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NULL-EXPLETIVE SUBJECT IN JAPANESE

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Abstract: In the current Government and
Binding framework, every sentence must have a
subject. When the matrix subject position is
non-thematic, it is filled by an expletive.
Japanese, however, lacks an overt expletive.
This raises the question of whether the
language has an expletive which is null, or
raises an embedded subject to the matrix
subject position. I will argue that Japanese
does indeed have a null-expletive by
discussing how a negative polarity item
behaves in a so-called 'raising'
construction.

0. Introduction

According to Chomsky's Extended Projection
Principle, every sentence must have a subject.
Japanese, however, lacks an overt expletive to fill the
subject position when the position is a non-theta
position. It is controversial whether or not Japanese
has a null-expletive and not many arguments have been
presented. I will argue that Japanese does have a
null-expletive. To show that, I will discuss the
behavior of a negative polarity item sika-negative in
so-called 'raising' constructions. Raising
constructions are discussed in Nakau (1973) and Kuno
(1976) among others. Sika-Negative construction is
studied in detail by Muraki (1978). Negation is
discussed in McGloin (1976).

The argument goes as follows. Assuming that the
matrix subject position must be filled, which will be
argued later, if there is no expletive to fill the
matrix subject position, raising of an embedded subject
to that position must be forced. If there is an
expletive, the embedded subject can stay in its
original position.

1. Government Restriction on Sika--Negative

XP-sika necessarily occurs with a negative and
means 'only'. Sika can attach to any argument in a

sentence, as shown below.

(1)a. <u>Takashi-ga hamati- sika tabe-na- katta</u>
      Takashi NOM yellow tail only eat NEG past

   <u>koto</u> (object)
   fact

   'the fact that Takashi ate only yellow tail'

   b. <u>Hanako-ga getuyoobi-ni-sika dyuku- e</u>
      Hanako NOM Monday on only prep school to

   <u>ika-na- katta koto</u> (Time)
   go NEG past fact

   'the fact that Hanako went to her prep school
   only on Mondays'

   c. <u>Takashi-ga hahaoya-no tame-ni-sika</u>
      Takashi NOM mother GEN sake only

   <u>ryoori- o si-na-i koto</u> (Benefactive)
   cooking ACC do NEG fact

   'the fact that Takashi cooks only for his
   mother'

In the examples above, <u>sika</u> and the negative predicate
are in the same clause where negative governs XP-<u>sika</u>.
When they are not in the same clause and government
fails, the examples are ungrammatical, as shown below.

(2)a. *<u>Takashi-sika [Hanako-ga gokuhisyorui-</u>
      Takashi only Hanako NOM top secret document

   <u>o moyas-ana-katta] riyuu- o sitte-iru</u>.
   ACC burn NEG past reason ACC know PROG

   'Only Takashi knows the reason why Hanako
   burned the top secret document.'

   b. *<u>Takashi-ga [Hanako-sika gokuhisyorui- o</u>
      Takashi NOM Hanako only t.s. document ACC

   <u>moyasi-ta] riyuu -o sir- ana-i</u>.
   burn past reason ACC know NEG

   'Takashi knows the reason why only Hanako
   burned the top secret document.'

However, it is known that there are grammatical
sentences which have non-clausemate <u>sika</u> and NEG as
shown below.[2] (See Kitagawa (1986) and Sells (1991).)

(3) <u>Takashi-ga [hahaoya-ni-sika nak-are- na-</u>
     Takashi NOM mother DAT only cry PASS NEG

     <u>katta.</u>
     past

     'Takashi had only his mother cry.'

(4) <u>Takashi-ga [Hanako-ni ika- sika tabe] sase-</u>
     Takashi NOM Hanako DAT squid only   eat   CAUS

     <u>na- katta</u>.
     NEG past

     'Takashi let/made Hanako eat only squid.'

Let us call these examples of <u>sika</u>--Negative (SN) long-
distance SN.

     Now consider the causative examples below.

(5) <u>Watasi-wa [Hanako-ni benkyoos-ase] nak-katta</u>.
         I   TOP   DAT study   CAUS NEG past

     'I did not let/make Hanako study.'

(6) *<u>Watasi-wa [Hanako-ni benkyoos-na] sase-ta</u>.
          I   TOP   DAT study   NEG CAUS past

     'I let/made Hanako not to study.'

The negative cannot be in the lower clause as shown in
(6). The negative in (5), however, has both matrix
scope as in (7a) and the lower scope as in (7b).

