　PPI subjects are disallowed only in Japanese, as shown by the contrast between (3a) and (3b).

(2)　NPI subject

    a.　*_Anyone's rumor_ didn't spread in this town.

    b.　_daRE NO UWASA MO_ hiromar-anak-atta.

        NPI　　　　　　　　spread　-NEG -PAST

        '*(lit.) Anyone's rumor didn't spead.'

(3)　PPI subject

    a.　_Someone's help_ did not rescue Hanako.

    b.　*DAreka no　tasuke -ga Hanako -o　sukuw-anak-atta.

        PPI　　　GEN　help　-NOM　　　-ACC rescue-NEG -PAST

        'Someone's help did not rescue Hanako.'

   As for NPI and PPI objects, (4) and (5) show that there is no contrast between English and Japanese.

(4)　NPI object

    a.　John didn't hear _anyone's rumor_.

    b.　Taroo-ga　_daRE NO UWASA MO_ kik-anak-atta.

        -NOM NPI　　　　　　　　hear-NEG-PAST

        'Taroo didn't hear anyone's rumor.'

(5)　PPI object

    a.　*(?)John didn't accept _someone's help_.　　　　　　(as _NEG-some_ reading)

    b.　*(?)Taroo-ga　_DAreka no tasuke-o_　　uke-nak-atta.　(as _NEG-some_ reading)

        -NOM PPI　　　　　　-ACC　accept-NEG-PAST

        'Taroo didn't accept someone's help.'

The facts observed in this section are summarized in Table 1 below.

言語科学研究第5号(1999年)

Table 1

			English	Japanese
(i)　scope rigidity			none (1a)	(1b)
(ii)　distribution	subj.	NPI	*　　(2a)	ok　(2b)
of		PPI	ok　(3a)	*　　(3b)
polarity items	obj.	NPI	ok　(4a)	ok　(4b)
in negative sentences		PPI	*　　(5a)	*　　(5b)

In the following sections, we will claim that in order to uniformly account for the two phases of scope phenomena shown in (i) and (ii) and the contrasts between the two languages given in (1)-(5) in Table 1, it should be assumed that Japanese does not undergo movement for Case-checking and there is no ArgP in Japanese.

Next section introduces Hornstein's A-movement analysis and shows that his analysis does not work in Japanese. We will not reject his analysis as a whole. Rather, we will adopt his insight that scope interpretation is sensitive to the A-position including the theta-position. We will conclude that Japanese arguments do not involve movement from a theta-position to a Case-checking position.

3.　Against Movement for Case-Checking in Japanese
3.1　An A-Movement Analysis: Hornstein 1995

Some current analyses in the Minimalist framework attempt to treat the Quantifier Raising (henceforth QR) effects as a property of A-chain (Hornstein 1995, Pica and Snyder 1994, and Lasnik 1993). We call them A-movement analysis. According to Hornstein, the scope interpretation of quantified expressions can be reduced to the result of A-movement, which is required for Case-checking, and to deletion of all the A-chain links but one, which is required for the A-chain interpretation at the CI-interface[2]. A historical overview of scope interpretation is given in (6).

(6)　History of Research on Scope Taking: from pre-GB to the MP

　　a.　Pre-GB Theory: Rules of Semantic Interpretation (Chomsky 1976)

　　b.　The GB Theory: QR analysis (May 1977, Huang 1982, May 1985, Chomsky 1986, Chomsky 1991)

Some Evidence for a Non-Movement Approach to Japanese Case Licensing

    c. The MP: (i) **A-movement analysis** (Hornstein 1995, Pica and Snyder 1994, Lasnik 1993, Kawashima and Kitahara 1992, Kitahara 1992)
          (ii) Absorption analysis (Watanabe 1998)

3.1.1 English

We will see how the mechanism proposed by Hornstein (1995) works for creating the configurational patterns of scope interpretation. First, we review Hornstein's A-movement analysis using the most standard English examples. The definition of the relative scope is given in (7).

(7)   Relative Scope

    A quantified argument Q_1 takes scope over a quantified arguments Q_2 iff Q_1 asymmetrically c-commands Q_2.

In English, the sentence in (8) is ambiguous.

(8)   Someone attended every seminar.   (some > every, every > some)

    Here we assume, following Hornstein (1995), that in English subject raises overtly to Spec of AgrS and object covertly to AgrO respectively for Case feature checking. At the CI-interface, A-chain link deletion applies to possible LF representations. The potential deleted patterns after the A-chain link deletion are shown in (9a)-(9d). Parentheses here indicate the deleted elements.

(9) a. [$_{Agrs}$ **Someone** [$_{TP}$ Tns [$_{Agro}$ **every seminar** [$_{VP}$ (someone) [$_{VP}$ attended (every seminar)]]]]]   **someone > every**

    b. [$_{Agrs}$ Someone   [$_{TP}$ Tns [$_{Agro}$ (every seminar) [$_{VP}$ (someone) [$_{VP}$ attended every seminar]]]]]

    c. [$_{Agrs}$ (Someone) [$_{TP}$ Tns [$_{Agro}$ (every seminar) [$_{VP}$ someone   [$_{VP}$ attended every seminar]]]]]

    d [$_{Agrs}$ (Someone) [$_{TP}$ Tns [$_{Agro}$ **every seminar** [$_{VP}$ someone   [$_{VP}$ attended (every seminar)]]]]]   **every > someone**

(9b) and (9c) cannot be interpreted because of the violation of Diesing's (1992) Mapping Principle, *a definite argument must be outside the VP shell at the CI interface.* (9a) and (9d) are given respective interpretations under the definition of relative scope presented in (7). Thus the sentence in (8) has ambiguous interpretations.

3.1.2 Japanese / Chinese : VP-internal PRO Subject

Hornstein (1995) tries to extend the A-movement system to such rigid scope languages as Japanese and Chinese. He proposes that Japanese and Chinese subjects are base-generated in Spec of AgrSP and the VP-internal subject position is always filled with PRO. Thus, a sentence in (10a) has no inverse scope. The LF representation of (10a) is given in (10b). In Hoenstein's system, the assumption of VP-internal PRO subject guarantees the scope rigidity in those languages.

