

# Stay alone, move together: deriving embedded reduced questions in Chakhar Mongolian

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## 1. Embedded Reduced Questions

- Mongolian ERQs exhibit non-uniform properties in single-*wh* vs. and multiple-*wh* cases
- We pay special attention to the distribution of CASE and COPULA in ERQs
- We attempt an account on how the derivation of ERQs is regulated in Mongolian.

## 2. Base generation or movement?

**Sluicing:** ... not-know [<sub>CP</sub> *wh*<sub>1</sub> ... [<sub>TP</sub> ... *wh*<sub>1</sub> ... ] ]

- via *wh*-MOVE & PF Deletion of TP (e.g., Takahashi 1994, Merchant 2001)
- via *wh*-BG & LF Copying into TP (e.g. Chung et al 1995, Sakamoto 2014)

**Sluicing-like:** ... not-know [<sub>CP</sub> *ec wh* (COP) ]

- wh*-BG & *ec* = *subject pro* (**pseudo-sluicing**) (e.g., Wei 2004, Bai & Takahashi 2022)
- wh*-BG & *ec* = *null clause* (**reduced pseudo-clefts**) (e.g., Hiraiwa & Ishihara 2002)
- wh*-MOVE from *ec* & *ec* = *null clause* (**reduced clefts**) (e.g., Hiraiwa & Ishihara 2012)

## 3.1. Single ERQ in Chakhar Mongolian: mixed properties

(1) a. Mergen-Ø yamar nigen xümün-i toγu-na.  
Mergen-NOM some one person-ACC like-NPST  
'Mergen likes someone.'

b. Bi-Ø [ tegün-ü **xen**-i toγu-χu ] -yi (ni) mede-be.  
I-NOM he-GEN who-ACC like-INF -ACC PPC know-PST  
'I knew who he likes.'

c. Bi-Ø <sup>OK</sup> [ **xen** ] -i ni mede-be.  
<sup>OK</sup> [ **xen** **bol**-χu ] -yi  
I-NOM who- COP-INF -ACC PPC know-PST  
'I knew who.'

(2) a. Batu-Ø nige xümün -dü ene nom-i ög-be,  
Batu-NOM one person-DAT this book-ACC give-PST  
'Batu gave this book to a person.'

b. gebečü bi-Ø \* [ **xen** -dü ] -yi ni mede-xü ügei.  
<sup>OK</sup> [ **xen** -dü **bol**-χu ] -yi  
but I-NOM who-DAT COP-INF -ACC PPC know-INF not  
'but I don't know to whom.'

Single- <i>wh</i>	CASE	COP
Type 1	Ø	Ø
Type 2	Ø	COP
*Type 3	CASE	Ø
Type 4	CASE	COP

- Anti-case-matching effects in Type 1 vs. Type 3:** Type 1 involves BG
- No optional COPULA drop in Type 3 vs. Type 4:** Type 1 cannot be derived from Type 2
- ➔ They involve different derivations, but *wh* is BG (cf. pseudo-sluicing vs. pseudo-clefts)



## 3.2. Multiple ERQ in Chakhar Mongolian: movement & deletion

- (3) a. Batu-Ø nige γajar -ača nige xümün -dü beleg-Ø ilege-be,  
 Batu-NOM one place-ABL one person-DAT present-ACC send-PST  
 ‘Batu sent a present to a person from a place,’
- b. gebečü bi-Ø <sup>OK</sup> [ xamiya -ača xen -dü ] -yi ni mede-xü ügei.  
<sup>OK</sup> [ xamiya -ača xen -dü bol -χu ] -yi  
 \* [ xamiya xen (bol -χu) ] -yi  
 but I-NOM where-ABL who-DAT COP-INF -ACC PCC know-INF not  
 ‘but I don’t know to whom from where.’
- (4) a. Tana-Ø nige xümün-dü [<sub>CP</sub> Batu-Ø Sarana-du nige yayuma-Ø ög-be gejü] xebe-be,  
 Tana-NOM one person-DAT Batu-NOM Sarana-DAT one thing-ACC give-PST that say-PST  
 ‘Tana told a person that Batu gave a thing to Sarana,’
- b. getele Mergen-Ø \* [ xen-dü yayu-Ø ] -yi ni çegejile-ǰü ügei.  
 but Mergen-NOM who-DAT what-ACC -ACC PPC remember-ADVL not  
 ‘but Mergen doesn’t remember whom what.’

- **Obligatory case matching effects:** Type 1/2 vs. 3/4
  - **Optional copula:** Type 3 vs. Type 4
  - **Clausemate conditions** as in (5) (Takahashi 1994, Abels & Dayal 2017)
- ➔ We argue that Multiple-*wh* ERQ cases involves **movement and deletion**

Multiple- <i>wh</i>	CASE	COP
*Type 1	Ø Ø	Ø
*Type 2	Ø Ø	COP
Type 3	CASE CASE	Ø
Type 4	CASE CASE	COP

## 4. Discussions - non-uniform ERQs

- Compare Single-*wh* and Multiple-*wh*, esp. Type 1/3

Type	Single- <i>wh</i>	Multiple- <i>wh</i>
1 Ø	BG (pseudo-slucing)	*
2 Ø COP	BG (reduced pseudo-cleft)	*
3 CASE Ø	*	MOVE (slucing)
4 CASE COP	MOVE (reduced cleft)	MOVE (reduced cleft)

- ➔ BG only applies to single-*wh* cases  
 (See Bai (2023) for how sloppy reading may distinguish 1 from 2)

## 5. Implications

- *Mandarin*: BG is allowed for both single and multiple cases
- (5) [Someone told Zhangsan that there was a speech at **some place** at school]  
 wo bu zhidao shi shei shi zai nali.  
 I not know COP who COP at where  
 ‘I don’t know who (it was), where (that was). (Adams & Tomioka 2012)  
 ➔ Speculation: Mongolian lacks covert clausal conjunction
- *Japanese*: the debate on a slucing vs. a reduced cleft account  
 ➔ The possibility of a non-uniform analysis for single-*wh* cases