

# 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  $\Delta$  ]  
Ken-TOP  
omowa-nakat-ta.  
think-NEG-PST  
'Ken didn't think [CP  $\Delta$ ]' (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<sub>i</sub>** John-wa [<sub>CP</sub> Mary-ga e<sub>i</sub> katta-to] omotta-si  
book-ACC John-TOP Mary-NOM bought-C  
thought-but  
'As for the book<sub>i</sub>, John said that Mary bought t<sub>i</sub> but ... .'
- b. \***zassi-o<sub>i</sub>** Ken-wa [<sub>CP</sub> Mary-ga e<sub>i</sub> katta-to]  
magazine-ACC Ken-TOP Mary-NOM bought-C  
omotta.  
thought  
'as for the magazine<sub>i</sub>, Ken thought [that Mary bought e<sub>i</sub>].'  
(Shinohara, 2006, 2 (2b)–(2c))

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## Recent challenge

This generalization, however, has been challenged by recent studies such as Takahashi, 2020 and Otani and Tatsumi, 2021

## Goal 1

To show that the apparent counter-examples are not genuine instances of extraction from an elided clause

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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)

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

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- ✓ Long-distance licensing Aelbrecht, 2010

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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<sub>i</sub> Taroo-ga [Hanako-ga e<sub>j</sub>  
this building from-FOC Taro-NOM Hanako-NOM  
detekita-tokoro]-o mikaketa-si  
exited-C-ACC saw-and  
'From this building<sub>i</sub>, Taro saw [Hanako come out e<sub>j</sub>] and ... .'
- b. **ano** biru kara-wa<sub>i</sub> Ziroo-ga [Hanako-ga e<sub>j</sub>  
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- (6) a. **Kono-biru-kara-wa<sub>i</sub>** Taroo-ga [Hanako-ga e<sub>i</sub>  
this-building-from-TOP Taro-NOM Hanako-NOM  
detekita-**to**] omotta  
exited-C thought  
'From this building<sub>i</sub>, Taro thought [Hanako came out e<sub>i</sub>].'
- b. \***ano-biru-kara-wa<sub>i</sub>** Zi-roo-ga [~~Hanako-ga e<sub>i</sub>~~  
that-building-from-TOP Zi-roo-NOM Hanako-NOM  
detekita-**to**] omotta.  
exited-C thought  
'From that building<sub>i</sub>, Ziro thought [~~Hanako came out e<sub>i</sub>~~].'  
(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<sub>i</sub>** Taroo-ga [Hanako-ga e<sub>i</sub>  
this building-from-FOC Taro-NOM Hanako-NOM  
detekita]-**ka** kinisiteiru-si,  
exited-C wonder-and  
'From this building<sub>i</sub>, Taro wonders if [Hanako came out e<sub>i</sub>], and ...'
- b. **ano biru-kara-wa<sub>i</sub>** Ziroo-ga [~~Hanako-ga e<sub>i</sub>~~  
that building-from-FOC Ziro-NOM Hanako-NOM  
detekita]-**ka** kinisiteiru.  
exited-C wonder  
'From this house<sub>i</sub>, Ziro wonders if [~~Hanako came out e<sub>i</sub>~~].'

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- (8) a. **Kono biru** **kara-wa<sub>i</sub>** Taroo-ga [Hanako-ga **e<sub>i</sub>**  
this building from-FOC Taro-NOM Hanako-NOM  
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exited-C-ACC saw-and  
'From this building<sub>i</sub>, Taro saw [Hanako come out t<sub>i</sub>] and ... .'
- b. **ano biru** **kara-wa<sub>i</sub>** Ziroo-ga [~~Hanako-ga~~ **e<sub>i</sub>**  
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detekita-**no**]-~~o~~ mikaketa.  
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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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- Embedded subject cannot bind the fronted anaphor

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[ **Fronted Phrase**; [ Subj [CP [TP **Subj**  $t_i$  V T ] C ] V ] ]

