

Markedness and unmarkedness of language:
When double negation appears attributively
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This study aims to examine the markedness of language in the light of negative expression. Special attention will be paid to what is called “double negation” involving affixation like *not unkind* or *not unimportant*. Doubly negated expressions have attracted much attention and interest mainly from logicians, linguists and philosophers. At the same time, however, it is also true that some scholars have been reluctant to attack on double negation seriously on the ground that these expressions are “limited to the speech of the educated” or not more than “sophisticated detour” (Marchand 1969). Particularly, little has been elucidated about double negation within a single nominal phrase. However, it is not at all insignificant to attempt to explain linguistic markedness equipped with such expressions, because it provides a good chance to examine the relationship between formal and semantic markedness which entails much room for more consideration. A corpus-based research in this study shows that seemingly marked expressions can be unmarked in a specific linguistic context, and vice versa.

Leech (2006) observes “where there is a contrast between two or more members of a category such as number, case, or tense, one of them is called ‘marked’ if it contains some extra affix, as opposed to the ‘unmarked’ member which does not”. Following his definition of markedness, (apart from simplex adjectives loaded with negative evaluation) negative expressions are ‘marked’ in general. Whether they are realized in a syntactic or morphological pattern, any expression involving negation is both semantically and formally marked, compared with their affirmative counterparts (which can be called “unmarked”). Besides that, there is another contrast between markedness and unmarkedness involving negation; even within a variety of negative expressions, we can find difference in the extent to which each one is marked or unmarked. In addition to the presence of a specific marker (formal markedness), being marked entails a sort of deviation from the default meaning (semantic markedness). For example, it is often said that syntactic negations like *she is not happy* is less marked than morphological negations like *she is unhappy*, which dose not simply negate but asserts a certain quality. Lexically integrated into a single adjective, negative components (or the resultant adjectives) take on a specialized meaning rather than a mere denial.

Can positive and negative expressions always and simply be applied to unmarkedness and markedness respectively? Double negation, studied by Langendoen and Bever (1973) and Horn (1989), provides several reminders that this is not necessarily the case. Such expressions

have an intensively affirmative meaning and in other cases partially deny the negative content denoted by the adjectives. They are interesting because they come into existence by the combination of morphological and syntactic, in other words, marked and unmarked negations, which would turn out to be marked taken as a whole in spite of positive interpretation. More important is that a certain construction refuses positive adjectives, accepting only negatively affixed ones. Horn classifies the patterns in which double negations occur into two: (a) {a/the} not un-adj N and (b) NP is not {a/the} not un-adj N. Horn names the former doubly negated attributive adjective (DNAA henceforth) in contrast with the latter predicative. Broadly seen, the former is based on a rather irregular pattern. Horn states that “no simple adjective, whether (e-)'evaluatively' positive or negative, may appear in the frame [DET Not ADJ N]” (1989: 298)

(1) a. He sent me a not {unfriendly/ *friendly} letter.

b. A not {unhappy/ *happy/ *sad} person entered the room.

(Horn 1989: 299)

In order to examine the affinity between DNAA and negative adjectives, a research based on Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) was conducted as to what kind of adjectives appears in the frame [DET Not ADJ N]. As a result, it turned out that most of the adjectives appearing in this frame consist of a negative prefix and the base (e.g. *insignificant*, *inconsiderable*, *uncommon*). This testifies that the construction exclusively prefers negative adjectives. It is important that not every kind of negative adjectives can appear in this pattern; adjectives associated with generality or significance are particularly compatible. In this poster presentation, the infrequent case where a simplex adjective appears in this construction and its cause will also be examined. The infrequency can be said to show that in DNAA non-negative adjectives take on much more marked characteristics than usual, motivated contextually by the preceding expressions, while negative adjectives seem more unmarked as a typical participant in [DET Not ADJ N].

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One Syntactic Structure for Four Voices in Japanese

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In Japanese, some problems concerning Case exist which cannot be explained by the current Case-valuation system.

(1) Taroo-ga Hanako-*o/ni kusuri-o nom-(s)ase-ta.
 Taroo-NOM Hanako-ACC/DAT medicine-ACC take-CAUSE-PAST
 Taroo made Hanako take medicine.

(2) a. Taroo-ga eigo-o hanas-(r)eru (koto).
 Taroo-NOM English-ACC speak-CAN
 Taroo can speak English.

b. Taroo-ni/ga eigo-ga hanas-(r)eru (koto).
 Taroo-DAT/NOM English-NOM speak-CAN

In (1), although the Causee *Hanako* is an object, we cannot mark it as accusative but it has to be marked as dative. This phenomenon was first explained by Harada (1973), in which the “double-o constraint” is proposed, which bans marking more than two DPs as accusative in a single clause. (2) is an example of sentences which indicates someone’s capability (henceforth “capability sentence”). Although (2a) is the pattern of Case-marking which is naturally expected in current Case-valuation system, the distribution of case such as (2b) is possible as well.

In this presentation, I propose structure (3) for four types of voices (active, passive, causative and capable), whose Case-valuation system can cover facts (1) and (2). I assume that a functional projection whose head has a feature [\pm vol(itional)] exists between TP and vP. This functional projection decides the voice of the sentences, so we call this functional projection VoiceP. A head of this projection probes the goal which has an appropriate volitional feature. According to whether voice has [+ vol] or [- vol] and which DP has the volitional feature that matches the feature of voice, the voice of certain sentence is decided. As for the Case-valuation system, I assume that TP Spec and VoiceP Spec are Nominative Case positions, vP Spec is Dative Case position, and Complement of V is Accusative Case position.

(3) [TP Spec[[VoiceP Spec[[vP Spec[[VP Comp V]v]]Voice]]T]]
 [Nom] [Nom] [Dat] [Acc] [\pm vol]

Here, I show four patterns of derivation: active, passive, causative and capable voice.

(4) Hanako-ga Taroo-o tataita. (Active)

[TP Hanako [T' [VoiceP Hanako [Voice' [vP Hanako [v' [VP Taroo tatak]v]]Voice]]T]]
 ▲ ────────────────────▶ [+ vol] ────────────────────▶ [+ vol]
agree

In active sentences like (4), Voice has [+ vol], the DP in vP Spec has [+ vol], and the complement of V has [- vol]. Thus, Voice and the DP in vP Spec hold Agree-relation, and the DP in vP spec moves to VoiceP Spec, and it is assigned Nominative by T, moving to TP Spec.

