

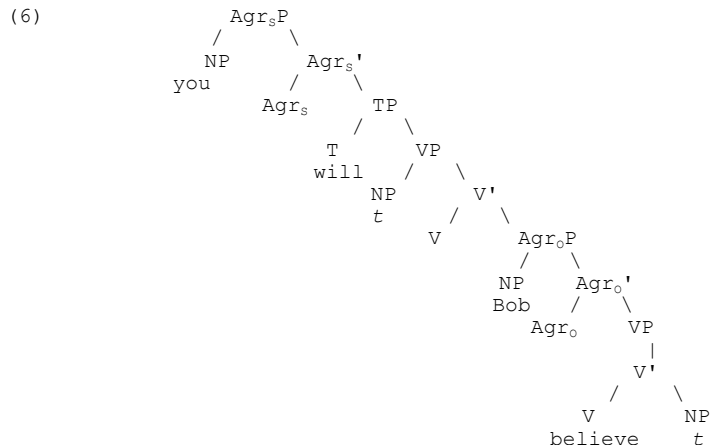
Salvation By Deletion

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I. Strong features, defective PF objects, and ellipsis

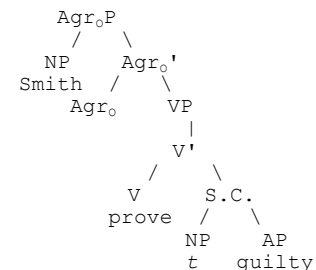
A. Pseudogapping and V Raising

- (1) a If you don't believe me, you will \emptyset the weatherman
 b I rolled up a newspaper, and Lynn did \emptyset a magazine
 c Kathy likes astronomy, but she doesn't \emptyset meteorology
 Levin (1978)
- (2) a The DA proved Jones guilty and the Assistant DA will
~~prove Smith guilty~~
 b ?John gave Bill a lot of money, and Mary will ~~give Susan
 a lot of money~~
- (3) You might not believe me but you will Bob
- (4) NP-raising to Spec of Agr_o ('Object Shift') is overt in English. [Koizumi (1993); Koizumi (1995), developing ideas of Johnson (1991)]
- (5) Pseudogapping as overt raising to Spec of Agr_o (driven by an EPP requirement of Agr) followed by deletion of VP. [Lasnik (1995a)]



(7)

.....



(8)

*You will Bob believe

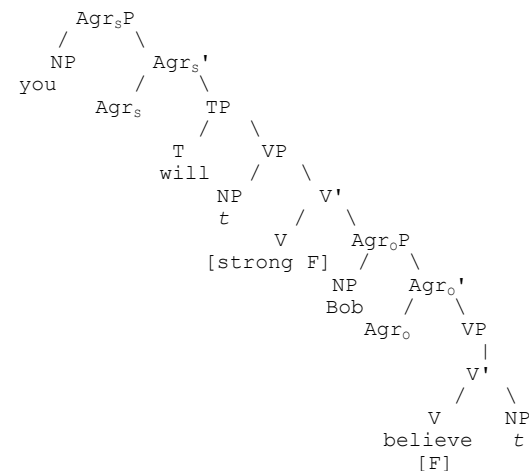
(9)

*The Assistant DA will Smith prove guilty

(10)

V raising is normally obligatory driven by a strong feature of the 'shell' V.

(11)



(12)

Once the matching feature of the lower lexical V is 'attracted', the lower V becomes phonologically defective. A PF crash will be avoided if either pied-piping (normal V raising) or deletion of a category containing the lower V (VP Deletion = Pseudogapping in the relevant instances) takes place. [Lasnik (1999), developing an idea of Ochi (1999)]

B. Sluicing and Infl Raising

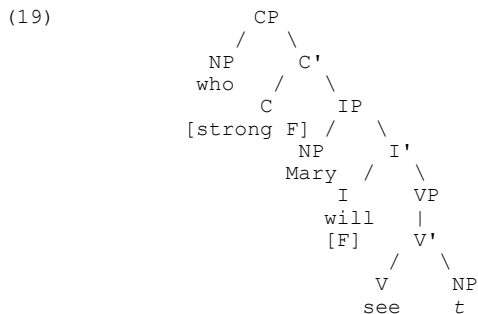
(13)

Sluicing - WH-Movement followed by deletion of IP (abstracting away from 'split Infl' details). [Ross (1969), Saito and Murasugi (1990), Lobeck (1990)]

(14)

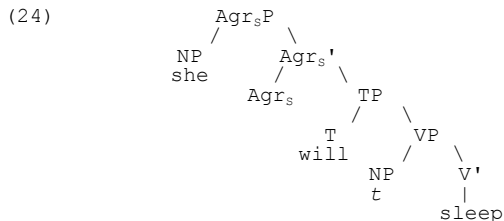
Speaker A: Mary will see someone.
 Speaker B: I wonder who ~~Mary will see~~.

