

CONDITION C RECONSTRUCTION IN JAPANESE A-MOVEMENT*

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1 Introduction

This paper discusses *reconstruction effects*, where a moved element behaves as if it is lower than its surface position. Under the copy theory of movement (Chomsky, 1993), where movement leaves behind a copy of a moved element, reconstruction effects arise as a consequence of interpreting a lower copy in a non-trivial chain. Reconstruction phenomena can then be used as a tool for investigating the positions of such copies.

This paper focuses on certain reconstruction effects in Japanese. It is shown that A-movement in Japanese feeds Condition C as long as an R-expression is not located within an adjunct. This situation is different from that in English, where A-movement always bleeds Condition C. This difference requires a principled explanation. It is argued that reconstruction effects in Japanese and English, including the difference between the two, can be accounted for by assuming the mechanism of Wholesale Late Merger (Takahashi and Hulsey, 2009), where the restrictor which contains the R-expression is merged acyclically, and the assumption that D heads exist in English, but not Japanese (Fukui, 1986, Takahashi, 2011, Bošković, 2012, 2014).

Wholesale Late Merger makes it possible for an NP restrictor of a determiner to be late-merged in the sense of Lebeaux (1988). The derivation of a raising construction like (1) can then proceed as in (2), using the possibility of Wholesale Late Merger:

- (1) The man seems to be sick.
- (2) a. Base structure
the sick
b. Movement of the D-head
<the> seems to be <the> sick

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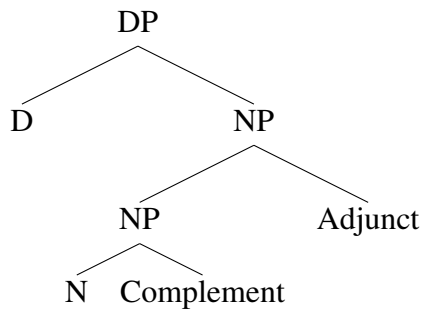
- c. Late Merger of a restrictor
 <the [man]> seems to be <the> sick

(2a) illustrates the derivational point at which the D head *the* and the embedded predicate *sick* are merged. This D head can undergo movement without its NP restrictor as in (2b). After this movement of the D head, the NP restrictor is merged into the structure. The consequence is that there is no copy of the NP restrictor within the embedded clause. Note that this derivational possibility crucially relies on the presence of a D head: If D heads are not available, NPs must be merged with the embedded predicate at the base structure. It is argued that Japanese does not have D heads, and therefore does not allow for the possibility of late merger of NPs. Thus, the corresponding derivation in Japanese proceeds as in (3):

- (3) a. Base structure
 man sick
 b. Movement of NP
 <man> seems to be <man> sick

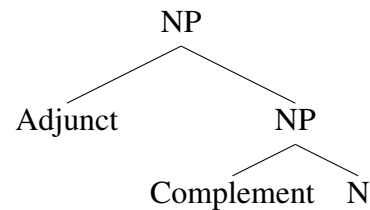
The proposal predicts that there must be a copy of the NP within the embedded clause with raising in Japanese. It is also argued that in both English and Japanese, late merger of adjuncts, but not complements, of NPs are allowed (Lebeaux, 1988, Fox, 2002). The structure within noun phrases and the possibilities of late merger in these languages can then be summarized as in (4):

- (4) a. Structure of noun phrases
 in English



Late merger of adjuncts:	possible
Late merger of complements:	impossible
Late merger of NP-restrictors:	possible

- b. Structure of noun phrases
 in Japanese



Late merger of adjuncts:	possible
Late merger of complements:	impossible
Late merger of whole NPs:	impossible

This proposal not only accounts for the reconstruction facts in Japanese and English, but also provides evidence that both of A-movement and \bar{A} -movement obligatorily leave copies. The present paper thus argues against proposals that A-movement and \bar{A} -movement differ regarding whether they obligatorily leave copies (cf. Sauerland 1998, Fox 1999, Lasnik 1999).

