

# Exception Conjunctions and *Sika-nai* Constructions: A Preliminary Study\*

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## Abstract

*In this paper, I will present two proposals. First, I propose that sika-nai constructions in Japanese should be analyzed in the same way as exception conjunctions in English, paying attention to the fact that NPs followed by sika can occur with additional NPs with a Case-particle. A motivation for my proposal comes from some semantic similarities between sika-nai constructions and exception conjunctions. Further, I will argue that additional NPs move to sika NPs for getting an appropriate interpretation at LF, along the line of Reinhart's (1991) analysis that a correlate moves to an except phrase for an interpretation, contrary to the recent minimalist assumption that movement is driven by some morphological features.*

*Keywords: exception conjunctions, sika-nai constructions, LF-movement, non-feature-driven movement*

## 1. Introduction

*Sika-nai* constructions in Japanese have been paid much attention to in the literature. It is well-known that as one of the most important properties, *sika* phrases must be within the context of negation, like other negative polarity items such as *daremo* "anybody" and *nanimo* "anything." This paper focuses on two properties of *sika* phrases. One is that *sika* phrases express an exception in the set theoretic sense. The other property is that phrases followed by *sika* can occur with additional phrases with a Case-particle or a postposition. Based on these two properties, I will pursue the parallelism between *sika-nai* constructions and exception conjunctions in English.

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\* I am indebted to Noriko Imanishi, Chris Tancredi and Akira Watanabe for invaluable suggestions and comments. I would like to thank Takaomi Kato, Masakazu Kuno, Harumasa Miyashita, Terue Nakato, Masaki Ohno, Kayono Siobara, Akiko Terunuma, Tomokazu Takehisa and Michiyo Yamamoto for judgements and discussions. My thanks also go to Kazuma Fujimaki, Shoichi Takahashi and Yukiko Ueda for comments and discussions. All the remaining inadequacies are my own.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 1 discusses some properties of exception conjunctions, reviewing Reinhart's (1991) analysis of exception conjunctions and some problems with her analysis. In Section 2, I will propose that the semantics of *sika-nai* constructions are similar to that of exception conjunctions. Further, I will show that additional NPs move to *sika* NPs at LF, on a par with exception conjunctions. Section 3 summarizes the paper.

## 2. Exception conjunctions: Reinhart (1991)

### 2.1. Two possible alternative analyses

Reinhart (1991) calls the sentences in (1) "exception conjunctions."

- (1) a. No-one kissed his mother, except (for) Felix.
- b. Max was upset with every woman after the meeting, except Lucie.
- c. No-one will show up, but Max.
- d. You should invite no journalist to the party, but Felix.

(Reinhart 1991: 362)

On the surface form, although *except* phrases and their correlates are discontinuous, they are interpreted as a single NP. For example, (1a) is interpreted as (2), where the *except* phrase and its correlate form one conjoined NP.

- (2) [No-one except (for) Felix] kissed his mother.

Reinhart provides two possible analyses, the ellipsis analysis and the extraposition analysis, and then points out some problems with them. First, one might say that exception conjunctions are analyzed as ellipsis sentences on a par with (3).

- (3) a. everyone smiled. Even Lucie did.
- b. Everyone ( $\lambda x (x \text{ smiled})$ ). Even Lucie did ( $\lambda x (x \text{ smiled})$ ).
- c. Everyone smiled. Even Lucie smiled.

In (3a), the predicate ( $\lambda x (x \text{ smiled})$ ) in the first sentence is copied into the empty constituent in the second sentence at LF, which leads to the interpretation given in (3b). Therefore, (3a) has the same interpretation as the non-elliptic sentence in (3c).

However, according to Reinhart, applying the same procedure to exception-conjunctions yields a wrong interpretation.

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- (4) a. No linguist smiled except/but Lucie.  
b. No linguist smiled, but Lucie smiled. (Lucie a linguist)

If we copy a predicate from the first conjunct into the second conjunct in (4a), the result will be the interpretation given in (4b), which is not the correct interpretation of (4a) but a contradictory sentence.

Second, the other possible analysis is that *except* phrases undergo extraposition. On this approach, (5b) is derived from (5a). Thus, *except Lucie* undergoes extraposition, as shown in (5c).

- (5) a. No linguist except Lucie smiled.  
b. No linguist smiled, except Lucie.  
c. [No linguist  $t_i$ ] smiled [except Lucie].

However, Reinhart points out that exception conjunctions exhibit different syntactic restrictions from extraposition. First, extraposition exhibits clause-boundedness while exception conjunctions do not, as shown in the contrast between (6a) and (6b).

- (6) a. \*The editor agreed to publish [many reviews  $t_i$ ], when we pressed him,  
[about this book],  
b. The editor did not agree to publish anything, when we pressed him,  
[except one short review].

(Reinhart 1991: 365)

Note that *when we pressed him* modifies the matrix clause. (6a) is ungrammatical because *about this book*, which is in the embedded infinitival clause, undergoes extraposition across the clause boundary. If *except one short review* in (6b) were to undergo extraposition on a par with *about this book* in (6a), then the sentence should be ungrammatical, contrary to fact. The acceptability of (6b) suggests that (6b) does not involve extraposition.

Second, strong determiners do not allow extraposition, as shown in (7a). On the other hand, exception conjunctions do not obey such a restriction. In (7b), *except Felix* is associated with *everyone*, which is a strong determiner. The acceptability of (7b) suggests that exception conjunctions do not involve extraposition.

