

# Sluicing-like Construction in Kathmandu Newari

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## 1 Introduction

In this paper, I examine sluicing-like constructions (SLC) in Newari (Sino-Tibetan), a *wh*-in-situ language, as in (1)<sup>1</sup>.

- (1) Sitā-na su-ita dā-u, tara **su-ita** jīm ma-syu.  
Sita-ERG someone-DAT hit-PST, but who-DAT 1SG.ERG NEG-know  
'Sita hit someone, but I don't know whom.'

I propose a novel derivation for Newari SLCs that I call 'scrambling sluicing', despite the fact that this language does not otherwise have *wh*-movement in embedded clauses. Scrambling sluicing involves two steps: as (2) shows, first the *wh*-phrase scrambles into the left periphery of CP of the second conjunction, and then TP ellipsis occurs.

- (2) [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> Sitā-na **su-ita** dā-u]], tara [<sub>CP</sub> **su-ita**  
Sita-ERG someone-DAT hit-PST, but who-DAT  
[<sub>TP</sub> Sitā-na ——— dā-u]] jīm ma-syu.  
Sita-ERG — hit-PST 1SG.ERG NEG-know  
'Sita hit someone, but I don't know whom (Sita hit).'

We can compare Newari SLCs to the English ones as in (3), which are analyzed as genuine sluicing, as shown in (4). Genuine sluicing is defined as a process that *wh*-phrase moves to left periphery of CP under an A-bar movement, and followed by a TP ellipsis (Ross 1969, Merchant 2001).

- (3) *English SLC surface*  
Hasan saw someone, but I don't know who(m).  
(4) *English genuine sluicing*  
Hasan saw someone, but I don't know [<sub>CP</sub> **who(m)** [<sub>TP</sub> Hasan saw ———]].

Although the Newari SLC is similar to English on the surface, Newari *wh*-syntax differs from English (no *wh*-movement in embedded CPs), therefore Newari cannot be analyzed as genuine sluicing, but still licenses otherwise illicit movement.

To support my analysis of scrambling sluicing, I first show the background of *wh*-syntax of this language in Section 2 and how scrambling works in Section 3.

<sup>1</sup>The abbreviations for the case markers are as follows: ERG ergative, DAT dative, ABS absolutive, PST past tense, NEG negation, NONPST none-past, LOC location, COP copula, PRS present, CONJ conjunct, DISJ disjunct.

Then I show Newari SLCs exhibit the properties of genuine sluicing: Case connectivity and positional distribution of clausal materials (Merchant 2001). I also reject other possible approaches to account for Newari SLCs in Section 4: Top-Copy sluicing analysis in Section 4.1, Reduced copular clause approach in Section 4.2, focus projection movement approach in Section 4.3, and stripping approach in Section 4.4. Moreover, I show a case of Newari SLC ameliorating *wh*-phrase long-distance scrambling across clauses, in a way to analogous to island repairing by sluicing (Ross 1969) in Section 5.

## 2 Background on Newari

Newari is an SOV head-final language, as shown in (5). It is also *wh*-in-situ, where *wh*-phrases in their thematic position take the sentential scope, as (6a) and (6b) show in matrix clauses, and as (7) shows in embedded clauses. In this paper, I will focus on *wh*-objects, since it is difficult to detect movement of *wh*-subjects, but they both display the same mechanics in terms of scrambling.

- (5) Rām-na aṃ nala.  
 Ram-ERG mango.ABS eat.PST  
 ‘Ram ate mangos.’
- (6) a. **Su-na** aṃ nala?  
 Who-ERG mango.ABS eat.PST  
 ‘Who ate mangos?’  
 b. Rām-na **chu** nala?  
 Ram-ERG what.ABS eat.PST  
 ‘What did Ram eat?’
- (7) Sitā-na [<sub>CP</sub> Rām-na **chu** nala] dhā-u?  
 Sita-ERG Ram-ERG what.ABS eat.PST say-PST  
 ‘What did Sita say that Ram eat?’

Newari uses different strategies to interpret a *wh*-phrase, based on the type of the clause that it is in (Zhang & Chacón 2018), despite the fact that *wh*-phrases in (6) and (7) both take sentential scope in-situ.

