

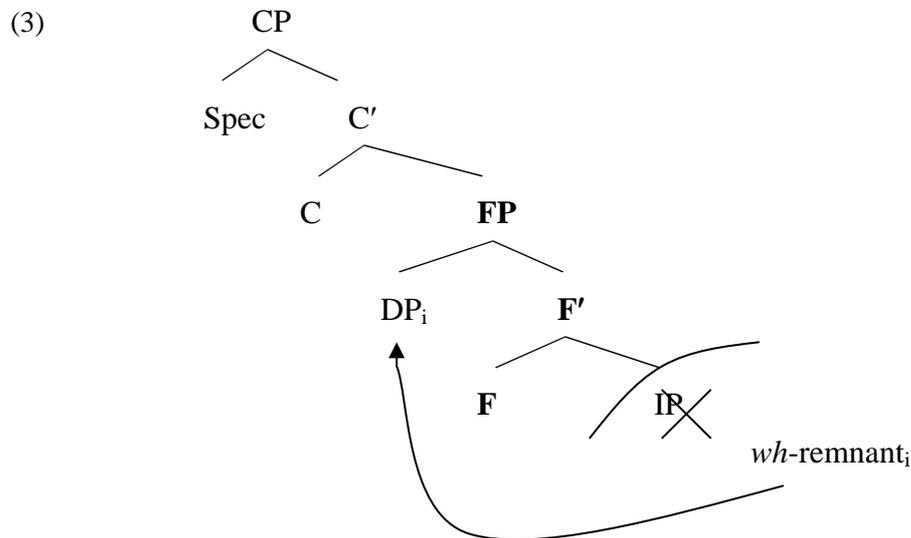
Sluicing and Focus Movement in Wh-in-situ Languages

Sluicing, the construction of a *wh*-phrase followed by an empty elliptical part, has been an intricate issue discussed since Ross (1969). (1) is a typical example. In *wh*-moving languages, the elliptical part is an IP, and the *wh*-phrase is immune from ellipsis since it either *wh*-moves (PF-Deletion, cf. Takahashi 1994, Lasnik 1999, Merchant 2001) or is base-generated in [SPEC, CP] (LF-Copy, cf. Chung et al 1995, Nishigauchi 1998). However, the picture is murky for *wh*-in-situ languages. Starting from the discussion of Chinese sluicing, this paper argues that movement of *wh*-phrases always takes place overtly prior to IP-Ellipsis, either to satisfy [+*wh*] feature as in English or to meet [+*focus*] feature requirement in *wh*-in-situ languages.

It is observed in Wang (2002) that the equivalent sluicing construction in Chinese exhibits a characteristic distinct from canonic sluicing sentences: the presence of copula/focus marker *shi* is obligatory in sluiced *wh*-arguments as in (2a) while it is optional in *wh*-adjuncts in (2b). This asymmetry conforms to Huang's (1982) observation of the argument-adjunct asymmetry when *wh*-phrases in Chinese move overtly. Based on the following reasons, we argue that in Chinese sluicing *wh*-phrases undergo focus movement prior to IP-Ellipsis when PF deletion applies, represented in (3). In other words, Chinese exhibits genuine sluicing, which assimilates to neither reduced cleft construction nor pro-drop (cf. Kizu 1997, Fukaya 2003, Wei 2004, P. Wang 2003). First, *wh*-phrase in sluicing is indeed an interrogative CP, instead of base-generated DP argument, hinged on the selection restrictions and extraposition facts. Second, sprouting, creating a syntactic projection that corresponds to an implicit argument in the antecedent, is applicable in Chinese (4). Third, the persistent rejection of *zenmeyang* '(manner) how' in Chinese sluicing falls naturally only under focus movement account. Specifically, the impossibility of *zenmeyang* arises from its usual incapability of feeding focus movement as shown in (5). Fourth and most important of all, in addition to the focus marker *shi*, prepositions such as *gen* 'with', *gei* 'to', are also found to occur with sluiced *wh*-arguments (6). This is totally unexpected under previous accounts. We show that the occurrence asymmetry of an accompanying element with sluiced *wh*-phrases, either *shi* or prepositions, originates in the case-assigning problem. According to Li (1990), Chinese case assignment is strictly subject to adjacency condition. Since the intervention of CP prohibits the *wh*-argument from getting case from the verb; the copula/focus marker or preposition is thus inserted to assign case and salvage the derivation. This corresponds to Japanese sluicing. As argued in Fukaya and Hoji (1999), the presence of case particles is required in genuine Japanese sluicing (7). All the facts and predictions above are completely mysterious if sluicing is only cleft or pro-drop. One last point worth pointing out is that *shi* support should not be expected in sluicing under the LF copying account because base-generation should not choose whether or not a licensing element, like *shi*, has to emerge in the initial lexical selection. This account also captures the notion of case filter, since the criterion, being a filter, must be an output condition that should be applied at the level of PF.

The focus movement analysis of sluicing can be extended to other *wh*-in-situ languages, such as Japanese, Korean, and the like. We suggest that overt focus movement is an essential step in deriving sluicing sentences in all *wh*-in-situ languages, only differing in their base derivative form and individual grammar requirements.

- (1) a. Mary went out with somebody --- guess who.
 b. Mary went out with somebody --- guess who_i she went out with t_i.
- (2) a. Zhangsan zuotian jiandao yige dongxi, keshi wo bu zhidao *(shi) shenme.
 Zhangsan yesterday picked-up a thing, but I not know (be) what.
 ‘Zhangsan picked up something, but I don’t know what.’
 b. Zhangsan qu-le meigu, keshi wo bu zhidao weisheme.
 Zhangsan went America, but I not know why
 ‘Zhangsan went to America, but I don’t know why.’



- (4) Zhangsan qu kan dianying le, keshi wo bu zhidao **gen shei**.
 Zhangsan went see movie but I not know with who
 ‘Zhangsan went to the movies but I don’t know with whom.’
- (5) a. *Zhangsan xiuru Lisi, keshi wo bu zhidao zenmeyang.
 Zhangsan insult Lisi but I not know how
 b. Zhangsan zenmeyang xiuru Lisi ?
 Zhangsan how insult Lisi
 ‘How did Zhangsan insult Lisi?’
 c. *Zenmeyang_i Zhangsan t_i xiuru Lisi ?
- (6) Zhangsan gen yi-ge ren chuqu-le, keshi wo bu zhidao gen shei.
 Zhangsan with one man went-out but I not know with who
 ‘Zhangsan went out with somebody, but I don’t know (with) who.’
- (7) Taroo-ga Hanako-ni nanika-o ageta rasii ga
 Taroo-nom Hanako-dat something-acc gave seem but
 ‘It seems that Taroo gave Hanako something, but...’
 a. boku-wa [nani-**o** (da) ka] wakara-nai (Genuine Sluicing)
 I-top what-acc cop Q know-not
 ‘I don’t know what.’
 b. boku-wa [nani (da) ka] wakara-nai (Pseudo-sluicing)
 I-top what cop Q know-not

Selected References

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