

A Note on Island-sensitivity of Clefts and Sluicing in Japanese

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1. Introduction

In Japanese, some dependencies are sensitive to island constraints, while others are not. Examples are given below.¹

- (1) [John-ga [island [e_i e_j kaita] hito_i]-o hihansita] ronbun (Relativization)
John-Nom wrote person-Acc criticized paper
'the paper that John criticized the person who wrote (it)'
- (2) Kono tosi_j-wa [John-ga [island [e_i e_j itta] hito_i]-o sitteiru (NP topicalization)
this city-Top John-Nom went person-Acc know
'This city, John knows the person who went (there)'
- (3) *Kono tosi-ni_j-wa [John-ga [island [e_i e_j itta] hito_i]-o sitteiru (PP topicalization)
this city-to-Top John-Nom went person-Acc know
'To this city, John knows the person who went (there)'
- (4) *Kono tosi-ni_j [John-ga [island [e_i e_j itta] hito_i]-o sitteiru (scrambling)
this city-to John-Nom went person-Acc know
'To this city, John knows the person who went (there)'

The dependencies of relativization (1) and NP topicalization (2) are not sensitive to island constraints, while the ones of PP topicalization (3) and scrambling (4) are. Manabe (2003) argues that the presence of a Case-particle/postposition in a dislocated element (the underlined elements in (1)-(4)) is related to island-sensitivity.

In this paper, I will argue that Manabe's (2003) analysis with respect to the correlation between the presence of a Case-marker/postposition and island-sensitivity can be extended to

¹ There are two types of topicalization with respect to the presence of a Case-particle/postposition in the topic. I call topicalization with a Case-particle/postposition attached to the topic *PP topicalization*, and topicalization without a Case-particle/postposition attached to the topic *NP topicalization*. Among PP topicalization, certain Case-particles (Nominative *-ga*, Accusative *-o*, and Genitive *-no*) are incompatible with the topic marker *-wa*.

the cases of clefts in Japanese. I will also point out that island-sensitivity of Japanese sluicing poses a problem to the hypothesis that island constraints are located in the PF component (cf. Merchant 2001a, b).

2. Island-(in)sensitivity and Case-particles/postpositions

The examples in (1)-(4) show that a dependency is not sensitive to island constraints when a Case-particle/postposition (associated with the position of the gap) is attached to a dislocated element. What accounts for this?

Manabe (2003) argues that island-insensitivity in Japanese is related to the availability of a resumptive pronoun. Consider the following configurations.

- (5) a. XP-Case/postposition ... [~~... XP-Case/postposition ...~~]
▲──────────────────────────┘ (island-sensitive)
↙ spelled-out as a resumptive pronoun
- b. XP-∅ ... [~~... XP-Case/postposition ...~~]
▲──────────────────────────┘ (island-insensitive)

(5a) is the configuration where a Case-particle/postposition is attached to a dislocated element, and (5b) is the configuration where a dislocated element does not have a Case-particle/postposition. Under the copy theory of movement, movement leaves a copy, which is to be deleted in the PF component for linearization purposes.² In configuration (5a), “XP-Case/postposition” (XP accompanied by a Case-particle/postposition) moves, leaving a copy. The copy is deleted in the PF component. Thus, the gap is a *trace* in the traditional terminology. In configuration (5b), what moves is XP without a Case-particle/postposition. In this case, the element to be deleted is only XP. The deletion of the copy causes PF crash since an affixal Case-particle/postposition is stranded. In order to avoid PF crash, the copy is spelled-out as a resumptive pronoun. Thus, the gap in (5b) is not a trace but a null resumptive pronoun *pro*.³ Note that in configuration (5a), a resumptive pronoun cannot occur even if the pre-movement position is inside an island. Manabe (2003) argues that this suggests that Japanese resumptive pronouns are introduced in order to repair the otherwise illegitimate PF objects, namely stranded Case-particles/postpositions, and they cannot be introduced in order to repair the violation of island constraints as in English.

Then, how is the difference in island-sensitivity in (5a) and (5b) related to the presence of

² See Nunes (1999). For an alternative view, see Fox and Pesetsky (2003).

