The Preference for the Pair-List Reading in Japanese Multiple Sluicing

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Puzzle

Pair-List Reading Preference
- Single-Pair reading (SP) is preferred over Pair-List reading (PL) in (1b) (SP>PL)
- The PL is preferred over the SP in (1c-e) (PL>SP).

(1) a. **Antecedent sentence**
[Taroo-ga   nazeka   nanika-o   kat-ta   no]-wa sit-tei-ru   ga,
T-Nom   somehow   something-Acc buy-Pst C-Cont. know-Stv.-NPst but
'I know that Taro bought something for some reason, but'

b. **Sluiced sentence**
Boku-wa [CP naze nanio   (da) ka]   sira-na-i.   (underlined CP = sluice)
I-Top   why what-Acc Cop Q   know-Neg-NPst   SP>PL
'I don't know why or what.'

> SP: This implies that Taro bought one thing for a reason.
> PL: This implies that Taro bought multiple things, and there is a reason why he bought each of them.

c. **Wh-scrambling structure**
Boku-wa [CP nani-o   naze (da)   ka]   sira-na-i.   PL>SP
I-Top   what-Acc why   Cop   Q   know-Neg-NPst

d. **Contrastive-marked structure**
Boku-wa [CP naze   nani-o (da) ka]-wa   sira-na-i.   PL>SP
I-Top   why   what-Acc Cop Q-Cont.   know-Neg-NPst

e. **Wh-clause scrambling structure**
[CP naze   nani-o   (da) ka] Boku-wa   sira-na-i.   PL>SP
    why   what-Acc Cop Q   I-Top   know-Neg-NPst
'I don't know why or what'

※ Contrastive-marked structure is less likely to show PL preference for some Japanese.

Theoretical Background

Mapping Hypothesis
Diesing (1992): tripartite quantification structures

(2)   Some [TP students   [VP love semantics]]

OP   Restrictive Clause   Nuclear Scope
          ∃ presupposition   No ∃ presupposition
          ✓partitive *?existential   ✓partitive ✓existential

The likelihood of obtaining the partitive reading holds for the expression scrambled to the restrictive clause as well (e.g. de Hoop 1992).

(3) a. Taku-wa [TP[Mari-ga kitaku-sur-u   mae][VP ookuno sykudai-o oe]-ta]   ✓partitive
T-Nom   M-Nom go home-do-NPst before   much   HW-Acc finish-Pst   ✓existential
'Taku finished much homework before Mari went home.'

b. Taku-wa [TP ookuno sykudai_i-o [Mari-ga kitaku-sur-u   mae][VP t_i oe]-ta]   ✓partitive
T-Top   much   HW-Acc   M-Nom go home-do-NPst before   finish-Pst   *?existential

Japanese sluicing
Japanese sluiced sebtences derive from a cleft by the deletion of the CP subject (and copula) (Kizu 1997). According to Cho, Whitman, and Yanagida's (2008) analysis, the underlying structure of the sluice in (1b) is that in (4).

(4) a. [CP[TP[CP Taroo-ga kat-ta no]-ga   [T[CP naze pro nani-o   kat-ta]   da]] ka]
                T-Nom   buy-Pst C-Nom   why   what-Acc buy-Pst Cop Q
'(lit) What Taro bought is [why pro bought what]'

