Constraints on multiple negative polarity item constructions in Japanese and Korean

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1　Introduction

This paper aims to look into constraints on Japanese and Korean multiple negative polarity item constructions (MNCs hereafter) which include *shika* (*bakk-e*[1]) 'only' (MNCs with *shika* (*bakk-e*) hereafter). One is a word order restriction on *shika* (*bakk-e*) and *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*) '*any*-type'. The other is a co-occurrence constraint on *shika* (*bakk-e*) and *1-Classifier-mo (do)* '*even*-type'. This paper suggests the reason why Japanese and Korean MNCs with *shika* (*bakk-e*) have the constraints.

　　Japanese and Korean Negative Polarity Items (NPIs hereafter) are only licensed by negation. Some of the Japanese and Korean NPIs are given in (1).

	Japanese	Korean	
(1) a.	NP+*shika*	NP+*bakk-e*[2]	'only NP'
b.	*Indeterminate-mo* (*any*-type*)*:	*Indeterminate-do* (*any*-type*)*:	
	dare-mo, nani-mo, dokoni-mo	*amu-do, amugeos-do, amude-do*	
		'anyone', 'anything', 'anywhere' ; –*mo* (*do*) means 'even'	
c.	*1-Classifier-mo* (*even*-type*)*:	*1-Classifier-do* (*even*-type*)*:	
	hitori-mo, hitotsu-mo, etc.	*han salam-do, hana-do*, etc.	
		'even a person', 'even a thing'	

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[1] The Korean Romanization system is based on one declared (2000-8) by the Korean Ministry of Culture and Tourism in July 7th, 2000.

[2] Park (2007a, to appear d) argues that *shika* and *bakk-e* are not exactly the same in terms of some different syntactic properties, unlike arguments presented in past studies. However, the difference is not relevant for the present discussion.

Some simple examples are shown in (2).

(2) a.(J)   Taro-wa   Star Wars-**shika**   mi-**na**-katta   (*mi-ta).
                  -Top   -*shika*   watch-Neg-Past   watch-Past
              'Taro watched only Star Wars[3].'
      (K)   Taro-neun Star Wars **bakk-e**   bo-ji **anh**-ass-da[4]   (*bo-ass-da).
                  -Top   *bakk-e* watch-Comp Neg-Past-Decl watch-Past-Decl
    b.(J)   Gakusei-ga   **dare-mo**/**hitori-mo** ko-na-katta   (*ki-ta).
             student-Nom *anyone   even a person* come-Neg-Past come-Past
             'No student came./ Even one student didn't come.'
      (K)   Hagsaeng-i   **amu-do**/**han salam-do** o-ji anh-ass-da   (*wass-da).
             student-Nom *anyone even a person* come-Comp Neg-Past-Decl come-Past

    Park (2007a, 2007b, to appear b) argues that Japanese and Korean NPIs
co-occur within one single negative sentence as illustrated in the following
examples.

(3) (J)   Taro-wa   keijiban-de tokumei-de-**shika nani-mo** ie-**nai**[5].
                 -Top   board-on   anonymity-in-*shika anything* say-can-Neg
             'Taro can't [express] anything except anonymously on the board.'
    (K)   Taro-neun gesipan-eseo igmyeong-eulo **bakk-e amugeos-do** malhal su **eobs**-da.
                 -Top board-on anonymity-in   *bakk-e anything* say-can-Neg-Decl

Shika (*bakk-e*) 'only' and *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*) (*nani-mo* (*amugeos-do*) 'anything')

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[3] English translation in all examples is all mine.
[4] Korean Negation can be expressed in three different ways, as in (i).
 (i) a. Long-Form Negation, e.g., *meog-da* 'eat' → *meog-ji anh-da* 'do not eat'
     b. Short-Form Negation, e.g., *meog-da* 'eat' → *an meog-da* 'do not eat'
     c. Lexically negative verbs e.g., *eobs-da* 'not exist', *molu-da* 'not know'
I mainly represent (i a) (Long-Form Negation) and (i c) (Lexically negative verbs) in this paper.
[5] The Japanese and Korean data that I report here are based primarily on judgments I received
from up to 50 Japanese and Korean native speakers majoring in linguistics.

co-occur within one single neg in (3).

　　There are, however, sentences which show the licensing of MNCs is not always unconstrained in these languages. See (4) and (5) below.

(4)(J) *Taro-wa　　keijiban-de **nani-mo** tokumei-de-**shika**　　　ie-**nai**.

　　　　　-Top　　board-on *anything*　anonymity-in-*shika* say-can-Neg

　　　'(Intended meaning) Taro can't [express] anything except anonymously on the board.'

　(K) *Taro-neun gesipan-eseo **amugeos-do** igmyeong-eulo **bakk-e** malhal su **eobs**-da.

　　　　　-Top board-on　*anything*　anonymity-in *bakk-e* say-can-Neg-Decl

(5)(J)?*Taro-wa　　keijiban-de tokumei-de-**shika hitokoto-mo**　　ie-**nai**.

