

## Japanese Sluicing with an AP Remnant as a Copular Sentence-Based Sluicing

**Overview:** This squib provides novel data of Japanese sluicing with an AP remnant (hereafter AP sluicing), and supports the claim that AP sluicing can derive from a copular sentence in languages that do not allow *Left Branch Extraction* (hereafter LBC) violation.

**Background:** Merchant (1999) proposes sluicing can repair the LBC violation (1-2).

(1) \*[How diligent]<sub>i</sub> has Judy hired [a t<sub>i</sub> worker]? **LBC violation**

(2) Judy has hired a diligent worker, but I don't know how diligent. **LBC violation repair**

He shows the same holds for Dutch sluicing. But in Dutch, the remnant AP patterns with the predicative AP in terms of the agreement morpheme (as opposed to the attributive AP). This suggests that Dutch AP sluicing derives from a copular sentence. Also, Barros et al. (2015) provide sluicing data in English, German, and Hungarian, and propose a copular sentence-based AP sluicing for those languages, according which the *sluice* in (2) (underlined) is that in (3).

(3) [how diligent]<sub>i</sub> [~~the worker that Judy has hired is t<sub>i</sub>~~]

However, Merchant (1999) rejects the analysis in (3) partly because adopting (3) requires his antecedent condition to be weakened; for example, we must ignore the contribution of *the* in (3) for the elided part to be e-GIVEN. Thus, more data are needed to decide whether such weakening of his antecedent condition should be pursued.

**Japanese AP sluicing:** This section demonstrates that Japanese data (besides Indo-European and Uralic languages) also suggests that AP sluicing derives from a copular sentence.<sup>1</sup>

In light of Japanese *small clause-based sluicing* with an NP remnant (Harada 2016), an example of Japanese AP sluicing is shown in (4).

(4) a. Ken-wa [zibun-no okusan-ni taka-i yubiwa-o ageru-to] kimeta

K-Top self-Gen wife-Dat expensive-N(on)P(a)st ring-Acc give-C decided  
'Ken decided that he would give his wife an expensive ring.'

b. Sho-wa [[ △ [donokurai taka-ku]] (su-ru)-ka] kimeteinai  
S-Top how expensive-ku su-NPst-Q hasn't decided

'Sho hasn't decided [how expensive]<sub>i</sub>[(he will make)][~~the ring he will give his wife~~ t<sub>i</sub>].'

(4a) is the antecedent for (4b). The △, the location of ellipsis, involves [*zibun-no okusan-ni ageru-yubiwa*]-o 'self-Gen wife-Dat give ring-Acc.' Roughly speaking, *su* corresponds to an English causative *make*. Importantly, the AP in (4b) has *ku*, a copula in the sense that it connects the elided subject and its predicate, i.e., *donokurai taka* (Nishiyama 1999).

The presence of ellipsis rather than *pro* in the △ position is supported by the availability of the sloppy reading, i.e., Sho hasn't decided how expensive a ring he will give to *his own* (and not Ken's) wife (e.g., Takahashi 1994). Also, the availability of eliding the material in the △ is independently supported by the claim that Japanese argument can delete (Oku 1998). Likewise, *su-ru* can also delete in a context other than sluicing.<sup>2</sup>

(5) [kore-o kara-ku] **si-te**, [are-o niga-ku] si-ta  
this-Acc spicy-ku si-te that-Acc bitter-ku si-Pst

'I made this spicy, that sweet, and that over there bitter.'

In light of the discussion above, I argue that Japanese has AP sluicing as in (4), and that it derives from a copular sentence. Therefore, now it seems more worth reconsidering Merchant's antecedent condition so that sluicing can derive from a copular sentence.

**Selected References:** Barros, M., Thoms, G., and Elliott, P. (2015). Island repair. Harada, M. (2016). Small clause-based sluicing. Merchant, J. (1999). The syntax of silence. Nishiyama, K. (1999). Adjectives and the copulas in Japanese. Oku, S. 1998. Selection and Reconstruction. Shimoyama, J. 1995. 'sluicing' in Japanese. Takahashi, D. (1994). Sluicing in Japanese.

<sup>1</sup> Japanese sluicing with an NP remnant has been proposed to derive from a copular sentence (e.g., Shimoyama 1995). But this does not necessarily mean that Japanese AP sluicing also derives from a copular sentence.

<sup>2</sup> *Si* is an allomorph of *su*, and *te* serves to conjoin two clauses.