b.
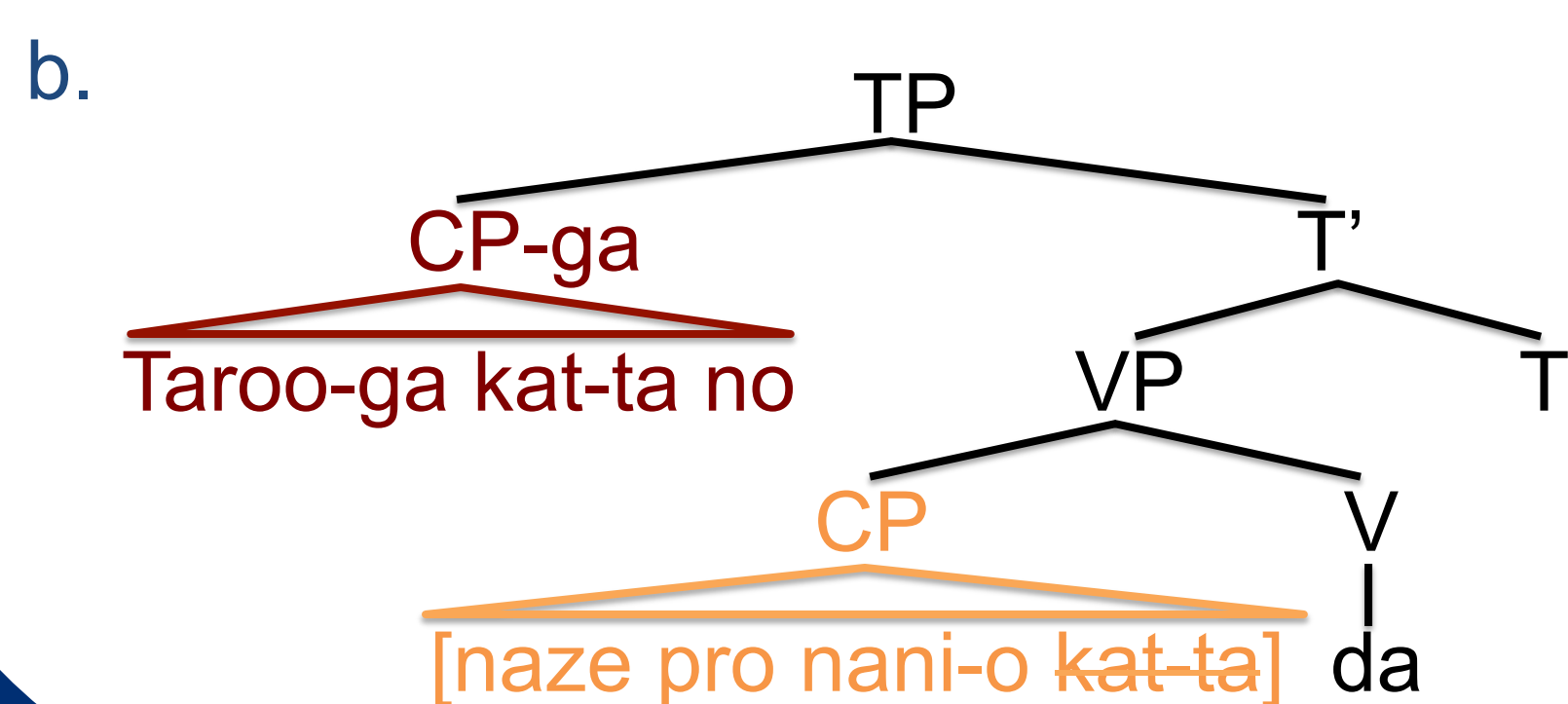
Proposal

> The PL preference obtains due to the partitive reading for the wh-items, which emerged from the VP-internal wh-items vacating VP.

