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Polarity Sensitivity Induced by the Contrastive Topic Marker *wa* in Japanese

Introduction: As observed by Ido (2017, 2018), if the contrastive topic (CT) marker   is added to the focus particle   'even', negation is required (= (1)). In this paper, we present an analysis to explain why the addition of   induces polarity sensitivity.

(1) Touzen,   kodomo-no   kenka-de keisatu-made-wa #kitta / konakkata.
     naturally children-GEN fight-in   police-even-CT   came   / didn't.come
     'Naturally, it is not the case that even the police came when a children's fight happened.'

(based on Ido (2017))

Sketch of the Proposal:

(4) a. ⟦ CT ⟧ = λ .λ : ∀ ∈ ⟦ ⟧^{ALT} [≠ $<$$_{likelihood}$]. ( ).

b. ⟦ made ⟧ = λ .λ λ :∀ ∈ ⟦ ⟧^{ALT}[≠) $<$$_{likliehood}$)].)( )

c. Simplified LF: [CT [$_{\boxed{B}}$ ¬ [$_{\boxed{A}}$ [the police]$_F$-made-wa came]]]

d. ⟦ $\boxed{A}$ ⟧ = ⟦ made ⟧(⟦ the police ⟧)(⟦ came ⟧) = λ . the police came in .

e. Assertion: ⟦ CT ⟧(⟦ B ⟧) = λ . it is not the case that the police came in .
   "The police came" is the least likely among its alternatives.   (the presupposition of   )
   "It is not the case that the police came" is the most likely among its alternatives.
                                                         (the presupposition of   )

Support: The CT marker   , when combined with the universal quantifier   'all people', must take narrow scope with respect to negation (Hara (2006) a.o.). On the other hand, focus particles like   'only' and   'also' must take wide scope over negation (Shibata (2015) a.o.).

(5) a. Zen'in-wa   konakatta.
       everyone-CT didn't.come
       'All people were such that they didn't come.'   (¬ > ∀)

    b. Taro-dake/mo konakatta.
       Taro-only/mo didn't.come
       'Everyone except Taro came. / Taro and someone other than him didn't come.'   (only/mo > ¬)

Shibata (2015) derives the obligatory wide scope reading of   and   from the copy theory of movement and the operation called Trace Conversion (Fox (2003)). This operation targets lower copies and replace determiners with the definite article THE