(7)a. I did not let/make Hanako study.
   b. I let/made Hanako not to study.

The fact that the negative in the matrix clause has a
lower scope suggests that there is a derivation in
which the negative starts out in the lower clause and
undergoes raising to a higher Infl. In a sentence
which has <u>sika</u>, then, we could say that a negative is
underlyingly a clausemate of <u>sika</u> where the negative
governs <u>sika</u>, and undergoes raising.

Let us consider the structure of a long-distance
SN example (4). It is shown below.

(8)

```
                          IP
                         /  \
                      NP      I'
                      |      /  \
                  Takashi  VP    I
                          /  \   |
                        IP    V NEG_i
                       /  \   |
                     NP    I' sase
                     |    /  \
                 Hanako  VP    I
                        /  \   |
                   NP-sika  V   t_i
                     |       |
                    ika     tabe
```
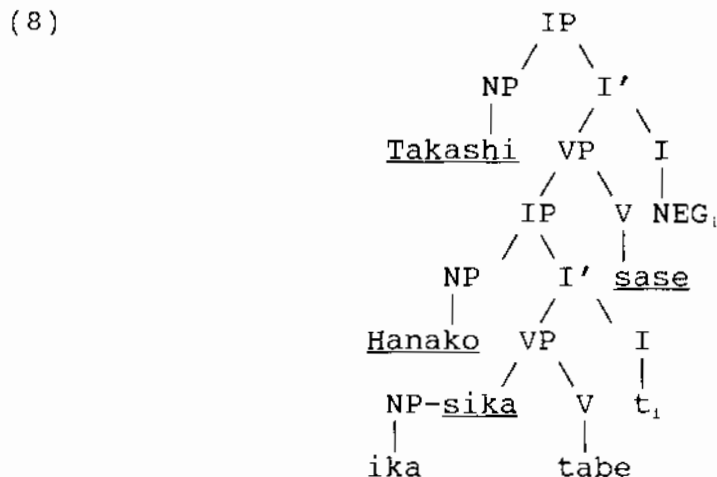
The negative downstairs raises to the higher Infl. The
trace of the negative must be properly governed due to
the ECP.

    Following Baker, I assume that the embedded verb
tabe undergoes incorporation to the causative morpheme
sase in order to affix to it. Due to this process,
there is no barrier between the raised negative and its
trace, due to the Government Transparency Corollary,
given in (12). (See Baker (1988) for details of
incorporation.) The definition of government and
barrier that I assume is from Baker (1988). (See
Chomsky (1986) for slightly different definitions.)

(9)   A governs B iff A c-commands B and there is no
      category C such that C is a barrier between A and
      B.

(10) Let D be the smallest maximal projection
      containing A. Then C is a barrier between A and
      B if and only if C is a maximal projection that
      contains B and excludes A, and either:
      (i) C is not selected, or
      (ii) the head of C is distinct from the head of D
          and selects some WP equal to or containing B.

(11) A selects B if and only if:
      (i) A assigns a theta role to B, or
      (ii) A is of category C and B is its IP, or
      (iii) A is of category I and B is its VP.

(12) Government Transparency Corollary

> A lexical category which has an item
> incorporated into it governs everything which
> the incorporated item governed in its original
> structural position.

The movement in (8) takes place as shown below.

(13)
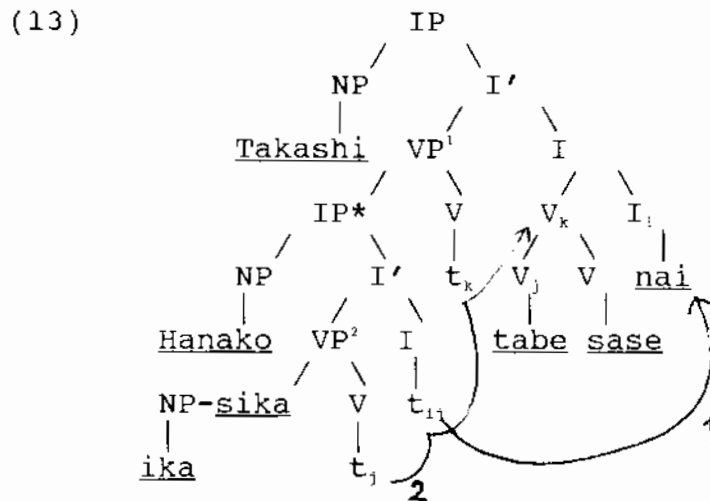
In (13), NP-sika is governed by the trace of negative
at S-structure, and also the structure is allowed with
regards to the ECP. Due to the incorporation, none of
IP*, VP¹ or VP² is a barrier. Thus (13) (=8) is OK.