　　　　　　-Top　　board-on　anonymity-in-*shika even a word* say-can-Neg

　　　'(Intended meaning) Taro can't [express] even one word except anonymously on the board.'

　(K)?*Taro-neun gesipan-eseo igmyeong-eulo **bakk-e han madi-do** hal su **eobs**-da.

　　　　　-Top　　board-on anonymity-in *bakk-e even a word* do-can-Neg-Decl

　　In this paper, I argue that there are problems with past attempts to account for word order with *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*) and co-occurrence with *1-Classifier-do* in Japanese and Korean MNCs with *shika* (*bakk-e*) and I present alternative analyses: (i) *shika* (*bakk-e*) must precede *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*) in MNCs because of universal semantic properties of exceptive phrases in natural languages when exceptive phrases occur with universal quantifiers; (ii) *1-Classifier-mo* (*do*) needs an overt host NP in MNCs with *shika* (*bakk-e*) unlike *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*) because of its semantic function.

　　The paper is organized as follows: in section 2, I present a brief review of the previous analyses and indicate their problems. In section 3, I present constraints on Japanese and Korean MNCs with *shika* (*bakk-e*), one on word order of *shika* (*bakk-e*) and *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*) and the other on co-occurrence of *shika* (*bakk-e*) and *1-Classifier-mo* (*do*). In section 4, I propose analyses of the constraints. Section 5 concludes this paper.

2　Previous analyses

Kataoka (2006:221-224) observes that *Indeterminate-mo* must precede *shika* in Japanese MNCs as follows.

(6)　*Indeterminate-mo ＞ shika*

In other words, she argues that *Indeterminate-mo* should be syntactically positioned higher than *shika* for the structural relationship between *shika* and *Indeterminate-mo*. Check this observation with the examples shown in (7).

(7) a.　yasai-o　　　　　**nani-mo**　Hanako-**shika**　tabe-**nai**.
　　　　vegetable-Acc *anything*　　　　　-*shika*　　eat-Neg-Pres
　　　　'Hanako eats every vegetable, but other people don't eat it.'
　　b. *Hanako-**shika** yasai-o　　　　**nani-mo**　　　tabe-nai.
　　　　　　　-*shika* vegetable-Acc *anything*　　　eat-Neg-Pres
　　　　'(Intended meaning)Hanako eats every vegetable, but other people don't eat it.'

The examples in (7) are MNCs with *nani-mo* 'anything' and *shika*. It is acceptable if *nani-mo* 'anything' precedes *shika* as in (7a), whereas it is not acceptable if *shika* precedes *nani-mo* as in (7b).

Kuno and Whitman (2004:222) observe that the linear order of *bakk-e*, *1-Classifier-do* and *Indeterminate-do* in Korean MNCs must be as follows.

(8)　*bakk-e > 1-Classifier-do > Indeterminate-do*

Their observation (8) can be confirmed with the examples below.

(9) a.　Insu **bakk-e**　**han madi-do**-deul　　　　malha-ji　**anh**-ass-da.
　　　　　　bakk-e　*even a single word*-Plural　say-Comp Neg-Past-Decl
　　　　'Only Insu said even a single word.'
　　b.　 Insu **bakk-e amugeos-do** malha-ji　　**anh**-ass-da.

　　　bakk-e anything　　say-Comp　Neg-Past-Decl
　　　'Only Insu said anything to anyone.[6]'

  c.　**Han salam-do amugeos-do** malha-ji　**anh**-ass-da.
　　even a person anything　　say-Comp Neg-Past-Decl
　　'Not even a single person said even a single word.'

(10) a. ***Han salam-do** insu-wa **bakk-e** manna-ji　　　　**anh**-ass-da.
　　even a person　　　　with-*bakk-e* meeting-Comp Neg-Past-Decl
　　　'(Intended meaning) Not a single person met anyone other than Insu.'

  b. *Joheun il-i **amugeos-do** buja-ege　　**bakk-e**　il-eona-ji　**ani**-han-da.
　　 good thing-Nom *anything* rich people-to *bakk-e* happen-Comp Neg-Pres-Decl
　　 '(Intended meaning) No good things happen except to rich people.'

  c. *Joheun il-i **amugeos-do**　　**han-salam-ege-do** il-eona-ji **anh**-ass-da.
　　 good thing-Nom *anything* one person-to happen-Comp Neg-Past-Decl
　　 '(Intended meaning) No good things happened to even a single person.'

In (9a) and (10a), *bakk-e* and *1-Classifier-do* co-occur, whereas (9b) and (10b) are examples in which *bakk-e* and *Indeterminate-do* co-occur. (9c) and (10c) are examples in which *1-Classifier-do* and *Indeterminate-do* co-occur. (9a) and (9b) are acceptable because *bakk-e* precedes *han madi-do* 'even a word' in (9a) and a*mugeos-do* 'anything' in (9b), whereas (10a) and (10b) are unacceptable because *bakk-e* is preceded by *han madi-do* 'even a word' in (10a) and is preceded by a*mugeos-do* 'anything' in (10b). (9c) is acceptable because *han salam-do* 'even a person' precedes *amugeos-do* 'anything', whereas (10c) is unacceptable because *han salam-do* 'even a person' is preceded by *amugeos-do* 'anything'.

