

Phrasal Movement vs. Head Movement: On Licensing Conditions on NPIs

This work claims that the Japanese Negative Polarity Item (NPI) *-sika* undergoes head-movement to Neg, and shows that there is a kind of LF head-movement. (cf. Chomsky 2000)

Cross-linguistic differences in licensing conditions on NPIs have been observed. [**Difference A**] Long-distance licensing of NPIs is possible in English, while Korean/Japanese (K/J) NPIs require a clause-mate Neg. [**Difference B**] K/J allow subject NPIs, unlike English. Lee (1993) accounts for these differences by proposing that [Spec, NegP] is an A'-position in English and an A-position in K/J. She assumes that NPIs covertly move to [Spec, NegP]. [**Diff. A**] is derived because when a K/J NPI moves long-distance through an embedded [Spec, CP] ([θ position] to [Spec, CP] to [Spec, NegP]), it forms an improper chain **A-A'-A**, while movement of English NPIs forms a legitimate **A-A'-A'** chain. [**Diff. B**] is derived because overt movement of the subject ([θ position] to [Spec, NegP] to [Spec, AgrsP]) makes an improper **A-A'-A** chain in English, while it forms a legitimate **A-A-A** chain in Korean.

The Japanese NPI *-sika* behaves in the same way as Korean NPIs with respect to [**Diff. A/B**]: it needs a clause-mate Neg, and it can occur as a subject ((1)). We show, however, that Lee's analyses of Korean cannot be extended to the analysis of *-sika*. First, *-sika* can attach to adjuncts ((2)). If the adjunct-*sika* phrase were licensed in an A-position, it should form an improper chain A'-A (explicable given a ban on "comp" to non-"comp" movement in Chomsky (1973)). Second, *-sika* can attach to heads. In (3)a, the scope of *-sika* is only the V-head, because it only means 'John only *licked* (as opposed to *drink*) the juice,' while in (3)b, the implication is 'John didn't do *any activities* other than to *lick cough drops*.' The contrast shows that *-sika* is ambiguous between V- or VP-attachment depending on the context. If *-sika* is licensed by phrasal movement, it would be hard to account for how a head can move to a Spec position.

Given above, we propose that covert head-movement of *-sika* onto Neg is relevant to the licensing of *-sika*. If this movement crosses a CP, the head-movement of *-sika* onto the matrix Neg is blocked because the embedded C is filled by the C morpheme *to* (See (1)b). As a result, *-sika* cannot be attracted to the matrix clause, due to the Phase Impenetrability Condition. On the other hand, English NPIs undergo covert phrasal movement to [Spec, NegP]. When an English NPI moves long-distance, the embedded [Spec, CP] is available as an escape hatch. [**Diff A**] is thus derived. This system enables us to assume that [Spec, NegP] is uniformly an A'-position, contra Lee's stipulation. [**Diff. B**] is derived because movement of an English NPI subject forms an improper chain (in the same way as Lee's analysis). On the other hand, *-sika* in (1)c is licensed by head-movement and subject movement to [Spec, TP] is irrelevant in forming the chain of *-sika*.

If our analysis is on the right track, it provides an instance of covert head-movement, which shows that not all head-movement is PF-movement. Our system also implies that only CP is a phase in Japanese because morphemes on v (e.g. passives, causatives) do not block *-sika* movement as opposed to C morphemes. Finally, the proposed system suggests that NPIs need to move to NegP even under the probe-goal system. This enables us to account for the covert long-distance licensing of wh-phrases/NPIs without cumbersome assumptions such as long-distance Agree.

- (1) a. Mary-wa ringo-**sika** tabe-**nakat**-ta. 'Mary ate only apples.'
 Mary-Top apple-*sika* eat-not-past (= lit. 'Mary didn't eat except for apples.')
- b. *Mary-wa [John-ga ringo-**sika** tabe-ta to] omowa-**nakat**-ta.
 Mary-Top John-Nom apple-*sika* eat-pastC think-not-past
 'Mary did not think that John ate only apples.'
- c. Mary-**sika** ringo-o tabe-**nakat**-ta. 'Only Mary ate apples.'
 Mary-*sika* apple-Acc eat-not-past
- (2) Mary-wa **yukkuri-sika** ringo-o tabe-**nakat**-ta. 'Mary ate apples only slowly.'
 Mary-Top slowly-*sika* apple-Acc eat-not-past
- (3) a. [context: John hates the vegetable juice. Juice is normally what you *drink*, but...]
 John-wa sono juusu-o **name-sika** si-**nakat**-ta.
 John-Top the juice-Acc lick-*sika* do-not-past
 'John only *licked* the juice./All John did was to *lick* the juice.'
- b. [context: John has a terrible cold. He should take a proper care of himself, but...]
 John-wa **nodoame-o** **name-sika** si-**nakat**-ta.
 John-Top cough-drop-Acc lick-*sika* do-not-past
 'John only *licked cough drops*./ All John did was to *lick cough drops*.'

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