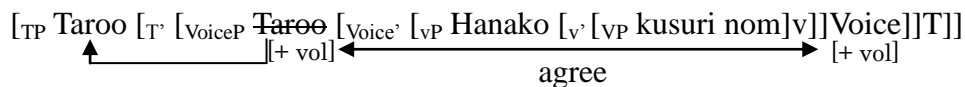
(5) Taroo-ga Hanako-ni tatak-(r)are-ta. (Passive)

[TP Taroo [T' [VoiceP Taroo [Voice' [vP Hanako [v' [VP Taroo tatak]v]]Voice]]T]]
 ▲ ────────────────────▶ [- vol] ────────────────────▶ [- vol]
agree

In Passive sentences such as (5), Voice has [- vol], the DP in vP Spec has [+ vol], and the complement of V

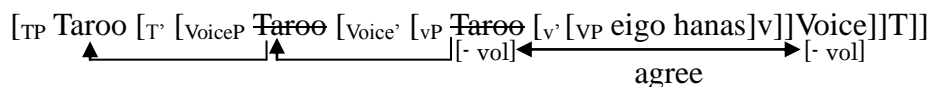
has [- vol]. Therefore, Agree-relation is held between Voice and the complement of V, after that the complement of V moves to VoiceP Spec and receives Nominative from T, moving to TP Spec.

(6) Taroo-ga Hanako-ni kusuri-o nom-(s)ase-ta. (Causative)



In causative sentences like (6), Voice has [+ vol], the DP in vP Spec has [- vol], and the complement of V has [- vol], which means that Voice cannot find an appropriate goal to check its [+ vol]. In this case, another argument which has [+ vol] in numeration is introduced into VoiceP Spec. Note that the distribution of case in (1) is expected in this structure. As Causee is base-generated in vP Spec, which is Dative Case position, Causee is always marked as dative, not accusative.

(7) Taroo-ni eigo-ga hanas-(r)eru (koto). (Capable)



In capable sentences such as (7), Voice has [-vol], the DP in vP Spec has [- vol], and the complement of V has [- vol]. As the DP in vP Spec is nearer to Voice than the complement of V, Agree-relation is held between Voice and the DP in vP, and the DP moves to VoiceP Spec. Now, let us consider the problem of case described in (2b). As the subject *Taroo* is in TP Spec and the object *eigo* is a complement of V in (7), the distribution of case as (2a) is naturally expected. In order to explain the pattern in (2b), I adopt Bruening (2001) and Narita's (2007) framework here. In general, Case is supposed to be an uninterpretable feature, and once it is given certain value, it cannot go through another Case-valuation (*cf.* Chomsky 2001). However, Bruening (2001) suggests that even after Case-valuation, the Case feature can be given a new value by multiple Agree / Case-valuation because uninterpretable features are not removed until Spell-Out. Following this idea, Narita (2007) suggests that while it is assumed that the former value of Case is forgotten once the Case is re-valued as in Bruening (2001), it is also possible that the former value of Case is realized or that both values are realized. In fact, Cuzco Quechua is a language where both values of Case are realized as Narita (2007) shows. Now, suppose that in capable sentences in Japanese multiple Agree takes place and both the DP in vP Spec and the complement of V move to VoiceP Spec. Then, after certain capable sentences' derivation finishes, the subject is in Nominative Case position having gone through Dative Case position, and the object is in Nominative Case position having gone through Accusative Case position, which means that all the variations of distribution of Case in capable sentences are expected.

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The Syntactic Licensing of *THE HELL*

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The purpose of this study is to present novel arguments for Huang and Ochi's (2004) syntactic licensing mechanism of *the hell*. One outstanding property of *the hell* is that it cannot modify wh-phrases in situ, as shown in (1).

- (1) a. What the hell did you eat?
b. *Who ate what the hell?

Another property is that *wh-the-hell* sentences are used when the speaker has specific attitude such as surprise. To explain these properties, Huang and Ochi argue that *the hell* must be licensed in "Attitude Phrase (ATTP)," an articulated projection of TP. Thus, (1a) is derived as (2).

- (2) a. [_{TP} YOU [_{VP} eat what the hell]]]
b. [_{ATTP} what the hell [_{TP} YOU [_{VP} eat *t*]]]
c. [_{CP} what the hell [... did... [_{ATTP} *t* [_{TP} YOU [_{VP} eat *t*]]]]]

What the hell moves to Spec-CP via Spec-ATTP, where *the hell* is licensed. Moreover, the ungrammaticality of (1b) can be straightforwardly explained; since *what the hell* stays in situ, *the hell* fails to be licensed in Spec-ATTP.

Ochi (2004) claims that this licensing mechanism can also explain the following data of sluicing.

- (3) I know Pat wanted to buy something,
a. ... but I don't know what [_{TP} ~~he wanted to buy *t*~~].
b. *... but I don't know what the hell [_{TP} ~~he wanted to buy *t*~~]. (López (2000))

Of importance is that *the hell* cannot modify a remnant wh-phrase in Sluicing. Ochi (2004) reduces this fact to the parallelism condition on ellipsis; in (3b), the elided clause and its antecedent clause are not parallel in the sense that the former contains Attitude Phrase, which is required to license *the hell*, whereas the latter does not.

Although Ochi's explanation is straightforward, it faces a serious problem in accounting for the following example of swiping.

- (4) They were arguing, but I don't know what the hell about [_{TP} ~~they were arguing *t*~~].
(Sprouse (2005))

Although swiping is a sub-type of sluicing, *the hell* can modify the remnant wh-phrase. Ochi's explanation wrongly rules out this example as a violation of the parallelism condition; the elided

clause contains Attitude Phrase whereas its antecedent clause does not.

Facing this situation, we have two choices; one is to abandon Huang and Ochi's licensing mechanism of *the hell* and the other is to discard the standard analysis of sluicing. This study takes the latter choice, claiming that a wh-phrase can stay in situ in regular sluicing. We adopt Agbayani's (2000) movement theory, according to which wh-movement in (5) proceeds as (6).

(5) I can't imagine what she is reading.

(6) a. [TP she's reading what]

b. [CP *wh* [C' *Q* [TP she's reading what]]] : Feature Movement

c. [CP what_i [CP *wh* [C' *Q* [TP she's reading t_i]]]] : Category Movement

The initial step is feature movement of the wh-feature. The second step, category movement, is triggered by the PF adjacency condition: a moved formal feature and its category must be phonetically adjacent to each other. Utilizing this mechanism, this study analyzes (3b) as (7).