　　Nevertheless, the following Japanese and Korean examples cannot be explained in terms of the observations made by Kataoka (2006) and Kuno and Whitman (2004).

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[6] Park (to appear a) argues that *bakk-e* has two different interpretations when it is in the argument position. (9b) should have another interpretation as in (i).
 (i) Another expected interpretation of (9b) : 'Only Insu did't say anything to anyone.'
However, Kuno and Whitman (2004) do not mention it. See Sells (2001) and Park (to appear a) for the ambiguous interpretations of Korean MNCs.

Consider Japanese, first.

(11) a. Taro-wa   hito-no   tameni-**shika nani-mo**   deki-**nai**.
          -Top other people-Gen   for-*shika anything*   can-Neg-Pres
        'Taro can't do anything except for other people.'

   b. Manyuaru-de-s**hika**   **nani-mo** deki-**na**kunatta   nihon.
       manual-with-*shika*   *anything* possible-Neg become   Japan
       'Japan, where people can't do anything except with a manual.'

    My Japanese consultants judged (11) acceptable. According to Kataoka (2006)'s observation, (11) should be unacceptable because *shika* is positioned higher than *Indeterminate-mo*. Furthermore, we can see that *nani-mo* 'anything' cannot be scrambled over *shika* as illustrated in (12).

(12) a. *Taro-wa   **nani-mo** hito-no   tameni-**shika** deki-**nai**.
          -Top   *anything* other people-Gen   for-*shika*   can-Neg-Pres
         '(Intended meaning) Taro can't do anything except for other people.'

   b. ***Nani-mo** manyuaru-de-**shika**   deki-**na**kunatta   nihon.
       anything manual-with-*shika*   possible-Neg become   Japan
        '(Intended meaning) Japan, where people can't do anything except with a manual..'

The examples in (12) are counterexamples to Kataoka's (2006) observation, (6).
   Next, consider Korean MNCs.

 (13) a. *I   bang-e-neun   Taro **bakk-e han salam-do eobs**-da.
         this room-Loc-Top   *bakk-e even a person*   Neg-exist-Decl
         '(Intended meaning) There isn't even a single person except Taro in this room. '

   b. *Taro-neun sagwa   **bakk-e   han gae-do** meog-ji   **anh**-ass-da.
          -Top   apple   *bakk-e   even one*   eat-Comp Neg-Past-Decl
          '(Intended meaning) Taro didn't eat even a single thing except an apple.'

If Kuno and Whitman's (2004) observation (8) were correct, (13) should be acceptable because *bakk-e* precedes *1-Classifier-do* ; however, (13) is unacceptable. Moreover, consider the examples below.

(14) a. **Amu-do** i keompyuteo-leul **han beon-do**　　sseu-ji　anh-assd-a.
　　　　 anyone　this computer-Acc　*even one time* use-Comp Neg-Past-Decl
　　　　 'No one used this computer even one time.'
　　b. **Amu-do** sagwa-leul　**han gae-do**　　　 meog-ji　anh-ass-da.
　　　　 anyone　apple-Acc　*even one thing*　 eat-Comp Neg-Past-Decl
　　　　 'No one ate even one apple.'

According to Kuno and Whitman (2004), (14) should be unacceptable because *Indeterminate-do* (*amu-do* 'anyone') precedes *1-Classifier-do* (*han beon-do* 'even one time', *han gae-do* 'even one thing'). Nonetheless, (14) is acceptable. This shows that there exists a word order constraint which only restricts the order of *bakk-e* and other NPIs such as *Indeterminate-do* and *1-Classifier-do*[7]. This is the same in Japanese MNCs.

　　In this section, I have examined past studies on word order with *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*) and co-occurrence with *1-Classifier-do* in Japanese and Korean MNCs with *shika* (*bakk-e*) and I have presented some counterexamples to their observations. In the next section, I present constraints on the word order of *shika* (*bakk-e*) and *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*) and on a co-occurrence of *shika* (*bakk-e*) and *1-Classifier-mo* (*do*) in Japanese and Korean MNCs.

3　Constraints on Japanese and Korean MNCs with *shika* (*bakk-e*)

　　I propose that there is a word order constraint on *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*) and *shika* (*bakk-e*) and a co-occurrence restriction on *shika* (*bakk-e*) and *1-Classifier-mo* (*do*) in Japanese and Korean MNCs as follows.

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[7] I have not presented a word order constraint on MNCs *bakk-e* and *1-Classifier-do* in this section, but I will present it in section 4.

