Indeterminate pronoun (dare 'anyone', doko 'anywhere', nani ‘anything’) and the Q particle mo

NPI (Mcgloin 1976)

(1) a. Taroo-wa nani-mo kawa-nakat-ta.
    Taro-Top anything-Q buy-Neg-Past
    'Taro did not buy anything.'

   b. Dare-mo sono-hon-o kawa-nakat-ta.
      anyone-Q that-book-Acc buy-Neg-Past
      'No one bought that book.'

The Q-particle mo need not be placed next to the indeterminate pronoun (Kuroda 1965).

(2) a. Taroo-wa nani-o kai-mo si-nakat-ta.
    Taro-Top anything-Acc buy-Q do-Neg-Past
    'Taro did not buy anything.'

      Hanako-Top [Taro-Nom anything-Acc bought that-Q] think-Neg-Past
      'Hanako did not think that Taro bought anything.'

mo may attach to different kinds of lexical heads; if the "host" is nominal constituent or a complementizer, it typically appears at the rightmost periphery of the constituent; when associated with a verbal element, it is affixed to some element appearing to its left, and the verbal complex separated from it is associated with a dummy verb su(ru) 'do'

(3) Taroo-wa Hanako-o [hasir-ase-mo si-nakat-ta]
    Taro-Top Hanako-Acc [run-cause-Q do-Neg-Past
    'Taro also made Hanako run.'

Clause structure and the indeterminate pronoun/Q-particle

Arguments: subject/non-subject asymmetry

(4) a. subject
   * Dare-ga warai-mo sina-kat-ta.
      anyone-Nom laugh-Q do-Neg-Past
      'Anyone did not laugh.'

   b. non-subject
      Taroo-wa nani-o kai-mo si-nakat-ta.
      Taro-Top anything-Acc buy-Q do-Neg-Past
      'Taro did not buy anything.'
Adjuncts: TP/non-TP scope asymmetry

(5) a. TP scope
   * Taroo-wa itu/dooyuu-riyuu-de hasiri-mo si-nakat-ta.
   Taro-Top anytime/any-reason-for run-Q do-Neg-Past
   'Taro did not run anytime/for any reason.'

   b. vP scope
      Taroo-wa doko-kara/doko-de hasiri-mo si-nakat-ta.
      Taro-Top anywhere-from/anywhere-at run-Q do-Neg-Past
      'Taro did not run (from) anywhere.'

Scope of mo
(6) Y is in the domain of a head X if it is contained in Max (X), where Max (X) is the least full-category maximal projection dominating X.

   (i)  mo on V; V raises to v, so, any element below vP is in the domain of V-mo (cf. (9) on p. 5)
   (ii) V-mo does not raise to T (thus the subject/non-subject asymmetry; TP/non-TP asymmetry)
   (iii) subject moves obligatorily into TP-Spec (Miyagawa 2001)

If mo attaches to C, the domain includes everything in the TP

(7) Subject
   Taro-Dat-Top [anyone-Nom Masao-Acc admired C-Q] think-can-Neg-Past
   'Taro could not think that anyone admired Masao.'

(8) TP adjunct
   Taroo-ni-wa [Hanako-ga itu asonda to-mo] omo-e-nakat-ta.
   Taro-Dat-Top [Hanako-Nom anytime played C-Q] think-can-Neg-Past
   'Taro could not think that Hanako played anywhere.'

A-chain: the tail does not count
(9) a. passive
   * Nani-ga (Taroo-ni) yom-are-mo si-nakat-ta.
     anything-Nom (Taro-Dat) read-pass-Q do-Neg-Past
     'Anything was not read (by Taro)'.

   b. unaccusative
      * Nani-ga koware-mo si-nakat-ta.
      anything-Nom break-Q
      'Anything did not break down.'

Scrambling of the object to the left periphery takes it outside the domain of Q
(10) * Dare-o Taroo-wa t_i home-mo si-nakat-ta.
       anyone-Acc Taro-Top t_i praise-Q
       'Anyone, Taro did not admire.'
OK if moved to the left of a vP adjunct.

