The Reconstruction Effects in the Restrictive Relative Clauses in NP/DP Languages

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Introduction: This study argues that the Form Copy proposed in Chomsky (2021) can straightforwardly explain the (non-)availability of the reconstruction effects of the Relative Head (=RH) in Restrictive Relative Clauses (=RRCs). Building on the work of Carlson (1977), Aoun and Li (2003) argue that there are two types of determiners listed in (1) and observe that RH with a Class II determiner cannot show the reconstruction effects while RH with a Class I determiner can, as the contrast in (2) shows.

(1) a. Class I determiner : the, that, this, my (possessive), every, any, what, all, most, etc.

  b. Class II determiner: a, several, many, eleven (numeral), few, lots of, some, etc.

$$\text{(Carlson (1977) and Aoun and Li (2003))}$$

(2) a. * I know a story about himself$_i$ that no student$_i$ would tell to the class. (Aoun and Li (2003: 116))

  b. I know the story about himself$_i$ that no student$_i$ would tell to the class. (Aoun and Li (2003: 117))

In (2a) and (2b), the reflexive pronoun *himself* is intended to refer to the subject *no student* in the relative clause. The coreference between them is not allowed when RH contains a Class II determiner *a* in (2a). However, in (2b), where RH is merged with a Class I determiner *the*, the corresponding reflexive and subject can be coreferential. Thus, the type of determiners determines whether the reconstruction effects of RH are available or not.

Previous Analysis: Following Bianchi (1999), Aoun and Li (2003) asserts that the raised RH inside of the relative clause (Internal Relative Head (=IRH)) has an empty relative determiner in the raising derivation, which can cause the reconstruction effects. This determiner must be licensed through the incorporation into the Class I determiner introduced outside of the relative clause as illustrated in (3), where the empty relative determiner is written in bold.

(3) [$_{DP}$ [the [$_{ForceP}$ [$_{DP}$ **D** boy]$_i$ [$_{Force}$ that [$_{TopP}$ [$_{DP}$ t$_i$] [Top [$_{IP}$ I like t$_i$]]]]]]]

Aoun and Li (2003) assumes that the relative determiner cannot be licensed by the Class II determiner in order to make the raising derivation in (3) unavailable to (2a).

However, this analysis has two problems. First, the reason why the relative determiner is not incompatible with the Class II determiner is not explicit. Even if this reason is revealed, a theoretical problem remains: Although the incorporation must occur in Syntax due to excluding the raising derivation in (3) from (2a), this operation is incompatible with the recent Minimalist framework, where the head movement is excluded from Syntax. Second, it is assumed that the relative clause is a complement of RH. However, it cannot account for the adjunct property:

(4) [What headway that John$_i$ made] did he$_i$ later regret t? (Henderson (2007: 214))

If the relative clause is derived as a complement of RH *headway*, it must be introduced before undergoing the *wh*-movement. However, the derivation would cause the Condition C violation, contrary to fact, because the R-expression *John* in the lower copy of the *wh*-phrase would be c-commanded by the coreferential pronoun *he*.

Proposal: The proposal is that Form Copy in Chomsky (2021) can naturally account for the contrast in (2) as well as the derivation of RRCs without the problems discussed above. Chomsky (2021) assumes that Form Copy can create two types of copy relations: The one comprising identical inscriptions independently introduced by External Merge (=EM-Copy) and the one formed by Internal Merge (=IM-Copy). Moreover, these copy relations can be differentiated by the Duality of Semantics in (5) (Chomsky (2021)).

(5) Duality of Semantics

  For A-positions, EM and EM alone fills a θ-position. (Chomsky (2021: 30))

(6) John tried [John to win]

  EM-Copy (Chomsky (2021: 18)), slightly modified)

The subject *John* receives θ-roles from verbs *try* and *win*. Following (5), the two θ-assignees are assigned EM-Copy. In this framework, Hayashi (2022) proposes the following property of the interpretive system:

(7) The interpretive systems can only trace the uniform operation. (Hayashi (2022: 109))

According to (7), the reconstruction effects require the copy relations to be uniform. Moreover, this study assumes that the classification of determiners in (1) is correct and the Class I determiner is merged outside of the relative clause, along the line of Aoun and Li (2003). With these theoretical assumptions, I argue that the contrast in (2) can be captured by the difference in the copy relations.

(8) a. {I, {know, <{**a story about himself**}, {{**a story about himself**}, {that, {no student would tell

                              EM-Copy   IM-Copy

        {a story about himself} to the class}}}>}}

     b. {I, {know, {the, <{∅ **story about himself**}, {{∅ **story about himself**}, {that, {no student would

                              IM-Copy   IM-Copy

        tell {∅ story about himself} to the class}}}>}}}

(8a) illustrates the derivation of (2a), where IRH *{a story about himself}* is internally merged to the top of the relative clause. Accordingly, IRHs underlined in (8a) are related by IM-Copy. Turning to RH outside of the relative clause (External Relative Head (=ERH)), it is in the θ-position. Due to the condition in (5), the copy relation between ERH and the higher copy of IRH must be EM-Copy. Since the two copy relations are not uniform, this derivation cannot cause the reconstruction effects. On the other hand, in (8b), which schematizes the derivation of (2b), the Class I determiner *the* is base-generated in the matrix clause. In this case, RH *{∅ story about himself}* is not in the θ-position in the matrix clause, which is occupied by the syntactic object *{the, <{∅ story about himself}, {that …}>}*. Therefore, ERH and IRH given in bold can form IM-Copy. The uniform copy relations in (8b) enable the derivation to induce the reconstruction effects. Note that the determiner ∅ does not have to be licensed in Syntax anymore because it does not affect the availability of the reconstruction effects.

Extension: The present analysis can be extended to accommodate the absence of the reconstruction effects of RH in some languages like Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian (=BCS). In (9) below, RH *svakog svog psa* 'every self's dog' includes the reflexive pronoun *svog*, which cannot refer to the subject *Iva* in the relative clause.

(9) Jan$_i$ voli svakog svog$_{i/*j}$ psa što (ga) je Iva$_j$ dovela _ na izložbu.
        Jan$_i$ loves every.ACC self's.ACC$_{i/*j}$ dog.ACC that (him.ACC) Aux.3SG Iva$_j$ brought _ on exhibition
        "Jan$_i$ loves every one of his$_{i/*j}$ dogs that Iva$_j$ brought to the exhibition"

                                                  (BCS) (Gračanin-Yuksek (2013: 40))

Traditionally, (9) has been explained by the matching analysis (see Gračanin-Yuksek (2013)). However, the reason why the raising derivation is unavailable in BCS remains to be explained. The current analysis can readily resolve this problem. According to Bošković (2008), the D-item in DP languages like English, corresponding to the Class I determiner, does not behave in the same way as the counterpart in NP languages like BCS. For example, the extraction from the nominal expression with the D-item is prohibited in English but possible in BCS:

(10) [O kojem piscu]$_i$ je pročitao [svaku knjigu/sve knjige/(tu) tvoju knjigu t$_i$]
       about which writer is read   every book /all books /that your book
       '*About which writer did he read every book/all books/this book of yours?'