(15)   Constraints on Japanese and Korean MNCs with *shika* (*bakk-e*)
    (i) Word order constraint on *shika* (*bakk-e*) and *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*)：*shika*
       (*bakk-e*) must precede *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*)　→　*shika* (*bakk-e*) ＞
       Indeterminate-mo (*do*)
    (ii) Co-occurrence restriction on *shika* (*bakk-e*) and *1-Classifier-mo* (*do*):
       1-Classifier-mo (do) must have an overt host NP unlike *Indeterminate-*
       mo (*do*) when it occurs with *shika* (*bakk-e*)

I now present evidence in support of the proposal. First, consider a word order con-
straint on *shika* (*bakk-e*) and *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*) in Japanese and Korean MNCs.

(16) a.(J)(?)Senso-o ajiwatta   hito-ni-**shika** **dare-mo** wakara-**nai.**
        war-Acc experienced people-for-*shika*   *anyone* understand-Neg-Pres
        'No one but people who have experienced the war understands.'
    (K) Jeonjaeng-eul gyeongheomhan salamdeul **bakk-e amu-do** ihaehal su **eobs**-da.
       war-Acc experienced people *bakk-e anyone* understand Neg-Pres-Decl
   b.(J) Watashitachi-wa uta-de-**shika**   **nani-mo** kaese-**nai**-kara
       we -Top   song-with -*shika anything* pay back-can-Neg-because
       saiko-no-mono-o   mise-yo-ze.
       best-Gen-thing-Acc show-let us-Modal
       'Let's show our best because we can't pay [them] back with anything but a song.'
    (K) Ulideul-eun nolae-lo   **bakk-e   amugeos-do** gap-eul su **eobs**-eunikka
       we -Top song-with   *bakk-e   anything*   pay back-can Neg-because
       choego-ui   geos-eul   bo-yeojudolog haja.
       best-Gen thing-Acc   show   let us-Modal

In (16), *shika* (*bakk-e*) occurs with *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*). These sentences are
acceptable (though the Japanese MNC in (16a) is marginally acceptable). In contrast,
the following examples are all unacceptable even though the same NPIs co-occur.

(17) a.(J) ***Dare-mo** senso-o　ajiwatta　　　　hito-ni-**shika**　　wakara-**nai**.
　　　　　　anyone war-Acc experienced　people-for-*shika* understand-Neg-Pres
　　　　　　'(Intended meaning) No one but people who have experienced the war understands.'

　　(K) ***Amu-do** jeonjaeng-eul gyeongheomhan salamdeul **bakk-e** ihaehal su **eobs**-da.
　　　　　　anyone war-Acc experienced people bakk-e understand Neg-Pres-Decl

　　b.(J) *Watashitachi-wa **nani-mo** uta-de -**shika** kaese-**nai**- kara
　　　　　we　　　　-Top *anything* song-with -*shika*　pay back-Neg-because
　　　　　saiko-no-mono-o　mise-yo-ze.
　　　　　best-Gen thing-Acc show-let us-Modal
　　　　　'(Intended meaning) Let's show our best because we can't pay [them]
　　　　　back with anything but a song.'

　　(K) *Ulideul-eun **amugeos-do** nolae-lo **bakk-e** gap-eul su **eobs**-eunikka
　　　　　we　　-Top *anything* song-with　*bakk-e* pay back　Neg-because
　　　　　choego-ui　geos-eul　bo-yeojudolog haja.
　　　　　best-Gen thing-Acc　show　　　　　let us-Modal

The sentences in (16) and (17) are different only in the linear order of the NPIs. In other words, *dare-mo* (*amu-do*) 'anyone' and *nani-mo* (*amugeos-do*) 'anything' cannot be fronted by scrambling as in (17). This fact shows that *shika* (*bakk-e*) must be positioned higher than *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*) in Japanese and Korean MNCs.

　　Next, consider a restriction on the co-occurrence of *1-Classifier-mo* (*do*) with *shika* (*bakk-e*) in Japanese and Korean MNCs. (5) is repeated as (18) below for ease of reference.

(18)(J)?*Taro-wa　keijiban-de tokumei-de-**shika hitokoto-mo**　ie-**nai**.
　　　　　　-Top　board-on　anonymity-in-*shika even a word*　say-can-Neg
　　　　'(Intended meaning) Taro can't [express] even one word except
　　　　　anonymously on the board.'
　　(K)?*Taro-neun gesipan-eseo igmyeong-eulo **bakk-e han madi-do** hal su **eobs**-da.
　　　　　　-Top　board-on　anonymity-in *bakk-e even a word*　do-can-Neg

(19)(J) *Watashitachi-wa　　uta-de -**shika**　**hitotsu-mo** kaese-nai-kara

　　　　　we　　　　　song-with -*shika even a thing* pay back-can-Neg-because

　　　　　saiko-no-mono-o　　mise-yo-ze.

　　　　　best-Gen-thing-Acc　show-let us-Modal

　　　　　'(Intended meaning) Let's show our best because we can't pay [them] back

　　　　　　with even one thing but a song.'