(11) Taroo-wa dare-o koko-de ti home-mo sina-kat-ta.
    Taro-Top anyone-Acc here-at ti praise-Q
'Taro did not admire anyone here.'

Argument that *mo is sensitive to LF structure: nominative object

Nominative object is outside the scope of *mo

(12) * Taroo-ni nan-ga uta-e-mo si-na-i.
    Taro-Dat anything-Nom sing-can-Q do-Neg-Pres
'Taro cannot sing anything.'

Thus the nominative Case is licensed by T; yet the nominative object is in VP at Spell-Out.

(13) a. ? [sono-uta-ga uta-e-mo] Taroo-ni ti si-ta (koto)
    [that-song-Nom sing-can-Q] Taro-Dat ti do-Past
'Taro could also sing that song (can sing that song, Taro did)'

b. * [uta-e-mo] Taroo-ni sono-uta-ga ti si-ta (koto)
    [sing-can-Q] Taro-Dat that-song-Nom ti do-Past
(lit: could sing, Taro that song did)

Arguments that vP-internal arguments (with the exception of nominative object) need to enter the checking domain of the topmost *v.

Multiple focus construction: *sae 'even'
Two occurrences of the focus element is allowed only if they occur in different domains.

(14) a. subject/V
    Taroo-sae-ga [kono-hon-o yomi-sae] si-ta.
    Taro-even-Nom [this-book-Acc read-even] do-Past
'Even Taro even read this book.

b. object/V
    TaroNom [this-book-Acc-even read-even] do-Past
'Taro even read even this book.

Passive: subject moves to TP-Spec (Kuno 1973, Miyagawa 1989)

(15) Kono-kabin-sae-ga kowas-are-sae si-ta.
    this-vase-even-Nom break-Pass-even do-Past
'Even this vase was even broken.'

Scrambling the object takes it out of the vP domain

(16) ? Kono-kabin-(o) swae Taroo-ga ti kowasi-sae si-ta.
    this-vase-Acc-even Taro-Nom ti break-even do-Past
'Even this vase, Taro even broke.'

Evidence that multiple-focus construction is sensitive to overt syntactic structure.

    Taro-Dat-Top [that-sound-even-Nom hear-can-even] do-Past
'Taro could even hear even that sound.'
Evidence that the Dative phrase ("by" phrase) is higher in structure

(18) Taroo-waHanako-ni-sae kono-hon-o
Taro-Top Hanako-Dat-even this-book-Acc
?susume-sae s-are-ta /*susume-rare-sae si-ta.
recommmd-even do-Pass-Past /* recommend-Pass-even do-Past
'Taro was even recommended this book even by Hanako.'

Indeterminate pronoun and the passive and causative constructions: argument that vP-internal argument must move up to the highest v.

In passive, vP-internal argument can be construed with mo on the passive morpheme, but not on the main V. Evidence that the internal argument moves up to the checking domain of the passive v.

(19) Taroo-wa Hanako-ni nani-o susume-rare-mo si-nakat-ta
Taro-Top Hanako-Dat anything-Acc recommend-Pass-even do-Neg-Past
*susume-mo s-are-nakat-ta
recommend-even do-Pass-Neg-Past
'Taro was not recommended anything by Hanako.'

Causative: same result

(20) In causatives with an intransitive V, the causee may be marked with Dat or Acc
Taroo-ga roozin-ni/-o suwar-ase-ta.
Taro-Nom old.man-Dat/-Acc sit-cause-Past
'Taro let/made the old man sit down.'

(21) "let" causative: control; "make" causative, not control (Harley 1995, Miyagawa 1999, Morikawa 1993, Terada 1990)

   Taro-Nom old.man-Dat-even sit-even do-cause-Neg-Past
   *suwar-ase-sae si-ta.
   sit-cause-even do-Past
'Taro did not even let even the old man sit down.'

   Taro-Nom old.man-Acc-even sit-even do-cause-Neg-Past
   *suwar-ase-sae si-ta.
   sit-cause-even do-Past
'Taro did not even make even the old man sit down.'

