

Japanese clausal argument ellipsis and embedded clause periphery

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1 Introduction

Japanese clausal argument ellipsis

- (1) a. John-wa [CP Mary-ga **hon-o** katta-to] omotta-ga
John-TOP Mary-NOM book-ACC bought-C thought-but
'John thought [Mary bought a book], but'
- b. Ken-wa [CP Δ]
Ken-TOP
omowa-nakat-ta.
think-NEG-PST
'Ken didn't think [CP Δ]' (Shinohara, 2006, 2 (2a))

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Extraction out of an elided clausal argument

An overt extraction from an elided clausal argument is known to yield an ungrammatical sentence (Shinohara, 2006; Saito, 2007; Sakamoto, 2018).

- (2) a. **Hon-o_i** John-wa [_{CP} Mary-ga e_i katta-to] omotta-si
book-ACC John-TOP Mary-NOM bought-C
thought-but
'As for the book_i, John said that Mary bought t_i but'
- b. ***zassi-o_i** Ken-wa [_{CP} Mary-ga e_i katta-to]
magazine-ACC Ken-TOP Mary-NOM bought-C
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thought
'as for the magazine_i, Ken thought [that Mary bought e_i].'
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Goal 2

To show that ellipsis can be licensed long-distance in Japanese clausal argument ellipsis

Ellipsis licensing

- * Local licensing (Merchant, 2001; Merchant, 2004; see also Lobeck, 1990; Saito and Murasugi, 1990)

$$(3) \quad [XP \quad X \quad [YP \quad \dots \quad] \quad] \quad \Rightarrow \quad [XP \quad X \quad [\cancel{YP \dots} \quad] \quad]$$

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- ✓ Long-distance licensing Aelbrecht, 2010

$$(4) \quad [XP \quad X \quad [ZP \quad [WP \quad [YP \dots]] \quad] \quad] \quad \Rightarrow \quad [XP \quad X \quad [ZP \quad [WP \quad [\cancel{YP \dots}]]] \quad]$$

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Data

Background on extraction out of an elided clausal argument

- Takahashi, 2020 / Otani and Tatsumi, 2021:
overt extractions from an elided clausal argument is possible, if:
 - ▶ the fronted phrase receives contrastive prosody, and
 - ▶ the elided clause is headed by certain elements

- (5) a. **Kono biru** kara-wa_i Taroo-ga [Hanako-ga e_j
this building from-FOC Taro-NOM Hanako-NOM
detekita-tokoro]-o mikaketa-si
exited-C-ACC saw-and
'From this building_i, Taro saw [Hanako come out e_j] and'
- b. **ano biru** kara-wa_i Ziroo-ga [Hanako-ga e_j
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- (6) a. **Kono-biru-kara-wa_i** Taroo-ga [Hanako-ga e_i
this-building-from-TOP Taro-NOM Hanako-NOM
detekita-**to**] omotta
exited-C thought
'From this building_i, Taro thought [Hanako came out e_i].'
- b. ***ano-biru-kara-wa_i** Zi-roo-ga [~~Hanako-ga e_i~~
that-building-from-TOP Zi-roo-NOM Hanako-NOM
detekita-**to**] omotta.
exited-C thought
'From that building_i, Ziro thought [~~Hanako came out e_i~~].'
(O&T: 6 (28))

Background on extraction out of an elided clausal argument

- All the complementizers except *-to* seem to allow such fronting

- (7) a. **Kono biru-kara-wa_i** Taroo-ga [Hanako-ga e_i
this building-from-FOC Taro-NOM Hanako-NOM
detekita]-**ka** kinisiteiru-si,
exited-C wonder-and
'From this building_i, Taro wonders if [Hanako came out e_i], and ...'
- b. **ano biru-kara-wa_i** Ziroo-ga [~~Hanako-ga e_i~~
that building-from-FOC Ziro-NOM Hanako-NOM
detekita]-**ka** kinisiteiru.
exited-C wonder
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exited-C-ACC saw
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- Takahashi, 2020 and Otani and Tatsumi, 2021 assume that these examples involve genuine extraction out of the ellipsis site
- But is this true?