(10) Scope Rigidity: no scope ambiguity in Japanese

a. Dareka-ga   daremo-o   aisiteiru.   (some > every, *every > some)

someone-nom   everyone -acc love

'There is a person, who loves everyone.'

b. only **someone** > **every** reading

[$_{AgrS}$ **Dareka** [$_{TP}$ Tns [$_{AgrO}$ **daremo** [$_{VP}$ PRO aisiteiru (daremo)]]]]

someone   everyone   love

In the next subsection, we will argue that it is hard to assume the VP-internal PRO subject in Japanese to capture the distribution of polarity items observed in Section 2. (See Table 1-(ii))

3.2 Against Movement to AgrPs for Case-Feature Checking
3.2.1 Argumenthood of daRE NO UWASA MO type NPIs

Before going into our main discussion of Case licensing, we should confirm that polarity items relevant to the discussion in this paper are not adverbs, but arguments. We cannot develop any discussion in connection with A-movement without appealing to their argumenthood. Therefore, in this subsection, we will show four pieces of evidence that *daRE NO UWASA MO* 'anyone's rumor' is an argument NPI. The first two

Some Evidence for a Non-Movement Approach to Japanese Case Licensing

in (11) and (12) indicate that *daRE NO UWASA MO* 'anyone's rumor' patterns with typical NPIs such as *daREMO* 'anyone' with respect to tonal patterns and incompatibility with affirmative predicates. These facts indicate that *daRE NO UWASA MO* 'anyone's rumor' is an NPI.

(11) a. *DAremo*-ga　　it-ta.
　　　　　everyone -NOM go-PAST
　　b. **daREMO* it-ta.
　　　　NPI　　　go-PAST
(12) a. *DAre no uwasa mo* kii-ta.
　　　　anyone's rumor　　　hear-PAST
　　b. **daRE NO UWASA MO* kii-ta.
　　　　NPI　　　　　　　　hear-PAST

The latter two in (13)-(16) concern argumenthood of *daRE NO UWASA MO* type NPIs. NPIs of this type should be differentiated from the typical Japanese NPIs such as *daREMO* 'anyone' in the following two reasons. First, unlike the typical NPIs, *daREMO* 'anyone', NPIs of this type cannot take what Kitahara (1992) and Kawashima and Kitahara (1992) call additional arguments or what Hasegawa (1993) calls host NPs as given in (13). In (13a), *naNIMO* 'anything' can take another NP *hanasi-o* 'story-ACC', whereas *daRE NO UWASA MO* 'anyone's rumor' in (13b) cannot.

(13) additional arguments
　　a. Taroo-ga　**hanasi-o**　*naNIMO*kik-anak-atta.
　　　　　-NOM story　-ACC　anything　hear-NEG-PAST
　　　　'Taroo didn't hear any story.'
　　b. *Taroo-ga　**hanasi-o**　*daRE NO UWASA MO*　kik-anak-atta.[3]
　　　　　-NOM story　-ACC　anyone's rumor　　　　hear-NEG-PAST
　　　　'*Taroo didn't hear anyone's story.'

Thus *naNIMO* in (13a) is an adjunct, whereas *daRE NO UWASA MO* in (13b) is an argument. Second, if, unlike *daREMO*, *daRE NO UWASA MO* NPI is an argument, a

言語科学研究第5号(1999年)

natural prediction emerges such that there appears some contrast between the two types of NPIs with respect to the saving effects proposed by Saito (1992). A generalization in (14) is an approximation for S-structure saving effect by Saito (1992).

(14) Generalization

An adjunct wh phrase within an island can avoid violating the ECP when there is an argument phrase in a higher position of the same clause.

Our prediction is borne out in (15)-(16). The minimal pair in (15) shows Saito's LF saving effects[4]. Saito argues that *naze* 'why' can adjoin to an argument *wh*-phrase and move out of the island together with that phrase without violating the ECP at LF. *Doko-de* 'where-in' in (15a) is an adjunct, whereas *doko-ni* 'where-on' is an argument of *oku* 'put'. Thus, (15a) is starred because it violates the ECP plus Subjacency. On the other hand, an argument *wh*-phrase, *doko-ni*, in (15b) rescues an adjunct *wh*-phrase *naze* from the ECP violation. Thus the sentence in (15b) is a single question mark(?) because there is no principled violation except for Subjacency. The crucial point is that the same argument-adjunct contrast concerning the saving effects can be observed between the two NPIs as shown in (16).

(15) a. *John-wa [[sono-hon-o   **doko-de**$_i$ naze$_j$ oi-ta]   hito]-o sagasiteiru no?
         -TOP the book   -ACC where-in   why   put-PAST man -ACC looking for Q

   b. ?John-wa [[sono-hon-o   **doko-ni**$_i$ naze$_j$ oi-ta]   hito]-o   sagasiteiru no?
         -TOP the book   -ACC where-on why   put-PAST man -ACC looking for   Q
      'Q John is looking for the man who put the book where why.'

(16) a. *Taroo-wa [[ronbun-o **naNIMO naze** syuppan-si-nak-atta] hito]-o kaiko-si-ta no?
         -TOP   papers   NPI   why   publish   -do-NEG-PAST man -ACC fire-do-PAST Q

   b. ?Taroo-wa [[**doNO RONBUN MO naze** syuppan-si-nak-atta] hito]-o kaiko-si-ta no?
         -TOP NPI   why   publish   -do-NEG-PAST man-ACC fire-do-PRES Q
      'Q Taroo fired [the man [who did not publish any papers why]]?'

These facts indicate that the NPI phrase, *daRE NO UWASA MO* 'anyone's rumor'

Some Evidence for a Non-Movement Approach to Japanese Case Licensing

or *daRE NO KOTO MO* 'anyone' is an argument rather than an adverb/adjunct.[5] Therefore, we will use *daRE NO UWASA MO* type NPIs as a counterpart to English argument NPIs, *anyone* and *anyone's rumor*.

3.2.2 Against Subject Raising to AgrSP

This section argues that it is unnecessary to assume movement to AgrP for Case-checking in Japanese, in order to get uniform account for scope rigidity given in (1) and some contrasts between English and Japanese in licensing Polarity Items given in (2)-(5) in Table 1. First, we will show that Hornstein's A-movement analysis cannot predict these facts.