Now consider the example below, which is
ungrammatical.

(14) *Takashi-wa   hamati-sika taberu koto-ni   si-
     Takashi TOP y.tail only   eat   fact DAT do

     na-i.
     NEG

     'Takashi decides on the fact that he eats only
     yellow tail. =Takashi decides on eating only
     yellow tail.'

(15)
```
                                    IP
                                   /  \
                              NP_i    I'
                                     /  \
                                   VP    I
                                  /  \   |
                               PP*    V  NEG_j
                              /  \    |
                            NP    P  suru
                           /  \   |
                         IP    N  ni
                        /  \   |
                      NP    I' koto
                      |    /  \
                    pro_i VP   I
                         /  \  |
                   NP-sika   V t_j
                      |      |
                   hamati   tabe
```
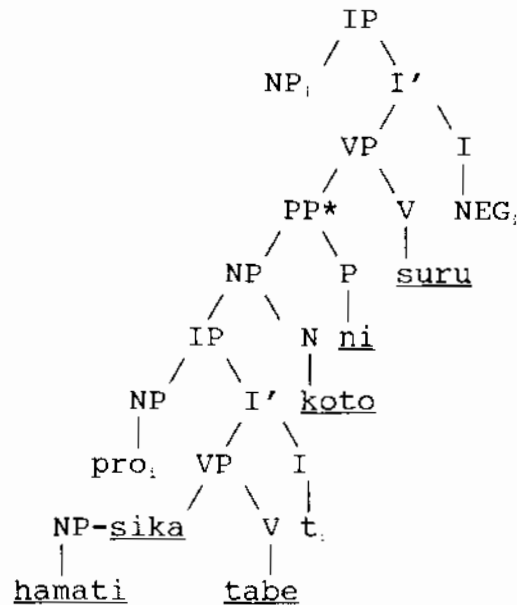
In (14), the raised negative does not properly govern
its trace because PP* is a barrier. Therefore (14) is
ruled out by the ECP.

To sum up so far, I have argued that only in the
constructions where the raised negative can properly
govern its trace, the long-distance SN is allowed.

If my analysis is correct, we would predict that
long-distance SN is allowed in any structure which
involves incorporation. This is because incorporation
'erases' barriers, due to the Government Transparency
Corollary, given above. This prediction is correct.
Long-distance SN is possible in sentences which have
grammatical combinations of affixes. (See Sugioka
(1984) and Terada (1990) for interactions among complex
predicates.) The working of the sentence similar to
the ones below is shown in the tree in (13). The
intermediate IPs and VPs cease to be barriers due to
the incorporation no matter how deep the most deeply
embedded verb is.

(16)   Hanako-wa _IP[Takashi-ni _IP[ika- sika tabe]
       Hanako TOP   Takashi DAT   squid only   eat

       sase] rare-na- katta.[3]
       CAUS PASS NEG past

       'Hanako was made by Takashi to eat only squid.'

(17) (Kantoku-wa eiga-no naka-de aru dake-no higeki-
o Akiko-ni ataeyoo-to hazime-wa omotte ita ga,
ato-de daihon-o kaete,)

?<u>Kare-wa</u> _{TP}[<u>Akiko-ni</u> _{TP}[<u>dyooo- ni   sita- sika</u>
 he   TOP   Akiko DAT   queen DAT tongue only

<u>nuk]   are] sase-na- katta</u>.
extract PASS CAUS NEG past

(The director thought at the beginning that he
would give as much tragedy as possible to Akiko
in the movie, but later he rewrote the script
and,) 'he made Akiko to have extracted only her
tongue by the queen.'

Thus we have seen that in order for long-distance
SN to be allowed, the raised negative must properly
govern its trace.

2.   So-called 'Raising' Verbs and Long-distance SN

Let us turn to the behavior of SN in the so-
called 'raising' constructions. (See Nakau (1973) for
detailed discussion of the raising construction.[5]) I
will argue that not all the so-called 'raising'
constructions involve raising. The ones which do not
involve raising of the embedded subject require a null-
expletive subject in the matrix clause.

