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Sachie Kotani

University of Delaware

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What Differentiates Two Japanese Exhaustive Focus Particles?

Abstract

Japanese has more than one exhaustive focus particles meaning 'only'. Focusing on dake and bakari among them, this paper argues that the iterative operator of bakari requires a plural event even when bakari is suffixed to a noun phrase.
What Differentiates Two Japanese Exhaustive Focus Particles?*

Sachie Kotani

1 Introduction

There is more than one exhaustive focus (sensitive) particle meaning only in Japanese: dake, bakari, nomi, and sika (…nai), the last one of which is a negative polarity item. This paper studies two of them, dake and bakari, which are both considered bound morphemes, but not replaceable. Although the distinction between these two has been studied for a long time in the literature, none of the previous analyses are convincing. This paper explains why they behave differently.

In English, it is possible to utter the sentence in (1) in both single and plural event situations in (1a) and (1b). In the former, it was once that Isabelle only hit Nick but no one else, whereas in the latter, the event where Isabelle only hit Nick and no one else happened more than once.

(1) Isabelle only hit [Nick].
   a. single event: ‘Isabelle only hit NICK once.’
   b. plural event: ‘Isabelle only hit NICK, and it happened more than once.’

When dake is suffixed to the object, the sentence can be uttered in both situations, as in (2), as in (1). On the other hand, when bakari is suffixed to the object instead, the sentence can only be uttered in the plural event situation, but not in the single event situation.

(2) Mao-wa [Jun]-dake-bakari tatai-ta.
   Mao-TOP Jun-only/-BAKARI hit-PST
   a. single event: ‘Mao only hit JUN once.’
   b. plural event: ‘Mao only hit JUN, and it happened more than once.’

We argue that dake is only composed of the exhaustive operator, whereas bakari is composed of the iterative operator along with the exhaustive operator. This means that, even when bakari associates with a noun phrase (NP), it pluralizes the event including the NP. The aims of this paper are: (i) to generalize the behavior of dake and bakari, (ii) to argue that the iterative operator differentiates dake and bakari, and (iii) to account for how bakari suffixing to a noun phrase can derive the reading that only allows the plural event situation.

The structure of this paper is as follows: in section 2, we observe how dake and bakari behave as per type of noun and verb; in section 3, we discuss two previous analyses of bakari; in section 4, we propose a denotation of bakari, which is composed of the exhaustive and iterative operators, depending on positions and types of NPs; consequences of this analysis are shown in section 5; and section 6 is the conclusion.

2 Data

2.1 Count Nouns

2.1.1 Nonplural

When a nonplural noun, sensei ‘teacher,’ suffixed with the accusative marker, -o, appears in a clause, it could mean both the singular and plural numbers of teachers, and the sentence can be uttered in both the single and plural event situations.

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\1Unlike English, Japanese usually does not depend on a plural marker in order to express pluralities of
(3) Mao-wa [sensei]-o/-dake/-bakari seme-ta.
Mao-TOP teacher-ACC/-only/-BAKARI blame-PST
a. ‘Mao (only) blamed a TEACHER/TEACHERS once.’ (o:√, dake:√, bakari:*)
b. ‘Mao (only) blamed a TEACHER/TEACHERS, and it happened more than once.’ (o:√, dake:√, bakari:√)

It does not matter how many teachers Mao blamed, nor how many times Mao blamed teachers in the case of -o or dake suffixation. The sentence could be uttered in all the situations (3a–b), where Mao could blame any number of teachers any number of times. When bakari is suffixed to the same nonplural object, however, the sentence is only uttered in the plural event situation in (3b), but not in (3a), which is a single event situation. This means that bakari has a certain restriction on the number of events in order to be used.

2.1.2 Plural

When a plural marker, -tati ‘-s,’ suffixes to a noun, sensei ‘teacher,’ the noun only has a plural reading. Consider the example in (4).