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 reviews the relevant English data from the literature, showing that there is a discrepancy between A-movement and \bar{A} -movement regarding reconstruction effects. Section 3 examines Condition C effects in Japanese A-movement building on work by Takahashi and Uchibori (2003). Cases of scrambling are also presented. Section 4

presents my proposal and shows how it accounts for the facts reported in Section 2 and 3. Section 5 is a conclusion.

2 A-movement and \bar{A} -movement in English

It is well established that there are (at least) two types of movement, which show distinct behavior with respect to certain syntactic phenomena. One of them is reconstruction (Chomsky 1993, 1995, Lebeaux 1995, Sauerland 1998, Fox 1999, Lasnik 1999). Consider first \bar{A} -movement.

\bar{A} -movement in English does not behave in a uniform manner with respect to Condition C reconstruction effects. As Riemsdijk and Williams (1981) originally pointed out, Condition C effects under reconstruction sometimes arise and sometimes do not. Lebeaux (1988) argues that this distinction can be characterized in terms of the structural property of the phrase within which an R-expression occurs. Specifically, he argues that when the R-expression is inside a complement, a violation of Condition C arises, whereas when the R-expression is inside an adjunct, a violation of Condition C does not arise (see also Freidin 1986, Fox 1999). In (5), R-expressions are within complements of NPs, while, in (6), R-expressions are within relative clauses (i.e. adjuncts):

- (5) a. ??/*[Which argument [that John_i is a genius]] did he_i believe *t*? (Fox, 1999:164)
 b. ??/*[Which criticism of John_i] did he_i reject *t*? (Miyagawa, 2005:192)
- (6) a. [Which argument [that John_i made]] did he_i believe *t*? (Fox, 1999:164)
 b. [Which criticism [that John_i heard]] did he_i believe *t*? (Miyagawa, 2005:192)

A-movement in English shows a different behavior. It *always* remedies violations of Condition C occurring at the level of ‘D-structure’ (Chomsky, 1993, Lebeaux, 1995).¹ In (7a-c), the subject containing an R-expression originates within the embedded clause and undergoes A-movement into the matrix clause. Since the experiencer argument c-commands into the embedded clause, as (7d) shows, these examples demonstrate that A-movement in English bleeds Condition C, even if the R-expression is included within the complement of the NP:

- (7) a. Everyone’s criticism of John_i seems to him_i to be *t* valid.
 b. The claim [that John_i was asleep] seems to him_i to be *t* wonderful. (Chomsky, 1993:37)
 c. The claim [that John_i made] seems to him_i to be *t* correct. (Homer, 2009:55)
 d. *Mary seemed to him_i to like John_i. (McGinnis, 1998:201)

To summarize, A-movement in English always bleeds Condition C, whereas \bar{A} -movement in English does so only if an R-expression is located within an adjunct.

3 A-movement and Scrambling in Japanese

This section investigates Condition C effects with A-movement and scrambling in Japanese. It is shown that A-movement in Japanese and A-movement in English behave differently in the relevant respect. The former exhibits an argument/adjunct asymmetry in the same way \bar{A} -movement in

¹I use the term ‘D-structure’ for ease of exposition.

English does, but in contrast to A-movement in English. Examples of scrambling are also discussed and shown to exhibit the argument/adjunct asymmetry with respect to binding effects.

3.1 A-movement: Takahashi and Uchibori (2003)

Japanese allows the alternation between (8a) and (8b):

- (8) a. Huziko-ni(-wa) [_{CP} Yawara-ga kin medaru-o toru to] omoeta.
 Fujiko-to(-TOP) Yawara-NOM gold medal-ACC win that seemed
 ‘It seemed to Fujiko that Yawara would win a gold medal.’
 b. Yawara-ga Huziko-ni(-wa) [_{CP} kin medaru-o toru to] omoeta.
 Yawara-NOM Fujiko-to(-TOP) gold medal-ACC win that seemed
 ‘lit. Yawara seemed to Fujiko that would win a gold medal.’

(Takahashi and Uchibori, 2003:301-302)

In (8a), the matrix verb *omoe* selects a dative argument and a finite clause complement. (8b) is minimally different from (8a) in that the subject of the embedded clause is displaced into the matrix clause. Takahashi and Uchibori (2003) argue that (8a) is derived via A-movement of the embedded subject from the complement clause (cf. Takezawa 1993, Ura 1999b).