Our answer: **No**

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Against the extraction analysis: the binding data

Anaphor-binding

True extraction would have the following structure:

(9) (To be rejected)
[Fronted Phrase; [Subj [CP [TP **Subj** t_i V T] C] V]]

- Prediction: Reconstruction to the position of t should be possible
 - ▶ an anaphor inside the fronted phrase should be able to be bound by the embedded subject of the elided clause
- Not Borne out!:

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Hana-and Mary-NOM exit-C-ACC saw-and
'From each other's_i building_j, Taro saw [Hana and Mary_i come out e_j], and ...'
- b. ***otagai_i-no** **ie-kara-wa_j** Ziro_o-ga [**Hana-to Mary-ga_i**
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Against the extraction analysis: the binding data

- The matrix subject can still bind the fronted anaphor

- (12) a. **Otagai_i-no** **biru-kara-wa_j** Bill-to Taro_i-ga;
each other-GEN building-from-FOC Bill-and Taro-NOM
[**Ziroo-ga** *e_j* detekuru-tokoro]-o mikaketa-si,
Ziro-NOM exit-C-ACC saw-and
'From each other's_i building_j, Bill and Taro_i saw [Ziro come out *e_j*]
and.'
- b. **otagai_i-no** **ie-kara-wa_j** Mary-to Hanako-ga;
each other-GEN house-from-FOC Mary-and Hanako-NOM
[**Ziroo-ga** *e_j* detekuru-tokoro]-~~o~~ mikaketa.
Ziro-NOM exit-C-ACC saw
'From each other's_i house_j, Mary and Hanako_i saw [~~Ziro come out~~
e_j].'

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- (13) a. **Zibun_{i/j}-no biru-kara-wa_k** Taroo-ga_i [Hana-ga_j e_k
self-GEN building-from-FOC Taro-NOM Hana-NOM
detekuru-tokoro]-o mikaketa-si,
exit-C-ACC saw-and
'From self's_{i/j} building_k, Taro_i saw [Hana_j come out e_k] and ...'
- b. **zibun_{i/*j}-no ie-kara-wa_k** Zi-roo-ga_i [**Hana-ga_j** e_k
self-GEN house-from-FOC Ziro-NOM Hana-NOM
detekuru-tokoro]-o mikaketa.
exit-C-ACC saw
'From self's_{i/*j} house_k, Ziro_i saw [**Hana_j** come out e_k].'

Against the extraction analysis: the binding data

Observations so far

- Reconstruction to a position below the embedded subject is
 - ▶ possible when the embedded clause is not elided, but
 - ▶ not possible when the embedded clause is elided
- Fronting itself is possible whether the embedded clause is elided or not

What does this suggest?

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Two ways to derive the fronting from a non-elided clause:

- 1 derivation with movement from the embedded argument position
or
- 2 derivation without movement from the embedded argument position

When the clause is elided...

- ~~1 derivation with movement from the embedded argument position
or~~
- ~~2 derivation without movement from the embedded argument position~~

- The ban on extraction out of an elided clause makes the movement option unavailable
(This is not a counter-example to the ban on extraction!)

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Interim Summary

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- Apparent extraction becomes available if
 - ▶ the fronted phrase has contrastive prosody, and
 - ▶ the elided clause is not headed by *-to*
- The apparent extraction does not seem to involve movement out of the elided clause, given the binding possibilities

Questions

- How exactly is the apparent extraction derived if it does not involve true extraction?
- Why is the apparent extraction have such restricted distribution?

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Detour: The structure in Narrow Syntax

What does the ban on overt extraction indicate?

- Another issue in ellipsis studies: Does the ellipsis site has a structure, especially in Narrow Syntax?
- Widely accepted argumentation:
The possibility of overt extraction
→ the presence of the structure for the ellipsis site in Narrow Syntax
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Detour: The structure in Narrow Syntax

What does the ban on overt extraction indicate?

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- The relevant argument is uni-directional (Van Craenenbroeck and Merchant, 2013; Aelbrecht, 2010, a.o.):
 - ▶ the possibility of overt extraction
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 - ▶ the impossibility of overt extraction
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- (Given the Single-Output model, it is not even clear whether any issue exists (Saito, 2007).)
- We do not address this question any further based on our data so far
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Analysis: Dangling-topic analysis

Dangling-topic analysis

Questions

- How is the apparent extraction derived?
- How does the choice of complementizers affect the possibility of the apparent extraction?