Adopting the licensing condition on NPIs given in (17) and the Case-checking theory in the Minimalist Program, Hornstein (1995) assumes that arguments, *subject* and *object*, must raise to the relevant Case-checking positions.
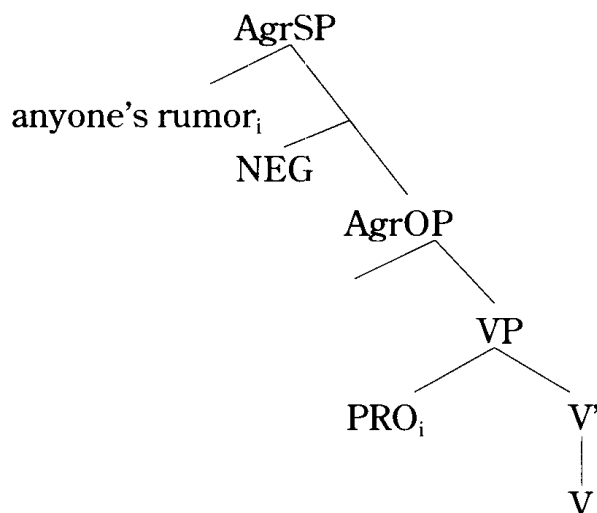
(17) Licensing Condition on NPIs

An NPI is licensed only if it is c-commanded by NEG (¬).

The LF structures of (2)-(3) are given in (18)-(19), respectively.

(18) Subject NPI
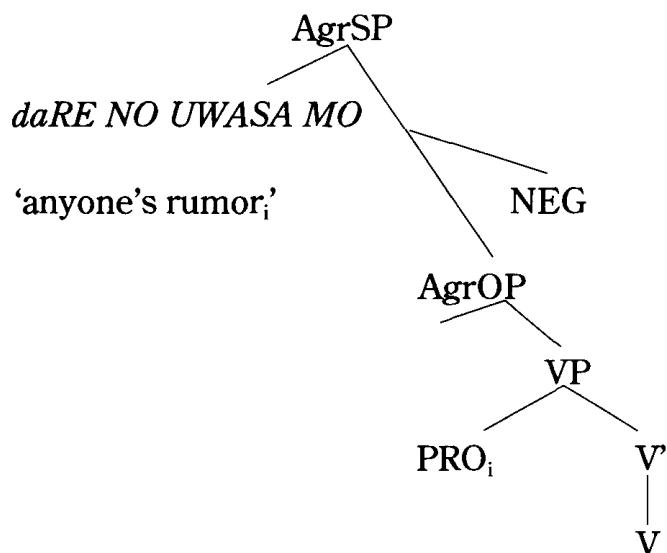
a.   **Anyone's rumor* didn't spread in this town. (=(2a))

言語科学研究第5号(1999年)
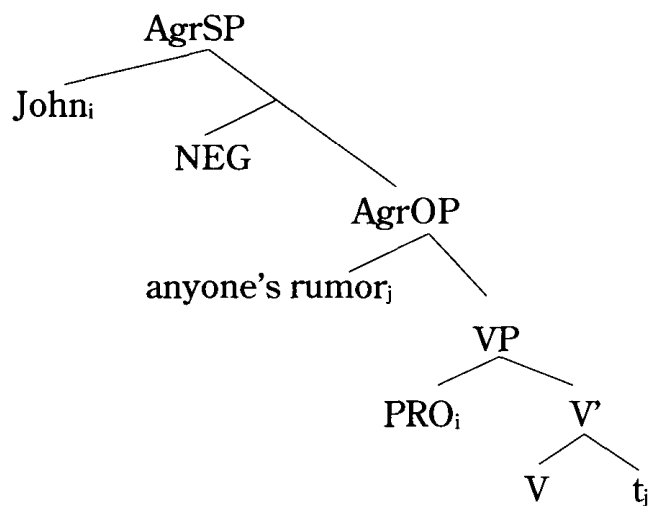
b. ^{ok}*daRE NO UWASA MO* hiromar-anak-atta. (=(2b))

 NPI   spread　-NEG -PAST

 ＊(lit.) Anyone's rumor didn't spead (here).'

```
            AgrSP
           /      \
daRE NO UWASA MO    \
                     \
'anyone's rumor_i'    NEG
                     /
                  AgrOP
                      \
                       VP
                      /  \
                   PRO_i   V'
                           |
                           V
```

(19) Object NPI

 a. ^{ok}John didn't hear *anyone's rumor*. (=(4a))

```
           AgrSP
          /     \
      John_i     \
          NEG     \
                  AgrOP
            anyone's rumor_j \
                              VP
                             /  \
                         PRO_i    V'
                                 /  \
                                V    t_j
```
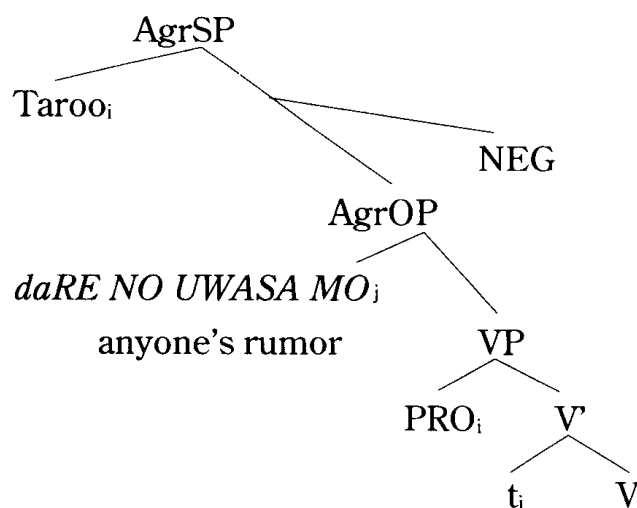
Some Evidence for a Non-Movement Approach to Japanese Case Licensing

b.　Taroo-ga　*daRE NO UWASA MO* kik-anak-atta. (=(4b))
　　　-NOM　NPI　　　　　　　　　hear-NEG-PAST
　'Taroo didn't hear anyone's rumor.'

```
                    AgrSP
              ╱          ╲
         Taroo_i          ╲
                      ╱      ╲
                    ╱          NEG
                AgrOP
             ╱       ╲
    daRE NO UWASA MO_j  ╲
      anyone's rumor     VP
                      ╱     ╲
                  PRO_i      V'
                           ╱   ╲
                         t_j     V
```

In (18a), the NPI, *anyone's rumor* is in the Spec of AgrS. The position occupied by *anyone's rumor* is not c-commanded by NEG. It violates (17). Thus, (18a) is ungrammatical. On the other hand, NPIs in the object position is allowed, because NEG properly c-commands NPIs in the position of AgrO as shown in (19a).

