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When 'What' Means 'Why': On Accusative wh-adjuncts in Japanese

Chizuru Nakao
University of Maryland

Miki Obata
University of Michigan

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Abstract

This paper considers properties of the Japanese Accusative wh-adjunct 'nani-o (what-Acc)' (Kurafuji, 1996, 1997; Ochi, 1999) in sentences such as "Kare-wa nani-o sawai-dei-ru no? (lit. What is he making a noise?)". Although the Accusative wh-adjunct 'nani-o' is usually translated in the same way as 'naze (why)', there are a number of differences between them: (i) 'Nani-o' has an animacy restriction on the subject, (ii) it has some special speaker's inference, and (iii) it is incompatible with sluicing (Ochi, 1999). We will explain the properties (i) and (ii) by claiming that Accusative wh-adjuncts are base-generated in a functional projection FP, which is related to speaker's illocutionary force. We attribute the property (iii) to Fox and Lasnik's (2003) parallelism condition on sluicing; because Accusative wh-adjuncts are base-generated in a different position from other reason adjuncts, they do not satisfy parallelism with the corresponding adjunct in the antecedent clause. By clarifying the syntactic positions of the two types of reason adjuncts, we attempt to contribute to the typological study of adjuncts.

When 'What' Means 'Why': On Accusative *wh*-adjuncts in Japanese

Chizuru Nakao and Miki Obata[*]

1 Introduction

This paper considers properties of the Japanese Accusative *wh*-adjunct *nani-o* 'what-Acc' (Kurafuji, 1996, 1997; Ochi, 1999), focusing on its differences from the authentic *wh*-adjunct *naze* 'why.' (1) illustrates examples of the Accusative *wh*-adjunct *nani-o*. It is used with an intransitive verb (such as *sawagu* 'make noise' in (1a)) or a transitive verb (such as *utau* 'sing' in (1b)), and is usually translated as 'why,' in the same way as the reason adjunct *naze* 'why' in (2)[1].

(1) a. Kare-wa   **nani-o**   sawai-dei-ru   no?
       He-TOP   **what-ACC**   make-noise-PROG-PRES   Q
       'Why is he making a noise?'
    b. (??)Kare-wa   **nani-o**   henna uta-o   utat-tei-ru   no?
       He-TOP   **what-ACC**   funny song-ACC   sing-PROG-PRES   Q
       'Why is he singing a funny song?'
(2) a. Kare-wa   **naze**   sawai-deu-ru   no?
       He-TOP   **why**   make-noise-PROG-PRES   Q
       'Why is he making a noise?'
    b. Kare-wa   **naze**   henna uta-o   utat-tei-ru   no?
       He-TOP   **why**   funny song-ACC   sing-PROG-PRES   Q
       'Why is he singing a funny song?'

The Accusative *wh*-adjunct *nani-o* shows an Accusative Case marker *-o*, although there is no apparent Case assigner for it. *Nani-o* in (1a) has an Accusative Case marker when the intransitive verb 'make noise' should not assign Accusative Case. In (1b), the Accusative Case of the transitive verb 'sing' is assigned to its direct object ('a funny song'), but an extra Accusative Case marker shows up on *nani-o*.

  Although *nani-o* has been assumed to have the same meaning as *naze*, there are also a number of differences between them. Below we will show that (i) Accusative *wh*-adjuncts have an animacy restriction on the subject, (ii) Accusative *wh*-adjuncts have some special speaker's inference, and (iii) Accusative *wh*-adjuncts are incompatible with sluicing (Ochi, 1999). We will attribute these differences to their structural positions: *nani-o* is base-generated in a higher position than the position of standard 'reason' adjuncts. We claim that Accusative *wh*-adjuncts are licensed in a functional projection, which we will call FP. By clarifying the syntactic positions of these adjuncts, we attempt to contribute to the typological study of adjuncts.

