

### Scrambling, resumption and scope of Neg

It has been observed that the scope relation between Neg and QP is ambiguous (Kuno 1980) ((1)). The ambiguity continues to obtain in the 'scrambled' counterparts ((2)). However, the ambiguity disappears in (3); cf. (2b). In this paper I will provide an account of the absence of the *Neg*>*QP* reading in (3) and explore its implications.

It has been agreed that the 'scrambled object' in Japanese (henceforth *ScramObj*) shows A'-properties (e.g., reconstruction effects as in (4a)) and A-properties (the absence of weak crossover effects as in (4b)) (Saito 1992, Ueyama 1998, among others). One might thus attribute the absence of *Neg*>*QP* in (3) to the blocking of 'quantifier-lowering' by Neg for the A-moved NP (May 1997), under the thesis, pursued in Miyagawa 2001, for example, that the A-properties of *ScramObj* come from *A-movement*. As Lasnik and Saito (1991) suggest, LF-lowering of the A-moved subject is blocked by the negative predicate; while (5a) allows the reading in (6a) (May 1977), (5b) does not allow the reading in (6b). Thus the absence of *Neg*>*QP* in (3) can be accounted for if we assume that the *ScramObj* with A-properties (henceforth *A-ScramObj*) is moved to its surface position by *A-movement* from its theta-position inside the VP (or *vP*), provided that Neg is in the VP-adjoined position at LF.

This account crucially relies on the thesis that A-properties come from *A-movement*. The *A-movement* analysis, however, faces a serious problem if we consider the observation involving 'resumption'. As in (7), what appears to be resumption is possible (e.g., Hoji 2003) (cf. (4b)), but not in (8) (cf. (4a)), and crucially the object in (7) cannot be in the scope of Neg ((9)). Thus 'resumption' seems compatible with A-properties but not with A'-properties. This observation is problematic to the *A-movement* analysis of the *A-ScramObj* since it is inconsistent with the general assumption that *A-movement* does not leave resumption.

If we adopt the *base-generation* analysis of Ueyama 1998 for the *A-ScramObj*, on the other hand, the possibility of the 'resumption' is precisely what is expected, as discussed in Ueyama 1998, and Hoji 2003. Given the *base-generation* analysis, the absence of *Neg*>*QP* in (3) is also as expected; the *A-ScramObj* in (3) is never in the c-command domain of Neg throughout the derivation but the intended 'binding' would require that the *ScramObj* originate in the object position inside the VP. If the intended 'binding' is eliminated, *Neg*>*QP* is available, as seen in (2b). Finally, the absence of *Neg*>*Q* in (3) argues against Saito's (2003) derivational account of the ambiguous status of *ScramObj*; under Saito 2003, nothing prevents a given *ScramObj* from exhibiting A-properties and A'-properties simultaneously since the relevant formal relation underlying those properties can be established/licensed derivationally; cf. Mahajan 1991.

We can also construct a similar argument based on scope interpretation, making crucial reference to the availability of scope reconstruction depending on the presence/absence of 'resumption', and the availability of *Neg*>*QP*, corroborating the conclusion reached above; see (10)-(11).

