

NCI XP-*shika* as Adjunct, NOT Argument in Japanese and its D-Linking Property*

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1 Introduction

In this paper, I will investigate Negative Concord Item (hereafter NCI) XP-*shika* in Japanese and its distributional properties in terms of an availability of fragment answer and multiple occurrence. Previous analyses in Japanese have paid a lot of attention to negative indefinites like *wh-MO* (Watanabe 2004, Kishimoto 2007, Shimoyama 2011 among others). But there is also another type of NCI, an exceptive XP-*shika* in Japanese (Muraki 1978, Aoyagi and Ishi 1994, Tanaka 1997 among others). This paper focuses on the exceptive XP-*shika*. This expression needs negation as its licenser:

- (1) Taro-wa sushi-shika tabe*(-nakat)-ta.
Taro-TOP sushi-NCI eat-NEG-PAST
'Taro ate nothing but sushi.' (Miyagawa et al. 2016, 1)

* I would like to thank Yuya Noguchi, Satoshi Tomioka, John Whitman, Masaya Yoshida, Hedde Zeijlstra and the audience at SSRG and at JK 30th for helpful comments. Special thanks to Ken Hiraiwa and Vincent Homer for helpful, insightful comments and discussions of this idea. All remaining errors are of course mine.

1.1 D-Linking Asymmetry

Miyata (2018) observes that XP-*shika* shows D-Link/non-D-Link asymmetry, where it can be a fragment answer and it can appear multiply when it is D-Linked. as in Table 1.

	D-Link	Non-D-Link
Fragment Answer	OK _(2,3)	* _(4,5)
Multiple Occurrence	OK _(6,7)	* _(8,9)

TABLE 1 D-Link/Non-D-Link Asymmetry observed in Miyata (2018)

- (2) A: Yamadazemi-no gakusei-de dare-o mi-ta no?
 Yamada's.seminar-GEN student-in who-ACC see-PAST Q
 'Who did you see among the students in Prof. Yamada's seminar?'
- B: John-shika (mi-nakat-ta yo).
 John-NCI see-NEG-PAST PRT
 'I saw no students in Prof. Yamada's seminar but John.'
- (3) A: Yamadazemi-no gakusei-de dare-to eiga-o
 Yamada's.seminar-GEN student-in who-with movie-ACC
 mi-ta no?
 see-PAST Q
 'With whom did you see the movie among students in Prof. Yamada's seminar?'
- B: John-to-shika (sore-o mi-nakat-ta yo).
 John-with-NCI it-ACC see-NEG-PAST PRT
 'I saw it with no students in Prof. Yamada's seminar but John.'

The example in (2) indicates that XP-*shika* *John-shika* is licensed as a fragment answer when it is D-linked due to an existence of *Yamadazemi-no gakusei-de* 'students in Prof. Yamada's seminar' in the question. Importantly note here that it gets an D-linked interpretation 'no students in Prof. Yamada's seminar but John', instead of a non-D-linked interpretation 'nobody but John'.

- (4) A: **ittai** dare-o mi-ta no?
 the.hell who-ACC see-PAST C
 ‘Who the hell did you see?’
 B: *(gakuse-wa) John-shika mi-nakat-ta yo.
 student-TOP John-NCI see-NEG-PAST PRT
 ‘I saw no students but John.’
 B’: *(gakuse-wa) John-shika.
 student-TOP John-NCI
 ‘No students but John.’
- (5) A: **ittai** dare-to eiga-o mi-ta no?
 the.hell who-with movie-ACC see-PAST C
 ‘Whom the hell did you see the movie with?’
 B: *(gakuse-wa) John-to-shika sore-o mi-nakat-ta yo.
 student-TOP John-with-NCI it-ACC see-NEG-PAST PRT
 ‘I saw it with no students but John.’
 B’: *(gakuse-wa) John-to-shika.
 student-TOP John-NCI
 ‘With no students but John.’

The examples in (4) and (5), however, indicate that XP-*shika* is not licensed as a fragment answer when an aggressively non-D-Link element *ittai* ‘the hell’ appears in an antecedent (Pesetsky 1987). In multiple appearance cases, it is also observed that, regardless of whether it is an argument or not, XP-*shika* can appear multiply when it is D-Linked, while it cannot be when *ittai* ‘the hell’ appears in the antecedent as in (6-9).