(4) Mao-wa [sensei-tati]-o/-dake/-bakari seme-ta.
Mao-TOP teacher-PL-ACC/-only/-BAKARI blame-PST
a. ‘Mao (only) blamed TEACHERS once.’ (o:√, dake:√, bakari:*)
b. ‘Mao (only) blamed TEACHERS, and it happened more than once.’ (o:√, dake:√, bakari:√)

The object of (4), sensei-tati, only has the plural reading, but not the singular reading. The sentence could be used for both the singular and the plural events. It is naturally predicted that, when focus particles suffix to a plural noun, we have the plural reading in both the singular and plural event situations, which is correct, in the case of dake. The event plurality does not matter in this case, where Mao could hit teachers any number of times. However, out of the two situations, bakari only allows the plural event situation in (4b), but not the singular event situation in (4a). It follows that, as in the case of (3), the usage of bakari requires the event plurality.

2.2 Mass Nouns

We have discussed the case of count nouns so far. Now we will see what happens when the two focus particles suffix to a mass noun, which has no plural/nonplural distinction at all. Consider the example in (5), where the object is a mass noun, wain ‘wine.’

(5) Jun-wa [wain]-o/-dake/-bakari nom-ta.
Jun-TOP wine-ACC/-only/-BAKARI drink-PST
a. ‘Jun (only) drank WINE once.’ (o:√, dake:√, bakari:*)
b. ‘Jun (only) drank WINE, and it happened more than once.’ (o:√, dake:√, bakari:√)

As with count nouns, we have two possible situations with mass nouns, as shown in (5). One is the singular event situation and the other is the plural event situation. When dake is suffixed to the mass noun object, the sentence can be uttered in both situations in (5a–b). On the other hand,

nouns, even though it has a plural marker, -tati ‘-s.’ Instead, it uses the singular/nonplural form of nouns to express general plurality, or uses a classifier to express a certain number. Kim (2005) observes that a Korean nonplural noun can be singular or plural like Japanese, and claims that Korean nonplural nouns denote both singularities and pluralities, which we assume in this paper. He claims this for all languages, but not only for Korean and Japanese.

Kim (2005) analyses that plural markers delete atomic individuals from the set and make any singular reading impossible. It follows that, when a plural marker suffixes to an NP, the singular reading disappears.
when *bakari* is suffixed to the same object, the sentence is acceptable only in the situation in (5b). It follows that *dake* has no restriction on the event plurality while *bakari* does.

### 2.3 Pronouns, R-expressions, and Definite Nouns

Now I will examine if the two focus particles behave differently when they suffix to definite nouns like pronouns and R-expressions. Consider the pronoun case in (6), in which the subject is a pronoun.

\[ \text{[Boku]-wa/-dake/-bakari itai-me-ni-aw-ta.} \]

1. SG.M-TOP/-only/-BAKARI hurt.meet-PST
   a. ‘(Only) I got hurt once.’
   b. ‘(Only) I got hurt, and it happened more than once.’

With -o and *dake*, the sentence (6) can be uttered in both the singular and plural event situations. It does not matter how many times the speaker has gotten hurt. However, the example where *bakari* suffices to the pronoun is only allowed to be uttered in the plural event situation in (6b).

The same effect is observed in cases of R-expressions below:

\[ \text{Mao-wa [Jun]-o/-dake/-bakari tatai-ta.} \]

Mao-TOP Jun-ACC/-only/-BAKARI hit-PST
a. ‘Mao (only) hit JUN once.’
   b. ‘Mao (only) hit JUN, and it happened more than once.’
   c. ‘Mao hit either Jun or Shun once, and the other more than once.’

With -o and *dake* suffixing to the R-expression object, *Jun*, the sentence can be uttered in both the singular and plural event situations, as in (7). In this case, *Jun* could be hit any number of times. When *bakari* suffixes to the same object, on the other hand, the example can be uttered only in the plural event situation. It is clear that *bakari* has a certain restriction on the event plurality, whereas *dake* does not, even in cases of suffixation to definite nouns.

