

Voice-Mismatches under Japanese N'-Deletion and Syntactic Identity

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Synopsis: The goal of this paper is to illustrate that N'-deletion (Saito & Murasugi 1990, Saito, Lin & Murasugi 2008), once applied to nominals taking clausal complements, provides a new testing ground for several issues concerning ellipsis. To be more specific, I argue that N'-deletion applied to *kata*-nominals in Japanese (Kishimoto 2006; see also Sugioka 1992, Kageyama 1993, Hoshi 2002, Miyagawa 2009, 2012, a.o.), where the suffix *-kata* 'way' takes a vP-complement, offers a novel way of examining the proposal concerning voice-mismatches under ellipsis (Merchant 2008, 2013, a.o.).

Background: Based on contrasts such as found in (1a-b), Merchant (2008, 2013) proposes that the availability of voice-mismatching ellipsis depends on whether the ellipsis site contains the head that specifies the voice-property of the clause or not. That is, assuming that Voice/v in (2) is specified for [active] or [passive], this syntactic feature blocks voice-mismatching TP-ellipsis (such as sluicing) as in (1a) while voice-mismatching VP-ellipsis in (1b) is allowed as the ellipsis site excludes it.

- (1) a. Joe was murdered, but they don't know who *(murdered him). [sluicing]
 b. The system can be used by anyone who wants to (use it). [VP-ellipsis]
- (2) [TP ... [Voice/vP ... Voice/v_[active/passive] [VP ...]]]

As for Japanese, Sugisaki (2016) for instance argues that sluicing in (Child) Japanese patterns with English sluicing, based on examples like (3). There are, however, at least two potential interfering factors in examining Merchant's proposal from Japanese.

- (3) Dareka-ga John-o yatotta-ga, boku-wa [dare-ni *(kare-ga yatowareta) ka] siranai
someone-Nom J.-Acc hired-but I-Top who-by he-Nom was.hired Q not.know
 'Someone hired John, but I don't know by whom he was hired.'

First, the lack of (the English-type) VP-ellipsis in Japanese (cf. Kuno 1978) simply prohibits us from providing legitimate voice-mismatching cases, making it difficult to fully verify Merchant's proposal. Second, it has been claimed that sluicing in Japanese is derived from cleft construction via argument ellipsis (Saito 2004, a.o.), which may have different properties from the process involved in sluicing and VP-ellipsis (Sakamoto 2017, a.o.). This also renders it difficult to make a straightforward confirmation of Merchant's idea from Japanese.

Data: Against this background, I point out that N'-deletion applied to *kata*-nominals provides a more straightforward way of examining the issue from Japanese. (4) are typical examples of *kata*-nominals. One interesting property of *kata*-nominals is that complex predicates such as causatives and passives can be attached by *-kata*, as shown in (5) (adapted from Kishimoto 2006:775). Kishimoto (2006) thus proposes that *-kata* 'way' is a noun that takes a vP complement, as in (6).

- (4) a. Taroo-ga sushi-o tabe-ta a'. Taroo-{*ga/no} sushi-{*o/no} tabe-kata
T.-Nom sushi-Acc eat-Past T.-Nom/Gen sushi-Acc/Gen eat-way
 'Taroo ate sushi.' 'the way of Taroo's eating sushi'
- b. Taroo-ga butai-de odot-ta b'. Taroo-{*ga/no} butai-de*(-no) odori-kata
T.-Nom stage-on dance-Past T.-Nom/Gen stage-on-Gen dance-way
 'Taroo danced on the stage.' 'the way of Taroo's dancing on the stage'

- (5) kono hon-no yom-ase-kata/yom-are-kata [causative/passive]
this book-Gen read-Cause-way/read-Pass-way
 'the way of causing (someone) to read this book/the way of this book's being read'

- (6) [NP [vP XP-no YP-no V-v] -kata]

Since *kata*-nominals are nominals, they are expected to be eligible for N'-deletion, where an NP-complement of D is elided (Saito & Murasugi 1990, Saito, Lin & Murasugi 2008). The examples in (7) and (8) indicate that voice-matching N'-deletion is indeed possible (note that N'-deletion in Japanese allows multiple genitive-marked remnants; see Kimura 1994, Saito & Fukui 1998).

