

## Interactions Between Movement and Ellipsis

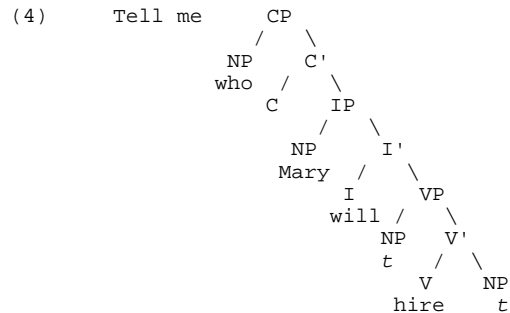
Howard Lasnik  
University of Connecticut  
lasnik@sp.uconn.edu

## I. Ellipsis and island violation repair

(1) Sluicing is the ellipsis phenomenon, first investigated by Ross (1969), often found in embedded questions, given appropriate discourse context:

(2) Mary will hire someone.  
Tell me who ~~Mary will hire~~.

(3) The WH-phrase fronts to Spec of CP, and the residual clause (IP, I assume) deletes:



(5) Sluicing is also possible when the WH-movement has been 'long distance', out of an embedded clause:

(6) I heard that Mary will hire someone.  
Tell me who ~~you heard that Mary will hire~~.

(7) Ross observed that unacceptable wh-movement out of an 'island' is rendered much more acceptable by Sluicing, as seen in the following pairs.

(8) I believe that he bit someone, but they don't know who (I believe that he bit)

(9)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

(10)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

(11)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

(12)a \*That he'll hire someone is possible, but I won't divulge who that he'll hire is possible [Sentential Subject Constraint]

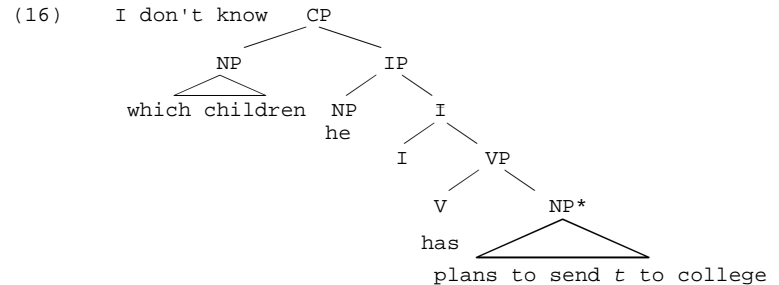
b (??)That he'll hire someone is possible, but I won't divulge who All above from Ross (1969)

(13) Chomsky (1972) gives similar Sluicing examples:

(14)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

(15) Chomsky's suggests [see also Lakoff (1970), Baker and Braine (1972), Lakoff (1972)] that \* (# in Chomsky's presentation) is assigned to an island when it is crossed by a movement operation (the complex NP in (16)).



(17) When Sluicing deletes a category containing the \*-marked item, the derivation is salvaged. This indicates that even if island constraints (perhaps falling under Subjacency) are conditions on steps in **derivations**, violation is ultimately a property of a particular level of representation.

(18) 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 (In press).

(19) Merchant (1999) also argues, based on similar phenomena, that Subjacency violations are PF effects, but he rejects Chomsky's implementation.

(20) Merchant argues that island violations fall into two categories, and only one of the categories constitute PF effects.

(21) I know that he must be proud of it, but I don't know how proud (he must be of it)

(22) \*I know that he must be proud of it, but I don't know how (he must be proud of it) Ross (1969)