(7) a. [TP he wanted to buy what the hell]

b. [CP *wh* [C' *Q* [ATTP ... [TP he wanted to buy what the hell]]]] : Feature Movement

c. [CP *wh* [C' *Q* [ATTP ... [TP ~~he wanted to buy~~ what the hell]]]] : Deletion

Deletion eliminates all the interveners between the moved wh-feature and *what*, so that the PF adjacency condition is satisfied without recourse to category movement. Since there is no stage of the derivation where *the hell* moves to Spec-ATTP, it fails to be licensed.

In contrast, swiping needs category movement. For instance, (4) is derived as (8).

(8) a. [TP they were arguing about what the hell]

b. [CP *wh* [C' *Q* [ATTP [TP they were arguing about what the hell]]]] : Feature Movement

c. [CP what the hell [CP *wh* [C' *Q* [ATTP t [TP they were arguing about t]]]] : Category Movement

d. [CP what the hell [CP *wh* [C' *Q* [ATTP t [TP ~~they were arguing about~~ t]]]] : Deletion

The preposition *about*, an unrecoverable element, works as an intervener, so that *what the hell* undergoes category movement to Spec-CP via Spec-ATTP, where *the hell* is licensed.

This is how the distribution of *the hell* can be explained in accordance with Huang and Ochi's licensing mechanism. In addition to the examples discussed above, this study considers a variety of data in ellipsis contexts.

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Emphasis Generation Scheme

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This study presents a flow chart for the *emphasis generation scheme* (henceforth, EGS) that underlies emphatic speech production in English (See Figure 1). The EGS represents a sequence of rule-based processes, each of which the speaker attends to at the time of producing an emphatic utterance. The outer bold line represents the EGS from which an utterance is articulated in the speech organs. The arrows indicate the output of one process becoming the input of the next process (See Figure 1).

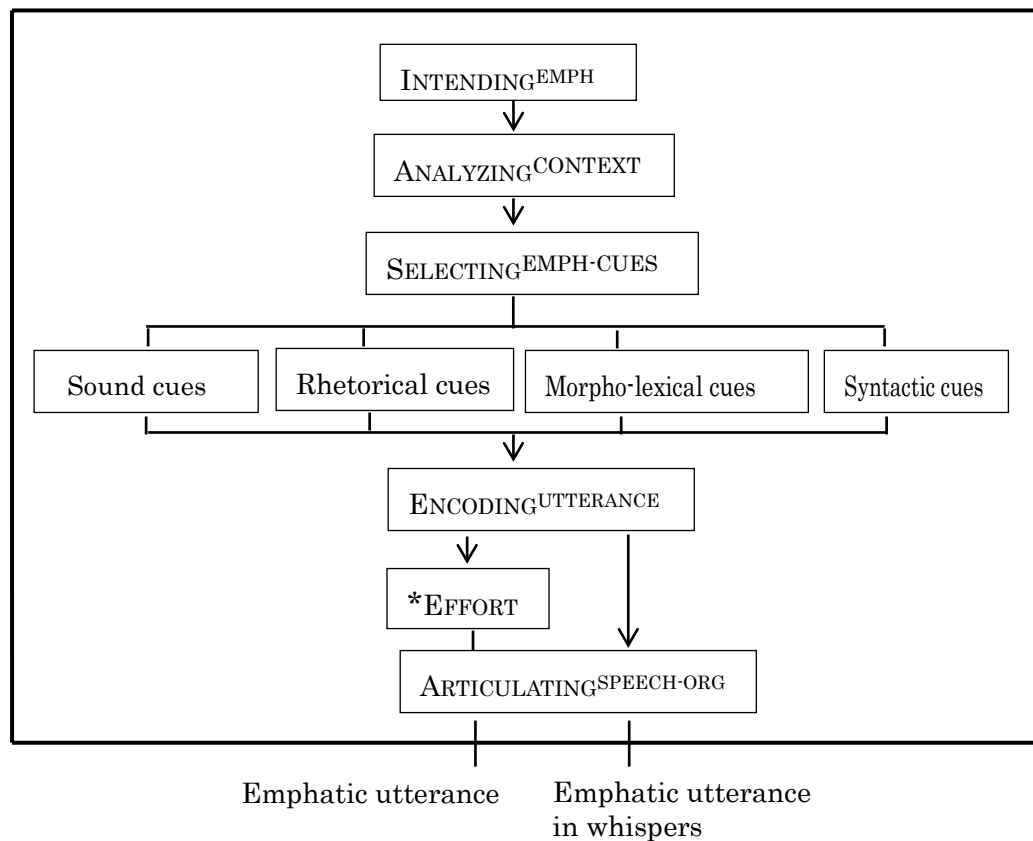


Figure 1: A flow chart for the EGS in English

The initial process has one rule. $\text{INTENDING}^{\text{EMPH}}$ requires the speaker to choose which information unit to emphasize and map its meaning to the unit. The speaker decides how much degree of emphasis about the target matter needs to be raised so that the addressee will know how important that unit is.

Levelt (1989: 65) states that “The speaker respects, or takes into account the rights, capabilities, propensities, and feelings of the other parties.” Therefore, the speaker factors a wide range of socio-linguistic factors in context. This is called ANALYZING^{CONTEXT}. The way in which the speaker articulates his/her words also depends on what kind of impression he/she wishes to make and the formality of the situation (McMahon 2002). Then the speaker will use the appropriate tactics for emphasis from a wide array of sound, rhetorical, morpho-lexical, and syntactic cues. This is denoted as SELECTING^{EMPH-CUES}. This rule requires the speaker to select linguistic cues for the purpose of emphasis with an appropriate degree of markedness so that the addressee will pay special attention to an information unit of importance under emphasis. For example, sound cues include shifting primary stress to the syllable that otherwise would be treated as unstressed. As a case in point, in American English, the word *enthusiasm* can have the primary stress shift to the word edge *-asm* for emphasis (Bolinger 1978).