                                                  (BCS) (Bošković (2008: 107))

If NP languages do not differentiate the Class I determiner from the Class II determiner, it is expected that EM-Copy between ERH and the higher copy of IRH is obligatory because ERH always occupies the θ-position in the matrix clause. Since the copy relation between IRHs is IM-Copy, RHs of RRCs in languages like BCS cannot be assigned the uniform copy relation. Therefore, such languages lack the reconstruction effects of RH in RRCs.

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Choose Events or Situations: An Ambiguity of Japanese *tara*

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[Synopsis] This study is concerned with a Japanese clausal particle *tara*, which is often assumed to be a conditional marker. I point out that *tara* also has a non-conditional reading. I argue that a *tara*-clause is a referential, definite description, and that the ambiguity is attributed to a difference in the denotation of the definite expression: it denotes a definite *situations* in the conditional use, and it denotes a definite *events* in the non-conditional use. A success in the analysis makes an ontological claim that we need both events and situations in the analysis of natural languages.

[Data] The two readings of *tara* are observed in (1). (1a) is the conditional use, so it does *not* entail that the speaker will hear John's song. On the other hand, (1b) is the non-conditional use. It *does* entail that the speaker heard John's song and that s/he got a headache.

(1) a. *John-no   uta-o   kii-**tara**   atama-ga   itaku-na-ru.*
        John-GEN song-ACC hear-TARA   head-NOM hurt-become-NONPAST
        'If I hear John's song I will have a headache.'

  b. *John-no   uta-o   kii-**tara**   atama-ga   itaku-na-tta.*
        John-GEN song-ACC hear-TARA   head-NOM hurt-become-PAST
        'When/After I heard John's song I got a headache.'

The two readings above are reminiscent of the ambiguity observed in the English *when* clause (Furkas and Sugioka 1983 a.o). (2a) is an instance of the conditional reading. Replacing *when* with *if* does not make any significant difference in the interpretation. The non-conditional reading is further divided into two subclasses by Hall and Caponigro (2010). (2b) is a *time temporal* use, which means that the tulips bloomed *at a specific time interval* we expected. On the other hand, (2b) is an *eventive* use, where the sentence means the speaker lost the keys *at some point of the event of going swimming in the bay*.

(2) a. Lizards are pleased **when** the sun shines.

  b. This year, the tulips bloomed **when** we all expected.

  c. I lost my keys in the water **when** I went swimming in the bay.

It turns out that the Japanese *tara* in the non-conditional use is only compatible with the eventive reading. (2b) cannot be translated into Japanese with *tara* (see (3a)), while (2c) can (see (3b)).

(3) a. *Watashi-tachi-ga kitai-{#si-**tara**   / si-ta-toki-ni}   tyuurippu-ga saita.*
        I-PL-NOM   expect-{do-TARA / do-PAST-time-DAT} tulips   bloomed.
        Intended: 'The tulips bloomed when we expected.'

  b. *Umi-ni   oyogi-ni   it-**tara**   kagi-o   mizu-ni   otoshi-ta.*
        sea-DAT swim-DAT go-TARA   key-ACC water-DAT lost-PAST
        'I lost my key in the water when I went swimming in the sea.'

[Proposal:] The above data suggests that Japanese *tara* is ambiguous between the conditional use and the non-conditional, eventive use. I propose that there is a common semantic core in these two readings, from which the ambiguity is derived. I argue that *tara* is underlyingly a definite description. I argue that the conditional *tara* is a *plural* definite description of situations (following the analysis of English conditional in Schein (2001) and Schlenker (2004)); and that the non-conditional, eventive one is a plural definite description of events (extending Hall and Caponigro's (2010) analysis of the non-conditional *when*-clause).

Implementing this idea requires to pluralize the ingredients of semantics. I adopt Link's (1983) system of plurals, where the domain of individuals contains a mereological sum of individuals, which is also of type e. I extend this summation operation to situations and events (cf. Champollion (2016) for summation of events): domain D_v contains atomic events and their mereological sum (of type v); domian D_s contains atomic situation and their mereological sum (of type s). I take situations as parts of a world (i.e., a world is a maximal situation). I follow Hacquard (2010) and assume that an event is a constant across possible worlds/situations.

Since the system contains both situations and events, a simple sentence is translated as in (4), where $\text{sing}(e,s)$ is true iff e is a singing event in s. By applying the operator PROP to (4) we get a familiar denotation for propositions of type st.

(4) a. *John sings a song* $\leadsto \lambda e_v \lambda s_s \left[\text{sing}(e,s) \wedge \text{subject}(e,\text{j})\right]$

   b. PROP $\leadsto \lambda p_{vs,t}.\lambda s_s. \exists e_v \left[p(e)(s)\right]$

   c. *John sings a song* $\leadsto \lambda s_s \exists e_v \left[\text{sing}(e,s) \wedge \text{subject}(e,\text{j})\right]$

Now *tara* can be defined as in (5), where the ι operator always picks up the unique, maximal sum that satisfies the restriction. Applying them to (4a) results in (6).

(5) a. *tara$_1$* $\leadsto \lambda p_{vs,t}.\lambda s_s. \iota e_v \left[p(e)(s)\right]$

   b. *tara$_2$* $\leadsto \lambda p_{vs,t}.\iota s_s.\exists e_v \left[p(e)(s)\right]$

(6) a. *John sing a song-tara$_1$* $\leadsto \lambda s. \iota e \left[\text{sing}(e,s) \wedge \text{subject}(e,\text{j})\right]$

   b. *John sing a song-tara$_2$* $\leadsto \iota s. \exists e \left[\text{sing}(e,s) \wedge \text{subject}(e,\text{j})\right]$

I adopt Hall and Caponigro's assumption and argue that (6a) combines with the main clause via a silent preposition. I define the silent preposition as (7), where the predicate O is true of a pair of events if the events are overlapping. The non-conditional use is now derived as in (8).

(7) AT $\leadsto \lambda p_{vs,t}.\lambda V_{sv}.\lambda s_s.\lambda e_v. \, p(e)(v) \wedge \text{O}(e, V(s))$

(8) a. AT(*I had a headache*)(*John sings a song-tara$_1$*)
   $\lambda s_s.\lambda e_v. \text{had\_a\_headache}(e,s) \wedge \text{subject}(e,\text{the\_speaker})$
   $\wedge \text{O}(e, \iota e'\left[\text{sing}(e',s) \wedge \text{subject}(e',\text{j})\right])$

   b. PROP(a) $\leadsto \lambda s_s.\exists e_v. \text{had\_a\_headache}(\text{the\_speaker})\wedge$
   $\text{O}(e, \iota e'\left[\text{sing}(e',s) \wedge \text{subject}(e',\text{j})\right])$

The conditional use is also derived straightforwardly, with a help of PROP. It checks if the plural situation denoted by the *tara$_2$*-clause is collectively a situation where the speaker will get a headache, replicating the semantic analysis of English conditional.

(9) PROP(*I will get a headache*)(*John-sings a song-tara$_2$*)
   $\leadsto \left[\lambda s_s.\lambda e_v. \text{will\_get\_a\_headache}(e,s) \wedge \text{subject}(e,\text{the\_speaker})\right]$
   $(\iota s. \exists e \left[\text{sing}(e,s) \wedge \text{subject}(e,\text{j})\right])$

[Discussion and Consequence] I believe the analysis can be extended to English *when* clause, whose ambiguity has been noticed but has not been discussed a lot. The proposal also makes an interesting claim about ontology of situations and events in semantic analysis. It submits a support for a view, as discussed by Kratzer (2008) a.o., that we have both of situations and events in natural languages although they are closely related.