Proposal

- the fronted phrase is base-generated outside the ellipsis site
- there is a *pro* inside the ellipsis site that is coindexed with the fronted phrase

(14) [Fronted Phrase_i ... [XP [TP Subj *pro*_i V T]]]

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Dangling topic analysis

Base-generated position

- Where exactly is the fronted phrase base-generated?

(15) **Zibun**_{*i*/**j*}-**no ie-kara-wa**_{*k*} Ziroo-ga_{*i*}
self-GEN house-from-FOC Ziro-NOM
[~~Hanako-ga~~_{*j*} ~~*e*_{*k*} detekuru-tokoro~~]-~~ø~~ mikaketa.
Hanako-NOM exit-C-ACC saw
'From self's _{*i*/**j*} building_{*k*}, Ziro_{*i*} saw [~~Hanako_{*j*} come out *e*_{*k*}~~].'

⇒ Lower than the main subject.

⇒ The left periphery of the embedded clause.

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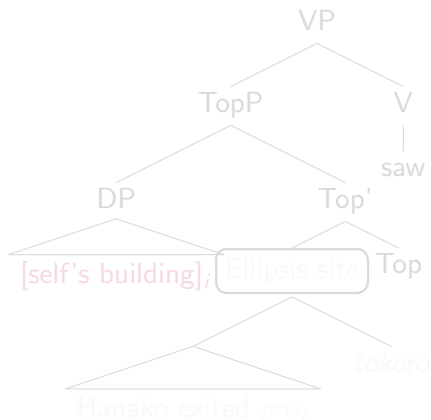
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Dangling topic analysis

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(17)

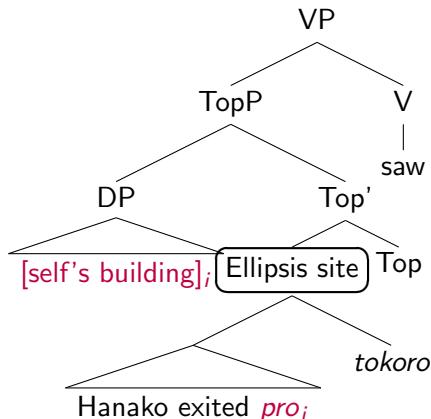


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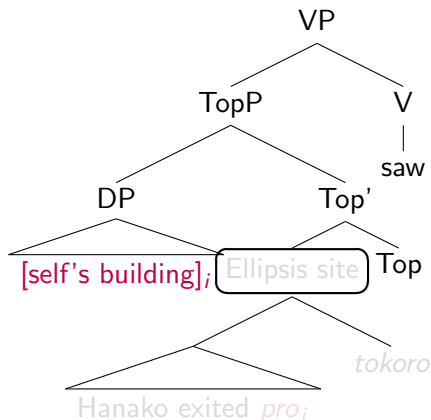


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C-effect

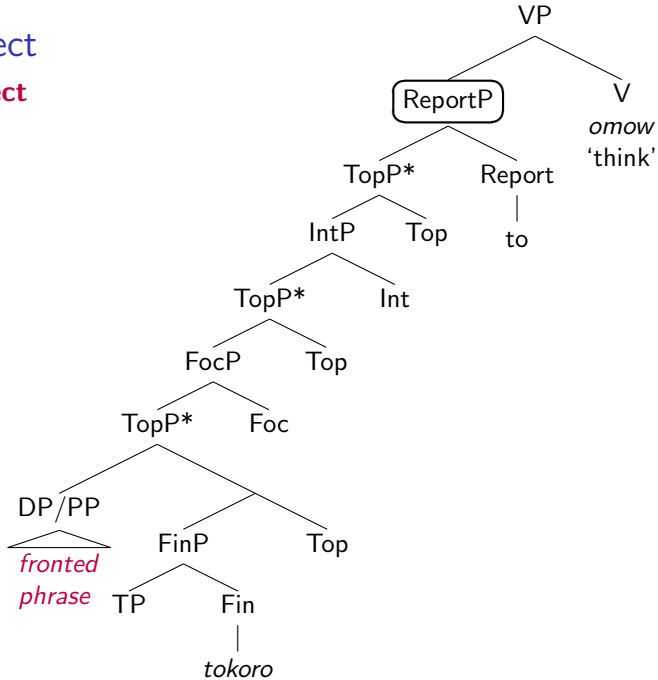
C-effect

- (18) a. **Kono-biru-kara-wa_i**; Taroo-ga [Hanako-ga e_i
this-building-from-TOP Taro-NOM Hanako-NOM
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(O&T:6 (28))