  The paper is organized in the following way. In Section 2, we review Kurafuji's (1996, 1997) argument that *nani-o* is an adjunct rather than an argument based on the ECP phenomena. In Section 3, we illustrate the three differences between *nani-o* and *naze* mentioned above, and give our analysis, where they are base-generated in different positions. As for the status of the Accusative Case on the Accusative *wh*-adjunct, although Kurafuji argues that it is a structural Case, we follow Ochi (1999) in assuming that it is an inherent Case. Section 4 notes that this inherent Accusative

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[1] Kurafuji (1997) judges this example as marginal, due to the Double-*o* constraint (See Section 3.1). Nevertheless, an Accusative wh-adjunct is compatible with a transitive verb if the direct object is marked with a focus particle (such as *-bakari* 'only') rather than an Accusative Case marker *-o*.
(i)   John-wa nani-o   henna   uta-bakari   utat-tei-ru   no?
          John-TOP what-ACC   funny   song-only   sing-PROG-PRES   Q
          'Why is John singing only funny songs?'
On the other hand, Ochi (1999) claims that the Double-*o* constraint is not observed in sentences like (1b).

Case is specific to the *wh*-phrase *nani-o* and is not a productive phenomenon. We speculate that the form *nani-o* is fully lexicalized and such a lexicalization process only applies to indefinites, pointing out that such a peculiar adjunct use of an indefinite is also seen in the NPI *nanimo* 'anything.' Section 5 concludes the paper.

2 Adjunct Status of Accusative *wh*-adjuncts

Kurafuji (1996) shows that the Accusative *wh*-adjunct *nani-o* behaves like other *wh*-adjuncts (e.g., *naze*) with respect to LF islands. Consider the contrast in (3).

(3) a. John-wa   [karera-ga   **nani-o**   si-tei-ta   to] *it-ta/sasayai-ta*   no?
         John-TOP   they-NOM   **what-ACC** do-PROG-PAST C *say-PAST/whisper-PAST* Q
         'What did John say/whisper [that they were doing t]?'
    b. John-wa   [karera-ga   **naze/nani-o**   sawai-dei-ta   to]
         John-TOP   they-NOM   **why/what-ACC**   make-noise-PROG-PAST   C
         *it-ta/?*sasayai-ta*   no?
         *say-PAST/?*whisper-PAST* Q
         'Why did John say/whisper [that they were making a noise]?'

(3a) shows that the argument *wh*-phrase *nani-o* 'what-Acc' allows long-distance LF *wh*-extraction irrelevant of the type of the matrix predicate. On the other hand, *nani-o* 'what-Acc,' when interpreted as a reason adjunct, allows long-distance LF-movement only when the matrix predicate is a bridge verb (e.g. *iu* 'say'); it doesn't allow extraction out of a clause predicated with a non-bridge verb (e.g. *sasayaku* 'whisper') as shown in (3b). This behavior is the same as that of the traditional reason *wh*-adjunct *naze* 'why.'

Similarly, the argument *nani-o* can undergo LF movement out of a complex NP (4a), while the adjunct *nani-o*, as well as *naze*, is sensitive to the complex NP constraint (Ross, 1967; (4b)).

(4) a. John-wa [**nani-o**   si-tei-ru]   hito-tati-o   keebetusi-tei-ru no?
         John-TOP **what-ACC**   do-PROG-PRES   people-ACC   despise-PROG-PRES Q
         'What is John despising people [who are doing t]?'
    b. *John-wa   [**naze/nani-o**   sawai-dei-ru]   hito-tati-o
          John-TOP   **why/what-ACC**   make-noise-PROG-PRES   people-ACC
         keebetusi-tei-ru   no?
         despise-PROG-PRES   Q
         'Why is John despising people [who are making a noise t]?'

The same contrast holds for adjunct islands, as is observed in (5). The argument *nani-o* in (5a) allows LF extraction out of an adjunct clause, although the adjunct *nani-o* and *naze* in (5b) do not.