In order to see the behavior of SN in these
constructions, we exclude the predicates which do not
allow the negation in the first place. Some examples
of these are <u>soo-da</u> 'hear', <u>mono-da</u> 'used to', <u>rasi-i</u>
'appear', <u>yoo-da</u> 'seem', <u>mitai-da</u> 'seem', <u>tokoro-da</u> 'at
the moment of'.

There are, however, 'raising' predicates which
allow negation but not long-distance SN. Some examples
are <u>no</u> 'it is the case', <u>hazu</u> 'expectation', and <u>-ka mo
sire-nai</u> 'might'.

(18) *<u>Takashi-wa   namaniku- sika tabeta no   dewa-na-</u>
    Takashi TOP raw meat   only   ate   case   NEG

<u>i</u>.[6]

'It is the case that Takashi ate only raw
meat.'

(19) *<u>Takashi-wa   namaniku- sika tabeta hazu</u>
     Takashi TOP raw meat   only ate   expectation

     <u>dewa-na-i</u>.[7]
       NEG

     'It is expected that Takashi ate only raw
     meat.'

Note that it is not that the predicates in (18-19) are
incompatible with SN per se. Local SN is fine with
these predicates, as shown below.

(20)   <u>Takashi-wa namaniku-sika tabe-na-katta no da</u>.
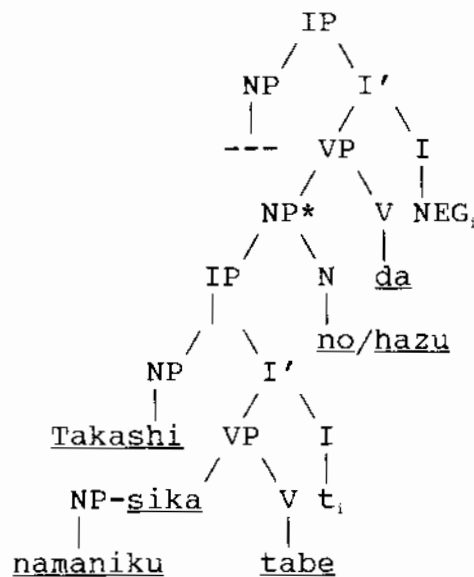   NEG   case COP

       'It is the case that Takashi ate only raw
       meat.'

(21)   <u>Takashi-wa namaniku-sika tabe-na-katta</u>
                                   NEG

       <u>hazu   da</u>.
       expectation COP

       'It is expected that Takashi ate only raw
       meat.'

Thus the ungrammaticality of (18-19) suggests that
there are barriers between the raised negative and its
trace. The structure is shown below.

(22)   *   IP
                             /   \
                         NP   I'
                          | / \
                         ---   VP   I
                              / \ |
                           NP*   V NEG_i
                          / \ |
                        IP   N   <u>da</u>
                         | |
                        / \   <u>no/hazu</u>
                      NP   I'
                       | / \
                   <u>Takashi</u> VP   I
                          / \ |
                     NP-<u>sika</u> V t_i
                       | |
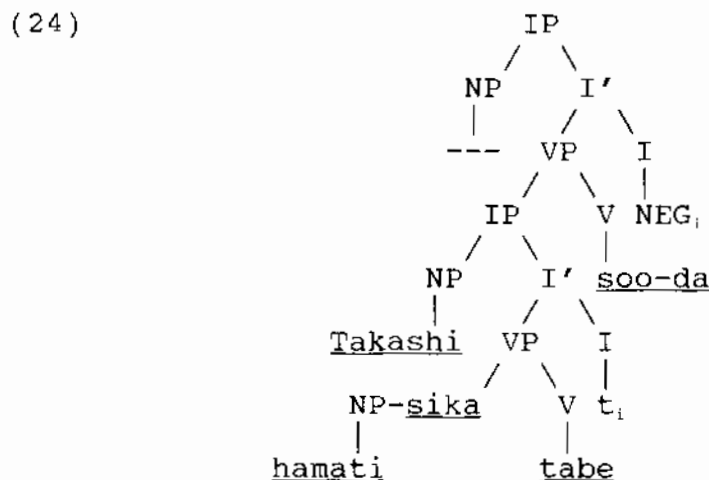   <u>namaniku</u>   <u>tabe</u>

In (18), NP* is a barrier, thus the trace is not properly governed, so it is ungrammatical.

