ON MULTIPLE SLUICING IN JAPANESE

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1. Introduction


Mary-ga [nanika-o] katta sooda ga, boku-wa [nani-o] (da) ka]
corrrelate remnant

Mary-Nom something-Acc bought I.heard but I-Top what-Acc (be) Q

siranai

not.know

'I heard Mary bought something, but I don't know what.'

(2) Boku-wa [ Mary-ga nani-o katta ka] siranai

I-Top Mary-Nom what-Acc bought Q not.know

'I don't know what Mary bought.'

(3) Multiple Sluicing

Mary-ga dareka-ni nanika-o watasita sooda ga,

Mary-Nom someone-Dat something-Acc gave I.heard but

boku-wa [dare-ni nani-o] (da) ka] siranai

I-Top who-Dat what-Acc (be) Q not.know

Lit. 'I heard Mary gave something to someone, but I don't know what to whom.'
Boku-wa [Mary-ga dare-ni nani-o watasita ka] siranai

I-Top Mary-Nom who-Dat what-Acc gave Q not.know

Lit. ‘I don’t know to whom what Mary gave.’

Roadmap:

Section 2: Evidence against a syntactic movement analysis of Multiple Sluicing
Section 3: A prosodic movement analysis of Multiple Sluicing
Section 4: Conclusion

2. Against a Syntactic Movement Analysis of Multiple Sluicing.

(5) Syntactic Movement Analyses of Multiple Sluicing


Syntactic movement of an amalgamated w/h phrase


Syntactic VP-clefting

2.1 Island Effects


a. *Boku-wa [keisatu-ga [Complex NP [Tanaka giin-ni kabuken-oookutta]

I-Top police-Nom Rep. Takana-Dat stock-Acc gave

otoko-o taihosita no]-wa sitteiru ga, [hokano dono giin-ni

man-Acc arrested C Top know but else which representative-Dat

(da) kal-wa siranai

Q Top not.know
Lit. 'I know that the police arrested [the man who had given stocks to Rep. Tanaka], but I don't know to which other representative (the police arrested [the man who had given stocks e]).' (adapted from Fukaya 2003: 181)

stock-Acc gave because investigate C Top know but
[hokano dono giin-ni (da) ka]-wa siranai
del which representative-Dat (be) Q Top not.know

Lit. 'I know the police are making an investigation [because the electric power company gave stocks to Rep. Tanaka], but I don't know to which other representative (the police are making an investigation [because Rep. Tanaka gave stocks e]).'

(7) No Island Effects with Multiple Sluicing

otoko]-o taihosita no]-wa sitteiru ga, [hokano dono giin-ni nani-o man-Acc arrested C Top know but else which Rep.-Dat what-Acc
(da) ka]-wa siranai

(bye) Q Top not.know

Lit. 'I know that the police arrested [the man who had given a bribe to Rep. Tanaka], but I don't know what, to which other Representative (the police arrested [the man who had given e e]).'
b. Boku-wa [keisatsu-ga [\textit{Adjunct} denryoku gaisya-ga] \textit{Tanaka giin-ni}]

I-Top police-Nom electric power company-Nom \textit{Rep. Tanaka-Dat kabuken-o okutta kara] soosasiteiru no]-wa sitteiru ga,}

stock-Acc gave because investigate C Top know but

[\textit{hokano dono giin-ni nani-o} (da) ka]-wa siranai else \textit{which representative-Dat what-Acc} (be) Q Top not.know

Lit. ‘I know the police are making an investigation [because the electric power company gave \textit{stocks to Rep. Tanaka}], but I don’t know \textit{what, to which other representative} (the police are making an investigation [because Rep. Tanaka gave \textit{e e}]).’