[Selected References:] **Hall & Caponigro**. **2010**. On the Semantics of Temporal *when*-claues. *Proceedings of SALT 20*. 544-563. **Schlenker**. **2004**. Conditional as Definite Descriptions. *Research on Language and Computation*. 417–462,

Look at You! **instead of** ***Look at yourself!*****:**

Inviting Split-Addressee to Speaker's Standpoint for Surprise Sharing

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This study examines a particular idiosyncratic reference of two English second-person pronouns (*you* and *yourself*) observed in well-conventionalized utterances, arguing that the reference could be best characterized as a manifestation of split-addressee and emotion sharing. Syntactically, the addressee in an imperative sentence is expected to be referred to by the reflexive pronoun *yourself* rather than second-person pronoun *you*, as illustrated in (1). However, (2b) as well as (2a) is a fully natural utterance.

(1)   a.   Help yourself!   (2) a. (Hey,) Look at yourself!
       b.* Help you!   b. (Wow,) Look at you!

                                     (Koguma & Izutsu 2022: 248)

In both (2a) and (2b), the referent of the prepositional object coincides with the addressee of the utterances. The difference between *you* and *yourself* resides in how the speaker conceives of the event of looking at the addressee. Although both utterances in (2) have imperative syntax, (2b) differs significantly from (2a) in the communicative function and "speech acts" they serve. As can be seen from the parenthesized interjections, (2a) talks the addressee into or out of the action referred to in the verb (i.e., hortative), whereas (2b) typically expresses the speaker's surprise at the current state of the addressee and his or her intention to share that emotion with the addressee.

      This second communicative function is also exemplified in (3), excerpted from a scene of the movie titled *Jurassic World: Dominion.* Dr. Ian Malcolm, a mathematician was separating himself from the crowd around him to greet two old friends of his. He walked out of the crowd uttering (3a) and then talked to the friends as in (3b).

(3)   a. Very good. There there you go! Hey, I don't want to be rude to my friends. Thank
         you. Catch me on my way out. Thanks everybody.
     b. Look at you! Look at me! Oh, look at you! Wow, this is so trippy.

                          (Adopted from the movie, *Jurassic World: Dominion*)

In (3b), the two addressees are realized with the pronouns *you* instead of *yourself*; in this context, replacing *you* with *yourself* ends up in infelicitous utterances. Unlike *Look at*

yourself!, *Look at you!* substantially verbalizes the speaker's surprise at a discrepancy between what s/he expects and what s/he sees.

In all these examples, the addressees have two distinctive semantic roles: an agent/actor role who is engaged in the activity of "looking at" and a patient/object role of the same predicate. In (2a), the referent of the prepositional object (i.e., viewed addressee) is conceived of as identical with the referent of the implicit subject (i.e., viewing addressee). Thus, the former is realized as the reflexive pronoun *yourself*. In (2b) and (3b), in contrast, the referent of the prepositional object is assumed to be split into the viewed and the viewing addressees. The viewed addressee remains, as it were, in the speaker's field of view, meanwhile the viewing addressee is mentally detached from that viewed addressee and relocated to the speaker's vantagepoint. In other words, the viewing addressee is mentally disguised as an addressee independent of the viewed addressee. This communicative function is parallel to that of the utterance in (4), whereby the speaker directs the addressee's attention toward the third party (i.e., the referent of *him*) so that the addressee could enjoy the speaker's perspective and emotion (e.g., surprise). The only difference from (2b) and (3b) lies in the fact that the referent of the prepositional object is not the addressee.

(4) (Wow,) look at him!

This paper argues that the mental manipulation that splits and relocates the conception of the addressee accounts for the suspension of the intrinsic coreference between viewing and viewed addressees. Such an account can also deal with ambiguous or hybrid uses of the two different communicative functions described above, as illustrated in (5).

(5) Look at you! You've got chocolate all over your face like a child, but you're an adult! Adorable!   (Adopted from COCA)

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An Author's Derivational Morphological DNA. A Corpus-Based Analysis

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Abstract

Derivational morphology (word formation) is a vibrant theoretical discipline. It has been developed and expanded since Aronoff's (1976) seminal work. Understandably, English word formation has received a significant amount of attention from numerous scholars (Plag 2003; Bauer et al. 2013). With the advent of corpus linguistics, derivational morphology became an increasingly palpable object of study. Such vague and commonly disputed concepts as morphological productivity (Aronoff 1976; Bauer 2006) suddenly became tangible and even measureable (Baayen & Lieber 1991; Plag 1999; Plag et al. 1999). Still, these are all general reviews of morphological phenomena in the field of English for general purposes.

In the area of English for specific purposes, the presence of derivational morphology has been rather scant. And while English for specific purposes has been explored for its various peculiarities (Biber 1995), derivational morphology has not been seen on the researchers' agenda of register variation. Indeed, scattered publications or dissertations can be gathered which have paid some attention to word formation across academic disciplines (Moskowitch 2010). So, for example, one such corpus-based account looks into word formation in scientific registers (computer science and medicine), focusing on the productivity of 14 suffixes (Montero-Fleta 2011). However, almost no attention has been paid to the possible relationship between derivational morphology and an individual author's lexicon and his/her own writing style. Writers' styles have been studied and examined in terms of various parameters (Leech & Short 1981). Nevertheless, morphological parameters as determinants of individual linguistic writing habits remain unexplored.

In this presentation, the focus will be on morphologically complex words as used by only one author. As our investigation is a linguistic one, it is quite irrelevant which particular individual's morphological style is in focus. For the purpose of this inquiry, we have selected E. M. Forster (1879–1970), a British writer, with his three randomly selected novels: *Where Angels Fear to Tread* (1905), *Howards End* (1910) and *Passage to India* (1924). This analysis follows the methodology of corpus-based research as applied to literary texts (Stubbs 2005; Siepmann 2015; Ruano San Segundo 2016; Vincent & Clarke 2017). The three novels in their digital format constitute our three corpora used for comparative purposes. The three texts were obtained from the Project Guttenberg open-access digital repository and retained in the notepad application in plain text format. Further analyses were carried out with the use of AntConc software (Anthony 2022). Out of approx. 100 affixes, two lists of 41 prefixes and 41 suffixes were compiled. AntConc performed automatic search for and retrieval of tokens compatible with search substrings (82 affixes). The manual cleaning of the data obtained was necessary due to high numbers of derivationally irrelevant items. For each corpus, the number of all word types and word tokens was calculated. In a nutshell, the core of the analysis focuses on (1) the most frequent affixes (separately prefixes and suffixes) in each corpus, (2) the least frequent affixes in each corpus, and (3) no-showing affixes in each corpus. For practical reasons, only samples of these will be discussed in the presentation. Even such a fragmentary picture (one author) shows certain promising traits determining an individual's writing style. Of course, to obtain a better picture of an individual's morphological style, at least one more individual's morphological style should be considered. Also, a historical inquiry into the frequency of specific affixes should be conducted to see general tendencies in and across periods of time. This preliminary inquiry shows that it may be valuable to analyse

other texts of other authors. This research indicates that the three texts may have been written by the same author, whose writing style somewhat evolved, but nevertheless retained its distinctive morphological traits.

