The Syntax of path/range PP constructions in Japanese
Ryoichiro Kobayashi
Sophia University/JSPS

This paper investigates the syntax of kara-made ‘from-to’ PPs in Japanese. At first glance, ‘A-kara B-made’ seems unambiguous. However, different syntactic tests show that there exist two distinct structures. Following the insight of Williams (1994) on English from-to PPs, I show that some kara-made PPs must appear as a single constituent, while others can appear either separately or stacked together.

Williams notes that from-to path PPs in English like ‘John played the banjo [from Alabama to Louisiana]’ form a constituent, as topicalization is possible ‘[From Alabama to Louisiana]. John played the banjo’ (cf. ‘*[To Mary for Bill] I gave a book’). I claim that Japanese also has this type of complex PPs (1), denoting some range/scale. First, though a part of ordinary kara-made PPs can stand alone in (2), this is not the case in (3) and (4). Second, either NP-kara or NP-made can be scrambled in the case of ordinary PPs in (5). This sharply contrasts with the stacked PPs in (6) and (7), in which scrambling of either PP is prohibited. Unless kara-made scrambled together as in (6d) and (7d), the sentences become ungrammatical in (6b-c) and (7b-c). Lastly, unlike the ordinary PPs in (8), the stacked ones do not tolerate (pseudo-)clefts in (9) and (10). Again, unless clefted together in (9c) and (10c) stacked PPs end up ungrammatical in (9a-b) and (10a-b).

We have seen that Japanese stacked PPs are syntactically inseparable. Then, we expect that the ordinary and the stacked PPs have different syntactic structures. I propose that stacked PPs form a constituent before they merge to verbal projection in (11), in which PP₁/PP₂ mutually c-command each other.

The stacked PPs do not tolerate no-marking on NP-kara in (13b), unlike (13a). The contrast naturally follows from the structural differences in (11) and (12). It has been assumed that genitive phrases are immediately dominated by a noun phrase (Saito 1982). PP₁/NP-kara is immediately dominated by N’ in (12), but this is not the case with the stacked PPs in (11); hence -no is not assigned in (13b). The analysis also explains the optionality of no- in (14b). Although it is obligatory with a single PP (14a), -no is optional on NP-kara in stacked PPs. If (14b) is ambiguous between (11) and (12), in that it denotes a path (11), or a source/a goal separately (12), -no can be assigned when it has the structure in (12).
(1) a. Demotai-ga [kodomo-kara otona-made] koosinsi-tei-ta.  (non-argument)
   Lit. ‘Demonstrators, from children to adults, were marching’
   b. Kabunusi-ga [kogaisya-kara oyagaisya-made]-o uttae-ta
   Lit. ‘Stockholders sued from subsidiaries to the parent firm.’
(2) a. Taro-ga Tokyo-kara Osaka-made basu-ni not-ta.
   ‘Taro took a bus from Tokyo to Osaka.’
   b. Taro-ga Oslo-bus ni not-ta.
   c. Taro-ga Osaka-made basu-ni not-ta.
(3) a. *Demotai-ga kodomo-kara koosinsi-tei-ta.
    (=2a)
     b. ??Kabunusi-ga oyagaisya-made-uttata-ta.  (=2b)
   H.-NOM T.-NOM Tokyo-from Osaka-to bus-on ride-PAST that think-PRES
   ‘Hanako thinks that Taro took a bus from Tokyo to Osaka.’
(6) a. Taro-ga [demotai-ga kodomo-kara otona-made koosinsi-tei-ta to] kii-ta
   T.-NOM demonstrators-NOM child-from adult-to March-ASP-PAST that hear-PAST
   ‘Taro heard that demonstrators, from children to adults, were marching’
   d. [Kodomo-kara otona-made], Taro-ga [demotai-ga otona-made koosinsi-tei-ta to] kii-ta.
   T.-NOM stockholder-NOM subsidiary-from parent.firm-to-ACC sue-PAST that hear-PAST
   ‘Taro heard that stockholders sued from subsidiaries to the parent firm.’
   b. *Kogaisya-kara Taro-ga [kabunusi-ga otona-made-o uttae-ta to] kii-ta
   c. *Oyagaisya-made-o Taro-ga [kabunusi-ga kogaisya-kara tara otona-made-o uttae-ta to] kii-ta
   d. [Kogaisya-kara oyagaisya-made], Taro-ga [kabunusi-ga otona-made-o uttae-ta to] kii-ta.
   ‘It is from Tokyo that Taro took a bus to Osaka.’
(10) a. *Kabunusi-ga oyagaisya-made(-o) uttae-ta no-wa kogaisya-kara(-o) da.
   stockholder-NOM parent.firm-to-ACC sue-PAST NP-NOMP subsidiary-form-ACC PRES
   b. *Kabunusi-ga kogaisya-kara(-o) uttae-ta no-wa oyagaisya-made(-o) da.
   c. Kabunusi-ga uttae-ta no-wa [kogaisya-kara oyagaisya-made(-o)] da.