　　(K) *Ulideul-eun nolae-lo　**bakk-e**　**hana-do**　　　gap-eul su **eobs**-eunikka

　　　　　we　-Top song-with *bakk-e even a thing*　pay back-can Neg-because

　　　　　choego-ui　geos-eul　bo-yeojudolog haja.

　　　　　best-Gen thing-Acc　show　　　　let us-Modal

The sentences in (18) and (19) are unacceptable even though *shika* (*bakk-e*) precedes *1-Classifier-mo* (*do*). In contrast, (20) and (21) are acceptable with the *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*) replaced with the *1-Classifier-mo* (*do*). (3) and (16b) are repeated as (20, 21) below for ease of reference.

(20)(J)　Taro-wa　keijiban-de tokumei-de-**shika nani-mo** ie-**nai.**

　　　　　　　-Top　board-on　anonymity-in-*shika anything* say-can-Neg

　　　　'Taro can't [express] anything except anonymously on the board.'

　　(K)　Taro-neun gesipan-eseo igmyeong-eulo **bakk-e amugeos-do** malhal su **eobs**-da.

　　　　　　-Top board-on　anonymity-in *bakk-e anything* say-can-Neg-Decl

(21)(J)　Watashitachi-wa　uta-de -**shika**　**nani-mo**　kaese-**nai**-kara

　　　　　we　　　　-Top song-with -*shika anything*　pay back-can-Neg-because

　　　　　saiko-no-mono-o　　mise-yo-ze.

　　　　　best-Gen- thing-Acc show-let us-Modal

　　　　　'Let's show our best because we can't pay [them] back with anything but a song.'

　　(K)　Ulideul-eun nolae-lo　**bakk-e**　**amugeos-do** gap-eul su **eobs**-eunikka

　　　　　we　-Top song-with　*bakk-e　anything* pay back-can　Neg-because

　　　　　choego-ui　geos-eul　bo-yeojudolog haja.

　　　　　best-Gen thing-Acc　show　　　　let us-Modal

Hitokoto-mo (*han madi-do*) 'even a word' and *hitotsu-mo* (*hana-do*) 'even a thing' in (18) and (19) are replaced with *nani-mo* (*amugeos-do*) 'anything' in (20) and (21). These sentences are acceptable unlike (18) and (19). Why is *1-Classifier-mo* (*do*) unable to occur with *shika* (*bakk-e*) unlike *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*)? To see this, observe the following sentences.

(22)(J)(?)Taro-wa keijiban-de tokumei-de-**shika hitokoto-mo** <u>monku-o</u> ie-**nai**.

　　　　　　-Top board-on anonymity-in-*shika even a word* complaint-Acc say-can-Neg

　　　'Taro can't [express] even one word of complaint except anonymously on the board.'

　(K)(?)Taro-neun gesipan-eseo igmyeong-eulo **bakk-e han madi-do**

　　　　　　-Top board-on 　　　anonymity-in　*bakk-e even a word*

<u>bulpyeong-eul</u> hal su **eobs**-da.

　complaint-Acc do-can-Neg

(23)(J)(?)Watashitachi-wa　uta-de-**shika**　　**hitotsu-mo** <u>on-o</u>

　　　　　we　　　-Top song-with-*shika*　　*even a thing* kindness-Acc

　　　　　kaese-**nai**-kara saiko-no-mono-o mise-yo-ze.

　　　　　pay back-can-Neg-because best-Gen-thing-Acc　　show-let us-Modal

　　　　　'Let's show our best because we can't pay [their kindness] back with even

　　　　　one thing but a song.'

　(K)(?)Ulideul-eun nolae-lo　**bakk-e　hana-do** <u>eunhye-leul</u>

　　　　　we -Top song-with　*bakk-e　even a thing* kindness-Acc

　　　　　gap-eul su　**eobs**-eunikka choego-ui　geos-eul　bo-yeojudolog haja.

　　　　　pay back-can Neg-because best-Gen　thing-Acc　show　let us-Modal

In (22) and (23), *shika* (bakk-e) occurs with *1-Classifier-mo* (*do*) and the sentences are acceptable (though they are marginally acceptable), in contrast with (18) and (19). What is the difference between (18, 19) and (22, 23)? *1-Classifier-mo* (*do*) in (22, 23) have an overt host NP such as *monku-o* (*bulpyeong-eul*) 'complaint', which is underlined in (22) or *on-o* (*eunhye-leul*) 'kindness' in (23).

This fact shows that *1-Classifier-mo* (*do*) without an overt host NP has a restriction on the co-occurrence with *shika* (*bakk-e*). In other words, *1-Classifier-mo* (*do*) needs to have an overt host NP when it occurs with *shika* (*bakk-e*).

In sum, contrary to both Kataoka's (2006) and Kuno and Whitman's (2004) observations, there are constraints on Japanese and Korean MNCs with *shika* (*bakk-e*): (i) a word order constraint on *shika* (*bakk-e*) and *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*); and (ii) a co-occurrence restriction on *shika* (*bakk-e*) and *1-Classifier-mo* (*do*).

In the next section, I argue that what factors bring about the constraints.

