

## Two Types of Japanese and Korean Multiple Negative Polarity Item Constructions\*

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### 1. Introduction

This paper aims to investigate the differences between two types of multiple negative polarity item constructions which include *shika* (*bakk-e*<sup>1</sup>) ‘only’ and *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*) (henceforth, MNCs with *shika* (*bakk-e*) and *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*)) in Japanese and Korean. Three points will be claimed in this paper:

- (i) There exist two types of MNCs with *shika* (*bakk-e*) and *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*) and their syntactic structures are different.
- (ii) For the first type of MNC, *shika* (*bakk-e*) and *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*) form a single constituent, which we define as single constituency hypothesis and *shika* (*bakk-e*) has linear order constraint as follows: *shika* (*bakk-e*) > *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*).
- (iii) For the second type of MNC, *shika* (*bakk-e*) and *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*) form not a single constituent but different ones, which we call base-generation hypothesis. *Shika* (*bakk-e*) do not have linear order constraint like (ii) above.

#### 1.1. What are MNCs with *shika* (*bakk-e*)?

Negative polarity items (henceforth, NPIs) are a class of expressions whose distribution is restricted to the negative context. Examples of the expressions in Japanese and Korean are given in (1):

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (1) Japanese   | Korean   |
| a. <i>only</i> -type: NP+ <i>shika</i>   | NP+ <i>bakk-e</i> <sup>2</sup> ‘only NP’                       |
| b. <i>any</i> -type: <i>Indeterminate-mo</i><br><i>dare-mo, nani-mo, dokoni-mo</i> | <i>Indeterminate-do</i><br><i>amu-do, amugeos-do, amude-do</i> |
- ‘anyone’, ‘anything’, ‘anywhere’; *-mo* (*do*) means ‘even’

(2) and (3) below show that Japanese and Korean NPIs are only licensed by negation, and not by other downward-entailing contexts:<sup>3,4</sup>

- (2) a. Taro-wa osake-shika noma-na-katta (\*non-da).  
Taro-Top alcohol-*only* drink-Neg-Past (drink-Past)  
‘Taro didn’t drink only alcohol.’
- b. Taro-wa kinou dokoni-mo ika-na-katta (\*itta).  
Taro-Top yesterday *anywhere* go-Neg-Past (go-Past)  
‘Taro didn’t go anywhere yesterday.’
- (3) a. Cheolsu-neun sul bakk-e masi-ji anh-ass-da<sup>5</sup> (\*masi-eoss-da).

Cheolsu-Top alcohol *only* drink-Comp Neg-Past-Decl (drink-Past-Decl)  
 ‘Cheolsu didn’t drink only alcohol.’

- b. Cheolsu-neun eoje amude-do ga-ji anh-ass-da (\*ga-ss-da).  
 Cheolsu-Top yesterday *anywhere* go-Comp Neg-Past (go-Past-Decl)  
 ‘Cheolsu didn’t go anywhere yesterday.’

It has been observed in Japanese that *shika* cannot occur with other NPIs because it must have a one-to-one relationship with Neg (see Kato (1985), Aoyagi and Ishii (1994), Nam (1994), Konomi (2000), among many others <sup>6</sup>). Consider the following sentences:

- (4) a. \*Dare-mo hitokoto-shika shabera-na-katta.  
*anyone* a word-*only* speak-Neg-Past  
 ‘(Intended meaning) Nobody spoke only a word.’ (Kato (1985:155))
- b. \*Taro-wa toshokan-shika dokoni-mo ika-na-katta.  
 Taro-Top library-*only* *anywhere* go-Neg-Past  
 ‘(Intended meaning) Taro went only to the library yesterday.’

As opposed to those past studies, Park (2007b,c) claim that *shika* can occur with other NPIs if it appears in the adjunct position. Consider the following examples:

- (5) a. Kono biru-wa chika 10 kai-made aru-ga chika 5 kai-  
 this building-Top basement 10<sup>th</sup> floor-up to exist-but basement 5<sup>th</sup> floor-  
 made-shika dare-mo itta-koto-ga nai.  
 up to-*only* *everyone* go-experience-Nom Neg-Pres  
 ‘This building has 10 floors underground but everyone has been down  
 only down to 5<sup>th</sup> floor underground.’
- b. Tashika-ni kuruma-de-shika dokoni-mo ike-na-katta-tame, aruku  
 certainly car -by-*only* *anywhere* go-can-Neg-Past-for, walk  
 chansu-wa suku-nai.  
 chance-Top a few-Neg  
 ‘Certainly, I could go somewhere only by car, so I had a few chances to walk.’  
 (Park (2007c:158-159))

Unlike (4), (5) is acceptable although *shika* occurs with *dare-mo* or *dokoni-mo* under a single Neg. The difference between (4) and (5) is the syntactic position of *shika*. In other words, *shika* in (4) appears in the argument position, <sup>7</sup> whereas the one in (5) does in the adjunct position. This leads us to conclude that *shika* in the adjunct position can occur with other NPIs. <sup>8</sup>

Likewise, it has been observed in Korean that *bakk-e* can occur with other NPIs <sup>9</sup> (see Kim (1998), Sells (2001), Kuno and Whitman (2004) among many others <sup>10</sup>):

- (6) a. I apateu-e-neun salam-i amu-do 2 cheung-e bakk-e sal-ji anh-neun-da

this apartment person-Nom *anyone* 2th floor-Loc *only* live-Comp Neg-Pres-Decl  
 ‘People live only on the second floor in this apartment.’