- (15) Speaker A: Mary will see someone.
 Speaker B: Who ~~Mary will see~~?
- (16) Is (15) Sluicing? One very peculiar property of Sluicing suggests that it is:
- (17) John was talking on the phone, but I don't know who to
 (18) Speaker A: John was talking on the phone.
 Speaker B: Who to?

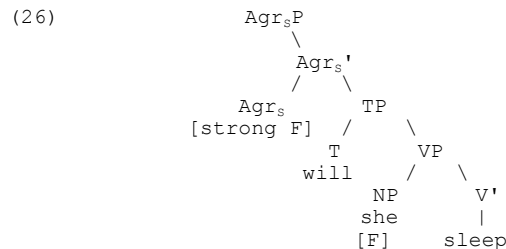


- (20) *Who Mary will see?
 (21) Who will Mary see?
- (22) In matrix WH interrogatives, Infl raising to C is normally obligatory driven by a strong feature of interrogative C.
- (23) Assume that the matching feature of Infl raises overtly to check the strong feature of C. This leaves behind a phonologically defective Infl, which will cause a PF crash unless either pied-piping (Infl raising to C) or deletion of a category containing that Infl (Sluicing) takes place.

II. Failure of Repair: The EPP



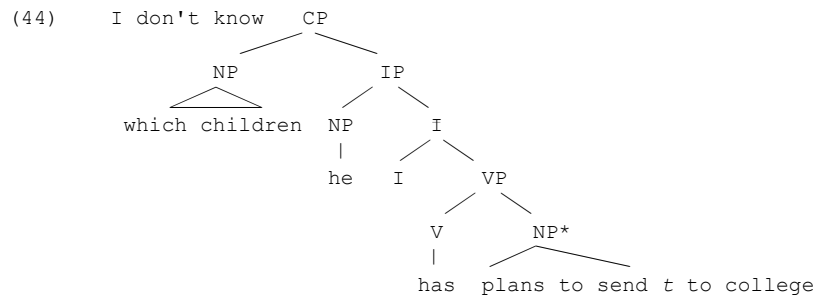
- (25) Mary said she won't sleep, although she will ~~sleep~~



- (27) *Mary said she won't sleep, although will ~~she sleep~~
- (28) Why isn't deletion of a category containing the 'defective' item a viable alternative to pied-piping in this instance?
- (29) What is the EPP?
- (30) A certain head high in the clause has a strong feature, demanding overt movement for checking. Chomsky (1995)
- (31) Certain heads require Spec's. Chomsky (2000); Chomsky (1981)
- (32) Agr (or T) requires a Spec. It does not suffice to check its 'EPP feature'.
- (33) A possible alternative approach to the dichotomy: Boeckx and Stjepanovic (In press) suggest that the true generalization involves head movement, where ellipsis does provide an alternative to raising, vs. XP movement, where it doesn't.
- (34) The derivational decision to 'pied-pipe' involves considerable 'look-ahead' since the adverse effects of bare feature movement are not evident until PF, where deletion operates. If head movement is a PF process, the interaction is at least confined to one component. Conversely, if XP movement is syntactic, potential interaction between full movement and deletion would be across the Spell-out divide, thus involving look-ahead of a much greater degree.
- (35) Alternative to the alternative: V-raising can repair the defective V left behind by feature movement because the raised features and the raised V are all amalgamated in one head. NP movement can't repair a defective NP, since the NP will raise to Spec of IP and will not amalgamate with its lost features located in I.

