Short Answers as Focus[*]

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Abstract

In this article the nature of short answers is examined. On the analysis of this work, short answers are derived from the result of focus movement, followed by deletion of everything except the focus. Various aspects of connectivity associated with short answers are captured in terms of focus movement. This analysis also shows that the derivation of short answers involve ellipsis. On the other hand, not all short answers exhibit properties related with movement and ellipsis: We show that short answers have another source, which we will call the bare-copular frame. However, functional answers and pair-list answers cannot be derived from the latter source and exhibit connectivity and diagnostics of ellipsis.

1. Introduction

The theme of the present article is the nature of short answers. By 'short answers' we mean answers to questions exemplified by (1b), as opposed to full sentential answers like (1a). (Merchant (2004) uses the term 'fragment answers'.)

(1) A. Where did John buy the book?
    B. a. He bought it in Washington DC.
        b. In Washington DC.

We are going to show that at least some species of short answers exhibit properties associated with a complete sentence fully reflecting the syntactic and semantic properties of the question sentence purporting to solicit the answer. In this sense, we proceed on the premise that there is a significant parallelism between question and answer both in structure and meaning.

Thus, one subtheme of the nature of short answers must be captured by the notion of connectivity. While the notion of connectivity has been discussed in a variety of contexts, we will be exclusively concerned with this notion in the sense that Higgins (1973), Akmajian (1970), among others, discussed it in their analyses of specificational (pseudo-)cleft constructions. Using Hiraiwa and Ishihara's (2002) analysis, in which specificational clefts can be subsumed under focus constructions, as theoretical apparatus, our analysis captures various aspects of connectivity in terms of focus movement.

On this analysis, short answers are derived from the result of focus movement, followed by deletion of everything except the focus.

(2) XP_i [... t_i ...]
                    ⇓
                    ∅

In section 2. we will discuss the syntax of focus and cleft constructions using Hiraiwa and Ishihara's (2002) machinery. In section 3. we will attempt to demonstrate the two subthemes of the nature of short answers: connectivity and ellipsis. We will show the various aspects of connectivity exhibited by short answers, and then try to establish that ellipsis is indeed involved in the derivation of short answers. In section 4. we will discuss the syntax of pair-list answers.
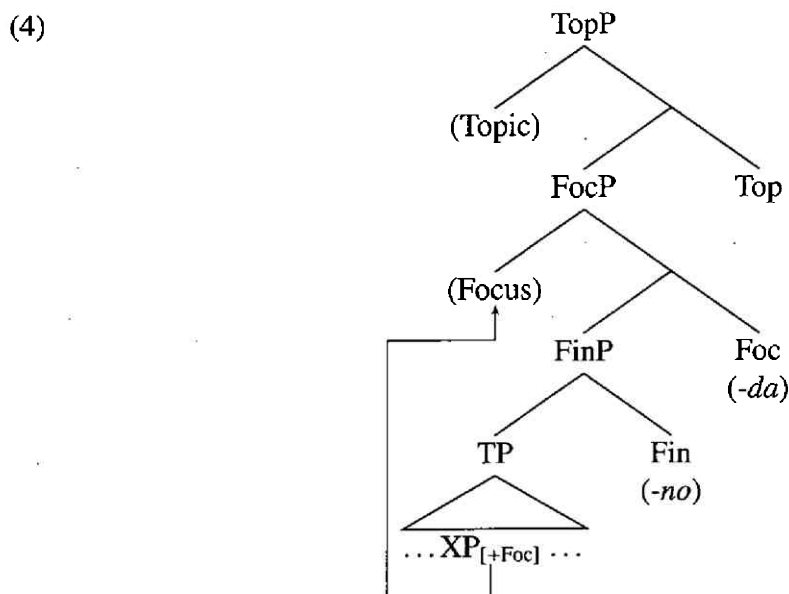
2.   Cleft and focus constructions

The main theme of the present article is the syntactic properties of short answers to *wh*-questions. As we will see below, Merchant (2004) argues that short answers are derived by focus movement, while Saito (2004) claims that they are derived via cleft constructions.

Hiraiwa and Ishihara (2002) claim that cleft constructions are one species of focus constructions. On this analysis, cleft constructions are derived from what they call 'No da' in-situ focus constructions, sentences ending in the nominalizer (or complementizer) *no* followed by the copula *da*, with one or more of their constituents receiving focus interpretation (both semantic and phonological).

(3)   Taro-ga   **kono ringo-o**   kaw-ta   no da.
      Taro-Nom this apple-Acc buy-Past C Cop
      'It is that Taro bought **this apple**.' or 'It is this apple that Taro bought.'

Hiraiwa and Ishihara (2002) are not specific on this matter, but we assume that the focused element carries the feature [+Foc], which has obvious consequences in PF, although our attention in the present article is focused on its nature in the narrow syntax.

Assuming Rizzi's (1997) theory of articulated CP architecture, Hiraiwa and Ishihara (2002) consider the complementizer *no* as the head of the Fin(ite) projection, and copula *da* as the head of the Foc(us) projection. Cleft constructions are derived from 'No da' in-situ constructions via the following two steps. First, the focused constituent is moved to SpecFocP.

(4)
```
                        TopP
                       /    \
                      /      \
               (Topic)        \
                      \        \
                       \        \
                      FocP       Top
                      /  \
                     /    \
              (Focus)      \
                   ↑        \
                   |      FinP        Foc
                   |      /  \       (-da)
                   |     /    \
                   |   TP      Fin
                   |   /\      (-no)
                   |  /  \
                   ...XP[+Foc] ...
```

This is obviously to check the [+Foc] feature associated with XP. If we stop the derivation here, we obtain the following focus construction.

(5) **Kono ringo-o** Taro-ga   kaw-ta   no da.
     this apple-Nom Taro-Nom buy-Past C Cop
     'This apple, Taro bought.'

This is indistinguishable from a sentence which has undergone scrambling. Alternatively, the following, in which the constituent fronted by focus movement is marked by the nominative *ga*, which also serves as the focus marker, can be thought of as the output of focus movement.[1]

(6) **Kono ringo-ga** Taro-ga   kaw-ta   no da.
     this apple-Nom Taro-Nom buy-Past C Cop
     'It is this apple that Taro bought.'

Then, the remnant of the FinP, headed by *-no*, is moved to SpecTopP. This yields the presupposition portion of a cleft sentence.

