

# Phrasal Movement vs. Head Movement: On Licensing Conditions on NPIs\*

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## 1. Introduction

### (1) *Our claims*

- a. The Japanese NPI *-sika* is licensed by **head-movement at LF**.
- b. Previous analyses of crosslinguistic differences in NPI licensing based on **A/A'-distinction** (Lee 1993; Kim 1995, among others) cannot be extended to the analysis of *-sika*.
- c. Not all head movement is PF-movement (cf. Chomsky 2000; Boeckx and Stjepanovic 2001).

### (2) *Two differences between English NPIs versus Korean/Japanese NPIs*

- a. [**Difference 1: Long-distance Licensing**]
  - Long-distance licensing of NPIs is possible in English ((3)).
  - Korean/Japanese NPIs require a clause-mate Neg (Choe 1988; (4), (5)).
- b. [**Difference 2: Subject NPIs**]
  - English does not allow subject NPIs. ((6)a)
  - Korean/Japanese do allow subject NPIs. ((6)b/c)

- (3) a. Mary did **not** meet **anyone**.
- b. Mary did **not** believe that John bought **anything**.

- (4) a. Mary-ka **amuto ani** manna-essta 'Mary did not meet anybody.' [Korean]  
*Mary-Nom anybodynot met*
- b. \*Mary-ka [John-i **amukesto** saessta-ko] mit-ci **ani** hayessta.  
*Mary-Nom John-Nom anything bought-C believe not did*  
'Mary did not believe that John bought anything.'

- (5) a. Mary-wa **nanimo** tabe **nakat-ta**. 'Mary did not eat anything.' [Japanese]  
*Mary-Top anything eat not-past*
- b. \*Mary-wa [John-ga **nanimo** tabe-ta to] iwa-**nakat-ta**.  
*Mary-Top John-Nom anything ate C say-not-past*  
'Mary did not say that John ate anything.'

- (6) a. \***Anyone** did **not** meet Mary.
- b. **Amuto** Mary-lul **ani** mennessta. 'Anybody did not meet Mary.' [Korean]  
*Anybody Mary-Acc not met*
- c. **Daremo** Mary-o mi-**nakat-ta**. 'Anybody did not see Mary.' [Japanese]  
*Anybody Mary-Acc see-not-past*

- (7) **Differences**

	<b>1. Long-distance licensing</b>	<b>2. Subject</b>
English NPIs	yes	no
Korean/Japanese NPIs	no	yes

## 2. Previous Analyses

### (8) *Two analyses based on A/A' distinction*

- a. **Lee (1993)**: Parametric variation in A/A'-hood of [Spec, NegP]
- b. **Kim (1995)**: Parametric variation in structure of Neg and the landing site of NPIs

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- (9) *Lee's (1993) analysis* (See Aoyagi and Ishii 1994; Nishioka 1994, for a similar analysis.)  
 a. NPIs covertly move to [Spec, NegP].  
 b. [Spec, NegP] is an **A'-position** in English, an **A-position** in Korean.

(10) *NPI movement in Korean*

- a. NPI movement within a clause generates an **A-A** chain. → legitimate  
 b. NPI movement across a clause generates an **A-A'-A** chain, because it moves through an intermediate [Spec, CP]. → illegitimate (improper movement: Chomsky 1973; May 1979)

- (11)a. (= (4)a)

Mary-ka [NegP **amuto**<sub>1</sub> [VP t<sub>1</sub> t<sub>v</sub>] ani] manna<sub>v</sub>-essta  
*Mary-Nom anybody not met*

- b. \*Mary-ka [NegP **amukesto**<sub>1</sub> [VP[CP t<sub>1</sub>' [C' John-i t<sub>1</sub> saessta-ko]] mit-ci] ani] hayessta  
*Mary-Nom anything John-Nom bought-C believe not did* (= (4)b)

- (12)a. [Spec, NegP] (**A**) ... original theta-position (**A**)  
 b. \*[Spec, NegP] (**A**) ... [Spec, CP] (**A'**) ... original theta-position (**A**)

(13) *NPI movement in English*

- a. NPI movement within a clause generates an **A'-A** chain. → legitimate  
 b. NPI movement across a clause generates an **A'-A'-A** chain, because it moves through an intermediate [Spec, CP]. → legitimate

- (14)a. (= (3)a)