- b. Geu jib-eun san sog-e iss-eoseo, cha-lo bakk-e amude-do gal su eobs-da.  
 the house-Top mountain inside locate-because car-by *only anywhere* go canNeg-Decl  
 ‘We have to go to the house only by car, because it is located in the mountain.’

The Korean sentences in (6) are acceptable just like the Japanese counterparts in (5).

### 1.2. The problem

There has been considerable discussion in the recent literature concerning licensing conditions on Japanese and Korean MNCs with *shika* (*bakk-e*) and *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*) (Kato (1985), Aoyagi and Ishii (1994), Nam (1994), Nishioka (2000), Konomi (2000), Sells (2001, 2006), Kuno and Whitman (2004), Kataoka (2006), Park (2007a,b,c) among many others). Though their arguments on licensing conditions of MNCs with *shika* (*bakk-e*) and *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*) are quite different from each other, there is one common aspect, that is, they consider that the MNCs are categorized into only one type. (5a) and (6a) are repeated as (7a) and (8a) below.

- (7) a. Kono biru-wa chika 10 kai-made aru-ga chika 5 kai-  
 this building-Top basement 10<sup>th</sup> floor-up to exist-but basement 5<sup>th</sup> floor-  
 made-shika dare-mo itta-koto-ga nai.  
 up to-*only everyone* go-experience-Nom Neg-Pres  
 ‘This building has 10 floors underground but everyone has been down  
 only down to 5<sup>th</sup> floor underground.’ (= (5a))
- b. Senso-o ajiwatta hito-ni-shika dare-mo wakara-nai.  
 war-Acc experience-Past people-for-*but anyone* understand-Neg-Pres  
 ‘No one but people who have experience-Past the war understands.’
- (8) a. I apateu-e-neun salam-i amu-do 2 cheung-e bakk-e sal-ji anh-neun-da  
 this apartment person-Nom *anyone* 2th floor-Loc *only* live-Comp Neg-Pres-Decl  
 ‘People live only on the second floor in this apartment.’ (= (6a))
- b. Cheolsu-neun Yeonghui-ege bakk-e amu-do seonmul-eul ju-ji anh-ass-da  
 Cheolsu-Top Yeonghui-Dat *only anyone* gift-Acc give-Comp Neg-Past-Decl  
 ‘(lit.) Cheolsu gave *nobody but* Yeonghui a present.’

The MNCs illustrated in (7a,b) and (8a,b) appear to have an identical syntactic structure: a neg head, *nai/anh-da* ‘not’ performs Multiple Agree with NPIs, *shika/bakk-e* ‘only’ and *dare-mo/amu-do* ‘anyone’ in the same clauses. Therefore, those MNCs have conventionally been treated as belonging to one category and explained in terms of the same licensing condition.

I show, however, that those constructions do not constitute a monolithic, single

category, but rather are to be grouped into two distinct categories in terms of fundamental difference in word order constraint on *shika/bakk-e* and *Indeterminate-mo (do)*, and interpretation of *shika/bakk-e*. I also propose that the two constructions behave differently because they describe different syntactic and semantic relations: (i) the first type of MNCs: *shika (bakk-e)* and *Indeterminate-mo (do)* belong to one singleton set, and *shika (bakk-e)* and *Indeterminate-mo (do)* must follow linear order as follows; ‘*shika (bakk-e)* > *Indeterminate-mo (do)*,’ (ii) the second type of MNCs: *shika* and *Indeterminate-mo (do)* belong to a different set, and *shika (bakk-e)* and *Indeterminate-mo (do)* do not have sister-relation, (iii) *shika (bakk-e)* in the first type of MNCs has meaning of ‘exceptive’ unlike one in the second type of MNCs.

This paper proceeds as follows: Section 2 discusses how the two constructions differ from each other. Section 3 develops an account of those differences. Section 4 summarizes and concludes this paper.

## 2. Comparison of the Two Types of MNCs

In this section, I show that there are two types of MNCs at least in two aspects, (i) word order restriction on *shika (bakk-e)* and *Indeterminate-mo (do)* and (ii) interpretation of *shika (bakk-e)*.

### 2.1. Word order restriction on *shika (bakk-e)* and *Indeterminate-mo (do)*

Park (2007e:68-69) observes that *shika (bakk-e)* must appear in the left-most position, when *shika (bakk-e)* co-occurs with *Indeterminate-mo (do)*. To illustrate, consider Japanese examples (9) and (10) first:

- (9) a. *Senso-o ajiwatta hito-ni-shika dare-mo wakara-nai.*  
 war-Acc experience-Past people-for-but anyone understand-Neg-Pres  
 ‘No one but people who have experience-Past the war understands.’ (= (7b))
- b. \**Dare-mo senso-o ajiwatta hito-ni-shika wakara-nai.*  
 war-Acc experience-Past people-for-but anyone understand-Neg-Pres  
 ‘No one but people who have experience-Past the war understands.’
- (10) a. *Amarini rea sugi-te, chokueiten-de-shika dokoni-mo ut-te ori-masen.*  
 much rare too direct management store-Loc-but anywhere sell Neg  
 ‘It sells nowhere but a direct management store because it’s too rare.’
- b. \**Amarini rea sugi-te, dokoni-mo chokueiten-de-shika ut-te ori-masen.*  
 much rare too anywhere direct management store-Loc-but sell Neg  
 ‘It sells nowhere but a direct management store because it’s too rare.’