C-effect

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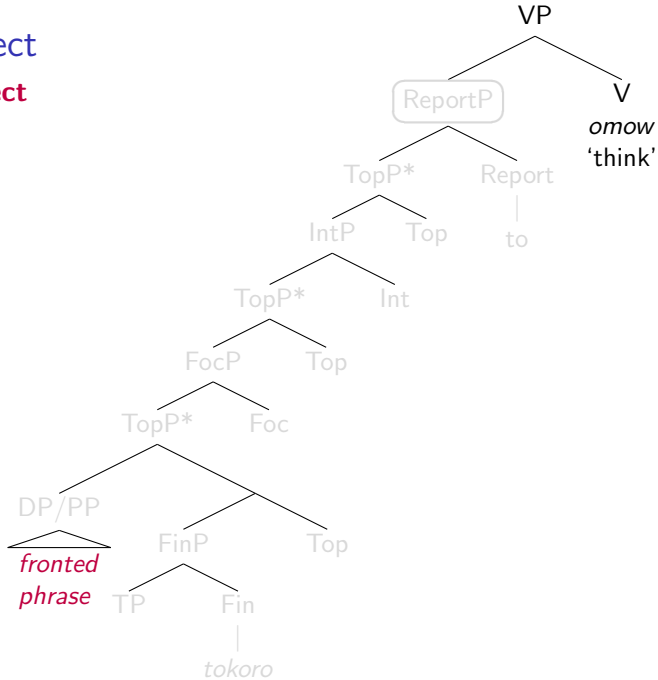
(19)



C-effect

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C-effect

Position of *no*, *ka*, and *tokoro*

- (20) Taroo-wa Hanako-ni [CP [CP [CP [TP kare-no imooto-ga
Taro-TOP Hanako-DAT he-GEN sister-NOM
soko-ni i-ta] **no**] **ka**] **to**] tazune-ta.
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'Taro asked Hanako if his sister was there.' (Saito, 2021, 3 (13))
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busy PRS (*no) tokoro (*no) ka to think-POL-but,
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I.beg.you
'I guess you are busy (but I beg you)'

C-effect

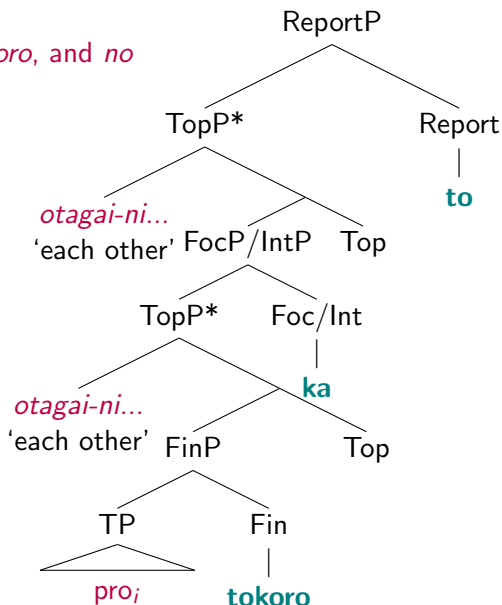
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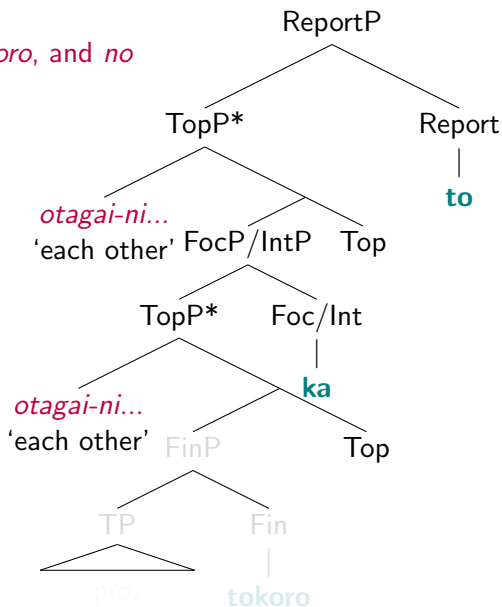
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C-effect