- (6) A: gakusei-wa dare-ga dono-gengo-o hana-shi-ta no?
 students-TOP who-NOM which-language-tscacc speak-PAST Q
 ‘As for students, who speaks which languages?’
 B: (gakuse-wa) John-shika (gengo-o) eigo-shika
 student-TOP John-NCI language-ACC English-NCI
 hanasa-nakat-ta yo.
 speak-NEG-PAST PRT
 ‘No students but John speak any language but English.’

- (7) A: Taro-wa *nankai* *gakusei-de* *dare-to* *eigo-o*
 Taro-TOP how.many.times students-in who-with English-ACC
hana-shi-ta no?
 speak-PAST Q
 ‘How many times did Taro speak English with whom as for students?’
- B: *Ichido-shika* *kare-wa* *Hanako-to-shika* *eigo-o*
 once-NCI he-TOP Hanako-with-NCI English-ACC
hanasa-nakat-ta yo.
 speak-NEG-PAST PRT
 ‘He spoke English only once with no students but Hanako.’
- (8) A: **ittai** *dare-ga* **ittai** *nani-o* *hana-shi-ta no?*
 the.hell who-NOM the.hell what-ACC speak-PAST Q
 ‘Who the hell speaks what the hell?’
- B: **(gakuse-wa)* *John-shika* **(gengo-o)* *eigo-shika*
 student-TOP John-NCI language-ACC English-NCI
hanasa-nakat-ta yo.
 speak-NEG-PAST PRT
 ‘No students but John speak any language but English.’
- (9) A: Taro-wa **ittai** *nankai* **ittai** *dare-to*
 Taro-TOP the.hell how.many.times the.hell who-with
eigo-o hana-shi-ta no?
 English-ACC speak-PAST Q
 ‘How many times the hell did Taro speak English with whom the hell?’
- B: *Ichido-shika* *kare-wa* **(gakusei-de)* *Hanako-to-shika*
 once-NCI he-TOP students-in Hanako-with-NCI
eigo-o hanasa-nakat-ta.
 English-ACC speak-NEG-PAST
 ‘He spoke English only once with no students but Hanako.’

These examples show that D-Link/non-D-Link asymmetry exists in Japanese as in Miyata (2018). Why does it show that asymmetry in Japanese? This is the puzzle that I address in this paper.

2 Miyagawa et al. (2016)

In previous analyses of NCIs XP-*shika* in Japanese, the phrase can be either an argument or an adjunct to a verb and an argument/adjunct asymmetry is

observed in terms of an availability of fragment answer and its multiple occurrence, contrary to the observations that we have seen in the previous section. According to them, argument XP-*shika* can neither be a fragment answer as in (10) nor appear multiply as in (12a) (see Kishimoto 2007, Miyagawa et al. 2013, 2016), while adjunct XP-*shika* can both, as in (11) and (12b) (see Kuno 1995, Nishioka 2000, Miyagawa et al. 2016), as summarized in Table 2:

	Argument	Adjunct
Fragment Answer	* ₍₁₀₎	OK ₍₁₁₎
Multiple Occurrence	* _(12a)	OK _(12b)

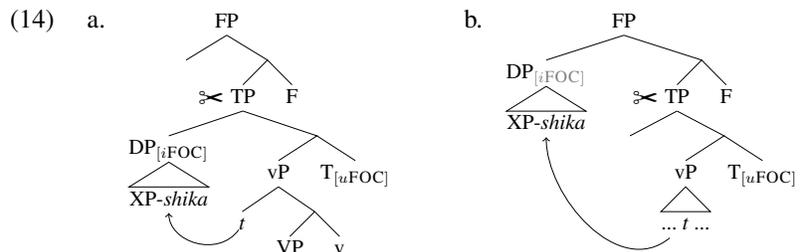
TABLE 2 Argument/Adjunct Asymmetry observed in previous analyses