### 2.4 Conjoined Noun Phrases

There is a significant fact observed in cases with conjoined noun phrases, as in (8). When the object is a conjoined noun phrase, *Jun to Shun* ‘Jun and Shun,’ followed by the accusative marker or *dake*, the sentence can be uttered in any one of three situations, as in (8a–c).

\[ \text{Mao-wa [Jun-to-Shun]-o/-dake/-bakari tatai-ta.} \]

Mao-TOP Jun-and-Shun-ACC/-only/-BAKARI hit-PST
a. ‘Mao (only) hit both JUN AND SHUN once.’
   b. ‘Mao (only) hit both JUN AND SHUN, and it happened more than once.’
   c. ‘Mao hit either Jun or Shun once, and the other more than once.’

This means that with -o or *dake*, both Jun and Shun could be hit either once or more than once. Or, only one of them could be hit more than once, and the other only once. However, when *bakari* suffixes to the same conjoined object, the sentence could only be uttered in the case that both Jun and Shun were hit more than once, as shown in (8b). That is, a plural event is required for each member of the conjoined noun. The other situations that include a one-time hitting for at least one of the members are not allowed with *bakari*.

### 2.5 Brief Summary

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3This example shows that *bakari* requires a plural event when it suffixes to not only the object but also the subject.

4One of my informants says it is possible to utter (8) with *bakari* in the situation (8c).
As observed above, bakari can only be used in a plural event situation with any type of noun.

2.6 One-time Event Predicates

So far, we have only examined achievement verbs, such as hit and blame, which allow events to occur more than once. If bakari requires events to be plural as we observed above, then, when we have a one-time event verb, like kill, the sentence must not be allowed with bakari. Consider (9).

(9) Kare-wa [sono hito]-o/-dake/-bakari koros-ta.
   3.SG.M-TOP  the person-ACC/-only/-BAKARI kill-PST
   a. ‘He (only) killed THE PERSON, once.’ (o:\, dake:\, bakari:*)
   b. ‘He (only) killed THE PERSON, and it happened more than once.’ (o:#, dake:#, bakari:*)

The killing event cannot apply to a unique animate object more than once. (9) could be uttered only in the singular event situation in our real life with -o. The only way to have a plural event reading is to assume that the person who was killed is a game character and can return to life, which makes it possible for him/her to be killed more than once. This is so in the case of dake too. Since bakari does not allow a single event situation, the game character reading above is the only possible situation with bakari in this case.

2.7 VP Association

It must be noted that bakari not only associates with noun phrases but also verb phrases (VPs), even though it suffixes to the object, as shown in (10a)⁵. As Aoyagi (1994) and Kotani (2008) observe, (10a) has the same meaning as (10b), where bakari suffixes to the VP.

(10) a. Ren-wa [gitaa-bakari hiite], onna-no-ko-to asob-anakat-ta.
    Ren-TOP guitar-BAKARI played girls-with play-NEG-PST
b. Ren-wa [gitaa-o hiite]-bakari-de, onna-no-ko-to asob-anakat-ta.
    Ren-TOP guitar-ACC played-BAKARI-CONJ girls-with play-NEG-PST
   ‘Ren only PLAYed the GUITAR, and it happened more than once, but never went out with girls.’

Kotani (2008) argues that focus particles adjoining the VP in syntax take scope over it in semantics, but they are morphologically required to suffix to the object. This is why (10a) means the same as (10b) although the position of bakari differs. Since this paper does not cover this issue, see Kotani (2008) for details.

3 Previous Analyses

This section briefly summarizes two main previous analyses on the distinction between dake and bakari.⁶ It has been observed that there is a difference between dake and bakari since Matsushita (1930), who first observes and notes that, when bakari suffixes to a noun phrase in a clause, the clause implies ‘often,’ ‘extremely,’ and ‘only.’ However, none of those previous analyses ever explains why they are different convincingly enough.

3.1 Numata (1986, 1992)

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⁵Dake shows the same phenomenon as bakari. However, when dake is suffixed to the VP, the verbal inflection is different from the case of bakari, as shown in (i).

(i) Ren-wa [gitaa-o hiku]-dake-de, onna-no-ko-to asob-anakat-ta.
     Ren-TOP guitar-ACC played-only-CONJ girls-with play-NEG-PST
     ‘Ren only PLAYed the GUITAR, but never went out with girls.’