- (10) a. **Otagai<sub>i</sub>-no** **biru-kara-wa<sub>j</sub>** Taro<sub>o</sub>-ga  
each other-GEN building-from-FOC Taro-NOM  
[**Hana-to Mary-ga<sub>i</sub>** **e<sub>j</sub>** detekuru-tokoro]-o mikaketa-si,  
Hana-and Mary-NOM exit-C-ACC saw-and  
'From each other's<sub>i</sub> building<sub>j</sub>, Taro saw [Hana and Mary<sub>i</sub> come out e<sub>j</sub>], and ...'
- b. \***otagai<sub>i</sub>-no** **ie-kara-wa<sub>j</sub>** Ziro<sub>o</sub>-ga [**Hana-to Mary-ga<sub>i</sub>**  
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- b. \***otagai<sub>i</sub>-no** **ie-kara-wa<sub>j</sub>** Ziroo-ga [**Hana-to Mary-ga<sub>i</sub>**;  
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(11) a. **Zibun<sub>i</sub>-no biru-kara-wa<sub>j</sub>** Taroo-ga [**Hana-ga<sub>i</sub>**  $e_j$   
self-GEN building-from-FOC Taro-NOM Hana-NOM  
detekuru-tokoro]-o mikaketa-si,  
exit-C-ACC saw-and  
'From self'<sub>i</sub>; building<sub>j</sub>, Taro saw [Hana<sub>i</sub> come out  $e_j$ ] and ...'

b. **zibun<sub>i</sub>-no ie-kara-wa<sub>j</sub>** Ziroo-ga [**Hana-ga<sub>i</sub>**  $e_k$   
self-GEN house-from-FOC Ziro-NOM Hana-NOM  
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# Against the extraction analysis: the binding data

- The matrix subject can still bind the fronted anaphor

- (12) a. **Otagai<sub>i</sub>-no** **biru-kara-wa<sub>j</sub>** Bill-to Taro<sub>i</sub>-ga;  
each other-GEN building-from-FOC Bill-and Taro-NOM  
[**Ziroo-ga** *e<sub>j</sub>* detekuru-tokoro]-o mikaketa-si,  
Ziro-NOM exit-C-ACC saw-and  
'From each other's<sub>i</sub> building<sub>j</sub>, Bill and Taro<sub>i</sub> saw [Ziro come out *e<sub>j</sub>*]  
and.'
- b. **otagai<sub>i</sub>-no** **ie-kara-wa<sub>j</sub>** Mary-to Hanako-ga;  
each other-GEN house-from-FOC Mary-and Hanako-NOM  
[**Ziroo-ga** *e<sub>j</sub>* detekuru-tokoro]-o mikaketa.  
Ziro-NOM exit-C-ACC saw  
'From each other's<sub>i</sub> house<sub>j</sub>, Mary and Hanako<sub>i</sub> saw [~~Ziro come out~~  
*e<sub>j</sub>*].'

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- (13) a. **Zibun<sub>i/j</sub>-no biru-kara-wa<sub>k</sub>** Taroo-ga<sub>i</sub> [Hana-ga<sub>j</sub> e<sub>k</sub>  
self-GEN building-from-FOC Taro-NOM Hana-NOM  
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# 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...

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(This is not a counter-example to the ban on extraction!)

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- Apparent extraction becomes available if
  - ▶ the fronted phrase has contrastive prosody, and
  - ▶ the elided clause is not headed by *-to*
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- How exactly is the apparent extraction derived if it does not involve true extraction?
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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 have a structure, especially in Narrow Syntax?
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## Analysis: Dangling-topic analysis

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- 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<sub>i</sub> ... [XP [TP Subj *pro*<sub>i</sub> V T ] ] ]

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⇒ Lower than the main subject.