MNCs in (9a) and (10a) are acceptable because *shika* precedes *dare-mo* or *dokoni-mo*, whereas *shika* in (9b) and (10b) are unacceptable because *dare-mo* or *dokoni-mo*

precede *shika*. This word order constraint can be also seen in Korean MNCs as shown in (11) and (12):

- (11) a. Cheolsu-neun Yeonghui-ege bakk-e amu-do seonmul-eul ju-ji anh-ass-da.  
 Cheolsu-Top Yeonghui-Dat *only anyone* gift-Acc give-Comp Neg-Past-Decl  
 ‘(lit.) Cheolsu gave nobody but Yeonghui a present.’ (= (8b))
- b. \*Cheolsu-neun amu-do Yeonghui-ege bakk-e seonmul-eul ju-ji anh-ass-da.  
 Cheolsu-Top *anyone* Yeonghui-Dat *only* gift-Acc give-CompNeg-Past-Decl  
 ‘(lit.) Cheolsu gave nobody but Yeonghui a present.’
- (12) a. I sangpum-eun yeogi-eseo bakk-e amude-do pal-ji anh-a-yo.  
 this product-Top here-Loc *but anywhere* sell-Comp Neg-Decl  
 ‘We can buy this product nowhere but here.’
- b. \*I sangpum-eun amude-do yeogi-eseo bakk-e pal-ji anh-a-yo.  
 this product-Top *anywhere* here-Loc *only* sell-Comp Neg-Decl  
 ‘We can buy this product nowhere but here.’

MNCs in (11b) and (12b) are unacceptable since *bakk-e* is preceded by *amu-do* or *amude-do*, whereas MNCs in (11a) and (12a) are acceptable because *bakk-e* does not precede *amu-do* or *amude-do*. Park (2007e) formalizes word order constraint on *shika* (*bakk-e*) and *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*) as follows:

- (13) Word Order Constraint on *shika* (*bakk-e*) and *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*)  
*shika* (*bakk-e*) > *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*) (Park (2007e:68))

Nevertheless, my observation of the word order constraints on *shika* (*bakk-e*) and *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*) encounters a group of counterexamples. Look at (14) and (15) in Japanese first:

- (14) a. Kono biru-wa chika 10 kai-made aru-ga chika 5 kai-  
 this building-Top basement 10<sup>th</sup> floor-up to exist-but basement 5<sup>th</sup> floor-  
 made-shika dare-mo itta-koto-ga nai.  
 up to-*only* *everyone* go-experience-Nom Neg-Pres  
 ‘This building has 10 floors underground but everyone has been down  
 only down to 5<sup>th</sup> floor underground.’ (= (5a))
- b. Kono biru-wa chika 10 kai-made aru-ga dare-mo chika  
 this building-Top basement 10<sup>th</sup> floor-up to exist-but *everyone* basement  
 5 kai- made -shika itta-koto-ga nai.  
 5<sup>th</sup> floor-down to -*only* go experience-Nom Neg-Pres  
 ‘This building has 10 floors underground but everyone has been down  
 only down to 5<sup>th</sup> floor underground.’
- (15) a. Tashika-ni kuruma-de-shika dokoni-mo ike-na-katta-tame, aruku chansu-wa  
 certainly car-by-*only anywhere* go-can-Neg-Past-for, walk chance-Top

suku-nai.

a few-Neg

‘Certainly, I could go somewhere only by car, so I had a few chances to walk.’

(= (5b))

- b. Tashika-ni dokoni-mo kuruma-de-shika ike-na-katta-tame, aruku  
 certainly *anywhere* car -by-*only* go-can-Neg-Past-for, walk  
 chansu-wa suku-nai.  
 chance-Top a few-Neg

‘Certainly, I could go somewhere only by car, so I had a few chances to walk.’

(14b) and (15b) are acceptable even if they violate the word order constraint in (13); *dare-mo/dokoni-mo* precede *shika* in both (14b) and (15b). Now compare (9) and (14) with (10) and (15). (9) and (14) are MNCs that contain *shika* and *dare-mo*, whereas (10) and (15) are MNCs that contain *shika* and *dokoni-mo*. We can see that (9) and (10) follow the word order constraint (13), whereas (14) and (15) do not. It is plausible to assume that there are two types of MNCs in Japanese. We call the first type of MNCs as Type 1 MNC ((9a) and (10a)). The second type of MNCs, on the other hand, is shown as Type 2 MNC ((14) and (15)). This contrast is also true for Korean MNCs. Observe the following sentences:

- (16) a. I apateu-e-neun salam-i\_2 cheung-e bakk-e amu-do sal-ji anh-neun-da.  
 this apartment person-Nom 2th floor-Loc *only anyone* live-Comp Neg-Pres-Decl  
 ‘People live only on the second floor in this apartment.’  
 b. I apateu-e-neun salam-i amu-do 2 cheung-e bakk-e sal-ji anh-neun-da.  
 this apartment person-Nom *anyone* 2th floor-Loc *only* live-Comp Neg-Pres-Decl  
 ‘People live only on the second floor in this apartment.’ (= (8a))
- (17) a. Geu jib-eun san sog-e iss-eoseo, cha-lo bakk-e amude-do gal su eobs-da.  
 the house-Top mountain inside locate-because car-by *only anywhere* go can Neg-Decl  
 ‘We have to go to the house only by car because it is located in the mountain.’  
 b. Geu jib-eun san sog-e iss-eoseo, amude-do cha-lo bakk-e gal su eobs-da.  
 the house-Top mountain inside locate-because *anywhere* car-by *only* go can Neg-Decl  
 ‘We have to go to the house only by car because it is located in the mountain.’