(5) a. John-wa   [karera-ga   **nani-o**   si-ta   kara]
         John-TOP   they-NOM   **what-ACC** do-PAST   because
         okot-tei-ru   no?
         be-upset-PROG-PRES   Q
         'What is John upset [because they did t]?'
    b. *?John-wa   [karera-ga   **naze/nani-o**   sawai-da   kara]
         John-TOP   they-NOM   **why/what-ACC**   make-noise-PAST because
         okot-tei-ru   no?
         be-upset-PROG-PRES   Q
         'Why is John upset [because they made a noise t]?'

The above data show that the 'reason' interpretation of *nani-o* (i.e., what we call an Accusative *wh*-adjunct) shows sensitivity to LF islands, which indicates its adjunct property. Following Kurafuji, we assume below that Accusative *wh*-adjunct *nani-o* is actually an adjunct, although its form is identical to the argument *nani-o*.

3 Differences Between Accusative *wh*-adjuncts and *Naze* 'Why'

3.1 Animacy Restriction and Speaker Inference

Despite their similarity in meaning, the Accusative *wh*-adjunct *nani-o* 'what-Acc' and the traditional *wh*-adjunct *naze* 'why' have some differences. In this section, we turn to some of these differences.

First, we observe that the Accusative *wh*-adjunct *nani-o* imposes an animacy restriction on the subject of the clause. The example (6a), where the subject is an animate noun 'that person,' is acceptable, while the sentence is odd with an inanimate subject 'that book' as in (6b).

(6) a. *Ano hito-wa*   **nani-o**   yuka-de korogat-tei-ru   no?
         That person-TOP **what-ACC**   floor-on roll-PROG-PRES   Q
         'Why is that person rolling on the floor?'
     b. *#Ano booru-wa*   **nani-o**   yuka-de korogat-tei-ru   no?
         That ball-TOP   **what-ACC**   floor-on roll-PROG-PRES   Q
         'Why is that ball rolling on the floor?'

On the other hand, there is no such restriction with the traditional *wh*-adjunct *naze*. (7) shows that *naze* is compatible with both an animate subject and an inanimate subject.

(7) a. *Ano hito-wa*   **naze**   yuka-de korogat-tei-ru   no?
         That person-TOP **why**   floor-on roll-PROG-PRES   Q
         'Why is that person rolling on the floor?'
     b. *Ano booru-wa*   **naze**   yuka-de korogat-tei-ru   no?
         That ball-TOP   **why**   floor-on roll-PROG-PRES   Q
         'Why is that ball rolling on the floor?'

Second, sentences with Accusative *wh*-adjuncts have a special connotation that the speaker is surprised at, or is in disapproval of the animate subject's unexpected behavior. In Ochi's (1999:155) words, Accusative *wh*-adjuncts are "most appropriate in a context in which the speaker is emotionally affected (i.e. puzzled, annoyed, etc.) to a certain degree." For example, the sentence (6a) indicates that the speaker thinks that that person should not be rolling on the floor and wants to know why s/he is doing that. The sentence (6b) is infelicitous because the inanimate subject 'that ball' is not an appropriate target for blame. On the other hand, there is no such indication of the speaker's emotion in the sentences in (7).

The above observations indicate that licensing of the Accusative *wh*-adjunct *nani-o* is related to the speaker's attitude in some ways. In other words, the speaker's illocutionary force is relevant to it. Based on this intuition, syntactically we posit a functional projection (i.e., FP) that is related to such an illocutionary force, and claim that *nani-o* is licensed within this projection. Tentatively we assume that it resides in [Spec, FP], as illustrated in (8).

(8) [$_{CP}$ [$_{FP}$ **nani-o**   [$_{IP}$ kare-wa   [$_{VP}$ sawai]   dei-ru]   F]   no]
                  what-ACC   he-TOP   make.noise   PROG-PRES   Q
     'Why is he making a noise?'

In our analysis, the interpretation differences between *nani-o* and *naze* are attributed to the obligatory existence of FP, which embodies the speaker's disapproving attitude/illocutionary force, in sentences with *nani-o*.

