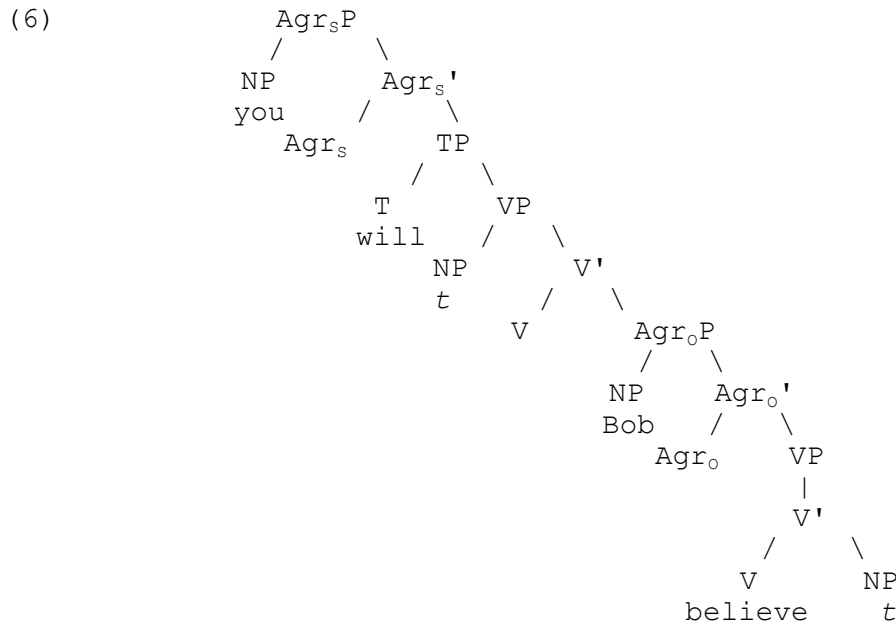## More Cases of Repair by Ellipsis

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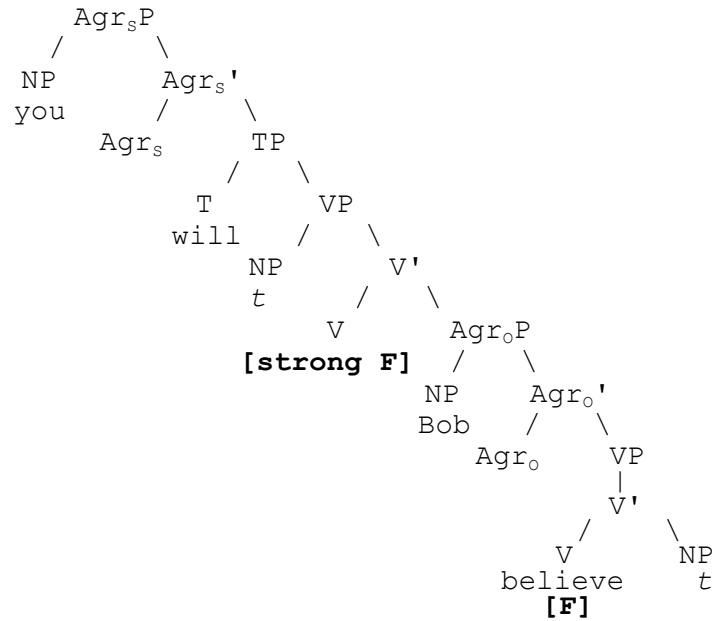
I. Pseudogapping

(1)a If you don't believe me, you will ⌀ the weatherman
   b I rolled up a newspaper, and Lynn did ⌀ a magazine
   c Kathy likes astronomy, but she doesn't ⌀ 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 followed by
      deletion of VP. [Lasnik (1995b)]

(6) Agr_SP
                 /   \
               NP Agr_S'
              you   /   \
                 Agr_S TP
                      /   \
                    T   VP
                  will   /   \
                       NP   V'
                        t   /   \
                            V Agr_OP
                                  /   \
                                NP Agr_O'
                                Bob   /   \
                                   Agr_O VP
                                            |
                                            V'
                                          /   \
                                         V   NP
                                      believe   t

(7)   *You will Bob believe

(8)
```
                      Agr_sP
                     /      \
               NP          Agr_s'
               you         /    \
                      Agr_s      TP
                             /      \
                          T           VP
                        will        /    \
                                 NP        V'
                                 t       /    \
                                      V       Agr_oP
                           [strong F]      /      \
                                        NP        Agr_o'
                                        Bob       /    \
                                             Agr_o      VP
                                                        |
                                                        V'
                                                      /    \
                                                    V       NP
                                                believe      t
                                                   [F]
```