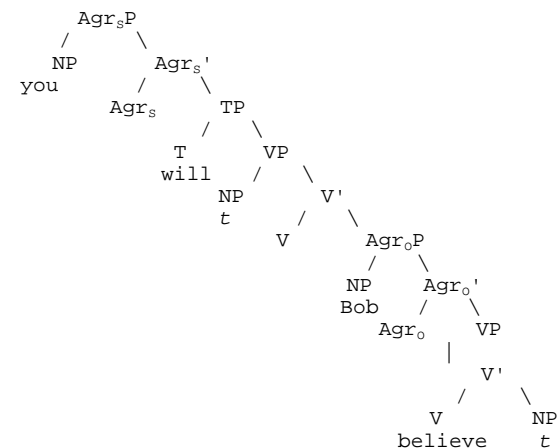
- (23) The Left Branch Condition (LBC) is a requirement of a different sort. Ross (1969), Merchant (1999)
- (24) Another possibility is that LBC is not, in itself, different, but that in (22), we have not a mere Subjacency violation, but an ECP violation (since the moving item is not an argument). And the ECP is known to hold at LF.
- (25) (\*ni xiang-zhidao [Lisi weisheme mai-le sheme]  
 you wonder Lisi why bought what  
 'What is the reason such that you wonder what Lisi bought for that reason?'
- (26) Is VP ellipsis, unlike Sluicing, not a PF process?
- (27) \*They want to hire someone who speaks a Balkan language, but I don't know which they do ~~t<sub>w</sub> want to hire someone who speaks~~ Merchant (1999)
- (28) BUT compare:
- (29) \*They want to hear a lecture about a Balkan language, but I don't know which (Balkan language) they do
- (30) 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
- (31) \*They want the students to attend a lecture about a Balkan language, but I don't know which they do

## II. Strong features, defective PF objects, and ellipsis

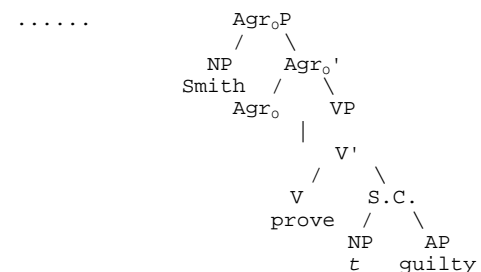
### A. Pseudogapping

- (32)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)
- (33)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~~
- (34) You might not believe me but you will Bob
- (35) NP-raising to Spec of Agr<sub>0</sub> ('Object Shift') is overt in English. [Koizumi (1993); Koizumi (1995), developing ideas of Johnson (1991)]
- (36) Pseudogapping as overt raising to Spec of Agr<sub>0</sub> followed by deletion of VP. [Lasnik (1995a)]

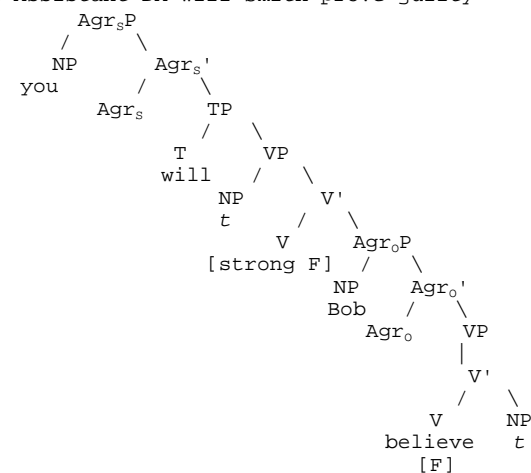
(37)



(38)



- (39) \*You will Bob believe  
 (40) \*The Assistant DA will Smith prove guilty  
 (41)



- (42) Once the matching feature of the lower lexical V is 'attracted', the lower V becomes defective. A PF crash will

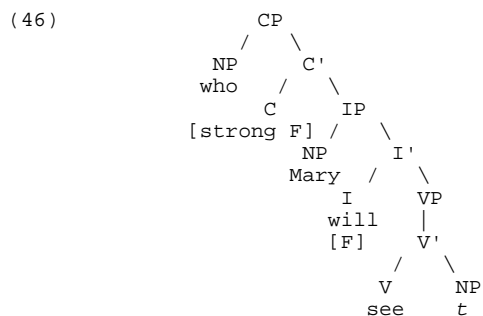
be avoided if either pied-piping or deletion of a category containing the lower V (VP Deletion = Pseudogapping in the relevant instances) takes place. [Lasnik (1999), developing an idea of Ochi (1999)]

### B. Sluicing

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

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

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



(47) \*Who Mary will see?