- (7) a. \*Most reviews/every review appeared already [about this book].  
 b. Everyone disappeared, except Felix

(ibid.)

Third, extraposition from the subject position is not allowed, as shown in (8a). If *except Felix* undergoes extraposition on a par with the relative clause *who went to school with me* in (8a), then it is wrongly predicted that (8b) should be ungrammatical.

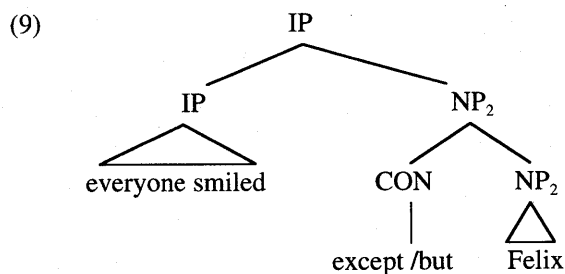
- (8) a. \*[Jokes about a woman  $t_i$ ] were told [who went to school with me]<sub>i</sub>.  
 b. [Jokes about everyone] were told [except Felix].

(ibid.)

Therefore, the acceptability of (8b) suggests that *except* phrases do not undergo extraposition. To sum up, Reinhart rejects the extraposition analysis, for the three reasons above.

## 2.2. QR analysis

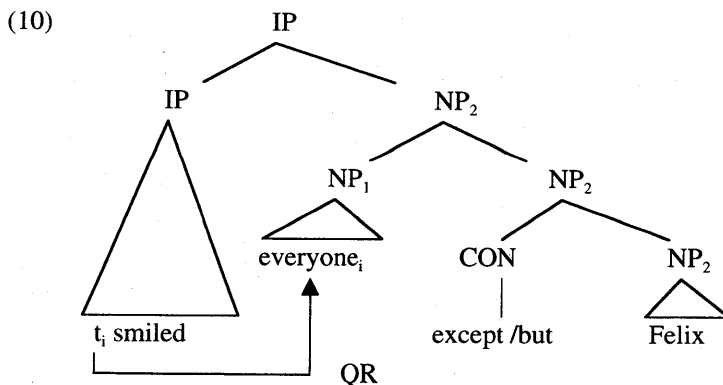
Reinhart assumes that *except* phrases are base-generated and adjoined (or conjoined) to IP, as shown in (9).



*Except* phrases can normally form a constituent only with a noun phrase. Therefore,  $NP_2$  in (9) is uninterpretable as a sentential modifier and hence the structure above is uninterpretable as it is. Reinhart assumes that the relevant interpretation is obtained by QR at LF.<sup>1</sup> The correlate *everyone* undergoes QR and adjoins to the *except* phrase,

<sup>1</sup> See also Nishida (1998) for an alternative approach to exception conjunctions in English without appealing to QR. I will leave for future research the comparison of his analysis with Reinhart's for the lack of space.

which creates a new NP, *everyone except/but Felix*, as shown in (10).<sup>2</sup>



However, the movement of the correlate to the *except* phrase for interpretation is very different from QR in the canonical sense. First, QR normally adjoins quantified expressions to the highest node while QR in exception conjunctions adjoins ones to NP dominated by the highest node.

Second, as Reinhart herself discusses, it does not exhibit clause-boundedness, as illustrated in (11).

- (11) Lucie did not admit that she stole anything, when we pressed her, [except  
the little red book].

(Reinhart 1991: 374)

Under Reinhart's analysis, the correlate *anything* undergoes QR and adjoins to *except*

<sup>2</sup> The following sentence seems to be problematic to Reinhart's analysis.

(i) Everyone loves noone<sub>i</sub> except his<sub>i</sub> father.

Under Reinhart's analysis, *everyone* undergoes QR and adjoins to *except his father* for interpretation. Further *noone* can undergo QR and take scope over the subject *everyone*. Therefore, Reinhart's analysis predicts the following interpretation:

(ii)  $\neg\exists x [\forall y \text{ except } x\text{'s father: } y \text{ loves } x]$ .

However, according to Chris Tancredi (personal communication), (i) does not have the interpretation given in (ii). In this paper, I speculate that this interpretation is blocked by some syntactic constraint, for example, the Crossing constraint. Specifically, in (ii), *noone* moves left while *everyone* moves right, which makes the two A-bar dependencies cross, as shown in (iii).

(iii) [noone<sub>i</sub>]<sub>k</sub> [t<sub>j</sub> loves t<sub>k</sub> [everyone<sub>j</sub> except his<sub>i</sub> father]].

(iii) is ruled out by the Crossing constraint on a par with (iv).

(iv) \*Who<sub>i</sub> do you know [what<sub>j</sub> subject [PRO to talk to t<sub>i</sub> about t<sub>j</sub>]]?

*the little red book* at LF and makes a new NP. This movement crosses a clause-boundary, which is not allowed in the standard QR.<sup>3</sup>

Further, as Brody (1995) observes, correlate QPs in the embedded clause do not take scope over the matrix subject.

(12) Someone will admit that we stole everything if you insist, except the car.