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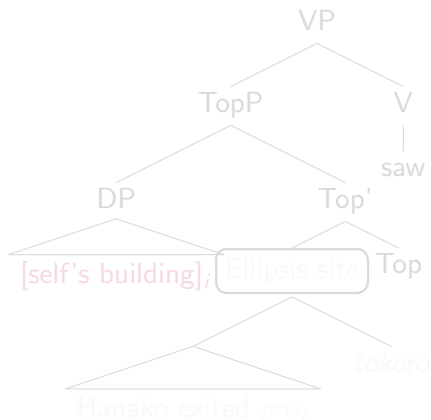
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(17)

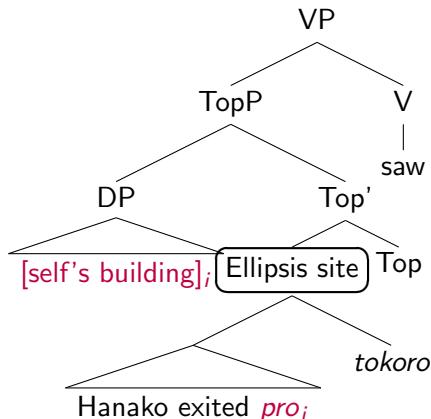


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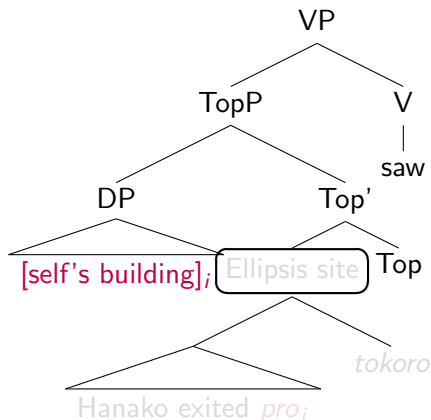


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# C-effect

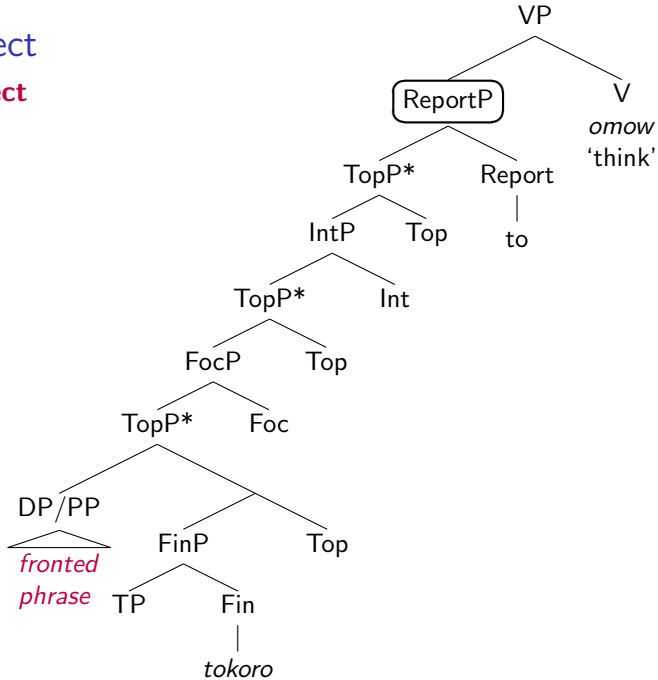
## C-effect

- (18) a. **Kono-biru-kara-wa<sub>i</sub>**; Taroo-ga [Hanako-ga  $e_i$   
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(O&T:6 (28))

C-effect

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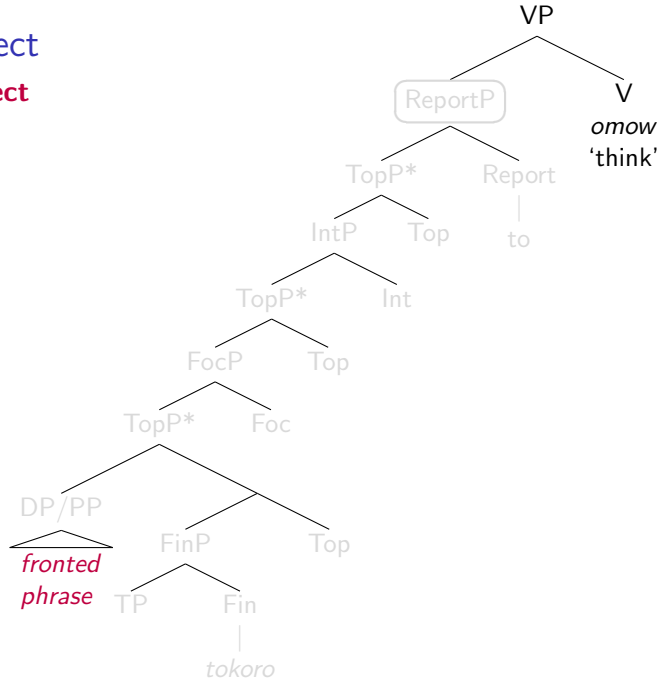
(19)