On the other hand, there are so-called 'raising' predicates which allow long-distance SN. These include <u>soo-da</u> 'seem' and <u>(koto-ga) aru</u> 'fact exists =has an experience of'. An examples of these is given below.

(23) <u>Takashi-ga hamati- sika tabe- soo- dewa-na-i</u>.
      Takashi NOM y. tail only eat   seem   NEG

      'Takashi seems to eat only yellow tail.'

The structure of (23) is shown below.

(24)

```
                        IP
                       /  \
                    NP     I'
                    |     /  \
                   ---   VP    I
                        /  \   |
                     IP     V NEGᵢ
                    /  \    |
                  NP    I' soo-da
                  |    /  \
              Takashi VP   I
                     /  \  |
                NP-sika   V tᵢ
                  |       |
               hamati    tabe
```

The embedded V undergoes incorporation, since the matrix verb is a bound morpheme. Thus there is no barrier between the NEG and its trace. Therefore (23) is grammatical.

We have seen the grammatical long-distance SN and ungrammatical ones. When the raised negative properly governs its trace, long-distance SN is allowed.

3. Null Matrix Subject

We saw above that long-distance SN is barred in some 'raising' constructions due to the presence of barriers between the NEG and its trace. It then immediately follows that the raising of a subject out of an embedded clause to the matrix sentence is also impossible in those sentences. The same barriers which block long-distance SN would act as barriers between the matrix subject and the embedded subject. Therefore, the structures of those 'raising'

constructions must have a null-expletive in their
matrix subject position. On the other hand, the
'raising' constructions which allow long-distance SN
has no barriers between the NEG and its trace,
therefore there are also no barriers which would block
the raising of an embedded subject to the matrix
subject position.

This makes predictions. One is that if long-
distance SN is blocked where <u>sika</u> is attached to the
object, it should also be blocked where <u>sika</u> is
attached to the subject. This is because the embedded
subject stays in the original position and therefore is
susceptible to the same barrier as the embedded object.
This prediction is correct. Consider the examples
below. They are ungrammatical.

(25) *<u>Takashi-sika   namaniku- o   tabeta no   dewa-</u>
     Takashi only   raw meat   ACC ate   case NEG

     <u>na-i</u>.

     'It is the case that only Takashi ate raw
     meat.'

(26) *<u>Takashi-sika namaniku-o   taberu hazu</u>
     Takashi only raw meat ACC eat   expectation

     <u>dewa-na-i</u>.
        NEG

     'It is expected that only Takashi eats raw
     meat.'

The analysis also predicts that in a construction
which allows long-distance SN, the subject can bear
<u>sika</u> too. The reason is as follows. If the embedded
subject stays in the original position, the trace of
negative is properly governed. If the embedded subject
undergoes raising to the matrix subject position, XP-
<u>sika</u> becomes the clausemate of the raised negative, and
thus it is also grammatical. This prediction is also
correct. Constructions which allow object-SN also
allow subject-SN.

(27) <u>Takashi-sika namaniku- o tabe-soo dewa-na-</u>
      Takashi only raw meat ACC eat   seem   NEG

      <u>i</u>.

      'Only Takashi seems to eat raw meat.'

(28) <u>Takashi-sika namaniku- o tabeta koto-ga</u>
      Takashi only raw meat ACC ate   fact NOM

      <u>na-i</u>.
      NEG

      'Only Takashi has eaten raw meat.'

In short, there are no raising predicates which allow
object-SN but not subject-SN, or vice versa.

      To sum up the discussion so far, we have argued
that the restriction on long-distance SN restricts the
possibility of raising an embedded subject. Then, with
predicates which do not allow long-distance <u>SN</u>, and
thus there is no raising of an embedded subject to the
matrix subject position, as shown in (20) and (21), it
must be a null-expletive that fills the matrix subject
position.[8,9]

4. Passive Facts

      The discussion above assumes that the matrix
subject position must be filled. There is evidence
from the passive construction that this is the case in
Japanese. That evidence further leads to the argument
that the raising of an embedded subject is available
only when necessary. Consider the example below.

(29) ??___   <u>hitobito-ni</u> $_{CP}$<u>[sono sinpu-ga sin'yoo-</u>
              people DAT   that priest NOM trust

      <u>dekiru ningen da to] omow- are- te iru</u>.
      able   man   COP COMP think PASS PROG

      'It is thought by people that that priest
      is a trust-worthy man.'