⁶There is another paper on bakari, Zhang (1997), which argues that bakari requires exclusiveness to the same type of elements for its associate in terms of the spatial, temporal, and abstract domains. However, this is not enough to distinguish bakari from -dake since it cannot explain why bakari requires plural events.
Numata (1986) claims that \textit{bakari} has an exclusive meaning as well as \textit{dake}, although she observes a difference between \textit{bakari} and \textit{dake}, as in (11).

(11) a. Sono toki dooseki-site-ita-no-wa [Jun]-\textit{dake} dat-ta.
   the time sit-together-do-be-NOMINALIZER-TOP Jun-only be-PST
   ‘It was only Jun that was there as a company.’

b. ?? Sono toki dooseki-site-ita-no-wa [Jun]-\textit{bakari} dat-ta.
   the time sit-together-do-be-NOMINALIZER-TOP Jun-BAKARI be-PST

Considering the difference observed above, Numata (1992, as cited in Cho, 1997) further analyzes that \textit{bakari} requires plurality of its associate. If \textit{bakari} requires a plural noun as its associating element, as Numata (1992) claims, however, neither one of (5) and (6) should be acceptable with \textit{bakari}. Although the object cannot be in the plural form in them, the sentences are both acceptable. This cannot be explained in her analysis.

3.2 Teramura (1992)

Teramura (1992) claims that \textit{bakari} has a meaning of either ‘all’ or ‘always’ in addition to exclusiveness. However, it is not clear when \textit{bakari} means ‘all’ and when it means ‘always.’ In addition, if both meanings are allowed in any case, his analysis predicts that (4) with \textit{bakari} must have both meanings in (12).

(12) a. Who Mao blamed (at that time) was \textit{all} teachers.
   b. Who Mao blamed was \textit{always} teachers.

Then, we must explain in which situation we have which, and how both of them are derived, neither of which has been given yet.

4 Proposal

Adopting Rooth’s (1985) analysis of the exhaustive focus particle, \textit{only}, in (13) and Krifka’s (1989) idea of the iterativity in (14), I propose that \textit{bakari} is composed of the exhaustive operator, \([\text{EXH}]\), and the iterative operator, \([\text{ITER}]\), by Generalized Conjunction, and that it makes an NP that it modifies a generalized quantifier that undergoes Quantifier Raising (QR).

(13) \([\text{EXH}] = \lambda x \lambda P \forall y[P(y) \rightarrow y=x]\) (Rooth, 1985)

(14) Iterative:
   \[ \forall e,x,R [\text{ITER}(e,x,R) \leftrightarrow R(e,x) \& \exists e' \exists e'' \exists x' [e',e'' \subseteq e \& e' \neq e'' \& x' \subseteq x \& R(e',x') \& R(e'',x')]] \] (Krifka, 1989)

\textit{Dake}, on the other hand, is composed of only the exhaustive operator. This distinction on the constituents differentiates \textit{dake} and \textit{bakari}, and makes them behave differently, as observed above.

4.1 Subject and Object Association

In the case of the object association, I define the type of the two operators as (15) and (16) respectively, which are combined by means of Generalized Conjunction, as illustrated in (17). The denotation of \textit{bakari} is give in (18).

(15) \([\text{EXH}] \in D_{<e,est,\text{est}>} = \lambda x. \lambda P_{<e,est,\text{est}>} \& P(e,x) \& \forall y[y \in Alt \rightarrow \neg \exists e'[P(e',y) \& y \neq x]]\)

(16) \([\text{ITER}] \in D_{<e,est,\text{est}>} = \lambda x. \lambda P_{<e,est,\text{est}>} \& P(e,x) \& \exists e''. \exists x'. [e'',x'' \subseteq e \& e'' \neq x' \& x'' \subseteq x \& P(e'',x') \& P(e',x')]]\)

(17) \textit{bakari}_{<e,est,\text{est}>} Generalized Conjunction

\([\text{EXH}]_{<e,est,\text{est}>} [\text{ITER}]_{<e,est,\text{est}>}\)
Given these denotations, we assume the structure of the sentence in (19a) as in (19b). We furthermore assume Kratzer’s (1996) Event Identification, as defined in (21), and Heim’s (1982) Existential Closure in (22). The truth condition of (19a) is given in (25). It must be noted that the operators consisting of \textit{bakari} make the associated NP a generalized quantifier, which undergoes QR, as illustrated in (19b).

