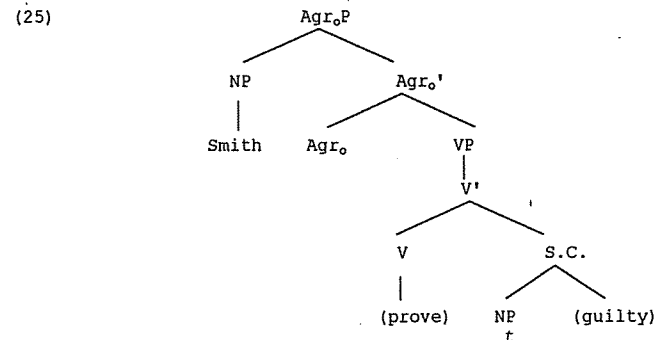


**On Pseudogapping:  
Some Curious properties of a Curious Ellipsis Phenomenon**

Howard Lasnik  
University of Connecticut

- (1) John will select me, and Bill will you
- (2) Mary hasn't dated Bill, but she has  $\emptyset$  Harry [Sag (1976)]
- (3) This ellipsis phenomenon displays some properties of Gapping (there is a right side remnant) alongside some properties of VP-ellipsis (there is a finite auxiliary).
- (4) a Mary hasn't dated Bill, but Susan has  
b \*Mary hasn't dated Bill, but Susan, Harry
- (5) a (\*)Bill ate the peaches and Harry did the grapes  
b (\*)Bill ate the peaches and Harry will the grapes [Jackendoff (1971)]  
c (?)Kathy likes astronomy, but she doesn't  $\emptyset$  meteorology [Levin (1978)]
- (6) (\*)John reviewed the play and Mary did the book [Lappin (1991)]
- (7) 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)]
- (8) a \*You probably just feel relieved, but I do  $\emptyset$  jubilant  
b \*Rona sounded annoyed, and Sue did  $\emptyset$  frustrated  
c These leeks taste terrible. \*Your steak will  $\emptyset$  better. [Levin (1978)]
- (9) Hiram oogled the same girl that Aaron had [Bouton (1970)]
- (10) "In such sentences...the entire verb phrase is not deleted, but only the verb oogled"
- (11) ...the same girl [Op [that [Aaron had  $\emptyset$   $\bar{t}$ ]]]
- (12) Dulles suspected [<sub>NP</sub> [<sub>H</sub> everyone [<sub>CP</sub> who<sub>i</sub> Angleton did [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>V</sub> ]]<sub>NP</sub>  $\bar{t}_i$ ]]]] [Lappin (1992)]
- (13) More than just the verb can be deleted:
- (14) The DA proved Jones guilty and the Assistant DA will prove Smith guilty
- (15) ?John gave Bill a lot of money, and Mary will give Susan a lot of money
- (16) If we reject an ellipsis rule affecting a discontinuous portion of the structure, we will want to consider the possibility that Pseudogapping constructions result from VP ellipsis, with the remnant having moved out of the VP by some rule.
- (17) Jayaseelan (1990) presents just such an analysis, with the movement rule being Heavy NP Shift.
- (18) ?John gave Bill a lot of money, and Mary will give Susan a lot of money
- (19) \*John gave  $\bar{t}$  a lot of money [the fund for the preservation of VOS languages]
- (20) \*John gave Bill a lot of money, and Mary will give Bill a lot of advice
- (21) John gave Bill  $\bar{t}$  yesterday [more money than he had ever seen]
- (22) In all the acceptable examples the remnant is accusative: either the direct object in a simple transitive construction, or the first object in a double object construction, or an exceptionally Case marked subject of a complement. This suggests raising to Spec of Agr<sub>o</sub> as the alternative to HNPS.
- (23) The DA proved Jones guilty and the Assistant DA will prove Smith guilty

