

## On So-Called Focus-Sensitive Particles in Adnominal Positions

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Words like *dake* 'only' and *sae* 'even' in Japanese can precede or follow the dative-case marker *ni* or a postposition (henceforth a *case marker* and a *postposition* are both referred to as a *CM*), as illustrated in (1)-(2), and in either locations, they must be considered as having adnominal uses rather than adverbial uses.

- (1) a. John-wa Kimura sensei-ni-dake/sae aisatusita.  
'John greeted only/even Prof. Kimura.'  
b. John-wa Kimura sensei-dake/sae-ni aisatusita.
- (2) a. John-wa Kyoto daigaku-de-dake/sae enzetusita.  
'John spoke only/even at Kyoto University.'  
b. John-wa Kyoto daigaku-dake/sae-de enzetusita.

In the following, I refer to words like *dake* and *sae* as *focus-sensitive particles* (= *FPs*), following the standard practice, and among FPs, a FP immediately following a CM (e.g., (1a) and (2a)) is called an *NP-external FP* and a FP trapped between the NP it modifies and a CM (e.g., (1b) and (2b)) an *NP-internal FP*.

Given the variability of the location of FPs with respect to a CM, an important issue is whether NP-external and -internal FPs should be treated on a par with each other. Functional grammarians such as Morita (1974) and Kuno & Monane (1979) partially describe their semantic and functional differences, suggesting that they require different treatments. Morita (1974), for example, points out that (3a) is taken to mean that this disease can be cured by injection, but not by any other method; however, (3b) can express, in addition to what (3a) means, the meaning that this disease can be cured by injection alone, not entailing that there is no method other than injection that cures the disease.

- (3) a. Kono byooki-wa tyuusya-de-dake naoru.  
'This disease is cured only with injection.'  
b. Kono byooki-wa tyuusya-dake-de naoru.

The objective of this paper is to provide a theoretical characterization for the difference between NP-external and -internal FPs within the framework of generative grammar.

The interpretation of a sentence including an FP in an adnominal position (as well as in adverbial position) involves the consideration of a set of alternative propositions. In generative grammar, assuming (4), researchers have sought a formal mechanism that determines the form of the alternative propositions under discussion, based on the structure of a given sentence.

- (4) The form of the alternative propositions considered for the interpretation of a sentence containing an adnominal (or adverbial) FP corresponds to the original sentence except that the FP plus the NP (or the VP) it modifies is replaced with a variable *x* (cf. Kuroda 1965).

There are two major approaches. One treats an FP plus the NP it modifies as a generalized quantifier (cf. von Stechow 1991) (henceforth the GQ analysis). The other is based on the alternative semantics developed in Rooth 1985, which makes crucial reference to focus (henceforth the Roothian analysis). These approaches are distinguished as follows. The GQ analysis must assume an FP plus the NP it modifies to obligatorily undergo quantifier raising in May 1977 while the Roothian analysis need not. Conversely, the Roothian analysis must add the focus feature to the feature inventory while the GQ analysis need not.

This paper argues that (A) the GQ analysis is desirable for NP-external FPs while the Roothian analysis is not, and that (B) neither the GQ analysis nor the Roothian analysis can be adopted for NP-internal FPs. In support of (A) (and a part of (B)), I demonstrate that an NP-external FP with the NP it modifies behaves exactly in the same way as quantifiers that can reasonably be assumed to obligatorily undergo quantifier raising do; however, an NP-internal FP with the NP it modifies cannot be so considered. For example, given that the embedded scope reading in (6a) is infelicitous, as opposed to the matrix scope reading in (6b), the contrast in (5) is considered as indicating that the scope of *kimi-ni-dake* 'you-CM-only' is clause-bounded, resembling the behavior of relevant quantifiers, while that of *kimi-dake-ni* 'you-only-CM' is not.

- (5) a. #Boku-wa kimi-ni-dake meguriau tameni umaretekita.  
'I was born to meet you.'  
b. Boku-wa kimi-dake-ni meguriau tameni umaretekita.
- (6) a. #I was born so that I meet no one other than you.  
b. There is no one other than you that I was born to meet (i.e., my birth is for you!)

It is also shown that sentences with an NP-external FP cannot be considered as involving focus unlike the cases of those with an NP-internal FP, further confirming (A).

To maintain (B), I question that the fundamental assumption in (4), adopted both by the GQ analysis and by the Roothian analysis, holds for sentences including an NP-internal FP. For example, while the interpretation of (7a), a case of NP-external FP, involves the consideration of a set of propositions whose form is *that John raised a question to x after the class*, that of (7b), a case of NP-internal FP, cannot unless *zyuugyoo-no ato* 'after the class' is de-accented. When the phonological control is absent in (7b), probably the default way of reading, the form of the relevant alternative propositions is *that John raised a question to x*, contrary to (4). Having maintained (B), the paper then proposes a new analysis for NP-internal FPs, making reference to pragmatics.

- (7) a. John-wa Kimura sensei-ni-dake zyugyoo-no atode situmonsita.  
'John raised a question only to Prof. Kimura after the class.'  
b. John-wa Kimura sensei-dake-ni zyugyoo-no atode situmonsita.

One significant implication of this paper is that for the study of LF structural properties, NP-external FPs are useful while NP-internal FPs are not. This work thus suggests that works addressing LF properties without distinguishing between NP-external and -internal FPs in Japanese linguistics be re-evaluated.

### **Selected References:**

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