

Transfer Domains in Japanese and Relativized *v*P Phases*

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Abstract

Saito (2017a, b, 2020) proposes a new theory of transfer domains within the Phasal Spell-Out Model. Saito argues that the theory correctly captures the agreement-sensitive distribution of subject anaphors in English and Japanese. In this remark, we first point out that the availability of *v*P-internal *kara* ‘from’-marked subject anaphors poses an apparent challenge to Saito’s theory. We then propose a modification to Saito’s system to accommodate the *v*P-internal binding configuration based on a relativized definition of *v*P phasehood independently proposed by Takahashi (2010) and Bošković (2012). We demonstrate how this contextual approach to *v*P phasehood ensures that the *kara*-marked subject anaphor may seek an antecedent in the higher CP domain.

Keywords: transfer domain, *kara* ‘from’-subject, anaphor, relativized *v*P phase, inherent case

1. Introduction

Building on the Phasal Spell-Out Model (Chomsky (2000); Bošković (2016)), Saito (2017a, b, 2020) develops a new theory of transfer domains in Japanese vis-à-vis English capitalizing on the presence vs. absence of ϕ -feature agreement. Saito assumes that C-to-T ϕ -feature inheritance transmits phasehood from CP to TP and that a phase is transferred once the next higher phase up is completed. Given these

assumptions, upon the completion of a CP phase, TP forms a transfer domain in English, but not in Japanese, where the ν P phase is transferred instead.

Saito argues that this difference in the size of transfer domains provides a principled account of Yang's (1983) generalization that the Nominative Island Condition (NIC) – the inability of a nominative anaphor to be free in CP – obtains only in the presence of subject agreement. Saito adopts a phase-based theory of Condition (A) outlined in Quicoli (2008), whereby anaphor binding applies on the basis of information available at the end of each transfer domain. Then, a subject anaphor in the embedded [Spec, TP] with the ϕ -agreement configuration is blocked in English because the TP domain containing the anaphor is transferred without any information about its antecedent, in violation of the derivational version of Condition (A). The relevant structure is allowed in Japanese, however, because when the embedded ν P phase is transferred upon the completion of the embedded CP phase, the subject anaphor in the embedded [Spec, TP] remains accessible to further computations and hence can take a subject argument in the matrix [Spec, ν P] as its antecedent before the embedded CP is transferred.

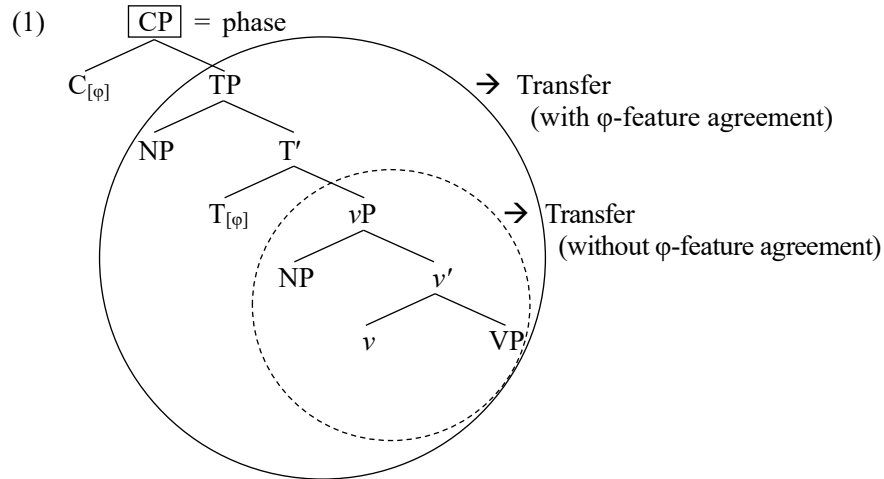
Saito's theory, then, predicts that binding of an anaphor should result in ungrammaticality when it remains in [Spec, ν P]; at the point when the embedded ν P is transferred, the information about its antecedent should be unavailable. We will demonstrate that this prediction is falsified by the grammaticality of subject anaphors in *kara*-marked constructions, which have been argued to have their subjects in [Spec, ν P] (Ueda (2003); Kishimoto (2010, 2012, 2013, 2017, 2018)). We will propose a technical modification to Saito's system drawing on a relativized definition of ν P phases independently argued for by Takahashi (2010) and Bošković (2012). More specifically, we will present evidence showing that those verbal heads assigning inherent cases including *kara* 'from' to their arguments do not constitute ν P phases. We will then show that this relativized approach to ν P phasehood correctly ensures that the ν P-internal subject anaphor in the *kara*-marked construction can locate its

antecedent in a higher transfer domain.

This paper is organized as follows. In section 2, we will go over Saito's (2017a, b, 2020) theory of transfer domains and anaphor binding in English and Japanese. In section 3, we will point out one potential problem with Saito's theory based on our novel observation that a subject anaphor in [Spec, vP] can be bound by an argument in the matrix [Spec, vP] in the *kara*-marked construction, a configuration which should be ruled out in violation of Condition (A) under his theory. In section 4, we will review Takahashi's (2010)/Bošković's (2012) contextual theory of vP phases and show how it accommodates the grammaticality of the relevant binding configuration in accord with Saito's original system. Section 5 presents the conclusion.