Position of *ka*, *tokoro*, and *no*

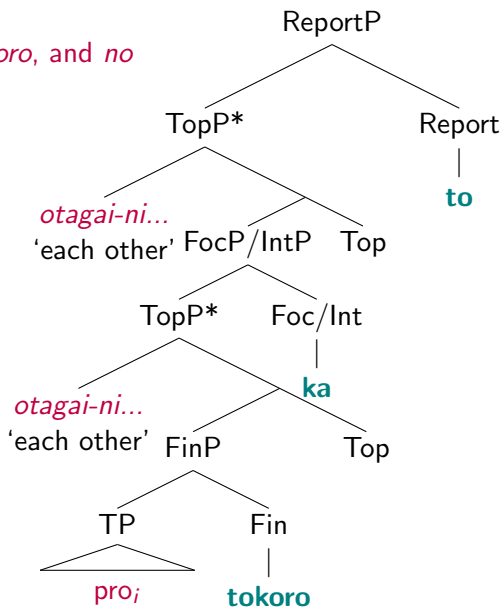
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Position of *ka*, *tokoro*, and *no*

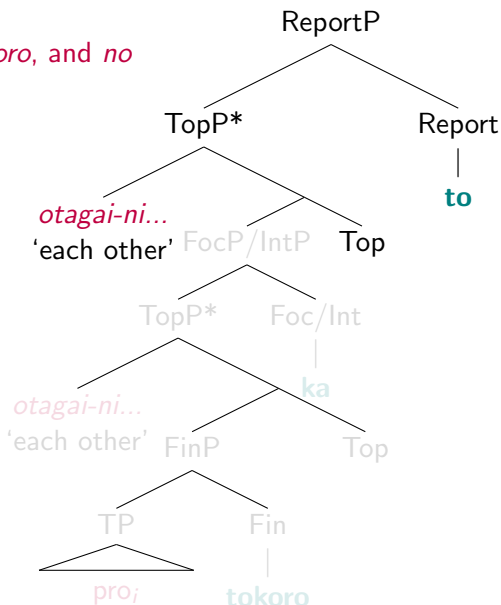
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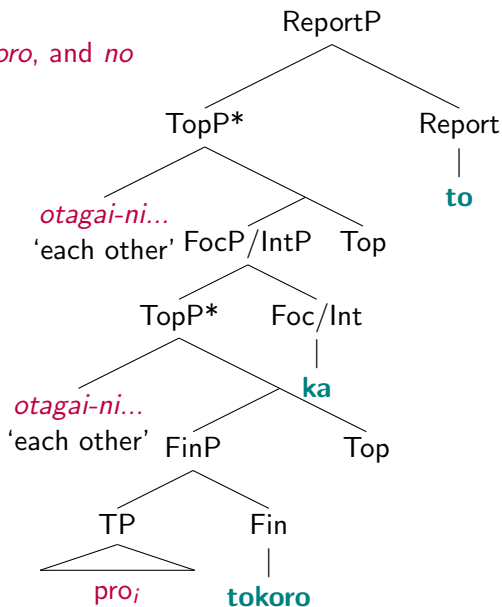
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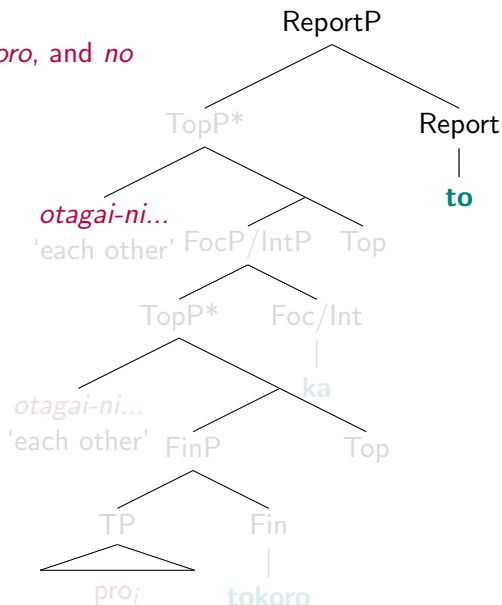
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C-effect

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(22)



C-effect

- Why can't the fronted phrase be directly base-generated in the matrix left periphery?