(7)
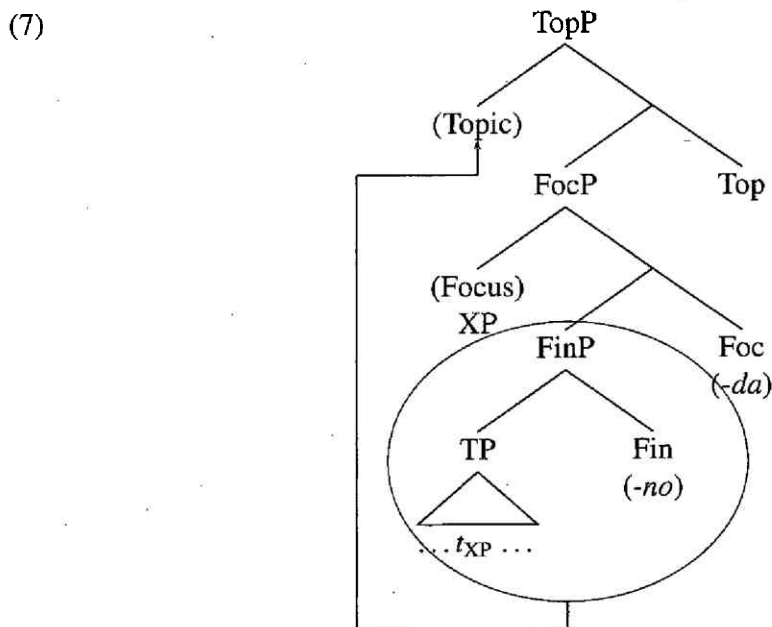
Thus, we get the following cleft sentence, with (3) as the source.

(8) Taro-ga   kaw-ta   no wa **kono ringo(-o)** da.
     Taro-Nom buy-Past C Top this apple-Acc Cop
     'It is this apple that Taro bought.'

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[1] For some reason which we do not fully understand, the complementizer/nominalizer *-no* is not congenial here, although it does not lead to full ungrammaticality. A nominal expression like *mono* 'thing' is much preferred.

(i) **Kono ringo-ga** Taro-ga   kaw-ta   mono da.
     this apple-Nom Taro-Nom buy-Past thing Cop
     'It is this apple that Taro bought.'

Hiraiwa and Ishihara (2002) exclude this type of construction, where the presupposition portion is headed by an element other than *no*, from their domain of focus constructions. However, sentences like the following show the property of connectivity, a hallmark of specificational statements.

(ii) Zibun(zisin)-no syasin-ga   Taro-ga   ki-ni-it-te iru (yuitu-no) mono da.
     self-Gen   photo-Nom Taro-Nom fond   be only   thing Cop
     'A photo of himself is the (only) thing he likes.'

We will discuss this aspect of focus constructions shortly.

Given this analysis, the second part of the procedure is only necessary to derive a 'regular' cleft construction, one kind of focus constructions.

One nice consequence of this analysis, not mentioned by Hiraiwa and Ishihara (2002) themselves, is that it captures straightforwardly the two salient properties of the specificational (pseudo-)cleft constructions (Akmajian (1970), Higgins (1973)): Connectivity and reversibility .

One of the important properties of cleft constructions often discussed in the literature since Akmajian (1970), Higgins (1973), among others, is that sentences like the following are ambiguous, having the specificational interpretation and the predicational interpretation.

(9) a. What John is is important.

b. What John ate for supper was the cat's food.

On the predicational reading, (9a) means that John is a certain X (he has a position or occupation, etc.) and that X or being X is important. On the specificational interpretation, this is a statement about John, not about the position or occupation he has, and it simply says that John is important. On the predicational reading of (9b), John might have eaten a tuna steak for supper, whose leftover was fed to the cat. On the specificational reading, John opened a can and ate the cat's food for supper.

It has been noted since Akmajian (1970), Higgins (1973), among others, that reversing the (surface) subject-predicate portions of (9) yields only the specificational interpretation.

(10) a. Important is what John is.

b. The cat's food was what John ate for supper.

These sentences can only mean John is important and John ate the cat's food for supper, respectively.

The distinction between the predicational and specificational uses of cleft constructions is reflected on the various phenomena related to connectivity, such as binding, agreement, and a host of other syntactic and semantic properties. Simply put, specificational constructions exhibit many if not all of the properties associated with connectivity, while predicational constructions do not show connectivity.

Thus, the following sentences, with the indicated coindexation, do not show the ambiguity in question.

(11) a. What John$_i$ is is important to himself$_i$. (Specificational)

b. What John$_i$ is is important to him$_i$. (Predicational)

These binding phenomena suggest that specificational cleft sentences involve some syntactic operations on a 'source' structure John$_i$ is important to himself$_i$ to account for the connectivity of binding, while the predicational sentences are essentially what they look like on the surface, with a 'headless relative clause' in the subject position.

Since the sentences in (11) are unambiguous, reversing the (surface) subject-predicate order yields different results.

(12) a. Important to himself$_i$ is what John$_i$ is.

b. *Important to him$_i$ is what John$_i$ is.

Now, Hiraiwa and Ishihara's (2002) analysis of focus constructions can be utilized to account for the syntactic properties of cleft constructions involving connectivity and reversibility of specificational cleft constructions. We will show how.

Let us start out with the FinP of the form: John is **important to himself**, where the bold faced portion bears the feature [+Foc(us)]. Restricting ourselves to its nature in the narrow syntax, the constituent bearing [+Foc] can be moved to SpecFocP to check the feature of its head. Since FocP is a layer of the CP domain, movement occurring in this domain will have the A'-properties, among them being successive cyclic. Thus, this constituent will move, first to SpecFinP (via adjunction to VP and/or vP), and then to SpecFocP.

(13)

FocP

(Focus)

Foc
Copula

FinP

←(what)   IP

John is **important to himself**[+Foc]
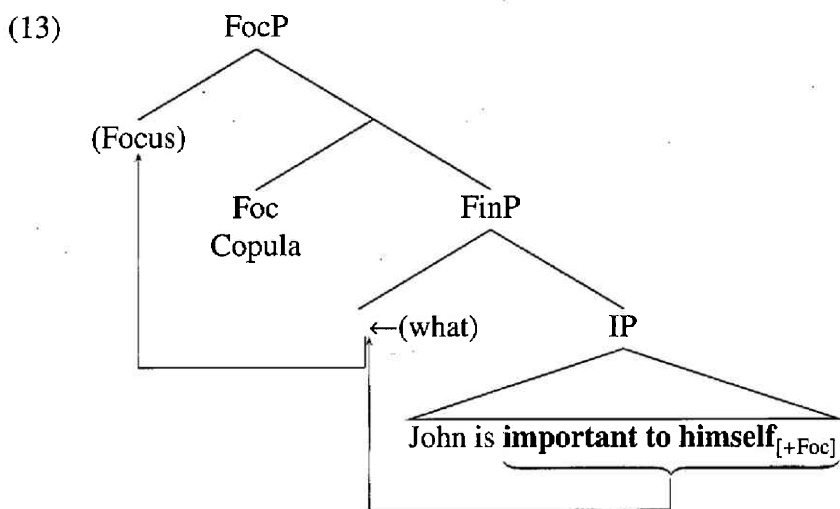
This is how we get (12): *Important to himself is what John is.* We assume, as a possibility, that *what* in SpecFinP is a spell-out of the copy left by movement of the focused constituent along the way to SpecFocP. (Similarly, for *-no* in Japanese.)

We may choose to stop the derivation here, yielding the 'reverse' pseudo-cleft construction (12), or choose to move on. If we choose to move on, what we can do is to move the remnant of FinP, let us assume that this is marked for a topichood feature, to SpecTopP.