4　Proposed analysis

In this section, I propose hypotheses for constraints on the word order of *shika* (*bakk-e*) and *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*) and on the co-occurrence of *shika* (*bakk-e*) and *1-Classfier-mo* (*do*) in Japanese and Korean MNCs. I then look at two independent arguments in favor of my hypotheses (sections 4.1 and 4.2).

4.1　A word order constraint on *shika* (*bakk-e*) and *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*)
I propose a hypothesis regarding a restriction on word order of *shika* (*bakk-e*) and *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*) in Japanese and Korean MNCs as follows.

(24)　*Shika* (*bakk-e*) must appear in the left-most position in MNCs because it has the meaning of 'except'. Exceptive phrases in natural languages universally have a word order constraint on universal quantifiers.

Previous studies (Eguchi (2000), Mogi (2005), Miyachi (2007) etc.) argue that *shika* is semantically and syntactically quite similar to *igai-nai* (*igai* hereafter) 'except' and *hoka-nai* (*hoka* hereafter) 'except'. See (25) below.

(25)　Taro-**shika/ igai** (dare-mo)/**hoka** (dare-mo) ko-**na**-kkta　　(*ki-ta).
　　　　-*shika igai*　anyone　　*hoka*　anyone　come-Neg-Past　come-Past
　　　'No one came here except Taro.'

Shika, *igai* and *hoka* in (25) syntactically have the same property, namely, they occur

only with a sentential negation as an NPI [8]. They also have the same meaning, 'except'. Kataoka (2006 : 141) illustrates their common semantic properties as in (26).

(26)　Taro-**shika/igai**/(no)**hoka** ko-**na**-katta.
　　　　　-*shika igai　　hoka* come-Neg-Past 'No one came here except Taro.'

　　a.　Presupposition : Taro came.
　　b.　Assertion : No one came except Taro.
　　c.　NOT $\exists$ x (x≠Taro) (x came) (= $\forall$ x (x≠Taro) NOT (x came))

Park (to appear d) argues that *bakk-e* has the above-mentioned syntactic and semantic properties like *shika*, *igai* and, *hoka*. There also exists an expression in English which is similar to *shika*, *igai and hoka* in Japanese and *bakk-e* in Korean. See (30) below.

(27) a.　**No** student **but** John attended the meeting.
　　 b.　**No** student **but** John came.

The English exceptive phrase 'but' is quite similar to the Japanese and Korean counterparts[9]. Let us summarize von Fintel's (1993) definition of 'but': 'But' subtracts a singleton set containing 'John' out of the restriction (i.e. student) of the quantifier 'no' and what is left is applied to the predicate 'attend' or 'come'. This part of the semantics of 'but'-phrases is called 'Domain Subtraction'. von Fintel (1993 :

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[8] However, Park (to appear c) argues that there are some syntactic differences between *shika* and *igai/hoka*, contrary to arguments made in previous studies. In fact, Park mentions that the licensing condition of *shika* is different from one of *igai/hoka*. See Park (to appear c) for more details.

[9] However, *shika*, unlike *igai*, *hoka* and *bakk-e*, cannot occur with *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*) when they appear in argument position as in (i) because the licensing condition for *shika* is different from that for *igai*, *hoka* and *bakk-e*. See Park (to appear c,d).

　(i) Taro-***shika/igai**/no **hoka dare-mo** ko-**na**-katta. (ii) Taro **bakk-e amu-do** o-ji **anh**-ass-da.
　　　　shika igai Gen *hoka anyone* come-Neg-Past　　　 *bakk-e anyone* come-Comp Neg-Past-Decl
　 'No one came except Taro.'

126) also mentions that 'but' could be treated as creating a noun modifier with semantics as in (28)[10].

(28)   [students but John]= [students]- {[John]}

Interestingly enough, it has been mentioned (Terazu-Imanishi (1994) etc.) that exceptive phrase constructions like (27) have a word order constraint on universal quantifiers as in (29).

(29) a. ***But** John, **no** student attended the meeting.
     b. ***But** John, **no** student came.

Previous studies argue that the exceptive phrase 'but' cannot be moved when it occurs with universal quantifiers. In other words, the linear order of exceptive phrase constructions with universal quantifiers in English should be like (30).

(30)   Universal quantifiers (no/every/all) > exceptive phrases (but/except)[11]

Moreover, Eguchi (2000 : 39) and Mogi (2005 : 21-22) point out that Japanese exceptive phrases such as *igai* and *hoka* have a constraint on word order when they precede *Indeterminate-mo* as in (31).

(31) a.   Taro-**igai**/no   **hoka dare-mo**   ko-**na**-katta.
                igai Gen   *hoka anyone*   come-Neg-Past
           'No one came here except Taro.'
     b. ***Dare-mo** Taro-**igai**/no **hoka**   ko-**na**-katta.
           anyone   igai Gen   *hoka*   come-Neg-Past

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[10] He also suggests 'the uniqueness condition' to strengthen the conditions even further. See von Fintel (1993 : 129-131) for more details.

[11] In fact, 'except for', another type of exceptive phrase in English behaves differently from 'but/except' (von Fintel (1993 : 136-140)), however, this is not relevant for the present discussion.