If Japanese subjects, as Hornstein (1995) assumed, were base-generated in Spec of AgrSP, that is, if there is PRO subject in VP-internal position, the sentence might have a structure like (18b). The NPI subject cannot be licensed in that position just as the case of English. Furthermore, even if we assume that Japanese subjects are base-generated in VP-internal position and undergo the same subject raising to Spec of AgrS in the same way as in English, the structural relation between the subject NPI and NEG wrongly predicts that the sentence were ungrammatical due to violation of (17). However, if we assume the structure in (20), where arguments are generated VP-internally and do not undergo movement to Agr Phrases for Case-checking, the grammaticality of the sentence in (18b) naturally follows. The subject stays within the VP-internal position and is c-commanded by NEG.[6]

言語科学研究第5号(1999年)

(20) Japanese

```
                          NEG
              VP
           X      V'
                  |
     ᴼᴷNPIs /*PPIs    V
```
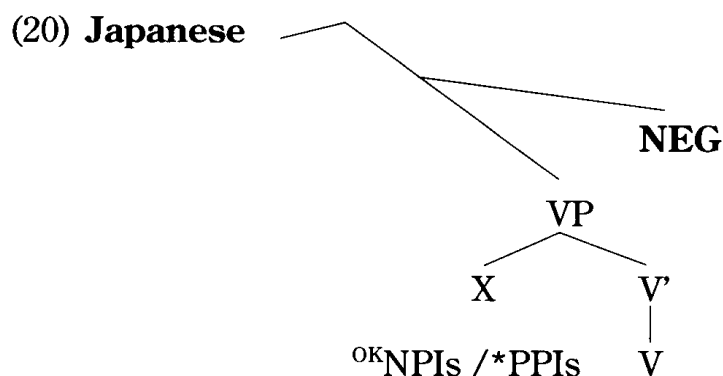
The same kind of contrast between English and Japanese is observed in the PPI subject, assuming a circumstantial condition on PPIs given in (21).

(21) The Circumstantial Condition on PPIs

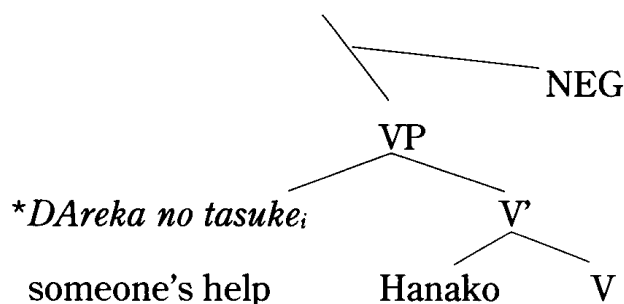PPIs must not occur in the scope of negation.

= PPIs must not be c-commanded by NEG.

If arguments do not move to Spec of AgrS for Case-checking but stay in the VP-internal position, it is predicted that not only PPI objects, but also PPI subjects are disallowed in negative sentences in Japanese. This prediction is borne out by the examples in (3b) and (5b) in table 1, repeated hear as (22a) and (22b). In fact, not only PPI object , but also subject cannot cooccur with NEG in Japanese.

(22) a.　*DAreka no　tasuke-ga Hanako-o　　sukuw-anak-atta. (=(3b))

　　　PPI　　GEN help　-NOM　　　　-ACC　rescue -NEG -PAST

'Someone's help did not rescue Hanako.'
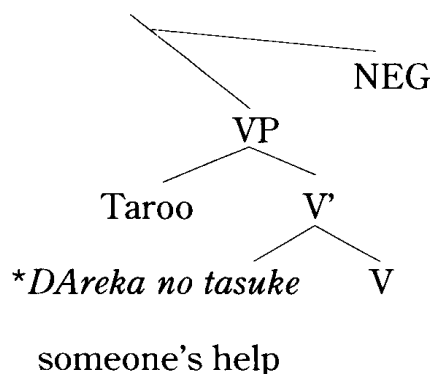
```
                             NEG
                 VP
   *DAreka no tasukeᵢ        V'
                          Hanako     V
   someone's help
```

Some Evidence for a Non-Movement Approach to Japanese Case Licensing

b. *(?)Taroo-ga *DAreka no tasuke*-o　　uke-nak-atta. (as *NEG*-some reading) (=(5b))

　　　　-NOM PPI GEN help　-ACC accept-NEG-PAST

　'Taroo didn't accept someone's help.'

```
                        NEG
                VP
         Taroo        V'
    *DAreka no tasuke      V

       someone's help
```
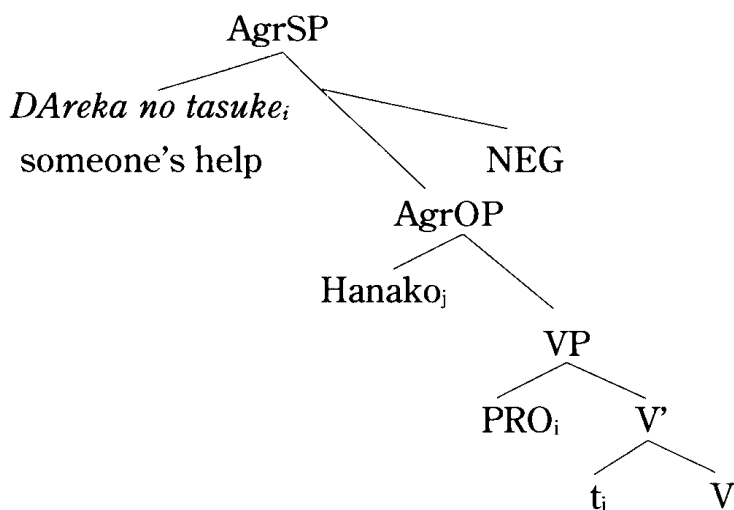
However, if we adopt the English type Case checking system as in Hornstein (1995), the LF representation will be structures like (23a) and (23b). It will give a wrong prediction that (23a) would be grammatical.