In (8), *nani-o* is base-generated in [Spec, FP], which is higher than the whole IP. If this structure surfaces as it is, *nani-o* should come before the subject. In fact, the word order where *nani-o* precedes the subject as in (8) is a possible word order. However, recall that *nani-o* can also follow the subject as shown in (1). We assume that the word order in (1) is derived by scrambling of the subject. In fact, the following facts about numeral quantifiers support the idea that the subject in (1) is a scrambled subject.

Japanese has various numeral classifiers for different classes of nouns. For example, *-nin*

'CL(person)' is a modifier for persons, and -*satsu* 'CL(books)' specifically modifies books. Miyagawa (1989) argues that a numeral classifier and the NP it modifies need to be in a mutual c-commanding relation in their base-positions. Consider the examples in (9).

(9) a. Gakusei-ga   san-nin   hon-o   yon-da.
       Student-NOM   3-CL(person)   book-ACC   read-PAST
       'Three students read books.'
    b. Gakusei-ga   hon-o   san-satsu   yon-da.
       Student-NOM   book-ACC   3-CL(book)   read-PAST
       'Students read three books.'
    c. *Gakusei-ga   hon-o   san-nin   yon-da.
       Student-NOM   book-ACC   3-CL(people)   read-PAST
       'Three students read books.'
    d. Hon-o$_1$ gakusei-ga   t$_1$ san-satsu   yon-da.
       Book-ACC   students-NOM   3-CL(book)   read-PAST
       'Students read three books.'

In (9a), the classifier *san-nin* modifies the subject 'students,' and in (9b), the classifier *san-satsu* modifies the object 'books.' Both examples are acceptable because the classifier and the modified NP are base-generated adjacent to each other as sisters, c-commanding each other. (9c), on the other hand, is impossible because the classifier *san-nin* and the subject 'students' are base-generated separated from each other, without a mutual c-command relationship. In (9d), too, the classifier *san-satsu* is apparently separated from the object 'books,' which it modifies, but nevertheless, this example is acceptable. Miyagawa attributes this to the existence of scrambling in (9d). The object is base-generated in a mutually c-commanding position with the classifier although it later undergoes scrambling. Thus the licensing of a separated numeral classifier is an indication of scrambling.

   In questions with Accusative *wh*-adjuncts such as (10), the numeral classifier below *nani-o* can modify the sentence-initial subject 'students.'[2]

(10) ?Gakusei-ga   nani-o   san-nin   sawai-dei-ru   no?
      Student-NOM   what-ACC   3-CL(people)   make-noise-PROG-PRES   Q
      'Why are three students making noise?'

This indicates that, unlike the subject in (9c), the subject in (10) has undergone scrambling. This piece of data thus supports the analysis in (8).[3]

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[2] To many of our informants, this example sounds better with a particle -*mo* 'even' on the classifier.
(i)   Gakusei-ga   nani-o   jyuu-nin-mo   sawai-dei-ru   no?
          Student-NOM   what-ACC   10-CL(people)-even   make-noise-PROG-PRES   Q
          'Why are as many as ten students are making a noise?'
In this sentence, the large size of the number of students who are making a noise is the source of the surprise/disapproval of the speaker. Such a situation is more natural than just having an indefinite DP (e.g., 'three students') as the target of the speaker's surprise/disapproval.
[3] Kurafuji (1996:86) observes that an Accusative *wh*-adjunct, similarly to *naze*, shows an anti-superiority effect (Watanabe, 1992).
(i)   a.   Dare-ga   **naze/nani-o**   sawai-dei-ru   no?
                  Who-NOM   **why/what-ACC**   make-noise-PROG-PRES   Q
                  'Who is making a noise why?'
          b.   ??**Naze/nani-o**   dare-ga   sawai-dei-ru   no?
                  Why/What-ACC   who-NOM   make-noise-PROG-PRES   Q
                  'Why is who making a noise?'
If *nani-o* is already higher in the structure than the subject as in our analysis, the source of the degradedness of (ib) is mysterious. However, multiple questions with the Accusative *wh*-adjunct *nani-o* are already degraded to many speakers, contra Kurafuji's judgment on (ia). It is presumably due to the fact that, if you do not know *who* is making a noise, you cannot judge whether the action is surprising/inappropriate *for that person* or not, which makes it difficult to have the speaker's inference we refer to in this section.