This fact helps explaining why *shika* (*bakk-e*) has a word order constraint on *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*) as in (17). This is to say, *shika* (*bakk-e*) has the same property as the English exceptive phrase 'but' or the Japanese exceptive phrases *igai* or *hoka*. Therefore, it has a constraint on word order when it occurs with the universal quantifier '*Indeterminate-mo* (*do*)'[12].

In this section, based on a word order constraint of the exceptive phrase 'but' and universal quantifiers, I have explained why *shika* (*bakk-e*) has a word order constraint when it occurs with *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*). We can say that this phenomenon can be universal in natural languages.

4.2   A co-occurrence restriction on *shika* (*bakk-e*) and *1-Classfier-mo* (*do*)

I propose a hypothesis regarding a constraint on the co-occurrence of *1-Classfier-mo* (*do*) in Japanese and Korean MNCs with *shika* (*bakk-e*) as follows.

(32)   *1-Classifier-mo* (*do*) needs an overt host NP because of its semantic

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[12] Here, two questions remain; (i) What factors cause a word order constraint on exceptive phrases and universal quantifiers? My view is that exceptive phrases are syntactically adjoined to *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*) and they are composed of one constituent. Therefore, *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*) cannot be moved from the exceptive phrases. (ii) Why do MNCs with *shika* (*bakk-e*) also have a constraint on word order with *1-Classifier-mo* (*do*) even though *1-Classifier-mo* (*do*) is not universal quantifier? See the examples below.

(i) (J)?*Taro-wa keijiban-de   <u>monku-o</u>   **hitokoto-mo** tokumei-de-**shika**   ie-**nai**.
                -Top board-on   complaint-Acc   *even a word* anonymity-in-*shika* say-can-Neg
          '(Intended meaning) Taro can't [express] even one word of complaint except anonymously on the board.'

   (K)?*Taro-neun gesipan-eseo <u>bulpyeong-eul</u> **han madi-do** igmyeong-eulo **bakk-e** hal su **eobs**-da.
                -Top   board-on   complaint-Acc *even a word*   anonymity-in *bakk-e* do-can-Neg

I cannot give the answer to it now but I think minimizers like *1-Classifier-mo* (*do*) also have a similar restriction like universal quantifiers in exceptive phrase constructions. Consider the English examples below.

(ii) a. *****But** John, **even a student** did**n't** attend the meeting.
     b. *****But** John, **even a student** did**n't** come.

 Further investigation of these questions is necessary.

function. In other words, it has a function which limits a specified person or thing. In contrast, *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*) does not need an overt host NP because it functions by itself as a universal quantifier.

It has been well known that *Indeterminate-mo* in Japanese functions as a universal quantifier (Aoyagi and Ishii (1994), Nishioka (2000), Watanabe (2004), Kataoka (2006) etc.). To illustrate this, consider the examples in (33).

(33) (J)   **Dare-m**o ika-**nai**.   (K)   **Amu-do** ga-ji **anh**-neun-da.
           anyone go-Neg-Pres   anyone go-Comp Neg-Pres-Decl
           'Nobody goes.'

It is intuitively clear that *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*) refers to general people or things, for example *dare-mo* (*amu-do*) 'anyone' in (33) refers to general people. Therefore, *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*) does not need an overt host NP in (33). In contrast, *1-Classifier-mo* (*do*) refers to specified people or things, for instance *hitori-mo* (*han salam-do*) 'even a person' refers to *sono kurasu-no-gakuseitachi (geu ban hagsaengdeul*) 'students in the class' as in (34).

(34) (J)   (Sono kurasu-no-gakuseitachi-ga)   **hitori-mo**   ika-**nai**.
               the   class-Gen-students-Nom even one person   go-Neg-Pres
     (K)   (Geu ban hagsaengdeul-i)   **han salam-do**   ga-ji   **anh**-neun-da.
               the class-students-Nom   even one person   go-Comp Neg-Pres-Decl
           'Even one person amongst students in the class doesn't go.'

Therefore, *1-Classifier-mo* (*do*) needs an overt host NP in (34). If we represent their semantic properties, it will be as follows.
(35)   Semantic properties of *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*) and *1-Classifier-mo* (*do*)
     a.   *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*) →   「$\forall x \neg go(x)$」
     b.   *1-Classifier-mo* (*do*)   →   「$\neg \exists x\ go(x)$」

Based on (35), *1-Classifier-mo* (*do*) needs to have an overt host NP in MNCs with *shika* (*bakk-e*) as in (22, 23) unlike *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*) as in (20, 21).