Mary did [NegP **anyone**<sub>1</sub> not [VP meet t<sub>1</sub>]]

- b. (= (3)b)  
 Mary did [NegP **anything**<sub>1</sub> not [VP believe [CP t<sub>1</sub>' [C' that John bought t<sub>1</sub>]]]]

- (15)a. [Spec, NegP] (**A'**) ... original theta-position (**A**)  
 b. [Spec, NegP] (**A'**) ... [Spec, CP] (**A'**) ... original theta-position (**A**)

(16) *Subject NPIs in Korean*

- a. Subject NPIs move to [Spec, Agr<sub>s</sub>P] after landing at [Spec, NegP].  
 b. Subject NPI raising generates an **A-A-A** chain. → legitimate

- (17) (= (6)b)

[Agr<sub>s</sub>P **Amuto**<sub>1</sub> [TP [NegP t<sub>1</sub>' [VP t<sub>1</sub> Mary-lul t<sub>v</sub>] ani] menn<sub>v</sub>-essta]]  
*Anybody Mary-Acc not meet-past*

- (18) [Spec, Agr<sub>s</sub>P] (**A**) ... [Spec, NegP] (**A**) ... original theta-position (**A**)

(19) *Subject NPIs in English*

- a. Subject NPIs move to [Spec, Agr<sub>s</sub>P] after landing at [Spec, NegP].  
 b. Subject NPI raising generates an **A-A'-A** chain. → illegitimate

- (20) (= (6)a)

\*[Agr<sub>s</sub>P **Anyone**<sub>1</sub> [TP did [NegP t<sub>1</sub>' [Neg' not [Agr<sub>o</sub>P [VP t<sub>1</sub> meet Mary]]]]]]

- (21) \*[Spec, Agr<sub>s</sub>P] (**A**) ... [Spec, NegP] (**A'**) ... original theta-position (**A**)

(22) *Summary of Lee (1993)*

- a. [Spec, NegP] is an A'-position in English and an A-position in Korean.  
 b. LD NPI licensing in Korean and subject NPIs in English are both excluded as improper chains.

(23) <b>Differences</b>	<b>1. LD- licensing</b>	<b>2. Subject</b>
English	yes	no (improper chain)
Korean/Japanese	no (improper chain)	yes

(24) *Kim's (1995) analysis*

- Unlike in English, NegP is not projected in Korean: Neg is adjoined to V<sup>0</sup>. ((25))
- English NPIs move to [Spec, NegP]; Korean NPIs to [Spec, AgrP]
- [Spec, NegP] is an A'-position; the stipulation in (22)a is unnecessary.

(25) [CP [AgrSP [TP [AgrOP [VP **Subject** [V' **Object** [V<sub>0</sub> neg(an) + Verb] ]]]]]]

(26) *NPI movement to [Spec, AgrP] in Korean*

- Clause-mate NPI movement generates an **A-A** chain. → legitimate
- Long-distance NPI movement generates an **A-A** chain, but skips a potential landing site ([Spec, VP]). → illegitimate (Relativized Minimality: Rizzi 1990)
- Clause-mate subject NPI movement also generates an **A-A** chain. → legitimate
- English examples are explained in the same way as Lee (1993).

(27)a. (= (4)a)  
 [IP Mary-ka [AgrOP **amukesto**<sub>1</sub> [AgrO' [VP t<sub>subj</sub> t<sub>1</sub> **ani**+manna<sub>v</sub>]]] -essta]  
 Mary-Nom anybody not+meet past

b. (= (4)a)  
 \*Mary-ka [AgrOP **amukesto**<sub>1</sub> [VP [t<sub>subj</sub>] [CP [C' John-i t<sub>1</sub> saessta-ko]] mit-ci]] **ani**+hayessta]  
 Mary-Nom anything John-Nom bought-C believe not did

c. (= (6)b)  
 [AgrSP **Amuto**<sub>1</sub> [IP [AgrOP [VP t<sub>1</sub> Mary-lul t<sub>v</sub>]]] **ani**+menn<sub>v</sub>-essta]  
 Anybody Mary-Acc not meet past

(28) *Summary of Kim (1995)*

- Neg projects NegP in English, but not in Korean.
- NPIs are licensed in [Spec, NegP] in English, and [Spec, AgrP] in Korean.
- Long-distance NPI licensing in Korean is excluded by Relativized Minimality. Subject NPIs in English are excluded as improper chains.