2. Saito's (2017a, b, 2020) Theory of Transfer Domains and Anaphor Binding

As stated in section 1, Saito (2017a, b, 2020) adopts the Phasal Spell-Out Model, where transfer applies to the entire phase instead of the complement of a phase head (either v or C) and assumes that a phase is transferred upon the completion of the next higher phase up. He further proposes that when T inherits unvalued ϕ -features from C (Chomsky (2008)), T also inherits phasehood from C. These assumptions yield different transfer domains depending on the presence vs. absence of ϕ -feature agreement in a particular language. To illustrate, consider a schematic derivation in (1), where the CP phase is completed.



In languages with ϕ -feature subject agreement, as in English, the CP phase triggers the transfer of the derived TP phase. By contrast, in languages without such agreement, such as Japanese, it is the ν P phase which constitutes a transfer domain upon the completion of the CP phase.

This theory, Saito argues, offers an illuminating account of the generalization that subject anaphors are blocked in English, but permitted in Japanese (Chomsky (1981); Yang (1983)). Saito adopts Quicoli's (2008) phase-based theory of anaphor binding, according to which information on the antecedent of an anaphor is shipped to the C-I interface along with the transfer domain that contains the anaphor. Consider (2a, b). In (2a, b), the shaded domains indicate the transfer domains in Saito's system.

- (2) a. *John said [_{CP} that [_{TP} himself won]].
- b. John-ga [_{CP} [_{TP} zibunzisin-ga_i [_{ν P} t_i katta-to]]] it-ta.
 John-Nom self-Nom win.Pst-Comp say-Pst
 'lit. John said that himself won.'

(2a) is ungrammatical because the antecedent of *himself* cannot be specified when

the embedded TP is transferred, in violation of the derivational version of Condition (A). Conversely, (2b) is grammatical because the *v*P constitutes a transfer domain. Consequently, it is when the matrix *v*P phase is completed that the anaphor is transferred within the embedded CP phase. Since *John* is already introduced into the syntactic workspace as the specifier of the matrix *v*P when the embedded CP is transferred, the information that the anaphor takes *John* as its antecedent can be sent to the C-I interface.

3. One Potential Problem with Saito's (2017a, b, 2020) Theory

Kishimoto (2010, 2012, 2013, 2017, 2018) argues that the position of subjects varies in Japanese according to whether T contains the nominative Case feature or not: in the former case, a nominative subject undergoes overt movement to [Spec, TP] whereas in the latter case, a non-nominative subject remains within *v*P. We are concerned here with a non-nominative subject marked with the ablative marker *kara* 'from', which is argued by Ueda (2003) and Kishimoto (2010, 2012, 2013, 2017, 2018) to remain in [Spec, *v*P].¹

3.1. *Kara*-Marked Subjects are *v*P-Internal Subjects.

In Japanese, subjects otherwise regularly marked with the nominative case particle *-ga* can be marked instead with the ablative marker *-kara* 'from', as shown in (3), as long as the NP to which the marker is attached can be construed as some kind of source. In (3), *John* can be identified as a source argument in that the call for donations came from him. Other than the verb *yobikakeru* 'to call for' used in (3), verbs like *hanasu* 'to tell', *iu* 'to say', *tanomu* 'to ask', *meiziru* 'to order', and *kaku* 'to write' can participate in the *kara*-marked subject construction.

- (3) Kon-kai-wa {John-ga/John-kara} kihū-o yobikake-ta.
 this-time-Top John-Nom/John-from donation-Acc call.for-Pst
 ‘John called for a donation this time.’ (Kishimoto (2012: 8))

Two pieces of evidence show that the *kara*-marked NP in (3) is a bona-fide subject, like a nominative subject, instead of a locative adjunct (as implied by its oblique marking). Firstly, *zibun* ‘self’ is a subject-oriented anaphor. (4b) shows that *zibun* can take *Ken-kara-mo* ‘also from Ken’ as its antecedent in the same way that it can take the *ga*-marked NP subject *John-ga* ‘John-Nom’ in (4a).

- (4) a. John_i-ga Mary-ni zibun_i-no himitu-o hanasi-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Dat self-Gen secret-Acc tell-Pst
 ‘John told Mary his own secrets.’
 b. Ken_i-kara-mo Mary-ni zibun_i-no himitu-o hanasi-ta.
 Ken-from-also Mary-Dat self-Gen secret-Acc tell-Pst
 ‘Ken also told Mary his own secrets.’ (ibid.: 9)

Secondly, the *kara*-marked NP can trigger subject honorification, just as the nominative NP can, as illustrated in (5), where the relevant NP is a socially superior person worthy of respect.

- (5) {Ito-sensei-ga/Ito-sensei-kara} John-ni sono-koto-o
 Ito-teacher-Nom/Ito-teacher-from John-Dat that-fact-Acc
 o-hanasi-ni-nat-ta.
 Hon-tell-Obl-Lv-Pst
 ‘Prof. Ito told John about that fact.’ (ibid.: 11)

The *kara*-marked NPs in (4) and (5) then behave as a grammatical subject. Note that

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such NPs must be treated differently from other cases of *kara*-marked expressions, such as the one in (6), which plays a role instead as an internal source argument. The latter type of *kara*-marked NPs can neither antecede *zibun* nor trigger subject honorification, as seen in (7) and (8), respectively.