- (10) *Argument XP-*shika* as Fragment Answer
 A: dare-o mi-ta no?
 who-ACC see-PAST Q
 ‘Who did you see?’
 B: *John-*shika*.
 John-NCI
 ‘Only John.’ (Miyagawa et al. 2016, 3)
- (11) ^{OK}Adjunct XP-*shika* as Fragment Answer
 A: kimi, nando-mo betonamu-ni it-ta koto aru
 you many-times Vietnam-to go-PAST experience have
 nodaroo?
 I suppose
 ‘Haven’t you been to Vietnam many times?’
 B: Iya, ichido-*shika*.
 no once-NCI
 ‘No only once.’ (Kuno 1995, 170)
- (12) Argument/Adjunct Asymmetry of XP-*shika* in Multiple Occurrence
 a. *John-*shika* eigo-*shika* hanasa-nakat-ta.
 John-NCI English-NCI speak-NEG-PAST
 Int.: ‘No one buy John speak anything but English.’
 b. karaoke-e-wa ichido-*shika* Shiori-to-*shika* it-ta
 karaoke-to-TOP once-NCI Shiori-with-NCI go-PAST
 koto-ga nai.
 experience-NOM NEG
 ‘I have been to Karaoke only once, with only Hanako.’
 (Miyagawa et al, 2016)

In order to derive the argument/adjunct asymmetry, Miyagawa et al. (2016) propose an activation condition of a focus feature in (13).

- (13) *Activation Condition of the Focus Feature for Agreement*
 An interpretable focus feature, [iFOC], on an XP becomes visible for Agree with some higher head-carrying [uFOC] in T or any other functional head that inherits this probing feature from C if and only if the XP is in another (case-)agreement relation with the head.
 (Miyagawa et al. 2016, 19)

Adopting Miyagawa (2010), Miyagawa et al. (2016) argue that Japanese is a discourse-configurational language where both ϕ -feature probes and a discourse feature such as topic/focus are generated in C and they are inherited by T. In a discourse-configurational language like Japanese, a topic/focus-feature on T triggers movement of a topicalized/focused element to Spec, TP. Focus in such a language requires CASE for activation as in (13). Based on this analysis, we can see the argument/adjunct asymmetry of XP-*shika*: the argument XP-*shika* can establish an Agree relation with the focus-probe on T because it has a CASE-feature; however, the adjunct XP-*shika* cannot because it does not have a CASE-feature. The argument XP-*shika* is forced to move into Spec, TP to establish the Agree relation. But its landing site, Spec, TP, is inside of TP-ellipsis that derives the fragment answer. Therefore, the argument XP-*shika* cannot survive TP-ellipsis as in (14a).



On the contrary to the argument case, the adjunct XP-*shika* can survive it because it does not enter into the focus-agreement with T due to a lack of its case feature. The adjunct XP-*shika*, therefore, moves into Spec, FP and can be derived as the fragment answer as in (14b). The ban of multiple appearance of the argument XP-*shika* is also explained based on (13). The higher argument XP-*shika* becomes an intervener of the lower one establishing the Agree with an [uFOC] on T, crushing its derivation. The adjunct one, however, has an inactive [iFOC] and it does not prevent another XP-*shika* with an active [iFOC] from entering the agree-relation with T.

Their analysis is, however, not free from an empirical problem. As observed in Kawashima and Kitahara (1992), NCI *nani-mo* can appear with its CASE-marked associate. XP-*shika* also shows this property and an ACC-marked associate ‘fruits’ can co-occur with it as in (15).

- (15) John-wa fruits-o ringo-shika tabe-nakat-ta yo.
 John-TOP fruits-ACC apples-NCI eat-NEG-PAST PRT
 ‘John ate no fruits but apples.’

Miyagawa et al. (2016) predict that NCI *ringo-shika* in (15) should be able to become a fragment answer. It lacks a CASE-feature because the associate ‘fruits’ has the feature and its [iFOC] is thus inactive. XP-*shika* should therefore survive TP-deletion when it appears with the CASE-marked associate.

