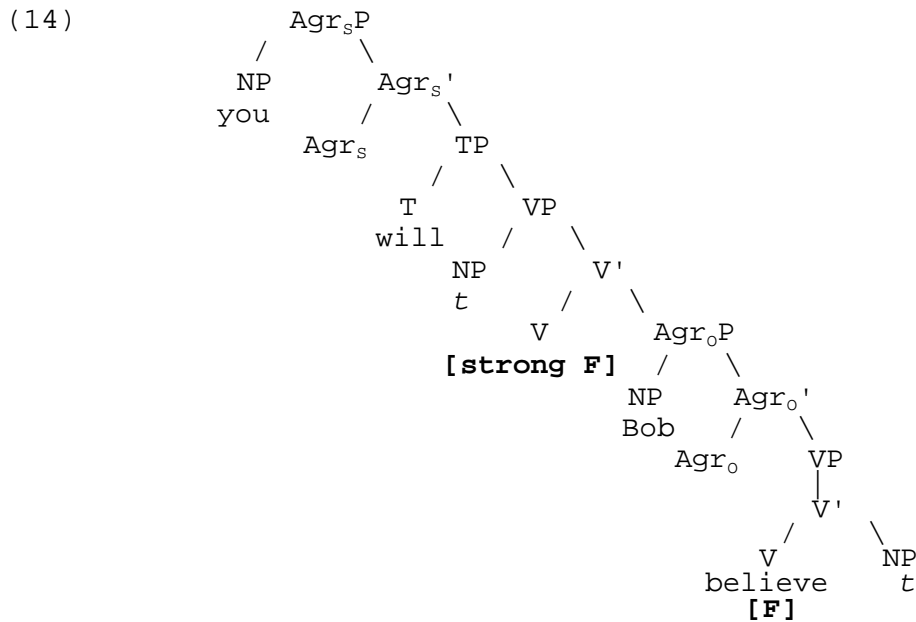**Strong Features, Defective PF Objects, and Ellipsis**

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)   Not just deletion of V:

(3)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~~

(4)   Pseudogapping as VP ellipsis, with the survivor rescued by
      moving out of the elided VP.   Jayaseelan (1990)

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

(6)   NP-raising to Spec of Agr_O ('Object Shift') is overt in English.
      [Koizumi (1993), Koizumi (1995), developing ideas of Johnson
      (1991)]
(7)   Pseudogapping as overt raising to Spec of Agr_O (rather than
      Jayaseelan's Heavy NP Shift) followed by deletion of VP.
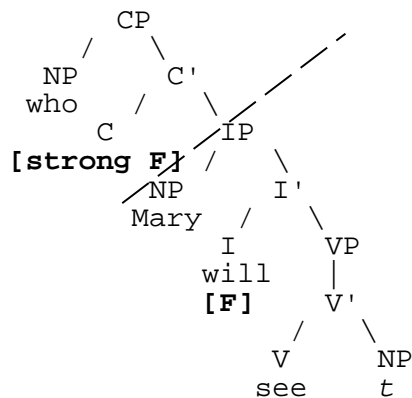   [Lasnik (1995), Lasnik (1999)]