- (6) John-wa Mary-kara hon-o kari-ta.
 John-Top Mary-from book-Acc borrow-Pst
 ‘John borrowed a book from Mary.’ (ibid.: 9)
- (7) *John-wa Mary_i-kara zibun_i-no hon-o kari-ta.
 John-Top Mary-from self-Gen book-Acc borrow-Pst
 Intended: ‘John borrowed her_i book from Mary_i.’ (ibid.: 10)
- (8) *John-wa Ito-sensei-kara hon-o o-kari-ni-nat-ta.
 John-Top Ito-teacher-from book-Acc Hon-borrow-Obl-Lv-Pst
 Intended: ‘John borrowed a book from Prof. Ito.’ (ibid.: 12)

What is crucial for our present purposes is Ueda’s (2003)/Kishimoto’s (2010, 2012, 2013, 2017, 2018) observation that the *kara*-marked subject NP stays in [Spec, vP]. This observation is supported by two pieces of evidence, one concerning indeterminate pronoun binding by *mo* (Kishimoto) and the other concerning syntactic causative sentences (Ueda) (see also section 2.3 for Kishimoto’s (2017, 2018) argument based on the distribution of the negative polarity item (NPI) *amari ooku-no* ‘very many-Gen’ for the position that the oblique subject stays in [Spec, vP]). Firstly, indeterminate pronouns such as *dare* ‘anyone’ and *nani* ‘anything’ can be used as NPIs when they occur adjacent to the quantificational particle *mo*, as shown in (9a). However, the particle is not required to occur this way; it may be attached to a verb instead, as shown in (9b), without causing any appreciable interpretive difference from (9a).

- (9) a. Taroo-wa nani-mo kawa-nakat-ta.
 Taro-Top anything-Q buy-Neg-Pst
 ‘Taro didn’t buy anything.’
- b. Taroo-wa nani-o kai-mo si-nakat-ta.
 Taro-Top anything-Acc buy-Q do-Neg-Pst
 ‘Taro didn’t buy anything.’ (Kishimoto (2001: 598, 599))

Kishimoto (2001) points out that when *mo* appears right next to a verb in a simple clause, *vP*-internal arguments can be bound by the particle, but *vP*-external arguments cannot. This observation is illustrated by the contrast in grammaticality between (10a, b) and (10c).

- (10) a. Taroo-wa nani-o kai-mo si-nakat-ta. (= (9b))
 Taro-Top anything-Acc buy-Q do-Neg-Pst
 ‘Taro did not buy anything.’
- b. Taroo-wa dare-ni omiyage-o age-mo si-nakat-ta.
 Taro-Top anyone-Dat souvenir-Acc give-Q do-Neg-Pst
 ‘Taro did not give anyone a souvenir.’
- c. *Dare-ga Hanako-o home-mo si-nakat-ta.
 anyone-Nom Hanako-Acc admire-Q do-Neg-Pst
 Intended: ‘No one admired Hanako.’ (ibid.: 599, 600)

Kishimoto (2001) assumes that the verb marked with *mo* resides in *vP* and takes this domain as its scope, and proposes that an indeterminate pronoun can be bound by *mo* if it falls within *vP*. Consequently, both direct and indirect objects, being *vP*-internal, can be used as an NPI, as shown in (10a, b), whereas nominative subjects, being *vP*-external, cannot be so used, as shown in (10c).

Keeping Kishimoto’s observation above in mind, consider now (11).

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- (11) Kon-kai-wa {*dare-ga/dare-kara} kihū-o yobikake-mo
 this-time-Top who-Nom/who-from donation-Acc call.for-Q
 si-nakat-ta.
 do-Neg-Pst
 ‘No one called for a donation this time.’ (Kishimoto (2012: 11))

Here, the *ga*-marked subject cannot be bound by *mo*, which is attached to the main verb, whereas the *kara*-marked subject can. This contrast indicates, then, that the former is in [Spec, TP], but the latter is in [Spec, *v*P] (see section 3.2, where we review Kishimoto’s (2017, 2018) observation that such a subject may undergo raising to [Spec, TP] when the clause contains a nominative argument elsewhere).

Secondly, it is by now standardly assumed in Japanese generative syntax that the clausal complement of the syntactic causative verb *-(s)ase* is *v*P (see Harley (2008) for an overview of the major evidence for this assumption). Given this assumption, it is not surprising that such a clause cannot host a *ga*-marked subject, which, by hypothesis, must be licensed by (finite) T: see (12a). Crucially, however, Ueda (2003) points out that such a clause can host a *kara*-marked subject instead, as witnessed by the grammaticality of (12b).

- (12) a. *Taroo-wa [_{*v*P} watasi-ga Mary-ni kanozyo-no
 Taro-Top I-Nom Mary-Dat her-Gen
 byoozyoo-o setumeis]-ase-ta.
 medical.condition-Acc explain-Caus-Pst
 ‘Taro made me explain her medical condition to Mary.’