Assuming that a CP does not need Case, it should be
able to stay in the object position. However, (29) is
a very awkward sentence unless the <u>ni</u>-phrase is
focused. The natural sentence is shown below.

(30) Sono sinpu-ga   hitobito-ni   sin'yoo-dekiru
      that priest NOM people   DAT trust   able

      ningen da to   omow- are- te iru.
      man   COP COMP think PASS PROG

      'That priest is thought to be a trust-worthy
      man by people.'

The fact that (29) is very awkward suggests that the
matrix subject position must be filled in Japanese.
The awkwardness of (29) also raises a question of the
availability of a null-expletive. Why can a null-
expletive not fill the position and make the sentence
perfect? I will suggest that a null-expletive is
available only when necessary. In other words, raising
of an embedded subject is obligatory when it is
possible. I will argue that the embedded subject has
raised out of the lower clause in (30), yielding the
structure shown below.

(31) Sono sinpu$_i$-ga hitobito-ni $_{CP}$[t$_i$ sin'yoo-
      dekiru ningen da to] omow-are-te iru.

      Let us consider now why the raising out of a CP
in (31) is possible. In Japanese, omow, sinziru, iw
can be ECM verbs. In other words, the CP of their
complements can be deleted. Thus the 'subject' of the
embedded clause can be Accusative Case-marked, as shown
below. (For different analyses of this phenomenon, see
Kuno (1976) and Sells (1990).)[10]

(32)a. Hitobito-ga   sono sinpu- ga / o sin'yoo
        people   NOM that priest NOM/ACC trust

        dekiru ningen da to   omotte iru.
        able   man   COP COMP think PROG

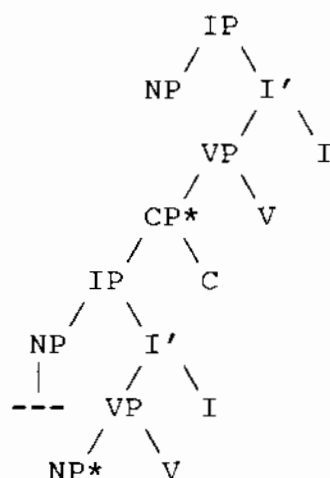   'People think that that priest is a trust-
        worthy man.'

   b.   Sinsain-wa Akiko-ga/o   utukusii to
        referee TOP Akiko NOM/ACC beautiful COMP

        omotta.
        thought

        'The referees thought that Akiko was
        beautiful.'

Notice that embedded clauses of ECM verbs in Japanese are finite clauses, unlike English. Because of this, predicates of embedded clauses must be unaccusative in order to allow ECM.[11] In other words, only Caseless objects can be Exceptionally Case-marked, as shown in the tree below.

(33)
```
                        IP
                       /  \
                     NP    I'
                          /  \
                        VP     I
                       /  \
                     CP*    V
                    /  \
                  IP    C
                 /  \
               NP    I'
               |    /  \
              ---  VP    I
                  /  \
                NP*    V
```
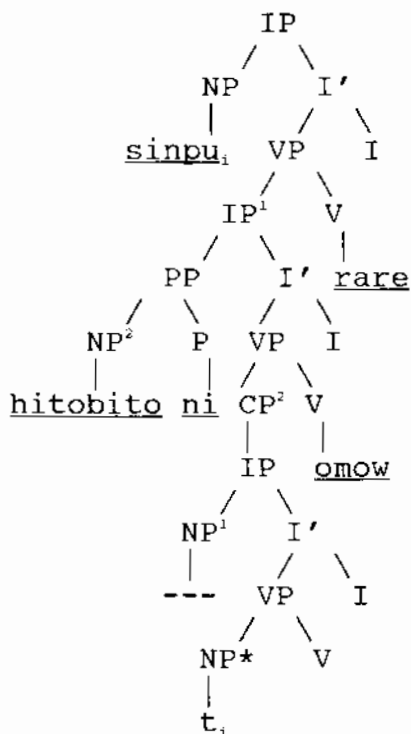
The Caseless object is NP*. Only NP* can be Exceptionally Case-marked, when CP* is deleted or ceases to be a barrier. If the predicate of the lower clause is unergative, ECM would be ruled out. This is because the embedded subject already has Nominative Case assigned by lower Tense[12], and thus ECM would doubly Case-mark it.

When CP deletion takes place[13], NP* can raise to the matrix subject position since there is no barrier, as shown below. The tree below is the structure of (31).