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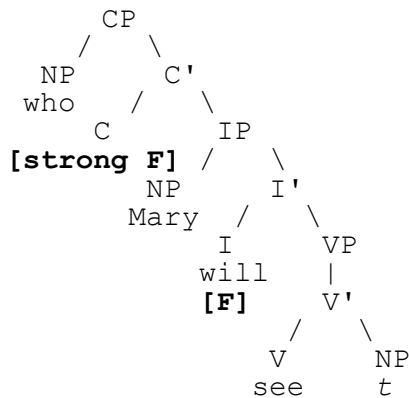   an idea of Ochi (1999)]

II. Sluicing 1 [Infl raising]

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

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

(12)   Speaker A: Mary will see someone.
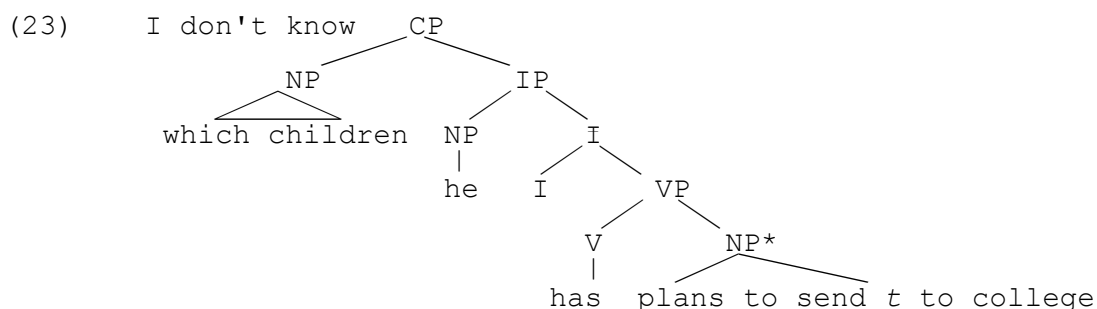   Speaker B: Who ~~Mary will see~~?

(13)
```
                       CP
                      /   \
                  NP        C'
                  who      /   \
                        C        IP
                 [strong F]  /     \
                           NP        I'
                           Mary    /    \
                                  I       VP
                                will      |
                                [F]       V'
                                        /    \
                                      V        NP
                                     see        t
```

-2-

(14) *Who Mary will see?
(15)   Who will Mary see?

(16) Assume that matrix interrogative C contains the relevant strong
      feature, with the matching feature of Infl raising overtly to
      check it. This leaves behind a phonologically defective Infl,
      which will cause a PF crash unless either pied-piping or deletion
      of a category containing that Infl (Sluicing) takes place.

III. Sluicing 2 [Island violations]

(17)   I believe that he bit someone, but they don't know who (I
       believe that he bit)
(18)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
(19)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
(20)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
(21)a *That he'll hire someone is possible, but I won't divulge who
       that he'll hire is possible [Sentential Subject Constraint]
   b   (??)That he'll hire someone is possible, but I won't divulge
   who   All above from Ross (1969)

(22)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)

(23)   I don't know   CP
                   NP   IP
             which children NP   I
                             |
                             he   I   VP
                                   V   NP*
                                   |
                                  has plans to send *t* to college

(24)   Chomsky suggests that * (# in Chomsky's presentation) is
       assigned to an island when it is crossed by a movement operation
       (the complex NP in (23)). An output condition forbidding * in
       surface structures accounts for the deviance of standard island
       violations.
(25)   If a later operation (Sluicing in this case) deletes a category
       containing the *-marked item, the derivation is salvaged.

(26)   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 (1995c), Lasnik (2001).

IV. The Case Filter
  A. Amelioration of a constraint on Japanese _ga_/_no_ conversion
                                                        Saito (2001)
(27) Taroo-ga / -no itta tokoro
        -NOM   -GEN went place
      'the place where Taroo went'

(28) A Case-marked object blocks _ga_/_no_ conversion.

(29) Taroo-ga /*-no hon -o   katta mise
        -NOM/ -GEN book-ACC bought shop
      'the shop where Taroo bought a book'

(30) An object relative gap does not block _ga_/_no_ conversion.

(31) Taroo-ga /-no _e_ katta hon
        -NOM -GEN   bought book
      'the book that Taroo bought'

(32) A null object does not block _ga_/_no_ conversion.