³ Since *pro* does not take any overt Case-particle/postposition, I assume that a stranded Case-particle/postposition is deleted somehow in the component of Morphology, and not phonetically realized.

a Case-particle/postposition? Assume that islands are constraints imposed on the computation in the PF component, following Merchant (2001a, b). Assume further that they are constraints on the locality of the process of copy-deletion in the PF component. Then, the island-sensitivity in (5a) follows because the lowest copy cannot be deleted when it is inside an island. The island-insensitivity in (5b) also follows because the lowest copy inside an island is not a copy to be deleted but a resumptive pronoun.⁴

To sum up so far, island-sensitivity, the absence of a Case-particle/postposition in a dislocated element and the availability of resumptive pronouns are correlated for PF reasons.

3. Clefts

This section considers island-sensitivity of clefts. In Japanese clefts, a Case-particle/postposition is optionally attached to the focus element.⁵ This is illustrated in (6).

- (6) a. [John-ga e_i yonda no]-wa kono ronbun-o_i da
 John-Nom read Comp-Top this paper-Acc Cop
 b. [John-ga e_i yonda no]-wa kono ronbun_i da
 John-Nom read Comp-Top this paper Cop
 ‘It is this paper that John read’

In fact, the correlation between the presence of a Case-particle/postposition in a dislocated element and island-sensitivity is also observed in clefts.

⁴ Since a resumptive pronoun has a phonetic matrix different from the copy itself, it induces no problem for linearization. Thus, it is not necessary to delete a resumptive pronoun.

⁵ It is pointed out in the literature that the acceptability of the focus element with a Case-particle/postposition is different in accordance with the kind of Case-particles/postpositions (cf. Nishiyama, Whitman, and Yi 1995, Merchant 1998, Kizu 2000).

- (i) a. [e_i Bungo-ni Aya-o syookaisita no]-wa Kota(*-ga)_i da
 Bungo-Dat Aya-Acc introduced Comp-Top Kota -Nom Cop
 ‘It is Kota that introduced Aya to Bungo’
 b. [Kota-ga Bungo-ni e_i syookaisita no]-wa Aya(??-o)_i da
 Kota-Nom Bungo-Dat introduced Comp-Top Aya -Acc Cop
 ‘It is Aya that Kota introduced to Bungo’
 c. [Kota-ga e_i Aya-o syookaisita no]-wa Bungo(?-ni)_i da
 Kota-Nom Aya-Acc introduced Comp-Top Bungo -Dat Cop
 ‘It is to Bungo that Kota introduced Aya’

(Merchant 1998)

I will put this issue aside, and I will assume that the focus element of clefts is compatible with a Case-particle/postposition.

- (7) a. *[John-ga [_{island} [_{e_i} e_j kaita] hito_i]-o hihansita no]-wa kono ronbun-o_j da
 John-Nom wrote person-Acc criticized Comp-Top this paper-Acc Cop
- b. [John-ga [_{island} [_{e_i} e_j kaita] hito_i]-o hihansita no]-wa kono ronbun_j da
 John-Nom wrote person-Acc criticized Comp-Top this paper Cop
 ‘It is this paper that John criticized the person who wrote (it)’

(Hiraiwa and Ishihara 2002:37)

In (7a), where the Accusative Case-marker is attached to the focus element, the dependency cannot cross an island boundary. On the other hand, in (7b), where the focus element is not Case-marked, the sentence is grammatical even if the dependency crosses an island boundary.

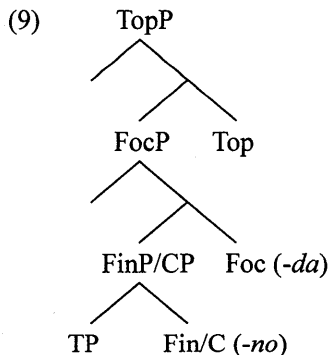
Another contrast to be mentioned with respect to the presence of a Case-particle/postposition is that the occurrence of resumptive pronouns is compatible with the focus element without a Case-particle/postposition and it is incompatible with the focus element with a Case-particle/postposition.

- (8) a. *[John-ga [_{island} [_{e_i} **sore-o**_j kaita] hito_i]-o hihansita no]-wa kono ronbun-o_j
 John-Nom it-Acc wrote person-Acc criticized Comp-Top this paper-Acc
 da
 Cop
- b. [John-ga [_{island} [_{e_i} **sore-o**_j kaita] hito_i]-o hihansita no]-wa kono ronbun_j
 John-Nom it-Acc wrote person-Acc criticized Comp-Top this paper
 da
 Cop
 ‘It is this paper that John criticized the person who wrote (it)’

In English, a dependency crossing an island is rescued by using a resumptive pronoun in place of a gap. In Japanese case (8a), however, the sentence is ungrammatical even though a resumptive pronoun *sore* ‘it’ is used in place of a gap.