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- b. Taroo-wa [_{vP} watasi-kara Mary-ni kanozyo-no
 Taro-Top I-from Mary-Dat her-Gen
 byoozyoo-o setumeis]-ase-ta.
 medical.condition-Acc explain-Caus-Pst

‘Taro made me explain her medical condition to Mary.’

(Ueda (2003: 140))

The contrast here, therefore, suggests that *kara*-subjects stay in [Spec, *vP*] instead of undergoing movement to the derived subject position in [Spec, TP].

3.2. An Alternative Analysis of *Kara*-Marked Subjects

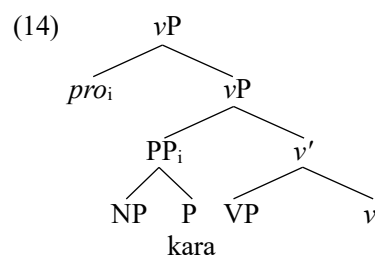
In the previous subsection, we have presented evidence, based on a) the subject-oriented anaphor *zibun* ‘self’, b) subject honorification, c) the distribution of indeterminate pronouns used as NPIs vis-à-vis the quantificational particle *mo* (Kishimoto (2001, 2012)) and d) the availability of a *kara*-marked causee in the syntactic causative construction, to show that certain instances of the *kara*-marked NPs as illustrated in (3), (4b), (5), (11) and (12b), are *vP*-internal subjects. In this section, we compare our subject analysis of the *kara*-marked NP with an alternative adjunct analysis and present two arguments to defend our original analysis against this alternative.

One may suggest that a *kara*-NP enters the syntactic derivation as an adjunct to either VP or *vP*. The suggestion seems reasonable given that the *kara*-marked PP can co-occur with a nominative subject either preceding or following it, as shown in (13).

- (13) (Zibun-kara) Ken-ga (zibun-kara) kihū-o yobikake-ta.
 self-from Ken-Nom self-from donation-Acc call.for-Pst
 ‘Ken called for a donation on his own.’

Recall that *kara*-marked NPs may serve as licit antecedents for the subject-oriented anaphor *zibun* ‘self’ and trigger subject honorification, as shown in (4b) and (5), respectively. However, one can account for these properties if the derivation of the *kara*-marked construction involves an unpronounced pronominal which occupies the real subject position in [Spec, *vP*].

This *pro*-analysis has been independently proposed by Mu et al. (2019). Mu et al. conducted an experiment on processing of sentences with subjects marked either by *-ga* or *-kara*, and showed that nominative subject sentences exhibited a significant difference in processing speed between their canonical S-*ga*OV and scrambled OS-*ga*V orders, but no such scrambling effect was observed between the S-*kara*OV and OS-*kara*V of the *kara*-marked sentences. Given the independent experimental finding that VP-adverbs have two canonical positions, one before the object position (i.e., AdvOV) and the other after that position (i.e., OAdvV) (Koizumi and Tamaoka (2006)), Mu et al. conclude that a *kara*-marked NP is a VP-adunct. To accommodate the data suggestive of the subjecthood of the *kara*-marked NP, they posit that the construction involves a *pro* in [Spec, *vP*], associated with the PP headed by *kara* ‘from’, as depicted in (14).



Mu et al. suggest, based on the distribution of floating quantifiers, that the silent pronoun is PP rather than NP. It is well-known that an NP with a case marker can, but an NP with a postposition cannot, host a floating quantifier, as illustrated by the contrast between (15a) and (15b) (Miyagawa (1989)). The example in (16) shows

that the *kara*-marked NP cannot license an adjacent floating quantifier. The ungrammaticality of this example, then, indicates that the category of the null subject in a *kara*-marked sentence is not an NP, but a PP.

- (15) a. [NP Sensei-ga] san-nin syorui-o watasi-ta.
 teacher-Nom san-Cl document-Acc hand.over-Pst
 ‘Three teachers handed over documents.’
- b. *John-ga [PP [NP sensei] kara] 3-nin purezento-o morat-ta.
 John-Nom teacher from 3-Cl present-Acc receive-Pst
 ‘John received presents from three teachers.’ (Mu et al. (2019: 170))
- (16) *Sensei-kara 3-nin syorui-o watasi-ta.
 teacher-from 3-Cl document-Acc hand.over-Pst
 ‘Three teachers handed over documents.’ (ibid.: 171)

We have two arguments for our subject analysis of a *kara*-marked NP over the adjunct analysis. One argument is concerned with Condition (C). In (14), *pro* sits in [Spec, *v*P], which is structurally superior to the adjunct position into which the *kara*-marked NP is base-generated. As such, the adjunct analysis predicts that such a configuration should incur a Condition (C) violation, as in (17), but the grammaticality of (3), repeated here as (18a), shows that this prediction is not borne out. The relevant part of the *v*P structure for (18a) is shown in (18b).