(\*everything > someone)

(Brody 1995: 115)

According to Brody, Reinhart's analysis predicts that *everything* in (12) should undergo QR and adjoin to *except the car*, taking scope over the matrix subject *someone*. However, this prediction is not borne out. In (12), *everything* does not take wide scope over *someone*.<sup>4</sup>

As has been reviewed, Reinhart argues that the movement of the correlate to the *except* phrase for interpretation is QR. Furthermore, Reinhart attempts to capture Bare Argument Ellipsis in (13a) and Comparative Ellipsis in (13b) in a unified fashion, which forces her to give up QR analysis. Under Reinhart's analysis, *the critics* undergoes movement and adjoins to *the public* at LF. Similarly, *Bach* undergoes

<sup>3</sup> Reinhart observes that exception conjunctions exhibit island effects, based on (i) where the Complex NP island blocks exception conjunctions.

(i) \*The fact that [all politicians resigned] got much publicity except the defense minister. However, (i) violates not only the Complex NP island but also the Subject Condition. According to Chris Tancredi (personal communication), (ii), where the Complex NP island is in the complement position, is more acceptable than (i).

(ii) Bill told me [the fact that he stole everything], when I asked him, except the car. Furthermore, the following sentences are also more acceptable than (i).

(iii)a. Bill told me his comments [before I read every book], when I asked him, except LGB.

b. Bill told us [how we might get all the goods to Felix], when I asked him, except the diamonds.

(iiia) is an example of the adjunct condition and (iiib) is an example of a *wh*-island. I will investigate island effects in exception conjunctions more deeply in the future.

<sup>4</sup> Brody (1995) doubts that exception conjunctions exhibit clause-boundedness. He claims that there is some 'stylistic' reordering between the *except* phrase and the interpolated clause, *if you insist*, which creates a degree of acceptability in (12). The matrix element in (i), *to our friends*, which follows the embedded clause, is less easily taken to be interpolated material subject to such reordering. Therefore, it is predicted that (i) should be less acceptable than (12). This prediction is borne out.

(i) \*John admitted [that Mary stole everything] to our friends except the diamonds.

(Brody 1995: 115)

In other words, if Brody is correct, (12) does not suggest that exception conjunctions do not exhibit clause-boundedness. However, according to Chris Tancredi (personal communication), both (i) and (12) are quite acceptable. Since the ungrammaticality of (i) is not clear, I will

movement and adjoins to *Mozart* for interpretation. Since *the critics* and *Bach* are not quantified NPs, the relevant movement in (13) is not a standard case of QR. Therefore, Reinhart baptizes the relevant movement “non-quantificational QR.”

- (13) a. The critics liked your book and the public-too.  
b. More people love Bach than Mozart.

(Reinhart 1991: 362)

Although Reinhart’s idea that non-quantificational QR is involved in exception conjunctions, Bare Argument Ellipsis and Comparative Ellipsis seems to be basically correct, it is far from clear what is “non-quantificational QR”

I suggest that “non-quantificational QR” is another type of movement, namely scrambling.<sup>5</sup> If so, it is obvious that *everything* does not take scope over the matrix subject *someone* in (12) because long distance scrambling does not induce scope interactions, as discussed in Oka (1989), Tada (1993) and Abe (1993), among others.<sup>6</sup> The relevant example is given in (14b).

- (14) a. Dareka-ga [John-ga daremo-o aisiteiru to] omotteiru.  
Someone-Nom John-Nom everyone-Acc love Comp think  
‘Someone thinks that John loves everyone.’  
b. Daremo-o<sub>i</sub> [dareka-ga [John-ga *t<sub>i</sub>* aisiteiru to] omotteiru].  
everyone-Acc someone-Nom John-Nom love Comp think  
‘Everyone, someone thinks that John loves.’

In (14b), *daremo-o* ‘everyone’ undergoes long distance scrambling from the embedded clause to the sentence initial position. However, *daremo-o* ‘everyone’ cannot take wide scope over the matrix subject *dareka-ga* ‘someone.’

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examine the possibility that stylistic reordering is involved in (12) in the future.

<sup>5</sup> Alternatively, as suggested by Akira Watanabe (personal communication), there is a possibility that when a correlate moves to an *except* phrase, the quantificational part of a correlate does not move to an *except*-phrase but the restriction of a correlate only moves. In particular, in (12), only *thing* moves to *except the car* and *every* does not move, as shown in (12). Therefore, the fact that *everything* does not take wide scope over *someone* is naturally explained.

- (i) Someone will admit that we stole [every *t<sub>i</sub>*] if you insist, [thing<sub>i</sub> [except the car]].

I will examine this possibility more deeply in the future.

<sup>6</sup> In this paper, I will use the following notation.

Nom = nominative, Dat = dative, Gen = genitive, Acc = accusative, Top = topic, Comp = complementizer, Past = past, Post = postposition, Neg = negation, Part = participle





scrambled and adjoined to *Mozart*, which creates a new NP *Bach than Mozart* in (17b).

To sum up, the assumption that “non-quantificational QR” is scrambling resolves the problem in (12) which Brody (1995) points out, and captures exception conjunctions, Bare Argument Ellipsis and Comparative Ellipsis in a unified way.

### 3. *Sika* phrases with additional phrases

#### 3.1. Some similarities between *except* NPs and *sika* NPs

In this section, I will argue that *sika* in *sika-nai* constructions in Japanese functions semantically like *except* in exception conjunctions where the correlate has a negative determiner. The *sika-nai* construction is illustrated in (18).

- (18) a. John-sika ko-nakat-ta.  
           John-sika come-Neg-Past  
           ‘Only John came.’  
       b. John-ga LGB-sika yoma-nakat-ta.  
           John-Nom LGB-sika read-Neg-Past  
           ‘John read only LGB.’