Satisfying SELECTING^{EMPH-CUES} with the chosen cues for emphasis causes the speaker to encode the information units in the correct grammatical order and then retrieve their phonological forms from the system of sounds (Levelt 1989). This process is represented by ENCODING^{UTTERANCE}. Emphasis in non-whisper causes violation of *EFFORT. *EFFORT entails that the principle of linguistic economy should be respected at the time of articulation. Whispering for emphasis (Coleman 1914) does not violate *EFFORT. Therefore, the arrow from ENCODING^{UTTERANCE} goes directly to ARTICULATING^{SPEECH-ORG} (See Figure 1). The final process of the EGS is that the articulatory organs produce the target utterance. This is represented as ARTICULATING^{SPEECH-ORG}.

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Puzzles with the Desirative Predicate *Hoshii* ‘Want’ in Japanese

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1. Introduction

This paper points out two puzzles with the desirative predicate *hoshii* ‘want’ in Japanese, and argues for (i) the hypothesis that the morpheme *TE* is a COMP for an infinitival clause, and (ii) the Optional Complex Predicate Formation Hypothesis.

2. The Puzzles

First, in (1), the dative phrase *Ichiroo-ni* ‘Ichiro-Dat’ sounds perfect, while the nominative counterpart is degraded to some native speakers of Japanese, as pointed out by Maki (2005) based on a questionnaire-based survey.

- (1) *Watashi-wa Ichiroo-ni/(*)-ga warat-te hoshii.*
 I-Top Ichiro-Dat/-Nom smile-TE want
 ‘I want Ichiro to smile.’

On the other hand, when the subject of the complement clause is inanimate such as *ame* ‘rain,’ the sentence becomes ungrammatical with the dative subject, but is better with the nominative subject, as shown in (2). This is extensively discussed in Takezawa (1987).

- (2) *Watashi-wa ame*-ni/-ga fut-te hoshii.*
 I-Top rain-Dat/-Nom fall-TE want
 ‘I want it to rain.’

Second, *hoshii* ‘want’ must change to the 3rd person form *hoshigatteiru* ‘want.3,’ when the subject is a 3rd person, as shown in (3).

- (3) a. *Watashi-wa mizu-ga hoshii/*hoshigatteiru.*
 I-Top water-Nom want/want.3
 ‘I want water.’
 b. *Shinjoo-wa mizu-o *hoshii/hoshigatteiru.*
 Shinjo-Top water-Acc want/want.3
 ‘Shinjo wants water.’

Now, in (4), the dative subject is perfect, while the nominative subject is totally ungrammatical.

- (4) *Shinjoo-wa Ichiroo-ni/*-ga warat-te hoshigatteiru.*
 Shinjo-Top Ichiro-Dat/-Nom smile-TE want.3
 ‘Shinjo wants Ichiro to smile.’

Furthermore, when the subject of the embedded clause is inanimate, the sentence becomes ungrammatical, as (5) shows.

- (5) * Shinjoo-wa ame-ni/-ga fut-te hoshigatteiru.
 Shinjo-Top rain-Dat/-Nom fall-TE want.3
 ‘Shinjo wants it to rain.’

Since both the predicate forms *hoshii* ‘want’ and *hoshigatteiru* ‘want.3.’ take the clause headed by *TE*, the structure of the *TE*-clause should be identical in (2) and (5). Yet, only (5) is completely ungrammatical with the nominative subject in the clause.

3. Discussion

Let us consider what the above puzzles may suggest for the theory of (Japanese) grammar. First of all, let us consider what the ungrammaticality of (2) with the dative inanimate subject suggests. It is well-known that Japanese shows subject-predicate agreement in terms of the animateness of the subject, as shown in (6).

- (6) Asoko-ni neko-ga iru/*aru.
 over there-at cat-Nom exist[+animate]/exist[-animate]
 ‘There is a cat over there.’

It seems then that the animate restriction may be put on the dative subject in the *hoshii* ‘want’ construction in Japanese. Therefore, unless the dative subject is personated, the sentence becomes ungrammatical in (2). With this in mind, let us consider the contrast between (2) with the nominative subject and (5) with the nominative subject, the second puzzle. The ungrammaticality of (5) seems to be attributed to the fact that the nominative Case is somehow unavailable on the subject in the embedded clause in (5). We claim, essentially following Maki’s (2005) suggestion, that the element *TE* is a COMP for an infinitival clause, similar to *for* in English, so that there is a CP boundary between the matrix predicate and the embedded predicate. Since the embedded predicate is infinitival, it cannot license nominative Case on the subject in the embedded clause, so that (5) is correctly ruled out.

If *TE* is a head of CP, then, this raises the question as to why the grammaticality judgment for (1) with the nominative subject in the embedded clause varies from grammatical to ungrammatical, the first puzzle. For Takezawa (1987), the matrix Tense lowers to the embedded predicate, licensing the nominative Case on the embedded subject. However, this does not explain why (1) is judged ungrammatical by some native speakers of Japanese. We propose that the variation in grammaticality for (1) suggests the Optional Complex Predicate Formation Hypothesis. For those who allow (1), complex predicate formation takes place, and the sequence *warat-te hoshii* ‘smile-TE want’ becomes a single stative predicate, which licenses the nominative Case on the subject, just as in (3a). On the other hand, for those who disallow (1), such complex predicate formation does not take place, and the nominative Case on the subject is not licensed.

The proposed hypothesis, one may argue, would incorrectly predict (4) with the nominative subject to be grammatical, as Tense of the complex predicate may license the nominative Case on the subject. However, there is a crucial difference between (4) and (1). The matrix predicate in (4) is a transitive verb, while it is an adjective in (1). Based on this contrast along with the proposed hypothesis, we claim that the ungrammaticality of (4) suggests the nature of complex predicate formation, namely, the matrix predicate keeps its argument structure. Thus, in (4), the embedded subject becomes the internal argument of the transitive verb *hoshigatteiru* ‘want.3,’ thus, cannot have nominative Case.

Graduality and Type Four Verb

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Proposal: In this paper, we will provide new look for the verbal classification provided by (Kidaichi: 1950). Verbs, such as “*sobieru* (tower)”, are classified into the instant CHANGE-OF-STATE verb (*i*CoS) and others, such as “*niru* (resemble) and *oiru* (age)”, are a sub-class of the gradual CHANGE-OF-STATE verb (*g*CoS), such as “*fukuramu* (balloon), *agaru* (rise)”. Moreover, we will point out the fact that they behave differently with respect of graduality.