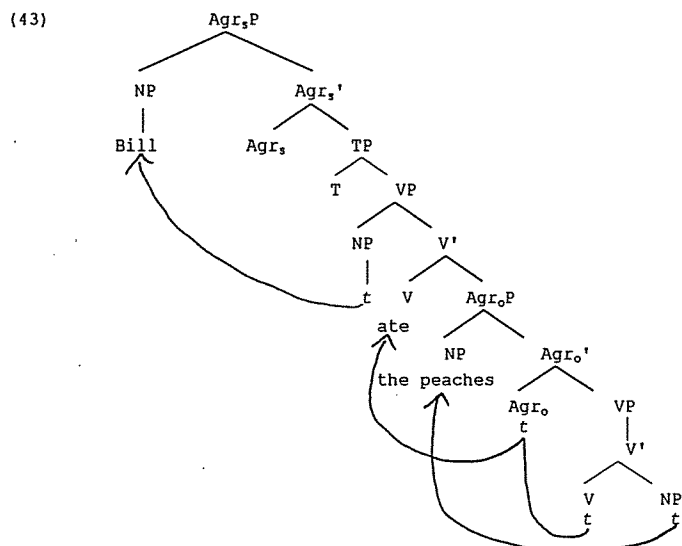
- (24) If LF copying can peer into the LF derivation (a possibility discussed by Hornstein (1994)), then potentially there is a stage where the accusative NP has raised but the V has not yet raised:



- (26) Jones was arrested  $\bar{t}_{\text{Jones}}$  and Smith was ~~arrested~~  $\bar{t}_{\text{Smith}}$  too
- (27) You have to sign onto it [the printer] like you do  $\emptyset$  the terminal [Levin (1979/1986)]
- (28) The best cases of objects of prepositions as remnants "...are likely those whose preposition forms a constituent with the verb rather than the following NP."
- (29) The terminal must be signed onto
- (30) \*I signed onto yesterday the terminal in the computer lab
- (31) a ?John spoke to Bill and Mary should Susan  
b Bill was spoken to by John
- (32) a ?John talked about linguistics and Mary will philosophy  
b Linguistics was talked about by John
- (33) a \*John swam beside Bill and Mary did Susan  
b \*Bill was swum beside by John
- (34) a \*John stood near Bill and Mary should Susan  
b \*Bill was stood near by John
- (35) a John took advantage of Bill and Mary will Susan  
b Bill was taken advantage of by John
- (36) a \*John spoke to yesterday the man he met at the beach  
b \*John talked about yesterday the man he met at the beach  
c \*John took advantage of yesterday the man he met at the beach  
d \*John swam beside yesterday the man he met at the beach  
e \*John stood near yesterday the man he met at the beach
- (37) A technical problem: on the theory of LF movement advocated by Chomsky (1995b), and further defended by Lasnik (1995a, b), the necessary structure for LF copying would not be created. On that theory, since movement is invariably triggered by the need for formal features to be checked, all else equal only formal features move. When movement is overt (triggered by a *strong* feature), PF requirements demand that an entire constituent move, via a sort of pied piping. However, when movement is covert, PF requirements are irrelevant so economy dictates that movement not be of the entire constituent, but just of the formal features. It is very difficult to see how covert raising of (the formal features of) accusative NP to Spec of Agr<sub>o</sub> could possibly create the appropriate ellipsis licensing configuration.
- (38) Could raising to Spec of Agr<sub>o</sub> be overt in English? Koizumi (1993/1995) argues that it is.

(39) \*Bill the peaches ate

(40) If accusative NP raises overtly, then the accusative checking V must also raise overtly to a still higher position, given the word order of English. Koizumi's specific proposal, which he calls the split VP hypothesis, is that V raises to a higher 'shell' V position, as shown in (41):



(44) I note in passing that if the licensing configuration is created prior to the LF/PF split, then ellipsis could just as easily be a PF deletion phenomenon, the sort of analysis of ellipsis consistently advocated by Chomsky, as in Chomsky (1995a,b), or, much earlier, in a 1971 lecture cited by Wasow (1972), where, according to Wasow, Chomsky "suggests that VP deletion and Sluicing can be formulated as very late rules which delete unstressed strings."

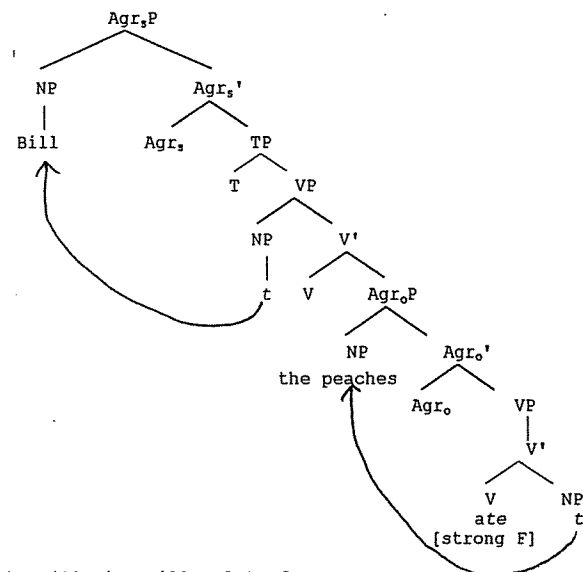
(45) In Lasnik (1995a, b) I offer several arguments for a Koizumi-type approach, and I suggest that the NP raising is driven by an 'EPP' feature that resides in Agr\_o. Further, following Chomsky, I assume that Agr\_o and Agr\_s are really the same category, the distinction merely mnemonic. Overt object shift and overt subject shift are then the same phenomenon: satisfaction of the EPP.

