

Notes on Lobeck, Anne (1990) "Functional Heads as Proper Governors," North East Linguistics Society: Vol. 20 , Article 6.

p.348

- (1) Although John's friends were late to the rally,
[Mary's [e]] came on time.
NP
- (2) Mary knew someone was speaking at the rally, but she
didn't know [who [e]].
S'
- (3) Because Mary might [e], John will attend the rally.
VP

Lobeck accepts prior arguments by Zagana and Chao that the ellipsis sites in (3), VP ellipsis, and (2) Sluicing, 'S ellipsis', are subject to the ECP. She proposes extending such an account to ((1), 'N' ellipsis'.

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- (4) **The Empty Category Principle (ECP)** (Chomsky, 1981)

[e] must be properly governed

I argue here that Chao's and Zagana's arguments that certain ellipited categories are subject to the ECP is correct, and can be extended even further to include the ellipited categories in all of NP, S and S'. Moreover,

supposed. Specifically, I propose that ellipses of the type in (1-3) are uniformly analyzable as the complements of functional heads, DET, COMP and INFL, respectively. To explain their distribution I propose that functional heads properly govern their complements when specified for the appropriate features, a claim expressed in (5):¹

- (5) functional heads specified for appropriate features properly govern their ellipited complements

The contrast between the sentences in (6) and those in (7) suggests that ellipsis in NP must include the head N and its complements, a requirement first observed by Jackendoff (1971, 1977:Ch.5.3.4). He argues that ellipsis in NP operates on a constituent, an intermediate projection of N, N'.

<It's striking that some (all?) of the bad ones in (7) are OK if the ellipsis site follows the antecedent. Jackendoff allows exactly such cases via his Gapping in NP. Significantly, Gapping (unlike most any other ellipsis processes) does follow this linear order requirement:

Mary likes phonology, and John syntax
*Mary phonology, and John likes syntax

See Jackendoff pp.30-31.>

- (6) a. [John's [e]] was short, but Mary's talk was way
 NP
 too long.
- b. Few people attended the rally because [many [e]]
 NP
 decided to watch the event on TV.
- c. Although she might buy [these [e]], Mary said she
 NP
 wouldn't buy those books on art history.

The sentences in (6) contrast with the ungrammatical ones in (7), where in (7), the complement of N is not included in the ellipsis.

- (7) a. *[John's [e] on disarmament] was short, but Mary's
 NP
 talk on foreign policy was way too long.
- b. *Few residents of the city attended the rally, but
 [many [e] of the neighboring village] showed up.
 NP
- c. *Although she might buy [these [e] about physics],
 NP
 Mary said she wouldn't buy those books about art
 history.

<In the immediately following, 'specifier' is used not in the modern sense, but in the sense of Chomsky 1970.>

Yet another constraint on ellipsis in NP, which often goes unobserved, is that only certain, but not other, specifiers of N can introduce an ellipted category. For example, while the sentences in (6) illustrate that possessive NPs, quantifiers and plural demonstratives in SP(N) can introduce ellipses, (8) shows that neither definite nor indefinite articles, singular demonstratives, nor prenominal adjectives, all of which Jackendoff argues are specifiers of N, can do so.

- (8) a. *A single protester attended the rally because
 [the [e]] apparently felt it was important.
 NP
- b. *Sue toyed with the idea of buying a windsurfer,
 then decided she didn't want [a [e]] after all.
 NP
- c. *Although John doesn't like [this [e]], he likes
 NP
 that brand of frozen pizza.
- d. *Because she might buy [these [bestselling [e]],
 NP
 Mary won't purchase those other paperbacks.

<<Lobeck is **completely** mistaken about Jackendoff and adjectives. He explicitly excludes examples like her (8)c, claiming that prenominal adjectives are generated inside \bar{N} . See his pp. 28-29.>>

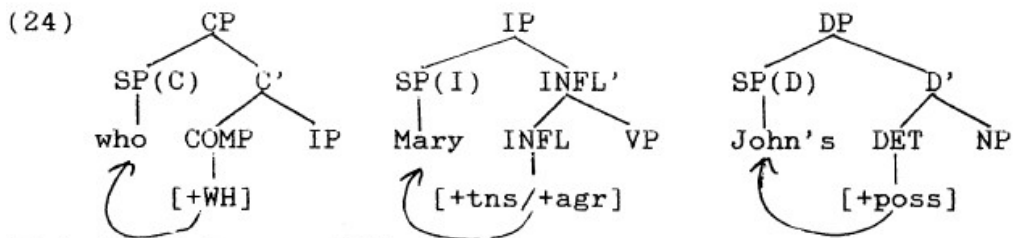
Restating the generalizations in terms of new structure proposals, in terms of a version

pp.356-357 of X' Theory proposed by Fukui and Speas (1986). They argue that maximal projections are projected by either lexical, or by what they refer to as 'functional' heads, a class including DET, COMP and INFL. Functional heads are distinguished from lexical heads in that at least one member of each functional category licenses a single specifier to its left by assigning function features, or Kase, to that specifier. Kase includes not only case assignment in the traditional sense, including, for example, nominative case assigned by tensed INFL, and genitive case assigned by ['s], (represented henceforth as [+poss]), but Kase is also assigned to a specifier by COMP specified as [+WH].