Facts: Verbs, such as “*fukuram-u* (expand), *chikazuk-u* (approach), *agar-u* (rise)” are said to express the *g*CoS. (cf. Moriyama: 1988), since these words can co-occur with “**dan-dan**”, which denotes the gradual increase as in (1). Moreover, *V-te iru* form of these verbs entails the existence of the event (Dowty 1977) as illustrated in (2). An interesting property of this type of verbs is that they can be used to express both prog(ressive) and perf(ect) interpretation within *V-te iru* construction (cf. Moriyama 1984) as illustrated in (3). A similar type of verbs can be found within the TYPE 4 VERBS. It is known that TYPE 4 VERBS must appear within *V-te iru* construction as in (4). TYPE 4 VERBS are classified into the CHANGE-OF-STATE (CoS) verb, since they express adjectival reading in the relative clauses with past-tense morpheme *-ta* (cf. Kusumoto 2013). As illustrated in (5) the motion verb “*hashiru* (run)” cannot obtain adjectival reading within the relative clause but CoS “*siru*” and TYPE 4 VERBS “*niru*” can.

Assumption: Here we assume, following Nakatani (2010), a CoS verb involves a transition with the entailment and the presupposition as in (6).

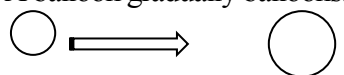
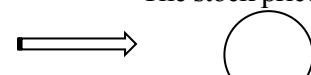
“**Siru (Know)**”: Given the assumption in (6), the event “*siru*” and the state “*sit-te iru*” are roughly depicted as in (7). In (7), X is a transition point (e_I). Any time interval before e_I is “ \neg know” state. Any time interval after e_I is “know” state. The transition of the situation takes place instantaneously and this verb has a terminal point and thus it is a telic verb. Moreover, the result state does not involve any scale, and thus, it is incompatible with a degree modifier as in (8).

“**Agaru (Rise)**”: The semantics of “*agaru* (rise)” is roughly described as in (9) and also it denotes both prog. and perf. interpretations. This type of verb has an arbitrary end-point as indicated in (11a,b). Thus, This type of verb is a telic verb. Furthermore, (11a) entails (11b) and (11c) is grammatical.

“**Niru (Resemble)**” “*Niru*” is classified into TYPE 4 VERBS and also gradable as in (12) (cf. “*agaru*” in (11c)), but it must be used in the *V-te iru* environment. Unlike (11c), however, this type of verbs does not have an arbitrary end-point. As shown in (13) if A and B are 0 or 100 percent similar, the sentence turn to be ungrammatical.

Summary: In this paper, we claim that there are two different classes of verbs within TYPE 4 VERBS in Kidaichi (1950)’s classification, *i*CoS and *g*CoS. Moreover, the *g*CoS verbs in TYPE 4 VERBS are, in fact, classified into the sub-set of the regular CoS verb as in chart 1.

DATA

- (1) a. Fuusen-ga **dan-dan** fukuramu. b. Kabuka-ga **dan-dan** agaru.
 Balloon-NOM gradually balloons stock.price-NOM gradually rise
 “A balloon gradually balloons.” “The stock price gradually rises.”
  “dan-dan fukuramu”
- (2) a. Kabuka-ga agat-te iru entails b. Kabuka-ga agat-ta.

Recursive compounds in Phase Theory
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I will argue that what Kageyama (2001, 2009) calls Word Plus-level compounds and what Tokizaki (2011) calls recursive compounds are derived in the narrow syntax in the Phase Theory (Chomsky 2001, 2008). The examples in Japanese are represented below (1-2).

(1) [[nise danuki] shiru] (Tokizaki 2011)
mock badger soup
'mock-badger soup'

(2) [[booeeki gaisha] shachoo] (Kageyama 2001, 2009)
trading company president
'president of a trading company'

Word Plus-level compounds are called thus, as they are phonologically two words. There is a slight pause between the second and third constituents. Here, Tokizaki argues that there are two heads in this type of compounds, namely, *danuki* and *shiru* in (1) and *gaisha* and *shachoo* in (2). In addition, unlike normal lexical compounds, part of Word Plus-level compounds can be coreferential with a syntactic phrase.

However, the internal structure of this type of compounds cannot be syntactically deformed by deleting or replacing part of them.

In this presentation first, I will argue the following examples are also Word Plus-level compounds or recursive compounds, in English (3-4), and Mainland Scandinavian (5-6), as they share the above characteristics of (1) and (2).

(3) [[waste disposal] plan]
(4) [[peanut butter] sandwich]
(5) [[jule-mand] kostume]
Christmas-man costume
'Santa suit'

(6) [[bo-stad]-s-kvarter]
live-place -Link-area
'residential area'

These examples have the lexically or syntactical characteristic of compounds. However, they do not obey the anaphoric island and there is a slight pause between the second and third constituents. Note that the existence of the linking morpheme in (6) or a number of recursive compounds in Mainland Scandinavian enables the whole compound to have the left-branching interpretation, or otherwise, the whole compound does not exist. The existence of linking morpheme marks shorter juncture between its constituents than its corresponding right-branching compound (*bo-stand-kvarter*), which in this language does not exist.

Secondly, the paper criticizes Bauke's (2013) theory of compound word formation. She proposes that syntactic compounds, such as those represented in (1) – (6) can be formed in the narrow syntax by first merging a stem with a categorizing nominal head that carries inflectional features and subsequently inserting this piece of non-maximal structure into the abstract clitic position of the compound head. However, the operation violates the Extension Condition (Chomsky 1993, 1995). The Extension Condition prohibits using the Clitic position to introduce another modifier to derive a compound word. For example, the derivation of a *peanut butter sandwich* by first forming *butter sandwich*, then moving *butter*, and then introducing the new lexical item *peanut* in place of *butter* violates the Extension Condition. As a result, her analysis certainly does not adhere to the minimalist theory of phrase structure rules.

As a result, the author proposes a better analysis of this type of compounds in Phase Theory.

As word formation is also recursive like phrase formation, I will argue that word formation takes place in the narrow syntax. Then, following Boeckx (2008) that every second instance of merge constitutes a phase and Marantz (2007) that syntactic computation could be unified above and below the word level, I will argue that a category-less root is merged with a syntactic head, thus turning the root in an n (Marantz 2007). Later, another root is merged to form a compound word. Here, the 'compound' is transferred to the interpretational component and is spelled-out. Here, the two-member compound with its syntactic head is interpreted semantically and phonologically. This interpretation is different depending on the two roots. The two roots are not merged immediately, as the interpretation of the whole compound allows for alternative, compositional interpretation. merging a category-less root with a syntactic head

The resulting structure can be merged with another [root + n], which is constructed in parallel. The derivation, as a result, does obey the Extension Condition, as every new element is merged with the top node of the tree in the new analysis.