   Mao-TOP Jun-BAKARI hit-PST
   ‘Mao only hit JUN, and it happened more than once.’

b. \[
\begin{array}{c}
\lambda e. \text{hit}(e) \land \text{PAT}(e, \text{Jun}) \land \text{AGT}(e, \text{Mao}) \\
\forall y \in \text{Alt} \rightarrow \neg \exists e'[\text{hit}(e') \land \text{PAT}(e', \text{Jun}) \land \text{AGT}(e', \text{Mao})] \\
\bigvee \exists e'' e''[e'' \in \text{Jun} \land \text{hit}(e'') \land \text{PAT}(e'', \text{Jun}) \land \text{AGT}(e'', \text{Mao})] \\
\bigvee \exists \lambda e. P(e, x) \land \forall y \in \text{Alt} \rightarrow \exists e' e'' \in e'' \subseteq e'' \land x' \subseteq x \land P(e', x') \land P(e'', x'')]
\end{array}
\]

(20) $[\text{Jun}] = [\text{[Jun]}]$ (Jun)
\[
\lambda e. \text{hit}(e) \land \text{PAT}(e, \text{Jun}) \land \text{AGT}(e, \text{Mao}) \\
\forall y \in \text{Alt} \rightarrow \neg \exists e'[\text{hit}(e') \land \text{PAT}(e', \text{Jun}) \land \text{AGT}(e', \text{Mao})] \\
\bigvee \exists e'' e''[e'' \in \text{Jun} \land \text{hit}(e'') \land \text{PAT}(e'', \text{Jun}) \land \text{AGT}(e'', \text{Mao})] \\
\bigvee \exists \lambda e. P(e, x) \land \forall y \in \text{Alt} \rightarrow \exists e' e'' \in e'' \subseteq e'' \land x' \subseteq x \land P(e', x') \land P(e'', x'')]
\]

(21) Event Identification (Kratzer, 1996):
\[
\exists \lambda e. f(e, x) \land g(e)
\]

(22) Existential Closure (Heim, 1982):
\[
\exists e. \lambda e. f(e, x) \land g(e)
\]

(23) $[S] = 1$ iff $[\exists \bigvee \left[\text{VoiceP3}\right]\bigvee \exists \lambda e. f(e, x) \land g(e)]$
\[
\exists e. \text{hit}(e) \land \text{PAT}(e, \text{Jun}) \land \text{AGT}(e, \text{Mao}) \\
\forall y \in \text{Alt} \rightarrow \neg \exists e'[\text{hit}(e') \land \text{PAT}(e', \text{Jun}) \land \text{AGT}(e', \text{Mao})] \\
\bigvee \exists e'' e''[e'' \in \text{Jun} \land \text{hit}(e'') \land \text{PAT}(e'', \text{Jun}) \land \text{AGT}(e'', \text{Mao})] \\
\bigvee \exists \lambda e. P(e, x) \land \forall y \in \text{Alt} \rightarrow \exists e' e'' \in e'' \subseteq e'' \land x' \subseteq x \land P(e', x') \land P(e'', x'')]
\]

The truth condition in (23) is interpreted as in (24a–d), which is exactly what (19a) means. This means that the analysis accounts for how the iterativity is introduced in the object association cases.

(24) a. There is an event of hitting (e) for which PAT is Jun and AGT is Mao, where

\[
\lambda x. \lambda y. \lambda e. P(e, x) \land \forall y \in \text{Alt} \rightarrow \exists e'[\text{hit}(e') \land \neg y \rightarrow x]
\]

Roger Schwarzschild (p.c.) suggested to me that there should be another possible way to have iterativity only with the exhaustive operator. If I define the exhaustive operator as in (i), existence of subevents of the event (e) is presupposed so that I do not have to have the iterative operator in addition to the exhaustive operator.

