

Parasitic Scope in Comparison

Abstract

Kennedy (1999) observes that comparatives take scope lower than other quantificational expressions and this is discussed by many researchers (Bhatt & Pancheva, 2004; Heim, 2000; Matushansky, 2002; Takahashi, 2006). Based on the fact that comparative scope is dependent on other quantificational expressions (Parasitic Scope), I show that comparative constructions reflect a semantic representation. Specifically, I argue that movement of the *yorimo* phrase affects scopal relationships and the movement is possible as long as it does not violate an appropriate semantic representation (Visible Scope Economy).

- (1) a. *Dono gakusei-mo [pp Yuki yorimo] hon-o takusan yoma-nakat-ta.*
which student-also Yuki than book-ACC more read-NEG-PAST
'Every student did not read more books than Yuki.'
 $\forall > \neg > \text{-er}$: For all the students *x*, it is not true that *x* read more books than Yuki. \Rightarrow Yuki read more books than any other students.
- b. $\#$ [*pp Yuki yorimo*] *dono gakusei-mo hon-o takusan yoma-nakat-ta.*
Yuki than which student-also book-ACC more read-NEG-PAST
'Every student did not read more books than Yuki.'

I further discuss comparative adjectives *different* and *same*, concluding that internal-readings are derivable as long as a representation preserves the parasitic scope representation (Barker, 2008; Beck, 2000). This will be confirmed by the fact that these adjectives are replaced under the scope of Negative Polarity Items.

- (2) a. *Dare-mo-ga tigau hon-o yon-da.*
who-also-NOM different book-ACC read-PAST
'?Everyone read a book that is different from the book that is presupposed.
Deictic
'Everyone read a book that is different among them. **Internal**'
- b. *Tigau hon-o dare-mo-ga yon-da.*
different book-ACC who-also-NOM read-PAST
'Everyone read a book that is different from the book that is presupposed.
Deictic
'*?Everyone read a book that is different among them. **Internal**'
- c. *Dare-mo tigau hon-o yoma-nakat-ta.*
who-also different book-ACC read-NEG-PAST
'(Lit.) No one read a different book. \Rightarrow Everyone read the same book.'
- d. *Tigau hon-o dare-mo yoma-nakat-ta.*
different book-ACC who-also read-NEG-PAST
'(Lit.) No one read a different book. \Rightarrow There is a book that is different from a presupposed book and no one read that book.'

References

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