(34)

```
                        IP
                       /  \
                     NP    I'
                      |   /  \
                   sinpuᵢ  VP   I
                          /  \
                        IP¹    V
                       /  \    |
                     PP    I'  rare
                    /  \  /  \
                  NP²   P  VP  I
                   |    |  /  \
              hitobito ni CP²  V
                          |    |
                          IP   omow
                         /  \
                       NP¹   I'
                        |   /  \
                       ---  VP   I
                           /  \
                         NP*    V
                          |
                          tᵢ
```

CP^2 is deleted by ECM, and IP^1 is not a barrier due to verb incorporation of _omow_ to the passive morpheme _rare_.[14] Thus there are no barriers between the matrix subject and its trace. The NP-trace is also bound within its governing category. NP^2 is not an accessible subject because it does not c-command the trace. Neither is NP^1, because it is empty. Thus the governing category for the NP-trace is the matrix S and the trace is bound there. Therefore the raising to the matrix subject position as shown in (31) is allowed.

This analysis predicts that ECM sentences allow long-distance SN, since there are no barriers between the matrix Infl and the lower Infl. This prediction is correct. Consider the examples below.

(35)a. Hitobito-wa [sono sinpu- sika sin'yoo-dekiru
         people   TOP that priest only trust   able

         ningen da to] omotte i-   na-i.
         man   COP COMP think PROG NEG

         'People think that only that priest is
         a trust-worthy man.'

b. Sinsain-wa [Akiko-sika utukusii to]
    referee TOP Akiko only beautiful COMP

    omow- ana-katta.
    think NEG past

    'The referees thought that only Akiko was
    beautiful.'

On the other hand, the analysis predicts that
when ECM is ruled out due to the Case filter, namely
when ECM would doubly Case-mark the subject, even when
the verb can be an ECM verb, long-distance SN should
not be allowed. This is because CP constitutes a
barrier since CP deletion is not allowed. This is also
correct.

(36)a. *Takashi-wa _cp_[Hanako-sika gokuhisyorui-o
        Takashi TOP   Hanako only t.s.document ACC

        moyasita to] omow- ana-katta.
        burned   COMP think NEG past

        'Takashi thought that only Hanako burned the
        top-secret document.'

b. *Takashi-wa _cp_[Hanako-ga gokuhisyorui-sika
                                t.s.document only

    moyasita to] omow-ana-katta.

    'Takashi thought that Hanako burned only the
    top-secret document.'

To sum up, ECM is only allowed when the embedded
predicate is unaccusative. Only in those cases, long-
distance SN is allowed. So we have seen how the
raising of an embedded subject out of a CP is possible.

Now, back to the original question regarding a
passive sentence with a null-expletive subject. Why
isn't a sentence like (29) perfect if a null-expletive
is available? I suggest that a null-expletive is
available only when nothing else is available. In
(29), raising of a lower subject is possible, thus a
null-expletive cannot be used. Thus (29) with a null-
expletive is ungrammatical. Why, then, is the string
of (29) still grammatical though awkward? I suggest
that the string of (29) can be a scrambled form of the
sentence (30), with its ni-phrase scrambled to the
front. Scrambled items always bear some type of focus,

thus the string of (29) is OK only when the <u>ni</u>-phrase
is focused.

To sum up the discussion, I have argued that SN
is allowed when the negative governs XP-<u>sika</u>. If
negative undergoes raising, the raised negative must
properly govern its trace due to the ECP. We then
examined the behavior of long-distance SN in the so-
called 'raising' constructions. Only the predicates
which allow long-distance SN allowed the raising of the
embedded subject to the matrix subject position. When
the raising is not allowed, the matrix subject position
must be filled with a null-expletive. Furthermore, the
passive construction suggested that a null-expletive is
available only when necessary.

NOTES

[1]   <u>Sika</u> can also attach to verbs, adjectives,
and adverbs, but it is not relevant to our discussion
and thus will be put aside.

[2]   There is one verb which allows long-distance
<u>sika</u>-NEG, even if the sentence does not seem to involve
incorporation. The verb is <u>aru</u>. It's negative form is
<u>nai</u>.

(i)   [[<u>Takashi-ga   hamati-   sika tabeta] koto]</u>-
          Takashi NOM yellow tail only   ate   fact

      <u>ga   na-i</u>.
      NOM NEG

      'There is a fact that Takashi ate only yellow
      tail. =Takashi has eaten only yellow tail.'