III. Ellipsis and island violation repair

- (36) I believe that he bit someone, but they don't know who
(I believe that he bit)
- (37) a *I believe the claim that he bit someone, but they don't
know who I believe the claim that he bit [Complex NP
Constraint, noun complement]
b(??)I believe the claim that he bit someone, but they don't
know who
- (38) a *Irv and someone were dancing together, but I don't know
who Irv and were dancing together [Coordinate Structure
Constraint]
b(??)Irv and someone were dancing together, but I don't know
who
- (39) a *She kissed a man who bit one of my friends, but Tom
doesn't realize which one of my friends she kissed a man
who bit [Complex NP Constraint, relative clause]
b(??)She kissed a man who bit one of my friends, but Tom
doesn't realize which one of my friends
- (40) a *That he'll hire someone is possible, but I won't di-
vulge who that he'll hire is possible [Sentential Sub-
ject Constraint]
b (??)That he'll hire someone is possible, but I won't
divulge who All above from Ross (1969)
- (41) Ross argues that the phenomenon of island violation repair
provides "evidence of the strongest sort that the theo-
retical power of [global] derivational constraints is
needed in linguistic theory..." [p.277]
- (42) If a node is moved out of its island, an ungrammatical
sentence will result. If the island-forming node does
not appear in surface structure, violations of lesser
severity will (in general) ensue. [p.277]
- (43) a (*)I don't know which children he has plans to send to
college
b He has plans to send some of his children to college,
but I don't know which ones Chomsky (1972)



- (45) Chomsky rejects global derivational constraints, and
suggests [see also Baker and Brame (1972), and, for an
opposing view, Lakoff (1970), Lakoff (1972)] that * (# in
Chomsky's presentation) is assigned to an island when it
is crossed by a movement operation (the complex NP in
(44)). An output condition forbidding * in surface
structures accounts for the deviance of standard island
violations.
- (46) If a later operation (Sluicing in this case) deletes a
category containing the *-marked item, the derivation is
salvaged.
- (47) For Chomsky (1972), the condition banning * applies at
surface structure. The results are the same if, instead,
it is a PF condition, as suggested by Lasnik (1995b),
Lasnik (2001).
- (48) Much more recently Chung et al. (1995) argue that the
amelioration of island effects with Sluicing follows from
their account, in which there is no movement or deletion
involved, but a type of LF copying.
- (49) However, Merchant (1999), following Ross (1969), provides
very strong evidence that syntactic movement (and hence
deletion) is involved in Sluicing constructions. The
evidence involves:
- (50) 'Case matching': In overtly Case inflected languages (such
as German), the Case of the remnant is just what the Case
of the fronted WH expression would have been in the non-
elliptical form, and this is even true in the island
violation configurations.
- (51) Er will jemandem schmeicheln, aber sie wissen nicht,
he wants someone.DAT flatter but they know not
{*wer / *wen / wem
who.NOM who.ACC who.DAT
'He wants to flatter someone, but they don't know who.'
Merchant, p.107
- (52) Sie will jemanden finden, der einem der Gefangenen
she wants someone find who one.DAT of the prisoners
geholfen hat, aber ich weiss nicht
helped has but I know not
*welcher / *welchen / welchem
which.NOM which.ACC which.DAT
'She wants to find someone who helped one of the
prisoners, but I don't know which.'
Merchant, p.109
- (53) And preposition stranding: In languages that allow P-
stranding (such as English), the remnant can be the bare
object of a preposition; in languages that don't (such as
Greek) it can't, and this is even true in the island
violation configurations.
- (54) Peter was talking with someone, but I don't know who
Merchant, p.111
- (55) Peter's mom will get angry if he talks with someone from
his class, but I don't remember who

- (56) I Anna milise me kapjon, alla dhe ksero *(me) pjon
the Anna spoke with someone but not I.know with who
- (57) I mitera tou Giannis tha thimosi an milisi me kapjon
the mom of Giannis FUT get.angry if he.talks with someone
apo tin taksi tou, alla dhe thimame *(me) pjon
from the class his but not I.remember with who
'Giannis's mom will get angry if he talks with someone from
his class, but I don't remember who.'
- (58) In Chomsky's approach, "a new element is introduced..."
Lakoff (1972, p.81)
- (59) Thus, a possible technical argument, due to Kitahara
(1999), against an approach like Chomsky's:
- (60) "... a *-feature, which is not a lexical feature - since it
appears nowhere in the lexicon - ... enters into a
derivation as the output of certain movements. ...this
assumption violates the Inclusiveness Condition." p.79
- (61) Kitahara's alternative to *-marking (for a related
phenomenon):
- (62) An expression is marginally deviant if its derivation
employs an MLC-violating application of Attract. p.80
- (63) Merchant (1999) explicitly rejects Chomsky's (1972)
approach, on empirical grounds, because of instances of
...