(23) a. **DAreka no　　tasuke*-ga Hanako-o　　sukuw-anak-atta. (=(3b))

　　　　PPI　　　GEN help　-NOM　　　-ACC rescue -NEG -PAST
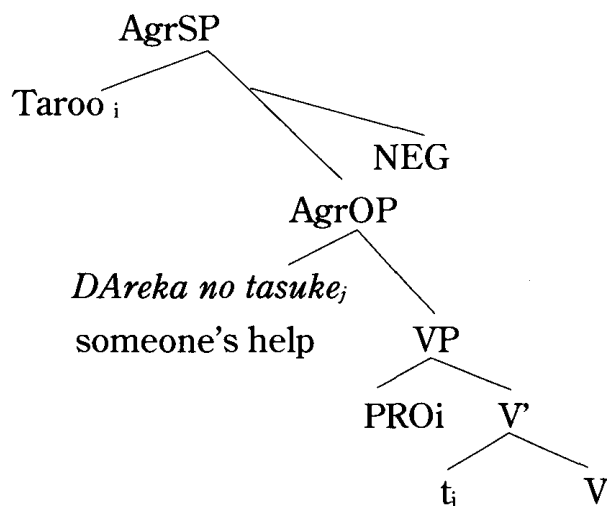
　'Someone's help did not rescue Hanako.'

```
                AgrSP
    DAreka no tasuke_i
       someone's help        NEG
                        AgrOP
                 Hanako_j
                            VP
                       PRO_i    V'
                              t_j    V
```

b.　*(?)Taroo-ga *DAreka no　tasuke*-o　　uke-nak-atta.　(as *NEG-some* reading) (=(5b))

　　　-NOM　PPI GEN help　-ACC accept-NEG-PAST

'Taroo didn't accept someone's help.'

```
                    AgrSP
                   /    \
            Taroo_i      \
                   \      \
                    \      NEG
                  AgrOP
                  /    \
      DAreka no tasuke_j \
      someone's help      VP
                         /  \
                      PROi    V'
                            /   \
                          t_j     V
```

If we assume that Japanese has a lexical subject position VP-internally, and the VP internal subject can stay in situ as illustrated in (20), repeated here as (24), then the acceptability of (18b) and unacceptability of (23a) are both predictable. In order to predict the unacceptability of (23a), raising of VP-internal subject should be blocked.
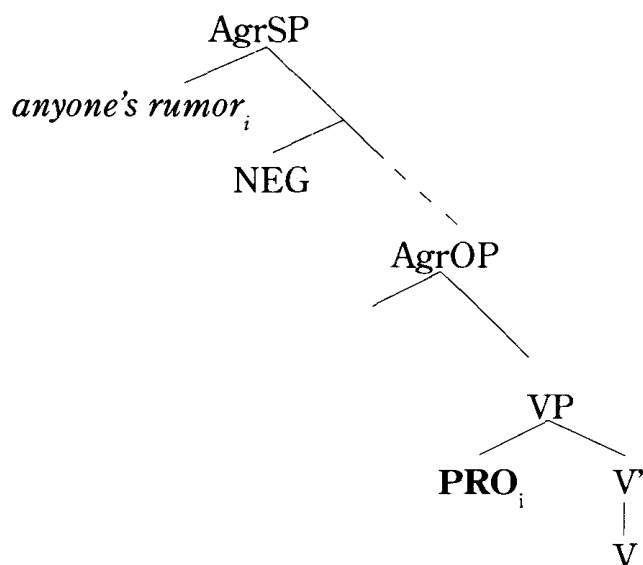

(24) **Japanese**

```
              /  \
             /    \
            /      NEG
           VP
          /  \
         X    V'
              |
   OKNPIs /*PPIs   V
```
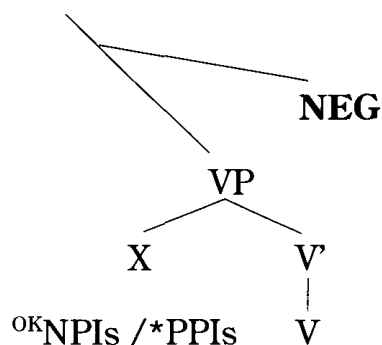
Finally, let us consider the English structure in (18a), repeated here as (25).

Some Evidence for a Non-Movement Approach to Japanese Case Licensing

(25)　*Anyone's rumor didn't spread in this town. (=(2a)=(18a))

```
              AgrSP
             /     \
  anyone's rumor_i   \
             /         \
         NEG            \
                         \
                       AgrOP
                      /     \
                     /       \
                    /         \
                   VP
                  /  \
              PRO_i   V'
                      |
                      V
```

Hornstein assumes a PRO in the VP-internal subject position only for negative sentences, because subject raising to the Spec of AgrS skipping over the NEG violates the Minimal Link Condition (henceforth the MLC)[7] . And the VP-internal PRO subject analysis for negative sentences also prevents English NPI subjects from remaining VP-internally after A-chain link deletion. We have observed that Japanese must have a lexical VP-internal subject position even in negative sentences to license NPI subject. Furthermore, if an NPI subject does not move to an Agr-phrase, it does not induce the MLC violation.

One might say that Japanese nominals only check their Case-features covertly at the relevant Case-checking positions, leaving the quantifiers within VP-internal positions. However, this possibility is incompatible with the Hornstein's original insight that quantifiers are interpreted on A-chain link. Furthermore, it wrongly predicts that the most standard English example in (1a), *someone loves everyone*, would be unambiguous, if English object covertly moves to AgrO, in which only the Case feature raises to AgrP leaving the quantifier in VP-internal positions. Moreover, if the movement to the Case position were permissible in Japanese, the deviance of PPI subject could not be accounted for at all.

Therefore, it is necessary to assume that Japanese has no Case-checking movement to AgrP, in order to account for the distributional contrast of Polarity Items

between English and Japanese given in (2)-(5) in Table 1.

If our proposal is on the right track, we should assume that not only subjects, but also objects do not raise to AgrO, to give an unified account for the scope rigidity observed in (1) and the distribution of Polarity Items discussed in this section.

In the next subsection, we will focus on the object Case-checking.

3.3　Against Object Raising to AgrOP

This subsection will attempt to justify the non-movement analysis for Accusative Case-checking in Japanese. We show that even objects marked with an Accusative Case-marker *o* do not raise to AgrOP.[8]　Look at the Hornstein's structure for rigid scope languages in (10a), repeated here as (26).