(23) illustrates the type of Kase assigned by each functional category, and (24) expresses the specifiers licensed by this Kase assignment.

(23)	CP	IP	DP
Kase assigner	[+WH]	[+tns/+agr]	[+poss]
non-Kase assigner	that	to	the

(Fukui and Speas, 1986)



(Fukui and Speas, 1986)

At least two things about the list in (23) are striking. First, the list of non-Kase-assigners corresponds exactly to those elements which fail to introduce ellipses in categories which are now analyzable as CP, IP and DP, namely, lexical complementizers, infinitival to, and singular determiners, respectively.² Second, the list of Kase-assigning functional heads exactly parallels the list of elements which do introduce ellipses in those categories, namely, [+WH] COMP, tensed INFL, and DET dominating the feature [+poss].

This distinction is explained straightforwardly by proposing that functional heads which assign Kase properly govern their complements, allowing that

complement to be ellipted. Non-Kase assigning functional heads, on the other hand, are not proper governors, and their ellipted complements are correctly predicted to be ruled out by the ECP.

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(25) **Constraints on Ellipsis: A Functional Category Account**

the ellipted constituent is a maximal projection

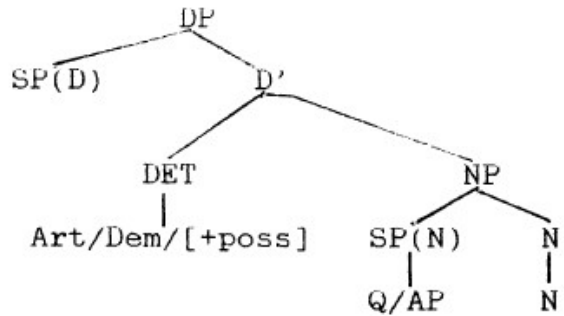
the ellipted constituent must be introduced by a functional head

(26) only functional heads which assign Kase properly govern their ellipted complements

However, the principle

must be further refined. An analysis where only Kase-assigning functional heads properly govern their complements fails to explain why in DP, plural determiners and quantifiers, neither of which assign Kase in Fukui and Speas' terms, can introduce ellipses. In their theory, both singular and plural demonstratives are dominated by DET, while adjectives and quantifiers are analyzed as specifiers of N, as illustrated in (27).

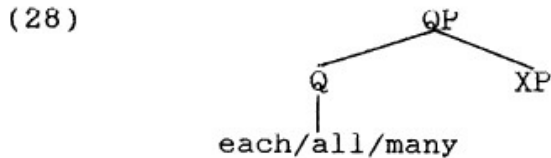
(27)



“We can include plural demonstratives and quantifiers in the class of functional heads which properly govern by adopting Contreras' (1989) analysis, proposed independently, which accounts for certain asymmetries involving ellipsis in NP.” p.359

“...in order to properly govern an ellipted category, DET must be sufficiently morphologically 'rich,' (where I take 'rich' to be loosely defined as specified for the appropriate features). He suggests that DET dominating either the feature [+poss] or a plural determiner in English is sufficiently rich to properly govern its NP complement. DET filled with a singular determiner or demonstrative, on the other hand, is not. He thus derives the correct result that while the plural demonstratives these and those properly govern their ellipted complements in English, neither singular a nor the, nor the singular demonstrative this, can do so.”

With respect to quantifiers, Contreras argues that those quantifiers which introduce ellipses are in fact not specifiers of N, but rather are functional categories which head a maximal projection, QP, as illustrated in (28):



(28) syntactically distinguishes quantifiers from pronominal adjectives; the former are functional heads, and the latter specifiers of N. It follows from this account that pronominal adjectives fail to properly govern ellipses, since they are excluded from the class

of potential head governors. The functional head Q in (28), on the other hand, like DET specified for either the feature [+poss] or [+plural] in (27), can properly govern its ellipted complement. Contreras advances that such evidence suggests that English Q, like certain members of DET in that language, is a functional head sufficiently morphologically 'rich' to properly govern its ellipted complement.³

Incorporating the basics of Contreras' analysis into the present account, the correct generalization about which functional heads do and do not properly govern ellipted complements across categories seems to be then, not that they must assign Kase, but rather that they must be specified for the appropriate features. This broader specification includes, but is not limited to, Kase-assignment; functional heads specified as [+plural], [+Q], or [+Kase] in English properly govern their ellipted complements.

(26) must therefore be revised as (29):⁴

(29) functional heads which are specified for the features [+plural], [+Kase], or [+Q] properly govern their ellipted complements in English.