(14)

TopP

(Topic)

Top   FocP

(Focus)

important to himself[+Foc]

Foc
Copula

FinP

(what)   IP

John is *t*[+Foc]
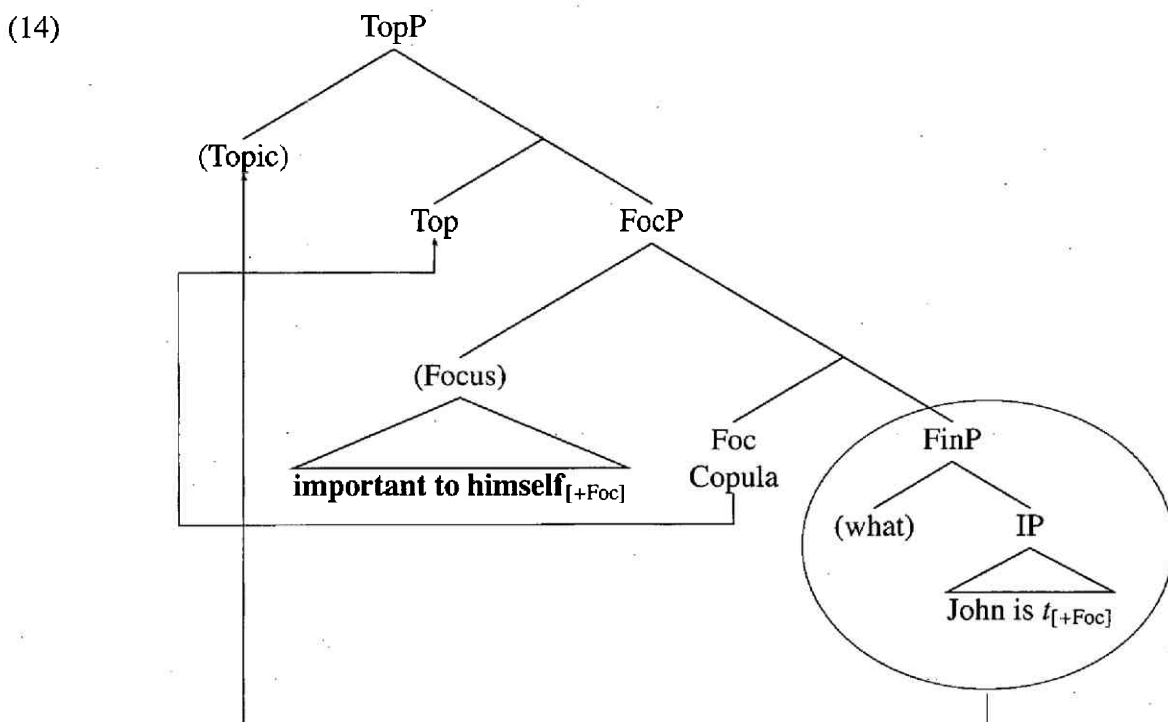
While this movement is not to the closest possible landing site, viz. SpecFocP, movement of Copula to the head of TopP makes SpecTopP equidistant to SpecFocP. Thus this movement is legitimate in light of the MLC.

This analysis is close in spirit to Heggie (1988), who takes the 'reverse' cleft as the source structure for the 'regular' cleft: We regard the 'reverse' cleft construction as closer to the source structure than the 'regular' cleft, for our analysis says that the derivation of the reverse cleft involves only one syntactic operation, viz. Focus movement, while the derivation of the 'regular' cleft involves additional movement of Topic.

The connectivity and reversibility properties also show up in focus constructions in Japanese. Connectivity in cleft constructions has been discussed at length by Kizu (2005), among others. This property is observed in sentences like the following.

(15)   Minna-ga sonkei-si-teiru no wa zibun(-zisin)-no hahaoya(-o) da.
        all-Nom admire-be-Pres C Top self-Gen   mother-Acc Cop
        '{??What / the person} everyone admires is his or her mother.'

Although on the surface, the quantifier *minna* 'all, everyone' does not c-command the reflexive *zibun(-zisin)*, the latter can be coindexed with the quantifier.

In keeping with Hiraiwa and Ishihara's (2002) analysis of focus constructions, we derive (15) from the source sentence (16), in which the quantifier does c-command the reflexive within the same clause.

(16)   Minna-ga **zibun(-zisin)-no hahaoya-o** sonkei-si-teiru no da.
        all-Nom self-Gen   mother-Acc admire-be-Pres C Cop
        'It is that everyone admires his or her mother.'

With movement of the bold-faced constituent of (16) to SpecFocP, we obtain either of the following. (See footnote 1 relating to the pre-copular element in (17b).)

(17)   a.   **Zibun(-zisin)-no hahaoya-o** minna-ga sonkei-si-teiru no da.
              self-Gen   mother-Nom all-Nom admire-be-Pres C Cop

        b.   **Zibun(-zisin)-no hahaoya-ga** minna-ga sonkei-si-teiru {??no / hito} da.
              self-Gen   mother-Nom all-Nom admire-be-Pres C person Cop

Notice that these are the reversed versions of the cleft sentence (15), and they can be paralleled by either of the following English sentences.

(18)   a.   It is his or her mother that everyone admires.

   b.   His or her mother is {??who / the person} everyone admires.

Thus, under Hiraiwa and Ishihara's (2002) analysis of focus constructions, reversibility of specificational cleft constructions comes with connectivity, simply by focus movement. The cleft sentence (15) is obtained by movement of the remnant of FinP, the portion headed by *-no* in (17).

3.   Short answers as focus

3.1   The canonical case

In the present analysis, we consider short answers as concealed focus constructions, derived by (i) focus movement of the constituent corresponding to the *wh*-phrase in the question — the first step in the derivation of a cleft construction in Hiraiwa and Ishihara's (2002) analysis, and (ii) deletion of the clause headed by *no*, FinP in the articulated CP system, also following Hiraiwa and Ishihara (2002).

(19)   FocP
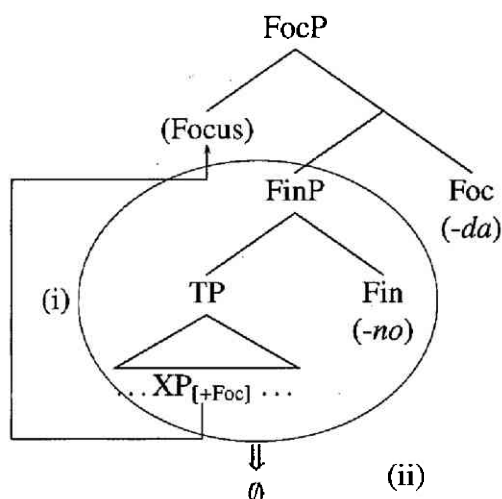
This analysis is adopted by Merchant (2004), with some difference in the phrase structure organization. The idea that short answers derive from focus has also been advocated by Kuwabara (1997) and Saito (2004).

The derivation of short answers illustrated in (19) constitutes what we consider to be the canonical case. However, not all short answers are created equal. In quite a few cases do we find short answers which do not observe connectivity of the kind the derivation (19) would anticipate. So, in the next subsection we will take a look at what we consider to be an additional source of short answers. After that, in section 3.3 we will present aspects of connectivity associated with short answers and consider why they are not always observed.

3.2   Variable sources of short answers

The purpose of the present section is to show that there is a certain degree of parallelism between short answers and fully sentential focus/cleft constructions in Japanese. However, we will also see some discrepancies between them. In this subsection, we will consider why.