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Polarity Item Licensing in Vector Model: Negative, Positive and Bipolar Items
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Negative polarity items (NPIs) are licensed in downward entailing (DE) environments In *John did not travel either*, the NPI *either* is licensed by strong negative *not*, and the omission of *not* makes it ungrammatical. In contrast, the positive polarity item (PPI) *already* is anti-licensed by negation in **Mary has not already got vaccinated three times* (Baker 1970).

NPI and PPI licensing is not a binary feature of lexical items, but scalar. The logical properties of the NPI licensing context vary among monotone decreasingness (MD), anti-adidtivity (AA) and anti-multiplicativity (Zwarts 1996). *Alle* "all" and *geen* "no" in Dutch are AA and they license NPIs of medium strength or the weak ones. *Inderdaad* "indeed/actually" is a strong PPI ungrammatical in the scope of negation (Szabolcsi 2004). Even a weak negative licenser *Hoogstens vier* "at most four" makes it ungrammatical.

(1) Alle kinderen die drinken of roken worden gestraft. ↔ Alle kinderendie drinkenworden gestraft en alle kinderendie rokenworden gestraft.

"All children that drink or smoke will be punished." (van der Wouden 1997)

Weak negative MD context licenses weak NPIs such as *any* and *ever*, while medium negative, AA or anti-multiplicative context only allows NPIs with medium or weak strength. The strong negative context, that are anti-morphic (AM), the combination of AA and anti-multiplicativity, licenses all kinds of NPIs. The strength of PPIs is measured by ungrammaticality in negative contexts. The strong PPI dislikes any negative context, the medium PPIs are ungrammatical in AA/anti-multiplicative or AM, and the weak PPI is anti-licensed only in AM.

For the scalar compatibility between PIs and licensing context, I propose the vector models to represent lexical information. The different strength of PIs and licensing context corresponds to assigned values on two vectors—one for the licenser and the other for the PIs.

(2) a. Lexicon: lexical item $l \in L$

b. Lexical information: $L = (R_m, R_p)$

c. Monotonicity: R_m: a vector of monotonicity

$R_m = \{-3, -2, -1, 0, 1, 2, 3\}$

-3: AM

-2: AA/anti-multiplicative

-1: MD

1: monotone increasing

2: additive/multiplicative

3: morphic

d. Monotonicity assignment function F: $F(l) \rightarrow x \in R_m = \{-3, -2, -1, 0, 1, 2, 3\}$

e. NPI/BPI/PPI vector : $R_p = \{-3, -2, -1, 0, 1, 2, 3\}$

strong NP:I -3

medium NPI: -2

weak NPI: -1

weak PPI: 1

medium PPI: 2

strong PPI: 3

Licensers in Dutch:

(3) *niet* "not"; R = (-3, 0) (AM)

  geen "none"; R = (-2, 0) (AA)

  weinig "few"; R = (-1, 0) (MD)

There is inclusion relationship between PI licensers. 3 on R_m includes 1 and -3 includes -1 since strong negation licenses weaker PIs. If strong PPI is acceptable, so are weaker PPIs in the scope of the same licenser. Below is the matching or compatibility:

(4) (-3, y) and (x, y ∈ -1≤y≤-3)

  (-2, y) and (x, y ∈ -1≤y≤-2)

  (-1, y) and (x, -1)

  (x, 1) and (x ≠ -3, y)

  (x, 2) and (x ∉ -2≤x≤-3, y)

  (x, 3) and (x ∉ -1≤y≤-3, y)

Moreover, according to van der Wouden (1997), Dutch *ooit* could be the bipolar item (BPI) with combined feature of NPI and PPI. *Ooit* is licensed in AA and MD but ungrammatical in AM. Furthermore, Serbo-Croatian *i*-series "also/even" and the Hungarian counterpart are licensed in medium and weak negation while anti-licensed by strong clausemate negation (Progovac 1994, Szabolcsi 2002). The wide scope *mo* "also/even" in Japanese, *to* "also/even" in Korean and *ye* "also" in Mandarin show the behavior of the BPI (Nishiguchi 2009, 2016). The combined feature of the BPI needs double lexical entries. The BPI is either (0, 1), the weak PPI or (0, -2), the medium NPI.

(5) Dutch: $ooit_1$ "ever"; R =(0, 1)

  $ooit_2$ "ever"; R= (0, -2)

  Serbian-Croatian: i_1 "also/even"; R =(0, 1)

  i_2 "also/even"; R= (0, -2)

  Hungarian: is_1 "also/even; R=(0, 1)

  is_2 "also/even; R=(0, -2)

  Japanese: mo_1 "even; R=(0, 1)

  mo_2 "even; R=(0, -2)

  Korean: to_1 "also/even; R=(0, 1)

  to_2 "also/even; R=(0, -2)

  Chinese: ye_1 "also"; R=(0, 1)

  ye_2 "even; R=(0, -2)

Since negative emotives like *regret* license BPIs, $ooit_3$ does not require either monotone increasing or decreasing context.

(6) $ooit_3$; R=(0, 0)

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Dynamic Interpretation of *Te*-Connection: Representation of Conjunction/Conditional Ambiguity in SDRT

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Data: Japanese has various types of sentential connections, including *te*-connection. In formal semantics, previous studies have analyzed *te* as a conjunction operator (Matsui, 2009; Kaufmann and Whitman, 2022). It is true that *te* functions as a conjunctive operator in most cases. Indeed, *te*-connection is conjunctive in (1) in that the sentence entails both John's cooking and Mary's eating. However, *te*-connection also involves conditional sentences as in (2). The antecedent of *te*-connection, *arui(-te)* (to walk), is not entailed by (2).

(1) Jon-ga   ryoorishi-te Mearii-ga   (2) Arui-te 5-hun kakaru
     Jonh-NOM cook-**te**   Mary-NOM   walk-**te** 5-min. take
     tabe-ta   'It takes 5 minutes on foot.'
     eat-PAST
     'John cooked and Mary ate.'

Another Japanese connection, which is closely related to *te*-connection, is zero conjunction (Watanabe, 1994). The form of zero conjunction and *te*-connection only differ in the existence of *te*. Also, the meaning is almost equivalent if conjunctive *te*-connection is considered. The zero conjunction form of conditional *te*-connection is, however, infelicitous as in (4). The infelicity shows that zero conjunction cannot have conditional interpretation: (4) is odd because it unnaturally conjoins two predicates that should be in conditional relation.

(3) Jon-ga   ryoorishi, Mearii-ga tabe-ta (4) # Aruki, 5-hun kakaru
     John-NOM cook   Mary-NOM eat-PAST   walk-**te** 5-min. take
     'John cooked and Mary ate.'

According to Nakatani(2013), *te* morpheme is a TP head and the antecedent TP adjuncts to the main TP. The configuration of (1) is as in (5). On the other hand, the construction of zero conjunction sentence (3) is (6). The TP head of the antecedent is right node raised and other parts are equivalent to *te*-connection. That is, the only syntactic difference between zero conjunction and *te*-connection is the existence of *te*.