3.2 The Accusative on Accusative *wh*-adjuncts as an Inherent Case

This subsection discusses the status of the Accusative Case on Accusative *wh*-adjuncts. Kurafuji (1996, 1997) argues that the Accusative *wh*-adjunct *nani-o* has a structural Case which must be licensed in a Case position. He claims that Accusative *wh*-adjuncts are incompatible with passives and unaccusatives as shown in (11).

(11) a. **Naze/*nani-o** henna uta   bakari-ga utaw-are-tei-ru   no?
        Why/what-ACC funny song only-NOM sing-PASS-PROG-PRES Q
        'Why are only funny songs being sung?'
     b. **Naze/*nani-o** sonnani shocchuu densha-ga   okurete
        Why/what-ACC so   often   train-NOM   late
        toochakusu-ru   no?
        arrive-PRES   Q
        'Why do trains arrive late so often?'

It is traditionally assumed that passives and unaccusatives lack the ability to assign a structural Accusative Case. Kurafuji claims that Accusative *wh*-adjuncts require a verb with an Accusative Case feature, such as the unergative and transitive verbs in (1).

Based on the claim that the Accusative *wh*-adjunct *nani-o* gets a structural Case, Kurafuji (1997) proposes the following structure.

(12) [CP ... [vP nani-o   [v' kare-wa [vP [VP tv] sawai]   dei-ru]   no]?
            What-ACC   he-TOP   make-noise PROG-PRES Q
      'Why is he making a noise?'

He assumes that vP has multiple Specs and that the outer Spec,vP is a Case position. *Nani-o* is base-generated there and is assigned Accusative Case.

The idea that the Case of *nani-o* is structural, on the other hand, is problematic for our analysis in (8). We claim that *nani-o* is base-generated in a functional projection. How a structural Case is licensed in such a position remains unclear.

However, we argue against Kurafuji's view on an empirical basis and argue that the Accusative Case on Accusative *wh*-adjuncts is inherent rather than structural (Ochi, 1999). First, we observe that if the animacy condition pointed out in 3.1 is satisfied, passives and unaccusatives are compatible with Accusative *wh*-adjuncts, as shown in (13).

(13) a. Kare-wa   **nani-o**   minna-ni   izime-rare-tei-ru   no?
        He-TOP   **what-ACC**   everyone-by   bully-PASS-PROG-PRES   Q
        'Why is he bullied by everyone?'
     b. Kare-wa   **nani-o**   itsumo okurete toochakusu-ru   no?
        He-TOP   **what-ACC**   always late   arrive-PRES   Q
        'Why does he always arrive late?'

In (13), the subject is an animate noun 'he' and the sentences are drastically improved compared to Kurafuji's examples in (11). That indicates that the unacceptability of (11) is due to the animacy requirement, rather than due to the lack of structural Case. Therefore, the argument that *nani-o* has a structural Case based on these examples is not tenable.

Second, as Ochi (1999) observes, the Double-*o* Constraint is absent in sentences with Accusative *wh*-adjuncts. The Double-*o* Constraint is a constraint against having two Accusative-marked phrases in a clause (Harada, 1973; Shibatani, 1973). For example, consider an embedded subject in causative constructions. A causative subject (e.g., *John* in (14a)) can usually be marked with either Accusative or Dative. However, if the verb in the causative clause is transitive (e.g. *yomu* 'read') as in (14b), there is another Accusative-marked object ('this book') and *John* cannot be marked with the Accusative marker –*o* without violating the Double-*o* Constraint.