Importantly, *sika* must occur with negation. If there is no negation, the sentences in (18) become ungrammatical, as shown below.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Another important property is whether *sika-nai* constructions exhibit clause-boundedness, which is controversial. As Muraki (1978) observes, *sika* phrases and negation must be clause-mates, as shown in (i).

- (i) a. John-sika [Mary-ga LGB-o yonda] to omowa-nakat-ta.  
           John-sika Mary-Nom LGB-Acc read Comp think-Neg-Past  
           ‘Only John thought that Mary read LGB.’  
       b. \*John-sika [Mary-ga LGB-o yonde-inai] to omotta.  
           John-sika Mary-Nom LGB-Acc read-Neg Comp thought  
           ‘Only John thought that Mary read LGB.’

(ia) is grammatical because both *John-sika* ‘John-sika’ and negation are in the matrix clause. In contrast, in (ib), *John-sika* ‘John-sika’ is in the matrix clause while negation is in the embedded clause, which leads to ungrammaticality.

However, Tanaka (1997) claims that *sika* phrases and negation need not be clause-mates, based on the following example.

- (ii) a. (?)Taroo-ga [Hanako-sika LGB-o yonda] to iwa-nai.  
           Taro-Nom Hanako-sika LGB-Acc read Comp say-Neg  
           ‘Taro says that it was only Hanako who read LGB.’  
       b. ?[Taroo-ga [Hanako-ga LGB-sika yonda] to iwa-nai.  
           Taro-Nom Hanako-Nom LGB-sika read Comp say-Neg  
           ‘Taro says that Hanako read only LGB.’

(Tanaka 1997: 148)

- (19) a. \*John-sika ki-ta.  
John-sika come-Past  
'Only John came.'
- b. \*John-ga LGB-sika yon-da.  
John-Nom LGB-sika read-Past  
'John read only LGB.'

As Aoyagi and Ishii (1993) note, *sika* NPs can occur with additional NPs with a Case-particle, as illustrated in (20).<sup>9</sup>

- (20) a. John-ga ringo-sika (kudamono-o) tabe-na-katta  
John-Nom apple-sika fruit-Acc eat-Neg-Past  
'(Among fruits), John ate only apples.'  
(Aoyagi and Ishii 1993: 297)
- b. John-sika (gakusei-ga) ko-na-katta.  
John-sika student-Nom come-Neg-Past  
'(Among students), only John came.'

In (20), *kudamono-o* ‘fruit-Acc’ and *gakusei-ga* ‘student-Nom’ optionally appear with *ringo-sika* ‘apple-sika’ and *John-sika* ‘John-sika,’ respectively. NPs marked with *sika* must belong to the restriction of the additional NPs. In particular, (20) implies that

In (ii), *Hanako-sika* is in the embedded clause while negation is in the matrix clause, which violates the clause-mate condition on a par with (ib). According to Tanaka, the sentences in (ii) are more acceptable than the sentence in (ib). The crucial difference between (ia) and (ib) is that the hierarchical relation between *sika*-phrases and negation, as illustrated in (iii).

- (iii) a. \*[<sub>CP</sub> sika...[<sub>CP</sub> ...Neg...]]  
b. [<sub>CP</sub> Neg...[<sub>CP</sub> ...sika...]]

In (iiia), *sika* is in the matrix clause while *Neg* is in the embedded clause and in (iiib) they are reversed. However, my judgement is that (iiib) is not so acceptable. It is true that (iia) is acceptable, but *Hanako-sika* 'Hanako-sika' in (iia) can be analyzed as a 'major object,' as argued in Hoji (1990), Ishii (1990), and Aoyagi and Ishii (1993), among others. If the 'major object' analysis is correct, (iia) is not a counterexample to the clause-mate condition. In this paper, I will not discuss whether *sika-nai* constructions exhibit clause-boundedness anymore.

<sup>9</sup> Other NPIs such as *daremo* 'anybody' and *nanimo* 'anything' can occur with their extra NPs, as observed by Kawashima and Kitahara (1992) and Fujita (1994), among others.

- (i) a. Gakusei-ga daremo kuruma-o kawa-nakat-ta.  
Student-Nom anyone car-Acc buy-Neg-Past  
'Any students didn't buy a car.'
- b. John-ga namamono-o nanimo kawa-nakat-ta.  
John-Nom raw food-Acc anything buy-Neg-Past  
'John didn't buy any raw food.'

(Kawashima and Kitahara 1992: 144)

apples are a member of the set of fruits and that *John* is a member of the set of students. Therefore, if NPs marked with *sika* are not members of the set denoted by of additional NPs, then the sentences are ungrammatical.

- (21) a. \*John-ga ringo-sika sakana-o tabe-na-katta  
           John-Nom apple-sika fish-Acc eat-Neg-Past  
           ‘Among fish, John ate only apples.’  
       b. \*John-sika zyosi-gakusei-ga ko-na-katta.  
           John-sika girl student-Nom come-Neg-Past  
           ‘Among girl students, only John came.’

(21a) is ungrammatical because an apple is not a member of the set of fish, similarly for (21b).

This semantic constraint on additional NPs and *sika* NPs is reminiscent of *except* phrases.<sup>10</sup> (22) implies that *John* is a member of the set of students and that *LGB* is a member of the set of books.