(5) [$_{TP}$Jon-ga [$_{VP}$ryoorishi] te] [$_{CP}$[$_{TP}$ Mearii-ga [$_{VP}$tabe] ta]]

(6) [$_{TP}$Jon-ga [$_{VP}$ryoorishi] ₸] [$_{CP}$[$_{TP}$ Mearii-ga [$_{VP}$tabe] ta]]

By the above observations, one can conclude that the existence of *te* contributes to the conditional meaning of *te*-connection. This study tries to account for the fact that the insertion of *te* induces the conditional meaning within SDRT.

Previous studies: A conditional sentence that appears to be conjunctive is called a conditional conjunction (CC). In (7), two sentences are connected by a conjunctive coordinator *and*, but (7) is interpreted as conditional, not conjunction.

(7) You drink another can of beer and I'm leaving.
     (≈If you drink another can of beer, I'm leaving.)   (Culicover and Jackendoff, 1997)

If you observe only *te*-connection, you might say it is similar to CC. *te*-connection is usually conjunctive but in some cases such as (2), it becomes conditional. However, it cannot be conditional if *te* is missing, i.e. if the sentence is a zero conjunction. On the other hand, CC does not lose its conditional meaning by the ellipsis of *and*. If *te*-connection were a kind of CC, zero-conjunction should have conditional meaning.

(8)   You call the cops, I break her legs.   (Klinedinst and Rothchild, 2015)

Furthermore, Kaufmann and Whitman(2022) argue that topicalization of the first conjunct induces CC. Accepting this argument, *te*-connection, which involves no topicalization, cannot be CC.

Proposal: SDRT (Segmented DRT: Asher and Lascarides, 1993; 2003) is the theoretical framework that combines DRT (Kamp, 1981) with AI-based linguistic studies that deal with rhetorical relationships among sentences. SDRSs (Segmented DRSs) describe a discourse by showing the (underspecified) logical representation of each sentence and the rhetorical relationships among sentences as well as the hierarchical structure of the discourse. Rhetorical relationships described in SDRT include *Narration, Elaboration, Explanation, Alternation*, etc. What is notable for my analysis is that there is no explicit conditional operator in SDRT: the rhetorical relation *Consequence* is used to express conditionals instead. That is, conjunction and conditional are as compatible as two variables in the predicate logic.

The complete entire construction of a discourse is not simply determined by a sequence of sentences itself, which is underspecified. To express the construction, SDRT uses underspecified logic, where some pieces of information including the scope relations are not determined. The complete form is obtained through inferences based on several axioms corresponding to each rhetorical relation, and a principle called Maximal Discourse Coherence or MDC.

Within SDRT, I formalize *te*, using the analysis by Nakatani(2013) that *te* is an allomorph of *ta*, which indicates the past tense. This property of *te* is verified by morphosyntactic observation of *te*-connection. He accepts the analysis by Ogiwara(1996) that the Japanese past tense involves relativity of temporal relation: *te* shows that the event expressed by the *te*-clause temporally precedes the event expressed by the main clause.

We can safely assume that *te* itself does not determine the rhetorical relation of sentences, i.e. the logical relation between two sentences connected by *te* is underspecified. The temporal relation of two events connected by *te*, strengthened by MDC, determines the rhetorical relation between two events. Given the temporal sequence, I show that only possible relations between two sentences are *Narration, Result, Background*, and *Consequence*. The *te*-connection is conjunctive if *Narration, Result*, and *Background* are most appropriate interpretation, and it is conditional if *Consequence* is the most appropriate.

This study suggests that the interpretation of the propositional logical connections between sentences, which is basic for semantics, also involves pragmatic inference and that its formalization is necessary for formal semantics. The result supports the SDRT, which formalizes rhetorical relations and pragmatic inference.

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***Get*-Passive in Terms of Diachrony and Dialectology: A Case of New Zealand English**

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The *get*-passive has received much attention in previous research, both synchronically and diachronically. However, its dialectal variations have been overlooked, except for some passing remarks. For instance, Sussex (1982) states that the use of *get*-passive is more common in American English than British or Australian English, but internal structural and functional differences have not been compared. This paper is an initial attempt to shed light on the relationship between diachrony and dialectology of the *get*-passive, focusing on the New Zealand (NZ) English. This dialect has not played a major part in the study of grammatical voice, but it can offer some promising insights, which are two-fold as shown below.

Diachrony: New Zealand is the youngest country in the former British colonies (Richards 2022), and its official language was established only in the 19th century. This timing is more or less the same as the onset of the *get*-passive (Toyota 2008). Due to its unique geographic location, its English was initially in a state of semi-isolation. Thus, this dialect may still preserve an archaic usage of the *get*-passive at its initial stage of the development. This will allow us to see what an initial onset of the construction could have been like.

Dialectology: The NZ English has influence from different dialects, including Scottish or Scots. The *get*-passive can be a product of the language contacts with Old Norse (cf. Toyota 2020), and this contact was frequent in the northern part of the Great Britain, including Scotland (Warner 2017). Thus, characteristics influenced by the contact with Old Norse could be inherited to the NZ English from the Scottish dialects.

The corpus search (Wellington corpus of written New Zealand English) on the NZ English written data yields an interesting result, especially in comparison with the data from Late Modern (ARCHER corpus) and Present-Day English (LOB corpus) of Standard British English presented in Toyota (2008).

Facilitative reading and subject's responsibility, typical characteristics of the middle voice, can be found in the *get*-passive, as illustrated in (1) from the corpus. This feature is present in the half of the data of the NZ English (52.4%), which is closer to the result of Late Modern English (66.1%), as opposed to that of Present-Day English (30.6%). This can be considered a sign that the NZ English has an archaic version of the *get*-passive. However, there is no instance of *get rid of* in the corpus data. This phrase was very common in Late Modern English, and as presented in Toyota (2021), this collocation can

be arguably a cause for the grammaticalisation of the *get*-passive. In addition, the result contains slightly higher percentage of the instances with the overtly-expressed agent (6.9%), exemplified in (2), as opposed to the lower frequency in Standard English (1.0%). Notice that in (2), *get* is used as an alternative for *be*.

(1)   It's a business of hype, creativity and enemies as thick as flies in summer. Because so many people get fired (or as we say in the business, "let go") and because of the high rate of client-poaching between the agencies, an enormous amount of animosity builds up. (F11 090-4)

(2)   My friend, the sergeant at Central, tells me that in New Zealand, unlike the rest of the world, only 10% of murder victims are killed by strangers. The rest of us get killed by yesterday's friends. (F11 027-30)

Thus, the *get*-passive in the NZ English seems to have the characteristics of facilitative reading and subject's responsibility, commonly found in Late Modern English, mixed with a hint of characteristics associated with the canonical *be*-passive. What is clear is that the dialectal usage in the New Zealand English, as far as the get-passive is concerned, can be a sign of archaism of grammar. The origin of the *get*-passive has been a mystery in spite of its recent emergence, but this piece of analysis can prove that dialectal variations can be a key to understand the development of the construction better.

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The Overt Focus Movement to vP Periphery in English

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The purpose of this paper is to offer a syntactic analysis to constructions like (1) under the Minimalist framework (Chomsky (2000 and subsequent work)).

(1)   One swallow does not a summer make.

