

Sosite-Coordination of Case-Marked Nominals in Japanese

Japanese has nominal coordination in which conjunction *-to* is attached to the first conjunct and the entire coordinate structure is case-marked ((1a), I confine myself to cases with two 'conjuncts'). I call this construction *To-Coordination* (TC). Japanese allows a construction in which conjunction *sosite* is flanked by case-marked nominals too (1b). I dub this construction *Sosite-Coordination of Case-Marked Nominals* (SCCMN) and refer to the first 'conjunct' and the second one as the *Case-Marked Nominal 1* (CMN1) and CMN2, respectively. The CMN1 and CMN2 bear the same grammatical function, the same semantic role, and the same case. This paper considers the structure of SCCMN, comparing it with TC. As for TC, I assume that the conjuncts form a constituent (i.e. a nominal coordinate structure) (2). See Oda (2017), for details of structure (2).

(1a) John-ga [*Kokoro-to Sorekara*]-o yon-da
 John-NOM *Kokoro*-CONJ *Sorekara*-ACC read-PAST 'John read *Kokoro* and *Sorekara*. ((1a, b))'

(1b) John-ga *Kokoro*-o, *sosite* *Sorekara*-o(?,) yon-da
Kokoro-ACC CONJ *Sorekara*-ACC

(2) [_{NP1/ConjP} [_{NP2} *Kokoro*]-to [_{NP3} *Sorekara*]]-o ((1a))

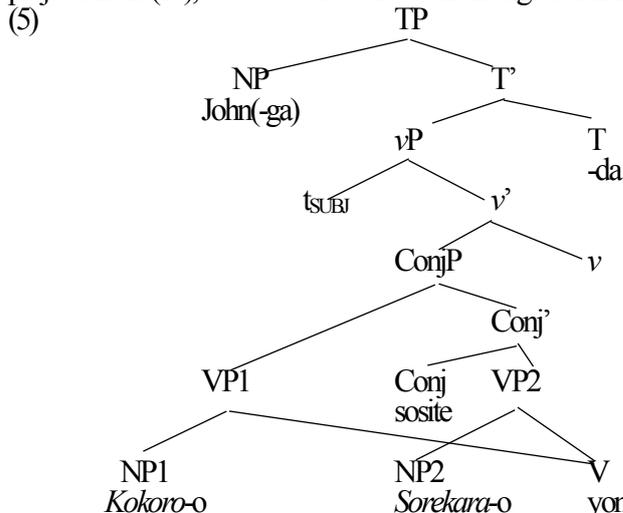
I assume that UG allows Parallel Merge and multi-domination (Citko 2005): Merge can apply to a syntactic object (e.g. B in (3b)) that has already been merged with another one (i.e. A) and is already dominated by a mother (i.e. C) to form B's new mother (i.e. E). In (3b), neither E nor C dominates the other, E and C dominate B, and B is shared by E and C ((4)). Merger of A and D with B in (3) is an instance of Parallel Merge.

(3) a. A is merged with B to form C. b. D is merged with B to form E.



(4) X and Y share Z iff (i) neither X nor Y dominates the other, and (ii) both X and Y dominate Z.

On this theoretical basis, I propose that SCCMN arises if the CMNs undergo Parallel Merge with a predicate or its projection. In (1b), two accusative NPs each undergo Parallel Merge with V to form 'their own' VP (5).



In the case of (5), VP2 is then merged with Conj as the second conjunct (the complement of Conj) and VP1 is then merged as the first conjunct (the specifier of Conj). ConjP is merged with v. I assume that the material shared by both the conjuncts (e.g. V in (5)) is ordered after the non-shared part of the second conjunct (see Citko (2018), for technical details). The CMNs that undergo Parallel Merge with the same predicate or the same projection of a predicate receive the same semantic role and bear the same grammatical function. They are case-licensed by the same element (V, v, or V-v complex in (5)) and thus bear the same case.