In (16b) and (17b), *Indeterminate-do* precedes *bakk-e* and they are acceptable even though they violate the word order constraint in (13). Consider (11-12) and (16-17). (11) and (16) are MNCs that contain *bakk-e* and *amu-do*. (12) and (17) are MNCs containing *bakk-e* and *amude-do*. We can confirm that (11-12) obey the word order constraint (13), whereas (16-17) do not. This shows us that it is also possible to classify Korean MNCs into two types like Japanese MNCs; (11a) and (12a) can be classified into Type 1 MNC, whereas (16) and (17) can be classified into Type 2 MNC.

It is generally assumed that the word order constraint of Type 1 MNC and Type 2 MNC can informally be represented as in the following:

- (18) Type 1 MNC:
- a. [NegP [vp NP-shika (bakk-e) Indeterminate-mo (do) ] NEG]  $\xrightarrow{\text{scrambling}}$
- b. [NegP [vp Indeterminate-mo (do)<sub>i</sub> NP-shika (bakk-e) <sub>ti</sub> ] NEG]
- ↑  $\times$  ↓
- (19) Type 2 MNC:
- a. [NegP [vp NP-shika (bakk-e) Indeterminate-mo (do) ] NEG]  $\xrightarrow{\text{scrambling}}$
- b. [NegP [vp Indeterminate-mo (do)<sub>i</sub> NP-shika (bakk-e) <sub>ti</sub> ] NEG]
- ↑ ○ ↓

I will show in the next section that the asymmetry in Type 1 MNC and that in Type 2 MNC can be also seen from interpretation of *shika (bakk-e)*.

## 2.2. Interpretation of *shika (bakk-e)*

First of all, let us examine the interpretation of *shika (bakk-e)* in Type 1 MNC. (9a) and (10a) in Japanese and (11a) and (12a) in Korean are repeated as (20) and (21) below for ease of reference:

- (20) a. Senso-o ajiwatta hito-ni-shika dare-mo wakara-nai.  
war-Acc experience-Past people-for-*but* *anyone* understand-Neg-Pres  
'No one but people who have experienced the war understands.'
- b. Amarini rea sugi-te, chokueiten-de-shika dokoni-mo ut-te ori-masen.  
much rare too direct management store-Loc-*but anywhere* sell Neg  
'It sells nowhere but a direct management store because it's too rare.'
- (21) a. Cheolsu-neun Yeonghui-ege bakk-e amu-do seonmul-eul ju-ji anh-ass-da.  
Cheolsu-Top Yeonghui-Dat *only anyone* gift-Acc give-Comp Neg-Past-Decl  
'(lit.) Cheolsu gave *nobody but* Yeonghui a present.'
- b. I sangpum-eun yeogi-eseo bakk-e amude-do pal-ji anh-a-yo.  
this product-Top here-Loc *but anywhere* sell-Comp Neg-Decl  
'We can buy this product nowhere but here.'

The relationship between *shika (bakk-e)* and *Indeterminate-mo (do)* in (20) and (21) is quite similar to the one between English exceptive phrase *but* and universal quantifier *no*. See (22) below:

- (22) a. **No** student(s) **but** John attended the meeting.  
b. **No** student(s) **but** John came.

(von Fintel (1993:124-126))

von Fintel (1993) argues that *but* subtracts a singleton set containing *John* out of the restriction (i.e. student) of the universal 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 (1993:126) also mentions that *but* could be treated as creating a noun modifier with semantics as in (23):<sup>11</sup>

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

von Fintel’s argument in (23) is applicable to *shika* and *bakk-e* in (20) and (21) respectively. For example, (20) and (21) can be represented as in the following:

(24) a. [people but person who has experienced the war]  
= [places (dare-mo)]- {[ person who has experienced the war]}

b. [places but a direct management store]  
= [places (dokoni-mo)]- {[ a direct management store]}

(25) a. [people but person who is Yeonghui]  
= [people (amu-do)]- {[ Yeonghui ]}

b. [places but here]  
= [places (amude-do)]- {[ here ]}

It is well known that *Indeterminate-mo (do)* functions as universal quantifier (see Kim (2001), Watanabe (2004), Kataoka (2006) among many others). Moreover, *shika* behaves quite similar to *igai* or *hoka* (henceforth, *igai/hoka*) ‘except’ shown in bold.

Observe the following sentences:

(26) a. Taro-**shika/igai/no hoka** (dare-mo) ko-na-katta (\*ki-ta).  
Taro-*only except* Gen *except (anyone)* come-Neg-Past (come-Past)  
‘Only Taro came.’

b. Shingakusuru-**shika/igai/hoka** na-katta (\*at-ta).  
enter -*only except except* Neg-Past (exist-Past)  
‘I had an only option to enter the school.’

(Mogi (2005:15-16))

*Igai/hoka* in (26) are only licensed by Neg similarly to *shika*. Eguchi (2000), Mogi (2005), Numata (2006) and Miyachi (2007), among many others, treat these expressions *shika/igai/hoka* as the same expressions that are based on the result of their syntactic and semantic similarities. Furthermore, Eguchi (2000) treats *igai/hoka* as NPIs.