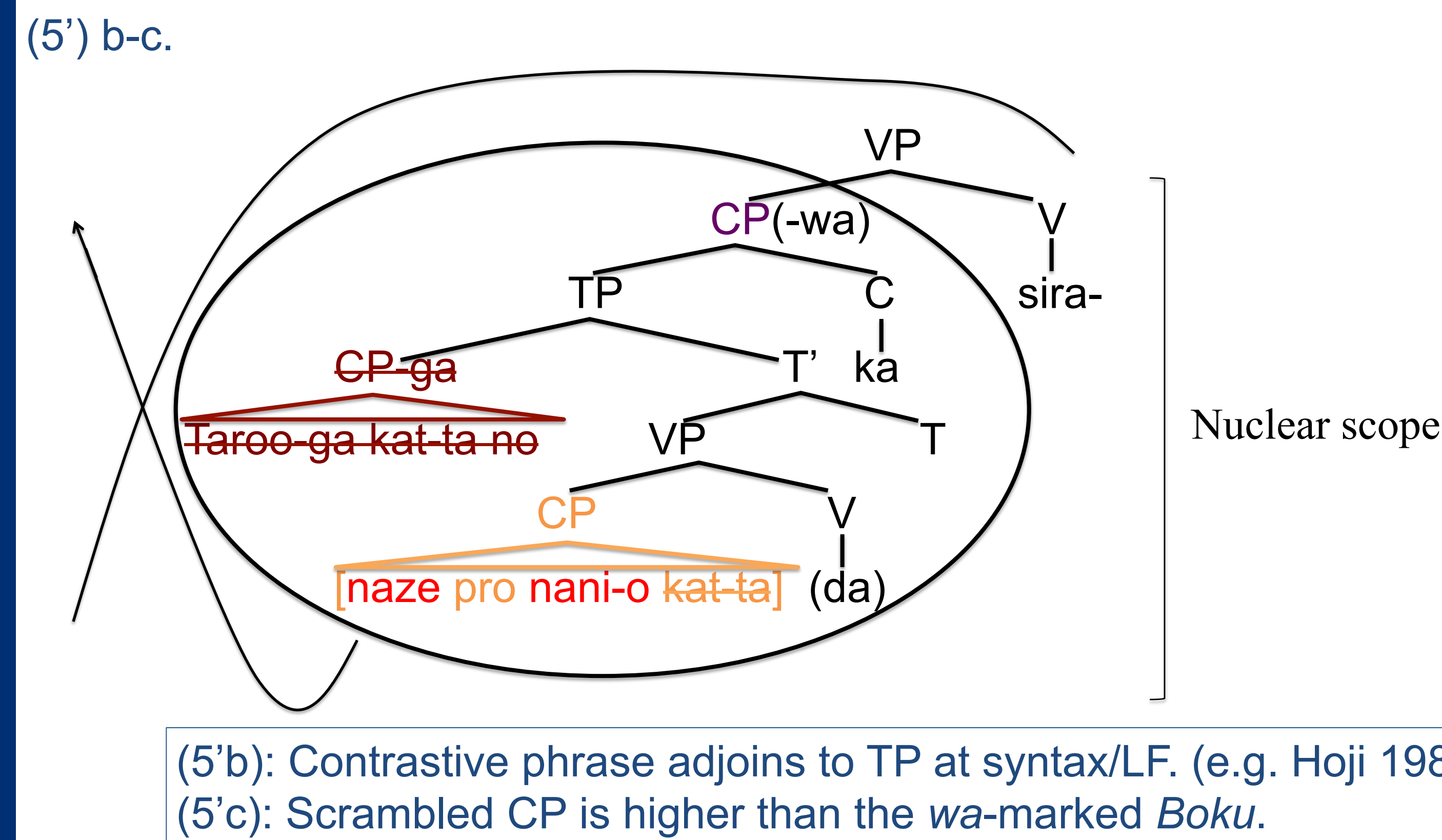### Structures of multiple sluicing constructions with the PL preference
I argue that the structures of (1c) is that in (5a), and that the structure of the expression on the dotted line in (5a) is illustrated with the tree diagram in (5'a).

(5) a. Boku-wa [CP[TP[CP Subj.] ga [T[CP nani-o naze pro t kat-ta] (da)]] ka] sira-na-i
I-Top   -Nom   what-Acc why   buy-Pst Cop Q know-Neg-NPst

(5') a.

> (5'a): Reason clause adjoins to TP. (Koizumi 1993)
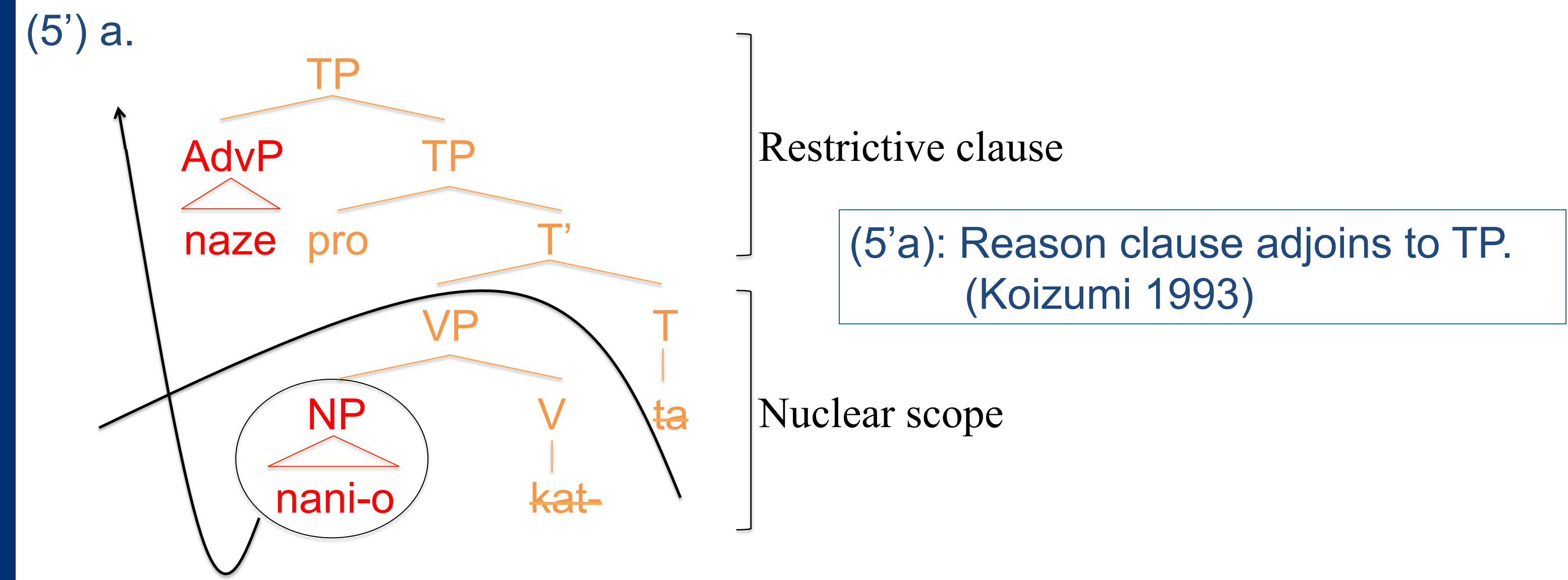
As for the structures of (1d-e), I propose (5b-c). The structures of the expressions on the dotted line in (5b-c) are illustrated with the tree diagram in (5'b-c).

