

## Some Surprising Cases of Repair and Non-repair by Ellipsis

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### I. Apparent Repair by Deletion of Binding Condition Violations

- (1) As is well known, Condition B effects show up in ECM contexts:
- (2) \*John<sub>i</sub> injured him<sub>i</sub>
- (3) \*John<sub>i</sub> believes him<sub>i</sub> to be a genius
  
- (4) Surprisingly, VP ellipsis seems to repair ECM violations, although local ones are preserved:
- (5) \*Mary injured him<sub>i</sub> and John<sub>i</sub> did too
- (6) ?Mary believes him<sub>i</sub> to be a genius and John<sub>i</sub> does too
  
- (7) 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 (2002))
  
- (8) Weak pronouns must cliticize onto the verb. Oehrle (1976)
- (9) The detective brought him in
- (10) \*The detective brought in him Chomsky (1955)
  
- (11) Failure to cliticize (presumably a PF requirement), rather than Condition B, in (6) is repaired by ellipsis.
- (12) In (5), on the other hand, the pronoun and its antecedents are clause-mates independent of cliticization.
  
- (13) Potential problem, pointed out by Tom Roeper: In just those VP ellipsis situations where Condition B effects are ameliorated, so are Condition C effects. But this is unexpected since Condition C involves no locality, clause-mate or otherwise. A relevant example, parallel to (6) above, is the following:
- (14) ??Mary believes John<sub>i</sub> to be a genius and he<sub>i</sub> does too

Compare:

- (15) \*He<sub>i</sub> believes John<sub>i</sub> to be a genius
  
- (16) And even though Condition C involves no locality, once again, we find amelioration only in non-local domain:
- (17)a. \*Mary injured John<sub>i</sub> and he<sub>i</sub> did too

- b. \*He<sub>i</sub> injured John<sub>i</sub>
- (18) Perhaps this is not really so surprising, as Condition C effects often disappear under ellipsis. Another example is:
- (19)a. Mary thinks John<sub>i</sub> is a genius and he<sub>i</sub> does too  
 b. \*He<sub>i</sub> thinks John<sub>i</sub> is a genius
- (20) It was facts like this that provided much of the motivation for the 'Vehicle Change' of Fiengo and May (1994). Fiengo and May show how + and - pronominal correlates can be equated for the purposes of ellipsis. Thus a name [-a, -p] and corresponding pronoun [-a,+p] count as identical. Fiengo and May's treatment is in terms of an LF copying theory of ellipsis, but nothing crucial changes if the equivalence is stated in terms of identity deletion.
- (21) We now have a handle on the parallelism between Condition B and apparent Condition C in ellipsis contexts - (6) vs. (14). Even in the latter circumstance, the subject of the infinitival clause could actually be the pronoun *him*. The two examples then become identical for our purposes: it is failure of *him* to cliticize that is remediated by deletion.
- (22) There are contexts where pronouns are disallowed, yet we still get apparent Condition C amelioration (a phenomenon noticed by Christopher Potts, and brought to my attention by Jason Merchant). The following is an example (though not of precisely a type discussed by Potts).
- (23) \*He<sub>i</sub> said that I should show Susan John<sub>i</sub>
- (24) Mary said that I should show Susan John, but he didn't ~~say that I should show Susan John/him~~
- (25) \*(He didn't say that) I should show Susan him
- (26) Potts's point was that vehicle change won't account for the Condition C amelioration this time, since a pronoun in place of the name is still bad (though for other reasons).
- (27) In this instance, the other reasons could be exactly what I appealed to earlier - the clitic nature of weak accusative pronouns. In that case, vehicle change would give the desired result.
- (28) (25) then violates this PF requirement, and VP ellipsis deletes the PF violation.