(8)
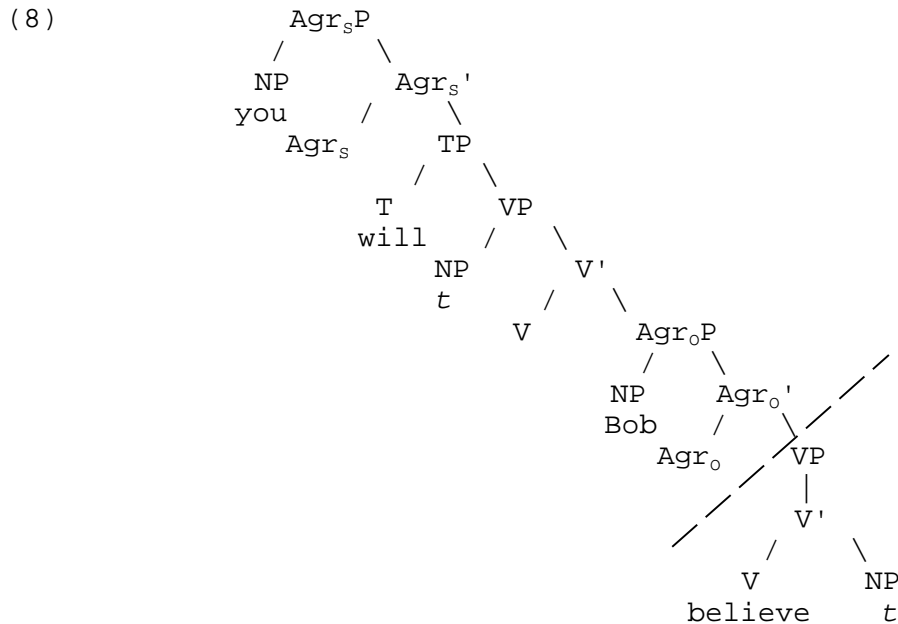
(9)   *You will Bob believe

(10)   "For the most part - perhaps completely - it is properties of
        the phonological component that require pied-piping. Isolated
        features and other scattered parts of words may not be subject
        to its rules, in which case the derivation is canceled; or the
        derivation might proceed to PF with elements that are
        'unpronounceable,' violating FI."   Chomsky (1995, p.262)

(11)   "Applied to the feature F, the operation Move thus creates at
        least one and perhaps two "derivative chains" alongside the
        chain $CH_F=(F,t_F)$ constructed by the operation itself. One is
        $CH_{FF}=(FF[F],t_{FF[F]})$, consisting of the set of formal features FF[F]
        and its trace; the other is $CH_{CAT}=(\alpha,t_\alpha)$, α a category carried
        along by generalized pied-piping and including at least the
        lexical item containing F. CH_{FF} is always constructed, CH_{CAT} only
        when required for convergence...As noted, CH_{CAT} should be
        completely dispensable, were it not for the need to accommodate
        to the sensorimotor apparatus."   [p.265]

(12)   " Just how broadly considerations of PF convergence might
        extend is unclear, pending better understanding of morphology
        and the internal structure of phrases. Note that such
        considerations could permit raising without pied-piping even
        overtly, depending on morphological structure..."   [p.264]

(13)   In (14), if only the attracted features raise, but the V does
        not raise, a PF crash will ensue, but only if the offending item
        exists at that level. Deletion provides another way to salvage
        the derivation. When the lower VP is deleted without the V
        having raised, a PF crash is avoided and the result is
        acceptable Pseudogapping.

(14) 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]

(15) 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
      the Ochi (1999) implementation of the Chomsky (1995) proposal]

(16) Note that it isn't easy to see how this result could be
      replicated if feature movement is eliminated from the theory in
      favor of long distance agreement - Agree, since Agree, unlike
      feature movement, never renders an item defective. [Lasnik
      (2002)]

II. Sluicing 1 [Infl raising]

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

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

(19) Ross described Sluicing as an embedded question phenomenon, but
      there is also matrix Sluicing:

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

(21)
```
                    CP
                   /  \            ╱
                  NP    C'       ╱  ╱
                 who   /   \    ╱
                      C    ╱IP
              [strong F] /    \
                      ╱NP      I'
                    Mary  /      \
                         I       VP
                       will       |
                        [F]      V'
                             /    \
                            V      NP
                          see      t
```

(22) *Who Mary will see?
(23)   Who will Mary see?

(24) 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.   Complementarity between movement and ellipsis?   Sometimes, but
         not always.**

(25) Mary will buy something.
(26)a What will she buy?
     b What?
     c *What will?

(27) A possible economy account: Suppose ellipsis always involves
      strong feature movement, with the ellipsis licensing head
      attracting a feature of the (head of the) XP to be deleted.
      This leaves a phonologically defective item. The damage can be
      obliterated by ellipsis (or, potentially, repaired by head
      movement).
(28) In (26)a, the 'repair' is by head movement of Infl to C. In
      (26)b, it is by IP deletion. Either suffices. But in (26)c,
      both operations have taken place.

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