One case of discrepancy has to do with postpositions. The postpositions are retained in the focus position — the same postposition is found in a short answer as seen in a fully sentential answer.

(20)   A.   Doroboo-ga doko-kara   okane-o   nusun-da no?
            thief-Nom   where-from money-Acc steal-Past Q
            'Where did the thief steal the money from?'

       B.   a.   Kono ginkoo(-kara) desu.
                 this bank-from   Cop
                 'From this bank.'

            b.   Doroboo-ga okane-o   nusun-da no wa kono ginkoo(-kara) desu.
                 thief-Nom money-Acc steal-Past C Top this bank-from   Cop
                 'It was from that bank that the thief stole the money.'

As the parentheses in answer (20a) suggest, the postposition -kara 'from' appear to be optional in short answers. This is also reflected on the cleft construction (20b), in which the postposition on the focus constituent appears to be optional. This runs counter to our basic premise that a specificational cleft retains connectivity.

Hoji (1990) argues that a cleft construction with its focus constituent lacking a postposition has a derivation distinct from those involving focus with a postposition. Saito (2004) takes the

following, with *pro* as the gap in the presupposition clause, as the structure for clefts with focus without a case-marker or postposition.

(21) [NP [TP ...*pro* ...]]-wa NP-da.
                             -Top -Cop

Since, on the usual understanding, *pro* is not generated by movement, construction (21), which Saito (2004) refers to as 'bare NP cleft', is base-generated. From this, it is expected that this construction lacks the type of connectivity observed in (specificational) cleft constructions. Thus, the cleft construction without a postposition (20b) can be thought to derive from (21).

However, later in the paper, Saito (2004, 43) refutes the use of structure (21) for his analysis of short answers involving bare NPs, because the subject of the short answer not deriving from a specificational cleft is indeterminate.

Instead, Saito (2004) suggests that a 'bare NP' short answer has an alternative source, which has a general form:

(22) *pro* XP da/desu
                  Cop

in which *pro* is an empty version of the pronominal *sore* 'it' vaguely referring to the circumstance related to the event depicted in the sentence. We call (22) the bare-copular frame.

In the next subsection, we will consider various types of connectivity found in short answers. But we will also see that there is some discrepancy. We will see that this discrepancy will be accounted for by the presence of this alternative source of short answers.

3.3 Connectivity effects

Merchant (2004) points out the following connectivity effects exhibited by short answers ('fragment answers' in his terms).

CASE-MATCHING
The morphological case form of a short answer DP is the same as the case found on the corresponding DP in a fully sentential answer.

(23) Whose car did you take?

     a. *John.
     b. John's.

The same works in Japanese.

(24) A. Sore-wa dare-no kuruma?
         it-Top   who-Gen car
         'Whose car is it?'

     B. Taro*(-no) desu.
         Taro-Gen Cop

The omission of the genitive case marker is not permitted in the short answer.

In a certain class of stative constructions in Japanese, the alternation of the nominative and dative case-markers is possible.

(25) Anna-{ga/ni}   Rosia-go-ga hanas-e-ru   (wake)
      Anna -Nom/Dat Russian-Nom speak-can-Pres reason
      '(reason why) Anna can speak Russian'

However, the case-marker on the short answer must be identical with the case-marker of the question constituent.

(26) A. ?Dare-ni Rosia-go-ga hanas-e-ru   no?
     who-Dat Russian-Nom speak-can-Pres Q
     'Who can speak Russian?'

     B. Anna{-ni/*-ga} desu.
        Anna-Dat/-Nom Cop

The question sentence itself is a little awkward, so is the short answer with the dative case-marker, but it is decidedly better than a short answer with the nominative case-marker. This works as a piece of evidence that short answers in Japanese require the matching of the morphological case marking with the corresponding *wh*-constituent.

The question sentence is improved if we replace the dative with the nominative marker, but then we cannot build relevant examples, because then the short answer is expected to come up with the nominative answer, in keeping with the case-matching requirement. However, this expectation is not fully met, for the following reason.

In Japanese, the morphological case markers -*ga* (nominative) and -*o* (accusative) are generally omitted in short answers.

(27) A: Dare-ga   kawari-ni kuru no?
         who-Nom instead   come Q
         'Who is coming instead?'

     B: a. Taro(??-ga) desu.
             Taro-Nom Cop

         b. Kawari-ni kuru no wa Taro(??-ga) desu.
             instead   come C Top Taro-Nom Cop
             'It's Taro that's coming instead.'

(28) A. Taro-wa nani-o   tabe-te-ru no?
         Taro-Top what-Acc eat-ing   Q
         'What is Taro eating?'

     B. a. Susi(*-o)   desu.
             sushi(-Acc) Cop

         b. Taro-ga   tabe-te-ru no wa susi(*-o)   desu.
             Taro-Nom eat-ing   C Top sushi-Acc Cop
             'It is sushi that Taro is eating.'

The omission of the case markers is what is observed in the focus constituent, as seen in the cleft constructions in (27b) and (28b). We take the parallel pattern as seen in (27) and (28) as a piece of telling evidence that short answers are derived from focus (or cleft) constructions plus deletion.

BINDING CONDITIONS EFFECTS
Short answers exhibit the same condition C (29) and B violations (30) as the corresponding fully sentential answers.

(29) *Condition C:*
      Where is he$_i$ staying?

      a. *In John$_i$'s apartment.

      b. *He$_i$'s staying in John$_i$'s apartment.

(30) *Condition B:*

    Who did John$_i$ shave?

      a. *Him$_i$.

      b. *He$_i$ shaved him$_i$.

It is easy to show the condition A effect in short answers and corresponding focus and cleft constructions in Japanese.

(31) A. Taro-wa dare-o   hihan-si-ta   no?
              Taro-Top who-Acc criticize-Past Q
              'Who did Taro criticize?'

      B. a. Zibun(-zisin) desu.
              self   Cop

          b. Kare-ga hihan-si-ta   no wa zibun(-zisin) desu.
             he-Nom criticize-Past C Top self   Cop
             'It was himself that he criticized.'

However, condition B and C effects are not so straightforward in the corresponding cases in Japanese. Imagine that we are talking about a puppy Max.

(32) A. Kare$_i$-o doko-e   ture-te iku no?
           it-Acc where-to take   go Q
           'Where (are you going to) bring him?'

      B. a. ?Max$_i$-no uti-e   desu.
             Max-Gen home-to Cop
             'To Max's home.'
          b. ?*Kare$_i$-o ture-te iku no wa Max$_i$-no uti-e   desu.
             he-Acc take   go C Top Max-Gen home-to Cop
             'It is to Max's home that we are taking him.'

The acceptability of short answer (32a) is higher than that of the corresponding cleft (32b). However, if we suppose that the source of (32a) can also be a bare-copular construction, this discrepancy is no longer a mystery.

(33) ?Sore-wa Max$_i$-no uti-e   desu.
        it-Top   Max-Gen home-to Cop
        'It is to Max's home.'

SCOPE

Short answers allow for the same kind of scopal ambiguity found in fully sentential answers.

(34) A. How many diplomats did every translator greet?