2.2 Single/Multiple Sluicing with a Nominative Phrase Remnant

(8) a. No Single Sluicing with a Nominative Phrase Remnant (Kizu 1997)

?*John-wa [\textit{dareka-ga} sono hon-o katta to] itta sooda ga,

John-Top someone-Nom that book-Acc bought C said I.heard but

boku-wa [\textit{dare-ga} ka] siranai

I-Top \textit{who-Nom Q} not.know

Lit. ‘I heard John said \textit{someone} bought that book, but I don’t know \textit{who} (e bought that book).’

b. Multiple Sluicing with a Nominative Phrase Remnant

John-wa [\textit{dareka-ga nanika-o} katta to] itta sooda ga,

John-Top someone-Nom something-Acc bought C said I.heard but

boku-wa [\textit{dare-ga nani-o} ka] siranai

I-Top \textit{who-Nom what-Acc} Q not.know
Lit. ‘I heard John said someone bought something, but I don’t know who what (e bought e).’

2.3 Single/Multiple Sluicing with an Adjunct Remnant

(9) a. No Single Sluicing with an Adjunct Remnant

Masukomi-wa [Mary-ga [Bill-ga sono okoto-ni wairo-o
Mass.media-Top Mary-Nom Bill-Nom that man-Dat bribe-Acc
donoyoona riyuu-de watasita to] syoogensita ka] siranai ga,
what reason-for gave C witnessed Q not.know but
boku-wa [donoyoona riyuu-de ka] sitteiru
I-Top what reason-for Q know

Lit. ‘The mass media don’t know [Mary witnessed [Bill gave a bribe to that man for what reason]], but I know for what reason (Mary witnessed [Bill gave a bribe to that man e]).’

b. Multiple Sluicing with an Adjunct Remnant

Masukomi-wa [Mary-ga [Bill-ga sono otoko-ni nani-o
Mass.media-Top Mary-Nom Bill-Nom that man-Dat what-Acc
donoyoona riyuu-de watasita to] syoogensita ka] siranai ga,
some reason-for gave C witnessed Q not.know but
boku-wa [nani-o donoyoona riyuu-de-ka] sitteiru
I-Top what-Acc what reason-for Q know

Lit. ‘The mass media don’t know [Mary witnessed [Bill gave what to that man for what reason]], but I know what, for what reason (Mary witnessed [Bill gave e to that man e]).’
2.4 Single/Multiple Sluicing with a Negative Polarity Item (NPI) Remnant

(10) a. No Single Sluicing with an NPI Remnant

*John-wa [Bill-ga Suzy-ni mikan-o hitotumo age-nakatta to] itta ga,
John-Top Bill-Nom Suzy-Dat orange-Acc one.even gave-not C said but
Mary-wa [ringo-o hitotumo to] itta
Mary-Top apple-Acc one.even C said

Lit. ‘John said that Bill didn't give *any orange* to Suzy, but Mary said that
any apple (Bill didn't give *e* to Suzy).’

b. Multiple Sluicing with an NPI Remnant

John-wa [Bill-ga Suzy-ni mikan-o hitotumo age-nakatta to] itta ga,
John-Top [Bill-Nom Suzy-Dat orange-Acc one.even gave-not] C said but
Mary-wa [Lily-ni ringo-o hitotumo to] itta
Mary-Top L-Dat apple-Acc one.even C said

Lit. ‘John said that Bill didn't give any orange to Suzy, but Mary said that
any apple, to Lily (John didn't give *e* to Suzy).’

2.5 Variable Binding

(11) a. No Variable Binding with Single Sluicing

?*Mass komi-wa [Toyota-sae1-ga soko1-no kabunusi-ni
Mass.media-Top Toyota-even-Nom that-Gen stockholder-Dat
sikinenzyo-o yooseisita to] itta ga,
financial support-Acc asked.for C said but
seihu-wa [ soko1-no meinbanku-ni to] itta
government-Top that-Gen main.bank-Dat C said
Lit. 'The mass media said that even Toyota asked its stockholders for financial support, but the government said that its main bank (even Toyota asked e for financial support).'

b. Variable Binding with Multiple Sluicing

Mass komi-wa [Toyota-sae1-ga soko1-no kabunus1-ni
Mass.media-Top Toyota-even-Nom that-Gen stockholder-Dat
sikinenzyo-o yooseisita to] itta ga,
financial support-Acc asked.for C said but
seihu-wa [ soko1-no meinbanku-ni yakuinhaken-o to] itta
government-Top that-Gen main.bank-Dat dispatch.executive-Acc C said

Lit. 'The mass media said that even Toyota asked its stockholders for financial support, but the government said that its main bank, for a dispatch executive (even Toyota asked e e).'

