

Notes on Yamashita (2003)

Junko Shimoyama

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- (1) John-ga Mary-to-sika awa-nakat-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-with-SIKA_{NPI} meet-Neg-Past
 a. 'John _(Neg) met [_(NPI) only Mary].'
 b. 'John didn't meet anyone but Mary.'

Clausemate condition:

- (2) * Bill-ga Pam-ni [John-ga Mary-to-sika atta to]
 Bill-Nom Pam-Dat John-Nom Mary-with-SIKA_{NPI} met that

 tutae-nakat-ta.
 tell-Neg-Past

 a. 'Bill _(Neg) told Pam [John met [_(NPI) only Mary]].'
 ☞ b. 'Bill didn't tell Pam John met anyone but Mary.'

Sentence (2) improves:

- (3) ?/? Bill-ga Pam-ni [Mary-to-sika_i John-ga t_i atta to]
 Bill-Nom Pam-Dat Mary-with-SIKA_{NPI} John-Nom met that

 tutae-nakat-ta.
 tell-Neg-Past

 a. 'Bill _(Neg) told Pam [[_(NPI) only Mary]_i John met t_i].'
 ☞ b. 'Bill didn't tell Pam of anyone but Mary that John met him or her.'
 = 'Bill told Pam only of Mary that John met her.'

• What's special about a phrase at the clause edge in an SOV language?

- (4) a. NP_{subj} NP_{i-obj} [NP NP V]_{obj} V
 b. NP_{subj} NP_{i-obj} NP [NP V]_{obj} V

- (3') Bill-Nom Pam-Dat Mary-with-SIKA_{NPI} [that John met *t/pro*] didn't tell

- (5) a. Taro-wa [Santa-ga jibun-ni-sika purezento-o kure-nai yooni]
 Taro-Top Santa-Nom self-to-SIKA_{NPI} present-Acc give-Neg
 Comp

onegaishi-ta.
 pray-Past

'Taro prayed [that Santa Claus would not give a present to anyone but him(self)].'

= 'Taro prayed that Santa Claus would give a present only to him.'

- b. Taro-wa jibun-ni-sika [Santa-ga *t/pro* purezento-o kureru yooni]
 Taro-Top self-to-SIKA_{NPI} Santa-Nom present-Acc give
 Comp

onegaishi-nakat-ta.
 pray-Neg-Past

'Taro didn't pray of anyone but himself [that Santa Claus would give a present to him or her].'

= 'Taro prayed only of himself that Santa Claus would give a present to him.'

- (6) a. Tanaka-wa [Bond-sika supai de-nai to] shinjiteiru.
 Tanaka-Top Bond-SIKA_{NPI} spy is-Neg that believe
 'Tanaka believes that only Bond is a spy.'

- b. Tanaka-wa Bond-sika [*t/pro* supai da to] shinjitei-nai.
 Tanaka-Top Bond-SIKA_{NPI} spy is that believe-Neg
 'Tanaka believes only of Bond that he is a spy.'

- Similar facts hold for indeterminate-*mo* NPIs.

Hasegawa, N. 1994. Economy of derivation and A'-movement in Japanese, in M. Nakamura (ed.), *Current Topics in English and Japanese*, Hituzi Syobo, Tokyo.

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