(i) $\lambda x. \lambda y. \lambda e. P(e, x) \land \forall y \in \text{Alt} \rightarrow \forall e'[\text{hit}(e') \land \neg y \rightarrow x]$

This raises an important question about the usage of \textit{bakari} for a single event being a presupposition failure or just false. Furthermore, if I assume \textit{bakari} is composed of only the exhaustive operator, which is the same as \textit{dake}, I will have a problem in differentiating the behavior of the two focus particles. Given these problems, I assume \textit{bakari} has both the exhaustive and iterative operators in this paper, and leave this problem as one for my future research.
b. if, for all y, which is an alternative member, there is no hitting event (e'), for which PAT is y and AGT is Mao and y is not Jun, and
c. there are events (e'', e''') and there is a set of individuals (x') such that e'' and e''' are event subsets of e and they are not identical and x' is a subset of Jun, and
d. e'' is an event of hitting for which PAT is x' and AGT is Mao, and e''' is an event of hitting for which PAT is x' and AGT is Mao.

Subject association has a similar calculation and result except for the subject attached with bakari undergoing QR, instead of the object.

4.2 VP Association

In cases of the VP association, the denotations of the exhaustive, iterative operators and bakari are type-shifted as in (25) through (27), respectively.

(25) \[ [\text{EXH}] \in D_{\text{est,est}} = \lambda P_{<\text{est,est}>}, \lambda x. \lambda e. P(e,x) & \forall P'[P' \in \text{Alt} \rightarrow \neg \exists e'[P'(e',x) & P' \neq P]] \]

(26) \[ [\text{ITER}] \in D_{\text{est,est}} = \lambda P_{<\text{est,est}>}, \lambda x. \lambda e. P(e,x) & \exists e'', \exists x' [e'', e'' \subseteq e & e'' \neq e'' \ & x' \subseteq x & P(e'', x') \ & P'(e'', x')]] \]

(27) \[ \text{[bakari]} \in D_{\text{est,est}} = [\text{[EXH]} & \text{[ITER]}] \]

\[ = \lambda P_{<\text{est,est}>}, \lambda x. \lambda e. P(e) & \forall P'[P' \in \text{Alt} \rightarrow \neg \exists e'[P'(e',x) & P' \neq P]] & \exists e'', \exists x' [e'', e'' \subseteq e & e'' \neq e'' \ & x' \subseteq x & P(e'', x') \ & P'(e'', x')] \]

Given the type-shifted denotations, bakari does not derive any generalized quantifiers since it does not associate with an NP. It follows that we have no QR in the VP association case. The truth condition of (28) is given in (29).

(28) Mao-wa Jun-bakari tatai-ta.
    Mao-TOP Jun-BAKARI hit-PST
    ‘Mao only HIT JUN, and it happened more than once.’

(29) \[ [S] = 1 \iff [\exists](\text{VoiceP}) = 1 \iff \exists e. \text{hit}(e) & \text{PAT}(e,\text{Jun}) & \text{AGT}(e,\text{Mao}) & \forall P'[P' \in \text{Alt} \rightarrow \neg \exists e'[P'(e',\text{Mao}) & P' \neq P]] & e'', \exists x'[e'', e'' \subseteq e & e'' \neq e'' \ & x' \subseteq \text{Mao} & \text{hit}(e'') & \text{PAT}(e'', \text{Jun}) & \text{AGT}(e'', x') & \text{hit}(e'')] \]

The truth condition in (29) is interpreted as in (30a–d), which is exactly what (28) means. This shows that our analysis accounts for how the plural event is introduced into the interpretation in cases of the VP association.

(30) a. There is an event of hitting (e) for which PAT is Jun and AGT is Mao, where
    b. if, for all P', which is an alternative member, there is no event (e') for which AGT is Mao and P' \neq P, and
    c. there are events (e'', e''') such that e'' and e''' are event subsets of e and they are not identical and x' is a subset of Mao, and
    d. e'' is an event of hitting for which PAT is Jun and AGT is Mao, and e''' is an event of hitting for which PAT is Jun and AGT is Mao.