(26)　Scope Rigidity: no scope ambiguity in Japanese

　　a.　Dareka-ga　daremo-o　　aisiteiru.　(some > every, *every > some)

　　　　someone-NOM everyone -ACC love

　　　　'There is a person, who loves everyone.'

　　b.　only **someone > every** reading

　　　　[$_{AgrS}$ **Dareka**$_i$ [$_{TP}$ Tns [$_{AgrO}$ **daremo** [$_{VP}$ PRO$_i$ aisiteiru (daremo)]]]]

　　　　someone　　　　　　　everyone　　　　　love

Under Hornstein's system, the fixed subject position, that is, Spec of AgrSP, plays a crucial role to gurantee the scope rigidity. However, Hornstein's system might predict Japanese scope rigidity with respect to subject and object as shown in (26b) above, but cannot properly predict the scope relation between VP internal elements, such as Accusative-Pre/Postpositional phrase (henceforth PP) interactions.

First, let us consider Hornstein's English examle in (27). The LF structure is illustrated in (28). (29) is a tree diagram of the relevant portion. Hornstein's system appropriately predicts that the sentence in (27) is ambiguous with respect to the relative scope between the object and the Prepositional phrase. Note that not untill the object raises to AgrOP does the object take scope over the PP as shown in (29).

Some Evidence for a Non-Movement Approach to Japanese Case Licensing

(27) John didn't sing *every song* for *someone*. (some > every, every > some)

(Hornstein 1995:177, with slight modifications)

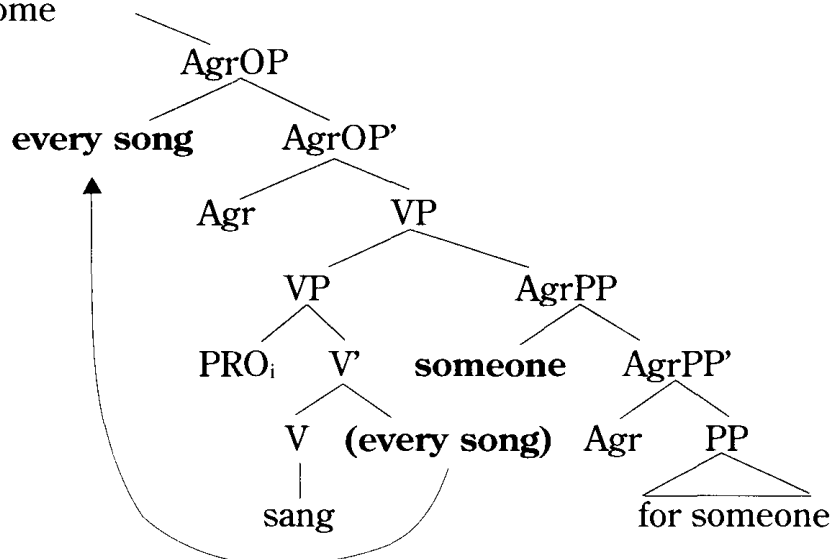(28) LF representations of (27)

    a. every > some

[AgrSP John$_i$ [NegP Op [Neg [AgrOP **every song** [VP [VP PRO$_i$ sang (every song)]
[AgrPP**someone** [for+Agr [PP (for)(someone)]]]]]]]

    b. some > every

[AgrSP John$_i$ [NegP Op [Neg [AgrOP (every song) [VP [VP PRO$_i$ sang **every song**]
[AgrPP**someone** [for+Agr [PP (for)(someone)]]]]]]]

(Hornstein 1995:177, with slight modifications)

(29) every > some

Then, consider Japanese sentences. Given an universal configurational structure in (29), the Japanese sentence in (30) corresponding to the English one in (27) must have the structure in (31), where PP stands for Postpositional Phrase.
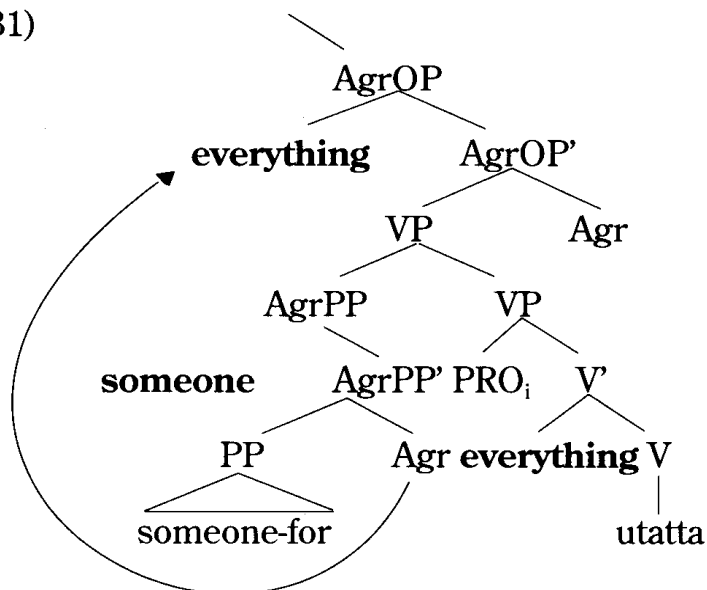
(30) Taroo-ga   dareka-(no tame)ni doremo -o   utatta. (some > every, *every > some)

        -NOM someone-for   everything-ACC sang

    '(lit.) Taroo sang everything for someone.'

79

言語科学研究第5号(1999年)

(31)

```
                              AgrOP
                          ／       ＼
              everything          AgrOP'
                               ／       ＼
                        VP              Agr
                     ／     ＼
              AgrPP          VP
             ／   ＼        ／  ＼
     someone     AgrPP' PROᵢ   V'
             ／   ＼          ／  ＼
        PP        Agr everything  V
      ／  ＼                      │
   someone-for                  utatta
```

The structure in (31) predicts that Accusative-Postpositional relative scope should be ambiguous in Japanese as well as in English. However, the predication is incompatible with the fact. In (30), the universal object *doremo-o* 'everything' cannot take scope over the existential PP *dareka-ni* 'for someone'. This, once again, follows from the assumption that Japanese object does not raise to Spec of AgrOP for Accusative Case-checking.

4. Conclusion

This paper has discussed whether or not the Japanese Case system requires movement of arguments to Spec of AgrP to check-off their Case-features. We have observed that unlike English, Japanese arguments do not move to the relevant Case-checking positions. We presented an argument that Japanese clause structure does not involve Agr projections. We discussed some contrasts between English and Japanese with respect to the following scope phenomena:

 (i) Scope rigidity in Japanese

 (ii) Distributional contrasts of Polarity Items between English and Japanese

 (iii) Lack of scope ambiguity between the Accusative object and a Postpositional phrase

They are simultaneously predictable if we assume that Japanese has no movement for Case-checking.