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Ellipsis Licensing under E-Feature Movement

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This research presents a mechanism of ellipsis licensing in terms of E-feature movement, which can account for comprehensive ellipsis constructions; they include not only sluicing, VP-ellipsis, pseudogapping but also gapping and stripping which have not been treated as ellipsis (cf. Lobeck (1995)).

First, before mentioning E-feature movement, we overview Hoshi (2011). He proposes E-feature-driven Spell Out (ESO) and argues the following subset relation.

(1) ESO preempts CSO (cyclic Spell-Out) iff ESO domain \supseteq CSO domain.

(Hoshi (2011: 113))

(2) a. Sluicing: $[_{CP} \dots C_{[E]} \{ \langle [_{TP} \dots T_{[vP \dots v]} \langle [_{VP} V \dots] \rangle] \rangle \}]$

b. vP-ellipsis (VP-ellipsis): $[_{CP} \dots C \langle [_{TP} \dots T_{[E]} \{ [_{vP} \dots v \langle [_{VP} V \dots] \rangle] \}] \rangle]$

In (2a), according to the condition in (1), since the head C has the E-feature, the Spell Out of VP is canceled and the deletion operation is applied to TP in sluicing. In (2b), because the head T carries the E-feature, the Spell Out of VP is canceled and vP is deleted at PF in vP-ellipsis (VP-ellipsis). However, at the point of the merge between the head v and VP, whether VP is deleted or not cannot be decided until the upper head with the E-feature is merged and this will cause a look-ahead problem. Therefore, we assume that the E-feature originally does not generate in an upper head such as T or C, but it moves up cyclically from a lowest phase head, the head v, to the upper visible head and when the lowest phase head v carries this E-feature, the transfer of the complement of the v head, namely VP, is canceled.

Second, following Merchant (2001), we assume that an E-feature is an uninterpretable feature and a deletion operation is applied to a complement of a head carrying E-feature. In addition, we also assume the following condition proposed by Richards (2007).

(3) Value and Transfer of uFs must happen together. (Richards (2007: 566))

Taking the condition in (3) into account, we propose that an E-feature must be in a transferred domain.

As for the transfer domain, following Obata (2010) and Goto (2010), we assume that in matrix clause CP, TP and the edge of vP are transferred simultaneously while in embedded clause a usual cyclic transfer, in which CP is not transferred, is applied. Given those assumptions above, we can account for the reason why gapping and

stripping are restricted in a matrix clause while sluicing, VP-ellipsis and pseudogapping can appear in both matrix and embedded clauses.

- (4) a. Some had eaten mussels, and others shrimp.
b. *Some had eaten mussels, and she claims that others shrimp. (gapping)
- (5) a. The critics praised your book, and the poem too.
b. *The critics praised your book, and someone told me that the poem too.
(stripping)
- (6) a. A: Someone called. B: Really? Who?
b. Joe says he is investigating someone, but he won't tell me who. (Sluicing)
- (7) a. John kissed Mary and Bill did, too.
b. John kissed Mary, and I'm pretty sure (that) Bill did, too. (VP-ellipsis)
- (8) a. Some had eaten mussels, and others had shrimp.
b. Some had eaten mussels, and she claims that others had shrimp.
(pseudogapping)

In this analysis, we assume that in sluicing, gapping and stripping, which consist of CP domains, an E-feature originates in the head *v* to a visible head in the CP domain and TP deletion occurs at PF. Moreover, in VP-ellipsis and pseudogapping, an E-feature moves to the upper head, the T head and the Foc head respectively, and *v*P is deleted.

From those assumptions made above, we will show that our claim successfully explains (un)grammaticality caused by the differences between matrix and embedded clauses in ellipsis constructions and provide an unified account for ellipsis constructions.

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Comparison of English and Japanese conditional clauses

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1. Synopsis The purpose of this presentation is two-fold: (1) to point out typological differences between English and Japanese conditional clauses, concerning what is called *Main Clause Phenomena*, and (2) to argue that feature-based movement analysis, initiated by Haegeman (2009, 2010a, 2010b, 2013), can account for the differences.

2. Previous research There exist two different analyses on the syntax of conditional clauses: *truncation approach* and *movement approach*.

- **Truncation Approach** Taking the split-CP analysis for granted, Haegeman (2003, 2006) proposed truncation approach: she proposed that the lack of some functional projections in conditional clauses leads to the unavailability of higher hosting places, which could otherwise accommodate such elements as topic phrases and speaker-oriented modal phrases, as in matrix clauses.

- **Movement Approach** The movement approach explains MCP in the following way. First, as Bhatt and Puncheva (2002, 2006) have been suggesting, conditional clauses are made by operator movement --- a movement of an operator with a [+Q] feature. Second, topic phrases and speaker-oriented subjective phrases also have the same feature. Therefore, the operator cannot move over any topic/speaker-oriented expressions, because of the intervention effect (the violation of Relativized Minimality, Rizzi 2004). Hence, Main Clause Phenomena (Haegeman 2009, 2010a, 2010b, 2013).

3. Problems Although Haegeman herself shifted her paradigm from truncation approach to movement approach, the movement approach as well as the truncation approach is not without problems. So, what we have to do is to find another data which can clinch the argument of these two approaches.

4. Proposal The comparison between Japanese and English conditionals gives us an insight into the problem. I claim that (i) unlike English conditional markers (i.e. typically *if*, as in (1)b), one of the Japanese corresponding morphemes, *-ba*, can co-occur with the *wh*-elements (= (1)a), while (ii) the *wh*-elements themselves cannot co-occur with an adverb *mosi* (= (1)c). We cannot attribute this to the idiosyncratic nature of this adverb. Since, as shown in (2), adverbs with similar meaning show the same unacceptability, it is preferable to assume that it is due to the feature shared by these adverbial expressions.