When *wh*-phrases take scope via covert movement (Huang 1982, Bayer 2006, Cheng 2009), we typically observe that higher focused elements do not cause intervention effects (Hamblin 1976, Karttunen 1977). Zhang & Chacón (2018) observe this type of pattern in Newari matrix clauses. The focus intervenor, *caka* ‘only’, does not block the *wh*-phrase from being interpreted as a matrix question.

- (8) Rām-na-*caka* **chu** na-la?  
 Ram-ERG-only what eat-PST  
 ‘What did only Ram eat?’

The scope of the *wh*-phrase, *chu* ‘what’, must be higher than the scope of *caka* in a question interpretation, thus, the *wh*-phrase takes a covert movement to the left of the focus intervenor must apply, as the model shows in (9).

(9) *Wh*-phrase covert movement in matrix clauses:

[<sub>CP</sub> C Rām-na-*caka* **chu** na-la ].  
 ↑-----↓

One might raise the question of how we know that *caka* is a focus element in (9): Is the absence of an intervention effect due to covert movement or because *caka* does not in fact intervene? Crucially, intervention effects do arise when the *wh*-phrase is embedded in an argument CP clause (Zhang & Chacón 2018), in (10). The *wh*-phrase here fails to take the sentential scope because of the focus intervenor *caka* intervening between the *wh*-phrase and the matrix scope position. Otherwise, the *wh*-phrase will take the sentential scope without the intervenor as (7).

(10) \* Sitā-m̄ [<sub>CP</sub> Rām-a-*caka* **chu** na-u (dhakā)] dhā-u  
 Sita-ERG Ram-ERG-only what eat.PST that say-PST  
 ‘What did Sita say that only Ram ate?’

From these examples, Zhang & Chacón (2018) argue that embedded *wh*-phrases behave differently from the ones in matrix clauses, and they take the sentential scope via focus alternatives, as in (11), rather than covert movement.

(11) *Focus alternatives composition in embedded clauses*  
 [<sub>CP</sub> C Sitā-m̄ [<sub>CP-arg</sub> C Rām-a **chu** (dhakā) ] dhā-u ]  
 ←~~~~~

In this section, we see that covert *wh*-movements happen in Newari matrix clauses, while focus alternatives happen in embedded clauses. Since Newari does not have overt *wh*-movement in either case, one might conclude that this language does not have sluicing, according to the syntactic requirements.

(12) Sitā-na su-ita dā-u, tara **su-ita** jīm̄ ma-syu.  
 Sita-ERG someone-DAT hit-PST, but who-DAT 1SG.ERG NEG-know  
 ‘Sita hit someone, but I don’t know whom.’

Now the question is how we should account for Newari SLCs, as repeated in (12). In the next section, I will show the evidence that SLCs in Newari are derived through overt scrambling, instead of overt *wh*-movement.

### 3 My analysis: scrambling sluicing in Newari

#### 3.1 Restricted scrambling in matrix clauses

Analyses of scrambling in *wh*-in-situ languages have been proposed with different purposes in research (Kidwai 2000, Mahajan 1990). In general, Newari does not have flexible word order. As (13) shows, the object in a matrix clause cannot scramble to a clausal edge. *Wh*-phrases are also not allowed to scramble in matrix clauses, as shown in (14) and (15).

(13) a. # **am̄** Rām-na \_\_\_\_ nala.  
 mango.ABS Ram-ERG eat.PST  
 Intended: ‘Ram ate mangos.’<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup>The leftward scrambling reading is sometimes reported to be better than the rightwards scrambling, but they both are bad in comparing to the non-scrambling version of the sentence.

- b. \* Rām-na \_\_\_\_ nala **am**.  
 Ram-ERG eat.PST mango.ABS  
 Intended: ‘Ram ate mangos.’
- (14) a. \* **Chu** Rām-na \_\_\_\_ nala  
 what Ram-ERG eat.PST  
 Intended: ‘What did Ram eat?’
- b. \* Rām-na \_\_\_\_ nala **chu**  
 Ram-ERG eat.PST what  
 Intended: ‘What did Ram eat?’
- (15) a. \* **su** wa \_\_\_\_ kha:?  
 who 3.SG COP  
 Intended: Who is that?
- b. \* wa \_\_\_\_ kha: **su**?  
 3.SG COP who  
 Intended: Who is that?