(33) Hanako-ga /*-no Ziroo-o   tureteiku tokoro-wa Nagoya-zyoo -desu
        -NOM -GEN   ACC take   place -TOP Nagoya Castle is
      'The place that Hanako is taking Ziroo is the Nagoya Castle.'

(34) Hanako-ga / -no   _e_ tureteiku tokoro-wa Nagoya-zyoo -desu
        -NOM -GEN   take   place -TOP Nagoya Castle is
      'The place that Hanako is taking (him) is the Nagoya Castle.'

(35) If relative gaps can be null pronouns, as argued for by
       Perlmutter (1972), Murasugi (1991), then these two instances are
       one.
(36) Now suppose these null pronouns are actually the results of
       ellipsis. Then if the blocking effect is the result of
       accusative Case checking, failure to check can be repaired by
       deletion.

  **B. A kind of exceptional Case marking normally available only under
      A'-movement**

(37) *I alleged John to be a fool

(38)   Verbs of this class cannot normally license 'exceptional' Case

(39) ?John, I alleged to be a fool
(40) ?Who did you allege to be a fool

(41)   But they can under A'-movement (as first discussed by Kayne).

(42) John, I alleged to be a fool. *Mary alleged John to be a fool too.

(43) John, I alleged to be a fool. ?*Mary alleged him to be a fool too.

(44) John, I alleged to be a fool. Mary did ~~[allege John to be a fool]~~ too.

(45) <u>John</u> in (44) should be in violation of the Case Filter, but it is fine, evidently repaired by deletion. This, along with Saito's analysis above, suggests the early version (Chomsky (1980)) of Case theory, where the Case Filter reflects a morpho-phonological requirement.

V. ECM configurations and Condition B

(46) *John$_i$ injured him$_i$
(47) *John$_i$ believes him$_i$ to be a genius

(48) *Mary injured him$_i$ and John$_i$ did too
(49) ?Mary believes him$_i$ to be a genius and John$_i$ does too

(50) Suppose Postal (1966), Postal (1974) was right (contra Chomsky (1973)) that the relevant structural configuration for such obviation is based on the notion clause-mate. (For related discussion, see Lasnik (In press).)

(51) Weak pronouns must cliticize onto the verb.
(52) The detective brought him in
(53) *The detective brought in him   Chomsky (1955)

(54) Failure to cliticize in (49) is repaired by ellipsis.
(55) In (48), on the other hand, the pronoun and its antecedents are clause-mates independent of cliticization.

VI. Failure of repair
A. Island violations - VP ellipsis

(56) *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)
(57) Compare (58), which also involves a relative clause island:
(58) 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)

(59) 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]

(60) 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)

(61)   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]

(62) *It appears that a certain senator will resign, but which senator
       it does [~~appear that *t* will resign~~] is still a secret
       [that-trace]
(63) *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]
(64) *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]

(65)   Now notice that parallel 'failure of repair' obtains even when
       there was no violation in the first place.
(66)   Extraction out of an embedded clause is typically fine and
       Sluicing is just as good, but VPE is bad:

(67)   They said they heard about a Balkan language, but I don't know
       which Balkan language they said they heard about
(68)   They said they heard about a Balkan language, but I don't know
       which Balkan language
(69)   *They said they heard about a Balkan language, but I don't know
       which Balkan language they did

(70)   Similarly for extraction out of an object NP:

(71)   They heard a lecture about a Balkan language, but I don't know
       which Balkan language they heard a lecture about
(72)   They heard a lecture about a Balkan language, but I don't know
       which Balkan language
(73)   *They heard a lecture about a Balkan language, but I don't know
       which Balkan language they did

(74)   Even short movement of a direct object shows rather similar
       behavior:

(75)   They studied a Balkan language but I don't know which Balkan
       language they studied
(76)   They studied a Balkan language but I don't know which Balkan
       language
(77)   ??They studied a Balkan language but I don't know which Balkan
       language they did

(78)   Is VPE blocked when Sluicing is available (Sort of 'Delete as
       much as you can')?
(79)   Someone solved the problem.
       Who (?did)?

(80)   Is a VPE site precluded from containing a WH trace?
(81)   I know what I like and what I don't   Merchant p.69 [See
   Fiengo and May (1994) for similar examples.]