- (17) *Kare_i-ga John_i-o seme-ta.
 He-Nom John-Acc criticize-Pst
 ‘He_i criticized John_i.’
- (18) a. Kon-kai-wa John-kara kihū-o yobikake-ta.
 this-time-Top John-from donation-Acc call.for-Pst
 ‘John called for a donation this time.’ (Kishimoto (2012: 8))

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- b. [_{vP} *pro*_i [_{vP} [_{PP} John-kara]_i [_{v'} [_{VP} kihu-o yobikake] v]]]

Proponents of the adjunct analysis might counter that the *kara*-marked DP is an adjunct so that the point at which it is introduced in the syntactic derivation does not have to be restricted to any designated position so as to incur a Condition (C) violation. What we think they have in mind is the late adjunction/late merger theory of adjuncts (Lebeaux (1988, 1991); Stepanov (2001)), supported by the argument-adjunct asymmetry with respect to Condition (C), which, in turn, is illustrated by the contrast in grammaticality between (19a) and (19b).

(19) a. *Whose claim [that John_i likes Mary] did he_i deny?

b. Which claim [that John_i made] did he_i later deny?

(Lebeaux (1991: 211))

The *that*-clause in (19a) is an argument. Given the standard assumption that arguments cannot be introduced countercyclically, the whole nominal complex *whose claim that John likes Mary* must be introduced as the direct object of the verb *deny*, thereby resulting in a Condition (C) violation. The *that*-clause in (19b), by contrast, is a relative clause adjunct. Lebeaux (1988, 1991) hypothesizes that adjuncts can be introduced countercyclically so that the relative clause is merged with the *wh*-phrase *which claim* only after the latter has moved to [Spec, CP]. It follows, then, that *John* can avoid a Condition (C) violation in (19b).

We find the attempt to explain away the lack of a Condition (C) violation under the adjunct analysis of the *kara*-marked NP described above rather difficult to sustain. Given that *pro* is the unpronounced counterpart of an overt pronoun, the adjunct analysis of the *kara*-marked construction predicts that (20) should be grammatical where the overt nominative pronoun *kare-ga* ‘he-Nom’ is coindexed with *John* contained within the PP; the latter could, in principle, be inserted countercyclically

in some vP-internal adjunct position that is not c-commanded by the former, thereby evading the violation of a Condition (C) effect. Recall from (13) that the *kara*-PP may occur either before or after the nominative subject. The point here, of course, is that (20) is ungrammatical under the reading where the pronoun is coreferential with the R-expression.

- (20) *Kon-kai-wa kare_i-ga John_i-kara kihū-o yobikake-ta.
 this-time-Top he-Nom John-from donation-Acc call.for-Pst
 Intended: ‘John called for a donation on his own this time.’

The ungrammaticality of (20) is consistent with our analysis of the *kara*-marked NP, on the other hand, because *kare-ga* ‘he-Nom’ binds *John* in [Spec, vP], in violation of Condition (C).²

Our second argument in favor of the subject analysis of the *kara*-marked NP against the *pro*-based alternative comes from Kishimoto’s (2017) finding regarding a subject-object asymmetry with respect to the licensing of the ‘argument modifier’ type of NPIs exemplified by *amari ooku-no* ‘very many-Gen’ (see also Kishimoto (2018: 26–29) for a parallel argument based on another NPI *sika* ‘only’). Kishimoto (2017) first observes that there is a subject-object asymmetry with respect to the licensing of this NPI in the variant of the aspectual construction where the negative morpheme *nai* precedes the aspectual verb *iru* ‘be’. This asymmetry is illustrated in the contrast in grammaticality between (21a) and (21b).

- (21) a. *Saikin amari ooku-no hito-ga ronbun-o kaka-nai-de
 recently very many-Gen man-Nom paper-Acc write-Neg-Ger
 i-ru.
 be-Pres
 ‘Recently, very many people have not been writing papers.’

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- b. Saikin Ken-wa amari ooku-no ronbun-o kaka-nai-de
 recently Ken-Top very many-Gen paper-Acc write-Neg-Ger
 i-ru.
 be-Pres

‘Recently, Ken has not been writing so many papers.’

(Kishimoto (2017: 134))

Kishimoto proposes that Neg-head raising raises the negative morpheme *nai* to the finiteness head projected over its local TP to extend the negative scope over this constituent. Given this proposal, the ungrammaticality of (21a) shows that the NPI subject *amari ooku-no hito-ga* ‘not very many-Gen people’ undergoes raising from its base-generated position in the embedded [Spec, *vP*] to the matrix [Spec, TP] and ends up being outside the scope of negation (the embedded TP). (21b) is grammatical, by contrast, because the NPI object stays within the scope of negation. Kishimoto then observes that no such positional asymmetry is observed when the same NPI modifies the *kara*-marked subject and object. Examples (22a, b) prove this point.

- (22) a. Saikin amari ooku-no hito-kara kare-ni hanasi-o
 recently very many-Gen people-from he-to talk-acc
 si-nai-de i-ru.
 do-Neg-Ger be-Pres

‘Recently, not very many people have been talking to him.’

- b. Saikin watasi-kara kare-ni amari ooku-no hanasi-o
 recently I-from he-to very many-Gen talk-Acc
 si-nai-de i-ru.
 do-Neg-Ger be-Pres

‘Recently, I have not been taking to him very much.’ (ibid.: 136)

The grammaticality of (22a) indicates that the *kara*-marked subject does not undergo movement into the matrix [Spec, TP], but stays in the embedded [Spec, *v*P], a conclusion that is in accord with our subject analysis of the *kara*-marked subject construction in section 3.1.