- (9) Yawara_i-ga Huziko-ni(-wa) [_{CP} *t_i* kin medaru-o toru to] omoeta.
 Yawara-NOM Fujiko-to(-TOP) gold medal-ACC win that seemed
 ‘lit. Yawara seemed to Fujiko that would win a gold medal.’

They call this movement *pseudoraising*, as an instance of A-movement that still has some different properties from raising in English and scrambling. Since the validity of Takahashi and Uchibori’s (2003) claim is important for the argumentation in this paper, I reproduce some of their arguments below.

Takahashi and Uchibori (2003) argue that the alternation in (8) involves movement on the basis of idiomatic interpretations and scope interaction. Takahashi (2011:79-80) adds another argument from the Proper Binding Condition (Fiengo 1977, Saito 1989). Here I repeat the argument concerning idioms. The expression *siraha-no ya-ga X-ni tat* forms an idiom that means ‘X be nominated.’ Importantly, this interpretation is retained under pseudoraising that affects only part of the idiom:

- (10) a. Siraha-no ya-ga Yawara-ni tatta.
 white-feather-GEN arrow-NOM Yawara-to stood
 ‘lit. An arrow with white feathers hit Yawara.’
 ‘Yawara was nominated.’
 b. [Siraha-no ya-ga]_i Huziko-ni(-wa) [_{CP} *t_i* Yawara-ni tatta to] omoeta.
 white-feather-GEN arrow-NOM Fujiko-to(-TOP) Yawara-to stood that seemed
 ‘lit. An arrow with white feathers seemed to Fujiko that would hit Yawara.’
 ‘It seemed to Fujiko that Yawara would be nominated.’

(Takahashi and Uchibori, 2003:302)

This suggests that the pseudoraised element is moved from the embedded clause.

Takahashi and Uchibori (2003) also argue that movement in question is A-movement, noting that pseudoraised NPs can license the reciprocal anaphor *otagai* and the bound reading of *soitu*. (11) involves the reciprocal anaphor, showing that pseudoraising provides a binder for it:

- (11) a. **Otagai*_i-no hahaoya-ni [[*Yawara to Huziko*]_i-ga kin medaru-o toru to]
 each-other-GEN mother-to Yawara and Fujiko-NOM gold medal-ACC win that
 omoeta.
 seemed
 ‘lit. It seemed to each other’s mothers that Yawara and Fujiko would win a gold medal.’
 b. [*Yawara to Huziko*]_i-ga *otagai*_i-no hahaoya-ni [_{*t*_i} kin medaru-o toru to]
 Yawara and Fujiko-NOM each-other-GEN mother-to gold medal-ACC win that
 omoeta.
 seemed
 ‘lit. Yawara and Fujiko seemed to each other’s mothers that would win a gold medal.’
 (Takahashi and Uchibori, 2003:303)

They further note that pseudoraising should not be identified with A-scrambling based on certain facts regarding Case and the extractability from finite CPs.

First, pseudoraised NPs bear different types of Case depending on the syntactic environment into which they move:

- (12) *Zyookyoo*-ga [*Yawara*_i-o *Huziko*-ni [_{*t*_i} *zyuudoo*-o *yameru* to] *omoe*]-sase-ta.
 situation-NOM Yawara-ACC Fujiko-to judo-ACC quit that seem-make-PAST
 ‘lit. The situation made Yawara seem to Fujiko that would quit judo.’
 (Takahashi and Uchibori, 2003:305)

(12) shows that a pseudoraised NP bears accusative Case in an ECM environment. This is similar to raising constructions in English:

- (13) a. **He** seemed to be sick.
 b. We believe **him** to have seemed to be sick. (Takahashi and Uchibori, 2003:305)

Scrambling, on the other hand, never changes the Case of its target:

- (14) a. *Sayaka*-ga *Yawara*-ni *sittosita*.
 Sayaka-NOM Yawara-DAT envied
 ‘Sayaka envied Yawara.’
 b. *Yawara*-ni/*ga *Sayaka*-ga *sittosita*.
 Yawara-DAT/NOM Sayaka-NOM envied
 ‘lit. Yawara, Sayaka envied.’ (Takahashi and Uchibori, 2003:314)

This contrast between pseudoraising and scrambling is expected if only the former is Case-motivated.