(5) b. Boku-wa [CP[TP[CP Subj.] ga [T[CP naze pro nani-o   kat-ta] (da)]] ka]-wa [TP t sira-na-i]
I-Top   -Nom   why   what-Acc buy-Pst Cop Q-Cont.   know-Neg-NPst

c. [CP[TP[CP Subj.] ga [T[CP naze pro nani-o   kat-ta] (da)]] ka] boku-wa   [TP t sira-na-i]
                    -Nom   why   what-Acc buy-Pst Cop Q   I-Top   know-Neg-NPst

(5') b-c.

> (5'b): Contrastive phrase adjoins to TP at syntax/LF. (e.g. Hoji 1985)
> (5'c): Scrambled CP is higher than the *wa*-marked *Boku*.

Lack of PL preference
Although the order of *doko-de itu* is opposite from that of *ituka dokoka-de*, (6b) does not gain the PL preference.

(6) a. **Antecedent sentence**
Taroo-ga ituka   dokoka-de   nai-tei-ta   no-wa oboe-tei-ru   ga,
T-Nom   sometime somewhere-at cry-Stv.-Pst   C-Cont. remember-Stv.-NPst but
'I remember that Taro was crying somewhere sometime, but'

b. **Wh-scrambled structure**
Boku-wa [CP doko-de   itu   ka] oboe-tei-na-i   SP>PL
I-Top   where-at   when   Q   remember-Stv.-Neg-NPst
'I don't remember where or when.'

> ·Temporal adverbs in Japanese adjoin to VP. (e.g. Koizumi 1991)
> ·Whereas some temporal adverbial clauses in Japanese adjoin to VP, others adjoin to TP. (Koizumi 1993)

Deriving Preference

- reconstruction (e.g. Saito 1985) … possibility of privileging the lower copy
- covert movement (e.g. Lasnik and Saito 1984) … presence of the higher copy
- *Minimize Mismatch* between PF and LF expressions (Bobaljik 2002)

(7) **(1b) as the preferred SP**
a. PF: [CP   naze … [VP … nani-o …]…] ⎫
b. LF: [CP   naze … [VP … nani-o …]…] ⎬ PF and LF match

(8) **(1c) as the preferred PL**
a. PF: [CP nani_i-o naze … [VP … nani-o …]…] ⎫
b. LF: [CP nani_i-o naze … [VP … nani-o …]…] ⎬ PF and LF match

(9) **(1b) as the dispreferred PL**
a. PF: [CP nani_i-o naze … [VP … nani-o …]…] ⎫
b. LF: [CP nani_i-o naze … [VP … nani-o …]…] ⎬ PF and LF **don't** match

(10) **(1c) as the dispreferred SP**
a. PF: [CP nani_i-o naze … [VP … nani-o …]…] ⎫
b. LF: [CP nani-o   naze … [VP … nani_i-o …]…] ⎬ PF and LF **don't** match

Supporting the Analysis of Japanese Clefts in (4)
Since the PL preference arises based on the presence of the wh-movement out of VP, a major analysis of Japanese clefts in (11) cannot account the SP preference.