(46) Mary hasn't dated Bill, but she has Harry ~~t<sub>v</sub> dated t~~

(47) \*She has Harry dated

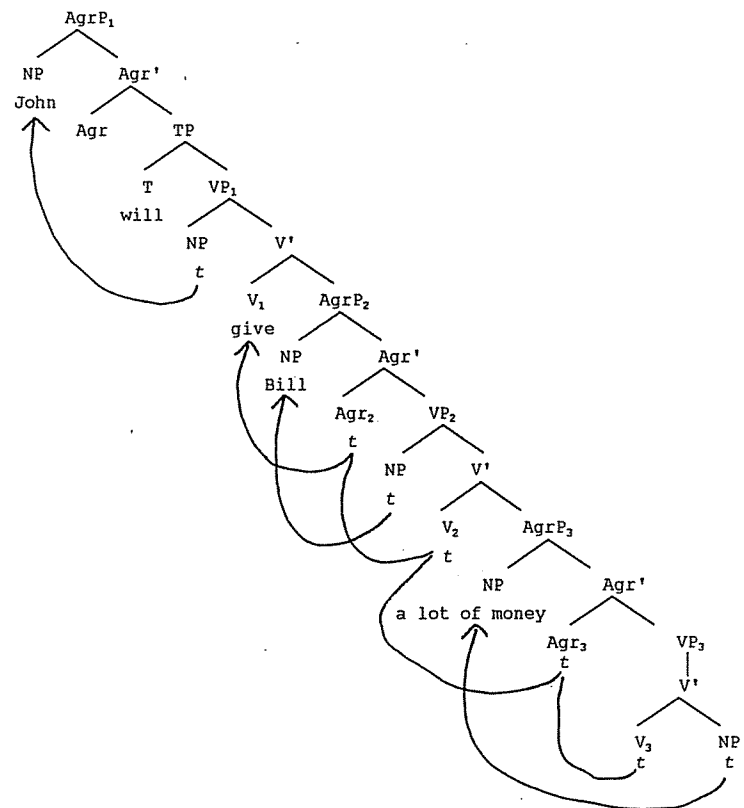
(48) Suppose that the strong feature driving V raising is a feature of the V that raises (rather than of the position it raises to). (I suggest that it is the  $\theta$ -feature that will be checked against the subject.) Now suppose, following Chomsky (1993) but contra Chomsky (1995a), that an unchecked strong feature is an ill-formed PF object. Then we correctly derive the result that deletion of (a category containing) an item with an unchecked strong feature salvages the derivation. The portion of the structure that would have caused a PF crash is literally gone at that level:

(49)



(50) John will give Bill a lot of money

(51)



- (52) ?Mary gave Susan a lot of money, and John will ~~give~~ Bill ~~a lot of money~~
- (53) \*Mary gave Bill a lot of money, and John will ~~give~~ Bill a lot of advice
- (54) If the first object begins higher than the second, relativized minimality will guarantee that the first object remains higher. The consequence of this is that there could not be a VP (or any other constituent) to delete which includes the first object but excludes the second.
- (55) \*Mary gave Susan a lot of money, and John will ~~give~~ Bill a lot of advice
- (56) For Jayaseelan (but not for us), this follows from a "Double Adjunction Constraint" on HNPS.
- (57) A late confession: even the 'good' Pseudogapping examples are marginal.
- (58) My PF deletion analysis, coupled with the Chomsky (1993) position that a strong feature not overtly checked causes a PF crash, explains why Pseudogapping is possible at all. The unchecked strong feature of the V that fails to raise is remedied by deletion of the VP containing that V.
- (59) Chomsky (1995a), though, replaced the PF crash analysis of strong features with an LF analysis, proposing that unless a strong feature "is checked before Spell-Out it will cause the derivation to crash at LF..."
- (60) What if the proposals of Chomsky (1993) and Chomsky (1995a) are both correct. Then a strong feature that is not checked in overt syntax will cause the derivation to crash at both PF and LF. A standard EPP violation will fall under this analysis, as will a sentence in which a verb fails to raise overtly, yet survives to the level of PF.
- (61) When a constituent containing the verb is deleted (as in Pseudogapping), the PF violation is avoided, but the LF violation persists. What do we expect the status of such a violation to be?
- (62) (\*) You read what
- (63) \*I wonder you read what
- (64) \*Mary gave Susan a lot of money, and John will ~~give~~ Bill a lot of advice