Note that the *kara*-marked construction in (22a) does not involve any nominative NP. Significantly, Kishimoto shows that the *kara*-marked NP may exceptionally undergo raising to the matrix [Spec, TP] in a *kara*-marked sentence if it involves a nominative argument in the same sentence. In other words, the *kara*-marked subject modified by the relevant NPI gives rise to ungrammaticality, as shown in (23a), in contrast with the grammatical example in (22a) with the NPI-marked *kara*-subject without any nominative argument elsewhere.

- (23) a. *Saikin amari ooku-no hito-kara kare-ni hanasi-ga
 recently very many-Gen man-from he-to talk-Nom
 deki-nai-de i-ru.
 can.do-Neg-Ger be-Pres
 ‘Recently, not very many people have been talking to him.’
- b. Saikin watasi-kara kare-ni amari ooku-no hanasi-ga
 recently I-from he-to very many-Gen talk-Nom
 deki-nai-de i-ru.
 can.do-Neg-Ger be-Pres
 ‘Recently, I have not been talking to him very much.’ (ibid.: 139)

As Kishimoto (2017: 140) points out, the ungrammaticality of (23a) proves problematic for the *pro*-based analysis of the *kara*-marked subject. According to this analysis, the real subject of the *kara*-marked construction is the silent pronoun in [Spec, *v*P] with the *kara*-argument position in an adjunct position to the *v*P/VP, so it is the pronoun that should undergo movement into the matrix [Spec, TP] in the

aspectual construction under investigation; the *kara*-subject will never undergo movement but instead remain in its base-generated position within the embedded *v*P. The analysis then wrongly predicts that the NPI within the *kara*-subject should be licensed by the raised negation in (23a), contrary to facts. Our subject analysis, on the other hand, correctly predicts the ungrammaticality of (23a) if we assume that the *kara*-NP undergoes movement into the matrix subject position and hence falls outside the scope of negation.

3.3. Saito's (2017a, b, 2020) Theory and Subject Anaphors in *Kara*-Marked Constructions

Having established that the *kara*-marked subject construction involves the ablative subject PP in [Spec, *v*P], let us now return to Saito's (2017a, b, 2020) theory of transfer domains and anaphor binding in Japanese. Recall that Saito's theory predicts that the subject anaphor *zibunzisin* 'self' in [Spec, *v*P] should cause the violation of Condition (A) because its antecedent is not available at the point when the embedded *v*P phase containing the anaphor is transferred to the C-I interface upon the completion of the higher CP phase. Significantly, the *kara*-marked subject anaphor in (24) and (25) can take the matrix subject in [Spec, *v*P] as its antecedent. In these examples, we included subject honorification to make sure that the *kara*-marked subject is a genuine subject in the embedded [Spec, *v*P] instead of a mere locative adjunct (recall (6–8)).

- (24) Tanaka-sensei-wa [CP kotosi-wa ... [TP ... [_vP zibunzisin-kara
 Tanaka-teacher-Top this.year-Top self-from
 kihu-o o-yobikake-ni-nat] ta] to o-sshatteiru.
 donation-Acc Hon-call.for-Obl-Lv Pst Comp Hon-say
 'Prof. Tanaka says that she called for a donation this year.'

- (25) Suzuki-sensei-wa [CP kinoo ... [TP ... [vP zibunzisin-kara
 Suzuki-teacher-Top yesterday self-from
 zemi-see-ni sono kanasii sirase-o o-hanasi-ni-nat]
 seminar-student-Dat that sad news-Acc Hon-tell-Obl-Lv
 ta] to o-sshatteiru.
 Pst Comp Hon-say
 ‘Prof. Suzuki says that he told his seminar students about that sad news
 yesterday.’

One may counter here that all what we have shown so far is that *kara*-subjects can take either one of the two structural positions, [Spec, vP] or [Spec, TP]. As such, if we took the latter option, *zibunzisin* ‘self’ in (24) and (25) could be bound by its antecedent as both the antecedent and the reflexive would be in the same transfer domain without adding any modification to Saito’s original proposal. The question arises, then, whether there is any evidence to show that *kara*-subjects *must* stay in [Spec, vP]. Recall that, as discussed in section 3.1, a syntactic causative sentence helps us construct a relevant configuration where a *kara*-subject is forced to occupy [Spec, vP]. The binding relation holds in this controlled environment, as shown in (26).

- (26) Taroo_i-wa [vP zibunzisin_i-no gakusei-kara kaer]-ase-ta.
 Taroo-Top self-Gen student-from leave-Caus-Pst
 ‘Taroo make his students leave.’

This example then provides supporting evidence for our position that an anaphor binding is possible across the vP domain.

To summarize, we have presented a challenge for Saito’s (2017a, b, 2020) recent theory of anaphor binding in Japanese. The challenge comes from our

observation that ν P-internal subjects marked by *kara* ‘from’ can take an argument in the matrix [Spec, ν P] as their antecedent, a configuration which should be ruled out in violation of Condition (A) under his theory.