IV. Failure of Island Violation Repair

- (64) *They want to hire someone who speaks a Balkan language,
but I don't know which they do [_{VP} ~~want to hire someone
who speaks t~~] Merchant (1999)
- (65) Compare (66), which also involves a relative clause
island:
- (66) They want to hire someone who speaks a Balkan language,
but I don't know which (Balkan language) [_{IP} ~~they want to
hire someone who speaks t~~] Merchant (1999)
- (67) In fact, Chung et al. (1995) had already claimed that
Sluicing and VP ellipsis diverge in this way, concluding
that the latter, unlike the former, is an instance of
deletion. Their example involved an adjunct island:
- (68) We left before they started playing party games.
*What did you leave before they did [_{VP} ~~start playing t~~]?
- (69) Note, though, that this case, unlike Merchant's, is
actually consistent with Chomsky's account (which Chung
et al. (1995) do not consider), as the island is not
eliminated in (68), unlike the situation in (64).
- (70) Merchant, on the other hand, takes all ellipsis to be PF
deletion (as far as I can tell), and argues that only
some islands represent PF effects. Others, especially

including relative clause islands, do not, and their
violation therefore cannot be repaired by ellipsis.

- (71) (66) is then reanalyzed as:
- (72) They want to hire someone who speaks a Balkan language,
but I don't know which (Balkan language) [_{IP} ~~she should
speak t~~] [See also Baker and Brame (1972)]
- (73) They hired someone who speaks a Balkan language -
Guess which [~~she speaks t~~]
- (74) No-one moved to a certain town - guess which! Merchant
p.267
- (75) (74) has no island, so is unproblematic. But...
- (76) Noone had a student who worked on a certain Balkan
language, but I can't remember which Balkan language
- (77) There are also cases where structure that includes the
island must exist in the Sluicing site in order to
license an item in the Sluicing remnant:
- (78) Every linguist_i met a philosopher who criticized some of
his_i work, but I'm not sure how much of his_i work [~~every
linguist_i met a philosopher who criticized t~~]
- (79) Each of the linguists met a philosopher who criticized some
of the other linguists, but I'm not sure how many of the
other linguists
- (80) !How many of the other linguists did the philosopher
criticize
- (81) Some of Merchant's PF islands: COMP-trace effects; derived
positions (topicalizations, subjects)
- (82) It appears that a certain senator will resign, but which
senator [~~it appears that t will resign~~] is still a secret
[adapted from Merchant p.219]
- (83) Sally asked if somebody was going to fail Syntax One, but I
can't remember who [~~Sally asked if t was going to fail
Syntax One~~] Merchant p.219, from Chung et al. (1995)
- (84) She said that a biography of one of the Marx brothers is
going to be published this year, but I don't remember
which [~~she said that a biography of t is going to be
published this year~~] [adapted from Merchant p.220]
- (85) Recall the apparent failure of island violation repair
with Merchant's non-PF island:
- (86) *They want to hire someone who speaks a Balkan language,
but I don't know which they do [_{VP} ~~want to hire someone
who speaks t~~]
- (87) But, surprisingly, we find the same apparent failure of
repair with Merchant's PF islands:

- (88) *It appears that a certain senator will resign, but which senator it does [~~appear that t will resign~~] is still a secret [that-trace]
- (89) *Sally asked if somebody was going to fail Syntax One, but I can't remember who she did [~~ask if t was going to fail Syntax One~~] [if-trace]
- (90) *She said that a biography of one of the Marx brothers is going to be published this year, but I don't remember which she did [~~say that a biography of t is going to be published this year~~] [subject condition]
- (91) And now notice that parallel 'failure of repair' obtains even when there was no violation in the first place:
- (92) *They want to hear a lecture about a Balkan language, but I don't know which (Balkan language) they do
- (93) They want to hear a lecture about a Balkan language, but I don't know which (Balkan language) they want to hear a lecture about
- (94) They studied a Balkan language but I don't know which (?*they did)
- (95) Is VP ellipsis blocked when Sluicing is available (Sort of 'Delete as much as you can')?
- (96) Someone solved the problem. Who (?did)?
- (97) Is a VP ellipsis site precluded from containing a WH trace?
- (98) I know what I like and what I don't Merchant p.69 [See Fiengo and May (1993) for similar examples.]
- (99) The constraint seems to be specific to VP ellipsis, and seems limited specifically to circumstances where an indefinite antecedes a WH-trace. The nature of this constraint remains obscure.

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