(29) <b>Differences</b>	<b>1. LD- licensing</b>	<b>2. Subject</b>
English	yes	no (improper chain)
Korean/Japanese	no (RM violation)	yes

**3. The head-movement analysis of the Japanese NPI -sika**

(30) *Our analysis*

- Although the above analyses can be tenable for Korean NPIs and Japanese *nanimo* 'anything' ((5), (6)c), they cannot be extended to the analysis of the Japanese NPI *-sika*.<sup>1</sup>
- Sika* is licensed by covert head movement to Neg.

<sup>1</sup> Watanabe (2004) claims that items such as *nanimo* 'anything' and *daremo* 'anyone' are Negative Concord Item (NCIs) rather than NPIs. However, *-sika* behaves differently from *nanimo* in some of his diagnostics for NCIs (e.g. *nanimo* can be used as an 'independent answer' unlike *-sika*, as in (i)). We keep treating *-sika* as an NPI here.

(i) <b>A:</b> John-wa nani-o tabe-mashi-ta ka?	<b>B:</b> Nanimo./	*Ringo-sika."
John-Top what-Acc eat-polite-past Q	Anything	Apples-sika
'What did John eat?'	'Nothing.'	'Only apples.'

(31) *The NPI -sika*

- a. *-Sika* is licensed by negation and interpreted as ‘not ... except,’ ‘only.’
- b. *-Sika* behaves in the same way as other Korean/Japanese NPIs with respect to **Differences 1, 2.** (1. LD-licensing impossible ((32)b); 2. Subject possible ((32)c))

(32)a. Mary-wa ringo-**sika** tabe-**nakat**-ta. [Japanese]

Mary-Top apple-sika eat-not-past

‘Mary ate only apples.’ (= *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-past C 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

(33) *Three observations*

- a. *-Sika* can attach to adjuncts. (Matsui 2003) ((34))

- b. *-Sika* can attach to heads, as well as phrases. ((36))

- c. *-Sika* is ambiguously interpreted in double negation. ((39))

(34) Mary-wa **yukkuri-sika** ringo-o tabe-nakat-ta. ‘Mary ate apples only slowly.’

Mary-Top slowly-sika apple-Acc eat-not-past

(35) **Problem 1**

- a. If the adjunct-*sika* phrase were licensed in an A-position ([Spec, NegP] in Lee 1993; [Spec, AgrP] in Kim 1995), it should form an improper chain consisting of **A-A**’ (explicable given a ban on “comp” to non-“comp” movement in Chomsky 1973).
- b. The acceptability of (34) is unpredicted under these analyses.

(36)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*.’

(37)a. *In (36)a, the scope of –sika is only the V-head.*

It only means ‘John only *licked* the juice (as opposed to *drink* the juice).’

- b. *In (36)b, the scope of –sika is the entire VP.*

The implication is ‘John didn’t do any activities other than to *lick cough drops* (as opposed to *see the doctor*, etc.).’

- c. The contrast shows that *–sika* is ambiguous between V- or VP-attachment depending on the context.

(38) **Problem 2**

Under previous analyses, it would be hard to account for how a head can move to a Spec position.

(39) Mary-wa ringo-sika tabe-**naku-nakat**-ta.

Mary-Top apple-sika eat-not-not-past

- a. [[Mary-Top apple-**sika** eat-**not**] not-past]

‘It is not the case that Mary only ate apples. (=ate something else, too.)’

- b. [Mary-Top apple-**sika** [eat-not] **not**-past]

‘Mary did not eat (= avoided eating) only apples. (=ate everything other than apples.)’

- (40)a. In (39)a, *-sika* is associated with the first Neg.  
 b. In (39)b, *-sika* is associated with the second Neg.

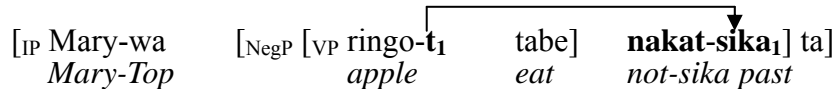
(41) **Problem 3** (Problem for Kim 1995)

- a. The ambiguity is well-accommodated if NPIs are associated with a Neg-related position (e.g. [Spec, Neg]; Neg head). It reflects which Neg the NPI is associated with.  
 b. The ambiguity is hard to account for if NPIs uniformly occupy [Spec, Agr<sub>o</sub>P].