As the examples show, neither object-scrambling nor *wh*-scrambling is allowed in Newari matrix clauses.

### 3.2 Local *wh*-scrambling in embedded clauses

Although *wh*-scrambling is disallowed in matrix clauses in Newari, as shown in (14) and (15), Newari permits local *wh*-scrambling in embedded clauses. In embedded clauses, *wh*-phrases may scramble to the left periphery of the embedded CP, as the example in (16b) shows:

- (16) a. *Embedded wh-phrase in-situ position*  
 ✓ Rām-na [CP [TP Sitā-na **su-ita** dā-u]] dhā-u?  
 Ram-ERG Sita-ERG who-DAT hit-PST say-PST  
 ‘Who did Ram say that Sita hit?’
- b. *Wh-phrase can scramble to the local CP edge*  
 ✓ Rām-na [CP **su-ita** [TP Sitā-na \_\_\_\_ dā-u]] dhā-u?  
 Ram-ERG who-DAT Sita-ERG hit-PST say-PST  
 ‘Who did Ram say that Sita hit?’

Note that in embedded clauses, scrambling is optional, and crucially, this is not an A-bar movement for taking scope, because we see that the *wh*-phrase takes the sentential scope even in-situ in (16a).

We learned that the environment where *wh*-phrases appear determines whether scrambling is allowed. The examples in this section show that *wh*-scrambling is only allowed in embedded clauses. As we know the structure of sluicing also happens to have a *wh*-phrase in an embedded CP that moves to the clausal edge before TP ellipsis. I argue that the availability of this scrambling operation yields SLCs in Newari.

### 3.3 Scrambling sluicing

I propose that Newari SLCs, as in (12), are derived from the scrambling operation described in Section 3.2 in two steps: *wh*-scrambling into CP clause, followed by TP ellipsis.

- (17) *Scrambling sluicing of Sentence (12)*
- a. Underlying form  
[<sub>CP</sub> ...], tara [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> Sitā-na **su-ita** dā-u] jīm̄ ma-syu.
  - b. Step 1: *Wh*-phrase scramble into CP (recall (16b))  
[<sub>CP</sub> ...], tara [<sub>CP</sub> **su-ita** [<sub>TP</sub> Sitā-na \_\_\_\_ dā-u] jīm̄ ma-syu.
  - c. Step 2: TP ellipsis in the second conjunction  
[<sub>CP</sub> ...], tara [<sub>CP</sub> **su-ita** [~~<sub>TP</sub> Sitā-na \_\_\_\_ dā-u~~] jīm̄ ma-syu.

A Newari SLC like (12), begins like the structure in (17a). Then in the second conjunction, the *wh*-phrase overtly scrambles to the CP clausal edge in (17b), and the left TP gets elided as in (17c), and resulting surface form is (12), with the scrambled *wh*-phrase being the only left element in the entire CP. In the two following subsections, I show evidence of positional distribution and case connectivity to support that Newari SLCs are derived from scrambling sluicing.

### 3.4 Evidence from positional distribution

One possible question about Newari SLCs is whether there is a clausal reduction at all. In other words, how do we know that *wh*-phrases in the second conjunction are embedded in a CP instead of a DP? Merchant (2001) suggests nominal argument *wh*-phrases should occur on one side of the predicate, while the sentential arguments (CPs) should occur on the other side. As the examples from (18) to (21) show, Newari argument DPs and argument CPs can be in different positional distribution.

- (18) \* **Chu** Rām-na \_\_\_\_ nala  
what Ram-ERG eat.PST  
Intended: ‘What did Ram eat?’  
(Nominal *wh*-object cannot scramble to sentence initial position)
- (19) ✓ [<sub>CP</sub> Sitā-na **chu** nala] Rām-na \_\_\_\_ dhā-u?  
Sita-ERG what eat.PST Ram-ERG say.PST  
‘What did Ram say that Sita ate?’  
(Argument CPs can scramble to sentence initial position)

Newari is SOV. In (18), nominal *wh*-phrases (*wh*-objects) cannot scramble to sentence initial position, while argument CPs, as in (19), can. Similarly, as in (20), a nominal *wh*-object cannot scramble to the right of the main verb, while an argument CP can (21). To sum up what we observed from these two set of sentence, we conclude the patterns in (22).