Indeterminate pronoun/mo

casee is at the highest v ("cause")

(22) Taroo-wa dare-nil-o suwar-ase-mo si-nakat-ta.
Taro-Top anyone-Dat/-Acc sit-cause-Q do-Neg-Past
*suwari-mo s-ase-nakat-ta.
s-ase-nakat-ta.
site-Q do-cause-Neg-Past
'Taro did not let/make anyone site down.'
Causative-passive

(23) a. multiple focus
  * Taroo-ga Hanako-ni gohan-(o)-sae tabe-sase-rare-sae si-ta.
    Taro-Nom Hanako-Dat rice-Acc-even eat-cause-Pass-even do-Past
  tabe-sase-sae s-are-ta
  eat-cause-even do-Pass-Past
  tabe-sae s-ase-rare-ta
  eat-even do-cause-Pass-Past
  'Taro was even made to eat even rice by Hanako.'

  b. indeterminate pronoun/Q
  Taroo-ga Hanako-ni nani-o tabe-sase-rare-mo si-nakat-ta.
    Taro-Nom Hanako-Dat anything-Acc eat-cause-Pass-even do-Neg-Past
  *tabe-sase-mo s-are-nakat-ta
  eat-cause-even do-Pass-Neg-Past
  *tabe-mo s-ase-rare-nakat-ta
  eat-even do-cause-Pass-Neg-Past
  'Taro was not made to anything by Hanako.'

Adjunct

vP adjunct

    Taro-Top Hanako-Acc home-to-even return-cause-even do-Past
    kaeri-sae s-ase-ta.
    return-even do-cause-Past
    'Taro even made Hanako return even to her home.'

    Taro-Top Hanako-Acc anywhere-to return-cause-even do-Neg-Past
    *kaeri-mo s-ase-nakat-ta.
    return-even do-cause-Neg-Past
    'Taro did not make Hanako return to anywhere.'

TP adjunct

    Taro-Top that-time-at-even Hanako-Acc return-cause-even do-Past
    kaeri-sae s-ase-ta.
    return-even do-cause-Past
    'Taro even made Hanako return even at that time.'

    Taro-Top any-time-at Hanako-Acc return-cause-even do-Neg-Past
    kaeri-mo s-ase-nakat-ta.
    return-even do-cause-Neg-Past
    'Taro did not make Hanako return at anytime.'
LF Head Incorporation

Q on object usually does not license an indirect object indeterminate pronoun
(26) * Taroo-wa dare-ni hon-mo watasa-nakat-ta.
    Taro-Top anyone-Dat book-Q hand-Neg-Past
    'Taro did not hand a book to anyone.'

An exception is with object that occurs with the "dummy" verb su(ru) 'do' -- same behavior as mo on V.
(27) Taroo-wa dare-ni soodan-mo si-nakat-ta.
    Taro-Top anyone-Dat consultation-Q do-Neg-Past
    'Taro did not consult anyone.'

(28) But not a subject indeterminate pronoun
    * Dare-ga Hanako-ni soodan-mo si-nakat-ta.
    anyone-Nom Hanako-Dat consult-even do-Neg-Past
    'Anyone did not consult Hanako.'

Evidence that the process nominal must stand as an independent constituent at Spell-Out: Double-o Constraint (Kuroda 1965, Harada 1973, Shibatani 1977)
(29) a. ?*Taroo-ga suugaku-o benkyoo-o si-ta.
    Taro-Nom math-Acc study-Acc do-Past
    'Taro studied mathematics.'

b. ?? Taroo-ga suugaku-o benkyoo-mo si-ta.
    Taro-Nom math-Acc study-Q do-Past

c. Taroo-ga suugaku-o benkyoo-si-ta.
    Taro-Nom math-Acc study-do-Past

LF head incorporation limited to head; not possible with phrasal category
(30) * Taroo-wa dare-ni [henna soodan]-mo si-nakat-ta.
    Taro-Top anyone-Dat [strange consultation]-Q do-Neg-Past
    'Taro did not make a strange consultation with anyone.'

Adverbial incorporation
(31) Taroo-wa nani-o gimon-ni-mo omowa-nakat-ta.
    Taro-Top anything-Acc questionably-Q think-Neg-Past
    'Taro did not doubt about anything.'