In fact, they can occur with other NPIs seen as in (27):

(27) a. Sono kaigi-ni-wa Taro-**igai/no hoka dare-mo** ko-na-katta.  
the meeting-Loc-Top Taro-*but* Gen *but anyone* come-Neg-Past  
‘No one but Taro came in the meeting.’

b. Toshokan-**igai/no hoka dokoni-mo** ike-na-katta.  
library *but* Gen *but anywhere* go-can-Neg-Past  
‘I couldn’t go nowhere but library.’

Interestingly enough, *igai/hoka* have the same word order constraint as *shika* when



they occur with *Indeterminate-mo*. See the examples below:

- (28)a. \*Sono kaigi-ni-wa dare-moi [Taro-igai/no hoka ti] ko-na-katta.  
 the meeting-Loc-Top *anyone* Taro-but Gen but come-Neg-Past  
 ‘No one but Taro came in the meeting.’
- b. \*Dokoni-moi [toshokan-igai/no hoka ti] ike-na-katta.  
*anywhere* library but Gen but go-can-Neg-Past  
 ‘I couldn’t go nowhere but library.’

*Indeterminate-mo* cannot be moved to higher position than *igai/hoka* by Scrambling in (28). This is exactly the same as *shika* of Type 1 MNC illustrated in (18).

There also exists an exceptive expression like *igai/hoka* in Korean, that is, *oe-e*. Observe the following sentences:

- (29) a. Cheolsu-**bakk-e/oe-e** (amu-do) o-ji anh-ass-da (\*wass-da).  
 Cheolsu-only *except anyone* come-Comp Neg-Past-Decl (come-Past)  
 ‘Only Cheolsu came.’
- b. Jinhakhaneun geos-**bakk-e/oe-e** (bangbeob-i) eob-eoss-da (\*isseoss-da).  
 enter thing *only except* (way-Nom) Neg-Past-Decl (exist-Past-Decl)  
 ‘I had an only option to enter the school.’

*oe-e* in (29) must appear in the negative clause similarly to *bakk-e*. Shi (1997) and Kim (1998) among many others treat *bakk-e* and *oe-e* as the same expressions, based on their syntactic and semantic similarities. For example, *oe-e* can occur with other NPIs and it has the same word order constraint as *bakk-e* when it occurs with *Indeterminate-do*. See the examples below:

- (30) a. Geu hoeoe-e-neun Taro-**oe-e** amu-do o-ji anh-ass-da.  
 the meeting-Loc-Top Taro- *but anyone* come-Comp Neg-Past-Decl  
 ‘No one but Taro came in the meeting.’
- b. Doseogwan-**oe-e** amude-do ga-ji anh-ass-da.  
 library -but *anywhere* go-Comp Neg-Past  
 ‘I couldn’t go nowhere but library.’
- (31) a. \*Geu hoeoe-e-neun amu-doi [Taro-**oe-e** ti] o-ji anh-ass-da.  
 the meeting-Loc-Top *anyone* Taro *but* come-Comp Neg-Past-Decl  
 ‘No one but Taro came in the meeting.’
- b. \*Amude-doi [doseogwan-**oe-e** ti] ga-ji anh-ass-da.  
*anywhere* library -but go-Comp Neg-Past  
 ‘I couldn’t go nowhere but library.’

Next, let us consider interpretation of *shika* (*bakk-e*) in Type 2 MNC. (14a) and (15a) in Japanese and (16a) and (17a) in Korean are repeated as (32) and (33) below for ease of reference:

- (32) a. Kono biru-wa chika 10 kai-made aru-ga chika 5 kai-  
 this building-Top basement 10<sup>th</sup> floor-up to exist-but basement 5<sup>th</sup> floor-  
 made-shika dare-mo itta-koto-ga nai.  
 up to-*only* *everyone* go-experience-Nom Neg-Pres  
 ‘This building has 10 floors underground but everyone has been down  
 only down to 5<sup>th</sup> floor underground.’
- b. Tashika-ni kuruma-de-shika dokoni-mo ike-na-katta-tame, aruku  
 certainly car-by-*only* anywhere go-can-Neg-Past-for, walk  
 chansu-wa suku-nai.  
 chance-Top a few-Neg  
 ‘Certainly, I could go somewhere only by car, so I had a few chances to walk.’
- (33) a. I apateu-e-neun salam-i<sub>2</sub> cheung-e bakk-e amu-do sal-ji anh-neun-da.  
 this apartment person-Nom 2th floor-Loc *only anyone* live-Comp Neg-Pres-Decl  
 ‘People live only on the second floor in this apartment.’
- b. Geu jib-eun san sog-e iss-eoseo cha-lo bakk-e amude-do gal su eobs-da.  
 the house-Top mountain inside locate-because car-by *only anywhere* go can Neg-Decl  
 ‘We have to go to the house only by car because it is located in the mountain.’

Compare interpretation of *shika* (*bakk-e*) in (32-33) with one in (20-21). *Shika* (*bakk-e*) in (32-33) has interpretation which is ‘only’, whereas *shika* (*bakk-e*) in (20-21) does meaning which is ‘but’.

We can summarize the differences between Type 1 MNC and Type 2 MNC as in (Table 1).