- (20) \* Rām-na \_\_\_\_ nala **chu**  
Ram-ERG eat.PST what  
Intended: ‘What did Ram eat?’  
(Nominal *wh*-object cannot scramble to the right of the verb)

- (21) ✓ Rām-na dhā-u [CP Sitā-na **chu** nala]  
 Ram-ERG say.PST Sita-ERG what eat.PST  
 ‘Ram said that Sita ate what.’  
 (Argument CPs can scramble to the right of the verb)

- (22) *Newari DPs vs. CPs distribution*  
 a. \*DP<sub>Obj</sub> Subj V \*DP<sub>Obj</sub>  
 b. ✓CP<sub>Obj</sub> Subj V ✓CP<sub>Obj</sub>

Now recall at the pattern of *wh*-objects in Newari SLCs: they can either scramble to sentence initial position, as in (23), or to the right of the main verb, as in (24). This matches the positional distribution of argument CPs, but not the one of argument DPs.

- (23) [CP [TP Sitā-na su-ita dā-u]], tara [CP **su-ita**  
 Sita-ERG someone-DAT hit-PST, but who-DAT  
 [<sub>TP</sub> Sitā-na ——— dā-u]] jīm ma-syu.  
 Sita-ERG — hit-PST 1SG.ERG NEG-know  
 ‘Sita hit someone, but I don’t know whom (Sita hit)’.
- (24) [CP [TP Sitā-na su-ita dā-u]], tara jīm ma-syu [CP  
 Sita-ERG someone-DAT hit-PST, but 1SG.ERG NEG-know  
**su-ita** [<sub>TP</sub> Sitā-na ——— dā-u]].  
 who-DAT Sita-ERG — hit-PST  
 ‘Sita hit someone, but I don’t know whom (Sita hit)’.

Therefore, the positional distribution of argument CPs and argument DPs suggests that *wh*-phrases in Newari SLCs contain clausal materials, not a simple nominal element.

### 3.5 Evidence from Case connectivity

Case connectivity has been observed as a property of genuine sluicing (Ross 1969, Merchant 2001): the remnant *wh*-phrase carries the same case marking as in the corresponding non-elided *wh*-question. Newari exhibits full case connectivity: Dative Case, Ergative Case, and Absolutive Case, from (25) to (27).

- (25) Sitā-na **su-ita** dā-u, tara [CP **su-ita**/<sub>i</sub>/\*su/\*su-na  
 Sita-ERG someone-DAT hit-PST, but who-DAT/\*who/\*who-ERG  
 (Sitā-na t<sub>i</sub> dā-u)] jīm ma-syu.  
 Sita-ERG hit-PST 1SG.ERG NEG-know  
 ‘Sita hit someone but I don’t know who (Sita hit).’
- (26) **Su-nā** Sitā-ta yek-i, tara [CP **su-nā**/<sub>i</sub>/\*su/\*su-ita  
 Someone-ERG Sita-DAT like-NONPST, but who-ERG/\*who/\*DAT  
 (Sitā-ta yek-i) jīm ma-syu].  
 Sita-DAT like-NON-PST 1SG.ERG NEG-know  
 ‘Someone likes Sita, but I don’t know who (likes Sita).’

- (27) **Su** pasa-le wa-na, tara [CP **su/\*-ita/\*-na** (pasa-le  
 Someone.ABS store-LOC go.PST, but who-ABS/\*DAT/\*ERG (store-LOC  
 wa-na) jīm ma-syu].  
 go.PST) 1SG.ERG NEG-know  
 ‘Someone went to the store, but I don’t know who (went to the store).’

The above data suggests that Newari SLCs seem to be genuine sluicing, since it shows the Case connectivity property of genuine sluicing. In this section, I showed how scrambling sluicing works in Newari and why it is the right analysis for Newari SLCs, based on the evidence from scrambling patterns, positional distribution, and case connectivity. In the following section, I will discuss some alternative accounts for SLCs in *wh*-in-situ languages.