(14) a. Mary-ga   [$_{IP}$ John-o/ni t$_1$]   aruk$_1$-ase-ta.
        Mary-NOM   John-ACC/DAT   walk-make-PAST
        'Mary made John walk.'
    b. Mary-ga   [$_{IP}$ John-*o/ni   [kono hon]-o t$_1$] yom$_1$-ase-ta.
        Mary-NOM   John-*ACC/DAT   [this book]-ACC   read-make-PAST
        'Mary made John read this book.'

Given the above, consider (15) (repeated from (1b)). The Accusative *wh*-adjunct *nani-o* can occur in a transitive clause and the sentence is acceptable (or at least marginal, see Note 1).

(15) (??)Kare-wa **nani-o**   henna uta-o   utat-tei-ru   no?
       He-TOP   **what-ACC**   funny song-ACC   sing-PROG-PRES   Q
       'Why is he singing a funny song?'

The fact that the Double-*o* Constraint is absent (or weak) in (15) suggests that *nani-o* has a different status from other Accusative-marked phrases.

Based on these arguments, we follow Ochi (1999) in assuming that the Accusative *wh*-adjunct *nani-o* has an inherent Case rather than a structural Case. Thus our analysis where *nani-o* is base-generated in a functional projection is not problematic with respect to Case theory.

3.3 Impossibility of Sluicing

Another difference between the Accusative *wh*-adjunct *nani-o* and the traditional *wh*-adjunct *naze* is that *nani-o* cannot undergo sluicing, as illustrated in (16a) (Ochi, 1999). Note that the argument *wh*-phrase *nani-o* in (16b) is compatible with sluicing.

(16) a. John-ga   (aru riyuu-de)   sawai-dei-ru   ga,
        John-NOM   (some reason-for) make.noise-PROG-PRES   but
        watasi-wa   **naze/*nani-o** ka   sira-nai.
        I-TOP   **why/*what-ACC** Q   know-not
        'John is making a noise (for some reason), but I don't know why.'
    b. John-ga   nanika-o   kat-ta   ga, watasi-wa **nani-o**   ka sira-nai.
        John-NOM   something-ACC   buy-PAST   but I-TOP   **what-ACC** Q know-not
        'John bought something, but I don't know what.'

This piece of data gets an explanation under our analysis, where *nani-o* is base-generated in a different position from other reason adjuncts.

Under the parallelism account of sluicing proposed by Fox and Lasnik (2003), the trace of a sluiced *wh*-phrase needs to be parallel in positions with an existential phrase in the antecedent clause. For example, in the sluicing example (17), the antecedent clause is (17a) and the sluiced clause is (17b). The semantic representations of these clauses are illustrated below.

(17) Fred said that I talked to a certain girl,
       but I don't know **which$_1$** [Fred said that I talked to t$_1$].
       a. *The antecedent:* "Fred said that I talked to a certain girl"
          fλf'[Fred said that I talked to **f'(girl)**]
       b. *The sluice:* "(which girl) Fred said that I talked to t"
          which g girl λg'[Fred said that I talked to **g'(girl)**]

In these representations, the existential operator that binds *girl* in (17a) and the *wh*-operator that binds *girl* in (17b) are scopally parallel. Also, the variable *f'(girl)* in (17a) and the variable *g'(girl)* in (17b) need to be in parallel positions. They argue for the sluicing of (17b) to be licensed. Fox and Lasnik (2003) argue that sluicing is only licensed in satisfaction of such a parallelism requirement.

Based on this analysis, let us turn to our analysis of *nani-o*. We claim that an Accusative *wh*-adjunct is base-generated in FP, while standard reason adjuncts are base-generated in a VP-

adjoined position. The adjunct 'for some reason' in the antecedent clause is in the VP-adjoined position as illustrated in (18).