(Table 1) Differences between Type 1 MNC and Type 2 MNC  
 (√ : Allowed, \* : Not Allowed)

Features	Types of MNCs	Type 1 MNC	Type 2 MNC
(i) Word order constraint → <i>shika</i> ( <i>bakk-e</i> ) must appear in the left-most position		√	*
(ii a) Interpretation of <i>shika</i> ( <i>bakk-e</i> ) → <i>but</i>		√	*
(ii b) Interpretation of <i>shika</i> ( <i>bakk-e</i> ) → <i>only</i>		*	√

Section 3 analyses how Type 1 MNC and Type 2 MNC are syntactically different from each other.

### 3. Why the differences?

In this section, I propose that the differences between the two types of MNCs are caused by their different syntactic structures.

### 3.1. Proposal

This paper suggests that the following principles are at work in Type 1 MNC and Type 2 MNC:

(34) a. Type 1MNC

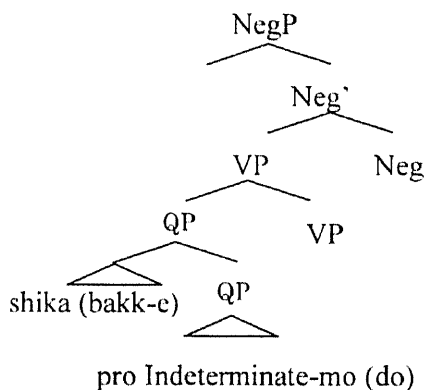
*Shika (bakk-e)* forms a single constituent with *Indeterminate-mo (do)* ( $\rightarrow$ single constituency hypothesis) and *shika (bakk-e)* has linear order constraint as follows: *shika (bakk-e)*  $\succ$  *Indeterminate-mo (do)*

b. Type 2 MNC

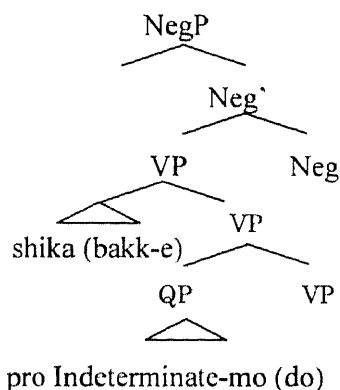
*Shika (bakk-e)* forms not a single constituent but a different one with *Indeterminate-mo (do)* ( $\rightarrow$ base-generation hypothesis). *Shika (bakk-e)* does not have linear order constraint like Type 1 MNC above.

Throughout this paper, I will propose that the clausal structures for Type 1 MNC and Type 2 MNC in Japanese and Korean are as follows:

(35) a. Type 1 MNC



b. Type 2 MNC



### 3.2. Argument

I now present arguments in support of the hypotheses. First of all, let us consider Type 1 MNC. This paper proposes that *shika (bakk-e)* and *Indeterminate-mo (do)* form the same constituent, which is QP. QP adjoins to VP, and *shika (bakk-e)* adjoins to QP. Based on Kawashima and Kitahara (1992), Aoyagi and Ishii (1994) and Kataoka (2006), *Indeterminate-mo (do)* is not an argument but an adjunct. Consider their argument with examples (36) below:

(36) a. Gakusei-ga dare-mo kuruma-o kawa-na-katta.

student-Nom *anyone* car-Acc buy-Neg-Past

‘(lit.) Anyone didn’t buy a car.’

b. John-ga namamono-o nani-mo kawa-na-katta.

John-Nom raw food-Acc *anything* buy-Neg-Past

‘John didn’t buy any raw food.’

(Kawashima and Kitahara (1992:144))

In (36), subject and object NPs co-occur with *Indeterminate-mos*. Given that Japanese is a pro-drop language, Kawashima and Kitahara argue that *Indeterminate-mos* in (36) contain a null subject or a null object as shown in (37):

(37) a. pro dare-mo kuruma-o kawa-na-katta.

anyone car-Acc buy-Neg-Past

‘(lit.) Anyone didn’t buy a car.’

b. John-ga pro nani-mo kawa-na-katta.

John-Nom anything buy-Neg-Past

‘John didn’t buy any raw food.’

(ibid.)

Furthermore, Kawashima and Kitahara (1992:144-151) and Aoyagi and Ishii (1994:297-298) argue that the distribution of *Indeterminate-mo* is similar to that of floating numeral quantifiers like *3-bon* ‘3-classifier’, as shown in (38) and (39).

(38) a. John-ga nani-mo kudamono-o tabe-na-katta.

John-Nom anything fruits-Acc eat-Neg-Past

‘John didn’t eat any fruits.’

b. John-ga 3-bon banana-o tabe-ta.

John-Nom -CL banana-Acc eat-Past

‘John ate 3 bananas.’

(39) a. John-ga kudamono-o nani-mo tabe-na-katta.

John-Nom fruits-Acc anything eat-Neg-Past

‘John didn’t eat any fruits.’

b. John-ga banana-o 3-bon tabe-ta.

John-Nom banana-Acc -CL eat-Neg-Past

‘John ate 3 bananas.’