 B. Towards a Solution [This section is based on joint work with
        Danny Fox, Fox and Lasnik (2001)]

(82)   The constraint seems to be specific to VPE, and seems limited
        specifically to circumstances where an indefinite antecedes a
        WH-trace. In fact, in other circumstances, VPE can even repair
        actual island violations:

(83)   *[How interesting] did Brio write [a *t* novel]
(84)a   Pico wrote a more interesting novel than Brio did
    b   Pico wrote a more interesting novel than [*Op* Brio did ~~write a *t*~~
        ~~novel~~]   Kennedy and Merchant (2000)

(85)   Fred said that Mary talked to a certain girl, but I don't know
        which girl <~~Fred said that Mary talked to t~~>

(86)   The Parallelism required for ellipsis is satisfied since the
        variables in the antecedent and the elided clause are bound by
        parallel operators and from parallel positions.

(87)   Now notice that in the structure, there are no intermediate
        traces in the elided portion (in angle brackets), indicating
        that there were no intermediate landing sites in the movement.

(88)   If there had been successive movement, under plausible
        assumptions the relevant portions of the antecedent and the
        ellipsis site would not be parallel, and this would prevent
        ellipsis.

(89)   But why is there no 'repair' with VPE?
(90)   VPE involves deletion of a smaller constituent than the clause
        that is elided in sluicing (VP vs. TP):

(91)   which girl [$_{TP}$ he T [$_{AspP}$ did <$_{VP}$ ~~say that I talked to g(girl)~~>]]
(92)   *Fred said that Mary talked to a certain girl, but I don't know
        which girl he did

(93)   The unacceptability of VPE follows if we assume that one of the
        two remaining maximal projections, AspP or TP, is an 'island'
        that must be circumvented by adjunction or repaired by deletion.
        [This roughly follows the claim of Chomsky (1986a) that all XPs
        are potential barriers.] Since the island is not deleted, the
        escape hatch is required, and a violation of Parallelism is
        unavoidable, assuming that movement is not allowed to proceed in
        one long 'island-violating' step followed by short successive
        steps. (Metaphorically, when you enter the subway, you must
        choose the express or the local.)

(94)   The somewhat less degraded status of very short movement cases

such as (77) can now possibly be explained in terms of Pseudogapping (a variant of VPE where the survivor is first raised out of the inner VP in a shell structure, and that inner VP is deleted). The WH-trace can be completely outside of the ellipsis site. If I am right that the raising of the survivor is A-movement, it follows that long distance instances will not be possible.

(95) $[_{CP}$ which Balkan language $[_{TP}$ they T $[_{AspP}$ did $[_{VP}$ t_{they} $[_{AgrP}$ t_{Wh} $[_{VP}$ ~~study t~~]]]]]]

(96)
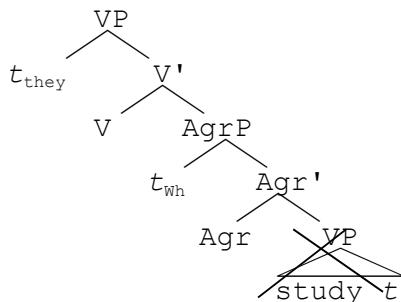
C. Long A-movement and VP ellipsis

(97) *Susan thought Mary studied Bulgarian and John did ~~think Mary studied~~ Macedonian

(98) A-movement from a Case checking position is barred.

(99) We must "prevent a nominal phrase that has already satisfied the Case Filter from raising further to do so again in a higher position." Chomsky (1986b, p.280)

(100) "...a [-Interpretable] feature is 'frozen in place' when it is checked, Case being the prototype." Chomsky (1995, p.280)

(101) *my belief [John to seem [t is intelligent]

(102) "... a visible Case feature ... makes [a] feature bundle or constituent available for 'A-movement'. Once Case is checked off, no further [A-]movement is possible." Lasnik (1995c, p.16)

(103) "If uninterpretable features serve to implement operations, we expect that it is structural Case that enables the closest goal G to select P(G) to satisfy EPP by Merge. Thus, if structural Case has already been checked (deleted), the phrase P(G) is "frozen in place," unable to move further to satisfy EPP in a higher position. More generally, uninterpretable features render the goal active, able to implement an operation: to select a phrase for Merge (pied-piping) or to delete the probe." Chomsky (2000, p.123)

(104) Pseudogapping is A-movement of the survivor (to Spec of Agr_0)

followed by VP ellipsis.

(105)   'Object shift' is optional in English. Hence [$_v$ V DP] must be a
        Case checking configuration.

(106)   'Long' Pseudogapping involves impossible A-movement from a Case
        position. This is not an island violation.

(107)   But what of 'short' Pseudogapping?
(108)   "... all operations within the phase are in effect
        simultaneous."   Chomsky (2001)

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