#### 4 Possible alternative analyses

Previously we saw Newari exhibits the Case connectivity property. Some *wh*-in-situ languages, such as Uzbek, also exhibit case connectivity in SLCs, however, evidence shows that those languages still do not have genuine sluicing (Gribanova & Manetta 2016). Therefore, we must determine whether one of these alternative approaches can better account for Newari SLCs.

Approaches	Languages	Studies
Genuine Sluicing	Hindi-Urdu	Gribanova & Manetta 2016
Reduced Copular Clauses	Uzbek	Gribanova 2013
	Japanese	Merchant 1998
Focus Movement	Mandarin	Wang & Wu 2006
	Persian	Toosarvandani 2008
Stripping	Turkish	Hankamer 2010
...	...	

**Table 1:** Approaches for SLC in *wh*-in-situ languages

In Table 1, I briefly summarize some existing analyses proposed to account for SLCs in different *wh*-in-situ languages. I will examine each of them with Newari data in each subsection, and show that none of these will work for Newari.

##### 4.1 Genuine sluicing: Top-Copy sluicing analysis

van Craenenbroeck *et al.* (2013) suggest that availability of genuine sluicing is based on the *wh*-syntax in a given language. English has overt *wh*-movement: a higher copy of a *wh*-phrase that has the [Strong] *wh*-feature (bolded) is the one being pronounced in questions, (28a), and lower copy has the [Weak] feature (unbolded), and therefore is not pronounced.


- (28) a. **Whom** did Jon invite whom?  
 b. Jon invited someone, but I don’t know **whom** ~~Jon invite whom~~.

This *wh*-syntactic condition of pronouncing the Strong Copy permits English to have genuine sluicing. In English SLCs, as (28b) shows, the remnant *wh*-copy in the sluice is the higher-copy in a question sentence with a [Strong] feature. As the model shows in (29), the copies of *wh*-phrases in each clause, and there is only one copy has [Strong] *wh*-feature, and the rest have a [Weak] *wh*-feature.


(29) [CP C[WH] ... [TP T[WH] ... [VP V[WH] ... [VP V[WH] ... ] ] ] ]

This strong *wh*-feature Copy analysis based will predict that genuine sluicing is only available in the languages that have overt *wh*-movement but not in *wh*-in-situ languages, where the *wh*-phrases remain in-situ in the surface form for questions. Therefore, the in-situ *wh*-phrases has [strong] *wh*-feature, while in SLCs, the in-situ [strong] *wh*-phrase is not the copy being pronounced.

However, *wh*-in-situ languages such as Mandarin, Japanese, Korean, and Hindi, do exhibit SLC patterns. Gribanova & Manetta (2016) proposes a Top-Copy sluicing analysis to account for genuine sluicing in Hindi-Urdu as in (30). This account argues that instead of pronouncing the [strong] *wh*-copy, the top copy is actually pronounced in *wh*-in-situ languages.

(30) [Weak] [ $\alpha$  [~~Strong~~] X]  


However, Top-Copy sluicing analysis cannot account for SLCs in Newari, since we have learned previously in Section 2, that embedded *wh*-phrases do not move (either covertly or overtly) to take matrix scope, instead using a focus alternatives strategy as in (31).

(31) *Focus alternatives in Newari CP complement*  
 \* [CP C ... [CP-arg C ... *wh* ... ]]  


## 4.2 Reduced copular clause

In some *wh*-in-situ languages, such as Uzbek, SLCs are derived from a reduced copular clause. To understand whether Newari SLCs should also be analyzed with this approach, we need to know how the syntactic structure of copular-clauses and their *wh*-questions works. In a copular clause, copula-drop is disallowed in Newari with a nominal predicate, as in (32).

(32) Wa bitīārti \*(kha:).  
 3.SG student COP  
 ‘He/She is a student.’

In contrast, copula-drop is allowed in questions. As the examples in (33) and (34) show, it can be dropped in matrix clauses and embedded clauses. We can actually see that both the copula and the subject *pro* are allowed to drop. The *wh*-phrase also cannot be case-marked in copular clause sentences.

(33) (Wa) su (kha:)  
 (3.SG) who (COP)  
 ‘Who is it?’