(Aoyagi and Ishii (1994:297-298))

Consider the distribution between the referential NPs of *nani-mo/3-bon* and *nani-mo/3-bon* in (38) and (39). We can see that *Indeterminate-mo* and floating numeral quantifiers behave exactly the same. To put it differently, (i) they can precede the referential NPs in (38), and (ii) the referential NPs can precede them in (39). Now, let us confirm this in MNCs. Observe the following sentence:

(40) Kono biru-wa chika 10 kai-made aru-ga chika 5 kai-

this building-Top basement 10<sup>th</sup> floor-up to exist-but basement 5<sup>th</sup> floor-

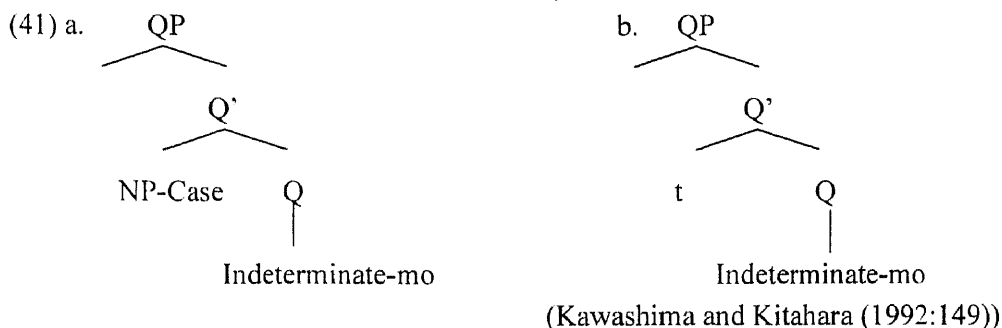
made-shika gakusei-ga dare-mo itta-koto-ga nai.

up to-*only* student-Nom *anyone* go-experience-Nom Neg-Pres

‘This building has 10 floors underground but every students has been

down only down to 5<sup>th</sup> floor underground.'

In (40), the overt referential NPs intervene between *shika* and *Indeterminate-mo*, but the acceptability and interpretation do not change. On the other hand, *dokoni-mo* itself functions as an adjunct, so it does not have the referential NPs. Therefore, I agree on Kawashima and Kitahara's arguments as shown in (41) that *Indeterminate-mo* selects an argument NP specified for a Case-feature within its own projection and that *Indeterminate-mo* can be analyzed as a head Q:



(41) can be applicable to *Indeterminate-do* in Korean. In fact, Sohn (1994) and Jang (1995) argue that *Indeterminate-do* functions like floating numeral quantifiers and it is similar to *Indeterminate-do* in Japanese. I agree on their argument, but I do not provide the Korean examples here because of limited space.

Next, consider the reason why *shika* (*bakk-e*) must appear in the left-most position in Type 1 MNC. As I mentioned in Section 2, *shika/igai/hoka* are quite similar to the English exceptive expression *but*. Interestingly enough, 'but' has a word order constraint with universal quantifier *no*. Observe the following sentence:

(42) a. **No** student(s) **but** John attended the meeting. (= (22a))

b. \***But** John, **no** student(s) attended the meeting.

(43) a. **No** student(s) **but** John came. (= (22b))

b. \***But** John, **no** student(s) came.

From the result of (42-43), Terazu-Imanishi (1994) argues that the exceptive phrase *but* cannot move when it occurs with universal quantifiers such as *no/nobody/nowhere*. In other words, the linear order of *but* and *no/nobody/nowhere* must be in the order: 'no/nobody/nowhere > but'. This leads us to conclude that the word order of exceptive expressions and universal quantifiers in natural languages is fixed, based on von Stechow (1993)'s argument that they belong to one singleton set.

Why is the linear order of *shika/igai/hoka* with *Indeterminate-mo* and *but* with *no/nobody/nowhere* opposite? Though we need further research on this, it is plausible to assume that *Indeterminate-mo* is a head in Japanese, whereas *no/nobody/nowhere* is a head in English. It is well known that Japanese is a

head-final language, whereas English is a head-initial language. It is natural that exceptive expressions always precede universal quantifiers in head final languages such as Japanese and Korean. On the contrary, universal quantifiers always precede exceptive expressions in head initial languages such as English.

Next, consider Type 2 MNC. As shown in (35b), the apparent syntactic difference between Type 2 MNC and Type 1 MNC is whether *shika* (*bakk-e*) and *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*) form a constituent or not. In Type 2 MNC, *shika* adjoins to upper VP and *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*) adjoins to lower VP.

Now, notice *shika* (*bakk-e*) in Type 1 MNC and Type 2 MNC. It seems intuitively obvious to think that the former functions similarly to *igai/hoka* in Japanese and *oe-e* in Korean, while latter does not. For some reasons, the functions of *shika* (*bakk-e*) have a great influence on a clear distinction between Type 1 MNC and Type 2 MNC. In other words, on one hand it is categorized as Type 1 MNC when *shika* (*bakk-e*) functions as an exceptive expression; on the other hand, it is categorized as Type 2 MNC when it does not function as an exceptive expression.

However, further researches need to solve the following problem. MNCs with *shika* (*bakk-e*) and *nani-mo* (*amugeos-do*) seem to have only one type unlike MNCs with *shika* (*bakk-e*) and *dare-mo* (*amu-do*) or MNCs with *shika* (*bakk-e*) and *dokoni-mo* (*amude-do*). Observe the following Japanese examples:

- (44)a. Ningen-wa jibun-no-tameni-shika nani-mo si-nai.  
 human-Top oneself-Gen-for-only *anything* do-Neg  
 ‘Human beings do things only for themselves.’
- b. \*Ningen-wa nani-mo jibun-no-tameni-shika si-nai.  
 human-Top *anything* oneself-Gen-for-only do-Neg  
 ‘Human beings do things only for themselves.’

