Neg-domain, Neg-focus, Neg-scope and Numeral 1 in Japanese
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The scope relation between a quantificational NP (QP) and sentential negative (Neg) is ambiguous in Japanese (Kuno 1980): subject as well as non-subjects can be in the scope of negation (Neg-scope), which makes us assume that every NP can be in the c-command domain of Neg (Neg-domain) at LF, given that the scope of α is its c-command domain at LF (Reinhart 1983). It has been generally assumed that (i) Neg-sensitive elements (NSEs) must be in the Neg-domain at LF in order to be interpreted in the Neg-scope (Klima 1964), which is supported by the subject/object asymmetry of NSEs in English, where the subject is independently argued to be outside the Neg-domain (Chomsky 1955/1977, Pollock 1989).

The Neg-c-command condition in (i) has been widely accepted for NSEs in Japanese (Kato 1994, 2002, Kishimoto 2001, 2007), including those involving Numeral 1. Noun+Numeral 1-classifier (N+one-cl), combined with Neg, gives rise universal negation AND the scale-reading in terms of Fauconnier 1975; e.g., yubi-ip-pon, which corresponds to a finger in not to lift a finger, though it is not idiomatic and any noun can occur as its N given the context. Noun-case marker+Numeral 1-classifier-suffix-mo (N-cm+one-cl-mo) induces universal negation combined with Neg, with its N-cm working only as the restriction, but it never allows the scale-reading; e.g., yubi-o ip-pon-mo. They never show the subject/object asymmetry, which is consistent with the scope phenomena under the condition (i).

I argue, against the general view in (i) (e.g., Kato (1985: 8)), that N-cm+one-cl-mo must be OUTSIDE not only the Neg-domain at LF but also the Neg-scope at the interpretive level, while N+one-cl must be INSIDE the Neg-domain at LF to be interpreted in the Neg-scope. This supports for the view by Kataoka 2006, 2007 that not all NSEs must be in the Neg-domain at LF. Cf. Sells 2006, which argues that some Korean NSEs, though being in the Neg-domain at LF, must be outside the Neg-scope at the interpretive level.

The argument comes from their interactions with another NSE such as XP-sika('all but XP'), rokuna-N('decent N'), and another QP, which occurs in the same clause. We assume, as a restriction on the interpretive level, the analysis by Jackendoff (1972), Kato (1985: 4), Kadmon (2001) that, if an element α is focused in a negative sentence to be directly 'negated', the other part of the sentence is presupposed and must be interpreted outside the Neg-scope. I will show that N-cm+one-cl-mo can be interpreted outside the Neg-scope, while N+one-cl cannot, and that all of their interactions can be accounted for only under the proposed analyses.

N-one-cl must be in the Neg-domain at LF to induce the scale-reading in Neg-scope, and should be regarded as a pure negative polarity item (NPI) in terms of Fauconnier 1975 and Ladusaw 1979, while N-cm+one-cl-mo is not an NPI since it must be outside the Neg-domain to be outside the Neg-scope, disallowing the scale-reading. I suggest that N-cm+one-cl-mo, taking scope over Neg to induce a universal negation, must have a universal force (Shimoyama 2008). The two also differ regarding the possibility of Numeral floating, a pause before the Numeral in the phonetic string, and ellipsis. In N+one-cl, Numeral cannot be floated, a pause cannot be inserted, its N cannot be deleted, showing its constituency as an NPI, and the whole constituent must be c-commanded by Neg at LF. In N-cm+one-cl-mo, Numeral can be floated, a pause can be inserted, its N-cm can be deleted given the context, in the same way as other Numerals, and the Numeral need not be 'local' to N-cm as long as it is outside the Neg-domain at LF. This is contrary to Miyagawa & Arikawa 2007 and Watanabe 2006; the former maintains the LF-locality of N-cm and Numeral and the latter its constituency.
Selected references


