


- (3) a. *Con qué novio no sabes [si Lola compró el coche [enfadada e]]
 “At which boyfriend don’t you know whether Lola bought the car [mad t]?”
 b. ?Con qué novia no sabes [si Maria encontró a Pepe [enfadado e]]
 “At which girlfriend don’t you know whether Maria found Pepe [mad t]?”
 c. De qué novia no sabes [si Pepe volvió [harto e]]
 “From which girlfriend don’t you know whether Pepe came back [fed up t]?”

Demonte observes that extraction out of an object-oriented (depictive) SP is allowed in Spanish, as shown in (3b, c) while it is prohibited out of a subject-oriented SP, as in (3a). If Japanese FQs are in fact SPs, we can explain the grammaticality of (2b) parallel to (3b, c). We therefore take this parallelism between Japanese FQs and Spanish SPs as support for the view that Japanese FQs are SPs.

This raises the issue of why extraction out of the object-oriented FQ *oozei* is possible, free from ACEs. In order to explain this contrast between (2a, b) within the minimalist framework, we adopt Boeckx’s (2003, 2008) proposal on ACEs. Boeckx (2008) argues that ACEs show up when adjoined constituents do not relate featurally to the domain targeted by subextraction. This implies that if (adjoined) constituents can be “featurally” connected to the domain in point, ACEs can be absent. We would like to suggest that this is in fact the case with object-oriented FQs.

We make the following assumptions about SPs, thus FQs: (I) Object-oriented SPs/FQs are merged at the VP-level; (II) Subject-oriented SPs/FQs are merged at the *v*P-level; (III) SPs/FQs optionally have a [+/-delimited] ASP(ectual) feature which must be checked against *v* (Mihara 2004; also Borer 1994, 2005).

With these assumptions in mind, let us return to (2a, b). The point is that the ASP feature transaction in question must take place when the *v* is merged. This transaction necessitates the External Merge of the FQ with the *yoru*-clause to VP, as shown in (4): (The External Merge of the object NP is omitted here.)

- (4) $[[_{VP} \text{ } \underline{\quad} V] v]$
 FQ + the *yoru*-clause

This situation is tenable only with object-oriented FQs which are merged at the VP-level. Subject-oriented FQs are necessarily adjoined to the matrix clause at the *v*P-level without any ASP feature transaction. Accordingly, the raising of the *yoru*-clause is allowed only in (2b), for featural connection between the FQ and the matrix clause is established only in this example.

In short, we have suggested that Boeckx’s (2008) derivational account on ACEs can accommodate the data under consideration. This paper also provides new evidence from Japanese CDs for the hypothesis that FQs are SPs in Japanese.

Selected References: Boeckx, C. (2003). *Islands and Chains*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. Boeckx, C. (2008). *Bare Syntax*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Borgonovo, C. and A. Neeleman (2000). Transparent Adjuncts. *Canadian Journal of Linguistics* 45 (3/4). Ishii, Y. (1991). *Operators and Empty Categories in Japanese*. Ph.D. dissertation, UConn.