Second, a pseudoraised NP can license a reciprocal anaphor in the matrix clause, as we have seen in (11b). Recall that we are dealing with movement out of a finite CP. Importantly, scrambling out of a finite CP is known to have \bar{A} -properties (Saito, 1992). Then, if pseudoraising were to be

identified with scrambling, it would not be clear why the pseudoraised NP can license a reciprocal anaphor, exhibiting a property of A-movement even in a context where scrambling cannot do that.²

To sum up, pseudoraising is A-movement that is distinct from scrambling.³ Takahashi and Uchibori (2003) argue that pseudoraising is A-movement motivated by Case-checking, assuming that finite T optionally assigns Nominative in Japanese (Ura, 1994). I will follow them in this respect.

We are now ready to examine Condition C effects in Japanese A-movement. Consider (15), where pseudoraised NPs contain an R-expression:

- (15) a. ??/?*[Minna-no Taroo_i-no hihan-ga]_j kare_i-ni(-wa) [_{CP} *t_j* datoo da to] omoeta.
 everyone-GEN Taro-GEN criticism-NOM he-to(-TOP) valid copula that
 seemed
 ‘lit. Everyone’s criticism of Taro_i seemed to him_j that is valid.’
- b. [[Minna-ga Taroo_i-ni sita] hihan-ga]_j kare_i-ni(-wa) [_{CP} *t_j* datoo da to] omoeta.
 everyone-NOM Taro-to did criticism-NOM he-to(-TOP) valid copula that
 seemed
 ‘lit. A criticism that everyone made of Taro_i seemed to him_j that is valid.’

In (15a), the R-expression is a complement of a noun ‘criticism’ and the sentence is degraded.⁴ In (15b), on the other hand, the R-expression is within a relative clause and can co-refer with a pronominal experiencer in the matrix clause. This suggests that A-movement in Japanese exhibits the argument/adjunct asymmetry regarding Condition C reconstruction, contrary to A-movement in English.

3.2 Scrambling

I now turn to scrambling. Nishigauchi (2002) and Miyagawa (2005) argue that long-distance scrambling in Japanese exhibits the argument/adjunct asymmetry, as the contrast in (16) shows:

²Note also that what is moved in (11b) is a subject, which cannot undergo long-distance scrambling (Saito, 1985).

³Pseudoraising is different from raising in that pseudoraised NPs cannot be the antecedent of *zibun* or induce subject honorification, which are tests for subjecthood in Japanese (Takezawa 1993, Ura 1999a, Takahashi and Uchibori 2003).

- (i) a. *Yawara_i-ga zibun_i-no hahaoya-ni [*t_i* kin medaru-o toru to] omoeta.
 Yawara-NOM self-GEN mother-to gold medal-ACC win that seemed
 ‘Yawara seemed to the mother of herself that would win a gold medal.’
- b. *Inokuma sensei_i-ga Huziko-ni(-wa) [*t_i* kin medaru-o toru to] omoe-rare-ta
 Inokuma teacher-NOM Fujiko-to(-TOP) gold medal-ACC win that seem-HON-PAST
 /o-omoe-ninat-ta.
 /HON-seem-HON-PAST
 ‘lit. Mr. Inokuma seemed to Fujiko that would win a gold medal.’

(Takahashi and Uchibori, 2003:307-308)

See Takahashi and Uchibori (2003) for a reason why raising and pseudoraising are different in this respect.

⁴Here I use *hihan* ‘criticism’ following Miyagawa (2006: 612). Its use “identifies the prenominal genitive phrase as its argument.”