- (65)
- 
- (66) \*Mary gave Susan a lot of advice, and John will give Bill ~~a lot of advice~~
- (67) ?????
- (68) Crazy constraint: VP ellipsis is prohibited if VP has lost its head.
- (69) I saw someone. Who did you see? / Who? / \*Who did?
- (70) Sluicing (i.e., IP ellipsis) is prohibited if IP has lost its head. So maybe XP ellipsis is prohibited if XP has lost its head.
- (71) But...
- (72) Q: Salaxt et ha-yeladim le- beit-ha-sefer [Doron (1990)]  
you-sent Acc the kids to school  
"Did you send the kids to school?"
- A: Salaxti  
I sent  
"I did"
- (73) A Martas deu um livro ao João? Sim, deu. [Martins (1994)]  
the Martha gave a book to-the John yes gave  
"Did Martha give a book to John? Yes, she did."

(74) Q: Ar chuir tú isteach air [McCloskey (1994)]  
 INTERR COMP put [PAST] you in on it  
 "Did you apply for it?"

A: Chuir  
 put [PAST]  
 "Yes."

(75) Returning now to the Bouton/Lappin suggestion about ACD, in the terms of the present paper, the wh-trace is regarded as a right remnant, having escaped deletion by raising out of the VP.

(76) John [<sub>VP</sub> saw everyone [ Op [you did [<sub>VP</sub> e]]]  
 [<sub>VP</sub> saw everyone [ Op [you did [<sub>VP</sub> e]]]

(77) John [<sub>VP</sub> saw everyone [ Op [you did [<sub>VP</sub> e t]]]  
 saw/see

(78) Hornstein (1994) offers what appears to be a radically different account (even though Hornstein, like Lappin, is concerned to present an alternative to the classic QR account of May (1985)). What Hornstein proposes is that raising to Spec of Agr<sub>o</sub> is the process moving the object out of the VP, hence moving the null VP contained inside that NP out of its antecedent. But given the hypothesis that HNPS involves raising to Spec of Agr<sub>o</sub>, Hornstein's proposal can now be seen as quite similar to Lappin's.

(79) And on the face of it, both proposals successfully address a problem, originally pointed out by Wyngaerd and Zwart (1991), for QR-based approaches.

(80) Dulles suspected everyone Angleton did

(81) \*Dulles suspected Philby, who Angleton did [May (1985)]

(82) Dulles suspected Philby, who Angleton did not

(83) Dulles suspected Philby, who Angleton did as well [W&Z (1991)]

(84) ?Dulles spoke to Philby, who Angleton did not

(85) ?Dulles talked about Philby, who Angleton did not

(86) ?John took advantage of Bill, who Mary did not

(87) \*John stood near Bill, who Mary did not

(88) \*John stood near Bill, who Mary did as well

(89) \*John swam beside Bill, who Mary did not

(90) \*John swam beside Bill, who Mary did as well

Even the double object asymmetry found in Pseudogapping is approximately paralleled in the ACD constructions under consideration:

(91) ??John showed Bill, who Mary did as well, the new teacher

(92) \*John showed Bill the new teacher, who Mary did as well

(93) But...

(94) \*John stood near Bill, who Mary did as well

(95) John stood near everyone Bill did

(96) \*John swam beside Bill, who Mary did as well

(97) John swam beside everyone Mary did

(98) \*John showed Bill the new teacher, who Mary did as well

(99) John showed Bill everyone Mary did

(100) This state of affairs strongly supports the claim of Fiengo and May (1992) that while Pseudogapping is the sole process responsible for appositive ACD, such is not the case for restrictive ACD.