5　Conclusion

In this paper, I have argued that there are problems with past attempts to account for word order with *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*) and co-occurrence with *1-Classifier-do* in Japanese and Korean MNCs with *shika* (*bakk-e*). I have presented two arguments. (i) Firstly, there exists a word order constraint on *shika* (*bakk-e*) and *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*), in other words, *shika* (*bakk-e*) must precede *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*). The reason is that exceptive phrases in natural languages have a word order constraint on universal quantifiers. (ii) Secondly, there exists a co-occurrence restriction on *shika* (*bakk-e*) and *1-Classifier-mo* (*do*), that is, unlike *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*), *1-Classifier-mo* (*do*) must have an overt host NP when it occurs with *shika* (*bakk-e*). It can be explained by a functional difference between *1-Classifier-mo* (*do*) and *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*). *1-Classifier-mo* (*do*) needs to have an overt host NP because *1-Classifier-mo* (*do*) refers to specified people or things, whereas *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*) can function by itself as a universal quantifier.

Further researches are needed in MNCs with *shika* and *dare-mo* 'anyone', like those in (36).

(36) a.　Kono biru-wa　　chika　10 kai-made　aru-ga　chika　5 kai-
　　　　　this building-Top basement 10th floor-up to exist-but basement 5th floor
　　　　　made- **shika　dare-mo**　itta-koto-ga　　　　**nai**.
　　　　　down to-*shika anyone*　　go experience-Nom　Neg-Pres
　　　　　'This building has 10 floors underground but everybody has been down
　　　　　　only down to 5th floor underground.'
　　　b.(?)Kono biru-wa　　chika　　10 kai-made　aru-ga **dare-mo** chika 5 kai-
　　　　　this building-Top basement 10th floor-up to exist-but *anyone* basement 5th
　　　　　made　　　**-shika**　itta-koto-ga　　　　**nai**.
　　　　　floor-down to -*shika*　go experience-Nom　Neg-Pres

MNCs with *shika* and *dare-mo* 'anyone' like (36a) are somewhat different from the ones I have proposed in this paper such as (16a). Notice the semantic relationship between *shika* phrase and *dare-mo* 'anyone'. As I have indicated in section 4, *shika* phrase and *dare-mo* 'anyone' in (16a) belong to one singleton set. However, those in (36a) belong to a different domain. In fact, MNCs between (36a) and (16a) behave differently in that *dare-mo* 'anyone' in (16a) cannot be fronted by *shika* as in (17a), whereas *dare-mo* 'anyone' in (36a) can precede *shika* as in (36b) (though (36b) is marginally acceptable). Park (2007b) argues that the reason why *dare-mo* 'anyone' in (36b) can precede *shika* is that it has a meaning as a Free Choice Item (See Giannakidou (2001)). Namely, it is functioned as not an NPI but a Free Choice Item and has a meaning of 'everyone'. This makes it reasonable to speculate that there possibly exist different principles between MNCs in (16a) and MNCs in (36a) (Korean MNCs with *bakk-e* are also the same). I propose that we need to divide Japanese with *shika* and *dare-mo* 'anyone' into two types: Type 1, which are MNCs like those in (16a) and Type 2, which are MNCs like those in (36). They can be roughly represented as below.

(37) a. Type 1 MNCs: NP-*shika* and *dare-mo* 'anyone' belong to one singleton set

    b. Type 2 MNCs: NP-*shika* and *dare-mo* 'anyone' belong to a different set

    It seems reasonable to conjecture that syntactic structures between Type 1 MNCs and Tpye 2 MNCs are different. But further research is required on this point.

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日韓両言語における多重否定極性項目構文における制約をめぐって

朴　江訓

　本稿の目的は日韓両言語におけるいわゆる多重否定極性項目構文において現れる 2 つの制約、つまり「しか (bakk-e)」と「不定語モ」の語順制約及び「しか (bakk-e)」と「1-助数詞モ (do)」の共起制約を記述し、それぞれの制約が生じる理由を明らかにすることである。

「しか (bakk-e)」が単一否定文内で他の NPI「不定語モ (do)」「1-助数詞モ (do)」と共起する時には、2 つの制約が生じる。一つ目は「しか (bakk-e)」が「不定語モ (do)」と共起する際に必ず「しか (bakk-e) - 不定語モ (do)」という線形語順を守らなければならないこと、二つ目は「しか (bakk-e)」が「1-助数詞モ (do)」と共起する際には、「不定語モ (do)」と共起する場合と異なって、「1-助数詞モ (do)」のホスト名詞句が必ず顕在化しなければならないことである。

　本稿は上記のような 2 つの制約が生じる理由について次のように主張する。(i) 語順制約 :「しか (bakk-e)」の例外表現としての意味的特徴に起因すると考えられる。例外表現が全称量化表現 (universal quantifier)と共起する際にはこの 2 つの表現が同一の構成素を成し、全称量化表現のみ移動させるのは不可能であると考えられる。このような例外表現と全称量化表現との語順制約は自然言語において普遍的であるといえよう。ただし、「しか (bakk-e)」と「誰も (amu-do)」が用いられた多重否定極性項目構文は 2 種類があり、それぞれの統語構造が異なる可能性がある。(ii) 共起制約 :「1-助数詞モ (do)」はある特定の人または物を制限するような意味的機能を担っているためその意味的対象であるホスト名詞句が顕在化しないと生起できないと考えられる。