- (16) a. ??/?*[Minna-no John_i-no hihan-o]_j kare_i-ga [_{CP} Hanako-ga _{t_j}
 everyone-GEN John-GEN criticism-ACC he-NOM Hanako-NOM
 osiete-kureta to] itta.
 told.him that said
 ‘lit. Everyone’s criticism of John, he said that Hanako told him.’
- b. [[Minna-ga John_i-kara kakusite-ita] hihan-o]_j kare_i-ga [_{CP} Hanako-ga _{t_j}
 everyone-NOM John-from was.hiding criticism-ACC he-NOM Hanako-NOM
 osiete-kureta to] itta.
 told.him that said
 ‘lit. The criticism that everyone was hiding from John, he said that Hanako told him.’
 (Miyagawa, 2005:193)

The same pattern can be observed with clause-internal scrambling (see also Saito 1992):

- (17) a. ??/?*[Minna-no John_i-no hihan-o]_j kare_i-ga _{t_j} kiita.
 everyone-GEN John-GEN criticism-ACC he-NOM heard
 ‘lit. Everyone’s criticism of John, he heard.’
- b. [[Minna-ga John_i-kara kakusite-ita] hihan-o]_j kare_i-ga _{t_j} kiita.
 everyone-NOM John-from was.hiding criticism-ACC he-NOM heard
 ‘lit. The criticism that everyone was hiding from John, he heard.’

Importantly, it is well-known that clause-internal scrambling can be A-scrambling (Saito, 1992). Then the unacceptability of (17a) shows that A-scrambling has to show reconstruction effects when the R-expression is embedded within an argument.

3.3 Interim summary

This section has reviewed arguments for the existence of certain A-movements in Japanese and its properties with regard to Condition C reconstruction effects. It has been shown that pseudoraising and scrambling, including clause-internal scrambling, in Japanese show the argument/adjunct asymmetry, like \bar{A} -movement in English. What is important here is that pseudoraising and clause-internal scrambling in Japanese involve A-movement. Table 1 summarizes the facts discussed so far.

Table 1

	English		Japanese	
	A-mvmt	A'-mvmt	A-mvmt	Scrambling
Obviation of Condition C	Always	Adjuncts only	Adjuncts only	Adjuncts only

4 Proposal

In this section I show that the facts we have just observed can be accounted for by Wholesale Late Merger (Takahashi and Hulsey, 2009), given the cross-linguistic variation regarding the presence of D-heads (Fukui, 1986, Takahashi, 2011, Bošković, 2012, 2014).

Lebeaux (1988) was the first to account for the argument/adjunct asymmetry in English \bar{A} -movement by using late merger, which allows certain portions of structure to be integrated counter-cyclically. He argued that the possibility of late merger is constrained by the Projection Principle:

(18) The Projection Principle (Chomsky, 1981)

The subcategorization property of lexical items must be satisfied throughout the derivation.

The Projection Principle requires complements, but not adjuncts, to be merged at the level of D-structure because only the former are subcategorized. The contrast in (19) follows from this principle:

- (19) a. ??/*Which argument [that John_i is a genius] did he_i believe *t*? (= (5a))
 b. Which argument [that John_i made] did he_i believe *t*? (= (6a))

In (19a), the bracketed clause is a complement. Therefore it must be merged at the level of D-structure. In (19b), on the other hand, the bracketed clause is an adjunct, hence can be merged in a counter-cyclic way, in particular after *which argument* has moved to [Spec, CP]. Thus, the sentences in (19) have the following representations at LF:

- (20) a. * <which argument [that John_i is a genius]> did he_i believe <which argument [that John_i is a genius]>
 b. <which argument [that John_i made]> did he_i believe <which argument>

In (20a), the clause containing the R-expression is a complement of a noun and hence is merged in the base-position of the *wh*-element. Therefore, there is a copy of it in the base-position of the *wh*-element, which causes a violation of Condition C: the lower copy of *John* is c-commanded by the matrix subject *he*. On the other hand, in (20b), the clause containing the R-expression is an adjunct and is merged after *wh*-movement, which means that there is no copy of the R-expression in the base position of the *wh*-phrase. There is then no violation of Condition C here.