- (34) Sitā-na [CP (wa) **su** (kha:)] dhā-u  
 Sita-ERG (3.SG) who (COP) say-PST  
 ‘Who did Sita say that it is?’

Gribanova (2013) analyzes Uzbek SLCs as reduced copular clause in (35). The remnant *wh*-phrase does not have a case marking (Merchant 1998), so it signaled that the *wh*-phrase may be generated in a copular clause before reduction.

- (35) Siz kim-ga-dir pul ber-a-siz, lekin kin(-ga)  
 You some-DAT-one money give-PRS-2.sg but who(-DAT)  
 ‘You give money to someone, but I don’t know (to) who (it is).’  
 (*Reduced copular clause in Uzbek* Gribanova & Manetta 2016)

In Newari, embedded copular clauses in the second conjunction of SLCs can be reduced, via *pro*-drop and copula-drop, to derive as from (36) to (37).

- (36) Sitā-na **su-ita** dā-u, tara [CP (wo) **su**/\***su-ita**/\***su-na** (kha)]  
 Sita-ERG someone-DAT hit-PST, but 3.SG. who/\*DAT/\*ERG COP  
 jīm ma-syu.  
 1st.ERG NEG-know  
 ‘Sita hit someone but I don’t know who it is.’
- (37) Sitā-na **su-ita** dā-u, tara [CP **su**] jīm ma-syu.  
 Sita-ERG someone-DAT hit-PST, but who 1st.ERG NEG-know  
 \* ‘Sita hit some but I don’t know who (Sita hit).’  
 ✓ ‘Sita hit someone but I don’t know who (it is).’

Although this procedure in Newari looks similar to Uzbek SLCs, the reduced sentence only yields the reading of a reduced copular clause, as shown in (37), and the other reading is not available. We learned from Section 3.5 that the case of the remnant *wh*-phrase needs to match the case of its antecedent in the first conjunction to get the other non-copular reading available. In contrast with (37), the sentence in (38) matches the case of its antecedent, and the copular reading becomes unavailable in SLCs, while the other non-copular reading is available.

- (38) Sitā-na **su-ita** dā-u, tara [CP **su-ita**] jīm ma-syu.  
 Sita-ERG someone-DAT hit-PST, but who-DAT 1st.ERG NEG-know  
 ✓ ‘Sita hit some but I don’t know who (Sita hit).’  
 \* ‘Sita hit someone but I don’t know who (it is).’

In addition, a linguistic antecedent is needed in case-marked clauses, but the unmarked-Case does not need an antecedent. As (39) shows, bare case marked *wh*-phrase can appear independently, and not necessarily being located in a reduced embedded CP, or being a simple nominal *wh*-phrase.

- (39) \***Su-ita**/✓**Su** jīm ma-syu.  
 Who-DAT/who 1SG.ERG NEG-know  
 ‘I don’t know who.’

Therefore, a reduced copular clause analysis can only account for the SLCs that have real copular clauses embedded, but cannot account for all Newari SLCs.

### 4.3 Focus projection movement

Toosarvandani (2008) suggests that SLCs can be fed by moving a focused element to a focused position higher than the elided TP, followed by a deletion operation. This analysis cannot account for Newari, because the spec CP position is not a focus position in this language. (40a) shows that the default position for a focus is in-situ, and fronting the NP to the matrix clause is ungrammatical as in (40b). In fact, no NPs is allowed to move across CP boundaries.

- (40) a. Sitā-na dhā-u [CP Rām-na [NP **om-caka**] na-u].  
Sita.ERG say-PST Ram-ERG mango-only eat-PST  
'Sita said that only Ram ate mangos.'  
(*Focused NP generated in-situ*)
- b. \* [CP [NP **om-caka**]<sub>i</sub> Sitā-na dhā-u [CP Rām-na t<sub>i</sub> na-u]].  
mango-only Sita.ERG say-PST Ram-ERG eat-PST  
Intended 'Sita said that only Ram ate mangos.'  
(*Embedded NP cannot be fronted*)

Later in Section 5, I will show that the *wh*-scrambling in (40b) is surprisingly licensed by SLC with embedding in a CP of the second conjunction of a SLC. The licenser of this scrambling has to be SLC but not focus movement, since we do see the fronting in (40b) is not licensed.