These contrasts are accounted for by the PF-resumption analysis shown in the previous section. In (8a), the focus element with a Case-particle moves out of an island. In this case, neither a resumptive pronoun nor deletion of the copy inside an island is available, and thus it is ungrammatical. In (8b), the focus element moves out of an island with a Case-particle stranded, which introduces a resumptive pronoun. In this case, the sentence is grammatical because deletion of the copy inside an island is not necessary.

So far, I have tacitly assumed that movement of the focus element is involved in the derivation of clefts. Hiraiwa and Ishihara (2002) argue that such movement is involved in the derivation of clefts, assuming Rizzi’s (1997) articulated CP structure as in (9).



According to them, movement of the focus element to [Spec, FocP] followed by movement of FinP/CP to [Spec, TopP] is involved in the derivation of clefts.

The claim that movement of the focus element is involved is confirmed by the fact that the focus element is interpreted in the pre-movement position. Consider (10) and (11).

(10) a. *[Kare_i-ga e_j yonda no]-wa John_i-no ronbun-o_j da
 he-Nom read Comp-Top John-Gen paper-Acc Cop

b. *[Kare_i-ga e_j yonda no]-wa John_i-no ronbun_j da
 he-Nom read Comp-Top John-Gen paper Cop
 ‘It is John_i’s paper that he_j read’

(11) *[Mary-ga [_{island} kare_i-ga e_j yonda to-iu uwasa]-o kiita no]-wa John_i-no ronbun_j da
 Mary-Nom he-Nom read Comp rumor-Acc heard Comp-Top John-Acc paper Cop
 ‘It is John_i’s paper that Mary heard the rumor that he_j read’

If the focus element is interpreted in the pre-movement position, the ungrammaticality of (10) and (11) follows because they are in violation of Binding Condition C.

To sum up, island-(in)sensitivity of Japanese clefts is also reduced to the difference in the presence of a Case-particle/postposition in the focus element.

4. Sluicing

Sluicing also exhibits a correlation between the presence of a Case-particle/postposition and island-sensitivity, as well as clefts.⁶

⁶ Takahashi (1994) also observes island-sensitivity of sluicing with a Case-particle/postposition in the remnant in the sluiced clause.

- (12) John-ga [_{island} [_{e_i} ootoo-ni nanika-o okutta] hito;]-o syootaisita rasii ga,
 John-Nom brother-Dat something-Acc sent person-Acc invited seem but
 a. *watasi-wa [nani-o (da) ka] sira-nai
 I-Top what-Acc Cop Q know-not
 b. watasi-wa [nani (da) ka] sira-nai
 I-Top what Cop Q know-not
 ‘It seems that John invited a person who had sent something to his brother, but I don’t
 know what’
 (Fukaya and Hoji 1999:146)

As for English sluicing, it is assumed that IP is elided after the *wh*-phrase moves out of IP. The derivation of Japanese sluicing is controversial, however, since Japanese is a *wh*-in-situ language. Takahashi (1994) argues that Japanese sluicing also involves *wh*-movement followed by IP ellipsis, while other researchers (Merchant 1998, Kizu 2000, and Hiraiwa and Ishihara 2002 among others) argue that Japanese sluicing is derived from clefts. Before discussing island-sensitivity of sluicing, I will show some properties of sluicing in Japanese.

4.1. Properties

First, a copula optionally appears in a sluiced clause. Examples are given in (13), as well as in (12).

- (13) John-ga dareka-o syootaisita rasii ga,
 John-Nom someone-Acc invited seem but
 a. watasi-wa [dare-o (da) ka] wakara-nai
 I-Top who-Acc Cop Q know-not
 b. watasi-wa [dare (da) ka] wakara-nai
 I-Top who Cop Q know-not
 ‘It seems that John invited someone, but I don’t know who’

Second, a linguistic antecedent is required when a Case-particle/postposition is present in a *wh*-phrase in a sluiced clause, but it is not required when a Case-particle/postposition is absent.