- (22) a. No student except John came.  
       b. John read no book except LGB.

I propose that *sika* functions like *except* semantically.<sup>11</sup> An NP marked with *sika* is subtracted from the set of an additional NP. That is, an NP marked with *sika* is an exception. Specifically, *John* is subtracted from the set of students in (20b). In other words, the interpretation of (20b) is that *John* is an exception and any other student did not come. (20b), which is repeated as (23a), is paraphrased as (23b).

- (23) a. John-sika (gakusei-ga) ko-na-katta.  
           John-sika student-Nom come-Neg-Past  
           ‘(Among students), only John came.’  
       b. John-igai (gakusei-ga) ko-na-katta.  
           John-except (student-Nom) come-Neg-Past  
           ‘No student except John came.’

Furthermore, I assume that *gakusei-ga* ‘student-Nom’ and *John-sika* ‘John-sika’ are

<sup>10</sup> I would like to thank Akira Watanabe (personal communication) for suggesting to me that *sika* phrases are similar to *except* phrases.

<sup>11</sup> See Moltman (1995) for the detailed semantics of *except*.

interpreted entirely as one NP on a par with *no student except John* in (23a). In other words, they are assigned a theta-role as an entire NP by the verb *ko-na-katta* 'come-Neg-Past'

Finally, I mention cases where additional NPs do not appear overtly.

- (24) John-ga ringo-sika pro tabe-na-katta  
 John-Nom apple-sika pro eat-Neg-Past  
 'John ate only apples.'

As shown in (24), I assume that *pro* exists, which corresponds to *kudamono-o* 'fruit-Acc' in (20a).

### 3.2. Additional phrases move to *sika*-phrases.

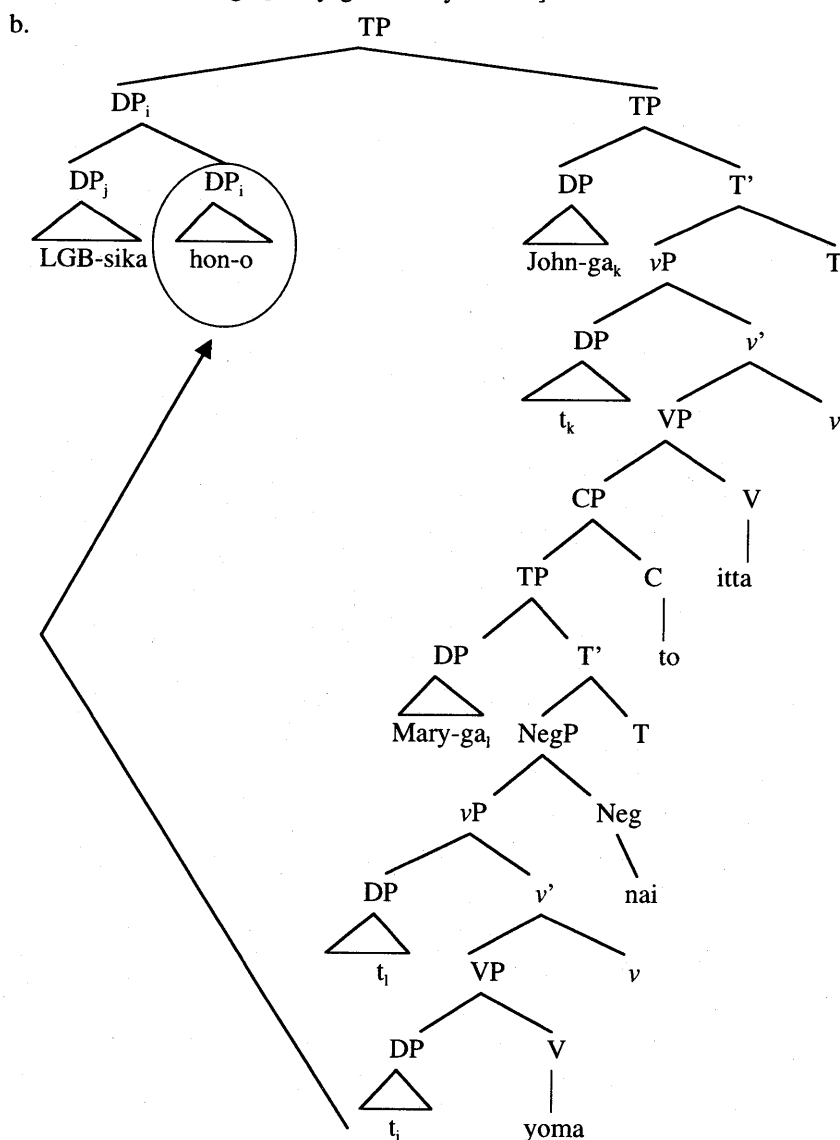
In this section, I will consider cases where *sika* NPs and additional NPs are discontinuous. The relevant sentence is given in (25) where *LGB-sika* 'LGB-sika' and *hon-o* 'book-Acc' do not make a constituent on the surface.

- (25) LGB-sika [<sub>TP</sub> John-ga [Mary-ga hon-o yoma-nai] to itta].  
 LGB-sika John-Nom Mary-Nom book-Acc read-Neg Comp said  
 'Only LGB, John said that Mary read.'