80

Some Evidence for a Non-Movement Approach to Japanese Case Licensing

Our conclusion provides some supporting evidence for the claim that Japanese nominals are morphologically licensed in situ by their particles (cf. Fukui 1986, Takano 1996, Ikawa 1997, and Fukui and Takano 1998). We adopted Hornstein's insight that scope interpretation of arguments is universally sensitive to A-chain. However, Japanese Case has already been checked within the nominal through its particle phrase. In other words, in Japanese, uninterpretable FF Cases are converted into interpretable ones through a kind of Case-checking within the particle phrases. Thus, Japanese nominals have already been interpretable when they are merged with other lexical elements such as V. We assume that Japanese nominals with [+ interpretable] are licensed when they occupy their relevant theta-positions. Therefore, Japanese quantificational expressions are interpreted in situ, that is, in their theta-positions.

NOTES

* I would like to thank Kazuko Inoue, Joe Emonds, Nobuko Hasegawa, Yasuo Ishii, Enoch Iwamoto, Kazuki Kuwabara, Masatake Muraki, Akira Watanabe, and two *SLS* reviwers for comments and discussion. My special gratitude goes to all the members of Kanda and Keio reading groups, in particular, Kazuma Fujimaki, Yukio Furukawa, Takako Iseda, Hironobu Kasai, Kasei Kondo, Hisatsugu Kitahara, Roger Martin, Kazuto Murayama, Norvin Richards, Uli Sauerland, and Kazuko Yatsushiro. Discussion with Jun Abe and Taketo Ito has been also beneficial.

1 Japanese Case marker *ga* and *o* must be deleted when they are followed by other particles such as *mo, sika, wa*. Joseph Emonds (p.c.) suggests the possibility that Japanese structural Cases *ga* and *o* are subject to late insertion at PF.

2 Hornstein (1995) mentions that this A-chain deletion plausibly derives from the Principle of Full Interpretation.

3 Yasuo Ishii (p.c.) points out that in (i) *doNO SYUPPANSYA NO MONO MO* 'anything of any publishers' cooccurs with an additional argument NP.

(i) Taroo-wa Chomsky no hon-o　*doNO SYUPPANSYA NO MONO MO* kaw-anak-atta.
　　　　-TOP　　　　GEN book-ACC NPI　　　　　　　　　　　buy-NEG-PAST
　　'Taroo didn't buy any of Chomsky's books of any publishers.'

Yasuo Ishii (p.c.) suggests that there are some semantic conditions on coourrence of NPIs of this type and the host NPs. However, this time, we leave this problem open for future studies.

4 The minimal pair in (15) is suggested by Akira Watanabe in his class lecture at Kanda University of International Studies in 1999.

5 Rightward extraction from a weak island provides further evidence for *daRE NO UWASA*

言語科学研究第5号(1999年)

MO as an argument NPI. In (i), the typical NPI, *daREMO* 'anyone', and the non-typical NPI, *daRE NO TOMODATI MO* 'anyone's friend' are put in a weak island construction. *DaREMO* 'anyone' cannot be extracted out of a weak island, but *daRE NO TOMODATI MO* 'anyone's friend' can. See Murayama 1998 for further discussion of an argument-adjunct asymmetry of extraction from strong/weak islands in Japanese postposing constructions.

(i) extraction from a weak island in postposing constructions

   a   *Mary-wa [John-ga t_i gakusei-o   uragir-anak-atta kadooka] siri-tagar -tei

          -TOP   -NOM student -ACC betray -NEG -PAST whether   know-want to-STATIVE

   -ru   yo, *daREMO$_i$*.

   -PRES SP   anyone

   '*Mary wants to konw whether John didn't betray student, anyone.

   b   Mary-wa [John-ga t_i uragir-anak-atta kadooka] siri-tagar-tei-ru yo,

          -TOP   -NOM   betray -NEG -PAST whether   know-want to-STATIVE-PRES SP

   daRE NO TOMODATI MO$_i$.

   anyone's friend

   'Mary wants to know whether John didn't betray, anyone's friend.'

Yasuo Ishii (p.c.) suggests that the relevant minimal pair is not (i), but (ii) and there is no contrasts between the two types of NPIs. The difference between (ia) and (iia) is that (iia) does not strand an argument host NP, *gakusei-o* 'student-ACC' contrary to (ia).

(ii) a. [OK]Mary-wa [John-ga t_i uragir-anak-atta kadooka] siri-tagar -tei

          -TOP   -NOM betray -NEG -PAST whether   know-want to-STATIVE

   -ru   yo, *daREMO$_i$*.

   -PRES SP anyone

   'Mary wants to know wheter John didn't betray student, anyone.

   b. Mary-wa [John-ga t_i uragir-anak-atta kadooka] siri-tagar -tei   -ru yo,

          -TOP   -NOM betray -NEG -PAST whether   know-want to -STATIVE -PRES SP

   daRE NO TOMODATI MO$_i$.

   anyone's friend

   'Mary wants to know whether John didn't betray, anyone's friend.'

However, there is a possibility that the extracted phrase *daREMO* in (iia) has such a structure given in (iii) in which the whole QP containing a null argument host NP moves to the right peripheral.

(iii) [OK]Mary-wa [John-ga ti uragir-anak-atta kadooka] siri-tagar -tei

          -TOP   -NOM betray -NEG -PAST whether   know-want to-STATIVE

   -ru   yo, [[pro] *daREMO*]$_i$.

   -PRES SP   host NP anyone

   'Mary wants to know whether John didn't betray student, any of students.

At the present stage, we have no device to distinguish a pure adverb phrase extraction from a phrase containing a null argument one. Thus it is more plausible and safe to use *daRE NO UWASA MO* type as an argument NPIs throughout this paper.

Some Evidence for a Non-Movement Approach to Japanese Case Licensing

[6] Enoch Iwamoto (p.c.) points out that there are two other possibilities of Japanese sentence structure. One is that NEG in Japanese is base-generated in a position higher than AgrSP. The other is that NEG adjoins to and raises up to C, where NEG is always higher than subject NPs in Spec of AgrSP. As for the fromer issue, we, of course, have to carefully consider sentence structures in particular languages. However, in this paper, we assume the phrase structure given in (i), which is widely assumed since Pollock 1989 and Chomsky 1991. At present stage, we have to leave this issue for further research.