(44a) can be categorized as Type 2 MNC, because *shika* does not function as an exceptive expression. Nevertheless, *nani-mo* cannot precede *shika* as shown in (44b). This phenomenon is the same in Korean. Why do MNCs with *shika* (*bakk-e*) and *nani-mo* (*amugeos-do*) have a single type? This paper suggests that it is because *shika* (*bakk-e*) has a constraint, as follows:

- (45) *shika* (*bakk-e*) phrases must appear higher than *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*) in the object position.

Similarly, Yanagida (1996:25-27) sets forth (45) based on the fact that *shika* must appear higher than VP-adverbs, which is bold-faced. Consider the following examples:

- (46)a. John-wa syosetsu-shika [**hayaku** yome-nai].  
 John-Top novels -only fast read-can-Neg

- ‘John can read nothing other than novels fast.  
 b. \*John-wa [**hayaku** syosetsu-shika yome-nai].  
 John-Top fast novels -only read-can-Neg  
 ‘John can read nothing other than novels fast.’

This is also the same as Korean, as shown in (47).

- (47)a. Cheolsu-neun soscolchaeg bakk-e **ppalli** ilg-eul su eobs-da.  
 Cheolsu-Top novels only fast read-can-Neg  
 ‘Cheolsu can read nothing other than novels fast.  
 b. \*Cheolsu-neun **ppalli** soseolchaeg bakk-e ilg-eul su eobs-da.  
 Cheolsu-Top fast novels only read-can-Neg  
 ‘Cheolsu can read nothing other than novels fast.’

#### 4. Summary and Conclusion

In this paper, I have argued, contrary to what is widely observed in the literature, that Japanese and Korean MNCs with *shika* (*bakk-e*) and *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*) should be classified into two types, Type 1 MNC and Type 2 MNC. I have presented that there are two differences between Type 1 MNC and Type 2 MNC: firstly, the former has word order constraint on *shika* (*bakk-e*) and *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*), whereas the latter does not. In other words, unlike *shika* (*bakk-e*) in Type MNC 2, *shika* (*bakk-e*) in Type MNC 1 must appear in the left-most position. Secondly, *shika* (*bakk-e*) in Type MNC 1 has a meaning of *but*, whereas *shika* (*bakk-e*) in Type MNC 2 has a meaning of *only*. I have also suggested that the reason why Type 1 MNC and Type 2 MNC behave differently is because their syntactic structures are distinct. Namely, *shika* (*bakk-e*) in Type 1 MNC forms a constituent with *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*), whereas *shika* (*bakk-e*) in Type 2 MNC does not. Furthermore, I have shown that *shika* (*bakk-e*) in Type 1 MNC functions similarly to exceptive expressions such as *igai/hoka* in Japanese, *oe-e* in Korean and *but* in English in terms of word order constraint on the exceptive expressions and universal quantifiers.

#### NOTES

\* I would like to thank Prof. Koichi Takezawa, Takumi Tagawa, Haruko Matsui, and Tan Lok for their insightful comments and criticism. Needless to say, all errors are entirely my own.

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

<sup>2</sup> Park (2007a, 2007d, 2008) 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, such differences are not relevant for the present discussion.

<sup>3</sup> The following abbreviations are used in the paper: Acc = Accusative, CL = Classifier, Comp = Complementizer, Dat = Dative, Decl = Declarative, Gen = Genitive, Loc = Locative, Nom = Nominative, Neg = Negative, Pres = Present, Prog = Progressive, Top = Topic.

<sup>4</sup> The Japanese and Korean data that I report here are based primarily on judgments I received from 50 Japanese and Korean native speakers majoring in linguistics.

<sup>5</sup> 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 deal with (ia) (Long-Form Negation) and (ic) (Lexically negative verbs) in this paper.

<sup>6</sup> In contrast, Nishioka (2000) and Kataoka (2006) argue that MNCs with *shika* which is in the argument position and *Indeterminate-mo* are allowed. However, most of Japanese linguists and my 50 consultants judge that *shika* in the argument position cannot occur with other NPIs.

<sup>7</sup> Aoyagi and Ishii (1994) assumes that *shika* in (4a) appears in the adjunct position. They argue that *shika* in subject/object positions behaves like a quantifier. In contrast, Konomi (2000) and Kataoka (2006) argue that *shika* in subject/object positions like (4a) is not an adjunct but an argument (see Konomi (2000) for more details). Following Konomi and Kataoka, I treat *shika* in (4a) as an argument.

<sup>8</sup> Park (2007a,b,c) argues that *shika* in the adjunct position, *bakk-e* and *Indeterminate-mo* (*do*) should be categorized as Negative Concord Items, not as NPIs. However, all past studies I cite in this paper categorize them as NPIs, therefore I will call them NPIs.

<sup>9</sup> However, *bakk-e* can occur with other NPIs even though it appears in the argument position. This shows that *bakk-e* and *shika* are not exactly same expressions. See footnote 2.

<sup>10</sup> Nam (1994) and Chung and Park (1997) argue that MNCs with *bakk-e* which is in the argument position are not allowed. However, most Korean linguists and my 50 consultants judge that *bakk-e* in the argument position can occur with other NPIs.

<sup>11</sup> He also suggests 'the uniqueness condition' to strengthen the conditions even further. See von Stechow (1993 : 129-131) for more details.

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