4. Relativized ν P Phases and the Inherent Case *Kara*

The data presented so far show that there are two empirical boundary conditions that any account of anaphor binding must satisfy. One condition is that such an account must be able to capture the difference between English and Japanese with respect to the availability of nominative anaphors, a pattern which Saito (2017a, b, 2020) has argued to be derived as a consequence of the different transfer domains (TP vs. ν P) in the two languages. The other condition is that the transfer domain for anaphor binding must not be categorically stipulated as ν P (and CP) in Japanese, since such a rigid specification would wrongly exclude grammatical cases of anaphor binding across a CP phase in the *kara*-marked subject construction. What we need now instead is a more nuanced, relativized definition of phases/transfer domains whereby the otherwise default locality-defining domains for an anaphor imposed by purely mechanical phase-theoretic computation may somehow be voided under a restricted range of environments so that the anaphor can look beyond its default transfer domain for its grammatical antecedent. In this section, we will propose one technical modification to Saito’s original phase-theoretic system to correctly accommodate the new binding pattern discovered in the previous section that draws its insight from a contextual definition of ν P phases developed by Takahashi (2010) and Boškovič (2012).

4.1. Relativized ν P Phases and the Structural vs. Inherent Case Distinction

Takahashi (2010) argues for a contextual definition of ν P phases based on his study of different scope patterns in the nominative/accusative conversion in Japanese. Adopting the independently motivated view that Quantifier Raising (QR) is phase-

bound, Takahashi hypothesizes that a ν P constitutes a phase only when the phase head participates in Case-valuation. To illustrate how this proposal works, consider (27a, b); see Sano (1985), Tada (1992, 1993), Koizumi (1994, 1995, 2008), Nomura (2003, 2005), and many other works cited in Takahashi (2010: 320) for discussions on scope facts on the nominative vs. accusative objects with respect to potential verbs and negation.

- (27) a. John-ga migime-dake-o tumur-e-ru. [?*only>can; can>only]
 John-Nom right.eye-only-Acc close-can-Pres
 ‘John can close only his right eye.’
- b. John-ga migime-dake-ga tumur-e-ru. [only>can; can>only]
 John-Nom right.eye-only-Nom close-can-Pres
 ‘John can close only his right eye.’ (Takahashi (2010: 336))

In (27a), the accusative object must take scope under the potential affix whereas in (27b), the nominative object may take scope above the potential affix. Takahashi assumes, following Ura (1996, 1999, 2000), that the potential affix optionally absorbs the accusative Case-feature of ν . In (27a), the potential affix does not absorb the accusative Case feature of ν . The ν head assigns the accusative Case to the direct object. Per hypothesis, this means that the embedded ν P constitutes a phase to demarcate the domain for QR of the *dake*-marked object. It follows that the object cannot QR beyond this ν P domain to take scope over the potential affix. In (27b), by contrast, the potential affix absorbs the accusative Case feature of ν so that the nominative object has its Case valued instead by T. The ν head then does not create a ν P phase. Consequently, the nominative object may undergo QR across the ν P domain to TP to take wide scope over the potential affix.

Boškovič (2012) develops Takahashi’s hypothesis a step further and proposes that those ν heads assigning an inherent case do not form ν P phases since “with

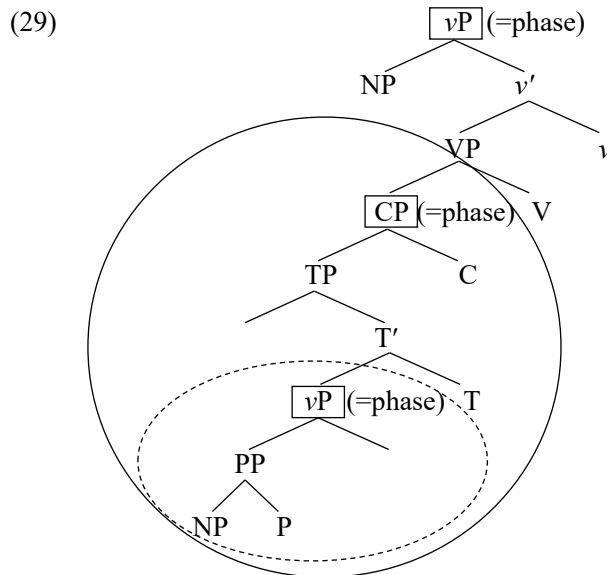
inherent case there is no regular process of case valuation of the kind Chomsky (2000) proposed for structural case” (p. 361). This proposal is supported by his observation that inherently case-marked PPs pattern with nominative objects, but not with accusative objects, in that they may take scope over the potential affix, as shown in (28).

- (28) Taroo-wa daitooryoo-ni suutu-dake-de a-e-ru. [only>can; can>only]
 Tato-Top president-Dat suit-only-with meet-can-Pres
 ‘Taro can meet with the president only in a suit.’ (Boškovič (2012: 364))

The wide scope interpretation of the inherently case-marked PP *suutu-dake-de* ‘only in a suit’ in (27) falls into place if inherent case does not involve Case-valuation in Takahashi’s (2010) sense, so that the *v* here does not head a *v*P phase and hence does not block QR of the *dake*-phrase to the TP.³

4.2. Explaining the Anaphor Binding Pattern in the *Kara*-Marked Subject Construction

We are now ready to present our account for the rather exceptional anaphor binding configuration illustrated in (24) and (25). Recall that Saito’s (2017a, b, 2020) theory predicts these examples to be ungrammatical. The *kara*-subject in [Spec, *v*P] should not be able to take an argument in the matrix [Spec, *v*P] as its antecedent in his theory. The lower *v*P must have already been transferred to the C-I interface upon the completion of the embedded CP phase before the antecedent is introduced in the matrix [Spec, *v*P], in violation of the derivational version of Condition (A). The relevant state of affairs is depicted in the schematic derivation in (29).