      B. a. Three.

          b. Every translator greeted three (diplomats).

In (34a), B's answer has both the scopal possibilities attested in (34b).

    The same point can be shown in short answers and cleft constructions in Japanese.

(35) A.   Minna-ga nan-kyoku   utaw-ta   ka osiete.
          all-Nom how many songs sing-Past Q tell me
          'Tell me how many songs everyone sang.'

     B.   a.   3-kyoku desu.
               3 songs Cop

          b.   Minna-ga utaw-ta   no wa 3-kyoku desu.
               all-Nom   sing-Past C Top 3-songs Cop
               'It was three songs that everyone sang.'

Short answer (35a) has the same scopal ambiguity as the cleft construction (35b) does. So both of these have the interpretation on which there were three songs that all the relevant people sang (maybe as a group), or every member of the group sang three songs, possibly different from other members of the group sang.

On the other hand, consider the following bare-copular form, which can be a potential source for the short answer (35a).

(36)   Sore-wa 3-kyoku desu.
       it-Top   3 songs Cop

This does not allow the scopal ambiguity exhibited by (35b), and it can only be interpreted in such a way that *3 kyoku* 'three songs' takes wide scope.

BOUND PRONOUNS
As seen in the following examples from Merchant (2004), short answer (37a) contains a pronoun bound by a quantifier contained in the question.

(37) A.   Who does every Englishman$_i$ admire?

     B.   a.   His$_i$ mother.

          b.   Every Englishman$_i$ admires his$_i$ mother.

This is straightfowardly captured if we derive (37a) from a full sentential form (37b). Also, (37a) is an instance of functional answer, also referred to as relational answer (Engdahl (1986, 1988)). A functional answer, as applied to each individual in the relevant domain of discourse, yields a different individual as a referential value. For discussion of functional answers, cf. Chierchia (1991), Hornstein (1995), among many others. Functional answers play a crucial role later in this article.

'VEHICLE CHANGE' EFFECTS
This is apparently a sign of *non*-connectivity effect, for while (38b) shows a condition C violation, no corresponding deviance is found in the parallel short answer (38a).

(38) A.   Who did you tell *t* about Bill$_i$'s raise?

     B.   a.   Him$_i$.

          b.   *I told him$_i$ about Bill$_i$'s raise.

Merchant (2004) claims that this discrepancy is due to the effect called 'vehicle change' (Fiengo & May, 1994), which is widely observed in ellipsis phenomena, concluding that that this effect is found in short answers is a 'welcome and expected' outcome, since this can be taken as additional evidence that ellipsis is involved in the derivation of short answers.

Similar facts can be observed in Japanese.

(39) A.   Dare-ga   Taro$_i$-no   hahaoya-ni aw-ta   no?
           who-Nom Taro-Gen mother-Dat meet-Past Q
           'Who met Taro's mother?'

      B.   a.   Kare$_i$ desu.
                he   Cop

           b. ?*Taro$_i$-no   hahaoya-ni aw-ta   no wa kare$_i$ desu.
              Taro-Gen mother-Dat meet-Past C Top he   Cop
              'It was he (him) that met Taro's mother.'

It is not clear, however, whether the discrepancy observed in (39) is really due to 'vehicle change' and can be taken as a sign of deletion.

The indeterminacy with respect to the 'vehicle change' pointed out for example (39) can also be ascribed to the intervening factor arising from the bare-copular strategy. The acceptability of (39a) may be because of the 'vehicle change' effect, but we cannot rule out the possibility that its acceptability is due to the fact that the following bare-copular sentence is acceptable.

(40) Sore-wa kare$_i$ desu.
      it-Top   he   Cop

At the moment, we know of no way to eliminate this indeterminacy.

POLARITY ITEMS

Merchant (2004) discusses the distribution of negative polarity items (NPIs), but this is not in the context of his discussion of connectivity retained by short answers. As (41) shows, the NPI *any* is unable to appear as a short answer.

(41) A.   What didn't Max read?
      B.   *Anything.

Rather, he discusses this issue as part of his argument for the derivation of short answers from left-dislocation, for NPIs are unable to appear in a left-dislocated position.

(42) *Anything, Max didn't read.

In this respect, NPIs in Japanese appear to behave differently. We use *sika*, whose best approximate in English would be 'but' as in 'He eats nothing *but* hamburgers.'[2]

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[2]Watanabe (2004) extensively discusses negative concord items like *nani-mo* 'anything' in Japanese and their interactions with ellipsis, arguing for the semantic isomorphism condition of Merchant (2001). (iB) (from Watanabe (2004)) is a representative example of negative concord, where the antecedent clause does not contain overt negation but deletion of "I didn't see" is allowed.

   (i) A: Nani-o   mita no?
             what-Acc saw Q
             'What did you see?'

        B: Nani-mo ~~mi-nakat-ta~~
             what-Mo see-Neg-Past
             '(I saw) nothing.'

We do not have much to say about this interesting topic here, but two things might be worth mentioning. First, *sika*-phrases differ from negative concord items in that they are barred as an answer to (i).

   (ii) B: Hebi(*-sika)
              snake-sika

(43) A.   Kono neko-wa nani-sika tabe-nai no?
          this   cat-Top what-sika eat-not Q
          Lit. 'This cat eats nothing but what?' or 'Only what does this cat eat?'

     B.   *Maguro-sika desu.
          tuna-sika   Cop
          Intended: 'Only tuna.'

Although (43B) is as bad as (41B), left-dislocation of the same NPI is not so bad.

(44)   Maguro-sika kono neko-wa tabe-nai no desu.
       tuna-sika   this cat-Top eat-not C Cop
       Lit. 'This cat eats nothing but tuna.'

We take this as due to the equivocal status of left-dislocation as seen in (44). That is, left-dislocation in this example may either be focus-movement or scrambling, and it has been claimed by Ishii (1997) that the restriction on scrambling is less strict than on canonical varieties of A'-movement, of which we consider focus-movement is an instantiation. It is highly likely that the acceptability of (44) is due to this aspect of scrambling. On the other hand, the following cleft construction is very low in acceptability.

(45)   *Kono neko-ga tabe-nai no wa maguro-sika desu.
        this   cat-Nom eat-not C Top tuna-sika   Cop
        'What this cat does not eat is but tuna.'
        Intended: 'What this cat eats is nothing but tuna.'

We take this as a strong piece of evidence that the focus element of cleft constructions is what short answers derive from. Given that the cleft construction is a subspecies of focus constructions, we continue to assume that short answers derive from focus.

Notice that a short answer without *sika* is possible as an answer to (43A).

(46)   Maguro desu.
       tuna   Cop

But this answer is arguably from a source other than a focus construction, and must be from the bare-copular frame discussed in 3.2, which does not observe connectivity. We have two arguments for this. One is that (43A) does not allow a functional answer.

(47)   *Zibun-no emono   desu.
        self-Gen catch, game Cop
        'Its own catch.'

As we will see in the next subsection, a short functional answer must be derived from a focus construction, not from a bare-copular frame.

Second, short answers exemplified by (46) do not retain a postposition used in the question, another hallmark of the absence of connectivity.