I make the following assumptions. First, *LGB-sika* is base-generated, adjoining to the matrix IP, not scrambled from the embedded clause in (25). In section 3.3, I will discuss why *LGB-sika* is not scrambled from the embedded clause. Second, following the discussion in the previous subsection, I assume that *hon-o* 'book-Acc' and *LGB-sika* must be interpreted as a single constituent at LF.

I propose that additional NPs move to *sika* NPs for getting an appropriate interpretation at LF on a par with exception conjunctions. (26b) is an exposition illustrating the derivation of (25).

(26) a. LGB-sika John-ga [Mary-ga hon-o yomanai] to itta.



In (26b), the additional NP *hon-o* 'book-Acc' moves to *LGB-sika* 'LGB-sika' at LF for making a new NP on a par with exception conjunctions. This movement crosses a clause-boundary, which is reminiscent of exception conjunctions. As has been discussed in section 1, exception conjunctions do not exhibit clause-boundedness either.


Note that *hon-o* 'book-Acc' cannot c-command its trace in (26b), which should

induce violation of the Proper Binding Condition.<sup>12</sup> Therefore, I assume that the index of *hon-o* 'book-Acc' is percolated into the new created DP. Therefore, the new created DP *LGB-sika hon-o* 'LGB-sika book-Acc' can bind the trace of *hon-o* 'book-Acc'.

The present analysis provides an explanation for the island effect in (27b). (27b) exhibits an island violation, on a par with (27a).

- (27) a. ??LGB-o<sub>i</sub> John-ga [<sub>island</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* katta hito]-o sagasiteiru.  
 LGB-Acc John-Nom bought person-Acc looking for  
 'LGB, John is looking for the person who bought.'  
 b. ??LGB-sika John-ga [hon-o kawa-nakat-ta hito]-o sagasiteiru.  
 LGB-sika John-Nom book buy-Neg-Past person-Acc looking for  
 'Only LGB, John is looking for the person who bought.'

In (27a), *LGB-o* undergoes scrambling, crossing a relative clause boundary. Note that (27b) has the same status as (27a), which suggests that movement is involved in (27b). Under the present analysis, (27b) has the following LF representation.

- (28) ??[[LGB-sika][hon-o]<sub>i</sub>]<sub>i</sub>[<sub>TP</sub> John-ga [<sub>island</sub> [*t<sub>i</sub>* kawa-nakat-ta] hito]-o  
  
 sagasiteiru].

In (28), *hon-o* 'book' moves to *LGB-sika*, 'LGB-sika' crossing the relative clause at LF. Under the assumption that LF movement is subject to Subjacency, it is correctly expected that (28) should exhibit Subjacency effects.<sup>13</sup>

### 3.3. Alternative analyses: scrambling analysis

#### 3.3.1. The first alternative analysis

In this subsection, I will examine alternative analyses of (25), repeated as (29a). (29a) would appear at first glance to have the derivation given in (29b) where *LGB sika* 'LGB-sika' and *hon-o* 'book-Acc' form a constituent as a DP and the former undergoes long distance scrambling.

<sup>12</sup> I thank Chris Tancredi (personal communication) for pointing out this point to me.

<sup>13</sup> In this paper, I assume that LF movement is subject to Subjacency. However, Takahashi and Kasai (1999) argue that Subjacency is a condition on PF representations, which leads to the conclusion that LF movement is not subject to Subjacency. I will leave the issue whether LF movement is subject to Subjacency for future research.

- (29) a. LGB-sika [<sub>TP</sub> John-ga [Mary-ga hon-o yoma-nai] to itta].  
 LGB-sika John-Nom Mary-Nom book-Acc read-Neg Comp said  
 ‘Only LGB, John said that Mary read.’  
 b. LGB-sika<sub>i</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> John-ga [Mary-ga [<sub>DP</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* hon-o] yomanai] to itta].  
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On this approach, I make the following assumptions.

- (30) a. *LGB sika* ‘LGB-sika’ and *hon-o* ‘book-Acc’ are base-generated as a constituent DP.  
 b. *LGB sika* ‘LGB-sika’ undergoes scrambling from DP before Spell-Out.  
 c. At LF, *LGB-sika* ‘LGB-sika’ undergoes reconstruction into the original position and then, it is interpreted with *hon-o* ‘book-Acc’ as a single DP.

However, there are two problems with this analysis. First, Japanese does not allow scrambling from DP, as shown in (31).

- (31) ?? Gengogaku-nituite-no<sub>i</sub> [ John-ga [Mary-ga [<sub>DP</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* hon-o]  
 Linguistics-about-Gen John-Nom Mary-Nom book-Acc  
 yonda] to itta.  
 read Comp said  
 ‘About linguistics, John said that Mary read books.’

One might say that (31) is ungrammatical because the NP marked with the genitive marker *no* is separated from its host NP. However, an NP marked with *no* can be separated from its host NP, as shown in (32).

- (32) [John-ga Mary-ga [<sub>DP</sub> *t* hon-o] yoma-nai to itta-yo],  
 John-Nom Mary-Nom book-Acc read-Neg Comp said-Part  
 gengogaku-nituite-no.  
 linguistics-about-Gen  
 ‘About linguistics, John said that Mary read books *t*.’

In (32), *gengogaku-nituite-no* ‘linguistics-about-Gen’ is right dislocated.

Second, *sika* phrases can be associated with an adjunct PP.