Importantly, under this analysis, the CMNs in SCCMN do not form a constituent, unlike conjuncts in TC. This point explains several facts about SCCMN. Among them is its behavior in Genuine Sluicing (GS), which this abstract concentrates on for the space-reason. GS is exemplified by the reduced interrogative complement in (6). The antecedent of this clausal ellipsis contains the volitional modal (*y*)oo. Takita (2012) shows that the reduced interrogative clause in (6) cannot be taken to involve the cleft-construction and should be taken to engage wh-movement into [Spec, C] and deletion of the complement of C ((7)).

(6) John-wa [[*dono hon*]-o *yom-oo*]-ka] *kime-ta-ga*, Bill-wa [[*dono hon*]-o *e-ka*]
 John-TOP which book-ACC read-VOL-Q decide-PAST-but Bill-TOP which book-ACC -Q
kime-agune-tei-ru 'John decided which book he would read,
 decide-hesitate-ASP-PRES but Bill still cannot decide which book.'

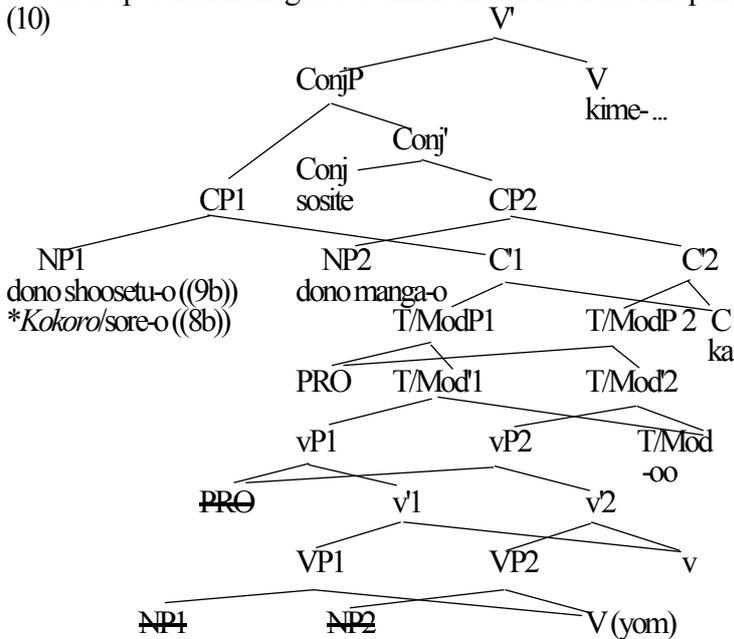
(7) Bill-wa [_{CP} [_{NP} *dono hon*]-o [_C ~~PRO~~ *yom-oo*]-ka] *kime-agune-tei-ru*

In (7), wh-word *dono* pied-pipes the entire object. I assume that pied-piping is induced by a covert question-particle Q (Cable 2010): a constituent that dominates a wh-word (e.g. NP in (7)) is merged with Q by set- or pair-merge to form [_{QNP} [_{NP} *dono hon*]-o] Q], and the entire QP/NP is moved. Then a string of terminal symbols can be wh-moved by pied-piping, only if it forms a constituent that Q can be merged with. With this in mind, let us turn to the behavior of TC and SCCMN in GS. In both TC and SCCMN, one of the 'conjuncts' or both can be wh-phrases (e.g. the first clauses in (8) and (9)). TC is allowed as the remnant in GS both in cases when only one

of the conjuncts is a wh-phrase (8a) and in cases when they are both wh-phrases (9a). SCCMN is allowed as the remnant when both the CMNs are wh-phrases (9b), but not when only one of them is a wh-phrase (8b).