Second, ellipsis of the kind investigated by Watanabe seems to be a different phenomenon from one we find in short answers. Compare (i) and (iii).

(iii)   B: *Nani-mo desu
             what-Mo Cop

When the copula is attached to the fragment seen in (iB), no acceptable answer to the question is obtained. If the presence of the copula is an indication that clefting is involved, the status of (iiiB) suggests that fragments that Watanabe is looking at do not involve cleft or focus movement in our sense.

(48) A.   Sono mise-wa   dono   miti-kara   sika ike-nai no?
          that   store-Top which road-from sika go-Not Q
          Lit. 'One can go to the shop from no way but which way?'
          'Only from which way can you go to the store?'
     B.   Kita-gawa-no   miti(??-kara) desu.
          north-side-gen road -from   Cop
          '(From) the north side way.'

For some reason which we do not understand, B's answer sounds even better without the postposition. This also suggests that this answer is derived from a bare-copular frame.

3.4   Controlling variability

In the previous subsection, we have seen that short answers have at least two possible sources and derivations. One is from focus or specificational cleft plus ellipsis, the other from bare-copular forms. The former type is faithful to connectivity and shows the behavior of ellipsis, while the latter does not observe connectivity and shows no sign of syntactic movement. But are all short answers ambiguous having variable sources?

Our answer is no, and this is the reason why we discuss functional answers and pair-list answers as the main theme of this article. These two types of answers require that they derive from focus/cleft constructions plus deletion.

This point can be straightforwardly demonstrated by the following examples, where functional answers and pair-list answers are ungrammatical in the bare-copular frame (22).

(49) A.   Minna-ga dare-kara meeru-o   uke-tor-ta   ka osiete.
          all-Nom   who-from e-mail-Acc receive-Past Q tell me
          'Tell me who everyone received an e-mail from.'
     B.   a.   Sore-wa Koizumi-san-kara desu.
               it-Top   Mr. Koizumi-from Cop
          b.   *Sore-wa soitu-no   zyoosi-kara desu.
               it-Top   the guy-Gen superior   Cop
               'It was from his or her boss.'
          c.   *Sore-wa Taro-ga   Koizumi-san-kara, Mari-ga   Abe-san-kara desu.
               it-Top   Taro-Nom Mr. Koizumi-from Mari-Nom Mr. Abe-from Cop
               'It was, Taro from Mr. Koizumi, Mari from Mr. Abe.

That pair-list answers are incompatible with the bare-copular frame (22) is also noted by Saito (2004).

In section 3.3, we pointed out that the retention of the postposition in a short answer is a hallmark of connectivity. The following examples of possible answers to (49A) show that functional answers and pair-list answers behave differently from individual answers and they show the obligatory retention of the postposition.

(50) B.   a.   Koizumi-san(-kara) desu.
               Mr. Koizumi-from   Cop
          b.   Soitu-no   zyoosi*(-kara) desu.
               the guy-Gen superior   Cop
               'From his or her boss.'
          c.   Taro*(-ga) Koizumi-san(-kara), Mari*(-ga) Abe-san*(-kara) desu.
               Taro-Nom Mr. Koizumi-from   Mari-Nom Mr. Abe-from   Cop
               'Taro from Mr. Koizumi, Mari from Mr. Abe.'

While the presence of the postposition is optional in the individual answer (50a), its presence is obligatory in the functional answer (50b), its omission leading to ungrammaticality. In the pair-list answer (50c), the nominative case-marker *ga*, which is normally omitted in focus constituents and short answers, is obligatorily retained. While the postposition *kara* 'from' is optional in the first conjunct of the pair-list answer, its presence is obligatory in the second conjunct. This is a general pattern of ellipsis found in Japanese, such as the equivalent of Gapping in Japanese.

Thus, our discussion in the remainder of this article will be focused on short functional answers and pair-list answers. These types of answers are faithful to connectivity, which arguably comes from their syntactic source and derivation: they both derive from focus/cleft constructions.

3.5 Ellipsis and MaxElide

Our claim in the present article is that short answers exhibiting connectivity, viz. functional answers and pair-list answers, derive in the manner depicted in the diagram (19). Process (i) of this diagram, focus-movement, is responsible for connectivity, whose various aspects have been the concern of this section so far. In this subsection, we will consider process (ii) of (19).

We are going to show in this subsection that there is an argument that helps establish that ellipsis is involved in the derivation of short answers. The argument revolves around the effect which Merchant (2001) calls "MaxElide".

As has been observed since Lasnik (2001), VP-ellipsis does not apply naturally where Sluicing can apply. Here is one example.

(51)   They said they heard about a Balkan language, but I don't know

      a.   which they heard about.
      b.   which.
      c.   *which they did.

The following generalization essentially captures the idea of this concept (see Merchant (2001), Fox and Lasnik (2003) for further discussion).

(52)   Where XP is a constituent to be elided and YP is also a possible target for deletion, YP must not properly contain XP.

In (51), the TP is the constituent elided by Sluicing and the VP is a target of deletion by VP-ellipsis. Since the TP properly contains the VP, (51c), in which VP is deleted in the presence of a larger constituent TP which properly contains it, is ruled out by (51).

The effect of MaxElide is also observed in ellipsis which is considered to be responsible for the derivation of short answers in Japanese.[3] Consider the following.

(53) A.   Hanako-wa   [kyoozyu-ga nani-o   koogi-su-ru tokoro]-o rokuon sita   no?
         Hanako-Top prof.-Nom   what-Acc lecture-Pres C-Acc   tape-rec do-Past Q
         'Lit. What did Hanako tape-record the professor lecturing?'

      B.   a.   Gengogaku desu.
            linguistics Cop

---

[3] To our knowledge, Susumu Kuno (Kuno, 1978, 1980) is the first to point out the effect of what is now familiar as MaxElide (the "Ban against Partial Discourse Deletion" in his terms). The range of data he looked at is much wider than that we cover here.

  b. *Gengogaku(-o) Hanako-ga   ∅ rokuon sita   no desu.
      linguistics-Acc Hanako-Nom   tape-rec do-Past C Cop

  c. *Hanako-ga   ∅ rokuon sita   no wa gengogaku(-o) desu.
      Hanako-Nom   tape-rec do-Past C Top linguistics-Acc Cop

While (53a) is a normal short answer to question (53A), (53b), derived by focus movement and deletion, is so bad that it is hard to give an English translation. Sentence (53c), a cleft construction obtained from (53b) by Topicalization of FinP, is equally bad. If anything, they can only mean 'Hanako was tape-recording linguistics,' which hardly makes sense. This shows the extent to which a violation of MaxElide causes a severe degradation.

To see the point, let us consider how (53a–c) are derived. First, focus movement moves *gengogaku* 'linguistics'.

(54)   [$_{FocP}$linguistics$_i$ [$_{FP}$[$_{TP}$Hanako recorded [$_{CP}$the prof lecture t_i *tokoro*$_C$]] no] desu$_{Cop}$]

Given this, deletion of FinP leads to the normal short answer (53a).

(55)   [$_{FocP}$linguistics$_i$ [$_{FinP}$[$_{TP}$Hanako recorded [$_{CP}$the prof lecture t$_i$ *tokoro*$_C$]] no] desu$_{Cop}$]

$$\Downarrow$$
$$\emptyset$$

The almost gibberish (53b) is derived as in the following.