(18) [IP John-ga   [VP (aru riyuu-de) [VP sawai]]   dei-ru] ga,   watasi-wa
      John-NOM   some reason-for make.noise   PROG-PRES but I-TOP
   a. *[CP **nani-o₁** [FP **t₁** [IP ~~John-ga~~ [VP ~~sawai~~]   ~~dei-ru~~] F] ka] sira-nai.
       what-ACC   John-NOM   make-noise   PROG-PRES Q   know-not
   b. [CP **naze₁** [IP ~~John-ga~~ [VP **t₁** [VP   ~~sawai~~]]   ~~dei ru~~]   ka] sira-nai.
       why   John-NOM   make-noise   PROG-PRES Q   know-not

Since *nani-o* is base-generated in Spec,FP as shown in (18a) and *naze* is base-generated in the same position as 'for some reason' as illustrated in (18b), only (18b) satisfies the parallelism requirement. Thus only the traditional *wh*-adjunct allows sluicing.

To summarize, assuming that Accusative *wh*-adjuncts are base-generated in a different position from traditional *wh*-adjuncts, we accounted for their incompatibility with sluicing in terms of the parallelism requirement imposed on deletion.

## 4 On the Peculiarity of Accusative *wh*-adjuncts

We have seen above that *nani-o* has different properties from traditional reason adjuncts. However, it remains unclear why such peculiar properties only hold for *nani-o*. Especially, Kurafuji (1997) raises a question as to why reason adjuncts other than the *wh*-phrase *nani-o* cannot be marked with the Accusative marker. As shown in (19), non-*wh*-adjuncts such as '(for) some reason' never shows up with an Accusative marker.

(19) Kare-wa   [sono riyuu]-de/***o**   sawai-dei-ru.
      He-TOP   [that reason]-for/***ACC** make-noise-PROG-PRES
      'He is making a noise *(for) that reason.'

Kurafuji tries to account for the data with a type-theoretic analysis. He argues that DPs such as 'that reason' are of type *e*. When it merges with v' as illustrated in (20), it causes type mismatch because v' is of type *t*.

(20)
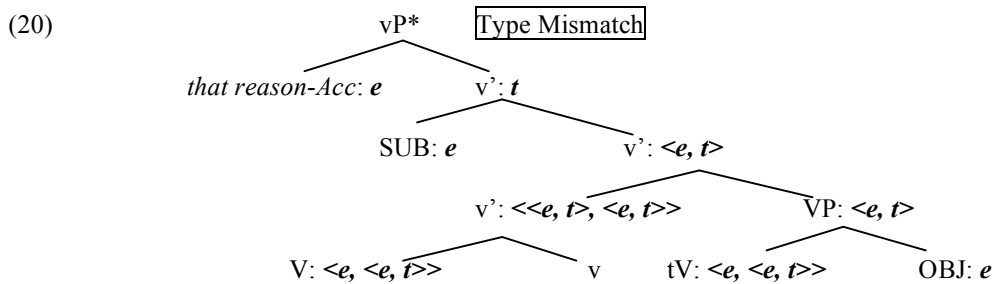
If this DP is combined with the preposition *for*, which is of type $<e, <t, t>>$, the type becomes $<t, t>$ and it can successfully combine with v' as in (21). This is why the preposition is obligatory in (19).

(21)
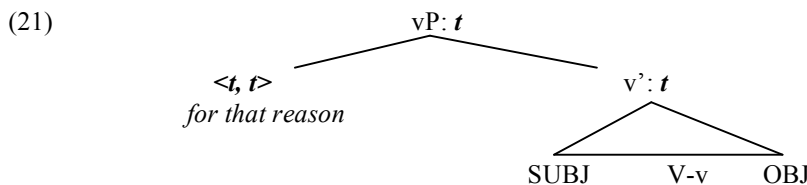
On the other hand, Kurafuji argues that reason *wh*-adjuncts such as *naze* 'why' and *nani-o* 'what-

Acc' are of type *<<t, t>, t>* so they can directly Merge with v'. (Recall that he claims that *nani-o* is licensed in the outer Spec,vP as shown in (12).)