## References

- Barss, Andrew and Howard Lasnik. 1986. A Note on Anaphora and Double Objects. *Linguistic Inquiry* 17, 347-54.
- Bobaljik, Jonathan. 1995. *Morphosyntax: The Syntax of Verbal Inflection*. Ph.D. Dissertation. MIT.
- Bošković, Željko and Daiko Takahashi. 1995. *Scrambling and Last Resort*. University of Connecticut and City University of New York ms.
- Bouton, Lawrence F. 1970. Antecedent-Contained Pro-Forms. In *Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*.
- Branigan, Philip. 1992. *Subjects and Complementizers*. Ph.D. Dissertation. MIT.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1993. A Minimalist Program for Linguistic Theory. In Kenneth Hale and Samuel J. Keyser, eds. *The View from Building 20*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1995a. Bare Phrase Structure. In Gert Webelhuth, ed. *Government and Binding Theory and the Minimalist Program*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1995b. *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Doron, Edit. 1990. V-Movement and VP-Ellipsis. Hebrew University of Jerusalem ms.
- Fiengo, Robert and Robert May. 1992. Ellipsis and Apposition. City University of New York and UC Irvine ms.
- Halliday, M. And Ruqaiya Hasan. 1973. *Cohesion in Spoken and Written English*. London: Longmans.
- Hornstein, Norbert. 1994. An Argument for Minimalism. *Linguistic Inquiry* 25, 455-480.
- Jackendoff, Ray. 1971. Gapping and Related Rules. *Linguistic Inquiry* 2, 21-35.
- Jayaseelan, K.A. 1990. Incomplete VP Deletion and Gapping. *Linguistic Analysis* 20, 64-81.
- Johnson, Kyle. 1991. Object Positions. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 9, 577-636.
- Koizumi, Masatoshi. 1993. Object Agreement Phrases and the Split VP Hypothesis. MIT Working Papers in Linguistics Volume 18.
- Koizumi, Masatoshi. 1995. *Phrase Structure in Minimalist Syntax*. Ph.D. Dissertation. MIT.
- Lappin, Shalom. 1992. *The Syntactic Basis of Ellipsis Resolution*. IBM Research Report.
- Larson, Richard. 1988. On the Double Object Construction. *Linguistic Inquiry* 19, 335-91.
- Lasnik, Howard. 1993. *Lectures on Minimalist Syntax*. UConn Working Papers Occasional Papers in Linguistics.
- Lasnik, Howard. 1995a. Last Resort. In Shosuke Haraguchi and Michio Funaki, eds. *Minimalism and Linguistic Theory*. Tokyo: Hituzi Syobo Publishing.
- Lasnik, Howard. 1995b. Last Resort and Attract F. In *Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Formal Linguistics Society of Mid-America*.
- Lasnik, Howard. 1995c. A Note on Pseudogapping. In Rob Pensalfini and Hiroyuki Ura, eds. *Papers on Minimalist Syntax*, MITWPL Vol. 27.
- Lasnik, Howard. In preparation. A Slightly Different Argument for Minimalism.
- 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*.
- Levin, Nancy. 1979/1986. *Main Verb Ellipsis in Spoken English*. (Ohio State Ph.D. dissertation.) New York: Garland.
- Martins, Ana Maria. 1994. *Enclisis, VP-deletion and the Nature of Sigma*. Probus 6.
- May, Robert. 1985. *Logical Form*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- McCloskey, James. 1990. *Clause Structure, Ellipsis and Proper Government in Irish*. Syntax research Center, Cowell College, UCSC.
- Riemsdijk, Henk van. 1978. A Case Study in Syntactic Markedness. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Sag, Ivan. 1976. *Deletion and Logical Form*. Ph.D. Dissertation. MIT.
- Takahashi, Daiko. 1993. *On Antecedent Contained Deletion*. University of Connecticut ms.
- Takahashi, Daiko. 1994. *Minimality of Movement*. Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Connecticut.
- Tiedeman, Robyne. 1995. Some Remarks on Antecedent Contained Deletion. In *Proceedings of the First Numazu Conference on Formal Linguistics*.
- Ura, Hiroyuki. In preparation. Multiple Feature-Checking: A Theory of Grammatical Function Splitting. Ph.D. Dissertation. MIT.
- Wasow, Thomas. 1972. *Anaphoric Relations in English*. Ph.D. Dissertation. MIT.
- Wyngaerd, Guido Vanden and Jan-Wouter Zwart. 1991. *Reconstruction and Vehicle Change*. In *Linguistics in the Netherlands 1991*.

Department of Linguistics, U-145  
 University of Connecticut  
 Storrs, CT 06269-1145

lasnik@uconnvm.uconn.edu