One of the prominent syntactic properties is that the object *a summer* precedes the verb *make*. We henceforth call constructions as in (1) *swallow* constructions. We refer to Takizawa (2003 and subsequent work), who shows (i) that the word order pattern in *swallow* constructions produces emphatic effects in interpretation and (ii) that *swallow* constructions are productive constructions where it is possible to change their subjects, objects, and/or verbs to create extended forms of the "basic" form of (1).

Another syntactic property is that an object in the construction must be indefinite in its semantic interpretation. Consider (2).

(2)   a. * Stone walls did not necessarily this good castle make.

  b. * Bravery does not necessarily him make.

  c. Stone walls do not the best castle make.   (Kanno et al. (2022: 2))

The definite noun phrase *this good castle* and the pronoun *him* cannot appear in (2a, b). However, it is possible for superlative noun phrases to be used, as in (2c). The (un)grammaticality of the sentences in (2) indicates that *swallow* constructions are similar to *there* constructions in that they both cannot contain definite expressions but can allow superlative noun phrases.

Next, even in the word order pattern where the object precedes the verb, the object-verb set can be coordinated with the verb-object set, as in (3).

(3)   One victory does not a revolution make nor break a tradition. (Kanno et al. (2022: 4))

Assuming that coordination applies to the same categories, then in (3), two verbal domains are combined by the coordinator *and*.

We will present an account based on the vP left periphery to address the syntactic properties of *swallow* constructions. First, while the CP left periphery is related to discourse-related features such as Focus (Rizzi (1997)), this assumption is extended to the vP left periphery in Belletti (2005) and Maeda (2010, 2014) among others. We argue that the vP-edge can also possess discourse-related features such as Focus.

However, the vP left periphery is not always available as a final landing site in English. Chomsky (2015) argues that in transitive sentences, R-to-v head movement, which is a case of Pair-Merge, renders the v head invisible. It follows that the invisibility of v makes its periphery defective; therefore, the object-verb order usually is not found in English. Nevertheless, given that Pair-Merge makes invisible either of the two items involved, there should be another possibility. Otsuka (2017) claims that R undergoes Pair-Merge to v, and R becomes invisible with v remaining visible. Hence, under (4a), vP left periphery is defective, while it remains active under (4b) (shading indicates invisibility).

(4)   a. v is Pair-Merged with R. (<R, v>)   (cf. Chomsky (2015: 12))

b. R is Pair-Merged with v. (<v, R>)   (cf. Otsuka (2017: 140))

We claim that (4b) leads to *swallow* constructions. The visibility of v in (5) allows Obj to raise to the vP left periphery and stay in that position.

(5)   …[not [Obj [<v, R> [R t_{Obj}]]]]

It is worthwhile to compare the structure in (5) with *there* constructions. Maeda (2010) argues that the associate nouns move to FocusP in *there* constructions. Maeda (2010) clearly associates the [Focus] features with indefinite interpretations of noun phrases. Adopting Maeda's (2010) basic idea, we argue that Obj's movement to the vP-edge in (5) is an instance of Focus movement, explaining the definiteness effect in (2).

Based on (5) we can accommodate various empirical facts. First, given that the raised object is in the vP-edge, we can account for the grammaticality of (3): two vPs are coordinated. Second, when *swallow* constructions are used in declarative forms, the emphatic *do* appears, as in (6).

(6)   STONE walls do a prison make. … (BoE)   (Takizawa (2003: 46))
We assume that the presence of the object on the vP-edge prevents the Affix-Hopping from taking place from T to v. Therefore, the *do*-insertion helps the affix not to be stranded.

Furthermore, we reject an analysis appealing to the rightward movement of verbs. Such an analysis cannot account for the following contrast, which is reported by one of our informants.

(7)   One agreement between the two countries does not a conflict {cool down/*down cool}.

                      (Kanno et al. (2022: 6))

If the rightward movement of the verb were correct, (7) would be grammatical, contrary to fact.

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Labeling and Selection: A Case Study of *Wh*-Associated *Exactly*
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This paper aims to account for the distribution of the *wh*-associated *exactly*, integrating Chomsky's (2013, 2015) Labeling Algorithm (LA) and the selection-based labeling strategy (Mizuguchi (2019)).

Chomsky proposes that LA operates as follows: when a set of {H, XP} is created, H is selected as its label. In the case where a set of {XP, YP} is created, LA cannot determine its label uniquely because Minimal Search (MS) locates two heads. To label {XP, YP}, two ways are proposed: one is that XP, for example, raises and becomes invisible to LA through copy/chain formation. Then, the set can be labeled as the head of YP. The other is that the prominent feature shared between XP$_{[F]}$ and YP$_{[F]}$ serves as the label of the set.

However, an XP-YP configuration exists where neither movement nor feature-sharing helps its label to be determined uniquely. In (1a, b), the complements are interpreted as an interrogative clause and a free relative, respectively, though they are analyzed as a set of {*wh*P, CP}. Thus, it should give rise to the case of labeling ambiguity to be resolved somehow (see also Donati and Cecchetto (2011)).

(1) a. I'll ask what he's selling.

    b. I'll buy what he's selling.   (McCawley (1998: 455))

To solve this problem, I incorporate Mizuguchi's (2019) selection-based labeling strategy into Chomsky's LA. According to Mizuguchi, in {XP, YP}, either X or Y can be its label because MS can detect the two heads and whether the labeled set is ruled in or out is determined at the Conceptual-Intentional interface (CI). The set of {*wh*P, CP} in (1a) is ruled in at CI only if it is labeled as C(P), or <Q, Q> in Chomsky's notation because *ask* selects an interrogative clause. Mizuguchi assumes selection to be the property of CI, so if *wh*P becomes the label, the verb's selectional requirement is violated in (1a). On the other hand, the set in (1b) is ruled in at CI when the head of *wh*P is selected as its label because *buy* selects a nominal complement.

I propose that this strategy is also applied to the cases of the adverb phrase *exactly* modifying a *wh*-phrase. Consider (2).

(2) a. What/which pretzel exactly did he sell for a million dollars? (Zyman (2022: 86))

    b. Muriel put what exactly on the table with great care?!   (Zyman (2022: 90))

(2a) is schematically analyzed as in (3), where *exactly* is analyzed as AdvP and forms {*wh*P, AdvP}.

(3) [$_{<Q,Q>}$ [$_\alpha$ *wh*P AdvP] C … [$_{vP}$ Subj [$_{vP}$ *v* [$_{VP}$ V [$_\alpha$ *wh*P AdvP]]]]]

In (3), {*wh*P, AdvP} can be labeled as either *wh*P or AdvP. Then, if α is labeled as *wh*P, the verb's selectional and C's criterial requirements are satisfied at VP and CP,

respectively. Moreover, the echo question in (2b) is derived if α stay in situ unlike in (3) and is labeled as *wh*P to form a selectional relation with the verb.