4.3 Conjoined Noun Phrase Association

I have shown that there is a significant fact demonstrating that the event must be iterative for each constituent of a conjoined noun phrase in (8). Then, we have to consider a mechanism where the iterative operator is distributed to each member of the noun phrase. Following Schwarzschild (1996), I assume that a conjoined noun phrase requires the distributive operator D, which is defined as in (31), and undergoes QR, as illustrated in (32).
(31) $x \in D \land (\alpha(\alpha) \iff \forall y[(\text{singularity}(y) \land y \in x) \Rightarrow y \in [\alpha]])$ (Schwarzschild, 1996)

(32) $\exists$ VoiceP4_{eq} = \lambda e. \forall x\in\text{Cover of Jun\&Shun. hit(e)\&PAT(e,x)\&AGT(e,Mao) \&} \forall y[y\in\text{Alt} \Rightarrow \neg \exists e'[\text{hit(e')\&PAT(e',y)\&AGT(e',Mao) \& y \not\subseteq x]}$

NP_{eq} VoiceP3_{eq} = \forall e''\exists x''[e''\subseteq e \land e'' \neq e'''] \land x'' \subseteq x \land \text{hit(e'')} \land \text{PAT}(e'',x'') \land \text{AGT}(e'',Mao) \land \text{hit(e'')} \land \text{PAT}(e'',x'')$

Jun-to-Shun_{eq} bakari_{eq} = \exists VoiceP2_{eq} = [\lambda z.\lambda e.[\text{hit(e)} \land \text{PAT}(e,g(1)) \land \text{AGT}(e,z)]](Mao)$

NP_{eq} = \lambda e.\lambda e'.\lambda e''.\lambda e'''.\lambda x'.[e''.e''' \subseteq e \land e'' \neq e''' \land x' \subseteq x \land \text{hit(e'')} \land \text{PAT}(e'',x') \land \text{AGT}(e'',Mao) \land \text{hit(e'')} \land \text{PAT}(e'',x') \land \text{AGT}(e'',x')]= 1$

The truth condition in (34) is interpreted as in (35a-d), which is exactly what (8) means. This means that the analysis accounts for how the iterativity is introduced in the object association cases.

(35) a. There is an event of hitting (e) for which, for all x, which is a cover of Jun and Shun, PAT is x and AGT is Mao, where$^9$

b. if, for all y, which is an alternative member, there is no hitting event (e'), for which PAT is y and y is not a subset of x, and
c. there are events (e'', e''') and there's a set of individuals (x') such that e'' and e''' are event subsets of e and they are not identical and x' is a subset of x, and
d. e'' is an event of hitting for which PAT is x' (and AGT is Mao), and e''' is an event of hitting for which PAT is x' (and AGT is Mao).

5 Consequences

5.1 Predicates

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$^9$I have used “$\neq$” until the previous section in the denotation of the exhaustive operator saying y is not x. However, since we have more than one member in x, I use “$\not\subseteq$” instead of “$\neq$”. I have no problem with changing all the “$\neq$” into “$\not\subseteq$” since the former entails the latter. Thanks to Satoshi Tomioka (p.c.) for pointing this out to me.

$^9$As Satoshi Tomioka and Tatjana Scheffler (p.c.) pointed out to me, there is still a possibility that we happen to have a funny cover which only includes either Jun or Shun. We have to have a certain restriction on cover in order to solve this, and I will leave it as a future problem.
In this section, we will show that the proposed analysis not only derives the correct interpretation in all the cases shown in the previous section, but also makes a correct prediction on types of predicate; that is, predicates that cannot be iterative cannot co-occur with bakari. Since bakari introduces iterativity to the event, if the predicate cannot be iterative, there must be a conflict in the interpretation. Consider the example in (9). As we observed before, the killing event cannot apply to a unique animate object more than once, and (9) only allows a specific interpretation like killing a character in a game whenever he starts the game. This is exactly what our analysis predicts with the iterative operator of bakari.