- (16) A: Hanako-wa nani-o tabe-ta no?
 Hanako-TOP waht-ACC eat-PAST Q
 ‘What did Hanako eat?’
 B: John-wa furutsu-o ringo-shika tabe-nakat-ta yo.
 John-TOP fruits-ACC apples-NCI eat-NEG-PAST PRT
 ‘John ate no fruits but apples.’
 B’: *ringo-shika.
 apples-NCI
 Int.: ‘John ate no fruits but apples.’

This is, however, contrary to the fact as in (16B’). Note that (15), repeated as (16B), is a base-structure of (16B’) and it is an appropriate answer of (15A).

3 Proposal

Adopting an unary-NEG structure in Collins and Postal (2014), I propose that NCI’s associate is a true argument and NCI XP-*shika* appears as adjunct within the DP headed by its associate in Japanese (cf. Shoji 1986).¹

- (17) Structure of NCI XP-*shika* in Japanese
 a. [_{DP} [NEG SOME] NP XP-*shika* D] (Base-Structure)
 b. [_{DP} [NEG SOME] *pro* XP-*shika* D] (Reduction form)

In (2), (3), (6) and (7), the CASE-marked associate appears as *pro* which is licensed due to D-Linked *wh*-phrase like *Yamadazemi-no gakusei-de dare-o* ‘Who among the students in Prof. Yamada’s seminar’ in (2). On the contrary to these, the presence of the non-D-Linked *wh*-phrase prevents it in (4), (5), (8) and (9). Note that *pro* is not licensed in (10) and (12a) because of a lack of its possible antecedent. This analysis can capture (16), repeated as (18).

¹ I assume here that NEG SOME is covert in Japanese.

- (18) A: Hanako-wa nani-o tabe-ta no?
 Hanako-TOP waht-ACC eat-PAST Q
 ‘What did Hanako eat?’
 B’: *(furutsu-o) ringo-shika. (=16)
 fruits-ACC apples-NCI
 ‘John ate no fruits but apples.’

The ungrammaticality of (18B) is accounted for because *pro* is not licensed. Instead, the CASE-marked associate, *furutsu-o* ‘fruits’, appears and, XP-*shika* and its associate are then licensed as a fragment answer.

A piece of evidence of the proposal is from the (un)availability of XP-*shika* as discourse antecedent. Collins and Postal (2014) argue that an element with the unary-NEG cannot serve as discourse antecedent as in (19b).

- (19) a. If you steal any candy_{*i*}, give it_{*i*} to me. ([NEG[NEG SOME]])
 b. * If you don’t steal any candy_{*i*}, give it_{*i*} to me. ([NEG SOME])
 (Collins and Postal (2014, 34))

XP-*shika* cannot also become discourse antecedent as in (20b), indicating that XP-*shika* has the unary-NEG structure.

- (20) a. Yamadazemi-no gakusei-ga_{*i*} kita-ra, karera-ni_{*i*}
 Yamada’s.seminar-GEN students-NOM come-COND. they-DAT
 kore-o watashite.
 this-ACC give.please.
 ‘If students come among the students in Prof. Yamada’s seminar,
 please give it to them.’
 b. * Yamadazemi-no gakusei-ga_{*i*} Taro-shika
 Yamada’s.seminar-GEN students-NOM Taro-NCI
 ko-nakatt-ra, karera-ni_{*i*} kore-o watashite.
 come-NEG-COND. they-DAT this-ACC give.please.
 ‘If no students but Taro come among the students in Prof. Ya-
 mada’s seminar, please give it to them.’

4 Conclusion

Miyata (2018) argues that the argument/adjunct asymmetry of NCI XP-*shika* does not exist in Japanese, contrary to Miyagawa et al. (2016). In this paper, I propose that it is an adjunct and its CASE-marked associate is a true argument that can also appear as *pro*. This analysis can explain the grammaticality of the counterexample in (18) to the previous analysis and why XP-*shika* shows D-Link/non-D-Link asymmetry. Furthermore, this paper provides data showing that XP-*shika* can be a fragment answer regardless it is an argument or not.

This indicates that XP-*shika* is NCI based on a diagnostic test proposed in Vallduví (1994) and Giannakidou (2000). This paper does not show what the exact structure containing it looks like. I leave this open as a remaining issue.

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