- (33) a. [<sub>PP</sub> Zyuriana-de-sika disuko-de]<sub>i</sub> [Terue-ga [Akiko-ga *t<sub>i</sub>* odora-nai]  
 Zyuriana-Post-sika disco-Post Terue-Nom Akiko-Nom dance-Neg  
 to itta]  
 Comp said
- b. Zyuriana-de-sika<sub>i</sub> [Terue-ga [Akiko-ga [<sub>PP</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* disuko-de]  
 Zyuriana-Post-sika Terue-Nom Akiko-Nom disco-Post  
 odoranai] to itta].  
 dance-Neg Comp said  
 'Among disco, Terue said that Akiko danced only at Zyuriana.'

(33a) suggests that *Zyuriana-de-sika disuko-de* 'Zyuriana-Post-sika disco-Post' makes a constituent. If *Zyuriana-de-sika* 'Zuriana-Post-sika' moved out of the adjunct PP in (33b), it should exhibit adjunct condition effects, on a par with (34).

- (34) \*Sono-hon-o<sub>i</sub> John-ga [minna-ga *t<sub>i</sub>* kau node] tigau hon-o katta  
 that book-Acc John-Nom all-Nom buy because different hon-o katta  
 'Because everyone buys that book, John bought a different one.'

(Saito 1985: 247)

Saito (1985) argues that scrambling in Japanese exhibits adjunct condition effects, based on the ungrammaticality of (34). For the two reasons above, I do not adopt this alternative analysis.

### 3.3.2. The second alternative analysis

In this section, I will examine another alternative analyses of (25), which is repeated as (35) again.

- (35) LGB-sika [<sub>TP</sub> John-ga [Mary-ga hon-o yoma-nai] to itta].  
 LGB-sika John-Nom Mary-Nom book-Acc read-Neg Comp said  
 'Only LGB, John said that Mary read.'


On this alternative analysis, I make the following assumptions.

- (36) a. *LGB-sika* 'LGB-sika' is base-generated as an adjunct, adjoining to VP in the embedded clause and *hon-o* 'book-Acc' is base-generated as an object of the embedded verb.  
 b. *LGB-sika* 'LGB-sika' undergoes scrambling before Spell-Out.



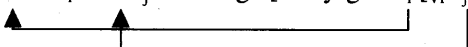
- c. At LF, *LGB-sika* 'LGB-sika' undergoes reconstruction into the original position and then, *hon-o* 'book-Acc' moves to *LGB sika* 'LGB-sika,' which creates a new single DP.

Under this alternative, (35) has the derivation given in (37b), where *LGB sika* 'LGB-sika' undergoes long distance scrambling.

- (37) a. John-ga [Mary-ga LGB-sika [<sub>VP</sub> hon-o yoma]-nai] to itta.  
 John-Nom Mary-Nom LGB-sika book-Acc read-Neg Comp said  
 'Only LGB, John said that Mary read.'  
 b. LGB-sika<sub>i</sub> [John-ga [Mary-ga <sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub> [<sub>VP</sub> hon-o yoma]-nai] to itta].
- 

Under this alternative, *LGB-sika* 'LGB-sika' and *hon-o* 'book-Acc' at first do not form a constituent before long distance scrambling of *LGB-sika* 'LGB-sika.' Therefore, long distance scrambling of *LGB-sika* 'LGB-sika' does not face a problem unlike the first alternative analysis.

Next, turn to (38), where both *LGB-sika* 'LGB-sika' and *hon-o* 'book-Acc' are in the sentence initial position.

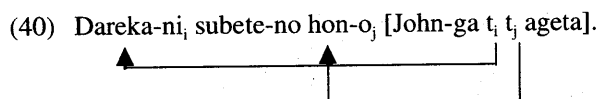
- (38) a. LGB-sika hon-o John-ga [Mary-ga yoma-nai] to itta.  
 LGB-sika book-Acc John-Nom Mary-Nom read-Neg Comp said  
 'Only LGB, John said that Mary read.'  
 b. LGB-sika<sub>i</sub> hon-o<sub>j</sub> John-ga [Mary-ga <sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub> [<sub>VP</sub> <sub>t<sub>j</sub></sub> yoma]-nai] to itta.
- 

Under this alternative analysis, (38a) has the derivation given in (38b), where *LGB sika* 'LGB-sika' and *hon-o* 'book-Acc' undergo long distance scrambling, separately. Thus, for this alternative analysis to be maintained, multiple scrambling from the same clause in Japanese must be allowed.

However, the existence of multiple scrambling from the same clause in Japanese is not so much clear as dubious. Consider (39).

- (39) a. John-ga dareka-ni subete-no hon-o ageta.  
 John-Nom someone-Dat all-Gen book-Acc gave  
 b. Subete-no hon-o<sub>i</sub> John-ga dareka-ni <sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub> ageta.  
 c. Dareka-ni subete-no hon-o John-ga ageta.  
 'John gave someone all the books.'

In (39a), *subete-no hon-o* 'all-Gen book-Acc' does not take wide scope over *dareka-ni* 'someone-Dat.' On the other hand, in (39b), *subete-no hon-o* 'all-Gen book-Acc,' which has undergone scrambling, may take wide scope over *dareka-ni* 'someone-Dat.' However, Yatsushiro (1996) observes that the relative scope of two objects is rigid even when they appear to the left of the subject. In (39c), *subete-no hon-o* does not take wide scope over *dareka-ni*. If *dareka-ni* and *subete-no hon-o* are scrambled separately in (39c), (39c) should have the representation given in (40).