(1) Comparison between English and Japanese conditionals

- a. *-ba* : **Dare -ni** kik -e **-ba**, kotae -ga wakar -u -no?
 who DAT ask SUB COMP answer NOM see PRS Q
 “Please tell me the person x_i , and x_i is the person from whom I can get the answer if I ask him $_i$.”
- b. *if*: ***If** I ask **whom**, can I get the answer?
- c. *mosi* : ***Mosi dare -ni** kik -e **-ba**, kotae -ga wakar -u -no?
 adv. who DAT ask SUB COMP answer NOM see PRS Q
 “Please tell me the person x_i , and x_i is the person from whom I can get the answer if I ask him $_i$.”

- (2) *{**Kari-ni/man-ga-iti/man-iti**} **dare -ni** kik -e **-ba**, kotae -ga wakar -u -no?
 “Please tell me the person x_i , and x_i is the person from whom I can get the answer if I ask(ed) him $_i$.”

(3)

	if	-ba	mosi
Property 1: Making a Subordinate Clause	✓	✓	*
Property 2: Feature Contradicting <i>wh</i> - elements	✓	*	✓

Postulating the [+Q] feature and movement in the conditional clause gives us an answer. Since discussing the interpretability of [+Q] (that is, a feature expressing the speaker’s *uncertainty*) entails arguing the speaker’s subjective attitude to the proposition he utters, this proposal not only makes a contribution to the syntactic aspect of the conditional clauses, but to the semantic side of the conditional clauses.

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Eliminating the EPP toward a principled explanation: Labeling in the ECM construction

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1. Introduction

This study focuses on the Exceptional Case-Marking (ECM) construction in English and proposes that we can eliminate the “mysterious property” Extended Projection Principle (EPP) (Chomsky 2008) as a consequence of the labeling algorithm (Chomsky 2013). The EPP was formulated by Chomsky (1982: 10) as purely grammatical requirement: “clauses have subjects.” Since then, the existence of the EPP has been controversial (see, e.g., Grohmann et al. 2000; Lasnik 2001).

2. Background

2.1. ECM construction

Chomsky (2008: 153) presents the following interesting observation:

- (1) a. *Of which car did the driver cause a scandal?
b. Of which car did they believe the driver to have caused a scandal?

The so-called subject island is in effect in (1a) but apparently not in the ECM construction in (1b). Assuming derivation by phase (C and v^*) (Chomsky 2001), Chomsky (2008) accounts for the asymmetry in (1a-b) as in (2a-b) (t stands for the lower copy of *the driver of which car*).

- (2) a. *[_C Of which car did the driver [_{v^*P} t cause a scandal]]?
b. [_C Of which car did they [_{v^*P_1} believe the driver to [_{v^*P_2} t have caused a scandal]]]?

In (2a), it is possible to raise *the driver of which car* in Spec- v^* to Spec-T by C-T feature inheritance for ϕ -feature agreement, whereas it is impossible to raise *of which car* in Spec- v^* to Spec-C by the edge feature of C for question making because the latter needs too deep search, violating Minimal Computation (MC) as a third factor principle (Chomsky 2005).¹ In (2b), after the raising of *the driver of which car* in Spec- v^*2 to the embedded Spec-T, it is possible to raise *the driver* to the matrix Spec-V by v^*1 -V feature inheritance and raise *of which car* to the outer Spec- v^*1 by the edge feature of v^*1 simultaneously (notice that there is no C phase in the embedded clause). In the ECM construction as in (2b), the raising of the embedded subject in Spec- v^*2 to the embedded Spec-T is considered a residual EPP effect (Chomsky 2008).

2.2. The labeling algorithm

Chomsky (2013) assumes that the labeling algorithm (LA) finds the closest head as label of the syntactic object (SO) in question by MC, and discusses the LA by two cases. One case is the SO like {H, XP} (H is a head and XP not a head). In this case, the LA reaches H as the closest head and determines it as label. The other case is the SO like {XP, YP}. In this case, the LA reaches equally close X and Y, resulting in {XP, YP} unlabeled. One way to solve this is to raise either of XP and YP. Consider the following basic transitive configuration (EA is External Argument and IA Internal Argument):

- (3) T [_{α} EA [_{v^*P} v^* [_{VP} V IA]]]

In (3), the LA cannot determine the label of {EA, v^*P }; thus, α . Chomsky (2013: 44) argues that the EPP is forced as a consequence of the LA. That is, if EA is raised to Spec-T, α is labeled v^*P because the lower copy of EA is invisible to the LA.

3. Proposal

The current study proposes that the raising strategy of the LA holds not only in (3) but also in the embedded subject in the ECM construction as in (2b), where a residual EPP effect is assumed. It follows that we could eliminate the EPP as a consequence of the LA (cf. Moro 2009/2013).

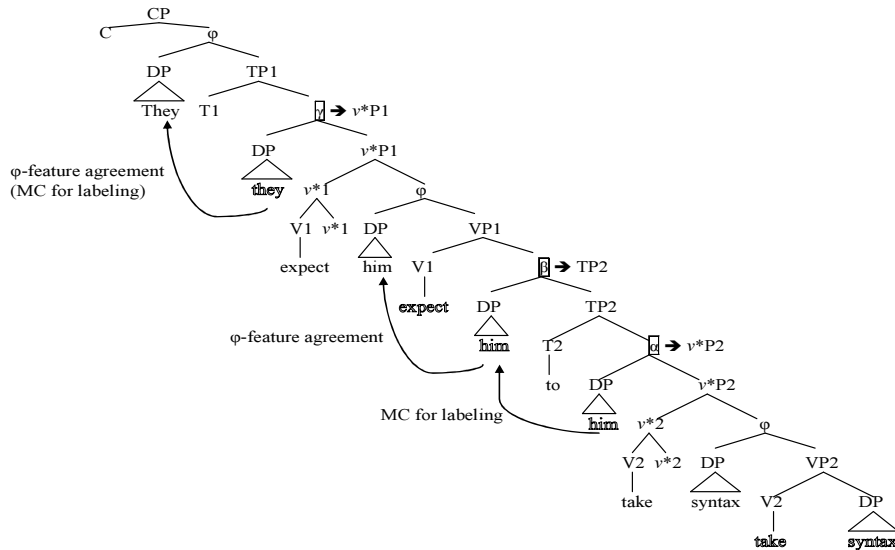
Let us examine how the proposal works out. Consider the ECM construction in (4a) and its syntactic derivation in (4b) (ϕ stands for the label of shared prominent ϕ -features (Chomsky 2013), and \mathbb{X} means the lower copy of X).

- (4) a. They expect him to take syntax.