3. A Proposal

(12) Sluicing as a “Concealed Cleft” (Kuwabara 1997; Merchant 1998; Saito 2003)

... boku-wa [[Mary-ga e katta no-wa nani-o (da) ka] siranai
I-Top Mary-Nom bought C-Top what.Acc (be) Q not.know

Lit. 'I don't know that it is what Mary bought.'

3.1 An Analysis of Single/Multiple Cleft

(13) Material for Cleft is targeted within syntax, and is moved either in syntax or phonology.
(14) a. If the targeted material can undergo Cleft syntactically, it does:
   b. If the targeted material is not a single syntactic XP eligible for Cleft, then that material is packed into a prosodic constituent (through formation of a Major Phrase; cf. Itô & Mester 2013) and undergoes Prosodic Cleft to the right edge of an intonational phrase $i$ (corresponding to the presuppositional CP) at PF.

(15) Syntactic Cleft bleeds Prosodic Cleft. (cf. Agbayani, Golston & Ishii 2015)

(16) Earliness Principle (Pesetsky 1989)

Satisfy principles as early as possible on the hierarchy of levels (DS) > SS > LF > LP.

(17) Material targeted for Cleft must be
   a. non-predicative,
   b. maximal, and
   c. contained in a single constituent.

(18) a. John-ga sono hon-o katta

John·Nom that book·Acc bought

‘John bought that book.’

b. * [John-ga sita no]·wa sono hon-o kau da

John·Nom did C Top that book·Acc buy be

Lit. ‘It is buy that book that John did.’

(19) a. John-ga Mary-ni sono hon-o yonde kureta

John·Nom Mary·Dat that book·Acc read had

‘John had Mary read that book.’

b. * [John-ga Mary-ni (site) kureta no]·wa sono hon-o yonde da

John·Nom Mary·Dat (do) had C Top that book·Acc read be

Lit. ‘It is read that book that John had Mary (do).’
3.2 An Analysis of Single/Multiple Sluicing

(21) Multiple Sluicing

Mary-ga dare-ko ni nanika-o watasita sooda ga,

Mary-Nom someone-Dat something-Acc gave I.heard but

boku-wa [dare-ko ni nanika-o (da) ka] siranai

I-Top who-Dat what-Acc (be) Q not.know

Lit. 'I heard Mary gave something to someone, but I don’t know what to whom.'


a. boku-wa [TopP [FocP [CP ... [NP dare-ko] [NP nanika-o] ... no] (da)] Top] ka

I-Top who-Dat what-Acc C (be) Q

siranai

not.know

- Topicalization of the presuppositional CP to the Spec of TopP -

b. boku-wa [TopP [CP...[NP dare-ko] [NP nanika-o] ...no]-wa [FocP tCP(da)] Top] ka

siranai

Phonology:

c. boku-wa (₁ ... (MP (φ ... ) (φ ... )) ... no wa)₁ (MP dare-ko nanika-o) (da) ka

siranai

d. boku-wa (₁ ... (MP (φ ... ) (φ ... )) ... no wa)₁ (MP dare-ko nanika-o) (da) ka

siranai
(23) Single Sluicing

Mary-ga *nanika-o katta sooda ga, boku-wa [nani-o (da) ka]

Mary-Nom *something-Acc bought I.heard but I-Top *what-Acc (be) Q

siranai

not.know

(24) Syntax:

boku-wa [TopP [CP Mary-ga [NP katta no]-wa [FocP [NP nani-o] [tCP(da)]]] Top]

I-Top Mary-Nom bought C Top *what-Acc (be)

ka siranai

Q not.know

(25)

4. Conclusion

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