## II. Pseudogapping

### A. Repair by VP Deletion of Failure to Move

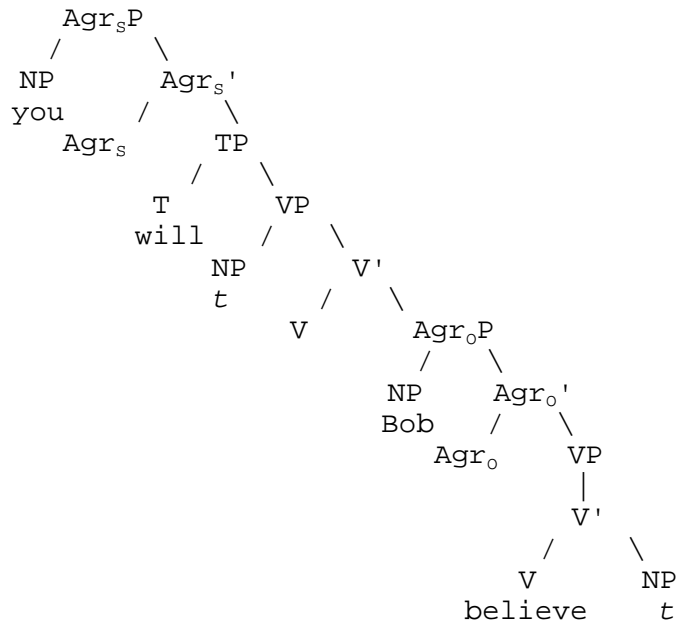
- (29)a. If you don't believe me, you will  $\emptyset$  the weatherman  
 b. I rolled up a newspaper, and Lynn did  $\emptyset$  a magazine  
 c. Kathy likes astronomy, but she doesn't  $\emptyset$  meteorology    Levin (1978)
- (30)a. The DA proved Jones guilty and the Assistant DA will **prove** Smith **guilty**  
 b. ?John gave Bill a lot of money, and Mary will **give** Susan ~~a lot of money~~

(31) You might not believe me but you will Bob

(32) NP-raising to Spec of Agr<sub>o</sub> ('Object Shift') is overt in English. [Koizumi (1993), Koizumi (1995), developing ideas of Johnson (1991)]

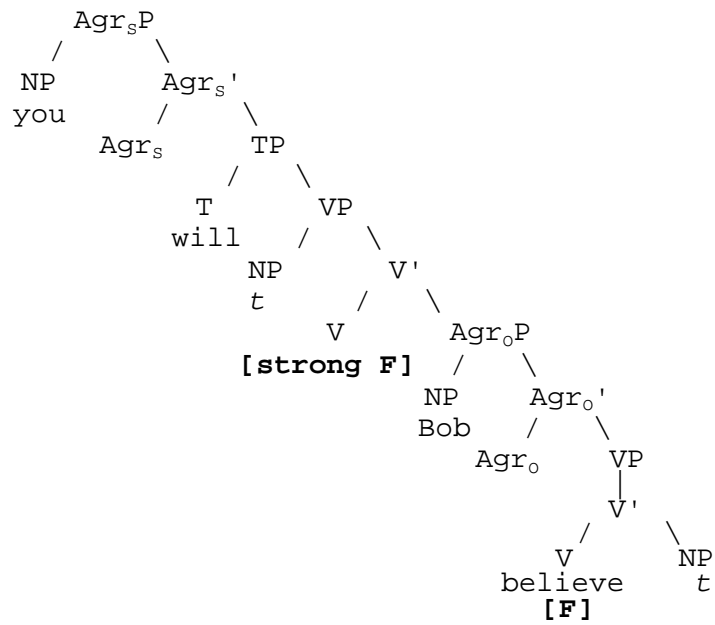
(33) Pseudogapping as overt raising to Spec of Agr<sub>o</sub> followed by deletion of VP. [Lasnik (1995b)]

(34)



(35) \*You will Bob believe

(36)



- (37) 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. Failure of Repair of Long A-movement by VP ellipsis**

- (38) \*Susan thought Mary studied Bulgarian and John did ~~think Mary studied~~ Macedonian
- (39) It is well known that locality violations can be repaired by deletion (Ross (1969), Merchant (2001)), so why can't long A-movement?
- (40) A-movement from a Case checking position is barred.
- (41) 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)
- (42) "...a [-Interpretable] feature is 'frozen in place' when it is checked, Case being the prototype." Chomsky (1995, p.280)
- (43) \*my belief [John to seem [t is intelligent]
- (44) "... 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)
- (45) "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)
- (46) Pseudogapping is A-movement of the survivor (to Spec of AgrO) followed by VP ellipsis.
- (47) 'Object shift' is optional in English (Lasnik (2001)). Hence [<sub>v</sub> V DP] must be a Case checking configuration.
- (48) 'Long' Pseudogapping involves impossible A-movement from a Case position. This is not an island violation.
- (49) But what of 'short' Pseudogapping?
- (50) "... all operations within the phase are in effect simultaneous." Chomsky (2001)

### **III. Failure of Repair of Long Movement of Adjuncts**

- (51) Mary circulated a rumor that John had hired someone, but I can't remember (exactly) who
- (52) \*Mary circulated a rumor that John had solved the problem somehow, but I can't remember (exactly) how ~~Mary circulated a rumor [that John had solved the problem t]~~
- (53) Proposal: The locality requirements on adjunct movement must be satisfied at LF (following, especially, Huang (1982), Lasnik and Saito (1984), Lasnik and Saito (1992)) Given this assumption and the T-model conception of grammar, we expect that PF deletion does not bring about amelioration effects on any ill-formed structures on the LF side. [See Boskovic and Lasnik (1999) and Lasnik and Park (2003) for further arguments.]

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