Fox (2002) provides an alternative account for why adjuncts, but not complements, of NPs can be late-merged. Specifically, he argues that late merger is allowed as long as the LF-representation is interpretable. Based on the procedure of Trace Conversion (Fox, 2002), he shows that a representation at LF is legitimate when late merger of adjuncts takes place, whereas late merger of complements of NPs leads to a type-mismatch problem. As a result, adjuncts, but not complements, of NPs, can undergo late merger. Note that under Fox's (2002) account of late merger, the structural property like argument and adjunct is no longer crucial. In principle, even complements can undergo late merger as long as this causes no problem in semantics.

Takahashi and Hulse (2009) pursue this theory of late merger, and propose that complements of D-heads (i.e. NP-restrictors) can be late-merged. This type of late merger is called Wholesale Late Merger. They argue that (21a) is acceptable because the NP-restrictor can be late-merged after movement of the D-head takes place from the embedded clause, as illustrated in (21b). Since there is no copy of the NP-restrictor in the embedded clause, there is no violation of Condition C between the pronominal experiencer and the R-expression within the NP-restrictor.

- (21) a. [The claim that John_i was asleep] seems to him_i to be wonderful. (= (7b))
 b. <the [claim that John_i was asleep]> seems to him_i to be <the> wonderful

Wholesale Late Merger is restricted by Case-considerations: since NP-restrictors of determiners need Case, they must be introduced into the derivation before Case is assigned. This means that an NP-restrictor cannot be late-merged after \bar{A} -movement, since \bar{A} -movement takes place after Case-assignment. Thus, (22a) cannot have a representation in (22b), since the NP-restrictor does not receive Case.

- (22) a. ??/*Which argument [that John_i is a genius] did he_i believe?
 b. *<which [argument that John_i is a genius]> did he_i believe <which>

This proposal straightforwardly accounts for the properties of A-movement and \bar{A} -movement in English. In A-movement, late merger of NP-restrictors is available and therefore they can be merged after movement of D-heads. Thus, there is always an obviation of Condition C with A-movement. In \bar{A} -movement, on the other hand, late merger of an NP-restrictor is prohibited by Case-considerations hence only adjuncts, which do not need Case, can be late-merged. A violation of Condition C can be avoided only when the R-expression is within an adjunct with \bar{A} -movement.⁵

This analysis can be extended to the facts in Japanese once we assume that Japanese lacks D-heads/DPs (Fukui, 1986, Takahashi, 2011, Bošković, 2012, 2014). If Japanese lacks D/DP, entire NPs must be directly merged into θ -positions, which means that the possibility of Wholesale Late Merger is not allowed in Japanese. The ungrammaticality of (23a), repeated from (15a), then follows. (23a) shows that A-movement in Japanese exhibits Condition C reconstruction when an R-expression is within an argument. Since Japanese does not allow Wholesale Late Merger, the whole NP must be merged into the θ -position. (23a) then has the representation in (23b), violating Condition C:

- (23) a. ??/*[Minna-no Taroo_i-no hihan-ga]_j kare_i-ni(-wa) [_{CP} *t_j* datoo da to]
 everyone-GEN Taro-GEN criticism-NOM he-to(-TOP) valid copula that
 omoeta.
 seemed
 ‘lit. Everyone’s criticism of Taro_i seemed to him_i that is valid.’ (= (15a))
 b. <everyone’s criticism of Taro_i> seemed to him_i [_{CP} that <everyone’s criticism of Taro_i>
 is valid]

Importantly, while the lack of D-heads makes Wholesale Late Merger unavailable, it does not affect the availability of late merger of adjuncts. As a result, A-movement in Japanese obviates a violation of Condition C if the R-expression is within an adjunct. (24a) is a case of A-movement where an R-expression is within an adjunct. It has the LF-representation in (24b), as a consequence of the late merger of an adjunct after A-movement:

- (24) a. [[Minna-ga Taroo_i-ni sita] hihan-ga]_j kare_i-ni(-wa) [_{CP} *t_j* datoo da to]
 everyone-NOM Taro-to did criticism-ACC he-to(-TOP) valid copula that
 omoeta.
 seemed
 ‘lit. A criticism that everyone made of Taro_i seemed to him_i that is valid.’ (= (15b))
 b. <criticism [that everyone was hiding from Taro_i]> seemed to him_i [_{CP} that <criticism>
 is valid]