(42) *The covert head-movement analysis* ((43))

- a. *-Sika* is base-generated adjoined to a head/phrase.  
 b. It undergoes covert head-movement to the Neg head.

(43) ((32)a)



(44) **On Difference 1: Why LD-licensing is impossible**

- a. (32)b is excluded because the C head is blocked and the movement violates Phase Impenetrability Condition.<sup>2</sup> ((45)a)  
 b. English NPI movement (= phrasal movement) can use [Spec, CP] as an escape hatch to the next phase. ((45)b)

(45) ((32)b)

- a. \*[IP Mary-wa [NegP [VP [CP John-ga ringo-t1 tabe-ta **to**] omowa] nakat-sika1] ta]  
 Mary-Top John-Nom apple eat-past C think not-sika past  
 b. [IP Mary did [Neg **anything**<sub>1</sub> not [VP believe [CP t'<sub>1</sub> [C' that [IP John bought t<sub>1</sub>]]]]]]

(46) *Necessary assumptions*

- a. *-Sika* holds a head (affixal) status even when attached to an XP.  
 b. Therefore, *-sika* cannot use [Spec, CP] as an escape hatch.  
 c. Excorporation of *-sika* is prohibited.  
 (It cannot adjoin to another head of XP and then move out.)

(47) *A consequence*

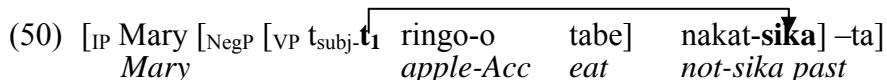
- a. Only CP is a phase in Japanese. (cf. Simpson and Wu 2002)  
 b. vP is not a phase in Japanese; v heads such as passives do not block the *sika*-movement. ((48))

- (48) [IP Ringo<sub>1</sub>-ga [NegP [vP [VP John-ni-sika t<sub>1</sub> watas] -are] nakat] -ta]  
 Apple-Nom John-to-sika hand passive not past  
 'Apples were handed only to John.'

(49) **On Difference 2: Why subject NPIs are possible**

- a. Given VP-internal subject hypothesis, *-sika* can be attached to [Spec, VP] and move out of VP to Neg head ((50)). This movement does not violate the PIC.  
 b. The subject (which *-sika* attaches to) does not need to be licensed in [Spec, NegP] (hence, no improper movement, unlike English *anyone*).

(50) ((32)c)



<sup>2</sup> We follow Roberts (1994) and Takahashi (2002), and assume that the Head Movement Constraint does not always hold.

(51) *Summary*

- a. *-Sika* is licensed by covert head movement rather than phrasal movement.
- b. **Differences 1, 2** are explained as the parameter of head vs. phrasal movement of NPIs.

(52) **Differences**

	1. LD- licensing	2. Subject
English	yes	no (improper chain) <sup>3</sup>
Korean/Japanese	<b>no (PIC violation)</b>	yes

**4. Conclusion**

- (53) a. We proposed an analysis where the NPI *-sika* is licensed by LF head-movement onto Neg.
- b. The impossibility of LD licensing of *-sika* is explained by the PIC.
- c. Not all head-movement is PF-movement.

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<sup>3</sup> Aoyagi and Ishii (1994) and Kato (2000) argue that the NPIs *nanimo* 'anything' and *daremo* 'anyone' are actually adjuncts, based on the fact that they can co-occur with a 'real' argument, as in (i).

- (i) Gakusei-ga **daremo** kuruma-o kaw-anakat-ta. 'Any students didn't buy a car.'  
*Students-Nom anyone car-Acc buy-not-past*

If an apparent subject NPI in (6)c is not a subject, we do not need to assume that it moves to [Spec, AgrsP], and Lee's (1993) A/A'-chain analysis might become superfluous (for the analysis of *nanimo*). However, *-sika*-phrases in the subject position *is* a real subject (it is incompatible with another subject as in (ii)), and the choice of the analysis of subject *nanimo/daremo* does not affect our analysis here.

- (ii) \***John-sika** Mary-ga ringo-o tabe-nakat-ta. 'Only John is such that Mary ate apples (?).'  
*John-sika Mary-Nom apple-Acc eat-not-past*