- (7) a. Kaseizin-no kiti-no kowasi-kata-wa yuruseru-ga, ... [active antecedent]
Martians-Gen base-Gen destroy-way-Top admissible-but
 'Martians' way of destroying the base is admissible, but ...'
- b. kinseizin-no tosi-no (kowasi-kata)-wa yurusenai [active ellipsis]
Venusians-Gen city-Gen destroy-way-Top not.admissible

- ‘Venusians’ (way of destroying) the city is not admissible.’
- (8) a. Kaseizin-niyotte-no kiti-no kowas-are-kata-wa yuruseru-ga, ... [passive antecedent]
Martians-by-Gen base-Gen destroy-Pass-way-Top admissible-but
 ‘The base’s way of being destroyed by Martians is admissible, but ...’
- b. kinseizin-niyotte-no tosi-no (kowas-are-kata)-wa yurusenai [passive ellipsis]
Venusians-by-Gen city-Gen destroy-Pass-way-Top not.admissible
 ‘the city’s (way of being destroyed) by Venusians is not admissible.’

However, voice-mismatching N⁷-deletion is not possible. That is, ellipsis is blocked for (7b) if it is anteceded by (8a) (i.e. passive-antecedent/active ellipsis). Similarly, (8b) with ellipsis results in ungrammaticality when it is preceded by (7a) (i.e. active-antecedent/passive-ellipsis). This contrasts with the examples with verbal nouns (VNs) like *hakai* ‘destruction’ (Martin 1975, Grimshaw & Mester 1988, Kageyama 1993, a.o.) in (9)-(10). N⁷-deletion is possible even when (9b) is anteceded by (10a) and (10b) is anteceded by (9a). Thus, the observed patterns can be summarized as in (11).

- (9) a. Kaseizin-no kiti-no hakai-wa yuruseru-ga, ... [active antecedent]
Martians-Gen base-Gen destruction-Top admissible-but
 ‘Martians’ destruction of the base is admissible, but ...’
- b. kinseizin-no tosi-no (hakai)-wa yurusenai [active ellipsis]
Venusians-Gen city-Gen destruction-Top not.admissible
 ‘Venusians’ (destruction) of the city is not admissible.’
- (10) a. Kaseizin-niyotte-no kiti-no hakai-wa yuruseru-ga, ... [passive antecedent]
Martians-by-Gen base-Gen destruction-Top admissible-but
 ‘The base’s destruction by Martians is admissible, but ...’
- b. kinseizin-niyotte-no tosi-no (hakai)-wa yurusenai [passive ellipsis]
Venusians-by-Gen city-Gen destruction-Top not.admissible
 ‘the city’s (destruction) by Venusians is not admissible.’

(11)	<i>Kata</i> -nominals	Verbal Nouns
Voice-matching N ⁷ -deletion	OK ((7a-b), (8a-b))	OK ((9a-b), (10a-b))
Voice-mismatching N ⁷ -deletion	* ((7a)-(8b), (8a)-(7b))	OK ((9a)-(10b), (10a)-(9b))

Discussion: The observed pattern can readily be captured in terms of Merchant-style syntactic identity, given the structures in (12a) and (12b) for N⁷-deletion with *kata*-nominals and that with VNs, respectively. In (12a), ellipsis applies to the NP headed by *-kata*, which in turn takes a vP-complement. Assuming that v is specified for [active/passive] (in fact the distinction between Voice and v does not matter), voice-mismatching N⁷-deletion is blocked just like English sluicing, while the lack of v within VNs makes voice-mismatching N⁷-deletion possible. Note that the current study can overcome the problems mentioned above. First, to examine Merchant’s proposal from Japanese, the comparison of *kata*-nominals with VNs constitutes a more suitable test case than looking at sluicing alone. Second, the structural parallelism between N⁷-deletion in (12) and sluicing (schematically given in (13)) allows us to make a more straightforward comparison, avoiding the interference of argument ellipsis.

(12) a. [DP *kinseizin-no_i tosi-no_j* [_{NP} [_{VP} *t_i t_j V v*] *kata*] D] b. [DP *kinseizin-no_i tosi-no_j* [_{VNP} *t_i t_j VN*] D]

(13) [CP wh_i [_{TP} ... [_{VP} ... *t_i* ...]]]

Note also that a purely semantic identity approach must make a distinction between the cases with *kata*-nominals and those with VNs in a way that the active/passive pairs are not semantically identical only in the former, which seems quite difficult. Thus, the current study argues for the necessity of syntactic identity for ellipsis. A more broad implication is that N⁷-deletion, especially applied to nominals taking clausal complements, can provide a novel opportunity to examine various proposals based on contrasts between sluicing and VP-ellipsis from languages lacking VP-ellipsis.

Selected References: Kishimoto, H. 2006. Japanese syntactic nominalization and VP-internal syntax. *Lingua*.| Merchant, J. 2013. Voice and ellipsis, *LI*.| Sugisaki, K. 2016. Sluicing and its identity conditions in the acquisition of Japanese. *BUCLD 40*.