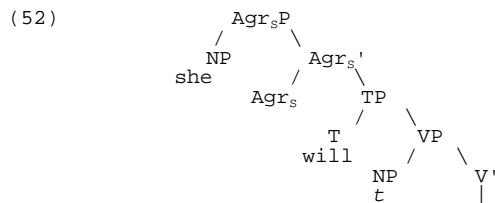
(48) Who will Mary see?

(49) Assume that matrix interrogative C contains the 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.

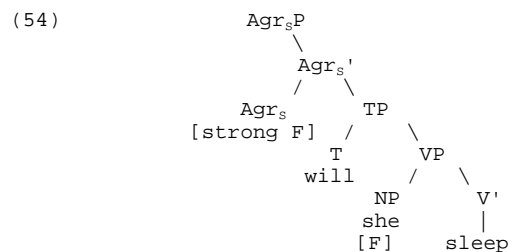
### IV. A consequence for the EPP

(50) Certain heads have a strong feature, demanding overt movement for checking. Chomsky (1995)

(51) Certain heads require Spec's. Chomsky (2000); Chomsky (1981)



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



(55) \*Mary said she won't sleep, although will ~~she sleep~~

(56) Agr (or T) requires a Spec. It does not suffice to check its 'EPP feature'.

### References

- Baker, C. L., and Michael Brame. 1972. 'Global rules': A rejoinder. *Language* 48: 51-75.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1972. Some empirical issues in the theory of transformational grammar. In *Goals of linguistic theory*, ed. Paul Stanley Peters. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall Inc.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1981. *Lectures on government and binding*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1995. Categories and transformations. In *The minimalist program*, 219-394. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2000. Minimalist inquiries: the framework. In *Step by step: Essays on minimalist syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik*, ed. Roger Martin, David Michaels, and Juan Uriagereka, 89-155. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Johnson, Kyle. 1991. Object positions. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 9: 577-636.
- Koizumi, Masatoshi. 1993. Object agreement phrases and the split VP hypothesis. In *Papers on Case and Agreement I: MIT working papers in linguistics* 18, 99-148.
- Koizumi, Masatoshi. 1995. *Phrase structure in minimalist syntax*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.
- Lakoff, George. 1970. Global rules. *Language* 46: 627-639.
- Lakoff, George. 1972. The arbitrary basis of transformational grammar. *Language* 48: 76-87.
- Lasnik, Howard. 1995a. A note on pseudogapping. In *Papers on minimalist syntax, MIT working papers in linguistics* 27, 143-163.
- Lasnik, Howard. 1995b. Notes on ellipsis. Lecture presented at Forschungsschwerpunkt Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft. Berlin.
- Lasnik, Howard. 1999. On feature strength: Three minimalist approaches to overt movement. *Linguistic Inquiry* 30: 197-217.
- Lasnik, Howard. In press. Derivation and representation in modern transformational syntax. In *Handbook of syntactic theory*, ed. Mark Baltin and Chris Collins. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Levin, Nancy. 1978. Some identity-of-sense deletions puzzle me. Do they you? In *Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, 229-240. Chicago Linguistic Society, Chicago University, Chicago.
- Lobeck, Anne. 1990. Functional heads as proper governors. In *Proceedings of North Eastern Linguistic Society* 20, 348-362. GLSA, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Merchant, Jason. 1999. *The syntax of silence: Sluicing, islands, and identity in ellipsis*. Doctoral dissertation, University of California Santa Cruz, Santa Cruz.
- Ochi, Masao. 1999. Some consequences of Attract F. *Lingua* 109: 81-107.
- Ross, John Robert. 1969. Guess who? In *Papers from the Fifth Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, ed. Robert I. Binnick, Alice Davison, Georgia M. Green, and Jerry L. Morgan, 252-286. Chicago Linguistic Society, University

of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

Saito, Mamoru, and Keiko Murasugi. 1990. N'-deletion in Japanese. In *University of Connecticut working papers in linguistics* 3, 87-107.