Under the assumption that a copy created by movement is invisible to LA, this analysis predicts that *exactly* cannot be stranded by *wh*-movement at the complement position. If it is stranded, the set of {*wh*P, AdvP} is labeled as AdvP at VP, which then results in the violation of the verb's selectional requirement at CI. The prediction is borne out by the example in (4a), where *exactly* occupies the complement position in between the verb *put* and its locative complement. Interestingly, however, as shown in (4b), *exactly* can appear to the left of the verb *put*. The derivation is given in (5), where the whole set of {*wh*P, AdvP} is evacuated from VP to the edge of *v*P at which *exactly* is stranded by *wh*-movement. Since no selectional requirement is imposed on the set at the *v*P edge position, the set can be labeled as AdvP.

(4) a.*What did Muriel put exactly on the table with great care?   (Zyman (2022: 90))

   b. What did Muriel exactly put on the table with great care?   (Zyman (2022: 96))

(5) [$_{<Q,Q>}$ *wh*P C … [$_{vP}$ [$_{AdvP}$ *wh*P AdvP] [$_{vP}$ Subj [$_{vP}$ *v* [$_{VP}$ V [$_{whP}$ *wh*P AdvP]]]]]] (=(4b))

To account for the data at hand, Zyman (2022) proposes an analysis that makes use of the obligatory late adjunction of *exactly*. Then, he argues that (4a) is ungrammatical because it is only after the *wh*-phrase moves out of VP that the adjunct *exactly* can be adjoined to the *wh*-phrase. Thus, it cannot be stranded within VP. However, his analysis faces a problem. Consider the examples in (6), which involve anaphor binding.

(6) a.?I bought him$_i$ paintings near himself$_i$.

   b.?Which paintings near himself$_i$ did you buy him$_i$?

The example in (6a) shows that the indirect object *him* binds *himself* within VP. Then, Zyman's analysis predicts that when the direct object moves, the adjunct cannot be reconstructed within VP because the adjunct *near himself* is obligatorily late-merged. However, this is not borne out, as shown in (6b). *Himself* must be interpreted within VP so as to be bound by *him*.

This paper shows that the distribution of the *wh*-associated *exactly* can be explained in terms of labeling through selection. Furthermore, there is no need to assume Late Merge, which is essential to Zyman's analysis but is against the Strong Minimalist Thesis.

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The Right Sides of Japanese Sentences with Resultatives
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This paper examines the nature of Japanese right-dislocation constructions (RDCs). While a bi-clausal analysis has been proposed (e.g. Kuno 1987, Tanaka 2001, Takita 2011), this analysis poses a question to (1A, B), which include accusative-marked DPs and resultative predicates postverbally.

(1)   A: Taro-wa   [e] nut-ta-no   **kabe-o   nani iro-ni.**
            Taro-TOP   painted-Q   wall-ACC   what color-in
            'Did Taro paint [e]? What color did he paint the wall?'
            'What color did Taro paint the wall?'
        B: Taro-wa   [e]   nut-ta-yo   **kabe-o   akaku.**
            Taro-TOP   painted-PRT   wall-ACC   red
            'Taro painted [e]. He painted the wall red.'
            'Taro painted the fall red.'

(1A, B) are missing the objects preverbally with DPs and resultatives postverbally. Both RDCs can yield two interpretations with and without a pause between the verbs and the postverbal DPs (besides different tones). With a noticeable pause, the postverbal elements are taken as afterthoughts added later, and the preverbal element is *pro*, consistent with the bi-clausal analysis. Interestingly, the RDCs without a pause can yield mono-clausal interpretations (Simon 1989). In this case, the postverbal elements are interpreted as parts of the single clauses, not as secondary pieces of information added later. This mono-clausal interpretation of the RDC without a pause is possible even when the adjectival resultative alone occurs postverbally in (2).

(2)   Taro-wa   kabe-o   nut-ta-yo   **akaku.**
        Taro-TOP   wall-ACC   painted-PRT   red
        'Taro painted the fall red.'

The mono-clausal interpretations of RDCs challenge to the bi-clausal analysis of Japanese RDCs. Moreover, the preverbal null elements in (1A, B) cannot be accounted for. Particularly, in (1A), the preverbal null element cannot be *pro* since it cannot corefer with the postverbal wh-word.

　　　Following Hasegawa (2001), I assume (3) for Japanese resultative constructions.

(3) …[$_{VP}$ [$_{VP}$ DP Resultative] V]

　　　Under the assumption that the verb is overtly raised to T (Sato & Hayashi 2018), I propose (4) for RDCs with mono-clausal interpretations, where VP undergoes rightward movement while the verb is overtly raised to T. This analysis explains the mono-clausal interpretations of (1) and (2), the identification of the preverbal null categories as tracse of the moved elements and the correct word orders.

(4)   [$_S$ … t_i Verb] [$_{VP}$ (DP-Acc$_i$) Resultative t_v]$_i$

　　　To support the present mono-clausal analysis, I present three arguments. The first argument comes from the interpretation of the preverbal null element in (5), where the preverbal overt pronoun cannot co-refer with the combination of the DP and resultative, unlike the null element.

(5) Taro-wa   [e]$_i$/*sore$_i$ nut-ta-yo   **[kabe-o   akaku]$_i$.**
   Taro-TOP   it   painted-PRT   wall-ACC   red
   '(Intended) Taro painted the fall red.'

The impossible coreference by the overt pronoun indicates that the preverbal null element is not a covert pronominal element. Under the present analysis, the preverbal element is a trace of the postverbal element VP, and thus it is successfully accounted for.

The second argument for the current analysis involves a Condition C effect in the RDC that involves the resultative constructions postverbally (6a) (Kageyama and Shin 2022), for which I propose the schema (6b).

(6)   a. *Mary-ga   kare$_i$-ni [e]   nobasaseta-yo,   **[John$_i$-no   karada]-o   massuguni**.
         Mary-Nom him-for   stretch-made-Prt John-Gen   body-Acc   straight
         'Mary made him$_i$ stretched [e], John$_i$'s body straight.'   (Adapted from Abe 1999)
      b. [Pronoun$_i$ [t_k Verb]] [$_{VP}$ Name$_i$-NP Resultative t_V]$_k$

(6a) shows a violation of Condition C once the preverbal pronoun corefers with the name within the postverbal DP. Note that the ungrammaticality of (6a) cannot be accounted for in the bi-clausal analysis since the construction yield a mono-clausal interpretation. What is also significant here is that the violation should not be observed in the bi-clausal analysis since the postverbal element should be located at a higher position than the pronoun in the bi-clausal construction.

Moreover, the resultative predicate of the spurious resultative construction (Washio 1997), which is analyzed as an adjunct (e.g. Takamine 2007, Kageyama and Shin 2022), can appear postverbally in (7).

(7)   Taro-ga   kutuhimo-o   musunda, [$_{VP}$ **kataku**].
      Taro-Nom   shoe.lace-Acc   tie.past   tight
      'Taro tied his shoelaces tight'

Under the general assumption that an adjunct does not move (Reeve & Hick 2017), I suggest that the postverbal adverb occurs in VP and results from rightward movement of VP, in favor of the current analysis.

The present paper analyzes Japanese RDCs with resultative constructions postverbally and shows the existence of two interpretations (see (1) and (2). It demonstrates that some constructions involve rightward movement of VP and thus that the uniform treatment of RDCs in the bi-analysis is on the right track. It also offers a further support of the string-vacuous verbal movement in Japanese.