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¹ In this paper, *specifier* or *Spec* is used just as a descriptive term for convenience, and we distinguish the EPP from the edge feature (see fn. 2 below).

b.



We focus on α , β , and γ , which are encircled in (4b). If *him* remains at Spec- v^*2 , α is unlabeled. Instead of appeal to the EPP or some kind of feature spread (Chomsky 2008: 157), the present analysis solves this as a consequence of the LA. That is, *him* is raised to the closest specifier (i.e., Spec-T2) by MC; hence, α is labeled v^*P2 , which is not explicitly discussed by Chomsky (2013). Notice that this also makes minimal computation in terms of distance the subsequent raising of *him* to Spec-V1 by v^*1 -V1 feature inheritance for ϕ -feature agreement, resulting in β labeled TP2 (this raising is discussed by Chomsky (2013: 47)). An alternative is to raise *him* in Spec- v^*2 directly to Spec-V1. However, the present analysis assumes that this option is avoided by MC. As for γ , *they* is raised to the closest specifier (i.e., Spec-T1) by C-T1 feature inheritance for ϕ -feature agreement, and consequently γ is labeled v^*P1 , satisfying MC.

The present analysis applies to (2b). *The driver of which car* in Spec- v^*2 is raised to the closest specifier (i.e., the embedded Spec-T) to determine the label by MC. Then, it is possible to raise *the driver* to the matrix Spec-V by v^*1 -V feature inheritance and raise *of which car* to the outer Spec- v^*1 by the edge feature of v^*1 simultaneously. This yields the convergent derivation of (1b). Note that in the present analysis of the ECM construction, the embedded subject is raised to the embedded Spec-T first, and then the subsequent operations are driven simultaneously. The examination of ordering is deferred in future research.

4. Theoretical Implication

If the EPP is motivated only by purely grammatical requirement, and if the LA is motivated by MC and by “the general principle that all SOs that reach the interfaces must be labeled” (Chomsky 2013: 45), the elimination of the mysterious EPP as a natural consequence of the LA leads us to a principled explanation. The question of what ramifications for the study of language are possible by the grammar without the EPP should be explored empirically as well as theoretically.²

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² One possibility might be that we could distinguish the EPP from the edge feature, reducing the former mysterious property of T to a consequence of the LA and maintaining the latter as the proposition-making property of the phase head (cf. Chomsky 2008). Then, however, we might have to explore why the edge feature exists in human language.

On the Availability of the Causative Alternation: Evidence for Externally Caused Eventuality

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It has been observed that the causative alternation is possible with change of state verbs whose eventuality can be brought about without the intervention of an agent (Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995)).

- (1) a. John broke the window.
- b. The window broke.
- (2) a. John murdered Sandy.
- b. * Sandy murdered.

(Beavers and Koontz-Garboden (2012))

The event of breaking the vase can occur without the intervention of an agent, whereas that of murdering Sandy requires the intervention of an agent.

Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995) state that verbs that permit the causative alternation such as *break* allow agents as well as instruments or natural forces as subject, as in (3). The verb *murder*, on the other hand, does not allow instruments nor natural forces as subject, as in (4).

- (3) { The vandals / The rocks / The storm } broke the windows.

(Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995:103))

- (4) { John / #The knife / #The earthquake } murdered Sandy.

(Beavers and Koontz-Garboden (2012))

Verbs such as *destroy* and *demolish* (hereafter, destruction verbs), however, do not obey this generalization because they do not allow the causative alternation, even though they permit agents, instruments or natural forces as subject:

- (5) a. John destroyed the vase.
- b. * The vase destroyed.
- (6) { John / The bomb / The fire } destroyed the manuscript.

(Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou and Schäfer (2006))

- (7) a. John demolished the statue.
- b. The shed demolished. (Talmy (1985:84))
- (8) b. The fire demolished our storage area. (BNC)
- c. A bomb demolished the dwelling of a municipal judge in Boston.

(Robert K. Murray, *Red Scare*)

Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou and Schäfer (2006) observe that destruction verbs denote eventualities that must be externally caused, and the meaning of obligatory external causation forbids them from participating in the causative alternation. The verb *break*, on the other hand, does not require the existence of external cause, so it allows the anti-causative use. Their analysis suggests that the presence or absence of obligatory external causation is systematically correlated with the availability of causative alternations.

The purpose of this paper is to provide empirical evidence for the correlation between the presence or absence of obligatory external causation and the availability of causative alternations. Specifically,

I show that the eventualities denoted by destruction verbs require external immediate cause, whereas the eventuality of the verb *break* does not. Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995:135) state that immediate cause occurs in the external argument position. Following them, I argue that destruction verbs require external immediate cause, which must be linked to the external argument (i.e. the NP in the subject position of active sentences or the NP in the *by* phrase of passive sentences), while the verb *break* does not. This analysis is supported by the following two pieces of evidence.

Firstly, *break* allows its subject and object to be co-referential, whereas destruction verbs do not.

- (9) a. The vase broke itself.
b. * The car destroyed itself.
c. * The car demolished itself.

Since the eventuality of *break* does not necessarily require the existence of external immediate cause, the referent of *the vase* in itself can be the cause of its change of state. The destruction verbs, on the other hand, require their eventuality to be externally caused, so the entity denoted by *the car* cannot be the cause of its change of state.

Secondly, *break* is compatible with the PP *onto the floor*, but destruction verbs are not.

- (10) (In the meaning that John shattered the vase/statue by dropping it onto the floor/ground.)
a. John broke the vase onto the floor.
b. ?? John destroyed the statue onto the ground.
c. ?? John demolished the statue onto the ground.

The PP *onto the floor* evokes a situation in which an entity dropped onto the floor. In (10), the physical contact between the vase/statue and the floor/ground (but not the agent *John*) is the external immediate cause of the event in which they were shattered. Sentence (10a) is fine because *break* does not require an external immediate cause in the subject position. Sentence (10b) and (10c), on the other hand, is anomalous because the destruction verbs require the existence of an external immediate cause in the subject position but the subject NP *John* is not appropriate as the external immediate cause here.

To sum up, I have argued that the eventualities denoted by destruction verbs require an external immediate cause, whereas the eventuality of *break* does not. An external immediate cause must be linked to the external argument, either the subject NP position in active sentences or the NP position in *by* phrases of passive sentences. Thus, this paper provides empirical evidence for the systematic correlation between the availability of causative alternations and the presence or absence of the meaning of obligatory external causation.

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