- (1) a. [<sub>QP</sub> itutuizyoo-no ginkoo ]-ga Toyota-ni yuusisi-**nak**-atta (koto)  
5:or:more-GEN bank-NOM Toyota-DAT finace-Neg-Past (Comp)  
'Five or more banks did not finance Toyota.' 5-or-more>Neg, Neg>5-or-more
- b. UFJ-ginkoo-ga [<sub>QP</sub> itutuizyoo-no kigyoo ]-ni yuusisi-**nak**-atta (koto)  
UFJ Bankt-NOM 5:or:more-GEN company-DAT finance-Neg-Past (Comp)  
'UFJ Bank did not finance five or more companies.' 5-or-more>Neg, Neg>5-or-more
- (2) a. Toyota-ni [<sub>QP</sub> itutuizyoo-no ginkoo ]-ga yuusisi-**nak**-atta (koto)  
Toyota-DAT 5:or:more-GEN bank-NOM finace-Neg-Past (Comp) (QP>Neg, Neg>QP)
- b. [<sub>QP</sub> itutuizyoo-no kigyoo ]-ni UFJ-ginkoo-ga yuusisi-**nak**-atta (koto)  
5:or:more-GEN company-DAT UFJ Bankt-NOM finance-Neg-Past (Comp) (QP>Neg, Neg>QP)
- (3) [Itutuizyoo-no kigyoo]<sub>QP1</sub>-ni [soko-no torihiki-ginkoo]-ga yuusisi-**nak**-atta.  
5:or:more-GEN-company-DAT it-GE-dealing:bank-NOM finance-Neg-Past  
'To five or more companies, its own bank did not finance.' with BVA, \*Neg > QP<sub>1</sub>
- (4) a. Soko<sub>i</sub>-no torihikisaki-ni [itutuizyoo-no kigyoo]<sub>QP1</sub>-ga kitaidoori tousisi-ta.  
it-GEN client-DAT 5:or:more-GEN company-NOM expectedly invest-Past  
'To its<sub>i</sub> client, [each of five or more companies]<sub>i</sub> invested expectedly.' <sup>ok</sup> BVA
- b. [Itutuizyoo-no kigyoo]<sub>QP1</sub>-ni soko<sub>i</sub>-no torihikisaki-ga kitaidoori tousisi-ta.  
5:or:more-GEN company-DAT it-GEN client-NOM expectedly invest-Past  
'To [each of five or more companies]<sub>i</sub>, its<sub>i</sub> client invested expectedly.' <sup>ok</sup> BVA
- (5) a. Someone is likely to address the rally. / b. Someone is unlikely to address the rally.
- (6) a. It is likely that someone will address the rally.  
b. It is unlikely that someone will address the rally.
- (7) [Itutuizyoo-no kigyoo]<sub>QP1</sub>-ni soko<sub>i</sub>-no torihikisaki-ga kitaidoori soko-ni tousisi-ta.  
5:or:more-GEN company-DAT it-GEN client-NOM expectedly it-DAT invest-Past  
'To five or more companies<sub>i</sub>, its<sub>i</sub> client invested to it expectedly.' (with BVA)  
(FN. The 'resumption' is accepted by the majority of the speakers who I have consulted with (9 out of 14) although some find it less than perfect.)
- (8) \*Soko<sub>i</sub>-no torihikisaki-ni [itutuizyoo-no kigyoo]<sub>i</sub>-ga kitaidoori soko-ni tousisi-ta.  
it-GEN client-DAT 5:or:more-GEN bank-NOM expectedly it-DAT invest-Past
- (9) [Itutuizyoo-no kigyoo]<sub>QP1</sub>-ni soko<sub>i</sub>-no torihikisaki-ga kitaidoori soko-ni tousisi-**nak**-atta.  
5:or:more-GEN company-DAT it-GEN client-NOM expectedly it-DAT invest-Neg-Past  
with BVA(QP<sub>1</sub>, soko), \*Neg > QP<sub>1</sub>, <sup>ok</sup> QP<sub>1</sub> > Neg
- (10) [Mittuizyoo-no kigyoo]<sub>QP2</sub>-ni [itutuizyoo-no ginkoo]<sub>QP1</sub>-ga kitaidoori soko-ni yuusisi-ta.  
3:or:more-GEN company-DAT 5:or:more-GEN bank-NOM expectedly it-DAT finance-Past  
'To three or more companies, five or more banks financed to it expectedly.'  
with soko-ni DR(QP<sub>2</sub>>QP<sub>1</sub>), \*DR(QP<sub>1</sub>>QP<sub>2</sub>); without soko-ni DR(QP<sub>2</sub>>QP<sub>1</sub>), DR(QP<sub>1</sub>>QP<sub>2</sub>)
- (11) [Mittuizyoo-no kigyoo]<sub>QP2</sub>-ni [itutuizyoo-no ginkoo]<sub>QP1</sub>-ga kitaidoori soko-ni yuusisi-**nak**atta.  
3:or:more-GEN company-DAT 5:or:more-GEN bank-NOM expectedly it-DAT finance-Neg-Past  
with soko-ni \*DR(QP<sub>1</sub>>QP<sub>2</sub>); with soko-ni <sup>ok</sup>DR(QP<sub>2</sub>>QP<sub>1</sub>), but then, \*Neg>QP<sub>2</sub>

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