Selected references:
Sato, Y. & Hayashi, S. 2018. String-Vacuous Head Movement in Japanese: New Evidence from Verb-Echo Answers. *Syntax* 21.1, 72-90.
Hasegawa, N. 2001. Resultatives and language variations: Result phrases and VV compounds. In Mineharu Nakayama and Charles J. Quinn, Jr. (eds.), Japanese/Korean linguistics 9, 269–282. Stanford: CSLI Publications. (799)

The Unique Scope Property of Japanese Negative Imperatives

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Introduction This study deals with the structure of Japanese negative imperatives. It is observed by Shibata (2015) a.o. that the Japanese focus particle *dake* 'only' obligatorily takes wide scope w.r.t. negation *nai* in declaratives as in (1). However, in negative imperatives, scope ambiguity of *dake* w.r.t. the negative imperative morpheme *na* arises as in (2):

(1) Taroo-dake   ko-nakat-ta.

    Taro-only   come-NEG-PAST

    'Everyone other than Taro came.'   (*dake > nai*)

    'There was someone other than Taro who came, and Taro came.'   (**nai > dake*)

(2) Taroo-dake   ku-ru-na!

    Taro-only   come-PRES-NEG

    'Taro is prohibited from coming, but everyone except Taro is not.'   (*dake > na*)
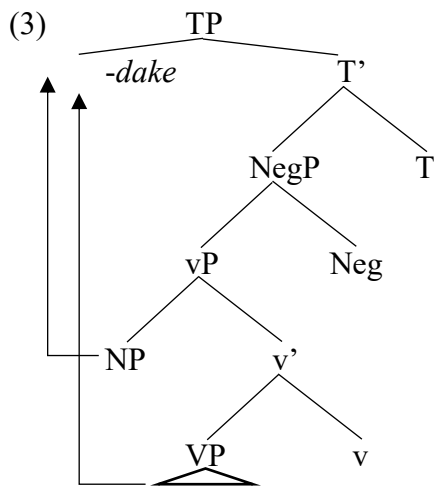
    'It is prohibited that Taro comes alone.'   (*na > dake*)

The Main Claim The present study claims that the structure of Japanese negative imperative differs from that of negative declaratives in that *na* is base-generated higher than T. The claim immediately explains the wide scope reading of negation in (2), which is unavailable in negative declaratives as in (1). It also assumes that the other reading in (2) arises from optional movement of a focused element across *na*, but we will not go into details in this presentation.

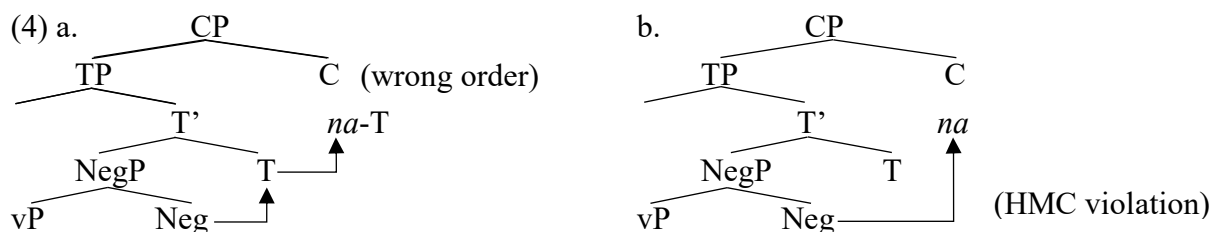**The Derivations of Negative Declaratives and Imperatives** Shibata (2015) proposes that *nai* is located between TP and vP, and all elements in vP must move above *nai* for reasons of the morphological merger as in (3). He claims that the scopal behavior of *dake* in declaratives can be captured by the copy theory and Fox's (2003) Trace Conversion. This operation targets a lower copy of movement and converts it into the equivalent of trace by inserting a variable into a lower copy and replacing a determiner with *the*. Following Rooth (1985), Shibata (2015) assumes that *dake* is adjoined outside of a determiner. Given this, if *dake* is adjoined at a lower copy, it cannot be the target of determiner replacement. This

(3)

results in *dake* being interpreted twice at the higher and lower copies and leads to improper interpretation. To avoid this, Shibata (2015) argues acyclic insertion of *dake* to the higher copy and the unavailability of the reconstruction of *dake* below *nai*. This results in obligatory wide scope of *dake* w.r.t. *nai* in negative declaratives. Let us turn to negative imperatives. When the reading is *na > dake*, *na* must be able to c-command *dake*. One aspect remains to be explained: there are two possible ways to locate *na* above *dake* in order to capture scope ambiguity in negative imperatives. That is, (i) *na* is base-generated at the same position as *nai*, and then it

optionally moves above T via head movement. (ii) *na* is base-generated above T, and the scope ambiguity arises from optional movement of elements across *na*, followed by the late insertion of *dake* to the moved elements. This study rejects the former analysis and claims that the latter is the way to be pursued.

Argument against the HM Analysis The argument against the HM analysis comes from the morpheme order within a negative imperative verb. As (2) shows, the order of morphemes is verb-tense-*na*. On the relation between morphology and syntax, Baker (1985) proposes the Mirror Principle, which states that 'the morphological ordering known via the morpheme order must match the syntax.' Concretely speaking, if affix A precedes affix B within a word, a syntactic process which adds affix A to a root must precede that of affix B. If *na* moves above T via head movement, because it is roll-up movement, *na* forms a complex head with T on the way to the final landing site, and then the order between *na* and T is fixed in accordance with the Mirror Principle. Given that *na* is generated at the same position as *nai*, the Mirror Principle wrongly requires that the morphemes within a negative imperative verb should be ordered as verb-*na*-tense, because the merge of *nai* with a verb precedes that of T. Therefore, if *na* is generated at the same position as *nai*, HM cannot derive the correct morpheme order as in (4a). Moreover, even if *na* skips T and goes directly above T, such movement is excluded since it violates the Head Movement Constraint (Travis 1984) as in (4b). Because *na* cannot move above T via HM, the *na > dake* reading is unavailable in the HM analysis.

(4) a.
```
            CP
      TP          C   (wrong order)
          T'    na-T
     NegP      T
  vP      Neg
```
b.
```
            CP
      TP          C
          T'    na
     NegP      T
  vP      Neg          (HMC violation)
```

Argument for the Base-generation analysis If *na* is base-generated above T, the order of morphemes within a verb can be derived correctly. In addition, because *na* is base-generated above T in this structure, it can take scope over *dake* when an element to which *dake* is adjoined optionally remains within TP. Consequently, the *na > dake* reading becomes available. In contrast, the *dake > na* reading derives when an element optionally moves above *na* followed by acyclic insertion of *dake* to the moved element. Considering these arguments, the base-generation analysis outweighs the HM analysis. Therefore, this study claims that *na* is located higher than T, and that it is base-generated there.

Conclusion This study argues that the structure of Japanese negative imperatives is different from negative declaratives in that *na* is base-generated above T, and that the configuration captures ambiguities between *na* and *dake*. Furthermore, the structure fits the order of morphemes within negative imperative verbs in which *na* precedes tense.

Selected References Baker, M. 1985. The mirror principle and morphosyntactic explanation. *Linguistic Inquiry*. Fox, D. 2003. On logical form. In *Minimalist Syntax*. Shibata, Y. 2015. Negative structure and object movement in Japanese. *JEAL*.