<u>Aru</u> is an unaccusative verb but it is not the property
of unaccusative verbs that allows long-distance <u>sika</u>-
NEG. Long-distance <u>sika</u>-NEG sentences with other
accusative verbs, as well as unergative verbs, are
ungrammatical, as shown respectively below.

(ii)   *<u>Takashi-ga hamati-sika tabeta koto-ga bare-</u> na
                                           reveal NEG

       <u>katta.</u>

'It was revealed that Takashi ate only yellow
tail.'

(iii)   *<u>Takashi-ga hamati-sika tabeta koto-o wasure-</u>
                                        forget

        <u>na-katta.</u>
        NEG

        'Takashi forgot that he ate only yellow tail.'

As far as I know, <u>aru</u> is the only verb in Japanese that
does not seem to involve incorporation and yet allows
long-distance <u>sika</u>-NEG. All the examples that Muraki
(1978) discusses but one are <u>aru</u> sentences. If it does
not involve incorporation, the subject NP should be a
barrier to Negative raising. One could say that there
is indeed abstract incorporation involved. It would be
the incorporation of the N <u>koto</u> into the verb <u>aru</u>. In
order to claim that <u>aru</u> is the only verb that involves
abstract Noun incorporation, however, further
examination of the property of the verb is necessary.
Therefore, I will put aside the <u>aru</u> sentences in this
paper.

    [3] This type of sentences is difficult to parse
because of the multiple affixes attached to one verb.
However, I believe that these sentences are
grammatical.

    [4] Although I gave the direct translation, NP-
<u>sika</u> in sentences (16-17) have wide scope
interpretation.

    [5] Nakau argues that all the predicates that I
deal with in this paper involve raising of the embedded
subject to the matrix subject position. He gives four
arguments. Unfortunately, he uses topic constructions
to show his points, which I think invalidates his
arguments. The argument about the exclusive listing
reading of <u>ga</u>, however, is a stong one and I do not
have a counter-argument at this point. Further study
of exclusive listing reading of <u>ga</u> is necessary.

    [6] <u>Dewa-nai</u> or <u>zya-nai</u> is the negative form of
the copula <u>da</u>.

    [7] Some speakers do not allow negation of <u>hazu</u>.
However, (i) is grammatical for anyone.
(i) <u>Takashi-wa namaniku- o   tabeta hazu-   wa</u>

Takashi TOP raw meat   ACC ate   expectation TOP

<u>nai</u>.
NEG

'Takashi could not have eaten raw meat.'

This example behaves exactly like (21) in that it does
not allow long-distance <u>sika</u>--NEG.

(ii) *<u>Takashi-wa namaniku-sika tabeta hazu-wa na-i</u>.

'Takashi could not have eaten only raw meat.'

This is predicted by our analysis because the raised
negative does not properly govern its trace due to the
barrier NP*, as shown in (22).

[8]   John Whitman also argues that Japanese has a
null-expletive. One of his arguments is that the reason
why (i) below is ungrammatical is because the subject
<u>sensei</u> is not raised to the matrix subject position.
If it were in the matrix subject position, we would
expect the predicate to be able to honorify it.

(i) ?*<u>Sensei- ga o- mie- ni-naru hazu   de-</u>
       teacher NOM HON-come-HON   expectation COP

    <u>irassyaimasu</u>.
    HON(ORIFIC)

    The teacher is expected to come.

[9]   I assume that the subject can remain in the
D-structure position and receive Nominative Case, since
there exist sentences with more than one Nominative-
marked NPs with its object marked with Nominative as
well as its subject.

(i)   <u>Takashi-ga Furansugo-ga wakaru</u>.
      Takashi NOM French NOM understand

      'Takashi understands French.'

Thus NP movement to the subject position in order to
receive Nominative Case is not obligatory in Japanese,
as it is in English.

[10]   See the following footnote.

[11] Sells (1990), who argues that Ǫ-marked NP is a scrambled NP, notes that the embedded predicates must be unaccusative. The explanation for this, however, is different from what is presented here. See Sells (1990) for details.

[12] I assume here that Tense assigns Nominative Case, not just Infl. (See Hasegawa (1984/85).)

[13] CP deletion does not necessarily have to involve the actual deletion of the CP. What is involved is the CP to stop being a barrier.

[14] I am assuming that the embedded clauses in Japanese are IPs except when there is an overt complementizer. However, it does not affect the arguments in this paper if they are CPs.

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