(56)   [$_{FocP}$linguistics$_i$ [$_{FinP}$[$_{TP}$Hanako recorded [$_{CP}$the prof lecture t$_i$ *tokoro*$_C$]] no] desu$_{Cop}$]

$$\Downarrow$$
$$\emptyset$$

This is bad, because CP now purporting to be elided is properly contained in FinP, another potential deletion target. Subsequent movement of FinP to SpecTop yields the cleft (53c), ending up in an equal near-gibberish.

Thus the contrast as seen in (53ab) is readily explained by MaxElide — such an account is possible only if one supposes that ellipsis is involved in the derivation of short answers.

Notice that it is not the case that deletion or ellipsis involving circumstantial clauses headed by *tokoro* (literally meaning 'place, spot') is prohibited. To see this, consider the following as a possible answer to (53A).

(57) ?Saa.   Demo, Hanako-ga   ∅ SATUEI sita   no wa
     don't know but   Hanako-Nom   cam-rec do-Past C Top
     gengogaku(-o) desu.
     linguistics-Acc Cop
     'Don't know, but it was linguistics that Hanako cam-recorded (as being lectured).'

We consider this as a significant improvement in comparison with (53c) on the intended reading on which (the professor's lecture of) linguistics was cam-recorded. The reason for this improvement lies in the presence of a verb distinct from the one used in the question. In fact, this verb needs to be pronounced with stress to obtain the intended interpretation. The derivation of this answer involves focus movement of *gengogaku* 'linguistics' within the complement clause, followed by deletion of the remnant clause. MaxElide is irrelevant, and the sentence is improved as expected.

4. Syntax of pair-list answers

In our conception, pair-list answers form one species of short answers, and they play very important roles in our explication of the nature of short answers in connection with connectivity and ellipsis. In this section, we will discuss the syntactic properties of pair-list answers. To start the discussion, consider the following examples.

(58) Minna-ga dare-o   sonkei-si te-iru ka osie-te.
      all-Nom who-Acc admire   be   Q tell me
      'Tell me who everyone admires.'

(59) a. Mother Teresa desu.
          Mother Teresa Cop
          'Mother Teresa.'

      b. Zibun(zisin)-no hahaoya desu.
          self-Gen   mother Cop
          'His/her mother.'

      c. Taro-ga   Mother Teresa-o,   Hanako-ga   Gandhi-o   (sonkee-si te-iru
          Taro-Nom Mother Teresa-Acc Hanako-Nom Gandhi-Acc admire   be

          no) desu.
          C Cop

          'Taro (admires) Mother Teresa, Hanako Gandhi.'

As is discussed by Chierchia (1991), Hornstein (1995) among others, pair-list answers like (59c) are generally considered to be special cases of functional answers like (59b). It is generally the case that when pair-list answers are available, so are functional answers, but not vice versa. One point mentioned in such work as Chierchia (1991), Hornstein (1995) among others is that the quantifier occurring together with the wh-phrase has to be a universal quantifier in order to serve as the 'generator'.

One other point which must be noted is that to question sentences like (60), in which the quantifier and the wh-phrase occur across the clause-boundary, the pair-list answer (59c) is impossible, while the functional answer (59b) is acceptable.

(60) Minna$_i$-ga [Akira$_j$-ga dare-o   sonkei-si te-iru to] iw-ta   ka osiete.
      all-Nom   Akira-Nom who-Acc admire   be   that say-Past Q tell me
   'Tell me who everyone says Akira admires?'

This is reminiscent of the behavior of multiple wh-constructions in Japanese, as has been discussed by Saito (1994), Takahashi (1994), etc. These authors observe that multiple wh-questions require that wh-phrases occurring in these sentences must be close to each other, and generally they must occur in the same clause.

In these works, as well as Grewendorf (2001), it is claimed that multiple wh-phrases occurring in a sentence form a 'cluster' or 'amalgam' in such a way that the lower wh-phrase adjoins to the higher one.

Along this line, let us consider a 'multiple wh version' of (58).

(61) Dare-ga   dare-o   sonkei-si te-iru ka osie-te.
      who-Nom who-Acc admire   be   Q tell me
      'Tell me who admires who.'

The analysis proceeds as follows. The object *wh*-phrase is adjoined to the subject *wh*-phrase.

(62)   ...   XP   ... (WH$_2$) ...
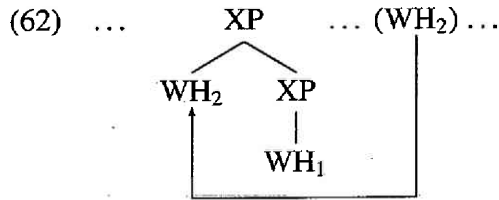
Given this, the distance requirement observed between the relevant *wh*-phrases can be stated in terms of a locality requirement on movement. Takahashi (1994) claims that adjunction of the lower *wh*-phrase is A-movement, from which the clausemate requirement follows, since A-movement never crosses CP.

Our parallelism hypothesis expects that pair-list answers are derived in a parallel fashion, and that the pair forms a cluster, in such a way that the lower member of the pair adjoins to the higher one. In the present analysis, we adopt Takano's (2002) formulation of *oblique movement*, for this makes it possible to maintain the linear order of the two constituents while being in keeping with Kayne's (1994) hypothesis that adjunction is universally to the left, while adjunction in the format of (62) requires right-adjunction to maintain the relative linear order.
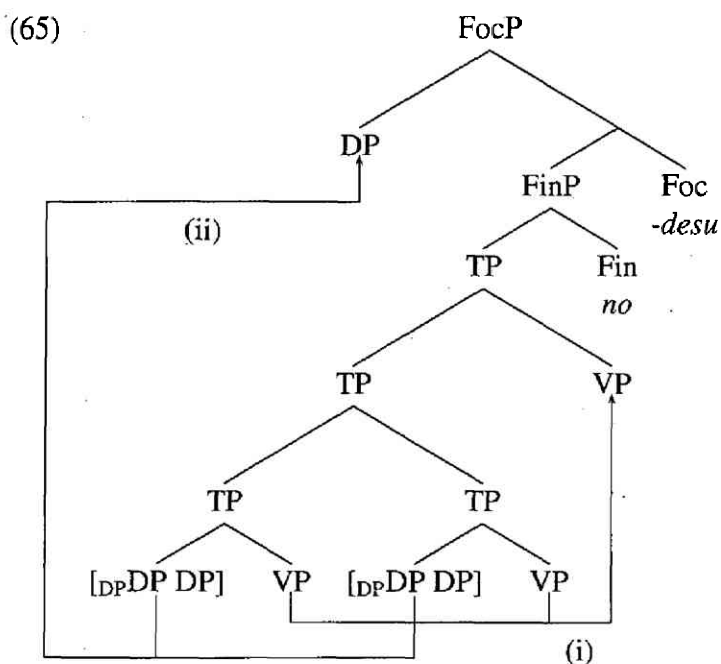
Descriptively, we characterize the syntax of a pair-list answer as follows:

(63)   A pair-list answer is a conjunction of TPs under FocusP.