(11) **Hiraiwa and Ishihara's (2012) analysis of the structure in (1b)**

> **False prediction:** Always PL preference

Wh-items have vacated VP.
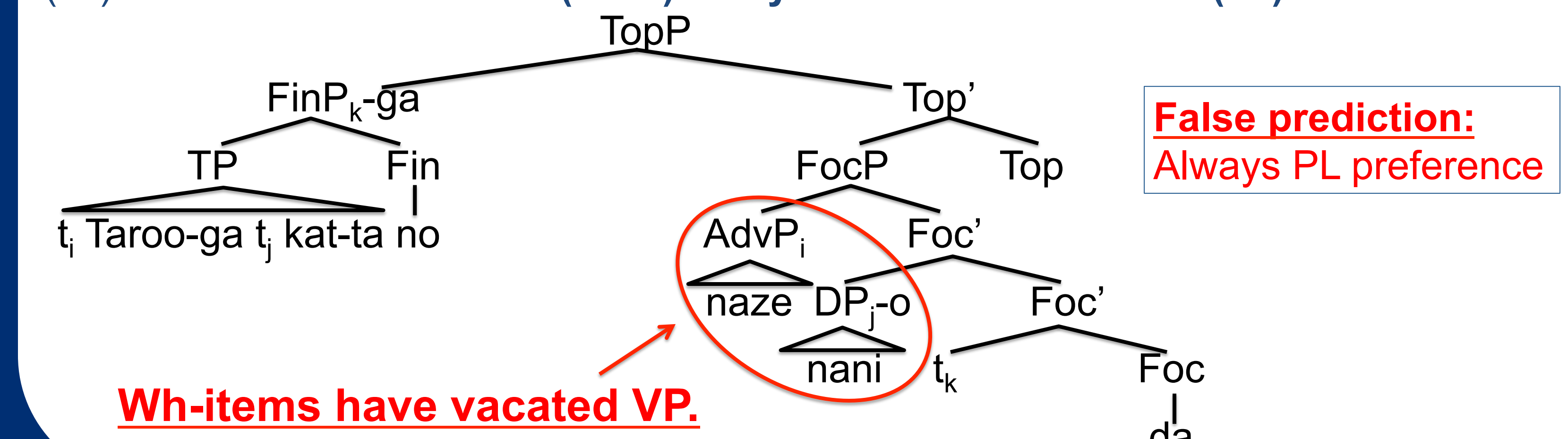
Understanding Potential Counterexamples

Exhaustivity restriction
The scrambling of *nanika-o* in (1a) makes the sentences in (1c-e) produce the SP.

(12) a. **Antecedent sentence**
[Taroo-ga nanika_i-o   nazeka   t_i   kat-ta no]-wa sit-tei-ru   ga
T-Nom   something-Acc   somehow   buy-Pst C-Cont. know-Stv.-NPst but
b. (1c-e) → ✓SP, #PL

The unavailability of the PL in (12b) is ascribed to the emergence of the exhaustive reading by the scrambling in (12a), just like (13) receiving the exhaustive reading.

(13) Taroo-wa piza_i-o [TP [onaka-ga   sui-tei-ta   kara]   t_i kat]-ta
T-Top   pizza-Acc stomach-Nom vacant-Stv.-Pst because   buy-Pst
'Taro bought a piece of pizza (and not others) because he was hungry.'

The paper also discusses the PL prevention by the exhaustive reading due to the prosody change and by the use of a verb, which denotes an event that can not occur more than once (e.g., event of killing John sometime somewhere).

Data Collection
My proposal is based on 6 Japanese native speakers' judgment to various multiple sluicing constructions I read aloud in natural intonation.

Selected References
Bobaljik, J. 2002. 'A-chains at the PF-interface'. Cho. S., Whitman, J., and Yanagida, Y. 2008. 'Clefts in Japanese and Korean. de Hoop, H. 1992. *Case Configuration* Diesing, M. 1992. *Indefinite*. Hiraiwa, K. and Ishihara, S. 2012. 'Syntactic metamorphosis'. Hoji, H. 1985. 'Logical Form Constraints'. Kizu, M. 1997. 'Sluicing in Wh-in-situ Languages'. Koizumi, M. 1991. 'Syntax of Adjuncts'. Koizumi, M. 1993. 'Modal Phrase and Adjuncts'. Lasnik, H. and Saito, M. 1984. 'Proper Government'. Saito, M. 1985. 'Some Asymmetry'.