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- Such an option would fail to capture the C-effect

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'From this building, Taro thought [Hanako came out'

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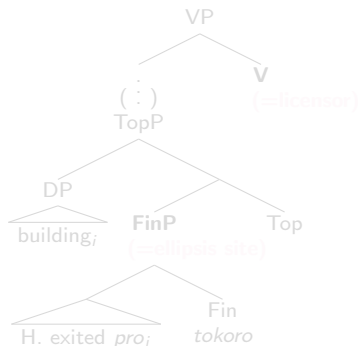
Analysis: Dangling-topic analysis: Licensing

Ellipsis licensing

What licenses the ellipsis of these projections?

- Ellipsis site is:
 - ▶ sometimes the complement of TopP (FinP (*tokoro*);IntP (*ka*))
 - ▶ sometimes the complement of the matrix verb (RepP (*to*))
- The contrast between the two views
 - ▶ **Local licensing:** The licenser is sometimes Top and sometimes V
 - ▶ **Long-distance licensing:** licenser can be constant (e.g. V)

(25)

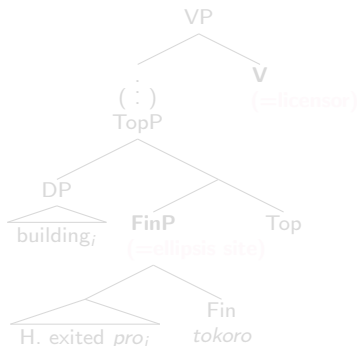


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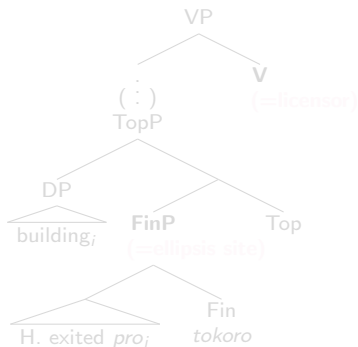


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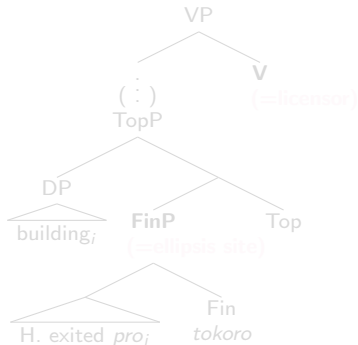


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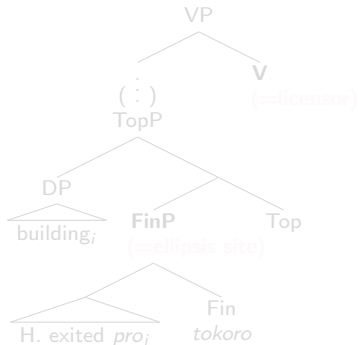


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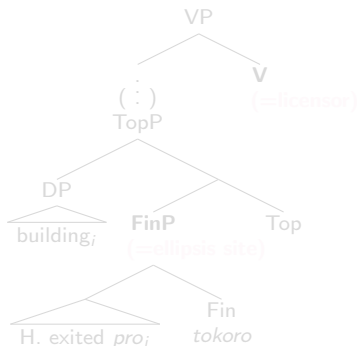


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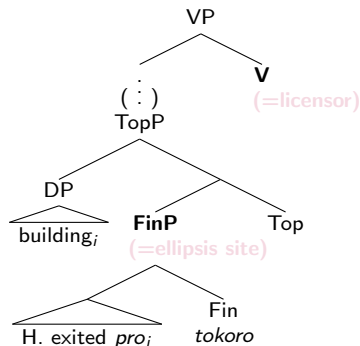


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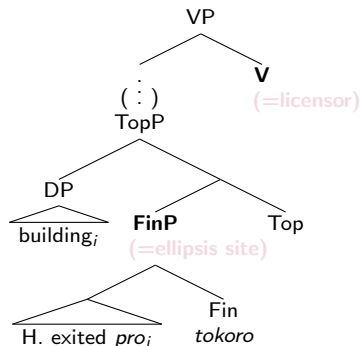