### 4.4 Stripping

Stripping is another strategy proposed to account for SLCs in *wh*-in-situ languages (Hankamer 2010, Gribanova & Manetta 2016). It is an ellipsis process that elides everything in a TP but one element in the second conjunction, as in (41). One property of stripping is that it is unable to be embedded. (cf. Wurmbrand 2017)

- (41) ✓ Amit left for Delhi, and Jamal ~~left for Delhi~~ too.  
(42) \* Amit left for Delhi, and I know that Jamal ~~left for Delhi~~ too.

Gribanova & Manetta (2016) found that Hindi-Urdu SLCs do not obey this stripping property. Newari SLCs do not show this property either: the embedding in (43) is grammatical<sup>3</sup>. If Newari SLCs involved stripping, the sentence would have been ungrammatical.

- (43) ✓ Rām-na **chu** no-u, wo [jīm syu **chu**] tīm-swaṃ.  
Ram-ERG what eat-PST, and 1.SG.ERG know what seem-PROG  
'Ram ate something, and it seems to me that I know what.'

The other property of stripping is that it cannot precede its antecedent (backward anaphora): the stripping site is preceding its antecedent. The counter example in Newari also shows that it does not have this property.

- (44) \*Jamal too, and Amit left for Delhi.

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<sup>3</sup>I adapted sentences from Gribanova & Manetta (2016)'s work in Hindi-Urdu to test (43) and (45) in Newari.

- (45) ✓  $\bar{j}\bar{m}$  ma-syu **gana**, tara Amit **gana** wa-na.  
 1SG.ERG NEG-know where, but Amit where go-PST  
 ‘I don’t know where but Amit went somewhere.’

The Newari test sentences above do not show stripping properties in contrast to English. Therefore, stripping cannot account for Newari SLCs. In this section, I first showed how scrambling sluicing works to derive Newari SLCs, and then discussed why other approaches cannot (or fully) account for Newari, as methods and results are briefly summarized in Table (2).

#### 4.5 Summary of possible alternative analyses to Newari SLCs

Approaches	Newari SLCs	Reasons
Top-Copy Sluicing	No	No <i>wh</i> -movement in embedded CPs
Reduced Copular Clauses	Partially	Only for embedded copular clauses
Focus Movement	No	Spec CP is not a focus position
Stripping	No	Do not have the properties
Scrambling Sluicing	Yes	

**Table 2:** Summary of the results of Newari SLCs from different analysis

Given the evidence we have seen so far, I suggest that Newari SLCs involve sluicing fed by *wh*-scrambling, despite the fact that *wh*-phrases can get interpreted even when no movement takes place (Zhang & Chacón 2018).

## 5 Long-distance scrambling amelioration by SLC

### 5.1 Limited scrambling

Recall (16), embedded *wh*-phrases cannot move out of embedded CPs as in (46) and (47). These data suggest that there is a constraint against long-distance scrambling in Newari, where the *wh*-phrase overtly moves out of an embedded CP clause, as the model shows in (48).

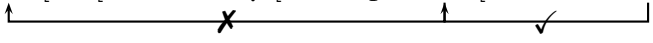
- (46) \* **Su-ita** Rām-na [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> Sitā-na \_\_\_\_ dā-u]] dhā-u?  
 who-DAT Ram-ERG Sita-ERG hit-PST say-PST  
 Intended: ‘Who did Ram say that Sita hit?’  
 (*Wh*-phrase cannot scramble across CP to the matrix clause)
- (47) \* **Waṃ** [<sub>CP</sub> **Su-ita** Rām-na [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> Sitā-na \_\_\_\_ dā-u]] dhā-u]  
 3.SG who-DAT Ram-ERG Sita-ERG hit-PST say-PST  
 sy-u?  
 know-Pst  
 Intended: ‘Who did he know that Ram said Sita hit?’  
 (*Wh*-phrase cannot scramble out of CP to another CP)
- (48) *Constraint against long-distance scrambling in Newari*  
 \* [<sub>CP</sub> C ... [<sub>CP-arg</sub> C ... **wh** ... ]]  
 ↑ ~~X~~



with the perspective holder in the clause. As in (54) shows, this pronoun mediates “conjunct/disjunct agreement”, a kind of evidential agreement that is seen in Tibeto-Burman languages (Hale 1980, Hargreaves 1991, Zu 2016, Coppock & Wechsler 2018).