The cases of scrambling are accounted for in the same way. (25a, b) are cases of scrambling involving R-expressions within arguments of NPs. Since they cannot undergo late merger, there must be a copy of them at the launching site of scrambling, which causes a Condition C violation:

⁵This analysis predicts that when restrictors of D do not need Case, they can be late-merged after \bar{A} -movement. Takahashi and Hulsey (2009) argue that this is indeed the case.

- (25) a. ??/?*[Minna-no John_i-no hihan-o]_j kare_i-ga [_{CP} Hanako-ga _{t_j}
 everyone-GEN John-GEN criticism-ACC he-NOM Hanako-NOM
 osiete-kureta to] itta.
 told.him that said
 ‘lit. Everyone’s criticism of John, he said that Hanako told him.’ (= (16a))
- b. ??/?*[Minna-no John_i-no hihan-o]_j kare_i-ga _{t_j} kiita.
 everyone-GEN John-GEN criticism-ACC he-NOM heard
 ‘lit. Everyone’s criticism of John, he heard.’ (= (17a))
- c. <everyone’s criticism of John_i> he_i said Hanako told him <everyone’s criticism of John_i>
- d. <everyone’s criticism of John_i> he_i heard <everyone’s criticism of John_i>

In (26), on the other hand, R-expressions are within NP-adjoined relatives. They can be late-merged after the application of scrambling, resulting in the LF-representations shown in (26c, d):

- (26) a. [[Minna-ga John_i-kara kakusite-ita] hihan-o]_j kare_i-ga [_{CP} Hanako-ga _{t_j}
 everyone-NOM John-from was.hiding criticism-ACC he-NOM Hanako-NOM
 osiete-kureta to] itta.
 told.him that said
 ‘lit. The criticism that everyone was hiding from John, he said that Hanako told him.’ (= (16b))
- b. [[Minna-ga John_i-kara kakusite-ita] hihan-o]_j kare_i-ga _{t_j} kiita.
 everyone-NOM John-from was.hiding criticism-ACC he-NOM heard
 ‘lit. The criticism that everyone was hiding from John, he heard.’ (= (17b))
- c. <criticism [that everyone was hiding from John_i]> he_i said Hanako told him <criticism>
- d. <criticism [that everyone was hiding from John_i]> he_i heard <criticism>

The proposed analysis thus accounts for the facts in Japanese and English. Table 2 summarizes the results of the present analysis:

Table 2

	English		Japanese	
	A-mvmt	A'-mvmt	A-mvmt	Scrambling
How to avoid Condition C	Late merger of NPs	Late merger of adjuncts	Late merger of adjuncts	Late merger of adjuncts

An important consequence of the present analysis is that A-movement as well as \bar{A} -movement obligatorily leaves copies. If A-movement left no copy or optionally left a copy, it would be mysterious why there are Condition C effects under A-movement in Japanese.

5 Conclusion

This paper has shown based on pseudoraising and scrambling that a condition C reconstruction effect in Japanese A-movement exhibits the argument/adjunct asymmetry. It has been argued that

the mechanism of Wholesale Late Merger and parametric variation in the availability of D-heads account for the patterns of Condition C reconstruction observed in Japanese and English. Only A-movement in English always obviates a violation of Condition C occurring at the level of ‘D-structure’ because this is the only environment where late merger of an NP-restrictor is possible. \bar{A} -movement in English does not allow that possibility because of the Case requirement of the NP restrictor, whereas Japanese does not allow it across-the-board because it lacks D-heads. In addition to providing additional evidence for Wholesale Late Merger and the lack of D/DP in Japanese, the present paper has provided evidence showing that all types of movement obligatorily leave copies (*pace* Sauerland 1998, Fox 1999, Lasnik 1999). If A-movement optionally left a copy, or left no copy, it would be difficult to explain a Condition C effect under A-movement in Japanese.

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