C-effect

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

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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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I.beg.you  
'I guess you are busy (but I beg you)'

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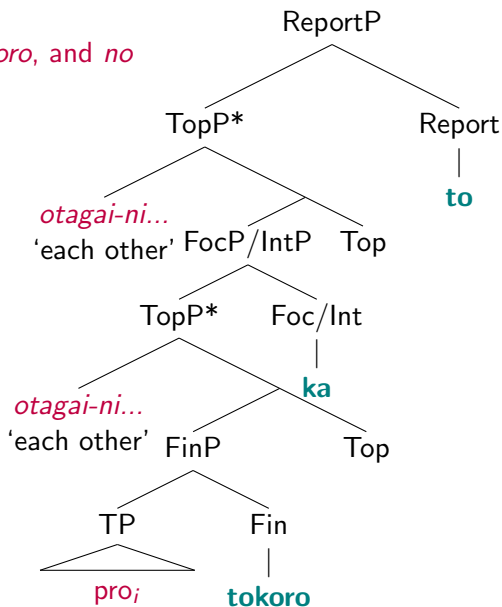
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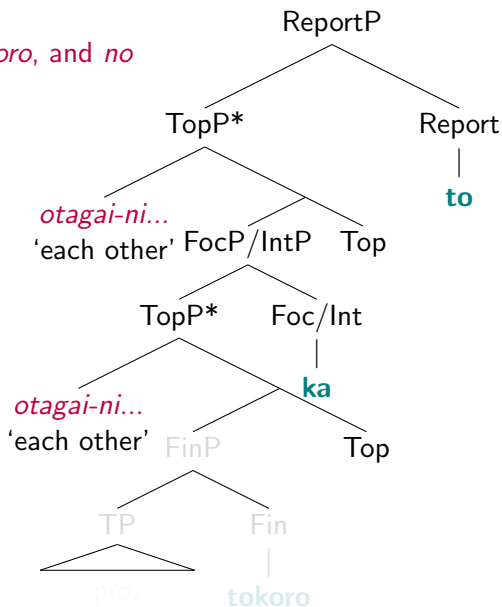
(22)