- (54) a.  $Wo-m_i$  [<sub>CP</sub>  $pro_i$  [<sub>TP</sub>  $lā$   $na-e$   $dhakā$ ]]  $dhāl-a$   
 He.ERG meat eat-CONJ that said  
 ‘He<sub>i</sub> said that he<sub>i</sub> will eat meat.’
- b.  $Wo-m_i$  [<sub>CP</sub>  $pro_j$  [<sub>TP</sub>  $lā$   $na-i$   $dhakā$ ]]  $dhāl-a$   
 He.ERG meat eat-DISJ that said  
 ‘He<sub>i</sub> said that he<sub>j</sub> will eat meat.’ Newari Hargreaves (1991)

To account for the long-distance scrambling in Newari, Fox & Pesetsky (2005)’s Cyclic Linearization may be relevant. They suggest that there is a syntax and phonology Spell-out step takes place in the course of derivation, and the relevant word order is fixed at each Spell-Out CP domain. I sketch a rough linear word ordering of Newari long distance scrambling from (55) to (58).

- (55) *Scrambling out of the local CP creates linear ordering paradox:*  
 \* [<sub>CP2</sub>  $pro$  **chu** [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub>  $V$   $Sitā-m$  [<sub>CP1</sub>  $C$   $pro$  **chu** [<sub>TP</sub>  $Rām-a$  **chu**  $dā-u$ ]]]]]]  

- (56) *Linear order at domain CP-1:* **chu** <  $Rām-a$  <  $dā-u$
- (57) *Linear order at domain CP-2:* **chu** <  $Sitā-m$  <  $pro$  < **chu** <  $Rām-a$  <  $dā-u$
- (58) Paradox ordering: **chu** <  $Sitā-m$  <  $pro$  < **chu**

In this process, scrambling is allowed in CP-1 domain, but further scrambling to CP-2 is blocked by the little *pro*, since a paradox ordering was developed along the process. However, the ordering paradox may disappear with eliding the TP, which allows long-distance scrambling in domain CP-2.

## 6 Summary

In this paper I investigated Newari SLCs, and proposed that scrambling sluicing can account for it, despite the fact that Newari is *wh*-in-situ and has special *wh*-syntax. I also showed scrambling sluicing exhibits properties of genuine sluicing, with the evidence from long-distance scrambling amelioration, positional distribution, and case connectivity. I also discussed that other current approaches for SLCs in *wh*-in-situ languages and how those cannot account for Newari SLCs: Reduced copular clause approach can only account for partial data; focus projection movement approach cannot, because Newari CP is not a focus projection; stripping approach cannot, because its properties are violated in Newari SLCs. The closest analysis to scrambling sluicing is Top-Copy sluicing, because both analyses predict that any relevant *wh*-in-situ languages may have properties of genuine sluicing. The remnant *wh*-phrase in Newari SLCs also does seem like a pronounced “top copy” on the surface. However, the difference is that Top-Copy sluicing states that the top copy of *wh*-phrase is from a regular *wh*-movement, whereas in scrambling sluicing,

the remnant *wh*-phrase is from scrambling, as we have seen the Newari scrambling sluicing data throughout the paper.

The Newari data and scrambling sluicing analysis add a new piece to the evidence for *wh*-in-situ languages to exhibit genuine sluicing. Different *wh*-syntax of *wh*-in-situ languages may affect the derivation of sluicing in many different ways: covert *wh*-movement, overt *wh*-movement, or *wh*-scrambling. An extended question of Newari from scrambling sluicing is whether this kind of scrambling should be considered as an A-bar movement. We observe SLCs license such movement in this language, but why scrambling (and long-distance scrambling) happens in this case is still a question. Zhang & Chacón (2018) attempt to explain why scrambling across CPs is disallowed in Newari, and Cyclic Linearization (Fox & Pesetsky 2005) may be the direction to investigate why it is permitted again by SLCs.

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