(i)　[AgrSP [TP [NegP [AgrOP [VP V] AgrO] NEG] T] AgrS]

The latter seemingly leads us to a desirable solution of licensing problems of polarity items summarized in Table 1 in Section 2. As far as we stipulate that Neg adjoined to C can c-command the subject position in Spec of AgrSP, the structure given in (ii) properly predicts that NPI subjects are permitted, whereas PPI subject are disallowed.

(ii)　[CP [AgrSP Subj. [TP [NegP [AgrOP [VP V] AgrO] t_i] t_j] t_k] [[NEG$_i$+T]$_j$ +AgrS]$_k$ +C]

However, according to Lasnik and Stowell 1991 and Hasegawa 1990, in English, NEG adjoined to C cannot license an NPI subject and rule out a PPI subject in the Spec of AgrSP as shown in (iii). It seems to me that there is no c-command relation between the subject in Spec of AgrSP and NEG adjoined to C.

(iii) a.　* Didn't anyone go to see the baseball game?

　　　b.　[OK]Didn't someone go to see the baseball game?

We did not have any good solution to this problem why Neg adjoined to C can have proper relation to subject NPIs in Japanese, whereas it cannot in English. We leave this problem open to future studies.

[7] The Minimal link Condition (Chomsky 1993, 1995)

　　　K attracts α only if there is no β, β closer to K than α, such that K attracts β.

(Chomsky 1995:311)

[8] It is often said that when they are Case-marked, quantified NPs occupy higher position than those without a Case marker do. Hasegawa (1993) points out that Japanese quantificational expressions with Case-particles occupy Case licensing positions, whereas those without Case-particles stay in situ. (Hasegawa 1993, Diesing 1992, and Hornstein (p.c.)) However, there are quantifiers, which require obligatory narrow scope even though they are scrambled to the sentence initial position with their Case markers. Examples in (i) below indicate that the presence and absence of Case-marker has nothing to do with determining their scope in Japanese. Scope taking in Japanese is independent of Case particle realization.

(i)　a.　*more than 5 > every, every > more than 5

　　　　　5-tu izyoo　　no　kurasu-o$_i$　　[dono gausei mo t$_i$ risyuu-si -ta].

　　　　　-CL more than　GEN classes　-ACC　　every student　　　　take　-do -PAST

　　　　　'Every studnet took more than 5 classes.'

　　　b.　*dsREKASIRA (ka) > every, every > daREKASIRA(ka)

　　　　　daREKASIRA(ka)-o$_i$　　　　　[dono sensei mo t$_i$　　　suisen-si-ta].

non specific someone-ACC every teacher　　　recommend-doPAST
'Every teacher recommended someone.'

References

Chomsky, Noam. 1976. Conditions on rules of grammar. Linguistic Analysis 2:303-351.

Chomsky, Noam. 1986. *Knowledge of language: Its nature, origin, and use*, New York: Praeger.

Chomsky, Noam. 1991. Some notes on economy of derivation and representation. In *MIT working papers in linguistics* 10, 417-454. Department of Linguistics and Philosophy, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.

Chomsky, Noam. 1993. A Minimalist program for linguistic theory. In *The view from Building 20*, ed. Kenneth Hale and Samuel J Keyser, 1-52. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Chomsky, Noam. 1995. Categories and transformations. In The *Minimalist Program*, ed. 219-394. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Diesing, Molly. 1992. *Indefinites. Cambridge*, Mass.: MIT Press.

Fukui, Naoki. 1986. Theory of projection in syntax. Doctoral dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.

Fukui, Naoki, and Yuji Takano. 1998. Symmetry in syntax: Merge and Demerge. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 7:27-86.

Hasegawa, Nobuko. 1990. Affirmative polarity items and negation in Japanese. In *Interdisciplinary Approach to Language: Essays in honor of S.-Y. Kuroda*, ed. C. Georgopoulos and R. Ishihara, 271-285. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Hasegawa, Nobuko. 1993. Floating quantifiers and bare NP expressions. In *Japanese Syntax in Generative Grammar*. 115-145. Tokyo: Kurosio Publishers

Hornstein, Norbert. 1995. *Logical form : from GB to Minimalist.* Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell.

Huang, C.-T. James. 1982. Logical relations in Chinese and the theory of grammar. Doctoral dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.

Ikawa, Hajime. 1997. Overt movement as a reflex of Morphology. Doctoral dissertation, University of California, Irvine.

Kawashima, Ruriko and Hisatsugu Katahara. 1992. Licensing negative polarity items and checking theory: A comparative study of English and Japanese. In *the Proceedings of FLSM 3*, 139-154. Indiana University Linguistic Club.

Kitahara, Hisatsugu. 1992. Checking theory and scope interpretation without quantifier raising. Ms., Harvard University.

Lasnik, Howard. 1993. Lectures on minimalist syntax. *University of Connecticut Occasional Papers in Linguistics* 1, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.

Lasnik, Howard, and Tim Stowell. 1991. Weakest crossover, *Linguistic Inquiry* 22:687-720.

May, Robert. 1977. The grammar of quantification. Doctoral dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.

May, Robert. 1985. *Logical form: its structure and derivation.* Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Some Evidence for a Non-Movement Approach to Japanese Case Licensing

Murayama, Kazuto. 1998. Postposing constructions in Japanese and strong/weak islands. Ms., Kanda University of International Studies.

Pica, Pierre and William Snyder. 1994. Weak crossover, scope, and agreement in a Minimalist framework. *WCCFL* 13:334-349.

Pollock, Jean-Yves. 1989. Verb movement, Universal Grammar, and the structure of IP. *Linguisitc Inquiry* 20:365-424.

Saito, Mamoru. 1992. Long distance scrambling in Japanese. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 1:69-118.

Saito, Mamoru. 1994. Additional-Wh effects and the adjunction site theory. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 3: 195-240.

Takano, Yuji. 1996. Symmetry in syntax: Merge and Demerge. Doctoral dissertation, University of California, Irvine.

Watanabe, Akira. 1998. Absorption: Interpretability and Feature Strength. Ms., Tokyo University of Tokyo, Japan.