

### ATB-movement and resumption: The case of Japanese Left Node Raising

This work examines properties of what I call **Left Node Raising (LNR)** in Japanese ( ).

(1) **Keeki-o** John-ga tukuri,(soshite) Mary-ga tabe-ta.

*Cake-Acc John-Nom make, (and) Mary-Nom eat-Past*

“John made, and Mary ate the cake.”

In LNR, (i) two (or more) clauses are conjoined, and (ii) a shared element (e.g. ‘cake’) at the left-edge of the sentence is interpreted in both clauses, similarly to English **Right Node Raising (RNR)**. Given that both **pro-drop** and **scrambling** are available in Japanese, it *should* be possible to derive (1) as in (2a), where the ‘shared’ object is scrambled within the first conjunct and the empty argument in the second conjunct is a **pro** that refers to it.

(2) a. **Keeki-o<sub>1</sub>** John-ga **t<sub>1</sub>** tukuri,(soshite) Mary-ga **pro<sub>1</sub>** tabe-ta.

*Cake-Acc John-Nom make, (and) Mary-Nom eat-Past*

b. John-ga **keeki-o<sub>1</sub>** tukut-ta. Mary-ga **pro<sub>1</sub>** tabe-ta. “John made a cake. Mary ate (it).”

*John-Nom cake-Acc make-Past Mary-Nom eat-Past*

Under this view, LNR is **Null Object Construction (NOC: (2b))** plus conjunction of two sentences and the optional scrambling in the first conjunct. I will show below, however, that LNR and NOC behave differently in a number of respects, and argue that LNR is an instance of **ATB-scrambling** as shown in (3).

(3) **Keeki-o<sub>1</sub>** John-ga **t<sub>1</sub>** tukuri,(soshite) Mary-ga **t<sub>1</sub>** tabe-ta.

*Cake-Acc John-Nom make, (and) Mary-Nom eat-Past*

I propose that the alternative structure (2a) is blocked due to the principle that states that movement is preferred to insertion of pro proposed by [1] and [2].

Despite the superficial similarities, LNR and NOC show different behaviors, suggesting that LNR cannot be analyzed as in (2a). [A] **Case Matching: The Case of the shared argument of LNR must be matched to predicates of both conjuncts.** In (4a), the predicate in the first conjunct ‘send a flower to’ requires a Dative argument, while the predicate in the second conjunct ‘comfort’ takes an Accusative object. In such a case, LNR is impossible whether the shared argument (‘Mary’) has a Dative Case or Accusative Case. On the other hand, pro in NOC does not have to have the same Case as the antecedent. In (4b), the Accusative pro can refer to *Mary-Dat* in the first sentence.

(4) a. \***Mary-ni/o** John-ga hana-o okuri, Tom-ga nagusame-ta.

*Mary-Dat/Acc John-Nom flower-Acc give, Tom-Nom comfort-Past*

“John gave a flower and Tom comforted, (to) Mary.”

b. **Mary-ni/\*o** John-ga hana-o okut-ta. Tom-wa **pro** nagusame-ta.

*Mary-Dat/\*Acc John-Nom flower-Acc sent-Past Tom-Top comfort-Past*

“John gave a flower to Mary. Tom comforted (her).”

[B] **Honorification:** Japanese has inherently honorific NPs. For example, the NP *ozyoosama* ‘daughter<sub>(Hon)</sub>’ refers to a daughter of someone superior, while the NP *musume* ‘daughter’ is used in a neutral way. When a neutral NP *musume* is used, (5a) can mean “The teacher went to see off (his) daughter and I went to pick up (my) daughter,” where the shared argument denotes two daughters (**multiple referents**). When the shared NP is an honorified NP *ozyoosama*, however, the ‘multiple referents’ reading is impossible, because one of the referents (i.e. ‘my daughter’) should not be honorified. On the other hand, NOC allows for honorification mismatch between pro and its antecedent; pro in (5b) can take the honorified NP *ozyoosama* as its antecedent, and yet can refer to ‘my daughter.’

(5) a. **Musume-o/\*Ozyoosama-o** sensei-wa omiokuri-ni ik-are, boku-wa mukae-ni it-ta

*Daughter<sub>(Neutral/\*Hon)-Acc teacher-Top see-off<sub>(Hon)-to go-Hon, I-Top pick-up-to go-Past</sub></sub>*

“The teacher went to see off, and I went to pick up, our daughters.”

b. **Musume-o/?Ozyoosama-o** sensei-wa omiokuri-ni ik-are-ta.

*Daughter<sub>(Neutral/?Hon)-Acc teacher-Top see-off<sub>(Hon)-to go-Hon-Past</sub></sub>*

Boku-wa **pro** mukae-ni it-ta.

*I-Top pick-up-to go-Past*

“The teacher went to see off his daughter. I went to pick (mine) up.”