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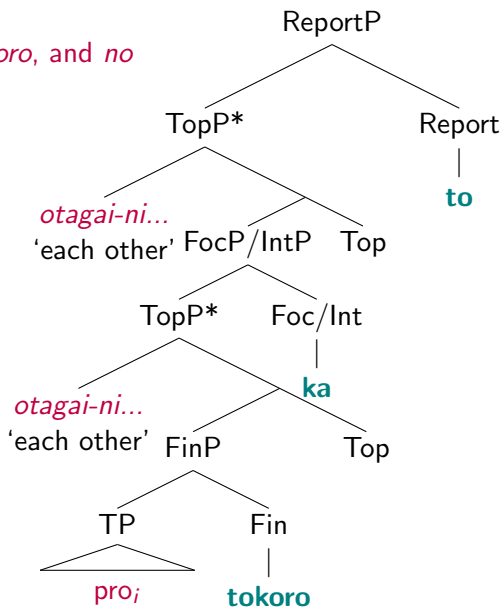
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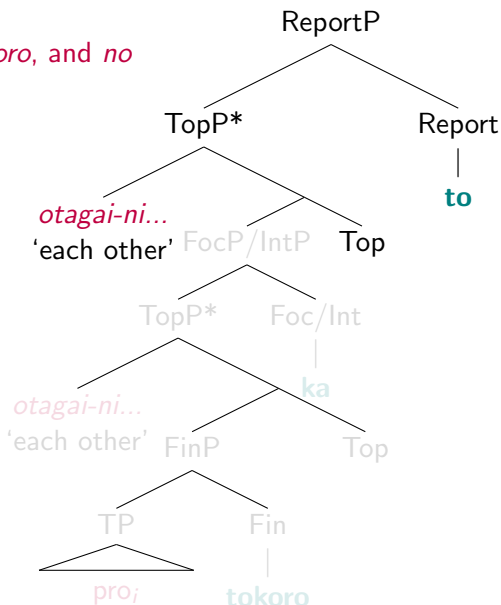
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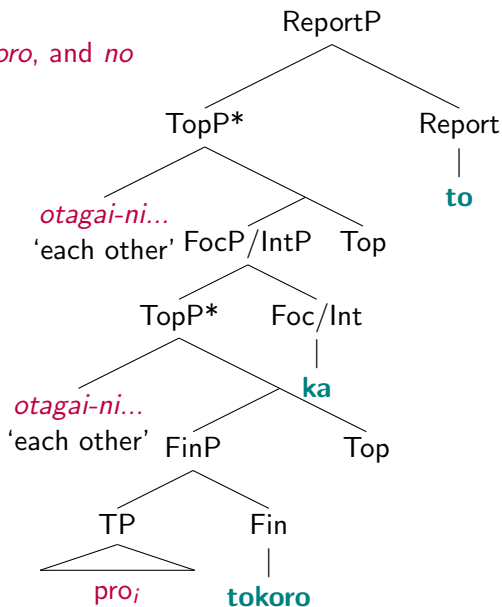
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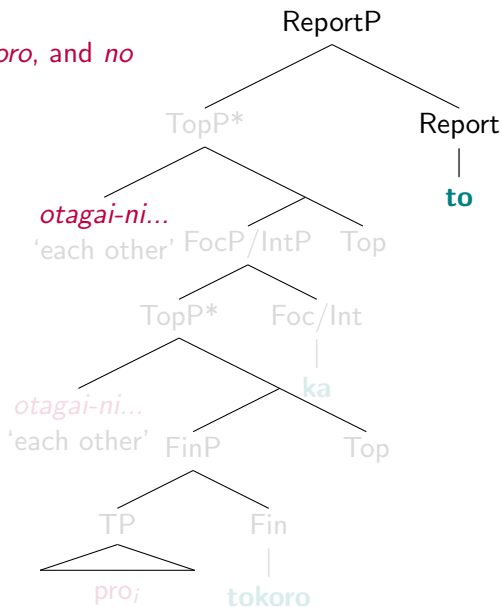
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(22)





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

(23) [ **Fronted Phrase**; [TP Subj [~~emb-clause~~ [TP Subj *pro* V T] ] V ]  
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- Such an option would fail to capture the C-effect

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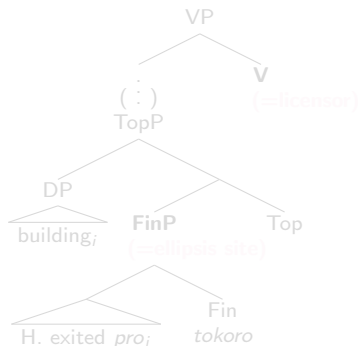
## Analysis: Dangling-topic analysis: Licensing

# Ellipsis licensing

## What licenses the ellipsis of these projections?

- Ellipsis site is:
  - ▶ sometimes the complement of TopP (FinP (*tokoro*);IntP (*ka*))
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- The contrast between the two views
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(25)

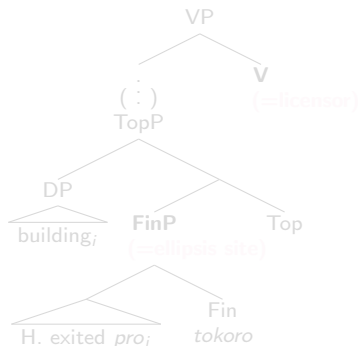


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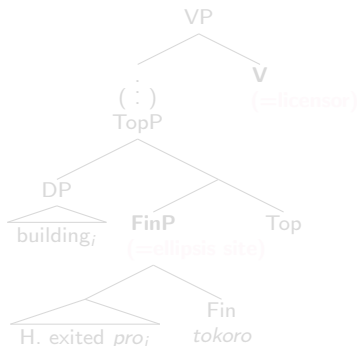