- (14) [Context: The angry voice of a teacher whom John and Bill both know is coming out of a room. The teacher is obviously scolding someone.]
 (John to Bill): a. *(Boku-wa) [dare-o (da) ka] wakaruyo
 I-Top who-Acc Cop Q know

- b. (Boku-wa) [dare (da) ka] wakaruyo
 I-Top who Cop Q know
 'I know who' (intended as 'I know who the teacher is scolding')
 (Fukaya and Hoji 1999:146 with a slight modification)

Third, the pronoun *sore* 'it' optionally occurs in the subject position of a sluiced clause when a Case-particle/postposition is absent, while it cannot when a Case-particle/postposition is present.

- (15) Mary-ga nanika-o katta rasii ga,
 Mary-Nom something-Acc bought seem but
 a. *boku-wa [**sore-ga** nani-o (da) ka] wakara-nai
 I-Top it-Nom what-Acc Cop Q know-not
 b. boku-wa [**sore-ga** nani (da) ka] wakara-nai
 I-Top it-Nom what Cop Q know-not
 'It seems that Mary bought something, but I don't know what it is'
 (Hiraiwa and Ishihara 2002:41)

Fourth, sluicing in Japanese is possible with non-*wh*-agreeing complementizers such as *kadooka* 'whether' or *to* 'that', unlike in English.

- (16) John-ga dareka-o kubinisita rasii kedo, boku-wa [Bill(-o) (da) kadooka]
 John-Nom someone-Acc fired seem but I-Top Bill -Acc Cop whether
 sira-nai
 know-not
 'It seems that John fired someone, but I don't know whether (it was) Bill'
 (17) John-ga dareka-o kubinisita rasii kedo, boku-wa [Bill(-o) (da) to] omou
 John-Nom someone-Acc fired seem but I-Top Bill -Acc Cop Comp think
 'It seems that John fired someone, and I think that (it was) Bill'
 (Merchant 1998)

Finally, sluicing shows island-sensitivity in the cases where a Case-particle/postposition is present, while it does not in the cases where a Case-particle/postposition is absent. Examples are given in (12), repeated here as (18).^{7, 8}

⁷ The element to appear in the sluiced clause can be the whole part of the complex NP.

(i) ..., watasi-wa [[[e_i ootoo-ni nani-o okutta] hito_i]-(-o) (da) ka] sira-nai
 I-Top brother-Dat what-Acc sent man -Acc Cop Q know-not
 The occurrence of a complex NP is obligatory in multiple sluicing.

- (18) John-ga [_{island} [_{e_i} ootoo-ni nanika-o okutta] hito_i]-o syootaisita rasii ga,
 John-Nom brother-Dat something-Acc sent person-Acc invited seem but
 a. *watasi-wa [nani-o (da) ka] sira-nai
 I-Top what-Acc Cop Q know-not
 b. watasi-wa [nani (da) ka] sira-nai
 I-Top what Cop Q know-not
 'It seems that John invited a person who had sent something to his brother, but I don't know what'

4.2. Derivation

Based on these five properties of Japanese sluicing, the derivation of Japanese sluicing is

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- (ii) John-wa [_{island} [_{e_i} dareka-ni nanika-o ageta] hito_i]-ni atta rasii ga,
 John-Top someone-Dat something-Acc gave person-Dat met seem but
 a. *watasi-wa [dare-ni nani-o (da) ka] sira-nai
 I-Top who-Dat what-Acc Cop Q know-not
 b. watasi-wa [[[_{e_i} dare-ni nani-o ageta] hito_i] (-ni) (da) ka] sira-nai
 I-Top who-Dat what-Acc gave person-Dat Cop Q know-not
 'It seems that John met a person who had given something to someone, but I don't know who what'

This is related to the fact that Case-particles/postpositions are obligatory in multiple sluicing. In this case, (iib) is the only possible way to avoid the island violation.

⁸ Short answers to *wh*-questions show the same contrast in island-sensitivity.