- (8a) John-wa [CP [TP [NP1/ConjP [NP2 *Kokoro*]-to [NP3 dono manga]]-o yom-oo]-ka] kime-ta-ga
 John-TOP *Kokoro*-CONJ which comic-ACC read-VOL-Q decide-PAST-but
 Bill-wa [CP [NP1/ConjP [NP2 *Kokoro/sore*]-to [NP3 dono manga]]-o e-ka] kime-agune-tei-ru
 Bill-TOP *Kokoro/it*-CONJ which comic-ACC -Q decide-hesitate-ASP-PRES
- (8b) John-wa [CP [TP *Kokoro*-o, sosite [dono manga]-o yom-oo]-ka] kime-ta-ga, Bill-wa
Kokoro-ACC CONJ which comic-ACC
 [CP {?**Kokoro*/**sore*}-o, sosite [dono manga]-o e-ka] kime-agune-tei-ru
Kokoro/it-ACC CONJ which comic-ACC -Q 'I. decided *Kokoro* and which comic
 he would read, but B. still cannot decide {*Kokoro/it*} and which comic.'
- (9a) John-wa [CP [TP [NP1/ConjP [NP2 dono shoosetu]-to [NP3 dono manga]]-o yom-oo]-ka] kime-ta-ga,
 John-TOP which novel-CONJ which comic-ACC read-VOL-Q decide-PAST-but
 Bill-wa [CP [NP1/ConjP [NP2 dono shoosetu]-to [NP3 dono manga]]-o e-ka] kime-agune-tei-ru
 Bill-TOP which novel-CONJ which comic-ACC -Q decide-hesitate-ASP-PRES
- (9b) John-wa [CP [TP [dono shoosetu]-o, sosite [dono manga]-o yom-oo]-ka] kime-ta-ga,
 which novel-ACC CONJ which comic-ACC read-VOL-Q decide-PAST-but
 Bill-wa [CP [dono shoosetu]-o, sosite [dono manga]-o e-ka] kime-agune-tei-ru
 which novel-ACC CONJ which comic-ACC -Q 'I. decided which novel and which
 comic he would read, but B. still cannot decide which novel and which comic.'

The acceptability of (8a) and (9a) follows from the assumption that the conjuncts in TC form a constituent (i.e. NP1/ConjP in (8a)/(9a)). Q can be merged with it, inducing pied-piping. Let us turn to (8b). Under the proposed analysis, there is no constituent exhaustively dominating the string *CMN1, sosite CMN2* that Q can be merged with: the string *CMN1, sosite CMN2* cannot be wh-moved as a constituent by pied-piping. The fact that (8b) is less acceptable than (8a) is partly due to this factor. Let us consider (9b). Given the unacceptability of (8b), the string *wh-CMN1, sosite wh-CMN2* in (9b) cannot be taken to have wh-moved as a single constituent. Rather, under the present hypothesis that the CMNs undergo Parallel Merge with a predicate (10), it can be considered that each wh-CMN is moved within each CP (CP1/2) that is projected on top of each of the VPs (VP1/2) that are formed by Parallel Merge. The two T/ModPs that have undergone Parallel Merge with C are elided to derive the relevant part of (9b). Now let us reconsider (8b). I have claimed that the string *non-wh-CMN1, sosite wh-CMN2* cannot be wh-moved as a constituent. To exclude (8b), movement of the non-wh CMN1 and the wh CMN2 within 'their own CP' (CP1/2) should be ruled out too. It is natural to think that the non-wh element cannot be moved to Spec of an interrogative C. This is another factor that is responsible for the unacceptability of (8b).



The entire picture is a little bit complicated, because there are two possibilities that should be excluded: (a) pied-piping of *CMN1, sosite CMN2* as a constituent; (b) parallel and independent movement of *CMN1* and *CMN2* within their own CPs. The possibility (b) is unavailable for (8b), because one of the CMNs is a non-wh element. The possibility (a) is unavailable too, simply because the string *CMN1, sosite CMN2* does not form a constituent. This point is an important consequence of the present analysis of SCCMN.

References: [1] Cable, S. 2010. Against the existence of pied-piping: Evidence from Tlingit. *LI* 41: 563-594. [2] Citko, B. 2005. On the nature of merge: External merge, internal merge, and parallel merge. *LI* 36, 475-496. [3] Citko, B. 2018. On the relationship between forward and backward gapping. *Syntax* 21: 1-36. [4] Oda, H. 2017. Two types of coordinate structure constraint and rescue by PF deletion. *NELS* 47, Vol. 2: 343-356. [5] Takita, K. 2012. 'Genuine' sluicing in Japanese. *CLS* 45: 577-592.