We propose that the v head does not head the vP phase because the head assigns the inherent ablative case *kara* ‘from’ to the PP argument in its specifier, which is thematically identified as a source as well as an agent (Chomsky (1986)). Indeed, (30) shows that the PP may take scope over the potential affix, thus patterning with the nominative object ((27b)) and the inherently case-marked manner PP ((28)), not with the accusative object ((27a)). This scope fact thus lends independent support to our view that the ablative assigning v does not create a vP phase.

- (30) Kono koozyoo-de-wa mutenka-no amazake-o kome to
 this factory-in-Top additive.free-Gen sweet.sake-Acc rice and
 komekoozi-dake-kara tukur-e-masu. [only>can; can>only]
 rice.malt-only-from produce-can-Pol
 ‘In this factory, they can produce additive-free sweet sake only from rice
 and rice malts.’

Since the lower v P does not count as a phase, the embedded CP phase is the first domain to be transferred to the C-I interface when the higher v P phase is completed. Thus, the *kara*-marked anaphor *zibunzisin-kara* ‘from self’ in (24) and (25) may look beyond the v P domain to find its antecedent within the embedded CP domain before the completion of the matrix v P domain.⁴

5. Conclusion

In this paper, we have presented novel examples concerning anaphor binding in the *kara*-marked subject construction in Japanese, which appear problematic for Saito’s (2017a, b, 2020) recent theory of transfer domains and anaphor binding. Saito’s theory predicts that the subject in a v P phase should not be able to find its antecedent in the immediately higher CP phase, but we have shown that this anaphor binding pattern manifests itself in the relevant construction. This problem is only apparent, however. We have suggested that a minor adjustment to Saito’s theory correctly accounts for the relevant facts. More precisely, we have adopted Takahashi’s (2010)/Bošković’s (2012) contextual approach to phasehood whereby only those v heads participating in Case-valuation head v P phases. We have demonstrated how this approach allows the v P-internal anaphor to bypass the v P domain to seek for its potential antecedent in the matrix argument while maintaining Saito’s original system. The overall results in this paper not only vindicate Saito’s theory but also lend further credence to the contextual definition of phasehood.

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Notes

1) Kishimoto (2010, 2012, 2013, 2017, 2018) claims that non-nominative subjects marked with the instrumental particle *-de* 'with' also stay in [Spec, *v*P]. In this paper, we will concentrate on the *kara*-marked subject construction, merely noting here that we can replicate the same argument against Saito's theory using the *de*-marked subject construction.

2) The grammaticality of (i) with respect to Condition (A) is also consistent with our analysis.

- (i) Kon-kai-wa John_i-ga zibunzisin_i-kara kihu-o yobikake-ya.
 thi-time-Top John-Nom self-from donation-Acc call.for-Pst
 Intended: 'John called for a donation on his own this time.'

Here, *John* occupies [Spec, TP] and binds *zibunzisin-kara* 'from oneself' in [Spec, *v*P].

3) One may wonder why the *v*P in (24) and (25) does not constitute a phase under Takahashi's (2010) assumption that *v* is a phase head when it assigns accusative Case. Recall that we adopt the version by Boškovič (2012), where *v* does not form a phase when it assigns inherent case, leading us to say that *v*P in (24) and (25) is not a phase.

4) Etsuro Shima (personal communication) points out that our analysis predicts that a

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direct object as well as a *kara*-marked subject in the relevant vP domain should remain accessible until a higher phase is introduced to trigger transfer. Thus, the direct object in the embedded vP might be able to be bound by the subject occupying the matrix [Spec, vP]. However, this prediction is difficult to test because binding of *zibunzisin* causes a locality violation. In (i), for example, *Taroo* cannot be the antecedent of *zibunzisin* ‘self’ as a potential antecedent *Hanako* intervenes between them. Note that this locality restriction is independent of the *kara*-subject construction. (ii) shows that the reflexive cannot be bound by *Taroo*, the potential antecedent in the matrix clause, because there is a closer potential antecedent for the reflexive in the embedded clause, i.e., *Hanako*.

- (i) **Taroo*_i-wa [*Hanako*-*kara* *zibunzisin*_i-no hi-o mitome-ta to]
Taroo-Nom *Hanako*-from self-Gen mistake admit-Pst Comp
 it-ta.
 say-Pst
 ‘*Taroo*_i said that *Hanako*_j admitted {his_i*/her_j} own mistake.’
- (ii) *Taroo*_i-wa [*Hanako*_j-ga *zibunzisin*_{*i/j} -no hi-o mitome-ta
Taroo-Nom *Hanako*-Nom self-Gen mistake-Acc admit-Pst
 to] it-ta.
 C say-Pst
 ‘*Taroo*_i said that *Hanako* admitted {his_i*/her_j} own mistake.’

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