Using Takano's (2002) formulation of oblique movement, pair-list answers like (59c) are derived in the following way. In each conjunct, oblique movement takes place, thus forming a cluster (pair). First, the lower of the pair members, DP$_2$, object in the case of (59c), is adjoined to TP (64a). Then, subject DP$_1$ is adjoined to DP$_2$, which forms a cluster (64b).

(64) a. [TP tree] b. [TP tree]
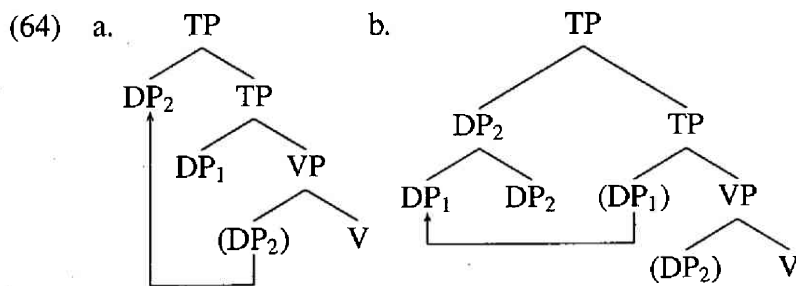
When TPs are conjoined in keeping with (63), two things happen, as illustrated in the following diagram. First, VPs in the conjuncts are right-node-raised (connection (i)), then the clusters formed in both TPs are moved to SpecFocP (via SpecFinP) and conjoined there (connection (ii)).

(65)

```
                        FocP
                       /    \
                     /       \
                   DP         \
                  /|         FinP      Foc
            (ii)  |         /   \     -desu
                  |       TP     Fin
                  |      /  \     no
                  |    TP    VP
                  |   /  \    |
                  |  TP   TP  |
                  | / \  / \  |
       [DP DP DP] VP [DP DP DP] VP
           |      |      |      |
```

(i)

This gives us the pair-list answer (59c). Subsequently, FinP may be optionally deleted, in which case we obtain a short pair-list answer, (59c) with its portion in parentheses omitted.

Still alternatively, one might raise FinP to SpecTopP (Topicalization). This time, we obtain a cleft construction with multiple foci — a construction which contains what Takano (2002) calls 'surprising constituents'.[4]

(66) Sonkee-si te-iru no wa Taro-ga   Mother Teresa-o,   Hanako-ga
      admire   be   C Top Taro-Nom   Mother Teresa-Acc   Hanako-Nom
      Gandhi-o   desu.
      Gandhi-Acc Cop
      'Taro (admires) Mother Teresa, Hanako Gandhi.' or
      'Speaking of admiring, Taro (admires) Mother Teresa, Hanako Gandhi.'

We consider this sentence quite natural as a reply to (58)/(61).

Thus, pair-list answers, with their variable surface realizations, are syntactically captured in terms of focus constructions in the format of Hiraiwa and Ishihara (2002), coupled with the idea that multiple wh-phrases, as well as their corresponding answer fragments, form clusters.

Before closing this section, let us consider the fact that (58), in which we have a universal quantifier as subject interacting with a wh-phrase, allows a pair-list answer.

(58) Minna-ga dare-o   sonkei-si te-iru ka osie-te.
      all-Nom who-Acc admire   be   Q tell me
      'Tell me who everyone admires.'

Continuing with our hypothesis that pair-list answers consist crucially of clusters, we consider that, in the corresponding question, the universal quantifier is clustered with the wh-phrase in covert syntax. Oblique movement as formulated by Takano (2002) tells us to move the

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[4]Takano (2002) argues against the idea that oblique movement is focally motivated. Our point here is simply that this machinery is compatible with focus movement.

wh-phrase in object to adjoin to TP. Then the universal quantifier in subject adjoins to the *wh*-phrase. By this, we obtain the following 'constituent'.

(67)   DP₁
           /\
        DP₂   DP₁
         | |
        minna WH
        'all'
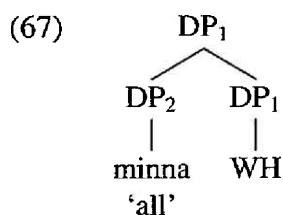
Notice that the large DP₁ thus formed is a *wh*-phrase, since it is a projection of DP₁, and is subject to subsequent *wh*-movement.

Although this is a syntactic characterization of (58) and does not explain why the quantifier that can cluster with a *wh*-phrase must be a universal quantifier, recall the fact, often mentioned in the literature, that the first *wh*-phrase in the multiple question (61) must be interpreted as a universal quantifier in order for it to be interpreted as a question soliciting a pair-list answer. See, for example, Chierchia (1991), Hornstein (1995).

This analysis, making crucial use of oblique movement, makes reference to the adjunction structure (67), in which if you adjoin a quantifier to a *wh*, you will get a (complex) *wh*. If you do the reverse, that is, if you adjoin a *wh* to a non-*wh* quantifier, you will not get a *wh*. We assume that the element buried inside the amalgam cannot enter into a checking relation with a head even if it is moved to SpecCP.

In our view, this accounts for some syntactic aspect of the fact that the following sentence, in which the order of the quantifier and *wh*-phrase in (58) is reversed, allows neither a functional answer nor a pair-list answer.

(68)   Dare-ga   minna-o sonkei-si te-iru ka osie-te.
        who-Nom all-Acc admire . be   Q tell me
   'Tell me who admires everyone.'

The absence of the functional answer in (68) has been analyzed by Chierchia (1991) on the grounds that trace of a *wh*-phrase interacting with a quantifier serves as a functional expression.

(69)   (Tell me) [who]₁ [e₂N]₁ admires [everyone]₂

The empty element e_2, bearing *a*-index, is considered to be a pronominal. But this is not A-bound by the quantifier with the same index, nor by its trace, if it is moved by QR. Thus (69) is ruled out by the violation of weak crossover. This is taken to be an explanation for the absence of the functional interpretation of (68).

This may be sufficient as an account for the absence of a pair-list answer to (68), for generally the presence of a functional interpretation is a prerequisite for the availability of a pair-list answer. Even so, the adjunction structure yielded by oblique movement offers a syntactic explanation for the unavailability of a pair-list answer.

Above we showed hat to obtain a pair list interpretation, the LF of the question needs (67) in the structure. But this amalgam cannot be built in the LF for (68). This is so because, in (68), the quantifier in object must first move and be adjoined to TP, in keeping with the mechanism of oblique movement. Then the *wh*-phrase in subject gets adjoined to the quantifier, yielding:

(70)   DP$_2$
         /\
     DP$_1$ DP$_2$
       | |
      WH   minna
            'all'
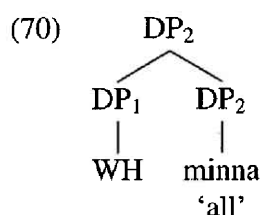
The resulting DP is a projection of DP$_2$, not a wh-phrase. Since DP$_2$ is not a wh-phrase, it is not subject to wh-movement. So as long as the wh-phrase clings to clustering with the quantifier, its feature has no chance to be checked against C. Therefore it has to move alone, resulting in the interpretation in which the wh-phrase is interpreted independently of the quantifier.

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