- (i) Q: Mary-wa dare-ni atta no
 Mary-Top who-Dat met Q
 'Who did Mary meet'
 A: a. John-ni desu
 John-Dat Cop
 b. John desu
 John Cop
 '(It's) John'
- (ii) Q: Mary-wa [_{island} [_{e_i} dare-ni atta] hito_i]-to hanasita no
 Mary-Top who-Dat met person-with talked Q
 'Who did Mary talk with the person who had met (him/her)'
 A: a. *John-ni desu
 John-Dat Cop
 b. John desu
 John Cop
 '(It's) John'
 c. [[_{e_i} John-ni atta] hito] (-to) desu
 John-Dat met person -with Cop
 '(It's) the person who met John'

The judgment of (iiAb) is contrary to the one of Pesetsky (1987) and Nishigauchi (1990). According to them, an answer like (iiAb) is ungrammatical or severely degraded, and the whole part of a complex NP as in (iiAc) must be used as an answer instead. However, many speakers including me accept answer (iiAb).

considered as follows.

The (optional) presence of a copula as in (13) suggests that sluicing involves some kind of construction where a copula is involved.

In the cases where a Case-particle/postposition is absent, the fact that no linguistic antecedent is needed (14b) and the (optional) occurrence of the overt subject in a sluiced clause (15b) suggest that it is possible that the focus element is base-generated and the overt pronoun *sore* 'it' or a null pronoun *pro* occupies the position of the subject in a sluiced clause.

As for the cases where a Case-particle/postposition is present, on the other hand, island-sensitivity shows that movement is involved. But the fact that sluicing is possible with non-*wh*-agreeing complementizers indicates that the movement is not *wh*-movement as in English, but it is focus movement as in the derivation of clefts. Thus, I assume with Hiraiwa and Ishihara (2002) that focus movement followed by FinP/CP deletion is involved in these cases.

4.3. A Puzzle

Now, I will consider a problem posed by island-sensitivity of Japanese sluicing, based on the discussion of the preceding subsections.⁹

In the cases where a Case-particle/postposition is present in the focus element in a sluiced clause, a resumptive pronoun cannot occur because it includes the same configuration as (5a) in its derivation. Thus, island repair by resumption as shown in Section 2 is impossible.

Though island repair by resumption is not available, Merchant (2001a, b) shows that sluicing in English repairs island violations as in (19).

- (19) a. They want to hire someone who speaks a Balkan language, but I don't know which
(Balkan language) they want to hire [_{island} someone who speaks *t*]
b. *I don't know which (Balkan language) they want to hire someone who speaks *t*
(Merchant 2001b:4)

According to Merchant (2001b), island violations are repaired because PF-uninterpretable features resulting from movement out of an island are deleted by sluicing (IP ellipsis). This poses a problem to island-sensitivity of Japanese sluicing. If the same kind of derivation

⁹ As for the cases where a Case-particle/postposition is absent in the focus element in a sluiced clause, island effects are not observed. If the focus is base-generated as suggested above, it is natural that island effects are not observed because no movement is involved. Suppose that movement is involved nevertheless. It is possible that the island violation is repaired by resumption because it has the same configuration as (5b). Also it is possible that the island violation is repaired by ellipsis. Thus, it is difficult to decide at this point why sluicing without a Case-particle/postposition in the focus element is not island-sensitive.

(movement followed by deletion) is involved in Japanese sluicing, it is quite puzzling why island violations are observed.

There are two possible solutions to this puzzle. One is that Japanese lacks island repair by ellipsis for some reason. The other is that Japanese has island repair by ellipsis, but (12a) is ungrammatical for a reason other than the island violation in the sluiced clause. Merchant (2001b) shows that island repair effects are absent when the correlate in sluicing is a name or a quantifier.

- (20) *Abby wants to hire someone who speaks GREEK, but I don't remember what OTHER languages ~~she wants to hire~~ [_{island} ~~someone who speaks t~~]

(Merchant 2001b:14)

In (20), the correlate is a name, not an indefinite. In this case, island-sensitivity is observed, unlike in (19a). Thus, it is possible that there are some problematic factors in the antecedent, not in the sluiced clause.

5. Summary

In this paper, I have shown that Manabe's (2003) analysis with respect to the correlation among island-insensitivity, the absence of a Case-particle/postposition in a dislocated element and the availability of resumptive pronouns can be extended to clefts in Japanese. I have also shown that sluicing in Japanese (at least when a Case-particle/postposition is attached to the focus element) involves movement, based on the similarity between clefts and sluicing. But the problem remains why island repair by ellipsis is not observed in Japanese sluicing. This is an issue which will be taken up in future research.

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