Under this analysis, however, it is still unclear why only *wh*-adjuncts such as *naze* and *nani-o* have the semantic type *<<t, t>, t>*. The assumption seems arbitrary considering that other *wh*-expressions such as *dono riyuu* 'which reason' still need to be combined with the preposition *for*, as shown in (22).

(22) Kare-wa   [dono riyuu]-**de/*o**   sawai-dei-ru   no?
      He-TOP   [which reason]-**for/*ACC** make-noise-PROG-PRES   Q
      '*(For) which reason is he making a noise?'

As discussed in 3.2., we claim that *nani-o* gets an inherent Case rather than a structural Case. We will further assume that the form *nani-o* is already lexicalized with a Case marker on it; the Accusative marker -*o* in this case is an idiosyncratic inherent Case and it does not apply to every DP. Under this assumption, it is not problematic that the Accusative-marked adjunct is not a productive phenomenon.

Of course, just assuming that the inherent Case of *nani-o* is lexicalized in a peculiar way does not completely solve the problem. Why such a lexicalization process applies only to *wh*-phrases is still mysterious. Although the exact nature of the lexicalization is beyond the reach of this paper, below we will point out another instance which our analysis might be extended to. Thus we suggest that the peculiar adjunct use is not quite specific to *nani-o*, but also observed in other indefinites.

(23) is an example of the Japanese NPI *nanimo* 'anything.' It usually shows up in an argument position (in this case, in the object position).

(23) John-wa   nanimo   tabe-nakat-ta.
      John-TOP   anything   eat-not-PAST
      'John didn't eat anything.'

Next, consider the phrase *nanimo* in (24) and (25). The verbs in these examples (*naku* 'cry' and *sawagu* 'make noise', respectively) are intransitive and *nanimo* is not construed as an argument of the verb, unlike in the standard NPI example in (23).[4]

(24) (Nanimo)   anata-wa   naka   naku-te-ii.
      (Anything) you-TOP   cry   not-TE-good.
      'You don't need to cry.' 'There is nothing to cry about.'
(25) Watasi-wa   (nanimo)   sawai-de-nai.
      I-TOP   (anything)   make-noise-PROG-not
      'I'm not making a noise (at all).'

Nanimo in these examples is optional but when it is added, the speaker's specific emotion is accentuated. For example, *nanimo* in (24) indicates that the speaker is surprised that you are crying, and thinks that you should not cry. The use of *nanimo* in (25) shows that the speaker is being defensive after being blamed for making a noise. In both cases, this special adjunct use of *nanimo* expresses special speaker inferences.

The above data show that both the *wh*-phrase *nani-o* 'what-Acc' and the NPI *nanimo* 'anything' have a peculiar adjunct counterpart with some speaker's inferences. Note that these elements are both indefinite expressions and are usually licensed in questions and negation, respectively. Given this, for example, it could be the generalization that these types of peculiar adjuncts emerge from elements licensed in downward entailing contexts. Collecting more data like these and examining whether they should be subject to the same kind of analysis will help us reveal the nature of the peculiarity of Accusative *wh*-adjuncts and similar elements.

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[4] The morpheme TE in (24) is normally used to conjoin verbs.

5 Conclusion

In this paper, we discussed properties of the Accusative *wh*-adjunct *nani-o*. Based on the fact that *nani-o* has an animacy restriction and it represents the speaker's disapproving attitude towards the animate subject, we proposed that it is base-generated in the functional projection FP, which we assume is related to speaker's illocutionary force (i.e., disapproving act of speech). Assuming that *nani-o* is base-generated in a different position from other reason adjuncts, we explained its incompatibility with sluicing: it violates the parallelism with the reason adjunct in the antecedent clause of sluicing. We also noted that *nani-o* has an inherent Case and this inherent Case is not productively applied to other DPs.

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(Nakao)
Department of Linguistics
1401 Marie Mount Hall
University of Maryland
College Park, MD 20742-7505
cnakao@umd.edu

(Obata)
Department of Linguistics
University of Michigan
440 Lorch Hall
611 Tappan St.
Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1220
mobata@umich.edu