Our analysis also accounts for the fact that bakari cannot appear in predicates that refer to a specific time like at that time, since any specific time event cannot go along with the iterative property of bakari. The contrasted examples in (11) show that our prediction is correct. Since dake has no specific restriction with its usage, there is no conflict in (11a) and the sentence is acceptable. However, (11b) has both a specific time expression and bakari requiring iterativity, which causes a conflict and makes the sentence unacceptable.

Furthermore, the proposed analysis predicts that bakari cannot co-occur with stative verbs, like understand or know, but it can with non-stative verbs, such as speak. This is borne out in (36).

(36) a. [Eigo]-dake/*-bakari wakaru hito
   English-only/-BAKARI understand person
   `person who only understands ENGLISH (*many times)`

b. [Eigo]-dake/bakari hanasu hito
   English-only/-BAKARI speak person
   `person who only speaks ENGLISH (many times)`

   Jun-TOP Mao-NOM married-PST C-only/-BAKARI know-PST be
   `Jun only knows [that Mao got married].`'

The contrast between dake and bakari is shown clearly in (36). Dake does not have any requirement on the event plurality so that it can co-occur with stative predicates, as in (36a) and (36c). However, bakari requires a plural event and cannot co-occur with the predicates that cannot be iterative, since it is impossible to understand or know more than once after we once understand or know something, which is shown in (36b) and (36c). It can only co-occur with an event predicate, like speak, as in (36b). The discussion above shows that the proposed analysis makes a correct prediction on types of predicates.

5.2 Scope Interaction with Modals

The proposed analysis has another significant consequence. It is well known that there is a scope interaction between the exhaustive focus particle, dake `only,' and a negative particle, nai `not,' in Japanese, as in (37).

(37) Sono kaigi-de-wa nihongo-dake/*-bakari hanas-anakat-ta.
    the meeting-at-TOP Japanese-only/-BAKARI speak-NEG-PST
    a. `Japanese is the only language that we did not speak at the meeting.' dake/*bakari>Neg
    b. `It is not the case that I spoke Japanese alone at the meeting.' Neg>dake/bakari

In (37a), only dake takes scope over the negative particle, nai. In (37b), nai, instead, takes scope over dake and bakari. Bakari cannot take a wide scope, and it only takes a narrow scope for the negative particle. The only possible meaning with bakari is (37b), which means that the speaker spoke some other language(s) in addition to Japanese.

This contrast shows that dake, which is composed of the exhaustive operator alone, can take scope over the negative particle, but bakari, which is composed of the iterative operator along with the exhaustive operator, cannot. Our analysis explains that this is because the negation applies to the sentence and cannot be affected by the iterative operator since the negation cannot be
repeated. It follows that the exhaustive operator and the iterative operator consisting of bakari must stay together even in LF. Otherwise, there should be a case in which the exhaustive operator alone can take scope over the negative particle, which takes scope over the iterative operator. However, there is no such case observed with bakari. This supports our analysis that bakari is composed of the exhaustive and iterative operators, which are conjoined by means of Generalized Conjunction.

6 Conclusion

This paper has observed the distribution of two Japanese exhaustive focus particles, dake and bakari, and has shown that bakari requires a plural event whereas dake does not. I have argued that bakari is a complex element composed of the exhaustive operator and the iterative operator, which introduces the iterativity to the event. Dake, on the other hand, is only composed of the exhaustive operator. I have shown that this analysis correctly predicts that the association must be exhaustive and the event must be iterative in the usage of bakari. I have also shown that this analysis makes a correct prediction about predicates that can co-occur with bakari. Bakari co-occurs with a predicate that allows the iterative event. In addition, this analysis gives an account for the unambiguity of scope interaction observed between bakari and the negative particle. This analysis not only makes a clear distinction between dake and bakari, but also implies that some focus particles introduce event pluralities.

References


Department of Linguistics and Cognitive Science
University of Delaware
46 E. Delaware Ave. #303
Newark, DE 19716
skotani@udel.edu
skotani@gmail.com