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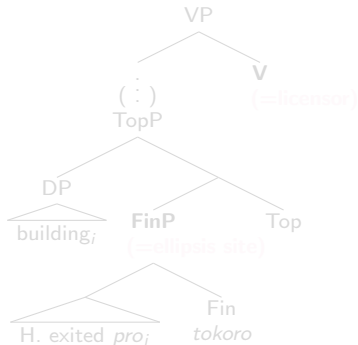


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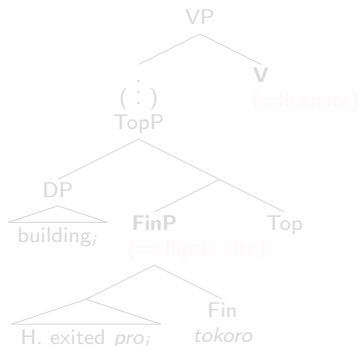


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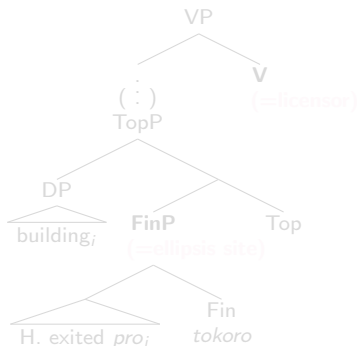


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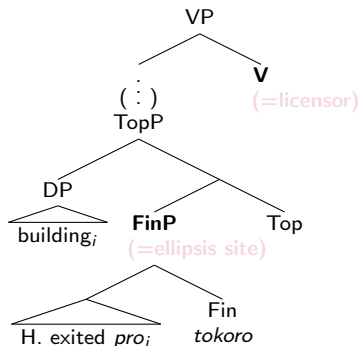


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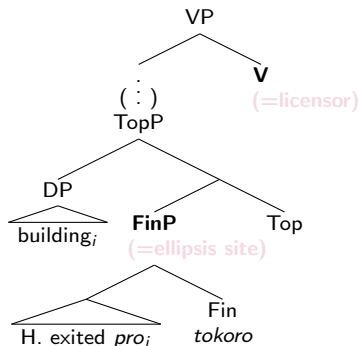


# Ellipsis licensing

## 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)

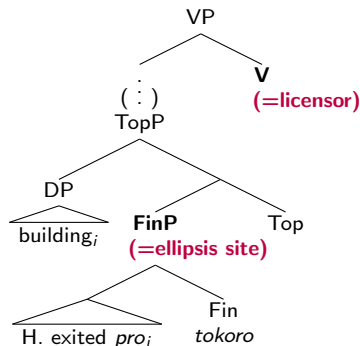


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## Ellipsis licensing

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

The licensor seems to be consistently matrix V, not Top

## 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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### Observation 2

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

- (28) a. **Kono biru-kara-wa**<sub>*i*</sub> Taroo-ga [Hana-ga *e*<sub>*i*</sub>  
this building-from-FOC Taro-NOM Hana-NOM  
detekita-tokoro] nakidasita-si,  
exited-C cried out  
'From this building, when Hana came out *pro*<sub>*i*</sub>, Taro cried out.'
- b. \***ano biru-kara-wa**<sub>*i*</sub> Ziroo-ga; [~~Hana-ga~~ *e*<sub>*i*</sub>  
that building-from-FOC Ziro-NOM Hana-NOM  
~~detekita-tokoro~~] nakidasita.  
existed-C cried out  
'From that building, when Hana came out *pro*<sub>*i*</sub>, 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*<sub>i</sub> V T ] ] ] V ]

(30) [ \*Fronted Phrase; [TP Subj [~~emb-clause~~ [TP Subj *pro*<sub>i</sub> 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)

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## Summary

- Apparent examples of overt focalization out of an elided clause involves
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## 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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