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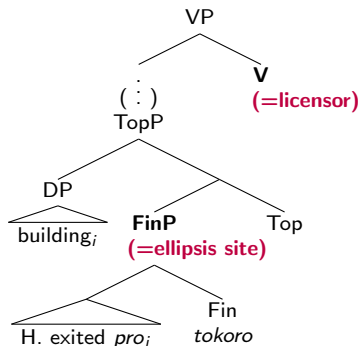


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Ellipsis licensing

The licensor seems to be consistently matrix V, not Top

Observation 1 Matrix Top does not license the ellipsis of FinP

- (26) Context: Taroo is looking for his textbook. You say to Taroo:
- a. Saikin kenkyuusitu-no mono-no ooku-wa [Hanako-ni
recently office-GEN stuff-GEN most-TOP Hanako-by
sute-rare-tei-te],
dispose-PASS-ASP-*te*
'Recently, most of the stuff in the office [have been disposed
of by Hanako and']
 - b. *kimi-no kyookasyo-wa [Hanako-ni sute-rare-tei-ru].
2sg-GEN textbook-TOP Hanako-by dispose-PASS-ASP-PRS
'your text book ~~has been disposed by Hanako.~~'

Ellipsis licensing

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Observation 2

The adjunct use of the *tokoro*-clause differs from the complement use with respect to the ellipsis.

- (27)
- a. Taroo-wa nakidasita.
Taro-TOP cried out
'Taro cried out.'
 - b. Taroo-wa [Hana-ga kono-biru-kara detekita-tokoro]
Taro-TOP Hana-NOM this-building-from exited-C
nakidasita.
cried out
'Taro cried out [when Hana came out of this building].'

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Ellipsis licensing

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Observation 2

An adjunct *tokoro* phrase cannot be elided even with the fronted phrase

- (28) a. **Kono biru-kara-wa**_{*i*} Taroo-ga [Hana-ga *e*_{*i*}
this building-from-FOC Taro-NOM Hana-NOM
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exited-C cried out
'From this building, when Hana came out *pro*_{*i*}, Taro cried out.'
- b. ***ano biru-kara-wa**_{*i*} Ziroo-ga; [Hana-ga *e*_{*i*}
that building-from-FOC Ziro-NOM Hana-NOM
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'From that building, when Hana came out *pro*_{*i*}, Ziro cried out.'

C-effect revisited

The long-distance analysis nicely answers the following question

- Why can't the fronted phrase be directly base-generated in the matrix left periphery?

(29) [TP Subj [Fronted Phrase; [~~emb-clause [TP Subj *pro*_i V T]]] V]~~

(30) [*Fronted Phrase; [TP Subj [~~emb-clause [TP Subj *pro*_i V T]]] V]
(To be rejected)~~

- The difference between (29) and (30) is that the fronted phrase enters the structure before or after the licenser
- Aelbrecht (2010), assuming the PF deletion account, claims that the ellipsis site gets syntactically frozen when the licenser is merged
- if *pro* here needs to form some syntactic dependency with the dangling topic, then it is expected that only the embedded clause allow the dangling topic
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C-effect revisited

The long-distance analysis nicely answers the following question

- Why can't the fronted phrase be directly base-generated in the matrix left periphery?

(29) [TP Subj [Fronted Phrase; [~~emb-clause~~ [~~TP Subj *pro*_i V T~~]]] V]

(30) [*Fronted Phrase; [TP Subj [~~emb-clause~~ [~~TP Subj *pro*_i V T~~]]] V]
(To be rejected)

- The difference between (29) and (30) is that the fronted phrase enters the structure before or after the licenser
- Aelbrecht (2010), assuming the PF deletion account, claims that the ellipsis site gets syntactically frozen when the licenser is merged
- if *pro* here needs to form some syntactic dependency with the dangling topic, then it is expected that only the embedded clause allow the dangling topic
- (This also favors the PF-deletion account)

4 Conclusion

Conclusion

Summary

- Apparent examples of overt focalization out of an elided clause involves
 - ▶ base-generation of the focalized phrase in the embedded left periphery, and
 - ▶ licensing via long-distance agreement

Implications

- Further evidence that overt extraction is not possible out of an ellipsis site (Sakamoto, 2019; 2020)
- Support to the view that ellipsis licensing can be long-distant (Aelbrecht, 2010)

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