In (40), first, *subete-no hon-o* is scrambled and then *dareka-ni* is scrambled. The first scrambling of *subete-no hon-o* over *dareka-ni* should induce inverse scope on a par with (39b), contrary to fact. Therefore, Yatsushiro (1996) argues that *dareka-ni* and *subete-no hon-o* are not scrambled separately in (39c) but (39c) involves a remnant scrambling, given in (41).

(41) [ Dareka-ni subete-no hon-o t<sub>i</sub> ], John-ga t<sub>j</sub> ageta.

Following Koizumi (1995), she assumes that verb movement takes place in Japanese and argues that the remnant which contains the trace of the verb undergoes scrambling. Under this account, the unambiguity of (39c) is easily explained because *subete-no hon-o* does not undergo scrambling over *dareka-ni* in (39c).

Given that there is no multiple scrambling from the same clause, the derivation in (38b) is not available and hence there is no way to generate (38a). That is why I do not adopt the second alternative analysis.<sup>14</sup>

### 3.4. An apparent problem

Before concluding the paper, I consider the following example where *hon-o* 'book-Acc' is in the matrix clause and *LGB-sika* 'LGB-sika' is in the embedded clause.

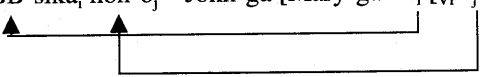
(42) Hon-o John-ga [Mary-ga LGB-sika yoma-nai] to itta.  
 book-Acc John-Nom Mary-Nom LGB-sika read-Neg Comp said  
 'Among books, John said that Mary read only LGB.'

<sup>14</sup> See also Nishida (1999) for analyzing apparent multiple scrambling as involving only a single movement.

Under the present analysis, (42) can have the following representations given in (43).

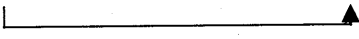
- (43) a. [<sub>TP</sub> hon-o [<sub>TP</sub> John-ga [Mary-ga LGB-sika yoma-nai] to itta]].  
 b. [<sub>TP</sub> hon-o<sub>i</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> John-ga [Mary-ga [<sub>DP</sub> LGB-sika *t<sub>i</sub>*] yoma-nai] to itta]].  
 c. [<sub>TP</sub> hon-o<sub>i</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> John-ga [Mary-ga LGB-sika [<sub>VP</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* yoma]-nai] to itta]].

The representation in (43b) is ruled out because the extraction from DP in Japanese is not permitted on a par with (31), as discussed in section 2.3.1. The representation in (43c) is also ruled out because I have to permit multiple scrambling in order to derive (38), repeated as (44), as discussed in section 2.3.2.

- (44) a. LGB-sika hon-o John-ga [Mary-ga yoma-nai] to itta.  
 LGB-sika book-Acc John-Nom Mary-Nom read-Neg Comp said  
 'Only LGB, John said that Mary read.'  
 b. LGB-sika<sub>i</sub> hon-o<sub>j</sub> John-ga [Mary-ga *t<sub>i</sub>* [<sub>VP</sub> *t<sub>j</sub>* yoma]-nai] to itta.
- 

Therefore, I conclude that (42) has the derivation given in (43a) where *hon-o* 'book-Acc' is base-generated, adjoining to the matrix TP.

Under the assumption so far that an additional NP moves to a *sika*-NP, *hon-o* 'book-Acc' should move to *LGB-sika* 'LGB-sika,' as shown in (45).

- (45) [<sub>TP</sub> Hon-o [<sub>TP</sub> John-ga [Mary-ga LGB-sika yoma-nai] to itta]].
- 

However, this movement is a lowering operation, which is generally prohibited. Therefore, (42) is apparently problematic to the present analysis. I assume that there is no movement relation between *hon-o* 'book-Acc' and *LGB-sika* 'LGB-sika' in (42). This is supported by the following example where *LGB-sika* 'LGB-sika' is in the relative clause. Note that (46) does not exhibit island effects.

- (46) Hon-o John-ga [LGB-sika kawa-nakat-ta hito]-o sagasiteiru.  
 book John-Nom LGB-sika buy-Neg-Past person-Acc looking for  
 'Among books, John is looking for the person who bought only LGB.'

Under this assumption, (46) has the following representation given in (47).

- (47) Hon-o<sub>i</sub> John-ga [[LGB-sika pro<sub>i</sub>] kawa-nakat-ta hito]-o sagasiteiru.

In (47), *pro* is in the embedded clause and coindexed with *hon-o* 'book-Acc' and *pro* and *LGB-sika* 'LGB-sika' are interpreted as a single DP. *Hon-o* 'book-Acc' is a topicalized element. Therefore, there is no movement relation between *hon-o* 'book-Acc' and *LGB-sika* 'LGB-sika,' which expects no island effect. Therefore, since the undesirable lowering operation is not necessary as illustrated in (45), (42) is not problematic to the present analysis.

#### 4. Conclusion

In this paper, I have argued that *sika-nai* constructions in Japanese are similar to exception conjunctions in English semantically. An NP marked with *sika* is subtracted from the set of an additional NP. That is, an NP marked with *sika* is an exception. Furthermore, I have shown that additional NPs move to *sika* phrases to yield an appropriate interpretation at LF in cases where *sika* phrases and additional phrases are discontinuous on the surface. This is reminiscent of exception conjunctions where correlates move to *except* phrases. In the future, I will examine how the proposed analysis can capture some phenomena more deeply.

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